

MEDIEVAL INDIA



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U. N. BALL

Medieval India

*From the beginning of the Arab Invasions to the down-
fall of the Mughals*

BY

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PREFACE

The present volume is an attempt to give a brief and connected account of the life and thoughts of the people of India in the middle ages when the serenity of ancient India was broken by the advent of a new culture. The materials are vast, and it has not been possible for me to explore every source, specially on account of my ignorance of Persian and Arabic. I have relied entirely upon the translations. A list of the books in English which I have utilised besides the large number of papers which appeared in the journals and magazines is given at the end.

My thanks are due to Prof. Susobhan Chandra Sarkar B. A. (Oxon) of the Calcutta University, Dr. J. Van Manen of the Bengal Asiatic Society and Babu Surendra Nath Kumar of the Imperial Library for valuable assistance. My special thanks are due to Babu Karunabindu Biswas but for whose ready help the book would not have seen the light.

U. N. BALL.

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SUDHABINDU BISWAS.

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MEDIEVAL INDIA



CHAPTER I

ARAB INVASIONS

Rise of the Moslem Power.

When Harshavardhana was ruling in Northern India a new movement was transforming the character of the peoples of Arabia and Western Asia. Muhammad inspired the scattered multitude round the deserts of Arabia with a strong faith in the existence of one God. He was acclaimed as the Prophet of Islam or true faith. On account of his new doctrines he was persecuted. When life was in danger, he fled from Mecca to Medina where he organised his followers as a band of vigorous soldiers. Muhammad died in 632 A. D. in the tenth year after his flight from Mecca. By that time he had brought all Arabia under his rule, and started incursions into the Roman dominions. He was succeeded by a number of Caliphs who followed his policy of spreading the new faith by acquiring fresh territories. Syria, Egypt,

and North Africa were acquired and within a century of the death of Muhammad the Moslem arms reached France. On the east, Persia was invaded in 632. A. D. The Persian army was thoroughly shattered at the battle of Cadesia in 636 A. D. and shortly afterwards the king was driven beyond the Oxus. By 650 A. D. the country beyond the Hindukush came under the Moslem arms. In 664 A. D. the Arabs invaded Kabul, made its prince a tributary and forced 12,000 persons to accept Islam. The Prince revolted in 682 A. D. and put the invaders into a state of flight. But the Arabs soon retrieved their position. It is believed that when they invaded Kabul a detachment under Mohalib tried to explore India (664 A. D.). They came as far as Multan and carried some captives. But the experience was not sufficiently encouraging to repeat the adventures. The rugged mountains between Afghanistan and India stood as formidable barriers till a strong Moslem Power was established in the neighbourhood.

Conquest of Sind.

There were trade relations between India and the West along the sea-coast. The Arabs as soon as they acquired power thought of the spoils they could obtain in India. An expedition was sent in 636-37 A. D. during the Caliphate of Omar. But this venture was not very successful and the Caliph prohibited further expeditions. Some raids were attempted through Mckran, but all proved abortive.

A number of Arab ships were seized at Debal, a seaport in Sind, in 711 A. D. The ships were carrying rich presents from the ruler of Ceylon for the Caliph Walid and Al'Hajjaj, the Governor of Basra. Raja Dahir, the king of Sind, was asked to restore the the captured articles. But Dahir had no control over the pirates. An expedition was then despatched by Hajjaj which however proved disastrous. The failure made Hajjaj indignant. He organised another strong expedition under Muhammad, the son of Kasim, and entrusted to him a well-trained army of 6000 troops. Muhammad was joined on his way by Muhammad Harun, the Governor of Mekran. A large number of discontented Jats and Meds also flocked to his banner. These people were ill-treated by the Hindu rulers, and wanted to retaliate, with the help of the foreign invaders. Muhammad bin Kasim reached Debal in the spring of 712 A.D. He had with him catapults and other engines for siege operations. His attack was first directed towards a temple over which was flying a red flag. The staff was broken and the flag pulled down. The Hindus were taken aback by the act of vandalism. They put up a strong defence, but could not stand against the disciplined troops of Muhammad. The Governor of the place fled away, and the city was pillaged for three days. The temple was destroyed and a mosque built in its place. A Moslem city was planned. The Brahmans were circumcised, and whoever resisted was put to death, if he was a man above seventeen. Women and

boys under seventeen were enslaved. A fifth of the booty was reserved for Hajjaj and the rest equally divided among the troops. A son of Dahir was present at Debal at the time of the siege. He fled to Brahmanabad on the fall of the city, but there he was followed by Muhammad and was forced to surrender. The conqueror then marched towards Nirun and Sehwan. After reducing these places the Indus was crossed by means of a bridge of boats. Dahir, the Raja of Sind, collected 50,000 troops with a large number of war elephants, and massed them near Rawar. Muhammad had also been reinforced by 2,000 horse from Persia. But he was afraid of engaging the vast army of Dahir. He drew the Hindus to fight with him at a place chosen by himself. When the battle was very intense a fire-ball struck Dahir's elephant, and in utter dismay the animal plunged into the river. The disappearance of the Raja put the army into confusion. He failed to restore order when he came back on a horse, and was struck with a sword by an Arab on his head. His widow Rani Bai collected the scattered forces and put up a strong defence. When the provisions ran short and the garrison could not hold out any longer the Rani arranged the performance of *Jowhar*, the practice of the Rajputs to save the honour of women by means of a huge fire, into which all the women of the fort jumped as a supreme act of sacrifice. The Rajputs then like brave soldiers rushed out of the gates, and fought valiantly against the besiegers to the last man. Muhammad then entered

the fort, massacred about 6,000 men whom he found there. The conquest of Sind was practically complete with the fall of Rawar. Brahmanabad submitted shortly and Multan was occupied without difficulty. It is said Muhammad had formed the plan of invading Kanauj after subjugating Sind. Kanauj was separated from Sind by the great desert and Muhammad possibly could not have sent out an effective expedition after making provision for the maintenance of peace and order in Sind. Before he could mature his plan he was recalled by the Caliph.

Settlement of Sind.

The main object of these invasions was plunder and the spread of Islam. Muhammad and his troops received a large quantity of treasure for themselves and for the Caliph and Hajjaj. He pulled the temples down and erected mosques in their places. The Hindus were forced to accept Islam on pain of death. But when the conquest was accomplished the policy was modified. The Musalmans could not possibly convert the vast population to the new faith. In consultation with Hajjaj Muhammad gave permission to the Hindus to worship their gods when they agreed to pay taxes. Those who became Musalmans were exempted from the *Jexia*, but those who still clung to their old faith had to pay the tax. The temples, like the Churches of the Christians, the Synods of the Jews, and the altars of the Magians were declared in-

violate. This new policy reduced the hostility of the Hindus towards the Arabs. The natives were given a large share in the administration of the country. The Amirs and Chiefs enjoyed great political privileges. Taxes were levied on land according to the fertility of the soil. The *Jazia* was regularly collected from the non-Moslems. Justice was administered according to the laws of the Quran, and private justice was generally in the hands of the village *panchayets*. There was very little sympathy between the conquerors and the conquered. The position of the Hindus became still worse on account of differences among themselves. So for sometime the Arab rule continued undisturbed in Sind. Muhammad bin Kasim had retained the Hindu Prime Minister of Dahir in his old post as the fittest person to carry on the administration according to the old traditions. Elphinstone remarks that the treatment of the conquered country by the Arabs was a mixture of ferocity and moderation. Those who submitted and paid tribute were kindly treated, but those who refused were severely dealt with.

End of the life of Muhammad bin Kasim.

Muhammad ruled Sind for three years. He was a young man of twenty when he took the command of the expeditionary force. He accomplished his task with great skill and ability. But his end was sudden. He had sent the two beautiful daughters of Raja Dahir, Parmal Devi and Suraj Devi to Damascus as presents

to the Caliph Walid. The girls were very clever and were seeking means of avenging the death of their father. When the eldest daughter was introduced to the Caliph she wept and told that she was unworthy of him as she had been already dishonoured by Kasim. This made the Caliph furious. He ordered that Muhammad bin Kasim should be brought to Damascus sewn up in the raw hide of an ox. Kasim yielded his ghost in three days. The dead body was opened in the presence of the girls. They were exceedingly happy to see the enemy of their father so punished, but confessed to the Caliph afterwards that he was innocent. It is told that the Caliph ordered the lying princesses to be tied to the tails of horses and dragged along the streets till they were dead. The story seems to be incredible on account of its gruesome details. It is likely that Kasim was tortured to death by the orders of the Caliph.

The Arab rule in Sind.

The death of Muhammad bin Kasim arrested the progress of the Moslem power in India. He was succeeded by Temim as the Governor of Sind. The Caliph used to send Governors till 831 A. D. (257 A. H.). The province was latterly divided into two states viz. Multan and Mansura. The annual revenue of Sind and Multan was about 11,500,000 *dirhams* or three crores of rupees. The Caliph did not, however, send reinforcements of troops to carry on the conquests. The Arabs became gradu-

ally weak, and they were overthrown by the Rajputs of Sumera. The Government of the country was then restored to the Hindus. It is rather curious that the Arabs who had extended their dominions from the Atlantic to the Caspian should have failed to retain their authority in India. They also did not succeed in spreading their religion in the conquered territory. The principle of toleration that Muhammad bin Kasim enunciated was enough for the Hindus to retain their old faith. The doctrine of the unity of God was not new to them. Society was thoroughly organised in hierarchical order. The Brahmans and Rajputs had great influence over other classes. The first rule of the Arabs created some confusion. But later on the Hindus regained the even tenor of their life. Hinduism was too elastic to be crushed under the burden of these raids. The Arabs could not penetrate into the interior of the country as the position of Sind was rather isolated. It was cut off from the main land by deserts, and the coast could not be easily traversed. Moreover there were a large number of strong states in the country which the Arabs probably were afraid of encountering. The Punjab was ruled by the great Shahi kings. The Tomars of Delhi and the Chauhans of Ajmir were no easy foe to deal with. Kanauj under Yasovarman and his successors was a strong and flourishing state. The Gurjara-Pratihara kings of Rajputana were the dread of the neighbouring powers. The Pala kings were in the height of their power in Bengal. On

the downfall of the Chalukyas in the Deccan the Rashtrakutas became very powerful. Moslems in Sind formed an alliance with them. The Rashtrakutas were known as the Balharas and they have been described as the most powerful rulers in India. With the restoration of the Hindu rule the people forgot everything regarding the Arab conquest. There were left a few Musalman families here and there. But very little influence can be traced in the literature, art and architecture of the country. The Hindu temples and the old Hindu buildings were destroyed and mosques and forts were built with their materials. But these new structures did not long survive the fall of the Arab power.

Effects of the conquest upon Moslem culture.

By their stay in India the Arabs came in contact with a people possessing superior civilization and better intellectual equipment. The Hindu philosophy of life and thought as expressed in their literature and practice was of a very high order. The Indian society was more polished than the rude life of the Arabs. Greater familiarity increased the admiration of the conquerors for the culture of the conquered. They employed the Brahmans in civil administration of the country on account of their keen intellect, wide knowledge, and great ability. They received lessons from them in the different branches of knowledge, such as, philosophy, astronomy, mathematics, medicine and chemistry. A number of Indian scholars were invited to Baghdad

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and books carried from India and translated into Arabic. Al-Biruni mentions that *Brahma Siddhanta* of Brahmagupta and his *Khanda-Khadyaka* taught the Arabs the first principles of scientific astronomy. Long before the Saracens enriched their learning by the study of Greek books they drank deeply of the fountain of Hindu culture. Hindu artisans and craftsmen were also imported into Baghdad. India thus moulded the Saracenic civilization in its inception in literature, art and industry. Indian philosophy deepened the Moslem thoughts, and received a new interpretation in the seats of learning from Baghdad to Cordova. The physical and exact sciences combined with the contributions of the Greeks made the Saracenic culture so rich and vigorous. Ancient India met ancient Greece on the rich soil of the Tigris-Euphrates valley and gave to the world in the middle ages a civilization which posterity may well be proud of. Chemistry, Metallurgy, Astronomy and Algebra made rapid progress under the fostering care of the Moslem rulers. Although the Arab invasion was no more than a passing show in the history of India its importance in the evolution of world civilization is not insignificant.

CHAPTER II

INVASIONS OF MAHMUD OF GHAZNI

Rise of the Turks.

After the downfall of the Arabs India was not disturbed by the Moslem raiders till the end of the tenth century A. D. By that time the Caliphate had undergone many changes. The Caliph Merwan II of the house of Ommeia was killed in 750 A.D. and was succeeded by the Abbasides. The new rulers were luxurious and pleasure-loving. Their culture became softened by the translation of Greek literature. The Government of Spain did not recognise the claims of the descendants of Abbas, the prophet's uncle, to the Caliphate, and since then the empire has been divided. The Caliph gradually came under the influence of the Turkish guards. The old Arabs lost their position in every department, civil and military. The distant provinces revolted one by one and established their own governments. The first to break away from the empire was Khorasan, and then Transoxiana, Persia, and Seistan became free. A dynasty known as the Samanis now became prominent. They came from Bukhara or Balkh and remained masters of Khorasan and Transoxiana for more than 120 years (892 to 999 A.D.). The Samani

prince Abdulmelek had a Turki slave named Aleptagin. In time this slave rose to be the Governor of Khorasan. On the death of Abdulmelek Mansur succeeded him to the throne. But Aleptagin was not agreeable to the new arrangement and consequently incurred the displeasure of the sovereign. To save himself he fled to Ghazni in the Suleiman mountains, accompanied by 3,000 Mameluks. There he established an independent kingdom after a reign of fourteen years in 976 A.D.

Subuktagin.

Aleptagin was succeeded by Subuktagin, a slave bought from a merchant from Turkestan. He was struck with the ability of the slave and raised him to high posts of trust. On the death of the Amir, Subuktagin was acknowledged as his heir and then he married his daughter. The Afghans gave him their allegiance and helped him in extending his dominions. He conquered Lamghan, Seistan and Khorasan by 994 A.D. He then built up a strong Moslem kingdom in the neighbourhood of India. This tract was ruled by the Hindus till then. The adjacent Hindu rulers now became anxious for their own safety. They were very often threatened by frequent raids. The kingdom of Lahore then extended from Sirhind to Lamghan and from Kashmir to Multan. It was ruled by Raja Jaypal who led a large army to Lamghan at the mouth of the valley extending from Peshwar to Kabul. There he was met by Subuktagin. Jaypal was diffident about

his success against the hardy troops of the Amir. So he sued for peace which the latter was not at first willing to concede. Ultimately Subuktagin was persuaded to accept the terms. Jaypal agreed to pay a tribute of one million dirhams, and 50 elephants, and ceded some cities and fortresses. Shortly after his return from Lamghan Jaypal broke the stipulations and put under arrest the officers sent by the Amir to look into the execution of the terms. The insult was too much for Subuktagin. He returned with a vast army and marched towards the Indus. Jaypal made an appeal to the Indian Princes of Kanauj, Ajmir, Delhi and Kalinjar and assembled an army of about 100,000. He marched towards Lamghan to oppose the troops from Ghazni. Subuktagin was a consummate general. He was not dismayed at the vast number of troops lying on the plains. He engaged the Indians by a series of attacks from the hills, and gave them no rest. When the latter were exhausted and failed to maintain their position a general assault was ordered. In utter confusion the Indians left the field and were pursued up to the Indus with a heavy loss. The country up to the Indus was annexed and a governor was appointed to rule the country from Peshwar. An army of 10,000 was left to maintain order. The hill tribes such as Afghans and Khiljis easily transferred their allegiance to the new rulers, and proved a source of great strength to the army of Ghazni. Subuktagin also obtained large booty by plunder and forced Jaypal to pay a heavy tribute. The success thus won by

Subuktagin opened the door for further incursions. The Moslem rule established at Peshwar deprived India of her main bulwark against invasions from the west. On his return from India Subuktagin went to the rescue of the Samani king against the Tartars. His faithful services were rewarded by the confirmation of his government of Ghazni, and his son Mahmud was granted the governorship of Khorasan (993 A. D.). His health gave way on account of perpetual war and the stress of constant campaigns. He died on his way back to Ghazni in August 997 A. D.

Sultan Mahmud.

Muhmud was the eldest son of his father. He accompanied Subuktagin on all his campaigns, but at the time of his death he was at Nishapur. His claims were disputed by his younger brother Ismail who happened to be by the side of his dying father. Ismail was defeated by Mahmud and was made a prisoner. When secure in possession of Ghazni he occupied Khorasan, assumed the title of Sultan and received his investiture from the Caliph. Mahmud was ambitious and full of religious zeal. He was anxious to spread Islam in India where he expected to gain large wealth and at the same time to capture new fields for his faith. He found India rich and prosperous and the success of his first invasion in 1000 A. D. roused his cupidity to carry on a series of raids and plunders year after year till 1026 A. D.

Expedition against Jaypal.

His father Subuktagin has already familiarised the Afghans with the soldiery of Hindustan. They found the Indians not sufficiently organised to offer resistance. The Hindus had begun to dread the deprecation of the ruthless Moslems. Mahmud also found the frontiers unprotected, and in the first year he captured some fortresses and retired with immense booty. By this time Raja Jaypal of Lahore made preparations to meet Mahmud near Peshawar. He mustered 12,000 horse and 30,000 foot soldiers, with 300 elephants. Mahmud came with 10,000 picked horse soldiers and engaged Jaypal in a terrible battle on the 28th November 1001 A. D., in which the Hindus suffered great loss. Jaypal was pursued beyond the Sutlej, and taken a prisoner, but released on promising to pay a heavy ransom. The repeated failures to maintain his position against foreign foes brought disgrace upon him. So he burnt himself to death leaving the throne to his son, Ananga Pal.

In 1004 A. D. Mahmud led an attack against the Raja of Bhera on the banks of the Jhelum. The Raja was driven out of his possessions and his kingdom was annexed by the invader. Next year Mahmud invaded Multan. Its ruler Abul Fatch Daud had been subdued by Subuktagin. He was originally a Musalman but later on he discarded the orthodox practices and became a Karmathian heretic. He formed an alliance with Ananga Pal of Lahore, who proceeded towards Peshwar

to oppose the forces from Ghazni. Ananga Pal was defeated and he fled to Kashmir. Multan was then besieged. Abul Fateh surrendered at the end of seven days. On promise of an annual tribute of twenty thousand golden *dirhams* he was restored to his dominions. Mahmud at this time received the news of the invasion of his dominions in Khorasan by Ilak Khan, king of Kashgar who had already sent one army to Herat and another to Balkh. He left the territories on the Indus in charge of Sukh Pal, a grandson of Jaypal, who had become a Musalman. By rapid marches he forced the Tartar troops to withdraw to the other side of the Oxus. Ilak Khan combined with Kadr Khan of Khotan met Mahmud near Balkh. Mahmud had learnt the method of engaging elephants in the fight. He had brought with him 500 elephants, which put terror into the hearts of the Tartars and crushed the latter completely. Ilak Khan fled across the Oxus, and never again troubled Mahmud. On account of the approach of the winter Mahmud returned to Ghazni (1006 A. D.).

When Mahmud was fighting against Ilak Khan Sukh Pal recanted his faith and declared himself independent. On return from his campaigns Mahmud came hurriedly upon the rebel governor and put him under arrest.

Last stand of Ananga Pal.

Ananga Pal, the Raja of Lahore, held the position of the vanguard of Hindustan. He realised

the danger to which India was exposed by the invasions of Mahmud. The main gate of India had already passed into the hands of the ruler of Ghazni. Ananga Pal had been trying all means to organise defence against the foreigners. He lent his support to Abul Fateh Daud of Multan, but was unfortunately repulsed. In 1008 A. D. he appealed to the Hindu rulers of Northern India to put their troops under his command. The Rajas of Ujjain, Gwalior, Kalinjar, Kanauj, Delhi and Ajmir formed a strong combination to support the Raja of Lahore. The Hindu sentiment was so vigorously awakened that even the women sold their jewels and ornaments to purchase the materials for war. A large number of Gakkars and other warlike tribes joined the Hindus. Thus a vast army marched towards the frontier. It is said that it was the largest army that had ever yet taken the field. Mahmud got frightened at this array of the troops and remained on the defensive near Peshawar. He took up a very strong position from which he first despatched a strong body of archers, about six thousand strong to attack the Hindus. The charge was met by the Gakkars who hurled back the Moslems, killed about 4000, and threatened the safety of Mahmud himself. They had rushed into the intrenchments of Mahmud, and with their sword and knives had killed a large number and thrown into confusion the Moslem cavalry. At this stage the elephant on which Ananga Pal rode got frightened at the flight of arrows and fled from the field. This was most

unfortunate for the Hindus. With the disappearance of the leader the army became demoralised. There was none else to direct the operations of the motley groups, most of them fled into different directions. Taking advantage of this situation Mahmud ordered 10,000 picked soldiers to pursue them, who killed double that number. The result was disastrous for the Hindus. With all the chances of success they lost on account of the lack of proper organisation. Their failure was also greatly due to their reliance upon elephants. Porus was beaten by Alexander almost in similar circumstances thirteen hundred years before. Ananga Pal was not the only competent Hindu general in those days. If the combined troops of Hindustan had elected some other person to lead them in the absence of Ananga Pal then the events might have taken a different turn.

Sack of Nagarkot.

Mahmud heard of the great wealth lying in the temple of Nagarkot in the Kangra Valley. The place is considered very sacred, as there is a natural flame issuing from the grounds within its precincts. Ferishta writes that the temple contained greater quantity of gold, precious stones and pearls, than ever was collected in the royal treasury of any prince on earth. All this treasure was given as offerings to the god by the princes and rich pilgrims, and people in the neighbourhood used to keep their wealth in deposit there as a

safe place. After dispersing the Hindu troops assembled under the leadership of Ananga Pal, Mahmud marched towards the Kangra Valley. The temple was in charge of an army of defenceless priests who were easily dislodged and the accumulated treasures carried off to Ghazni. It is said that among the booty there was a house of silver thirty yards long and fifteen broad, and a big canopy of fine linen forty yards long and twenty broad supported on two golden and two silver poles. On his return to Ghazni the jewels, pearls and rubies with the vast quantity of silver and gold were displayed before the public and the foreign envoys, and in honour of the event a triumphant feast was held for three days together. The priests were dismayed at the ruthless plunder of their sacred treasures, but could not resist the hands of the Moslem soldiers. The people of India on account of their caste system relegated the task of defence to the Kshatriyas who had all gone to Peshawar to fight under Ananga Pal. This shows the weakness of the Hindu social system and on account of this weakness the Hindus were defeated by the people who did not make a fetish of their birth or occupation.

In 1010 A. D. Mahmud conquered Ghor, a mountainous province east of Herat ruled by Muhammad Sur and the same year he came to India to punish Abul Fatch Daud of Multan, who was taken as a prisoner to Ghazni. He attacked Thaneshwar, a sacred place of the Hindus, on the Jumna in 1011 A. D.,

plundered the temple and carried away immense booty and a large number of captives. In the course of the next three years Mahmud sent two expeditions to Kashmir where Bhim Pal, grandson of Jaypal, had fled. About this time he extended his dominions upto the Caspian, by conquering Samarkhand and Bokhara.

Expedition to Kanauj.

After the conquest of the territories beyond the Hindukush Mahmud conceived the plan of penetrating into the interior of India. Kanauj had the reputation of an important kingdom since the days of Harsha Vardhana, although it had since lost its ancient glory. It was then ruled by a Parihar king named Rajyapal. Mahmud made gigantic preparations in 1018 A. D., recruited troops from all parts of his dominions, and gathered together an army of 100,000 horse and 20,000 foot. The soldiers became very enthusiastic over such a distant campaign in expectation of rich spoils. Passing through Peshawar he marched along the foot of the hills, crossed the Jumna on the 2nd December 1018 A. D., defeated Raja Har Dutta of Baran, compelled the Raja with 10,000 men to become Musalman, and then came upon Mahawan near Muttra. Here the Hindus under Kulchand put up a strong defence, but they were overpowered and lost about 50,000 men. Kulchand killed his wife and children and then stabbed himself to death. Mahmud captured 185 elephants and obtained plenty of plunder. From there he proceeded

to Muttra, another sacred city on the banks of the Junna. It was an ancient city consisting of no less than 1000 temples of marble which must have cost many millions of dinars to build. Mahmud was struck with the magnificence of the edifices, he wrote that another city like that could not have been constructed under a period of two hundred years. There he made a halt of twenty days and his soldiers had a good time. The city was plundered, the temples desecrated, and the idols broken. It is believed that some structure defied the attack of the Moslems on account of their solidity and survived the ruthless vandalism of the iconoclastic marauders. The city which was once the glory of Hindustan and to which pilgrims came from the distant parts of India with rich offerings was so terribly ravaged that it could not be recognised.

From Muttra Mahmud went to Kanauj in January 1019 A. D. The Raja was unprepared and submitted without any opposition. The city contained seventy forts and a thousand temples which offered sufficient scope for the plundering propensities of Mahmud's troops. After a stay of three days he returned through Bundelkhand, plundering the cities which fell on the way. He carried to Ghazni 5,300 prisoners and a vast quantity of booty.

Kalinjar Campaign.

The Rajputs felt greatly humiliated at the easy surrender of Rajyapal and treated him as a traitor.

A combination was formed under the leadership of Ganda, the Chandela Raja of Kalinjar, who sent his son Vidyadhara to punish the cowardly Rajput prince. Rajyapal was killed, and his throne was given to Trilochanpal. The latter was in sympathy with the Rajput combination and fought with them against Mahmud. The Sultan returned to India in 1019 A. D. to punish the opponents of his ally. Jaypal II, the successor of Ananga Pal to the kingdom of Lahore, foolishly disputed his passage to Hindustan, which not only cost him his throne but led to the final annexation of Lahore to Ghazni. A permanent garrison was placed there for the first time on the east of the Indus and thus the foundation of the future empire was laid. When Mahmud reached Bundelkhand he found a vast army assembled under Ganda. It was a difficult task to fight against the well-equipped Rajput soldiers. But Ganda considering all resistance futile fled from the field at night, leaving immense booty for the invaders. Mahmud returned with 580 elephants and large quantity of spoils.

He came back in 1021-22 A. D., and directed his attack upon the stronghold of Kalinjar. Ganda now offered terms of peace and propitiated him by rich presents of gold and jewels. On his return to Ghazni he was called to Transoxiana to crush a rebellion.

Somnath.

The appetite for the plunder of the rich temples

had been whetted by his continued success. With the rich spoils of Nagarkot, Multan, Thaneswar and Muttra he had adorned Ghazni, and his cupidity increased when he heard of the great wealth of the temple of Somnath. It was a famous place in the south of Guzerat on the coast of the Arabian sea. Mahmud was not daunted by the difficulties of the expedition. He started from Ghazni in September 1024 A. D. and reached Multan in October. He had to cross a desert 350 miles broad. With the help of 20,000 camels the supplies of war and the provisions for troops were carried. When he reached Ajmir the Raja of the place fled, leaving the people to protect themselves. Mahmud plundered the city and then marched southwards between the desert and the Aravali hills. He did not meet with any opposition on his way to Anhilwara, the capital of Guzerat. The Raja was taken by surprise and could not resist the attack. From Anhilwara the march to Somnath was an easy affair. The temple stood on a spur connected with the mainland by a strip of land protected by high walls. The Hindus had gathered all their strength to defend their sacred temple. Rajputs had come there in large numbers. With great skill Mahmud forced through the gates. The Hindus took their stand round the temple. They fought stubbornly for three days. On the first two days Mahmud was severely repulsed. On the third day when he found that the Raja of Anhilwara had sent fresh troops in defence of the temple he became desperate, offered a fervent prayer

to God, and gaining courage infused a new spirit in his troops. The zealous Musalman troops led a vigorous attack which it was impossible for the Hindus to repel. Mahmud entered into the temple when about 5000 Rajputs gave up their lives. Only about 4000 men escaped by means of boats. He found the temple a magnificent edifice, its lofty roof supported by fifty-six pillars, all bearing signs of great workmanship. The pillars were artistically carved and set with valuable stones. A lamp hung down in the centre in a golden chain shed light on the things inside the temple. The *lingam* was a piece of stone five cubits high. Pilgrims from all parts of India used to come there with rich offerings. It is said that the temple had an endowment of more than 10,000 villages. They used to bring water from the Ganges to wash the duty. One thousand Brahmans were engaged to worship Somnath and 500 girls sang hymns and danced at the door. The dome of the temple was covered with lead. Mahmud in his iconoclastic zeal ordered the *lingam* to be destroyed. The Hindus offered a large amount of wealth if he would spare it. But he refused the offer and preferred to be known as an idol-breaker than as an idol-seller. He was the first to strike it with his mace and was amazed to find within it a large quantity of diamond and other jewels. It was a hollow piece of stone. Two pieces were sent to Mecca and Medina and two to Ghazni, one of which was placed at the public mosque and the other kept at the palace. Mahmud's

gain in this expedition was much beyond his calculation. The amount of gold and jewels could not be measured. The plunder of Somnath raised Mahmud very high in the estimation of his co-religionists.

Mahmud stayed in Guzerat for a year. The Raja of Anhilwara eluded his grasp and took refuge in Gandaba, a fort on the sea-coast. Mahmud returned to Anhilwara and placed on the throne a descendant of the ancient royal family. Guzerat was, as now it is, a fertile country, and its climate was mild. Mahmud contemplated transferring his capital from Ghazni to Anhilwara, in order that he might conquer the other parts of India. But his ministers dissuaded him from this project. The route by which he came was occupied by the Raja of Ajmir and the fugitive Raja of Anhilwara. So he returned along the coast of Sind. But the journey in the hot season through the deserts was full of troubles. With great difficulty he reached Multan and shortly afterwards he returned to Ghazni (1026 A. D.)

By the end of the same year he returned to punish the Jats who harassed him on his way back from Somnath. The Jats took refuge in an island in the Indus down Multan. Mahmud ordered a fleet to be built and in a naval engagement completely destroyed them. This was the last expedition of Mahmud to India.

Last days of Mahmud.

Mahmud had his attention directed to the affairs in the other parts of his empire. In 1027 A. D. he

went to Baward to suppress the risings of the Seljuk Turks. Next he invaded Persian Irak and annexed the country. Soon after his return to Ghazni he died at the age of sixty on the 29th April, 1030 A. D. in sight of the vast treasure he had carried from India.

An estimate of Mahmud.

From a small principality in the mountainous tracts of Afghanistan Mahmud built up a vast empire which extended from the Caspian to the Arabian sea and from Khurdistan to the Punjab. So far as India was concerned his conquests did not lead to any permanent annexation except the kingdom of Jaypal. His ambition was to gather wealth by force. The great distance of these places from Ghazni might have dissuaded him from any idea of consolidation. Even where he attempted permanent government as in Transoxiana and Persia it did not long survive him. His empire soon fell into pieces. He was a warrior and a conqueror, but he cannot be called an administrator or statesman. He was guided more by avarice than by the zeal for the spread of Islam. He did not apply force to convert the conquered peoples although he was ruthless in destroying the Hindu temples and idols. The wealth he captured was utilised in promoting learning and beautifying Ghazni. His court was attended by poets and literary men. A Turk in origin, his mother was a Persian, and he encouraged the spread of Persian literature. Among those who adorned his court were

Al-Biruni, Utbi, Farabi, Baihaki, Unsuri and others. But the most important poet was Firdausi who wrote the famous *Shahnama* in Persian. Mahmud offered rewards for any one who would write in verse an account of the kings and heroes Persia before the Muhammadan conquest. Firdausi completed this work after hard labour of thirty years. But he was disappointed by the amount given to him by the Sultan. He then left the court and wrote a satire. The Sultan became sorry for his own avarice and sent 60 thousand gold dirhams to Firdausi, which the poet did not live to receive. With this money his daughter constructed an embankment city of Tus where the poet was born, to afford a good supply of water. Mahmud founded a University in Ghazni with a big library and museum. The University was richly endowed for the maintenance of teachers and scholars. It is said that he had in his capital "a greater assemblage of literary genius than any other monarch in Asia has ever been able to produce".

His expeditions to India had their influence upon the development of the city of Ghazni. He employed Indian artisans in creating buildings. The magnificent temples of Muttra, and the edifices of Kanauj inspired him to embellish the capital with superb structures. He built a grand mosque called the "Celestial Bride." It was richly furnished with carpets and candelabras and decorated with ornaments of silver and gold. The design and workmanship of this wonderful edifice came from

the brain and hands of Indian architects. The nobility of Ghazni also followed in the footsteps of the monarch and added a large number of mosques, porches, fountains, reservoirs and other structures. Within a very short time Ghazni became a very beautiful city. Mahmud's court displayed the pomp and splendour of oriental kings along with the solemnity of the court of the Caliphs.

He was a stern ruler. He used to administer justice impartially but he was not cruel. Although he undertook many expeditions of war and bloodshed, he never meted out any inhuman punishments and the historians do not accuse him of barbarous atrocities generally associated with such despots.

His civil administration was mainly in the hands of the Persians. Abul Abbas and Ahmed Maimandi, the two celebrated Persians, were his viziers. Abul Abbas adopted the method of writing all public papers in Persian, and the latter maintained Arabic in permanent documents. Since then Persian has been generally used by the Moslem rulers in the east although the Persians never conquered these countries.

Mahmud recruited his army from all parts of his empire. He had a body-guard of *Mamluks* (or Turki slaves), a large number of Tartar horse from beyond the Oxus, 5000 Arab horse, besides Afghans and Khiljis. He employed the hill tribes in the ranks. He had also under him a considerable number of Hindu cavalry. But the general commands were held by his Turk officers.

The regular army six years before his death consisted of 54,000 horse. This however had to be supplemented by temporary levies in times of expedition.

Successors of Mahmud.

His son Muhammad succeeded him, but he did not possess the commanding personality of his brother Masud. With the help of the soldiers Masud occupied the throne within four months of his father's death. He appointed Khuaja Ahmad Maimandi as his minister. He subjugated Mekran and received the submission of the whole of Persia except the province of Fars. The Seljuks of Khorasan and Transoxiana rose in rebellion and ravaged the dominions. Masud went personally to Merv. But there he was defeated and somehow managed to withdraw to Ghazni with great difficulty. He found himself deserted by his own soldiers and thus unable to maintain order in his capital. In these circumstances he wanted to fall back upon India. Mahmud appointed Ariyarak as the governor of Lahore. But on the death of the Sultan the governor proved recalcitrant. He was somehow brought to Ghazni and put into prison. Niyaltgin was appointed in his place. There was another man named Qazi Shiraz in charge of civil administration. The two officers were jealous of each other. Niyaltgin sent an expedition to Benares, and obtained great booty. The Qazi sent reports against him to Ghazni. A Hindu official named Tilak who had great influence with Masud on account of his charming

personality and versatile genius was entrusted with the task of punishing Niyaltagin.

The rebel Governor was overtaken at Lahore. In an engagement Niyaltagin was defeated and fled from the field. But he was captured by the Jats and his head cut off. Masud then undertook an expedition to capture the fort of Hansi to the east of Hisar, in order to fulfil an old vow. He started in October 1037 A. D. It is said that he gave up wine and ordered his men to abstain from drinking, so long as the campaign lasted. In spite of stubborn opposition of the garrison the fortress was captured and immense spoils obtained. The Sultan went as far as Sonpat near Delhi, and then returned to Ghazni. During his absence in India the Seljuks revolted against him. He was defeated by them at Dandankan near Merv in 1040 A. D. He now prepared to come to India. He did not listen to his Minister Maimandi who advised him to stay in Ghazni. On the way the army mutinied and restored his blinded brother to the throne. He was killed by Ahmed, the son of Muhammad in the fortress of Giri. Masud ruled for ten years. He was generous to the learned men. Al-Biruni speaks very highly of the qualities of his heart. He maintained the magnificence of his court and retained his sobriety after hard drinking. The court life in his days became very low and depraved.

Maudud, the son of Masud, who was at Balkh, on receiving the news of the murder of his father came

to India, defeated Muhammad and put to death all who took part in the the previous transactions. The Seljuks at this time divided their conquests into four small kingdoms. Maudud did not interfere with them and so managed to maintain his position in Ghazni and Transoxiana. While Maudud was busy with the affairs in the west the Raja of Delhi overran the Punjab, occupied Nagarkot and besieged Lahore. But the Moslem garrison of Lahore repulsed the attack. Maudud died in 1049 A. D.

On his death his brother Abul Hasan came to the throne, but was deposed by his uncle Abul Rashid in two years. Rashid recovered the Punjab but was defeated by Tughral who reigned only for forty days. A number of weak rulers followed in succession. Masud II reigned from 1098 A. D. He ruled for a number of years from Lahore. His son Arslan succeeded him by putting his brothers into prison. But his step-mother, who was a sister of the Seljuk Sultan Sanjar, placed her son Behram on the throne with the help of her brother. Arslan died in India in 1117 A. D.

Berham had the qualities of an able ruler. He was a patron of learning, the most famous poet in his court being Nizami who wrote fine poems in Persia. He had a long and prosperous reign from 1118 to 1152 A. D. During his reign the provinces of the Punjab and Multan were brought under complete control. A rising of the Hindus in 1143 A. D. was crushed. The last days of his reign were full of trouble on account of the

affairs in Ghor which became a dependency of Ghazni since the reign of Maudud. Behram's daughter was married to its reigning prince Kutub-ud Din Sur. This prince was treacherously killed by Behram and his brother Saif-ud-Din Sur in revenge drove Behram out of Ghazni. Shortly afterwards Behram returned from his retreat and killed Saif-ud-Din. On receipt of this news his brother Alauddin Husain came with a large army from Ghazni. He was in the beginning overpowered by the superior forces of Ghazni but ultimately he won a victory. Behram fled from the field almost alone. With some reinforcements from India he managed to recover his position. He died in 1152 A. D. His son Khusru Shah succeeded him. On the return of Alauddin with a large force he retreated into India. The city of Ghazni with its superb buildings, and fine mausoleums was devastated, the tombs of the Sultans, except those of Mahmud, Masud and Ibrahim were dug out, and every trace of the magnificence was removed from the capital. For this act of destruction Alauddin got the title of Jehansoz, the incendiary of the world. When Alauddin returned to Ghor, Khusru came back to Ghazni for a short time. But on the death of the Seljuk king, Sanjar, who was his ally and friend, he retired finally to Lahore. After a reign of seven years he died in 1160 A. D. He was succeeded by Khusru Malik who reigned for twenty-seven years till 1186 A. D. Ghazni was occupied by Ghiyasuddin Ghorî and appointed his brother Muiz-ud-Din better known as

Muhammad Ghori as its governor. Muiz-ud-Din invaded Lahore in 1181 A. D. He attacked the capital repeatedly. In 1186 A. D. Khusru was taken as a prisoner to Ghazni and then removed to the fortress of Balarwan in Ghurjistan. He was killed in 1201 A. D. and his son Behram Shah met with the same fate. The dynasty of Subktagin came to an end with him after two centuries of rule.

CHAPTER III.

THE POLITICAL & SOCIAL CONDITION OF INDIA BEFORE THE MUHAMMADAN CONQUEST.

Political Condition of Aryavarta.

India was divided into a number of small states. After the death of Harshavardhan there was no strong ruler who could command the allegiance of all the chiefs and princes. Even Harsha had his suzerainty confined to Northern India. The Pala kings of Bengal once ruled from Kabul to the eastern provinces. Their dynasty lasted for four centuries and half till the last king Indradumna Pal was overthrown by Bukhtiyar Khilji in 1197 A. D. But their dominions gradually contracted to the districts of Behar. The Rajput princes carved out their principalities in the Central and Western India, while the Sena Kings established their ascendancy in Bengal. Sind was the first province in India to pass into the hands of the Musalmans. The country was split up into a number of small principalities and the weak Moslem princes were easily removed from their power by Mahmud of Ghazni. But on the withdrawal of the invader they again regained their authority. The Raja of Lahore, Jaypal, bore the brunt of the Muhammadan attack. He burnt himself to death when he could not roll the Muslim invasion back. His son

Ananda Pal fought singlehanded and had to make room for the powerful Ghazni family. The Punjab opened the gates to the successive waves of invasions from the west. But still it took about two centuries to begin the conquest of Hindustan in all seriousness. To the north of the Punjab lies Kashmir which on account of its position as a hill-state defied the invaders for a long time. Mahmud of Ghazni made an attempt to take it but failed. Although the Hindu rulers were not all very able men they maintained their independence till 1339 A. D. when a local Muslim dynasty wrested the government. Finally Akbar annexed the country to the Moghul empire in the sixteenth century. Guzerat and Kathiwar were under the Solanki kings since 941 A. D. The invasion of Mahmud in 1025 A. D. at the time of the sack of Somnath did not produce any great change. One prince was replaced by another. Muhammad Ghori also did not succeed in suppressing the old dynasty. Ultimately in 1298 A. D. Ala-ud-Din Khilji succeeded in annexing this prosperous province. Malwa was ruled by the Parmars from the very early times. When Mahmud invaded India the famous Bhoja was on the throne. His court at Dhar was the resort of the scholars and learned men of the time. He also got himself recognised by the neighbouring states. But after the death of Bhoja the Solankis challenged the ascendancy of the Parmars and by the twelfth century they were reduced to insignificance. In 1310 A. D. the little principality was conquered by Ala-ud-Din Khilji.

Kanauj held an important position in the seventh century as it was the capital of Harshavardhana. In the beginning of the ninth century it was under the influence of the Pala kings of Bengal. Later on it became the capital of Gurjara-Pratihara kings, of whom Mihira or Bhoja I was the most famous. In the tenth century Kanauj lost considerably to the Rastrakutas, and the Chandels. At the time of the invasions of Mahmud Rajyapala offered no resistance. When the city was destroyed he removed his capital to Bari on the other side of the Ganges. By the end of the eleventh century the Rathors had occupied the country. Raja Jaichand was the last king of the dynasty.

The country round about Delhi was ruled by the Tomars since the middle of the eighth century. Mahmud of Ghazni did not pay any attention to these people. But his invasions made the Tomars careful of their position. The city was fortified in 1056 A. D. The neighbouring state of Ajmir under the Chauhans gradually rose into importance. In 1153 A. D. Bisal Deva of Ajmir overthrew the Tomars and conquered Delhi. Prithwi Raja was the powerful king of both Ajmir and Delhi when India was invaded by Muhammad Ghori, and it was he who organised the last great defence against the Musalmans. The Chandels of Jejakabukhti were in power south of the Jumna, Kalinjar was their capital. They with the Kachhwās of Gwalior punished Rajyapal for yielding to Mahmud and for this action they suffered in the hands of the

Ghazni Sultan. Prithwi Raj dealt heavily with them and ultimately Kalinjar fell into the hands of the Muhammadans in 1193 A. D. The Kachchwas had long since been driven out of power by the Parihars. The Chandels of Kalinjar and Mahoba had constant struggle with the Kalachuris of Chedi, near Jubbalpur, who had territories on both sides of the Narmada, during the eleventh century for supremacy in Hindustan. Qutub-ud-Din defeated the last Chandel king Paramardi Dev. The Kalachuris also gradually decayed. Their possessions in the south were taken up by the Ganapatis of Warrangal and the Yadavas of Devagiri, and those on the north passed into the hands of the Baghelas. Surrounded by the hills of Central India in the east of the Aravalli range lies Mewar where the Gahlots or the Sesodias ruled in proud isolation. Besides these Rajput states there were a large number of small principalities owing allegiance to some more powerful rulers or enjoying full freedom. We are told that 150 of them responded to the call of Prithwi Raja to fight against Muhammad Ghori, but there were many more who stood aloof.

In the east were the kingdoms of Behar, Bengal and Assam. By the middle of the eighth century Bengal witnessed the rise of a powerful dynasty called the Palas who in course of time extended their authority from the Bay of Bengal to the Hindukush Range. In the tenth century Bengal lost her position. The Palas were gradually deprived of their territories. A new dynasty

called the Senas arose in the twelfth century. From the south the Palas were attacked by the Cholas of Kanchi. At times they had to seek the help of the Rastrakutas.

The Dakshinatya.

The condition of the countries south of the Vindhya was no less complex than those of the north. As in the North there was not one strong kingdom maintaining authority throughout the peninsula. The Vindhya formed a barrier between the north and the south although there was no lack of communication. In the seventh century when Harsha was consolidating the north the Chalukyas under Pulakesin II brought almost the whole of the south under his rule. He forced Harsha to acknowledge the Narmada as the southern boundary of his kingdom, and made the Cholas, Pandyas and Keralas of the south enter into an alliance with him. By the middle of the century his position was challenged by the Pallavas. The Chalukyas dragged their rule till the middle of the eighth century when they were superseded by the Rashtrakutas. The latter were the early inhabitants of the south. They enjoyed their political freedom before the days of Asoka. But later on they were ruled by the Andhras, and then the Chalukyas. They combined under the leadership of Dantidurga, an offspring of a Rashtrakuta chief and a Chalukya princess and overthrew the Chalukya king Kirtivarman II in 748 A. D. The Rashtrakuta king

Indra III defeated Mahipala, the king of Panchala, and threatened Kanauj. They also annexed Surashtra and some provinces of the empire of Kanauj. They maintained friendly relations with the Musalman rulers of Sind, and extended protection to the Arab merchants.

The Rashtrakutas in their turn were defeated by Tailapa II of Vengi, belonging to the Chalukya family. The later Chalukyas, as they are called the eastern Chalukyas, carried their rule till 1190 A. D. They were in constant conflict with the Parmars of Malwa in the North, and the Cholas of the South. They defeated the Cholas in the famous battle of Koppam in 1052 A. D. The greatest king in the line was Vikramaditya or Tribhuvanamalla who ruled for fifty years from 1076 A. D. The Chalukya power declined after 1138 A. D. The Yadavas of Devagiri and the Hoysalas of Dwara-samudra encroached upon their territories. Someswar was the last king of this dynasty. The country was now divided among the Yadavas of Devagiri in the West, the Kakatiyas of Warrangal in the East, and the Hoysalas of Dwara Samudra in the South. Bhillama, a chief of the Yadavas, who acknowledged the supremacy of the Chalukyas, declared himself independent on the decline of the powers of the latter. The Hoysalas were led by Bir Ballal at the time of the revolution. There was keen rivalry between the three peoples, the Yadavas, the Kakatiyas and the Hoysalas for supremacy in the Deccan. This weakened the position of the Southern states and made it easy for Ala-ud Din

Khilji and his general Malik Kafur to carry their conquests so far.

Further south were the old kingdoms of the Cholas, Cheras and Pandyas. They were in existence before the days of Asoka. The Pandya kingdom was in the extreme south, extending over the modern districts of Madura and Tinnevely. The Chola kingdom included the Madras district and some parts of Mysore. Chera or Kerala was the Malabar coast including the districts of Malabar, Travancore and Cochin. A new people called the Pallavas occupied the Telegu districts between the Krishna and the Kaveri by the second century A. D. By the middle of the sixth century they became very powerful. Towards the close of the century they had defeated the kings of all the Southern states, including Ceylon. They extended their rule over North and South Arcot, Chingleput, Trichinopoly and Tanjore. They were deprived of Vengi by the Chalukya king Pulakesin II in 610 A. D. They suffered at the hands of the Chalukyas and lost their supremacy in 670 A. D. After the fall of the Pallavas the Cholas raised their heads. The Chola king Aditya (880—907 A. D.) destroyed the Pallava supremacy by overthrowing Aparajita Pallava. The Cholas invaded the Pandya territory and Ceylon, but they were crushed by the Rashtrakutas in the tenth century. The king Raja extended the territories of the Chola kingdom and made it a very powerful state. He conquered Pandya, Chera and Ceylon. Rajendra Choladeva (1007-1042 A. D.) crossed the Bay of Bengal,

captured Pegu, Tukkalan, Martaban, Nicobar and the Andaman islands, defeated the Gangas of Mysore and the Chalukyas of the Deccan, and went as far north as Bengal. After the death of Rajendra Choladeva they could not maintain their supremacy. The Pandyas, the Cheras and the Gangas revolted. The Chalukyas renewed their war, the Chola king Rajadhiraja was killed in the battle of Koppam in 1052 A. D. Although the Chalukyas were terribly defeated at the battle of Kudal Sangamam in 1062—63 A. D. Adhirajendra was murdered in 1074 A. D. As he had no heir, the throne passed to a relative belonging to the Eastern Chalukya family, and the Chola and Chalukya kingdoms were combined under Kulotunga Chola. The Cholas were driven out of Mysore by the Hoysalas in 1117 A. D. The constant quarrel between the Cholas and the Pandyas helped the conquest of Malik Kafur in 1310 A. D.

The system of Government.

The government of all these states was vested in the hereditary rulers. The kings of Northern India mostly belonged to the class of Rajputs. The origin of the Rajputs is still a matter of controversy. The orthodox view is that they descended from the Sun and the Moon. Some believe that they had their origin in fire. Ferishta says, "The rajas, not satisfied with their married wives, had frequently children by their female slaves, who, although not legitimate successors to the throne, were styled Rajputs, or the

children of the Rajas, and the children of Raja Suraj. were the first to whom the name of Rajput was given". The story given by Ferishta is purely legendary, but the suggestion of the origin of the new race may not therefore be altogether mythical. The practices of some of the modern Rajas to some extent support the view. Rai Gola who succeeded to the throne of Ajmir after the death of Rai Pithaura was an illegitimate son of his. Col Tod in his *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan* suggested that the Scythian invaders were gradually Hinduised and joined the ranks of the old Rajas as Kshatriyas. Elphinstone held that the Jats might be of Scythian descent, but the Rajputs were all pure Hindus. Sir Alfred Lyall in his *Asiatic Studies* has proved the admission of the aboriginal tribes and the foreign immigrants into the Hindu community. Evidently the Rajputs have not come from any one source. Some of them might be from Hindus, but that some of them are of mixed origin cannot be doubted. In course of time the Rajput princes evolved a system of government and social customs by inter-marriage and constant intercourse so that they might be said to belong to one order. The Rajputs held personal heroism in great esteem, and developed a strong clan-consciousness. The members of a clan were jealous of their dignity and honour, and would prefer death to disgrace. They were actuated by a sense of chivalry and would fight bitterly for winning the hands of a damsel. The Rajputs were not very

particular of caste rules in the matter of marriage and in the matter of food they were not so rigid as the orthodox Hindus.

The Raja was the sole authority in the state for all matters, but he could not frame laws. He was guided by the Sastras and the customs and traditions of the people whom he governed. People had no voice in the administration of the country. They had to submit to the orders of their chiefs and Rajas. But the right of the people to revolt against an undesirable Raja was inherent in them. In cases of strong national rising there have been instances of Rajas being elected by the people, e.g. Bappa Raol of Mewar and Gopala of Bengal were set up on the throne by their own peoples.

The Rajas generally came from the people whom they ruled. When any Raja had tried to impose his domination over another people the bond between the rulers and the ruled had been of a very loose type. An Arab writer says: "When a king subdues a neighbouring state, he places over it a man belonging to the family of the fallen prince who carries on the government in the name of the conqueror. The inhabitants would not suffer it to be otherwise". Although the Raja was all powerful he distributed his functions amongst his subordinate chiefs. He had to divide his territories among his relations, who rendered military service and general obedience, but had unlimited authority within their own estates. A subordinate chief in

his turn had to divide his lands among his own relations, and in this way the chain of vassal chiefs was lengthened out till it reached the furthest limit. These chiefs shared with the Raja the responsibility of civil as well as military administration. This system of gradual delegation of authority was not deliberately adopted to avoid a combination of the discontented leaders, but it was the natural result of the tribal organisation then in vogue. The Raja was the head of the tribe, and the chiefs were his brothers and kinsmen. It was not necessary that the grant of land must be confined to the members and relatives of the royal family. Sometimes grants have been made to strangers in recognition of services rendered. Some Rajas had also received the allegiance of the hill tribes who maintained their internal independence, but were always ready to help the Raja with their troops in times of necessity. With the break-up of the Hindu states the numbers of such half-subdued chieftains increased. Besides this there was another class of men holding land for the purpose of collecting revenue and for satisfactory administration of the affairs of the people living on their estates. Besides these privileged classes the common people almost throughout India enjoyed self-government in their villages. Each village community was a little state unto itself, and was not much affected by the change of rulers. The nation in India has all along lived in villages. The political change have not modified the organisation of village life to any very

great extent. The Rajas have not interfered in the affairs of the people. They allowed the villagers to manage their own affairs, and to enjoy their religious freedom. On the fall of a dynasty the people only considered whether they would be disturbed in their religious practice, or in the enjoyment of their property. If they were assured of security in these things they did not trouble themselves about the question of dynasty or succession. As soon as the Musalman invaders came to understand this attitude of the people, they employed Hindus in their services both civil and military. The Rajputs once so bold and patriotic easily transferred their allegiance to the Musalman rulers.

Judicial and Revenue system.

Justice was administered according to the Dharma Sastras. Originally the Brahmans were the judges but later on the administration of the penal code came under the control of the kings. In the early stage swearing before Brahmans or trial by ordeal was very common. But a regular system of trial requiring written documents, witnesses and other modern methods came gradually into force. There were several kinds of trial by ordeal, such as taking poison, throwing into flowing stream, swearing before gods, placing on the scale of a balance, throwing boiling oil or butter on the body and putting hot iron in the hand. In the case of murder a Brahman was simply to do expiation by fasting,

prayers and alms-giving, if the murdered person was other than a Brahman, but if the murdered person was a Brahman the Brahman murderer had to answer for it in future life, his property was confiscated, and he was banished from the country. A Kshatriya also received the similar punishment as a Brahman criminal. But other castes had not only to do expiation but received exemplary punishment. Punishment of theft differed according to the value of the stolen object. This might be as severe as blinding, mutilation or death.

The revenue of the kings was derived from land. The ruler had the first claim to a share of the produce of the soil or pasture ground. He was also entitled to to one-sixth of the income in recognition of the protection afforded to the subjects, their property and their families. Trading business had to pay tribute. It was obligatory with the people to give alms daily. Usury or taking percentage was forbidden except to the Sudras. Kalhana in his *Rajatarangini* says: "The wealth which the lords of the earth acquired by oppressing the people must fall a prey of rivals, or of enemies or else of fire". This explains to a great extent why the Rajas failed to receive the support of their subjects against enemies.

The Military system.

The kingdoms of India were maintained by armies recruited on diverse methods. The soldiers were drawn from the Kshatriyas and Rajputs, in almost all

parts of Northern India. Each ruler had an army of mercenary soldiers in ordinary times, but in the time of war he received the services of a large number of the martial people who joined the banner for the sake of plunder. They did not receive any regular pay. But gradually the Kshatriyas were granted lands on condition that they would render military service when called for it. The Rajas were greatly assisted by their chieftains in organising their forces. The troops ordinarily were recruited from the people belonging to the state. But sometimes foreign soldiers were entertained. In Behar and Bengal people gave up warfare under the influence of Buddhism. Rajputs and Kshatriyas from the banks of the Ganges and Jumna were employed in the army in these provinces.

The army consisted mainly of Infantry, Cavalry and Elephantry. In Bengal and Behar there was also navy. Sind and the lower part of the Punjab also maintained naval forces. But some countries specialised in one or other branch. Kanauj distinguished itself for a strong cavalry, Bengal is said to have no less than 50,000 elephants whereas the Rastrakutas had all the branches, foot, horse and elephant equally strong. The Raja was the commander-in-chief of the forces. He led the army in battle. Success depended to a very great extent on his personal valour. The death or disappearance of the Raja led to disaster.

The Hindus were guided by their religious teachings

in the method of warfare. They had a sense of humanity and generosity even in fighting with their foes. "At the time of Mahometan invasions from Ghazni," says Elphinstone, "the Hindus were capable of systematic plans, pursued through several campaigns, and no longer confined to inroads of a few weeks' duration." But they were not thoroughly organised. The Musalmans formed themselves into regular battalions, and engaged the enemy by dividing their own forces in a proper order. The Hindus followed the method of a general charge. They attacked the front and the flanks at once. Such charges were effective when the army was taken by surprise, but were of no use against regular troops marshalled on a systematic plan. The weapons of warfare were still bows and arrows, spears and swords. The introduction of fire-arms has subsequently changed the method of warfare completely.

The Social condition.

Religion has been mixed up with social life in India throughout its long history. The Vedic age was followed by the period of Buddha. From the fifth century before the birth of Jesus to the twelfth century after his death there was constant struggle between Hinduism and Buddhism. The teachings of Gautam Buddha drew the attention of the people to the need of a moral life. Indian society underwent great changes under the Buddhistic system. Emphasis was laid upon the

doctrine of *Ahimsa* or charity towards sentient beings. A new philosophy of social service enriched the national life in various ways. But corruption got into the Buddhist order. The old standard of morality and discipline gradually became low and loose. Buddhists began to worship idols and sank into immoral practices. Their rationalism was superseded by the worship of the image of Buddha in various forms. In the time of Harshavardhan we find that there existed a regular rivalry between the Hindus and the Buddhists. The Buddhist monasteries were centres of learning. But Benares and Kashmir were resorted to by great Hindu scholars. Some of these scholars tried to expose the philosophy of Buddhism. Hindu princes in the Gupta period revived the practice of animal sacrifice and caste system. The greatest philosophical onslaught was delivered by Kumarila Bhatta in the seventh century. He was a great scholar, had studied many languages, Indian as well as foreign. He was the teacher of the poet Bhavabhuti who lived in the court of king Yasovarman of Kanauj, ruling in about 700 A. D. He wrote the famous book called *Tantravartika*. By his long and keen controversy with the Buddhists he established the faith in the Vedas and maintained that gods could be worshipped by the sacrifice of animals. He himself belonged to a Brahman community accustomed to eat meat. His teachings greatly influenced the mode of living of the people. The Buddhistic mode of living was superseded by the more vigorous methods of

Kumarila. But still the doctrine of Buddhism had great hold upon the minds of the people.

About a hundred years after Kumarila, came Sankara from the South. He was born in a Namduri Brahman family of Malabar at Kaladi in 788 A. D. From his childhood he had leanings towards *Sanyas* or asceticism and on the Vindhya he found a teacher called Govinda Guru, who was a disciple of Gaudapada, a commentator of Samkhya Karika. At Benares Sankara perfected his studies. There he wrote books enunciating his doctrines of Vedanta. He wrote commentaries on the Prasthanatrayas, i. e. Ten Upanishads, the Bhagavat Gita, and the Vedanta Sutra of Badarayana. He was a keen dialectician and by his arguments he defeated his opponents. He visited all the important places of pilgrimage, and all centres of learning, such as Ujjain, Kashmir, Assam. He opened the gate of the temple of Sarada in Kashmir, and went as far as Badarika on the Himalayas. His influence was felt both in the North as well as in the South. He organised an order of teachers for preaching his doctrines throughout India. Unlike Kumarila he condemned animal sacrifice, and advocated *Sanyas*. He restored the faith of the people in the worship of Siva, Vishnu, Aditya and other Puranic Gods. He absorbed the fundamental principles of Buddhism in his new creed, and adopted the Buddhist method of preaching his gospel. He established four important *Maths* or monasteries at Sringeri, Dwarka, Puri and Badarika for carrying on his propaganda.

These four places still continue the work of the Jagat Guru. Sringeri is the most important of these places. He died at a very old age at Badarika. These two great teachers, Kumarila and Sankara undermined the position of Buddhism. The restoration of the idolatrous practices became an easy affair since then. But even in the eleventh century idol-worship was confined to the illiterate masses. Al-Biruni who accompanied Mahmud of Ghazni writes : "but we declare at once that they are held only by the common uneducated people. For those who march on the path to liberation, or those who study philosophy and theology, and who desire abstract truth which they call *Sara*, are entirely free from worshipping anything but God alone, and would never dream of worshipping an image manufactured to represent him."

The famous temples in the eleventh century were those of Aditya, the Sun-God at Multan, Chakrasvamin at Thaneshwar, of Somnath in Guzrat, of Sarada in Kashmir. Most of the idols were broken by Mahmud of Ghazni. This did not make the worship of the idols less popular. On the other hand it accentuated the feelings of bitterness between the Hindus and Musalmans. The worship of idols increased the hold of the Brahmans, and helped to grow local sentiments. Each idol had its own place of worship, and its votaries developed a keen sense of rivalry between the worshippers of the different gods. People thereby lost the sense of unity which they possessed under the influence

of Buddhism or Vedic Hinduism. The worshippers of Siva looked upon the worshippers of Vishnu or Sakti or other deities as rivals or strangers.

If in some place the worship of a deity was reported to have produced good fruits then that place became famous and pilgrims of distant places came to offer worship there. This was a method of increasing the importance of a place. Pilgrimages were considered meritorious if not obligatory. In the holy places there were lakes or ponds which were greatly venerated by the pilgrims. These sacred ponds were to be found mostly on mountains. But in every place to which some particular holiness was ascribed the Hindus constructed ponds intended for the ablutions. The art of making ponds was of a high order, says Al'Biruni, the Muslims did not know it, and therefore wondered at these beautiful bathing places in which the pilgrims could descend and ascend very comfortably. The sacred ponds at Multan, Thanoswar, Puskar, Mathura and Kashmir were greatly prized by the Hindu pilgrims. The temple of the Sun-God at Multan was destroyed by Mahmud of Ghazni. Till its destruction it was a great place of pilgrimage. Benares was venerated by the Hindus above any other place.

The Caste System.

The caste system was the distinguishing feature of the Hindu community. But even then it did not assume the rigidity which it had gradually acquired in later

ages. We have seen that Non-Aryans and aborigines entered the Hindu fold by accepting some discipline of the Hindus. The four chief castes were Brahmans, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas and Sudras. The differences of the sub-castes were not very acute. Towards the end of the twelfth century Ballal Sen introduced the system of Kulinism among Brahmans, Vaidyas and Kayasthas in Bengal which marked off the differences of the grades. Inter-dining was not so offensive as inter-marriage between the different sub-groups. Inter-marriage between a higher caste bridegroom with a lower caste bride was allowed by law, but was not looked upon with favour. The Brahmans occupied the highest position in the community. The universal duties of the Brahman were works of piety, giving alms and receiving them. "He must continually read, perform the sacrifices, take care of the fire which he lights, offer before it, worship it, and preserve it from being extinguished, that he may be burned by it after his death". Says Al-Biruni. He alone could teach the Vedas, the Kshatriya had the right to learn but not to teach them. It was the duty of the Kshatriya to rule and defend the people. The Vaisya practised agriculture, tended cattle and removed the needs of the Brahmans. The Sudra was a servant of the Brahman. He was forbidden to recite the Vedas, to offer sacrifices to the fire. If a Vaisya or Sudra was proved to have recited the Veda then he was punished by the ruler to cut off his tongue. Any man taking to an occupation not allowed to his caste was

considered to have committed a sin or a crime. Men who were not Hindus were called *Mlecchas* or unclean. But inspite of these differences the sense of equality was not absent from the mind of the educated and intelligent people. As it is said in the *Bhagavat Gita*: "In the judgment of the intelligent man, the Brahman and the Chandala are equal, the friend and foe, the faithful and deceitful nay even the serpent and the weasel. If to the eyes of the intelligence all things are equal, to ignorance they appear as separated and different".

The laws of marriage had considerably changed since the Vedic period. Marriage was confined to the same caste. But a man could marry in his own caste or in a caste below his, but nobody was allowed to marry a woman of a caste superior to his own. As a general rule inter-marriage was not practised. A man could marry one to four wives. Sometimes a man in position married any number of women. A widow could not marry. She had the option of burning herself with her dead husband. The wives of the kings were generally burnt unless they were of advanced years or had children, lest they might commit something unworthy of their dead husbands. Rajputs practised the method of burning very largely. Although the *Swayambhava* was still prevalent among the Rajput princes, and the brides in ripe age could choose their husbands, the Hindus as a rule had adopted the practice of marrying at a very young age. The parents arranged the marriage for their sons, and preference was given in the Sastras to the

marriage of a girl between the age of 8 and 10. There was no divorce among the Hindus, husband and wife could only be separated by death. Marriage between near relations was forbidden. In Southern India marriage with maternal uncle's daughter was allowed but not in the North. Marriage was forbidden within five consecutive generations.

The Brahmans were very particular of their food. Originally killing of animals was forbidden, this rule was widely practised under Buddhist rulers. But the desire for meat was very general, and they could kill sheep, goats, gazelles, hares, rhinoceroses buffaloes, fish, water and land birds, such as sparrows, ring-doves, francolins, doves, peacocks and other animals not loathsome to man nor noxious, and take their meat. It was forbidden to eat the meat of cows, horses, mules, asses, camels, elephants, tame poultry, crows, parrots, nightingales, and all kinds of eggs. Drinking of wine was not allowed except to the Sudras. Beef-eating was allowed in early times but it was forbidden later on, on account of sanitary and economic reasons. Cow's meat was very hard to digest and cow was very useful in agriculture and domestic service. Although meat-eating was very common among the Brahmans in Northern India, it was rigidly eschewed by the Brahmans in the South.

The Brahman enjoyed many privileges in society. He was exempt from all taxes, and not liable to capital punishment even if he had committed murder. A

Brahman or Kshatriya was never executed for any crime. The Kshatriya also had the privilege of enjoying land free of rent as he was required to render military service. All high offices in the state, civil or military, were held by the privileged classes. The Brahmans were the chief ministers, and the Kshatriyas were generals. A Brahman might be expelled from his caste if he took his food in the house of a Sudra;

The conflict of cultures.

Although the ideals of Hinduism and Buddhism were not identical in course of time they produced one type of civilization. People could not distinguish between a Sramana and a Brahmana. The Buddhists were influenced by Hindu theology, and the Hindus accepted the Buddhist conception of social life. Hindus were admitted into the Buddhist monasteries as pupils and teachers. Kumarila the champion of revivalism was a student in a Buddhist college. The Hindus held in veneration Buddhist Bhikshus and Arhats. The doctrine of *Ahimsa* and charity found ready acceptance. A large number of stupas and monasteries were built with the money of the Hindus. Buddha became an *avatar* and an object of worship, and Buddhists began to worship a large number of deities. The propaganda carried on by Kumarila no doubt undermined the hold of the Buddhists, but the Buddhist philosophy was not altogether absent from the Hindu thought. Before the advent of the Muhammadans the cultures were

almost of one type. The antagonism between the old rival creeds had died out. Buddhism was still largely followed in Kashmir, Behar and Bengal, but Hinduism was making rapid progress.

At this stage the Muhammadan invasion produced a fresh conflict. It will be useful to state the barriers which separated Muslims from Hindus according to Al-Biruni. The first barrier was of language. The Hindus read Sanskrit, and spoke in their vernaculars, whereas the Muslims read Persian and Arabic, and they could hardly understand the language of the Indians. It was difficult for the Muhammadans to study Sanskrit, and the Hindus were not likely to give up the study of their own language. Secondly they differed from one another in religion. The Hindus were very bitter against foreigners, would call them *mlecchas* or impure, would have no connection with them, either in marriage, eating or drinking. They would not receive anybody from outside in their community, and would exclude anybody from the community if he dined or drank with an outsider. Islam, on the other hand, was very comprehensive. It stood on the principle of the unity of God, and would receive an outsider warmly if he accepted the creed. In the third place they differed in their manners and customs, in their dress and other matters. And the circumstances which increased the already existing antagonism between Hindus and foreigners was the expulsion of the Buddhists, who were nearer akin to the Hindus than to others, from

Khorasan, Persia, Irak, Mosul, and the countries up to Syria, and the invasions of India by the Muhammadans. The nature of the invasions and their results upon Hindu culture is thus described by Al-Biruni: "Mahmud utterly ruined the prosperity of the country, and performed the wonderful exploits, by which the Hindus became like atoms of dust scattered in all directions, and like a tale of old in the mouth of the people. Their scattered remains cherish, of course, the most inveterate aversion towards all Muslims. This is the reason, too, why Hindu sciences have retired far away from those parts of the country conquered by us, and have fled to places which our hand cannot yet reach, to Kashmir, Benares and other places. And then the antagonism between them and all foreigners receives more and more nourishment both from political and religious sources."

The last thing which separated the two cultures was according to Al-Biruni, the self-conceit of the Hindus, and their depreciation of anything foreign. "We can only say, folly is an illness for which there is no medicine," says Al-Biruni, "and the Hindus believe that there is no country but theirs, no religion like theirs, no science like theirs. They are haughty, foolishly vain, self-conceited and stolid." The Muslim scholar came to learn but he was repelled by the superciliousness of the Brahmans. Still he pursued the study of the Hindu civilization and philosophy with great assiduity, and has succeeded in presenting a

contemporary account in a spirit of philosophic detachment. The progress of the Hindus in Mathematics, Astronomy, Chemistry, Medicine and the Physical sciences struck him greatly, and he fully appreciated the rich philosophy of Vedanta, Upanishadas and the Bhagavat Gita. A similar attempt on the part of the Hindus to learn Moslem literatures, and to understand their theology could have brought about a new culture in India. But neither Hindu exclusiveness nor Muslim fanaticism could help the growth of that happy combination. The Muslims destroyed the Hindu temples and Hindu books, whereas the Hindus hated the iconoclastic invaders, and tried to keep themselves aloof from all Moslem influence. In spite of all these causes to produce a cleavage between these two civilizations we find marks of their intimate relations and mutual benefit in various fields which it will pay a keen student of thoughts and events to carefully examine.

CHAPTER IV

THE MUHAMMADAN CONQUEST

The House of Ghor.

Ghor is a small country in the mountains east of Herat. Its inhabitants were Afghans belonging to the tribe of Sur. They became converts to Islam in the ninth century. Their ruler Mnhammad Sur was defeated by Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni in 1010 A. D., but on account of the latter's engagements in India the Ghoris maintained their independence. Sultan Maudud captured the place and since then it became a dependency of Ghazni. Kutb-ud-Din Suri was treacherously murdered, but his brother Saif-ud-Din drove Sultan Behram towards the east. The Sultan however returned with fresh forces from the other parts of his empire, made Saif-ud-Din a prisoner and later on had him slain. His brother Ala-ud-Din Ghori took terrible vengeance upon Ghazni, and destroyed the city. Since then the rulers of Ghazni retired to India. Ala-ud-Din in turn was defeated by Sultan Sanjar of the Seljuks, who held both Ghazni and Ghor for a short time. He was soon given back his kingdom, but he died in 1156 A. D. His son Saif-ud-Din ruled only for a year, and was succeeded by his cousin Ghiyas-ud-Din, who had as his associate his brother Muhammad Shahab-ud-Din.

The latter carried on the military operations and helped his brother in the duties of government. Ghiyas-ud-Din subjugated the eastern part of Khorasan and ruled his dominions alternately in Firozkoh, Ghazni and Herat. Shahab-ud-Din came to India and laid the foundation of the Moslem empire there.

Muhammad Shahab-ud-Din Ghorî.

Muhammad invaded Occha at the junction of the Punjab rivers with the Indus in 1176 A. D. There he defeated the Bhatti Rajputs. He then captured Multan from the Karmathian heretics, and marched upon Guzerat. Bhim Deva, Raja of Anhilwara gave a crushing blow and compelled him to retreat. On his way back he made his position strong in Peshawar. In 1178 A. D. he conquered Sind up to the sea-shore. He led two expeditions to Lahore then under Khusru Malik. The first expedition was not very successful. He entered into a treaty with Khusru, repaired and garrisoned the fort of Sialkot and returned to Ghazni. Khusru called in the aid of the Khokhars, a tribe in the frontier, and besieged Sialkot. Muhammad by a stratagem put Khusru off his guard. As a mark of his friendly relations he released the son of Khusru, who was kept as a hostage in Ghazni. Khusru raised the siege and went to receive his son, when Muhammad led a strong expedition against Lahore, interposed himself between Khusru and Lahore, and by a sudden attack on his camp at night made him a prisoner, and

sent him with his family to Ghiyasud-Din. Thus the last of the Ghazniwide rulers was removed from India (1186 A. D.).

Invasion of Hindustan.

The dominions of Khusru Malik extended up to the Sutlej. This part of India, on account of its geographical position, had always been subject to foreign invasions. The Hindu chiefs in other parts developed their states when the Moslems were in occupation of the Punjab. In the twelfth century there were four important kingdoms in the North. The Tomars were ruling the country round about Delhi since 756 A. D., but in 1153 A. D. they were defeated by the Chauhans of Ajmir, who from that date ruled both Delhi and Ajmir. Prithwi Raja was on the throne when Shahab-ud-Din was contemplating to march towards the east. Kanauj claimed superiority over other states. Its ruler Raja Jaichand celebrated the Asvamedha ceremony in 1175 A. D. But Prithwi Raja did not acknowledge the claim. He carried away a daughter of Jaichand in disguise, and since then the Rathors and Chauhans were at deadly feud. To the south-east of Delhi were the Chandels of Jejakabhukti. They were defeated by Prithwi Raja in 1182 A. D. Another important kingdom was Guzerat then under the Baghelas. To the east the Palas were ruling in Behar and the Senas in Bengal. Besides there were a number of Rajput States in Central India.

The Rajputs were a race of brave soldiers. They inherited the traditions of the ancient Kshatriyas. They were very jealous of their honour; they would rather sacrifice their lives than submit to disgrace. They were bound together in a chain of obligations on a plan almost similar to the feudal system of Europe. They were divided into a number of groups, each group under its own hereditary leader. All the chiefs owed their allegiance to the Raja who exercised sovereign authority. There was also a regular gradation of the fief-holders, the superior lord receiving the services of the subordinate vassals in times of war. Birth determined the position of each class and there was no re-adjustment of the ranks according to merit. Only the descendants of the noble families could claim nobility and the common people had to be satisfied with their low position. They had to serve and fight for their masters. The Rajputs possessed their clan consciousness in an uncommon degree. Their pride was fanned by the songs of the bards, and they used to challenge one another to engage in frequent contests to establish their claims to glory, or to win the hands of girls. They held women in great respect and were always guided by a high standard of virtues. The system had its defects as well as its merits. The Rajputs were trained soldiers, and they were not afraid of going to the fields of battle. But the common people had no training in the military art. With the destruction of the Rajputs the country lay prostrate at the feet of the conquerors.

As the Rajput chiefs were jealous of one another, they lacked the sense of unity and strong patriotism. For personal reasons they very often invited enemies from outside. The Rathors of Kanauj did not join hands with the Chauhans of Delhi and Ajmir when the Musalmans attacked the latter, and felt great satisfaction at the discomfiture of their rivals.

Battle of Tarain.

Muhammad Ghor first directed his attack upon Delhi, captured Sirhind on the way, and marched towards the plains of Panipat. Prithwi Raja had assembled a vast army, including 200,000 horse and 3,000 elephants. Many other Rajput princes had sent troops to his aid, with the exception of Raja Jaichand of Kanauj. Prithwi Raj met Muhammad at Tarain, a village fourteen miles north of Thaneswar (1191 A. D.). He was at the centre of the army, while the wings were pressed by the Rajputs. The Musalmans were outflanked, and their chief was in great danger. In an encounter with Rai Govind, the brother of the Raja, he was about to fall down from his horse when he was carried by a faithful Khilji soldier to a place of safety. The Musalmans were in a state of utter confusion. They were pursued for forty miles. Muhammad waited for his troops at Lahore and collecting the remnants proceeded to Ghor. The humiliation went deep into his heart. He was only seeking an opportunity of retrieving his lost reputation. After the rout

of the Muslim troops at Tarain Prithwi Raja besieged the fort of Tabarihind or Sirhind. The garrison under the Kazi of Tulak defended the fort for thirteen months. The Muslim officers who fled from the battle field were publicly disgraced by Shahab-ud-Din.

The second battle of Tarain (1192 A. D.).

Muhammad Shahab-ud-Din Ghori was not idle after his retreat. He assembled a vast army composed of Turks, Afghans and others. He marched at the head of 120,000 men, all with a grim determination to take vengeance upon the Hindus. Prithwi Raja, on the other hand, had collected a small number of troops. Many of the Rajput heroes had died in the previous battle. The Rajput Princes were quarrelling among themselves. Out of 108 warrior chiefs only 64 gathered under the banner of Prithwi Raj. Raja Jaichand of Kanauj was so forgetful of his own position that he is said to have been in league with the invader and supplied him with elephants. Another vassal of Prithwi Raj, the Haoli Rao Hamir turned traitor and joined the Ghori chief. A large number of Rajput princes remained indifferent spectators of this contest which decided the fate of India. The troops of Jammu and Kanauj went against Prithwi Raj. The best generals on the side of the Hindus were Samarshi of Chitor, brother-in-law of Prithwi Raj, and his brother Rai Govinda, Governor of Delhi. Prithwi Raj tried to send the Musalmans away by offering terms of settlement.

Muhammad replied "I have marched into India at the command of my brother whose general only I am. Both honour and duty bind me to exert myself to the utmost in his service. I cannot retreat, therefore, without orders. But I shall be glad to obtain a truce till he is informed of the situation of affairs and till I have received his answer." This reply put the Hindus off their guard. That same night Muhammad made a complete preparation at the field of Tarain, when two armies stood facing each other. The Sultan took the Rajputs by surprise, who realising their position put up a strong fight. The battle continued from morning till sun-set. The Muhammadans employed tactics of drawing the Hindus towards them when they would pretend to retreat, and then attack them on all sides. The Hindus were completely overthrown, Samarshi, Rai Govind and many other chiefs died fighting. Prithwi Raj fled from the field but he was captured near Sirsuti and put to death. Among the Rajput princes there was no one else who could resist the march of Moslem invasion. Sirsuti, Samana, Kuhram and Hansi fell into their hands in quick succession. Muhammad then marched upon Ajmir, reduced the capital of the Chauhans, and put to the sword thousands of inhabitants who opposed him. He destroyed the temples and built in their places mosques and colleges. He handed over Ajmir to Rai Gola, a natural son of Prithwi Raj, on condition of punctual payment of a large tribute. He then returned to

Ghazni leaving his Indian possessions in charge of his general Qutub-ud-Din Aibek, who within a short time occupied Meerut, Kol and Delhi. Henceforth Delhi became the base of operations.

Conquest of Kanauj (1194 A. D.).

Muhammad returned to India in 1194 A. D. He now turned his attention to the kingdom of Kanauj under Raja Jaichand. The Moslem rule could not be firmly established till the neighbouring Hindu States had been thoroughly reduced. Muhammad was bent upon building up a strong empire. Kanauj was a strong state east of Herat. The kingdom extended up to Benares. Although Jaichand celebrated the Aswamedha sacrifice in 1175 A. D. he did not receive the aid of the other Rajput Princes when he was attacked by Muhammad Ghori. Most probably they had no sympathy with him on account of his failure to come to the relief of Prithwi Raj and partly because they were doubtful about the success of another combined action. Jaichand had a strong army and relying on his strength he led the army himself. He met the Moslems at a place on the bank of the Jumna not very far from Etawah. The Rajputs fought bravely but they were overpowered. Jaichand was wounded by an arrow and killed. The Rathors left Kanauj, and founded the new principality of Jodhpur. Muhammad captured Kanauj, occupied the fort of Asni where Jaichand had buried his treasures, and marched up to

Benares. So the whole of Northern India from Peshawar to Benares now passed into the hands of the Musalmans. The conquest did not produce any national opposition. The Hindus took it as a matter of course. The social system and political condition were not very helpful for the growth of national consciousness. The Rajput chiefs had the monopoly of political privileges. They led the army and guided the civil administration. The common people had never been associated with the government of the country. The rulers led a life of loose morals and were generally regardless of the interest of the people. The princes used to fight one another to win the hands of their brides, usually they possessed a large harem. Marriage and possession very often created jealousy. Sometimes one strong ruler tried to impose his superiority over others. The number of states was too large to be brought under one confederacy. This was the main cause of the weakness of India in offering effective resistance to foreign invasions. Besides the method of warfare followed by the Indian Princes was primitive. They still relied upon elephants, whereas the Moslems had their chief strength in the cavalry. The Moslem arrangement of troops by dividing the army in groups such as centre, wings, rear and reserve was more effective than the mass movement of the Hindus. The unity so essential in national life was absent. The fall of Kanauj removed the last bulwark of Hindustan.

The achievements of Qutub-ud-Din.

To Muhammad Ghori India was not the only field of his activities. After the conquest of the principal Rajput States he had to pay more attention to the dominions beyond the Hindukush. The government of the possessions in India was left in the hands of Qutub-ud-Din Aibek who was very active in consolidating and extending the empire. Originally he was a Turki slave brought to Nishapur as a child. He was bought by a rich man, who had him educated in Persian and Arabic. On the death of his master he was sold to a merchant who made a gift of him to Shahab-ud-Din. His knowledge and ability soon drew the attention of the Ghori chief, who put him in command of the body of horse. Gradually he obtained higher position and after the defeat of Prithwi Raj he was entrusted with the government of the newly acquired territories in India. He was a brave soldier and an able ruler. By his frankness and generosity he won the esteem of the other officers. The Sultan also had great confidence in his wisdom and statesmanship. Shortly after the conquest of Kanauj Qutub-ud-Din was called to the aid of Rai Gola of Ajmir who had been expelled from the throne by Hari Raj. Qutub defeated Hari Raj in an engagement near Ajmir and the usurper was killed in action. The country was restored to Rai Gola, but he had to submit to the supervision of a Muslim Governor. From Ajmir Qutub proceeded to Guzerat. There he defeated Raja Bhim Deva, ravaged the province

and returned to Delhi with vast wealth (1196 A. D.).

Muhammad Ghorl had in the meantime conquered Biyana and laid siege to the fort of Gwalior, when he was called back to Ghazni on account of the affairs in Khorasan. Qutub took Gwalior after a protracted siege. Again he had to proceed to Ajmir where another rebellion had taken place. The Raja of Guzerat and Nagor, with the assistance of the Mers a hill tribe near Ajmir had attacked Rai Gola. In the beginning Qutub-ud-Din was hard pressed and shut up within the walls of Ajmir. On the arrival of reinforcements from Ghazni he succeeded in pushing the besiegers back, and took effective measures to stop their further action. He pursued them to their very doors. He went to Guzerat along Pali, Nadol and Sirohi, dispersed the feudatories of Bhim Deva on Mount Abu, thoroughly crushed him in Guzerat, occupied his capital and returned to Delhi. Next he conquered the two famous forts of Kalinjar and Kalpi in Bundelkhand. The Chandel prince, Parmardi of Kalinjar could not stand against the organised Moslem soldiers, the fortress was occupied after a well contested fight and the buildings and temples were destroyed. Qutub captured Budayun after the fall of Kalpi. (1202 A. D.).

Conquest of Behar and Bengal.

There was an adventurer in the camp of Qutub-ud-Din named Muhammad bin Bukhtiyar Khilji. He was

a man of enterprise, bold and sagacious. He first entered the service of Ghazni, and later passed on to Muhammad Ghorî. He was a man of ugly looks, and on account of his unprepossessing appearance his superior officers allowed him only a small stipend which he refused and came to Hindustan. He collected a number of troops, with whose help he conquered part of Oudh and North Behar. In 1197 A. D. he advanced towards Behar. Indradumna Pal was then the ruler of the country. The people were peace-loving and literary in habits. The greater number of the people were Buddhists or followers of the doctrine of inoffensiveness. The capital Odandapur was really a great monastery where learned men from different parts used to come. The Musalman invaders considered these Buddhists as idol-worshipping Brahmans and therefore fit objects of their wrath. By a bold attack on the defenceless city Bukhtiyar captured the capital, killed the Buddhists and destroyed the big library. They first tried to know what those books contained. But the scholars who could give them any information had been killed. Afterwards they came to know that the place which they considered a fort was really a college known as Bihar. The Buddhists had given up warfare and relied upon enlightenment or culture. The monasteries at Nalanda and Bikrama-Sila were great centres of learning. The Buddhists in later ages became ritualistic and to an outsider there was no difference between a Buddhist and a Hindu. The

conquest of Behar by Bukhtiyar Khilji led to the destruction of the monasteries, and gradually Buddhism disappeared from the country where it started and developed. For his exploits in Behar Bukhtiyar received a robe of honour from Qutub-ud-Din.

The expedition to Behar gave a taste to Bukhtiyar of the wealth of the eastern provinces. There he heard of the plenty of Bengal. In 1199 A. D. he returned from Delhi and carried his conquests without opposition. The Sen Rajas were then ruling in Bengal. They had their capital at Nadia. On account of its distance from the frontier Bengal was not generally visited by the raiders. The people never expected that the Musalmans would be able to come so suddenly upon them through such a long distance. There is difference of opinion regarding the way in which Bengal was conquered. The story of Minhaj-us-Siraj in *Tabakat-i-Nasiri* is so puerile that no sensible historian can believe it to be true. That a party of 18 horsemen could have taken the capital, and that the aged king should run away through the back doors is ridiculous. But still the story has been circulated by all historians. The modern researches made by a number of scholars have exposed the hollowness of the statement in the *Tabakat-i-Nasiri*. No other Muslim historian has given this story. Bukhtiyar invaded Bengal after thorough preparation. He placed his strong horse soldiers at every outpost. Thus Bengal was conquered by him and the Sena king removed his

capital to Sonargaon near Dacca. Subsequently Bukhtiyar carried his arms as far as Kamrup. The city of Nadia was devastated and plundered and the Musalmans established their headquarters at Lakhnauti. With the conquest of Behar and Bengal the whole of Northern India came under the sway of the Musalmans. Bukhtiyar set up a civil administration and began to construct roads for the movement of the troops.

The last days of Muhammad Ghori.

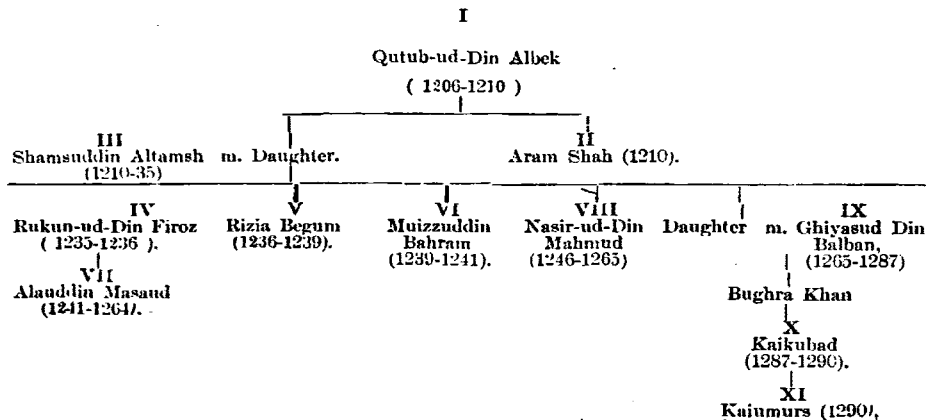
Shahab-ud-Din had to divide his attention between his Indian possessions and the countries beyond the Hindukush. The king of Khwarizam had subdued the Seljuks in Persia and was contesting the Ghoris for the possession of Khorasan and the provinces in Central Asia. Shahab-ud-Din was leading the Ghori army in Khorasan when he heard the news of his brother Ghiyas-ud-Din's death (1202 A. D.). Then he returned to Ghazni to declare himself the Sultan. After settling the affairs in the capital he resumed operations against Khwarizam, pressed the king very hard, and pursued him to his capital. But the king with help from Khorasan and the other Tartar states repulsed the attack. The Sultan had great difficulty in escaping to Andhko, half way between Balkh and Herat. There he was forced to surrender and allowed to depart on payment of a sum of money. The report of his defeat led to confusion in most parts of his dominions. Taj-ud-Din Yelduz, the governor of Ghazni, shut its gates against

him. Another officer hurried to Multan, and by means of a forged order got himself recognised by the army as the representative of the Sultan. The Gakkars marched through the Punjab and captured Lahore. Qutub-ud-Din remained faithful to his master. Muhammad first went to Multan, crushed the rebellion and recovered the province. Then he obtained submission of Yelduz in Ghazni. Combined with Qutub-ud-Din he tried to rope in the Gakkars. At an engagement on the Jhelum they were defeated. The province was thoroughly subjugated. He then wanted to lead another expedition against Khwarizam. On his way back to Ghazni he had pitched his tent at a village called Dhamyak on the Jhelum where he was stabbed to death by some Gakkars who had come there by crossing the the stream (14th March 1206 A. D.). His body was carried to Ghazni for burial. He was succeeded by his nephew Mahmud.

Muhammad Ghori modified the course of Indian History by laying the foundation of Muslim rule here. He carried nine expeditions into Hindustan, robbed the country of vast treasures, and it is told that he had in diamonds alone, of various sizes 500 mans (40 lbs weight). His conquests far surpassed those of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni and unlike the latter he made provision for the civil administration of the territories he acquired. So far as India is concerned Mahmud was no better than a vandal and free-booter. He was a ruthless plunderer carrying devastation in the places held sacred

by the Hindus. Muhammad Shahab-ud-Din bin Sam of Ghor, although the greater part of his thirty-two years' rule including three years' sovereignty was spent elsewhere, contributed considerably to the building up of an empire in India. He tried to consolidate his conquests in which work he was fully supported by his general Qutub-ud-Din. The whole of Northern India excepting Malwa acknowledged his sovereignty. Sind and Bengal were in course of reduction and in Guzerat he held only the capital. He did not thoroughly remove the local chiefs from government. They were allowed to carry on the internal administration subject to the control of the Sultan. The extant coins prove that the names of the Hindu chiefs were retained along with the Suzerain. They were struck in Nagri characters on one side and bore the symbols of Siva and other Hindu gods on the other as in the old coins. There was an attempt to conciliate the the feelings of the Hindus and to win their support to the new rulers. "Muhammad Ghori bore the character of a just monarch", says Ferishta, "fearing God, and ever having the good of his subjects at heart. He paid great attention to learned and devout men and was never deficient in giving them to the utmost of his powers".

