THE MUGHAL EMPIRE

FROM

BĀBAR TO AURANGZEB

BY

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and
"*Some Cultural Aspects of Muslim Rule in India*"

WITH AN INTRODUCTION
BY
The Hon'ble Sir ABDUL QADIR, Kt.

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DEDICATED

TO

MY FELLOW WORKERS

IN THE SAME FIELD

PREFACE

ONE should not raise one's pen to write history unless one is equipped with a thorough knowledge of the original sources and a clear conscience. In order to obtain correct information, it is absolutely essential to approach history with an unprejudiced mind and without preconceived notions. The evidence thus collected from the huge mass of historical literature that has come down to posterity from the pen of the contemporary chroniclers must be carefully sifted and pieced together in such a way as to present an accurate account of the past. History must not be used as an instrument of propaganda even in the best of causes; if used in a wrong cause, it may result in filling streets with human blood. Volumes written on the Muslim Period of Indian history have voluminously added to the volumes of communal hatred and bigotry. Whatever the aims of their authors, the text-books on Indian history, particularly on the Muslim Period, teem with exaggerations, distortions and timid suppression of facts, so much so that they tend to set one community at the throat of the other. False history has done more than a mere wrong to the cause of national unity and inter-communal amity in India. A retrospective glance at the present state of affairs will not fail to reveal to the reader the fact that the teaching of wrong history, more than anything else, is responsible for the recurring riots among

the different communities of India. The sooner, therefore, such books are dispensed with, the better for the peace and prosperity of India. Born and brought up in communal atmosphere, we, Indians, see everything with communal glasses and therefore get a gloomy view. The obvious result is that the best of Muslim monarchs, statesmen and scholars have been painted in the darkest of colours and condemned as bigots and intolerants, nay, as blood-thirsty tyrants. As things stand at present, communal harmony without correct history is a dream which cannot be realized. The whole of Indian history, therefore, requires to be re-written in the right spirit, 'not so much from the point of view of occurrences at the capitals of various states as in order to delineate the spread of culture and to demonstrate the value of its present composite form, so that our people may not be led away by the false notion that whatever paraphernalia of civilization we possess does not go back to more than a century and a half'. Some time ago the Punjab Government appointed a Special Committee to see into the subject. The Committee investigated the matter and made some useful recommendations. The same point regarding the re-writing of the whole of Indian history, particularly the Muslim Period, was stressed at Poona at the All-India Historical Conference in 1934 by Dr. (now Sir) Shafaat Ahmad Khan who presided over its deliberations and suggested the appointment of a Mss. Commission for the purpose. How far the objects aimed at have been achieved, I do not know. Some six years ago, while

I was a student, I too felt the same necessity after making an independent study of the Muslim Period and set myself to the task in right earnest. Remotely removed as I was from big educational centres, I was consequently deprived of all facilities for research. It was my love for my subject (history) that drove me from place to place in search of books drawn upon for material and the result is *The Mughal Empire* which I now submit to the judgment of the public.

The Mughals are no more. Posterity may pause and pronounce judgment on their actions and administrations; but to be fair and free from fallacy, it is necessary to bear five things in mind: *viz.*, (1) the background, (2) the spirit of the age (3) the conditions of the country (4) the tendencies of the times, and (5) the time that has elapsed since the fall of the Mughal Empire. The background in the case of Mughal Emperors was Islām on the one hand and Persian traditions on the other. In the case of Shāh Jahān and Aurangzeb, Islām had a great influence on their actions, whereas Persian traditions played a prominent part in determining the acts and administrations of the rest of the Great Mughals. The spirit of the age, the conditions of the country and the tendencies of the times too had a great share in shaping their policies. While taking these four factors into consideration, allowance must also be made for the fifth—the time that has scanned the interval between the fall of the Mughal Empire and the establishment of British Dominions in India—time that has made marvellous improvements in and additions

to the existing knowledge of man and changed his conception of things.

Since the book has been intended chiefly for students in schools and colleges as well as for the general reader, I have constantly kept their needs in view and therefore avoided burdening it with numerous footnotes, though I have fully tapped the sources of my information, both original and secondary, catalogued at the end of the book, and referred to my authorities on controversial topics, such as the alleged apostasy of Akbar and the so-called bigotry of Aurangzeb,—topics on which I have differed from modern historians and suggested a new line of thought.

Last, but not the least, my unreserved thanks are due to all those writers, mediæval and modern, whose monumental works I have consulted for constructing this narrative; to the Hon'ble Sir Abdul Qadir for writing the Introduction; to my brother S. M. Raza, B. A., for preparing the Index and to my learned officer, the Judicial Commissioner, N.-W. F. P., for permitting me to publish this book.

Peshawar City: S. M. JAFFAR.
1st October, 1936.

ORTHOGRAPHY

In spelling Oriental names and words, I have followed the system of transliteration adopted and recommended by the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, except that I have adhered to the popular and well-established spelling of certain well-known places like Lucknow and Cawnpore, and have not tried to distinguish between the letters of almost, if not exactly, the same sounds, such as ت and ط; ث, س and ص; ذ, ز, ض, and ظ; ح and ه, which, though useful for purposes of translation into Arabic and allied languages, is, nevertheless, bewildering to the student and the general reader, not acquainted with Arabic. Each letter in the above categories has its own sound, different from that of any other of its own category; but the difference cannot be perceived by the reader, unless he be an Arabic scholar. To him, if he is not acquainted with Arabic; the letters of each separate category are identical in sound and he pronounces them all alike. Again, I have not attempted to differentiate the letters ث (soft *t*), د (soft *d*) and ڑ (hard *r*), which have no equivalents in English but are represented by *t*, *d* and *r* with dots or commas on or under them. For the rest, بهم is

represented by *bh*; بھ by *ph*; تھ by *th*; ٹھ by *ṭh*; جھ by *jh*; چ by *ch*; چھ by *chh*; خ by *kh*; دھ by *dh*; ڑھ by *rh*; ش by *sh*; غ by *gh*; کھ by *kh*; and گھ by *gh*. The system employs the vowels with the following uniform sounds:—

(1) Ordinarily—

a, as in Rom*a*n; *e*, as in pr*e*y; *i*, as in t*i*n; *o*, as in b*o*ld; and *u*, as in f*u*ll.

(2) When lengthened—

ā, as in l*a*st; ī, as in fat*i*gue; and ū, as in plu*r*al.

ABBREVIATIONS

Āīn	... Āīn-i-Akbarī by Allāma Abul Fazl.
B. I. S.	... Bibliotheca Indica Series.
H. U. L. S.	... Home University Library Series.
J. R. A. S. B.	... Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal.
J. R. A. S.	... Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (London).
J. R. S. A.	... Journal of the Royal Society of Arts (London).
M. R. A. S. B.	... Memoirs of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengāl.
M. U. J.	... Muslim University Journal (Aligarh).
N. K. T.	... Newal Kishor Text.
P. R. A. S. B.	... Proceedings of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengāl.
Trans.	... Translation (English).

CORRIGENDA

Page 33, line 4 (from top), *for* Humāūn *read* Humāyūn.
Page 37, last line, *for* souhgt *read* sought.
Page 206, line 2 (from bottom), *for* over *read* near.
Page 384, line 19 (from top), *insert* a *after* for.
Page 399, line 2 (from bottom) *for* force *read* forces.

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INTRODUCTION

The period of the Moghal rule in India is the most interesting period in the history of our country and furnishes a highly fascinating subject of study. Students of Indian history owe a debt of gratitude to Mr. S. M. Jaffar of Peshawar for his book, which gives a very readable account of '*The Moghal Empire*', opening with the reign of Bābar and coming down to Aurangzeb. Mr. Jaffar has taken great pains to study the numerous books on the subject that are available in English, Persian and Urdu, and has beautifully summarised the material contained in them. The long list of books used or consulted by him, given at the end of his valuable work, will show the range of his wide study and research. The result is a book considerably different from and decidedly superior in treatment and style to the existing text-books on Indian history. The author, as an enlightened Muslim, is naturally in sympathy with the Great Moghal Rulers who professed the faith of Islām and succeeded in establishing a vast and wonderful Empire in a country to which the Founder of the dynasty originally came as an invader from his Central Asian home. Mr. Jaffar does not conceal his admiration for the Moghals, yet he is not forgetful of his duty as an historian and comes out with frank criticisms of the policies and administrations of the Emperors whose reigns are described by him.

It is refreshing to note that the author has not confined his attention to the events of the period with which he is concerned, or to the dates of those events. These details may be important in themselves, but they are, after all, rightly called the dry bones of history. He has clothed the dry bones with flesh and blood and colour by dealing with the many aspects of the social life of the people, their progress in arts and letters and the effect of each reign on these vital things. I am sure that this part of his effort will be very much appreciated by his readers. I think it is time that this line of study in history be developed to the fullest extent possible. I know that the materials for it are comparatively meagre and have to be sifted and collected with great research out of the heaps of rubbish, in which they are lying scattered. The work, however, is worth doing, and Mr. Jaffar is one of those who recognize its value and have tried to accomplish it. He has already contributed very substantially to this neglected field of Indian history by writing two other well-documented books, one on '*Education in Muslim India*' and another on '*Some Cultural Aspects of Muslim Rule in India*'.

While dealing with the Muslim point of view and trying to explain the actions of Moghal Emperors, which have been adversely criticised by some modern historians, Mr. Jaffar does not ignore the general Indian point of view, and he brings out the contribution made by Moghal Rulers of India to Indian culture and to the fusion of Hindu and Muslim

cultures into one common heritage. For instance, the following remarks of his about the Emperor Jahāngir are very interesting :

" Like his father, he loved to hear Hindī songs and took delight in patronising Hindī poets. He loved fine arts and encouraged their cultivation. Born in India and of Indian parents, Jahāngīr loved things Indian and felt delighted in Indian environments."

In another place, the author, while describing the progress made by education during the Moghal Period, makes the following observations :—

" It may be mentioned here that in the schools and colleges founded by the Moghal Emperors and others, Hindū students studied side by side with their Muslim class-fellows and there was no restriction in this or in any other respect."

Another passage that may be cited to illustrate the importance attached by Mr. Jaffar to the efforts of the Moghals to develop a common nationality in India, runs as follows :

" Aibak, the first King of the Sultānate of Delhi, and Bābar, the first King of the Moghal Empire, came from foreign lands, no doubt, but they settled down in this country, made it their permanent home, identified themselves with the interests of the country, and ruled it rather as Indians than as foreigners. Their successors were born in India, lived in India and died in India. Thus they were Indian every inch. They came as foreigners indeed, but like the Aryans, who too were foreigners, they engrafted themselves on the Indian soil, sucked into their veins

the Indian sap, nurtured themselves under the warmth of the Indian sun and conditioned their growth, multiplication and expansion under the Indian climate. So with the march of time they became with each succeeding generation, ' of the earth earthy '."

Besides the special features of Mr. Jaffar's excellent book, briefly referred to above, there are many other features, equally attractive, which need not be dilated upon here and will be better appreciated by the reader when perusing the book itself. I think it can be safely said that the author has succeeded in giving to the students of Indian history an accurate as well as an instructive account of the Moghal rule in India in its palmy days. The book is a most useful contribution to Indian historical literature and should interest not only the general reader, but also students of Indian history in schools and colleges.

London, ABDUL QADIR.
20th December, 1935.

CHAPTER I

PRELIMINARY

Sources of Information and the Forces that produced Modern India.

Sources of Information.

The main sources of our information about the Mughal Period may conveniently be classed as follows:—(1) contemporary records, such as imperial *firmāns*, official reports, despatches and diaries (whether military or diplomatic) sent to and received from the provincial governors and others by the Central Government through the agency of news-writers and secret reporters; (2) narratives reduced to writing by the participators in the acts and events from memory after their termination, or set down by others who learnt about them from their lips; (3) imperial autobiographies—*Malfūzāt-i-Taimūrī*, *Tuzk-i-Bābarī* and *Tuzk-i-Jahāngīrī*—written either by the Mughal Emperors themselves, or by their court-scholars under their own direction; (4) court journals, such as *Akbarnāmāh*, *Bādshāh-nāmāh* and *'Ālamgīrnāmāh*, written, respectively, by Abul Fazl, Abdul Hamīd Lāhori and Munshī Muhammad Kāzim, the best writers of Persian prose, to whom the otherwise inaccessible archives of the State were thrown open for inspection and information; (5) accounts of foreign travellers, *i. e.*, Von Noer, De Laet, Coryat, Niccolao Manucci, Bernier and Taverniei, who visited India during that period;

(6) impressions of English ambassadors, *viz.*, Roe, Terry and Hawkins, who represented England at the Mughal Court in the reign of Emperor Jahāngīr ; (7) accounts of Portuguese missionaries, *i.e.*, Monserrat, Xavier and others, who resided at the Mughal Court; (8) *tazkirās* and *tārīkhs* of later Muslim chroniclers, such as Muhammad Qāsim's *Tārīkh-i-Ferishtā*, Khāfī Khān's *Muntakhib-ul-Lubāb*, Kāmwar Khān's *Tazkirat-us-Salātīn-i-Chaghtāiā* and Sayyad Ghulām Hussain's *Siyar-ul-Mutā'akhkhirīn*.

Their authenticity.

Documents of the first kind are by far the most important and reliable raw materials for constructing a comprehensive history of the Mughal Period. Unfortunately, however, very few of them have come down to us, most of them having perished during the Mutiny of 1857. Of the surviving few, some are to be seen in the libraries of Europe, whither they travelled after having escaped, and some in possession of Indian States and ancient families, so that they are not easily accessible to a modern historian who concerns himself with the elucidation of any topic relating to the Mughal Period, and he is, consequently, constrained to draw almost exclusively upon the remaining sources of information. Those of the second type also contain some rich stores of information, but they must be subjected to the correction of errors and the elimination of the mere hearsay. Whereas the information we derive from the imperial autobiographies, court journals and other works written by the protégés of the ruling princes may be regarded as one-sided,

giving only the bright side of the picture; that we receive from the accounts of foreign travellers, English ambassadors and Portuguese missionaries paints mostly the dark side. The *tazkirās* and *tārikhs* were written by writers who did not keep regular diaries and had little access to official records and State papers. Therefore, the accuracy of their contents must needs be called in question should they come into conflict with the other sources of information, though they were often unbiased and free from flattery, distortion and timid suppression of facts. And, it is not seldom that the accounts of contemporary chroniclers come into conflict. This is because, on the one hand, they were written by flattering friends for the eyes and ears of their imperial patrons who raised them above want, even to affluence, and on the other hand, by hostile critics whom the Court did not actively patronize, nor took into confidence.

Distortion and wrong juxtaposition of facts.

Thus, though there is ample material for writing a comprehensive history of the period in question, it is the duty of the historian to sift evidence, separate facts from fiction, brush aside the cobwebs of history with patience and industry, and piece the material together in such a way as to give an unsophisticated account, for history ceases to be history if facts are distorted for ulterior aims and are juxtaposed in such a way as to present a melancholy picture; and an historian ceases to be historian if he writes history for the sordid love of money. A glaring instance of distortion and wrong juxtaposition of facts is found

in the case of Akbar who has been branded as apostate from Islām. Chapter VII (The Divine Faith) is devoted to a discussion on the subject and it will be evident that the charge of apostasy is a mere calumny concocted to create an aversion against the greatest ruler of India. Another such instance is found in the case of Aurangzeb who is alleged to have alienated the loyalty of his Hindū subjects by destroying their temples, by re-imposing the *Jiziā* and by introducing a number of repressive measures. Chapter XIV will show that the case was quite the contrary—that it was the Hindūs who alienated the sympathies of their sovereign by destroying mosques, by marrying Muslim women by force and by defying the authority of the Emperor in league with his enemies. It was after the Hindūs had destroyed mosques, outraged the modesty of Muslim women and created disturbances in the Empire that the Emperor ordered the destruction of those temples that had been built on the sites of mosques, those that had been newly built and those that had become centres of sedition and political intrigue.

Modern India and the forces that produced it.

Before entering upon the history of the Great Mughals it seems necessary to give a brief account of the forces that laid the foundation of Modern India, for the interest of Indian history from the beginning of the sixteenth century to the dawn of the present day will be found in the development of these forces. Referring to the fifteenth century in India, Professor Rushbrook-Williams remarks that 'beneath all the apparent chaos, the elements from which, in future, modern political

society will be constructed, are slowly taking shape, until the moment comes when they rise in view, dominant and incontrovertible.' The first of these forces was the Religious Revival; the second was the Discovery of the Sea-route to India by Vasco da Gama in 1498 A. C. and the appearance of European nations on the stage of Indian history; and the third was the Advent of the Great Mughals and the foundation of the Mughal Empire in India.

Religious Revival.

With the establishment of the Muslim Empire in India, Islām became supreme and it launched upon a new career of conversion. As a result, Hindūism was adversely affected. Some attracted by the teachings of the Muslim Faith, others actuated by economic advantages, went over to the religion of their rulers. For full five centuries this state of affairs continued uninterrupted, but when conversions were accelerated into mass movements, there arose in this country a host of Hindū religious reformers who made earnest efforts to recover their lost sheep. The method they adopted to achieve their object was reconciliation with Islām and the result was the *Bhakti* Movement, which preached the unity of God and propagated the principles of *liberty*, *equality* and *fraternity*. Thus, while the *Reformation* was revolutionizing the religious life of Europe, the *Bhakti* Movement—analogous to the *Reformation* Movement—was on foot in India. Mahārāshtrā and the Punjāb were immensely influenced by it: In the former it gave rise to the Marhattā Power, which reached its climax under the leadership of Shivājī; in the latter it

established the sovereignty of the Sikhs who subsequently became supreme under the sway of Ranjīt Singh.

Discovery of the Sea-route to India.

The second, in the scheme of chronology, was the Discovery of the Sea-route to India and the appearance of the Portuguese, the Dutch, the French and the English on the stage of Indian history. To the Portuguese, India seemed a second Peru, where diadems might be torn from the brows of the Princes—nay another new world for conquest and conversion; to the Dutch, she looked like a large market, which afforded a favourable field for ambitious enterprise; to the French, she was a big theatre for lucrative intrigue, where they could reap a rich harvest of gains and fame; to the English, she was an *emporium*, which offered untold trade facilities. In the scramble that followed among these four European rivals, the English, whose methods were less showy but more sure and successful, proved to be the fittest and, therefore, survived the remaining three. It is the second force, therefore, that changed the course of India's future history and made her what she is to-day—an integral part of the British Empire.

Advent of the Great Mughals.

To the student of Muslim history, however, it is neither the first nor the second but the third that strikes as the most important force. Bābar defeated Ibrāhīm Lodhi at the historic plain of Pānīpat in 1526 A. C. and laid the foundation of the Mughal Empire in India. His grandson, Akbar the Great, not only enlarged and consolidated his heritage but constructed that

administrative and fiscal system which gave a definite form and cohesion to the Mughal Sovereignty. By peaceful methods and beneficial legislation, by reconciliation and universal toleration, he won over the discontented natives to his side and reconciled them to the ideas of the Mughal Rule. His peaceful policy, pursued by his successors, proved the corner-stone of the Mughal Empire and contributed incalculably to its strength and stability

Importance of the three forces.

The importance of these forces cannot be overstated. Though none of them attracted any notice in the beginning, they heralded the dawn of a new era which ushered in the Mughals, the Marhattās. the Sikhs and the Europeans, who abandoned their respective vocations and entered upon a struggle for the throne of India. The Mughals were the first, in order of time, to establish their sway in India. During the reign of Shāh Jahān and his successors the Marhattās and the Sikhs were transformed into warlike races and they tried their utmost to extirpate Islām from India root and branch. They ate into the vitality of the Mughal Empire, so much so that it was easily supplanted by the English towards the end of the eighteenth century. The Marhattās became the masters of Mahārāshtrā and the Sikhs established their supremacy in the Punjāb. The former were farmers and the latter were deists. The teachings of their leaders, coupled with the conditions of the country and the circumstances of the age, turned them into warriors and drove them into the vortex of politics. The obvious result was that the tables were

turned: men of farms became men of arms, monks and mendicants became soldiers and statesmen, and the traders became the rulers of India under the East India Company.

CHAPTER II

ZAHĪR-UD-DĪN MUHAMMAD BĀBAR

(1526-1530 A. C.)

Introductory.

The most brilliant period in the annals of Indian history begins with the advent of Bābar who invaded India on the solicitation of Alā-ud-Dīn, the uncle of the ruling prince Ibrāhīm Lodhi, and Daulat Khān Lodhi, the Governor of the Punjāb, and laid the foundation of the Mughal Empire. The first battle of Pānīpat, in which Bābar defeated Ibrāhīm Lodhi, marked the beginning of a new era in the history of India. It paved the way for the Great Mughals to come and settle in this country and make it their permanent abode. The victory at Pānīpat meant the establishment of the Mughal Dynasty, which furnished a line of those illustrious sovereigns under whom India reached the pinnacle of her greatness and the apex of her fortunes. Rich in useful institutions and fruitful ideas, the Mughal Imperialism was extremely favourable for the efflorescence of fine arts and the development of learning and literature. It will be seen that during the two centuries of the Mughal Rule the Imperial Court was a bee-hive of poets and painters, historians and philosophers, musicians and dancers, engineers and architects—nay a hot-house where nothing died of chilly indifference. What gave such a spur to their successful cultivation was the Imperial patronage, which

was no longer the monopoly of the favoured few, but extended to all and sundry without stint.

Why is the Mughal Dynasty so called?

We may now return to Bābar whom we left victorious at the plain of Pānīpat, where Sultān Ibrāhīm Lodhi had fallen fighting for his throne. The victor claimed descent from Taimūr on his father's side and from Chingiz Khān on his mother's side. He thus united in his veins the blood of two great warriors of Central Asia and combined in his person, in commensurate proportion, the courage of a nomad Tārtar and the urbanity of a cultured Persian. Bābar was not a Mughal. In his *Memoirs* he speaks contemptuously of the Mughals and calls himself a Turk. Therefore, it seems strange that the dynasty he founded should have been known as the Mughal Dynasty. An explanation for this may be found in the fact that the people of India used to call all Musalmān invaders, excepting Afghāns, Mughals, and hence the name of the dynasty.

Bābar's early career.

Zahīr-ud-Dīn Muhammad, surnamed Bābar 'the Brave', was born on Friday, the 24th day of February, 1483 A. C. His father, Umar Shaikh Mirzā, was the ruler of Farghānā, a fragment of Taimūr's Central Asian Empire. At the age of eleven his father passed away and he was called upon to succeed him to his small kingdom. His succession was an eyesore to his uncles and cousins, one of whom attacked him soon after he was enthroned, and others continued to plot against him to the last day of their life. Fortunately, Ahmad Mirzā, who contested his succession in the

first year of his reign, died a year afterwards, leaving anarchy and confusion to rule in Samarqand. Availing himself of this opportune moment, Bābar advanced from his native Farghānā, occupied Samarqand and seated himself on the throne of his great ancestor, Taimūr, at the early age of fifteen. He, however, fell ill in his new possession. Taking advantage of his absence and illness, his ambitious minister set up on the throne of Farghānā Bābar's younger brother Jahāngīr, giving out that Bābar was dead. Post-haste he marched from Samarqand on his recovery to take back Farghānā. Soon after his departure, Samarqand was occupied by his cousin, Ali. In 1498 A. C. he was no king. His only possession was Khojend, a small town between Farghānā and Samarqand. He recovered Farghānā in 1499 A. C. and Samarqand the following year. But the Uzbegs would not allow him to rule in peace. Defeated in a highly contested battle at Archian in 1501 A. C., he succeeded in saving his life with the greatest difficulty. Samarqand was lost and Farghānā followed its suit soon after.

Conquest of Kābul.

All prospects being thus extinguished, Bābar bid a sad farewell to his beloved Farghānā and set out to try his luck beyond the Hindūkush in 1502 A. C. While he was on his way to Kābul, he was given to understand that his uncle's kingdom was in an anarchical state and that a strong party of the nobles was willing to restore the throne to a prince of the royal blood. The year 1504 A. C. may appropriately be called the *annus mirablis* of Bābar's career: It was

in this year that he overthrew the Afghāns and occupied Kābul. The conquest of Kābul enabled him to conquer Qandhār, Herāt and Badakhshān. All this emboldened him to make a bid for Samarqand, the capital of his ancestor, Taimūr. In 1513 A. C. he made an alliance with the Shāh of Persia and conquered Bokhārā and Samarqand. Notwithstanding all these successes, his position was as precarious as ever. The Uzbegs would not allow him to rule in rest. His conformity to the *Athnā-i-Ashariyā* (Shiā Faith) in his treaty with the Persian Monarch annoyed his Sunnī subjects and alienated them from him. The Uzbegs fully exploited the feelings of the people and successfully fished in the troubled waters. Within a short time they ousted him from his dominions one after the other, drove him from post to pillar and pillar to post, and reduced him to such straits that he decided at last to seek his fortune in the east rather than in the west.

His early attempts to conquer India.

The battle of Pānīpat was preceded by some preliminary attempts at the conquest of India. The first of these attempts was made in 1505 A. C. when Bābar occupied Ghaznīn and raided as far as the Indus. The second attempt was made in 1519 A. C. It was, however, confined to the borders of India. The following year our trans-border hero crossed the Indus and marched into the interior of India; but he was soon called back to Kābul to meet a combined attack of his old enemies, the Uzbegs. These preliminary attempts convinced him that he could not conquer

India without strengthening his base at Qandhār. So he seized Qandhār from the Arghūns and organised it in a state of defence. Next he established his authority over the territory between Ghaznīn and Khurāsān in order to facilitate the conquest of India.

Political condition of India on the eve of his invasion.

The political condition of India on the eve of Bābar's invasion was terribly deplorable. Northern India was seething with discontent and dissensions. Sikandar Lodhi, a capable ruler, had died in 1517 A. C. and his stupid son, Ibrāhīm Lodhi, had mounted the throne of Delhi. His misgovernment and arrogant behaviour had estranged his own kith and kin. His ill-treatment had disgusted the Afghān nobles who formed secret conspiracies against him. Bengāl Jaunpur, Mālwā, Gujarāt, and other outlying provinces had all become independent. The eastern districts of Oudh and Bihār had taken up arms against him. Daulat Khān Lodhi, the governor of the Punjāb and Alā-ud-Dīn, uncle of Ibrāhīm, revolted against the ruling prince and invited Bābar to relieve India of the tyrant. Rānā Sanghrām, or Rānā Sānghā, as he is known in history, also made overtures to the King of Kābul and asked him to intervene.

First Battle of Pānipat: 1526.

No more opportune moment could be desired. Bābar's invasion of India was well-timed. India was weak and divided. Bābar was strong, determined and prepared. In 1524 A. C. he set out on his final expedition. He followed his previous route and reached Lāhore. Finding Daulat Khān in the train of Ibrāhīm

Lodhi, he returned to Kābul in order to reinforce his army there and then to attack India. Towards the end of 1525 A. C. he attacked Daulat Khān, over-ran the Punjāb and thence advanced towards Delhi *via* Sarhind. Ibrāhīm Lodhi gathered together his forces and came out of Āgrā to oppose the advance of the invader. The two armies met each other on the plain of Pānīpat in the month of April, 1526 A. C. Bābar protected his army of 12,000 strong against the assaults of his enemy by surrounding it with wagons chained together, and a hedge and a ditch around it. Ibrāhīm's army, consisting of 100,000 strong, far outnumbered that of the invader; but the latter had the decided advantage of possessing a well-trained set of troops and a good park of artillery. In the battle that followed, Ibrāhīm Lodhi fell fighting on the field and his army was routed. Delhi and Āgrā fell into the hands of the invader, who was hailed as the 'Emperor of India' by the people of the capital cities. On Friday, April 22, 1526 A. C. the public prayer was said in the capital mosque at Delhi in the name of the new emperor. The first battle of Pānīpat put an end to the Afghān rule and introduced the Mughal rule instead. It crowned the career of Bābar and gave India a series of capable rulers.

Bābar's difficulties after the battle.

The victory at Pānīpat made Bābar the King of Delhi, not yet of Hindūstān, much less of India as a whole. He had several difficulties to surmount. His Afghān rivals, though defeated, were by no means subjugated; though crippled they were not completely

crushed. Some of them still held out in their provincial strongholds and defied the authority of the Emperor. The people were opposed to the change of the dynasty. They hated the Mughal Emperor and regarded him as a usurper. They preferred a tyrant to an outsider. Bābar's position was, therefore, critical, more so when his own followers deserted him and retreated to their original homes. The trying heat of the country had considerably told upon their health and they requested their leader to return. Bābar had not, however, invaded India with the ideas of Taimūr: he had come to stay there. He made a soul-stirring speech and revived the spirits of his soldiers. He told them plainly that 'a kingdom which had cost so much should not be wrested from him except by death'. Accordingly, he issued a proclamation, expressing his determination to stay in India. He granted leave to such of his soldiers as preferred safety to glory, telling them that he would keep in his service only those who would reflect honour upon themselves, their *Pādshāh* and their country'. The proclamation had the desired effect: All murmurs ceased and his officers took oaths of allegiance to him. When the Afghāns were assured of his intention to stay in India, they also sided with him and placed themselves at his service.

His war with the Rājpūts.

Bābar's decision to stay in India was momentous in another way: it opened the eyes of the Rājpūts to the danger that lay at their door. His own chiefs, whom he had satisfied with grants of *jāgīrs*, reduced a large part of the country for him. They conquered Biānāh,

Gwālior, and Dholpur. His son, Humāyūn, took possession of Jaunpur, Ghāzīpur and Kālpī and annexed them to his kingdom. He himself remained at Āgrā, thinking out ways and means of conquering the whole of India. It was at that time that the mother of Ibrāhīm Lodhi made an attempt to put an end to his life by means of a poison. Had she succeeded in her nefarious plan, India would have had a different history.

Battle of Khānwāh: 1527.

Rānā Sānghā or Rānā Sanghrām, who had invited Bābar to attack India, was wrong to think that, like his ancestor, the new invader too would plunder and retire with as much of booty as he could collect. When he learnt of the intention of Bābar, he made preparations to resist the invader who was now encroaching upon Rājpūtānā and had reduced some parts of it. The Rānā was indeed a worthy member of his famous house. As a prince of great wisdom, valour and virtue, he occupied a high position among the Rājpūt princes of India. The Rājāhs of Amber and Mārwār acknowledged his supremacy. The princes of Ajmer, Sīkrī, Rāisīn, Bundī, Chanderī, Gargāon and Rāmpurā all paid him homage as his feudatories. His idea in inviting Bābar was to clear his own way to the throne of India. He had sufficiently strengthened his military resources and was at that time the most powerful prince and his was the premier state. Before his encounter with Bābar, he had already been the hero of a hundred fights and had on his person as many as eighty scars. He had lost a hand, a leg and an eye in actions. On the 11th of February, 1527 A. C. Bābar advanced out of Āgrā

against the Rānā who nad encamped at Sīkrī, a village near Fathpur. His first attack was repelled by the Rājpūts. The defeated detachments took to flight and caused great consternation among the Mughal armies. At this critical juncture Bābar broke his wine vessels and renounced the use of wine for ever. When he called a council of war, he was advised to leave a strong garrison at Āgrā and retire to the Punjāb. "What will all the Muhammadan kings of the world say of a monarch whom the fear of death obliged to abandon such a kingdom?" was the answer he gave to his officers and advisors. His address to his followers, delivered by him at that time, is as full of interest as of enthusiasm. He called together his companions and said:

Bābar's address to his noblemen and soldiers.

"Noblemen and soldiers! Every man that comes into the world is subject to dissolution. When we are passed away and gone, God only survives, unchangeable. Whoever comes to the feast of life must, before it is over, drink from the cup of death. He who arrives at the inn of mortality must one day inevitably take his departure from that house of sorrow—the world. How much better is it to die with honour than to live with infamy!

With fame, even if I die, I am contented;
Let fame be mine, since my body is death's.

The Most High God has been propitious to us, and has now placed us in such a crisis, that if we fall in the field, we die the death of martyrs; if we survive, we rise victorious, the avengers of the cause of God. Let

us, then, with one accord, swear on God's holy word, that none of us will even think of turning his face from this warfare, nor desert from the battle and slaughter that ensues, till his soul is separated from his body."

Defeat of Rānā Sānghā and the rout of Rājpūt confederacy.

The melo-dramatic eloquence of Bābar embodied in the above appeal was wholly successful in that it produced the intended effect on his soldiers and followers, who now swore by the Holy *Qur'ān* to stand by their leader in weal and woe. On the 16th of March, 1527 A. C. at 9 or 9-30 A. M. the battle began and raged hotly till evening. The powerful Rājpūt confederacy, under the leadership of the redoubtable Rānā Sānghā, and the remnants of the Turkish soldiers, under the command of Bābar, came face to face with each other at Khānwāh. Towards the end of a well-fought day, the Rājpūts gave way. The Rānā had a narrow escape. His accomplices were, however, captured and slain. Here it should be remembered that the losses of the Rājpūts in this battle were almost unprecedented. Among the slain were Hasan Khān Mewātī, Rāwal Udai Singh Dungarpur and a host of lesser chieftains, who had entered into the Rājpūt confederacy against Bābar.

Importance of the Battle of Khānwāh.

The battle of Khānwāh is indeed one of the decisive battles that have been fought in India. Its importance has been beautifully summed up by Professor Rushbrook-Williams in the following passage: "In the first place, the menace of Rājpūt supremacy which had loomed large before the eyes of Muhammadans in India

for the last few years was removed once for all. The powerful confederacy, which depended so largely for its unity upon the strength and reputation of Mewār, was shattered by a single great defeat, and ceased henceforth to be a dominant factor in the politics of Hindūstān. Secondly, the Mughal Empire of India was soon firmly established. Bābar had definitely seated himself upon the throne of Sultān Ibrāhīm, and the sign and seal of his achievement had been the annihilation of Sultān Ibrāhīm's most formidable antagonists. Hitherto, the occupation of Hindūstān might have been looked upon as a mere episode in Bābar's career of adventure; but from henceforth it becomes the keynote of his activities for the remainder of his life. His days of wandering in search of a fortune are now passed away: the fortune is his, and he has but to show himself worthy of it. And it is significant of the new stage in his career which this battle marks that never afterwards does he have to stake his throne and life upon the issue of a stricken field. Fighting there is, and fighting in plenty, to be done: but it is fighting for the extension of his power, for the reduction of rebels, for the ordering of his kingdom. It is never fighting for his throne. And it is also significant of Bābar's grasp of vital issues that from henceforth the centre of gravity of his power is shifted from Kābul to Hindūstān."

Battle of Chanderī.

The Rājpūt opposition was crippled but not yet crushed. The remnants of the Rājpūts gathered together under Madīnī Rāo of Chanderī and aspired for the sovereignty of Hindūstān. At first Bābar tried

peaceful methods: He offered a *jāgīr* to Medinī Rāo in lieu of Chanderī; but when the latter refused to enter into the proposed treaty, the former took the field against him in person. Just at this time Bābar received intelligence that his army was defeated by the Afghāns, who had taken advantage of his absence and had compelled the Imperial army to evacuate Lakhnau (Lucknow) and to fall back on Kanauj. Such a staggering news would have upset the balance of a mere mediocre, but Bābar kept his head cool and pushed on the siege of Chanderī with great care and courage, so much so that the garrison was reduced to the traditional forlorn hope accompanied by a heroic and yet terrible practice of *Jauhar*. These events took place in 1528 A. C. The defeat of Medinī Rāo and the capture of Chanderī completed the collapse of the Rājpūt confederacy. A little afterwards Rānā Sānghā, the last hope of the Rājpūts, died. The rebellious Afghāns were subdued and Bābar enjoyed an *interim* of peace till the end of 1528 A. C.

Battle of the Gogrā: 1529.

The Afghāns were defeated, but they were still strong enough to resist the 'usurper'. They considered themselves superior to Bābar and his followers, and entertained hopes of reviving their own supremacy. They created disturbance in Bihār and Jaunpur by espousing the cause of Ibrāhīm Lodhi's brother, Māhmūd Lodhi. Bābar sent his son, Askari, against the eastern provinces and himself joined him a little later. At his approach, 'the enemy melted away', and as he advanced through Allāhābād to Buxar, on his

way he received the unqualified submission of the Afghān chiefs. Nusrat Shāh, the ruler of Bengāl, had entered into a kind of convention with Bābar to the effect that neither would attack the territories of the other, but he not only set aside the convention by seizing upon the province of Sasrām but also by giving shelter to the fugitive Afghān prince, Māhmūd Lodhi. Bengāl, the centre of the rebellious Afghāns, was attacked and occupied.

Extent of Bābar's Indian Empire.

The net result of Bābar's victories in India was that the Afghāns were crushed, the Rājpūt supremacy was shattered, the Mughal Empire was founded, and Bābar was the master of almost the whole of Northern India. He ruled over Kābul, the Punjāb, Bengāl, Bihār, Oudh, Gwālior and a large part of Rājpūtānā, including Mewār. His empire extended from the Himālayās in the north to Gwālior in the south and from the Punjāb in the west to the frontiers of Bengāl in the east. He would have increased the extent of his empire if spared; but as fate would have it, he died a year after the battle of the Gogrā.

Story of his death.

When in the hot weather of the year 1530 A. C. Humāyūn fell seriously ill, his father, Bābar, was so much upset by his illness that he resolved to sacrifice his own life in order to save that of his son. His friends requested him not to take such a step and proposed that the precious diamond, known in history as *Koh-i-Noor*, might be given away instead; but the fond father regarded that as too poor a price for the life of his most beloved

son. Walking three times round the bed of his son, he prayed to God to transfer the disease of his son to him. So strong was his will-power that he is reported to have said "I have borne it away! I have borne it away!!" From that time, we have it from the Muslim historians, Bābar declined in health and succumbed to death and his son, Humāyūn, began to recover, till at last he was perfectly well.

His policy and administration.

As *Pādshāh*, or sovereign-ruler of Hindūstān, Bābar reigned for less than five years, but his administration during this period was characterised by the same energy, decision and promptness as he had always displayed in his military exploits. He restored the Grand Trunk Road, laid out his capital at Āgrā as a beautiful garden-city with superb palaces, baths, tanks, wells and water-courses; ordered the reparation of mosques and other buildings and established guard-houses and post-stations at regular intervals and maintained an express letter-mail between Āgrā and Kābul. Following the traditions of a personal, as distinguished from a bureaucratic administration, he toured throughout his Indian dominions to study their internal state. This eventually appealed to the idiosyncrasies of his Indian subjects and consequently reconciled them to the ideas of the Mughal Rule. The *Shuhrat-i-'Ām* (Public Works Department) was entrusted, in addition to other duties, with 'the publication of a gazette and the building of schools and colleges'. In many respects Bābar accepted the system of government as he found in vogue in those

times, and divided his kingdom into fiefs and assigned them to his officers. The country was still unsettled and the financial deficits were untold. So Professor Rushbrook-Williams seems to be just in his remark that Bābar 'bequeathed to his son a monarchy which could be held together only by the continuance of war conditions, which in times of peace was weak, structureless and invertebrate'. But it must be remembered that Bābar had no time to introduce new laws and institutions in the newly-conquered country. From what he did during his short reign it is amply clear that if he had lived longer, he would have proved himself an excellent administrator. His *Wasiyyat nāmā-i-makhfī* (secret testament) to his son and successor, Humāyūn, embodies in it his administrative policy, which was scrupulously adopted by Humāyūn and carried to its logical conclusion by Akbar and his successors. It preaches peace and enjoins tolerance as the motto of Mughal Rule in India, and contains the essence of its author's administrative genius. As a monument of enlightened statesmanship and a document of unique historical interest and importance, it deserves to be reproduced here. It reads:—

"GOD BE PRAISED

Secret testament of Zahīr-ud-Dīn Muhammad Bābar Bādshāh Ghāzī to Prince Nasīr-ud-Dīn Muhammad Humāyūn. May God prolong his life!

For the stability of the Empire this is written. O my son! The realm of Hindūstān is full of diverse creeds. Praise be to God, the Righteous, the Glorious, the Highest, that He hath granted unto thee the

Empire of it. It is but proper that thou, with heart cleansed of all religious bigotry, should dispense justice according to the tenets of each community. And in particular refrain from the sacrifice of cow, for that way lies the conquest of the hearts of the people of Hindūstān; and the subjects of the realm will, through royal favour, be devoted to thee. And the temples and abodes of worship of every community under Imperial sway, you should not damage. Dispense justice so that the sovereign may be happy with the subjects and likewise the subjects with their sovereign. The progress of Islām is better by the sword of kindness, not by the sword of oppression

Ignore the disputations of Shiās and Sunnīs; for therein is the weakness of Islām. And bring together the subjects with different beliefs in the manner of the Four Elements, so that the body-politic may be immune from the various ailments. And remember the deeds of Hazrat Taimūr *Sāhib-qirāni* (Lord of the conjuction) so that you may become mature in matters of Government.

And on us is but the duty to advise.

First *Jamādi-ul-Awwal* 935 H—11th January, 1529." *

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*The original document is in Persian and is treasured in the Hamīdā Library at Bhopāl as one of its heirlooms. Sometime ago it was first published in the '*Twentieth Century*' of Allahabad by Mr. N. C. Mehta, I. C. S. with its English translation with the courtesy of H. H. the Nawāb Sāhib of Bhopāl. It may be pointed out here that Bābar's message is only one of the numerous Imperial *Farmāns* which were issued from time to time by the Mughal Emperors according to the requirements of the time. Some similar rescripts were issued by Emperor 'Ālamgīr, for which, *vide* Chapter XIV.

His account of India.

Bābar briefly surveys the political condition of India on the eve of his invasion and dwells upon its *flora* and *fauna* and also refers to its geographical features. He, however, forms a poor opinion of the people, as is evident from the following passage :—

" Hindūstān is a country that has few pleasures to recommend it. The people are not handsome. They have no idea of the charms of friendly society, of frankly mixing together, or of familiar intercourse. They have no genius, no comprehension of mind, no politeness of manner, no kindness or fellow-feeling, no ingenuity or mechanical invention in planning or executing their handicraft works, no skill or knowledge in design or architecture ; they have no horses, no good flesh, no grapes or musk-melons, no good fruits, no ice or cold water, no good food or bread in their bazars, no baths or colleges, no candles, no torches, not a candlestick Instead of a candle or torch, you have a gang of dirty fellows, whom they call *divātīs*, who hold in their left hand a kind of small tripod, to the side of one leg of which, it being wooden, they stick a piece of iron like the top of the candlestick; they fasten a pliant wick, of the size of the middle finger, by an iron pin, to another of the legs. In their right hand they hold a gourd, in which they have made a hole for the purpose of pouring out oil, in a small stream, and whenever the wick requires oil, they supply it from this gourd. Their great men kept a hundred or two hundred of these *divātīs*."

He continues to add that there were neither

aqueducts nor canals, neither elegance nor regularity; that the peasants and the proletariat moved about naked, wearing only a *langotī* to cover their private parts. He, however, speaks favourably of India's wealth in silver and gold and says that there was no dearth of work; that there was abundance of occupations; that there was flourishing trade; and that the climate was pleasant during the rainy season. It must be remembered that Bābar's stay in India was much too short to allow him to acquaint himself with the character of Indians, their customs and traditions, their ideas and habits. Therefore, his account of India, particularly in regard to her people, is bound to be superficial.

His Memoirs.

The *Memoirs* referred to are the autobiography of Bābar, which has earned for him the title of 'prince of autobiographers'. It contains the best account that we have of its author in a most lucid style and manly expression. It ranks among the most precious treasures of Indian historical literature. It has justly extorted universal admiration for the simplicity of its language, the sublimity of its style, and the authenticity of its contents; but the greatest charm of this work is the revelation of its author's personality. It reveals Bābar in his true colours, with all his virtues and vices. Fit to rank with the best biographies of the world, it stands unique in Asia and will long retain its fascination to capture our fancy. It presents Bābar, his country-men and contemporaries in their dress, appearance, tastes, pursuits, manners, habits and hobbies as clearly as in a mirror. It gives an exact description of the countries he visited,

their physical features, productions, works of art and industry. All this, and above all the shrewd comments and lively impressions of its author, breaking in upon the narrative at intervals, give his *reminiscences* a permanent and penetrating flavour of a rare order.

Fine Arts.

Bābar was a great lover of fine arts. Architecture, poetry, painting, music, gardening and the art of illustrating books with beautiful pictures made considerable progress under his patronage. He himself cultivated these arts and encouraged those given to similar pursuits. So strong were his æsthetic tastes that even during his stormy career he could find time to devote to these arts and to satiate his thirst for them.

Architecture.

He had a keen interest in architecture. He did not like the edifices he came across at Delhi and Āgrā, though he was impressed by the architecture at Gwālior. He formed a poor opinion of native art and skill and therefore imported the talented pupils of Sinān, the celebrated architect, from Constantinople to design his buildings according to his own æsthetic tastes. He writes in his *Memoirs* :—

"In Āgrā alone, and of the stone-cutters belonging to that place only, I every day employed on my palaces 680 persons; and in Āgrā, Sīkrī, Biānāh, Dholpur, Gwālior and Koil, there were every day employed on my works 1,491 stone-cutters."

Unfortunately, almost all his beautiful buildings have perished. The two that have survived are the great mosque in the Kābul Bāgh at Pānīpat and the

Jāmi' Masjid at Sambhal.

Poetry.

Bābar was a born poet. He cultivated the art of poetry from his early days and is the reputed author of a *diwān* (collection) of Turki poems, many of which figure in the *Tuzk-i-Bābari*. Abul Fazl informs us that a collection of Persian *masnawīs* (romances) of his composition, called *Mubīn*, had a very large circulation in his days. Besides, Bābar wrote a number of other works, which include an interesting book on prosody, called *Mufassil*. The celebrated author of the *Tārikh-i-Rashīdī* records to his credit:

"In the composition of Turki poetry he was second only to Amīr Alī Shir..... He invented a style of verse, called *Mubāiyān*, and was the author of a most useful treatise on Jurisprudence, which has been adopted generally. He also wrote a tract on Turkish prosody, superior in elegance to any other, and put into verse the *Risālā-i-Wālidiyāh* of his Holiness."

As a man of cheerful disposition, he used to convene *Mushāerās* (poetical contests) in which extempore versification and recitation in Persian and Turkish were indulged in. The *Memoirs* describe a gathering of literary men even in a boat wherein Bābar and his associates composed verses in order to beguile their weary hours. So supreme was the sway of the Muse over his mind that even amidst the clash of arms he snatched a brief interval to listen to the creations of poets and the conversations of erudite scholars. At times he himself dropped in a verse or two to add to the amusement of the assemblage.

Painting.

Bābar displayed a remarkable taste for painting. He is said to have brought to India with him all the choicest specimens of painting he could collect from the library of his forefathers—the Timurides. Some of these were taken to Persia by Nādir Shāh after his invasion of India and the conquest of Delhi; but as long as they remained in India, they exerted a great influence on and gave a new impetus to the art of painting in India.

