

The garrison defended bravely, but when they found all further resistance helpless, the women under Rāni Karmavatī performed the *jauhar* and the soldiers rushed out of the fort and died fighting to a man (1535).

Chitor thus fell to Bahādur, but it is significant that the Muslim historians do not speak of his capturing any spoils. Possibly the treasures had been removed from the fort when Vikramāditya left it. However, soon Bahādur had to flee before the advancing Mughul army, and the Śīsodias recaptured Chitor, and Vikramāditya returned to his capital.

However, Vikramāditya had learnt nothing, and while the nobles were alarmed at his conduct of government, he took into his confidence, Vanavīr, the natural son of *Mahārānā* Sanga's eldest brother Prithvīrāj. He had been banished from Mewār by *Māhārānā* Sanga and had taken refuge at Gujarāt, but now finding the time propitious returned to Chitor. Soon he gained the confidence and favour of Vikramāditya and one day finding an opportunity murdered him (1536).

Vanavīr next went to the room of prince Uday Singh to murder the last rightful claimant to the throne. But here he was foiled by the devotion of a woman whose name has become a byword for loyalty. Uday Singh, at this time a boy of fourteen, was under the care of his childhood nurse Pānnā. As soon as Pānnā came to learn of Vikramāditya's murder, she managed to send Uday Singh out of the fort and placed on the bed her son who was of the same age. Soon after, the regicide entered the room, sword in hand, and asked Pānnā where Uday Singh was. Silently she pointed at the bed on which her son was sleeping, and Vanavīr murdered the boy. Pānnā then left Chitor and took Uday Singh to Kumbhalmer.

#### *Vanavīr (1536-1540)*

Vanavīr's usurpation lasted for about four years (1536-40). The Rājasthān chronicles are silent about his achievements, if indeed he had had any to his credit. His heinous deed and low origin must have made him odious to the proud nobles, and ultimately trouble broke out due to his crude insistence in proclaiming his equality with the high-born nobles by attempting to force them to eat the left-over food from his plate (*uchchishṭa*).

During this time, Pānnā had enlisted several nobles to Uday Singh's cause, and arranged his marriage with the daughter of Akhairāj. This added to Uday Singh's prestige and gave a lie to Vanavīr's propaganda that he was not the real prince. Uday Singh

then issued an appeal for help and soon not only the nobles of Mewār, but some other chieftains, too, joined under his banner.

Vanavīr sent an army to stop Uday Singh's progress. At a battle fought near Maholi, this army was routed, and Uday Singh proceeded towards Chitor, which surrendered after a brief resistance. There are conflicting reports about Vanavīr's end; according to some sources he died fighting, while others relate that he escaped into obscurity (1540).<sup>12</sup>

### *Uday Singh (1540-1572)*

The early years of Uday Singh's reign were spent in fruitless wars with Māldev of Mārwar. This struggle between Mewār and Mārwar may have been caused by an attempt to establish ultimate authority in Rājasthān, but the events which led to these wars were as petty as the battles were futile.

Rāo Māldev of Mārwar wanted to marry his beautiful sister-in-law, but her father objected and had her married to Uday Singh. A war followed in which Māldev was defeated.

However, Mewār and Mārwar soon after had to face a formidable foe, Sher Shāh. He first defeated Māldev, and then turned towards Chitor. While he was a few miles from Chitor, Uday Singh sent him the keys of the fort as a token of humble submission. This satisfied Sher Shāh, who left Mewār in virtual possession of the *Mahārānā*.<sup>13</sup>

Uday Singh's next war also concerned a woman. After Sher Shāh's death, his governor of Mewāt, Hājī Khān, driven away by the Mughuls, found refuge at Ajmer, where he was attacked by Māldev. He appealed for help to Uday Singh who immediately responded, and rescued Hājī Khān. Uday Singh, however, then demanded his price, which was the favourite mistress of the fugitive Afghān. He refused to surrender her, and made a bold stand with his few thousand followers, and defeated Uday Singh.

In spite of these seemingly stupid warfares, Uday Singh did turn his attention to establishing a second capital, and to excavating a lake which still bears his name. He had apparently understood the danger of staking the fortunes of his country on the defence of a fortress, which could not be defended in the face of a determined foe.

In the meantime, Akbar had ascended the throne (1556). Six years later, he married the daughter of Rājā Bharmal of Amber and his grandson, Mān Singh, joined the Mughul army. Thus began a

memorable policy as a result of which pilgrim tax on the Hindus was abolished in 1563 and the hated *jizya* in 1564. This undoubtedly ameliorated the condition of the Hindus within the empire, and won him the friendship, esteem and devotion of many Hindu chiefs of Rājasthān. But Akbar, unlike Sher Shāh, aimed at the complete subversion of the independence of Rājasthān.<sup>14</sup>

Abu-'l-Fazl's narration of the causes which led to the Mewār campaign are too naive and may be rejected.<sup>15</sup> It is definite, however, that Akbar started on his famous campaign in 1567, and on October 23 of the same year formed his camp near Udaipur. Within a month the investment of Chitor was complete.

According to Kavirāj Shyāmaldās, when Uday Singh received the news of Akbar's approaching invasion, he called a council of war. The nobles pointed out the condition of the army, which had not yet recovered from the Gujarāt wars, and was not in a condition to fight the Mughuls. They, therefore, advised the *Mahārānā* to take refuge, along with the princes, in the hills, leaving a garrison at Chitor. After some discussion, Uday Singh accepted the advice of his councillors, and leaving 8000 soldiers to guard Chitor, left for the hills, and ultimately reached Rājpipla, the capital of the Guhilots of Rewakanta.<sup>16</sup> Akbar sent Husain Qulī Khān to capture the *Mahārānā*, but he failed.<sup>17</sup>

It was found impossible to capture Chitor by assaults which were repulsed with heavy losses; so Akbar raised batteries and laid mines to breach the walls.

However, "on Tuesday, February 23, 1568, Akbar noticed at the breach a person wearing a chief's cuirass who was busy directing the defence." Akbar aimed at him and his shot struck the chief, who was Jaimal, the commander of the garrison.

According to the Muslim historians, Jaimal died and the other officers, despairing of success, had their women and children perform the right of *jauhar*, and opened the gates of the fort the next morning and died fighting.<sup>18</sup> According to Kavirāj Shyāmaldās, however, Jaimal was wounded in the leg, and called a council of war. He explained to them that the stores were exhausted, so it was preferable for the women and children to perform the *jauhar* and the men to fall on the enemy and die fighting.<sup>19</sup> Most probably, the provisions in the fort were exhausted, the Mughul preparations were almost complete, and on the top came Jaimal's accident. All these factors seem to have influenced the decision of the besieged generals.

During the night the women and children performed the *jauhar* rites. Akbar saw the flame which was explained to him by Bhagwān Dās, who warned that the Rājputs would open the gates and launch a final assault the next morning. So the Mughul army was alerted, and the next morning as the Rājputs opened the gates of the fort, the Mughuls rushed in.

Then followed a short but ferocious fighting till all the Rājput soldiers fell sword in hand (25 February, 1568). Akbar then gave the order for the mass execution of 30,000 non-combatants, for which all modern historians have condemned him. According to Kavirāj Shyāmaldās, however, out of 40,000 peasants who were in the fort, 39,000 had died fighting, and Akbar ordered the remaining 1000 to be executed.<sup>20</sup>

Akbar's Chitor campaign has been made memorable by Col. Tod's vividly imaginative description and its results have been unduly exaggerated. It is therefore necessary to remember that Akbar's primary aim was to force the *Mahārānā* into submission. Capture of Chitor was a means to achieve this end, but though he captured the fort, he failed in his main objective. Indirectly, however, he profited largely by the display of Mughul power. Ranthambhor capitulated next year (1569), and in 1570 Bikāner and Jaisalmer entered into matrimonial alliance with Akbar.<sup>21</sup> Thus the fabric of unity imposed on Rājasthān by Kumbha and Sanga, shattered at Khānua, disappeared for ever. Henceforth their proud descendants would struggle valiantly, but alone, not only against the Mughuls but also against the Rājputs. This is the measure of the greatness of two men—Akbar, who could transform the political situation in Rājasthān so that soon, in the words of his courtier Badāūnī, a Hindu would wield the sword of Islām,<sup>22</sup> and Pratāp, undaunted by the odds against him, would carry on the struggle.

Uday Singh survived the fall of Chitor by four years. He lived mostly at Kumbhalmer, and it was remarkable that Akbar never attempted to conquer the stronghold till much later. He died on 28 February, 1572.

It is difficult to form a proper estimate of Uday Singh's character. The historians of his country, the bards of Rājasthān, used to singing the valorous exploits of the warrior chieftains, had contempt for this man, whom fate had taught from early childhood that sometimes survival is as important as fighting, and under certain circumstances it can only be achieved by flight. Naturally he suffers in comparison with his great father and greater son, but this man, who by no account was a hero, refused to surrender to

the Mughuls, while the other chiefs of Rājasthān were sending their daughters to the Mughul *harem*.<sup>23</sup>

*Pratāp Singh (1572-1597)*

Uday Singh left twenty wives and twenty-five sons, of whom the eldest was Pratāp Singh. Before his death, however, he nominated his ninth son Jagmal as his successor. Jagmal actually ascended the throne while Pratāp and the other nobles went to perform the funeral rites of the deceased monarch.<sup>24</sup> On their return, however, the nobles forced Jagmal to abdicate and offered the throne to the rightful successor, Pratāp Singh, and he accepted it. Jagmal went to Ajmer, joined Akbar, and received a portion of Sirohī, but later died fighting with its rightful chieftain.

*Mahārānā* Pratāp Singh ascended the throne on 1 March, 1572, and the famous battle of Haldīghāt was fought in June, 1576. We do not know what measures he adopted to meet the Mughul menace during these four years of real peace which he was to enjoy as a king. If, however, his later operations are any indication, he utilized this period to consolidate his regime and prepare for the inevitable struggle. We have therefore to anticipate the future events in order to form an idea of his activities during this period.

The Mewār army at the battle of Haldīghāt was quite formidable and in every way a match for the Mughul army. Evidently long time must have been spent to raise and equip this army, and get the support of Afghāns like Hakīm Sūr Pathān, who fought for Mewār at Haldīghāt. But even more important was gaining the support of the Bhīls, who from now on steadfastly helped the *Mahārānās* of Mewār, and made possible the guerilla warfare after the battle of Haldīghāt.<sup>25</sup> This broad imaginative policy not only served the cause of Mewār's independence, but made its young king a real national leader. One can only imagine the flush of enthusiasm among the Bhīls when for the first time they were recognized as fighting partners by the proud ruling Kshatriyas.

During this period the *Mahārānā* was also planning the war against the Mughuls. It is remarkable that after the battle of Haldīghāt, Mān Singh could find no trace of the *Mahārānā*, his family or his nobles. Actually when Mān Singh reached Gogunda, *Mahārānā's* temporary capital, the day after the battle, the town was deserted, and soon the supply of the Mughul army was cut off and the soldiers had to subsist mainly on fruits. It is no doubt possible that from the battlefield the *Mahārānā* had rushed to Gogunda, collected his family, found out an inaccessible hide-out, and then col-

lected his men and begun to harass the Mughul army. It is, however, not unlikely that the *Mahārānā* had carefully planned his course of action in case he lost the battle of Haldīghāt. That is, he had learnt not to stake a kingdom on the outcome of a single battle, and this alone can satisfactorily explain the reason of his leaving the field before the battle was over at Haldīghāt.<sup>26</sup>

Another point is the *Mahārānā's* consolidation of his financial resources. Tod has given wide currency to the story that after the battle of Haldīghāt, he was fleeing from one place of concealment to another in conditions of abject poverty. MM. Ojha has shown that these stories are myths. Not only the *Mahārānā* but Amar also had enough financial resources to continue the struggle till 1614. It is remarkable indeed, as MM. Ojha points out, that though Chitor was occupied by Bahādur and later by Akbar, no Muslim historian describes any treasure having fallen into their hands. The obvious inference is that Uday Singh had secreted the wealth accumulated by Kumbha and Sanga and the *Mahārānā* made judicial use of it.<sup>27</sup>

It may thus be concluded, that from 1572 to 1576, the *Mahārānā* attempted to consolidate his position, marshal his resources, build an army and make adequate arrangements for defence in case the Mughuls defeated his field force. As long as Akbar sent him diplomatic missions, he behaved with them correctly, but refused to surrender any of his sovereign rights.<sup>28</sup> Akbar therefore decided to declare war against him, and selected Mān Singh as the commanding general.<sup>29</sup>

The battle of Haldīghāt was fought on 21 June, 1576. The *Mahārānā* had originally taken his position in the *ghati* which could be reached by a narrow and rugged path about a mile and a half long. Mān Singh waited for him in the plain below, and in the morning of 21 June the *Mahārānā* came out and attacked the Mughul army. As Mān Singh had arranged his army in battle array, it is evident that the *Mahārānā's* attack had lost the element of surprise. Still, in the first flush of attack, his army practically broke through the Mughul army, but the rout was stopped by Mān Singh and a few intrepid officers. There was a personal encounter between the *Mahārānā* and Mān Singh. But while Mān Singh, on an elephant, ducked and avoided the *Mahārānā's* javelin, Pratāp's famous horse, Chetak, which had placed its forelegs on Mān Singh's elephant was struck by the sword which the huge beast carried in its trunk. Chetak immediately turned and fled, and with his last breath carried his master out of danger.

The *Mahārānā's* army seems to have followed him, but we do not hear of captives. The total number of dead was, according to

Badāūnī, five hundred, of whom 120 were Muslims and the rest Hindus. As considerable number of Hindus fought on the Mughul side, it would appear that the casualties on each side were almost equal.

The day was so hot that pursuit of the Mewār army was impossible. Next day Mān Singh occupied Gogunda, the *Mahārānā's* temporary capital. The town had already been evacuated, still about twenty soldiers who had been left to guard the palace and the temple died fighting to satisfy their honour. "The Amirs, as security against a night-attack on the part of the Rana, barricaded the streets and drew a trench and a wall of such a height that horsemen could not leap over it, round the city of Kokandah, and then settled down quietly."<sup>30</sup> But the danger to the Mughul army came from another side. The *Mahārānā* cut all supplies to Gogunda, and soon they were reduced to living on meat and mangoes.

Akbar was not satisfied with the results of the battle. He was vexed with Mān Singh for "having abandoned the pursuit of the Rana, and so allowing him to remain alive."<sup>31</sup> Later (September, 1576) when "news arrived of the distressed state of the army of Kokandah (Gogunda), the emperor sent for Mān Singh, Āsaf Khān and Qāzī Khān, to come alone from that place and on account of certain faults which they had committed, he excluded Mān Singh and Āsaf Khān (who were associated in treachery) for some time from the court."<sup>32</sup>

Though Mān Singh was restored to favour, the condition in Mewār being far from satisfactory, Akbar himself left for Gogunda from Ajmer on 11 October, 1576, with a large army.<sup>33</sup> But before he left, "the roads of ingress and egress from the Rānā's country were closed."<sup>34</sup> The *Mahārānā* retired before the Mughul army into the hills and Qutb-ud-dīn Khān, Rājā Bhagwān Dās, Mān Singh and other imperial officers were sent in pursuit to capture him. As Nārāyan Dās of Īdar had joined the *Mahārānā*, another army was sent against him. Īdar was occupied after a stubborn fight.<sup>35</sup>

Akbar himself came to Mohi (near Nāthdwāra) and appointed officers to guard that place and Madariya (near Chitor). "Similarly, brave men were appointed to other places in order that whenever that wicked strife-monger (Rānā Partāb) should come out of the ravines of disgrace, he might suffer retribution."<sup>36</sup> But the army which was sent against the *Mahārānā* was unsuccessful, and its two commanders, namely, Qutb-ud-dīn Khān and Rājā Bhagwān Dās returned to Akbar who was at this time in Udaipur. They were at first censured but later pardoned,<sup>37</sup> and soon after another

force was despatched to Gogunda under Bhagwān Dās, Mān Singh, Mīrzā Khān (the future Khān Khānān) and others. Presumably the *Mahārānā* had recaptured Gogunda. However, Abu-'l-Fazl adds: "By the great attention of the Shāhinshāh that country was cleared from the thorn-brake of rebellion, and adorned by just subjects."<sup>38</sup> But from subsequent events it appears that this expedition, though it may have cleared the Gogunda region for the time being, had produced little effect on the adversary.

Apparently, after occupying the Gogunda region the commanders returned to the court but Akbar could not be satisfied so long as the *Mahārānā* was not captured or killed. So in March, 1578,<sup>39</sup> he sent another army under the overall command of Shāhbāz Khān, *Mīr Bakshi*, to capture the fort of Kumbhalgarh, where the *Mahārānā* was living at the time. Shāhbāz Khān sent back to court Rājā Bhagwān Dās and Mān Singh, and unexpectedly arrived near the fort,<sup>40</sup> and occupied Kelwara, a town about three miles from Kumbhalgarh and at the foot of the mountain. According to Abu-'l-Fazl, "a large gun inside the fort burst, and the harvest of his (*Mahārānā's*) equipment was reduced to ashes."<sup>40a</sup> The fort fell on 4 April, 1578, and even he describes the gallant fight put up by the Rājputs. But the *Mahārānā* had already left the fort. Next day Shāhbāz Khān captured Gogunda and at midnight Udaipur. Apparently, these places were not defended.<sup>41</sup>

Shāhbāz Khān returned a few months later but was again sent with several other officers and "much treasure" against the *Mahārānā* who, as Abu-'l-Fazl puts it, "had raised the head of turbulence."<sup>42</sup> From this campaign Shāhbāz Khān returned after March, 1581, and apparently reported that the *Mahārānā's* power had been crushed for ever.<sup>43</sup>

By the end of 1584, however, the *Mahārānā* had succeeded in regaining his lost territories to such an extent that another expedition had to be sent under Rājā Jagannāth.<sup>44</sup> Abu-'l-Fazl's description of this campaign is more vague than usual, but from his statement that, "though there was no victory, yet the oppressed were relieved," it is permissible to conclude that some relief was given to the scattered Mughul garrisons, but the *Mahārānā's* activities could not be curbed. Late in 1585, Jagannāth attempted to surprise the *Mahārānā*, but the latter got timely information, and when Jagannāth reached his residence, he found it empty. But Abu-'l-Fazl, curiously enough, remarks: "From foresight they (the raiding party) did not judge it proper to return by the same way, and so proceeded towards Gujarāt."<sup>45</sup> This indicates that the mountain

passes and roads were under *Mahārānā's* control to such an extent as to strike terror in the Mughul army.

This was practically the last expedition undertaken during Akbar's reign against the *Mahārānā*.

The most powerful monarch of the world relentlessly attempted to destroy one man, and he braved all adversities to emerge triumphant. It is related in the Rājasthān chronicles that the *Mahārānā* adopted extreme measures to deny the Mughuls all forms of provisions. Death was the penalty for anyone who cultivated land for supplying the Mughul army. The result of this order was that the peasants left Mewār, and the Mughul garrisons had to get their provisions from Ajmer. It is related that a Mughul garrison commander induced a peasant to grow some vegetables for him. At night the *Mahārānā* went there and executed the man.<sup>46</sup> The Rājasthān chronicles also tell of many exploits of the *Mahārānā* and his officers. Of these the most notable was 25 lacs of *rupees* and 20,000 *ashrafis* looted from Mālwa.<sup>47</sup> On another occasion, Prince Amar Singh attacked a Mughul camp and captured the wife of the Khān Khānān, but after treating her with due honour returned her to her husband.<sup>48</sup>

These incidents are not corroborated by any Mughul source, which is not surprising. Nor do the Mughul historians give any account of the *Mahārānā's* activities for gradually extirpating the Mughul garrisons, and freeing his country from the invaders, so that before his death, all Mewār except Ajmer, Chitor and Mandalgarh was in his hands. But the country was devastated, first, by a decade of constant fighting and deliberate destruction by the Mughul army, and secondly by the *Mahārānā's* stern order, according to the Rājput chronicles, for not cultivating the land. We may also imagine that a large number of people died of hunger, malnutrition and disease, and many peasants must have left Mewār and settled in peaceful neighbouring countries. These effects were felt keenly in the next reign.

It is related that one day while hunting, the *Mahārānā* struck his own bow and was wounded. This wound proved to be fatal, and he died on 11 *Māgh Shukla*, 1653 V.S. (29 January, 1597), at the age of fifty-eight.<sup>49</sup>

Thus died the greatest hero of medieval India, the bravest of the brave whose sturdy frame was exhausted by almost two decades of constant fighting. We may here quote V. Smith's fitting epitome of his reign: "The emperor desired the death of the Rānā and the absorption of his territory in the imperial dominions. The

Rānā, while fully prepared to sacrifice his life if necessary, was resolved that his blood should never be contaminated by intermixture with that of the foreigner, and that his country should remain a land of freemen. After much tribulation he succeeded, and Akbar failed.”<sup>50</sup>

*Amar Singh (1597-1620)*

*Mahārānā* Pratap had eleven queens and seventeen sons, of whom the eldest, Amar Singh, succeeded him. His was a proud legacy, but beset with innumerable difficulties. He had to fight the Mughuls and at the same time maintain a machinery of administration which alone could provide him the means to prosecute the struggle for freedom. Ultimately he had to compromise, but that does not tarnish his honour.

Amar Singh began his reign by introducing certain necessary administrative reforms mainly intended to strengthen his hands against too powerful nobles.<sup>51</sup> But soon he had to face the enemy. Akbar sent an army under Prince Salīm and Mān Singh in 1600.<sup>52</sup> But Salīm failed to accomplish anything, due, possibly, as Abu'l-Fazl remarks, to his indolence. Soon after, Salīm rebelled, and after his reconciliation with Akbar he was again entrusted with the conquest of Mewār. In October, 1603,<sup>53</sup> on the *Dussera* day, Akbar sent him off from Āgra at the head of a well-equipped army. But arriving near Fathpur Sīkrī, Salīm began to send demands for more troops and equipments, and ultimately gave up the venture. Thus we see that Akbar did not give up the idea of the destruction of the *Mahārānā* from any chivalrous motive, but because of commitments elsewhere and the failure of his son. Still he made one more attempt to crush his old enemy. Towards the end of his reign, he invested Sāgar, a son of *Mahārānā* Uday Singh, with the title of *Rānā* and designed to set him on the throne of Chitor.<sup>54</sup> Akbar was actually preparing to send a force under Khusrav to instal Sāgar, but before this could be done, he died.<sup>55</sup>

For reasons not difficult to guess, Jahāngīr, immediately after his accession, sent his son Parvīz to conquer Mewār. Parvīz, who had with him 20,000 horse, was aided by several experienced commanders such as Āsaf Khān and others, and Sāgar, the pretender, also accompanied him. Jahāngīr's instructions to Parvīz were: "If the Rana himself, and his eldest son who is called Karan, should come to wait upon you (Parviz) and proffer service and obedience, you should not do any injury to his territory."<sup>56</sup> It is interesting to note here, that three cousins of Mān Singh and grandsons of

Bhagwān Dās, at this time were plotting to join Amar, but their plans leaked and Jahāngīr ordered them to be arrested. All of them died resisting arrest.<sup>57</sup>

Some time in March, 1606, came the news that Parvīz had succeeded in dislodging Amar from Mandal.<sup>58</sup> But then Khusrav's rebellion broke out and Jahāngīr ordered Parvīz to return to the capital leaving the direction of the campaign in the hands of officers.<sup>59</sup> However, before Jahāngīr's letter of recall had reached Parvīz, Amar opened negotiations on the basis that instead of himself and his eldest son Karna, one of his younger sons should wait upon Parvīz, and due to the exigencies of the situation Parvīz agreed, and brought Bagha Singh, a younger son of Amar, with him and presented him to Jahāngīr at Lahore.<sup>60</sup> However, nothing seems to have come out of Bagha Singh's visit for, soon after, Jahāngīr appointed Mu'izz-ul-Mulk *bakshi* of the army against the *Mahārānā* and sent him there.<sup>61</sup>

Nothing, however, came out of these expeditions. According to the Rājasthān chronicles, Parvīz had set up Sāgar at Chitor as the Rānā, but he could attract only a few followers, and ultimately had to leave Chitor ignominiously.<sup>62</sup> So in 1608, Jahāngīr selected Mahābat, one of the most famous Mughul generals, to lead an expedition against the *Mahārānā*. Mahābat had under him 12,000 horse, 500 *ahdis*, 2000 musketeers, with an artillery of 70 to 80 guns mounted on elephants and camels. Two million rupees were ordered to be sent with this army.<sup>63</sup> Mahābat's rank was also raised and he was honoured with a robe of honour, a horse, a special elephant and a jewelled sword.<sup>64</sup>

Evidently, Mahābat Khān's campaign was unsuccessful, and he was recalled in March, 1609, and 'Abdullah Khān, who was exalted with the title of "Fīrūz-jang" sent in his place.<sup>65</sup> The Rājasthān sources claim that a night attack took Mahābat Khān completely by surprise and he had to flee leaving his camp and equipment which were looted by the Mewār soldiers.<sup>66</sup>

'Abdullah opened his campaign with some initial success, and occupied Chavand and Merpur.<sup>67</sup> His rank was raised to 5000 personal.<sup>68</sup> He was, however, sent as governor of Gujarāt in 1611 and at his request Rājā Basu was appointed to the command of the Mughul army in Rājasthān. But apparently he also did not meet with any striking success.<sup>69</sup> He was recalled and Khān A'zam Mīrzā 'Aziz Koka sent in 1613 to replace him.

Khān A'zam apparently felt the need of assistance, so at his instance Jahāngīr sent Khurram with 12,000 horse to take the nomi-

nal command against the *Mahārānā* and himself advanced to Ajmer to "defeat and beat back the rebel Rana Amar Singh."<sup>70</sup> Soon, however, the old courtier fell out with Khurram, and Jahāngīr's remonstrations being of no avail, Khān A'zam was recalled and Khurram left in charge of the operations. Some time before March, 1614, Khurram obtained some notable success against the *Mahārānā* and sent Jahāngīr seventeen captured elephants including one called "Ālam-gumān, of which the Rānā was very fond."<sup>71</sup>

About Khurram's campaign, Jahāngīr writes: "My son of lofty fortune, Sultan Khurram, by dint of placing a great many posts, especially in some places where most people said it was impossible to place them on account of the badness of the air and water and the wild nature of the localities, and by dint of moving the royal forces one after another in pursuit, without regard to the heat or excessive rain, and making prisoners of the families of the inhabitants of that region, brought matters with the Rānā to such a pass that it became clear to him that if this should happen to him again he must either fly the country or be made prisoner."<sup>72</sup>

From the Rājasthān chronicles it is learnt that the condition of the Mewār army was desperate. All provisions and sources of supply were exhausted, and there was even a shortage of weapons. For food they mostly had to depend on fruits. But what hurt them most was, as Jahāngīr relates, Khurram's inhuman practice of making prisoners of the women and children. Shyāmaldās relates that one day the nobles represented to the crown-prince, Karna, that they had been fighting for forty-seven years, under hard conditions. Now they were without food, dress or even weapons, and the Mughuls were capturing their children and forcing them to become dancing girls or slaves. They were prepared to die; each family had lost at least four members in the war; still they would fight, but it seemed to them that even their death could not prevent their family honour from being stained; it was therefore preferable to come to some arrangement with the Mughuls, on the basis of Karna's personal submission to the Mughul Emperor. As in the Mewār order of precedence, the crown-prince occupies a position lower than that of the chief nobles, such submission would not be too dishonourable. Karna agreed with the nobles, but according to Shyāmaldās, he was afraid that Amar would not entertain any proposal of initiating peace talks. So it was decided to send two nobles, namely, Subhakarna and Jhālā Haridās to Khurram without the knowledge of the *Mahārānā*.<sup>73</sup>

Khurram immediately sent the two Mewār envoys to Ajmer with his personal *diwān*, Mullā Shukra-Ullah and his *major-domo*,

Sundardās, who, after the treaty with the *Mahārānā* was concluded, were honoured with the title of Afzal Khān and Rāy Rāyān. Jahāngīr readily ratified the terms and issued a *farmān* with the mark of his palm.<sup>74</sup> Khurram sent the *farmān* to Amar, and according to Shyāmaldās it was at this time that he came to learn that the nobles headed by Karna had been negotiating with the Mughuls. The *Mahārānā* at last realized the realities of the situation and accepted the terms.<sup>75</sup>

On 18 February, 1614, Amar with some of his nobles visited Khurram and gave him a large ruby and seven elephants.<sup>76</sup> Khurram, in return, gave him a "superb dress of honour, a jewelled sword, a horse with a jewelled saddle, and a private elephant with silver housings," and the *Mahārānā's* hundred nobles who had accompanied him received one hundred robes of honour, fifty horses and twelve jewelled daggers.<sup>77</sup> After Amar had left, Prince Karna arrived at Khurram's camp, and received various presents. The same day Khurram and Karna started for Ajmer.

Jahāngīr received Karna as gracefully as possible, and tried to soothe his feelings by heaping on him all kinds of presents. Hardly a day passed when he did not give the Prince some present as a token of his favour.<sup>78</sup> Karna even had the unique honour of being present in the "darbar in the female apartments" when Nūr Jahān presented him a rich dress of honour, a jewelled sword, a horse and saddle, and an elephant.<sup>79</sup> In addition to what Khurram and Nūr Jahān gave him, Karna received from Jahāngīr cash and jewellery worth 200,000 rupees, besides 110 horses, five elephants and ten Arabian hunting dogs.<sup>80</sup> After Karna left, his son Jagat Singh, then a boy of twelve, came to represent him while Jahāngīr was still in Ajmer, and Jahāngīr had to be satisfied with that.<sup>81</sup>

Shyāmaldās compares the Mughul-Mewār war with the Anglo-Afghān war, and in many respects the comparison is an apt one. The *Mahārānā* regained the whole of Mewār, parts of which ever since the days of Uday Singh had been under the Mughuls. The only restriction to his sovereignty was that the fort of Chitor could not be repaired. The obligation on the *Mahārānā's* part was to send a contingent of troops, but it was sent on rare occasions. *Mahārānā* Pratāp had fought for independence; his son retained the substance of independence by sacrificing some of its external attributes. In exchange, he gained the much-needed peace to restore the country to the level of civilized existence and gather strength for *Mahārānā* Rāj Singh to fight against Aurangzīb. It has sometimes been questioned whether *Mahārānā* Pratāp would have accepted

this treaty; it is equally open to question as to whether Akbar would ever have offered such terms. As Shyāmaldās remarks, the land between Chitor and Udaipur was soaked with the blood of Mewār and Mughul heroes. Both sides were eager to come to terms, and the treaty does honour to both the parties who can claim to have displayed statesmanship of the highest order.

The remaining years of Amar Singh's reign were uneventful. It is said that he felt the insult of accepting a Mughul *farmān* so keenly, that he retired to his private chamber, leaving the administration in the hands of the heir-apparent, Karna. He died on 26 January, 1620.<sup>82</sup>

#### *Karna Singh (1620-1628)*

Karna was in charge of the administration during his father's reign when it had been his endeavour to resettle the villages and set up again the regular administrative machinery by appointing local officials. He also took in hand the reconstruction of palaces and temples. In short, his entire energy was applied to improving the condition of war-devastated Mewār, and in this he was highly successful.

His relations with the Mughul court continued to be normal till the outbreak of Khurram's rebellion in 1622. It appears that his brother Bhīm Singh, who was possibly serving under Khurram in the Deccan, joined the Prince at the outbreak of the rebellion.<sup>83</sup> Bhīm Singh was one of the chief lieutenants of Khurram during the rebellion. He captured Patna and later died fighting gallantly at the battle of Jaunpur.<sup>84</sup>

After his defeat at the battle fought near Bilochpur (1623), Khurram entered Rājasthān and plundered Amber. His subsequent movement till he reached Māndū is not recorded by any Muslim historian, but the Rājasthān chronicles record that Karna granted him asylum at Udaipur, where he stayed for about four months.<sup>85</sup>

After Jahāngīr's death, Shāh Jahān returned to Āgra via Gogunda where he met Karna and valuable gifts were exchanged (1 January, 1628). As usual, Shāh Jahān's gifts were costly. The *Mahārānā's* younger brother, Arjun Singh, accompanied Shāh Jahān to Āgra. A few months later Karna died (March, 1628).

#### *Jagat Singh<sup>86</sup> (1628-1652)*

We do not know Karna's motive in helping the rebel Khurram. However, with the accession of his son Jagat Singh a change is per-

ceptible in the policy of Mewār. Jagat Singh started his reign by interfering energetically in the affairs of Deolia, with the result that Shāh Jahān ultimately intervened and restored it to its rightful owner. Jagat Singh then sent an expedition to Dungarpur which sacked the capital. He also sent forces to bring Sirohī and Bānswārā under his control. To please Shāh Jahān he sent him a mission with some presents, and this seems to have served its purpose. But under the terms of the treaty he had to maintain 1000 troops with the Mughul army, and this he did after several reminders. However, in direct contravention of the terms of the treaty he began to repair the fort of Chitor. Thus it appears that Mewār was again preparing to renew the struggle.

Jagat Singh is famous in the annals of Rājasthān for his charity and building activities. He died on 10 April, 1652.

#### *Raj Singh (1652-1680)*

*Mahārānā* Rāj Singh succeeded his father, Jagat Singh, in 1652 at the age of twenty-three. He was duly recognized by Shāh Jahān but very soon friction arose over the repair of Chitor fort. As has been stated above, Jagat Singh had started the repair work which was taken up after his death by Rāj Singh. Possibly both Jagat Singh and Rāj Singh counted on the gratitude of Shāh Jahān, but the emperor of Delhi was quite a different man from the fugitive prince. He left Delhi on 24 September, 1654, to visit Ajmer, and from there sent Sa'dullāh Khān with an army of 30,000 troops to Chitor, and ordered Shāyista Khān to be ready to come to Mewār in case of necessity, and Aurangzīb to post his son Muhammad with 1000 soldiers at Mandasor. But Rāj Singh submitted, and Sa'dullāh Khān completed the destruction of Chitor's fortifications without any opposition.<sup>87</sup> In the meantime, Rāj Singh sought the protection of Dārā, who was possibly instrumental in inducing Shāh Jahān to send to Mewār a Brāhmin envoy called Chandra Bhān.<sup>88</sup> It appears from Chandra Bhān's reports to Shāh Jahān that the *Mahārānā's* faults had been to have repaired Chitor, to have appointed in Mewār service persons who had left the imperial service without permission, and to have failed to maintain at full strength the contingent of 1000 soldiers which under the treaty Mewār had to supply to the imperial army. The result of Chandra Bhān's diplomatic mission was that the *Mahārānā* sent his eldest son, aged about six years, to wait on Shāh Jahān. Shāh Jahān gave the young prince the usual presents and named him Saubhāgya Singh, but took away from Mewār certain districts and attached these to Ajmer.<sup>89</sup>

Rāj Singh could not forget this disgrace which at that time he was unable to wipe off. But his opportunity came a few years later when Shāh Jahān fell ill (6 September, 1657) and his sons rebelled. On the *Dussera* day (18 October, 1657) the *Mahārānā* began to prepare his army, and in November, advancing from Udaipur, sacked Khairabād, and imposed levies on Mandal, Pur, Banera, Shāhpur and several other places which were included in the Mughul dominion.<sup>90</sup>

Soon after, the rebel Aurangzīb started a correspondence with the *Mahārānā*, and seems to have received his tacit support in exchange for a promise to restore to Mewār the four districts which Shāh Jahān had taken away from him.<sup>91</sup> When Aurangzīb occupied Āgra after the battle of Sāmogarh, the *Mahārānā* sent his son Sūltān Singh,<sup>92</sup> to wait on him. Aurangzīb received the prince very graciously and gave him the usual presents, but what is more important he issued a *farmān* bestowing on the *Mahārānā* the districts of Badnaur, Mandalgarh, Dungarpur, Bānswārā, Basabar and Gyāspur. The *Mahārānā*'s rank was also raised to 6000 of which 1000 personal was also *do aspa* and *se aspa*.<sup>93</sup> Soon Dārā pathetically appealed in vain to the *Mahārānā* for help.<sup>94</sup>

But an incident happened (1660) within a few years of the accession of Aurangzīb which changed the relation between the two. Princess Chārumatī of Kishangarh, also known as Rūpamatī, was betrothed by her brother to Aurangzīb. She, however, hated the idea of marrying a Muslim and wrote to Rāj Singh to rescue her. Accordingly Rāj Singh came with his army, and forced her brother to marry her to him. Aurangzīb's reaction to this was to detach Gyāspur and Basabar from Mewār and assign them to Raval Hari Singh of Deolia. The *Mahārānā* appealed against this decision, but it had no effect.<sup>95</sup> It is apparent that Rāj Singh accepted the decision of Aurangzīb, and this incident did not lead to any conflict as is sometimes supposed, but this took place in consequence of Aurangzīb's attitude towards Mārwar.

## II. MĀRWĀR

After the death of Mahārājā Jasvant Singh in December, 1678, Aurangzīb appointed Muslim officers to administer Mārwar and on 9 January, 1679, himself set out for Ajmer to supervise the annexation of the Rāthor State. High officials were sent to capture the treasures of the late Mahārājā and destroy the temples. No resistance was offered to these acts of vandalism, possibly because the Rāthor officers who were capable of defending their country were serving with their king in Jamrud and were at this time escorting

two of Jasvant's widows, who were *enceinte* at the time of his death. The two queens gave birth to two posthumous sons at Lahore, and the news reached Aurangzib on 26 February, 1679. The Rāthor ministers pleaded in vain for the recognition of the succession of Jasvant's new born son Ajit, to his father's dominion, the other son having died a few days after birth. Aurangzib paid no heed to these appeals, but having completed the arrangements for the occupation of Mārwar returned from Ajmer to Delhi on 12 April, 1679, and on that day reimposed the *jizya* on the Hindus after a century of abeyance.<sup>96</sup> On 26 May, in return for a succession fee of 36 lakhs of rupees Indra Singh, a grand-nephew of Jasvant, was invested as the Rājā of Jodhpur, but the Mughul administrators and generals were retained there.

In the meantime, the faithful Rāthors brought their infant king and his mother to Delhi (June, 1679) and represented his cause to Aurangzib. Aurangzib ordered the infant Ajit to be brought up in his *harem* with a promise that he would be admitted to the Mughul peerage when he came of age, and, according to one contemporary historian, offered the throne to Ajit on condition that he became a Muslim.<sup>97</sup>

The Rāthors, who claimed to be the descendants of the great Rāshtrakūṭas, were seized with consternation, but it was in this hour of peril that they proved their noble descent. Fortunately they were guided by a brave hero of sturdy spirit, namely Durgā Dās, son of Jasvant's minister Askaran. With the chivalry and courage of his ancestors he added a genius for organisation and statecraft worthy of a Mughul minister. He saw through Aurangzib's wretched diplomatic promise, and begged for delay promising to present Ajit to the court when he came of age. Soon Aurangzib lost patience and on 15 July sent the Provost of Delhi and the Captain of the imperial guards to seize the queens and Ajit and lodge them in the prison of Nūrgarh.

But the astute Durgā Dās was ready. The Mughul commanders, who had the wisdom not to provoke the impetuous Rājputs, first tried to persuade them to deliver their queens and Ajit peacefully. This having been answered with a sharp volley of musket fire, the Mughuls also opened fire in self defence. Then Durgā Dās's plan—hatched in secret and almost incredible in character—was put into operation and took the Muslims by surprise.

Suddenly a gate of the mansion opened and Raghunāth Bhattī, with one hundred troopers, rushed out in a wild "death-defying" charge, before which the Muslims quailed. Seizing the oppor-

tunity, Durgā Dās with the rest of his followers and the queens in male attire, slipped out of the mansion and took the road to Jodhpur. For an hour and a half, Raghunāth dyed the streets of Delhi with blood, but at last he fell with all his comrades. Then the Mughuls set out in pursuit but in the meantime the fugitives had covered nine miles, when the Mughuls overtook them. Then Ranchhor Dās Jodhā turned round to check the pursuers with a small band of troopers. And they too resisted the Muslims to the last man. The Mughuls then took up the pursuit again and this time, while the rest continued their journey towards Jodhpur, Durgā Dās turned round with fifty troopers and fought till all but seven of them died. It was almost evening and at last the tired Mughuls gave up the pursuit and wearily made their way back to Delhi, while Durgā Dās and his comrades safely carried the royal party to their destination.<sup>98</sup>

But, as has been related above, Jodhpur was under the effective control of the Mughuls, so Durgā Dās turned to the only power—Mewār—which could come to their aid.

#### *Mewār and the Mughuls*

During this period, Rāj Singh, who was busy in developing his country, tried to maintain cordial relations with Aurangzīb. While Aurangzīb was grabbing Jodhpur, the *Mahārānā* did not protest. On his way back from Ajmer, Aurangzīb sent a *farmān* on 23 March, 1679, asking Rāj Singh to send his son to the court.<sup>99</sup> Accordingly, prince Jay Singh was sent to Delhi where he was received by Aurangzīb in the usual manner (11 April, 1679). In the meantime, however, Aurangzīb had imposed the *jizya* and soon after demanded the *Mahārānā* to impose it in Mewār.<sup>100</sup>

The only path of duty open to a Rājput was, however, shown by Aurangzīb himself. He had given a foretaste of his religious bigotry and fanaticism by breaking some of the most famous temples of Rājasthān and then carrying the images to Delhi where they were placed before the mosques as steps so that they might be trodden by the faithful.<sup>101</sup> Mewār had not yet been invaded by the Muslims, but the annexation of Mārwar would enable the Muslims to outflank the country and enable them to enter Mewār through the Arāvallī passes. Indeed, the *Mahārānā* seems to have envisaged some danger and closed the Deobārī pass with huge walls and portals as early as 1674.<sup>102</sup>

#### *Last Muslim Invasion of Rājasthān*

The Rāthors on arrival at Jodhpur began their struggle to throw out the Muslim invaders, which lasted till the death of Aurangzīb

(1707), with varying success on either side. It is not possible to give here the details of this heroic struggle, and only the main points may be noted.

With the arrival of Dūrgā Dās, Mār wār burst into flames. Aurangzīb realized that his hope of ruling Mār wār with the supine Indra Singh as the nominal king under a Mughul *faujdār* was no longer possible. So he dethroned Indra Singh, recalled the *faujdār*, Tahīr Khān, in disgrace, and set up a milkman's son as the real Ajit in Delhi.

After completing his political preparations, Aurangzīb sent Sarbuland Khān with a large army (17 August, 1679) and himself followed a fortnight later to exercise the overall command from Ajmer. Unfortunately, the Muslims were not the only enemy of the Rāthors. Fissiparous tendencies developed inside Mār wār, and the Gurjara-Pratihāras, the ancient enemy of the Rāshtrakūṭas, took this opportunity to recover their ancestral stronghold of Mandor. It was later recaptured by the Rāthors.

But the Mughul invasion backed by resources of the vast empire could not be checked. The great battle of this war took place near the Lake Pushkar, where the Mairta Rāthors tried to bar the advance of Mughul troops and save the Varāha temple. After three days of continuous fighting, mounds of dead bodies remained to proclaim the valour of the Hindu heroes who had died to the last man to save the temple (19 August). Thereafter, no more pitched battle was fought. Guerilla warfare began.

Soon the pretence of ruling Mār wār in the name of the impostor was given up and the State was divided into regular administrative units, each under a Mughul *faujdār*, and prince Akbar was ordered to put down the resistance. This he attempted to do by advancing from Ajmer towards Mairta, which route even today is marked by the cenotaphs of Rāthor soldiers, a mute reminder that they were not overawed by the overwhelming odds against them. "As the cloud pours water upon the earth, so did Aurangzib pour his barbarians over the land. . . . Jodhpur fell and was pillaged; and all the great towns in the plains of Mairta, Didwana and Rohit, shared a similar fate. The emblems of religion were trampled under foot, the temples thrown down and mosques erected on their sites."<sup>103</sup>

Aurangzīb then turned to Mewār which indeed had become the Rāthor base of operations. He wrote three letters to the *Mahārānā* reminding him of their past good relations, upbraiding him for shel-

tering Ajit and threatening him with dire consequences if he continued to support the Jodhpur prince. The *Mahārānā* sent polite but firm replies that the terror of Muslim invasion would not force him to swerve from his path of duty.<sup>104</sup>

Aurangzīb realized that to crush the determined Śiśodia-Rāthor opposition, quick and decisive action was necessary. So he called his son Mu‘azzam from the Deccan, and Muhammad A‘zam from Bengal, his other son Akbar being already with him. Tahavvur Khān, the governor of Ajmer, Hasan ‘Alī Khān, the governor of Ratanpur, and Muhammad Amīr Khān, the governor of Ahmedābād, were given subsidiary commands to open the mountain passes and maintain the lines of communications.

The *Mahārānā* on his part took up his position on the crest of the Arāvallis ready to pounce on the Mughuls whenever he thought fit. The rough circle formed by the massed hills of Mewār, stretching from Udaipur westwards to Kumbhalmer, and from the Rājsamudra lake southwards to Salumbra, formed a vast natural fort with three gates, opening east, north and west through which the defenders could sally out and fall upon any isolated enemy outpost or detachment. In short, the Mughul army was stretched along a long arc of which the *Mahārānā* occupied the short base. To reach him it was necessary to break through the three passes of Udaipur, Rājsamudra and Deobārī. The Mughul armies of Mewār and Mārwar were divided by the Arāvallis, and as the passes were controlled by the Śiśodias the Mughuls had to make a long and toilsome detour in transferring troops from Chitor to Mārwar. Thus, while Aurangzīb attempted to crush the enemy under the weight of his superior number and artillery, the *Mahārānā* took the fullest advantage of the terrain and adopted a strategy which enabled a small number of determined men to hold out against heavy odds. As we shall see later, the Mughul soldiers, always ready to fight in the open, would refuse to enter the defiles and narrow passes of the Arāvalli. The *Mahārānā* also evacuated all the big cities and as much of the plains as possible.

Aurangzīb struck the first blow. He left Ajmer on 30 November, 1679, and met with little effective opposition. The deserted pass of Deobārī was occupied on 4 January, 1680, and soon after he entered the empty city of Udaipur. He systematically destroyed the countryside and broke the temples.

A detachment under Hasan ‘Alī Khān was sent into the hills to trace the *Mahārānā*. For some time this detachment was lost, but ultimately traced and reinforced. They succeeded in inflicting a defeat on the *Mahārānā*, and capturing his camp and property. In

the meantime, Chitor was occupied, and Aurangzīb visited it at the end of February, destroying sixty-three temples there. His task thus finished, Aurangzīb returned to Ajmer on 22 March, leaving Akbar in charge at Chitor, satisfied, like the Mughul commanders before him, that with the capture of the cities, and establishment of some isolated Mughul garrisons, the enemy resistance would come to an end. It just began.

With the departure of Aurangzīb, the *Mahārānā* launched his attack. The isolated Mughul outposts, always a source of weakness, were so harassed that the Mughul officers refused to command them. The Mughul supply trains and escorts also were attacked so successfully that soon the Mughul soldiers refused to enter any pass. Heavier attacks were also launched, including a serious reverse suffered by Akbar at Chitor. At the same time raids were carried into the neighbouring Mughul provinces of Mālwa and Gujarāt. The invading army of Gujarāt under prince Bhīm Singh liberated Īdar, and plundered Vadnagar, Vishālnagar and some other rich cities of Gujarāt including Ahmadābād, collecting much booty. In revenge for breaking the temples, Bhīm Singh destroyed one big and thirty small mosques.<sup>105</sup>

Aurangzīb recognized that his plan of defeating the enemy by holding on to strategic points and devastating his country had failed. He was particularly disappointed by the reverses which Akbar suffered at Chitor, so the latter was transferred to Mārwar and a new plan adopted. Prince A'zam, who had replaced Akbar at Chitor was ordered to advance by way of the Deobārī pass and Udaipur—Prince Mu'azzam from the north by way of Rājsamudra, and Akbar from the west through the Deobārī pass. It was expected that the concerted action would drive the *Mahārānā* out of his mountain stronghold and eventually lead to his capture. However A'zam and Mu'azzam failed to achieve their objective (July, 1680).

Akbar, goaded by Aurangzīb, made progress slowly and at a heavy loss. Now the *Mahārānā* and Durgā Dās adopted new tactics. Akbar's second in command, Tahavvur Khān, had been ordered by Aurangzīb to win over as many Śīsodia and Rāthor nobles as possible. Thus he came into contact with them and formed with them a plot to declare Akbar the emperor of India, and soon the Prince was won over. Aurangzīb also seems to have opened peace proposals,<sup>106</sup> but while these negotiations were proceeding *Mahārānā* Rāj Singh died on 1 November, 1680,<sup>107</sup> and was succeeded by his son Jay Singh.

*Jay Singh (1680-1698)*

The death of Rāj Singh temporarily stopped the negotiations, but soon after it was taken up. On 11 January, 1681, Akbar joined the Śisodias and the Rāthors, and issued a manifesto deposing his father and crowning himself emperor. The next day he started for Ajmer to wrest the Mughul crown from Aurangzīb.

If this foolish and indolent prince had not delayed on his way to Ajmer in merry-making, the history of India might have been different. For, when the news of Akbar's rebellion reached Aurangzīb at Ajmer, he had only a few soldiers with him. But every day's delay afforded him time to bring in reinforcements.

It took Akbar a fortnight to cover 120 miles that separated him from his father. Even so, before he could take any decisive action his hopes were foiled by an astute trick. Tahavvur Khān's father-in-law wrote him a letter that if he came over to Aurangzīb he would be pardoned, otherwise his women would be publicly outraged and his sons sold for the price of dogs. This unnerved Akbar's chief commander and he secretly left the camp and reached the Mughul camp where he was soon murdered. In the meantime, a letter addressed to Akbar by Aurangzīb was made to fall in Durgā Dās's hands in which Aurangzīb thanked the prince for bringing the Rājputs to their doom and gave him further instructions for the next day's battle so that the destruction of the Rājputs might be complete. Durgā Dās went to find out the truth from Akbar but learnt that he was asleep. He next sent men to call Tahavvur Khān, but discovered that he had left for the imperial camp. This confirmed their suspicion and the Rājputs in a body rode off.

Durgā Dās, under the circumstances, was quite justified in leaving Akbar to his fate. But the next morning when the prince woke up he found himself left with a few hundred followers. He therefore turned round and followed Durgā Dās, with whom he was able to establish contact after about a day. Durgā Dās also had by that time realized the trick that had been played on them and was returning to protect Akbar, for Durgā Dās's honour demanded that Akbar should be saved at all costs. Akbar first went to Mewār, but the *Mahārānā* refused to grant him asylum,<sup>108</sup> so Durgā Dās most chivalrously agreed to escort him to the only court in India which could afford him protection—that is Shambhūjī's. After many hair-breadth escapes from the Mughuls, Durgā Dās conducted Akbar to Mahārāshtra, and there this gallant man stayed till 1687 to help the cause of the Mughul prince.

Though Akbar's adventure had failed, in a sense it helped the Rājputs. Aurangzīb's attention was diverted towards the south, and he was forced to come to terms with Mewār.

*Mewār ends the war*

While Akbar was proceeding against Aurangzīb, a contingent of the Mewār army under Dayāl Dās advanced to attack prince A'zam's army. Dayāl Dās was defeated and forced to flee after killing his wife, lest she should be captured by the Mughuls.<sup>109</sup>

This action took place in the first week of February, 1681, and shortly A'zam sent the Śisodia prince Shyām Singh, son of prince Garib Dās and grandson of *Mahārānā* Karna, to open negotiations with Mewār.<sup>110</sup> He advised the *Mahārānā* to conclude peace as Aurangzīb was most likely to offer favourable terms now in view of Akbar's rebellion and the approaching rainy season. Jay Singh, therefore, sent some of his nobles to Ajmer, and by 23 February, the negotiations had so far progressed that Aurangzīb sent a conciliatory *farmān* to Jay Singh, accepting his peace offer, and directing him to visit Prince A'zam, thus fulfilling the terms of the treaty entered into by Khurram.<sup>111</sup>

According to Shyāmaldās, it was at this time, that Akbar was cornered by the pursuing Mughul forces and A'zam wrote a letter to Jay Singh asking him to arrest Akbar, and if possible to kill him. Therefore Jay Singh decided not to permit Akbar to enter Mewār as stated above.

The terms of the treaty were soon arranged and were as follows:<sup>112</sup>

1. The *Mahārānā* would cede to Aurangzīb the *parganās* of Mandal, Pur and Bednor in lieu of the *jizya* demanded from his kingdom.
2. The Mughuls would withdraw from Mewār and the condition obtaining at the time of invasion was to be restored.
3. The *Mahārānā* was not to recruit any Rāthor or deserter from the Mughul army.
4. Ajit would be recognized as vassal Rājā and *manṣabdār* when he came of age.

The treaty was concluded between Jay Singh and Prince Muhammad A'zam on 24 June, 1681, with the usual pomp and exchange of presents, and soon after Aurangzīb sent to the *Mahārānā* the customary robe of condolence for his father's death.

Thus the war in Mewār ended but the war in Mārwar continued for another three decades which will be described in a subsequent section.

Sir Jadunath Sarkar has stigmatized Jay Singh for his "signal incapacity" and the lack of military skill and the organizing genius of his great father. But Sir Jadunath also writes that "the Rajput war was a drawn game so far as actual fighting was concerned, but its material consequences were disastrous to the Maharana's subjects. They retained their independence among the sterile crags of the Aravallis, but their cornfields in the plains below were ravaged by the enemy. They could stave off defeat but not starvation. The Mughals, on the other hand, might fail to penetrate into the hills of Kamalmer; their outposts might be surprised and convoys cut off occasionally but they held the low country and received supplies from all parts of the empire."<sup>113</sup>

It seems that because Mewār had surrendered three districts in lieu of *jizya*, the *Mahārānā* refused to send the 1000 troopers which was Mewār's contribution to the Mughul army. There is a letter in the Udaipur archives dated 7 August, 1684, in which Prince Muhammad A'zam informs the *Mahārānā* that he will get back the districts which had been forfeited on account of the *jizya* if he immediately sent 1000 horse to the south.<sup>114</sup> It appears, however, that nothing came out of this arrangement, and Pur, Mandal and Bednor were not restored to the *Mahārānā*,<sup>115</sup> possibly because the *Mahārānā* had not sent the contingent. In 1690, the *Mahārānā* entered into a new arrangement under which he agreed to pay one *lakh* of rupees as *jizya* and receive back Pur and Bednor and his *manṣab* was to be increased by one thousand.<sup>116</sup>

With the conclusion of peace, Jay Singh turned his attention to the administration of the country and to several irrigation projects, of which the most important was lake Jaysamudra, said to be one of the largest artificial lakes in the world.

The last years of his reign were clouded by the rebellion of his eldest son Amar Singh, and he had to enlist the help of Durgā Dās and the Rāthors to recover his kingdom. The nobles, however, were able to effect a rapprochement between the father and the son, but the latter had to be granted a considerable independent *jāgīr* (1692).

Jay Singh died on 9 October, 1698, and was succeeded by his son Amar Singh II, whose history really belongs to the period covered in the next volume.

*Mārwar and the Mughuls*

In the previous section it has been related that Mewār entered into treaty relation with the Mughuls in 1681, but this did not end the war in Mārwar. For though there was a clause in the above-mentioned treaty under which Ajit was to be recognized as the vassal chieftain when he came of age, for the present Aurangzīb persisted in ruling Mārwar through his own Muslim officers. The people of Mārwar refused to accept their rule, resulting in continued warfare for practically three decades (1681-1707).

The history of this warfare can be conveniently divided into four periods, namely (i) from 1681 to 1687, during which period Durgā Dās was in the Deccan; (ii) from 1687 to 1696 during which period Durgā Dās and Ajit were fighting against the Mughuls; (iii) from 1696 to 1701, a period of truce; (iv) from 1701 to 1707, renewal of the struggle and final liberation of Mārwar.

## (i) 1681-1687

Durgā Dās, as has been stated, felt it to be his duty to escort prince Akbar to a place of safety. As Shambhūjī was the only king who could shelter Akbar, Durgā Dās and a band of Rāthors escorted the prince to Mahārāshtra, eluding his pursuers with great skill. Though many Rāthors returned to Mārwar, Durgā Dās felt honour-bound to guide and help the unlucky prince, and stayed with him till the latter, despairing of Marāthā help, left for Persia in February, 1687. Soon after Durgā Dās returned to Mārwar.

During this period, the Rāthor nobles without any central authority had been fighting the Mughuls whenever and wherever possible. They were joined in 1681 by Mahākām Singh of Mairta who left the Mughul service to join the national struggle, and the Bhātī tribe of Jaisalmer in 1682. The result of this sporadic but continuous warfare is graphically described by a bard: "An hour before sunset every gate of Maru was shut. The Muslims held the strongholds, but the plains obeyed Ajit. . . . The roads were now impassable."

## (ii) 1687-96

Durgā Dās, as stated above, returned to Mārwar in 1687 and was joined by Hādā Durjan Sāl, the foremost noble of Būndī. Together they slaughtered or drove away most of the Mughul garrisons in Mārwar and carried their raid into the imperial territory menacing even Delhi. However, they declined any engagement with the regular army that was sent against them from Delhi, and re-

turned to Mārwar via Sirhind. Near Mandal, Durjan Sāl died in action, and Durgā Dās returned to Mārwar, probably after sacking Mandal, Pur and Malpura.

In 1690, Durgā Dās signally defeated the governor of Ajmer and rendered Mārwar so unsafe that Shujā'at Khān, the governor of Gujarāt (to which province Mārwar was now attached), had to take personal charge of affairs in Jodhpur. He took reconciliatory measures, granting land to some Rāthor nobles and thus winning them over—while strong forces were sent to check the activities of Durgā Dās. It was, however, impossible to guard adequately the route over which trade passed from Gujarāt to North India through Mārwar. So Shujā'at Khān first tried to come to an understanding with the Rāthors by paying them one-fourth of the imperial customs dues on all merchandise, and later attempted to divert the trade through peaceful Mewār.<sup>117</sup>

In 1691, the Mughuls gained some respite as Durgā Dās and his Rāthors went to help *Mahārānā* Jay Singh suppress the rebellion of his son, and in 1692 the Mughuls themselves began overtures for peace for the return of Prince Akbar's children (a son and a daughter) whom he had left at Mārwar. But nothing came out of these negotiations as Aurangzīb refused to yield to any of Durgā Dās's demands. So in 1693 the war began again and Ajit guided by Durgā Dās began to cause disturbance,<sup>118</sup> but Shujā'at Khān, aided by other Mughul officers, forced Ajit and Durgā Dās to flee back to the hills.

This was the last Mughul victory in Mārwar. The situation in the Deccan had become desperate and there was no chance of sending fresh troops to the north. Secondly, Aurangzīb became extremely anxious to get back his grand-daughter, Safiyat-un-nisā, and negotiations for this purpose began in 1694. The niggardliness and obstinacy of old Aurangzīb protracted the negotiations till 1696, when Durgā Dās sent her to Aurangzīb unconditionally. When the young princess arrived, Aurangzīb immediately thought of making arrangements for teaching her Islāmic scriptures, but she informed him, that that part of her education had been carefully attended to by Durgā Dās, who had secured for this purpose a Muslim woman from Ajmer, and that she (the princess) knew the Qur'ān by heart.

Nothing could please Aurangzīb more, who in a rare moment of generosity, wanted to grant whatever Durgā Dās demanded. So it was arranged by the intermediary, Īswardās Nāgar, the historian, that Durgā Dās should get a *manṣab* and a money allowance, to which the emperor readily agreed, provided he brought back Akbar's son, Buland Akhtar.

The negotiations, however, dragged for another two years as Aurangzīb refused to accede to Durgā Dās's demand for restoring Jodhpur to Ajit. Aurangzīb's idea was to purchase Durgā Dās by the offer of a rich *manṣab* and money, but the honest Rāthor spurned all proposals which involved the betrayal of the cause of his master's heir.

Unfortunately, however, Ajit longed for peace. In 1696, he had married the niece of *Mahārānā* Jay Singh and now he became eager for a settled home and income. So in 1698, Durgā Dās agreed to surrender Akbar's son, Buland Akhtar, in consideration of Ajit's receiving the *parganās* of Jhālor, Sānchor and Siwānā as his *jāgīr* and a *manṣab* in the imperial army.

Durgā Dās, in accordance with the terms of the treaty, escorted Buland Akhtar to the court at Islāmpur on the Bhīmā. After the prince had been presented to his grandfather, Durgā Dās was called. As he was about to enter the audience hall, he was ordered to be ushered in unarmed like a prisoner. Without a moment's hesitation, the great soldier unsheathed his sword and the grand Mughul permitted him to enter fully armed. Only, as he approached Aurangzīb's throne a minister tied his wrist with a silk handkerchief, a theatrical gesture indicating captivity, and led him to the throne. The Emperor "graciously ordered Durgā Dās's arms to be untied, appointed him a commander of 3,000 horse (nominal rank), presented him with a jewelled dagger, a gold pendant (*padak*) and a string of pearls, and advanced him one lakh of Rupees from the imperial treasury."<sup>119</sup>

(iii) 1696-1701

This was a period of comparative quiet during which Durgā Dās joined the Mughul service, and in order to keep him out of Mewār, Aurangzīb posted him as the *faujdār* of Pātan, that is Anahilapāṭaka, the former capital of the Chaulukyas. In October, 1700, Ajit petitioned the Emperor for some cash or *jāgīr*, in exchange for which he offered to come to the court. But he never came to the court, probably suspecting treachery though repeatedly summoned to do so.

As will now appear, Ajit and Durgā Dās, who also kept himself away from the court, had good grounds for their suspicion. After the death of Shujā'at Khān (9 July, 1701), Aurangzīb sent his son Muhammad A'zam as the Governor of Gujarāt with instructions to send Durgā Dās to the court, and, if he refused, to kill him. Accordingly, A'zam summoned Durgā Dās to Ahmadābād which the latter

obeyed and A'zam made preparations for murdering him on his arrival to pay the customary respects. It so happened that the day fixed for the interview was a *dvādaśī*, and Durgā Dās had fasted the day before. So he wanted to go to the prince after taking his meals, but the latter, impatient of delay, began to send him messengers in succession, bidding him to come. This put the wary soldier on the alert and without breaking his fast, he set fire to his camp and equipage and left for Mārwar.

A force was immediately sent to overtake Durgā Dās. As this body drew near, his grandson begged his permission to fight an action to stop the pursuers and receive his first battle scars. Probably the gallant boy wanted to emulate his grandfather's famous rear guard action near Delhi. He succeeded in stopping the pursuers at the cost of his life.

(iv) 1701-1707

On arrival at Mārwar, Durgā Dās joined Ajit and the struggle began again. But this time Mārwar was exhausted, many Rāthor nobles took service under the *Mahārānā* of Mewār and some even with the Mughuls, and above all, difference broke out between Durgā Dās and Ajit who had no further use for his loyal servant. This shows not only Ajit's stupidity, but the degeneration of the Rājasthān princes, who were no match for the Mughuls. Aurangzīb took the fullest advantage of the situation and when in November, 1705, Durgā Dās, unable to maintain himself in barren independence, made his submission, Aurangzīb promptly restored him his old *manṣab* and post in Gujarāt.

However, Durgā Dās never forgot his life's cause. Next year (1706) the Marāthās inflicted a crushing defeat on the Mughuls in Gujarāt, and Ajit renewed the struggle for independence. Durgā Dās again left the Mughuls and joined Ajit.

Aurangzīb took the usual measure for suppressing the Rāthors, and while scattered actions were being fought in that unhappy country he breathed his last on 3 March, 1707. This happy news reached Ajit on 17 March, and he immediately took the road to Jodhpur. He expelled the Mughul commandant of the garrison and took possession of the city from which the Muslims fled in all directions in Hindu garb. "The fort of Jodhpur was purified with Ganges water and tulsī leaves".<sup>120</sup> Ajit Singh sat on his ancestral throne and Durgā Dās's life-task was crowned with success.

## III. MAHĀRĀSHTRA AFTER SHIVĀJĪ (1680-1707)

*Shambhūjī (1680-1689)*

The death of Shivājī (1680) was followed by internal dissensions in the newly created Marāthā State. He had not named any successor and his eldest son, Shambhūjī, aged 23 years, was the natural choice. But, as mentioned above (pp. 273-4), his licentious character, and particularly his defection to the Mughuls, irritated his father who virtually kept him a prisoner in the fort of Panhālā. On the other hand, the only alternative to Shambhūjī was Rājārām, son of queen Soyrā Bāi, a boy of ten, whose accession would mean a long regency of his mother, who did not possess the requisite qualification for the task. But as the two highest ministers of Shivājī, namely Moropant Pingle, the *Peshwā*, (Prime Minister) and Ānnājī Datto, the *Surnis*, (Finance Minister), both supported Soyrā Bāi, she had not probably much difficulty in convincing most of the generals and ministers, present at the capital, that the accession of Shambhūjī would mean a great disaster to the State. So Rājārām was proclaimed king and crowned at Rāigarh on 21 April, 1680. It was, however, soon apparent that the people in general and the army outside the capital did not like this change in the normal order of succession. Apart from this, there was perhaps a far more serious—one might say ominous—cause for the split in public opinion in regard to the succession. This has been summed up by Sir Jadunath Sarkar in the following words: “The council of regency as constituted at Raigarh meant Brahman rule, and the commander-in-chief (a Maratha by caste) was not prepared to take his orders from a priestly Mayor of the Palace, any more than another *Senāpati* of the Maratha realm, Khānde Rāo Dhabare, was fifty years later.”<sup>121</sup> In any case, Shambhūjī’s supporters, particularly soldiers, daily increased in number and he made himself free by killing the *Killāhdār* of Panhālā. He not only made himself master of Panhālā but consolidated his possession of the South Marāthā country and South Konkan and openly declared himself King. In the meanwhile the two ministers, mentioned above, who supported the cause of Rājārām, had advanced towards Panhālā to check him. They were disheartened to hear of the rapid success of Shambhūjī and hesitated to attack him. But at the end of May, *Senāpati* Hambir Rāo Mohite, who was near Panhālā and had joined Shambhūjī, arrested the two great ministers, Ānnājī and Moropant and took them as captives to Shambhūjī. “There all the army chiefs assembled and recognized Shambhūjī as their king.”<sup>122</sup> The *Peshwā* recanted and Shambhūjī took him into favour, while Ānnājī was thrown into prison. Shambhūjī then advanced with

5,000 soldiers, which increased to 20,000 during the march, and entered Rājgarh without any opposition (18 June, 1680). He treated Rājārām with kindness and acted for the first few days with "combined vigour and thoughtfulness".<sup>123</sup> He formally ascended the throne on 20 July, 1680, and his coronation ceremony was performed with great splendour on 16 January, 1681.

Shambhūjī enjoyed a fairly long respite from the attack of his great enemy, the Mughuls, for, as mentioned above,<sup>124</sup> Aurangzīb had then concentrated "all the military resources of the Mughul empire" in Mewār. The Mughul army in the Deccan continued the campaign in a somewhat leisurely fashion and Shambhūjī showed a great deal of activity during the first three or four years of his reign. This is all the more remarkable as the new king had to face a lot of troubles at home caused by dissensions in his own family and the Government at Rājgarh.

As mentioned above, Shambhūjī had imprisoned Ānnājī Datto, one of the chief conspirators who planned to oust him from the throne. But he not only released the traitor, but also appointed him Accountant-General, a post second only in importance to that of the Peshwa. But, far from appreciating the generosity of the king, Ānnājī lost no time in hatching a conspiracy with Soyrā Bāi and some other leading men to murder Shambhūjī by poisoning his food. There is also a story to the effect that the conspirators approached the Mughul prince Akbar who, as mentioned above, fled from Rājputāna and was given asylum by the Marāthā king. But, so the story runs, Akbar not only refused to join, but informed Shambhūjī about it. Whatever we may think of this story, there is no doubt that there was such a nefarious plot but it was detected in time and Shambhūjī took terrible vengeance upon the conspirators. Eight ringleaders were trampled under feet of the elephants and twenty more were sentenced to death. Opinions differ regarding the fate of the prime mover Soyrā Bāi. She was "charged with having poisoned her husband (a year and a half earlier), and was put to a painful death, through poison (according to the Bombay factory report) or by starvation (according to Chitnis)".<sup>125</sup> All these took place in October, 1681, and were followed by terrible persecution of the Shirkés, the family of Soyrā Bāi's father. "Their property was seized, many of their members were killed, and the rest fled to Mughal territory, entered the imperial army, and tried to carry on their blood-feud with him (Shambhūjī) to the end of his days."<sup>126</sup>

All this was merely a foretaste of what happened almost throughout the reign of Shambhūjī. This was largely due to the

character and personality of the new king. His terrible vengeance on the partisans of Rājārām alienated the old officers of the State and "his rudeness, caprice and violence of spirit made even the highest of his officers feel insecure and unhappy in his service." The inevitable consequence was that conspiracies, desertions of officers and rebellion of vassals became almost a permanent feature during his whole reign.

Shambhūjī did not trust, far less love, anybody, nor was he trusted and loved by any of his officers. There was only one exception, a learned Brahman from U.P., generally known by his title Kavi-Kalash (Pinnacle of Poets), who proved to be a devoted servant. He had gained the love, esteem and confidence of Shambhūjī to such an extent that gradually he monopolised all the powers of government and was referred to as the "chiefest minister of State". Though opinions differ, we may generally accept the view that the king became a *roi faineant*, blindly following the advice of this upstart minister and "devoting all his time to wine and women, with fitful outbursts of martial vigour."<sup>127</sup> The evidence of this martial vigour was shown by minor clashes with the Mughul troops and also by surprise raids into the territory occupied by the Mughuls in the Deccan.

The most notable of these surprise raids was that against Burhānpur, the capital of Khāndesh, at the end of January, 1681. As this serves as a typical example of the Marāthā raid in future extending as far as Bengal, more than seventy years later, it may be described in some detail. "The surprise was so complete that none could conceal or remove a penny worth of property or save his wife and children. The smoke of the burning houses first informed the governor of the enemy's presence, but he was powerless to do anything and merely shut himself up in the fort. Lakhs of rupees worth of booty was taken in every *pura* (ward, seventeen of which, besides a rich suburb, were plundered). Many respectable men slew their wives and daughters and then fell desperately fighting the brigands, rather than see their family honour outraged.... For three days the Marathas looted the suburbs to their hearts' content, without the least interruption and dug up the floor of every house, thus discovering the buried treasure of many generations past.... They carried off nothing but gold, silver and gems, and left the streets littered with the metal and China ware, clothing and spices which they had at first seized."<sup>128</sup>

Similar raids against many other places were attempted, and though many of them were unsuccessful, they created terror and

panic as may be gathered from the following description of the people of Aurangābād on the report of the approach of the Marāthās: "All houses were closed, the men sitting armed and trembling and the women weeping within doors. The streets and bazars were entirely deserted."<sup>129</sup> But the timely arrival of the Mughul army saved the town. These descriptions are echoed in the *Mahārāshtra-Purāna*, a contemporary account of the raids of the *Bargis* (Marāthā raiders) in Bengal during the rule of Ālivardi Khān (1740-56).

While these raids and minor clashes with the Mughul troops were going on, the arrival of the fugitive Mughul prince Akbar<sup>130</sup> and the protection given to him by Shambhūjī (1681) opened a vista of romantic military enterprises of both against the Mughul Emperor Aurangzīb, including a plan to install Akbar on the Mughul throne after removing his father. But though all these grandiose plans came to nothing, Akbar's presence in Mahārāshtra had one important effect on the history of the Deccan. For it was the immediate cause of the arrival of Aurangzīb in the Deccan and his stay there till his death, with fatal consequences to the fortunes of Bijāpur, Golconda, and, to some extent, also of the Marāthās. These have been described in Chapter X and need not be repeated. The Mughul Emperor started with an elaborate plan to conquer Mahārāshtra but, for reasons stated above, he could not achieve any substantial gain even after a year of his arrival.

In the meanwhile, Shambhūjī undertook several military expeditions. The first was directed against the Siddis of Janjirā. The enmity between the Marāthās and the Siddis dates back to 1679 when Shivājī fortified the island of Khanderi and defeated the combined English and Siddi fleet that wanted to capture it. When Shambhūjī ascended the throne the Marāthā fleet consisted of 60 ships carrying 5,000 soldiers on board, and the number had increased to 135 (120 gallivats and 15 *ghurabs*) by May, 1682. Towards the end of 1681 the Siddi fleet ravaged a large tract of territory near Chaul and Shambhūjī arrived with 20,000 men and a vast train of cannon to the coast opposite Janjirā. From a hill he bombarded that island continuously for 30 days and all the fortifications were razed to the ground. But as the Marāthā fleet was no match for that of the Siddis the Marāthā army could not cross the channel, 800 yds. broad and 30 yds. deep. So Shambhūjī intended to fill up the channel with stones (according to some authorities with timber and bags of cotton). He employed 50,000 men for the purpose, but before the work was completed the Mughul invasion of Northern Konkan and capture of Kalian about the end of January, 1682, forced

him to retire to Rāigarh, leaving only 10,000 men to continue the siege. As the siege continued without any tangible success, the Marāthā troops were carried in boats and made an assault on Janjirā, but they had to retire with heavy loss (July, 1682). On 4 October, the Marāthā navy of 30 gallivats was defeated by the Siddi squadron of 16 vessels, 8 miles south of Kolaba Point, while another Marāthā squadron of 80 gallivats lay hiding and did not dare come to the assistance of the former. These clearly testify to the hopeless inferiority of the Marāthās to the Siddis as a naval power.

Shambhūjī next launched an attack against the Portuguese on the ground that they had helped the Mughuls against the Marāthās in various ways, which was undoubtedly a fact. Shortly after the Mughuls retired from North Konkan, Shambhūjī advanced with 1,000 horse and 2,000 foot and burnt Tārāpur and all other towns from Daman to Bassein. But he failed in his attempts to take Chaul and other forts of the Portuguese, though he gained some success in the Portuguese territory on the coast to the north of Bombay. The Viceroy of Goa laid siege to the fortified town of Phonda, a Marāthā possession, 10 miles south-south-east of Goa in October. But though considerable damage was done to the fort, the Portuguese failed to take it and had to retreat with heavy loss. Overjoyed at this success Shambhūjī next planned to seize the city of Goa and advanced with 7,000 cavalry and 15,000 infantry. He captured the island of Santo Estevao, two miles north-east of Goa (14 November), inflicting heavy losses on the relieving force under the command of the Viceroy in person. The Marāthā force also captured Salsette, immediately to the south of Goa and the Peninsula of Bardes, north of Goa. But they were trapped into the small island of Kumbarju, immediately to the east of Goa, for as soon as the tide set in, the Portuguese flotilla occupied the two wide streams enclosing the island, and on the remaining side there was a heavy bombardment from the fort of Goa. Only "few of the 7,000 Maratha troops escaped alive."<sup>131</sup> On 5 January, 1684, the Mughul forces under Prince Shāh 'Ālam which came to the assistance of the Portuguese occupied Bicholim, an important town of Shambhūjī, and three days later a very powerful Mughul fleet reached the harbour of Goa. The disaster at Kumbarju and the news of the approach of Shāh 'Ālam induced Shambhūjī to retire to Rāigarh, leaving the Mughul prince Akbar who had accompanied him and the minister Kavi-Kalash to negotiate a peace with the Portuguese. A peace was concluded on 20 January, 1684, on condition of the mutual restitution of all conquests, and the Portuguese agreeing not to allow Mughul ships to pass within gunshot of their forts. But this treaty,

forced on Shambhūjī by his fear, was not ratified by him and hostilities continued till a peace, or rather truce, was patched up in October. "But languid hostilities with the Portuguese continued till the end of Shambhūjī's reign."<sup>132</sup>

Reference has been made above to the grandiose schemes planned by Shambhūjī and the Mughul prince Akbar. But instead of making preparations for a grand expedition against the Mughul Emperor, Shambhūjī had merely frittered his energy and resources by fights with the Siddis and the Portuguese. Between September, 1682, and the end of 1685, Shambhūjī and Akbar discussed plans of invading Northern India through Surat with Akbar at the head of the expedition, but nothing came out of all these. The fact is that while the object of Akbar was to gain the throne of Delhi, Shambhūjī, perhaps rightly, did not like the idea of invading North India in the company of Akbar while Aurangzīb was still in the Deccan with a mighty force. For there was the great risk that the Mughul emperor would conquer Mahārāshtra during his absence. In any case, Akbar gradually realized that Shambhūjī did not sincerely desire to help him; so he decided to leave Mahārāshtra and actually embarked for the purpose, but both Durgā Dās and Kavi-Kalash assured him that Shambhūjī would keep his word and help him to defeat the army of the emperor (November, 1683). So Akbar gave up the idea of leaving Mahārāshtra, and there are reasons to believe that some serious efforts were made to help him. There was a rumour in September and November, 1684, that Akbar and Shambhūjī would attack Surat. But nothing happened. In October, 1685, a body of rebels, about 4,000 in number, seized Broach and proclaimed Akbar emperor; but the move ultimately failed. In June, 1686, taking advantage of the absence of Aurangzīb and major part of his forces in Bijāpur, Akbar made an attempt to seize Āhmadnagar and then march to Northern India to join the Rājputs; but it failed. There were rumours about other attempts of that kind, but nothing came out of these. At long last, the disillusioned Mughul Prince Akbar left for Persia in February, 1687.

In the meantime, the Mughul forces made great headway, and, as has already been mentioned, even two wives and one daughter of Shambhūjī were captured by the Mughuls. According to the reports of the Dutch fathers, supported by Manucci, Shambhūjī, after his return from the Goa expedition, gave himself to pleasure and instead of guiding the military campaigns spent his time in wine and women. Manucci further states that "Shambhūjī's victories were not the fruit of his own labour, but were due to his officers."<sup>133</sup> When Aurangzīb was fully occupied in his campaign against Bijāpur

and Golconda, Shambhūjī neither helped them in the larger interests of the Deccan as a whole, nor utilized the opportunity to improve his own position by any well-conceived plan. The Marāthā forces were, as usual, engaged in making plundering raids in various directions, but these did him no good. The fact is that all the old and experienced officers had been removed from the court for one reason or another,<sup>134</sup> and he had no competent agent to manage the distant parts of his dominions. Kavi-Kalash was the only capable minister, but being a northerner he was not liked by the Marāthās. The situation was rendered worse by conspiracies, one after another, followed by the execution or imprisonment of important Marāthā generals and ministers.<sup>135</sup> Even Madras Karnatak passed out of the control of Shambhūjī, for his brother-in-law ruled practically as an independent ruler with the title of *Mahārāja*. The English factory records refer to the economic ruin of Mahārāshtra, the corruption of officers and the chaos and confusion caused by constant rebellions. The records ascribe the ruin of trade and industry to the misrule of Shambhūjī and his absorption in pleasure.<sup>136</sup> After the conspiracies in 1680, 1681, and 1684, the Shirké family whose defection has been noted above (p. 360) rose against Shambhūjī in October, 1688, and attacked Kavi-Kalash. Shambhūjī defeated the rebels and arrested many leading people, including ministers, on mere suspicion of complicity.<sup>137</sup> On his way back to Rāigarh he halted at Sangameshwar. How he was captured there (1 February, 1689) and put to death after prolonged torture on 11 March has been described above (pp. 288-9). It was a great tragedy, but just on the eve of his execution he gave evidence of manliness which he did not show in life. The cruel murder of Shambhūjī by Aurangzīb undoubtedly evokes our pity, but Shambhūjī's life and reign hardly deserve our sympathy.

#### *Rājārām (1689-1700)*

At the time of Shambhūjī's death, his son Shāhū, being a minor, Rājārām, the younger son of Shivājī, who was kept in prison by Shambhūjī, was proclaimed king by the ministers and crowned at Rāigarh without any opposition on 8 (or 9) February, 1689.<sup>138</sup> The military campaigns during his reign, both Mughul and Marāthā, have been briefly described above (pp. 293 ff.) and need not be narrated in detail, but a few general features of the Marāthā tactics may be stressed.

When Rāigarh was besieged by the Mughul army on 25 March, 1689, Yesu Bāi, the widowed queen of Shambhūjī, infused courage and enthusiasm among the disheartened people by brave words and

suggested a new tactics which was followed till the end. This may be summed up as follows:

1. That the members of the royal family, including the king, and important leaders should not all be concentrated in one place, even at the strongly fortified capital, Rāigarh, but should scatter themselves in different quarters of the kingdom, so that the fall of one fort would not jeopardise the fate of the whole Government and people.

2. Able military generals, including those who were unjustly kept in prison and set at liberty in the new regime, should be inspired by a sense of duty to their motherland and a spirit of supreme self-sacrifice, and carry on unceasing guerilla warfare or surprise raids on different Mughul posts, and harass the Mughul forces in every way.<sup>139</sup>

In accordance with this policy, Rājārām himself left Rāigarh with his family and, moving from one place to another such as Pratāgarh and Panhālā, ultimately reached Gingee. "Some of the other leaders, Rāmchandra Pānt Amātya, Pralhād Nirāji and Shankaraji Malhār Sachiv, also left Rāigarh and in mutual consultation from different places commenced an unprecedented campaign of fire, plunder and brigandage into the Mughul territory, using a network of spies to obtain information of the enemy's movements."<sup>140</sup> Two young chieftains, Santāji Ghorpade and Dhanāji Jādhav, particularly distinguished themselves and almost created havoc in the Mughul camps. On one occasion they even stealthily approached the imperial tent and cut down the supporting ropes so that the whole tent came down and crushed the inmates. Aurangzīb himself was saved by the lucky chance that he spent that night in his daughter's camp. Sir Jadunath Sarkar has paid glowing, but well-deserved, tributes to these two heroes in the following words:

"In the long history of his struggle with the Marathas after the sun of Maratha royalty had set in, the red cloud of Shambhuji's blood and the people's war had begun. Santāji Ghorpade and Dhanāji Jadhav were the two stars of dazzling brilliancy which filled the Deccan firmament for nearly a decade, and paralyzed the alien invader."<sup>141</sup> Words like these from one who is not easily carried by emotion are very high praises indeed.

Rājārām's flight to Gingee gives one more evidence of the great political foresight of Shivājī. By a wonderful prescience he had felt the necessity of establishing a long line of fortified possessions from Mahārāshtra to distant Tanjore, via Bangalore, Vellore and

Gingee, so as to form a new line of defence which he might utilize to his advantage if occasion or necessity arose. In the dire necessity caused by all-round Mughul efforts to crush the Marāthās by simultaneous invasions from different sides, it proved to be a god-send and when Rājārām found it impossible to hold Panhālā against the Mughul attack, he fled to Gingee "after undergoing many perils and hair-breadth escapes from the Mughal pursuers on the way."<sup>142</sup> After the romantic adventure of more than a month and a half's journey he at last settled in Gingee, far away from Mahārāshtra, in November, 1689, and was joined by his ministers and other officials. Henceforth, Gingee became the seat of the royal court and centre of Marāthā activity against the Mughuls. According to contemporary account, "the Chiefs of the Karnatak lands hailed Rājārām as an uncommon hero and made his cause their own. They brought him presents of money, provisions and materials and having been actuated with a spirit of vengeance against Muslims, offered every kind of service to the Maratha king."<sup>143</sup> The neighbouring city of Tanjore was the capital of a Marāthā State ruled by a cousin of Rājārām. In Gingee the king administered the affairs of State with the help of his Council of eight ministers, a system established by Shivājī, to which he added a ninth called the *Pratinidhi*, a post specially created for Pralhād Nirāji who had rendered most valuable service. As could be expected, Gingee was besieged by the Mughuls, but it was captured only after 8 years, on 7 February, 1698. Rājārām had left the place in preceding December and fixed his capital at Satara in October, 1698.

The Marāthās were inspired by high hopes during this long and arduous campaign. The Marāthā documents clearly state that the aim of this war was not only freedom of Mahārāshtra but "included even the conquest of Delhi, so as to make the whole sub-continent of India safe for the Hindu religion."<sup>144</sup> This laudable object was constantly preached to wean away many Marāthā Chiefs who had accepted service under the Mughuls. A stirring appeal was issued by Rājārām from Gingee on 22 March, 1690, of which an extract is quoted below:

"We have enlisted on arrival in the Karnatak forty thousand cavalry and a lac and a quarter of infantry. The local Palegars and fighting elements are fast rallying to the Maratha standard.... You must now put forth the sacrifice required on behalf of our religion. ...Aurangzeb has wronged you by threatening to convert you to his religion. He has already converted (*names follow*).... He also entertains further deep-rooted motives of a sinister nature against our nation, of which you must beware. The Nimbālkars

and the Mānes have already deserted him and his ranks are being rapidly thinned. God is helping us. We are sure to succeed.”<sup>145</sup> Many documents of this nature reflect the spirit of the people and there cannot be any doubt that during the last one or two decades of the seventeenth century Aurangzīb was faced with what may be truly described as a national war. “Animated by a desire to avenge their wrongs, the Maratha bands spread over the vast territories from Khāndesh to the south coast, over Gujarāt, Bāglan, Gondvan, and the Karnatak, devastating Mughal stations, destroying their armies, exacting tribute, plundering Mughal treasures, animals and stocks of camp equipage.”<sup>146</sup> Aurangzīb began to realize that while he could easily win a battle over the Marāthās, it was very difficult for him, even with his vast resources, to cope with their guerilla tactics, particularly as they were very familiar with the layout and communications of the country, had the active and enthusiastic support of the people wherever they went and were inured to hardships, bad weather and simple food.

Moreover, Aurangzīb’s shrewd attempts to win over the Marāthās by temptations of all kinds, though at first successful to a certain extent, gradually failed, as stern measures were taken to punish the wives, children and even other relations of the deserters, and the traitors to the cause of the Marāthās, if caught, were terribly persecuted. The justice or morality of the steps taken may be questioned, but they proved successful to a very large extent.

The guerilla warfare, which was the main cause of Aurangzīb’s discomfiture in the long run, in spite of brilliant victories against Marāthā troops in battle, became the typical method of Marāthā aggressive warfare for more than a century and a half and led them to success after success all over India till their dream of establishing a *Hindu Pad Pādshāhī* was almost on the point of being realized. Though the beginnings of this type of warfare may be traced back to the days of Shivājī, it was fully developed in the last stages of the Mughul campaign in Mahārāshtra, particularly during the reign of Rājārām. It has been described as follows by Chitnis in his *Rajaram’s Life* in the following words:

“The Mughal forces are huge in numbers, standing firm only in open ground. The Marathas on the other hand suddenly erupt at one place today and tomorrow elsewhere some fifty miles away. Then they come round again and execute unexpected raids, making only a show of a fight, plunder and fly away. They fall upon foraging parties, attack weakly held Mughal posts, capture strategic points and thus inspire confidence among their followers. They

devastate Mughal territory from the river Godavari to Bhaganagar (Hyderabad), carrying away pack animals, horses and elephants, create confusion among the enemy, and remain concealed in unfrequented thickets widely apart and make a sudden dash upon the Mughal armies proceeding towards Jinji (Gingee), occasionally engaging in an open encounter and anyhow preventing them from reaching their destination. The Emperor (Aurangzib) found himself nonplussed how to overcome these pests. They seemed to be ubiquitous and illusive like the wind. When the attacking Mughal forces had gone back, the scattered Marathas, like water parted by the oar, closed again and resumed their attack as before."<sup>147</sup> Things came to such a pass that sometimes the Mughul commanders would rather bribe the Marāthās than fight them.

Santāji Ghorpade, the *Senāpati*, mentioned above, was reputed to be a "perfect master of guerilla warfare" and the fame of his wonderful achievements reverberated throughout Mahārāshtra. But, unfortunately, his biting tongue and boastful demeanour not only irritated his colleagues but even his superiors including Rājārām. The climax was reached when in the course of an altercation with his King, Rājārām, he bluntly told him: "Your position is all due to me. I can make and unmake Chhatrapati." This was too much even for the mild king. He dismissed Santāji and appointed Dhanājī as *Senāpati* in his place. This led to a quarrel between these two; from words they came to blows; and there was a free fight between them in June, 1696, in which Dhanājī was defeated and one of his prominent partisans was taken prisoner and trampled to death under the feet of an elephant. This unfortunate episode need not be pursued further and described in detail. Suffice it to say that Rājārām issued orders to capture Santāji, who fled from place to place, fought with the royal force, was defeated and ultimately killed under circumstances not exactly known.<sup>148</sup>

But this tragic incident did not affect the guerilla warfare of the Marāthās against the Mughuls. After the fall of Gingee Rājārām came back and, as Rāigarh was in the Mughul possession, established his seat of Government at Satara (1698). The war against the Mughuls was carried on with full vigour by several young Marāthā leaders who were destined to win name and fame in future. In a letter dated 22 December, 1699, Rājārām writes: "We have launched the full force of our armies against the Emperor.... led a furious attack upon the imperial camp... captured the Emperor's own daughter; fell upon a convoy of ten thousand pack animals carrying supplies.... The enemy has lost all courage, and can make no

effect against fort Satara. We now take no account of this powerful emperor whom, God willing, we shall soon put to rout."<sup>149</sup>

Subsequent events proved that Rājārām's boast was not without justification. But, unfortunately, he was not destined to witness the final triumph. He died shortly afterwards on 2 March, 1700, at the age of thirty. Rājārām's reign was an eventful one, paving the way for the future greatness of the Marāthās. But the credit for this must be given not so much to the king as to his wise counsellors and brave generals. According to Sardesai, "he possessed no dash or initiative, nor did he evince any personal valour... There is not a single occasion recorded in his life on which Rājārām showed personal daring or capacity for government. ...His mind and body were both weak, due possibly to dissipation and the use of opium to which he is said to have been addicted. His virtue was of a negative kind, non-interference."<sup>150</sup>

One significant innovation in military administration made by Rājārām was big with future consequences. He introduced the system of granting lands to military commanders in lieu of cash money which was definitely opposed to the policy initiated by Shivājī and hitherto pursued. Its origin may, perhaps, be traced to the policy of Aurangzīb to make grants of lands to the Marāthā leaders to induce them to join the Mughuls. As a counterpoise the Marāthā Government probably felt it necessary to offer similar inducements. So they encouraged the Marāthā leaders to conquer lands from the Mughuls by holding out the promise that the lands so acquired would be their hereditary property. Perhaps want of funds to provide for the expenses of the Marāthā generals was an additional ground for such promise. For it is known that the leaders of Marāthā troops borrowed money on the mortgage of their prospective conquests, and it is very natural that the hope of acquiring hereditary property would add zeal and ardour to their military enterprises. But whatever may be the origin of the new policy, there is hardly any doubt that it led to the great Marāthā houses like those of Sindhia and Holkar, which led to the rapid extension of the Marāthā dominions in future, and at the same time it was the main cause of the disintegration of the Marāthā Empire.

But all these were in the womb of futurity when Rājārām died and, as stated above (p. 296), was succeeded by his son, four years old, bearing the proud name of his illustrious grandfather, Shivājī (III). It did not mean, at least theoretically, the deliberate exclusion of Shāhū, the son of Shambhūjī, for he was then in confinement in the Mughul camp. Tārā Bāi, the mother of the infant king, was

a very capable administrator and "for a time inspired greater vigour and enthusiasm among the whole Marāthā nation than her husband had done."<sup>151</sup> All the generals and leaders rallied round her and the war against the Mughuls was carried on as before. "Tārā Bāi exhibited wonderful powers of organization and inspired one and all with a sense of devotion to the national service."<sup>152</sup> She managed the State with singular ability, a fact testified to even by Muslim writers. She herself guided the military operations moving to different forts and directing operations. To her belongs, to a large extent, the credit of the triumphant emergence of the Marāthās from the great fight with the Mughuls which practically terminated with the death of Aurangzīb in 1707.

#### IV THE JĀTS

##### 1. *Origin and Early History*

The Jāts are a hardy tribe, pre-eminently agricultural, and well known for their valour, indefatigable energy, martial spirit and untiring perseverance. They are mostly tall, with fair complexion, dark eyes, long head, and "narrow and prominent but not very long" nose.<sup>153</sup> "The region mainly occupied by them may be roughly defined as bounded on the north by the lower ranges of the Himalayas, on the west by the Indus, on the south by a line drawn from Haidarabad (Sindh) to Ajmir and thence to Bhopal, and on the east by the Ganges."<sup>154</sup>

The tribal feeling is very strong among them and although all of them do not belong to the same religious fraternity but prefer different religions, viz, Hinduism, Sikhism and Islām, they cling tenaciously to their "tribal name as a proud heritage, and with it the tradition of Kinship."<sup>155</sup> Another important trait of their character is strong individualism. "The Jāt is, of all the Punjab races, the most impatient of the tribal or communal control and the one which asserts the freedom of the individual most strongly... He is independent and he is self-willed, but he is reasonable, and peaceably inclined if left alone."<sup>156</sup>

The system of caste distinction is not in vogue in the Jāt society, and so all the Jāts are on a footing of equality in so far as their social status is concerned. In their rural organisation they prefer election of headmen to succession by hereditary right. The origin of the Jāts, like that of the Rājputs, has been a subject of keen controversy. Some regard them as descendants of the nomadic Scythian hordes of Central Asia who invaded India through the north-western

passes like the Śakas and the Hūṇas and settled in India. The close resemblance of the name alone is perhaps responsible for the theory that their forefathers were the nomadic Getae of the Oxus region. On the other hand, similarity of physical features, language and, to a certain extent, of religious and social institutions, lends support to the theory of Aryan origin of the Jāts, and eminent authorities like Dr. Trumpp, Beames, Sir Herbert Risley and Dr. Qanungo are in favour of it on most or all of these scientific grounds. It is on the whole more reasonable to regard the Jāts as Aryan settlers in India and not foreign invaders of a subsequent age like the Śakas and the Hūṇas.<sup>157</sup>

The Jāts claim that they are descendants of the ancient Yādavas. The Bharatpur princes, for example, regard themselves as of the same race as the Yādavas.<sup>158</sup> But we need not attach much historical value to such traditions, unsupported by positive evidence.

From the scanty information which we derive from different sources it does not appear that the Jāts played any significant role in the history of India prior to the reign of Aurangzīb, although stray incidents of their undaunted valour are referred to at different times.

In the third decade of the eleventh century they were bold enough to attack the army of Sultān Mahmūd of Ghaznī on his return journey from Somnāth. It was to punish them that in the autumn of A.D. 1026 he undertook his seventeenth expedition to India. Both Nizām-ud-dīn Ahmad and Firishta say that he marched to Multan with a large force, and on his arrival there, he constructed a fleet of fourteen hundred boats, each of which was furnished with iron spikes, projecting from the prow and sides. There were twenty archers in each boat, with bows and arrows, grenades, and naphtha. On receipt of information of this armament, the Jāts sent their families, together with their valuable articles, into the neighbouring islands, and, with a flotilla of four thousand boats according to some, and eight thousand according to others, met the enemies. A serious naval engagement followed in which they (the Jāts) were defeated, and almost all of them were either drowned or slain, and their women and children made captives.<sup>159</sup>

After the fall of Pṛithvīrāj in the second battle of Tarain in A.D. 1192, the Jāts of Hariyana, under their leader Jatwan, invaded Hansi and compelled its Muslim governor to take shelter in the fortress. Qutb-ud-dīn marched post-haste to his relief, and, on his approach the Jāt leader raised the siege and met him in an engagement in which, after a bloody contest, Jatwan was defeated and killed.<sup>160</sup>

Later on, references are found about their predatory habits in different places and in different times. Their activities seemed to have been kept in check to a great extent during the strong administration of the Surs and the Mughuls. As in the case of the Sikhs,<sup>161</sup> so in the case of the Jāts, the bigotry of Aurangzīb and the consequent disabilities, humiliations and sufferings of the Hindus excited the Jāts and caused great discontent among them.

The Mughul government had been following a policy "which left behind it a legacy of undying hatred."<sup>162</sup> One *faujdār* of Mathura, Murshid Qulī Khān Turkman (who died in 1638) had offended the Jāts by abduction of women from the villages and religious gatherings at Govardhan on the birth day of Śrī Kṛishṇa.<sup>163</sup> Abdun Nabi Khān, another *faujdār* of Mathura (August, 1660—May, 1669) "built a Jama Masjid in the heart of the city of Mathura (1661-1662) on the ruins of a Hindu temple. Later, in 1666, he forcibly removed the carved stone railing presented by Dara Shukoh to Keshab Rai's temple."<sup>164</sup> All these at last goaded the Jāts to break out into open rebellion.

## 2. Revolt

### (a) Gokla

In 1669, the Jāt peasants rose under their leader Gokla, the Zamindar of Tilpat. Abdun Nabi, who opposed them, was slain in the action. The rebels then sacked the *parganā* of Saidabad, and disorder and confusion followed in the neighbouring district of Āgra also. Aurangzīb dispatched a powerful army under Radandaz Khān to suppress them, but it was of no avail, and the situation became so critical that the emperor himself had to proceed to the disturbed area. With undaunted courage, Gokla assembled twenty thousand men, met the imperialists at a place twenty miles off from Tilpat and fought against them most heroically, but his men were no match for the disciplined and well-equipped Mughul army led by Hasan 'Alī Khān, the *faujdār* of Mathura. Being defeated in the sanguinary battle, Gokla fled to Tilpat which was then besieged by the imperialists and it fell after three days. The imperialists lost 4,000 men while Gokla lost 5,000. Seven thousand Jāts, including the leader Gokla and his family, were made prisoners. Gokla was eventually slain at Āgra, and the members of his family converted to Islam.<sup>165</sup>

### (b) Rājārām

But the spirit which Gokla had infused into his men did not die with him, and after several years, other capable leaders step-

ped into his place. They were Rājārām, son of Bhajja Singh, Chief of Sinsanī, and Rām Chehra, Chief of Sogor.<sup>166</sup> They gave military training to the Jāt peasants, equipped them with fire-arms, and gave them the semblance of an organized and regular army. They also built several small forts (*garhi*) in the midst of deep forests and erected mud walls around them for defence against artillery. These forts served as refuges in times of necessity, bases for military operations and places for storage of their booty. The road from Delhi to Āgra and Dholpur, and thence via Mālwa to the Deccan lay through the Jāt country, and the Jāts carried on plundering raids on this highway and the suburbs of Āgra. The emperor's long stay in the Deccan and consequent military weakness in Northern India had encouraged them to plunder the ill-guarded rich convoys passing through their country. Safi Khān, the governor of Āgra, was unable to check the lawless activities of Rājārām who had closed the roads to traffic, sacked many villages, and proceeded towards Sikandra, but Mir Abu-'l-Fazl, the *faujdār* of the place, succeeded in driving him back only after a stiff fight, thus saving the tomb of Akbar from being plundered.<sup>167</sup>

Rājārām became more daring and attacked Aghar Khān, the great Turānī warrior, near Dholpur, while on his way from Kābul to Bijāpur, and not only carried off a booty consisting of carts, horses and women but also slew the Khān with his son-in-law and eighty followers, when he was pursuing the raiders (1687).<sup>168</sup> Mīr Ibrāhīm, entitled Mahābat Khān, was also attacked, near Sikandra, on his way to the Punjab, but the raiders were driven back after a hard contest. After this, Rājārām sacked the tomb of Akbar, and damaging the building, carried away carpets, lamps, precious stones, and gold and silver vessels, etc. (1688).<sup>169</sup>

Highly perturbed at the atrocious deeds of the Jāts, Aurangzīb sent his grandson, Bīdār Bakht, to take charge of the military operations against them. Although the prince was a lad of seventeen only, he proved worthy of the charge imposed on him, and tried his best to improve the situation. An internecine war was then going on between the Shekhāwat and Chauhān clans of Rājputs in which the Shekhāwat clan secured the support of the Mughul *faujdār* of Mewāt, and the Chauhān clan that of Rājārām. When a severe battle was going on between the contending parties, the Jāt leader was killed by a Mughul musketeer (July, 1688).<sup>170</sup>

Bīdār Bakht then besieged the fort of Sinsanī but the Jāts harassed the Mughuls in every possible manner, by cutting off their food and water supplies and making incessant night attacks in their

camps. In spite of these hardships, the Mughuls continued their siege operations with great tenacity, and at last captured the fort (1690).<sup>171</sup> Bishun Singh Kachhwā, *Rājā* of Ambar (Jaipur), who had been appointed *faujdār* of Mathura with special duty of suppressing the Jāts, surprised the fort of Sogor when its gate was found open to receive its supply of grain (21 May, 1691).<sup>172</sup>

Thus fell the two important strongholds of the Jāts, and their power was humbled for the time being but not crushed permanently. They remained quiet for some years till another formidable man arose to lead them.

### (c) *Churāman*

This was Churāman (1695-1721), the son of Bhajja Singh and younger brother of Rājārām. Churāman started his career as a free-booter, and, within a short time, brought under his leadership one thousand infantry and five hundred horsemen. At first, he used to plunder wayfarers and merchant caravans, but, later on, when his strength increased, he sacked *parganās* also. He built a place of refuge in the midst of a thick forest about forty-eight Kos from Āgra and dug a deep moat around this refuge which was gradually made into a mud fort, subsequently known as Bharatpur.<sup>173</sup>

“Being more enterprising than those who had preceded him, he not only increased the number of his soldiers, but also strengthened them by the addition of fusiliers (musketeers) and a troop of cavalry, whom he shortly afterwards set on foot and having robbed many of the ministers of the Court on the road, he attacked the royal wardrobe and the revenue sent from the provinces.”<sup>174</sup>

He re-occupied Sinsanī from the imperialists but could not retain it long and lost it again in October, 1705.

He had great capacity for organization and was a practical politician, who made “clever use of opportunities”, whenever possible. Many of his activities and the full development of his power were seen after the death of Aurangzīb when the disturbed political conditions in the Mughul Empire due to the wars of succession among the sons of this emperor, and then among the descendants of Bahādur Shāh, afforded him suitable opportunities to achieve his objective.

The history of Churāman after the death of Aurangzīb will be treated in Vol. VIII.

## V. THE BUNDELĀS

1. *Early History*

The origin of the Bundelā clan is extremely obscure. They themselves claim to be a branch of the Gaharwār clan and to have migrated from the country round Banaras. It is said that one Sohan Pāl came down to the Western part of the region, which later came to be called Bundelkhand, and about A.D. 1292 he managed to establish a small independent principality there. In the beginning of the sixteenth century A.D., one Rudra Pratāp, ninth in descent from Sohan Pāl, rose to eminence, and in 1531 founded the town of Orchha and made it his capital. All the existing Bundelā ruling families are the direct descendants of Rudra Pratāp.

The Bundelās as a race possess sturdy physique and indomitable courage. The environs of their new surroundings greatly encouraged and fostered their restless spirit of adventure and enterprise. Bundelkhand was an absolutely wild tract and especially difficult of access in the rainy season. Its dense forests, the rapid streams and the steep hills shielded them from all outside invaders.

When Akbar ascended the Mughul throne, Rudra Pratāp's second son, Madhukar Shāh, was ruling at Orchha. Under his leadership the Bundelās gathered strength, extended their territories and were forged into a formidable force. All this raised Madhukar Shāh's political importance. After repeated Mughul expeditions he was forced into submission in 1578, but even later, more than one expedition had to be sent to keep him under check.

2. *Bīr Singh Bundelā*

Madhukar Shāh's reckless adventurous spirit was inherited by his second son, Bīr Singh, who took up the life of a freebooter soon after his father's death in 1592. Later, when Prince Salīm revolted against his father and set up his own Court at Allahabad, Bīr Singh took up service with him. Later, in 1602, at the instigation of Salīm, Bīr Singh intercepted Abu-'l-Fazl, then returning to Āgra from the Deccan, and murdered him near Antri (about 16 miles south of Gwālior). The Mughul forces relentlessly pursued Bīr Singh for this outrage during next three years but without any success. On Akbar's death, however, when Salīm ascended the throne as Jahāngīr, fortune smiled on Bīr Singh, who was duly rewarded with 3-*hāzāri manṣab*. Two years later Bīr Singh was made the ruler of Orchha State, thus replacing his elder brother, Rājā Rām Chandra (also known as Rām Shāh), who had to rest contented with the small principality of Chanderi.

Bīr Singh was a great favourite of Jahāngīr and hence 'he acquired such power as scarcely any other of the Rajas of India attained to.' The Bundelā power reached its zenith under him. He grew in wealth and power, and in later days when the imperial administration grew slack, he extended his own territories and brought under his rule vast neighbouring fertile tracts and even levied contributions from the neighbouring princes. He was a great builder as well. The palace-fortress and temple at Orchha and the magnificent palace at Datia were all built by him, and are most noteworthy as marking a definite stage in the evolution of mixed Hindu-Mughul architecture with peculiar elaborations characteristic of the local style. Bīr Singh was permitted by Jahāngīr to build a temple in Mathura at a cost of 33 lakhs of rupees, which was later turned into a mosque by Aurangzīb. Bīr Singh was a great patron of Hindī poetry; the great Hindī poet, Keshav, was a jewel of his Court.

Bīr Singh's reign, glorious as it was, left behind a legacy of bitter family feuds, which more than once threatened the very existence of the premier Bundelā State of Orchha. The descendants of the displaced ruler, Rājā Rām Chandra, and the other branches of the Orchha family formed an opposition group against Bīr Singh and his successors, and whenever any opportunity presented itself they asserted their own independence and cut themselves off from the parent State. Thus, the independent principalities of Chanderi, Datia and others ceased to follow the lead of the rulers of Orchha, and when occasion demanded they did not even hesitate to assist the Mughul forces in invading Orchha State.

### 3. *Jujhār Singh*

On Bīr Singh's death in 1627, his eldest son, Jujhār Singh, succeeded him. He went down to Āgra and paid homage to the new Emperor Shāh Jahān. He was confirmed in his rank and *jāgir* but soon after he left the capital without permission and began to prepare for his own independence at Orchha. In 1629 more than one imperial force began to close down on Orchha from different sides. Irich was attacked and taken. Any further opposition seemed useless and Jujhār Singh was forced into submission. He agreed to pay a large tribute and to send down a contingent of his force on service with the imperial army in the Deccan.

But Jujhār Singh could not long remain quiet. In 1634, he took the old Gond capital, Chaurāgarh, slew its Rājā, Prem Nārāyan, and seized his treasures. Shāh Jahān sent three armies to invade Bundelkhand from three different sides, with Prince Aurangzīb as their nominal supreme commander. Devī Singh Bundelā, the

great-grandson of Rājā Rām Chandra, who was offered the throne of Orchha, most readily assisted the imperial armies in this invasion. Thereupon, Jujhār Singh lost heart and removed his family from Orchha, which was stormed and taken by the Mughul troops in October, 1635. Jujhār Singh fled to Dhamuni and thence across the Narmada to Chaurāgarh. Mughul forces pursued him even further through the Gond country of Deogarh and Chanda. Jujhār Singh and his son Bikramajit were finally surprised by the Gonds when asleep in the jungles and done to death in December, 1635.

#### 4. *Champat Rai Bundelā*

Devī Singh was installed as the ruler of Orchha (October, 1635), but the nobles of the Bundelās refused to bow to the traitor. They now rallied round Champat Rāi Bundelā of Mahoba, the great-grandson of Udayajit, the third son of Rudra Pratāp. Champat Rāi had all along been a close associate of Rājā Bīr Singh Dev and had earned the reputation of being a brave fighter and courageous leader of men. He had developed his small *jāgīr* into a principality of his own and had extended the bounds of its territories into eastern Bundelkhand at the expense of the Rājās who were still ruling there. He delighted in opposing the Mughul forces and fought both times on the side of Jujhār Singh, but he did not follow him in his flight. He crowned Jujhār Singh's infant son, Pṛithvīrāj, and raided the territories of Orchha. In the meanwhile, as Devī Singh had failed to restore peace and order in the Orchha State, it was taken out of his control and he reverted to his principality of Chanderi. Orchha continued to be without any ruler for the next six years.

All efforts of the various successive Mughul officers to restore peace and order in Bundelkhand failed. The boy-ruler, Pṛithvīrāj, was captured (April, 1640) and lodged in State prison at Gwālior, but Champat Rāi had escaped and was still at large. At last in May, 1642, Rājā Pahār Singh Bundelā, the younger brother of Jujhār Singh, who had all along loyally served the Mughul empire, was appointed the ruler of Orchha. Within a month Champat Rāi submitted to him and entered into his service with the approval of the Emperor. Peace and order was thus restored in Bundelkhand.

But the good relations thus established between Pahār Singh and Champat Rāi did not last long. Champat Rāi left Pahār Singh, took up service with Dārā, and accompanied him to the third siege of Qandahār. Bitter animosity now prevailed between Pahār Singh and Champat Rāi, and the former managed to bring Champat Rāi into disfavour with Dārā. Pahār Singh died soon after (1654), but Champat Rāi had his vengeance on Dārā four years later when he showed to Aurangzīb an obscure and out-of-the way, but a safe

ford of the Chambal for his forces to cross it (May, 1658).

Champat Rāi fought for Aurangzīb in the battle of Sāmogarh and continued to be on his side till the advance of Shujā' towards Khajuhā, when he deserted from the army of Aurangzīb and returned home to take up his old game of robbery. He made extensive raids and rendered the Mālwa roads extremely unsafe. He robbed the territories of other Bundelā Chiefs also as freely as the Mughul dominions. But this could not continue long and in February, 1659, Aurangzīb sent a Mughul force under Subhakaran Bundelā against him, which was further reinforced some time later by Rājā Devī Singh Bundelā and other troops from Mālwa. Champat Rāi now became anxious to make peace, but all his overtures were turned down. He moved from one place to another, seeking shelter, but was relentlessly pursued and even his one-time friends and relatives declined to give him refuge. Most of the local Bundelā Chieftains, too, joined in this hunt. Finally, about the middle of October, 1661, he ended his life by committing suicide.

#### 5. *Chhatra Sāl: his career up to 1707 A.D.*

Thus perished Champat Rāi, but his fourth son, Chhatra Sāl, who had accompanied his father in his last flight, escaped his father's enemies. A few years later, at the request of Mirzā Rājā Jai Singh, he was enlisted in the Mughul army and accompanied him to the Deccan. He fought well in the Purandhar campaign (1665) and the invasion of Deogarh (1667). But Chhatra Sāl did not feel happy while serving the Mughuls. He longed for a life of adventure and independence like that of Shivājī; hence he visited Shivājī and sought to enter his service (1670). Shivājī, however, advised him to return to his own country and promote local risings against Aurangzīb so as to distract the Mughul forces. Chhatra Sāl's efforts to win over loyal but experienced Bundelā leaders, like Subhakaran, to join him in his plan for a national rising against the Mughul Empire, failed. All the enthusiasm and efforts of Chhatra Sāl would have ended in nothing, had Aurangzīb not unwittingly come to his help by launching at this very moment upon the policy of temple-destruction which aroused universal indignation among the Hindus, and those of Bundelkhand and Mālwa prepared to defend the places of their religious worship. Hence, when Chhatra Sāl appeared in their midst to oppose the Mughul empire, he was hailed as the champion of Hindu faith and Bundelā liberty. The rebels elected him as their king. Memories of Champat Rāi were once again revived and the hopes of gains from plunder soon gathered round Chhatra Sāl vast hordes of Bundelās and discontented Afghāns who had settled down in these parts.