FIRST DYNASTY OF TURK MONARCHS OF DELHI.



CHAPTER V.

THE MUIZZIYA SULTANS.

Sultan Qutub-ud-Din Aibek (1206-1210 A. D.).

On the death of Sultan Muiz-ud-Din Muhammad bin Sam his vast empire fell into pieces. His nephew Mahmud, the son of his brother Ghiyas-ud-Din, nominally succeeded to the throne of Ghazni, but the actual government of Ghazni fell into the hands of Taj-ud-Din Yelduz, who was originally a slave and rose to be a general. On the assumption of Royal title Mahmud sent all the insignia of royalty, a throne, a canopy, standards, drums and the title of the Sultan to Qutub-ud-Din in order that he might promote his interests. Qutub-ud-Din received these marks of favour with great respect and proceeded to Lahore where he mounted the throne on the 24th July, 1206.

Sultan Muhammad had a number of Turk slaves who rose to eminent position. Qutub-ud-Din was one such. He was bought by the chief Kazi and governor of Nishapur when he was a child. The Kazi, finding that the boy was intelligent, sent him to school, and had him educated in Persian, Arabic and Science. The boy also learnt riding and archery. On the death of his master he was sold to a merchant, who finally sold him to Sultan Muhammad Ghorî. He was called

Albek as one of his little fingers was broken. Soon he drew the attention of the Sultan by his noble deportment. In course of time he rose to the position of the Master of Horse. When Sultan Muizz-ud-Din came to India Qutub-ud-Din came with him and served him loyally in his campaigns. Qutub-ud-Din was given the command of the army when the Sultan was away in Ghazni, and carried on the administration of the Indian possessions in his absence. He accompanied the Sultan in his campaign against Jaichand. He also conquered, on behalf of his master, Hansi, Meerut, Delhi, Rantambhar, and Koel. He suppressed the rebellion of Hari Raj in Ajmir, and led an expedition against Anhilwara (1197 A. D.). He reduced the impregnable fort of Kalinjar in 1202 A. D., occupied Mahoba, and subjugated Budayun on the way to Delhi. By that time Bukhtiyar Khilji had conquered Behar and Bengal on his behalf. So that before the death of Sultan Muhammad almost the whole of Northern India had come under the control of Qutub-ud-Din although all the conquered provinces did not enjoy the same type of government, nor were they all equally governed.

The assumption of the title of Sultan by Qutub-ud-Din was challenged by Tajud-Din of Ghazni. He claimed the right to rule Lahore and came with an army to India to settle the dispute. He took Lahore by expelling the governor of the place, but Qutub-ud-Din drove him out of the city and pursued him upto Ghazni. Tajud-Din fled to Kirman. Qutub remained

at Ghazni for 40 days, but by his riotous and immoral conduct he lost the sympathy of the people who invited Taj-ud-Din to come back and occupy the throne. Qutub was driven out of Ghazni. He spent the rest of his life at Lahore as a just ruler and a moral and temperate man. In 1210 A.D. he died there on falling from a horse while playing in a match at Chaugan.

He was a brave soldier and a generous ruler. It is said of him that "his bounty was continuous, his slaughter continuous". Although he enjoyed the title of Sultan only for few years, he had in his hands the reins of government for twenty years. He was a great captain and was given the surname of Lakhbuksh on account of his bounty. As the first Moslem ruler of Hindustan he was kind to the Hindus, and administered justice impartially. But he was a thorough-going champion of Islam. He is said to have converted 50,000 Hindus to his own faith in one campaign. He built two Mosques, one at Delhi and the other at Ajmir, with the materials of the temples he demolished.

Sultan Aram Shah (1210 A. D.).

Qutub-ud-Din was succeeded by his son Aram Shah. He was on the throne for barely one year. The provinces ruled by the able generals of Qutub-ud-Din did not acknowledge the authority of his incompetent son, and they gradually set up their own government. Qutub had three daughters, two of whom, first and third were married to Nasir-ud-Din Kubacha, governor of Sind,

and the second to Shamsuddin Altamsh on whom was bestowed the jagir of Budayun. At the invitation of the people of Delhi Shamsuddin deposed Aram Shah and occupied the throne. In this time of confusion Hindustan was divided into four principalities. Sind was governed by Nasir-ud-Din Kubacha, Delhi and its neighbouring countries by Shamsuddin, at Lakhnauti the Khilji chiefs had thrown off their allegiance on the death of Qutub-ud-Din. Lahore was claimed by the rulers of Sind, Delhi and Ghazni, for sometime it was ruled by Malik Tajuddin, sometime by Nasiruddin, and sometime by Shamsuddin.

Sultan Shamsuddin Altamsh. (1210-1235 A. D.)

Shamsuddin Altamsh was the slave of a slave. Out of jealousy he was sold by his brothers to a company of merchants who carried him to Bokhara. There he was sold to a noble man who gave him liberal education. On the death of his master he passed several hands and ultimately he was purchased by Qutub-ud-Din at Delhi for 50,000 pieces of silver. Qutub was greatly impressed with his beauty and talents and married his second daughter to him. He held many high positions as the favourite of the Sultan, till he became the general-in-chief. He was governor of Budayun when Aram occupied the throne. The prince proving a failure was removed from the throne by Shamsuddin Altamsh.

On his accession he was opposed by a number

of Turki chiefs who were joined by the greater part of his troops, and numerous merchants. In a battle near Delhi they were defeated and their leaders all killed in action or imprisoned. Shortly afterwards the Sultan reduced the tributary Raja of Jhalwar to obedience. Tajuddin Yelduz, the king of Ghazni, also recognised him as the king of Delhi and sent to him the ensigns of royalty. But he himself was not safe in Ghazni. When he was driven out of his kingdom by the king of Khwarizam he turned towards India. He easily obtained possession of the Punjab and captured Thaneshwar (1215 A. D.). He sent emissaries to the court of Delhi to raise a faction in his favour. Altamsh now marched against him and inflicted a crushing defeat upon him in the field of Tarain. Tajuddin was taken as a prisoner to Budayun where he ended his days. In 1217 A. D., Altamsh went against Nasiruddin Kubacha, governor of Sind, who had declared his independence there and gained complete victory over him.

Chengiz Khan.

India was threatened with an attack of the Mongols in 1221 A. D. The Mongols were a blood-thirsty people carrying devastation wherever they went. They came out of the mountain steppes of Central Asia and swept away all marks of civilization from China to the Caspian under the leadership of Temujin, better known as Chengiz Khan. The Mongols had no religion to teach, no pretension to culture. Their only method

was to slaughter and destroy, The kingdom of Khwarizam consisting of Khiva, Samarkand and Bukhara was ravaged by them, the cities ruined, the country laid waste and the people massacred. The Shah fled to an island in the Caspian, where he died of broken heart. His son Jalal-ud Din bravely defended his country. He was pushed towards the east, and took his stand on the Indus. An appeal to Altamsh for asylum in Delhi was not only rejected but the envoy was murdered. After a stubborn fight on the Indus Jalal-ud-Din jumped into the river on horse back and crossed to the other side with a handful of followers. He gathered a number of Gakkars and proceeding southwards fell upon Nasir-ud-din Kubacha, who was forced to take shelter within the fortress of Multan. He then overran Sind and was contemplating permanent occupation of the place when he was called to Persia. India was thus saved from the Mongol invasion which had ruined Central and Western Asia. If Altamsh had rendered help or given shelter to the Shah of Khwarizam the Mongols might have pursued them beyond the Indus. The heat of India was intolerable to them so these wild marauders went westwards, and relieved India of a great danger. The direct result of the invasion of Chengiz Khan was the disappearance of the powerful kingdom of Khwarizam in its neighbourhood, and the weakening of the forces of Nasir-ud-Din Kubacha.

Subjugation of Behar and Bengal.

Since the death of Qutub-ul-Din Aibek the successors of Muhammad Bukhtiyar Khilji had carried on the government of Behar and Bengal independently. Ali Mardau had struck his own coins and his name was read in the Khutba as an independent king. He was followed by Ghiyas-ud-Din Bukhtiyar Khilji, who established a strong government by bringing all the neighbouring districts of Gaur as far as Kamrup in the east and Tirhut on the west under his control. Altamsh sent an army against him in 1225 A. D. but Ghiyas-ud-Din signed a treaty agreeing to pay a large tribute of 80 lakhs of silver tankas. Henceforth the rule of the Sultan was acknowledged, the coins were struck in his name, and he was mentioned in Khutba. Behar formed a separate administration under his son Nasiruddin Mahmud who also held the fief of Oudh. On the withdrawal of the troops of Altamsh Ghiyas-uddin seized the province of Behar, but he was defeated and slain by Nasiruddin Mahmud, who took possession of Bengal and ruled the province till his death in 1229 A. D. The Khiljis rebelled again and the Sultan went there with his younger son. After subjugating the province completely he appointed Alauddin Jani as governor and leaving the province in his charge returned to Delhi in 1230 A. D.

Expedition against Nasirud-Din Kubacha.

Kubacha was a slave of Muhammad Ghori, and had

married two daughters of Qutub-ud-Din. He was appointed to the government of Occha by Sultan Muiz-ud-Din shortly after his defeat at Andhko. He extended his rule over the entire country from Sirhind, Kohram and Sirsuti to the sea coast. He also tried to take possession of Lahore and fought with Taj-ud-Din Yelduz over it. But Altamsh occupied the place and appointed his son, Nasirud-Din Mahmud, to the government. When Jalal-ud-Din of Khwarizam entered Sind, Kubacha was defeated by his general Uzbek Pai. On the withdrawal of Jalal-ud-Din from India Kubacha managed to maintain a strong government. He overthrew an army of the Khiljis in 1225 A. D. Altamsh marched against him the next year. He laid siege to Occha and sent his vizier Nizam-ul-Mulk Junaidi in pursuit of Kubacha who had entrenched himself in the fortress of Bhakkar. Occha was reduced after a siege of two months and twenty days in 1227 A. D. On receipt of the news of its fall Kubacha sent his son Ala-ud Din Bahram to sue for peace. But before the settlement for terms he was compelled by Junaidi to cross the Indus, in which he was drowned. After this the whole country submitted to Altamsh.

In 1226 A. D. Altamsh had reduced the fort of Rantambhar, and the next year Mandor in the Siwalik hills. Soon after the conquest of the territories of Kubacha, Altamsh received a unique honour from the Caliph of Baghdad who sent an embassy with royal robes to Delhi acknowledging him as a Moslem ruler.

This recognition greatly strengthened the position of Altamsh and enhanced his prestige as this was the first notice taken by the Court of Baghdad of the foundation of the new Indo-Muhammadan kingdom.

Altamsh led an expedition into Gwalior in 1231 A. D. which had been recovered by the Hindus during the reign of Aram. Raja Mangal Deva strongly defended the fort and after a siege of eleven months it capitulated in 1232 A. D. The Raja made his escape at night, but above three hundred of his followers were put to death.

Next year he proceeded towards Malwa, and without great opposition he captured the fort of Bhilsa, and occupied the city of Ujjain. In this city there was a magnificent temple dedicated to Mahakali. It was surrounded by a wall one hundred cubits high. The temple was demolished and the images destroyed. The statue of Vikramaditya which was standing within the temple and the image of Mahakali were taken to Delhi and broken at the gate of the Juma Musjid. The conquest of Malwa practically brought the whole of Hindustan under Moslem rule. He was on his way to Banian in the hill tracts of Sind-Sagar Doab when he was taken ill and was brought back to Delhi in a critical condition. He expired on the 20th Shaban 633 A. H. (30th April, 1235 A. D.) after a reign of twenty-six years.

Altamsh and his Government.

Shams-ud-Din Altamsh was the greatest of the Slave kings. Although he rose from a humble position he filled the throne of Delhi with honour and dignity. It was under his able management that the scattered provinces of Hindustan were consolidated under one government. The conquests made by Qutub-ud-Din and his royal master did not fully submit to the authority of the central government. Some of them revolted and some established independent government. Altamsh succeeded in making them all acknowledge the authority of the Sultan of Delhi. But it will be too much to say that the administration of the country was reduced to a regular system. "The power of Muhammadan Sultans, as rulers" says Thomas, "as indeed those of all lordships of Hindustan, from its earliest history, seem to have been most indeterminate, at times, and in certain districts, extending to absolute possession of soil and people on the part of the king and full and perfect subjection on the part of the local government and those they ruled over liable, however, at any moment, to endless fluctuations, as the strength of the sovereign, the power of the provincial governors or the spirit of independence of the people rose or fell. In other cases, allegiance confessedly extended only so far as a nominal recognition of supremacy, or even a tacit abstinence from direct denial of such; suffice it to say, that among the multifarious tenures, and the many changes Imperialism was constantly liable to, one general rule of absolutism

prevailed that the length of the sword was the limit of the sway. By his able generalship Altamsh reduced the whole of Hindustan, from Bengal to Sind, and from the Punjab to Malwa, to obedience. The provincial governors had sufficient powers in their hands so that they could revolt whenever they desired or were compelled to do so. He was kind and religious. The Qutub Minar near Delhi stands as the monument of his great imagination. It is a lofty pillar 242 feet high, 48 ft. 2 in. in diameter at the base. Its capital has been ruined. It has four projecting balconies, one at 90, the second at 140, the third at 180, and the fourth at 203 feet from the ground. Between these balconies are raised belts containing inscriptions. Some historians are of opinion that the basement storey was built by Qutub-ud-Din himself and Altamsh completed it. The inscriptions mention the date of the conquest of Delhi as 587 A. H.

Rukn-ud-Din Firoz Shah (May 1-Nov. 19. 1236 A. D.).

Rukn-ud-Din the younger son of Altamsh was at Delhi at the time of his father's death. He had some training in administration as he had served as Governor of Budayun, and then of the Punjab. He had become heir-apparent on the death of his eldest brother. So without any opposition he ascended the throne on the 1st May 1236. Shortly after his coronation he abandoned himself to debauchery and other excesses, and neglected his duties. The business of government

was carried on by his mother Shah Turkan, a cruel and ambitious woman, who put to death all the women of Shamsuddin's harem, and even his youngest son Qutub-ud-Din. The conduct of the king and his mother led to a revolution. The revenues from Bengal were interrupted on the way by the governor of Oudh, who declared himself independent. The governor of Budayun, Lahore, Multan, and Hansi formed a combination against the king. The Vizier Nizam-ul-Mulk Junaidi deserted him and joined the rebel governors who then all proceeded towards Lahore to form a junction with the nobles of the north and west. Rukn-ud-Din marched against them but some of his principal chiefs left him on the way and returned to Delhi. They placed Riziah Begum the eldest daughter of Altamsh on the throne. Shah Turkan was put in the prison. Rukn-ud-Din was returning hastily to Delhi when he was met by a force from Delhi, and taken as a prisoner and died afterwards in prison. He reigned only for six months and twenty-eight days.

Sultana Riziah Begum (1236-39 A. D.)

Riziah Begum was an intelligent and cultured lady. She was brought up in freedom and had served as the Regent when Altamsh was engaged in the siege of Gwalior. On her accession to the throne she displayed all the virtues of a king, changed her dress, and put on the imperial robes. Every day she used to give

public audience. At first she was engaged in revising and confirming the laws of her father, which had been suspended in the last short reign. She disbursed justice impartially and within a short time succeeded in establishing her supremacy. "Eastern eyes witnessed the singular spectacle of an unveiled and diademed Empress—the first in India—directing the hosts of Islam under the canopy of the immemorial regal seat on an elephant", says Thomas. But in the Islamic world the rule of a woman was not unknown. In Khwarizam the names of Malika Turkan, and Turkan Khatun were familiar to the people as two very able rulers. Riziah also had taken the power from Shah Turkan, who was ruling in the name of her son.

The rebel governors who had met at Lahore were not disposed to support the new sovereign. They advanced towards Delhi, and urged all the officers of the empire to join them. The late Vizier Junaidi was one of the confederates. Malik Nasir the Jaigirdar of Oudh came with troops to support the Queen, but he was defeated and taken prisoner. By her stratagem Riziah sowed dissension among the rebel chiefs, and succeeded in dispersing them. Some of the chiefs were slain in action and their leader Nizam-ul-Mulk Junaidi escaped to the Sirmur hills where he died. Kabir Khan, the governor of Lahore was confirmed in his government on submitting to her authority. The governors of Lakhnouti and Sind were also retained on promise of obedience to the Sultana.

So Riziah's sway was acknowledged from Debal to Lakhnouti.

She made some new appointments after suppressing the rebellion of the nobles. The promotion of Jalal ud-Din Yakut, an Abyssinian, from the position of Master of the Horse to that of Amir-ul-umra created much discontent. Her intimacy with this man was resented by the Turki party. The first person to throw off his allegiance was Malik Kabir Khan, the governor of Lahore. The Queen marched against him and got his submission easily as he was deserted by his colleagues. Kabir Khan impressed the Queen so much that she added to his charge the government of Multan. The most dangerous rebellion was that of Ikhtiar-ud-Din Altunia, governor of Sirhind. The Sultana proceeded in person to check the rising, but the Turkish chiefs in her army rebelled on the way, and in the tumult the Abyssinian favourite was killed. Riziah was taken as a prisoner to Sirhind, where she was espoused by Altunia. The Turkish officers had on their return to Delhi raised Prince Bahram to the throne. Riziah with the help of Altunia, collected an army of Gakkars, Jats and other tribes and marched towards Delhi. In a battle near Delhi the Sultana was defeated, and she fled to Sirhind. Shortly afterwards she returned and in a battle near Kaithal she was defeated, she and her husband were captured by the zemindars and put to death on the 14th November 1240 A. D. (Rabi-at-Awwal, A. H. 638). She had all

the qualities of an able ruler, sagacious, just, beneficent. She was good to her subjects and the learned found in her a patron. But inspite of all these qualities she could not save herself from the jealousy of her nobles. She was not free as Queen of Delhi to bestow her love on an Abyssinian. She could have proved one of the ablest monarchs if she could exercise some self-control.

Muizz-ud-Din Bahram (1240-41 A. D.).

Bahram had come to the throne with the help of the disaffected nobility, but he was not sufficiently strong to get rid of them. Ikhtiar-ud-Din Alaptgin who had married a widowed sister of the king became the most powerful man in the state. Bahram employed two Turki slaves to murder Ikhtiar and the Vizier. Ikhtiar was killed, but the Vizier survived the attack. Then a conspiracy was set up to depose the king, who however got previous intimation of the plot. The conspirators were in turn removed from Delhi or killed. The high-handed manner in which the conspiracy was broken alarmed all parties, and the loyalty of the troops was tampered with. About this time Lahore was invaded by the Mongols. The Sultan sent the Vizier and a number of officers to drive them away. But the Vizier entered into a conspiracy with the officers and returned from the banks of the Beas. The capital was besieged for three months and a half, and Bahram captured and slain.

Ala-ud-Din Mas'aud (1241-46 A. D.).

On the fall of Bahram, Izz-ud-Din Balban a son-in-law of Altamsh, with the help of a faction proclaimed himself king. But the more influential nobles selected Ala-ud-Din Mas'aud, son of Rukn-ud-Din Firoz, and removed Izz-ud-Din from the throne. This shows how the matter stood in those days. At the same time Nasir ud-Din Balban was appointed viceroy of Nagore, Sind and Ajmir. The Vizier Mahzab-ud-Din proving very arrogant and overbearing the nobles got him assassinated. Nasir-ud-Din was given the government of Bahraich, and Jalal-ud-Din that of Kanauj. Suitable arrangements were made in other parts of the empire and peace was restored.

Bengal was invaded by an army from Jajnagar from the south-east (1244 A. D.). Mas'aud sent Malik Kara Beg Tamar to help Tughan Khan, the Governor of Bengal against the invaders, who were completely defeated by them. But the two officers fell out, and Tughan Khan was recalled by the Sultan. The next year news reached Delhi that the Mongols under the leadership of Mangu Khan had invaded India as far as the Indus, and had attacked Occha. The king marched against them with a big army but by the time he reached the banks of the Beas, the Mongols had withdrawn from India. On his return to Delhi Mas'aud became reckless. He abandoned himself to wine and women and alienated the nobles by his acts of cruelty, oppression and injustice. The nobles invited

Nasir-ud-Din to free them from the tyrant. But before Nasir-ud-Din had reached Delhi the nobles had secured the person of Mas'aud and had put him into prison where he lived till his death.

Nasir-ud-Din Mahmud (1246—65 A. D.).

Nasir-ud-Din had the reputation of a good man and a generous patron. By temperament he was a scholar and recluse, and earned his living by copying the Quran. He had given a good account of himself in the administration of Bahraich, but he did not possess the qualities necessary to keep the turbulent nobles under control or to enforce good government among his imperfectly conquered subjects. The weakness of the Sultan was made up by the ability of his Vizier Malik Ghiyas-ud-Din Balban who received the title of Ulugh Khan. The executive power was entirely vested in him. He guided the officers of the kingdom throughout the reign, with only a short interval.

The greatest danger of the time was the invasion of the Mongols. They had occupied the province of Ghazni, Kabul, Kandahar, Balkh and Herat, and extended their sway up to the western banks of the Indus. Balban formed a strong frontier province out of the Punjab, Multan, Bhatnir and Sirhind, and placed it in charge of his nephew Sher Khan. A standing army was organised to watch the movements of the Mongols. In the month of July 1247 A. D. the king proceeded in person towards Multan and encamped on

the banks of the Sodra, and the army under Balban was diverted towards the hills of Jud and Jilam. The Gakkars were dealt very harshly for allowing the Mongols to pass through their country. Several thousands of them were taken prisoners and the old Jagirdars who failed to supply the requisite contingent of troops were deprived of their titles and sent as prisoners to Delhi. Their estates were settled upon their sons and relations on promise of rendering military service and supplying troops. In this way king's authority was firmly established in the Punjab and Multan.

Towards the end of the year the Sultan suppressed a rising in the country between the Ganges and the Jumna and then proceeded towards Kara. Two Hindu Rajas of Kalinjar had taken possession of the country south of the Jumna, and destroyed the garrison from Malwa to Kara. Nasir-ud Din defeated them in a battle at Kara and obtained much booty. Next year the Vizier quelled a rising in Rantambhar and in the hills of Mewat. For eight months the king was engaged in pursuit of his brother Jalal-ud-Din who had fled to the hills of Chitor, but returned unsuccessful. In 1249 A. D. the king went to Multan and placed Malik Izz-ud-Din Balban in charge of Nagor and Occha. The ungrateful Malik raised the standard of rebellion next year, but was easily crushed. Shortly after his return to Delhi he had to undertake an expedition against Narwar where Raja Chahar Deo had built a fort on the

summit of a rock and made full preparation to meet the Muhammadans. After a siege lasting several months, the Hindus surrendered. The Sultan then marched triumphantly through Chanderi and Malwa, and appointed an officer to govern these provinces.

Sher Khan, the governor of Lahore and Multan drove the Mongols out of Ghazni and occupied that province on behalf of the Sultan. He was rewarded by the addition of Occha to his charge. Izz-ud-Din Balban was transferred to Budayun (1252 A.D.). The ascendancy of Balban in the court, and his able administration of the affairs of the state created some jealousy. Imad-ud-Din Rihan, who owed a great deal to Balban, told stories against him to the Sultan, and thus managed to bring about his fall. The Vizier was ordered to go to his estates in the Siwalik hills and Hansi. Imad-ud-Din replaced him in the King's favour, and all officers who owed their position to Balban were removed from office. Even Sher Khan, the able governor of the Punjab, was disgraced, because some forts in Multan were captured by a body of rebels from Sind; and his position was bestowed upon Arslan Khan. The Turki party resented greatly the supersession of the old officers, and entered into a conspiracy to overthrow Imad-ud-Din. The governors of Kara, Manikpur, Oudh, Budayun, Sirhind, Samana, Kuhran, Lahore, Siwalik and Nagor prevailed upon Balban to take back the helm of the state in the interest of good government and public welfare. The discontented nobles joined their force at

Kohram and marched towards Delhi with Balban at their head. Imad-ud-Din sent an army to disperse them, which however marched towards Hansi leaving the route of the insurgent nobles free, Balban and his party sent a message to the king assuring him of their loyalty if he removed Imad-ud-Din from the court. In these circumstances the king sent Imad-ud-Din to Budayun, recalled Balban, and reinstated Sher Khan in his former government. The return of Balban to power was received by the people with joy which was also of no less satisfaction and relief to the King.

Imad-ud-Din was seeking an opportunity to create troubles. He found that Kutlugh Khan, who had married Malika Jehan, the widowed mother of the king, was aggrieved over his transfer to Bahraich. They were joined by Aibek Kishlu Khan, and revolted against the king. Balban took Imad-ud-Din a prisoner and put him to death, but Kutlug Khan fled to Chitor. In 1257 A.D. the governor of Sind and the Hindu Raja of Satnoor rose in favour of Kutlugh, and the combined army marched towards Delhi. Balban discovered a plot in the capital to deliver it up to the insurgents, and the conspirators were arrested without delay. The confederate army was dispersed by the vizier before the gates of Delhi. The governor of Sind returned with his army reduced, but Kutlugh Khan disappeared forever. The Mongols crossed the Indus towards the end of the year but on the approach of the royal army retreated.

The Rajputs and the Hindu Rajas in the Siwalik

hills and Mewat once again rose against the Delhi government. They put together a large number of horse and foot and ravaged the country. On the approach of the Vizier they took their stand behind the mountains. Balban vigorously carried on his campaign for four months, and ultimately forced the Rajputs to an engagement near Rantambhar, in which both sides suffered terribly. Of the Hindus more than 10,000 men were killed, and 250 of their chiefs were taken prisoners and mercilessly put to death (1259 A.D.). Many of the rebels were flayed alive. An embassy came from Hulaku, grandson of Chengiz Khan, when Ulugh Khan was busy in suppressing the risings in the Siwalik hills. After the subjugation of the chiefs the ambassadors were received with magnificent pomp which impressed them of the grandeur of the court of Delhi. A recrudescence of the risings in the hills took place in 1260 A. D. The Vizier went promptly to punish the insurgents and about 12,000 of them were captured and put to death.

Nasir-ud-Din died on the 18th February 1266 A. D. after a reign of more than 20 years. He was a good and pious man. He had only one wife and kept no mistresses. The Queen had to cook his food and do all domestic duties. She was not allowed even a maid servant. The Sultan considered himself a trustee for the state and was determined not to burden it with needless expenses. He used to earn his bread by copying the Quran. He was perfect in penmanship

and used to write a very fine hand. His reign was full of important events. There were risings in the country as well as invasions from outside. His nobles were not all faithful to him. The Hindus also tried to embarrass the government. But in spite of all these difficulties he managed to carry on the administration so long because of the statesmanly foresight and vigorous generalship of his minister Ghiyas-ud-Din Balban,

Ghiyas-ud Din Balban (1265-87 A. D.)

The accession of Balban to the vacant throne of Nasir-ud-Din was a matter of course. There were none to dispute the claims of this *de facto* ruler who had used the late Sultan as his puppet for twenty years. He was a slave of Sultan Shams-ud-Din Altamsh belonging to his own tribe of Alberi, who treated him with great kindness. The forty Turki slaves of Altamsh became very powerful after his death. They occupied high positions during the weak government of his successors. They entered into a solemn covenant to support one another to divide the empire among themselves. They managed to remove from office other *Maliks* and noblemen and formed themselves into an oligarchy. They were called *Shamsi* slaves, and received the title of Khans. But as they had a common history they expected to divide the spoils equally. But jealousy and dissension soon divided them: "what art thou that I am not, and what

wilt thou be that I shall not be?" Their arrogance brought contempt and ridicule upon the throne which at one time was so exalted and dignified. "Fear of the governing power," says Zia-ud-Din Barni, "which is the basis of all good government, and the source of the glory and splendour of states, had departed from the hearts of all men, and the country had fallen into a wretched condition". Balban was one of these *Shamsi* slaves, and the first act of his reign was to restore the efficiency and dignity of the government by removing them, and making the people submit to authority. He was relentless in the administration of justice, and considerate of the feelings of the people. Most of the "forty slaves" were put to death, and particular care was taken that none but men of merit and good family should be admitted to any public office. No man of low position or mean extraction could expect any employment. The state to him was a purely Moslem state. "He made it a rule," says Ferishta "never to place any Hindu in a situation of trust or power, lest that race should employ its delegated authority to the destruction of the Mahomedans." He considered himself the guardian and protector of the Musalmans and but for the Mongol invasions he would not have allowed the *Rais* and *Ranas* to repose in quiet and would have taken all the spirit out of the opponents and enemies of the Faith. This is what he said to his intimate friends, as reported by Barni.

He felt that the security of his government lay in a

well-organised army. The cavalry and infantry were placed under the command of the *Maliks* of experience, of brave and faithful chiefs who could maintain their dignity and honour. In the neighbourhood of Delhi he cleaned the jungles, roads were cut through dense forests, and the country was freed from marauding hordes, and lawless outrages. In every part of the empire he built forts and rebuilt and fortified the old ones. Special attention was given to the forts in the Punjab and the frontier provinces. Cultivable lands were set apart for garrisons, which served a double purpose. It was not necessary to collect revenue for the payment of the soldiers, and lawlessness and robbery were suppressed by the existence of those troops. He devoted the most part of his revenues to the equipment of his army. In his opinion elephants and horses constituted the strength of Hindustan and he considered one elephant worth five hundred horsemen. He tried to keep up the discipline and spirit of the army by constant hunting. The country for forty miles round Delhi was preserved for the Sultan, where no one else was allowed to take game.

In the first year of his reign he was engaged in suppressing the Mewatis who had become a source of danger to the capital. These turbulent peoples occupied an extensive tract about eighty miles south-east of Delhi, took to robbery on the high way, and became so troublesome that caravans and merchants could not pass. They carried their incursions even to the gates of the city,

would come to the Sar-hauz and assault the water-carriers and girls, and snatch away the clothes from their persons. The western gate of the city had to be closed at afternoon prayer and no one ventured to go out after that hour. The Sultan devoted the first year in removing this danger. He scoured the jungles and about 100,000 Mewatis were put to the sword. A fort was built at Gopalgir, with a number of outposts in the neighbourhood of the city, all placed in charge of Afghans with assignment of land for maintenance. It is said that a tract of land with the circumference of 100 miles was cleaned and made fit for cultivation. The Sultan then made arrangements to clear the Doab, and granted towns and villages to a number of chiefs with instructions to suppress all lawlessness. Soon after he proceeded to open the road to Hindustan. Robbers infested the route from Bengal to Delhi by way of Benares and Jaunpur. They had formed strong outposts at Kampil, Pattiali and Bhojpur, and rendered the movements of merchandise and pilgrims absolutely unsafe. The Sultan personally supervised the operations for rounding them off, and remained in these places for five or six months. The rebels were put to the sword, and strong forts were built at Kampil, Pattiali, and Bhojpur, which were garrisoned by Afghan troops. The old fort of Jalali was repaired. The soldiers in all these places were granted cultivable lands for their maintenance.

Soon after his return to Delhi the Sultan marched

to Katcher (modern Rohilkund) where the disturbances were so wide-spread that even Budayun and Amroha were affected. The chiefs failed to keep order. He crossed the Ganges in two nights and three days and ordered his five hundred archers to burn down Katcher and to kill all the rebels excepting women and children below eight years. The slaughter was so terrible that "the blood of the rioters ran in streams, heaps of the slain were to be seen near every village and jungle and the stench of the dead reached as far as the Ganges". The severity of the operations had its effects and many rebels submitted. The army was enriched by immense plunder. Roads were cut through the jungles, and the country became so quiet that no rebellion took place in Katcher, Budayun, Amroha, Sambal and Kanwasi in the life time of the Sultan. Thus the robbers and free-booters were exterminated and the highway robbery stopped by the construction of roads in all directions.

The next campaign was directed towards the Jud mountains, where he spent two years in bringing about the submission of the people. He brought many thousands of horses from these parts to Delhi, as they had a reputation of strength and endurance in those days. Two years after this campaign the Sultan went to Lahore. The city and its neighbourhood had suffered greatly through the incursions of the Mongols. He rebuilt the fort, re-peopled the towns and villages and erected a number of public buildings.

In the course of these campaigns it was brought to

the notice of the Sultan that the soldiers who were granted land for military service were too old to fight, and their sons and successors did not render the service that was expected of them. On an inspection it appeared that about two thousand horsemen had received villages in the Doab. Balban issued an order for the confiscation of the lands from all who could not render military service, and for the granting of pensions to those who were enjoying these lands according to their age or condition. This order created great consternation and through the intercession of Fakhr-ud-Din, the old Kotwal of Delhi, it was rescinded. Sher Khan, the governor of the frontier provinces of Lahore, Sannam and Dipalpur, kept away from Delhi as he was afraid that the Sultan was determined to get rid of all the old *Shamsi* slaves upon one pretext or another. He had a distinguished career and rendered great service to the empire. He did his best to ward off the Mongols. He repaired the forts of Bhatinda and Bhatnir, and had subdued the unruly tribes, such as, the Jats, the Khokhars, the Bhattis, the Minas, the Mandahars and others. He was a nephew of the Sultan, but it is believed that he was poisoned at his instance in pursuance of the plan of eradicating the race of the Shamsis who could claim equality with him. A magnificent tomb was erected in his honour at Bhatnir. On his death his charge was distributed among a number of faithful nobles, but those who succeeded him were not competent to maintain order. So the Mongols returned to their old method

of depredation on the frontier districts. His eldest son, Muhammad Sultan was appointed governor of all Sind and the other dependent frontier districts. His court at Multan was a great centre of culture. He made a selection of poems from the most celebrated authors, the best poems were read to him, and their merits discussed in his presence. Amir Khusru and Amir Hasan attended his court for five years. He also sent an invitation to Shaikh Sadi to come to Multan, but on account of his old age the poet could not accept it. The prince was a favourite of his father, and was acknowledged as heir-apparent. The Sultan appointed his younger son, Bughra Khan, governor of Samana, Sannam and adjacent districts, and gave him full instructions regarding his duties. This prince was not so able as his elder brother, so he was asked to refer all difficult questions to the Sultan. When the Mongols crossed the Beas, Prince Muhammad from Multan, Bughra Khan from Samana, and Malik Barbak Bektar from Delhi were sent against them, each with seventeen or eighteen thousand horse and turned them back. The country enjoyed peace for a number of years after this.

Rebellion of Tughril Khan.

The relations between the central government and the distant provinces were not very close. This was particularly so in the case of Bengal. "Shrewd and knowing people" says Zia-ud-Din Barni "had given to Lakhnauti the name of Bulghakpur (the city of strife),

for since the time when Muizz-ud-Din Muhammad Sam conquered Delhi, every governor that had been sent from thence to Lakhnauti took advantage of the distance, and of the difficulties of the road, to rebel. If they did not rebel themselves others rebelled against them, killed them, and seized the country. The people of this country had for many years evinced a disposition to revolt, and the disaffected and evil-disposed among them generally succeeded in alienating the loyalty of the governors." Bengal had all along remained independent of Delhi except for a short time in the reign of Shams-ud-din Altamsh. Balban appointed Tughril Khan a faithful Turk slave, to the government of Lakhnauti. He was a brave and warlike soldier and started his work very ably. In 1279 A.D. he invaded Jainagar, and brought from there a large number of elephants and immense treasures. He was advised by his friends not to report to Delhi of his exploits and spoils. On the contrary they represented to him the desirability of severing the connection with Delhi and establishing an independent kingdom. The Sultan was old, his sons were busy with the Mongols and the nobles of Hindustan had no leaders, and therefore they were not in a position to frustrate his ambitions. Tughril assumed royal insignia under the title of Sultan Mughis-ud Din. His name was read in the Khutba, and struck on the coins. By his large benefactions he won the support of the people. Balban had no peace of mind on receipt of the news of this rebellion. His

orders to submit were disregarded. The two expeditions, one under Aptagin, known as Amir Khan, the governor of Oudh, and the other under Malik Tirmani Turk failed disastrously. The Sultan was overwhelmed with shame and anger and resolved to march in person. He asked his son Bughra Khan to follow him in the rear of his army. Arrangements were made for the government of Samana and Sannam, and he directed his eldest son to look after the frontiers. Malik Fakhr-ud-Din, was appointed his lieutenant at Delhi with full powers to carry on the government in his absence.

From Delhi he went to Samana, and then passing through the Doab crossed the Ganges and marched through Oudh where he raised an army of two lakhs of men. With the help of a large number of boats he crossed the Saraju. The march to Lakhnauti in the rainy season was full of difficulties. When the Sultan reached Lakhnauti through mud and water and the pouring rain he found that Tughril had evacuated his capital with troops, officers and elephants. There was scarcely any important person left behind. Balban received information that Tughril had gone towards Jajnagar. After reorganising his forces at Lakhnauti he proceeded with rapid marches and in a few days he reached Sonargaon. Rai Danuj Rai the zamindar of that place agreed to guard the river against Tughril. He marched for many more days but could not get any information regarding the enemy. The Sultan declared that he would never give up the pursuit. "They were

playing for half the kingdom of Delhi, and if Tughril took to the water he would pursue him, and he would never return to Delhi, or even mention it, until the blood of the rebel and his followers had been poured." The army reached near Jajuagar but still no trace of Tughril could be had as he had taken a different route. An advance party was sent with seven or eight thousand horse, marching almost twenty miles ahead of the main army, and before the advance party scouts were sent to reconnoitre in all directions. One day a scout party came across a number of corn-dealers who were returning home from the camp of Tughril. When two of them were beheaded they told that Tughril was posted within a mile. The reconnoitring party found the camp in a state of perfect peace. They rushed into the camp with only forty horsemen. The party of Tughril was thrown into confusion under the impression that Balban had overtaken them. Tughril fled towards the river, but he was shot by an arrow and brought down, his head was cut off and the body thrown into the river. In the meantime the advance party under Malik Barbak reached the place. Sons and daughters of Tughril fell into their hands, and they captured about two or three thousand men and women. The leaders of the party were rewarded by the Sultan. On receipt of the news of victory, Balban returned to Lakhnauti with the captives. Gibbets were erected along both sides of the bazar, more than two miles in length. Sons and sons-in-law and other

captives and all those who had any sympathy with Tughril were killed and their bodies placed upon gibbets. For two or three days Lakhnauti was horrified at the punishments. Bughra Khan was appointed to the government of Lakhnauti, and was given strict instructions regarding the methods he should follow. He was specially asked to remember that "if the governors of Hind or Sind, of Malwa or Gujrat, or Lakhnauti or Sonargaon shall draw the sword and become rebels to the throne of Delhi then such punishment as has fallen upon Tughril and his dependants will fall upon them, their wives and children and all their adherents". He returned to Delhi after an absence of three years.

Death of Prince Muhammad.

Prince Muhammad came from Multan with the tribute accumulated in the last three years, and the horses. His father received him with great affection, and in the course of his stay at Delhi for three months he gave him instruction as to how he should behave when he would become the king. His stay was cut short on account of the attack of the Mongols upon Multan. He hurried to his province, drove out the Mongols with great slaughter and recovered all the territories occupied by them. In 1285 A. D. the Mongols returned with 20,000 chosen horse under the leadership of Samar (Taimur Khan) of the family of Chengiz Khan, governor of Ghazni, and plundered the country about

Dipalpur and Lahore. Muhammad met them on the bank of the Ravi, and after a fierce battle of three hours put the Mongols to flight. But when he pursued them he was overtaken by the Mongol army in an isolated position and killed. The main army however succeeded in repelling the enemy. Amir Khusru who was in the prince's party was taken as a prisoner but released later on. The news of the death of the Prince broke the heart of the Sultan. Henceforth Muhammad was called the "Martyr Prince". His son Kaikhusru was sent to Multan to take his place.

The Sultan was now more than eighty years old and his health broke down under this severe blow. He sent for his younger son Bughra Khan from Lakhnauti, and asked him to remain with him till his death in order that he might succeed him. After two or three months when his health slightly improved Bughra Khan left for Bengal without leave from his father. But within a few days the condition of the Sultan became worse, and three days before his death he nominated Kaikhusru, the son of the Martyr Prince as his successor. But the officers were not favourably disposed towards him. Immediately on the death of Balban they placed Kaikubad, the son of Bughra Khan on the throne with the title of Muizz-ud Din (1286 A. D.)

Character of Balban.

Ghiyas-ud-Din Balban was looked upon as the father of his people. He brought order out of chaos,

consolidated the government and inspired awe in the hearts of those who intended to revolt. He left his mark upon the administration of Delhi as a minister, a general and a king. He was faithful to his master, resolute as an administrator and impartial as a judge. He was stern in awarding punishment, irrespective of the position of the miscreant. "In the administration of justice he was inflexible" says Barni, "showing no favour to his brethren or children, to his associates or attendants, and if any of them committed an act of injustice, he never failed to give redress and comfort to the injured person. No man dared to be too severe to his slaves or handmaids, to his horsemen or his footmen". He ordered Malik Bab-bak, the chief of Budayun to be beaten to death for killing one of his servants in the state of drunkenness. He appointed spies throughout his empire for giving confidential reports about the misdeeds of the officers. When he became the king he gave up drinking wine to which he was addicted as a Khan, and did not indulge in gambling or in the company of wine-drinkers. So high was his sense of dignity that he could never converse with persons of low origin or do anything which might lower the dignity of the sovereign. He adopted the following rule for his conduct :

(1) To assume dignity, exercise power at proper seasons, allow nothing to induce him to forget the majesty of God, or the happiness of his subjects.

(2) Not to permit immorality and indecency to be openly practised within his realm, without imposing heavy fines or some other punishment.

(3) To make selections from men of character for the offices of government, and not to permit men of notoriously vicious habits to find an asylum within his realm.

(4) To be patient and just in the administration of justice.

He placed these ideals before his sons, and in his own life he remained true to them. He advised his son Prince Muhammad not to spare pains to discover men of genius, learning and courage and to cherish them by kindness and munificence. We are informed he drew to his court many scholars eminent in various branches of science and literature, such as Sheikh Farid-ud-Din Mas'ud, entitled Shakargunj, Sheikh Bahad-ud-Din Zacharia and his son, Sheikh Budr-ud-Din Arif of Ghazni, the philosopher, Kutubuddin Bukhtiyar Kaki and Siddi Maula famous for their learning and saintly life. Besides, more than fifteen sovereigns of Central Asia, Persia, Turkey and Afghanistan, who were expelled from their country by Chengiz Khan found shelter at Delhi. They were accommodated in palaces and granted princely allowances. Some of the most famous men of learning in Asia in those days came in the retinue of these princes and the court of Delhi on account of these reasons became known as the most polite and magnificent in the world. The poet Amir

Khusru was the tutor of Prince Muhammad, and he used to preside at the meeting of the learned men in the house of the prince. The house of the second Prince Bughra Khan was the meeting place of the musicians, dancers, actors and story-tellers. The nobles imitated the king and the princes, so that Delhi became the centre of grandeur, magnificence and pomp as it became a place of culture, learning, refinements, amusements and other social amenities. The Nauroz, anniversary of the king's birth, and other festivals were celebrated with great pomp.

Muizz-ud-Din Kaikubad (1287-90 A. D.)

Through the machination of Amir-ul-Umra Fakhr-ud-Din, Kotwal of Delhi, who had then the greatest influence in the city, Kaikubad was installed on the throne. He was a handsome young man of eighteen, with an amiable disposition and equable temper. He had been brought up under the eye of his grand-father with great strictness, and had never indulged in frivolities nor tasted a cup of wine. He had a taste for literature and his knowledge of books was extensive. He received thorough training in polite arts and manly exercises. As soon as he came to the throne he forgot his old lessons and gave himself up to pleasure and dissipation. His ministers and companions followed his example, and the licentiousness of the court spread throughout the city. The king had no time to attend to his duties. The business of

government was surrendered into the hands of Malik Nizam-ud-Din, son-in-law of Kotwal Fakhr-ud-Din. To give full freedom to his passions the Sultan left the Red Palace and resided in a newly built palace at Kilu-ghari on the banks of the Jumna. The nobles and attendants of his court also followed him there, and within a short time Kilu-ghari became the resort of all pleasure-seekers.

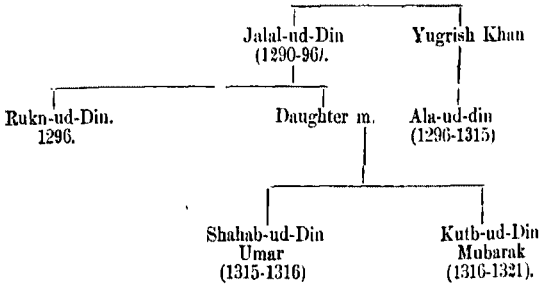
Malik Nizam-ud-Din was crafty and ambitious. He found that circumstances might favour him in wresting the throne from the feeble hands of the dissipated prince. He therefore hatched plans of removing all thorns from his way. Kai-khusru was still the favourite of many, and he once tried to occupy the throne with the help of Timur Khan, the Viceroy of Ghazni. Nizam-ud-Din set Kai-kubad against him as his rival. Kai-khusru was summoned from Multan to Delhi and was murdered on his way at Rohtak. Khwaja Khater, the Vizier, was next disgraced and banished on the plea that he was corresponding with Kai-khusru. Next he procured the punishment of the chief nobles and heads of illustrious families on the charge of treason. One day all of them were arrested in the palace, the principal nobles were killed and thrown into the Jumna, and their property confiscated. A large number of men of high rank were deported to distant forts, and their families scattered. In this way Nizam-ud-Din established his authority. His ascendancy over the king was so great that no one could bring

any charge against him. His wife was called the "honorary mother of the Sultan" and she became the "directress of his female apartments." His designs were very plain, and his father-in-law, the old Kotwal warned him not to cherish any thoughts of usurping the throne. But he did not listen to the advice of his well-wishers.

Reports of the state of affairs at Delhi reached Bughra Khan. His letters of advice and caution were left unheeded. Nizam-ud-Din did his best to sow the seed of distrust between the father and the son. Ultimately the father came to see the son. The meeting took place in Oudh on the banks of the Saraju. Bughra Khan succeeded in removing the suspicion that he aimed at the throne of Delhi. They remained in Oudh for twenty days and exchanged several visits. Bughra Khan gave much good advice to his son and confidentially asked him to get rid of Nizam-ud-Din as easily as possible. Kaikubad took the advice of his father to heart and tried for a few days to amend his ways. But the wily Nizam-ud-Din knew his weakness and by means of temptations which the king could hardly resist he dragged him again into his rounds of dissipation and pleasure. When his constitution gave way and he realised his helpless position he remembered his father's advice. He wanted to get rid of Nizam-ud-Din as the main cause of his ruin. He ordered the minister to proceed to Multan, to look after the government there, but Nizam-ud-Din delayed at Delhi with a view to carry out his own designs. Some attendants of the king put poison

into his wine with the consent of the king, and thus brought about his death. Delhi now was thrown into a state of anarchy. Jalal-ud-Din Firoz, Naib of Samana, was summoned to Delhi, and was charged with the business of government as *Arix-ul-Mamalik*. But as he was of the tribe of Khiljis the Turk nobles became jealous of him. To add to the confusion the Sultan was struck with paralysis, and confined to his bed. The Turk nobles to save the situation placed the infant son of Kaikubad on the throne. Jalal-ud-Din went to Bahar-pur and held there an inspection of his troops. A plot was laid to capture him, but this failed, and a number of Turks went to the side of Jalal-ud-Din. Two days after this Kaikubad was kicked out of life and thrown into the Jumna by a Malik whose father had been put to death by the orders of the Sultan. Jalal-ud-Din was brought by his friends to Kilughari, and there enthroned as the people of Delhi were still very hostile towards him. By the death^{!!!} of Kaikubad the rule of the Turks came to an end.

CHAPTER VI
THE KHILJI DYNASTY



Jalal-ud-Din Khilji (1290-96 A. D.).

The new Sultan belonged to a tribe distinct from the previous kings of Delhi. There is some dispute regarding the origin of these people. They were probably descendants of Turks, and connected with Chengiz Khan. They settled in the hills between Ghor and Jurjistan. Some of them came to India, and entered the service of the Sultans. On account of their long residence in Afghanistan they are often mentioned as Afghans although they were Turks or Tartars like the Slave Kings. Jalal-ud-Din was not sure of the loyalty of the nobles and citizens of Delhi. So he lived in Kilu-Ghari, and held his *darbar* there. In course of

time the new city became as magnificent as the old capital. Gradually he won the esteem and affections of his people by his character and sound method of administration. In the second year of his reign when all opposition subsided he made his entry into the old palace although he still continued to live at Kilu-Ghari. He was a man of seventy when he ascended the throne, and possessed many good qualities. He was naturally kind and benevolent and would not punish the wrongdoers. The people took advantage of his soft nature and put troubles in his way. Various rebellions were got up to overthrow him.

The first to rise was Malik Chhaju, nephew of Balban, governor of Karra. At the instigation of the adherents of Balban and other influential persons he declared himself independent, and laid his claim to the throne of Delhi. Many inhabitants of Delhi were in sympathy with his ambitions. He marched towards the capital at the head of a big army. The Sultan proceeded in person to meet the enemy and sent his son Arkali Khan in advance from Budayun. The loose followers of Chhaju were easily dispersed, Chhaju, his chief ally Malik Amir Ali, governor of Oudh, and other nobles were brought as prisoners before the Sultan. The captives were very kindly treated. Chhaju was sent to Multan and allowed to draw very handsome allowance. When his courtiers remonstrated against this undue leniency he is reported to have repeated a verse which meant: "Evil for evil is easily returned, but he

only is great who returns good for evil." He expected that the nobles who were excused their guilt would repent and would feel obliged to him. He was very unwilling to shed Muslim blood. But in those days clemency had no place in the troubled condition of Hindustan. People wanted strong government. The Sultan was so good that he could not even punish the *thags* and thieves. Once a band of thousand *thags* were captured at Delhi, but the only punishment they received was a safe voyage to Lakhnaui. This softness of the Sultan increased robbery and crimes of various sorts. The nobles in the court openly talked rebellion and overthrow of the Sultan. On one occasion a party of nobles met in the house of Malik Taj-ud-Din Kuchi and in the course of their convivial talks discussed who should assassinate him. On receiving information of this meeting the king had them all arrested. But on the pleading of Malik Nasrat Shah, a witty courtier, he pardoned them all and only asked them to leave the city for a year.

The only instance of rudeness was the murder of the *Darvesh* Sidi Maula, for which the Sultan suffered great disgrace. Sidi Maula was a *darvesh* from Persia and came to Delhi in the time of Balban. He never went to the Mosque for prayers, nor did he receive any presents, but he used to distribute large quantities of food daily. It is said he spent daily "1000 maunds of flour, 500 maunds of meat, 200 maunds of sugar, besides rice, oil, butter and other necessaries in proportion".

He built a magnificent *Khankah* or academy and house of entertainment for travellers *fakirs* and the poor. His popularity was very great on account of his wonderful generosity. The intriguing persons now tried to exploit his influence and instilled into his mind the ambition of occupying the throne of Jalal-ud-Din. They arranged that the Sultan would be assassinated while he would go to the mosque for prayers. One of the party not satisfied with the share allotted to him after the revolution informed the Sultan of the plot. Sidi Maula and the party of conspirators were brought before the king. But then they protested their innocence their trial through the ordeal of fire was arranged in the plain of Bahar-pur. But as the method was against Muhammadan law it was given up. The culprits were variously punished. But Sidi Maula was being carried to a vault under the palace when the king addressed some Kalandars who were standing there "Oh *darweshes* avenge me of the Maula", one of them gave him several cuts with a razor, and at the instance of Prince Arkali Khau an elephant trod him to death. This incident cast gloom over the capital and to add to the misfortunes of the king there was a famine the same year, and flood next year. His eldest son died shortly after. About this time the Sultan marched through Central India as far as Malwa. He took Jhain and Malwa, and besieged the fort of Rantambhar, where the Rai with the *Rawals* and their wives and children had taken refuge. But when he found that the reduction

of the fort would entail great loss of lives he raised the siege and left for Delhi. In 1292 A. D. about 150,000 Mughals under the leadership of Abdullah, grandson of Hulaku invaded Hindustan. The king marched with a strong army to meet them. The Mughals were defeated, Abdullah withdrew with his main army, but Ulghu, grandson of Chengiz Khan, remained behind with about 3000 of his men. They all became Musalman and were given quarters in Delhi. A daughter of Jalal-ud-Din was married to Ulghu. As the climate did not suit them most of them left India in a year or two. Some of them remained permanently in India and received the title of "New Musalmans". The quarter in which they lived was called Mughalpur. The same year the Sultan went in an expedition to Mandur and Jhain and brought vast amount of booty.

Ala-ud Din's march to the Deccan 1294 A. D.

The place of Malik Chhaju in Karra was given to Ala-ud-Din a nephew and son-in law of the Sultan. He was an ambitious young man, and from the very beginning of his career in this new province he devised plans of increasing his influence. With the permission of the Sultan he attacked the neighbouring country of Bhilsa and brought great wealth from there with two bronze images which were thrown down before the Budayun gate for the Musalmans to place their feet on. For this success Ala-ud-Din was given in addition the province of Oudh. At Bhilsa he had

heard of the wealth of Deogir and made enquiries regarding the route to that place. On return to Karra he prepared for an expedition without the knowledge of the Sultan. He asked permission to proceed towards Chanderi in search of plunder, but his real objective was Deogir.

Ala-ud-Din was not happy at home on account of some misunderstanding with his wife and his mother-in-law. The Sultan knew that he was anxious to go out into the world to find some position for himself. So he was indulgent towards him and granted to him the required permission and remitted for a year the revenue of Karra. With the revenue thus released Ala-ud-Din got up an army consisting of three or four thousand horse and two thousand infantry and marched towards the south in 1294 A. D. The small rajas through whose territories he had to pass were given to understand that he was going to seek employment in the court of the Raja of Rajmundry in Telingana. He therefore marched unopposed and in two months reached Ellichpur on the outskirts of Maharashtra. From Ellichpur he went to Ghatilajaura.

The Musalmans had not crossed the Vindhya before this. The people of Maharashtra were ignorant of their ways. The Yadavas had established their rule since the beginning of the thirteenth century. Their capital Devagiri was a centre of Hindu culture. The kings had accumulated great wealth, and it was known that there was a large quantity of gold and silver, jewels and

pearls in the treasury. When Raja Ramchandra Dev received the news of the approach of the Musalmans he sent a small force to Ghatilajaura, which was easily defeated by Ala-ud-Din. Then the Musalmans pressed on Devagiri. Ramchandra Dev put together about four thousand men including domestics and met them at a distance of four miles from the city. But he could not stand before the trained army and retreated into the fort. Ala-ud-Din plundered the city and invested the fort. In order to create consternation in the minds of the people he circulated the story that he only led the advance guard, and that the main army of the Sultan was coming behind him. The Rajas in the Deccan, out of fear, did not venture to leave their kingdoms. The supply within the fort of Devagiri was exhausted. So Ramchandra Dev offered to pay 50 maunds of gold (about 1500 lbs) and large quantity of pearls and jewels with thirty elephants and some thousands of horses which had been already captured. Ala-ud-Din then agreed to leave on the fifteenth day of his arrival there.

Ramchandra Dev's son, Sankar Dev, in the meantime had collected a large army, and when coming to Devagiri he saw the Musalmans returning with so much treasure. In spite of the expostulations of his father he demanded restoration of the booty, but Ala-ud-Din in great indignation defied the challenge. Malik Nasrat was sent to besiege Devagiri with one thousand horse and with the rest of his army Ala-ud-Din attacked Sankar Dev. The Mahrattas had come in large numbers,

and easily dispersed the Moslem troops. On receiving the news Malik Nasrat left his post and rushed into the field with his thousand horse. In the thick clouds of dust the Mahrattas did not know from where they came and believed the main army under the Sultan had arrived. This fear upset them and they fled from the field in all directions. Ala-ud-Din then returned to Devagiri. Raja Ramchandra Dev could not hold out any longer. He did not receive the expected help from the Rajas of Kulburga, Telingana, Malwa and Khandesh. His provisions had also run short. In utter helplessness he had to submit to still more humiliating terms and to cede Ellichpur. A garrison was left there to collect revenues. Ala-ud-Din returned unmolested through Khandesh, Malwa and Gondwana.

The Last days of Jalal-ud-Din.

Sultan Jalal-ud-Din was kept absolutely in the dark regarding the movements and exploits of Ala-ud-Din till 1296 A. D. when he received the news while he was out hunting near Gwalior. The foolish king was happy at the success of his nephew and expected that the booty would be brought to him. His *Naib-barbak*, Ahmad Chap, advised him to proceed towards Chanderi and to meet Ala-ud-Din on his way back to Karra. This was not agreeable to the Sultan, and on the advice of other councillors he returned to Delhi. Ala-ud-Din on the other hand, on his arrival at Karra sent a letter of submission to the Sultan and asked forgiveness for

his irregularities. This was merely a bluff, for he at the same time was preparing to attack Lakhnauti. The Sultan wrote an affectionate letter and assured him of safety. But the messengers were put under restraint at Karra and could not inform the Sultan of the true state of things there. With the help of his brother Almas Beg, who was also another son-in-law of the Sultan, Ala-ud-Din persuaded him to come and pay him a visit at Karra, as he was afraid of going to Delhi. The unsuspecting old Jalal-ud-Din was full of kindness for his brave nephew and son-in-law, and disdaining the advice of his councillors he started from Kiliughari with only a thousand horse. He took a boat at Dhamai, and the main army under Ahmad Chap marched on land. When he reached Karra Ala-ud-Din was waiting with his forces between Manikpur and Karra. At the request of Almas Beg he landed with only a few attendants before afternoon prayer. Ala-ud-Din on meeting him fell at his feet and the Sultan affectionately took him in his arms, when the traitor gave a signal to his men. Muhammad Salim of Samana gave the first blow with a sword, when it failed he struck again. The Sultan running towards the river cried out "Ah thou villain Ala-ud-Din! what hast thou done!" Another man named Ikhtiyar-ud-Din threw him on the ground and cut off his head (July 1296 A. D.) All the attendants of the Sultan also were despatched to the next world almost immediately. "Villainy and treachery and murderous feelings, covetousness and

desire of riches, thus did their work", writes Zia-ud-Din Barni. The severed head of the venerable king was placed on a spear and carried through the camp. Afterwards it was sent to Oudh to be exhibited there. The royal canopy was immediately displayed over the head of the perfidious villain, and all the men accosted him as the new Sultan. Success no doubt came to the wicked but none escaped the relentless hands of Nemesis. "Although Ala-ud-din reigned successfully for some years" says the Chronicler, "and all things prospered to his wish, and though he had wives and children, family and adherents, wealth and grandeur, still he did not escape retribution for the blood of his patron. He shed more innocent blood than ever Pharaoh was guilty of. Fate at length placed a betrayer in his path, by whom his family was destroyed...and the retribution which fell upon it never had a parallel even in any infidel land".

Sultan Ala-ud-Din Khilji (1296-1315 A. D.).

On receiving the news of the catastrophe Ahmad Chap returned to Delhi with the main army. Malika-i-Jahan in precipitate haste put her youngest son Rukn-ud-Din on the throne. She did not wait for Arkali Khan who was much better fitted for the position, nor did she consult any of the nobles. By this act of indiscretion she lost the support of all sensible people. Emboldened by the dissensions at Delhi Ala-ud-Din marched towards the capital. By scattering gold among

the greedy he increased the number of his followers, and under the shower of the rich presents brought from the Deccan the memory of the ungrateful treachery was washed away. Five months after the foul murder Ala-ud-Din reached Delhi. On his approach Malika-i-Jahan and Rukn-ud-Din were deserted by the Omras, they then fled towards Multan. The next day Ala-ud-Din encamped on the plain of Siri. Towards the end of the year the coronation took place with great pomp. The new Sultan took up his residence at the Red Palace. In addition to the distribution of money and presents he won the good-will of the Maliks and Amirs of the late Sultan by giving them offices and fiefs. In order to secure his position still further both Arkali Khan and Rukn-ud-Din along with Malika-i-Jahan, and their *maliks* and *amirs* were captured at Multan. The princes were blinded and sent to the fort of Hansi where they were afterwards murdered. The sons of Arkali Khan were murdered, Malik-i-Jahan and the wives of the princes were brought to Delhi. The capture of the princes greatly increased the authority of Ala-ud-Din. He had no rival left to claim the throne. In the second year of his reign he started confiscating the property of the *maliks* and *amirs* of the late Sultan and made them disgorge whatever they had taken from him. By this means the treasury was enriched by a crore. Only three persons were spared and they had not taken anything from Ala-ud-Din. An invasion of the Mughals through Sind was repelled near Jalandhar

the same year. This victory increased his hold upon the people still further.

Invasion of Guzerat (1298 A.D. .

Ala-ud-Din was not satisfied with what he got by accession to the throne of Delhi. By his previous expeditions against Bhilsa and Devagiri he had seen the weakness of these smaller states. His march to the South was unopposed. The report of the prosperity of Guzerat had also reached him. He sent his brother, Ulugh Khan, and his vizier, Nasrat Khan, with a large army to reduce the country. Its ruler Rai Karan fled to Devagiri to seek the protection of Ram Dev. The Musalmans ran through the whole province, and advanced as far as Cambay. Among the captives were Kewala Devi, the beautiful wife of Rai Karan, and Kafur, a handsome slave who figured in the history later on.

On the return march the Mughal troops mutinied at Jhalwar as the generals demanded a fifth part of their spoils. They killed Malik A'zzud-ud-Din, a brother of Nasrat Khan and went to the tent of Ulugh Khan, but as the prince had already escaped they killed a son of the Sultan's sister. Nasrat Khan then sounded the trumpets, and the soldiers marching towards his tent the new Musalmans dispersed and took shelter with the neighbouring Hindu Rajas. Ulugh Khan and Nasrat Khan then marched to Delhi with rich plunder from Guzerat. The wives and children of the mutineers had

to pay heavily for their sins. People were staggered at the inhuman cruelties perpetrated upon innocent women and children. This is the first instance of seizing women and children for the faults of men.

The Mughal Invasions.

The Mughals under the leadership of Saldi Khan had captured Siwistan about this time. Zafar Khan was sent against them. He defeated the Mughals and sent Saldi Khan and his men in chains to Delhi. Zafar showed great bravery on this occasion, and his fame became so great that even the king became jealous of him. He was granted the government of Samana as his reward. Shortly after this Katlagh Khwaja, son of the king of Mawarasin Nahr, came with 20 *tomans* (i. e. 200,000) of Mughals with a view to conquer the whole of Hindustan. He marched straight to Delhi and reached the bank of the Jumna without opposition. Panic spread through the country, people began to flock to the capital and within a few days scarcity became very acute. In this crisis Ala-ud-Din massed together a vast army, consisting of about 300,000 horse and 2700 elephants. It is said that "In no age or reign had two such vast armies been drawn up in array against each other, and the sight of them filled all men with amazement." Ala-ud-Din drew up his forces on the plains of Kili outside Delhi. Zafar Khan commanded the right wing, Ulugh Khan the left, and the king himself was in the centre. The Mughals unable to bear

the charge of Zafar Khan retreated in a state of confusion. Zafar pursued them more than 36 miles, but Ulugh Khan who was ordered by the king to bring up the rear did not follow him up out of pure jealousy. The Mughals finding Zafar's army detached from the main army made a rally and surrounded him. The gallant Zafar and his heroic body of troops died fighting to the last man. Although the Mughals gained a victory they did not venture to undertake further risk, and retreated at night. The name of Zafar Khan became a terror to the Mughals, and "if their cattle refused to drink they would ask if they saw Zafar Khan." Ala-ud-Din felt happy at the retreat of the Mughals, and the death of Zafar Khan who was becoming so powerful was not a less relief to him.

His wild projects.

Ambition has no limit. Puffed up with success Ala-ud-Din formed impossible schemes, and entertained extravagant desires. He was a man of no learning and he was so bad-tempered and obstinate that nobody would dare oppose him or argue with him. "In his exaltation, ignorance and folly, he quite lost his head" says Barni. He had two projects in his mind, viz. (1) to establish a new religion and creed with the help of his four friends, Ulugh Khan, Zafar Khan, Nasrat Khan, and Alp Khan, and to spread it by means of the sword, and (2) like Alexander to conquer the whole habitable world. Once the Sultan consulted Alau-l-

Mulk, uncle of the historian Ziaud Din, and Kotwal of Delhi about his schemes. The old Kotwal fearlessly said "Religion and law and creeds, ought never to be made subjects of discussion by your Majesty, for these are the concerns of prophets, and not the business of kings. Religion and law spring from heavenly revelation, they are never established by plans and designs of man." He advised the king not to talk about these matters. Chengiz was a great conqueror but he could not establish a Mughal religion among the Muhammadans, on the contrary many Mughals became Musalmans. This wise advice of the Kotwal impressed the Sultan, and he said "From henceforth no one shall ever hear me speak such words." With regard to the second project Alau-l-Mulk said "these are not the days of Alexander." He advised the king to pay attention to two things before all others, viz. the subjugation of Hindustan and closing the road of Multan against the Mughals. He further emphasized that these things could not be accomplished unless the king gave up drinking wines and kept aloof from convivial parties and feasts. The king was pleased with this excellent advice and promised to observe it, and rewarded the Kotwal adequately. This happened after the return of Zafar Khan from Siwistan, and before the war with Katlagh Khwaja.

Fall of Rantambhar.

Rantambhar, a fortress on the Chambal, was held

by Hambir Dev, a descendant of Rai Pithaura. A number of Mughals who left the Sultan's army during the mutiny at Jhalwar had taken shelter in Rantambhar. The Sultan ordered Ulugh Khan from Biyana and Nasrat Khan from Karra to proceed to capture the fort. They took Jhain an iron fort and an ancient abode of idolatry on the way and besieged Rantambhar (1299 A. D.). Nasrat Khan while supervising the construction of a mound and a redoubt was struck by a stone from the fort and died within two or three days. Hambir Dev collecting about 200,000 men forced Ulugh Khan to retreat to Jhain. Receiving news of the disaster Ala-ud-Din marched out of Delhi. He stayed at Tilpat for a few days for hunting. One day having strayed away from the main party he spent a night at a village called Badih with only ten horsemen. Early in the morning the Sultan sat on a stool while his attendants were closing up the circle. His nephew Akat Khan formed the plan of following in the footsteps of his uncle, and obtaining the throne by killing him. Supported by a few new Musalmans he began to shoot at the king. While he marched forward to cut off the head of the Sultan he was told by the *paiks* who surrounded him that he was already dead. Akat Khan hurried to Tilpat where he seated himself on the throne. The Sultan recovering his senses, marched with his followers to the place and then the usurper fled to Afghaupur where he was captured and beheaded. His brother

and other accomplices were captured and put to death.

Then Ala-ud-Din reached Rantambhar after a few days and was joined by Ulugh Khan. He filled the ditches round the fort with bags full of sand and raised a high wall from which the defenders were attacked with stones. In the meantime detachments of troops subdued the territories of Jhain as far as Dbar. The siege lasted more than a year. While the Sultan was busy at Rantambhar two more revolutions took place. His nephews Umar Khan and Mangu Khan rose in Budayun but before they could gain sufficient support they were captured and brought to Rantambhar where they were blinded by orders of the king. The second revolt was of a more serious nature. It was led by Haji Maula, son of a slave of Amir-ul-Umara Fakhr-ud-Din, the late Kotwal of Delhi. The people of Delhi were greatly oppressed by Turmuzi Khan who as Deputy of the Kotwal was in charge of the city. Haji Maula gathered together a number of armed followers from the discontented mob and took the Kotwal by surprise while he was having his mid-day nap. After killing Turmuzi Khan he produced a boy as a descendant of Sultan Shamsud-din and placed him on the throne. The riot continued for seven or eight days. After three or four days Malik Hamid-ud-Din, Amir of Koh, with some troops entered the city and overpowered the rebels. On the seventh day Haji Maula was killed and his party dispersed. Proceeding to the Red Palace Hamid Khan deposed and killed

Alvi sitting on the throne. Ala-ud-Din could not leave Rantambhar. to settle the affairs of Delhi. He sent his brother Ulugh Khan who succeeded in restoring order within a short time. Every body connected with the rising was severely punished. The sons and grand-sons of the late Kotwal Fakhr-ud-Din were killed although they were not in any way connected with the conspiracy. No further rebellion troubled the Sultan. He now concentrated all his energies upon Rantambhar. The Rajputs held out for more than a year. Finally the Musalmans succeeded in escalading the walls of the fort. Hambir Dev, with his noble band of troops and Mughal horsemen who had taken shelter there were put to the sword (July, 1301 A. D.). After the reduction of the fort, which was considered the strongest in Hindustan Ala-ud-Din returned to Delhi leaving Ulugh Khan as governor of the place. Ulugh Khan died after four or five months.

Capture of Chitor.

In 1303 A. D. he sent an expedition to Warrangal through Bengal, and he himself proceeded against Chitor. It took him six months in reducing the fort. He suffered great loss in reducing the principal place of the Rajputs of the Sesodia tribe. The Sultan had heard of the great beauty of Rani Padmini. In the first encounter Rana Bhim Singh was defeated and taken as a prisoner. A message was sent to the Rani that if she came to Ala-ud-Din's harem her husband

would be released. In consultation with the Rajput heroes she agreed to go to the Muslim camp. She was allowed to take with her seven hundred attendants in strict privacy. When they had entered the camp the proud Rajput warriors who had gone under cover freed the Rana and carried him off to Chitor. But the Musalman troops attacked the fort with irresistible fury. The noble defence of the Rajputs and specially the heroism of the two young warriors, Gora and Badal form a glorious chapter in the legends of Rajputana. Before the fall of Chitor Rajput women headed by Padmini entered fire to save the honour of their race. It is estimated that about 30,000 Rajputs gave up their lives for upholding their honour. The government of Chitor was entrusted to the King's eldest son Khizr Khan and the place was named Khizrabad. But shortly afterwards the prince left the place and it was given to Maldeo, the chief of Jalor, who ruled the state as a tributary of the Raja. Towards the end of Ala-ud-Din's reign Hamir, a son of the former Raja expelled Maldeo and restored its independence.

Fresh Inroads of Mughals.

When Ala-ud-Din was engaged in Chitor, and his other forces had been to Warrangal the Mughals again resolved to attack Delhi. Receiving the news of Targhi approaching towards the capital with 120,000 horse the Sultan postponed his plan of going south and returned to Delhi. The army of Hindustan had also returned from

War rangal but had not yet reached Delhi. All the roads to Delhi had been cut off by the enemy. Ala-ud-Din came out of the city and took his position at Siri but he could not drive away the Mughals. The city was in a beleaguered condition for two months, but one day the Mughals suddenly disappeared to the great relief of the Sultan and the citizens of Delhi.

The constant attacks of the Mughals made Ala-ud-Din realise his position. He felt the urgent need of organising the defence of his territories. He began to fortify and rebuild the forts and increase his army, and gave up his ideas of going out into campaigns. He built a palace at Siri and removed his capital there. All the forts lying on the route of the Mughals were refitted and new forts were built wherever necessary. Strong garrisons were placed in Samana and Dipalpur, and experienced and tried officers were deputed to the forts in the Punjab and the frontiers. He increased his forces very largely but found that a large army required heavy expenditure which the treasury was not sufficiently strong to meet. He proposed to reduce the pay of the army but his advisers counselled him to reduce the prices of provisions by regulations. This appealed to the king and he issued a number of regulations fixing the price of every article of use. An officer was appointed as controller of the markets. Arrangements were made for paying tribute in kind, and a number of granaries were erected in different places. Whenever there was scarcity the granaries were opened and grains sold at the fixed

price. All the carriers in the kingdom had to submit to the orders of the controller of the markets. No merchant could secretly sell anything above the fixed price. The revenue officers had to give an undertaking that they would see that corn was sold to the carriers by the *raiya*s on the corn-fields. Every day the Sultan had to be kept informed of the condition of the markets and the market rates. These regulations were strictly enforced and by this means the Sultan succeeded in maintaining a strong army. He was no longer afraid of the Mughals, although a number of raids were undertaken by these people.

In 1304 A.D. Ali Beg, a descendant of Chengiz Khan, and Tartak or Khwaja Tash advanced as far as Amroha with about 40,000 horse. They were defeated by Malik Nayak Akhur Beg and the leaders with several thousand troops were brought as prisoners to Delhi, and were slain under the feet of the elephants. Other raids were similarly dealt with. The number of the slain was so great that a town was built with their heads outside the Badayun gate. The last raid was led by Iqbalmauda who was slain with many thousands of his followers. No Mughal returned alive. This incident put so much dread of the Musalmans in the minds of the Mughals that they did not dream of coming to Hindustan for many years. Henceforth the Punjab and the frontier provinces became prosperous under peaceful administration. For these years the government of Dipalpur and Lahore was in the hands of Ghazi

Malik who sent a challenge to the Mughals every winter.

Conquest of Malwa.

When the affairs of the Punjab and the frontier provinces were settled the Sultan sent Ain-ul-Mulk to complete the conquest of Malwa. Rai Mahlok Deo and his minister Koka had a big army consisting of about forty thousand cavalry and a large number of infantry. Ain-ul-Mulk entered Mandu in the darkness of night and killed the Rai who tried to escape (Nov. 1305 A.D.) Within a short time he reduced the cities of Ujjain, Mandu, Dharanagari and Chanderi. The Raja of Jhalwar surrendered without opposition. Ain-ul-Mulk was appointed governor of Malwa and Mandu.

The conquest of Siwana, a fort about one hundred parasangs from Delhi completed the conquest of Northern India. Rai Satal Deo, the Raja of Siwana, had a strong army and the Muslim army could not reduce the fort in five or six years. In 1308 A. D. Ala-ud-Din came in person, the fort was taken and the Raja killed according to Amir Khusru, but Ferishta says that the Raja ultimately surrendered and was forced to part with a large portion of his territory.

Subjugation of Devagiri.

Ramdeo, Raja of Devagiri, had agreed to pay an annual tribute when Ala-ud-Din invaded his territories in the reign of Jalal-ud-Din. But when the Sultan was

busy with his affairs in the north the Raja did not send his tribute for three years. So Ala-ud-Din despatched an expedition against him in 1307 A. D. Kafur who had risen in the favours of the king became a Malik and was placed in command of the army consisting of 30,000 horse. Khwaja Haj was appointed second in command, and it was arranged that Ain-ul Mulk, governor of Malwa, and Alp Khan, governor of Guzerat, with their respective troops would join Kafur on the way. Kewala Devi, the captive Rani of Guzerat, who had been forced to marry Ala-ud-Din was anxious to have her surviving daughter Devala Devi with her. On her solicitation the Sultan directed Malik Kafur to comply with her request. After passing through Malwa Malik Kafur halted at Sultanpur on the border of the Deccan and Alp Khan according to his instructions demanded Rai Tej Karan to give up his daughter Devala Devi. The Raja could not agree to this humiliating proposal. He applied to the Raja of Devagiri for help. To avoid the difficulty Ramdev wanted the girl for his son Sankar Dev. But Rai Karan being a Rajput was not willing to give her daughter to a Mahratta. Circumstanced as he was he had to give his unwilling consent and sent the princess with Bhim Dev, brother of Sankar Dev. Rai Karan, being assured of the support of Devagiri, opposed Alp Khan on his march through Baglana to join Malik Kafur. The Raja was however defeated and fled to Devagiri. He was pursued by Alp Khan, and the Moslem troops marched

towards Devagiri. Alp Khan had lost all hope of securing Devala Devi when she fell into his hands by an accident. The army halted at a place within one day's march from Devagiri, when about 300 soldiers went to see the caves of Ellora. On their way they saw a body of horse coming. This was the party of Bhim Dev escorting Devala Devi. The Moslem troops in a desperate condition attacked the Mahrattas and within a short time scattered them in all directions. The horse of Devala Devi being pierced by an arrow she fell on the ground and was captured. From the talk of her female attendants her identity was discovered. Alp Khan returned with her to Guzerat and from there to Delhi. Prince Khizr Khan fell in love with her and finally married her, which has been described in the poems of Amir Khusru.

Malik Kafur continued his march to Devagiri. The Maharashtra was laid waste and finding resistance useless Ram Dev surrendered unconditionally. He was taken to Delhi along with a large quantity of treasures and seventeen elephants. The Sultan received the Raja with kindness and granted him the title of *Rai-Rayan* and he was restored to his government, with the addition of some more districts. The Raja remained loyal to the Sultan for this kindness and henceforth paid tribute regularly. The district of Nowsari near Guzerat was granted to him as a personal estate.

Expedition to Telingana.

The country in the east coast south of Orissa was known as Telingana. It touched the kingdom of the Yadavas on the west. At the request of the Raja of Orissa an expedition was sent against it through Bengal (1303 A. D.). But this expedition proved a failure. In 1309 A. D. Malik Naib Kafur was sent through the Deccan which was now under the control of Delhi. Malik Naib was accompanied by Khwaja Haji. The army passed through Masudpur, Sultanpur, and crossing the Narmada reached Nilkanth on the border of Devagiri. Ram Dev gave them every assistance through his territories. The road was very difficult as they had to march over stones, hills, streams, ravines and narrow pathways. Passing through the territories of Vijaynagar the army reached Sabar, a fort within Telingana. All the forts on the way to Warrangal, the capital of the kingdom, were captured, the country was devastated by the Moslem troops. The outer works of the fort of Warrangal were of mud. The Raja with the chiefs remained within the stone fort in the interior. The people offered resistance to the incoming troops to their best. The siege continued for some months. The Musalmans escalated by means of ladders, and in many places the mud walls gave way. When they could not stand any more Raja Pratap Rudra Dev, called by the Moslem writers Rai Laddar Dev, sent a golden image of himself, with a chain round the neck as a mark of submission, and

along with it a large quantity of presents. The Malik accepted the presents but would not receive the image. He sent for the Raja who came to him next morning with all the treasures and jewels he had in his treasury. He did not keep anything for himself, and further promised to pay an annual tribute to Delhi. Malik Kafur returned with 100 elephants, 7000 horse and large quantities of jewels and valuables (March, 1310 A. D.). One thousand camels could not carry the heavy spoils. He marched through Devagiri, Dhar and Jhain. On reaching Delhi he was decorated with honours and his plunder was exhibited before an assembly of chiefs and nobles.

March to the extreme south.

There were still a number of Hindu Kingdoms in South India. The Hoysala Kings of Dwara-Samudra were very prosperous and in their neighbourhood was M'abar, on the sea coast 300 parasangs in length from Kulam to Nellore. It was a great centre of trade carrying on business with China on the east and Persia and Arabia on the west. Malik Kafur marched against these kingdoms in November, 1310 A. D. He proceeded through Devagiri, crossed the Godavari at Paithan and reached the sea coast after three months' march from Delhi. The Hindus who came to oppose him were all swept away before the wave of Muslim onslaught. Vir Ballal had recently built up a strong kingdom. Taking advantage of a quarrel between two brothers

of the royal family of M'abar he went to plunder the coast, but on the approach of Malik Kafur he returned to his own capital. He was however afraid of resisting Kafur, and like the Rajas of Devagiri and Warrangal easily submitted. Vir Ballal not only surrendered all his treasures and a large number of elephants, Kafur further demanded that he should either accept Islam or become a *Zimmi* on condition that he paid a regular tax. The Raja accepted the latter position but would not part with his sacred thread.

From Dwara-Samudra Malik Kafur marched to M'abar. There were two Rais in M'abar. One of them fled into the jungles and the Malik could not trace him. The Musalmans destroyed all the temples at Birdhul, destroyed the images, killed the Brahmans and bagged a large quantity of gold and jewels from the temples and palaces (April, 1311 A. D.).

From Birdhul they proceeded to Madura, when the city was deserted by the Rai with his Ranis. There were only two or three elephants which the Malik captured and the temple destroyed. The army now returned to Delhi with 612 elephants, 96,000 *mans* of gold, a large quantity of jewels and pearls, and 20,000 horses. Gold was distributed amongst the *amirs* and officers according to their rank. "The old inhabitants of Delhi remarked" says Barni "that so many elephants and so much gold had never before been brought into Delhi. No one could remember anything like it nor was there anything like it recorded in history."

Rebellions and intrigues towards the close of the reign.

The conquests of Malik Kafur in the South marked the highest level of the Sultan's prosperity and powers. The last three years of his reign were full of troubles. He tried to concentrate the business of government in one office, but there was no able minister. He had full confidence in Malik Kafur, who was hated by the nobles. His sons were not properly educated, they were given independent charge before they were fit for it. The kingdoms which have been plundered and made tributaries were not thoroughly subjugated. They were seeking opportunity to throw off their allegiance. The first to revolt was Sankar Dev of Devagiri, who had succeeded his father Ram Deva. At the time of Malik Kafur's march to Dwara-Sumudra he did not render any assistance. The Raja of Telingana also said that he would pay his tribute at Devagiri. Sankara Dev also withheld his tribute for sometime. Malik Kafur proceeded for the fourth time to the Deccan (1312 A. D.). Sankar Dev was defeated and brutally killed. Kafur ravaged the Maharashtra and Canara as far as Raichur and Mudkal. He stayed for sometime at Devagiri and exacted tribute from the kingdoms of Telingana and the Carnatic.

There was a conspiracy set up by the new Musalmans against the Sultan. Many of the nobles of their race had lost their employment or their grants reduced during the Mughal invasions. They formed a plot of

capturing the body of the king when he would be out hawking. But before it could mature the report of their conspiracy reached the Sultan. The Sultan gave orders to root out the race of these Mughals, and we are told 15,000 of these unfortunate creatures were killed in one day, although only a few were implicated in the plot.

On account of intemperance and excess the Sultan ruined his constitution, and was attacked with dropsy. His days were numbered. Different parties started intrigues over the succession to the throne. Malik Kafur had been summoned from Devagiri and Alp Khan from Guzerat. The Queen neglected her husband and was trying to secure the throne for her son Shadi Khan with the help of Alp Khan by marrying one of his daughters to the prince. Khizr Khan, who was nominated as heir-apparent, was waiting for the time to mount the throne, while he was busy in riotous revelry. The king was easily irritated, and Kafur poisoned his ears by giving reports against the Queen, Alp Khan and Khizr Khan. The prince was first sent to Amroha and then imprisoned in Gwalior. Alp Khan was put to death and the Queen was turned out of the Red Palace. These intrigues produced great discontent throughout the empire. A revolt took place in Guzerat where Kamal-ud-Din Garg who was sent by Kafur was killed by the adherents of Alp Khan. In Chitor the Rajputs had asserted their independence, by turning out the Musalman officers, and in Maharashtra Harpal Dev

the son-in-law of Ram Dev had driven out the Muhammadan troops, and had declared himself as the independent Raja of Devagiri. When these disquieting reports began to pour in from all directions Ala-ud-Din died on the 19th December, 1316 A. D. after a reign of more than 20 years. It is believed that death was hastened by his favourite eunuch by means of poison.

Alaud-Din's Character and policy.

Ala-ud-Din was a typical despot. He believed in personal rule more than anything else. He rose to power by wickedness and treachery and naturally therefore he was suspicious of all around him. "He was a man of no learning" says Zia-ud-Din Barni "and never associated with men of learning. He could not read or write a letter. He was bad-tempered, obstinate and hard-hearted, but the world smiled upon him, fortune befriended him, and his schemes were generally successful, so he only became the more reckless and arrogant." Ferishta says that he realised the disadvantages of illiteracy, acquired some proficiency by private study, and showed particular favour to two eminent men viz. Kazi Moulana Kohrami and Kazi Moghis-ud-Din. He used to consult the latter very often. When he acquired great wealth by his extensive campaigns he directed his attention towards good government. The numerous rebellions in the first part of his reign made him enquire of the causes of these troubles. After deliberations for some nights with his nobles he accepted

the following as the main causes: (1) The Sultan did not pay due attention to the business of the state, and on account of this, grievances of the people were not redressed; (2) Drinking of wine and holding parties for the purpose greatly helped conspiracies; (3) Too much intimacy among the nobles and frequent inter-marriages increased their power; (4) Increase of money made people independent.

He applied himself to remove these causes. He organised a system of espionage by which he kept himself informed of the movements of the people and their grievances. "He procured intelligence of the most secret discourses of the families of note in the city" says Ferishta, "as well as every transaction or movement in the most distant provinces, and executed justice with such rigour, that robbery and theft, formerly so common, were not heard of in the land. The traveller slept secure on the highway and the merchant carried his commodity in safety from the sea of Bengal to the mountains of Labul, and from Telinghana to Kashmir." This is really high praise. Ibn Batuta who visited India in the reign of Muhammad Tughlak confirms this opinion by saying "He was one of the best of Sultans, and the people of India eulogize him highly." Of course this eulogy had no value when we consider the unsettled state of things in India. He gave up wine-drinking and issued orders prohibiting its sale and drinking. Wine-bibbers and wine sellers were confined in the cells dug outside the Budayun gate.

After the issue of this order conspiracies diminished. He also forbade too much inter-mixing and feasting of the nobles. He confiscated the property of all descriptions, held by proprietary right, in free gift or as a religious endowment. "Many were left without any money" says Barni, "till at length it came to pass that excepting *Maliks* and *Amirs* officials, *Multanis*, and bankers no one possessed even a trifle in cash." The people had to be always busy with the thought of earning their livelihood, so that they could not dream of rebellion.

He was particularly harsh upon the Hindus. A set of special rules and regulations were promulgated to grind down the Hindus. One rule was applied for the payment of tribute, so that the burden upon the poorest was not the heaviest. All cultivation had to be carried at a definite rate, and half the produce had to be paid. A tax was imposed upon buffaloes and goats and other animals giving milk. The pasture lands were also taxed. Collection was enforced very strictly. The revenue collectors and clerks were hated by the people for their cruelty. The pressure of taxation was so heavy that "No Hindu could hold up his head and in their house no sign of gold or silver, *tankas* or *jitals*, or of any superfluity was to be seen." Even the wives of the well-to-do persons in utter destitution had to serve for hire in the house of the Musalmans. The spirit of the Muhammadans as it was explained by Kazi Moghli-ud-Din, was to consider the Hindus as *Kharj-Gu:ars*

or payers of tribute, and Zimmi, and it was held as a religious duty to keep them in abasement, to slay them, to plunder them and make them captive, and they thought that it was the command of the Prophet who said "Convert them to Islam or kill them, enslave them and spoil their wealth and property". Ala-ud-Din followed the policy of oppression not as a religious bigot but with a view to crush disaffection and the spirit of rebellion. He once told the Kazi "Although I have not studied the science or the Book, I am a Musalman of a Musalman stock. To prevent rebellion in which thousands perish I issue such orders as I conceive to be for the good of the state, and the benefit of the people. Men are heedless, disrespectful and disobey my commands; I am then compelled to be severe to bring them into obedience. I do not know whether this is lawful or unlawful, whatever I think to be good of the state or suitable for the emergency that I decree."

The state meant, of course, the king with his big harem, and the large retinue of attendants and soldiers who were constantly employed to keep him in power. We are told that his household servants only numbered 17,000 and that he had a cavalry of 475,000. The Sultan once asked the opinion of the Kazi regarding the rights of the king and his children in the public treasury. The Kazi said it depended upon what the king considered himself, an ordinary fighting man, a chief officer, or something more than any of

them. When his reply did not please the all-powerful Sultan the poor Kazi in fear of his life said, "I do fear your Majesty's sword, and I look upon this my turban as my winding sheet; but your Majesty questions me about the law and I answer to the best of my ability. If however, you ask my advice in a political point of view, then I say that whatever your Majesty spends upon your harem no doubt tends to raise your dignity in the eyes of men and the exaltation of the king's dignity is a requirement of good policy."

He made sufficient display of the wealth he acquired by his campaigns against the rich Hindu States or oppressive levies upon the Hindu subjects. "His wealth and power were never equalled by any prince who sat before him on the the throne of Hindustan, and they surpassed by far the riches accumulated in the ten campaigns of Mahmud Ghazni, all of which were left for others to enjoy," says Ferishta. It is described by Zia-ud-Din Barni regarding the early part of his reign that he had little to do beyond attending to his pleasures, giving feast and holding festivals. Every year he had two or three sons born, affairs of the state went on according to his wish and to his satisfaction, his treasury was overflowing, boxes and caskets of jewels and pearls were daily displayed before his eyes, he had numerous elephants in his stables and seventy thousand horses in the city and environs. This grandeur was greatly enhanced by the plunders brought by Malik Kafur

from the South. His iron administration increased peace on the land and his Musalman nobles who remained loyal to him became prosperous. He extended his patronage to the holy and learned persons. "Order and justice prevailed in the most distant provinces" says Ferishta, "and magnificence raised her head in the land. Palaces, mosques universities, baths, mausolea, forts and all kinds of public and private buildings, seemed to rise as if by magic. Neither did there in any age appear such a concourse of learned men from all parts. Forty-five doctors, skilled in sciences, were professors in the Universities." The best known poet of his reign was Amir Khursu. There were many historians and chroniclers receiving pensions from the court.

