

GOLCONDA AND THE QUTB SHAHS

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ABUL HASAN QUTB SHAH the Last King of Golconda

By courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum

Frontispiece

PREFACE.

This little book is an imperfect sketch of a very interesting subject. It merely brings together in a compendious way the essential portions of the information which is scattered about in a number of books and papers, and does not aim at serving purposes of reference. My object has been to do in writing what one might do in conversation—much more briefly, of course—if any one casually put the question “who were the kings of Golconda, and what did Golconda stand for in the past?”

In attempting to present a connected account of the welter of human effort from the time of the stout-hearted Sultan Quli who raised his throne at Golconda, to the luckless Abul Hasan who lost it, I have endeavoured to follow the true Macaulay method of dwelling on what is interesting and passing over all that is dull or irrelevant. At the same time I have tried, to the best of my ability, to distinguish essentials from chaff in the somewhat conflicting records that have come down to us.

Remembering that it is intended to be a “popular” book I have not burdened it with references. Indeed, I cannot myself tell all the sources of my material. They are many, but readers of the works of Briggs and Haig will know how much I am indebted to them. I would like to add that I claim no originality, save that of form and presentation. I plundered wherever I found anything worth plundering. To the dead no acknowledgment is required, for “we are all heirs of the past ages”; and to the living I would remark that if anyone feels himself aggrieved and will securely identify his “original” property, I will gladly make what reparation I can.

I acknowledge, with great pleasure, my indebtedness to Mr. G. Yazdani, M. A., M. R. A. S., Superintendent of Archæology, Haidarabad, from whom I have always received unstinted assistance. His balanced judgment in several instances has been particularly valuable.

HISTORY OF THE QUTB SHAH DYNASTY.

When Dr. Johnson visited Iona, the sacred associations of the island cast their spell upon him and he wrote, "Whatever withdraws us from the power of our senses, whatever makes the past, the distant or the future predominate over the present, advances us in the dignity of human beings." Since Johnson's day the world has grown smaller; the distant in space has become familiar through facilities for travel. But at the same time there has grown up a dominant Philistinism, keeping down the æsthetic sentiments. "We glance and nod and hurry by", spending a great deal of time and energy upon mere movement and neglecting the opportunities that are offered to us for wider observation and reflection. Indeed, amid the hurry and variety of actual circumstance it is difficult for the past to lay hold on the minds of men. Hemmed in as we are by the militant necessities of an age of physical force, most of us lack leisure and mental freedom to brood over the past and appropriate as our own the knowledge of fresh facts and revelations of character which reward the diligent student of former times.

Now, monuments—natural or artificial—embody national memories. They make the past real, stirring generous emotion and arousing vivid interest without artifice or effort. They are more sure of their effect than scenery. We may forget that famous persons or events are associated with certain features of a landscape if those persons or events have left no trace behind them; but where the hand of man is visible the idea of struggle, development, change, is forced upon us and the effort of the imagination to give the past a place beside the present is more real and spontaneous. We may gaze on the Nile without any thought of the world-famous men who looked at it before us, men like Moses and Herodotus, Alexander and Mark Antony, St. Louis and Napoleon Bonaparte; but even the most apathetic of visitors will be startled into curiosity by the sight of the Sphinx. Such relics of ancient civilizations bring at least a dim sense of vast changes that have been and dreams of other things that may be. For those who study it faithfully, the past is not an incubus but an inspiration. Each vestige has its own lesson, perhaps of wise policy,

oftentimes of honour, frequently of valour and encouragement, albeit there are many things which we of the present must criticise and with no mere disease of criticism. It is only natural that the altered taste of modern times should question the crudities of former days.

India has been known to the West since the dawn of history. Her poetry and tales of art and mystery have been an inspiration, and yet the spirit of India is so elusive that we cannot embody it. The mantle which the Orient has cast over the Occident is a mantle of perpetual freshness and novelty. "But there is neither East nor West, Border nor Breed nor Birth, When two strong men stand face to face, though they come from the ends of the Earth."

The story of India is to be found written in the stones of her temples, halls and fortifications, and a gallant contribution to that story came from Golconda, a name that once rang through the world. It is the irony of fate that we of today are, in many respects, centuries behind the present. But there has been very little change in central ideas, the things that really matter: there is only a greater hesitancy in fixing the circumference.

Golconda dates from the centuries of warfare. It is one of the many hill fortresses in India that sprang up to shelter the wives, treasures and faithful followers of various potentates, but it is the most impressive of all. Perhaps it is the largest castle ruin in the world: Kenilworth or Warwick would fit into a small corner of it.

The road to Golconda is the road to silence and ruin. Still, enough has been left to recall the memory of its former greatness. We can see something of the ambitious and often happy efforts of the race of stout-hearted kings who played the great game on the world's stage and would not descend to the dead level of satisfactory mediocrity. Golconda is one of those great towns of which the mere names are full of romance. "Jewels of great Emperors flash in its very consonants." It might have come out of the *Arabian Nights*; its kings could have led a life in which Harun-al-Raschid would have found himself at ease. It is the place where, if Arab tales be true, Sinbad saw the merchants throw lumps of meat into the valley of jewels in order that the kites and eagles might presently bear them away to their nests, in which great jewels were afterwards found sticking in the meat.

Marco Polo described this district when he visited Queen Rudrama Devi of Warangal in 1292 A. D., and mentioned Sinbad's story of the eagles and joints of mutton. Writing of Golconda he said, "the flower of the diamonds and other large gems, as well as the largest pearls, are all carried to the great Koos and other kings and princes of those regions. In truth they possess all the treasures of the world."

Nicolo Conti, an Italian, who was at Vijeynagar in 1420 or 1421 A. D., stated that diamonds were found on a mountain which he called Albenigaras, and brought in the story of Sinbad. Apparently the mines to which he referred were those on the banks of the Kistna river. They were known as the mines of Golconda.

There is no recorded history of Golconda previous to the year 1364 A. D., but traces of the citadel indicate that it is at least as old as the fort of Warangal, which dates from the middle of the thirteenth century. Probably Golconda was originally a small mud fort under some Hindu princes before it fell under the sway of the Warangal rajas.

The rajas of Warangal—the Korunkula of Ptolemy, according to General Cunningham—were a line of Kakatya kings. Originally they were vassals of the Chalukya dynasty, but in the eighth century A. D. they became independent and gradually rose to power. The first king of the line seems to have ascended the throne in 1100 A. D. In 1321 A. D. Warangal was captured by Muhammad Bin Tughlaq, the Emperor of Delhi. Tughlaq's visionary schemes, pursued in an irrational manner, caused a revolt in the Deccan provinces in 1343-4 and Warangal was retaken by the Hindus. His enormities eventually led to the formation of the Bahmani dynasty by Ala-ud-Din Bahman Shah, who wrested the Deccan from the Delhi Emperor in 1347.

In 1363 the raja of Warangal, Kanhayya Naik, wrote to Firoz Shah, Emperor of Delhi, suggesting a campaign against the Bahmani king, Mahmud Shah. The latter heard of the plot and promptly marched on Warangal, and Kanhayya Naik was glad to come to terms by ceding the fortress and district of Golconda to Mahmud Shah Bahmani, after whom Golconda was known for a time as Mahomednagar.

The Bahmani dynasty which thus arose in 1347 lasted nominally until 1526. It reached the zenith of its power in 1437 and broke up by its discordant elements between 1490

and 1526. Out of its fragments the five famous Shahi dynasties of the Deccan were formed, namely :—

Imad Shahs of Berar	... 1490—1527
Nizam Shahs of Ahmednagar	... 1490—1663
Adil Shahs of Bijapur	... 1490—1686
Barid Shahs of Bidar	... 1492—1609
Qutb Shahs of Golconda	1512 (1518 ?)—1687

For a century and three-quarters Golconda, founded in pre-Mogul times, was an important dynastic capital. The kingdom was increased by the downfall of Vijeynagar at the battle of Talikot in 1565, reached the height of its splendour about 1611 and in 1687 was annexed by Aurangzeb to the Mogul Empire, and added another number to the infinite and mournful tale of cities that have perished. But we are anticipating.

The First King.

According to some oriental historians, Sultan* Quli Qutb Shah, sometimes named *Bara Malik*, the founder of the Golconda dynasty, carried his pedigree back to Oghaz Khan, lineally descended from Japheth, the son of Noah. Certain it is that he sprang from an ancient family of Qava Quviulu Turks of the sect of Ali and hailed from Saidabad near Hamadan in Persia. It is said that he was a grandson of Mirza Jehan Shah of Persia, but this is not authenticated.

When he was a youth he had to leave his country for safety, and arrived in the Deccan about the middle of the fifteenth century and joined the bodyguard of the Bahmani king at Gulbarga. Later he was appointed Accountant-General of the Imperial Harem, a post of some importance as the ladies held lands in Telingana †, and the faithful discharge of his duties carried him forward into prominence.

In the reign of Mahomed Shah III Lashkari (1463—1482 A. D.), the thirteenth king of the Bahmani dynasty, trouble arose in Telingana, where rents were never paid regularly and sometimes not at all. Sultan Quli, possibly through the influence of the ladies of the Imperial Harem, whose financial interests he had served so well, was sent to pacify the country

* In the case of the first Golconda King *Sultan* is not a royal title. His personal name was *Sultan Quli*, which signifies "servant of the King" as *Quli* is a Turki word meaning servant or slave.

† The country where Telegu is spoken, extending down from Ganjam in the north to Pulicat in the south, and from the east coast to Kurnool on the west.

and clear it of the robbers who infested it. He succeeded beyond expectations and won many powerful friends among the Amirs or nobles who held lands in Telingana. His advancement henceforth was secure.

Soon after Mahmud Shah Bahmani, son and successor of Muhammad Shah III Lashkari, came to the throne, Sultan Quli was fortunate enough to save the king from assassination. For this he was made an Amir with the title of Ghazi Malik Qutb-ul-Mulk, and received as his jagir Golconda and the surrounding country. The attempt on the king's life was probably in the troublous times of 1490, when the Bahmani empire was being dismembered, although it continued an inglorious existence for thirty-six years.

In 1495 Sultan Quli Qutb-ul-Mulk was awarded the title of Amir-ul-Umra in recognition of his gallantry in the field and was appointed governor of the Telingana district. His headquarters were at Golconda. At that time the governor's rule extended to the eastern coast, with ports at Masulipatam and Cocanada.

Sultan Quli was a man of considerable ability. He was also loyal. When Fathullah Imad Shah, Ahmed Nizam Shah and Yusuf Adil Shah threw off their allegiance to their overlord the Bahmani king, in 1490, and established their houses at Berar, Ahmednagar and Bijapur respectively, Sultan Quli remained faithful to his monarch. History tells us that it was in 1512, when the imbecility of Mahmud Shah Bahmani's government was apparent to the world, that Sultan Quli came to the throne of Golconda with the title of Qutb Shah. But Mr. Yazdani, the Superintendent of Archæology, Haidarabad, questions this date, because in the inscription of the Jami Masjid at Golconda, which was built by Sultan Quli in 1518, he did not appropriate the royal title *Shah* for himself and distinctly mentioned Mahmud Shah Bahmani as the ruling monarch. This inscription, which has been overlooked hitherto, indicates that Sultan Quli was loyal to Mahmud Shah Bahmani, his benefactor, until the latter died in 1518. Then he assumed independence as Sultan Quli Qutb Shah of Golconda.

He had already replaced the mud fort by a substantial fortress of stone. De Thevenot, who visited Golconda in 1666, says that Sultan Quli gave the fort its name. He is probably repeating a local legend which arose in connection with one of the earlier Hindu chiefs. The place where the fort stands,

he says, was pointed out to the king by a shepherd, who guided him to it through a wood, and the king called it Golconda, from *Golcar* the Telegu word for shepherd.

Sultan Quli's first campaign as king was against Krishna Deva Raya of Vijeynagar. He defeated the Hindus in battle near Pangal, captured the forts at Ghanpura and Kovilkonda and returned with considerable plunder. The Hindus in retaliation laid waste portions of the victor's dominions. Fortified by this success, Sultan Quli marched against Ismail Adil Shah of Bijapur and during an engagement received a sword cut on the face which disfigured him for life, part of his nose and cheek being cut away. He overpowered the Bijapur forces near Kovilkonda and subsequently took Medak, Kaulas and other forts from the Barid Shah, king of Bidar.

The Hindu chiefs of Telingana, whom Sultan Quli had partially subdued when he was governor, afforded the new king and his army plenty of occupation. Indeed, during his long reign the king was in almost ceaseless warfare with the Telingana Hindus. And he came into conflict with the king of Orissa, under whom a great Hindu host assembled to do battle for their country. A decisive engagement took place at Palinchinur, where the Hindus were defeated. This victory enabled Sultan Quli to add the districts of Ellore and Bezwada to his territories.

He also expelled Qivam-ul-Mulk, a Turk, who had been appointed governor of Eastern Telingana by the Bahmani king. Masulipatam, too, fell to him not long after it had been conquered by the Carnatic king, Krishna Raya. Masulipatam has a twofold interest for us, because of its connection with the Golconda kings and because of the fact that, until the cyclone of 1864, a romantic memorial of the early settlers shaded the evening promenade of their successors. It was known as "Eliza's Tree," after Sterne's correspondent Eliza, who there solaced an uncongenial marriage with Daniel Draper by a sentimental correspondence with the author of *Tristram Shandy*.

It has been said that Sultan Quli being a strict *Shia*, was bigoted in his wars. He may have been, but certainly the ungenerous attitude of the Hindu rajas did not encourage him to adopt a more tolerant policy.

The boundary of the Golconda kingdom, when Sultan Quli became king, appears to have touched the south along the bank of the Kistna river as far as its junction with the Bhima, thence following the line of hills to the south-west which formed the frontier of the Bidar region. As the result of

his constant and successful wars with the Vijeynagar and Kham-mamet rajas he extended his dominions to the bank of the Godavery in the north, and in the east to the borders of Orissa and towards the east coast. Simultaneously, however, the Vijeynagar kingdom was gradually spreading eastward and eventually greatly curtailed Sultan Quli's communications with the sea-shore.

Sultan Quli beautified his fortress capital with mosques, palaces and gardens. While he was praying in the principal mosque, the Jami Masjid, on the 4th September 1543, when he was in his 99th year, he was murdered at the instigation of his second surviving son, Jamshed. There were two brothers older than Jamshed. The eldest, Haidar Khan, died in Sultan Quli's lifetime and the second, Khutb-ud-din, had been nominated as the next king. Jamshed blinded Khutb-ud-din, and Sultan Quli fearing that Jamshed intended to kill his brother had him imprisoned. In revenge for his incarceration Jamshed instigated Mir Mahomed Hamidani, the governor of Golconda, to kill the king. Ferishta says that a slave was the tool and stabbed the king while he was examining some jewels. The difference is unimportant.

Sultan Quli reigned for 48 years, 23 years as governor and 25 as king of Golconda. Beside the three sons already mentioned he had three others: Abdul Karim, who rebelled and was killed, Daulat Khan, the "Mad Prince," and Ibrahim, of whom we shall hear later. He had four daughters.

The Second King.