Chhatra Sāl's earlier raids were mostly directed against the Dhamuni district and the rich city of Sironj. The Mughul officers in charge of these places were unable to successfully resist Chhatra Sāl. Many petty chiefs now joined Chhatra Sāl and like the Marāthās he levied *chauth* and spared the places that paid it to him. As Aurangzīb became more and more deeply entangled in the Deccan, Chhatra Sāl took fullest advantage of the opportunity. He captured Kālinjar and Dhamuni and even looted Bhilsa. The range of his raids now extended up to Mālwa. In 1699, however, Chhatra Sāl had to face a temporary reverse at the hands of Sher Afghān, the *faujdār* of Ranod, but a year later, in the return fight, Sher Afghān was killed and there was none left in these parts of the country who would dare oppose Chhatra Sāl. Finally, in 1705, Firūz Jang induced Aurangzīb to make peace with this irrepressible Bundelā. Chhatra Sāl was granted 4-*hāzārī* *Manṣab* and he visited the emperor in the Deccan. He stayed there in peace till the death of Aurangzīb, when he returned to Buldelkhand.

#### 6. *Bundelkhand in A.D. 1707*

Since the time of Akbar, Bundelkhand had been included in the *sūba* of Allahabad. The position had remained unchanged even in 1707. At this time, however, Bundelkhand itself was roughly divided into two main political units, eastern and western. In eastern Bundelkhand, Chhatra Sāl had carved out a big kingdom for himself. The long period of his continued opposition to the Mughul rule ended in 1705, and now there followed a period of about fifteen years during which Chhatra Sāl fully co-operated with the Mughul Empire. In western Bundelkhand there were two large Bundelā States, Orchha and Datia, which had remained undisturbed for the last fifty years, save what depredations Chhatra Sāl or his associates committed there during their innumerable raids. Rājā Udaut Singh was then ruling over Orchha and he continued to guide its destinies for another thirty years. Datia State once formed part of the Orchha State, but it had lately emerged as a separate State, mainly due to the continued loyal brilliant services of its two successive rulers, Rāo Subhakaran and his son Rāo Dalpat. Dalpat, however, was killed in the battle of Jajau, and for once in 1707 Datia was threatened with internal strife due to disputed succession. Again, there was the petty State of Chanderi ruled over by the descendants of Rājā Devī Singh, who was installed as the ruler of Orchha in 1735. There were also numerous other small *jāgīrs* and *zamindāris* interspersed with the imperial lands, which only added to the difficulties and disorders of the province.

## APPENDIX

## AKBAR'S MEWĀR POLICY

If one may use a modern term, Akbar opened his "peace offensive" against the Rājasthān States in 1562, when he married the daughter of Rājā Bharmal of Ambar. Abu-'l-Fazl writes that Bharmal offered his daughter (AN, tr. II, 243), but it is more probable that he was induced to do so and, in any case, there must have been exchange of diplomatic agents and views before the Rājā offered his daughter to Akbar.

During the next five years Akbar was busy with subduing various rebellions, and consolidating his position; but during this period, too, he remitted the pilgrim tax in 1563 and the *jizya* in 1564 (AN, II, 295, 317). There was, however, no response from the Rājasthān princes to these generous moves. Ultimately he must have been persuaded that force of arms was necessary to subdue Rājasthān, and that if Mewār were conquered other States would submit peacefully. This calculation was not wrong, for after the fall of Chitor several important Rājput States submitted voluntarily to Akbar (AN, II, 518, 522). Still Mewār was not conquered.

For the next few years Akbar was busy elsewhere and could afford to ignore Uday Singh. However, Akbar re-opened his "peace offensive" against Rājasthān after crushing the Gujarāt rebellion in 1573. Uday Singh had died the previous year, and Akbar possibly expected his son to submit tamely. According to Abu-'l-Fazl, several officers including Mān Singh, Jagannāth and Gopāl were ordered by Akbar to proceed from Gujarāt to Dungārpur by way of Īdar and from there to Āgra. Abu-'l-Fazl adds: "The Rana and other zamindars of the neighbourhood were to be treated with princely favours and to be brought to do homage, and the disobedient were to be punished." (AN, tr. III, 48-9). Mān Singh was opposed at Dungārpur, but he defeated the local army. He then went to Udaipur where he was by all accounts received cordially by *Mahārānā* Pratāp. Abu-'l-Fazl states that the *Mahārānā* "put on the royal *khilat*", but "owing to his evil nature he proceeded to make excuses (about not going to court) alleging that 'his well-wishers would not suffer him to go.'" (AN, tr. III, 57). Rājput chronicles are unanimous that Mān Singh took umbrage at Pratāp's refusal to sit with him to dine. It is not difficult to reconcile the two versions, but the main point is that both the Mughul and Mewār versions agree that at first the *Mahārānā* received Mān Singh with at least outward show of cordiality, but refused to attend the Mughul court.

However, the *Mahārānā's* behaviour must have been such as to make Akbar believe that he could still be persuaded to accept his terms. So a few months after Mān Singh's mission, his father Rājā Bhagwān Dās, after subduing Īdar, came to Gogūnda, the temporary capital of the *Mahārānā*. Abu-'l-Fazl writes that the *Mahārānā* expressed his contrition, and sent with Bhagwān Dās his son (AN, tr. III, 93). In the previous paragraph (*ibid*, 92) Abu-'l-Fazl has

mentioned that Bhagwān Dās presented to Akbar "Umra, the son and heir of the Rana." But this Umrā or Amar was most probably the son of the Rājā of Īdar, whom Bhagwān Dās had just defeated. Before we discuss this point, we shall only note another mission sent by Akbar to the *Mahārānā*.

Shortly after Bhagwān Dās, Todar Mal also met the *Mahārānā*, but failed to accomplish anything. (AN, tr. III, 93). It is possible to conclude from Abu-'l-Fazl's laconic reference to Todar Mal's visit to the *Mahārānā* that the resources of diplomacy were exhausted and the issue could only be decided by war.

The point, however, to be considered is how far the *Mahārānā* was ready to accommodate the Mughul demand. Did he really send his son, Amar Singh, or agree to do so? The probability is against such a conclusion for the reasons given below.

In this connection Kavirāj Shyāmaldās justly points out the following statement in Jahāngīr's *Memoirs*:

"The real point was that as Rana Amar Singh and his father, proud in the strength of their hilly country and their abodes, had never seen or obeyed any of the kings of Hindustān, this should be brought about in my reign." (*Tūzuk*, tr. I, 274). It is apparent, therefore, that Amar had never visited the Mughul court. Sir Thomas Roe, who was with Jahāngīr, when Karna, the son of *Mahārānā* Amar, came to the court also writes that this was the first time a descendant of Porus (i.e. Karna) visited the Mughul court. It is also to be noted that in 1614, peace was concluded by Prince Khurram with *Mahārānā* Amar Singh on practically identical terms, namely that he would send his son Karna to the Mughul court but would not attend himself, and Jahāngīr took it to be a great triumph, which indirectly shows that *Mahārānā* Pratāp never offered such terms.

There is another factor which has not yet been noticed by any historian. *Mahārānā* Pratāp had an unusually huge elephant called Rāmparsād, which was captured by the Mughul army during the battle of Haldīghāt, and brought to Akbar by the historian Badāūnī. In this connection Badāūnī writes: "...I came back to Fathpur with news of victory and brought with me the well-known elephant (the subject of dispute) from Rana Kika" (Badāūnī, tr. II, 234-35). A little later, Badāūnī again states: "Then the Amirs wished to send to the Emperor the elephant named Ram-parsad which had come into their hands with the spoil (and which His Imperial Highness had several times demanded of the Rana and he, unfortunately for him, had declined to surrender it)....," Badāūnī tr. II, 241. It is evident from Badāūnī that according to him the elephant was the cause of dispute. This may not be wholly true, but Abu-'l-Fazl corroborates Badāūnī to some extent, for describing the battle of Haldīghāt he states: "...Ram Parshad... that noted elephant—which had often been a subject of conversation in the sacred assemblies...." (AN, tr. III, 246) and among the booty brought by Badāūnī, he specially mentions Rām Parshād (ibid, 247). By sacred assembly, Abu-'l-Fazl meant Akbar's court. It is evident

that the *Mahārānā* had refused to surrender to Akbar an elephant, though Akbar's weakness for elephants was quite well known. Is it likely that such an uncompromising man would agree to send his son to the Mughul court? We do not think so. Added to this is Abu-'l-Fazl's silence as to when Amar returned to his father. It seems to us, therefore, that Abu-'l-Fazl's uncorroborated testimony that Pratāp sent his eldest son to Akbar's court is wrong.

1. *Memoirs of Bābur*, pp. 612-13. Bābur refers to Karmavati as Padmāvati.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 616-17.
3. Bayley, *Gujarat*, p. 350. T.A. III, pt.i, 350; pt.ii, 610-11. An inscription mentioned by Ojha (*History of Udaipur* p. 291) records the repair of certain Jain temples at Satrunjaya by Ratna Singh's minister Karma Singh with the help of a *farmān* of Bahādur. Ojha rightly points out that this *farmān* must have been issued at the instance of Ratna Singh probably during these negotiations.
4. According to the *Virvinod* (II, 5) a Rājput tradition persists that Sūrya Mal, afraid of the growing tension with Ratna Singh, induced his sister Karmavati to send a *rākhi* to Humāyūn. But apparently nothing came out of this.
5. Bayley, *Gujarat*, 357.
6. *Ibid.*, 370.
7. *Ibid.*, *Virvinod*, II, 27.
8. "Tātār Khān expected that, as the Rānā had a large force at his disposal, he would offer battle and oppose his advance, but no opposition was made." Bayley, *op. cit.* 370.
9. Muhanote Nensi mentions (*Khyat*, Hindi tr. I, 54) that Vikramāditya's brother Uday Singh was given to Bahādur as hostage. But not only no other Rājput source, but not even any Persian source, mentions this event. Further, Nensi's statement that Bahādur's intention was to convert Uday Singh and adopt him as his (Bahādur's) successor seems to be quite improbable. Nensi further adds that Uday Singh, on learning of Bahādur's intention, fled from his camp, which led Bahādur to besiege Chitor for a second time.  
This may appear plausible, for Bahādur was offered practically the same terms which he ultimately obtained, before he opened the siege, and then suddenly returned, which apparently seems inexplicable. But Bahādur had good reasons to draw out of Chitor, as during his absence, Nizām Shāh had invaded Gujarāt.  
For a discussion of Nensi's story, see Ojha, *History of Udaipur*, I, 396, f.n. 3. Ojha also rejects Nensi's story partly on the grounds mentioned above. For Bahādur's personal obligation to Karmavati, see Bayley, *op. cit.*, pp. 305, 372.
10. *Virvinod*, II, 29.
11. Bahādur committed the same mistake, when after the fall of Chitor, instead of attacking Humāyūn, he prepared a strong defensive position relying on his artillery to drive off Mughul attacks. As a result, soon he was reduced to such straits, that one night he had to flee from his camp, and his army, till then victorious, never recovered from this shock.
12. *Virvinod*, II, 63-64. Muhanote Nensi, *Khyat*, Hindi, tr. I, 57. Ojha, *History of Udaipur*, I, 404.
13. Abbas Sherwani, *Tārīkh-i-Sher Shāhī*, HIED, IV, 406; Qanungo, *Sher Shah*, p. 332; Ojha *op. cit.*, p. 406; G. N. Sharma, *Mewar and the Mughul Emperors*, p. 61. According to Sherwani, followed by Dr. Qanungo, Sher Shāh left Mewār in charge of two Muslim officers. There is nothing however to indicate that Uday Singh was driven out of Chitor. It is likely that these two officers were political agents.  
Though no chronicles record it, it is quite probable that Uday Singh had come to an understanding with Sher Shāh before he sent him the key. Sher Shāh's fight with Māldev had been a very close affair, and he must have thought it politic to be a friend of Māldev's enemy.
14. "In Rajputana Sher Shāh made no attempt to uproot the local chiefs or to reduce them to thorough subjection as he had done in other parts of Hindusthan. He found the task dangerous as well as fruitless. He did not aim at the complete subversion of their independence", K. R. Qanungo, *Sher Shah*, 333.
15. AN, Tr. II, 443-44; Ojha, *op. cit.*, 412; V. Smith, *Akbar the Great Mogul*; 82, Sharma, *op. cit.* (Badāūnī, tr. II, 48.

According to Abu-'l-Fazl, Akbar one day jestingly remarked to Sakta Singh, a son of *Mahārānā* Uday Singh, that though most of the chieftains of India had paid him respect, the *Mahārānā* had not done so, so he proposed to punish him. Thus alarmed, Sakta ran away without leave to warn his father. This enraged Akbar who determined to chastise the *Mahārānā* (AN, II, 442; 462). What Abu-'l-Fazl overlooks is that up to 1567, the only State in Rajasthan which had paid homage to Akbar was Ambar.

Nizām-ud-dīn and Badāūnī relate that Akbar was enraged at Uday Singh for his giving asylum to Bāz Bahādūr. This may have been a minor cause. What is surprising is first, that Akbar should have suddenly decided to attack Chitor, when from Uday Singh's past records he could have expected a peaceful surrender, and secondly that Uday Singh on his part should have contested the issue in 1567 instead of surrendering as he had done to Sher Shāh in 1543. This indicates that surrendering to Sher Shāh was a token surrender but Uday Singh realized that Akbar's intentions were quite different. If we ignore Tod's account of Uday Singh, which is usually accepted by modern historians, it would appear that instead of being a poltroon, Uday Singh was a cautious but determined man, without the dash and brilliant leadership of his illustrious son, but not altogether an unworthy sire. What is overlooked in the general condemnation of Uday Singh for not sharing the fate of the besieged garrison at Chitor is that he never surrendered to the Mughuls as did most other chiefs of Rājasthān. It seems to us, that under the circumstances, his decision to quit Chitor was the correct one, and the fact that the fort heroically held out for some time shows that he had some power of organization. It may be recalled that *Mahārāna* Pratāp left Kumbhalmer, almost under similar circumstances, but that does not reflect on his honour, and nobody would say of him as V. Smith, following Tod, says of Uday Singh that, "Udai Singh shamelessly abandoned the post of honour and hid himself in distant forests." V. Smith, op. cit. 86.

16. *Virvinod*, II, 75, 83.

17. For reference, see Sharma, op. cit., p. 71.

18. AN; tr. II, 466-67, Smith, op. cit., 88. Sharma, op. cit., 76.

19. *Virvinod*, II, 80-81. Ojha (op. cit., 414-15) apparently follows *Virvinod*, though he does not refer to it. Sharma, however, contests Ojha's view on the ground, that no other Rājput source mentions it, and that the *Amarakāvya vaṁśāvalī* states that he died on the spot. The verse quoted by Dr. Sharma, however, is corrupt, (p. 76, f.n. 61) and according to his correction (p. 252) should read as follows:

*Dillīsa-saṁyukta-guṭī-prahasāt Śrī-Jaimalākhyo ravi-maṇḍala mahat I*  
*Vibhidya paśchāt tridivam prayātaḥ . . antaḥpure jvālita eva tad bhataih II*

There is nothing in the verse to show that Jai Mal died on the spot; on the other hand *paśchāt tridivam prayātaḥ* indicates that though he was hurt by Akbar's shot he died later.

Dr. Sharma's other contention is that no other Rājput source corroborates MM. Ojha. Here he is wrong, for, as pointed out, MM. Ojha probably got his facts from the *Virvinod*. It should be noted that Kavīrāj Shyāmaldās knew the other version and in a footnote remarks that Abu-'l-Fazl being on the enemy side did not know the truth.

20. *Virvinod*, II, 82.

21. Badāūnī, tr. II, 137, AN, II, 513-19; see also Ojha, *History of Bikaner*; I; 155-56.

22. Badāūnī, tr. II, 239.

23. The *Amarakāvya*, quoted by Shyāmaldās, gives certain information about Uday Singh which, if true, would show that he enjoyed considerable local power, *Virvinod* II, 87. Shyāmaldās's evaluation of Uday Singh (*Virvinod*, II, 86) is far nearer the mark than Tod's.

24. The custom in the Mewār royal family is that the successor to the throne does not attend the cremation of the deceased king, Ojha, op. cit., 423, f.n. 3.

25. Sharma (op. cit., 86, f.n., 14) points out that the State emblem "bears testimony to this day to the equal status given to the Bhils where both Pratap and a Bhil are standing on either side of Eklingji, the titular deity of Mewar."

26. "On seeing this circumstance the Rana could no longer hold his ground but left the ranks and fled, and confusion fell on the army of the Rana." Badāūnī, tr. II, 238.

27. Ojha, op. cit. 463-64; for a traditional account of Bhāmashāhā's (Pratāp's Prime Minister) administration of the treasury, *Virvinod*, 251.

28. See Appendix.
29. AN, tr. III, 236-37. Akbar gave Mān Singh written instructions. For a description of the battle of Haldighāt, see AN, tr. III, 244-47; Badāūnī, tr. II, 233-44. V. Smith's description of the actual battle is scanty (Smith, *Akbar, the Great Mogul*, 148-53) and he relies to some extent on Tod (*Annals of Rajasthan*, Routledge, 1914, I, 264-78) though he avoids Tod's palpable mistakes without pointing them out, as was done by Shyāmaldās (*Virvinod*, II, 154-55). See also Ojha, op. cit., 429-43, for the traditional account of the battle and for a very interesting quotation (p. 441, f.n. 1) from the unpublished Jagadis temple inscription; G. C. Sharma, op. cit., 91-106, gives the best account of the battle. He has consulted several unpublished Rājput chronicles and has discovered an interesting inscription. (p. 91, f.n., 18).
30. Badāūnī, tr. II, 240.
31. Badāūnī, tr. II, 241.
32. Badāūnī, tr. II, 247. Abu-'l-Fazl states: "The officers (i.e. Mān Singh and Āsaf Khān) from prudential motives did not go in quest of him, and on account of the difficulty in transporting provisions they came out of that stony land and reared the standards of victory in the open plain." (AN, tr. III, 259-60). This indicates that Mān Singh was forced to evacuate Gogūnda.
33. AN, tr. III, 269.
34. AN, tr. III, 267.
35. AN, tr. III, 272.
36. AN, tr. III, 274.
37. AN, tr. III, 274-5.
38. AN, tr. III, 277.
39. Abu-'l-Fazl does not give the date of Shāhbāz Khān's appointment, AN, tr. III, 339. But it is apparent from p. 337 (ibid) that it could not have been long after 11 March, 1578. Sharma (op. cit. 111) gives the date of Shāhbāz Khān's expedition as 15 October, 1577, which is evidently wrong; Sharma does not give any reference for this date.
40. Abu-'l-Fazl states that Bhagwān Dās and Mān Singh were sent back, "lest from their feelings as landholders there might be delay in inflicting retribution on that vain disturber (the Rānā)". AN, tr. III, 339. It appears that Mān Singh was still under some suspicion. It is possible, as stated in the *Tārīkh-i-Nizāmī* that he refused to devastate Mewār (Badāūnī, tr. II, 247, f.n. i). As we have seen, after the battle of Haldighāt also Mān Singh's action or inaction gave rise to suspicion. AN, tr. III, 259-60.
- 40a. AN, tr. III, 340. The *Mahārānā* seems to have left the fort after this accident.
41. For an account of the besieged garrison, see, *Virvinod* II, 257; Ojha, op. cit., 447.
42. AN, tr. III, 355, 380. Shāhbāz Khān, like other commanders before him, seems to have thought that with the capture of Kumbhalgarh, Udaipur, etc. his task was finished.
43. Abu-'l-Fazl writes: "Owing to his (Shāhbāz Khān's) energy and good services, Rānā Pertāb became a desert-vagabond, and fell upon evil days. He thought every morning would be his last day, and blistered his feet with running about in terror." AN, tr. III, 459-60.
44. AN, tr. III, 661.
45. AN, tr. III, 705-06.
46. *Virvinod*, II, 159.
47. Ibid, II, 157.
48. *Amareśah Khānkhāna-daranām haraṇām vyadhāt I*  
*Suvāsinībat santoshya preshayāmāsa tāḥ punaḥ II*  
 (Rāj Praśasti, IV, v. 32. *Virvinod*, II, 588).  
*Kumārastv-Amareśa nāmā Mlechchhā-bhimāna-*  
*kshayakāri-dhāmā*  
*Jagrāha vai Serapurāj-javena sa*  
*Khāna-khānasya-kalatram āpa*  
 (Amarakāvya *Vaṁśāvalī*, f. 45 (b),  
 Quoted from Sharma, op. cit., 115, f.n. 119. Sharma quotes another Rājasthānī verse to the same effect.)
49. Ojha (op. cit. 467) accepts the same date as given in the *Virvinod*, (II, 164) but gives the Christian date as 19 January. The difference of ten days is probably due to Ojha's converting it into N.S. The *Mahārānā* was born on Jyeshṭha Śukla 13, 1493 V.S. 31 May, 1539).
50. V. Smith, *Akbar the Great Mogul*, 151.
51. For details, see, Sharma, op. cit., 123. Ojha, op. cit., 491, 506.

52. AN, tr. III, 1155. It is not possible to find out the date of this expedition but it was in the 45th regnal year which began on 11 March, 1600, *ibid*, 1233.
53. AN, tr. III, 1233-34.
54. For the reasons which led to Sāgar's joining the Mughuls, see, *Virvinod*, II, 219-21. Sāgar is not mentioned in the AN, and it is possible that he came to Akbar's notice after the 46th year of Akbar's reign (1601), that is, the end of Abu-'l-Fazl's *Akbar-nāmā*. Sāgar however is several times mentioned in the *Tūzuk*, where he is referred to as Shankar.
55. *Tūzuk*, tr. by Rogers, I, 17.
56. *Ibid*, 26.
57. *Ibid*, 29.
58. *Ibid*, 50.
59. *Ibid*, 70, 73.
60. *Ibid*, 74, 90. Shyāmaldās gives a detailed account of Parvīz's campaign which, as he correctly states, is not to be found in Persian chronicles (*Virvinod*, II, 222-224). He states that Parvīz brought Bagha Singh to Jahāngīr (*ibid*, p. 223). Jahāngīr is silent about Bagha Singh's subsequent fate. Ojha (*op. cit.* pp. 480-81) is somewhat wrong in stating that Bagha's going to the Mughul court is not mentioned in any Mewār history, for the *Virvinod*, which Ojha has usually followed, definitely mentions him. Sharma (*op. cit.* 128) mentions that, Parviz, finding no hope of success, opened negotiations through Bagha Singh, but Sharma is silent about his coming to the Mughul court. Jahangir's evidence on this point seems to be conclusive, but it also shows that Amar was not at this time prepared to accept Jahāngīr's terms.
61. *Tūzuk*, tr. I, 76. At this time we find Rāi Singh and his son Dilip rebelling in Nagor, and Jagannāth Kachwa, who was operating against the *Mahārānā* sent to suppress this rebellion (*ibid*, 76); but Jahāngīr later pardoned them (*ibid*, 148).
62. *Virvinod*, II, 224 ff.
63. *Tūzuk*, tr. I, 146.
64. *Ibid*, 146-47.
65. *Ibid*, 155.
66. *Virvinod*, II, 225. It is stated that some Mewār soldiers entered the Mughul camp as fruit-sellers, really carrying rockets instead of fruits. At night, others, who were outside the camp, tied some lamp round the horns of buffalos and drove them towards the Mughul camp. This was the signal for firing the rockets near Mahābat's tent. When he came out he saw the rockets and moving lights in the forest, and about 500 Mewār soldiers rushing in. He over-estimated their strength and ran away.
67. *Maāsir-ul-Umarā*, quoted by Sharma, *op. cit.*, 130, f.n. 40-41. *Virvinod*, II, 225-7.
68. Jahāngīr states that 'Abdullah pursued the *Rānā* into the hills and when night came he (the *Rānā*) escaped with difficulty with his life, *Tūzuk*, tr I, 157.
69. Later Jahāngīr sent to his aid Safdar Khān and Badi'uz-Zamān, *Tūzuk* tr. I. pp. 200-201, 204-05. Shyāmaldās records that in 1884 a priest called Sukhānanda came from Nūrpur (Rājā Basu's capital) who had with him a copper-plate grant of land to one Vyāsa, chief priest of Rājā Basu, by Mahārānā Amar Singh. Shyāmaldās has reproduced this grant (*Virvinod*, II, 227-28). He also states that Amar gave an image of Kṛishṇa called Vrajarāj, which had been worshipped by Mīrābāi, to Rājā Basu which was still in the fort of Nūrpur. If this grant is genuine, then it would appear that Amar had entered into some sort of arrangement with Rājā Basu.
70. For reasons which led Jahāngīr to go to Ajmer, see, *Tūzuk*, tr. I, 249, 255; for sending Khurram, and the conduct of Khān A'zam, *ibid* 257-58. During his stay at Ajmer, Jahāngīr broke the image of Varāhāvatāra set up by Sāgar, (*ibid*, 254), or Shankar as he habitually refers to him. This shows the little esteem which Jahāngīr had for Sāgar. Jahāngīr also refers to him now, as one of his 'high nobles'. This indicates that Sāgar had by 1613 given up all pretences to the Mewār throne, or Jahāngīr, in order to arrive at a peace, had withdrawn Sāgar, so that Amar need have no reason to complain on that account.
71. *Tūzuk*, tr. I, 259 260. It should be noted that Jahāngīr not only recalled Khān A'zam, but imprisoned him in Gwālior (*ibid*, 261). Later, one night he dreamt Akbar saying to him: "Bābā, forgive for my sake the fault of 'Azīz Khān, who is the Khān A'zam." (*ibid*, 269). Jahāngīr is unlikely to have taken the drastic step of imprisoning Akbar's favourite foster-brother unless he was involved in something more serious than disagreement with Khurram. Khān

A'zam had been carrying on treasonable correspondence with the ruler of Khān-desh during Akbar's reign and the letters were discovered by Jahāngīr (ibid, 79-80), yet Jahāngīr took no step against him except exposing his perfidy. It is possible that goaded by the high-handedness of young Khurram, 'Azīz Koka had started negotiations with the *Mahārānā*, and after his downfall when Khurram conducted the campaign vigorously it was decided to come to terms.

72. *Tūzuk*, tr. I, 273.

73. Shyāmaldās began to write the *Virvinod* in 1879 (*Virvinod*, I, 184), but his present account is corroborated by the *Amarakāvya vamśāvalī* written just after V.S. 1732 (A.D. 1675) quoted by Sharma, op. cit., 135, f.n. 57. Possibly Shyāmaldās, who consulted all available records had seen the *Amarakāvya vamśāvalī*. For the account of the surrender to the Mughuls, see, *Virvinod*, II, 235-36.

74. This *farmān* was in Udaipur archives when Shyāmaldās wrote his history.

75. *Virvinod*, II, 237.

76. Jahāngīr writes that the *Mahārānā* "fell at Khurram's feet and asked forgiveness for his faults." (*Tūzuk*, tr. I, 276). But the author of the *Iqbāl-nāma* (text III, 536) states: "I as a Bakshi was present on the occasion and, therefore, I could clearly see that the Rana was making low salutation....." quoted by Sharma, op. cit., 136.

Jahāngīr most probably got the report of this interview from Khurram, who left for Ajmer (where Jahāngīr was staying) with Karna on the afternoon of the day the *Mahārānā* visited him. Khurram naturally was anxious to bring this affair to a speedy termination which his grandfather had tried in vain, and therefore is quite likely to have impressed Jahāngīr by exaggerated accounts of *Rānā's* humility.

77. *Tūzuk*, tr. I, 276.

78. "As it was necessary to win the heart of Karna, who was of a wild nature and had never seen assemblies and had lived among the hills, I every day showed him some fresh favour....." *Tūzuk*, tr. I, 277.

79. Ibid, 278. I think it is permissible to imagine that the Empress and the Mughul ladies were curious to see the scion of the house which had defied the Mughul arms for nearly half a century.

Jahāngīr's gifts to Karna are too numerous to be mentioned in detail. But the eagerness of the Emperor to please the Prince is matched by his poetic imagination. He writes: "On the 8th I gave Karna the mansab of 5,000 personal and horse, and gave him a small rosary of pearls and emeralds with a ruby in the centre which in the language of the Hindus is called Smaran (Sanskrit for 'remembrance')". *Tūzuk*, tr. I, 281. Jahāngīr had, a few days before, presented Karna with "a rosary of pearls of great value", ibid, 278.

80. Ibid, 289, 293. Jahāngīr also gave him some shawls etc.

81. Ibid, 296.

82. He died on Wednesday, *Māgh*, *Śukla* 2, 1676. V.S. Shyāmaldās gave the date in Christian era as October 30, 1620, *Virvinod* II, 266. Ojha however gives the date as 26 January, 1620. Ojha, op. cit., I, 507.

83. B.P. Saxena, *History of Shāhjahān of Delhi*, 37. Saxena does not identify Bhīm with the Mewār Prince, but Shyāmaldās states that he was the son of *Mahārānā* Amar, *Virvinod*, 285.

84. Saxena, op. cit. 50, 52. For a detailed account of Bhīm's activities from the *Rājasthāni* chronicles see, *Virvinod*, II, 285-88.

85. *Virvinod*, II, 270-73, 589. Among other proofs Shyāmaldās quotes a verse from the *Rājasamudra Prasasti* composed about 60 years after this incident which seems to be quite conclusive.

*Dillīśvarāj-Jahāngīrā tasya Khurrama-nāmakam I*  
*Putram vimukhatām prāptam sthāpayitvā nija kshitau II*  
*Jahāngīre divānyāte saṅge bhrātaram-Arjunam I*  
*Datvā Dillīśvaram chakre so'bhut Shāhijahāmbhidhah. II*

86. For details of Jagat Singh's reign, see, *Virvinod*, II, 315-327 and Ojha, op. cit., II, 511-31

87. B.P. Saxena: *History of Shahjahan*, 320.

88. Ojha, op. cit., II, 533-34. Chandra Bhān's four letters in original Persian are reproduced in the *Virvinod*, II, 403-412.

89. *Virvinod*, II, 413-14.

90. Ibid, 414-15.

91. Five letters from Aurangzīb are printed in the *Virvinod*, II, 415-424. The letters are not dated, but the last letter carries the news of victory of the battle of

- Dharmat (April 15, 1658). Aurangzīb evidently tried to enlist the help of the *Mahārānā*, but as the latter's replies are not published, it is not possible to say what help Rāj Singh rendered to Aurangzīb. It is evident from these letters that the Mewār contingent which was fighting in the Deccan (Sarkar, *History of Aurangzīb*, 1912 ed., I, p. 272) was with him during the war of succession.
92. Shāh Jahān had named this prince Saubhāgya Singh, but the *Mahārānā* did not like the name and changed it to Sultān Singh.
93. *Virvinod*, II, 425-431. Shyāmaldās published these documents from the Udaipur archives. Sir Jadunath Sarkar did not notice these in his *History of Aurangzīb* possibly because he had no access to the *Virvinod*, as, for unknown reasons, its circulation was prohibited till recently.
94. *Ibid*, 432-433.
95. *Ibid*, 437-443. *Mahārānā's* appeal is also reproduced in which he admits having gone to Krishnagarh for marriage without permission but claims that a Rājput is free to marry any Rājput girl, though further details are not given. *Ibid*, 440. In the *Rāja-samudra-prasasti* inscription, however, the allusion is quite clear.
- śate saptadaśe pūrṇe varsha saptadaśe tatah  
gatvā Krishṇagaḍe divya mahatyā senayā yutah  
Dillīśārtham rakshita yā Rājasimha nareśvarah  
Rāthoḍa Rūpasimhasya putryāḥ pānigrahaṁ vyadhāt*
- (*Rājasamudra-prasasti* VIII, vv. 29-30. *Virvinod*, II, p. 596-97). The *Rājavilāsa*, a work composed during the life of Rāj Singh gives the text of Chārumatī's letter (quoted by Sharma, op. cit., 160, f.n. 30). It may be noted that Chārumatī's sister was married to Mu'azzam.
96. For details of Aurangzīb's Mārwar policy and subsequent war with Mārwar and Mewār, see Sarkar, *History of Aurangzīb*, III (1921 ed.), 322-373; B. N. Reu, *Mārwar kā Itihās*, Ojha and Sharma, op. cit.,
97. Sarkar, op. cit., 330.
98. This account of escape is based on Sarkar. But Shyāmaldās states that Durgā Dās fled away with the prince a day before the action took place (*Virvinod*, II, 828-29). This, however, does not seem to be probable, as after Ajit had been carried away, there would hardly be any reason for the Rāthors to fight the Mughuls in Delhi. Shyāmaldās also states that the other son of Jasvant Singh, named Dalathambhan, was brought to Delhi, and suggests as one of the possibilities that this child might have been brought up by Aurangzīb (*ibid*, 830). The difference between the two versions is due to the fact that Sir Jadunath based his account on Īsvardās and rejected the evidence of the *Ma'āsir-i-Ālamgīrī*, while Shyāmaldās relied exclusively on the latter work. For another version based on Rājasthānī chronicles, see Reu, op. cit., 254.
99. This *farmān* is given in the *Virvinod*, II, 885.
100. Rāj Singh is supposed to have written a letter to Aurangzīb protesting against the imposition of the *jizya*. Sir Jadunath Sarkar examined the letter thoroughly and came to the conclusion that it was written by Shivājī. (*Modern Review*, January, 1908, 21-23). Ojha, following Tod and Shyāmaldās, was of the view that Rāj Singh wrote the letter (Ojha, op. cit., 549-554). But Sharma (op. cit. 164) agrees with Sir Jadunath, and it also seems to us that the letter, which as usual was made current by Tod, could not have been written by Rāj Singh.
101. Sir Jadunath in the *History of Aurangzīb*, III, 339, stated that Ajit's mother was a Mewār princess, and in the *CHI*, IV, 248, that she was Rāj Singh's niece. I cannot find this corroborated by any Rājasthānī chronicle and B. N. Reu doubts it (Reu, *Marwar Ka Itihās*, I, 257, f.n. 3), but Tod calls her a 'daughter of Mewar', *Annals*, 1957 ed. I, 307.
102. It is usually assumed that the *Mahārānā* took this defensive measure when the Mughul invasion seemed imminent. But the inscription on the portal at Deobārī is, according to Sharma, dated V.S. 1731=A.D. 1674, Sharma, op. cit., 165. f.n. 50.
103. Quoted by Sir Jadunath Sarkar, op. cit., III, 336.
104. *Rājavilās*, X, vv I-22, f.n 137-40 quoted by Sharma, op. cit., 169, f.n. 66-7.
105. *Eka-mahā-masidi-vikhaṇḍita laghu-masidi-trimśat I  
Devālaya-patana-rushaḥ prakāśita Bhīmasimha-vīreṇa II*  
Rāja-samudra-prasasti XXII, v. 29.

The *Rāja-samudra-prasasti* mentions the sack of Īdar, Vadnagar and Ahmādābād. Sir Jadunath Sarkar, apparently on the basis of the *Mirāt-i-Ahmādī*,

## HINDU RESISTANCE TO MUSLIM DOMINATION

mentions the sack of "Vadnagar, Visalnagar and some other rich cities of Gujarat.....and the recovery of Idar". (Sarkar, op. cit. V, 1952 ed., p. 353).

But the *Rāja-samudra-prasasti*, XXII v. 28, definitely mentions the sack of Idar, Vadnagar and Ahmadābād. We shall see later Durgā Dās and Durjan Sāl Hādā carrying a more daring raid into the heart of the Mughul empire. Therefore a lightning raid on Ahmadābād does not appear to be improbable.

Sir Jadunath Sarkar was of the opinion that prince Bhīm's raids took place after Akbar had rebelled (Sarkar, op. cit., III, 366). But these raids, as mentioned in the *Rājā-samudra-prasasti*, took place during the life of Rāj Singh, therefore before Akbar's rebellion. It may be noted that this *prasasti* is given in the *Virvinod* which was not available to Sir Jadunath.

106. *Rāja-samudra-prasasti*, XXII, v. 46.

107. This is the date given by Sir Jadunath Sarkar (op. cit., III, 353) who has used O.S. throughout his work. Shyāmaldās, probably using the N.S., gives the date as 3 November, 1680. The Indian date is *Kārtik, Śukla 19, 1737, V.S. (Virvinod, II, 473).*

108. Sir Jadunath Sarkar (op. cit., III, 367) states that *Mahārānā* Jai Singh "welcomed him with present and invited him to stay. But Udaipur was no more invulnerable to Mughul invasion than Jodhpur. Then Durgā Dās most chivalrously undertook to conduct Akbar to the Marāthā court....". Sir Jadunath Sarkar does not give any reference for this statement but most probably he was following Tod. I am relying here on Shyāmaldās (*Virvinod, II, 653*) who states that though Akbar had at this time some Mewār nobles to protect him, Jay Singh wrote to them not to bring Akbar to Mewār on any account, as peace talks were going on, but to escort him south to Shambhūjī's court. This appears more probable, for it is difficult to believe that Mewār could not give protection to Akbar, when it could do so to Ajit. Also, the Mughul had never been able to reach the place where the *Mahārānā* lived. Ojha (op. cit., II, 587) has followed Shyāmaldās.

109. *Virvinod, II, 650.*

110. Sir Jadunath calls him "Shyam Singh of Bikaner" (Sarkar, op. cit., III, 370) but the *Rāja-samudra-prasasti*, XXIII, v. 32 which we have followed here definitely identifies him.

*Rānā-srī-Karnasimhasya-dvitiyas-tanayahbalī I*

*Garibadāsas-tat-putrah Śyāmasimha ihā-gatah II*

111. The *farmān* is printed in the *Virvinod, II, 651-52.*

112. For conditions of the treaty, see, Sarkar, op. cit., III, 370 and V, 216 and *Virvinod II, 661-63.*

113. Sarkar, op. cit., III, 369-70.

114. A'zam's letter is published in the *Virvinod, II, 665-66.* A'zam wrote a similar letter dated 24 Sha'ban (the year is not given), *Virvinod, II, 662.* It appears that he was extremely eager to come to terms with Jay Singh and gain his support. There is an initialled but unsigned treaty in the Udaipur archives, which Shyāmaldās ascribes to A'zam. This seems to be the terms A'zam would have offered to the *Mahārānā* if he became emperor.

115. In 1683 Aurangzīb appointed Mān Singh of Krishnagarh the *faujdār* of Pur, Mandal and Bednor, *Virvinod II, 665.*

116. This *farmān*, apparently issued in response to a petition by the *Mahārānā*, was signed by Aurangzīb on 6 July, 1690, *Virvinod II, 669-72.*

117. Sarkar, op. cit., V, 221, 226 (1952 ed.).

118. According to the *Khyāt*, Ajit was induced by the Mārwar nobles to come out of his hiding place in 1687 at the age of eight, and take part in the struggle, even before Durgā Dās's return from the Deccan, B. N. Reu, *Mārwar Kā Itihās, I, 278.* This is partly corroborated by Shyāmaldās who states that Ajit joined the army in 1687 at the age of eight, *Virvinod II, 832.* This appears to be incredible unless one assumes Ajit to have been more precocious than even Bābur. It is also stated in the *Rājasthānī* chronicles that more than once there were differences of opinion between the child Ajit and Durgā Dās, which probably means that some nobles wanted to remove Durgā Dās from his position of authority. But as the same sources state that all such differences were ultimately made up, it indicates that Durgā Dās was vindicated.

119. Īśvardās Nāgar, *Futūhāt-i-Ālamgīrī*, Mss, 167a-168b, tr. by Sir Jadunath Sarkar, op. cit., V. 231. For the account of Durgā Dās, Sir Jadunath relied exclusively on Īśvardās, for he was a friend of Durgā Dās, had been a revenue collector at Jodhpur and had been entrusted by Shujā'at Khān, the governor of Gujarāt (under whom Īśvardās served) to act as the inter-

## THE MUGHUL EMPIRE

- mediary between the Mughuls and Durgā Dās. In fact, the Rājasthānī chronicles, namely the *Ajitodaya* and *Ajitagrantha* written at a later date, and on which B.N. Reu relies for his *Mārwar kā Itihās*, give much less importance to Durgā Dās than is due to him.
120. Sarkar, op. cit., V, 236.
  121. J. N. Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, IV (1929), p. 27.
  122. Ibid., p. 275.
  123. Ibid., p. 276.
  124. See Chapter VIII.
  125. Sarkar, op. cit., pp. 287-8.
  126. Ibid., p. 288.
  127. Ibid., p. 290.
  128. Ibid., pp. 279-80.
  129. Ibid., p. 282.
  130. See Chapter VIII.
  131. Sarkar, op. cit., p. 330.
  132. Ibid., p. 334.
  133. Ibid., p. 355.
  134. For details, cf. *ibid.*, p. 468.
  135. For details, cf. *ibid.*, pp. 343 ff., 471 ff.
  136. Ibid., pp. 472-3.
  137. Ibid., pp. 474-5.
  138. According to J. N. Sarkar, Rājārām was crowned on 8 February (*ibid.*, p. 481), but according to G. S. Sardesai he was proclaimed king on 9 February; *New History of the Marathas*, Vol. I, p. 319.
  139. Sardesai, op. cit., I, 320.
  140. Ibid.
  141. Ibid., p. 321.
  142. Ibid., p. 324.
  143. Ibid.
  144. Ibid., p. 328.
  145. Ibid., p. 329.
  146. Ibid.
  147. Ibid., pp. 338-9.
  148. For a detailed account, cf. *ibid.*, pp. 337-9.
  149. Ibid., pp. 341-2.
  150. Ibid., pp. 342-3.
  151. Ibid., p. 348.
  152. Ibid.
  153. Risley, *People of India*, p. 8.
  154. K. R. Qanungo, *History of the Jats*, p. 1.
  155. Ibid., p. 2.
  156. Ibbetson, quoted in the *Punjab Glossary*, II. p. 366.
  157. Qanungo, op. cit., pp. 6-9, 325; Elliot, *Memoirs of the Races of North-Western Provinces of India*, I, 135-137; Risley, op. cit., p. 6.
  158. Growse, *Mathura* (1874), pp. 21-2.
  159. *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* (Bibliotheca Indica), pp. 16-7; Firishṭa, Translated by Briggs, Vol. I, pp. 81-2; *CHI*, III. p. 26.
  160. *HIED*, II. 218; *CHI*, III. 41; Qanungo, op. cit., p. 32.
  161. See p. 310.
  162. J. N. Sarkar, *History of Aurangzīb*, III. 331.
  163. *Maāsir-ul-umarā*, III. 422; J. N. Sarkar, op. cit., pp. 331-32.
  164. J. N. Sarkar, op. cit., pp. 331-33.
  165. Ibid., pp. 333-36.
  166. Sinsanī and Sogor are situated, respectively, 16 and 4 miles from Bharatpur.
  167. J. N. Sarkar, op. cit., Vol. V, pp. 296-7.
  168. Īśvardās, 164 b.
  169. Ibid., 132 b. Manucci says, "They began their pillage by breaking in the great gates of bronze which it had, robbing the valuable precious stones and plates of gold and silver and destroying what they were not able to carry away. Dragging out the bones of Akbar, they threw them angrily into the fire and burnt them." Manucci, II. 320.
  170. Īśvardās, 134 b; A.A., 311; J. N. Sarkar, op. cit., V. 299.
  171. Īśvardās, 136b-137a; M.A. 334.
  172. Īśvardās, 137 a and b; M.A. 340.
  173. *Imad-us-Sadat*, 55.
  174. Xavier Wendel, Fr. Ms. 41 as quoted in J. N. Sarkar, op. cit., V. 302.

## CHAPTER XIII

# MUSLIM RESISTANCE TO MUGHUL IMPERIALISM (I)

### I. GUJARĀT

#### *Sikandar and Mahmūd II (1526)*

It has been noted in the previous volume that Sultān Muzaffar died on 5 April, 1526, and was succeeded by his eldest son, Sikandar. After a reign of six weeks, Sikandar was assassinated by one of his disgruntled nobles and an infant son of Muzaffar was raised to the throne under the name of Mahmūd II (26 May, 1526). Taking advantage of the situation Bahādur, the fugitive son of Muzaffar, returned to Gujarāt.

#### *Bahādur (1526-1537)*

Bahādur had quarrelled with his father, Muzaffar, a few years before the latter's death, and had first taken refuge at Chitor and then with Ibrāhīm Lodī. He was present at the battle of Pānīpat but did not take part in fighting. After the battle, Bahādur is said to have been invited by some local nobles to fill the throne of Jaunpur, and on his way thither news reached him of the happening in Gujarāt. So Bahādur returned, and almost all the nobles except the murderers of Sikandar joined him. Their opposition was easily overcome and they were executed. After this, Bahādur turned against his brothers, and his closest rival Latif was severely wounded in an action, taken prisoner and died. The boy Mahmūd II and three other princes were poisoned by Bahādur, whom the humane Bābur rightly castigated as a "bloodthirsty and ungovernable young man". Only his brother Chānd Khān was left. This prince had taken refuge at the Mālwa court, and Sultān Mahmūd II of Mālwa refused to surrender him, which caused a rupture of good relations between Gujarāt and Mālwa and ultimately led Bahādur to conquer Mālwa.

#### *War in the Deccan and Mālwa (1528-1531)*

Khāndesh, which had for a long time acknowledged the supremacy of Gujarāt, was during this period ruled by Muhammad I, the son of Bahādur's sister. This prince and his ally, 'Alā-ud-dīn 'Imād Shāh of Berār, appealed to Bahādur after being severely defeated by Burhān Nizām Shāh of Ahmadnagar and 'Amīr 'Alī Barīd of Bīdar.

So in 1528, Bahādur and his allies advanced against the Nizām Shāh and invested the fort of Daulatābād. But the Nizām Shāh put up a stiff resistance and cut off the supplies of the invading army, forcing Bahādur to retire. But Bahādur reopened the campaign after the rainy season of 1529 and, overcoming a stiff opposition, again besieged Daulatābād. While the operations were progressing satisfactorily, Bahādur was betrayed by his ally, 'Alā-ud-dīn 'Imād Shāh, who, suspecting that Bahādur had designs on the Deccan, retired to Bīdar. Negotiations for peace then began and finally both Burhān Nizām Shāh and 'Alā-ud-dīn Shāh were forced to sign humiliating treaties.

Bahādur next turned his attention to Mālwa. Mahmūd II of Mālwa, as has already been noted, had estranged Bahādur, by granting asylum to Bahādur's younger brother, Chānd Khān, and refused to surrender him. Mahmūd made his position worse by invading those portions of Mālwa which *Mahārānā* Sanga had annexed to Mewār. He thus forced Mewār to join Bahādur, who regarded Mahmūd II as a vassal of Gujarāt, since he was restored on the throne by Muzaffar II. Bahādur wanted Mahmūd to come and meet him, but as the latter persistently failed to do so, invaded Mālwa. Mahmūd literally made no resistance, and on 28 March, 1531, Māndū fell to the invaders. The *khutba* was read in Bahādur's name and the portion of Mālwa which still belonged to Mahmūd was annexed to Gujarāt.<sup>1</sup>

#### *Bahādur and the Portuguese (I)*

In 1528, Nuno da Cunha was appointed the governor of Portuguese India, with instructions to capture Diu. He arrived in India in October, 1529 and, while Bahādur was engaged in the siege of Māndū, a strong Portuguese fleet sailed from Bombay. It first captured Daman and then proceeded towards its main objective, namely, Diu. On 7 February, 1531, the fleet appeared near Shial Bet island, eight leagues to the west of Diu, which they captured after overcoming a stiff resistance. The bombardment of Diu began on 16 February, but no appreciable damage was done to the fortifications. So Nuno da Cunha, who was in charge of the expedition, left for Goa on 1 March, 1531, leaving a subordinate officer to cruise the gulf of Cambay. This officer systematically destroyed Mahuwa, Gogo, Bulsar, Tarapur, Mahim, Kelva, Agashi and Surat.<sup>1a</sup>

#### *Bahādur and Silahdi*

Now that the Portuguese menace was over, Bahādur turned to complete the conquest of Mālwa, parts of which like Gagrāun and

Mandasor were occupied by the *Mahārānā* of Chitor and other parts like Rāisen and Bhīlsa by a Hindu noble called Silahdi, both of whom had unwittingly helped Bahādur in conquering Mālwa. Indeed, Bahādur had, after the fall of Māndū, granted Ujjain, Bhīlsa and Ashta to Silahdi and graciously given him leave to depart after giving him three lacs of rupees and a large number of horses and elephants. But Bahādur now decided to crush Silahdi; the turn of Mewār would come later.

Apparently Silahdi was too strong to be attacked, so Bahādur managed to allay his suspicion and bring him to his court where he was given the alternative of embracing Islām or death on the ground of his having a number of Muslim women in his seraglio. As Silahdi temporized, he was thrown into prison and Ujjain and Ashta were conquered from his son. Bahādur then conquered Bhīlsa which having been under Silahdi for about two decades, had several temples which were destroyed by Bahādur, who next besieged Rāisen. Silahdi, alarmed at the turn of events, at last became a convert to Islām, but his brother Lakshman held out against the invading army and his son Bhupat went to bring help from Mewār.

Unfortunately the help from Mewār was not effective, and in the skirmishes that took place the Hindus were worsted. Ultimately, on the pretext that the fort would be delivered if Silahdi came in and managed to persuade his queen, he was brought inside. Silahdi's relatives then asked him "what the Sultan had given him in exchange for his own honourable position," and he told them "the *sarkar* of Barodah." They said, "Silahdi, your life is drawing near its end, you have not long to live. Why should you wish to live, and through fear of death, cast your honour to the winds? Death is thousand times better than this. We have thus resolved. We men will perish by the sword, and our women by the *jauhar*, that is, in the flames. Do you also, if you have the spirit, join us in this resolution." To this Silahdi yielded, and the women died in flames and the men sword in hand (10 May, 1532).<sup>2</sup>

#### *First siege of Chitor, 1533*

After the defeat of Silahdi, Bahādur turned against Mewār and, as a preliminary, sent his officers to capture Gagrāun and Mandasor, which had formed a part of Mewār since the time of *Mahārānā* Sanga. They also conquered Islāmābād, Hushangabād and other dependencies of Mālwa, which had fallen in the hands of "zamindars", that is Hindu chieftains.<sup>3</sup>

His ostensible reason for attacking the country, which had sheltered him during his exile, was to punish Mewār for having attempt-

ed to help Silahdi. It should be recalled, however, that some time in 1531 or 1532 Bahādur received an embassy from Sultān Nusrat Shāh of Bengal, probably proposing some sort of alliance between Gujarāt and Bengal against the Mughuls. Bahādur gave a warm reception to the Bengali envoys, but nothing came out of this as Nusrat Shāh died soon after.<sup>4</sup> It is likely, however, that this possibility of an alliance with the Afghāns against the Mughuls, encouraged Bahādur to envisage an extensive empire, the preliminary to the building of which should be the complete control over Rājasthān that controlled the routes from Delhi and Āgra to Gujarāt. As we shall see, this ambitious policy led to his doom.

Bahādur's Chitor campaigns have already been described in some detail.<sup>5</sup> As a result of his first invasion of Mewār, which came to an end on 24 March, 1533, he gained, besides the indemnities, those territories of Mālwa which still appertained to Mewār. Besides this, Bahādur conquered Ranthambhor, Ajmer and Nagar.

One of the reasons which probably prompted Bahādur to retire from Chitor was the activities of Burhān Nizām Shāh and Amīr 'Alī Barīd of Bīdar, who had advanced up to Bir<sup>6</sup> (22° N. 76° 5' E.). Bahādur sent an army under Muhammad Shāh of Khāndesh to cooperate with 'Imād Shāh of Berār, and joined him later. The Nizām Shāh was defeated, but Bahādur, it seems, was content to drive him out on these terms. He then returned to Māndū, and as Sikandar says, "the ambition of conquering Chitor again took possession of him".

#### *Bahādur and the Portuguese (II)*

But Bahādur's ambition was thwarted by the Portuguese invasion of Gujarāt coast.

In 1534, heavy reinforcements arrived from Lisbon and the Portuguese again advanced towards Diu. They opened their attack by capturing Daman, upon which, Bahādur concluded peace with them on the most humiliating terms "to secure the friendship of the Portuguese against the Mughuls". The conditions of the treaty, which was signed in December, 1534, were "that Bassein with all its dependencies by sea and land, should be made over to the King of Portugal for ever; that all ships bound for the Red Sea from the Kingdom of Cambay, should set out from Bassein, and return thither to pay duties; that no vessels should go to other ports without leave from the Portuguese; that no ships of war should be built in any ports belonging to the king of Cambay; and that he should no more give assistance to the Rumes."<sup>7</sup>

*Bahādur and Humāyūn*

The Mughul menace undoubtedly refers to Humāyūn, whom Bahādur had affronted in various ways. For several years Gujarāt had become the asylum for the rebel Afghāns whom Bahādur used to receive cordially. Thus, after the defeat of Silahdi, he conferred the fiefs of Bhīlsa and Chanderi on 'Alā-ud-dīn Ālam Khān, Humāyūn's rebel governor of Kālpī, and received very cordially 'Alā-ud-dīn Ālam Khān Lodī, a son of Buhlūl, who had managed to escape from Bada-khshān where Babūr had imprisoned him. Soon he, and particularly his ambitious son, Tātār Khān, rose high in Bahādur's council and urged him to invade the Mughul dominions, to which, for the present, Bahādur prudently paid no attention.<sup>8</sup>

Bahādur's relation with Humāyūn up to this period was quite cordial and he had sent an embassy to the Mughul court in 940 A.H. (1533-34), though he had also sent some money to Sher Shāh, presumably to aid him; but while the wily Afghān accepted the much-needed money, no help came from him when Bahādur was in distress.

Matters however reached a climax when Muhammad Zamān Mīrzā, who had twice rebelled against Humāyūn, escaped from prison and was granted asylum at Gujarāt (1534). Bahādur was probably at this time in Diu, where he might have gone to arrange a naval expedition against the Portuguese, when Humāyūn wrote to him either to hand over Muhammad Zamān Mīrzā to him or to expel the Mīrzā from Gujarāt. Bahādur took this as a challenge to his sovereignty, and hastily concluded the treaty with the Portuguese mentioned above, in order to be free to meet the Mughuls.

Humāyūn might or might not have known of Bahādur's help to Sher Shāh, but like all weak men who suddenly become resolute, was inexorable in his demand that Muhammad Zamān Mīrzā be at least turned out of Gujarāt. The correspondence began with a letter from Humāyūn in which he urged Bahādur to act in a friendly spirit, and was followed by another in which Humāyūn expressed surprise at Sultān Bahādur's unfriendly conduct.<sup>9</sup> Apparently these mild remonstrances failed to elicit a favourable reply, so Humāyūn sent another letter, more peremptory in tone, making it clear that failure to comply with his demand must lead to war. Bahādur in his reply refused to satisfy Humāyūn, and charged him with bad intentions for having marched to Gwālior while he (Bahādur) was busy with the Portuguese, which undoubtedly refers to the Portuguese invasion mentioned above.

It seems that Bahādur had agreed to the humiliating peace terms of the Portuguese in order to be free to meet the Mughul menace. So he seized the opportunity afforded by Humāyūn's temporary absence from the capital to put down some disturbances in the eastern region,<sup>10</sup> and sent Tātār Khān with a large army from Ranthambhor to harass the Āgra region, and two smaller forces under 'Alā-ud-dīn and Burhān-ul-mulk to harass the Kalinjar and the Nagar regions. Bahādur then advanced to Chitor, determined to conquer it. With Ranthambhor and Chitor in his hands, it would be impossible for a Mughul army from Āgra to invade Gujarāt, while the Mārwar route would also be safe so long as he had Nagar and Ajmer under him. He would also be in a position to help Tātār Khān when the conquest of Chitor was accomplished, and his instructions to Tātār was not to engage in a general action till he came with the main army.

But Humāyūn took very quick and resolute action. He sent 18,000 horse under 'Askarī, Hindal and several veteran generals against Tātār, who in disregard of Bahādur's instructions engaged the Mughuls and died fighting; the other two raiding parties, under 'Alā-ud-dīn and Burhān-ul-mulk, also seem to have been thoroughly defeated. Humāyūn now seized the opportunity which Bahādur provided him. Bahādur's subsidiary armies were gone, while his main army was immobilized around Chitor; so Humāyūn set out from Āgra probably on 18 February, 1535<sup>11</sup> and, subduing Rāisen quickly reached Sarangpur in Mālwa. As soon as news of his advance reached Bahādur, he decided to finish the siege of Chitor before fighting Humāyūn.

In this connection, two interesting anecdotes are related, one by the Muslim and the other by the Rājasthān chroniclers. According to the first, Bahādur's decision to continue the siege of Chitor instead of fighting Humāyūn was influenced by his conviction that Humāyūn would not attack him while he was fighting the Hindus, and this prognostication came true. According to the Rājput chronicles, Rānī Karmavatī, the mother of the reigning *Mahārānā*, appealed to Humāyūn to come to her son's aid and sent him a *rākhī* (ritualistic wrist-band or thread which binds a man and a woman as brother and sister); but Humāyūn, though inclined to help her at first, ultimately did nothing.

It is difficult to judge the historical value of these two interesting stories, but it is evident that Humāyūn did not afford any relief to the besieged garrison at Chitor, nor did he have any compunction about invading Mālwa while Bahādur was fighting the Hindus. Indeed, Humāyūn followed consistently the policy which was of the

greatest benefit to him, and seems to have been all along dictated by self-interest rather than calls of chivalry or religious brotherhood. Thus while Bahādur was tied up in Chitor, Humāyūn proceeded to Ujjain and easily captured this important city. However, Chitor fell on 8 March, 1535, and as Bahādur took the road to Mālwa, Humāyūn also marched north, and the two armies met at Mandasor.

Here Bahādur committed the fatal mistake of entrenching himself behind a barricade on the advice of his Turkish gunner, Rūmī Khān, who, unknown to him, had turned a traitor for not receiving Chitor as his fief as originally promised by Bahādur. The result of this defensive tactics was disastrous. Soon, food became so scarce that the Gujarāt army practically ceased to be a fighting unit, and one night Bahādur secretly left it to its fate (25 April, 1535)<sup>12</sup> and fled to Māndū, pursued by Humāyūn, who was now joined by the traitor Rūmī Khān. Rūmī Khān seduced Silahdi's son, Bhupat, who opened a gate to the Mughuls, and Māndū fell to Humāyūn. Bahādur fled again, this time to Chāmpāner, but having placed it under trusty generals he took refuge at Diu.

#### *End of Bahādur*

At Diu, Bahādur found himself completely destitute; so he had to turn to the Portuguese once more, and on 25 October, 1535, a treaty was concluded at Diu<sup>13</sup>, under which the Portuguese promised to help Bahādur by land and sea in exchange for permission to erect a fort at Diu, but the latter retained the right of collecting revenues of that port. The Portuguese help amounted to very little and the Portuguese utilized this opportunity to complete their fortification. It is possible that Bahādur granted this important concession to the Portuguese with the hope that he might escape with their help if Humāyūn followed him to Diu.

This contingency, however, did not arise and taking advantage of popular support and collecting soldiers from Chitor, Ranthambhor and Ajmer<sup>14</sup> Bahādur managed to drive the Mughuls out of Gujarāt by the beginning of 1536. Circumstances forced Humāyūn to leave Māndū for Āgra in May, 1536, and though Bahādur was never destined to recover Mālwa, the Mughul menace was gone.

Bahādur immediately turned towards Diu, and began negotiations with Turkey for a naval expedition. The help came after his death. For the incidents that followed Bahādur's visit to Diu the Muslim and the Portuguese chronicles give different versions. The fact, however, is that while negotiations were proceeding, Bahādur was induced to come and meet the Portuguese governor on board a Portuguese vessel. What happened thereafter is not very clear; ap-

parently the Portuguese wanted to capture him, and as he tried to escape, his barge was attacked by the Portuguese and he jumped into the sea. As he called out for help and tried to swim, a Portuguese sailor struck him with a halbert, as did others, till he was killed (February, 1537).<sup>15</sup>

#### *Successors of Bahādur*

Bahādur left no son, hence there was some uncertainty regarding succession after his death, which was increased by the frivolous claim to the Gujarāt throne made by Muhammad Zamān Mīrzā, the fugitive Mughul prince, on the ground that Bahādur's mother had adopted him as her son. But the nobles wisely selected Miran Muhammad Shāh of Khāndesh, the nephew and constant ally of Bahādur, but that prince died on his way to Gujarāt. Hence the nobles selected eleven-year-old Prince Mahmūd Khān, son of Bahādur's brother Latif Khān, who had been brought up under surveillance. He was enthroned on 10 May, 1538, as Mahmūd Shāh III.<sup>16</sup>

#### *Mahmūd III (1538-1554)*

Mahmūd, being a boy, the government was conducted by three nobles, namely, Imād-ul-mulk, Daryā Khān and 'Ālam Khān Lodī. Soon after, Daryā Khān managed to assume complete power and drove Imād-ul-mulk out of Gujarāt (1538).

Though the Muslim chroniclers describe these court intrigues in great detail they are completely silent about the most important event of the first year of Mahmūd's reign, namely, the Turko-Gujarāt attempt to drive the Portuguese from Diu, which is described by Portuguese and Turkish historians.<sup>17</sup> It has been related above that before his death Sultān Bahādur had sent an appeal for help to Sulaimān, the Magnificent, of Turkey (1520-1568), in response to which a Turkish fleet, and considerable number of soldiers arrived at Diu some time after the death of Bahādur. Sulaimān Pāshā's instruction was to destroy the Portuguese fleet but he engaged the Turkish troops in a siege of Diu. The siege continued for several months, and though the fort was severely damaged and its defenders practically exhausted, yet Sulaimān Pāshā failed to capture the fort and sailed away. One of the reasons for failure was undoubtedly the gallant resistance of the Portuguese, but the main reason seems to be the character of Sulaimān Pāshā, who even in that age was noted for his cruelty, and treated the Gujarātis like defeated enemies. As a result, the joint venture, which had great prospect of success, failed to accomplish any of its objects, namely, the destruction of the Portuguese fleet and recovery of Diu.

*End of Daryā Khān and ‘Ālam Khān*

Daryā Khān remained in power for about five years, at the end of which period the Sultān, unable to tolerate his overbearing manners, one night fled to Dhandhuka, where he was cordially received by its fief-holder, ‘Ālam Khān. Daryā Khān raised a boy of obscure origin to the throne, and advanced with a huge army to meet Mahmūd and ‘Ālam Khān, and though he defeated them, his troops gradually deserted him and he was forced to flee to Burhānpur (1543).

Soon, however, ‘Ālam Khān became so powerful that Mahmūd found that by driving away Daryā Khān he had merely changed masters. ‘Ālam Khān and other nobles also were disgusted by Mahmūd’s profligate habits and lowly friends, and having confined him to a citadel conspired to blind him and divide the kingdom among themselves. But Mahmūd forestalled their design by a daring coup and was at last able to have the reins of government in his own hand (1545).

*Epic of Diu*

In 1546 Mahmūd again attempted to recover Diu, and this event has been characterized by the Portuguese historians as the “Epic of Diu”<sup>18</sup> on account of the severity of the contest. It seems, however, that before the siege of Diu began, a strong fort was built at Surat to save it from Portuguese depredation, and it is from this time that the importance of Surat as a port begins.

The siege of Diu began on 20 April, 1546, and continued till 11 November, 1546, when the Gujarāt army was decisively defeated by a comparatively small Portuguese force. The Portuguese governor then rebuilt the battered fort and left for Goa which he entered in a triumphal procession reminiscent of the Roman days, while the Portuguese navy cruising along the Gulf of Cambay set about destroying the peaceful coastal towns including the ancient port of Broach. “This action”, says one Portuguese historian, “being so famous amongst our soldiers as to give him who was called Menezes (the captain of the fleet) the surname of *Baroche*, as the ruins of Carthage gave Scipio the name of Africanus.”<sup>19</sup> The unfortunate soil of India has had to suffer many depredations by foreign invaders and by native rulers, but nothing comparable to the cruel barbarism of the Portuguese vandals possibly ever happened before or since.

In 1548, Mahmūd III again began to make preparations for investing Diu, and the Portuguese made adequate arrangements for defence. But nothing came out of it.

*Internal administration and death*

The administration had been decaying since the time of Bahādur and Mahmūd did nothing to improve it. He was a profligate young man and, as if to atone for his vices, took stern measures against the Hindus. The Hindus had been enjoying inalienable right over a considerable part of Gujarāt by virtue of a settlement made during the reign of Mahmūd's ancestor, Sultān Āhmad I (1411-1443), who found that this was the only way of maintaining peace with the war-like chieftains. Mahmūd resumed these lands,<sup>20</sup> by what tyrannical methods we do not know. But immediately the frontier chiefs of Īdar, Sirohi, Dungārpur, Bānswārā, Lonawārāh, Rājpiplā and the chiefs on the banks of the Mahindri, Halod "and other strongholds on the frontier" broke into rebellion. The Muslim historians claim that these disturbances were put down and that "no Rājput or Koli was left who did not devote himself to agriculture. . . . Every one of them was branded on the arm, and if any Rājput or Koli was found without the brand he was put to death."<sup>21</sup> But this seems more like a pious wish than a statement of fact, for these States continued to flourish long after Mahmūd's dynasty had passed into oblivion. Indeed, this Hindu rebellion may have been one of the main causes for the rapid downfall of the Gujarāt Sultānate.

Resumption of the *Wanta* grant was not the only tyranny practised against the Hindus. As Sikandar puts it: "In the reign of Mahmūd, Muhammadan law and rule was so stringently enforced that no Hindu could ride on horseback in any city, nor dare enter a *bazar* without a patch of red on the back of a white garment, or a patch of white on red one, or to wear a dress all of one colour. Infidel observances, such as the indecencies of the *Holi*, the orgies of the *Diwali*, and the practice of idol worship, and the ringing of bells were not allowed in public, and those who practised them in private did so with fear and trembling."<sup>22</sup>

Sikandar was born (1553-54) during Mahmūd's reign and presumably heard these stories from his father and brothers. The stories apparently are exaggerated, and there is no reason to assume that Mahmūd had such an efficient administration that he could carry out these measures in a country which was predominantly Hindu. But the rules were issued and Hindus were subjected to petty tyranny wherever possible, so that Mahmūd, who treated the Muslim divines with great respect and benevolence, could claim to be the champion of Islām, and thereby possibly induce foreign Muslims to join his service. The result was that his instruments of oppression, the Muslim nobles, concentrated power in their hands, while Mahmūd gave himself up to voluptuous pleasure. He was poisoned by his cup-bearer in 1554.

Mahmūd had a horror of providing an heir who might contest the throne and therefore used to procure an abortion whenever a woman in his seraglio became pregnant. Hence a distant kinsman of Mahmūd was raised to the throne as Ahmad III.

*Ahmad III (1554-1561)*

For seven years Ahmad III was the nominal ruler of Gujarāt, while the nobles divided the kingdom among themselves into practically independent principalities. The shifting combination of the greedy nobles started the country on the road to speedy disintegration, and the confusion was increased by the influx of groups of Afghāns.

After about five years of tutelage under I'timād Khān, the noble who had raised him to the throne, Ahmad fled, but was captured by I'timād who kept him under surveillance as before. Ahmad later foolishly attempted to hatch a plot against I'timād who had him assassinated in April, 1561.

*Muzaffar III (1561-1572)*

The death of Ahmad posed another problem of succession but I'timād produced a child called Nathu and swore that he was a son of Mahmūd III. Though this does not seem to be probable, I'timād's story was accepted by the nobles and the child ascended the throne under the title of Muzaffar III. The history of Muzaffar's reign is a record of continuous strife among the nobles in the midst of which I'timād managed to retain his regency until he was driven away by a Gujarāt noble called Chingīz Khān and some Mīrzās, that is, fugitive Mughul princes. I'timād Khān thereupon fled to Durgāpur, and sent a message to Akbar, who was then besieging Chitor, to come and occupy Gujarāt. Akbar, however, could not respond to this invitation immediately.

Chingīz Khān's power was short-lived and he was murdered by one of his Abyssinian officers. The result was I'timād's return to power, and the occupation by the Mīrzās of Broach, Surat, Barodā and Chāmpāner; Hindu feudatories began to assert their power and the Rāo of Cutch and the Jām of Nawanagar began to issue coins.<sup>23</sup> We need not trace the dreary history of Gujarāt for the next few years till I'timād again invited Akbar to invade Gujarāt. Akbar marched from Fathpur Sikrī on 2 July, 1572, and when he approached Ahmadābād unopposed in the following November, Muzaffar was found hiding in a corn field and brought in. He duly made his submission (November, 1572) and was granted a small allowance.<sup>24</sup>

II. KĀSHMĪR<sup>25</sup>*Muhammad*

We have noticed in the previous volume that Muhammad Shāh ascended the throne for the fourth and last time in A.D. 1530.<sup>25a</sup> Next year Kājī Chak advanced with an army, while Kāmran sent another under Mahram Beg to conquer Kāshmir. In this predicament Kājī Chak responded to the call of Abdāl Makri, who was in virtual control of affairs, and their combined forces met the Mughuls. At first the Mughuls carried everything before them, and occupied the capital, but later the Kāshmirī resistance was more successful; the Mughuls were forced to negotiate peace and after receiving a few presents were allowed to depart peacefully.

Kāshmir was then divided among the five great nobles, who suffered Muhammad to retain the crown lands, but soon after Mīrzā Haidar invaded Kāshmir.

Mīrzā Haidar, born in the Dughlāt tribe, a branch of the Chagtāi Mughuls, was Bābur's cousin. Mīrzā Haidar was at that time serving under Sultān Sa'id Khān of Mughulistān and, along with Sa'id Khān's son, Mīrzā Sikandar, invaded Kāshmir in 1532. Like Kāmran, Mīrzā Haidar at first was quite successful, but later dissension arose amongst his home-sick officers, and he had to retire from Kāshmir by the middle of 1533, after concluding peace with Mīrzā Muhammad who gave his daughter in marriage to Mīrzā Sikandar.

The only other notable incident in the reign of Muhammad was a severe famine graphically described by Prājyabhaṭṭa who adds that Abdāl Makri and other nobles relieved the distress of the people by feeding them.<sup>26</sup>

*Shams-ud-dīn to Mīrzā Haidar's second invasion*

Muhammad died in the middle of 1537, and was succeeded by his son Shams-ud-dīn. The hostility amongst the powerful nobles flared up and Kāshmir again had to suffer prolonged civil war, as a result of which Kājī Chak managed to secure control of the government.

Shams-ud-dīn died after a reign of about three years and was succeeded by Nazuk Shāh.<sup>27</sup>

The year of Nazuk Shāh's accession (1540) saw Humāyūn's defeat at the battle of Kanauj. This was followed by a precipitate flight of the Mughuls as described above.<sup>28</sup> All the principal Mughul leaders assembled at Lahore, and there Mīrzā Haidar suggested that Kāshmir should be conquered. This plan had the merit of giving

the Mughuls a base in India which could be easily defended against Sher Shāh; also Mīrzā Haidar had been approached by Abdāl Makri and Regi Chak to invade Kāshmīr. But, for various reasons Humāyūn did not accept the Mīrzā's plan, though he allowed him to depart for Kāshmīr and gave him four hundred soldiers.

Kājī Chak on hearing of Mīrzā Haidar's invasion defended only one route, but Mīrzā avoided that route and entered Kāshmīr by the Punch pass on 2 December, 1540. Possibly the Mīrzā received adequate support within the country, for Kājī Chak, without any further attempt to oppose the Mughul invader, hastened to Sher Shāh for help. Mīrzā Haidar thus conquered Kāshmīr without practically having to fight for it.

Mīrzā Haidar allowed Nazuk Shāh to continue as king with Abdāl Makri as the *wazir*, and after the latter's death, his son Hassan Makri was appointed as the *wazir*. Meanwhile Kājī Chak had been cordially received by Sher Shāh, who gave him 5000 horse under the command of Afghān officers. With this force Kājī entered Kāshmīr in the spring of 1541. An indecisive battle was followed by a stalemate, but ultimately a decisive battle was fought in August 1541, in which the Mīrzā with inferior numbers defeated the Afghāns, and forced them and their protege, Kājī Chak and Daulat Chak, to flee to India. The Chaks thereafter made a few more unsuccessful attempts to regain their power, but the death of Kājī Chak due to fever in 1544, and of Regi Chak in action two years later, relieved Mīrzā Haidar temporarily of any danger from that side.

These victories made the Mīrzā master of Kāshmīr. Now he attempted to conquer the semi-independent provinces of the kingdom, such as Kishtwār as well as Bāltistān and Ladakh. These adventures met with varying degrees of success, but resulted in the dispersal of his forces. The weakness of the Mīrzā's position became apparent in 1549, when Haibat Khān Niyāzī, Islām Shāh's rebel governor of Lahore, being defeated moved towards Kāshmīr. While on the way he met Daulat Chak and Ghāzī Chak who proposed a joint invasion of Kāshmīr, but Haibat, instead of falling in with the proposal sent an envoy to Mīrzā Haidar who sent a large amount of money to induce Haibat to leave Kāshmīr. Thereupon the frustrated Chaks went to Islām Shāh, and Mīrzā Haidar countered their move by sending a present of saffron to Islām Shāh. Islām later sent an envoy with rich presents to Kāshmīr, and Haidar gave him suitable presents.

Mīrzā Haidar, like other Mughul princes, was a great patron of art and literature. His description of the Hindu temples is delight-

ful reading, so that in contrast his religious orthodoxy comes as a surprise. He was a bigoted Sunnī, and as soon as he felt secure, began to persecute the Nurbakshiya sect, who at that time had an influential following in Kāshmīr. Abu-'l-Fazl also charges him with misgovernment.<sup>29</sup> Possibly the Mīrzā was a good soldier, lacking in administrative ability. To this was added his religious fanaticism and he further alienated the Kāshmīrīs by transferring his allegiance to Humāyūn after the latter conquered Kābul and Qandahār in 1545.

Trouble broke out in 1551 and the Mīrzā sent a force towards Punch under his cousin Qarā Bahādur but he was disastrously defeated and imprisoned by the Kāshmīrīs under Husain Makri and Idi Raina, who were soon after joined by Daulat Chak, and their combined force marched towards Srinagar. As Mīrzā Haidar prepared to proceed against them, serious rebellions broke out in Bāltistān, Ladakh and other places and everywhere his small garrisons were overpowered and either driven off or destroyed. Still the Mīrzā set out to oppose the main Kāshmīrī army who had fortified themselves at Mānar near Khānpur. As he had a small force, the Mīrzā decided to risk the hazard of a night attack, during which he died of a chance arrow (October, 1551).<sup>30</sup>

#### *End of the Shāh Mīrī dynasty*

The history of the decade following the death of Mīrzā Haidar, ending in the assumption of sovereignty by the Chaks, is rather confusing. At first the nobles accepted Nazuk Shāh as Sultān, a *roi faineant*, the real power being in the hands of Idi Raina, the prime minister, who had taken a prominent part in the actions against Mīrzā Haidar. Idi Raina, however, was able at the beginning to gain the support of the powerful houses of the Chaks and Makris by judicious distribution of favour. Thus when in 1552 Haibat Khān Niyāzī again invaded Kāshmīr, an army under Idi Raina, Daulat Chak and Husain Makri, successfully opposed him. In the action that followed, Haibat Khān and his wife Bībī Rābi'a, who displayed great courage fighting by her husband's side, lost their lives, and the Afghāns were routed.

Soon after the defeat of the Afghāns, civil war broke out in Kāshmīr between Idi Raina, supported mainly by the Makris, and the Chaks led by Daulat Chak in which Idi Raina was defeated and, while flying, died accidentally. Daulat Chak thereupon assumed the office of the prime minister, deposed Nazuk Shāh, and set up Ibrāhīm, the son of Muhammad, on the throne (1552).

From this time the ascendancy of the Chaks was complete though the Shāh Mīrī kings were allowed to rule for another decade. Dissension, however, broke out among the Chaks a few years later when Daulat Chak married his aunt, the widowed mother of Ghāzī Chak. Ghāzī Chak managed to capture Daulat Chak, and after blinding him, became the prime minister. He immediately deposed Ibrāhīm and crowned his brother Ismā'il, and on his death in 1557, Ghāzī set up on the throne his nephew and Ismā'il's son, Habib. Four years later (1561) Ghāzī set aside Habib on the ground of incompetence and ascended the throne himself. But, as has been noted above, Ghāzī had been the virtual ruler of Kāshmir from the time he became the prime minister.

The period of Ghāzī's prime ministership was disturbed by local rebellions which he was able to crush. Some of the rebels, however, sought the help of Abu-'l-Ma'ālī, the disgraced noble of Akbar's court, who collected some Mughul and Kāshmirī soldiers and invaded Kāshmir in 1558, but was disastrously defeated. The disgruntled nobles then sought the help of Qarā Bahādur, one of Mīrzā Haidar's lieutenants, but his expedition, too, met the same fate, and he escaped to Akbar. There were other disturbances which Ghāzī managed to quell, but the expedition which he sent to Ladakh was a failure.

In his old age Ghāzī was attacked with leprosy and entrusted his brother Husain Khān with the task of government. Soon certain incidents antagonized the two brothers, and Husain usurped the throne in 1563 after deposing Ghāzī and blinding his son Ahmad.

Husain's reign also witnessed the usual civil wars, but the most important incident of his reign was an apparently trivial affair which first interested Akbar in the fate of Kāshmir. Two intemperate Mullās, one a Shiah and the other a Sunnī, began by abusing each other and ended with the Shiah Yūsuf wounding the Sunnī Habib, and a special tribunal composed of Sunnīs condemned Yūsuf to death. It was at this time that Mīrzā Muqim, Akbar's envoy, came to Kāshmir. Muqim was welcomed with great respect by Husain, who now referred the dispute to the Mughul plenipotentiary and a case was started against the Sunnī divines for having executed Yūsuf when he had merely wounded the Sunnī qāzī. As a result of this enquiry a few Sunnīs were executed. Soon Muqim left Kāshmir, laden with rich presents and Husain's daughter to be married to Akbar.<sup>31</sup> But the disreputable conduct of Husain and his advisers so angered Akbar, that he declined to accept the presents and Husain's daughter had to return to Kāshmir. Muqim was

in his turn judged by 'Abdun-Nabī and others and on their advice put to death by Akbar. On hearing this Husain fell seriously ill; his nobles deserted him and joined his brother, 'Alī Khān, who soon forced Husain to abdicate in his favour (1569).

'Alī Shāh's reign was as disturbed by civil disturbances as that of his predecessors. In 1571, 'Alī Khān Chak attempted to seize the throne but was ultimately defeated and captured. Next, 'Alī Shāh's son and successor Yūsuf, murdered Ghāzī Shāh's surviving son, so that there might be no rival claimant to the throne. 'Alī Shāh then sent a force against his son and it seemed that a war between father and son was inevitable, but the *wazir* intervened and effected a reconciliation. A few years later two princes of the Shāh Mirī dynasty, who had taken refuge in Hindusthān, attempted to capture Kāshmīr, but were defeated. One of the princes died fighting while the other managed to escape.

The most important event in 'Alī Shāh's reign was his acceptance of Mughul suzerainty. In the middle of 1578, Akbar sent two envoys, namely, Mullā 'Ishqī and Qāzī Sadr-ud-dīn to Kāshmīr, as Abu-'l-Fazl says, "in order that they might guide that sinner in the hills ('Alī Shāh) to obedience."<sup>32</sup> The result was that 'Alī Shāh had the *khutba* recited and coins issued in the name of Akbar. Why 'Alī Shāh performed these acts is not known, but he undoubtedly provided Akbar the pretext for considering Kāshmīr as a vassal State.

In 1579 'Alī Shāh died of an accident while playing polo, and though most of the nobles were in favour of his son Yūsuf, 'Alī Shāh's brother, Abdāl, decided to contest the throne. Abdāl, however, was defeated and killed in battle. Yūsuf ascended the throne, but within two months the nobles drove him away and raised Sayyid Mubārak, the *wazir*, to the throne. Within a few months, however, the nobles imprisoned Mubārak and set up one Lohar Chak on the throne.

In the meantime, Yūsuf Shāh, despairing of success, came to Lahore to seek Mughul help from Mān Singh who brought him to the court at Āgra where he was received by Akbar in January, 1580.<sup>33</sup> Akbar promised Yūsuf the necessary help and deputed Mān Singh and another officer for the purpose, with whom Yūsuf left in August, 1580. But by the time he arrived at Lahore some Kāshmīrī nobles, afraid of the Mughul troops, opened negotiations, and Yūsuf managed, though it is not clear how, to detach himself from the Mughuls and raising a small force of Kāshmīrīs entered his kingdom. This time fortune favoured Yūsuf and he was able to defeat his enemies. Lohar Chak was captured and blinded.

Resistance to Yūsuf however continued though he managed to overcome all opposition. But in 1581 envoys came from Akbar and Yūsuf hastened to welcome them at Baramula. He then sent his third son Haidar to the imperial court with rich presents. He was allowed to depart after a year, and this time Akbar demanded that Yūsuf himself should come and wait on him. This Yūsuf was not prepared to do and he sent his eldest son Ya'qūb to the imperial court in 1585. Shortly afterwards, while Ya'qūb was still there Akbar decided to invade Kāshmīr.

Some modern historians have condemned Akbar for his unprovoked aggression. It is, therefore, necessary to remember that Akbar could justifiably have looked upon Kāshmīr as a feudatory State on the basis of 'Alī Shāh's reciting the *khutba* and striking coins in his name. This relation became even more pronounced when Yūsuf came to him for support to win his throne; Yūsuf then dispensed with Mughul support, but that would hardly change his status in Akbar's view. Moreover, when Akbar demanded Yūsuf's presence at the imperial court, the latter, instead of an unequivocal refusal, prevaricated by sending his sons. Akbar alleged in one of his letters that Yūsuf's son Haidar was not fit for service, and Ya'qūb was 'somewhat mad.'<sup>34</sup> There can hardly be any doubt that diplomatically Akbar's conduct was correct, and that Yūsuf had put himself in an indefensible position by failing to assert his independence at the proper time. It is also extremely doubtful if Yūsuf had ever sustained any idea of independence as we understand it today. When the Mughul army under Bhagwān Dās began to enter Kāshmīr the nobles counselled resistance, but Yūsuf decided otherwise and surrendered at the earliest possible opportunity (about 24 February, 1586).<sup>35</sup>

Yūsuf's surrender did not stop fighting. His son Ya'qūb crowned himself and carried on the struggle against the Mughuls. At first the Kāshmīrī resistance halted the Mughul advance, but ultimately some landlords let the Mughuls pass through their villages, whereupon the Kāshmīrīs came with proposals of peace. It was agreed that Akbar's name should be mentioned in the *khutba*, coins struck in his name, and revenues from the mint, saffron, shawl, etc., should be collected by imperial superintendents and paid to the imperial treasury.

It is difficult to determine, who entered into this treaty-relation with Akbar. Abu-'l-Fazl says: "As the army had been harassed, these proposals were accepted by the endeavours of Yūsuf, the ruler of Kāshmīr."<sup>36</sup> But Yūsuf was at this time in the Mughul camp, so he seems to have acted as an intermediary between his son Ya'qūb

and the Mughuls. This conclusion is to some extent supported by Prājyabhaṭṭa who states that after Yūsuf's surrender Ya'qūb became the king.<sup>37</sup> On 7 April, 1586, Yūsuf was presented at the court. As mentioned above (p. 148) Yūsuf was imprisoned.

According to Abu-'l-Fazl, Akbar "had resolved upon restoring Kashmir to him (Yusuf) but the imperial servants represented that he ought to have some punishment for his backslidings, and that Kashmir should first be conquered and afterwards restored to him. H.M. accepted this view, and made him over to Raja Todar Mal."<sup>38</sup> A year later Yūsuf was released and given a fief in Bihār.<sup>39</sup>

Akbar has been severely criticised by some modern historians for his treatment of Yūsuf. It is no doubt impossible to justify Yūsuf's imprisonment, but the statement that it led Bhagwān Dās to commit suicide seems to be absurd.<sup>40</sup>

The terms of the treaty, as might be foreseen, were not honoured by Ya'qūb. Had he, however, administered the country well, he might have defied the mighty Mughul, secured as he was behind the formidable mountain passes. But Ya'qūb, instead of rallying the country around his throne, divided his supporters by his anti-Sunnī policy. He could not expect any support from the Hindus either, for the Chaks had alienated them by imposing the *jizya*.<sup>41</sup> Rebellion broke out which he suppressed, but some disgruntled nobles approached Akbar for help, and the emperor, who had been dissatisfied with the treaty negotiated by Bhagwān Dās, seized this opportunity to send an army under Qāsim Khān to conquer Kāshmir (8 July, 1586).<sup>42</sup>

The difficult terrain and inclement weather helped the Kāshmirīs, though Qāsim Khān overawed a section of the Kāshmirī army, and a large number of officers capitulated.<sup>43</sup> But the resistance led by Ya'qūb persisted till Qāsim Khān was replaced by Mīrzā Yūsuf Khān.<sup>44</sup> Mīrzā Yūsuf seems to have been able to cope with the situation successfully so that it was possible for Akbar to visit Kāshmir. He left Lahore on the eve of 7 May, 1589, the day after the death of Miyān Tānsen, and reached Srinagar on 15 June, 1589.<sup>45</sup> On 21 July, 1589, Ya'qūb opened negotiations for his surrender through his brother Abiya and on 7 August offered his formal submission.<sup>46</sup>

1. For the annexation of Mālwa, see above, Vol. VI, p. 186.

1a. Danvers, F.C.: *The Portuguese in India* (London, 1894), pp. 395-401.

2. *Mirāt-i-Sikandarī*, tr. Bayley (MSB), p. 364; Nizām-ud-dīn gives a slightly different version of this speech, TA. tr. III, pt. i, 366. The date of the fall of Rāisen is given in MSB, p. 365.

3. MSB, pp. 367-68. Bahādur also invaded Gondwana and captured a fort called Kanur.

## MUSLIM RESISTANCE TO MUGHUL IMPERIALISM (I)

4. *History of Bengal*, II, ed. by Sir Jadunath Sarkar, p. 157.
5. Above, p. 329.
6. *MSB*, p. 373.
7. Danvers, op. cit., pp. 405-06; 416.
8. Abu-'l-Fazl relates that Bahādur who was present in the first battle of Pānīpat was extremely impressed by the fighting quality of the Mughuls, *A.N.* tr. I, 294.
9. Dr. S. K. Bannerji has given translation of the earlier letters from the Arabic *History of Gujarat*, (S. K. Bannerji, *Humayun Badshah*, pp. 99-111). Sikandar says that only Humāyūn's third and last letter and Bahādur's reply to the same have been preserved which he quotes, *MSB*, 375-380. Bahādur's last reply to Humāyūn was quite frank and outspoken and he accepted Humāyūn's challenge. The story given by Sikandar and other historians is that Bahādur, who was illiterate, had this letter drafted by a man who had a grouse against Humāyūn, and gave orders for its despatch while under influence of drink without consulting his ministers. Next morning when the Ministers learnt about it, Bahādur agreed to change it but the messenger had already departed and in spite of best efforts could not be recalled. This story appears to be apocryphal; Bahādur was justified in asserting his right to grant asylum to Muhammad Zamān Mirzā.
10. Dr. S. K. Bannerji, on the authority of the *Āīn* (II, 184), states that Humāyūn had gone to Kānār in the Kālpī district (Bannerji, op. cit. 73). Dr. Iswari Prasad, who does not give any reference, states that Humāyūn had proceeded up to Kanauj on his way to Bengal. (Iswari Prasad, *Life and Times of Humayun*, p. 68).
11. For Bahādur's plan of campaign and Humāyūn's activities see *A.N.* I, pp. 293 ff. According to Abu-'l-Fazl, Humāyūn advanced from Āgra on 9 November, 1534. But this date seems to be too early. I have therefore followed the date given by Gulbadan Begam, *Humāyūn-nāma*, tr. pp. 131-32.
12. *A.N.* tr. I, p. 303. Sikandar gives the date as 3rd Ramazan 941 A.H., 25 March, 1535; *MSB* gives the date as 20th Ramazan 941 A.H. which Bailey converts into 25 March, 1535, which seems to be a mistake.
13. Danvers, op. cit., 417.
14. For the defeat of the Mughuls in Gujarat, see above pp. 47-50. Sikandar states that the troops which helped Bahādur to defeat Yādgar Nāsir Mirzā came from the garrison of Chitor, Ajmer and Ranthambor, *MSB*, 393.
15. The Portuguese historians accuse Bahādur of having intended to capture the Portuguese Governor treacherously. Erskine went into the problem thoroughly and put the entire blame on the Portuguese (W. Erskine, *History of India, Babur and Humayun*, II, 95, f.n.). But Bahādur either intended to play some trick after allaying the suspicion of the Portuguese or was biding his time for the Turkish fleet's arrival, *MSB*, pp. 395, 327; Danvers, op. cit., 425.
16. *MSB* does not give the date but states that Mahmūd ascended the throne in 943 A.H. (A.D. 1536-1537).
17. Both Sikandar and Hājī-ud-dabir completely ignore this event, though the latter describes Gujarāt's attempt to recover Diu in 1546. For this encounter see M.L. Dames: "The Portuguese and Turks in the Indian Ocean in the sixteenth century," *JRAS*, January, 1921, 15-20; E. Denison Ross, "The Portuguese in India and Arabia", *JRAS*, January 1922, 13 ff. R.S. Whiteway, *The Rise of the Portuguese Power in India*, 244-60, Danvers, op. cit., 425-39.
18. For details see M.S. Commissariat: *Studies in the History of Gujarat*, pp. 7 ff. and *History of Gujarat*, pp. 436-57.
19. Quoted by Commissariat, *History of Gujarat*, p. 451.
20. "A fourth part of Gujarat, called Banth (Wanta), was in the hands of Rajputs and Grassiah" *MSB* 439. *Wanta* meant the enjoyment by the landlord of one fourth of a village. Forbes, *Rās-mālā*, II, 270-71.
21. *MSB*, 439.
22. *MSB*, 439-40.
23. A few copper coins bearing the name of Mahmūd-bin-Latif in Persian and the name of the Rāo of Cutch in Nāgarī have been found, from which Hodivala

## THE MUGHUL EMPIRE

- concluded that the Hindu princes were minting coins during the reign of Mahmūd III. S. H. Hodivala: "The unpublished coins of Gujarat Sultanate" *JBBRAS* 1926, 32-33. But minting copper coins was of little importance.
24. For details of Akbar's Gujarat campaign, see above pp. 125, 133, 145. Though Muzaffar did not take any part in the Gujarāt rebellion of 1573 he escaped from surveillance in 1578, and took refuge in Junagad, where he collected sufficient men to start a rebellion, and in 1583, captured Ahmadābād and declared himself King. He defeated several imperial officers, but was severely defeated by 'Abdur-Rahīm, who got his title of Khān Khānān for his action against Muzaffar. Muzaffar then took refuge in Cutch, where the historian Nizām-ud-dīn pursued him. Muzaffar continued to give trouble till 1591-92 when he was captured and is reported to have committed suicide.
  25. The proper name is Kāsmīra. But as it is also a modern name it is usually written without any diacritical mark or as Kāshmir or Kāshmir (as in this book). The form Kashmīr used in *CHI* seems to be erroneous. (Ed.).
  - 25a. Vol. VI, 386. In an article published in 1956 I had shown that possibly Muhammad's restoration in 1530 was the beginning of his fifth reign (A. K. Majumdar: 'A note on the chronology of the Sultans of Kashmir in the *Āin-i-Akbarī*', *JASBL*, XXII, 92), but as all the authoritative texts assigned him only four reigns, I did the same. Dr. M. Husain in his *Kashmir under the Sultans* p. 296 (1959) has assigned five reigns to Muhammad; though he has noticed my article he has not taken into consideration the objections which prompted me to assign four reigns to Muhammad instead of five. I am therefore following the chronology proposed in my article mentioned above.
  26. *Rājataranginī*, (RT. Peterson's ed.) pp. 351-52, vv. 347-361.
  27. For the relationship between Nazuk and Muhammad, see Vol. VI, 385. M. Husain states that Shams-ud-dīn was succeeded by his brother Ismā'īl. From the *RT*, p. 355, v. 399 ff., however, it seems that Nazuk succeeded Shams-ud-dīn. Abu-'l-Fazl's testimony is conflicting. In the *Āin* (II, p. 375, 2nd ed.) Abu-'l-Fazl has given a list of kings from which it would appear that at the time of Mīrzā Haidar's invasion Ismā'īl was reigning, while in the *Akbar-nāma*, he states that "At that time (i.e. during Mīrzā Haidar's second invasion) a person called Nazuk Shāh—having a name that was no name—was the reported sovereign". *AN*, I, 402. Unfortunately M. Husain does not discuss this problem at all and does not give any reference for his statement (p. 130) that Ismā'īl succeeded Shams-ud-dīn, and that Mīrzā Haidar set up Nazuk Shāh on the throne (p. 133). We have therefore followed the statement of *RT* which is corroborated by the *AN*.
  28. See above pp. 55 ff.
  29. *AN*, I, 405. For Mīrzā Haidar's appreciation of Hindu temples see *Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī* tr. by Elias and Ross, p. 427.
  30. M. Husain, *Kashmir under the Sultans*, p. 140.
  31. M. Husain (op. cit., p. 156) writes that Husain's daughter was intended to be married to prince Salīm. But these incidents happened in A.H. 977 (A.D. 1569-70), the year in which Jahāngīr was born; therefore the girl must have been intended for Akbar.
  32. *A.N.*, III, 356.
  33. *Ibid.*, 409; Yūsuf's surrender to Akbar is graphically described by Prājya-bhaṭṭa.  
*Samasta-prithivī-pāla-Jalāladīna-bhūpateh I*  
*Charanam śaraṇī-kartum yayau Yūsuba-bhūpatih II*  
*RT* (Peterson's ed.) p. 376, v. 637.  
 Of Yūsuf's return it is stated:—  
*Jalāladīna-bhūpāla-pāda-darśana-harshitaḥ I*  
*Āyayau vatsare yāte Śrīmān-Yūsuba-bhūpatih II*  
*Ibid.*, p. 377, v. 643.
  34. Haidar Malik: *IOMS*, p. 185; quoted by Beveridge, *AN*, III, 550, f.n.
  35. *TA*, II, 760-61, *AN*, III, 724; these incidents are quite graphically described in the *RT*. pp. 679-82, vv. 661-695.
  36. *AN*, III, 725.

MUSLIM RESISTANCE TO MUGHUL IMPERIALISM (I)

37. *Pañcha-varshā=śritān=bhogān-bhuktvā Yūsuba-bhupatiḥ I*  
*Jallāladīna-bhūpāla-sevanārtham athā=gamat II*  
*Gate tasmin mahīpāle Bhagavad=dāsa-sainikam I*  
*Yākuba nāma tat-putraḥ prājyam rājyam=athā-grahīt II*  
*RT (Peterson's ed.) p. 382, vv. 694-95.*  
 Prājyabhaṭṭa then relates in some detail Ya'qūb's attempt to defend Kāshmir against the next Mughul invasion under Qāsīm Khān, but never mentions Yūsuf. That is, so far as Kāshmir was concerned Yūsuf's reign came to an end with his surrender.
38. *AN, III, 738-39.*
39. *AN, III, 801.*
40. ".....Akbar refused to ratify the treaty which Bhagwān Dās had made, and broke faith with Yūsuf by detaining him as a prisoner. The rājā, sensitive on a point of honour, committed suicide". (W. Haig, *CHI*, III, 293). Haig as usual does not give any reference but the only authority for this statement can be Badāūnī, who states that Bhagwān Dās had given safe conduct to Yūsuf and when Akbar imprisoned him, the rājā struck himself with a dagger, but recovered soon after (Badāūnī, II, 364). But, as V. Smith pointed out, Badāūnī was singularly misinformed about the fate of Yūsuf, and his statement may therefore be rejected. V. Smith, *Akbar the Great Moghul*, 240. M. Husain (op. cit. 178) seems to reject Smith's contention but does not give any reason for doing so. [It is noteworthy that even *CHI*, IV, p. 136 differs from what is stated in *CHI*, III as quoted above, Editor].
41. *Pura-chakka-kulo-tpannair-bhūpair—jāti-virodhataḥ I*  
*Brāhmaṇebhyas—tadā dahḍo gṛihītaḥ kila vārshikaḥ II*  
*RT, p. 400 v. 885.*  
 The persecution of the Brāhmīns seems to have been quite severe and there were some forced conversions too, for Prājyabhaṭṭa adds:  
*Uttamo Bāhmaṇo deśam tatyāja mlechhadūshitam I*  
*Tatyāja madhyamo lajjām jātim tatyāja chā=dhamaḥ II*  
 (ibid v. 888).  
 Akbar remitted the *jizya*.  
*Tādṛśān Brāhmaṇān jñātvā Jallāladīna-bhūpatiḥ /*  
*Chakka-vaṁsa-krama-yātām vipra-daṇḍam nyavārayat /*  
 The Chaks were religious fanatics and there can be no doubt that they were persecuting the Hindus. Akbar's conquest must have come to them as a liberation and that is probably the reason why Prājyabhaṭṭa refers to him in very flattering terms.
42. Mīrzā Shāh Rūkh was sent first, but was recalled as "his heart was not in the work." *AN*, III, 747. It appears that the conquest of Kāshmir was undertaken somewhat light-heartedly. Several officers gave their opinion as to the strategy which should be adopted in conquering that hilly country and Abu-'l-Fazl naively adds: "Though the writer of the noble volume frequently pointed out excellent methods for conquest, there was no good result," that is, Akbar did not accept his historian's plan for a difficult campaign. Presumably he had become cautious after Bīrbal's death. However, Akbar called a meeting of astrologers, who predicted "that if some energy were exerted the conquest would be quickly made". This excellent advice was accepted and Qāsīm Khān was selected for the command. *AN*, III, 752.
43. *AN*, III, 787.
44. Qāsīm Khān had probably become tired of the constant fight. From what Abu-'l-Fazl says (*AN*, III, 796) it may appear that Qāsīm Khān was recalled for his high-handedness but later (p. 798) Abu-'l-Fazl states that "Qasim Khan too got disgusted and petitioned for recall". He reached the court in February, 1588 (ibid, 805).
45. *AN*, III, 817, 827.
46. *AN*, III, 839, 846.

## CHAPTER XIV

# MUSLIM RESISTANCE TO MUGHUL IMPERIALISM (II)

## THE FIVE SULTĀNATES OF THE DECCAN

### I. *General Review*

It has already been shown in Volume VI, Chapter XI, how the forces of disintegration worked in the Bahmanī kingdom and ultimately brought about its dissolution. With the weakness and incapacity of the central government, the provincial governors became all-powerful within their jurisdictions, and one by one, five autonomous States came into existence, viz., Ahmadnagar, Bijāpur, Berār, Golconda and Bīdar. The process of disintegration started with Malik Ahmad Nizām-ul-Mulk, the governor of Junnar, who refused to obey the behests of Qāsim Barīd, the Prime Minister of the *roi fainéant*, Sultān Mahmūd Shāh Bahmanī (1482-1518), and in A.D. 1490 assumed independence in the city of Ahmadnagar founded by him. His example was followed by Yūsuf ‘Ādil Khān, the governor of Bijāpur, and Fathullāh ‘Imād-ul-Mulk, the governor of Berār, in the same year. These governors enjoyed full autonomy within their respective jurisdictions,<sup>1</sup> and owed only nominal allegiance to the Bahmanī Sultān at Bīdar. Sultān Qutb-ul-Mulk, the governor of Telingāna, also followed their footsteps in 1518<sup>1a</sup> after the death of Mahmūd Shāh. On the demise of Qāsim Barīd in 1504 his son, Amīr Barīd, controlled the administration of the decadent Bahmanī kingdom. But with the flight of Kalimullāh, the last Bahmanī Sultān, from Bīdar in A.D. 1528, Amīr Barīd was relieved of his phantom Sultān who, at first, went to Bijāpur and thence to Ahmadnagar, and breathed his last in 1538. Like the four autonomous States mentioned above, Amīr Barīd thus had one such unit, but he never formally assumed the title of “Shāh”, and it was his son ‘Alī Barīd, who succeeded him in A.D. 1542 and assumed the title of “Shāh”.<sup>2</sup>

In Berār, the *khutbā* was read in the name of ‘Imād-ul-Mulk for the first time in A.D. 1529.<sup>3</sup> So far as Bijāpur was concerned, it was Ibrāhīm ‘Ādil Shāh I, the fourth ruler (1535-1557), who took the title of Shāh<sup>3a</sup> and in regard to Golconda, Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh, the third ruler (1550-1580), called himself Shāh. But it is not of

much importance if any ruler out of sentiment did not assume the regal title; the fact remains that when there was no scion of the ruling dynasty on the Bahmanī throne and the Sultān ceased to function, the provincial governments mentioned above who had so long acknowledged allegiance to the Bahmanī emperor acquired the position of sovereign monarchs.

Five independent Sultānates thus came into existence; namely, the 'Ādil Shāhī of Bijāpur, the Qutb Shāhī of Golconda, the Nizām Shāhī of Ahmadnagar, the Barīd Shāhī of Bīdar, and the 'Imād Shāhī of Berār. Of these, Berār and Bīdar were ultimately absorbed by their respective powerful neighbours, Ahmadnagar and Bijāpur. Berār was annexed in A.D. 1574 and Bīdar in A.D. 1619. Some modern writers are of opinion that Bīdar was annexed by Bijāpur in A.D. 1609, but this view does not seem to be correct, for Bīdar helped Malik 'Ambar in his struggle with the Mughuls as late as 1616.<sup>4</sup> According to the *Basātīn-us-Salātīn* it fell in 1619,<sup>5</sup> and this date is accepted by Sir Wolseley Haig.<sup>6</sup> Of the rest, viz., Golconda, Bijāpur, and Ahmadnagar, the last two played very significant roles in the Deccan and shaped the history of south of the Narmada for a long time. "The heritage of the Bahmanis passed into the worthy hands of Nizam Shah and Adil Shah. Ahmadnagar and Bijapur now became centres which fully kept up the traditions of Islamic dominion and Islamic culture founded by the Sultans of Kulbarga."<sup>7</sup>

The respective positions of the five Sultānates were as follows: Ahmadnagar was situated to the south of Khāndesh and north of Bijāpur. Berār was on the north-eastern side of Ahmadnagar, and when the former was annexed by the latter, the north-eastern boundary of Ahmadnagar also touched the south-eastern boundary of Khāndesh. Bīdar was situated on the eastern and south-eastern sides of Bijāpur and Ahmadnagar respectively and "Golconda's western boundary was mostly identical with the eastern frontier of Bīdar." So Bīdar was surrounded by the three powerful kingdoms of Bijāpur, Ahmadnagar and Golconda.

The most important feature of the Deccan politics was the keen rivalry and frequent warfare among the three big States, viz., Ahmadnagar, Bijāpur and Golconda for hegemony of the Deccan. As all these three had the same object in view, the repeated trials of strength arising out of their selfish greed not only disturbed peace and tranquillity in that region but often retarded the progress of Islām there. The small States of Berār and Bīdar were also not immune from rivalry and warfare, and they joined hands with one party or the other as suited their own purpose. But here

one question naturally arises: how could Berār and Bīdar survive such a long time in the teeth of opposition from their powerful neighbours? This was possible mainly because of the natural jealousies and animosities of the great powers who were interested more in annihilation of their rivals than crushing the small States. Moreover, the rival States were always alert in maintaining the balance of power in the Deccan and did not like to tolerate any accession of strength of their adversary. This hindered the big powers from swallowing the weaker and smaller States and it also partly accounts for the prolonged life of the latter.

Although efforts were made from time to time to make up the differences of the States by marriage and other friendly alliances, they could not pave the way for lasting peace. The bitterness with which their wars were sometimes carried on led one or other of them even to take the assistance of the Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagara to crush its adversary, and it was only on rare occasions that we find them acting together for a common cause. It was for the first time in 1564 that the four Sultāns of Bijāpur, Ahmadnagar, Golconda and Bīdar agreed to unite and proceed against Vijayanagara and ultimately fought together in the battle, popularly known as the battle of Talikota, in 1565. Malik 'Ambar's adroitness again knit together Ahmadnagar, Bijāpur and Golconda to stem the tide of Mughul aggression in the south.

The period which witnessed such turmoil and frequent warfare in the Deccan also produced some of the best administrators and statesmen like Malik 'Ambar and Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh II, of whom any country may be proud. "Malik Ambar," says Sir J. N. Sarkar, "is one of the three true statesmen that Islam in southern India has produced, and in some respects he is the greatest of them. In constructive genius and the combination of high military capacity with administrative skill, he towers above Khvāja Mahmūd Gāvān and Sir Salar Jang."<sup>8</sup>

Fine specimens of architecture were produced both at Golconda and Bijāpur. The architectural works at Bijāpur are "marked by a grandeur of conception and boldness in construction unequalled by any edifice in India." It was also during this period that under the patronage of some of the Sultāns of the Deccan, historical literature in Persian flourished there. Among them special mention may be made of *Tārīkh-i-Firishta* of Muhammad Qāsim Firishta, *Tazkirat-ul-Mulk* of Mīr Rafī-ud-dīn Shirāzī, both written during the reign of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shah II, *Futūhāt-i-'Ādil-Shāhī* of Fuzuni Astarabadi written during the reign of Muhammad 'Ādil Shāh and *Tārīkh-i-*

*Muhammad Qutb Shāh* completed in the reign of Muhammad Qutb Shāh.

## II. THE NIZĀM-SHĀHĪ KINGDOM OF AHMADNAGAR

In A.D. 1490, Malik Ahmad, the governor of Junnar, assumed independence within his jurisdiction and henceforth he had only slender tie of allegiance to the central government.

Malik Ahmad "was the son of Nizām-ul-Mulk Bahrī, originally a Brahmin of Vijayanagara, whose real name was Timabhat, the son of Bahrlū. In his infancy, Nizām-ul-Mulk Bahrī was taken prisoner by the Bahmanī Sultān Ahmad Shāh, converted to Islām, and given the name of Malik Hasan. He was brought up and educated along with Prince Muhammad and from his father's name he was called Bahrlū, but the prince being unable to pronounce the word Bahrlū called him Bahrī, whence he was known as Malik Hasan Bahrī. Subsequently he was put in charge of the royal hawks, and the word for hawk being Bahrī, it became a part of his title."<sup>9</sup> He was a man of talents and, by degrees, rose to a very high position, wielding great authority in the State. He also obtained the grand appellation of Nizām-ul-Mulk.<sup>10</sup>

On the demise of his father, Malik Ahmad assumed the appellation of his father, and from this the dynasty is known as the Nizām Shāhī dynasty. He had built a city on the bank of the river Sina, beautified it with fine buildings and gardens, named it after him Ahmadnagar, and made it the seat of his government. This city held a more convenient and strategically better position than Junnar.

One of his great achievements was the conquest of the hill fortress of Daulatābād after prolonged efforts. The acquisition of such an important fortress greatly enhanced his power and prestige. Besides this, he took possession of the hill fort of Antur and several other places belonging to Khāndesh and compelled the Rājā of Baglāna to pay him tribute. In this manner he not only extended the territory of his State but also consolidated his power. He breathed his last in A.D. 1509.

He never called himself 'Shāh' and, as has been stated before, owed nominal allegiance to the Bahmanī Sultān. Firishta praises him for continence and modesty,<sup>11</sup> and he was an efficient general, good administrator and fond of duelling; it was during his time that the system of duelling was introduced in Ahmadnagar and thence it spread to other places in the Deccan.<sup>12</sup>

*Burhān Nizām Shāh I (1509-1553)*

On the demise of Ahmad, his son Burhān, a boy of seven, was installed in his place. Mukammāl Khān, who held a high position in the State, was appointed minister and regent, and his son entitled 'Azīz-ul-Mulk was appointed commander of the household troops. The father and son exercised uncontrolled sway over all affairs of the State. But the pride and insolence of 'Azīz-ul-Mulk became intolerable to some of the nobles and they conspired to remove both the father and son from their high position. They wanted to accomplish this by removing Burhān and raising his younger brother Rājājī in his place. But this plot was not successful and the plotters had to leave Ahmadnagar and take shelter in Berār where they excited 'Alā-ud-dīn 'Imād Shāh to invade Ahmadnagar. 'Alā-ud-dīn proceeded against the Nizām-Shāhī kingdom with a large army but sustained a severe defeat and was compelled to retreat to his capital Ellichpur, leaving everything including his horses and elephants in the hands of his enemies.<sup>13</sup> Being pursued he fled to Burhānpur, and, at last, a peace was concluded between the two States with the aid of the ruler of Khāndesh, but quarrel over the possessions of Māhūr and Pāthri, the last of which was the ancestral home of the Nizām-Shāhī rulers, brought them again into conflict. Burhān, however, conquered both these places and succeeded in retaining possession of them.<sup>13a</sup>

In 1524, Ismā'il, the ruler of Bijāpur, met Burhān at Sholāpur, and an alliance was formed between them. His (Ismā'il's) sister, Bibī Mariyam, was married to Burhān. The underlying motive which prompted him to contract such an alliance was to strengthen his position for retrieving the losses he had suffered at the hands of Kṛishṇadevarāya, the king of Vijayanagara, and punishing Amīr Barīd, the arch-enemy of Bijāpur.

But unfortunately the alliance could not create the desired feeling of cordiality. Asad Khān, the minister and envoy of Ismā'il, had promised in the name of his master to give the fort of Sholāpur as marriage dowry to Burhān<sup>14</sup> but his master professed ignorance of such authorization and refused to part with it. Burhān was eager to occupy it, and made alliances with Amīr Barīd and 'Imād Shāh.<sup>14a</sup> In the following year, the confederate army marched against Sholāpur, but they were defeated near the frontier of Bijāpur, and Burhān, "overcome with the extreme heat of the day," was carried away from the battlefield in a dead faint. His losses were heavy. Thus Burhān was unable to occupy this border fortress which was always a bone of contention between Bijāpur and Ahmadnagar.

In 1527 Ahmadnagar again came to arms with Bijāpur when the latter had taken up the cause of Berār for the recovery of Pāthri, but in the following year we come across a rare occasion when Bijāpur joined hands with Ahmadnagar against the combined armies of Berār, Khāndesh and Gujarāt. Bahādur Shāh of Gujarāt made the position of Burhān precarious. Both the fortresses of Ahmadnagar and Daulatābād were besieged and Burhān had to purchase peace on payment of an indemnity and causing the *khutba* to be read in the name of Bahādur.<sup>14b</sup>

In 1531 war commenced between Bīdar and Bijāpur for the possession of Kalyāni and Qandahār. Amīr Barīd had promised to surrender these places to Bijāpur but did not act up to his promise and Ismā'il marched to occupy them by force. As it was not possible to fight alone against Bijāpur, Amīr Barīd sought the assistance of Burhān, who at first tried to desist Ismā'il from attacking Bīdar, but when he found that his endeavour did not produce the desired effect, he joined Amīr Barīd and moved against Bijāpur with twenty-five thousand cavalry and sufficient artillery. But he sustained a severe defeat in the engagement that followed and fled post haste to Ahmadnagar.