Although Ala-ud-Din extended his sway from Kashmir to Madura and from Guzerat to Bengal, exacted his tributes from all parts, administered justice ruthlessly to enforce order, amassed great wealth with the help of a gigantic army he could not lay down the foundation of a government which would endure in India. He was an oppressor of the Hindus who constituted the main population. He humiliated the Maliks and nobles by his rigid regulations. His patronage towards Kafur a man of obscure origin alienated the sympathy of the men of his court. He humiliated or severely punished the men through whose treachery of their old master he came to the throne. The system of government there was none. The vast empire that he built was like a pyramid standing on its apex, and it toppled

down as soon as the master hand was removed. His sons were unfit to maintain it as they were not properly trained for the high position.

The successors of Ala-ud-Din.

Malik Kafur ran the government for thirty-five days after the death of Ala-ud-Din, in the name of Shahab-ud-Din Umar, the youngest son of the late Sultan, and scarcely six years old. A spurious will of Ala-ud-Din was produced in the assembly of the nobles and officers on the second day after his death, and after granting the child the throne Kafur blinded Khizr Khan who was the heir-apparent at Gwalior and Shadi Khan in the palace of Siri, and their mother was thrown out of the palace and put into close confinement. The partisans of Khizr Khan were severely dealt with. He also intended to disable Mubarak Khan by blinding him, so that he might not entertain any idea of succeeding to the throne. But the men who were sent to perform the atrocious deed, influenced by the appeals of the Prince gave up the idea, and instigated Malik Mashir, the commander of the foot-guards to set up a conspiracy. The *Paiks* entered the apartments of Malik Kafur at night and killed him along with his confederates.

These *Paiks* who were in the service of Ala-ud-Din released Mubarak Khan and made him the Regent. But Mubarak shortly afterwards assumed full sovereignty by sending Shahab-ud-Din Umar to

Gwalior where the prince was deprived of his eye-sight.

Kutub-ud-Din ascended the throne in 1317 A. D. He was a young man of eighteen and had many friends among the *Maliks* and *Amirs*. The men who helped him to the throne demanding too many privileges were dispersed and killed in the very first year of his reign. He contracted friendship with a Parwari young man named Hasan, whom he raised to distinction, conferred upon him big estates and gave him the title of Khusru Khan. He was made the Vizier and Commander of the forces. He granted amnesty to 17,000 political prisoners on the day of his accession and earned popularity by granting six months' pay to the army, and increasing the grants and allowances to the nobles. He revoked all the rigorous regulations of Ala-ud-Din and people were allowed to carry on their transactions freely. The confiscated lands were restored to their owners and the country returned to the natural state of things. The chronicler says, "In his reign there was no deficiency in the crops, no alarm from the Mughals, no irreparable calamity from above visited the earth, no revolt or great disturbances arose in any quarter, not a hair of any one was injured, and the name of grief or sorrow never entered the breast or passed from the tongue of any one."

The revolt of Alp Khan in Guzerat was suppressed by Ain-ul-Mulk in the very first year of the reign, and Zafar Khan, father-in-law of the Sultan took the place of Alp Khan as governor of the province. In 1318 A.D.

the Sultan proceeded against Harpal Dev of Devagiri, who had asserted independence after the death of Malik Kafur. On the approach of the army of Delhi the Mahrattas fled in all directions. Harpal Dev was captured and flayed alive. Malik Yaklakhi was appointed governor of Devagiri and the Mahratta country completely brought under control. Khusru Khan was sent to M'abar with a large army to follow in the footsteps of Malik Kafur, and the Sultan returned to Delhi. Khusru marched without opposition throughout the South and remained there about a year. But he was a base and designing fellow. On his way to M'abar he plotted with other base followers like himself to remove the king from the throne. He also formed intrigues against some old Maliks who were loyal to the Sultan.

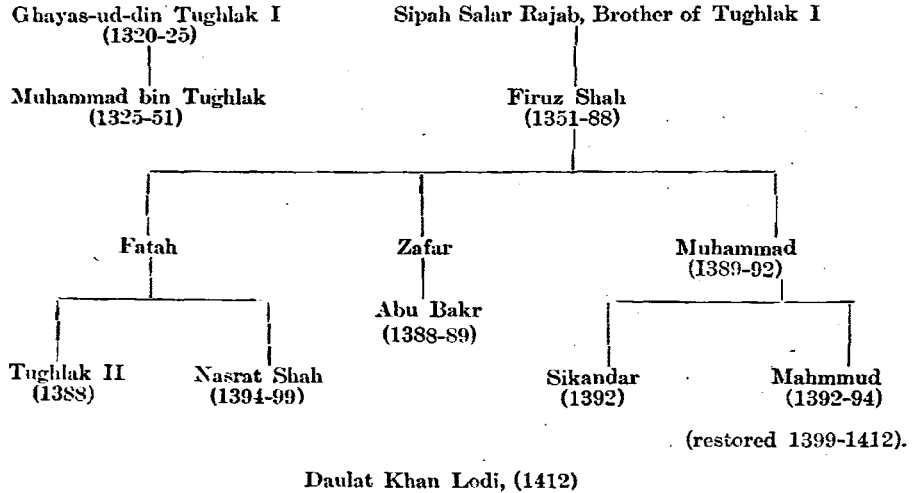
But Kutb-ud-Din was so infatuated with the vile Parwari that he sent for him from the Deccan to confound the Maliks. He spent his time in dissipation and low pleasures, appointed to high office young men of low birth, and disgraced and insulted the old nobles. "The good qualities which the Sultan had possessed were now all perverted. He gave way to wrath and obscenity, to severity, revenge and heartlessness. He dipped his hands in innocent blood, and he allowed his tongue to utter disgusting and abusive words to his companions and attendants" says Barni. Khusru Khan on his return to Delhi procured the punishment of the Maliks who complained against him. He now brought a large number of Parwaris to Delhi and with their

help basely assassinated his master, and perpetrated indescribable inhumanities. Members of the Royal family and the Maliks and Amirs were killed in large numbers, and Khusru mounted the throne under the title of Sultan Nasir-ud-Din (March 24th, 1321 A.D.).

Khusru and his band of Parwaris were now in full possession of the Palace. The Hindus under the impression that the Muslim rule had come to an end joined them. But as they came from the lowest class in the community the Rajputs and other respectable peoples did not co-operate with them. Some of the officers of the late Sultan were retained in service but the important positions were filled by Parwaris. The women of the royal harem were distributed among them, while Khusru kept to himself the widow of the late king. "The flames of violence and cruelty reached to the skies. Copies of the holy book were used as seats, and idols were set up in the pulpits of the Mosque" says Barni. Every attempt was made to increase the power and importance of the Parwaris and Hindus so that Khusru may be assured of his position. He either removed from the scene or influenced most of the old officers. But he was afraid of Ghazi Malik, the Governor of Dipalpur. In order to obtain his support he made his son Muhammad Fakhr-ud-Din Juna, afterwards Sultan Muhammad Tughlak, master of the horse. But Fakhr-ud-Din fled from the court after two months, and his father Malik Ghazi proceeded towards Delhi with a vast army. Khusru distributed three years' salary to the

troops to win their support. But the Musalmans mostly left him. The two armies met at Lahrawat outside Delhi, and after a well-contested battle Khusru fled towards Tilpat. He was captured in a garden, and beheaded. The Parwaris and Hindus were killed wherever they were found. Ghazi Malik on the second day after the battle removed from Indrapat to Siri, called an assembly in the Hazar-Satun, and enquired if there was any descendant of the old royal family alive, so that he might place him on the throne. There was however none left and the nobles said: "Thou, O Ghazi Malik, hast claims upon us. For many years thou hast been a barrier to the Mughals, and hast prevented their coming into Hindustan. Now thou hast done a faithful work, which will be recorded in history; thou hast delivered the Musalmans from the yoke of Hindus and Parwaris; thou hast avenged our benefactors and hast laid every one, rich and poor, under obligation All we who are here present know no one besides thee who is worthy of royalty and fit to rule." The nobles assembled there placed him upon the throne with one voice, and he was henceforth known as Sultan Ghiyas-ud-Din.

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CHAPTER VII.

THE TUGHLAK DYNASTY.

Ghiyas-ud-Din Tughlak.

The new Sultan was a man of mature experience. He was a veteran soldier and an able administrator. He belonged to a tribe called *Karauniah* Turk, i.e. of mixed birth, as it is believed that some Turks married Indian women, and produced this new tribe. Ferishta says that the mother of Ghiyas-ud-Din was a Jat woman and Tughlak is a vulgarism from Kutlugh. Marco Polo also says *Karaunas* meant mixed breed. Ibn Batuta says *Karaunas* were the people inhabiting the country between Sind and the country of the Turks. Ghiyas-ud-Din was very poor and came to Sind as the servant of a merchant. He later on entered the service of Ulugh Khan, brother of Ala-ud-Din Khilji, when he was governor of Sind, as a *Paik* or foot-man. By his courage and bravery he gradually obtained promotion. Ulugh Khan made him his master of the horse, and Kutub-ud-Din Mubarak placed in his charge the frontier province of Dipalpur. As lord of the marches he had to defend the country against the Mughals, and thus he acquired position and power which no other governor could claim.

His advent to power resulted in many healthy

reforms. Within a week the old unrest disappeared and government of the country took a regular course. The surviving members of the old royal family were treated with honour and respect. The nobles received their due position and every body was content. He revised the land revenue system and introduced an equitable method. Only one-tenth or one-eleventh of the gross produce was demanded as revenue. The *raiyats* were left sufficient to improve their cultivation. A new spirit was shown towards the Hindus, whom he did not like to reduce to poverty and destitution but at the same time he did not want them to be "blinded with wealth." The old buildings and forts were repaired, and a code of laws based upon the Quran was drawn up so that people might feel security of life and property. He also invited to the court men of genius and learning. The defensive works in the frontiers were fortified and strong garrisons were placed there against the Mughals. Within a short time the country began to enjoy peace and prosperity.

During the troubled condition of Delhi the Hindu chiefs of the South tried to throw off their allegiance. The Raja of Telingana had not paid his tribute for some years. So in 1321 A. D. the Sultan sent his son Malik Fakhr-ud-Din now called Ulugh Khan, with a large number of nobles and big forces from Chanderi, Budayun and Malwa. The people of Devagiri joined the prince. Without opposition the army reached the fort of Warrangal, where the Hindus assembled in large

numbers. Ulugh Khan invested the place, vigorous fight went on for some days, till Rai Laddar Dev, in great distress, sued for peace. But Ulugh Khan would not be satisfied with any thing less than the reduction of the fort and capture of the Rai. In the meantime a report was circulated in pursuance of a design, that the Sultan was dead. Some of the armies fearing danger left the prince who now hurried back to Delhi. The Sultan made an example of Ubaid the poet, who spread the false story, and other rebels by impaling them alive. Four months afterwards Ulugh Khan returned to the Deccan with strong reinforcements. His first conquest on this occasion was Bidar. Then he attacked Warragal, and after a few days the fort was captured, and the Rai surrendered with all his *Rais* and *Mukaddims* with their families, elephants and horses. The Rai was sent to Delhi, Warragal was called henceforth Sultanpur, and new officers were appointed for the administration of the province of Telingana and captured there forty elephants. The empire at this time was so well-protected that the Mughal armies which attacked the frontiers were heavily repulsed, and two of their generals brought as prisoners to Delhi.

Some of the Maliks who left the camp of Ulugh Khan in the Deccan fled to Bengal. There Ghiyas-ud-Din Bahadur Shah, a grandson of Nasir-ud-din Bughra Khan, had quarrelled with his brothers, Nasir-ud-din and Shahab-ud-Din. Bughra Khan.

ruled as an independent king at Sonargaon in East Bengal. Nasir-ud-Din held the fief of Lakhnauti, including North Behar. Complaints were sent to the Sultan against the tyranny and oppressive rule of Bahadur Shah. Ghiyas-ud-Din marched towards Bengal leaving his son, Ulugh Khan as his viceroy at Delhi. Nasir-ud-Din surrendered at Tirhut and Ghiyas-ud-Din Bahadur was soon brought as prisoner. Tatar Khan, an adopted son of the Sultan was appointed governor of Sonargaon, Nasir-ud-Din was confirmed as governor of Lakhnauti with the overlordship of Sonargaon, and Bahadur Shah was carried back to Delhi as one of his nobles. On receiving news of his victory. Ulugh Khan made preparations for his reception at Afghanpur, about eight miles from Tughlakabad, where the Sultan had removed his capital. A palace of wood or *kushk* was erected in three days, and when the Sultan returned from Bengal he was received there with great pomp. At the close of the feast the pavilion collapsed, some say on account of the fall of a thunder-bolt, Ibn Butata says on account of the march of the elephants, and the Sultan with his younger son Mahmud was killed by the fall of the structure (February, 1325 A. D.). There is sufficient evidence to prove that the whole thing was arranged, and that Ulugh Khan although nominated as heir-apparent was anxious to shorten his period of apprenticeship. "But", as Ferishta has said, "God only knows the real truth. Ghiyas-ud-Din died after a reign of a little over

four years, and he left his mark upon the administration of the country in every department.

Muhammad Tughlak (1325-51 A. D.).

The throne of Delhi was never adorned by a more accomplished or a more competent ruler than Ulugh Khan, who succeeded his father under the title of Muhammad Tughlak. He was a good scholar and an able general. He was also endowed with a rich imagination. He was proficient in the different branches of learning such as physics, logic, and studied thoroughly the Quranic literatures and the philosophical writings. He had a fine taste for literature, and could write poetry, and he had the reputation of a good calligraphist. "No learned or scientific man, or scribe, or poet, or wit, or physician, says Barni, "could have had the presumption to argue with him about his own special pursuit, nor would he have even been able to maintain his position against the throttling arguments of the Sultan." He was also kind and generous and would even visit the patients in the hospital. But as the autocratic ruler of the vast dominions of India he could not brook any opposition to his will. He could not bear any criticism of his action nor could he tolerate the fanaticism of the Mullahs. He was very harsh in giving punishment. "His mind was cast to know" says Thomas, "no mercy or compassion as a judge, and he was led to carry out his best-intentioned measures with an utter disregard of human suffering." The Moorish traveller, Ibn Batuta, who was

present in his court describes him as a compound of generosity and cruelty. "Muhammed s a man" says he, "who, above all others, is fond of making presents and shedding blood. There may always be seen at his gate some person becoming rich, or some living one condemned to death." He was strictly religious and free from the common vice of those days. In spite of all these good qualities people remember him as a cruel monarch full of idiosyncracies and mad projects. He succeeded to a vast empire, and himself tried to keep the distant provinces under proper control, but most of these states cut themselves off from the government of Delhi shortly afterwards. His reign therefore may well be studied as the most interesting epoch in the history of the middle ages. In the beginning of his reign he was harassed by the attacks of the Mughals. They conquered Lughan, Multan and the northern provinces and were marching upon Delhi when the Sultan purchased peace by offering valuable presents almost equal the price of the kingdom. They retreated through Guzerat and Sind and carried rich plunder and many prisoners.

The wild projects of the Sultan.

He formed a number of schemes without consulting any of his friends or advisers. Whatever he considered as good he tried to carry out at whatever cost it might be. In pursuance of his wild schemes he disregarded the feelings and convenience of the people, and tried to carry them out with all the ferocity of his

temper. When they failed he became still more wild, and his oppression became still more unbearable, and the distant districts began to revolt. "These schemes effected the ruin of the Sultan's empire" says Barui, "and the decay of the people. Every one of them that was enforced wrought some wrong and mischief, and the minds of all men, high and low, were disgusted with their ruler. Territories and districts which had been securely selected were lost."

(a). The first project which created great bitterness and hardship was his attempt to enhance the tributes from the Doab, oppressive *abwabs* or cesses were imposed and "collected so rigorously that the *rai-yats* were impoverished and reduced to beggary." Many people gave up cultivation and fled to the jungles. To add to the distress of the people there was deficiency of rain, and the result was famine which continued for some years. Thousands of people died of starvation. He later on tried to mitigate the distress by distributing food for six months, granting agricultural loans and excavating wells. But these measures did not go very far in solving the situation.

(b) His second project was the removal of the capital from Delhi to Deogiri. It is rather difficult to guess why he ordered the transfer. Ibn Batuta says that he was angry with the citizens of Delhi for sending him letters full of insults and invectives. "He decided to ruin Delhi, so he purchased all the houses and inns from the inhabitants, paid them the price and then

ordered them to remove to Daulatabad." The fact that he ordered the entire population of Delhi to remove to Devagiri which began to be called henceforth Daulatabad lends support to the view of Ibn Batuta. Ferishta says that the Sultan was pleased with the situation of Devagiri as it was more central than Delhi. This view is corroborated by the earlier historian Zia-ud-Din Barni. Delhi, Guzerat, Lakhnauti, Sat-gaon, Sonargaon, Tilang, M'abar, Dwara-Samudra and Kampila were almost equidistant from that place. According to Ferishta his counsellors were in favour of Ujjain. Devagiri held the key to the Deccan which was then considered to be the richest part of India. But this does not explain the drastic order for the transfer of every body, even the cats and dogs. The capital could have been removed without destroying Delhi. It is evident that he had some grudge against the old capital. Ibn Batuta visited Delhi when it was still deserted, and his information may not be altogether without foundation. Devagiri was seven hundred miles from Delhi. Trees were planted along the roads to give shade to travellers, and money was given to those who could not defray their own expenses. The journey was so tedious that many people died on the way.

Delhi was an old city and rivalled Baghdad and Cairo. Barni says it spread over four or five *kos*. Ibn Batuta is very lavish in his praise of this city as a famous city uniting beauty and strength. It was the largest city in India, and in fact of all

countries subject to Islam in the East. The wall surrounding the city was eleven cubits thick, and there were twenty-eight gates. It commanded a strategic position, as not only it held the route to the plains of Northern India, but it could also watch the movements of the Mughals in the north-west frontier. All the provinces of Northern India could be approached from it by well-known routes. It had ample scope for growth and expansion, as already it consisted of four cities viz. Delhi, Siri, Tughlakabad and Jahan-panah. Daulatabad did not possess all these advantages. It was not properly connected by natural routes with the eastern provinces, nor was it possible to maintain the defence of the frontiers against the Mughals from such a long distance. Daulatabad stood on the top of a small hill. Muhammad Tughlak invested much money and labour in making it fit for the capital. He erected a number of new buildings, dug a deep ditch round the fort, and set up a number of reservoirs for storing water on the hills. In spite of all its charms Daulatabad could not make the citizens of Delhi happy in their new homes. After a few years pestilence raged in the city, and the Sultan gave permission to the people to return to Delhi. But it took a long time to repeople the old capital.

(c). The third project of Muhammad Tughlak was of a very sweeping nature. He wanted to organise a gigantic army to bring about the conquest of the whole habitable world. The gold and silver he had in the treasury was not sufficient for the purpose. He there-

fore formed the project of a token currency without the necessary safeguards for the success of such a scheme. Kublai Khan had devised the plan of paper currency in China, and it was a success there. But Muhammad Tughlak issued an order that copper coins would be equivalent to silver and gold coins. A token currency in order to be successful requires that the issuing authority should be one, and that any other party issuing or manufacturing such currency should be properly punished and that there should be stability of government in the country so that people may have full confidence in the issuing authority. The experiment of Muhammad Tughlak lacked all these requisites. Many people began to manufacture copper coins. The issue of gold and silver coins was not stopped. Tribute was paid in copper coins, but the state had to make payment in gold and silver. In course of time there was so much copper currency in circulation that the value of the old coins rose four-fold or five-fold. The Royal Mint did not possess any special machinery to mark off its own output from the coins manufactured by others. This depreciated currency produced dislocation of trade, and after sometime when the Sultan saw his mistake he repealed the edict. The experiment however depleted the treasury considerably. The Sultan became very bitter at his failure.

(d). Muhammad Tughlak wasted a vast amount of money in his projects for sending expeditions outside India. He had a plan of conquering Khorasan and

Irak. He tried to influence the officials and leading men of these countries by offering them vast sums of money. These men got the money but did not help Muhammad in his projects. He had raised an immense army of 370,000 horse for the purpose. For full one year the army was maintained out of the treasury, but when the plan of the expedition fell through it was disbanded. The loss to the treasury on this account was immense. He sent an expedition with 100,000 horse and a host of infantry against the Hindu King of Karachil on the Himalayas between India and China. The vast army perished and only ten men returned to Delhi to give the news of the disaster. All these failures made the Sultan furious, and weakened his hold upon the princes and peoples of India.

Revolts and disturbances.

Muhammad Tughlak had brought under control almost the whole of India. His empire consisted of no less than twenty-three provinces, according to one authority, scattered from the borders of Afghanistan to Malabar in the south and from Guzerat to Jajnapur in the east. In the Punjab were the provinces of Lahore, Multan, Kohram, Samanah, Siwistan, Uch, Sirsuti, Hansi, Delhi; further east were Budayun, Kanauj, Oudh, Karrah, Bihar, Lakhnauti, Jajnapur, in the west Guzerat, in the centre Malwa, Kalanur, in the south Devagiri, Telingana, Dwara-Samudra, and Malabar. The old rulers in these places were replaced by governors appointed from

Delhi. But the method of selection made the government liable to great risks. The Sultan was a man of mixed tribe, and the majority of the nobles were Turks and Khiljis. The court was filled with adventurers from abroad, and the rulers had no confidence in the Hindus. All these parties in trying to obtain their own supremacy quarrelled amongst themselves and the Sultan could not count upon the allegiance of any one of them. None of them were interested in the stability of government, and therefore they were prepared in aiding or instigating any rebellion. "So that the annals of the period" says Dr. Thomas, "represent a mere succession of outbreak, no sooner was one section of the empire brought back to its allegiance than another division would seek to assert its independence." The Sultan had to take the field himself and when he went to suppress rebellion in one place it broke out in another part. Delhi was distant from most parts and the removal of the capital to Daulatabad did not improve matters. The roads were not in good order, nor were they safe. Tributes collected from the South accumulated at Daulatabad, money from Bengal hardly reached the capital. The governors of the different provinces tried to reduce the control of the Sultan.

The first person to revolt against the authority of the Sultan was Bahram Abiya at Multan. This happened when Muhammad Tughlak was at Devagiri. The rebel was easily defeated. The Sultan after this victory stayed for two years at Delhi. About this time the

Doab was ruined by heavy taxes. Land-holders and village chiefs were some killed, some blinded on refusing to pay. The whole country of Baran was plundered and devastated. The heads of the Hindus were hung upon the ramparts of the fort.

In 1333 A.D. Bahram Khan, governor of Sonargaon died, and his armour-bearer, Fakhruddin killed Qadar Khan, governor of Lakhnauti, plundered his treasures, and obtained possession of Satgaon, Lakhnauti and Sonargaon. Henceforth Bengal became an independent kingdom. The Sultan instead of recovering the province, ravaged Hindustan from Kanauj to Dalamau. "Many of the inhabitants fled and took refuge in the jungles," says Barni, "but the Sultan had the jungles surrounded and every inhabitant that was captured was killed."

A third revolt took place in M'abar, where Syed Hasan had become independent. The Sultan was at that time near Kanauj. On receipt of the news he started for Devagiri, taking re-inforcements from Delhi. The famine made his journey troublesome. He demanded heavy tributes from Devagiri, but failing to satisfy him many persons committed suicide. He sent Ahmad Ayyaz as his lieutenant to Delhi, and he personally went to Warrangal. But on account of the outbreak of cholera a large number of his troops perished, and he himself returned to Daulatabad ill. He appointed Malik Kabul *naib-wazir* for Telingana, and then Shahab Sultan was appointed governor of Bidar

with the title of Nasrat Khan. His tutor Katlagh Khan was left in charge of the Mahratta country, and then on his way to Delhi he gave permission to those with whom Daulatabad did not agree to return to the old capital. But famine had reduced the country desolate, and people could not procure their necessaries. The entire country from Malwa to Delhi was full of distress and anarchy. The Sultan advanced loans for cultivation, but people spent the money in purchasing necessaries for which they were severely punished. The rains failed and the cultivators were helpless and inactive. A number of wells were dug for supply of water, but they did not much help cultivation. He suppressed the rebellion of Shaher Afghan in Multan, and proceeded to deal with the rebels of Saman and Samana, who had built *mandals* (strong-holds), refused to pay tribute, and created disturbances. The Sultan killed a large number and brought their chiefs as prisoners to Delhi. They forced to accept Islam and to take service under Musalman nobles. In the South the Hindus of Warrangal under Kanhya Naik overthrew the Muslim rule. Disaffection spread throughout the land.

After a few years the Sultan failing to mitigate the distress of the people allowed them to migrate to other parts. He himself encamped at a place called Sargdwari, on the banks of the Ganges near Kampila. Here he received provisions from Karra and Oudh at a much cheaper price than at Delhi. Ain-ul Mulk,

governor of Oudh and Zafarabad, rendered great service to the Sultan. His position in his provinces was very strong, and many nobles from Delhi went to him for shelter. Katlagh Khan, governor of Daulatabad had a difficult time on account of the disaffection of his officers. Nasrat Khan of Bidar, and Amir Ali of Kulburga rebelled in 1346 A.D. Katlagh Khan succeeded in suppressing both the risings. But the Sultan wanted to replace him by Ain-ul-Mulk, which the latter considered as a punishment on account of his connections with Oudh and Zafarabad. Ain-ul-Mulk suspected that the king was desirous of reducing his powers. So he revolted against him, and suddenly attacked the royal camp at Sargdwari. The Sultan took Ain-ul-Mulk a prisoner after a battle but treated him well, and restored him to his government, as he believed that he had been misled by others. Then he proceeded on his pilgrimage to the shrine of Salar Musa-ud-Ghazi, at Bahraich, and shortly afterwards returned to Delhi.

Confirmation by the Caliph.

As a Musalman Muhammad Tughlak felt that his position should be recognised by the Caliph. At that time the Caliphate was divided into two parts. The Caliph of Egypt represented the line of Abbas. So Muhammad Tughlak sent representatives from Sargdwari to Egypt with an offer of his submission. In 1343 A.D. an embassy from the Caliph came to the Sultan with a robe. The Sultan received him with great respect and

henceforth he called himself a deputy of the Caliph, and ordered the name of the Caliph to be read in the prayers.

Affairs in the Deccan and Guzerat.

The Sultan remained for three or four years at Delhi after his return from Sarg-dwari. He now did his best for the promotion of agriculture. A large amount of money was allotted for distribution as loans, but the officers appointed for the purpose dishonestly helped themselves with the money and the country did not get any benefit. The Sultan in this period patronised and favoured a large number of Mughals. He devised many plans for increasing his revenues. The discontent increased on account of his harsh punishments. To increase the revenues in the Deccan he divided the Mahratta country into four parts, each under a governor. Instructions were given to the governors to put an end to the lives of those who were not well disposed towards the Sultan. Reports against Katlagh Khan reached Delhi, so he was recalled from Daulatabad. His brother Nizam-ud Din was sent to take his place. Katlagh was a tutor of the king. He had increased the income of the state by strict collection, but all money was accumulating at Dhara-giri. The recall of Katlagh Khan was a sad blunder, as it antagonised a large number of officers, and created suspicion in the minds of the people. The new arrangements were very unsatisfactory. The officers were

oppressive and exacting. A man of low birth called Aziz Himar was appointed governor of Dhar and Malwa. He was given special instructions to extirpate the foreign *amirs* who were not likely to be loyal to the central government. Aziz procured the death of eighty such foreign amirs and was presented by the king with a robe of honour. This created a feeling of consternation among the nobles of Devagiri and Guzerat. The king had promoted to high rank a number of men of mean origin, who he considered would be ready weapons in his hands for his wicked designs. The *amirs* in Guzerat rose against Makbul at Dihui and Baroda, carried off his horses and treasures and then proceeded to Cambay. The news of the revolt reached the Sultan in Feb. 1345 A. D. and he then marched towards Guzerat. He did not accept the offer of Katlagh Khan to lead an army to suppress the rebellion. During his absence Firoz, Malik Kabir and Ahmad Ayyaz were appointed to look after the business of government at Delhi, Aziz, governor of Dhar, went in advance to deal with the rebels, but he was killed by them, and his army defeated.

The Sultan proceeded along Sultanpur, Anhilwara, through the mountains of Abu towards Dihui and Baroda. The rebels being unable to stand against the royal army fled to Daulatabad. They were overtaken by some troops sent from Broach near the Narmada. The foreign *amirs* of Broach who were sent after them along with Malik Makbul were killed there under

royal commands by the Malik. Those who could manage fled either to Deogir or to Guzerat. During his short stay at Broach the Sultan took steps for collecting the dues of Broach, Cambay and Guzerat, with great vigour. At the same time he sent two persons Zin-banda, and Pissar Thanasari, notorious for their wickedness to hold an enquiry regarding the cause of disaffection in Deogiri, and another order was despatched to the *Naib-Wazir* to send 1500 horsemen from Deogiri to Broach with the prominent foreign amirs. Nizam-ud-Din, in execution of this order, detailed 1500 horsemen along with the foreign nobles under the direction of the two noblemen who came to Devagiri from Broach. The *amirs* suspected foul play and murdered the two nobles on the way, and returning to Devagiri put Nizam-ud-Din under confinement. The officials sent by the Sultan were killed, and the treasury was brought from Dharagir. They then placed Makh Afghan one of their leaders on the throne. The foreign *amirs* in other parts soon joined them. The Sultan then came to Devagiri and easily crushed the rebellion. Some of the *amirs* fled before him to the fort of Dharagir. While the Sultan was busy settling the affairs in the Deccan he received the news of a rising in Guzerat under the leadership of Taghi, a cobbler. Taghi was joined by the foreign *amirs* and many *mukaddims* of Guzerat. They kept the governor and his officers imprisoned, plundered Cambay and marched towards Broach. The Sultan left Devagiri in

charge of some officers and proceeded towards Broach. On his arrival there Taghi fled. An army was sent after him towards Cambay but it was defeated by him. The Sultan then went himself to hound him out. Taghi fled from Cambay to Ahmedabad, and from there to Anhilwara. He killed the governor Shaikh Muizzu-d Din and his officers. The Sultan encountered him at Karra. More than five hundred men were killed, but Taghi managed to escape. First he went to Anhilwara, then to Kant-barahi, and from there to Girnal (Junagad) and finally to Thatta where he found shelter. The Sultan now applied himself to settle the affairs of Guzerat. But before he could reduce the country he received the news of another rebellion in Deogir under the leadership of Hasan Gangu. The governor had been killed and his army routed. The nobles who were loyal to the Sultan fled to Dhar. The Sultan became depressed at the outbreak of so many insurrections. Ahmad Ayyaz was summoned from Delhi with an army but the Sultan did not want to encounter the rebels at Deogir without thorough preparation. He therefore first undertook to settle the affairs of Guzerat and to capture Taghi. He spent three rainy seasons there. After reducing Guzerat and Girnal he went in search of Taghi. On the way he was attacked with fever at Kondal. He gathered a large number of troops from the neighbouring chiefs with horses and elephants. About 30 kos from Thatta his illness became serious when he took some fish which he could not

digest, after the fast of Muharram. On the 21st Muharram 752 A. H. (1351 A. D.) the Sultan succumbed to the malady, when he was only 14 kos from Thatta.

CHAPTER VIII.

FIROZ SHAH.

Firoz Shah Tughlak (1351-88 A. D.).

On the death of Muhammad Tughlak in Sind there was great confusion in the royal camp. There was none to keep the army in order. Besides the Mughals plundered in front and the rebels of Thatta began to harass from behind. Fear and anxiety filled every heart. On the third day the nobles met in council, and agreed that the best course for them was to place the crown on the head of Firoz Shah, who by his long association with the late Sultan, and by his close relationship with him and his able administration of Delhi during the absence of the king had established his claim. Firoz hesitated to accept the risky position. But the wishes of the nobles prevailed and he prayerfully received the crown on the 23rd March 1351 A. D.

Firoz was in his forty-fifth year when he succeeded to the throne. His father Sipah-salar Rajab was a brother of Sultan Ghiyasud-Din Tughlak, and his mother was a Rajput lady, being a daughter of Rana Mall Bhatti of Dipalpur. Ghiyas-ud-Din demanded the Rana to marry his daughter, Bibi Naila, with his brother, but the Rana haughtily refused. This brought great disaster upon his estate. The Rana's mother

wept bitterly over the fate of the people and hearing her lamentations the girl said "If the surrender of me will deliver the people from such misery, comply instantly with the demand, and send me to him, consider then that the Mughals have carried off one of your daughters." Firoz was born in 1209 A. D. When he was seven years old his father died, and he was brought up by Tughlak Shah. He was given thorough instructions in the duties of royalty. In the reign of Ghiyas-ud-Din Tughlak he attended him in all his travels, and held high office under Muhammad Tughlak as *Naib Barbak*. For efficient administration Muhammad had divided Delhi into four parts, and Firoz was in charge of one of them, and discharged his duties to the satisfaction of all.

Immediately on his accession order was restored in the army, the Mughals were defeated, and the people of Sind did not venture to further harass the Delhi army and their march to Delhi was not opposed by any body.

A rival on the throne at Delhi.

The government of Delhi was carried on by Khwaja-i-Jahan Ahmad Ayyaz who was sent from Thatta by the late Sultan after the death of Malik Kabir and Katlagh Khan. He was an old man of eighty and was a faithful officer. On the death of the Sultan a messenger brought him the news that not only the Sultan had died but the Mughals had attacked the royal forces and

that both Tatar Khan and Firoz Shah had been missing. Believing the report to be true he placed an infant son of Muhammad Tughlak on the throne. But when he realised his mistake he was apprehensive of his own safety. He tried to gather an army and to set up a party in his favour by distributing whatever the royal treasury contained. Firoz marched by way of Multan and Dipalpur. The report of the affairs at Delhi made him very thoughtful. But on his march he received the allegiance of all officers and great nobles and offerings of money from the wealthy. His army was also considerably strengthened by the large number of soldiers accepting service under him. At Delhi matters went in his favour when Khan-i-Jahan left Khwaja-i-Jahan, and joined Firoz Shah at Ikdar near Sarsuti. Finding his position untenable the old Khwaja-i-Jahan made up his mind to acknowledge his blunder and to throw himself on the mercy of Firoz. Some of his nobles deserted him for this action. Khwaja-i-Jahan went to Fathabad (Ikdar) and approached the throne "with chains around his neck, his turban off, a *talika* on his head, and a naked sword fastened to his throat". The Sultan received him kindly, and he was willing to forgive him. Firoz was like a son to the old *Waxir* and used to look upon him with great respect. He was desirous of even reinstating him in his high office, but his nobles were determined to see him punished for the grave offence of overthrowing the authority of the Sultan. After long deliberations he was ordered to proceed to

Samana which was granted to him as a fief. But he was beheaded on the way. The Khwaja received the punishment in a spirit of calm resignation with the name of God on his lips. Firoz probably was not responsible for the cruel deed. Freed from all fear of intrigues the Sultan reached Delhi amidst great rejoicings (Sept. 14, 1351 A. D.).

A plot against Firoz.

Khudawand-Zada, sister of Muhammad Tughlak, tried to set up her son Dawar Malik, as the successor of her brother. But the nobles dissuaded her from taking such a course in view of the disturbed conditions of the country. She agreed and acknowledged the claims of Firoz. At Delhi she was allowed to reside in a place of the late Sultan. Firoz Shah used to visit her every Friday after prayers. Khudawand and her husband Khusru Malik devised a plot of killing him when he would come to visit them. But their son Dawar Malik warned Firoz as soon as he reached there, and he managed to escape before the plot could be executed. For this reason Khudawand was removed from the Palace and was granted only a small allowance and her husband was banished.

The Policy of Firoz Shah.

The new Sultan was a man of different nature from his predecessor. He was soft and forgiving, and was unwilling to shed blood. Although his mother was a

Rajput lady he was brought up as a strict Musalman. He forbade the erection of new Hindu Temples, destroyed many old temples, and built mosques in their places. He imposed *jizya* upon the Hindus, and exacted from them a special tax as the price of toleration. Shias, heretics and free-thinkers were severely punished. But he was very kind to the Musalmans of his own persuasion. He had great faith in the Quran and the Imams. Like his predecessor he got himself recognised by the Caliph, and received a diploma from him. He built a large number of mosques, colleges and monasteries and granted allowances to the learned doctors of the law of Islam. On the advice of the Shaikh-ul Islam Shaikh Kutbu-d-Din he promised to give up drinking wine, and the game of hunting. But he could not get rid of any of these evils.

On the assumption of office the first act of the Sultan was to cancel the old debts. Muhammad Tughlak advanced a large sum of money to people for restoring their land, village and quarters after the dark days of famine. Khwaja-I-Jahan also distributed jewels and diamonds amongst them when Firoz Shah was in Sind. The Sultan now relieved the people of their great anxiety by destroying the records of the loans in the open court. He stopped the collection of many frivolous, unlawful and unjust cesses, and issued strict orders to receive only the regular government dues. The revenues of the state were derived from these sources, first

Kharaj or tenth part of produce from the cultivated lands, second *Zakat* or alms, third *jiziyah* or poll-tax on Hindus and non-Muslims, and fourth *Khams* or fifth of the spoil and of the produce of mines. His predecessors used to demand four-fifths of the spoil, this policy he disapproved as unlawful. The goods required for the royal household were purchased at the market price. These reforms were greatly appreciated by the people. They became rich and prosperous.

Another reform for which he had been strongly criticised is the system of granting jagirs to his officers. He granted villages in lieu of their salaries to the officers according to their ranks, Sultan Ala-ud-Din disapproved of this method as encouraging pride and insubordination. But Firoz discarded from his mind any such thought. Further he restored villages, lands and ancient patrimonies of every kind to those who had forfeited their property in previous reigns. These acts of generosity made the people attached to his throne, and in the whole of forty years' reign he did not suffer from any rebellion. He also clearly defined the law of succession, so that when an officer in the army died his property or jagir remained with his successor.

His tenderness of heart is also seen in his modifying the method of punishment. Amputation of any limb, plucking out the eyes or other kinds of severe tortures practised by the old kings he stopped. This reform was intended mainly for the Musalmans, but it was extended to all men. The Sultan says in *Futuh-at-i-*

Firoz Shahi, "Through the mercy which God has shown to me these severities and terrors have been exchanged for tenderness, kindness and mercy. Fear and respect have thus taken firmer hold of the hearts of men and there has been no need of executions, scourgings, tortures or terrors." He was a benevolent monarch and tried to promote the welfare of the people by extensive public works. A number of canals were dug for the improvement of agriculture, many buildings were erected and a large number of gardens cultivated.

Expeditions to Lakhnauti.

During the disturbed reign of Muhammad Tughlak the rulers of Bengal assumed independence. Shams-uddin Haji Ilyas Alai mounted the throne in 1340 A. D. and since then he subjugated all the territory up to the borders of Benares. In 1353 A. D. Firoz Shah marched from Delhi with 70,000 Khans and Maliks, 2 lakhs of infantry, 60,000 cavalry, and a large number of elephants, through Hindustan. The army of Shams-ud-din was posted at the junction of the Kosi and the Ganges. Firoz Shah found it difficult to cross the river there, therefore, he marched about 100 kos up the Kosi and crossed the river below Champaran. On receipt of the news of his crossing Shams-ud-din retreated into the fortress of Ikdala. Firoz Shah marched through Camparan and Rachap, and besieged Panduah the capital of Bengal. The *Rai*, *Ranas* and *xemindars* of Bengal came in large numbers

to the Sultan. Ikdala was invested for 22 days, but the place was difficult to reduce, as it was in the midst of the river, and as the rains would make the position of Firoz Shah precarious he resolved to withdraw his camp 7 kos towards Delhi. Shams-ud-din was informed that the Delhi army was retreating, so he came out of Ikdala in pursuit of the Sultan's forces. On the approach of the Bengal army Firoz Shah turned back and drew up his army in three divisions. In a furious engagement Shams-ud-din was defeated and he again took refuge in the fort. Firoz Shah triumphantly entered Panduah, but on account of the piteous appeal of the women he desisted from devastating the city. Tatar Khan advised the Sultan to complete the conquest, but Firoz Shah was not willing to press as he found that Bengal was a land of swamps, and the previous Sultans of Delhi did not succeed in maintaining their rule over this distant province. He therefore made overtures for peace, which Shams-ud-din was too willing to accept. An envoy was sent to the Sultan with rich presents. The boundaries of the kingdoms of Bengal and Delhi were defined, and henceforth Delhi agreed not to interfere in the affairs of Bengal. It is said that 150,000 heads were found in the field after the battle. Firoz Shah captured forty-eight elephants and killed three. Panduah was renamed Firozabad, and Ikdala Azad-pur. This expedition to Lakhnauti took the Sultan eleven months to finish. Shams-ud-din kept his friendly relations with Firoz Shah by sending

occasionally embassies with gifts and presents to Delhi.

After the departure of Firoz Shah from Lakhnauti, Shams-ud-din led an expedition against Fakhr-ud-Din of Sonargaon, killed him in action and annexed his territory. His son-in-law Zafar Khan fled on a boat by sea to Thatta, and from there he went to Delhi to represent his case before the Sultan, who was then residing at Hisar Firozah. In support of the claims of Zafar Khan the Sultan made preparation to march upon Lakhnauti in 1359 A. D. In the meantime Shamsud-din had died, and his son Sikandar had come to the throne. The Sultan's army consisted of 60,000 cavalry, innumerable infantry and 470 elephants. He had also with him many big boats. He marched through Kanauj and Oudh to Jaunpur. The city of Jaunpur was founded on this occasion in memory of the late Sultan Muhammad Jauna, and Firoz Shah stayed there six months to supervise the works. From Zafarabad a few miles below Jaunpur, on the Gumti, he sent an army to Sikandar Shah to settle the terms of peace in view of the impending rains. But as the negotiations did not prove very successful Firoz Shah marched upon Panduah. Sikandar Shah now took his position within the fort of Ikdala which the Sultan soon invested. The siege was dragged on to some length and both parties became tired. Firoz Shah agreed to peace on the condition that Zafar Khan should be given the kingdom of Sonargaon, to which Sikandar readily acceded.

But Zafar Khan did not like to go back to Sonargaon, so henceforth Sikandar Shah remained in undisputed possession of Bengal.

Firoz Shah now returned to Jaunpur with forty elephants from Lakhnauti. He now thought of leading an expedition into Jajnagar which was then reputed to be a rich kingdom containing innumerable elephants. There was plenty of corn and fruit in the country. The *rais* were Brahmans and the name of the reigning king was Adaya. The Sultan marched through Behar and when he reached Jajnagar (modern Orissa) the Rai fled to an island in the river. The country was ruined by the Musalmans and the Rai meekly submitted. He presented to the Sultan twenty big elephants, and promised to send some every year. On the return march Firoz Shah received presents from many other Rajas. He lost his way in the hills and forests of Chota Nagpur, and no news of the Sultan could be had for six months. These expeditions in Lakhnauti and Jajnagar took the Sultan two years and seven months.

Siege of Nagarkot

The shrine of Jwalamukhi at Nagarkot had roused the cupidity of many a ruler. Firoz Shah led an expedition in 1360-61 A.D. The Rai of Nagarkot retired within the strong fortress and kept the Musalmans at bay for six months. He showed great courage and endurance in putting up his defence against heavy odds.

But ultimately he surrendered and the Sultan bestowed on him robes of honour and an umbrella. It is related in the history of Ferishta that the idol in the temple was the image of Nowshaba, the wife of Alexander the great. There was about 1300 volumes of Hindu books in the library attached to the temple and one of these books was translated by order of Firoz Shah.

Campaigns in Sind.

Sind was a land of regrets to Firoz Shah. He was very sorry that Muhammad Tughlak failed to conquer that province and died in the course of his campaigns. Firoz considered it his duty to avenge his predecessor and to finish the work left undone by him. He organised a huge army of 90,000 horse and 480 elephants, and at Bhakkar collected 5000 boats. Within a few days the army reached Thatta (1371 A.D.). Jam Babiniya was then the master of Thatta on the other side of the Indus. He also made preparations for defending his country. But before any engagement took place three-fourths of the horses belonging to the Sultan perished on account of the outbreak of a pestilence, and their difficulties further increased by the high price of grain. Jam Babiniya came out with an army of 20,000 horse, 40,000 foot soidiers, but when the Sultan made a vigorous charge the enemy fled. Firoz Shah however, found that it was not safe for him to risk another engagement with his reduced army. So he resolved to withdraw to Guzerat to get reinforcements. Zafar Khan

with his Bengali Regiment led the rear. The people of Sind tried to stop the retreat, but they were defeated by Zafar Khan. The boats belonging to the Sultan fell into the hands of the enemy, although he managed to carry his baggage to Guzerat. The retreat along the sea coast was full of risks. The horses were destroyed by the pestilence, famine carried away a large number of troops, and they were led to the Ran of Kach where the whole army was about to be destroyed. No news of the Sultan could be had for six months. Khan-i-Jahan by his shrewd intelligence managed to maintain the loyalty of the people at Delhi. After the weary march through the salt areas and deserts for months together the army reached Guzerat. The governor of Guzerat was dismissed for not sending relief to the Sultan. With the revenues of Guzerat the Sultan recruited fresh troops. Khan-i-Jahan also sent large supplies of munitions and money from Delhi. Zafar Khan was appointed governor of Guzerat. The second campaign of Firoz Shah was more fortunate. His troops were in good spirits. Jam Babiniya had also gathered a large army of troops and rebuilt his forts. The Sultan's forces under Malik Inad-ul Mulk and Zafar Khan crossed the Indus by marching up one hundred and twenty kos. A terrible battle ensued, but before the issues could be decided the Sultan sent words to stop the battle lest the number of the Musalman slain be very large. Inad-ul-Mulk was then sent to Delhi for getting re-inforcements. Khan-i-Jahan gathered forces

from all parts of the kingdom, such as Badayun, Kanauj, Sandila, Oudh, Jaunpur, Bihar, Tirhut, Chanderi, Dhar, the Doab, Samana, Dipalpur, Multan, Lahore and other parts. Imad-ul-Mulk returned with all possible speed. Jam Babiniya now surrendered. The conquest of Sind was now achieved, and the Sultan Firoz Shah returned to Delhi with the Jam in his train. When Tamachi the brother of Babiniya rebelled some years later he was sent to bring his brother captive. To the end of his life he remained faithful to the Sultan. In the affairs of Sind the Sultan showed great weakness. He endangered the lives of his men on account of his poor preparations. Moreover he had not the courage to pursue his conquests. He lacked resolution and when victory was in his hand he threw it away by his feminine softness. The success of his campaigns was due to Imad-ul-Mulk and the Khan-i-Jahan. More than two and half years were spent in these campaigns.

When Firoz Shah was preparing to start for Thatta from Guzerat he received intimation that there was a dispute between the two rival claimants to the throne of Daulatabad, and that it was an opportune time for him to assert his authority there. He did not take any notice of Bahram Khan and thus let the Deccan slip from his hands. On his return to Delhi reports of trouble came from M'abar. Shortly after Daulatabad M'abar revolted and accepted Kurbat Hasan Kangu as its king. But Kangu lost the sympathy of the people by his childish actions and a Hindu chief named Bakan

became the ruler. The officers at Delhi were prepared to go to the Deccan but the Sultan "was resolved never more to make war upon men of Muhammadan faith." He gave up all idea of military campaigns, and devoted the rest of his life to civil administration and public works.

Recruitment of Slaves.

Firoz Shah was very fond of enlisting slaves. So many slaves were admitted that there was a distinct department for managing their affairs. They were maintained on a liberal scale, some joined the army, some were allowed to devote their time to religious work, and some even went on pilgrimage to Mecca. About 12,000 learnt mechanical arts and became artisans, and 40,000 attended the Sultan as guards. We are told that the total number of slaves in Delhi and in other places within the empire was no less than 180,000. The fief-holders and officers were given special instruction to capture slaves and to send the best to the court. On the occasion of their visit to the court feudatories used to bring beautiful slaves as presents, but they received remission in their tributes to the extent of the value of the presents which were regularly appraised under an edict of the Sultan. When the number of slaves was in excess, they were sent to the feudal dependencies and to *amirs* and *maliks*. They were employed in all sorts of occupations and the Sultan used to take great deal of interest in them.

On the death of the Sultan they were mercilessly done to death but many escaped and by their great influence brought about the disintegration of the empire.

The Civil Administration.

The long reign of Firoz Shah produced peace and happiness throughout Hindustan. His method of government was the promotion of mutual trust and good-will, rather than coercion or military regulation which his predecessors followed. This produced plenty in the land and enriched the treasury. He removed the frivolous and unlawful cesses, and confined his collections to only four heads approved by the Sacred Law. He reduced the share of state in the spoils of war. The presents made by the feudatories were valued, and their tributes were correspondingly reduced. His dominions were reduced as Bengal and the Deccan seceded from the empire. In spite of all these the revenues of the territories of Delhi amounted to six crores and eighty-five lakhs of tankas (6,85,00,000). The revenues from the Doab were eighty lakhs of tankas. The land revenue was moderate. Besides land large number of gardens and canals which the Sultan brought into existence also increased the revenue.

He introduced the method of paying the officials by assignment of revenue. Fiefs and districts were granted to them, according to their rank. By this policy the officials became attached to their lands. They became

rich and independent. So far as Firoz Shah was concerned these men did not rebel against him, but these jagirdars became very influential afterwards, and brought about the disintegration of the empire.

The Army.

The Sultan maintained a standing army consisting of 80 to 90 thousand horse. Besides there were large numbers of slaves. There was a regular registry of the horses, but facilities were given to the defaulters to produce the animals within the period of grace which generally was extended to two months. Registration could be effected by sending the substitutes, if any body went on business. If an officer of the army died then he was to be succeeded by his son, in the absence of son by son-in-law, or in his absence by a slave or near relation and failing any such person by his wife. The regular soldiers were granted lands sufficient for comfortable living. Irregulars received payment from the treasury, others were supplied assignment upon revenues. These assignments were marketable and many persons grew rich by purchasing them. The Sultan was very kind to the soldiers and his policy of undue favour was enforced at the expense of efficiency.

The Public Works.

The most important feature of the reign of Firoz Shah Tughlak was the large number of his public works. He founded new cities, built mosques, and villages, dug

canals, and laid out a large number of gardens. Ferishta mentions that he built 900 towns, 100 caravansarais, 40 mosques, 30 colleges with mosques, 20 palaces, 100 hospitals, 150 bridges, 50 dams, and baths and pillars wells and other things. Of the cities Fathabad, Hisar Firoza, Firozabad and Jaunpur were very important. Firozabad was only five kos from Delhi. The Sultan began to reside here and it grew into a very big city. It extended from Indrapat along the Jumna to the Kushk Shikar, a distance of six miles and it included eighteen townships. Jaunpur in Oudh became the seat of the Sharki kings. He rebuilt the celebrated Jami Musjid at Delhi, repaired the Kutb Minar, and rebuilt many tombs and colleges connected with the names of the previous Sultans. He removed the two Asoka pillars from Khizrabad and Meerut, one to Firozabad and the other to the Kushk-i-Shikar. He built one hundred and twenty *Khan Kahs* or monasteries for the reception of travellers in Delhi and Firozabad, and these monasteries were full of guests throughout the year. The expenses of these establishments were met from the public treasury. He built a Shifa-Khana or Hospital. The most important of his public works was the construction of canals from the Jumna and Sutlej to Hisar Firoza. The Sutlej Canal still exists along a distance of 200 miles and the Jumna canal has also been traced from Badhah Mabal to Karnal and along the old bed of the Chitang to Hansi and Hissar. There were also two other canals constructed by the Sultan. He increased the fertility of the

soil by these irrigation works. These canals not only helped agriculture but were a source of revenue to the state. He used to collect 10 per cent of the profit as his share known as *Sharb*. Another source of his income was the cultivation of large acres of waste lands. From these two sources he increased his revenues by about two lakhs of tankas. He laid out 1200 new gardens in the vicinity of Delhi and restored 30 old gardens started by Ala-ud-Din, eighty in Silaura and forty-four in Chitor. Many new fruits were cultivated in these gardens.

Industrial and Economic Policy.

The large number of his public works gave employment to many persons. They also helped the development of industry and agriculture. The king had thirty-six establishments for the supply of the requirements of the state. There were two types of workers, those who were in receipt of regular payment called *rayati* and others with no fixed income called *gar-rayati*. Each establishment was entrusted to a Khan or Malik for management and there was a general superintendent of all the *Kar-Khanas* who issued orders to the different departments. The financial administration of these *Kar-Khanas* was separate from the general finance. There was a regular audit of the accounts of the different fields. The unemployed were given service according to his merit. The economic organization of the state was sufficiently good for ensuring the income of the state

as well as for promoting the welfare of the people. He abolished all imposts and practices which interfered with trade.

Treatment of the Hindus.

Firoz Shah was greatly under the influence of the Quran. He would always consult the Doctors of the Law regarding the various problems that confronted him. He was very credulous and had great faith in the calculations of the learned men of his religion. He encouraged the Hindus to accept Islam by holding out the promise of remission of the *Jiziya*. By this means he converted many Hindus. He forbade the public worship of idols. A charge was brought against a Brahman of constructing a wooden tablet bearing images of gods and demons. Many people used to go to the place for worshipping this. The Sultan ordered the Brahman either to become a Musalman or to be burned. The Brahman preferred death. For the first time in India he imposed *Jiziya* upon the Brahmans. A loud protest was made. A large number of Brahmans from four cities came to Firozabad, remained there without food for several days, but still the Sultan did not take any pity on them. Ultimately he was persuaded to reduce the tax to ten tankas and fifty *Jitals* for each person. The *Jiziya* was levied in three classes, viz, first class forty tankas, second class twenty tankas, and third class ten tankas. He forbade the erection of Hindu temples, and pulled down many old temples, and with their materials new mosques were built.

His Ministers.

The first Wazir of the Sultan was Khan-i-Jahan Makbul. He was a Hindu of Telingana, called Kattu. He came to Delhi in the time of Muhammad Tughlak and embraced Islam. Muhammad was impressed by his sagacity and intelligence and appointed him as his *Deputy Wazir*. He was granted the fief of Multan. He was then known as Kiwam-ul Mulk. On the death of Muhammad Tughlak he supported the cause of Firoz Shah and deserted Kawaja-i-Jahan. Firoz made him his *Wazir* with the title of Khan-i-Jahan. He was the real ruler of Delhi till his death in 1370 A. D. He had a big harem and many children. They were all well-provided. On his death at the age of eighty his son Junah Shah became the minister under the title of Khan-i-Jahan. He acted in the high position for twenty years, and he had full powers in all the affairs of the state. Both the father and the son were very able men. But for them the government of Firoz would have long ago broken into pieces.

The last days of the Sultan.

The Sultan became old and infirm, and the Wazir Khan-i-Jahan had full control over him. The eldest son of the king had died. Khan-i-Jahan brought an accusation against Prince Muhammad Khan that he had been plotting to murder his father. The old king believing the story to be true ordered the capture of the guilty person. But the Prince came to the palace in the garb of a woman,

and threw himself at the feet of his father. The Sultan accepting the version of the Prince gave him full powers to deal with the traitor. After a short engagement Khan-i-Jahan fled towards Mewat. Firoz Shah abdicated in favour of his son, who mounted the throne with the name of Nasir-ud-Din Muhammad (1387 A. D.). Khan-i-Jahan was betrayed by a Rajput Zemindar, and beheaded by Sikander Khan. Shortly afterwards there was a rising in Guzerat and its governor Sikander Khan was killed. Nasir-ud-Din Muhammad abandoned himself to the enjoyment of pleasure, and did not take any action. The nobles then organised a conspiracy to overthrow him. They put together about 100,000 men. For two days there was a deadly fight between the two parties. On the third day the old king was brought in a palanquin and on seeing him the soldiers left the Prince and gathered round the king. The Prince fled and Firoz Shah took the reins of government, which however his feeble hands could not long retain. He placed his grandson Ghiyas-ud-Din, the son of his eldest son Fateh Khan on the throne. The first order of the new Sultan was to do away with all the adherents of his uncle Muhammad. The old Sultan Firoz Shah died at the age of 90 on the 23rd Oct. 1388 A. D. After his death the empire fell into weak hands, and it soon followed the path of dissolution.

CHAPTER IX.

FALL OF THE TURKS

The Successors of Firoz Shah.

The Sultanate of Delhi was based upon the principle of force. The despotic rulers had maintained their authority by enlisting in their services a large number of able soldiers. There was no definite rule of succession, nor any code of government acceptable to the people. Before the death of Firoz Shah the forces of distintegration had been working. His son Ghiyas-ud-Din was a dissolute young man without any ability to rule. On coming to the throne he tried to capture Prince Muhammad who had been hiding in the Sirmur hills. But when he retreated into the fort of Nagarkot the pursuit was given up. The cruelty of Ghiyas-ud-Din towards his brother Salar, and cousin Abu Bakr, son of Zafar Khan led to another conspiracy. The Sultan was overtaken on the banks of the Jumna when he tried to escape and was put to death. (Feb. 18, 1389 A. D.). His rule lasted a little more than five months.

Abu Bakr was now placed upon the throne with the help of Rukn Chand who became the new Wazir. But on account of an intrigue to usurp the throne Rukn Chand was executed along with his accomplices.

Meanwhile Sultan Shah, governor of Samana, and a friend of the Sultan was murdered. So Prince Muhammad came out of his retreat, occupied Samana and challenged Abu Bakr in several engagements. With the help of an old Firoz Shahi noble named Islam Shah Abu Bakr was made a prisoner and Muhammad ascended the throne under the title of Nasir-ud-Din Mahammad Tughlak (November 1389).

Muhammad had a chequered career. He ascended the throne in the life time of his father. But he was driven out on account of the intrigues of the nobles in the court. His restoration was also due to another leader of the "Slaves of Firoz Shah." He held a rival court at Firozabad for some time. The Hindus were disgusted with the government of Abu Bakr and the high-handedness of the slaves. The household troops of the Sultan had seized the elephants from the royal stable in the time of confusion and refused to surrender them when ordered by the Sultan. All the foreign slaves were then hounded out of their hiding places and put to death. For some time the Sultan was engaged in suppressing the rebellion of the Rajputs and the Hindu Zemindars. Islam Khan defeated the Rathor chief Narsingh Bhan and reduced all the rebel chiefs to subjection. Sultan Muhammad went personally to Etawah, razed the fort to the ground and plundered the country as far as Kanauj and Dalamau, built a new fort at Jalesar and renamed it Muhammadbad. A charge of treason was now brought against Islam Khan, on the false evidence of his nephew Jajun, an

unconverted Hindu and he was condemned to death. But the fall of the minister was due to the machination of his rival Khwajah Jahan (1391 A. D.). Disturbances now broke out in Mewat, Delhi was threatened by Bahadur Nahir, and the Gakkars raided Lahore, In the midst of these troubles Nasir-ud-Din Muhammad died of fever at Muhammadabad in 1394 A. D. His son Humayun who succeeded him died 45 days after his assumption of office.

The next Sultan Mahmud, a son of the late Sultan Nasir-ud-Din Muhammad was a feeble prince. As he was a minor the nobles began to appropriate as much power as they could. The risings in the different parts of the empire were not suppressed, and the chiefs were unwilling to render allegiance. Khwaja Jahan founded an independent kingdom at Jaunpur. Sarung Khan, governor of Dipalpur strengthened his position by defeating the Gakkars. When the Sultan went on an expedition to Gwalior and Biyana, a conspiracy was set up against S'aadat Khan Barbak. A fight now ensued between S'aadat Khan and the Amir-ul-Omra Mukarrab Khan in the neighbourhood of Delhi. The Sultan on his entrance into Delhi fell into the hands of Mukarrab Khan. S'aadat took his position at Firozabad, and placed Nasrat Khan, the son of Fath Khan and a grand-son of Firoz Shah, on the throne. S'aadat was deserted by his own followers, the household troops and finally put to death by Mukarrab Khan. The nobles were divided into several parties and for three

years there were two Sultans at the same time one holding court at Delhi and the other at Firozabad. A state of anarchy prevailed and the country between these two places was a scene of blood-shed. When the two parties were fighting and Nasrat Shah was driven out of Firozabad by the perfidy of Mallu Ikbal Khan, who later on killed Mukarrab Khan and possessed the person of Sultan Mahmud, Timur had crossed the Indus.

Invasion of Timur.

Timur or Tamerlane was a Chaghatai Turk. At the age of 33 he became the Amir of Samarkand, and gradually extended his sway over Persia and Afghanistan. He was an orthodox Musalman and had a strong desire to become a *ghazi* by killing the infidels. With this view he was thinking within himself whether he would lead an expedition to China or to Hindustan. He was told by his officers that Hindustan had four defences and if he could break them down then he could become the conqueror. The four defences were, (1) the five great rivers 2) woods and forests and trees (3) the soldiery, landholders and the princes and Rajas and lastly (4) the elephants. But 100,000 brave Tartar horsemen of the Amir could easily bring him victory. He was anxious to win the honour of the conquest, to obtain the great wealth, but above all he told his officers "My object in the invasion of Hindustan is to lead an expedition against the ifidels that according

to the law of Muhammad (upon whom and his family be the blessing and peace of God), we may convert to the true faith the people of that country and purify the land itself from the filth of infidelity and polytheism, and that we may overthrow their temples and idols and become *Ghazis* and *Mujahids* before God." He was advised by the religious men that it was the duty of the Sultan of Islam to exert his utmost to suppress the enemies of the faith. When Timur was preparing for the great expedition he received a petition from Prince Pir Muhammad Jehangir, governor of Kabul and the adjoining countries for help for carrying on the siege of Multan. This prince had demanded of Sarung, governor of Multan, to pay a yearly tribute. But Sarung defied him. So Prince Pir Muhammad Jehangir first assaulted Uech and then invested Multan. This petition gave Timur an additional cause for the expedition.

The details of the expedition were recorded under the order of the Amir, and they have appeared in his memoir under the title of *Malfuzat-i-Timuri*. Sharfu-d Din Ali Yazdi had greatly borrowed from the book in compiling his *Zafar-Nama*, a book very widely used. The report of disorders at Delhi had reached Samarkand. So he started in March 1398 A.D., leaving Prince Umar as his viceroy in Samarkand. Passing through the Hindukush he came to Kater, between Kabul and Kashmir. The people there were idolaters, who were subjugated after three days' hard fighting. They first submitted and agreed to accept Islam, but at night they

made an attack upon the Tartar camp. So they were all slaughtered, and their women and children were captured.

Timur crossed the Indus on Tuesday, the 24th September, 1398 A.D. and encamped on the outskirts of the Chol desert. There he received the submission of the chiefs of the Jud mountains. Then he marched through the deserts and reached the banks of the Jhelum. There in an island lived a chief named Shahab-ud Din. He had professed loyalty to Prince Pir Muhammad Jehangir, but later on revolted. On the approach of Timur he fled towards Uch. Near Multan he was opposed by Prince Pir Muhammad, and the whole party was dispersed, most of them being killed. From there the Amirs marched to the junction of the Chenab with the Jhelum. The river was crossed by means of a bridge built in six days and the army of expedition reached Tulamba. A ransom of two lakhs was collected, a concession being made in favour of *Sayids* and *Ulemas*. Fresh reinforcements also reached by that time. The troops plundered the granaries to recoup their exhausted store. About 2000 zemindars who fled into the jungles were slain and their women and property captured. After a week he left Tulamba, and encountered Nasrat Khokhar near Jal on the banks of the Beas. He then marched along the Beas and halted opposite to Janjan. There he received the news of the victory at Multan and that Sarung had surrendered. A few days later the army crossed the Beas. He then marched from Janjan by

Sahwal and Aswan to Jahwal. Through fear the people of Dipalpur and its neighbourhood had taken refuge in the fort of Bhatnir. A detachment with baggage was sent via Dipalpur to Samana, and Timur with 10,000 troops, marched upon Bhatnir, one of the strongest fortresses in Hindustan. The defence was ably led by Rai Dul Chand with the help of a strong body of Rajputs. But when he found that the fort could not hold out very long he submitted, and at the intercession of a Sayid the fighting was stopped. The Rai, however, did not come next day to pay his homage according to the terms of the armistice. A vigorous attack then was renewed. The fort was terribly battered, so the Rai had no other alternative than to surrender. The life of the Rai was spared. All the refugees in the fort were driven out and distributed among the *amirs* as slaves and their property confiscated. At the sight of the atrocities the Rai and his brothers again shut themselves up in the fort and when surrounded by the Tartars they meekly surrendered. A heavy ransom was collected by the raiders, which the people resisted. The fort was then escaladed. The Rajputs showed great bravery, but they were overpowered by the terrible soldiers of Timur. About ten thousand Hindus laid down their lives. The houses were burnt and the whole place destroyed. The defence of Bhatnir by the Hindus is a glorious event in the history of the invasion which came like a hurricane and swept away everything before it without any very great opposition.

At Sirsuti the Hindus were mercilessly slaughtered, and their wives and children made prisoners. They proceeded to Fathabad, then through the country of the Jats who were very turbulent and would not allow any traveller or merchant to pass unscathed. Punishing these people and putting a large number to death he proceeded towards Samana. At Kaithal all the detachments joined Timur, and he now made a thorough preparation for an attack upon Delhi.

From Kaithal the army marched in a regular battle array and after a few marches reached Panipat. The people of all the villages on the way had fled towards Delhi. He received some opposition at Loni, at the junction of the Jumna and Kalini. The fort was burnt and the Hindus massacred. Timur then engaged a party of Mallu Khan near Jahan-numai. There in order to be relieved of the burden of feeding and to avoid any risk of being overpowered by them Timur ordered the massacre of all the Hindu prisoners captured from the beginning of his campaign in Hindustan, numbering no less than 100,000. The Musalmans took a brutal pleasure in killing these helpless victims as an act of earning religious merit. Then Timur gave orders to cross the Jumna. The army was arranged in regular order, Timur himself remaining in the centre. The Tartar soldiers were afraid of the elephants and the trained soldiers of the Indian army. Mahmud Tughlak marched forward to meet the Tartars with a strong army consisting of 10,000 strong cavalry, 40,000 infantry and 125

elephants. The Delhi troops fought manfully, but they were no match for the invaders. They were thoroughly defeated and the Sultan took his refuge within the fort. Timur then entered the capital and on the banks of the *Hauzi-Khas* where stood the tomb of Sultan Firoz Shah he received the allegiance of the princes, armies and the officers. Sultan Mahmud and Mallu Ikbāl fled at night towards the desert. The report of their flight put the enemy on the alert, and all the gates of Delhi were carefully guarded. The next day Timur hoisted his flag on the walls of Delhi, and held his court at the *Id-gah* near a gate of *Jahan-panah* which open towards the *Hauzi-Khas* (Wednesday Dec. 17, 1398 A.D.) Through the intercession of Sayids, Ulemas, Shaikhs and the leading Musalmans he spared the lives of the citizens. Great rejoicings were held, and poets and literary men who composed verses in praise of the conqueror were rewarded. Public prayers were held on the next Friday, and the *Khutba* was read in the name of Timur. Orders were given to announce the victory in all parts of Hindustan, and to collect the ransom money from the city.

Sack of Delhi.

A party of Turk soldiers had gone out to plunder the houses of the citizens, and committed atrocities. Timur sent some *amirs* with a large number of soldiers to check their unlawful deprivations. Another party of soldiers accompanied the ladies of the harem to see the

palaces of *Hazar-Sutun* in the fort of Jahan-panah. A third party went to collect the forced contributions. Thousands of Tartar soldiers had gone out to collect provisions. Timur also had given orders to seize all the fugitives within the city. These soldiers laid violent hands upon the citizens. In self-defence the Hindus and *gabrs* "drew their swords and offered resistance. The flames of strife were thus lighted and spread throughout the whole city from Jahan-panah and Siri to Old Delhi, burning up all it reached. The savage Turks fell to killing and plundering. The Hindus set fire to their houses with their own hands, burned their wives and children in them, and rushed into the fight and were killed. The Hindus and Gabrs of the city showed much alacrity and boldness in fighting". On Thursday and Friday 15000 Turks were engaged in slaying, plundering and destroying. But the next day the Turks lost all control, and carried on a general sack. Every one captured a large number of slaves and immense booty. Only the quarters of the Sayids and Musalmans were spared. Timur with a burning faith in his religion writes, "Although I was desirous of sparing them I could not succeed for it was the will of God that this calamity should fall upon the city. Thousands of Hindus had taken refuge within the *Musjid-i-Jami* of old Delhi, on Sunday, but this house of prayer was no protection to them. The Musjid was cleared and the Hindus put to death. Old Delhi was then plundered. "High towers were built with the heads of the Hindus.

and their bodies became the food of ravenous beasts and birds." says Yazdi in *Zafar Nama*. After the sack of three cities of Siri, Jahan-panah, and Old Delhi, Timur took a ride round them. The description he gives of these places is interesting. "Siri is a round city. Its buildings are lofty. They are surrounded by fortifications built of stone and brick, and they are very strong. Old Delhi also had a similar strong fort and it is larger than that of Siri. From the fort of Siri to that of Old Delhi which is a considerable distance there runs a strong wall built of stone and cement. The part called Jahan-panah is situated in the midst of the inhabited city. The fortifications of the three cities have thirty gates, Jahan-panah had thirteen gates, seven on the south side bearing towards the east and six on the north bearing towards the west. Siri has seven gates, four towards the outside and three on the inside towards Jahan-panah. The fortifications of old Delhi have ten gates, some opening to the exterior and some towards the interior of the city."

Timur was struck with the grandeur of the *Musjid-i-Jami*, and desirous of building a similar structure in Samarkand he collected several thousands of mechanics and craftsmen and distributed some among his nobles, and some he reserved for the royal officers serving in the other parts of the empire.

Timur's Retreat.

After a stay of fifteen days in Delhi Timur became

anxious to carry his bloody campaign against idolators further afield. He first went to Firozabad three *kos* from Delhi. On the way to Meerut he received the homage of Bahadur Nahir. Eight days after his start he reached Meerut and obtained a victory over the fort. Destroying the houses and buildings and massacring the people the Turks proceeded along the Ganges towards Hardwar. He killed a large number of Hindus at this place which was very sacred to them. Here he thanked God that he had purified the land from the foul existence of the abominable infidels, and then resolved to return to Samarkand his capital and paradise.

He passed through the Siwalik Hills, captured the fort of Nagarkot and proceeded to Jammu. A detachment of his troops went to Lahore to punish the Kho-khars for their faithlessness. At Jammu Timur received the submission of Sikander Shah of Kashmir. He placed the provinces of Multan, Lahore and Dipalpur in charge of Khizr Khan, who had been kept in prison by Sarung, the governor of Multan, and escaping from there came to Timur for protection. Passing along the foot of the hills he reached Bannu, and then marched to Samarkand. Timur gave a rude shaking to the people of India. Besides the horrible massacres, pillage and plunder he thoroughly undermined the prestige and dignity of the throne of Delhi.

Fall of the Tughlaks.

For two months after the departure of Timur

the city of Delhi remained in a state of disorder and desolateness. Nasrat Shah came with 2000 horse from Meerut in March 1399 A. D. and occupied Delhi. But shortly afterwards he was turned out of the capital by Mallu Ikbal Khan who was then residing at Baran. Ikbal began to reorganise the administration and was joined by Sultan Mahmud in 1401 A. D. The Sultan spent the years of exile in Guzerat and Malwa. During the civil war most of the provinces had cut themselves off from Delhi and Ikbal had to arrange for the government of Delhi and the Doab only.

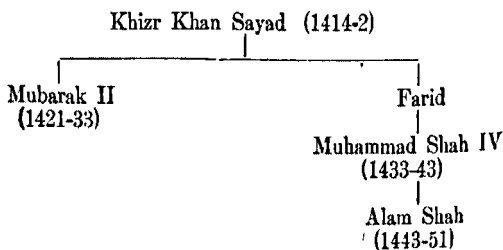
Khawaja Jahan had established the independent kingdom of Jaunpur. On his death in 1400 A. D. his adopted son became the king under the title of Mubarak Shah. Mallu Ikbal proceeded against him but he was vigorously repulsed by Mubarak Shah near Kanauj. Within a short time Mubarak Shah died and was succeeded by his brother Ibrahim Shah Sharki. Sultan Mahmud had an unenviable position. He was merely the nominal ruler, the actual powers being in the hands of Mallu Ikbal. When Mahmud and Ikbal went on an expedition against Ibrahim Sharki the Sultan went over to the camp of the Sharki king in the hope of obtaining real power in Jaunpur. For this action Ikbal left him in charge of Kanauj while he managed Delhi. Ikbal tried to recover Gwalior from Brahma Dev, whose father Narsing Dev had taken the place during the invasion of Timur. But he returned unsuccessful. In 1404 A. D. he defeated the Rajas

of Srinagar, Gwalior, and Jhalwar near Etawah, and then marched against Sultan Mahmud at Kanauj, but failed to reduce the fort. Next year he proceeded towards Multan, occupied Samana on the way, and was slain in a battle against Khizr Khan the governor of Multan, Dipalpur and Lahore. (November, 1405 A. D.) Sultan Mahmud now returned to Delhi at the invitation of Daulat Khan Lodi and Ikhtiar Khan who were then in charge of Delhi. He gave up the idea of taking Multan, and sent Daulat Khan Lodi against Beiram Khan of Samana. He could not retain Kanauj as it was captured by Ibrahim Shah of Jaunpur. The troops deserted the Sultan when they found that he was incapable of ruling and devoted his whole time to pleasure and debauchery. Ibrahim Shah marched towards Delhi, but was called off to defend his own kingdom of Jaunpur against Mazafar Shah of Guzerat. The weak rule of Mahmud encouraged Khizr Khan to invade Delhi. He was joined by some of the officers of the Sultan. He invested the city twice. On the first occasion the Sultan shut himself up at Ferozabad and the next time at Siri. On both the occasions Khizr Khan had to withdraw without any efforts of Mahmud. The Sultan ended his inglorious life in Feb. 1412 A. D. and with him fell the kingdom of Delhi from the race of the Turks.

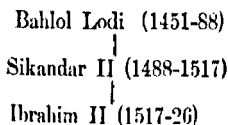
The nobles at Delhi raised Daulat Khan Lodi to the throne in April 1412 A. D. He was joined by two military leaders, Malik Idris and Mubariz Khan.

The people of Kateher (Rohilkand) acknowledged his authority. Ibrahim Shah of Jaunpur attacked Kalpi, but as Khizr Khan was marching towards Delhi, Daulat Khan had to remain at the capital. After a siege of four months Daulat Khan surrendered. (May 23, 1414 A. D.) He was kept confined in Hissar Firoza, where he died, and Khizr Khan became the founder of a new dynasty.

SAYAD DYNASTY.



LODI DYNASTY.



CHAPTER X.

DECLINE OF THE EMPIRE

Sayad Khizr Khan 1414-21 A. D.

Khizr Khan, governor of Multan was the son of Malik Sulaiman. His father was the adopted son of Malik Mardan Daulat who was governor of Multan in the time of Firoz Shah. On the death of Malik Shaikh, the son of Mardan Daulat, Sulaiman became the governor. He was succeeded by his son Khizr Khan. Sarung Khan, Brother of Mallu Ikbal, who was governor of Dipalpur, invaded Multan in 1395 A. D. and wrested the governorship of that province from Khizr Khan. He was defeated by Prince Pir Muhammad, and on his way back to Samarkand Timur appointed Khizr Khan as his viceroy of Multan, Lahore, and Dipalpur. Khizr Khan traces his descent from the prophet Muhammad and therefore has the title of Sayad been attached to his name. He never assumed the title of Sultan, but carried on the government of the country as the Deputy of Timur, and after the death of Timur, of his son Shahrukh Mirza.

Most of the provinces had by that time become independent, and his rule was confined to Delhi, and the districts round it besides the provinces of Multan, Dipalpur and Lahore which had been conferred upon

him by Timur. Even within this limited area the revenue was not properly collected. The Zemindars of the Doab and Katcheh, 'Budayun' and the neighbouring places did not pay their revenues for some years. On assumption of office Khizr Khan appointed Malik Tohfa as his Vizier with the title of Taj-ul-Mulk, and conferred the government of Multan and Fathpur upon Abdur Rahim, the adopted son of his father Malik Sulaiman, and the government of the Doab was entrusted to Ikhtiyar Khan.

The provinces of Katcheh engaged his attention in the first year of his reign. On the approach of Taj-ul-Mulk Narsing Ray the leader of the insurgents fled into the hills. The Vizier received the submission of Mahabat Khan, governor of Budayun, and marched through Gunpur, Kappilla and Chandwar to Etawah. He obtained possession of Jalesar which had fallen into the hands of the Rajputs of Chandwar. The Turks had assassinated the governor of Sirhind, but when an army came from Delhi they fled to the hills. They came down upon the plains and ravaged the country for several years. In 1417 A. D. they besieged Sirhind, but their leader Malik Toghan was overtaken by Zirak Khan, governor of Samana, and compelled to pay tribute. On submitting to the authority of Khizr Khan he was allowed to retain Jalandhar. In 1416 A. D. Khizr Khan went out to oppose Ahmad Shah of Guzerat, but when the latter turned towards Malwa he returned to Delhi marching through Jalwar, Gwalior,

and Biyana. The affairs of Kateher and the Doab kept him constantly busy. Once when he was at Budayun he discovered a plot against his life by some old friend of Mahmud Tughlak. The conspirators were put to death at Delhi. Malik Tughan of Jalandhar joined an impostor and then revolted. He was defeated and driven out of the country. A rising of the Mewatis was suppressed in 1421 A. D. and that year the Vizier Taj-ul-Mulk died. Khizr Khan while out in a campaign through Meerut, Gwalior and Etawah fell ill, and died on the 20th May, 1421 A. D. Although he could not establish a strong government in the disturbed condition of the time Khizr Khan was considered a just, generous and benevolent ruler.

Sayad Mubarak Shah 1421-34 A. D.

Mubarak Shah succeeded his father to the throne of Delhi. Although he ruled for thirteen years he also failed to establish good government. The first event of importance was his march against Jasrath Khokhar who in conjunction with Malik Tughan, had planned the conquest of Delhi. They had captured Lahore, made Zirak Khan, the governor of Jalandhar a prisoner, and invested the fort of Sirhind. When Mubarak Shah approached the last place Jasrath fell back upon Ludhiana, and then fled into the mountains after crossing the Chenab. He was betrayed by Rai Bhim, the Raja of Jammu, but escaped the hands of the Delhi troops. But before Mubarak could reach

Delhi, Jusrath came back with a large number of troops and besieged Lahore for five months. Failing to take the fort he withdrew towards the Beas, and being pursued by the Delhi troops again took shelter in the hills. A large number of Gakkars were found out of their hiding places and killed. The trouble was not still over. Jusrath returned in 1423 A. D. and ravaged Lahore and Dipalpur. He formed an alliance with Amir Shaikh Ali, a Mughal governor of Kabul, in order that he might attack Sind. About the same time Gwalior was invested by Sultan Hushang of Malwa. Mubarak went personally against Hushang, and despatched an army under Malik Mahmud Hasan to Multan. Jusrath remained unsubdued till 1428 A. D. when he came to besiege Kalanor. The governors of Sirhind and Samana came to the help of the government of Lahore and the Raja of Kalanor defeated Jusrath and squeezed out of him all his spoils. The disturbances in Mewat, the Doab and Katcher kept the Sultan busy. He imprisoned the grandson of Bahadur Nahir, and besieged Biyana, but still could not restore peace. Ibrahim Shah Sharki of Jaunpur marched towards Kalpi to occupy the place but he was opposed by Mubarak Shah and forced to retire. Kuddu Mewati was put to death for joining Ibrahim Shah, but his brother still retained the chieftainship by paying tributes. For years together a Turk slave named Paulad rose in rebellion in Sirhind. He conspired with Amir Shaikh Ali of Kabul and carried on depredations in the Punjab. The gover-

nors of Mubarak Shah were also not very faithful to him and he wanted to maintain his authority by transferring them from place to place. This did neither satisfy his officers nor ensure good government. In 1435 A. D. when Mubarak Shah went out to visit the new city of Mubarakabad on the Jumna he was murdered at the instigation of his Vizier Sarwar-ul-Mulk, and Muhammad a grandson of Khizr Khan was raised to the throne.

Sayad Muhammad 1435-45 A. D.

The new Sultan Muhammad owed his position to the perfidy of Sarwar-ul-Mulk who with the help of some Hindu accomplices, procured the murder of Mubarak Shah in a Mosque at Mubarakabad. Sarwar therefore became very powerful and took the title of Khan-i-Jahan, and distributed the fiefs of Biyana, Amroha and other pergunas in the Doab between his two Hindu conspirators, Sadanand, and Sidpal, and other fiefs he gave to his own friends. But this method of allotment produced a revolt among the old nobles. His deputy Kali Khan when despatched to quell the rising joined the insurgents and marched upon Delhi. Sarwar-ul-Mulk held out for three months in the fort of Siri. The king also found that Sarwar was not his true friend as the Vizier wanted to use him as his tool, Sarwar therefore formed a plot of assassinating the king who however getting the information earlier brought about the ruin of the whole gang. Kali Khan now

became the Vizier with the title of Kamal-ul-Mulk and distributed offices amongst people on whom he could rely.

The governors of the provinces gave him very reluctant allegiance. It seemed as if the king stood at the crest of a crater. Rebellions cropped up in every direction. In Samana Jasrat Gakkar carried on a plundering expedition, Bahlal Lodi not only usurped the government of Sirhind but also occupied Lahore and Dipalpur. The wily Afghan evaded an open engagement and duped the king to kill the Deputy Vizier Hissam Khan. The weakness of the king produced a state of uneasiness. Ibrahim Shah Sharki of Jaunpur occupied some territories close to his kingdom, and Mahmud Khilji of Malwa threatened Delhi. In these circumstances the king sought the help of Bahlol Lodi, and in dread of losing the throne sued for peace with Mahmud Khilji. But Bahlol pursued Mahmud Khilji, and defeated him. The king now confirmed Bahlol in the government of Lahore and Dipalpur, and asked his help in suppressing Jasrat Gakkar. But Bahlol strengthened his own position with the help of Jasrat and besieged Delhi, but after a few months was forced to retire. The Zemindars of Biyana transferred their allegiance to the Sultan of Malwa. When the empire was thus being reduced in size Sultan Mahammad Shah died in 1445 A. D.

Ala-ud-Din Alam Shah (1445-50 A. D.)

Ala-ud-Din Alam Shah too succeeded his father

was a very weak man. He very often acted upon rumours. In 1446 A. D. when he went out to recover Biyana he returned to Delhi on hearing that Ibrahim Shah Sharki was coming to attack the capital. He made Budayun his favourite resort and embellished it in every way. In 1448 A. D. he removed his capital there. He was also advised by some of his friends to remove his vizier Hamid Khan from this world, but the latter warned by his brother fled to Delhi. He then invited Bahlol Lodi to take up the helm of affairs at Delhi. Bahlol arrived there in 1450 A. D. and finding his position untenable Ala-ud-Din abdicated in his favour, but only desired to remain unmolested in Budayun till his death which took place in 1478 A. D.

During the weak government of the Sayads a number of independent states arose out of the ruins of the old empire. The Deccan, Guzerat, Malwa, Jaunpur, and Bengal had already attained their independence within the nominal suzerainty of the Sultan. Bahlol Khan Lodi ruled over the Punjab, Dipalpur and Sirhind as far as Panipat, Ahmad Khan Mewati extended his sway over Mehrauli and over the country within seven kos of Delhi. Sambhal up to the suburbs of Delhi was governed by Daria Khan Lodi, in the Doab, Isa Khan Turk governed Kot Jalesar, Kutb Khan Afghan Rewari and the adjoining districts, Raja Pratap Sing Kampilla and Patiali, and Daud Khan Lodi Biyana. Khandesh, Sind and Multan had each its independent king. The Sultan's authority was thus confined to the

city of Delhi and a small tract of land adjoining it. The vast empire of the Sultan had thus been reduced to a single city.

THE PATHAN EMPIRE.

Bahlol Lodi (1450-88 A.D.)

Bahlol Lodi was the first Afghan Sultan to occupy the throne of Delhi. The Afghans carried on trade between Persia and India. Malik Bairam Lodi, first came to India in the time of Firoz Shah Tughlak. He entered into the service of Malik Murdan Daulat, and later on obtained the administration of Multan. One of his sons Islam Khan killed Mallu Iqbal Khan and became the governor of Sirhind. Bahlol Lodi, a nephew of Islam Khan, succeeded him in the government of Sirhind. His help was sought by Sultan Muhammad against Mahmud Khilji of Malwa, and afterwards he gradually extended his territories by acquiring Lahore, Dipalpur, and Sunam. On the decline of the powers of Sayad Ala-ud-Din, his Vizier Hamid Khan invited Bahlol Lodi to occupy Delhi,

Bahlol was a man of ability. From the very beginning he was bent upon making his authority felt, and restoring the lost dominions of Delhi. The first thing he did to ensure his authority was to remove Hamid Khan from his position. But many officers of Delhi were not willing to submit to him. Some of them invited Mahmud Shah Sharki of Jauupur to invade the capital, while Bahlol Lodi was away on his expedition

towards Multan. The Sharki king had married a daughter of the Sultan Sayad Ala-ud-Din and he was also incited by his wife to expel the Afghans from Delhi. Mahmud Shah laid siege to Delhi in 1452 A.D. Bahlol Lodi returned in haste from Dipalpur, and defeated a strong detachment under Fateh Khan Harvi at Perah within thirty miles of Delhi. Fateh Khan's head was cut off and on receiving the news of the disaster Mahmud Shah Sharki raised the siege and retreated to Jaunpur. Dariya Khan Lodi one of the chiefs who had left Bahlol, was rebuked by Qutub Khan, the greatest archer of the Lodi Sultan for this act of treachery and in shame he returned to his old master, and along with him the other Afghans who went to the Sharki king. This greatly weakened the position of Mahmud Shah.

The success of Bahlol in delivering Delhi from the attack of the king of Jaunpur led to re-establish his position with the other chiefs who hesitated to pay allegiance to him. Ahmad Khan of Mewat easily submitted, he was deprived of seven parganas, and confirmed in the remainder of his territories. Dariya Khan Lodi of Sambhal acknowledged his supremacy by offering to him seven elephants. Isa Khan was confirmed in Kol, Mubarak Khan Lohani in Burhanabad, and Pratap Ray in Mainpuri Bhuigan. At Rewari Qutub Khan yielded after some opposition and he was allowed to retain his fief. When Bahlol was engaged in reducing Etawah a noble called Juna Khan went over to Jaunpur

and instigated Mahmud Shah Sharki to invade Delhi once again. Juna Khan was granted Shamsabad in reward of his services. The two armies met near Etawah. But through the intervention of Rafi Pratap and Qutub Khan it was settled that Bahlol would rule the countries which belonged to Sayad Mubarak and Mahmud Shah Sharki the territories which were in possession of Ibrahim Shah Sharki and Bahlol would restore the elephants captured from Fatah Khan Harti, and Mahmud would dismiss Juna Khan. But the hostilities did not cease as Bahlol was opposed in taking the possession of Shamsabad. In the course of the operations Qutub Khan was taken prisoner. Next day news of the death of Mahmud Shah came and peace was concluded with his son Muhammad Shah (1453 A.D.). But the release of Qutub Khan was not included in the terms of settlement. So fresh hostilities started on the instance of his sister Shams Khatun. Muhammad Shah was supported by his brothers Husain Khan and Jalal Khan. The latter was taken prisoner and about that time Muhammad Shah was removed from the throne and replaced by Husain Khan by a conspiracy of the officers at Jaunpur. The new king concluded a treaty by which both Qutub and Jalal were released. On his return to Delhi Bahlol had to proceed to Multan to suppress a rebellion of the governor there. Husain Shah Sharki, in violation of the terms of the treaty marched upon Delhi in the absence of the Sultan. Bahlol returned in haste and engaged the Sharki troops

at Chandwar. A truce was concluded after seven days' war. But the relations never changed. A few years after this Etawah was invaded by Husain Shah. Two governors of Bahlol, viz. Ahmad Khan of Mewat and Isa Khan of Kol went over to the side of the Sharki King, Ahmad Khan Jalwani of Biyana also accepted the supremacy of Jaunpur. Husain Shah marched from Etawah towards Delhi with 100,000 horse and 1000 elephants. After a short engagement at Bhatwara there was a temporary peace. On the death of Syed Ala-ud-Din at Budayun (1478 A. D.) Husain Shah occupied that district. He was bent upon taking possession of Delhi also, and after some skirmishes he agreed to confine his rule over the country east of the Ganges, allowing Bahlol to retain his authority west of that river. Bahlol however did not keep his promise. He occupied several districts belonging to the Sharki King. Another treaty was concluded by which the village of Dopamow was fixed as the boundary between the two kingdoms. Husain Shah again renewed his attacks but this time fortune deserted him. He was defeated at Sirsar, and was driven out of Rewari. With the help of the Raja of Gwalior he encamped at Kalpi, but there also he was defeated by Bahlol, and suffered terrible loss at an engagement at Kanauj, where his chief lady Beby Khonza fell into the hands of the Sultan. With fresh troops from Delhi Bahlol marched upon Jaunpur, thoroughly reduced that kingdom after hostilities of twenty-six years. Later on an attempt was made to

restore Husain Shah to power, but Bahlol proceeded to Jaunpur, expelled the Sharki chief and appointed his son Barbak Shah to the government of the province. He then subjugated Kalpi, Dholpur, and other places on his way back to Delhi.