Music.

The sister art of music also received the attention of the Emperor who himself was a connoisseur. His skill and proficiency in it is borne out by a treatise of his own composition in which he has written all about it. This book is of a very high order and is as interesting as it is informative. It bears eloquent testimony to its author's love of music and his knowledge of its technicalities.

The Art of illustrating books.

The practice of illustrating books with beautiful paintings and pictures and thereby making them more lucid and interesting was, for the first time, introduced in India by Bābar. His *Memoirs* afford a crowning evidence in this respect also. Profusely coloured illustrations, with which this book is embellished, form an essentially attractive feature of it, and the coloured representations of animals described therein are particularly charming.

Gardening.

Bābar was a great gardener. There are repeated references to flowers and gardens in his *Memoirs*. Among the gardens

that he laid out, Bāgh-i-Wafā and Bāgh-i-Kilān near Kābul and Rām Bāgh and Zohrā Bāgh at Āgrā may be regarded as the most fascinating. It will be interesting to remark here that the idea underlying the gardens of the Great Mughals was *Iram*, the garden held out to the Muslims for their entertainment as a reward for their good deeds in this world. Unfortunately, many of such gardens 'have been given over to cultivation', yet there remains enough to show the artistic tastes of their founders. Beautiful flowers, bright birds, gentle beasts' and a vast multitude of earthly *houries* and *ghilmāns* (fair boys) constituted the splendour that was Mughal.

Literary celebrities.

Bābar loved literacy and used to associate himself with men whose memory we will long cherish. His court had a brilliant set of eminent scholars. Some of them were Ghiyās-ud-Dīn Muhammad Khudāmīr, the celebrated Persian historian and author of the *Habīb-us-Siyār*, the *Khulāsat-ul-Akbar* and many other works; Maulānā Shahāb-ud-Dīn, the famous enigmatist, poet and punster; and Mīr Ibrāhīm, a native of Herāt and a skilled performer on *Kānūn*. Apart from these, those who came into close contact with him were Shaikh Māzī, his own tutor; Shaikh Zain Khāfī, translator of the *Wāqiyāt-i-Bābari*; and Maulānā Bāqī, one of the most learned men of the day. It may also be mentioned that Bābar was greatly assisted in his literary undertakings by the erudite minister of the King of Herāt, who had 'collected a valuable library of the most esteemed works of the

time and placed him in charge of it'.

Babar's achievements.

S. Lane-Poole has beautifully summed up Bābar's achievements in the following words:—"His permanent place in history rests upon his Indian conquests, which opened the way for an imperial line; but his place in biography and literature is determined rather by his daring adventures and persevering efforts in his earlier days, and by the delightful *Memoirs* in which he related them. Soldier of fortune as he was, Bābar was not the less a man of fine literary taste and fastidious critical perception. In Persian, the language of culture, the Latin of Central Asia, as it is of India, he was an accomplished poet, and in his native Turki he was master of a pure and unaffected style alike in prose and verse. The Turkish princes of his time prided themselves upon their literary polish, and to turn an elegant *ghazal*, or even to write a beautiful manuscript, was their peculiar ambition, no less worthy or stimulating than to be master of sword or mace. Wit and learning, the art of improvising a quatrain on the spot, quoting the Persian classics, writing a good hand, or singing a good song, were highly appreciated in Bābar's world, as much perhaps as valour, and infinitely more than virtue. Bābar himself will break off in the middle of a story to quote a verse, and he found leisure in the thick of his difficulties and dangers to compose an ode on his misfortunes. His battles as well as his orgies were humanised by a breath of poetry."

His Estimate.

Another long quotation on the heels of one which has already occupied considerable space may appear to be a little too much, but, as it gives a correct estimate of Bābar, it may appropriately be cited:

"Upon the whole if we review with impartiality the history of Asia, we shall find few princes who are entitled to rank higher than Bābar in genius and accomplishments. His grandson, Akbar, may perhaps be placed above him for profound and benevolent policy. The crooked artifice of Aurangzib is not entitled to the same distinction. The merit of Chingiz Khān, and of Tamerlane, terminates in their splendid conquests, which far excelled the achievements of Bābar; but in activity of mind, in the gay equanimity and unbroken spirit with which he bore the extremes of good and bad fortune, and in the possession of the manly and social virtues, so seldom the portion of princes, in his love of letters and his success in the cultivation of them, we shall probably find no other Asiatic prince who can justly be placed beside him."

CHAPTER III

NASĪR-UD-DĪN MUHAMMAD HUMĀYŪN

(1530—39 and 1556)

Introductory.

Bābar was succeeded by his beloved son, Humāyūn, who ascended the throne amidst great festivities under the title of Nasīr-ud-Dīn Muhammad Humyāūn two days before the end of the year 1530 A. C. The new king was not destined to enjoy a peaceful reign, partly because he himself created his own difficulties and partly because he was outmatched by his rival, Sher Shāh, in diplomacy and statecraft.

Division of the empire.

Acting in accordance with the advice of his father, Humāyūn bestowed upon his brothers the governorships of different provinces: Kābul and Qandhār were given to Kāmrān, Alwar and Mewāt were allotted to Mirzā Hindāl, Sambhal was assigned to Mirzā Askarī, and the government of Badakhshān was entrusted to his cousin, Mirzā Sulaimān. This division of the empire was responsible for the ambitious intrigues and treasonable designs of his brothers and the early overthrow of the Mughal Empire.

Political situation of India and Humāyūn's position.

Bābar did not live long to consolidate what he had conquered. Humāyūn was not so strong and sagacious as to accomplish what his father could not. What more, he added to his own difficulties. His leniency was his mistake and his

inconsistency was his blunder. The political condition of India at the time of his accession was miserable. Sher Khān Afghān in the east and Bahādur Shāh in the west—the former in Bengāl and Bihār and the latter in Gujarāt—were maturing plans for the overthrow of the Mughals. His own brothers were now sufficiently strong to support their own claims to the throne and there was nothing to prevent them from doing that. The leading nobles and military leaders, whom he himself had granted large estates in order to increase his popularity, were now in possession of the sinews of war, which they freely employed in mutual warfare and even against their Emperor. They ceaselessly intrigued and plotted against him in order to push forward their own men. A conspiracy was formed by one Muhammad Zamān against Humāyūn. Had it succeeded, the history of India would have been differently written. The secret was out and Muhammad Zamān took refuge in Gujarāt, where he made common cause with Bahādur Shāh. Another aspirant to the throne was Alā-ud-Dīn, brother of Sultān Ibrāhīm Lodhi, who sent an army of 40,000 men against Humāyūn under the command of his son, Tātār Khān. In the engagement that was fought at Biānāh, Tātār was defeated and slain.

Kāmrān's occupation of the Punjāb.

Entrusting the government of Kābul and Qandhār to his brother, Askarī, Kāmrān set out at the head of a huge army against Humāyūn, giving out that he was going to congratulate him on his assumption of the royal insignia. Humāyūn was not so simple as to be

deceived by such a trick. Forthwith he sent in advance an envoy to inform his brother that he had already decided to add Lamghān and Peshāwar to the fief of Kābul. But Kāmrān was not content with this concession. He crossed the Indus and conquered the Punjāb and annexed it to his kingdom of Kābul and Qandhār. Humāyūn remained passive; rather, he quietly acquiesced in the forcible occupation and avoided war with his brother. This was a grave mistake on his part. The cession of the Punjāb in general and of Hissār Firozā in particular was a blunder of the first magnitude. The former not only deprived him of a most productive province but created a barrier between him and the Mughal military base in the North-West, so rich in military resources. The latter gave Kāmrān command of the new military road running from Delhi to Qandhār and made it possible for him to cut down the tap-root of Humāyūn's military power 'by merely stopping where he was'.

War with Bahādur Shāh of Gujarāt.

Humāyūn was soon called upon to deal with Bahādur Shāh, one of the most formidable of his adversaries. Gujarāt was then one of the richest and most powerful provinces of India. Its ruler was a man of towering ambition. He had immense resources at his command. Before trying conclusions with Humāyūn, he had already increased his army and artillery. He had conquered Mālwā with the help of the Rānā of Mewār; and the kings of Ahmadnagar, Khāndesh and Berār paid him homage. The Portuguese also acknowledged his supremacy. He had warred against the

Rānā of Chittor and forced him to agree to terms 'ruinous alike to his pride and his pocket'. He now made preparations for a more ambitious venture—the conquest of Hindūstān as a whole. He enlisted in his service the Afghān chiefs and the Mughal nobles, who had fled to his kingdom and taken refuge there, and planned the conquest of the country under the Mughal Emperor. Humāyūn at once marched against him to chastise him for giving shelter to his enemies. Bahadūr Shāh underestimated the military capacity of his opponent and tried to imitate the tactics employed by Bābar at the battle of Pānīpat. He entrenched himself very strongly and expected his adversary to repeat the blunder of Ibrāhīm Lodhi by hurling his troops against his batteries. But Humāyūn, who had seen enough of war tactics as a lieutenant of his father, instead of falling into the trap prepared for him, sent strong bodies of cavalry to scour the country in the rear of Bahādur Shāh's camp and cut off his supplies. The beleaguered Gujarātīs were reduced to a state of famine and the Sultān, after blowing up his guns, escaped with a few of his faithful followers. He was hunted by Humāyūn from place to place and compelled to take refuge with the Portuguese at Diu. Humāyūn, in the meantime, reduced a great part of Gujarāt and Mālwā, but he and his officers were so elated by their successes that they did nothing to effect a permanent settlement of the conquered territory. They gave themselves up to feasting and merry-making. Bahādur Shāh availed himself of their negligence and immediately despatched his trusty officer, Imād-ul-Mulk, who at once occupied Ahmadābād

and gathered together a large army for his master, who was also promised aid by the Portuguese Governor. This alarmed Humāyūn and awoke him to the gravity of the situation. At once he advanced against Imād and inflicted a defeat on him. Feeling that his occupation of Gujarāt was secure, he entrusted his brother, Askarī, with its government and himself proceeded apace against Sher Khān Afghān, who had headed a formidable revolt in Bihār. In his absence, Askari proved totally tactless and incapable. His own officers disliked him for his arrogance and unmannerliness. There was no love lost between the master and his servants. Bahādur Shāh, who was waiting for an opportunity, at once attacked Ahmadābād and took possession of it. Gradually he recovered his lost kingdom, but he was not destined to enjoy the fruits of his victories. He died in 1537 A. C. by falling into the sea. Mālwā was also lost as soon as Humāyūn left Mandū.

War with Sher Khān Afghān.

At the approach of the Imperial army near the borders of Bengāl, the crafty Afghān withdrew towards Bihār. In his absence, the Mughals occupied Gaur, the provincial capital, and renamed it Jannatābād. Again, when Sher Khān seized upon the Mughal possessions in Bihār and Jaunpur and overran the territory as far as Kanauj, Humāyūn mobilized his forces against him. Crossing the Ganges at Munghīr, he marched towards Bihār at the head of his army. At Chausā he was defeated by his enemy, the rebellious Afghān, and put to flight. At this critical juncture he souhgt the

aid of his brothers whom he had so magnanimously treated; but they not only offered a flat refusal but substantially contributed to the success of his enemy by hampering his preparations. Sher Khān, who, after his victory at Chausā, had crowned himself king under the title of Sher Shah, crossed the Ganges and inflicted a sharp defeat on Humāyūn at Kanauj, whither he had retired after his defeat, and expelled him from India.

Humāyūn in exile.

A novelist and not an historian can better portray the picture of his flight from India and the misfortunes that befell him thereafter. After his defeat at the battle of Kanauj, he crossed the Ganges and reached Āgrā. Thence he started towards Delhi with his treasure and family. Finding, however, that his cause was lost, he left for Sarhind. His brothers, whom he had so kindly treated, gave him no protection; rather, they added to his difficulties and increased his anxiety. Proceeding towards Sind, he besieged Bhakkar, but could not conquer it. It was at this time that he married Hamīdā Bāno Bagum, daughter of Shaikh Alī Akbar Jāmī. Driven to despair, he turned to Māldevā, the Rājāh of Jodhpur, who had promised him a contingent of twenty thousand Rājpūts. But when he reached the Rājāh's territory, he discovered that the Rājāh meant mischief. At last he sought shelter at Amarkot, and there he and his party were given a rousing reception by Rānā Prāsād, who also agreed to assist him in attacking Thattā and Bhakkar. It was at this haven of refuge that the future empress of India gave birth to the greatest emperor of India. After

performing the necessary ceremonies on the happy occasion of the birth of his son, Akbar, Humāyūn attacked Bhakkar with the aid of Rānā Prāsād. Unfortunately, a picque having arisen between the Muslims and the Rājpūts, the latter deserted the Imperial army; but fortunately, the Chief of Bhakkar got tired of war and sued for peace. According to the terms of the treaty, Humāyūn received thirty boats, ten thousand *Mishkāls*, two thousand loads of grain and three hundred camels. Thus equipped, he advanced towards Qandhār, but it was too dangerous a place for him to stay in. His brother, Kāmrān, was the sole master of the entire Afghān territory; his brothers, Askari and Hindāl, were his vassals. After a careful consideration he decided to set out in search of support. Leaving his little son, Akbar, who was at that time twelve months old, at Qandhār, he proceeded towards Persia and informed the Shāh of his proposed visit.

In Persia.

Hearing of Humāyūn's intention, Tāhmāsp, the Shāh of Persia, issued instructions to his officers to accord him a right royal welcome on his arrival. The Shāh was a Shiā by faith and it is said that he received the royal fugitive so warmly simply because he intended to convert him to his own creed. In spite of his endeavours and importunities, it is stated, he could not shake the belief of his guest in the Sunni doctrine. In accordance with the advice of his well-wishers, Humāyūn agreed to accept the religion of his host after a great reluctance. The Shāh promised to help him with a contingent to conquer Kābul, Qandhār and Bokhārā.

He conquers Kābul and Qandhār from Kāmrān.

With an army of 14,000, Humāyūn attacked the kingdom of Kāmrān. Having acquired Qandhār, he advanced upon Kābul and defeated his brother. Here his son, Akbar, whom he had left at the mercy of Kāmrān who had once exposed the boy to a fusillade of shots, was restored to him after a long separation. Kāmrān, though beaten, was still ready to recover his lost possessions. Again he was defeated and put to flight. In an engagement at night, Mirzā Hindāl was slain. Kāmrān, the fugitive king of Kābul, found shelter at the Court of Sultān Salīm Shāh who, however, treated him so badly that he took himself to the Gakhar country in disgust and disappointment. But the Chief of the Gakhars too treated him ruthlessly. He was handed over to Humāyūn, who remembered the words of his father and so did not put an end to his life. He was blinded and thus rendered incapable of creating mischief against his brother. At his request, he was sent to Mecca along with his wife, who served him faithfully to the last day of his life. Mirzā Askari was also caught and permitted to proceed to Mecca. Having disposed of his rivals, Humāyūn turned his attention to the reconquest of Hindūstān.

Restoration of Humāyūn.

In response to the requests of influential Indians, Humāyūn, who was eagerly watching the events of India and was longing for an opportunity, advanced towards India early in the year 1555 at the head of an efficient army, and occupied Lāhore. Sultān Sikandar Sūr, who had played ducks and drakes with the Imperial treasury,

advanced against him, but was totally defeated in a battle at Sarhind and put to flight. Humāyūn entered his old capital in a triumphant procession and ruled his Indian Empire for a brief span of about twelve months. He died of a fatal fall from the terraced-roof of his library on the 24th of January, 1556 A. C.

Humāyūn's accomplishments.

Endowed as he was with a retentive memory, Humāyūn had acquired proficiency in several arts and sciences in his early years. He was very fond of poetry and had great skill in this art. He was an excellent poet, whose verses were elegant and full of meaning. In astronomy he was an adept and in geography a perfect master. He indited some dissertations on the nature of the elements and ordered the construction of celestial and terrestrial globes as soon as he became Emperor of India. Ferishtā says that he fitted up seven halls of reception and dedicated them to seven planets in the following order: Judges, ambassadors, poets and travellers were received in the Hall of the Moon; commanders and other military officers in the Hall of the Mars; civil officers in the Palace of the Mercury; *gens de lettres* in the palaces of the Saturn and the Jupiter; musicians and bards in the Hall of the Venus. In short Humāyūn was gifted with those accomplishments and graces which are highly prized in good and fashionable societies. 'I have seen,' says the author of the *Tārikh-i-Rashīdī*, 'few princes possessed of so much natural talents and excellence as he.' 'His noble nature,' writes the author of the *Āin*, 'was marked by the combination of the energy of Alexander and the

learning of Aristotle.' Under him the Mughal Court became famous for its splendour and magnificence.

Ingenious works.

Humāyūn has to his credit some curious contrivances. Under his instructions his *Najjārs* (carpenters) constructed for him four boats and set them afloat on the Jumna. Each of these boats had an arch, of which two storeys were very high. When these boats were put together in such a way that the four arches remained opposite to one another, an octagonal fountain was formed within them, which presented a picturesque view. The boats were provided with bazars and shops. Often the Emperor sailed in them from Firozābād Delhi to Āgrā with his courtiers. There was such a bazar afloat on the Jumna that 'one could have whatever one liked.' Likewise, the royal gardeners made a moving-garden for their Imperial patron on the surface of the Jumna. But, the most marvellous of his ingenious works was the moving-palace which had three storeys. The various parts of this wooden structure were so skilfully joined that it looked like one having no joint, but when required, it could be split into parts of which it was made. The stairs leading to the upper storey were so dexterously designed that they could be easily folded and unfolded. It was a wonderful performance. This sovereign also made a moving-bridge, which too was no less curious.

Administration.

For purposes of administration, Humāyūn divided his government into four parts according to the four elements: *Ātish* (Fire), *Bād* (Air), *Āb* (Water), and *Khāk* (Land), and placed

each one of them in charge of a separate minister. The affairs of the artillery, together with the arrangement of armours and weapons and all those affairs which were connected with Fire, were formed into a separate department, called *Sarkār-i-Ātishī*, the portfolio of which was held by Khwājāh Abdul Malik; the affairs of *Karqirāq Khānā* (godown), stable, *Bāwarchī Khānā* (kitchen), *Shutar Khānā* (camel stable), etc., constituted what was known as *Sarkār-i-Hawāī*, which was under Khwājāh Lutf-Ullāh; the management of *Sharbat Khānā* (house for sweet drinks) and *Mastūchī Khānā* (store-house) as well as the construction of canals and all other affairs connected with Water were grouped into a separate department, called *Sarkār-i-Ābī*, which was placed in charge of Khwājāh Hassan; and agriculture, buildings, the management of Crown-lands and household affairs fell to the fourth department, called *Sarkār-i-Khāki*, of which the ministry was vested in Khwājāh Jalāl-ud-Din Mirzā Beg.

Drum of Justice.

Humāyūn displayed a remarkable interest in and solicitude for the widespread dissemination of justice. He introduced the famous Drum of Justice, called *Tabl-i-Adl*, which the importunate suppliant used to beat once in case of a charge of enmity, twice if the wrong done was not righted, three times if a theft or a robbery took place, and four times if a murder was committed. The drum might not have been frequently beaten, but the Emperor's sense of justice and his care and concern for its impartial and effective administration are fully borne out by it.

Classification of the people.

He made an elaborate classification of the people of his empire, created gradations of ranks, constructed palaces for their entertainment and fixed days for giving them audience. The first class, significantly styled as *Ahl-i-S'ādat*, or the blessed, consisted of the learned and the pious, the law-officers and the scientists of the kingdom; the second class, known as *Ahl-i-Daulat*, or the wealthy, were the Emperor's kinsfolk, his ministers and nobles as well as military officers; the third class, called *Ahl-i-Murād*, or the people of hope, were musicians, singers and story-tellers as well as those who were favoured by nature with beauty and refinement. As this class depended upon the charity of His Majesty for maintenance, it should have been named *Ahl-i-Tarab*, or the party of amusement, inasmuch as they pleased the Emperor with their songs, beauty and music.

To each of the heads of these classes was given a *Sahm*, or arrow, as a mark of distinction. Khudāmīr, a contemporary chronicler, informs us that during the days he was employed, the *Sahm-us-S'ādat* was in charge of Maulānā Muhammad Farghali, who was entrusted with the specific performance of the affairs of the *Ahl-i-S'ādat*. He fixed the stipends and scholarships of the Sayyads, Shaikhs, scholars, religious recluses, professors, teachers and research-scholars, and with him rested their appointment as well as dismissal. The *Sahm-ud-Daulāh* was held by Amīr Hindū Beg, who was responsible for the management of the affairs of the *Ahl-i-Daulat*, and

it was one of his duties to fix the grades of pay and ranks of soldiers and servants of the State. The *Sahm-ul-Murād* was assigned to Amīr Desai whose principal duty consisted in controlling the affairs of the *Ahl-i-Murād* and supplying the necessary requirements of splendour at the Mughal Court.

Fixture for audience.

The Pādshāh also divided the days of the week and fixed two days for each of the above-named classes of inhabitants as follows: Thursdays and Saturdays for the *Ahl-i-S'ādat*, Sundays and Tuesdays for the *Ahl-i-Daulat*, Mondays and Wednesdays for the *Ahl-i-Murād*; and Friday was reserved for *Namāz-i-Jumā'*, or congregational prayers.

Twelve Sub-divisions.

The three classes enumerated above were sub-divided into twelve smaller ones, and arrows of gold, with varying proportions of alloy mixed with them, were distributed among them in order of importance as follows: The first of the purest gold was given to the Emperor, indicating his royal prerogative—the highest rank; the second to the royal family, provincials and other high officials; the third to the *literati* and religious men; the fourth to the *Maliks, Amīrs* and nobles; the fifth to the courtiers and His Majesty's personal servants; the sixth to the general employees; the seventh to the *harems* and well-behaved female-servants of the royal household; the eighth to the young maid-servants of the Imperial *Harem*; the ninth to the treasurers and stewards of the State; the tenth to the fighting class—the officers of the

rank and file of the Imperial armies; the eleventh to the menials; and the twelfth to the palace-guards, camel-drivers and the like.

Court-Scholars.

The preceding account leaves an impression upon the mind that Humāyūn was a magnificent prince, profoundly interested in the well-being of his subjects. Apart from this, it clearly reveals the importance he attached and the place he assigned to the learned and the pious, the musicians and the story-tellers. Khudāmīr, the well-known author of the *Habīb-us-Siyār*, was one of his literary associates; Jauhar, the celebrated author of the *Tazkirat-ul-Wāqiyāt-i-Humāyūn*, or *Private Memoirs of Humāyūn*, was his personal attendant, who, as such, had ample chances of personally observing all that he embodied in his book; Abdul Latīf, the learned author of the *Lub-ut-Twārikh*, was also invited by him to adorn his Court, but he arrived at the Imperial Capital after the death of the Emperor; Shahāb-ud-Dīn Khāfī, the unequalled enigmatist and chronogramatist of the time, enjoyed his patronage; and Shaikh Husain, the honoured professor of a gorgeous *madrasah* at Delhi, was another recipient of his favours. All this bears eloquent testimony to the fact that Humāyūn was a sympathetic patron of letters.

Humāyūn's love of libraries.

Humāyūn was a great bibliophile. He had collected a large number of books in the Imperial Library. Under his special *firmān*, Sher Mandal, the pleasure-house of Sher Shāh Sūrī, was turned into a

library during his second reign. So intense was his love for the best books of the day that even in his military undertakings he used to take with him a select library for his own use. In spite of the fact that he was constantly occupied in a fatal contest with a host of enemies, he managed to spare time to spend in studies. Count Noer informs us that even at the time of his flight from India he took with him his favourite books along with his faithful librarian, Lālā Beg, officially known as Bāz Bahādur.

Progress of education.

Such a scholarly sovereign cannot be said to have neglected the education of his subjects. At this distant date there is at least one instance of a college founded by him at Delhi. One of the most competent professors of this institution was Shaikh Husain. It also appears that the beautiful tomb of Humāyūn—one of the finest Mughal monuments still seen in the neighbourhood of Delhi—was, at one time, used as a place of instruction, for which eminent scholars and influential men were appointed as guardians.

Gardens.

Humāyūn loved beautiful gardens quite as much as his father. Unfortunately, however, his long drawn-out struggle with Sher Shāh Sūrī did not allow him sufficient time to turn his artistic fancy to this peaceful occupation. Nevertheless, his reign was marked by the plantation of at least one noble garden at Delhi—the one attached to his tomb, which is still a thing of beauty and a joy for ever.

Humayun's religious beliefs.

Humāyūn was deeply religious. He carefully observed the dogmas of his faith and always tried to live like a true Muslim. All thought that he was a staunch Sunni, but his profound love and respect for the *Ahl-i-Bait* (Family of the Prophet) shows that he was favourably inclined towards the Shiā Faith, and his leaning in favour of that faith is borne out by the fact that the entire machinery of his government was in the hands of the Shiās.

His character and estimate.

In private life, Humāyūn was a delightful friend. In the camp, he was a *bon comrade* of his soldiers and State officers. He was a faithful friend, an obedient son, an affectionate brother. As a man of letters, he passed most of his leisure hours in social intercourse and literary discussions. According to Ferishtā, he was a prince as remarkable for his wit and humour as for the urbanity of his manners. In the opinion of Stanley Lane-Poole 'his virtues were Christian, and his whole life was that of a gentleman'. At times he was capable of immense energy and often rose to the height of important occasions and controlled serious situations with the singleness of purpose; but some of his best qualities were marred by the excessive use of opium, to which he was badly addicted. The heroic fortitude with which he bore the misfortunes which befell him during his fugitive life, the buoyancy of his temper and the cheerfulness of his disposition exact universal sympathy and admiration. His unqualified indolence and generosity spoiled his career

and often deprived him of the fruits of his victories. But for the fact that he was eclipsed by the extraordinary genius of Sher Shāh, who was undoubtedly superior to him in military skill and administrative acumen, his talents would have found full scope and he would have ranked with the great, though not with the greatest kings of India. While making an estimate of his abilities, we must take into consideration the difficulties in which he found himself at the time of his accession: the treachery of his brothers, the opposition of the Afghāns who regarded the Mughals as foreigners, and the precarious condition of the Mughal Empire, which his father had founded but had not consolidated. So, if Humāyūn failed to retain what he had received as patrimony, *viz.*, the Mughal Empire, it was due more to the baffling political situation, which he had before him, than to his personal faults and failures.

CHAPTER IV

THE AFGHĀN REVIVAL

Sher Shāh and his Successors

(1540—1556)

Introductory.

A period of fifteen years elapsed between the overthrow and the re-establishment of the Mughal Empire in India. The House of Sūr, founded by Sher Shāh Sūrī, bridged over the interval. The life of the founder of the new dynasty affords an excellent instance of how the early days of great men are often, if not always, crowded with misfortunes, to which, to a certain extent, they owe their future greatness.

Sher Shāh's early life.

Sher Shāh's original name was Farīd. He was born in the year 1486 A. C. at Hissār Firozā, where his grandfather held a *jāgīr*. His father, Hasan, was a *jāgirdār* of Sasrām and Khwāspur in Bihār. His early boyhood was neglected by his father owing to the ill-treatment of his step-mother. Disgusted with his step-mother and the step-motherly treatment of his father, who was devoted to the youngest of his four wives and who treated her sons with preference, Farīd left his home and joined the service of his father's benefactor, Jamāl Khān, at Jaunpur. There he applied himself sedulously to the study of Arabic and Persian. His receptive mind imbibed and assimilated all that was imparted to him. Impressed by his industry and

activity of mind, Jamāl Khān, the governor of Bihār, sent a message to Hasan, asking him to treat his son kindly. Farīd returned home and his father entrusted him with the management of his *jāgīrs*, Sasrām and Khwāspur. He managed his father's estate admirably and introduced the principle of direct settlement with the cultivators, which may be described as the *Raiyatwārī System* in modern terminology. After protecting the husbandmen from oppression and placing the revenue administration of the estate on a sound basis, he set himself to the task of reducing the refractory *Zamīndārs* to obedience. Between 1511 A. C. and 1518 A. C., when he was in charge of his father's *jāgīrs*, he gained considerable experience. During this time, as his biographer observes, 'he was unconsciously serving his period of apprenticeship for administering the empire of Hindūstān.' In 1519 A. C. he was again compelled to quit his home owing to the hostile influence of his step-mother. He went to Bihār and entered the service of its governor, Bahār Khān, son of Dāryā Khān Lohāni. It was under Bahār Khān that he acquired influence and importance.

His early activities.

From 1522 A. C. to 1526 A. C. Farīd was in the service of Bahār Khān, who greatly appreciated his services in the civil and revenue departments. In one of the hunting expeditions of his master he killed a tiger and received from him the title of *Sher Khān* in appreciation of that heroic deed. But differences having arisen between him and his master, he resigned his service and entered that of Bābar. In recognition of

his meritorious services Bābar bestowed upon him the governorship of several *parganās*, including those of his father. On the death of Bahār Khān his son, Jalāl Khān, became king under the regency of Sher Khān, who gained considerable power and influence during the minority of Jalāl. When Jalāl came of age, he refused to play the second fiddle. Smarting under the galling tutelage of an ambitious Afghān, he invited the assistance of the ruler of Bengāl, but the allies were defeated at Sūrajgarh and Sher Khān became the ruler of Bihār.

Occupation of Bengāl.

Sher Khān's spirit was restless from the beginning. After the acquisition of Bihār, he turned his attention towards Bengāl, whose anarchical state offered a favourable field for his ambitious enterprise. Early in the year 1536 A. C. he set out from Bihār and appeared before the walls of Gaur. Māhmūd Shāh, the ruler of Bengāl, instead of repelling the invader, bought him off with a heavy bribe. The following year he repeated his expedition of Bengāl. He captured Gaur after a protracted siege and then attacked the stronghold of Rohtās, which soon capitulated. Thus ended, for a while, the independence of Bengāl.

Recovery of Bengāl by Humāyūn.

When Humāyūn heard of Sher Khān's successes in the east, he lost no time in advancing towards Bengāl with a large Mughal army. At his approach, the 'wily Afghān' retired to Bihār and evaded his enemy. The Mughals occupied Gaur and rechristened it Jannatābād. The Afghāns, however, compensated themselves in another quarter for their losses: They

seized upon the imperial territories in Bihār and Jaunpur and overran the country as far as Kanauj.

Battle of Chausā.

Again, when Humāyūn heard about Sher Khān's activities in Bihār and Jaunpur, he grew restive and at once ordered his army to march against him under his own command. He crossed the Ganges near Munghīr, but soon found himself in a serious situation. He tried to make peace with the Afghān war-lord, but in vain. At Chausā, an engagement was fought between the Afghāns and the Mughals, in which the latter were defeated and their Emperor plunged into the river flowing by and would have drowned had not Nizām, a water-carrier, saved his life. Nizām was allowed to rule as king for two days and all the officers were ordered to carry out his wishes.

Battle of Kanauj.

After his victory in the battle of Chausā, Sher Khān assumed the title of Sher Shāh. The coins were struck and the *Khutbā* was read in his name. In short, all the formalities of kingship were gone through and there remained not the least semblance of allegiance to the Mughal Emperor. Humāyūn was now assured of the superiority of Sher Shāh. He now realised how shaky his position was. He tried to enlist the assistance of his brothers, but failed. The latter not only refused to co-operate with him against the Afghān danger, but hampered his preparations as much as they could Sher Shāh availed himself of the dissensions among the surviving sons of Bābar. He crossed the Ganges at the head of his army and took his position near Kanauj. Humāyūn

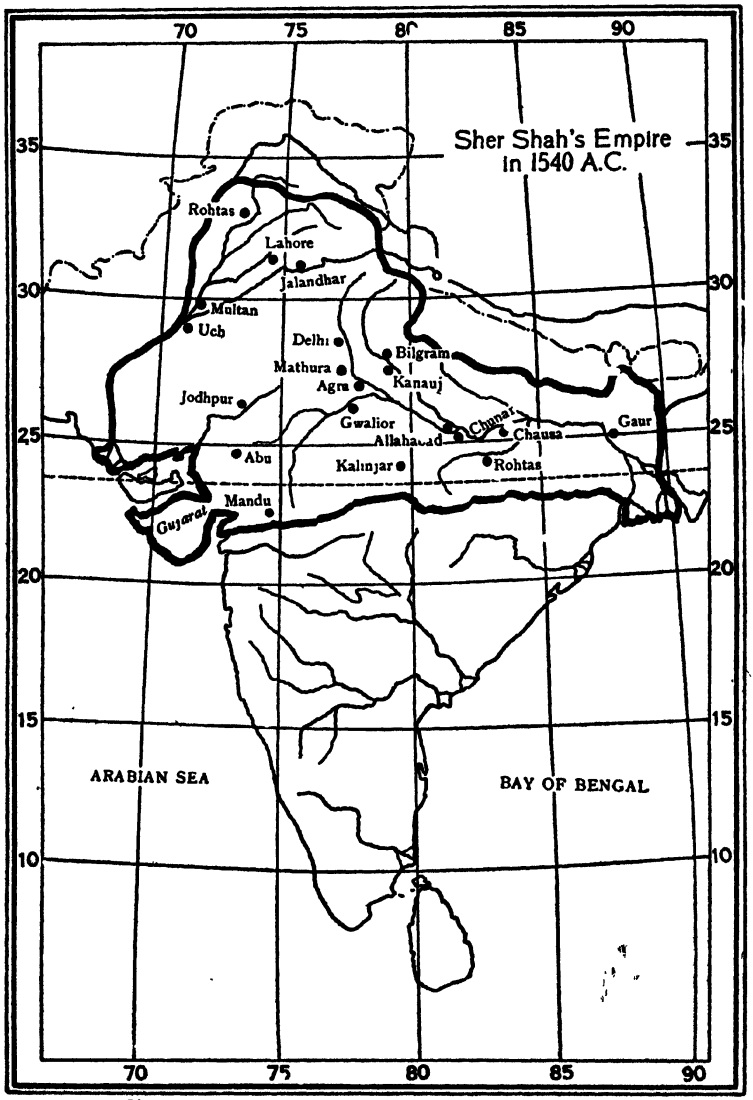
advanced from his capital and encamped opposite to Sher Shāh. In the battle that ensued, Humāyūn was defeated and put to flight.

Conquests of Sher Shāh: the Punjab and the Gakhar land.

Sher Shāh was now the undisputed ruler of Bengāl. Bihār, Jaunpur, Delhi and Āgrā. Hitherto his energies were concentrated on the expulsion of the Mughals from India; now that he was successful in achieving his object, he launched upon a career of new conquests. The Punjāb was the first to fall into his hands. It was willingly handed over to him by Kāmrān. After occupying the Punjāb, Sher Shāh reduced the Gakhar territory between the upper courses of the Indus and the Jhelum in order to guard against the danger from the North-West; for Kāmrān, the ruler of Kābul, and Mirzā Haider, the ruler of Kashmīr, might combine together at any time and attack him. Constructing a strong fort (Rohtās) in Jhelum, he left 50,000 men under the command of his trusted generals and returned to Bengāl to re-organise its administration.

Conquest of Mālwā

After quelling rebellions and disturbances and establishing peace in the province of Bengāl, Sher Shāh turned his attention to Mālwā. During the weak rule of Māhmūd II, Mallū Khān, one of the local chiefs, taking advantage of the disorganised state of things, took possession of Mandū, Ujjain, Sarangpur and a few other districts, and set up an independent kingdom under his own control. Besides Mallū Khān, two other independent chiefs had established their sway



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over vast tracts of the country. Mālwā and Delhi being so closely situated, Sher Shāh's fears were well-founded. Therefore, he set out to conquer that kingdom lest some ambitious and powerful neighbour should successfully fish in the troubled waters. He reduced Gwālior, Sarangpur, Ujjain and completed the conquest of Mālwā by the end of the year 1542 A. C.

Conquests in Rājpūtānā.

The conquest of Mālwā was followed by a series of conquests in Rājpūtānā. Rāisīn was attacked and occupied in 1543 A. C. Sind was conquered and then Jodhpur, the capital of Mārwār, was besieged. Here the Rājpūts offered such a stout resistance that Sher Shāh was compelled to have recourse to a ruse. He caused letters, containing the following request of the nobles of Māldevā of Mārwār, to be forged and thrown near the camp of the Rājāh :

" Let not the King permit any anxiety or doubt to find its way to his heart. During the battle we will seize Māldevā and bring him to you."

The trick succeeded, for when Māldevā came to know the text of the letters, he suspected treachery and decided to retreat without resistance. The Rājpūts gave him all assurances of fidelity, but he would not believe. In the battle that was fought, the Rājpūts displayed extreme valour, but victory sided with the Afghāns. Encouraged by this victory, Sher Shāh occupied Mount Abū and then advanced to Chittor, which was taken and entrusted to an Afghān officer. Having secured his hold on Rājpūtānā, Sher Shāh undertook an expedition against the Rājāh of Kālanjar. The

Rajpūts again displayed their valour, but the Afghāns were successful. During the siege, when Sher Shāh himself was superintending the batteries, a bomb exploded and injured him fatally. He was removed to his tent, only to die there. This took place on May 22, 1545 A. C. Thus ended the eventful career of Sher Shāh, the founder of the Sūr Dynasty and the retriever of the fallen fortunes of the Afghān Monarchy.

Sher Shāh's Administration.

Born in India, Sher Shāh had acquired an intimate knowledge of Indian life and character. He had had enough of experience in the work of administration while he was in charge of his father's estate. As a king, he proved himself a very capable statesman and administrator. In many respects he anticipated the work of Akbar the Great. "The whole of his brief administration," says Mr. Keen "was based on the principle of union." His methods of dealing with the peoples of India, so different in character and culture, religion and language, affords a culminating proof of his sagacious statesmanship. By his administrative reforms and humanitarian measures he rendered his reign so very illustrious in spite of its short duration. He laboured day and night for reforming the social and intellectual condition of his subjects and advancing their material interests. The principal features of his administration are outlined in the account that follows.

Division of the Empire.

For purposes of efficient administration, the whole Empire was partitioned into 47 Divisions, the commands of which were distributed among the chieftains of

hostile clans, whose internecine feuds and mutual jealousies were a sufficient guarantee against their ambitions. A Division had several *Sarkārs*, each having a *Shiqdār-i-Shiqdārān*, or Shiqdār-in-Chief, and a *Munsif-i-Munsifān*, or Munsif-in-Chief. A *Sarkār* comprised a number of *Parganās*, each having a *Shiqdār*, an *Amīn*, a *Khazānchī*, a *Munsif*, a Hindī writer and a Persian clerk to write accounts. A *Parganā* embraced many villages, each having a *Muqaddam*, a *Chaudhrī* and a *Patwārī*, who served as intermediary officers between the State and the subjects. The *Shiqdār* was a soldier, whose chief duty consisted in enforcing the Imperial *firmāns* and furnishing military aid to the *Amīn* whenever he required it. The *Amīn* was a civil officer, who was responsible to the Central Government for his actions. The Shiqdār-in-Chief and the Munsif-in-Chief were the principal civil officers who looked after the work of the officers of the *Parganās* under their charge. Their chief duty was to watch the conduct of the people and to administer justice. The *Sūbāhdār*, now known as provincial governor, was in charge of a Division and was responsible only to the Crown for his actions, civil as well as military. The Crown—Sher Shāh—was the fountain-head of all authority. He was the shadow of God on earth, answerable to no human authority.

The Land Revenue System.

As an astute manager of the estate of his father, Sher Shāh had realised at an early date that the stability of his empire depended upon the happiness of the agriculturists. He had also understood that the traditional methods of the hereditary revenue officers deprived the

State of a large amount of its dues. He, therefore, caused the whole land under the plough to be measured and portioned into *bighās*. The holding of every tenant was measured at harvest time and $^1/_4$th of the gross produce was fixed as the share of the State. The agriculturists were allowed the option of paying the land revenue in cash or in kind according to their convenience. The industrious *ryots* were protected from obnoxious taxation and their interests were carefully looked after. No injury to cultivation was tolerated: Special guards were stationed to see that no damage was done to the growing crops. Agriculture was encouraged, forests were cleared and opened for cultivation. Granaries were erected and corn stored for the times of need. The instructions to the collectors of land revenue were couched in humanitarian terms and were worked with great lenity. Advances were made to the cultivators to relieve their distress in bad days. This efficient system of revenue settlement, based on the actual measurement of the land under cultivation, was subsequently developed by Akbar the Great and has, in all its essential features, survived in British India under the name of '*Raiyatwāri* Settlement'.

Administration of Justice.

Even-handed justice was administered throughout the length and breadth of the empire. *Qāzīs* and *Mīr-i-Adls* (judges) tried civil suits and criminal cases in the *Dār-ul-'Adālat*, or Courts of Justice. They dealt out inflexible justice, so much so that no one could evade law and escape punishment by reason of his high birth or rank. Punishments awarded were very severe, so severe as 'to

set an example'. The *Panchāyat* System also was in vogue. The Hindūs had their disputes decided in the *Panchāyats*. The jurisdiction of these courts of arbitration was restricted to civil disputes relating to inheritance, succession and the like.

Organisation of Police Force.

Sher Shāh organised a most modern police force. He did not make any punitive police out of gentlemen, but converted the robbers and the rebels, the malcontents and the miscreants into custodians of peace. He repressed crimes in his kingdom by introducing the principle of local responsibility and enforcing it throughout his dominions. The *Muqaddams* were responsible for the detection of cases of theft and highway robbery. If they failed to find out the thieves and the robbers, they were forced to make good the losses. Likewise, if a murder occurred within their jurisdiction and they failed to produce the murderer, they were arrested and put to death. This system of local responsibility 'resulted in the complete security of life and property. The travellers and wayfarers slept without the least anxiety even in a desert, and the *Zamīndārs* themselves kept watch over them for fear of the king'. The Police Department was greatly assisted by a body of censors of public morals, called *Muhtasibs*, who put down such crimes as adultery and drinking and enforced the observance of religious laws.

Secret Service.

There also existed a regular department of secret service, because espionage was absolutely indispensable in that despotic age. An efficient army of diligent spies was employed

in order to keep the Emperor in touch with all that occurred in his empire.

Tariff System.

Sher Shāh abolished many oppressive taxes and took only those which he thought were legal and less burdensome. So he made a clean sweep of all internal customs and allowed the imposition of excise duties on the frontier and at the places of sale within the empire. This reconstruction of the tariff system revived trade and commerce, reduced the burden of taxation and removed discontent to a considerable extent. The *Jiziā* was also abolished.

Means of Communication.

Sher Shāh paid great attention to the development of the means of communication and transportation. His name is intimately associated with the construction of roads and highways on a large scale. The longest of his roads was the one running from Sunārgāon to the Indus. Besides this, there were many other important roads which were so dexterously planted that they linked almost all the strategic cities of the empire to the Imperial Capital. Of them, three deserve specific mention at this place: (1) from Āgrā to Burhānpur, (2) from Āgrā *via* Biānāh to the borders of Mārwār, and (3) from Lāhore to Multān. On both sides of these roads shady trees were planted and at intervals *serāis* were constructed for the comfort and convenience of travellers. Each of the *serāis* had a well, a mosque and a garden in it. It was looked after by a set of officers, *viz.*, an *Imām*, a *Mu'azzin* and some watermen, appointed by the State. Inside

the *serāis*, separate accommodation was allotted to Hindūs and Muslims. Brāhmans were employed for the convenience of the former and Muslims for the service of the latter. Dwelling upon the importance of these *serāis*, Mr. Qānūngo remarks that they became 'the veritable arteries of the empire, diffusing a new life among its hitherto benumbed limbs'. There sprang up around them busy market towns and a brisk trade was the natural consequence.

Postal Service.

Sher Shāh was equally interested in the maintenance of a highly organised postal service. The *serāis*, referred to, served as *dāk chowkīs*, and through them the news of the remotest parts of the empire were dispatched to the Emperor. In every *serāi* two horses were kept to provide postal service; and foot-runners and horsemen were posted along the highways and they carried the imperial *firmāns*, or dispatches, from place to place. If there existed an excellent postal system under Sher Shāh, it was because he had sufficiently developed the means of communication.

Military Reforms.

Sher Shāh introduced several reforms in the army. In the first place, he tried to put an end to the feudal system and endeavoured to bring his soldiers in close contact with himself. Therefore, he combined in his person the functions of the Commander-in-Chief and the Pay-Master General. He himself paid the soldiers and their officers and told them to obey their immediate officers not as their personal chiefs but as servants of the Emperor. Previously, whenever a provincial

governor rebelled against the Sultān, his soldiery sided with him and not with the latter. Sher Shāh at once abolished this system and ordered his soldiers to obey the imperial *firmāns* first and those of their immediate officers after. Thus, with one stroke of wisdom the main cause of rebellions and revolts was removed. Secondly, Sher Shāh checked fraudulent musters by reviving Alā-ud-Dīn Khiljī's system of branding the horses in the service of the State, and drew up descriptive rolls of the troopers. The marks on the persons of the soldiers and on the bodies of their horses were entered in their descriptive rolls and compared at the time of inspection. Soldiers were recruited by the Emperor himself and their salaries were fixed after personal inspection. The system of assigning *jāgīrs* in lieu of service was abolished and cash salaries were paid to the rank and file from the State Treasury. Military officers were not allowed to stay in one place for more than two years. During their marches they were ordered to behave properly and were strictly warned against damaging the growing crops. Finally, Sher Shāh established fortified posts in many parts of his kingdom in order to prevent the possibility of external invasion. As a result, India enjoyed complete immunity from foreign attacks, and the recalcitrant population was kept in check.

Currency Reform.

At his accession Sher Shāh found the currency system of the country under his control in confusion. He knew that the financial stability of a government depended upon its credit and credit upon its currency. He, therefore,

undertook the task of reforming the coinage and establishing the financial stability of his government. He issued gold, silver and copper coins in abundance and gave them a fixed standard of weight, fineness and execution. The twofold advantage of the reform in the current coins of the country was that prices were low and trade was brisk.

Works of Public Welfare.

Sher Shāh was a remarkable promoter of public welfare. He encouraged agriculture, systematically constructed roads and bridges, laid out beautiful gardens and terraced-walks, erected alm-houses, hospitals and *caravan-serāis*, patronised art and literature, founded *maktabs* and *madrasahs*, established mosques and monasteries, granted stipends and scholarships to the teachers and the taught, maintained a large number of free kitchens—in short, he tried to do all that he could for the betterment of his subjects. His guiding principle was that no one should be deprived of his due share of State benefactions and that no one should have a superfluity of the same.

Architecture.