In the following year there was an attempt to arrive at an understanding between Burhān and Ismā'il 'Ādil Shāh by dividing the Deccan between the two. A meeting was arranged between them and both agreed in fixing their respective zones of aggrandizement. It was settled that Ahmadnagar might take up the conquest of Berār, and Bijāpur that of Golconda.

In accordance with these terms Ismā'il, who now joined hands with Amīr Barīd, proceeded to Golconda and laid siege to the fortress of Kovelacanda,<sup>15</sup> but, all on a sudden, he fell seriously ill and expired (1534). The whole plan was upset, partly due to his sudden death and partly on account of the disputes occurring between Burhān and Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh I.

In 1537, Burhān adopted the Shiah faith and although there was a Sunnī rising against him, he quelled it within a short time. Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh I, who was a Sunnī, joined the Sunnī kings of Gujarāt and Khāndesh and made a plan to parcel out Ahmadnagar among them, but Burhān frustrated their plan.

There was no end of hostility between Bijāpur and Ahmadnagar. As both these kingdoms desired supremacy in the Deccan, none could cease taking up arms against the other so long as the power of the adversary was not crushed or sufficiently reduced. Under such circumstances excuses for attacks were never wanting. Encouraged by

a dissension between Ibrāhīm and his Shiah minister, Asad Khān Larī, Burhān formed an alliance with Bīdar and invaded Bijāpur. Although crowned with temporary success he had to face reverses in the long run and to conclude a treaty with Ibrāhīm on condition of restoration of Sholāpur which he had captured in the course of the war (1542).

His defeat and consequent restoration of Sholāpur to Ibrāhīm were too much for him to bear and he wanted to recover it as well as "the district of Pānj Tappā or the five heights on the Bijāpur border."<sup>16</sup> It was with the purpose of enlisting the support of Jamshīd, the Qutb-Shāhī ruler, that he fought on his side against his brother Ibrāhīm, who, with the assistance of 'Alī Barīd, had been trying to oust Jamshīd. Before launching upon an offensive against Bijāpur, Burhān succeeded in the formation of a quadruple alliance with Jamshīd, Daryā 'Imād Shāh and Rāmarāja of Vijayanagara. It was arranged to invade the 'Ādil Shāhī kingdom from different directions (1543). The forces of Vijayanagara proceeded from the south and laid siege to Rāichūr; Burhān and Daryā 'Imād Shāh besieged Sholāpur, and Jamshīd, taking advantage of the absence of 'Ādil Shāhī forces on the Telingāna border, seized Kākni, constructed a strong fort there and occupied the whole territory up to the walls of Gulbarga. It was extremely difficult for Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh to repulse the attacks of his enemies, and with the object of creating a diversion he and his ally 'Alī Barīd marched to Parendā in the Ahmadnagar kingdom, and laid siege to it. This compelled Burhān and Daryā to give up the siege of Sholāpur and proceed to Parendā; Jamshīd also moved there. The two hostile parties met at Khāspurī, about three miles from Parendā, and, in the engagement which followed there, Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh and 'Alī Barīd were defeated and fled to Bīdar. Jamshīd Qutb Shāh chased them as far as the walls of Bīdar and then returned to his country. Finding him detached from the confederacy, 'Alī Barīd took courage and invaded Golconda. The former received information of this when the enemy was only eight miles from the capital. Leaving a garrison for the defence of Golconda he created a diversion by an invasion of Bīdar. As soon as 'Alī Barīd heard this he left Golconda and retreated towards his capital. He met Jamshīd on the way where after an indecisive battle, both of them agreed to retire to their respective dominions.<sup>17</sup>

After some time Jamshīd Qutb Shāh moved for an offensive against Bīdar, and on hearing of it, 'Alī Barīd marched to oppose him. A battle was fought at Narayankhera without any decisive result, but

the campaign ultimately terminated in favour of Jamshīd who occupied the districts of Kaulās and Narayankhera.

Getting an assurance of aid from Burhān, Jamshīd Qutb Shāh again marched against Bīdar. He occupied the hill fort of Medak, whereas Burhān and his ally Daryā took possession of AUSA and Udgir. 'Alī Barīd received assistance from Bijāpur, but in spite of this reinforcement he was defeated by Jamshīd Qutb Shāh who, after the victory, retired to Golconda. On the advice of Asad Khān Larī, Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh decided to come to terms with Burhān and Rāmarājā by offering some concessions to them. He ceded the district of Pānj Tappā to Ahmadnagar and sent presents to Rāmarājā. Thus Golconda was isolated.

A secret understanding was also arrived at between Burhān and Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh allowing the former free hand in his policy of aggrandizement in Bīdar, and the latter was allowed a similar advantage in Vijayanagara.<sup>18</sup>

After these, Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh sent Asad Khān against Jamshīd whom this general attacked with all his might. Jamshīd was compelled to give up the siege of Yādgīr in which he had been engaged and also leave the fort of Kāknī which was destroyed. He was closely pursued to the gates of Golconda where in the battle which ensued Jamshīd was defeated. As Asad Khān found it beyond his power to occupy this impregnable fort, he retreated and came back to Bijāpur.

Burhān attacked the fort of Qandahār belonging to Bīdar, and captured it. 'Alī Barīd, who was unaware of the secret arrangement between Ahmadnagar and Bijāpur, hastened to Ibrāhīm for assistance, but the latter, finding this a suitable opportunity for the annexation of Bīdar, confined him in prison.<sup>19</sup> After this, he moved to the south and conquered several places of the Vijayanagara kingdom. But his enhancement of power and territory was viewed with alarm by Burhān who attacked Sholāpur. Both these Sultāns now requested Jamshīd for assistance. The latter left Golconda, and without joining any party, took up his position between the two contending parties. He also received messages from 'Alī Barīd requesting him for deliverance from his present miserable condition. The position of Jamshīd was then really enviable; all the three Sultāns were waiting in suspense for his favour and he exhibited his tact by sticking to his policy of neutrality to the last and, at the same time securing the release of 'Alī Barīd from Ibrāhīm and re-instating him on the throne of Bīdar (A.D. 1548).<sup>20</sup> He thus kept Bīdar as a buffer State between him and the powerful kingdoms on the west.

The relation between Ahmadnagar and Bijāpur remained as strained as before; Burhān resolved to invade Bijāpur once more and with this end in view contracted an alliance with Vijayanagara. It was arranged to besiege Kalyānī which belonged to 'Alī Barīd, now ally of Ibrāhīm. Burhān invested it and Ibrāhīm proceeded there to render assistance to his ally, but he was defeated with considerable loss of men and money. At this, the garrison lost courage and surrendered.

But Ibrāhīm was not dismayed by this discomfiture and he marched to Parendā which he occupied easily. Leaving this fortress in charge of an officer he laid waste the neighbouring districts and went back to Bijāpur. Burhān recovered it without any difficulty, as the officer in charge of it, out of fear, had fled away even when he (Burhān) was many miles away from it. On his arrival at Bijāpur the timid officer was put to death.

On hearing of the preparations of Ibrāhīm for the recovery of Kalyānī, Burhān again joined hands with Vijayanagara. It was agreed that the border fortresses, Mudgal and Rāichūr, situated between the Krishnā and the Tungabhadrā, should be conquered by Vijayanagara and that Rāmarājā should assist Burhān in recovering Sholāpur. The allied army occupied Mudgal and Rāichūr and also captured Sholāpur within three months.

In 1553 Burhān and Rāmarājā again invaded Bijāpur and proceeded as far as the fort of Bijāpur which was invested, but the Nizām Shāh fell seriously ill and he was compelled to return to Ahmadnagar where he expired.

#### *Husain Nizām Shāh I (1553-1565)*

Burhān left six sons, of whom Husain succeeded to the throne of his father, and of his five brothers, 'Ābdul Qādir fled to Berār, Khudābanda to Bengal and the three others, Haidar, 'Alī and Mīrān Muhammad Baqir to Bijāpur.

During this reign, the old quarrels between Ahmadnagar and Bijāpur continued. Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh's position was, for the time being, strengthened by the arrival of two influential Nizām Shāhī nobles, Khvāja Jahān Deccani and Saif-'Ain-ul-Mulk, in Bijāpur. According to their advice Ibrāhīm took up the cause of 'Alī and it was agreed that if the latter would succeed in winning the throne of Ahmadnagar, the forts of Sholāpur and Kalyānī would be given to Bijāpur. 'Alī, with a contingent of two thousand cavalry, marched towards Ahmadnagar with a view to enlisting the support of the Nizām Shāhī nobles and then to attack Husain, but he met with

little success. Ibrāhīm had besieged the fort of Sholāpur and Husain, making an alliance with Daryā 'Imād Shāh, marched with him to raise the siege. Both the parties met in the vicinity of this fort and drew up their forces in battle array. A sanguinary battle was fought, but Ibrāhīm, suspecting the treachery of Saif-'Ain-ul-Mulk, fled from the battlefield and retreated to Bijāpur. Husain also then retired to his own dominion. Although 'Ain-ul-Mulk tried to prove his guiltless conduct and sincere loyalty to 'Ādil Shāh, it was of no avail. Thus, goaded to desperation, he became a rebel (1555) and Ibrāhīm's force had to sustain several defeats in his hands till at length he was driven out of Bijāpur only with the assistance of Vijayanagara. He re-entered the kingdom of Ahmadnagar with permission of Husain but the latter treacherously put him to death.<sup>21</sup>

War however did not cease long in the Deccan and Husain made an alliance with Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh with the primary object of conquering Gulbarga, situated in the territory of Bijāpur. Both the Sultāns then invested it (1557). Finding it impossible to resist their attacks, Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh I sought the assistance of Rāmarājā who immediately marched with his army towards Gulbarga. At the request of Rāmarājā, the Qutb Shāh agreed to mediate for a settlement between Ahmadnagar and Bijāpur. Moreover, with a view to arriving at a peaceful solution among the parties Rāmarājā met the contending parties "at the junction of the Bhima and the Krishna" and "a peace was now effected to the mutual satisfaction of all parties."<sup>22</sup>

Shortly after this conference, Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh died, and his son, 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh I, ascended the throne of Bijāpur (1557). He tried by all possible means to retain the alliance with Rāmarājā and even went to Vijayanagara to offer his condolence on the death of a son of the latter.<sup>23</sup>

Taking advantage of the accession of a new monarch on the throne of Bijāpur, Husain Nizām Shāh, in concert with Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh, invaded the 'Ādil Shāhī kingdom and 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh sought the assistance of Rāmarājā who marched with an army towards Ahmadnagar. Both 'Alī and Rāmarājā requested Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh to join them, as he was indeed obliged to do under the terms of the compact arrived at by the four parties, and Ibrāhīm joined them reluctantly. On the approach of the enemies in his territory, Husain Nizām Shāh retreated to his kingdom, and unable to resist them, retired to Paithan, on the Godavari, leaving a garrison in the fortress of Ahmadnagar for its defence. He solicited the aid of Berār,

Khāndesh and Bīdar but no relief came from these quarters. Khān Jahān, brother of 'Alī Barīd, who had gone over from Bīdar to Berār, dissuaded Daryā 'Imād Shāh from rendering assistance to Ahmadnagar and eventually joined 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh.

The confederate army penetrated as far as the fortress of Ahmadnagar and after carrying on depredations in the places *en route*, laid siege to it. The garrison baffled all attempts of the besiegers to capture it and expected that the enemy would be compelled to raise the siege and retire with the advent of the monsoon. At the same time, Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh who had full sympathy for Husain, felt perturbed at the enhanced strength of Bijāpur and maintained secret communications with Husain and the besieged, whom he assisted in all possible manner. When these things leaked out, 'Alī and Rāmarājā became highly incensed and demanded explanation from Ibrāhīm who decamped at night and proceeded towards Golconda.<sup>23a</sup>

In the meantime, Daryā 'Imād Shāh had sent a large army under Jahāngīr Khān for the assistance of Husain. He cut off the supplies of the besiegers and reduced them to a sad plight. All these compelled the besiegers to raise the siege of Ahmadnagar and move to Ashti whence one party was despatched against Parenda<sup>24</sup> and another to Ausa.<sup>25</sup>

The kingdom of Ahmadnagar had suffered a lot and there was still no end of suffering. In order to save his country from further devastation, Husain felt the imperative necessity of immediate peace with his enemies. He therefore sent envoys to Rāmarājā for peace and at last it was concluded on three conditions laid down by Rāmarājā. These were: (1) Husain should cede Kalyāni to Bijāpur, (2) he should put to death Jahāngīr Khān whose activities placed the besiegers in a miserable condition, and (3) he should also make personal submission to Rāmarājā.<sup>26</sup> All these conditions were ultimately fulfilled by Husain.

Meanwhile Husain had troubles with the Portuguese also. They had sought his permission to construct a fort at Revdanda, near Chaul. But instead of giving them permission he constructed a fortress on the site selected by them, and had also detained their ambassador. At these, the Portuguese governor of Goa invested the fort and brought further reinforcement when Husain had to sue for peace. A treaty was concluded on condition that neither Husain nor the Portuguese should build any fort either at Revdanda or at Chaul.

Although peace was concluded with Bijāpur and Vijayanagara, Husain could not forget the losses he had sustained and the humilia-

tions he had undergone. Naturally he was on the look out for revenge, and with this end in view, he met Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh in the vicinity of Kalyāni. He gave his daughter Jamal Bibi in marriage to Qutb Shāh and thus strengthened his position (1563). As soon as the ceremonies of the nuptials were over they besieged Kalyāni.

Under these circumstances Rāmarājā again came to the assistance of 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh and the Sultāns of Bīdar and Berār, too, joined hands with them. Finding the Sultān of Golconda absent from his kingdom, Rāmarājā despatched an army under Venkatādri to invade the southern districts of Golconda. On the approach of this confederate army Husain gave up the siege of Kalyāni, and, sending his family to the fort of AUSA, he, along with Ibrāhīm, proceeded against the enemies; but untimely rain and storm created great havoc in their camps. Their tents were blown down, and the guns, stuck in the quagmire, became mostly useless, as out of seven hundred only forty could be removed for use. On the following morning the enemies attacked the camp of Ibrāhīm, who took to flight and reached Golconda with difficulty. Husain also was compelled to retreat to Ahmadnagar but, considering it unwise to stay there, he left a garrison in it for its defence and retreated to the fort of Junnar. The enemies laid siege to the fortress of Ahmadnagar and carried on depredations in the neighbouring areas. On the advice of 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh, they raised the siege and proceeded towards Junnar in pursuit of Husain, who, on their approach retreated into the neighbouring hills, leaving instruction to his men to cut off the supplies of the enemies and to harass them in every possible manner. His troops did these so effectively that the movement of the confederate army was checked, and, on the approach of the monsoon they gave up the pursuit in the inaccessible hills and again invested the fort of Ahmadnagar. The army of Vijayanagara had encamped on the bank of the river Sina, but heavy rains causing sudden spate in the river during the night carried away many men. In consequence of this disaster the siege was abandoned and the confederate army marched to Golconda. All attempts of Ibrāhīm to repel the attacks of Rāmarājā proved abortive; many places were ravaged and one fort after another occupied. Thus fell Pangal, Kovelacanda, and Ganpura, etc., and the Qutb Shāh, at last, had to purchase peace by the cession of Pangal and Ganpura.<sup>27</sup>

Rāmarājā had fully realized the weakness of the Muslim States of the Deccan due to their mutual hatred, jealousy and disunion, and took advantage of it. The quarrels between Bijāpur and Ahmadnagar and his repeated armed assistance in deciding their struggles

enhanced his power to a great extent which adversely affected the safety of these kingdoms. The position of Vijayanagara was now unique in the Deccan. It had humbled the powers of both Ahmadnagar and Golconda, and the condition of Bijāpur was also far from satisfactory, for 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh had also been compelled to cede some of his territories, viz., Yādgīr and Bagalkot to Vijayanagara. The Muslim kings took alarm at the increase of power of the Hindu kingdom which had been invited more than once to intervene in the affairs of the Deccan. Moreover, the existence of such a wealthy and powerful neighbour was in itself a source of perennial danger to them. According to Firishta, the excesses committed by the army of Vijayanagara in the territory of Ahmadnagar were also responsible for a feeling of revenge against that kingdom.<sup>28</sup>

When the Muslim States of the Deccan became fully aware of the mischief which some of them had committed by inviting Rāmarājā to intervene in their affairs, a serious attempt was made by them to unite against their common adversary and strike, if possible, a serious blow at him. But how could it be done? Neither 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh nor Husain Nizām Shāh was willing to approach each other direct. Firishta says that 'Alī took the initiative in forming an alliance of the Sultāns of the Deccan and he sent an envoy to Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh with a view to bringing about an agreement between him and Husain.<sup>29</sup> It was Ibrāhīm who undertook to accomplish it and there is no denying the fact that he played a very important role in the formation of an alliance between Bijāpur and Ahmadnagar, the two arch-enemies. Husain Nizām Shāh's daughter, Chānd Bibi, was married to 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh, and Sholāpur, which had been one of the important causes of their quarrel, was given as her marriage dowry; Murtazā, the heir of Husain, was married to Hadiya Sultānā, the sister of 'Alī.

Bīdar, too, joined this confederacy, but Berār stood aloof on account of the treacherous murder of Jahāngīr Khān by Husain.

Before formal declaration of war, 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh demanded restitution of Yādgīr, Bagalkot, Rāichūr and Mudgal from Vijayanagara, and when Rāmarājā refused, the Deccani powers made it a plea for declaration of war.<sup>30</sup> The allied army marched towards the south and reached the small town of Talikota in Bijāpur territory, about twenty-two miles to the north of the Krishna, on 26 December, 1564. They assembled there and it is from the name of the place of assemblage that the battle is popularly known as the "battle of Talikota", although the actual fighting took place about twelve miles south of the Krishna, and hence at a considerable distance

from this town. The battle is also known as that of Rakshasi-Tangadi, as these two villages of Rakshasi and Tangadi lie at a comparatively less distance from the actual site of the battle, but they were also situated on the northern bank of the Krishna. The actual site of the battle was probably Bannihatti, on the confluence of the Maski river and its southern tributary.<sup>31</sup>

When Rāmarājā received information of the movement of his enemies, he also made necessary arrangements to face them, and he had sufficient confidence in his strength. Though it is difficult from the figures furnished by different historians to form an accurate idea of the number of troops the contending parties had assembled, there is no doubt that they mustered an unusually large number, the like of which had never been assembled in any battle in the Deccan. The forces were arranged in the same time-honoured fashion of right, left, centre, vanguard and rear. The Deccani forces were commanded by 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh on the right, Husain Nizām Shāh in the centre, and Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh and 'Alī Barīd on the left. Husain's powerful artillery under Chelepi Rumi Khān, an officer of great distinction, was placed in the centre. On the Vijayanagara side, the centre facing Husain Nizām Shāh was in charge of Rāmarājā himself; in spite of his old age he commanded his troops from a litter. The right wing was commanded by Rāmarājā's brother, Venkatādri, who was to oppose Ibrāhīm and 'Alī Barīd, and the left was entrusted to Tirumala, another brother of Rāmarājā, to oppose 'Alī.

The battle took place on Tuesday, 23 January, 1565. The Vijayanagara army commenced attack in right earnest and the right and left wings of the confederate army were thrown into such disorder that their commanders were almost prepared to retreat when the position was saved by Husain who opposed the enemy with great valour. The fighting was then continued and the loss of lives on both sides was heavy. But it did not last long and its fate was determined by the desertion of two Muhammadan commanders under Rāmarājā. Caesar Frederick, who visited Vijayanagara in 1567, said that each of these commanders had under him seventy to eighty thousand men and the defeat of Vijayanagara was due to their desertion.<sup>32</sup> Rāmarājā fell into enemy's hands and was beheaded on the order of Husain. His army fled pell-mell in various directions and the victors pursued the defeated as far as Anagondi, in the vicinity of Vijayanagara, the capital city. The loss of the latter was appallingly heavy and it was estimated that about one hundred thousand men perished in battle and in pursuit. "The plunder was so great, that every private man in the allied army became rich in

gold, jewels, tents, arms, horses and slaves, the kings permitting every person to retain what he acquired reserving the elephants only for their use.”<sup>33</sup>

Then followed the sack and destruction of the magnificent city of Vijayanagara. Before the arrival of the victorious army there, came the robbers and jungle folk of the neighbourhood who looted whatever they could get. “The third day saw the beginning of the end...for a space of five months Vijayanagara knew no rest. The enemy (i.e. the victorious army) had come to destroy, and they carried out their object relentlessly.... Never perhaps in the history of the world has such havoc been wrought, and wrought so suddenly, on so splendid a city; teeming with a wealthy and industrious population in the full plenitude of prosperity one day, and on the next, seized, pillaged and reduced to ruins, amid scenes of savage massacre and horrors beggaring description.”<sup>34</sup>

The so-called battle of Talikota or Rakshasi-Tangadi is one of the most decisive battles recorded in the whole history of India. It shattered the military strength of Vijayanagara and inflicted on it such irreparable damage that it was no more possible for it to regain the glorious days of the past.

The Muslims undoubtedly won a great victory over their rival and rejoiced at their grand success; Mudgal and Rāichūr were then easily recovered and added to Bijāpur. The territories of Golconda which had been wrested by Rāmarājā were also recovered.

But the union of the Sultāns for concerted action was temporary, and as soon as the dread of the great Hindu kingdom was gone, they again commenced their dynastic quarrels, and their mutual hatred and jealousy hampered their onward march.

Shortly after his return to Ahmadnagar, Husain died (1565), as a result of leading an intemperate life, and his minor son Murtazā Nizām Shāh I then ascended the throne.

#### *Murtazā Nizām Shāh I (1565-1588)*

During the minority of Murtazā, his mother, Khānzāda or Khūnza Humāyūn Sultānā, became regent and managed the affairs of the State for several years, at the end of which Murtazā took the reins of government in his own hands.

During the king's minority, ‘Alī ‘Ādil Shāh I had led a campaign against Vijayanagara which sought the aid of Ahmadnagar. In order to create a diversion with an intent to put a stop to ‘Alī’s

policy of aggrandizement in the south, the Queen-mother invaded Bijāpur, upon which its Sultān was forced to recall his forces from Vijayanagara. But no great engagement took place between them and there were only several skirmishes, after which the Queen-mother retired to Ahmadnagar.

‘Alī ‘Ādil Shāh could not forget this unprovoked attack by Ahmadnagar, and mismanagement in its administration by the Queen-mother afforded him an opportunity to invade it. His forces succeeded in wresting some territories from Ahmadnagar and his general Kishvar Khān constructed a fortress in the newly conquered area and named it Dhārūr. It was at this stage when things were being mismanaged by the Queen-mother and her favourite brothers, ‘Ain-ul-Mulk and Tāj Khān, that Murtazā seized the reins of government in his own hands.

Next he proceeded towards Dhārūr with all haste and, on reaching the precincts of the fort, laid siege to it. A lucky incident hastened its fall. Kishvar Khān, who was in charge of its defence, was killed by an arrow while conducting the defence and this was followed by the flight of the garrison and evacuation of the fort. The lost grounds were thus recovered by Murtazā who then invaded the territory of Bijāpur in conjunction with Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh, but this was ultimately foiled by intrigues which led to a breach between Murtazā and Ibrāhīm.

In 1569-70 Murtazā in alliance with ‘Alī ‘Ādil Shāh and the Zamorin unsuccessfully invaded the Portuguese possession of Chaul.<sup>34a</sup>

The most important achievement of Murtazā was the annexation of Berār in A.D. 1574. This considerably enhanced the territory, power and prestige of the Nizām Shāhī kingdom, and although a pretender with the aid of Mirān Muhammad Shāh, the ruler of Khāndesh, tried to revive the kingdom, it proved abortive. Not only the pretender and the forces of Khāndesh were driven back, but the kingdom of Khāndesh, even to the very gates of Burhānpur, the capital city, was ravaged and Mirān Muhammad had to take refuge in the fortress of Asirgarh and eventually purchase peace on payment of a large sum of money to the Nizām Shāh.

During this reign, Ahmadnagar reached its greatest territorial extent. On the west, it was bounded by the Arabian sea, from Bassein to Bankot, on the north it touched the southern frontier of Khāndesh and “on the north-east it included Berār, which was bounded on the north by the river Tapti and the eastern and

southern boundaries of which were enclosed by the Wain Gangā, Warda, and Pain Gangā rivers; the line, subsequently coming through the Godavari and the boundary of Bīdar, moved first in the south-western direction, and passing AUSA and Sholāpur, it took a north-western course, serving as the northern boundary of Bijāpur till it reached Bankot.”<sup>35</sup>

On the death of ‘Alī in 1580, his nephew Ibrāhīm ‘Ādil Shāh II ascended the throne of Bijāpur and taking advantage of the minority of the Sultān, Murtazā invaded Bijāpur but was defeated. Within a few years of the accession of Ibrāhīm the marriage of his sister Khadija was celebrated with Murtazā’s son, Mirān Husain, but the marriage alliance failed to establish peace between Ahmadnagar and Bijāpur.

Of all the actions of Murtazā his cruel and inhuman treatment of his faithful minister Chingīz Khān, whom he put to death by administering poison on the false accusation that he had been trying to make himself independent in Berār, deserves the strongest condemnation. The insinuation came from the king’s favourite, Sāhib Khān, in order to feed fat his grudge on the minister, and it was too late when the Sultān discovered the truth.<sup>36</sup> This reminds one of the treacherous plot against Mahmūd Gāvān, the famous minister of the Bahmanī kingdom.

The last years of Murtazā’s life were embittered by his loss of mental equilibrium which specially manifested itself in the unjustified suspicion of his son Mirān Husain whom he suspected of dethroning him. To get rid of the Prince he set fire to his bed clothes, locking the door of the room from outside, while he (the Prince) was asleep. The latter was startled by the smoke in the room, and was rescued, and ultimately carried in secret to the fortress of Daulatābād with the help of his well-wishers. He soon took vengeance on his father and caused his death by suffocating him in a close heated bath (1588).<sup>37</sup>

Firishta, the historian, had become a close confidant of Murtazā Nizām Shāh during his last days, and escaped untimely death at the hands of Husain Nizām Shāh, being the latter’s class mate.

#### *Husain Nizām Shāh II (1588-1589)*

On the death of his father, Mirān Husain ascended the throne with the title of Husain Nizām Shāh II. He was a cruel and worthless Sultān who wasted his time in wine and pleasures. His cruelties and excesses were so intolerable that he was dethroned, im-

prisoned, and, at last, put to death. His reign lasted a little more than ten months.

*Ismā'il Nizām Shāh II (1589-1591)*

Ismā'il, a cousin of Husain II, who was now raised to the throne, was the younger son of Burhān-ud-dīn, brother of Murtazā Nizām Shāh I. During the reign of the latter, Burhān had made a fruitless attempt to seize the throne, but having been defeated, took shelter in Bijāpur. He made another effort but, this time, too, met with a similar fate, and he then went to the Mughul Emperor Akbar whose service he entered. But his two sons, Ibrāhīm and Ismā'il, were left behind in the fortress of Lohargarh where he had once been confined.

During the reign of Ismā'il the real power was in the hands of Jamāl Khān, the leader of the Deccani party. He belonged to the Mahdavī sect and persecuted all those who did not belong to it. During the tumult following the murder of Husain he had ruthlessly put to death many foreigners and now he seized the properties of those who had escaped massacre, compelling them (including the historian Firishta) to leave Ahmadnagar. But these persecutions had their natural reactions and dark clouds enveloped the political horizon of Ahmadnagar. The discontented nobles headed a revolt to drive away Jamāl, and at the same time, Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh II, who bore hatred and anger against this leader for his religious persecutions and who was anxious to bring back his widowed sister Khadīja to Bijāpur, sent Dilāvar Khān with a large force to invade Ahmadnagar. With great intrepidity Jamāl met the two enemies successively. At first he defeated his internal enemies and forced them to fly to Burhānpur. Then he proceeded against Dilāvar Khān and met him at Ashti. The two armies remained face to face for fifteen days without any action and, at length, on the request of Jamāl Khān, peace was concluded between them on two conditions, viz. (1) Khadīja should be sent back to Bijāpur, and (2) Ahmadnagar should pay a war indemnity (1589).<sup>37a</sup>

Ismā'il's father, Burhān, who had been eager to gain the throne occupied by his son, took permission of Akbar to proceed to the Deccan. The Mughul Emperor proposed to render military assistance to him, but Burhān politely and tactfully refused to accept it, as that would have made him an object of hatred in the eyes of his country-men and would have brought him under obligation to the Mughuls. He went to the Deccan, and with the assistance of some of the Nizām Shāhī nobles, made an attack on Berār but was de-

feated. He was forced to take shelter in Khāndesh where he succeeded in securing the aid of its ruler Rājā Alī Khān. Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh II also promised him assistance. Ahmadnagar was then invaded from two sides—on the north, by Burhān and Rājā 'Alī Khān, and on the south, by the army of Bijāpur under Dilāvar Khān. Jamāl Khān first proceeded to the south against Dilāvar Khān whom he defeated at Dhārāseo. Next he proceeded towards the north and met Rājā 'Alī Khān and Burhān at Rohankhed but he was slain in the battle. His death was followed by a flight of his army along with Ismā'il who was captured and then confined by his father (1591).

#### *Burhān Nizām Shāh II (1591-1595)*

Burhān was an aged man when he ascended the throne. He annulled the orders of Jamāl Khān regarding the Mahdavi sect and passed order for the death of its followers with the result that they left the kingdom. The Shiah religion was re-established and the foreigners, who had been expelled by Jamāl Khān, were recalled.<sup>38</sup>

This reign witnessed the renewal of the old conflict between Ahmadnagar and Bijāpur. The defeat of Dilāvar Khān, the Bijāpur general, at Dhārāseo, was a signal for his downfall. He had to leave Bijāpur and go to Ahmadnagar where he was cordially received by Burhān and appointed in his service. Ibrāhīm requested Burhān to send Dilāvar back to Bijāpur along with the three hundred elephants which had fallen into the hands of Jamāl Khān at the battle of Dhārāseo. At the instigation of Dilāvar, Burhān not only refused compliance but invaded Bijāpur (1592). Finding no opposition he continued to advance in the territories of Bijāpur and strengthened his position by repairing the fortress of Mangalvedha, on the bank of the Bhimā. Instead of encountering the enemy in an open field, Ibrāhīm despatched a strong detachment of Marāthā cavalry to cut off the supplies of the enemies and harass them in every possible manner. They made the position of Burhān so intolerable that he was obliged to march back to his own country to replenish his provisions. This being done, he proceeded towards Sholāpur, but the forces of Bijāpur inflicted a severe defeat on him. This so adversely affected his position that he was compelled to conclude peace with Bijāpur and demolish the fortress of Mangalvedha, repaired by him.

In the same year (1592) Burhān made an attack on the Portuguese fortress of Chaul. Although he had some advantages at the initial stage, he suffered heavily when reinforcements arrived for

the assistance of the garrison. With the increased strength, the Portuguese not only defended Chaul but, taking the offensive, reduced the fort which Burhān had constructed in the neighbourhood, killing more than twelve thousand Nizām Shāhī soldiers. Farhād Khān, the commander of Ahmadnagar, was taken prisoner.

After this discomfiture, Burhān made preparations to attack the Portuguese once more, but this did not ultimately materialize, as he marched to the aid of Ismā'īl who had rebelled against his brother Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh II. But on reaching Parenda, he learnt that Ismā'īl had already been captured and put to death by his brother, and retired to Ahmadnagar, where he fell seriously ill. Ibrāhīm II, who was highly annoyed with Burhān for supporting Ismā'īl, despatched an army against him and defeated and killed his commander Uzbek Khān. This news gave Burhān a rude shock in his weak health which further deteriorated, confining him to bed.

Burhān nominated his elder son Ibrāhīm as his successor, but Ikhlās Khān, an influential Nizām Shāhī noble, taking up the cause of Ismā'īl, the younger son, proceeded against the Sultān who, in spite of his illness, personally took the field and defeated the rebels. The prince then fled to Parenda. But the exertion of the campaign was too much for the Sultān who expired on the day following his return to the capital (1595).<sup>39</sup>

#### *Ibrāhīm Nizām Shāh (1595)*

Ibrāhīm then ascended the throne under the title of Ibrāhīm Nizām Shāh, but his reign lasted a few months only. Miyān Manjhū became prime minister, and the Sultān as well as the minister granted pardon to Ikhlās Khān for his past conduct. But the latter, forgetting the gratitude he owed to the minister, arrayed a strong opposition against him, although he as well as Miyān Manjhū belonged to the same Deccani party. The motive behind such action of Ikhlās Khān was only self-aggrandizement at the expense of the prime minister. When the affairs in the realm were thus heading towards a crisis, the envoy of Bijāpur was insulted, and Ikhlās Khān prevailed on the young Sultān, who was given to dissipation, to declare war against Bijāpur. Miyān Manjhū's efforts to avoid it was of no avail, and, to make matters worse, Ibrāhīm was slain in the sanguinary battle which ensued between these two kingdoms.

#### *Chaos and Confusion*

Ibrāhīm Nizām Shāh's death was followed by the flight of his army, and the victors returned to Bijāpur laden with rich booty.

This was a signal for serious confusion and disorder in the Ahmadnagar kingdom which continued unabated for most of the time till its annexation by the Mughuls. During this period, the leading nobles looked to their own interests alone instead of devising any common programme for the welfare of the realm. Parties of different interests had existed even during its infancy, and their selfish greed sapped its vitality, but with the incapacity and weakness of the Sultāns they became more powerful and brought about its final annihilation. Within a short time following the death of Ibrāhīm, four parties organized by different Nizām Shāhī nobles arose to contest the throne. Chānd Sultān, the aunt of the late Sultān and widow of 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh I, championed the cause of Ibrāhīm's infant son, Bahādur, whom she proclaimed as the rightful Sultān; she became regent and appealed to the subjects for peace and amity, but in vain. The leader of the second party was Ikhlās Khān who declared a child called Moti, procured by him, as the legal sovereign. The third party was organized by Ābhang Khān,<sup>39a</sup> an Abyssinian noble, who was the supporter of Shāh 'Alī, the son of Burhān Nizām Shāh I; and the fourth party was led by Miyān Manjhū, who declared his nominee, Ahmad, as the real successor to the Nizām Shāhī throne, and proclaiming him Sultān, captured and imprisoned Bahādur. But it was soon found out that Ahmad was an impostor, and due to keen opposition of Ikhlās Khān the position of Miyān Manjhū became extremely critical. The latter took shelter within the walls of Ahmadnagar and applied to Prince Murād, the son of Akbar, then governor of Gujarāt, for assistance. Akbar had already decided to attack Ahmadnagar and given instruction to Murād to that effect. The invitation of Miyān Manjhū afforded a suitable opportunity to carry out his design and the Prince, accompanied by Rājā 'Alī Khān, the ruler of Khāndesh, and Khān Khānān Abdur Rahīm moved towards Ahmadnagar (1595).

In the meantime Miyān Manjhū had defeated his rival Ikhlās Khān and repented of having called in Mughul assistance. He joined Chānd Sultān in her endeavour to save the kingdom from Mughul aggression and implored the assistance of Bijāpur and Golconda. As regent, Chānd Sultān undertook to manage all affairs of the kingdom and offered a stiff resistance to Murād who had besieged the fort of Ahmadnagar. At this juncture she appealed to Ābhang, Khān, Muhammad Qulī Qutb Shāh and Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh II for help. All of them responded to her request and 'Ādil Shāh despatched twenty-five thousand cavalry under the command of Suhail Khān, an eunuch, and the Qutb Shāh five to six thousand cavalry.<sup>40</sup>

Ikhlās Khān and Miyān Manjhū along with the army of Bijāpur and Golconda advanced to the assistance of Chānd Sultān.

Prince Murād became anxious when he heard of these heavy reinforcements coming to the relief of Ahmadnagar. The progress of the siege was undoubtedly slow owing to the jealousy and differences of opinion between him and the Khān Khānān, and without wasting any more time he laid mines. Although a breach was made in the wall of the fort, it was not possible for the besiegers to enter into it due to the gallant resistance of the besieged led by the valiant Chānd Sultān. During the night the breach was repaired under her superintendence, and thus the capture of the fort remained as difficult as before. Adding to their hardships, the Mughuls were experiencing shortage of provisions. On the other hand, Chānd Sultān, too, was badly experiencing want of provisions and was in grave anxiety about the defence of the fort. Both sides were thus on the look out for an opportunity to terminate the war, and, at last, a treaty was concluded between them on conditions of recognition of the suzerainty of the Mughuls and cession of Berār by Ahmadnagar (March, 1596).<sup>41</sup>

On the return of the Mughuls, Bahādur was proclaimed Sultān and Muhammad Khān appointed prime minister. Miyān Manjhū expected that Ahmad would have preference to other rivals, but when this was not possible in a peaceful manner, he wanted to accomplish it by a trial of strength. Chānd Sultān again appealed for aid to Ibrāhīm II who asked Miyān Manjhū to repair to Bijāpur with Ahmad, and on their arrival there, both of them were taken into the service of Bijāpur.

The difficulties of Chānd Sultān did not end with their exit from Ahmadnagar, and more troubles were in store for her. The high-handedness of Muhammad Khān was too much for her and the nobles to bear. Once more she appealed to Ibrāhīm II to help her to tide over the difficulties. The latter again despatched an army under Suhail Khān to Ahmadnagar with instruction to render all possible assistance to her. Muhammad Khān opposed Suhail Khān who besieged him in the fort of Ahmadnagar for four months. Thus placed in a critical position, Muhammad appealed for aid to the Mughuls, but the garrison, highly dissatisfied at this, seized him and made him over to Chānd Sultān who appointed Ābhang Khān in his place. Thus she got rid of her internal foe but there was recrudescence of trouble with the Mughuls.

Her relations with them were far from cordial. They had occupied some territories of Ahmadnagar including Pāthri not ceded to

them by the last treaty, whereas Gawilgarh and Narnāla, the two fortresses of Berār, were still in possession of the officers of Ahmadnagar. Thus, when causes for renewal of a war already existed, the appeal of Muhammad Khān for aid to the Mughuls furnished the latter another important ground for an offensive.

Realising the gravity of the situation, Chānd Sultān appealed to Bijāpur and Golconda for assistance, which both of them gave. A combined army of about sixty thousand cavalry marched towards Berār, and in the vicinity of Sonpet, on the Godavari, a severe battle took place between them and the Mughuls for two days in which the latter came out victorious (1597).<sup>41a</sup> But, in spite of this, their progress was much hampered due to serious differences of opinion between Prince Murād and the Khān Khānān, and Akbar had to recall the latter, deputing Abu-'l-Fazl instead.

There was lack of unity in the Nizām Shāhī camp, too, and quarrels had been going on between Chānd Sultān and Ābhang Khān. The latter besieged her in the fort of Ahmadnagar, and taking advantage of the absence of the Khān Khānān, attacked and besieged the Mughul officer in charge of the fortress of Bir.

Abu-'l-Fazl could not improve the position of the Mughuls and on 12 May, 1599, Prince Murād died of intemperance. Under these circumstances Prince Dāniyāl, the youngest son of Akbar, and the Khān Khānān were sent to the Deccan, and with a view to conducting the campaigns more vigorously the emperor himself proceeded to the south, making his headquarters at Burhānpur. An army was despatched to besiege Asir, and Prince Dāniyāl and the Khān Khānān were directed to proceed against Ahmadnagar.

Ābhang Khān raised the siege of Ahmadnagar and marched to oppose the Mughuls, but "finding himself out-manoeuvred and unable to withstand the Mughul's forces" he went back to Ahmadnagar for amicable settlement of his differences with Chānd Sultān; but when this was not possible, he retired to Junnar. The Mughuls reached Ahmadnagar without opposition and invested it.

At this critical juncture, Chānd Sultān, seeking the advice of Jīta Khān, an eunuch and officer of rank, gave out that her past experience convinced her of the danger of placing reliance on the Nizām Shāhī officers and, in her opinion, it would be proper to cede the fort to the Mughuls on condition of safe passage of the garrison and the young Sultān to Junnar. At this Jīta Khān at once came out shouting that she was in league with the Mughuls for surrender of the fort. A mob headed by Jīta Khān then rush-

ed into her apartment and put her to death (July, 1600). Her murder sealed the fate of the kingdom, and in the following month, the Mughuls stormed and occupied the fort.<sup>41b</sup>

Thus, Ahmadnagar was annexed to the Mughul Empire and the young Sultān, Bahādur Nizām Shāh, sent as a State prisoner to the fortress of Gwālior where he was confined for the rest of his life. Among the booty which the Mughuls received was a valuable library.<sup>42</sup>

### *Malik 'Ambar*

But although the capital city and its adjoining places were occupied by the Mughuls and made a separate *sūba* of the empire, an extensive part of the kingdom remained in possession of the influential Nizām Shāhī nobles like Malik 'Ambar and Raju Deccani. They acted independently of each other and owed no allegiance to any king. It was to the credit of the former that he revived the fallen kingdom and imparted to it a fresh lease of life.

Malik 'Ambar was born in an obscure Abyssinian family in 1549. He was originally a slave of Khvāja Bāghdādī who had purchased him in Bāghdād. He was then sold at Ahmadnagar to Chingīz Khān, the minister of Murtazā Nizām Shāh I. Chingīz Khān had one thousand slaves and 'Ambar was one of them. The sudden death of his master threw 'Ambar in a helpless condition and for more than two decades he struggled hard, serving sometimes as an ordinary soldier in Ahmadnagar and sometimes in Bijāpur. But these could not satisfy an ambitious man like him. When Ābhang Khān was opposing Bahādur, he joined his service and was soon promoted to the rank of a commander of one hundred and fifty horsemen in reward for his good services.

After some time he started his career as an independent chieftain, and disorder and confusion then prevailing in the country afforded him a suitable opportunity for his adventurous activities. At the time when the Mughuls were busy in the siege of Ahmadnagar, he, by his repeated sallies on the unruly men of the borders, made their lives so miserable that they were compelled to come under his leadership. These soon swelled the number of his followers to two thousand and five hundred, and encouraged by such successes, he continued from one daring act to another till he made a sudden sally on Bīdar whose army he defeated. This victory enhanced his resources in men and money. After this, he became bold enough to make surprise attacks on the Mughuls in Ahmadnagar and plunder them. His followers continuously increased

and many Nizām Shāhī nobles joined him, adding to his strength and prestige.<sup>43</sup> Thus he became the most powerful factor in the Nizām Shāhī politics and “brought under his possession the Nizām Shāhī country from the Telingana borders as far north as within one *kros* of Bir and four of Ahmadnagar and from twenty *kros* west of Daulatābād to within the same distance of the port of Chaul.”<sup>44</sup>

Having thus made his position strong he took up the cause of the fallen Nizām Shāhī dynasty which he wanted to reinstate at all costs. He was wise enough not to aspire after kingly position, and although there were obstacles in his way he surmounted them with his iron will. Bahādur and other members of the family were State prisoners at Gwālior and to bring them back was out of the question. He was, however, successful in finding out a scion of the Nizām Shāhī family in ‘Alī, the son of Shāh ‘Alī, then residing in Bijāpur. It has already been stated how two fruitless attempts were made, one by Ibrāhīm ‘Ādil Shāh I and later on, by Ābhang Khān, to place Shāh ‘Alī on the throne of Ahmadnagar. He was now of advanced age and Malik ‘Ambar, inviting his son, placed him on the throne with the title of Murtazā Shāh Nizām-ul-Mulk (1600).

Murtazā Nizām Shāh’s coronation took place at Parenda which was fixed “as the temporary capital of the kingdom, and Malik ‘Ambar became Prime Minister and *Vakil-us-Sultānat* (Regent of the Kingdom) and gave his daughter in marriage to the king.”<sup>45</sup>

Murtazā II who ruled from A.D. 1600 to 1630 was Sultān only in name and the whole governmental machinery was run by Malik ‘Ambar. The latter had to solve various problems of the revived kingdom including its protection from internal enemies and Mughul aggression. In place of chaos and confusion he soon established law and order and then diverted his attention to the self-seeking nobles, the most formidable of whom was Raju Deccani, who had brought under his possession a great part of the fallen Nizām Shāhī kingdom and who, in order to fulfil his selfish design, was dragging the country to a crisis. Taking advantage of this rivalry the Mughul general, Khān Khānān, started an offensive campaign against ‘Ambar, and this was directed against his territory on the Telingāna border. In one of the battles there, viz., at Nander, he was wounded (1602), and the war finally terminated in a treaty “marking out their respective boundaries.”<sup>46</sup>

After this, ‘Ambar compelled the conspirators like Farhad Khān and Manjhan Khān to leave the kingdom and take shelter in Bijāpur.

In 1607, 'Ambar transferred the capital to Junnar on account of its strategic importance and for efficient conduct of campaigns against Raju, as it was situated at a comparatively less distance from Daulatābād, the headquarters of the latter, than Parendā.<sup>47</sup> Circumstances now favoured the Abyssinian chief to subdue his rival. The oppression of Raju created a feeling of deep discontent among his subjects, including the soldiery, and the latter, deserting the cause of their master, joined 'Ambar and complained to Murtazā Nizām Shāh II about Raju's oppression, requesting him to deliver them from their awful situation. Finding this a good opportunity, the Abyssinian chief marched against him with a large army. Although Raju tried hard, he could not defend for long due to lack of support from his followers, and the fort of Daulatābād was captured by the Nizām Shāhī army. He became a prisoner, and his territory was incorporated in the Ahmadnagar kingdom.<sup>48</sup> He remained in prison for three to four years, but when there was a conspiracy to create a rebellion in his favour 'Ambar put him to death.<sup>49</sup>

Thus, it was due to the untiring zeal and efforts of the Prime Minister that the fallen kingdom was revived and its borders extended. Party bickerings were removed and the structure of the government was built on a strong foundation. His occasional differences with the Sultān were also always made up.

'Ambar then turned his attention towards the Mughuls who, since the accession of Jahāngīr, were engrossed in their affairs in the north-west due to the revolt of Prince Khusrav and the siege of Qandahār by Shāh 'Abbās, the King of Persia. Commencing his offensive against them, 'Ambar recovered many of the lost territories of Ahmadnagar. The Khān Khānān was thus placed in a miserable condition and recalled to Āgra by the Emperor (1608) who, with a view to improving the situation, gave him a reinforcement of twelve thousand cavalry.

'Ambar's anxieties increased when he heard of this reinforcement, and he took steps to form an alliance with Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh II. His requests to 'Ādil Shāh "were three-fold; first, to render him military assistance against the Mughuls, so that he might fight them successfully." He said, "It is my design to fight the Mughul troops so long as life remains in this body. It may be that through your Majesty's daily increasing fortune I shall expel the Mughuls from the Deccan."<sup>50</sup> The second request was "to hand over to him, for the safety of his family and the collection of rations, the fort of Qandahār which the 'Ādil Shāh had wrested from the Nizām

Shāhī kingdom some time back, and the third request was to bring the two states together into a close bond of union by matrimony.”<sup>51</sup>

Ibrāhīm ‘Adil Shāh II was also desirous of forming an alliance with Ahmadnagar in order to check Mughul aggression in the south and it had been one of the principal reasons for his assistance to ‘Ambar in placing a scion of the old Nizām Shāhī family on the throne. At the request of ‘Ambar, ten thousand select cavalry were despatched to Ahmadnagar, the fort of Qandahār was returned, and a matrimonial alliance formed between the two kingdoms by the marriage of ‘Ambar’s son Fath Khān with the daughter of Yāqūt Khān, a nobleman of Bijāpur, who was in high favour with the Sultān. Subsequently, another auxiliary force of three to four thousand cavalry was also despatched from Bijāpur to Ahmadnagar.<sup>52</sup>

‘Ambar had already besieged Antur and wrested it from the Mughuls. Even with his reinforcement the Khān Khānān could not improve the situation due to discord and disunion in his camp. So, in 1609, Jahāngīr sent Prince Parvīz to the Deccan as Governor of Berār and Khāndesh, and with supreme command to lead the campaigns, and another general named Khān Jahān Lodī was also ordered to proceed there. But in spite of these, the Mughul position, instead of improving, deteriorated further. The Khān Khānān’s plan of surprise attack on ‘Ambar ended in disaster. He was continuously harassed by the light Marāthā cavalry of Ahmadnagar, well-trained in guerilla tactics, and his condition became so precarious that he had no other alternative but to patch up a disgraceful treaty with ‘Ambar and retire to Burhānpur (1610).<sup>53</sup>

After conquering the surrounding places the Nizām Shāhī army had besieged the fort of Ahmadnagar which, too, fell. These exploits enhanced the power, prestige and extent of the Ahmadnagar kingdom. Its capital was then transferred from Junnar to Daulatābād, a place of greater strategic importance.

The heavy losses which the Mughuls had suffered were too much for them to bear and the Khān Khānān was recalled and Khān Jahān was promoted to take up the command in his place, but as petty wranglings among the officers continued unabated in the Mughul camp, nothing could be done to improve matters.

At last, a better plan was devised to invade Ahmadnagar from two sides—one by ‘Abdullah Khān, who was appointed Governor of Gujarāt with instruction to lead the expedition by way of Nasik and Trimbak, and the other under the joint command of Rājā Mān Singh

and Khān Jahān Lodī to proceed by way of Berār. Eager to gain the full credit of the victory, 'Abdullah Khān moved on without keeping in touch with the other party and entered the kingdom of Ahmadnagar. Fully alive to the situation, 'Ambar followed his guerrilla tactics as before and his Marāthā bands harassed 'Abdullah Khān's army in all possible ways. Although 'Abdullah penetrated almost as far as Daulatābād, he found his position so precarious that he was compelled to retire, pursued and continually harassed by the Nizām Shāhī forces up to the border of Baglan. With heavy losses he returned to Gujarāt, and when Rājā Mān Singh and Khān Jahān heard of his retreat, they, too, retired (1612).<sup>54</sup>

After this victory, the capital of the Nizām Shāhī kingdom was transferred to Khirki, about ten miles off from Daulatābād. Situated in a hilly region, it had natural barriers for protection against invasions from outside. It had originally been a small village but 'Ambar peopled and beautified it with fine buildings. "The grandeur and beauty of this new capital found encomium even in the pages of Mughal history; the *Maasir-i-Rahimi* says that it was not only the best city in the Deccan but the like of it was not to be found even in Hindusthan."<sup>55</sup>

'Abdullah Khān was severely reprimanded by the Emperor for his indiscreet actions and the Khān Khānān was again directed to proceed to the Deccan with his sons including Shāh Navāz Khān.

Taking advantage of desertions of some of the Nizām Shāhī nobles, Shāh Navāz Khān moved direct towards Khirki. In the meantime, Malik 'Ambar had made alliances with Bijāpur, Golconda, and Bīdar, all of whom responded to his call and despatched necessary quotas of troops to his aid. 'Ambar remained at Khirki with forty thousand cavalry and another force was sent to harass the Mughuls and check their advance. But the Nizām Shāhīs proved powerless against the superior strength of Shāh Navāz Khān who defeated them and marched towards Khirki. 'Ambar came out and met the Mughuls at Rosalgarh, near Khirki. Here, in the sanguinary battle which ensued, he was defeated, sustaining heavy losses in men and materials (1616).

The Mughuls then entered the Nizām Shāhī capital and carried on destruction in it, but they did not pursue the defeated.<sup>56</sup> The effect of the victory was only temporary and could not much alter the situation. Despite the presence of Prince Parvīz in the Deccan for seven years, there was no tangible progress in the Mughul campaigns and he was therefore transferred to Allahābād while Prince Khurram was ordered to proceed to the Deccan. Before his depar-

ture he was conferred with the lofty title of "Shāh" (1616)<sup>56a</sup> and the emperor himself proceeded to Māndū for better guidance of the campaigns.

The Prince, at first, opened diplomatic negotiations with Bijāpur, Golconda and Ahmadnagar and offered them proposals of peace on two conditions, viz., restitution of the conquered territories and payment of tribute. Weary of the struggle and afraid of the extensive preparation of the Mughuls, both Bijāpur and Golconda accepted these terms and 'Ambar, fearing the enmity of these combined powers, found no alternative but to come to terms by the surrender of Ahmadnagar with its contiguous places and the *Parganās* of Bālāghāt previously wrested from the Mughuls.<sup>57</sup>

The Abyssinian hero took this step only to ward off a crisis and wait for an opportunity to regain the lost territories.

An undue parade of the Prince's success was made when he met his father at Māndū and among the marks of distinction, he received the lofty title of "Shāh Jahān" and the special privilege of a seat near his father in darbar (October, 1617).

'Ambar's opportunities came after two years when Jahāngīr was in Kāshmir, Shāh Jahān busy in the siege of Kāngra and the Mughul officers in the Deccan engaged in petty bickerings and rivalries. He made alliances with Bijāpur and Golconda, and with about sixty thousand cavalry marched towards Ahmadnagar, recovering the lost places, and besieging it. An army was left to carry on the siege, while he marched triumphantly towards Berār. He besieged Burhānpur, crossed the Narmada and plundered the environs of Māndū.

Shāh Jahān was once more directed to proceed to the Deccan. 'Ambar, who did not like to take the risk of an open engagement with Shāh Jahān, gave up the siege and retreated. But the Prince gave the Deccanis a hot chase and pursued them to the very gates of Khirki, and occupied the city after 'Ambar had removed Murtazā II with his family to Daulatābād. The Mughuls destroyed the fine structure of Khirki and 'Ambar, realizing the insecurity of his position, opened negotiations for peace. Shāh Jahān had also to contend with many difficulties. So, he decided to accept the offer of peace. Besides promising to restore the territories occupied from the Mughuls in the course of the last two years, 'Ambar agreed to surrender "fourteen Kros of the adjoining country" to them, and moreover, the three kingdoms of Ahmadnagar, Bijāpur and Golconda consented to pay fifty lakhs of rupees as tribute.<sup>58</sup>

But who could foretell then that Prince Shāh Jahān would step into the Deccan as a fugitive and suppliant for aid to the Abyssinian antagonist about two years later to save himself from the wrath of his father? Malik 'Ambar who was then not on good terms with Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh II and who was anxious to gain Mughul assistance in order to defeat his enemy, gave an evasive reply to the Prince.

But what are the factors which contributed in creating a rift between Ahmadnagar and Bijāpur? First, the fort of Sholāpur was a frequent bone of contention between them. Secondly, taking advantage of disorder and confusion in the kingdom of Ahmadnagar in 1600, Ibrāhīm II had annexed a portion of it; and not to speak of giving it back, he cherished further designs of aggrandizement. The Bijāpur Sultān came to realize that the revived kingdom of Ahmadnagar under the leadership of an able general and statesman like 'Ambar was really a menace to the safety of Bijāpur. The Bijāpur nobles also viewed with extreme jealousy the ascendancy of an Abyssinian slave to such a height of power and strength in the neighbouring kingdom and eagerly looked forward to bring about his downfall. Moreover, the Nizām-Shāhī deserters like Farhād Khān and others who were in Bijāpur service, widened the gulf between these two kingdoms. Fuzuni, the author of *Futūhāt-i-'Ādil-Shāhī*, wrote as a Bijāpuri partisan, and it is difficult to believe him when he ascribed the cause of rupture of 'Ādil Shāh with the Abyssinian leader to "bad behaviour and inordinate pride and insolence"<sup>59</sup> of the latter. But it may be mentioned here that 'Ambar was eager to regain the territories which had been forcibly occupied by Ibrāhīm II.

When feelings in Ahmadnagar and Bijāpur were thus strained, both tried hard to join Mughul alliance with a view to inflicting a stunning blow to the other. But the Mughuls decided in favour of Bijāpur, and 'Ambar was left alone against a formidable confederacy. He realized the gravity of the situation and removed Murtazā II to the fortress of Daulatābād for safety. He then went towards Golconda and realized from the latter the fixed subsidy (*zar-i-mukarrari*) which had been in arrears for two years and formed an offensive and defensive alliance with it.<sup>60</sup>

Thus strengthening his position, he marched against Bīdar which had been under the domination of Bijāpur since 1619. By a surprise attack he defeated the Bijāpur army and pillaged the city. His next move was against Bijāpur itself and Ibrāhīm II, unable to oppose him in an open fight, withdrew into the walled city which was besieged by the Nizām Shāhī army. Driven to such an extremity

'Ādil Shāh recalled his contingents under Mulla Muhammad Larī from Burhānpur where they had been sent to join the Mughul service in fulfilment of the terms of his alliance with them. As a result of his appeal for Mughul assistance, the Mughul governors of Ahmadnagar and Bir, with many other officers of distinction, marched in conjunction with Mulla Muhammad Larī for the relief of Ibrāhīm II. Alarmed at this heavy reinforcement, 'Ambar repeatedly appealed to the Mughul officers not to support Bijāpur, and to allow Ahmadnagar and Bijāpur to settle their own differences, but in vain. They forced him to raise the siege of Bijāpur and retreat to his own country, but closely pursued by them. Thus, goaded to the last extremity, he fell back "on Bhatvadi, about ten miles south-east by east of the fort of Ahmadnagar, and on the western bank of the Keli Nadi, a feeder of the Sina."<sup>60a</sup> Here he exhibited uncommon bravery and resourcefulness in dealing with this desperate situation. By cutting the embankment of the Bhatvadi lake he filled the adjoining areas with mud and water and rendered it impossible for his enemies to approach the place. A heavy rain worsened the situation. To make their position still more miserable, 'Ambar carried on surprise night attacks, plundering the enemy-camps and making it impossible for them to receive any supply of provisions. Scarcity of food made the sufferings of the army so distressing that many deserted their camp. The rival parties had encamped at a distance of two or three *kros* only, and, at length, both of them arranged their forces for an open engagement. 'Ambar's talents as a general never shone forth more brilliantly than in this battle. The Mughuls and their Bijāpur allies sustained a severe defeat and their losses, too, were heavy (1624).<sup>61</sup> Many Mughul and Bijāpur commanders fell into the hands of their enemies and Mulla Muhammad Larī was slain.

The battle of Bhatvadi was indeed one of the most decisive battles in the history of the Deccan. The victory saved Ahmadnagar from annihilation and engendered great confidence in the minds of the victors about the superiority of their military tactics and strength. It was a wonderful feat on the part of 'Ambar and humbled the pride of his adversaries.

After sending the prisoners to Daulatābād, 'Ambar hurried towards the fort of Ahmadnagar which was besieged. Leaving a detachment to continue its siege he marched against Bijāpur, which, too, was invested as Ibrāhīm II had taken refuge within this walled city. He also attacked and occupied the territories of the 'Ādil Shāhī kingdom upto the Mughul frontier in Balāghāt. Sholāpur was also invested and occupied within a short time (1625).<sup>62</sup>

In the meantime, another force had been despatched against Burhānpur, the Mughul commander of which, unable to resist, retired into the fort which was besieged.

When 'Ambar was thus in a favourable position, Shāh Jahān, driven from the north, again came to the Deccan and an alliance was formed between them. According to the arrangement, the Prince co-operated with the Nizām Shāhī force in pressing the siege of Burhānpur. Despite three successive efforts the fort could not be taken, and with the approach of Prince Parvīz and Mahābat Khān, who had been chasing the rebel prince, the siege was abandoned. Later on, the rebellion of Mahābat Khān and the close attention of the Mughuls to subdue him, afforded a suitable opportunity to 'Ambar to drive away the Mughuls from the Deccan, but his death in May, 1626, put an end to this checkered career. Before his death he had the satisfaction of seeing that he left intact the independence of the Ahmadnagar kingdom.

Malik 'Ambar was one of the greatest personalities that Islām produced in the Deccan and his wonderful abilities drew admiration even from his enemies, the Mughuls. From obscurity he rose to a position of the highest distinction, re-established and rejuvenated a fallen kingdom in the teeth of opposition of the Mughuls at the height of their power, gave it a well-organized government and consolidated it as far as practicable. He was a man of undaunted heroism, indefatigable energy and uncommon perseverance. He was a general of rare genius who remodelled the militia on a sound basis, best suited to the hilly regions of his adopted country. The guerilla tactics, so well organized by him with the Marāthā bands, highly strengthened his position, and at times, the Mughuls showed their bankruptcy in dealing with him.

Great as he was as a general, he was no less famous as a politician. His actions were always characterized by due caution and foresight. He showed his skill not only in the revival of the fallen kingdom but also in the formation of a powerful anti-Mughul coalition with the neighbouring States of Bijāpur and Golconda and it was only at the fag end of his career that a rift occurred with Ibrāhīm II "which threw the latter into their common enemy's arms."

He was also undoubtedly one of the greatest statesmen in the Deccan. By removing lawlessness and other disintegrating forces he established a strong but benign government, based on sympathy and goodwill of the people, both Hindus and Muslims. He was tolerant to the Hindus, and no historian has stigmatized him for the demolition of any temple or other place of worship. The Hindus

and the Muslims were equally eligible for government service and many Marāthās like Shāhjī, the father of Shivājī, Sharifjī and Vithal-rāj occupied high rank in the Nizām Shāhī government.

His wise revenue system is another instance of his farsightedness and constructive genius. Although new in the Deccan, it was based primarily on what Rājā Todarmal had introduced in northern India and some parts of Gujarāt and Khāndesh. 'Ambar's objects "were threefold: first, the good of the peasantry, secondly, encouragement and promotion of agriculture, and thirdly, enhancement of the Government revenue."<sup>63</sup>

Lands were classified as good or bad according to their fertility and he took great pains and a number of years to ascertain the average yield of lands. He abolished revenue farming and relieved the peasantry from oppression of the land farmers. At first, revenue was fixed as two-fifths of the actual produce in kind, but later on, the cultivators were allowed to pay in cash "representing about one-third of the yield." Although an average rent was fixed for each plot of land, actual collections depended on the condition of crops, and they varied from year to year.<sup>64</sup> Such kind and sympathetic consideration on the part of the government gave satisfaction to the peasants, and encouraged cultivation of waste land.<sup>65</sup> This not only enhanced production but also augmented government revenue.

Malik 'Ambar was the last prop of the Ahmadnagar kingdom and his death was the beginning of its end. His eldest son, Fath Khān, was unscrupulous and incapable of holding the position of his father. Dissatisfied with his king, Murtazā II, he opened negotiations with the Mughuls, and at their suggestion, put him to death, and raised his son, Husain, a boy of ten, to the throne, with the title of Husain Nizām Shāh III.

#### *Husain Nizām Shāh III (1630-1633)*

Fath Khān was not sincere to the Mughuls and did not act up to his promise. So, Shāh Jahān, who was then the Mughul Emperor, took steps to punish him, and along with the boy king, he had to take shelter in the fortress of Daulatābād. Unable to resist for long, he was compelled to submit before the superior arms of the Mughuls (1631). But he again broke his pledge to them and they then proceeded against him and besieged Daulatābād. After a blockade of about four months they succeeded in capturing it (1633). The young king Husain was sent as a State prisoner to the fort of Gwā-

rior for the rest of his life and Fath Khān taken into the Mughul service.<sup>65a</sup>

Thus came to an end the kingdom of Ahmadnagar, and although an attempt was afterwards made by Shāhjī with the assistance of Bijāpur to revive it by setting up a scion of the Nizām Shāhī dynasty, it proved abortive (1636).

### III. THE 'ĀDIL-SHĀHĪ DYNASTY OF BIJĀPUR

*Yūsuf 'Ādil Khān (1490-1510)*

The founder of this dynasty was Yūsuf 'Ādil Khān, the Bahmanī governor of Bijāpur, who assumed independence in 1490. In his early life he was a Georgian slave and sold to Mahmūd Gāvān at Bīdar, but according to Firishta, he originally belonged to a royal family, being the son of Sultān Murād II of Turkey, who died in 1451 and was succeeded by his eldest son Muhammad. On his accession, the latter gave orders for the execution of his brothers, including Yūsuf, who was saved by the extraordinary skill of his mother. She managed to substitute a slave boy for execution and sent her own son to Persia with the help of a Persian merchant. He was secretly brought up in Persia, and when he was seventeen years of age, he came to India and was sold as a Georgian slave to the Bahmanī minister Mahmūd Gāvān. From Firishta's writings it appears that he was satisfied as to the truth of the story.<sup>66</sup>

By dint of his abilities as well as patronage of his new master, Yūsuf rose from one position to another till he became a person of prominence in the Bahmanī kingdom. Finally, he occupied the high position of the provincial governor of Bijāpur, and taking advantage of the weakness of the Bahmanī Sultān, he assumed a position of independence, in reality, though not in name.

The city of Bijāpur was made the seat of his government. He had a formidable enemy in Qāsim Barīd, the powerful minister and *de facto* ruler of the Bahmanī kingdom, who was extremely jealous of his growing power. Qāsim Barīd formed an alliance with Narasa Nāyaka, the Regent of Vijayanagara, and Bahādur Gīlānī, the ruler of Konkan, and they invaded Bijāpur. Narasa Nāyaka attacked the Krishnā-Tungabhadrā *doab* and captured both the fortresses of Rāichūr and Mudgal. Unable to repel all the attacks of his enemies at a time, Yūsuf made peace with Vijayanagara by the cession of the above two forts and then drove away Bahādur Gīlānī. Next, he marched against Qāsim Barīd who, in the meantime, had joined with Malik Ahmad Nizām-ul-Mulk and Khvāja Jahān of Parendra. He met them in the vicinity of Naldurg where Qāsim

Barīd was defeated, and after this, a treaty was made between Yūsuf and Malik Ahmad.

As soon as he got rid of his enemies, Yūsuf directed his attention to recover Rāichūr and Mudgal, and Narasa Nāyaka marched to oppose him. In the battle which ensued, 'Ādil Khān was severely defeated and, driven to a precarious condition, he took recourse to a stratagem, inviting Narasa Nāyaka and his young king Saluva Timma, with the nobles and officers for a peace conference and killing most of them by a treacherous attack; the king and the regent anyhow escaped death. After this, Yūsuf recovered both Rāichūr and Mudgal.<sup>66a</sup>

In response to a request for assistance by Mahmūd Shāh, the Bahmanī Sultān, in his campaign against Bahādur Gīlānī, 'Ādil Khān despatched a contingent of five thousand cavalry to him. This helped his own cause as well, as it was with the assistance of the Bahmanī Sultān and his minister Qāsīm Barīd that he got back the fortress of Jamkhandi which Bahādur had occupied.

In 1504, 'Ādil Khan succeeded in gaining possession of the province of Gulbarga, then held by Dastur Dinar, an Abyssinian, who was defeated and killed. This acquisition enlarged his territory on the east.

Due to his long stay in Persia in his early life, Yūsuf was deeply attached to the Shiah faith and cherished the idea of establishing it in his dominion, but so long he could not put his ideas into action, as he was preoccupied with manifold difficulties. Now that he felt secure and strong enough to carry out his contemplated project, he made this creed the State religion, but perfect toleration was allowed to his Sunnī subjects. This innovation created enmity not only at home but also abroad, and a formidable confederacy was formed against him by some of his Muslim neighbours, viz., Malik Ahmad, the ruler of Ahmadnagar, and Mahmūd Shāh, the nominal Bahmanī Sultān, under instruction of his minister Amīr Barīd; and, on their request, Sultān Qulī Qutb-ul-Mulk, the governor of Telingāna, too, joined them. Unable to cope with them Yūsuf fled to Berār, and, on the advice of Alā-ud-dīn 'Imād-ul-Mulk, gave orders for the restoration of the Sunnī faith and withdrew to Burhānpur. 'Imād-ul-Mulk pointed out to Malik Ahmad and Qulī Qutb-ul-Mulk that Amīr Barīd had been on the look out for the annihilation of 'Ādil Khān for his own selfish motive and not for religion, and as 'Ādil Khān had already restored the Sunnī creed, there was no valid ground for continuing the war against him. Convinced of these arguments they left the confederacy, and 'Ādil Khān

with the assistance of 'Imād-ul-Mulk, defeated Mahmud Shāh and Amīr Barīd who fled to Bīdar. Thereupon Yūsuf returned in triumph to Bijāpur, and "being no longer apprehensive of his enemies, he renewed the public exercise of the Shiah religion."<sup>67</sup>

Goa, which was within the territory of Bijāpur, was a very important port on the Malabar coast. It "was more favourably situated than Calicut or Cochin as far as the trade of the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf was concerned, and it was for this reason that Albuquerque, the governor of the Portuguese possessions in the East, desired to possess it."<sup>68</sup> He made a surprise attack on it and occupied it without any difficulty (1510), but it did not remain long in his possession, as it was shortly recovered by 'Ādil Khān.<sup>69</sup>

'Ādil Khān died in October, 1510, and was buried at Gogi, to the east of Bijāpur city. Firishta praised him highly for his good qualities. He was handsome, brave, a skilled musician, "eminent for his learning, his liberality", and "intimately acquainted with human nature."

"Although he mingled pleasure with business, yet he never allowed the former to interfere with the latter. He always warned his ministers to act with justice and integrity, and in his own person showed them an example of attention to these virtues. He invited to his court many learned men and valiant officers from Persia, Turkistan, and Room, also several eminent artists, who lived happily under the shadow of bounty."<sup>70</sup>

#### *Ismā'īl Ādil Khān (1510-1534)*

During the minority of Ismā'īl, Kamāl Khān, an experienced officer whom Yūsuf had appointed regent before his death, carried on the affairs of the government. He established the Sunnī faith as the State religion.

Albuquerque was on the look out for an opportunity to recover Goa, and in November, 1510, when most of its army was away in Bijāpur to attend a State ceremony, he made a surprise attack on it and re-occupied it. Goa was thus lost for ever to Bijāpur.

Concentration of too much power in the hands of Kamāl Khān made him highly ambitious. He entered into a conspiracy with Amīr Barīd and made an attempt to oust Ismā'īl and seize the reins of government in his own hands. But it proved futile and he was assassinated.

Amīr Barīd was bent on curbing the power of Bijāpur. Jahāngīr Khān, the adopted son of Dastur Dinar, was given all possible

assistance to recover Gulbarga which his father had once held and which Kamāl Khān had also secretly promised to cede to Amīr Barīd. It was recovered and Jahāngīr was placed in charge of it as a provincial governor. But Bijāpur retook it, whereupon, Amīr Barīd, in the name of the Bahmanī Sultān, Mahmūd Shāh, appealed for aid to Ahmadnagar, Golconda and Berār, all of whom responded to the call. Accompanied by their forces, Barīd, along with the Sultān marched against Bijāpur. But Ismā'īl inflicted a severe defeat on them, and Mahmūd and his son Ahmad fell into the hands of the Bijāpur forces. 'Ādil Khān showed proper respect to the Sultān and at the request of the latter, Bibi Musity, the sister of Ismā'īl, who had been affianced to Ahmad, was married to the latter at Gulbarga. After the ceremony, five thousand Bijāpur cavalry were sent to escort Mahmūd Shāh to Bīdar. On the approach of this army, Amīr Barīd fled away but as soon as they left Bīdar, he came back, and resumed control of all affairs of the Bahmanī Kingdom as before.<sup>71</sup>

Ismā'īl had also the privilege of receiving high honour from Shāh Ismā'īl Safavī, the Sultān of Persia, in return for his assistance in relieving a Persian ambassador from unnecessary detention at Bidār by the Sunnī bigot, Amīr Barīd. Highly satisfied, the Persian king sent him rich presents and addressed him as an independent ruler.<sup>72</sup>

The minority of the Sultān and Kamāl Khān's hostile activities against him had afforded an opportunity to Kṛishṇadevarāya, the king of Vijayanagara, to invade the Bijāpur kingdom. He attacked and occupied Rāichūr (1512). Getting rid of his internal troubles and in an opportune moment when Kṛishṇadevarāya was busy in his war against Orissa, Ismā'īl marched towards Rāichūr and captured it. Highly incensed at this, Kṛishṇadevarāya again proceeded there with a large army and invested this fort (1520). Ismā'īl also moved against him, and in the battle which ensued, he sustained a severe defeat with heavy losses. He had no alternative but to take to his heels, and while retreating, many of his troops were swept away by the strong current of the Krishnā. But the Bijāpur army in the fort did not yield and fought valiantly, till their commander's death paralysed the defence, and made them surrender.

Hostilities continued between Ismā'īl and Kṛishṇadevarāya in which the former suffered several reverses, and even the city of Bijāpur was once occupied by the enemy. But after the death of Kṛishṇadevarāya, 'Ādil Khān again invaded the Rāichūr doab

(1530) and succeeded in gaining possession of both Rāichūr and Mudgal.<sup>72a</sup>

His relations with the neighbouring Muslim States have mostly been described in connection with the history of Ahmadnagar and Bīdar. While he was conducting the siege of Kovelakonda, a fortress on the border of Golconda, he was attacked with a high fever which proved fatal (1534). He was interred at Gogi, close to the tomb of his father.

He was just, kind, magnanimous, averse to harsh language, and fond of wit and humour. He was also a poet and patron of the learned, a skilled musician, and an expert painter.

#### *Mallū 'Ādil Khān (1534-1535)*

According to the will of Ismā'īl, his son Mallū Khān was elevated in his place with the assistance of Asad Khān, the most influential Bijāpur noble, who became protector of the State. The latter had been entrusted by Ismā'īl to prosecute the siege of Kovelakonda, but it was abandoned, and the Bijāpur forces retreated to Gulbarga.

Mallū was unfit to reign. He neglected his duties and indulged in low vices, the result of which was discontent and confusion in the kingdom. Finding this a suitable opportunity to recover the Rāichūr doab, Achyutadevarāya, the king of Vijayanagara, invaded and succeeded in wresting it from Bijāpur, compelling Mallū to accept his terms.<sup>73</sup>

The excesses of the latter became so intolerable that even his grandmother went against him and had him removed and blinded, raising his younger brother Ibrāhīm in his place.

#### *Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh I (1535-1557)*

The first act of Ibrāhīm was to establish the Sunnī faith, to which he belonged, as the State religion, and to discontinue the use of the head-dress of the Shīahs in his army. He then dismissed a large number of foreigners and appointed Deccanis and Abyssinians in their places. Another innovation which also went against the foreigners was the introduction of the Deccani languages like Marāthi and Kannaḍa, instead of Persian, for maintenance of Government accounts which were then kept by the Brāhmins in exclusion of the foreigners. The Brāhmins thus got a good opportunity of acquiring considerable influence in the government.

Ibrāhīm I took advantage of the internecine quarrels in Vijayanagara during the reign of Achyutadevarāya and invaded that kingdom. Nagalapur, a town near Vijayanagara, was "razed to the ground" and both Achyutadevarāya and Rāmarājā, who were at enmity with each other, were afraid lest he should join hands with the other side. 'Ādil Shāh besieged the city of Vijayanagara, and, by negotiations with the contending parties, settled their differences after which he returned to his kingdom on receipt of a large sum of money, twelve fine elephants, and some horses as a reward for his services.<sup>74</sup>

Later on, his attempt to take possession of the fortress of Adoni from Vijayanagara appeared to have ended in fiasco. His relations with Ahmadnagar and other States of the Deccan have already been discussed in the section on Ahmadnagar and need not be repeated here.

Suspecting treachery on the part of some of his officers he put to death seventy Muslims and forty Hindus of high rank in course of two months. Such cruel action did not go without serious reaction, and a conspiracy was formed to depose him and place his brother 'Abdullāh on the throne (1545). But the matter leaked out and most of the conspirators were put to death. It was with great difficulty that 'Abdullāh managed to escape to the Portuguese at Goa.

Although the relation between Bijāpur and the Portuguese was friendly for a considerable time, it was disturbed by the presence of Prince 'Abdullāh at Goa, as Ibrāhīm I was anxious to gain possession of his rebel brother. He proposed to cede Salsette and Bardez to the Portuguese on condition of the surrender of his brother. But without complying with it, they proposed to send him to Malacca. They did not act up to this proposal even, but occupied Salsette and Bardez, and this finally brought Bijāpur and Goa into conflict. Ibrāhīm I was ultimately forced to give up his claim on these places and conclude peace with the Portuguese in August, 1548, mainly for two reasons: he had become anxious when he heard of the separate treaties of Vijayanagara and Ahmadnagar with the Portuguese, and moreover, he was aware that enmity with Goa would mean loss of maritime commerce, as it was the Portuguese navy which then controlled the trade of the Arabian Sea.<sup>75</sup>

'Abdullāh's case never prospered, and, in 1555, when his cause was championed by Saif 'Ain-ul-Mulk, then a hostile Bijāpur noble, he was captured and imprisoned.<sup>76</sup>

At the fag end of his career, Ibrāhīm I led a dissipated life which hastened his death. He fell ill and died in 1557.

It has already been stated that he was the first ruler of this dynasty to assume the title of "Shāh".

*'Alī 'Ādil Shāh I (1557-1580)*

Ibrāhīm I had a mind to nominate his younger son Tahmāsp as his successor in preference to his eldest son 'Alī who was a Shiah, but when it came to his knowledge that Tahmāsp was a more zealous Shiah than 'Alī, he became highly incensed and left the matter of succession without any decision. On his decease, 'Alī ascended the throne with the aid of the influential 'Ādil Shāhī nobles.

'Alī 'Ādil Shāh's first act was the re-establishment of the Shiah faith as the State religion and encouragement to the foreigners to enter his service.

It has been stated in the history of Husain Nizām Shāh (1553-1565) that 'Alī I formed an alliance with Vijayanagara against Husain (1558) and humbled him. The confederate army, particularly the Vijayanagara army, carried on depredations on an extensive scale in the territories of Ahmadnagar and these were highly resented by the neighbouring Muslim kingdoms. These, along with other reasons, which brought about a coalition of the four Deccani Muslim States including Bijāpur against Vijayanagara and the parts played in the formation of this alliance as well as in the battle of Talikota by 'Alī I, have also been discussed above.<sup>76a</sup>

In 1569, 'Alī formed alliances with Murtazā Nizām Shāh I and the Zamorin of Calicut against the Portuguese with a view to recovering Goa. The plan was quite sound, as it was decided to attack both Chaul and Goa simultaneously, thus dividing Portuguese military strength in two places at the same time. The military operations began in January, 1570. Chaul, which was a Portuguese outpost in the Ahmadnagar kingdom, was besieged by Murtazā I and Goa by 'Alī I. But none of the operations succeeded, as the Portuguese repulsed all their attacks. The siege of Chaul was abandoned after seven months and 'Alī also ultimately gave up the siege of Goa and retreated.

After this, 'Alī decided to extend his kingdom in the south and moved against Adoni, the hill fortress of Vijayanagara, and succeeded in capturing it after prolonged siege. His enhancement of power in this region was looked upon with disfavour by Murtazā Nizām Shāh I, but instead of coming to arms both of them decided amicably to allow each other to extend their respective frontiers in the areas which each coveted. A treaty was concluded permit-

ting Murtazā I to annex Berār and Bīdar, and ‘Alī I to conquer an equivalent territory in the Western Carnatic.<sup>77</sup>

In accordance with the above arrangement, ‘Alī I marched with his minister Mustafā Khān to the Western Carnatic and conquered many places one after another, some of which were kept under his direct administration and others allowed to remain under their respective local chiefs who paid him tribute. Mustafā Khān was appointed Governor of the conquered territories with his headquarters at Chandraguni and ‘Alī returned to Bijāpur (1575) after an absence of more than three years.

Next year, he marched to Adoni and thence to Penukoṇḍa, the capital of Śrīraṅga I of Vijayanagara. On his approach, the latter retired with his treasures into the fort of Chandragiri, leaving the defence of the capital to his general Chennappa. ‘Alī laid siege to it but the garrison held out for three months, and when they were almost ready to surrender, Śrīraṅga bought over a Marāthā commander of ‘Alī. This desertion helped the cause of Vijayanagara which received help from Golconda also, and Chennappa Nāyaka succeeded in defeating ‘Ādil Shāh who was compelled to raise the siege (1576) and retire to Bijāpur.<sup>77a</sup>

Having no issue, ‘Alī nominated his nephew Ibrāhīm, the son of Tahmāsp, as his successor. Within a few months, ‘Alī was assassinated by one of the two eunuchs whom he had brought from Bīdar (1580) as a price for his help to ‘Alī Barīd against an Ahmadnagar invasion.

It was during the reign of ‘Alī ‘Ādil Shāh that the wall of Bijāpur city was constructed, and arrangements were made for ample supply of water in the walled city by cutting an aqueduct and constructing a large reservoir. He showed his fine taste for architecture, specially by the construction of buildings like Jami Masjid, Mecca Masjid, and Gagan Mahal or Hall of Audience. Although not fully completed, Jāmi ‘Masjid “is the best proportioned building in the city” of Bijāpur and “for simplicity of design, impressive grandeur and the solemn hush of its corridors” it “stands unrivalled.”<sup>78</sup>

#### *Ibrāhīm ‘Ādil Shāh II (1580-1627)*

Ibrāhīm ascended the throne at the age of nine. Kāmil Khān Deccani was appointed regent and Chānd Sultān, the widow of ‘Alī I and daughter of Husain Nizām Shāh I, was entrusted with the education of the minor Sultān. But the regent having shown disrespect to Chānd Sultān, she and Hājī Kishvar Khān, another Deccani of

high rank, planned to remove him, and one evening, while Kāmil Khān was engaged in an official work in the palace, Kishvar Khān attempted to seize him whereupon he took to flight but was seized and beheaded.<sup>79</sup>

Kishvar Khān was then appointed regent, and, following in the footsteps of Kāmil Khān, he also exercised uncontrolled sway in the kingdom. Taking advantage of these internal troubles in Bijāpur, Ahmadnagar invaded it, but Bihzad-ul-Mulk, the commander of the Nizām Shāhī army, sustained a heavy defeat at Dhārāseo and all his artillery and elephants fell into the hands of his enemies. The victory was again followed by an internecine quarrel in consequence of an order issued by the Regent to the military officers to give up the elephants, captured in the last campaign, to the Sultān. This gave offence to the nobles concerned who not only refused compliance but determined to oust him from the regency and instal Mustafā Khān, another nobleman, in his place. Informed of these designs, Kishvar Khān made a conspiracy against Mustafā and had him assassinated.<sup>80</sup>

Highly enraged at this cold-blooded murder, Chānd Sultān upbraided Kishvar Khān who, in retaliation, had her confined in the fortress of Satara. This and some other high-handed acts made him extremely unpopular and a strong party was formed against him. Feeling his position insecure and resistance impossible, he fled to Ahmadnagar, but being unable to find a shelter there he went to Golconda where he was assassinated by a relative of Mustafā. Although Chānd Sultān was released from Satara, the situation in Bijāpur did not improve; party strife continued, and encouraged by such internal dissensions, Ahmadnagar, in conjunction with Golconda, invaded Bijāpur and laid siege to the fortress of Naldurg. The garrison defended it with all their might and its commandant resisted every effort of the enemy to reduce it. Finding difficulty in capturing it and expecting that dissensions prevailing at the capital would help its fall and hasten the conquest of other places of the 'Adil Shāhī State, the confederate army raised the siege of Naldurg and proceeded towards the capital. There were then only two to three thousand troops to defend the city, and although reinforcements arrived within a few days, there was lack of concerted action and desertions followed from their camp. On the other hand, the Ahmadnagar camps, too, were suffering from discords and dissensions which delayed their assault on the walled city.

Chānd Sultān entrusted the work of defence to an able officer named Abu-'l-Hasan who saved the situation by summoning the

Marāthā forces from the Carnatic and employing them in harassing enemies by cutting off their supplies and in all other possible manner. Both the forces of Ahmadnagar and Golconda began to feel badly the pinch of starvation and they were compelled to retreat. The Nizām Shāhī army retired to Ahmadnagar after plundering some places of Bijāpur on the way, while the forces of Golconda were defeated and driven out of Bijāpur, even to the gates of Golconda.

When Bijāpur was free from foreign aggression, internal disorders again vitiated its atmosphere. It was Dilāvar Khān who had driven back the Qutb Shāhī forces; and, on return from this successful campaign, he coveted the high position of minister by ousting Ikhlās Khān who was captured, blinded, and kept in confinement, and Dilāvar Khān became all powerful in the kingdom. Abu-'l-Hasan was also blinded and put to death. Chānd Sultān's power was curtailed and the Sunnī faith established as the State religion. Dilāvar remained the dominant force in Bijāpur for eight years from 1582 to 1590 and, during this period, matrimonial alliances were formed with Golconda and Ahmadnagar. Ibrāhīm II married a sister of Muhammad Qulī Qutb Shāh, and his sister Khadīja was married to Miran Husain, the son of Murtazā Nizām Shāh I. But within a few years, war again commenced between Ahmadnagar and Bijāpur and Dilāvar Khān was defeated at Dhārāseo (1591). This led to his fall and he was forced to leave Bijāpur and take shelter in Ahmadnagar where he entered the service of Burhān Nizām Shāh II. The latter refused to send him back to Bijāpur and his instigation led to a renewal of war between these two kingdoms, but Burhān sustained a serious defeat. These have already been stated in the history of Ahmadnagar.

By a stratagem, Ibrāhīm II inflicted a befitting punishment on the traitor, Dilāvar Khān, when he came back to Bijāpur on assurances of safety as well as of reinstatement to his former position. He was blinded and confined in the fortress of Satara, till his death.<sup>81</sup>

Relieved of the control of Dilāvar, Ibrāhīm II assumed charge of the government, but even then, he was not free from domestic troubles. In 1594 his brother, Ismā'īl, rebelled against him, and although the situation became very serious owing to the defection of 'Ain-ul-Mulk, the Amīr-ul-Umara, and the advance of Burhān II to aid the rebels, Ibrāhīm succeeded in quelling the rebellion before the Nizām Shāhī army could actually come to the assistance of his enemies. Both Ismā'īl and 'Ain-ul-mulk were captured and put to death.

Subsequent relations of Ibrāhīm II with Burhān II and his son Ibrāhīm Nizām Shāh have already been described in the history of the Nizām Shāhī kingdom.<sup>81a</sup> When, on the death of the last-named Ahmadnagar Sultān, that kingdom was convulsed by party strife as well as Mughul invasion, Ibrāhīm II, at the request of Chānd Sultān, rendered necessary assistance to it to tide over the difficulties. Although the kingdom could not be saved, the fact remains that 'Ādil Shāh was not slow in lending aid to his neighbouring State in its hour of peril in spite of long-standing enmity existing between them. Subsequently, when Malik 'Ambar appeared as a saviour on the political arena of Ahmadnagar and sought his assistance, he helped him in his efforts to revive the fallen fortunes of the State, and like that astute politician, he, too, realized the necessity of mutual aid and co-operation with a view to protecting their kingdoms against Mughul aggression. At the request of 'Ambar he allowed 'Alī, a scion of the Nizām Shāhī dynasty, then at Bijāpur, to proceed to Parenda and ascend the throne of the newly revived Ahmadnagar kingdom with the title of Murtazā Shāh Nizām-ul-Mulk.

Ibrāhīm II also joined hands with 'Ambar in his conflicts with the Mughuls on many occasions, and it was unfortunate that a rift occurred between them at the fag end of their career, but it must be said to their credit that they foiled the Mughul efforts to annex the south for a considerable time.<sup>81b</sup>

It was during the reign of this monarch that Bīdar was annexed to the 'Ādil Shāhī kingdom (1619).

In spite of his preoccupations in war, Ibrāhīm II devoted his time to the civil administration of his country. In this connection Meadows Taylor says: "He applied himself to the civil affairs with much care, and the land settlements of the provinces of his kingdom, many of which are still extant among district records, show an admirable and efficient system of registration of property and its valuation. In this respect, the system of Todar Mal introduced by the Emperor Akbar seems to have been followed with the necessary local modifications."<sup>82</sup>

About his tolerance and broadness of mind the same writer says: "Although he changed the profession of the State religion immediately upon assuming the direction of State affairs from Shiah to Sunnī, Ibrāhīm was yet extremely tolerant of all creeds and faiths. Hindus not only suffered no persecution at his hands, but many of his chief civil and military officers were Brahmins and Marathas."<sup>83</sup> His liberal views were testified to by Firishta as

well,<sup>84</sup> and he was known as the “Jagadguru”, or “spiritual guide of the world.”

He was a man of culture, patron of the learned and fond of music and poetry. It was during his reign that Muhammad Qāsim Firishṭa wrote the famous *Tārīkh*, better known as the *Tārīkh-i-Firishṭa*. He was also a great builder and several ornate buildings erected by him show his fine taste. Of these, the Ānanda Mahal or palace of delight, built in 1589, is a very conspicuous palace in the Bijāpur fort; the Mihtar Mahal, Malikā Jahān Masjid and the mausoleum of his queen Tāj Sultān also deserve special mention.

He died in September, 1627, and was buried at a short distance from the walled city of Bijāpur. His own mausoleum in the group of buildings known as the Ibrāhīm Rauza is a richly decorated structure. It was not quite finished during his life-time and was completed during the reign of his son Muhammad ‘Ādil Shāh.

#### *Muhammad ‘Ādil Shāh (1627-1656)*

Although Darvesh was the eldest son of the late Sultān, his claim was set aside by the joint intrigues of the minister Mustafā Khān and another influential Bijāpur noble named Daulat Khān. Darvesh was blinded, and his younger brother Muhammad, a boy of fifteen, was raised to the throne, under the title of Muhammad ‘Ādil Shāh.

Early in his reign, the Nizām Shāhī army under Hamīd Khān invaded Bijāpur, but they were defeated and compelled to retreat to their territory.

On his accession to the throne, Shāh Jahān started a vigorous policy against the Deccan States.<sup>84a</sup> In 1631, Bijāpur was invaded, and although the Mughul army scored some successes at the early stages of the campaign and laid siege to the fort of Bijāpur, they were ultimately compelled to withdraw, due to acute shortage of supplies.

Shāh Jahān, who was bent upon annexing the Deccan States, was highly dissatisfied at this discomfiture. The conduct of Muhammad ‘Ādil Shāh and ‘Abdullāh Qutb Shāh, who tried to seize some of the territories of the fallen Nizām Shāhī kingdom and offered secret aid to Shāhjī in his effort to revive that kingdom, further annoyed him. Besides, the emperor, who was a staunch Sunnī, bore hatred against these States, many of whose princes, nobles and people professed the Shiah faith. Both Bijāpur and Golconda were

asked to accept Mughul suzerainty and some other terms. Shāh Jahān personally went to the Deccan for better conduct of affairs (1636), and three armies of 50,000 men in all were kept ready for action against them.

Golconda submitted in terror, but 'Ādil Shāh decided to resist Mughul aggression. Bijāpur was invaded from three sides and the Mughul armies carried on extensive devastations in the towns and villages, mercilessly massacring the inhabitants. Although the Sultān fought with great valour and defended his capital by cutting the dam of the Shāhpur lake and flooding the surrounding country-side, he was eventually compelled to sue for peace, and a treaty was concluded between them in May, 1636. The Sultān of Bijāpur acknowledged the "overlordship" of the Mughul emperor, promised not to cause any annoyance to the Sultān of Golconda, now his (emperor's) vassal, and agreed to pay a sum of twenty lakhs of rupees as an annual tribute. In return, Shāh Jahān assigned to Bijāpur a part of the recently conquered Ahmadnagar territory consisting of fifty *parganās* which included Sholāpur and vangi *mahals*, the *parganās* of Bhalki and Chidgupa, north Konkan, and the Poona district, yielding an annual revenue of eighty lakhs of rupees, while the Mughuls annexed the rest of Ahmadnagar. The Sultān was ordered to abstain from aiding Shāhjī in any hostile activity.<sup>84b</sup>

After this, friendly relations prevailed between Muhammad 'Ādil Shāh and the Mughul emperor, and there were exchanges of presents between the two. Thus feeling secure on the north, 'Ādil Shāh diverted his attention towards the extension of his frontiers on the other three sides, viz., the east, south and west.

"The principality of Ikkeri had been raided in 1635 at the invitation of a local faction, and a heavy fine of 30 lakhs of *huns* imposed on its Rājā Virabhadra Nāyak."<sup>85</sup> In 1637 the invasion was renewed at the invitation of Kenge Hanuma, chief of Bāsavapattanam and Tarikere, a recalcitrant feudatory of Ikkeri.<sup>85a</sup> Randaulah Khān, with a huge force consisting of 40,000 cavalry, besides infantry and elephant corps, invaded Ikkeri. He proceeded as far as Ikkeri, the capital city, and, unable to resist long, Virabhadra retreated to the fortress of Bhuvanagiri. After occupying the capital city, the Bijāpur army laid siege to Bhuvanagiri, whereupon he was compelled to sue for peace, and, according to the terms of the treaty, he had to surrender the forts already occupied by the Bijāpur army and acknowledge the overlordship of the Sultān of Bijāpur. Shortly after this, Ikkeri helped Bijāpur to crush Tarikere and Bāsavapattanam.<sup>86</sup>

In 1647, Mustafā Khān, the Bijāpur general, marched against Śrīraṅga III of Vijayanagara, and took several places including Krishnagiri and Deva Durga. In the same year he arrived at Vellore where he met Mīr Jumla, the Golconda general, and it was arranged that they would wrest the territories of Śrīraṅga and divide them between Bijāpur and Golconda. Vellore was besieged and occupied by Mustafā Khān whose victorious army took possession of many other places including Kaveripattanam, Hasan, Kanakagiri, Ratnagiri and Arjunakote, all belonging to Vijayanagara.<sup>87</sup>

On Mustafā Khān's death in November, 1648, the command of the Bijāpur expeditionary forces devolved on Khān Muhammad (Khān Khānān) who succeeded in capturing the fortress of Gingee in December, 1649. The victors received a rich booty consisting of gold, silver and precious stones worth several crores of rupees. The Nāyakas of Madura and Tanjore then offered their submission,<sup>88</sup> and towards the west, the 'Ādil Shāhī army obtained some successes against the Portuguese of Goa also. The territories of Bijāpur now extended "from the Arabian Sea to the Bay of Bengal, across the Indian Peninsula."<sup>89</sup>

It was during this reign that Shivājī started his activities against Bijāpur and the serious illness of Muhammad 'Ādil Shāh in 1646 afforded him a grand opportunity for the same. He occupied many forts, one after another, like Torna, Kondhana (Simhagarh), Chakan and Purandar; but, for these acts of disloyalty, his father Shāhjī was arrested and Shivājī secured his release with great difficulty.

Muhammad 'Ādil Shāh breathed his last in November, 1656. It was during his reign that the 'Ādil Shāhī kingdom attained its greatest extent and power. At the time of his death it "had an annual revenue of seven *krores* and eighty-four *lakhs* of rupees, besides five *krores* twenty-five *lakhs* of tribute due from vassal *rājāhs* and *zamindars*. The strength of the army establishment was 80,000 cavalry and 2,50,000 infantry, besides 530 war elephants. The exact extent of the kingdom can be judged from the fringe of dependent and tributary states around it, covering the Kanara and Dharwar districts of Bombay, the Bellary and Karnool districts of Madras, and much of the kingdom of Mysore."<sup>90</sup>

Muhammad 'Ādil Shāh was well known for piety, justice and love for his subjects, and was a patron of arts, literature and science. He also earned great reputation as a builder; the most conspicuous building erected by him in Bijāpur was his own mausoleum, the great Gol Gumbaz, which contains one of the greatest domes in the world.

He also erected the Asar Mahal within which was enshrined two hairs of the Prophet's beard.

*'Alī 'Ādil Shāh II (1656-1672)*

'Alī Ādil Shāh II, the only son of the late Sultān, was then placed on the throne with the help of Queen Bari Sāhibā and prime minister Khān Muhammad. He was only eighteen years of age and incapable of controlling different factions within the kingdom. Disorders followed in some of the newly conquered territories and consequent loss of them, and the nobles began to quarrel among themselves for power. Aurangzīb, who was then Mughul viceroy of the Deccan, considered it a convenient time for the invasion of Bijāpur, and with the sanction of the emperor, on the plea that 'Alī was not really a son of the late king, he opened his campaign against 'Ādil Shāh and laid siege to the fort of Bīdar. In the meantime, he had been able to seduce some of the 'Ādil Shāhī nobles; Mīr Jumla, who had deserted his master, the Sultān of Golconda, and joined the Mughuls, rendered immense help to him.

But this declaration of war against Bijāpur on an issue which was purely its own concern, was wholly unjustified. Bīdar fell after a gallant resistance of twenty-seven days (1657). Bijāpur could not check the advance of the Mughuls who ravaged an extensive area of the kingdom and laid siege to Kalyāni, forty miles west of Bīdar, and once the capital of the Chālukya kings, which also fell (1657). 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh II was compelled to sue for peace, and on the intercession of Dārā, Shāh Jahān agreed to conclude a treaty with Bijāpur. 'Ādil Shāh consented to surrender Bīdar, Kalyāni and Parenda, and pay an indemnity of one *crore* of rupees to the Mughuls.

After these, the news of serious illness of Shāh Jahān and Aurangzīb's march towards the north to contest the throne, and quarrels among the Bijāpur nobles, culminating in the murder of Khān Muhammad, gave Shivājī an opportunity for his ambitious projects. He hurried to Konkan and occupied Kalyān, Bhivandi and the fort of Mahuli.

In 1659 the Bijāpur government sent Āfzal Khān, a noble of high rank, with 10,000 cavalry against Shivājī with instruction to capture him dead or alive. It has been already narrated how Āfzal Khān opened negotiations with the Marāthā chief, met him in a conference, and was killed by Shivājī (pp. 258-9).

The leaderless Bijāpur army became panic-stricken and had no courage to oppose the enemy. Many of them were killed and others

surrendered. Their losses were heavy and all their artillery, ammunition, and camp equipage fell into the hands of the Marāthās (1659).

After this triumph, Shivāji captured the fort of Panhālā and obtained more successes against Bijāpur. To avenge these losses and drive away the rebel, 'Alī II sent Fazl Khān and Sīdī Jauhar, now entitled Salābat Khān, and Shivāji was defeated and forced to take shelter in the fort of Panhālā which was also besieged. It was with difficulty that the latter managed to escape.

Taking advantage of ill-feeling between the Nāyakas of Madura and Tanjore, 'Alī II despatched a large army against them. A surprise attack was made on Tanjore upon which its Nāyaka, Vijayarāghava, fled to Vallam and the Bijāpur force occupied Tanjore without much difficulty (1659). The fort of Vallam also fell without any resistance, as the Nāyaka had fled to the forests of Talavarayan and the garrison did not defend it. The victors then proceeded to the fort of Trichinopoly and laid siege to it, but due to famine and troubles created by the Kallars (robber chiefs), they had to retire on receipt of a sum of money only from the Nāyaka of Madura. Soon after, Vijayarāghava reoccupied Tanjore. In 1663, another expedition was sent to Trichinopoly which was besieged, and the surrounding regions were plundered. But in spite of repeated attacks, the fort could not be occupied and the Bijāpur army had to retire on receipt of a large sum of money from the ruler of Madura.<sup>91</sup>

The Nāyaka of Ikkeri had recovered several forts like Ikkeri, Soraba, Udugani, Mahādevpura and Ambaligolla from Bijāpur, and 'Alī II led a campaign against him, defeated him near Ambaligolla, and occupied Bednor, the then capital of Ikkeri. The fort of Bhuvanagiri was then invested, but Bhadrappa Nāyaka, the Nāyaka of Ikkeri (1662-64), adopted guerilla tactics and cut off all communications of the Bijāpur forces who were obliged to make peace with him and retire. 'Alī II sent another expedition against Ikkeri and occupied three of its forts (about 1668).<sup>92</sup>

In the meantime, Bijāpur had to face another Mughul invasion, and this was led by Jay Singh (1665-66). Although the Mughul advance was rapid for some time, it soon received a serious set-back through the exertions of 'Alī II, and Jay Singh was compelled to retire without achieving anything. "Not an inch of territory, not a stone of a fortress, not a pice of indemnity was gained."<sup>93</sup>

After this, 'Alī II did not at all attend to his duties but spent his time in idle pleasures. Fortunately for him, he had an able prime

minister in 'Abdul Muhammad who conducted the administration with efficiency.

The Sultān died of paralysis in 1672 and was succeeded by his son Sikandar, a boy of four only. 'Alī was a patron of Urdu literature. Among the court-poets who flourished during his reign and wrote in Deccani Urdu were Mīān Nusrali, Mīān Hansi and Mirjan Marsiya. "Besides the two memorable works *Gulshan-i-Ishq* and *Ali Nama*, Nusrali composed numerous *Qasidahs* and *Diwan-i-Ghazals* full of beauty and virility. Mīān Hansi's solid contributions to literature are his story of Yusuf and Zulaikha, *Ghazals* and other poems. Mirjan Marsiya, the third notable poet and writer, wrote verses in praise of the Prophet, Hasan and Husain, and the Imams."<sup>94</sup>

#### *Sikandar 'Ādil Shāh (1672-1686)*

Sikandar was the last of the 'Ādil Shāhī Sultāns, and as he was a minor, the administration of the kingdom was run by its *wazirs* or prime ministers who also acted as regents. "The history of Bijāpur from 1672 to 1686 is really the history of its *wazirs*. It was a period marked by chronic civil war among the factious nobles, independence of the provincial governors, paralysis of the central administration in the capital itself, occasional but indecisive Mughul invasions, and a secret alliance but pretended hostility with the Marāthās."<sup>95</sup>

Immediately after the death of 'Alī II, Khavāss Khān, the Abyssinian leader of the Deccani party, seized the real powers of the State and became prime minister and regent. But due to his incapacity and indolence there were disturbances in the kingdom, and taking advantage of this situation, Shivājī conquered some of its territories and the Mughuls began to seduce its nobles. Khavāss Khān was in power for three years, and when he had quarrels and bitter animosity with 'Abdul Karim Buhlūl Khān, the commander-in-chief and leader of the Afghān party, the latter invited him to a dinner and imprisoned him in a drunken state (1675). Buhlūl then stepped into his position but his regime of two years was worse. He raised his own men to high posts and expelled those of the Deccani party. Disorders followed in the kingdom and his chief adviser, Khizr Khān, was murdered; in revenge, Buhlūl murdered Khavāss Khān. The Mughuls took up the cause of the Deccani party who had sought their assistance and occupied Naldurg and Gulbarga (1677).

Under the Afghān regime the sufferings of the people knew no bounds, and, at last, on the death of Buhlūl (1678), Sidi Mas'ud,

another Bijāpurī noble, with the assistance of the Mughuls, became prime minister and regent. He made peace with the Mughuls, one of the conditions of which was that Shahr Banu Begam, Sikandar's sister, was to be married to a son of Aurangzīb, and, according to this, she left the city of Bijāpur in 1679 and was married to Prince A'zam in July, 1681.<sup>95a</sup>

The condition of Bijāpur went from bad to worse. The government was bankrupt, and disorder and anarchy prevailed in the State due to quarrels between Mas'ud and Sharza Khān, an influential noble. The Regent could not, in the least, improve the dilapidated condition of the kingdom and its future seemed to be doomed.

After a bitter experience of five years as *wazir* and regent, Mas'ud resigned his office early in 1684. Aqa Khusrav, who then occupied his place in March, 1684, died in October of the same year. The time was extremely ominous and dark clouds were hanging on the political horizon of Bijāpur. The most intrepid general, Sayyid Makhdum surnamed Sharza Khān, was entrusted with the defence of the kingdom.

In the meantime, the Mughuls had been appropriating Bijāpur territories and establishing their outposts in them. Mangalvide and Sangola were conquered in May, 1684. Aurangzīb, who was determined to annex this kingdom both on political and religious grounds, took vigorous steps to prosecute his plans. Acrimonious letters passed between him and Sikandar, and a serious rupture seemed imminent, although some months passed before the formal outbreak of war. In such a critical time, the Sultān of Golconda promised aid to Bijāpur and a Marāthā contingent also arrived there from Shambhūjī.

In April, 1685, the Mughuls laid siege to the fort of Bijāpur, and Prince A'zam reached there in June to take charge of the operations. The Bijāpurīs fought valiantly for the defence of their capital and within a month three severe battles were fought. They cut off the supplies of the Mughuls who suffered terribly for want of provisions, but the prince was resolute and conducted the siege in spite of his father's order to return. Aurangzīb then sent sufficient provisions, money and reinforcements which saved the besieging army, but even after a siege of fifteen months, there was no real progress owing to discord and jealousy among the officers. So, the Emperor himself went to Rasulpur, a suburb west of the fort, (1686),<sup>95b</sup> and pressed the siege in right earnest. His personal presence and firm determination to capture the fort cowed down the courage of the Bijāpurīs. They lost heart, as they saw no hope of

saving their capital city. The garrison had shrunk to two thousand men only and there was no possibility of assistance from outside. The scarcity of provisions due to famine made their position still more intolerable and it was not possible to resist any longer.

In September, 1686, Sikandar surrendered to the Mughul Emperor.<sup>95c</sup> Thus, the 'Ādil Shāhī kingdom lost its independent existence and was annexed to the Mughul Empire. Sikandar was enrolled as a Mughul peer, with an annual pension of one lakh of rupees, but he had to suffer life-long imprisonment and died in April, 1700, when he was less than thirty-two.

With the loss of independence, Bijāpur, which was once "the queen of southern India", wore the look of a desolate city.

#### IV. THE 'IMĀD-SHĀHĪ DYNASTY OF BERĀR

The founder of this dynasty, Fath-ullāh 'Imād-ul-Mulk, was originally a Hindu from Karnatak. In his boyhood, he was taken prisoner by the Bahmanī army, converted to Islām and appointed one of the body-guards of Khān Jahān, the governor of Berār. By dint of his abilities he rose to positions of distinction and received the lofty title of 'Imād-ul-Mulk. He also became the governor of Berār, the most northern province of the Bahmanī kingdom, and the weakness of the central government encouraged him to assume independence in 1490.<sup>96</sup>

He exerted his utmost to improve and strengthen the newly founded autonomous State, and after his death in 1504, his eldest son, 'Alā-ud-dīn 'Imād Shāh, succeeded him as the ruler of Berār.

##### *'Alā-ud-dīn 'Imād Shāh (1504-30)*

During 'Alā-ud-dīn's time started the long-drawn struggle with Ahmadnagar, culminating in the annexation of Berār by the former. Various factors were responsible for this conflict. First, the relation between these two kingdoms was strained due to an invasion of Ahmadnagar by Berār with a view to rendering assistance to some disaffected Nizām Shāhī nobles who had taken shelter in it. Although the invasion was repulsed by the Nizām Shāhīs (1510) and a peace concluded between these kingdoms, it did not last long, and they again came to arms for another and more important cause. Burhān Nizām Shāh I coveted Pāthrī, his ancestral home, situated in the kingdom of Berār, but bordering on Ahmadnagar and, in lieu of it, he offered another place to 'Imād Shāh "yielding even a greater revenue,"<sup>96a</sup> but the latter rejected the proposal and fortified it, whereupon the former made a sudden attack and took it (1518).<sup>97</sup>

Alā-ud-dīn contracted a matrimonial alliance with Ismā'il 'Ādil Khān by marrying his sister Khadīja and also concluded a friendly alliance with Golconda. With a combined army of these States, he recovered Pāthrī, but within a short time, Burhān again took it (1527).

The third cause of conflict between Berār and Ahmadnagar was over the possession of Māhūr. Burhān strengthened his position by an alliance with Bīdar and invaded Berār. He took possession of Māhūr, and then proceeded as far as Ellichpur, its capital. At this critical juncture, Alā-ud-dīn sought the aid of Muhammad I, the ruler of Khāndesh, but this also did not improve his position, as both of them sustained a serious defeat, with the loss of all their camp equipage and three hundred elephants. Many places of Berār were occupied by the allied armies of Ahmadnagar and Bīdar. The two vanquished Sultāns then sought the assistance of Bahādur Shāh of Gujarāt, who, finding it a suitable opportunity for extending his power in the south, responded to their appeal, and proceeded to the Deccan (1528). Alarmed at this Burhān requested Bijāpur, Golconda and Bīdar for help, and both Bijāpur and Bīdar responded to his appeal and sent him necessary assistance. Bahādur, who moved against Ahmadnagar, was defeated twice, but the allied army could not cope with him when further reinforcements joined the Gujarāt army. Both Burhān and Amīr Barīd were compelled to fall back on Parenda and thence to Junnar, and began to harass the enemy by night attacks and cutting off their supplies. Bahādur occupied the city of Ahmadnagar and, entrusting the siege of the fort to Alā-ud-dīn, moved to Daulatābād. Burhān's position became critical and he had no alternative but to sue for peace. On the other hand, Bahādur's policy of aggrandizement in the Deccan had caused grave concern to his allies who no longer wanted to act in concert with him. On his side, the latter, too, was anxious for his own safety lest he should be cut off from his country in the ensuing monsoon. Cessation of war thus became the prime consideration of both the parties and a peace was therefore effected. Burhān caused the *khutba* to be read in the name of Bahādur and returned the elephants seized from Muhammad I during the war but did not fulfil his promise in respect of restoration of Māhūr and Pāthrī to Berār.<sup>98</sup>

Alā-ud-dīn died in 1530 and was succeeded by his eldest son Daryā 'Imād Shāh.

#### *Daryā 'Imād Shāh (1530-62)*

During the reign of Daryā 'Imād Shāh the kingdom enjoyed peace and tranquillity. In the wars between Bijāpur and Ahmad-

nagar, he sided once with Bijāpur but helped Ahmadnagar on three occasions, once in 1543 and twice during the reign of Husain Nizām Shāh I.

After his death in 1562 his infant son Burhān succeeded him to the throne.

*Burhān 'Imād Shāh and Tufāl Khān*

Burhān 'Imād Shāh's minister, Tufāl Khān, a man of high ambition and of extraordinary courage, became regent. He confined the king in the fort of Narnāla and seized the reins of government in his own hands.

As he had reasonable cause of resentment against Husain Nizām Shāh I for the cruel murder of Jahāngīr Khān, he not only held aloof from the confederacy formed by the four Deccani Muslim powers against Vijayanagara, but also carried on depredations in the Nizām Shāhī kingdom. 'Ādil Shāh and Nizām Shāh were highly incensed at these and they invaded Berār. It was impossible for Tufāl to fight against such heavy odds and he managed to purchase peace from 'Ādil Shāh in secret on payment of a heavy sum of money and fifty elephants (1566). Finding himself deserted by 'Ādil Shāh, Nizām Shāh also retired.

Although Tufāl saved himself from this crisis, other serious dangers awaited him. A treaty was concluded between Murtazā I and 'Alī Ādil Shāh I, defining their sphere of aggrandizement. The former was allowed to annex Berār and Bīdar, and the latter to "conquer as much of the Carnatic as would produce a revenue equal to Berār and Bīdar."<sup>98a</sup> Then followed their activities. As a pretext for invasion of Berār, Tufāl was asked to re-instate his sovereign in his position, but when this was not complied with, Murtazā I invaded Berār. Unable to check his advance, Tufāl allowed Ellichpur to be occupied by his enemies and fled from place to place. Leaving Berār, he tried in vain to take shelter in Khāndesh and ultimately took refuge with Burhān 'Imād Shāh in the hill-fort of Narnāla, while his son went to Gawilgarh.