Jamshed Qutb Shah ascended the throne on the death of his father in 1543. One of his first acts was to try to seize his younger brother Ibrahim, who was governor of one of the Telingana forts. Ibrahim fled to Bidar and was well received, by the king, Ali Barid; but later a difference of opinion arose between them because Ali Barid seized some of Ibrahim's elephants and property, and Ibrahim found shelter at Vijeynagar, where the great Rama Raya was reigning.

Soon after Jamshed's accession Ali Barid, king of Bidar waged war against Golconda. He was within seven miles of the fort before Jamshed knew of his coming. Immediately Jamshed collected a force and marched on Bidar. It was an effective counterstroke, for Ali Barid was forced to withdraw from Golconda to save his own capital. As a matter of fact Golconda stood in great danger from the avowedly hostile intentions of the king of Bidar and to reduce that monarch

Jamshed made overtures to Ibrahim Adil Shah of Bijapur and Burhan Nizam Shah of Ahmednagar. They entered heartily into the scheme for they, too, had some scores against Bidar to wipe out. Burhan Nizam Shah carried the fort of Qandhar, the Bidar stronghold, and when Ali Barid, the Bidar king, approached Ibrahim Adil Shah for help, the latter made him a prisoner. Then Ibrahim Adil Shah annexed the southern portion of the Bidar Kingdom. The discomfiture of the king of Bidar was complete, but what followed was a clever move of checkmate. The annexations of Ibrahim Adil Shah gave him some predominance over his ally for the time, Burhan Nizam Shah, which the latter resented and attempted to frustrate by attacking Sholapur, a place that belonged to Ibrahim Adil Shah. As both forces were fairly matched, Ibrahim appealed to Jamshed Qutb Shah for help. The latter agreed to come in on his side if he would release the Bidar king, Ali Barid; and when this was done, instead of helping Ibrahim Adil Shah Jamshed went to Bidar and replaced Ali Barid on the throne from which he had been instrumental in deposing him. This closed, for a time, the quarrel between Bijapur and Ahmednagar by restoring the *status quo ante bellum*.

Jamshed was a warlike ruler and, as we have seen, a man of considerable sagacity. He interfered far more than was the custom with his successors in conflicts between the sultans of Deccan. During his reign he bore a part in various quarrels between the kings of Ahmednagar, Bidar and Bijapur, his clever diplomacy invariably guiding him to espouse the cause of the winning side. He was also a poet.

About two years before he died Jamshed was stricken with cancer. Gradually he gave himself up to the pleasures of the table and eventually sank into gross debauchery, possibly to deaden the pain of his affliction. He was a man of violent passions at the best of times, and his fearful malady so inflamed his temper that at its close his reign was really a reign of terror. Many paid the maximum penalty for the most trivial offences. He died early in 1550 A. D., after reigning nearly seven years.

The Third King.

When Jamshed died his son, seven years old, was placed on the throne as Subhan Quli Qutb Shah. His exit from the arena of history is as premature as his entrance into it. After being on the throne for about six months he passes out of our knowledge completely. His death is not recorded, nor is it known where he was buried.

The Fourth King.

At the time of Subhan Quli's accession his uncle, Prince Ibrahim, was a fugitive at Vijeynagar. Saif Khan Ain-ul-Mulk had been an important court official of the late king, Jamshed Quli, and falling a victim to his monarch's anger had been exiled. After Subhan Quli was placed on the throne, the dowager queen recalled Saif Khan from Ahmednagar and made him regent. But soon he aspired to the crown and became so powerful and overbearing that some of the nobles, among them the famous Mustafa Khan (Kamal-ud-din Husain), made secret overtures to Prince Ibrahim, inviting him to court.

In those days the forts of the Golconda kingdom were garrisoned by Hindu soldiers who were known as *Naikwaris*. Their leader was a brave and shrewd man named Jagdeo Rai. Jagdeo Rai was at Golconda, and when he realised the weakness of the regency and the antipathy against Saif Khan Ain-ul-Mulk he took up the cause of another brother of the late king, Daulat Khan, the "Mad Prince." His scheme was one of self-aggrandizement, for he aspired to be virtually the monarch. Saif Khan discovered the plot and imprisoned Jagdeo Rai.

When the nobles turned to Ibrahim, their first concern was to furnish him with a force to overthrow Saif Khan. Such a force could come only from the *Naikwaris* or the Raja of Vijeynagar, and for obvious reasons it would be undesirable to accept the aid of the latter. It was not a difficult undertaking to negotiate with the *Naikwaris*, for Saif Khan had alienated himself from them by imprisoning their leader. Their compact to help Prince Ibrahim to the throne was the signal for him to set out for Golconda. On his arrival at the frontier he was met by Mustafa Khan, Salabat Jung and other nobles. Simultaneously the Naikwari garrison in the fort revolted and liberated Jagdeo Rai, and with their help and the help of others who flocked to join his standard, Prince Ibrahim met and defeated Saif Khan Ain-ul-Mulk, who fled to Bidar. Prince Ibrahim entered Golconda in state and was crowned king as Ibrahim Qutb Shah on the 27th July 1550, when he was twenty years old.

Jagdeo Rai became the prime minister. His ambitions soared higher, however, and it was not very long before he attempted to dethrone Ibrahim Qutb Shah to make room for his first protégé, Prince Daulat Khan. When his scheme was detected he did not wait for any expression of the king's displeasure. He sought protection at Berar. Berar soon became

too small to accommodate Jagdeo Rai's inflated visions and he had to leave with the compliments of the king. Accompanied by a small party he passed through Golconda territory on his way to Vijeynagar, laying waste all the villages on his march. Mustafa Khan was deputed by Ibrahim Qutb Shah to attack him, and Jagdeo Rai, defeated at Khammamet, found asylum at Vijeynagar.

It will be remembered that Masulipatam, a port which played an important part in early British commercial enterprise, belonged to the king of Golconda.* In 1557 Masulipatam passed temporarily into the hands of Siddhiraja Timmappa, governor of Kondapali.

In 1558 Ibrahim Qutb Shah joined Husain Nizam Shah I of Ahmednagar against the latter's inveterate foe, the king of Bijapur, Ali Adil Shah I. Bijapur restored equilibrium by securing the alliance of Rama Raya of Vijeynagar; and the mediation of Rama Raya and Ibrahim Qutb Shah resulted in a declaration of peace between Ahmednagar and Bijapur. Ibrahim welcomed such an amicable settlement, for when he met his ally at Gulburga and saw the greater powers of Husain Nizam Shah, he was unwilling to assist in increasing it.

Subsequently, from political motives, Ibrahim Qutb Shah joined the coalition of Ali Adil Shah I of Bijapur and Rama Raya of Vijeynagar against Husain Nizam Shah and was present at the siege of Ahmednagar in 1560. Those were days of tumultuous energy! When the place fell Ibrahim broke up his forces without consulting his allies and returned to Golconda.

After the war Ibrahim sent an envoy to Husain Nizam Shah begging alliance with the latter's daughter, Bibi Jumali. Husain Nizam Shah's terms were that his prospective son-in-law should unite with him to dispossess his enemy, the king of Bijapur, of the fort of Kaliany. Ibrahim accepted the condition and near Kaliany the nuptials were celebrated. Then began the siege, but it was soon raised as the Bijapur king formed a strong alliance with the kings of Bidar and Vijeynagar, and Husain Nizam Shah was pursued to Ahmednagar. Ibrahim sued for and obtained peace from the allies.

Now, relations between the Qutb Shah and the raja of Vijeynagar had always been friendly. When they joined other parties on opposite sides they never fought themselves but contrived to bring about a reconciliation between their respective allies. But since the advent of Jagdeo Rai at Vijey-

*Cf. page 6.

nagar these friendly relations gradually became strained and finally broke under the pressure of aggression. In judging Ibrahim Qutb Shah's "ungra'eful" conduct, as it has often been judged but not fairly, it must be held to his credit that Rama Raya of Vijeynagar was the first to show his hostility by deputing his brother Venkatareddy, and Jagdeo Rai to invade the southern border of Ibrahim's territory. The situation was grave. All the garrisons in the Golconda forts were *Naikwaris*, and when their late chief Jagdeo Rai was supported by the ruler of Vijeynagar, they became disloyal. On one occasion while Ibrahim Qutb Shah was away on a hunting excursion the garrison of Golconda rebelled and closed the gates, and it was only after a siege that Ibrahim regained his capital. He ordered a massacre of all the Hindus who had rebelled.

Vije, nagar at that time was a very powerful kingdom. With the growth of its power the Hindu menace became so serious, not only to Golconda in particular but also to the other Mahomedan Sultans of the Deccan, that their only chance of safety lay in reducing the authority and arrogance of Rama Raya. Ibrahim has no option but to fall into line with things as they were. Apparently at the suggestion and under the leadership of the king of Bijapur, but through the mediation of the king of Golconda, a league of the faithful was formed against Vijeynagar, consisting of the four Mahomedan States of Ahmednagar, Bidar, Bijapur and Golconda. As an excuse for battle the Bijapur king, Ali Adil Shah I, sent an ambassador to Vijeynagar demanding restitution of some districts that had been taken from him. What he expected happened: his ambassador was expelled. The armies of the league marched out from the plains of Bijapur on the 24th December 1564, and on the 24th January 1565 the decisive battle known as the battle of Talikot was fought. It destroyed the great Hindu empire of Vijeynagar. For five months the Mahomedans plundered and burned and pulled down the capital.

After this victory the kings of Golconda and Bijapur annexed the districts on their southern borders and so advanced their boundaries towards the Madras coast. In 1579 the strong Hindu fortress of Kondivalu was captured, and that event marked the end of Hindu rule in the Kistna district. It also gave back Masulipatam to Golconda, whence it had passed twenty-two years before.

But the remnants of the ancient Vijeynagar dynasty had sought refuge in its eastern maritime provinces and there

gathered strength. It settled at Chandrigiri in 1594 and backed by the petty chiefs or *naiiks* of the Madras sea-board, its feudatories in more prosperous times, the descendants of the Hindu overlords still disputed with the Golconda Moslems the hill tracts, the river deltas and tidal lagoons. By about the middle of the seventeenth century every vestige of power had departed from the once glorious kingdom. The dynasty is represented to-day by the Raja of Anagundi, who holds a jagir under H. E. H. the Nizam.

When Mortuza Nizam Shah of Ahmednagar came of age, he despatched a force to reduce the fort of Darur, which belonged to the Adil Shahs of Bijapur, and at the same time invited Ibrahim Qutb Shah to assist him. Before Ibrahim arrived Darur had fallen to Mortuza, and then the two monarchs marched to Bijapur. There Ibrahim Qutb Shah wrote a friendly letter to Ali Adil Shah, proposing terms of peace for himself alone. Ali sent the letter to Mortuza, who promptly ordered an attack on Ibrahim's camp. Ibrahim fled to Golconda and lost 150 elephants and many officers and men in his retreat. His son, Prince Abdul Kadir, met Ibrahim on the frontier and begged permission to wait in ambush for the pursuer's rear, but Ibrahim, naturally jealous, thought the prince was intriguing against him and ordered him to be confined and, later, poisoned.

Ibrahim Qutb Shah was a wise and politic prince but at times arbitrary and severe. On the whole, his reign was a just one. Although his tastes were somewhat epicurean, he did not neglect business for luxury. He strengthened the fortifications round the hill with stone and mortar, and at his invitation many of the nobles constructed buildings within the walls. Beside several mosques and schools Ibrahim built the tank at Ibrahimpatan, the *Kali Chabootra* or terrace and the *Langar* or alms house at Golconda, and planted the *Goshan* or flower garden and the Ibrahim gardens, the site of the tombs. To him we owe a very pleasant drive in Haidarabad, along the *band* of the Husain Sagar tank. This tank was built, under the king's orders, in 1575 by Husain Shah Wali, who named it after himself and thereby incurred the king's displeasure. Ibrahim then with his own hands marked the outline of a tank at Ibrahimpatan that should bear his name.

Ibrahim Qutb Shah established security in Telingana and encouraged able characters at his court. Telingana became a market for the whole world. Ferishta says that merchants from

Turkestan, Arabia, and Persia resorted to it and were so well treated that they returned frequently. He died suddenly on the 2nd June 1580. There is a legend to account for the suddenness of his death. Murari Rao, a Mahratta Brahman, was invested with the management of state affairs. Shortly before the king died Murari Rao marched with some troops towards a famous temple near Adoni, and after killing all the inhabitants robbed the temple of its gold and silver idols and gems. At sight of the idols the king was taken seriously ill and died soon after. Hindus believe it to be the vengeance of the gods; Mahomedans refer to it as the demoniacal power of idols.

Ibrahim had thirty children, of whom six sons and thirteen daughters reached maturity. His eldest son, Abdul Kadir, was poisoned at the command of his father; the second son, Mirza Hussain, was drowned in a tank at Nampally; the third son, Mahomed Quli, succeeded to the throne. In the locality known as Khairatabad we have a memorial of one of his daughters, Khairatibi. The tomb which is close to the Khairatabad Masjid is believed to cover her remains.

From the death of Ibrahim Qutb Shah to the arrival of Aurangzeb the annals of Golconda are uncertain.

The Fifth King.

Another long reign carries us to the end of the year 1611. Mahomed Quli Qutb Shah was born on the 8th April 1566 and ascended the throne on the death of his father in 1580. During his long, peaceful and prosperous reign the dynasty reached its zenith. The time which his predecessors gave to the battle field he devoted to the improvement and embellishment of his capital.

Mahomed Quli, according to Ferishta, married the daughter of Shah Nizam Isfahany, who was Mir Jumla or prime minister to the late king and still continued in office. For some years there was peace, but eventually, at the instigation of his father-in-law, Mahomed Quli took the field with the general of Ahmednagar against Bijapur. The venture was not successful. In this connection a question of court etiquette arose. If one king sought and obtained the help of another to do battle and led his troops in person, the ally was expected to command his army in person. This was customary amongst the sultans of the Deccan and had always been observed between the kings of Ahmednagar and Golconda. In the combined attack against Bijapur the Ahmednagar forces were led by a general. Mahomed Quli therefore broke up his camp and returned to his capital, leaving his army in the field under the famous Golconda general.

Mustafa Khan. The latter was attacked and defeated by the Bijapur forces. On his return to Golconda Mahomed Quli imprisoned his father-in-law and prime minister and subsequently deported him. In 1586 a lasting peace was concluded between Golconda and Bijapur, and in that year the Bijapur king, Ibrahim Adil Shah II, married the sister of Mahomed Quli Qutb Shah.

Early in his reign Mahomed Quli became enamoured of a beautiful Hindu dancing girl named Bhagmati, to whom he assigned 1,000 cavalry as an escort. As time passed Golconda became very unhealthy through over-population, and in 1591 the king built a magnificent city a few miles away which he named Bhagnagar to commemorate his favourite mistress, Bhagmati. After she died the king was persuaded to change the name of the city to Haidarabad, after Haidar, one of the titles of Ali. But the original name remained in use many years, for Tavernier and Thevenot, who visited the city half a century later, speak of it as Bhagnagar, and even today the name is used by the commercial community. Bhagmati's *Buradari* can be seen about a mile south-west of the fort.