Sher Shāh was a good builder also. He made a magnificent city at Delhi and erected the famous fort of Rohtās in the Punjāb. The *mausoleum*, which he built while he was living and in which he was buried after his death, is one of the splendid monuments in India. The palace he constructed in the Fort of Āgrā has exacted the encomiums of Fergusson, the historian of Indian Architecture, who writes:—

"In the citadel of Āgrā there stands—or at least

stood when I was there—a fragment of a palace built by Sher Shāh, or his son Salīm, which was as exquisite a piece of decorative art as anything of its class in India. Being one of the first to occupy the ground, this palace was erected on the highest spot within the fort; hence the present Government, fancying this a favourable site for the erection of a barrack, pulled it down, and replaced it by a more than usually hideous brick erection of their own. This is now a warehouse, in white-washed ugliness, over the marble palaces of the Moghals —a fit standard of comparison of the tastes of the two races.

"Judging from the fragment that remains, and the accounts received on the spot, this palace must have gone far to justify the eulogium more than once passed on the works of these Pathāns—that 'they built like giants and finished like goldsmiths': for the stones seem to have been of enormous size, and the details of most exquisite finish. It has passed away, however, like many another noble building of its class, under . . . . . our rule. Mosques we have generally spared, and sometimes tombs, because they were unsuited to our economic purposes, and it would not answer to offend the religious feelings of the natives. But when we deposed the kings and appropriated their revenues, there was no one to claim their now useless abodes of splendour. It was consequently found cheaper either to pull them down, or use them as residences or arsenals than to keep them up, so that very few now remain for the admiration of posterity."*

* Fergusson's *Indian and Eastern Architecture*, pp. 572-73.

Sher Shāh's ideal of kingship.

Sher Shāh's ideal of kingship was very high and be it said to his credit that he fell little short of it. He used to say: "It behoves the great king to be always active." He himself looked into the minutest details of his government and kept a vigilant watch on his civil and military officers. He spared no pains in advancing the interests of his subjects. In his own words:—

"The essence of royal protection consists in protecting the life and property of the subjects. They (kings) should use the principles of justice and equality in all their dealings with all classes of people, and should instruct powerful officials so that they may try their best to refrain from cruelty and oppression in their jurisdiction."

Suffice it to say that he lived up to this ideal and secured the sincere homage and acquiescent good-will of his subjects, Hindūs and Muslims alike.

His estimate.

Sher Shāh is a most interesting figure in the history of Muslim India. Commencing career as a private soldier, he raised himself gradually to the sovereignty of India and ruled successfully for about five years. He was a self-made man, one who never hesitated to handle a spade even in the capacity of an emperor. He never indulged in unnecessary bloodshed and was all averse to cruelty. He was a staunch Sunnī, but was not intolerant of other creeds. He was a bigot without intolerance. He was kindly disposed towards his Hindū subjects. He exempted them from the *Jizia* and other taxes imposed upon the *Zimmīs* (non-Muslims). He encouraged education

among them and took them in his service without restriction. As a general, he occupies a high place in history. His military operations against Humāyūn were directed with wonderful skill and strategy. In the space of a decade he overthrew the Mughal Empire and revived the Afghān Rule by founding the Sūr Dynasty. His successful campaigns against Mālwā, Bundelkhand and Rājpūtānā speak much for his military genius and show that he was a great military commander. But he will go deep down in history more for his administration which was just, wise and vigorous, than for anything else. If he knew how to conquer, he also knew how to consolidate his conquests by his indefatigable industry and sleepless vigilance. By his administrative reforms, by the land revenue system which he introduced, and by the policy of religious toleration which he always adhered to, he prepared the ground for the greatness of Akbar the Great. In view of his civil and military achievements, one is inclined to agree with one who says that 'if he had been spared he would have established his dynasty, and the great Mughals would not have appeared on the stage of history'. Unfortunately, like Bābar, he enjoyed a brief reign of about five years ; but all that he accomplished during this short period, entitles him to rank with the greatest sovereigns of India.

Salīm Shāh: 1545-63 A. C.

Sher Shāh was succeeded by his young son, Jalāl Khān, who was proclaimed king because of his arrival in the camp in time on the death of his father. Becoming king, he assumed the title of Salīm Shāh, but

soon he discovered the truth of the maxim: "Uneasy lies the head that wears a crown". The turbulence of the unruly Afghāns compelled him to have recourse to drastic measures. He issued several regulations and strove hard to strengthen his position. He arrested the *Amīrs*, who were against him, and imprisoned them, or put them to death, as he thought fit. Although he fell far short of his father's standard, he proved himself quite a capable king. Barring out a few disturbances, he enjoyed a peaceful reign of about eight years.

Reduction of Mālwā and the Punjāb.

The first to feel the force of his arms was Shujā'at Khān, the governor of Mālwā, who had accumulated enormous wealth and had effectively established his authority over the country under his rule. Receiving intelligence of the intentions of the Emperor, he sent submissive and reverential representations and so secured his safety. Azīm Humāyūn, governor of the Punjāb, was less prudent but more arrogant. When Salīm Shāh summoned him to his court, he did not go personally but sent a substitute to act as his representative. The King took this as an insult and an act of insubordination. He issued peremptory orders to his army and set out at its head against the Punjāb. Azīm anticipated drastic action on the part of the Emperor and therefore broke into open rebellion. He was defeated at Ambālā and put to flight. Again he gathered strength and fought an engagement and again he was defeated and put to flight. In Kashmīr he was shot dead by certain tribesmen. The Punjāb was occupied.

Shaikh Alāi.

Another important event of Salīm Shāh's reign was the rise of a religious movement. Under the influence of Shaikh Alāi's pursuasive eloquence it roused the religious zeal of the masses and created disturbances in the Punjāb. But, when it assumed threatening dimensions and its adherents began to defy the State authorities in the open, the Sultān was compelled to order the immediate arrest and execution of the Shaikh. The orders were carried out and Alāi was put to death. With the death of its author died the movement when it was quite in its inception, its followers gradually dwindling into insignificance.

Government of Salīm Shāh.

Sālīm Shāh adopted a policy of repression in order to establish his authority in his kingdom. He maintained a well-organised standing army and through it he enforced his authority. He curbed the power of his *Amīrs* and took away from them all the instruments of war they had in their possession. He deprived them of their elephants and put an end to the practice of granting money for a certain *quota* of horses supplied to the State. He held the strings of the State coffers tight in his own hand and effected economies wherever it was possible. He maintained an efficient spying system and kept himself informed about all the events of his reign through it. A new code of regulations was formulated and justice was administered in accordance with it. Neither the *Qāzīs* nor the *Muftīs*, only the *Munsifs*, were empowered to interpret these regulations. In order to enforce the new code throughout

the kingdom special troops were stationed and the King himself endeavoured to see that the machinery of his government worked well.

Salīm Shāh died in 1553 A. C. He was followed by his son, Firoz Khān, to the throne. The latter was, however, killed by his uncle, Mubāriz Khān, who became king and assumed the title of Muhammad Shāh 'Ādil. The new king proved himself a profligate debauchee. He soon earned for himself the nickname of 'Adāli, 'the foolish'; for immediately after his enthronement, he began to dissipate the resources of the Imperial Treasury in senseless prodigality. Himself a chartered libertine, he allowed the administration of his empire to be controlled by his clever and capable minister, Hemū, who managed the affairs of the State with great vigour and wisdom. But even then it was impossible to bring under control the jarring elements that had escaped at the death of Salīm Shāh. Rebellions broke out everywhere and the entire machinery of administration collapsed. The King's own cousin, Ibrāhīm Khān, seized upon Āgrā and Delhi, but he was soon beaten by his brother, Sikandar Sūr, who succeeded in securing for himself the whole of the territory between the Indus and the Ganges. Such was the chaotic condition of Hindūstān when messengers were sent to the ex-Emperor Humāyūn, inviting him to occupy the throne of his ancestors.

Muhammad 'Ādil Shah : 1553-56.

This brings us to the main theme of our history. Humāyūn, our homeless hero, was not idling away his

time. Though defeated, deposed and driven out of India, he was not altogether deserted by fortune ; the stars in their courses were fighting for him. With the help of the Persian King, he attacked India, defeated Sultān Sikandar Sūr and took possession of his lost empire. After a brief reign of twelve months he fell from the stairs of his library and died on January 24, 1556 A.C.

CHAPTER V

JALĀL-UD-DĪN MUHAMMAD AKBAR

(1556-1605 A. C.)

Reconquest and Reconstruction

Introductory.

Humāyūn was succeeded by his illustrious son, Akbar, who stands as a splendid and unrivalled figure in the annals of Indian history. He successfully ruled in this country for about fifty years, and during this period he made mighty and enduring contributions to the cause of human happiness. His versatile activity, embracing almost every sphere of human endeavour, and many-sided achievements assign him a place second to none in the history of India. No other Mughal Emperor is extolled so much by historians as he for his sagacious statesmanship, dexterous diplomacy and military skill. In this short space it is impossible to do justice to his reign, which most unmistakably comprises the brightest epoch of Indian history. The present account is, therefore, bound to be imperfect. It does not, however, omit anything important. For the sake of clarity and convenience the subject is divided into five parts: (1) Reconquest and Reconstruction, (2) Territorial Annexations, (3) *Dīn-i-Ilāhī*, (4) Administration, and (5) Literature and Fine Arts.

Akbar's early life.

Akbar was born at Amarkot on the 23rd of November, 1542 A. C. His father, Humāyūn, was out on an expedition against Sind with the Rājāh of that place (Amarkot)

when he received the news of the birth of his son. He searched the saddle bags of his escort and found only a bag of musk which he distributed among his friends and prayed that the fame of his son might spread in the world like the smell of that substance. The boy was brought up in the camp by his mother, Hamīdā Bāno Begum. At the tender age of twelve months his father left him in Qandhār at the mercy of his uncle, Kāmrān. There his education was sadly neglected. At the age of five years his vindictive uncle exposed him to a volley of shots fired by his father when the latter was besieging Kābul. Fortunately, however, he had a narrow escape. By the time he attained the age of twelve, he had acquired considerable skill in the control of camels, horses and elephants. He had had enough of experience in the use of arms and had seen much of warfare as a companion of his father in his fugitive life. At the age of thirteen he was called upon to occupy the throne of Hindūstān on the death of his father.

His accession.

While Akbar was on his way back from the Punjāb, where he had gone with his father's faithful friend, Bairam Khān, to put an end to the misgovernment of its governor, Abdul Mālī, he received at Kalānaur the news of the death of his father. After performing the customary rites of mourning, the coronation ceremony was gone through in a garden on the 14th of February, 1556 A. C. As the new king was only a boy of thirteen, Bairam Khān began to act as regent and formally took charge of the Imperial Government. Akbar's

younger brother, Muhammad Hakīm, was confirmed in his government of Kābul, which, though a dependency of Hindūstān, was none the less an independent kingdom.

The political condition of India in 1556.

After his restoration, Humāyūn did not live long to establish his authority in Hindūstān. He died only a year after, and his son, Akbar, therefore, succeeded to a troublous inheritance. In 1556 A. C. anarchy and confusion reigned supreme in India and famine and pestilence were rampant in the rank and file. The fairest provinces of Northern India, including Delhi and Āgrā, were visited by plague, which carried away a large number of the people. Politically, the throne of Delhi had become a bone of contention between the Afghāns and the Mughals, and the country had been reduced to a mere geographical expression, or a congeries of small states. The sovereignty of North-West India was contested by Sikandar Sūr on the one hand, and Muhammad Shāh 'Ādil on the other. The former had collected a large army in the Punjāb and was aspiring for the sovereignty of the whole of Hindūstān ; the latter had retired to the eastern provinces and was increasing the area of his influence there ; but his indomitable commander-in-chief, Hemū, who had earned for himself a unique military distinction by successfully fighting as many as twenty-two pitched battles, was advancing from Chunār, the capital of his master, towards Āgrā with a large army, gathering strength on his march from the enemies of the Mughal cause. Before Bairam

Khān came to the rescue, Āgrā had fallen and Tardī Beg, the Governor of Delhi, had been defeated and put to flight. After the fall of Āgrā, Hemū occupied Delhi, ascended the Mughal Throne, struck coins in his own name, raised the Imperial Canopy over his head and assumed the title of Vikramādityā. Consumed as he was with the ambition of conquests, he was equally aflamed with the idea of acquiring the empire of India. The fact that Humāyūn was dead and that a boy of thirteen was on the throne broadened the horizon of his ambitions. Kābūl, under Muhammad Hakīm, was an independent kingdom to all intents and purposes. Its existence as such was threatened by Sulaimān of Badakhshān. Bengāl enjoyed its independence under its Afghān Chiefs. The Rājpūts of Rājasthān had recovered from the shock inflicted on them by Bābar; they were now in unchallenged possession of their castles. Mālwā and Gujarāt had renounced their allegiance to the Central Government during the reign of Muhammad Tughluq. Gondwānā was ruled by its own local chieftains. Orissā was independent. Kashmīr, Sind and Balochistān were free from external control. The Deccan Sultānates of Ahmednagar, Bijāpur, Golcondā, Khāndesh and Berār were ruled by their own Sultāns, who were at daggers drawn with one another. The Hindū Empire of Vijayānagar then towered supreme in wealth, strength and civilization. The Portuguese were powerful in the Arabian Sea and the Persian Gulf; they held the sway of the western sea-coast and possessed some good sea-ports, including Goa and Diu.

Second Battle of Pānīpat, 1556.

Such was the situation of India when Akbar ascended the throne. It was fortunate for the Mughal Dynasty that the young Emperor had a powerful supporter and an excellent general and statesman in Bairam Khān, who served his master and secured his position till he attained the age of discretion. The first important thing that he was required to do as regent was to fight against Hemū, who was advancing against the Mughal Emperor at the head of a huge army. Almost all the officers of the Mughal army advised the Emperor to retreat to Kābul, but Bairam Khān successfully resisted such a pusillanimous step as would have spoiled the prospects of the Mughal Dynasty. Forthwith he ordered the immediate arrest and execution of Tardī Beg on a charge of misconduct in the face of the enemy, and himself marched out to oppose Hemū. Fortune favoured the resolute Mughal general from the outset. An advance-guard had already handicapped Hemū by capturing the whole park of his artillery. The two armies, each commanded by a military genius of no mean merit, came to severe blows at the memorable plain of Pānīpat. Hemū made a furious charge of his elephants and soon threw the left wing of the Mughal army into confusion, and there was considerable consternation in the Mughal Camp. The tide of victory turned at once in favour of the Mughals when, in the thick of fight, Hemū was hit in his eye with an arrow and rendered unconscious. The fall of the leader from his elephant decided the fate of the battle. The Mughals won the day. Hemū, the hero and the hope

of the Hindūs, was taken prisoner and brought before the Emperor. Bairam was anxious to see the young emperor slaying a most formidable enemy, but the chivalrous *Shahinshāh* refused to do so, saying that it was unchivalrous to slay a fallen foe. Thereupon Bairam Khān took out his own sword and slew Hemū.

Results of the Battle.

The victory at Pānīpat removed the most powerful opponent of Akbar. Hemū was defeated and slain. His army was ruthlessly routed. A large booty, including a big treasure and 1,500 elephants, fell into the hands of the victorious army. Delhi and Āgrā and the neighbouring districts were occupied. The way was prepared for further conquests. The hopes of the Hindūs to establish their own rule in India were dashed to the ground. The prestige of the Mughal arms was established and Akbar was hailed as the Emperor of Hindūstān. The Afghān Rule came to an end and the Mughals began to rule in India. These were the net results of the Second Battle of Pānīpat.

Submission of Sūr claimants and end of the Sūr Dynasty.

A month after the Battle of Pānīpat, Bairam Khān and Akbar turned their attention towards the Sūr claimants to the throne of India. Before trying conclusions with Hemū, Bairam had sent an army against Sikandar Sūr, who had retired to the Siwālik Hills and had taken shelter in the stronghold of Mānkot, from where he could easily defy the authority of the Emperor. The fort was beleaguered and Sikandar was reduced to such straits

that he was compelled to sue for peace. He consented to surrender himself if he was decently provided for. The stronghold was occupied and Sikandar was assigned an estate in the east, where he died in 1569 A. C. In 1557 A. C Muhammad Shāh Ādalī met his death in a conflict with the king of Bengāl. Thus, within a brief span of time, the three acknowledged adversaries of Akbar were got rid of, and he was now securely seated on the throne of Delhi. Next year (1558) Ajmer, Gwālior and Jaunpur were annexed to the Mughal Empire. After these conquests, Bairam Khān turned his serious attention to the internal administration of the country. But ere long he came into conflict with his ambitious and impatient royal ward. The story of his rise and fall is an interesting episode in the early history of the present reign.

Bairam Khān, or Khān Bābā.

A Turkman by birth and a Shiā Muslim by faith, Bairam Khān was one of the most devoted and faithful followers of Humāyūn. He had suffered with his master all the privations of a fugitive life and had stood by him in some of his most trying situations. But for his advice and assistance, Humāyūn would not have been able to reconquer India. His loyalty towards Akbar was equally unmixed and his services to the Mughal cause were invaluable. It was at his instance that the Second Battle of Pānīpat was fought and a decisive victory won. At his accession Akbar cannot be said to have possessed any definite kingdom. It was during his regency that Delhi, Āgrā and the surrounding districts were occupied, and Ajmer, Gwālior and

Jaunpur were conquered. It was he, again, who removed the rivals of his young master and securely seated him on the throne of India. His ability, age and experience enabled him to acquire an inestimable influence in the Mughal Empire. He was a shrewd politician and a rigid disciplinarian. He was jealous of his master's youthful friendships and would not tolerate any favours which the latter might bestow upon his servants without his consultation.

His fall.

Unfortunately enough, Bairam Khān had made many enemies at the Court by his haughty demeanour and arrogant behaviour. Hamīdā Bāno Bagum, the Queen-mother; Maham Ankāh, the foster-mother; Adham Khān, a foster-brother; and Shahāb-ud-Dīn, the Governor of Delhi— all these disliked him for reasons of their own. They availed themselves of every occasion to foment the feelings of irritation between the Emperor and the Protector. At last a trifling incident brought about a serious quarrel between the two. Once, when Akbar was amusing himself with an elephant-fight, the two contesting animals got out of control. They broke through the enclosure, stampeded Bairam Khān's camp close by, and put his life in danger. In spite of Akbar's strong protestations that the occurrence was purely accidental, the Khān lost his temper and immediately ordered the execution of an innocent personal servant of His Majesty. At this Akbar's indignation knew no bounds. For some time there was a feeling of coldness between the Emperor and his *Atāliq* (tutor), but a reconciliation was effected when the former soothed the

ruffled feelings of the latter by giving him the hand of Salīmā Sultānā, the niece of Humāyūn. But before long Bairam executed another courtier, Pīr Muhammad, for an alleged offence. By such actions as these he not only strained his relations with the Emperor but also earned for himself a host of enemies at the Court. The appointment of his own kith and kin and co-religionists (Shiās) to high offices in the State grossly offended the Sunnī Orthodoxy. His punishment of the Emperor's servants and courtiers for the most trivial misconduct had already estranged him to the Emperor; but when the latter learnt that his regent was harbouring plans of placing Kāmrān's son, Abul Qāsim, on the throne, the tension took a serious turn. The breaking-point had already reached. Now a conspiracy was organised against him and at the instance of Hamīdā Bāno Begum, Maham Ankāh, Adham Khān and Shahāb-ud-Dīn, the Emperor went to Biānāh, on the pretext of hunting, in order to discuss the matter. There it was arranged that he should go to Delhi to see his mother, who was given out to be ill. While he was with his mother, Maham Ankāh employed all arts of intrigue against Bairam Khān. She fomented the feelings of the Emperor, who was already smarting under the galling tutelage of his rather domineering regent. Soon after his return from Delhi, Akbar issued the following declaration: 'It being our intention henceforth to govern our people by our judgment, let our well-wisher withdraw from all worldly attachments and retire to Mecca to pass the rest of his life in prayer, far-removed from the toils of public life.' Bairam

Khān soon discerned what was passing behind the screen. Realising that he had gone too far, he sent two trusty officers to the Court with 'assurances of unabated loyalty towards the throne', and offered 'supplication and humility.' Akbar imprisoned the messengers and sent a certain Pīr Muhammad Khān, once a subordinate of the Khān, at the instigation of the Court Party, in order to hasten his departure to Mecca. Bairam Khān's pride was touched to the quick, and in the outburst of his wrath, he broke into open rebellion. He was, however, defeated, taken prisoner and brought before the Emperor, who graciously pardoned him in view of his past services. When he reached Lāhore, where the Emperor was holding his Court, he was greatly impressed by the reception accorded to him. He threw himself at his sovereign's feet and burst into tears. The forgiving King at once raised him up and made him take his former place on the right hand side at the head of the grandees of the Empire. Then His Majesty invested him with a magnificent robe of honour and offered him three alternatives: (1) If he preferred to remain at Court, he would be treated with profound honour as the benefactor of the Royal House; (2) If he chose to remain in office, he would be given the governorship of one of the Imperial provinces, and (3) If he wished to retire to a religious life, he would be honourably provided for and comfortably escorted to on his pilgrimage to Mecca He replied that, having once lost his master's confidence, he was not willing to continue in his service any more and added that the clemency of the *Padshah* was

enough, and his forgiveness was more than a reward for his former services. "Let me, therefore, turn my thoughts from this world," he said, "to another and be permitted to proceed to the Holy Shrine." The *Pādshāh* approved of his decision, provided him with a suitable escort and assigned him a liberal pension for his maintenance. But he was not destined to reach the 'Holy Shrine'. He was murdered on his way by a private enemy at Patan. This took place in January 1561 A. C.

'Petticoat Government': 1560-64 A. C.

Bairam Khān's dismissal cleared the way for the Court Party, the most prominent member of which was Maham Ankāh, whom historians have described as the '*prime confidante*' of the King in all the affairs of the State. While dwelling upon the dismissal of Bairam Khān, Dr. Smith remarks that the Emperor shook off the tutelage of the Khān-i-Khānān only to bring himself under the 'monstrous regiment of unscrupulous women', and further observes that the most unscrupulous of them was Maham Ankāh, who conferred high offices upon her worthless favourites. The Doctor is not at all justified in his remarks. His views are contradicted by facts. Akbar was not at all dominated by Maham Ankāh. Had that been the case, the fate of Bairam Khān, after his fall, would have been terrible; for he had no greater enemy at the Court than that women. It was quite contrary to her wishes that the Khān was so honourably treated after his rebellion. Again, if Akbar had really been under the thumb of Maham Ankāh, as he is alleged

to have been, Adham Khān, her son, would have been the first man to receive a high title or a big *jāgīr*. But we know for certain that he was not entrusted with any responsible post in the State. Doubtless, he was once sent against Mālwā at the head of an army, but when he misappropriated the spoils of war after success, the Emperor marched against him in person and chastised him for his brazen insolence. Afterwards, when he murdered Shams-ud-Dīn Atkā Khān, on whom the Emperor wished to bestow the office of *Vakīl*, quite against the will of his foster-mother, he was twice thrown down from the ramparts of his fort, with the result that his brains were knocked out and his life came to an end. If, therefore, the Emperor had been under the influence of Maham Ankāh, the punishment awarded to Adham Khān must have been much milder. That was, however, not so. Akbar acted independently according to his own judgment, though he sought the advice of the Court Party in certain affairs of the kingdom and held his foster-mother in high esteem.

Akbar's position in 1564 A. C.

By the year 1564 A.C. Akbar had fully established his authority; he had taken the reins of administration in his own hands, had overcome his rivals and had firmly seated himself on the throne of Delhi. He had shaken off the tutelage of Bairam Khān and the influence of the Court Party and had entered upon his personal government. As a man of strong imperial instinct, he aspired to become the sovereign-ruler of India. Before he entered upon a career of conquest, he was called upon to suppress a series of rebellions and revolts.

Rebellion of Khān Zamān.

One of the Uzbeg officers of Akbar had risen to the position of Khān Zamān in appreciation of his valuable services at the Battle of Pānīpat (1556 A. C.). In 1560 A. C. the Afghāns of Bengāl, headed by Sher Shāh II, son of Muhammad Shāh 'Ādalī, made an attempt to recover Delhi. They were utterly defeated by Khān Zamān, who, however, refused to send to His Majesty the elephants, included in the spoils of war. The Emperor took the field against him in person and advanced towards Jaunpur. When the Khān heard of the Emperor's advance, he marched out to pay homage to His Majesty, taking with him not only the elephants but the rest of the booty as well as other propitiatory offerings. With his usual generosity, the Emperor passed over his act of insubordination and confirmed him in the government of Jaunpur shortly afterwards.

Rebellion of Adham Khān.

Adham Khān was employed by Akbar against Bāz Bahādur of Mālwā. He won a decisive victory near Sarangpur over his enemy, but followed the example of Khān Zamān by rebelling and retaining the spoils of the conquest. As if this was not enough, he went a step further : Elated by his success, he made a lavish distribution of the booty in order to increase his popularity, retaining, however, for himself the royal ensigns and a major part of the treasure, which ought to have been sent to the Emperor as a matter of course. Akbar instantly marched into Mālwā at the head of the Imperial army, took Adham Khān by surprise before he could break into open rebellion, captured the booty and removed him

from the government of Mālwa After his misconduct in the expedition against Mālwā, Adham Khān was kept at the Imperial Court, where he grew jealous of the promotion of Shams-ud-Dīn to the position of *Vakīl*, *i.e.*, Prime Minister. Smarting under the loss of his government of Mālwā, he entered, one night, in the *Dīwān-i-Khās* with some of his retainers and stabbed the *Vakīl* to death. The noise that followed the murder, aroused the Emperor from his sleep, brought him out of his private apartment and attracted him to the scene of the occurrence. Finding his minister dead, the Emperor dealt such a blow to the traitor that he fell senseless to the ground. He was twice thrown down from the terraced-roof of the royal palace inside the fort and killed. This took place in 1562 A. C.

Rebellion of Abdullāh Khān.

Adham Khān was superseded by Pīr Muhammad in the government of Mālwā. But Pīr was more a man of letters than of war. His barbarous treatment of the people of the province strengthened the cause of Bāz Bahādur, who was thus enabled to expel the Mughals out of his dominions with the help of the Sultān of Khāndesh. Pīr Muhammad was drowned while his defeated troops were crossing the river Narbadā. Akbar dispatched another army under the command of one Abdullāh Khān who inflicted a severe defeat on Bāz Bahādur and recaptured Mālwā. After some futile efforts to recover his kingdom, Bāz Bahādur took service under the Mughal Emperor. The government of the province was made over to Abdullāh Khān, who soon followed the example of his predecessor

by an attempt at rebellion. Akbar marched against him and, after some fighting, compelled him to take refuge in Gujarāt.

Revolts of Uzbeg Chiefs: 1565-1567.

Hotly chased into Gujarāt, the rebellious chief (Abdullāh) ultimately made his way into Jaunpur, where he joined hands with the traitor, Khān Zamān, and Āsaf Khān, and made common cause with them against the Mughal Emperor. An insurrection of threatening dimensions broke out in Jaunpur in 1565 A. C. and lasted till 1567 A. C. It was something like a general rising of the Uzbeg Chiefs, the hereditary enemies of the family of Bābar, who did not like the Persianised ways of Akbar and his sympathetic attitude towards his Persian officers, so much so that they now intrigued against him in favour of Kāmrān's son, Abul Qāsim. The Imperial army sent against Khān Zamān was defeated in 1565 A. C. Thereupon the Emperor himself advanced towards the insurgent chiefs, who at once made a show of submission, but never submitted. A little afterwards they were joined by the disaffected Afghāns and the discontented Musalmāns of the eastern provinces. Before Akbar could find time to suppress the rebellion of the Uzbegs, he was called upon to protect the Punjāb, which was simultaneously invaded by Mirzā Muhammad Hakīm of Kābul. At this critical juncture he displayed marvellous courage, resourcefulness and presence of mind. He lost no time in marching to the Punjāb, dispersing the allies of his brother and putting them to flight. The Mirzā returned to Kābul discomfited After restoring internal tranquillity in the

Punjāb, the Emperor again turned his attention to the insubordinate Uzbegs. Post-haste he marched into the east and took them by surprise at Mānkūwāl (ten miles from Allāhabād). Khān Zamān was killed in the battle which ended disastrously for the Uzbegs. His accomplices were severely punished while Abul Qāsim was executed in the fort of Gwālior. Thus, the back of the Uzbeg rising was broken, though it was not finally suppressed till 1573 A. C.

Monstrous act of Khwājāh Mu'azzam.

Another instance of insubordinate and head-strong officers, who tried to take law in their own hands and escape punishment for their misconduct owing to their friendship with or influence over the Emperor, was that of Khwājāh Mu'azzam, a half-brother of the dowager-queen, Hamīdā Bāno Begum. This 'half insane monster' took his wife to his country-seat and stabbed her to death. This tragic accident took place in 1564 A. C. At the request of the deceased's mother, Emperor Akbar hurried to the scene of the occurrence, seized the murderer, Mu'azzam, and his accomplices, and threw them into the State Prison of Gwālior.

Akbar and the Rājpūts.

Akbar did not take long to realize that there was something grievously wrong with the policy of his predecessors. He soon discovered that if he wanted to establish his empire he must broad-base his rule on the acquiescent good-will of his subjects, irrespective of their caste or creed. 'Of all the dynasties that had yet ruled in India, that of Tamerlane was the most insecure

in its foundation.' This sense of insecurity led him to secure the sympathies of the Hindūs in general and the Rājpūts in particular. The latter constituted the military class of the Hindū community. They were the born war-lords of India and their support was indispensable to the cause of the new dynasty. Accordingly, Akbar set himself to the task of reconciling the Rājpūts to the ideas of the Mughal Rule. The following were the methods he adopted:—

Matrimonial alliances.

(1) With the true acumen and insight of a statesman he entered into matrimonial alliances with the Rājpūts. The first Rājpūt Rājāh to give him his daughter in marriage was Bharmal Kachhwāhā of Amber. This marriage secured the powerful support of a brave Rājpūt family. 'It symbolised,' says Dr. Beni Prasad, 'the dawn of a new era in Indian politics, it gave the country a line of remarkable sovereigns; it secured to four generations of Mughal emperor the services of some of the greatest captains and diplomats that mediæval India produced'. This marriage was solemnised in 1562 A. C. In 1570 the Emperor married princesses from the Rājpūt States of Jaisalmīr and Bikāner. In 1584 A. C. Prince Salīm (Jahāngīr) was married to the daughter of Rājāh Bhagwān Dās.

Important careers opened to Rājpūts and other Hindūs.

(2) Towering above the trammels of religion and the petty prejudices of the Age, Akbar appreciated and rewarded the services of his Hindū subjects, particularly the Rājpūts. He granted them high posts of power and responsibility, both in the civil and

military departments. He took them into his confidence and admitted them to every degree of power. Rājāh Todar Mal, Rājāh Bharmal, Rājāh Bhagwān Dās and Rājāh Mān Singh were some of those who enjoyed high commands in the army. Nearly half of Akbar's soldiers and many of his generals were Hindūs.

(3) The basic principle of Akbar's policy was toleration. To all his subjects he granted the freedom of worship and the liberty of conscience. He abolished the *Jizia*, levied upon the *Zimmīs* (non-Muslims), and all the taxes imposed upon Hindū pilgrims. He treated his Hindū subjects as well as his Muslim subjects; rather, 'with a leaning in favour of the former'. To please his Hindū subjects, he often adopted their customs and practices, mixed freely with them, and seemingly shared their beliefs.

Freedom of worship and liberty of conscience.

(4) Akbar took a lively interest in the welfare of his Hindū subjects. He tried to eradicate the evils that had honeycombed Hindū society. While following the policy of toleration and reconciliation, he did not hesitate to remove the abuses of Hindū society. He forbade child-marriage, discouraged *Satī** and encouraged widow-remarriage. Besides, he practically preached against caste-restrictions and inculcated love of humanity. He encouraged fellow-feeling among all his

Social Reforms.

* The rite of burning widows alive with the dead bodies of their husbands, in vogue among the Hindūs in ancient and madiæval India.

subjects and imparted education to all and sundry. During his reign the Hindūs studied side by side with the Muslims without any restrictions of rank, race or religion.

Effects of the above methods.

By such methods as enumerated above, Akbar won over the Rājpūt element to his side. Three benefits accrued from the policy of toleration and reconciliation adopted by him: (1) The Rājpūt danger was over; (2) when the Rājpūts were reconciled, their support was used as a counterpoise against the Uzbegs and insubordinate officers; and (3) their loyalty served as a strong safeguard against the opposition of the Afghāns who had been freshly dethroned. For the Emperor it was wise to enlist the active co-operation of the Rājpūts whose martial qualities were universally admired. For the Rājpūts, on the other hand, it was equally wise to submit to a sovereign who appreciated their merits, rewarded their services, respected their feelings and tolerated their faith.

Akbar and the Portuguese.

After erecting the famous Ibādat-Khānā at Fatḥpur Sīkrī for the meetings of the intellectuals of his reign, Akbar sent a formal letter of invitation to the Portuguese authorities at Goa, requesting them to send to his court some of their most learned and well-qualified Christian theologians to enlighten him on the philosophical basis of Christianity. The hopes of the Portuguese ran high at the prospect of winning so desirable a convert as the Emperor of India.

First Mission.

In 1580 A. C., a year after the invitation, they complied with the Imperial request and sent a mission under Father Rudolf Acquaviva and Father Monserrat, both of whom were renowned for their devotion to the Christian faith. Akbar accorded the missionaries a most hearty welcome. He treated them with great respect and permitted them to build a chapel at Āgrā. He evinced a keen interest in the sacred pictures of Christ and Mary. He even placed his son, Salīm, under their tuition in order to try the effect of Christian teachings on the unbiassed mind of the young; but nothing could shake his belief in his own faith. The Fathers were grievously disappointed in their expectations; for indeed the Emperor was a hard nut to crack. After a stay of three years at the Mughal Court, the first mission returned in 1583 A. C., without achieving its object, *i.e.*, without converting Akbar to Christianity.

Second Mission.

The second mission, sent from Goa, arrived at the Mughal Court in 1590 A. C. It too did not fare better than its predecessor; for it failed to convert Akbar to Christianity. The failure of this mission convinced the Jesuits that Akbar's mind was most inscrutable, though he still remained most favourably disposed towards them and loved to have some of them with him. It remained at the Mughal Court for three years (1590-1593 A.C.) and then returned, as unsuccessful as the first.

Third Mission.

The third mission arrived at Lāhore, where the Imperial Court then resided, and it was extended a rousing reception. It fared better than the first two inasmuch as it was allowed to build its chapels in Lāhore and Āgrā and to make converts if it could. Besides, it secured many valuable trading facilities and became, more or less, a permanent institution in the Mughal Empire.

Akbar's object.

To the Portuguese Akbar was at first an encouragement, then an enigma, and finally a bitter disappointment. Why ?—because his object in inviting the Portuguese missionaries to his Court and showing profound veneration for the Gospel was political rather than religious. He wished to befriend the Portuguese at Goa, who possessed a large park of artillery, and to secure their assistance against the stronghold of Asīrgarh as well as against his own son, Salīm, who had rebelled against him. Akbar was more a politician and a statesman than a religious propagandist or a missionary. Behind all his acts there were always some ulterior political motives

CHAPTER VI

JALĀL-UD-DĪN MUḤAMMAD AKBAR

(CONTINUED)

Territorial Annexations

(*Conquests*)

Introductory.

The experience of the past and the events daily coming to his notice alike awoke Akbar to the dangers and difficulties that he would have had to face if India had continued to be a congeries of small states or a geographical expression. He felt the necessity for a paramount power at the centre to control the outlying provinces if India was to enjoy the blessings of eternal peace. The unification of India, therefore, presupposed the conquest of all those parts of India over which the Mughals had no control.

Early conquests.

After the Battle of Pānīpat (1556 A.C.) Akbar occupied Delhi and Āgrā. During the Protectorate of Bairam Khān he conquered Ajmer, Gwālior, Jaunpur, Chunār and Mirthā By the year 1564 A. C. he had firmly seated himself on the throne of Delhi. As a man of imperial instinct, he now aspired to make himself the ruler of the whole of Hindūstān. Accordingly, he buckled himself to the task of reducing the whole of India to his own sway. He embarked upon a career of conquest, which was crowned in 1601 A. C. by the capture of Asīrgarh.

Gondwānā.

(1) In 1564 A. C. he dispatched an army against the Rājput State of Gondwānā in the Central Provinces under the command of Āsaf Khān, the governor of Karā-Manikpur. Durgāvatī, who acted as regent for her young son, gallantly defended her small kingdom and offered a stout resistance to the Imperial army. Finding, however, that further resistance was futile, she stabbed herself to death on the battle-field. Gondwānā was overrun and subdued. The royal treasure was plundered and immense booty was obtained by the invaders. Bīr Narāyan, the minor Rājāh, resumed the fight and perished on the field of battle after a desperate defence of the reputation of his house which was at stake.

Mewār.

(2) By the end of the year 1566 A. C. Akbar had broken the back of almost all his formidable foes. He now found himself free to renew his campaign against Rājputāna, which had been postponed owing to the Uzbeg Revolt and other rebellions. An ambitious king like Akbar, who wanted to rule over a united and peaceful India, could not brook the existence of such strong forts on the borders of his empire as Chittor and Ranthambhor. Rānā Sānghā, the flower of Rājpūt chivalry was dead. His son, Udai Singh, was now the premier prince of Rājasthān. Udai utterly lacked the qualities that had characterised his father. He proved to be the most unworthy scion of the famous house of Bāpā Rāwal. Colonel James Tod justly remarks : 'Well had it been for Mewār had the poniard fulfilled his intention ; and had the annals never recorded the name of Udai Singh

in the catalogue of her princes' It was, therefore, high time for the Mughal Emperor to resume his campaign against Rājpūtānā. He did not, perhaps, forget that the Rānā had given shelter and even pecuniary help to Bāz Bahādur of Mālwā after his defeat at the hands of the imperialists. The Rānās of Chittor were very proud of their noble ancestry. They had refused to enter into matrimonial alliances with the Emperor and had all along defied his authority. An attack on Chittor was, therefore, a foregone conclusion. In 1566 A. C. Akbar took the field in person against Udai Singh at the head of an efficient army. At his approach, the Rānā retired to the inaccessible mountainous country in order to save his person, leaving a garrison of eight thousand brave Rājpūt soldiers in charge of the stronghold under the command of Jayamal and Patta. In October, 1567 A. C. the famous fortress was invested with the help of five thousand craftsmen skilled in engineering operations by which the walls were to be undermined. The Rājpūts, who had the decided advantage of position, defended themselves with great courage, but they could not check the progress of the siege which was conducted in the most scientific manner then known. Two *sabats*, or covered approaches, were made and it was planned to blow up the stronghold with the aid of gunpowder. During the operations the powder exploded too soon and killed no less than five hundred of the besiegers and many more of the besieged, crowded on the bastion. The Emperor ordered the construction of new mines and continued the siege with renewed energy. By February, 1568 A. C. everything was ready and a

furious attack was made on the Rājpūts. One night the Emperor chanced to see Jayamal while the latter was directing the repair of one of the breaches made by the besiegers and shot him through his head. As usual, the fall of the commander decided the fate of the garrison. As Akbar advanced to the breaches, he found them undefended. The Rājpūts had retired to perform the rite of *Jauhar*.* Wishing to spare their lives, Akbar summoned them to surrender. Committing their wives and children to the flames, they came out and fought and fell on the field of battle. Some of them cut their way through and others saved themselves and their families 'by binding their own women and children as prisoners, and, seizing a favourable opportunity, marched quietly through the cordon of besiegers as if they were a detachment of Akbar's Rājpūt allies conducting their captives to the rear'. It appears that the Rājpūts resorted to this ruse to save their families from death, availing themselves of the knowledge that the Emperor had abolished the practice of enslaving the prisoners of war, otherwise they would not have tolerated the humiliation of allowing their wives and daughters to fall into the hands of the Mughals. Akbar returned to his capital, bringing with him this time as trophy a pair of wooden gates instead of a beautiful bride.

* When defeated and driven to despair, the Rājpūts massacred their women in order to prevent their falling into the hands of their victors and plunged themselves in the field with swords in their hands, fought their foes without fear and fell fighting on the field and died to a man. Sometimes their women willingly perished in the flames kindled by their own hands. This was known as *Jauhar*.

The fall of Chittor was followed by the capture of the two famous fortresses of Ranthambhor and Kālinjar. A little after the conquest of Chittor, Akbar sent an army under efficient generals for the reduction of Ranthambhor in Rājasthān and himself appeared at the scene of action in February, 1569 A. C. Taking his position on the top of a hill close to the almost impregnable fortress, he commenced bombardment and reduced the Rājpūt Rājāh, Surjanā Hārā, to such straits that he was forced to sue for peace. He sent his sons, Bhojā and Dūdā, to the Emperor who conferred robes of honour on them and sent them back to their father. The Rājāh was so much impressed by this act of magnanimity that he expressed his willingness to serve His Majesty, the Emperor Akbar. His wish was complied with. At first he was made a *Qilādār* at Garhkantak, and a little later he was appointed governor of Benāres and Chunār. Before advancing against Ranthambhor, Akbar had detailed an army under the command of Majnūn Khān Kakshak against Kālinjar. Rājāh Rām Chandra had already received the news of the fall of the two famous fortresses of Rājasthān. He submitted in 1569 A. C. and surrendered his stronghold to the imperial army without resistance. He was granted a *jāgīr* near Allāhābād, and Kālinjar was placed in charge of Majnūn Khan, the valiant commander of the Mughal army. Rām Chandra's example was followed by many other Rājpūt princes, who surrendered their states to the Emperor and joined his service. But Udai Singh was secure in his mountain fortresses, whither he had retired at the approach of

Akbar at Chittor. There he had built a new city and named it Udaipur after his own name. He died in 1572 A. C. and was succeeded by his son, Rānā Prātāp Singh, who was destined to be a most determined enemy of Islām and an avowed champion of Hindūism. He is said to have taken a vow to vindicate the honour of his house and to expel the Musalmāns from India. Although his resources, as compared to those of the Mughal Emperor, were absolutely insignificant and his chances of success were few and far between, yet he 'was fighting for his principles and those who fight for a principle do not stop to measure the chances of success or failure'. This bravest of the brave Rājpūts plunged himself into a life-long struggle to retrieve the sinking fortunes of his famous house and continued an unbalanced war till he recovered a considerable part of the lost territory of Mewār. No excuse for a war against him was needed. Since he refused to submit to Akbar, his destruction was, therefore, determined upon. Rājāh Mān Singh, assisted by Āsaf Khān II, undertook an expedition against the Rānā at the head of a large army. He attacked the fortress of Gogundā in the Irāvallies, but Prātāb Singh was guarding the pass of Haldīghāt leading to Gogundā. At the approach of the imperial army, a fierce hand to hand fight began and ended in victory for Akbar. The Rānā received a serious wound and retired to the mountains. For some time he was hardpressed by the Mughals and was compelled to live in the distant hilly fortresses. But in 1578 A. C. he was again in the field though only to lose Gondwānā and Udaipur.

Afterwards he was able to recover almost all of Mewār, except, Chittor, Ajmer and Mandalgarh, in the absence of the Emperor whose presence at Lāhore was highly necessary till the danger from Turān was over. Rānā Prātāp died in 1597 A. C. after filling the whole of India with his undying fame. The danger from the North-West Frontier being over, the Emperor sent his son, Salīm, against Amar Singh, the son and successor of Rānā Prātāp. Realising the impossibility of success in a mountain warfare against an indomitable race, the Prince retreated to Fatḥpur and thence to Allāhābād, leaving Amar Singh secure in his possessions to the end of his father's reign. The net result of the protracted campaign against Mewār was that the pride of the Rānā was humbled and the famous fortresses of Chittor and Ranthambhor were taken, Kālinjar and Ajmer were occupied and Rājpūtānā was constituted into a separate province of the Mughal Empire. With most of the Rājpūts on his side, Akbar could now freely indulge in his ambitious projects in other regions.

Gujarāt.

(3) It will be remembered that Gujarāt was conquered and occupied by Emperor Humāyūn though only temporarily. Akbar therefore wished to reclaim it as a lost province of the Mughal Empire. Even in his own reign it had become a place of retreat for insurgent officers and refractory chiefs. The Mirzās, the Uzbegs and the royal cousins had taken refuge there. It was there that a serious insurrection had occurred. Above all, the wealth and plenty of the place, its flourishing trade and thriving maritime commerce had a lure that was

irresistible. The time was highly favourable for the Mughal Emperor to recover what was once a province of his father's empire. For anarchy and confusion reigned supreme in Gujarāt owing to the struggle between Muzaffar Shāh II and the Mirzās who had established themselves there in the reign of Humāyūn. The nominal king, Muzaffar Shāh, was a mere puppet in the hands of this faction or that. Moreover, Akbar received an invitation from Itimād Khān, the minister of Muzaffar Shāh, requesting him to relieve the fair province of the chaos it was in. Forthwith, he marched against Muzaffar Shāh, who concealed himself in a corn field when he heard of the arrival of the Emperor in his capital, Ahmadābād. After receiving the submission of the chiefs of Gujarāt and putting its capital under his foster-brother, Khān-i-Āzam Mirzā Azīz Kokā, Akbar laid siege to Sūrat which surrendered soon afterwards. The Emperor, who had never seen a sea, made an excursion to Cambay and enjoyed a short sail on the ocean. He also made acquaintance with the Portuguese there. After introducing necessary administrative reforms, Akbar returned to Fatḥpur Sīkrī. As soon as he turned his back, the Mirzās broke into a serious revolt. Post-haste he marched again against Gujarāt and, covering six hundred miles in nine days, he reached Ahmadābād —'a marvellous feat of physical endurance'. Taking the rebels by surprise, he inflicted a crushing defeat upon them. The Mirzās, who had headed so many rebellions against the Emperor, were finally crushed (1573 A. C.). Order was soon restored and fortune again began to smile over Gujarāt. Rājāh Todar Mal

played a conspicuous part in restoring peace and plenty to this province by his indefatigable efforts and industry. The conquest of Gujarāt marks a new epoch in the history of Akbar's reign. After its annexation to the Mughal Empire, it began to prosper by leaps and bounds. It brought to the Imperial Exchequer a vastly increased income, roughly estimated at Rs. 50,00,000 annually. The Emperor was for the first time brought into personal contact with the Portuguese, whose dealings with him had important political effects on the history of the period. Finally, the conquest of Gujarāt prepared the way for further conquests. It was used as a jumping-off point for the invasion of the southern kingdoms. It opened the way into the Deccan and also accelerated the conquest of Bengāl.

Bengāl.

(4) Sulaimān Karā-ānī, who had founded an independent kingdom of Bengāl in 1564 A.C., was wise enough to acknowledge Akbar as his suzerain. On his death in 1572 A. C., he was succeeded by his headstrong son, Dāūd. At his accession, the new king reversed the policy of his predecessor. He read the *Khutbā* and struck coins in his own name and openly defied the authority of the Emperor. The conquest of Gujarāt had extended the Empire of Akbar in the west right up to the sea. It was but natural that the ambitious Emperor would desire to acquire a similar frontier in the east. Only a pretext was enough to enable him to achieve his object. He found one when Dāūd attacked and occupied the fort of Zamāniā. Akbar himself marched against him and drove him from Patnā and Hājīpur. He was

defeated at Tukārai in Orissā and was compelled to submit to the Emperor and pay him tribute. Bengāl was annexed to the Mughal Empire and Munīm Khān was made its governor. Munīm died in 1575 A. C. and his death enabled Dāūd to recover his lost territory. Akbar could not bear such an audacity. At once he ordered his army to march against him under the command of a capable general. Again he was defeated and taken prisoner at Rājmahal (1576 A. C.)