Due to its natural position, the fort of Narnāla was favourable for defence, and here Tufāl repulsed the attacks of his enemies with great valour, but was troubled by paucity of provisions. On the other hand, Murtazā, too, got tired of the protracted siege, and unable to occupy the fort by arms, he took the golden means of seducing the garrison. This produced its desired effect. Finding it impossible to defend any longer, Tufāl fled into the neighbouring hills but was soon captured. Thus fell Narnāla (April, 1574), and shortly

after this, Tufāl's son surrendered Gawilgarh. Burhān 'Imād Shāh along with the usurper Tufāl Khān and his son Shamshir-ul-Mulk were taken to Ahmadnagar and confined in a fortress where all of them subsequently died. It is said that their death was caused either by the Sultān's order or cruel treatment in the prison.

Thus disappeared Berār as an independent State from the map of the Deccan.

#### V. THE BARĪD-SHĀHĪ DYNASTY OF BĪDAR

Mahmūd Shāh Bahmanī, who reigned from 1442 to 1518, was unfit to hold the sceptre during that troublesome period. He could not cope with the situation, and disorder and confusion increased on all sides. The real power passed into the hands of Qāsim Barīd, his prime minister, who had risen to that high position by dint of his extraordinary abilities. Originally, he was a Turk, domiciled in Georgia. He came to the Bahmanī kingdom in his early boyhood and then entered the service of Muhammad Shāh III. By and by, he rose to positions of distinction till he became prime minister, exercising regal power, in fact, though not in name.

Qāsim Barīd died in 1504, and was succeeded as prime minister by his son Amīr Barīd, who, too, like his father, wielded uncontrolled sway in the kingdom. Mahmūd Shāh died in 1518, and was succeeded by four sultāns, one after another, but all of them were mere tools in the hands of Amīr Barīd. Kalimullāh, the last of them, tried in vain to regain his power with the help of Bābur. At last, he fled to Bijāpur and thence to Ahmadnagar; he breathed his last in 1538, but with his flight from Bīdar in 1528 Amīr Barīd became practically independent, although he never formally asserted his independence nor assumed the title of "Shāh".

Amīr Barīd was very cunning, and hence he was known as *Robah-i-Deccan* or the *Fox of the Deccan*.<sup>99</sup> He knew well how to play one party against the other, but such cunning brought him disgrace also and he had to suffer humiliation at the hands of Ismā'īl 'Ādil Khān against whom he had plotted. Apart from political differences, the two had religious differences as well; Ismā'īl 'Ādil Khān was a Shiah, whereas Amīr Barīd was a bigoted Sunnī. The former was highly incensed when, in 1529, it was reported to him that Amīr Barīd had attempted to incite a part of his soldiery against him, and observed, "it was contrary to wisdom to treat the wolf with gentleness, or the snake with kindness."<sup>100</sup> At his request, when Burhān Nizām Shāh promised to remain neutral, Ismā'īl 'Ādil Khān started against Amīr Barīd. The fort of Bīdar was besieged, and Amīr

Barīd, who was then old, withdrew to the fortress of Udgir, leaving the defence of Bīdar to his eldest son 'Alī Barīd. However, Amīr Barīd's position became very perilous, and, in spite of the assistance of Golconda and intercession of Alā-ud-dīn 'Imād Shāh, he was unable to save his own position. Ismā'īl was not willing to accept any terms short of complete surrender of Bīdar. On hearing of it, Amīr Barīd came out of Udgir to entreat 'Imād Shāh once more to effect a peace, but when this was not possible, he went back to his camp close to that of the former and "to drown his cares he gave himself up to pleasures."<sup>100a</sup> Asad Khān, the general of Ismā'īl, took him by surprise while he was in a drunken and senseless condition and carried him away to his master who gave order for his execution. On the earnest entreaty of Amīr Barīd, 'Ādil Khān agreed to spare his life on condition of surrender of the fortress of Bīdar, but as his son refused to give it up, Ismā'īl ordered that he (Amīr Barīd) should be trampled to death by a furious elephant. Finding no alternative, his son evacuated the fort and retired to Udgir, with as many jewels of the Bahmanī Sultāns as was possible to carry in concealment. Thus 'Ādil Khān got possession of Bīdar.<sup>101</sup>

Amīr Barīd was made a peer of Bijāpur, and after his assistance to Ismā'īl 'Ādil Khān in taking possession of Rāichūr and Mudgal (1530), Bīdar was restored to him on condition of cession of Kalyāni and Qandahār to Bijāpur. But as he did not keep his promise Ismā'īl set out with his army to occupy them, and, although Burhān I came to the aid of Amīr Barīd, both of them sustained a severe defeat near Naldurg.

Not long after, Amīr Barīd was reconciled to Ismā'īl 'Ādil Khān whom he helped in his struggle against Golconda. But he again severed his connection with Bijāpur and joined Ahmadnagar. While he and Burhān Nizām Shāh I, were retreating towards Daulatābād closely pursued by the armies of Bijāpur and Berār, he suddenly expired (1542).

Amīr Barīd was succeeded by his son 'Alī Barīd, who ruled till 1580. Among the rulers of Bīdar he was the first to assume the title of "Shāh". His relations with the other Deccani powers have mostly been described in the history of Ahmadnagar. In 1564, he joined the confederacy of the Muslim States of Ahmadnagar, Bijāpur and Golconda against Vijayanagara and took part in defeating the latter in the famous battle (popularly known as the battle of Talikota) fought at Rākshasi-Tangadi (January, 1565).

He was a man of culture and fond of poetry and calligraphy and his tomb at Bīdar and Rangin Mahal ("painted palace") built by him bear testimony to his fine taste for architecture.<sup>101a</sup>

On the death of 'Alī Barīd his son Ibrāhīm Barīd Shāh ascended the throne and reigned till 1587. He was succeeded by his younger brother Qāsim Barīd Shāh II. After the battle of Rākshasi-Tangadi, the strength of Bijāpur, Ahmadnagar and Golconda increased so much that it was not possible for a small kingdom like Bīdar to cope with them and naturally it gradually dwindled in extent. Qāsim Barīd II died in 1591 and was succeeded by his infant son, but one of his relatives named Amīr Barīd dethroned him and became king under the title of Amīr Barīd II. After a reign of about ten years he, too, was expelled by one of his relatives—Mīrzā 'Alī Barīd (1601). He reigned till 1609 and was succeeded by Amīr Barīd Shāh III, the last Sultān of Bīdar. He joined the confederacy of the Deccani powers, viz., Ahmadnagar, Bijāpur and Golconda, organized by Malik 'Ambar and fought with them against the Mughuls (1616).

As his relation with Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh II was far from cordial, the latter invaded Bīdar, and after defeating him, annexed it to Bijāpur (1619). He and his sons were brought to Bijāpur and kept "under surveillance."<sup>101b</sup>

## VI. THE QUTB-SHĀHĪ DYNASTY OF GOLCONDA

Sultān Qulī Qutb-ul-Mulk,<sup>102</sup> who laid the foundation of a separate dynasty of rulers in Golconda, belonged to a Turki family and was born at Hamadan in Persia. He came to the Deccan in his youth during the reign of the Bahmanī Sultān, Muhammad Shāh III, and started his career as a body-guard of this monarch. By his extraordinary courage, skill, and sagacity, he rose from one position to another till he became the Governor of Telingāna, the eastern province of the Bahmanī kingdom. He had also received the lofty title of Qutb-ul-Mulk.<sup>103</sup>

When the weakness of the Bahmanī government encouraged different provincial governors to become autonomous within their jurisdictions, Sultān Qulī also took advantage of the situation and assumed a similar position on the death of Mahmūd Shāh Bahmanī in 1518. He never assumed the title of "Shāh" or the royal dignity. Neither the assertion of Firishta that he declared independence in 1512 nor the view of some modern historians that he severed his connection with the Bahmanī kingdom and became independent in 1518 is tenable. The decipherment of the inscription of the Jāmi 'Masjid at Golconda, built by Sultān Qulī, commemoration tablet of which bears the date 924 A.H. or A.D. 1518, proves that the ruling monarch was then Mahmud Shāh Bahmanī and not Sultān Qulī, but it does not go to prove in any way that he asserted his independence some-

time that year on the demise of that monarch. On the contrary, available evidences show that he never assumed the royal title.<sup>104</sup>

During the long period of his rule, he devoted most of his energies in extending the frontiers of his kingdom. On the north, he took possession of the district of Haft Tappa from Berār, and, on the south, he conquered various places one after another including Rajconda, Devarconda, Ganpura, Kovalaconda, and Pangal.

He tried his utmost to bring as much of the Telugu-speaking country as possible in his possession and continued his campaigns one after another. He defeated Shitāb Khān (i.e., Sītāpati) of Bhogikula and captured Bellamconda, Indračonda, Kambhammet and Warangal, etc., and it was not possible for Shitāb Khān to check his advance, as the power of Shitāb's ally, Gajapati Pratāparudra, the king of Orissa, on whom he depended, had been greatly weakened by his recent discomfiture at the hands of Kṛishṇadevarāya of Vijayanagara. Sultān Qulī then occupied Kondapalli, Ellore, and Rajahmundry belonging to the Gajapati, and compelled him, by a treaty, to give up his territories between the mouths of the Krishna and the Godavari. Next, he laid siege to the fortress of Koṇḍavidu belonging to Vijayanagara, but here he ultimately sustained a serious defeat.

Sultān Qulī had troubles with Bijāpur and Bīdar whose rulers made a joint effort to take the fortress of Kovalaconda, but their plan was upset by the sudden death of Ismā'il 'Ādil Khān (1534). Sultān Qulī retaliated on Bīdar by carrying on depredations in it and besieging Kohir. It was at last agreed that this fortress should be ceded to him.

Sultān Qulī lived till the age of ninety-eight when he was assassinated at the instigation of his second surviving son Jamshīd (September, 1543).<sup>105</sup>

Sultān Qulī was not only a skilful general and a strategist, but also an efficient ruler who established law and order in his country. He was a great builder as well. The Golconda fort was, to a large extent, built by him and the city was beautified with mosques, palaces and gardens. Jāmi 'Masjid, a very beautiful structure, outside the fort, was erected by him.

He was a devout and God-fearing man and belonged to the Shiah creed which was established as the State religion.

#### *Jamshīd Qutb Khān (1543-1550)*

Sultān Qulī was succeeded by his son Jamshīd, who caused his elder brother Qutb-ud-dīn to be blinded and plotted to seize his

younger brother Ibrāhīm, who, coming to know of his brother's intention, fled to Bīdar for protection and assistance. He was cordially received by 'Alī Barīd Shāh who championed his cause and proceeded with the Prince against Jamshīd. They marched triumphantly to the very gates of the fort of Golconda which was besieged. At this juncture, Jamshīd sought the assistance of Burhān Nizām Shāh I, who immediately sent an army to Golconda. Unable to oppose these combined forces, 'Alī Barīd retreated towards Bijāpur, but on the way, as he attempted to seize the properties of Ibrāhīm, the latter left him and retired to Vijayanagara where he was cordially received and given a *jāgīr*. He remained there for seven years.

Jamshīd possessed great tact and foresight, and was an astute diplomat. When he came to the throne, it was Burhān I only who offered his congratulation by sending his envoy Shāh Tahir, and there was practically no Deccani power whom he could count as his ally, but he soon changed his position. As has been related in the history of Burhān Nizām Shāh I, he became a party to the quadruple alliance (1543) and joined Ahmadnagar against Bijāpur. But it was in 1548 that he gained a very advantageous position and raised the prestige of Golconda above all other Deccani kingdoms. Both Bijāpur and Ahmadnagar were then in earnest to win his support, and 'Alī Barīd, who had been imprisoned by Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh I, also made entreaties to him to secure his release. The position of Jamshīd was thus almost similar to that of an arbiter in the Deccan. He then exhibited his greatest tact and diplomacy. Instead of incurring the displeasure of any party, he maintained his neutrality, and, at the same time, won over 'Alī Barīd by securing his release and placing him back on his throne.

After these, he returned to his capital, but was attacked with cancer and, after suffering for about two years, died in 1550.

His minor son, Subhān Qulī, was then raised to the throne but he had soon to make room for his uncle Ibrāhīm, who came from Vijayanagara, deposed him, and ascended the throne.

#### *Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh (1550-1580)*

Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh received the support of all sections of the people and established law and order in the kingdom. As has been mentioned above, he was the first Sultān of the Qutb-Shāhī dynasty to assume the title of "Shāh".

His inter-state relationship, including the part he played in connection with the battle of Talikota, has been described at length in the history of Ahmadnagar.

Continuing the policy of Sultān Qulī, he carried on conquests in the Telugu-speaking areas, and invaded the kingdom of Vijayanagara. The famous temple of Narasimha at Ahobalam was sacked by his commander, Murhari Rāo, a Marāthā Brāhmin (1579), who also invaded Udayagiri, Vinukonda and Koṇḍavidu. There is no doubt that as a result of these invasions Ibrāhīm gained possession of considerable territories from Vijayanagara.<sup>106</sup>

The Sultān also devoted much time and energy for the consolidation of his kingdom. All rebellions and lawlessness were suppressed with a stern hand. Telingāna was full of highway robbers and thieves, and travelling was fraught with great risks, but it was to his credit that he cleared the roads from the oppression of these marauders.

Jagdeva Rāo Naikwari, the prime minister, made a conspiracy to depose him and place his brother Daulat Qulī on the throne. The Sultān executed one of the accomplices of Jagdeva, who, being afraid of his own safety, fled to Berār, but there, too, when his manners became overbearing, he was ordered to quit immediately, and, this he did, but came back to the Qutb Shāhī territory. Being defeated here, he finally left for Vijayanagara.

There was a revolt of the Naikwaris under the leadership of Suria Rāo, the commandant of the Naikwaris in the fort of Golconda, but this rising was suppressed with a strong hand and Suria Rāo and other Naikwaris of this fort were executed.

Not only did Ibrāhīm establish peace and security in his kingdom but also made it prosperous. Trade and commerce increased enormously. "Telingāna, like Egypt, became the mart of the whole world. Merchants from Toorkistan, Arabia and Persia, resorted to it; and they met with such encouragement that they found in it inducements to return frequently."<sup>107</sup>

Ibrāhīm was a great patron of art and architecture and erected several beautiful buildings. The fortifications of Golconda were extended and strengthened, and the city was beautified with gardens, hammams, wide streets, and shops of various kinds. He established alms-house (or the *Lungur*), numerous colleges, one dam at Budwal and two tanks, one at Ibrahimhattam and the other called Husain Sāgar. He constructed also a strong bridge, 600 feet long and 36 feet wide, on the Musi, originally called Narva, known later

on as "*Purana Pul*" or "*old bridge*". It was supported by twenty-two pointed arches.<sup>108</sup>

This reign saw the beginning of Dakhani Urdu poetry at Golconda, and four poets viz., Mulla Khiyali, Mahmūd, Fīrūz and Ahmad composed their poems in this language.

Of all his actions, Ibrāhīm is remembered by the Hindus of Telingāna specially for his patronage of Telugu literature. Many Telugu poets like Addanki Gangādhara Kavi, Pannaganti Teleganarya, and Kandukuri Rudra Kavi flourished in his court. Addanki Gangādhara Kavi, the most well-known of them, composed an elegant poem *Tapatisama-Varanamū Upakhyānamū* and dedicated it to the Sultān, who is called *Malkibharam* in Telugu literature. Among other things it gives accounts of the conquests of Sultān Qulī and those of Ibrāhīm in the Telugu areas. The poet says that many learned men well-versed in Hindu scriptures adorned the court of this Sultān. He was very liberal in his rewards to the Telugu poets and tried his best to encourage them. Amīr Khān, a Qutb Shāhī officer of high rank, was also a patron of Telugu literature.

Though Ibrāhīm took a prominent part in bringing about the fall of the Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagara, his treatments of his Hindu subjects, specially his patronage of their literature and their appointment to high posts, show that he tried to gain the goodwill and sympathy of the bulk of his population—the most essential requisites of a stable government.<sup>109</sup>

He died in 1580 at the age of fifty and was succeeded by his son Muhammad Qulī Qutb Shāh.

#### *Muhammad Qulī Qutb Shāh (1580-1612)*

Muhammad Qulī Qutb Shāh inherited a peaceful and prosperous kingdom, which enjoyed peace and happiness during his reign.

In 1586, an alliance was formed with Bijāpur by the marriage of the Sultān's sister, Malikā Zamān, with Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh II, and thus, an attempt was made to establish a feeling of cordiality between the two kingdoms.

As the walled city of Golconda became congested and unhealthy, and there was scarcity of water in it, shifting of the capital appeared to be a necessity, and in 1590, the plan for the construction of the new capital at Hyderabad, on the river Musi, was ready for execution. Muhammad Qulī tried his utmost to make the city as grand as possible. It was embellished with fine palaces, gardens,

and baths, and proper arrangements were made for supply of water in all its parts. Two stately edifices, viz., the *Jāmi'* Mosque and the majestic Chahar Minār or 'four minarets'—"a square building of four broad and very lofty open arches, with four minarets 220 feet high at each corner" were built in the centre of the city, adding to the grandeur and beauty of the capital. Besides, hospitals and colleges were also established for the benefit of the people.<sup>110</sup>

Venkata II, the king of Vijayanagara, tried to recover the Koṇḍavidu areas, but Muhammad Qulī proceeded with a big army and defeated him. The Sultān occupied Kurnool, Nandial, Gandikota and Cuddapa and laid siege to Penukoṇḍa. Venkata II was forced to sue for peace, and although there was a temporary respite, the war was soon renewed. Muhammad Qulī again laid siege to Penukoṇḍa, but scarcity of provisions in his camp and apprehension of inundation of the Krishna due to approach of the monsoon which would cut off his retreat, compelled him to raise the siege and retire to his capital, after making necessary arrangements for protection and administration of the newly conquered areas. But Venkata II soon started the offensive and laid siege to Gandikota, which, in spite of the utmost efforts of the Qutb Shāhī forces, could not be saved. Although the Vijayanagara army recovered some other forts also, the Koṇḍavidu areas remained in possession of the Sultān of Golconda, but Qutb Shāh was forced to recognize the Krishna as the boundary between the two kingdoms.

During the reign of this Sultān, Shāh Abbās, the Safavī King of Persia (1587-1629) sent Aghuzlu Sultān, one of his relatives, in 1603, on an embassy to Muhammad Qulī, with valuable presents of jewels, carpets and horses etc., and on his arrival at Golconda, the ambassador was accorded a grand reception. He stayed at Hyderabad for six years and then returned to Persia with suitable presents for the Shāh. The principal object of the embassy, as has been related, was to put the proposal of marriage of one of the sons of the Shāh with Hayat Baksh Begam, the Sultān's daughter, but the mission was not successful.<sup>110a</sup>

In 1609, a conspiracy was made to dethrone Muhammad Qulī and place his brother Muhammad Khudābanda on the throne, but the Sultān seized the ringleaders before they could create any mischief. They, along with Khudābanda, were imprisoned in the fort of Golconda where the Prince died in 1611.

In this year, the English East India company established a factory at Masulipatam, an important port in the Qutb Shāhī kingdom.

As Pratāp Shāh, the Rājā of Bastār, revolted, the Sultān sent an army against him. Being defeated, the Rājā fled to an impregnable fortress in the forest, and in spite of reinforcements, the Qutb Shāhī army could not force him to surrender, and a sudden heavy rainfall, spoiling a great part of the gunpowder, and want of provisions, compelled them to retreat. It was with great difficulty that they returned to Golconda.

The Sultān died in 1612, after an illness of two days only. Muhammad Qulī Qutb Shāh has left to posterity a great name for town-planning and architecture. The foundation of Hyderabad and construction of fine buildings, gardens and baths etc., with which his new capital was embellished, show his excellent taste as a builder, and he spent a big amount every year for the construction of public buildings. Of the palaces erected by him, special mention may be made of Chandan Mahal, Hirā Mahal and Nadi Mahal.

He was a man of charitable disposition and a lover of justice. A sum of sixty thousand *huns* or two lakhs and forty thousand rupees was distributed to the poor every year.

“Intelligent and learned, . . . and of literary bent of mind, Muhammad Qulī kept company with the learned.”<sup>110b</sup> He established several *khankas* and *madrasas* at Hyderabad and gave rewards liberally to distinguished literary men. “It is related, that out of four lacs of *huns* secured as revenue collection from the city, a large and a greater portion was disbursed in rewarding the Saiyids and Ulemas and supplying them with two free meals per day.”<sup>111</sup>

#### *Muhammad Qutb Shāh (1612-1626)*

As Muhammad Qulī Qutb Shāh left no son, his nephew Muhammad Qutb Shāh, son of Mīrzā Muhammad Amīn, succeeded him to the throne. He was also the son-in-law of the late Sultān, whose daughter Hayat Baksh Begam he had married.

He joined the confederacy of the Deccani powers against the Mughuls and tried to put a stop to Mughul aggression in the south. Although prior to the battle of Bhatvadi, Ibrāhīm ‘Adil Shāh II joined the Mughuls with a view to strengthening his position against ‘Ambar, Muhammad Qutb Shāh did not forget the interests of the Deccan, and fully aware of the strength of the Mughuls and the Bijāpurīs, he formed a defensive and offensive alliance with ‘Ambar. He remained firm to Ahmadnagar and fought on its side in the battle of Bhatvadi (1624).

But he was more inclined towards the pen than the sword. He had received proper education in his young age and was fond of the association of the learned. He was well acquainted with various arts and sciences and could write both in prose and verse. Among his writings were *ghazl*, *tarkib band* and *rubaiya*; "his pen name was Zil-ul-lah (the shadow of God)".<sup>112</sup> It was in the fifth year of his reign that the *Tārīkh-i-Muhammad Qutb Shāh*, the well-known history of the Sultāns of Golconda, was completed.

To add to the beauty and grandeur of the capital city, he erected buildings and laid out gardens.

He died in 1626, and was succeeded by his son 'Abdullah Qutb Shāh, at the age of twelve.

#### 'Abdullah Qutb Shāh (1626-1672)

During 'Abdullah's long reign of forty-six years, the kingdom had to face serious problems, but he was quite incapable of wielding the sceptre at such a critical time. He was indolent, and sensual,<sup>112a</sup> and the administration was practically run by his mother Hayat Baksh Begam till her death in February, 1667, and then by Sayyid Ahmad, his ('Abdullah's) eldest son-in-law. "The clever diplomacy of these two had for half a century saved the Qutb Shāhī State from being annexed by the Mughuls."<sup>112b</sup>

After his accession to the throne, Shāh Jahān, who was well-acquainted with the Deccan politics, made up his mind to press forward his policy of annexation there. The first victim was Ahmadnagar which was incorporated in his empire in 1633. Next, he turned towards Golconda, and 'Abdullah, in terror, accepted the terms dictated by the Mughul Emperor. He acknowledged the Mughul suzerainty and agreed to pay an annual tribute of eight lakhs of rupees (1636).

Thus barred in the north, Golconda engaged in a career of aggrandizement in the Carnatic and the conditions there were very favourable. Shorn of all its past glory and strength, the kingdom of Vijayanagara was confined to a small area. 'Abdullah sent an army against it in April, 1642, and captured some of its territories, Venkata III, the reigning king, having fled to the forests. Golconda made repeated attacks on the tottering Hindu kingdom, and, in this work, Mir Jumla, the prime minister of 'Abdullah, played an important role.

Muhammad Sayyid, who is known as Mir Jumla, came to Golconda as an adventurer from Ardistan in Persia. He was a man of

wonderful talents, and, making the best use of his opportunities, he made his mark as a diamond merchant and rose to power and wealth. His extraordinary abilities attracted the attention of 'Abdullah who made him his *Wazir*. He proved his efficiency both in civil and military administrations and wielded great influence in the kingdom, but it was in the Carnatic that he showed his real mettle by his military exploits which enhanced the territories of Golconda and made him fabulously rich. Both the Sultāns of Golconda and Bijāpur were active in devouring the dilapidated kingdom of Vijayanagara. Mīr Jumla wrested parts of Nellore and Cuddapa and occupied the territories on the eastern coast up to Pulicat. He penetrated further south and proceeded as far as Vellore, where he met Mustafā Khān, the 'Ādil Shāhī general, and arrived at a settlement with Bijāpur, defining their respective spheres of aggrandizement in the Carnatic.

By plundering Hindu temples and searching out hidden treasures, Mīr Jumla accumulated a vast fortune, and according to Thevenot,<sup>112c</sup> he had twenty maunds of diamonds in his possession. His *jāgīr* in Carnatic was like a kingdom, three hundred miles in length and fifty miles in breadth, with an annual revenue of forty *lakhs* of rupees, and it contained several valuable diamond mines. He had under his command 5,000 cavalry, 20,000 infantry, and an excellent park of artillery. He was almost like an independent ruler and absented himself from the court of Golconda. Alarmed at the growing power of the *Wazir*, the Sultān attempted to bring him under his control, but Mīr Jumla entered into intrigues with Bijāpur and Persia.

Aurangzīb, who was then Mughul viceroy of the Deccan and eager to conquer Golconda, wanted to win him over to his side with a view to utilizing his services in the projected invasion. The wealth of Golconda, prevalence of Shiahism among its inhabitants, frequent arrears in payment of its annual tribute, and above all, the imperialistic policy urged Aurangzīb to pursue an offensive action. He opened negotiations with Mīr Jumla, when an incident furnished the cause of immediate military operations, so desired. Muhammad Amīn, son of Mīr Jumla, who had been his father's deputy at the court of Golconda, was arrested and imprisoned with his family for his insolent behaviour to the Sultān (1655).

Aurangzīb utilized the situation to his advantage and obtained orders from his father directing 'Abdullah Qutb Shāh to release Mīr Jumla's family, and in case of his non-compliance, to invade Golconda. Without allowing a reasonable time to Qutb Shāh, Aurangzīb sent his eldest son Muhammad Sultān against him (1656). All

efforts of the Sultān to prevent hostility was nullified by him, as he was bent upon crushing this kingdom.<sup>113</sup> Hyderabad was attacked and occupied, and the Mughul soldiery plundered it. Aurangzīb himself arrived there and besieged the fort of Golconda where the Sultān had retired.

But Golconda was saved this time by the intervention of Dārā Shukoh and Jahānārā whom 'Abdullah's agent at Delhi convinced of Aurangzīb's most unjust and unwarranted attack on it. On receipt of his father's direction, Aurangzīb was compelled to raise the siege (1656). The Sultān of Golconda promised to pay a considerable war indemnity, and arrears of tribute which amounted to one *crore* of rupees, and surrender the district of Rāmgir (modern Manikdurg and Chinoor). He had also to give his second daughter in marriage to Muhammad Sultān and promise in secret to make him his heir. Mīr Jumla, who had already joined the imperialists, was appointed prime minister.

After this, the affairs in the Qutb Shāhī State went from bad to worse. 'Abdullah, who had narrowly escaped death at the hands of his enemies in 1656, was so frightened that he never afterwards appeared in public even to administer justice, and spent his time in frivolous sensuality, the natural consequences of which were misrule and confusion in the kingdom. Even his own family was not free from discord and unrest.<sup>113a</sup> Amidst these, he breathed his last in 1672.

#### *Abu-'l Hasan Qutb Shāh (1672-1687)*

'Abdullah had no male issue but three daughters only, the eldest of whom had been married to Sayyid Ahmad, who became prime minister and virtual ruler of the kingdom; the second daughter was married to Muhammad Sultān, and the third to Abu'l Hasan, who, on his father's side, was a descendant of the Qutb Shāhī family. On the death of 'Abdullah, there was a contest between the first and third sons-in-law for the throne in which Sayyid Ahmad was defeated and imprisoned, and Abu-'l Hasan elevated to the throne.<sup>114</sup>

Sayyid Muzaffar, a leading general, who had taken the most important role in the overthrow of Sayyid Ahmad, became prime minister, but he concentrated all power in his own hands, and the king became a nominal figure-head. Abu-'l Hasan could not long reconcile himself to this lot, and with the help of Mādanna, "the Brahman factotum of Muzaffar," he deprived the latter of the premiership. Mādanna was raised to his master's place and conferred the title of Sūrya Prakāsh Rāo, while his brother Ākkanna was appointed

commander-in-chief. But the Sultān did not gain by this change of premiership and the power exercised by Muzaffar passed into the hands of Mādanna. The king led a dissipated life and disorders and oppressions were rampant. "With a grasping and suspicious paramount Power, a sensual king, a venal aristocracy, and an ignorant and timid people, the reform of the kingdom was hopeless,"<sup>115</sup> and its fate was sealed.

Aurangzīb's long-cherished desire of annexing Golconda had not yet been fulfilled, and he therefore turned towards giving effect to his ambition. Grounds for invasion were not wanting. The Sultān was leading a dissolute life, leaving the administration of the kingdom in the hands of the infidels, Mādanna and his brother Ākkanna. "In 1677 he had given Shivājī a more than royal welcome on his visit to Hyderabad and promised him a regular subsidy of one *lakh* of *huns* for the defence of Golconda. After Shivājī's death the alliance had been renewed with his successor and the subsidy continued."<sup>116</sup> On his part Shivājī consented to pay to Qutb Shāh an annual tribute of six *lakhs* of *huns*. Such "fraternizing with infidels" was the worst offence of Abu-'l Hasan.<sup>117</sup> In 1685 he had also acted against the Mughuls by sending military assistance to Bijāpur against them, and lastly, the war indemnity promised in 1656 and the annual tribute of eight *lakhs* of rupees, according to the terms of the treaty in 1636, were long in arrears.

Open rupture occurred as a result of interception of a letter of Abu-'l Hasan to his agent in which he had accused the emperor of attacking Sikandar 'Ādil Shāh and promised to send an army of 40,000 men to his assistance. Enraged at this, Aurangzīb sent his son Shāh 'Alam against Hyderabad (1685) and although, at the outset, he could not make much headway, the seduction and consequent defection of Mīr Muhammad Ibrāhīm, the commander-in-chief of Golconda, largely decided the fate of the campaign. The resistance fell through and the Mughuls proceeded to Hyderabad. No defence of the city was organized and the Sultān fled to the fortress of Golconda. The Mughul army occupied Hyderabad and carried on extensive plunder there.<sup>118</sup> Placed in such a critical position, Abu-'l Hasan made repeated entreaties for peace, which was at last concluded but did not last long.

One of the conditions of the peace was that Mādanna and Ākkanna should be dismissed, but the Sultān having put off the matter, the discontented Muslim nobles and two widows of the late king formed a plot and caused their assassination in the streets of Golconda (March, 1686).<sup>119</sup>

After the fall of Bijāpur in September, 1686, Aurangzīb was free to concentrate his attention on the Qutb Shāhī kingdom, and, in February, 1687, he reached the outskirts of the fort of Golconda. In the meantime, Abu-'l Hasan had again taken shelter in this fort and the Mughuls took possession of Hyderabad for the third time. The regular siege of Golconda lasted for seven months and a half. The fort had sufficient stocks of food and ammunition to stand a long siege, and the garrison fought with great valour and successfully resisted all efforts of Aurangzīb to capture it. Despite sufferings due to heavy rains, famine, pestilence and incessant attacks of the enemies, he tried all possible means with grim determination to paralyze the defence, but they proved futile. At last, gold wrought wonders<sup>120</sup> and 'Abdullah Pani, surnamed Sardār Khān, a high officer of the fort, was seduced. He treacherously opened the postern gate of the fort, thus allowing the enemies to enter into it and overpower the defenders.

By way of contrast to this traitor shines forth an instance of undaunted heroism and noble self-sacrifice, rare in the annals of any country; 'Abd-ur Razzāq Lārī, surnamed Mustafā Khān, a devoted and faithful noble, spurned all tempting offers of Aurangzīb and fought valiantly till he was seriously wounded.

Thus was Golconda captured by Aurangzīb (1687) and Abu-'l Hasan made a captive. The latter was sent as a State prisoner to the fort of Daulatābād for the rest of his life on a pension of Rs. 50,000 a year, and the kingdom annexed to the Mughul Empire.

## APPENDIX I

(By the Editor)

### *Notes on the chronology adopted in this Chapter*

The dates of some of the rulers given in this Chapter differ from those mentioned in the *Cambridge History of India (CHI)*, Vol. III, pp. 704 and 708, as shown in the following list. The justification of the dates adopted in this Chapter, in each case, is indicated below.

Serial No.	Name of the ruler	Date in <i>CHI</i>	Date in this Chapter
I.	Murtazā Nizām Shāh I	1565—1586	1565—1588
II.	Murtazā Nizām Shāh II	1603—1630	1600—1630
III.	Mallu 'Ādil Shāh	1534—1534	1534—1535
IV.	Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh I	1534—1558	1535—1557
V.	Muhammad 'Ādil Shāh	1627—1657	1627—1656
VI.	'Alā-ud-dīn 'Imād Shāh	1504—1529	1504—1530

I. The date given in *CHI*. III, p. 461, of the ruler's death is 1588, and this agrees with the date of Firishta.

II. According to *CHI*. III, the fall of Ahmadnagar and the accession of Murtazā both took place in A.D. 1603. The date 1600 for the fall of Ahmadnagar is supported by *Akbar-nāma* (Translation of Beveridge, Vol. III, p. 1159 footnote). On p. 148 of *CHI*. IV it is clearly stated that Murtazā was on the throne in January, 1602.

III. It is stated in *CHI*. III, p. 439, that Mallū was deposed in March, 1535, and this agrees with Firishta's account.

IV. The date 1557 is supported by Firishta (Cf. Briggs, III. 112).

V. The date of the death of Muhammad 'Ādil Shāh is given by Sir Jadunath Sarkar as November, 1656 (*Aurangzib*, IV, 2nd Edition, p. 155).

VI. In *CHI*. III, p. 708 the date of the death of Alā-ud-dīn is given as A.H. 937 and it is equated with A.D. 1529. But the A.H. 937 really corresponds to the period 25 August, 1530, to 14 August, 1531.

## APPENDIX II

(By the Editor)

The causes of the Grand Alliance of the Muslim States in the Deccan against Vijayanagara which destroyed that empire require a little more elaboration. According to Firishta, Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh of Golconda sent an envoy named Mustafā Khān to Husain Nizām Shāh of Ahmadnagar to induce him to join the confederacy. The arguments advanced by the envoy may be summed up as follows in the words of Firishta: The ruler of Vijayanagara, "who had reduced all the rajas of the Carnatic to his yoke, required to be checked and his influence should be removed from the countries of Islam in order that their people might repose in safety from the oppressions of unbelievers, and their mosques and holy places no longer be subject to pollution from infidels."<sup>121</sup> This implies that apart from the obvious and the generally accepted view that the object of the confederacy was merely political, namely to destroy a powerful Hindu ruler in the neighbourhood, the sacrilege of Muslim holy places by the troops of Vijayanagara was another cause. Prof. H. K. Sherwani probably voiced the opinion of many when he disbelieved the statement of Firishta and observed: "It is hardly thinkable that with the 'Ādil Shāh as an ally and colleague there should have been desecration of mosques."<sup>122</sup> But it is somewhat curious that in the same article Sherwani gives a different opinion later. Describing the second invasion of Ahmadnagar he writes: "It is related that the army of Vijayanagara, led by Ramraj, again perpetrated every possible atrocity on the people, laid waste the countryside and did not spare even mosques. Naturally, it was not to the liking of 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh that crimes committed on the occasion of the first invasion of Ahmadnagar should be repeated and this time he had allied with Ramraj on the express condition that mosques and other sacred edifices should not be desecrated." In his support Sherwani states in f.n. 26, p. 263: "Fer. II, 127, Briggs,

III, 224, Basatin, 89, is quite explicit that it was 'against the understanding with 'Ādil Shāh that Ramraj's army caused such depredations to mosques and Qurāns' during his attacks on Ahmadnagar. This must have been one of the potent causes of the eventual alliances of the Deccani Sultans against Vijayanagara."<sup>123</sup>

It is evident from the above that during the first invasion of Ahmadnagar the Vijayanagara troops had desecrated mosques and Qurāns, otherwise such an understanding would be entirely uncalculated for.

Sherwani is, however, even more explicit while stating the immediate causes of the Battle of Talikota. On p. 360 (*JIH*, XXXV) he writes: "No state had suffered more than Ahmadnagar at the hands of the armies of the Southern Empire, for they polluted the mosques and dishonoured women and put to fire and sword everything and every person who came in their way.... Ramraj's men who had committed great outrages at Ahmadnagar, and omitted no mark of disrespect to the religion of the faithful, singing and performing... their worship in every mosque." Though Sherwani does not give any reference, the last passage is from Firishta (Briggs, III, p. 122), and there is a similar account on the preceding page. It is evident, therefore, that though Sherwani dismisses Firishta's account as exaggeration on p. 259, he accepts the same on p. 361 (*JIH*, XXXV).

The historian is thus faced with two intriguing questions:

- (1) Did the troops of Vijayanagara desecrate the mosques?
- (2) If so, can this be regarded as a 'potent cause' of the Muslim confederacy against Vijayanagara?

As regards the first, all that can be said is that though we have no conclusive evidence to support it, it is not unlikely that the Hindu troops did retaliate, on occasions, against the systematic sacrilege of the Hindu temples and images of gods by Muslim troops and even kings.

As regards the second, the answer must be in the negative, for it is unreasonable to look for a hypothetical cause when we have obvious explanations for the rivalry between Hindu and Muslim rulers. The view that the sacrilege of the Hindu troops of Vijayanagara was the reason for the deliberate destruction of the city of Vijayanagara by the Muslim rulers after their victory, is hardly worth serious consideration and cannot be accepted as justification or even excuse for acts of unparalleled vandalism of the Muslims, particularly as the alleged grievance is not yet definitely proved.

1. H. K. Sherwani, *The Bahmanis of the Deccan*, p. 394.

1a. For references see below footnote No. 104.

2. G. Yazdani, *Bidar, Its History and Monuments*, p. 13.

Briggs III, 497; the date of the death of Amīr Barīd given here is wrong but the date in p. 92 (Briggs III) is correct.

3. *Zafar-ul-Walih*, 170, quoted by H. K. Sherwani in his article "Independence of Bahmani Governors" *PIHC*, 1945, p. 161.

- 3a. Ibid., 161.
4. *Ma'āsir-i-Rahīmī*, II, 526.
5. *Basātīn-us-Salātīn*, 272.
6. Haig: *Historical Landmarks of the Deccan*, 18, 101.
7. Sarkar: *History of Aurangzib*, IV, 2.
8. "Foreword" by Sir Jadunath Sarkar in J. N. Chowdhuri's *Malik Ambar*.
9. *Tārīkh-i-Firishta*, Vol. II, 93; Chowdhuri, *Malik Ambar*, pp. 5-6.
10. *Tārīkh-i-Firishta*, II, 93.
11. Briggs: *Firishta*, III, 206.
12. Ibid., 207-209.
13. Ibid., 214.
- 13a. For details see below section on Berar.
14. Briggs. III, 52, 216.
- 14a. Ibid., pp. 52, 216-7. The complaint made by Ismā'īl about the treatment he received at Ahmadnagar might have served as an additional cause of friction between Bijāpur and Ahmadnagar.
- 14b. Cf. Chapter XIII, section on Gujarāt.
15. Briggs. III, 71.
16. Sherwani, *Telingana under Ibrahim Qutb Shah*, *JIH*, XXXV, p. 42.
17. *Tārīkh-i-Muhammad Qutb Shāh*, 113-115. Briggs, III, 382-84.
18. Briggs III, 387.
19. Ibid., 387.
20. Ibid., 387-388.
21. Ibid., 238.
22. Ibid., 397.
23. Ibid., 118.
- 23a. For a different version, see Sherwani, *JIH*, XXXV, p. 260 (Ed.).
24. Parenda is situated about seventy-five miles south-east of Ahmadnagar.
25. AUSA is situated about one hundred and thirty miles south-east of Ahmadnagar.
26. Briggs, III, 241.
27. Ibid., 408-409. Sherwani, *JIH*, XXXV, p. 265.
28. Briggs, III, 125.
29. Briggs, III, 123-125.
30. Ibid., 126.
31. *JIH*, XXXV, 374-375.
32. *Purchas His Pilgrims*, X, 93; K.A.N. Sastri, *A History of South India* (2nd edition), 284; Briggs, III, 130 footnote.
33. Briggs, III, 130.
34. Robert Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, pp. 206-208. The Portuguese historian Faria-y-Souza says: "The Muhammadans spent five months in plundering Vijayanagara.... In his share of the plunder, 'Ādil Shāh got a diamond, as large as an ordinary egg and another of extraordinary size, though smaller, together with other jewels of inestimable value." *Commentaries of Alfonso Albuquerque*, Hakluyt Society, II, pp. CXII, CXIII.
- 34a. For details see below p. 451.
35. Chowdhuri, *Malik Ambar*, 8-9.
36. Briggs, III, 257-259.
37. Ibid., 269.
- 37a. Some confusion may be caused by the fact that Briggs in one place mentions the lady as Khadija (III. 161) but in another place (III. 278) names her as Chānd Bibī. Khadija became a widow only a short time ago and it is more likely that Ibrāhīm wanted her back in Bijāpur. This view is also taken in *CHI*. III, p. 461.
38. Ibid., 284.
39. Ibid., 287.
- 39a. The name is written as Āhang Khān in *CHI*. III, p. 464 with a footnote that it is also written as Ābhang Khān. But the latter form is found in the *Tazki-rat-ul-Mulk* (Sarkar's copy, pp. 511, 573) and the *Futuhāt-i-'Ādil Shāhī* (pp. 267a, 268a), both written in the first half of the seventeenth century A.D.
40. *The Burhān-i-Maāsir* says that Bijāpur sent thirty thousand cavalry and Qutb Shāh ten thousand cavalry and twenty thousand infantry to Ahmadnagar. *Burhān-i-Maāsir*, Sarkar's MSS. Vol. III, 1475. These figures appear to be an exaggeration.
41. *Maāsir-i-Rahīmī*, II, 479-481; *Tārīkh-i-Firishta* II, 158-162; *Burhān-i-Maāsir*, Sarkar's MSS., III, 1475, 1492; Beveridge, *Akbarnāma*, III, 1028, 1045-1048, 1050.
- 41a. Briggs, III, 306-309, *CHI*, III, 465.

MUSLIM RESISTANCE TO MUGHUL IMPERIALISM (II)

- 41b. *Akbarnāma* of Shaikh Faizi Sirhindi, Elliot VI, 144; *Akbarnāma* of Abu-'l-Fazl tr. by H. Beveridge, p. 1159.
42. *Maāsir-i-Rahīmī*, II, 482, 484-495, 497-499. Beveridge, *Akbarnāma*, III, 1114, 1128-1129, 1132, 1142-1144, 1157-1159; *Tārīkh-i-Firishta*, II, 162-164.
43. *Tazkirat-ul-Mulk*, Sarkar's MSS. 571-572; *Futūhat-i-'Ādil Shāhī*, 267a-267b (Sarkar's copy); *Maāsir-ul-Umarā* III, 7.
44. *Tārīkh-i-Firishta*, II, 165.
45. Chowdhuri, *Malik Ambar*, 23-25; *Tazkirat-ul-Mulk*, 576-577; *Tārīkh-i-Firishta*, II, 164; *Futūhāt-i-'Ādil Shāhī*, 269b, 270a (Sarkar's copy).
46. *Tārīkh-i-Firishta*, II, 165; Beveridge, *Akbarnāma*, III, 1212; *Ma'āsir-ul-Umarā*, III, 7-8; *Tazkirat-ul-Mulk*, 574.
47. *Basātīn-us-Salātīn*, 270; *Tārīkh-i-Firishta*, II, 166.
48. *Tazkirat-ul-Mulk*, 576-578.
49. *Maāsir-i-Rahīmī*, II, 511.
50. *Futūhāt-i-'Ādil Shāhī*, 271a, translated by Sarkar.
51. Chowdhuri, *Malik Ambar*, 52-53; *Futūhāt-i-'Ādil Shāhī*, 271a; *Basātīn-us-Salātīn*, 263-264.
52. *Tazkirat-ul-Mulk*, 578-581; *Futūhāt-i-'Ādil Shāhī*, 271a, 271b; *Basātīn-us-Salātīn*, 263-265, 267.
53. *Iqbalnāma*, 44-45; *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, pers. text (Syed Ahmad's edition) 85-86, 88; tr. (R and B, Vol. I), 178-179, 183; William Finch in *Purchas His Pilgrims*, IV, 39. Chowdhuri, *Malik Ambar*, 58.
54. *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, pers. text 107-108; tr. (R and B, Vol. I) 219-21; *Iqbalnāma*, 65-66; *Ma'āsir-i-Rahīmī*, II, 520; *Basātīn-us-Salātīn*, 271-272.
55. Chowdhuri, *Malik Ambar*, 70; *Ma'āsir-i-Rahīmī*, II, 527. Later on, Khirki was named Aurangabād, according to the name of Aurangzīb.
56. *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, pers. text 153-154; tr. (Vol. I) 312-14; *Iqbalnāma*, 84-87; *Ma'āsir-i-Rahīmī*, II, 523-531.
- 56a. *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, tr. Vol. I, 338.
57. *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, pers. text 188, tr. (Vol. I) 380; *Iqbalnāma*, 100; Khafi Khan I, 291.
58. *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, pers. text 305, 321-322, 330-331 tr. (R and B, Vol. II) 155-57, 188-90, 206-8; *Iqbalnāma*, 175-176, 181-182; *English, Factories in India* (1618-1621), 207, 210-211, 217-218, 231, 240, 243, 249, 257, 259, 287, 296—for dislocation of trade.
59. *Futūhāt-i-'Ādil-Shāhī*, 287a, tr. by Sarkar.
60. *Tatimma-i-Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī* (Printed in Syed Ahmad's edition) 386, 391; *Iqbalnāma* 224, 234.
- 60a. Chowdhuri, *Malik Ambar*, p. 116.
61. *Futūhāt-i-'Ādil-Shāhī*, 289a, 289b, 290b, 291a, 291b; *Tatimma-i-Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, 391-392; *Iqbalnāma*, 234-237; *Dilkasha*, Sarkar's MSS., 90-92.
62. *Tatimma-i-Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, 392-393; *Iqbalnāma*, 237-238.
63. Chowdhuri, *Malik Ambar*, 163.
64. *Ahmadnagar Gazetteer*, 395; 423-424.
65. *Tazkirat-ul-Mulk*, 578; *Futūhāt-i-'Ādil-Shāhī*, 268a, 270b.
- 65a. For details of the fall of Ahmadnagar, see above, pp. 207-8.
66. Briggs, III, 4-8.
- 66a. See above, Vol. VI, pp. 304-05.
67. Briggs, III, 22-29.
68. P. M. Joshi: *Relations between the Adil-Shahi Kingdom of Bijapur and the Portuguese at Goa during the 16th century*, NIA, II, (1939-40), 363.
69. *Ibid.*, 363; Briggs, III, 29-30; *CHI*. III, p. 434.
70. Briggs, III, 30-31.
71. *Ibid.*, 46-47.
72. *Ibid.*, 47-48. *CHI*. III, 434-435.
- 72a. For details see above, Vol. VI, pp. 314-16 and Ch. XV.
73. K. A. N. Sastri, *A History of South India*, 276. For details, see Ch. XV.
74. For details, see Ch. XV.
75. NIA. II, 364-365.
76. *CHI*., III, 443-444. See above, section on Ahmadnagar, p. 421.
- 76a. See above, pp. 424 ff.
77. Briggs, III, 135, 254-255.
- 77a. See Ch. XV.
78. *Bijapur* by H. Cousens, 17, 60; *Architecture at Bijāpur* by M. Taylor and J. Fergusson, 32.

THE MUGHUL EMPIRE

79. Briggs, III, 144-146.
80. Ibid., 146-148.
81. Ibid., 171-173.
- 81a. See above pp. 430ff.
- 81b. See above pp. 437ff.
82. Meadows Taylor: *A student's Manual of the History of India* (4th Edition), (1879), pp. 304-305.
83. Ibid., 305.
84. Briggs, III, 169-170.
- 84a. For details, see above, chapter on Shāh Jahān.
- 84b. Khafi Khan I, 531-534, 537. Sarkar: *Aurangzīb*, I, 32-4.
85. Sarkar, *History of Aurangzīb* I, 253-254 (1912 edition).
- 85a. *Further sources of Vijayanagara History* (K. A. N. Shastri) p. 341.
86. K. D. Swaminathan, *The Nayakas of Ikkeri*, 73-74; *Proceedings of Indian History Records Commission*, XVI 50-51. (For other campaigns of Randaula based on Macleod: *De Oost-Indische Campagnie*, II, See the chapter on Vijayanagara.—Editor).
87. K. D. Swaminathan: *The Nayakas of Ikkeri*, 89. See pp. 498 ff.
88. Ibid., 89; C. S. Srinivasachari: *A History of Jinji and its rulers*, 174-186; Sarkar, *History of Aurangzīb*, I, 254. For details, see the Chapter on Vijayanagara.
89. Sarkar, *History of Aurangzīb*, IV, 155.
90. Ibid., 155; *Basātīn-us-Salātīn*, 346-348.
91. V. Bridhagirison: *The Nayaks of Tanjore*, 141-144.
92. K. D. Swaminathan: *The Nayakas of Ikkeri*, 95, 106-107, 110.
93. *Alamgirnāma*, 988-1021; Sarkar, *Aurangzīb*, IV, 118-144.
94. K. K. Basu, *Some court poets of Ali Adil Shah II of Bijapur* (Summary) *PIHC* (1943), p. 379.
95. Sarkar, *Aurangzīb*, IV, 158.
- 95a. Ibid., 181.
- 95b. *Maāsir-i-Ālamgīrī*, tr. by Sarkar, p. 169.
- 95c. Ibid., 171; *Dilkasha*; 202-203; *Basātīn-us-Salātīn*, 540.
96. Briggs, III, 485-486; *CHI.*, III, 398.
97. Briggs, III, 214-215; *CHI.*, III, 435.
98. Briggs, III, 217-221; *CHI.*, III, 436.
- 98a. Briggs, III, 254-255.
99. G. Yazdani, *Bidar, its history and monuments*, 13. For Amīr Barīd's activities, see above pp. 466-7.
100. Briggs, III, 57.
- 100a. Ibid., 60.
101. Ibid., 60-64.
- 101a. G. Yazdani, *Bidar, its history and monuments*, p. 13.
- 101b. *Basātīn-us-Salātīn*, 272-273; G. Yazdani, *Bidar, its history and monuments*, p. 14.
102. "Sultān" does not signify his royal title; it was a part of his name.
103. Briggs, III, 321-322; 339-345.
104. Ibid., 323, *Journal of the Hyderabad Archaeological Society* (1918), p. 89; *JIH*, Vol. 33, pp. 281-283; *PIHC* (1945), p. 159-162.
105. Briggs, III, 323-324, 377.
106. N. Narayana Rao, Two Muhammadan patrons of Telugu literature in the 16th century, *PIHC* (1945), p. 297; Briggs, III, 438; K. A. N. Sastri, *A History of South India*, 287.
107. Briggs, III, 446.
108. *Tārīkh-i-Muhammad Qutb-Shāhī*, 165; Briggs III, 446; *JIH*, XXXV, p. 266; Sherwani: "Cultural and administrative set up under Ibrahim Qutb Shah," *Islamic Culture* (1957), p. 242.
109. *Islamic Culture* (1957), 130-131, 246; *PIHC* (1945), 296-298.
110. Briggs, III, 451-452; M. Taylor and J. Ferguson, *Architecture at Bijapur*, 48; *Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society*, Vol. VI, pp. 224-253.
- 110a. H. K. Sherwani, "Political and military aspects of the reign of Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah," *JIH*, April, 1962.
- 110b. K. K. Basu, "A chapter from Golconda History", *Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, XXVIII, pt. II, 179.
111. Ibid., 179.
112. *Hadiqat-us-Salātīn*, Sarkar's MSS., 65; *Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, XXVIII, pt. II, 180.

MUSLIM RESISTANCE TO MUGHUL IMPERIALISM (II)

- 112a. Bernier, pp. 194-5; Tavernier, I, p. 158.  
112b. J. N. Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, IV, 395.  
112c. *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri*, edited by S. N. Sen (Published by the National Archives of India, 1949), p. 144.  
113. For details see chapters on Shāh Jahān.  
113a. Bernier, 194-195; Tavernier, I, 158.  
114. Khafi Khan, II, 309-313.  
115. Sarkar, *Aurangzib*, IV, 400.  
116. *Ibid.*, 401.  
117. *Ibid.*, 402; *Maāsir-i-Ālamgīrī*, tr. by Sarkar, 175.  
118. Khafi Khan, II, 306.  
119. *Ibid.*, 308.  
120. *Ibid.*, 361.  
121. Briggs, III, 125.  
122. *JIH*, XXXV, 259.  
123. *Ibid.*, p. 263.

## CHAPTER XV

### VIJAYANAGARA

*Achyutadevarāya (1530-1542)*

The history of Vijayanagara up to the death of Kṛishṇadevarāya (1509-29) has been discussed in the preceding Volume (pp. 271-325). As mentioned above (Vol. VI. p. 317), he chose as his successor Achyutadevarāya, his half-brother, in preference to his infant son and other legitimate candidates. This sowed the seed of dissension which troubled Achyuta almost throughout his reign.

Rāmarāya (also called Rāmarājā), the son-in-law of Kṛishṇadevarāya, proclaimed the infant son of the latter as Emperor, and began to rule over the empire in his name. Rāmarāya's attempt to seize the capital was, however, foiled by Sāluva Narasimharāya Daṇḍanāyaka, the prime minister of Kṛishṇadevarāya at the time of his death, who took possession of it in the name of Achyuta and held it for him until his arrival from Chandragiri. Achyuta, however, found it advantageous to placate Rāmarāya; and therefore after reaching the capital and celebrating his coronation he entered into an agreement with Rāmarāya according to which he took the latter as his partner in the administration of the empire. This estranged from the King Sāluva Narasimharāya Daṇḍanāyaka, who retired to the Chola country of which he was the Governor, and entering into a conspiracy with the chiefs of Ummattūr and Tiruvadi stirred up a rebellion in the south. Achyuta was obliged to march at the head of his army against the rebel Sāluva Narasimharāya who opposed the royal army and was defeated; he fled to Travancore and took refuge with his ally, the Tiruvadi. The royal army under the command of Achyuta's brother-in-law, Salakarāju Tirumala, pursued him thither and having inflicted a defeat on the Tiruvadi compelled him to submit and surrender the arch-rebel Narasimharāya Daṇḍanāyaka whom they carried as a prisoner of war. Achyuta returned to Vijayanagara by way of Ummattūr and Śrīrangam where he received the submission of the local chiefs. Shortly after this the death of the infant son of Kṛishṇadevarāya eased the political situation and Achyuta invaded Bijāpur and recovered the Rāichur *doab*. But while Achyuta was engaged in suppressing some rebellion, Rāmarāya removed all the old servants of the crown from positions of responsibility and appointed his own kinsmen and friends in their

place. He took also into his service 3,000 Muslim soldiers whom Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh discharged from his service on his accession to the throne in 1535. Feeling confident of his power, he seized Achyuta as soon as he returned from Tirupati, and cast him in prison. Though at first he proclaimed himself as the king, the opposition of the nobles forced him to abandon his scheme. He then proclaimed Achyuta's young nephew, Sadāshiva, emperor and began to rule in his name. Rāmarāya's usurpation was not accepted by all the subjects of the kingdom. The nobles in the extreme south of the empire refused to acknowledge his authority and withheld the payment of tribute. He was therefore obliged to lead an expedition to bring them back to subjection; but the campaign was protracted and he became involved in a long tedious war without any chance of success. In his absence, the officer whom he entrusted with the government of the capital and the custody of Achyuta turned traitor; and having set him at liberty and restored him to power assumed the office of the prime minister. He was, however, murdered soon by Salakarāju Tirumala, who then took possession of the government and began to rule the country in the name of his brother-in-law.

It has already been related above (p. 450) how Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh of Bijāpur seized the opportunity and invaded Vijayanagara and how he composed the differences between Achyuta and Rāmarāya and induced them to enter into an agreement. According to its terms Achyutarāya was to be the emperor with full authority over the whole empire excluding the estates of Rāmarāya which he should be allowed to rule as an independent prince with full sovereign powers. Having thus settled the affairs of Vijayanagara Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh marched away to his kingdom. The terms of this agreement were faithfully observed by both the parties; and Achyuta ruled the empire in peace until his death in 1542.

#### *Venkata I and Tirumala I (1543)*

Achyuta was succeeded by his young son, Venkata I. As he was not of age, his maternal uncle, Salakarāju China Tirumala became the regent of the kingdom, though most of the nobles were opposed to him. Tirumala was not loyal to his nephew; being desirous of making himself king, he began to plot against the king. The queen-mother, Varadambikā, became suspicious of her brother's good faith, and appealed to Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh to help her in securing the throne for her son. But he was bought off by Tirumala and the appeal of the queen-mother made the position of her son more precarious than ever.

Rāmarāya, who was closely watching the trend of events at Vijayanagara, now stepped into the field. He proceeded to Gutti where Achyuta's nephew, Sadāshiva, was imprisoned, set him at liberty, and proclaiming him the emperor sent an appeal to Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh for help. In response to the request, 'Ādil Shāh invaded Vijayanagara kingdom and advanced upon the capital. The people of the city, greatly alarmed at the danger, made Tirumala their king. He defeated 'Ādil Shāh very near his capital and put him to flight. To clear his path of all rivals, Tirumala strangled his nephew and massacred all the members of the royal family on whom he could lay hands. He became suspicious and in his fear he attacked friend and foe alike. His rule degenerated into downright tyranny. He was against everyone, and everyone in the kingdom was against him. The people in their distress appealed to 'Ādil Shāh for help. He came readily, not so much to help them as to seize the kingdom for himself. His hauteur and high-handed behaviour roused hostility all round and he was obliged to retire into his own kingdom as quickly as he came.

Rāmarāya saw that the time for him to make a bid for the throne had at last come. He gathered together his forces and proceeded to take possession of the empire in the name of Sadāshiva, the lawful heir to the throne. Tirumala did not easily submit. He offered stubborn resistance but suffered defeat everywhere. At last, in the battle of the Tungabhadra, Rāmarāya overthrew him and put him to death. The inhabitants of the capital heaved a sigh of relief, and throwing open the gates of the city welcomed Rāmarāya and his ward, the new emperor.

#### *Sadāshiva and Rāmarāya (1543-1564)*

Sadāshiva ascended the throne about the middle of 1543. As his rivals were all destroyed by Salakarāju Tirumala he became the undisputed master of the whole of Vijayanagara empire. His rule was only nominal till 1552, the actual ruler of the empire being Rāmarāya. But in 1552 he had to recognise Rāmarāya as his co-regent, as the latter, not content with actual power, assumed the royal titles, as if he were a crowned monarch himself.

The accession of Sadāshiva brought in its train certain important changes in the administration and the policy of the empire. In the first place, the old civil service on which the stability of the empire depended was considerably weakened, if not actually destroyed. The Brahmin officers who formed the bulwark of the State fell into disfavour with Rāmarāya, as they upheld loyally the cause of Achyuta and opposed his usurpation. The first step which he

took after placing Sadāshiva firmly upon the throne was to dismiss all the hostile officers from the service of the State and appoint to places of trust and responsibility his own relatives, friends and followers. So long as the central government was strong, and could exact obedience to its commands, the effects of this change were not felt; but as soon as the centre showed signs of weakness, the people who rose to power by Rāmarāya's favour, freed from the shackles of the civil service, began to manifest discontent and disloyalty and destroyed the unity of the empire.

Secondly, enormous increase of Muslim officers to responsible positions in the government undermined the strength of the State. In his eagerness to seize power Rāmarāya enlisted in his service as many Muslim mercenaries and adventurers as he could get and offered them facilities to get a knowledge of the internal affairs of the empire. With the increase of Muhammadans in the army and the service of the government, the loyalty of the one and the safety of the other were considerably jeopardised.

Another important fact that must be noted here is the change in the attitude of the government of Vijayanagara in her relations with the Muslim kingdoms. Though the Rāyas ever since the foundation of the kingdom came into contact with the Musalmans, they never interfered in the relations between the Muslim States of Deccan. Rāmarāya was the first ruler of Vijayanagara to entangle himself in the inter-State politics of the Muhammadan kingdoms. Although he achieved by means of his great military strength and cleverness considerable success and established his influence over the Muslim kingdoms, the rapid growth of his power so alarmed his allies and enemies that they joined together ultimately and brought his downfall in the fateful battle of Rakshasi-Tangadi (Talikota).

#### *The Southern Expedition (1543-44)*

As soon as Rāmarāya performed Sadāshiva's coronation at Vijayanagara, he was obliged to bestow immediate attention to the affairs of the Southern provinces of the empire, where owing to a number of causes great unrest prevailed. The Southern chiefs and noblemen, who a few years earlier defied Rāmarāya, when having imprisoned Achyuta he seized power, were no more inclined to submit to his authority than before. Moreover, the Portuguese missionaries were making trouble in the extreme south. They converted large number of Paravas of the Fishery Coast to Christianity and induced them to recognise the king of Portugal as their overlord, thereby encroaching on the sovereignty of Vijayanagara. Further, their in-

trigues with the rebellious chiefs of the South and plundering expeditions of the Portuguese Governor of Goa against the rich South Indian Hindu shrines created a situation which must have caused grave concern in the capital. Rāmarāya therefore despatched a large army under his cousins, China Timma and Vitthala, to put down the rebels, foil the attempts of the Portuguese and restore the imperial authority all over the South.

The expedition set out from Vijayanagara. At first China Timma captured Chandragiri in the north of the Chittoor district; and having put down the rebels with a stern hand he brought the whole of Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam to subjection. He next marched into the Chola country, reduced the fort of Bhuvanagiri and attacked the port of Nagore where he destroyed the enemies, probably the Portuguese, and restored the wealth of God Raṅganātha which they had seized. Then he crossed the Kaveri, and having entered Pudukkottai region, exacted from the local chiefs tribute which they had refused to the imperial government, taking advantage of the unsettled conditions of the empire.

China Timma advanced farther south and reached without opposition Madura, where he met the Pāṇḍya king, obviously of Tenkasi, who came to him soliciting his help against Bettumperumal, the ruler of Tuticorin and Kayattar. Though the forces of the 'Five Tiruvadis' (small principalities) of Travancore met the invading army of China Timma at Tovala Pass they were beaten and dispersed. The rest of Travancore was then invaded. Its ruler ('Iniquitibirim') was defeated but received into favour and was allowed to rule over a large part of his old territory. The victorious general China Timma set up a pillar of victory at Cape Comorin.

#### *Rāmarāya and the Portuguese*

Rāmarāya had also to come to an early understanding with the Portuguese. They were the masters of the seas. All the sea-borne trade, specially the all-important trade in horses, passed through their hands. The Portuguese, who were friendly to Vijayanagara in the days of the great Kṛishṇadevarāya, had turned hostile and manifested a tendency to fish in the troubled waters. They were guilty of destruction of the Hindu temples, plunder of the rich South Indian shrines, the mass conversion of the Paravas of the Fishery Coast, and attempt to extend their temporal power under the cloak of religion. Though all these hostile acts loudly called for reprisals, Rāmarāya was not strong enough to chastise them. He could not afford to quarrel with them, as that would drive them into the hands of the Muslim States. He therefore concluded a

political and commercial treaty with them in 1547 as a consequence of which friendly relations were once again restored between the two powers. The friendship, however, did not last long, and a few years later Rāmarāya was obliged to take action against them in 1558. He planned a double attack upon the Portuguese. While he personally led an expedition against San Thomé for chastising the Catholic missionaries of the place, an army was despatched at the same time under his cousin Vitthala against Goa, probably to divert the attention of the Portuguese authorities there and prevent them from sending help to the people of San Thomé. Both the expeditions were successful. Rāmarāya plundered the rich inhabitants of San Thomé, exacted a large tribute from the authorities, and taking with him five important citizens of the port as hostages against his demand for a tribute of 100,000 pagodas, returned to Vijayanagara. Vitthala, accompanied by the Ikkeri chief, Sankanna Nāyak, marched on Goa and captured a part of the old town, called Pain Goa (Panjim). These victories probably taught the Portuguese a much-needed lesson; and they seemed to have been restrained from provoking hostilities with Vijayanagara in the subsequent years of Rāmarāya's rule.

Reference has been made in Chapter XIV to the internecine wars among the five Muslim States in the Deccan, which naturally induced the weaker States, threatened with destruction, to seek the help of some powerful ally. Rāmarāya, who was the head of the greatest State in the south, was frequently approached for help; and he joined them, partly from motives of gain, but mostly for preserving the peace of the Deccan and preventing any one of the neighbours from growing so powerful as to become a menace to others. Rāmarāya was, in fact, a staunch believer in the doctrine of balance of power, which he perhaps imbibed from his friend and ally Burhān Nizām Shāh of Ahmadnagar. And perhaps it was more to enforce this doctrine than from motives of self-aggrandisement that he involved himself frequently in wars with the Muslim rulers of Deccan.

Of the five Deccani Sultānates which sprang from the ashes of the old Bahmanī kingdom, Rāmarāya, in the twenty-one years during which he ruled Vijayanagara, was obliged to wage war on four, viz., Bijāpur, Ahmadnagar, Bīdar and Golconda.

Reference has been made to these wars in the preceding Chapter. Though conflict with Bīdar is not mentioned in the Muslim sources, the *Keladinripa Vijayam*, a history of the Nāyak kingdom of Ikkeri, describes at some length a war between them. The causes of this war are not recorded. Probably Barīd Shāh showed some

partiality towards Nizām Shāh and brought trouble upon his own head. Briefly stated, the events of this war are as follows: when the news of Vijayanagara's intended invasion reached Bīdar, Barīd Shāh collected his armies and proceeded to the frontier to repel the invaders. A fierce engagement took place; and Barīd Shāh who was personally leading the force was defeated and taken prisoner together with his ministers. As a consequence of this defeat Barīd Shāh had to join 'Alī Ādil Shāh and fight against their enemies.

*The Battle of Rakshasi-Tangadi (1565)*

The battle of Talikota or Rakshasi-Tangadi<sup>1</sup> described in the preceding chapter, was the Waterloo of Vijayanagara history. Though Vijayanagara empire flourished for nearly another century, with the fall of Rāmarāya on the field of Rakshasi-Tangadi in 1565, its glory began to wane and it ceased to be the dominant power in the Deccan, and the Rāyas never attempted once again to recover their lost ground. The history of this great battle is, however, immersed in obscurity. Excepting the fact that the Vijayanagara army was practically annihilated and Rāmarāya was slain, everything else concerning the battle is doubtful and uncertain. This is due in a great measure to the wilful distortion of facts by Muslim historians, and the absence of contemporary evidence with the help of which their accounts may be checked and truth ascertained.

First of all, the name of the battle itself calls for discussion. The battle of Talikota is a misnomer. Though all the Muslim writers state that the Great Battle was fought near the village of Talikota, it did not take place, as shown by the accounts given by themselves, anywhere near the village but at a distance of about twenty-five miles to the south of it, somewhere on the southern bank of the Krishna. The Hindu accounts unanimously refer to it as the battle of Rakshasi-Tangadi,<sup>2</sup> and state that it was so called because it was fought between the two villages of Rakkasige and Tangadige, situated on the northern bank of the Krishna near its confluence with the river Malapahari. As this is roughly in agreement with the topographical details furnished by Muslim historians, it seems certain that the actual site of the battle was the plain between the villages of Rakkasige and Tangadige, as stated in the Hindu records.<sup>3</sup>

Similarly, the causes which led to the formation of the confederacy of the Deccani Muslim rulers against Rāmarāya and the outbreak of the war which ended in his downfall and death are not definitely known. Firishta, no doubt, attributes it to the insult which Rāmarāya is alleged to have offered to Muslim women and faith. This, however, is not supported by independent evidence. The real

cause appears to have been the jealousy which the Sultāns of the Deccan, specially the rulers of Ahmadnagar and Golconda, felt at the growing power of Vijayanagara, and the ascendancy which Rāmarāya established over the Muslim States of the Deccan. True, Rāmarāya annexed, as stated by Firishta, some territories belonging to his enemies, and treated perhaps the envoys of some of them with scant courtesy; but that was not uncommon in medieval India; and Rāmarāya did not violate the code of international morality, as then understood, in dealing with his enemies. It is not reasonable to suppose, as is generally done, that the Sultāns of the Deccan, enraged by the outrageous conduct of Rāmarāya, joined against him to defend their faith, protect the honour of their women and save their kingdom from his high-handed aggressions. Again, it is extremely doubtful whether the rulers of all the five Deccan Muslim States joined the confederacy against Rāmarāya. Imād Shāh of Berār, for one, did not participate in it. 'Ādil Shāh appears to have sat on the fence until almost the very end, leaving the Sultāns of Ahmadnagar and Golconda to bear the brunt of the fight. Although Firishta attributes to 'Ādil Shāh the credit of fostering the alliance of Muslim rulers against Rāmarāya, and other Muhammadan writers make him one of the principal leaders of the league, he held aloof, according to the unanimous testimony of the Hindu records, until almost the end of the war, when he was constrained to join the Sultāns of Ahmadnagar and Golconda by threats, cajolery and promises of territorial concession. Nor is opinion less divided about the duration of the war. The Muhammadan historians make it a very short affair. The Muslim armies assembled at Talikota and advanced to the bank of the Krishna where they were opposed by Rāmarāya. A fierce engagement took place on 23 January, 1565; after the fighting had gone on for a few hours, Rāmarāya fell into the hands of the enemy and his army took to flight. This settled the fate of the mighty Hindu empire. The battle is said to have lasted but a while, not even the space of a few hours. This is incredible. Considering the extent, the resources, the man-power, and the past military record, it is inconceivable how the armies of the Deccani Sultāns which severally and conjointly suffered defeats repeatedly on so many occasions at the hands of Rāmarāya could have overthrown him within a space of less than four hours. According to the Hindu accounts, on the contrary, the war lasted for more than six months, during which several battles were fought, victory veering now to one side and now to another. One battle especially is said to have raged with intense fury for 27 days, and in the final engagement the Sultāns of Ahmadnagar and Golconda suffered and retreated from the field in confusion. What the Sultāns failed to achieve by force

of arms they gained by treachery. The Muslim historians are not in agreement about the circumstances under which Rāmarāya was slain. According to Nizām-ud-dīn Ahmad, the earliest Muslim historian who describes the battle, the combined armies of Husain Nizām-ul-Mulk, 'Ādil Khān Qutb-ul-Mulk and Malik Barīd were on the point of defeat when a chance shot from one of the guns of Husain carried off Rāmarāya's head, and the Hindu army gave up fighting. While attempting to flee, they were surrounded and cut to pieces. Caesar Frederick attributes Muslim victory to the treachery of the Muslim troops in the service of Rāmarāya. Treachery was not confined to Mussalmans in Rāmarāya's service only. In *Keladiriya Vijayam* it is stated that his ally, 'Ali Ādil Shāh, who had been pretending to be neutral, owing to fear of his fellow Muslim rulers, secretly joined them and fell upon him unexpectedly. Taken unawares, Rāmarāya was not able to offer effective resistance and while attempting to defend himself gallantly he was captured and beheaded. The Vijayanagara Army which was already thrown into confusion by the treachery of their Muslim comrades was panic-stricken by the sudden tragedy and immediately took to flight.

Though the rule of Rāmarāya ended in a great military disaster, which nearly destroyed the Vijayanagara empire, it was without doubt a period of unprecedented glory. Rāmarāya was indeed one of the greatest Hindu monarchs who ever ruled over South India. It was not without justification that he was spoken of by the people of his age as Bāde Rāmarāya or Rāmarāya the great. During this time, the authority of the Rāyas of Vijayanagara, according to traditions, extended all over South India and Deccan, from Setu in the South to the Narmada in the North. This is true in a sense; for all the Muslim rulers of the Deccan had to submit at one time or another to his power and carry out his behests. Rāmarāya was a great soldier and diplomat. The skill with which he planned the campaign against Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh reveals his profound grasp over military strategy, and his dealings with the Deccani Sultāns, their nobles and the Portuguese show his mastery over the art of diplomacy. His influence over the internal administration of the empire was not quite salutary. With the object of strengthening his power he destroyed very early in his career the civil service which kept under check the centrifugal tendencies of the *amānāyakas* (fief-holders). Though no harm was done during the rule of Rāmarāya when the power of the central government was strong, the evils made themselves manifest in the years of anarchy which immediately followed the disaster of Rakshasi-Tangadi. Rāmarāya was a great patron of art and letters. Many writers in Sanskrit and Telugu flourished at his court. Some of the finest buildings and temples were built in his

time. His outlook on religion was broad and liberal. Himself a staunch follower of Śrīvaishṇavism, he never placed any restraint on liberty of worship of the adherents of other sects. Vaishṇavas, Śaivas, Jains, Muhammadans, Christians and Jews were all treated equally and enjoyed the same privileges. Notwithstanding the wars in which he was frequently engaged he looked after the welfare of his subjects; and the people were on the whole happy and contented under his rule.

*Sadāshiva and Tirumala (1566-1570)*

According to the village *kaifiyats* in the Andhra area, for six years after the battle of Rakshasi-Tangadi anarchy reigned supreme. Several causes contributed to produce this result. The break-down of the power of the central government and the absence of proper local administrative machinery to enforce its authority let loose the forces of disintegration. The kinsmen and the friends to whom Rāmarāya entrusted the administration of the kingdom asserted their independence and began to fight among themselves for strengthening their power and extending their dominion. Of the many nobles who usurped power and rose to prominence, the Nāyaks of Madura, Tanjore and Gingee deserve special mention. The first, who had his *amaram* (fief) in the marches of Travancore, quickly subdued all the territory extending to the south of the Kaveri and established himself at Madura. The second, who had a few *simas* on the banks of the Coleroon, made himself master of the fertile Chola country. And the last who was probably the commandant of the fort of Gingee seized the major part of Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam and began to rule it as if he were an independent prince. To add to the confusion, the *Pālayagars*, to whom the task of maintaining law and order and protecting the highways was entrusted, turned bandits and robbed the countryside and spread terror in the minds of the people.

Tirumala, who after the death of his brother Rāmarāya made himself the regent of the kingdom and the protector, was unable to check the progress of anarchy. In the first place, he had no army, and to recruit fresh forces, he had no money. Secondly, family dissensions added considerably to his trouble. Timma or Peda Tirumala, the son of his brother Rāmarāya, aspired to become the regent in succession to his father, and unable to contend against his uncle appealed to 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh for help. The latter, desirous of profiting by the family quarrels at Vijayanagara, complied with Tirumala's request and sent forces to his assistance. Tirumala, who had returned to Vijayanagara after the departure of the Muslim army, found that under these circumstances, it was not possible

for him to carry on the government from the city. He returned to Penugonda, and anticipating an attack from the city, strengthened its fortifications. As a matter of fact, 'Ādil Shāh sent an army under Khizr Khan to invest the fort; but the commandant Savaram Chennappa Nayadu beat back the attack. At the same time Tirumala persuaded Nizām Shāh to invade the Bijāpur territory from the north and make a diversion in his favour; and 'Ādil Shāh had to beat a hasty retreat to protect his dominions. By a sudden turn of events, he was able to carry the war into the enemy's territory. The Sultāns of Ahmadnagar and Golconda who were embroiled in a war with 'Ādil Shāh, invited Tirumala to join them; and in response to this invitation, he sent one of his sons with ten thousand men. Tirumala gained nothing by this alliance; instead he involved himself in fresh troubles. For, the Sultāns of Ahmadnagar and Golconda made up their differences with 'Ādil Shāh and returned to their kingdoms; and the latter, to punish Tirumala for making common cause with his enemies, invaded the kingdom of Vijayanagara. The main objective of the invasion was the capture of the fort of Adoni where one of Rāmarāya's cousins to whom he entrusted the government of the district asserted his independence. To prevent however Tirumala from sending troops he despatched an army against Penugonda. 'Ādil Shāh succeeded in achieving his object. Though the army sent against Penugonda was defeated and driven back by Tirumala, he reduced Adoni to subjection and made himself master of the entire Krishna-Tungabhadra *doab*.

Tirumala was not able therefore to check the treacherous activities of the *amaranāyakas* (fief-holders). And by the time he could equip himself with an army and concert measures to restore royal authority they became too strong to be tackled easily. Tirumala was a realist. He knew that, under the circumstances, it was impossible to restore the old state of affairs. The *amaranāyakas* who usurped the royal domain were too many. He was old and had no time to embark upon a systematic re-conquest of the empire. Tirumala therefore resolved to compromise with the *Nāyaks* and bring them back to subjection. By tacitly approving of their usurpations he won them over to his side. As a consequence of this, though the royal authority was restored throughout the empire, the empire itself lost its character. It was no longer a military empire of which the Rāya was absolute master. Instead it became a conglomeration of semi-independent principalities of which he was the head. The changed character of the empire brought in its train an important innovation in the administration. To keep the *amaranāyakas* under control, Tirumala divided the empire into three subdivisions, roughly corresponding to the three main linguistic areas

of which it was composed, and entrusted the government of each of them to one of his three sons. Śrīraṅga, the eldest, was placed in charge of all the Telugu districts with Penugonda as his headquarters. Rāma, the second, was to rule the Karnataka from Śrīraṅgapattana; and Venkatapati, the youngest who resided in Chandragiri, was to look after the affairs of the entire Tamil country.

Tirumala successfully overcame the obstacles that beset his path: he brought back the rebellious *amaranāyakas* to subjection, and arrested the forces of disintegration which were fast undermining the foundation of the empire. Having accomplished the task of rejuvenating the empire he assumed the title of 'the reviver of the decadent Karnataka empire' and formally crowned himself in 1570 A.D. as the emperor at Penugonda. It is said on the authority of certain foreign travellers, that Tirumala, or at his instance one of his sons, specially Venkatapati, assassinated the emperor Sadāshiva before the coronation. This is not probably true. In the first place Sadāshiva was quite harmless, and he gave no trouble to Tirumala in governing the empire. Secondly, there is ample epigraphic evidence to show that Sadāshiva did not fall a victim to the assassin's knife before Tirumala's coronation, but was alive until A.D. 1576, long after the death of the latter and the accession of his son, Śrīraṅga I.

Tirumala did not rule long—probably for not more than a year—and abdicated in favour of his son Śrīraṅga. He spent the remaining days of his life in retirement, studying philosophy and religion. To him belongs the credit of giving the lease of life to the framework of the empire of Vijayanagara for a century more.

The reign of Śrīraṅga (1572-1585) was full of troubles caused by the invasions of the Sultāns of Bijāpur and Golconda who were helped by the treacherous nobles of Vijayanagara, and he lost territories both in the coastal Andhra and Northern Karnataka. The Bijāpur army was, however, defeated. There is a tradition that Śrīraṅga fell a prisoner into the hands of the Bijāpur army, but this rests on very doubtful authority. The Muslims seized many forts including Udayagiri in the Nellore District and Koṇdavidu.

The next king, Venkata II (1586-1614), not only re-conquered from the Muslims most of the territories lost by his predecessor, but also crushed the nobles and the *Palayagārs* who attempted to carve out independent kingdoms for themselves.

The disputed succession after the death of Venkata II led to a civil war which lasted for four years and ended with the accession of Rāmadevarāya (1618-1630). His reign was full of rebellions, in

which the Nāyaks of Madura, Gingee and Tanjore, who had played a prominent role in the civil war, also figured prominently. The Sultān of Bijāpur took advantage of this to seize Kurnool.

The reign of the next king, Venkata III (1630-1641), also witnessed another civil war lasting for four or five years during which many petty chieftains, who were practically independent, fought among themselves, and some of them, even including the king, sought for the help of the Muslim Sultāns of the Deccan. As a result the Sultān of Bijāpur conquered the Kannada districts and the Sultān of Golconda invaded the east coast. Venkata III opposed him but was defeated and died shortly after.

His nephew, Śrīraṅga III, who had joined the Sultān of Bijāpur against him, now proclaimed himself Emperor and ruled for seven years (1642-1649). He settled matters with the Sultān of Bijāpur and with his help recovered the fort of Udayagiri which was seized by the forces of Golconda. It is worthy of note that the Nāyaks or Chiefs, though still paying nominal allegiance to the 'Emperor' of Vijayanagara, not only rendered no help to him in driving away the Muslim invader and caused difficulty to him by breaking into revolts, but even invited the Sultān of Golconda to invade Vijayanagara territory promising to attack their 'Emperor' from behind. Accordingly the forces of Golconda invaded Vijayanagara. Śrīraṅga quickly despatched an ambassador to Gingee to win over the Nāyak; and the latter consented to delay the despatch of his forces, pending the arrival of instructions from his allies, the Nāyaks of Madura and Tanjore. Taking advantage of the respite Śrīraṅga marched at the head of his troops and in a battle fought on the bank of Vengallu, he inflicted a crushing defeat on the Golconda army, and chased them as far as Kandukur in the north of the Nellore district. Śrīraṅga's triumph was, however, shortlived, for the Sultān of Golconda obtained help from Bijāpur, and unable to resist the advance of the combined armies of the two Muslim rulers, he abandoned Kandukur and retired to the interior of his dominions. The armies of Golconda and Bijāpur made their appearance on the Vijayanagara frontier; the former under Mīr Jumla overran the eastern parts of the Kurnool district, and the latter under Khān-i-Khānān reduced Nandyal, Sirivolla, Kanigiri and other forts farther west. At this stage the Sultān of Golconda suspended the war, probably due to an agreement with Śrīraṅga III.

The situation in the South became serious. The Nāyaks of Madura, Tanjore and Gingee joined together and set up the standard of rebellion. Śrīraṅga withdrew his forces from the north, and proceeded to the south burning and plundering the country until he

reached Chetipattu in South Arcot district, where he lay encamped awaiting the arrival of the rebels. Though the Nāyaks gathered together a large army, they were not confident of victory. They, therefore, sought help from the Sultāns of Bijāpur and Golconda promising them to pay a large sum of money.

The Sultāns, in fact, needed no invitation. The Mughul emperor, Shāh Jahān, commanded them to conquer and partition the empire of Karnataka between themselves. In obedience to his command, they sent their respective armies to conquer and annex the dominions of the Rāya of Vijayanagara. Mustafā Khān, who commanded the Bijāpur army, marched through Malnad and arrived at Sivaganga in the Bangalore district, where the ambassadors of the Nāyaks of Madura, Tanjore and Gingee met him and requested him for help. Mustafā Khān complied with their request, and marched on Vellore, directing Khān-i-Khānān who was at Kurnool to do the same. Śrīraṅga knew that the chances of his success lay in prompt action. He decided to strike at once before the Nāyaks could join the Bijāpur general. He sent an ambassador to Mustafā Khān to put him off the scent by carrying on negotiations of peace. He hastened with all his forces to the south, inflicted a crushing defeat on the Nāyak of Gingee and compelled him to submit. Next he attacked the Nāyaks of Tanjore and Madura and would have vanquished them also, but for Mustafā Khān, who having obtained information of his activities marched on Vellore. Śrīraṅga was therefore obliged to relinquish the operations, and return with all speed to protect his capital.

While Mustafā Khān and Khān-i-Khānān were marching on Vellore, Mir Jumla, at the instance of the Sultān of Golconda, proceeded along the east coast, conquered Vinuconda, and laid siege to the fort of Udayagiri. Though Śrīraṅga sent reinforcements to strengthen the garrison, the commander of the fort turned a traitor and surrendered the fort to the Muslims in March, 1645. Mir Jumla next turned west, and having invaded the territories of the Matli chiefs of Chittiveli captured many important forts belonging to them. Unable to offer effective resistance, the Matlis submitted and acknowledged the supremacy of Golconda.

Śrīraṅga was utterly helpless. He was surrounded by enemies on all sides. He made in vain an appeal to people to protect their religion, temples and the Brahmīns; but the Nāyaks of Madura, Tanjore and Gingee made up their minds to get rid of Śrīraṅga once for all, offered heavy bribes to the Bijāpur generals, and persuaded them to conquer Penugonda and Kolar which were still under his control.

While Mustafā Khān and Khān-i-Khānān were busy in the western Telugu country, the Nāyaks marched on Vellore. Though Śrīraṅga sent an army into the southern districts to distract their attention, it produced no fruitful results; but in an engagement which took place in December, 1645, between him and the Nāyak army, Śrīraṅga suffered a defeat and crept into the fort. He then made an attempt to come to an understanding with the Nāyaks.

The combined attack of the Muslim powers on the empire of Vijayanagara seems to have at last awakened the fear of common danger in the minds of the Nāyaks; for with the exception of the treacherous Tirumal Nāyak of Madura, they joined Śrīraṅga. At the head of a large army consisting of 10,000 horse, and 1,40,000 foot soldiers he advanced against Mustafā Khān. A battle was fought in which, though victorious, he could gain no advantage owing to the desertion of the Nāyaks of Kangudi and Mysore.

Śrīraṅga retreated to his capital, and Mustafā Khān, having first reduced the territories of Jayadeva Rao to subjection, followed him there. The Nāyaks became friendly to Śrīraṅga and promised to send him men and money to defend his capital; but before help could reach him, Mustafā Khān arrived in the neighbourhood, and he was obliged, unprepared as he was, to give him battle. In a fierce engagement which took place near Vellore on 4 April, 1646, he suffered defeat, and crept into the fort, to which Mustafā Khān laid siege soon after. The Nāyaks, who were jealous of one another, could not arrive at any decision to help their king. In the meanwhile Mīr Jumla, having completed the conquest of Chittiveli, moved towards the east, captured Ponneri, Poonamalli, Kanchipuram and Chingleput one after another in quick succession and was encamped in the neighbourhood of Vellore. The Nāyaks were divided among themselves; the Nāyaks of Tanjore and Gingee were weak, and it was not possible for them to oppose the Golconda army; but the Nāyaks of Mysore and Madura united their forces and attempted to ward off the danger. They suffered, however, a severe defeat at the hands of Mīr Jumla, who then marched on Gingee and laid siege to the fort.

Mīr Jumla's victory over Madura and Mysore and his investment of Gingee roused the jealousy of Bijāpur; and Mustafā and Khān-i-Khānān hastened to the neighbourhood with their forces with the object of preventing him from capturing the fort. On the approach of Bijāpur generals, Mīr Jumla entered into an agreement with them and retired into the Qutb Shāhi territories leaving them free to prosecute their designs. After Mīr Jumla's departure, the Bijāpur armies laid siege to Gingee and captured it. With the fall

of the fort, the Nāyak kingdom of Gingee came to an end, and the territories which belonged to it passed into the hands of the Sultān of Bijāpur. The Nāyak of Tanjore was frightened, and, without striking a blow, submitted to the Sultān early in 1649.<sup>4</sup>

Śrīraṅga was now a king without a kingdom, and a refugee without a place where he could take shelter. He therefore fled to Mysore which still retained a measure of its independence. The flight of Śrīraṅga was the signal for the systematic subjugation of small principalities which had not yet come within the fold of the Muslim States, and the Vijayanagara empire, which was founded three centuries ago, came finally to an end.

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1. There is wide divergence of views on almost every aspect of this battle, except its date and result. The account given here is materially different from that given above, in Chapter XIV (pp. 424-25). The Editor has thought it better to present both views to the reader.
  2. Regarding the name and location of these two villages, cf. p. 425. Saletore mentions the names as Rākshasa-Taṅgaḍi (*Social and Political Life in the Vijayanagara Empire*, Vol. I, pp. 22-3). The name of the second village is also written as Taṅgādi (Editor).
  3. This is self-contradictory. As the author says, the two villages were on the northern bank of the river, while he admits that the battle took place on the southern bank of the Krishna, which is generally accepted. (Editor).
  4. Frequent references in this chapter to the wars and alliances between Vijayanagara and the Muslim States in the Deccan should be read along with Chapter XIV which also refers to them.

## CHAPTER XVI

# EUROPEAN SETTLEMENTS

### I. PORTUGUESE ENTERPRISE AND DOMINANCE IN THE INDIAN OCEAN

By about 1500 A.D. Portuguese competition with the Moors for the control of trade in the Indian Ocean became irresistible. On account of the geographical position of their kingdom, the Portuguese had become the natural guardians of Christendom against the Moors of Africa. Impelled by religious fervour and by crusading zeal, the Portuguese brought all their latent energies to serve the cause of commerce and colonisation. Prince Henry, the Navigator, (1394-1460) promoted maritime exploration, and visualised the founding of a maritime Empire. He fitted out several expeditions that sailed down the west coast of Africa. Within twenty years of his death the Portuguese had proceeded beyond the delta of the Niger. The then king of Portugal resolved to establish a Christian Empire in West Africa and to found a fortress on the Ivory Coast. Diego Cao voyaged southwards from the mouth of the Congo to the modern Walvis Bay (1487). Bartholomew Dias, who followed him, prepared the way for Vasco da Gama. He rounded the southernmost point of Africa and indeed reached Mossel Bay. He gave the name of the Cape of Tempests to the Table Mountain and its headlands and promontories. His voyage is one of the main landmarks of geographical exploration and removed all doubt as to the possibility of reaching India by sea.

Meanwhile, the Portuguese King sent a Jew, by way of Cairo, to the Red Sea in order to explore the way to the land of the legendary Christian King, Prester John of Ethiopia, as well as the way to India. This Jew came to the Malabar Coast and eventually reached Abyssinia. He wrote that the ships, which sailed down the coast of Guinea, might be sure of reaching the termination of the continent, by persisting in a course to the south; and that when they should arrive in the Eastern Ocean, their best direction must be to inquire for Sofala and the Island of the Moon.

Vasco da Gama started from Portugal in the summer of 1497; and after finally doubling the Cape of Good Hope, on Christmas Day, he came alongside of a land to which he gave the name of

Natal in remembrance of the birth of Christ. He then passed Sofala and finally reached Mozambique in March, 1498. All along the African Coast, between Sofala and Zanzibar, Muhammadan colonists had founded settlements and controlled the trade in ivory and gold. At Mombasa he secured the services of a Gujarati pilot, sailed straight north-east across the Arabian sea and finally reached the coast of Calicut on 21 May, 1498. He did not stay long on the Indian coast and embarked on his return voyage in August, 1498.<sup>1</sup>

The Portuguese landing in India "was fortunate both as to place and time." The Malabar Coast was then divided between petty chiefs who were too weak and torn by internecine strife to resist the Portuguese. It was a halfway house between Ceylon, Malacca and the Spice Islands on the one hand, and the Persian Gulf, the Red Sea and the ports of East Africa on the other. The Empire of Vijayanagara controlled the towns of Bhatkal and Honavar on the coast, but did not interfere in the affairs of the Rajas of the coast. The Portuguese quickly perceived that their true interest lay in peaceful commerce and friendship with Vijayanagara. The Bahmanī Empire was torn by internal factions and steadily disintegrating. One of its offshoots, the kingdom of Bijāpur, ruled over the coastal country of Goa, but lacked an efficient navy. The Portuguese allied themselves against Bijāpur with powerful pirate chiefs on the coast, like Timoja, and with the Hindu Rajas of Honavar, Bankipur and Bhatkal, who were all feudatories of Vijayanagara. As the Mughul Empire had not yet risen, there was no power, either in the north or in the south of India, to effectively bar the establishment of the Portuguese dominion on the coast.

Calicut under the Zamorins enjoyed then a high degree of prosperity. The Zamorin was kind to all classes of merchants who came to his kingdom, tolerated all creeds and allowed perfect freedom to all in mercantile affairs. Cochin was the best of all the ports in the Malabar Coast, as it was connected by means of lagoons, backwaters and creeks with all the pepper-producing districts of the neighbourhood. Its ruler was subordinate to the Zamorin and jealous of him. Other important ports of the coast were Quilon which carried on trade with China, Arabia and other countries, Cranganore, and Cannanore which, though nominally under the Zamorin, were practically independent.

Vasco da Gama had, even during his first voyage, excited the jealousy of the Arab merchants of the East African ports. It quickly spread to the Arab and Moplah traders of the Malabar Coast. At Calicut he encountered violent and open opposition from

the Mussalman merchants and only the armed guards of the Zamorin protected the Portuguese from their fury. A second expedition, under Alvarez Cabral, reached Calicut in 1500, seized an Arab vessel lying in its harbour and sent it as a present to the Zamorin. The Arabs stormed the Portuguese factory and put all its occupants to the sword, while Cabral retaliated by bombarding Calicut and setting fire to its wooden houses. He then went away to Cochin and Cannanore whose friendship he had secured.

Cabral was now convinced that, for his own safety, he must force Calicut into submission and root out the Arab trade of that place. A fresh expedition under Vasco da Gama, which started in 1502, threatened the rulers of Mozambique and Kilwa on the African coast into submission, destroyed a pilgrim ship to Mecca, and demanded from the Zamorin the banishment of every Muhammadan resident from Calicut. He strengthened the factories at Cochin and Cannanore and left a squadron to patrol the Malabar Coast and to destroy all Arab vessels coming to it from Red Sea. He put forward a definite claim to dominion over the Indian coast and the Arabian sea. On his departure the Arab merchants and the Zamorin attacked the Raja of Cochin who bravely held out until relieved by the arrival of the next Portuguese fleet in 1503.

Their artillery gave the Portuguese a great advantage in sea warfare. Even on land the Portuguese proved themselves to be the better fighters. Their reputation was greatly raised by Duarte Pacheco's gallant defence of Cochin against the whole army of Zamorin. The next Portuguese expedition under Lopo Soares destroyed all the ports in which Arab influence prevailed, and prevented any ships coming to or leaving Cochin except their own. Soares burnt Cranganore and laid a good part of Calicut in ruins.

The Portuguese power still lacked organisation and order and their isolated factories were in danger if the seasonal winds should prevent navigation and if their squadrons in the Indian Ocean should disappear. Their power in India had passed beyond the stage when it could be managed by an annual fleet and by a few isolated factories. Francisco de Almeida was appointed the first Viceroy of the Portuguese in the East (1505) with full power to wage war, conclude treaties and regulate commerce. He aimed at securing the control of the East African Coast, to subdue all the Malabar ports at which the Arabs still survived, to strengthen the Portuguese factories, to divert the whole export trade of India and East Africa to the Cape route and to secure for Portugal a monopoly over the trade of the Indian Ocean. But he knew that he would have to

encounter the opposition of the powerful navies of Turkey and Egypt which championed the cause of the Arabs. He easily subjugated the Muhammadan ports of East Africa, and then proceeded to the subjugation of the yet hostile Malabar ports. He befriended Vijayanagara, on the advice of the Timoja, built a fort at Cannanore, and settled a disputed succession at Cochin which was made the seat of his government. He sent his son to explore Ceylon and to close the sea-route through the Maldives which was now taken by the Arabs in order to avoid going near the Malabar Coast. The Zamorin was crippled in 1506 and the ruler of Ceylon agreed to pay a tribute of cinnamon and elephants.

The third part of Almeida's task was to break the naval powers of Egypt which was supreme in the Red Sea, and of Turkey which had access to the Persian Gulf at Basra. Meanwhile a new expedition from Portugal under Affonso de Albuquerque strengthened the Portuguese communications on the East African Coast, and captured Socotra, but failed to reduce Ormuz at the mouth of the Persian Gulf. After an initial success, the combined fleets of the Egyptians, the Zamorin and the King of Gujarāt were worsted after a long and stubborn struggle off Diu (spring of 1509). This victory "secured to Christendom the naval supremacy in Asia and turned the Indian Ocean for the next century into a Portuguese sea."

Albuquerque, the next Governor, built up a great territorial power in India. He was convinced that it was beneath the dignity of Portugal to have factories which existed only by the sufferance of native rulers. His struggle was against the combined forces of the Muhammadan world. His efforts were directed towards the conquest of Goa, Malacca, Aden, and Ormuz which he considered essential for his purpose.

The plan of Albuquerque formed strategically a complete whole and consisted of three series of operations: (1) the control of the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea; (2) the establishment of the headquarters of the Portuguese power at a central port on the west coast of India; (3) the destruction of Mussalman trade in the Malay Peninsula and the Far East.

The conquest of Goa was Albuquerque's first achievement (February, 1510).<sup>2</sup> But as the city was quickly recaptured by the 'Ādil Shāh, he had to undertake a second expedition; he recaptured the place and fortified it against any surprise attack. Goa stood midway between the ports of Malabar and those of Gujarāt and dominated the entire coast from the Gulf of Cambay to Cape Comorin. The conquest of Goa put "the seal on Portuguese naval supre-

macy along the south-west coast," and involved territorial rule in India.

The conquest of Malacca was the next great achievement of Albuquerque. It was situated favourably on the Malaya shore, in the middle point of the Straits between Sumatra and the mainland; and its inhabitants included Muhammadan Malayas and large bodies of foreign merchants,—Chinese, Javanese, Gujarātis, Bengalis, Burmese from Pegu and Chittagong, Ceylonese cinnamon-dealers and even Japanese. Albuquerque captured the place after several days of bombardment and street fighting. He then opened direct relations with the kingdom of Siam and despatched ships to explore the Moluccas and other Spice Islands.

In 1512 he had to relieve Goa from a fresh siege to which it was subjected by Bijāpur.

His next attempt was to extend Portuguese supremacy to the mouths of the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf. Aden, and not Socotra, was the real gate of the Red Sea. Albuquerque's first attack on it was a failure, as also his endeavour to reach the port of Jiddah. He captured Ormuz, and laid the foundation of a strong fort at the island whose markets abounded in furs from Russia, silks from Baghdad and Central Asia, and horses from Arabia, for which there was always a great demand in India.

Albuquerque was greatly worn out by these exertions and his heart was broken when he learnt, as he came within the sight of Goa, that he had been superseded by Lopo Soares, his bitter opponent, while the King had no word of thanks to offer him.

Albuquerque thus enlarged and fulfilled the aims of Almeida. He gave the Portuguese power a territorial base in India, while Malacca, Ormuz and the uncaptured Aden were to serve as strategic points for Portuguese shipping. In view of the paucity of manpower in Portugal, Albuquerque encouraged the lower classes of the Portuguese settlers to marry Indian women. He maintained friendly relations with Vijayanagara and even tried to secure the goodwill of Bijāpur. He created regular bodies of trained troops from among Indians.

Albuquerque's immediate successor failed to capture Aden, but he constructed a fortress near Colombo. Nuno da Cunha, Viceroy (1529-38), captured Mombasa on the African coast, established settlements at San Thome near Madras and at Hooghly in Bengal, and thus developed commerce on the eastern coast. In 1535 he got possession of Diu in Kathiawar, and its gallant defence both by sea

and land against the Turkish Admiral and the Sultān of Gujarāt in 1538 was a remarkable achievement.

Joa de Castro, Viceroy (1545-48), decisively defeated the Bijāpur forces which advanced against Goa. His successors systematised commerce, but made no further conquests.

In 1571 the Asiatic Empire of Portugal was divided into three independent commands, viz., a Governorship at Mozambique controlling the settlements on the African coast; (2) a Viceroyalty at Goa in charge of the Indian and Persian territories; and (3) a Governorship at Malacca to control the trade of Java and the Spice Archipelago.

The Portuguese dominion was based upon command of the sea and upon possession of forts at strategic points along the coast. They were bitterly jealous of all rivals at sea. Gujarāt and Calicut were forced to abandon construction of fresh ships or even armed rowing boats. Ormuz was not to construct ships and its people were not to carry arms. The fortified factories of the Portuguese, from Quilon and Cochin on the South, to Daman and Diu on the north, were sufficient to coerce all their Indian rivals.

Besides controlling the whole of the export trade to Europe, the Portuguese monopolised the port-to-port trade on the Malabar Coast and the trade from the Indian to the Persian Coast on the one side and Malacca on the other. All this was retained as a jealous monopoly of the King, though the private trade of the officials and their frauds were notorious. The Portuguese treatment of their native subjects and opponents showed "a consistent and systematic cruelty and barbarity lower even than the standards of a cruel age." Above all, their spirit of crusading enthusiasm soon degenerated into an unreasoning and fanatic desire to convert all and sundry of their Asiatic subjects to their own faith, even at the point of the sword. After 1540, the Portuguese Government in India markedly came to be dominated by priests—Dominicans, Franciscans and Jesuits—who displayed an intolerant bigotry and introduced all the horrors of the Inquisition into India.

The Portuguese monopoly of the Indian Ocean remained unbroken till 1595, fifteen years after the fatal union of Portugal and Spain. Philip II of Spain neglected Portuguese dominions in India and involved Portugal in his costly and disastrous European wars. Ceylon first rebelled against the Portuguese about 1580. In 1595 the first Dutch fleet rounded the Cape of Good Hope in defiance of the Portuguese. By 1602 they had deprived Portugal of the hold

over the Straits of Sunda and of the route to the Moluccas and of the Spice Islands. In 1603 they blockaded Goa itself. Soon after, they made themselves masters of Java. They expelled the Portuguese altogether from Ceylon in the years 1638-58. In 1641 they captured the great port of Malacca and in 1652 got possession of the Cape of Good Hope as well.

The English were not also behind-hand. In 1611 an English squadron under Middleton defeated the Portuguese fleet off Bombay. Four years later came their great victory over the Portuguese, off Swally, in the Surat roads. In 1616 they entered into direct commercial relations with the Zamorin of Calicut. Two years later they began to trade in the Persian Gulf. In 1622 they had captured Ormuz and established a factory at Gombroon. In 1654 the Portuguese had to recognise the right of the English to reside and trade in all their eastern possessions.

Nor was it only from the hands of European rivals that the final blow to the Portuguese power came. In 1632 the Mughul Emperor, Shāh Jahān, completely destroyed their settlement at Hooghly and carried away, as prisoners, more than a thousand of the Portuguese inhabitants. The Portuguese and half-caste pirates who had established themselves at Chittagong and raided the coasts of Bengal and Arakan were easily defeated by the King of Arakan. The descendants of those pirates, known as the *Feringhis* who infested the whole of the Eastern Bengal Coast, were totally swept away about 1665, by the Mughul Viceroy of Bengal.

The man-power of Portugal was too small to maintain a far-flung empire, and was further thinned by disease, ravages and the demoralisation brought about by the inter-marriage of the Portuguese settlers with Africans and Indians. Their religious fanaticism absorbed a good portion of their energies. Even before the time of Albuquerque, priests, monks and friars had flocked in large number to Portuguese India. In 1538, Goa was made the seat of a Bishop; in 1557 it was raised to the dignity of an Archbishopric; and other Bishoprics were created at Cochin and Malacca, and for China and Japan. The priests displayed great devotion to duty and did much to spread education. They established at Goa, in 1560, the hated inquisition which burnt or punished in other cruel way, unbelievers, relapsed converts and all who were dangerous to the faith in the eyes of the priests. They did not give freedom even to the ancient Syrian Christians of the Malabar Coast. In 1552, the complaint was made that the Portuguese towns in India were largely depopulated owing to the forced conversion of Hindus and Muhammadans and that

every 'gentile' was driven to church with sticks and blows every fortnight. The Portuguese zeal for conversion was redoubled after their union with Spain. The Synod of Diamper (Udayampura) in 1599 tried to suppress completely the Syrian Christianity of Malabar. The chief results of this intolerant policy were a practical denial of justice to all non-Christians and the depopulation of Goa and other Portuguese towns.

The Portuguese Indian Church was organised under the guidance of St. Francis Xavier, the Apostle of the Indies, who came to Goa with the Jesuits in 1542.<sup>2a</sup> To St. Xavier is due the conversion of the Paravars, the fishermen tribe who lived on the Coromandel Coast between Cape Comorin and Adam's Bridge, as well as the Mukkuvas, the fishermen of the Malabar coast. St. Xavier also travelled to Malacca and Japan for this purpose. Before his death in 1552, the great Apostle of the Indies is said to have converted some seven hundred thousand men, who belonged mainly to the lowest classes of the population. He was a great churchman, and a saint who was able to win the hearts of all.

There was no continuity in Portuguese government; offices were sold to the highest bidders; there was much illicit private trade and bribery; lack of discipline and irregular pay turned soldiers and sailors into dacoits and thieves. The later history of the Portuguese in India is a continuous record of poverty and misery. They lost Bassein in 1739 to the Marāthās. The old Goa Pourado (Golden Goa) whose glories were sung by Camoens, the famous Portuguese poet, in his epic poem, *Os Lusíadas*, describing the brilliant achievements of his nation in Europe and Asia, is now a city of broken houses and ruined palaces. New Goa or Panjim which was the seat of the later Portuguese Viceroys was founded in the eighteenth century.

Portugal was the first nation to give to Europe a knowledge of the legendary countries of the East. The Portuguese discovery of the East produced a number of brilliant writers, of whom Camoens was the greatest. His epic *Os Lusíadas* is a poetic historical record of the memorable voyage of Vasco da Gama; but the real hero is the spirit of the nation. More important than the poets, who sang of the deeds of the Portuguese in the east, are the histories and works of (1) Duarte Barbosa (d. 1521), (2) Gaspar Correa (1495-1561), (3) Joao de Barros (1496-1570), (4) Diogo do Couto (1542-1616), (5) the Commentaries of Bras de Albuquerque, the natural son of the great Governor, who supplemented the Letters of his father, (6) Dom Joao de Castro (1500-1548), (7) Garcia Da Orta (d. 1570) and several Jesuit writers. The effect of the maritime exploits of the Portuguese is fully reflected in their literature; and the decay

of their political power and naval strength was also marked by literary decay.

## II. THE DUTCH AND THE ENGLISH

### 1. *Early Enterprises*

As mentioned above, 'the Union of Portugal and Spain' under Philip II in 1580 hastened the downfall of the maritime and commercial supremacy of the Portuguese in the East. The Protestant powers of England and Holland began to prey on Portuguese commerce. In 1582 the first English voyage round the Cape of Good Hope was attempted. Already in 1580 had the Spanish monopoly of the Magellan route been successfully challenged by Sir Francis Drake. In 1591 Lancaster rounded the Cape of Good Hope and voyaged to Cape Comorin and the Malay Peninsula. The Dutch expedition under Houtman to Sumatra and the Spice Archipelago was a counterpart of Lancaster's voyage. The volume of Portuguese trade with India diminished markedly after 1580. In 1596 Spain became bankrupt and Portugal had to suffer the consequence.<sup>3</sup>

In 1599 the English declared that they had a perfect and free right to trade in all places where the Portuguese and the Spaniards had not established any fort, settlement or factory. Captain Lancaster led the first voyage of the English East India Company in December, 1599, and arrived at Achin (in Sumatra) in 1602. The second expedition of the English Company under Sir Henry Middleton traded with Bantam and Amboyna (one of the richest of the Spice Islands to the south of the Moluccas). The next expedition brought home a rich cargo of pepper from Bantam and of cloves from Amboyna.

As many as fifteen voyages had been fitted out by Holland between 1595 and 1601. The Dutch avoided small and separate voyages by individual traders. In 1602 they combined together the several Indian companies formed within their State into the Dutch United East India Company, with an exclusive right to trade with India and the East Indies for twenty-one years. This Company was endowed with ample powers of attack and conquest; it was a national undertaking and the embodiment of the newly-achieved independence and sense of unity of the Dutch nation.<sup>4</sup>

The Dutch also attempted to secure control of the Straits of Sunda between Sumatra and Java. In 1609 they made the Raja of Bantam their dependent ally, and three years later, secured Jakarta in Java, in spite of English opposition, and seven years later they

built on its site the famous city of Batavia. They seized the best islands of the Archipelago either by conquest from the Portuguese or by treaties with the native chiefs. Thus, Ternate in the Moluccas became a Dutch ally in 1607. Amboyna, the richest island in the Southern Moluccas, was seized in 1618. They were able to monopolise the nutmeg and clove islands of the Archipelago as against their new rivals, the English.

The English asserted their counter claims and argued that long before the Dutch had occupied the islands, Drake had visited them. They vigorously denied that the small coast settlements and factories of the Dutch amounted to an effective occupation of a great Archipelago. The first three voyages of the English Company had traded with Bantam and the Spice islands.

## 2. *English East India Company*

In 1599 an influential body of London merchants formed a plan for the formation of a Company to monopolise the eastern trade. In 1593 the Levant Company had got an extended charter permitting them to trade overland with India. This endeavour, however, completely failed. Several of the promoters of the East India Company had been servants of the Levant Company. After some demur consequent on pending negotiations with Spain then, Queen Elizabeth incorporated these merchants into a Company and gave them for fifteen years the right of trading with India and all the countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope and Magellan except with those territories in the actual occupation of the Spanish and Portuguese.<sup>5</sup>

The English beginnings in India were not very promising, on account of Portuguese rivalry. Captain William Hawkins journeyed from Surat to the Mughul Court (1608), but failed to get permission to erect a factory at Surat. In 1611 Captain Middleton landed at Swally near Surat in spite of Portuguese opposition, and got permission from the Mughul governor to trade at the place. The victory of Captain Best in the Surat roadstead broke the tradition of Portuguese naval supremacy and an English factory was permanently established at Surat.<sup>6</sup> From this place the English extended their trading operations inland and soon built subordinate factories at Ahmadābād, Burhānpur, Ajmer and Āgra. Sir Thomas Roe, the royal ambassador from King James I to the Mughul Emperor, succeeded in getting two *farmāns* by 1618, 'one of the King and the other of the Prince (Khurram) confirming our trade and continuance' as well as exemption from inland tolls.

The Dutch Factory at Surat was comparatively powerless and did not have much influence with the Mughul authorities. But they established themselves in greater strength on the east coast. In 1610 they established a fortified settlement at Pulicat (to the north of Madras) whose backwater, the Pulicat Lake, afforded a safe shelter for the ships of those days, and from which they contrived to drive away the English (1623). Both the English and the Dutch competed for the trade of Masulipatam which was the chief sea-port of the great inland kingdom of Golconda and largely traded in diamonds, rubies, and textiles. In 1614 and again in 1624 the English had serious quarrels with the Dutch at this port. In 1628 they abandoned Masulipatam in despair and attempted to settle at Armagaon (Arumugam) further south. Two years afterwards, they revived their factory at Masulipatam. Chinsura on the Hooghly river, then the most inland place in the Gangetic delta accessible to ships, was also settled by the Dutch.

The history of the English settlements in Western India in the seventeenth century may be divided into three periods: the first commences with the establishment of an English factory at Surat (1612); the second begins with the formation of an English settlement at Bombay (1665); and the third commences from 1687 when Bombay superseded Surat and became the headquarters of the English on the West coast.

Thomas Stephens, a Jesuit, was the first Englishman to visit Western India. He reached Goa in 1579 and resided there for many years. In 1583 Ralph Fitch and a few other Englishmen reached India by way of the Persian Gulf. John Mildenhall, a London merchant, reached Āgra in 1603 after a tedious overland journey and attempted to obtain from Akbar a farmān for trade in Gujarāt. Two years after Mildenhall had left Āgra, Captain Hawkins landed at Surat. After the victory of Best Thomas Aldworth, a merchant of energy and great determination who stayed on at Surat, the English secured permission for the establishment of factories at Surat and three other places in the Gulf of Cambay.