Bahlol towards the end of his life, distributed his territories among his sons and relatives. He proceeded to Gwalior to demand allegiance from the unruly Raja, and made him agree to pay a tribute of 80 Lakhs of tankas. After a strenuous reign of about thirty-nine years Bahlol died at Baduali in Sakit in 1488 A. D.

The task of restoring the powers of the Sultan of Delhi was extremely difficult. The Musalman fief-holders had become very powerful; No Sultan could ignore the privileges they enjoyed. The main achievement of Bahlol was the conquest of Jaunpur. He displayed great ability in bringing about the ruin of the Sharki kingdom. The chiefs of both Delhi and Jaunpur had ultimately to submit to his great authority. The Sultanate which was once reduced to the city of Delhi was now practically recognised all over northern India. This was no mean achievement for Bahlol Lodi. As an Afghan chief he treated his courtiers as friends. He was very simple in habits and never made a display of royalty. He distributed his treasures amongst his friends. Though not a scholar he liked the company of learned men, and always recognised their merit by suitable rewards. He was impartial in the administration of justice, and wise

in government. He enlisted about 20,000 Mughals in the army, as he had great reliance on them.

Sikandar Lodi (1489-1517 A. D.)

On the death of Bahlol there was some dispute regarding the claims of the rival candidates for the throne of Delhi. Some supported the claims of Barbak Shah, the viceroy of Jaunpur, and others of Azim Humayun, a grand-son of the late Sultan. But nobles led by Khan-i-Khan Lohani supported the claims of Nizam Khan, who now ascended the throne of Delhi under the title of Sikandar Lodi. The greatest opponent of Sikandar was Isa Khan, a nephew of Bahlol, whom he defeated and then conferred favours on all his relatives. He had six sons and forty officers of distinction at the time of his accession. His brother Alam Khan, governor of Rewari had declared himself independent and took his position at the fort of Chandwar. On the approach of Sikandar he fled to Isa Khan at Pattiali and later submitted at Etawah. Isa Khan was wounded in a fight, and died shortly afterwards.

Barbak Shah, viceroy of Jaunpur, set himself up as an independent king. He rejected with disdain the proposal of accepting the suzerain rights of Sikandar. In an action which followed the failure of the negotiations Barbak's general Kala Pahar was taken prisoner. But he was persuaded by Sikandar to espouse his cause and to direct an attack against his whilom master Barbak, who was now deserted by his own troops. Barbak

took shelter in Budayun, and his son Mubarak Khan was taken prisoner. When Budayun was invested he surrendered, but he was treated kindly by his brother. Husain Shah Sharki was still very powerful in Behar, and might threaten Delhi. So Sikandar restored Barbak Shah to the government of Jaunpur, but placed a number of his Afghan friends to assist him with grants of estates to ensure their support in case of necessity.

Sikandar then removed Azim Humayun from the government of Kalpi, and brought under control the provinces of Bhurayi, Gwalior, Biyana and Agra. On his return to Delhi he received the news of a rising of the Zemindars in Jaunpur, who had collected a vast army of 100,000 horse and foot. Barbak Shah failed to restore order. Sikandar proceeded towards Jaunpur, and sent Barbak Shah as a state-prisoner for his incapacity to rule. He then marched towards Behar, and was engaged for sometime in suppressing the Zemindars who helped Husain Shah. In an engagement near Benares Husain Shah was defeated, and fled to Lakhnauti where he spent the rest of his life under the protection of the king of Bengal. The Sharki dynasty came to an end with him (1494 A. D.). The districts of Behar were now settled upon his own officers. An expedition was also sent against Bengal, but before they came to fight a treaty of mutual friendship was concluded, and they agreed not to afford protection to their mutual enemies. The country was at that time threatened with famine and the Sultan eased the situation by remitting the

customs duties for the remainder of his reign. On his return from Behar he resided six months at Jaunpur.

Sikandar asked for the hands of a daughter of Raja Salivahan of Panna, but the Raja refusing the country was ruined up to Banda. While at Jaunpur he inspected the accounts of Mubarak Khan Lodi and found that a large amount had been defalcated. The Afghan officers considered the inspection of the accounts as an encroachment upon their privileges and made a common cause against the Sultan. A conspiracy was set up to murder the king and to place his brother Fateh Khan upon the throne. But the prince informed the king of the plot, and the conspirators were then sent to different places, and were done to death one by one. The king stayed henceforth for four years at Sambhal recruiting his health. But there he could not enjoy perfect peace. He had to devise plans of suppressing the rebel governors and unruly chiefs of Delhi, Gwalior and Dholpur. Khwaja Baban who had been despatched against Raja Vinayak Deo of Dholpur being killed (Nov. 1501 A. D.) the Sultan marched against the Raja. On his approach Vinayak Deo fled to Gwalior. The Sultan now ransacked both Dholpur and Gwalior. Ultimately the Raja of Gwalior submitted, and the two states acknowledged his supremacy. Vinayak Deo was then reinstated in power. About this time the Sultan thought of making Agra his capital (1504 A. D.) The old Hindu temples were destroyed and mosques were built in their place. A violent earthquake took place in 1505

A. D. "so that the mountains shook to their broad bases, and lofty buildings were levelled with the ground. Several thousand inhabitants were buried under the ruins."

The countries round about Agra gave him trouble for some years and Sultan Sikandar had to be ready for the risings in Gwalior, Dholpur and Marwar. The siege of Marwar lasted eight months. Shahab-ud-Din, son of the Sultan of Malwa revolted against his father and sought the help of Sikandar Lodi. The Sultan promised to support him on condition that Chanderi was handed over to him. While he was busy with these affairs his officers tried to get as much authority as they could. In 1517 A. D. in the midst of his preparations for the subjugation of Gwalior he suddenly died of quinsy at Agra.

Sikandar Lodi reigned more than twenty-eight years. He was the last of the Pathan rulers, who succeeded in making his unruly nobles submit to his authority. By a regular audit and inspection of accounts he tried to remove the corrupt practice of the provincial governors. He extended the rule of the Sultan of Delhi from Behar to the Punjab. Although he did not introduce any new reforms he did his best to improve the efficiency of administration. He maintained a system of news-agents by which he kept himself informed of the movements of the people in all parts of the empire. He was learned in law, and administered justice impartially and very often went deep into the intricate causes. The

fief-holders and jagirdars had to render him allegiance. Any deviation was dealt with severely. He strictly supervised the army and examined the qualifications of the officers specially at the time of promotion. By means of horse posts he linked up the distant units of the army. The reign was marked by peace and prosperity. The prices of all commodities were low.

He was remarkable for his beauty and comeliness and had a reputation for learning and good sense. He could write poetry and always encouraged literary men by rewards. He was a devoted Musalman, and used to pray five times regularly every day. His bigotry was so intense that he destroyed the Hindu temples in many places. "In the city of Muttra he caused Musjids and bazars to be built opposite the bathing stairs leading to the river," says Ferishta, "and ordered that no Hindu should bathe there. He forbade the barbers to shave the beards and heads of the inhabitants in order to prevent the Hindus following their usual practices at such pilgrimages." At Agra he destroyed all the Hindu temples. It is related that a Brahman named Bodhan of Kaithan near Lucknow was executed for holding the view "that the religious books of the Moslems and Hindus, if acted on with sincerity, were equally acceptable to God." He called a large number of Maulvies to Sambhal to discuss the point with the Brahman, and when he did not give up the claims of equality and accept Islam he had to suffer death. The mosques were thoroughly reorganised and they were made the centres

of learning. He encouraged learning and even the Hindus began to study Persian, and Moslem literature. His officers were generally educated men. He was charitable and had a well-organised machinery for distributing alms, pensions and charities.

Ibrahim Lodi (1417-26 A. D.).

On the death of Sikandar Lodi his son Ibrahim Lodi succeeded him to the throne. He formed a wrong idea of his position as king of Delhi. His father Sikandar Lodi very tactfully commanded the loyalty of the nobles by treating them as friends and equals, although he dealt severely with them whenever they transgressed the laws of propriety. Ibrahim made them feel that he was the supreme ruler and they were his subordinates. He made them stand in his presence with their hands crossed and made no distinction between the high and the low, his clansmen and others. This created great discontent specially among the Lohani, Farmuli and Lodi Chiefs who held important offices in the state and on whose support the late Sultan counted so greatly. Ibrahim felt that if he allowed sufficient latitude to his nobles they might flout his authority altogether. They had already become very strong. They enjoyed their jagirs as a matter of right, and could at any time defy the king's authority. A little more tightening would snap the bond. The position of the Sultan was therefore precarious. The Hindus on the other hand had no attachments for

the throne. The Musalman rulers had never tried to win their sympathy. By their policy of religious intolerance they alienated them. They were never given office nor entrusted with the command of the army. The Moslem nobles and jagirdars tried to set themselves as independent rulers, and the Hindu princes were eagerly waiting for the weakening of the central authority so that in time they might assert themselves.

The first attempt to reduce the authority of Ibrahim was made by the Lodi chiefs who set up his brother Jalal Khan, governor of Kalpi, as the independent ruler of Jaunpur. Khan-i-Jahan Lodi saw the danger to the Afghan Empire by this division and warned the amirs from such a course. But Jalal would not withdraw from his position. Ibrahim now issued a proclamation that anybody who supported the cause of Jalal was a traitor. He also tried to win over the nobles by presents and other means. Prince Jalal persuaded Azam Humayun to join him and both marched against Said Khan, son of Mubarak Khan, in Oudh and drove him to Lucknow. Azam Humayun shortly afterwards deserted Jalal, when Ibrahim marched against him. The Sultan kept all his brothers confined in the fort of Hansi and proceeded towards Kalpi where Jalal had left his family. When Kalpi was besieged by Azam Humayun Lodi, Jalal with 30,000 horse marched towards Agra. The governor of the place, Adam Khan, in order to save the place promised to place him in possession of Kalpi but Ibrahim did not acknowledge

the right of the governor to negotiate. Prince Jalal deserted by his army fled to Gwalior and Ibrahim returned to Agra to put the affairs there in proper order. About this time he dismissed Mian Bhua his father's Vizier without any reason and put him into prison. An army under Azam Humayun Sherwani was sent to Gwalior where Jalal had fled for protection. Raja Man Sing defended the place with great courage and ability but he died in the course of the siege and his son Vikramajeet held out for some months. Then Jalal fled to Malwa where Sultan Mahmud gave him cold shoulders. So he went to the Raja of Garh Katak, but was captured by the Gonds on the way and sent to Ibrahim. He sent him to Hansi but the poor prince was assassinated on the way by the orders of his brother.

Sultan Ibrahim was always suspicious of the officers and nobles. He recalled Azam Humayun Sherwani from Gwalior when it was about to fall into his hands, and put him and his son Fateh Khan into prison. His other son Islam Khan was removed from the government of Karra. The nobles greatly resented the treatment of these officers, and they all flocked to the banner of Islam Khan. Ahmad Khan was sent against the insurgents. They demanded the release of Azam Humayun Sherwani, which Ibrahim indignantly refused. He ordered Daria Khan Lohani, governor of Bihar, Nasir Khan Lohani, collector of Ghazipur, and Shaikhzada Muhammad Farmeuli, governor of Oudh, to proceed

with their troops against the rebels. A terrible battle was fought between the parties in which Islam Khan was killed, and Said Khan imprisoned. The rebels were scattered in all directions. The Sultan wreaked his vengeance upon the nobles, executed Azam Humayun Sharwari, and Mian Bhua in prison, and many other nobles were mercilessly slaughtered.

Warned by these inhuman actions Daria Khan Lohani, Khan-i Jahan Lodi, Hussain Khan Farmeuli and other chiefs openly revolted against the Sultan. Hussain Farmeuli was secretly murdered in his bed at Chanderi at the instance of Ibrahim. This cowardly deed created more enemies. On the death of Daria Khan Lohani about this time his son Bahadur Khan declared his independence in Behar under the title of Muhammad Shah. He gathered an army of 100,000 horse with the help of the discontented chiefs and gained possession of the country upto Sambhal. The Sultan also alienated Daulat Khan Lodi, governor of Lahore, by trying to overawe his son. Fearing that his turn was not remote Daulat Khan appealed to Babar to save them from the tyranny of Ibrahim Lodi. Previous to this Prince Ala-ud-Din, brother of Ibrahim Lodi fled to Kabul. The disturbances in India, the rebellion of the nobles and their appeal to Babar for help emboldened Ala-ud-Din to return to India.

Babar had been contemplating an invasion of Hindustan since 1519 A. D. Several times he marched into the Punjab. On receiving the invitation of Daulat

Khan Lodi he marched towards Lahore in 1524 A. D. The Afghan officers were easily defeated, and Lahore was occupied. Babar then took possession of Dipalpur and there he was joined by Daulat Khan who was appointed governor of Jalandhar, Sultanpur, and other districts of the Punjab. On the advice of Daulat Khan he was preparing an expedition to Dera Ismail Khan when he was informed by Dilawar Khan, the youngest son of Daulat Khan that his father wanted to divide the Mughal troops in order that he might destroy them. Babar therefore put Daulat Khan and his son Ghazi Khan under arrest, but when they were released later on, they fled to the hills. Dilawar Khan was then granted the family estates, and made the Khani-i-Khanan. The desertion of such an influential man as Daulat Khan was distressing to Babar. So he returned to Lahore, and after settling the government of the newly acquired provinces went back to Kabul.

Daulat Khan Lodi wanted to recover the lost ground during the absence of Babar. He seized Dilawar Khan, wrested the province of Dipalpur from Ala-ud-Din Lodi and attacked Sialkote. But in the last place he was defeated by Mir Abdul Aziz, governor of Lahore. Ala-ud-Din fled to Kabul, and brought orders from Babar to his officers to support him in an attack upon Delhi. Daulat Khan Lodi also expressed his willingness to promote the claims of Ala-ud-Din against Ibrahim Lodi. Ala-ud-Din thus marched at the head of 40,000 horse, and in an engagement near Delhi although victorious in

the first stage he was defeated by Ibrahim next day on account of the irregularities of his troops and retreated towards the Punjab. On receiving the news of the defeat of Ala-ud-Din, Babar prepared his expedition to India (Nov. 1525 A.D.). His son Hamayun accompanied him on this momentous march. After crossing the Indus he proceeded to Sialkote where he was joined by Ala-ud-Din and his governor in the Punjab. Daulat Khan Lodi and his son Ghazi Khan, opposed him on the Ravi on behalf of Ibrahim Lodi. But they were defeated, Daulat Khan was captured in the fort of Malwat, whereas Ghazi Khan joined Ibrahim Lodi at Delhi. Daulat Khan and Dilawar Khan submitted to the inevitable and for this they were honourably treated by Babar. Daulat Khan did not live long to see the foundation of the Mughal Empire which he helped by his treachery and vacillation.

The Battle of Panipat (1526 A. D.)

The dissensions among the Afghan chiefs increased daily. Babar sent his son Hunayun to Hisar-Firoza and expelled the Governor who opposed his march. Malik Baban Afghan Jalwani deserted Ibrahim Lodi and joined Babar with 3000 horse. An advance party of 27,000 horse under Daud Khan and Hatim Khan was defeated near Shahabad. Ibrahim Lodi with 100,000 horse and 1000 elephants had taken up his position at the field of Panipat. He had also vast treasures to enlist more troops. But "he was an unproved youth" says Babar in

his *Memoirs*, "he was negligent in all his movements, he marched without order, retired or halted without plan, and engaged in battle without foresight". Babar had only 12,000 troops, all thoroughly trained although they were exhausted on account of their tedious journey extending over three months. The Mughals reached Panipat on the 12th April 1526 A.D. Babar arranged his troops into two lines, each composed of four divisions. There was a light brigade in front and a reserve in the rear, The right of the first division was commanded by Humayun, the left by Muhammad Sultan Mirza. In the second line Chin Timur Sultan led the right, and Khali-fa the left. The advance party was commanded by Sultan Mirza, reserve of the right wing by Abdul Aziz and the left wing by Wali Karawal, and the grand reserve in the rear by Kasim Beg and Ali Bahadur. Babar took his position in the centre of the first line. In front of the line seven hundred carts were joined together by means of leathern thongs, behind which stood the matchlock men ready to fire. Ustad Ali Kuli with his *Firingi* guns stood in front of the centre, and the cannoneer Mustafa directed his artillery from the left centre. The Mughal troops were thoroughly marshalled and equipped with guns and cannons which the Afghans lacked. Moreover by the arrangements of the troops Babar had provided for their rapid movements, and ready reinforcements from the reserves. He had also instructed the turning parties to wheel round the enemy's flank and attack them

in the rear, whilst the right and left divisions would charge. The Afghans were, on the other hand, drawn up in one solid mass. They charged straight without halting, but were soon surrounded by the Mughals. They had no chance of retreating: as on their left was the town of Panipat with its suburbs, in front were the Mughal troops arrayed behind the carts, and on the right were the trenches protected by boughs of trees. Babar gives a description of the battle in his Memoirs in which he says, "The enemy made one or two weak charges on the right and left, but our men piled them with arrows and drove them in upon their centre, so that huddled together and in confusion the enemy could neither advance nor flee. The sun had mounted spear-high when the onset began (21st April 1526 A. D.) and the battle lasted till midday, noon passed, the enemy were routed and broken down and our friends victorious and exulting. By the grace and mercy of almighty God, this arduous task was made easy for us and this mighty army in the space of half a day was laid in the dust. Five or six thousand men were found lying slain in one spot near Ibrahim. We reckoned that the slain in different parts of the battle-field numbered 15,000 or 16,000 men, but it came out later in Agra from the accounts of the natives that 40,000 or 50,000 had fallen in the field." Thus Panipat decided the fate of India and Delhi passed into the hands of the Mughals.

CHAPTER XI.

THE SMALLER KINGDOMS.

Disintegration of the Empire.

The Sultans of Delhi never enjoyed their rule over the whole of India. Muhammad Tughlak had the most extensive dominions from one end of India to the other, but even then the vast tract of land known as Orissa lying between the Ganges and the Godavari remained unsubdued, and the large number of Rajput States in Central India owed nominal allegiance. In the neighbourhood of Delhi the Rajput princes remained practically independent. In the Doab between the Ganges and the Jumna the Rajputs lost their freedom, some migrated to Central India, and those who remained were satisfied with the position of Zemindars and cultivators although they still possessed the military skill and Rajput bravery. Mewat, Bundelkhand Baghelkhand, and others close states to Delhi possessed a number of strong forts like Rantambhar, Gwalior, Kalinjara, etc. The Sultans considered the subjugation of these states necessary for the maintenance of the integrity of Delhi. But they could never thoroughly reduce them to submission. The Rajputs in the rough country south of the Jumna proved a source of danger to the empire, but those in the plains like Jaipur, Ajmir and Malwa

which could be easily approached could not resist the Moslem arms. Jaipur had all along been very accommodating and the other two were easily conquered. Mewar although could not withstand the attack of Ala-ud-Din Khilji in 1303 A.D. soon recovered her independence. The states along the desert such as Jodhpur, Bikanir, Jesalmir, were not molested on account of their inaccessible position. There were a large number of smaller states which escaped the ravages of the Musalmans. Kashmir and the states along the Himalayas did not acknowledge the supremacy of Delhi. Hindus in Telingana and Karnata recovered their independence during the bad rule of Muhammad Tughlak and the country south of the Krishna remained under the Hindu Rajas till 1565 A.D. There were thus a large number of Hindu states still in existence, when the Turks and Afghans established their rule in the different parts of India. Most of these states had to fight hard in order to maintain their freedom. They showed marvellous elasticity and at times great heroism. But they could never combine to drive away the foreign rulers. They however could retain their independence or regain it on account of the weakness of the Muslim Government.

The Sultans of Delhi did not come from one stock. There were five dynasties and thirty-four Sultans in course of 320 years. Even the most powerful of these rulers had to count upon the support of their comrades in arms. They had no territory to fall back upon and no national treasury or army to support them.

The first few Sultans were slaves and adventurers. Their claims to authority lay in their intellectual merit and good generalship. They were accompanied by a number of adventurers of their own type who helped in extending the Moslem rule and thus established their claim to equal treatment. They held charge of provinces and districts over which the Sultan had only nominal control. Some powerful Sultans rose from among these provincial governors. All ambitious men therefore cherished a desire to occupy the supreme position and sought opportunity to overthrow those in power. This was the inherent weakness of the Sultanate. The army consisted of the mercenary soldiers who came either from Afghanistan and other countries for the sake of pay and plunder or recruited in India generally from the Moslems. They had no interest in the solidarity of the empire, or in the welfare of the people. Whenever they were granted lands and jagirs in recognition of their services they settled to peaceful life. They gradually lost the spirit of adventure and along with it their old vigour and boldness. By a method of mass conversion a large number of Hindus were compelled to accept Islam. These converts were neither very strong nor adventurous. Some of them had adopted the new faith to escape the heavy taxes and to enjoy some privileges under the Muslim rulers. As Hindus they could not obtain high office or command in the army. These circumstances gradually weakened the military strength of the empire. Besides these inherent causes there were

some definite contributions of the Sultans, which helped the dismemberment of the empire. Sultan Firoz Shah Tughlak recognised the hereditary rights to the fiefs and jagirs by the officers and servants of the state. These fief-holders in course of time acquired certain interests of their own, and did not consider themselves under any obligation of service. They became little potentates in their own estates, and consequently they believed that the weakening of the central authority would help them in getting greater powers. They maintained their own troops and practically enjoyed full control over their estates. Firoz Tughlak was also responsible for the extensive enrolment of slaves who were employed in many important positions not only under the Sultans but also in provincial governments. These slaves became very powerful and dangerous and the downfall of the empire was not a little due to their officious interference. At one time no one could remain on the throne unless he could win the good-will of these myrmidons. Even the most wretched ruffians mounted the throne because they could pander to the vitiated taste of their wicked masters, and thus acquired ascendancy in the court. The instability of the government of the Sultans was due no less to the absence of any definite law of succession and the existence of constant conflict between the rival parties and between the Hindus who formed the majority in the country and the Musalmans who were so rigid in the enforcement of their own law and religion. What-

ever dignity the Sultan possessed was smashed by the invasion of Timur. The Mongol chiefs passed like a hurricane over the dominions of the Sultan of Delhi, and gave his government a rude shaking. The people lost all respect for the Sultanate. The Sayads and Lodis simply marked the time, The provincial governors cut off their connection with Delhi and ruled on their own account.

Bengal.

Bengal was the first province to break away from Delhi. It remained connected with the empire for one hundred and fifty years. If any governor at any time revolted he was sternly punished, but in the time of Muhammad Tughlak when the empire was involved in troubles in all quarters Fakhru-d-Din, Viceroy of Bengal declared his independence in 1340 A. D. This Fakhru-d-Din had obtained power by murdering his master Qadr Khan, governor of Bengal. He in turn was killed by Ali Mubarik, the generalissimo of Qadr Khan. Ali Mubarik was murdered by his foster-brother Haji Ilyas who ascended the throne under the title of Shamsuddin. During his reign Bengal extended upto the borders of Benares. Firoz Shah Tughlak made attempts to regain control over the provinces, but he was satisfied with forming an alliance of friendship with the Sultan of Bengal. The Musalman government continued undisturbed till 1408 A. D. when Raja Kaus, zemindar of Bathuria near Malda usurped the throne for

a few years. He was the only Hindu in Bengal to overthrow the Musalman government. He reigned from 1407 to 1414 A. D. The Musalmans invoked the aid of Sultan Ibrahim of Jaunpur. But Kans propitiated the Musalman saint Qutbul Alam by making over his son Jadu to be converted into Islam, and thus averted the attack of the Jaunpur King. Although Kans tried to bring back his son to Hinduism, the son remained true to Islam, and on the death of his father he mounted the throne as Jalal-ud Din. The independent kings of Bengal had Panduah as their capital, but Jalal-ud Din removed it to Gaur. He reigned for seventeen years and his son for sixteen years. Shortly after his death in about 1447 A.D. the family of Ilyas Shah was restored to power. There were four kings of this family. The last king Fath Shah was killed by a eunuch named Barbag (1484 A.D.) who became king as Sultan Shahzada. The eunuch was killed by an Abyssinian named Malik Andil. He was a nobleman and a commander of the forces of Fath Shah. He thus became the founder of the Habshi or Abyssinian dynasty in Bengal. During the reign of Muzaffar Shah a civil war took place. He was very oppressive and tyrannical in collecting revenues. The principal noblemen revolted against him and the war lasted four months, and one lakh and twenty thousand people died. Muzaffar Shah himself was killed. His Vizier Syed Husain Sharif Maki ascended the throne as Sultan Ala-ud Din in 1494 A.D. He was popularly called Husain Shah. He was a great and good king and extended his domin-

ions from Orissa to Assam and from Chittagong to Behar. He reigned for thirty years and was succeeded by three kings of his family. When Babar invaded India Bengal enjoyed good government under Husain Shah. The King of Jaunpur when attacked by Sultan Sikandar Lodi fled to him for protection. The last Husain Shahi king was defeated by Sher Shah in 1538 A.D., who became the king of Bengal and afterwards emperor of Delhi in 1540 A.D. After the fall of the Sur family Bengal retained its independence till 1576 A.D. when it was annexed by Akbar. Husain Shah made Ekdala his capital. His son Nasrat Shah made peace with Babar. Many Afghan nobles fled to Bengal, when Delhi passed into the hands of the Mughals. Nasrat Shah was very kind to the refugees and settled villages and *pergannas* on them. Bengal maintained its independence for such a long period mainly on account of its physical circumstances. It is a land traversed by broad rivers, and during the rains the roads become impassable. The governors of Bengal carried on their administration in isolation, and the Sultans of Delhi when they had already lost their old prestige and power did not possess sufficient resources to think of a reconquest. Bengal was a prosperous country and its rulers maintained large number of *Paiks* and soldiers. The city of Gaur, it is told, far outshone Cairo in wealth and magnificence. Hussain Shah promoted learning, endowed colleges and mosques and there was also a revival of the Bengali literature at that time.

Jaunpur.

Firoz Shah Tughlak founded the city of Jaunpur on the banks of the Gumti, in memory of Muhammad Jauna whom he succeeded in the throne of Delhi. He spent six months there on his way to Bengal (1359-60 A. D.) and helped to make it a noble city of beautiful and superb edifices. In course of time it became the headquarters of the governors of Oudh and the adjoining provinces. After the death of Firoz Tughlak when his empire fell into pieces, the eunuch Sarwar better known as Khwaja Jehan who was the Vizier of Mahmud Tughlak was entrusted with the government of the eastern provinces from Kanauj, Karra, Oudh Sandila, Dalawan, Bahraich, Behar and Tirhut, and establishing good government there. He received the title of "Malik-us Sharq" or lord of the east. When the Sultan of Delhi lost his authority during the invasion of Timur Khwaja Jehan declared his independence. The Sharki kings ruled over Jaunpur from 1394 to 1477 A.D. Ibrahim Shah Sharki was the most distinguished of these kings. He was a man of ability and ruled for about forty years. Mahmud Tughlak sought his aid against his overweening minister Mallu Iqbal Khan but the Sharki king did not think it worth his while to support the cause of a puppet king, specially when he found that Mahmud would be pleased if he made room for him at Jaunpur. For sometime there was constant conflict between the Sultan and the Sharki King regarding the possession of Kanauj and Kalpi till the boundary

between the two kingdoms was fixed. Ibrahim was a patron of learning. He established many schools and colleges. Many literary men flocked to his court when Delhi lost its prestige after the invasion of Timur. He adorned Jaunpur with many beautiful buildings of which the Atala Mosque which stands even now bears ample testimony to his architectural originality in which Saracenic art has been mixed with Indian ideas. As Jaunpur was close to Delhi the Sultans all along attempted its reconquest for the maintenance of the empire. Bahlol Lodi ultimately succeeded in defeating the Sharki king Husain Shah and annexing Jaunpur in 1477 A.D., on which the Sharki king first went to Behar and then ended his days in Bengal.

Malwa.

The fertile tract of land between Guzerat, Rajputana, Jaunpur, and the Viudhyas has an interesting history. The Parmar Rajputs ruled the country since the tenth century A.D. Raja Bhoja (1010-1050 A.D.) was the most famous of these kings. The Parmars were defeated by the Solankis of Guzerat in the twelfth century. Altamsh invaded Ujjain in 1235 A.D. and the country was annexed by Ala-ud-Din Khilji in 1310 A.D. From that time Malwa came under the sway of the Sultans of Delhi. Dilawar Khan Ghori, governor of Malwa threw off the yoke of Delhi (1401 A.D.) along with the governors in other parts of Hindustan after the invasion of Timur. He made Dhar his capital. His son Hushang

Shah (1405-1434 A.D.) removed the capital to Mandu. It was situated on a rich table-land of thirty-seven miles in circumference surrounded by rocky precipices and it was remarkable for the magnificence of its buildings. Hushang Shah was constantly engaged in war with Guzerat, Delhi and Jaunpur. Once he was defeated by Muzaffar Shah of Guzerat and taken as prisoner. But he was soon released and his kingdom was restored to him. His son Ghazi Khan was a worthless man and was assassinated by his minister Mahmud Khan in 1436 A.D. Mahmud ascended the throne as Mahmud Khilji, and ruled from 1436 to 1469 A. D. During his long reign Malwa became a prosperous state. He extended the dominions in all directions. The kingdom touched the borders of Guzerat, Mewar, Herauti and Bundelkhand. His attack upon Delhi was successfully repelled by Bablol Lodi. In 1440 A. D. he was engaged in a deadly fight with the Rajputs led by Rana Kumbha of Chitor. Both sides claimed to have won the day. Kumbha built a tower of victory at Chitor eleven years after the event, which took ten years to complete. Mahmud on the other hand erected a tower at Mandu to commemorate his victory. It seems the result was indecisive. He was succeeded by his son Ghiyas-ud-Din (1469-1500 A.D.). Ghiyas was murdered by his son Nasir-ud Din, a drunken sensualist who drowned himself in the Kaliyadaha lake (1510 A.D.) His successor Mahmud II when confronted with a civil war with his brother Saheb Khan sought the help of

the Rajputs and appointed Medini Rao of Chanderi as his minister. The Rajputs suppressed the rebellion and made Mahmud II secure on his throne. The ascendancy of the Hindus was resented by the Musalmans, but Medini Rao proved himself too strong. He crushed all opposition and appointed the Rajputs to offices in court and army. Mahmud II fled to Muzaffar Shah of Guzerat and with his aid he fought the Rajputs and regained his authority after a war lasting more than a year. Medini Rao retired to Chanderi, but Mahmud II pursued him there. Rana Sanga of Mewar took up the cause of Medini Rao and after a stubborn fight took Mahmud a prisoner, but in a spirit of magnanimity set him free shortly. But the ungrateful Mahmud attacked Rattan Singh after the death of Sanga. The Raja then entered into an alliance with Bahadur Shah of Guzerat who captured Mandu, took Mahmud a prisoner, and annexed Malwa to Guzerat in 1531 A.D.

Guzerat.

The province of Guzerat is a fertile country well protected by the sea, hills and deserts. The peninsula proper called Surashtra is covered with many low hills, and in the south there are thick woods. But on the coast there are some good harbours, and the country is plain and very fertile. The ports of Cambay, Surat Broach and other places held very important position in the trade and commerce of India with the western countries. When Mahmud of Ghazni came to plunder

the temple of Somnath he was so struck with the wealth and natural beauty of Guzerat that he wanted to set up his government there. But the country remained in the hands of the Hindus till Ala-ud-Din Khilji annexed it in 1297 A.D. It formed an important province of the empire for about a century. In the period of confusion after the invasion of Timur its governor Zafar Khan shook off his allegiance to Delhi. He extended his powers over the neighbouring state of Idar, captured Diu, fought with the kings of Khandesh, Mewar and Malwa. His son Tartar Khan with the title of Nasir-ud Din Muhammad Shah put his father into prison and reigned for a short time with the help of some discontented nobles (1403 A.D.). But the young man was poisoned to death and Zafar Khan ruled undisturbed till he was murdered in 1411 A.D. He was succeeded by his grandson Ahmed Shah (1411-1441 A.D.).

During the reign of Ahmed Shah Guzerat became a powerful kingdom. His hostility with the king of Malwa who instigated his enemies within Guzerat and outside kept him always on the war path. He thrice invaded Malwa in 1416, 1421 and 1437 A.D. On the first occasion he attacked Dhar, on the second invested Mandu, and lastly he helped Masud Khan grandson of Mahmud Khilji to occupy the throne. Mahmud was defeated, but on account of the outbreak of an epidemic in Guzerat he had to suddenly retreat. He led his arms against Idar, Jhalor and some states in the Peninsula. Once he went to Nagor, in the north of Marwar, and later on

marched against Khandesh and the Bahmani Kingdom. He was a stern Musalman, destroyed the Hindu temples within the kingdom, and converted many Hindus to Islam. He considered war against the Hindus as a religious duty. He improved the civil government of the country and administered justice impartially. He built several forts and established the cities of Ahmednagar and Ahmedabad. The former was strongly fortified as a check on the Raja of Idar. He removed his capital to Ahmedabad on the banks of Sabarmati, which he adorned with magnificent buildings.

His successor Muhammad Shah was defeated by the combined armies of Champanir and Malwa and later on poisoned to death by his nobles (1451 A.D.) His son Qutub-ud-Din was engaged in a war with Rana Kumbha of Chitor, went as far as the Rana's capital, occupied Abu, and defeated the Raja of Sirohi an ally of Kumbha. His uncle Daud reigned after him for only a few days and was superseded by Fatch Khan, who was raised to the throne with the title of Mahmud Bigarah (1458-1511 A.D.)

Bigarah was a boy of fourteen at his accession and reigned for fifty-two years. He subjugated the rebellious nobles within his kingdom and made his powers felt in the neighbouring countries. He rescued Nizam Shah the Bahmani king from the attacks of Mahmud Khilji (1461-62 A.D.), forced the Raja of Girnar to accept Islam, (1467 A.D.) and killed the Raja of Champanir for resistance and annexed his kingdom (1484 A.D.) He car-

ried a number of maritime expeditions against the pirates and the Portuguese. He defeated the Sumra and Sodha chiefs in Kutch, took the Chief of Jagat (Dwarka) a prisoner, and sent a fleet to Bombay. In 1507 A.D. the Mamluk Sultan of Egypt sent a fleet against the Portuguese. Mahmud Bigarah joined him in crushing the common foe who interfered with the free trade of the Musalman countries. The Portuguese Viceroy Almeida was frightened. His son Dom Louerenco was defeated in an action near Chaul, south of Bombay, but later on the Portuguese inflicted a heavy defeat upon the Moslem fleet near Diu, (1509 A.D.)

Mahmud Bigarah died in 1511 A.D. and he is remembered as the greatest king of Guzerat. He was a good king, an able general, and an impartial judge. He had uncommon appetite for food. It is said that he could consume food, one *man* of Guzerat weight (40 lbs). In the morning he took a cup of honey and a cup of butter with one hundred or more plantains. He had his moustaches so long that he could tie them over his head, and his long beard flowed down to the waist.

His son Khalil Khan known as Muzaffar Shah II (1511-26 A.D.) espoused the cause of Mahmud Khilji of Malwa against the Rajputs, defeated Medini Rao of Chanderi, and Rana Sanga of Chitor and placed Mahmud Khilji on the throne. On his death in 1526 A.D. his two sons followed in quick succession. His third son Bahalur Shah who was at Delhi reigned from 1526 to 1537 A.D. He fought against Nizam Shah of Ahm-

ednagar in aid of the kings of Khandesh and Berar. He next directed his operations against Mahmud Khilji of Malwa for his attack upon Rana Rattan Sing of Chitor brought Mahmud II a prisoner to Guzerat, and annexed his kingdom (1531 A.D.). He did not however consider the existence of the Rajputs very encouraging. Silhadi was a powerful chief in Malwa, who was in possession of Raisin, Bhilsa, Ujjain and other places. He was arrested by Bahadur when he went to the royal camp, and his son Bopat Rai sought the help of the Rana of Chitor. In 1534 A. D. Chitor was besieged, but he had to raise the siege on account of the approach of Humayun. Guzerat was conquered by the imperial forces. Humayun had to return to Delhi on receiving the news of the rebellion of Sher Khan in Bengal. Soon Bahadur recovered his territories. He was however treacherously killed by Nuno da Cunha, the Portuguese governor, while he was engaged in war with them near Diu (1539 A.D.). Guzerat was in a state of confusion for some years till it was conquered by Akbar in 1572 A. D.

The Bahmani Kingdom (1347-1524 A.D.)

When Muhammad Tughlak failed to crush the rebellion of the foreign amirs in the Deccan and went to Guzerat, these amirs set up their own government with Malik Ismail Makh as their king. The Sultan's efforts to regain Dualatabad did not succeed. In the struggle a brave and warlike soldier called Hasan became very prominent. He became the founder of the Bahmani

dynasty. He traces his origin from Bahman Shah, king of Persia. On coming to the throne he assumed the title of Ala-ud-Din Hasan Bahman Shah. He made Kulbarga his capital. From the beginning he took measures for good government and divided the country into a number of *tarafs* which were entrusted to the amirs who had made the revolution a success. He had to carry on war with the Moslem and Hindu states to establish his authority in the Deccan. The country from Berar to the Krishna was subjugated, and Ala-ud-Din built up a strong kingdom which endured till 1524 A.D. He died in 1359 A. D. and his son Muhammad Shah succeeded him. Muhammad had to wage war against the Hindu Kingdoms of Telingana and Vijayanagar, and dealt severely with Bahram Khan Mozandarani, the rebel governor of Daulatabad. In the war with Telingana which lasted for two years he obtained the fort of Golconda and a war indemnity of 33 lakhs. The war with Vijayanagar involved great loss of lives on both sides. The Raya refused to pay any tribute to the Sultan of Kulbarga, invaded the Raichur Doab between the Krishna and the Tungbhadra and captured the fort of Mudgal, and in the course of the operations the Moslem troops were mercilessly slaughtered. In great indignation Muhammad Shah marched with a huge army against the Hindus, who also were prepared to meet the Moslems on the banks of the Tungbhadra. The Sultan had to bring fresh troops to break their opposition, and marched upon Vijayanagar. But when he

found that he would not be able to take the fortified city he drew the Hindus out by feigning to retreat. The Muslims turned back upon them and killed whom-ever they came upon. So heavy was the toll of life in these engagements that the Sultan took a vow in a repentant spirit never again to shed innocent blood. After a reign of a little more than seventeen years Muhammad died in 1373 A.D.

His son and successor Mujahid Shah (1373-77 A.D.) continued the war with Vijayanagar over the Raichur Doab, but was heavily defeated by a combination of the Hindus. He was murdered by his cousin Daud who reigned only two months. Daud was assassinated by a hired slave while praying in the mosque. Mujahid fostered the bitterness between the foreigners and the Deccanis by giving preference to the Persians and Turks. Daud's brother Muhammad Shah II reigned from 1378 to 97 A. D. His reign was marked by peace and prosperity. A number of mosques, schools and monasteries were built and his court was the resort of many learned men from the different parts of Asia. He considered himself a trustee of the wealth bestowed upon him by Providence, and he did his best to mitigate the sufferings of the distressed. He was succeeded by his two sons Ghiyas-ud Din and Shamsud Din who reigned for six months. Disgusted with the misrule of the latter the nobles helped Firoz Shah, a grandson of Ala-ud Din Hasan Shah to occupy the throne.

Firoz Shah (1337-1422 A.D.) was a just and able

ruler. He fought three wars with Vijayanagar. In 1398 A.D. Hari Har II made an attempt to occupy the fort of Mudgal. Firoz went with a vast army to the banks of the Krishna where Hari Har had encamped. The Raja's son was treacherously murdered by Qazi Siraj who went to the Prince's camp ostensibly for a musical performance. When the Raja was in sorrow the enemy attacked him and pursued him to Vijayanagar. Ultimately a treaty was concluded by which the *status quo* was restored. The second war in 1406 A.D. was due to the attacks made by the Raya upon Mudgal to seize the beautiful daughter of a farmer. The parents of the girl fled to the territory of Sultan Firoz. The Raya's troops foolishly rushed into the Bahmani kingdom and plundered many villages and towns. Sultan Firoz besieged the fort of Bankapur, and took sixty thousand Hindus as prisoners. The Raya was then forced to cede Bankapur and give his daughter in marriage to the Sultan. But in the third war when Firoz attacked the fort of Panagal (1417 A.D.) the Hindus recouped their strength, killed the Moslem commander, and forced the Sultan to retreat in disgrace. He died in 1422 A.D. and was succeeded by his brother Ahmed Shah. Firoz Shah was tolerant in his religion. He used to drink hard, and was fond of music. He had a large harem which included women of all nationalities and it is said that he could speak to each in her own language.

Ahmed Shah (1428-53 A.D.) provoked a war with Vijayanagar for taking revenge for the humiliation of

the previous reign. The king of Warrangal formed an alliance with Vijayanagar although at the time of the war he deserted his ally. Ahmed Shah killed about 20,000 Hindus, and compelled the Raya to sue for peace, and to agree to pay the old tribute. For taking up the cause of Vijayanagar the Raja of Warrangal was punished in 1424 A.D. He had to cede a large portion of his territories. Ahmed Shah also invaded Malwa, and killed 2000 men. He also fought with the chiefs of the Konkan and came into conflict with Guzerat. He started building the city of Bidar which afterwards became the capital. He died in 1435 A.D.

His eldest son Ala-ud-Din II (1435-57 A.D.) was kind to his brother Muhammad who however with the help of the Raja of Vijayanagar rebelled against the Sultan. But he was defeated and then fled from the field. On asking forgiveness he was granted Raichur as jagir. The Sultan conquered the Konkan and defeated Nasir Khan of Khandesh. The Raja of Vijayanagar strengthened his position by admitting the Musalmans into his service, and won their sympathy by building a mosque in the city. An indecisive war with the Raja took place for some time about 1442 A.D. and then peace was concluded when Deva Raya agreed to pay tribute. One great trouble in the reign was the quarrel between the Deccanis who were mainly Sunnis, and the foreigners consisting of the Arabs, Turks, Persians and Mughals who were Shias. A large number of foreigners were killed with their leader Khalf Hasan Malik-ul-Taj-

gar at Chakan on the false charge of treason. This feud led to serious troubles afterwards. Ala-ud-Din II promoted the welfare of his subjects by building mosques, schools, and hospitals. From his reign Bidar became the capital of the Kingdom, which his father used to visit on account of its healthy climate. He died in 1457 A.D. after a reign of 22 years. His son Humayun who ruled from 1457 to 61 A.D. was a ferocious brute. He killed his own brother Hasan by throwing him before a ferocious tiger for complicity in a conspiracy. "Ingenious tortures were invented by the king" says Feristha, "and inflicted on young and old of both sexes. About seven thousand persons including women and servants who had no connection with the late rebellion, were killed in various savage ways. He put the women servants of his household to death for the most trivial faults, and when any of the nobility were obliged to wait upon him, so great was there dread that they took a last leave of their families." His death produced universal joy. During the reign of the minor king Nizam Shah the government was carried on by his mother Makhdumah Jehan with the help of Mahmud Gawan and Khwaja Jehan. She tried to make amends for the misdeeds of her husband by releasing the prisoners and by reinstating the dismissed servants in their old offices. She repelled an attack of the Rais of Orissa and Telingana. The greatest danger came however from Malwa. Mahmud Khilji invaded the Bahmani kingdom, and plundered and destroyed the

city of Bidar. The queen-mother then appealed to the Sultan of Guzerat for help. Mahmud Khilji withdrew to his own kingdom as he was afraid of meeting the combined troops. Nizam Shah died at the age of thirteen on July 30, 1463 A. D.

The same arrangement of regency continued in the early part of the reign of Muhammad Shah III (1463-82 A. D.) He was a boy of eight when he succeeded his brother. The chief minister Khwaja Jehan was within a few years discovered to be a dishonest man. He was executed by the order of the King, and his office was given to Mahmud Gawan. It was due to the able administration of Gawan that the Bahmani Kingdom reached the highest point of its progress. At the age of 14 Muhammad was married and freed from the tutelage of his mother. Nizam-ul-Mulk was sent against the king of Malwa (1467 A.D.) and he besieged the fort of Kherla. Although the Bahmanis inflicted a heavy defeat upon the Malwa troops Nizam-ul-Mulk was killed by two Rajputs while they came to pay him their respects. Ultimately a peace treaty was signed between the two kingdoms in which Mahmud Khilji admitted his fault for breaking the old treaty and Kherla was then handed over to him. After a campaign of three years Mahmud Gawan defeated Sankar Rai of Kehlna (Vishalgarh), subjugated the whole of the Konkan, and established a strong garrison in the fort of Goa. For this splendid service the king honoured him with a visit and the Queen-mother gave

him the title of brother. Muhammad Shah occupied Rajahmundry and Kondapalli, when he sent troops to Orissa to help Ambar Rai to occupy the throne. He thus extended his dominions from the sea to sea. Nizam-ul-Mulk was appointed governor of all Telingana, Daria Khan Imad-ul-Mulk of Berar and Yusuf Adil Khan Savai of Daulatabad. Yusuf Adil Khan brought great wealth in the course of his expedition against Antur and Ranjni and after this the influence of Mahmud Gawan and Yusuf Adil Khan became very great. In 1472 A.D. the king reduced the fort of Belgaum and annexed the country. On account of drought there was famine throughout the kingdom for two years. The Raja of Orissa revolted and invaded Telingana at the instigation of Bhimraj who had obtained possession of Kondapalli. Nizam-ul-Mulk could not cope with the situation. The king personally went against the insurgents and pushed the Ray to the farthest extremity of Orissa. The Ray then surrendered and was forced to send twenty-five elephants as a mark of submission. Kondapalli was occupied, the king stayed at Rajahmundry three years and thoroughly subjugated Telingana. Rajahmundry, Kondapalli and other places were placed in charge of Nizam-ul-Mulk, and Warangal of Azim Khan. The division of his charge gave offence to Nizam-ul-Mulk, who now asked for permission to appoint his son Malik Ahmed as his Deputy and to allow him to follow the king. Muhammad Shah now proceeded against Narsing Ray who was ruling between the Carnatic and Telingana, devastated his territories

and besieged Kanchi or Conjeevram, a sacred city of the Hindus who came in swarms to defend their temple. But they were no match for the Moslem soldiers. The city was sacked and an immense quantity of gold, jewels and silver was carried as booty. Masulipatam was reduced on the way back to Kondapalli (1481 A. D.). This was the high water mark of the glory of the Bahmani Kingdom. The Deccani party then tried to ruin Mahmud Gawan who had so much influence with the king and served him so faithfully.

Mahmud Gawan.

The dominions of Muhammad Shah becoming very extensive the kingdom was divided into eight *tarafs* instead of four as before. Berar was divided into two viz, Gavul under Fateh Ulla Imad-ul-Mulk and Mahur under Khodaband Khan Habshi, Daulatabad was given to Yusuf Adil Khan, and the southern districts of Junair, Indapur etc to Fakhr-ul-Mulk. Mahmud Gawan kept for himself Bijapur with Raichur and Mudkal, while Kulbarga and other places were placed under the Abyssinian eunuch Dastur Dinar. In Telingana, Rajahmundry, Masulipatam and other districts remained in charge of Nizam-ul-Mulk Bahri, and Warrangal was given to Azim Khan. In each *taraf* there were special places reserved for the king, where collectors were appointed from the court. To reduce the power of the governors Gawan further arranged that only one fort within his jurisdiction could be managed by each *tarafdar* and the other

forts placed under the command of the special officers and troops appointed by the king. He also revised the pay of the army and enforced rigid scrutiny in the method of payment. This caused great discontent among the nobles and therefore they devised plans of revenge. The Deccanis and the Abyssinians combined against the faithful minister. A forged letter was placed in the hands of the king, in which Gawan was reported to have invited the Ray of Orissa to invade Rajahmundry. The king in a state of drunkenness ordered the death of Gawan who hearing the decree said, "The death of an old man like me is, indeed, of little moment, but to your Majesty it will be the loss of an empire, and the ruin of your character." The warning came to be too true. Khwaja Mahmud Gawan was beheaded on the 6th April, 1481 A. D. His body was sent to Ahmedabad-Bidar for burial. Gawan was a remarkable man. He came from Persia at the age of 43. He belonged to a noble family of Gilan, and came to the Deccan for carrying on trade, and also for visiting the learned men there. He landed at the port of Dabul and travelled to Bidar with a view to go to Delhi. The Bahmani King Ala-ud-Din persuaded him to remain in his court. He became a minister in the time of Humayun Shah, and in the reign of Mahammad Shah he became the chief minister. He was a learned man himself and a poet. His munificence was very great. He had two treasuries, one the king's from which the expenses of the troops, stables and household were met, and the

other he called the treasury of the poor out of which not a single *cowri* was spent on himself. He brought from Persia forty thousand *laris* (2s. each) which he employed in trade, and all his private expenses including his charity came from the profits of that business. He was very simple in habits, slept on a bare mat, and his daily expenses on food did not exceed two *laris*. He built a college, a mosque and a large square at Bidar, and in his library there were three thousand volumes of books. The report of his liberality spread all over Asia. He was an orthodox Sunni, and was always sociable and just. The death of such a minister was not only a great loss to the Sultan but a great calamity to the country.

Fall of the Bahmani Kingdom.

The last days of Muhammad Shah was full of troubles. His governors did not obey his orders. Imad-ul-Mulk and Khodawand Khan would not come near the court. Yusuf Adil Khan was appointed governor of Bijapur in place of Mahmud Gawan. He was a faithful lieutenant of the late minister. Nizam-ul-Mulk was appointed minister. The repentance of the king was so great that he became extremely nervous. He died in 1482 A. D. His son Mahmud Shah was a boy of 12 and spent his time in dissipation. Yusuf Adil Khan and the foreign party remained at a distance, and when attempts were made to remove him from the government of Bijapur he revolted, and was the first

to declare his independence. Malik Ahmad, governor of Daulatabad founded the kingdom of Ahmadnagar. Imad-ul-Mulk of Berar became independent at Burhanpur, Qutub-ul-Mulk laid the foundation of the kingdom of Golconda, and the only province which remained in the hands of the king was Bidar. His minister Amir Barid became the actual ruler of the country. The rule of the Bahmanis came to an end in 1524 A. D. Five kingdoms thus arose on the ruins of the Bahmani kingdom of the Deccan, viz. Bijapur, Berar, Ahmadnagar, Golconda and Bidar. There were 14 kings of the Bahmani dynasty who tried to spread the Moslem influence in the Deccan. The main features of the period were constant wars with the powerful Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagar, and the subjugation of Telingana, and the other kingdoms. The Musalmans who formed the minority in the south tried to increase their power and influence by means of military organisation and physical force. The Musalman troops excelled in horsemanship and archery and they had some discipline which the Hindus lacked. The system of education that the kings of the Bahmani dynasty introduced mainly favoured Persian and Arabic. The old Hindu system received no recognition. The village administration was least interfered with. Mahmud Gawan introduced the method of payment of revenue in cash. He laid the foundation of a progressive system of government in which the powers of provincial rulers and the fief-holders were regulated. He aimed at the centralised system of gov-

ernment without destroying the powers of the local officers. But his reforms were not appreciated. The rule throughout the whole history of the dynasty was uncontrolled despotism. No body was safe from the hands of the autocratic monarch.

The Persian merchant Athnasiaus Nikitin who visited the country between 1440 and 1474 A.D. gives an account of the prosperity of the country. The country was well populated, the lands were cultivated, and the roads safe. In the midst of the splendour of the court and the wealth of the nobles the position of the common people was miserable. They were poor and wretched. The king had an army of 300,000 men and a large number of retainers. There were a number of strong forts within the kingdom, where the architectural genius of the people found ample expression. The fortress of Gawailgarh and Narnalla were patterns of mountain strongholds. Both the capitals viz Kulburga and Bidar contained many stately buildings but they were not as magnificent as the palaces of Delhi and other places. The government of the Bahmani Kings has been condemned on account of their unalloyed despotism, their utter disregard of the wishes of the people, the turbulence of their local officers and the ferocity of the army. The kings were mostly cruel and blood thirsty.

The kingdom of Vijayanagar.

The Hindu kingdoms of the south were exterminated by Malik Kafur but the Moslem rulers did nothing to

win the good-will of the vast population. The Hindus were very unhappy under these alien rulers, but scarcely anywhere they succeeded in organising a successful revolution. Vijayanagar is an exception to this statement. The two brothers Hari Har and Bukka fled from Warrangal when that country was occupied by Muhammad Tughlak. They came to the Raja of Anagandi, but when that country was annexed they were taken as prisoners to Delhi, and were afterwards released. They founded the city of Vijayanagar on the Tungbhadra in 1336 A.D. with a view to protect the Hindu refugees from the oppression of the Musalmans. The revolution in Anagandi placed powers in their hands. Hari Har extended his authority over a vast territory from the Konkan and Malabar coast to the Carnatics. Neither Hari Har nor his brother Bukka assumed royal titles. Hari Har was anxious to restore the Hindu supremacy. He joined Krishna Nayak of Warrangal in a project to drive the Moslems out of the Deccan. Warrangal became free in 1344 A.D. The country of the Hoysalas was brought under the sway of Hari Har, and by 1346 A.D. the kingdom of Vijayauagar extended from the Krishna to the Kaveri and from the sea to sea. On account of their contiguity Vijayanagar soon came into conflict with the Bahmani Kingdom, which continued almost for two centuries. They fought over the possession of the Raichur Doab. In 1352 A.D. Ala-ud Din Hasaan extended his dominions as far as the Tungbhadra. Hari Har consolidated his power by dividing his king-

dom into provinces, which were ruled by trust-worthy viceroys. He died in 1353 A.D. and his work of building the city of Vijayanagar was completed by his brother Bukka.

The kingdom of Vijayanagar owes a great deal to Bukka who carried his victorious arms in all directions. He was engaged in a deadly fight against the Bahmani Kings, Muhammad Shah and Mujahid and is reported to have sent a mission to China. He issued a proclamation by which he tried to establish friendly relations between the two sects of Jains and Vaishnavas, while he allowed them freedom of worship.

His successor Hari Har II was the first to assume the title of Maharajadhiraj. So long as he was on the throne (1379-1404 A.D., Vijayanagar was comparatively free from the attacks of the Bahmani Kings. He extended his dominions as far as Trichinopoly and Conjeevaram and conquered the Keralas, Taulavas, Andhras and Kutakas in the South. Sultan Firoz Shah kept his successors busy for many years. Deva Raya was humiliated by being obliged to give his daughter in marriage to Firoz. Ahmad Shah inflicted a great defeat upon Deva Raya II and is reported to have massacred 30,000 Hindus, men, women, children in the course of three days. Deva Raya II could not resist the Moslem arms in spite of his attempt to strengthen his army by enlisting Moslem horsemen in his service. When all his resources failed he had to agree to pay tribute (1443 A.D.) The Italian traveller Nicolo Conti, who visited Vijaya-

nagar in about 1421 A.D. says that the city was sixty miles in circumference and there were ninety thousand men in the city fit to bear arms. The king, he says, was more powerful than all the other kings of India. The Persian Ambassador Abdur Razzak who came to Vijayanagar in 1442 A.D. and stayed there for a few months saw an exceedingly large and populous city. The country was well-cultivated and fertile, and there were three hundred good sea-ports in the kingdom. The army consisted of 11 lakhs of men and the Raya had 1000 elephants. The city of Vijayanagar had seven fortified walls, one within the other. The wealth of the city was so great that the jewellers sold their rubies, pearls, diamonds and emerald openly in the bazar. The palace was very big and beautiful, and the king used to receive his audience in a forty-pillared hall.

After the death of Deva Raya II in 1449 A.D. two incompetent Rajas came to the throne. The period of misrule was ended by the advent of Saluva Nar Sinha (1486 A.D.) who had to fight with the Tamil kingdoms in the south and with the Bahmanis in the North. His son Immadi-Nar-Sinha was murdered by his general Tuluva Narsinha who founded a new dynasty (1509 A.D.). Fortunately for Vijayanagar the Bahmani kingdom was busy at the time in subjugating the eastern provinces of Telingana, and then it was rent in dissension.

The most powerful king of the Tuluva dynasty was Krisna Dev Ray (1509-30 A. D.). Under his good government Vijaynagar reached the height of prosperity.

He was a learned man and a great patron of Sanskrit and Telugu literature. His court was attended by eight famous poets called *Ashta Diggaja*. He bestowed endowments on temples and Brahmans. He was a Vaishnav himself, and had so much respect for other persuasions that he allowed every body to offer worship in his own way. Physically he was very strong. He was able, brave and statemanlike. He commanded the army in person. Hindu culture received a new impetus under his wise administration. He subdued Mysore and the country up to the border of Orissa. The Moslem states which arose out of the old Bahmani Kingdom continued its policy of suppressing the Hindu dominions. The Sultan of Golconda had crushed the Raja of Kambampeta and extended his territories up to the Godavari. The terrible massacre of the Hindus in the war created a feeling of consternation, and the the Rajas formed a league to resist the Moslem attacks. In 1516 A. D. the fort of Kondavidu was captured by the Hindus, but had to surrender it later on and to pay tribute. Krishna Deva Raya established his reputation by defeating the army of Bijapur in a decisive battle near Raichur (May 19, 1520 A.D.) This victory was very significant in that in his lifetime the Sultan of Bijapur did not venture to attack Vijaynagar again. The fate of Adil Shah gave a warning to other Moslem powers and they all began to devise plans for reducing the position of Vijaynagar. On the other hand success made the Hindus insolent and haughty. Krishna Deva

Raya was in friendly relations with the Portuguese and he sent them congratulations when they captured Goa. Their governor Albuquerque sent a mission to Vijaynagar and obtained permission to erect a fort at Bhatkal. The Portuguese visitor Paes pays high tribute to the king (1522 A. D.) He calls him a great ruler and a man of much justice. He was gallant and perfect in all things.

His brother Achyuta Raya (1530-42 A. D.) was an incompetent ruler. The Sultan of Bijapur easily captured Raichur and Mudkal (1531 A. D.) and the Raya was so worthless that he invited the Sultan to help him in suppressing the intrigues of his ministers and officers, and for this service he offered him a large subsidy and many rich presents. The forces of disintegration were already at work. The next Raja Sada Shiva Raya had to submit to the government of his minister Ram Raja Saluva. In a war between Ahmednagar and Bijapur Ram Raja joined Ahmednagar and Golconda against Bijapur, but Asad Khan, minister of Bijapur managed to detach Vijayanagar from the league and combined with Burhan Nizam Shah of Ahmadnagar, defeated Qutub Shah of Golconda. (1543 A. D.) On the death of Ibrahim Adil Shah in 1557 A. D. Hussain Nizam Shah attacked Bijapur and in retaliation Ali Adil Shah with the help of Golconda and Vijayanagar marched upon Ahmadnagar. The Hindus now wreaked their vengeance to their full satisfaction. They laid waste the whole country from Ahmadnagar to Daulatabad and perpetrated great cruelty. Feristha writes : They insulted

ted the honour of Musalman women, destroyed the mosques and did not even respect the sacred Quran. The Muslim sentiment was outraged by the inhuman conduct of the Hindus. They settled their own differences and formed a combination to destroy the Hindu Kingdom. Nizam Shah gave away his daughter Chand Bibi in marriage to Adil Shah and Adil Shah married his daughter with the eldest son of the king of Ahmadnagar. The four Moslem kings of Bijapur, Golconda, Ahmadnagar and Bidar formed a grand alliance and marched towards Vijayanagar under the leadership of Ali Adil Shah of Bijapur.

The Battle of Talikota 1565 A. D.

The Report of the march was received by Ram Raja with indifference, but when he realised his position he gathered a big army. The Musalmans encamped at Talikota in the state of Bijapur, north of the Krishna. It is difficult to estimate the strength of the respective armies. Such vast armies had never before met each other in the Deccan. On the Moslem side Husain Nizam Shah was in command of the centre, Ali Adil Shah of the right wing and Qutub Shah of the left wing. Ram Raja was joined by the Hindu soldiers from all parts of South India. His brother Tirumal with 20,000 horse, 100,000 foot and 50 elephants was appointed to guard the passages of the Krishna. Ram Raja himself was in the main army. Both parties were thoroughly prepared as the result would determine

whether the south India would be ruled by the Hindus or Musalmans. The Moslem army crossed the Krishna and confronted the Hindus about thirty miles south of Talikota. The Hindus delivered their first assault with great vigour. The right and left wings of the Moslems were driven back in great disorder and the second charge of the Hindus also proved terrible. But the artillery under Hussain Nizam Shah in the centre turned the tide. About 5,000 Hindus were killed within a short time, and threw the Hindu troops into confusion. The Moslem cavalry then rushed into their lines and scattered them in all directions. "Ram Raja perished" says Caesare Frederike "through the treachery of two Musalman generals in his service, who turned against him in the middle of the battle". Ram Raja was captured and Husain Nizam Shah avenged himself by killing him with his own hand. The death of the leader demoralised the Hindus and about 100,000 lost their lives.

After the defeat in the field the citizens of Vijayanagar left the city carrying with them whatever they could. Raja Sada Siva was taken to the fortress of Penukonda. "Then a panic seized the city" says Sewell. "The truth became at last apparent. This was not a defeat merely it was a cataclysm. All hope was gone. The myriad dwellers in the city were left defenceless. No retreat, no flight was possible except to a few, for the pack-oxen and carts had almost all followed the forces to the war, and they had not returned. Nothing could be done but to bury all

treasures, to arm the younger men and to wait." The city became a prey to the robber tribes for some days. On the third day after the battle the Musalmans reached Vijaynagar, and for five months they were engaged in the sack of the great city. "The enemy had come to destroy, and they carried out their object relentlessly," says Sewell, "They slaughtered the people without mercy, broke down the temples and palaces, and wreaked such savage vengeance on the abode of the kings, that with the exception of a few stone-built temples and walls, nothing now remains but a heap of ruins to mark the spot where once the stately buildings stood. They demolished the statues, and even succeeded in breaking the limbs of the huge Narasimha monolith. Nothing seemed to escape them. They broke up the pavillions standing on the huge platform from which the kings used to watch the festivals, and overthrew all the carved work. They lit huge fires in the magnificently decorated buildings forming the temple of Vithalaswami near the river, and smashed its exquisite stone sculptures. With fire and sword with crowbar and axes, they carried on day after day their work of destruction. Never perhaps in the history of the world has such havoc been wrought and wrought so suddenly, on so splendid a city, teeming with a wealthy, and industrious population in the full plenitude of prosperity one day, and on the next, seized, pillaged and reduced to ruins, amid scenes of savage massacre and horrors beggaring description."

The fall of Vijaynagar, the most powerful Hindu kingdom in the south, produced chaos and anarchy. The Moslem powers quarrelled among themselves and could not stand against the attacks of the Mughal emperors. The vast empire of Vijaynagar was broken into pieces. Tirumala retired to Chandragiri and continued the administration for sometime. The southern provinces of Tanjore and Vellore became independent, and Bijapur and Golconda annexed the parts close to their kingdoms.

CHAPTER XII

LIFE IN THE MIDDLE AGES

Indian history has to be constructed out of the writings and tales of the foreigners. The impact of the Muslims greatly disturbed the social and political life of the people. Not only the defence and political administration passed into the hands of the foreigners, but social institutions, religious practices, economic pursuits, art and architecture, science and literature and other things connected with the national life underwent considerable transformation. "What nation ever maintained its character" says James Tod, "that devolved on the stranger the power of protection: To be great, to be independent, its martial spirit must be cherished; happy if within the bounds of moderation." The Muhammadan conquest of India crushed the martial spirit of the Hindus. They were not entrusted with commands in the army, and were not even enlisted in the ranks. The education that was promoted by the rulers was mainly in Arabic and Persian. The indigenous system of education in the vernaculars and Sanskrit did not receive any official recognition. The Brahmins continued their studies chiefly for priestly duties. They had no interest in recording their tales of ruin and degradation. We have therefore to seek in

the writings of the Musalman courtiers or foreign travellers a connected account of the political events. The state chronicles, or the epigraphical records or the writings of the courtiers hardly express the feelings of the people. The popular literature of the times was religious. When men were not free to develop their political and martial propensities they directed their minds to religious thoughts and devotional exercises. Although the whole of India did not pass into the hands of the Musalmans the people of all the parts were influenced by them directly or indirectly. Orissa was the only province which escaped Musalman domination till the time of Akbar, and here we find some records written by the people. Rajputana and Vijaynagar have also some literatures of their own, but in no other part we have any history written by the people themselves. The writings of the Musalman courtiers and the foreign travellers however supply us with sufficient materials to form an idea of the condition of the people. With their help we shall try to understand in this chapter the condition of the people from the beginning of the Muslim government to the battle of Panipat in 1526 A. D.

The political condition.

The Musalman rulers although imbued with a sense of brotherhood in social and religious affairs, were most despotic in the matter of government. The extensive dominions in India and the vast multitude of people

with different ideas and ideals made them necessarily depend upon military strength. The least weakness on the part of the monarch would endanger the entire structure. There were therefore constant efforts to destroy the Hindu Kingdoms so that they might not at any time overthrow the Moslem rule. In the strongly fortified places like Mewar and other Rajput states the Hindus managed to recover or retain their freedom and so did the distant provinces of Vijaynagar and Telingana for some time, but in other parts Moslem ascendancy was complete. On the fall of a Musalman king another Musalman took his place but never a Hindu. The only exception was Raja Kans of Bengal, but the Muslim influence was so strong that his son and successor became a Musalman. Even the degraded Khusru, a low caste man when converted into Islam mounted the throne of Delhi, but never was there a strong national rising to win back freedom from the hands of the foreign rulers. The Hindus had either to accept Islam or to be degraded to the position of the *zimmi* and to pay the *jizya*. Very often they were not allowed religious freedom. They were thus denied the elementary rights of citizens. They did not possess full control over their property, their person was not safe and they had no freedom of conscience not to talk of an effective share in the administration of the country. They held their lives for the satisfaction of their Musalman masters, as a Moslem learned man interpreted the law. The system degraded the rulers as

much as the ruled. Unlimited authority made them reckless. They disdained all control of morality, good sense and even propriety. The result was fresh invasion from outside.

The empire consisted of a number of provinces each ruled by a governor with power to collect taxes, maintain an army, and look after the defence and civil government of the country within their charge. The governors were all military officers. In some cases they held office hereditarily. They collected revenues with the help of the Hindu Zemindars and the Musalman Jagirdars and fief-holders who in their turn held considerable political privileges. The administration of the villages were not much interfered with so long as the people satisfied the demands of their masters. But the taxation was so heavy and the officers were so exacting that they had hardly any time to think of social or national problems. Thus bereft of power and privilege the people remained as mere tillers of the soil, and purveyors of the needs of the rulers. They lost their sense of self-respect, and made the government of the country so unstable.

In the parts where Moslem rule was not established Hindus retained their power and privilege. They held all offices in the state, civil or military. The Rajas could count upon their co-operation and sympathy when confronted by invasions from outside. But these Rajas were also autocratic. The government of Rajputana was carried on mainly on the

principle of feudalism. The Raja had a chain of subordinate vassals under him rendering military service and enjoying land and political privileges. The vassals were treated by the chiefs as brothers and equals. They attended the court of the chief and followed him wherever he went. The system in vogue in Rajputana has led to good results. "The experiment of centuries" says Tod, "has secured to them political existence, while successive dynasties of Afghans and Moguls during eight hundred years, have left but the wreck of splendid names. Were they to become more monarchical they would have every thing to dread from unchecked despotism over which even the turbulence of their chiefs is a salutary control." In Rajput states the Raja had a civil council to help him in enacting laws. From this council the military chiefs were excluded. The council generally consisted of the four ministers and their deputies. Whenever the council did not work legislation was carried on by the panchayats. Each district had a resident administrator who also possessed judicial functions. In each frontier thana or garrison post there was a special officer who could levy the transit duties and could administer justice at the chabutra or court with the help of the Chauthias or assessors of justice. "Each town and village has its Chauthia" says Tod "the members of which are elected by their fellow citizens, and remain as long as they conduct themselves impartially in disentangling the intricacies of complaints preferred to them". The Nagarseth or chief

magistrate is assisted by the Chauthia. The general panchayets are formed with all the respectable people and formerly from all classes of society. Whenever peace was threatened the Raja called a council of chiefs and those chiefs in their turn called an assembly of their own vassals and so on, and in the time of crisis the whole state as it were began to deliberate. The lower classes of society however were excluded from these privileges, which were enjoyed mainly by the proud Rajputs.

The Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagar also had a feudal organisation. The Raja was assisted by a council consisting of ministers, provincial governors, military commanders, priests and poets. But the council was merely an advisory body, the king had unlimited authority. He was the head of the army, civil government, as well as the judiciary. The ministers and high officers were granted lands. There were more than 200 provinces in the empire, which were divided and sub-divided into *Nadis* or *Kottams*, and groups of villages and towns. Each province had a viceroys who kept his army, held his court and maintained all the departments of a fully contained government. In case of treason or misgovernment the provincial governor was liable to confiscation of land, and other punishments. In the time of the festival of Mahanavami the king received the revenue from the provinces. The villages managed their own affairs with the help of the Ayagars who held their office hereditarily. These officers collected revenues, settled the

petty disputes, and maintained law and order. Civil justice followed the principles of Hindu Law, but the administration of criminal justice was very rude. The king of Vijayanagar maintained a big army. Paes says in 1520 the Raya had 703,000 foot, 32,000 horse, 551 elephants, and a large number of camp followers, sappers and others. The figure may not be correct, but the large number of troops does not indicate the superiority of Vijayanagar in military strength. These soldiers were mostly untrained. There was no discipline in the army, and the cavalry was inefficient, as horses of good breed could not be had in the south. Moreover the Musalmans had learnt the method of using fire-weapons to which the Hindus were still unaccustomed. The fact that the ruler was a Hindu brought such a vast number of troops to fight against the Muslim states. Vijayanagar maintained its independence for a long time as its citizens possessed a sense of patriotism in an uncommon degree.

Social changes.

Society underwent great transformation by the presence of the Musalmans in India. Before the coming of the Musalmans there was almost one homogeneous culture. The religious differences between the Hindus, Buddhists and Jains or between the Vaishnavas or Saivas and other schools did not produce a cleavage in the cultural life of the people. They read in the same school, spoke the same language, and in their dress and

manners they were almost similar. But the newcomers were of an absolutely distinct type. They had a different civilization altogether. They did not believe in caste and idolatry, and were aggressive in their religious propaganda. They were meat-eaters and had no respect for the cow. In marriage they had no restrictions as among the Hindus, widows were eligible for marriage. The number of converts were very large, and those who once left the Hindu community were not taken back. The exclusiveness of the Hindus produced a number of problems which would not have otherwise arisen. The vast population failed to absorb the foreign element and they stiffened their social system by forging new laws against the renegades and heretics. The laws of Smriti were interpreted so rigidly that the old social orders became more inelastic. The Buddhists had been killed or left India. Those who could manage went to Nepal and other neighbouring countries. At one time they dominated the culture of the Western Asia from the banks of the Nile to the Brahmaputra. Islam rolled them back, and drove them out of their own country. The Buddhist monasteries were either destroyed or transformed into Moslem Mosques. The large number of the schools and colleges which the Musalman rulers established did not make any provision for the study of the vernaculars or Sanskrit. It therefore produced an intellectual sterility. Patronage was extended to Persian poets and philisophers, but the learned Brahmans in the provinces under Muhammadan rule suffered from many

disadvantages. The teachers imparted education in their private houses with the help of the bequests left by the Hindu zemindars and citizens. The Brahmans ruled the communal and social life of the people. But the Musalman rulers did not consult them in the administration of justice or civil government. They however maintained their position in the Hindu kingdoms of Rajputana, Vijaynagar, Telingana and Orissa. There they were the ministers and chief officers, judges and interpreters of law. The Kshatriyas and Rajputs in Moslem states took to agriculture as they had no military career before them. Some fled to distant lands beyond the seas.

Without any political power and being degraded to the position of helots the Hindus lost their moral backbone. They became like the Moslems dissolute and vicious. Wine-drinking became very common. They learnt some of the evil practices of the Musalmans. The cities became the resort of all men and women of loose morals. The kings in all parts imposed regular taxes upon prostitutes. It is said that in Vijayanagar 12,000 *fanams* collected from the women went to the maintenance of the police. Among the Hindus and Muslims polygamy was widely practised. In giving a description of Vijaynagar Nicolo Conti says, "The inhabitants of this region marry as many wives as they please, who are burnt with their dead husbands. Their king is more powerful than all the other kings of India. He takes to himself 12,000 wives, of whom 4,000 follow

him on foot wherever he may go, and are employed solely in the service of the kitchen. A like number more handsomely equipped, ride on horse back. The remainder are carried by men in litters of whom 2,000 or 3,000 are selected as his wives, on condition that at his death they should voluntarily burn themselves with him which is considered to be a great honour for them." Similarly it is reported that Firoz Shah of the Bahmani dynasty had a big harem. Although the Islamic law did not permit more than four wives he married a large number according to the process of *muta* or marriage for a fixed term. In this way 800 women were daily admitted into his female quarters. The example of the royalty was followed by the nobles. Among the Rajputs women were held in great honour. Although polygamy existed among them to some extent monogamy was the common practice. "Of all the nations of the world", says Tod "who have habituated the female to a restricted intercourse with society, whether Grecian, Roman, Egyptian or Chinese, the Rajput has given least cause to provoke the sentiment of piety, for if defence and respect be proof of civilization, Rajputana must be considered as redundant in evidence of it." The historian says that women were nearly everything with the Rajput. Rajput women were faithful to their husbands, but were brave and firm in their resolutions. The Rajput children heard the tales of heroism in their mothers' lap. The mother had full share in the glory of her son who considered the shield as his cradle,

and daggers his play-things. Polyandry prevailed among the people of M'abar. Among the Hindus widow-marriage was a sin, but we see that Hamir who recovered Chitor married the widowed daughter of Rao Maldeo.

The Musalman rulers insisted seclusion upon their women. Hindus were not very strict in this matter, but they adopted it in course of time. Among the Rajputs women did not come out freely in society but they had sufficient freedom in the choice of their husbands. In Vijayanagar there were women wrestlers, astrologers and sooth-sayers, and women used to keep accounts inside the gates, and there were women clerks to compare accounts with the outside writers. The countries under Moslem rule lost the grace of female co-operation in social and intellectual matters. When threatened with degradation the women thought death preferable to disgrace. The practice of *Sati* became very widespread in this period. Rajputs used to destroy their female infants on account of the difficulties of marriage, and the custom was stopped lately through the efforts of the British. Another practice very common in Rajputna was *Johar*. "The loss of a battle, or the capture of a city is a signal to avoid captivity and its horrors, which to the Rajputni are worse than death" says Tod. Women were objects of capture not only to the Musalmans but also to the Hindus.

Economic condition.

The wealth of India was the chief attraction for the

foreign invaders. Before the advent of the Musalmans the people carried on their agriculture, industries, trade and commerce without any restriction. The offerings of the people to their deities accumulated in the temples which the invaders plundered and carried away. The prosperity of the people helped them to develop beautiful architecture, to promote literature, and to enjoy arts in various forms. The craftsmen in India were taken to Ghazni and Samarkand to embellish these cities with noble edifices, and artisans were carried to develop industries. In the first stage the Musalman rulers did not interfere with the pursuits of the people, but the regulations of the subsequent rulers crushed life out of the people. Many people gave up their old occupation. Famines became common. Taxes were very heavy. Sometimes people had to pay 50 per cent of the produce, besides a number of abwabs and other taxes. We are told by Barni that the *Khuts*, *Chowdhris*, and *mukaddims* were reduced to a state of abject poverty. Irrigation was promoted by Firoz Shah by digging canals and in the south the Vijayanagar kings arranged for good irrigation. The cottage industries were encouraged by the kings, who generally employed a large staff to manufacture requirements of the Palace as well as other departments of the state. We are told that Sultan Muhammad Tughlak engaged 400 silk weavers in the state factory, and 500 manufacturers of golden tissues. Trade with foreign countries was carried on unhampered and Guzerat was the chief emporium.

Broach and Cambay were important centres of trade. M'abar was also well known for its foreign trade. Gold and precious metals poured into the country for the purchase of Indian goods. The chief objects of exports were cotton manufactures, pepper, ginger, indigo, mats of red and blue leather and other commodities. Bengal was a rich and fertile country as described by Ibn Batuta. We are told by a Chinese visitor that in Bengal the rich built ships to carry on trade with foreign countries, the number of men engaged in trade was large, and so also in agriculture, while many worked as mechanics. Rice yielded two crops, and among other produce were wheat, sesamum, pulse, millet, ginger, mustard, onions, hemp, quash, brinjals, and fruits of all kinds. People used to manufacture fine cotton fabrics of five or six kinds, silk handkerchiefs, embroidered caps, painted articles, basins, cups, steel, guns, knives and scissors. Trade passed from one part to another along the rivers or roads built by the kings. Boats also plied from one part of India to the other by sea along the coast. One important business of the Sultans was to keep the trade routes free from robbers and *thugs*. The cost of transportation was cheap. The principal conveyance was boat, carriage, horse, mule or palanquin. Currency consisted of gold or silver tankas and copper jitals, and for small payments cowries or shells. Muhammad Tughlak's attempt to have a token currency failed. Gold was more common in the south than in the north. The economic condition of the

country became worse after the invasion of Timur. Previous to that it was very prosperous.

Education and literature.

The Musalman rulers promoted Persian and Arabic education. Persian was the language of the court, and scholars and learned men were rewarded for literary compositions in Persian. The large money spent on the promotion of learning therefore was not utilised in developing the Indian languages, or Sanskrit. Amir Khusru paid great encomium on Hindi and there were some books translated from Sanskrit into Persian, but on the whole the Muslim rulers had nothing but contempt for the books of the Hindus. On the other hand there were Hindus who learnt Persian, appreciated Persian poetry and literature, and their language assimilated a large number of Persian words. It has been stated by a Moslem scholar that 235 words in Kabir's hymns have been traced to Persian, Arabic and Turkish origins, and this Kabir is called the father of Hindi literature.

In spite of all these difficulties the Hindu mind was not absolutely inactive. The last great contribution in science was that of Bhaskaracharya in Astronomy in the twelfth century. But the genius of the people found its expression in Nyaya, Smriti, Philosophy, and devotional literature. There is very little of the constructive character as in the previous periods. Whatever literature we have is more or less critical and regulative. In Lyrics Jaydeva's *Gita Gorinda* written in the twelfth

century occupies a very high place. The poet was a master of form and diction. The dramatic literature had been of an indifferent character and the Muslim conquest had a depressing effect upon it. The legal literature received their final shape before the Muslim conquest. Vijnaneswar wrote the *Mitakshara*, a commentary on Yajnavalkya in the eleventh century and the Jimuta Vahana produced the *Dayabhaga* in the first part of the twelfth century. A school of Smriti grew up in Mithila between the thirteenth and the fifteenth century. Raghunandan Misra in Bengal modified the social changes in the fifteenth century. Karnata was also a centre of Sanskrit learning in the fourteenth century. Books on grammar, Rhetoric and other subjects were written. Sayanacharya, wrote his commentaries on the Vedas in the fourteenth century. He was a minister of Hari Har II of Vijayanagar. The Vedanta and Vaishnava literature was rather copious in Sanskrit as well as in vernaculars. Ramanuja wrote a number of books in the eleventh century, viz, *Vedantasara*, *Vedantasamgraha*, *Vedantadipu*, and *Bhasyas* on the *Brahma-sutras* and the *Bhagavatgita*. Madhva or Anandatirtha wrote 37 books mainly on his Vedantic subjects. Nimbarka was a great authority on Vaishnavism. His *Vedantaparijatasaurabha* contains his philosophical theory. Among the vernaculars Hindi occupies the first place in this period. Chandbardai's *Prithi Raj Rasau* is the earliest book. His contemporary Jagnayak wrote a long poem entitled the *Alukhand*. Sharangadhara is known

as the author of *Hammir Rasou* and *Hamir Kavya*. Namdeva, Ramananda, Kavir and Nanak were great figures in the Bhakti movement. Namdev wrote more in Marathi than Hindi. Some of the songs of Ramananda have been preserved in the *Adi Grantha*. Kavir's contributions to Hindi literature are of great value. His *Sakhas* and *Ramini's* are composed in simple style with more attention to substance than form. Nanak's hymns were a mixture of Panjabi and Hindi. Books in Tamil, Kanarese and Telegu were written in this period. The Dravida literature received a great impetus from the Saiva movement. The Vijaynagar kings extended their patronage to the Telegu authors. Some of the kings were literary men and their names figure in literature.

The Musalman rulers in Bengal followed a different policy altogether with regard to language. They adopted the Bengali language, and became Bengali in manners and customs. They arranged the translation of the Mahabharat and the Ramayana into Bengali. Sultan Nasir Shah ordered the translation of the Mahabharat (before 1325 A. D.). Krittivas translated the Ramayana at the instance of one of the Sultans. Maladhar Basu translated the Bhagavata at the instance of another Sultan. Many such literary productions were due to the encouragement of the Musalman rulers. The Hindus did not pay their attention to the vernacular before this and the Brahmans who did not learn any thing but Sanskrit had to utilise the vulgar tongue. Besides these

translations there were religious poems dealing with the influence of Gods and Goddesses. But the distinctive character of the Bengali literature of this period was the large number of lyrics known as Padavalis. They are mainly religious poems in the language of a lover towards his beloved. Of these writers Chandidas flourished in the latter part of the fourteenth century. His contemporary Vidyapati wrote in Maithili, and he is now better known and appreciated in Bengal than in Behar. The Vaishnava movement of Chaitanya enriched the movement considerably. A kind of historical literature came into vogue about this time in the form of Kulajis.

Music.

The Music plays an important part in the life of a nation. The Hindus developed the art to its perfection. It was employed in the religious services and in the singing of hymns. Some even hold that the Greeks adopted the Hindu method in their system, as did the Arabs. There is a proverb in Sanskrit which says: There is no art higher than music. Till the advent of the Musalmans the Hindus cultivated the art widely. To the great credit of the Muslim culture it must be said that the conquerors patronised musicians. Even Mahmud of Ghazni helped the development of the art by introducing Persian musicians among the Hindus. The blending of the Indian and Persian music produced the modern Hindustani music. The Musalman musicians

were appreciated even by the Hindu Rajas of the South. Sultan Altamsh, Sultan Ala-ud-Din Khilji and other rulers invited musicians to their courts and extended their patronage to them. Amir Khusru was a celebrated poet and musician. Delhi was a great centre of culture. The invention of Sitar is credited to Amir Khusru. The art of music was cultivated by both Hindus and Moslems, and as a matter of fact it helped the growth of national unity. The religious songs of Nauak and Chaitanya appealed to men of all classes. Kabir was popular with both Hindus and Musalmans. In art and architecture we find a co-operation between men of all persuasion, which is scarcely seen in other fields.

Architecture.

The Musalman rulers erected a large number of buildings in India. They founded new cities, built forts and palaces, mosques and tombs, erected towers of victory, and constructed bridges and canals, as they destroyed the old temples, ruined many cities and buildings, and devastated the country. The old temples of Multan, Thaneshwar, Somnath, Kanauj, Kangra, Benares, Muttra and many other places have been completely destroyed. We scarcely come across any old buildings in a place conquered by the Musalmans. The countries where the conquering arms did not reach may contain some old temples and buildings. "There are perhaps more temples now in Orissa than in all the

rest of Hindustan put together." says Fergusson, "They are very frequent in Maharashtra, and, if we admit the Jains who adopted this style, they are ten times more frequent in Gujarat, Rajputana and the valley of the Narbada than in the valley of the Ganges, or in Aryavarta, properly so called. The first and most obvious explanation of this fact must be that the last named country had for 600 years been, occupied by a Muhammadan empire, and they hating idolatry and idol temples, have destroyed them wherever they were so absolutely in possession of the country as to be able to do so with impunity". But the great author of the *Indian and Eastern Architecture* considers that it is not the whole truth. He further says, "That the Muslims did ruthlessly destroy Jaina and Hindu temples at Ajmir, Delhi, Kanauj, and elsewhere in northern India, is quite true, because their columns served so admirably for the construction of their mosques. The astylar temples of the followers of Siva or Vishnu could have served principally as quarries, and stones that had been previously used in Hindu temples have now been traced to a large extent in Moslim buildings."

There is some dispute regarding the influence of Saracenic architecture upon India. Thus Fergusson states, "Nothing could be more brilliant and at the same time more characteristic, than the commencement of the architectural career of these Pathans in India. So soon as they felt themselves at all sure of their conquests, they set to work to erect two great mosques

in their two principal capitals of Ajmir and Delhi, of such magnificence as should redound to the glory of their religion and mark their triumph over the idolators. A nation of soldiers equipped for conquest and that only, they had of course brought with them neither artists nor architects, but, like other nations of Turanian origin, they had strong architectural interests, and having a style of their own, they could hardly go away in any architectural project they might attempt. At the same time they found among their new subjects an infinite number of artists quite capable of carrying out any design that might be propounded to them." The great art critic Mr. Havell on the other hand contends that the Indians not only supplied architects and builders, but the designs and motifs of the buildings constructed by the Musalmans were pre-eminently Indians in spirit. He says, "Teaching the Hindus Saracenic "orders" of architecture did not enter into their official code, they only required that the heads of the faithful at prayer should be protected from the dropping of rain through a leaking roof. The Hindus were acknowledged to be best builders that Asia could provide and Islam had no professional or communal interests to promote at the expense of Indian art and craft. The Muhammadans adopted the old buildings to their requirements, without interfering with the design or architecture. Mr. Havell says "The whole of Muhammadan architecture in India bears this distinctive impress of the soil to which it belongs, that its structural ideas and symbolism are

nearly always essentially Indian, not foreign importations. The foreign suggestions adopted by Indian builders were almost without exception purely decorative ones, i. e., the use of Persian and Arabian floral and geometric motifs for surface decoration in place of Hindu sculpture, and the substitution of encaustic and painted tiles for painted plaster or terra-cotta." It is sometime believed that the arch in the buildings is saracenic, and that the screen and domes also are not Indian. Mr Havell would not accept that, the Indians were quite familiar, he says, with the construction of arches and even pointed arches but they preferred to build with beams and brackets because they gave more strength when stone was used. In Bengal when brick was used arches were not rare. The old Buddhist buildings had arches. Moreover Mr. Havell goes further and says in the Western Asia people adopted the old Buddhist and Indian architecture and there was nothing which was characteristically saracenic. The Minar at Delhi is nothing but a tower of vitory like the Hindu Jayastambhas. The mosques and tombs were constructed according to the building adeals in the different parts. A Jain temple was converted into a mosque at Ajmir in two days and a half. The Qutb mosque at Delhi also contained many relics of the Hindu system. The mosques at Gaur were of Bengal style whereas those in Guzerat bore marks of that province. Mahmud of Ghazni and Timur carried builders and architects from India for beautifying their own

capitals. This suggests that the building in those days were constructed mainly according to the methods of the Hindus. The Musalmans eschewed the idolatrous suggestions and incorporated the teachings of the Quran in the inscriptions and decorations.

When the Hindu builders understood the requirements and tastes of the Musalmans they made the buildings more sober and dignified. But we cannot say that they were so Mahomedanised as to have lost the Indian character. The Qutub Minar at Delhi which was completed by Altamsh is more foreign in appearance than the tower of victory at Mandu. With regard to this minar however Fergusson says, "It is probably not too much to assert that the Qutub Minar is the most beautiful example of its class known to exist anywhere." The minaret of the mosque of Hasan at Cairo is taller than this, "but as the pillar at old Delhi is a wholly independent building, it has a nobler appearance, and both in design and finish far surpasses not only its Egyptian rival, but any building of its class known to me in the whole world."

The provincial capitals such as Jaunpur, Gaur, Ahmedabad, Mandu and Kulburga contain a large number of beautiful edifices, mosques, tombs and palaces which bear ample testimony to the adaptive nature of the Hindu. The principal buildings at Jaunpur erected in the fifteenth century were the Atala Mosque and the Jami Mosque. The Atala is the most ornate and beautiful of all the mosques there. It has the appea-

rance of a Buddhist monastery. In these buildings the Saracenic arch and the Hindu lintel have been artistically combined, but the domes bear Hindu emblems. According to Fergusson the gateways are purely Saracenic, "but richer and more beautiful, while its interior domes and roofs are superior to any other specimen of Muhammadan art I am acquainted with of so early an age." At Ahmedabad the Hindu influence worked all along. Even the mosques are Hindu or rather Jaina in every detail." the advanced civilization of Gujarat impressed the conquerors. "The Chalukyas however, conquered their conquerors and forced them to adopt forms and ornaments which were superior to any the invaders knew or could have introduced" says the historian of the Indian Architecture. In Malwa the Saracenic style was more in evidence, arch was more in use than elsewhere. Here the buildings were mainly in red sand stone. The Palaces of *Jahaz Mahall* or water palace is a remarkable buildings of the time. The buildings and edifices have received their additional grandeur from the site of Mandu which is said to be one of the noblest occupied by any capital in India.