The Qaqshāl Rebellion in Bengāl.

In connection with the conquest of Bengāl a reference must be made to the rebellion which broke out in that province after the death of its governor, Khān-i-Jahān. Its causes were: (1) Muzaffar Khān Turbatī, who was appointed governor after Khān-i-Jahān, was 'harsh in his measures and offensive in his speech'. He was disliked by the people, specially the Qaqshāls, for the new methods of assessment and the new regulations regarding the confiscation of unauthorised holdings. His harsh policy and its rigid enforcement earned him enmity from all quarters. (2) Owing to the bad climate of Bengāl, the Emperor had increased the allowances of his soldiers serving in that province. When Mansūr, the Imperial Dīwān, reduced these allowances by half, the soldiers suffered and agitated. To allow discontent to enter the army was a blunder of the first magnitude. So rigorous was the inquest that even the *Sayūrghal* lands were not exempt from it. This offended the *Ulāmā*, who preached and propagated against the Emperor. (3) Akbar's *Sulh-i-Kul* policy also precipitated the crisis. The bigoted *Ulāmā* declared him

an apostate from Islām and called upon the people to carry a crescentade against the 'impious emperor'. The first to revolt were the Chughtāi *Qaqshāls* who refused to pay the *dāgh* tax and advanced upon the capital with arms in their hands under their leader, Bābā Khān. They were soon joined by other malcontents who aggravated the trouble. Rājāh Todar Mal was sent by the Emperor to suppress disorder in Bengāl, but the rebels had gained strength and the situation had taken a serious turn. Muzaffar was murdered and the whole of Bihār and Bengāl lay at the feet of the *Qaqshāls*. Akbar then sent Azīz Kokā to the aid of Todar Mal, and the two generals combined to crush the *Qaqshāls*. Their efforts were crowned with success; but soon after the suppression of the *Qaqshāl* rebellion, there appeared another danger on the horizon. A *Jāgīrdār* of Jaunpur, called Masūm Farankhūdī, rebelled against the established government. Shāh Bāz Khān defeated him and compelled him to flee into the Siwālik hills to find refuge there. Azīz Kokā put in a word in his favour and the Emperor was reconciled to him. But he did not live long to enjoy the Imperial favours; his career was cut short by his private enemy a little later. Though fighting continued in Bengāl for some time, the fury of the recalcitrant movement had considerably abated and the danger was practically over.

Kābul.

(5) Many of the orthodox Musalmāns, particularly of the eastern provinces, intrigued against the Emperor and wished to depose him in favour of his younger brother, Mirzā Muhammad

Hakīm. Encouraged by this and emboldened by the rebellions and revolts that followed one another in rapid succession, the Mirzā sent an army under one of his officers to attack the Punjāb. When this expedition failed, he launched another under his general, Shādmān, who was defeated and slain by Rājāh Mān Singh. In 1581 A. C. Hakīm himself invaded the Punjāb at the head of fifteen thousand horse. In vain he tried to induce the inhabitants of India to join him. Akbar not only repelled him, but pursued him to Kābul and compelled him to surrender his territory and to submit to the sovereign-ruler of Hindūstān. With his characteristic clemency, he allowed his brother to retain Kābul till his death. Mirzā Hakīm died in 1585 A. C. and Kābul was converted into a province of the Mughal Empire. It was placed in charge of Rājāh Mān Singh, who was soon called back because he could not keep the unruly Afghāns under control. He was relieved by Rājāh Bīr Bal, who was, however, killed in a campaign against the Yūsafzaīs. The results of the conquest of Kābul may be enumerated here: In the first place, it dealt a death-blow to the orthodox rebels who wanted to make Mirzā Muhammad Hakīm the ruler of India, inasmuch as he was regarded as a strict Sunnī. Secondly, it cowed down the conspirators and the personal awe, inspired by Akbar's character, courage and capacity, held the waverers to duty. Thirdly, it gave him a free hand for the rest of his life; he could now indulge in his religious innovations with absolute impunity. Fourthly, it removed the barrier which

had hitherto prevented the influx of hardy soldiers from Afghānistān and immensely increased the military resources of the Emperor. Finally, it removed the possibility of invasion from beyond the North-West Frontier and kept India in immunity from external aggression.

Akbar's North-West Frontier Policy.

The problem of the North-West Frontier has always engaged the attention and influenced the internal as well as the external policy of almost all Indian governments. During the early Muslim period the Emperor-Sultāns adopted effective measures against the Mongol invasions. They safeguarded their kingdom by constructing a series of military outposts at vulnerable points in the North-West Frontier and by stationing experienced officers and strong garrisons there. Balban, Ghāzī Malik and Alā-ud-Dīn Khiljī made redoubtable efforts to fortify the frontier outposts. With Akbar as the emperor of India, it was but natural to establish a firm hold on the North-West Frontier. After the conquest of Kābul, he tried to reduce the tribal territory. He shifted his court to Lāhore, where it remained from 1585 A. C. to 1598 A. C. During this period he was busy in reducing the Uzbegs and the Afghāns. The Uzbegs, under their leader, Abdullāh, had ousted Mirzā Sulaimān out of Badakhshān and had now fixed their eyes on Kābul. Abdullāh, an ambitious and experienced general as he was, was likely to receive support from the orthodox Afghāns against the 'heretical Emperor'. Akbar's fears were not ill-founded and he was fully alive to the gravity of the situation.

But, before dealing with his formidable enemy, he turned his attention to the suppression of disaffection caused by the Roshnāī Movement. The Roshanites* were defeated and their leader, Jalāl, who had intended an invasion of India, was killed at Ghaznīn and his accomplices were captured and sent to the Imperial Court. This occurred in 1600 A. C. After effectively suppressing the Roshanites, Akbar undertook to put an end to the agitation of the Yūsafzaī Pathāns, who might make common cause against him with Abdullah Uzbeg. Zain Khān was sent against them. He defeated them in twenty-three fights and established fortified posts to hold them in check. But the Imperial troops were soon exhausted owing to the ceaseless activity of the wily foe, so much so that Zain Khān was compelled to apply for reinforcements. The Emperor realized the seriousness of the situation and soon sent an army under the command of Rājāh Bīr Bal and Hakīm Abdul Fatḥ, none of whom had any experience in the use of arms. As soon as they joined Zain Khān, the three generals began to quarrel among themselves and thus gave their enemy the advantage of divided counsels. The result of the campaign was that as many as 8,000 Imperial soldiers were slain with stones and arrows. Bīr Bal was also killed and Zain Khān had a narrow escape. In order to retrieve the disasters of this campaign, the Emperor sent Rājāh Todar Mal and his own son,

Roshanite Movement.

* The Roshanites were the followers of one Bāyazīd, who claimed to be a prophet himself and attached little importance to the teachings of the Holy *Qur'ān*.

Prince Murād, at the head of a large army. This time a better luck was in store for the imperialists. They completely crushed the rebels, and according to Abul Fazl, 'A large number (of the enemy) were killed, and many were sold into Turān and Persia. The country of Sawād (Swāt), Bājaur and Bunir, which has few equals for climate, fruits and cheapness of food, was cleansed of the evil doers.' The result of this campaign was that the Yūsafzaīs were subdued and Abdullāh was convinced of the imperial resources, so that he gave up the idea of Indian conquest.

Kashmīr.

(6) The conquest of Kashmīr was accomplished in 1586 A. C. without any serious opposition or difficulty. The Muslim rulers of Kashmīr were reported to have committed cruelties on their subjects who were mostly Hindūs. This afforded a favourable opportunity to interfere with the independence of that kingdom. The excellent climate of the valley and its natural scenery must have equally attracted the attention of the Emperor. During his stay at Lahore, Akbar availed himself of the anarchical state of Kashmīr and made an attempt to annex it to his empire. He sent Mirzā Shāh Rukh and Rājāh Bhagwān Dās against Yūsaf Shāh, its ruler. A peace was patched up between the imperialists and the Sultān when the latter agreed to send his two sons to the Emperor as hostages. Akbar disapproved of this and dispatched another army under the command of Qāsim Khān to wrest Kashmīr from its ruler who had evaded the humiliation of paying personal homage to His Majesty. The imperialists pressed Yūsaf so hard

that he offered his submission. But his son, Yāqūb, who had managed to escape, continued to struggle till he too was defeated and forced to submit. Both Yūsaf and his son, Yāqūb, were enlisted as *mansabdārs* and Kashmīr was constituted into a part of the province of Kābul. In 1589 A. C. Akbar paid a visit to Kashmīr and entrusted its administration to efficient officers of ability and experience. Henceforth Kashmīr became the summer-seat of the Mughal Emperors.

Sind and Balochistān.

(7) Multān had been under the Mughal Emperors since 1574 A. C. Its governor, Khān-i-Khānān Abdur Rahīm, was entrusted with the task of conquering Sind and Balochistān which were still outside the ambit of the Indian Empire. Mirzā Jānī Beg, the Tarkhān ruler of Sind, was defeated in two engagements and compelled to surrender both the stronghold of Sehwān and the small state of Thattā. This took place in 1592 A. C. Through the good offices of the governor of Multān, Mirzā Jānī Beg was allowed to retain the principality of Thattā and was made a commander of 5,000. He gave a good proof of his loyalty and distinguished himself in the Deccan campaign. The year 1595 A. C. saw the annexation of Balochistān. In February the Mughals attacked and occupied the fort of Sībī under Mīr Māsūm. As a result, the whole of Balochistān succumbed to the Mughal arms.

Qandhār.

(8) The conquest of Sind and Balochistān supplied Akbar with an excellent *point d' appui* for the conquest of Qandhār, the scene of his ancestors' activities and exploits. In fact

it was a necessary prelude to that premeditated idea. Mirzā Muzaffar Husain, the King of Qandhār, was harassed by the Turks and the Uzbegs. Akbar benefited from this weakness of the Shāh. He sent an expedition to Qandhār at the invitation of the Shāh, who was entangled in a conflict with the Uzbegs. In May, 1595 A. C. the imperialists took charge of the province without bloodshed. It was indeed a master-stroke of diplomacy. Without straining his relations with the Shān, Akbar annexed Qandhār to his empire. The conquest of Qandhār completed the conquest of Northern India. It secured Akbar's position in the countries of the North-West. It brought home to Abdullāh Uzbeg the military strength of Emperor Akbar and henceforth he tried to maintain friendly relations with him. The Uzbeg invasion of India was now a thing of the past.

The Deccan Campaign.

The acquisition of Kābul, Kashmīr, Sind, Balochistān and Qandhār completed the conquest of Northern India and rounded off the Mughal Empire which was steadily extended and consolidated. The turn of the South came next. It was Akbar's long-cherished desire to bring the Shiā Sultānates of the Deccan under his own sway. Now that he was successful in establishing his authority in the North, he found himself at leisure to turn his attention towards the Deccan. The distracted state of the Sultānates induced him to fish in the troubled waters. With the destruction of the Hindū Empire of Vijayānagar, the motives of co-operation amongst the Sultānates had died, giving place to disunion and disorder: Ahmadnagar, Bijāpur, Golcondā,

Berār and Bidār had renewed their hostilities against one another. Akbar could not tolerate this. First he tried diplomatic methods and sent embassies to the Shiā Sultāns, inducing them to acknowledge his suzerainty and to pay him regular tributes. As only the king of Khāndesh agreed to the imperial proposals and the remaining four gave a flat refusal, war was declared against them.

Ahmadnagar.

(9) Owing to its geographical position, the state of Ahmadnagar was first to be attacked. Moreover, its throne was at that time a bone of contention between two rival claimants, one of whom had sought the assistance of the Mughal Emperor. Akbar sent a large force under the joint command of his son, Prince Murād, and Khān-i-Khānān Abdur Rahīm, who laid siege to the city early in the year 1595 A. C. But, owing to the heroic defence and stout resistance offered by Chānd Sultānā, the imperialists failed to make any serious breach in the ramparts except one when the lady herself appeared on the scene with a sword in her hand and a veil on her face, and had the breach repaired. In the end the Mughal generals, who did not co-operate with each other in perfect harmony, were obliged to abandon the siege. A treaty was made with the Sultānā who agreed to cede Berār to the Mughal Emperor. In return for this, Bahādur Shāh, the minor prince, for whom Chānd Sultānā acted as regent, was acknowledged as the king of Ahmadnagar. Owing to the internal dissensions which resulted in the assassination of Chānd Sultānā and the attempts of the intriguers to violate the terms of the treaty by recovering

Berār from the Mughals, war was again declared against Ahmadnagar. In February, 1597 A. C. an indecisive battle was fought, in which both the parties claimed victory. Desultory warfare followed and continued till Akbar sent his intimate friend and counsellor, Abul Fazl, to restore discipline in the imperial army despatched against Ahmadnagar. Abul Fazl reached the Mughal camp after Murād had died of drinking. In 1600 A. C. the Emperor himself advanced against Ahmadnagar and took the field in person. Burhānpur was easily occupied Prince Dāniyāl and Khān-i-Khānān Abdur Rahīm attacked Ahmadnagar. Chānd Sultānā, the life and soul of heroic defence and a singular instance of self-sacrifice, was no longer alive. The fortress of Ahmadnagar was stormed and about 1,500 of the garrison were slain during the siege. Ahmadnagar was then annexed to the Mughal Empire.

Khāndesh.

(10) The campaign against the Deccan was brought to a termination in 1601 A. C., when the famous fortress of Asīrgarh (in Khāndesh) was stormed and the entire kingdom of Khāndesh annexed to the Mughal Empire. Before the siege of Ahmadnagar, Khāndesh was submissive and its ruler, Rājā 'Alī, was a friend of the Mughal Emperor. But the new Sultān, Mirān Bahādur (also known as Bahādur Shāh) was a headstrong youth, who threw off the imperial yoke and refused to recognise Akbar as his overlord, relying for his safety on the strength of Asīrgarh, which was undoubtedly one of the most impregnable fortresses in the South. Akbar himself

undertook an expedition against Bahādur Shāh and laid siege to Asīrgarh early in the year 1561 A. C. The siege lasted for full seven months and the beleaguered held out most heroically till they were bribed by the Emperor to surrender.* Asīrgarh fell and with its fall fell the whole kingdom of Khāndesh. The southern conquests were organised into three *sūbāhs*, or provinces, *viz.*, Ahmadnagar, Khāndesh and Berār; and their government was made over to Prince Dāniyāl.

Extent of the Mughal Empire under Akbar.

At his accession in 1556 A. C., Akbar inherited an India divided and ruled by different rulers, Hindūs as well as Muslims. On his death, he bequeathed a solid and compact empire to his successor. By the year 1605 A. C. he was the sole monarch of the

* There are three different accounts of the siege of Asīrgarh as given by 'Allāmā Abul Fazl, Faizī Sarhindī and the Jesuits. My account of the siege is based on a careful study of these three sources. Dr. Smith calls in question the evidence of the first two and accepts the accounts of the Jesuits as entirely correct. I find no reason why the accounts of the foreigners be preferred to those of the natives, especially when there are other sources of evidence, too reliable to be refuted. Ferishtā, than whom there can be no more trustworthy historian of the Deccan, supports the accounts of Abul Fazl and Faizī in important details When the Dr. charges Akbar of perfidy and says that he had recourse to treachery in order to capture the stronghold, he is not at all justified; his condemnation is wholly unfounded. It is true that Akbar bribed the garrison against Bahādur Shāh and there is ample justification for this In the first place, 'the prestige of the empire demanded that Asīrgarh should be captured by any means.' Secondly, Prince Salīm had revolted in Northern India and the Emperor's presence was urgently needed there. 'Considerations such as these urged the emperor to employ bribery to gain his ends, and in apportioning

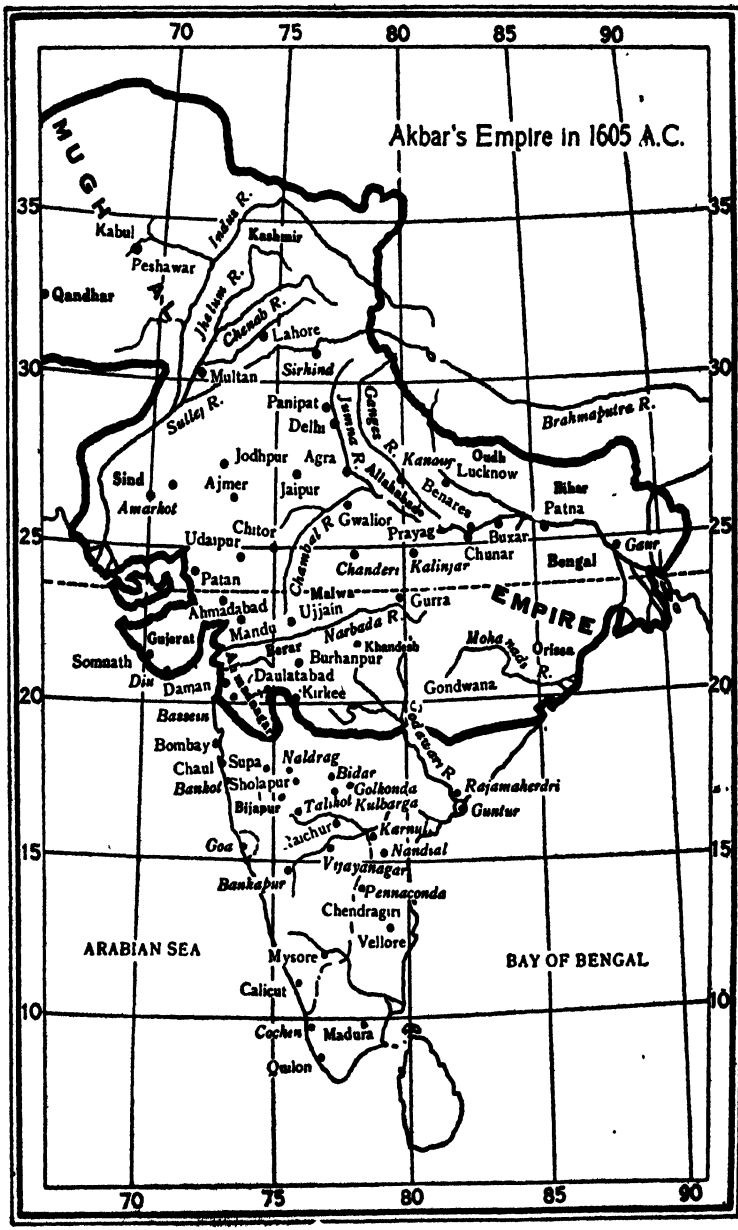
whole of Northern India and his sway extended as far in the Deccan as the Godāvarī. In the North the Himālayan range formed the boundary of his empire. Within these limits the Mughal Empire extended from sea to sea. It had as many as 18 important provinces : (1) Delhi, (2) Āgrā, (3) Oudh, (4) Allāhābād, (5) Ajmer, (6) Gujarāt, (7) Bengāl, (8) Bihār, (9) Orissā, (10) Mālwā, (11) Sind, (12) Multān, (13) Lāhore, (14) Kābul, (15) Kashmīr, (16) Khāndesh, (17) Ahmadnagar, and (18) Berār. Akbar died soon after the capture of Asīrgarh. Had he lived a little longer, he would have conquered the remaining parts of India and annexed them to his empire.

Last days of Akbar.

The closing years of Akbar's reign were embittered by a series of sorrows and disappointments. His sons were a great source of anxiety to him. Murād and Dāniyāl had already gone down into the drunkard's graves in 1599 A. C. and 1604 A. C., respectively, and Salīm (Jahāngīr), the surviving son of prayers and pilgrimages, was no less inveterate and intemperate in the use of intoxicating liquors. He survived probably because of his stronger constitution. He became the chief cause of annoyance to his father in his old age. In 1600 A. C., while the Emperor was conducting his campaign in the Deccan, his son, Salīm, revolted and set up an independent kingdom at Allāhābād. In 1602 A. C. he gave another terrible shock to the old Emperor by engaging a robber-chief, Bīr Singh Bundelā, for the

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blame, we ought to bear in mind the difficulties and anxieties of a statesman, whose reputation was staked on the success or failure of a single siege.' Smith should be studied with caution.



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assassination of Abul Fazl. However, before his death, Akbar was reconciled to his over-ambitious and rebellious son through the good offices of some of his trusted servants. He nominated him as his successor in a formal manner with due ceremonies. But the Prince was far from being popular with the people. A party of the Rājpūts at the Imperial Court, headed by Rājāh Mān Singh, attempted to secure the succession for Prince Khusrau (Salīm's son). Though the intrigue failed in the end, it had none the less disturbed the peace of the aged Emperor on the eve of his departure from this world. In 1605 A. C., Akbar 'became ill with severe diarrhœa or dysentery which the physicians failed to cure' and he died of it. He was buried at Sikandara in the tomb which he had begun to build during his lifetime and which was subsequently completed by his son, Jahāngīr. In the reign of Emperor 'Ālamgīr the Jāts plundered the tomb, dug out the bones of the deceased and burnt them to ashes.

CHAPTER VII

JALĀL-UD-DIN MUHAMMAD AKBAR

(CONTINUED)

Din-i-llāhi

Introductory.

Ab ovo usque ad mala Akbar's life was an enigma; more enigmatic was his religious life, which has ever since remained wrapped in mystery. In trying to reveal it, historians have hit either above or below the mark: Whereas some have extolled him as a prophet, others have branded him as an apostate. The present is an attempt to clear the controversy to a close. In order to understand the subject and to appreciate the spirit that lay behind it, it is necessary to revert to the history of the Saracens on the one hand, and to the history of Hindūstān on the other.

Reference to the history of the Saracens.

The Prophet of Islām, to begin with, united in his person the headship of the Muslim Church and of the Commonwealth of Islām. He was the lord spiritual as well as temporal of his subjects. So also were the four Caliphs who succeeded him one after the other. Under them the Crescent was carried far and wide. The motive force underlying their expansion was their religion. The Commonwealth was ruled in accordance with the commandments of the *Qur'ān*, the precepts of the Prophet and the discretion of the ruler. The State, in brief, served the interests of the Church. But with the rise of the Ommeyades

events took a different turn. Under them the Church was harnessed to the State; its interests were subordinated to those of worldly well-being. And, gradually as the globe was girdled by the followers of Muhammad, there sprang up a world-wide empire of Islām, which attained its widest dimensions under Walīd I. After him, when the Caliphate sank into insignificance, the governors of the far-flung provinces renounced their allegiance to the supreme authority at the Centre, except in matters religious. Thus was the State separated from the Church for the first time. This separation was the inevitable outcome of the unwieldy growth of the Commonwealth and the collapse of the Caliphate. With the appearance of the Abbassides on the stage, there opens a new chapter in the annals of Islamic history. Under them the Church was once more united with the State in the person of the ruler, who became the spiritual as well as the temporal head of the Faithful. Baghdād became the Capital (*Dār-us-Salām*) of the Abbassides and there the rules regulating the Caliphate were systematised by the jurisconsults, and the conception of the *Caliph-Imām* (Pope-Emperor) took its birth and developed into a doctrine.

Reference to the history of Muslim Rule in India.

While the rest of the Muslim World was passing through such metamorphoses, Muslim India was following an independent policy of its own, not different in aim and character from that followed by the Muslim World in general, but almost parallel to it. Here, as elsewhere, the king based his powers not on Islamic law but on Persian tradition. Kingship

had been a secular institution ever since the advent of Islām in India. The *Sharīyat* was seldom allowed to interfere with the State. When Akbar came to the throne, he did not take long to realise that it was impossible for him to rule successfully a country, significantly called 'an ethnological museum', on account of the diversity of its races and religions, customs and traditions, cultures and conceptions of morality. To cap this, the priestly class—the powerful, the selfish and the self-centred *Mullāhs* -- would not allow him to rule as a liberal king. Necessity has been the mother of inventions, and Akbar's ingenuity did not fail him in the hour of need. Ere long he hit upon the idea of uniting in his own person the double duty of a King and a *Mujtahīd*; and in doing this he did not go much beyond the Muslim Kings outside India. The conditions of the country, moreover, justified the rôle he played. The Divine Faith was only a phase of the same movement. It crowned its author with success. It aimed at Hindū-Muslim Unity—ever a gordian knot. Through it Akbar endeavoured to bring about a general concordance among all the existing creeds in India and succeeded to a considerable extent. Here it may be pointed out that in all his undertakings and experiments he was guided by his confidential friend and advisor, Abul Fazl, who has left an ineffaceable impress on the history of the Akbarian era.

Akbar's orthodoxy.

From the date of his accession (1556 A. C.) to the year 1578 A. C. Akbar lived the life of a staunch Sunnī, strictly observing the dogmas of his faith and swerving not an inch from

the path of the *Sharīyat* (Muslim Law). He offered his prayers regularly in the mosque along with the congregation and often acted as *Mu'azzin*. He paid due respect to the time-honoured *Ulāmā* and did homage to the pious and the holy. So supreme was the sway of the sages on his simple mind that he used to keep their company for hours together and never hesitated to do them the meanest service ; rather, he felt pride in carrying out their smallest wishes. Every year he made a pilgrimage to the tomb of Shaikh Salīm Chishtī at Ajmer, and, circumambulating the sacred sepulchre several times, he sat there for a considerable time. He believed in miracles and had named his son, Salīm (Jahāngīr), after the name of the celebrated Saint of Ajmer, who had promised him three sons. '*Yā Hādī* and *Yā Mu'īn*' (O Guide ! and O Helper !) were always at the tip of his tongue. They exercised a mesmeric influence on his mind and fired his followers with immense enthusiasm. As soon as he uttered them, the whole of his army, Hindūs as well as Musalmāns, responded sonorously to his calls and fell fearlessly on the foe. He believed in *Pīrs* and *Faqīrs* and visited their shrines often bare-footed. His inquisitive nature inspired him with the ambition of studying the *Qur'ān* and the *Hadith* ; his marvellous memory enabled him to imbibe and assimilate all that was imparted to him by his teachers. He did not stop short at this ; he appointed *Qāzīs* and *Muftīs* in every part of his kingdom in order to administer justice in accordance with the Code of Islām and went so far as to persecute 'the heretic' in obedience to the dictates of the *Ulāmā*. Besides, Bairam

Khān, the victor of Pānīpat and a servant of proved merit and tried fidelity, Abdullāh Makhdūm-ul-Mulk and Shaikh Abdun-Nabī were his religious guides. The young king was so fond of the Shaikh that after the fall of Bairam Khān he appointed him *Sadr-us-Sudūr* and himself used to call on him daily to learn lessons of the *Hadith* at his feet. By deeds such as these, he completely won over the Sunnī orthodoxy to his side.

Change into liberalism.

So far so well. Now a change sets in to the shock of the Sunnī sect. The Emperor, hitherto an orthodox Sunnī, becomes a liberal Musalmān. Once, on the anniversary of his birthday, so runs the story, Akbar coloured his clothes, presumably under Hindū influence, with *saffron* and appeared before his preceptor, the Shaikh, who was so highly exasperated at this unexpected sight that he instantly raised his cane in such a way that it almost touched His Majesty. The youthful king could not brook this insult and the fate of the Shaikh would have been sealed had not the queen-mother appeased her son's anger by telling him that the incident would be the cause of his salvation. Singularly enough, the prognostication proved only too true, as will be evident from the ensuing account. The *Ulamā* were not only narrow-minded, but their influence in the State was wholly schismatic. The implicit obedience, which they exacted from the Boy-Bādshāh, intoxicated them, and the unbounded reverence they received from the orthodox sect blinded them to the interests of the State. They could not tolerate the honest difference of opinion in

matters religious. Power, pride and prejudice alike governed their passions. Under the charge of heresy a number of Musalmāns suffered death at their hands, many died in dungeons, and a good many more escaped with their lives and lived as exiles. Apropos of this may be cited an instance: Both Makhdūm-ul-Mulk and his colleague, Abdun-Nabi, demanded the summary execution of Shaikh Mubārak, the most erudite man of the day, on the ground that he subscribed to the Mahdī Movement. They even succeeded in securing a.. Imperial *firmān*, ordering his immediate arrest and imprisonment. But for the timely information, which Mubārak received from a friendly quarter, his enemies would have spared him no insult—bound in chains they would have dragged him to the court of the most formidable of his foes. However, having lived the life of an exile for some time, he returned to Āgrā only when Mirzā Azīz Kokā had put in a word in his favour. Though allowed to return, he was never in immunity from the hostility of the *Ulamā*, who frequently hurled charges of heresy and blasphemy against him and never allowed him to rest in peace. So much did the *Ulamā* dislike a liberal Muslim; their hatred against the *Zimmīs*, (non-Muslims), particularly against the Hindūs, knew no bounds. They could not tolerate any concession accorded to them by the Emperor. Akbar was fully alive to this state of affairs and would not allow it to persist. Once for all he decided to curb the power of the priestly class. With one stroke he broke loose from Makhdūm-ul-Mulk and Abdun-Nabī and felt

sorry for the acts of injustice committed under their commands (*fatwās*).

Erection of the *Ibādat Khānah*.

Early in the year 1575 A. C., when the Emperor returned from his military undertakings after winning decisive victories over his enemies, he was full of love for God and adoration for Islām. He now devoted his time and attention to the interests of his subjects. Accordingly, he ordered the erection of a debating hall (*Ibādat Khānah*) at Fatḥpur Sīkrī and invited the Doctors of Islām to discuss the controversial points and to arrive at a definite conclusion in order to facilitate the unification of Islām. None but the Sayyads, the Shaikhs, the Doctors and the *Ulamā* of high rank was admitted to the *Ibādat Khanāh*. Since all these classes were mingled promiscuously, disputes did not take long to arise as to the seats and the order of precedence. His Majesty did not like this and was soon constrained to assign a separate quarter to each of the classes, himself gracing the four apartments, into which the House was divided, on every Thursday night. But the *Ulamā*, the most clamorous class, who had hitherto dominated the State and had so jealously guarded their supremacy, had, in fact, become too self-centred to have a stomach for defeat in arguments. Calumnies, contumelies and vilifications replaced common-sense, reasons and arguments. Charges of apostasy, heresy and blasphemy were hurled by one against the other. *Fatwās* were ceaselessly issued against the accused. Thus, instead of fusing the different sects of Islām into a common brotherhood,

these dogged discussions rekindled their animosities and divided them asunder. It may be said that the foundations of the Debating Hall were laid with a view to reform the *Ulamā*, but as they proved incorrigible, it was thought expedient to render them politically impotent. In 1578 A. C. the discussions took a more serious turn with a tendency to defeat the purpose of the Emperor. Even in the presence of His Majesty the *Ulamā* lost their temper and called one another *Kāfirs*. Unity had already disappeared, now even the ordinary rules of etiquette were cast to the winds. One Thursday night, when a polemical discussion was raging hot, in the bebel of several conflicting voices, the question was raised as to what was the final seat of authority in matters religious when, at a certain point, the Doctors were at variance. Shaikh Mubārak set the ball rolling by acknowledging the Emperor as such. In conjunction with his sons, Abul Fazl and Faizī, he drew up a document, in which Akbar was recognised as *Imām-i-'Ādil* and therefore higher in rank than a *Mujtahid*. The document reads as follows:—

The Document.

"Whereas Hindūstān has now become the centre of security and peace, and the land of justice and beneficence, a large number of people, especially learned men and lawyers, have immigrated and chosen this country for their home. Now we, the principal *Ulamā*, who are not only well-versed in the several departments of the Law and in the principles of Jurisprudence, and well-acquainted with the edicts which rest on reason or testimony, but are also known for our piety and honest intentions, have

duly considered the deep meaning, first, of the verse of the Qorān (Sur. IV, 62) 'Obey God, and obey the Prophet, and those who have authority among you', and secondly, of the genuine tradition, 'Surely, the man who is dearest to God on the day of judgment, is the *Imām-i-'Ādil* : whosoever obeys the *Amīr*, obeys Thee, and whosoever rebels against him, rebels against Thee', and thirdly, of several other proofs based on reasoning or testimony ; and we have agreed that the rank of *Sultān-i-'Ādil* (a just ruler) is higher in the eyes of God than the rank of a *Mujtahid*. Further we declare that the King of Islām, *Amīr* of the Faithful, Shadow of God in the world, Abul Fatḥ Jalāluddīn Muhammad Akbar Pādshāh-i-Ghāzī, whose kingdom God perpetuate, is a most just, a most wise, and a most God-fearing king. Should, therefore, in future a religious question come up, regarding which the opinions of the *Mujtahids* are at variance, and His Majesty, in his penetrating understanding and clear wisdom be inclined to adopt, for the benefit of the nation and as a political expedient any of the conflicting opinions which exist on that point, and should issue a decree to that effect, we do hereby agree that such a decree shall be binding on us and on the whole nation.

"Further, we declare that should His Majesty think fit to issue a new order, we and the nation shall likewise be bound by it, provided always that such order be not only in accordance with some verse of the *Qorān*, but also of real benefit to the nation ; and further, that any opposition on the part of his subjects to such an order passed by His Majetsy shall

involve damnation in the world to come and loss of property and religious privileges in this.

"This document has been written with honest intentions, for the glory of God, and the propagation of Islām, and is signed by us, the principal *Ulamā* and lawyers, in the month of *Rajab* of the year 987 of the *Hijrah*."*

Importance of the Infallible Decree.

This document, we had better call it the Act of Supremacy of Akbar's reign, stands unique in the history of Islām. Historians are astonished at its worldly character. Here it is reproduced in full for some special reasons: In the first place, it reveals most unmistakably the statesmanship of Akbar, who caught the ferocious lions in their own dens. Prepared by the Emperor, it was written and signed by the principal *Ulamā*. It bore the signatures and seals of men like Makhdūm-ul-Mulk and Abdun-Nabī, and was presented to His Majesty for approval. Like King John's Magna Charta it was a petition to the king from the most influential *Ulamā*, but unlike it, it increased rather than diminished the royal prerogative. In the second place, it declared the authority of the *Imām-i-'Ādil* to be higher than that of a *Mujtahid* and based it on the threefold sources: the *Qur'ān*, the *Hadīth* and the Reason. In addition to his being a temporal head, he was recognised as the most supreme spiritual guide of his subjects. It was thus that the *Ulamā* were reduced to the state of a cipher in state-politics. In the

* *Tā.rikh-i-Badāoni*, vol. ii, p. 279.

third place, it authorised the Emperor to pass orders of all kinds as political expedients, provided always that they were beneficial to the whole nation and were supported by a verse from the *Qur'ān*.

Effects of the Infallible Decree.

The signature of this document was fraught with far-reaching consequences. It freed the Emperor from the bigoted *Ulamā* and enabled him to give currency to his catholic ideas. One Friday, 1580 A. C., he ascended the pulpit of a *masjid* and played the part of a *Mullāh*. In keeping with Arab and Persian traditions, he himself delivered the *Khutba*, which is contained in the following verse :

"The Lord to me the Kingdom gave,
He made me prudent, wise and brave,
He guided me with right and ruth
Filling my heart with love of truth ;
No tongue of man can sum His state
Allāho Akbar. God is great."*

This sent a thrill of horror through the whole body of Islām in India. For the bigoted it was a bolt from the blue. It stirred up a storm of opposition which soon assumed a threatening character. In 1580 A. C. a *fatwā* was issued against the 'impious emperor' by Mullāh Muhammad Yazdī and a conspiracy was hatched up with a view to depose him in favour of his brother, Mirzā Muhammad Hakīm, who posed to be an orthodox Muslim. At the same time a rebellion broke out in Bengāl and Bihār. Considering this to be an

* This is Mr. Green's translation of Faizī's verse in Persian.

opportune moment, the Mirzā invaded the Punjāb at this critical juncture. Akbar had anticipated such a storm and was fully prepared to nip it in the bud. The invasion was repelled, the eastern disturbances were quelled, and normal conditions were restored. Now that he had established his supremacy, he could take larger liberties with his subjects without courting opposition; he could now defy all hostile criticism with absolute impunity. All this was rendered possible by the success of the Kābul Expedition. Had that failed, the history of India would have taken a different course.

Preliminaries to the promulgation of the Divine Faith.

In this way, threading his way through a series of commotions, the Emperor proceeded apace with the task of fusing hostile elements into a homogeneous whole. Favourably impressed by the unmixed devotion of his Hindū subjects, while sitting in his pensive moods on the solitary stone at Fatḥpur Sikrī, he had resolved to utilize their services by allowing them co-equal status with the ruling race. But this alone could not bring about Hindū-Muslim Unity. Something more than this was required to unite the two different peoples, possessing not only different but also mutually antagonistic religions, cultures and conceptions of morality. Before long, Akbar felt the necessity for finding or founding something common to both the communities—a common platform, where they could meet and greet each other in perfect harmony. But what was that common platform to be —a *Masjid* or a *Mandir*? Neither, but a new religion, which could command sincere devotion. Carefully

considering the *pros* and *cons* of the experiment, Akbar decided definitely to establish a religion, embodying in it the principal features of all the religions of India. He knew that Hindūism was nothing more than a set of ceremonies, to which the Hindūs clung so tenaciously; that other religions had little political importance; and that Islām alone, being superior to all others, could best serve his purpose. Having gradually gained the sympathies of the Rājpūts and other important sects by seemingly sharing their beliefs and adopting their practices, by appreciating their merits and rewarding their services, he proceeded to prepare the way for the introduction of that common religion. It will be remembered that formerly the Musalmāns alone could have free access to the *Ibādat Khānah*; now the learned professors of all other religions were invited and asked to make a case for their respective creeds. The idea underlying the whole experiment was indeed to establish a common religion acceptable to everyone of his subjects. Now what was that common religion to be? Islām? Would the *Zimmīs* accept it? The answer is self-evident. There was, however, one way out of this fix: to fuse the rituals of Hindūism and of other religions into Islām, or to unite the fundamentals of Islām and other religions with Hindūism.

Its promulgation.

The ground having been prepared, a *coup de etat* was required to carry the experiment to its logical conclusion. Armed at all points and feeling secure in his position, the Emperor convened a meeting, to which all religious experts, military commanders and masters of learning were

invited and the evils of the existence of so many religions were exposed in their presence. The Emperor addressed them in these words :—

" We ought to bring the different religions of India into one, but in such a fashion that they should be one and all : with the greatest advantage of taking what is good in every creed and discarding the remainder. In this way, honour would be done to God, peace and prosperity would be restored to the people and security to the empire."

The resolution was carried almost unopposed.

Its principles.

The salient features of the new faith having been discussed, its principles and practices were read aloud. It bore the name of *Dīn-i-Illāhī*, or Divine Faith, also *Tauhīd-i-Illāhī*, or Divine Monotheism. Its basis was the Unity of God, the corner-stone of Islām. Its ritual was eclectic, borrowed chiefly from Hinduism and Zoroastrianism. A perfect disciple of the Divine Faith was bound to believe in the Unity of God and to acknowledge Akbar as His Caliph He had to make a four-fold dedication of *wealth*, *life*, *honour* and *religion* to His Majesty. He was expected to abstain from eating meat of all kinds. Prostration, or *Sijdah*, was allowed to be done to the Emperor. Reverence for the sun and veneration for fire became a prominent part of the ritual. Sunday was fixed as the day of performing the ceremony of conversion, when the convert received from His Majesty 'the Great Name' and the symbolical motto : '*Allāho Akbar*.' Instead of the usual Muslim salutation—*As-Salām-Alaikum* and *Wā-Alaikum-As-Salām*, which

the brethren in faith observed on seeing each other—the members of the Divine Faith saluted one another by saying '*Allāho Akbar*' and '*Jall-ā-Jalālohū*'. From time to time disciplinary rules and regulations were passed by the Emperor for the members of his creed according to his need.

Philosophic review.

A careful consideration of the principles and practices of the Divine Faith, as summarised above, will not fail to reveal to the reader the statesmanship of its author. It embraced almost all the important religions of India. It was so cleverly manipulated as to attract the entire population. Its soul was the cardinal principle of Islām, its body the Hindū and Zoroastrian ritual. The monotheistic principle of Islām was retained and the rites of all other religions were adopted in proportion to their importance in the political history of Hindūstān. To a liberal Muslim, it was Islām presented in a different form. To a Hindū, whose prominent ceremonies were incorporated, it was nothing short of Hinduism. To a Zoroastrian, whose articles of sun-worship and fire-worship were included, it was nothing but their religion. Sunday was fixed as the day of initiation only to please the Christians. Thus, almost every shade of Indian religious opinion was represented in the Divine Faith. It was, in a sense, a universal religion of India, having enough in it to attract anyone to its originator. Historians, whose knowledge of Indian history, particularly of pre-Islamic times, is superficial and whose acquaintance with the history of the Saracens, particularly with that of the Ommeyades

and the Abbassides, is deficient, have failed to understand the real meaning of the Divine Faith and the sole aim of its author. Branding Akbar as an apostate, they have condemned his creed in the bitterest of words. "The Divine Faith," says Dr. Smith, "was a monument of Akbar's folly and not of his wisdom." Elsewhere he calls it " a silly invention". Similarly, Blochmann and others have been deceived by it. They have mistaken appearance for actuality. Following Badāonī, a bigoted and over-strict Muslim, with whom the omission of a single ceremony of Islām amounted to apostasy, and adopting the same line of argument as he, they have inevitably come to the same conclusion. As a profound student of Indian as well as Islāmic history, Akbar made a direct appeal to the innermost sentiments of his subjects by giving his *Sānghā* a religious character. Neither the aim of the order nor the object of its author can be duly appreciated unless it is regarded as an instrument with which the master-mind endeavoured to consolidate the Mughal Empire by eradicating from the minds of the ruled their sense of subordination to Muslim rulers. The chief motive underlying the promulgation of the Divine Faith was the unification of India. To achieve this, it was necessary first to conquer and then to command sincere devotion from all and sundry by granting them the freedom of worship and the liberty of conscience. Therefore, he drew up such a religious code—in essence a political document—as would commend itself to the whole population. Momentous as the proclamation of the Divine Faith was, equally far-reaching were its consequences. It

completely changed the character of Muslim Rule in India. The Mughal Emperor was no longer regarded as a foreigner trampling upon the lives and liberties of the sons of the soil and depriving them of their birth-rights. The members of the Divine Faith had bound themselves by an oath to stand by the Emperor in weal and woe, to sacrifice their *religion, honour, wealth, life, liberty* and all for him. The vow was faithfully kept and His Majesty could always rely upon them. The fact that he was able to induce the proudest of the Rājpūts, who prided upon the nobility of their birth and the purity of their blood above everything else, to give him and his sons their daughters in marriage, speaks volumes. Dealing a *coup de grace* to Rājpūt supremacy, the Divine Faith kept up the integrity of the Mughal Empire for a century and a half.

Thus, there can be no doubt that the Divine Faith (*Dīn-i-Ilāhī*) was not a religious cult or creed, but a political code, prepared by a politician and not a prophet, in accordance with the conditions of the country, the tendencies of the times and the sentiments of his subjects. As long as Akbar lived, he enjoyed the unmixed loyalty of his subjects. After his death, he bequeathed to his successors a legacy of loyalty to his dynasty immeasurably richer than any other Muslim king before him had left to his heirs. No one can appreciate the real importance of the Divine Faith and its exact place in Indian history except in connection with the history of the Saracens on the one hand, and the history of India on the other. The Divine Religion was the child of the Age; its founder was the true son of

the *Renaissance* and the *Reformation*. There can be no shutting ones eye to the fact that Akbar was a statesman, splendid and unsurpassed in the annals of Indian history. He was an empire-builder rather than a religious propagandist or a missionary. He was indeed the Apostle of Indian Unity, and his was the Message of Peace. He established and consolidated his empire through the instrumentality of religion, not in reality but in formality.

Anti-Islamic Ordinances.

The promulgation of the Divine Faith was followed by a series of anti-Islāmic ordinances alleged to have been issued by Akbar with the sole aim of destroying Islām. Badāonī has recorded them in his book and repeated them more than once. The following will suffice to serve our purpose: (1) *Sijdah* was allowed to be done to the Emperor, (2) fire-worship and sun-worship were enjoined, (3) boars were kept in the Imperial Palace and looking at them every morning was regarded as meritorious, (4) the use of beef, garlic and onion, and the wearing of beards were forbidden, (5) *Mullāhs* and *Shaikhs* were exiled, (6) circumcision of children before the age of twelve and the marriage of girls before the age of puberty were prohibited, (7) the study of Arabic was discouraged, (8) public prayers and the *Azān* were abolished, (9) Muslim names, such as Muhammad, Ahmad and Mustafā, were changed to other names because they had become offensive to His Majesty, (10) pilgrimage to Mecca and fasting in the month of Ramzān were discontinued, (11) the *Qur'ān* and the *Hadith* were tabooed, (12) mosques and prayer-rooms

were turned into s'ore-houses and guard-rooms ; so much so, says Badāonī, that "the straight wall of clear law and of firm religion was cast down, so that after five or six years not a trace of Islām was left in him (Akbar) and everything was turned *topsy turvy*,' and concludes that "Akbar showed bitter hostility to the faith of his ancestors and his own youth and actually perpetrated a persecution of Islām." Blochmann and Smith follow Badāonī and maintain that by the year 1582 A. C., which saw the proclamation of the Divine Faith, Akbar had ceased to be a Muslim. According to them, he died without the benefit of the prayers of any church or sect.

Their criticism.

Before examining these ordinances, it is essential to enquire into their origin. This necessitates a criticism of Badāonī, their author. Born in an age, when party-politics ruled supreme even in Islām and when sectarianism swayed the hearts and the minds of even Muslims, Badāonī was the product of his environment. Educated in the orthodox school under the influence of the most bigoted of the *Ulamā*, his views had been moulded accordingly. He was a Muslim with whom, in common with his class, ritual weighed more than religion. He regarded the omission of a single ceremony as amounting almost to apostasy. Naturally, therefore, he did not like the Emperor on account of his liberal ways and catholic views. As a necessary sequel, he was hated by His Majesty, who always kept him at arm's length on account of his inflexible orthodoxy. 'Allāmā Abul Fazl was, on the other hand, "a man capable of teaching

the *Mullāhs* a lesson." And, when he was taken into confidence by the Emperor, Badāonī's anger knew no bounds. Thus exasperated, he began to pour out the venom of his wrath on the Emperor and his confidential friend. His *diatribe* is couched in a language that teems with anathemas and exaggerations. He holds the 'Allāmā responsible for the acts of the Emperor. "The 'Allāmā was the man," he said, "who set the world on flames."

Von Noer's appraisal of Badāonī.