After the victory of Captain Downton, came Sir Thomas Roe whose embassy is to be regarded as a distinct triumph for the English. By 1616 the English had contrived to establish four factories at Ahmadābād, Burhānpur, Āgra and Surat.<sup>7</sup> They were looked up to by the Mughuls to keep open the path of pilgrimage to the holy cities of Islām.

The chain of events that led to the establishment of the English in Bombay is interesting. Its situation enabled it to control the

whole coastal trade in the West and to threaten the Portuguese and the Dutch of the neighbourhood.<sup>8</sup> It was thus only as the satisfaction of a long-expressed wish that in 1661 the Portuguese gave Bombay as part of the dowry of their princess, Catherine of Braganza, on her marriage with Charles II. The importance of Bombay was little understood by the English at the time; and even the Portuguese were not able to appreciate this till after its cession to the English. In September, 1662, an English fleet of five ships arrived in Bombay in order to take over the place. But the Portuguese refused to give it up and denied that the neighbouring island of Salsette was included in the treaty of cession. The fleet left a body of soldiers under General Shipman, a large number of whom perished for lack of sufficient food and protection in the unhappy neighbourhood. A long and bitter correspondence ensued between the English and the Portuguese monarchs. The Portuguese Viceroy of Goa suggested to his king that he might purchase the island from the English after it should be formally handed over to them, according to agreement.<sup>9</sup>

Humphrey Cooke who commanded the remnants of the first English expedition to Bombay accepted the cession of merely the port and harbour which alone were offered by the Portuguese who were entrenched in the neighbouring island of Salsette and levied fines and imposts on English boats and traders. Sir Gervase Lucas, a staunch Royalist, was appointed to succeed Cooke in 1666; but he was not more successful. He quarrelled with the Company's factors at Surat and died within a few months after he had landed at Bombay. His lieutenant, Captain Gray, who succeeded him, was proud, wasteful and extravagant, while his power was disputed.

Meanwhile the Company's factory at Surat was faring equally badly. Sir George Oxenden, Governor of Surat (1662-68), had to encounter French and Dutch rivalry; he gallantly defended the factory and the property of many Indian merchants when Shivāji plundered the city in 1664. But Oxenden was jealous of the royal governors of Bombay and quarrelled with them, while the Mughuls held him responsible for the acts of the latter.

King Charles made up his mind to get rid of Bombay which was coveted by the Company though it pretended that its possession would only entail on it much difficulty and expense. A royal charter was prepared by which the island was transferred to the Company in return for an annual rent of £ 10, and Oxenden took possession of the island, in September 1668; in the name of the Company.<sup>10</sup>

Gerald Aungier was the next President of Surat and Governor of Bombay (1669-77). He was the true founder of Bombay's greatness. He fortified the port, constructed a dock, established a court of justice, created a police force and a militia, and made the settlement an asylum for merchants of every class and caste. He secured the lives and properties of the English during Shivāji's second sack of Surat. He suggested to the Directors, as early as 1671, that the seat of the Presidency should be removed from Surat to Bombay. Under him Bombay became the best naval station in the Indian coast and a harbour of refuge from Marāthā and Malabar pirates.<sup>11</sup>

Under the Governorship of Rolt (1677-82), the Directors retrenched expenditure and reduced the garrison, and the result was that Bombay's very existence hung in the balance for a time. Dr. John Fryer who travelled for nine years in India and Persia (1672-81), wrote bitterly about the low condition into which the English prestige had fallen.<sup>12</sup>

In 1682, Sir John Child, brother of the famous Sir Josia Child who then wielded great influence among the Directors, was appointed Chief of the Company at Bombay and Surat. From his time began the general decline of Bombay which continued till the close of the first quarter of the eighteenth century.<sup>13</sup>

After Child, there followed several weak Governors, including Sir John Gayer. In Gayer's time, what was known as the New or English Company which had been founded in rivalry to the old Company, sent out one Sir Nicholas Waite to Surat as its own representative, and bitter bickerings occurred between the two Governors to the great detriment of English reputation.<sup>14</sup>

On the Coromandel Coast the English attempted a landing at Pulicat, first in 1611 and again in 1614, but failed on account of Dutch opposition. The English first landed at Masulipatam in 1611; two years later, they were permitted to erect a fortified factory there. The eagerly sought-for diamonds, and the valuable silks, calicoes and salt-petre were all there ready for sale. On account of the rivalry of the Dutch, the English resolved, in 1628, to abandon their factory and never to return except under a direct grant from the Sultān of Golconda. In 1630 when Masulipatam was desolated by famine and plague, the English returned to Masulipatam and obtained, two years later, the long-coveted permission from the Sultān of Golconda, the *Golden Farmān*, which opened an era of prosperity.

When the English first abandoned Masulipatam in 1628 they took shelter at Arumugam (Armagaon) 40 miles north of Pulicat.

## EUROPEAN SETTLEMENTS

It was a poor place but important historically because it was the first site territorially acquired by the English in India and on which a fort was built.

Francis Day, a member of the Council of Masulipatam, pitched upon a narrow strip of land, three miles to the north of the flourishing Indo-Portuguese colony of San Thome. He obtained from the local Naik a grant of the site and permission to build a fort and form a settlement thereon in return for an annual rental of £ 600.

Without waiting for permission from England, Day began to build a fort, and named it Fort St. George, probably because part of it was finished by St. George's Day, 1640. The attitude of the Directors was very discouraging. The English merchants at Surat and Bantam, however, realised the advantages of Madras, as a half-way house, for trade with the Archipelago.<sup>15</sup>

After Day's departure in 1644, trade languished and the merchants remained idle and disheartened. England was then distracted by the civil war and the confusion in the Carnatic was worsened by the Muslim aggression. The Raja of Chandragiri was involved in troubles on all hands. By 1647, Mīr Jumla, the general of the Sultān of Golconda, had become the master of all the country round Madras and the English factors hastened to make their peace with him.<sup>16</sup>

Mīr Jumla confirmed all the privileges that the English had obtained from the previous Hindu ruler when they gave him help against San Thome. The years 1646-47, when this revolution was being effected, were marked by a great famine in the land when a large number of people died of starvation.<sup>17</sup> As many as 3,000 died in Madras alone during the period from September, 1646 to January, 1647. In 1652, Madras was raised to the rank of the Presidency, independent of Bantam, and Aarom Baker was its first President. But the Directors suddenly ordered very unwisely the reduction of Madras again to the status of subordinate agency (1654). It was not until four years later that Madras was again restored to the rank of a Presidency independent of Bantam and directly responsible to the Court of Directors, while all the factories in Bengal and on the Coromandel Coast were subordinated to it.

Thenceforward, Madras stood as the type of the system of fortified factories, which the conflicts of the Indian powers in south-eastern India rendered indispensable for the safety of European trade.

With the Restoration, Madras entered on a new period of life. Sir Edward Winter, President (1662-65), was given summary powers to punish all private traders. He improved the sea-trade with Bengal and Bantam and threatened the hostile Indian powers with retaliation on the sea. He began a costly scheme of fortifying Madras which displeased the Directors and led to his recall. But he took advantage of the unpopularity of his successor, Foxcroft, who was an uncompromising old Puritan, accused him of treasonable words towards King Charles, and had him kept in confinement for three years during which he ruled as Governor (1665-68). At last Winter retired and Foxcroft was restored to office which he enjoyed only for a year.<sup>18</sup>

Sir William Langhorne, Governor during 1670-78, put a bold front against the aggressions of the French and of the Dutch, promoted the prosperity of the Black Town, developed the English garrison and formed a body of native peons, called the Black Guards. Dr. Frayer, who visited the city in 1673, gives a good account of the life of the Europeans.

Streynsham Master, the next Governor (1678-81), framed regulations for the proper administration of justice and the conduct of civil servants, and cleverly kept Shivājī at a distance from Madras. Trade became brisk, a larger investment was made, and Master may very well be called the *Second Founder of Madras*.

Important events took place during the governorship of Elihu Yale (1687-92).<sup>19</sup> Madras got a Corporation with a Mayor and Aldermen. From Yale's time, until 1746, when the French under La Bourdonnais captured Madras, all the Governors were merchant princes who had two definite objects in view, viz., the advancement of the Company's trade and the accumulation of a private fortune for themselves. The Directors no longer grumbled nor grew angry at their servants' private trade; they found that the latter could grow wealthy by private trading and could yet advance the Company's interests. The most famous of these merchant-governors was Thomas Pitt.<sup>20</sup>

In Bengal, in the first stage, the English Agent at Masulipatam sent up a few factors to establish factories at Hariharapur and at Balasore. The former factory fell into decay; and Balasore also would have been abandoned, had it not been for the strong recommendation of Francis Day that the factory should be retained and improved. Gabriel Boughton, who was in favour with Prince Shāh Shujā, Viceroy of Bengal, got for the English permission to trade throughout the province free of customs and other dues.<sup>21</sup> The

factory at Hooghly, established in 1651, did not prove promising. In 1657, an attempt was made at improving the Chief Agency at Hooghly and the subordinate agencies at Balasore, Cassimbazar and Patna.<sup>22</sup>

There was, however, a set-back on account of the civil war of succession in the Mughul Empire and of the oppressions practised by the officials of Mīr Jumla, the Viceroy. Under the rule of Nawāb Shāyista Khān (Viceroy from 1663) and with the help of an Imperial *farmān*, and with the pirates of Arakan and Chittagong finally put down, the English trade increased, particularly in silk and saltpetre.<sup>23</sup>

In 1681, the Directors appointed William Hedges, one of their number, to the Agency of Hooghly which was henceforth to be distinct from Madras. But Hedges found trade low, the Mughul officials quarrelsome, and the interlopers threatening, while the Viceroy, Shāyista Khān, was indifferent.

Hedges was convinced that the English should seize some convenient spot and fortify it.<sup>24</sup> He proposed to build a fortified settlement on the island of Saugor at the mouth of the Hooghly. The Directors suggested that Chittagong might be taken and fortified. In the end they resolved to make war on the Mughuls and got permission in 1686 to declare war against Aurangzīb. Saugor was too much exposed to storms. Chittagong was too distant and Hooghly was impossible. After their expulsion from Bengal and after trying various sites, the English at last pitched upon Kalikātā, the site of Calcutta, as satisfying all their objects.

When the Afghāns revolted in Bengal and ravaged the whole valley of the Hooghly, the English at Calcutta as well as the Dutch at Chinsura asked for permission from the Viceroy to fortify their factories and to raise troops, and were allowed in general terms to defend themselves (1697). The English began to build walls and bastions around their factory, and the next year they were permitted to rent the two neighbouring villages of Sutanuti and Govindapur. In 1700 the Directors constituted Bengal into a separate Presidency, (the Presidency of Fort William) with Sir Charles Eyre as its first President. He was soon succeeded by John Beard, a trusted servant who strengthened the fortification and increased the garrison. On Aurangzīb's death in 1707 the English, fearing a civil war, built two bastions to their fort by the river side and boldly threatened retaliations on Mughul officials for any injury that might be done to them. The Emperor, Bahādur Shāh, and Murshid Qulī Khān, the

Viceroy, recognised and confirmed their privileges, and the English looked hopefully towards an era of peace and prosperity.

1. It is worthwhile to emphasize the fact that "Columbus's voyage to America was an integral part of the process of Atlantic exploration initiated by Prince Henry, the Navigator. Columbus's knowledge of Atlantic winds and tides had been mostly acquired on Portuguese ships; his inference that a westerly course would bring him to Cipangu was to a great extent founded on data furnished by Portuguese pilots". (Jayne, *Vasco da Gama and his successors*, 1910, p. 51).
2. For unfavourable versions of the capture, cf. Firishta (Briggs's Transl.), Vol. III, p. 34 and Rowlandson's *Tuhfat*, p. 135.
- 2a. For a sympathetic estimate of St. Xavier, cf. Sir J. Stephen, *Essays in Ecclesiastical Biography* (1849)—Founders of Jesuitism.
3. When war was declared between England and Spain in 1584-85, the English met the difficulty by directly breaking into the Portuguese preserves on the West African coast and in the Indian Ocean. When Spain tightened her hold on the Straits of Gibraltar and on Sicily, Sardinia and Naples, the prosperity of the English Levant Company, which traded mainly in the products of Turkey, Syria and Egypt, was menaced and the English were forced to seek a new route. Spain attempted to close in on the Dutch at the Straits of Malacca and persuaded the native princes of the Malay Peninsula to shut them out effectively from that region (1598-1601). In 1602, the Dutch concentrated all their energies in the formation of a united and armed national trading company. Their fleet routed the Portuguese near Bantam in Java and got possession of the passage to the Moluccas and the Spice Islands. In 1603, they threatened Goa itself, and by 1619 they became masters of Java and Ceylon. The Cape of Good Hope also fell into their hands later.

The exclusive possession of the Spice Islands became their great goal. Their first endeavour was to secure the entire control of the Straits of Malacca, the narrow sea between Sumatra and the Malay Peninsula. They entered into an alliance with the ruler of Achin (at the north-western extremity of Sumatra) which commanded the entrance to the Straits. They allied themselves with the kingdom of Johore on the opposite coast and tried to capture Malacca from the Portuguese. By 1641, the Dutch had become complete masters of the Straits.

4. The Dutch Government unified all the minor companies into one great Dutch United East India Company with a monopoly of the Eastern trade for 21 years. The Company was divided into six committees representing the six provinces which subscribed to the common capital. The Government nominated the Directors, audited the accounts, supervised the instructions to the servants and appointed an Executive Committee of seventeen who served as an intermediate body between the Government and the Company. The Company was empowered to make war or peace, seize foreign ships, establish colonies, construct forts and coin money. Even from the very beginning, the Company had a large working capital and willingly spent large sums on troops and fortresses. The Dutch Government supported the Company in all its undertakings, subsidised its expeditions and made it a semi-national concern.
5. The number of subscribers to the Company was 217. The first Governor and Committee-Men (i.e., the Chairman and the managing committee) were nominated in the charter and their successors were to be annually elected by the share-holders. The Governor and Committee-Men frequently submitted for confirmation all their most important acts to meetings or 'General Courts' of all the subscribers of the Company.

At first the Company conducted their trade by means of *separate voyage*, each separate voyage being undertaken by a minor group among the subscribers who furnished the capital required for the voyage, shared the profits and wound up the whole concern themselves, the capital being returned to each subscriber at the end of the voyage. In 1612 a new arrangement, known as joint stock, was adopted by which for each joint stock, subscriptions were raised for several voyages extending over a period of years instead of for a

## EUROPEAN SETTLEMENTS

single voyage. But each group of voyages closed its affairs and wound up its profits in the same way as each separate voyage.

6. Surat traded largely in the fine cotton fabrics and muslins of Upper India as well as in indigo, which was produced in large quantities in the neighbourhood of Āgra. Surat was then one of the chief centres of maritime trade from the Straits of Malacca to the Persian Gulf, and caravans started from it for all the inland parts of India and for the great cities of Golconda, Āgra, Delhi and Lahore. By their control of Surat and Ormuz, the English were able to protect the pilgrim route to Mecca from the Indian Coast from molestation by the Portuguese and the pirates.
7. The English factory at Surat became very prosperous and there "caravans came and went to all the inland capitals of India, Golconda, Āgra, Delhi, Lahore; and the products of Asia from the Straits of Malacca to the Persian Gulf were piled up on the wharves of the Tapti. Merchants flocked in such numbers to Surat that during the busy winter months lodgings could scarcely be had." A number of able Presidents were responsible for this prosperity in English trade. The terrible famine that raged in Gujarāt in 1631 greatly injured the position of the English and on one occasion they had to withdraw their factories from Ahmadābād and Broach and even thought of abandoning Surat, while a Mughul governor threw the English President into prison for an act of piracy committed by Courten's ships. But in spite of this set-back the Surat factors did not lose heart. The factory grew with a strength of its own until in 1657 it was constituted the sole presidency of the English in India. "Surat illustrates the position which the English quickly secured in the economy of the Mughal Empire, as sure source of revenue, as sea-police for the coast, and the patrol of the ocean-path to Mecca, gradually developing into negotiators on behalf of the native government".
8. In 1626 both the English and the Dutch advanced from Surat and seized Bombay. But they could not retain possession of it for long. In 1653 the English factors at Surat urged upon the Directors to make the island a fortified station and to persuade the Portuguese in return for a consideration to take possession of that place and of Bassein also. In the following year the Directors drew the attention of Cromwell to this suggestion.
9. He had a clear perception of the brilliant future of Bombay and wrote to his King at Lisbon that "only the obedience I owe your Majesty, as a vassal, could have forced me to this deed (i.e. the cession of the island) because I foresee the great troubles that from this neighbourhood will result to the Portuguese, and that India will be lost (to the Portuguese) the same day in which the English nation is settled in Bombay."
10. Oxenden gave the first impetus to the growth of Bombay. He clearly saw, even when no Suez Canal was looming in the distance, that Bombay would become key to India and he garrisoned the island and fortified it. His regulations were adopted as the model for all the military establishments of the company.
11. He died in 1677 at Surat; and his Council wrote of him thus: "Multiplicity of words may multiply the sense of our loss, but cannot depict his greatness". His character is best summarised in the following words of an appreciative historian: "The figure of Aungier stands out in bold relief on the pages of history—the first man in India who taught us the art of self-government and the wisdom of dealing with our neighbours—sage in counsel and bold in action." It was Aungier that, for the first time in the early history of the Company, realised the importance of a policy of religious toleration, unlike either the Portuguese or the Spaniards. With him commerce was more important than conversion, and a careful study of his life will clearly show that he and Bombay were both born for each other; in fact, it was he who indicated to the Company what its policy should be in India in the future.
12. He says that the Indians asked the English merchants: "What has your sword done? Whoever felt your power? We see Dutch outdo you; the Portugals have behaved themselves like men. You can scarce keep Bombai, which you got as we know, not by your valour but by compact (with the Portuguese); and you will pretend to be men of war or cope with our princes? It is fitter for you to live on merchandise and submit to us".

## THE MUGHUL EMPIRE

13. During his Governorship (1682-1690), there happened three serious and unforeseen difficulties which contributed to the utter failure of his administration, viz., (1) the military revolt under Keigwin (1683-84); (2) troubles from interlopers and pirates on a large scale; and (3) the policy of territorial expansion which only brought upon the Company bitter defeat and humiliation. Child had to eat the humble pie from the Mughul Emperor who imposed most humiliating terms upon him. He did not survive long after his disgrace.
14. The distressing events of the Governorships of Child and Gayer had a disastrous effect on the prosperity of Bombay. They seriously affected the growth of the population and prosperity of Bombay and brought the city to a chaotic condition. The favourite city of Aungier thus fell on evil days. There was plenty of crime, immorality and disease in the city; there was no control over the factors, nor any over their masters; and it became the fashion for the English to be vicious and reckless, as contemporary writers abundantly testify.
15. Day went to England in 1641 to plead personally for his settlement before the Court of Directors, while Cogan, his successor, suffered much before he was excused from all blame and from responsibility for the charge of building the fort. Even as late as 1647, the Directors were of the view that the building of the fort was a very indiscreet step. The settlement was at first governed from Bantam and its trade chiefly consisted of Indian calicoe and muslins needed for the Bantam market.
16. Agent Greenhill paid a visit to Śrīraṅga Rāya, either at Vellore or at Chandragiri and obtained a *cowle* for the possession of Madras. A letter from the Madras factors to Surat, dated 21 January, 1646, tells us that Greenhill had returned from the king having got some addition to the privileges confirmed by him. "In the year Parthiwa, the month Kartika, the Moon in the wane, the king over all kings, the holiest and amongst all cavaliers the greatest, Śrīraṅga Rāya, the mighty King God, gives this *cowle* unto Agent Thomas Ivie, Chief Captain of the English and the Company of that nation".  
 Mīr Jumla's authority over the coast country round Madras became fully consolidated by 1647. He had in his service a number of European guns and cannon-founders and well appreciated the advantages of European help. From Cumbum he extended the dominion of Golconda, i.e., his own power, to Gandikota, Chandragiri and Tirupati. His dominion in the Carnatic covered an area 300 miles long and 50 miles broad. He maintained an army of 5,000 well-mounted cavalry of his own, besides 4,000 horse of his Sultān's. His infantry troops numbered 20,000; he had an excellent park of artillery and a large number of trained elephants.
17. Pulicat suffered a loss of 15,000 and San Thome was injured equally badly. But, on the whole, in these years, fortune did not treat the English badly. Their trade indeed suffered from the prevailing famine and military operations. But they had got the Raya's confirmation of their privileges, and preserved the friendship of the Muslim conqueror as well as a further confirmation of their rights.
18. Thus closed an incident which had its parallel in both Bombay and St. Helena, in which the Company's authority was set at nought by its own servants under pretence of protecting the King's honour (c.f. Keigwin's *Rebellion in Bombay*).
19. In 1682 the English got permission from the Marāthā ruler of Gingee to settle and trade at Port Novo and at Cuddalore. Job Charnock, the founder of Calcutta, took refuge at Madras on his expulsion from Bengal by the Mughuls who threatened to attack Madras also. But the storm blew over and Nawab Zulfikār Khān, the Mughul General in the campaign against Gingee, confirmed the privileges in Madras and other places. In 1690 the English purchased the fort of Tegnapatam, Fort St. David near Cuddalore, from Rājāram Chatrapati, then ruling from Gingee.

The scheme of starting a Corporation for Madras had originated with Sir Josia Child who thought that if influential natives were made Aldermen and members of the Corporation, they would easily persuade the people to pay taxes. The Mayor and Aldermen were to form a court for the trial of civil and criminal cases. The Mayor's Court continues to this day under the name of the Presidency Magistrate's Court and the Corporation also continues to this day. But though the Corporation was formed with a flourish of trumpets,

## EUROPEAN SETTLEMENTS

the taxes were not easily collected; and the people strongly resisted anything like the imposition of a house-tax.

20. He was Governor for the unusually long term of 11 years from 1698 to 1709; and his term of office proved to be "the golden age of Madras in respect of the development of trade and increase of wealth." His successful resistance to the attack of Dāūd Khān, the Mughul ruler of the Carnatic, the permanent fortification of the Black Town, the acquisition of numerous villages in the vicinity of Madras, and the firm control of the so-called Right Hand and Left Hand Castes of the Black Town which frequently quarrelled and came to blows—these are the chief events of his Governorship. But his most important service was his defence of the Company and protection of its interests against the new Company that was formed in 1698, and its representatives.
21. Latest research proves beyond doubt that Gabriel Boughton got the concession of free trade for himself and not for the English in general. Cf. S. Chaudhuri "The Myth of the English East India Company's Trading Privileges in Bengal," 1651-1686, *Bengal Past and Present*, Sri J. N. Sarkar Centenary Volume, December 1970, pp. 287-292 (Editor).
22. The number of factors in the Bengal settlements was more than doubled, their moral tone was greatly improved, and everything appeared to progress very satisfactorily. The English Agent wrote to the Directors as follows: "Bengal is a rich province. Raw silk is abundant. The *taffaties* are various and fine. The salt-petre is cheap and of the best quality.... The goods have been sold at a great advantage. Our operations are growing so extensive that we shall be obliged to build new and large warehouses".
23. Streyntsham Master introduced a new system of management and account keeping in the Bengal factories. Later, he inspected the factories again when he was the Governor of Madras and took severe measures to correct the indiscipline that marked the life of the Bengal factors.
24. Job Charnock, the founder of Calcutta, tried three places on the Hooghly river before he fixed upon Calcutta, *viz*, Hooghly, Uluberia and the island of Hijli. The towns of Hooghly and Uluberia (at the point where the Damodar River joins the Hooghly) were both situated on the western bank and completely exposed to attack by the Mughul enemy advancing from the west. The island of Hijli near the mouth of the river seemed suitable enough at first sight; but it could be easily reached by the Mughul army and was, besides, in a malarious swamp. The last site which Charnock tried was Sutanuti on the eastern bank of the Hooghly. It could not be approached by the Mughul troops from the West and was strategically safe, being flanked by morasses on its eastern and southern sides. The English by sending their troops up the river could prevent the enemy from marching on Calcutta and even cut him off at his base. At a place, a few miles lower down the Hooghly than Calcutta, the river had scooped for itself a long deep pool which at high tide was accessible to heavy ships and which was the anchoring place of the great annual Portuguese fleets to Bengal since 1530. That pool now forms the Calcutta Harbour.

The foundation of Calcutta in 1690 marks the beginning of the fourth period of the history of the English settlements in Bengal. Job Charnock clearly saw that Mughul *farmāns* and promises would be no good protection to the English and, like Hedges, felt that they must possess a fortified place. Charnock had to fly from Hooghly before the Mughuls on the outbreak of war to the site of present Calcutta and to Hijli. In September 1687, he anchored at Calcutta for a second time and opened negotiations for leave to build a factory. After trying several places on the river and sheltering themselves at Madras for a year, Charnock and his men were invited to settle at Calcutta by the new Mughul Viceroy; and he returned to Calcutta in August, 1690. Next year he secured an Imperial order allowing the English to continue their trade in Bengal on a small yearly payment.

## CHAPTER XVII

# POLITICAL THEORY AND ADMINISTRATIVE ORGANISATION

### I. NATURE OF THE MUGHUL GOVERNMENT

The Mughul emperors ruled without any effective check on their authority. In theory they were only servants of the law, the Muslim law. They could neither supersede it nor modify it. But in actual practice this was true of the personal law of the Muslims alone.

The Mughul emperors did not really claim the right to decide the religious beliefs of the Muslims. The law and practical attitude towards the Hindus has been mentioned above (pp. 234, 305-6, and later in chapter XVIII. Cf. also Vol. VI, pp. 617-622). The administrative organisation was recognised in practice as lying beyond the jurisdiction of the Qāzīs. Even in countries like Persia, Afghānistān, or Egypt, where almost the entire population had been converted to Islām, the Muslim rulers had felt it necessary to incorporate pre-Muslim customs in the organisation of the government. In India, where the preponderant bulk of the population refused to accept Islām, it was all the more difficult to organise government according to the Muslim law. The rulers exercised greater liberty in the organisation of the government. They acknowledged themselves as the agents of Islām, interested in its spread among the non-Muslims and in securing conformity to orthodox practices among the Muslims. In return, the theologians usually left them alone in the organisation of government. The practices of the first four Caliphs were exalted by the Muslim jurists as the Muslim policy. But the Shiahhs differed violently from this view. Thus a good deal of latitude was left to the Muslim rulers in the organisation of the government. Most of the Mughul emperors, therefore, felt themselves at liberty to order things as they pleased provided what they did was not actually opposed to the Qur'ān.

The Mughul emperors assumed titles which placed their authority far beyond the reach of the jurists. Akbar, Jahāngīr, Shāh Jahān and Aurangzīb, all claimed to be the 'shadow of God', 'Vakil' (agent) of God on Earth, 'Khalifa (deputy of the prophet) of their age and country'. This did not, however, amount to the assertion that there was a 'divinity hedging round the crown', much less did

this assert the divine right of kings which the contemporary Stuarts were proclaiming in England. It was as successful agents for the spread of Islām that the Mughul emperors could claim to be the 'shadow of God on Earth'. Akbar did not claim the authority to do what he liked; he simply asserted that his innovations should not be condemned unless they were contrary to the Qur'ān. Thus the Qur'ān was recognised in theory at least as the fundamental law of the State.

This should have tempered Mughul despotism and rendered it a 'limited monarchy'. It failed to do so because there was no institution in the Mughul State capable of effectively compelling the Mughul rulers to hold their hands if they ever transgressed the law. Twice under the Mughul emperors the theologians found themselves in opposition to their rulers. When Akbar changed the religious policy of the State and intended making the law of heresy and the discriminative code against the Hindus inoperative, Abdun-Nabī, his *Sadr*, opposed it and incurred his displeasure. He lost in the end and his successor lost many of his powers. Shāh Jahān's Chief Qāzī refused to proclaim Aurangzīb as Shāh Jahān's successor when Shāh Jahān was still alive. Here was Islāmic polity working as the fundamental law of the Mughul State. But the resemblance is only superficial. The Qāzī was appointed by the emperor and held office during his pleasure. Aurangzīb removed the inconvenient Qāzī and found another, who declared that Aurangzīb was exercising royal power because his father Shāh Jahān was incapacitated from acting, presumably because Aurangzīb had imprisoned him. Thus, the authority of theologians failed to make a limited monarchy of the Mughul government. It remained a despotism.

But if the Qur'ān formed the fundamental law of the Mughul State it may be argued that it was a theocracy. A theocracy without an independent religious head is impossible. It is further necessary that the authority of such a theologian should be recognised without dispute by the vast bulk of the population. The Mughul government lacked such an office. The Mughul government was no more a theocracy than the government of George II in Ireland.

The Mughul government was then a despotism but of a peculiar brand. Its absolute authority was never so interpreted by its rulers. Theoretically, and to a large extent in practice, the judiciary was independent. Administration of justice through Hindu Pañchāyats and Qāzīs' courts owed nothing to the king though he made provisions for the maintenance of the Qāzīs. The Mughul rulers made few laws of their own and did not claim the right to do so.

## II. THE EMPEROR

There does not seem to have been any generally accepted law of succession. Dominion was not even supposed to run in the house of Bābur alone. Mahdī Khvāja was Bābur's son-in-law. Claim to the throne does not seem to have been confined to the sons of the last ruler. Khusrav, Akbar's grandson, was a hot favourite for the throne when Akbar lay dying. Nomination by the reigning monarch did not have much effect. Bābur's Prime Minister, Mir Khalīfa, knew Bābur's wishes when he was trying to supplant Humāyūn. At Jahāngīr's death, his nominee, Shahryār, was quietly passed over. Aurangzīb's rebellion against Shāh Jahān challenged the right of the reigning monarch both to nominate a successor and to take steps that his nominee should succeed him. The eldest son does not seem to have possessed any incontestable claim. Aurangzīb was not Shāh Jahān's eldest son. Shāh Jahān had become the eldest only after having Khusrav murdered. The empire was not considered an indivisible entity. Bābur's kingdom was inherited by Kāmran and Humāyūn. Humāyūn's dominion was divided between Hakīm and Akbar. Aurangzīb intended a fourfold division of the country.

As the new ruler took his seat on the throne, the court would resound with the cries of 'Badshah Salamat', proclaiming to the rest of the country that a new king had ascended the throne. The new monarch announced a breach with his non-royal past by taking a title—a Salim would blossom forth into a Jahāngīr, a Khurram into a Shāh Jahān. Presents would then be offered to the new king. A design for the new coins would be selected and a verse to adorn them chosen. The popular proclamation would come on the Friday following the accession. Before the Muslims assembled for the Friday prayers, the Imām would start by reading the *Khutba*. This would include prayers, among others, for the reigning monarch. The new monarch's name would now be added to the list.

The emperor was the fountain of all honours, source of all administrative power and the dispenser of supreme justice. These were not empty phrases. He summoned a few of his highest officers inside his private apartments to discuss necessary business with them. Once a week or oftener he held a court of justice. To these might be added the king's appearance in a balcony early in the morning when he received such complaints and demands for redress as his subjects chose to present to him.

The emperors came to the salutation balcony at sunrise soon after their morning devotions. Most imperial palaces had a special

window—*Jharokha*—assigned for the purpose. This would overlook a spacious court where not only a large number of people could get together for *Darshan*, but where a review of troops could also be held. This done, the emperor felt himself free to receive petitions. Badāūnī's complaints about the 'low people' assembling here in Akbar's time suggest that the institution worked effectively under Akbar. Under Jahāngīr we find admission to the enclosure jealously guarded by officials. Shāh Jahān complained that he could not obtain even twenty petitions daily.

At noon the emperor viewed from here elephant fights held twice a week; lions fought buffaloes, leopards killed deers, jugglers performed their tricks to amuse the emperor.

The *Jharokha Darshan* thus mainly served as a means of proclaiming the king's presence amidst his subjects.

The king next appeared in the *Dīwān-i-Ām*. Shāh Jahān came to it straight from the *Jharokha*. Aurangzīb appeared twice here, in the forenoon and the afternoon. Akbar seems to have held it in the afternoon. The morning sessions under Shāh Jahān were devoted to the inspection of workshops and stables; and public business proper seems to have been done in the afternoon only. Aurangzīb held two public sessions for some years only and confined himself to one afternoon session later on.

It was not a *Durbār* as we understand the term today—a place for formal audience and amusement of the king. It did not provide any *Tāmāshā*. It was the king-in-court transacting State business in public. It was an assembly of officials presided over by the king.

The court had a set of officers. The *Mār-i-Tuzak* acted as the chief secretary. The imperial news-writer daily attended the court, with two reporters. The Superintendent of the Royal Post was present with a staff of royal messengers. The Chief Huntsman, the Superintendent of the Royal camp, the Superintendent of the Imperial Body-guard and Superintendent of the Guard were always in attendance upon the king.

The business of the day began with the reading of the previous day's orders. They were confirmed and then sent to various departments for proper action. After this the *Dīwān* or the *Bakhshi* read extracts from the official letters they had received from provincial governors, district officers, commanders of garrison towns, and collectors of customs. The emperor would listen attentively and, where needed, issue orders promptly. Some of the high officers in the court would then submit the requests of the State servants

serving in the *mofussil* from the private letters received by them. The emperor would pause a little for deliberation and then announce his orders, usually calling for a report from the *Dīwān*, the *Bakhshī* or the *Khān-i-Sāmān*. Sometimes the applicant was told to approach his immediate superiors. The imperial news-writer would also read extracts from the reports sent by his subordinates from different parts of the country. The Superintendent of various workshops or keepers of royal stores would also make reports and submit their demands. Royal messengers sent out by the emperor for bringing reports from local officials submitted them here. Royal Commissioners appointed to make investigation locally submitted their reports.

Appointments of all the *mansabdārs* were made here; questions of their promotion, demotion and dismissal, the grant of *jāgīrs* to them in lieu of salary, posting them to various jobs—all required the sanction of the emperor which was granted in the *durbār*. Usually the governors, *faujdārs* and garrison commanders had direct access to the imperial court with regard to the matters in which they were concerned. The provincial revenue officials, however, had to submit all their reports to the imperial *dīwān* who then presented the papers with his own recommendations. Even the under-*dīwāns* at the capital were required to submit their papers through the imperial *dīwān* who read the appropriate portions with the suggestions in the open court.

Ambassadors, distinguished visitors, defeated rebels, vanquished rulers and their representatives were all received in the *durbār* bringing their presents with them. Here, again, were honours conferred on them, presents given and the terms to be granted to them announced.

The great officers of the State sent to the provinces took their leave of the emperor and received his parting instructions; successful commanders returning from their expeditions were honoured by being received in the open court, sometimes even with their retinues.

On festive occasions, the emperor received the presents of his *mansabdārs*, present and absent. He also announced his own gifts to them. The king's birthdays, the lunar, and till Aurangzīb's reign, the solar New Year's Days, the *Īds* and the *Dusserah* were thus celebrated with great eclat.

Two secretaries belonging to the imperial news-writers' department were on duty every day by turn. Everything said or done in the court was recorded.

The department of the *Khān-i-Sāmān* made heavy demands on the emperor's time in the court. Superintendents in charge of various workshops had to be guided by the imperial taste. Thus all questions concerning workshops, buildings, roads, tents, gardens, imperial sport or amusements, were decided here.

The *Ghusal Khānā* was a retired place for doing important work and holding important consultations where only the highly placed officials of the king were admitted. The commanders of expeditions about to leave, governors proceeding on their appointments were sometimes called to hold confidential consultations with the emperor here. Admission was regulated by permits. A Superintendent of the *Ghusal Khānā* secured the observance of its rule of etiquette. Under Shāh Jahān, at least, if an official was held guilty of an offence against decorum in the *Ghusal Khānā* he was not allowed to leave till he had paid the fine imposed on him. It was an unceremonial gathering. Jahāngīr would interrupt its proceedings by taking his usual cups of wine here. Akbar discussed religious questions here. The emperor sat either on a throne, a chair or on the rich carpet specially spread for him. All members present were allowed to sit.

The *Khilwat Khānā* was any place where the emperor decided to hold confidential consultations in privacy. The *Dīwān* and the *Bakhshī* were almost always present. Other officers concerned could be summoned if the emperor so desired.

Every Wednesday the *Dīwān-i-Ām-o-Khas* would be converted into a court of justice. The Superintendent of the Court presented the aggrieved persons, probably explaining in each case their grievances. The emperor would then do justice as he thought fit.

The rest of the time of the emperor was spent in the *harem*, or at prayers, in sleep, or in amusements.

It is necessary to remember that the Mughul emperor seldom missed attendance at one or another of these administrative conferences. As long as this continued, all went well with the empire. No fool could afford to be in the company of such a large number of highly placed officials without learning something from them. No one who was a fool could fail to be discovered as one by such discerning persons.

The Mughul Emperor thus formed the pivot on which the entire administration turned. In camp or in the palaces, well or ill, he never neglected business and thus always played an important part in the administration of the country. He presided over it, inspired its activities, and very largely he determined its character.

## III. HIGH OFFICERS OF THE STATE

No absolute ruler, however diligent, can discharge all the duties of the government at the centre, alone. He must have round him persons to whom he can entrust his commissions, who act as his eyes and ears, and spare him a lot of detailed work. Under the early Mughuls, Bābur had Mahdī Khvāja as his Prime Minister and Zain-ud-dīn as his *Sadr*. Humāyūn does not seem to have appointed any one to a position higher than that of a secretary; on his return from Persia Bairam Khān occupied an exceptional position in the State, but more as a great commander than as a high administrator. During Akbar's minority Bairam Khān acted as his regent (*Vakīl*), discharging all the functions of the head of the State in Akbar's name. When Bairam Khān fell, the faction that had brought about his fall could not expect to step into his shoes. Though first Māham Anaga and then Munīm Khān continued to guide Akbar's administration they occupied the position of the power behind the throne. Munīm Khān could not issue orders on his own without at least making the pretence of consulting his young sovereign.

Soon after this Akbar brought about a reorganisation of the government. The *Vakīl* disappeared as an administrative officer, and the title was retained as an honorific office. Henceforward the *Dīwān* signed all the State documents both as the *Dīwān* as well as the *Vakīl*.

The Mughul ministry in Akbar's reorganisation came to consist of the *Dīwān*, the *Mīr Bakhshī*, the *Khān-i-Sāmān*, and the *Sadr* as principal heads of the revenue, the military, the public works and industries and the judicial, ecclesiastical, and education departments, respectively. This division of work continued throughout the Mughul period. Under the Ministers, but having the right of access to the emperor, were the *Mustaufī* (the Auditor General), the Superintendents of the Artillery, of Elephants and of War Boats, the Chief *Qāzī*, the Chief *Muftī* (Legal Adviser) and the Chief *Muhtasib* (Censor).

The *Dīwān* was the King's minister *par excellence*. The work of every other minister came under his supervision. As the keeper of the King's purse he had a say in all matters where any expenditure was to be incurred. All the earning departments were under his control. The *Bakhshī*, the *Khān-i-Sāmān* and the *Sadr* spent the revenues the *Dīwān* raised. All the imperial orders were first recorded in his office before being sent, and he alone issued orders on behalf of the king. Of course, the entire revenue administration of the empire was under him. Thus, the smooth working of the administrative machinery very often turned on the way the

*Dīwān*'s office was run. The Mughul emperors were very fortunate in some of their *Dīwāns*. Rājā Todarmal, Rājā Raghunāth, *Dīwān* Sa'd-ullah Khān and Ja'far Khān left traditions of public service which became the envy of the later ages.

After the *Dīwān* came the *Mīr Bakhshī*. The Mughul emperors never employed Commander-in-Chiefs of their entire army. This was not feasible because the Mughul army mainly consisted of the independent contingents of the *Mansabdārs*. The *Mīr Bakhshī* was his chief military adviser. He worked as the Inspector-General of the Contingents of the *Mansabdārs* and their Paymaster holding annual reviews of troops and troopers.

He was the nerve centre of the administration. All the news-writers outside the capital were his agents. The provincial *Bakhshī* was the news-writer-in-chief for his province. The provincial *Bakhshī*'s report usually was a review of the work of all the *Mansabdārs* in the province. The *Mīr Bakhshī* was thus in a position to pass judgment on the work of all the public servants working outside the capital.

At the capital, the *Mīr Bakhshī* had several departmental heads under him. The Superintendents of artillery, elephants and war-boats were placed immediately under him. There was a separate *Bakhshī* of gentleman troops called *Ahadīs*.

The *Khān-i-Sāmān* was the third secular minister. In theory he was an under-minister only, being technically under the *Dīwān*. In actual practice, however, he had independent access to the emperor and was usually allotted lump sum grants which he distributed as he thought fit. He represented his own requirements himself to the emperor in the court. He was the minister in charge of the household department, royal buildings, roads, gardens, purchase, stores and workshops. He thus performed the duties of modern ministers for public works, trade, industry and agriculture, besides acting as the controller of the royal household.

Sometimes very near the king's person, but administratively outside the king's servants, was the *Sadr*. Associated with him there were a Chief *Qāzī* and a Legal Remembrancer (the *Muftī*) and under him worked the Chief *Muhtasib* (Censor) and the imperial collector of the *jizya*, at the capital, and *Qāzīs*, *Muhtasibs*, collectors of the *jizya*, and *Sadrs* in the provinces.

The *Sadr* was the Chief Justice, Minister for Ecclesiastical Affairs, Minister of Education, and Royal Alms, or all rolled into

one. But in the judicial department he functioned more as the Chief *Qāzī* than the *Sadr*. In Aurangzīb's reign there were separate Chief *Qāzīs* and *Sadrs*.

The *Sadr's* main duty was patronage of learning, piety and scholarship. Akbar appointed provincial *Sadrs* besides the imperial *Sadr*. This curtailed the power of the Chief *Sadr* since recommendations for making grants did not always originate with him. Akbar seems to have made it necessary for his later *Sadrs* to take his orders in making grants. Under Jahāngīr this system continued. The *Sadrs* and the other officers under them were usually stipendiaries under Akbar. But Akbar gave his last *Sadr* a *mansab*.

The *Muhtasib* was both an ecclesiastical and secular officer. As a secular officer he examined weights and measures and saw to it that fair prices prevailed in the market. He recovered debts and traced and handed over to their owners fugitive slaves. He saw to it that public streets or markets were not built upon. Under Aurangzīb his ecclesiastical functions predominated, whereas he performed certain border line functions as well; putting down the public sale of intoxicants, wine, *bhāng*, *Tāḍi* (toddy), protecting sexual morality by preventing the prostitutes from carrying on their profession openly in the cities, and preventing gambling may be considered as his border line functions. Besides all this he had to secure the observance of the punitive law against the Hindus as promulgated by Aurangzīb; thus, putting down of public worship by the Hindus, closing down of some of their shrines, the enforcement of sartorial regulations, prevention of the celebration of the Hindu festivals of *Dīpāvalī* and *Holi*, and putting down of newly erected temples were some of his duties. He reported apostasy and blasphemy and secured punishment of the guilty. So far as the Muslims were concerned, he had to secure the observance of the Muslim way of life as understood by Aurangzīb. He put down music, prevented the lighting of lamps on Muslim tombs and shrines on Thursday, forbade the sale of toys representing animate beings, hindered the growth of the beards of uncanonical length and shape, and enforced sartorial regulations. He prevented the public non-observance of the fast during the month of *Ramzān*. At prayer time he sent all Muslims to pray in the nearby mosque.

The *Dārogā-i-Dāk Chaukī* ran the imperial post. His agents were everywhere. At every stage, a horse was kept ready for use by his messengers. They brought news in all ways, on foot and on horse, by rivers or over the mountains.

## IV. TAXATION IN MUGHUL INDIA

The Mughul emperors exploited several sources of revenue. They levied direct taxes on income and persons, profession and property. They made money by extensive commercial undertakings of various kinds. They raised substantial sums by indirect taxes such as customs duties, transit dues, octroi, sales tax, and the excise duty on manufactures. Administration of justice brought in a small sum in fines and judicial fees. The emperor was the heir to all property without proper title, and salvages from ship-wrecks were his. Registration fee was paid when transactions were recorded or certain ceremonies performed. The emperors received presents from their officers and subjects as also from foreign rulers sending embassies to India. War often became a source of income; indemnity was sometimes levied besides receipts from plunder. Under Bābur and Humāyūn, and again under Aurangzīb, certain burdens were shouldered by non-Muslims which can be best described as taxes on religion.

It is well to remember that there was always a difference between what the citizens paid and the receipts credited to the treasury. Many officials levied charges which were not credited to the State; some of these formed customary authorised methods whereby they were allowed to supplement their salaries; others were not only not authorised but were from time to time forbidden by various emperors. The first should undoubtedly be included among taxes whereas the second class can only be termed exactions. But both formed the burden the people had to bear.

Among the direct taxes on income, the land revenue figured most. As in modern India, several systems of assessment and collection of land revenue prevailed in Mughul India. All of them were based on the principle that the land revenue demanded by the State should not ordinarily exceed one-third of the actual produce and should never be more than one-half thereof. In certain States of Rajputāna as little as  $1/7$  or  $1/8$  of the produce was paid. Aurangzīb fixed one-half of the produce as the maximum.

Of course, in certain cases a share of the actual produce, when harvested, was claimed. But sharing could take several other forms as well. Sometimes the standing crop was divided between the cultivator and the State. In some parts of the country, the cultivator assigned one-third of his field to the State as it was brought under cultivation. To avoid bickering on both sides *Kankut* was resorted to. When the harvest was ripening, skilful appraisers were appointed who tried to estimate the probable yield of the crop.

One-third of the estimated crop was then assigned to the State and was paid when the crop was harvested.

Sharing was seldom considered a satisfactory method of collecting land revenue. It provided several occasions for defrauding the State. One way out of the difficulty was provided by resorting to an outright payment in cash irrespective of the crop area or the value of the crop. This was done by taking an average of the land-revenue paid by a cultivator for all his lands during the last ten years. *Nasaq*, as this system was called, seems to have been much favoured by Aurangzīb.

But the *Zabti* was the system most in use in different parts of the Mughul empire. Developed by Akbar on the lines laid down by Sher Shāh, it set up a demand schedule differing, though ever so slightly, from one assessment circle to another. There were more than 170 assessment circles in the empire, every one of them with a schedule of its own. The assessment circle represented an area where the same, or nearly the same, cash prices for agricultural produce usually prevailed. The schedule of demand was based on the principle that one-third of the produce was due to the State. For this purpose the assessment rates of Sher Shāh were used. These laid down the amount in kind due to the State from one *bighā* of land under different crops. Sher Shāh had prepared his schedule by taking the average produce per *bighā* of various crops in fields of varying fertility. The average seems to have been struck some time about 1542, and the lands selected must have been in the neighbourhood of the capital, Āgra.

Akbar made various experiments for successfully converting Sher Shāh's demand in kind into cash. As we have seen above, he guarded against varying prices in different parts of the country by dividing it into about 172 assessment circles. In an assessment circle, the average of the prices of various crops prevailing during the past ten years was struck and used for the conversion of the State demand into cash.

Thus, wherever the *Zabti* prevailed the cultivators paid land revenue only for that portion of their land which was under cultivation. As it was paid in cash, the rates per *bighā* differed from crop to crop.

Under all types of assessments except the *Nasaq*, the State stood to gain if more land was brought under cultivation or if more valuable crops were substituted for those yielding lower prices. It became thus an urgent duty of the State to encourage agriculture.

A graduated system of assessment was laid down when waste land was broken or fallow land brought under cultivation. The normal rate of assessment was reached in the fifth year, thus allowing a margin for initial expenses in the first four years. Advances were also given to the cultivators in order to enable them to defray the initial cost of the change.

As the State demand was very high, whenever crops failed, remissions were granted. Under Aurangzīb it was customary to leave with the cultivator at least one-half of the actual produce in bad years. Though this may have made a big fall in the income of the State, it does not seem to have provided much relief to the cultivator during famine. They left their land uncultivated and wandered away in search of food.

The cultivators owned the land subject to the State's claim to the revenue. They could sell, mortgage and give it in gift. Usually, there was not much buying of land because in most places enough wasteland was available for cultivation.

The system of collection of land revenue introduced under Akbar safeguarded the rights of the cultivators. Every season surveyors visited the village, and with the help of the *Fatwari*, who was an employee of the village, recorded the area under various crops. On the basis of this record demand slips were issued early in the season, indicating the amount due in cash from every cultivator. The village *Muqaddam* collected the land-revenue some time in cash, some time in kind, but issued receipts for cash. He paid the whole demand for the village in cash and was granted 2½% for his pains by the State. Akbar abolished all customary cesses; the surveyor's fee, the expenses of their board, and the *Muqaddam's* commission were all paid by the State. A copy of the demand register was sent to the *Dīwān's* office. At the end of the collections for the season, an attested list of arrears was sent to the *Dīwān's* office. The arrears formed the first charge on the crop. Any amount received in excess was credited to the next season's land revenue. The collections were made twice a year in one lump sum. In Aurangzīb's reign the *Nasaq* revenue was realised in instalments.

Akbar's demand formed a lighter burden than the modern land revenue assessment except in *ryotwāri areas*. No Zamindars—mere landlords—were recognised apart from the territorial chiefs. The cultivator today pays between 50% to 60% of the produce to the landlord, whereas a Mughul cultivator paid only 33 1/3% to the State. But peasant proprietors today pay about 16 2/3% of the

produce which is about one-half of what was paid by the Mughul cultivators.

Much has been made of the extra exactions of the officials and their high-handedness. That they continued charging some of the taxes remitted by the emperors seems certain, but the burden of official exactions did not probably differ much from what it is today. The Mughul cultivator had to deal with his revenue officials or *Jāgīrdārs* alone, whereas his descendant today is a victim to the exactions of the officials of the revenue, police, judicial and various other departments as well.

Several estimates have been made of the total revenue of the Mughul empire including the land revenue. Abu-'l-Fazl estimated Akbar's revenue at Rs. 13,21,36,831 and 12,00,000 betel leaves. 'Abdul Hamīd Lāhori estimated Shāh Jahān's revenue at Rs. 38,68,16,584 in the first decade of his reign. But this sum, huge by the standards of those days, and equivalent to about as Rs. 3,09,45,32,472 in its purchasing power today, did not represent the total receipt of the Mughul emperors. It excluded all presents received by the emperors, tributes paid by feudatory princes of various grades, the savings represented by the employment of the contingent of feudatory princes, probably income from the *jizya* and the pilgrimage tax, judicial fines and fees, war indemnities paid by the vanquished rulers and savings in expenditure by deductions from the salaries of public servants and by employing forced labour paid lower than their usual wages.

## V. THE MUGHUL ARMY

The Mughul army was composed of several categories. The most numerous was the cavalry. The infantry numbered very much on paper, but militarily its important part was formed by the musketeers. The heavy artillery was mostly used in sieges, but Bābur had used them in open warfare and his successors kept up the practice. The elephants had formed a pivot of the Indian army from time immemorial. Even the Mughuls found them useful. Campaigning in Bihār and Bengal necessitated the maintenance of a large variety and number of boats for military purposes.

The cavalry was made up of three types of contingents. There were the soldiers serving under the *Mansabdārs* who undertook to bring to the field a certain number of soldiers indicated by either the *swar* rank or otherwise in their warrant of appointment. Another contingent consisted of the soldiers provided by the feudatory princes for imperial services. A third group consisted of *Ahadīs*, gentlemen

troopers usually owing obedience to no one else but to the king. The contingents of the *Mansabdārs* furnished the most numerous part of the cavalry. In theory, even State contingents were contingents of their *Mansabdār*-princes. The *Mansabdārs* were organised in different ranks ranging from the commanders of 10 to those of 7000. In every rank there were three grades depending on the ratio between the *zat* and the *swar* rank of the commander. The actual number of troops brought into the field by the *Mansabdār* was at first indicated by their command. Towards the end of Akbar's reign, the *swar* rank denoted the number of soldiers a commander was expected to bring into the field. Later on, under Jahāngīr and his successors, a commander was expected to furnish  $\frac{1}{3}$  of his *swar* rank in northern India,  $\frac{1}{4}$  in the Deccan and  $\frac{1}{5}$  for service outside India, in the campaigns beyond Kābul.

A roll of soldiers employed by the *Mansabdārs* was kept. Akbar introduced the custom of taking detailed description of all the soldiers paid for from the treasury. The *Chahra*, as it was called, secured that *Mansabdārs* brought to imperial service soldiers of approved physique. Every horse carried a double brand, an imperial sign and the first word of the name of his commander. Their contingents were reviewed once a year though Aurangzīb excused this obligation to all *Mansabdārs* of 3000 and above in the Deccan.

As it was, even the original organisation of the Mughul army was defective. In the field or on the march, it was a cumbersome, slow-moving organisation into which an Akbar or a Todarmal might put some life. When Akbar appeared in Gujarāt after 22 days' rapid journey, not only were the rebels taken by surprise, even the Mughul commanders would not at first credit the story. Such feats were exceptional and as long as they did take place, the empire was safe. But the vast area of the Mughul camp with its followers always made it a slow thing and an easy target for attack. The imperial *harem* sometimes accompanied the emperor; in the Deccan we find Aurangzīb now permitting, now forbidding, the families of the soldiers from residing in the Mughul camp. But confusion was worse confounded by the fact that the Mughul commanders had no maximum of ease or comfort on the field laid down for them. They wore no uniforms. There could be no orders against wearing *Mufti* while on active service. The result was that neither in dress nor in equipment did the great *Mansabdārs* ever try to effect any simplicity on the battle field. It became a point of honour with some of them to appear as well-fed on active service as in the streets of the capital. Their luxurious standard of life became a scandal and made the Mughul army an easy target for attack by a vigilant

and more hardy enemy as the Marāthās. This was made all the more possible because there were no State arrangements for transport in the Mughul army. A soldier or an officer carried whatever baggage he could afford to take with him. This militated against the enforcement of any standard of life in the army as legitimate or permissible.

We have already seen that the lack of any State organisation for supply to the army on active service gave an active enemy a chance of embarrassing and harassing the Mughul troops by falling on their supplies. This again became very apparent during the Marāthā campaign.

The Mughul soldiers were only indirectly recruited by the emperor. The *Mansabdārs* raised them and paid them out of the money specially granted to them by the State. But the soldiers knew no higher loyalty than that to their own commander. Of course, when their commanders rebelled, the rank and file usually followed them in their rebellion. If their commander was killed in action, they fled knowing nobody to whom they could look to for orders or support.

There was lack of regimentation in the Mughul army. This led to a very low proportion of officers to men on active service. The five thousand soldiers under a Mughul *amīr* knew only one commander. Thus, when the single commander was killed in action, even if the soldiers were ready to die in his cause and on his side, no one could come forward legitimately to lead them to action. The morale of the soldiers was therefore lower than it would have been in a well-officered army, such as the Marāthā army proved to be. Panic could only be prevented by the appearance, actual or rumoured, of the commander as of Akbar at Haldighat, on the battle field. All other means proved usually abortive.

## LAW AND LEGAL INSTITUTIONS

*Sources and Character of Muslim Law*

As has been related in Volume VI, Chapter XIV, Muslim law or the *Shar'*, which is the basis of the Islāmic government and society, is considered divine by Muslims, and is, according to them, eternal and immutable. It is supreme over all persons and causes. The Islāmic jurisprudence (*fiqh*), is derived mainly from the *Qur'ān* and the *Sunnah* (the practices and traditions of the Prophet). The first of these, viz., the *Qur'ān*, is its most important source. Next to it is the *Sunnah* or *Hadīs*. It is believed that Prophet Muhammad was "the best interpreter" of the Qur'ānic revelation, and hence his acts and traditions constitute the best interpretations of the law and its application. In all those matters where the *Qur'ān* is either silent or does not give a clear injunction, the authority of the *Sunnah* or *Hadīs* is unchallengeable. But as the law found itself inadequate to meet the needs of the expanding Muslim State and society, two other sources were drawn upon. These were: the *Ijmā'* or consensus of opinion or universal consent (not of laymen but of learned *mujtahids* or jurists) and the *Qiyas* or analogy, that is the analogical reasoning with regard to the principles of the *Qur'ān* and the teachings of Muhammad. But the first two sources, namely the *Qur'ān* and the *Hadīs* were considered the most valuable and were described as the *usul-ul-usul* or the 'bases of the bases' of Islāmic jurisprudence.<sup>1</sup> In the course of time the law became very complex on account of conflicting interpretations by numerous *mujtahids* or jurists who held divergent opinions with regard to legal points and other matters that were not covered by direct injunctions of the *Qur'ān* or the *Hadīs*, and therefore, there grew up several well-defined schools of law. Leaving aside the schools of the Shiah and *Khārijī* sects, there emerged in the course of time four schools of law in orthodox Islām (Sunnism), which are considered the most authentic schools. These are: (1) the Hanafi, (2) the Maliki, (3) the Hanbali, and (4) the Shāfi. The Hanafi School was generally speaking followed in Northern India throughout the medieval period. It is so even now.

From the fact of its origin Muslim law is primarily religious, and the secular laws, if any, are subservient to the canon law. More-

over, the basis of Islāmic legislation is not legal; it is ethical. The *Qur'ān* does not "lay down legal formulas, but indicates what is right conduct and what is wrong."<sup>2</sup> It is for this reason that the Islāmic law is not susceptible of change or growth. The one relieving feature of the law, however, is that constant interpretation and re-interpretation play an important role in its development. This sometimes softens the rigidity of the law. Sometimes Muslim jurists wisely accept the *fait accompli* on the part of their rulers and statesmen and recognise their enactments as legal. For example, when in 712 A.D. Muhammad bin Qāsim, the conqueror of Sind, accorded the Hindus of Sind and Multan the status of *zimmīs* which was the special privilege of Christians and Jews, the famous Muslim Jurist, Abu Hanifah, recognised this enactment as legal. It may be said that instances of such "accommodating character were rare, but they were there and on account of circumstances sometimes made Islamic what was originally considered un-Islamic."<sup>3</sup> But the sources of Muslim law being trans-Indian, no Indian jurist, however learned and eminent, was considered competent enough to come forward with a bold interpretation of the above type. Nor was he considered capable of laying down a legal principle or elucidating any obscurity in the *Qur'ān* or supplementing the *Qur'ānic* law, "by following the line of its obvious intention in respect of cases not explicitly provided for by it."<sup>4</sup>

#### *Muslim Law and Non-Muslims*

All the schools of Muslim law were unanimous in holding that non-Muslims had no place in an Islāmic state, and that if for any reasons they were suffered to exist they could not be allowed to enjoy the same rights as Muslims who alone were its citizens. The law for non-Muslims, particularly for the Hindus, was Islām or death, and, failing that, permission could be given to them, according to Hanafite school *only*, to live as *zimmīs*, i.e., people living under an agreement as second-grade citizens with certain disabilities imposed on them. They were guaranteed safety of their lives and allowed to follow their religion, but not to observe it in an offensive manner and not to carry on any religious propaganda and proselytism. They were also subjected to some legal and political disabilities, such as not being allowed to wear fine clothes, ride on horse-back or carry arms. They were discriminated against in the matter of testimony in law courts and in marriage and also in the matter of protection under the criminal law.<sup>5</sup> They were not allowed to build new temples or to repair the old ones.<sup>6</sup> Above all they had to pay an invidious tax, called the *jizya*,<sup>7</sup> which branded them as an inferior

people. In the matter of land revenue and other taxes the law required them to pay at double the rate that the Muslims paid.

The Sultāns of Delhi (1206-1526) found it impossible to enforce the strict observance of the law as described in the books of Muslim jurists. Some of them tried their utmost to conform to the Islāmic law and practice and enforce it in their administration, but they did not succeed. Although they did not leave the Hindus undisturbed to follow their own laws and customs, yet circumstances obliged the Sultāns to make a compromise with the law of the country. Nevertheless the administration of impartial justice as far as the Hindus were concerned was unthinkable in that age.<sup>8</sup>

*Akbar repeals the Islāmic law in regard to non-Muslims*

The system described above remained in force during the reigns of Bābur and Humāyūn and under Sher Shāh who did not introduce any revolutionary change in their policy with regard to the status of the Hindus in the State. It was, however, intolerable to Akbar who was destined to be the first medieval Muslim ruler of Delhi to repeal the discriminatory laws against the non-Muslims so as to create one common citizenship and establish one uniform system of justice for all. This was done gradually, and it took nearly twenty years or more to complete the process. The first law, repealed in 1562, was with regard to the making of prisoners of war and their conversion and those of their families into slaves and Muslims. In 1563 the Hindu pilgrims' tax was abolished, and 1564 saw the abolition of the most discriminatory tax, namely, the *jizya*. The repeal of other Islāmic laws followed, and one by one all social, religious and legal disabilities imposed by the Islāmic law on the Hindus were repealed.<sup>9</sup>

Akbar accorded recognition to Hinduism and other religions in the land with the rights of legitimate propaganda and proselytism.<sup>10</sup> He issued an ordinance permitting non-Muslims to build churches, synagogues, idol-temples and fire-temples without let or hindrance.<sup>11</sup> It was laid down at the same time that there should be no interference with anyone on account of his religion and that all were free to follow any religion they liked.<sup>12</sup> Another important change made after 1580 was the permission given to those Hindus who had been forcibly converted to Islām to revert to the religion of their forefathers, if they so liked, and to Hindu women, who were forcibly married to Musalmans to be restored to their families.<sup>13</sup> A very important ordinance issued was that parents who were impelled by poverty or other compelling reasons to sell

their children could buy them back from 'servitude' when they had means to do so.<sup>14</sup> A most revolutionary ordinance led to the repeal of the law imposing punishment of death for criticising the religion of Islām or the conduct of Prophet Muhammad.<sup>15</sup>

*Akbar amends personal laws of the Muslims*

Akbar did not stop with repealing discriminatory laws against non-Muslims. He went further and tried to amend the personal law of the Muslims. Despite the contrary view expressed by a modern writer,<sup>16</sup> Akbar did make some vital amendments in the personal laws of the Muslims, specially in those relating to marriage and divorce. For example, he ordered that a man should marry only one wife, and that if she were barren, he could marry another. But normally the rule was, 'one man, one wife'. Secondly, a woman who had passed the age of hope and ceased to have menses was not allowed to marry.<sup>17</sup> Thirdly, marriage between cousins and other near relations was forbidden.<sup>18</sup> Fourthly, it was ordered that boys were not to marry before the age of 16 and girls before the age of 14.<sup>19</sup> Another law enacted was that no one was to marry a woman who was 12 years older than himself.<sup>20</sup> Another law was promulgated to the effect that boys below 12 years of age should not be circumcised.<sup>21</sup> These laws were meant to be obeyed and the *kotwals* in the cities were charged with the duty of enforcing them.<sup>22</sup>

*Akbar amends personal laws of the Hindus*

Akbar interfered with the personal laws of the Hindus also. His regulations relating to the age of marriage for boys and girls and to monogamy were applicable to all, Hindus as well as Muslims, and so also other marriage laws. He issued an ordinance permitting widows to remarry, if they so liked, and this contemplated a basic change in Hindu law. He directed that Hindu widows were not to be compelled to become a *Sati* (i.e., burnt with the dead body of the husband).<sup>23</sup>

*Akbar attempts to create common law for all*

Akbar made an attempt to create a common religio-social legal system. This he did by prohibiting Hindus, Muslims, Christians and Parsis from slaughtering animals on certain fixed days aggregating about six months in the year,<sup>24</sup> and manufacturing and drinking wine.<sup>25</sup> He introduced the practice of marrying his sons with the daughters of Hindu Rājās without converting these ladies to Islām and observed both Hindu and Muslim ceremonies at these marriages.<sup>26</sup> The laws relating to trade, barter, exchange, sale, con-

tract, etc., were in the main the same for the Hindus and Muslims, and Akbar abolished all discriminatory regulations in the application of these laws. Likewise he prescribed uniform rates of land revenue and other taxes relating to minerals, quarries, manufactured articles, excise, octroi, merchandise, sea-borne trade, etc. The result of these measures was the extension of the scope of common law.<sup>27</sup> This was deliberately done, because Akbar's policy aimed at bringing the various communities in India under one common legal system as far as possible. Conversely, the scope of Muslim jurisprudence shrank in the same proportion. Sometimes Akbar disregarded the Muslim law of evidence by refusing to rely exclusively on the evidence of witnesses. He often had recourse to other sources, such as observing 'the physiognomy and behaviour of the parties and sometimes even to ordeal, if necessary.

#### *Legal changes under Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān*

It seems that Akbar's reforms relating to the personal laws of Muslims, especially those about monogamy, marriage between cousins and other near relatives, and the minimum age of marriage were allowed to lapse after his death. Jahāngīr was inclined during the first few years of his reign to favour orthodox Islām and there was no complaint of any royal interference in the traditional personal laws of the Muslims. But he retained other reforms carried out by his father except one or two such as the marrying of Muslim girls by the Hindus, which he forbade.<sup>28</sup> But he recognised the practice of Muslims marrying Hindu women and forbade forcible conversion to Islām.<sup>29</sup> Shāh Jahān made some important changes in the law. He reimposed the pilgrimage-tax on the Hindus, but remitted it on a representation made by Kavīndrāchārya, a Hindu scholar of Banaras.<sup>30</sup> He forbade the erection of new temples and the repairing of old ones.<sup>31</sup> But this policy was reversed some years later on account of the influence of his eldest son Dārā.<sup>32</sup> Like his father, Jahāngīr, he declared marriages of Muslim girls with Hindus illegal.<sup>33</sup> But some years later, he became indifferent and did not enforce this regulation. He, however, favoured the conversion of Hindus to Islām, and made apostasy from Islām a capital punishment.<sup>34</sup> Similarly he made blasphemy or use of disrespectful language towards Islām, a crime.<sup>35</sup> Shāh Jahān's religious zeal seems to have cooled down after about ten years' reign and he gave up interfering with the legal reforms of his grandfather.<sup>36</sup>

#### *Aurangzīb restores the supremacy of Shar'*

Aurangzīb, however, was determined to make the Mughul empire an Islāmic State. He repealed all the legal reforms of

Akbar.<sup>37</sup> The Muslim law relating to circumcision, marriage, divorce, and inheritance was restored. Marriage with Hindu women was permitted only after these women had been converted to Islām. Akbar's orders regarding the grant of complete toleration to non-Muslims and the freedom given to them to propagate their religion were withdrawn. The *jizya*<sup>38</sup> was reimposed, and the Hindus were obliged to pay land revenue and other taxes at double the rate that the Muslims paid.<sup>39</sup> Ordinances were issued for the destruction of Hindu temples and schools. Thus gradually but steadily the *Shar'* became, in accordance with a set plan, the supreme authority in the matters of administration. The Islāmic law remained in force for over twenty-seven years during Aurangzīb's reign and a few years after his death. It was, however, not possible to enforce it during the reigns of his weaker successors, and therefore, its injunctions lapsed in the first quarter of the 18th century.

#### *Criminal Law and Punishment*

Islāmic jurisprudence recognises three kinds of crimes.<sup>40</sup> These are: (1) offences against God; (2) offences against the State; and (3) offences against private individuals. Offences against God were those of apostasy, heresy, and criticising or insulting the religion of Islām or Prophet Muhammad. These offences were punishable with death. Akbar, however, repealed this law and accorded freedom to criticise the religion of Islām and the conduct of Muhammad. But when Shāh Jahān thought of restoring Islām to its former position in the State, he, in many cases, inflicted the punishment of death for these offences. During the reign of Aurangzīb apostasy became punishable with death. But with regard to women offenders the Hanafite school laid down that they should be punished with imprisonment. The other three schools, however, insisted on capital punishment for women apostates also. Similarly heretics, too, were punished with death.<sup>41</sup>

The offences against the State and private individuals were compoundable according to the law of Islām. A man guilty of murder was not to suffer capital or any other punishment, if the murdered man's relatives did not ask for retaliation, and accepted compensation in money. It was only when the next of kin of the murdered person refused to accept compensation that the case was sent to the *qāzī's* court for decision.<sup>42</sup> Then the punishment of death was usually inflicted. It may, however, be noted that a Muslim was not to be put to death for murdering a non-Muslim unless the former had killed the latter treacherously.<sup>43</sup>

The punishment for crimes according to Muhammadan law was prescribed under four categories,<sup>44</sup> namely, (1) *Hadd*; (2) *Tazir*; (3) *Qisas*; and (4) *Tashhir*. *Hadd* means boundary or limit or barrier, and in legal sense it means the punishment which has been exactly prescribed in the *Qur'ān* or the *Hadīs*. This punishment could not be altered, as it is prescribed by the canon law and is considered the right of God. *Hadd* has laid down definite punishments for the crimes of adultery, fornication, false accusation of adultery, apostasy, drinking of wine, theft, and high-way robbery. For example, punishment for fornication, i.e., sexual relations between unmarried persons, was 100 strokes of the whip.<sup>45</sup> The false accusation of a married person with adultery was punishable with 80 strokes of the whip.<sup>46</sup> A thief was to lose his right hand and a robber both his hands and feet.<sup>47</sup> But if a robber was also guilty of murder, he was given the punishment of death.<sup>48</sup> A man found guilty of drinking wine was to be punished, according to Hanafi law, with 80 strokes of the whip; but according to Asshafi he was to receive forty strokes of the whip.<sup>49</sup>

*Tazir* means censuring and this punishment was given in order to reform the culprit, and inflicted for offences which were not covered by *Hadd*. The degree of punishment under *Tazir* varied with the social status of the accused. Men of high rank, who were guilty of proved offences, were to be let off with a warning. Merchants were sent to prison, and common people were punished with strokes of the whip.<sup>50</sup> Naturally the judge used his own discretion in the matter of awarding this punishment.<sup>51</sup> For example, a man found guilty of stealing an article worth less than ten *dirhams* was to be chastised. But if he repeated the offence, he was to be imprisoned. And if he committed theft again, he was to be imprisoned for life or put to death. The stolen property was to be restored to the owner or deposited in the public treasury.<sup>52</sup>

*Qisas* means retaliation. It was of two kinds. The first related to murder and the second to cases which did not prove fatal. If a person committed a wilful murder, he was liable to *qisas* or retaliation. The next of the kin of the murdered had the right to kill the offender, but this was to be done under the supervision of the judge. It should be noted that *qisas* was admissible only if the next of kin or murdered person demanded it. If there were more than one claimant for the blood of the offender, the unanimous demand of all was essential in the application of *qisas*.<sup>53</sup> In those cases where one had received a grievous injury short of death the law of retaliation meant that a hand should be cut off for a hand, a foot for a foot, a nose for a nose, a tooth for a tooth, and so forth.<sup>54</sup>

*Tashhir* was an ancient and un-Islāmic form of punishment which was inflicted in pre-Muslim days and was retained during the medieval age. It is mentioned in the Institutes of Manu. This punishment, inflicted on guilty women, meant that they were mounted on asses and paraded through the public streets. Caliph Umar inflicted *Tashhir* on a man who acted as a false witness. The punishment took the form of shaving the head of the culprit and parading him on an ass with his face turned towards its tail. Sometimes the culprit's face was blackened and he was paraded through the streets. Akbar retained this form of punishment, and inflicted it on men of status. In 1606 Jahāngīr punished his rebellious son Khusrav's two associates by getting them sewn in skins of an ox and an ass, respectively, with horns protruding. They were seated on asses with their faces turned towards the tail and in this condition paraded through the streets of Lahore.<sup>55</sup> Once Jahāngīr inflicted this punishment on imperial officers for dereliction of duty. The heads and beards of the officers were shaved off, and they were paraded on asses dressed in female attire.<sup>56</sup>

Offences against the State, such as misappropriation, default in the payment of revenue, and rebellions were punished according to the emperor's pleasure. Sometimes the offender was trampled to death under an elephant's feet or bitten to death by a cobra. Tortures of various kinds were also applied.

Islāmic criminal law and punishment remained in force throughout the Mughul age. Even Akbar did not make any fundamental change in the criminal law. The punishments under this law were more severe in the times of Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān than in that of Akbar. Aurangzīb was very particular in enforcing Islāmic law in all branches of administration and making the law available for ready reference to his officers and judges. Besides getting a comprehensive legal digest, entitled *Fatāwā-i-'Ālamgīrī*, prepared by a syndicate of learned theologians under his auspices, he issued *farmāns* on criminal law and on offences and punishments for the guidance of his officers. One such *farmān* issued to the *Dīwān* of Gujarāt on 16 June, 1672, is available in the *Mirāt-i-Ahmadī*, Persian Text, Volume I (Baroda), pages 277-283. It supplements the theoretical Muslim criminal law and is a summary of Aurangzīb's penal law that was enforced during his reign. It is not possible, for lack of space, to notice it here. The curious reader may read it in Sir Jadunath Sarkar's *Mughal Administration*, 4th edition, pp. 109-115, where it is given in its English garb.

*Judicial Organisation*

The judicial system of the Mughuls was modelled after that of the Caliphate of Baghdad and of Egypt with such modifications as were necessary on account of the age and conditions in India. The emperor was the head of the judicial organisation and according to immemorial custom he administered justice in person in open court. In fact, he was regarded as the fountain of justice, and people looked to him for redressing their grievances and doing them justice. Naturally, therefore, his was the highest court of justice in the country. Next to him was the chief *qāzī*, entitled *Qāzī-ul-Quzat* who held the office of Chief *Sadr* also. Under the chief *qāzī* were provincial *qāzīs* and *qāzīs* posted at the headquarters of the districts and the *parganās*. There were also *qāzīs* in important towns and in big villages having considerable Muslim population and large enough to be called *qasbas*.<sup>57</sup> These were appointed on the recommendation of the chief *qāzī*. The *qāzīs* decided religious cases mostly dealing with the personal law of the Muslims, such as cases of marriage, divorce, inheritance, and the like. They were also in charge of pious endowments (*auqāf*) of land, property or cash for religious and charitable purposes. The *qāzīs* were also required to officiate at the marriages of the Musalmans, to appoint guardians of the property of orphans, disabled and other handicapped Muslims, and to arrange for the marriage of Muslim widows or Muslim orphan girls. There was a second category of courts which administered secular and common law. These courts were presided over by governors and *dīwāns*<sup>58</sup> of provinces, *amils* (collectors) in the districts and *parganās* and *kotwals* in the towns. The courts of the third category dealt with offences against the State, and were presided over by the emperor and his agents, such as governors, *faujdārs*, *kotwals* etc. Besides the courts of these three categories, there were village and caste *panchāyats* which decided all kinds of cases—religious, civil and criminal, filed by the Hindus of the village in their jurisdiction, according to customary Hindu law and usage. These courts were not under the control of any *qāzī*, governor or district or *parganā* officer, but their decisions were recognised by the Mughuls.

*The Royal Court*

There is little evidence as to how and at what hour and day did Bābur and Humāyūn administer justice in person. It is, however, certain that in conformity with the ancient ideal, which both the Hindus and Musalmans regarded as obligatory, they held open court once a week. We know that Bābur and Humāyūn were keen on discharging this duty, and Humāyūn introduced what has been

described by his biographer as 'the drum of justice'. It is said that a drum was placed near the audience hall and complainants were required to strike it so as to make their complaints reach the emperor. If a complainant gave the drum one stroke, it indicated a petty dispute; if two, it meant non-payment of wages or salary; if three, it meant a dispute about property, and if four, it indicated the shedding of blood.<sup>59</sup>

Akbar made it a regular practice to listen to complaints and administer justice personally in open court every morning at the *Jharokha Darshan*. Here he spent about two hours in transacting judicial business. In addition to doing justice daily, Akbar set apart Thursday exclusively for holding open court for the administration of justice. This was a formal court and was attended by high judicial officials, such as the chief *qāzī*, *muftīs* and other important law dignitaries. The *kotwal* of the town had also to be present. Acting as the highest court in the land the emperor ascertained facts about every case personally, took the law from the law officers and pronounced judgment. Abu'l-Fazl writes: "He (Akbar) opens the gates of justice and holds an open court. In the investigation into the cases of the oppressed, he places no reliance on testimony or on oaths, which are the resources of the crafty, but draws his conclusions from the contradictions in the narratives, the physiognomy, and sublime researches and noble conjectures. Truth takes her place in this centre. In this work he spends not less than *one and a half pahars* (i.e. four and a half hours)".<sup>60</sup>

Jahāngīr followed in the foot-steps of his father, and besides deciding cases every morning, he, too, set apart every Tuesday for administering justice in the open court. In parading his love of justice he outdid his grandfather Humāyūn and hung a chain of gold from the balcony of his *Jharokha Darshan* to a pole fixed outside the Āgra fort to which suitors for justice could tie their petitions which were drawn up and placed before Jahāngīr.<sup>61</sup> Shāh Jahān, too, besides listening to complaints every morning, held court for deciding cases on Wednesday. For some years Aurangzīb followed his ancestral practice of administering justice every morning, and holding a formal court one day in the week. But in the eleventh year of his reign he gave up the practice of appearing at the *Jharokha Darshan*. He, however, retained that of holding a formal court for one day in the week, and this day was Wednesday.<sup>62</sup> He was "desirous of appearing a great lover of justice."<sup>63</sup> It was impossible for the emperor to investigate into all the cases personally, and some of these could be inquired into only locally. So he ordered the governors of provinces to find out the truth and do justice or send the

parties to the capital with their reports. The allegation<sup>64</sup> of European travellers that there was no written law and that the emperor's will was supreme in all affairs is erroneous.

This arrangement of transacting judicial business personally by the sovereign was not disturbed even when the emperor happened to be on tours or when he was engaged in a military expedition. The emperor decided both civil and criminal cases and his court was not only the highest court of appeal, but also sometimes a court of first instance as well. Sometimes the emperor would appoint a commission of inquiry and issue instructions to decide cases on the basis of facts revealed in the investigation on the spot. Usually the cases deserving capital punishment were decided by the King himself. Such cases, even if tried by governors or other authorities, were forwarded to the capital for the king's final orders. The standing instructions were that no one was to be executed until the emperor had given his orders for the third time.<sup>65</sup>

#### *The chief qāzī*

Apart from the emperor who was the fountain of justice, the chief *qāzī* was the head of the judicial organisation, but in actual practice he was the second judicial agency in the empire. Besides being the chief *qāzī*, he was also the chief *sadr* or head of the ecclesiastical and charity departments. He was appointed by the emperor and could be dismissed by him. But it was expected that there would be no interference with his work as long as he discharged his duties honestly and satisfactorily. The chief *qāzī* was supposed to be learned in Islāmic theology and law and a man of sobriety, integrity and honesty. He was required to hold his court in a mosque or in his house; but all suitors for justice must have free access to his court. During the reign of Akbar and that of his successors, State buildings were provided for the court of the *qāzī*, and he was not allowed to hold court at his residence. The *qāzī* was not authorised to give his own interpretation of the law and had to accept the authoritative rulings of the earlier reputed jurists which were placed before him by the *muftī*. It is for this reason that a deeply learned *muftī* was always attached to the court of a *qāzī* who was not qualified to give *fatwa* or authoritative ruling.<sup>66</sup>

The duties <sup>67</sup> of the *qāzī* were:

- (1) to try and decide religious cases and those relating to Muslim personal law;
- (2) to execute judgments;

(3) to visit jails and review the condition of prisoners and discharge those of them that deserved freedom;

(4) to recommend deserving candidates for appointment as provincial, district, *parganā* and other subordinate *qāzīs*.

The *qāzī* had some other duties also, e.g., administering the pious foundations (*auqāf*), appointing guardians of Muslim imbeciles and such other people as were incapable of managing their property, drawing of contracts for the remarriage of widows, etc.<sup>68</sup> The court of the chief *qāzī* was primarily an appellate court, but it also decided cases of the first instance, as it was open to anyone in the empire to approach the chief *qāzī* for justice without first having filed his plaint at a local court.

The chief *qāzī*'s jurisdiction comprised the whole of the empire. He was competent to decide all kinds of civil and criminal cases. Islāmic law did not draw a distinction between civil, criminal, and personal divisions of law, and, therefore, the *qāzī* was considered competent to administer every branch of law except that relating to political and administrative offences. On account of such a wide jurisdiction and his position as the head of the judiciary, the chief *qāzīs* of the Mughul age, though learned, were, generally speaking, corrupt, and often amassed considerable fortunes for themselves. Akbar took drastic action against his celebrated chief *qāzī* Shaikh 'Abdun-Nabī and exiled him to Mecca, as the emperor had become dissatisfied with his grasping conduct, religious bias, and corrupt administration both as chief *qāzī* and chief *sadr*. 'Abdul-Wahhāb Bohra, the first chief *qāzī* of Aurangzīb, "was so corrupt that during sixteen years of office he amassed a fortune of thirty-three lakhs of rupees in cash, besides jewellery and other valuables."<sup>69</sup> Similarly, other chief *qāzīs* of the various reigns were corrupt and unworthy. There were, however, a few notable examples of honest *qāzīs*. For example, 'Abdul-Wahhāb's son who, too, became chief *qāzī* and chief *sadr*, was so honest that "he did not touch a penny of his father's ill-gotten riches, but gave away his share of them in charity. Not only did he decide all cases without the faintest suspicion of corrupt influence or bribery, but he even declined the customary presents and gifts from his closest friends and kinsmen."<sup>70</sup>

The provincial, district and *parganā* *qāzīs* as also the *qāzīs* posted in towns and *qasbas* discharged the same duties and had much the same powers in their respective jurisdictions as the chief *qāzī* in the empire. There was also a *qāzī* attached to the army and he was called *qāzī-i-askar*. He did not have exclusive jurisdiction over the army, for it was open to any man in the army to file his com-

plaint in the court of a city *qāzī*. Moreover, if one of the parties to a suit was a civilian, the *qāzī-i-askar* had no power to entertain the plaint.<sup>71</sup>

### *Secular Courts*

The courts of secular and common law and those trying political cases were presided over by one and the same set of officers. That is to say, there were no separate judges (a) to administer the secular and common law, and (b) to try those who were charged with the political offences. In fact, there was no demarcation between these two types of courts, because Muslim jurists did not recognise the distinction between the civil, penal and political divisions of law. The judges for all the types of courts were the emperor, the governors and *dīwāns* of provinces, the *faujdārs* of districts, the *amils* (collectors) and *shīqdārs* of *parganās*, and the *kotwals* of the towns. We have already seen that the emperor decided all sorts of cases and it was open to anyone to approach him for justice. The governors, *dīwāns*, *faujdārs*, collectors, *shīqdārs* and *kotwals* administered justice on the basis of the common or customary law and equity. All these officers, except perhaps the *dīwāns*, also administered criminal law and decided political cases and cases against robbers and rebels. But the religious and personal laws of the Muslims and the Hindus were outside their purview, which, as we have seen, concerned the *qāzīs*. Like the emperor, the governors set apart a day in the week for holding the court of justice which was attended by the provincial *qāzī*, *muftī* and other law officers to assist him in the discharge of this duty.<sup>72</sup>

While acting as a judge the governor was instructed to do his best to find out the truth, not only by cross-examining the witnesses but also by a study of the psychology and physiognomy of the parties concerned. He was required to "reclaim the criminals by good counsels, failing which he was asked to punish by reprimands, threats and imprisonment"; but he was to resort to mutilation in very serious cases and to inflict the capital punishment with "utmost deliberation."<sup>73</sup> In March, 1582, Akbar took away the power of inflicting the sentence of death from the governors of provinces.<sup>74</sup> His successors, too, were equally careful in the matter of awarding the capital punishment.

### *Panchāyats*

The Mughul administration of justice did not concern nearly three-fourths of the total population, because the people of the rural areas had their own courts. Every village had its *panchāyat* which

decided civil and criminal cases. There were also as many caste-*panchāyats* in each village as there were castes inhabiting it. The members of the *panchāyat* were elected by the people and the *punchās* or judges were those who had rendered some conspicuous service to their caste, or the entire village community. The decisions of the *panchāyats* were almost invariably unanimous and the punishments inflicted were fines, public degradation or reprimand or ex-communication. No sentence of imprisonment or death was awarded, because there was no proper authority to execute these sentences, and also because there were no jails in the villages. The "prestige enjoyed by the Panchayats was great and their authority was moral rather than political or administrative. The fear of public opinion was one of the most potent factors responsible for the prevention of crimes and hardly did any case go out of the boundaries of a village. Normally, cases involving even murder were settled locally. The law administered by the *panchāyats* was usually caste and tribal usage and the customary law of the land."<sup>75</sup>

The administration of justice by the *panchāyats* was appreciated by early British administrators in India. Sir Henry Elliot, for example, describing the administration of justice by the *panchāyats* as had existed in the Punjāb before the introduction of the Indian Penal Code in 1861, writes: "The particular value of this mode of trial was that in intricate points of native customs, often depending upon a state of feeling, which it was difficult for the English officer, as being a foreigner, to enter into, the members of the *panch* were thoroughly at home in their subject and were able to give due weight to a variety of minor considerations which none but a native could perfectly understand. Even in the older provinces, where the regulations are in force, it is found at times convenient to have recourse to this time-honoured method of decision, and the result is so satisfactory, that one is tempted to wish it were more largely resorted to."<sup>76</sup>

#### *Defects in the organisation*

There were a few defects in the organisation of the Mughul judicial system. In the first place, there were three separate judicial agencies working at the same time and independent of one another with no unifying bond between them. The chief *qāzī* had no authority to exercise any kind of control over the courts of the governors and other subordinate officers. Secondly, all the courts were courts of first instance and some of them, like those of the emperor, the provincial *qāzīs* and governors, entertained appeals, but they, too, acted very often as the courts of first instance.

Thirdly, the courts were not graded or qualified as lower courts or higher courts. Nor were their relationship and jurisdictions clearly defined. A suitor for justice might file a complaint either in the court of the *parganā qāzī*, or in that of the district or provincial *qāzī*, or in the court of the chief *qāzī*. If he liked he could approach the emperor without first applying for justice to any of the lower courts. Fourthly, the powers of the courts, too, were not defined, i.e., it was not laid down that a particular court was competent to entertain and decide cases of certain nature or of a fixed maximum value and not beyond that. These defects remained even in the time of Akbar who had overhauled and reformed every branch of administration, but did not touch the judicial organisation. All that he did was to amend and reform the law, including that of evidence, to replace the incompetent and corrupt *qāzīs* and other law-officers by honest, enlightened and competent ones, and to appoint Hindu judges to decide cases involving Hindu religious and personal laws.<sup>77</sup> At the same time he posted able officers in all important places to report the cases of the oppressed people and of the suitors for justice.<sup>78</sup> But the above-mentioned organisational defects, side by side with some of the reforms introduced by Akbar, including the appointment of Hindu judges, continued throughout the Mughul period.

#### *Mode of conducting investigation*

Despite serious defects in the organisation, the system worked remarkably well. All the Mughul emperors except Aurangzīb, who occasionally introduced religious bias in the working of the judicial administration, were inspired by the high ideal of doing even-handed justice, and the people felt that they were receiving justice at their hands. Akbar's standing instructions were that the judges must try to find out the facts of the cases under dispute by every possible device and that they "should not be satisfied with witnesses and oaths, but pursue them by manifold enquiries, by the study of physiognomy and the exercise of foresight, nor, laying the burden of it on others, live absolved from solicitude."<sup>79</sup> The *Mir-i-Adal* and the *qāzīs* were instructed to begin "with a thorough interrogation and learn the circumstances of the case; and should keep in view what is fitting in each particular, and take the question in detail, and in this manner set down separately the evidence of each witness". The judges were also required to give a little gap between the hearings of a case so as to have time to deliberate over it and then take it up and "reinvestigate and enquire into it anew, and with discrimination and singleness of view, search it to

its core.”<sup>80</sup> The law of evidence thus prescribed by Akbar remained in force throughout the period. Witnesses were also summoned and their evidence was given due weight. During Aurangzīb’s reign the evidence of Hindus was not admissible in certain cases.

*Spirit underlying the administration of justice*

There is little evidence to form a concrete picture of the spirit underlying the administration of justice during the reigns of Bābur and Humāyūn. Sher Shāh was no doubt an impartial judge but his administration of justice was marred by the fact that in upholding the supremacy of Islām, he could not but show a special regard for Muslims. Akbar’s ideal as an impartial dispenser of justice is expressed in his happy saying. “If I were guilty of unjust act,” he said, “I would rise in judgment against myself. What shall I say then of my sons, my kindred and others.”<sup>81</sup> The above was not a copy book maxim to be repeated conveniently at times. The spirit underlying it expressed itself in action during the major part of Akbar’s reign. Contemporary foreign observers were highly impressed with his policy of administering justice with humanity. Father Monserrate, who knew the emperor intimately, writes that “the king has the most precise regard for right and justice in the affairs of government. . . . By nature, moreover, he is kind and benevolent and is seriously anxious that guilt should be punished without malice indeed, but at the same time without undue leniency. Hence, in the case in which he himself acts as judge, the guilty are, by his own direction, not punished until he has given orders for the third time that this shall be done.”<sup>82</sup>

In order to see that justice is done impartially he ordered that the trying magistrates should not tie themselves down to the letter of the law, but should be guided by its spirit. Moreover, expeditious justice was done, and prolonged litigation was discouraged as far as possible. The emperor’s aim was to reform and not to retaliate. That was why he issued instructions to his officials “to connive at men’s faults (take a lenient view) as they sometimes became more hardened by punishment.”<sup>83</sup> Akbar’s successors followed the tradition handed to them by their great and reforming ancestor. Jahāngīr’s justice was proverbial. He used to pride himself for being the dispenser of impartial justice, and the memory of him as a just ruler is kept green in Indian tradition even now. “Shah Jahān,” writes Manucci, “upheld the maxim of his father that true justice must be enforced.”<sup>84</sup> Aurangzīb, too, was keen to administer justice even-handedly in cases in which the prestige and interest of Islām were not involved. He maintained that equal justice should be dispensed to everybody.

## LAW AND LEGAL INSTITUTIONS

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18. Ibid.
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21. Ibid, p. 376.
22. *Ain.*, Vol. I, pp. 287-288; Vol. II, pp. 44-45.
23. Badāūnī, M.T., Vol. II, pp. 356, 376.
24. Ibid, pp. 321-322.
25. Ibid.
26. Ibid, p. 341; A.N., Vol. III, p. 415; Nizām-ud-dīn Ahmad, T.A., Vol. II, pp. 392-393.
27. Srivastava, A.L., *Akbar the Great*, Vol. II, p. 270.
28. *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, R.B., Vol. II, p. 181.
29. *Tūzuk*, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 205.
30. Sri Ram Sharma, *Religious Policy of the Mughal Emperors*, 2nd end., p. 86.
31. 'Abdul-Hamīd Lāhaurī, *Bādshāh-Nāma*, Vol. I, p. 452; Amīnāi Qazvīnī p. 405; Burn, C.H.I., IV, p. 217.
32. Sri Ram Sharma, op. cit., p. 87.
33. Lāhaurī, op. cit., I, II, p. 58; Qazvīnī, op. cit., pp. 444-445.
34. Lāhaurī, op. cit., I, II, 58; Burn, op. cit., p. 217.
35. Qazvīnī, op. cit., p. 445; Sri Ram Sharma, op. cit., p. 92.
36. Sri Ram Sharma, op. cit., pp. 89, 93-95.
37. Sarkar, C.H.I., IV, pp. 240-241.
38. Sarkar, op. cit., 242.
39. *Mirāt-i-Ahmadī*, Vol. I, pp. 259, 265, 286; Sarkar, op. cit., 242-243; Sri Ram Sharma, op. cit., pp. 143-144.
40. Sarkar, *Mughal Administration*, 4th ed., p. 104.
41. *Mirāt-i-Ahmadī*, Vol. I, pp. 220-21; Sri Ram Sharma, op. cit., 113-15.
42. *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. II, p. 1038; *Dictionary of Islam*, p. 477.
43. *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. I, 980.
44. Ibid, Vol. II, pp. 187, 1038.
45. Ibid., Vol. II, p. 187.
46. *Muslim Institutions*, p. 156.
47. *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. II, p. 287; *Dictionary of Islam*, pp. 476-477.
48. Ibid.
49. *Muslim Institutions*, p. 156.
50. *Dictionary of Islam*, p. 632.
51. *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. IV, p. 710.
52. *Mirāt-i-Ahmadī*, Vol. I, p. 278.
53. *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. II, p. 1038; *Muslim Institutions*, p. 151.
54. *Dictionary of Islam*, p. 477.
55. *Tūzuk*, Vol. I, pp. 84-85.
56. Ibid, I, pp. 84-85.
57. *Mirāt*, Per. T., Vol. III (Suppl.), p. 174.
58. *Mirāt*, Vol. I (Per. T.), p. 238.
59. Banerji, S.K., *Humayun Badshah*, Vol. II, pp. 338-339.
60. A.N., Vol. III, p. 257; Srivastava, *Akbar the Great*, Vol. II, pp. 274-275.
61. *Tūzuk*, R.B., Vol. I, p. 7; Hawkins, *Early Travels in India*, p. 113.
62. Sarkar, *Mughal Administration*, 4th ed., p. 94.
63. Manucci, *Storia do Mogor*, Vol. I, p. 167.

## THE MUGHUL EMPIRE

64. De Laet, *Empire of the Great Mogol*, p. 93; Terry, *Early Travels in India*, 326; Thomas Roe, *The Embassy*, pp. 89, 104, 435; Careri, *Indian Travels*, p. 240.
65. *Commentarius*, p. 209; Du Jarric, p. 12.
66. *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. II, p. 605; Hedaya, II, ed., pp. 334-335.
67. *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. II pp. 606-607.
68. Ibid.
69. Sarkar, *Mughal Administration*, 4th ed., p. 98.
70. Sarkar, *Aurangzib*, Vol. III, p. 10.
71. Srivastava, A.L., *Akbar the Great*, Vol. II, pp. 277-278.
72. *Mirāt*, Vol. I, p. 275.
73. *Ain*, Vol. II, p. 38.
74. *A.N.*, Vol. III, p. 380.
75. Srivastava, *Akbar the Great*, Vol. II, p. 279.
76. *Memoirs on the History, Folk-lore and Distribution of the Races of N.W.F.P.*, pp. 279-280.
77. Badāūnī, M.T. Vol. II, p. 356, Badāūnī describes the appointment of Hindu judges as the innovation introduced by Akbar implying that no Hindu judge was appointed by any Muslim ruler before Akbar's time.
78. Srivastava, A.L., *Akbar the Great*, Vol. I, p. 297.
79. *Ain.*, Vol. II (2nd ed.), pp. 38-39.
80. Ibid.
81. *Ain.*, Vol. III (2nd ed), p. 434.
82. *Commentarius*, p. 209; *Mirat*, Vol. I, pp. 164-166.
83. *Mirāt*, Vol. I, p. 166.
84. Manucci, *Storia do Mogor*, Vol. I, p. 167.

## CHAPTER XIX

# LITERATURE

### I. BENGALI

The Bengali literature, during the period under review, was profoundly influenced by the Neo-Vaiṣṇava Movement initiated by Chaitanya (1486-1533) whose life and doctrine have been discussed in the previous Volume (pp. 566-69). Indeed it may be said without hesitation that the numerous poetical compositions, including lyrics and songs, inspired by the life and teachings of Chaitanya, constitute the richest treasure in the whole domain of Bengali literature before the middle of the nineteenth century A.D. This vast literature may be briefly discussed under a few broad heads.

#### 1. *Vaiṣṇava Literature*

##### (a) *Biography*

The earliest biography of Chaitanya, by one of his oldest followers, Murāri Gupta, was written in Sanskrit. The oldest biography in Bengali is *Chaitanya bhāgavata* or *Chaitanya-maṅgala* by Bṛindāvandās, a classmate of Chaitanya. It was composed probably within a decade of Chaitanya's passing away, and in any case not later than 1540 A.D. It is certainly the most authentic and perhaps the most popular biography of the great religious leader. It possesses two special characteristics which are of great historical importance. In the first place, though the author regarded Chaitanya as an incarnation of God, he presents Chaitanya as a human, rather than divine, being. Secondly, the book gives interesting details of the social life in Bengal at the time of Chaitanya. According to a modern critic there are "lyrical touches" in the narrative of Bṛindāvandās and "his sincere devotion and enthusiastic admiration have often imparted a glow to his diction which rescues his expression of sectarian dogma from triviality."<sup>1</sup>

The next important biography is the *Chaitanya-charitāmṛita* of Kṛishṇadās Kavirāj. The date of composition of this book is a matter of dispute. According to some its probable date is some time between 1575 and 1595, while others hold that the work was completed between 1612 and 1615 A.D. Kṛishṇadās looked upon Chaitanya not as an incarnation of Kṛishṇa alone, but of Kṛishṇa and

Rādhā in the same person, and “his treatment of the life of the master was from this viewpoint.”<sup>2</sup> There are some distinctive characteristics of the *Chaitanya-charitāmṛita*:

1. It is not only a good biography but also deals in detail and in a masterly manner with the mystic and philosophical aspects of Vaishṇavism propounded by Chaitanya.

2. He quotes authority for his statements—a rare virtue displayed by the authors in the medieval age.

3. The book shows a unique combination of ripe scholarship and a wonderful literary style much in advance of his age.

4. The author gives due credit to the previous writers on the same subject. A classical example is furnished by his account of the quarrel between Chaitanya and the Muslim *Qāzī* of Navadvīp who forbade the singing of *Kīrtan* in public. The account given by him is somewhat different even in material points from that given by *Brindāvandās*, but yet he refers the reader to the latter’s book for a fuller and more accurate account.

5. He gives a mere outline of the early life of Chaitanya which *Brindāvandās* had already described in detail, but gives a more detailed account of the last eighteen years of the life of Chaitanya, specially his extensive travels such as we do not find in any other biography of Chaitanya.

*Kṛishṇadās Kavirāj* was a great Sanskrit scholar and wrote an epic poem on the story of Rādhā and *Kṛishṇa* in Sanskrit. But he is best known for the *Chaitanya-charitāmṛita* which is regarded by many as the most important work in Vaishṇava literature. An eminent critic has expressed the view that “as a biography and as a work of thought it is a landmark in New Indian Literature.”<sup>3</sup>

Among other biographies of Chaitanya, mention may be made of the *Chaitanya-maṅgal* of *Jayānanda*, another work with the same title by *Lochandās*, and the *Gaurāṅga-vijaya* of *Chūdāmaṇidās*. The first was composed in the fifth decade and the other two in the second half of the 16th century. *Lochandās* was one of the best lyric poets of the time and introduced a new style of folk songs, known as *Dhāmālī*, dealing almost exclusively with the love affairs of *Kṛishṇa* and the cowherd maidens. The other two books enjoyed great popularity and contain some new information about Chaitanya. There were other minor biographies of Chaitanya written in the 16th and 17th centuries. There were also biographical works describing the activities of the top-ranking Vaishṇava leaders.

## LITERATURE

### (b) *Padāvalī*

Next to biographical works, the lyrical poems and songs known as *Padāvalī* constitute the most important branch of the Vaishṇava literature in Bengal. These dealt almost exclusively with the *para-kīyā prem* (love outside wedlock) of Rādhā and Kṛishṇa. Some of the early lyrics reached a very high standard of literary excellence, expressing the intense, all-consuming, selfless love and highly passionate emotion of Rādhā in sweet, almost musical language. Gradually, these lyrics became somewhat stereotyped by the end of the 16th century and degenerated into mechanical repetitions in later age. In the hands of the Vaishṇava poets the love episode of Kṛishṇa and Rādhā was classified, almost in a scientific spirit, into various distinct moods of mind according as Kṛishṇa was looked upon by the devotees as a child, a friend, a lord or a lover. The love episodes also deal with distinct phases characterised by love at sight, secret meetings, separation, union, enjoyment or ill-feeling caused by jealousy, etc. In addition to Lochandās mentioned above, some of the most distinguished lyric poets were Bāsudev Ghosh, Narahari Sarkār, Yaśorāj Khān, Kaviśekhara, Narottamdās, Balarāmdās, and Jñānadās, all of whom flourished in the 16th century. Another poet, Govindadās Kavirāj, also achieved great renown, though most of his lyrics were written in *Brajabulī*, an artificial language, akin to both Bengali and Maithili, but whose real origin is obscure (Vol. VI, p. 515). Many of the other poets, including Jñānadās and a few others mentioned above, also wrote in *Brajabulī*. Among the later poets mention may be made of Gopāldās of the 17th century, some of whose lyrics have been wrongly attributed to Chaṇḍīdās, Narahari Chakravarti and Jagadānanda of the 18th century, which saw the decline of *Padāvalī* literature. When the number of these lyrics grew very large, several collections of them were made towards the end of the 17th and the beginning of the 18th century.

Large number of narrative poems on the legends of Kṛishṇa and Rādhā were written with or without lyrical poems interspersed in them. Many of them were very popular and were regularly recited before large gatherings by professional *kathaks* (story-tellers), a religious entertainment current even today.

It may be mentioned that many composers of Vaishṇava lyrics were patronised by the Hindu rulers of Tripura and Cooch Behar as well as some Muslim rulers.

Less well-known, but no less important, were the serious writings on Vaishṇava doctrine and philosophy by the Gosāins of Brindāvan and others, biographies of Vaishṇava leaders and the histo-

rical works. More important among these are the *Premavilāsa* of Nityānanda Dās, the *Bhaktiratnākara* and *Narottamvilāsa* of Narahari Chakravartī, *Rasakadamva* of Kaviballabh, *Rasakalpavallī* of Rāmgopāl Dās and *Rasamañjarī* and *Ashṭarasavyākhyā* of Pītāmbār Dās.

A series of books dealing with the legends of Kṛishṇa, and known as *Kṛishṇa-maṅgala* were written, some of which, like those of Mādhavāchārya, probably a contemporary of Chaitanya, Kaviśekhara and many others became popular.

Particular reference should be made to the literature of a Vaiṣṇava sect, known in later days as the Sahajiyā, which had much in common with the Tantrics. They carried to an excess, *in practice*, the theory that love with a woman, not one's wife (*parakīyā prem*), was the easiest road to salvation, and the philosophy underlying it was discussed, sometimes with great skill and learning, in a number of treatises, which belong to the Sahajiyā literature.

## 2. *Maṅgala-kāvya*

Next to the Vaishṇava literature, the *Maṅgala-kāvya*s form the most important branch of the Bengali literature during the period under review. It consists of a series of poetical works describing the glories of many popular gods and goddesses, such as Manasā (Snake-Goddess), Chaṇḍī (a form of Durgā), Dharma-Ṭhākura, Śiva, and others.

The central theme of *Manasā-maṅgala* is the conversion of a rich merchant Chānd Sadāgar who was at first unwilling to worship Manasā but was ultimately forced to do so after his seven sons were killed one after another by snake-bite. The most interesting episode in these Kāvya's is that of Behulā, the widow of the seventh son, who carried the dead body of her husband in a raft to the abode of gods and had him restored to life through their graces after pleasing them by the exhibition of her skill in dance and music. The earliest extant text on this interesting theme, which has not lost its popularity even today, is *Manasā-maṅgala* of Bijayagupta (1484-5 A.D.). Among the numerous later authors of *Manasā-maṅgala Kāvya*s mention may be made of Bipradās Pipilāi (1495-6), Nārāyaṇadeva, and Ketakādās Kshemānanda, probably the best of all, who flourished in the middle of the 17th century.

The *Chaṇḍī-maṅgala Kāvya* is based on two themes which describe how, through the favour of the Goddess Chaṇḍī, (1) the hunter Kālaketu becomes a king and (2) the merchant Dhanapati, after suffering various miseries in the hands of the king of Ceylon, ulti-

mately is restored to his favour, and his son Śrīmanta is married to the daughter of the King.

The composition of the *Chaṇḍī-maṅgala Kāvya*s may be traced to Mānik Datta who flourished before Chaitanya, but the oldest available texts are those of Dvija Mādhava (1579-80), and Mukundarām Chakravarti, better known by his title Kavikaṅkana, whose poem, composed towards the end of the 16th century, is regarded as the best of this class of works. It exhibits poetic talents of a very high order and many of its characters, specially Phullarā and Khullarā, the heroines, Durbalā, the maid-servant, and, above all, Bhāṇḍudatta, the cheat, are wonderful creations. An eminent critic regards the last-named a personification of cunning and wickedness, incomparable in the whole range of medieval Bengali literature. This Kāvya has enjoyed immense popularity and high appreciation of the literary world which has not diminished in the course of time. It depicts a picture of the social condition of medieval Bengal, particularly the life of the common people, which is of great historical value.

Dharma-Ṭhākur, the subject-matter of the *Dharma-maṅgala Kāvya*s was a local God of Rāḍha (West Bengal) worshipped mostly by the lowest classes of society such as the Ḍom, Bāgdī, Hāḍī, etc. The hero of the Kāvya is Lāusen, victorious in many battles and always protected by the favour of Dharma-Ṭhākur. It depicts a large number of characters of all ranks of society with great success, but is full of miraculous events. The author of the oldest extant Kāvya, Mānikrām, flourished about the middle of the 16th century, and he was followed by Rāmdās (1662), Sītāram (1698), Ghanarām (1711) and many others in the 18th century. Ghanarām's *Dharma-maṅgala* is generally regarded as the best.

The *Śiva-maṅgala* or *Śivāyana* has a long history, but no texts older than the 17th century have been discovered so far. The best known work is that of Rāmeśvar Bhattāchārya who belonged to the first half of the 18th century A.D.

Several texts of the *Kālikā-maṅgal* glorifying the Goddess Kālī, were written during the period under review. The main theme is the secret love of princess Vidyā and Sundara, and the Goddess Kālī appears in these texts at the very end when the life of Sundara, condemned to death, is saved by her intercession. The best work of this class is popularly known as *Vidyā-Sundara Kāvya* or *Annadāmaṅgal* of poet Bhārata-chandra, who flourished about the middle of the 18th century A.D. There are other *Maṅgala-kāvya*s glorifying minor gods and goddesses such as Śītalā, Shashṭhī, Lakshmī, Kapilā, etc.

Lastly, mention should be made of *Rāya-mangala* which glorifies Dakṣiṇā-rāya, the Tiger-god, i.e. one by worshipping whom men can be saved from the tigers. With Dakṣiṇā-rāya is associated the Kālu-rāya, the god who can save men from the clutches of crocodiles, and a Muslim divinity Baḍa Khān Ghāzī (presumably the saviour from the tyranny of the Muslims no less dreaded than tiger or crocodile in the region of the Sundarbans where all the three were worshipped). An interesting episode is the fight between Dakṣiṇā-rāya and the Ghāzī which is ultimately stopped by the personal intervention of a god who appears on the scene in a body half of which is that of Kṛiṣṇa and half that of the Paygambara (Muslim Divinity).

### 3. Translations

Reference has been made in the preceding Volume (p. 511) to the Bengali translation of the *Rāmāyaṇa* by Kṛittivāsa. He was followed by many others during the period under review. Among them may be mentioned two Assamese authors, Mādhava Kandali and Śankaradeva who flourished in the 16th century and translated, respectively, the first six and the last *kāṇḍas* (cantos). The Assamese language of these translations hardly varied from the Bengali in those days. Among the various Bengali translators, the best known is Nityānanda, better known as Adbhuta Āchārya, whose work was at one time more popular than even the translation by Kṛittivāsa, at least in North Bengal.

The other great epic, the *Mahābhārata*, was translated by Kavīndra Parameśvara, the court-poet of Parāgal Khān, the Governor of Chittagong during the reign of Hussain Shāh (1493-1519). Similarly Nusrat Khān, *alias* Chhuṭi Khān, son of Parāgal Khān, had the *Aśvamedha-parva* of Jaimini's *Mahābhārata* translated by his court-poet Śrīkara Nandī. But the best and the most well-known translation of the *Mahābhārata* is the one attributed to Kāśīrām Dās (Dev) which is still the most popular Bengali version—practically the only version known today to the generality of people, the other translations before and after him being practically forgotten. Yet it should be remembered that there are good grounds to believe that actually Kāśīrām Dās translated only the first three *parvas* and about half of the fourth, the remaining fourteen and a half *parvas* being translated after his death by more than one person. Kāśīrām completed the translation of the Virāṭ (or third) *Parva* in 1604-5 A.D. Though Kāśīrām was the author of only a part, the whole of the translation is today ascribed to him even in the colophons of the known manuscripts. Kāśīrām Dās was a great poet

and so were many of his collaborators who completed the work. No other Bengali work, with perhaps the single exception of the Bengali *Rāmāyaṇa* of Kṛittivāsa, is so popular among all classes of people even today. These two translations which, particularly the *Rāmāyaṇa*, show sometimes wide divergences from the original sanskrit texts, have enjoyed the position of national epics in Bengal for well nigh four hundred years.

Like the two great epics, the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* was also translated into Bengali. Raghunāth Pandīt, a contemporary of Chaitanya, wrote the *Premataraṅgiṇī* which is really a general summary of the first nine *skandhas* (cantos) and the literal translation of the remaining three *skandhas* of the *Bhāgavata*. The great Śankaradeva of Assam mentioned above, and two other poets translated parts of the *Bhāgavata*, respectively, in the 16th and 17th centuries.

Reference may also be made to the translations of the Vaishṇava works of the Gosāins of Brindāvan, the *Purāṇas*, *Chāṇḍī* and *Bhagavad Gītā*.

#### 4. Muslim Writers

Reference has been made above to the close political association between Bengal under the Muslim Sultāns and the Mag rulers of Arakan. It was with the help of the ruler of Bengal that the king of Arakan, driven away from his kingdom by the king of Burma and after an exile's life in Bengal for 26 years, regained his throne. Arakan was under the political domination of Bengal for many years, and established its authority over Chittagong for some years. All these evidently established a close contact between Bengal and Arakan, and Bengali became virtually the cultural language of Arakan. This explains how Bengali literature flourished in that region. The earliest Bengali poet in the court of Arakan was Daulat Qāzī. At the command of his patron, Āshraf Khān, a high official in Arakan Court, he rendered into Bengali some popular romantic stories current in various languages—Rājasthānī, Hindī, Gujarātī, etc—in Western India in the second quarter of the 17th century. His poem, known as *Satī Mayanā* or *Lor Chandrāṇī* was completed after his death by a still greater poet, Ālāol, another Sūfi in the court of Arakan, in 1659.

Ālāol, the son of a Muslim Governor of Lower Bengal, was captured by the Portuguese pirates and sold as an army recruit in Arakan. His reputation as a poet, scholar and musician endeared him to Sulaimān, a minister of the king of Arakan, Śrīchandra Sudharmā, and he became a friend of Māgan Thākur, the foster-son of the sister of the king. The *Padmāvatī*, the best work of Ālāol, was

written at the instance of Māgan Ṭhākur who wanted to have a rendering of Jāyasī's *Padumāvati*<sup>4</sup> into Bengali verse. Ālāol's book, composed c. 1650 A.D., is, however, not a translation, but an abridged version, embellished by additions of new episodes to make it more suitable to Bengali readers. Ālāol's *Padmāvati* is a distant echo of the well-known episode of the conquest of Chitor by Alā-ud-dīn Khiljī, who was infatuated by the beauty of Padminī, but a number of new episodes of romantic love have been freely introduced. Ālāol also rendered into Bengali verse the Persian romance *Saiful-mulk badiuj-jamāl* and two works of Nizāmi, and was the first to translate Persian poetry into Bengali. His poetic genius was revealed even in these translations.