In the new city, which was laid out on the "gridiron" principle, there were two important crossings over the main road. At the junction with the road from Golconda Mahomed Quli built the *Char Minar* in 1593, and at the crossing to Masulipatam he erected the *Gulzar Hauz*. In the same year the *Purana Pul* or old bridge was built. Mahomed Quli also built the *Dar-us-Shifa* or hospital, now used to accommodate the Haidarabad Municipality offices, and in 1594 commenced the *Ashur Khana*, which stands opposite the Salar Jung palace. This building still exhibits a fair amount of fine Persian enamel work. In 1598 the *Jami Masjid* was erected near the *Char Minar*. The *Dad Mahal* or Hall of Justice was built about the same time. Several palaces were erected, e.g. the *Chandar Mahal*, *Hira Mahal*, *Lakhan Mahal*, and the *Nadi Mahal*, the last probably where the Salar Jung palace stands today. Only the names of these remain. Mahomed Quli's own palace may have stood on the site now occupied by the *Purana Haveli*.

Mahomed Quli made extensive additions to the fort of Golconda. It is stated that he spent about £300,000 annually on public buildings.

The Black Rocks near the Husain Sagar tank were a favourite resort of Mahomed Quli and his successors, who laid out gardens and built pavilions and pleasure houses on the

summit. But all traces of these have been eradicated by the ruthless hands of time. In the vernacular the hill is known as the *Naubat Pahar* because all official communications from the Mogul emperors were proclaimed there to the accompaniment of music.

Just before Ibrahim Quli's death his prime minister built the tank which is known as the Mir Jumla Tank.

It appears that the origin of the interesting *Langar* procession, which takes place every year in the city on the occasion of the *Muharram* festival, dates from the time of Mahomed Quli Qutb Shah. Several legends are current, but the following seems to be the favourite. 'Soon after Haidarabad was built a Qutb Shah prince was riding to Golconda on an elephant, which suddenly became *mast* (mad) and carried the prince into the jungle. When the news reached Golconda the prince's mother vowed she would give a certain *fakir* a chain of gold as thick as a *langar* (the foot chain used to tether an elephant) for the safe return of her son. Some hours later the prince arrived unhurt, and the court goldsmiths were set to work on the chain, which was afterwards taken in procession to the fakir's hut." Another version is that the king's favourite elephant became *mast* and carried off the king for three days.

In 1603 Shah Abbas, king of Persia, sent Ughzlu Sultan as ambassador to Golconda, accompanied by 100 officers. He brought with him valuable presents of jewels, horses, carpets and velvet. The ambassador and his presents were well received and the Dilkusha palace was placed at the disposal of the visitors. They resided at Golconda for six years and then returned to Persia laden with presents for the Shah. It is stated that Mahomed Quli's daughter was married to the Shah.

During the reign of Mahomed Quli Qutb Shah, Kurnool, Nandial, Dole, Gandikot and Cuddapa in the south were added to the Golconda dominions and inroads were made into the eastern districts of Nellore. The first English venture, an agency on behalf of the East India Company, was made in his time at Masulipatam, in 1611.

Mahomed Quli was a just and capable king. His gifts to the poor amounted to about £24,000 annually. He was also a poet of some repute. He died after a brief illness, in the thirty-second year of his reign, on the 17th December 1611.

The Sixth King.

As Mahomed Quli left no son to inherit, the next king was his nephew, Mahomed Qutb Shah, son of Mahomed Amin, who

was the sixth son of King Ibrahim Qutb Shah. Mahomed Qutb Shah was also the son-in-law of the late king, having married his daughter Hayat Baksh Begum.

Mahomed Qutb Shah was born in April 1593, and ascended the throne of Golconda on the 17th December 1611. His reign of fourteen years was uneventful: it was the lull before the storm. Mahomed Qutb Shah was a very cultured man, like his father, but he was not sufficiently enterprising to make history. He was a historian and philosopher, and although he did not neglect the duties of his kingly office, most of his time was spent in study and intercourse with the learned men whom he encouraged at his court. The Qutb Shah chronicles were compiled during his reign.

He laid out some gardens to add to the beauty of his capital, but his principal undertaking was the foundation of the Mecca Masjid in the city of Haidarabad, leaving the building to be continued by his successors. There is an interesting legend about this. Mahomed Qutb Shah resolved that only a person of the highest sanctity should lay the foundation stone, and surely that man would be worthy who had regularly observed the trying, though voluntary duty, of reciting the midnight prayers. As the king was the only man who could be found, even among the doctors of religion, who had never omitted the recital of the midnight office, he raised the first stone and laid it in its place. His example was followed by the nobles and learned men, and the building so begun proceeded slowly and was continued during the reigns of his successors.

There is some evidence that Mahomed Qutb Shah had thoughts of founding a new city about 4 miles east of Haidarabad. The remains of a mosque and some buildings are to be seen there. Sultannagar was intended to rival Haidarabad, but even the name is forgotten! It is not certain whether the *Daira-i-Mir Momin*, where Sir Salar Jung I was buried, dates from this reign or the previous one. It was constructed by the Mir Jumla of the previous king, very soon after the tank which bears his name, and that was built just before Mahomed Quli Qutb Shah died.

In Mahomed Qutb Shah's reign the Dutch established themselves at Masulipatam in 1615 and the English in 1622.

Mahomed Qutb Shah died on the 11th February 1626.



SULTAN ABDULLA QUTB SHAH . the Seventh King of Golconda

By courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

The Seventh King.

Mahomed Qutb Shah's son Abdul'a, who was born on the 2nd December 1614, ascended the throne on the death of his father, and with his advent we enter on the troublous days of the Qutb Shah dynasty. The trouble began, as all big events begin, with simple proportions; but it was distinctly a foreshadowing of a great calamity. It was in his time that the Moguls commenced to experiment in the two directions of local authority and federal harmony.

In the early days of Abdulla Qutb Shah's reign his officers appear to have thrown many obstacles in the way of English trade, which led to the removal of the English from Masulipatam to Armagon, on the Nellore coast, in 1628. In Masulipatam the English found a half-way mart between the West and the Far East scarcely less lucrative than the Portuguese settlements on the Malabar coast. The factory at Masulipatam turned the eastern flank of the Portuguese in South India as the Surat factory had turned their western flank in North India and the Persian Gulf. The English had to struggle with the Dutch for a footing in Masulipatam, but the king of Golconda seems to have realised the advantage of keeping the port open to all comers, for in 1632 the English got from Abdulla Qutb Shah the "Golden Firman" permitting them to reopen their factory at Masulipatam. It contained this assurance: "Under Me the King, they shall sit down at rest and in safety." In return the factory engaged to import Persian horses for the king. The *Firman* is dated November 1632. It was renewed on the 21st February 1634, and then the importance was recognised of keeping "a continual residence" at Golconda. At any rate, we find that about 30 years later the Company had Mr. Cholmly as their agent at Golconda for the purchase of diamonds.

It must be mentioned that, as in the case of Madras, it was not from the Golconda kings but from the Hindu rajas whom they had displaced, and who still exercised authority on the coast, that the English received their first grants at Masulipatam in 1611. In 1669 the Golconda king gave the French a footing at that place.

After the battle of Talikot in 1565 the remnants of the Vijeynagar dynasty established itself at Chandragiri, and on the 1st March 1639 the raja of Chandragiri made a grant of a strip of land, 5 miles along the sea but only 1 mile inland, to Mr. Francis Day, with permission to erect a fort which

in honor of the patron saint of England, was named Fort St. George. The surrounding village was known as Chen-napatanam. Subsequently it was named Madrasapatanam, finally abbreviated to Madras. In 1646 the last of the Chandragiri rajas had to flee for his life to Mysore, and then the name died out of the land. And with his flight Madras became dependent upon Golconda. The Commander-in-Chief of the Karnatic at that time appears to have been Neknam Khan, to whom the Presidency at Fort St. George gave the title of "Nabob." It was through him that they obtained a *Firman* from the king of Golconda, whereby the Agency was to hold the fort and town on an annual rental of 1,200 pagodas (about £ 600) and free of all taxes. A few years later the king proposed to form with the Agency a Joint Stock Company for trading between the ports of his kingdom and those of other Indian powers, but nothing seems to have come of the proposal. Neknam Khan died in 1673 and his successor Mirza Ibrahim Khan confirmed the cowl.

Abdulla Qutb Shah was able to extend his dominions towards the south, and chiefly with the help of the renowned Mir Jumla, of whom more later, large accessions in the Karnatic were made good. But the Moguls were advancing steadily into the Deccan, gradually absorbing the local Mahomedan kingdoms, and Abdulla Qutb Shah's chief anxiety was to hold them at bay. Buhranpur had been conquered by Jehangir, son of Akbar, in 1600; Aulatabad fell to Shah Jehan, son of Jehangir, in 1633, and two years later the same prince forced the Qutb Shah monarch to pay him an annual tribute of 2 lakhs of *hun*.

Haidarabad in the seventeenth century was an important centre of mercantile enterprise. As the rulers were *Shiahs*, more Persian traders visited the place than Moguls, who were *Sunnis*. Among these adventurers was one named Mir Mahammad Sayyid, who came to Golconda from Ardistan, it is said in the employ of a Persian merchant. He was a man of extraordinary talents and making the most of his opportunities soon became powerful and wealthy. He conquered a strip of land near Bidar which yielded him a handsome revenue from its diamond mines and enabled him to maintain an independent force of 5,000 horse. It was not very long before he became prime minister of Golconda and governor of the Karnatic under Abdulla Qutb Shah. His name has been handed down to posterity as the great Mir

Jumla. It was during his time that valuable diamond mines were acquired and developed. Thevenot in 1636 speaks of Mir Jumla as having 20 maunds ("480 lbs. Hollands weight") of diamonds, which he obtained from the mines and conquests in the Karnatic. Here it may be stated that no diamonds were found at Golconda itself or within 80 miles of the fort. The celebrated mines are all situated in the country that now forms the British districts of Kuddapah, Karnool and Nellore. The gems were brought to Golconda and stored there.

Let us forsake Haidarabad politics for a while and company with Tavernier, who visited Golconda on three different occasions before the entire subversion of the kingdom by the Mogul. In the record of his visit in 1645 he gives us an interesting account of Mir Jumla, whom he describes as a man of great wit, understanding and justice. On the occasion of his farewell interview, on the 15th September of that year, he found Mir Jumla seated with two secretaries, bare-footed, "with a large number of papers between his toes and others between the fingers of his left hand, which papers he drew sometimes from between his fingers and sometimes from between his toes and ordered what answers should be given to everyone." With all this correspondence on hand he attended to the salutations of military officers and dealt with four criminals, one of whom had his hands and feet cut off and was thrown on the road to die, because he had broken into a house and murdered a woman and her children. Another was disembowelled and thrown on a dung heap for highway robbery. The other two were beheaded for different crimes. It was summary punishment or acquittal in those days: men were never put into prison.

On his first visit in 1642 Tavernier saw a diamond with a merchant at Golconda, which he says, was the largest stone he had seen for sale in India. It was priced at Rs. 5,00,000 or £56,250 and Tavernier could not buy it for Rs. 4,00,000. Streeter calls it "The Great Table" (it was flat) and devotes a whole chapter to it in his book on the famous diamonds of the world.

Tavernier visited Golconda for the third time in 1652. On that occasion he described the visit of a young Dutch surgeon, Pitrie de Lan, to King Abdulla. "The king summoned this Surgeon and told him that he wished him to bleed him on the following day in four places under the tongue as his physicians had directed, but that he should take care not to draw more than eight ounces. De Lan returning to the Court

on the following day, was conducted into a room by two or three eunuchs, and four old women came to conduct him to a bath where, having undressed and washed him well, especially his hands, they annointed him with drugs and aromatics; and in place of his own clothes, which were of European make, they gave him a garment made according to the fashion of the country. They then took him to the king, where they brought basins of gold which the physicians who were present weighed; these were to receive the blood. He then bled the king under the tongue in four places, and he did it so skilfully that, on weighing the blood with the basins he found that he had drawn eight ounces exactly. The king was so satisfied with this operation that he gave him 300 *pagodas*, which are equal to nearly 700 *ecus*. The young queen and the queen-dowager having heard of it, desired that he would come to bleed them, but I believe it was more from curiosity they had to see him than for any need they had to be bled, for he was a young and well-made man, and probably in their lives they had not seen a stranger close—for from a distance the thing is not impossible, since from the place where they stay they are able to see without being themselves seen. De Lan was then brought into a chamber, where the same women who had taken him to the bath before he had bled the king uncovered his arms, which they washed well, and especially his hands, after which they annointed him with scented oil, as they had done when he went to bleed the king. That being done, they drew a curtain, and the young queen putting out an arm through a hole, the surgeon bled her, and he afterwards did the same for the queen mother. The first bestowed on him 50, and the other 30 *pagodas*, with some pieces of gold brocade." De Lan was engaged as surgeon on a salary of 800 *pagodas*, about £400, a year.

Tavernier's book gives us some vivid contrasts of the splendour and squalor which abound in Indian cities. We omit the squalor: here is his description of Haidarabad, or Bhagnagar as he calls it.

"The town is nearly the size of Orleans, well built and well opened out, and there are many fine large streets in it, but not being paved—any more than are those of all the other towns of Persia and India—they are full of sand and dust; this is very inconvenient in summer.

"Before reaching the bridge you traverse a large suburb called Aurangabad, a *Kos* in length, where all the merchants,

brokers and artisans dwell, and, in general, all the common people; the town being inhabited only by persons of quality, the officers of the King's house, the ministers of justice, and military men. From 10 or 11 o'clock in the morning till 4 or 5 in the evening, the merchants and brokers come into the town to trade with foreign merchants, after which they return home to sleep. There are in these suburbs two or three beautiful mosques, which serve as caravansarais for strangers, and several *pagodas* are to be seen in the neighbourhood. It is through the same suburb that you go from the town to the fortress of Golconda.

“When you have crossed the bridge you straightway enter a wide street which leads to the King's palace. You see on the right hand the houses of some nobles of the Court, and four or five caravansarais, having two stories, where there are large halls and chambers, which are cool. At the end of this street you find a large square, upon which stands one of the walls of the palace, in the middle of which is a balcony where the King seats himself when he wishes to give audience to the people. The principal door of the palace is not in this square, but in another which is close by; and you enter at first into a large court surrounded by porticoes under which the King's Guards are stationed. From this court you pass to another of the same construction, around which there are several beautiful apartments, with a terraced roof; upon which, as upon those of the quarter of the palace where they keep the elephants, there are beautiful gardens, and such large trees, that it is a matter for astonishment how these arches are able to carry such a weight; and one may say in general terms that this house has all the appearance of a royal mansion.

“When the King administers justice he comes, as I stated into the balcony which overlooks the square and all those who desire to be present stand below, opposite to where he is seated. Between the people and the wall of the palace they plant in the ground three rows of sticks of the length of a short-pike, at the ends of which they attach cords which cross one another, and no one is allowed, whosoever he may be, to pass these limits without being summoned. This barrier, which is not put up except when the King administers justice, extends the whole length of the square, and opposite the balcony there is an opening to allow those who are summoned to pass through. Then two men, who hold by the ends a cord stretched across this opening, have only to lower it to admit the person who is summoned. A Secretary of State remains in the square below the balcony to receive petitions, and when he has five or six in

hand he places them in a bag, which a eunuch, who is on the balcony by the side of the King lowers with a cord and draws up afterwards, in order to present them to His Majesty."