All this creates doubts in the mind of the historian, and he cannot accept Badāonī's account at its face value. A bigoted and narrow-minded sectarian as he was, he could not help misconstruing Akbar's catholicity. He saw everything with jaundiced eyes and so painted a melancholy picture. Von Noer's criticism of his character is significant: "Badāonī certainly takes every opportunity of raking up the notion of Akbar's *apotheosis* for the purpose of renewing attacks upon the great emperor. He, however, was never in intimate relation to the *Dīn-i-Ilāhī*, he repeats the misconceptions current among the populace, marred and alloyed by popular modes of perception. Akbar might justly have contemplated the acts of his reign with legitimate pride, but many incidents of his life prove him to have been among the most modest of men. It was the people who made a God of the man who was the founder and head of an order at once political, philosophic and religious. One of his creations will assure to him for all time a pre-eminent place among the benefactors of humanity—greatness and universal tolerance in matters

of religious belief. If in very deed he had contemplated the deification of himself, a design certainly foreign to his character, these words of Voltaire would serve as his vindication : " *Cést le privilège du vrai génie et surtout du génie qui ouvre une carriére, de faire impunément de grandes fautes.*"

Sijdah, or prostration.

Sufficient has been said about the origin of the ordinances ; it now behoves us to examine their character and to ascertain their veracity. *Sijdah*, or prostration, is one of the positions at the Muslim prayer, and no one except God is entitled to it. It was allowed to be done to the Emperor, not as an article of faith but as an act of salutation. In the first place, it was a concession to Hindū sentiment : With the Hindū kings of old it was a recognised institution inasmuch as it indicated the depth of devotion shown to the sovereign by his subjects. Secondly, it was quite in keeping with Persian traditions : At the court of Persian autocrats prostration had been the popular mode of greeting. Thirdly, the Abbassides had also adopted this ritual : They made their subjects kiss the ground before them. Sometimes a concession was accorded to high officials who were required to kiss the Caliph's hand or foot or the edge of his robe. Finally, when Akbar was treated by his flattering friends as the representative of God on earth, he had to permit this practice, else 'the people at large would never have submitted'.

Fire-worship and sun-worship.

Fire-worship and sun-worship were adopted only to enlist the sympathies of those with whom these constituted their creed.

In a land, where the very word '*Muslim*' was an eyesore to the natives, Akbar thought it expedient to subscribe to the beliefs of his Hindū subjects in spite of their hollowness. In this respect, he went even so far that the professors of various religions had good reasons to claim him as a convert to their cults. Whereas, in fact, he always concealed his religious identity in byways and corners.

Why were boars kept in the Imperial Palace?

"The Hindūs who believe in incarnations said that the boar belonged to the ten forms which God Almighty had once assumed." So a certain number of these animals were kept in the Imperial Palace to please the Rānī-Queens, whose smallest wishes the Emperor took care to carry out to their entire satisfaction.

Women in the Imperial *Harem*.

To the ignorant of Indian history the presence of a large number of women in the Imperial *Harem* may appear as another sacrilege; but to one acquainted with it, it is a monument of his wisdom. Among the number, there were the daughters of Rājpūt Princes who owed allegiance to the Emperor. To cement this allegiance, matrimonial alliances were formed. From every Rājpūt Prince, whom he reduced to obedience, Akbar took his daughter in marriage and granted him independence, subject to his control. Thus were the most formidable antagonists of Islām reduced to vassalage. For once they entered into matrimonial alliances with the Emperor, there was then no escape: They could not withdraw their allegiance, for that would have meant an attack on

their own daughters.

Hindū customs and practices.

Exactly in the same spirit Akbar introduced some Hindū customs and practices. For instance, His Majesty himself used to wear the Hindū mark, called *tilak*, on his forehead to please the *Rānīs*. The use of garlic and onion and the wearing of beards were forbidden partly because they were inconvenient in kissing and partly because they were repugnant to his Hindū wives.

Why was slaugter of cows forbidden ?

Cow has prevented the possibility of Hindū-Muslim unity more than anything else. Whereas Hindūs regard it as their *Mātā* (mother), and hold it sacred, Muslims kill it, eat its flesh and regard it their favourite food. Akbar understood the philosophy of *Gau Rakhshā* and *Gau-Bhakhshā* and knew that it was impossible to unite the cow-caring and the cow-killing classes in view of the teachings of contemporary Hindū religious leaders. As he wanted to unite and rule, the slaughter of cows was prohibited.

Why were Mullāhs and Shaikhs exiled ?

Some of the *Mullāhs* and *Shaikhs* were doubtless banished from the Mughal Empire But their banishment was due not to their religious beliefs but to the enmity they cherished against the established regime, which was characterised by the freedom of worship and the liberty of conscience. They were exiled because they had become a source of trouble to the State.

The remaining regulations were passed, as is also admitted by Badāonī himself, to please the infidels outside and the *Rānīs* inside the Palace. They, however, were

never strictly enforced, as is indicated by the trend of his narrative. They were issued time and again under pressure from Hindū friends and wives. Some of them were such that they were cancelled soon after they were passed. Others remained confined to the Palace and were never ventilated outside. Most of them were based on hearsay, for there is no evidence to show that he had personal knowledge of all that he recorded in his narrative or that he ever attempted to ascertain its veracity. He is supported only by the Jesuits, who took their cue either from Badāonī himself or from others of his class, *i.e.*, the orthodox, who nad declared war against Akbar, 'the impious empero-'. Under the circumstances it is not fair to attach any importance to the allegations made by Badāonī.

Criticism of Smith's views on Akbar's religious thoughts.

Dr. Smith has exhausted his eloquence in trying to prove that these regulations were 'many acts of fierce intolerance'. "If the British Government attempted such measures," says he, "it would not last a week." Does he mean to point out that the *Mughal* Emperor was successful in enforcing them because his government was stronger than the British Government? To be sure if the British Government, with its incomparably vast resources, incalculable weapons in its armoury and its matchless organization, is unable to stem the tide of opposition once excited by religious intolerance, how could Akbar, who did not possess even a single standing army, succeed in systematically outraging the sentiments of his subjects, specially the Muslims? Elsewhere he remarks that 'on occasions he performed

acts of conformity from motives of policy.' Now, if it is permissible that the Emperor after 1582 A.C. conformed to the faith of his forefathers from motives of policy, there is every reason to believe that similar motives prompted him to discard its ceremonies sometimes. And, when he did this, the *Zimmīs*, specially the Hindūs, were quite satisfied. Underlying his disagreement with the Muslims was his agreement to disagree with the Hindūs without offending their susceptibilities. This enabled him to introduce his beneficial legislation which would have been impossible otherwise.

Conclusion.

While declaring him as an apostate from Islām, Dr. Smith says that Akbar 'died as he had lived—a man whose religion nobody could name—and he passed away without the benefit of the prayers of any church or sect'.* In the same breath he strikes the following note: "Akbar, whatever may have been his failings in practice, was a sincerely religious man, constitutionally devout. Jahāngīr declares that his father 'never for one moment forgot God'. He performed his prayers four† times a day.. ...spending a considerable time over them ..... Apart from formal religious exercises, his whole course of life testified to the extreme interest taken by him in the problem of the relations between God and man, and many of his sayings express his views on the

Akbar the Great Mogul, by V. A. Smith, p. 323.

†As a rule, Muslim canonical prayers are offered five times a day, but in certain circumstances t vo afternoon prayers can be offered together and the number of times is thus reduced to four from five.

subject."* Such a man cannot be said to have 'died without the benefit of the prayers of any church or sect'. The *Āīn-i-Akbarī* and the *Akbarnāmah*, written under his orders by 'Allāma Abul Fazl, who held the highest place in the innermost circle of his intimate friends, and the *Tuzk-i-Jahāngīrī*, written by his son, Jahāngīr, do not betray the slightest sign of his renouncing the religion of his forefathers. On the other hand, they fully confirm the fact that he remained a Muslim throughout his life. The assertion of some scholars that he made formal profession of his faith in Islām by repeating the *Kalma* and declaring himself a Musalmān on his death-bed, consistent as it is with his career, carries conviction when corroborated by foreign contemporaries and when viewed in the light of the above discussion. According to Father Antony Botelho, a contemporary Portuguese missionary, 'he (Akbar) died as he was born, a Muhammedan'.† Sir Thomas Roe supports the statement of Father Botelho when he says that 'he (Akbar) died in the formal profession of his sect'.‡ Major Price's translation of the *Tuzk-i-Jahāngīrī* contains the following passages apropos of the topic :—

"He (Akbar) had .... desired me (Jahāngīr) to send for Mīrān Sadr Jahān in order to repeat with him the *Kalmā Shahādat*..... On his arrival, I placed Sadr Jahān on both knees by my father's side and he

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**Akbar the Great Mogul*, by V. A. Smith, pp. 349-50.

†*The Jesuit Missions to the Emperor Akbar*, *J. A. S. B*, part 1, Vol. lxv, 1896, by E. D. Maclagan.

‡*The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe*, ed. by Foster, Halkuyt Society, 1899.

commenced reciting the creed of the faithful.....

After expressing himself as above, he directed Sadr Jahān once more to repeat the *Kalmā*, and he recited the solemn text himself with a voice equally loud and distinct. He then desired the Sadr to continue repeating by his pillow the *Sūrā Neish*, and another chapter of the *Korān*, together with the *Adeilāh* prayer, in order that he might be enabled to render up his soul with as little struggle as possible. Accordingly, the Sadr Jahān had finished the *Sūrā Neish* and had last words of the prayer on his lips when with no other symptom than a tear drop in the corner of his eye, my father resigned his soul into the hands of his Creator."*

The discussion then boils down to this that Akbar was a Muslim: Born as a Muslim, he lived as a Muslim, died as a Muslim and was succeeded by a Muslim. To say that he 'passed away without the benefit of the prayers of any church or sect' is a gross misrepresentation of facts.

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* *Tuzk-i-Jahāngīrī*, trans., Major David Price, pp. 75-76. Also see A. Yusuf Ali in *J. of E. I. Assoc.*, July, 1915, p. 309; *Darbār-i-Akbari*, by M. Muhammad Hussain Àzād, p. 36 ff.; and *Tarīkh-i-Hindūstān*, M. Zakāullāh, vol. v. pp. 808 ff. I may appropriately point out at this place that recently some doubts have been cast on the genuineness of the *Memoirs of Jahāngir*, which Major David Price translated in 1829 A. C. and from which I have reproduced the above extracts. They are regarded as spurious by some and as genuine by others. It is not easy to ascertain the truth. However, on the question whether Akbar died as a 'Muhammadan' or 'passed away without the benefit of the prayers of any church or sect', the evidence of the two contemporary Christians quoted above is conclusive, unless their accounts too are called in question.

CHAPTER VIII

JALĀL-UD-DĪN MUHAMMAD AKBAR

(CONTINUED)

Administration

Introductory.

Akbar did not take long to realize that the existing system of government, based on the strength of standing armies, each commanded by a general who occupied a central position in his province and cared more for his personal aggrandisement than for the interests of the empire as a whole, was absolutely unfounded. It was woefully wanting in the principle of unity and cohesion. It secured no attachment, conciliated no prejudices and cared little for the faith and feelings, customs and traditions, ideals and aspirations of the sons of the soil and, therefore, remained without root, exposed to all storms of misfortune. Considering carefully the *pros* and *cons* of the old system, he evolved an entirely new system quite in consistence with the spirit of the age and the sentiments of his subjects. He built up an empire and a nation not on the foundation of swords and military terrorism but on the acquiescent good-will of his subjects. In Indo-Islamic history he has always figured as a champion not of any particular section but of all his subjects and, as such, he is recognised to the present day. There was not a single person who was cut off from active sympathy with him. It will be hard to find a parallel, either in ancient or in modern

history, to the far-sighted statesmanship and constructive administrative genius with which he fashioned and set in motion the wheels of his government.

Central Government.

The Emperor himself was at the helm of civil as well as military administration. He was the fountain-head of authority, both religious and secular. His powers were unlimited and his will was irresistible. He had a number of ministers, but he was their teacher rather than their pupil, as is suggested by Smith. The marvellous organization, which he effected in his government, was mostly the outcome of his own extraordinary genius. He was, no doubt, an autocrat, but his autocracy fell little short of Banthamite democracy: He secured 'the greatest happiness of the greatest number.' He was indeed the *beau ideal* of a statesman. His methods of administration were couched in humanity and fellow-feelings. He employed the services of a set of brilliant officers in the various departments of his administration. The *Vakīl* was the highest officer. next only to the Emperor. He was, so to say, the Vice-regent, Chancellor, or Prime Minister. He did not hold any definite portfolio but, like the *Vazīr* of the Abbassides, acted as the *alter ego* of His Majesty in important administrative affairs. His counsel was sought in serious situations. Below him was the *Dīwān*, the Chief Revenue Officer, or the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who controlled the finances of the Empire, superintended the state treasuries and audited all accounts. He regulated the fiscal policy and decided revenue matters in concurrence with the Emperor.

He had a separate office where all revenue papers, returns and dispatches were received from the various parts of the Mughal Empire and disposed of under his personal supervision. The *Bakhshī* was, so to say, the Paymaster-General of the Imperial Army, and the Secretary of War rolled into one. As such, the salary-bills of all civil and military officers were examined and passed by him. Besides his own duty, he performed a number of odd jobs : he assigned positions to military commanders before the battle, laid the muster-roll before the Emperor and looked after the recruitment of new soldiers, though it did not fall to his duty to take command himself in the battle-field. The *Khān-i-Sāmān* was, as the word implies, the Superintendent of Stores. He was in charge of the Imperial household establishment and had the entire control of the Royal Mess and other supplies. He accompanied the Emperor in all his out-door undertakings and managed his food, tents and stores. He was also the head of His Majesty's personal staff. The *Sadr-i-Sudūr* was the highest judicial officer in the Empire. He might be called the Lord Chief Justice of India at the time of Akbar. The *Mohtasib* was the censor of public morals. His first and foremost duty consisted in seeing that the *Sharīyat* was properly observed and the Muslim Law was obeyed in its entirety. He suppressed public immorality by punishing those who drank, those who gambled and those who paid court to dancing-girls. Besides these, there were some other officers who held different portfolios of the Mughal Government. Their duties cannot be detailed here but their names will give

a sufficient idea of the nature thereof. They were : the *Mustaufi*, or Auditor-General ; the *Awārājah Nawīs*, or Superintendent of daily expenditure at the Imperial Court; the *Nāzir-i-Buyūtat*, or Superintendent of the Imperial Workshop ; the *Mushrif*, or Revenue Secretary, the *Mīr-i-Bahri*, or Admiral and Officer of the Harbours ; the *Mīr-i-Barr*, or Superintendent of Forests ; the *Qur Begī*, or Superintendent of the Royal Stud ; the *Khawān Sālār*, or Superintendent of the Royal Kitchen ; the *Wāqā' Nawīs*, or the News-Writer, and the *Mīr-i-Arz*, one who presented all petitions to His Majesty brought by those who wished to lay them before the Emperor, *i.e.*, Secretary.

Provincial Government.

For purposes of efficient and effective administration, Akbar abolished the system of assigning *jāgīrs* and parcelled out the Mughal Empire into provinces or *Sūbāhs*, as they were then called. Each *Sūbāh* was a replica of the Empire in all respects, and each *Sūbāhdār* was a sovereign on a small scale. The *Sūbāhdār* was officially known as *Sipāhsālār*. As a representative of the Emperor, he exercised unlimited powers as long as he enjoyed that office. His jurisdiction embraced civil as well as military department. He was the Commander-in-Chief of the provincial forces and the head of the judiciary. He could appoint and dismiss officers at his own sweet will. But he was not authorised to declare war, or make treaty, inflict capital punishment, or interfere in religious matters. These were imperial questions and were referred to the Emperor for his sanction. Next in order of importance was the *Dīwān*,

who acted independently of the *Sūbahdār* and was responsible to the Central Government. He was in charge of the revenue and finance departments and all new appointments and dismissals therein rested with him. 'He possessed the power of the purse, and all bills of payment were signed by him.' Besides, he looked after such judicial functions as the revenue officers and collectors were entrusted with and tried almost all revenue cases. When at a certain point he came into conflict with the *Sūbahdār*, the point was referred to the Central Government for decision. The provincial *Bakhshī* had the same status and performed similar functions as his Imperial prototype. Each province had a *Sadr*, who was deputed by the *Sadr-i-Sudūr* of the Central Government to administer the provincial *Sayūrghals*. He was quite independent of the *Sūbahdār* and the *Dīwān* and had a separate office of his own. He looked after the welfare of the rent-free *Jāgīrdārs* and regulated public charity. He commanded great influence and respect in the province. The *Āmil* was the revenue collector. He was entrusted with the task of maintaining general law and order by suppressing highway robbery and other similar crimes, ascertaining the extent of the area of land under the plough, reclaiming waste lands, promoting cultivation, punishing illegal exactions in the collection of land revenue, and submitting monthly reports regarding the rates of tenements, market prices and the economic condition of the people to the Central Government.

District Administration.

To control and systematise the machinery of government more minutely, each *Sūbāh* was sub-divided into several *Sarkārs* and each *Sarkār* into a multitude of *Parganās* or *Mahals*. The *Sarkār* corresponded to our modern District and was administered by the *Faujdār*. The duties of the *Faujdār* were civil as well as military. As a civil officer, he assisted the *Sipāhsālār* in maintaining law and order. According to Professor Sarkar, "he was the only commander of a military force stationed in the country to put down smaller rebellions, disperse or arrest robber gangs, take cognizance of all violent crimes, and make demonstration of force to overawe opposition to the revenue authorities or the criminal judge or the censor." Though his appointment as well as dismissal rested with the *Sūbāhdār*, he was required to keep himself in direct communication with the Central as much as with the Provincial Government. The *Kotwāl* was the custodian of public peace. His duties were multifarious. As a Policeman-in-chief, his first and foremost duty was to detect, punish and prevent crime, to trace the whereabouts of all offenders and evil-doers, and to protect the life and property of the people. He kept watch over the movements of strangers, patrolled the city at night to prevent theft and robbery, examined weights and measures, kept a register of houses and roads, and took care of the property of the heirless deceased and missing persons. He also exercised magisterial powers in certain cases. The *Bitikchi* held the same status as the *Āmil*. He was expected to have a thorough

knowledge of the customs in vogue and the regulations in force in the *Sarkār* in his charge. He must be a good accountant and a facile writer. His chief duties consisted in supervising the work of the *Qānūngos*, preparing revenue abstracts and submitting a report to the Court every year. The *Khizāndār*, also known as *Potdār*, was the treasury officer. He received payments from the cultivators, issued a receipt for every payment made and kept a ledger in order to keep his accounts absolutely accurate. He could not make payment unless he received a voucher signed by the *Dīwān*. The *Waqā' Nawīs* was the recorder of events and occurrences. When the *Sipāhsālār* held his court, the *Waqā' Nawīs* took his seat near him and penned down the proceedings on the spot and submitted them to the Central Government. There was a regular army of these officers and it was through them that the Emperor acquainted himself with the events that took place in his various provinces. Other important officers, who loomed large in the subordinate services, were the *Kārkuns*, the *Qānūngos*, the *Muqaddams* and the *Patwārīs*. All these were revenue officers, but in addition to this, the *Qānūngo* was the head of a *Parganā* and the *Muqaddam* was the head of a village.

Imperial Service.

Akbar appreciated and rewarded merit from whatever sources it was evinced, irrespective of caste or creed. The Imperial Service was not the monopoly of the ruling class. It was open to all men of merits, rulers or ruled. No ban was put on the Hindūs. Those among them, who deserved,

were entrusted with the highest of civil as well as military posts. As appointment to every post rested with the Emperor, he used his judgment independently in the selection of the pick for the Imperial Service. By opening careers to talents he secured the services of the best brains of India and outside. If the different departments of the Mughal Government worked efficiently in the time of Akbar, it was because the Imperial Service was maintained in a high state of efficiency.

Secret Service.

While the conduct of all civil and military officers was subject to the scrutiny of the sovereign, there was still a separate department of secret intelligence. There were several scouts who watched the movements of State officials and kept the Emperor informed of their actions. The *Sūbahdārs* also employed spies in order to acquire information about the working of the administrative machinery and to prevent corruption. The system worked so well that almost all Government officials tried to be honest in their dealings with the people and the Emperor.

Administration of law and justice.

Akbar himself was the fountain of justice. His was the highest court of appeal, and everyone could have free access to him. The *Sadr-i-Sudūr* tried all important civil suits, especially of religious character. The *Qāzī-ul-Quzāt*, assisted by a set of *Qāzīs* and *Muftīs* and *Mīr-i-Adls*, disseminated justice in accordance with the Code of Islām. The *Qāzī* investigated the case and sifted the evidence, the *Muftī* expounded the law and the

Mīr-i-Adl delivered the judgment. The proceedings were usually verbal and there were no professional lawyers as we have in these days. The usual punishment awarded for minor crimes was detention in prison or whipping. Fines were not unknown, but were rare. The sentence of death was awarded for treason, rebellion and wilful murder, by the Emperor himself. All serious cases were referred to him and he could annul or reverse the decisions of the lower courts. The punishments inflicted were certainly severe, very severe if judged by modern notions of criminal law and procedure, but they served as excellent deterrents.

Promotion of education.

Akbar was deeply interested in the promotion of education. Schools and colleges were founded and richly endowed. Not only were the educational institutions provided with renowned professors, but the entire system of education was reformed. In the first place, the curriculum was so modified as to enable the students to equip themselves intellectually according to their aims and ambitions. Secondly, the *modus operandi* of teaching was so improved that it took comparatively very little time to acquire a fairly decent education. Stipends and scholarships were granted to deserving students and arrangements were made for the free education of poor students. Provisions were also made for the education of Hindū students in Muslim schools and Persian was made a compulsory subject for all. Women's education was not neglected. The Emperor himself maintained a girls' school in his own palace at Fāṭhpur Sīkrī. Technical education was diffused by the system of

apprenticeship.

Postal Service.

There existed a well-organized system of postal service in India at the time of Akbar. In all the *serāis* along the imperial routes horses were kept to provide a regular mail-service in order to acquaint the Emperor of the important events that took place in the far-flung provinces of his empire The *Waqā' Nawīs* sent daily dispatches to the Central Government through the horsemen or mail-servants employed especially for the purpose. Swifter, perhaps, than the horse-post was the foot-post. On every imperial highway there was, at an interval of six miles, a post-office, called *Chowkī*. Every runner, who brought the imperial dispatches, placed them on its floor and the runner appointed to go to the next *Chowkī* picked them up and set off at full speed without delay. Thus were the news transmitted. At night time the runners were guided and protected by the avenues of trees planted on either side of the roads. Where there were no trees, heaps of stones were set up at a distance of every five hundred paces and kept white-washed by the residents of the neighbouring village. Thus it was that the runner was often swifter than the horseman; for at night in the dark the former ran on undeterred by darkness or storm, but the latter was compelled to ride slowly. This system worked so well that it secured the stability of the empire by keeping the Emperor in close contact with the provincial governments. It served as a connecting link between him and his subjects.

Means of communication and transportation.

The principal means of communication and transportation were roads and highways. They were looked after by the Public Works Department. Great arterial roads linked the remotest parts of the Mughal Empire over myriads of miles. Special care was taken to secure the life and property of the travellers. At convenient stages along important roads public hostels, with fruit-gardens, water-tanks and provision-shops, were built and separate arrangements were made for the lodging and messing of Hindūs and Muslims. Rivers were also availed of for popular traffic and trade purposes, but chiefly where the nature of the country did not permit of proper road-making.

Imperial Mints and their administration.

Previously, the various mints had been under the charge of minor officials, called *Chaudharīs*, who did not possess sufficient rank and personal weight to secure satisfactory administration. Abolishing all local coinages, Akbar established five imperial mints in Bengāl, Lāhore, Jaunpur, Gujarāt and Ahmadābād and entrusted them to Todar Mal, Muzaffar Khān, Khwājāh Shāh Mansūr, Khwājāh Imām-ud-Dīn Hussain and Āsaf Khān, respectively. A responsible Master of of the Mint was appointed at the Capital to exercise general administrative control over the provincial mints and the person selected was Abd-us-Samad. Subsequently, several modifications were introduced in the mint regulations. The result was an extremely varied coinage, excellent as regards the purity of metal, the fullness of weight and artistic execution.

Police Force.

The Police Department was maintained in a most satisfactory state. The principal police officer was the *Kotwāl* whose duties have been described at some length. He was assisted by a number of subordinate officers in discharging his manifold duties. He was authorised to employ spies in order to obtain information about the actual state of affairs in the cities. The *Kotwāls* worked so efficiently that 'order and security prevailed in cities, business was safe, and foreign merchants were well protected'.

The Land Revenue System.

The crowning achievement of Akbar as an administrator was the reorganization of the land revenue system. It was indeed the greatest boon that he conferred on the people of India. But it presented no new invention. Strictly speaking, neither Akbar nor his revenue ministers are exclusively entitled to the tribute they have exacted for having evolved so elaborate a system. Sher Shāh Sūrī must have his due share, for it was he who made a systematic survey of the land under cultivation and laid the foundations on which Akbar raised the superstructure. As he died too soon, much of his excellent work was destroyed by the anarchy that followed his death. At his restoration, Humāyūn found the empire divided into two parts, Crown land, or *Khālsā* and *Jāgīr* land; and the time-honoured practice of crop division was in vogue. When Akbar ascended the throne, he resumed the work of Sher Shāh and accomplished what the latter had only attempted. His principal revenue officers were Itīmād Khān, Muzaffar Khān Turbatī and Rājāh Todar Mal.

The one last named had served under Sher Shāh during his short-lived regime and had acquired considerable experience in revenue affairs.

Its broad basis.

In order to elaborate the existing land revenue system four things were found necessary: (1) to make a correct *paimāish* (measurement) of the whole land under cultivation, (2) to ascertain the average produce of each *bighā* of land, (3) to fix the share of the State per *bighā*, and (4) to fix the equivalent for the share of the State so fixed in terms of money. In order to survey correctly the entire area under cultivation, the instruments of mensuration were improved. The *Jarīb*, joined together with iron rings, was adopted as the standard land-measure and the land survey was carefully done on its basis. To ascertain the average produce per *bighā*, all the cultivable land was divided into four classes, *viz.*, (*i*) *Polaj*, which was constantly cultivated and was never allowed to remain fallow, (*ii*) *Parautī*, which was left fallow for some time after continuous cultivation, (*iii*) *Chāchar*, which was allowed to remain fallow for about four years in order to recuperate, (*iv*) *Banjar*, which remained out of cultivation for more than five years. All these four classes were dealt with differently. The first two were further divided into three grades: good, middling and bad, according to fertility. The average of these three grades was to be the estimated produce per *bighā* and this was to serve as the basis of the assessment. For example, suppose the yield from the good grade of land is 60 maunds of wheat per *bīghā*, from the middling it is 45 maunds per *bīghā* and

from the bad grade it is 30 maunds per *bighā*. Now the total produce from the three grades together is 135 maunds. The average produce per *bighā*, therefore, is 45 maunds of wheat. The remaining two classes were treated separately, inasmuch as they were not equal to the first two classes in point of fertility and the produce raised. Their revenue was to be increased only progressively. In the assessment of the land revenue, other circumstances were also taken into consideration, *e.g.*, access to water, situation, etc. Great care was taken to apportion the different descriptions among the peasantry in such a way as to give benefit to all. The average produce per *bighā* having been ascertained, the share of the State was fixed at one-third of the aggregate produce for good. To revert for a while to the example cited above, the average produce per *bighā*, as worked out, is 45 maunds. One-third of this is 15 maunds, which is the share of the State, *i.e.*, *māhsūl*. Having fixed the State demand in kind, it was necessary to commute it into cash payment. To do this, statements of prices current for ten years preceding the survey were sent for from each town and every village, and the produce due to the Government as its legitimate share was commuted for cash payment according to the average of the rates shown in those statements. At times the commutation was reconsidered at the request of the peasant and he was allowed to pay in the produce if he thought that the cash rate was fixed too high. The commutation business was done by Government officers and the cash rates were fixed by them. Different rates were fixed for different crops. The rates

for barley and wheat were different from those of indigo and sugarcane. This was the first or tentative settlement made by Rājāh Todar Mal and Muzaffar Khān Turbatī in Gujarāt during 1573-75 A. C. It served as a model for the rest of the Mughal Empire in subsequent years. It was known as the *Zabtī* system of assessment as against the *Nasaq* and *Ghallābhāshā*. The system of farming was abolished and the collectors were instructed to deal directly with the agriculturists. At first, the settlements were made annually. But since regularly recurring measurements, valuations and assessments of individual holdings were found to be vexatious and cumbersome, the settlement was soon made *decennial* on the basis of the average payments of the preceding decade (1571-80 A. C.) This prolongation of the term alleviated another evil inherent in the existing system: since the assessment varied with the kind of crop cultivated, it had the effect of a *tithe* inasmuch as it indisposed the cultivator to obtain a richer description of produce, which, though it might yield a greater benefit, would have a higher tax to pay at the succeeding settlement. Arrangements were made to record with great assiduity the measurements and classifications detailed above. The distribution of land and increase or decrease in the land revenue were entered regularly in the village registers. The husbandmen were allowed the option of paying the State share in cash or kind as they pleased, but the latter method of payment was preferred, because it was beneficial both to the payer and the payee. They were encouraged to bring their rents personally to the State

at definite periods so that the malpractices of the low intermediaries might be prevented. If they thought that the amount claimed by the State was too high or were in any way dissatisfied with the average fixed, they could insist on the actual measurement, division and valuation of their crops. They were exempted from a number of obnoxious taxes and ensured easy means of access to the Emperor in case exorbitant rents were collected from them. In many cases rebates on the full demand were allowed to them, especially when the land suffered from droughts, floods, inundations or famines, or remained out of cultivation for certain reasons. Besides liberal allowances, *Taqqāvī* loans were granted to them from the State treasury to enable them to purchase seeds, cattle and agricultural implements, and were recovered in easy instalments. When famine was rampant, remissions were common in the case of the poor and public works were constructed to afford relief to the famine-stricken. Akbar stationed a *Dīwān* in each *Sūbah* and entrusted him with the task of collecting the State revenues and remitting them to the Chief *Dīwān* of the Central Government. In each *Sarkār* an *Āmil*, in each *Parganā* a *Qānūngo* and in each *Dastūr* a *Muqāddam*, assisted by other revenue officers, collected the State demand and remitted the same to the Imperial Treasury. These officers were instructed to deal kindly with the cultivators and 'not to extend the hand of demand out of season'. To facilitate the collection of the State revenues, the empire was parcelled out in parts, each yielding a *Crore* (=10,000,000) of *dāms* (=Rs. 250,000 or £25,000) and

having a collector, called *Ḳrorī*. Formerly, the revenue accounts were kept in Hindī. Henceforth they were kept in Persian.

Importance of the System.

The importance of the revenue system as organized and perfected by Akbar merits a careful consideration. In the realm of administration it is the most enduring glory of the Akbarian Age. It was twice-blessed: It benefited the State as well as the peasantry. The share of the State being fixed for ever, fluctuations in the land revenue and frauds on the part of the revenue officers were prevented. Consequently, the Imperial Treasury was enriched and the prosperity of the peasant increased by leaps and bounds.

Military Reforms.

We have seen how Akbar commenced career without any definite territory. To recover his patrimony, to establish his authority and to restore law and order the need for a well-organized army can be better imagined than described. The Imperial Army had four important divisions: (*i*) Infantry, (*ii*) Artillery, (*iii*) Cavalry, and (*iv*) Navy.

Infantry.

The infantry consisted of *Bandūqchīs* or riflemen, *Shamsherbāz* or swordsmen, *Darbāns*, or porters, *Khidmatyās* or guards of the environs of the Imperial Palace, *Pehalwāns*, or wrestlers and *Kahārs* or doli-bearers. The Emperor himself acted as the Commander-in-Chief and had a number of commanders under him, called *Sipāhsālārs*.

Artillery.

The artillery was in charge of the *Mīr-i-Ātash* or *Dāroghā-i-Topkhānā* (Superintendent of Ordnance Department), who was

assisted by another officer of importance called *Mushrif*. 'The *Mīr-Ātash* laid before the Emperor all demands made on his department ; all orders to it passed through him. He checked the pay-bills and inspected the diaries of the Arsenal before sending them on to the *Khān-i-Sāmān* or Lord Steward. He saw to the postings of the artillery force and received reports as to losses and deficiencies. The agent at the head of the artillery pay-office was nominated by him. The descriptive rolls of artillery recruits passed through his hands ; all new appointments and promotions were made on his initiative.

Cavalry.

The cavalry constituted the most important part of the Imperial Army. The *Mansabdārī* System, a short description of which will presently follow, was nothing but an excellent organization of the cavalry.

Navy.

Akbar maintained a well-organized fleet in order to defend the coasts against the *Maghs* of Arākān and the Portuguese from Mundalgarh. The Naval Department was placed in charge of an officer called *Amīr-ul-Baḥr*, or Admiral, whose fourfold duty was to provide vessels capable of carrying elephants; to appoint expert seamen skilled in diagnosing the temper of the sea ; to guard the rivers, and to superintend the imposition, the realization and remission of tolls and duties. The Emperor gave a large number of *Parganās* to the *Amīr-ul-Baḥr* to meet the requirements of his department. The fleet was maintained at an annual cost of Rs. 8,40,000. The ship-building industry received a considerable attention

of the Emperor. The important ship-building centres were Lāhore, Allāhābād, Kashmīr, Bengāl and That'ā (on the banks of the Indus) The vessels were variously classified according to their kind, size and strength. Naval batteries were installed and sailors were recruited from the sea-faring tribes.

Elephant corps.

There was also an elephant corps. It was maintained in a high state of efficiency. The elephants were organized into groups of ten, twenty or thirty, commonly called *Halqās*, or circles. Some of the *Mansabdārs* were asked to maintain a certain number of elephants in addition to a fixed number of horses. All elephants had their names.

Mansabdāri System.

Literally, the word *Mansab* means place, rank, dignity, or office. The *Mansabdārs*, (rank-holders) were administrative officers, normally engaged in civil work, but each of them had to furnish the number of troopers of which he held the *Mansab*. The *Mansabdārī* System, therefore, implies that civil officers were bound to render military service whenever they were called upon to do so. On paper there were as many as sixty-six grades of *Mansabdārs*, but in actual practice only half the number (thirty-three). Of these, the first three grades, ranging from 7,000 to 10,000, were reserved for the members of the Royal family. Sometimes exceptions were made to this rule and men of extraordinary merits were admitted to the rank of 7,000. Rājāh Todar Mal, Rājāh Mān Singh, Mirzā Shāh Rukh and Qulīch Khān, for instance, held the *Mansab* of 7,000 each. The *Mansabdārs* were

paid regular salaries from the State treasury and were required to pay the cost of their *quota* of horses, elephants, beasts of burden and carts. Their appointments, promotions, suspensions and dismissals rested with the Emperor, who enforced his regulations in respect of the *Mansabdārī* System with great strictness. The *Mansab* was granted for personal ability and military merits. It was not hereditary. The sons of the *Mansabdārs* had to start anew, independent of their fathers' services or status. In connection with the *Mansabdārī* System there are two important terms, *viz.*, *Zāt* and *Sāwār*, which have baffled the ingenuity of scholars in distinguishing between. Dr. Ishwari Prasad only approximates the truth when he says, 'The *Zāt* was the personal rank of *Mansabdār*, but to this was added a number of extra horsemen for which an officer was allowed to draw extra allowance, and this was called his Sāwār rank.' Besides the *Mansabdārs*, there were some other soldiers, generally foot, known as the *Dakhlīs* and *Ahādīs*. The former formed a fixed number of soldiers in charge of the *Mansabdārs*. They were paid by the State. The latter constituted a class by themselves. They were gentlemen soldiers, enlisted by the Emperor himself for his personal service.

System of payment.

The system of assigning *jāgīrs* to the officers of the State was abolished by Sher Shāh Sūrī only to set in after his short-lived regime. Akbar did not like a system which put so much power in the hands of the *Jāgīrdārs* and diminished the revenues of the State. He resumed the *jāgīrs*, which were, so to say, states within

states, and converted them into the *Khālsā*, or Crown lands, fixing cash salaries for his officers. There were, however, a few exceptions: Officers claiming kindred with the Emperor or enjoying his favours and such charitable institutions as schools and seminaries were granted *jāgīrs* since no danger accrued to the Government from them.

The system of branding horses and keeping descriptive rolls.

If the *Mansabdārī* System worked well it was because the Emperor took care to safeguard against the abuses it was open to. False muster was an evil from which the Mughal army must have suffered. To check this he revived the system of branding the horses in the service of the State and of keeping descriptive rolls of the troopers and their horses, first introduced by Alā-ud-Dīn Khiljī, continued by Ghiyās-ud-Dīn and reintroduced by Sher Shāh Sūrī. A separate department of branding was created and placed under a separate *Bakhshī* and a *Dāroghā*. Descriptive rolls of officers were prepared and their names, parentage, caste, residence and personal description were entered. Likewise *Chirāhs* (descriptive rolls) of horses were prepared and the details of their descriptions were entered. At the time of inspection the marks on the body of every soldier and his horse were compared with those detailed in the descriptive rolls. It can be gathered from the *Āīn* that elaborate rules were made in respect of admission, inspection, muster and the like, of horses. The Emperor himself inspected the horses and ordered his officers to look after them and to maintain their military efficiency.

CHAPTER IX

JALĀL-UD-DĪN MUHAMMAD AKBAR

(CONCLUDED)

Literature and Fine Arts

Introductory.

Akbar was a great patron of art and literature. The contemporary chroniclers have preserved for posterity the names of some of the most renowned artists and scholars whom the Imperial Court took under its warm wings. As one reads through their accounts one comes across a large number of those who sought and secured the patronage of the Court without fail. The artistic as well as the literary productions of that period are still admired for their excellence. Here it is intended to give a short account of literature and fine arts, without which no account of Akbar can be called complete.

Literature.

Great as was Akbar's love of learning, no less was his fondness for fostering literature, which feeds on knowledge and feeds knowledge again, and becomes a valuable asset to the cause of civilization. His reign was remarkable for its literary activities. Numerous books on various subjects were written, compiled and translated under his auspices, and historical literature of a very high order was the result.

Akbarnāmah.

'Allāmah Abul Fazl's book of Akbar, called ***Akbarnāmah***, will always retain its fascination and charm as a minute account of the

customs and traditions of the people of India. The historical importance of this work has been excellently set forth by one of its translators in the following words:—

Its historical importance.

'It crystallizes and records in brief for all time the state of Hindū learning, and, besides its statistical utility, serves as an admirable treatise of reference on numerous branches of Brāhmanical science and on the manners, beliefs, traditions, and indigenous lore, which for the most part still retain and will long continue their hold on the popular mind. Above all, as a register of the fiscal areas, the revenue settlements, and changes introduced at various periods, the harvest returns, valuations and imports throughout the provinces of the empire, its originality is indisputable as its surpassing historical importance.'

Āīn-i-Akbarī.

More valuable than the *Akbarnāmah* is the *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, which is by far the finest fruit of Abul Fazl's literary genius. It is partly a history of the Emperor and partly a minute record of the revenue, royal household, treasury, military regulations and other important matters, with a gazetteer of India and a collection of His Majesty's sayings and teachings. No other work gives a better and more elaborate pen-picture of contemporary India—its lore, customs, traditions, etiquette, cookery recipes, and religious innovations—under the pompous style of Court Journal, than this book. Apparently a fiscal manual of all the departments of the State and its industries, it is much more than that; it is a history, a gazetteer, nay an encyclopædia. It must form the foundation of every

book written about Akbar the Great and his reign.

Tārīkh-i-Alfī.

The *Tārīkh-i-Alfī*, a history of the *millennium* from the dawn of Islām to the days of Akbar, was ordered to be compiled by a company of distinguished scholars singled out by the Emperor, including the reluctant Badāonī. The important events of a thousand years of Islām were accordingly related from the *Athnā-i-Asharīyah* point of view and the chronology was reckoned from the date of the Prophet's demise and not from the date of his emigration, *i.e.*, *Hijra.*

Other books.

Apart from these books, many more were written at this time. The *Tārīkh-i-Badāonī*, secretly written by Abdul Qādir; a commentary on the *Āyāt-ul-Kursī*, by Abul Fazl and and his letters; the *Tabqāt-i-Akbarī* by Nizām-ud-Dīn Ahmad and the *Munshiat* of Abul Fath are some of the other literary monuments produced at this time. Historically, they constitute a great asset to this reign.

Translated versions.

Akbar extended every possible encouragement to those engaged in the work of translation. At his direction several copious works were translated into Persian from other languages. Khān-i-Khānān Abdur-Rahīm put into Persian the *Wāqīyāt-i-Bābarī* (Memoirs of Bābar) from the original Turkish for the first time and presented the Persian version to his Imperial patron, who was not slow in rewarding him handsomely for his labours. The *Jāmā-i-Rashīdī* was translated into Persian from Arabic by Abdul Qādir and the *Mu'ajam-ul-Buldān*, a geographical work of singular charm, by Mullāh Ahmad Qāsim

Beg, Shāikh Munawwar, Abdul Qādir and many other scholars. The celebrated *Shāhnāmah* was turned into prose and the *Hayāt-ul-Haiwān* was rendered into Persian.

Hindū Literature.

Akbar patronized Hindū literature just as much as Muslim. In order to encourage it and also to promote a free exchange of religious and social ideas and ideals between the Hindūs and the Musalmāns, he ordered the translation of many an important Sanskrit and Hindī book. Here are a few instances : Faizī and a number of learned Brāhmans put their heads together and turned into Persian from Sanskrit an episode of the *Mahābhāratā*, called *Nall and Damyantī*, after the manner of *Lailā and Majnūn*. In 1582 A. C. Akbar ordered the whole of the epic to be translated into Persian. Having invited some erudite Pandits, he gave them directions to indite an explanation of the copious epic and for several nights, says Dr. Law, 'he himself devoted his attention to explaining the meaning to Naqīb Khān.' Mullāh Sherī, Abdul Qādir, Sultān Hājī Thāneswarī and Shaikh Faizī were constantly engaged in its translation. When the arduous task was accomplished, the Great Shaikh wrote its epilogue and the book was rechristened as *Razmnāmah*, or the Book of War. When the Imperial Court was at Kanauj, (then known as Shergarh), Akbar commissioned Badāonī to translate the *Singāsan Battīsī* into Persian with the help of a Brāhman scholar, called Parshotam. When the rendering was complete, it received the appellation of *Khirad-afzā-nāmah*, or the Book of Increasing Intelligence. Above all, the *Rāmāyanā*

was put into Persian by Badāonī in 1589 A. C. After four years' strenuous labour the *Lilāvatī* (a treatise on arithmetic), the *Bhagvat-gītā* and the *Atharvavedā* were rendered into the language of the Court by Faizī; the history of Kashmīr, called *Rājtaranginī*, written by Kalhānā, was translated by Maulānā Shaikh Muhammad Shāhābādī; the translation of the *Panchatāntrā*, or *Kalīlādamnah*, was also done at this time by Nasrullāh Mustafā and Maulānā Husain Wāiz. The translation of the book last-named being difficult, an easier adaptation was also made under the name of *Ayārdānish*. A portion of the *Astronomical Tables* of Ulūgh Beg was also translated into Persian under the supervision of Amīr Fathullāh Shīrāzī. The Sanskrit works of Kishū Joshī, Gangādhār and Mahesh Mahānandā were turned into Persian under the guidance of Abul Fazl. The latter was also responsible for the Persian version of the *Holy Bible*. The *Harībansā* was also put into Persian.

Illustrated versions.

The translation of the books mentioned above being complete, they were profusely embellished with charming illustrations and supplied with beautiful bindings. They were then placed in the Imperial Library. The elaborately illustrated versions of the *Mahābhāratā*, now called *Razmnāmah*, were given gratis to the nobles of the Court. Among the Persian works, the story of *Amīr Hamzah*, *Zafarnāmah*, *Akbarnāmah*, etc., were also decked with illustrations.

Muslim Court-Scholars.

The Imperial Court was a literary focus because the Emperor was a prominent patron of letters. By means of his extensive

generosity he had drawn around him a galaxy of famous scholars, historians, philosophers and poets. The author of the *Āīn* has given a list of as many as one hundred and forty learned men and about sixty poets whom the Emperor raised above want, even to affluence. Here is a brief account of some of the most brilliant luminaries of His Majesty's Court :—

Abul Fazl.

The ablest and the most renowned among the literary magnates was Akbar's intimate friend and confidential adviser, Abul Fazl, the celebrated author of the *Āīn-i-Akbarī* and the *Akbarnāmah*. He ranks among the greatest Persian scholars that India has ever produced. He was a ' man of wide culture and pure spiritual ideals '. Dr. Smith has compared him with his 'junior contemporary,' Francis Bacon, for combining in his person 'the parts of scholar, author, courtier and man of affairs '. His was a magnatic personality, permeated with an almost mesmeric force. The judgment of posterity on his penmanship is admirably summed up by the author of the *Mā'ṣīr-ul-Umāra* in the following words :—

" The Sheikh (Abul Fazl) had an enchanting literary style. He was free from secretarial pomposity and epistolary tricks of style ; and the force of his words, the collagation of the expressions, the application of single words, the beautiful compounds and wonderful power of diction, were such as would be hard for another to imitate. As he strove to make special use of Persian words, it has been said of him that he put into prose the qualities of Nizāmī."

The talented Shaikh was indeed the greatest

writer of the day. His unique literary achievements assign him a place splendid in the literary history of India. The reason why some of the Westerners have failed to appreciate the linguistic beauty of his works is to be found in the fact that Persian books, with all their captivating style, enchanting metaphors and pure vigorous diction, cannot stand the ordeal of translation, and as Prof. Blochmann justly remarks, 'a great familiarity not only with the Persian language but with Abul Fazl's style is required to make the reading of any of his works a pleasure'.

Abul Faiz.

Abul Faiz, known in history as Faizī, the elder brother of Abul Fazl, comes next in order of merit. He was the Imperial Librarian and the Persian Poet-Laureate of the India of his time. His inquiries into Hindū arts and sciences form a most conspicuous part of the literature of that age. He translated a number of Sanskrit and Hindī books on mathematics and other sciences into Persian. Truly, he was an intellectual giant whose literary activity was prodigous. He was a great book-lover and, like all other bibliophiles, he took immense pleasure in the collection of useful books in a library of his own. On his death about forty-six thousand volumes were obtained from his private collection and removed to the Imperial Library.

Shaikh Mubārak.

Shaikh Mubārak, the learned father of Abul Faiz and Abul Fazl, was a man of no ordinary learning. He was well-versed in Persian prosody and the art of composing riddles. In mystic philosophy he was an adept. He

was one of the most delightful companions, being full of curious anecdotes. "I have known", says Badāonī, his enemy, "no man of more comprehensive learning than Mubārak."