Gaur was an ancient capital of Bengal. Brick was used there in the buildings, though black marbles might have been used in pillars and decorations. The ancient Hindu art of Bengal greatly influenced the later style. The principal characteristic of the buildings was heavy short pillars of stone supporting pointed arches and vaults in brick. The ancient city of Gaur is now in

ruins, and some Moslem cities have been built with its materials. The ruins of their important buildings, viz., the Qadam-i-Rasul, the Barah Darwaza, or the Golden Mosque and the Adinah Mosque can now be seen. The Barah Sona-Musjid built by Nasrut Shah in 1526 is the finest memorial left in Gaur. The ruins of a Minar built about 1490 A. D. are still extant. The glory of Gaur lies in the extensive ruins stretching about 20 miles from Panduah southwards. "An idea of the splendour in decay when seen as it is and in this respect there are none of the ancient capitals of India, which produce a more striking, and at the same time more profoundly melancholy, impression than these ruins of the old Afghan capital of Bengal" says Fergusson. Among the many beautiful buildings of the Bahmani capital at Kulbarga the mosque was one of the most remarkable of its class in India. The whole area 126 ft. by 100 ft. of the mosque is covered over like the great mosque of Cordova. There are 63 small domes, and light enters through the side walls pierced with arches. The mosque stands in good condition even after four centuries of neglect and Fergusson is of opinion that this is one of the finest of the old mosques of India.

Religious life.

The new creed preached by the Musalmans although in essence is not very different from esoteric Hinduism but in practice it was different from orthodox Hinduism. At the time of the advent of Islam people professed

either Hinduism of Vaishnav or Siva type or Jainism or Buddhism. The last creed received the greatest blow. It was not only expelled from Syria, Turkey, Persia, Central Asia and Afghanistan, but it was also driven out of India, its birthplace and cradle. Hinduism felt a new awakening by the teachings of Kumarila and Sankaracharya, but the doctrine of Monism preached by the latter did not appeal to the heart. So a new philosophy of dualism was enunciated which insisted upon love towards the Supreme Being as its cardinal principle. The Bhakti movement thus started in the twelfth century developed in different form in different parts of India. It became very strong towards the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth century when Kavir, Nanak and Chaitanya preached it by their deeply devotional and religious practices. The onslaught of Islam was no less terrible. Hindus suffered from disabilities of various sorts, and had to pay extra taxes. Inducements were held out to the people to accept Islam. The doctrine of the unity of Godhead or even the brotherhood of man appealed to the thoughtful people. They did not find any difference between the philosophical principles of Hinduism and Islam, and thought a reconciliation between the two possible. But the masses were staggered at the vandalism and iconoclastic zeal of the Musalmans. They felt that Hinduism was in danger and tried to keep aloof from the contagion. The rituals were made the chief ingredients of the religious system. The Bhakti

movement was therefore resorted to by people who were desirous of attaining a genuine spiritual uplift.

The earliest teacher of this doctrine was Ramanuja. He was born in 1017 A. D. and spent his youth at Conjeeveram. He was the pupil of an Advaita philosopher named Yadavaprakasa. Ramanuja was dissatisfied with the doctrine of monism and studied the Pra-bandhas of the Alvars. He in time became the head of the Acharya school of Vaishnavism, founded by Nathamuni and lived at Srirangam. He travelled widely in northern India, and specially visited the sacred places. The Chola king asked him to give up his faith in Vishnu, and to become a Saiva, for declining which he was peosecuted and had to migrate to the Yadava dominions. There Vitthola Deva, a brother of the king became his disciple (1098 A. D.). The literary productions of Ramanuja were copious. His vedantic theory enunciated that the individual soul and the insensate world were the attributes of the Supreme Soul. The Brahman was the material as well as the efficient cause of the external world. Self-consciousness, knowledge, union as a soul with a body were attributes common to the supreme and individual souls. These souls again may be divided into (1) *Baddha* or bound down to the circle of existence, 2) *Mukta* or finally delivered, and (3) *Nitya* or eternal. There are souls seeking final deliverence by resorting to Bhakti, they throw themselves on the will of God. *Karmayoga* or performance of actions and *Jnanayoga* or the acqui-

sition of knowledge were necessary to make the Bhakti fruitful. The *Bhaktiyoga* requires purification of the body, chastity, constant practice, the virtues of truth, uprightness, compassion, charity, non-destruction of life, hopefulness and equanimity of temper. It is unnecessary here to discuss the details of this school of thought. Ramanuja had many followers in the south, but not many in the north. He derived his metaphysical doctrines from texts in the Upanishads and the Brahmasutras, but his theory of production of the eternal world was taken from the Puranas, and based on the Sankhya System. Madhva denied that God was the material cause of the world.

Madhva was born in Saka 1119 (1195 A.D.) and died 79 year later according to R. G. Bhandarkar. He did not share the opinion of Sankara or of Ramanuja regarding the relation between God and the Soul. He set forth five eternal distinctions between God, the inanimate world, and the individual soul in their relations to one another. He travelled in important places refuting the doctrine of Maya. According to him all knowledge springs from Paramatman. "The knowledge or feeling which creates an attachment to the body, child or wife leads to a worldly life. This is not true knowledge, but ignorance is dispelled by the knowledge of God. Moksa is attained by the direct knowledge or perception of Hari by means of a method of service possible to one self and in a body fitted for it. That direct perception is possible to all good

individual souls from Brahmadeva to the best of men." (Bhandarkar's Vaishnavism). The sect established by Madhva is still very strong in South India and his followers in the north are not rare. They are found largely in the Kanarek districts. The Mathas founded by Madhva are in existence even now.

There was another teacher in the South named Nimbarka who was almost a contemporary of Ramanuja. He was born in the South but spent the most part of his life at Brindaban, the sacred place of the Vaishnavas in the north. He laid emphasis on self-surrender and the grace of God, which alone could produce the love for God. He was the first to popularise the cult of Radha and Krishna, which Ramanuja mentioned as Narayana and Lakshmi. His followers are to be found all over Northern India and specially near Muttra and in Bengal.

Ramananda, the son of a Kanyakubja Brahman of Prayag, introduced a radical reform by removing the distinctions between the Brahmans and the so-called degraded castes. He said that the devotees of Vishnu could all dine together irrespective of caste. He used vernacular in his preachings, and insisted upon the worship of Ram and Sita rather than Krishna and Radha. He worked in the fourteenth century, and probably died in 1411 A.D. Among the disciples were Pipa a Rajput, Kavir a Sudra and some think he was a Musalman weaver, Sena a barber, Dhanna a Jat, Raidas a Chamar, and Padmavati a woman. He

carried on a propaganda against the doctrine of Maya, and Jainism and Buddhism. Some of his disciples founded new sects, of them Kavir and Dadu are widely respected.

Kavir was the son of a Brahmana widow, who threw him away at his birth to hide her shame, and was brought up by a Moslem weaver named Niru. He was born in 1398 A. D. according to Macaulife and died in 1518 A. D. There are many legends regarding Kavir. It is said that he prostrated himself on the road of Ramananda to the ghat of the Ganges where he used to come early in the morning to bathe. Ramananda trampled on the boy, and uttered the words "Ram, Ram". These words became the mantra of Kavir and he called himself the disciple of Ramananda henceforth without the knowledge of the teacher. When Ramananda knew it he embraced him and received him warmly in his math. His writings bear marks of the great influence of Hindu religious literature. He was an uncompromising reformer and as Musalman in spirit in denouncing caste and the haughtiness of the Brahmins. But he was constructive in his methods, condemned the worship of idols, and preached pure spiritual theism. He did not go on pilgrimages to sacred places, but travelled widely. He is said to have asked for the blessings of Shaikh Taqqi and tried to reconcile the Hindus and Moslems. Kavir called himself the child of Allah and Ram. Men and women of both religion had great respect for him.

Vallabh founded a sect devoted to the worship of Krishna as the sportive boy of the cow settlement with all his pranks. There are many followers of this school in Guzerat, Rajputana, and round about Muttra. They dedicate everything to the Guru. This principle is carried to excess in many cases and give rise to many immoral practices. Vallabha was born in 1479 A.D.

The most important teacher to popularise the Krishna cult was Chaitanya who paid the entire attention to the emotion and introduced the system of Kirtans or fervent singing of the songs about the love of Radha and Krishna and other devotional matters. He was born at Nadia in 1485 A. D. and died in 1533 A. D. at Puri. The movement started by Chaitanya in Bengal spread very rapidly. He held that the relations which existed between the individual soul and God were both identity and difference. In this respect he was on the same line as Nimbarka. He attracted to him men of all castes and creeds and the Musalman rulers of the Bengal sympathised with this band of fervent worshippers.

A few years earlier than Chaitanya another teacher was born in the Punjab. Nanak was a bridge between the Hindus and the Moslems. He was born in 1469 A. D. at Talwandi and attained keen spiritual insight. He travelled widely in India and outside and preached the doctrine of pure theism. It is said that he visited Ceylon and Arabia also. At Baghdad he proclaimed that there was only one God whom he recognised in

the earth, the heavens, and in all directions. He rejected all sects. At the time of the invasion of the Punjab, Babar took Nanak and his attendant Mardana prisoners at Saiyadpur in 1526 A. D. for refusing to embrace Islam. He spent the latter part of his life at Kartarpur. The chief themes of his teachings were the omnipresence and omnipotence of God, the transitoriness of the world, and the destiny of the soul according to its deeds. He was held in veneration by both the Hindus and Moslems whom he tried to unite in the worship of one true God. There were nine gurus after him to give a shape and form to his religion known as Sikhism. About the three teachers Kabir, Chaitanya, and Nanak, Dr. Estlin Carpenter says: "Of the three teachers whose lives for the space of a generation seem to have coincided Kabir, Chaitanya and Nanak, the influence of Kabir was perhaps the loftiest and most diffusive, the personality of Chaitanya the most attractive, the work of Nanak and his successors the most definite in its practical results."

The spirit of India has found its expression in the lives of these saints and teachers who showed the way to permanent happiness when India was torn into pieces by political combatants. By their devotion and service they tried to span the gulf between the fighting races and the conflicting creeds.

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Medieval India

PART II

THE MUGHAL EMPIRE

PREFACE

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It is with a sense of responsibility that I beg to present to the public this volume containing a connected account of the life and thoughts of the people of India in the middle ages. The first part of this volume was published last year and I thank God that I have been able to complete the book this year. I have attempted here to give an outline of the main currents of the political and social history of India in the period of conflict between the two cultures. The results of modern research have been embodied but controversies have been avoided as far as possible. I have not burdened the book with foot-notes, as they embarrass the general readers, but references to further study have been given in Bibliography at the end of Part I, and at the end of each chapter in Part II,

Sept. 20, 1929

UPENDRA NATH BALL

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MEDIEVAL INDIA

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PART II

CHAPTER I.

FOUNDATION OF THE MUGHAL EMPIRE.

Early Life of Babar.

The battle of Panipat marked a turning point in the career of Babar as well as in the history of India. From his accession to the throne of Ferghana at the age of twelve in 1494 A.D. to this eventful day he had been tossed about by fortune. He was the son of Umar Shaikh Mirza, son of Abu Said, a descendant of Timur. On the death of Abu Said the vast empire of Timur was divided amongst his six sons. Ferghana fell to the lot of Umar Shaikh, Samarkand and Bokhara went to Ahmad Mirza, Balkh to Mahmud Mirza, and Kabul to Ulugh Beg. Ferghana was a small country on the Jaxartes, with beautiful scenery, surrounded by hills on all sides except on the west. It had plenty of grain and fruits. There were seven townships, of which Andijan was the chief, and it was the capital of the kingdom.

Babar was nursed in the picturesque surroundings of Andijan where he enjoyed fruits and flowers and the beautiful water courses. His father Umar Shaikh was a brave soldier but not fortunate in his battles. He was generous, affable and eloquent. He was a well-read man with a poetic nature. His mother was a daughter of Yunus Khan, a descendant of Chagatai, the son of Chengiz Khan. Babar was descended from the two Mongol invaders of India, Chengiz and Timur. But the Mughals of the time of Babar had become more civilized than their remote ancestors under the influence of Islam. Babar detested the name Mughal, and called himself a Turk. He inherited from his Tartar ancestors the restless energy and buoyant spirit which kept him up in the vicissitudes of his chequered life.

Babar was born on Friday the 14th February 1483 A.D. (6th Muharram 888 A.H.) and was named Zahir-ud-Din Muhammad, but as the rude and uncultured Chagatais found it difficult to pronounce the name they called him Babar. He received good education in Persian and Turki and according to Haidar Mirza "excelled in music and other arts. In fact no one in his family before him ever possessed such talents as his. Nor did any of his race ever perform such wonderful exploits, or experience such strange adventures, as did he." He became the king of Ferghana in June 1494 when a boy of twelve. His uncle, Sultan Alunad Mirza of Samarkand, Sultan Mahmud Khan of Tashkent, and Abu-bikr *Kashgari Dagalat* of Kashghar and Khotan tried to take the little kingdom of Ferghana, but Babar

was strongly defended by the *Begs* and soldiers of his father, and the invading forces were made to retire. Ahmad Mirza died on his way back to Samarkand (July 1494 A.D.) He was succeeded by his brother Mahmud Mirza. Mahmud was tyrannical and vicious. His courtiers were also equally wicked. But he died after a reign of five or six months. He also had the intention of dislodging Babar from the throne. His sons were away at the time of the death of Mahmud. The Chagatai Khan Sultan Mahmud tried to take advantage of the troubles in Samarkand, but Sultan Mahmud Mirza's grandson Bai-Sunghar Mirza repelled his attacks, and became the king of Samarkand. Bai-Sunghar was not very friendly with the *Begs* and soldiers of Samarkand, and his accession was marked by great disturbances. Babar cherished the ambition of sitting on the throne of Timur. His first campaign was not a success (1496 A.D.), but the next year he defeated Bai-Sunghar Mirza and occupied his capital, after a siege of seven months. In this newly acquired kingdom the soldiers were put to great distress on account of the shortage of food as well as of men. So they deserted Babar and coming back to Ferghana fomented rebellion there. Sultan Mahmud Khan laid claim to Andijan, but the nobles tried to place Babar's brother Jahangir Mirza on the throne. Babar had only one thousand men left with him at Samarkand. He was asked by his mother to come back to Andijan. He had then just recovered from a serious illness. After a reign of 100 days he left Samarkand, and on reaching Khujand he received the news of the surrender

of Andijan. He felt bitterly the loss of both the kingdoms, and he was cut off from his retainers and his country. He tried to recover Andijan with the help of his maternal uncle Sultan Mahmud Khan, but the Khan deserted him when they were about to reach the place. Babar now fell back upon Khujand where he was joined by his mother and grandmother. The Khan also behaved similarly in an attack upon Samarkand, but still his desire for conquest did not die. Khujand was a poor place and could hardly maintain 300 men. So Babar obtained Pashaghar on loan for spending the winter. When he was in a state of uncertainty where to go he received an invitation to take possession of Marghinan. After a march of three nights and two days he reached the place with 240 men (1499 A.D.) An attempt was made by the partisans of Jahangir Mirza to overthrow him, but on the arrival of help from Mahmud Khan they fled, and Andijan again fell into the hands of Babar. The Mughals who came to help him were not however very friendly towards him. The country was full of discontent, and some of the Begs tried to bring Jahangir Mirza back. About this time Bai-Sunghar Mirza was murdered by Khusru Shah. Babar was invited to go back to Samarkand. But he had still to deal with Ahmad Tambal, the champion of Jahangir Mirza. While he was on his march to Samarkand news came that the Uzbek chief Shaibani Khan had occupied both Bokhara and Samarkand. The people were not attached to the Uzbek chief, and Babar took it by

surprise when Shaibani was out on an expedition. The affairs now turned favourably towards him. Many forts fell into his hands, and for six months he remained in possession of the place, but afterwards he was defeated by Shaibaq Khan at Sar-i-pul and then besieged in Samarkand. He did not receive help from any quarter, provisions and supplies were exhausted, and the situation became hopeless. In these circumstances Babar left Samarkand after a siege of four months and wandered about in distress for two years. When he was moving about from mountain to mountain homeless he thought of going to his maternal uncle the Khan of Tashkent. There he spent some time, and once formed a plan of going to China. With the help of the Khans he made another effort to regain Ferghana. He regained Andijan, but Tambal called in the aid of the Uzbeks who made him once more a fugitive. The Mughal army was defeated, Transoxiana was captured, and Babar escaped with great difficulty (1503 A.D.). He fled to the hills south of Ferghana, and with difficulty reached Hisar, the capital of Khusru Shah. There he was received with coldness, and then passed to Ghuri and Baklan. But shortly Khusru Shah also was driven out of his own country. He also went to Ghuri, but his men deserted him and flocked to the standard of Babar. His treasures fell into the hands of the latter, but Babar issued orders that the effects of Khusru should not be confiscated. He went to Khorasan and was killed at Kunduz. His troops numbering about 20,000 fell into the hands of Babar. With this army Babar marched

towards Kabul. At that time it was in the possession of Mukim, who could not stand against the superior forces of Babar. The conquest of Kabul (October 1504 A.D.) put an end to his troubles and helped him in maturing his other plans.

Babar as King of Kabul.

Babar ruled without interruption at Kabul for twenty-two years (1504-1526 A.D.) He distributed cities and villages, to his followers, as well as to the Begs of Kabul. The vast army of Babar could not be maintained out of the poor resources of the newly conquered country. So he had to go out on forays in the neighbouring countries. He went in search of booty to the country of the Hazaras and once came to India (1505 A.D.). But as he was not familiar with the roads of Hindustan the expedition did not prove very successful. The troops suffered great privation and on his return to Kabul many old soldiers of Khusru Shah deserted him. Babar in describing his first expedition, which he undertook in January 1505 by way of Badam-Chashma and Jagdalik says, "Till that time I had never seen a hot country or the Hindustan borderland. In Ningnaha another world came to view—other grasses, other trees, other animals, other birds, and other manners and customs of clan and horde. We are amazed, and truly there was ground for amaze." He entered through the Khaibar Pass, and marched southwards from Peshawar to Multan and returned by way of the Gomal Pass. The same year he went on an expedition against Kandahar.

His brother Jahangir Mirza who was with him in Kabul was not satisfied with the territory allotted to him. He went to Khorasan, on the plea of rendering help to the sons of the deceased Sultan there against the Uzbeks. Babar followed Jahangir Mirza and after restoring the Mirza brothers to power he returned to Kabul. Shortly after this his brother Jahangir Mirza died. Babar next conquered Kandahar and brought from there a large amount of wealth. He had to quell another revolt of the Mughals in Kabul who tried to set up Abdur Razzak on the throne. With 500 followers Babar routed 3000 Mughals, and forced them to retire. (1507 A.D.) The most powerful enemy of Babar now was the Uzbek chief Shaibani Khan who in quick succession conquered Transoxiana, subjugated Khorasan, captured Herat, and threatened Kandahar. The danger to Kabul was averted by the death of Shaibani at the hands of Shah Ismail Safavi, King of Persia. (1510 A. D.) The Shah then wrote a letter to Babar offering his services to recover his hereditary kingdom. Ferghana was cleared of the Uzbeks and within a short time Babar again obtained possession of Samarkand (1511 A. D.). Babar was not destined to rule Samarkand, as after eight months' rule he was defeated by Ubaid Ullah Khan who with only 3000 men scattered 40,000 of the emperor, and within two years he lost every thing beyond the Hindukush except Bactria. He now fell back upon Kabul where he left his brother Sultan Nasir Mirza upon the throne. Sultan Nasir Mirza gallantly made room for his brother and craved

permission to go back to his own province of Ghazni. (1514 A. D.). He however did not live long. On his death there was a rebellion in Ghazni, which Babar managed to suppress with great bravery. In 1517 A. D. he went on an expedition into Balkh and afterwards against Kandahar to find service for the unemployed Mirzas. The Mughals were so efficient in the war because they employed cannons and fire-arms. Shah Ismail of Persia learnt the trick at his own expense and engaged the services of Turkish artillery men and musketeers in his army. Babar followed in the footsteps of his ally, and appointed Ustad Ali, an Ottoman Turk as the Master of his Ordnance and later on he secured the services of a second expert in Mustafa. The employment of fire-arms greatly increased his fighting ability. Frustrated in his efforts to regain the dominions of Timur, Babar now cast his longing looks towards the north-east. In 1519 A. D. he invaded Bajaur, marched through Swat and Panj-Kura, and secured the country of the Afghans. The match-lock men employed for the first time in this region contributed greatly to his success. Ever since his return to Kabul he contemplated a march upon Hindustan. After subjugating Bajaur he crossed the Indus (February 1519 A. D.) and within a short time reached Bhira on the Jehlam, which was then governed by Daulat Khan. From this place he sent a letter to Ibrahim Lodi demanding Lahore and the other countries which depended in the past upon the Turks. But his messengers were obstructed by Daulat Khan at Lahore, and after a few

months sent to Kabul without any reply. Between 1519 and 1526 A. D. Babar led five expeditions into India. The first two invasions took place in 1519 A. D., the third in 1520 A. D. and the fourth in 1524 A. D. The fifth expedition was the most memorable, in which he defeated Ibrahim Lodi at Panipat and became the Emperor of Delhi occupying territories as far as Agra. The battle of Panipat has already been described in Part I Chapter X page 217.

The conquest of Hindustan.

The dream of his life was now fulfilled. Since his first expedition in 1519 A. D., he formed this resolution and he says: "From then till now we laboriously held tight to Hindustan, five times leading an army into it. The fifth time, God the most high, by his own mercy and favour, made such a foe as Sultan Ibrahim the vanquished and loser, such a realm an Hindustan our conquest and possession". He considered this conquest as entirely due to the mercy and favour of God. Although he defeated Ibrahim the vast realm still remained unsubdued. There were still a large number of Muslim and Hindu kingdoms. He was attracted by the vastness of the country and its wealth. There were numberless artisans and workmen in the country, who contributed to the comforts of life, although he says: "Hindustan is a country of few charms. Its people have no good looks; of social intercourse, paying and receiving visits there is none: of genius capacity none: of manners none: in handicraft and work there is

no form or symmetry, method or quality ; there are no good horses, no good dogs, no grapes, musk melons or first-rate fruits, no ice or cold water, no good bread or cooked food in the bazars, no hot baths, no colleges, no candles, torches or candlesticks." The disadvantages however did not weigh on his mind. All through his life he had struggled for power. Here he found a vast empire lying within his grasp. The most powerful foe had been crushed. He then sent his son Humayun to occupy the imperial residence at Agra, and he himself went to Delhi and declared himself Emperor. The Khutba was read in his name in the Friday prayer on the 27th April. From Delhi he proceeded to Agra, and reached the place on the 5th May. Humayun had already surrounded the fort which however had not yet surrendered but on the arrival of Babar it was occupied. In the siege Humayun received as an offering the famous diamond Koh-i-Nur from the children of Raja Vikramajit of Gwalior, who had fallen in the field of Panipat. This diamond Ala-ud-Din Khilji brought from the Deccan, and weighed 8 misqals or 320 ratis. Humayun gave it to his father, but the Emperor returned it to his son as a mark of affection. The gold and treasures he received were immense. He distributed the spoils lavishly, and sent a silver coin for every person in Kabul. He kept very little for himself, and therefore was called a Kalandar.

It was mid-summer when Babar reached Agra. The people were not well-disposed towards him. Many people began to die on account of pestilential winds.

The local chiefs in all places fortified their position. When Babar had scarcely established himself on the throne his *Begs* and generals expressed their desire to go back to their home-lands. Babar then called a council of his *Begs*, and made a fervent appeal to them to stay. He said:

“There is no supremacy and grip on the world without means and resources; without lands and retainers sovereignty and command are impossible. By the labours of several years, by encountering hardships, by long travel, by flinging myself and the army into battle, and by deadly slaughter, we through God’s grace, beat these masses of enemies in order that we might take their broad lands. And now what force compels us, what necessity has arisen that we should, without cause, abandon countries taken at such risk of life? Was it for us to remain in Kabul, the sport of harsh poverty? Henceforth, let no well-wisher of mine speak of such things! But let not those turn back from going who, weak in strong persistence, have set their faces to depart.” In spite of this appeal some of his men returned to Kabul, but Babar remained in India with the main army to build up the empire. He was however soon joined by many influential men of India. The first to acknowledge his authority was Shaikh Guran of Kol, who brought with him about 3000 soldiers. Many of the nobles came over to the conquerer. Sultan Ibrahim Lodi had sent Mustafa Farmuli and Firuz Khan to fight against the rebel armies of the eastern provinces. Mustafa had died before the battle of Panipat, and his

brother Shaikh Bayazid carried on the operations in his place. All these generals of Ibrahim came to Babar and were treated with great kindness. The new recruits and the old officers were handsomely rewarded and posted to different provinces. Babar now felt himself sufficiently strong to extend his dominions. He subjugated the provinces of Sambal, Biyana, and Dholpur and arranged for their future government.

Last stand of the Rajputs.

On the decline of the Sultanate the Rajputs under the leadership of Rana Sangram Singh of Mewar cherished the ambition of establishing the Hindu ascendancy. When Babar was in Kabul the Rana sent a message to him that he would move on Agra when the former would occupy the territories upto Delhi. He wanted to come to an understanding with the conqueror that he would not interfere with Babar if his rule was recognized east of Delhi. The defeat of Ibrahim Lodi changed his attitude. He realized that the whole of Hindustan was in danger of being conquered by the Mughal invader. He therefore appealed to the Hindu Rajas to combine against this common enemy.

Rana Sangram Singh inherited the valour and patriotism of his ancestors. After the conquest of Chitor by Ala-ud-Din Khilji, Hamir recovered the country and made Mewar a free state. His son annexed Ajmir, and gradually the Ranas became very powerful in the Central India. Sangram Singh defeated the Sultan of

Malwa (1519 A.D.) and was acknowledged as their leader by the other Rajput states. His powers were so great that Babar writes "that not one of all the exalted sovereigns of this wide realm, such as the Sultan of Delhi, the Sultan of Guzerat, and the Sultan of Mandu, would cope with this evil-dispositioned one, without the help of other pagans; one and all they cajoled him and temporized with him." Ten powerful chiefs flocked to his standard and placed their troops under his command. He was also joined by Mahmud Khan, son of Sultan Sikandar Lodi, Hasan Khan of Mewat and Salahud-Din a Rajput convert to Islam. It is said that about 201,000 troops came to defend India in this memorable battle. Contrary to their usual practice, says Elphinstone, the Hindus were on this occasion the aggressors. If there was any chance of recovering freedom from Moslem rule this was the time. The old rulers had lost their position and the Mughals had yet to establish themselves. The Musalman chiefs who had enjoyed political privileges so long considered that their only hope lay in alliance with the Hindus. So careful preparation was made for a decisive battle. Rana Sanga was a brave soldier and a capable general. He was a man of the middle stature, of great muscular strength, fair in complexion, and possessed unusually long eyes. He lost one eye in a fight with his brother, one arm in a battle with the Lodis and a leg was broken by a cannon-ball in another battle. There were 80 wounds on his body received in various contests. Babar calls him "That one-eyed Dajjal." The fort of

Kandar had already been captured by him, and Hindu control was restored in 200 towns in the territories of Musalmans.

Babar on his part was making preparation to meet the Indians. In the meantime he sent his son Humayun to suppress the rebellions in the eastern provinces. Some of the armies fled before him, while the others surrendered. He went as far as Ghazipur, subjugated Jaunpur, Oudh and the adjoining territories, and by the end of the year he returned to Agra. Shortly after this news arrived that Rana Sanga was advancing towards Biyana and that Hasan Khan Mewati whom Babar tried to retain had joined the Rajputs. Babar now moved out of Agra on the 11th February 1527, and gathering his troops on the way arrived at Sikri on the 17th February. It is about 23 miles west of Agra. Babar chose this place as suitable for a large camp because sufficient quantity of water could be had there. A large number of wells were dug. He had no confidence in his Hindustani armies, so he despatched them to other places. The Rajputs had first routed the Biyana garrison. A reconnoitring party consisting of 1000 to 1500 men was cut off by them, and many of them were made prisoners. Rana Sanga had encamped at Kanwa which he fixed as his northern boundary. It was only a few miles from Sikri, and can be seen from the ridge where now stand the ruins of Akbar's capital. The reports of Rajput bravery and the misfortunes of the Mughal troops in the early encounters produced great consternation. Babar took 20 or 25 days to fortify his

camp. The front was defended by carts, chained together 7 or 8 yards apart. Where the cart did not reach a ditch was dug, and ropes of raw hides were stretched on wooden tripods. About this time some 500 troops arrived from Kabul. Soldiers collected from the Doab and Delhi were detailed to raid the villages in Mewat.

Babar considered that some great sacrifice was necessary to achieve success. He believed self-control led to power and therefore formed a strong resolution to give up wine. Along with him about 300 Beks and others renounced wine, and what they had was poured on the ground. Gold and silver vessels were broken and distributed to deserving persons. Besides this, to win the confidence of the Musalmans he issued a proclamation that the Muslims would be excused the Tamgha i. e. the transit duties. To rouse up the drooping hearts of his followers he delivered the following address :

“Beks and braves, Better than life with a bad name is death with a good one.” God the most high has allotted to us such happiness and has created for us such good fortune that we die as martyrs, we kill as avengers of his cause. Therefore must each of you take oath upon His Holy Word that he will not think of turning his face from this foe or withdraw from this deadly encounter so long as life is not rent from his body.”

The appeal went straight into the heart of the soldiers, and they took the yow with the Quran in their hands. They then marched in regular battle array, with

carts and wheeled tripods in front and Ustad Ali Quli and his match-lock men close behind them. On Tuesday the 13th March, Babar galloped from one division to another to cheer up his officers and men, and after marching about two miles they dismounted. There they encamped, arranging for necessary safeguards of ditch and carts. Next day they marched but before they had fixed up their camp as previously arranged news came that the enemy was advancing.

The arrangement of the Muslim army was in the hands of Nizamud-Din Ali Khalifa, Babar was in the centre, and all the divisions were carefully organised in the Turkish method with match-lock men and cannoners just behind the line of carts and tripods. The right wing was led by Humayun, and the left by Sayyid Mahdi Khwaja, and there were able commanders for directing the flank movement, both on the right and the left. The engagement took place on Saturday the 17th March 1527 A. D. at the field of Kanwa, now in the state of Bharatpur. The Rajputs marched forward with their elephants, and attacked the Mughals between 9 and 10 A. M. Their left wing first charged the right wing of Babar's army, which was however supported by the right of the centre under Chin-Timur Sultan, and thus the Rajputs were driven back to the rear of their centre. The battle raged furiously round Humayun, where Mustafa was breaking the ranks of the Rajputs with his fire-arms. After pushing back the Rajput right wing Mumin Ataka with a number of commanders went to their rear. Great

bravery was displayed on both sides. When the battle continued the Mughal centre was diverted to the right and to the left while Ustad Ali Quli stood firm in the centre discharging heavy stones from his cannons and directing the match-lock men. Orders were given to the match-lock men to move forward into the midst of the battle, and they were followed by the foot soldiers. At this time according to royal orders the carts of the centre were moved forward, and the Mughal troops fought bravely round the Emperor. The sky was so darkened by the clouds of dust that foe could not be distinguished from friend. "The wizard of time produced such a sight that its only planets were arrows, its only constellations of fixed stars were the steadfast squadrons." The two armies were engaged in a deadly fight. The Rajputs attacked the left wing vigorously but they could not stand before the fire-arms. The carts also prevented them from rushing into the Mughal army. The Rajputs lost heavily and when further resistance became difficult they dispersed in all directions. Many died fighting and among the slain were Hasan Khan of Mewat, Udi Singh of Bagar, Rai Chandrabans Chuhan, Bhupat Rao, son of Salahud-Din and many other chiefs and nobles who were commanders of big forces. Rana Sanga managed to escape. After winning this victory Babar assumed the title of Ghazi. He composed the following quatrain on the occasion :

'For Islam's sake, I wandered in the wilds, prepared for war with pagans and Hindus, resolved

myself to meet the martyr's death, Thanks be to God ; a Ghazi I became.' (Mrs Beveridge's Translation.)

The Rajput chroniclers state that the defeat was due to the treachery of Silhadi but about this no definite information is available. The Rajput confederacy was weakened with the fall of Sangram Singh. Babar was now freed from all fear from that quarter. He now obtained undisputed sway over the whole of Hindustan. Henceforth he boldly planned for the erection of the Imperial structure on the ruins of the Sultanate of Delhi. India which was to him a land without charms began to engross his entire attention. He sent his son Humayun to rule in his place at Kabul,

Babar spent some time in making internal arrangements, and suppressing rebellions in the neighbouring provinces. Ilias Khan who had rebelled in the Doab, and occupied Koel was brought to Agra as a prisoner and flayed alive. Nahar Khan, son of Hassan Khan of Mewat easily submitted, and Chandwar, Rapri and Etawah were subjugated without much difficulty. Babar next placed his chiefs in charge of the different provinces and spent about six months in visiting the different places. There was still one Rajput chief whom Babar did not like to go unpunished. Medini Rao of Chanderi exercised great influence. He was once the chief minister of Malwa and had carved out a kingdom for himself with the stronghold of Chanderi as his capital. The Raja was also an ally of Rana Sanga. Babar marched against him on the 9th December, 1527 A. D. He crossed the Jumna at the Kanar passage a little above

the junction with the Chambal. Marching along through Kalpi an advance party was sent under Chin-Timur Sultan with about 7000 men. On the 22nd January 1528 A. D. Babar's main army reached the outskirts of Chanderi. Before the siege began news reached the camp that the troops sent to subjugate the eastern provinces had received a rebuff and had been forced to abandon Lucknow. Babar unperturbed carried on his operations. The citadel of Chanderi stood on a hill, on one side of which was a double-walled road to water. The attack was directed mainly against that part and the Mughals soon occupied the wall. In the citadel Rajputs fought bravely. After killing their women they came out naked fighting to die. Within 2 or 3 hours the fort fell into the hands of the Mughals. Chanderi was made over to Ahmad Shah, a grandson of Sultan Nazirud-Din of Malwa, and Babar instead of completing his plan of proceeding to Raisin, Bhilsa, Sarangpur, Chitor and other places where Hindu influence still continued returned to Agra on account of the turn of events in the east.

Subjugation of the Eastern Provinces.

The Hindustani Amirs were always held in suspicion. Babar did not rely upon their loyalty. They were very strong in the eastern provinces. After occupying Delhi and Agra Babar despatched Humayun to subdue them. His campaign was successful for the time being. But after the defeat of the Rajputs the old Moslem nobles once again became rebellious. When Babar was engaged:

in the siege of Chanderi he received the news of the rebellion. On coming back to Agra he learnt that the rebel Amirs had been approaching towards Delhi after leaving Kanauj behind, and that Shaikh Bayazid had joined the rebels. Babar proceeded personally against them. A bridge was built on the Ganges near Kanauj where the enemy was posted. The Amirs were driven back and the Emperor pressed towards the east. He marched through Lucknow and Oudh, crossed the junction of the Gogra with the Sirda. Bayazid still managed to elude the Mughal arms. Babar returned after settling the affairs of Oudh. The rebels took refuge in Bengal. In 1528 A.D. he sent his son Askari to watch the movements of the king of Bengal. Shortly afterwards an embassy came from Sultan Nasrat Shah of Bengal bringing a message of friendship. (January 1. 1529 A.D.) Babar was preparing for an expedition against the Beluchis who had overrun some places in the west when news reached that Mahmud Lodi, son of Sikandar Lodi had occupied Behar. The Emperor started on his eastern march on the 25th January, 1529 A.D. Mahmud Lodi had collected 10,000 Afghan troops, and had reached as far as Benares, and was on his way to Chunar. He had been joined by Bayazid, Biban and Sher Shah Sur. On receiving news of the approach of Babar the Afghans retired from Chunar in confusion. Mahmud fled to Bengal. The attitude of Sultan Nasrat Shah was very uncertain. His troops were massed on the Gandak at its junction with the Ganges. An engagement took place in May 1529 A.D. in which

Nasrat Shah's men were defeated, but Nasrat persuaded the Emperor to agree to a treaty (May, 1529 A.D.)

Freed from anxiety regarding Behar and Bengal the Emperor marched to crush Bayazid and Bihan, who were reported to have crossed the Saru, and proceeded towards Lucknow. On the approach of Babar they fled towards Dalamau. Babar reached that place on the 18th June. By that time the rebels had gone towards Mahuba in Kalinjar. The rains had set in, and further operations becoming difficult Babar returned to Agra. The expeditionary forces were ordered to remain where they were till they received fresh supplies.

The Last Days.

The strain of constant campaign had its effects upon the strong constitution of Babar. He crossed almost every river he came across by swimming. He swam across the Ganges easily. He had marched through hills and dales, ridden along rough country and had fought many battles, but his vigour was now on the decline. Although his age was only 46 he felt himself very old. He also gradually lost his strength of resolution and tried to spend his days in pleasant pastimes. His wife Mahim came from Kabul to Agra. Humayun had failed to crush the Uzbeks. Babar thought of going back to Kabul and marched as far as Lahore where he met his son Kamran. About this time a conspiracy was on foot to set aside the sons of Babar and to place one Mir Mohamad Mahdi Khwaja on the throne. Humayun on receiving this news came to Agra without obtaining the

permission of the Emperor, leaving Hindal in Badakhshan and Kamran in Kabul. Babar did not much like the neglect of affairs in Badakhshan, and his leaving his post without orders, as he still cherished the dream of regaining the throne of Timur. Humayun was asked to go back, but he managed somehow to stay behind. Sulaiman Mirza was then sent to Kabul. Humayun proceeded to his own fief of Sambal. Babar was then busy in crushing the minor risings round about Delhi. In the summer of 1530 A.D. Humayun felt dangerously ill. He was brought to Agra, and it is told that to save his son Babar made the supreme sacrifice. The story goes that he moved thrice round the sick bed of his son and prayed to God. 'Oh God, if a life may be exchanged for a life, I who am Babar, give my life and my being for Humayun,' and that since then Humayun became better and Babar's temperature went up and he then cried out 'bardasthan,' (I have taken up the burden)! His health then gradually declined, and he left this world on the 26th Dec. 1530 A.D. Before his death he nominated Humayun as his successor and advised him to be good to his brothers, "to be munificent and just, to acquire God's favour, to cherish and protect subjects, to accept apologies from such as had failed in duty, and to pardon transgressors." His body was temporarily buried in Arambagh, Agra, close to the place where the Taj-Mahal now stands and it was removed to Kabul between 1539 and '44 A.D. and buried in the beautiful gardens on the slope of the hill Shah-i-Kabul, the place chosen by Babar

himself. Shah Jahan built a mosque there, and Jahangir adorned the white marble slab on the grave with an inscription couched in beautiful language.

An estimate of his character.

Zahirud-Din Muhammad Babar died at the age of 48. He was a remarkable man, and able general, and an accomplished prince. "Upon the whole, if we review with impartiality the history of Asia," says Erskine, "we find few princes entitled to rank higher than Babar in genius and accomplishments." He further says, "In activity of mind, in the gay equanimity and unbroken spirit with which he bore the extremes of good and bad fortunes, in the possession of the manly and social virtues, in his love letters and his success in the cultivation of them, we shall probably find no other Asiatic prince who can justly be placed beside him." He possessed an affectionate heart, and was always very kind to his friends and relatives. He was a scholar and a fine writer both in Turki and Persian. His Memoirs in which he relates the anecdotes of his life in a charming style gives ample evidence of the breadth of his heart, of his large imagination, and a keen power of observation. He was a lover of nature, and wherever he lived he laid out beautiful gardens, aqueducts and erected fine buildings. His stay in India was too short to consolidate the empire. He had to crush the rebellions of the Afghans and the Indians were not willing to accept his domination. He had to follow the old method of collecting the revenue with

the help of the local governors whom he had to grant jagirs and fiefs. At his death the empire extended from the Oxus to the Ganges, but his authority in most places within his vast dominions was nominal. His life was marked by strenuous activities, and it is said that since he became the king of Kabul at the age of twelve till his death he never kept the fast of Ramazan twice in any one place.

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CHAPTER II

THE PERIOD OF TRANSITION.

Humayun.

On the death of Babar his eldest son succeeded him as Emperor of Hindustan. Kamran was already the governor of Kabul and Kandahar and was now given the province of the Punjab. Mirza Hindal who now returned to Agra from Badakhshan was given Mewat, and Mirza Askari was given Sambal. According to the wishes of his father Humayun was good to his brothers. He was 22 when he ascended the throne. "Humayun Padishah was the eldest, greatest, and most renowned of Babar's sons. I have seen few persons possessed of so much natural talent and excellence as he, but in consequence of frequent intercourse with the sensual and profligate men who saved him, such as Maulana Muhammad Parghari in particular, and others like him, he had contracted some bad habits; among them was his addiction to opium," says Haidar Mirza. He was endowed with excellent qualities, being brave in battle, gay in feast, and very generous. He succeeded to an empire which was not thoroughly consolidated and the cession of the Punjab to Kamran further weakened it. There were a large number of Amirs in India who did not favour the establishment of a strong central government. The only hope of

Humayun was the army left by his father. An Afghan soldier in the army who carefully watched the movements of the Mughals was bold enough to predict that if luck and fortune favoured him he would very shortly expel the latter from Hindustan. "The Mughals are not superior to the Afghans in battle or single combat: but the Afghans have let the empire of Hind slip from their hands, on account of their internal dissensions. Since I have been amongst the Mughals, and know their conduct in action, I see that they have no order or discipline, and that their kings, from pride of birth and station, do not personally superintend the government, but have all the affairs and business of the state to their nobles and ministers, in whose sayings and doings they put perfect confidence" said Sher Khan, an Afghan soldier in the service of Babar. He further observed that their grandees acted on corrupt motives in every case, covetous of gold. He resolved in his mind to bring the Afghans under proper control and to restore the old Afghan kingdom. He succeeded in carrying out his resolution within a few years. The Mughals defeated the Afghans on account of the internal dissensions and mutual jealousies. They had suffered greatly and now they made an effort to win back their old position. Humayun was a man of soft nature. He was not competent to deal adequately with the different factors which were working to undermine the new dynasty. His brother Kamran did not co-operate with him in maintaining the empire which their father acquired with such courage and bravery.

Although Humayun had some experience of warfare, and administration he lacked resolution and did not fully comprehend the difficulties of his position in India. He allowed himself to be outwitted by his opponents and within ten years of his coming to the throne he was deprived of his empire and his brothers and attendants deserted him.

In the early part of his reign he proceeded to Kalinjar, and obtained the allegiance of its Raja. Sultan Mahmud with the help of Biban and Bayazid and a number of Afghan nobles had occupied Jaumpur, Lucknow and other places. Humayun marched against him, defeated the Lodi Sultan near Lucknow, and in the battle many nobles including Ibrahim Khan, Yusuf-Khal, Bayazid and others were killed. Mahmud fled to Behar, and never afterwards claimed the throne. Sher Khan who was in the army of Mahmud did not fight and thereby helped Humayun to win the victory. From Lucknow Humayun proceeded towards Chunar and demanded from Sher Khan the surrender of the fort. But the latter did not yield, and offered resistance. The troubled state of things in Guzerat, and the fear of losing Delhi led Humayun to leave Chunar in the hands of Sher Khan, after taking his son Kutb Khan as a hostage.

Expedition to Guzerat

Humayun's accession to the throne was disputed by some of his own relatives, and one of them was Muhammad Zaman Mirza. On account of his rebellion

he was sent to Biyana as a prisoner, but he managed to escape and fled to Sultan Bahadur Shah of Guzerat. The Emperor demanded his surrender which however was refused by the Sultan. Bahadur Shah had lately become very powerful. He had annexed Malwa and was acknowledged as the overlord of the rulers of Khandesh, Berar and Ahmadnagar. He besieged the fort of Chitor and sent Tatar Khan Lodi, a son of Ala-ud-Din Lodi to occupy Biyana and then to proceed towards Agra. Humayun sent his brother Hindal against him, on which Tatar Khan's troops left him and in an engagement with the prince he was slain. Emboldened by this victory Humayun marched from Agra. Bahadar Shah at that time was engaged in the siege of Chitor. Humayun marched through Gwalior to Sarangpur where he halted in order that Bahadar Shah might crush the infidels at Chitor. A Musalman was not attacked by another Musalman when he was fighting against the Hindus. The two armies then confronted each other at Mandisar, a dependency of Malwa, but there was no open engagement for two months. The army of Bahadur Shah was very strong in artillery, but the Mughals did not come within their range till his provisions were exhausted. Bahadur with five trusty attendants fled by the rear towards Mandu. When this news spread in the camp his army melted away. (1535 A.D.). Humayun pursued him to Mandu, the fort was captured by a surprise attack at night, but Bahadar escaped and went towards Guzerat. He carried away his treasures from Champanir to Ahmadabad

and when he was pursued there he fled to Cambay. Humayun reached Cambay shortly after Bahadur had left it for Diu. The Emperor's passage was then obstructed by some Guzerati nobles. He then returned to invest the fort of Champanir. It was a well-fortified place and its commandant Ikhtiyar Khan was thoroughly prepared for defence. Humayun discovered that at a place sixty or seventy yards high provisions were being conveyed into the interior of the fort. As this part was very high, perpendicular and dangerous he thought that the garrison most probably did not think it necessary to guard it. He then ordered an attack on all sides and at night he went to the place with 600 men, and scaled the rock by driving spikes into it. When thirty-nine men had reached the top Humayun, climbed up, and by the dawn 300 men had entered the fort unobserved. They rushed towards the gate, opened it to the troops standing outside, and in this way the strong fortress fell into the hands of Humayun. Ikhtiyar Khan surrendered and was received kindly (August 1535 A.D.). A vast amount of wealth with goods and stuffs from all parts of the world so long accumulated by the kings of Guzerat came into the possession of the conquerors. So much money fell into the hands of the Mughals that they did not care to collect the revenue of Guzerat. Collections were therefore made on behalf of Bahadur Shah round Ahmadabad, where about 50,000 horse and foot soldiers gathered together for the purpose. Humayun marched towards Ahmadabad, leaving Champanir in charge of Tardi Beg. The advanced

party led by Mirza Askari dispersed the Guzeratis, and about 2000 of their men were killed in battle. In reward of his services Askari was granted the Jagir of Ahmadabad and distributing the other places among his officers Humayun went to Burhanpur and from there to Mandu.

Bahadur Shah took up his position at Nausari near Surat, captured Broach and prepared himself to reconquer his possessions. Mirza Askari was a drunkard and was careless in his administration. One of his followers went into the camp of Bahadur Shah, and informed him about the tactics of the Mughals. Mirza Askari was advised by Amir Hindu Beg to read the Khutba in his own name. The report reached Humayun, who now marched towards Agra lest the capital might fall into the hands of his brother. Bahadur Shah on the other hand recovered Ahmadabad and Champanir. Muahammad Zaman Mirza who was the cause of the hostility was asked by Bahadur Shah to leave his territory when he was defeated. He attacked Lahore when Kamran had proceeded to Kandahar, but on the return of Humayun to Agra he went back to Guzerat. Humayun's long campaign thus proved a failure. Whatever success he obtained was rendered futile by the action of his brother and generals. The forces of disaffection went on increasing and all his efforts proved ineffective in restoring order and discipline.

Rise of Sher Shah.

The most formidable opponent of Humayun was Sher Shah. He was an Afghan belonging to the Sur

family of Roh in the Suleman Mountains. His grandfather Ibrahim Khan Sur came in the time of Sultan Bahlol Lodi who encouraged his tribesmen to settle in India in order that they might be relieved from poverty and at the same time increase the fighting strength of the Afghan kings of Hindustan. Ibrahim Khan Sur settled in the Pergana of Bajwara in the Punjab. His father Hasan Khan obtained a few villages in the Pergana of Shahabad as a jagir from Masnad-i-Ali Umar Khan, governor of Lahore. Sher Shah was born in Hisar-Firozah in about 1480 A.D. and he was originally named Farid Khan. When a child he was given a village in Pergana Shahabad by Masnad-i-Ali. On the death of Ibrahim Khan Hasan Khan succeeded to his jagir in Pergana Narnaul under Jamal Khan of Hisar-Firozah. Sultan Sikandar Lodi after the conquest of Jaunpur bestowed that Subah upon Jamal Khan who brought Hasan Khan with him, and granted him the perghanas of Sabsaram, Hajipur and Tanda near Benares as jagir in order that he might maintain 500 horsemen. Hasan Khan had eight sons, and he was under the influence of a slave-girl who was the mother of his two sons Sulaiman and Ahmad. Farid was very badly treated and annoyed with his father he went to Jaunpur where he received good education in Arabic, History and Philosophy. His kinsmen were extremely pleased with the progress he made in his studies and persuaded his father to entrust the administration of his two perghanas to Farid who showed his ability in this work in a remarkable manner. He made good arrangements

for the collection of revenue, stamped out tyranny and oppression, and promoted the prosperity of the peasantry. His father was pleased with his able administration, but the mother of Sulaiman and Ahmad, to whom he was passionately attached, made him give those pergunas to her sons. Farid then went to seek his fortune in Agra. There he entered the service of Daulat Khan, a nobleman in the court of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi. On the death of Hasan Khan Sultan Ibrahim granted Farid his father's jagir. His brothers sought the alliance of a more powerful man named Muhammad Khan Sur. After the battle of Panipat Farid entered the service of Bahar Khan, son of Darya Khan Lodi of Patna who had assumed the title of Sultan Muhammad. Farid got the title of Sher Khan from him by killing a tiger, and was appointed the deputy to his son Jalal Khan. Sher Khan won his reputation as an able officer throughout the province. With the help of Sultan Junaid Birlas he defeated his brothers Sulaiman and Ahmad and made their ally Muhammad Khan Sur submit to him. When he was relieved of all anxieties with regard to his jagir he entered the service of Babar, and accompanied him in his expedition to Chanderi. He acquainted himself with the military arrangements and mode of government of the Mughals and character of the Mughal nobles by his stay amongst them. His boldness attracted the attention of Babar who asked his minister to keep an eye upon him. Sher Khan, apprehensive of danger in the Mughal camp, suddenly left the army and returned to his jagir without leave, and then

joined the service of Sultan Muhammad of Behar. Shortly afterwards the Sultan died, his son Jalal Khan succeeded him, but he being very young his mother Dudu acted as Regent while Sher Khan carried on the administration. On the death of Dudu the burden of government fell mainly upon Sher Khan. About this time the king of Bengal invaded Behar but was heavily defeated. Sher Khan now became master of immense treasures and many horses and elephants. He also inherited vast property of Makhdum Alam, governor of Hajipur, who was killed in action against the king of Bengal. The Lohanis of Patna became jealous of him for not giving them any share of the spoils, and formed a conspiracy to kill him. It is believed that Jalal Khan was in sympathy with the conspirators. But the Lohanis were divided amongst themselves. Jalal Khan then went to Bengal with the Lohanis leaving Sher Khan in charge of the government. This was the opportunity for Sher Khan to strengthen his position. He increased his army by enlisting the Afghans from all places, and prepared to meet the king of Bengal. In an engagement lasting over several months the Bengal general Ibrahim Khan was killed, Jalal Khan then fled to the king of Bengal, and henceforth Sher Khan became master of the kingdom of Behar. He engaged himself in improving the condition of his people by his good government.

He acquired the fort of Chunar by marrying Lad Malika the widow of Taj Khan Sarang-Khani who was placed in charge of the fort by Sultan Ibrahim Lodi.

The marriage also brought him great wealth. Sultan Mahmud tried to regain the throne of Delhi by allying himself with Rana Sanga. But the battle of Kanwa went against him. Mahmud fled with Sanga to Chitor, and remained for some time in Guzerat. The Afghan nobles then invited him to Patna, and made him the king. Sher Khan accepted the arrangement without opposition. Mahmud however promised that when he would occupy Jaunpur the kingdom of Behar would revert to Sher Khan. In his war with Humayun Mahmud was not supported by Sher Khan and was disastrously defeated near Lucknow. Most of the nobles who stood by him were killed. He then retired to Patna, and lived as a private man, shorn of royalty. Humayun also desired to occupy the fort of Chunar, but Sher Khan managed to keep it by sending his son Kutb Khan as a hostage to the Emperor. When Humayun went to Guzerat Sher Khan utilised all the resources for increasing his powers. He enlisted the Afghans in his army and even forced mendicants to become soldiers. The Afghans in the service of Bahadur Shah of Guzerat flocked to Sher Khan on the defeat of their master. All these things were reported to Humayun when he returned to Agra. But the Emperor did not take any immediate action. He sent Hindu Beg to Jaunpur to report about the situation. Sher Khan obtained his good-will by making rich presents, and influenced him to send a favourable report to the Emperor. On the other hand he sent troops to conquer Bengal. Its king Sultan Mahmud took his position

in the city of Gaur. These circumstances made Humayun move on his eastern expedition.

Humayun's Eastern Expedition.

Humayun's minister Khan-i-Khanan Yusuf Khail advised him not to neglect Sher Khan. Accordingly the Emperor marched towards Behar and Bengal in July 1537 A.D. Chunar was an outpost in Sher Khan's territory. There he left a strong garrison and removed his family to the fortress of Bharkundu. That place being insufficient to hold the big family he overpowered the Rajah of Rohtasgarh by treachery, and placed his family there. Humayun first tried to capture Chunar disregarding the advice of his minister to proceed straight to Gaur. Chunar was very strongly fortified. It could not be attacked from land. Rumi Khan, the artillery expert, who was before in the service of Bahadur Shah directed the operations from water by erecting a battery on the boats. When further resistance became impossible the garrison surrendered. Many men had already escaped by boats. We are told that the hands of 300 gunners of the fort were cut off. By that time Sher Khan had conquered Gaur. Rohtas was out of the way and Sher Khan strengthened his position there. Humayun proceeded along the Ganges towards Behar and Bengal. In reply to a message to him Sher Khan said that he would surrender Behar if he was allowed undisputed sway over Bengal. But a few days afterwards Sultan Mahmud of Bengal represented that although Gaur had fallen into the hands of

Sher Khan, the greater portion of the country was in his possession, and urged the Emperor to expel him from Behar. Accordingly the imperial forces marched towards Gaur. They were opposed at Garhi, between the hills and the Ganges near Raj Mahal. But Sher Khan's troops were defeated, and he then turned off to Rohtas, whilst Humayun proceeded to Gaur (1538-39 A.D.) There he was happy in the pleasant climate of Bengal and abandoned himself to pleasure and dissipation for three months. He changed the name of Gaur to Jannatabad.

His stay in Bengal proved disastrous. His horses died in large numbers in the moist climate, the rains also were very unhealthy for the soldiers, besides his provisions ran short. Taking advantage of the absence of Humayun, Mirza Hindal was advised by his friends to defy the Emperor and to set himself up on the throne. He had killed Shaikh Bahlol, a saintly man whom Humayun held in great respect. Mirza Kamran also came from Kabul to Lahore and both Hindal and Kamran proceeded towards Delhi. The news of the rebellion of Hindal had upset Humayun. He now made up his mind to return to Agra. But Sher Khan in the meantime had occupied Benares, Munghyr, Jaunpur, and the country up to Kanauj and Sambhal. Mirza Hindal failing to occupy Delhi joined Kamran, and both of them marched towards Agra, and near that city Hindal turned off towards Alwar. But Muhammad Zaman Mirza who was in hiding in Guzerat now came to the Emperor, and was kindly received. Humayun marched towards Rohtas

where Sher Khan had concentrated all his forces. Sher Khan sent a message to the Emperor that he would become his vassal if he were granted the kingdom of Bengal. To this Humayun agreed. The two armies had encamped on the same side of the Ganges and between them ran a small stream called Chausa near Buxar. According to the terms of the stipulation Sher Khan did not oppose the imperial troops in crossing the stream and retreated a few stages. When Humayun had reached the banks of the Ganges, he built a bridge to cross the river. But suddenly Sher Khan turned back, and scattered the Mughals before they could prepare themselves to fight. The bridge had been previously broken, and the Afghan soldiers guarded the Ganges on boats. A large number of Mughal troops perished in trying to escape. Muhammad Zaman Mirza died while crossing the river. Humayun was saved by a water-carrier, and then he anyhow managed to run to Agra with a few horsemen. In confusion he left his family, and after sometime Sher Khan sent all the Mughal families to Agra. This disaster overtook Humayun in June 1539 A. D. After this victory Sher Khan assumed the name of Sher Shah, with the additional title of Shah Alam. On an auspicious day he ascended the throne and ordered letters of victory to be written in the form of *firmons*. At Agra Humayun tried to recover his position by winning back his brothers.

he Battle of the Ganges.

Sher Shah now prepared himself to occupy the throne of Delhi. He killed Jahangir Kuli who had been placed

in charge of Bengal by Humayun, and occupied the province. He sent messengers to the chiefs of Guzerat and Mandu requesting them to accompany his son in devastating the country about Agra and Delhi. Sher Shah himself marched towards Kanauj, and sent his son Kutb Khan towards Mandu. Humayun sent his brothers Hindal and Askari towards Chanderi. They defeated Kutb Khan near Kalpi and had him slain. The chief of Mandu did not render him any assistance which he promised. The victory reassured the Mughals. His brothers however did not cooperate with him wholeheartedly. Kamran retired to Lahore with the major portion of his troops, leaving only 1000 men at Agra, some of whom later on fled to Lahore. Muhammad Sultan Mirza deserted the Emperor and went to Sher Shah. This demoralised the Mughals, and many contemplated desertion. Humayun came with about 100,000 troops to Kanauj, and the two armies lay encamped on the two opposite banks of the Ganges for about a month (April 1540 A. D.) The Afghan army numbered about 50,000. After preparing a bridge Humayun crossed the river when Sher Shah retired a short distance. The imperial army having settled on the other side Sher Shah marched in battle array. He himself took his position in the centre, his son Jalal Khan on the right and Adil Khan on the left, other able officers were distributed among the different divisions. Khwas Khan broke the Emperor's forces, but Sher Shah's right was defeated. The centre and the left however pressed on. "But before an arrow was discharged" says Haidar Mirza "the camp followers

fled like chaff before the wind, and breaking the lines they all pressed towards the centre, the Ghulams whom the commanders had sent to the front rushed to the line of chariots, and the whole array was broken, the Mir was separated from the men, and the men from the Mir, while the centre was then thrown into disorder, all the fugitives from the right bore down upon it. So before the enemy had discharged an arrow, the whole army was scattered and defeated." In this battle not a man was wounded and not a gun was fired. Humayun fled on horseback but while crossing the Ganges he was separated from his horse, and reached land with the help of a few attendants. His vast army had melted away. Many illustrious nobles perished in the river. Out of Humayun's 100,000 retainers only eight survived. His brothers Hindal and Askari joined him and they all now proceeded to Agra. The battle of the Ganges in which the fate of Humayun and the Mughal Empire was decided took place on the 17th May, 1540 A. D. Sher Shah gave clear evidence of organising ability by which he brought the Afghans together, and expelled the Mughals from Hindustan.

Humayun in Exile.

Humayun's position was not safe in Agra. On the approach of the enemy he fled to Lahore. A conference was held there to bring about a re-union of the Mughals. Haidar Mirza suggested that the Mughals should occupy the hills and Kashmir. But the general opinion was not in favour of the proposal. When Sher Shah reached

the banks of the Beas in pursuit of the Emperor Kamran fled to Kabul. Haidar Mirza was allowed to go to Kashmir, while Humayun took his course in the direction of Multan. He was accompanied by Hindal Mirza and Yadgar Nasir Mirza with a view to occupy Tatta and Bakhar. They failed to carry out their plan, and then Hindal went to Kandahar, and later on he entered the service of Kamran. Yadgar Nasir Mirza also joined Kamran. Humayun desired to conquer Guzerat with the help of Shah Husain Arghun of Tatta, but the latter carried fruitless negotiations for six months. On account of scarcity at Bakhar Humayun went to Patar where Hindal had pitched his camp. In the camp of Hindal Humayun married *Maryam-i-Makani* Hamida Banu Begum, who became the mother of Akbar. Shortly afterwards Hindal went to Kandahar. While Humayun besieged the fort of Sihwan he was surrounded by Shah Husain Arghun. Mirza Yadgar Nasir was won over by Shah Husain. Humayun's supplies were cut off, and after seven months he retreated towards Bakhar. On the approach of the Emperor Mirza Yadgar Nasir in fear and shame attacked the army of Shah Husain, and thereby obtained pardon from Humayun. But again he proved faithless, and went over to Shah Husain, and many others followed him. Deserted by his own men Humayun sought the protection of Maldeo, a powerful zaminder of Hindustan. He proceeded by way of Jesalmir, Bikanir and Jodhpur. Maldeo did not possess sufficient strength to oppose Sher Shah. He agreed to make over Humayun to his

enemy in expectation of rewards. Suspecting treachery Humayun fled to Amarkot with great difficulty. He had with him only 22 persons when he was encountered by Maldeo's troops. But his men with great bravery turned the enemy away. After a tedious journey for days together through the desert Humayun reached Amarkot. The Rana of the place was hostile towards Shah Husain Arghun, so he collected a large army, and went with Humayun against him. Humayun's family remained at Amarkot where his son Akbar was born on the 15th October 1542 A. D. (but according to the calculation of V. A. Smith November 23). The news of the birth of the son reached Humayun when he was about twelve kos from Amarkot. The expedition against Shah Husain Arghun did not prove very successful. After receiving a defeat in his hands the soldiers began to desert the luckless Emperor. Humayun then thought of going to Kandahar (July 1543 A. D.) About this time he was joined by Bairam Khan. After the battle at Kanauj this nobleman had several adventures. When he was with Raja Mitra Sen at Lakhnor Sher Shah demanded his surrender. He was for some time with Sher Shah, and then effected his escape at Barhampur. After spending some time in Guzerat he came through Surat and Kathiwar to Humayun in Sind. On his way to Kandahar Humayun was overtaken by Mirza Askari near Mastang, and leaving his infant son he fled towards Persia. Askari carried the infant prince to Kandahar, where he was nursed by his wife Sultan Begam. Humayun then proceeded with a

few followers to Persia by way of Seistan and Herat. Shah Tahmasp received him kindly.

Administration of Sher Shah (1540-45 A.D.)

Sher Shah restored the Afghan rule in Hindustan. The Emperor left his capital in dread of his opponent. Sher Shah reduced the country round about Delhi, and entrusted the government of Sambhal, where the spirit of rebellion was very strong, to Masnad Ali Isa Khan. Bairam Khan, the keeper of the seals of Emperor Humayun, fell into the hands of Isa Khan at Sambhal. He was taken to Mandu when that place was invaded by Sher Shah. On the withdrawal of the Mughals from the Punjab he subjugated the Gakkars, and built a fortress on the Kabul road, which he called after the fortress of Rohtas in Behar. He was very kind to the men of his own tribe. His great triumph brought to India the chiefs of every tribe and family of Roh, whom he adequately rewarded. Among the visitors was Shaikh Bayazid, the grand-father of Abbas Khan, author of *Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi*. His attention was then drawn to the affairs of Bengal, where Khizr Khan Bairak had married the daughter of Sultan Mahmud, and seated himself on the 'Toki'. Sher Shah punished him for his impudence, divided Bengal into different provinces, and returned to Agra after appointing a new manager. On his arrival at Agra he received the happy news that Muhammad Kasim had agreed to surrender the fort of Gwalior. There were a number of independent rulers in central India whom Sher Shah now

marched to crush. Mallu Khan held the forts of Mandu, Ujjain, Saraugpur, and Rantambhor ; Sikandar Khan ruled Sewas and Hindia, Bhai Puran Mal governed Chanderi and Raisin on behalf of Raja Partab Shah, grandson of Salahud-din ; and Bhopal was the independent ruler of Bijagarh and Tamba. All these rulers lacked the courage to stand against the formidable army of Sher Shah, and submitted without any resistance. Mallu Khan later on fled to Guzerat. After subjugating these countries and distributing the territories among his own nobles, Sher Shah returned to Agra. In the meantime Nasir Khan, brother of Sikandar Khan made an attempt to rescue his brother. He was opposed by Shuja-at-Khan, the governor of the provinces appointed by Sher Shah, and in the battle at Nilgarh was severely defeated. Shuja-at-Khan maintained his position although he received serious wounds. Mallu Khan's endeavour to recover Mandu also failed. Bhai Puran Mal who made his nominal submission was still very powerful in Raisin. He treated the Musalmans harshly, and made their daughters dancing girls. Sher Shah proceeded from Agra in rapid marches to Raisin. His son Jalal Khan who was sent in advance joined him at Bhilsa. After a siege of six months the fort was battered, and Puran Mal surrendered on condition that he would receive no injury in property or person. But on the complaint of the aggrieved Musalman women Sher Shah consulted the Ulema who gave their opinion that Puran Mal should be executed. In violation of his promise Sher Shah

attacked Puran Mal's camp. The Rajputs killed their women, while they themselves were slaughtered by the Afghans. "Puran Mal and his companions" says Abbas Khan, "like dogs at bay failed not to exhibit valour and gallantry but in the twinkling of an eye all were slain, such of their wives and families as were not slain captured. One daughter of Puran Mal and three sons of his elder brother were taken alive, the rest were all killed. Sher Khan gave the daughter of Puran Mal to some itinerant minstrels, that they might make her dance in the bazars, and ordered the boys to be castrated, that the race of the oppressor might not increase." Sher Shah committed this atrocious perfidy without any sufficient reason Elphinstone says "there is no action so atrocious in the history of any Mahometan prince of India except Tamerlane."

When Sher Shah was engaged in Raising the Beluchis and the Jats carried on depredation in the Punjab. He appointed Haibat Khan governor of the province, who succeeded in driving away the raiders, and recovered Multan from the hands of the Beluchis.

The Hindu chiefs tried to revive their civilization during the period of the decline of the Moslem power. They had built new temples, and became very powerful from Malwa to Delhi. Maldeo of Jodhpur was their most prominent leader. In the winter of 1543 A.D. Sher Shah marched towards Nagor, Ajmir and Jodhpur with a vast army. The Rajputs on their part were not unprepared. But Sher Shah placed a forged letter in Maldeo's hand in which his nobles wrote to Sher Shah

that they would capture Maldeo and hand him over to him. Maldeo suspecting treachery fled from the field without fighting. But some of his chieftains—specially Jaya Chandel and Goha offered stout resistance to the Afghans. The fame of Jaya and Goha's valour and gallantry made Sher Shah exclaim "I had nearly given the kingdom of Delhi for a millet (bajra)-seed." They were slain by Khwas Khan. Then Nagor, Ajmir, Jodhpur and the districts of Marwar fell into the hands of Sher Shah. From Marwar he proceeded to Chitor, and leaving some of his officers there he went towards Kachwara, and thence to Kalinjar. Sher Shah had heard of the great beauty of a Patar dancing girl in the possession of Raja Kirat Singh. The cause of the attack upon Kalinjar was to get the girl. According to Ahmad Yadgar the Raja did not surrender Birsingdeo Bundela who had fled to his court, and therefore Sher Shah came to capture the fort. He raised mounds higher than the walls of the fort all around it, and in the course of the operations he was wounded by the explosion of a shell and died the next day, 10th Rabi-ul-Awwal, 952 A.D. (May 1545 A.D.). Before his death he received the news of the victory and fall of the fort.

Sher Shah's Method of Government.

Sher Shah ruled Hindustan only for five years. In this brief period he improved every department of the Government. The empire was thoroughly consolidated, and he made his influence felt even in the remotest

corners. He suppressed anarchy and lawlessness with stern severity and made the people happy and prosperous. He compiled laws from the works of the learned, as well as from his own sense of justice "for securing relief from tyranny, and for the repression of crime and villany, for maintaining the prosperity of his realms, the safety of the highways, and the comfort of merchants and troops." An able general and sound administrator he was always watchful of the interests of his people. He personally attended to every business and he had informers throughout the empire to watch and report about the conduct of his officers. He is remembered even now as a pioneer in the method of revenue collection. Land was measured every harvest, and revenue assessed according to the crops, the cultivator receiving one share, and half a share the *Mukaddam*. Care was taken that the *Amil* did not oppress the cultivator. In every *pergana* he appointed an *Amil*, a *Shikdar*, a *Karkun* to write Hindi, and another to write Persian, and to supervise their work there were a chief *Shikdar* and a chief *Munsiff* in every *Sarkar*. The *Amils* and district officers were changed every second year so that every body might have an opportunity of enjoying the preferences. Before him there was only a *Kanungo* in every *pergana* who gave information regarding the past and present and a probable estimate of the future. But there was no systematic method of assessment or collection of revenue. Sher Shah laid the foundation of the structure which was completed by Raja Todar Mal, and which was

continued by the Mughal rulers, and later on adopted by the British Government. His empire consisted of 113,000 villages and he appointed a Shikdar to each Pergana. We are told by Abbas Khan that every village was 'prosperous and tranquil, and there was not one place which was contumacious or desolated: the whole country was settled and happy; corn was cheap, nor during his time was there anywhere scarcity or famine.'

He divided the empire into manageable parts, and appointed a competent governor in every part. Garrisons were placed in places where he thought necessary. He had a big army. He had always about him 150,000 horse and 25,000 foot men, armed with matchlocks or bows. His governor in the Punjab had 30,000 horsemen in and about the fort of Rohtas. The officers were granted jagirs for maintaining horse and troops. With the help of these armed men robbery, lawlessness and brigandage were suppressed. He built a strong fort at Rohtas in the Punjab, and another in Patna, and had the intention of building forts in every strategic point. He pulled down the old city of Kanauj and built a fort there. Roads were protected from thieves and robbers by strict regulations. The Mukadams were held responsible for thefts within their own limits. They had to produce the thieves or to pay up the loss. Travellers and merchants were specially taken care of. Customs duties were levied at only two places viz. at Gharri on goods from Bengal, and at the frontier on goods imported from Khurasan. A duty was

levied at the place of sale and no other levy was permitted. Officials had to buy the goods at the usual bazar rates and prices.

Sher Shah will always be remembered for his works of public utilities. He constructed a number of big roads from one part of the empire to another; the most important was the Grand Trunk Road from Sonargaon in Bengal to the Punjab, another was from Agra to Burhanpur, a third from Agra to Jodhpur and Chitor, and a fourth from Lahore to Multan. For the convenience of travellers he built Serais at a distance of every two *kos*, where he made separate lodgings for Hindus and Musalmans, and all convenience was provided, including water, food and fodder for horses. There were wells and Musjids attached to the *serais*, and villages were established round them. Two horses were kept in every *serai* for carrying news. We are told that there were no less than 1000 serais and 3400 horses employed for the purpose. The roads were shaded by trees on both sides. He rebuilt the city of Delhi on the banks of the Jumna, destroyed the fort of Ala-ud-Din in Siri, and gave the name of Shergarh to the new fort, which however he did not live to complete. He gave strict orders to his army not to do any injury to cultivation. When he entered any enemy's country he never destroyed the cultivation of the people, or enslave or plunder the peasantry. He used to say: For the cultivators are blameless, they submit to those in power: and if I oppress them they will abandon their villages, and the country will be ruined and deserted, and it

will be a long time before it again becomes prosperous. On account of this sense of justice he never lacked supplies. He was very generous and benevolent. No poor and needy man returned disappointed from him. He had an extensive kitchen: whoever came there received food. The daily cost of these meals was 500 Ashrafis (gold coins). He granted lands to Imams and religious men and gave them regular stipends. He was very kind to his own people of Afghanistan. He sent an annual stipend in money to his own tribe and family of Sur. To the Afghans receiving money he used to say: "This is your share of the kingdom of Hind, which has fallen into my hands, this is assigned to you, come every year to receive it."

Sher Shah was not born in a royal family. He was the son of a poor adventurer, and rose to eminence by dint of merit. He thoroughly mastered the art of government, and knew the people very intimately. Although he was not very friendly to the Hindu rulers everybody appreciated his wise method. He gathered together the hardy Pathans, and organized them into one strong body. He was always active, and did not know what was sloth and indolence. He ruled only for a short period, but by his masterly services he succeeded within that short time to restore peace and order in the land. 'Such a shadow spread over the world, that a decrepit person feared not a Rustam,' went the old saying.

Successors of Sher Shah.

Five days after the death of Sher Shah his youngest

son Jalal Khan reached Kalinjar and was raised to the throne on the 25th May, 1545 A. D. when he assumed the title of Islam Shah. His elder brother Adil Khan was then at Rantambhor. So long as his brother was in a position to press his claims to the throne he did not feel himself safe. Moreover his regulations on assuming authority alienated a large number of nobles. In order to remove his brother from his way Islam Shah wrote a letter to Adil Khan asking him to come to Agra and to take over the reins of government from him. Four old trustworthy nobles of their father were sent to him to assure him safety. The brothers met at the village of Sangarpur between Agra and Fathepur-Sikri, but the plan of Islam Shah failed there on account of the attitude of his brother's followers. Adil was given the jagir of Biyana, but two months after this a man was sent with a golden chain to bring Adil bound in it. Adil revolted, and marched towards Agra with some nobles. A battle took place in the vicinity of Agra, in which Adil was defeated, and then he fled to the hills. In another engagement Islam Shah was defeated by Khawas Khan the principal noble of Sher Shah, who however could not continue the war and took his refuge in the Kumaun hills. Henceforth Islam Shah followed the policy of suppressing the old nobles.

Some of the nobles fled to the Punjab, and instigated Azam Humayun Niazi, the governor of the province to rebel. A fight took place near Ambala, the Niazis were defeated, and a large number of their troops were

slaughtered. The people were not satisfied with Islam Shah. His life was in danger when he was proceeding to inspect the fort of Mankot. He was wounded by a man in the way but was saved by Daulat Khan Ujiala on whom he bestowed great favours. Islam Shah now took strong measures to scatter the Niazis.

A great religious movement took place in this reign. There was a Darvesh called Shaikh Alai. He was a saintly man, and a disciple of Miyan Abdulla Niyazi. The poor used to receive his greatest care. He was also greatly versed in the sacred books. He had a large number of followers. They were all armed, and punished those who committed any irreligious or forbidden action. He called himself the Mahdi, and did not care for the king or governor. On the advice of Miyan Abdulla he went towards Guzerat, with six or seven hundred families. Khawas Khan, governor of Jodhpur received him well, but the Shaikh disapproved of his social activities and pastimes. He returned to Biyana from the way. Islam Shah summoned him to Agra, and asked him to renounce the claims to Mahdship which the Shaikh refused to do. Then he was banished to the south where he found his shelter at Hindiya. Later on he was sent to Shaikh Budh of Patna, who however did not like to give his decision, and sent him back to Islam Shah. Islam Shah was then in the Punjab engaged in the construction of the fort of Mankot. He received Shaikh Alai at the camp of Bin Ban, and again requested him to abandon his claims to Mahdship. But the Shaikh failing to comply with the request was ordered

to be lashed in his presence. He was already very weak, and had a wound on the neck due to a previous attack of a pestilence. He could not survive the severe punishment. 'At the third lash his lofty soul quitted its humble frame'. (Al-Badaoni) 1550 A. D. The event was considered very unfortunate, and since then Islam Shah's powers declined. The next year Khawas Khan was treacherously murdered. The nobles felt so seriously the humiliating position under Islam Shah that they favoured a rebellion in favour of Mubariz Khan. On the report of the advance of Humayun he marched towards the Punjab with a huge army, but fortunately Humayun went back that time. Islam Shah then returned to Gwalior which he made his capital. There he died in 961 A. H. (1554 A. D.) The same year also died Sultan Mahmud of Guzerat, and Nizam-ul-Mulk of the Deccan.

His son, a boy of twelve, was raised to the throne under the title of Firoz Shah. It was not the time for a child to sit on the throne. His own maternal uncle, Mubariz Khan, cut off his head in the presence of his mother, and ascended the throne as Sultan Muhamad Adil, generally called Adili and by some Audhli or blind. He was a man of loose habits, fond of pleasure and music and not competent to rule. The nobles hated him, and there were rebellions in almost every province. His orders to transfer the Sarkar of Kanauj from Shah Muhammad Farmuli was strongly resisted, but both Shah Muhammad and his son Sikandar fell in the battle. Taj Khan

Karrani fled to Bengal. On his way he stirred up rebellion and gathered some cash and valuables. Taj Khan joined his brothers in Bengal. He was pursued by Adil upto Chunar. There a battle was fought in which the Karranis were defeated. While at Chunar Ibrahim Khan Sur (son of Ghazi Khan Sur, a cousin of Sher Shah) who had married a sister of Adil, fearing foul play revolted against him. His father held the jagir of Biyana and Hindun. He went in the direction of his father's jagir, and defeated the troops of Adil near Kalpi, and later on many other nobles on whom Adil counted joined him. Ibrahim was declared Sultan at Agra. In these circumstances Adil left Gwalior and went back to Chunar. Shortly after this Ahmad Khan Sur, whom Ahmad Yadgar calls Mansur Khan, with the help of the nobles in the Punjab, declared himself Sultan under the title of Sikandar Sur. He defeated Ibrahim Khan at Farah ten *Kros* from Agra. The empire was now divided among three men. Adil Shah ruled the country from Agra to Malwa in the south, and Jaunpur in the east, Sikandar established his authority from Delhi to Rohtas on the Kabul road, while Ibrahim reigned over the middle portion from the hills to Guzerat with Agra as centre. The division of the empire and the dissensions among the nobles emboldened Humayun to undertake an expedition to reconquer Hindustan. Adil transferred the responsibilities of administration into the hands of Himu, who was originally a shopkeeper and won the confidence of the Sultan by many loyal services. He had defeated Junaid

Khan of Biyana, and for this service obtained great honours. But the promotion of this man of low origin created great heart-burning among the nobles and they refused to help Adil. The country was about this time visited by a severe famine. The provinces of Agra, Biyana and Delhi were reduced to great distress. The same year the fort of Agra was burnt by an accident. These circumstances made the position of Hindustan very insecure.

Humayun comes back

After his flight from India Humayun went to Persia. Shah Tahmasp received him with great respect. He was annoyed when he heard that the misfortunes of the Emperor were due to the faithlessness of his brothers. But for the kind intervention of the Shah's sister Humayun would have been murdered in Persia. The Shah assisted Humayun with 10,000 troops when he intended to return to Kandahar. The Shah's son Shah Murad was appointed commander of the forces. The siege of Kandahar lasted about three months. The Persians lost heart in the undertaking and were contemplating to return when some of the Chagatai nobles deserted. Kamran and came over to Humayun. Then Mirza Askari surrendered (1545 A. D.). According to the terms of stipulation Kandahar was made over to Mirza Murad who remained there with a few attendants. But there was no place for the Chagatai followers of Humayun to spend the winter. Murad's tutor Bidagh Khan did not agree to give them any quarters. The Chagatais resolved to take Kandahar as a necessity

when Prince Murad died, and the Persians were overpowered. Kandahar fell into the hands of the Chagatais. Shortly after this Humayun marched towards Kabul. Kamran was deserted by the Mirzas and nobles. When he found his position untenable Kamran fled towards Ghazni at night, and the people of Kabul received Humayun with great rejoicing. Prince Akbar then a child of four years two months and five days was brought to him. Kamran was refused admission into the city of Ghazni, he then turned to Hazara where also he could not receive any shelter. Shah Husain Arghun of Sind espoused his cause, and gave his daughter in marriage to him. Humayun invaded Badakhshan next year, defeated its ruler Mirza Sulaiman and proceeded to Talikan and Kisham where he fell dangerously ill. The report of his illness produced disturbance in all parts. Mirza Askari had to be kept in confinement. But Kamran marched from Sind towards Kabul, and took the city by a surprise attack. On receiving the news of the fall of Kabul Humayun started for Kabul leaving Badakhshan and Kunduz in charge of Mirza Sulaiman. His passage was obstructed by some officers of Kamran. The brothers fought stubbornly near Kabul. Kamran was in possession of the fort. But some of his nobles deserted him, and he could not obtain the horses from outside which he expected. In a state of desperation he ordered the child Akbar to be exposed upon the battlements where the attack was most vigorous. The child was saved by the gallantry of the nurse Maham Anka who kept him towards the garrison.

Kamran however managed to escape and his troops were scattered in all directions. He met Sher Ali, one of his old adherents and collected some troops in Zuhak and Bamian. He then overthrew Mirza Beg Birlas, the governor of Ghor and marched upon Balkh. With the help of Pir Muhammad of Balkh he tried to conquer Badakhshan. Mirza Sulaiman had no power to oppose him. Humayun had to face a conspiracy of the nobles at Kabul, who wanted the death of his trusted Wazir Khwaja Ghazi. His refusal to accede to this request led to the defection of these nobles to Kamran. They carried away the royal flocks towards Badakhshan. Humayun marched in pursuit of these conspirators who had already joined Kamran. Mirza Hindal who had been fighting on behalf of Humayun was defeated by Karracha Khan at Talikan. But Humayun reached the place shortly and he was also joined by Mirza Sulaiman. Failing to obtain help from the Uzbeks Kamran submitted, and asked permission to go to Mecca. Humayun out of his natural kindness forgave his brother and granted him the country of Kolab (August 1548 A. D.) Mirza Askari was released and all the four brothers met in the midst of great rejoicings. But when Humayun marched against Balkh next year Kamran and Askari did not join him. Humayun pressed on towards Balkh and with great energy carried on the operations against the Uzbeks. When they had gone near the city the nobles advised him to fall back, for fear of Kamran attacking Kabul. The retreat proved disastrous. Humayun, Hindal and other

nobles had to fight all the way back to Kabul (1550 A. D.). Kamran could not resist the attack of Mirza Sulaiman and Mirza Ibrahim and retreated to Rostak. On the way he was robbed of all his baggage by the Uzbegs. When he was proceeding to Hazara in a helpless condition some old nobles of Humayun betrayed the Emperor and went over to Kamran. At the battle of Kipchak Humayun was wounded, and he once more lost the empire, and Kamran became the master of Kabul. Humayun had only eleven attendants left to him. He then proceeded towards Badakhshan. On the way some more attendants deserted him, but at Andarab he was joined by Sulaiman Mirza, Ibrahim Mirza and Hindal Mirza with their troops. After a stay of forty days at that place Humayun marched to re-occupy Kabul, Kamran was defeated in the mountains, and then he fled to Mandrud. (1551 A. D.). The Emperor enjoyed rest at Kabul for a year. Kamran had in the meantime collected sufficient troops and with the help of the Afghans of Mohmand and the chiefs of Lamghan harassed Humayun, and at the same time Haji Muhammad Khan rebelled at Ghazni. In an engagement against Kamran and the Afghans, Hindal was killed. But the Chagatais pressed on, and the Afghans could no more protect Kamran. He went to Hindustan to seek help from Islam Shah. Humayun recouping his strength in Kabul crossed the Indus. Kamran received no encouragement from Islam Shah, and was then betrayed by Sultan Adam Gakkar to whom he had resorted for protection. Although Humayun was willing to forgive the Chagatai

chiefs strongly represented that Kamran would create further mischief if let off. Then the order to blind him was given. Afterwards Kamran went on a pilgrimage to Mecca where he died in 1557 A. D. Humayun proceeded as far as Rohtas, then turned towards Kashmir. But as a campaign into that region was not thought advisable he returned to Kabul after rebuilding the fort of Peshawar.

In the meantime Islam Shah died and dissensions arose among the Afghans. Humayun thought the circumstances favourable to his plans. He started from Kabul with 15,000 horse in January 1555 A. D. Bairam Khan came from Kandahar and joined him at Peshawar. The fort of Rohtas was occupied without opposition. The Afghans of Lahore fled on their approach and within a short time the districts of the Punjab, Sirhind and Hissar acknowledged his authority. In a small engagement near Dipalpur the Afghans were defeated. Sikandar Sur sent 30,000 men to cut off the advance parties of the Mughals in Sirhind. In a battle beyond Jalandhar the Afghans were destroyed by the fire from the Mughal army. Sikandar then came out with 80,000 horsemen but could not stand against the Mughal attack. He fled, and the honour of the victory went to Prince Akbar. The Mughals then marched upon Delhi. Humayun once again entered the capital. Shah Abul Ma-ali was sent towards the Siwalik hills whither Sikandar Sur had fled. But as he became very troublesome to the nobles he was superseded by Prince Akbar and Bairam Khan. Ali Kuli Khan suppressed the

rising in the Doab and Sambhal, and killed the leader of the rebels, named Kambar Diwana. So the country round Delhi and Agra came into his possession. But within six months of his restoration to the throne he left this world in tragic circumstances. On the 16th January, 1556 his feet slipped from the steps of the library at Delhi at the time of the evening prayer, and he did not afterwards recover consciousness. After eight days he passed away (24th January, 1556 A.D.) at the age of fifty-one.

He was a prince of uncommon ability. "His angelic character was adorned" says Nizamud Din Ahmad, "with every manly virtue, and in courage and heroism he excelled all the princes of the time. All the wealth of Hindustan would not have sufficed to maintain his generosity. In the sciences of Astrology and Mathematics he was unrivalled. He made good verses and all the learned and great and good of the time were admitted to his society and passed the night in his company." His kindness was unbounded. In spite of repeated offences and rebellions Kamran was forgiven several times. He however lacked resolution, and was a victim of opium. His life was a long series of struggles. Like his father he was constantly buffeted by fortune, and when victory came to him he could not enjoy it long. His body lies buried underneath that structure where he had his fatal fall.

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CHAPTER III.

Emperor Akbar.

(1556-1605 A.D.)

Early Struggles.

The news of the melancholy event of Humayun's death reached young Akbar in the *Pergana* of Kalanaur, where he was engaged in his operations against Sikandar Sur. Bairam Khan, with the consent of the nobles and officers, set up the young prince on the throne on Friday, the 14th February, 1556 A.D. For the purpose of the coronation a brick platform was built in a garden at Kalanaur, and the ceremony was performed with due pomp and solemnity. Bairam Khan took the position of the Khan-i-Khanan, and managed the business of the empire with great ability. The empire was not yet securely placed in the hands of the Chagatai Princes. There were still strong Afghan claimants to the throne in the field. Sikandar Sur was holding out in the Siwalik Hills. Adali maintained his position at Chunar, and was being strongly supported by his minister Himu. The third claimant Ibrahim Sur had already been defeated by Himu, and was besieged at the fort of Biyana, in the jagir of his father, for three months. Meanwhile Sikandar Khan, ruler of Bengal rebelled against Adali, and marched towards Jaunpur, Kalpi and Agra.

Himu was recalled by Adali to effectively crush the rebellion. The Bengal troops were defeated at Chap-parghat, fifteen kos from Agra. Adali then went back to Chunar, and despatched Himu against Humayun. Ibrahim Sur was for some time supported by Raja Ramchaud of Bhatti, and then was invited by an Afghan tribe of Raisin, called the Mianas, to be their ruler, with the help of Rani Durgavati of Garha. But Baz Bahadur, the king of Malwa persuaded the Rani to give up his cause and Ibrahim then fled to Orissa where he was treacherously killed by Sulaiman Kirani in 1567-68 A.D. Himu however was the greatest opponent of Akbar. He drove Sikandar Khan Uzbek, the Governor of Agra, and marched upon Delhi. Tardi Beg Khan, who was in charge of the city failing to resist his attack fled towards Sirhind. Akbar was then in his camp at Jalandhar busy in organising defence against Sikandar Sur. As soon as he heard of the disaster in Delhi he entrusted the operation to Khwaja Khizr Khan, and himself marched towards Delhi. At Sirhind he met Tardi Beg Khan, and the defeated nobles. There Tardi Beg Khan was executed by Bairam Khan on the charge of treachery. Abul Fazl suggests that Bairam Khan was jealous of Tardi Beg, and thus managed to remove him at the earliest opportunity. It is difficult to say how far Tardi Beg was to blame for his defeat. The position of Himu was not very strong. He defeated Tardi Beg when the other nobles were in the field fighting in the wings. Himu had not the courage to pursue the defeated Mughals, and possibly Tardi

Beg could have driven him out of Delhi if he had made an attempt to bring together all the forces. But it was likely that other nobles did not fully co-operate with him.

The Second battle of Panipat.