The ceremony of mounting guard is well described. "It is the principal nobles who mount guard every Monday each in his turn, and they are not relieved before the end of a week. There are some of these nobles who command 5,000 or 6,000 horse, and they encamp under their tents around the town. When they mount guard each goes from his home to the *rendezvous*, but when they leave it they march in good order across the bridge, and from thence by the main street they assemble in the square in front of the balcony. In the van you see ten or twelve elephants marching, more or fewer according to the rank of him who goes off guard. There are some among them bearing cages (*howdahs*) which somewhat resemble the body of a small coach, and there are others which only carry their driver, and another man instead of the cage, who holds a sort of banner.

"After the elephants, the camels follow two by two, sometimes up to thirty or forty. Each camel has its saddle, upon which they place a small culverin (a long slender gun), which a man, clad in a skin from head to foot, like a sort of pantaloons, and seated in the crupper of the camel with a lighted match in hand, quickly turns from side to side before the balcony where the King is.

"You see coming after them the carriages, around which the servants walk on foot, after which the led-horses appear and finally the noble to whom this whole equipment belongs, preceded by ten or twelve courtesans, who await him at the end of the bridge, leaping and dancing before him up to the square. After him the cavalry and infantry follow in good order. And as all that affords a spectacle, and has something of pomp about it, during three or four consecutive months which I have sometimes spent at Bhagnagar, my lodging being in the main street, I enjoyed the amusement every week of seeing these fine troops passing, which are more or less numerous according to the rank of the noble who has been on guard in his turn.

"The soldiers have for their sole garment but three or four ells of clothes, with which they clothe the middle of the body before and behind. They wear the hair long, and make a great knot of it on the head as women do, having for sole head-dress a scrap of cloth with three corners, one of which rests on the middle of the head, and the other two they tie together on the

nape of the neck. They do not have a sabre like the Persians, but they carry a broadsword like the Swiss, with which they both cut and thrust, and they suspend it from a belt. The barrels of their muskets are stronger than ours, and the iron is better and purer; this makes them not liable to burst. As for the cavalry, they have bow and arrow, shield and mace, with helmet and a coat of mail, which hangs behind from the helmet over the shoulders."

On the 16th October 1632, "in the morning" he says, "we left Golconda and were not able to travel more than a league and a half that day, because the Portuguese, English and Dutch gunners of the King escorted us, and we spent our time in enjoying ourselves."

To return to Mir Jumla. While he was governor of the Karnatic he maintained close friendship with Dom Filippe Mascarenhas, Viceroy of Goa. Manucci tells us that besides the Golconda forces he had a small army of his own, with many European artillery men. Naturally he had many friends; but he had enemies also, and even the king, Abdulla Qutb Shah, had begun to regard him as a dangerous rival rather than an obedient servant, and had thoughts of dispossessing him—"gently," Manucci says. In 1655-6 a rupture occurred between the king and his minister. On being informed—with how much truth we do not know—that there was a *l'aisón* between Mir Jumla and the queen-mother, Abdulla Qutb Shah in an unguarded moment gave expression to his thoughts and vowed that he would be revenged on his presumptuous minister. The threat was not long in reaching Mir Jumla, who happened to be away from Golconda in the eastern provinces. But Mir Jumla was a man of quick action and plunged through catastrophe to opportunity. He appealed to the Mogul prince Aurangzeb for protection. Aurangzeb, who was governor of the Mogul provinces, welcomed the chance of winning over to his side so influential a man. Moreover, it was a good excuse for him to interfere in Haidarabad politics. Aurangzeb exfoliated an ordinary incident into a series of imposing mysteries. He made Mir Jumla a commander of 5,000 horse and his son, Mahomed Amin, a commander of 2,000 horse in the Imperial service. One historian says that Aurangzeb summoned Mir Jumla and his son to his presence and sent orders to Abdulla Qutb Shah not to obstruct them, for Mahomed Amin was in Golconda. Another historian says that Aurangzeb sent Abdulla Qutb Shah a *farman* not to interfere with Mir Jumla. Whatever the course of policy may have been, the fact remains that

'Abdulla Qutb Shah imprisoned Mahomed Amin and confiscated all that he could get of the family property. Thereupon Aurangzeb despatched his eldest son, Mahomed Sultan, ahead to Golconda with a strong escort, ostensibly on his way to Bengal to marry his cousin, and Aurangzeb followed with the main army. Abdulla Qutb Shah was alarmed by the approach of the Imperial forces, and hastily collecting whatever valuables he could he left Haidarabad and fled to Golconda. Mahomed Sultan encamped by the Husain Sagar tank while his advance guards entered the city and plundered it before they could be stopped. Bernier and Manucci have a story, with slight variations, that Aurangzeb came to Golconda disguised as an ambassador from the Emperor Shah Jehan, and that King Abdulla who went out to receive the ambassador in his garden, as was the custom, narrowly escaped being taken a prisoner on that occasion. He was warned in time.

Abdulla released Mahomed Amin and tried to temporise, but Mahomed Sultan refused to listen to any overtures until the confiscated property had been surrendered. In an encounter the Golconda troops were worsted. Meanwhile Aurangzeb came up with his forces and both armies proceeded to invest Golconda. This was in 1656. In this connection an incident is mentioned which redounds greatly to the credit of the Qutb Shah king. A few days after the siege began a gunner in the fort saw Aurangzeb upon his elephant visiting the outworks. He turned to King Abdulla, who happened to be on the bastion, and requested permission to shoot Aurangzeb, at the same time putting himself in a position to fire. But the king prevented him and told him that the lives of princes should be respected. The general of the Mogul army was killed by the shot which might have ended Aurangzeb's career had Abdulla Qutb Shah so desired.

The siege had not lasted long before orders arrived from Delhi, from the Emperor Shah Jehan, to suspend hostilities. Possibly the Emperor wanted to prevent Aurangzeb from acquiring increased power, which would help him sooner to the throne of Delhi. Or it may be that Shah Jehan still remembered the kindness of a previous king of Golconda, who treated him courteously when he fled from the wrath of his father, the Emperor Jehangir. The situation did not call for hurrahs, certainly; and like a wise man King Abdulla decided to make the best of what remained instead of making the worst of what did not. He was glad to buy off the Moguls with a promise to pay a heavy indemnity to cover the cost of

the expedition and to clear arrears of tribute, but the principal condition of the treaty was the marriage of his second daughter to the Imperial prince, Mahomed Sultan, and the recognition of the latter as the heir-apparent to the throne of Golconda. As a dowry Abdulla gave his daughter the district of Ramgir. According to Bernier the coins of the king were to bear the arms of the Mogul Emperor, Shah Jehan. Mir Jumla's property was returned, of course. Events in Hindustan called Aurangzeb away soon after, and there was peace for Golconda for a few years.

Mir Jumla threw in his lot with Aurangzeb. He first went to Delhi and presented the Emperor Shah Jehan with a magnificent diamond, believed to be the Koh-i-noor* which is now amongst the British Crown jewels. Manucci says that the diamond was uncut and weighed 360 carats and was valued at Rs. 2,16,000 (£ 21,600).

After Mir Jumla left Golconda, Musa Khan appears to have become the prime minister for a time.

This attack by the Moguls was a rude shock to King Abdulla. It brought home the weakness of his throne, and indeed the Golconda kingdom had passed its zenith. In 1667 Sivaji the Mahratta levied tribute from it, and when he appeared on the scene after his escape from Agra, Abdulla Qutb Shah furnished him with money and troops to recover the Qutb Shah forts from the Bijapur king. Sivaji recovered many of these old forts, but he retained most of them for himself. Bernier, who was at Golconda in that year, says that the Mogul ambassador at the court was almost a monarch.

Manucci has a story of the Imperial court which is relevant here. The ambassador from Golconda to the court at Delhi in about 1656 was a shrewd man. The Emperor, Shah

* The Koh-i-noor was found at Kollur in the Krishna river, probably in 1656. It is said to have weighed originally 765 English carats uncut. It seems to have been chipped before Mir Jumla presented it. Later it was entrusted to a Venetian named Hortensio Borgio or Bronzoni, and was so damaged and wasted in his hands that when Taverner saw it in Aurangzeb's treasury in 1685 it weighed not more than 268½ English carats. In 1739 when Nadir Shah sacked Delhi he carried the stone away with him to Persia, giving it its present immortal name, the "Mountain of Light." It passed to the kings of Kabul, and in 1809-Elphinstone saw it in the bracelet of King Shuja at Peshawar. Subsequently it passed to Ranjit Singh and in 1849, after the annexation of the Punjab, to Queen Victoria. In 1852 it was recut by Voorsanger of Messrs. Gerrards. Its weight now is 106½ English carats.

There is a theory that the Koh-i-noor is the smaller part of a great stone of which the Orloff diamond, the principal jewel of the Russian regalia, is the larger. It is unlikely, for the Orloff diamond seems to have come from Mysore.

Jehan, thought he was a man of "great wisdom and resolved to test him in public audience. He asked him whether the king of Golconda, his master, was as tall as one of the slaves who was brushing away flies. The ambassador perceiving the implied insult looked at the slave and replied "My King is four fingers taller than Your Majesty." The retort pleased the Emperor, who praised the ambassador as a faithful servant and gave him a costly *sarapa* (robe) and a handsome horse. He also remitted three years' payment of the tribute received from the king of Golconda, which amounted to about Rs. 9,00,000. Manucci adds, "I was actually present in the court when this conversation took place," and there is no reason to believe that he was ever intentionally untruthful, although he has been called a backstairs gossip.

Haidarabad was visited by another famous traveller during Abdulla Qutb Shah's reign. In November 1665 Thevenot set sail from Basra in the "Hopewell" and arrived in India nine weeks later. He was at Golconda from April to November 1666. He says that *Muhowa* trees marked the eastern boundary of the Mogul and *Khajur* trees the beginning on the west of the kingdom of Golconda, "wherein the insolence of the tax collectors is far more insupportable than in the confines of Mogulistan—the collectors make travellers pay what they please." A habit which was prevalent in his time has continued till today; the common people were "extremely fond" of *Tari* (the sap of the palmyra tree).

Thevenot asserts that the mother of King Abdulla was a Brahmin lady, who had other children by her husband and was very witty, and that it was through her influence that Brahmins were largely employed by the king. He adds that the previous king, Mahomed Qutb Shah, left the crown to his eldest son, but being less beloved of the queen than Abdulla he was imprisoned and Abdulla was placed on the throne. He remained a prisoner until 1656, when he was poisoned because he offered to fight the Moguls during their attack on the fort. Apart from the statement of Thevenot I have not come across any evidence that Hayat Baksh Begum was a Brahmin lady; but he is fairly accurate and in other matters has been amply corroborated. Hayat Baksh Begum occupies an honorable position in the annals of the Qutb Shah dynasty. We know that she was the daughter of the fifth king Mahomed Quli Qutb Shah, the wife of the sixth king, Mahomed Qutb Shah, and mother of the seventh king, Abdulla Qutb

Shah It is certain, however, that during the reign of her son, when she played a leading part in the affairs of the state, Brahmins came into power at the court of Golconda and their influence became predominant in the next reign.

We gather from Thevenot that some of the diamond mines were farmed out by the king. People who were allowed to dig in the mines near Masulipatam had to pay the king a pagod (about Rs. 4) for every hour they worked in the mines, whether they found diamonds or not. The king's "chief mines are in the Karnatic and he has 6,000 men continually working there, who daily find near 3 lbs. weight and nobody digs there but the king."

Here is Thevenot's description of the jewel which Abdulla Qutb Shah wore in his turban:—

"This prince wears on the Crown of his head, a Jewel almost a foot long, which is said to be of inestimable value; it is a Rose of great Diamonds, three or four Inches diameter; on the top of that rose there is a little crown, out of which issues a Branch fashioned like a Palm-Tree Branch, but it is round; and that Palm-branch (which is crooked at the top) is a good Inch in Diameter, and about half a foot long; it is made of several Sprigs, which are (as it were) the leaves of it, and each of which have at their end a lovely long Pearl shaped like a Pear; at the foot of this Posie, there are two Bands of Gold in fashion of Table-bracelets, in which are encased large Diamonds set round with Rubies, which with great Pearls that hang dangling on all sides, make an exceedingly rare show; and these Bands have Clasps of Diamonds to fasten the jewel to his head. In short, That King hath many other considerable pieces of great value in his Treasury, and it is not to be doubted, but that he surpasses all the Kings of the *Indies* in precious stones; and that if there were Merchants (who would give him their worth) he would have prodigious sums of money."

Thevenot has left us a vivid word picture of the pomp displayed by the *Omras* or nobles of the court. "These *Omras* generally make a very handsome figure; when they go through the town an elephant or two goes before them, on which three men carrying banners are mounted; 50 or 60 troopers well clothed and with bows and arrows, swords at their sides, and bucklers on their backs, follow at some distance; and after these come other men on horseback, sounding trumpets, and playing on fifes. After them comes the *Omra*

on horseback with thirty or forty footmen about him, some making way, others carrying lances and some with fine napkins driving away the flies. One of them holds an umbrella over his master's head; another carries the tobacco pipe, and others pots full of water in hanging cages of canes. The *palanquin* carried by four men comes next with two porters for change; and all this pomp is brought up by a camel or two with men beating of timbals on their backs. When the Omra pleases, he takes his *palanquin*, and his horse is led by him. The *palanquin* is sometimes covered with silver, and its canes or *bambous* tipt with silver at both ends; the lord is to be seen lying in it, holding flowers in his hand, smoking tobacco, or else chewing *bette* and *areca*, shewing by that soft and effeminate posture a most supine dissoluteness. All (who have any considerable pay, whether Moors or Gentiles) imitate the Gentiles, and are carried through the town in *palanquins* well attended; and the *Dutch* Interpreter at *Bhagnagar* (who is a Gentile) goes at present with such an equipage, save only that instead of camels, he hath a chariot; but (at least) there is not a cavalier, but hath his umbrella bearer, his flie-drivers, and his cup-bearer."

Abdulla Qutb Shah was a just and liberal prince, but weak. And he was not shrewd enough for his time. He had not an intelligent regard for the chances of war and took no part in the quarrels of his brother sovereigns. An enthusiastic patron of learning and architecture, he founded many colleges. He also built several mosques, including the Toli Masjid, palaces, baths and gardens. Work on the Mecca Masjid seems to have languished, if it did not stop, during his reign. It is said that his eldest son-in-law, Sayyid Ahmed, predicted that the completion of the mosque would bring about the downfall of the dynasty. He was not far wrong, although actually the downfall of the dynasty was the signal for the completion of the mosque. The next king continued the work and the mosque was nearly finished, all but the minarets which were half-way up, when Aurangzeb captured Golconda. With a caustic remark on worldly vanities Aurangzeb stopped work on the mosque. This, it is said, accounts for the stunted minarets.