Abdur Rahīm.

Khān-i-Khānān Abdur-Rahīm, son of Bairam Khān, was an accomplished scholar in many languages. He was thoroughly conversant with Persian, Arabic, Sanskrit, Turkish and Brij Bhāshā. The *Kabits* and the *Dohās* of his composition in vernacular are simply bewitching and display a good deal of originality of thought and style. He was an excellent writer of prose and verse alike. He wrote under the pen-name of *Rahīmī*. The best of his works was the Persian translation of the *Wāqiyāt-i-Bābarī*. The Khān was an energetic promoter of learning and an eminent patron of letters. The *Ma'ṣīr-i-Rahīmī* records that ninety-five literary personalities enjoyed his patronage in various ways, and many more came to him to become his pupils.

Abul Fath.

Masīḥ-ud-Dīn Abul Fath was another *litterateur* of Akbar's Court, about whom both Abul Fazl and Badāonī supply us with a favourable information. He was considered among the best writers of the day. A rare copy of his *Munshiat* has been carefully treasured in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengāl. Urfī, the renowned poet of Shīrāz, was his encomiast; Faizī composed a heart-rending elegy on his death; and the Emperor himself offered a prayer at his tomb—not without reasons. It is a sufficient proof, if proof is required, of his literary genius.

Other Muslim Court-Scholars.

Over and above those mentioned above, there were numerous other *gens de lettres* at the Imperial Court. They were Abdul Qādir, Bairam Khān, Pīr Muhammad, Amīr Mīr Taqī Sharīfī, Maulānā Kher-ud-Dīn Rūmī, Shaikh Abun-Nabī Dehlawī, Mirzā Muflis, Hāfiz Tāshqandī and Mullāh Sādiq Hālwī, all endowed with varied accomplishments.

Some Hindū Court-Scholars.

Akbar, who always appreciated and rewarded merit and made no distinction of creed or colour in choosing his officers, cannot be said to have left Hindū men of genius unremunerated for their achievements in arts and literature. He selected his friends and advisers from among both Hindūs and Musalmāns, and as Smith justly remarks, 'with a leaning in favour of the former'. His Court exhibited a greater assemblage of Hindū scholars than any other Muslim Monarch in India had ever been able to produce. Here is a list of some of them : —

Todar Mal.

With the exception of Sūfī Brothers (Abul Fazl and Abul Faiz) Rājāh Todar Mal was the ablest man in the Imperial Service. He was unquestionably the most distinguished among the Hindūs, wielding his pen as well as his sword with equal skill. He was a consummate scholar of Persian and is credited with the Persian translation of the *Bhagvatāpurānā*. Hitherto, the Hindūs had not evinced any real interest in learning Persian, the language of the Court. This meant their practical exclusion from the loaves and fishes of the State

Service. By means of an extensive and persuasive propaganda he succeeded in inducing his co-religionists to take seriously to the study of the Imperial language. The Hindūs, accordingly, began to shine in the domain of literature and not a few works have come down to us the authorship of which is ascribed to them.

Bīr Bal.

Bīr Bal was another learned Hindū attached to the Imperial Court. His intellectual gifts, uncommon as they were, soon won him a place in the innermost circle of Akbar's friends. He was a past-master of witty-sayings and in that capacity he is remembered to this day. He was a musician, a poet, a conversationalist, a story-teller and a clown, all rolled in one. His Majesty had conferred upon him the title of *Kabrāi, i.e.*, Hindū Poet-laureate. He was a man of extraordinary eloquence and rare intelligence.

Other Hindū Scholars and Tulsī Dās.

Other Hindūs of literary repute, who were the recipients of Imperial favours in the form of *jāgīrs*, *mansabs* and posts, were Rājāh Bhagwān Dās, Rājāh Mān Singh, Rājāh Bihārī Mal, Harī Nāth, etc. "But the greatest author of the time," says Dr. Smith, "Tulsī Dās, the Hindū poet, does not seem to have been known to Akbar personally." The *Rāmcharītāmanas*, or the Hindī *Rāmāyanā*, adapted from the Sanskrit epic, is an enduring glory in the field of Hindī literature. It is regarded as 'the great national work of the Hindī-speaking population of India'.

Sūr Dās.

Another distinguished poet of this time was Sūr Dās, the blind bard of Āgrā. The simple and pathetic figure of this remarkable poet next continued the line of Hindū poets in Muslim India. Devotion to Krishnā in its entirety is the keynote of his poetry. Be it said to the credit of the Emperor whose friendly attitude towards Hindū learning afforded a favourable opportunity for the development of Hindī literature. Tulsī Dās and his contemporary, Sūr Dās, passed their days undisturbed under the Mughal Rule, the former in the celestial Benāres, and the latter in Āgrā, plying their occupations in peace.

Painting.

Akbar was endowed with an exquisite æsthetic genius. He had developed a strong artistic taste from his very early days. His views on the art of painting are characteristically expressed in his own words by Abul Fazl as follows :—

"There are many that hate painting, but such men I do not like. It seems to me that a painter has, as it were, peculiar means of recognising God ; for he, in painting anything that has life and in devising its limbs, one after the other, is ultimately convinced that he cannot bestow individuality on his creation and is thus forced to think of God, the giver of life."

Mughal School of Painting.

He gave the first definite spur to what came to be known later on as the Mughal School of Painting. He founded and endowed a State Gallery under his own personal care and control. The celebrated Persian forerunners and inspirers of the new art soon coalesced

under the influence of the Indian native talent, with the result that the Indian Mughal School Proper was born, which has continued to our own days.

Progress of Painting.

As the might and means of the Emperor increased, his visions of Imperial palaces began to take shape and very soon the need was felt to ornament them with paintings and pictures of unparalleled splendour. The architectural monuments of the Town of Fatḥpur Sīkrī were accordingly decked with pictures in which elegance was wedded to beauty. He encouraged the painters with bonuses and increase of their salaries in proportion to their progress in their pursuit of painting. In the Painting Gallery which he constructed, painters assembled from far and near to emulate one another in their art so as to become more proficient in it. The Mughal magnificence is now a thing of the past, but the remains of the mural decorations of the Town of Victory, among many others, stand as splendid memorials of that glorious age.

Prominent painters.

Among the most prominent painters, patronized by the Emperor, may be mentioned Mīr Sayyad Alī Tabrez, who illuminated the *Dāstān-i-Amīr Hamzah*; Daswant, who could paint figures even on walls; and Barwān, a rival of Daswant in his art. Khwājah Abdul Samad and Kesū were other famous painters attached to the Imperial Court. The victories achieved in the field of this art have been strikingly set forth in an exacting passage in the *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, which reads as follows:—

"Most excellent painters are now to be found and

masterpieces worthy of a Bihzād may be placed at the side of the wonderful works of the European painters who have attained world-wide fame.....More than hundred painters have become famous masters of the art, while the number of those who reach perfection, or of those who are mediocre, is very great. This is particularly true of the Hindūs, their pictures surpass our conception of things."

Art of music.

The art of music reached the summit of its splendour under the Imperial patronage. It received considerable encouragement from the Emperor, who himself was highly accomplished in this art and had an adequate knowledge of its technicalities. "His Majesty," says Abul Fazl, "pays much attention to music and patronizes those who practise this art." Hearing of his bounty, numerous musicians hailed from Persia, Tūrān, Kashmīr and other places to the Mughal Court. They belonged to both the sexes. Some of them were Subḥān Khān, Sarūd Khan, Srī Giān Khān, Miān Chānd, Miān Lāl, Dāūd Dhārī, Muhammad Khān Dhārī, Mullāh Is'ḥāq Dhārī, Nānak Jarjū, Bilās Khān, Tantarang Khān, Rang Sen, Rahmatullāh and Pīr Zādah—all experts in this art. But the most skilled and proficient of them all was Miān Tānsen, the matchless musical gem of Akbar's Court and the greatest musician that India has ever produced. By the bewitching sweetness of his voice he is said (metaphorically speaking) to have set the Jumnā on fire. His tomb in Gwālior has become a place of pilgrimage for the later-day musicians of India. Besides Tānsen, there flourished in his time two other famous singers, Rām

Dās and Harī Dās, the *bulbuls* of the Mughal *Darbār*.

Some musical instruments.

Instrumentation of a very high kind and bewildering variety has been a most distinguishing feature of Indian music. The principal musical instruments were: *bīn*, *flute*, *ghichak*, *karānā*, *qabūz*, *sarmandal*, *surnā*, *tambūrāh*, *rabāb*, and *qānūn*. The best instrumental performers were: Shaikh Dawan Dhārī, Shihāb Khān, Purbīn Khān, Ustād Dost of Meshed, Mīr Sayyad Alī of Meshed, Bahrām Qulī of Gujarāt, Tāsh Beg of Kipchak, Bīr Mandal Khān of Gwāiior, Ustād Yūsaf of Herāt, Sultān Hāshim of Meshed, Ustād Muhammad Husain, Ustād Muhammad Amīn, Ustād Shāh Muhammad, Mīr Abdullāh and Qāsim. As to the use to which the instruments were put, nothing can be definitely said, but their high and complex kind certainly points to a developed state of music. It is just possible that some of them were invented in this very reign, *e.g.*, Qāsim is reputed to have invented an instrument intermediate between *rabāb* and *qabūz*. The vocal music with its divers *rāgs* and *rāgnīs*, some of which are now out of fashion and many of which have long been forgotten for want of cultivation, were popular in those days; whereas instrumental music was equally indulged in. The *Darbārī* music, which became so popular afterwards, was introduced at this time.

Hindū-Muslim social intercourse through music.

The Indian music, like other fine arts, proved a new channel of intercourse between the Hindūs and the Musalmāns. The process of co-operation and intermutation was not a new thing in the time of

Akbar. It had begun centuries before. In the domain of music it became distinctly perceptible how the two communities were borrowing from each other the precious stores they possessed in this art, and thereby enriched each other. *Khiyāl*, for example, which was invented by Sultān Husain Shāh Sharqī of Jaunpur, has become an important limb of Hindū music. *Dhrupad*, on the other hand, has engrafted itself on Muslim music.

Calligraphy.

Calligraphy as a separate branch of the fine arts had been cultivated by the Musalmāns in India ever since their advent in this country. Akbar encouraged the art of fine writing, particularly the '*nastalīq*' hand, the obvious reason being the fact that before the invention of the printing press and its introduction into India, clear, legible, and beautiful hand was an absolute necessity. It is idle to linger long over this art as it has long ceased to be recognised as a fine art. It is equally futile to enter into its various forms. Suffice it to say that it received its due share of encouragement from the Emperor.

Architecture.

Akbar loved buildings and, like a cultured prince, he possessed a unique taste for architecture. "His Majesty," says Abul Fazl, "plans splendid edifices and dresses the works of his mind and heart in the garment of stone and clay." Smith informs us that this imposing phrase is not merely a courtly complement that the historian is paying here. It is sober truth and is endorsed by Fergusson, who describes Fatḥpur Sīkrī as 'a reflex of the great mind of the man who built it.' Even architecture speaks

for Akbar's statesmanship, aiming at Hindū-Muslim Unity. His buildings were characterised by a happy blending of Hindū-Muslim styles. They combined both Hindū and Muslim features, of which sometimes the one and sometimes the other predominated. The style of architecture, if there was any, was eclectic. The existing monuments of his execution are fewer than might be expected, the reason being the fact that several of his superb edifices were subsequently pulled down by his grandson, Shāh Jahān, whose canons of tastes differed from those of his grandfather. The best that have survived are: the tomb of Humāyūn, the most Persian in style and renowned for the simplicity and purity of its design; the magnificent Masjid with its classic Buland Darwāzā or the Lofty Portal, in appearance "noble beyond that of any portal attached to any mosque in India, perhaps in the whole world"; the Jahāngīrī Mahal at the Āgrā Fort; the Tomb of Shaikh Salīm Chishtī; the handsome mosque erected at Fatḥpur Sīkrī; the Palace of Jodhābāī; the Central Hall of Akbar's original Palace; the *Līwān*, or Service-portion of the Great Mosque at the Town of Victory; the beautiful Masjid built at Mirthā in Rājpūtānā; the Tomb of Saint Muhammad Ghaus at Gwālior; the Satī-burj, immortalizing the self-immolation of a wife of Rājāh Bihārī Mal; the Hall of Forty Pillars at Allāhābād; the House of Bīr Bal; the four temples of Gobind Dev, Madan Mohan, Gopī Nāth and Jugal Kishor, doing honour to the deified Krishnā; and above all, his own tomb at Sikandarā, 'quite unlike any other tomb built in India either before or since,' are considered as the

most admirable specimens of the architecture of that period.

Gardens.

Most of the monuments enumerated above had beautiful gardens within their premises. The gardens at the town of Fatḥpur Sīkrī and those at Sikandarā and the Nasīm Bāgh at Kashmīr may be mentioned among those fortunate places on which the popular remark, 'if there is a paradise on earth, it is here, it is here,' has repeatedly been passed.

Estimate of Akbar.

Thus flits the pageant of a reign,—the panorama of Akbar, his achievements in the arts of war as well as of peace and his contributions to the cause of Indian culture and civilization. His was a systematic and deliberate policy of promoting literature, architecture, painting, music, dancing, calligraphy, poetry and other fine arts, which made considerable progress under his patronage. What gave a tremendous impetus to these fine arts was his catholicity of mind which, soaring above the snares of sectarian psychology, appreciated and encouraged true worth without making invidious distinctions. The widespread diffusion of education, the extensive promotion of fine arts, the maintenance of perfect religious freedom and liberty of conscience, the abolition of the hated *Jiziā* and other obnoxious taxes, the prohibition of *Satī* and female infanticide, the encouragement of widow-remarriage, the extinction of the evil practice of enslaving the prisoners of war and that of trial by ordeal, the introduction of an elaborate system of land revenue, and above all, the restoration of law and order and the establishment of

peace and prosperity throughout the length and breadth of the Mughal Empire by the introduction of such wise innovations as issued not from a *Parliament*, a *Cortes* or a *States-General*, but from the head of one man whose era was that of Queen Elizabeth, Philip II and Louis XIV, whose age was that of religious intolerance, rigid Inquisition and ruthless persecution, and whose evironments were those of malice, tyranny and oppression—are the index of a genius unsurpassed in the annals of the world. From whatever side we approach him, whether as a man, a soldier and a statesman, or as a philosopher, a military commander and a political administrator; or as a reformer, a legislator and a peacemaker, the conviction is forced home on us that he was really one of those few inspired personalities of supreme powers and singular endowments who have, as it were, revealed the future to their present age. In view of his contributions to the wisdom of the world and the science of humanity, he has been called the 'guardian of mankind'. As a protector of Hindū learning, as a promoter of Hindū civilization, as a patron of Hindū genius and, above all, as a social reformer of Hindūism, the Hindūs have recognised him a hero after their own hearts.

CHAPTER X

NŪR-UD-DĪN MUHAMMAD JAHĀNGĪR

(1605—1628 A.C.)

Accession of Jahāngīr at Āgrā; 1606.

Having put down all political intrigues, Salīm ascended the throne of his father at Āgrā on the 24th day of October, 1605 A.C. under the proud title of *Jahāngir*, or 'World Grasper'. At that time he was thirty-six years old. His addiction to wine and indulgence in luxuries afforded little prospect of a happy reign; but his natural abilities, combined with his liberal education and strong common-sense, amply qualified him to carry on the administration of the Mughal Empire to the entire satisfaction of his subjects. In order to secure the sympathies of his co-religionists, he promised to protect the Muslim religion; to alleviate the suspicions and fears of his father's faithful friends and trusty officers, he confirmed them in their appointments; and to gain the goodwill of his Hindū subjects, he extended his pardon to men like Rājāh Mān Singh, who had espoused the cause of Prince Khusrau. He abolished a number of obnoxious taxes, granted a general amnesty and instituted a gold chain, connected with a cluster of bells, in his chamber in order to receive the petitions of aggrieved persons with a view to redress their grievances. The chain of justice might not have been frequently pulled by the importunate suppliants, but the Emperor's interest in the

dissemination of justice is sufficiently borne out by it.

Dastūr-ul-Á'mál.

These acts were accompanied by twelve ordinances, popularly called the rules of conduct, (*dastūr-ul-ā'māl*), which the Emperor ordered to be strictly observed by his officers throughout his extensive empire. According to them (1) Jahāngīr forbade the levy of several customs and transit duties of vexatious nature and of the oppressive tolls and cesses which the landlords of every province had imposed for their own benefit and increased at their own sweet will. (2) He ordered the *Jāgīrdārs* to encourage in every possible way a residential population along solitary roads by erecting rest-houses, mosques and wells, and providing other facilities for the purpose. (3) He strictly prohibited the bales of merchandise to be opened during the transit without the consent of their owners. (4) He abolished the existing practice whereby the property of the deceased was appropriated by the State and ordered that henceforth it should go to the rightful heirs. If anyone died without heir, his property was used for the repair and reconstruction of mosques and *madrasahs*. (5) He forbade the manufacture, sale and consumption of such spirits and intoxicants as opium and wine throughout the kingdom. (6) He prevented his officers and *Jāgīrdārs* from misappropriating the lands of the ryots and cultivating them on their own account. (7) He ordered the construction of State hospitals in all the cities of the Mughal Empire; a number of Government dispensaries were established and provided with paid physicians. (8) He prohibited billeting; henceforth soldiers were not to be stationed in private houses.

(9) He abolished the barbarous punishments of mutilation by which the limbs of offenders were amputated and their eyes were put out. (10) For a certain number of days in the year he forbade the slaughter of certain animals. (11) He put a ban on inter-marriage by ordering that officers of the same *pargana* should not marry within their own *pargana*. (12) By a regular *firmān* he forbade, on pain of capital punishment, the horrid practice of making and selling eunuchs, which was prevalent at Sylhet in Bengāl. Finally, he confirmed the *jāgīrs* and offices of his father's faithful servants and increased them by 20 per cent and in certain cases by 300 and 400 per cent.

First *Nauroz*.

Having secured his succession and planted his popularity in the hearts and the minds of his subjects, Hindūs as well as Muslims, Jahāngīr celebrated the first *Nauroz* of his reign with great pomp and show amidst ecstatic rejoicings at Āgrā in the month of March, 1606 A.C. The festivities lasted for over a fortnight and were finally crowned with a lavish bestowal of gifts and presents on the grandees of the Empire by the Emperor.

Khusrau's Revolt.

It will be recalled that in 1605 A.C. a party of nobles, consisting of Rājāh Rām Dās, Murtazā Khān, Sayyad Khān, Qulīch Muhammad and Mirzā Azīz Kokā, and headed by Rājāh Mān Singh, had intrigued against the accession of Salīm in favour of his son, Khusrau, but had failed. Though the father and the son were reconciled after the death of Akbar, there was no love lost between them. The former thought that he was irreparably wronged by his son

the latter's fiery spirit and impetuous youth would not allow him to rest on his oars. He could not forget that he had once contested the claims of his father. Moreover, his engaging manners and attractive carriage had made him extremely popular and the cynosure of not a few officers of importance. As a nephew of Rājāh Mān Singh and the son-in-law of Mirzā Azīz Kokā, as a son of the Emperor, and 'the *amor et deliciæ* of the people,' he was the centre of sedition and the pivot of political intrigue. Actuated by ambition, or driven by despair, or goaded by both, he escaped from Āgrā in 1606 A.C. and marched towards Lāhore at the head of as many as three hundred and fifty horsemen, gathering strength on his way. At Mathūrā he was joined by not less than three thousand horsemen under their leader, Husain Beg Badakhshānī. At Pānīpat he was joined by the *Diwān* of Lāhore, namely, Abdur Rahīm, who was on his way towards Āgrā. At Taran Tāran he received the good wishes of Gurū Arjan, the editor of the *Granth Sāhib*, and also some pecuniary help. At Lāhore he encountered a serious opposition. When Dilāwar Khān, the governor of Lāhore, refused to open the gates of the city, he laid siege to the city and burnt one of its gates. Dilāwar was reinforced by Saīd Khān and the siege lasted for a week. After that, when the Prince learnt of the arrival of his father, he fled towards the North-West in order to stir up opposition in that quarter. His flight was a serious matter for the Emperor who feared the Uzbegs and the Persians there. Negotiations having failed, the father and the son came to grips at the battle of

Bairowāl. The rebels were routed and put to flight, and the Prince had a narrow escape. His jewellery-box and other valuable things formed a considerable part of the booty obtained. After a hot pursuit, the imperialists succeeded in capturing and producing him before the Emperor hand-cuffed and chained heavily. The eyes of the royal captive were sewn, and he was thrown in prison. His accomplices were ruthlessly treated.

Execution of Gurū Arjan.

Gurū Arjan, who had helped Khusrau in his dire distress, was called to the Imperial Court to explain his conduct. His property was confiscated and he was fined at the instigation of Chāndū Shāh, whom he had annoyed by refusing to marry his son to his daughter. The Gurū declined to pay a single *cowrī* and was at last executed for his 'suspicious proceedings'. It must be remembered that his execution was not the outcome of religious bigtory but was due to political reasons. Dr. Beni Prasad has justly stated that the Gurū would have ended his days in peace, if he had not espoused the cause of a rebel. But the murder was a mistake of the first magnitude. It stirred up the Sikhs against the Mughal Empire and had no mean share in moulding the subsequent history of the Punjāb.

Loss of Qandhār.

Qandhār was conquered by Akbar in 1595 A.C. Its loss was deeply resented by the Persians. Under their King, Shāh Abbās, who was one of the greatest Asiatic rulers of his time, they made an attempt to

recover it, but failed, because it was ably defended by Shāh Beg Khān. When force failed, diplomacy was resorted to. In order to gain his end, the Shāh made overtures and exchanged sugar-coated compliments with the Mughal Emperor, who was thrown off his guard; and as a necessary sequel, the defences of Qandhār were neglected. In 1622 A. C. the Shāh again attacked Qandhār and took possession of it without encountering opposition. Jahāngīr ordered his son, Khurram, to accompany the expedition against that far off province. The Prince thought that his absence would ensure his exclusion from the throne and therefore refused to obey the Imperial orders. His refusal was fully availed of by Nūr Jahān who wished to secure the succession for her son-in-law, Shahryār, the rival and opponent of the Prince. She poisoned the ears of her husband against him and convinced him that his son meditated treason. The Emperor at once issued an order to the effect that the Prince should send back to the Capital all the forces he had with him in the Deccan. Khurram hesitated and again Nūr Jahān found a chance to inflame her husband's mind against him. This time she succeeded in securing for Shahryār the fief of Dholpur which Khurram had long desired to obtain. She also persuaded her husband to promote her son-in-law to the *mansab* of twelve thousand *Zāt* and eight thousand *Sawār*, and to put him at the head of the campaign against Qandhār. All these circumstances combined to horrify the Prince who now found safety in submitting to the will of his father. He tried to allay the anger of the Emperor by making apologies for his past conduct, but the backstair

intrigues of Nūr Jahān drove him to break into open rebellion. As a result, Qandhār was lost and no attempt was made to recover it.

Conquest of Kāngrā.

The crowning exploit of the reign of Jahāngīr was indeed the conquest of Kāngrā in the Punjāb, which commanded an excellent situation and enjoyed a wide reputation as an important centre of Hindū worship. Murtazā Khān, who was in charge of the Punjāb, was entrusted with the reduction of Kāngrā; but owing to the opposition of the Rājpūts, he could not make headway against the hill-chiefs in possession of the strongholds that surrounded the famous fortress of Kāngrā. After Murtazā's death, which took place a little later, Prince Khurram was appointed to the command of the Kāngrā campaign. The hill-chiefs of the surrounding strongholds were defeated and the formidable fortress inside was besieged. The supplies of the beleaguered garrison were cut off, so much so that they were compelled to feed themselves on boiled dry grass. After a protracted siege, which lasted for over a year, the inmates of the garrison were reduced to such straits that they found safety in submission. The conquest of Kāngrā was accomplished in November, 1620 A. C.

Subjugation of Mewār.

In Mewār, the Premier State of Rājpūtānā, the heroic Rānā Prātāb was succeeded by his son, Amar Singh, at Udaipur in the year 1597 A. C. The new Rānā was as patriotic as his father. While he would not submit to the Muslim yoke, Jahāngir could not tolerate the existence of an independent and rather hostile State

on the border of his empire. Resuming the ambitious policy of his predecessor, he ordered an attack on the principality, putting his son, Prince Parvez, in command of the Mughal army and providing him with ample war material. The Rājpūts offered a stout resistance, and after an indecisive battle a truce was concluded between the belligerents. After a lull of about two years war was again declared against Mewār. This time the supreme command was entrusted to Mahābat Khān who defeated the Rājpūts but failed to accomplish anything substantial owing to the mountainous nature of the country. The ill-success of the Mewār campaign was due, to a considerable extent, to the frequent changes in the command of the Imperial army also. In 1614 A.C. Prince Khurram received orders to lead an expedition against Mewār. He opened the campaign with renewed energy and fresh vigour. Aided by able military officers, he established strong military posts round Mewār and cut off the supplies of the Rānā in order to starve the State into submission. His military tactics took the Rājpūts by surprise and reduced the Rānā to such a state that he expressed his desire to put an end to the war in which victories were as costly as defeats. Negotiations were opened for peace. The Rānā agreed to acknowledge the overlordship of the Mughal Emperor and sent his son, Prince Karan, to the Mughal Capital to wait upon the Emperor. He also agreed to contribute a contingent of one thousand horse to the Mughal army. In return for this, the fortress of Chittor was restored to the Rānā and his son was enrolled as a commander of five thousand. He was not forced to

enter, into a matrimonial alliance with the Emperor; rather, he was exempted from personal attendance at the Mughal Court on account of his old age. Not only this, the Emperor treated him in a most chivalrous manner. In order to remove the humiliation of defeat and to do special honour to his vanquished foe, he caused two full-sized portraits of the Rānā and his son to be carved in marble and set up in a garden at Āgrā below the *Jarūkhā* (audience window). "Jahāngīr's conduct in this affair," observes Dr. Ishwari Prasad, "is wholly worthy of praise. Mewār had given the Mughals no small amount of trouble, but the emperor forgot the past and adopted a conciliatory policy in dealing with the Rānā." By such acts of chivalry, Jahāngīr honoured his antagonists as well as himself. In appreciation of his success against Mewār, Prince Khurram was honoured with the appellation of *Shāh Khurram* and a *mansab* of thirty thousand. Quite in consistence with the condescension of his father, the Prince received the son of the Rānā with all respect and treated him with marked generosity. He bestowed upon him 'a superb dress of honour, a jewelled sword and dagger, and a horse with a gold saddle and a special elephant'.

Deccan campaign.

It will be remembered that Akbar had conquered Ahmadnagar, Berār and Khāndesh. His ambition was to advance further South, but immediately after the capture of Asīrgarh, he was obliged to go back to the North, where his son, Salīm, had rebelled against him. His absence from the Deccan adversely affected the Mughal position there. The imperialists failed to follow their successes with

vigour. When Jahāngīr came to the throne, he resumed the forward policy of his father against the Deccan. Ahmadnagar was first to be attacked; but in Malik Ambar the imperialists found a tough foe and a military leader of the first water, one whom it was not easy to overcome.

Malik Ambar.

A word might be said here about the abilities of Malik Ambar, the Abyssinian minister and military commander of the Nizāmshāhī Kingdom of Ahmadnagar. Age and experience had enabled him to acquire a deep insight into matters of importance, civil as well as military His activities embraced almost every department of administration. He was a great financier. His multifarious reforms have earned him fame that cannot be tarnished. His most remarkable achievement was the re-organization of the revenue system in his master's kingdom. It was modelled after that of Akbar the Great. His political acumen and sagacious statesmanship have elicited admiration even from his enemies. But he was no mere administrator. He was also endowed with a military genius of a rare order. He enlisted the Marhattās in the army and organized them into a fighting force. He trained them in the *guerilla* mode of fighting and revolutionized the entire military system of the State by introducing reforms where necessary. No wonder, therefore, if he succeeded in retrieving the fallen fortunes of the Nizāmshāhī dynasty of Ahmadnagar. He was speedily recovering the lost territory of his king when Jahāngīr ordered an expedition against him.

Ahmadnagar.

Khān-i-Khānān Abdur Rahīm was entrusted with the supreme command of the Imperial army. He was totally defeated by Malik Ambar owing to the rebellion of Prince Khusrau. Jahāngīr replaced him by Khān Jahān Lodhī, who assumed the offensive with fresh vigour in 1611 A. C. A combined attack was to be delivered on Ahmadnagar: Prince Parvez and Khān Jahān were to march from Khāndesh, and Abdullāh, the governor of Gujarāt, was to proceed from his own province. The plan matured a little too soon; for the latter advanced before the fixed time and was defeated by Malik Ambar. The imperialists were compelled to beat a disgraceful retreat. Abdur Rahīm, who had been recalled from the scene of operations, was reappointed to the command. The veteran Khān forgot the past and earnestly undertook to retrieve the prestige of the Mughal arms in the Deccan. He defeated the enemy in a hotly contested battle, but again he was ordered to withdraw; for notwithstanding his brilliant success, he was accused by his enemy of having accepted the Deccani gold in bribe. In 1617 A.C. Jahāngīr detailed another army under the command of Prince Khurram who had become Shāh Khurram after his success in the Mewār campaign. Assisted by able imperial generals, he compelled Alī 'Ādil Shāh to accept the terms of peace dictated by the Emperor The Shāh waited in person upon the Prince and offered him presents of the value of fifteen *lākhs* and promised to cede all the territory which Malik Ambar had seized from the Mughal Empire. The Mughal Emperor bestowed upon him the title of

Farzand (son) and treated him with great love. The services of Prince Khurram were duly appreciated and the title of *Shāh Jahān* was conferred upon him. To do him special honour, Jahāngīr poured over his head a small tray of jewels and a tray of gold (coins) from the *Jharūkhā*. The Empress held a special feast in his honour and showered upon him some valuable presents. Other officers were, likewise, rewarded without stint for their services. 'Behind all these profuse gifts and rewards,' to quote Dr. Ishwari Prasad, 'lay the hard fact, that the Deccan was not conquered, and that the spirit of Malik Ambar was as unbroken as ever.' The campaign terminated in 1629 A. C. after the death of Jahāngīr and Ahmadnagar was lost to the Mughal Empire.

Subsequent career of Prince Khusrau.

After his revolt, Prince Khusrau had been thrown into prison. Not long afterwards he succeeded in winning the hearts of his captors and organizing a plot against his father. The plot miscarried. The Prince was blinded and his accomplices were arrested. Of the latter, only four were executed. With the lapse of time, the memory of his rebellion wore off and the fatherly affection having again revived, the eyesight of the Prince was partially restored through the skill of an efficient physician, and he was permitted to pay his respects to his father every day. He was regarded as the heir-apparent and the future sovereign of Hindūstān. Shāh Jahān resented this very bitterly. But he had neither the power to dissuade his father from his intentions, nor

the attractiveness to dislodge his brother from the place he had found in the hearts of the people. Nūr Jahān, who wished to push the claims of her son-in-law, Shahryār, hated Khusrau from the very nature of the case. She succeeded in supplanting her husband's affection for his own son with hatred, and Khusrau was forbidden to pay his respects on the pretext that he 'showed no signs of openness and happiness and he was always mournful and dejected in mind'. In 1616 A.C. he was made over to the custody of his most relentless enemy, Āsaf Khān, and in 1620 A.C. he was transferred to his hostile brother, Shāh Jahān, who had him murdered in 1622 A.C. at Burhānpur, giving out, however, that he had died of colic pain (*Qulanj*). He was accorded a second burial when his father, Jahāngīr, relented and felt compassion for him. His remains were removed to Allāhābād and interred in a garden, since known as Khusrau Bāgh.

His character.

Khusrau was indeed one of the most captivating figures of the present reign. Terry's tribute to his character is well-deserved. Says he: 'For that prince, he was a gentleman of a very lovely presence and fine carriage, so exceedingly beloved of the common people that as Saetonius writes of Titus, he was *amor et deliciæ*, etc., the very love and delight of them, aged then about thirty-five years. He was a man who contented himself with one wife who with all love and care accompanied him in all his straits, and therefore he would never take any wife but herself, though the liberty of his religion did admit of his plurality.'

Rebellion of Usmān in Bengāl: 1612 A. C.

Usmān, who had rebelled in 1599 A. C. in the reign of Akbar in the remotely removed province of Bengāl but had been suppressed by Rājah Mān Singh, owed outward allegiance to the Mughal Emperor, but secretly cherished the desire of reviving the Afghān rule in India. He harboured bitter hostilities against the Mughal Empire and aimed to destroy it root and branch. He rallied round himself the rebellious Afghāns and *Zamīndārs* of Bengāl. The rapid change of governors in that province enabled him to fortify his position without fear. In 1612 A. C. again he made an attempt to overthrow the Mughal dynasty. In the engagement that was fought, the Mughals were victorious over the Afghāns. Usmān was fatally wounded, but 'so great was his composure that even in this condition he continued to direct the movements of his men for six hours'. On being defeated, the enemy retired to their entrenchments where their gallant leader died of exhaustion, leaving them in a state of confusion. This was the last Afghān rising against the Mughal Rule. Jahāngīr was so much pleased with Islām Khān, the governor of Bengāl, and his officers who had suppressed it that he raised their ranks and rewarded their services without stint. He treated the Afghāns with kindness and conciliation. They were taken in the service of the State without restrictions. As a result of this policy, the Afghāns were completely won over and the security of the Mughal throne was ensured.

Outbreak of the bubonic plague.

The *Memoirs of Jahāngīr* and the *Iqbālnāmah* concur in recording that the bubonic plague broke out in India for the first time in 1616 A. C. As usual, the epidemic first affected the rats and mice and then the people. It began in the Punjāb and soon spread over almost the whole of Northern India. Its 'ravages were so great', says a contemporary chronicler, 'that in one house ten or twenty persons would die, and their surviving neighbours, annoyed by the stench, would be compelled to desert their houses full of habitations. Mortality was extremely heavy in Lāhore and Kashmīr. The disease broke out again in Āgrā and took away a large number of the people.

Nūr Jahān.

The most romantic event of the reign of Jahāngīr was his marriage with Mehr-un-Nisā, the most beautiful daughter of Mirzā Ghiyās Beg, a native of Tehrān. Almost every Indian student is acquainted with the story of her birth, marriage and character. Her father, Mirzā Ghiyās, was reduced to such straits that he proposed to leave his native-land for good and to try his luck elsewhere. Accordingly, he set out towards India in search of employment. When he reached Qandhār, his wife, who was then in a state of expectancy, was delivered of a daughter, who was destined to be the empress of India. Ghiyās was so poor that he could not take care of the newly-born baby and her mother. Luckily, a certain kind-hearted merchant, named Malik Masaūd, under whose protection he was travelling towards India, felt compassion for the woe-begone family and offered his

assistance, but for which Ghiyās, whom fate had fouled so much, would have found his lot intolerable. The merchant commanded some influence at the Mughal Court. He introduced him to Akbar who at once took him into his service. By sheer force of character and capacity, Ghiyās soon made his mark in the service of his master, who raised him to the rank of three hundred in appreciation of his excellent work. Little Mehr-un-Nisā and her mother were allowed access to the Imperial *Harem* where they were shown great favours by the Royal household.

Mehr-un-Nisā married to Alī Qulī Istajlū or Sher Afgan.

When Mehr-un-Nisā attained the age of seventeen, she was married to Alī Qulī Istajlū, surnamed Sher Afgan, or 'Tiger Thrower'. Originally a *Sajāwchī* (table servant) of Shāh Ismāīl II of Persia, Alī Qulī had distinguished himself in the service of Emperor Akbar. He was appointed to the staff of Prince Salīm when the latter was ordered to march against Mewār. He acquitted himself so admirably that the Prince was pleased to reward him for his courage and cleverness, and bestowed upon him the title of *Sher Afgan* for slaying a tiger. When the Prince broke into rebellion against his father, he was deserted by many of his followers, and Sher Afgan was one of them. After his accession, however, Jahāngīr extended him his pardon and placed him in charge of the government of Burdwān in Bengāl.

Murder of Sher Afgan.

When reports came from Bengāl, the most troublous province, that Sher Afgan was 'insubordinate and disposed to be

rebellious,' Jahāngīr summoned him to his Court to explain his conduct. On refusal to obey the Imperial *firmāns*, Qutb-ud-Dīn Kokā, the governor of that province, was commanded to send the refractory officer to the Capital. Qutb-ud-Dīn made a foolish attempt to arrest him. Finding a large number of men surrounding him, Sher Afgan portended treachery. In a fit of rage he exclaimed 'what proceeding is this of thine?' addressing the governor and his retainers. As soon as the governor approached him to convey the Imperial message, he attacked him with his sword and inflicted serious injuries on his person. This unexpected incident enraged the retainers who fell upon Sher Afgan and cut him to pieces. After the murder of her husband, Mehr-un-Nisā and her little daughter were sent to the Imperial *Harem* where they were entrusted to the custody of Salīmā Sultānā, the dowager-queen. In May, 1611 A. C. Jahāngīr married her.

Was Sher Afgan's murder premeditated and whether Jahāngīr had a hand in it?

Sher Afgan's death was purely incidental and Jahāngīr had nothing to do with it. The report from Bengāl that he was 'insubordinate and disposed to be rebellious;' the Imperial *firmāns*, summoning him to the Court to explain his conduct; his refusal to obey the Imperial commands; the appointment of Qutb-ud-Dīn Kokā, the governor of Bengāl, to bring the rebel to book if he 'showed any futile, seditious ideas'; the foolish attempt of the governor to arrest him without ascertaining his offence; Sher Afgan's apprehension of treachery and his attack on the governor in self-defence—all these are important

links in the chain of the crisis which culminated in the murder of Sher Afgan. They cumulatively contribute to the theory of Jahāngīr's innocence. What subsequently gave rise to the story that the murder was manipulated by Jahāngīr, or that he had a hand in it, was that soon after the occurrence Imperial orders were issued to remove Mehr-un-Nisā to the Royal *Harem*, where she was entrusted to the custody of Salīmā Sultānā and then married to the Emperor. But this does not militate against the theory of innocence. It does not show that the death of Sher Afgan was brought about by Jahāngīr. It only gives birth to a suspicion that the Emperor was in love with the lady, but the suspicion does not stand in the face of other facts and vanishes like a phantom. De Laet, the Dutch writer, says that Jahāngīr had been in love with her when she was still a maiden. 'If this were true' says Dr. Ishwari Prasad, 'the motive for the murder is clear.' Granted that Mehr-un-Nisā's beauty had attracted the attention of Jahāngīr during his father's lifetime and that he had been madly in love with her; granted also that the murder was premeditated, how was it that after her betrothal to Sher Afgan when the latter was appointed to the staff of Salīm (Jahāngīr) in the Mewār campaign, the Prince treated him so kindly and conferred upon him the title of *Sher Afgan* in appreciation of his courage? why was it that Jahāngīr, at his accession, did not punish him for his desertion when the Prince Jahāngīr had rebelled against his father, but extended him his pardon and even placed him in charge of Burdwān in Bengāl? why was it that

Jahāngīr, an impetuous lover as he was, waited for such a long time when the object of his desire was well within his reach? To be sure, if Jahāngīr had wished to remove Sher Afgan from his way to Mehr-un-Nisā, he could have found one hundred and one pretexts and achieved his object long before and would not have waited for such a long time. As apart from this, there is no clue to this story (that Sher Afgan was murdered at the instigation of Jahāngīr) in the accounts of contemporary chroniclers, nor is there any corroborative evidence of European travellers who were too prone to seize upon the scandals relating to the Royal family and raking them to the utmost. The so-called 'positive assertions of later historians' are based on a mere ephemeral suspicion and cannot be relied upon.

Jahāngīr marries Mehr-un-Nisā.

Four years after the murder of Sher Afgan, Jahāngīr saw Mehr-un-Nisā and fell in love with her. He married her in the month of May, 1611 A. C. Faithful to her former husband, Nisā was equally faithful to her new husband, who loved her so much that sometimes he would call her *Nūr Mahal*, 'the Light of the Palace' and sometimes *Nūr Jahān*, 'the Light of the World'. Thus, Mehr-un-Nisā, the baby who was born in the most adverse circumstances, the lady who had lived with her husband, Sher Afgan, for sixteen years, and the widow who had wept in chaste seclusion for four years, emerged as the Empress Nūr Jahān, the most beloved wife of Emperor Jahāngīr. In token of his love for her, Jahāngīr put her name on the coinage along with his own—a unique circumstance in the history of Muslim money.

Nūr Jahān's accomplishments.

Nūr Jahān was endowed with all that is noble in the nobler sex. She was a highly cultured lady, well-versed in Arabic and Persian literature. She was a good poetess. One of her charms with which she captivated Jahāngīr was her facility in composing extempore verses. Under her edifying influence the Mughal Court became famous for its noon-day splendour. 'She set the fashions of the age, designed new varieties of silk and cotton fabrics, and suggested new models of jewellery, hitherto unknown in Hindustan.' She invented the *attar* of roses for which she is remembered to the present day.

Her valour.

Her physical feats were on a par with her personal charms and intellectual endowments. She was very fond of outdoor games. She used to accompany her husband on his hunting excursions and often shot down ferocious tigers. On one occasion Jahāngīr was so impressed by her feat of valour that he presented her a pair of precious bracelets of diamonds and distributed one thousand *ashrafis* among the poor to mark the excess of his happiness. So remarkable was her presence of mind that she never wavered in dangers and difficulties. She displayed ample courage and resourcefulness when her husband (Jahāngīr) was taken prisoner by Mahābat Khān. Experienced generals and veteran soldiers were surprised to see her seated on the back of an elephant and firing a fusillade of arrows at the enemy in the thick of fight.

"Power behind the throne."

If she had become what Dr. Smith calls, 'a power behind the throne,' it was because she was possessed of a quick understanding and a sharp intellect which 'enabled her to understand the most intricate political problems without any difficulty.' To quote Dr. Ishwari Prasad: 'No political or diplomatic complication was beyond her comprehension, and the greatest statesmen and ministers bowed to her decisions.' She carried on the administration of the country so carefully that even the minutest details could not escape her ever-vigilant eye. So supreme was her sway over the Sovereign and the State that even the proudest peers of the realm paid her homage because they knew that a word from her would make or mar their careers.

Her influence on the State.

But her influence on the State was not all for good. She used her power and influence in advancing the interests of her own family. She surrounded herself with her own kith and kin and appointed them to responsible posts in the State. In order to strengthen her position, she married her daughter by Sher Afgan to Shahryār and tried to push him to power. Notwithstanding the fact that Prince Khurram was the acknowledged heir to the Mughal throne after Jahāngīr, she put forward the claims of her own son-in-law in preference to his. This led to very serious consequences. The Court and the *Harem* alike became centres of political intrigue. By playing upon the feelings and fancies of her husband she ceaselessly intrigued to dislodge *Khusrau* from the place he had found in the hearts of the people. She worked

hard to undermine the increasing power and influence of Khurram, who had become *Shāh Khurram* after the Mewār campaign and *Shāh Jahān* after the Deccan. It will be seen that the death of Khusrau, the loss of Qandhār and the rebellions of Khurram and Mahābat Khān were owing to her machinations and mischievous influence.

Her character.

Although Nūr Jahān resorted to all sorts of underhand means, plots and intrigues, she was not devoid of genuine sympathies, so often the share of the softer sex. She was a generous patron of the poor daughters of Islām, for whom she found both husbands and dowries. She was an asylum for orphan and poor girls. She protected the weak and the oppressed and provided for the poor and the powerless out of her private purse. Her charity and munificence enhanced her reputation and increased her popularity. She was a most faithful wife. Her devotion to her husband was unmixed. Under her influence Jahāngīr's paroxysms of rage and drunkenness diminished and the expenses of the Court were considerably reduced. Her filial affection was no less intense, and she entertained the warmest feelings for her brothers and other relatives.

Rebellion of Shāh Jahān.

Shāh Jahān could not disentangle his father from the web of romance which Nūr Jahān was weaving around him. When the 'infatuated old emperor' deprived him, at the instigation of his imperious consort, of all his posts and fiefs, the Prince unfurled the flag of revolt in self-defence. In 1623 A. C. the Prince

advanced upon Āgrā with as many troops as he happened to possess at that time. The armies of the father and the son met each other at Balochpur and in the battle that followed, the Imperialists inflicted a crushing defeat on the Prince. The Imperial general, Mahābat Khan, drove him from place to place till he reached Asīr and occupied it without opposition. Deserted by his own followers, he turned to Malik Ambar for support. On receiving a curt refusal, he sought refuge in Golconda against the Imperialists who were pursuing him under the command of Prince Parvez and Mahābat Khān. The ruler of that State ordered him to quit his country and seek shelter elsewhere. Driven to despair, he betook himself to Bengāl where the local authorities espoused his cause and owed him allegiance. Becoming master of Bengāl, he reduced Bihār and Orissā and advanced against Oudh and Allāhābād, but there he was defeated by the Imperialists and put to flight. Resting for a while in the fortress of Rohtās, he next proceeded to the Deccan where he was warmly received by Malik Ambar, the old enemy of the Mughal Empire. Having made common cause with him against the Mughal Emperor, he attacked Burhānpur. In the meantime he was overtaken by the Imperialists again. Notwithstanding Malik Ambar's alliance, the Prince found further opposition impossible. His generals and soldiers had deserted him and gone over to the side of the Imperialists. Although he was still in possession of the famous fortress of Rohtās in the North and the stronghold of Asīr in the South, he could not stand against the vast military resources of the Empire.

Considerations of safety and prudence compelled him to write to his father to forgive his faults. The Empress, who viewed with fear the growing influence of Mahābat Khān and his alliance with Prince Parvez, at once agreed to the proposal of Prince Khurram. Accordingly, the Prince surrendered the strongholds of Rohtās and Asīr, sent his two sons, Dārā and Aurangzeb, aged ten and eight respectively, to the Court as a guarantee of good faith, and offered gifts worth Rs. 100,000 to the Emperor. After this he retired to Nāsik with his spouse and son, Murād.

Rebellion of Mahābat Khān.