The flight of Tardi Beg Khan placed Delhi and Agra under Himu who now assumed the title of Raja Vikramajit. He issued coins in his own name and made arrangements for the government of the country by appointing his own men as Governors. With the immense spoils which fell into his hands he began to organise a strong army. He put together 1500 war-elephants and sent his artillery in advance to meet Akbar who had already encamped at Panipat. But a detachment of the Imperial army obtained possession of the artillery. He had still with him a big army of 40,000 cavalry and 1500 elephants. Akbar had on his side 26,000 horsemen. Himu had distributed immense money among the Afghan nobles, but all of them were not loyal to him. Some of them hated him as a Hindu, and were anxious for a change. Bairam Khan had exhorted all his men to fight bravely against the "infidel". He said to them "If you do your best in this business with one heart and soul Hindustan is yours. I place my trust in God. If we fail in this you, whose homes are at a distance of 500 Kos, will not be able to find an asylum." The men took a vow that they would do their duties till they had breath in their bodies. On Friday the 5th November, 1556 A. D. Himu marched in battle array from his camp about two Kos west of Panipat. He

seated himself on an elephant, and supervised the operations. The Mughal troops were also thoroughly prepared and regularly marshalled. Akbar's tent was guarded by 3000 horse. They could not withstand the first charge of Himu, the right and left wings were thrown into confusion. But when the centre under Khan Zaman was being pressed an arrow struck Himu through his eye and he directed the driver to take the elephant out of the field of battle when Shah Kuli Khan came up to him, and took the elephant to Akbar's camp. The troops of Himu then fled in all directions and were mercilessly slaughtered by the Mughal pursuers. In the Imperial camp the unconscious body of Himu was cut into two, according to Ahmad Yadgar by Akbar himself, but others say that Akbar refused to strike a man who was no better than dead, and the sword was struck first by Bairam Khan, then by Shaikh Gadai and others. The head was sent to Kabul, and the body to Delhi. The second battle of Panipat thus restored the throne of Delhi again to the dynasty of Babar. From the field of Panipat, Akbar marched directly to Delhi. His name was once again read in the Khutbah, and the citizens of Delhi received him with due honour. The first act of the Emperor was to bring the parents and children of Himu, who were then in Mewat, to Delhi with all their treasures. Himu's father was beheaded for refusing to accept Islam. In 1557 A. D. Adali on whose behalf Himu was carrying on his campaign was slain by Khizr Khan, the son of Muhammad Khan of Bengal. His inglorious reign lasted only three

years. The only other rival Sikandar Sur who had taken up his position in the fortress of Mankot in the Siwalik hills was hard pressed by the Mughal general Muhammad Husain Khan. After a protracted siege of six months when provisions were exhausted, and his nobles began to desert him one by one Sikandar surrendered on condition that he might be allowed to retire to Bengal, May 1557. He was granted at the first instance Jauipur as a jagir, till Bengal was conquered from the Afghans. Ultimately he went to Bengal, and there he died in two years. Akbar was then relieved of all troubles from the Surs and he could now give his thoughts to the consolidation of the dominions.

Bairam Khan.

Akbar was a young boy of thirteen when his father died. His Atalik Bairam Khan undertook the responsibility of managing the empire on behalf of the prince, as his Vakil and Khan-i-Khanan. He was a faithful attendant of Humayun. When most of his nobles deserted the unlucky emperor Bairam stood by him and rendered him the most valuable services in his troublesome journey through Sindh, Mekran and Persia. He was made a Khan by the Shah of Persia, and it was mainly through his help that Humayun recovered Kabul and Hindustan. Akbar had great respect for him and used to call him Khan Baba. Bairam Khan was a learned man, and a sagacious administrator. From 1556 to 1560 . hA. De carried on the government very

efficiently and in the best interests of the Emperor. He made satisfactory arrangements for the education of Akbar. The country up to Jaunpur was thoroughly subjugated, the fortress of Gwalior occupied, and attempts were made to gain possession of the forts of Rantambhor and Chunar. An expedition was also sent against Baz Bahadur of Malwa. But before the Khan-i-Khanan could accomplish his object a movement was set on foot to remove him from power. His high position created jealousy in the court. He had married Salimah Begum, a daughter of Mirza Nur-ud-Din Muhammad, a son of Humayun's sister Gulrukh Begum. She was an accomplished lady and a poetess. The marriage took place on the arrival of Akbar's mother and other relatives at Jalandhar from Kabul. Bairam appointed to high office men who were not liked by other Amirs. The appointment of Shaikh Gadai to the post of Sadr or Lord Chief Justice with powers to supervise the grants made to the Imams was strongly resented. Bairam Khan was under great obligation to his father Shaikh Jamal Kambu for help during the exile of Humayun in Guzerat. The agitation of the other Shaikhs against Shaikh Gadai who was a Shia produced great bitterness in the country. Bairam Khan appointed Pir Muhammad Shirwani his general manager and deputy. He was originally a Mulla, and in his new position he became so very insolent that one day when Bairam Khan went to see him he was refused admittance to his house by his servants. For this insult he was removed from office, and thereby Bairam increased the number of his

enemies. But the chief trouble came from Delhi where Maham Anka, the nurse and foster-mother of Akbar, in conjunction with the Governor Shahab-ud-din Ahmad and her son Adham Khan entered into a conspiracy for the overthrow of the minister. Akbar also was growing up and did not like the tutelage of the minister. He felt that although he was the Emperor Bairam exercised absolute power, and that he had no voice in some of the transactions relating to expenses of the Exchequer, and he was not allowed any privy purse, his servants were granted poor fiefs, while the servants of the Khan-i-Khanan were living in comfort. He therefore readily accepted the advice of Maham Anka and her confederates.

One day while Akbar went out on a hunting expedition on the other side of the Jumna, and reached as far as Sikandrahrao, midway between Delhi and Agra he was informed by Maham Anka that his mother was lying ill at Delhi, and desired to see him. He marched thither post haste. There the foster-mother prejudiced him against Bairam Khan, and persuaded him to get rid of the minister's control. Every effort was made to set the nobles against Bairam. Maham Anka pleaded that the Khan-i-Khanan would not excuse her for bringing the Emperor to Delhi without his permission. Bairam Khan's assurance to be kind to all the faithful servants of Akbar was not accepted. The news of the differences between the Emperor and his minister reduced the party of the latter, and the nobles one by one deserted him. Bairam consulted his friends. He was advised that he

should obtain the person of the Emperor and confound the conspirators. This did not appeal to him. He, instead, decided to go on a pilgrimage to Mecca. Akbar was made to believe by his advisers that the Khan-i-Khanan intended to attack the Punjab, and he sent a message that he would take the reins of Government in his own hands, permitted Bairam to go on the pilgrimage and granted him some *perganas* in Hindustan as his jagir, from which the revenues would be sent to him by his agents. On receipt of this message Bairam Khan sent his paraphernalia including kettledrums and standards back to the Emperor from Nagor, which the latter received at Jhujhar on his way to the Punjab. Pir Muhammad Khan who had been dismissed by Bairam Khan returned to the Royal Camp from Guzerat and was despatched by the Emperor to the Khan-i-Khanan to expedite his journey to Mecca. In the mean time Munim Khan who had been recalled from Kabul was installed in the office of *Vakil*. Bairam Khan disgusted with the tactics adopted by the Emperor in sending Pir Muhammad after him became rebellious and turned from Bikanir towards the Punjab. He left his family in charge of Sher Muhammad Diwanah in Sirhind. He was opposed by a number of nobles near Jalandhar and defeated them. He then fled to Talwarah a strong place in the hills of Kushmal on the Beas. There he was overtaken by the Imperial forces. In an engagement Sultan Husain Jalair, a brave and handsome young man, was slain. Then Bairam Khan regretted his action, and sent a message through Jamal Khan to Akbar

asking forgiveness. He was taken to the Royal presence with due respect. He was granted free pardon and a splendid robe of honour. After two days he was given the permission to go on a pilgrimage to Mecca. He went in the direction of Guzerat by way of Nagor. When he was spending a few days at Pattan he was assassinated by an Afghan named Mubarak Khan Lohani, to avenge the death of his father. (1560 A.D.) His son a child of four years was rescued by his attendants, and then sent to Akbar, who made good arrangements for his education. In time this boy occupied the position held by his father. Bairam was a great statesman and an able general. The strong foundation of the Mughal Empire was laid by him. His fall was due to his irascible temper and the rigid method of administration. "His temper was harsh and severe" says Elphinstone, "his manners haughty and overbearing. He was jealous of his authority to the last degree, exacted unbounded obedience and respect, and would not suffer the smallest pretension to power or influence derived from any source but his favour." But he had a sympathetic heart, says Badaoni, and was devoted to the words of the great Shaikhs or religious persons. Ever since he had joined Humayun at the age of sixteen he had applied himself whole-heartedly to promote the interests of his master and his family. After removing him from office Akbar had to bear the heavy burden of the administration of the empire. But he could not get rid of the influence of Maham Anka for some years more.

Beginning of the direct rule

Akbar was a youngman of eighteen when he assumed the control of the empire. He was confronted by a number of grave problems. The throne of Delhi was not a bed of roses. There were a number of Afghan chiefs still holding their authority in distant provinces, the Rajputs were unsubdued and the Emperor had to count upon the adventurers in his court, upon whose fidelity nobody could rely. Akbar realised the insecurity of his position. He felt that he would have to enlist the sympathy of the population, and to reduce the powers of the other chiefs if he would strengthen the foundation of the empire. In coming to the throne he became the master of the Punjab, Delhi and Agra, and Bairam acquired for him Ajmir and Gwalior in the west, and the eastern provinces upto Allahabad and Jaunpur. The rest of India did not acknowledge his authority. The chiefs and rulers of the different parts could at any time combine and drive him away from India. The people did not cherish good feelings towards the Musalman rulers. They had seen dynasty after dynasty crumbling down, and had no better hopes from the family of Humayun. Akbar was fully conscious of the difficulties in his way. "The problem, to his mind," says Malletson, "was to act, so as to efface from the minds of princes and people these recollections, to conquer that he might unite; to introduce, as he conquered, principles so acceptable to all classes, to the prince as well as to the peasant, that they should combine to regard him as the protecting

father, the unit necessary to ward off from them evil, the assurer to them of the exercise of their immemorial rights and privileges, the asserter of the right of the ablest, independently of his religion, or his caste, or his nationality, to exercise command under himself, the maintainer of equal laws, equal justice for all classes." He gradually developed these principles, and tried to bring all India under his rule by winning over to his service the different races.

In the east Sher Shah II a son of Adali, who still retained Chunar threatened Jaunpur as soon as Akbar had driven Bairam from power. His governor Khan Zaman repelled the attack, but he himself proved insubordinate. Akbar had to march in person to subdue the recalcitrant governor. The same year (1562) he conquered the fortress of Merta in the Jodhpur State.

Conquest of Malwa.

The kingdom of Malwa was then governed by Baz Bahadur who succeeded his father Shuja-at Khan in 1555. Bairam Khan tried to remove this Pathan chief from power, as it was found that he gave himself up to pleasure, and did not take sufficient care of his people. As soon as Akbar came to power he sent an expedition under Adham Khan, son of Maham Anka, with Pir Muhammad Sherwani as second in command. Baz Bahadur was defeated near his capital Sarangpur in 1561. The Mughal generals perpetrated indescribable cruelties upon the defeated people. The captive soldiers were mercilessly slaughtered. For fear of dishonour

the women of Baz Bahadur's harem were put to death by his orders. But the most beautiful of his mistresses, Rupmati, fell into the hands of Adham Khan. She committed suicide by taking poison. The romantic love stories of Baz Bahadur and Rupmati form the subject of various poems. Adham Khan and Pir Muhammad kept all the valuable spoils, and beautiful women for themselves. This was an open act of defiance of the authority of the Emperor. Akbar marched post haste to punish the unruly generals (April 27, 1561). He took them by surprise and received their submission. Shortly afterwards Adham Khan was recalled from Malwa, and the government of the province was entrusted to Pir Muhammad Khan, a former tutor of Akbar. Pir Muhammad was a scholar but lacked the qualifications of a good administrator. He invaded Burhanpur and Bijagarh, and perpetrated great cruelties upon the inhabitants of these places. Baz Bahadur once attempted to regain his lost position. But he was pursued by Pir Muhammad beyond the Nerbada. Pir Muhammad, however was drowned in the stream, and Baz Bahadur returned to his country. Then Abdulla Khan Uzbek was sent against him. Baz Bahadur could not stand against the Mughals, and fled from Malwa. He spent some years as an exile in various Courts, but subsequently entered into the service of Akbar as a Mansabdar of 1000. The new governor Abdulla Khan Uzbek also rebelled in July, 1565. On the approach of Akbar he fled to Guzerat, and later on joined his tribesmen in Jaunpur.

End of the Petticoat Government.

Although Akbar was now his own master his nurse Maham Anka had great influence with him. It was on this account that her son Adham Khan was placed in high position. He was an unruly young man with wild spirits. He was overbearing and insolent. Since his recall from Malwa Akbar did not trust him with any responsible position. After the fall of Bairam Khan, Munim Khan was appointed Vizier. He was in league with Maham Anka, and would not help Akbar in having his own way. On the arrival of Shamsuddin Muhammad Khan Atga from Kabul, Munim Khan was gradually superseded, and finally Shamsuddin became the Prime Minister. This created great discontent among the followers of the nurse. Adham Khan in his anxiety to remove this powerful rival came into the Palace Hall where the minister was sitting with other officials, and had him stabbed openly by two of the assassins who accompanied him. (May 16, 1562) The news of the crime was brought to Akbar who was then sleeping in an inner apartment. He rushed out and threw the miscreant down the terrace, and finding that the first throw was not fatal he was thrown again. The death was instantaneous as his neck was broken and the brains burst out. Munim Khan and others suspected of complicity in the treason fled from the court, Maham Anka who was then lying ill received the sad news of the death of her son with the reply "Your Majesty did will." She died broken-hearted in forty days. Munim Khan was pardoned and restored to his old position as minister.

The conduct of Adham Khan was an eye-opener to the young king. He could not rely upon anybody. Since the fall of Bairam Khan the affairs of the state had deteriorated, finances had been mismanaged, and the revenue misappropriated by the officials. Akbar now took steps to stop the corrupt practices and to introduce a better method of administration. He gradually felt his way, devised regulations for the prevention of corrupt practices, and tried to conciliate the people.

The future development of Akbar's policy is indicated by certain incidents in this period. He was by nature religious, and in January, 1562, when he was on a visit to the tomb of Khwaja Muin-ud-Din at Ajmir Raja Bihari Mall of Ambar offered his eldest daughter in marriage to him. This was the first alliance between the Rajputs and the Mughals. Man Singh, son of Bhagwan Das who succeeded Bihari Mall to the throne of Ambar, was given high office. This marriage brought the support of an important section of Rajputs to Akbar. The Ambar princess became the mother of Jahangir, and was subsequently known as Mariam-Zamani. Shortly after this marriage he abolished the tax on pilgrims in 1563. While he was engaged in a hunting expedition near Muttra it was represented to him that taxes were collected from pilgrims. He considered this unfair and issued orders for the remission of such taxes which used to bring millions of rupees to the treasury. The next year he took the bold step of abolishing the *Jiziyah*, a tax imposed upon the non-believers by the Muslim rulers.

In a country of Hindus a duty like this could not but be opprobious. This was an important source of revenue to the state. But Akbar considered the goodwill of the people of India as an asset of greater value than a few crores of rupees. By these measures he became known as a just and benevolent ruler and the Hindus felt that they would no longer be treated as aliens in their own land. The appointment of Man Singh to high office was a precursor of many such appointments. The best act of Akbar's to release himself from undesirable influence was the punishment of Khwaja Muazzam for murdering his wife. He was a half brother of Akbar's mother, and had committed several heinous offences. So long he had escaped punishment on account of his connection with the Royal family. He had married the daughter of a lady holding high office in the Royal harem. This lady sought the help of Akbar to save her daughter from the murderous intention of Muazzam. Akbar reached the place too late when the murder had already been perpetrated. Khwaja Muazzam was captured and sent as a prisoner to Gwalior where he died insane. Akbar appeared henceforth as a just and stern ruler who would not be influenced by his mother or relatives in his state duties.

Rani Durgavati of Gondwana.

Akbar, like all rulers, felt that safety lay in following a policy of aggression. A king must absorb all the neighbouring states within his dominions or he may be subsequently overthrown by them. After making

himself strong in his own dominions he cast his longing looks upon the surrounding countries. He obtained the submission of the Rajah of Panna in Bundelkhand, and then formed plans of invading Gondwana which was then governed by Rani Durgavati a lady greatly efficient in state-craft and art of warfare. He came from the Chandel dynasty of Mahoba, and maintained her dignity in the Gond country with great courage. Akbar sent an expedition under Khwaja Abdul Majid Asaf Khan, Governor of Karra in 1564. The Rani boldly resisted the attack of the Mughals. But she died fighting in a battle between Garha and Mandla in Jubbulpur District. Her son Raja Bir Narayan continued the war for two months more. The fortress of Chauragarh was captured, and the Raja followed in the footsteps of his brave mother. Asaf Khan obtained immense booty which he did not send to the Emperor.

Rebellions of his governors.

For about two years Akbar was troubled with the rebellion of his Uzbek officers. Abdulla Khan Uzbek, the Governor of Malwa was the first to challenge the authority of the Emperor. Akbar proceeded through Narwar to Mandu, in July 1564. Unable to stand against the Imperial troops Abdullah fled into Guzerat, and later on went to Jaunpur, where another Uzbek chief Khan Zaman was posted as Governor. There was a feeling among the Uzbek chiefs that the Emperor was not favourably disposed towards them. They had helped Akbar and his father Humayun in their conquest of Hindustan and did not

like that they should be made to feel the authority of the new sovereign. The fate of Abdulla Khan created a consternation among them. Akbar also showed his favours to the Persian officers. The next Uzbek chief to rise was Khan Zaman of Jaunpur. He was supported by other Uzbeks, and in the beginning the Imperial troops were driven out of Oudh. Akbar was obliged to march against them in May 1565. The rebels were pushed eastwards, and the Emperor took up his position at Jaunpur.

Asaf Khan, whose conduct in Gondwana was so long overlooked, and who had hitherto been with the Imperialists, went over to the rebels. The Uzbeks were not easily suppressed. They eluded the grasp of the Imperialists, and remained on the other side of the Ganges for sometime. Akbar returned to Agra in March 1566, without dealing any decisive blow. Khan Zaman agreed that he would not cross the Ganges, but in May 1567 he broke the agreement. Akbar this time issued from Agra with a grim determination to quell the risings. He did not care the inconveniences of the march in the rainy season, crossed the river on the back of an elephant, and took the rebels by surprise with about 20000 troops. Khan Zaman was killed in a battle near Allahabad, and his associates were severely punished. After reducing the country round about Allahabad and Benares the Emperor returned to Agra in July 1567, the eastern provinces were placed in charge of Munim Khan,

Besides the Uzbek risings there were other troubles

confronting the young monarch. There were the Gakkars in the Punjab, who refused to submit to the governor sent by Akbar. An army was sent against them, and their chief was taken a prisoner. Abul Ma-ali and Sharf-ud-Din, two important nobles had revolted at Nagor in 1561. They advanced as far as Narnaul, and were finally driven beyond the Indus. Abul Ma-ali went to Kabul. There he offered his services to Mirza Hakim who owed nominal allegiance to Akbar. Hakim was a minor, and the actual work of administration was carried on by his mother Mah Chuchak Begum. Abul Ma-ali tried to take up the government in his own hands by procuring the assassination of the Begum, April 1564. But he was defeated by Mirza Sulaiman of Badakhshan and killed by him. Hakim finding the surveillance of Sulaiman too irksome fled into the Punjab. Akbar was then busy in suppressing the Uzbegs. So he occupied Lahore and the greater portion of the Punjab. Akbar lost no time in expelling him from India (November 1566). On account of change of circumstances at Kabul Mirza Hakim had no difficulty in regaining his lost position there. After spending some time at Lahore Akbar came back to deal with the rebellion of the Mirzas at Sambal near Moradabad. They were easily defeated and driven into Malwa. The first eleven years of his reign were thus spent in quelling the disturbances. He was not accepted as the undisputed monarch of Hindustan from the start. He had to be on the constant watch regarding the attitude of his own officers, and relatives. By his prompt action he became the master

of northern India, and removed the vanquished enemies from his way or employed them in his service.

Mewar and the Rajputs.

Although Raja Bihari Mall of Ambar sought the favours of Akbar by offering his daughter to him, and the Emperor had acquired Merta in the state of Jodhpur, the Rana of Mewar, the most important of the Rajput chiefs, kept his head aloft. He had given hospitality to Baz Bahadur of Malwa, and his son Sakat Singh, who was present with Akbar in his camp at Dholpur left him without leave. Rana Udai Singh, son of Rana Sangram Singh, was ruling Mewar when Akbar was devising plans of consolidating his powers. The Emperor considered him a formidable barrier in the way of his ascendancy. So he proceeded against him in October 1567. Udai Singh was a coward. On the approach of the Mughal troops he left the fortress of Chitor which had the reputation of being impregnable, and retreated into the forests very far off from the capital. The garrison however bravely held out under the leadership of Jai Mall, a chief of great courage. The Rajputs defended their country with extraordinary ability. Chitor stood on the top of a small hill, three miles and a quarter long, and it was very difficult to reach. Akbar invested the place with a chain of military posts extending over ten miles. The garrison repelled the attack of the besiegers and the fortress could not be easily stormed. Mines were laid at two places but they caused damage

to both the parties, as the besiegers rushed in before the explosion of the second. The Rajputs managed to build up the breach. While Jai Mall was supervising the operations he was shot dead by Akbar (Feb, 23, 1568). On his death the Rajputs could not offer any further resistance. They were joined by 40,000 peasants who gallantly defended the fortress for some time. About 30,000 of them were killed, and the Rajput ladies performed the noble sacrifice of burning themselves in a big fire called *Jauhar*. Another leader whose name appears in history is Patta, a young man of sixteen. He was goaded by his valiant mother to take up arms, and died nobly in defending the honour of his country. It is estimated that eight thousand Rajputs gave their lives in this war. The heroism of Jai Mall and Patta was greatly appreciated by Akbar who erected two statues in their honour in Delhi.

The fall of Chitor was considered a great disgrace to the Rajputs. Udai Singh who was still enjoying his freedom did not return to the accursed place. He died at Gogunda, four years after the fall in 1572. He was succeeded by Pratap Singh who made strenuous efforts to recover the lost ground.

Rana Pratap was indomitable in his ambition to win back Chitor. But fortune was against him. The Rajput States of Marwar, Ambar, Bikanir and Bundi had gone over to Akbar. Even his own brother Sagarji sought the protection of the Mughal Emperor. For twenty-five years he entertained the hopes of restoring the dignity of the Sisodia family. He streng-

thened the hill capital of Kumbhalmir and the fortress of Gogunda. He organised his forces within his mountain retreat. His kingdom was narrowed to the hilly country from Kumbhalmir to Ricumnath north to south and from Mirpur to Satolla west to east, eighty miles in length both ways. With such a champion of Rajput cause still remaining unsubdued Akbar was feeling ill at ease. It is related that one day when Raja Man Singh went to see Pratap, the proud Rana refused to see him, or to dine with him, as he had disgraced himself by the Mughal alliance. This was too great an insult to the Emperor and he sent a big army under Raja Man Singh. The Mughal troops were concentrated at Mandalgarh between Bundi and Chitor, and marched towards Gogunda. Rana Pratap opposed them with only three thousand horse men at the Pass of Haldighat. But the Rajputs in spite of their great valour and sacrifice could not hold the Pass against the large army of the Mughals who employed the artillery with great effect. The Rana fled to the hills wounded, but the Mughals failed to pursue the fugitives. (June 1576). Kumbhalmir and Gogunda fell into their hands. Pratap retired into a place called Chaond. It was a great disappointment to Akbar that Pratap Singh could not be captured. When the Emperor relaxed his watch over him on account of difficulties in other parts of the Empire he issued out of his lonely retreat and managed to regain his lost territories excepting Chitor, Ajmir and Mandalgarh. He died exhausted in 1597, and his

work of reconstructing Mewar was continued by his son Amar Singh. Rana Pratap's memory is a source of inspiration to the Rajputs. His house never formed any matrimonial alliance with the Mughals, and his heroic stand against the powerful monarch of Delhi, and his patriotic endeavours to recover Mewar from the clutches of the alien rulers have been glorified in legends and bardic songs.

Besides Chitor Akbar occupied the two strong hill-forts of Rantambhor and Kalinjar. Rantambhor was a fortress in the state of Bundi belonging to the Hara section of the Chauhans. Akbar wanted to deprive the Sisodias of all help from the Rajput states and therefore besieged the fortress in February 1569. The Raja had agreed to hold it as a fief of Chitor. After a siege of a month the surrender of the castle was brought about through the intervention of Raja Man Singh. Akbar recognised the independence of Bundi, and conceded to the Raja all the rights as a free ruler. But Rantambhor, now in the state of Jaipur, passed into the Mughal possession and the commandant Surjan Hara was made governor of Benares. The Emperor's next objective was Kalinjar, a fortress reputed to be impregnable, situated in the district of Banda. When it was closely invested its owner Raja Ramchandra of Rewa found resistance impossible. He handed over the keys of the fortress without protest, and asked protection. He was granted a jagir near Allahabad, and a Mughal governor was appointed at Kalinjar (August 1569). The occupation of the forts of Merta, Chitor, Rantambhor and Kalinjar enhanced

the reputation of Akbar as a military genius and secured his position in the north-western India. It is also told that Raja Maldeo of Jodhpur did not pay Akbar the usual respects, when the latter was near his frontier. For this offence Akbar made over his state to Rai Singh of Bikanir, who however failed to enforce his rights. On the death of Maldeo his son submitted to the Emperor, and was then received into favours. Thus all the Rajput states except the Rana of Udaipur paid allegiance to the Mughal Emperor,

Conquest of Guzerat

Akbar marched from Fathepur Sikri, to which place he had now removed his capital, towards Guzerat in July 1572. He was invited by Itimad Khan, the protector of the nominal King Muzaffar Shah III to stop the anarchy in the province by annexing it to the Mughal empire. The province was very rich and prosperous, and the Delhi monarchs had all along coveted its vast wealth. Humayun conquered it but had to withdraw on account of disturbances in the eastern provinces. Since then it had been ruled by Bahadur Shah and his descendants. The rulers were incompetent and the country was divided into seven principalities, and some of these chiefs were opposed to the rule of Muzaffar Shah III. To one of these chiefs the rebel Mirzas of Sambhal had fled for refuge. They were a source of trouble to their protector, and when driven out from Guzerat they tried to capture Malwa. But they soon returned to Guzerat and added to the confusion of the mis-governed

country. It was a great opportunity for Akbar to extend his empire. He marched through Rajputana along the route of Ajmir, Jalor, Sirohi. At Patan before he reached Ahmedabad Muzaffar Shah made his submission (November 1572) and handed over his kingdom to him. From there Akbar visited Cambay, and saw the sea for the first time. He came into contact with the Portuguese merchants who were carrying on trade in the Western Coast. Although the kingdom passed into his hands the country was not yet thoroughly subjugated. Mirza Aziz Koka his foster-brother, was appointed Governor of the province. The troublesome Mirzas would not however let the peaceful government be established. They either joined the refractory chiefs or caused troubles in other ways. A man of distinction named Rustan Khan was murdered by Ibrahim Hussain Mirza. Akbar hastened from Baroda in pursuit of the Mirza, who then was holding Sarnal on the other side of the Mahi with a large number of troops. He had scarcely two hundred men with him, but he did not like to wait for the arrival of the rest of his troops. The town of Sarnal was attacked at grave personal risk. He was valiantly supported by Raja Bhagwan Das and Man Singh. When the Emperor was forced back by the superior numbers of the enemy he took his stand behind the cactus hedges of the narrow lanes. Not more than three men could march through the passage. This proved of great advantage to Akbar. Raja Bhagwan Das brought one of the pursuers down,

and Akbar disabled two. In the meantime the rest of the royal party reached the place, and the Mirzas fled in all directions. This was a great triumph for Akbar. Raja Bhagwan Das was granted the high distinction of possessing a banner and kettledrums, in recognition of the great services rendered. Troops had already been sent to subjugate Broach and Surat. Immediately after the battle of Sarnal, Broach had fallen, and Akbar went personally to besiege Surat. The siege lasted more than a month and a half. The Portuguese who were likely to strengthen the defence were won over by friendly overtures. The city surrendered on the 26th February 1573. After a stay of a few days more to settle the affairs in the province he began his return march, and reached Fathepur Sikri early in June.

The Mirzas had escaped from Sarnal and went along Ahmedabad and Disa to Sirohi in Rajputana. One of them was killed in Guzerat, some were attacked by Raja Raj Singh near Nagor and then proceeded to Sambhal. There also they were pursued, and made their way towards the Punjab. Their leader Ibrahim Hussain Mirza was overtaken near Multan and died of a wound. Masud Hussain Mirza was taken a prisoner, and the rest of the party were severely punished. The danger was so great from the Mirzas that the siege of Kangra had to be raised. One of the Mirzas however, named Muhammad Hussain, who had fled into the hills near Khandesh, joined another rebel chief, Ikhtiyaru-l Mulk, and shortly afterwards threatened Guzerat. The Governor had not sufficient

troops with him to drive the enemy. On receipt of the news Akbar marched with a small army towards the end of August 1573, and covered the distance of six hundred miles in nine days. It was a wonderful feat of promptitude. The enemy had an army 20,000 strong. They were safe near Ahmedabad, and could not believe that Akbar was so close upon them. The Emperor had not more than 3000 troops all told. He split them up into three divisions. It was expected that the garrison of Ahmedabad would be able to effect a junction with the Imperial troops. But Ikhtiyar-ul-Mulk had already occupied the gates of the city and could not allow the garrison to come out. Akbar was confronted by Muhammad Hussain. An impetuous battle ensued in which Akbar's life was in danger. But another division came up and succeeded in inflicting a crushing defeat. Muhammad Hussain was wounded and taken prisoner. Ikhtiyarul Mulk with about 5000 troops then barred the way. But he was killed in action and his followers scattered in all directions. The captive Muhammad Hussain was also killed. It was estimated that about 2000 men had fallen in the battle. Akbar stayed at Ahmedabad for five days and made arrangements for an orderly government. After an absence of forty-three days he returned to his capital. The conquest of Guzerat marks an important epoch in the career of Akbar. He was now secure in his position on the throne and could turn his attention to certain important administrative reforms. Raja Todar Mall, the eminent financier, brought about a new settlement

of land revenue in the conquered province. This increased the income of the Emperor considerably.

The deposed king Muzaffar Shah III was taken to Agra and was later on granted jagir. He was given sufficient freedom to move about, but he entered into an intrigue with Sher Khan Fuladi, and fled into Kathiwar. In 1583 he captured Ahmedabad, assumed royal title, and forced the Imperial troops to withdraw to Patan. Broach also fall into his hands, and for a few years the province of Guzerat was lost to the Empire. Akbar despatched Abdur Rahim, son of Bairam Khan against the insurgents. Muzaffar was driven out of Guzerat, but he found shelter in Cutch from where it was difficult for the Mughal officers to dislodge him. He was captured in 1593, but committed suicide on the way by cutting his throat with a razor. Abdur Rahim was awarded the title of Khan-i-Khanan for crushing the rebellion. Henceforth Guzerat remained quiet and Aziz Koka was appointed its Governor.

Subjugation of Bengal.

On account of its great distance from the capital the eastern province of Bengal was never thoroughly subjugated. The governors sent from Delhi very often threw off their allegiance and since 1340 it was practically an independent kingdom. In the time of Sher Shah it was ruled by Afghan chiefs, and in 1564 Sulaiman Khan Kirrani of Behar occupied Gaur, and became the founder of a new dynasty. He did not challenge the authority of Akbar, but maintained

friendly relations with him till his death in 1572. His elder son and successor Bayazid was killed shortly afterwards, and his younger son Daud was placed upon the throne. Daud was a weak and dissolute young man, and lacked both ability and intelligence to govern. He provoked the hostility of Akbar by capturing a small fortress on the frontier, at a place called Zamania, now in the district of Ghazipur. Daud had a large army and immense treasure. He was foolish enough to think that he could measure his strength with the Emperor. Akbar at once directed Munim Khan, Governor of Jaunpur to march against him. An engagement took place near Patna, but the old Governor did not like to continue hostilities, and granted favourable terms to Daud through the intervention of the latter's minister Lodi Khan. The terms did not please either Akbar or Daud. The latter cruelly murdered Lodi Khan, and Akbar sent Raja Todar Mall to take the command. Munim Khan made a desperate attempt to retrieve his honour but failed to achieve anything. On his return from Guzerat Akbar marched in person (June 1574), He travelled the long distance on boats, and reached Benares in twenty-six days. During the rains the Ganges was full to its banks, and consequently the voyage was difficult. Akbar pushed on with great determination, and reached near Patna on the 3rd August 1574. He captured Hajipur on the other side of the river, from where Daud used to receive his supplies. On the fall of Hajipur Daud fled towards Bengal. Akbar then entered the city of Patna, and pursued

Daud for about 30 Kos. He captured 265 elephants, and a large quantity of booty, but failed to overtake the fugitive. The supreme command was delegated to Munim Khan who was appointed Governor of Bengal upto the Karamnasa with a number of competent officers to assist him including Raja Todar Mall. After a stay of six days at Daryapur he returned to Jaunpur. He halted there for thirty-three days, and henceforth Jaunpur, Benares and Chunar were placed under the direct administration of the Crown. Munim Khan on the other hand pursued Daud Khan along the Ganges. He occupied in quick succession Monghyr, Bhagalpur, Colgong, and the pass of Taliagarhi in the Rajmahal Hills. In the plains of Bengal no resistance could be offered to the Mughal troops. When the capital Tanda fell into their hands Daud fled towards Orissa through Satgaon, then a prosperous port on the Hooghly. The Imperialists pressed on, and engaged Daud in a battle at Tukaroi (Turka in Balasore District) March 3 1575. Daud's general Gujar Khan was killed, and after vainly resisting for more than a month Daud submitted. Munim Khan agreed to leave him in possession of Orissa, although Todar Mall protested against such liberal terms.

Munim Khan returned to Bengal. But he was not on good terms with Muzaffar Khan, Governor of Hajipur. He removed his capital from Tanda to Gaur where the old Governor along with a large number of officers and men was carried away by a strong typhoon in October. There was nobody now in Bengal to direct its affairs. In

these disturbed circumstances Daud Khan returned from Orissa and in violation of the old treaty seized the country up to the Teliagarhi Pass. The place of Munim Khan was filled by Khan Jahan (Husain Kuli Khan), the Governor of the Punjab who was then preparing an expedition to Badakhshan. He was an able officer. He succeeded in recovering the Teliagarhi Pass and took up his position at Ak Mahal (Raj Mahal). He was supported by Todar Mall and Muzaffar Khan. Daud was drawn to a battle near Rajmahal (July 12, 1576) in which he was defeated and brought as a prisoner. His head was cut off from his body and sent to Akbar, who was then on his way to Bengal. His uncle Junaid and general Kalapahar died fighting. After the death of Daud Bengal lost its independence.

For some years more Bengal did not return to the settled condition. Akbar had meanwhile introduced new regulations regarding the branding of horses, and had ordered a thorough enquiry into the title of the jagirdars to the lands they enjoyed. This created great discontent among the officers. They also resented the action of the minister Khwaja Shah Mansur who had cut down the allowances of the officers of Bengal and Behar by 50 and 20 per cent. although Akbar issued orders for increment by 100 and 50 per cent. Besides the Musalman officials did not sympathise with the policy of universal toleration now enunciated by the Emperor. The Mughal officers were very reluctant to submit to the new state of things. There was a movement to overthrow Akbar and to place his brother Mirza Muhammad Hakim on

the throne. A rebellion broke out in January 1580, and on receiving the news Akbar sent Raja Todar Mall to Bengal in February. Masum Khan, a jagidar of Patna was carrying on correspondence with Hakim Mirza. The Governor Muzaffar Khan was killed at Tanda. Raja Todar Mall was besieged in Monghyr for four months. But the rebels couldnot long retain their position. When they weakened their attack the royal troops recovered Teliagarhi. Shortly afterwards Mirza Aziz Koka, a foster-brother of Akbar, came as Governor, assisted by Shahbaz Khan who had been recalled from Rajputana. Further to conciliate the officers Shah Mansur had been removed from his office of Diwan. The rebels received a great rebuff near Ajodhya in January 1581. The Mullahs who had instigated the rebellion were severely punished. By 1584 the rebellion was completely suppressed, and Bengal subjugated.

The Afghans rose in rebellion during the disturbed condition in Bengal. They occupied Orissa and Bengal upto to the river Damodar. The leader of these people was a daring chief named Kuttu. Raja Man Singh was recalled from Kabul to suppress this new danger. But he had to work against terrible odds. Fortunately Kuttu died in 1590, and Man Singh negotiated a treaty with Isa Khan, the guardian of Kuttu's sons by which they were allowed to retain Orissa as a dependency of the Mughal empire. Isa died two years later and his successor became very unpopular by forcibly getting hold of the revenues of the temple of Jagannath at Puri. Man Singh led an expedition into Orissa.

and made the Afghans acknowledge the authority of Akbar (1592). Since then Orissa had been added to Bengal.

Reduction of Kabul.

When Akbar was straining his resources to strengthen his position in the eastern frontier he discovered a great conspiracy to overthrow him. The orthodox Muslim party disgusted with his liberal measures were trying to replace him by his half-brother Mirza Muhammad Hakim of Kabul. He owed nominal allegiance to the Emperor of Delhi. The disaffected officials led by Shah Mansur the able Finance Minister, invited him to invade. The rebels in Behar and Bengal were his great supporters, but on account of great distance from Kabul they could not render him effective help. Akbar considered the danger from Kabul more serious than the rebellion in the distant provinces. Shah Mansur was suspended from his office for a month and then reinstated. But the ungrateful minister did not discontinue his treacherous tactics. He was an able financier, and Akbar did not want to be too harsh upon him, and so he was placed under custody. Towards the end of 1580 Hakim Mirza sent his troops to the Punjab, and later on he came personally with 15000 horsemen. But he found the country strongly defended by Man Singh who indignantly rejected his overtures. Hakim was misled by his advisers to come into the country, but returned disappointed. Akbar resolved to strike hard and assembled a vast army with 50,000 horse and 500 elephants. He started from the capital on the 8th

February, 1581, and marched through Sonpat, Panipat, Thanesar to Shahabad. There some correspondence between Hakim and Shah Mansur was discovered and the guilty minister executed. The engineer Kasim Khan was also involved in the plot, but did not receive the extreme penalty. After the execution of Shah Mansur the conspiracy was thoroughly smashed, Hakim Mirza retreated in precipitate haste towards Kabul. But Akbar hotly pursued him. He marched close to the foot of the hills through Kalanaur where he was crowned. On the banks of the Indus he had to wait for fifty days. The river was in floods, and the Imperial officers were reluctant to cross it. He built a fort at Attock, and resolutely carried out his plan. Prince Murad was first sent across with a large army, and he himself crossed the river on July 12, leaving the main camp behind in charge of Kasim Khan. By the time Murad entered Kabul (August 3) Hakim had fled into the hills. Akbar reached the place on the 9th August 1581, and stayed there for a week. His half-sister who had married Khwaja Hasan of Badakhshan came to see him. The province of Kabul was bestowed upon her, who however allowed her brother Hakim to resume his charge. In ten months Akbar succeeded in crushing all the adverse forces and returned to the capital triumphant. The government of the Indus province was entrusted to Man Singh who had proved his ability in so many fields. The success of the Kabul expedition made him feel so very happy that he launched his big projects of religious reformation unhampered. All opposition had been overborne, and the

authority of the Emperor were acknowledged all over northern India from Kabul to Bengal.

Mirza Muhammad Hakim enjoyed the government of Kabul till his death in July 1585. After his death Akbar assumed direct administration of the country. Man Singh was sent in advance to maintain order and Akbar himself proceeded in the autumn. The affairs of Kabul and the north-western frontier kept the Emperor away from his capital for thirteen years. In the course of these years he subjugated the Uzbegs and conquered Kashmir. Lahore was made the seat of the Imperial Government in this period.

The North-Western Expedition.

On the death of Hakim Mirza Kabul easily passed into the Imperial sway but the frontier Province of Badakhshan fell into the hands of the Uzbegs. It was feared that they might prove dangerous to the Mughal Empire. So Akbar went to the frontier in person. He reached Rawalpindi in November 1585 and from there he moved to the fort of Attock. The Uzbegs however did not venture to come on this side of Badakhshan, and Akbar did not attempt to recover it. So there was peace on that side. But Akbar now made up his mind to subjugate the frontier territories. The Kingdom of Kashmir, the Yusufzais and the Baluchis engaged his serious attention. Three big campaigns were organised under competent generals.

The conquest of Kashmir was not difficult. The expedition was led by Kasim Khan, Raja Bhagawan Das

and others. The beautiful valley in the heart of the Himalayas could be approached by difficult passes, and at times the roads were blocked by snow. The reigning Sultan Yusuf Khan was not very safe in his position on account of family disputes, and was willing to enter into a friendly treaty. But the Emperor was determined to annex the country. He ordered the generals to press their attack. Yusuf Khan took up his position in the Buliyas pass on the Baramula route. The Mughal army was so inconvenienced by rains and snow that the generals agreed to a treaty by which the sovereignty of Akbar was acknowledged. The Emperor was not pleased with this arrangement. Sultan Yusuf Khan and his son Yakub Khan surrendered but in violation of the treaty the Sultan was made a prisoner. Yakub Khan fled and prepared for a resistance. Kasim Khan marched through Bhimbhar and crossing the Pir Panjal range reached Srinagar almost unopposed. Yakub Khan was not supported by his own people, and therefore compelled to surrender (1587). Henceforth Kashmir became a Mughal province and the summer residence of the Emperor. Yusuf Khan and his son were exiled to Bihar.

The Yusufzais were a more formidable foe. They inhabited the mountainous region round the plains of Peshawar. They were a free and prosperous people possessing a thoroughly democratic government. Their situation was inaccessible. The troubles in their country arose on account of the teachings of a man named Bayazid who founded a new sect known as the Roshaniyyas or the enlightened. He discarded the

infallibility of the Koran, and held that nothing existed but God. His influence was very great among the tribesmen of the Sulaiman Hills and Khyber Pass. Government tried hard to suppress him. He was heavily defeated in 1585, and died shortly afterwards. His son Jalal kept up hostilities with great vigour. Man Singh failed to crush him, and in 1600 Jalal captured Ghazni. Although he was killed shortly the war continued even in the time of Jahangir and Shah Jahan. The danger was considered so very great by Akbar in 1585 that he despatched two eminent generals, his foster-brother Zain Khan, and his favourite Raja Birbal. Zain Khan marched westwards through Bajaur, and Birbal through the Samah Plateau and the Swat Valley. Hakim Abul Fath approached through the Karakar Pass, and the three generals met at Chakdara, north of the Swat river. They did not agree with regard to the further plan of action, Zain Khan wanted to hold Chakdara, while the two others expressed their desire to withdraw to Attock. Against the advice of Zain Khan, who had a fuller knowledge of the situation, they marched through the Karakar and Malandarai passes. The tribesmen so harassed them on the way that the retreat became difficult. About half the troops perished, and Raja Birbal was among the slain. The death of his witty courtier caused Akbar great grief. Raja Todar Mall repaired the prestige of the Emperor by a successful campaign against the tribes. Man Singh also won a great victory in the Khyber Pass. Todar Mall built a number of forts,

from which constant raids were sent against the tribes. The Yusufzais were not still thoroughly subdued. Jalal, although no longer leader of the tribesmen, was carrying on his battles. To satisfy the Moslem sentiment Man Singh was replaced by Zain Khan in the Government of Kabul, and he was appointed as Governor of Bihar and became Governor of Bengal after the death of his father Raja Bhagwan Das in 1589, and shortly afterwards added Orissa to his charge by annexation. The frontier was for the time being reduced, and Akbar visited Kashmir and Kabul in 1589. At the latter place he stayed two months, and there he received the sad news of the death of his trusted financier and general Raja Todar Mall at Lahore in November. At the same time died the Rajput prince Raja Bhagwan Das of Jaipur. The deaths of these able officers and Hindu nobles greatly reduced the influence of the Indians in the Court.

Conquest of Sind.

The third campaign directed against Sind was more successful. The safety of the Mughal Empire depended upon the acquisition of all the provinces from the Bay of Bengal to the Arabian Sea. On the south-west Akbar's dominions extended upto Multan which was on the border of Sind. Thatta or southern Sind was still independent and the conquest of this part and Baluchistan was thought necessary to recover Kandahar. Abdur Rahim, the son of Bairam Khan, who had distinguished himself in the subjugation of Guzerat, and received the title

of Khan-i-Khanan was appointed Governor of Multan with instructions to annex Sind (1590). The independent ruler of the province, Mirza Jani the Tarkhan, did not easily submit. The attack upon the fortress of Sihwan in 1591 was gallantly contested, and the Mughals could not make any progress in that direction. Akbar sent another army through Amarkot, and when attacked from both sides Mirza Jani Beg surrendered Thatta and Sihwan. He was made a noble of the realm with the command of 3,000. He was allowed to hold his old dominions as a vassal of the Emperor. He accompanied Akbar in his Deccan expedition and died in 1601.

Baluchistan was invaded by Mir Masum in February 1595. His advance was opposed by the Parni Afghans at the fort of Sibi south-west of Quetta. But they were overpowered by the Mughals with the result that all Baluchistan upto the frontiers of Kandahar in the north and Mekran in the south came under the rule of Akbar. In April of the same year Muzaffar Husain Mirza, the Persian Governor of Kandahar, was threatened by his own people as well as by the Uzbeks. He sought the help of Akbar, who sent Shah Beg to occupy the country. Thus Kandahar was annexed without a blow. Akbar now became master of the vast dominions from Bengal to the border of Persia and the whole of Hindustan to the north of Nerbada except the Rajput principality of Udaipur.

The Deccan Expedition.

When Akbar was consolidating his Empire in

Hindustan the independent rulers of the Deccan were quarrelling among themselves. On the break-up of the Bahmani kingdom there were established five Sultanates. Yusuf Adil Shah established the kingdom of Bijapur (1490) Ahmed Nizam Shah founded the kingdom of Ahmadnagar the same year, Qutb Kuli Shah became the founder of Golkonda and Imad-ul Mulk of Berar, while Amir Barid assumed the position of an independent monarch in Bidar. Further south was the Hindu kingdom of Vijaynagar. It was ruined by a combination of the Moslem Powers at the battle of Talikota in 1565. Close to Hindustan was the kingdom of Khandesh in the lower part of the valley of the Tapti. Burhanpur was its capital, and the king captured the strong hill-fort of Asirgarh from a Hindu chief. It was a rich and prosperous country on the road to the Deccan. Akbar took advantage of the weakness of the southern kingdoms. Ahmadnagar was rent in dissensions when Burhan Shah disputed the claims of his brother to the throne (1586 A.D.). Akbar sent him some help from Malwa, but Murtiza Nizam Shah was too strong for his brothers. But on his death in 1592 Burhan became the king. He died in 1595, and there were four claimants to the throne, and one of them asked for the aid of Akbar who had already sent his missions to the kings of Khandesh, Ahmadnagar, Bijapur and Golkonda to acknowledge him as their overlord (1591 A.D.). The king of Khandesh Raja Ali Khan readily agreed to recognise Akbar as his suzerain but the other kings were reluctant to part with their supreme authority. So

when a claimant to the throne of Ahmadnagar requested his intervention Prince Murad and Khan-i-Khanan Abdur Rahim were sent with large armies. Murad marched from Guzerat, and Abdur Rahim from Malwa, and they formed junction at Chand thirty *Kos* from Ahmadnagar. Before they reached Ahmadnagar it had fallen into the hands of Chand Bibi, a remarkable lady with great talents for leadership. She became the regent of Bahadur Nizam Shah, the infant grand-son of Burhan Nizam Shah. She succeeded in obtaining the help of Bijapur, and in settling the internal dissensions for the time being. The Mughal troops invested the city of Ahmadnagar, but Chand Bibi showed great heroism in its defence. Mines laid down by the Mughals were rendered ineffective, and the breaches easily repaired under the direct supervision of the Regent, who appeared in full armour with open sword in her hand. After a protracted siege both parties agreed to a treaty by which the suzerainty of Akbar was recognised, and Berar was ceded to him (1596 A.D.)

Fresh troubles arose in Ahmadnagar on account of intrigues in the Court. The authority of Chand Bibi was overthrown, and the treaty with regard to the surrender of Berar was challenged, and a war with the Mughals ensued. The imperial position was weakened by the differences between Murad and Abdur Rahim, on the other hand Ahmadnagar was joined by Bijapur and Golkonda. A battle took place near Supa on the Godavari, but the result was indecisive. Raja Ali

Khan of Khandesh who fought on the Mughal side was killed in action (1597). The affairs in the Deccan drew the attention of Akbar. He recalled both Murad and Abdur Rahim. Mirza Shahrukh was given the command of the army, and Abul Fazl was instructed to send the Prince to Court. It was represented to the Emperor that his presence was necessary in the Deccan. The affairs in the north west frontiers had improved and the death of the Uzbek King Abdulla Khan had freed Akbar from fears of an Uzbek invasion. He left Lahore towards the end of 1598, and removed his capital to Agra. Placing Prince Salim in charge of the capital and Ajmir Akbar marched towards the south from Agra in July 1599. In May of the same year Murad had died. The Emperor reached the Nerbada shortly afterwards, and occupied Burhanpur without opposition. Prince Daniyal, and the Khan-i-Khanan were despatched to besiege Ahmadnagar. Chand Bibi had lost her old position. She was opposed by her own people, and was put to death by one of the parties. Within a few days the city was stormed and the young king was sent a prisoner to Gwalior. But the kingdom of Ahmadnagar still held out for a long time till its final conquest by Shah Jahan in 1637.

After the death of Raja Ali Khan of Khandesh his son and successor Miran Bahadur did not like to remain in subjection. When Burhanpur fell into the hands of Akbar, he retired into the hill fortress of Asirgarh which commanded an important position on the road to the Deccan. The fortress stood on a spur of the

range, and was considered one of the wonders of the world. It had many natural advantages and was stocked with ample provisions and munitions of war so that in case of an investment it could hold out long. Akbar on the other hand lacked sufficient resources for an effective siege. Shaikh Farid and Abul Fazl started operations by the end of February, 1600. But the chances of a thorough investment were remote. Akbar reached the place early in April, but his presence did not in any way improve matters. The news of the fall of Ahmadnagar unnerved Bahadur Shah, on the other hand Akbar was anxious to return quickly to Agra on account of the revolt of Salim. Bahadur Shah was persuaded to come to the Mughal camp for discussing the terms of a treaty. When he reached the camp he was treacherously seized and made a prisoner. The officers of the fortress were induced to betray their charge by means of heavy bribes. The capitulation took place on Jan. 17, 1601. Miran Bahadur Shah was sent to the fort of Gwalior, and the other Princes were confined in different fortresses. The provinces in the Deccan which fell into the hands of Akbar were organised as Subahs, and over the Subahs of Ahmadnagar, Berar and Khandesh, with Malwa and Guzerat Prince Daniyal was appointed as Viceroy. The revolt of Salim required the presence of Akbar at Agra. He left the Deccan in April, and reached Agra early in May. Asirgarh closed his long career of conquest.

CHAPTER IV

THE INSTITUTES OF AKBAR

Revolt of Salim,

Prince Salim was left in charge of Agra and Ajmir when Akbar went to the Deccan. He was directed to reduce Rana Amar Singh of Udaipur with the help of Raja Man Singh who was then residing at Ajmir. A nobleman named Shahbaz Khan Kambu helped the Prince in the administration of Ajmir. He left about a crore of rupees when he died in 1600 A. D. Salim appropriated his vast wealth, and with this money devised a plan of wresting the crown from his father. At this time Raja Man Singh was called away to Bengal on account of the rebellion of Usman Khan, and did not return to court till 1604 A. D. Salim was an impetuous young man of thirtyone, and was anxious to replace his father as early as possible. Akbar was very fond of this son although he entertained some suspicion about him since 1591. He was born with the blessings of Saint Salim Chisti, and was called by his father Shaikhu Baba. Over-indulgence spoilt him and his constitution was injured by excessive use of alcohol and opium. As Akbar was still very strong Salim did not expect to succeed to the throne early. He took advantage of the dislike of a large number of Musalmans to the religious views

of Akbar, and began to enlist their sympathy during his absence.

With the treasures acquired in Ajmir Salim proceeded towards Agra. But Kulij Khan the governor of the place shut its gates against him. So he crossed the Jumna and marched towards Allahabad, capturing Oudh on the way, and then seized the revenues of Bihar. He replaced the old officers by his own men and assumed independence. Akbar hurried from the Deccan and reached Agra in May 1601. A conciliatory letter was despatched to Salim assuring him kind treatment if he would give up his treasonable conduct. The prince came as far as Etawah with a large army but as his intentions were not quite clear he was asked to return to Allahabad. The Emperor further conferred the Government of Bengal and Bihar upon him, but heedless of these favours Salim remained at Allahabad as an independent king. All negotiations for reconciliation failed as Salim insisted that he should be allowed to return to Agra with 70,000 troops, and that the grants made to his officers should be confirmed and his adherents should not be treated as rebels.

The situation was very painful for Akbar. He did not desire to take extreme measures against his beloved son nor was he willing to abdicate. He sent a despatch to his favourite minister Abul Fazl who was then in the Deccan, giving him the full information of the conduct of Salim. Abul Fazl marched with a small escort promising to bring Salim a captive. The Prince had all along a great dislike for the minister.

That he should be held in such great regard by his father was galling to him. When he heard the news of Abul Fazl's return from the Deccan he set about a plot to murder him on the way. Bir Singh Bundela, a chieftain of Orchha was engaged for the purpose. When Abul Fazl was approaching Gwalior he was attacked by Bir Singh near Narwar, and his head was cut off from his body and sent to the Prince (August 12, 1602.) The Emperor was mad with rage at the sad news of this murder. He was so laid up with grief at the loss of his friend and minister that he did not appear at the court for three days. Prompt orders were issued to deal condign punishment to the author of the crime. But Bir Singh escaped the search of the imperialists.

Akbar attempted to bring about a reconciliation with his rebel son by sending Sultana Salima Begam, who had brought up Salim after the death of his own mother. She succeeded in her mission and brought the Prince to Agra in April 1603. With the intervention of Maryam Makani, Akbar's mother, the Prince was received with kindness. He was commissioned to fight against Rana Amar Singh of Mewar, who, of all the Rajput Chiefs, was still holding aloft the banner of independence. The war with the gallant Rajputs was however distasteful to the Prince. He returned from Fathpur Sikri to Allahabad with the permission of the Emperor. (Nov. 10. 1603). Then he gave himself up to his evil habits without any restraint. His wife Shah Begam, the adoptive sister of Man Singh and mother

of Khusru died about this time and this caused him great grief. Prince Daniyal who also lived a very intemperate life died at Burhanpur in April 1604, leaving Salim as the sole heir to the throne. But Salim still defied the authority of his father. Akbar then resolved to march upon Allahabad and compel him to submit. When he had proceeded some distance his aged mother fell seriously ill, and shortly afterwards departed this world on August 29, 1604. Akbar then gave up the projected expedition, and a final reconciliation was arranged with his son. There was a plot to place Khusru on the throne in case Salim did not submit. So the Prince returned in November 1604, thinking perhaps that his interest could be best served by remaining in court. For a short time he was kept confined in a bathroom, but later on allowed to reside in his own residence. He was assigned the Government of the Deccan in place of Daniyal, but he did not leave Agra. For about a year he remained there without any demonstration of disloyalty. Raja Man Singh and Aziz Koka were busy in setting aside the claims of Salim to succeed in favour of his son Khusru, but they did not receive sufficient support from the Rajputs and the other important officials. Akbar fell ill in September 1605. The adherents of Salim made him promise that he would stand by the side of Islam and would not in any way punish the supporters of Khusru. He was admitted to the imperial presence and offered the turban as a sign of being acknowledged as the heir-apparent. Akbar

expired at the age of sixty-three on the 27th October, surrounded by a few faithful friends. His remains were carried to Sikandra, three miles from Agra where a grand mausoleum had been built by his orders.

His personality and character

Akbar succeeded his father to the tottering throne of Delhi when he had barely passed his childhood. He gathered up the scattered forces and built up the empire which endured through a century and half with undiminished glory. His able guardian and minister was dismissed before he had attained his majority. His administration of the difficult charge was marked by his personality almost from the very beginning. He was majestic in appearance and had a magnetism about him. A man of moderate stature, he had a strongly built constitution. He inspired awe in the hearts of his foes and was considered by some as "the terror of the East." He was illiterate in the ordinary sense of the word, but his culture was very wide. Although he could not read and write he had a capacious memory for the things read out to him. His keen intellect could easily follow the niceties of theological discussions, the intricate problems of the State, as well as the wider issues of military stratagem. He had a perfect acquaintance with Moslem, Hindu and Christian literatures, and he was very familiar with Sufistic writings. He knew history and other branches of learning quite well. He could hold his own against adepts in different arts in acute controversies. In the

mechanical arts he displayed great aptitude. He took a special delight in making guns and in founding and modelling cannons. The workshops were closely supervised by him, which resulted in many inventions and improvements. He showed great ability in managing his ministers. He used to consult them on all important matters, but they had all to acknowledge his great superiority, and to follow his guidance.

By nature he was affectionate and religious. A faithful son, loving husband, and forgiving father as he was he could be stern whenever necessary. His friendship was enduring, and true it is that he sometimes lost his temper, but quickly he regained calmness. A European observer says: "Whether by training or innate power he was so completely master of his emotions that he would hardly ever be seen otherwise than as perfectly pleasant and serene." He was bold and courageous, and whenever necessary he could undertake hard feats of endurance. He had a passion for hunting especially tigers and wild elephants. He could walk long distances of thirty or forty miles a day, and could ride on horse-back 220 miles in two successive days. He fought many a battle, but he never indulged in wars as a pastime. All his military activities were directed towards the maintenance of the Empire. He had in some cases to declare war without a just cause, *e.g.* against Rani Durgavati of Gondwana, or against the Deccan kingdoms, but in view of the wider problem of establishing a strong central government in India it was necessary to bring all the parts under the control

of one king. In this matter Akbar therefore showed great imagination. Unfortunately his comprehensive plans were thwarted by the rebellion of his son, and the indifference of the Musalman chiefs and officers. His catholicity and religious doctrines alienated the sympathy of the orthodox. But the way in which he expanded the empire and maintained its integrity shows his talents as the empire-builder of India. "He was not free from ambition;" says Elphinstone, "but as the countries he invaded had been formerly subject to Delhi, he would have incurred more blame than praise among his contemporaries if he had forborne from attempting to recover them."

He inherited the evil practice of his family in taking drink and opium. In his youth he used to drink copiously, but later on he was reputed to be very temperate. In his dress he was simple, and in diet he was very moderate. He used to take one substantial meal a day, and was fond of fruits. He had no attraction for meat, and towards the end of his life he became almost a vegetarian. He was very regular in his habits and his hours of sleep and leisure were limited. The fact that he broke through several rigid customs of his people and charted out new lines of progress on the principles of broad catholicity and universal toleration, and improved the administration by the adoption of a prudent fiscal policy, and organised civil and military government on a sound basis gives positive proof of his genius. Every department of national life bears the impress of his great intellect and comprehensive

statesmanship, By temperament he was thoughtful and from his early life he showed a strong tendency towards devotionism. He was not a fanatic but may be classed with the mystics. He was not satisfied with the ordinary tenets of religion but was anxious to find out the truth. In that spirit he spent the whole life. He was fair and impartial in administering justice. He was never vindictive but the punishments meted out were often harsh, although he had an abhorrence for any atrocious measures. The system of justice followed the method of summary trials but Akbar insisted upon thorough enquiry. People were happy with his substantial and ready justice.

Akbar's internal policy

Since he assumed direct management of the affairs of the state Akbar realised that the old policy of the Turk and Afghan rulers had to be modified. The old Sultans so framed their method of Government as if India was a Musalman country. They considered the devotion of the Hindus to their religion as an offence. The Hindus were not admitted to high office, and they had to pay heavy taxes for professing their faith. Akbar felt that the loyalty of the Hindus was necessary for the maintenance of his empire. The support of the brave Rajputs to his throne was an asset of very great value. He coerced the rebellions of the Musalman chiefs and officers with the gallantry of the Hindu princes. To win the good-will of the people of India he introduced the generous principle that the highest offices in the

state should be open to both Hindus and Musalmans according to merit, and that people should have complete freedom to worship their God in the way they preferred. These were the two cardinal principles of his government, and the Mughal empire endured so long as the monarchs adhered to these principles. Akbar had the wisdom and sagacity to see through his position in India. He admitted Hindus to the order of Mansabdars, abolished the pilgrim taxes and the invidious Jiziyah when his loyalty to Islam was unshaken. His matrimonial alliance with the houses of Ambar and Jodhpur produced far-reaching consequences. The Rajput ladies coming into the Mughal harem were allowed to retain their old religious views and practices. The Hindu temples within the imperial palaces at Agra and Fathepur-Sikri reassured the Hindus of the safety of their religion. The Rajputs who were very catholic in their social matters did not think it beneath their dignity to be associated with the Emperor who respected their religious sentiments and who did not interfere with the internal management of their states. All the Rajput princes except the Rana of Mewar paid allegiance to him. On his part Akbar offered positions of responsibility to a large number of brilliant Hindus. Raja Bhagwan Das, Raja Man Singh, Raja Todar Mall, Birbal were entrusted with the government of important provinces. This caused no doubt some heart-burning in orthodox Moslem circle, as it had been the practice till then to appoint only the Musalmans to high offices. With great tact and ability Akbar crushed all opposition to his policy of broadening the

foundation of the empire. He had sometimes to take strong measures against the mischievous leaders of the orthodox parties, who tried to overthrow his rule. It will be hardly correct to say that he was unduly severe upon the Musalmans towards the end of his rule. In his civil administration, fiscal arrangement, and military organisation he followed this principle of toleration and impartiality. He was anxious to be fair to his subjects irrespective of creed, and his partiality for those who fell in with his ideas was but natural.

His Religious views.

By nature Akbar was greatly religious. He was born and brought up a Musalman but his religious outlook changed as he grew in knowledge and experience. In the early part of his life he was an orthodox Sunni. He used to go on pilgrimages to the tombs of saints and to attend on holy men. He regularly visited the tomb of Shaikh Muin-ud-Din Chisti at Ajmir every year till 1579. Shaikh Salim Chisti who lived at Sikri had the reputation of being a great saint. It was with his blessings that Prince Salim was born in 1569. The city of Fathepur-Sikri was built in commemoration of the good luck of the Emperor there, and made his capital from 1571 to 85. The Saint died in 1571, and he was buried in the courtyard of the great mosque which was completed in 1575-6. When Akbar went on his expedition against Chitor in 1567, a young man who influenced his character considerably was introduced to him. It was Shaikh Faizi then a

young man of twenty. He and his younger brother Abul Fazl who came to the Court in 1574 were two remarkable personalities. Their father Shaikh Mubarak an inhabitant of Nagor in Rajputana was a great scholar. He had an inquiring mind and a comprehensive genius. His religious views were very liberal. He removed to Agra at the time of Humayun and gave his son the best education. As early as 1573 he suggested to the Emperor to become the head of the Church and the State. He had a great share in the formulation of the Divine Faith of Akbar. He died in August 1593. Faizi was born in 1547. A writer of great eminence, and a poet, he earned his livelihood by his profession as Physician. He distributed his earnings in charity, and had no ambition for high office. Akbar appreciated his talents and engaged him as teacher in the higher branches of knowledge to his sons, and he was sent to the Deccan as an ambassador. He held the position of the court-poet with the title of "King of the Poets" and composed a large number of books. He had a big library consisting of four thousand three hundred choice manuscripts which were afterwards added to the Imperial Library. He composed the introductory hymn for the new liturgy. He died in 1595. His brother Abul Fazl was associated with the Emperor more intimately. His name is widely known as the author of the *Akbar Nama* and *Ain-i-Akbari*. He was born in 1551 and was presented at Court in 1574 at the age of twenty-three. His love of learning was so great that at the age of fifteen he was master of several branches

of knowledge, and at the age of twenty he became a teacher. His reputation as scholar was established when he restored the burnt half of the pages of a rare manuscript of Ispahani, and the people were amazed when a complete copy was later on discovered that Abul Fazl had very closely kept to the original. He was a voracious reader and was always anxious to read new things and he says "My mind had no rest, and my heart felt itself drawn to the sages of Mongolia, or to the hermits of Lebanon ; I longed for interviews with the Llamas of Tibet, or with the Padris of Portugal, and I would gladly sit with the priests of the Parsis, and the learned of the Zendavesta." From the time he appeared at Court he earned the esteem of Akbar. It is said that he had greater influence with the Emperor than any other person. He was extraordinarily intelligent and was assiduous in his devotion to Akbar. Of all persons in the Court he had the greatest share in moulding the policy of the Government. His contributions in the discussions in the Ibadat Khana at Fatehpur-Sikri on Thursday evenings led ultimately to make the Emperor the head of the Church. He was an able commander and when returning from the Deccan to assist Akbar in reducing his rebellious son, was murdered on the way.

Akbar's mind was filled with a desire to know the truth, and he was eager to know the deeper problems of religion. In 1575 he erected the *Ibadat Khana* (House of Worship) in the gardens behind the great mosque for holding religious discussions with Shaikhs,

Sayyids, Ulama and Amirs. The debates were originally confined to the Musalmans, and in 1578 followers of other religions were admitted. When the discussions were thrown open to the representatives of all religions the Ibadat Khana was abandoned and the assembly was held in the *Dewan-i-Khas* (Privy Council Chamber). This Hall is an interesting structure with an octagonal column in the centre having a top ten feet in diameter, connected with the corners by means of four stone beams, each ten feet long. The audience used to sit in the galleries, and the Emperor in the centre on the top of the throne pillar, and a minister stood at each corner awaiting imperial orders. It was in course of these discussions that Akbar evolved his famous doctrines. Most of these discussions produced bitter feelings, and the acrimonious quarrels between the parties of Moslems led him to consult the followers of other religions. Besides the Musalmans there came Hindus, Zoroastrians, Jains and Christians. The differences became still more acute, and by force of circumstances the Emperor assumed the position of the spiritual guide of his subjects at the suggestion of Abul Fazl. At the end of June, 1579, Akbar promulgated the decree from the mosque at Fathepur-Sikri. Faizi gave a poetical rendering to this position and the passage has been thus translated :

“The Lord to me the Kingdom gave,
He made me wise, and strong, and brave,
He guideth me in right and ruth,
Filling my mind with love of truth”

No praise of man can sum his state—
Allahu Akbar !—God is great.”

The principles of this decree were later on put in a formal document drafted by Shaikh Mubarak in the month of September. “The document is” says Malleson “in fact the Magna Charta of his reign.” It was signed by a large number of Moslem theologians, including some of those who did not agree with Akbar. They declared in it that Akbar was a most just, wise, and pious king and therefore if there were a variance among the doctors upon religious questions, and his Majesty gave his decree for the benefit of mankind such decree would be binding on them and on the whole nation. The position taken up by Akbar was very reasonable; in the State there should be one authority with supreme power to settle disputes, otherwise there would be no end of quarrels and confusion. Akbar did not however stop here. He had been impressed with some aspects of truth and beauty in each religion, and found that the protagonists of each tried not only to prove the superiority of their creed but that in each case an interested priesthood had distorted the broad, generous, far-reaching, universal qualities attributed to the Almighty. By conversation with the followers of different religions on important questions he had learnt a great deal, and found something in each creed to respect and preserve. Besides the public discourses in the Audience Hall he met them privately and learnt the mysteries of their faith.

He met a learned Zoroastrian teacher named Dastur Meherjee Rana at Surat in 1573, and invited him to Court. From him he gathered the principles of the fire-worshippers of Persia. He was also taught to worship the sun by his friend Birbal. He prostrated himself before the sun and fire since 1580 as the symbols of divine energy. Under the influence of the great Jain teacher Harivijay Suri of Guzerat he gave up hunting and prohibited the killing of animals on certain days. Akbar had first come in contact with Christians at Cambay in 1572, and gathered some information regarding their religion on different occasions. Father Ridolfo Aquaviva, and Father Antonio Monserrate from Goa, who visited Fathepur-Sikri in 1580 at the invitation of the Emperor gave fuller idea of the doctrines of the Christian church. These Fathers expected to convert the liberal-minded Akbar to their faith and in this matter they were disappointed. The accounts they have left are vitiated by their religious fanaticism. Although the Emperor was not drawn into their net he absorbed a great deal from the Christian theology and began to entertain great regard for Jesus Christ. On his return from Kabul Akbar summoned a general council in 1582 and gave an exposition of the universal religion which he called Din-i-Ilahi or the Divine Faith. He asked his friends to accept the new faith as a reconciler of all religions. But very few came forward to adopt it. It has been described as an eclectic monotheism consisting of prayer to one God believed by all people, and the performance

of worship was done with some of the Hindu ceremonials.

Akbar undertook a number of reforms in the spirit of the new religion. This has been summarised by Keene in the following passage : "Youthful marriage was forbidden, polygamy reprov'd. Sati (widow burning) could only take place by the undoubted and persistent desire of the victims. The Hijra year was discontinued, and official computations dated from the year of Akbar's accession, the solar year and months of ancient Persians being restored to use". This new creed made some progress in his life-time, but with his death it disappeared, as there was no administrative machinery to carry it on. The spirit of his religion is however now finding its expression in various forms in different parts of the world. Abdul Kadir Badaoni, a faithful courtier but hostile critic of this faith, has thus described the evolution of his religious views : "From his earliest childhood to his manhood, and from his manhood to old age, his Majesty has passed through the most various phases, and through all sorts of religious practices and sectarian beliefs, and has collected every thing which people can find in books, with a talent of selection peculiar to him and a spirit of inquiry opposed to every (Islamite) principle. Thus a faith based on some elementary principles traced itself on the mirror of his heart, and as the result of all the influences which were brought to bear on his Majesty, there grew, gradually as the outline on a stone, the conviction on his heart that there were

sensible men in all religions, and abstemious thinkers, and men endowed with miraculous powers, among all nations. If some knowledge were thus everywhere to be found, why should truth be confined to one religion or to a creed like Islam, which was comparatively new, and scarcely a thousand years old; why should one sect assert what another denies, and why should one claim a preference without having superiority conferred upon itself?" Judging from the number of adherents the new religion was not a success, but it had its indirect effect in broadening the outlook of the people, and its influence was felt upon the entire administration. "A liberal spirit of inquiry, however survived the system to which it owed its rise;" says Elphinstone, "and if extrinsic causes had not interrupted its progress, it might have ripened into some great reform of the existing superstitions".

The Administrative System

Akbar had to bind together the scattered parts of a vast empire in an efficient system of administration. His grand-father, Babar, hardly had time to organise a regular system, and his father Humayun was so busy with the battles for maintaining himself on the throne that the organisation of a civil government was out of the question. The difficulties before Akbar were no less formidable, but he grappled them in a statesmanlike spirit. He converted the unwilling masses of India into a loyal nation, and he was so much admired that he was considered as a representative of God.

People began to say "*Dilliswaro ba Jagadiswaro ba*" (the Lord of Delhi is another God). If the contentment and prosperity of the people be any standard of efficiency of government then certainly Akbar's rule will stand very high. He carefully compared the methods followed in the past in India, and those prevalent in the old empire of Persia. He added the bureaucratic system of Persia to the policy introduced by Sher Shah. The narrow methods of the Sultans of Delhi did not appeal to him. As an autocratic ruler he made his personal authority no doubt the pivot of the whole system, but his aim had all along been to promote the welfare of the people and to cultivate their good-will. He had still to retain the military character of the Government and his long rule was marked by a series of campaigns almost to the end of his life. All the responsible officers held some rank in the army, and they were granted Mansabs according to their position. The order of Mansabdars he instituted for the first time in India on Persian model. It was systematically organised in 1573-4 after the conquest of Guzerat, where the officers were classified in thirtythree grades ranging from a Mansabdar of 10 to those of 10,000. The ranks of the Mansabdars of 8000 and above were confined to members of the royal family. Each Mansabdar was expected to keep a specified number of horses and troops for which they were granted a definite rate of pay. But the numbers indicated in the rank were nominal, each officer being allowed to fix his own

quota in consultation with the authorities. These Mansabdars were temporarily granted jagirs instead of money in many cases, and an inquiry was set up into the titles to the previous grants. It was found that the number of persons enjoying more lands than they were granted was considerably large and Akbar issued orders for the resumption of superfluous lands. By this method he wanted the Mansabdars and other jagir-holders to remain strictly subordinate to the Government so that they might not become too powerful in future as in previous reigns. These Mansabdars bound to the throne in various ways filled the offices in the army and civil departments. The officers holding responsible positions were granted military commands not only for the purpose of maintaining peace and order but for extending the empire as well. There were no less than 1800 Mansabdars towards the end of the reign.

The vast empire was divided into a number of provinces called Subahs according to geographical and historical traditions. In 1575-6 he tried to remove the old landmarks, and to divide the country into a large number of artificial areas, each yielding a crore of tankas (Rs. 250,000), and the officers in charge of these groups for the collection of revenue were known as Amils or Karoris. This division did not increase the efficiency of administration, but on the other hand they further enhanced the complications. Therefore in 1579-80 the Subahs were organised almost on the lines of modern provinces. Each Subah had within it a number of Sarkars consisting of several Perganas or Mahals, as at

present a Province is divided into districts and taluks. There were twelve Subahs in 1580, with one hundred and five Sarkars subdivided into 2737 townships. The original Subahs were Allahabad, Agra, Oudh, Ajmir, Ahmadabad, Bihar, Bengal, Delhi, Kabul, Lahore, Multan and Malwah. With the conquests in the Deccan the number was increased to fifteen by creating Berar, Khandesh and Ahmadnagar each a Subah. The executive government of each Subah was entrusted to a governor called Sipah-Salar. The title indicates that he was the commander-in-chief of the forces, Later on his title was changed to that of Subahdar. He had complete control over the civil and the military government of the province. He was a king in miniature with almost all the functions that the king enjoyed. In the *Āin-i-Akbari* it is written: "He is the vicegerent of his Majesty. The troops and the people of the province are under his orders and their welfare depends upon his just administration." For judicial duties he was assisted by the Kazi for carrying on inquiries and Mir Adl for carrying out his findings. For the collection of revenue there was a Dewau or revenue collector with a Bitikchi who was a writer and accountant, while the treasury was in charge of an officer called *Khizanadar* or *Fotadar*. The unit of government was the Sarkar in charge of a *Faujdar* who was the deputy of the Sipah-Salar in every respect. There was however no interference with the village administration which followed the same old method. The work of maintaining peace and order in the town was in the hands of

the Kotwal, whose functions were very comprehensive.

At the Central Government the Emperor had a number of principal ministers such as the Vakil or Prime Minister, the Vizier or Dewan as finance minister, the Bakhshi with duties of recruiting and supervising the army, the Sadr-Sadur as the highest ecclesiastical officer. Besides these there were other important ministers in charge of the Palace, kitchen etc. Akbar guided all the ministers and consulted them in all important matters, but the responsibility of chief control was not delegated to any body. He was his own chief minister, and chief commander. We are told by DeLaet: "The Emperor of India is an absolute monarch: there are no written laws: the will of the Emperor is held to be law. Once a week (on Tuesday) he takes his seat on the tribunal, and hears patiently all causes that are brought before him, both civil and criminal, and pronounces a judgment on each which is final. Capital punishment is generally inflicted before his eyes, and with great cruelty, whether in the capital city or wherever he is holding his court". The Emperor used to appear before the public thrice in the day at the window opening on the audience hall, once after sunrise, once in the midday and once before the sun-set. Any person could approach him with petition at the time of the *Jharokha Darsan*. He used to hold a private conference with the magnates in the evening in a most beautiful hall called the Goshal Khana.

The Land Revenue Policy

The revenue system of Akbar has endured much longer than other institutions. He did not devise anything new but he extended the principles introduced by Sher Shah who was the first monarch to draw up a sound system of revenue. Sher Shah promoted the welfare of the peasants and felt the necessity of leaving a margin between the gross produce and the demand of the king. He insisted upon a correct measurement of the land, an estimate of the average production per bigha, and a settlement of the proportion of the produce to be paid to the Government. Further the Government's share was converted into a money value. There was a man called Todar Mall in his service who was trained in the method of settlement. He passed on to Akbar and became his chief adviser in this matter. He was a *Kyasth* of the Punjab. He was an earnest Hindu and performed his religious duties with great sincerity. An honest and able officer, he distinguished himself both in civil administration and in military skill. In the fifteenth year of the reign of Akbar he assisted Muzaffar Khan Turbati in redistributing the assessment of revenue through ten *Kanungos* who collected the statements prepared by the Provincial *Kanungos* (1570-1). Previous to this assessments were made annually. This practice was not only tedious but led to great corruption. The first important step was taken in the settlement of Guzerat in 1573, and there Todar Mall insisted upon a systematic measurement before settlement of revenue, and

introduced his other reforms. The settlement was made for ten years, and the assessment was made according to the area and quality of the land. Payment in kind or coin was permitted. Akbar made the experiment of dividing the country into the charges of Karoris in 1574-5, but as this proved a failure, the division into Subahs was adopted in 1579-80. To remedy the evils of excessive exactions and heavy revenue balances a settlement for ten years was ordered. We are told by Abul Fazl ; " From the beginning of the fifteenth year of the Divine era to the 24th an aggregate of the rates of collection was formed and a tenth of the total was fixed as the annual assessment ; but from the 20th to the 24th year the collections were accurately determined and the five former ones accepted on the authority of the persons of probity. Statistics were thus available for 19 years from the 6th to the 24th year of the reign, and the rates were fixed with reference to these figures. The best crops were taken into account in each year and the year of the most abundant harvest accepted."

Akbar adopted a fixed standard of measurement called the *Ilahi gaz* of 41 digits, (i. e, 33 inches). The survey was made with bamboo *jarib* instead of with hempen ropes which very often gave fraudulent measurements. An area of land measuring 60 gaz in length, and 60 in breadth or 3600 square gaz constituted a *bigha*. Lands were classified as 1. *Polaj* or land which was annually cultivated, and never allowed to lie fallow 2. *Parauti* land which was occasionally kept fallow to recover its strength, 3. *Chachar* land which was kept fallow for three or four

years, 4. Banjar land i. e. land kept fallow for five years or more. The first two classes were again subdivided into good, middling and bad. The average of the three sub-classes was taken as the average produce of the class, and the state could demand only a third of this average, assessment being made only in the case of the area actually under cultivation. Concession was made in the case of failure of crops. In each village there was a Patwari to keep an account of receipts and disbursements, and their work was supervised by a Kanungo in the district. The salary of the Kanungo was fixed instead of their receiving a commission of 1 per cent as before. The commissions of the Shikdar, Karkun and Amins were fixed at 1 *dam* for each bigha. The system thus established served its purpose admirably in ensuring a steady income, and in giving a sense of security to the cultivator. "The organic difference between this system and that of the British" says Keene, "is that the latter do not found their estimate on the productive power of the culturable area alone, but on an assumed valuation of possibilities during the coming thirty years, thus discounting the future. Todar Mall seems to have got as much revenue, but in a more rational manner learned from Sher Shah." The total yield from land revenue amounted to Rupees seventeen crores and fortyfive lakhs according to the estimate of President van den Broecke. The assessment was not light, but the people were happy as they were relieved from the irregular exactions and could save something for their own use.

Land revenue formed the principal source of income to the State. The income from other sources was almost of the same value. Akbar remitted a large number of imposts which he considered inequitable, including capitation tax, the port duties, the poll tax on pilgrims etc. The expenditure of the Mughal court was vast, the income was correspondingly large. The Emperor could save a considerable amount after meeting all the charges. He derived a large income from his extensive territories; he inherited the property of the dead persons and received vast amount from gifts and presents. De Laet tells us that on the death of Akbar his treasures amounted to Rs. 34,82,26,386 including Rs. 19,83,46,666 in specie of all descriptions, gold, silver and copper.

The Army Reforms

Akbar showed his ability in introducing great economy and efficiency in the management of the army. He did not possess a big standing army. The contingents supplied by the Mansabdars, and the dependent chieftains constituted the support of his military strength. There were a large number of Indian Princes always in attendance at his Court. They acknowledged the superior rights of Akbar and rendered him military service whenever required. The number of horses supplied by the Mansabdars was 10,58,248 as calculated by DeLaet. The Emperor maintained at his own cost 6,751 elephants, 12,000 horses, 6,223 dromedaries and camels, 7,260 mules and oxen. In the time of military expeditions large numbers were employed,

for example we are told that at the time of his Kabul expedition in 1581 Akbar had with him 45,000 cavalry 5,000 elephants, and innumerable foot soldiers. The infantry were not sufficiently effective, although he had a large number of them. About the equipment of the army a European traveller says that the royal forces had very many guns, and many of them were of exceptional size and drawn by elephants. They made skilful use of bombards which they lighted with matches ; and they manufactured excellent gunpowder. They also used javelins, shields, swords, bows and arrows. The swords were curved like sickle and were so badly tempered that they would break rather than bend. The horsemen were armed with sword, bow, quiver, shield and bombard, and would carry a javelin in the right hand. The Rajputs were superior to the Mughals in martial prowess but they were ignorant of military discipline and tactics. Akbar tried to enlist these Rajputs in his army by winning the allegiance of their chieftains. The Portuguese were superior in artillery, and he tried to engage their services in the siege of Asirgarh. But they declined his offer. There was no navy, but in riverine tracts there were boats. The provincial militias were innumerable, but they were hardly employed for imperial purpose. They were generally used for the maintenance of local peace and order.

To prevent fraud Akbar introduced the system of branding horses, insisted upon the preparation of minute descriptive rolls, and strictly scrutinised the grant of jaghirs. This was greatly resented by the old beneficiaries.

and this was the main cause of the revolt in Bengal in 1580. The troops were paid in cash from the treasury wherever practicable, and regular musters were held before payment. This was an honest effort to keep the military strength under proper control. But the system was still very unsatisfactory. No discipline could be enforced when the recruitment and training were not in the hands of the Government, and the army was not regularly organised. The number of Mansabdars holding command of 200 and above was not more than 450. In the absence of able officers there could not be a regular division of the troops, and the strength of the army depended upon the personality of the monarch. The Mansabdars did not maintain the full strength of their ranks. They were allowed to entertain the services of additional *sawars* for which they could draw extra grants. Besides these troops under the Mansabdars there were supplementary troops called *Dakhilis* paid directly by the State, and gentlemen troopers, called *Ahadis* recruited separately and having a distinct muster under a Bakhshi.

The movement of troops ordinarily was very slow, although whenever necessary Akbar could organise rapid marches. The royal expeditions were laboriously planned, so that the royal harem, the treasures, and the other things necessary for a moving Court could be carried. "When the king himself goes on a campaign" says De Laet, "his personal camp, which they call *Leskar*, covers an immense space of ground. The speed with which this camp is pitched is extraordinary. In a space of four or five hours so

many tents are pitched that a town seems to have sprung up. They are arranged so as to form various broad streets in which everything needful for human life is sold. The gradation of rank is so rigidly enforced that every one in these camps, from the greatest to the least knows precisely at what distance to pitch his own tents from those of the king (which are called *Atasi Khana*). The details are given by Abul Fazl in his *Ain-i Akbari*. The movement of the troops was necessarily slow and cumbrous Akbar took a special care in carrying his workshops in his equipage, and wherever he would be there was a tent to be used for the audience hall. The camp was Akbar's Court, and he had with him the paraphernalia of the Court wherever he happened to be.

He built a number of forts in strategic places. The building of the Agra Fort started in 1561 and the construction continued for fifteen or sixteen years. On the evidence of Abul Fazl it contained five hundred buildings of masonry after the beautiful designs of Bengal and Guzerat, which masterly sculptors and cunning artists of form had fashioned as architectural models. Most of these buildings were pulled down by Shah Jahan. He completed the fort at Allahabad. On his return from Kabul in 1581 he built a fort at Attock. He also strengthened the fort at Lahore where he lived for thirteen years. There were considerable forts in almost every part of the empire.

Art and Literature

Akbar had a grand imagination and noble ideas

which found their expression in splendid edifices, well laid out cities, fine painting and works of art, sweet music and rich literature. In his buildings he retained the best features of Indian architecture. The City of Fatehpur-Sikri, now in its ruins gives glimpses of the dreams that the great Emperor indulged in. "His Majesty plans splendid edifices and dresses the work of his mind and heart in the garment of stone and clay" said Abul Fazl. Standing on the ridge not far from the field of Kanwa where the great Rajput leader Sangram Singh made his heroic stand against the Mughal monarch Babar it marks a position where the old Indian culture was fighting for its existence against the inroads of the alien invaders. Akbar here accomplished a happy blending of the two cultures, as it was here that he promulgated the doctrines of toleration and universal brotherhood. The great mosque with the lofty Buland Durwaza strikes the true note of Akbar's life, his eager desire to attain spiritual glory. An attempt has been made here to express Moslem sentiments in Hindu ornamentation. The *Dewan-i-Khas* where he held his religious meetings, is a unique structure. Bir Bal's Palace and Jodh Bai's Palace bear ample traces of Hindu influence. It is indeed "a romance in stone" "Nothing like Fatehpur Sikri" says V. A. Smith "ever was created before or can be created again."

Akbar was very fond of painting and always patronised good painters. Khwaja Abdus Samad, a native of Shiraz, was the most reputed artist in his

Court. The art of fresco painting was also very successfully cultivated. He encouraged music and there were many musicians of various races at court. Mian Tansen was the best singer. He received his training at Gwalior and Akbar brought him from the Raja of Rewa.

The Court of Akbar was specially rich in literary men. There were thousands of poets, of whom fifty-nine were recognised as the best. Abul Fazl and Faizi were favourites of the Emperor. Faizi holds a very high place among the poets, and according to some "after Amir Khusru of Delhi, Muhammadan India has seen no greater poet." Abul Fazl's literary merits were unrivalled. He had a free style, and his diction and imagery were of a very high order. But by far the most eminent writer of the time was the great Hindu poet Tulsi Das, the author of *Ramcharit Manas*. Another poet of great ability was Sur Das. The fact that the Emperor did not interfere with the religious sentiment of the people led to the growth of a genuine Hindu literature. "When we reflect what he did," says Malleon, "the age in which he did it, the method he introduced to accomplish it we are bound to recognise in Akbar one of those illustrious men whom Providence sends in the hour of a nation's trouble, to reconduct it into those paths of peace and toleration which alone can assure the happiness of millions."

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CHAPTER V.

JAHANGIR. (1605-1627)

Accession of Jahangir

On the death of Akbar his son Salim was acknowledged as his successor to the throne. The claims of Prince Khusru were not supported by the principal nobles. Raja Man Singh, the maternal uncle of the prince, was the only person who had espoused his cause. His mother had already committed suicide distracted by the unhappy friction between the father and the son. Failing to win the support of the *Amirs* he fled with Man Singh to his palace. A week after the death of Akbar Salim was crowned at Agra with the title of Nurud-Diu Muhammad Jahangir Padshah Ghazi on the 24th October, 1605. On assumption of authority he promised that he would protect the Muhammadan religion, and would do no harm to those who had supported Khusru's claims. A reconciliation was brought about between Khusru and his father. The old officers of Akbar were confirmed in their rank and he inaugurated his benevolent reign by a number of reforms. He remitted some duties which caused trouble to the merchants, and forbade the quartering of soldiers on private houses. The cruel practices of cutting off noses and ears in the way of punishment were stopped, the use of wine was forbidden, and the sale of opium

regulated. He satisfied the Moslem sentiment by restoring the old inscriptions on the coins. From the very beginning of the reign he assured the people that he would administer justice impartially. A chain was hung outside the palace, at a place accessible to all persons, which when pulled would inform the Emperor of the presence of a suitor with a complaint for his decision. This gave the people a right to approach the Emperor without the intervention of the officers. But we are told that this method of asking for justice was rarely adopted.

Jahangir was the spoilt child of his father. He has been aptly called the child of miracle. He was born in the house of Saint Salim Chisti at Fathepur in August, 1569, and Akbar used to call him Shaikhu Baba. Being the pet child of his father he grew up a wilful boy, and in his youth he acquired many evil habits. He became heir to all the weaknesses of a Mughal harem and the evils of a licentious Court. He was a victim of wine and opium. His education was faulty although he acquired fine literary tastes. He was benevolent, and would often bestow his gifts in lakhs. But he was very fitful, and had all the qualities of a despot. "Jahangir resembled his father in a hundred ways." Says Keene, "Only one feels in passing from the reign of Akbar to that of his son as if the curtain had risen for a burlesque after the drama. Jahangir is a comic Akbar, reproducing his father's features in the form of a caricature. In him indulgence became negligence, and reform ran riot. Eclecticism in religion,

instead of growing into a practical system of belief and practice took the shape of a successive acquiescence in each creed, one by one. And when the follies of this lord of misrule brought their natural fruits into existence, his notion of repression showed itself in barbarous and grotesque sentences."