Abdulla Qutb Shah added largely to the defences of the fort. The portion on the east called the *Naya Qila* was built by him to take in a hillock which gives the holder some advantage over the fortress.

Abdulla Qutb Shah died on the 1st May 1672. He left no son, but had three daughters. The eldest daughter was married to Sayyid Ahmed, a relative of the Grand Sheikh of Mecca. Sayyid Ahmed came to Golconda disguised as a beggar and asked for the hand of the princess, threatening vengeance if he were refused. He was imprisoned and, later, sent back to Mecca. Two years afterwards he returned and succeeded in winning the princess. He was probably the last of the king's many prime ministers. Tavernier says he was a good mathematician and was very indulgent to all who were well versed in the science of numbers.

The second daughter, as we have seen, was married to the Mogul prince, Mahomed Sultan, who then became the heir-apparent of the Golconda throne. As he predeceased the king, the question of his accession never arose.

The third daughter was married to Abul Hasan, a relation of Abdulla Qutb Shah.

The Eighth King.

Abdulla Qutb Shah was succeeded by Abul Hasan, the last king of his line. His era, from its prelude to its aftermath was overshadowed by the austere presence of the Mogul.

A miniature war of succession seems to have taken place after Abdulla Qutb Shah's death. There were two claimants to the throne, the eldest son-in-law, Sayyid Ahmed, and the youngest son-in-law, Abul Hasan. The historian Khafi Khan tells us that outside the palace Sayyid Ahmed showed himself ready to fight while inside his wife held an unsheathed sword in her hand and, surrounded by her Amazon guards of Abyssinians and Turks, declared war. Both claimants had a following, but Abul Hasan was more in favour as he was descended, either in the male or female line, from the Qutb Shahs. There was some fighting, which was stopped eventually with the help of Musa Khan, once minister to the last king, and Sayyed Muzaffar and his Hindu servants Madanna and Akkana. They espoused the cause of Abul Hasan and won over the chief officers of the state. Sayyid Ahmed was imprisoned, and in 1672 Abul Hasan ascended the throne.

In acknowledgment of his services Sayyed Muzaffar was made prime minister, but his ambitions and behaviour caused great anxiety to the king, who trimmed his sails to suit the wind by making common cause with the brothers Madanna and Akkana to get rid of their master. When this was accomplished,

Madanna became the prime minister and Akkana the assistant minister.

Khafi Khan remarks that Abul Hasan "exceeded all his predecessors in his devotion to pleasure." So Haidarabad got an unsavoury reputation and for this and other reasons came prominently before the notice of Aurangzeb, the Puritan Emperor of India. Certainly Abul Hasan was an indolent and dissipated youth. He fell completely under the sway of his Brahmin minister Madanna, to whom he entrusted the affairs of state while he gave himself up to the enjoyment of the festive board amid the voices of damsels and the sound of sweet music. But withal he was reined in his pleasures, so much so that he got the nickname of Tana Shah, the fastidious prince.

While Abul Hasan enjoyed life, the affairs of state, were being ably managed, we must admit it, by Madanna. His power was felt far beyond Golconda. We read that presents came from Masulipatam for Madanna and other powerful officers at Golconda; and the English Company at Madras, who continued to hold the settlement from the king on an annual rent issued instructions to their agent at the Golconda court to present substantial gifts to Madanna and Akkana.

Outside Golconda the English were struggling with the Dutch. The peace concluded with Holland in 1674 had relieved Bombay of further apprehensions of attacks by Dutchmen, but Madras had been threatened by Rickloffé Van Goen. He joined the Golconda forces with 1,000 Europeans against St. Thome, which they reduced to surrender in September 1674. It was the Golconda king's refusal to give the place to Van Goen that saved Madras from much trouble and possibly bloodshed.

The distorting influence of the personal equation soon began to be felt in Madanna's administration. He filled many important posts with his protégés to the exclusion of Mahomedans, who were naturally very dissatisfied. At his instigation Sambhaji the Mahratta ruler returned to Haidarabad in 1677 with 7,000 men, and Abul Hasan was glad to promise him an annual tribute of a lakh of *hun* for the defence of his territories.

Events in the Deccan, in these days followed each other fast. Of the old local dynasties some had vanished: the few that remained were bowing to their fall. It was essentially a period of disorder and uncertainty, both

for the Deccanis and their antagonists the Moguls. As opportunities occurred in the past, the Qutb Shah troops had captured Gandikot, Sidhout, Malkhed, Seram and other districts which, it was alleged, formerly formed part of the Telingana provinces. These exploits were to be laid at the door of the unfortunate king, Abul Hasan.

The conquest of the Deccan was merely a matter of years. Successful engagements here and treaties there might postpone disaster and confer the blessings of peace for a while; and faith and hope, never verified but never disproved, have always remained with man to uphold and console him. But the final ending was inevitable, for it was the goal of a preconceived plan. When Aurangzeb was viceroy of the Deccan, before his father's death, he formed the resolve to overthrow the two independent kingdoms of Bijapur and Golconda, and so realise the dream of the Mogul empire from the days of its founder—the conquest of the South. His ambitions and the intrigues of Mir Jumla rekindled the flames of war in the Deccan, after a spell of peace. Having brought low the infidel Hindu kingdoms of the north, Aurangzeb turned his strength to the two heretical Mahomedan kingdoms of the south. In 1683 he collected all the forces of the empire to make one grand and final attack upon the Deccan and reconquer it after a fitful series of wars begun by Akbar, the Great Mogul. Aurangzeb marched at the head of what is known as the Grand Army. They met with some discomfiture at the outset, for the kings of Bijapur and Golconda, hearing of their approach, laid waste the country and there was shortage of supplies.

In 1685 Aurangzeb began hostilities against Golconda to recover some tracts of Telingana, which the Emperor claimed as part of his dominions. Abul Hasan's troops were successful for a time in resisting the enemy under Prince Shah Alam, Aurangzeb's second son, whose sympathies were so entirely with the king of Golconda that he incurred the grave displeasure of his royal father. It was a piece of sound advice that Aurangzeb gave Prince Muazzim on one occasion: "Don't be so salt that your subjects would spit you out of their mouth, nor be so sweet that they may gulp you down."

In older days, when the monarchs of Ahmednagar, Berar and Bidar also held court with splendour in the Deccan, the kings of Bijapur and Golconda had not always seen things in the same light. But as the long arm of the Mogul

gradually grasped the lands held by the scions of the ancient Bahmani sovereigns, until only Bijapur and Golconda were left with some measure of independence, the two monarchs had acted in collaboration against their common enemy. for each realised what his fate would be on the downfall of the other. So we find Abdulla Qutb Shah in 1665 and Abul Hasan in 1679 sending troops to assist Bijapur against Mogul invaders. Such conduct on the part of the king of Golconda was a matter for grave consideration. Beside, there were other charges against the king written up in the book of the Mogul. The war indemnity agreed upon in 1656 and the older annual tribute promised in 1635 were considerably in arrears—in fact, there was always a balance in those days; Gandikot and the other districts mentioned above had been wrested from the Moguls; and, most serious of all, Abul Hasan had submitted to the influence of Hindus who, transgressing their power, had used it to insult and injure the faithful. Further, Aurangzeb affected to regard the succession of Abul Hasan as an act of usurpation, remembering that his son, Mahomed Sultan, was recognised while he lived as heir-apparent, but forgetting that it was only in his wife's right that the Prince was so recognised. Add to these shortcomings the fact of the king's profligacy and the unavailing offence of being a *Shia*, and you have a fairly complete list of the reasons which upheld Aurangzeb in his inexorable determination to crush the unfortunate Abul Hasan.

The stresses were bound to result in strain. The active help which Golconda proposed to give to Bijapur again in 1685 caused the rupture. It was the beginning of the end. Aurangzeb commenced his attack on Bijapur in 1685, and in March of that year warned Abul Hasan not to interfere. Disregarding the injunction Abul Hasan wrote to Bijapur proposing to send 40,000 men to his help and to secure the assistance of Sambhaji and his Mahratta hordes. The letter fell into the hands of Aurangzeb in June, and he remarked metaphorically, with unpleasant humour, that as the cock had taken to crowing no time was to be lost in wringing its neck. He immediately detached Prince Shah Alam with a large army to settle accounts with Golconda.

Shah Alam set out in July 1685. The Golconda forces from 40 to 70,000 men strong took the field under the generalship of Mahomed Ibrahim, of whom we have heard in connection with the grant of Madras to the English.* He was assisted by Sheikh Minhaj and Rustam Rao, Madanna's

nephew. The Deccanis held up the advance guard of the Mogul army near Seram. When Shah Alam arrived with the main body and camped at Malkhed, he tried to negotiate terms with the Deccanis, but his overtures met with no success.

Prince Shah Alam on this occasion was accompanied by his favourite physician, the Italian Manucci. Manucci was very anxious to get away from the prince and, if possible, return to his country; but his request to be allowed to go to Surat had been refused. At Malkhed he sought the aid of the Golconda general, Mahomed Ibrahim, who agreed to help him. After halting at the tent of one of his friends, Thomas Goodlad, and there drinking "a cup or two" to mystify Shah Alam's spies, whom he then despatched on various errands, he escaped to Mahomed Ibrahim's camp. Mahomed Ibrahim seems to have regretted his promise, but being pressed by Manucci he allowed the physician to proceed to Golconda, which place he reached in three days in time to relieve the king's sister of palpitation of the heart.

As the king's physician, Monsieui Destremon, was dead, Abul Hasan sent for Manucci and ordered him to bleed a woman in his *harem* whom he held in great regard because she knew where the Qutb Shah treasures were concealed. This woman was "so extremely stout and the fat covered her veins so much that blood could not be drawn from her except from the capillary veins.....I felt for the vein, and after fixing the bandage, I took a measure twice the size I used for others; and I reached the vein with such dexterity that the blood gushed out with great force. Every one was in admiration at seeing a thing that had never happened with this woman before." Manucci was then told off to attend the king's nephew, who was suffering from an ulcerated leg, but meanwhile Shah Alam arrived at Haidarabad, and in the confusion that ensued Manucci rode away to Masulipatam.

We return to the field of battle. Mahomed Ibrahim, the Golconda general, was playing a double game. Perhaps his conduct was influenced largely by his hatred of the two Brahmins, Madanna and Akkana, who wielded so much power at the court. He allowed the Moguls to progress with much less resistance than might have been offered by the strength of the fortress and the army in the field. Indeed, it was possible for him to have defeated the Imperialists, for his army was about three times stronger.

When negotiations failed, the Moguls attempted to advance from Malkhed under Khan-i-Jahan. But they were barely able to stave off defeat by the Deccanis, who pressed them not too hotly, we may be sure, for the latter had been reinforced by 10,000 horse. Heavy rain added to the distress of the Imperialists, and so two months were wasted at Malkhed.

It needed a scathing rebuke from the Emperor to rouse the Moguls to renewed action. After a bloody contest, they succeeded in pushing back the Deccanis, who unexpectedly retreated to Golconda. The cause of the retreat was a quarrel between Mahomed Ibrahim and his second-in-command, Shaik Minhaj. The Moguls arrived in the vicinity of Haidarabad in the beginning of October 1685, and there Mahomed Ibrahim joined them to escape the wrath of Abul Hasan, of whom he was suspect. He was the first of the Golconda officers to forsake the way of error and follow the royal road of rectitude.

Abul Hasan became distrustful of all about him after the succession of Mahomed Ibrahim. Against the advice of his minister Madanna he fled to the fort so precipitately that all his property was left behind. When the people learnt that the king had left the city and that the enemy was at its gates there was a mad scramble for the safety of the fort. Haidarabad at that time was the richest city in the Deccan. Thousands of the nobles and upper classes fled to the fort with their wives and children as best they could, leaving most of their property behind. And then a scene occurred somewhat similar to that which happened in Paris a little over a century later, in the days of the Commune. It was a very terrible affair. Confusion reigned supreme. The masses remained in their houses dazed and helpless, but the mob immediately began to plunder and soon became ungovernable. Lacks worth in cash, property and chinaware belonging to nobles and tradesmen were looted, besides 4 or 5 krores worth of royal property. Costly carpets from Warangal and other places, too heavy to be carted away, were cut into pieces and removed. Women were outraged and children kidnaped.

On the following day Shah Alam sent a party of soldiers to protect the citizens, but they joined the turbulent multitude. Fire destroyed what escaped the hands of the plunderers. Two days later Khan-i-Jahan was ordered to police the city and succeeded in restoring order to some extent. But by

that time everything portable had disappeared and little was left of the king's property, as the Imperial officers discovered when they went to attach it. Aurangzeb was greatly incensed at the loss, which he attributed to Shah Alam's negligence. In fact he was inclined to believe that Shah Alam had appropriated the treasures himself and had invented the story of pillage and rapine to conceal his perfidy.

This second entry into Haidarabad was made about the 8th October 1685. When order had been enforced in the city, Shah Alam returned to the Gosha Mahal palace, which, by the way, was built by Abul Hasan, who also had a residence constructed there for his zenana, and laid out a garden. It is said that an underground tunnel connected the place with the fort.

Abul Hasan was very penitent and promised to agree to any terms. Many of his nobles followed the lead of Mahomed Ibrahim and deserted to the Imperialists. At the earnest solicitations of Prince Shah Alam, the Emperor Aurangzeb agreed to pardon Abul Hasan's faults on the following terms:—

- (1) He was to pay one kröre and 20 lakhs of rupees (about £1,200,000) in settlement of past dues, and an annual tribute of 2 lakhs *huns*.
- (2) Madanna and Akkana were to be dismissed.
- (3) Malkhed and Seram, which had been taken from the Moguls, were to be restored.

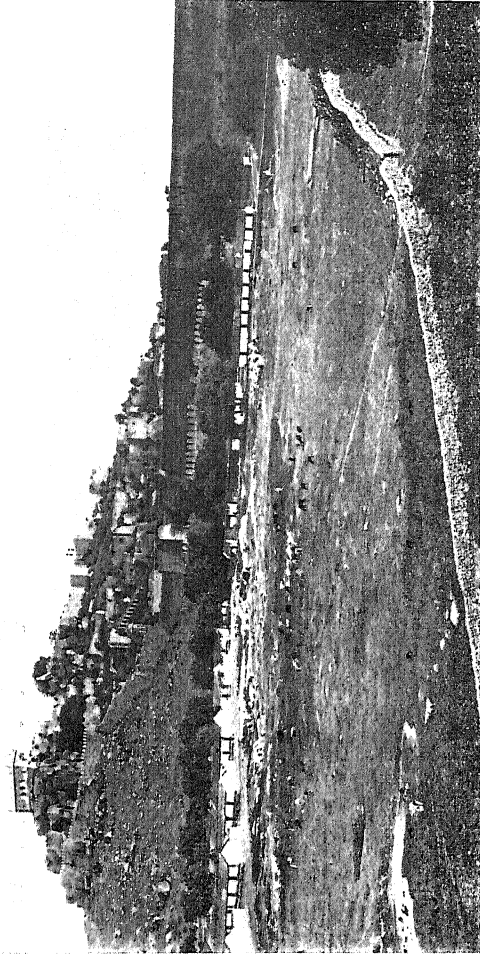
Shah Alam stayed for some months, first close to Golconda and then at Kohir, to collect the indemnity. It was not an easy task after the depletion of Haidarabad. Meanwhile Abul Hasan put off the dismissal of Madanna and Akkana until the discontented nobles, who regarded these men as the cause of all their misfortunes, lost all patience. This set the people against the Brahmins, and on such occasions popular assemblies become the sole exponents of the national will. One night early in March 1686 Madanna and Akkana were murdered, their houses were plundered, and an attack was made on the Hindu quarter where many Brahmins were robbed and killed. The dowager queen sent the heads of Madanna and Akkana to Aurangzeb as a peace offering.