The splendid successes of Shān Jahān had silenced Nūr Jahān for some time and the question of succession was temporarily relegated to the corner. But the death of Khusrau and the defeat of Shāh Jahān revived the idea dorment in her mind, and in order to secure the succession for her son-in-law, Shahryār, she began to mobilize her forces of intrigue against Mahābat Khān, 'the most redoubtable general and diplomatist of the empire,' whose only offence was his intimacy with Prince Parvez, the principal claimant to the throne and the most serious rival of Shahryār at that time. Orders were issued for Mahābat to resign the command of the Imperial army and to take charge of the government of Bengāl. Prince Parvez protested in vain against an order to which both he and his associate ultimately bowed. As if this was not enough, Mahābat was accused of embezzlement and corruption. He was ordered to account for the moneys he had acquired by dismissing certain fief-holders. He was further indicted

for having betrothed his daughter to the son of a certain Khwājah Umar Naqshbandī without royal permission. His prospective son-in-law was treated with unsparing insults. He was deprived of all his wealth and ordered to attend the Imperial Court to explain his conduct. Mahābat was deeply offended by this unmerited treatment. Suspecting treachery, he set out, suitably escorted by five thousand Rājpūt followers, and seized the person of the Emperor when he and his wife were about to cross the Jhelum. Nūr Jahān escaped, so also her son-in-law. Fidāi Khān, the Imperial Commander-in-Chief, made an heroic dash to rescue the Emperor, but failed. Nūr Jahān crossed the river on an elephant and tried to organize the Imperial forces ; but in a state of confusion the panic-stricken officers took to flight. Āsaf Khan, with his three thousand soldiers, sought shelter in the fort of Attock. Although Nūr Jahān displayed her characteristic courage and coolness in this crisis, her masculine qualities proved of little avail. Where force failed, the wiles of woman succeeded. She joined her husband in his captivity, and by a clever stratagem she managed to throw Mahābat Khān off his guard. She plundered his treasure and reduced him to sore straits. Thus, after a short-lived ascendancy, Mahābat made his way to Mewār and thence to the Deccan, where he joined Shāh Jahān and concluded an alliance with him.

Shāh Jahān's subsequent movements.

When Mahābat Khān revolted Shāh Jahān was in the Deccan. Forthwith he proceeded towards the North to try his luck there once more. Reaching Sind, he

made an attempt to capture the fort, but failed. Cowed down and crest-fallen, he retired to the Deccan again. There he met Mahābat and made an alliance with him, as remarked before. Prince Parvez died in 1626 A. C. and Jahāngīr in 1627 A. C. on his way back from Kashmīr. The claims of Shāh Jahān were now strengthened; for his only serious rival was Shahryār, who was a mere mediocre.

War of Succession.

While the corpse of the Emperor was being buried at Shāhdarā in the Dilkushā Garden of Nūr Jahān near Lāhore, the fate of the Mughal Empire lay in the scale. At this time there were two sons of Jahāngīr who had survived him: Shāh Jahān and Shahryār, each of whom had his own supporters at the Court. Prince Shāh Jahān was away in the Deccan at the time of his father's death. The news of the sad event was conveyed to him by his father-in-law, Āsaf Khān, and he set out towards the North to secure his succession. Prince Shahryār was in Lāhore. His cause was espoused by his mother-in-law, Nūr Jahān, who had by that time finished with the funeral rites of her husband. Encouraged by the Empress and egged on by his wife, Shahryār seized the Imperial Treasure and proclaimed himself emperor at Lāhore. While Āsaf Khān, who wished to see his own son-in-law on the throne, set up at Āgrā the son of the ill-starred Khusrau, called Dāwar Bakhsh, as a stop-gap emperor till the arrival of Shāh Jahān. Meanwhile Nūr Jahān wanted to see her brother, Āsaf Khan, in order to gain him to her side; but the latter thwarted her plans by evading her. At

the head of a strong army, Āsaf advanced upon Lāhore and inflicted a sharp defeat on Shahryār. The defeated prince was imprisoned and his eyes were put out. Meanwhile Shāh Jahān's arrival was anxiously awaited at the Capital. His coronation took place on February 6, 1628 A. C. immediately after his arrival.

Close of Nūr Jahān's career.

Finding that her cause was lost, Nūr Jahān retired to private life. Although she had been the arch-enemy of Shāh Jahān and the main cause of his misfortunes, the latter forgot the past and treated her with all respect and kindness. He granted her an annual pension of two *lākhs* and took care to carry out her wishes. Now she gave up all thoughts of luxury and luxuriance and began to live a simple life. She passed her last days at Lāhore in company with her daughter, the widow of Shahryār. She died on the 8th of December, 1645 A. C. and her body was interred in the mausoleum which she had raised over the grave of her husband. Thus ended the days of Nūr Jahān.

CHAPTER XI

NŪR-UD-DĪN MUHAMMAD JAHANGĪR

(CONCLUDED)

Introductory.

During the reign of Jahāngīr India was visited by a number of foreigners, representing three European nationalities,—the Portuguese, the Dutch and the English,—all of whom endeavoured to establish friendly relations with the Mughal Emperor, who was favourably disposed towards them. In the present chapter it is intended to give a short account of Jahāngīr's relations with them and their impressions of this country and its condition under the Great Mughal.

Jahāngīr's relations with the Portuguese.

In order to please the Sunnī orthodoxy and to secure his succession to the throne, Jahāngīr had severed his connections with the Portuguese. But as soon as he firmly seated himself on the throne, he renewed his relations with them and began to show favours to the Jesuit Fathers as liberally as he had done in the reign of his father. He allowed them to run their churches in Āgrā and Lāhore without molestation, to conduct their church processions with complete Catholic ceremonials through the streets of the city of Āgrā, and to make converts to their religion if they could. He himself loved to see the pictures of Christian saints around him. Figures of Christ and the Virgin Mary adorned his rosary and he is reported to have granted

cash allowances to Christian missionaries for ecclesiastical purposes. So great was his love and reverence for Christ and Mary that the Christians had come to claim him as a convert to their creed. It appears that Jahāngīr's policy towards the Portuguese was actuated by an ulterior political aim; his object was to secure the support of the Portuguese who possessed a strong artillery imported from Europe. In 1613 A. C., however, they incurred the wrath of the Emperor by seizing four imperial ships and plundering their cargoes. In retaliation, their settlement at Daman was attacked, their churches were closed and their ceremonies were stopped. All this was due to their own high-handedness.

With the English.

The East Indian trade was extremely lucrative. To the Portuguese, who had a monopoly of it, it yielded enormous profits. A number of European nations were attracted to India to participate in it, and the English were among them. The East India Company was founded by them in 1600 A. C., but it was only in the reign of Jahāngīr that they began to make earnest efforts to advance their trade interests in India. Between 1600 A C. and 1608 A. C. the Company sent three missions to the Mughal Court to establish friendly relations with the 'Great Mughal' and to conclude a commercial treaty with him. The missions failed in their object mainly owing to the hostile influence of the Portuguese who looked upon the English as their rivals and therefore intrigued and plotted against them.

William Hawkins and William Edwardes.

It was in 1608 A. C. that William Hawkins, an English sea-captain, commanding the 'Hector,' arrived at Āgrā with a letter from King James I of England, seeking permission to trade with India and to build a factory at Sūrat. Hawkins was hospitably received by the Emperor and granted a *mansab* of 400 with a salary of thirty thousand. The trade concessions, which he asked for, were readily granted, but were subsequently withdrawn owing to the inimical influence of the Portuguese. After the departure of Hawkins, it was only when the Portuguese had fallen out with the Emperor that another Englishman, William Edwardes, arrived at the Imperial Court and secured trade facilities which were, however, withdrawn a little later at the instigation of the Portuguese.

Sir Thomas Roe.

The informal missions of Hawkins and Edwardes were followed by a formal embassy of Sir Thomas Roe, the accredited plenipotentiary of the King of England, who arrived at the Mughal Court in 1615 A. C. in order to negotiate a trade treaty with Jahāngīr. As a dexterous diplomatist and a shrewd politician, eminently endowed with common-sense and business capacity, Roe was best-fitted for the task he was entrusted with. He was far superior to his predecessors in point of intellect, education and experience. By offering valuable presents to Nūr Jahān, Āsaf Khān and Prince Shāh Jahān, he gained them to his side and presented the terms he wanted to secure for his nation in the form of a treaty. Though the draft of the treaty, which he submitted,

was not accepted *in toto*, yet he secured a *firmān* from the Emperor, which offered considerable concessions: The English were allowed to build a factory at Sūrat, to hire any site they liked for the factory to erect on, to trade freely within the country and to enjoy the right of self-government. The evils and abuses of the custom-houses were put an end to, and tolls were not to be levied on articles entering into a port. Above all, if the British merchants were attacked by the Portuguese, they would be assisted by the local governor with boats and other necessary requisites. The grant of this *firman* is indeed an important landmark in the history of Anglo-Indian relations. In short, it humbled the pride of the Portuguese, enhanced the prestige of the English and laid the first foundation-stone of the British Empire of India.

Foreign accounts of Jahāngīr's reign and their veracity.

A large number of Europeans visited India during the reign of Jahāngīr. Some of them have left their impressions about the Court of the Emperor and the condition of the country. Roe's Journal deals almost exclusively with court life and the political intrigues of the time. As regards the condition of the country, it reveals very little, though we can catch glimpses of the same from it at intervals. Terry's account contains a description of the country and the condition of the people; whereas Hawkins' account is mainly confined to the description of the personal character of Jahāngīr and his daily routine. But it must be noted that all these accounts are not entirely free from exaggerations. They are useful only so far as they corroborate certain

facts of Indian history and contradict others. But where they come in conflict with the cumulative testimony of contemporary native historians, their authenticity must needs be called in question. Ignorant as the European travellers were of the life and thought of the people and their psychology, their accounts cannot be expected to be unmixed, more so when sometimes their wishes were not complied with.

Roe's description of Mughal Court and its customs.

From Sir Thomas Roe's accounts it can be gathered that he had to bribe a number of persons at the Court in order to achieve his object. He speaks of some grave abuses at sea-ports where the local governors seized upon goods at arbitrary prices. Most of the *Subahdārs* were exacting and tyrannical in their dealings with their subjects. They were, however, generally sympathetic towards foreigners. The Court was magnificent and even luxurious. Roe dwells at length on the customs and festivities of the Court and the fashions in vogue. He says that the nobility was courteous and the courtiers, as a class, were corrupt and unprincipled. The highest officials were extravagantly paid and bribery was commonly practised. His narrative also shows that travelling was unsafe between the coast and the capital, and the port officers were grossly cruel. There was no written constitution. The King was the State and his word was law. The provincial governors behaved as despots and their allegiance to the Central Government was half-hearted. According to the Law of Escheat, the property of the deceased belonged to the

State. The cities of the Deccan bore a sad and neglected appearance.

Roe's description of Jahāngīr's personal character.

Speaking of the personal character of Jahāngīr, Roe remarks that the Emperor was an inveterate drunkard, but by day he was a picture of temperance. The ambassador witnessed the scenes of drunkenness and revelry only during his nocturnal visits. The Emperor never allowed anyone, whose breath smelt of wine, to enter his daily levees. In spite of his excessive addiction to wine and occasional paroxysms of rage, the Emperor, remarks Roe, was not wanting either in good sense or in good feelings. He describes His Majesty as an amiable, cheerful man, full of passion, but free from pride and prejudice. When Roe visited India, Khusrau was alive. He found the Prince a general favourite of the people. He describes him as a man of lovely presence and fine carriage. According to the ambassador, Prince Khurram was cold, stiff and repellant. He is portrayed as one who was flattered by some, envied by many and loved by none.

State of Fine Arts.

The fine arts were in a flourishing state. Roe was amazed at the workmanship of Indian artists. We learn from his account that once he presented an English picture to the Emperor, who immediately had it copied at the hands of his own artists. The copies were so faithful that even after a close scrutiny the ambassador could not distinguish them from the original. A somewhat detailed account of the fine arts will presently follow.

Hawkins' account.

As mentioned befo.e, Hawkins too has left an account of the Emperor, his Court and the country; but his description is confined mainly to the character of Jahāngīr and the daily routine of his Court. He describes the Emperor as very fond of drinking and giving feasts, the most notable of which was that of *Nauroz*. His account shows that Jahāngīr was cruel and unpopular; that he took delight in inflicting barbarous punishments; that his administration was not good, that the Law of Escheat was in force; that bribery was rife and corruption was common; that the local authorities were oppressive and the pay of the nobles was extravagantly high. It must be remembered that Hawkins had left the Mughal Court in disgust, and for this reason he cannot be expected to have been unbiassed in writing his narrative.

Administration of Jahāngīr.

The essential elements of administration introduced by Akbar the Great were continued and kept in order by his son, Jahāngīr whose *Dastūr-ul-'Amāl* is a decided improvement on the administration of his illustrious predecessor. Dr. V. A. Smith's view that Jahāngīr's reign was 'inglorious' is not borne out by facts. A king, who retained intact the vast possessions of his House, with the solitary exception of Qandhār, must have been a successful administrator. The fact that his reign constituted a period of peace and prosperity, except only when the question of succession excited rival interests, speaks much for the efficiency of his administration. The view may hold good in respect

of certain traits of his personal character, but not in respect of his administration. There may be a measure of truth in the view that his administration was marked by a certain amount of deterioration as compared with the high standard maintained by his talented father, but the view that his reign was 'inglorious' is not at all justified.

His love of letters.

Jahāngīr was not deficient in natural abilities, but unfortunately some of his great faculties were marred by his excessive use of wine and opium. He himself informs us that he was highly proficient in Turkish and Persian. William Hawkins, who knew Turkish well, found him well-versed in that tongue. This knowledge of the Turkish language enabled him to read the *Wāqiyāt-i-Bābarī* in the original. The copy which he possessed was not finished. He supplied the four wanting sections and wrote a few lines in Turkish to indicate that the complementary portion was added by him. He was a profound student of history. In common with other Mughal Emperors, he had an innate desire to leave behind him a record of all the important events of his reign. With this aim in view, he wrote his autobiography, called the *Tuzk-i-Jahāngīrī* after his own name, with the help of two consummate historians, Muhammad Hādī and Mu'tamid Khān. When the work was done, the *mutasaddīs* (*amanuenses*) were ordered to make other copies of the original in order to distribute them among the high officials of the Imperial Service and the influential men of the different parts of his dominions. The first copy was presented to Prince

Khurram (Shāh Jahān) is a mark of honour to him.

Literary jems of his Court.

Under Jahāngīr the Imperial Court was the cradle of the sage and the scholar, the poet and the painter, as much as of accomplished savants of both the sexes. It can be gathered from the *Tuzk-i-Jahāngīrī* that the Emperor used to associate himself with learned men, divines, and recluses on Friday evenings. Some of the best scholars attached to his Court were: Ni'mat-Ullah, the historiographer who crytallised into a book the material accumulated by Haibat Khān of Samanā about the history of the Afghāns; Mirza Ghiyās Beg, the able arithmetician, who also stood splendid and unsurpassed in the elegance of composition; Abdul Haq Dehlawī, one of the most erudite men of the day, who came to wait upon the Emperor and presented him with a work written by him on the lives of the Shaikhs of Hindūstān; Naqīb Khān, the most honoured historian, who wrote a number of books on history; and Mu'tamid Khān, who assisted Jahāngīr in preparing his autobiography, since styled as the *Tuzk-i-Jahāngīrī*, or the *Memoirs of Jahāngīr*. Besides these *literati*, the celebrated author of the *Iqbālnāmah* (an account of Jahāngīr's reign) has given, at the end of his book, a list of some more scholars and prominent poets of the present reign.

Promotion of education.

Great as was Jahāngīr's love of learning, no less was his zeal for the extension of education in his kingdom. It is recorded in the *Tārīkh-i-Jān Jahān* that soon after his accession to the throne, he "repaired and reconstructed even those *madrasahs* which had been, for

three decades, the dwelling-places of birds and beasts and filled them with professors and students." One of the twelve clauses of the Rules of Conduct ordained that the property left by the heirless deceased should be used for the repair and reconstruction of moribund *madrasahs*.

Fine Arts.

Sir Thomas Roe gives us to understand that manual arts were in a flourishing state and were not confined to those peculiar to the country. The plenipotentiary of England presented the Great Mughal with a handsome coach. Within a very short time several others were manufactured, "very superior in materials, and fully equal in workmanship".

Painting.

Jahāngīr was an ardent lover of painting. He is rightly called the "Prince of Artists". Himself a painter of no mean merit, he gave a fresh impetus to the school of his father's creation, and his appreciation and encouragement raised the Indian painter's art to the highest pitch ever attained under the Timurides. "In this time," says Catrou, "there were found in the Indies native painters who copied the finest of our European pictures with a fidelity that might vie with the originals."

One of Roe's presents to the *Pādshāh* was a picture of extraordinary elegance. The envoy was soon after presented with a number of its copies, including the original, and "they were so very similar that by candle-light one could not be distinguished from the other." It was only after a close scrutiny that he could make out the original picture.

Portrait Painting.

From mural decoration, as already remarked in connection with Akbar's reign, the Mughal Painter passed on to exquisite portraiture, which reached the zenith of its glory under Jahāngīr, than whom no keener or more discerning, more critical or more æsthetic, more lively or more munificent patron has ever been found in the whole history of Hindūstān. The bulk of his commissions consisted of painting of portraits of the *Amīrs* and *Maliks* at the Mughal Court and of Court scenes.

Under Jahāngīr Persian and Hindū artistic traditions were happily blended, each improving and enriching the other, each striking the chord and stirring the sensibilities of the seer, each demanding a minuteness of attention to its details, which, on account of the creations of that time, have been a marvel for the succeeding generations and a despair to all the would-be imitators of this art.

Painters under the Imperial Patronage.

If art found its highest expression in Jahāngīr's reign, it was mainly through the Imperial patronage, which, no longer the monopoly of the poet or the painter, took every kind of artist under its wings. Among the best painters of Jahāngīr's Court may be mentioned the names of the following :—Ustād Mansūr, that prince of painters whom Jahāngīr officially styled Nādir-ul-Asr* (the Wonder of the Age), was unique in his art. He was a past-master in animal portraiture and his pictures of birds and beasts are still the living

* Martin says : " Jahāngīr was a great lover of birds, and had a painter, Mansūr, who portrayed his favourites (birds) in a way often worthy of Dürer."

creatures of his immortal b ush. He found a fervent devotee to his art in the person of the Emperor. Abul Hasan was another eminent painter attached to the Court of Jahāngīr. He was an adept in producing landscapes and human portraits. Once he brought to the Emperor a delightful picture of his Court, which was used as a frontispiece to the *Jahāngīrnāmah*. He was held, in common with Mansūr, in high esteem by Jahāngīr. Bishan Dās was another portrait painter. About him Mr. K. T. Shah writes in his *Splendour that was 'Ind* :—

" Every grandee of the Court has been immortalized by his undying brush; and every noteworthy incident at Court or in the Camp, where the Emperor was present, or in which he was interested, has been recorded and preserved by the labours of these immortals."

Architecture.

Jahāngīr had a keen sense of fine architecture. The magnificent monuments of his reign, in comparison to those of his father and son, are very few and insignificant, unless we ascribe the Jahāngīrī Mahal at Āgrā and the tomb of Akbar at Sikandara to him. The *mausoleum* of Mirzā Ghiyās Beg (Itimād-ud-Daulah), a stately structure in which elegance is wedded to beauty, was built at Āgrā by his beautiful daughter, Nūr Jahān, the cultured wife of Jahāngīr, in snowy marble, on a raised platform, in two storeys, with an octagonal tower on each angle, with a central open pavilion enclosed by a square walled garden. It is the most striking specimen of the architectural achievements of Jahāngīr's reign.

This æsthetic Empero. had also an ear for music.

Music.

The *Iqbālnāmah* records the names of the following singers who were in attendance on him: Jahāngīr Dād, Chatar Khān, Parvez Dād, Khurram Dād, Makhū, and Hamzah—all noted for the captivating sweetness of their voice.

This Imperial Artist surpassed even his father in æsthetic tastes. He planted a large number of gardens in his kingdom in order to win the heart of the reluctant Nūr Jahān. Dilkushā Garden (Shāh Darā) at Lāhore; Nishāt Bāgh, Shālāmār Bāgh, Achibal Bāgh and Verināg Bāgh at Kashmīr; the Royal Garden at Udaipur · the Garden Tomb of Itimād-ud-Daulāh at Āgrā; and Wāh Bāgh at Hasan Abdāl were all laid out by him.

Gardens.

Salīm, the son of prayer and promise, was extravagantly loved and spoiled in his early youth. He grew up to be a most violent, indulgent, indolent, wilful and easy-going man. He was kind and sympathetic if his will was not thwarted; if it was, his outbursts of wrath were terrible. Almost all authorities agree that he was just, wise and vigorous. He was endowed with an intellect which enabled him to comprehend the most intricate problems of the State without difficulty. Himself a confirmed drunkard, he forbade the manufacture and sale of wine and prevented his subjects from using it. "As he advanced in age, the old impetuosity of his temper was sobered down, and his outlook was modified by the appreciation of the responsibilities of his exalted office." When sober, he

Character of Jahāngīr.

tried to work wisely and carefully for the betterment of his kingdom. He administered even-handed justice and suppressed tyranny with a heavy hand. Law and order were maintained throughout the length and breadth of the Mughal Empire and even the remotest parts were not neglected in this respect. Jahāngīr was extremely benign and generous. His *Memoirs* teem with instances of his munificence and good-will. There was no man of merit who was not rewarded by him. 'A slight claim of service,' he used to say, 'is a great thing with us.' He felt great pleasure in patronising the poor and supplying their material requirements.

His love for Nūr Jahān and his affection for his own kith and kin.

The most remarkable trait of his character was his appreciation of beauty and everything beautiful. He was passionately attached to Mehr-un-Nisā, whom he used to call *Nūr Mahal*, or the Light of the Palace, and *Nūr Jahān*, or the Light of the world. 'No misunderstanding or mistrust,' says Dr. Ishwari Prasad, 'ever marred the happiness of their conjugal relations'. While the Empress loved him with all her heart and guided him through all the problems of the State, the Emperor shared with her the sovereignty of his Kingdom and cherished her above all in the world. As a son, he proved to be most untoward during the lifetime of his father; but on becoming king, he repented of his acts of disobedience and became a dutiful son. In his *Memoirs* he speaks reverently of his father and praises him for his noble qualities. Many a time he walked to his sepulchre at Sikandara to pay him homage. As a father, he was forgiving and forgetful.

If the fate of Khusrau was tragic, it was owing to the enmity of Nūr Jahān and Shāh Jahān. He treated his kinsmen with great kindness, but he never forgave them for political offences.

His refined tastes.

As a man of learning, he was very fond of *belles lettres*. His favourite subjects were history, biography and geography. He was a good poet and a penman. According to Dr. Ishwari Prasad 'his intimate knowledge of the *flora* and *fauna* of Kashmīr and other parts of Hindūstān will cause surprise to a naturalist in these days'. Like his father, he loved to hear Hindi songs and took delight in patronising Hindī poets. He loved fine arts and encouraged their cultivation. Born in India and of Indian parents, Jahāngīr loved things Indian and felt delighted in Indian environments.

His religious beliefs

Just like his father, Jahāngīr too has suffered on account of his liberal views. Historians have failed to form a definite opinion about his religion. The opinion of his contemporaries was coloured by their own religious beliefs. To some he was an atheist, to others an eclectic. Some looked upon him as a sincere Muslim, whereas others called him a Christian. It is not difficult to state his positive religious beliefs. Although he took a lively interest in the teachings of other religions, specially of *Sūfism* and *Vedānt*, and never persecuted anyone on account of his religious beliefs, 'he retained intact his faith in God, and said his prayers like a Muslim'. Those who denounce him as an atheist or as an apostate from Islām,

probably forget the environments in which he was brought up and the influences that surrounded him in his early days. Nurtured as he was amidst the most liberal influences, it was natural for him to remain above the trammels of religion. He was Akbar's son and his was the same *Sulh-i-Kul* policy.

His estimate.

To sum up, Jahāngīr was a great ruler, capable of immense energy. If he had not allowed himself to be dominated by the Nūr Jahān clique, he would have proved himself an excellent administrator, worthy to be placed by the side of his father. It must, however, be pointed out that the real glory of his reign has been greatly eclipsed by the splendour of the two reigns that followed and preceded his, and he himself has suffered much on account of coming between two illustrious sovereigns—Akbar the Great and Shāh Jahān the Magnificent.

CHAPTER XII

SHAHĀB-UD-DĪN MUHAMMAD SHĀH JAHĀN (1628-1658 A. C.)

Accession of Shah Jahān.

When Shāh Jahān returned from the Deccan, Dāwar Bakhsh, the emperor stop-gap, was allowed to escape to Persia; but the rest of his collaterals were mercilessly murdered and their supporters were ruthlessly chastised. So startling were the scenes of the tragedies that the ladies of the Royal *Harem* were taken aback, so much so that some of them went even so far as to end their lives by committing suicides. Thus wading his way to the throne through bloodshed, Shāh Jahān crowned himself at Āgrā on the 6th day of February, 1628 A. C. in a formal manner and assumed the title of Abul Mazaffar Shahāb-ud-Dīn Muhammad Sāhib Qirān-i-Sānī Shāh Jahān Bādshāh Ghāzī. The *Khutba* was recited and the coins were struck in the name of the new emperor. The coins that bore the name of Nūr Jahān were at once withdrawn, and she was asked to retire to private life. She was treated with becoming dignity and was allowed to pass her days in peace on a handsome pension of two *lākhs* a year. Amidst odes and encomiums, prepared by the prominent poets that had come from far and wide, the coronation ceremony was gone through and the beat of drums implied, perhaps, that a new era had been ushered in the history

of India. But, for the man whose thickness of blood melted at the prospect of becoming the Emperor of India, fate had reserved a fitting retribution, and no surprise was felt when the inhuman acts of Shāh Jahān were imitated by his son, Aurangzeb, towards the close of his own reign, as will be seen in a subsequent chapter.

His early acts.

The new emperor inaugurated his reign by a number of important acts. He began by strengthening the foundations of the laws of Islām, which, if Abdul Hamīd Lāhorī be believed, were in a state of decline. The *Sharīyat* was strictly enforced. *Sijdāh*, which was introduced by Akbar as an act of salutation and continued by Jahāngīr as such, was regarded as *bid'at* and was at once replaced by *Zamīnbos*, or kissing the ground, from which the Sayyads and the Shaikhs, the learned and the pious were exempted. A little later, however, *Zamīnbos* too was looked upon as similar to *Sijdah* and was therefore soon superseded by a much milder mode of salutation, called *Chahārtaslīm*. Quite in the same spirit was the calendar reformed. The solar system was stopped because it was tantamount to *bid'at* and its place was taken by lunar computation. In recording official events the lunar system was adopted and the *Hijrā* era was adhered to. A number of administrative changes were also introduced and the city of Āgrā was named anew as Akbarābād, after the name of Akbar, for whom Shāh Jahān had the greatest regard. The officials of the Empire, who had espoused the cause of the new king, were rewarded for their

services without stint and their *mansabs* were raised according as they deserved. Shāh Jahān conferred great honours on his father-in-law, Āsaf Khān, who had helped him to the throne after checkmating the plans of his sister, Nūr Jahān.

Rebellion of the Bundelās under Johar Singh : 1628

Meanwhile, Shāh Jahān was called upon to cope with the rebellion of the Bundelā clan under their ambitious chief, Bīr Singh, the Imperial protégé who had murdered Allāma Abul Fazl at the instigation of Prince Salīm. The Bundelās had, by means of blackmailing their neighbours, become a power to be reckoned with. Towards the close of Jahāngīr's reign, when the control of the Central Government had slackened, they had acquired considerable power and influence. In 1628 A. C. Bīr Singh died. His son, Johar Singh, incurred the wrath of the new Emperor by quitting the Capital without taking his permission. Lest he should be called to the Court to explain his conduct, as Qazwīnī suggests, he began to harbour hostilities against the Empire. Miscalculating the strength of the Imperial army and over-estimating his own limited resources, he concluded that he could easily defy the authorities from his mountainous country, which, he knew well, was well nigh inaccessible. Reaching his stronghold, Undchā (or Orchā), he 'set about raising his forces, strengthening the forts, providing munitions of war and closing the roads.' Shāh Jahān could not brook this insult. Forthwith he ordered his generals to conduct a campaign against the rebellious clan. Islām Khān, Firoz Jang and

Mahābat Khān, associated with the *Mansabdārs* of the highest order, advanced from three directions and appeared before the walls of the fort of the Bundelā Chief. After a short but bloody battle, in which two or three thousand lives were destroyed, Undchā was stormed with Asaf Khān's artillery and Johar was taken aback by the attacks of the Imperialists. Reduced to sore straits, the Chief surrendered himself without further opposition. He was made to pay fifteen *lākhs* of rupees as indemnity and one thousand gold *mohars* as a present to His Majesty. Besides, he surrendered forty elephants and agreed to contribute a contingent of 2,000 infantry and 2,000 cavalry in the impending campaign against the Deccan. In return for all this, he was allowed as much as would have enabled him to enjoy the *mansab* of 4,000 *Zāt* and 4,000 *Sawār*.

Revolt of Khān Jahān Lodhī.

The rebellion of the Bundelā clan was followed by the revolt of Khān Jahān Lodhī, otherwise known as Salābat Khān on account of his military talents. Counting upon the uncertainty of succession to the throne after the death of Jahāngīr, he had displayed hostility for Shāh Jahān. When Shāh Jahān ascended the throne in a formal manner, he implored forgiveness. His offence was pardoned and an Imperial *firmān* was issued to confirm him in the governorship of the Deccan. After sometime, it was discovered that he still cherished hatred for the Emperor. He was, therefore, called back to the Court, where he lived for seven or eight months, but all the time gloomy and dejected. The court life had no attraction for his

restless spirit. His life became the more miserable when he received intelligence from a certain officer of the State that he and his sons would be shortly imprisoned. The repeated assurances of the Emperor and his Minister, Āsaf Khān, were not a sufficient guarantee of good faith. Considerations of safety and prudence alike compelled him to quit the Court in disgust. The Imperial army, sent for his arrest, overtook him near Dholpur. Crossing the Chambal, passing through the Bundelā country and skirting along Gondwānā, the rebel reached the Deccan, where Nizām-ul-Mulk lent him shelter and support. The Imperialists pursued him thither and defeated him in some skirmishes. Crossing the Narbadā on his retreat, he reached the neighbourhood of Ujjain, where he plundered its inhabitants. Chased into Bundelkhand and defeated in a contested engagement, he was put to flight and was ultimately brought to bay near Kālanjar, was totally defeated and killed at Tal Sehondā. His followers were slain in large numbers. The commanders of the Imperial forces, particularly Abdullāh and Muzaffar, were fitly honoured and rewarded for their successes in the arduous campaigns. While the *mansab* of the former general was raised to six thousand *Zāt* and six thousand *Sawār* and he was honoured with the title of *Firoz Jang*, the latter was promoted to the *mansab* of five thousand *Zāt* and five thousand *Sawār*, and the title of *Khān Jahān* was conferred upon him.

Celebration of first *Nauroz*.

Shāh Jahān celebrated the first *Nauroz* of his reign in the month of March, 1628 A. C. with great eclat. In the

the courtyard of the *Daulat Khāna* a splendid canopy was set up and the ground was covered with carpets of divers colours. The Mughal Emperor, surrounded by his sons, daughters, wife and other relatives, sat on the throne placed in the centre. The scene presented a picturesque view. A grand feast was held, and the grandees of the Empire were invited to participate. The members of the Royal family were granted gifts and titles. Mumtāz Mahal, the Imperial consort, was the recipient of the richest reward: She was granted fifty *lākhs* from the public treasury. Jahān Ārā received twenty *lākhs* and her sister Raushan Ārā, five *lākhs*. To each of the four princes, Dārā, Shūja', Aurangzeb and Murād, twenty *lākhs* in equal moities. Āsaf Khān, the Imperial father-in-law, was fitly honoured for his loyalty and devotion. His rank was raised to nine thousand *Zāt* and nine thousand *Sawār*. It is said that from the day of his coronation to the feast of *Nauroz*, Shāh Jahān expended altogether one crore and sixty *lākhs* from the public treasury in granting rewards and pensions.

Famine: 1630-32.

During 1630-32 A. C. Gujarāt, Khāndesh and the Deccan were visited by a terrible famine, which carried away a large proportion of the population. According to Mirzā Amīn Qazwīnī, who was an eye-witness to the scenes of the heart-rending sufferings of the poor and the famine-stricken, this dire distress was rampant everywhere in the rank and file, and in the bazar the shop-keepers sold powdered bones and flour mixed together and dog's flesh which was mistaken for meat

by the suffering classes. Pestilence followed on the heels of famine and exacted a heavy toll. People fled from their houses and many a fair city became desolate. The testimony of Abdul Hamīd Lāhorī, Peter Mundi, who visited the Deccan in 1630-31 A. C., and other European writers points to the veracity of Amīn Qazwīnī's account. In order to mitigate the horrors of the famine and the pestilence that followed it, Shāh Jahān remitted 1/3rd of the land revenue on the Crown lands. The remission altogether amounted to seventy *lākhs*. *Sarkārī langars* (State kitchens) were opened and food was distributed *gratis* to the poor and the indigent. Every week Rs. 5,000 was given away in charity to the famished, and in twenty weeks one *lākh* of rupees was spent in this way. In Ahmadābād (Gujarāt), where the famine raged most furiously, the Emperor sanctioned Rs. 50,000 in excess. His example was followed by his *Mansabdārs* and provincial governors, who evinced great interest in and solicitude for the sound administration of famine relief; they made similar remissions of land revenue in their respective provinces. But, in those times it was not possible to combat such a calamity so successfully as in these days. Shāh Jahān was, nevertheless, fully alive to the sufferings of his subjects, and the relief he afforded to the sufferers deserves our respect and admiration. Dr. Vincent Smith relies on the imperfect translation of the *Pādshāhnāmah* by Elliot and Dowson and discounts the efforts of Shāh Jahān in removing the distress of the famine-stricken. While seeking to bring out the difference between the conditions of

native life under the Mughal Rule and the British Rāj, he forgets to allow for the time that has elapsed since then—time that has been noted for the marked improvement in the means of communications and transportation.

Shāh Jahān and the Portuguese.

Both Akbar and Jahāngīr had shown great favours to the Portuguese, who had established themselves at Huglī and developed their resources by building a number of important factories, all fortified and provided with fighting material. Shāh Jahān had seen enough of the acts of aggression committed by them. He was looking for a pretext to pay them in their own coin. The year 1632 A. C. saw their destruction. The causes were: (1) By taking the lease of the villages on both sides of the river Huglī, the settlers tyrannised over the poor people. (2) They shamelessly abused the concessions of trade granted to them by the previous emperors, so much so that they imposed customs duties on their own account. As a result, the revenues of the State suffered serious deficits. (3) They carried on lucrative slave-trade 'which was accompanied by much cruelty and torture.' Often they kidnapped the orphans of both Hindūs and Muslims and transported them to foreign countries. (4) Their priests behaved in a most fanatical manner. They tried to win converts by force and not infrequently succeeded in their object. (5) They had offended the Empress Mumtāz Mahal by detaining two slave girls whom she claimed as hers. These acts of brazen insolence were bound to bring down upon them the

wrath of the Emperor, who thought it expedient to chastise them and to check their influence.

War with the Portuguese.

In 1631 A. C. Shāh Jahān appointed Qāsim Khān as governor of Bengāl and entrusted him with the destruction of the Portuguese Settlement at Huglī. The settlers on either side of the river were attacked and their fort was besieged. The siege lasted for over three months. Cunningly enough, the Portuguese offered a *lākh* of rupees, together with a tribute, to the Emperor, but secretly they prepared themselves for a vigorous defence. Putting their forces in order, they organized a force of seven thousand gunners to cannonade the Mughals. In the deadly fight that followed, the Portuguese were completely routed, their forts and factories were levelled to the ground and the garrison, altogether ten thousand souls, were either killed or drowned in the river. Those who embraced Islām were spared. On the side of Shāh Jahān as many as one thousand soldiers lost their lives. As a result of the war, the Portuguese tyranny was over and ten tnousand inhabitants of the country, who had been confined in prisons, were liberated.

Career of Queen Mumtāz Mahal.

Arjumand Bānu Begum, also known as Mumtāz Mahal, the Lady of the Tāj, was a woman of dazzling beauty and powerful intellect. She was the daughter of Āsaf Khān, the most influential noble of the Mughal Empire, whose abilities had earned him the title of Aristotle. Like her aunt, she was the goddess of beauty. Her name was a household word

and her charms were a subject of comment in the family circles of the Mughal aristocracy. Born in 1594 A. C., she was married to Prince Khurram in 1612 A.C. when the latter was twenty-two years of age. Shāh Jahān loved her quite as much for her physical attractions as for her intellectual attainments. His passionate love was reciprocated by her with added intensity. While he was a homeless wanderer during the closing years of his father's reign, she was his best friend and guide. With him she cheerfully braved the privations of a fugitive life. At his accession, she was honoured with the title of *Mulikā-i-Zamān*, and her allowances and *jāgīrs* were boundlessly increased. Her advice was sought in all important matters of the Government and valued so much that the Emperor took no initiative without taking her opinion. She was entrusted with the custody of the Royal Seal, and it was at her instance that it was given to her father some time afterwards. Since her betrothal to Shāh Jahān, she had remained faithful to him and there was nothing on earth that could mar the happiness of their conjugal relations. She bore her husband fourteen children and remained a constant source of strength to him till she quietly passed away in 1630 A.C. Her death was due to a fatal delivery. The tragic event took place at Burhānpur when her husband was conducting his campaign against Khān Jahān Lodhī. Her remains were removed to Akbarābād after six months. There she was given a provisional burial; for later her remains were transferred to Āgrā and interred in the *mausoleum* known as the Tāj.

Character of Mumāz Mahal.

Mumtāz Mahal was endowed with all those accomplishments which add to the dignity of womanhood. She is justly regarded as a most virtuous woman of her time. Her generosity was *par excellence*. She secured pardon from the Emperor for a number of criminals who had lost all hopes of life. Her charity was boundless. There was none whose prayer was not granted at her door. She could be approached for assistance without any difficulty. To women of low fortunes and limited means. she granted daily allowances and cash money according to their material requirements. Her gentle heart was moved at the sight of poor orphans and widows in difficulties. For many a poor and helpless girl, she found husbands and provided them with suitable dowries. By the nobility of her character and the serenity of her temper she enthroned herself in the heart of her husband and gained the good-will of her subjects. In the *Haramsarāi* she was assuredly 'a warmth-diffusing bliss'. Few polygamous households can claim to have enjoyed such happiness as the household of Shāh Jahān. Her memory has been safely preserved by her husband in the Tāj, a 'monument of conjugal love and fidelity', and a thing of beauty and a joy for ever.

Shāh Jahān's Deccan Policy.

The existence of the Shiā Sultānates of the Deccan was an eye-sore to the Mughal Emperors. Between the year 1600 A. C. and 1605 A. C. Akbar was occupied in his Deccan campaign. He was able to annex to his Empire the whole of the kingdom of Khāndesh;

and a large part of Ahmadnagar, including Berār. His ambition was to extend his sway over the whole of India, but his death prevented his plans to mature and materialise. His son, Jahāngīr, resumed his father's policy with added enthusiasm; but he found a tough foe in Malik Ambar. Hence, nothing substantial was accomplished and all efforts to annex the Deccan to the Mughal Empire ended in smoke. To Shāh Jahān was left the policy of reducing the Shia Sultānates as a family legacy. It must, however, be remembered that whereas Akbar and Jahāngīr were actuated by purely political motives in their aggressive policy against the Deccan Sultānates, Shāh Jahān's wars against the Shia Sultāns were the outcome of his religious zeal mixed with political prejudice. In his object he was more successful than his predecessors, because in the first place, he himself was acquainted with the ins and outs of the Deccan; secondly, a devastating famine had wrought havoc in that quarter and thus facilitated the conquest; and lastly, Malik Ambar, the very soul of vigorous defence, was no more alive.

War against Ahmadnagar.

The successful suppression of the rebellion of Khān Jahān Lodhī afforded a favourable opportunity to Shāh Jahān to declare war against Ahmadnagar. The help which the rebellious Lodhī had received from the Nizām Shāhī King, was a sufficient pretext, if pretext was needed, to wage war against Ahmadnagar which was torn by internal dissensions. In 1630 A. C. the Imperial forces besieged the fortress of Parendā, but soon the siege was raised in the teeth of vigorous

opposition. Fath Khān, Malik Ambar's son, who had stepped into his father's shoes, was imprisoned by Sultān Murtazā Nizām for his military inefficiency. On his release he applied his newly gained liberty to the ruin of the Sultānate of Ahmadnagar. At once he communicated with Shāh Jahān and, on receiving instructions from the Emperor, seized the person of Sultān Murtazā Nizām and threw him in prison, where he was treacherously done to death. Then he raised a young prince, named Hussain Shāh, to the throne and himself became his regent. In all this he had the support of the Mughal Government. Equally quickly he proved perfidious to Shāh Jahān. He defended the fortress of Daulatābād against the Imperialists under the command of Mahābat Khān. A strong pressure of the Imperial forces, coupled with a tempting offer, was sufficient for him to surrender. Fath's fall decided the fate of Ahmadnagar for good. The young Sultān Hussain Shāh Nizām was taken prisoner and sent to the State Prison of Gwālior, where he sighed out his life in dark despair. The traitor, Fath Khān, was amply rewarded for his treacherous conduct. He was granted a liberal salary and treated with respect. The Nizām Shāhī dynasty was thus brought to a sad close and the Mughal flag was planted on the ruined ramparts of Daulatābād. An attempt was made by Shāhjī, father of Shivāji, to retrieve the fallen fortunes of the Kingdom of Ahmadnagar. He set up a young boy of the Royal family on the throne in order tc achieve his object, but the Imperialists reduced him to absolute submission. Thus Ahmadnagar as an independent kingdom was definitely

removed from the political map of India in 1636 A. C. when its territories were divided between Ali 'Ādil Shāh of Bijāpur and Shāh Jahān. It may be pointed out that the conquest of this kingdom, as also of others in the Deccan, was the real cause of the conflict in which Aurangzeb was involved with the Hindūs of the South. It gave rise to a third power —the Marhattās—who had served under the rulers of these kingdoms, but had been cashiered by the Mughal Government.

Further operations in the Deccan.

Of the five offshoots of the Bhamnī Kingdom, two were added to the Mughal Empire: The Imād Shāhī kingdom of Berār was annexed by Akbar the Great and the Nizām Shāhī Kingdom of Ahmadnagar by Shāh Jahān. As for the Barīd Shāhī Kingdom of Bidār, it was automatically reduced to a small principality and it ceased to exist as an independent kingdom. The remaining two, namely, the 'Ādil Shāhī Kingdom of Bījāpur and the Qutb Shāhī Kingdom of Golconda, were sufficiently strong to hold their own. Of these two, the former was more powerful, independent and wealthy; therefore its turn came immediately after the annexation of Ahmadnagar.

War against Bijāpur.

When Shāh Jahān attacked Ahmadnagar, Sultān Muhammad 'Ādil Shāh of Bijāpur had made common cause with his neighbour, Sultān Murtazā Nizām, lest his own kingdom should meet a similar fate. However, when Ahmadnagar was annexed to the Mughal Empire, the whole brunt of the Imperial forces fell on 'Ādil

Shāh who had openly defied the authority of Shāh Jahān in league with his neighbour, Murtazā Nizām. Āsaf Khān was deputed by Shāh Jahān to conduct the campaign against Bijāpur. He laid siege to the city, but the Bijāpurīs put up a heroic defence with the aid of Marhattā light cavalry which cut off the food supplies of the Imperial army and thereby compelled the Mughal general to raise the siege without success. Thus the independence of Bijāpur was saved for the time being, though a large part of it was laid waste by the Mughals. Further operations against the Bijāpurīs were postponed owing to the death of the Queen; for the Emperor was then occupied with the construction of the Tāj in order to immortalise the memory of Mumtāz Mahal.

Subjugation of Golconda.

Hostilities were renewed against Bijāpur in 1636 A. C. when written *firmāns* were issued to the Sultāns of both Bijāpur and Golconda, ordering them to acknowledge the suzerainty of Shāh Jahān, to pay tributes to the Central Government regularly, to abstain from helping Shāhjī Bhonslā and from interfering in the affairs of Ahmadnagar. Considering the consequences of defiance and disobedience, the ruler of Golconda regarded discretion as the better part of valour. He complied with the demands and agreed to the terms of the treaty proposed by the Mughal Emperor.

Of Bijāpur.

But the proposals of Shāh Jahān fell flat on the ears of the ruler of Bijāpur, who offered a curt refusal. War was therefore declared against him without delay. Three

armies were sent to attack him from three sides: Khān Jahān was to attack from Sholāpur, Khān-i-Zamān was to proceed from Indāpur, and Khān-i-Daurān was to advance from the direction of Bidār in the north-east. The territory of Ali 'Ādil Shāh was encircled on all sides but the Imperial generals failed to take the capital. They, however, devastated the surrounding country, so much so that the Sultān was compelled to sue for peace. Negotiations were opened and a treaty was concluded with the following clauses: (1) Ali 'Ādil Shāh agreed to owe allegiance to Shāh Jahān as his vassal. (2) He offered a *peshkash* (present) of twenty *lākhs* to the Emperor. (3) He made a solemn promise that he would respect the frontiers of Ahmadnagar. (4) Nizām Shāhī territories were to be divided between the two parties and according to the proposed partition, Bijāpur received fifty *parganās*, yielding twenty *lākhs* of *huns* or eighty *lākhs* of rupees. (5) He promised to respect the integrity of the Qutb Shāhī Kingdom of Golconda, the ruler of which had accepted the Imperial vassalage. (6) Finally, he agreed to abstain from giving further help to Shāhji Bhonslā. God and the Prophet were made witnesses to the solemn text of this treaty and both the parties agreed to abide by its clauses on a solemn oath. At the request of the Sultān, Shāh Jahān sent him his portrait studded with precious metals. The ruler of Golconda sent a tribute in gold to his overlord, lest he should remain behind his 'elder brother' in pleasing his suzerain. The Deccan was pacified and the settlement then effected lasted for about twenty years. On his return to Āgrā, Shāh Jahān

entrusted the charge of his conquests of the Deccan to his third son, Aurangzeb, who was at that time hardly eighteen years old. The events of the viceroyalty of Aurangzeb will be told in connection with his early career.

Shāh Jahān's Central Asian Policy and his attempts to acquire his ancestral possessions.

Next after the Deccan, the recovery of Central Asian possessions occupied the serious attention of Shāh Jahān. He followed the example of his predecessors and made abortive efforts to acquire Balkh and Badakhshān, the regions associated with the glories of Taimūr and his successors. His object was to win fame in distant lands. He was encouraged in his undertaking by the prosperity of his reign and the flattery of his friends. He began with Qandhār, because its possession was invaluable to the Emperor of India both on account of its strategical position and as a principal commercial station lying on the trade-route between Persia and India. Moreover, its situation afforded a strong base for military operations against Balkh and Badakhshān, which Shāh Jahān longed to acquire.

Recovery of Qandhār : 1638.

Saīd Khān, the Governor of Kābul, was commissioned by Shāh Jahān to reconnoitre Qandhār and to make an estimate of its military strength. Alī Mardān Khān, the Persian Governor of that province, was not satisfied with the treatment meted out to him by his sovereign. He was, therefore, lukewarm in defending the province under his charge. The result was that the Imperialists advanced upon Qandhār and easily took possession of

it. The Persian forces were defeated under their general who was encamped six miles off Qandhār. A large booty passed into the hands of Saīd Khān and his army. Alī Mardān Khān was received with great kindness by Shāh Jahān. He was paid one *lākh* of rupees and enrolled as a grandee of the Mughal Empire.