Revolt of Khusru

Prince Khusru although apparently reconciled to his father, was not very happy. Jahangir on the other hand was suspicious about his movements. He was advised to put the prince's eyes out. Khusru felt uneasy at the way he was treated and asked his old friend Hasan Beg Khan Badakhshi, the Governor of Kabul to come to his rescue. Hasan Beg hurried towards Agra with some troops. On the 6th of April 1606 Khusru managed to escape from the fort of Agra in the evening, and the next day met Hasan Beg Khan at Akbarpur, twenty-four *Kos* from Agra. With his assistance he proceeded towards Lahore. In the meantime Jahangir pursued him with the swiftest elephants and a large number of followers. Khusru had collected about 10,000 men, and some money on the way. On the ninth day he reached Lahore, but the fort was strongly defended by the Governor of the place. Jahangir sent a message to the Prince with an offer of Kabul and the Frontier Provinces, but Khusru demanded as far as Sirhind. This the Emperor was not willing to concede. Khusru tried to capture Lahore by siege, but on the approach of Jahangir to the banks of the Beas

he gathered courage to oppose him at Bhaironwal about 30 *Kos* from Lahore. At first he cut up the advance party of 300 horsemen, but when the main army came up the Prince fled, and his army was scattered in all directions. He was captured while he was trying to cross the Chenab and brought to Lahore. His followers were impaled on pointed stakes or hung down from trees. The principal supporter Hasan Beg was sewn up in a raw ox hide, and in that state he breathed his last. Within a month the rebellion collapsed, and Jahangir then spent about four months in hunting expeditions near Lahore. The Prince was henceforth kept as a prisoner. He was the favourite of the people and there were some attempts made to overthrow Jahangir, and to place Khusru on the throne. So on his return from Kabul the Emperor adopted the cruel measure of blinding his son. He was kept confined in the fort of Gwalior in the custody of Ani Rai Singh Dalan till 1616. In course of time Jahangir relented and showed some kindness towards him. There was a strong party in the Court against him, and he was handed over to Asaf Khan, who in his turn passed him on to Khan Jahan Lodi in 1619. Later on he was committed to the charge of Prince Khurram, then in the Deccan. The unfortunate Prince was done to death in January 1622 at Burhanpur. The dead body was carried to the tomb of his mother at Allahabad under orders of the Emperor, and the garden henceforth received the name of Khusru Bagh. The people loved him so much that they cherished his

memory as a "martyred saint." Jahangir was greatly grieved at the sad end of his son, and committed his grandson Bulaqi to the care of Mirza Aziz, the maternal grand-father of the boy for education.

Guru Arjun

Jahangir fined Guru Arjun, the head of the Sikhs, Rupees two hundred thousand for giving help to Khusru in his days of trouble. The Guru refused to pay the fine, and for this act of disloyalty he was put to severe torture to which he succumbed in five days (June 1606.) The punishment was considered by the Sikhs as a sort of persecution of their religion. But actually Jahangir had no such motive. He executed him for high treason. The Sikh religion was a theistic movement started by Nanak (1469-1538). He made Kartarpur his main centre, and from there he preached his doctrines of the unity of God, and the need of devotional exercises as the only means of salvation. He was succeeded by a number of Gurus who carried on the movement in the Punjab. The second teacher Guru Angad (1538-52) invented the Gurumukhi characters in which the Sikhs write, the third Amar Das (1552-74) organised the church and appointed a competent leader in each centre. The fourth Guru Ram Das (1574-81) made Amritsar the sacred shrine of the Sikhs and his successor Guru Arjun Dev (1581-1606) compiled the *Granth Sahib* and improved considerably the financial position of the church. He made the Sikhs a thoroughly organised body with all the elements of a

State. He became so powerful that Chandu Shah, the Diwan of Lahore, sought his alliance, and offered his daughter to the son of the Guru. But the Guru declined the alliance, and thereby made him his greatest enemy. It is believed that his execution was advised by the dissatisfied minister. The tomb of Arjun Dev in the city of Lahore has become a place of pilgrimage, and on the occasion of the death anniversary of the Guru a great fair is held every year.

Nur Jahan

The greatest influence upon the life of Jahangir was the beautiful Nur Jahan whom he married in May, 1611, in the sixth year of his reign. She was the daughter of a Persian named Mirza Ghiyas. When he was coming to seek his fortune in India, on the way a girl was born to him at Kandahar, who received the name of Mihr-un-Nisa. Ghiyas was not in a position to look after the infant and her mother, who however were kindly attended to by a rich merchant, and with him they came to Fathepur-Sikri. Mirza Ghiyas obtained an employment under Akbar and soon rose to eminence by his ability. His son also was admitted to office. The young Mihr used to visit the royal harem along with her mother, and in course of these visits she drew the attention of Prince Salim. But neither her father nor the Emperor Akbar liked the idea of a marriage between these two. Mihr-un-Nisa was already engaged to a young Persian named Sher-Afghan Khan, and with him the marriage

was duly celebrated. He was sent away to Bengal with a jaghir in Burdwan. There they lived happily till 1607. When Jahangir came to the throne he heard of many acts of insubordination committed by Sher Afghan. Shaikh Kutb-ud-Din Koka, a son-in-law of Salim Chisti, was sent as Governor of Bengal with instructions to send Sher Afghan to Court if the reports against him proved to be true. But the jaghirdar of Burdwan killed Kutb-ud-Din in an affray near Rajmahal, but he himself was killed by Kishwar Khan, son of Kutb-ud-Din. The family of the Afghan was sent to Agra. His widow Mihr-un-Nisa with her little daughter Ladli Begum was committed to the care of the queen-mother, Rukaya Begum, according to some Salima Begum. She remained there four years and was treated very kindly. On the occasion of a Nauroz festival she fell in the way of Jahangir and awakened in him a strong desire to marry her. Her father Mirza Ghiyas was about this time in disgrace. He was accused of embezzlement, and his son had complicity in a plot against the king. When an offer was made to him for this marriage he readily agreed, and Mihr-un-Nisa had to submit to the request of her father. On an auspicious day the nuptials were celebrated, and her father was raised to the rank of a Mansabdar of 5000 horse with the title of Itimad-ud-Daula. Offices of dignity were conferred upon her brother and other relatives. She became the chief queen with the title of Nur-Jahan or Light of the world. She was exceedingly beautiful, and at the age of thirty-four

when she was remarried she retained all the charms of youth.

From the date of her union with Jahangir till his death she greatly influenced the affairs of the State and by her magnetic powers she made the voluptuous emperor a thoroughly changed man. Her intelligence was on a match with her beauty. She became the chief adviser of her husband, appeared before the public, had her name struck along with that of Jahangir on the coins as well as on the imperial seal. Jahangir was so much enamoured of her that he allowed her to conduct all affairs of the state. Her father Itimad-ud-Daula was made the Prime-Minister, and her brother was given a high office. Jahangir gave up the habit of drinking to excess, and the advent of Nur Jahan brought about an all-round improvement in the court circle. She was a cultured woman of fine tastes. She showed her talents not only in imperial affairs but in her own sphere of dress and decorations she exhibited her sense of grace and elegance. She had also a large heart, as we are told that she provided out of her private purse dowries for the marriage of five hundred girls. By her acts of benevolence, wise administration of the state, and her measures of both elegance and economy she won golden opinions from all quarters.

The situation in the provinces

Fortunately for Jahangir there was no serious disturbance in the provinces during his reign. He enjoyed the fruits of labours of his great father. An Afghan named

Osman Khan created some trouble in Bengal, but the discontent was local, and it came to an end with the death of the leader in a small engagement in 1612 A. D. The affairs in the Deccan however were not so easy to deal with. The kingdom of Ahmadnagar could not be completely subjugated by Akbar. An able Abyssinian named Malik Ambar had reorganised the government and was trying to recover the lost territories. When Jahangir was busy with the rebellion of Khusru, Malik Ambar defeated the imperial troops and in 1610 he succeeded in recovering the capital. The commander of the Mughal forces in the Deccan Khan-i-Khanaan Abdur Rahim was recalled and Khan Jahan Lodi was sent to take the command. But Malik Ambar proved too strong for him. A concerted attack was planned to attack Ahmadnagar in 1612. Abdullah Khan was to proceed from Guzerat and Prince Parviz with Raja Man Singh from Khandesh and Berar. Abdulla Khan reached the place earlier than the other troops and a conjunction of the armies could not be effected. He was harassed by Malik Ambar and therefore fled towards Guzerat. The other armies concentrated at Burhampur and did not venture to undertake an attack upon the Deccanis. The failure of the campaign greatly incensed the Emperor. The war dragged on for some years. Raja Man Singh died in the Deccan in 1614 A. D. In 1616 Prince Khurram who had shown his ability in Mewar was sent against Malik Ambar. Jahangir proceeded to Mandu to send the prince any help he might require. Meanwhile Malik Ambar had lost his popularity, the king

of Bijapur had served his connection with the confederacy. In these circumstances Malik Ambar was forced to surrender Ahmadnagar, Prince Khurram was greatly rewarded for his victory and was given the title of Shah Jahan. Jahangir returned to Agra through Guzerat where he stayed till September 1618. Fresh risings took place in 1621 and Shah Jahan was again entrusted with the command of the expedition. Malik Ambar had driven the Mughals from the Deccan as far as Burhanpur and occupied the territories held by them. His troops had crossed the Nerbada and invaded Mandu. But Shah Jahan with his vast army defeated the Abyssinian in a general action. He however came to terms with him as the chances of his success in subjugating the country were not very great. Berar, Ahmadnagar and the neighbouring districts were added to the empire. Shah Jahan established his authority in the Deccan. With the death of Malik Ambar in 1626 the Deccan became an easy victim.

The greatest achievement in the reign of Jahangir was the victory over the Rana of Udaipur. The hostilities with the Rana had continued since the time of Akbar. Jahangir first sent Mahabat Khan, and then Abdullah Khan but these veteran generals failed to bring the war to a close. Ultimately Prince Khurram was sent in 1615-14 with 20,000 men. Rana Amar Singh was hard pressed by his vigorous attacks, and when farther resistance became impossible he sued for peace. Khurram asked him to send his son along with him to the Emperor at Ajmir. The Rana was

treated with great respect. His son was offered the rank of a Mansabdar of 5000, and Udaipur and the neighbouring countries were restored to him. The dignity of the Sisodias was not wounded by asking the reigning Rana to attend court in person or demanding a Sisodia bride for the royal harem. To mark his appreciation of the heroic stand made by the Rajput ruler Jahangir ordered to prepare two marble statues of Rana Amar Singh and his son Karan, which were placed in the gardens outside the Agra fort, below the audience window. The credit of this great victory was entirely due to Prince Khurram (Shah Jahan). A rebellion of the Roshanniyas which threatened Kabul came to an end in 1611 with the death of the rebel leader Ahdad. There was perfect peace in northern India. There was a small rising in the Punjab in 1620 when Jahangir succeeded in capturing the strong fortress of Kangra. He built a mosque there, which was greatly resented by the Hindus.

Jahangir and the Christian missionaries.

Although a Moslem by temperament Jahangir was a latitudinarian. To win the sympathy of the Musalman nobility he declared his strict adherence to the religion of Islam, and refrained from his Christian way of living. The Portuguese missionaries were deprived of the favours shown to them before. But as soon as Jahangir established his authority he removed all restrictions, and the missionaries carried on their work of proselytising with great enthusiasm. The splendid

church and the collegium at Lahore were restored to them. Christian processions were allowed openly in the streets. Jahangir received a Persian version of the Gospel and showed his great liking for pictures representing Biblical stories. He used many of them in decorations. The Christian missionaries were disappointed when they could not convert him to their faith. They had also tried their art upon Akbar and failing in their mission they used many unkind expressions regarding their character. Jahangir was broad in his outlook, and was willing to establish relations with the Christian powers of Europe. He sent an embassy to Goa in 1607, but as the viceroy-designate had not arrived the envoys could not be properly received. The Portuguese enjoyed the favours of the Emperor till the arrival of the English.

English Embassies

The report of the growing prosperity of the Mughal empire reached Europe by this time, and many adventurers from different countries came out to seek fortune here. The Portuguese were the first to come. Vasco da-Gama first landed at Calicut in May, 1498. They gradually penetrated into the country, and established trade relations with Indians. They obtained Goa from the king of Bijapur in 1510, and Diu from that of Guzerat. The old overland route along the Arab Coast was superseded and the voyage round the Cape of Good Hope became more regular. In the time of Akbar the Portuguese received great favours, and with his help they built

churches at Lahore and Agra. In the meantime there has been great political changes in Portugal, as it was annexed to Spain in 1580, and the English fleet had become supreme on the sea after the destruction of the Spanish Armada in 1588. A trading company had been formed in England in 1600, but the English merchants could not compete with the Portuguese. They now thought of diplomatic skill. An adventurer named Captain William Hawkins procured a letter from King James I to Jahangir. He arrived at Surat on board the *Hector* on August 24, 1608, and travelled to Agra with great difficulty. On receiving many valuable presents the Emperor accorded him a cordial reception. The Captain could speak in Turki, and therefore had no necessity of an interpreter at the time of conversing with the Emperor. He lived at Court for about three years, and became a boon companion of Jahangir in his drinking bouts. The Portuguese were greatly annoyed at the favours shown to the English, and employed their tactics in counteracting the influence of Hawkins. As they were still very powerful on the sea the concessions granted to the English were withdrawn. Thus disappointed Hawkins left India in 1611. But the next year the Portuguese suffered a defeat on the sea at the hands of the English. Through indiscretion they attacked four imperial ships, and captured immense booty in 1613. The Emperor therefore ordered an attack upon Daman. The Portuguese wherever found were captured, and the public worship in Christian churches stopped. Shortly after this another Englishman named William

Edwards came with a letter from James I to Jahangir in 1615. But these informal negotiations were followed by a regular mission led by Sir Thomas Roe.

Roe arrived at Surat in September, 1615, and proceeded to Ajmir through Burhanpur and Chitor. Jahangir was then holding his Court at Ajmir. Sir Thomas Roe stayed at Court for three years, and accompanied Jahangir to Mandu and Guzerat. He was a nobleman with good education, and polished manners. Being the representative of King James I of England he was received with great honour. He was thoroughly acquainted with the art of diplomacy, Jahangir was pleased with his affability and granted him the concessions he desired for promoting English trade in India. He was accompanied by a young clergyman named Edward Terry who came to India to see the country for himself. The accounts left by Roe and Terry are very valuable for a study of the court life, and the manners and customs of the people.

Sir Thomas Roe was greatly impressed with the magnificence of the Court. He was admitted to the highest honours, and was allowed to hold free conversation with the Emperor on intimate terms. Although the nobles were very courteous he found them extremely venal, and he could not obtain the concessions for the English till Asaf Khan was satisfied with rich presents. He found the Governors tyrannical and exacting. The merchants were greatly harassed at the ports, and travel in the country was not so inconvenient. The Deccan was at that time in a state of ruin. The

administration in the Mughal empire had deteriorated since the time of Akbar. The Emperor although very free and jovial in his evening parties was very dignified in public. He would punish anybody for referring to his frivolities at night. Roe presented him an English coach, of which he was very fond. The craftsmanship was so perfect that a number of coaches were shortly built on this model. The art of painting was so advanced that a picture presented by Roe was quickly copied with perfection.

Loss of Kandahar

Shah Abbas, King of Persia sent an embassy to the court of Jahangir in 1611, and the Emperor sent one to the court of Persia in return in 1613. The diplomatic relations with the Shah continued for some years. In 1620 the Shah asked for the restoration of the city of Kandahar to Persia, and in return promised to give territory elsewhere. But Jahangir did not receive the proposal with favour. The Shah was determined to get back their ancient possession. The city was besieged in 1622, and after six months the Persians occupied it. The Emperor formed a plan of recovering the place by sending Shah Jahan at the head of a big expedition. But the Prince had then other schemes in his mind, and did not comply with the orders. He was then directed to place a considerable portion of his troops under the command of Shahriyar. At the instigation of Asaf Khan this order also was disregarded, and the Prince prepared for a rebellion against his father.

Rebellion of Shah Jahan

Shah Jahan had been appointed as Viceroy of the Deccan, and had under him extensive territories. He had married the daughter of Asaf Khan, brother of Nur Jahan. With the support of the Empress and her brother he expected to supersede Parviz and become the monarch. But in 1622 Nur Jahan's daughter, Ladli Begum by Sher Afghan was married to Prince Shahriyar and since then there was a division in the rank of the supporters of Shah Jahan. He felt that his absence in Kandahar might weaken his cause. On the other hand he tried to obtain possessions of the immense treasures belonging to his father. He marched with about 10,000 horse towards Agra. Jahangir also proceeded from Lahore to punish the rebel Prince. While Shah Jahan had reached Fatehpur he found that the Governor of Agra had shut the gates of the fort against him. Raja Bikramajit, the Governor of Guzerat, generally known as Sundar was his chief adviser. The houses of a number of Amirs in the outskirts of the city were plundered, and about sixty or seventy lakhs of rupees were gathered in this way. Finding his retreat difficult Shah Jahan decided to give battle to his father. Jahangir had summoned Mahabat Khan from Kabul and Prince Parviz from Patna. The Emperor found a number of nobles vacillating in their loyalty. Even the Khan-i-Khanan Abdur Rahim joined the rebels. In an engagement at Balochpur, forty miles south of Delhi, Sundar was killed, and Shah Jahan was repulsed. He then fled towards Mewat. Prince Parviz was

despatched to pursue him. Prince Dawar Bakhsh, son of Khusru was appointed the Viceroy of Guzerat. Shah Jahan retreated towards Mandu. Jahangir was willing to forgive him if he took an oath not to rebel again and asked him to come to Ajmir, but the Prince did not listen. He set up another rebellion in Guzerat, which however was crushed and then he crossed the Nerbada and retreated into Burhanpur. Mahabat Khan pursued him to this place, and he then in great distress went to Telingana, and through Masulipatam made his way to Bengal, where he succeeded in obtaining a foothold. The Governor of Bengal was taken un-awares, and his treasures were captured. Ibrahim Khan, the Governor of Dacca was slain in a battle near Raj Mahal. Shah Jahan then occupied Patna without resistance and was contemplating an attack upon Allahabad. In the mean time Parviz and Mahabat Khan while at Burhanpur got the information of the march of events in the east. They marched in precipitate haste towards Allahabad. At a battle on the banks of the Ganges near its confluence with the Chausa Shan Jahan was heavily defeated and put to flight. His followers deserted him, and those who had supported him were mercilessly treated by Parviz and Mahabat Khan. Shah Jahan fled to Golkonda through Orissa, and there he received some help from Malik Ambar. With the assistance thus received an attempt was made to capture Burhanpur. But in the mean time Parviz and Mahabat Khan had returned to the Deccan and forced Shah Jahan to raise the siege.

Shah Jahan had now no escape, most of his adherents had left his cause, and in utter distress he agreed to the terms dictated to him. He surrendered the forts of Rohtas in Bihar and Asirgarh in the Deccan and sent his sons Dara and Aurangzeb as hostages to the Court. Out of his kindness Jahangir allowed him to remain in the Deccan.

Rebellion of Mahabat Khan

Mahabat Khan was one of the most influential Amirs of the time. But for him Parviz would not have been able to reduce Shah Jahan. But neither Nur Jahan nor her brother Asaf Khan was happy at the growth of his influence. Khan-i-Khanan Abdur Rahim who had now repented and sought royal favours brought a number of accusations against Mahabat Khan for ill-treatment during his captivity. Mahabat Khan was summoned to Lahore, but instead of going there he went to his own citadel at Rantambhor. There he gathered his Rajput troops and meditated resistance. He further offended the Emperor by betrothing his daughter without his permission. He was ordered to surrender Rantambhor to Nur Jahan. This degradation he could not brook and proceeded towards Lahore with 5000 Rajput troops. Jahangir was then on his march to Kabul (1626 A.D.) When he approached the imperial camp on the banks of the Chenab he was ordered to come with his elephants in advance leaving the army behind. But the veteran soldier did not like to come as a criminal. Moreover he was afraid of the Persian party

consisting of the Queen, her brother and other nobles then surrounding the Emperor. In an engagement on the Jhelum the royalists were defeated with the loss of 2000 men. Mahabat then attacked the tent of Jahangir when he was still in his bed. The imperial guards were easily overpowered and the Emperor was taken on an elephant to Mahabat Khan's tent. Asaf Khan with his son fled towards Attock, but they were seized by Mahabat's son. In this catastrophe Nur Jahan showed uncommon heroism. When all her efforts to rescue her husband failed she joined him in his captivity. The march to Kabul was continued, and when the party reached that place the king was allowed some freedom of movement. In the mean time Nur Jahan developed her plan of releasing Jahangir from the hands of Mahabat Khan. The general also had alienated the Musalman troops by his overbearing manners. Popular sympathy was still very strong with the Emperor. One day when Jahangir was out hunting he was joined by a large number of Amirs with their troops numbering about 30,000. Mahabat Khan then realised his position, and withdrew to a distance of half a kos from the royal camp. When demanded to release Asaf Khan he asked for an assurance of safety, and was allowed to come to India without fear of any harm to his person. Shortly afterwards the king and queen returned to Lahore.

When Jahangir was in the hands of Mahabat Khan Shah Jahan marched northwards with a view to attack Agra. But on the death of Raja Kishen Singh at

Ajmir his Rajput following melted away, and hopeless of any success Shah Jahan turned towards Tatta. He was also driven out of that place and then fled to Bhakkar. His fortune however turned on the death of Parviz at Burhanpur in 1626. On receiving this news he started for the Deccan through Guzerat. Mahabat Khan finding his position unsafe in the royal Court fled to Jesalmir, and then to Udaipur. Khan-i-Khanan Abdur Rahim who had been ordered to pursue him died at Delhi. With the advice of the Rana of Udaipur Mahabat Khan joined Shah Jahan, most probably with the connivance of Asaf Khan who had no sympathy with his sister in pushing the claims of Shahriyar to the throne.

Death of Jahangir

The health of Jahangir had been thoroughly shattered. He was suffering from asthma long since, and while in Kashmir he had a relapse. On his way to Lahore he died at Chengiz Hatli near Bhimbhar on October 28, 1627 at the age of fifty-nine. The body was taken to Lahore for burial in the gardens of Shahdara. Nur-Jahan lost all the influence she had along with his death. Her efforts to place Shahriyar on the throne failed disastrously, and she spent the remaining part of her life in seclusion. She died in 1646 and was buried in the neighbourhood of Jahangir's tomb.

Jahangir was in every respect inferior to his august father. He did not win any fresh territories, but on the other

hand lost Kandahar. Brought up as the favourite child of the Emperor he became a pleasure seeker. The chief occupation of his life was hunting. Although he maintained the religion of the Muhammadans he never bothered himself about religious questions. He practically continued the policy of toleration of his father. He did not restrict the freedom of the Hindus nor did he withdraw their privileges. The Christians were thankful to him for favours shown. He was respectful towards saints and religious persons, and loved to be in their company. He did not interfere with the administrative system of his father, and extended his friendly relations with the Rajput Princes. Since his marriage with Nur Jahan he surrendered himself entirely into her hands. The accomplished queen became the real ruler of Hindustan. She was very ably assisted by her father Itimad-ud Daula, and after his death in 1622 by her brother Asaf Khan. The administration went on smoothly till the brother and the sister pulled in different directions regarding the succession to the throne. This was very unfortunate both for the empire and for Nur Jahan. Her influence was totally eclipsed on the death of Jahangir. She also committed a serious blunder by exciting Mahabat Khan to rebellion. Her valour and ingenuity were however brilliantly displayed in the manner in which she freed her husband. She was a poet and artist and changed the atmosphere of the Court by her graceful and dignified conduct. Both of them were large-hearted and charitable. A picture of the Court life and of the relations between Jahangir and

and Nur Jahan has been given by the Dutch merchant Francisco Pelsaert. He says

“When the king comes home in the evening from hunting, he takes his seat in his ghosalkhana, where all the lords come to present themselves, and where strangers who have requests to make are received in audience. He sits here till a quarter of the night or more has passed, and during this time he drinks his three piyala, or cups of wine, taking them successively at regular intervals; and when he drinks, all the by-standers shout or cry out wishes that it may do him good, just as in our country when “the king drinks” is played. Everyone leaves when the last cup has been drunk, and the king goes to bed. As soon as all the men have left, the Queen comes with the female slaves, and they undress him, chafing and fondling him as if he were a little child; for his three cups have made him so “happy” that he is more disposed to rest than keep awake. This is the time when his wife who knows so well how to manage him that she obtains whatever she asks for or desires, gets always ‘yes’ and hardly ever ‘no’ in reply.’

Although ease-loving and indolent Jahangir had a shrewd intelligence. The “Memoirs” which he wrote bears ample marks of his keen observation, and sound judgement. He used to visit Kashmir almost every summer and he describes the fauna and flora of the place with perfect accuracy. One passage from the “Memoirs” will give an idea of the style in which it is written :

“Kashmir is a garden of eternal spring, or an iron port to a palace of kings—a delightful flower bed and a heart-expanding hermitage for dervishes. Its pleasant meads and enchanting cascades are beyond all description. There are running streams and fountains beyond count. Wherever the eye reaches, there are verdure and running water. The red rose, the violet, and the narcissus grow of themselves ; in the field we there are all kinds of flowers and all sorts of sweet scented herbs more than can be calculated. In the soul-enchanting spring the hills and plains are filled with blossoms ; the gates, the walls, the courts, the roofs, are lighted up by the torches of banquet-adorning tulips, what shall we say of these things or of the wide meadows (*julgaha*) and the fragrant trefoil ? verse. * * * * *

“The finest inflorescence is that of the almond and the peach. Outside the hill-country the commencement of blossoming is the 1st Isfandarmuz (February 10). In the territory of Kashmir it is the 18th Farwardin (March 10), and in the city gardens it is the 9th and 10th of that month. and the end of their blooming joins on to the commencement of that of the blue jessamines. In attendance on my revered father I frequently went round the saffron fields, and beheld the spectacle of the autumn. Thank God that on this occasion I beheld the beauties of the spring.”

Not only Jahangir was a fine writer himself he was a great patron of learning. With his patronage was compiled a dictionary entitled *Farhanj-i-Jahangiri*. He also was an artist, and his fine taste is shown in the

paintings and buildings he designed. There were a number of artists around the court and he himself could draw and paint. The two renowned painters of his reign were Abul Hasan and Ustad Mansur, some of whose paintings can be still seen. He had a great share in giving a final shape to the splendid tomb of his father at Sikandra, in designing the tomb of Itimad-ud-Daula on the banks of the Jumna on the other side of Agra which is considered to be a piece of perfect workmanship or in his own sepulchre in the gardens of Shahdara on the Ravi.

The Condition of India in the time of Jahangir

From the writings of the European visitors an idea may be formed of the condition of the country. Besides Hawkins, Edwards, Roe, Terry and Ovington we have two valuable accounts from Dutch sources. Francisco Pelsaert came out to India in 1618 and remained here till 1627. In his *Remonstrantie* he describes the condition of trade in India, and the manners and customs of the people. Another Dutch author was De Laet, a director of the Dutch East India Company. His *De Imperio Magni Mogolis* is a satisfactory study of the economic position of India, he supplemented this by the *Fragment of Indian History*. In the conclusion of the latter book the author writes: "It will be evident however from a study of my material that the Mogol empire is exceedingly large, embracing many great provinces, that its ruler possesses vast wealth and infinite power, as regards both the number and strength of his troops and the ampli-

tude of his military resources. If however a careful investigation be made of the affairs of each Province, it will rapidly become apparent that the vast bulk of the empire labours under many discomforts, both disorders within and assaults from without; nor is it stable enough even now to endure for long. For instance (as is made abundantly apparent from the foregoing historical fragment), the empire is tormented by numerous intestine disorders and calamities. Sons cannot wait for their parents' death, but fight amongst themselves and against their parents and readily discover among the magnets a spirit eager and ripe for insurrection and revolution.

"The empire is not even strong enough to preserve itself from the operation of internal causes of weakness and decay. One reason for this is to be found in its subjection to an absolute government, frequently tyrannical in character; this leads to the existence of a revolutionary spirit amongst the subjects of the empire, a spirit which is readily inflamed and at any opportunity of revolt produces an insurrection. Another reason is the multitude of minor princes who can defend themselves against the king by virtue of the nature of their strongholds, the mountainous character of large tracts of the country, and the number and power of their troops. This danger becomes particularly pressing when it is increased either by the weakness of the reigning emperor, or by his laziness, or by the prevalence of civil warfare." The commentary was fully justified by the trend of subsequent events. The Court was

overflowing with wealth. There was luxury all around but the peasantry was poor and miserable. They laboured for their masters, but got very little in return. "The land would give a plentiful or even an extraordinary yield, if the peasants were not so cruelly or pitilessly oppressed," says Pelsaert, "for villages which owing to some small shortage of produce, are unable to pay the full amount of the revenue-farm, are made prize, so to speak, by their masters or governors, and wives and children sold on the pretext of a charge of rebellion. Some peasants abscond to escape their tyranny, and take refuge with Rajas who are in rebellion and consequently the fields lie empty and unsown, and grow into wilderness. Such oppression is exceedingly prevalent in this country."

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CHAPTER VI

SHAH JAHAN (1628-1658)

The Struggle for the Throne.

The death of Jahangir created a tangle in the matter of succession. Both Khusru and Parviz had died before, Shah Jahan was in the Deccan, and the youngest son Shahriyar had already proceeded to Lahore to seize the throne as soon as the death of Jahangir would take place. He would take possession of the royal treasures and tried to enlist the sympathy of the soldiers by a generous distribution of the money. But Asaf Khan who was watching the interests of his son-in-law Shah Jahan sent an urgent message to him in the Deccan to come at once to Agra, and in the meantime prevented Shahriyar from carrying out his plan. Nur Jahan was put under arrest and Dawar Bakhsh, popularly called Bulaqi, the son of Khusru, was placed upon the throne as a temporary arrangement. Shahriyar made desperate efforts to counteract the evil designs of Asaf Khan. The people had no faith in his ability and used to call him contemptuously "Na-Shudani" (good for nothing.) On the approach of Asaf Khan he took shelter within the fort of Lahore, but could not stand against his superior forces. He was taken a prisoner and was shortly put to death. The sons of Daniyal who were with him, also shared his fate.

Nur Jahan henceforth retired completely from public life. She was granted a handsome stipend which she spent in charity. Never again in life people saw her joining any festivities. She died in 1646 honoured by all as the devoted widow of a popular sovereign.

Shah Jahan received the message from Asaf Khan at Junnair in six days. He was encouraged by Mahabat Khan in undertaking a journey to the capital. He marched with only 7,000 troops through Surat and Cambay and on the way received the active sympathy of the nobles and princes. He sent a messenger to Lahore with instructions to remove from his way the princes who had any claim to the throne. Shahriyar and the sons of Daniyal were killed according to his wishes, Bulaqi escaped to Persia, and when Shah Jahan reached Agra he was received by the nobles as the rightful Emperor. On an auspicious day, the 6th February 1628, he entered the Fort where the formal coronation ceremony was held. He assumed the title of Sahabuddin Muhammad. Fifty days after the coronation Asaf Khan returned to Agra with Nur Jahan and other ladies. The royal treasures were placed in the hands of Shah Jahan, who made Asaf Khan the chief officer in the Empire and conferred the highest honours upon him and Mahabat Khan.

Disturbances in the early part of the reign

Shah Jahan was thirty-six when he came to the throne. By his long association with the government he had acquired enough wisdom and experience to

manage the affairs of the state with ability. By bloody assassinations all the rivals to the throne had been removed, and immediately on assumption of power he took steps for display of grandeur in various ways. But in the early part of his reign he was troubled by a few risings in the different parts of the empire. The Uzbegs burst into the province of Kabul, but withdrew when a small army was sent against them. Sharif-ul Mulk of Sind also was anxious to declare himself independent. The rebellion of Raja Jujhar Singh Bundela was more serious. His turbulent followers were a source of great danger on the road to Burhanpur. An expedition under the leadership of young Aurangzeb assisted by three able generals succeeded in crushing the rising for the time being, although it took eight years to completely end the trouble, when the leader of the rebels was killed by the Gonds.

Khan Jahan Lodi, the commander of the forces in the Deccan, was reluctant to pay allegiance to the new monarch. He was an Afghan promoted to high office in the reign of Jahangir, and held chief command of the army under Parviz. He was in friendly relations with the son of Malik Ambar, and contemplated secession from the empire when Shah Jahan went to Agra. Shah Jahan transferred him to the province of Malwa when his movements in the Deccan became suspicious, and appointed Mahabat Khan to take his place. In the suppression of the Bundelas he offered ready assistance, and was invited to the court by Shah Jahan. But after a short stay at Agra he suspected

that the Emperor had some designs against him. He left the capital with 2000 troops, and although pursued by the imperial troops managed to escape through Bundelkand and Gondwana. Soon he established contact with his ally the king of Ahmadnagar. Shah Jahan realising the seriousness of the situation took the field himself. He was afraid that Khan Jahan might form a strong combination of the Deccan kingdoms and thereby endanger the Mughal empire. Murtiza Nizam Shah of Ahmadnagar was an incompetent ruler. He took Khan Jahan under his wings, and gave him every possible help to stand against the Mughals. But Khan Jahan was driven from place to place, and fled to Bijapur. Muhammad Adil Shah, the king of Bijapur was not prepared to enter into hostility with Shah Jahan. The other important king of the south, Abdulla Kutb Shah of Golkonda, was busy with the Hindu kingdom of Telingana and did not care to take part in these contests. Khan Jahan went back to Ahmadnagar but Murtiza Nizam Shah was heavily defeated at Daulatabad. The rebel general made a desperate attempt to join the Afghans in Peshawar. He was captured near Kalinjar and killed (1630 A.D.). When these troubles were over Shah Jahan was able to arrange for a display of the magnificence of the treasures he had inherited. He ordered the famous Peacock throne which took seven years to be completed (1628-35). It cost a crore of rupees.

Death of Mumtaz Mahal (1631)

The Emperor Suffered a great loss on the death of

his beloved wife Mumtaz Mahal at Burhanpur in June 1631. He was greatly devoted to her, and so long as she lived she greatly moulded his life and conduct. She was the daughter of Asaf Khan, the brother of Nur Jahan. She was born in 1592 and married to Shah Jahan in 1612. She bore to her husband fourteen children, eight sons and six daughters and died in child bed at the age of thirty-nine. Four of her sons survived and subsequently figured in history, and along with them were associated her two daughters. She influenced the religious policy of Shah Jahan considerably. She was a devout Muslim, and changed the attitude of Shah Jahan towards other religions. Her body was first buried at Burhanpur, and after six months removed to Agra where the celebrated mausoleum was erected.

War with the Portuguese at Hughli

The Portuguese traders at Hughli had offended the Empress by capturing two of her slave-girls with the intention of making them converts to Christianity. Their conduct had for sometime engaged the attention of the Emperor. They founded a small settlement on the banks of the Ganges, above Satgaon, in 1579, and gradually built up the factory at Hughli. The trade of the old city of Satgaon was ruined by them, and they extended their business at the expense of the Indian merchants. They also carried on slave trade, and used to convert their victims to Christianity. When these things were reported to Shah Jahan he adopted measures to chastise the arrogant Christians.

Kasim Khan was appointed as Governor of Bengal with this object. The Emperor was determined to crush the Christians throughout his dominions. Kasim Khan laid siege to the town of Hughli on the 24th June, 1632. The Portuguese offered strong resistance, and held out for three months. But they were overpowered by superior numbers of the Mughals. Some of them managed to escape by boat to the Saugor Island at the mouth of the Ganges. The casualties were very heavy and several thousands were carried as prisoners to Agra. The fortifications and places of worship at Hughli were destroyed, and the captives were forced to accept Islam. Some of them were ransomed with the generosity of Asaf Khan, and some saved through the intervention the Armenian architect Geronimo Veroneo who was engaged in building the Taj. A big church at Agra also suffered from the revengeful spirit of the Emperor. The Christians throughout the empire were subjected to a state of misery and desolation unheard of before.

The spirit of intolerance was also shown in his dealings with the Hindus. Orders were issued that no new temples would be erected and those in the course of construction should be demolished. We are told that seventy-six temples were destroyed in the district of Benares alone.

The Deccan War

Shah Jahan had marched into the Deccan to pursue the rebellious general Khan Jahan Lodi. He remained

there even after the death of the general as he found it an opportune occasion to drive a wedge into the Deccan by continuing war with Murtiza Nizam Shah of Ahmadnagar. The Mughals had already acquired Khandesh and part of Ahmadnagar including Berar. Malik Ambar recovered the territories as far as Burhanpur. The kingdoms of Bijapur and Golkonda were fully independent. Shah Jahan during his stay in the Deccan carefully studied the situation. He now adopted a forward policy and made an effort to extend his empire in the south. He carried on his hostility with the king of Ahmadnagar for espousing the cause of Khan Jahan Lodi. The country was then in great distress on account of the failure of rains. There was a large number of deaths both of men and cattle, through starvation, and numbers were carried away by pestilence. Those who could left the country, and a vast proportion of these emigrants succumbed on the way. The Mughals under Azam Khan pressed their attacks when the entire south from Guzerat to Ahmadnagar was suffering from these calamities. The internal dissensions in Ahmadnagar still further weakened the Sultan. He was not very popular, and his minister Fath Khan whom he had recently released from prison was not very faithful. The ungrateful minister entered into correspondence with the Emperor, treacherously murdered his master, placed an infant named Hussain Shah on the throne. In the meantime Muhammad Adil Shah of Bijapur declared war against the Mughals as he feared that he would not be safe if Ahmadnagar

was ruined. But Murtiza Nizam Shah had been put to death before he could send any help. When the negotiations were carried on with Fath Khan an attack was directed against Bijapur although Muham-Adil Shah had given no offence to the Emperor. The Mughal troops led by Asaf Khan laid siege to Bijapur (1631) but on account of famine and pestilence he had great difficulty in carrying on the operations. When supplies failed him he was forced to withdraw. About this time Shah Jahan returned to Agra leaving Mahabat Khan in full charge of the Government of the Deccan.

Fath Khan although offered his submission to the Emperor was not prepared to unconditionally surrender. He held out for sometime in the fortress of Daulatabad which had been fortified by his father Malik Ambar. He received occasional help from the King of Bijapur. But the perfidious minister surrendered the fortress on receiving a large amount of money from Mahabat Khan. The young Sultan whom he had placed on the throne was made a prisoner in the fort of Gwalior, and Fath Khan was admitted into the Mughal service on a high salary (1632). The kingdom of Ahmadnagar henceforth ceased to exist but hostilities with Bijapur still continued. The Mughals however could not bring the entire territory belonging to the Nizam Shah under their control, parts of his dominions and some forts were taken possession of by the Sultan of Bijapur who also took into his service a large number of officers and troops of Ahmadnagar.

Mahabat Khan tried his best to reduce the kingdom of Bijapur. But his effort failed. The Sultan held out heroically, and forced the Mughals to raise the siege of Parenda. Mahabat Khan fell back upon Burhanpur, and was soon recalled. He died shortly afterwards (1634 A. D.) The Deccan was divided into two commands under the generals Khan-i-Dauran and Khan-i-Zaman. But these generals could not in any way improve the situation. On the other hand a Mahratta chief named Shahji Bhonsla set up on the throne of Ahmadnagar a Nizam Shahi boy named Ahmad Nizam Shah, and managed to obtain possession of the country from the the sea to Ahmadnagar. In these circumstances Shah Jahan took the field over again, and marched from Agra towards the end of 1635 A. D.

The Emperor reached Daulatabad on the 21st February 1636, and then broke up his army into four divisions. One division he sent against Shahji and three others were kept ready for Bijapur and Golkonda. Shahji although driven out of the plains held out for a long time in his mountain fastnesses. The kings of Bijapur and Golkonda were asked to submit, to recognise Shah Jahan as their suzerain, to pay an annual tribute, and not to give any assistance to Shahji. Abdulla of Kutb Shah of Golkonda did not venture to oppose the Emperor and agreed to pay a regular tribute and accept Shah Jahan as his overlord. But the king of Bijapur was not so yielding. He made a thorough preparation to meet the Mughal arms, laid waste the country round Bijapur so that the enemy

might not carry the operations for want of supplies. When Shah Jahan concentrated three armies upon that country Muhammad Shah saved the capital by cutting the dam of the lake of Shahpur. Ultimately both the parties became tired, and they agreed to a settlement (May 8, 1636 A.D.) The terms were less onerous than those offered to Golkonda. The Sultan of Bijapur acknowledged the suzerainty of Shah Jahan but was not required to pay an annual tribute. He simply paid an indemnity of 20 lakhs of rupees, but received a big slice out of the territories of the Ahmadnagar kingdom yielding a revenue of 80 lakhs of rupees. The other portion of that kingdom was annexed by Shah Jahan. Shahji Bhonsla maintained his hostilities for some time more. But he could not stand long against the formidable army of the Mughals. He was forced to surrender the forts and to give up the pretender, but he was allowed to join the service of Bijapur. The campaign was therefore a great success. The kingdom of Ahmadnagar was destroyed, and Bijapur and Golkonda became subordinate states. After settling the affairs in the Deccan Shah Jahan returned to Agra by the middle of the year 1636 A.D. leaving there Aurangzeb as viceroy. The young prince was only eighteen when he became viceroy of this important province, which included Khandesh, Berar, Telingana and Daulatabad.

Aurangzeb as viceroy of the Deccan (1634-44 A.D.)

Aurangzeb had a difficult charge to manage. Within the province there were 64 forts and he expected a

revenue of 5 crores of rupees when he took up the administration (July 14, 1636 A. D.) Shahji Bhonsla was still holding out, and he had control over a number of forts. The Mahratta leader could not long resist the Mughal attacks and surrendered towards the end of the year. With the help of general Khan-i-Dauran the Gond country was subjugated early in 1637 A.D. The next year Baglana lying between Khandesh and Guzerat was conquered. The main work of administration in the Deccan was performed by Khan-i-Zaman, Aurangzeb had thus ample leisure to enjoy himself. During his incumbency as viceroy of the Deccan he visited Agra several times. His sister Princess Jahauara got burnt by an accident (March 26, 1644) and when she was in a precarious condition, Aurangzeb came to see her in May. While at Agra he was deprived of his charge as he incurred the displeasure of his father by his suspicious attitude towards his eldest brother Dara. Through the intervention of Jahanara on her recovery he was subsequently appointed governor of Guzerat (February, 1645 A. D.) He won good opinion of the Emperor by his able administration of this province. He suppressed lawlessness and robbery by his vigorous rule during his two years stay there.

Expedition to Central Asia

The dream of occupying Samarkand, the capital of Timur, was inherited by Shah Jahan from his father and grand-father. The provinces of Balkh and Badakhshan were on the way. They were included in the

kingdom of Bokhara. In 1642 A. D. Nazar Muhammad became the King of these territories. He was however soon deprived of the provinces beyond the Oxus, and his attacks upon Kabul were repelled. Shah Jahan considered these circumstances as favourable to his plan, and sent an expedition under Prince Murad Baksh and Ali Mardan Khan, 1645 A. D. The Indian army marched through the country beyond the Hindukush almost without opposition and entered the city of Balkh on the 2nd July, 1646 A. D. Nazar Muhammad fled to Persia, but his vast wealth was plundered by his own people. Only 12 lakhs fell into the hands of the conqueror. Although victorious the Prince was anxious to return to India. He was not very happy amidst the bleak wilderness of Balkh, and was pining for the pleasures at home. He returned without permission of the Emperor, and for this he was deprived of his Mansab and was superseded by Allami Sa'dulla Khan, the chief minister. Sa'dulla restored order in the army which had lost its morale on account of the vacillation of the Prince. To maintain the position in Balkh Aurangzeb was recalled from Guzerat and sent to Balkh early in 1647. In his march across the Hindukush he was accompanied by Ali Mardan Khan and reached Balkh on the 27th May. But the Mughal position became untenable when they were attacked by the Uzbeks from all sides. Aurangzeb had to beat a retreat after restoring Balkh and Badakhshan to Nazar Muhammad. The retreat was disastrous on account of an early setting in

of the winter. About 5000 men perished on the way, and the total loss in this wild project was about four crores of rupees. Aurangzeb however showed great courage in the midst of dangers, and for his heroism he was rewarded and appointed governor of Multan, March 1648. For sometime India had to guard against the danger of an invasion from the Uzbeks. Shah Jahan watched their movements from Lahore, and sometimes moved to Kabul.

Loss of Kandahar

Kandahar which holds a strategic position between India and Central Asia was in possession of the Mughal Emperors. But in 1622 Shah Abbas of Persia snatched it from the hands of Jahangir. Shah Jahan recovered it in 1638 A.D. by holding out promises of high position to its governor Ali Mardan Khan who received a sum of one lakh of rupees on surrendering the place. The king of Persia, however, was not reconciled to this position. He kept up his efforts to regain Kandahar. The traffic from Persia to Kandahar via Herat was stopped, and the city was besieged on the 16th December, 1648. The Mughal commandant Daulat Khan had not sufficient troops to defend, and Shah Jahan could not send any troops till next spring. So the garrison surrendered on the 11th February, 1649, after a siege of 57 days. Sa'dulla Khan reached Kandahar in May, and Aurangzeb arrived two days later. The combined army laid siege to the city but they did not bring with them a siege train of battering guns, skilled

artillery men necessary for such operations. After an ineffective siege lasting three months and a half they were forced to raise it on the approach of the winter (September 5, 1669). Aurangzeb lost almost two to three thousand men in this campaign.

Shah Jahan did not however give up the hope of regaining this lost dominion. He gathered his forces in the course of the next three years. A huge army was organised under Sa'dulla and Aurangzeb, and equipped with materials for an effective siege. Sa'dulla marched from Kabul and Aurangzeb from Multan with 50 to 60 thousand troops, and reached Kandahar on the 2nd May 1652, A.D. The operations were directed by Shah Jahan from Kabul. The Indian troops were not sufficiently efficient in the use of guns, and they were no match for the Persians. They suffered terribly in a few engagements, and realising that there was no chance of recovering Kandahar Shah Jahan issued orders to withdraw, Aurangzeb abandoned the siege on the 9th July and reached Kabul on the 7th of the next month. For this failure Aurangzeb was sent to the Deccan, although he was not chiefly to blame.

Another expedition was sent under Dara Shukoh next year. But the Prince inspite of a thorough preparation failed to improve the situation. He carried on the investment for five months but he too had to admit defeat, and abandoned the place in September, 1653. In these expeditions the Emperor spent 12 crores of rupees, and engaged the best armies he could raise. His failure

to take the place affected his military glory, and henceforth Kandahar was lost to the Empire.

Aurangzeb's second administration of the Deccan

It was with reluctance that Aurangzeb proceeded to take charge of his new office. Leaving Agra in November, 1652, he reached Burhanpur on the 30th January next, but stayed there nine months enjoying the company of a dancing girl. By the end of November he arrived at Aurangabad the capital of the province. He however did not pay any attention to the administration, and spent his time mostly in games and hunting. The condition of the people was miserable on account of the neglect of the governors who succeeded him since 1644. Land was lying uncultivated, jungles remained unreclaimed, villages in many places abandoned and the collections were far below the estimates. The expenses could not be met from the revenue and for years together the deficit had to be met from the cash reserves and from the revenues of other provinces. Aurangzeb asked for relief from his father, but Shah Jahan felt that the Prince was not doing what he ought to in improving the situation.

In this difficult position Aurangzeb was fortunate in having an able financier named Murshid Kuli Khan who was originally in the service of Ali Mardan Khan. He was a fugitive from Persia and came to India with Ali Mardan. He was appointed Diwan of the Deccan in 1656. He followed the policy of Todar Mall in the settlement of the province. Land was surveyed, and

classified according to the fertility of the soil, and the share of the Government fixed. By a careful management productivity of the soil was increased and cultivation extended. These improvements brought in increased revenue. Aurangzeb also tried to improve the administration by appointing his own men to responsible positions. But these measures were not enough to regain the confidence of the Emperor. The Prince was warned and censured and he was about to be superseded by Shuja if that Prince had agreed. He then formed the plan of increasing his revenue by an aggressive policy towards the neighbouring kingdom of Golkonda.

War with Golkonda

Sultan Abdulla Kutb Shah of Golkonda had agreed to pay an annual tribute of two lakhs of Huns, but as the amount was very heavy it could not be regularly paid. Moreover on account of a rise in the exchange value the Mughals demanded payment at this rate. The Sultan had also extended his dominions in the Karnatak with the help of his Persian minister Mir Jumla who was directly responsible for the breach of friendly relations. Mir Jumla was a merchant from Ardistan, and he came to the Deccan for trade in 1630. In course of time he became the prime minister of Golkonda. By his business in diamond he had become immensely rich and acquired very great influence with the people. He possessed wonderful talents for civil as well as military administration. The Govern-

ment of Golkonda had greatly improved under his able guidance. It was with his help that the Karnatak was conquered. He was granted a jaghir in that province which he developed into a semi-independent state with a well-organised army. His extensive estate covering an area about 300 miles long and 50 broad brought him a revenue of forty lakhs of rupees. Sultan Abdulla became jealous of his influential minister and tried to deprive him of his wealth by supporting a plot to blind him when he came to the Court. But the shrewd minister escaped before the plot matured, and entered into negotiations with the Sultan of Bijapur, the Shah of Persia and Prince Aurangzeb for a revenge. He was seeking an opportunity to leave for Persia with his vast wealth. But Aurangzeb was anxious to enlist him in the imperial service and made tempting offers through the Mughal envoy at Golkonda. He persuaded Shah Jahan to guarantee him protection from the wrath of Sultan Abdulla. Mir Jumla had further incurred the displeasure of his master on account of the insolent conduct of his dissolute son Muhammad Amin. For these offences the Sultan had ordered the confiscation of all his property and imprisoned the young man. Mir Jumla sought the help of Aurangzeb who brought from Shah Jahan a peremptory order to Kutb Shah to release Muhammad Amin and his property, and to send Mir Jumla and his son to the Imperial Court. The Sultan was annoyed at this encroachment upon his sovereign rights, and paid no heed to the order. Shah Jahan then agreed to enforce

the order by an appeal to arms. Mir Jumla was made a commander of five thousand and his son of two thousand.

Aurangzeb sent his son Sultan Muhammad with instructions to take Abdulla Shah by surprise. The Prince was ostensibly on his way to Bengal for celebrating his marriage with the daughter of Shuja, and Abdulla was preparing for his reception when the Mughals suddenly attacked Hyderabad. The king in utter dismay fled to the Fort of Golkonda, where he had kept his treasures (January 23, 1656). The rich city was plundered and sacked for three days. The Sultan offered 200 caskets of gems and jewels to stop the plunder, released Muhammad Amin, and restored the property of Mir Jumla. But Prince Muhammad instead of coming to any settlement waited for orders from his father who reached the place with large reinforcements on the 6th February. Golkonda was invested by the combined army. The siege continued till the 30th March. The Sultan appealed to the king of Bijapur for help, but he received no response. Aurangzeb would have fain annexed the kingdom but neither Shah Jahan nor Dara was agreeable to this extreme step. The Emperor, in compliance with an appeal from the Sultan, had despatched a *firman* granting him full pardon on payment of some indemnity, but Aurangzeb had suppressed that letter. Kutb Shah was almost ruined. On the representation of Dara and Princess Jahanara the Emperor then issued an order to Aurangzeb to raise the siege immediately. Aurangzeb

had no other alternative but to obey the order, but he obtained from the Sultan as favourable terms as possible. Kutb Shah was compelled to pay an indemnity of one crore of rupees, and to give his daughter in marriage to Sultan Muhammad. He also agreed to pay up the arrears of tribute within two years. Henceforth Mir Jumla was confirmed in the Mughal service with the command of six thousand. His estate in the Karnatak, however, still remained the bone of contention between the powers. When he visited Agra he was made the *Wazir* in place of Sa'dulla who had died recently.

War with Bijapur

The neighbouring kingdom of Bijapur had greatly profited by the treaty of 1636. Sultan Muhammad Adil Shah had extended his dominions in all directions except the north, and he became the most powerful monarch in the south. He incurred the displeasure of Aurangzeb on account of his friendship with Dara. He died in November 1656, and was succeeded by his son Ali Adil Shah, a young man of eighteen. Aurangzeb represented to the Emperor that Ali was not the real son of the late Sultan, and that his succession should not be recognised, and that the kingdom should be annexed if resistance was offered. His view was held by Mir Jumla now at Court, and the Emperor agreed to send an army under the *Wazir*. Mir Jumla reached Aurangabad on the 18th January, 1657, and accompanied by Aurangzeb marched towards Bijapur. The Sultan was not prepared for this war, and his army was engaged in

other parts in war with the Hindu chiefs of Karnatak. The city of Bidar was occupied after a siege of 27 days, and a large amount of wealth fell into the hands of Aurangzeb. Kalyani surrendered on the 18th August, and then they marched upon the capital. But before they had carried their plan further Shah Jahan desired cessation of hostilities. It was a great disappointment for Aurangzeb that he should be prevented by imperial orders from annexing the southern kingdoms. He however settled the terms of peace with the Sultan who agreed to cede Bidar, Kalyani, Parenda and some other places in the Konkan and to pay an indemnity of 1 crore of rupees. But before the settlement was ratified news of the serious illness of the Emperor reached the Deccan. Aurangzeb then prepared for the war of succession, and thus the southern kingdoms enjoyed a respite for about thirty years.

Illness of Shah Jahan

As soon as the news of the serious illness of the Emperor leaked out there was a rush for the throne by his four sons. All the four cherished the ambition of succeeding to the throne as there was no definite rule regarding the succession. The eldest son Dara Shukoh was recognised as the heir-apparent, and being at Court exercised some of the imperial prerogatives. The second son Shuja was in Bengal, the third Aurangzeb was in the Deccan and then engaged in a war with Bijapur, and the youngest Murad was Viceroy of Guzerat. Each of them considered himself to possess as

good a claim to the throne, and each prepared for a deadly fight. Shah Jahan fell ill at Delhi on the 6th September 1658, and as he could not appear before the window people took him for dead. The statements issued by Dara were not believed. He took steps that the alarming news might not spread in the country, and asked the agents of his brothers not to create further difficulties by sending false reports. Under the careful nursing of Dara the Emperor improved, and when he was slightly better he nominated Dara as his successor. But the Prince did not put on the crown. He carried on the administration of the Empire in the name of his father. Although Shah Jahan improved under the able treatment of his physicians he did not expect to live long. So he desired to be at Agra, in the hallowed precincts of the tomb of his beloved wife Mumtaz Mahal. He left Delhi by boat on the 18th October, and landed at Agra on the 26th of the next month. By this river trip his health improved, but this did not avert the contests of the brothers for the throne. Shuja was the first to declare independence in Bengal. Murad also had his name read in the Khutba, and struck on the coins. But Aurangzeb preferred to wait. All of them however marched towards Agra. When Shah Jahan assured them of his recovery and asked them not to come to Agra they did not listen as they thought that it was a trick of Dara.

The position of the brothers

All the four sons of Shah Jahan were competent

to undertake the business of government. They had sufficient experience in civil and military duties. The eldest Dara was 43, and was recognised as the heir-apparent. He was the favourite of the Emperor, but he was not very popular with the nobility. He was a man of scholarly habits, had studied the religious books extensively, and was liberal in his views. The Musalmans used to call him a *Kafir* for his sympathy with the Hindus. He translated 50 Upanishads containing the philosophy of the Vedanta, and had great respect for the Vedas. But he had an irascible temper by which he alienated many of his friends. He had no genuine friend excepting his sister Jahanara. No officer was willing to take up his cause sincerely. The Italian traveller Manucci says: "The first-born son of king Shah Jahan was the Prince Dara, a man of dignified manners, of a comely countenance, joyous and polite in conversation, ready and gracious of speech, of most extraordinary liberality, kindly and compassionate, but over-confident in his opinion of himself, considering himself competent in all things and having no need of advisers. He despised those who gave him counsel. Thus it was that his dearest friends never ventured to inform him of the most essential things. Still it was very easy to discover his intentions. He assumed that fortune would invariably favour him, and imagined that every body loved him." This is a fine pen-picture of Dara, and explains to some extent the cause of his fall.

The second son Shuja aged 41 was bold, steadfast

and prudent. He was more discreet, and firmer of purpose than his brother. By means of gifts he won over a number of friends to his side. But he was inordinately fond of pleasure. He loved songs, dances and women, and used to drink too much. He was the first to take the field. He marched towards Agra with an army consisting of forty thousand horse and innumerable infantry. A strong fleet was also kept ready on the Ganges, commanded by his Portuguese officers. When the news of his advance reached Agra, Sulaiman Shukoh the eldest son of Dara was sent to oppose him. He was accompanied by Raja Jai Singh of Ambar, and General Dilir Khan. The armies met at a village named Bahadurpur, five miles from Benares (February 14, 1658), and although Shuja was defeated, he was not pursued vigorously, according to the instructions of the Emperor. By this failure Shuja lost all chances of getting the throne. Shulaiman Shukoh had to return to the aid of his father against his other two brothers.

Murad Bakhsh, the youngest of the brothers, then thirty-three years old, was bold and courageous, but lacked the sagacity of his other brothers. He was very fond of wine and sports. As soon as he heard of the illness of his father he declared himself independent. The third brother Aurangzeb was the most shewd of them all. He did not give out his mind like the others. The French traveller Bernier describes him as "devoid of that urbanity and engaging presence, so much admired in Dara but he possessed a sounder judgement and

was more skilful in selecting for confidants such persons as were best qualified to serve him with faithfulness and ability. He distributed his presents with a liberal but discriminating hand among those whose good-will it was essential to preserve or cultivate. He was reserved, subtle and a complete master of the art of dissimulation. When in his father's court he feigned a devotion which he never felt, and affected contempt for worldly grandeur while clandestinely endeavouring to pave the way to future elevation." Dara was always suspicious of this hypocrite. Their sister Raushanara was partial towards Aurangzeb and used to keep him informed of the movements at court. The elder sister Jahanara was the favourite of Shah Jahan. She was charmingly beautiful, wise, witty, frank, generous and very attractive in her appearance. Both the sisters remained single as the daughters of the Mughal emperors could not be suitably married. Jahanara watched the interests of Dara and she expected that he would help her in getting married. Raushanara though not very beautiful was not less clever, she was jealous of her elder sister as she did not enjoy the same rank and privilege.

Battle of Dharmatpur

From the very beginning Aurangzeb moved cautiously. He did not declare war till he had strengthened his position considerably. He formed an alliance with Sivaji then a rebel against the king of Bijapur, and tried to engage Mir Jumla on his side. His next move was to combine with Murad against Dara. He promised to

Murad that he would help him to the throne, and sent him a flattering letter offering submission to him. His only object in undertaking the campaign, he said, was to remove from the throne the apostate Dara. In a letter to Murad he wrote, "I have not the slightest liking for or wish to take any part in the government of this deceitful and unstable world, my only desire is that I may make the pilgrimage to the temple of God. But whatever course you have resolved upon in opposition to the good for nothing and unjust conduct of our disgraceful brother (*biradar-i-be-sukoh*), you may consider me your sincere friend and ally. Our revered father is alive, and I think that we two brothers should devote ourselves to his service, and to the punishment of the wilfulness of that naughty one and the presumption and conceit of that apostate. "The simple-minded Murad took him on his word and according to a concerted plan attacked Surat, and marched with his troops to join Aurangzeb on the Nerbada. Mir Jumla was afraid of joining Aurangzeb openly lest his son and family might suffer in the hands of Dara. He allowed himself to be made a prisoner at Aurangbad, and all his wealth to be appropriated by Aurangzeb. After collecting his troops Aurangzeb reached Burhanpur by the middle of February, and crossing the Nerbada at the ford of Akbarpur formed a conjunction with Murad in Mandu.

Shah Jahan had sent Maharaja Jaswant Singh and Kasim Khan to oppose the brothers. They were instructed to persuade the Princes to give up the march, and if

they would not listen then to stop their advance. The friendly advice was disregarded, and the messengers were not allowed to return. Then the Imperial troops took their position on the banks of the Sipra, 14 miles south-west of Ujjain. Aurangzeb encamped on the opposite side at Dharmatpur. When his entire army had reached the place he tried to cross the river. Kasim Khan stood aloof on account of a secret understanding with the Prince, but the Rajputs under Jaswant Singh fought valiantly till they were overpowered. Jaswant retreated with 500 troops (April 20, 1658 A. D.) His wife, a daughter of the Rana of Chitor closed the gates of the castle against him for the disgraceful retreat. The news of the disaster created a great consternation at Agra, but the princes considered it as the promise of a better future.

The battle of Samugarh

The victorious brothers marched slowly towards Agra. Khalilullah Khan had been sent to oppose them on the Chambal. Shah Jahan was willing to lead the army with the hope that Murad and Aurangzeb would not fight against their father. Moreover he could expect the faithful service of the nobles. This touched the sense of honour of Dara. He prepared to meet the advancing armies with about a lakh of horse soldiers and twenty thousand infantry. There was however no able general on his side. Shah Jahan advised him to wait till the arrival of Sulaiman Shukoh. Finding the ford of Dholpur well-guarded Aurangzeb crossed

the river with the help of a man called Champat Bundela, and reached Samugarh by the midday of the 2nd June. It was a little above the place where the Chambal has fallen into the Jumna, and only five leagues from Agra. Dara moved from the camp at Dholpur to oppose them before they could reach the place. Shah Jahan advised him to draw towards Agra so that he could entrench himself within the fort till the arrival of Sulaiman. But Dara feared that further retreat would demoralise his troops. Aurangzeb had his friends in Dara's camp. Khalilullah Khan with about thirty thousand troops occupied the right wing. He was a traitor and did not fight. On the left Rustam Khan and Raja Chhattar Sal Rautela fought bravely. Dara was leading the centre. Aurangzeb had arranged his army in five divisions. On the right were Sultan Muhammad and Najabat Khan, on the left was Murad. In front of both the armies were placed the artillery, and musketeers. Dara was leading his army sitting upon an elephant. The battle started at nine in the morning (June 5, 1658) Dara cheered up his troops in all parts, and pressed on towards the centre of the enemy when he received the news that Rustam Khan and Chatar Sal had been killed. Ram Singh the leader of the Rajput troops was also pierced by an arrow when he vigorously engaged Murad Bakhsh. Dara sent reinforcements to the left and had all the advantages on his side when Khalilullah Khan advised him to attack Aurangzeb immediately on horse back. Dara lost the battle by dismounting from the elephant, as the troops

believed that he had been killed, and fled in all directions. The battle was over in three hours. Dara "was hurled from the pinnacle of glory to be numbered among the most miserable of Princes." Khaliullah went over to Aurangzeb, and Dara fled towards Agra. The nobles congratulated the conqueror and offered their services to him. Dara reached Agra at nine in the evening, but in shame did not see his father. Before the break of the dawn he went towards Delhi.

Shah Jahan a prisoner

The battle of Samugarh decided the fate of the Princes. After four days Aurangzeb and Murad reached Agra, and encamped there outside the city. From there a messenger was sent to Shah Jahan who asked Aurangzeb to visit him. But Aurangzeb sent his son Sultan Muhammad to take possession of the fort and the person of the Emperor. Aurangzeb never came to see his father. Shah Jahan was made a prisoner in his own place, where he remained confined till his death in 1666 A. D. Thus closed the reign of the most magnificent of the Mughal monarchs.

Shah Jahan's Magnificence

Shah Jahan was on the throne for thirty years. His reign was marked by peace throughout the empire and there was sufficient evidence of prosperity. He followed the system of government introduced by Akbar, and as he had not many wars to wage he could give his attention to the promotion of the welfare of the

people. According to an Indian historian he excelled other monarchs in good administration and in the order and arrangement of territory and finances, Tavernier gives high praise to his civil government, and says that he "reigned not so much as a king over his subjects, but rather as a father over his family and children." He was after all a despot with no responsibility to the people under him, or with no higher authority to guide his activities. The system of justice was stern, and may be said to be rough and rude from the modern standard. But heavy punishments, amounting to savage atrocities, were at times necessary to keep down the lawless bandits and the oppressive officers to whom was entrusted the welfare of the people. It would not be fair to judge Shah Jahan from the accounts of foreign travellers who were staggered at the sight of a few court incidents. The vast country could not however be in a uniform state of prosperity, Bengal was the richest and most prosperous. The trade in rice, sugar, cotton fabrics, silk, saltpetre, opium, and other commodities was in a flourishing condition. So was Guzerat with its good ports, and rich soil. In the less prosperous parts of northern India Shah Jahan tried to increase fertility by large irrigation canals. When the Augustinian friar Father Manrique visited him at Lahore he was supervising the works of the Ravi canal then under construction. Ali Mardan Khan, the Persian general and statesman was an engineer of great ability, and it was with his help that the big canal projects were executed. The

Jumna canal which he laid out still bear his name. These canals extending from "the Himalayas to Hissar on one side, and to the middle of the Doab on the other, made the wilderness to bloom, and insured many millions of human beings and cattle against perishing from famine."

The expenditure of the court was very heavy. He had to maintain a regular army of 200,000 horse, a big retinue, and other establishments. Besides he had to find money for the wars in the Deccan, in Balkh and Kandahar. Shah Jahan indulged in a number of costly undertakings. He built the celebrated Taj Mahal in memory of his wife, founded the new city of Delhi, known as Shahjahanabad, the Juma Musjid and the Moti Musjid at Agra, and the Juma Musjid at Delhi. These gigantic public works cost a great deal. But after defraying all these expenses he still left a vast amount estimated at various figures by different persons. Elphinstone puts it at £24,000,000 sterling in coin beside his vast accumulations in wrought gold and silver and in jewels. Another person calculated the value of his entire property at one hundred and eighty millions sterling. The annual income from land was about £27,000,000 sterling, and a similar amount from other sources. It is conceivable that this vast wealth was accumulated with great economy, and some oppression might have been resorted to in collecting the revenues. But the spirit of the whole administration was benevolent. He was lavish in his grants to his sons and daughters. His *wazir* Asaf Khan.

used to draw a salary of £500,000 a year. Similarly the other ministers and governors enjoyed good income.

Shah Jahan was very fortunate in his ministers. The administration was in the able hands of Asaf Khan till 1641 A. D. He was succeeded by Allami Sa'dulla Khan an able general and statesman. It was however the Persian minister Mir Jumla who betrayed him in the end. If he had stood by the Emperor and stopped Aurangzed from his fratricidal war probably the course of events would have taken a different turn. His fall was due however to his own senility, and the indiscretion of Dara. He came to the throne wading through blood, and ended his life in misery, but still he is remembered as the most magnificent monarch of India. In his time the Mughals reached the high water mark of prosperity.

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CHAPTER VII.

AURANGZEB (1658-1707)

Assumption of powers by Aurangzeb.

Murad sincerely believed that Aurangzeb was trying to set him up on the throne. In fact the latter kept up the delusion for a few days. After the battle of Samugarh he showed respects towards Murad as towards a monarch. The foolish prince failed to fathom the intentions of his crafty brother. Securing the position at Agra the brothers marched towards Delhi in pursuit of Dara. At Koli-ka-ghat near Muttra they halted for a few days. There Murad was put in chains and sent to Delhi and kept confined for sometime in the fortress of Salimgarh. Later on he was removed to Gwalior. But the unhappy prince was not allowed to enjoy his life long. He was beheaded in December, 1661, on the charge of murdering his Dewan Ali Naqi at Ahmedabad in 1657. When Dara was defeated, Shuja was at a distance and not in a position to contest, and Murad in prison, Aurangzeb proclaimed himself Emperor at Delhi on the 22nd July, 1658. His first business was to run after Dara who was still at large. Since his overthrow at Samugarh Dara was moving from place to place. From Agra he went to Delhi, where the governor of the place under the influence of Aurangzeb refused to deliver the fort to him. The soldiers of Dara,

Murad and Sulaiman Shukoh had already been won over by promises of double pay. Failing to find a foothold at Delhi Dara went to Lahore and there he was loyally received. He also could not hold that position long and fell back upon Multan by the end of October. He was pursued by Aurangzeb till he fled into Sindh. Sulaiman Shukoh had been betrayed by Jai Singh and Dilir Khan and he was obliged to seek the protection of the Raja of Srinagar. When Aurangzeb marched against Dara, Shuja made another attempt to occupy the throne. He came as far as Allahabad. Mir Jumla was released from Daulatabad in order that he might join Aurangzeb in the expedition against Shuja who had taken up his position at the village of Khajwah in the district of Fathepur between the Ganges and Jumna. In an engagement on the 5th January 1659 Shuja was defeated through the treachery of Allahvardi Khan who advised him to get down from the elephant and to ride on a horse when he had all the advantages on his side. He was pursued by Mir Jumla and Sultan Muhammad whilst Aurangzeb returned to Agra lest Raja Jaswant Singh who had left the field at his supersession by Mir Jumla worked out a plot to release Shah Jahan. Mir Jumla and Sultan Muhammad drove Shuja into Bengal and his capital Raj Mahal was occupied for four months by the victorious generals from June to September. On account of differences between Mir Jumla and Sultan Mahammad the latter went to the side of Shuja but soon left him as he was not satisfied with the position assigned to him. Shuja

was ultimately driven out of Bengal and he ended his miserable life in the woods of Arakan. No authentic information is available regarding his last days. It is generally believed that he and his family were killed by the Arakanese. Sultan Muhammad was sent as a prisoner and kept confined in the fortress of Gwalior.

Through Sind and Cutch Dara went to Guzerat, where he was received by Shah Nawaz Khan, the governor of the provinces with due respects. He succeeded in enlisting some troops, and was promised the help of Raja Jaswant Singh in an attempt to release Shah Jahan. Relying upon Rajput help he marched towards Ajmir. But Jaswant Singh failed him in the proper time. Under the influence of Raja Jai Singh he had been reconciled to Aurangzeb. Dara boldly confronted the imperialists at Deorai near Ajmir and stood their attack for five days. On the fifth day he was surrounded on all sides, and fled towards Ahmedabad. Shah Nawaz Khan was slain in the battle (March 23, 1659). Most of the followers of Dara deserted him. The new governor of Ahmedabad closed the gates against him. In great distress Dara crossed the Rann of Cutch and reached Sindh. Then he sought the help of Malik Jiwan of Dadar in going over to Persia. To his great grief his favourite wife Nadira Begam died of dysentery, and with extreme difficulty her body was carried to Lahore, according to the wishes of the deceased. His cup of misery was filled to the brim when he was betrayed by Jiwan Khan, Dara was made a captive with his son Sibir Shukoh and other

companions (June 9, 1659) and taken first to Lahore and then to Delhi. They were paraded through the streets of Delhi dressed like beggars on a worn-out elephant, smeared with filth. It was a woeful sight to the people and they lamented the fate of the princes bitterly. "From every quarter I heard" says Bernier "piercing and distressing shrieks, for the Indian people have a very tender heart, men, women and children wailing as if some mighty calamity had happened to themselves." The people were so much indignant at the traitor Jiwan Khan that he had to be protected by the Kotwal with the help of the police. Aurangzeb became nervous at the popular demonstration in favour of Dara. A council was held to consider what to do with him. Death was determined upon at the instigation of Raushanara supported by Khalilullah Khan and Shaista Khan, on the charge of apostacy. Dara was brutally murdered by an old slave of his, named Aziz. The blood-stained head was taken to Aurangzeb who ordered it to be buried in the tomb of Humayun, Sibir Shukoh was sent to the fortress of Gwalior, and the daughter of Dara was handed over to Shah Jahan and Jahanara at their special request. Sulaiman Shukoh who was with the Raja of Srinagar was also betrayed, and was brought to Delhi. He was first imprisoned at Salimgarh and then at Gwalior where both the brothers died of slow poisoning. In this way all the claimants to the throne were removed and Aurangzeb mounted it through the blood of his brothers and nephews. The war of succession lasted for about five years. The

formal coronation took place in the month of June 1659, when he assumed the title of "Abdul Muzaffar Muhi-ud-din-Muhammad Aurangzeb Bahadur Alamgir Badshahi Ghazi." The title of Alamgir (world-conqueror) was adopted by him from an inscription on the sword which was sent to him by his father after the battle of Samugarh.

He held his court at Delhi so long as Shah Jahan lived and on his death in 1666 he came to Agra for a few months. But he returned again to Delhi in October, and stayed there for seven years more. From December, 1669 to October, 1671 he held his court at Agra. The discontent in the frontier drew him towards Peshawar in 1674, and he made Hasan Abdal his headquarters from the 26th June, 1674 to the 23rd December, 1675. He came back to Delhi in March of the next year and was called away to Central India on account of the troubles in Rajputana. On the 6th September 1681 he marched towards the south, and spent the rest of his life there. On assuming authority he gave up the celebrations of Nauroz, and of calculating the year according to the solar method which was very convenient for collecting revenues according to seasons. He began to calculate the official year from the 1st Ramzan according to the Arabic lunar year, and in the place of Nauroz he held the ceremony of the anniversary of his coronation till the 21st year of his reign.

Immediately after the coronation he tried to reconcile

the nobles and the influential men to the new arrangements. He was afraid that any day they might combine to overthrow him in the interest of Shah Jahan. Those who had helped him in the struggles were adequately rewarded. Raja Jai Singh had already been made the governor of Lahore, and he was also assigned the revenues of Sambhar. The pay of many nobles was increased and each was presented with a set of new robes. He removed most of the old officers and appointed new men in their places. He was afraid of Mahabat Khan, governor of Kabul, for his loyalty towards Shah Jahan and sent him to Guzerat and in his place was appointed Shaikh Mir. Khalilullah Khan who had betrayed Dara at Samugarh was made the governor of Lahore while Raja Jai Singh and Maharaja Jaswant Singh were sent on military duty to the Deccan. Daneshmand Khan, a great friend of Dara, remained governor of Delhi on account of his great influence. Shaista Khan was sent to the Deccan as governor and commander-in-chief of the forces there and Mir Jumla was confirmed in Bengal. Those who expressed dissatisfaction with the distribution of offices and rewards were harshly treated. The position of the Wazir was held by Jafar Khan, belonging to the order of the old nobility. He had married a sister of the Empress Mumtaz Mahal and was polished in manners. Shah Jahan held him in great esteem. Aurangzeb agreed to this appointment as he did not want the return to court of the powerful Mir Jumla who held the position before he went to the Deccan lest he became too powerful.

The Campaigns in Bengal and Assam.

Mir Jumla had no leisure to watch the movements of the local chiefs when he was engaged in his wars with Shah Shuja. In this period of confusion the Rajas of Cooch-Behar and Assam threw off their allegiance. The Raja of Cooch-Behar had stopped paying tribute, and Kamrup was threatened by the Ahoms of Assam. Raja Jayadhwaaja of Assam in league with Raja Pran Narayan of Cooch-Behar tried to drive the Mughals from the Brahmaputra Valley. After settling the affairs of Bengal Mir Jumla, now called Khan-i-Khanan Muazzam Khan proceeded to punish the rebel Rajas in 1661 A. D. On his approach the Raja of Cooch-Behar fled to Bhutan and his territories were occupied without opposition. The Ahoms also could not resist his march into Assam, and by the 17th March, 1662 A. D. the Khan-i-Khanan reached Garbgaon the capital of Jayadhwaaja. The Raja had already left the place. But the Mughals had great difficulty in maintaining their position during the rains. Mir Jumla was ably supported by Dilir Khan. Towards the end of the year he was attacked with a severe illness and the parties then came to terms. The Ahom country up to the rivers Bharali and Kallang was ceded to the Mughals. The Khan-i-Khanan died on his way to Dacca at Khizrpur not far from Cooch-Behar on the 11th April, 1663. By his death Aurangzeb lost an able general who not only helped him in winning the empire but in further extending it. He defeated Shah Shuja and established the authority of Aurangzeb over Bengal. He was succeeded

by Shaista Khan who remained in Bengal for about thirty years. Within a short time the conquests made in Assam were lost on account of the exacting nature of the Mughal officers. An expedition was sent under Raja Ram Singh, son of Raja Jai Singh in 1669 A. D. Although the operations were carried on till 1676 the Mughal position did not improve. In 1681 the Mughals were driven out of Gauhati by Raja Gadadhar Singh. On the death of Raja Pran Narayan of Cooch-Bihar the Mughals obtained some parts of Rungpur and Kamrup.

One of the achievements of Shaista Khan was the conquest of Chittagong. Lower Bengal was infested by the Maghs and the Feringhi pirates. They had occupied the island of Sondwip at the mouth of the Meghna, and the Arakanese had robbed Shuja of his jewels and probably murdered him. Aurangzeb instructed his uncle Shaista Khan on his appointment as governor of Bengal to punish the Portuguese pirates, and their accomplices the Maghs. Shaista Khan managed to win over the Portuguese who had settled in large numbers in the neighbourhood of Dacca and with their help captured Chittagong, January, 1666. Bengal was then saved from the incursion of the Maghs.

The Frontier Expeditions.

The Afghan tribes in the north-west frontier were a source of great danger to the empire. In 1667 the Yusufzais broke into the districts of Peshawar and Attock. Muhammad Amin Khan, son of Mir Junla, was sent to strengthen the hands of the local officers. He

was successful in the beginning in restoring order, and was appointed governor of Kabul in recognition of his services. But on his way to Kabul his army was severely attacked by the Pathans in the Khyber Pass and his family fell into the hands of the enemy. He was degraded for this disaster and was sent to Guzerat. Subsequent expeditions under Mahabat Khan and Shujat Khan did not improve the situation. Realising the formidable nature of the task Aurangzeb proceeded in person in June 1674 and encamped at Hasan Abdal.

The operations were carried on vigorously while the Emperor was there. He used every means to crush the Afghans. Mahabat Khan was removed from Kabul, and Aghar Khan and Fidai Khan the newly appointed governor of Kabul, succeeded in scattering the hostile tribes. When the situation improved by the end of 1675 Aurangzeb returned to Delhi. After a few more battles peace was restored and Amir Khan, son of Khalilullah Khan governed the country with tact and ability for twenty years. The Afghan war was of great political importance. So long as Aurangzeb had to send his troops to the frontier he could not employ effective measures against either the Mahrattas or the Rajputs.

Some administrative measures

The prices of grains had gone up on account of the wars in the early part of the reign, and the distress of the people became still more acute when the rains failed in some parts of the empire. Aurangzeb issued an order

for the remission of a number of taxes which oppressed the people. Imposts, about eighty in number, yielding crores of rupees to the treasury were abandoned. But these orders were scarcely obeyed by local officers in the distant provinces. "In most parts of the imperial territories" writes Khafi Khan, "the *Faujdar* and *jagirdars*, by force and tyranny, now exact more than ever from the traders and poor necessitous travellers. The *Zamindars* also seeing that no inquiries are made, extort more on roads within their boundaries than is collected on roads under royal officers." The noble intentions of the Emperor were therefore frustrated by the tyranny of his subordinates.

In the eleventh year of his reign he issued a number of orders which created great discontent. He forbade the writing of history and the custom of *Jharokha-i-Darshan*, the practice of the Emperor to appear before the public twice a day in the window. As a puritan he had already stopped the distillation, sale and consumption of liquors. But the Christians used to sell wine clandestinely. He had also issued an order against music which was not only a source of great enjoyment to the people, but the means of livelihood for not a few. The brothels were closed and dancing was declared criminal. But these measures could hardly improve the moral atmosphere of the country as people devised means of secret enjoyment.

His attitude towards the Hindus did him great harm, and ultimately undermined the empire. As an orthodox Musalman he paid no attention to the suscepti-

bilities of his vast Hindu subjects. The new Hindu temples were pulled down, and the old temples at Somnath, Benares, Muttra, Ujjain and other places were destroyed. A special officer was appointed to supervise the work of the demolition of the temples. Preference was shown to the Musalmans in the matter of trade. First no imposts upon their articles were levied, but as this caused serious loss of revenue the regulation was modified. Later on an order was issued that the Musalmans would pay a duty of 2½ per cent whereas the Hindus had to pay 5 per cent. Further to alienate the Hindus he issued an order to the governors and revenue officers to dismiss the Hindu employees and to appoint Musalmans in their places. As the Musalmans were not good in accounts the order could not be fully carried out, but many Hindus accepted Islam to get rid of the disabilities from which they suffered.

But the greatest measure of iniquity was the re-imposition of the *Jiziyah* in 1679 A. D. It is a hated poll tax imposed upon all male Hindus above the age of fourteen. The tax was not levied so long as the great Rajput chiefs such as Raja Jai Singh and Maharaja Jaswant Singh were alive. Emperor Akbar had abolished this tax one hundred years ago, but Aurangzeb had recourse to it for two reasons: "First, because by this time his treasures had begun to shrink owing to expenditure on the campaigns; secondly to force the Hindus to become Mahomedans" says Manucci. The protests of the Hindus to this

invidious levy were not listened to. The crowds assembled to protest were dispersed by elephants, and many trodden to death. The Hindu feelings were wounded by these obnoxious measures, and they felt keenly the humiliation of living under an alien ruler.

The Jat Rebellion

The first demonstration of the great discontent that agitated the minds of the Hindus was found in Muttra. A Juma Musjid had not only been built in the heart of the great Hindu city but the great temple of Keshav Rai to which Dara presented a stone railing had been desecrated and later on the temple was destroyed 1661-62 A.D. The Hindus refused to pay the revenue and therefore collection had to be made by force. A great rising took place under the leadership of Gokla, the Zaminder of Tipat in 1669 A. D. When the Faujdar Abdur Nabi went to suppress the rising he was fatally attacked at a village called Bashara. The Jats openly defied the authority of the Mughals. They threatened the city of Agra and the situation became so serious that Aurangzeb had to come from Delhi to quell the rising. Gokla had gathered about 20,000 peasants around him, and fought stubbornly till he was captured with his family. He was cut up into pieces and his family was forcibly converted into Islam. Many other rebels were made slaves. The rebellion was suppressed for the time being, but it reappeared in 1681 when Aurangzeb went to the Deccan, Rajah Ram and after his death his brother Churaman Jat defied the Mughals,

and the fire they set ablaze could not be extinguished in the life time of the Emperor.

The Satnami Rising

Another Hindu rebellion took place in the vicinity of Delhi in 1672. A sect of Hindu Sanyasins called the Satnamis lived in the Perganas of Narnaul and Mewat. These Sanyasins were more liberal than orthodox Hindus and used to take the name of God as *Satnam* (true name). They were householders and earned their livelihood by agriculture and trade. They were thoroughly organised as a self-respecting body, carried arms and weapons, and would punish those who would venture to insult or injure them. A Satnami cultivator was one day cruelly beaten by a foot-soldier who was keeping watch over the harvest. The Satnamis in the neighbourhood gathered together and violently attacked the watchman in retaliation. The *Shikdar* who came to arrest the culprits was overpowered, and the Faujdar of Narnaul was killed in a battle. The Satnamis set up a government of their own and started collecting taxes. Aurangzeb on his return from Hasan Abdal had to take effective measures against them. There was a common belief that the Satnamis possessed magic powers. They were joined by a number of zamindars and Rajputs. A strong army was sent under Radandaz Khan, and Aurangzeb appealed to the supernatural by writing prayers and devices with his own hands and sewing them up on the banners and standards. There was a deadly battle

between the parties in which there was heavy loss on both sides. Thousands of Satnamis were killed and the rest put to flight. Henceforth the Satnamis ceased to be a danger.

The Rajput War

Maharaja Jaswant Singh died at Jamrud on the 10th December, 1678. He had no son to succeed him at the time of his death. Aurangzeb wanted to annex his state, and so placed the administration of Jodhpur under Musalman officers. He himself went to Ajmir early in 1679 to complete the occupation. The Musalman officers took possession of the cities of Jodhpur, destroyed the temples there and seized whatever they could obtain in the palace. In the meantime the widows of the Maharaja who had left Jamrud without the permission of the Emperor were delivered of two posthumous sons at Lahore in February 1679. One of the infants died shortly and the other was given the name of Ajit Singh. The Emperor did not admit the claims of the posthumous son to succeed his father. He desired to bring him up as a Musalman, and to restore the kingdom to him when he would come of age. The Ranis left Delhi in disguise with the infant when they heard of the intention of Aurangzeb. They reached Marwar in July. The Rathors became indignant at the attitude of the Emperor. They were led by Durga Das, a son of Askaran, the late minister of Jaswant Singh. Aurangzeb brought up a spurious child left by the Ranis as the real heir and did not recognise

the claims of Ajit Singh till the Rana of Chitor married him with a girl of his family. The kingdom of Jodhpur was given to Indra Singh Rathor a grandson of Amar Singh, the elder brother of Jaswant Singh, on payment of the succession fee of Rs. 3ĳ lakhs, although the Musalman officers still carried on the administration. When the plan of Aurangzeb failed he disgraced the Faujdar Tahir Khan, and removed Indra Singh from the throne. Open hostilities were declared with the Rathors, the Emperor came to Ajmir to watch the events, and in a pitched battle near the lake of Pushkar the Rathors were heavily defeated. But their opposition grew in violence. Prince Akbar was employed in carrying a ruthless campaign against the Rajputs. The ravages committed by the Mughals in the heart of Rajputana created great consternation among the Rajput states; and the Rana of Chitor joined the Rathors in defence of their common interests.

Rana Raj Singh was approached by the mother of Ajit Singh to defend the honour of Rajputana and the rights of the infant son of Maharaja Jaswant Singh. The Rana occupied the pre-eminent position among the Rajput Princes as he had never paid homage to the Emperor of Delhi. His indignation rose up when he found the Hindu temples destroyed in Rajputana, Hindu religious fairs and ceremonies interfered with and when he was asked to pay the Jiziyah and had to cede two or three districts in commutation of the tax. All the Rajput princes excepting the Raja of Ambar expressed

their sympathy with Ajit Singh of Marwar, and the Rajputs flocked round the banner of Rana Raj Singh in defence of their country and religion. Aurangzeb mobilised all his resources to crush the Rajputs. Muazzam had been recalled from the Deccan and Muhammad Azam from Bengal. Khan Jahan Bahadur fortified Chitor and closed the Deobari pass. Prince Akbar led the attack against the Rajputs. The Rana finding it difficult to stand against such formidable forces arrayed against him left Udaipur and retreated into the hills. Prince Akbar with all the resources of the Mughal empire at his disposal failed to trace the Rana in his impregnable mountain retreat. On the other hand the Mughals were cut off by the Rajputs. When he failed in Mewar prince Akbar was sent to Marwar and Prince Azam took his position. Akbar made some progress in Marwar but he was persuaded by the Rathors to take up their cause and declared himself Emperor on the 1st January 1681.

Akbar was the fourth son of Aurangzeb and he was a young man of twenty-three. He felt some sympathy for the Rajputs in the way they were being persecuted by his father. When promised the support of the Sisodias and the Rathors he rebelled against the authority of the Emperor. He marched towards Ajmir with the Rajputs and his own troops. But before he could reach the place Aurangzeb had gathered up his forces. By a trick he threw a letter into the hands of the Rajputs who began to suspect the sincerity of the prince and they fled when they heard of the approach of Aurangzeb

Akbar was placed in a helpless position. But later on the Rajputs saw through the game, and the Rathor leader Durga Das espoused his cause. By a stroke of craftiness Aurangzeb confounded his enemy. Akbar fled into the Deccan with the help of Durga Das. Rana Raj Singh had died and his son Rana Jai Singh agreed to a treaty by which he had to cede a few districts in lieu of the Jiziyah and was granted the rank of a Mansabdar of five thousand. The war with Marwar went on till the end of the reign. The Rajput war proved disastrous to Aurangzeb. He lost the support of the brave soldiers who had been so helpful to the Mughals in the past. By his anti-Hindu policy Aurangzeb alienated them for ever.

Sivaji the Mahratta

Aurangzeb was called away to the Deccan from Ajmir, and spent the rest of his life there. A new power had arisen in the south, which proved to be the most dangerous rock for wrecking the Mughal Empire. The builder of this power was Sivaji, son of Shahji. He was born in the fort of Sivner near Junnair on the 10th April, 1627 A. D. His father was in the service of Bijapur, and was always busy in state duties. The boy Sivaji was therefore brought up by his mother Jijabai, and when he grew up he received a good training under Dadaji Kondadev, an able officer of his father. In his boyhood he mixed freely with the hill-men of Maval, and by his frequent travels in the Ghats he gained intimate knowledge of the mountainous

region, which proved very useful to him. He found a large number of forts in these parts neglected and unfortified. Sivaji cherished the ambition of taking some of these forts and strengthening his position. When he was a young man of nineteen he occupied the fort of Torna, twenty miles south-west of Poona. (1646 A. D.) With the money he obtained there by digging up the ruins he built the fort of Rajgarh, three miles south-west of that place. After the death of his preceptor Dadaji he took upon himself the management of his father's jaghir of Poona. Within a short time he became master of a number of forts and of the country between Chakan and the Neera. The king of Bijapur was then busy with the affairs of the Carnatic, and did not consider these places very important. The Mughals were at that time engaged in restoring order in Ahmadnagar, and so Sivaji carried out his plans without any interference. He next captured a number of hill forts in the Konkan, the narrow strip of land between the Ghats and the sea, which Shah Jahan had made over to the king of Bijapur. The forts of Kalyan, Rairi, Lohgad and Rajmachi fell into his hands. He won the confidence and sympathy of the people of these parts by a better system of administration, and by restoring to the temples and Brahmans there old endowments. The king of Bijapur was annoyed at the occupation of these hill-forts in the Konkan, and tried to reduce Sivaji by putting pressure upon his father when Shaji was thrown into a dungeon and threatened that it would be closed up unless his son

came to Bijapur within a short time. Sivaji appealed to Shah Jahan to intercede. The Emperor took up his cause and made Sivaji a Mansabdar of 5000. Shahji was released for fear of the intervention of the Emperor, but he was not allowed to go out of Bijapur for four years. On the other hand the King gave secret instructions to one of his vassals, Balaji More of Jaoli to make Sivaji a captive. But Sivaji got the information of this conspiracy beforehand, occupied Mahableshtar, and killed Balaji More. His fort of Jaoli was invested (1655 A. D.) and his territory occupied. Aurangzeb at this time came as viceroy to the Deccan. In view of the war of succession shortly he accepted the offer of friendly alliance with the Mahratta leader.