Aurangzeb was at Sholapur, directing operations against Bijapur. Things were not going well with the Imperial troops in the Deccan. The siege of Bijapur was making

little progress, and Aurangzeb recalled Shah Alam, who arrived there on the 7th June 1686. Golconda territory was completely evacuated and the resources of the Moguls were employed against Bijapur.

Abul Hasan had a brief respite until Bijapur fell, on the 12th September 1686. Then Aurangzeb turned to him again. As a matter of fact, the Emperor had approved the treaty only to enable him to expedite his operations against Bijapur. When they were completed, demand upon demand was pressed upon the unfortunate king, who did all in his power to satisfy the Emperor. But nothing could shake Aurangzeb's determination to end his misrule. Abul Hasan was led to believe that prompt settlement of the cash account would relieve him from further apprehensions. As he could not raise the money immediately he offered the jewels of the ladies in the royal seraglio in part payment, and actually sent nine trays full together with a quantity of gold, as a guarantee of good faith. That was a sacrifice of honour, in the hope of saving his country. Sadat Khan, Aurangzeb's agent, to whom the jewels were sent, basely despatched them as a present to the Emperor instead of retaining them as a pledge.

On the 14th January 1687 Aurangzeb set out from Bidar to punish the luckless king. Before marching to Golconda he made a pilgrimage to the shrine of a famous saint at Gulburga, the ancient capital of the Bahmani dynasty, and halted for a few days at Bidar. Abul Hasan still hoped to secure a measure of independence. He wrote a very humble letter to the Emperor, begging his pardon and vowing amendment. The reply was an imperial *firman* setting forth his misconduct in vivid terms. "The evil deeds of this wicked man," wrote Aurangzeb, "pass beyond the bounds of writing; but by mentioning one out of a hundred, and a little out of much, some conception of them may be formed. First, placing the reins of authority and government in the hands of vile tyrannical infidels; oppressing and afflicting the Sayyids, Shaikhs, and other holy men; openly giving himself up to excessive debauchery and depravity; indulging in drunkenness and wickedness night and day; making no distinction between infidelity and Islam, tyranny and justice, depravity and devotion; waging obstinate war in defence of infidels; want of obedience to the Divine commands and prohibitions, especially to that command which forbids assistance to an enemy's country, the disregarding of which



Golconda Fort

has cast a censure upon the Holy Book in the sight both of God and man. Letters full of friendly advice and warning upon these points have been repeatedly written, and have been sent by the hands of discreet men. No attention has been paid to them; moreover it has lately become known that a lac of *pagodas* has been sent to the wicked Sambha. That in this insolence and intoxication and worthlessness no regard has been paid to the infamy of his deeds, and no hope shown of deliverance in this world or in the next."

When Abul Hasan saw how hopeless it was to expect any clemency, he set himself in earnest to meet his foe. He sent out a force under the command of Shaikh Minhaj, Sharza Khan and Mustafa Khan Lari, better known as Abdur Razzaq Lari. They had from 40 to 50,000 horse, but they could do no more than raise petty skirmishes and hang on to the flanks of the Imperial army. One of these encounters took place it is said, on the Fateh Maidan, which received its name, the field of victory, from the fact that one of Aurangzeb's generals there defeated a body of Abul Hasan's horse. Abul Hasan also appealed to Sambhaji for help and got it. Sambhaji and his Mahrattas did some useful work in cutting off the supplies of the Imperialists and harassing their outposts.

On the 28th January 1687 Aurangzeb arrived within two miles of Golconda. Abul Hasan fled again to the fort; and the city was occupied by the Moguls for the third time, under Ghazi-ud-din Firoz Jung, the father of the first Nizam. Hostilities began at once. The defence of the fort is a romantic story of heroism, treachery and valorous adventure. With the whole might of the Mogul Empire at his back Aurangzeb beat incessantly for eight months against its fortifications and then only by bribery secured the downfall of Abul Hasan. Abul Hasan showed more kingliness in his manner of losing the crown than in his wearing of it.

Prince Shah Alam who had been sent against Abul Hasan a few months earlier, accompanied his father on the present occasion. He was well disposed towards the king of Golconda, for whom he hoped to obtain pardon from the Emperor. Correspondence passed between them. Spies reported the fact to the Emperor, and we may be sure that it lost nothing in the telling. When some of Shah Alam's letters were intercepted and brought to Aurangzeb, he imprisoned the prince and his four sons. The event seems to have caused the Emperor much grief, but he was a man who marched

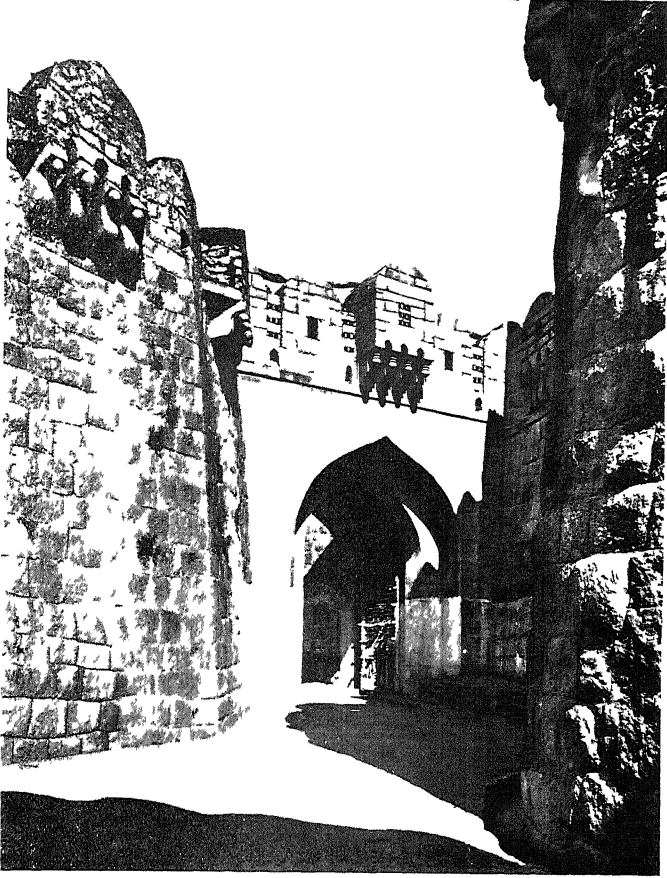
unwaveringly to his goal. It was seven years before Shah Alam regained his liberty.

It must be remembered that the Moguls had to deal not only with the garrison within the fortress but also with the field army, which took up a position in the rear and co-operated with Sambhaji's Mahrattas in preventing supplies from reaching the besiegers. The difficulties of the Moguls were increased by the famine which prevailed in the land. They endured terrible privations throughout the siege, while the besieged lived in the midst of plenty.

The siege began in earnest. The main attack seems to have been delivered from the south and south-east. It is believed that Aurangzeb established his own quarters on the range of hills about a mile away to the north of the fort. A heavy and incessant fire was kept up from the fort and almost daily the garrison made resolute sorties, spreading death in the lines of the besiegers. In the early days of the siege Chin Qulich Khan, grandfather of the first Nizam, was killed while leading the Mogul troops to the attack. Ghazi-ud-din Firoz Jung was appointed to command the besieging army, and to him were entrusted the dispositions for the siege. Trenches were pushed forward daily. One of the many sallies by the garrison resulted in great slaughter on both sides. Soon after this Shaikh Minhaj, Shaikh Nizam and several of the principal *amirs* deserted to the Moguls. They were followed later by others, until eventually only two remained with Abul Hasan, *viz.*, Abdur Razzaq Lari and Abdulla Khan Pani; and Pani was a traitor at heart.

But these defections had no immediate effect on the duration of the siege, which continued persistently. The fort was so well equipped in guns and ammunition that an incessant fire was maintained on the besiegers, who retaliated with vigour. "So heavy was the smoke that it was impossible to distinguish night from day," says a native historian. The horrors of famine were accentuated by a pestilence, probably cholera, which ravaged the Imperial camp. Desertions to the fort now became common, and many, probably Shiah, who had not the courage to change sides openly, in secret aided the besieged in hopes of ending the conflict speedily. But whereas Abul Hasan lost many of his principal nobles, none of the first rank joined him from the Imperial army.

PLATE III



Fath Daiwaza : Golconda

On the night of the 16th May 1687 the Mogul commander Firoz Jung attempted to carry the fort by escalade and on that occasion it was a narrow line that divided failure from success. Before the escalading party reached the parapet a stray dog began to bark. The garrison, who were on the alert, ran to the spot: the ladders were overturned, the escaladers were hurled back into the ditch and overwhelmed with hand grenades. The dog received a jewelled collar and a chain of gold and was kept in the royal presence. When the escaladers began their ascent, an optimistic messenger rushed to the Imperial camp with the news that the fort had fallen. The big drums were beaten and there were great rejoicings: we may be sure that the disappointment a few hours later was equally great.

In June a deluge of rain fell for three days, beating down the tents of the besiegers, and the massive batteries which they had erected at much risk were washed away. The garrison, profiting by the confusion, made another sortie under the leadership of Abdur Razzaq Lari and captured some important prisoners. Abul Hasan treated them courteously and generously, gave them presents, showed them his stores of grain and powder, and dismissed them to their camp. With them he sent two messages—one written, the other verbal—offering extravagantly liberal terms and agreeing to surrender the fortress if he were allowed to retain it as a vassal because, he said, his people had already suffered greatly and he feared that they would be farther oppressed with taxes if a viceroy were appointed. The king also agreed to pay some krores of rupees and to relieve the immediate necessities of the Imperial troops by sending them some lakhs of maunds of grain. But Aurangzeb declined to listen to any message unless the king came before him, bound!

The siege went on. The trenches were filled with sand bags, the first of which was sewn by the Emperor himself, and much blood was spilt in the encounters which took place during these operations. About the middle of June the Moguls resorted to mining, in a few days carrying three mines to the wall of the fortress. The mines were to be their greatest blow. But Abdur Razzaq Lari forestalled their unpleasant attentions by countermining. He abstracted the match and powder from one mine and damaged the charges of the other two with water. When the miners reported to Aurangzeb that the charges had been laid, he ordered an

assembly in force opposite the mines so as to attract the garrison to that portion of the fortifications. The first mine was fired on the 20th June 1687 and it exploded outwards, the powder in the direction of the fort being wet, killing over 1,000 of the Moguls, among them some officers of high rank. The explosion was followed immediately by a sally by the garrison, who captured and held the trenches for a while. The attempt to explode the second mine a few hours later was even more disastrous. It killed and wounded about 2,000. Another attack by the garrison was met by Ghazi-ud-din Firoz Jung, who was driven back and lost nearly 350 men. The destruction to be wrought by the third mine was to be witnessed by the Emperor on the following day, but that happened to be the one from which the powder was extracted. There was only a fizzle.

As Ghazi-ud-din Firoz Jung, the Commander-in-Chief of the Mogul army, had been wounded twice, Prince Muhammad Azam, the Emperor's third son, was appointed to command. At the same time Aurangzeb issued a proclamation annexing the kingdom of Golconda to the Empire, calling it *Darul-Jihad*, the hostile country. The proclamation was not premature: Aurangzeb was sure of the ultimate outcome of the struggle and he was a man of inflexible purpose. But his troops suffered severely from starvation and disease, to say nothing of the casualties of battle. "The white piles of skeletons looked like hillocks of snow."

We have said that Abdulla Khan Pani and Abdur Razzaq Lari remained with the king of Golconda. As a matter of fact the former had already been won over by the Moguls, but the latter rose superior to all temptations and they were many. In September 1687, when the siege had lasted eight months, it was arranged with Abdulla Khan Pani that on the night of the 21st of that month his post at the wicket gate or *kirki* should be insufficiently guarded and that the alarm should not be given until the besiegers had passed through. After the entrance was effected, the Moguls opened the gate nearest the wicket, the *Fateh Darwaza*, or Gate of Victory, where Prince Muhamad Azam and a large force were waiting. Thus treachery accomplished what force could not do.

Almost immediately Abdur Razzaq Lari was informed that the Moguls were in the fort. He seized a sword and shield, threw himself on horseback and with about twelve followers bravely attacked the invaders, and step by step

contested their approach to the gate of the citadel. He was literally covered with wounds from head to feet; his horse, too, was wounded under him; but he fought on with all the power of valiant manhood. When his strength was exhausted he gave the rein to his horse and was carried to a garden where he dropped off, senseless. Next day he was found and recognised. The capture was reported to the Emperor, who ordered two surgeons—an European and a Hindu—to attend the warrior. They counted nearly seventy wounds on his face and body, beside wounds over other wounds which could not be numbered. One eye was destroyed. He was offered a command in the Imperial army but refused it politely, preferring to remain in obscurity with Abul Hasan. Repeated offers and changed conditions overcame his scruples at length, and after obtaining the permission of his old master he eventually entered the Emperor's service. As the latter truly remarked, if Abul Hasan had possessed a few more officers like Abdur Razzaq Lari, the conquest of Golconda would have been even more difficult than it was.

When Abul Hasan heard of the entry of the Moguls, he betook himself to the *harem* and calmed the fears of the ladies. After bidding them a tender farewell he robed himself in state, went to the throne room, took his seat and awaited the arrival of his unbidden guests. It is a touching scene: the indiscreet and contrite but self-possessed king awaiting his doom in regal splendour. As meal time comes round he commands food to be brought. Why, he asks, should he disturb his usual routine for such a small matter as the intrusion of the Moguls? With the food the Mogul officers arrive. He gives them audience with kingly dignity and politely invites them to partake of the meal which has been laid. Some accept, others decline what erstwhile would have been an honour. He converses with them in calm and measured tones, bravely concealing the remorse which is gnawing at his heart. Then he arrays himself in his jewels and mounting his horse rides to the gate of his capital, where Prince Muhamad Azim awaits him. The king removes his pearl necklace and places it on the prince who receives him kindly and offers well-meant but futile consolation. He is escorted to the presence of the Emperor, is received and treated courteously, but realises fully now, as he had not done before, that he is no longer a potentate but a prisoner. He has passed from joyful liberty to galling constraint: his citadel stands behind him, his prison looms before. Poor Abul Hasan!

He drew his own diagram of failure and left his kingdom without even an epitaph to praise.

The fallen king was sent to Daulatabad. He was allowed the Chini Mahal as his residence and was well treated until his death in 1704. He was buried at Roza, where the remains of his captor also lie.