Though less famous than the two mentioned above, some other Muslim poets flourished in Bengal. One of the oldest was Sābirid Khān, the author of a *Vidyā-Sundara Kāvya* of the 16th century A.D. The distinctive characteristics of the Muslim poets mentioned above as well as several others were their adoption of pure romantic love, not associated with any religious episode, as the theme of their writings, which is almost absent in those of the Hindu poets. But the Muslims also wrote on religious themes such as the life of the Prophet, the tragedy of Hāsān and Husain at Karbala, the lives of the Ghāzis, Nabis, etc. Some Muslim poets also wrote on such subjects as the Sādhan and Yoga systems of the Hindus and Vaishṇava songs. One of them, Saiyad Sultān, who hailed from Chittagong, in his *Rasulvijaya* included some Hindu gods and *Avatārs* (incarnations) among the prophets. His disciple, Muhammad Khān, gave evidence of his knowledge of Sanskrit language and Hindu scriptures not only in his poem *Maktul Husain* (1645 A.D.) dealing with the Karbala tragedy, but in his *Kāvya Yuga-sambād* or *Satya-Kali-vivād-sambād* (imaginary quarrels between the Satya and Kali *yugas*). A few Muslim writers translated some romantic Hindī or Persian *Kāvyas* or rendered a free version of them in verse.

In conclusion, reference may be made to the only historical work written in Bengali during the period under review. This is the *Rājamālā* or the chronicle of the kings of Tripura (Tipperah) of which the first three parts, out of four, were written in the 15th, 16th, and 17th centuries bringing the history from the very beginning down to the reign, respectively, of Dharmamāṇikya, Amaramāṇikya, and Govindamāṇikya. There was also another work dealing with historical events, named *Champakavijaya*.

## II. ASSAMESE

Reference has been made to Śankaradeva (? 1449-1568) who ushered in the *Bhakti* movement and a new era in Assamese

## LITERATURE

literature (Vol. VI, pp. 517-18). The next great poet was his disciple Mādhavadāsa (? 1489-1596) whose principal works followed more or less the lines laid down by his *Gurū*. These include:

- (1) *Bhakti-ratnāvalī*, a study of the different aspects of *bhakti* based on a Sanskrit work,
- (2) *Nāma-ghoshā*, or *Hāzārī-ghoshā*, a devotional handbook or prayer-book of the *Eka-śaraṇa* sect, consisting of a large number of hymns reflecting different moods of a devotee,
- (3) *Bara-gītas*, depicting the life of Kṛishṇa in Vṛindāvana among the *gopīs* and containing some poems of prayer,
- (4) Nine *Anikiyā Naṭs* dealing with the life of child Kṛishṇa.

One peculiarity of the Assamese literature of this age deserves notice. Like the Vaishṇava movement, of which it was a product, it ignored the entire episode of the love of Rādhā and Kṛishṇa which formed such an important feature in the Vaishṇava movement and Vaishṇava literature of the neighbouring States of Bengal and Mithilā, and of the Braj area (Western U.P.), Rājasthān and Gujarāt.

One of the most important writers of the movement was Rāma Sarasvatī who translated four *parvas* of the *Mahābhārata* under the patronage of king Nara-nārāyaṇa of Cooch-Bihar in the 16th century. He also rendered into Assamese some stories from the *Purāṇas* depicting the slaying of a demon or a hero. These are known as *Vadhakāvya*s. Similarly Gopāla-Chandra Dvija wrote in Assamese verses the story of Kṛishṇa as told in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, *Vishṇu Purāṇa* and *Harivaṃśa*, while Bhaṭṭadeva translated the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* and *Bhagavad Gītā* in prose.

Assamese prose was influenced by the Sino-Tibetan speech of the Āhoms—who overran Assam and founded a “national” Kingdom in Assam (Vol. V, pp. 44-5, Vol. VI, pp. 391-396) which endured throughout the Mughul period. The Āhoms used to write prose historical chronicles called *Burañjis*, in their own Sino-Tibetan language which went out of use by the beginning of the 18th century. Later, when the Āhoms adopted Assamese as their spoken language, the *Burañjis* were written in Assamese. A number of these *Burañjis* have come to light, and have been ably edited and published by Assamese scholars. They date from the 17th century onwards. They have not only enriched Assamese language and literature (and extended the horizon of Indian literature as a whole) but throw valuable light on the political, social and economic condition of the country, particularly North-eastern India, during the 17th-19th centuries.

III. ORIYĀ

The beginnings of the Jagannātha Dāsa period of Oriyā literature have been described in the preceding Volume (pp. 520-21). Many writers flourished during the period under review. They distinguished themselves by translations, adaptations and imitations of Sanskrit books, and Oriyā literature was saturated with the spirit of Sanskrit literature. Sanskrit religious works and classics were thus made available in Oriyā, and there were both romances as well as a good deal of technical literature. Among works of outstanding merit may be mentioned *Kāvya*s based on Purāṇic legends by poets Madhusūdana, Bhīma, Dhīvara, Sadāśiva and Śīśu Īśvaradāsa, as well as love-romances on non-Purāṇic themes by the prolific writer Dhanañjaya Bhañja. The Oriyā adaptation of *Gītāgovinda* by Brindāvana Dāsa has preserved the music of the original, and Kāhānu Dāsa wrote a *Kāvya* on the story of the *Rāmāyaṇa* in 108 cantos of 108 verses each. The *Rasa-kalloḷa*, dealing with the love of Rādhā and Kṛishṇa, is a curious work in which every line begins with the letter 'k'. Its author, Dīnakṛishṇa Dāsa, who wrote many other works, was not only one of the greatest Oriyā poets, but also a great scholar and a polymath in all Sanskrit sciences. Mention should also be made of some other distinguished works, e.g. "the *Ushābhilāsa* of Śīśu Śaṅkara Dāsa, the *Rahasyamañjarī* of Deva-durlabha Dāsa, and the *Rukmiṇī-bibhā* of Kārttika Dāsa. A new type, which may be called novels in verse, was started from the beginning of the 17th century, when Rāmachandra Paṭṭanāyaka wrote his *Hārāvālī*, in which the hero is an ordinary householder's son and the heroine is the daughter of a farmer. Bhūpati Paṇḍita and Lokanātha Vidyādhara were other distinguished poets, of whom the former wrote a great work, the *Prema-pañchāmṛita* on the story of Kṛishṇa and the Vaishṇava doctrine of faith-cum-knowledge, and the latter was marked for the mellifluousness of his language, comparable in this to Jayadeva himself."

The poets mentioned above, generally speaking, wrote in simple straightforward language, but some of them already showed signs of that artificial style which came to be established in the 18th century, and was marked by "verbal jugglery, unabashed eroticism and even covert or open obscenity." The greatest exponent of this new style was the great poet Upendra Bhañja (1670-1720) who ushered in a new era in Oriyā literature which continued till the middle of the 19th century. It will be convenient, therefore, to deal with this phase of Oriyā literature in the next volume.

IV. HINDĪ

The greatest Hindī writer during the period under review was Gosvāmī Tulasī-dāsa, born in Gonda District in Eastern U.P. some

## LITERATURE

time about A.D. 1523. He left his family, became a mendicant, and began to write his masterpiece *Rāma-charita-mānasa* in A.D. 1574 in his native Awadhī dialect (which in some respects is rather different from the standard or *Western* Hindī, and hence is also called *Eastern* Hindī). It is widely read even to-day and unquestionably, often with a modern *Western* Hindī *bhāshā-tīkā* or translation, is “the Bible of the Hindu masses of North India”. It narrates the story of Rāma and through it propounds the philosophy of the *Bhakti* cult. It is distinguished alike by its poetic charm and devotional spirit and its exquisite language, popular and purely Indian, with its native Hindī and borrowed Sanskrit words. Apart from the religious and literary importance of this great work, its author rendered a great service to the Indians submerged under the flood of the Islāmic conquest. A modern author has paid the following tribute to Tulasī-dāsa which he fully deserves:

“Tulasī was a follower and supporter of orthodox Brahmanical ways, and his advent with this and other books did the greatest service in strengthening the Hindus of Northern India in their religion, their old ways, and their culture, which seemed to be overwhelmed in the flood-tide of an aggressive Islam and by the side-attacks on Hindu cultural life through covert preaching against orthodoxy, which inculcated the study of Sanskrit books, going to places of pilgrimage and performing the various religious rites. He brought before the Hindus the ideal of Rāma, the hero, steadfast and kind-hearted, truthful and beneficent, and standing up and fighting evil and defending the weak against the tyrannical demons and ogres. In the days of Turki and Pathan and Mogul rule, this bracing and manly ideal was a necessity for the Hindus, and it certainly saved them from being cast adrift from the bases of their culture. If a writer’s popularity is to be gauged by the number of quotations from him known to the masses, then there is none else in the range of Hindi to stand before Tulasī-dāsa.”<sup>5</sup>

Tulasī-dāsa wrote many other devotional works of which the *Vinaya-Patrikā* (Letters of Prayer) is the most well-known and perhaps the best. He preached pure devotion to God, but believed in a personal God, endowed with attributes, as was represented by Rāma, an incarnation of the supreme spirit as Vishnu. Though mainly devotional in spirit, the works of Tulasī-dāsa also display a purely humanistic approach based upon a knowledge of men and things around him. He showed a keen sense of human duty and dignity, and urged upon all the pursuit of highest virtues in life. His works have thus a universal appeal to mankind. He

wrote in a high-flown Sanskritized Awadhī which strengthened the Sanskrit tradition in North India. Tulasī-dāsa died in 1623.

The spirit of Tulasī-dāsa animated a number of other writers. Two of his younger contemporaries, Agra-dāsa and Nābhāji-dāsa, wrote in Braj-bhāshā the famous *Bhakta-māla* (the Garland of Saints), which gives brief accounts of the Vaishṇava Saints from early period down to the time of Tulasī-dāsa. An extensive commentary to it was written in the same language by Priyā-dāsa in 1704. Hindī, or, more properly, its Braj-bhāshā dialect, was also enriched by a number of devotional poems by another school of writers who regarded Kṛishṇa, rather than Rāma, as the highest incarnation of Supreme God, and drew their inspiration from the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, instead of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. The intense love of Rādhā for Kṛishṇa, and the dalliance of the latter with the *gopīs* or cowherd girls of Vṛindāvana formed the theme of many beautiful lyrics, as we find in the Bengali literature of about the same time. The greatest poet of this school was Sūra-dāsa who lived probably from A.D. 1503 to 1563 and wrote several thousands of lovely lyrics on different stages of Kṛishṇa's life. He and seven other disciples of Vallabhāchārya formed a group of devotees and poets of the Kṛishṇa-bhakti cult, known as the *Ashṭa-chāpa* or 'the Eight Stamp-seals'.

Another poet of this school who achieved great renown was Mīrā Bāi (A.D. 1498 or 1503 to 1546), a Rajput princess married to a prince of Mewar. She became a widow at an early age and spent the rest of her life as a *yoginī* (female mendicant) or ardent worshipper of Kṛishṇa. Many romantic stories have gathered round her, and it is difficult to separate the chaff from the grain in these folk tales. The sweet melody of her devotional songs echoing her absolute self-surrender to Kṛishṇa and reflecting the throbbing yearning of her heart for union with her 'Beloved'—the Supreme God in the form of Kṛishṇa—captivate millions of hearts even today from one end of India to the other. These songs were originally composed in the Marwari form of Rājasthānī, but their language has been largely altered to the Braj-bhāshā dialect of Hindī in order to make them popular in Northern India outside Rājasthān and Gujarāt.

The Awadhī dialect of Hindī was enriched by a number of Sūfī writers who wove some popular romantic tales of the folklore type into beautiful allegorical poems by way of elucidating the characteristic Sūfī doctrines. Maulānā Dāūd, the author of the oldest work of this type, *Chandāyan* (Romance of Prince Lor and his wife Chandā), and Kutban who composed the *Mṛigāvatī* (in A.D. 1501) have been mentioned above (Vol. VI, p. 505). Another poet of this

school, Manjhan, wrote the *Madhu-mālatī* (before A.D. 1532) which, though found in an incomplete form, displays 'more imagination and glory of love' than in Kutban's work. But the greatest writer of this school was Malik Muhammad Jāyasī whose famous poem *Padumāvātī* was composed between A.D. 1520 and 1540. It is a "detailed Sūfī allegorical treatment of the famous story of Padminī of Chitor" (see above, Vol. VI, pp. 26-7, and p. 50 fn. 21). The work is generally regarded as 'one of the greatest books of medieval Indian literature', and its author, 'a worthy precursor of Tulasī-dāsa in writing a chaste and properly Sanskrit Awadhī—perhaps the best form of Early Awadhī.' The high poetic qualities of the work are widely appreciated. It was translated into Bengali by a Muslim Bengali poet of Arakan in the 17th century,<sup>6</sup> and recently it has been rendered into English. The tradition of this school was continued by a number of other Muslim poets, belonging to the 17th and 18th centuries, viz. Usmān, Shaikh Nabī, Kāsim and Nūr Muhammad. The latest writer in this line was Nāzir Ahmad of Pratāp-garh, who composed his romance of Nūr-Jahān in 1905.

The tradition of Kabīr was continued by the mystic poet Dādū Dayāl (1544-1603), who is regarded as a great poet and a later counterpart of Kabīr. His works show an admixture of Braj-bhāshā and old Kharī-bolī as in the case of Kabīr.

Literature in Braj-bhāshā flourished under the patronage of Akbar and was enriched by the poets and musicians of his court, including Tānsen who wrote 'highly poetic and sometimes profound songs on various topics, devotional, panegyric and descriptive'. Special reference may be made to Abdur Rahīm Khān-Khānān (1533-1626) the son of Bairam Khān (see pp. 104-10). He imbibed the Hindu spirit and wrote in Braj-bhāshā poems on Kṛishṇa and other topics. Many well-known figures in Akbar's court, like Toḍar Mall, his finance minister, and Bīrbal, his boon companion and court jester, were also literary men. One of these, Keśava-dāsa (1565-1617) introduced a deliberately and artificially rhetorical and artistic type of literature.

"The poets of this Rhetorical School busied themselves with charming lyrical verses describing the beauty of fair women, *nakhaśikha*, 'from the nails of the toes to the topknot of hair', *cap-a-pie*, so to say, and the different types of ladies in love, whether married or unmarried (*Nāyikā-bheda*); the moods of lovers and sweethearts or married lovers; the various *Rāgas* and *Rāginīs* or Musical Modes, conceived as heroes and heroines or as divinities male or female; descriptions of the Seasons (particularly revelling in the accounts of the rainy season and the spring); women in their occupations,

avocations and amusements, and social unions; of the various months narrating the occupations and distractions of lovers in union or in separation (*milana* and *biraha*)—the *Bāraha-māsī* poems; and elaborate classifications of figures of speech, of the various sentiments (*rasas*), etc. It was a most complicated *Ars Poetica* and *Ars Amatoria* of late Medieval India, and all this finds its own proper or fitting illustration in different schools of Medieval Indian painting—Rajput and other Hindu (including Orissan and Dakhni, and the schools of the Panjab Hills), and Moghul. It became the most engrossing subject-matter for ‘Hindī’ and Rājasthānī poets—and poets by the score in every decade—for three centuries, Hindus and Muslims, Brahmans and low caste people, men and women, composed on the above themes.”<sup>7</sup>

Hindī literature in the 17th century is not marked by any originality, and it merely followed the old types and traditions. So far as the subject-matter is concerned, the noteworthy poets were “writers on rhetoric and erotics, with an undercurrent of *Kṛṣṇa-bhakti* or *Rāma-bhakti* or Sūfism. Their names are respected in annals of Hindī literature, but they hardly have an appeal for anybody except the specialist scholar.”<sup>8</sup>

Mention may be made of Bihārīlāl, the court-poet of Jay Singh Rājā of Amber, and the famous author of the *Satasai* or Collection of Seven Hundred Verses. Another notable poet was Bhūshana (1613-1712) who distinguished himself by writing laudatory verses in Brajbhāshā in honour of Shivājī for his heroic fight against Aurangzīb with a view to setting up independent Hindu rule in India. These poems are specially valuable not merely for their forceful and elegant language, poetic imagery and musical melody, but also for the patriotic spirit, so rarely displayed by a Hindu writer in the Medieval Age.

Many other poets flourished in the 17th century, following either the Kabīr or the Jāyasī tradition. It is worthy of note that even after the emergence of Urdu literature in North India, many Muslim writers still adhered to the old Hindī tradition. The last great Hindī poet during the period under review was Lāl Kavi or Gorelāl Purohit, who wrote in 1707 the *Chhatra-prakāśa*, a beautiful epic biography of Chhatrasāl, Rājā of Bundelkhand.

Gurū Govind Singh, the last of the Sikh Gurūs (1666-1709), is included among the illustrious writers of Hindī, for he composed some important works in an old almost *Apabhramśa* style of Hindī, including the autobiographical poem, the *Bichitra Nātak* (the wonderful Drama).<sup>9</sup>

The Hindī literature described above was wholly in verse. The beginnings of Hindī prose writings, both Kharī Bolī i.e. Delhi-Hindī, and Braj-bhāshā go back to the 16th century, and the style is illustrated by Sūfī works and by biographies of some Vaishṇava devotees of the *Kṛishṇa-bhakti* school. But good modern Hindī prose did not make its appearance before the 18th century.

## V. GUJARĀTĪ

Even in the 15th century Rāmānanda's influence in Gujarāt was wide-spread and claimed writers like Bhālaṅ (1494-1554 A.D.) who successfully translated Bāṇa's great classic *Kādambarī*. Bhālaṅ had studied the epics and the Purāṇas in the original. He borrowed the episodes from these sources and moulded them in contemporary sentiments thus giving a distinct literary form through *ākhyānas*. Jayadeva's *Gītagovinda* and Bopadeva's *Harilīlāmṛita*, dealing with the amours of Śrī Kṛishṇa had by now lent a new dimension to the folk-songs relating to Rādhā-Kṛishṇa. Bhālaṅ wrote several works depicting episodes from Śrī Kṛishṇa's life, making a free use of *garabīs*.<sup>10</sup> He also composed poems in Braj-bhāshā.<sup>11</sup> Poets from different parts of Gujarāt, Keśav Hṛiderām (C. 1536) and Nākar (C. 1550) composed similar *ākhyānas*, using the *Bhāgavata*, the *Rāmāyaṇa* and Bhālaṅ's *Saptaśati*. A professional class of Brāhmins called the *gāgariābhṛats*, the popular counterparts of the Purāṇiks, sprang up in whose hands the *ākhyāna* literature became a living tradition.<sup>11a</sup>

The *Bhakti* cult, particularly the school founded by Chaitanya in Vṛindāvan, strongly influenced Gujarātī literature. Mīrānbāi and Narasimha Mehtā, the two greatest poets of Gujarāt were influenced by the Vṛindāvan school. A pattern of poetic rhapsody developed, imbibing its inspiration from the legacy of Śrī Kṛishṇa's pastoral romance in the woodlands of Vṛindāvan and combining lyrical verse, musical symphony and a responsive dance movement (*rāsa*). The sweet strains of Śrī Kṛishṇa's magic flute were heard time and again and the glimpses of His eternal *rāsālīlā* recreated in the poetic compositions of these two great *bhaktas* of Śrī Kṛishṇa.

To Mīrān, the divine singer of Lord Kṛishṇa, whom she considered as a living Bridegroom, the feet of Śrī Kṛishṇa were her be-all and end-all of life. She regarded herself as a *gopī* of Vṛindāvan.<sup>12</sup> Her earlier songs addressed to Girdhar Gopāl were written in pure homely Rājasthānī, the parent of modern Gujarātī, Mevāḍī and Mār-wāḍī, whereas her later songs have the impress of Braj-bhāshā, the sweet language of love and devotion. In company of devotees of Lord Kṛishṇa at Dwārakā, she blossomed forth into Gujarātī with

the same ease with which she wrote her earlier songs. She has thus been claimed by three regions and three languages.<sup>13</sup> Her songs breathe a rare intensity of feeling and sensitiveness of emotions. In saintliness and poetic fervour, Mīrān is peerless in Vaishṇava literature.

Narasimha Mehtā, who also lived in the sixteenth century,<sup>14</sup> ushered in philosophical poetry and gave a new impetus to Bhakti. About his well-known Bhajan "*Vaishṇava Jana to tene Kahiye*," Mahatma Gandhi wrote: "That one song is enough to sustain me, even if I were to forget the Bhagavad Gītā". The poet-saint not only composed this favourite hymn of Gandhiji and sang it but also lived it. And living it was a heroic struggle to this Kṛishṇa-Bhakta, who was deserted by his own relatives, spurned and thrown out by his own Nāgar Brāhmin community and left desolate by many a domestic calamity. But not once was the saint forsaken by Lord Kṛishṇa, for the humble devotee placed his whole life at the lotus feet of the Lord as a little flower of devotion.<sup>15</sup>

The bulk of Narasimha's works which consists of *padas*, about seven hundred and forty in number, are collected in *Śringārmālā*. His *Rasahasrapadi* is a free and elaborate rendering of *rāsa* as depicted in the *Bhāgavata* which also became a source of his large volume of poems relating to the episodes in Śrī Kṛishṇa's life. His poems and songs with their rich vocabulary and charm of language have exercised a great influence on literature and sentiments of many generations. He was the finest representative of Bhakti in Gujarāt.

Popular fiction continued to be cultivated in Gujarāt along with adaptations of Purāṇic episodes. Many authors diverted their attention from religious to secular literature. The stories which were imitations of Guṇāḍhya, the author of *Bṛihatkathā* in Prākṛit, depicted men and women making love, going through intriguing adventures, propounding and solving riddles in each other's company. As such literature fired the imagination of the people, Bhakti, whose intensity by its very nature could be the privilege of a few, lost its vitality, giving way to contemplation of the futility of life and a sense of world-weariness. To be alive was to die to the joys of life: it was a precursor of a happy existence after death. This gospel, a result of the stagnant and political conditions of the time, found expression in the works of Akho or Akhā Bhagat (C. 1615-1674).

Akho, the philosopher-poet, is hardly known outside Gujarāt. Even in Gujarāt not much that is authentic about his life is known

except some legendary accounts mostly garnered through his poetry.<sup>16</sup> A goldsmith by caste, Akho lost his parents early in life. His only sister and young wife also passed away. A lady whom he cherished as a sister suspected his honesty. While working in a royal mint, he was imprisoned on a charge of committing defalcation. Disgusted with a world so full of distrust and suspicion, he sought refuge in prayer and performed many rituals, but found no peace. His wanderings took him to Kāśī where he found solace in the Vedāntic philosophy. But he had seen social iniquities and all that was sham in the garb of religion; these served as a fine fabric which he fashioned into poetry.

Popularly known as the *Vedāntakaviśiromaṇi*,<sup>17</sup> Akho was a seeker of ancient wisdom. His several works expounding the Advaita philosophy include *Akhegītā*, his best work wherein his creative faculties and philosophic thought find a full scope. He also has composed seven hundred *Chhappāis*, epigrammatic stanzas and many poems in Hindī. He has given to the people the essence of the Vedānta philosophy in a language that can easily be understood. In literary humour in which he blended biting wit with words of wisdom, Akho has few equals.

The credit of plumbing the hearts of the people and gratifying their literary thirst goes to Premānand (1636-1724 A.D.), a born poet whose talent would have shone in any age and in any language.<sup>18</sup> He was the greatest medieval poet and has to his credit as many as fifty-seven works which were very popular. His works can be broadly divided into the *Ākhyānas* from the Epics and the Purāṇas. He also composed original poems depicting the incidents in the life of the great poet-saint Narasimha Mehtā. A supreme master in the art of narrative poetry, Premānand kept alive the Purāṇic traditions and gave the people episodes, fully interwoven with vivid and colourful pictures of contemporary life.

Sāmaḷbhaṭṭ, born about the year 1700, was, after Premānand, the most notable poet of the period. Many Purāṇic works and those of fiction are attributed to him. Gifted with a matchless style and wonderful power of story-telling, he presented stories of worldly wisdom, preserved the romantic atmosphere of early fiction, and provided a valuable literature of escape from the morbid influences of his times.

Mention must be made of the literary activity of the Jaina *sādhus* during the period under review. They continued to compose charitas of their *tīrthaṅkaras*, *chakravartins* and saints as their predecessors had done in tedious, monotonous rhyme. For variation sometimes they chose Kumārpāl and Vastupāl as their themes. Their

language was archaic, and the religious and moral precepts in their compositions made them hardly attractive. However, a few Jaina scholars deserve recognition. The most notable writer of the 16th century was Lāvaṇyasamay who composed over twenty-nine works. Four of these are *rāsas* of *tīrthaṅkaras* and saints. One is *Rāvaṇaman-dodarīsamvād*, a work based on the *Rāmāyaṇa*. He also wrote the well-known *Vimalaprabandh* and other religious and ethical poems. His successor, Nayasundar, who was a student of the Sanskrit, Prākṛit, Hindī and Urdu literatures wrote three social *rāsas*, one Purāṇic *rāsa* and two religious works. He embellished old *rāsa* stories with a wealth of literary and emotional shades from Sanskrit works. His *Naladamayantīrās* is considered to be a rendering of a lost Sanskrit work called *Nalāyana*. Another *sādhu* of considerable literary powers was Samayasundar, who composed about twenty long works, besides a large number of small poems. Ṛishabhadās was yet another Jaina author with an untiring energy who is credited with thirty-two works which include sixteen *rāsas* on *tīrthaṅkaras* and saints.

## VI. PUNJĀBĪ

### *The Beginnings of Punjābi Literature:*

There is no written record of any Punjābī literary work prior to the time of Gurū Nānak (1469-1538), founder of the Sikh faith. The Punjābī language, of course, is much older, having developed out of a *Śaurasenī apabhraṁśa* along more or less the same grammatical lines as Braj-bhāshā, Rājasthānī and Pahāri, by about A.D. 1300 (Cf. Vol. VI, pp. 493-4).

The earliest authentic record of writing in Punjābī, where we may see the fixed forms of words and other traditions in language and literature, is the Sikh scripture, an anthology known as the *Ādi Granth*, compiled finally in 1604 by Gurū Arjun Dev, fifth in the line of the Gurūs of the Sikh faith. Since by the Gurū's ordinance it would be sacrilegious for anyone to introduce any alteration, however minor, into the recorded text, this vast store of writing is now before us precisely in its original form and harks back at least to the 15th century, if not to earlier period. As has been pointed out by scholars, the *Ādi Granth* is an unparalleled treasure-house of northern Indian medieval literature and verbal forms, and of literary traditions which can be studied in their authentic shape in it.

### *The Ādi Granth:*

The greatest work in Punjābī is the *Ādi Granth* (lit. The Primal Scripture), sacred book of the Sikh people. Its nature and importance have been discussed in Chapter XX, Section II. As far

## LITERATURE

as the character of its language goes, it is only in part pure or nearly pure Punjābī. For the rest it is either some variety of Hindī, or combined Hindī-Marāṭhī.

The arrangement of the hymns in the *Ādi Granth* is, as was customary in medieval India, in accordance with the *rāgas* or musical measures in which these are to be sung.

The themes which form the basis of the devotional compositions of the Gurūs are the nature and attributes of the Creator; the spiritual quest which consists on the one side in freeing the mind of the great illusion, *Māyā*, and on the other in fervent devotion to God conceived of as the Beloved-Lord; the supreme importance of relating the spiritual life to the realisation of moral responsibility; the objective of the religious life as the attainment of *Mukti*, *Nirvāṇa*, which in essence means the attainment of the state of spiritual-moral enlightenment; and untiring emphasis on the essence of the religious life as devotion, enlightenment (*Jñāna*) and acts of disinterested good (*Sevā*). The entire message is expressed in poetry, which through powerful image and symbol impresses the movement of the soul on the listener's mind and thus acts so as to 'convert' him.

Significant words from Muslim tradition are also employed, particularly those made familiar to the people in general by the propagation of Islām and the mingling of Hindus and Muslims in the population for three centuries or more. A fairly large collection of words of Persian or Arabic origin can be made from the pages of the *Ādi Granth*.

A considerable part of the terminology employed by the Gurūs comes from the practice of medieval Yoga, particularly in its adumbration of the spiritual ideal to be attained.

The style in which Gurū Nānak has poured forth his soul is generally highly compact and aphoristic, as indicating a mind given to expressing itself in formulae or *Sūtras* as in the Indian spiritual tradition in general. Deep, reflective and intuitive processes of the soul, blossoming forth into these aphoristic utterances—such is the impression which Gurū Nānak's compositions leave on the mind. Gurū Nānak's successors, in general, re-express his themes and purport, and his very phrases, expressive of deep spiritual vision, are met with again and again in their compositions.

One prevalent characteristic of the hymns of the *Ādi Granth*, poetically of greater relevance from the literary point of view than the philosophy, teaching or message, is the adoption by the Gurūs of that Indian tradition of devotional-lyrical poetry in which the

entire symbolism of erotic poetry, applied to men and women is transferred to the spiritual quest and passion. In other words, this poetry is devotional-mystical as well as highly metaphysical adopting the style and tradition of medieval Indian eroticism, made current by the devotees of the Kṛishna cult. The Gurūs, of course, adopt as the object of their devotion not the divine cowherd Kṛishṇa, but the Transcendent Creator, *Par-Brahm*.

*Other Sikh Writers:*

Besides the compositions of the Gurūs, highly influential and poetically significant work in the exposition of the principles of the Sikh faith was done by Bhāi Gurdas (1559-1637). Bhāi Gurdas truly transferred to his own language the thought, tradition and philosophy of India which till then had been confined in northern India to various forms of Hindī and Bengali. He displays mastery of a variety of metres and in each stanza, built on a continuing rhyme-scheme, a wealth of resource in that direction which makes reading him a sheer intellectual treat. Some of the passages, such as those on Gurū Nānak's Advent in Canto one and that on Gurū Arjun, the Martyr, in Canto twenty-four, are examples of the supreme poetry of vision. Bhāi Gurdas is a great poet whose work should be better known outside the limited circle of those who can read Punjābī in Gurmukhī.

A good deal of devotional poetry relating to the Sikh faith was also produced during this period. More significant outside the main stream, is the prose literature which grew in this period. This literature too relates mainly to the exposition of various aspects of the Sikh faith. This may be divided into two broad categories: (a) The Biographies called *Janam-Sākhis* (lit. 'testament of birth') of Gurū Nānak, of which there are several; (b) exposition and exegesis of the principles and texts of the Sikh faith. Among the *Janam-Sākhis* the oldest and the one from which stems the entire basis of the life-story of Gurū Nānak is that of unknown authorship, known as the *Purātan* (ancient, old) *Janam-Sākhī*, whose only extant copy is now available in manuscript form in the British Museum. The Punjāb Government in 1885 got it printed in zinco-photography and it can be seen now in the published copies in exact form and feature. The date of its composition from internal evidence works out to be about 1633.

Among other writers of religious prose, falling slightly outside the strict limits of the period under treatment here, though belonging completely to its tradition, is the great martyr, Bhāi Mani Singh, a direct disciple and school-mate of Gurū Govind Singh. In his

*Gian Ratnavali* he has composed the life-story of Gurū Nānak as well as treated various issues concerning faith and the spiritual life. In his language he is closer rather to the idiom of central Punjābī with an admixture of Hindī.

### *The Romancers:*

In the secular field, there was a good deal of literary production in Punjābī during this period of the consolidation of Mughul rule over India. Most of those who composed romantic and other tales were Muslims. Their works in Punjābī have popularly been known as Kissas (more puristically Qissas) which means 'tales'. One of the earliest of the writers of Kissas was a Hindu, Dāmodar Ghulati, who flourished during the reign of Akbar to whom he makes a number of encomiastic references in the course of his narrative. The tale he composed is the most famous in the romantic lore of the Punjāb—that of the lovers Hīr and Ranjha. Because of the orientation and finish given to this tale later by Waris Shāh, as also the tragic finale of his version, it has become the romance *par excellence* of the Punjāb, and every Punjābī youth fancies himself in his romantic years the prototype of Ranjha and his sweet-heart the beautiful, faithful Hīr. Dāmodar's version of the tale, whose incidents must have been older than his own time, despite his avowal that he was an eye-witness of all that he narrates, is plain and unvarnished, in a halting form of the popular metre called *Dwaiya*.

Waris Shāh, whose version of the Hīr Ranjha story, as said earlier, is the most popular, was a gifted poet, with flow, command of good dialogue, deeply reflective and tragic tones, and an understanding of the human heart with which only the more imaginative poets are gifted. His version of the story is tragic, in the way somewhat of the story of Romeo and Juliet. On a false report that Hīr has died, Ranjha takes his own life. Later, Hīr dies on hearing of the sacrifice of Ranjha. The limping villain, Kaido, who plays something like an Iago in ruining these lovers, is a very well-known character in Punjāb folk-lore and his name has become a by-word for perfidy and intrigue. Waris himself, and his creations Hīr and Ranjha are the national figures of the Punjāb, both in the Indian and Pakistani countryside. The very popularity of Waris Shāh's version brought in continuing interpolations, which very often look like the genuine original passages.

Another famous romance of the Punjāb countryside is the story of the Muslim lovers, Mīrzā and Sahibān. The most famous version of the Mīrzā Sahibān story is that by Peelu. This is a tale

of chivalry and honour and the betrayal of love for family piety. Sahibān's entreaty to Mīrzā to save his life by escaping the wrath of her brothers, despite her loyalty to her father's house, is one of the finest treatments of a theme involving psychological conflict. Mīrzā, too, like Ranjha, is a hero of the Punjābī youth, and his story evokes admiration, rather than compassion, unlike the story of Hīr and Ranjha.

A Hindu poet, Aggra, composed the Saga or Var of Haqiqat Rāi, a Sikh-Hindu youth martyred during the reign of Shāh Jahān for his faith at Lahore.

### *The Sūfī Poets:*

The folk Sūfī poets of the Punjāb, while basing their experiences within the four walls of the Muslim Sūfī doctrine, and employing in their compositions occasionally terms drawn from the long tradition of Sūfī lore, have employed mainly the symbols and images drawn from the Punjāb countryside. Spiritual urges are expressed in terms of the simple objects familiar to the common country-folk, such, for example, as the spinning-wheel, the Persian-wheel, the dancing *dervishes*, characters drawn from popular romances and mythology, Hindu as well as Muslim. The language employed by these Sūfī poets is generally pure Punjābī of the western variety, with the rarest touch, here and there, of Hindī, drawn from the lore of the parallel Hindu orders of *Yogīs*. Through their language and its musical tones these poets are able to transmit passion and ecstasy. Sūfī poetry, because of its appeal to the heart, is highly popular among people of all communities in the Punjāb.

Among the Sūfīs of this period there are Hafiz, Barkhudar Vajid, 'Alī Haidar, Sultān Bahu, Shāh Hussain, and Bulhe Shāh. The last three deserve a somewhat detailed notice for the power and popularity of their work. Sultān Bahu (1631-1691), a mystic *dervish*, belonged to the Jhang region (now in Pakistan) and expressed himself in passionate poetry of devotion and renunciation. His effective use of dialect and his rhythm echoing the movement of the soul have imparted to his verse the power to move and to transport.

Shāh Hussain (1539-1593) was a *fakir*, given to a somewhat free way of life, and while perhaps reproved by orthodoxy, was loved by the people for the sincerity of his passion and devotion. His lyrics are passionate and respond immediately to music. They are suffused with ecstasy and are some of the best and purest examples of lyrical poetry in Punjābī. The variety of poetry practised by Hussain, as indeed by other Sūfī poets, is the Kafi, which is

the song-lyric of western Punjābī, and connotes as much a musical measure as the lyrical content.

Bulhe Shāh (1680-1758) is the prince of Punjābī Sūfī poets. His lyrics or Kafis have, like the romantic stanzas of Waris Shāh, passed into the tradition of the Punjāb. Bulhe Shāh has expressed the religion of the spirit, which transcends the creeds, and transmits ecstasy, resignation and the sheer passion and mood of love. His symbols are of the Punjāb countryside, and his verse has passed into folk-lore. His rhythms are like the tuning of the flute and the gyrations of dance. Through his verse the fine feelings of the Punjāb people found expression and self-awareness, in a manner which is more truly aesthetic than doctrinal or spiritual.

## VII. KĀŚMĪRĪ

Not much is definitely known about Kāśmīrī literature before the 15th century. Apart from some doubtful specimens furnished by a few stray verses, the poetic compositions of Lallā Didi (Lal Ded), *in a modern Kāśmīrī form*, represent the oldest specimens of Kāśmīrī, which have been preserved down to our own times by oral tradition. Lallā was born in A.D. 1335 and died between 1383 and 1386. She had an unhappy domestic life, became a *Sanyāsinī* (ascetic) called Lallā Yogīśvarī, and wandered about singing her little poems of mystic perception of Śiva, of which more than a hundred have been edited and translated by Sir George Abraham Grierson. Next in point of time is another mystic poet, a Muslim Saint named Shāh Nūr-ud-dīn (called by the Hindus Nanda Ṛishi), whose “verses and sayings known as *śruks* give expression to his profound faith in and love for God, and his catholicity of outlook”. These verses have been collected in a book known as *Ṛishi-nāmah* or *Nūr-nāmah*, a good portion of which is, however, considered as probably spurious by competent authorities. During the rule of the enlightened Sultān Zain-ul-‘Ābidīn (1420-70) flourished a number of writers in both Persian and Sanskrit, as well as in Kāśmīrī. But their works, mostly biographical and panegyrical, are now unknown.

During the 16th century the Kāśmīrī literature was enriched by the exquisite lyrics of love and life composed by a lady, popularly known as Habba Khotūn, who passed through strange vicissitudes in life. Born as a village girl and named *Zun* (Moonlight—Sanskrit *Jyotsnā*), she had an unhappy married life like Lallā, but the king of Kāśmīr, Yūsuf Shāh Chak (1580-86), got her divorced and married her. But she enjoyed only a few years of happy life of a queen beloved by her husband. For Akbar, after conquering Kāśmīr, carried off the king who was never allowed to return.

Habba Khotūn lived for 20 years more, virtually as a hermitess. She is one of the most popular poetesses and occupies a place in the forefront of Kāśmīrī literature. Among other poets who wrote in Kāśmīrī during the period under review, mention may be made of Khwājah Habībullāh Naushahrī who wrote a series of lyric poems, the Hindu poet Sāhib Kaul, the author of *Kṛishṇa-avatāra* and the *Janam-charita*, both based on the Purāṇas, and the poetess Rūpa-bhavānī (1624-1720) who wrote a number of religious poems in a highly Sanskritized language.

### VIII. MARĀṬHI

Marāṭhī literature of this period was given a vigorous start by three eminent saints: Santa Ekanātha, Santa Tukārāma and Svāmī Rāmadāsa. Their contribution is both voluminous and varied. They revolutionised the tone of religious writing, provided forms for artistic writing and set high standards of aesthetic expression. Their works inspired several able writers who further enriched the Marāṭhī literature, so much so that this period can be justly termed as the most glorious period.

While the saints and writers of this age were faithful followers of the *Bhakti mārga* initiated in Mahārāshṭra by Jñāneśvara and Nāmadeva, the literature of this period reveals a keen awareness on the part of the writers of the radically changed political, social and religious environment.

Santa Jñāneśvara flourished in the period of the Yādavas who were able to ensure their people peace and prosperity. With the fall of this dynasty and the advent of the Muslims, the people of Mahārāshṭra were put to untold miseries. There was no security of life and property. People naturally lost their faith and neglected their social obligations. There was thus an urgent need of a movement that could restore the faith of the people in their ancient religion and culture as well as give them fresh hope and confidence. This work of national rejuvenation was accomplished by the saints and writers of the age under review. We find in the annals of this age the unique reconciliation of worldly and spiritual life, an active implementation of the altruistic faith and a vigorous plea for, and practice of, the philosophy of activism.

It is significant that this new cultural and literary movement can be traced to the very age in which we witness the advent of the Muslims into the Deccan. Janārdana Svāmī (1504-1575), the teacher of Santa Ekanātha, was initiated into this spiritual tradition by the famous saint Nṛsimha Sarasvatī, popularly known as Śrī Gurū Dattātreya. Janārdana Svāmī was advised to lead the

worldly life and the spiritual life simultaneously. He was later appointed the governor of a fort under a Muslim ruler and attained fame as an able statesman, too. Thus, he demonstrated in that difficult age how the worldly life and the spiritual life can be reconciled to the advantage of both the individual and the society. Dr. R. D. Ranade rightly points out that the Svāmī's life and the *abhaṅgas* (laudatory verses) reveal such a unique reconciliation of worldly and spiritual life as was never attained either before or after. No wonder that the Svāmī was able to give Mahārāshṭra an outstanding saint and writer of the eminence of Santa Ekanātha.

The works of Santa Ekanātha (1533-1599)<sup>19</sup> reveal his mastery of the *Bhāgavata*, the *Bhagavad Gītā*, the *Jñāneśvarī* and the epics. They also reflect his great spiritual achievements. His commentary on the 11th chapter of the *Bhāgavata*, known as the *Ekanāthī Bhāgavata*, runs into 18,800 ōvī verses and is undoubtedly his masterpiece. Next comes his *Bhāvārtha Rāmāyaṇa* (40,000 ōvī verses), followed by *Rukmiṇī Svayamvara* (1,711 ōvī verses). In addition to these he has composed hundreds of *abhaṅgas*, *gaulans*, *bharudas* as well as commentaries on the *Chatuḥśloki Bhāgavata*, *Svātmasukha* and *Chirañjīvapada*. His is the unique distinction of having prepared the scholarly edition of the *Jñāneśvarī*.

Ekanātha's *Bhāgavata* is a spiritual treatise while his *abhaṅgas* narrate his own spiritual experiences. He made the ideas of the Vedānta popular through his works. His *Rukmiṇī-Svayamvara* is a fine poetical work with the theme of the union of Jīva and Śiva. The epic fight of Rāma and Rāvaṇa is depicted by him as the eternal struggle between the soul and the ego. He propagated the path of *bhakti* which led to the service of one's fellow-beings. Thus he combined successfully religion with social service. Indeed, his sympathy and affection for all was really the source of his effective delineation of all the *rasas* in his narratives and the *abhaṅgas*. His passionate love of Marāṭhī is expressed thus:

If Sanskrit was made by God, was Prakrit born of thieves and knaves? Let these errings of vanity alone. Whether it is Sanskrit or Prakrit, wherever the story of God is told it is essentially holy and must be respected. God is no partisan of tongues. To Him Prakrit and Sanskrit are alike. My language, Marāṭhī, is worthy of expressing the highest sentiments, and is rich-laden with the fruits of divine knowledge.

No wonder that Ekanātha occupies a high place among the saints of Mahārāshṭra as well as among the great poets.

According to tradition, a group of five writers form the Ekanātha *Pañchaka*; they are: Ekanātha, Rāma Janārdana, Jani Janārdana, Vitha Renukanandana and Dasopanta. Dasopanta (1559-1615) has left behind him a rich legacy of 45 works running into more than 200 thousand ōvī verses. His *Gītārṇava*, *Gītārthabodha-chandrikā*, *Grantharāja*, *Pañchīkarana* and numerous collections of songs and poems, are still popular and held in high regard. He composed songs in Kannāḍa and Telugu, too. His commentaries on the *Bhagavad Gītā* reflect his original and dynamic thinking on many philosophic and religious problems while his profound scholarship, high poetic ability and deep faith in religious and cultural traditions are revealed in his other works.

The first Marāṭhī version of the *Mahābhārata* was composed by Vishṇudaśanāma, a senior contemporary of Ekanātha. The *Budhabavani* and *Śukākhyāna* are his other works. His prayer addressed to Kāmākshīdevī has given rise to the speculation that he hailed from Goa.

Of the several other poets of this period, mention may be made of Śivakalyāṇa, Mṛityuñjaya, Ranganātha Mogarekar, Tryambakarāj, Ramavallabhadāsa, Mahāliṅgadāsa and Lolimbarāja who have contributed much to the narrative poetry in Marāṭhī. Of special interest is the *Gurucharitra*, a biography of Śrī Nṛsiṃha Sarasvatī by Sarasvatī Gaṅgādhara of the Kannāḍa region. This work is the first to use the phrase '*Mahārāshṭra Dharma*' and is a useful source for the study of contemporary cultural traditions.

Śantalingappa, a Liṅgāyata poet, was the author of *Karana-hastaki*—a poetical exposition of the principles of the Liṅgāyata sect.

Shaikh Muhammad was the author of the *Yogasaṅgrāma*, *Pavana-vijaya*, *Nishkalaṅka-prabodha* and *Jñanasāgara*, in addition to many songs and *abhaṅgas*. Mutoji Vazīr-ul-mulk, a princely scholar, composed in Marāṭhī a commentary on *Saṅgīta Makaranda*, a Sanskrit treatise on music. Hussain Ambar wrote his *Ambar Huseni*—a Marāṭhī commentary on the *Bhagavad Gītā* in 816 ōvī verses.

This forceful literary movement spread far and wide and brought under its influence people of all castes and creeds. Father Thomas Stephens, an English priest, found the *Purāṇic* form quite useful for propagating Christian religion among the natives. His famous *Khrishṭa Purāṇa*, in 11,000 ōvī verses of chaste Marāṭhī, is still regarded as one of the fascinating works in that language. As the title suggests, it is a collection of stories and anecdotes from the life of Jesus Christ cited in the Bible. His praise of Marāṭhī language is noteworthy: "Greenest among the herbs, sapphire

among jewels, that is my language, Marāṭhī.” Another Christian preacher, Father Croix, composed his *Peter Purāṇa* which is a poor imitation of the *Kṛishṭa Purāṇa*. Moreover, his uncalled for ridicule of the Hindu gods and goddesses, customs and manners, has vitiated the value of the work.

Santa Tukārāma (1598-1650) gave a fresh and a more vigorous momentum to the Marāṭhī literary movement. Born in a Kunabi (Sūdra?) family of the Viṭṭhala tradition, Tukārāma was a small-scale merchant. Rakhumābāi and Jijābāi were his wives. In 1619, when he was only 21 years old, his family life was ruined by the death of his first wife and first son, both victims of the severe famine. His trade was ruined too. Thus deprived of his family and occupation, he turned to the spiritual life. He was initiated by Gurū Bābāji in a dream, with the *mantra* of Rāma Kṛishṇa Hari. In another dream, Tukārāma had the vision of God Viṭṭhala with Nāmadeva who advised him to compose the *abhaṅgas*. Tukārāma then studied the works of Jñānadeva, Nāmadeva, Kabīr and Ekanātha.

Tukārāma composed numerous *abhaṅgas* and sang them in the assemblies of the devotees. Scholars have accepted at least 4500 *abhaṅgas* as his, and they reveal his many-sided splendid personality: his deep study of the *Bhāgavata*, the *Bhagavad Gītā*, as also the works of Jñānadeva, Nāmadeva and Ekanātha; his firm belief in God; his faith in religion; his universal love; his great spiritual attainments. His accepted mission was to propagate religion; “to advance religion and to destroy atheism is my business”, says he. His contribution to the religious literature of Mahārāshṭra is thus really great. His *abhaṅgas* are sung with delight even to-day, and they are still the source of inspiration for social progress.

Santajī Teli, Rāmeśvarabhaṭṭa, Śivaba Kasara, Mahadajipanta Kulkarni, Niloba and Bahinābāi were the more distinguished disciples of Tukārāma who have enriched the devotional literature in Marāṭhī.

Tukārāma was forced into the spiritual world by his adversities. His teachings, therefore, came to be characterised by a measure of pessimism. His emphasis on the need of a detached life was often misunderstood for a total renunciation of worldly life and social obligations. In the context of the political and social conditions of the period such a world-negating attitude could have been undesirable. But this was averted by an effective propagation of an activist philosophy by Svāmī Rāmadāsa for whom Tukārāma had great reverence.

Samartha Rāmadāsa Svāmī (1608-1682) was a born saint. Leaving his home at the age of 12, he performed severe penance for 12 years. It is believed that he was blessed with the vision of Śrī Rāma. Then he travelled for another 12 years visiting holy places all over India. The miserable conditions of the people moved him greatly and he decided to dedicate himself to the service of the people. He began to preach the cult of *Dhanurdhārī Rāma* (Rāma holding the bow) and of *Balabhīma* (the incarnation of strength). He established *Maṭhas* at several places that served as centres of religion, education and culture. He popularised physical culture and training of the youth for military purposes.

The *Dāsabodha* is undoubtedly the most important of his works. "It is the outcome of the fullest experience of the world by a person who has attained the highest spiritual experience. It is prose both in style and sentiment but it is most highly trenchant in its estimate of worldly affairs". It is a veritable guide for all time and for all classes of individuals who desire happiness as well as spiritual joy. He upheld the philosophy of activism and maintained that the ideal man is an active man. In his *Ānandavana Bhuvana*, he gives an inspiring vision of an ideal State where all the wicked are destroyed and all the good are protected. He sees India once again strong and prosperous. He was, nevertheless, a practical leader. He exposes ruthlessly the evil character of the pseudo-saints in his *Janasvabhāva Gosavi*. He analyses rationally the conditions of the people and the causes thereof in his *Asmani Sultani* and *Parachakra-nirupaṇa*. His *Karuṇāśhṭake* and *Manache Śloka* along with the *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Rāmavaradāyinī* are still regarded as the best in Marāṭhī literature for properly moulding the minds of the young. Rāmadāsa composed, in addition, hundreds of *ōvī* verses in the form of brief narratives and prayers, as well as hundreds of *abhaṅgas*. The works of Rāmadāsa, thus, reveal his deep scholarship, keen awareness of the social and political conditions of the people, his profound love for them, his dream of an ideal State and finally his unsurpassed spiritual attainments. He was able to found a distinct school of thought by his dynamic and forceful personality as well as by his devoted life and skill of organization. Of his numerous disciples mention may be made of Jayarāmasvāmī, Raṅganāthasvāmī, Ānandamūrti, Dinakara Gosavi, Venubāi, Giridhara, Kalyānasvāmī, Jagannāthabuva, Bhīmasvāmī, Merusvāmī Hariharabuva, Uddhavasuta, Ātmārāma and Bahinābāi (Tukārāma's disciple)—all of whom have profusely written on religious and social topics and particularly on the life and teachings of Rāmadāsa, with an emphasis on the significance of the Rāmadāsa tradition.

While the disciples of Tukārāma and Svāmī Rāmadāsa were busy with the religious and ethical teaching, there were others during this period who paid more attention to the aesthetic aspects of literature, following the tradition of Ekanātha.

The first of such poets was Mukteśvara (1609-1690) a grandson of Ekanātha. His *Samkshepa Rāmāyaṇa* (1725 ōvī verses) and the five *parvas* of the *Mahābhārata* (14,687 ōvī verses) are counted among the outstanding works of Marāṭhī classical poetry. In addition, he wrote *Śuka-Rambhā-saṁvāda*, *Śatamukha Rāvaṇavadha*, *Ekanātha Charitra*, *Gajendramoksha* and *Hanumantākhyāna*. These works are still considered models of artistic compositions combined with scholarly treatment of the *rasas*.

Vāmana Paṇḍita (1608-1695) was the author of several works, the more important of which are: *Yathārtha-dīpikā*, *Samaślokī Gītā*, *Nigamasāra*, *Karmatatva*, *Bhāminivilāsa*, *Rādhāvilāsa*, *Rāsakrīḍā*, *Sītā-svayamvara*. Their captivating style and religious instruction have made them popular with all classes of readers. Vāmana Paṇḍita has employed very successfully metres, figures of speech and other techniques of Sanskrit poetry. Samaraja (1613-1700) wrote *Mudgalākhyāna* and *Rukmiṇī-haraṇa*, the only Marāṭhī epic poem according to the tenets of Sanskrit poetics.

Raghunātha Paṇḍita, a contemporary of Shivājī, composed *Nala-Damayantī-svayamvara* and *Gajendramoksha*. The *Nala-Damayantī-svayamvara* has earned its author undying fame by its epic grandeur, skilful and lively portrayal of characters, figures of speech and interesting dialogues. The poet states that he was inspired to write this work by the *Naishadhīya Kāvya* of Śrīharsha. Ānandatanaya, another scholar-poet of this age, composed 20 narrative *kāvyas* for the use of devotees. The *Sītā-svayamvara*, a composition of 83 ślokas is his longest and the most popular work. Nāgeśa, another contemporary of Shivājī, was the author of *Sītā-svayamvara* and *Chandrāvalī-varṇanā*. These are full of witty and humorous observations on the contemporary social life. Vithal Bidkar (1628-1690) composed *Rukmiṇī-svayamvara*, *Sītā-svayamvara* and some biographies and prayers.

These writers of long narrative poems chose their themes from the epics and the Purāṇas, wrote in the traditional metres and style, and freely made use of the techniques of Sanskrit classical poetry. Gradually new themes and styles came to be introduced. Śrīdhara (1658-1729) and Kṛishṇadayārṇava initiated the new movement. Kṛishṇadayārṇava wrote *Harivarada*, a commentary on the 10th chapter of the *Bhāgavata*. Śrīdhara composed narratives on the heroes and heroines of the Epics and the Purāṇas. The more im-

portant of his works are: *Harivijaya*, *Rāmavijaya*, *Pāṇḍavapratāpa*, *Śivalīlāmṛita*, *Pāṇḍuraṅga-māhātmya*, *Venkateśa-māhātmya*, *Vedānta-sūrya*. Though he has borrowed freely from the earlier writers like Mukteśvara, he has made his compositions more interesting than any of the earlier ones. His works are read even today by thousands of devotees and lovers of good poetry all over Mahārāshṭra.

The scholar-poets of this age, thus, greatly popularised the narrative form of poetry and have furnished excellent compositions that can be read for personal gratification as well as for religious merit. They have, in their works, set patterns of highly artistic writings. They have also contributed greatly to the development of the Marāṭhī language by incorporating Sanskrit, Prākṛit and Persian words in their compositions.

Finally, mention must be made of the *Rāja-vyavahāra-kosha* prepared under the direction of Shivājī. It is a mine of useful information and is still regarded as an authoritative source for coining new administrative and political terms.

This period also saw the development of an indigenous form of literature known as *pōvāḍās* or ballads. The *pōvāḍās* are songs written in exciting style and narrate historical events in an inspiring manner. Of the numerous *pōvāḍās* of this period only a few are now available. One of such ballads by Agindas records Shivājī's encounter with Āfzal Khān and another by Tulsīdās gives an account of the heroic capture of Simhagaḍ by Tānājī.

## IX. TAMIL

The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were a period of decadence in the Tamil country. Petty kings and chieftains exercised a restricted or uneasy sovereignty over their peoples, while in the north the Mughul Empire was extending its sway and sprawling over the greater part of the Peninsula. Scores of poets and poetasters sedulously aped Sanskrit and classical Tamil models and somehow kept up a show of vigorous literary activity. The courts of the Tamil kings and the Śaiva *mutts* (maṭhas) were the principal centres of such literary activity, and it is gratifying to note that the flame, however it swayed or burned dim, was not allowed to be put out altogether.

Varathunga Pāṇḍyan and Athivirarama Pāṇḍyan were cousin brothers, and both of them accomplished poets. The Pāṇḍyan kingdom had then shrunk very much in size, and Athiviraraman had as his capital Korkai and Tenkasi in the Tinnevely district. Varathungan was blessed in an angelic wife, and they led a life of piety

at a place called Tirukkaruvainallur. Varathungan's principal work is *Pramottarakandam*, an eulogy of the mystic efficacies of *panchākshara*, *vibhuti*, *somvara*, etc. Varathungan's devotion to Śivā is revealed in every verse of this work. One typical stanza may be rendered as follows:

Eyes that gaze at Śiva's temple are alone the eyes,  
 Legs that enter His temple are alone the legs,  
 Heads that bow before Pārvatī's Lord are alone the heads,  
 Hands that make offerings to Śiva are alone the hands,  
 Tongues that sing His glories are alone the tongues,  
 Ears that hearken to His praises are alone the ears,  
 Hearts that meditate on Him are alone the hearts,  
 And allegiance to His feet is the only allegiance.

Varathungan's other works include *Ambikaimalai*, *Ilingapuramam*, *Tirukkaruvai Paditruppattanthati*, etc. Pandit Somasundara Desikar attributes, I think rightly, the '*Tirukkaruvai*' poems to Varathungan, while others attribute the poems to his brother, Athiviraraman. These '*Tirukkaruvai*' poems are all inspired by the Deity of Tirukkaruvainallur, and several verses from them have gone into popular currency. It is not surprising therefore that the title of *Kutti-Tiruvachakam* (Miniature Tiruvachakam) is bestowed upon the *Paditruppattanthati*.

Athiviraraman, the royal poet, is known to fame as the author of the Tamil *Naidatham*, which has gained the sobriquet of "poets' elixir". He was doubtless indebted to his predecessors, Vyāsa, Śrī Harsha, and Pugalendi, for the story, and to these as also to Kamban and other great Tamil writers for his ideas and poetic imagery. But the finished work is none the less a meritorious poem. Athiviraraman is particularly successful in his delineation of Damayantī's deathless love for Nala, a love that transcends misery, separation and seeming cruelty:

Even should I, O King, fail to see and win you in this life,  
 In another birth at least shall I not, I poor woman,  
 Undergo austerities all alone.  
 And melt your golden heart to gain you at last?

Athiviraraman's *Kāśīkandam* is a long poem devoted to the praise of Kāśī (Benares), based mainly on *Skanda Purāṇa*. School children are familiar with another of Athiviraraman's works, viz. *Vetrivarkai* or *Narunthokai*. The verses and aphorisms of *Vetrivarkai* are now a part of our popular culture and we are quoting or echoing them without being conscious of the fact. Here are a few samples:

## THE MUGHUL EMPIRE

The accomplished speaker, though a liar,  
Gives the lie the varnish of truth;  
The untrained speaker, however truthful,  
Makes truth itself ring false.

Better the forest where the fierce tigers roam,  
Than the city under the rule of a tyrannical king.

From the big seed of the Palmyrah  
Grows the sky-labouring tree  
Whose shade not one protects.  
From the diminutive banyan seed,  
Smaller than the egg of a little fish in the river,  
Grows the tree whose spreading branches cast a shade  
Over a royal army of elephants, chariots, horses and men.  
The big are not thus always big,  
Nor the small are always small.

The Śaiva *mutts* were at this time a bee-hive of literary activity. While such literary work as was produced was no doubt mainly religious, ethical or theological, several of the productions of these *mutts* have value as poetry as well. Kumara Guruparar, born of Śaiva parents at Srivaikuntam in the Tinnevelly district, grew to be an austere ascetic and became an ornament of the Dharmapuram *mutt*. It is said he toured the north and gave an exhibition of his powers, seated on a fierce lion, before the Mughul Emperor himself. The bibliography of his writings is a long one, of which the most popular are *Needi Neri Vilakkam* and *Madurakkalambakam*. From the former two verses are here extracted:

Youth is like a bubble on the water;  
Riches are the sprawling waves on its surface;  
This physical frame is as durable as the writing on the water;  
Why then, O Lord, do we not seek on the water;  
People engrossed in work  
Will be sleepless, careless of pain,  
Unconscious of hunger,  
Impervious to the evil around,  
Unresponsive to beauty and love,  
And even regardless of honour.

He wrote also many poems in praise of the deities of the various places covered during his pilgrimages in the north and the south.

Sivaprakasara, another well-known figure in Tamil Śaivism, belonged to the Tirumangalam *mutt*. He put into flowing Tamil verse Chamarasa's Kannada classic, *Prabhulinga-lile*, dealing with the life of the Vīraśaiva saint, Allama Prabhu. Although a Vīra-

śaiva, Sivaprakasar had his affiliations to Śaivism and remained as sugar in milk in Śaiva surroundings. Pandit Somasundara Desikar mentions thirty titles as constituting Sivaprakasar's work, but only *Prabhulinga-lile* and *Nanneri* are widely read today. A verse from the latter may be translated as follows:

Control over self that restrains the raging ire  
Is alone proof of good breeding;  
Say, is it better to block up the flood,  
Or let it break the banks and ravage the main?

Sivaprakasar composed *Prabhulinga-lile* in the year 1652 A.D. and died two years after, at the age of only thirty-two.

Paranjoti belonged to a *mutt* in Madura, and composed the *Tiruvilayadal Puranam*, a voluminous work of over three thousand stanzas commemorating the *lilās* of Śiva. Inspired by the Sanskrit *Skandam*, the *Tiruvilayadal* is one of the most entertaining of Tamil Purāṇas and is popular especially with the children. History and legend, mythology and hagiology, philosophy and ethics, all are thrown together to make an extraordinary poem. Paranjoti's other works are *Potrikkalivenba* and *Paditruppattanthati*.

Vīrarāghava Mudaliar of Chingleput was a poet about whom innumerable stories are told. He was born blind, and hence he is called 'Anthakakkavi'. He travelled widely, was appreciated everywhere, and went as far as Jaffna in North Ceylon. He is credited with the composition of countless extempore verses as also such formal works as *Tirukkalurkunra Puranam* and *Seyur Kalam-bakam*.

Besides the Śaiva poets mentioned above, there was during this period one notable Vaishṇava poet by name Pillaipperumal Iyengar, also called 'Diyya Kavi'. It is said that he was in the service of Tirumalai Nāyaka of Madura. Pillaipperumal was not only a staunch Vaishṇava, but was fanatically devoted to Raṅganātha of Śrīrangam. Other manifestations of Viṣṇu were of little significance to him. Pillaipperumal was indeed an embodiment of *bhakti* and was literally intoxicated by his welling love for Raṅganātha. The collection of his devotional lyrics is known as *Ashṭaprabandham*. It has been argued by Pandit Somasundara Desikar that *Ashṭaprabandham* is a composite work, and that only two of the eight poems included in the collection were composed by Pillaipperumal. But the spirit of the whole collection and the strength of tradition would rather support Pillaipperumal's sole authorship of *Ashṭaprabandham*.

Padikkasuppulavar is another of those Tamil poets about whom endless stories have been handed down to us. Tradition has it that he kept every day five gold pieces on the Panchākshara steps of Śivakami Ammai—a circumstance that gave him the name 'Padikkasu' or 'a coin for each step'. Padikkasu lived for many years at Ramnad as court-poet of the local king. Of his works the most important are *Thondaimandala Śatakam*, *Pullirukku Velur Kalambakam* and *Tandalayar Śatakam*. A verse from the last is here freely rendered:

Blessed with but one grateful son,  
 The benefits the whole family shares;  
 What's the use of a hundred sons,  
 When all of them are bereft of sense?  
 The pig gives birth to a useless many  
 Year after year;  
 But a baby elephant,—  
 Its birth most will beneficial be.

Altogether, these two centuries were a period of decadence in Tamil letters. Verbal dexterity is supposed to do duty for poetic fire and transcendent imagery. A fatal facility and fluency hide the general poverty of thought and inspiration. But the poets mentioned above, these among others, saved the period from utter barrenness and kept the spark alive.

## X. TELUGU

The reign of Kṛishṇadevarāya, Emperor of Vijayanagara (1509-1529 A.D.), ushered in a new era in the Telugu literature. Hitherto that literature consisted primarily of translation, adaptation and imitation of the Classical Sanskrit literary models and traditions, particularly of epic nature. The age of Kṛishṇadevarāya opened, with new elements, neo-classical vistas and romantic panoramas in the realm of Telugu literature. The *Prabandha*, essentially of the *Kāvya* type, now occupies the place of eminence in the galaxy of literary types in Telugu. Even if the themes of several *Prabandhas* were borrowed from the treasure house of Sanskrit literature, they have an original flavour in treatment, a dignity in diction and an element of their own in sentiment, description, ornamentation and other aspects of poetry. According to the great Sanskrit literary critics of the past, novelty in treatment but not in theme is the hallmark of the creative genius of the poet and the sentimental appeal of the poem which gives aesthetic delight of a high degree, and kindles an experience in a kindred reader is the be-all and end-all of all poetry, and not merely the elements of instruction or of the

social life. Most of the *Prabandhas* of the age satisfy these norms and almost all of the composers of the major *Prabandhas* were poets of high intellectual calibre and acumen and were good at original composition. Yet they made use of the background of their Sanskrit lore and followed the traits of tradition to a certain extent not because of their inability to innovate things but because of a certain attitude prevalent amongst the scholarly world and the people at large as well. It was thought even by very able poets like Rāmarājabhūshana that fictitious themes are artificial diamonds, themes of traditional eminence are diamonds fresh from the mine and they become polished ones only when studded in the ornaments of poetic imagery. That was the order of the day and the *Prabandha* had its heyday in the court of Kṛishṇadevarāya.

The court of Kṛishṇadevarāya was named as *Bhuvana Vijaya* (the victory of worlds). The name was given to his court after a series of his victories and after the fashion of the “*Trailokya Vijaya*”, the court of the Reddy kings of Rajahmundry. Every year *Vasantotsavas*, i.e., spring festivals, used to take place in Vijayanagara and poets were felicitated in the *Bhuvana Vijaya*. It was either adorned or visited by almost all the great and eminent poets and scholars of the time. Eight of his court-poets were specially honoured by the royal patron and aptly styled as “*Ashṭa Dig-gajāh*” (i.e., the eight legendary elephants which are supposed to bear the burden of the mother earth). Allasāni Peddana, the best of the lot and the author of *Manu Charitra*, was honoured with the title, “*Āndhra kavitā pitāmaha*” (i.e., the creator of Poetry in Telugu). He gave a new orientation to poetry in Telugu with an alluring descriptive element, a vivacious portrayal of characters in various passing moods, moving passions and emotions culminating in erotic and other sentiments, a rich poetic imagery and rhetorical sublimity, and a majestic but mellifluous diction of his own. His masterpiece, the *Manu Charitra*, which has as its theme the story of Svārochisha Manu drawn from the Sanskrit *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* was enriched with the aforesaid qualities. Its characters, Pravara and Varūdhini, assumed a new lively dimension, and almost became proverbial with the Telugu public. They are quoted as classical examples for austere chastity and erotic fillip in contexts of social episodes of love and romance, and became a handsome model for the following generation of *Prabandhas*.

Nandi Timmana, another great poet of the *Bhuvana Vijaya* Court composed a beautiful poem, *Pārijātāpaharaṇa Prabandha*, based on the romantic episode of the Pārijātā or the achievement of Satyabhāmā, in the *Harivaṃśa*. For ages the love episode of the prota-

gonists of this playful romance, Satyabhāmā and Śrī Kṛishṇa, has been green in the memory of the Indian people, and Timmana's masterly delineation of the characters perpetuated their memory in the world of erotic poetry in Telugu. Scores of authors drew inspiration from him and composed works in close imitation of the *Pārijātāpaharaṇa* and the famous *Bhāmakalāpam* of Siddhendra Yōgi is its spiritual child. The melody of Timmana's style, together with the texture of Peddana's diction and the lavish display of phrase of Tenāli Rāmakṛishṇa, has been often applauded by the lovers of Telugu literature.

There were many other poets like Dhūrjaṭi and Mādayagāri Mallana in Kṛishṇadevarāya's Court, and many others, like Rādhāmādhava Kavi and Sankusāla Nṛisimha Kavi who visited him. He was not only a great patron of letters, but himself a poet of the first magnitude too. Timmana says he was a great *rasajña* and praises him with an epithet, "*Kavitāprāvīṇya Phaṇīśa*"—an adept in poetic composition. He was also styled as "*Sāhitī Samarāṅgaṇa Sārva-bhauma*," i.e., Sovereign in the fields of literature and battle as well. He is said to have written many poems and plays in Sanskrit and Telugu, but only a Sanskrit play called *Jāmbavatīparinaya* and a Telugu *Mahākāvya* called *Āmuktamālyada* have come down to us. The latter is a versified philosophy of *Viśiṣṭādvaita*. It deals mainly with the story of Āndāl and Viṣṇu Chitta, two of the Ālvārs, the eminent advocates of a true Vaishṇava Bhakti Cult in South India. It is a storehouse of his personality, scholarship, worldly wisdom, knowledge of Political Science, religious understanding and *Bhakti* or sense of devotion to God, and richness of imagination. The *Āmuktamālyada* on account of its grandiloquent style and complex nature in thought and imagination is a hard nut for any ordinary reader and is considered to be one of the "*Pañcha Mahā-Kāvya*s" (i.e., the Five Great Poems) in Telugu—the other four being *Manu Charitra*, *Vasu Charitra*, *Rāghava-Pāṇḍavīyam* and *Pāṇḍuraṅga-māhātmyamu*, all belonging to this age.

Dhūrjaṭi, though a staunch Śaivite poet, was much respected by the Vaishṇavite ruler, Kṛishṇadevarāya. He composed a great shrine-epic poem, *Kālahastimāhātmyamu* and a Centum, *Śrī Kālahastīśvara Śataka*. He is famous for elegance of characterisation and unrivalled in sweetness of expression. He is a poet by temperament and always speaks in poetry with heart and soul. The lyrical outbursts in his *Śataka* give us a pen picture of his bold personality and kindred experience.

Mallana tried to create a theme of his own in his *Rājaśekhara Charitra*, but the construction of the plot is loose and rather unin-

teresting. Rādhāmādhava Kavi, originally Chintalapūdi Ellanārya by name, was so named by Kṛishṇadevarāya after his poem *Rādhāmādhavamū*, in which the romance between Rādhā and Kṛishṇa came back to life. It is said that Sankusāla Nṛisimha Kavi, the author of a beautiful poem called *Kavikarṇa-rasāyanamū*, though not a court-poet, was much appreciated by Kṛishṇadevarāya for his 'Kalpana'. The *Rāmāyaṇa* was retold in the fashion of a *Prabandha* by Ayyalarāju Rāmabhadra Kavi in his *Rāmābhyudaya* which paved the way for certain acrobatics in expression.

Tenāli Rāmalinga or Rāmakṛishṇa Kavi, a poet of those times, is a very popular figure in the Telugu country—popular more for many merry anecdotes about him than for his poetry. He composed three poems: *Udbhaṭārādhyā Charitra*, *Ghaṭikāchala-māhātmyamū* and *Pāṇḍuraṅga-māhātmyamū*. The last two are shrine-epics. *Pāṇḍuraṅga-māhātmyamū*, animated with interesting legends and characters and a grandiose style, earned a good name for him.

Piṅgaḷi Sūrana was another august figure of this age. He in his *Rāghava-Pāṇḍavīyamū* evolved a poetic type in Telugu—"Dvyarthi," i.e., double *entendre*—in which the stories of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* run parallel in a single expression. 'Dvyarthi' is an acrobatic feat in poetic form in which pun strikes the keynote. Sūrana made a remarkable achievement in exploring all the possible means of pun in his work, which stood as a coveted model for other poets who composed not only double *entendres* but also works with threefold and fourfold meaning. Yet *Rāghava-Pāṇḍavīyamū* is the first and also the foremost of its kind in Telugu. His *Kalāpūrnōdayamū* is another great work of all time. The theme, the statement and everything about it is novel to the core. In fact it is a poetic novel. A threefold allegory and a comedy of errors are there in its theme. A complex texture and technical perfection are there in its treatment. The phrase '*Kalāpūrnōdayamū*' means the birth of one *Kalāpūrṇa* by name. There is an important character of that unusual name in the work, but it is quite possible that the poet was of the opinion that this work, as the word literally means, depicts the full bloom of the art of poetry in Telugu for the first time. Yes, it was a brand new experiment in Telugu poetry in all its aspects. It seems that it was only during the sixteenth century that the Telugu poets became quite conversant with the theories of the various important aesthetic schools in Sanskrit—the Schools of *Rasa*, *Rati*, *Dhvani*, *Auchitya*, *Vakrōktī* and *Chamatkāra*. But none of them except Sūrana got the will and mettle to tread into the realms of all these "*Sāhitya Prasthānas*" in one stroll. He ventured and hence the propriety in selecting the unusual name. In its masterly

delineation of female characters, in its variety entertainment of the *Śringāra Rasa* and in its eloquent descriptions which often elope with the relevant incident, Sūrana's art is something akin to the Shakespearean. Sūrana was, in the opinion of Dr. C.R. Reddy, an unknown rival to Shakespeare in the East at the time. His *Prabhāvatī-pradyumnamu* is another unique poem in Telugu. He was in his element while composing this. He tried to move far away from the rut of the *Prabandha* in order to find a path of his own. He made an organic plot out of a commonplace mythological theme and infused a kind of dramatic element into the characters by means of powerful dialogues and events. He is a great exponent of the 'Kāvya Śilpa' (i.e., the art and the craft of poesy) like his great predecessor, Tikkana Somayāji.

Bhaṭṭu Mūr̥ti, otherwise known as Rāmarāja Bhūshana, who lived in the middle of the 16th century, was honoured in many a royal court of the day. His poetic genius, craft and equipment were marvellous. He was well versed in music, too, and a rhythmic being by nature. He is a great master of pun, a fountain of poetic fancy and an able exponent of the music of word and phrase and the magic of sense and meaning. His *Kāvya-lāṅkāra Saṅgraha*, also known as *Narasabhūpālīya*, is a standard work on poetics in Telugu. He is a great architect of verse and the art of versification reached the zenith of its perfection in his *Vasucharitra* which led to a series of imitations. It had even the honour of being translated into Sanskrit and Tamil. We witness a jugglery of pun in his *Hariśchandra Nalōpākhyānamu*, a first rate "Dvyarthi Kāvya".

The Qutb Shāhīs of Golconda, particularly Malik Ibrāhīm, and their feudatories extended patronage to Telugu letters for a time during the latter half of the 16th century. Sāraṅgu Tammayya, Kandukūru Rudra Kavi, Addanki Gaṅgādhara Kavi and Ponnekāṅṭi Telaganna (some of the poets patronised by them) composed works of merit—*Vaijayantī Vilāsamu*, *Niraṅkuśōpākhyānamu*, *Tapatīsamvaraṇōpākhyānamu* and *Yayāti-charitra* respectively. *Yayāti-charitra*, a poem composed in pure Telugu, devoid of Sanskrit vocabulary, a feat by itself ably accomplished, was the first of its kind and was followed by a host of such works. Besides this pure Telugu, the pun and the double-entendre, several other intellectual gymnastics like the *Chitra*, the *Bandha* and the *Garbha* were in vogue at the time.

Some of the writers of the period took to the composition of *Yakshagāna*, an indigenous type of popular play, set to music and dance, which was just evolving itself. The *Sugrīva Vijaya* of Kandukūru Rudra Kavi is an eminent example of the type.

Amongst a host of the poetic works of the time, mention may be made of the following: *Padas* and *Veṅkaṭeśvara Vinnapālu*, devotional lyrics of a category and the *Veṅkaṭeśvara Śataka* of Tāllapākam Peda Tirumalayya; didactic story-poems like *Pañchatantra* of Baicharāju Veṅkaṭanātha; *Prabandhas* like *Sudakshiṇa Pariṇayamu* of Tenāli Annaya, *Indumatī-parinayamu* of Tenāli Rāma-bhadra Kavi, *Śrīṅgāra Malhana Charitra* of Eḍapāṭi Errana, *Chandra-bhānu Charitra* of Tarigoppula Mallana, *Sāmbōpākhyānamu* of Rāmarāju Rangapparāju and *Pāñchāli-pariṇayamu* and *Rājavāhana-vijayamu* of Kākamāni Mūr̥ti Kavi; the 'Dvipada' works i.e. couplets like the *Ūshā-pariṇayamu*, the *Ashṭamahishīkalyāṇamu* and the *Parama Yōgi Vilāsamu* of Tāllapākam Chinnanna and the *Bhā-ratamu* of Baṭṭepāṭi Tirumala Bhaṭṭu.

Summing up the characteristics of the age, it may be said that the new spirit of the pompous imperial age led to neo-classical innovations and romantic enterprises. The exuberance of scholarship and enthusiasm of the poets was channelled into various new types like the *Prabandha*, the *Dvyarthi*, the *Yakshagāna* and the like, and new features like *Ślēsha*, *Achcha Telugu*, *Chitra*, *Bandha*, *Gar-bha* etc., and into various Purāṇic themes with a few exceptions blended with new aesthetic values and various major sentiments, the predominant being the *Śrīṅgāra* and into a variety of descriptions charged with flights of imagination and above all a grandiloquent diction. The elements of love, devotion, philosophy and the didactic are blended with the content of many of the poetic works of the age which of course impart message of a lasting value, but do not mirror the life of the common man in the contemporary society. Aesthetic delight, more than anything else, was their aim and ambition. Yes, it was chiefly an age of aesthetic considerations in the history of Telugu literature.

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After the fall of the Vijayanagara empire in 1565 (see p. 492) we witness an age of decadence in Telugu literature in the Telugu country from early 17th century onwards almost up to the dawn of the Modern Age. But a few poets worth the name flourished during the period. Four of the Nellore Friends' Circle flourished in early 17th century. Kankaṇṭi Pāparāju composed *Uttara Rāmāya-ṇamu* with a classical dignity which excelled Tikkana's work of the same name in quality and popularity, and *Vishṇumāyā Vilāsamu*, a *Yakshagāna* of note. Ṭekumaḷḷa Raṅga Śāyi composed *Vāṇīvilāsa Vanamālikā*, a miniature cyclopaedia, first of its kind in Telugu. Pushpagiri Timmakavi composed *Samīra Kumāra Vijayamu* and

*Dharaṇidēvula*. Rāmamantri composed *Daśāvatāra Charitra*. All these works are original compositions and not translations.

Never before and never after in the history of Telugu literature, were there so many royal poets as were in this age. Malli Ananta and Kumārānanta of Sidhout composed *Kākutstha Vijaya* and *Kumudvatī Pariṇaya*, respectively, and Surabhi Mādhavarāyalu of Jaṭaprōlu composed *Chandrikāpariṇaya* as almost a rival to the famous *Vasu charitra*. Dāmera Ankabhūpāla of Vellore composed *Ūshā-pariṇaya*. Bijjala Timmabhūpāla of Alampūr translated the famous Sanskrit play of Murāri, the *Anargha Rāghava*, in the form of a narrative poem, successfully maintaining the deftness of expression of the original. Some of the aforesaid kings extended patronage to other poets at their courts. Kavi Chaudappa, a poet of the Sidhout court, composed a *Śataka* which became very popular on account of its amatory and didactic fun and frolic. Elakūchi Venkaṭa Kṛṣṇayya, reputed by the title '*Bālasarasvati*', the court-poet of Jaṭaprōlu was a "*Mahāmahōpādhyāya*", i.e., a great scholar and teacher. He wrote many works of which mention may be made of his *Rāghava Yādava Pāṇḍavīyamu*, a triple *entendre* in which run concurrently the stories of all the three great epics, the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Bhāgavata* and the *Mahābhārata* and the translation of the three *śatakas* of the *Subhāshita* of Bhartṛihari, done for the first time in Telugu.

History for the first time formed the theme of two narrative poems during this period:

1. *Rāmarājīyamu*, also known as *Narapativijayamu* of Andugula Venkayya deals with a dependable story of Aḷiya Rāmarāya, a great dictator, a king-maker and a king for some time of Vijayanagara (p. 488). 2. *Kṛṣṇarāya Vijayamu* of Kumāra Dhūrjaṭi, deals with the story of Kṛṣṇadevarāya of Vijayanagara (1509-1529) told in the fashion of a *Prabandha*. Both the works are in lucid style. It is interesting to note that one Piṅgali Ellana wrote a poem, *Tōbhya-charitra* by name, dealing with a Christian theme. Muddaraju Rāmana, commentator of the *Rāghava Pāṇḍavīyamu*, also belongs to this period.

Appakavi, a great grammarian of the time, wrote in verse a prolific commentary, *Appakavīyamu* by name, on the *Andhra-śabdachintāmani*, the first treatise on Telugu grammar written in Sanskrit. Pre-eminently it is an authority on the subject, not only of Telugu grammar, but also of Telugu prosody, and is the result of deep study. The *Sarvalakṣhaṇa Śirōmaṇi* of a junior contemporary of Appakavi does a cyclopaedic survey of Telugu grammar,

prosody, poetics, rhetoric and lexicography. The author, Ganapavarapu Venkaṭa Kavi, though good at writing poetry in a pleasing manner, perpetrated in his *magnum opus*, the *Prabandharāja Venkaṭeśvara Vijaya Vilāsamu* all possible feats in the witchcraft of versification in a bewildering manner, sacrificing all aesthetic considerations. His erudition, equipment and ability are amazing and commendable but not the damages caused to the very purpose of poetry. His performance was the highlight of the age, but was a hall-mark of its decadence too.

There is yet another phase in the history of Telugu literature during the 17th century. Literature in Telugu was produced outside the Telugu country also. The Royal Courts of Tanjore and Madura (which are now in the Tamil Nadu State) where the Andhra suzerainty was established under the Nāyaka kings in the heyday of the Vijayanagara empire (pp. 486 ff.) extended patronage to the Telugu poets and scholars pouring in from the Telugu country with their kith and kin after the doom of Vijayanagara. The Telugu colonial literature of those times is noted for its variety in theme, freshness in treatment and for richness in type and sentiment. It was, unlike its counterpart, an age of new life but not decadence.

The Tanjore court could boast of a long line of royal patrons of poets and poetesses. The court of Raghunātha Nāyaka, who ruled over Tanjore from 1600 to 1632, was described by Rāma-bhadrāmba, his court poetess, in her *Raghunāthābhyudaya*. Raghunātha was himself a merited poet in Telugu and Sanskrit. His Telugu poems, the *Ramāyaṇa*, the *Vālmīki-charitra* and the *Nalacharitra* are resplendent with *Jāti*, *Vārta* and *Chamatkāra* (three skilful means of literary expression). His court-poet, Chēmakūra Venkaṭa Kavi, composed two poems *Sāraṅgadhara-Charitra* and *Vijaya-Vilāsamu*, in which we often find a bewitching adroit stroke of expression accomplished with a great ease and no effort. Kṛishṇādhvari, another poet of the court, dedicated to the patron his *Naishadha Pārijātyamu*, a *Dvyarthi Kāvya*. Generally speaking, the poets of this southern school are not lovers of pun, but curiously enough, one such poem as this was produced, of course as a matter of accident.

Vijayarāghava Nāyaka, son of Raghunātha, was very much interested and well versed in the arts of music, dance and drama. He, his son Mannārudēva, Kamarusu Venkaṭapati Sōmayāji, the poet-laureate, Raṅgājamma, a poetess, and the other poets of his court composed and staged scores of *Yakshagānas*. The *Yakshagāna* assumed the full stature of a regular play, removed the dearth

of dramatic literature in Telugu and had its heyday at Tanjore during the rule of the Nāyaka kings and even afterwards, during the following hundred and fifty years of the Marāṭhā rule over Tanjore. Some of the Marāṭhā rulers and their court-poets produced chiefly a great body of the *Yakshagāna* literature which by then became a popular pastime and a royal entertainment. The themes and characters of the *Yakshagānas* were drawn from the contemporary society. The wit and wisdom of the people and the literary amusements of the royal court found expression in them. Quite unusually, the living language of the people was employed as their medium. The element of humour which was sporadically met with in Telugu literature till then, was amply displayed. In short, they held the mirror unto life and nature. A special mention of the *Mannārudāsa Vilāsamu* of Raṅgājamma, the *Raghunāthanāyakābhyudayamu* of Vijayarāghava and the *Taṅjāpurānnadāna mahānāṭakam* of Purushōttama Dīkshita may be made in this context. It may be said to the credit of the *Yakshagāna* that it has been the most popular type of literature and while most of the literary types in Telugu were borrowed from one source or other, it was the only indigenous type peculiar to Telugu and was borrowed by others, i.e., the Tamilians and the Kannadigas.

The Tanjore court under Vijayarāghava was also famous for *Padas* (musical compositions chiefly of lyrical nature). The king and almost all his court-poets composed a large number of beautiful *padas* with erotic as the predominant sentiment.

The court of Madura, a rival to Tanjore, turned a new leaf in the annals of the history of Telugu literature by paving the way to the growth of prose literature and a new type of Śṛiṅgāra Prabandha. The *Rāyavāchakamu* written by a "Sthānāpati", i.e., a court-correspondent, in the first decade of 17th century in a slang deals with the history and anecdotes of the Vijayanagara empire. Liṅganamakhi Kāmēśvara Kavi who was in the courts of Tirumala Nāyaka (1623-1659) and Chokkanātha Nāyaka (1659-1682) wrote a prose work called *Dhēnumāhātmyamu* and two poems, *Rukmiṇī-pariṇayamu* and *Satyabhāmā-sāntvanamu*. A poet, probably Vikāṭa Kavi Gōpālarayaḍu, for some reasons, became the target of wrath of the queen Maṅgamma (1682-1706), was banished from the State and wrote in his exile *Madhura Maṅgā Pūmśchalivilāsamu* (the amorous sport of the whore Mangamma of Madura), a prose work interspersed with couplets here and there. It is almost an inventory of her illicit contacts and erotic deeds with contemporary princes and generals, couched in vulgar and obscene pranks and prattle. Yet it has a poetic interest of its own and may be useful to the his-

torians to an extent. All that is best in the Madura literature was produced during the reign of Vijayaraṅga Chokkanātha Nāyaka (1706-1732).

A few pieces of literature were now and then produced in places like Gingee and Mysore in the south during the period under review, of which the *Kuvalayāśva Charitra*, a poem by Savaramu Chinanārāyaṇa Nāyaka of Gingee and *Chikadevarāya Vilāsamu*, a *Yakshagāna* of the Mysore court deserve mention.

The 17th century literature in Telugu, colonial or regional as the case may be, though having an individuality of its own to an extent, is on the whole a huge foliage with few flowers when compared with its counterpart in the 16th century.

## XI. KANNADA

From the sixteenth to the beginning of the eighteenth century Kannada literature passed through a transitional stage. Poets of great eminence were few, the prominent among them being Lakshmiśa, Shaḍakshara, Ratnākara Varni and Sarvajña. The Vīraśaivas and Haridāsas produced much didactic and polemical literature. The Jainas, patronised by a few chieftains of the west coast, took to popular metres like *Sāṅgatyā* and *Shaṭpadī* for retelling the story of the Tīrthanākaras. Maṅgarasa wrote *Nemijineśa Saṅgati Śāntikīrti* wrote *Śāntinātha-purāṇa* in 1519 A.D., Padma Kavi, *Vardhamāna-Charita*, Doddayya, *Chandraprabhā-Charita*, Pañchabāna, *Bhujabali-Charite*, Devarasa, *Gurudatta-Charite*, Dharaṇī-Paṇḍita, *Varāṅga Charita* and *Bijjala-Rāya-Charite*. Chandrama's *Karkala-Gommateśa-Charite* deals with the establishment of the Gommata image at Karkala. Salva's *Bhārata* gives the Jaina version of the *Mahābhārata* story. The greatest of the Jaina poets of this age was Ratnākara Varni who wrote the *Śatakas*—*Aparājitēśvara Śataka*, *Triloka Śataka*, *Ratnākarādhīśvara Śataka* and probably *Somēśvara Śataka*. His greatest work was, however, *Bhārateśa Vaibhava* (1557 A.D.). It contains about ten-thousand verses in the *Sāṅgatyā* metre and is a valuable source for the study of contemporary life.

The Vīraśaivas were mostly concerned with Puranic stories. Oduva Giriya (1525), Bombay Lakka and Halaga dealt with the story of Hariśchandra in the *Sāṅgatyā* metre.

Gubbi Mallanṇa (1513), Virūpāksha Paṇḍita (1584), and Shaḍakshara (1655) are the three Vīraśaiva poets of eminence in this period. Gubbi Mallanṇārya (1513-1530) in his *Bhāvachintāratna*, deals with the story of Satyendra Chōla and the efficacy of the Pañchāksharī *mantras*. His other work *Vīraśaivāmṛitapurāna* contains

7100 verses dealing with the philosophy of Vīraśaivism, the *līlās* of Śiva and stories of numerous saints of the sect. Virūpāksha Paṇḍita (1584) resided at Vijayanagara and his *Chenna-Basava-Purāṇa* contains about 2900 verses in the Vārdhaka Shaṭpadī metre. His descriptions of nature have freshness and originality. Shadākshara, who wrote nearly three quarters of a century later, resided in Southern Mysore. His proficiency in Sanskrit and Kannaḍa was remarkable and in popular legends he was considered equal to Lakshmiśa and Nēmichandra. In Sanskrit he composed *Kavikarṇa Rasāyana*, *Śivādhikyā Bhaktādhikyā* and other stotras. Among his three Kannaḍa works *Rājaśekhara-Vilāsa*, *Basava-Rāja-Vijaya* and *Śabara-Śankara-Vilāsa*, the first is the best. He has preserved all the rigour and terseness of the *Champū* style and the language is usually elegant and chaste (though occasionally he displays his knowledge of obscure metres and words). This work attained great popularity among all classes.

“Sarvajña” is the pseudonym assumed by a remarkable personality assigned to c. 1600 A.D. That he was a devotee of Śiva and a Sannyāsin may be inferred from his *vachanas*. These *vachanas* are not in prose but in the popular *tripadi* metre which is mellifluous, terse and pregnant with meaning in the hands of a master like Sarvajña. His *vachanas* are also remarkable for the element of satire and humour, comparatively rare in early Kannaḍa literature. Sarvajña preached a universal philosophy transcending caste, colour and creed.

The Brāhmaṇa authors of the times were mostly concerned with the epics and the Purāṇas. Timmaṇṇa had completed the *Mahābhārata* under the patronage of Kṛishṇadevarāya. His contemporary, Nityātma Śuka Yōgi or Chaṭu Viṭhalanātha, undertook the task of rendering the *Mahābhārata* and *Bhāgavata* into Kannaḍa but the *Bhāgavata* seems to be the work of several authors. Chāyaṇa (c. 1550) wrote a *Mahābhārata* in Vārdhaka Shaṭpadī. Battatīśvara (who seems to be different from the Vīraśaiva author of that name) wrote a *Rāmāyaṇa* in the Bhāmini Shaṭpadī metre, but it did not attain the popularity of *Rāmāyaṇa* of Kumāra Vālmiki or Narahari (c. 1650). *Uttara Rāmāyaṇa* in Kannaḍa was written by Yōgīndra and Tirumale Vaidya. The story of Prahlāda furnished the theme for Narahari and Chenniga. Śrīnivāsa Kavi rendered the *Strī Parva* of the *Mahābhārata* and Mallarasa (1680) wrote the *Daśavatāra-Charitre*.

Chikkadeva Rāya (1672-1704) of the Wodeyar family of Mysore is said to have composed *Binnapa* or “confession,” *Gīta Gōpāla*, *Bhā-*

*gavaia* in prose, *Mahābhārata* from Śāntiparva onwards and *Śēsha* dharma. The *Binnappa* is addressed to his favourite deity Nārāyaṇa of Yadugiri (Mēlkōṭe) with the avowed object of popularising the philosophy and teachings of the Gītā. The *Gītā Gōpāla* in imitation of Jayadeva, consists of songs probably composed by his minister Tirumalārya and other authors of his court. Tirumalārya (1645-1706) wrote about the exploits of his master in *Chikka Dēva-Rāja-Vijaya*, *Vaṁśāvalī*, *Apratima Vīra Charite*, and his younger brother Singarārya wrote the earliest extant drama in Kannāḍa, *Mitravindā Gōvinda*, based on the *Ratnāvalī* of Harsha. Chikkupādhyāya is credited with more than thirty works including eight Sthala Māhātmyas, songs, *stotras*, commentaries on Tiruvaymoli etc. He wrote the *Vishṇu-Purāṇa* in prose as well as a *champū*. He rendered *Sāttvika-Brahma-Vidyā-Vilāsa*, *Artha Pañchaka* and *Tattvatraya* on Viśiṣṭādvaita philosophy into Kannāḍa. His *Śukasaptati* is in prose and the *Chitra Śataka Sāṅgatyā* points out some of the peculiarities of Kannāḍa words. Timmakavi has written three *Sthala-Māhātmyas*. Mallikārjuna also wrote *Śrīraṅga Māhātmya*.

Under the patronage of Chikkadeva two women authors flourished. Śṛiṅgāramma (1685) wrote *Padminī Kalyāna* in the Sāṅgatyā metre. Sanchi Honnamma is the author of *Hadibadeya Dharma* or the Duties of a Pativrata. This work is remarkable for the vindication of women and pleads for a proper recognition of the status of women. "The woman is the mother who bore and protected man, yet why do men treat women as inferior?" she asks. "The ideal wife devoted to her husband is a blessing to the world and a boon to man. The daughter-in-law is also a girl like one's own child and should be treated with the same affection. The woman also has a corresponding duty towards her husband and children". The Jaina author *Chidānanda* was also patronised by Chikkadeva and wrote *Munivamśābhyudaya* dealing with the history of the Jaina gurus of Mūla Saṅgha-Dēśi Gaṇa.

Among the semi-historical works apart from those written on Chikkadeva Rāya may be mentioned the story of Kumāra Rāma by Nanjunda and Gaṅga, *Sarja-Hanumendra-Charite* of Kṛishṇa Śarmā (1700), *Kaṅṭhīrava Narasarāja Vijaya* of Bhārati Nanja (1648), *Rāja Nṛipa-Charite* (1610), *Jagadeva Rayana Kāvya* (1620), Songs on Kempa Rāya of Yelahanka and Chikkadeva Rāya *Bīḷigi Arasara Vaṁśāvalī* (c. 1700), *Rāja Saṅgīta* on Chikkadeva's son Kaṅṭhīrava (c. 1710).

A large number of devotional songs were composed by the "Haridāsas" of the period who belonged mostly to the Vaishṇava and Madhva sects.

The great poet Lakshmīśa may be assigned to the last quarter of the sixteenth century. His *Jaimini Bhārata* has been considered to be a work of high merit and is deservedly popular. It is written in the Vārdhaka Shaṭpadi metre and contains about 1900 verses. Lakshmīśa's style is elegant, mellifluous and charming and his work has found many imitators. Among the Purāṇas, Timmarasa wrote the *Mārkaṇḍēya Purāṇa*; the *Brahmōttarakhaṇḍa* and *Rāmāyaṇa* were rendered into Kannāḍa prose by Chāmarāja of Mysore and Rāmachandraguru Śishya translated the *Āditya Purāṇa*. Nāgarasa has given a fairly good translation of the *Bhagavad Gītā* in the Bhāmini Shaṭpadī metre.

Many poets wrote Śatakas or centuries of verses containing didactic matter and addressed to their favourite deities. Among the purely secular works written for amusement and instruction may be mentioned *Saundarya Kathāratna* of Rāmēndra (c. 1550) based on the Sanskrit work of Kshēmēndra, *Śringāra Kathe* of Padmarasa (1579), and Narasimha's *Madana Mōhini Kathe* (1650).

Technical works dealing with arts and sciences are comparatively few. An anthology of verses was issued by Abhinavavādi Vidyānanda (c. 1540). On prosody and rhetoric we have Sālva's *Rasa Ratnākara* and *Śāradā Vilāsa* dealing with Rasa and Dhvani (1550), Guṇachandra's *Chhandassāra* and Timma's *Navarasālamkāra* (1600). Grammar is represented by Bhaṭṭākaḷanka's *Śabdānuśāsana* (1604) consisting of 592 Sanskrit Sūtras for Kannāḍa with a *vṛtti* and a *vyākhyāna*. It is more exhaustive than the earlier grammars. There were many works on lexicography. On Aśva Śāstra we have two works produced under the patronage of Chāmarāja of Mysore—the *Aśva Śāstra* of Rāmachandra and *Hayasāra Samuchchaya* of Padmaṇa Paṇḍita. Astrology and prognostics are dealt with in Mādhava Deva's (Arhad dāsa) *Nara Piṅgaḷi* and Gaṅgādhara's *Raṭṭa Jātaka*. The art of cookery is finely described in Maṅgarasa's *Sūpa Śāstra* (1510). Vīra Bhadra Rāja wrote a Kannāḍa commentary on the *Hastyāyurvēda* of Pālakāpya (1600). On medicine Sālva's *Vaidya Sāṅgatyā*, Chennarāja's *Vaidya Sāra Saṁgraha*, and Nanjanātha Bhūpāla's *Vaidya Sāra Saṁgraha* are notable. Mathematics is represented by Bhāskara's *Bēhāra Ganita*, Timmarasa's *Kshētra Ganita*, and Bāla Vaidya Cheluva's *Kannāḍa Līlāvati* (1715) and his *Ratna Śāstra* deals with precious stones.

## XII. MALAYALAM

The Malayalam language, with the introduction of a new type of devotional literature, underwent a metamorphosis, both in form

and content, and it is generally held that modernity in Malayalam, both in language and literature, commenced at this period.

This metamorphosis was brought by Thunchathu Ezhuthachan (16th century) who is known as the father of modern Malayalam.<sup>20</sup> Till his time the language of Kerala with its literary attainments indicated two different courses of development depending mainly on its relationship with either Sanskrit or Tamil. The earliest literary work in Malayalam, now available, is a prose commentary on Kautilya's *Arthaśāstra*, ascribed to the 13th century. A poetical work, *Vaisikatantram*, and a *Champū Kāvya*, *Uṇṇichairutēvī-charitam*, are also believed to be the works belonging to this century or, at the most, early 14th century. All these works come under a special category, known as *Maṇipravāḷam*, literally the 'pearl-coral combination' of two languages, the language of Kerala and Sanskrit. A grammar and rhetoric on this hybrid literary style was written some time during the 14th century in Sanskrit, and the work, called *Līlatilakam*, is the main source of information for a student of literary and linguistic history.

*Pāṭṭu and Maṇipravāḷa:*

According to *Līlatilakam*, the *Maṇipravāḷa* and *Pāṭṭu* style of literary compositions were in vogue during the period. *Pāṭṭu* means literally 'song', and is, more or less, indigenous in its characteristics, and therefore representative of pure Malayalam school of poetry. From the definition of the *Pāṭṭu* style of poetry given in *Līlatilakam* it can be surmised that the language of Kerala during the period was, more or less, in line with Tamil, and this has misled many to think that Malayalam was Tamil itself during this period and before. A close scrutiny of the linguistic peculiarities of the then Tamil and Malayalam would certainly reveal that they had separate entities, but were closely allied in many respects. No other pair of Dravidian languages is so closely connected as Tamil and Malayalam, and the degree of affinity existing between the two languages was so high that a dispassionate analysis and evaluation of the linguistic subtleties of the two languages alone would help us to demarcate the essential differences between them. The latest researches made in this field have shown that Malayalam, as a separate language spoken in Kerala, began showing independent lines of development from its parental tongue, the proto-Dravidian, or the Tamil of the early Sangam age, preserving the idiosyncracies of the earliest Dravidian tongue, which only in due course, gave birth to the literary form of Tamil, namely Sen Tamil, and Malayalam, the spoken form of it prevalent in Kerala. However, till the 13th century we have no evidence at hand to show that the

language of Kerala had a literary tradition excepting to infer that folk-songs, chiefly connected with rituals and religious performances were there, the relics of which are now available and about the antiquity of which nothing definite can be ascertained. The indigenous school of *Pāṭṭu*, referred to in *Līlatilakam*, is a contribution of the early compositions. Side by side with this school only developed the hybrid literary language of *Maṇipravālam*.

*Pre-Ezhuthachan period:*

Thus the literary traditions prior to the age of Ezhuthachan give a rich heritage of interesting works belonging to these schools. The three early *Maṇipravālam* *Champūs*, a few *Sandēśa Kāvya*s, like *Uṇṇunīlī Sandēśam* and *Kāka-sandēśam*, and innumerable amorous compositions on courtesans of Kerala, which throb with literary beauty and poetical fancies, combined with a relishing touch of realism about them with regard to the then social conditions—all these constitute the *Maṇipravālam* school of poetry. Many prose works, in the form of commentaries and elucidations of *Purāṇik* episodes used by traditional mono-actors, called *Chākyārs*, were written in this style and they form the bulk of classical works in Malayalam.

The indigenous school also has major works, like *Rāmacharitam*, *Rāmāyaṇam*, *Mahābhāratam* and *Bhagavad Gītā*, by a set of poets belonging to one family, called *Kannassas*, and *Kṛishṇappāṭṭu* by Cherusseri Nambudiri. Some of them, like *Rāmacharitam*, have a close resemblance to Tamil language of the period, and the reason for this is not to be attributed to the then characteristics of the language of Kerala, but to the influence of Tamil works on native poets belonging to the zones lying near the Tamil country. Otherwise the existence of works like *Kṛishṇappāṭṭu* written almost during the same century in pure Malayalam and the early *champūs* composed still earlier, containing similar diction and usages formed in *Kṛishṇappāṭṭu* cannot be explained.

*Contribution of Ezhuthachan:*

It is against this background that the contribution of Thunchathu Ezhuthachan of the 16th century towards the language and literature is to be assessed. The Malayalam language was by his time developed to be the vehicle of ideas, of even thoughts on higher studies like metaphysics, economics and politics. But as the language had been developing in two different lines in its vocabulary, it became the need of the day to bring in uniformity of style. The credit to effect this goes to Thunchathu Ezhuthachan whose writings became a confluence of the two channels of lin-

guistic currents. He profusely borrowed from Sanskrit its rich lexicography as the poets of Maṇipravālam school did, but with a difference that the mainstay of his style in writing verses rested on indigenous school.

The first work of Ezhuthachan was a translation of *Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇam* from Sanskrit, a Vaishṇavic version of the Rāma saga which inspired many poets during the same period to adopt it in their own mother tongues. What Tulasī did for the then North Indian language of the people in generality, Ezhuthachan did for the Keralites. Although the story of Rāma had already been re-told in Malayalam by many poets who lived before the days of Ezhuthachan, his adaptation of *Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇam* was hailed as the most enchanting work, being liked by the scholars and illiterates alike. The devotional element blended with Vedāntic thoughts most artistically linked with the story of Rāma opened a new chapter in Malayalam literature and brought the readers to an elevated level of literary compositions. It gave the work an entirely fresh look and ultimately it became so popular that every Hindu house made it a religious rite to read *Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇam* daily. The diversified characteristics of the language of Kerala slowly disappeared and merged into this dynamic, new-born literary style, which even today continues as it is.

*Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇam* was immediately followed by *Mahābhāratam*, a work of superb literary excellence, probably written by the author in the maturity of his poetic faculty. The entire bulk of *Vyāsa Bhārata* was condensed by Ezhuthachan allowing no episode to suffer due to this brevity of expression, but at the same time giving chance to the full display of his poetic genius wherever possible. *Bhagavad Gītā*, running to eighteen chapters in *Vyāsa Bhārata*, finds a prominent place in Ezhuthachan's work, giving in a very condensed form the gist of *Gītā*. Another speciality with Ezhuthachan's *Bhāratam* is that the description, figures of speech, and the portrayal of characters have something peculiar about the life of Kerala in them. Thus *Mahābhāratam* stands out in Malayalam literature as a classic written in modern language, and is perhaps a unique work in that respect.

#### *Post-Ezhuthachan period:*

Many devotional works composed during and after 16th century are ascribed to Ezhuthachan but none of them stands on a pedestal with the literary excellence and beauty of expression that characterise the works of Ezhuthachan. Many Purāṇas were written during this period closely imitating his style. The period imme-

diately following the age of Ezhuthachan is therefore known as the “*Bhakti Yuga*”, the age of devotional literature in Malayalam. Melpattur Narayana Bhattatiri, the author of the immortal Sanskrit *Bhakti-Kāvya*, ‘*Nārāyaṇīyam*’ was a contemporary of Ezhuthachan. Bhattatiri stands as a living monument of the erudition in Sanskrit the then high caste Hindus of Kerala attained. Knowledge of Sanskrit alone was counted as a symbol of scholarship not only in that period but also to a great extent during the four centuries that followed. But, a few poets following in the footsteps of Ezhuthachan made remarkable contributions to Malayalam, despite the contemptuous treatment tendered to the writers of native language. The most prominent among them is Poonthanam Nambudiri, the author of *Jñānappana*, a philosophical work in simple Malayalam. It was he who proved more than Ezhuthachan that high philosophical thoughts could be rendered in chaste Malayalam without the help of Sanskrit technical terms.

*Later Champū period:*

It was during the 16th and 17th centuries that later *Champū Kāvya*s, composed in Maṇipravāla style were written. *Rāmāyaṇam Champū* by Punam Nambudiri and *Naishadham Champū* by Mahishamaṅgalam Nambudiri are the most notable works under this category. One speciality of *Champū Kāvya*s was that they contained both the Sanskritic and indigenous elements of poetry in equal degree, and they finally paved the way for two types of literature unique in many respects, the like of which are not to be found in any Indian language either earlier or later than this age.

*Attakkathā Age:*

Attakkathā literature, closely following the *champū* style in the use of Sanskrit and Malayalam with a definite purpose and motive, is the first type. *Attam* in Malayalam means ‘dance or drama’ and *Kathā*, a Sanskrit term, means ‘story’. Attakkathās are therefore the stories written for a type of dance-drama, indigenous to Kerala, known as Kathākali. Kathākali, which at present enjoys international reputation, is representative of the fusion of Aryan and Dravidian cultures in the art of histrionics. Bharata’s *Nāṭyaśāstra* had become by the time, a hand-book of the Chākyārs, the traditional actors of Sanskrit dramas in Kerala temples. As early as the 9th century A.D., the institution of *Chākyār Kuthu*, with its colourful and interesting variation of *Kutiyattam* (staging of Sanskrit plays) was there, and the caste Hindus connected with temples looked upon the same as the best means of educating them in Sanskrit and histrionics. As it was not open to the generality of the people living outside the precincts of temples, another form

of dance-drama emerged out of it, taking inspiration from the *Gīta-govinda* of Jayadeva. The story of Lord Kṛishṇa was then adapted and a Sanskrit work called *Kṛishṇagīti* was composed for the purpose. The dance-drama based on *Kṛishṇagīti* was known as *Kṛishṇattam*, which again was however confined to temple premises.

The Rājā of Kottarakkara, a princely poet, (16th century) wrote in Malayalam the story of *Rāmāyaṇa* in imitation of *Kṛishṇagīti* and the same was styled as *Rāmanattam* as against *Kṛishṇattam*. The entire *Rāmāyaṇa* story was divided into eight parts, and they form the basis for *Rāmanattam* which later paved the way for the art of Kathākali.

When another prince, Rājā of Kottayam, composed stories of *Mahābhārata* for the same purpose, he preferred to call it Kathākali, and the literary composition was thereafter known as *Attakkathā*. The two centuries which followed the days of Rājā of Kottarakkara, the exponent of *Rāmanattam*, witnessed the heyday of *Attakkathā* literature, which continued to wield its charming influence for all writers of the age, and it became a rule that a poet to be recognised should compose an *Attakkathā*. Thus nearly thousand Kathākali plays were written during the period, although only a few of them claim literary excellence.

Unnayi Varyar, whose *Nalacharitam Attakkathā* is the most popular even today, was the most prominent poet (18th century) among not only the Kathākali writers, but also among the classical poets of Kerala. He is often styled as the Kālidāsa of Kerala, and his *Nalacharitam* is the *Abhijñāna-Sākuntalam* of Malayalam literature. Although Kathākali is a dance-drama and its literary form should more or less be on the model of drama, there is nothing common between a typical *Attakkathā* and Sanskrit drama. On the other hand, the principles of dramaturgy to be observed in writing a particular type of Sanskrit drama are completely ignored or violated by an author of *Attakkathā*. Delineation of a particular *Rasa* is an inevitable feature with Sanskrit drama whereas in an *Attakkathā* all the predominant *Rasas* are given full treatment and consequently the theme of an *Attakkathā* often loses its integrity and artistic unity when viewed as a literary work. Any *Attakkathā* fulfils its objective if it affords a variety of scenes depicting different types of characters, and each scene would have its own hero with the *Rasa* associated with that character. When that hero is portrayed he is given utmost prominence to the utter neglect of the main sentiment (*rasa*) of the theme in general. This has its own justification as far as an *Attakkathā* is concerned. The purpose of an *Attakkathā* is not to present a theme with a well-knit

emotional plot as its central point, but to present all approved types of characters already set to suit the technique of the art of Kathākali. It is worthwhile to point out that Unnayi Varyar's *Nalacharitam Attakkathā* does not conform to the traditional monotonous setting of a Kathākali play. His composition is a happy diversion from the conservative line and therefore stands singled out as a perfect drama in all the significance and implication of the term. Drama being the most perfect poetic expression of a writer, *Nalacharitam* with all its artistic and literary qualities has the rare privilege of being a unique literary work of the period under review.

### XIII. SANSKRIT

The Muslim occupation of large areas in North India adversely affected the growth of Sanskrit literature. Akbar attempted to create an atmosphere of tolerance and Shāh Jahān and Dārā gave some patronage to Sanskrit scholars. But, by and large, the atmosphere of peace and security so necessary for the progress of culture, was lacking. Even a cursory glance at the condition of Sanskrit literature in different regions testifies to this. Kāśmīr, which was once reputed as an important centre of Sanskrit learning, hardly produced any work worth the name after the end of the Hindu rule. In Bengal, also, practically Jayadeva's (12th century A.D.) is the last great name in its literary history. Gujarāt was known for its historical *kāvya*s during the days of the Chālukyas and their successors, the Vāghela chiefs. But the subsequent period did not produce many works of importance. Similar was the position in Bihār. If Sanskrit continued to prosper in these regions, it was mainly under the patronage of the smaller Hindu States.

Different is the story in regard to the South. The vigorous renaissance movement so ably initiated by Mādhavāchārya and Sāyaṇāchārya continued for centuries to inspire both rulers and scholars to strive to enrich their culture in all possible aspects. The Vijayanagara empire lost much of its glory in 1565 but the rulers of the Tuḷuva and Araviḍu dynasties kept alive the tradition of patronage to Sanskrit. It continued to be nourished by the chiefs of the smaller principalities that rose to prominence, like the Nāyakas of Tanjore, the chiefs of Travancore and Cochin, and the Zamorins of Calicut, many of whom were erudite poets themselves.

A brief survey of the progress achieved in different branches of Sanskrit literature also confirms these observations.

## THE KĀVYA LITERATURE

*Mahākāvya:*

In the field of Mahākāvya notable contribution was made by Raghunātha Nāyaka of Tanjore and his court-poets. A zealous patron of letters, Raghunātha was himself a well-known poet. Among his *kāvya*s mention may be made of *Achyutarāyābhyudaya*, *Rāmāyana-sāra-sāṅgraha*, *Gajendramoksha*, *Naḷābhyudaya*, *Pārijātaḥaraṇa* and *Rukmiṇī-kṛishṇa-vivāha*. The first one is a biography of his father, Āchyutarāya.