Sivaji strengthened his position in the Deccan in the absence of the Mughals, and enlisted in his army a number of men discharged by the King of Bijapur. He received a serious rebuff in 1659 A. D. when he attacked the island fortress of Janjira which was held by Fateh Khan, an Afghan governor under the king of Bijapur. Emboldened by this success the king sent a big army under his cousin Afzal Khan who promised to bring the "Mountain rat" dead or alive. He had with him 12,000 horse and sufficient quantity of stores and ammunition. The Hindu temples at Tuljapur and Pandharpur were desecrated by him on his way to Jaoli where Sivaji had taken up his position. He first attempted diplomacy to bring Sivaji to his camp by sending a Brahman envoy named Krisnaji Bhaskar but he was persuaded by this man to visit the Mahratta

leader at Jaoli. A special pavilion was erected for his reception below the fort of Pratapgarh. The interview was anything but friendly. Afzal used insulting language towards Sivaji which he retorted by calling his opponent a son of the cook. He gave a blow to Sivaji for using such language. But his first attack was repelled, and before he dealt the second blow Sivaji turned his left arm round his waist and thrust the *Baghmakh* (tiger's claws) which he had fixed on his fingers into Afzal's stomach, and when he relaxed his grasp in bitter agony he was stabbed in the back with the *Bicchwah* dagger which Sivaji had kept concealed within his right sleeve. Both Sivaji and Afzal were unattended, they had only one companion each. The shrieks of Afzal called in his troops who were waiting at a distance, and the Mahratta soldiers also came forward and a general battle ensued. Afzal's head was cut off and of his vast army only 300 managed to escape. The rest were either killed or made captives. Those who agreed to serve under Sivaji were released. The Mahrattas became very bold after winning this victory. They captured Panhala and four other forts. The king of Bijapur made a few more attempts to crush the Mahrattas, but when he found these measures futile he appointed Shahji to negotiate terms with his son. Henceforth Sivaji was acknowledged as the independent ruler of the country between Kalyan in the north and Ponda in the south, Dabhol in the west and Indapur in the east, an area measuring about 160 miles in length, and 100 miles in breadth. Rairi was

made the capital, and its name was changed into Raigarh.

Aurangzeb had appointed his uncle Shaista Khan as viceroy of the Deccan with instructions to crush the Mahrattas (1660 A. D.) The Mughals captured Chakan and Poona, but in the course of the campaigns they found that it was not an easy task to dislodge the Mahrattas from their hill-forts. Shaista Khan remained at Poona for two years while Maharaja Jaswant Singh was engaged in rounding up the Mahrattas. Sivaji felt bitterly the loss of Poona, the cradle of his early life. By a clever trick he entered the city with 400 attendants mixed up with a marriage party in April 1663. He surprised the viceroy by a night attack, in which Shaista Khan's son Abdul Falik Khan was killed, and the viceroy lost three of his fingers. This disaster brought disgrace upon Shaista Khan. He was transferred to Bengal, and Prince Muazzam was sent to the Deccan in his place.

The new viceroy assisted by Maharaja Jaswant Singh made a few fruitless attempts to curb the activities of Sivaji. The indomitable Mahratta sacked the rich city of Surat for four days in January, 1664, and carried away vast treasures worth not less than one crore of rupees. About this time he assumed the title of Raja on the death of his father, and began to strike coins in his own name as a mark of his independent authority. He also tried to collect money by his raids into the ports on the coast. Prince Muazzam and his lieutenant Maharaja Jaswant Singh were recalled

for their failure in stopping the deprivations of the Mahrattas. They were replaced by Raja Jai Singh and Dilir Khan, who brought with them a large contingent of Rajput and Afghan soldiers. A vigorous offensive was launched in 1665, when Jai Singh wanted to drive a wedge between the kingdom of Bijapur and the territories of Sivaji. He took up his position close to the fort of Purandhar, while the fort was invested by Dilir Khan. After a siege of two months Sivaji agreed to the treaty of Purandhar (June 11, 1665) by which he surrendered 23 forts yielding revenue of 4 lakhs of *Huns* and retained only 12 forts with the revenue of about a lakh. Further he asked leave to capture lands belonging to the king of Bijapur lying in the Konkan and Balaghat-Bijapur, for which he was prepared to pay 40 lakhs of *Huns* in 13 instalments. The terms of the treaty were confirmed by the Emperor. Sivaji's son was made a Mansabdar of 5000. The Mahratta leader became a vassal of the Emperor and rendered assistance in the Bijapur war. When Jai Singh was engaged in his war with Sultan Ali Adil Shah of Bijapur Aurangzeb sent an invitation to Sivaji to visit the imperial court. After some hesitation he accepted the invitation on an assurance of safety being given to him by Jai Singh,

Sivaji visited the Court of Agra when Aurangzeb was celebrating his fiftieth birthday (May 12, 1666). When he was ushered into the imperial presence by Ram Singh, son of Raja Jai Singh, he was assigned a position in the rank of the nobles of 5000. The proud

Mahratta felt greatly humiliated for being placed among the nobles of the third grade. His son Sambhuji and general Netoji were already enjoying this rank. He grew furious at the insult, and lost his senses in anger and had to be carried to an ante-room by the orders of the Emperor and when he regained consciousness he was allowed to go to his quarters. His conduct was considered very impertinent and he was not given the customary robes of honour. Moreover he was forbidden the Court and guards were placed round the Jaipur House where he was putting up. The Emperor did not even grant him a private interview. By a clever trick the crafty Mahratta along with his son Sambhuji managed to escape. He was reported ill for sometime, and after recovery presents were sent to Brahmans in long baskets. In two of these baskets the father and the son concealed themselves. As previously arranged horses were waiting for them outside the city. It was too late when the flight was discovered. On reaching Muttra Sivaji shaved his beard and took up the disguise of a mendicant, and returned to the Deccan along the pilgrim route through Allahabad, Benares, Gaya and Puri, and then through Gondwana and Golkonda. Ran Singh was degraded as it was believed that he connived at his escape. Sivaji reached his capital in December, after an absence of nine months. By this insult Aurangzeb turned a friend and ally into an open enemy.

The campaign against Bijapur did not make any progress. The imperial troops were greatly embarrassed

when they approached the capital of Bijapur. Ali Adil Shah had been joined by the Sultan of Golkonda. The country round Bijapur was laid waste to render the march of the Mughal army difficult. When Jai Singh found his army faced with starvation he decided to retreat (Jan-5, 1666). But the retreat was disastrous as they were attacked in several places, and suffered great loss both in men and stores. The attack against the fort of Panhala led by Sivaji had failed. Jai Singh reached Aurangabad exhausted on the 26th November. The campaign had involved great expenditure and caused great loss of men and stores. The failure was a great blow to the reputation of the veteran general. He was recalled, and replaced by Prince Muazzam who brought with him as his lieutenant Jaswant Singh. Jai Singh died broken-hearted on his way to Agra at Burhanpur (July 2, 1667).

Neither Muazzam nor Jaswant was in a position to push an effective offensive against Sivaji. Aurangzeb could not send a large army to the Deccan as he was threatened at that time by the Persians and Yusufzais on the frontier. Jaswant had made the acquaintance of Sivaji at Agra and was favourably disposed towards him. He therefore tried to bring about a reconciliation between the Mahratta leader and the Mughal Emperor. He persuaded the Emperor to confer the title of Raja upon Sivaji, to grant him a jagir in Berar, and to confirm his son in the rank of a Mansabdar of 5000. Some forts were also restored to him. (March 2, 1668). A treaty was also arranged with Bijapur shortly after this. The

kings of Bijapur and Golkonda agreed to pay an annual tribute to Sivaji in order that the Mahrattas might not carry their raids into their territories, although Sivaji desired that his right to *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi* should be recognised. When hostilities with the Mughals and the neighbouring kings ceased and Sivaji was assured of a good income he gave his entire attention to the building up of the Mahratta state.

The treaty did not endure long. Aurangzeb did not like the friendly relations between Prince Muazzam and the Mahrattas, and to curtail expenditure he ordered the disbanding of some troops in the Deccan, who were employed by Sivaji in his army. An order was also given to attack a part of Sivaji's jaghir in Berar. This was considered as an open violation of the treaty, and Sivaji prepared for a vigorous offensive. He re-occupied Sinbagarh, Purandhar and other forts (1670 A.D.) The Mughal position was weakened by quarrels between Muazzam and Dilir Khan. Sivaji on the other hand gained fresh accession of strength by the support of the Hindus in the Deccan, who looked upon him as the restorer of their freedom. The Moslem powers of Bijapur and Golkonda joined the Mughals in reducing the growing influence of the Mahrattas. On account of a combination of these powers Sivaji's attack upon the island of Janjira failed. The Mughal governor of Surat sent help to the Bijapuri governor of Janjira, for this reason Sivaji sacked Surat for the second time in October, 1670. He obtained 66 lakhs of rupees in cash

besides other precious metals. With the money thus obtained he strengthened his military position. He carried on raids into Khandesh and captured several forts on the other side of the Nasik Pass. Aurangzeb removed Jaswant Singh from the Deccan and sent Mahabat Khan with 40,000 troops. Although Mahabat gained success at a few places the Mughals were heavily defeated at Salhir (January, 1672). Prince Muazzam and Mahabat Khan were both recalled, and Bahadur Khan Lodi was sent as viceroy with Dilir Khan as second in command. But these two generals were not agreed upon their plan of operation. The Mahratta raids between Ahmadnagar and Aurangabad could not be stopped. The king of Golkonda paid two million pagodas to the Mahrattas as the price of peace. Sultan Ali Adil Shah of Bijapur died in 1672, and was succeeded by a boy of 5 years. Sivaji captured some places from the kingdom, and the Mughal viceroy of the Deccan ceased hostilities on receiving a large sum of money from him. The Mahratta leader now considered himself sufficiently strong and as a mark of his greatness he held a formal coronation as Chhatrapati at his capital at Raigarh on the 6th June, 1674.

Sivaji carried on his plundering raids on all sides almost unopposed. Bahadur Khan lost about one crore of rupees and 200 horses, and in great dismay he proposed terms of peace which were also approved of by the Emperor. But these terms were not acceptable to Sivaji. The affairs in Bijapur went from bad to worse, and the Regent sought the help of Sivaji against the

Mughals who to carry on a successful campaign against Bijapur had proposed terms of peace with Sivaji which the latter considered desirable in view of his plans in the Carnatic. He intended to occupy the jaghirs of his father which were held by his brother Venkoji under the Government of Bijapur. He marched in 1676 and on the way formed an alliance with the king of Golkonda. He captured Jinji and Vellore and made his brother hand over to him the Jaghirs of his father. On account of the turn of affairs in the Deccan he returned from the Carnatic by the end of November, 1677, and reached Raigarh in April 1678. The king of Golkonda expected a share in his spoils, but he did not try to satisfy him. When the Mughals attacked Bijapur, its Regent Sidi Masaud sought the help of the Mahrattas. Sivaji had been offended on a previous occasion for not being entrusted with the defence of one of the gates of Bijapur. His son Sambhuji had also gone over to the Mughals. Sivaji went personally to Bijapur in August, 1679, and defeated the Mughal general Dilir Khan at Panhala. Sambhuji quarrelled with Dilir Khan and left the Mughal army. Masaud Khan in recognition of the services rendered to him by Sivaji acknowledged him as the ruler of the Carnatic and of the Doab and his brother Venkoji henceforth became his vassal instead of that of Bijapur. Towards the end of 1679 Sivaji's health declined and he died on the 5th April, 1680.

Rise of the Mahratta Power

Sivaji converted the rude peasantry of Maharashtra

into a strong national state which wrecked the great Mughal Empire. Since the fall of Deogiri the Mahrattas had been ruled by Musalman rulers, but they still retained some local influence and they held good positions under the Governments of Ahmadnagar and Bijapur. But the people as a whole lost all political consciousness. Sivaji awakened in them a desire to become a free nation. He had a full faith in the ability of his own people. The Mahrattas were a hardy race of active and industrious people. They were simple in habits, and were very frugal in their living. Resolute in their purpose they could undertake any amount of risk and hardship upon themselves to attain their object. They lived in the country from the Satpura range to Goa, and from the sea to the Warda river. This part of the country was run through by the range of mountains known as the Sahyadri which separates the Konkan from the tableland on the eastern part. There were innumerable forts on the hill tops, which could afford protection to the people at the time of invasions by outsiders. Most of these forts were neglected by the Musalman rulers, and the mountainous tribe called the Mavalis made them their chief rallying centres. Sivaji utilised these rude people in his army. The military organisation which he set up suited the condition of the people admirably. The army consisted mainly of infantry controlled by different grades of officers ranging from the Naik, a commandant of ten men, Havildar, Jumladar, to the Sarnobat or Senapati. The horse soldiers were divided into two classes viz. the Bargirs who were

provided with horses by the Government and the Silahdars who had to bring their own horses. The system of granting jaghirs was not favoured but instead the men were paid out of the treasury. Sivaji also organised a strong fleet.

The Mahrattas did not feel the necessity of organising their forces till they were inspired by Sivaji. He showed great courage when he tried to revive the principality of Ahmadnagar. There were many Mahrattas holding the position of Deshmukhs and other responsible offices. Dadaji Kondadev convinced him of the superiority of the Mahratta system of government over the loose method of the Musalmans. But the idea of a Hindu state managed on the Hindu principles was engendered in the youthful mind of Sivaji from the teachings he received from Ramdas and Tukaram. The appeal to the Hindu sentiment brought to him a large number of adherents. They all gathered under his banner for the protection of gods, cows, Brahmans and religion, Ramdas inculcated duties of a Hindu ruler. He urged upon them to "gather the Mahrattas together, make religion live again" and said "Our fathers laugh at us from Heaven." Sivaji fulfilled the hope raised and made the Hindu civilization live again. He was a God-fearing pious man. Although he was the champion of a Hindu revival he never cherished any ill-will towards Islam. The Muhammadan historian Khafi Khan thus writes about him: "But he made it a rule that wherever his followers went plundering, they should do no harm to the mosques, the Book of God, or the women of any one. Whenever a copy of the sacred Kuran came into his

hands, he treated it with respect, and gave it to some of his Musalman followers. When the women of any Hindu or Muhammadan were taken prisoners by his men, and they had no friend to protect them, he watched over them until their relations came with a suitable ransom to buy their liberty." He had great respect for women, and punished his son Sambhuji for insulting a Brahman woman. His religious fervour and intense love of the country drew the admiration of the people.

The system of Government adopted by Sivaji was very efficient, and it endured long. He had a council of eight ministers, called *Ashta Pradhan*, to carry on the administration. The chief officers of the state were the astute Brahmans versed in Hindu law and Sastras, and possessing knowledge of state-craft. Whenever the ministers were away on military duty the work of administration was carried on by their deputies. Sivaji improved the system of revenue collection according to the lessons he received from Dadaji Kondadev. The old system of farming out land was dropped and assessment was made on the yield of the land, the share of the state being two-fifths. This increased the revenue of the state. The idea of demanding *Chauth* and *Sardeshmukhi* from the neighbouring countries as a price of peace is novel, and this has brought upon the Mahrattas the opprobrium of a plundering race. In fact this was another method of extending their overlordship. This method helped the Mahrattas in building up their own state, and also in retaining their hold upon other powers.

CHAPTER VIII

AURANGZEB IN THE DECCAN. (1681-1707)

Revolt of Prince Akbar.

The Emperor marched into the Deccan with the object of capturing his rebellious son Akbar, and also of smashing the power of the Mahrattas and annexing the kingdoms of Bijapur and Golkonda from which task he had withdrawn at the outbreak of the war of succession. Sambhuji who had occupied the throne of Sivaji after overthrowing his brother Raja Ram extended his welcome to the rebel Prince. Early in May 1681 Akbar crossed the Nerbada and entered the Konkan in June. Khan-i-Jahan Bahadur Shah the new viceroy of the Deccan failed to oppose his march. Akbar set up a court of his own, and began to enlist troops. Aurangzeb sent his son Azam to the Deccan in July and he himself marched from Ajmir in September, and reached Burhanpur in November. He took up his position at Aurangabad on the 22nd March 1682. He first directed his attacks against Akbar and the Mahrattas.

Sambhuji was not a popular ruler. He had offended his father by his profligacy, and for this reason he was superseded by Raja Ram. But he won over a large number of followers by promises of money and share in plunder. The ministers and officers of Raja Ram deserted their master and joined Sambhuji who with their

help entered Raigarh in June 1680. By establishing himself upon the throne he carried on raids in the Mughal territories. The Mahrattas sacked the suburbs of Burhanpur, the capital of Khandesh, but their attempt to raid Aurangabad failed on account of the arrival of Bahadur Shah in time. Sambhuji was engaged in an attack upon the island of Janjira when the Mughals came down upon the North Konkan. He organised strong defence against the Mughals. Aurangzeb found that the Sultan of Bijapur was in league with the Mahrattas, and therefore sent Prince Azam against Adil Shah. The expeditions in the different parts against Akbar, Sambhuji and Adil Shah did not prove very successful. The Emperor was upset. He had no faith in his own officers and feared that his other sons might revolt. The troops sent against Akbar were withdrawn and Prince Azam and Dilir Khan who were suspected of forming a conspiracy at Ahmadnagar were recalled. A council of war was held at Aurangabad in which a grand plan to attack the enemy from several points at the same time was decided upon. Shah Alam went to the South Konkan, Sihabuddin to the North Konkan, Azam was posted at Nasik, Aurangzeb himself at Alunadnagar and Khan-i-Jahan took up his position at Akalkot to prevent the Golkonda and Bijapur troops, from joining the Mahrattas. Sambhuji was then engaged in an attack upon the Portuguese at Goa but on the approach of the Mughals he raised the siege. But Shah Alam had to soon retreat on account of want of supplies near Goa. With relief received from Aurangzeb he managed to

withdraw to Ahmadnagar. Akbar finding his position insecure went to Persia in a French vessel. He died in exile in 1704. The campaigns in the Northern Konkan were more successful, and the Mughals occupied a number of forts. Sambhuji lost his position on account of a conspiracy against him. He was a man of immoral character and appointed to the office of chief minister a Brahman from Kanauj named Kavi-Kulesh. Dissatisfied with him many Mahratta generals went over to the Mughals. Mahrattas could not however be easily crushed so long as they could obtain help from Bijapur and Golkonda. So Aurangzeb wanted to destroy these kingdoms before he could deal an effective blow at the Mahrattas.

The Fall of Bijapur

The king of Bijapur was a young man named Sikandar Adil Shah. When he was asked by Aurangzeb to join his forces with the Mughals against the Mahrattas the Sultan felt his position as sovereign ruler might thereby be affected. Aurangzeb therefore was bent upon reducing him. He sent an expedition in 1682 and another by the middle of the year under Prince Azam. But their expeditions failed and Azam was recalled in June 1683. On account of the situation in Maharashtra no vigorous campaign could be sent against Bijapur in 1684. Sikandar Adil Shah had in the meantime secured the services of an able general named Sharza Khan as his Wazir and his army was thoroughly organised under him. When Aurangzeb demanded the dismissal of Sharza Khan the Sultan as a

self-respecting man refused to comply with the orders. So Aurangzeb launched a vigorous attack from all sides in 1685. Adil Shah received help from the Mahrattas as well as from Golkonda. To break the alliance between the two Sultans Shah Alam was sent against Golkonda. (June, 1685). Prince Azam was placed in charge of the operations against Bijapur. The campaign against Golkonda proved a success. Shah Alam occupied Haiderabad, and forced the Sultan to accept his terms. On return from Golkonda he was sent to Bijapur, where he tried to settle the differences by diplomacy. But Aurangzeb disapproved of the procedure and arrived at the very gate of Bijapur. The country was suffering from famine, men and horses died in large numbers. When further resistance became impossible Sultan Sikandar Adil Shah surrendered. He was made a Mansabdar, and granted a pension of Rupees one lakh a year. His officers mostly joined the Mughal army. He was subsequently kept as a prisoner at Daulatabad. He died at Satara on the 3rd April 1700. Bijapur lost all its glory as the capital of an independent kingdom.

Annexation of Golkonda.

The Sultan of Golkonda accepted the suzerainty of the Mughal Emperor in 1656, and since then he had never given any cause of offence. He had been paying his tributes regularly, and the Mughal agent at his capital had full powers. The old Sultan Abdulla Kutb Shah died in 1672 and after some confusion his son-in-

law Abul Hassan occupied the throne. He had a Brahman minister named Madanna who was responsible for the administration of the country. His brother Akkanna was the commander-in-chief. Aurangzeb was annoyed at the appointment of these Hindus to high offices, as they moulded the policy of the king. Moreover Abul Hassan stood by the king of Bijapur in his struggles with the Mughals, and paid large subsidies to the Mahrattas in expectation of military aid whenever necessary. On the commencement of hostilities with Bijapur Prince Shah Alam was sent against Golkonda (1655). He was opposed by a big army of the Sultan. The Mughal progress was arrested at Malkhed where they had to spend two months on account of the approach of the rains. Shah Alam occupied Haiderabad in October by influencing the commander of Golkonda, the city was plundered, and the Prince then agreed to a settlement on very severe terms, which became difficult for the Sultan to fulfil. He was asked to dismiss his Hindu ministers, and to cede Malkhed and Sirum. Besides he had to pay two lakhs of *Huns* as annual tribute, and two crores and twenty lakhs of rupees in satisfaction of old dues. The Hindu ministers were murdered by a party of Moslem conspirators and other Hindu officers were cruelly treated (March, 1686). On the fall of Bijapur Aurangzeb became anxious to absorb the other Moslem kingdom, and arrived at the gates of Golkonda on the 28th January, 1687. He did not accept the offer of submission made by Abul Hassan who in wild desperation

put up a strong defence. The siege of Golkonda lasted seven months and a half. The Sultan had still a large number of soldiers outside the fort to harass the Mughals, and the garrison strongly defended it. The scarcity of grains also increased the troubles of the Mughals. The position of the besiegers became very extremely difficult during the rains. On the cessation of the rains however supplies reached the Mughal camp. When open attack failed Aurangzeb entered the fort by a postern gate which was opened to him by a man named 'Abdulla on receiving bribe (Sept. 27, 1687.) The main gate was defended ably by a faithful officer named Abdur Razzak. He bravely fought his way out through the thousand troops of the Mughals and fell down under a cocoanut tree covered with seventy wounds over his body. His heroism drew the admiration of the Emperor. He said if Abul Hassan had another servant as loyal as Abdur Razzak the siege would have continued much longer. On the fall of the fort Abul Hassan surrendered. He was taken as a prisoner to the fort of Daulatabad. Aurangzeb obtained spoils worth about seven crores, and added Golkonda to his Empire. The destruction of the Shia kingdoms of the Deccan no doubt enriched the Emperor, enabled him to direct his attack against the Mahrattas whole-heartedly, but the disbanded troops of these kingdoms took service under the Mahrattas, and helped them in prolonging the war. The Mahrattas also could give their undivided attention to defence when the two rival kingdoms disappeared.

The Fate of Sambhuji

The acquisition of fresh territories did not bring in sufficient income, as it took time to restore settled government in these parts. The fighting strength of the Mahrattas on the other hand gradually increased. "Every lawless man and disbanded soldier" says Grant Duff "whether Mahomedan or Mahratta, who could command a horse and a spear, joined the Mahratta parties, and such adventurers were often enriched by the plunder of a day." The anti-Hindu activities of Aurangzeb further excited the Mahrattas. They felt greatly aggrieved that the Emperor did not enlist them in his service. Sambhuji was an incompetent ruler. He failed to take full advantage of the weakness of the Mughals. He was an indolent sensualist without any power of organisation. Although the Mahrattas carried on their usual raids they could not stop Aurangzeb from capturing their territories. Their method of warfare has been thus described by a writer: "As soon as the enemy's back was turned, Sivaji's son Sambhuji swiftly led his active little horsemen behind their flank, and crossing over to Khandesh burned Burhanpur and set the whole country-side in a blaze. Before the Mughals could get at them, they were safe again in their fastnesses in the Ghats. This stroke is a typical method of their warfare. They never risked an engagement in the open field unless their numbers made victory a certainty. When the heavy Mughal cavalry attacked them, the hard little warriors, mounted on wiry steeds as inured to fatigue as themselves, and splendidly broken

in for their tactics, would instantly scatter in all directions, and observe the enemy from a neighbouring hill or wood, ready to cut off solitary horsemen, or surprise small parties in ambush, and then, if the pursuers gave up the useless chase, in a moment the Mahrattas were upon them, hanging on their flanks, despatching stragglers, and firing at close quarters into the unwieldy mass. To fight such people was to do battle with the air or to strike blows upon water, like wind or waves they scattered and bent before the blow, only to close in again the moment the pressure was taken off."

During the wars with Bijapur and Golkonda the Mahrattas carried on their raids and an expedition was sent to the Carnatic against Venkoji. When the Mughals threatened the Mahratta forts they withdrew from the Carnatic. But their king Sambhuji was enjoying himself at Sangameswar careless of the danger which was soon to overtake him. The Mughal general Tukarrib Khau took him by surprise at his pleasant retreat. His minister Kavi-Kulesh got together four or five thousand spearmen to defend him, but the Mughal attack was irresistible. Sambhuji and his minister were hounded out of their hiding places and carried to the imperial camp at Bahadurgarh. Aurangzeb offered to spare the life of Sambhuji if he would accept Islam. The king indignantly refused the offer and said that he would become a Musalman if the Emperor gave his daughter to him. Aurangzeb became furious, ordered a red hot iron to be thrust into his eyes, his

tongue to be cut out, and his head to be separated from his body. After cruel tortures prolonged through a fortnight he was executed on the 11th March 1689. Such barbarous treatment of their ruler created great resentment among the Mahrattas, and they took up the execution of Sambhuji as a challenge to the whole race.

Maharashtra after the death of Sambhuji.

On the death of Sambhuji his son Sivaji II was placed upon the throne at Raigarh, but as he was a child of five years Raja Ram the brother of the late king was appointed his Regent during his minority. The Mughal general Itiqad Khan soon captured Raigarh, and carried the child-king with his mother to the imperial camp (November, 1689). A number of forts in the Konkan also fell into the hands of the Mughals. Finding his position insecure Raja Ram retreated into Jinji. With the capture of Sivaji and the flight of Raja Ram the ascendancy of the Mughals in Maharashtra became complete. The Mahratta chiefs were dispersed to their own villages. Aurangzeb had reached the zenith of his power. But he little dreamt that he was occupying a position from where he would be soon thrown out.

The Mahrattas were not daunted at the reduction of their capital. They kept up their predatory raids which were directed by Ram Chandra Pant from Satara, while Raja Ram maintained his position at Jinji. They expected that when the Mughals would be ex-

hausted in their attacks upon the forts in the Deccan they would return and deal a decisive blow at the enemy. Aurangzeb sent an expedition under Zulfikar Khan against Raja Ram in 1690. With the resources at his disposal the Mughal general could not invest the place. When he asked for reinforcements the Emperor could not comply with his requisition. Raja Ram on the other hand received the co-operation of the Raja of Tanjore, and the Mahrattas in the Mughal service went over to him. Prince Kam Bakhsb was asked to give up the siege of Wakinkera and to proceed to Jinji. He suspended Zulfikar Khan in the chief command. But the Prince was found carrying on treasonable negotiations with the Mahrattas, and was therefore put under arrest. The operations at Jinji lasted eight years, but immediately before the fall of the place (1697) Raja Ram escaped with the connivance of Zulfikar Khan. The Mughals had already subjugated Trichinopoly and Tanjore (1694). When his position became untenable at Jinji Raja Ram fled to Vellore, and shortly afterwards to Vishalgarh.

Aurangzeb encamped at Brahmapuri on the Bhima from May, 1695 to the end of 1699 while directing the operations in the Deccan. Kasim Khan was killed in an action with Santaji Ghorpare, but the Mahratta position became worse when Santaji was assassinated in an internal feud with the other general Dhanaji Jadhav. Raja Ram took up his position at Satara and reconstituted his council with some of his faithful men who had rendered him good service. He tried to

strengthen his position in the forts of the Konkan, which still remained unsubdued. Aurangzeb drew up a comprehensive plan of attacking the Mahratta raiders in the plain as well as the forts on the hills. Raja Ram's marauding parties visited Khandesh and Berar demanding *Chauth* and *Sardeshmukhi*. While Raja Ram went out in his raids Aurangzeb reached Satara (December 1699): The fort stood on the summit of a steep hill, and rendered any attack upon it difficult. Pragji Prabhu defended the place with great skill and ability. Raja Ram died exhausted after his long expeditions at Sinhagarh on the 2nd March 1700, and Satara surrendered on the 21st April, 1700. The Mughals next besieged the fort of Parli which surrendered on the 9th June. The two victories cost the Emperor heavily. The rains made the movement of troops difficult. His camp at Khawaspur was washed away in the floods. The soldiers had not been paid for three years, and they could not stand the hardships of the tedious journey. After the death of Raja Ram the leadership in Maharashtra passed into the hands of his widow Tara Bai. She was a remarkable lady possessing great intelligence and enterprise. She was also well versed in the art of government. With the help of Ramchandra Pant she placed her infant son Sivaji III on the throne, and managed the Government herself. She cheered up her officers and took vigorous measures for carrying on the raids. She steadily improved the position of the Mahrattas. Aurangzeb on his part did not relax his attacks. In the course of the next four years he conquered almost all the

important Mahratta forts. Where open warfare failed he adopted the method of bribery. He spared neither men nor money in capturing these forts. He occupied Panhala, Vishalgarh, Raigarh and Torna. His resources were exhausted in these operations. His last campaign was directed against Wakinkera (Feb, 1705). After the subjugation of this place he made up his mind to go back to Delhi. Age was creeping on him and he was already eighty-seven.

The conquests made by Aurangzeb could not however be maintained. The Mahrattas carried on their extensive raids. With the money thus obtained and with the help of the Mavlis most of the forts were reoccupied. Tara Bai took up her residence at the fort of Panhala. Aurangzeb tried to create a division in the Mahratta camp by releasing Sahu. But the trick did not work. He had further alienated the Mahratta sympathies by marrying away the daughters of Raja Ram and Sambhuji to Musalmans. The Mahrattas managed to recover their position within a short time. They made regular arrangements for civil administration in the places they occupied. Khafi Khan states: "Wherever they arrived they engaged in a regular revenue collection of the place and passed months and years there with wife and children in peace of mind. They divided the Parganas among themselves, and in imitation of the Imperial Government they appointed their own *Subahdars*, *Kamovishdars* (revenue collectors), and *Rahdars* (road-guards." They built up a strong government within a short time. The hard-won con-

quests of Aurangzeb thus turned out to be a disastrous failure.

Events in northern India.

During his long sojourn in the south the Emperor could hardly pay attention to the affairs of the north. The Central Government became gradually weak. His ambition to win the south led to the destruction of the Empire. In Rajputana the Rathors were not reconciled to the Mughal administration. They never abandoned the cause of Ajit Singh. Durga Das returned from the Deccan in 1687, and led the opposition. Twice he accepted service under the Mughals but when the Mahrattas raided Gezerat in 1706 the Rathors shook off their bondage. Prince Bidar Bakht who was acting as governor on behalf of his father Azam could not stand against them, and shortly after the death of Aurangzeb the Rathors placed Ajit Singh on the throne.

The Jats who lived in the country round about Agra became a source of trouble during the absence of the Emperor in the Deccan. They robbed the Mughal troops when they marched through their country. They plundered the tomb of Akbar at Sikandra in 1686 and again in 1688. For a few years peace was maintained by Raja Bishan Singh of Ambar while he was Faujdar of Muttra. But there arose a new leader among the Jats, named Churaman. He reconquered some of their old forts, and during the last few years the Jats were still a great menace to the Empire. Besides these troubles there was unrest in other parts. Revenue was not regularly collected excepting in Bengal.

Death of Aurangzeb.

After the fall of Wakinkera Aurangzeb proceeded to the village of Devapur on the Krishna. Here he became suddenly ill. The stay of a few months there improved his health, but he felt that the end was near. By slow marches he reached Ahmadnagar on the 20th January, 1706. He came to that place twenty-three years ago with great hopes of expanding his Empire. After ceaseless wars in the long interval he returned a disappointed man in broken health. His grand projects have failed, and the end of the lonely life was approaching. The last day of his life he spent in great agony of mind. He marched through blood to the throne, kept his father a prisoner, and when he was about to quit the world there was none to console him. His eldest son Muhammad had died in prison long ago, the fourth Akbar who rebelled against him died in exile in Persia in 1704. The second Muazzam (Shah Alam) also was kept confined for some years, and although restored to freedom later on, he was sent away to Kabul. Azam was posted as governor of Guzerat. He came to see his father on receiving the news of his illness. The youngest Kambakhsh was with him at Ahmadnagar, but was ordered to go to Bijapur when he quarrelled with Azam, while the latter was asked to proceed to Malwa. Aurangzeb could not count upon the fidelity of any of his sons. He had confidence in none excepting in himself, and this too he lost as the end approached. On Friday, the 20th February, 1707, he breathed his last. It was his instruction that his body should be interred in the nearest burial place.

Prince Azam reached Ahmadnagar on the 22nd and sent the body to be buried at Khuldabad near Daulatabad where lay the remains of the saint Zain-ud-Din. The tomb of this last great monarch of Hindustan is a very simple masonry work without any marble platform, grass grows on the top, and this is emblematic of the simplicity of his life.

An estimate of Aurangzeb's Character

Aurangzeb died at the age of eighty-nine, in the fiftieth year of his reign. He drew the admiration of his co-religionists for his devotion to his faith. His administration was guided by his fidelity to Islam. Whatever he did was to strengthen the position of the Musalmans and to reduce that of other religionists. He never wavered to wound the susceptibilities of others in pursuance of his own object. He had no scruples in adopting means to remove the obstacles from his way. In his instructions to Zulfikar Khan he wrote : "When you have an enemy to destroy spare nothing rather than fail, neither deceptions, subterfuges, nor false oaths, for anything is permissible in open war. Invent as many tricks, if possible, as there are grains of purslane on your arm after you withdraw it from a barrell of honey. In one word, make use of every pretext in the world that you judge capable of bringing you success in your projects." The passage indicates the character of the last of the great Mughal rulers. He was faithless as a son and brother and suspicious as a father. He was cold and calculating

and austere in his mode of living. He never indulged in frivolities, and was always dignified in his conduct. "He never puts on the clothes prohibited by religion, nor does he ever use vessels of silver or gold" writes a Moslem historian, "In his sacred court no improper conversation, no word of back-biting, or of false-hood is allowed." (*Mirat-i-Alam*). Dr. Gemelli Careri an Italian physician visited the Emperor in his camp at Galgala in 1695. When he saw him he was "an old man with a white beard, trimmed round, contrasting vividly with his olive skin. He was of low stature, with a large nose, slender and stooping with age.

Aurangzeb took up his task as a ruler very seriously. He possessed a keen sense of justice, unflinching courage, and indomitable power of endurance. He guided the military operations personally even at the age of eighty-eight. He maintained his energy till his last campaign. Dr. Gemelli Careri saw him endorsing the petitions with his own hands without spectacles.

But his long life ended in failure. "Every plan that he formed came to little good ; every enterprise failed." says Khafi Khan. Immediately after his death the empire was broken into pieces, the countries which he tried to conquer became independent, and the movements which he wanted to crush became strong. It is interesting to trace the causes of his failure. The historian Elphinstone says: "The real defect was in heart. Had he been capable of any generous or noble sentiment, he would have been a great prince, his subjects would not have been alienated by his narrow

views on religion, nor would the power of his officers have been cramped, and their zeal chilled by a constant spirit of suspicion and distrust." The same writer further remarks ; "His glory is for himself alone. The triumph of character ennobles only himself. To his great Empire his devoted zeal was an unmitigated curse." He kept his officers at a distance, and centralised all the activities of the Empire in himself. He would not trust his own sons or officers. He never appointed any body with full powers. With any high dignitary, a governor or a commander he always appointed an associate to watch him, and so nobody ever served him with genuine sincerity and true loyalty. By his education and training he was selfish, self-centred and narrow, He did not find any body better than himself ; and anything good in the religions or religious literature of others. This was the keynote of his life, and this narrow outlook made such a career of great talents and moral purity a great failure.

He spent the vast accumulated wealth of his father and grand-father on gigantic military projects. He did not encourage the pursuit of art. No important architecture is associated with his name, on the other hand he forbade music which was a source of enjoyment and destroyed many beautiful Hindu temples.

He did not interfere with the system of government introduced by Akbar. The Mughal Empire reached the furthest limit in his time. The Empire was divided into 21 Subahs, 15 in Northern India and 6 in the

Southern. He had a big army, and the highest appointments were filled by military men. The maximum income of Aurangzeb was about Rs. 80,00,00,000, (eighty crores). The income fell down on account of misgovernment towards the end of his reign.

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CHAPTER IX

THE BREAK-UP OF THE EMPIRE.

Bahadur Shah

The death of an emperor almost always led to a contest for the throne among his surviving sons. The question of succession was invariably decided by the sword, which necessarily produced an unsettled state of things. The people had no voice in such matters, and law and custom offered no solution. Immediately on the death of Aurangzeb his three surviving sons followed the old traditions of their house. Each asserted his right to succeed to the vacant throne of his father. Muazzam, often called Shah Alam, was at Kabul. He was the eldest of these. He had vast administrative experience. He was appointed Viceroy of the Deccan in 1667 when he was a youngman of twenty-seven. He came to assist his father in his war with the Rajputs and went with him to the Deccan. He lost the favours of the Emperor on account of his softness for the king of Golkonda and was kept under restraint for seven years till 1695 A.D. Prince Azam obtained some predominance in the Court, and considered himself the heir-apparent. Shah Alam was subsequently sent as Governor of Kabul, and thus was away from the Court for twelve years. Azam was Governor of Guzerat at the time of his father's illness, and came to see him on receiving the

news. Kambakhsh was the favourite of the old Emperor. His mother Udaipuri Begum attended him during his illness. The two brothers quarrelled by the bedside of the dying Emperor, and for this reason they were sent away, Azam to Malwa, and Kambakhsh to Bijapur. But Azam did not go very far. He reached Ahmadnagar two days after the death, and proclaimed his accession and marched towards Agra to get hold of the treasures. Shah Alam on the other hand left Kabul, and forming a junction with Munim Khan at Lahore proceeded towards Agra. Delhi easily submitted to him. From Muttra he sent a conciliatory message to Azam offering to divide the empire between themselves. It was also the desire of Aurangzeb that the empire should be partitioned amongst his sons. But Azam was overconfident in his own powers and rejected the offer of his brother. Before he could reach Agra he had to encounter the vast army of Shah Alam at a village called Jajau half-way between Dholpur and Agra (June 10, 1707.). In the battle Azam and his son Bidar Bakht were killed. Shah Alam then ascended the throne at Agra under the title of Bahadur Shah.

He had still another rival in the field. Kam Bakhsh was in possession of Bijapur and Golkonda. Instead of submitting to the inevitable he wrote insolent letters to Bahadur Shah and tried to maintain his independence. He would not listen to any proposal of conciliation. So Bahadur Shah proceeded to the Deccan in 1708 A.D. He was joined by Zulfikar Khan who commanded a large

army in the Deccan. At a battle near Haiderabad in January 1709 Kam Bakhsh was wounded, and brought before his brother. He died of the wounds the same night. The Government of the Deccan was now entrusted into the hands of Zulfikar Khan.

The new Emperor had to face three serious problems : The Mahrattas were creating havoc in the Deccan, the Rajputs were discontented, and a new trouble was arising in the Punjab where the Sikhs were defying the authority of the Mughal rulers. On the advice of Zulfikar Khan Azam had released Sahu the son of Sambhuji before he marched against Bahadur Shah. The plan worked admirably and the Mahrattas were divided into two rival parties. Tara Bai was working as the Regent of her infant son Sivaji III, but there were many Mahratta chiefs who welcomed the son of Sambhuji as the direct descendant of Sivaji. The civil war left little leisure for marauding expeditions into Mughal territories. Bahadur Shah was willing to acknowledge the claims of Sahu, but his Vizier Munim Khan supported Tara Bai. In the midst of this divided counsel the negotiations were dropped. Zulfikar also soon left for Agra delegating his task of administering the Deccan to Daud Khan Parni who later on entered into an understanding with Sahu that he would be allowed to enjoy the *Chauth* within his province during his incumbency of office, but the collection would be made by Mughal officers without the interference of the Mahrattas. This arrangement maintained peace till the end of the reign.

Bahadur Shah did not think it prudent to continue hostilities with the sturdy Rajputs, and expected their help in maintaining his throne. On his way to the Deccan he concluded a treaty with the Rana of Udaipur, restoring to him all his territories, giving up the right to collect *Jizyah*, and releasing him from the obligation to furnish a contingent of troops in the Deccan. Similar terms were offered to Ajit Singh of Marwar, but he had still to supply a contingent. The Raja of Ambar had joined Azam Shah and therefore more rigorous conditions were imposed upon him. He was not allowed to rule his own principality although he could command the Jaipur contingent with the Mughal army. Ajit Singh and Jai Singh formed a league and offered resistance. When Bahadur Shah was proceeding against them on his return from the Deccan he received the news of the serious situation in the Punjab. So he sent his son Azim-us Shan to settle the differences with the Rajputs. All their demands were conceded to the full, and the Rajas of Ambar and Marwar were placed on the same footing with the Rana of Udaipur.

Rise of the Sikhs

The atrocities of the Sikhs in Sirhind spread fast towards the east, and they even threatened Delhi. The situation became so serious that Bahadur Shah had to withdraw all his troops from other fields and to proceed personally to the Punjab. Since the execution of Guru Arjun Dev in 1607 the Sikhs had developed into a military race. His son Har Govind thoroughly changed

the character of the quiet religious people. The of Guru was no longer a simple religious teacher but the head of a political state with the necessary institutions of government. He was called the Sachha Padisha (the True King), he had a *Durbar* to advise him and a throne called *Akal Takht* (the throne eternal) from where he used to dispense justice. He organised an army and taught his disciples the military art. Although he was reconciled for sometime to Jahangir he communicated his spirit of revenge to his people and inspired them with hatred towards the Musalmans. He became so unruly that he was kept confined by Jahangir for twelve years in the fort of Gwalior. On his release he kept up his hostilities so vehemently that he was driven out of Amritsar, and his house and property were captured by the Mughals. He had to fight constantly with the troops of Shah Jahan, and he was compelled to withdraw into the hills. He spent the rest of his life at Kiratpur in the Kashmir Hills, where he died in 1644. He was succeeded by his grand-son Har Rai who incurred the displeasure of Aurangzeb for his friendship with Dara Shukoh. His son Ram Rai who represented him was disinherited for submitting to Aurangzeb. On the death of Har Rai in 1661 his infant son Har Kishan was placed on the *Gaddi* according to his desire, but the child died in 1664. The succession then passed on to Tegh Bahadur the youngest son of Har Govind. These disputes over succession did not deviate the Sikhs from their main object. Tegh Bahadur accompanied Raja Ram Singh of

Ambar in his Assam campaign in 1669. On his return journey he stopped for some time at Patna where was born his famous son Govind Singh. He was asked by Aurangzeb to accept Islam, which he indignantly declined. He was executed in 1675.

The tenth Guru Govind Singh was a very capable organiser. He transformed the Sikhs into a military commonwealth. He organised the *Khalsa*, and introduced a number of reforms in the community. The Sikhs became a brotherhood with a strong determination to take revenge for any insult to them. They defied the authority of the Emperor, and for this they had to fight ceaselessly with the imperial troops for thirteen years. Their headquarters, Anandpur, was attacked five times, two sons of Govind Singh were killed in action and two were put to death. When resistance became impossible Govind Singh fled (1702). His spirit was so much curbed that he went to the Deccan to offer his submission to Aurangzeb but before he had reached the imperial camp the Emperor had died. He was stabbed to death at Nander by an Afghan, to avenge the death of his father. (1738). The leadership of the Sikhs now passed into the hands of a man called Banda.

Guru Govind Singh met Banda in the Deccan. He was a Sanyasi, but he had within him the Rajput impetuosity, from which race he came. He was bold, resolute, and relentless in his disposition. On his return to the Punjab he enlisted in the Sikh army men of all descriptions. The Jats and Kshatris predominated at

the early stage. Guru Govind Singh broke the barrier of caste, and introduced the system of initiation by a ceremony called *pahul* in which the candidate had to drink concentrated water stirred by a sword or dagger. A large number of low caste men joined the band of disciples, and there were a number of scavengers, leather-dressers and such like persons who were not afraid of shedding blood, or undertaking any task of atrocious cruelty. The oppression of the Moslem rulers provoked their wild vengeance. They directed their first attack against Wazir Khan, the Faujdar of Sirhind who had buried alive the two sons of Guru Govind Singh. Wazir Khan was defeated and killed in a pitched battle (May 1710), and the city was given up to plunder. The Musalmans were cruelly butchered, even women and children were not spared. The dead were dug up and cast to the birds and beasts of prey. The mosques were pulled down, and the Mullas were killed. The fire of fanatical fury spread in all directions. The Sikhs carried their victorious army from the Sutlej to the Jumna, and they marched as far as Saharanpur to the east. The local authorities in a state of desperation organised a vigorous defence, and for a short time the Sikhs withdrew to the country between Ludhiana and the hills and the upper course of the Sutlej. The Pathans of Muzaffarnagar rolled back the tide of the Sikh progress. The Sikhs however gathered up their forces in the Jalandhar Doab, and their number reached to 70,000 They devastated the country as far as Delhi on one side and Lahore on the other.

Bahadur Shah went from Ajmir with a strong army to crush them. An engagement took place at Shahdara near Delhi on the 5th December 1709, and then Munim Khan pushed them back to the sub-Himalayan State of Nahan. A large number of the Sikhs took refuge in the fort of Lohgarh which was besieged by the Mughals. When the garrison could not hold out any more Banda escaped by a back door, changing his clothes with a faithful follower. On the discovery of the trick a part of the army was sent towards the hills in pursuit of the fugitive. The Emperor was annoyed at the failure of Munim Khan to capture the Sikh leader, and forbade him to come to his presence. This so much wounded the sensitive general that he soon died of broken heart.

The death of the faithful general however told heavily upon Bahadur Shah. He retired to Lahore to improve his health, leaving a small army to watch the movements of the Sikhs. He died there at the age of 71, after a short reign of four years. He was a good king, but he could not arrest the process of disintegration which started in the reign of his father. There was confusion on account of the dispute regarding succession. Taking advantage of the unsettled state of things the Sikhs came out of their mountain retreat and overran the country between Lahore and Ambala. In some places the imperial troops were defeated. But Abdus Samad Khan, the governor of Lahore took strong measures, defeated them in various engagements, and forced Banda to surrender (1716).

Two thousand Sikhs were killed, and Banda was taken as a captive to Delhi with 740 other Sikhs. They were cruelly treated there. They were all executed when they refused to accept Islam. These faithful Sikhs accepted death manfully rather than abandon their religion. Banda was handed a dagger to stab his own son, When he declined the son was killed before his eyes, and his heart was thrown into his face, and then he was brutally murdered. It was a cruel revenge of the atrocities perpetrated by the Sikhs upon the Musalmans. They were thoroughly crushed, and wherever found they were killed like wild beasts. On the down-fall of the Mughals they gradually raised their heads and under Ranjit Singh they became the rulers of the Punjab in the first part of the nineteenth century.

The Later Mughals.

The successors of Bahadur Shah were all incompetent men. They lacked the military genius and the administrative ability of the early monarchs. Under their weak rule the vast empire fell into pieces. The governors and ministers carved out new kingdoms for themselves. When the empire was thus disintegrated, the foreign adventurers then trading in India stepped in, and became the rulers of the country.

On the death of Bahadur Shah his sons quarrelled over the throne. The minister Zulfikar Khan suggested an amicable distribution of the empire. But as this did not prove agreeable they entered into a sanguinary contest. The second brother Azimush Shan, the ablest.

of the four, was defeated and killed by a combination of the three others. At last the eldest Jahandar Shah succeeded in obtaining the throne with the help of Zulfikar Khan. Jahandar was an idle voluptuary, and was completely in the hands of a mistress named Lal Konwar. He exalted to high offices the brothers and relatives of this dancing girl. This produced disgust in the minds of the minister. The affairs of the Government suffered through the neglect of both the Emperor and his Minister. The nobility of all ranks were incensed at the tyranny and high-handedness of Zulfikar.

In this state of things in the imperial court, Farrukhsiyar, the son of Azim-ush Shan, who was in Bengal, was encouraged to put forward his claims by two brothers, Syed Husain Ali, governor of Behar, and Syed Abdulla, governor of Allahabad. They belonged to the Barha tribe, and had served under Aurangzeb. They were in sympathy with Azam and Azim-ush Shan, and now stood by Farrukhsiyar. With their help he marched towards the capital, Jahandar came down from Lahore, and at a battle on the Jumna near Allahabad Jahandar was defeated, and then he fled from the field on the elephant of his mistress. Zulfikar followed him, and both took refuge in the house of the latter's father Asad Khan in Delhi, who on the approach of Farrukhsiyar handed over the cowardly king into his hands on the expectation that the father and the son would be spared. Although Asad Khan escaped, his son was strangled to death, and

Jahandar was murdered in prison. Farrukhsiyar ascended the throne on the 9th Feb. 1713.

The new monarch was a young man without experience. The leadership of the state therefore passed into the hands of the Syed brothers. Abdulla Khan became the vizier, and the younger brother Husain the commander-in-chief. Although the Syed brothers filled the highest offices the Emperor did not take them into full confidence. His favourite was a man from Multan named Mir Jumla. At his instigation Husain Ali was sent against Ajit Singh of Marwar. The vizier Abdulla found that there was a plot to separate him from his brother, so he wrote to Husain to return immediately. Ajit Singh also was not in a position to resist and agreed to terms favourable to the Emperor. On his return to the capital it was arranged that Husain Ali would go to the Deccan as Viceroy, and Mir Jumla to Behar. Daud Khan Parni was in charge of the Deccan Government. He was not willing to submit to the new arrangement, and was killed in an engagement. The death of Daud increased the bitterness between the Mughals and the Mahrattas. Husain Ali when again asked by his brother to return to Delhi proposed a treaty with Raja Sahu, but the terms were not ratified by the Emperor (1717). Mir Jumla also returned from Patna, but he had lost the old position he held in the court. He was sent away as governor of Lahore. In the meantime Banda had been executed and the Sikhs crushed. Farrukhsiyar had alienated the Hindus by re-imposing the Jiziyah. The powers of the

vizier Abdulla became unbearable, and the Emperor contemplated to seize his person. But the plot failed. On the arrival of Husain Ali in 1719 the Emperor sought the help of the opponents of the vizier. Raja Jai Singh of Ambar, the only faithful supporter of the Emperor advised him to take prompt action against the Syed brothers. But Farrukhsiyar was a coward and a hopeless debauchee. He dismissed Jai Singh on the demand of Husain Ali, and when reduced to a helpless situation he was dragged out of his place of concealment in the female apartments and put to death Feb. 1719. The Syed brothers were now masters of the situation, and they set up two princes one after another upon the throne, and the third Muhammad Shah survived their intrigues. During this period of confusion Jai Singh threatened Agra, and Ajit Singh carried away his widowed daughter who had been married to Farrukhsiyar. The Jats and the Mahrattas also increased their depredations. One important incident in the reign of Farrukhsiyar was the grant of some concessions to the English merchants in Bengal. Murshid Kuli Khan, the governor of Bengal, was very exacting, and the English merchants sent two representatives to Delhi with a petition to the Emperor for exemption from oppressive duties. They had with them a Scottish surgeon named William Hamilton. The mission waited two years at Delhi, and found the vizier to be one of their greatest opponents. About this time Farrukhsiyar suffered from a tumor on the back and was cured by the skill of Hamilton who procured from the Emperor the

concession prayed for by the East India Company. They were granted the right to carry on trade in Bengal free of duty, and some land in the vicinity of Calcutta.

Muhammad Shah was on the throne from 1719 to 1748 but during this long reign the empire of the Mughals was thoroughly shattered by factions from within and assaults from outside. The Syeds found Muhammad ably advised by his mother and therefore could not use him as their tool. The Queen-mother discovered that Asaf Jah (Chin Kilich Khan) an able Turkman would be sufficiently strong to crush the Syed brothers. He had distinguished himself in various fields and was governor of Malwa in 1719. He was subsequently known as the Nizam-ul-Mulk. According to a secret understanding with the Emperor he proceeded towards the south, in violation of the orders of the Syeds who asked him to come back to Delhi. Asaf Jah occupied Burhanpur and Aurangabad. When he became very powerful the Syeds took steps to crush him. They were joined by some Rajput chiefs. But the Nizam defeated them at Ratanpur thirty miles north of Burhanpur, June 10, 1720. Syed Abdulla went from Fathepur-Sikri where the new Emperor was holding his court to Delhi. When the situation in the south became serious Husain Ali marched towards the Deccan accompanied by the Emperor and his mother. On the way at a place about sixty miles from Fathepur-Sikri he was assassinated, and the Queen-mother appointed Muhammad Amin as the new Vizier. Syed Abdulla tried to get up a pretender on the throne at

Delhi, but he was overpowered near Muttra (Nov. 3, 1720) and then Muhammad entered Delhi on the 10th. He died soon after the defeat. On the death of Muhammad Amin, Asaf Jah was promoted to the position of the Vizier, (Feb. 1721) and another supporter of the Emperor Saadat Khan was offered the government of Oudh. Ajit Singh of Jodhpur was appointed Governor of the Province of Agra, and another Hindu was given the charge of Malwa. To conciliate the Hindus the poll-tax was removed, but the Nizam was not agreeable to this remission. He also found that he was ridiculed in the court circle for his stiff manners. About this time news of the ravages of the Mahrattas in the Deccan reached Delhi. So the Nizam proceeded to look after his own province. He established in the south the House of the Nizam. He was engaged in constant war with the Mahrattas for several years. In 1731 the old Nizam supported the Mahrattas in their attack upon Hindustan. This course he took partly with a view to divert the Mahrattas and partly to destroy the hostile faction in the capital. When Delhi was in danger the Nizam came to its rescue, but he was defeated by the Mahrattas near Bhopal. He then surrendered Malwa, and the country between the Chambal and the Nerbada to the Mahrattas (Feb. 11, 1738).

Invasion of Nadir Shah

Shortly after this a new danger visited India. Nadir Shah, who had usurped the throne of Persia, only two years ago, invaded India. He became very popular in Persia for overthrowing the Safavi dynasty. The

report of the confusion in Hindustan encouraged him to undertake this invasion. He marched unopposed up to Karnal a few miles north of Panipat. A Mughal army under Saadat Khan opposed the march, and in an engagement there the imperial troops were defeated. Saadat Khan was taken a prisoner, and about 20,000 Mughal soldiers were killed in the battle which lasted only two hours. (Feb. 23, 1739). The Nizam tried to send away the invaders by an offer of small indemnity. But the craven-hearted Emperor threw himself upon the mercy of Nadir Shah, who said he would return by taking rest at Delhi, and on receiving some indemnity. He entered Delhi in the company of Muhammad Shah on the 19th March, and took up his residence in the Palace. His troops were scattered throughout the city. On the second day a false report was circulated that Nadir was dead, and the Indians mercilessly attacked the Persian troops. At this unprovoked assault Nadir ordered a general massacre of the Indians. The Persian soldiers carried out the order with a thoroughness from early in the morning to late in the evening. In the course of nine hours about one hundred and twenty thousand persons were killed. Nadir Shah watched the massacres from the terrace of the Golden Mosque on the Chandney Chauk. The city was a scene of destruction, blood, and terror. On the entreaty of Muhammad the order was withdrawn. After the general massacre the city was given up to plunder. Indemnity was collected from the citizens, the nobles were employed to levy the money. After a residence of fifty-eight days at Delhi the

invader went away with booty estimated at eighty million of pounds sterling. Authorities differ about the exact amount. Muhammad Shah received his crown from his hands, and henceforth ruled as his vassal. The territories to the west of the Indus were ceded to Nadir Shah. The dignity and prestige of the Mughal throne were thoroughly undermined after the invasion.

“For sometime after Nadir Shah’s departure, the inhabitants of Delhi remained in a sort of stupor.” Says Elphinstone. “They had not recovered from the terror of the past, and the destruction of their fortunes : many of their houses were in ruins ; much of the city was entirely deserted, and the whole infected by the stench of the bodies which still lay unburied in the streets. It was not long after Nadir was gone that the court awoke as if from a lethargy. The view of the empire which presented itself was as full of ruin and desolation as the capital. The army was destroyed, the treasury emptied, the finances all but annihilated ; the Mahrattas still threatened on the south, and the only provinces which had not been laid waste by their ravages had now been destroyed by Nadir’s army.” Muhammad Shah had no personality. He depended upon the great officers of the realm, Asaf Jah Nizam-ul-Mulk, Saadat Khan, the viceroy of Oudh and the Vizier Kamar-ud-Din, a cousin of Asaf Jah, Saadat Khan died in this troublous time, and his kinsman Safdar Jang became the viceroy of Oudh. The affairs in the Deccan called away Asaf Jah

(1741) from Delhi, and his place in the court was filled by his son Ghazi-ud-Din who was the captain-general and paymaster of the forces. Ghazi-ud-Din had married a daughter of the Vizier, and the two together belonging to the Turanian party crushed the opposition of other factions, specially of the Persians. The existence of these factions was a curse as they were not afraid of committing the worst crimes in furtherance of their objects. As the Deccan was governed by the Nizam, and Oudh by Safdar, so Bengal became practically independent under another Turkman named Aliverdi Khan. A tribe of Afghans known as the Rohillas who first settled to the east of Oudh with Jaunpur as their centre occupied the country at the foot of the Kumaon Hills, now called Rohilkhand. They had a leader named Ali Muhammad, and became so troublesome that the Emperor had to go in person to quell them (1745). The Jats fortified the city of Bharatpur, and became formidable under Suraj Mal. In the midst of these turmoil India was again threatened in the north-west.

Invasions of Ahmad Shah Durrani.

Nadir Shah on his retreat from India became very violent and he was assassinated by his own men on the 20th June, 1747. His throne was captured by an Afghan named Ahmad Khan of the Abdali tribe. The new Shah changed the name of the tribe to Durrani. He came with his restless countrymen in search of wealth and adventure. Immediately after his coronation he subjugated the country west of the Indus. He came

as far as Sirhind, and there he was opposed by Prince Ahmad Shah, and the Vizier Kamar-ud-Din. Although the Mughals succeeded in driving away the Afghans the Vizier was shot dead in his tent while he was praying. The report of the death of this able minister so much upset the Emperor that he could not survive the shock. In the course of his lamentations he was seized by a convulsion, and passed away immediately (April 8, 1747).

The reign of his successor Ahmad Shah was short-lived. The Afghans still threatened on the frontier. The veteran Asaf Jah also died this year. Safdar Jang, Viceroy of Oudh, was appointed Vizier. The first event which engaged the attention of the Vizier was the rebellion of the Rohillas, who became so formidable that he had to call in the aid of the Mahrattas. Malhar Rao Holkar and Jeiapa Sindhia were induced to attack the Rohillas on promise of a subsidy, and on the defeat of the Rohillas the Mahrattas were authorised to levy their subsidy from the conquered country. In the subjugation of the Rohillas the Vizier also enlisted the services of the Jats. When Safdar Jang was engaged in the Rohilla war Ahmad Shah Durrani demanded the cession of the Punjab, and the feeble Emperor had no other alternative but to submit. Safdar Jang on his return from Rohilkhand found that his influence had waned in the court and that a eunuch named Jawid had become the favourite of the Emperor. He attempted to win back his authority by murdering the eunuch, but the Emperor made up his mind to

avenge this outrage by appointing Mir Sahabuddin, a grandson of Asaf Jah, and son of Ghazi-ud-din, as the commander-in-chief. With the help of Sahabuddin, generally known as Ghazi-ud-Din II Safdar Jang was driven out. The capital witnessed a civil war between the parties, which was fanned by religious differences, as the vizier was a Shia and Ghazi-ud-Din was a Sunni. Ghazi-ud-Din enlisted the help of the Mahrattas, and finding his position difficult Safdar Jang retired to his own province of Oudh, to which he added Allahabad. The Jats had helped Safdar Jang in the civil war, and for this offence the young commander-in-chief directed his own troops as well as of the Mahrattas against them. The Emperor now adopted the suicidal policy of supporting the Jats against his powerful minister, and marched out of Delhi to join them. A letter written to Suraj Mal, the Jat Chief, fell into the hands of Ghazi-ud-Din. The Emperor in great alarm retreated towards Delhi, where he was seized and murdered, and a younger son of Jahandar Shah with the title of Alamgir II was placed upon the the throne (1753).

Shortly after the enthronement of Alamgir Safdar Jang died, and his son Shuja-ud-Daula succeeded him as ruler of Oudh and Allahabad. Ghazi-ud-Din assumed the position of the Vizier. The two rival parties stopped their hostilities for some time but the people became furious at the arbitrary rule of Ghazi-ud-Din. The state of anarchy has been thus described by a writer:

“The country was torn to pieces with civil wars, and groaned under every species of domestic confusion : villainy was practised in every form ; all law and religion were trodden under foot ; the bonds of private friendship and connections, as well as of society and government, were broken ; and every individual, as if amidst a forest of wild beasts, could rely upon nothing but the strength of his own arms.”

Ghazi-ud-Din's administration became so intolerable that the Emperor sought relief by inviting Ahmad Durrani. The young vizier tried to capture the province of the Punjab on the death of Mir Mannu, the son of the late vizier Kamar-ud-Din. Taking advantage of the strong feelings against Ghazi-ud-Din Ahmad again came into India, occupied the Punjab and advanced as far as Delhi. The Afghan left the capital on receiving a large amount of money. His visit to Delhi repeated the horrible scenes connected with the name of Nadir Shah. He sent Ghazi-ud-Din to levy contributions from Shuja-ud-Daula, and himself proceeded against the Jats, and inhumanly slaughtered the Hindus assembled to celebrate a religious festival at Muttra. He also laid siege to Agra, but on account of the intolerable heat of the summer returned with the money he had exacted. At the request of Alamgir for protection against the unruly vizier he appointed a Rohilla chief named Najib-ud-Daula as commander-in-chief. This arrangement was upset by the Vizier, and he invited the Mahrattas to help him in carrying out his

plans. Ghazi-ud-Din marched with Raghoba upon Delhi, and besieged the fort. Najib-ud-Daula was not sufficiently strong to defend the Emperor, and managed to escape by offering a bribe to Malhar Rao Holkar. The son of the Emperor, Prince Ali Gauhar also slipped away into a place of safety. Delhi now fell into the hands of the Mahrattas. Raghoba marched into the Punjab at the invitation of Adina Beg, a deputy to Mir Mannu and drove the Afghans beyond the Indus, (May, 1758). The Mahratta influence has now reached the zenith of its glory. They turned their attention to crush the Robillas, and also formed a plan of invading Oudh in consultation with Ghazi-ud-Din. When they invaded Rohilkhand Shuja-ud-Daula in league with the Rohillas defeated them. The report of the approach of Ahmad Shah Durrani towards the Punjab made them conclude peace with Shuja-ud-Daula. Ahmad Shah did not however meet with any opposition from the Mahrattas in his march through the Punjab. Alamgir once again sought the help of the Afghan invader for a release from his state of bondage under the Vizier. The unhappy Emperor invited his own ruin, as Ghazi-ud-Din now took the extreme measure of assassinating him (Nov. 10, 1759). The Mughal rule in India came to an end with the death of Alamgir. His son Ali Gauhar, who assumed the title of Shah Alam, never enjoyed the sovereign position. He ended his life under the protection of other peoples. The last man to enjoy the title of Emperor was Bahadur Shah who was taken as a prisoner by the British

during the mutiny of the Indian sepoy in 1857, and removed to Rangoon, where he died.

Progress of the Mahrattas.

At the time of the death of Aurangzeb the Mahrattas were divided into two factions. Prince Azam set Sahu, the son of Sambhuji, at liberty in order that he might fight against Tara Bai, the widow of Raja Ram, who was acting as the Regent of her infant son. Zulfiqar Khan was in favour of recognising the claims of Sahu, but the Vizier Munim Khan supported Tara Bai. So Bahadur Shah left the parties to adjust their claims. During the civil war the Mahrattas did not disturb the Mughal territories. Daud Khan Parni, the deputy of Zulfiqar Khan in the Deccan agreed that so long as he would be in charge of the Government of the province he would pay the *Chauth* or fourth part of the revenue to Raja Sahu, but the collections would be made by his own agents. Tara Bai, however, gave up the contest and retired to Kolhapur with her infant son. Sivaji III died in 1712, and his step-brother Sambhuji was recognised as his successor at Kolhapur. On the removal of Daud Khan to Guzerat in 1713 the relations between the Mahrattas and the Mughals again became bitter. Bands of Mahrattas plundered the Mughal territories. When Syed Husain Ali failed to crush the rising tide of the Mahrattas, and when he found that his presence was necessary at Delhi on account of the complicated situation there he entered into a treaty with Raja Sahu (1717 A. D.). He agreed (1) to recognise Sahu as the ruler of the territories belonging to Sivaji, and the

later conquests made by the Marhattas, (2) to make over all the forts within that tract to Sahu, (3) to allow him to collect *Chauth* in the Deccan, and (4) to pay one-tenth of the remaining revenue as *Sardeshmukhi*. Sahu on his part promised to pay a tribute of ten lakhs of rupees, to supply a contingent of 15,000 horse, and to maintain the peace of the country and to defend it against inroads from outside. This was practically the grant of full independence, which Farrukhsiyar refused to ratify. Husain Ali marched with 10,000 Mahratta troops upon Delhi and with their help brought about the ruin of the Emperor. On the fall of the Syed brothers Asaf Jah employed them against his enemies at Delhi.

It was the policy of Asaf Jah during his first administration of the Deccan (1715-16 A. D.) to help Sambhuji against Sahu, but the latter had in the meantime organised his Government with the assistance of Balaji Viswanath. Balaji was a Brahman from Konkan, and was a hereditary accountant. He was a cunning politician and able financier. Sahu obtained an accession of enormous strength by his able management. He promoted him to the position of the *Peshwa*, which was next in rank to that of the *Pratinidhi*. It was Balaji who carried on negotiations with Husain Ali, and proceeded with his Mahratta contingents to Delhi. On the death of Farrukhsiyar he got the treaty ratified by his successor Muhammad Shah (1720), and thereby secured the position of Sahu in the Deccan. He died in October of the same year, and was succeeded by his son

Baji Rao to the office of the Peshwa and the leadership of Maharashtra.

Balaji Viswanath consolidated the power of the Mahrattas over the whole of the Deccan. He made the Mughals recognise their claims to Chauth and Sardeshmukhi as legal. By a clever distribution of the revenues among the different chiefs he tried to reduce their powers so that no one might become too powerful. The method of calculating the share of the chiefs required the services of able accountants, and as Brahmans were more fitted for this work than others, the arrangement helped indirectly the growth of his own influence.

His son Baji Rao was a consummate statesman with a powerful imagination. "Unlike his cold-blooded brethren of the priestly class, his temper was ardent and his manner frank," says Elphinstone, "he never flinched from fatigue or danger, and would make a meal of dry grain rubbed out of the husks between his hands as he rode along on a march." He realised the necessity of an efficient army for maintaining good government and order in his own country. The Mahratta predatory hordes would be a source of great danger unless they were employed against the Mughals in the north. He therefore formed the plan of extending the dominions of the Mahrattas beyond the Nerbada. As a keen observer he saw that the Empire was in the process of dissolution. "Let us strike the withered trunk" said he, "and the branches will fall of themselves." Sahu approved of his plan, and in allowing him to

carry the standard he said "you shall plant it on the Himalaya." Within a short time Baji Rao made the Governor of Guzerat agree to pay *Chauth* and *Sardeshmukhi* from that province. Asaf Jah tried to create dissension in the Mahratta camp by withholding the annual tribute till Sahu and Sambhuji could prove as to whom the payment should be made. Baji Rao then marched upon Burhanpur, and when he was opposed by the combined troops of Asaf Jah and Sambhuji he turned against Guzerat, and after ravaging the country came down upon Asaf Jah, who placed in a difficult predicament gave up the claims of Sambhuji (1727 A. D.). Shortly after this Sambhuji acknowledged the claims of Sahu to the whole of the Mahratta country except Kolhapur. Asaf Jah attempted another division in the camp by inciting the Senapati Dabari against Baji Rao. Dabari was defeated near Baroda and killed and his infant son who was granted the right of collecting the Mahratta dues in Guzerat was placed under the tutelage of Pilaji Gaikwar, the founder of the present Gaikwar family. About this time Malhar Rao Holkar who was originally a shepherd and Ranaji Sindhia a menial servant of Baji Rao rose to high offices and gradually became important chiefs in the Mahratta confederacy. The Mughal Emperor tried to check the progress of the Mahrattas by appointing Abhai Singh of Jodhpur as governor of Guzerat and Jai Singh of Ambar as governor of Malawa, but Baji Rao defeated both the chiefs, and established his authority in their provinces. The Emperor was compelled to concede

the right to levy tribute on the Rajputs and from the Deccan, with a view to create hostilities between Asaf Jah and the Mahrattas. About this time Asaf Jah was invited to Delhi, and Baji Rao also proceeded towards it and reached the outskirts of the capital in rapid marches. Asaf Jah now combined with Saadat Khan came to the rescue of the Emperor. Baji Rao hastily retreated towards the Deccan, where he was required on account of other affairs. (1737 A. D.) Asaf Jah followed him with a strong army, but he was so attacked by the Mahrattas near Bhopal that his retreat became difficult. He was then obliged to make terms with Baji Rao and agreed to cede to him all the country from the Nerbada to the Chambal including Malwa (1738). The confirmation of this grant was delayed by the visitation of the Persian invader Nadir Shah. Baji Rao proposed that the Hindus and Musalmans should form a league against their common foe. But on the withdrawal of Nadir Shah he devoted his attention to the affairs in the Deccan. The Gaikwar of Guzerat, and the Bhonsla of Berar were then thinking of overthrowing his authority, which danger Baji Rao averted by sending the Bhonsla in an expedition to the Carnatic. But he was defeated by Nasir Jang, the son of Asaf Jah in an engagement near Burhanpur and was compelled to offer terms of settlement. He was also embarrassed in the Konkan on account of the hostilities of the pirate Angria, the Abyssinians of Janjira, and the Portuguese. His brother Chimnaji, inspite of very vigorous action, failed to crush them. In the midst of these troubles

Baji Rao died on his way to Hindustan (April, 1740). He was succeeded by his son Balaji Rao.

The third Peshwa Balaji Rao had to meet the opposition of the other chiefs such as Raghuji Bhonsla, and Damaji Gaikwar. Raghuji encroached upon the Peshwa's rights by exacting tributes north of the Nerbada. Balaji got his rights to the collection in Hindustan except Guzerat confirmed by Raja Sahu. He then marched through the territory assigned to him, but turned back when Damaji Gaikwar invaded Malwa. Damaji however had no interest of his own. He tried to make a diversion in favour of Raghuji who went as far as Bengal, and along with his minister Bhaskar Pandit attacked Aliverdi Khan, the Governor of Bengal. Aliverdi asked the help of the Emperor to ward off the Mahratta attack. The Emperor finding it difficult to deal with the situation set Balaji Rao against Raghuji, by confirming the grant of Malwa to him. Balaji marched by way of Allahabad and Behar and forced Raghuji to retire from Bengal. According to the directions of the Emperor Aliverdi Khan paid the arrears of the revenue of Bengal as the cost of the expedition. On his return from Bengal Raghuji in conjunction with Damaji marched upon Satara. The danger was considered so very great that Balaji had to satisfy Raghuji by conceding the right to levy tribute in Bengal and Behar (1744 A. D.). By adopting this policy Raghuji was kept busy in Bengal, and Balaji could carry out his own plan in Maharashtra uninterfered. Raghuji's minister Bhaskar Pandit was murdered by Aliverdi

Khan (1645), and for a time the Mahrattas were driven out of Bengal, but ultimately the Nawab had to purchase peace by ceding Cuttack and promising to pay annually twelve lakhs of rupees out of the revenues of Bengal as Chauth (1751 A. D.)

The situation in the Deccan at the time was in a state of confusion on account of the death of Asaf Jah in 1748, and that of Raja Sahu the next year. The death of Asaf Jah led to a war of succession, in which the European merchants of Madras and Pondicherry interfered. For a time the French influence predominated in the Deccan. In Maharashtra the Peshwa Balaji got the Government transferred to him, only that he had to maintain the royal title in the family of Sivaji by recognising the grandson of Tara Bai as Raja with the title of Rām Raja. Raghujī supported Balaji who also secured the loyalty of Sindhia and Holkar by assigning the revenue of Malwa to them. The only chief who did not accept the arrangement was Damaji Gaikwar. Henceforth Poona became the headquarters of the Mahratta confederacy with the Peshwa at the head, and the titular Raja sank into insignificance. Tara Bai engineered a rebellion in conjunction with Damaji Gaikwar, but Balaji by a clever trick secured the person of Damaji and thereby averted the danger. He was however soon involved in another trouble. He supported the cause of Ghazi-ud-Din the eldest son of Asaf Jah against his third son Salabat Jang who had established his authority in the Deccan with the help of the French. He marched into the Nizam's

territory when he was called away by the rebellion of Tara Bai and the Gaikwar. Salabat Jang accompanied by M. Bussy now invaded Maharashtra, and advanced to within twenty miles of Poona. Finding that the invaders formed a league with Tara Bai, Balaji was prepared to conclude a peace when the Nizam left the attack on account of financial difficulties. Raghuj Bhonsla on the other hand occupied Gawalgarh and Narnala in Berar belonging to the Nizam so Salabat Jang was compelled to accept an armistice and to withdraw.

About this time the Mahrattas were invited by Safdar Jang of Oudh to fight against the Rohillas who were threatening his territories. With the help of the Holkar and the Sindhia and Raja Suraj Mal of the Jats the Rohillas were driven towards the hills. The Mahrattas were compensated by the right to levy their subsidy from the conquered territory. The vizier however was soon involved in a civil war with Ghazi-ud-Din II, the grandson of Asaf Jah, who had secured the alliance of the Mahrattas. With their assistance Ghazi-ud-Din brought pressure upon the Jats and captured the Emperor Ahmad Shah who made an attempt to release himself from the control of his minister. The King was blinded, and Alamgir II was raised to the throne. On the death of Safdar Jang Ghazi-ud-Din became the Vizier (1754). Shortly afterwards Ahmad Shah Durrani came on his third expedition. At the request of Alamgir he appointed the Rohilla chief Najib-ud-Daula as the commander-in-

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chief with a view to reduce the authority of Ghazi-ud-Din who now applied to the Mahrattas for help. Balaji had released Damaji Gaikwar, who along with the Peshwa's brother Raghoba brought the province of Guzerat under subjection. Raghoba also established the authority of the Mahrattas in the Rajput states as well as Malwa. He came to the rescue of Ghazi-ud-Din, and helped him to occupy Delhi. The situation in the Punjab allured the Mahratta general. He occupied Lahore, and drove the Durranis from the Punjab in 1758. On the death of Adina Beg whom the Mahrattas came to restore to power, a Mahratta was appointed Governor of the Province. Another Mahratta army under Dataji Sindhia pursued Najib-ud-Daula to his retreat. The Mahrattas had now spread their influence throughout India. The Musalman chiefs, in consternation formed a combination. Shuja-ud-Daula forgot his hostilities with the Rohillas, and marched against the Mahrattas. He drove them to the other side of the Ganges, and forced them to come to terms. (November, 1759). Dataji Sindhia submitted to their terms on account of the advent of Ahmad Shah Abdali for the fourth time. The Afghan invader easily occupied the Punjab, crushed Dataji Sindhia in an engagement, and defeated Malhar Rao Holkar.

The Third Battle of Panipat.

The forward policy of Raghoba cost the Mahrattas heavily. Sadasheo Rao Bhao, the cousin of the Peshwa was now his chief adviser. Raghoba preferred to

remain at home if the Bhao undertook the next expedition. The situation in the north was leading to a crisis. Ahmad Shah Durrani after driving the Mahrattas from the Punjab, and the neighbourhood of Delhi, occupied the capital, and then marched into the friendly territory of the Rohillas where he took up his position at Anupsahar. The Rohilla chief Najib Khan played an important part in shaping the trend of events. With the help of the powerful Afghan invader he wanted to crush the Mahrattas, and thereby ruin the chances of the Hindus to obtain supremacy. He appealed to the other Moslem chiefs to join the banner of Ahmad Shah. He went to Shuja-ud-Doula, the Nawab Vizier of Oudh to persuade him to espouse the Musalman cause. He tried to convince the Nawab who was a Shia that Shia or Sunni all Moslems were alike the object of Mahratta enmity. The Nawab accepted the advice of Najib, and joined the Shah at Anupsahar.

Sadasheo Rao Bhao summoned all the chiefs in defence of their common cause. He received the full support of the Holkar, the Sindhia, the Gaikwar, many Rajput Chiefs and Raja Suraj Mal of Bharatpur. "Hinduism was uniting for a grand effort." says Keene. "Islam was rallied into cohesion by the necessity of resistance." Bhao made preparations for a gigantic operation. The Peshwa's youthful son Viswas Rao was placed in charge of the army, but the Bhao was the real commander of the forces. He took with him the pick of the Mahratta army consisting of

20,000 cavalry, and a trained army of 10,000 men under Ibrahim Khan Gardi. Ibrahim had learnt the method of modern warfare from M. Bussy, and Sadasheo Rao in disregard of the past traditions of the Mahrattas assumed the pomp and splendour of the Mughals, and determined to engage in open war with the help of his artillery and trained infantry. He was joined on the way by the other Mahratta chiefs, and Suraj Mal who came with 30,000 Jats. Both Suraj Mal and Holkar advised the Bhao to leave his park of heavy artillery, infantry and heavy baggage in some strong place as Jhansi or Gwalior, and to harass the enemy according to the old Mahratta method, till the Afghans left India. The Bhao rejected this advice and marched upon Delhi which was held by a small garrison. Here he let loose his spirit of rapacity, plundered the palaces, tombs and shrines, and removed the silver ceiling of the *Diwan-i-Khas*, which yielded him seventeen lakhs of rupees. Suraj Mal protested against these acts of vandalism, and when the Bhao did not listen to his protests he withdrew to his own country.

The Shah had in the meantime moved from Anupsahar and encamped at Shahdara on the Jumna on the opposite side of Delhi. The Bhao opened negotiations with Shuja-ud-Daula through Kasi Raj Pandit who was then in the service of Shuja. Sadasheo Rao proposed that the country might be partitioned. The Nawab-Vizier consulted Najib Khan and the Shah about these terms, but before they could come to any

decision the Bhao moved up the river and invaded Kunjpura about eighty miles from Delhi. The Afghans could not cross the Jumna on account of the floods. But moved up and crossed the river at Baghpat 24 miles north of Delhi. The Afghans now occupied a position between the Mahrattas and Delhi, and thus cut them off from their base. The Mahrattas then marched northwards and reached the plains of Panipat. In this historic battle-field of India the Mahrattas encamped, and entrenched themselves by a broad ditch, twelve feet deep and sixty feet wide. The guns were mounted upon a rampart round the camp. Ahmad Shah took up his position four miles to the South. The Mahratta army was numerically superior to the Afghans; there were 55,000 cavalry, 15,000 predatory horse and 15,000 infantry, with innumerable followers, making the total not less than 300,000. Ahmad Shah had about 40,000 Afghans and Persians, and 13,000 Indian horse-soldiers with an infantry of about 38,000 Indians. The armies did not come to any open conflict for two months. During this period they indulged in skirmishes and desultory attacks through which both sides suffered. Pickets were placed by both parties. A party of Mahrattas carrying bags of gold and silver from Delhi was cut up on the way, as also a party of 3,000 Rohillas was destroyed. The soldiers on both sides demanded an immediate engagement. Gradually Ahmad Shah extended a cordon round the Mahrattas and threw a blockade round them. The Mahrattas were cut off from their supplies, and the

soldiers under Ibrahim Khan Gardi became clamorous for pay. In these circumstances Sadasheo Rao again tried to negotiate terms with Shuja-ud-Daula. Both Shuja and Ahmad Shah were willing to come to terms, but Najib was obdurate. He impressed upon the Moslem chiefs that as soon as Ahmad Shah would leave India they would be ruined by the Mahrattas. In the shivering cold of January the Mahrattas could not stand any more privations. Their resources were exhausted, they had not tasted food for two days, and they represented to the Bhao that they were ready to die fighting and not to die of hunger. They resolved in the night of the 6th January, 1761, to make the last attempt. They would either drive away the invaders or perish in the attempt. The Bhao wrote to Kasi Raj Pandit: "The cup is full to the brim, and cannot hold another drop. If anything can be done, do it. If not, let me know plainly and at once, for afterwards there will be no time for writing or for speech."

The note was handed to the Pandit at 3 a.m. and when he was communicating it to Shuja-ud-Daula, news reached the camp that the Mahrattas were on their way to attack. The Shah was at once informed and when he was speaking to Kasi Raj Pandit the news was confirmed by a volley of fire from the Mahratta camp. Orders were issued to get ready for a general engagement in the dawn.

The Mahrattas prepared for a deadly fight by taking the last morsel of grain available in the camp. They put off their turbans and smeared their faces with

turmeric and marched from their lines like the devotees of death. They placed their guns in the front, with the Bhao and Viswas Rao in the centre. The left wing was led by Ibrahim Khan Gardi, and the right by Holkar and Sindhia. On the side of the Shah the left was in charge of Najib-ud-Daula, and the left-centre of Shuja-ud-Daula, and the Shah's Wazir Shah Wali. The right centre consisted of the Rohillas under Hafiz Rahmat Khan, and the other Indian Pathan chiefs. The Shah directed the operation from a red tent behind the lines.

The Mahrattas advanced as soon as they found sufficient light to see things. Ibrahim Khan Gardi with his disciplined troops scattered the Rohillas and the Bhao charged fiercely the left-centre under the Wazir Shah Wali. Shuja-ud-Daula remained stationary, as he was not inclined to fight against the Mahrattas. The Wazir in his great distress sent a message to Shuja-ud-Daula to support him immediately, but for which he would perish. Shuja still remained unmoved. Najib-ud-Daula was hard pressed by the Sindhia. When the Shah saw the critical position of his lines he sent 500 of his body-guards to drive all able-bodied men out of camp and another 1500 he employed to cut off the way of those who were away. He sent these troops with 4000 from his reserve to support the Rohillas, and 1000 troops were sent to reinforce the ranks of Shah Wali. The Wazir was directed to charge the Bhao and the Mahratta centre in close order and at full gallop, while Shah Pasand

the chief of the staff, and Najib-ud-Daula were to attack the flanks. The progress of the war is thus described by Keene on the authority of Kasi Raj Pandit, the most reliable witness of the events :

“The forward movement of the Moslems began at one p.m. The fight was close and obstinate ; men fighting with swords, spears, axes and even with daggers. Between 2 and 3 p.m. the Peshwa’s son was wounded and having fallen from his horse, was placed upon an elephant. The last thing seen of the Bhao was his dismounting from the elephant and getting on his Arab charger. Soon after the young chief was slain. The next moment, Holkar and the Gaikwar left the field. In that instant resistance ceased, and the Mahrattas all at once became helpless victims of butchery. Thousands were cut down ; other thousands were drowned in escaping, or were slaughtered by the country people whom they had so long pillaged. The Shah, and his principal commanders, then retired to camp, leaving the pursuit to be completed by subordinate officers. Forty thousand prisoners are said to have been slain. Among the prisoners was Ibrahim, the valiant and skilful leader of the Gardis. Though severely wounded, he was taken care of in Shuja’s tents, and his wounds received surgical attention. Shuja also endeavoured to extend protection to the head of the house of Sindhia.” But neither Ibrahim Gardi nor Janakji Sindhia could be saved from the barbarities of the Shah. A headless trunk believed to be that of the Bhao was found about twenty miles off. It has been

estimated that the total loss on the side of the Mahrattas was about 200,000 slain. The result of the war was reported to the Peshwa in metaphors: "Two pearls have been dissolved, twenty-seven gold mohurs have been lost, and of the silver and copper the total cannot be cast up." The Peshwa did not survive the shock. He died broken-hearted in a temple near Poona. Amongst those who managed to escape was Malhar Rao Holkar, Mahdaji Sindhia, and Nana Fadnavis. The wreck of the great Mahratta army crossed the Nerbada and the Mahratta acquisitions in Hindusthan had to be abandoned. On the death of the Peshwa Balaji Rao the Mahratta confederacy lost its importance. The last effort of the Hindus to regain their political supremacy thus ended in a disaster. The Moslem chiefs on the other hand failed to profit by this victory. The troops of Ahmad Shah became mutinous and demanded payment of their arrears for two years past, and insisted upon immediate return to Kabul. Shuja-ud-Daula who did not take any active part in the battle returned to his own province. The absent Shah Alam was recognised by the Emperor, and Najib-ud-Daula became the regent of his son. The battle not only brought about the ruin of the Hindus, but paved the way for an easy conquest of the country by the foreigners who had already interested themselves in the affairs of the provincial governments. At the battle of Plassey in 1757 the English drove Siraj-ud-Daula out of Bengal, and placed a puppet Nawab in his place. In the south they were still struggling with the French

for an opportunity to control the government of the two Moslem states. Thus the great empire which the Mughal monarchs built with so much industry was smashed almost in the twinkling of an eye. Panipat once again decided the fate of India.

The land-marks of the Mughal Rule.

The Mughals were in power much longer than any other Moslem dynasty. The early rulers were brave soldiers, and wise administrators. Akbar was a statesman of rare ability and built up an empire with the loose and weak states of India. His work was spoiled by his short-sighted successors who did not pay sufficient attention to the stability of Government, or to the promotion of the welfare of the people. The monarchs who occupied the throne were weak in body as well as in intellect. The government of the country depended upon personal character. So long as a monarch possessed military skill, or strong personal influence he could maintain his power. In spite of all their defects the Mughals have left their indelible marks upon the history of India.

The first thing that India has got from them is their system of administration. Some of the features of the Mughal rule still persist. The land revenue system, the divisions of the country into Subahs and Sarkars, collection of revenue both in coin and in kind were distinct improvements upon the old state of things. The Mughal rulers laid out extensive gardens, built splendid palaces, mosques and tombs, constructed good roads, and

excavated canals for the improvement of agriculture. They built beautiful cities and strong forts. Many of their works may be still seen. As the rulers showed their love of pomp and sense of beauty in these edifices they encouraged the development of artistic faculties. Painting received a new impetus under them, music and literature made great progress. It was in the reign of Aurangzeb that they received a set-back. Although Persian was the court language Akbar promoted Sanskrit learning. His great-grandson Dara translated many valuable books into Persian. The attempt to bridge the gulf between the two great cultures was frustrated by the religious zeal of the orthodox. But in spite of these difficulties in the way of a synthesis there is no doubt that the thought-currents of the people were greatly influenced by the contact. The vernacular literatures of the different provinces in this period show how Islam contributed to the growth of new ideas. The Bhakti movement started in Bengal received a new impulse, as did the monotheistic movement of the Sikhs in the Punjab. The Bengali, Hindi, Panjabi, and Marathi all the principal languages of India produced many thoughtful works. Kasi Ram Das in Bengal, Tulsi Das in Hindustan, or Tuka Ram in Maharashtra are still considered as writers of great eminence. The blind poet Sur Das lived in Agra and his hymns have been collected as *Sur Sagor*. Tulsi Das (1532-1624) the author of *Ram-charit-manas* was the greatest poet of Northern India. Tuka Ram (1603-1649) wrote his Abhangs from the very core

of his heart. His songs are so very popular with the Mahrattas that they can be heard anywhere, among the educated as well as the uneducated. Besides the growth of Chaitanya literature in Bengal we find a new literature connected with Chandi, the conception of God as mother. The songs of Ram Prosad (1718-78), a saint and poet tell us the growth of a deeply devotional spirit in Bengal. All these things indicate that the spirit of the Indians was not crushed under the strong government of the Mughals. The Indian civilization was revived, and one thing more we find in Northern India is the growth of the Ūrdu as the common medium of expression between the Hindus and Musalmans. The Hindus who accepted service under the Moslem rulers, learnt Persian with perfection, and interpreted the spirit of Islam and Islamic literature to their fellow-believers. The industries developed under the patronage of the rulers, and agriculture prospered. The European merchants came to India in expectation of good trade. The conditions of the peasants in villages was not very enviable, but there is evidence to believe that they were not very miserable.

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