The strength of Golconda, the resolution born of despair of the king, had raised expectations of a much longer defence, for treachery had not been anticipated, and the news of the downfall spread as sudden ruin. Officials in those districts which had not already submitted pressed forward with all speed to make terms for themselves, and Aurangzeb appointed Mahomed Ibrahim, their old acquaintance, as vicegerent.

The spoils of Golconda were enormous. We are told that the Imperial treasury was enriched to the extent of 61 lakhs 51 thousand golden hun, 2 krores and 53 thousand rupees and 115 krores and 16 lakhs of copper coins, altogether equal to about 9½ million sterling, besides a large quantity of jewels and vessels of gold and silver.

Thus fell Golconda, and with it the old Deccan dynasties came to an end. The subjugation of the south was complete: it remained to crush the Mahrattas, and time proved that it was a fatal error not to have let the older Muslim states of Bijapur and Golconda stand as a barrier against them. By adding to the extent of his dominions in the Deccan Aurangzeb destroyed the balance of power, for new Mahomedan kingdoms arose in the south and they were founded, not by scions of the old Bahmani dynasty but by adventurers from the north, who held the Mogul sovereignty in no regard.

Aurangzeb has written his name in large letters in the annals of India. The third son of the Emperor Shah Jehan and Muntaz Mahal, over whose remains stands that "dream in marble designed by Titans and finished by jewellers," the Taj Mahal, he borrowed no rustic dignity from the soil. He came into an inheritance of splendour, but his life was lived with puritanical severity from his austere youth to the troubled ending of his power, which he had acquired by many years of strenuous toil. The picture which Gemelli, the Neapolitan traveller, gives us of Aurangzeb in his 76th year, dressed in simple white with one emerald "of a vast bigness" amidst four little ones in his turban, is symbolical of his ideal. He

was nothing if not orthodox, and in his zeal he forgot that the last thing which man ever learns to bring under control is his fellow man. His policy of repression had the ultimate effect of undermining what his illustrious predecessor, Akbar, had built up, the great Mogul Empire. In this respect he bore some likeness to Phillip II of Spain, through whom Spain was set back for ever from the great nations of the earth. Akbar was not content with a political federation: he believed that if his empire was to last it must be based on a religious coalition of the Indian races. But his dream of religious unity was never realised; in the nature of things it could not be.

Aurangzeb, like all famous men, has been criticised as well as praised. Undoubtedly he was a great man in that he had a due sense of the dignity and importance of his mission; but to be truly great one must also have a sense of relation and proportion and not overlook the minuteness of the individual atom. Every mountain top of privilege is girdled with vales of humble duty. It is not a part of our task, however, to estimate his character. Suffice it to say that, whatever he was, at least he was consistent. As for his sanctity, it has been overshadowed by his immensity.

With the Jats at Agra, the Sikhs at Multan and the Rajputs, all in rebellion, Aurangzeb retired from the Deccan with the remnants of his once famous army, to Ahmednagar, where he died shortly afterwards, in 1707, and was buried at Roza. No splendid tomb marks his resting place. His last instructions consummated the moral of his reign, that all is vanity. He desired, says Meadows Taylor, that his funeral expenses should be paid from the money realised by the sale of some caps which he quilted, and that did not amount to more than a few rupees. We may be sure that the expenses were curtailed to the smallest possible sum.

With Aurangzeb ends the middle age of Indian History. His kingdom was already fated to dissolution and his successors upon the Peacock Throne of Delhi could not maintain the transient glory of the Empire which had arisen magnificent, potent and luxurious, and subsided into evanescence.

THE NIZAMS.

It is fitting that this brief historical sketch of the Qutb Shah dynasty should close with an outline of the next great dynasty of the Deccan, that of Asaf Jah.

The grandfather of the first Nizam, Chin Qulich Khan, was mortally wounded on the glacis of Golconda during the

last Mogul attack on the fort in 1687.* At the final siege of Golconda in 1687 Ghazi-ud-din Firoz Jung, the father of the first Nizam, was commander-in-chief of the Mogul army until he was wounded.†

His son, Asaf Jah or Nizam-ul-Mulk, was Viceroy of the Deccan under Aurangzeb, but through court intrigues he was removed and, later, was appointed Governor of Malwa. He raised troops, marched on the Deccan and fought his way to independence in 1712. Golconda and Haidarabad submitted to him after the battle of Shakar Khera in Berar, in which Mubariz Khan, the Subedar of Haidarabad, was killed in 1724. He died in 1748 and was buried at Roza.

Nasir Jung, his son, ruled from 1748 to 1750. He also was buried at Roza. In his time Dupleix began to intrigue in Haidarabad and Nasir Jung marched on Pondicherry. He was killed by one of his own followers before he could achieve his object.

The next Nizam was Muzaffar Jung, the grandson of the previous Nizam, who succeeded in 1750. In the following year he was murdered and, through the persuasions of Bussy, his son Salabat Jung was put on the throne. In 1762 Salabat Jung was dethroned by his brother, Nizam Ali Khan, and confined at Bidar, where he died in 1763.

In 1763 Nizam Ali Khan came to the throne and reigned until 1803. He was succeeded by his son Sikandar Jah, who died in 1829 and was succeeded by his son, Nasir-ud-dowla.

Nasir-ud-dowla died in 1857, just at the commencement of the Indian Mutiny. On his deathbed he counselled his son, Afzul-ud-dowla to be friendly to the British as they had been friendly to the Nizam. Afzul-ud-dowla and his famous minister, Sir Salar Jung I, skillfully steered their ship through troubled waters. His Highness became known as "Our Faithful Ally."

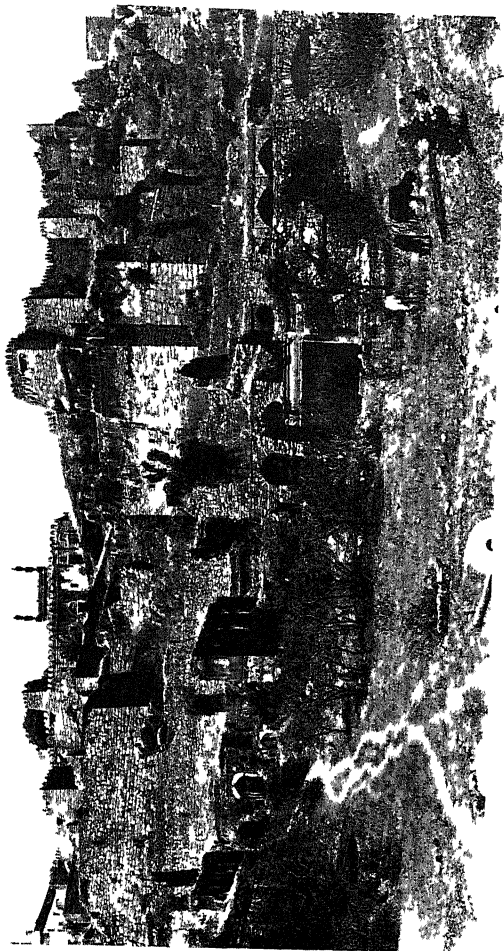
In 1869 Afzul-ud-dowla died and was followed by his son, Mir Mahbub Ali Khan. There was a Council of Regency until 1884. His Highness died in 1911.

The present ruler, His Exalted Highness Mir Osman Ali Khan Bahadur, succeeded his father in 1911.

* Cf. page 38.

† Cf. page 40.

PLATE IV



Fortifications Golconda

THE FORT.

Standing in a stony plain and protected by a girdle of hills, the sentinel fort has a striking and weird appearance. Logans or rocking stones, seen singly in Cornwall and Scotland, are scattered here in abundance. There is an Indian legend about them. After the Creator had finished his work of creation, he rolled up the superfluous material in his hands and dropped it haphazard on the earth. The gods of mythology amused themselves by piling up the fragments and balancing them, one on top of the other.

In the midst of this rugged confusion rises a hill 400 feet high, under whose shadow nestled the dwellings of the queens and princesses and the homesteads of their retainers, while its summit was crowned with the royal palaces. The fort seems to have been built to hold not only a garrison but also a people, as it did when Abul Hasan held out for eight months against the hosts of Aurangzeb. Its battered walls are witnesses to one of the most gallant struggles in Indian history.

In shape the fort is an irregular rhombus. It is surrounded by a glacis. The crenellated wall is of granite, more than three miles in circumference, broken by 87 bastions each of which boasts its own name. Some still carry pieces of Qutb Shahi ordnance bearing Persian inscriptions, with their breeches blown out and the spikes placed in them by Aurangzeb's soldiers. The portion on the north-east, known as the *Niya Qila*, was added in the 17th century by Abdulla Qutb Shah.

The crested ramparts intermingle bewilderingly, for there are really three forts one within the other. The outermost area is entered by the *Fateh darwaza*. About a thousand yards further in is the *Bala Hisar* gate, leading through the wall which surrounds the base of the hill and protects the citadel. Half way up the hill is the third wall, a natural defence made continuous by building between the huge boulders of the hill. Above this wall is the oldest part of the fort.

Formerly there were eight gates, *viz.*, the *Banjara*, *Jumali* and *Niya Qila* gates on the north-west; the *Fateh* and *Moti* gates on the east, the *Bamni* on the south, and the *Mecca* and *Putencheru* on the west. Now only four of these are in use—the *Jumali darwaza*, *Fateh darwaza*, *Mecca darwaza* and *Banjara darwaza*. Through the *Fateh darwaza* the Moguls entered the fort. Its massive doors are of teak studded with heavy spikes to resist the pressure of elephants.

Proceeding towards the *Bala Hisar* gate, over a wide road with dwelling houses and shops on each side, we see hundreds of cannon balls used in the siege, and pass the remains of palaces, baths, bazars, temples, mosques, barracks and magazines. These fallen fronts once sheltered riches and dainty favourites, learning and bronzed merchant venturers: in the empty halls music and high deliberation once reigned: the streets were once a mass of moving colour, gorgeous in tones as only oriental tints can be.

About a quarter of a mile from the *Fatch darwaza* is a road on the right taking off to the *Nau Mahal*, a group of palaces approached through a series of gardens, the majority of which were laid out by the early Nizams.

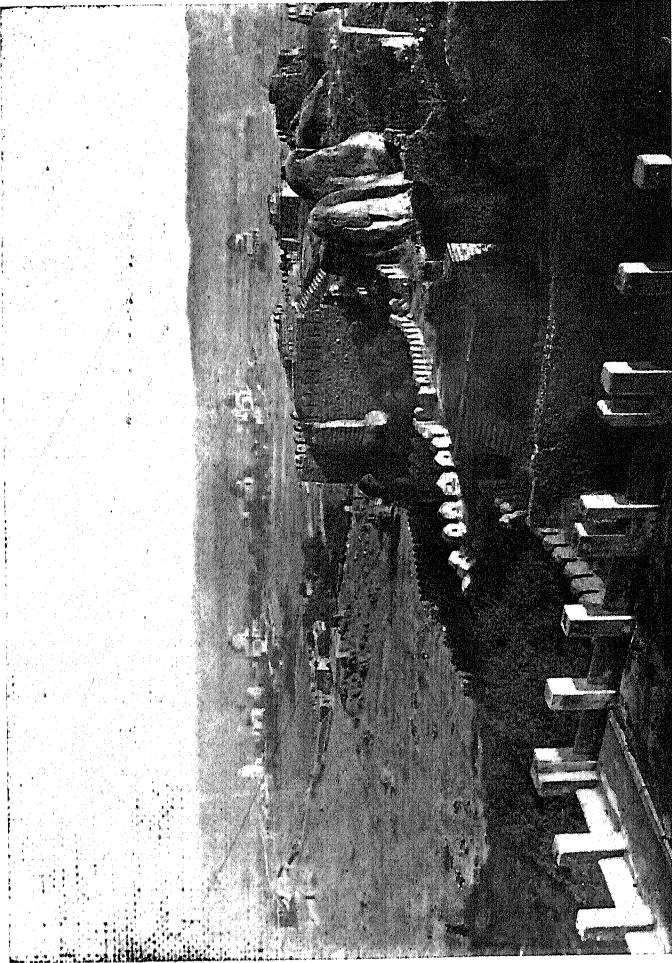
A little to the right of the *Bala Hisar* gate is the *Jam-i-Masjid*, with an inscription to the effect that it was erected by Sultan Quli Qutb Shah, the founder of the dynasty in 1518. Twenty-five years later he was assassinated in this mosque.

The higher area of the citadel is covered with the remains of armouries, magazines, mosques, *harems*, gardens, reservoirs, granaries, audience chambers. Over the *Bala Hisar* gate, which gives entrance to it, and on the side walls are carvings of griffins, lions and problematical animals, which indicate the Hindu origin of the citadel. There are similar carvings on other parts of the fort and citadel walls.

On the left of the gateway is a three-storied building of granite, the Armoury or *Silakhana*. It contains many old muskets that were used in the days of Aurangzeb. On the right are the quarters of the garrison in Qutb Shah times. These buildings continue some distance up the hill. Behind the *Silakhana*, well to the south, are the remains of the palaces of the sisters Tara Mati and Pai Mati, two famous Hindu ladies of the *harem*.

Following the pathway to the left the beginning of the ascent is soon reached. Proceeding upwards we pass, on the left, a large well, which may have been the water supply of the garrison in early times.

Further up is the *Ambar Khana* or king's treasure house. A block of granite in front bears a Persian inscription recording the fact that the building was completed by the efforts of Khairat Khan, the governor of the citadel, in 1642, in the time of Abdulla Qutb Shah. The vault itself may have been in existence centuries earlier. Here is the last line of fortifications



Golconda Fort and Tombs

Beyond is the oldest part of the whole fort, the real acropolis. A small mosque is to be seen, on the left, said to have been built by Ibrahim Qutb Shah. In close proximity stands a Hindu cave temple, which is pointed out as the temple of Madanna, Abul Hasan's ill-fated prime minister. As we proceed to the summit we pass the remains of another set of treasuries and magazines, and the ruins of granaries and the royal palaces are to be seen.

Where the crag is steepest stand the ruins of the royal apartments. A small gateway leads into the courtyard, and a few feet away a Hindu temple carved in rock still attracts its worshippers.

The hall of justice is on the left of the courtyard. A barren hall, resplendent in stereotyped whitewash and the scribblings of youthful visitors, it is difficult to imagine, even for a moment, anything of the gorgeous and magnificent scenes that must have attended the king's tribunals. At one corner is an opening, said to be the mouth of an underground passage to Gosha Mahal, five miles away.

Narrow staircases at either end of the hall lead to a flat roof, on which is built a stone throne ascended by ten steps. From this point of vantage one gets a grand view of the surrounding country for about thirty miles. Here the kings used to enjoy the cool evening breeze, and here Abul Hasan watched with mingled apprehension and amusement the efforts of the Moguls to wrest from him his fortress capital, the last possession that remained to him of his vast dominions.

Passing to the west in our descent, we find both sides of the road strewn with the ruins of noblemen's palaces and the houses of their followers, mosques and other buildings. Many gardens are still intact. Near the lines of the Imperial Service Troops is a large stone cistern, which is credited to Ibrahim Qutb Shah. It is believed to date from 1560.