Madhuravāṇī, a talented lady in the court of Raghunātha, wrote a *kāvya* on *Ramāyaṇa*, in fourteen cantos, at the instance of the king. She tells us that the king was keen on getting a Sanskrit *kāvya* written on the lines of his *Āndhra-Rāmāyaṇa*, and he was directed by God in his dream to entrust the work to Madhuravāṇī.

Śrīnivāsa Dīkshita, a minister of the Nāyakas of Gingee, was a prolific writer. He is credited with the authorship of eighteen dramas and sixty *kāvya*s. Among his *kāvya*s, *Śitikaṇṭhavijaya* deals with the story of Samudramanthana. His son, Rājachūḍāmaṇi Dīkshita, a well-known scholar in Mīmāṃsā, contributed to the poetic literature also. His *Rukmiṇīkalyāṇa* is a *kāvya* in ten cantos, with the theme of the marriage of Kṛishṇa and Rukmiṇī.

Nīlakaṇṭha Dīkshita was a versatile writer who flourished in the first half of the seventeenth century. He was a disciple of Venkaṭamakhi, the son of Śrīnivāsa Dīkshita, and the grand-nephew of Appayya Dīkshita, the famous Śaiva scholar of the period. He was a minister of Tirumalanāyaka of Madura. Among his numerous poetical works *Śivalīlārṇava* and *Gaṅgāvatarāṇa* rank very high. The former is a *mahākāvya* in twenty-two cantos detailing the sixty-four *līlās* of god Śiva Hālasyanātha by which name he is worshipped at Madura. His *Gaṅgāvatarāṇa* deals in eight cantos with the story of the penance of Bhagīratha and the descent of the celestial Gaṅgā on the earth.

Another contemporary poet of repute was Chakrakavi, the author of *Jānakīpariṇaya*. Based on the *Bālakāṇḍa* of *Rāmāyaṇa*, the poet narrates in this *kāvya*, of eight cantos, the story of Rāma culminating with his marriage with Sītā, the daughter of Janaka. Another work based on the *Rāmāyaṇa* is *Rāmachandrodaya* of Venkaṭeśa. It is a lengthy *kāvya* in thirty-two cantos, probably composed in 1637 A.D. at Banaras.

Nārāyaṇa or Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭatiri is considered 'as one of the greatest scholar-poets Kerala has produced'. He was a contemporary and a friend of Mānaveda Zamorin, king of Kozhikode (1637 to

1648). His contribution to Sanskrit literature is profuse and varied, covering the fields of *kāvya*, *Mīmāṃsā*, grammar and the like. But his fame rests mainly on his metrical composition *Nārāyaṇīyam*. Though it is a lengthy poem of over a thousand verses in the *kāvya* style, it can be described as a devotional *kāvya* in praise of god Nārāyaṇa of Guruvayur. To this category may be added *Rukmiṇīśa-vijaya* of Vādirāja. This Mādhva pontiff wrote many works on Mādhva philosophy and he was a gifted poet too. His *Sarasabhāratī* is another poetical work, dealing with Mādhva theology. His *Tīr-thaprabandha* is a rare type of work. It is a travelogue describing the holy places all over India.

#### *Ślesha-kāvya:*

With the growing artificiality in poetry which became the characteristic feature of the later periods, a number of works came to be written which can be included in the class of *Ślesha-kāvya*, using the words with double, treble or even more meanings. The authors of such works endeavoured to narrate more than one story in one and the same composition. In the period under study, we notice quite a few experiments of this type.

The *Yādava-Rāghavīya* of Veṅkaṭadhvarin (17th century) for instance, is a poem narrating the stories of both Kṛishṇa and Rāma using the device of double *entendre*. *Naishadha-pārijāta* of Kṛishṇadhvarin is a similar work dealing at one and the same time with the stories of Kṛishṇa and Nala. This device is seen further extended with the use of treble punning by Rājachūḍāmaṇi Dīkshita mentioned above, in his *kāvya*, *Rāghava-Yādava-Pāṇḍavīya*. This work narrates the stories of *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Bhāgavata* and *Mahābhārata*. Another work of the same name and the same theme is by Chidambara who was patronised by the Vijayanagara king Veṅkaṭa II (1586-1614) of the Aravidu dynasty. In his *Pañchakalyāṇa-champū* the experiment has indeed reached its climax, where he claims to narrate simultaneously the story of five marriages of Rāma, Kṛishṇa, Viṣṇu, Śiva and Subrahmaṇya. He is also reported to have written a commentary on this work, as this was indeed necessary for the understanding of this almost impossible feat.

#### *Historical kāvya:*

*Achyutarāyābhyudaya* of Dīṇḍima, Rājanātha III, is an important work in this respect. The author belonged to the famous Dīṇḍima family which originally belonged to Mathura. It deals with the history of Achyutadevarāya (1530-1542), the successor of Kṛishṇadevarāya. *Varadāmbikā-Parīṇaya* also pertains to the life of Achyutadevarāya. It is a *champū-kāvya*, its theme being the mar-

riage of the princess Varadāmbikā, the daughter of Śalaka Tirumala with Achyutadevarāya. Apart from the historical value which is not inconsiderable, the *kāvya* is considered as one of the beautiful *champūs* of the later period. The author of the work, Tirumalamba, was a versatile lady in the court of Achyutadevarāya. She is described in inscriptions as *Ōduva* Tirumalamma or Tirumalamma “the reader”. She is also credited with the authorship of some verses recording the grants of land made by Achyutadevarāya.

A work of the same period, *Vyāsayogicharita* of Somanātha, throws much light on the scholastic and cultural achievements of Vyāsarāya, who was the *rājaguru* of Kṛishṇadevarāya and was held in high esteem by Achyutadevarāya.

Kavīndra Paramānanda, a contemporary of Shivājī, composed a narrative poem dealing with the life and achievements of Shivājī. The work is known as *Anubhārata* or *Śivabhārata*. The story was further continued by his son, Devadatta, and grandson, Govinda, to cover the period of Shambhūjī. All these three compositions are collectively known as *Paramānanda-kāvya* and are valuable sources of Marāṭhā history.

Jayarāma Pāṇde composed the *Rādhāmādhava-Vilāsa champū* which gives an account of poets assembled at the court of Shāhājī, the father of Shivājī.

Another work of considerable importance for the history of the Marāṭhās is *Śambhurāja-charita* of Harikavi or Bhānubhaṭṭa. It is a poetic biography of Shambhūjī, the son of Shivājī. The work is preserved in fragments only. The author Harikavi was a Brāhmaṇa from the Deccan who had settled in Surat. The work is stated to have been composed in 1685 at the instance of the king’s preceptor, Kṛishṇapaṇḍita. Harikavi also composed *Haihayendra-charita* which professes to be a mythical *kāvya* dealing with the story of Kārtikeya, but the story is spun around the life of his patron, Shambhūjī himself.

*Rājārāma-charita* of Keśava Paṇḍita is an incomplete story of Rājārām. It, however, contains a reference to his journey to Gingee.

Of the many works written on the life of Raghunātha Nāyaka of Tanjore by his court-poets, two are noteworthy. Govinda Dīkshita, who was a minister of this family of rulers for three generations, wrote *Sāhityasudhā* which describes the life and achievements of Raghunātha. Another work on the life of Raghunātha is *Raghunāthābhyudaya* of Rāmabhadrāmba. The poem contains valuable references to many historical events.

The Marāṭhā rulers of Tanjore, Ekojī (1674-1687) and Shāhjī (1687-1711) were also great patrons of letters. Many poets of their courts wrote, among others, *kāvya*s of historical importance also.

Gaṅgādhara, a minister of Ekojī, wrote *Bhosalavamśāvalī*, a *kāvya* dealing with the history of the Bhonsle family. In the court of king Shāhjī, son of Ekojī, flourished the poet Bhūminātha, also known as Nalla Dīkshita. He wrote a *Champū-kāvya* called *Dharmavijayachampū* to glorify the life and achievements of his patron. Another work on the life of Shāhjī is from the pen of Śrīdhara Venkaṭeśa. It is a poem in eight cantos, called *Sāhendra-Vilāsa*.

The *Rājataranṅinī* of Kalhaṇa, the famous work on the history of Kāshmir, was continued by different authors in different periods; and the work pertaining to the period under study is the *Rājāvalīpatākā* of Prājyabhaṭṭa and his pupil Śuka. The work narrates the history of Kāshmir after its conquest by Akbar.

Rudrakavi's *Rāshṭraudha kāvya* (1596) narrates the history of the Bagulas of Mayuragiri (Khāndesh), throwing light on the political situation of the contemporary Deccan.

*Karṇāvataṃsa*, an eulogistic account of the rule of Karṇasimha of Bikaner, mentions names of Muslim patrons of Sanskrit. *Anūpasimhaguṇāvatāra* by Viṭṭhala Kṛishṇa is a glorified account of the rule of Anupasimha, son of Karṇasimha.

In this category may be included the eulogies by Paṇḍita Jagannātha—*Asaf Vilās* addressed to Āsaf Khān, *Jagadābharāṇa* in praise of Dārā Shukoh and *Prāṇābharāṇa* glorifying the rule of Prāṇanārāyaṇa of Kāmarūpa, also Kavīndrāchārya's *Jagadvijayachandas*, eulogising the achievements of Jahāngīr. Dārā Shukoh, too, composed a *praśasti* in honour of Nṛsimha Sarasvati of Banaras; it is in rhythmic prose full of alliterations.

#### *Champū Kāvya:*

Chidambara, mentioned earlier, is also the author of two *champūs*: *Pañchakalyāṇa-champū*, already noticed, and *Bhāgavata-champū* narrating the story of Kṛishṇa. Rājanātha III, Diṇḍima, also mentioned above, composed another *Bhāgavata-champū*. Nīlakanṭha Dīkshita, too, wrote in 1637 his *Nīlakanṭha-Vijaya-champū*, dealing with the legend of *Samudramanthana*.

Tirumalamba's *Varadāmbikā-pariṇaya-champū* has been noticed above. Mitramiśra, the famous author of *Vīramitrōdaya*, was also the author of *Ānandakanda-champū*, dealing with the story of Kṛishṇa.

Venkaṭādhvarin was the author of at least four *champū* works: *Hastigiri-champū* or *Varadābhyudaya* in praise of Varadārāja of Kanchi, *Uttara-champū*, based on the *Uttarakāṇḍa* of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Śrīnivāsa-champū*, in praise of Venkaṭeśvara of Tirupati and *Viśva-guṇadarśa-champū*, a work of rare imagination. It deals with the journey of two demi-gods through the sky in a *vimāna*. They see various places and peoples. One of them sees only the good side of everything and the other only the dark side. The work mentions the Europeans and their ways. Therefore, it is ascribed by some scholars to a later period.

*Lyrics and smaller poems:*

Among the lyric poets of this period, Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja was undoubtedly an outstanding scholar and poet. A native of the Andhra region, he flourished in the courts of the Rājputs, the Mughuls and the ruler of Kāmarūpa. He was the author of several scholarly and poetical works. A large number of stray verses, too, are ascribed to him. Of his devotional lyrics, the most beautiful poems are: the *Piyūshalaharī* or *Gaṅgālaharī* in praise of the Gaṅgā, *Amṛitalaharī* in praise of the Yamunā, the *Karuṇālaharī* in praise of Viṣṇu, the *Lakshmīlaharī* in praise of Lakshmī and the *Sudhālaharī* in praise of Sūrya.

*Gītagōvinda* of Jayadeva served as the model for many devotional compositions. *Gītaśaṅkara* is one such work written by Anantanārāyaṇa, a grandson of Appayya Dīkshita. *Kṛishṇagīti* is another work of this type on the life of Kṛishṇa. It was composed by the Zamorin king, Mānaveda, in 1652. Both of these provide excellent themes for dance-dramas.

Mention may be made here of another variety of *kāvya*, the *sandēśa* or *Dūta-kāvya*—written on the model of *Mēghadūta* of Kālidāsa. Quite a few works of this type were written in Kerala. Nārāyaṇa, for instance, who was in the court of Rāmavarman, the ruler of Quilon (1541-1547), composed *Subhagasandēśa*. The author here endeavours to send a message of love to his wife at Trichur, through the messenger Subhaga, a Brāhmaṇa of the Lāṭa country. In his *kāvya*, *Kāmasandēśa*, the poet Mitradatta employs Kāma, the god of Love himself, as his messenger to convey his love to his wife Chandralakshmī at Tirunavaya.

*Bhrīṅga* or *Bhramara-sandēśa* of Vāsudeva utilises the bee for conveying the love of the hero to his wife, who was separated from him through the wiles of a *Yakshiṇī*.

## NĀṬAKA

*Mythological Plays*

Jagajyotimalla of Nepāl wrote a drama with the popular theme of the marriage of Śiva and Pārvatī, named *Hara-Gaurī-vivāha*. The story of the killing of Kāmsa by Kṛishṇa is the subject-matter of the *Kāmsavadha* of Śesh-Kṛishṇa, who was a contemporary of Akbar. He is also credited with three other dramas, *Murārivijaya*, *Muktacharita* and *Satyabhāmā-pariṇaya*. Another play relating to the legend of Kṛishṇa is *Pārijāta-haraṇa* of Kumāra Tātāchārya. He was the *nājaguru* of Raghunātha and his son, Vijayarāghava, of Tanjore.

Among the dramas based on the *Rāmāyaṇa* mention may be made of *Adbhutadarpaṇa* of Mahādeva. The author here employs the device of a magic-mirror through which Rāma sees the happenings in Laṅkā, where Sītā was imprisoned. The *Jānakīpariṇaya* of Rāmabhadra Dīkshita also deals with the theme of *Rāmāyaṇa*. The author here uses the device of some characters appearing in disguise,—Rāvaṇa, Śaraṇa and Vidyujjihva appearing in the guise of Rāma, Lakshmaṇa and Viśvāmitra, and so on. Rāmabhadra belonged to the family of famous scholars of Kumbakonam and received the patronage of the Tanjore king, Shāhājī (1684-1711).

The story of Nalā has also been dealt with by many authors. Śrīnivāsa Dīkshita wrote *Bhaimīpariṇaya* describing the marriage of Nala and Damayantī. The *Nalācharita-Nāṭaka* of Nīlakaṇṭha also deals with the same story in seven acts.

Bhūminātha or Nalla Dīkshita, belonging to the court of Shāhājī, wrote a drama entitled *Subhadrā-pariṇaya* on the marriage of Subhadrā with Arjuna. Shāhājī himself was a talented author and composed a play *Chandraśekharaṅvilāsa*. Another work depicting the marriage of Subhadrā, was composed by the Mādharma pontiff, Vijayīndratīrtha, entitled *Subhadrā-Dhanañjaya*.

Rājachūdāmaṇi Dīkshita has yet another play to his credit, *Kamalinī-kalāhaṁsa* by name. This work, in four acts, depicts in an artificial way the love affairs of the hero and heroine.

*Historical Plays*

The *Kāntimatī-Parīṇaya* of Chokkanātha is a play which is semi-historical in character. The theme of this play is the marriage of Shāhājī, the author's patron, with Kāntimatī. His other work, *Sevantikā-pariṇaya*, deals with the marriage of Basavarāja with Sevantikā, the daughter of a prince of Malabar. The hero is identified with Basavappanāyaka, the ruler of Keladi (1697-1714), to whose court the poet seems to have migrated.

*Allegorical Plays*

*Chaitanya-chandrodaya* is a work of Kavikarṇapura of Kānchanapallī in Bengal. The drama deals with the life of Chaitanya, the famous saint of Bengal, through the allegorical figures *Maitrī*, *Bhakti*, *Virāga* and the like.

*Dharmavijaya* of Bhūdeva Sukla is an allegorical play eulogizing the 'advantages of the life of spiritual duty' through the characters, Virtue and Vice, in personified form. *Amṛitodaya* of Gokulanātha is also a play in five acts depicting the progress of *Jīva* from creation to annihilation. The author was patronised by Fateh Singh of Śrīnagar (1615). The famous Śrīnivāsa Dīkshita who has been referred to earlier, is also credited with the authorship of an allegorical play *Bhāvanā-purushottama* which is stated to have been composed at the instance of Sūrappa Nāyaka, the ruler of Gingee. Vijayīndratīrtha, mentioned above, has written an allegorical play *Ubhayagrastarāhūdaya*. He is stated to have written this work in reply to *Prabodha-Chandrōdaya* of Kṛishṇamiśra and *Saṅkalpa-Sūryōdaya* of Venkaṭanātha Vedāntadeśika.

*Erotic Plays*

A number of *Bhānas*—a type of one-act play mainly dwelling on an erotic theme—were written during the period under review. *Śrīngāra-Sarvasva* of Rājachūḍāmaṇi Dīkshita, for instance, belongs to this category. Nalla Dīkshita is also credited with the authorship of a similar play of the same name. Rāmabhadra Dīkshita is the author of a work of this type, viz., *Śrīngāratilaka*. *Rasavilāsa* of Chokkanātha also belongs to this category.

TECHNICAL AND SCIENTIFIC LITERATURE:

*Alaṅkāra*

Appayya Dīkshita, the famous philosopher, and Jagannātha, the eminent poet, were perhaps the most outstanding scholars of this period who contributed a good deal to the study of Poetics. Appayya Dīkshita's more important works in this field are: *Chītramīmāṃsā*, *Kuvalayānanda*, *Vṛittivārtika* and *Lakshanaratnāvalī*. Of the works of Jagannātha, the notable are: *Rasagaṅgādhara*, *Chītramīmāṃsā-Khaṇḍana* and *Bhāminī-Vilāsa*. The views of Appayya Dīkshita were subjected to a severe scrutiny by Jagannātha Paṇḍita, and thus a number of intricate and finer aspects of Sanskrit rhetorics came to be well-defined in this age.

Gaṅgādhara Kavīndra and Rāmānanda are two authors of Mithilā who wrote *Kāvyaḍākinī* and *Rasatarāṅgiṇī*, respectively. Śrī-

nivāsa Dīkshita and his son Rājachūḍāmaṇi Dīkshita were also well-known writers on Alankāra. The former is credited with as many as seven works on the subject. Raghunāthamanohara of Champā, identified with Choul in Kolaba district of Mahārāshṭra, is the author of two works called *Kavikaustubha* and *Chhandoratnamālā*. The latter is not yet found, but it is quoted in the former work.

In the field of grammatical studies Bhaṭṭojī Dīkshita stands foremost. His *Siddhāntakaumudī*, an elucidation of the work of Pāṇini, is perhaps more popular than Pāṇini's work itself. His *Prauddhamanoramā* is a commentary on this work and *Bālamānoramā* is its abridgement. He is also the author of another commentary on *Ashṭādhyāyī*, named *Śabdakaustubha*. Nāgoji Dīkshita, the disciple of Bhānu Dīkshita, the grandson of Bhaṭṭojī Dīkshita, was another reputed grammarian of this period, with about a dozen works on the subject to his credit. Nārāyaṇa, the author of the *Nārāyaṇīyam*, mentioned earlier, wrote a work on grammar, *Prakriyāsarvasva*, which is a commentary on the Sūtras of Pāṇini. His *Mānamēyōdaya* is an important contribution to the Mīmāṃsā literature.

#### Music:

Many scholars in the court of Vijayanagara wrote works on music. Rāma Amātya, for instance, who flourished in the court of Aḷiya Rāmarāya (1552-65) wrote *Svaramelākalanidhi* which deals with different *rāgas* of the Karṇāṭaka system of music. Puṇḍarīka-viṭhala, a native of Khāndesh, moved to the court of Akbar and composed a number of works on music such as *Rāgamālā* and *Rāgamañjarī*. Chaturadāmodara who flourished in the court of Jahāngīr wrote his *Saṅgītadarpaṇa* dealing with music and dance. Jagajyotimalla, referred to earlier, also wrote a work on music called *Saṅgītasārasarvasva*.

Raghunātha, the Nāyaka of Tanjore, was considered as an authority on music. His work on the subject is *Saṅgītasudhā*.

Venkaṭamakhi was a student of Raghunātha and patronised by the latter's son Vijayarāghava. Among others, his work *Chaturdaṇḍiprakāśikā* is a treatise on music, with special reference to Vīṇā.

#### Philosophy:

Appayya Dīkshita, mentioned above, contributed more than hundred scholarly works to the fields of Advaita philosophy and Śaiva *siddhānta*. More important among his works are: *Śivārka-maṇidīpikā* which is a commentary on Śrīkaṇṭha's commentary on *Brahma-sūtras*, and *Chaturmatasāra-saṅgraha* which summarises the doctrines of Madhva, Rāmānuja, Śankara and Śrīkaṇṭha.

## LITERATURE

Madhusūdana Sarasvatī was another great Advaita scholar of this period. Among his numerous works, *Advaita-siddhi* is considered as the best contribution to Advaita literature. It is written in reply to *Nyāyāmṛita* of Vyāsarāya. It is said that Akbar was impressed by his scholarship and honoured him.

Among the scholars of the Mādhva philosophy the foremost was Vyāsarāya (1478-1539). He was the *rāja-guru* of the Vijayanagara king Kṛishṇadevarāya and continued to be honoured by Achyutadevarāya. His important works on Dvaita philosophy are *Nyāyāmṛita*, *Tarkatāṇḍava*, and *Chandrikā*. They are collectively known as *Vyāsatrayī*. Vyāsarāya's disciple, Vijayīndratīrtha (1514-1595), was a prolific writer with more than 18 works to his credit, in addition to the commentaries on the works of his teacher. Vādirājatīrtha (1480-1600) was a great exponent of the Dvaita philosophy, to whom over 90 works are ascribed. Many other scholars like Satyanāthayati (1648-74), Rāghavēndratīrtha (1623-71) and others enriched the literature on Dvaita philosophy considerably, by their numerous contributions.

### *Epigraphical Literature:*

Reference should be made here, at least in passing, to the epigraphical literature. Numerous inscriptions on stone and copper-plates, written in ornate poetic style, have enriched the Sanskrit literature of the early part of this period. Outstanding among them is the *Rājaprasāsti* at Udaipur, composed in 1676. It is a *Mahākāvya*, in twenty-two cantos, engraved on as many slabs. The author was a Telugu Brāhmaṇ named Raṇachhoḍa.

## XIV. ARABIC

As in the pre-Mughul period, Arabic compositions in India under the Great Mughuls mainly touched religious subjects such as the Qur'ān, Hadīth (Apostolic Traditions), Fiqh (Jurisprudence), Sūfism and Grammar. Arabic writings on purely literary topics, such as dealt with in Persian, were few and far between during the period under review. Almost the entire range of Arabic literature then produced is represented by commentaries, super-commentaries, glosses and annotations on the Qur'ān.

The study of theological sciences owes very much to the frequency of visits by Indian ulemas to centres of religious instructions in the Hejaz. The establishment of the supremacy of Portuguese navigation in the Indian ocean in the 16th century made voyages between India and Arabia safe. Apart from the casual visits, there were scholars who migrated to the holy cities of Mecca

and Madina for receiving specialized knowledge in their fields of study. Among such scholar-migrants, the most conspicuous was Sayyid 'Alī al-Muttaqī (d. 1568)<sup>21</sup> of Burhanpur. He commanded great reverence and popularity not only among the contemporary learned men but also among the ruling potentates such as Ottoman Emperor Sulaiman I and Sultān Maḥmūd III of Gujarāt who granted stipends for the pupils of his madrasah at Mecca. He wrote a commentary on the Qur'ān, named *Shu'ūn al-Munazzalāt*, containing learned notes on grammatical and philological subtleties of Qur'ānic words and phrases. But the work which gave him an everlasting fame is the *Kanz al-'Ummāl*,<sup>22</sup> an encyclopaedic collection of Apostolic Traditions, of which Abūl Ḥasan al-Bakrī, the author's preceptor, says: 'al-Suyuti obliged the world by composing the *Jam'al-Jawāmi'*, while al-Muttaqī has obliged him by re-arranging the same.' Among the numerous pupils of al-Muttaqī was the famous 'Abdul Wahhāb al-Muttaqī, who was the teacher of Shaikh 'Abdul Ḥaqq Muḥaddith Dihlawī. Though Emperor Akbar was not the follower of orthodox religious views, there was no dearth of Ulemas and theological writings in Arabic during his period. Makhdūm al-Mulk 'Abdullāh Sultānpūrī and Shaikh 'Abd al-Nabī Ṣadr Ṣudūr were among the leading Ulemas of Akbar's early period, while Shaikh Sa'du'l-lāh Banī Isrā'īl (d. 1603) of Lahore was a noted author who translated the *Bahr-i-Mawwāj* of Qādī Shahāb al-Dīn Daulatābādī into Arabic. Shāh Fathullāh Ṣhīrāzī, Mīr Sadr al-Dīn, Mīr Ghyāth al-Dīn Manṣūr and Mīrzā Jān Mīr were the standard-bearers of Islāmic learning, and logic and philosophy were the subjects dealt with by them. But the most outstanding figure was 'Abdul Haqq Dihlawī (d. 1642),<sup>23</sup> who wrote mainly in Persian but has to his credit some significant works in Arabic which are as follows:—*Lam'āt al-Tanqīḥ 'alā Mishkāt al-Maṣābīḥ*, a valuable and copious commentary on the canonical Hadīth collections, along with an interesting introduction which by itself forms a separate treatise on classes of Apostolic traditions; *Kitāb Asma' al-Rijāl Mishkāt al-Maṣābīḥ*, an important book on the science of biography in relation to the narrators of Hadīth mentioned in the *Mishkāt al-Maṣābīḥ*; *Mā thabata bi'l-Sunnah fī Ayyām al-Sanah*, a peculiar work containing all traditions which relate to the months of the year; and *Fath al-Mannān fī tā'id al-Nu'mān*, a treatise on Hanafite Jurisprudence.<sup>24</sup>

Akbar's celebrated court-poet, Faizī, who held the pride of place among Persian poets of his age, used his hands in Arabic with amazing success. That Faizī had a wonderful mastery of Arabic language is illustrated by his remarkable commentary *sawāti'al-Ilhām*,<sup>25</sup> a big book in two volumes without a single dotted letter

right through. The work is of little worth as a book of commentary, as Shibli Nu'mānī<sup>26</sup> rightly remarks, but it is a commendable piece of composition in Arabic, being written in the artificial figure of speech, called *San'at-i-Mahmalah*. Zubaid Ahmad says: "I know of no book outside India which has ever been written with such successful maintenance of this rhetorical device throughout." Faizī's other work, *Mawārid al-Kalām Wa silk Durar al-Ḥikam*,<sup>27</sup> written in similar vein as the preceding work, deals with moral aphorisms. In view of the fact that more than fifty per cent. of the Arabic alphabets are dotted, it is indeed a great intellectual exercise and literary skill to write page after page in Arabic without using a single dotted letter.<sup>28</sup> Akbar's court-poet, Ḥakīm 'Alawī Khan Jilānī (d. 1605) wrote an Arabic commentary on Avicenna's *al-Qānūn*.<sup>29</sup> Qāzī Nūrullāh Shūstarī, an eminent Shiah scholar of Persia, was appointed Qāzī of Lahore by Akbar. Though he wrote mainly in Persian, he composed several treatises in Arabic on theological topics. The sūfistic mission of the Naqshbandis,<sup>30</sup> which spearheaded Islāmic reaction against Akbar's heresy and scepticism, produced great theologian-scholars such as Khwāja Bāqībillāh, Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindī and Shaikh Farīd. Shaikh Tāj al-Dīn Sambhalī (d. 1640),<sup>31</sup> who flourished during Jahāngīr's reign, wrote several works in Arabic, namely *al-Risāla fi Mulūk Khulāṣat al-Sadat Naqshbandīah*, *Jāmi'-al-Fawā'id* and *Ādāb al-Murīdīn*. Besides, he rendered Jami's *Nafahāt al-Uns* and Wā'iz Kāshifī's *Rashaḥāt* into Arabic. As the Mughul patronage of culture reached its culminating point under Shāh Jahān, literary pursuits in Arabic naturally received general encouragement. Of the numerous scholars and theologians for whom the Emperor reserved his special regard and favour, the most outstanding was Mullā 'Abdul Ḥakīm Siālkūtī (d. 1656)<sup>32</sup> who wrote commentaries on the exegetical work of al-Baidāwī and on the 'Aqā'id of 'Allāma Taftazānī. His reputation as theological commentator had spread far beyond the borders of India even during his lifetime.<sup>33</sup> Mullā Maḥmūd Jaunpūrī (d. 1651) wrote a large number of glosses on various classical works. His treatise on a discussion of 'Form' and 'Matter', entitled *al-Dawḥat al-Mayyādah fi Ḥadīqat al-Ṣurah wal' Ma'adda* and another on philosophy, called *al-Ḥikmat al-Bāligha*, are popularly studied in Indian schools.

Shaikh Nūr al-Ḥaqq (d. 1662),<sup>34</sup> son of Shaikh 'Abdul Ḥaqq Muḥaddith Dihlawī, was an accomplished traditionist, jurist and historian, and worked all through his life for the cause of Ḥadīth literature. In recognition of his scholarship Shāh Jahān appointed him Qāzī of Akbarābād. 'Abdul Bāqī (d. 1673) and 'Abdur Rashīd

(d. 1672) were two contemporary philosophical writers of Shāh Jahān's age. Both wrote commentaries on the *Adab al-Sharīfīyyah*, a popular treatise on dialectics by Sayyid al-Sharīf 'Alī bin Muḥammad Jurjānī. Muḥibbullāh Illāhābādī (d. 1648),<sup>35</sup> renowned Sūfi and author, wrote his *Marātib al-Arba'ah*, a commentary on the Qur'ān from the sūfistic view-point. He expounded the ideas of Ibn al-'Arabī, on the lines of whose work *Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam*, he compiled his *Anfās al-Khawāṣ* which is full of mystical and theosophical discussions, advocating the doctrine of *Waḥdat al-Wujūd* (Pantheism).

Emperor Aurangzīb was the most enthusiastic among the royal patrons of Islāmic studies and one of the best books produced on the Ḥanafī Law is the *Fatāwā-i-'Ālamgīrī*, a compendious six-volume work composed by a team of Indian theological doctors headed by Shaikh Nizām. The very fact that the book was compiled by a group of eminent jurists, and not by a single author, directly under royal supervision, eloquently speaks of the significance of India's contribution to Arabic literature on the subject of Fiqh (Jurisprudence). Aurangzīb's teacher, better known as Mullā Jīwan, wrote a commentary, entitled *al-Tafsīr al-Aḥmadīyyah fī bayān al-Āyāt al-Shara'īyyah*, containing explanations on those of Qur'ānic verses which deal with commandments and prohibitions. Mullā Jīwan's other work, *Nūr al-Anwār*, is a well-praised commentary on Nasafī's famous text, called *Manār al-Anwār*.

Mīr Muḥammad Zāhid (d. 1689), son of Qāzī Muḥammad Aslam, rose into prominence for his highly philosophical writings. At first attached to the court of Shāh Jahān and then of Aurangzīb, Mīr Zāhid is mainly known for his collection of three glosses which he compiled under the title, *Ḥawāshī Thalāthat al-Zāhidīyyah*. Another writer of philosophical treatises who attracted Aurangzīb's attention was Muḥibbullāh Bihārī (d. 1707)<sup>36</sup> who was appointed Qāzī of Lakhnau. His works, *Sullam al-'Ulūm*, a common text-book on Logic, and *Musallam al-Thubūt*, an indispensable work on the principles of jurisprudence, form essential part of curricula of study in the Islāmic religious institutions of the Indian sub-continent.

Sayyid 'Alī Khān Ibn Ma'sūm (d. 1705),<sup>37</sup> who wrote purely on non-religious matter, was appointed by Aurangzīb *Dīwān* of Burhanpur. He was well versed in the poetic art and was the author of several poetical compositions, most notable of which is his poem, *al-Badī'īyyah*, that contains examples of all possible rhetorical contrivances. The poem is regarded as a valuable contribution to Arabic literature on rhetoric. Besides, he compiled a biographical dictionary

of Arabic poets, called *Sulāfat al-‘Asr fi Maḥāsin al-Shu‘ara bi kull Miṣr*, which included notices of about a dozen poets of Arabic who were Indian or connected with India. Sayyid ‘Abdul Jalīl Bilgrāmī (d. 1715),<sup>38</sup> who flourished towards the end of Aurangzīb’s reign, was a distinguished scholar and composed fine verses. The contemporary writer, Ibn Ma‘ṣūm, mentioned above, states that he never saw in India a scholar so accomplished as he was.

Among the various centres of Arabic learning in Mughul India, Gujarāt was the most prominent. Akbar’s conquest of Gujarāt opened up ports like Cambay and Surat to those Indian scholars who wished to travel by sea to the Hejaz for higher study. The opening of the sea traffic resulted in close and frequent contact between India and Arabia, which in turn led to the extensive study of Hadīth in which native scholars from Gujarāt distinguished themselves in the subsequent centuries.<sup>39</sup> Thus Gujarāt’s contribution to Arabic literature, particularly on the theological subject, deserves special mention.

‘Abdullah Muḥammad bin Sirāj al-Dīn ‘Umar Nahrwālī al-Ulūghkhānī, better known as Hājī Dabīr,<sup>40</sup> a prominent noble and general serving in Gujarāt under ‘Imādul-Mulk at the time of Akbar’s conquest of Gujarāt, wrote *Zafar al-Wālih bi Musāffar wa Alih*, a valuable history of Gujarāt. *Al-Nūr al-Sāfir ‘an Akhbār al-Qaran al-‘Āshir* (1603) by Muḥyī al-Dīn ‘Abdul Qādir Aydurs<sup>41</sup> of Ahmadābād is a chronology of the events of the tenth century of the Hijra, written in a simple, lucid and straightforward style. It also contains accounts of contemporary scholars and saints. Shaikh Wajīh al-Dīn ‘Alawī of Gujarāt (d. 1589) was a reputed saint-scholar who wrote several works on various subjects of Islāmic learning, mainly comprising annotations and glosses on *Tafsir-i-Baidāwī*, *Sharḥ Wiqāya*, etc.

Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad Ṭāhir (d. 1578)<sup>42</sup> of Pattan (Gujarāt) who enjoyed the title of *Malik al-Muḥaddithīn* (Prince of Traditionists), has been immortalised by his invaluable works on Hadīth, the *magnum opus* being his *Majma‘ Bahār-al-Anwār*. It is a voluminous dictionary of difficult and uncommon words in the Qur’ān and Ḥadīth. According to Nawāb Ṣiddīq Ḥasan Khān, by writing this work, which met with universal approval and recognition, Ṭāhir has placed the world of Islām under a deep debt of gratitude.

Ja‘far bin Jalāl bin Muḥammad al-Bukhārī, better known as Badr-i-‘Alam,<sup>43</sup> was a leading traditionist and divine of Ahmadābād during the days of Emperor Jahāngīr. He wrote his commentary, *al-Faiz al-Tārī*, on the Hadīth collection of Bukhārī, in two volumes.

His bigger work, entitled *Rawdat al-Shāh*, consisted of as many as twenty-four volumes, of which the first dealt with memoirs of the saints and the last two with traditionists and commentators of the Qur'ān.

In the Deccan, the Qutub Shāhīs of Golconda<sup>44</sup> were renowned patrons of Arabic studies. Muḥammad 'Alī Karbalā'ī composed his *Hadā'iq-i-Qutb Shāhī* and Muhazzib al-Dīn Damamīnī wrote his well-known commentary on the Qur'ān, during the reign of 'Abdullah Qutb Shāh. Another significant work of the same age was Ḥakīm Nizām al-Dīn Gīlānī's *Shajarat al-Dānish* consisting of more than a hundred brochures, pamphlets and extracts from other works on a variety of subjects such as medicine, law, philosophy and literature.

## XV. PERSIAN

The advent of the Mughuls in India ushered in a glorious epoch of literary traditions in Persian, a language that enjoyed the status of the Latin of Central Asia. The impetus was given by no less a person than Emperor Bābur himself, the founder of Mughul rule in India. Although this cultured monarch is known to the literary world for his *Tuzak* or Memoir which he wrote in Turki, history testifies that besides his native tongue, he was an accomplished poet in Persian too.

According to Abu-'l-Fazl, Bābur was the author of a didactic *mathnavi* in Persian, entitled *Mathnavī-i-Mubīn*.<sup>45</sup> The Emperor's retinue included a number of poets and writers of Persian, notable among whom were Fārighī, Nādir Samarqandī, Ātishī Qandhārī and Ṭāhir Khāwandi. Sām Mirzā, the author of *Tuḥfa-i-Sāmī*, makes particular mention of two other poets, Shaikh Zain al-Dīn and Mullā Shihāb.<sup>46</sup>

The influx of Persian intellectuals from Īrān to India during the 16th and 17th centuries constitutes the most vital factor in the development of Indo-Persian literature. Whatever be the cause of the decline of Persian poetry in Safavid Persia, in this respect Persia's loss proved to be India's gain. Ever since the return from Persia of the fugitive Emperor Humāyūn, swarms of Persian poets kept migrating to India and were attached to Mughul courts, where they found the atmosphere more congenial for the display of their talent. The literary efforts of these immigrants coupled with similar efforts of indigenous litterateurs created in India an intellectual tradition which sometimes seemed to outshine that of Īrān itself both in output and quality.<sup>47</sup>

During the whole of the 16th and 17th centuries, India remained the El-Dorado of Persian emigrants. Rightly has Dr. Hermann Ethe

remarked that the India Summer of Persian poetry, brought about by Akbar and his successors Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān, is one of the brightest features of the Mughul rule in India. The long and distinguished chain of poets of Īrānian and Indian origin brought about the cultural synthesis which led to the evolution of that exquisite body of poetry called *Sabk-i-Hindi* (Indian style),<sup>48</sup> represented by such illustrious names as Faizī, 'Urfī, Naẓīrī, Tālib-i-Āmuli, Kalim, Ghanī Kashmīrī, Ṣā'ib and Bīdil which could bring credit to any literature in the world. Most of these poets were born in Persia but their poetry was born in India and it invariably mirrored the distinctive features of the Indian environment. Puns, chronograms, satires, original similes and concepts constitute the salient merits of Mughul poetry.<sup>49</sup>

Fond of poetry and poets, Humāyūn himself composed good verses and wrote a Persian Dīwān.<sup>50</sup>

Among the poetic geniuses of Humāyūn's age were Shaikh Amānullāh Pānīpatī, Maulāna Jalālī, Mīr Wāisī and Damīrī Bilgrāmī.<sup>51</sup> Qāsim Khān Maujī wrote a *mathnavi*, called *Yūsuf-u-Zulaikhā* which consisted of 6000 verses. Ghyāth al-Dīn Muḥammad, surnamed Khwāndamīr, wrote the general history, *Ḥabīb al-Siyar* and among other works, compiled an authentic versified history of Humāyūn, called *Qānūn-i-Humāyūnī*. Qāsim Kāhī of Kabul, court-poet of Humāyūn and Akbar, gained celebrity for his erudition and poetic gift.<sup>52</sup> Yūsuf bin Muḥammad, a migrant from Herat, was attached to Humāyūn's court and wrote *Riyāḍ al-Adwīya*, *Jāmi' al-Fawā'id*, *Fawā'id al-Akhhbār* and *Badā'i al-Inshā*. The emperor's ewer-bearer, Jauhar Aftābchī, though not a very learned man, prepared a Memoir of Humāyūn, which is of unusual importance as a source book, in view of its being a reliable record of the Emperor's private life during his exile in Īrān. The *Humāyūn-nāma*, compiled by Gulbadan Begum, sister of Humāyūn, is an intimate account of the events of the reigns of Bābur and Humāyūn. Interspersed with a large number of Turkish words, the book reflects the influence which the Turkish language had on Persian at that time. Bāyazīd Bayāt's *Tadhkira-i-Humāyūn wa Akbar* is a useful history of the reigns of Humāyūn and early years of Akbar.

The accession of Akbar to the throne in 1556 marks an era of unprecedented blossoming of Persian verse and prose. The most dynamic factor behind this literary efflorescence was the munificence of patronage and encouragement which the Emperor and his nobles gave to poets and writers, historians, thinkers, philosophers and theologians.<sup>53</sup> Abu-'l-Fazl states that thousands of poets were continually at the court of Akbar. At least fifty of them, according

to the cumulative evidence of the *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* and the *Muntakhab al-Tawārīkh*, produced *Dīwāns*.

Ghazālī Mashhadī (d. 1572), the first poet-laureate of Akbar's court, proved a very talented poet with his *mathnavis*, such as *Mashhad-i-Anwār*, the *Mir'at al-Ṣifāt*, *Naqsh-i-Badī'ī* *Quadrat-i-Āthār* and a *Dīwān*, entitled *Āthār al-Shabāb*, an anthology of poems dedicated to Akbar. Faizī, who succeeded Ghazālī as Akbar's poet-laureate, was a versatile poet and writer.<sup>54</sup> *Badāūnī* and subsequent memoir-writers have ascribed the authorship of over a hundred Persian works to Faizī, but unfortunately all the titles are not known to us. Abu-'l-Fazl, however, mentions a few works of Faizī, the principal among which is his *Dīwān* which, according to Shibli,<sup>55</sup> was entitled *Tabāshhīr al-Ṣubh*. The *Dīwān* consists of *qaṣidas*, *Ghazals*, *Tarkīb bands*, *Tarjī' bands*, elegies, *Qita's* and *rubā'īs*. In pursuance of the literary practice then in vogue, Faizī had planned to write a *Khamsah* in imitation of the *Khamsah* of Nizāmī Ganjawī. He composed some portions under each proposed title, but could complete only two, i.e., the *Markaz-i-Adwār* and the *Nal Daman* in imitation of Nizāmī's *Makhzan al-Asrār* and *Lailā Majnūn* respectively. Faizī's prose works include a Persian adaptation of *Līlāvātī*, his *Epistles*, chronogrammatically entitled *Laṭīfa-i-Fayyādī* and Persian translation of Hindu religious books. In short, Faizī was a true representative of a great age. A leading Īrānian literary critic, Dr. Riḍā Zāda Shafaq,<sup>56</sup> asserts that Faizī enjoyed a great reputation in Ottoman Turkey and his influence was responsible for the popularity of Persian literature in that country.

'Abdur Rahīm Khān-i-Khānān<sup>57</sup> was the very embodiment of erudition and culture during the reigns of Akbar and Jahāngīr. An accomplished scholar and talented poet, Khān-i-Khānān's fame chiefly rests on his large-hearted patronage of men of letters and poets. Great literati of the age such as Mullā Shakībī, Mahwī Hamadānī, 'Urfī Shīrāzī and Mullā 'Abdul Bāqī Nihāwandi were directly attached to his court. He himself produced an exquisite Persian version of the *Memoirs of Bābur* under royal orders. His remarkable library in Ahmadābād "embalmed the great ideals of the oriental world and the memory of a culture that had in its time profoundly influenced the world."<sup>58</sup>

'Urfī Shīrāzī<sup>59</sup> was the brightest luminary in the Khān-i-Khānān's poetic firmament and was the recipient of richest presents and highest rewards from his patron and from Akbar as well. The contemporary author, 'Abdul Bāqī Nihāwandi<sup>60</sup> remarks that it would take a separate book to describe the numerous rewards and presents which 'Urfī received from the Khān-i-Khānān. 'Urfī's great-

est legacy to posterity are his exquisite *qaṣīdas* that are characterised by lofty themes, forceful diction, original constructions, freshness of metaphors and novelty of comparisons and lyrical dynamism which contributed very much to the embellishment and development of Persian language and literature. Another talented poet attached to the entourage of the Khān-i-Khānān was Nazīrī Nīshāpūrī (d. 1618)<sup>61</sup> who gave a new dimension to Persian poetry by his genius and inventive mind. His verses are deeply tinged with sūfīstic notions of esoteric significance and noted for introduction of new and strange words and phrases. He is regarded as the 'Qa'-ānī of India' for his sweetness of style and melody of diction.

The most common subject of contemporary prose-writing was history. As the Mughul supremacy in India became well established under Akbar, the emperor began the practice of commissioning chroniclers to write official annals of the dynasty's rule. The most important official history is the *Akbar-nāma* of Abu-'l-Fazl, the Emperor's confidant and minister.<sup>62</sup> This voluminous and monumental work is complementary to his *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, an encyclopaedic directory of the administration of the day. His *Inshā*, collection of official despatches sent by the Emperor to foreign potentates, and his *Ruqa'āt*, collection of the author's private and personal letters, written in highly florid and pedantic style with various rhetorical devices, are representative pieces of writings of the Indo-Persian literature. Selections from Abu-'l-Fazl's letters have always formed part of Persian syllabi at colleges and universities in India. The *Tārīkh-i-Alfī* of Mullā Ahmad Thattawī and others was also compiled at the royal command and is mainly important for an account of Akbar's religious views. Among the unofficial chronicles are the *Muntakhab al-Tawārīkh* of Mullā 'Abdul Qādir Badāūnī, which is characterised by thoroughness and sincerity, competence and authenticity, and the *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* of Nizām-ud-dīn Aḥmad Bakhshī is a useful source-book, written in a simple and flowing language. Minor historical writings of the age included Faizī Sirhindī's *Tārīkh-i-Humāyūn Shāhī*, 'Abdul Bāqī Nihāwandī's *Ma'āthiri Raḥīmī* and Shaikh 'Abdul Haq Dihlawī's *Tārīkh-i-Haqqī*. The last-named author was a leading divine and theologian of his age. He wrote on almost every theological science and has to his credit such famous works as the *Akḥbārūl Akhyār*, containing short biographies of Sūfī saints of India; *Ashī'ātu'l Lam'āt*, a commentary on the well-known book of tradition, the *Mishkāt*, and *Zādu'l Muttaqīn*, another hagiological work. Amīr Fathullūh Shīrāzī was another distinguished scholar of Akbar's age. Badāūnī calls him "the most learn-

ed man of his times” and Abu-'l-Fazl remarks: “If the books of antiquity should be lost, the Amīr would restore them”.<sup>63</sup>

While the munificent patronage of Akbar and his nobles had more than ensured the development of Persian literature in Northern India, the 'Ādil Shāhī rulers of Bijāpur were giving liberal encouragement to the growth of Persian scholarship in the south. The court of Sultān Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh II (1580-1627) attracted a large number of poets and litterateurs from the north and from Īrān itself. Malik Qummī (d. 1640) was the most prominent poet of the 'Ādil Shāhī dynasty. The contemporary, Mullā Zuhūrī (d. 1616), decidedly the greatest of the Persian poets who flourished in the Deccan, is a consummate stylist both in verse and prose. His *Sāqī-nāma*, written on the model of the *Gulistān* of Sādī, amply reveals his exalted poetic genius. His *Sih Nathr* evidently projects him as a Persian writer of outstanding calibre, who dominated the intellectual taste of the contemporary elite and norms and standards of literary appreciation. Other prominent poets of the court of Bijāpur were Haidar Zihnī, Sanjar, Bāqar, Ḥasan 'Askarī of Kāshān, Rashīd of Qazwīn and Āqā Muhammad Nāmī of Tabrīz. The 'Ādil Shāhī period is to be especially remembered for having given to the world the celebrated *Tārīkh-i-Firishta* or *Gulistān-i-Ibrāhīm* written by Abūl Qāsim Firishta during the reign of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh in 1611. This monumental work is the most compendious of chronicles that medieval India has produced. The Qutb Shāhīs of Golconda were likewise great patrons of Persian scholarship. The *peshwa* Ibn-i-Khātūn, who was Qutb Shāhī ambassador to Īrān, was responsible for the propagation of Persian studies in the kingdom. Mention may be made of the following Persian works of the period:

- (a) 'Alī bin Taifūr Bustāmī's *Hadā'iq al-Salaṭīn*, compiled in 1681, a collection of lives of eminent Persian poets, both immigrant and native;
- (b) Muḥammad Husain Tabrezī's Persian dictionary, *Burhān-i-Qāṭi* compiled in 'Abdullāh Qutb Shāh's reign in 1651; and
- (c) Abū 'Imād's encyclopaedic work *Khirqatu'l 'Ilm* in six volumes. Besides, there are four metrical histories of the Qutb Shāhī dynasty, all compiled in the reign of Muhammad Qulī Qutb Shāh, namely, *Nisbat Nāma-i-Shahryārī*, *Nasab Nāma-i-Shahryārī*, *Tārīkh-i-Qutb Shāhī* and *Tawārīkh-i-Qutb Shāhī*. Almost all the Deccani rulers had direct cultural contacts with contemporary Persia and hence numerous were the Īrāni poets and scholars who adorned their courts.<sup>64</sup>

Literary activity received great encouragement at the hands of

Akbar's successor Jahāngīr (1605-1627), who seemed to inherit the refined scholarship of his great-grand-father, Bābur. His autobiography, *Tūzūk-i-Jahāngīrī*, is a work of great historical and literary merit. Left unfinished by the Emperor, the memoirs were completed by Muhammad Hādī.<sup>65</sup> His courtier, Mu'tamad Khān, wrote *Iqbāl Nāma-i-Jahāngīrī*, which is a primary source material of the history of Jahāngīr's reign. Important historical writings of the period are *Ma'āthir Jahāngīrī* of Kāmgār Khān, *Mawā'iza-i-Jahāngīr* of Bāqir Khān and *Akhlāq-i-Jahāngīrī* of Qāzī Nurūd-dīn Khāqānī. Among the learned personages of Jahāngīr's reign were Ghyath Beg known as I'timād-u'd-Daula, Naqīb Khān and Ni'matullāh. The culture-loving emperor maintained his ancestral tradition of showering generous patronage on poets, the majority of whom were emigrés from Safavid Persia. Among those who basked in the sunshine of royal favour were Nazīrī, Tālib Isfahānī, Shaidā, Sa'idā-i-Gilānī, Nishānī and Munīr Lahūrī, while the court of the Emperor's leading noble 'Abdur Rahīm Khān-i-Khānān, as mentioned above, was adorned by such a galaxy of poets as Shikābī, Hayātī, Rasmī, Nau'ī and Thanā'ī. But the most conspicuous poet of the age was Tālib Āmulī (d. 1626), the poet laureate of Jahāngīr, whose poetry is characterised by novelty of topics, figurative language and fine allegories and metaphors.

Emperor Shāh Jahān honoured the versifiers with bounteous rewards in the true manner of an Eastern monarch. Rightly has a Persian poet 'Alī Qulī Salīm compared perfection in poetry to *henna* that could develop its full colour only in India. Abū Tālib Kalīm coming from Hamadan succeeded Qudsī as Shāh Jahān's court-poet and completed, besides his Dīwān, an epic poem, entitled *Pādshah-nāma*, commenced by Qudsī, describing Shāh Jahān's exploits. Kalīm once called India a second paradise in the sense that whoever quits this garden departs with regret.<sup>66</sup> But the greatest contemporary poet was Mīrzā Muhammad 'Alī Ṣā'ib of Tabriz who was the creator of a new style in Persian poetry. The credit of introducing and perfecting illustrative poetry in Persian goes to him alone. Mainly attached to the court of Shāh Jahān's noble, Zafar Khān, Governor of Kāshmīr, Ṣā'ib received from the Emperor the title of Musta'id Khān. Though he returned to Isfahan later on, he recorded his indebtedness to India in many of his verses and once compared his nostalgia for India to a lover's longing for a beloved.<sup>67</sup> Other versifiers who rose to eminence during Shāh Jahān's rule were Qāsim Khān Juwainī, Mīr Muḥammad Husain Sharqī, Muḥammad Husain Rasmī and Mīr Raḍā Dānish Mashhadī. Among the leading native lyricists were Shaidā Akbarābādī and

Hādhiq Fatehpūrī. The heterodox Sūfī, Sarmad (d. 1660), earned celebrity for his exquisite quatrains, dealing with ecstatic and unorthodox mystic themes.

The prose literature produced in that age is almost entirely represented by histories, such as the three *Pādshāh-nāmas*, written by Amīna-i-Qazwīnī, ‘Abdul Hamīd Lahūrī and Muhammad Wārith, the *Shāh Jahān-nāma* of Muḥammad Ṭāhir Āshnā. Muḥammad Sādiq Isfahānī, an official of Bengal of Shāh Jahān’s time, was a noted historian and scholar and is mainly known for his two works, the *Subh Sādiq*, a detailed historical and geographical work and the *Shāhid-i-Sādiq*, a work of encyclopaedic nature, both dedicated to Prince Shāh Shujā‘, Shāh Jahān’s second son.<sup>68</sup> The Emperor’s eldest son, Prince Dārā Shukoh was an erudite scholar and an orthodox mystic of the Qādirīyāh order.<sup>69</sup> He had the *yoga-vāsishṭha*, the *Bhagavad-Gītā* and the *Upanishads* translated into Persian. His *Majma‘ul Baḥrain* is a collection of pseudo-lexicographical correspondence between the Sūfī and Hindu cosmologies, esoteric beliefs and practices. The prince’s contribution to hagiography is well illustrated by his twin works, *Safīnat al-Auliya*, a biography of Muslim saints, and the *Sakīnāt al-Auliya*, containing an account of his spiritual guide Miyān Mīr (d. 1635). Another member of the royal family, Jahān Ārā Begum, daughter of Shāh Jahān, had a genius for poetry. Her *Mūnis al-Arwāḥ*, a biographical account of Khvāja Mu‘in-ud-dīn Chishtī, is marked by simple dignity and chaste scholarship. Of the few epoch-making lexicographical works produced during the period under review, at least the following two deserve special mention: (a) The *Farhang-i-Jahāngīrī*, compiled by Jamāl-ud-dīn Ḥusain Injū in 1608, is a well-known dictionary of purely Persian words dedicated to and named after Emperor Jahāngīr, and (b) *The Farhang-i-Rashīdī* of ‘Abdul Rashīd Tattawī, compiled in 1654 and dedicated to Shāh Jahān, is a revised and corrected version of the preceding lexicon.

In the puritanical period of Aurangzīb (1658-1707), royal patronage to poets was withheld and Persian poetry lost its time-honoured place in the imperial court. But the Emperor’s own daughter, Zībun Nisā, with the nom-de-plume *Makhfī*, was a gifted poetess, well versed in Arabic and Persian.<sup>70</sup> The *Dīwān-i-Makhfī* is a great monument of her poetic genius. But the most challenging Persian poet of the age was Mirzā ‘Abdul Qādir Bīdil of Patna, whose poetry crystallises all the intellectual formulas of style employed by his predecessors in India. His lyrical poems, said to comprise about a lakh of verses, along with his *mathnavis*, evidently prove that he could produce genuine poetry in all its splendour

and yet honestly reveal his philosophical and mystical predilections. Bīdil is one of the few native poets whose reputation has spread beyond the frontiers of India. He is studied with much appreciation and reverence in Afghānistan.

Several histories were written in Aurangzīb's time and they are noted for their authenticity, for they were not the results of the imperial patronage. The best and most impartial history of the period is *Muntakhab al-Lubāb* of Muḥammad Hāshim Khāfī Khān, which combined objectivity with historical imagination. The '*Ālamgīr-nāma*' was compiled by Muḥammad Kāzīm under Aurangzīb's orders.<sup>71</sup> The *Mathnavī-i-Ālamgīrī* of Sāqī Musta'ad Khān is particularly rich in the description of Aurangzīb's Deccan campaigns, a chapter which was included in the work without the Emperor's knowledge. The *Mir'atu'l Ālam* of Bakhtāwar Khān is remarkable for its biographical accounts of the intelligentsia of the age.<sup>72</sup>

The contribution of the Hindus to the development of Indo-Persian studies makes an impressive reading. Not only did the Hindus attain a high degree of proficiency in Persian but they vied with their Muslim compeers in composing verse and prose of high order. History testifies to the Muslim patronage of Sanskrit learning in pre-Mughul era, but it was only in the reign of Akbar that the Hindus participated in the literary efforts in a full-fledged manner. Hindu scholars such as Kishujoshi, Gangādhara, Maheśa, Mahānanda, Devi Miśra, Madhusūdana Miśra, Chaturbhujā and Bhavan were engaged by the Emperor to collaborate with Muslim writers like Faizī, Abu-'l-Fazl, Hājī Ibrāhīm Sarhindī, Badāūnī, and others in the execution of the programme of preparing Persian translations from Sanskrit classics.<sup>73</sup> The result was that the *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Mahābhārata*, *Singhasan Batīsi* etc. were rendered into Persian. Rājā Todarmal (d. 1589), a Hindu courtier of Akbar, translated the *Bhāgawat Purāṇa* into Persian.<sup>74</sup> One Makhanlal also rendered the *Rāmāyaṇa* into Persian and called it *Jahān-i-Zafar*. Amarnāth abridged the account of the world from the four Vedas into Persian under the title *Khayālāt-i-Shaidā*. Jahāngīr continued to patronise translation of works from Sanskrit to Persian and encouraged the Hindu scholars to produce original works on Hindu law, rational sciences and lexicography. The first Hindu who achieved literary greatness in Persian was Chandra Bhān, poetically named *Brahman*,<sup>75</sup> who enjoyed the favour of Prince Dārā Shukoh. His *Dīwān* of Ghazals and Quatrains reflected his vast erudition and poetic excellence and a happy blend of Hindu and Muslim thought. One of his contemporaries, Jaswant Rai Munshi, also compiled a *Dīwān* in Persian. Bhopat Rai, better known as 'Bigham Vairagi' (d. 1719), wrote his famous

*mathnavi* which mirrored his mystical thoughts and illustrates the influence of Jalāl-ud-dīn Rūmī on his poetry. Another branch of Persian writing in which the Hindus clearly surpassed contemporary Muslim achievements is epistolography; and *Inshā* of Madho Ram, written during Aurangzīb's reign, marks the apex in the efforts of Kāyastha Hindus in this particular field. Hindu historiography which began with Chandra Bhān Brahman's *Chahār Chaman* which is partly modelled on Abu-'l-Fazl's *Ā'in-i-Akbarī*, was further enriched by the works of Hindu chroniclers such as Bhagwān Dās, who compiled the *Shāh Jahān-nāma* and Rai Vṛindāban, who wrote the *Lubb-ut-Tawārīkh*. Aurangzīb also found a Hindu historian to record his victories and he was Īswardās Nāgar, the author of *Futūhāt-i-Ālamgīrī*. Munshi Sūjan Rai's *Khulāṣat-ut-Tawārīkh*, written in 1695, is perhaps the most interesting work of history written by a Hindu in Persian. There were some minor Hindu historians such as Munshi Hirāman Lal who wrote his *Gawālior-nāma* in Aurangzīb's reign and Nārāyan Kaul who compiled his *Tārīkh-i-Kashmir* in 1710. In short, up to the 18th century the total contribution of the Hindus to Persian poetry became substantial enough to form the subject-matter of a separate book called *Tadhkira-i-Gul-i-Rānā*, by Lakshmī Nārāyan Shafīq. In fact, as Dr. S. M. Abdullah has remarked,<sup>76</sup> at the end of the 18th century the contribution of Hindus to Persian literature was equal to that of their Muslim compatriots. The Persian literature produced during the heyday of the Mughul suzerainty in India exercised a tremendous influence on the formation and shaping of regional literatures, especially those cultivated by the Muslims. One of the most epoch-making results is the evolution of literary Urdu. Other sister languages modelled on the Persian tradition are Punjābi, Pushtu, Sindhi, Baluchi and Kāshmīrī, all of which use Persian script. To all these regional languages, Persian literature gave a number of literary genres, provided models for the writers and themes for numerous literary compositions.

## XVI. PROTO-URDŪ

The word 'Urdū' is derived from the Turki word *Ordū* which meant "a military camp." The language, now known by that name, had not come into existence during the period under review, but it was a product of the dialect current among the Muslims who ruled over Deccan and South India from the 14th century onwards. The literary speech, arising out of it, and known as *Dakhni* or the 'Southern speech', may be traced back to the 15th century. Its use was confined to the Deccan and South India, and it was employed in literature mostly by the Muslims of that region who were less in-

fluenced by the local Hindu spirit of the dialects and languages of North India than the other Muslims living in North India. This difference becomes clearly manifest from the fact that Perso-Arabian script was used in the Deccan, in writing the language almost from the beginning, and the literature gradually became more and more Muslim and Persian in its attitude, though it retained until the end of the 17th century “a good deal of its Indian vocabulary and Indian literary *catchets* and *clichés*.”

The chief centres of Dakhni literature were Gujarāt, Bijāpur, Golconda, Aurangābād and Bīdar. The oldest writer in this ‘Muslim Hindī tradition’ was the famous Sūfī Saint Sayyid Muhammad Banda-Nawāz Gesū-Darāz who played an important role in the politics of the Bahmanī kingdom in 1422, as mentioned above (Volume VI, p. 256). He is said to have written over 100 works.

Two great poets flourished in Gujarāt in the 16th century, namely, Shāh ‘Ali Muhammad Jān Gamodhani, whose poems were collected under the title *Jawahiru-l-Asrār* (‘Jewels of Secrets’), and Shaikh Khūb Muhammad, who composed *Khūb Tarang* (‘The Waves of Khūb’ or ‘The Good Waves’) in 1578.

Dakhni literature was patronised by the Qutb Shāhī Sultāns of Golconda, one of whom, Muhammad Qulī Qutb Shāh (1580-1612), was himself a gifted poet. One of his courtiers, Mullā Wajhī, wrote the romantic poem, *Qutub Mustarī*, the theme of which was the love of the Sultān, when still a prince, for a Telugu Hindu girl named “Bhagmati” whom he married, and named the city built in her honour after her, first as “Bhag-nagar” and then after her Muslim name “Haider-Begum”. This became the famous city of Hyderabad, the capital of the Nizams and at present of Andhra Pradesh. There were several other good romantic poets in Golconda, such as Ghaw-wāsī, Ibn-i-Nishati and Tab‘i.

Ibrāhīm ‘Ādil Shāh II (1580-1627), the Sultān of Bijāpur, was a great patron of letters and he himself wrote in Dakhni a book on music. Hasan Shawqī wrote a heroic poem on the famous battle, generally known as the battle of Talikota (1565) in which the Muslim Sultāns of the Deccan won a decisive victory over the mighty king of Vijayanagara. Among other poets may be mentioned Rustumī who wrote a poem ‘in epic vein’ (on the story of ‘Alī, the son-in-law of the Prophet); Malik Khusnud, the author of the *Yūsuf-u-Zulaikha* and another romance, both of Persian origin; and Mīrān Hāshimī. One of the greatest Dakhni poets was a Hindu (Brahmin) who wrote under the Muslim pen-name of Nusratī of whom it has been said that “he excelled in lofty imagination, freshness of subject, and aptness of diction.” He wrote a poem in eulogy of his master

Sultān 'Alī Ādil Shāh II (1656-1672), and also a romance on a Hindu theme—the love-story of Manohar and Madhu-Mālatī, besides a number of odes and lyrics.

Dakhni literature flourished up to the end of the 17th century, but declined after the conquest of the Deccan and South India by Aurangzīb. By the first half of the eighteenth century, the mantle of Dakhni fell on the newly rising Urdū speech of Delhi into which this “colonial form of a North Indian speech” virtually merged, and Urdū became well-established with its present name by 1750.

1. Sukumar Sen, *History of Bengali Literature*, p. 96.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 97.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 98.
4. For this work, cf. p. 567.
5. Dr. S. K. Chatterji, *Languages and Literatures of Modern India* (Bengal Publishers Private Ltd.), 1963, p. 122.
6. See p. 562.
7. S.K. Chatterji, *op. cit.*, pp. 128-9.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 129.
9. Cf. p. 317.
10. For a full appreciation of Bhālaṅ's works, see Shastri, *Gujarātī Sāhityanun̄ Rekḥādarshana* (Khaṇḍa 1), pp. 83-95; Vaidya V.K., *Gujarātī Sāhityanī Rupa-rekhā*, pp. 46-50 and Munshi K.M., *Gujarat and its Literature*, p. 168 ff.
11. Shastri calls him the Ādikavi of Brajabhāshā. *op. cit.*, p. 88. According to him, Bhālaṅ was a contemporary of Sūrdās and was familiar with the poetic compositions in Brajabhāshā.
- 11a. The *gāgariā* or *māṅ bhaṭ* is peculiar to Gujarat. He has played a great role in the evolution and preservation of *ākhyān* literature. See Munshi, *op. cit.* pp. 166-167.
12. This is supported not only by her songs but also an anecdote about her meeting with Śri Jīva Gosvāmī, a Vaishṇava Sanyāsi reputed for his learning and exposition of the tenets of Vaishṇavism. She had gone to his place at Vṛindāvan when the saint's disciples stopped her at the door and told her that their master did not see any woman's face. Surprised, Mīrāṅ gave a poignant but touching retort: “I was under the impression that in this land of Braja there is only one male (Purusha), that Supreme person, and the rest are his *gopīs*. If you have contrived to remain a Purusha despite your stay in Braja, I do not know what to say of your discretion.” The saint was struck with Mīrāṅ's words of unique devotion. He at once realised that what he had learnt from *śāstras* was dry knowledge. He himself came out to pay homage to her. Ramlal, *Bhārat ke Sant-Mahātmā*, pp. 489-490, Bankey Behari, *op. cit.*, pp. 102-103.
13. The earliest collection of her hundred songs gradually increased to more than a thousand. Later poets and devotees of Mīrāṅ composed songs which they attribute to this mad musician of Lord Kṛishṇa.
14. At one time Narasimha Mehta's date was taken as fixed between 1414 and 1480. According to Munshi, he can reasonably be placed between 1500 and 1580 A.D. See Munshi, *op. cit.* Note on pp. 199-200.
15. Nārasimha Mehta joyfully sang, unshaken in his faith and love: “Believe me, all worldly pleasure is shadowy. All things except Kṛishṇa are ephemeral” (*Sukh Saṅsāri mithyā kasi māṅjo Kṛishṇa Vinā Bijun̄ Sarva Kāchu*; Also *Bhalu thayun̄ bhāṅgi janjāl, sukhe bhajishun̄ Śri Gopāl*).
16. Joshi Umashankar, *Akho Ek Adhyayana*, Chapter I, *Akhānā Chhappā*, Introduction, pp. 1-22.
17. Swayamjyoti, *Akhānā Chhappā*, p. 25.
18. Cf. Vaidya, *op. cit.*, p. 74.
19. The date of birth of Ekanātha is given variously as 1521, 1528, 1533 and 1548 A.D. The date of death is given as 1599 or 1608. Dr. S. K. Chatterji assigns to him the date 1548-1599.

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20. A somewhat different view about the origin and antiquity of Malayālam is given in Vol. VI, pp. 529-30. Dr. S. K. Chatterji (op. cit. pp. 334-6) fixes the date of modern Malayalam in 1800 A.D.
21. Muḥammad Ishāq, *India's Contribution to the Study of Hadith Literature*, Dacca, 1955, p. 232.
22. Zubaid Aḥmad, *The Contribution of India to Arabic Literature*, Jullunder, 1946, p. 17, 42-43. The *Kanz al-Ummāl* is being published by the Dā'irat 'ul Ma'ārif-i-Islāmīyyah, Hyderabad, in several volumes; so far, nineteen volumes have been brought out.
23. See, for a detailed study of Shaikh 'Abd al-Haqq's life and works, K.A. Niẓāmī, *Hayāt-i-'Abdul Haqq*, Delhi, 1953; *Encyclopaedia of Islam, New Edition*, pp. 60-61; cf., Aziz Ahmad, *An Intellectual History of Islam in India*, Edinburgh, 1969, p. 68.
24. Muḥammad Ishāq, op. cit., pp. 146-153.
25. Zubaid Aḥmad, op. cit., pp. 20-25.
26. *Shi'ru'l-'Ajam*, Vol. III, p. 67.
27. Zubaid Aḥmad, op. cit., pp. 85-86, 191-193.
28. H. K. Sherwani, *Cultural Trends in medieval India*, Bombay, 1968, p. 83.
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30. 'Azīz Aḥmad, *Studies in Islamic Culture in the Indian Environment*, Oxford, 1964, pp. 183-190.
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32. *Ibid.*, pp. 334-335.
33. Ḥājī Khalifa, *Kashf al-Zunūn*, Leipzig, 1835-52, Vol. IV, p. 925; VI, p. 241; VIII, p. 914.
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38. Ghulam Ali Azad Bilgrami, *Subḥat-al-Marjān*, Bombay, 1885, p. 80.
39. S.M. Ikrām, *Muslim Civilization in India*, New York, 1964, p. 238.
40. Zubaid Aḥmad, op. cit., p. 147.
41. Muḥammad Ishāq, op. cit., p. 98.
42. *Ibid.*, 124-129.
43. *Ibid.*, pp. 164-165.
44. Dr. M.A. Mu'īd Khān, op. cit., pp. 24-34.
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## THE MUGHUL EMPIRE

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74. G.A. Grierson, *The Modern Vernacular Literature of India*, Calcutta, 1889, p. 35.
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## CHAPTER XX

### RELIGION

#### I. HINDU RELIGION

##### (a) *General Review*

The majority of Hindus adhered to the orthodox cults of Śiva, Śakti, Viṣṇu, Sūrya and Gaṇeśa. But conflicting trends of liberalism and catholicity on the one hand, and rigid exclusiveness and conservatism on the other, were noticeable within the Hindu religion in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Some of the Vaiṣṇava and Tāntric teachers proclaimed the rights of women and Śūdras in the spiritual sphere and welcomed the aboriginals and hill tribes living on the borders to the Hindu fold. Efforts were made even to accommodate the Muslim brethren who preferred to adopt Hindu ways of life and thought. But vehement opposition was offered to such tendencies by the writers of digests on the Dharmasāstras who laid the greatest possible emphasis on the maintenance of ceremonial purity against contamination from people considered as unclean. Like a tortoise drawing itself within its own shell at the approach of enemy, the Brāhmaṇa *nibandhakāras* tried to maintain the integrity of Hindu religion by keeping themselves away from all contacts with the powerful Muslim community. They tried to regulate the life and conduct of all classes of Hindus in the minutest details for the sake of self-preservation.

The earlier *nibandhakāras* like Lakṣmīdhara in the twelfth, Hemādri in the thirteenth and Chaṇḍeśvara in the fourteenth centuries were influential ministers of independent Hindu rulers like Govindachandra Gāhaḍavāla, Mahādeva Yādava and Harisimha of Mithilā. They wielded both secular and religious power. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries they had to depend on their religious and intellectual authority or at most on the support of petty chieftains. Rāṇī Durgāvati, who fell fighting against Akbar's forces in 1564, engaged Padmanābha Miśra to write out a digest in seven volumes, named after her as *Durgāvati-prakāśa*, but only the first part could be completed before her death and the project had to be given up. Todarmal was only the revenue minister of Akbar and no independent ruler; yet he maintained the tradition of patronising the Smṛiti writers by engaging a host of scholars to

produce the *Todarānanda*, an encyclopaedia of law, fasts, festivals, purificatory ceremonies, gifts, modes of conduct as well as of astronomy and medicine. In the seventeenth century Mitra Miśra wrote his celebrated *Vīra-mitrodaya* under the patronage of Vīrasimha of Orchha (1605-1627). Nīlakaṇṭha's patron was Bhagavanta, a Bundela Chief and Anantadeva composed his *Smṛiti-Kaustubha* under the shelter of Bāz Bahādur (1638-78) of Almora. Of all the later writers of *Nibandha*, Keśava Paṇḍit alone had administrative experience. He served Shivājī and rose to be a Judge (*Daṇḍādhyaksha*) under Shambhūjī. Eminent *Smārtas* like Raghunandana and Ramānāth Vidyā-Vāchaspati of Bengal, Pītāmbār Siddhānta-Vāgīśa of Kāmarūpa and Kamalākara Bhaṭṭa of Mahārāshṭra had no royal patron to back them. But such was the tremendous force of their learning and personality that they were able to counteract much of the liberalising influence of the reformers. The majority of the Hindus remained faithful to the orthodox ideals preached by the *Smārtas*.

(b) *Religious Rights of the Śūdras*

The *Bhakti* movement in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries tended to raise the status of the non-Brāhmaṇas. Some of them became spiritual preceptors even of Brāhmaṇas. But the orthodox Brāhmaṇas resisted their claims vehemently. Some of the *Smārtas* went so far as to condemn the Kshatṛiyas and Vaiśyas as Śūdras and refused to concede to the latter the rights which they had enjoyed in the twelfth century. The earliest symptom of the conflict between the Brāhmaṇas and non-Brāhmaṇas may be detected in the famous controversy between the Vaḍagalai and Teṅgalai schools of Śrī Vaishṇavas in South India. The Teṅgalais held that a true devotee belonging to lower castes should be considered as equal to a Brāhmaṇa, because such a person rose above all castes and creeds. They further asserted that spiritual knowledge could be obtained through a teacher of the lower order. The Vaḍagalais were staunch followers of the caste system and they refused to admit the right of anybody excepting a Brāhmaṇa to impart spiritual initiation or instruction.<sup>1</sup> The liberal views of Teṅgalais did not remain confined merely to the theoretical plane. A Tamil copper-plate inscription of 1596 A.D. records that in the reign of Venkaṭapati Deva, a Śūdra priest joined with a large number of other Śūdras and made Kaṇḍiya Devar King of Vriddhāchalam in the presence of Muttu Krishṇappa Nāyaka.<sup>2</sup>

The theory and practice of the Teṅgalais appear to have been introduced in Northern India by Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, the South Indian

follower of Chaitanya, through his work, *Hari-bhakti Vilāsa*. He quotes the authority of the *Skanda-Purāṇa* to show that not only the Brāhmaṇas, Kshatriyas and Vaiśyas but also the Śūdras and women have got the right of worshipping the *Śālagrāma-śilā*.<sup>3</sup> Sanātana Gosvāmin supports this proposition in his commentary on the above work by quoting the authorities of the *Vāyu*, *Nārādīya* and *Bhāgavata Purāṇas* as well as the *Hayaśīrśa-Pāñcharātra*. He also alludes to the practice of the saintly persons in the Madhyadeśa, and especially of the best of the Śrī Vaishṇavas of the south as valid proof for the same. It is noteworthy that his ancestors belonged to Karnāṭak and his great-grandfather, Padmanābha, settled down in Bengal. He was, therefore, familiar with the southern customs. He also cites the authority of the *Bhāgavata* and the commentary of Śrīdharasvāmin to prove that the Vaishṇavas, even though born of lower castes, are not only equal to the Brāhmaṇas but also superior to them.<sup>4</sup> He then refers to the story of Priyavrata in the *Brahma-Vaivarta-Purāṇa* wherein is related the fact that a hunter named Dharmavyādha worshipped the *Śālagrāma-śilā*. But in subsequent times the Brāhmaṇas managed to interpolate certain verses in the aforesaid *Purāṇa* prohibiting the Śūdras from worshipping the *Śālagrāma-śilā*.<sup>5</sup>

Some of the non-Brāhmaṇa followers of Chaitanya became spiritual preceptors not only of the three lower orders but also of the Brāhmaṇas themselves. Narahari Sarkār of Śrīkhaṇḍa, Burdwan, belonging to the Vaidya caste, had many Brāhmaṇa disciples. Narottama Thākura, who was a Kāyastha by caste, gave initiation to Brāhmaṇas like Gaṅgānārāyaṇa Chakravartī, Rāmakṛishṇa Chakravartī and Dvija Basanta.<sup>6</sup> In Mahārāshṭra Tukārām, a Śūdra saint in the seventeenth century, likewise made some Brāhmaṇa disciples. Similarly in Assam Śaṅkaradeva and his principal disciple, Mādhavadeva, were Kāyasthas by birth, but recruited many disciples including Brāhmaṇas. They had to face, however, severe opposition from the Brāhmaṇas. Many of the Brāhmaṇa disciples of Mādhavadeva such as Gopāl Deb, Hari Deb and Dāmodar Deb seceded from him in the seventeenth century and founded separate communities. They became known as Bāmuniā Gosāins. They insisted on the strict observance of the caste system and refused to admit the authority of any but a Brāhmaṇa to give spiritual initiation. They seem to have made a compromise with the Śakti cult as is indicated by their taking of the flesh of goats, pigeons and ducks.<sup>7</sup>

A great saint like Tulsīdās also appeared in the role of champion of the exclusive rights of the Brāhmaṇas to be spiritual teachers.

While describing the conduct of people in the *Kali* age he sarcastically remarks that the Śūdras contend against the Brāhmaṇas and assert that they are in no way inferior to the Brāhmaṇas and further allege that the real Brāhmaṇas are those who know the Brahman. He states with evident regret that the Śūdras now impart knowledge to the Brāhmaṇas, take the sacred thread and accept reprehensible gifts. He further adds that those who belong to the lowest castes like oilmen, potters, Chaṇḍālas, Kirātas, Kols and Kalwar, or those who have lost their wife or property, get their head shaved and become Sannyāsis; they get their feet worshipped by Brāhmaṇas and thus destroy their prospects in this as well as in the other world. Finally he remarks ruefully that the Śūdras presume to perform *japa*, austerities and *vratas* and to teach the *Purāṇas* from an exalted seat.<sup>8</sup> This is certainly a fling at the popularity of Ravidās, the shoe-maker, Dharmā the Jāt, Sena the barber and other religious teachers belonging to the non-Brāhmaṇa castes.

The writers of *Nibandhas* made determined efforts to prevent the non-Brāhmaṇas from usurping their rights and privileges. They stoutly refused to concede to the Śūdras the right to worship the *Śālagrāma-silā*. Kamalākara Bhaṭṭa, who flourished in Mahārāshṭra in the seventeenth century, had considerable sympathy for the Śūdras. But he, too, stated that the Śūdras should not read the *Purāṇas* themselves but should engage Brāhmaṇas to expound these.<sup>9</sup> But Lakshmīdhara in the first quarter of the twelfth century had recognised the right of the Śūdras to read the *Purāṇas* and recite the Paurāṇic *mantras*. Kamalākara allowed the Śūdras only to repeat the thirteen-lettered Rāma-mantra (*Śrī Rāma, jaya Rāma, jaya jaya Rāma*) and five-lettered Śiva-mantra (*Namaḥ Śivāya*). Both Raghunandana of eastern India and Kamalākara of western India allowed the Śūdras to perform *Vratas* and make gifts to Brāhmaṇas, but they prohibited them from reciting the appropriate *mantras* which were to be uttered by the priest, while his unfortunate client was simply allowed to repeat the word *Namaḥ* (Obeisance).<sup>10</sup>

Raghunandana of Navadvīpa (Nadia), who introduced himself as the son of Harihara Bhattacharyya belonging to the Vandyaghaṭīya section, was the greatest of digest-writers on Dharmaśāstra in the sixteenth century. He wrote as many as twenty-eight works on different aspects of the social and religious life of the Hindus and all these are collectively known as the *Smṛititattva*. He appears to have been indebted to his teacher Śrīnātha Āchārya Chūḍāmaṇi (c. 1470-1540 A.D.) for some of the titles of his books. In his

*Jyotishtattva* he illustrates a certain proposition by referring to the Śaka year 1489 (1567 A.D.) and it shows that he must have been alive up to that year at least. In less than half a century his authority was recognised all over northern and western India, as is proved by his views having been quoted in the *Nirṇayasindhu* written by Kamalākara Bhaṭṭa in 1612 A.D. Raghunandana was a valiant champion of the rights of the Brāhmaṇas. This may be illustrated by a simple example. It is stated in the *Agastya-Saṁhitā* that a person's worshipping of the deity becomes fruitless if he offers flowers from trees and plants owned by another person without securing his permission.<sup>11</sup> Raghunandana states in his *Āhnikatattva* as well as the *Ekādaśītattva* that this dictum is not applicable to the twice-born classes.<sup>12</sup> He thus gives a free license to the twice-born castes to take away flowers from other people's gardens without taking the permission of the proprietor.

To Raghunandana the Brāhmaṇas were the only twice-born caste. Citing the authority of the *Manusāṁhitā* and the *Vishṇu Purāṇa* he came to the conclusion that the Kshatriyas had ceased to exist ever since the time of Mahāpadma Nanda and like the Kshatriyas the Vaiśyas and Ambashṭhas too had become Śūdras on account of non-performance of appropriate duties.<sup>13</sup> Thus the Hindus, according to him, were classified into two categories—the Brāhmaṇas and Śūdras. Kamalākara Bhaṭṭa accepted this theory,<sup>14</sup> though Keśava Paṇḍit, who was associated with the Judicial Department under Shivājī, Shambhūjī and Rājārām, recognised the existence of the Kshatriyas and Vaiśyas and prescribed different penalties for reviling persons of different castes. In Orissa, too, the law-book attributed to Pratāparudra ordained difference in the degree of penalty to be awarded to the Kshatriyas and Vaiśyas for slander and libel.<sup>15</sup> Anantadeva, whose patron Bāz Bahādur ruled over Almora and Nainital from 1638 to 1678 A.D., defines a *grāma* or village as a place inhabited by Brāhmaṇas and Śūdras, and a *purī* or town as one where besides the above mentioned castes, the Kshatriyas also reside. A *pattana*, according to him, is one in which the Kshatriyas, duly installed, and the Vaiśyas, fit to carry on business, dwell together. A *Kheṭa* is one where the three higher castes reside and live upon agriculture; a *nagara* is one where all the castes including the mixed ones reside and the area of which is four times that of an ordinary *Kheṭa*.<sup>16</sup>

This question assumed great importance during the reign of Shivājī. With the support of Gāgābhaṭṭa, Shivājī succeeded in restoring to the Syennavis, Chandrasenīyas, Kāyasthas, Marāṭhās and some other castes the rights and privileges of *Shoḍasa-Saṁskāras*.

Raghunandana conceded only one *Samskāra*, namely marriage, to the Śūdras.<sup>17</sup> In a royal decree, dated 28 January, 1677, Shivāji called himself a Kshatriya and referred to the Vaiśyas also.<sup>18</sup> All these go to show that Raghunandana's theory about the existence of the Brāhmaṇas and Śūdras only in the Hindu religious fold was not accepted by many. Raghunandana wrote a special book entitled *Śūdrakriyā-Vichāra-tattva* for ascertaining the religious rites and ceremonies which the Śūdras were entitled to perform.

(c) *The Tāntrik Cults*

The Tantras did not make much discrimination between the Brāhmaṇas and non-Brāhmaṇas in the spiritual sphere. They admitted the right of all classes to the Tāntrik *Gāyatrī* and *Sandhyā*. All were entitled to read the Tantras and recite the Tāntrik *mantras*. But it must be admitted that the Tantras recognised castes for all secular purposes.<sup>19</sup>

Tāntricism had fallen into disrepute in the early middle age. But earnest and sustained efforts were made in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to purge it of baser elements. The *Kāmā-khyā Tantra* classifies the Tāntrik worshippers into three groups—the *Divyas*, *Vīras* and *Paśus*. Men with the *Divya* disposition are contented, fearless, truthful, attentive to all and loved by all. They have been compared to Śiva. Those who are of *Vīra* disposition are so strong, vigorous, courageous and enterprising as to inspire fear in the minds of the *Paśus*, who are slaves to the six passions, namely lust, anger, greed, pride, illusion and envy. According to the *Kulārṇava Tantra*, the *Śakti* of the *paśu* is not awakened. The same Tantra explains the true significance of the much abused five M's (*pañcha-makāra*). The nectar which flows from the union of the Kuṇḍaliṇī *śakti* with Śiva at the *sahasrāra* in the head is true wine. He who kills by the sword of *jñāna* the animals of merit and demerit and devotes his mind to the supreme Śiva is the true eater of flesh. He who controls all his senses and places them in his *Ātman* truly takes fish. He who is permeated by the bliss which arises out of the union of the supreme *śakti* and *Ātman*, enjoys the true union; others are mere fornicators.<sup>20</sup> That this is not a mere idealised picture is proved by Muhsin Fānī, an acute Muslim observer, who states that in 1623 A.D. he migrated in his infancy from Patna to Akbarābād with his relatives and came under the influence of Chaturvāpāh (d. 1637) and his disciple Gaṇeśa.<sup>21</sup> He writes that when a learned *śākta* was shown a statement in a book counselling immorality, he said that the text was contrary to custom and no such thing was to be found in the ancient books.

The Muslim author refers to a class of Śāktas who never drink wine and never indulge in adultery.<sup>22</sup>

A number of saintly scholars produced a number of Tāntric treatises during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Thus Mahīdhara, a citizen of Ahichhatra settled at Vārāṇasī, wrote the *Mantra-mahodadhī* in 1589 A.D. Brahmānanda Giri, the celebrated author of the *Śāktānanda-taraṅgiṇī* and *Tārā-rahasya* must have been earlier than him, because his disciple Pūrṇānanda's *Śāktakrama* was written in 1571 A.D. Brahmānanda elaborates the various rites to be performed in the course of the worship of Śakti. Pūrṇānanda was a more voluminous writer. His treatises covered subjects ranging from abstruse philosophy to magical rites in connection with the Tāntrik ceremonies. He was born in a village Katihali, in the Mymensingh district of Bangladesh. He made many disciples in East and North Bengal and his descendants held the position of hereditary *gurūs* for many generations. Another Tāntric writer of the sixteenth century was Śaṅkara of Gauḍa (Bengal) who bore the title of Āgamāchārya. In his *Tārā-rahasya-varttika* he explains the mode of worshipping Tārā with special reference to the method of initiation and purification.<sup>22a</sup> The most famous author of this sect was Kṛishṇānanda Āgamavāgīśa of Navadvīpa. His *Tāntrasāra* is a work of high authority not only in Bengal but also in the whole of northern India. As he quotes from Pūrṇānanda's *Śrītattva-chintāmaṇi*<sup>23</sup> which was written in 1577 A.D., he must have flourished some time after that date. Ramātoṣhaṇa Vidyālakṣmīkāra who compiled the *Prāṇa-toṣhaṇī-tantra* in 1820, was seventh in descent from Kṛishṇānanda; it may therefore be presumed that the latter flourished in the seventeenth century.<sup>24</sup> Those who hold that he was a contemporary of Chaitanya depend on uncorroborated legends. Another Bengali writer on the Tantras was Raghunātha Tarkavāgīśa who wrote the *Āgama-tattva-vilāsa* at Napāḍā in Āndul near Calcutta in 1687 A.D. Though north-western India in earlier times and north-eastern India in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries happened to be citadels of Tāntricism, yet other parts of India were not free from its influence. A Brāhmaṇa of the Kāñchī region, named Śrīnivāsa Bhaṭṭa Gosvāmin went on pilgrimage to Jālandhara and was initiated by a Tāntrik preceptor, Sundarāchārya, who asked him to settle down at Vārāṇasī. He wrote several works on the method of worshipping Śiva, Chaṇḍī, Gaṇeśa, Viṣṇu and Sūrya. His son Jagannivāsa became the spiritual preceptor of a number of ruling chiefs, of whom the most notable was Devīsimha of Bundel. Jaitrasimha

of the Vāghela dynasty was the author of a work relating to the method of worshipping Bhairava.

Not only the Śaivas and Śāktas but also the Vaishṇavas drew upon the Tantras. Sanātana Gosvāmin relates how one of the heroes of his *Bṛihat-Bhāgavatāmṛita*, an ignorant Brāhmaṇa of Prāgjyotiṣapura, used to worship the goddess Kāmākṣhyā sincerely. The goddess revealed to him in a dream the ten-lettered *Gopāla-mantra* and instructed him how to meditate on it, as well as the way of performing worship.<sup>25</sup> It is worth noting that this is the very *mantra* with which Īśvara-Purī initiated Chaitanya at Gayā. Sanātana Gosvāmin in his commentary on the tenth Book of the *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa* has cited the authority of the *Trailokya Sammohana-tantra*<sup>26</sup> and the *Rudra-Yāmala-tantra*.<sup>27</sup> Gopāla Bhaṭṭa has quoted the authority of many of the Tantras like the *Gautamīya Tantra*,<sup>28</sup> *Trailokya-Sammohana-Tantra*,<sup>29</sup> *Nārada Tantra*,<sup>30</sup> *Sammohana Tantra*<sup>31</sup> and *Sanatkumāra Tantra*.<sup>32</sup>

The Śākta *Pīṭhas* or holy places were originally four or seven in number, but these were spread over the whole of India. When Kṛishṇānanda Āgamavāgīśa wrote his *Tāntrasāra*, the number swelled to fifty-one, of which only two were located in Bengal. But the *Pīṭhanirṇaya*, written probably in Bengal towards the end of the seventeenth or the beginning of the eighteenth century, claims nearly one-third of the total number of *Pīṭhas* for Bengal alone.<sup>33</sup> This probably illustrates the popularity of the Śākta cult in Bengal. This is also supported by Mukundarāma Chakravartī, who mentions a large number of places associated with the Śakti cult in his *Chaṇḍī-maṅgala*,<sup>34</sup> written towards the close of the sixteenth century. The poet's grandfather was a strict vegetarian, his village deity was Chakrāditya and he begins his work with hymns to Gaṇeśa, Śiva, Sarasvatī, Chaitanya, Rāma, Lakshmī, Chaṇḍī and Śukadeva Gosvāmin. Though his ostensible object was glorifying Chaṇḍī, he did not miss any opportunity of praising the Vaishṇavas and their tenets.<sup>35</sup>

Despite the serious attempts of learned scholars and holy ascetics to reform the Tāntrik Śakti cult, certain sections of people continued to follow the path of sensual enjoyment in the name of religion. Kāśīnātha Bhaṭṭa Bhaḍa, alias Śivānandanātha, who flourished at Vārāṇasī in the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries had to write a series of books to refute the *Vāmāchāra* or the Leftist doctrines and practices which, according to him, were widely prevalent in those days. He, however, claimed to have established the *Dakṣhiṇāchāra* or the Rightist form of worship on a firm footing.<sup>36</sup>

The Aghorepanthīs whose horrible practices were condemned by Bhavabhūti and Rājaśekhara continued to exist even up to the seventeenth century. A revolting account of their most abominable ways of life has been given in the *Dabīstān*.<sup>37</sup>

(d) *The Śaivas*

No new movement appears to have arisen amongst the Śaivas during the period under survey. But a large proportion of the people continued to be followers of Śaivism. Appayya Dīkṣhita (1520-1592), the famous author of more than one hundred works on diverse subjects, attempted to build up a synthesis between Vedāntic monism, Śaivism and the Siddhānta or Āgama schools. His synthetic doctrine known as the *Ratna-traya-parīkshā* seeks to establish the identity of Śaṅkara-Pārvatī and Śaṅkara-Nārāyaṇa concepts. He lived under the patronage of the Nāyakas of Vellore. Tāyumanavar, a famous Śaiva saint of the seventeenth century, also preached the unity between the Vedānta and the Śaiva Siddhānta. He was a high official in the court of the Nāyaka ruler of Tiruchirappalli. It is said that as the widowed queen offered herself and the kingdom to him he gave her noble advice and left the kingdom in search of spiritual life. A group of five great saints, namely Śivaprakāśa I, Śāntaliṅga, Kumāradeva, Śivaprakāśa II and Chidambara Svāmin, all belonging to the Vīraśaiva or Liṅgāyata sect, flourished in the seventeenth century and composed beautiful hymns and scholarly treatises.

Some of the Śaivas in the sixteenth century practised *satyāgraha* and self-immolation in defence of their religious beliefs. Fr. N. Pimenta relates that he saw with his own eyes a group of Śaiva priests at Chidambaram offering resistance to Krishṇappā Nāyaka of Gingee in 1597, when the latter placed a gilded pole called Sign of Perimal at the Govindarāja shrine there. As the prince did not care to yield to their opposition, they climbed the towers and 'cast themselves down' in his presence and twenty of them died instantaneously. At this Kṛishṇappā got angry and ordered the rest of the priests to be killed. Two of them thus lost their life and seeing this a woman 'cut her own throat'.<sup>38</sup>

In Bengal Śaivism in its popular form underwent a remarkable change. The tribal deity of the aboriginal Koch tribe in North Bengal appears to have been identified with Rudra-Śiva in this period. Mukundarāma Chakravartī slightly touches upon the infatuation of the Koch women for Śiva. This theme has been elaborated with great gusto by Rāmeśvara, a poet of the early eighteenth century, in his *Śivāyaṇa*. The same poet has depicted Śiva

as a peasant cultivator, because his wife Pārvatī failed to supply adequate food to her sons out of the alms secured by him.

(e) *Contending Religious Forces in Eastern India*

Assam, Cooch Behar and Tripura were strongholds of the Śakti cult. Human beings used to be sacrificed on special occasions in all these places. Gait quotes the authority of the *Haft Iqlim* to show that some Ahoms used to offer themselves for sacrifice to a tribal goddess called Ai at the time of her annual festival. Such people were known as Bhogīs. They were allowed to do whatever they liked from the day they expressed their desire to sacrifice their life. Rich and nourishing food was supplied to them with a view to making their body plump, as the goddess was supposed to have been specially pleased with such victims.<sup>39</sup> Rājā Nara Nārāyaṇa of Cooch Behar (c. 1555-87 A.D.) erected a new temple of Kāmākhyā and on the day of its consecration sacrificed as many as one hundred and forty men and offered their heads to the goddess on copper salvers.<sup>40</sup> The *Rājamālā* states that Mahārājā Dhanyamāṇikya of Tripura (c. 1490-1514 A.D.) stopped the practice of sacrificing annually one thousand human beings before the fourteen gods and goddesses, that is Śiva, Durgā, Hari, Lakshmī, Sarasvatī, Kārtika, Gaṇeśa, Brahmā, the Earth, Sea, Ganges, Fire, Kāmadeva and the Himālayas, the titular deities of the royal family of Tripura. He ordained that only the worst criminals and captives of war should be offered as sacrifices. Rājadhara, son of Amaramāṇikya, who ruled between 1586 and 1600, became a convert to Vaishṇavism. He built an excellent temple of Viṣṇu and engaged singers to sing *kīrtana* songs all the twenty-four hours. According to the tradition current in the Nityānanda family it was Gopījanavallabha, the son of Vīrabhadra, who took the lead in introducing Vaishṇavism in Tripura. Bloody sacrifices, however, did not cease till Govindamāṇikya took effective steps to prevent them in the second half of the seventeenth century.

Śaṅkaradeva, born about 1487 A.D.<sup>41</sup> of a Kāyastha family of feudal chiefs of the Brahmaputra valley,<sup>41a</sup> introduced Vaishṇavism in Kāmarūpa and Cooch Behar. His biographers relate that he did not get congenial atmosphere in Assam under the Ahom King Chuhungmung Svargadeo (c. 1497-1539 A.D.) for the propagation of his faith and that he fled to the domains of Rājā Nara Nārāyaṇa of Cooch Behar. The latter allowed him liberty to preach his religion. Mādhavadeva, the greatest of his disciples, met him for the first time in 1522 A.D. and accompanied him to Cooch Behar in 1543. Śaṅkaradeva and Mādhavadeva appear to have attained great

success in their mission in the kingdom of Nara Nārāyaṇa. Fitch who visited his kingdom in the latter part of the sixteenth century writes of the conduct of the people: "There they be gentiles and they will kill nothing. They have hospitals for sheep, goats, dogs, cats, birds and for all living creatures. When they be old and lame they keep them until they die. If a man catch or buy any sick thing in other places and bring it thither, they will give him money for it, or other victuals and keep it in their hospitals or let it go". The Vaishṇava movement attracted some tribal people too. The rulers of the Heramba principality in Cachar became followers of Śaṅkaradeva. Mādhavadeva writes in his *Nām-Ghoshā*: "Garos, Bhutias, Muslims take the name of Hari; it is a pity such *Hari-nāma* is criticised by some of the learned".<sup>42</sup> Some Brāhmaṇas became their disciples but the majority of them remained hostile to them. Rājā Rudra Simha (1696-1714) compelled the Śūdra Gosāins to wear a distinctive badge round their neck and prohibited the Brāhmaṇas from showing reverence to them.

The sect founded by Śaṅkaradeva and Mādhavadeva is known as the Mahāpurushiās. Some European savants imagined them as followers of Chaitanya's school.<sup>43</sup> But there are four fundamental points of difference between the two. Firstly, Śaṅkaradeva considers God as formless and does not believe in image worship, which the Bengal Vaishṇavas consider essential. Secondly, salvation is considered the objective of spiritual life by Śaṅkaradeva while the followers of Chaitanya spurn it and yearn for loving servitude of Rādhā and Kṛishṇa. Thirdly, Śaṅkaradeva does not recognise Rādhā at all. Fourthly, the Bengal Vaishṇavas recite the sixteen names beginning with the words, *Hare Kṛishṇa, Hare Kṛishṇa*, but the Assam Vaishṇavas recite only four names, *Rāma Kṛishṇa, Rāma Kṛishṇa*.<sup>44</sup> The chief centres of propagation of Śaṅkaradeva's religion were the *satras*, or refuge of devotees. At the centre of the *satra* lies the *Nāmaghara*, where either the *Gītā* or the *Bhāgavata* is kept on the pedestal and the holy name is recited.

Śaṅkaradeva led the life of a householder with his wife and children, but Mādhavadeva remained an ascetic. Some time after the latter's death in 1596 A.D. several sub-sects sprang up. Vamśī Gopāladeva founded a number of *satras* in Upper Assam and installed a stone image of Govinda at Kurua Banhi. His spiritual preceptor, Dāmodaradeva, was the founder of the *Brahma Samhati* or *Bāmuniā* school. Another school was founded by Anirudhadeva, who had to secede from the main body because he could not resist the temptation of introducing some of the occult practices of Tāntricism in the Vaishṇava rituals. Many of his followers were

fishermen, who lived on catching the *moā* fish and hence the name of the sect became *Moā Māriā*, the catchers of *moā* fish. But the apologists of the school explained the name as the *Māyā Māriā* or killer of nescience. The *Thākuriā* sect was organised by Śaṅkaradeva's grandson, Purushottama Ṭhākur, who was originally a follower of Mādhavadeva. Another follower of the latter, named Gopāladeva also seceded and founded the school known as *Kāla Samhati*.

A careful perusal of the *Chaitanya Bhāgavata*, written by Vṛindāvana Dāsa, the last disciple of Nityānanda, some time between 1546 and 1550 A.D., reveals the division of Chaitanya's followers also into various sub-sects. Chaitanya died in 1533 and Nityānanda and Advaita must have passed away some time before the composition of this work. This author states that an attempt was made by some people to identify Advaita with Kṛishṇa.<sup>45</sup> At another place he says that those who neglect Chaitanya and worship Advaita are doomed, be they even the sons of Advaita.<sup>46</sup> A rift was noticeable between the followers of Gaṅgādhara and those of Advaita.<sup>47</sup> The number of traducers of Nityānanda was so large that Vṛindāvana Dāsa had to undertake the writing of this work mainly with a view to extolling his virtues. Nityānanda did not observe any of the social conventions. This might be one of the reasons why Rūpa Gosvāmin and Raghunātha Dāsa did not mention his name in any of their works. Vṛindāvana Dāsa severely condemns those who do not show proper respect to Nityānanda. He also deprecates the section of devotees who take delight in describing Chaitanya as a lover of women like Kṛishṇa. Narahari Sarkār of Śrīkhaṇḍa was the chief protagonist of such a section and that is why Vṛindāvana Dāsa does not mention his name even once in his book. Narahari also took the lead in initiating his followers with the *mantra* associated with the name of Chaitanya. The theology of the Bengal Vaiṣṇavas was formulated at Vṛindāvana by the six Gosvāmīs, Sanātana and Rūpa and their nephew Jīva, Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, Raghunātha Bhaṭṭa and Raghunātha Dāsa. These Gosvāmīs drew their inspiration from Chaitanya indeed, but they inculcated the doctrine of worshipping Rādhā and Kṛishṇa. To them Chaitanya was more a means to an end than an end in himself. Their works were brought from Vṛindāvana to Bengal by Śrīnivāsa Āchārya, the disciple of Gopāla Bhaṭṭa. Śrīnivāsa was able to convert Vīra Hāmbīr, the powerful ruler of Bishnupur in the district of Bankura in the last quarter of the sixteenth century.

Vīra Hāmbīr constructed some magnificent temples dedicated to Kṛishṇa at Bishnupur and composed a few beautiful lyrics in

Bengali. In one of these poems he states that it was Śrīnivāsa Āchārya who showed him the way of devotional life and made him discard the princely arrogance.<sup>48</sup> But history relates that he did not give up fighting, sometimes on behalf of the Mughuls and occasionally against them, even as late as 1608. Narottama Ṭhākur and Śyāmānanda, two of the associates of Śrīnivāsa Āchārya, took prominent part in propagating Vaishṇavism in Bengal and Orissa respectively. The former brought about a synthesis between the different schools of Bengal Vaishṇavism and held a grand festival at Khetari about the year 1582 A.D. to signalise the fact. The images of Rādhā and Kṛishṇa along with those of Chaitanya and his two wives were installed there on the anniversary of the birthday of Chaitanya. Narottama also introduced the *Gaḍāṅhāṭī* school of *Kīrtana* song on that occasion. Jāhṇavā Devī, widow of Nityānanda, was accepted as the undisputed leader of the vast congregation of the Vaishṇavas. It was at her instance that the various religious ceremonies were performed. She undertook three trips to Vṛindāvana and was received with unique honour by the Vaishṇava authors and preceptors there. She is credited with propagating the religion in the localities through which she passed.<sup>49</sup> Sītā Devī, the wife of Advaita, did not come out of the *pardah* but she, too, introduced a new sub-sect in which the male devotees took the garb of women. Buchanan Hamilton found the chief seat of the Sakhībhāva Vaishṇavas at Jangalitala near Gauḍa and discovered that it was established by Sītā Ṭhākuraṅī, who initiated two male disciples and named them Jaṅgalī and Nandinī.<sup>50</sup> He noticed that the sect was popular amongst the lower order of the people.

Biographies and accounts of Vaishṇavas written in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries reveal that out of the 490 leading followers of Chaitanya there were as many as 239 Brāhmaṇas, 37 Vaidyas and 29 Kāyasthas.<sup>51</sup> But the majority of the rank and file of the Bengal Vaishṇavas belonged to other castes, residing mainly in West Bengal and North Bengal. Vaishṇavism was carried to East Bengal by the followers of Narottama Ṭhākur later on. An eminent historian states that Chaitanya took up the noble mission of improving the lot of the lower castes and untouchables by bringing them in his fold and according them equal status with the so-called higher castes.<sup>52</sup> This is why the whole of the prosperous merchant class known as the Suvarṇavaṇīks which had been degraded by Ballālasena out of spite accepted Vaishṇavism. But the virile Namaśūdra or Chaṇḍāla caste residing in East Bengal continued to be votaries of the Śakti cult. Many influential Brāhmaṇas, Vaidyas and Kāyasthas, too, remained attached to Śāktism.

Some cases of conversion of high caste Śāktas to Vaishṇavism are described in the *Premavilāsa*, *Bhakti-ratnākara* and *Narottamavilāsa*, but these must have been exceptional. At the same time it is worth noting that Brāhmaṇa poets like Mukundarāma Chakravartī in his *Chañḍī-maṅgala*, Rūparāma Chakravartī in his *Dharmamaṅgala* and a Kāyastha poet like Ketakadāsa Kshemānanda in his *Manasā-maṅgala* have made obeisance to Chaitanya and to his Vaiṣṇava followers. Both the Śāktas and the Śaivas rendered homage to Manasā, the goddess of snakes, Śītalā, the goddess of small-pox, Shashṭhī, the patron goddess of children, and to Dharma, who is supposed to have been the incarnation of Buddha. Some of the Buddhist Sahajiyās became Vaishṇava Sahajiyās. Some of the earliest works of the latter were written in the seventeenth century. Thus Rasika-dāsa composed the *Rasatattva-sāra* in the first quarter of the seventeenth century, Akiñchana-dāsa wrote the *Vivartavilāsa* in the middle of the century and the *Āgama* was copied in 1688.<sup>53</sup> These works extol extra-marital love and hold that the union of the human and divine is literally possible.<sup>54</sup>

In Orissa the Brāhmaṇas were attached more to the cults of Śakti and Śiva than to Vaishṇavism. The existence of the Gopīnātha temple at Remuna and the Janārdana temple at Alalnātha proves that Vaishṇavism had some followers in Orissa before the advent of Chaitanya. Rāi Rāmānanda wrote the drama *Jagannātha-maṅgala*, depicting the love of Rādhā and Kṛishṇa before he met Chaitanya. Gopījanavallabha in his *Rasika-maṅgala*, written in 1660 A.D., states that the masses of people as well as the feudal chieftains were addicted to wine, women and other vices, and they were hostile to the *kīrtana* song and to the Vaishṇavas, whom they drove away from villages.<sup>55</sup> If this description is to be relied on, the conclusion becomes inevitable that Vaishṇavism could not make much progress during the lifetime of Chaitanya. Five great poets of Orissa, namely, Jagannātha-dāsa, Balarāma-dāsa, Achyutānanda, Ananta and Yaśovanta-dāsa, were collectively known as the Pañchaskhās or five friends. In the *Śūnya-saṁhitā*, written by Achyutānanda it is related that all of them danced and performed *kīrtana* song in the company of Chaitanya.<sup>56</sup> Some of them are said to have been initiated by Chaitanya, Nityānanda and Sanātana Gosvāmin. But the internal evidence furnished by their writings shows that they were crypto-Buddhists. There were some fundamental points of difference in the doctrine and mode of worship between them and the Bengal school of Vaishṇavism. The sub-sect founded by Jagannātha-dāsa is known as the *Ati-baḍī* (too great) sect. The Oriyas claim that this appellation was given by Chaitanya in appreciation

of the *Bhāgavata* written by Jagannātha-dāsa<sup>57</sup>, but the Bengali Vaishṇavas treat it as a term of deprecation.<sup>58</sup>

The credit of making Chaitanyaism popular in Orissa goes to Śyāmānanda and his disciple Rasikānanda. The former was a Sadgopa and the latter a Karaṇa by caste. Śyāmānanda studied the Vaiṣṇava scriptures at Vṛindāvana under Jīva Gosvāmin. Rasikānanda converted a number of feudal lords, the chief of whom was Vaidyānāth Bhañjdeo of Rājgarh. Not only the Hindus but also many aborigines and a few Muslims became converts to Vaishṇavism.<sup>59</sup>

#### (f) *Vaishṇavism in Northern India*

A great wave of Vaishṇavism passed through the length and breadth of northern India in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It was much more emotional than the movement which originated in southern India in earlier centuries. According to the Vallabhāchāri sect the area between Vārāṇasī and Prayāga was the citadel of the Śakti cult before the advent of their Master.<sup>60</sup> But a remarkable change took place not only in this area but also in the whole of Northern India on account of the activities of disciples and admirers of Vallabhāchārya, Hita Harivamśa, Haridāsa Svāmī, Śrībhaṭṭa and, above all, of Tulsīdāsa.

The *Pushṭimārga* or religion of grace set up by Vallabhāchārya (1479-1531) was fully organised and developed by his son Viṭṭhalanātha (1516-1576). While Vallabha laid emphasis on serving Kṛishna mentally<sup>61</sup>, Viṭṭhala introduced the practice of worshipping the deity eight times a day with vocal and instrumental music and offering him daintiest food. Vallabha has not mentioned the name of Rādhā in his *Kṛishṇāśraya* and *Chatuḥślokī*, though her name occurs in the *Kṛishṇa-premāmṛita*, *Kṛishṇāśṭaka* and *Purushottama-sahasra-stotra*, ascribed to him. Viṭṭhala is extremely devoted to Rādhā. He says that it is through her grace that one is able to perform worship and meditation. He holds the sweet speech of Rādhā dearer than salvation itself<sup>62</sup>. He engaged Kumbhan-dāsa, Surdās, Paramānanda-dāsa and Kṛishṇa-dāsa, four of the disciples of his father, and Govindasvāmī, Chhitasvāmī, Chaturbhuja-dāsa and Nanda-dāsa, four of his own disciples, to compose and sing songs celebrating the love of Rādhā and Kṛishṇa. These eight prominent poets became collectively known as the *Ashṭa-chhāpa* or the *Eight Die-stamps* producing coins in the shape of poems.<sup>63</sup> Viṭṭhala undertook extensive proselytising tours to Dvārakā, Cutch, Mālwa, Mewār and other parts of Rājasthān and Gujarāt and made innumerable disciples. Of these, two hundred and fifty-two were most prominent and their life is described in a big work. Viṭṭhalanātha finally settled

down at Gokul. He had seven sons and four daughters. His fourth son, Gokulanāthjī (1552-1610) was a gifted author and commentator. His most notable work is the *Chaurāsī Vārtā*. Each of the seven sons of Viṭṭhala established his *gaddi* or own seat of teaching in Rājasthān, Gujarāt and the neighbourhood of Mathurā, and helped to diffuse the teachings of the sect. The profession of spiritual teacher became strictly hereditary amongst the male descendants of Viṭṭhalanātha. In most of the temples of the sect the child Kṛishṇa is worshipped.<sup>64</sup>

The most prominent poet of the sect is Surdās (c. 1478-1581). From his own writing we learn that he completed his *Sur-sārāvalī* in 1545 A.D. when he was sixty-seven years old. Vallabha depicts Rādhā as the eternal spouse of Kṛishṇa. Surdās gives an elaborate description of the marriage of Rādhā with Kṛishṇa, but she is not portrayed as settling down to conjugal life, exhibiting the wifely virtues like Sītā or Sāvitrī. This is why her marriage with Kṛishṇa has been called a marriage of theological convenience, for it makes their relationship more proper.<sup>65</sup> Unlike the Gauḍīya Vaishṇava poets, Surdās takes delight in describing the manifestation of the supreme powers of Kṛishṇa in his sports with friends of both the sexes. His Kṛishṇa tells Rādhā: "Living in Vraja, you have forgotten yourself; know that *Prakṛiti* and *Purusha* are the same, there is a difference only in word".<sup>66</sup> To the poets and theologians of the Chaitanyaite sect Rādhā is the *hlādinī śakti* (the energy of infinite bliss) of Kṛishṇa.

The Rādhā-Vallabhī sect, founded by Hita Harivaṁśa (c. 1503-1553), assigns to Rādhā a place superior even to Kṛishṇa. Those who are content with the love of Kṛishṇa and do not know Rādhā are satisfied with a mere drop of nectar while neglecting the ocean of nectar, which is Rādhā.<sup>67</sup> Commenting on this verse by the founder of the sect, Harilāl Vyāsa says that Rādhā is the only object of worship; she is the spiritual preceptor and also the *mantra* itself. Farquhar relates that one of the votaries of the sect told him: "Kṛishṇa is the servant of Rādhā. He may do the coolie-work of building the world, but Rādhā sits as queen. He is at best but her Secretary of State".<sup>68</sup> The Gauḍīya Vaishṇavas hold that Hita Harivaṁśa was originally a disciple of Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, but as he took the food offered to the deities on the day of fasting he was discarded. The temple of Rādhā Vallabha at Vṛindāvana was constructed in 1585 A.D., according to an inscription which is missing. But an inscription on one of the pillars of the temple gives the date as 1626 A.D. The plan of the temple is much the same as that of Harideva of Govardhan, which was visited by Chaitanya, though it is on a

much larger scale. Muhsin Fānī wrote in the middle of the seventeenth century that the Rādhā-Vallabhīs “deliver their wives to the disposition of their preceptors and masters and hold this praiseworthy”.<sup>69</sup> But this writer must have confused the Rādhā-Vallabhī sect with the sect of Vallabhāchārya. The latter has been held up to ridicule for such a practice in a dramatic work in Sanskrit, entitled *Pākhaṇḍa Dharma Khaṇḍana*, written in 1639 A.D. It is stated in this work that the “chief religion of the worshippers of Vallabha is the offering of one’s son, daughter and wife—not the worship of Brāhmaṇas learned in the Vedas, not the observance of hospitality, the *Śrāddhas* and the *Vratas*”. Much reliance, however, cannot be placed on such writings. Tod in his *Annals and Antiquities of Rājasthān* speaks highly of Dāmodara, the head of the sect in Marwar and writes: “his conduct and character are amiable and unexceptionable”.