These are the ruins of Golconda's pleasant places. It was once a city of painted balconies, fretted windows and glistening minarets, with suggestions of Eastern mysteries in its by-ways. It had seen strange and sad things. Tender things too it had seen: young love and bridal mirth; it had echoed to the voices of children and been beloved as a dear home of forgotten hearts. Now it is a phantom town, rich only in memories of ancient fights and warring chieftains.

THE TOMBS.

The road to the tombs from Saifabad winds over an undulating plain for a few miles, before it reaches the gentle rise from which the cupolas tower forth in whiteness enhanced by the surrounding sombre landscape. It is a scene of pathetic desolation in comparison with its former grandeur, but there is something infinitely reposeful in the solitude, the width of the encircling ground, softened in the rains from wild and broken ruggedness to a verdant amenity. There are no busy figures intent on their small aims, no strife, no bitterness. The discords of life have come to rest amidst the pageant of nature: the benison of centuries hovers over the domes and works a spell of peace in which language gives place to the higher speech of thought.

The tombs and other buildings of the Qutb Shah kings mark the evolution of a new architectural form. South of the Narbada we find three distinct styles of Mahomedan architecture, the Bahmani style at Gulburga and Bidar, the Adil Shahi style at Bijapur and the Qutb Shahi style at Haidarabad and Golconda. The Bahmani style is the oldest (14th to 16th centuries) and is characterised by the magnificence and individuality of its bulidings. The Adil Shahi style flourished between the 15th and 17th centuries; for grandeur of conception and boldness of construction its buildings are unsurpassed in India. The Qutb Shahi style also belongs to the 16th and 17th centuries, but it shows signs of the decadence which was invading art in those days. It is a mixture of Persian, Pathan and Hindu forms, and being evolved on eclectic principles the lack of homogeneous development is often painfully apparent. There is some want of proportion. In some instances the domes are too large for the stybolates or bases, and the minarets are stunted; but the chief peculiarities of the style are the miniature decorative galleries encircling the minars and the profusion of stucco decoration, which does not harmonise well with the general solidity of the stone edifices.

All together, the tombs form a picturesque group, the oldest historical monuments in Haidarabad. They are mostly uniform in appearance, each standing in the centre of a raised quadrangular platform supporting an arcade of an equal number of pointed arches topped by a lofty flat terracc with a minaret at each corner. The arcades form a verandah which gives an appearance of bulk to the building. The body of the



Golconda Tombs

building rises 30 to 50 feet above the terrace and is surmounted by a balustrade flanked with minarets smaller than those on the terrace. From the centre of this balustrade springs the dome, set in an ornate cup of lotus lilies.

The principal material used was grey granite, embellished with stucco and encaustic glaze. Hunter says some of the tombs cost £ 150,000.

Originally there was a mosque to each tomb. The mosques afforded the privileges of sanctuary and were supported by revenues to maintain a priest at each mosque and provide one free meal a day to refugees and the neighbouring poor. Thevenot says "how criminal soever a man may be that can get into them, he is secure."

It will be convenient to take the tombs in order of position, beginning with the large one on the right outside the wall, and after entering the gateway turning to the right and working round to the left. The tombs have been marked A to T, in this order, on the plan.

A. This fine tomb indicates the resting place of the seventh king, Abdulla Qutb Shah, who died on the 1st May 1672. The terrace is 237 feet square and has 7 arches on each side of the corridor. There are rich cornices and parapets round the principal and other stories, and traces of blue, green and yellow enamel may be seen on some of the minarets. Standing in the musical silence which hovers beneath the dim vault one can understand why wandering kalendars, and enchanted princes of the "Thousand and one Nights" so often took repose in tombs (see page 17).

B. The next building, on the left just outside the gateway, is a melancholy torso of the unhappy king Abul Hasan, the last of his line, who was carried into captivity by Aurangzeb in 1687 and died 15 years later. He is buried at Roza. Each king, remembering his own impatience with his predecessor's vain glory, took care to build his own tomb in his lifetime. Abul Hasan could not finish his (see page 29).

C. Hayat Baksh Begum reposes under a monument similar to the tomb of her husband, marked G. The terrace is about 170 feet square, on which stands an arcade of 7 arches on each side. The entire height of the building is about 100 feet. Its peculiarity is that it is equal in size and grandeur to the tombs of the kings. She is the only lady so honoured

but then she was more than an oriental queen consort. She was the daughter of a king (Mahomed Quli Qutb Shah, 5th king), the wife of a king (Mahomed Qutb Shah, 6th king), and the mother of a king (Abdulla Qutb Shah, 7th king). Hayat Baksh Begum was a woman of strong character. Her influence over her husband was great, and she practically ruled the kingdom of her son until her death on the 24th February 1667. Thevenot says this lady was a Brahmin (see pages 16 and 26).

D. This mosque was constructed in 1666-7, in the reign of Abdulla Qutb Shah.

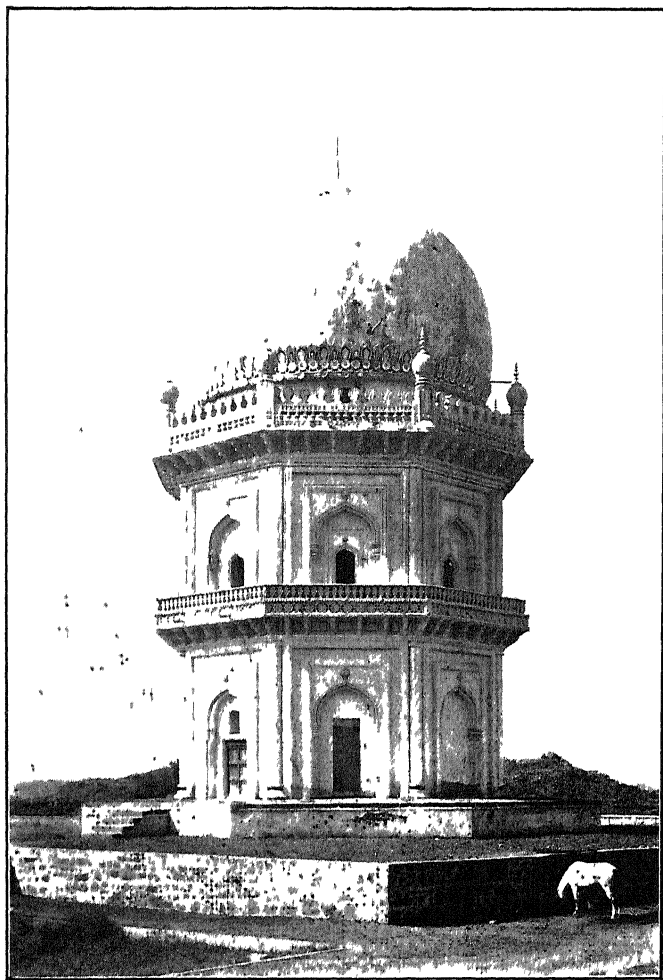
E. A memorial to Love. Pai Mati, who died in 1662-3, probably was a beautiful Hindu mistress of Abdulla Qutb Shah, the seventh king. We may conjecture that she was beautiful, for the modest little inscription on the lintel says, in Persian 'She was from an eternity a flower of paradise.' As we stand before this humble expression of man's love for woman, in the silence and silver solitude of an Indian evening, when the dull red tints of sunset are fading into tremulous starlight, it is easy to transmute leaden truth with our imagination into the finer metal wrought by art. There was a time, doubtless, when loving thought and care had made this simple little shrine seemly and beautiful. To-day it stands in barren poverty, with only the dignity that it has won from the kindly hand of nature. Unconsciously our thoughts wander to that "proud passion of an Emperor's love wrought into stone," irreproducible as the yearning which gave it birth. What a world of pathos there is in Shah Jehan's lament !

"She is dead, for the Mystic All-seeing
Has bidden her soul wing its flight
To His Realm, and the Sun of my Being
Is shrouded in infinite Night.

What are Empery, Riches, or Pleasure,
In a world whence Her spirit has fled ?
What is life, when bereft of its Treasure,
It's Love ? — My Beloved is dead.

All nations shall come, as of Duty,
To worship the path that She trod ;
To gaze on the shrine of Her beauty,
Who rests in the Garden of God.

I have pillowed thy tomb in the Thunders
Of Heaven, mine Arjumand, Sweet :
And Earth has unbosomed Her Wonders
To spread them abroad at Thy feet.



Tomb of Jamshid Quli Qutb Shah

“So sleep, loving Heart, for tomorrow
 Serafil his trumpet shall sound,
 And souls that have slumbered in Sorrow,
 Shall break from the desolate ground.

Then arise through the Domes of thy Prison,
 Outsoar the dominion of Fate;
 By the path where Love's incense has risen,
 Thou shall meet me at last, in the Gate.”

(Malcolm.)

It is a silver reed sounding a pure note of hope in the great diapason of farewell. It may be that Pai Mati, no Queen but still a “Flower of Paradise,” held as high court in a man's heart as did Arjumand now sleeping beneath the immortal Taj. Who can tell? Time is full of softenings and elisions: it throws a veil of idealism over the loves of men! Having recorded our tribute to Pai Mati's memory we pass on without further scrutiny, for Newton destroyed the poetry of the rainbow by reducing it to a prism.

F. The adjoining tomb bears no inscription. It is said to have been erected over Tara Mati, sister of Pai Mati.

G. Here we stand before the tomb of the sixth king, Mahomed Qutb Shah. He died on the 11th February 1626. There are six other graves inside, three large and three small, of his sons and daughters. One of the tombstones has been cracked by lightning. Undoubtedly this is the tomb described by Thevenot during his visit to Golconda in 1667. The floor was then covered with a costly carpet and on the tomb was a rich satin pall trailing on the ground. The interior was lighted by many lamps. All the king's books were inside, placed on folding seats. The whole of the dome was enamelled green (traces of which are still visible) and was surmounted by a large crescent pinnacle. This was a symbol of royalty to distinguish the tombs of kings from those of princes and retainers (see page 15).

In those days access to the tombs was not easy, as they were held sacred. The passing of time, says Thevenot, was announced by a *gari* or gong, “the ringer striking artfully and makes harmony with it.”

H. The mortuary is now used as a caravansary. When the kings died in Golconda, the bodies were brought out of the fort by the *Banjara* gate and were conveyed to this building to

be prepared for burial. The remains of the platform on which the bodies were washed, and of the cisterns for hot, cold and perfumed water, can still be seen by one who has the courage to face the penetrating odour of bats. From the mortuary the bodies were conveyed in all the pomp and circumstance of State to their last resting place, leaving behind them a wake of mourning hues. It is impossible not to feel the appeal of the associations that must have centred round this spot; the end of insurgent life; the legacy of faith and hope to those left behind, to pray with tenses voice for consolation from the sorrows of to-day and comfort for the uncertainties of to-morrow.

I. The tomb of the fifth king, Mahomed Quli Qutb Shah who died on the 17th December 1611, is the finest tomb in the group. It stands on a double terrace, the lower one 200 feet square, supported by a facade of 28 open arches on each side, and the upper terrace 126 feet square. The total height is 180 feet, one-third being that of the dome. The pilasters on each side of the portals are magnificent single blocks of granite, 22 feet high, that seem too slender to bear the weight they have upheld for three centuries. Here the actual grave can be seen in the crypt, covered by a plain tumulus of black stone: in other tombs the crypts have been built up.

Mahomed Quli was the king who founded Haidarabad (see page 13).

J. A simple little monument covers remains of the founder of the dynasty, Sultan Quli Qutb Shah, who was assassinated on the 4th September 1543. The black stone tomb has 7 plinths, some of which are inscribed along the sides with the Shiite *Dar'ud* or Confession of Faith, the *Aiyat-i-Kursi* or Throne Verse, and the *Sadaka Alla*, all extracts from the Quran. The record of the death is inscribed at the head and the foot on three plinths. In this connection we may remark that the style of writing in the majority of the inscriptions is either *Nasikh* (Arabic) or *Tughra*, but there are some examples of *Nastaliq* (Persian) script, and in one case the *Kufi* style is to be seen (see page 4).

There are also two graves together and one small one at the foot.

Out side, on the plinth, there are 21 uninscribed graves probably of dependents.



Tomb of Abdulla Qutb Shah

K. On the same plinth as J but bearing no inscription, is the monument known as *Chota Mulik ka Gumbaz* or tomb of the little king. It may be the tomb of Subhan Quli, the third king, who reigned for six months in 1550, when he was 7 years old. The dome is fluted.

L. The tomb of Jamshed Qutb Shah, the second king. He died in 1550 (see page 7).

M. This is believed to be the tomb of Kulsum Begum. We have no information about her. There are two large graves and one small one, all without epitaphs. The one to the west is supposed to be that of Kulsum Begum and the others those of her husband and little daughter.

N. The tomb of Ibrahim Qutab Shah, fourth king, who died on the 2nd June 1580, is the only one that retains to an appreciable extent traces of the coloured enamels that once adorned these monuments. Inside there are two graves, and outside sixteen graves of dependents, two of them being under a canopy (see page 9).

O. Ibrahim Qutb Shah's sixth son, Mirza Mahomed Amin, who died on the 25th April 1596 at the age of 25, was buried at this spot. There are two graves inside.

P. The enclosure on the north-east corner of King Ibrahim's tomb contains the grave of his Commander-in-Chief, Neknam Khan (*cf.*, page 18), who died on the 30th March 1673. At the head of the grave is a stone with an inscription to the effect that the revenues of the village of Mangalwaram near Golconda have been assigned in perpetuity to maintain lights at the grave and provide support for the attendants and reciters of the Koran.

Q and R are said to be the tombs of two favourite *hakims* or physicians of the sixth king, Mahomed Qutb Shah.

S. This tomb has no inscription, but legend says that it marks the last resting place of Mahomed, son of Khutb-ud-Din Ahmad, who died in 1612. We have no information of either father or son.

T. We are back at the first tomb on the left, as you enter the gateway. Inside there are three black basalt tumuli, two with headstones. One covers the remains of Zorabi, who died in 1625. The monument was erected by Fatima Bi, daughter of Mirza Mahomed Amin, and granddaughter of the fourth king.

We have completed our survey of these silent and solemn reminders of a dynasty which passed away about 300 years ago. There is a quiet tranquility, a solemn grandeur in this necropolis. It has witnessed scenes pentecostal in their variety, scenes of grace and charm, of grief and remorse. Once these domes enshrouded the dead in great splendour, rising from boskages of palm and cypress; and many an orison to the spirits of the departed was offered up by the needy poor, for according to Tavernier food was distributed at the tombs every evening at 4 o'clock. "When you wish to see something really beautiful," he says, "you should go to these tombs on the day of a festival, for then, from morning to evening, they are covered with rich carpets."

The luxury of former days has disappeared. The decline began with Aurangzeb who used them as quarters for his officers in 1687 and mounted guns on them to command the fort, and since then these monuments have passed through ages of utter neglect. Nothing but their solidity has preserved them. It was the good work of Sir Salar Jung I to arrest the progress of decay to some extent by clearing away the vegetation and laying out the grounds and building a wall around them.

But there still remains a spirit of that proud dynasty: it breathes in the night wind that sweeps over the dusky plains which stretch lazily out to meet the mountains and deny the passage of centuries.

ROUGH PLAN OF
GOLCONDA TOMBS