Another Vaishṇava sect was founded by Haridāsa-svāmī, the spiritual preceptor of the celebrated musician Tānsen. The *Bhāk-Sindhu* states that Haridāsa was born in Samvat 1441 and died in 1537 and at the same time describes him as a contemporary of Akbar. If we take the word *Samvat* for the *Śaka*, his dates will fall between 1519 and 1615 A.D. Growse showed that as there followed only eight Mahants after Haridāsa up to the *Samvat* 1825, Haridāsa must have flourished at the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth century.<sup>70</sup> The *Bhaktamāla* describes him as a veritable Gandharva for his melodious songs. Akbar is said to have visited him with presents. Nābhājī writes that at his door a king stood waiting in hope of an interview. The famous temple of Bihārījī or Bānke Bihārījī belongs to this sect and it is visited by more people than any other temple at Vṛindāvana. In 1876 Growse found some five hundred descendants of Svāmī Haridāsa managing this temple.

The Rāma cult popularised by Rāmānanda found its greatest poet in Tulsīdāsa (1532-1623). He did not establish any sect nor did he set up any big temple. But his *Rāmacharita Mānasa* (1574) exerts a much greater influence in moulding the religion of the people of the Hindi-speaking regions than any other book or religious reformer. He also wrote eleven other works. The writer of the *Dabīstān* found the followers of Rāma cult purer in character than the devotees of Kṛishṇa.<sup>71</sup>

This author mentions a sect known as the *Manushya Bhaktas* or worshippers of mankind. They knew no being more perfect than mankind<sup>72</sup> and recognised the being of God in man. Such an idea occurs in a poem ascribed to the Bengali poet Chaṇḍīdāsa. But the idea is as old as the *Mahābhārata* itself.<sup>73</sup>

(g) *Bhakti movement in Western India*

The Bhakti movement in Western India, which had become powerful at the time of Jñaneśvara, received a new impetus in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.<sup>74</sup> One of its greatest exponents was Eknāth who completed his brilliant exposition of the eleventh book of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* in 1572 A.D. His date has been discussed above (p. 630, f.n. 19). He expounded the *Chatuḥślokī Bhāgavata* in 1036 verses and also composed twenty-six *abhaṅgas* called *Haripāṭh*. These works proved a great spiritual force in Mahārāshṭra and helped to create there a sense of unity amongst different classes in society. Though a Brāhmaṇa by caste, he proved a champion of equality of rights in the spiritual sphere and a great advocate of the popular dialect. He sings the glory of the *Kali* age, which has been condemned as an accursed age by the orthodox writers: "Blessed is this *Kali* age, in spite of its wickedness, because we can attain salvation simply by singing the glory of Hari. All castes, all creeds, assemble together and praise the Lord according to their knowledge and faith. Your sex or caste does not count.... This *kīrtana* is the privilege of the lowest and meanest person. It will deepen your faith and strengthen your spirit. Even the happiness of *mukti* sinks into insignificance before the ecstasy of *kīrtana*".<sup>75</sup> These words strongly recall the preachings of Chaitanya. Eknāth once gave to the Mahārs the food prepared as an offering to his forefathers. The influence he exercised on all classes of people was extraordinary. For example, Ramāvallabha-dās, son of the Prime Minister of Devagiri, happened to get a copy of his *Bhāgavata* during a raid on a place and considering this as a divine favour he gave himself up entirely to religious meditation.<sup>76</sup>

Tukārām (1608-1649) has been called the supreme exponent of *Bhakti* in Mahārāshṭra. He was a great devotee of Rāma and performed *kīrtana* consisting of religious discourses interspersed with songs which attracted crowds of people. The songs were mostly composed by Tukārām himself in a metre known by the name of *Abhaṅg*. Hundreds of his *Abhaṅgs* have been collected and published. Their teaching is that God is to be attained by devoted love and by no other means. In several of his *abhaṅgs* he thanks God that he was born in the Śūdra caste and during a famine lost his money and one of his wives was crying for food.<sup>77</sup> In another *abhaṅg* he writes: "I was born in a Śūdra family, thus was set free from all pride. Now it is thou who are my father and mother, O Lord of Paṇḍharī. I have no authority to study the Vedas; I am helpless in every way, humble in caste says Tukā". He describes

himself as initiated into Vaishṇavism by a wandering devotee called Bābājī, who said that his predecessors were Rāghava Chaitanya and Keśava Chaitanya.<sup>78</sup> Bahinī Bāī states in her autobiography that her guru Tukārām received initiation from Bābājī Chaitanya, who in his turn got it from Keśava Chaitanya, the disciple of Rāghava Chaitanya.<sup>79</sup> The *guru* of Rāghava was Viśvambhara, which was the name of Chaitanya when he was a householder. As four generations of *gurus* may cover one hundred years, and as the interval between the birth of Tukārām and the assumption of the ascetic's robe by Chaitanya is 102 years, there appears to have been some historic connection between Tukārām and Chaitanya. This hypothesis is strengthened by an *abhang* of Bahinī Bāī, who says, "My line of Guru ancestry is from the great Chaitanya. In remembering his greatness I am also great in heaven. I make my *sāshṭāṅga namaskāra* to him. Let us make our offerings before Sādhu Chaitanya Rājā (which means Chaitanya, the prince among saints). Chaitanya is the all-pervading *sadguru*".<sup>80</sup> Some of the hymns of Tukārām bear a striking resemblance to the last of the eight verses composed by Chaitanya.<sup>81</sup> Tukārām was at first persecuted by the Brahmins but later on some of them like Rāmeśvar Bhaṭṭ, Kacheśvar Kandoba and Gaṅgārām Māvāla Kaduskar became his warm admirers and followers. In the *sanad* granting property to Nārāyaṇarāo, the son of Tukārām, at Dehu, occurs the definite statement that "Tukārām the Gosāvī used to do *pūjā* to the god with his own hand".<sup>82</sup>

A new sect of Rāma worshippers was founded by Dādu, a cotton-cleaner of Ahmadābād, who flourished about the end of Akbar's reign. He inculcates devotion to Rāma and meditation on him. His followers are divided into three classes, viz. the *viraktas* or ascetics, the *nagas* who are bearers of arms and enter into the service of princes, and the *vistaradhārins* who are ordinary house-holders.

Rāmdās (1608-1681), whose original name was Nārāyaṇa, was not associated with the Pandharpur movement. He established a small but powerful sect, worshipping Rāma. He evinced much greater organising ability than any other Marāṭhā saint. He is credited with the setting up of eleven hundred *maṭhs*, many of which had temples attached to them. More than forty of these *maṭhs* exist even today. These became the centres of propagating his religion. Moreover, he and his prominent disciples undertook extensive tours, in the course of which thousands were attracted to his fold. His masterly work, the *Dāsabodh*, proved a source of inspiration to the people of Mahārāshṭra. Shivājī became his disciple and made hand-

some donations for the maintenance of the *maths*. In a letter written in 1678 Shivājī acknowledged his indebtedness to his *Guru* thus: "You instructed me to establish a kingdom and a religion, to worship Brāhmaṇas and deities, to protect the people and relieve them of their sorrows". The headquarters of the Rāmadāsī sect is at Sajjangarh, near Satara. He had many ascetic followers, but he considered family life as the best possible life for any man. He advises the householders to be kind in speech, temperate in habit and unceasing in their devotion.<sup>83</sup> He condemned laziness, gossiping and garrulous spirit. His high ethical teachings helped to build up the Marāṭhā nation. But the sect associated with his name has got only a few thousand followers, while the Pandharpur movement, popularised by Tukārām, is still a great living force.

The Śākta and Śaiva cults were highly popular in Gujarāt in earlier times, but Vaishṇavism gained larger number of followers during the period under survey. The Census of 1891 which was not conducted on a scientific basis, stated that only 2% of the Hindu population in Gujarāt were Jains, 8% Śaivites, mostly Brahmins, 15% were animists and 75% were Vaishṇavites.<sup>84</sup> The sect of Vallabhāchārya has got the largest number of followers amongst the rich trading and cultivator classes. Gopāldās, a disciple of Viṭṭhalnāth, wrote the *Vallabhākhyāna*, a poem giving a lucid exposition of the fundamentals of the beliefs and practices of the sect. This work, written in Gujarāṭi, has got commentaries in several other languages and it is read with interest wherever Vallabhism flourishes.<sup>85</sup>

#### (h) *Religious movements in Southern India*

Having given rise to a number of influential religious sects from the seventh to the thirteenth centuries, Southern India appears to have been following the older paths in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The only notable exception is the rise of the Haridāsa or Dāsakūṭa movement in Karṇāṭaka in the sixteenth century. Some scholars trace the origin of the movement to Srīpadarāya (d. 1492), who introduced temple services in the Kannāḍa language in place of Sanskrit. His disciple Vyāsatīrtha or Vyāsarāya (1447-1539) appears to have been the head of the Madhva sect at Udipi when Chaitanya visited the *math*. His disciples first of all began to assume the title of Dāsa.<sup>86</sup> According to Rice the Dāsa poets "received their inspiration from Madhvāchārya and from Chaitanya who, about 1510, visited all the chief shrines of South India, teaching everywhere to chant the name of Hari."<sup>87</sup> Purandara-dāsa (1480-1564), the greatest of the Dāsa poets, emphasised the efficacy of reciting the name of Hari. He composed more than two thousand songs. As Chaitanya and Nityānanda are called the fathers of the

*Kīrtana* song in Bengal, Purandara is called the originator of the Karnāṭaka music. In one of his songs he condemns ostentatious austerities as a mere show for the sake of earning livelihood. He writes: "All acts done without the abandonment of the sense of 'I', without communion with the holy souls, without belief that everything goes on only at the instance of the Lord, and without the vision in silence of the Lord, are merely austerities practised for livelihood". While Purandara was a Brahmin, his contemporary poet Kanakadās was born in the Kurub or caste of hunters. The Brahmins opposed his admission to the company of Vyāsarāya and he wrote pathetically that the lotus born in mud is offered to the feet of god, that the milk produced from the body of the cow is taken by the Brahmins and the musk grown on the body of deer is used in anointing the body of the high-caste persons. The Dāsas used to walk on foot from place to place, singing *kīrtana* songs, exhorting the people to live a life of truth, virtue and devotion to God. They were able to reform the society by the example of their saintly life.<sup>88</sup>

In the famous temple of Guruvayur in South Malabar a saint named Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa composed in about one thousand verses a summary of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* in 1588 A.D. This book, known as *Nārāyaṇīyam*, is widely studied and recited in southern India.

The Dāsa saints refer to Udipi, Śrīrangam and Tirupati as places of pilgrimage. The sanctity of the temple at Tirupati is also testified to by Manucci.<sup>89</sup> The birth-places of some of the medieval saints acquired the status of places of pilgrimage. Thus the temple at Sriperumbudur near which Rāmānuja was born became a centre of attraction for devotees.<sup>90</sup> Alindi and Dehu near Poona have become holy places on account of their association with Jñāneśvara and Tukārām respectively. Similarly Navadvīpa has become a place of pilgrimage for the followers of Chaitanya, who was born there.

#### (i) *Liberal Trends in Hinduism*

While the orthodox Brahmins considered any kind of contact with the Muslims as contamination, the Vaishṇavas welcomed them in their fold. Chaitanya converted not only the famous Muslim saint Haridās but also a few Pāṭhāns, headed by Bijuli Khān.<sup>91</sup> Muhsin Fānī, who does not make any reference to the Bengal Vaishṇavas in his *Dabistān-ul-Majāhab*, writing about the Vairāgīs, says: "Whoever among the Hindus, Mussalmans or others wishes is received into their religion, none are rejected, but on the contrary all are invited."<sup>92</sup> He must have noticed this practice amongst the Vaishṇava ascetics of Upper India. He himself admits that he received the favour of a Hindu saint named Chatur Vāpāḥ.<sup>93</sup> In

1642 A.D. he met another saint, Nārāin Dās, in Lahore and wrote: "A great number of Mussalmans adopted their creed, such as Mirza Saleh and Mirza Haidar, two noble Mussalmans who became Vairāgīs."<sup>94</sup>

A Hindu courtier of Akbar went so far as to produce an apocryphal chapter of the *Atharvaveda* entitled the *Alla Upanishad*. It begins with salutation to Gaṇeśa and the invocation of the mystic *Om*. It states that he who sustains all things and is the bestower of blessings is Allāh, and he is identical with Mitra, Varuṇa and Indra. Akbar is described as a messenger of God and a prophet *rasul* but not *al-rasul*, the prophet.<sup>95</sup> Dārā Shukoh writes in the introduction to his translation of fifty-two Upanishads that some of the most learned *paṇḍits* and *Sannyāsīs* of Banaras explained to him the difficult passages of the Upanishads in A.H. 1067 (A.D. 1656). This is an unmistakable evidence of liberalism on the part of the Hindu scholars.

Some sects arose in the seventeenth century to emphasise the unity of religion between the Hindus and Muslims. Dādū (1544-1603) founded the Parabrahma Sampradāya with a view to uniting different faiths in one bond of love and comradeship. He compiled an anthology of the religious literature of different sects in the closing years of the sixteenth century. Two of his eminent disciples were Sundaradāsa (1597-1689) and Rajjab. Bābā Lāl, a Kshatriya of Mālwa, gave seven interviews to Dārā Shukoh in 1648 and their conversation is recorded in a Persian work entitled *Nadu un mikat*, which appears to be an admixture of the Vedānta and Sūfī doctrines. Another Hindu saint, Prānnāth, who acquired great influence with Chhatraśāl, the Raja of Bundelkhand, went a step further. He composed a book called *Mahitariyal* in which he placed texts from the holy Qur'ān and the Vedas side by side to prove that their tenets are not essentially different. He allowed his Hindu and Muslim disciples to follow the rituals and laws of their respective religions, but insisted on both the Hindus and Muslims dining together at the time of initiation.<sup>96</sup>

Following in the wake of Raidās, the cobbler-saint, Sadhanā, a butcher, attained great reputation as a saint. He used to worship the *Śālagrama-śilā*. Two of his songs are included in the *Granth Sahib*. A robber tribe of Rājasthān called Meo produced the founder of a new sect in Lāldās in the second half of the sixteenth century. His followers, known as Lāldāsīs, do not believe in rituals and they show their devotion in singing and reciting the name of God.<sup>97</sup>

The diverse Hindu sects were usually tolerant to one another during our period of survey. But cases of bitter hostility were not totally unknown. The *Dabīstān* records a case of fierce fighting between the shaven-headed Vairāgīs and the Nāgā Sannyāsīs at Hardwar in 1640. The quarrel must have arisen on the question of precedence in taking the bath in the Ganges on the occasion of the Kumbha Melā. The Nāgā Sannyāsīs killed a number of the Vairāgīs.<sup>98</sup>

## II. THE SIKH RELIGION

It has been mentioned above (pp. 305 ff.) that Sikhism was, to a large extent, a reaction against the oppression of the Muslims to which Nānak, the founder of the sect, was an eye-witness. Another contributing factor was the Bhakti cult which was then at its height in India. Nānak, like other medieval saints, such as Rāmānanda (14th century) Kabīr and Nāmdev (15th century), and Chaitanya (16th century), was a child of this movement. These two factors and forces—Muslim oppression and Bhakti cult—shaped the growth and development of both Sikhism and the Sikh nation.

The same forces may be said to be at work, in greater or less degree, for the other Bhakti movements mentioned above. Thus we find that one of their principal aims was to remove the bitterness then prevailing between the Hindus and Muslims. It may not be a mere coincidence or accident that many of these movements laid great stress on the abolition of idolatry and caste distinctions, which constituted two fundamental differences and causes of provocation and persecution between the two communities. These medieval saints preached that there was only one God and laid stress on the brotherhood of man, resembling, in these respects, their Muslim counterparts, the Sūfīs. They all declared that it does not matter if God was called by any name, Allāh, Khudā, Rām or Hari.

Nānak preached to Hindus and Muslims alike. It was then a blasphemy to equate Hinduism and Islām. But Nānak had malice to none and love for all. To win the confidence of Muslims he would sit in graveyards for hours or even for days in meditation uttering verses in praise of Allāh. He would join prayers in mosques, pointing out to some that their hearts were not concentrated on God, but were wandering in their homes or fields. He explained the significance of their five daily prayers thus: they have five different meanings—firstly to speak the truth, secondly to earn their livelihood by right means, thirdly to give away in charity in the name of God, fourthly to cherish good intentions, and lastly to praise God.<sup>99</sup>

Nānak preached to Hindus against idol worship and caste distinctions both by word and deed. He preferred taking food with his disciples of low castes. People made offerings to the Gurū both in cash and kind in accordance with old traditions. In the beginning Nānak distributed all this among the poor who came to listen to him. Afterwards he organised a free community kitchen called *Langar* where all dined without any consideration of caste, creed or religion. In the *sangat*<sup>99a</sup> (congregation) and *pangat* (*langar*) all were equal. As everybody was required to earn his livelihood by fair means and hard work, all persons from a labourer to a lord and from a peasant to a prince were considered alike in dignity and prestige. The contribution made by every Sikh in the form of cash, kind or service in the *Langar* was held in similar esteem and regard. It was in this way that Nānak tried to loosen the bonds of caste system. This also developed the spirit of charity, fellow-feeling and service and made the new movement popular. *Langar* became a symbol of equality and fraternity among his followers.

Nānak laid emphasis on the observance of five things: (1) *Nām* or singing the praise of God, (2) *Dān* or charity for all, (3) *Ashnān* or the daily bath to keep body clean, (4) *Sevā* or service of humanity, and (5) *Simran* or constant prayer for the deliverance of soul.

#### (a) *Nānak's journeys*

Nānak wished to examine the actual working of religions at their great centres and also to give his own message of love and peace. For this purpose he undertook four great journeys. First, he went to the east (1496 to 1509) mainly to visit holy places of Hinduism up to Bengal, Assam, and Sikkim, perhaps Tibet also. Next he travelled to the south as far as Ceylon (1510 to 1515) for seeing Buddhist and Jain places of note. His third journey was to the north (1515 to 1517) to examine *Sidh maths* or places of famous saints in Kāshmir and the Himalayas. Lastly, he went to the west (1517 to 1521) in Muslim countries of Afghānistān, Īrān, Iraq and Arabia, to study Islām. He travelled on foot.

Nānak adopted peculiar practices and repartees to drive home his teachings into the minds of his audience. At Hardwar he saw people bathing in the Gaᅅgā and throwing water towards the rising sun. He also entered into water, turned his face towards the west and began to throw water in that direction. The people asked what he was doing. He enquired what they were doing. He was told that they were offering oblations to their ancestors' souls. Nānak replied that he was sending water to his fields in Punjāb. They asked how this water could reach there. At once the retort came:

“If this water cannot reach my fields which are so near, how can your water reach heaven which is so far away?” At Mecca in deep sleep his feet turned towards the Kaba, the sacred shrine of Islām. Somebody kicked him condemning this disrespect to the house of God. Quick came the simple reply in sweet tongue: “Turn my feet in the direction where all-pervading God is not present.”

(b) *Nānak's religion*

Nānak's religion consisted in the love of God, love of man and love of godly living. Nānak's God was the true Lord, the Creator, unborn, self-existent, immortal, omnipresent, unrivalled, transcendent, formless and omnipotent; yet He possessed many attributes of personality. He was an Ocean of Mercy, the Friend of man, the Healer of sinners, Cherisher of the poor and Destroyer of sorrow. He was wise, generous, beautiful and bountiful. He was the Father and Mother of all human beings and took care of them. Christ could think of relationship between God and man as that between father and son. To Nānak this relationship appeared as between husband and wife. A son could not be the constant companion of his father, but a faithful wife could not remain away from her spouse. This position also raised the status of woman. True devotion, complete surrender of self and thoughtful constant repetition of the Name as opposed to mechanical ritualism, would enable an individual to reach God. “Efface thyself so that thou obtain the bridegroom.” God could be attained by repeating His Name continuously. Without *Sat Nām* (the True Name) nobody could get salvation. Name signified worship and devotion to God and feeling and realising His presence at all places and at all times. He thus established deep spiritual unity between man and God. The Sikhs greeted each other by saying *Sat Nām*, *Sat Kartār* or *Sat Śrī Akāl*, meaning True Name, True Creator or True Timeless one.

Nānak held that for the realisation of God, Gurū was essential. He was a divine gift. God manifested Himself for the salvation of mankind in some teacher or Gurū. Without him God could not be realised. It was only through the Gurū that a man could have communion with God. “Man shall not be emancipated without the Gurū's instruction; see and ponder upon this. Even though man performed hundreds of thousands of ceremonies, all would still be darkness without the Gurū”.<sup>100</sup> The Gurū could lead one to redemption, and in His presence there was no necessity to worship any god or goddess. But the Gurū could be found only through God's grace. From his disciples Nānak demanded complete surrender to the Gurū. Only then salvation could be achieved through the

superior spiritual power of the Gurū. The faithful disciple would follow Gurū's instructions implicitly. He must listen and sing with the utmost devotion and reverence Gurbani or the hymns composed by the Gurū and practise Gurmat<sup>101</sup> or the wisdom as revealed through the Gurū's hymns. But the Gurū was a teacher and not an incarnation of God. "He was a man among men calling upon his fellow creatures to live a holy life."<sup>102</sup> He was to be obeyed but not to be worshipped. Nānak declared that his own Gurū was God. His disciples addressed him by the appellation of *Sat Gurū* or the *True Gurū*.

Nānak laid stress on spiritual discipline which implied devotion, service and culture of emotions. He asserted that salvation could be attained only through upright character and good deeds. In *Japji*, Nānak says:

Words do not the saint or sinner make,  
Action alone is written in the book of fate,  
What we sow that alone we take,  
O Nānak, be saved or for ever transmigrate.

He further observed: "Abide pure amid the impurities of the world: thus shalt thou find the way of religion."<sup>103</sup> He explained it thus: "They are not to be called pure who wash their bodies and sit at leisure; rather the pure are they, O Nānak, who enshrine the Lord in their hearts."

Nānak emphasised the importance of *Karma* to escape from the transmigration of soul. "Life is as the shadow of the passing bird, but the soul of man is, as the potter's wheel, ever circling on its pivot."<sup>104</sup> He denounced all the external marks of holiness, fasts, pilgrimages and penances. He condemned asceticism and renunciation of the world. A householder was equally acceptable to God as a hermit, and secular business did not stand in the way of emancipation. As a matter of fact ascetics and those who had renounced the world had nothing to do with Nānak's religion. His religion concerned worldly men who led a family life and earned their bread by hard labour. He bitterly censured people who in the garb of saintliness went abegging for their food and clothing at the door of a householder. Live in the world, but lead a good life, and help others to do so, he asserted. *Sadh Sangat* or *Satsang*, viz. association with virtuous and holy men, would help in achieving this object. Work, worship and distribute (*Kirt karo, Nam Japo* and *Wand Chhako*) was his motto.

In Nānak's time Indian society was based on caste and was divided into countless water-tight compartments. Men were con-

sidered high and low on account of their birth and not according to their deeds. Equality of human beings was a dream. There was no spirit of national unity except feelings of community fellowship. In Nānak's view, divine love was the criterion to judge whether a person was good or bad. As the caste system was not based on divine love for all, he condemned it. Nānak aimed at creating a casteless and classless society, of the modern type of socialist society in which all were equal and where one member did not exploit the other. Nānak insisted that every Sikh house should serve as a place of love and devotion, a true guest house (*Sach Dharmśālā*). Every Sikh was enjoined to welcome a traveller or a needy person and to share his meals and other comforts. Bhāi Gurdas says: "Wherever the holy feet of Guru Nānak touched, Dharmshalas sprang into existence."<sup>105</sup>

Woman received great consideration from Nānak. She was given equal status with man. She was allowed to attend his sermons along with men. *Purdah* was discouraged. Women joined in the chorus in singing hymns. For *langar* men brought provisions and fuel wood, while women cooked food. Men and women both served meals to the *pangat*. Nānak condemned *Sati* or the custom of self-immolation of widows on the pyres of their dead husbands. The Gurū said: "How can they be called inferior when they give birth to great men? Women as well as men share in the grace of God and are equally responsible for their actions to Him."<sup>106</sup>

Gurū Nānak called his religion Gurmat or Gurū's wisdom. This word occurs in the hymns of Gurū Nānak more than two hundred times. His disciples called themselves Sikhs from Sanskrit word *śishya*, meaning a learner or a person who takes spiritual lessons from a teacher. The public called them Nānak Panthīs, Nānak Prastān or Sikhs.<sup>107</sup> The Sikh congregations were called *Sangat*. The places where Sikhs gathered to listen to the Gurū's sermons and sing hymns in praise of God were known as *Gurdwāras*.<sup>108</sup> The community kitchen where all ate without any distinction was called *Langar* and the persons eating there formed a *Pangat*.

### (c) *Difference from other reform movements*

In certain respects Nānak's religion differed from other reform movements, as of Rāmānand, Kabīr, Chaitanya and Gorakhnāth.

1. The latter laid stress on fundamentals of Hinduism, believing that their acceptance would ultimately bring about social readjustment. Sikhism from the very beginning concentrated on social reform and repetition of the Name.

2. Conception of God in Sikhism is different from that of other Bhakti leaders. The Sikh God is *Akālpurkh*. He is without body, formless and timeless. The other leaders believed in Rāma and Kṛishṇa being incarnations of God.

3. Sikh religion had no mythology, no traditions and no ambiguity. It was plain and simple. Believe in one God, have faith in the Gurū and lead a good life, then success in this world and salvation after death are yours. The other reformers mainly concerned themselves with salvation of the soul.

4. In Sikhism renunciation of the world was prohibited, while the other sects advocated it.

5. No other Bhakti leader dislodged Sanskrit from the position of being the sacred language of Hinduism, though they preached in the local tongue. This factor was mainly responsible for confining Sikh religion to the Punjāb as the Punjābi language was not understood outside this province.

(d) *Gurū Nānak was a reformer and not a revolutionary*

Some writers like Macauliffe, Bhāi Kāhan Singh and Teja Singh are of the opinion that Gurū Nānak was a revolutionary because he tried to destroy all the prevalent religious institutions as well as the structure of society of his time. They hold that the Gurū's bitterest attack was aimed at the annihilation of caste system, and that he tried to build a new society in place of the old one. Payne and G. C. Narang are of the view that Nānak belonged to the great family of Bhakti leaders. Marking the difference between a reformer and a revolutionary it may be pointed out that a reformer does not adopt an independent path and does not preach destruction. He only removes the corruption and abuses which have crept into the old institutions in such a way that it does not injure the feelings of others. A revolutionary does not care for the sentiments of other people. He fearlessly incurs the displeasure of the supporters of old institutions and invites vehement opposition to his plans. Nothing of the kind happened in case of Nānak.

(1) Nānak's denunciation of caste was not revolutionary in character. His opposition to caste system was so mild that no Brāhman or any other high caste Hindu organised any opposition to him. On the contrary he was loved by one and all. The reason was that nobody objected to his reform scheme and removal of what was harmful to society. Kabīr had already denounced it in equally strong terms. The German traveller, Baron Hugel, says that the Sikhs worship one God, abhor images and reject caste, at least in theory.<sup>109</sup>

(2) In the same way, Nānak's denouncement of fasts, penances and pilgrimages implied attacks on perversions and not on the basic beliefs of Hindu religion. He laid stress on the limited utility of the existing institutions and practices. He did not call upon his disciples to give up pilgrimages and fasts altogether. He only wanted to clarify that such practices and formations had not much to do with divine love, and did not serve as a means of salvation.

(3) Nānak did not deprecate the holy scriptures such as the Vedas and the Qur'ān. He never questioned the wisdom and philosophy contained in them. He criticised the blind and mechanical reading of these texts without realising God through them. "What availeth thee to read the Vedas and Purāṇas? It is like loading a donkey with sandal whose perfume he availeth not."<sup>110</sup> Bhāi Gurdas declared that the superstitions prevailing at Gurū Nānak's time were due to the ignorance of the Vedas by people.<sup>111</sup>

(4) Even the sacred thread was not wholly condemned. He denounced the ignorance of the implications of its use, and wearing of it only for the sake of form. Muhsin Fānī writes that a devoted and true disciple of Gurū Hargobind, named Sadh, perhaps abbreviation of Sādhu Rām, accompanied him from Kabul to Punjāb. He had the sacred thread on. He tore it off and gave it to the author of the *Dabīstān* to tie up his broken coat belt.<sup>112</sup> According to Malcolm, "the family of Govind, proud of their descent, had not laid aside the Zunnar, or holy cord, to which they were, as belonging to Cshatriya race, entitled."<sup>113</sup> On one occasion Gurū Gobind Singh wanted some thread to fasten his sword belt. Daya Singh, the first member of the newly created Khalsa, a Khatri of Lahore, broke his sacred thread and gave it to the Gurū.<sup>114</sup>

(5) Similarly while challenging the predominant position of Hindu deities, Nānak did not hold them in any disrespect. He simply wanted to show that they were not superior to God. Muhsin Fānī says: "Nānak praised Musalmans as well as the avatars and gods and goddesses of the Hindus; but he held that all these had been created and were not creators, and he denied their incarnation. It is said that he held in his hand the rosary of Muslims and wore the sacred thread around his neck."<sup>115</sup> While it does not appear probable that Nānak wore it because he freely mixed with Muslims in India as well as abroad, his disciples of high caste did not completely discard it.

(6) Malcolm further says that Nānak suggested no change in the civil institutions of Hinduism.<sup>116</sup> Nānak did not dictate or even preach civil or criminal laws, and no modification was proposed by him in the old system then prevalent.<sup>117</sup> Cunningham observes: "He

left the progress of his people to the operation of time: for his congregation was too limited, and the state of society too artificial, to render it either requisite or possible for him to become a municipal law-giver, to subvert the legislation of Manu, or to change the immemorial usages of tribes or races."<sup>118</sup>

It shows that Gurū Nānak did not wish to destroy the existing institutions of his time. His chief aim was to condemn the form which had been substituted for the worship of the True Lord. In place of mere ritualism and conventionalism he desired sincere love and devotion. He introduced reforms in social customs, in religious practices, in the toleration of all the religions and in the unity of mankind. We may, therefore, conclude that Nānak was a true reformer rather than a revolutionary.

During the last fifteen years or so of his life, Nānak led a settled life at Kartārpur, the present Derā Bābā Nānak on the western bank of the Ravi. Here the *Sangat* and *Pangat*, the two important institutions of Sikhism, were organised on a firm basis and functioned regularly and punctually. His disciples, though small in number, formed a well-knit community. Cunningham says: "He left them erect and free, unbiased in mind and unfettered by rules, to become an increasing body of truthful worshippers."<sup>119</sup> He was loved and respected both by Hindus and Muslims alike. That is why he was called:

Gurū Nānak Shāh faqir,  
Hindu kā Gurū aur  
Musalmān kā pir.

Nānak passed away at Kartārpur on 22 September, 1539, at the age of seventy.

#### (e) *Expansion of Sikhism, 1539-1606*

Gurū Nānak gave the people of the Punjāb an idea which was ultimately to mould his followers into a powerful community. It naturally required time for constant schooling, under regular guidance. Before his death, he nominated his most devoted and sincerest disciple, Bhāi Lahna, a Trehan Kshatriya, his successor. Nānak called Lahna *Ang-e-Khud*, a limb of his own body, and declared at his death that his soul would migrate into the body of Lahna. He came to be called Angad.<sup>120</sup> This was a step of far-reaching significance. Nānak had rejected the claims of his son Śrīchānd because he believed in the nothingness of the world. Nānak himself was a householder, and so was Bhāi Lahna. Nānak thereby excluded renunciation of the world from Sikhism and confirmed it as a religion

## RELIGION

of householders. Further, Gurūship in Sikh religion acquired a unique status, and provided a living ideal for its followers. The life of the Sikhs centred around the personality of the Gurū which they assimilated and emulated by close personal contact with him.

Gurū Aṅgad (1539-1552) shifted from Kartārpur to Khadur in Amritsar District situated on the Beas river, in order to avoid the impending conflict with Gurū Nānak's sons. He turned his attention first to the collection of Gurū Nānak's hymns which were written in Lande Mahajani. Gurū Aṅgad being the son of a village shopkeeper knew Lande Mahajani script. It is rather rough and crude and cannot easily and properly be deciphered. In it vowel sounds are omitted. There was a danger that Gurū Nānak's hymns written in Lande Mahajani might be misinterpreted. Gurū Aṅgad beautified the Lande alphabets by giving them better shape, like the alphabets of *Dev Nāgari* script, which was used for Sanskrit. He also modified the order of Lande alphabets. The new script came to be called Gurmukhi,<sup>121</sup> meaning that it came from the mouth of the Gurū. It was in this script that Gurū Aṅgad wrote the hymns of Gurū Nānak.

Following the example of Gurū Nānak, the *langar* was continued. It was looked after by his wife, and its expenses were met out of the offerings made by his Sikhs and other visitors. Gurū Nānak's son Śrīchānd had renounced the world, and his disciples who practised celibacy and asceticism were termed Udāsīs. They professed to belong to Sikhism, but Gurū Aṅgad emphatically declared that there was no place for renunciation in Nānak's teachings as his religion concerned householders. He asserted that the followers of Śrīchānd had no connection whatsoever with Sikhism. Thus he preserved the purity and originality of Sikh religion.

Gurū Aṅgad nominated his 73-year-old devout disciple, Amar Dās, a Bhalla Kshatriya, his successor, who held this office from 1552 to 1574. Gurū Amar Dās established the practice of obliging all visitors to partake of food in his free kitchen before seeing him, thus regularising the system of interdining (*Pahle pangat pichhe sangat*).<sup>122</sup> The Sikh tradition says that Emperor Akbar visited the Gurū and was so much impressed by the spirit of service and devotion among the Sikhs that he granted a few villages revenue-free for the support of the *langar*. Amar Dās sanctified human life by declaring against torturing the body and committing *Sati*. He also denounced *purdah* system prevailing among womenfolk. He invited his followers to gather in a general body twice a year on the days of Baisakhi and Diwali in April and October-November, obviously to

enable them to fraternise with one another. Gurū Amar Dās made a departure from previous practice in appointing his successor. Hitherto the Gurūship had been on a non-family basis. But the Gurū conferred the Gurūship on his son-in-law Rām Dās and his descendants, thereby making Gurūship hereditary. The claims of his two sons were turned down.

Gurū Rām Dās (1574-1581), added to the solidarity of the growing community by providing it with a sacred tank to which he gave the name of Amritsar (the tank of nectar).<sup>123</sup> Before his death Gurū Rām Dās nominated his youngest son Arjun Mal<sup>124</sup> his successor against the protests of his eldest son Prithichānd.

Gurū Arjun, (1581-1606), fifth in succession, born on 15 April, 1563, was an original thinker, illustrious poet, practical philosopher, great organiser, eminent statesman and the first martyr to faith. He called upon *sangatias* to collect offerings from the Sikhs at the rate of one-tenth of their income and upgraded them as *Masands* or *nobles*.<sup>125</sup> This proved a profitable source of income to meet the enormous expenditure of the Gurū's building plans and made the Sikhs accustomed to submit to regular discipline.

To inspire the minds of his disciples with the grandeur and glory of the new religion Gurū Arjun began to live in an aristocratic style. He erected "lofty buildings"<sup>126</sup> at Amritsar, wore rich clothes, kept fine horses procured from Central Asia and some elephants, and maintained retainers in attendance. The great Mughul Emperor Akbar visited him at Amritsar and showered praise on him.

But the most valuable achievement of Gurū Arjun was the compilation of a holy book for the Sikhs known as *Ādi Granth* and popularly called *Granth Sāhib* or *Gurū Granth*. The Gurū wished to lay down the exact hymns to be sung and correct rituals to be performed by the Sikhs. He also desired to raise the status of Sikhism from a sect to a religion. This object could be attained by providing the Sikhs with holy scriptures of their own like the Vedas, the Bible and the Qur'ān. He therefore decided to record the hymns of all the Gurūs in the form of a book.

The *Granth*, written in verse in Gurmukhi script, was completed in 1604. It contained 974 hymns of Gurū Nānak, 62 of Gurū Aṅgad, 907 of Gurū Amar Dās, 672 of Gurū Rām Dās, 2218 and 116 *Shabads* of Gurū Arjun, including his famous Sukhmani or Psalm of Peace, sayings of 16 Bhaktas both Hindu and Muslim such as Farid, Kabīr, Nāmdev, Dhanna, Surdās, Pipa and Rāmānand, and songs of minstrels including those of Mardana, Satta and Balwand. One hundred

## RELIGION

and fifteen hymns of Gurū Tegh Bahadur and one verse of Gurū Gobind Singh were added later. The discourses of Gurū Nānak as Japji, Sodar and Kirti Sola were given in the beginning.

The compilation of the *Ādi Granth* formed an important landmark in the history of the Sikhs. It became the sacred book of the new faith, and created consciousness among the Sikhs of their being a separate community. It served as a source of divine wisdom, felicity and bliss. Its fascinating hymns chanted in deep reverence and devotion inspired the minds of listeners to lofty ideas of plain living and high thinking. The *Granth* serves as the symbolic representation of the Gurūs.

The subsequent history of Sikhism, ending in its great transformation under Gurū Govind Singh (1675-1708) has been dealt with in Chapter XI.

### III. ISLĀM

We have already seen how by the end of the 15th century Sūfī saints had established their centres (*Zāwiyas*) in various parts of the country and how they, especially the saints of the Chishtiya order, had succeeded in gaining large number of adherents among the Muslim masses.

Historically, Sūfism was a religious system which in the course of its development had imbibed several beliefs which are essentially of Hindu origin and which, in one form or another, were already familiar to the Hindus and the majority of the Indian Muslims converted from Hinduism, who came into contact with the great Sūfī teachers. It is not strange, therefore, that in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries it came to be a common practice with the bulk of the Indian Muslims to be attached to some religious preceptor, usually a Sūfī, just as the Hindus considered the guidance of a Gurū to be essential for one's spiritual salvation, so that almost every religious-minded Muslim linked himself up with one Sūfī *Silsila* (chain) or another as a *sine qua non* of respectability and religious awareness.<sup>127</sup>

It must not, however, be supposed that the Sūfīs were having it all their own way throughout these two centuries. The primal strife between the *Sharī'at* (Muslim Law) and the *Ṭarīqat* Sūfism) which started in the lands where Sūfism first made its appearance, was very much in evidence in India also. The custodians of the Law, the 'Ulema, usually attached to the royal court or holding lucrative posts as Muftīs (Legal Advisers) and Qāzīs (Judges) in provincial

towns, were actively hostile towards any religious movement which, in their opinion, was calculated to mar the pristine purity of Islām and to open a way towards reconciliation between *kufr* (infidelity) and *īmān* (faith). How far their hostility was actuated by a sincere religious zeal or by worldly motives, is open to doubt, but the fact remains that they often exercised a strong influence upon their royal masters and lost no opportunity of cruelly persecuting all those who were accused of the slightest deviation from the orthodox belief. There were, moreover, occasional popular movements of a fanatical type led by religious zealots styling themselves as reformers or renovators of the Muslim faith, which succeeded in doing a lot of mischief before they were suppressed and rendered innocuous. Some of these leaders took advantage of the common Muslim belief, originally Shiahite but generally accepted by the Sunnīs also, of the re-appearance of the Hidden Imām, al-Mahdī, who will lead back the erring adherents of Islām to the path of virtue and piety, and fighting the forces of disbelief and heresy, re-establish the kingdom of God on this earth. One such pretender was Syed Mohammad of Jaunpur, to whom a passing reference has been made in an earlier chapter<sup>128</sup> and who succeeded in winning over quite a large number of followers, some of them well-placed in life and holding responsible offices.<sup>129</sup> The fact that his appearance almost synchronised with the unifying movement started by some of the Indian spiritual leaders, is significant and illustrates the existence side by side among the Indian Muslims, as among those of other countries, of two cross currents of thought, one leading towards tolerance and sympathetic compromise and the other heading towards bigotry and puritanic aloofness. It was chiefly due to this that the Mahdawī movement remained confined to a small section of the Muslims only and had almost fizzled out by the time the greatest of the Mughul Emperors, Akbar, came to the throne, although some remnants of the Mahdi's followers lingered on in different parts of the country, one of whom, Shaikh 'Alā'ī, was scourged by Makhdūmal Mulk,<sup>130</sup> and died as a result of the punishment inflicted upon him.

The religious life of the Indian Muslims was agitated not only by periodic outbursts of puritanism directed mostly against any tendency that smacked of Hinduising Islām, but also by the Shiah-Sunnī differences which became accentuated after the establishment of the Mughul rule. Bābur, the founder of the Mughul empire in India, was a devout Sunnī who had been deeply influenced by the teachings of a Transoxanian saint, 'Ubaidullāh Aḥrār,<sup>131</sup> but was, at the same time, remarkably tolerant towards the Shiah faith,

## RELIGION

and his cortege contained several notable Shiahites who had served him faithfully during all his hectic career. The story that his son and successor, Humāyūn, was persuaded by the Shāh of Īrān, Tahmāsp Safawī, with whom he had sought refuge after his flight from India, to accept the Shiah faith, is probably a myth;<sup>132</sup> yet there can be no doubt that some of his most loyal servants who accompanied him back to India and helped him in regaining his lost throne were Shiahites, the most prominent among them being Bairam Khān, a scholar and soldier of unique talents. The more or less friendly relations that continued to prevail between the Mughul Emperors coming after Humāyūn and the Īrānian Shāhs of the Safawī dynasty, encouraged further immigration of Shiahite Īrānians into India where they were cordially received by their kinsfolk and countrymen already comfortably settled in the capital and other important towns. The result of this continuous inflow from Īrān was a remarkable Persianization of the Mughul court—a phenomenon which on the whole helped in raising the cultural level of the higher strata of the Muslim society of India. But another result, which was not so wholesome, was the intensification of the differences between the Sunnī and Shiah communities and there has never been a complete reconciliation between the two Muslim sects. That their differences have not very often resulted in blood-shed and violence, has been mainly due to the fact that the Shiahites in India formed a very small minority and have, consequently, refrained usually from any show of active hostility towards the Sunnīs, who have had, more often than not, the backing of the Muslim rulers, the majority of whom were of Sunnite religion.

When, therefore, Akbar acceded to the throne of his father, he was faced with a situation which was not at all pleasant to his peaceful nature and which, moreover, was fraught with a grave danger of inter-communal strife on a large scale and the disintegration of the empire as a consequence. There were on the one hand the bigoted Sunnī 'Ulema represented by the Shaikhul Islām, Makhdūm al-Mulk, and the Sadar-us-Sudur (Supreme Judge) Abdum-Nabī, both of whom had dominated the state policy to a considerable extent during the Sūrī period and who had continued to maintain their privileged position under Humāyūn and Akbar. As custodians of the Law, their verdict was looked upon as final on all religious and social matters, and the young emperor, who had not had the advantage of liberal education himself, had perforce to seek their guidance and to abide by their decisions during the early years of his reign. Any show of open hostility towards them might have cost him the support of a large and powerful section of the orthodox

Muslim community, a risk which he could ill afford to take at that stage. On the other hand, the Sūfīs of the Chishtiya school had been gradually losing their hold on the minds of the influential Muslims ever since the death of Khwāja Nizām-ud-dīn Auliya of Delhi who might be regarded as the last of the great mystic saints of India, and consequently their restraining and chastening influence was no longer there to counter the bigotry of the Sunnī 'Ulema. The greatest representative of that school in Akbar's time was Shaikh Salīm Chishtī for whom, as is well-known, Akbar had a great regard, but he was not a man of the same calibre as some of his illustrious predecessors had been and does not appear to have wielded any great influence in the Delhi or Āgra court circles. The emperor on his part was deeply conscious of his own duties as a ruler and realised full well that a certain amount of harmony among the various religious communities living in this vast country was essential for effective administration, and that could only be brought about by curbing fanaticism and intolerance in whatever form they might make their appearance. For a time he felt himself to be helpless, but when the high-handed actions of the 'Ulema, taking advantage of his lenience, began to exceed all limits, he had to take courage in both hands and to adopt effective measures to dislodge them from their exalted positions. He had, moreover, become thoroughly disillusioned about the personal characters of these 'Ulema and disgusted by their petty squabbles springing more out of mean, worldly motives than religious or moral considerations, a demonstration of which they used to give in the weekly gatherings in the 'Ibādat Khāna at Fathpur Sikrī, so fondly erected by Akbar for his moral and spiritual edification, to which reference has been made above (pp. 134-5).

The second and a bolder step taken by the emperor, now in open revolt against the 'Ulema, was to declare himself to be the spiritual as well as the secular head of the State and to be authorised in his own person to make any such changes in the Law (*Sharī'at*) as he deemed to be in conformity with the general welfare of his subjects. This act of Akbar's has a strangely remarkable resemblance to what an almost contemporary western ruler, Henry the Eighth of England, had done in order to free himself from the overbearing tutelage of the Church of Rome. Scriptural authority was, however, needed for this drastic measure, which was readily supplied by Shaikh Mubārak, who brought to the emperor's notice certain Qur'ānic verses and traditions of the Prophet sanctioning such powers for a Muslim ruler. A manifesto was consequently prepared by the Shaikh and duly signed by several jurists elevating the emperor to the rank of a "Mujtahid of his time" (*Mujtahid-*

*i-‘Aṣr*).<sup>133</sup> Those who protested were ruthlessly suppressed and in several cases executed.<sup>134</sup>

The comparative ease with which Akbar could adopt these drastic measures, emboldened him to advance a step further. This was the promulgation of a new religion based on a four-fold path of renunciation,<sup>135</sup> called the *Dīn-i-Ilāhī* in which the emperor appeared as not only a prophet but an “*avatār*” of God himself to whom all homage was due and before whom every one should prostrate himself exclaiming all the while “*Allāhu Akbar*” a form of greeting which may mean “*Allāh is Great*” as well as “*Akbar is Allāh*”.<sup>136</sup> Muslim historians generally have accused Shaikh Mubārak and his sons, Faizī and Abu-‘l-Fazl—particularly the latter—of being Akbar’s evil genius responsible for misleading him from the path of rectitude. But this charge is probably not substantiated by facts. There can be little doubt that Abu-‘l-Fazl helped and abetted the emperor in his rebellion against the ‘*Ulema* at whose hands he and his father had suffered grievously, but the idea of founding a new religion would seem to be Akbar’s own, as by its help he sought to secure that religious unity in his dominions which was so dear to his heart. The *Dīn-i-Ilāhī*, however, remained little more than a freak and failed to exert any influence on the popular mind. Some of Akbar’s closest and most devoted associates flatly refused to accept the new religion, notable among them being his foster-brother, Khān-i-A‘zam Mīrzā ‘Azīz and Rājā Mān Singh.<sup>137</sup> The latter, when asked by Akbar to be converted as a disciple replied with characteristic candour and boldness: “Sire, if discipleship means loyalty, I have already given ample proof of it. If, however, it means religion, I am a Hindu and can embrace Islam if you so desire. I know of no other path except these two which I might adopt.”<sup>138</sup> Protests against these innovations were also made by some sincere well-wishers of the emperor who considered the steps taken by him to be nothing short of heresy and feared not only for his spiritual salvation but also for the welfare of the Muslims in India generally. But the emperor stuck to his own ideas of a cosmopolitan religion till his last days, although it would be too much to suppose, as certain modern historians have done, that he had definitely renounced Islām.<sup>139</sup> On the other hand there is evidence to show that he died a Muslim and devoutly recited the ‘*Kalima*’ before he breathed his last.<sup>140</sup>

Akbar’s innovations did not, as we have said above, produce any wide repercussions in the religious life of the Indian Muslims since he made no attempt to propagate his new religion among the masses, but some of them did affect their social customs, such as the sanctioning of marriages with non-Muslims,<sup>141</sup> the legalizing of

brothels, the banning of cow slaughter, and the permission to shave beards.<sup>142</sup> That these measures which must have been hateful to the pious Muslims did not produce any general rising against him was certainly due to his statesmanship and the loyal support of his nobles, both Hindus and Muslims. News of what was happening in India reached the neighbouring Muslim countries also and evoked protests from their rulers, but Abu-'l-Fazl, who was in charge of Akbar's foreign diplomatic correspondence, set their minds at rest—or at least tried to do so—by skilful and ingenious interpretations of the emperor's objectionable edicts, thus preventing any open breach of friendly relations.<sup>143</sup> According to Abu-'l-Fazl's explanation, the emperor claimed neither to be a prophet nor an incarnation of God, but he was only a "mujaddid", (religious reformer) and according to certain Apostolic tradition such a reformer was expected to appear towards the end of the first millennium after the Hijra.<sup>144</sup> In fairness to Akbar it must be admitted that similar claims had been made by other Muslim rulers before his time, such as the Fātimid caliphs of Morocco and Egypt, and even Sultān 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī of India used to style himself as "Khalīfatullāh" (the Representative or Deputy of God) which was one of the titles assumed by Akbar. An echo of the belief in the spiritual powers claimed by Akbar, moreover, can be traced even in the later Mughul period, for it continued to be a common practice for the courtiers to address their royal master as "pir--o-murshid", titles which have an essentially spiritual or religious significance and could properly be used only for a moral and spiritual preceptor. It is thus that even the orthodox descendant of Akbar, Aurangzīb, has addressed his father Shāh Jahān in his letters, and the same form of address was popularly used in the days of Bahādur Shāh II, the last Mughul King of Delhi.<sup>145</sup>

Nor was the emperor alone in taking advantage of the popular belief about the appearance of a reformer at the end of the first millennium, for about this time there came to India a saintly representative of the Naqshbandiya Sūfī sect, one of whose pupils claimed, and is largely acknowledged, to be the "Reformer of the Second Millennium" (*Mujaddid Alf Thānī*). The founder of this sect, Khwāja Bahā'uddin Naqshband, was born near Bukhārā in 1318 and died in 1389, and his teachings became very popular in Turkestan, thanks mainly to the efforts of one of his pupils Khwāja 'Ubaidullāh al-Ahrār to whom a reference has been made above. The saint who introduced the new system in India, Khwāja Bāqī Billāh, settled down in Delhi a few years before Akbar's death. He, however, did not live there long, dying in 1603, at the comparatively young age of 41. It was his pupil, Shaikh Ahmad of Sarhind,

popularly known as Imām Rabbānī and Mujaddid Alf Thānī,<sup>146</sup> who continued the teachings of his master and by the force of his great personality made them popular in India. He sent his emissaries and preachers to the royal camp and succeeded in converting some influential courtiers to his own point of view. His activities roused the suspicion of Emperor Jahāngīr specially because he was accused by some of his opponents of making extravagant spiritual claims.<sup>147</sup> He was summoned to the royal court and ordered to explain his conduct, and as he was unable to satisfy the emperor, the latter ordered him to be incarcerated in the Gwālior fort, where he remained for about a year. Later on the emperor pardoned him and bestowed upon him a Khil'at (robe of honour), and he remained in the royal camp for about four years, travelling with it to several places and propagating his new Sūfī doctrines.

The central idea of the Naqshbandī school of Sūfism which Syed Ahmad represented was to bridge the gulf, as far as possible, between orthodoxy and mysticism, in other words to purge the Sūfistic discipline of all such beliefs and practices which Islām did not sanction or which in some cases were actually repugnant to its spirit. Thus the new system rigidly banned the holding of pantheistic beliefs, the listening to music (*samā'*) as a means of attaining spiritual ecstasy, the keeping of long vigils (*chilla* and *murāqaba*), the loud and prolonged repetition of certain religious formulas (*zikr*), the big concourses of men and women at the shrines of saints (*Urs*) and the practice of making vows and offerings in the name of these saints for the achievement of worldly ends (*nazr* and *nayāz*). We find Syed Ahmad, therefore, waging a relentless crusade against all these things, as they had in his opinion a demoralising effect and corrupted the religious beliefs of the Muslim masses, and, paradoxically enough, while making apparently fantastic claims about his own spiritual trances, rigidly enjoining conformity with the orthodox belief and practice upon his followers.

In addition to reforming Indian Sūfism, a second task to which Syed Ahmad devoted himself with characteristic energy was to wean the Indian Muslims of certain social customs and practices which they had borrowed from their Hindu neighbours, and to raise up their moral outlook and social status generally. It pained him to see the Muslim converts still adhering to some of their old un-Islāmic ways as much as to find that in spite of the Muslim rule in this country, the Muslims were in some spheres of life actually in an inferior position and were deprived of their legitimate rights and privileges, religious or otherwise, due to the very lenient policy of

the rulers towards the non-Muslims. He was a bitter critic of the indulgence shown in this respect by Akbar, although it would be difficult to maintain, as Maulāna Āzād has done, that he was responsible for uprooting the heresy the seeds of which had been sown by that monarch.<sup>148</sup> He advocated a firm and strong attitude towards the Hindus in order to make them realise that they could not lord it over the Muslims inspite of their subordinate position, and may on the whole be described as an irreconcilable opponent of all attempts at Hindu-Muslim unification or rapprochement whether religious or social. He insisted on the necessity of the presence among Muslims of a supreme religious leader at all times who may keep their religion free from the dross of *shirk* and *ilhad* (polytheism and heresy), and with this end in view developed the theory of *qayyūmiyat*, i.e. the existence of a *qayyūm* (sustainer) in the world. The *qayyūm* of his conception was, however, much more than a reformer; he was, according to some descriptions given by his disciples, a sort of agent plenipotentiary of God on this earth who looked after and actually controlled all that happened here. The *qayyūm*, therefore, was possessed of the same, or practically the same powers as the functionary in Sūfī hierarchy usually called the *Quṭbul Aqṭāb* (Pole of the Poles). It is needless to say that his disciples naturally regarded him as the First *Qayyūm*, while three other great teachers of the school, namely Syed Ahmad's son, Khwāja Mohammad Ma'sūm, Khwāja Mohammad Naqshband, and Khwāja Mohammad Zubair have been accorded the same exalted position after him.

It will be clear from what has been said that Syed Ahmad started a reactionary religious movement undoing much of the work of communal reconciliation accomplished by the Chishtiya saints. He would even appear to have influenced Emperor Jahāngīr to a certain extent, inspite of the latter's gentle temperament and tolerant disposition.<sup>149</sup> But whatever one may think of his uncompromising attitude towards non-Muslims, there could be no doubt that he was a sincere and zealous Muslim and strove with all the means at his disposal for their worldly welfare and spiritual salvation. Yet his influence on the popular Muslim mind apparently waned soon after his death, for already in the days of Shāh Jahān, himself a reputedly orthodox Muslim, the process of rapprochement had re-started and the emperor's eldest son, Dārā Shukoh, and his daughter Jahān Ārā, became ardent disciples of a saint of the Qādiriya school from Persia, Mullā Shāh, who was noted for his religious tolerance. Dārā Shukoh, as a matter of fact, was an ardent champion of Hindu-Muslim unity and hobnobbed with Hindu *Yogīs* and *Paṇḍits* as freely as he did with the Muslim mystics and scholars. One of his associates

(Munshis, to be more exact) was Chandra Bhān Brāhman, who has written some very fine Persian verses in a mystic strain and was the recipient of special favours from his princely master. The Naqshbandīya school, as a matter of fact, failed to attract many Muslims to its fold at any time, although several *silsilas* of this sect survive up to this day either independently or merged with *silsilas* of other schools. It is not unusual to find the titles Chishtī and Naqshbandī both together affixed to the names of pious Muslims, while some others also add to these the title "Qādirī".

The Qādirīya school,<sup>150</sup> which traces its origin to Shaikh 'Abdul Qādir of Gilan who lived in Baghdad in the eighth century, was first introduced in India during the reign of Emperor Akbar, probably by Arab merchants visiting the ports of Surat and Khambayat, and received a great fillip due to the advocacy of its principles by another very remarkable personality of the Mughul period, namely, Shaikh 'Abdul Haqq of Delhi who was contemporary with Akbar and Jahāngīr and is looked upon as one of the greatest religious scholars born in India. He had imbibed the Qādirīya teachings at Uchch in Sind which appears to have been a great centre of this particular school of thought, and although later on he also enrolled himself among the Naqshbandīya, his religious thought and general outlook of life seem to have been determined by those teachings. Shaikh 'Abdul Haqq's fame, however, rests not so much on his spiritual attainments, which must have been considerable, but on the invaluable contributions made by him to Islāmic learning, specially the science of Hadīth; and he is the author of several famous works. He died in the 16th year of Shāh Jahān's reign. The Qādirīya school continued to be popular among the better educated Muslims due to the teachings of two others of its famous exponents in India, one of whom was Mīr Mohammad, popularly known as Miān Mīr, of Lahore, and the other was Mullā Shāh of Badakhshān, who settled down in Kāshmīr and used to visit Lahore frequently to pay his respects to his teacher, Miān Mīr. It was in Kāshmīr that Prince Dārā Shukoh and his sister, Jahān Ārā, met the saint in 1639, and became his disciples.

With the accession of Aurangzīb to the throne of Delhi, the Sūfī movement in India seems to have received a definite set-back. This stern monarch, himself an orthodox and pious Muslim, was intolerant of heresy in any form and was always prompt in punishing drastically any open breach of the Law (*Sharī'at*). This, coupled with a general intellectual decline, was certainly responsible for any new religious ideas being developed in the 17th century in Muslim India. Aurangzīb's reign had heralded the triumph of *Sharī'at*

against *ṭarīqat*. The emphasis was now on the codification and clarification of the Muslim law as expounded by the great jurists, and any attempt at original thinking was not only discountenanced but actively opposed.<sup>151</sup> It was sought to confine Islām to narrow channels and to deprive it of all elasticity of belief, thus creating an atmosphere of religious bigotry and intolerance. There can be little doubt that Aurangzīb's policy was dictated by laudable moral ideals and he worked sincerely for rooting out corruption and dishonesty both in religious belief and worldly conduct, but it is equally true that he did not achieve any remarkable success in his efforts. On the other hand he succeeded in intensifying mutual distrust among the various sections of his subjects without bringing about any general moral uplift among the Muslims. The banning of wine and music had been tried before his time as a means of stamping out moral delinquency and had failed to achieve the desired object. Some of his officials were thoroughly corrupt,<sup>152</sup> and he was painfully conscious of this fact and bitterly realised the failure of his mission at the end of his long reign.

To sum up this brief survey of the religious life of the Indian Muslims during the Mughul period, we might say that on the whole this period marked the decline of the pantheistic form of Sūfism and that the moderate schools, like the Naqshbandīya and Qādirīya became more popular than the Chishtiya school which had exercised undisputed sway over the minds of the devout Muslims in the preceding period. This was partly due to the fact that no outstanding saint of the Chishtiya sect appeared in India during this period and partly to the emergence of certain bitter critics of that sect who, helped by the prevalent political and social conditions, succeeded in attracting a large number of followers. Religious divines and scholars continued to hold lucrative posts as *qāzīs* and *muftīs*, but their power over their royal masters suffered a sharp decline, due to their worldly greed and cupidity combined with senseless bigotry and parochialism. The accounts given by contemporary historians of the fabulous wealth which some of them managed to amass by all sorts of questionable means and their high-handed actions in dealing with those who had the temerity to differ from them in religious matters, clearly show the extent of their moral turpitude, so that it was they themselves who were really responsible for their downfall and not any radical change of attitude towards religion on the part of the rulers or their subjects.

1. A. Govindāchārya, *The Aṣṭādaśa Bhedas* between the Teṅgalais and the Vaḍagalais in the *J.R.A.S.* 1910, pp. 1103 ff.; *J.B.B.R.A.S.* XXIV. pp. 126ff.; *I.A.* XIII. pp. 252 ff.

2. Sewell, *Lists* II C.P. No. 75, p. 9.

3. *Hari-bhakti Vilāsa*, Ch. V, pp. 491-93, (Berhampore ed.).

## RELIGION

4. *Bhāgavata*, IV. 21.12 and Sanātana Gosvāmin's commentary on the *Hari-bhakti Vilāsa*, V. 223.
5. *Brahma-Vaivarta-Purāna*, *Janmakhaṇḍa*, Ch. 21 as quoted in the *Śabda-Kalpa-druma*, pp. 1514-15 which also cites the authority of the *Padma-Purāna*, *Pātālkhaṇḍa*, Ch. XI showing that the Śūdras adhering to the Vedic path attain salvation by worshipping the Śālagrāma Śilā.
6. Narahari Chakravarti, *Bhakti-ratnākara* (Berhampore ed.), p. 30.
7. Sir Charles N.E. Eliot, *Hinduism in Assam* in *J.R.A.S.*, 1910, pp. 1160 ff.
8. *Rāmacharita-mānasa*, *Uttarakāṇḍa*, p. 483 (Nagari Pracharini Sabha ed.).
9. Śūdra Kamalākara, pp. 13-14.
10. Raghunandana, *Śuddhitattva*, pp. 624-25 (Bangabasi ed.).
11. *Agastya Saṁhitā*, XIII.46.
12. Bhabatosh Bhattacharya, *Raghunandana's Indebtedness to his predecessors*, *J.A.S.*, XIX, 1953, pp. 174-175.
13. *Śuddhitattva* (Bangabasi ed.), pp. 166-67.
14. Śūdra Kamalākara quoted by P.V. Kane in the *History of Dharmasāstras*, II, p. 381.
15. *Sarasvatī Vilāsa*, p. 478 (University of Mysore ed.).
16. *Rājadharm-Kaustubha*, XII. 63 (Gaekwad Oriental series).
17. *Śuddhitattva*, p. 163.
18. K.S. Thackarey, *Gramanyacha Sadyanta Itihasa*, pp. 154-55.
19. *Gautamiya Tantra* Ch. I; Sir John Woodroffe, *Shakti and Shākta*, pp. 505-6.
20. Atal Behari Ghosh, *The Spirit and Culture of the Tantras in the Cultural Heritage of India*, IV, p. 248.
21. *Dabistan* (London, 1901 ed.), p. 247.
22. *Ibid.*, II. pp. 154, 164 (1833 ed.) quoted by Woodroffe, *Op. Cit.* p. 584.
- 22a. Chintaharan Chakravarty, *The Tantras—Studies on their religion and literature*, pp. 67-68.
23. *Tantrasāra*, p. 155.
24. D.C. Sircar, *The Śākta Piṭhas*, pp. 74-80.
25. Sanātana Gosvāmin, *Brihat Bhāgavatāmṛta*, II.1. 36-37.
26. Sanātana Gosvāmin, *Vaiṣṇava-toshanī* commentary on the *Bhāgavata*, X. 55.1.
27. *Ibid.*, X. 5.1-2 and X.39.37.
28. *Hari-bhakti Vilāsa*, I. 58, 192, 236, 237, 432-35, 462, 913, 1146-50, 1208, 1344; II.9-10; III.4, 220-23; IV. 100-102.
29. *Ibid.*, I. 60-62, 71-73, 377-8; IV.39-40, 46-49, 58-60.
30. *Ibid.*, I.85.
31. *Ibid.*, I. 126, 136, 407, 410, 451.
32. *Ibid.*, II. 16-17.
33. D.C. Sircar, *The Śākta Piṭhas*, p. 23, and Appendix V.
34. Kavikāṅkaṇa Chaṇḍī—Introductory portion, *Dig-Vandanā* (Bangabasi ed.).
35. *Ibid.*, p. 306. See for example, merits of the *Kali* age towards the end of the book.
36. Chintaharan Chakravarty, *Op. Cit.*, p. 75.
37. *Dabistan*, (1901 ed.), p. 253.
38. Purchas, *Pilgrims*, X. pp. 208-09.
39. Gait, *History of Assam* (2nd Ed. p. 59).
40. *J.R.A.S.*, 1910, p. 1163.
41. The date of his birth is given as 1449 A.D. by K. L. Barua (*Early History of Kāmarupa*, p. 308), as one of the arguments to prove that Śaṅkaradeva could not have been a follower of Chaitanya. This date was doubted by Gait who thought it was thirty or forty years too early. His view agrees with the date 1487 given by R.M. Nath (*The Background of Assamese Culture*, p. 54) and is supported by the fact, admitted by Barua, that Śaṅkaradeva was a contemporary of king Naranārāyaṇa of Cooch Behār whose rule, as mentioned above, falls between A.D. 1555 and 1587, the dates furnished respectively by the coins of himself and of his successor.
- 41a. Śaṅkaradeva relates the history of this family in his Assamese *Bhāgavata*, *Daśama Skandha*, verses 12001 and 12002.
42. *Nāmaghosha* (ed. by Haramohon Das).
43. Eliot, Charles N.E.: *Hinduism in Assam*, *J.R.A.S.*, 1910, p. 1169.
44. *Nāmaghosha*, verses 872 and 874.
45. *Chaitanya-Bhāgavata*, II. 22, p. 318 (ed. Atul Kṛishṇa Gosvāmī).
46. *Ibid.*, III. 4., p. 460.
47. *Ibid.*, II. 23, p. 341 and II. 24, p. 346.

THE MUGHUL EMPIRE

48. *Bhaktiratnākara*, p. 581.
49. *Prema-vilāsa*, ch. xvi.
50. Buchanan Hamilton: *Purnea Report*, p. 273.
51. Majumdar, Bimanbehari: *Chaitanya Chariter Upādāna*, (2nd. ed.), p. 567.
52. Majumdar, R.C.: *Kamala Lectures*, p. 124.
53. Calcutta University Ms. No. 1144, and Basu, Manindra Mohan: *Post-Chaitanya Sahajiya cult of Bengal*.
54. Dimock, Edward C. (Jr.): *The Place of the Hidden Moon-Erotic Mysticism in the Vaishnava Sahajiya Cult of Bengal* (University of Chicago, 1966).
55. *Rasika-māṅgala*, Bk. I, ch. III, p. 13.
56. *Śūnya-saṁhitā*, ch. I.
57. Sivakaradasa: *Jagannātha-charitāmṛita*, ch. III.
58. Haridasa Dasa: *Gauḍīya Vaishṇava Abhidhāna*, Vol. II, p. 1241.
59. *Rasika-māṅgala*, p. 121.
60. *Chaurāsī Vaishṇavoṅ kī vārtā* (Agrawala Press), p. 372.
61. Vallabhāchārya: *Soḍāsa-Grantha* (Bombay ed.) *Siddhānta muktāvalī*, verse I.
62. Viṭṭhalanāth: *Svāmī-stotra and Svāminyāshṭaka*.
63. Mittal, Prabhudayal: *Ashṭa-chhāpa-parichaya*, p. 33.
64. S.M. Pandey and N. Zide's article on Surdas in *Krsna, Myths, Rites and Attitudes*, ed. by Milton Senger (University of Hawaii, 1966), p. 188.
65. *Ibid.*, p. 185.
66. *Sursāgar* 2305.
67. Hita Harivamsa's *Rādhā-sudhā-nidhi*, verse 76.
68. Farquhar, J.N.: *Outline of the Religious Literature of India*, p. 318.
69. *Dabistan-ul-Majhab* (Walter Dunne Publication, Washington, 1901), p. 262.
70. Growse, F.S. on Swāmī Haridās, *J.A.S.B.*, xlv, pt. I (1876); pp. 312 ff.
71. *Dabistan*, p. 263.
72. *Ibid.*, p. 283.
73. *Mahābhārata* (Poona ed.), XII. 288.20, which states: *Na Mānusha-śreshṭha-taram kiñchit*.
74. Khare, G.H. in his *Śrī Viṭṭhal and Paṇḍhārpur* states that Jñāneśvara was neither a devotee of Viṭṭhala nor the founder of the Varākārī sect.
75. Natesan: *Shrī Ekanāth*, p. 30.
76. Edwards, J.F.: *The Life and Teachings of Tukaram*, p. 134.
77. Deming, W.S.: *Selections from Tukaram*, p. 190.
78. *Ibid.*, pp. 39 and 91.
79. Abbott, Justin E.: *Bahini Bai, a Translation of her Autobiography and verses with the Marathi original*, p. 1, verses 7-8.
80. *Ibid.*, pp. 97-98.
81. Cf. Chaitanya's verse in Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Padyāvalī*, No. 337 (ed. S.K. De) with Tukārām's *abhaṅga* translated by Macnicol: *Psalms of the Maratha Saints*, XVIII.
82. Pangarkar, L.R.: *Śrī Tukārāmaḥ Charitra* (Poona, 1920), pp. 332-334.
83. *Dāsabodh*, ch. XIV., sec. 7.
84. *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. IX, pt. I, pp. 1-3.
85. Thoothi, N.A.: *The Vaishnavas of Gujarat*, p. 234.
86. Karmarkar, A.P.: *Mystic Teachings of the Haridasas of Karnataka*, p. 10.
87. Rice, Edward P.: *A History of Canarese Literature*, p. 59.
88. *The Journal of the Music Academy*, Madras, Vol. XIII, p. 67.
89. Manucci: *Storia de Mogor*, II, p. 135.
90. Francis Buchanan: *Journey from Madras through the countries of Mysore, Canara and Malabar*, III, p. 468.
91. *Chaitanya-charitāmṛita*, II. 18. Bijul Khān has been identified with the foster-son of Bihār Khān Afghān, the chieftain of Kalinjar, by Pramatha Chaudhuri: *Nānā Charchā*, pp. 111-127.
92. *Dabistan*, p. 264.
93. *Ibid.*, p. 247.
94. *Ibid.*, p. 266.
95. Mitra, Rajendralal: *Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society*, XLI (1) 1877, p. 170. A manuscript of the *Āllāḥ Upanishad* is also noticed in Dr. Buhler's *Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts from Gujarat*, p. 44.
96. Wilson, H.H.: *Religious Sects of the Hindus* (ed. 1958), p. 196.
97. Sen, Kshitimohon: *The Medieval Mystics of North India* (Cultural Heritage of India, Vol. IV., p. 390).
98. *Dabistan*, p. 267.
99. *Selections from the sacred writings of the Sikhs*, pp. 77-78.

## RELIGION

- 99a. The word *Sangat* appears in the *Ādi Granth* at numerous places.
100. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, i. 302.
101. Dr. Trilochan Singh in his *Guru Nanak's Religion* on p. 1 in a footnote states that the word *Gurmat* is mentioned in the *Ādi Granth* in the hymns of Guru Nanak in Ragas Gujri, p. 505, Ramkali, p. 904, Maru, pp. 1008, 1009; Basant, p. 1190 and Sarang, p. 1233.
102. Cunningham, *A History of the Sikhs*, 40, f.n. 1.
103. Macauliffe, i, 60.
104. Rag Asa in the *Ādi Granth* quoted by Cunningham, *A History of the Sikhs*, 39.
105. Bhai Gurdas, *Var*, i, pauri 27.
106. *Var Asa*, xix.
107. *The Dabistan*, 223.
108. The word *Gurdwara* occurs many a time in Guru Nanak's hymns such as in Asa, p. 351, Suhi, p. 730, Ramkali, pp. 930, 933 and Maru, p. 1015; vide Trilochan Singh, *Guru Nanak's Religion*, p. 2.
109. *Travels*, 283.
110. Macauliffe, vi, 247.
111. Bhai Gurdas, *Var*, i, 21.
112. *The Dabistan*, Persian, 239.
113. *Sketch of the Sikhs*, 67-68, f.n.
114. Bhai Santokh Singh, *Suraj Prakash*, Rut iii, 28.
115. *The Dabistan*, Persian, 223.
116. *Sketch*, 44, 147.
117. Ward, *The Hindoos*, iii, 463.
118. *A History of the Sikhs*, 1966 edition, 41-42.
119. *Ibid*, 41.
120. Guru Nānak was so highly pleased with Bhāi Lahna's devotion that he observed: "Thou hast performed excessive devotions. Between thee and me there is now no difference. None of my Sikhs hath such faith and confidence in me as thou and therefore I love thee most of all. Thou art verily Angad, a part of my body. I congratulate thee." Macauliffe, ii, 9.
121. Grierson remarks: "The true alphabet of the Panjab is known as the Landa or 'clipped'. It is connected with the Mahajani character of Northern India and resembles it in having a very imperfect system of vowel sounds. Vowel sounds are frequently omitted." *Linguistic Survey of India*, ix, Part i, 624. The author remembers a joke in this connection. It is said that a banker went to a village to recover his loan. The farmer had ready money and wanted to settle the account on the spot. The banker sent a messenger with a note in Lande script demanding his *bahi* or account book. The word *bahi* was misread as *bahu* and the banker's wife accompanied the messenger.
122. *Suraj Prakash*, i, 30.
123. "In 1577 he obtained a grant of the site, together with 500 bighas of land from the Emperor Akbar on payment of Rs. 700 to the Zamindars of Tung, who owned the land". *District Gazetteer of Amritsar*, 1883-84.
124. The Sikhs call him Arjun Dev. Most of the writers mention his name as Arjun. The almost contemporary author, Muhsin Fani, names him Arjun Mal. *The Dabistan*, 233.
125. They also preached, settled disputes and kept the Sikhs under a regular administrative system. The Masands were not paid any salary. They retained a portion of the offerings received by them with the approval of the Guru.
126. *The Dabistan*, 234.
127. How essential, according to the common Muslim belief, it was to have a spiritual teacher, is manifest from the phrase "be-pīr" (without a spiritual guide), which came to be a term of strong reproach and abuse, synonymous almost with another term, "bad-ma'ash" meaning a rogue or scoundrel.
128. Cf. Vol. VI, pp. 608, 637.
129. He is said to have converted several rulers also, notably Osmān Khān of Gujarāt (Jalor) and Nizām-ul-Mulk of the Deccan (See Tādhkira by Nadwī). His two staunch and powerful opponents were Shaikh 'Alī Muttaqī (d. 975 H.) and Tahir b. Muḥammad Fātani (of Pattan) (in Gujarāt), who was eventually killed by his followers in 986 H. while on his way to Emperor Akbar's court where he was proceeding to make complaint against their

- high-handed actions. He was a learned scholar and a leader of the Bohras of Gujarāt. For details of his career, see Tadhkira 'Allāma Shaikh Muhammad bin Tāhir by Abū Zafar Nadwī.
130. Another noted scholar of the period. For him, see Tadhkira (Āzād) pp. 43-48. This happened in the days of Salīm Sūrī.
131. Bābur translated into Turkish a didactic poem (*Mathnavi*) by this saint, known as *Risāla-i-Wālidīya*. This translation, a manuscript of which exists in the Rampur State Library, was published in the Bengal Asiatic Society Journal (Special issue) in 1910.
132. Badāūnī (I: 445) says that Humāyūn was made to read out a prepared document containing a confession of the Shiah faith. Cf. *Jauhar Aftābrahī*.
133. For the text of this cleverly drafted manifesto, see Badāūnī, II: 271; Cf. *Rūd-i-Kauthar*, pp. 32-33.
134. Among these were Qutbuddīn, Akbar's foster-brother, Shahbāz Khān Kamboh, Mullā Mohammad Yazdī and Muiz-zul Mulk, the last two of whom were imprisoned and ultimately done away with.
135. Renunciation i.e. of property, of life, of honour and of religion.
136. Mullā Shīrī, a contemporary poet, composed the following satirical couplet on this occasion:  
*Bāshāh imsāl darwā-i-Nubuwat Karda-ast*  
*Gar Khudā Khwāhad pas az salī Khudā Khwāhad Shudan*  
 (The king has this year claimed prophethood; God willing after a year he will become God). See Badāūnī, II: 309.
137. Rājā Bhagwān Dās was another important dissenter. Mirza 'Azīz, however, later on accepted the new cult after his return from Mecca where he had been permitted to go on his refusal to accede to Akbar's request.
138. *Darbār-i-Akbarī*, p. 565.
139. e.g. Sir Wolsley Haig in the *Cambridge History of India*.
140. Thomas Roe (according to *Rūd-i-Kauthar*, p. 26 seq.).
141. This usually took the form of Muslim men marrying non-Muslim women, but that in certain cases, especially among the Rajputs, Muslim women were married to non-Muslims is proved by what Jahāngīr says about Kāshmir (*Tuzuk—Memoirs*).
142. Curiously enough, a Muslim jurist, Mullā Abu Sa'īd, a nephew of Khwāja Amān of Panipat, is said to have produced a tradition of the Prophet saying that the people of paradise will be without beards in support of this sanction. See Badāūnī, II: 301 seq. for a detailed account of these un-Islāmic edicts of the emperor. Note specially the banning of Arabic studies (II: 363) and of Islāmic sciences (II: 303).
143. The Uzbek Sultan 'Abdullāh was one of those rulers who protested.
144. The same belief prompted the compilation of *Tārīkh-i-Alfī* (Alf meaning a thousand), a notable historical work of Akbar's reign, which, however, was never completed. See Badāūnī, II: 318.
145. It is interesting to note that by thus addressing the monarch, the courtier placed himself in the position of a "murīd" (disciple) which is exactly what Akbar demanded of those who entered the *Dīn-i-Ilāhī*, although a Hindi equivalent of the word, i.e. *chela*, was used for the Arabic word *murīd*.
146. Reformer of the second millennium.
147. Shathīyāt in Sūfī parlance, mainly contained in his letters (*Maktūbāt*). One of these known as the eleventh letter in which he had described his maqāmāt (stations in a spiritual trance) specially roused a bitter controversy and alienated some of his fond admirers.
148. Tadhkira (Āzād), p. 239 seq.
149. See *Bazm-i-Tīmūrīya*, pp. 166-168.
150. Two other Sūfī schools, the Shattārīya and the Shādhiliya, also gained some adherents in India about this time, but they never became very popular. Followers of the Shādhiliya sect are found in Hyderabad, and elsewhere.
151. This was in accordance with the general orthodox belief that the door of ijtihād (exercise of personal discretion) had been closed after the days of the great jurists, the founders of the four madh-habs.
152. Thus Qāzī 'Abdul Wahhāb, the Chief Judge of Gujarāt, in whom Aurangzīb had great confidence, is said to have been addicted to wine and left behind 1 lakh gold coins and 5 lakh rupees in addition to other valuables. (See *Rūd-i-Kauthar*, p. 282; Cf. *Ma'āthirul Umarā*).

## CHAPTER XXI

### SOCIAL CONDITION

The society and culture during the Mughul Age was not entirely new or radically different from the culture of the preceding or succeeding ages. The Indian culture in all ages has been fundamentally the same, and the differences we notice at different times are, generally speaking, those of detail and not of the essence. So, an attempt has been made to describe, under a few major heads, the various facets of the society and culture during the period under review.<sup>1</sup>

#### *Dress*

The dress of the poor people of various communities was very much alike. Workmen, tillers of the soil and other labourers contented themselves with a cotton *langota* tied round the waist and reaching down to their knees. Bābur refers to it in his memoirs.<sup>2</sup> During winter common people, except paupers, put on small quilted coats which lasted for years. In northern India even the poor put on turbans to protect their head from heat or cold. In the cold weather quilted caps were common in some parts of northern India, especially in Kāshmīr and the Punjāb. The upper classes spent lavishly on their dress, and wealthy Muhammadans wore both *shāl-wārs* and breeches or tight trousers. Over their shirts they put on narrow waist-coats. The *qābā* or a long coat coming down to the knees was worn as an upper garment. The rich also carried over their shoulders shawls of very fine woollen fabric of various colours. It was the fashion to tie one's waist with a scarf of beautiful and costly multi-coloured stuffs. Men carried arms and adorned themselves with a *kātār* or a dagger. The Mughul rulers were very particular about new fashions and invented many new dresses. Akbar employed skilled tailors to improve the style of costumes in his wardrobe. The *Āīn-i-Akbarī* describes eleven types of coats.<sup>3</sup> Father Rudolf found Akbar clad in a *dhoti* of the finest and most delicate silk. Monserrate writes about the dress of Akbar: "His Majesty wore clothes of silk beautifully embroidered in gold. His Majesty's cloak comes down to his hose and boots cover his ankles completely and (he) wears pearls and gold jewellery."<sup>4</sup> Turbans were the common head-wear of all communities,<sup>4a</sup> those of the Muslims were usually white and round-shaped, while those of the Hindus were coloured, straight, high and pointed. Stockings were not used by

any section of the people. The general style of the shoes was Turkish *viz.* pointed in front and open above with low heels to be easily undone when necessary. The men of taste had their shoes made of velvet of several colours or of brocade covered with silk leather, and sometimes set rubies and diamonds on the instep of their shoes. Ladies had not many varieties of dresses. The common apparel of the womenfolk was a piece of cloth called '*sāri*' wrapped round the middle part of the body and thrown over the head and an *āngiyā* or a small jacket worn round the chest. Breeches or *shālwārs* and shirts were common among Muhammadan ladies. *Ghāgrā* too was popular among them. The rich women put on *qābās* of fine Kāshmir wool. Some of them also used Kāshmir shawls of the finest quality. Ladies, both Hindu and Muhammadan, covered their heads with a *dopāṭṭā* of fine cotton, or silk wrought with silver or gold threads, according to their means. Muhammadan ladies, whenever they moved out, put on white shrouds or *burqās*. There were, of course, exceptions and local variations from the general types.

### Toilets

Hair dyes, recipes for the cure of baldness and the removal of hair from the body were known from ancient times and practised in medieval age. Soaps, powders and creams had their substitutes in *ghasul*, myrobalans, *opatanah*, and pounded sandal wood. Soap was known and used in India from ancient times. Precious scents of diverse kinds were in use. The *Āin-i-Akbarī* gives a long list of scents and their prices.<sup>5</sup> Nūr Jahān's mother prepared a new *itar* from roses and named it *itar-i-jahāngirī*. Abu-'l-Fazl, in the *Āin-i-Akbarī*, describes 16 items for a woman's toilet which include bathing, anointing, braiding the hair, decking the crown of her head with jewels, sectarian marks of caste after decking with pearls, jewels and gold, tinting with lamp-black like collyrium, staining the hands, chewing betel leaf and decorating herself with various ornaments, as nose-rings, necklaces, and wearing a belt hung with small bells, garlands of flowers, etc. Hindu ladies usually tied their hair behind their heads. Sometimes they twisted up their hair upon the top of the head like a pyramid, sticking gold bodkin in the centre. The use of the false hair has also been referred to.<sup>6</sup> Hindu ladies considered it auspicious to put a vermillion mark and to anoint the parting of their hair. Collyrium was used for the eyes. It was usual for high class ladies to use *missia* for blackening between the teeth and antimony for darkening their eye lashes.<sup>7</sup> Indian women frequently used *mehidi* (henna leaves) to give red colour to their

## SOCIAL CONDITION

hands and feet. It served as a nail polish to redden their finger nails. They reddened their lips by chewing betel-leaf which served them as a lip-stick.

### *Ornaments*<sup>7a</sup>

Women were anxious to adorn, one might say even load, themselves with a variety of bulky ornaments. Ladies bedecked every limb of their bodies from head to foot with different types of ornaments. Abu-'l-Fazl enumerates 37 in his list in the *Āīn-i-Akbarī*. *Chauk*, *Mang*, *Kotbiladar* (perhaps the modern *Chandraman*), *Sakra*, and *Binduli* adorned the head and the forehead. *Karnphul*, *Pipal Patti*, *Mor Bhanwar* and *Bali* were the different types of ear-rings. Nose-ornaments seemed to have been introduced by Muhammadans. *Nath* and *Besar* were their different types. *Laung* or a flower-bud—a small stud of single diamond or ruby fixed at the corner of the left nostril—enhanced the beauty of the face. Around the neck were worn necklaces of gold, pearls, and other precious stones which contained five to seven strings of gold beads. The upper part of the arms was ornamented with *bazubands*, and *tad*. *Gajrah* or *Kangan*, a bracelet, adorned their wrists. They decorated their wrists up to the elbow with bracelets called *Churis*. *Chhudr Ghan-tikā* and *Kaṭi Mekhalā* were the two varieties of gold belts. Rings were worn on toes and fingers. *Jehar* served as an ankle ornament. *Ghunghru* were worn between the *Payal* (ornaments of legs) and *Jehar* (ankle ornament). *Bhank* and *Bichwah* were the ornaments used for the instep while *Anuāt* decorated big toe.

As for men, Muslims were usually against ornaments; some of them, however, put on amulets. Hindus, on the other hand, adorned themselves with ear and finger rings. Rajputs put on bracelets as well. All the Mughul Emperors except Aurangzīb adorned themselves with rich jewellery on important occasions.

### *Diet*<sup>8</sup>

*Khichari*<sup>9</sup> was the most popular dish of the common people who could ill afford to spend on dainty dishes. Rice formed the chief food of the people of the East and South. The Gujarātis preferred rice and curd. Jahāngīr refers to the food of the Kāshmīris which usually consisted of boiled rice and boiled salted vegetables,<sup>10</sup> chiefly a leafy plant called *karam*. The people of the North, however, generally took *chappatis* of wheat, *jowar* or *bajra*. The middle classes managed to have three meals a day. The poor, too, managed to have light refreshments in the form of some parched pulse or other grains between the three regular meals. The upper classes

invariably used wheat flour, boiled rice and cooked vegetables of various sorts. Hindus in general being vegetarians, confined themselves to pulses, curd, butter, oil and milk and its several preparations. They prepared rice, aromatic birinjies and puddings of rice mixed with almonds and raisins. On his abstinence days, Jahāngīr would take *lazizah*, i.e., *Khichari*, prepared in the Gujarāti style.<sup>11</sup> Abu-'l-Fazl gives a detailed list of various vegetables and meat and sweet dishes in the *Āin-i-Akbarī*.<sup>12</sup>

Muhammadans prepared rice and aromatic birinjies as *qabuli*, *duzdbiryan*, *qimah palao*, and pudding of rice mixed with almonds and raisins and strewn with butter and pepper. Sweet dishes consisted of *halwa*, sweetmeats, and comfits prepared from refined sugar and *faluda*.<sup>13</sup> An idea of the variety of dishes served at a noble's dinner can be had from the description of Asaf Khān's banquet to Sir Thomas Roe<sup>14</sup> and that of the Governor of Ahmadābād to Mandelslo.<sup>15</sup> Mukundarāma's gorgeous description of feasts and vegetable dishes leaves us in little doubt as to their popularity among the upper class Hindus.<sup>16</sup>

#### *Kitchens and Utensils*

The utensils used in Hindu kitchens were all made of brass or bronze, while those of the Muhammadans were earthen ware or made of copper. The Mughul kings used gold or silver utensils and were fond of precious China and glassware. Aurangzib, however, used earthen or copper vessels. Hindus paid great attention to cleanliness and a special place called *chauka* invariably rubbed over with cow-dung was reserved for cooking meals, which none was allowed to enter with shoes on. Bathing was a pre-requisite before meals. Hindus would at the outset put apart a small portion of their food as an humble homage to the gods. Akbar used to put apart the share of the dervishes before he commenced his meal.<sup>17</sup>

The ordinary people used the leaves of the trees, stitched together with rushes, as plates. In the case of the Rājās and other rich men, food was brought from the kitchen in bowls or vessels of silver or gold. Table manners required not to use one's left hand or lick the fingers. Wives did not make it a custom to join their husbands at tables, but took meals separately. The kitchen and table manners of the Muhammadans were quite simple, though not always as clean as those of the Hindus. They were free to cook wherever and whenever they liked and eat everything except the flesh of swine. A *dastarkhwan* was spread on the floor and dishes arranged thereon. The whole family sat together and partook of

the dishes jointly. No napkins were used and the procedure of washing was not always adhered to.

The manner of cooking in the royal kitchen and the process of sending in of plates and the measures adopted to check poisoning have been elaborately described in the *Āin-i-Akbarī*.<sup>18</sup>

### *Intoxicants*

Wine, opium, *bhang* and tobacco, were the most common intoxicants indulged in Mughul times. Betel, tea and coffee were also sometimes included in this class. The masses were generally opposed to intemperance which was looked upon as a vice and even a sin. The strict prohibition enforced by almost all the Mughul kings was no less a factor in discouraging the use of wine among the people. Severe punishments were inflicted for excessive drinking and disorderly conduct. The nobles, however, indulged in heavy drinking and many of them fell victims to alcohol. All the Mughul emperors excepting Aurangzīb took wine several times a day. Bābur and Jahāngīr were renowned drunkards. Humāyūn was more fond of opium. Aurangzīb totally abstained from wine while Akbar and Shāh Jahān would not pass the limits of decency.

*Nira*, *Mahua*, *Kherra*, *Bhadwar*, *Jagre*, and toddy were some of the well-known varieties of country wine. Some superior kinds of wines were also imported from foreign countries like Portugal and Persia. Opium was in use among a large number of people especially Muhammadans and Rajputs. The latter would double the dose on the eve of a battle. Its stimulating effect animated them with extraordinary courage and bravery to fight more valiantly and heroically. Some of the Mughul emperors particularly Humāyūn and Jahāngīr were very fond of this intoxicant. Tobacco gained rapid popularity among common people soon after its introduction in India in 1605 by the Portuguese. Smoking became so habitual with one and all in the short interval of a decade or so that Jahāngīr had to order its prohibition by special enactment in 1617 on account of its harmful effects.<sup>19</sup> The decree, however, remained a dead letter and several travellers refer to its wide popularity. Manucci mentions Rs. 5,000 as tobacco duty for a day in Delhi alone.<sup>20</sup>

Betel was in most common use among all classes of people throughout India. It was necessarily chewed after meals but most of the people went on taking it throughout the day. Its choicest varieties were *Bilhari*, *Kakar*, *Jaiswar*, *Kapuri*, *Kapur Kant*, and *Bangalah*. *Makhi* leaves of Bihār and *Keroah* of Orissa were also much sought after.

Tea and coffee were not taken as beverages in those days but as intoxicants. These drinks were taken by quite a large number of people especially those of Coromandel Coast. There seems to have been coffee shops, if not coffee houses, in some of our cities like Delhi and Ahmadābād.<sup>21</sup>

#### *Houses and Furniture*<sup>22</sup>

Mughul palaces, or more appropriately palace-fortresses, were usually situated on the bank of a river or a stream. Some of these were built on rocky eminences “just turning into or overhanging lakes or artificial pieces of water.” These palaces consisted of two parts—inner and outer. The inner part contained the quarters of the queens, the princesses, the private council hall, the retiring rooms, the luxurious *hammams*, etc. while the other part comprised *Dīwān-i-Ām*, *Dīwān-i-Khās*, the arsenal, the store house, etc. in their proper places. There were also pavilions for witnessing animal fights and for musical entertainments. Stables for horses, elephants, cows, etc. were also provided. Akbar’s palaces at Āgra, Allahābād and Lahore may serve as good examples of Mughul conception of royal palaces.<sup>23</sup> Most of the Hindu palaces built during the 16th and 17th centuries, particularly in the capitals of the States in Rājputana, viz., Bikāner, Jodhpur, Jaisalmer, Orchha, Datia, Udaipur and the city of Amber (Jaipur), are unsystematic in their compositions and are built more for convenience and comfort than for architectural considerations. In their planning and construction, as is natural, Mughul style predominates. As for example, the Jahāngīr Mandir at Orchha was so designed that every part fulfilled its function and expressed purpose; its rooms were devised for seclusion, its terraces for the cool air, its corridors for convenience; each compartment, court hall and passage, had its specific use and was introduced into the scheme in accord with the requirements of its inmates. The houses of the nobles were luxuriously built, preferably in the middle of a garden, and had spacious lawns, tanks, choultries, etc. The house had to be so constructed as to provide for the two wings known as the *mardana* and the *zenana*. A drawing room where the nobles received visitors, and held court, a *khwabagah*, or the bedroom, kitchen, lavatories, besides a courtyard were the necessary requisites. Climatic conditions also necessitated a terrace where the family could sleep during summer nights. The roofs of the buildings were kept flat for the purpose. A ‘*barsati*’ or a room at the terrace was also provided. The European travellers praise the houses of the rich which, to quote Pelsaert,<sup>24</sup> “were noble and elegant, spacious and pleasant.” The houses of the merchants at Surat

were built of brick and lime and had several storeys; the houses in Kāshmir were built of wood due to frequent earthquakes. Bernier saw at Āgra the mansions of nobles "interspersed with luxuriant and green foliage in the midst of which the lofty stone houses of the *baniyas* or Hindu merchants have their appearance of old castles buried in forests." There were lofty and spacious houses of the upper classes at Delhi, Lahore and Masulipatam. In Malabar these houses were built of teakwood and did not possess more than two storeys. The houses of the traders, merchants and the petty *umras* were modest in their appearance as compared to those of the nobles. They lacked elaborate carvings, embellishments, and beautiful gardens. Some of them were built of brick, burnt tiles and lime; others of clay and straw. In the villages the well-to-do *zamindārs* had several huts grouped together. These houses<sup>24a</sup> were airy and commodious. Some of them were two-storeyed and had beautiful terrace roofs. The main features of these buildings in the cities were the provision of eave or *chajja* above the cornice of each storey with its great width, its cast and shadow, which helped to keep the entire building cool during summer.

The houses of the poor were thatched huts without any cellars or windows. The addition of a second hut and a granary was considered as making a house a comfortable abode. These huts had only a single opening for air, light and entrance. The floors of the houses were of pounded earth spread over with cow-dung. In their huts they had only a mat to sleep upon and a pit or hole in the ground to keep their rice in. They had only a pot or two for cooking purposes.

The houses of the rich, especially the nobles, were, however, luxuriously furnished. Their *dīwān khānās* or drawing rooms were decorated with costly carpets from Kāshmir, Lahore or even imported from Persia and Turkey. *Jajams* and *shatrinjis* and *baluchis* were sometimes spread over the mattresses. Big cylindrical cushions were a part of the furniture and no drawing room could be considered complete without them. Gujarāti and Banarasi curtains were particularly liked. The latter were embroidered with silk. Sind had a reputation for leather hangings. Bernier gives a very interesting account about the *dīwān khānās* of a noble.<sup>25</sup>

The Indian mode of sitting did not necessitate chairs which were rightly regarded as superfluous and uncomfortable. Fryer and Pelsaert's observations regarding the complete absence of chairs are, however, exaggerated. 'Abdur Razzāq, the Persian Ambassador to Vijayanagara in 1443 A.D., and Sir Thomas Roe refer to their use. The seats, sometimes cushioned, were always wider than

those of today. The legs of the chairs were sometimes carved out and the feet were connected by means of wooden planks.<sup>26</sup> Stools were used in those days. Usually covered with leather or cloth, they could be interwoven with cane also. *Mundas* of reed and *pidis* or seats made of suitable wood are also referred to in contemporary literature. Tables were not in much use except by the merchants of the West Coast. *Khatta* or bedstead, the most common article of furniture in those days, was used by the rich and the poor alike. It was used by the poor as a couch to sit, and recline upon during day time and served the purpose of a cot at night. These bedsteads woven with cords or braids of cotton or silk according to the owner's means had their legs often painted or lacquered. The aristocracy were very particular about their bedsteads which were lavishly ornamented with gold, silver or even with jewels and diamonds.<sup>27</sup>

#### *Fairs and Festivals*<sup>28</sup>

Both the communities, Hindus and Muslims, had a large number of festivals which they celebrated with great enthusiasm during medieval times. There was general uniformity in their observance for the most part, throughout the country. But they enjoyed degrees of popularity and were celebrated with certain local variations. Decorations, illuminations, fire-works, splendid processions, abundant display of gold, silver, pearls, diamonds, and jewels, observed by Muslims in India in the celebrations of their festivals, were the natural consequence of their contact with the Hindu culture. The enlightened rulers like Akbar and Jahāngīr adopted some of the Hindu festivals and gave them a place in their court calendar. Humāyūn adopted *tulā dān* or the weighing ceremony of the Hindus. Akbar went further and associated *Holi*, *Dasehra*, and *Vasant Panchami*, with court celebrations. Jahāngīr and, to a certain extent, Shāh Jahān continued the tradition. Aurangzīb followed a reverse course. He banned most of the Hindu and Persian festivals in the court, making it Islāmic as far as he could in Hindu surroundings.

Holi, one of the ancient festivals of the Hindus, was the most popular day of rejoicing, music and feast, as it is today. Colour throwing was a lively part of the celebrations.<sup>29</sup>

Akbar observed the festival of *Rakshā Bandhan*, and had a *rākhī* tied on his wrist. It became the custom for the courtiers and others to adorn the emperor's wrist with beautiful strings of silk, bejewelled with rubies and pearls and gems of great value. Jahāngīr, who called it '*Nighadasht*', ordered: "Hindu *amins* and the head of the caste should fasten *rakhis* on my arm".

On the occasion of the Dasehra festival royal elephants and horses were washed, groomed, and caparisoned to be arrayed for inspection by the Emperor. *Diwālī* or *Dīpāwalī* was observed in much the same manner, as it is today; fire-works were discharged and sweets and other presents were exchanged. Gambling was considered auspicious on this day and people kept awake the whole night trying one another's luck at dice. Akbar was interested in the festive aspect of the celebrations, while Jahāngīr preferred gambling. Sometimes the latter ordered his attendants to play the games in his presence for two or three nights. In the time of the later Mughuls, it appears, the permission of the Governor was necessary to hold the *Diwālī* fair for which a poll-tax was sometimes imposed.<sup>30</sup> Akbar also took part in the celebrations of *Govardhan Pūjā* and several cows, properly washed and ornamented, were brought before him for his review.<sup>31</sup> Both solar and lunar eclipses were observed with all sanctity by the Hindus who kept a fast for 24 hours before the actual eclipse and passed the day in prayers. A bath in the Ganges on this occasion was regarded as of special merit and large numbers resorted to Hardwar, Kashi and Prayag.

*Śivarātri*<sup>32</sup> or the festival of Lord Śiva was observed with all solemnity during Mughul times. Akbar participated in the meeting of the principal jogis of the Empire held that night and ate and drank with them. Jahāngīr also refers to this festival. *Rāmnavamī* and *Janmāshṭamī* were the two other important Hindu festivals referred to by Abu-'l-Fazl in the *Āīn-i-Akbarī*.<sup>33</sup>

*Muharram*, *Id-i-Milad*, *Shab-i-Barat*, *Id-ul-Fitr*, and *Id-ul-Zuha*, are some of the important Muslim festivals which were observed with all solemnity during Mughul times. The Mughul Emperors, though Sunnī in belief, put no restrictions on the observance of Muharram. Aurangzīb however, stopped the practice of Muharram processions throughout his dominions. But though the tazia processions were never given up and Muharram assemblies, mourning and distribution of charity continued to be practised all over the country, sometimes Muharram celebrations were marred by riots between the Sunnīs and Shīahs in which numerous lives were lost.<sup>34</sup> On the occasion of the festival of *Id-i-Milad* or the feast of Prophet's nativity, a meeting of the Sayyids, scholars and saints was arranged in the Palace at Āgra. Shāh Jahān took special interest in this festival and used to give away large sums in charity. Equally popular was the festival of *Shab-i-Barat* or the night of the Prophet's ascent to Heaven. The Muslims, during Mughul days, illuminated their houses and shops and displayed fire-works. Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān were very particular about this festival and observed it regularly

with great pomp and show. The palaces, government buildings, public gardens, reservoirs etc. were all illuminated on this occasion and the King would distribute money among the poor. The two Ids, *Id-ul-Fitr*, and the *Id-ul-Zuha*, were the two most important festivals of the Muslims. The *Id-ul-Fitr* which comes after the long drawn-out part of *Ramzan* was proclaimed by firing of guns and blowing of trumpets. Friends and relatives exchanged dainty dishes and visits and wished each other good luck. It was customary to call on elders and superiors to offer greetings. In the afternoon Muslims assembled in the *Idgah* to offer prayers. *Id-ul-Zuha* was observed with ceremonious display during Mughul times. Preparations were made both in the capital and in the provinces well in advance. The Emperor rode in procession and sometimes even took up his quarters at the *Idgah*. The sacrifice of a camel would be performed in his presence with due ceremonies. The people who could afford it performed the same ceremony at their homes by solemnly killing a ram or a goat in memory of the ram offered for Ismā'īl. They also cooked stew, sweetmeats and griddle cakes and offered *fatihā* in the name of their deceased relatives.

Some of the other Muslim festivals referred to in the contemporary literature are *Bara Wafat*, *Akhiri Chahar Shamba*, etc.

There were a few festivals like the *Nauroz* (birthday celebrations of the ruling monarch), *Meena* or Fancy Bazar and the *Ab-i-Pashan* which assumed more or less national character. *Nauroz*<sup>35</sup> was easily the greatest national festival during Mughul times and its celebrations lasted for full 19 days. It was borrowed from the Persians and was observed on the first *Farwardis*, the first month of the Persian Year (20th or 21st of March). In India, it marked the advent of spring. Grand preparations for the festival were made months ahead at the imperial cities, bazars, and porticoes; the public and private audience halls were profusely decorated with costly stuffs such as satin, velvet, clothes of gold, etc. The common people whitewashed their entrances and decorated the doors of their houses with green branches. The people from neighbouring towns would flock to the capital and indulge in all sorts of merry-making. Restrictions on gambling were also relaxed and people were allowed free access to the presence of the King once a week. The King and the court celebrated this festival in a right royal manner. Special kinds of coins called '*nisars*' were struck by the Mughul Emperors from Jahāngīr onwards for distribution among the people or for offering tribute to the King on the occasion of certain festivities such as New Year's day, or the anniversary of their coronations. During these 19 days "wine flowed in rivulets, verse and ode flew

in hundreds, gaiety and merriment ruled everything." Singers and musicians flocked to the court from all quarters particularly from Persia. *Nautch* girls with their wonderful and attractive performances thrilled the hearts of all those present. Several European travellers have given a picturesque description of the lavish display of wealth and magnificence on this occasion. Manrique, perhaps copying from somewhere or depending on hearsay, gives a detailed account of the decorations of the Imperial Palace at Āgra.<sup>36</sup> The nobles, too, adorned their palaces with jewels, pearls, diamonds, and their richest treasures and greatest rarities, so that, to quote Nizām-ud-dīn, the author of the *Tabqāt-i-Akbarī*, "the spectators on seeing them were filled with wonder and admiration." The main function usually took place in the *Dīwān-i-Ām* which was richly decorated with velvets, gold cloth, and European curtains and screens, and the royal tent was fixed there in the middle beautified with diamonds, pearls, rubies and fruits of gold. It was surrounded all round by the tents of the nobles. The nobles presented the King with rare and precious gifts on this occasion and the King bestowed on them *jāgīrs*, robes of honour, stipends and titles and promotion in rank.

Birthday of the ruling monarch provided another opportunity for rejoicings. Akbar introduced the custom of observing both his lunar and solar birthdays. The royal palaces and the courts were decorated on this occasion as on the occasion of *Nauroz*, and the elephants and horses, bedecked in rich trappings and glittering robes, were brought before the Emperor for review. The King paid a visit to his mother to receive her blessings. Presents were offered, feasts were given and bonfires lighted. Humāyūn was the first Mughul ruler to adopt the custom of weighing the emperor against certain precious metals and commodities on this occasion.<sup>37</sup> Akbar observed it twice a year both on his solar and lunar birthday anniversaries. The practice was continued by Jahāngīr and with slight alterations by Shāh Jahān. Aurangzīb, however, reverted to the old custom of having himself weighed only once a year and even this was dispensed with in his 51st year (March, 1670). But he allowed it in the case of his sons on their recovery from illness on the specific condition that the money and articles should be distributed among the poor.<sup>38</sup> The princes and their sons were also weighed on their solar anniversaries. The weighing commenced at the age of 2 years against one commodity, and one was added each year, till the number reached generally 7 or 8 but in no case was it to exceed 12. These commodities were later on distributed among the Brāhmans, *fakirs* and other deserving persons. After the cere-

mony, the King ascended the throne and received presents which, according to Thevenot, were valued at millions of rupees.<sup>39</sup> The king would announce increase in the *manṣabs* of some and bestowed gifts and *jāgīrs*.

Humāyūn was the first Mughul Emperor to introduce what later came to be known as *Meena Bazar*. The first of this kind was held on boats near the King's palace after the customary mystic feast.<sup>40</sup> Akbar who continued the festival in a modified form exalted such days as *Khushroz* or joyful days. Shāh Jahān arranged such a *bazar* on the occasion of every festival. It invariably followed the *Nauroz* celebrations. The stalls in the specially constructed *bazar* were distributed among nobles to be arranged by their wives or daughters who acted as traders. If we are to believe Badāūnī, stalls in the *Meena Bazar* were sometimes conducted by nobles themselves.<sup>41</sup> The King with princesses and ladies of the royal household would pay visits to the *bazar* to make his bargain, frequently disputing the value of a *dām*. After the women's *bazar*, a *bazar* for men was held; there the merchants brought their merchandise from all parts of the world.

A festival similar to *Holi*, called *Ab-i-Pashan* by Jahāngīr and *Id-i-Gulabi* (rose water festival) by Lahori, the author of *Pādshā-nāma*, was celebrated at the Mughul court at the commencement of the rainy season. The princes and the prominent nobles took part in the festival and sprinkled rose water on each other.

#### *Sports, Games and Pastimes*<sup>42</sup>

Leaving aside twentieth century amusements like cinema-going, and outdoor games like hockey, cricket, football, tennis, etc. that have come to us through contact with the West, the pastimes in vogue during Mughul times were similar to those commonly found today. The difference, if any, lies in details only. Chess, *chaupar*, and playing cards were the most popular indoor games and were enjoyed by the rich and the poor alike. The various types of tiger play, games of *guṭis* and the games of sheep and goats were favourites with the rural population. Abu-'l-Fazl has given some details about these games in *Āīn-i-Akbarī*.<sup>43</sup> The Mughul pack of cards consisted of 12 suits of 12 cards each making a total of 144 with different kinds of kings and followers. The names of all the suits were in Sanskrit till the time of Akbar who renamed the last seven suits and reconstituted Dhanpati, the fifth. As distinguished from our present day cards, they were all in pictures; the highest represented the King, the second highest, a *vazīr* and the rest were followers from

one to ten. The game was quite popular with the Mughul Emperors many of whom were expert players.

The game of chess<sup>44</sup> was equally popular with the kings, nobles and the commoners alike. Akbar is said to have played the game of living chess with slave girls as pieces moving on the chequered pavement of the *Pachisi* court at Fathpur Sikrī. Sometimes international matches were held and bets offered. Khān-i-Khānān was deputed by Jahāngīr to combat Shāh Shafi of Persia.

The game of *chaupar* was quite popular among the people, but no ready-made tables for the game were available in those days. The Mughuls, it appears, were not familiar with the game as it existed in India till the time of Akbar who framed special rules and regulations.<sup>45</sup> It was a favourite game of Zīb-un-Nisā, the eldest daughter of Aurangzīb, who spent most of her spare time in playing *chaupar* with her girl friends. *Āīn* refers to another game called *Chandal Mahal* which was, in fact, a modified *chaupar*, designed to increase the number of players to 16 with 64 pieces divided equally among them. *Nard* or *backgammon* was introduced into India by the Muslims while *Pachisi* was an ancient Hindu game enjoyed frequently by Akbar. The boards of this game were marked out on a marble square in a quadrangle in the Āgra Fort and Fathpur Sikrī. The games of *Guṭis*—*do guṭi*, *tre guṭi*, *nao guṭi*, and *bāra guṭi*—were popular with the rural as well as the urban population. *Mughul pathan*, *lam turki*, *bhag chal*, *bhag chakar*, *chhabis guṭi*, *bhag chal* and *bheri bakri* were its popular variations.<sup>46</sup>

Of the outdoor diversions, hunting, animal fights and *Chaugan* were the privilege of the few, while *Ishq-bazi*, wrestling, etc. were enjoyed by one and all. It is regrettable that no reference to *kabaddi* is traceable in contemporary records. But the game must have been played in the villages, as it is even today. Of all the Mughul Emperors Akbar liked *Chaugan* (Polo) most and even invented illuminated balls which made the playing of game on dark nights possible. The most famous of the *chaugan* playing fields were at Fathpur Sikrī and Āgra. The game of hockey, too, is referred to in contemporary records.<sup>47</sup> Wrestling and boxing were a favourite pastime during the Mughul Age. In Vijayanagara even women took part in wrestling contests.<sup>48</sup> Akbar was very much fond of boxing and kept a large number of Persian and Turani boxers at the court. Horse-racing was a source of entertainment prevalent among the high class Mughul nobles. Martial sports like archery and swordsmanship had a special fascination for the people; matches and contests were held and rewards offered.

Hunting was one of the best means of amusement and recreation during the Mughul times and was indulged in by the king, nobles and the commoners. The costly and dangerous expeditions were the privilege of the few and the quarry consisted of elephants, lions, tigers, buffaloes and wild goats. Lion hunting was exclusively reserved for the king. Elephant hunting, too, could not be indulged in without the special permission of the king. Akbar invented a special kind of hunting called '*qamargha hunt*'<sup>49</sup> which became very popular with the Mughul kings, who took lively interest in the game. Shooting of birds was a common hobby and a source of entertainment for the rich and the poor.

Fishing was in vogue during the Mughul times both as a recreation and as a profession. The use of nets for catching fish was not totally unknown but professional fishermen did not have recourse to it. A special type of net called *safra* (or *bhanwar jal* in Hindi) was used.

Animal fight was one of the popular amusements and recreations of the age. The people had to content themselves with the less expensive fighting of goats, rams, cocks, stags, antelopes, dogs and bulls to entertain their friends. Young boys favoured fight among *bulbuls* and sometimes quails. The kings and the nobles amused themselves with costly and dangerous combats between elephants, tigers, deer, cheetas, boars, leopards, bulls and other wild beasts. Cock-fighting was very common among the higher middle class. *Ishq-bazi* or pigeon flying was primarily a sport of common folk. Nobles, too, enjoyed it and brought excellent pigeons from foreign countries like Turan and Īrān to be trained for the game.

Among other pastimes reference may be made to *mushairas*, magic shows, acrobatics and dramatic performances. *Ramlīlā* or theatrical representation of scenes from the *Rāmāyaṇa* were common during the Hindu festival of *Dasehra* and even Muslims witnessed this show.<sup>50</sup> "The visits to periodical fairs and seats of pilgrimage", to quote Sir Jadunath Sarkar, "were the sole joy of the Indian village population and men and women were passionately eager to undertake them."<sup>51</sup> Mathura, Allahābād, Banaras, Nasik and Madura were the main religious centres of the Hindus while Ajmer, Gulbarga, Nizām-ud-dīn Auliya and Burhanpur were the seats of Muslim pilgrimage.

### *Customs and Ceremonies*

From the few and scattered references in the contemporary literature, it is evident that both the communities, Hindus and Muslims, observed their rites and ceremonies<sup>52</sup> in much the same