Conquest of Balkh and Badakhshān.

After the conquest of Qandhār, Shāh Jahān turned his thoughts towards Balkh and Badakhshān, the famous dependencies of the Kingdom of Bokharā. In conquering these provinces, Shāh Jahān was actuated with the same motive—that of conquest. His invasion was well-timed, for both the provinces were in a state of hopeless defence. As a natural result of dynastic dissensions, anarchy and confusion ruled supreme there. The ruler of Bokhārā was involved in the difficulties which his rebellious son had created for him. Balkh was seething with discontent. A dispute in the Royal family there made confusion worse confounded. All this encouraged Shāh Jahān to interfere in the affairs of Bokhārā. In June 1646 A. C. he sent a huge army under the command of his son, Murād, with whom were associated renowned generals, including Alī Mardān Khān, who had an intimate knowledge of the Persian country. The following month the city of Balkh was occupied without opposition. Nazr Muhammad, the King of Bokhārā, who had fled to Persia, leaving his vast wealth to fall into the hands of the Mughals, came back without securing any support from the Persian Emperor. In the scramble that followed his flight, the

Mughals were able to acquire only a part of the large booty, *viz.*, 12,00,000 rupees, 2,500 horses and 500 camels in all. Caused by the temporary weakness of the Uzbegs, the conquest of Balkh was short-lived. Prince Murād, who pined for the pleasures of the plains, lacked strong determination and therefore could not follow up his success with vigour. More than once he requested his father to call him back to Hindūstān. Despite repeated refusals, he returned and his place was taken by one Sa'adullāh Khān, who effected the settlement of the whole country in about three weeks. When he went back to Kābul, Shāh Jahān ordered Aurangzeb and Shujā' to command the Imperial army in the proposed campaign against Bokhārā, and himself proceeded to Kābul to direct operations against the enemy. The expedition was very liberally financed, but Aurangzeb and his brother, Shujā', encountered a serious handicap; they found that their forces were outnumbered by those of the Uzbegs. Moreover, the Mughal officers in the newly-conquered country were not willing to stay there. On the other hand, the attractions of Indian social life had a lure which they could not resist. Above all, the methods of warfare followed by the Uzbegs added to the difficulties of the Mughal generals, who were, indeed, far inferior in 'Cossack tactics', which their enemy followed to their greatest advantage. But Aurangzeb was a man of iron-will and there was nothing that could shake his determination. He inflicted a crushing defeat on the Uzbegs and entered Balkh in triumph. Investing the supreme command of that place in Mādhū Singh Hādā,

a Rājpūt Chief, he set out on his onward march towards Aqchā with a view to destroy the Uzbeg hosts, who were now hovering round the Imperial forces. Desultory fighting continued for some time and the Mughals sustained severe hardships. News arrived from Balkh that a huge army was advancing from Bokhārā to oppose the onward march of the Mughal army, and Aurangzeb retreated without losing time. In the fight that followed, the Mughal musketeers made a furious attack on the Bokhāran army and won the day. Aurangzeb displayed wonderful coolness and courage in the thick of the fight and his was the moving spirit everywhere. Even amidst the clash of arms he would spread his carpet and say his prayers without fear. The King of Bokhārā was surprised at his presence of mind and determined resolve. He was convinced that to defy a man of such mettle was to court despair and destruction. Proposals for peace were made and Aurangzeb entered Balkh quite safely. Negotiations continued for over three months but no permanent peace was patched up. Shāh Jahān wished to restore the kingdom of Bokhārā to its ex-King Nazr Muhammad, but at the same time he insisted on the condition that Nazr must acknowledge him as his suzerain. Between the devil and the deep sea, the ex-King sent his grandsons to the Mughal Emperor to wait on him and evaded to agree to the terms of the treaty proposed by Shāh Jahān. His personal attendance was excused on the plea of his illness. Placing the charge of the city and of the fort of Balkh in the hands of Nazr's grandsons, the Prince left for Hindūstān. On his homeward march he

was attacked by the Hazārās. With great difficulty he reached Kābul with his entourage. This retreat of the Imperial army is correctly compared with the retreat of the British from Kābul in 1842 A. C.

Loss of Qandhār and three highly expensive but fruitless attempts to recover it.

Shāh Jahān was able to occupy Qandhār in 1638 A. C. with the aid of Alī Mardān Khān, the governor of that province, who was not on good terms with the King of Bokhārā. But the Persians, who cherished that province, recovered it under their new king, Shāh Abbās II, who had ascended the throne in 1642 A. C. Aurangzeb, who had been appointed to the government of Multān after his departure from Balkh, was recalled and ordered to conduct an expedition against Qandhār, where the Mughal garrison had capitulated after a desperate fight which had lasted for nearly two months (1659 A. C.). The Imperial army, numbering ten thousand foot and sixty thousand horse, advanced upon Qandhār under the joint command of the Prince and his associate, Sa'adullāh Khān, and delivered a furious attack on it. The Persians, who had strongly secured their position, replied by opening fire on their enemy. The result was that after a siege, which lasted for about four months, the Mughals retreated. The Prince was called back by his father and again appointed to the supreme command of the Imperial army. This time the Prince was better equipped with the instruments of war. A sum of two *crores* of rupees was put at his disposal in order to defray the expenses of the war in a far off land. He was assisted by Rustam Khān who had shone in the

previous fight, Sa'adullāh Khān, the famous Mughal general, and his two sons. He laid siege to the fort of Qandhār in the beginning of May, 1652 A. C. and allotted the Imperial generals their proper places. He ordered the Mughal gunners to blow off the ramparts, but the Qandhārīs frustrated their attempts to storm the fortress so that they failed to make any breach in the walls which were so ably defended. The Persians, who possessed a strong park of artillery, ceaselessly poured fire on the besiegers, so that a large number of them were wounded and transported to the next world. The siege was raised after about two months. Annoyed at the military inefficiency of Aurangzeb, Shāh Jahān ordered him to take over the governorship of the Deccan and entrusted the governorship of Kābul to his eldest son, Dārā, who had poisoned the ears of his father against his rival brother and incessantly plotted against him. He took permission of his father to renew the siege of Qandhār and boasted that he would effect the conquest of that place within a week. At the head of a huge army, consisting of seventy thousand horse, five thousand foot, three thousand *Ahādīs*, ten thousand gunners, six thousand sappers and five hundred stone-cutters, the braggart, who had boasted, advanced upon Qandhār. This huge Imperial army was preceded by three thousand horse under the command of Rustam Khān Bahādur, Najābat Khān and Qāsim Khān as its vanguard. The siege commenced in the third week of November, 1652 A. C. and continued for full seven months. In spite of their repeated attacks, the Mughals could not effect a single breach in the walls of the fort.

On the other hand, they sustained severe losses in men and material. When starvation stared them in the face, they regarded discretion as the better part of valour and abandoned the third and the last siege of Qandhār.

Failure of Shāh Jahān's Central Asian Policy and its results.

Thus it is evident that Shāh Jahān's Central Asian Policy was a colossal failure. In fact, it was so doomed from the very outset. It was not easy to cross the Hindūkush in order to conquer Balkh and Badakhshān. "To mobilise an Indian army through the Hindūkush in sufficient numbers for the conquest of Central Asia was" says Dr. Ishwari Prasad, "a foolhardy enterprise without any chance of success." In the 'fatuous war' in Balkh, four *crores* of rupees was spent in two years and not an inch of its territory was annexed to the Mughal Empire. The net gain was about twenty-two and a half *lākhs* of rupees which the conquered country yielded. The three sieges of Qandhār cost Shāh Jahān some twelve *crores* of rupees. The military prestige of Persia was definitely established and the repeated repulses of the Mughal army and the final retreat of Prince Dārā pronounced to the world the weakness of the Mughal arms. Buoyed up with success against the mighty Mughal Emperor, the Persians now entertained ambitious ideas, and henceforth the ghost of a Persian invasion of India would haunt the minds of the rulers of Delhi throughout the seventeenth century. "Such is the terrible price", says Professor Jadunath Sarkar, "which aggressive imperialism makes India pay for wars across

the North-Western Frontier."

Early career of Aurangzeb.

Aurangzeb, the third son of Shāh Jahān, was born on October 24, 1618 A. C. His father was at that time serving as the viceroy of the Deccan. Breaking into open rebellion against Jahāngīr, his father, Shāh Jahān, was ultimately compelled to surrender in 1625 A. C. One of the conditions of his submission was that he should send his two sons, Dārā and Aurangzeb, to his father as hostages. The Princes remained under the custody of Nūr Jahān till 1628 A. C. when Shāh Jahān ascended the throne and his sons were restored to him. Next we hear of Aurangzeb when he tamed and controlled an infuriated elephant before the Āgrā Fort and for which his father, who was watching his heroic action, rewarded him handsomely. Towards the close of the year 1634 A. C., he was granted the rank of ten thousand horse. In September of the following year he was ordered to accompany the Imperial expedition against the Bundelās of Orchhā. In July of the succeeding year he was appointed to the viceroyalty of the Deccan, where he remained for about eight years. His charge comprised (1) Daulatābād, with Ahmadnagar and other districts, having its capital at Ahmadnagar at first and at Daulatābād subsequently; (2) Telingānā, with its capital at Nandar; (3) Khāndesh, with its capital at Burhānpur; and (4) Berār, with its capital at Ellichpur. These provinces constituted a fairly large country, containing about sixty-four fortresses and yielding a yearly income of about five *crores* of rupees. During his first viceroyalty of the

Deccan, Aurangzeb made some important annexations. He reduced the principality of Balgānā, with its thirty-four *parganas* and two famous fortresses, Salīr and Malīr. The ruler of Bharjī offered his submission and agreed to enter the Imperial Service if he was left unmolested in his *pargana* of Sultānpur. Shāh Jahān acceded to his request and enrolled him as a *Mansabdār* of three thousand *Zāt* and two and a half thousand *Sawār*, and was also confirmed in his possession of the fief of Sultānpur. The Imperial generals, who had already been sent by Shāh Jahān to the Deccan, completed the overthrow of the Kingdom of Ahmadnagar, which was finally incorporated in the Mughal Empire. They also compelled Shāhjī to submit, and under their pressure the alleged heir to the Nizām Shāhī Kingdom was handed over to the Great Mughal and thrown in prison.

His resignation and renunciation of the world.

In the month of May, 1644 A. C. took place the most romantic episode of Aurangzeb's early career. This was his renunciation of the world. To all intents and purposes, it was brought about by the machinations of his eldest brother, Dārā, who was interested in making his viceroyalty of the Deccan an easy failure. Smarting under the undue interference of Dārā and Shāh Jahān's condonation of that interference, he tendered his resignation in bitter resentment. Thereupon, his father deprived him of all his ranks and allowances. This early estrangement between the father and the son was bridged through the good offices of Jahān Ārā Begum, the eldest sister of Aurangzeb.

His appointment to the governorships of different provinces.

Living as a recluse in seclusion for some time, Aurangzeb again appeared in the public in February, 1645 A. C. and simultaneously he was made the viceroy of Gujarāt, which he governed to the entire satisfaction of his father. From there he was sent to Balkh in 1647 A. C. in order to consolidate the position of the Mughals in that distant province, and if he failed to accomplish anything substantial, it was no fault of his : No amount of effort and endurance could ensure success in that inhospitable part. The failure against the sturdy North-Westerners has become a tradition which the Anglo-Indian rulers have maintained by repeatedly risking their men and money against them. His attempts to reduce and retain Balkh having proved abortive, he retired to Kābul in October, 1647 A. C. From there he went to take over the government of Multān and Sind, but was soon called back to undertake an expedition for the relief of Qandhār, which the Persians had at that time beleaguered. Unfortunately, he reached Qandhār a little too late. Twice he attempted to recover that province, but failed.

His second viceroyalty of the Deccan and administrative achievements.

Early in the year 1653 A. C. Aurangzeb was re-appointed to the governorship of the Deccan. When he reached there and assumed the reins of his office, he found that large tracts of lands had become desolate and the Deccan as a whole had become a source of trouble rather than of income. The country could not pay its own way and there were

recurring deficits. Other provinces, such as Mālwā and Gujarāt, bore the brunt of the cost of administration. The new viceroy was confronted with a serious situation. The land was, so to say, sucked dry, the peasantry was in a state of decay and the recurring deficits continued to affect the Imperial Treasury every year in ever-increasing amount. In order to meet the needs of administration without rackrenting the cultivating classes, Aurangzeb began to draw on the cash reserves deposited in the strongholds of Daulatābād and spent about forty thousand in about two years. The low cash balances still continued till at last, at his suggestion, Shāh Jahān granted him productive *jāgīrs* which were in the hands of inefficient officers. These officers, smarting under the loss of their *jāgīrs*, misrepresented the whole situation. They told the Emperor that the Prince was too ambitious and the Emperor, who was never unmindful of his own rebellion against his father, at once believed them and ordered his son to take half a *lākh* worth of less productive land in the *parganas* of Asīr and to diminish his cash by the same amount so that his actual income might be made normal. The Prince exonerated himself by proving the falsity of the allegations. Handling the financial situation in a proper way, he devoted his time and energy to ameliorating the economic condition of the peasantry of his province, despite the discouragement he received from his suspecting father at the instigation of vile intriguers. He secured the services of Murshid Qulī Khān, an exceptionally skilled revenue officer, and with his assistance he extended the approved system of

survey and revenue assessment over the whole of the Deccan. For revenue purposes, the province was divided into two main parts: (1) the Bālāghāt, or Highlands, and (2) the Pāīnghāt, or Low-lands. The former included one-half of Berār and the whole of Khāndesh; whereas the latter embraced the rest of the country. The entire land was measured and the share of the State was fixed at one-fourth of the aggregate produce. Altogether, there were now three revenue systems in vogue in the Deccan, *viz.*, (1) In certain backward areas the previous practice of apportioning the State demand per plough was adhered to, but due allowance was made for the difference in the fertility of the soil and the yield thereof. (2) The *Batāī* system was followed in many places. According to this system, the share of the State was one-half where crops depended absolutely on rainfall; it was one-third where wells irrigated the land; and it was raised high or reduced low, according as the local conditions suggested, where irrigation was done by canals, tanks and river-channels. (3) According to the *Jarīb* system, the whole land was measured with *Jarīb* and the share of the Government was fixed according to the kind of the crop sown. Revenue officers, similar to those in the North, were appointed and the interests of the peasants were properly looked after. The arable lands, which had long been neglected owing to a long and continuous period of misgovernment, were restored to cultivation and loans were liberally advanced to the cultivators in order to enable them to purchase seeds, cattle and agricultural implements. In other respects he improved the administration

of the province under his charge by appointing his own men to responsible positions. He increased the pay of his military officers and thus ensured their co-operation. The results of all these reforms were wholly beneficial. Agriculture improved, the peasantry prospered and, as Dr. Ishwari Prasad remarks, "the Deccan provinces attained a high level of prosperity."

His forward policy against the Deccan.

As mentioned before, operations against Bijāpur and Golconda were stopped, because both of them had accepted the Imperial vassalage and agreed to pay regular tributes to the Emperor. But when Aurangzeb was re-appointed to the governorship of the Deccan, they were as independent as ever. Their destruction was determined as soon as the new viceroy took over. The causes were : (1) the cupidity of the Prince and his martial appetite; (2) the independence of the Sultānates and their wealth ; (3) their allegiance to the Shāh of Persia and not to the Emperor of Hindūstān ; (4) their religion (Shīa) ; (5) their intimacy with Darā ; (6) the delay in remitting tributes which had fallen in arrears.

War against Golconda.

To the Prince, who was waiting only for an opportunity, the kingdom of Golconda offered the first chance. It so happened that Mīr Jumlā, the Persian Prime Minister of Sultān Abdullāh Qutb Shāh, who had then fallen out with his sovereign on account of his ambitious designs, invoked the assistance of Aurangzeb, who accorded him a warm welcome and recommended him to his father. The Emperor appointed him to the command of five thousand horse and made him a

member of his son's suite. No better pretext could be found than to seek redress for the alleged grievances of Mīr Jumlā. Early in 1656 A. C. Aurangzeb and Mīr Jumlā advanced to demand justice from Sultān Abdullāh Qutb Shāh and entered the city without any serious opposition. Once there, they attacked Hyderābād and surprised its king who fled to Golconda, which too was soon attacked. So relentlessly did the Prince pursue his schemes of conquest that the King of Golconda was compelled to pray for peace. According to the treaty that was concluded, Abdullāh promised to pay a *crore* of rupees and all arrears of tribute to the Emperor, to acknowledge Shāh Jahān and not the Shāh of Persia as his suzerain, to cease coining money in his own name, and to marry his daughter to the eldest son of Aurangzeb.

War against Bijāpur.

Golconda humiliated, the turn of Bijāpur came next. Imperial permission was obtained for the conquest of Bijāpur through the persuasive eloquence of Mīr Jumlā, and preparations were made for the final conquest of that Kingdom. Internal dissensions had made matters easy for the invaders. The death of Sultān Muhammad 'Ādil Shāh now made confusion worse confounded. The fort of Bidār was besieged in February, 1657 A. C. and after twenty-seven days' investment the city was taken and a large booty obtained. Next an attack was made on Kalyānī which capitulated. After a siege of about two months the whole country was being overrun by the Mughal soldiers and the conquest of Bijāpur itself was in sight

when again orders were received from the Emperor for the cessation of hostilities. The additional troops supplied to the Prince were recalled and further supplies were withheld. Thus came a slip between the cup and the lip. The terms of the treaty made with the Sultān were as humiliating as those concluded with Golconda. An indemnity of one *crore* of rupees was taken from the Sultān and he had to cede Bidār, Kalyānī and Parendā to the Mughal Empire. Aurangzeb had not yet completed the terms of the treaty when the illness of his father invited his attention to the North and attracted him there to make a bid for the throne.

CHAPTER XIII

SHAHĀB-UD-DĪN MUHAMMAD SHĀH JAHĀN

(CONCLUDED)

Fratricidal war and its genesis.

The closing years of the glorious reign of Shāh Jahān were darkened by a war of succession attending his illness. Since he did not appear in the *Jharūkhā* (audience window) rumours ran afloat that he was dead. He tried to allay the disquietude by appearing in the *Jharūkhā* after a week, but the rumours had spread like wild-fire and there was nothing that could pacify the people and the Princes. Before describing the events of the War of Succession, it is necessary to trace its genesis.

Sons of Shāh Jahān and their character-sketches.

(1) Shāh Jahān had four sons: Dārā, Shujā', Aurangzeb and Murād, each of whom possessed distinct traits of character, which had no mean share in deciding the scramble in his favour or against him. All of them had their own claims to the throne. Dārā was endowed with commendable qualities of head and heart. Though he was the heir-designate, his chances for succession were few and far between. By his frivolous habits, vacillating nature and irascible temper he had made many enemies at the Court. He was bitterly hated on account of his liberal views. His friendship with the Hindūs, his intimacy with the Christians and his inclination towards the Shīa faith went against his political interests. Shujā' was a man

of intelligence and refined tastes. Capable of immense energy, he was none the less a slave of his own passions, and his intellect was impaired much by his addiction to wine. He too is said to have subscribed to the Shīā faith and thereby annoyed the Sunnī orthodoxy. Murād Bakhsh was brave and resolute, but otherwise a brainless booby. He was frank to an extent and despised diplomacy. He stood little or no chance of succession. The real danger was, however, brewing further South. Aurangzeb, the third son of Shāh Jahān, was the ablest of his brothers in point of courage, character and capacity. He was the *beau-ideal* of a soldier—cool to conceive, brave to dare and strong to do. Skilled in diplomacy and 'a perfect master of the art of dissimilation', he had acquired considerable experience in the art of administration. Besides, he had the greatest advantage of being an orthodox Sunnī Musalmān. He had the ungrudged support of the Sunnī sect with which to counteract the opposition of Dārā. It is evident that the two most serious rivals were Aurangzeb and Dārā. The former had the support of almost all Musalmāns, excluding the Shīas, whereas the latter was supported by the Shīas, the Hindūs and other *Zimmīs*. The remaining two brothers, Shujā' and Murād, had their own adherents.

Division of the Empire.

(2) When Shāh Jahān fell ill, the four Princes were in possession of different provinces, having sufficient resources at their disposal: Dārā was the viceroy of the Punjāb and the provinces on the North-West; Shujā' was the governor of Bengāl and Orissā; Aurangzeb held the command of

the Deccan; and Murād was in charge of the province of Gujarāt. Thus, each Prince had sufficient cash and a pretty large force at his command, with which he could contend against the claims of his brothers. The division of the Empire had, in fact, put considerable power in the hands of the Princes and enabled them to pursue their plans with unremitting efforts.

Mughal tradition of 'kingship recognises no kinship'.

(3) The rule adopted by the Mughal Emperors was 'kingship recognises no kinship' and the struggle for succession had to be fought out to the end of *takht* or *takhta*, 'crown or coffin'. Bābar, Humāyūn, Akbar, Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān had all found themselves compelled to contend against the rivalry of their nearest relatives, and a disputed succession had become a tradition in the Mughal family. The fact that the successful claimant would callously put his surviving rivals and all their collaterals to the sword made the disputed succession inevitable. It goaded the princes to fight even more desperately because they knew only too well that in the event of defeat their ends would be tragic. Motives of self-preservation also pointed to the same path, though they were no less actuated by a sense of personal aggrandisement.

Illness of the Emperor and nomination of Dārā as his successor.

(4) On the 6th of September, 1658 A. C. Shāh Jahān was taken seriously ill and there was no hope of his recovery. At this time, his eldest son, Dārā, was with him at Delhi and was faithfully nursing his father at the

Imperial Court. When the Emperor improved in health a little, he called his confidential courtiers together and nominated his eldest son as his successor in their presence. Such a state of affairs involved the question of life and death for the remaining three Princes, who were carefully nursing in their bosoms the ambitions of securing the succession for themselves. They made preparations for the impending war and there was nothing that could prevent them from carrying out their respective plans.

Absence of the law of succession.

(5) In Muslim India, there was no definite law determining the succession to the Muslim throne. The principle adopted was 'the survival of the fittest'. Though the first-born was often allowed to have the strongest claim, yet his brother, if any, or a provincial governor, or an influential chief, was ever ready to contest his claim, if time favoured and means were not lacking. Thus, in the absence of a well-defined law, regulating the succession to the throne, the illness of Shāh Jahān was a signal for the outbreak of a fratricidal war.

Dārā's behaviour during the illness of his father.

(6) The following measures adopted by Dārā during the illness of his father also contributed to the War of Succession to a considerable extent :—(*i*) He took guarantees from the *Vakīls* of his brothers, who were at the Imperial Court, to the effect that they would not submit any news to the Princes about the Emperor and his Court. (*ii*) He closed the roads to Bengāl, Gujarāt and the Deccan, so that the travellers might not carry any information to those provinces. (*iii*) He

confiscated the house of 'Ālamgīr's *Vakīl* stationed at the Imperial Court. (*iv*) He recalled the officers of 'Ālamgīr when the latter was engaged in the conquest of Bijāpur and had almost accomplished the task entrusted to him. (*v*) Before the Princes in the distant provinces had stirred, he ordered his forces to march against them in order to remove them from his way to the throne.

Weakness of Shāh Jahān.

(7) The war could be prevented, or at least postponed, if Shāh Jahān had re-asserted his authority immediately after his recovery from his illness. He ought to have stopped his sons from making a scramble for succession while he was alive. He ought to have contradicted the rumours of his death and averted the course which events had taken. It is quite possible that Dārā kept him uninformed of the consternation caused by the rumour of his alleged death; but even after the defeat of the Imperial forces in the Battle of Dharmat, he did not stir out to oppose Aurangzeb who was advancing towards Āgrā. Granted that he was too weak as a result of his illness, but he could have convened a council of war to deal with the seriousness of the situation. There were many whose loyalty for him was yet unshaken, and he ought to have rallied them to his side. But, unfortunately, he behaved in a most impolitic way. Misjudging the trend of events and miscalculating the strength of the Princes, he shook the faith of his other sons in his own sense of justice by continuously favouring Dārā, the eldest son, in season and out of season.

Triple Alliance.

(8) 'Ālamgīr, who had kept himself in touch with the events occurring at the Imperial Capital through his sister, Raushan Ārā Begum, had also formed an alliance with his brothers, Shujā' and Murād, in November 1552 A. C. In the presence of conflicting accounts, it is impossible to tabulate the terms of the triple alliance with any preciseness. One thing is, however, clear — the three brothers agreed to take concerted action in the event of danger, and that if anyone of them was attacked by Dārā, the other two would rush to his help. Both Dārā and Shāh Jahān looked upon their growing intimacy with grave concern. In order to frustrate their efforts and to checkmate their plans, Shāh Jahān sent secret letters to them through the *Khwāja Sarās* (eunuchs), promising his help to each of them against the other. This act of setting one brother against the other by issuing 'inflammatory letters' also precipitated the crisis.*

*The correspondence that passed between Shāh Jahān and his sons is very important. In one of his letters to Shāh Jahān, Aurangzeb writes:—"Though I have repeatedly made a request that the despatch of inflammatory letters should be stopped, no notice has been taken," (*Adab-i-'Ālamgīrī*, 366-*a*). In another letter he wrote to his father as follows:—"I have repeatedly asked Your Majesty, that you should stop sending inflammatory letters. Though Your Majesty is all wisdom, yet as you have clearly written to me that I should not expect such a thing from you, I am forced to call the mischievous *Khawājā Sarās* away from you". (*Adab-i-'Ālamgīrī*, 367-*a*). In a letter to Mahābat Khān, Shāh Jahān wrote:—"My Dārā Shikoh will be approaching Lāhore. There is no dearth of treasure at Lāhore and men and horses are abundant at Kābul... It is proper that the brave general should hasten to Lāhore with an army, and, siding with

Movements of the three princes.

Both Shujā' and Murād crowned themselves in their respective provinces—the former in Bengāl and the latter in Gujarāt; they coined money in their own names and assumed the Imperial titles. As for Aurangzeb, he was too calm and clever to do anything of the kind. He seized all the ferries on the Narbadā and waited for an opportune moment. Prince Shujā' was the first to mobilize his forces. He set out from Bengāl on his own behalf, ravaged the districts of Bihār on his way and reached Benāres on the 24th of January, 1658 A. C.

Battle of Bahādurgarh: February, 1658.

Dārā was not idling away his time either. He had made ample preparations for the struggle for succession which was as certain as surety itself. He sent a large army under the command of his eldest son, Sulaimān Shikoh, assisted by Mirzā Rājah Jai Singh Kachwāhah in order to oppose the advance of Shujā'. The two armies met at Bahādurgarh in February, 1658 A. C. In a serious battle which was fought, Shujā' was defeated and driven back to his base in Bengāl.

Battle of Dharmat: April 1658.

In the meantime, Murād ascended the throne under the title of Murawwaj-ud-Dīn. The *Khutba* was read and the coins were struck in his name. Having collected a huge army, he sent a contingent of six thousand horse

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Dārā Shikoh Bābā, range himself against the two wretched sons, punish them for their misdeeds and release me.....And I have written to my eldest son, that giving himself up entirely to him (Mahābat Khān), he should think that his welfare lies in obedience to that eminent general." (*Muntakhib-ul-Lubāb*, vol. II, pp. 35—37). For some other similar letters, see *Aurangzeb and His Times*, p. 49 ff.

for plundering the port of Sūrat, the appanage of Jahān Ārā. Aurangzeb, who was playing a waiting game, now wrote congratulatory letters to Murād on his success in the sack of Sūrat. He offered him his services and requested him to join the troops on the other side of the Narbadā in order to advance against the Imperial Capital. Murād was won over and the two brothers joined against the third. Dārā was not indifferent to the progress of events. He had already dispatched an army under the command of Qāsim Khān and Rājah Jaswant Singh to oppose the advancing troops of Aurangzeb and his brother, Murād. A battle was fought at Dharmat near Ujjain on April 15, 1658 A.C., in which the Imperialists were defeated and the Rājāh was put to flight along with his Rājpūt followers. The victory increased the prestige of Aurangzeb and augmented his resources. The victorious Princes pressed on and were able to secure the passage of the Chambal and to take their position in the memorable plain of Sāmūgarh.

Battle of Sāmūgarh, May, 1658.

Annoyed at the military inefficiency of the Hindū Rājah and his Musalmān colleague, Dārā decided to take the field in person. He was so impatient that he could not await the arrival of the flower of Mughal chivalry, Sulaimān Shikoh, who had taken the pick of the Mughal force with him and had defeated Shujā' at the Battle of Bahādurgarh. Having collected a large army, whose sympathies were more with Aurangzeb than with him, he marched out from Āgrā to deal with the combined forces of Aurangzeb and Murād, without

listening to the advice of his father. He reached the plain of Sāmūgarh towards the close of May with as many as fifty thousand strong and engaged himself in a death-grapple with his brothers. On one side, the Rajpūts fought most gallantly, doing honour to their race; on the other side, both Aurangzeb and Murād fought in the forefront, risking their lives without any fear of death. Both the parties displayed extraordinary valour and charged each other with unparalleled impetuosity, for they knew full well the consequences of a defeat. Hitherto, the Imperialists seemed to have the upper hand, but the tables were at once turned against them when, in the thick of fight, Dārā's elephant received a serious wound and he took his seat on a horse. This trifling incident decided the fate of the battle. For those around him, finding the *howdah* empty, thought that their leader was lost and therefore took to their heels. Aurangzeb achieved a decisive victory. He now congratulated his brother, Murād, and attributed the cause of success to him. Dumbfounded by the defeat, Dāra and his son, Sipehr Shikoh, returned to Āgrā and reached there late in the night.

Fate of Shāh Jahān.

After obtaining the spoils of war, Aurangzeb marched upon Āgrā and entered it without encountering opposition. He encamped himself in the Bāgh-i-Nūr and from there he wrote an *arzdāsht* (petition) to his father, seeking his forgiveness for the war which conditions and circumstances had forced upon him.* He tried hard

* "As long as power was vested in your venerable hands", wrote Aurangzeb to his father, Shāh Jahān, "obedience was my

to conciliate his father, and in all probability he would have preferred to rule in his name had he not found it impossible to gain his confidence or to shake his intimate attachment to his eldest son. With studied caution, he sent his son, Muhammad Sultān, to take possession of the citadel. The Emperor was walled up in his palace and kept a close prisoner for full eight years. He was treated with great respect and indulgence by Aurangzeb, but was never allowed to come out even for a moment, for the clever Prince knew too well the consequences of such an impolitic action. To make the best of a bad bargain. Shāh Jahān sent a sword, called *'Ālamgīr*, to his son as a present. Bent in age and broken in health, the most magnificent monarch of the Mughal Dynasty passed away in 1666 A. C. as a captive of his son.

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passion, and I never went beyond my limit, for which the All-Knowing God is my witness. But owing to the illness of Your Majesty, the prince, usurping all authority and bent upon propagating the religion of the Hindūs and the idolators and upon suppressing the faith of the Prophet, had brought about chaos and anarchy throughout the Empire, and no one had the courage to speak the truth to Your Majesty. Believing himself to be the rightful ruler, he (Dārā) deposed Your August Majesty, as has been mentioned in my previous letters. Consequently, I started from Burhānpur, lest I should be held responsible in the next world for not providing a remedy for the disorders that were cropping up throughout the country. At that time, excepting that enemy of the true faith (Dārā), siding with whom is a real sin, there was no one between us. As victory is never gained without God's help, which is the result of true obedience, please notice how Divine assistance came to my help. God forbid, that with Your Majesty's connivance, the theories of the apostate (Dārā) become translated into practice, and the world get

Fate of Murād.

In a written compact signed between Murād and Aurangzeb, each brother had undertaken to be true to the other as long as nothing was done by either against sincerity and singleness of purpose. But after the victory at Sāmūgarh, the former grew jealous of the growing power of the latter. He not only cast the contract to the winds by secretly submitting his apologies to Shāh Jahān and by trying to secure the throne for himself, but also by entering into a plot against Aurangzeb. He received a secret letter* from his father, who, while conferring the

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darkened with infidelity!

Under the present circumstances, thanks are due to the Master of Fate for whatever has been brought about! All that I owe to you for my upbringing is far beyond any adequate expression of gratitude on the part of my poor self, and I cannot on any account forget your kindness and my responsibilities, and allow myself, for the sake of this short life, to create any rancour in your heart. Whatever happened was due to the will of God, and for the good of the country and the nation." (*Adab-i-'Ālamgīrī*, 363-*b*).

In another letter to Shāh Jahān, he thus explains his position:—

"I have repeatedly made it clear that, in marching to Āgrā, I had no intention of ousting the King of Islām, and God is my witness that such a sinful and unholy thought never entered my mind. In the beginning of your illness, when the eldest prince, who had no distinguishing features of a Musalmān, took up the reins of the Government and raised the standard of heresy and infidelity, I took upon myself the religious duty of ousting him. As Your Majesty, on account of prejudice and unmindful of political conditions, wanted the eldest prince to propagate heresy, I determined to make a *Jihād* against him." (*Adab-i-'Ālamgīri*, 367-*a*.)

*The text of the letter, as reproduced by Muhammad Mā'sūm in his *Tārīkh-i-Shah Shujāī*, is as follows:—

"I have conferred the sovereignty of the whole of India on

sovereignty of the whole of Hindūstān on him, assured him of his help and directed him to invite his brother, Aurangzeb, and his son to his camp on the pretext of a banquet and 'see the last of them'. The letter was conveyed through a confidential servant, but in a state of absent-mindedness, Murād placed it in a book, and, when accidentally discovered by one of his servants, it was handed over to Aurangzeb. Thus, by a curious irony of fate, Murād was caught in the trap in which Aurangzeb and his son were to be caught by him at the suggestion of Shāh Jahān. He was invited to a feast by his brother, Aurangzeb, in the manner suggested to him by Shāh Jahān. When he drank himself disgracefully in the feast, he was seized and spoken to by his brother upon his impiety and intemperance and declared unfit to occupy the Muslim throne. He was soon bound in chains and sent to the state prison of Gwālior, where, on a charge of murder, he was executed in 1661 A.C.

Fate of Shujā'.

Entrusting the task of capturing Dārā Shikoh to his trusted officers, Aurangzeb turned his attention towards Shujā' who, after his defeat in the Battle of Bahādurgarh, had taken to flight, but was again in the field to make another bid for the throne. After his coronation, Aurangzeb

my illustrious son (Murād). I enjoin you to be most careful and patient in this matter and not to divulge this secret to anyone, however intimate. After a few days, invite your brother (Aurangzeb) and his son to your camp on the plea of a banquet and see the last of them; and then have the *Khutba* recited in your name, and assume the Imperial title, which I bestow on you of my own free will. You should perform this important task with the greatest caution." (*Tārīkh-i-Shāh Shujāī* by Muhammad Mā'sūm.)

marched against him and inflicted a sharp defeat on him at Khājwah on January 5, 1659 A. C. The defeated Prince was hotly chased by Mīr Jumla. Driven to different places, he ultimately took rest in Arākān, where he was killed by the Māghs in 1660 A.C.

Dārā's last stand and his tragic fate.

Meanwhile, Aurangzeb's officers were busy in pursuing Dārā. They were hunting the unfortunate Prince from place to place. Chased into Kāthīāwār, he was brought to bay near Ajmer, where he took his position and tried to defend himself as strongly as he could. He put up such a vigorous defence that for four days Aurangzeb could not dislodge him from his position. On the fifth day, however, he was defeated through the treachery of Daler Khān, who had promised to leave Aurangzeb and to join him. Deserted by all of his nobles, except one Firoz Mewātī, Dārā took the road towards Ahmadābād. He was accompanied by a few faithful followers, including his son, Sipehr Shikoh, his daughter, and some other women. On his way, he enlisted a few fugitives; but the inhabitants of the country harassed him by pillaging his baggages, for he still had some jewels and money with him. When he reached the city of Ahmadābād, the governor in charge of the castle closed the gates against him. With the help of a notorious robber, named Kānjī Kolī, he reached Cutch. The *Zamīndār* of that place, who had promised to marry his daughter to his son, now refused him all help. In dire distress, Dārā proceeded towards Sind to seek shelter there. Skirting along Sind, he was deserted by his friend and follower, Firoz Mewātī. To

add to his sorrow, the only source of solace and strength for him was snatched away from him—his most favourite wife, Nādirā Begum, who died of dysentery. "Mountain after mountain of trouble thus pressed upon the heart of Dārā," says Khāfī Khān, "grief was added to grief and sorrow to sorrow, so that his mind no longer retained equilibrium." At last he took refuge with Malik Jīwan Khān who betrayed him into the hands of the Imperialists sent by Aurangzeb to pursue him. He was taken prisoner and sent to Lāhore and then to Delhi. There he was sentenced to death on the charge of apostasy.

Fate of Sulaimān Shikoh and other Royal Princes.

Sulaimān Shikoh, the eldest son of Dārā, fought faithfully for his father during his fugitive life, but he could not join him in his last stand against Aurangzeb near Ajmer. He was pursued by Shāista Khān, uncle of Aurangzeb, and driven into Garhwāl, where he took refuge with its Rājah, who made him over to the Imperial officers. He was then conveyed to Delhi, seated on an elephant, paraded through the city and then thrown in the state prison of Gwālior, where he died in 1662 A.C. Next, Aurangzeb turned his attention towards the surviving sons of his brothers. On one pretext or the other he put them to the sword or threw them into prison. Only two Princes, *viz.*, Sipehr Shikoh and Āzād Bakhsh, were spared and married to the third and fifth daughters of Aurangzeb, respectively. Aurangzeb imprisoned even his own son who had married a daughter of Shāh Shujā' and for whom he showed some affection.

Motives which actuated Aurangzeb to enter the Fratricidal War.

The motives which actuated Aurangzeb to enter upon the Fratricidal War have been variously described. Only the more important may be given here:— (1) Shujā' and Murād had already declared their independence and the War of Succession had become inevitable. As usual, it was expected that the successful prince would slaughter his rival brothers without feeling remorse or compassion. In the interest of his own safety, Aurangzeb could not but enter the war. (2) There was no love lost between Dārā and Aurangzeb. The former was bent upon stigmatising the latter in the eyes of the people and the Emperor. It will be remembered that while Aurangzeb was in charge of the Deccan, Dārā was trying to ruin his reputation. With a hostile brother on the throne, Aurangzeb's position can be better imagined than described. All this and Dārā's undue interference in his affairs must have actuated Aurangzeb to decide upon that course of action. (3) Under the circumstances, when Shāh Jahān nominated Dārā as his successor, Aurangzeb's anger must have known no bounds. The fact that Dārā concealed the news about his father and prevented them from reaching his brothers further annoyed Aurangzeb. It made it easy for the Princes to leave the Emperor out of account and to take his death for granted. (4) Aurangzeb was an orthodox Muslim. Dārā's latitudinarianism must also have influenced Aurangzeb in choosing his course. Muhammad Kāzim, the author of the *'Ālamgīrnāmah*, voiced the views of Aurangzeb and his partisans about Dārā's

unfitness to occupy the Muslim throne when he wrote : "If Dārā Shikoh obtained throne and established his power, the foundation of the faith would be in danger and precepts of Islām would be changed for the rant of infidelity and Judāism." (5) Personal ambition also played a prominent part in the chalking out of his programme.

All that has been said, if it excuses Aurangzeb's participation in the Fratricidal War, does not excuse his deliberate diplomacy therein. But it must be pointed out that without resorting to such diplomatic actions as he did, his fate, and with it the fate of Islām in India, would have been different.

Causes of his success in the Fratricidal War.

Contemporary chroniclers, such as Muhammad Kāzim and others, ascribe Aurangzeb's success in the War of Succession to his *iqbāl*, or luck. The modern mind is not satisfied with this answer. It tries to find other explanations of his success than this. In the first place, Shāh Jahān's own weakness and incapacity contributed to the success of Aurangzeb more than anything else. Immediately after his recovery, the old Emperor should have exerted his authority and stopped his sons from snatching away power from his hands. He ought to have contradicted the news of his death and averted the course of events in his own favour. If he had acted with prudence, he could have helped his favourite son, Dārā, to the throne. He was still popular and he would have elicited support from all sides. He should have resumed the reins of his office in his own hands after his recovery,

curbed the ambitions of his other sons; and then enthroned Dārā, if he so desired. But, unfortunately, he entirely misunderstood the situation and remained passive. While Aurangzeb, Murād and Shujā' were, after full preparations, marching against the Imperial Capital, he was dissuading Dārā from fighting, telling that no harm could accrue from their coming to the Capital. Thus, if the Emperor was deprived of his throne after the defeat of Dārā and if Dārā could not succeed him, Shāh Jahān must share the *onus* of responsibility in no small measure. Secondly, Dārā was not a great general himself. His army was composed of raw levies. Besides, there was an utter lack of co-operation between the Rājpūts and the Muslims, who constituted the huge bulk of his army. The former were not wanting in valour, but their heroic attempts were cruelly frustrated by their peculiar notions of precedence and prestige. The latter were corrupt and unfaithful. Their sympathies were more with Aurangzeb, a staunch Sunnī, than with Dārā. Dārā's arrogance of temper and hasty disposition also produced many difficulties for him. His son, Sulaimān Shikoh, was in Bengāl with the pick of the Imperial army. He did not wait for it but advanced to meet Aurangzeb in spite of the advice of his father. This was a blunder of the first magnitude. The error committed by him in dismounting from the elephant and riding a horse instead, completed the disaster.*

*Authors of the *'Ālamgīrnāmah*, *Zafarnāmah* and *Tārikh-i-Shāhjahānī* assert that this fatal exchange of horse for elephant was occasioned by the fact that the elephant had

Thirdly, it was not easy to meet a man of Aurangzeb's type, a dexterous diplomat and an excellent general who outdistanced his rivals in the war on account of his superior military tactics. His forces were thoroughly organized, efficiently equipped and strictly disciplined. He kept a part of his army in reserve and put it in the field when Dārā's troops lay exhausted. As a champion of the Sunnī Orthodoxy, he ceaselessly played upon the alleged apostasy of his rival brother, and constantly drew men from his ranks to his own side. He openly boasted of having his friends in the ranks of his opponent. He fully availed himself of his artillery when his foolish brother, Dārā, advanced beyond his own artillery and thus rendered it useless.

Thus, it is evident that Aurangzeb's "victory in the war of succession was the victory of action over supineness, of intrepidity over inertia, and of organization and discipline over confusion and incoherence."

'Alī Mardān Khān.

Alī Mardān Khān was a Persian governor of Qandhār. Partly because he was not satisfied with the treatment of the Shah of Persia and partly on account of the pressure which Shāh Jahān brought to bear upon him, coupled with the temptation of gold, he surrendered the fort of Qandhār to the Mughal officers. He was granted one *lākh* of rupees and enrolled as a grandee of the Mughal Empire. Later, his *mansab* was raised to six thousand

become a target for the attacks of the enemy. Bernier and Niccolao Munucci, on the other hand, assert that the change was caused by the treacherous advice of Khalīl-ullāh Khān, given to Dārā when Aurangzeb's defeat was almost in sight.

Zāt and six thousand *Sawār*, and at different times he was appointed governor of Kābul and Kashmīr. He carried on the administration of these provinces so well that His Majesty was pleased to raise his rank to seven thousand *Zāt* and seven thousand *Sawār*, and conferred upon him the governorship of the Punjāb in addition. In 1644 A. C. he was sent at the head of an expedition to Balkh where he achieved a partial success. He was an experienced general and a skilled engineer. The canal which he brought from the Rāvī to the city of Lāhore and the Shalāmār Gardens are an imperishable index to his engineering skill.

Āsaf Khān.

Āsaf Khān's original name was Abdul Hasan. He was the son of Itīmād-ud-Daulah and brother of Malika Nūr Jahān. He entered the Imperial Service under Akbar and rose to a high position during the reign of Jahāngīr, but he reaped a rich harvest of honours and distinctions at the accession of Shāh Jahān to whom he had married his daughter, Mumtāz Mahal. We have seen how he successfully checkmated the plans and intrigues of his sister and helped Shāh Jahān to the throne. In appreciation of his services, he was honoured with the title of *Yamīn-ud-Daulah* or 'Right-hand of the State', and a *jāgīr* was granted to him. The *Jāgīr* brought him about fifty *lākhs* a year. His rank was raised to nine thousand *Zāt* and nine thousand *Sawār*, and a little later he became the Prime Minister of the Empire. He acted as the principal agent of the Emperor in his diplomatic negotiations and his advice was sought in all the serious matters of the Government. He remained attached to

Shāh Jahān throughout his life and never betrayed the confidence reposed in him by his Sovereign. The stress and strain of official duties having considerably told upon his health, he retired from his official career and quietly passed away at Lāhore in 1641 A. C. According to his will, the vast riches, which he had accumulated during his official career, were confiscated to the State.

Allāma Sa'ad-ullah Khān.

Sā'ad-ullāh Khān was a man of humble origin. He came of very poor parents. His vast reading had given him an unusual amount of general knowledge. In 1640 A. C. he entered the Imperial Service and was paid a monthly salary. Soon a *mansab* was granted to him and during the course of a year he became an officer, enjoying a *mansab* of one thousand *Zāt* and two thousand *Sawār*. For some time he worked as *Dāroghā* (Superintendent) of the Imperial *Ghusalkhāna* (Bath) and was subsequently promoted to the post of *Khān-i-Sāmān*, or Lord High Steward. The Emperor appreciated his ability by making him his Prime Minister and raising his rank to seven thousand *Zāt* and seven thousand *Sawār*. He served the State most faithfully and is justly regarded as the most upright and straightforward minister known to India. He was often employed as a military commander and settlement-officer. He continued to rise in Royal favour and acquired immense power and influence. He had a very high conception of his duties and be it said to his credit that he fell little short of it.

Shāh Jahān's administration.

The administrative system of Shāh Jahān was almost exactly the same as that of his predecessors, rather it was more efficient and exhibited a marked improvement on the previous system. In fact, what Akbar had aimed was achieved by Shāh Jahān in the realm of administration. Peace within the country was uninterrupted, the revenue of the State was ever on the increase and every department of the State was unremittingly active. The people were happy and prosperous. Justice was carefully administered and provincial governors were warned to be honest in their dealings with the people under their sway. All this bears eloquent testimony to a just, wise and vigorous administration. Foreign travellers, such as Bernier, Tavernier, Niccolao Manucci and Peter Mundi, speak of the gracious rule of Shāh Jahān as that of a father over his children; the Muslim historian Khāfī Khān, compares him with Akbar and points out that whereas the latter was pre-eminent as a conqueror and law-giver, the former was pre-eminent as an administrator; and a Hindū contemporary outshines even the Muslim chronicler and the Christian travellers in extolling the efficiency of his administration. Here again Banthamite democracy was in its full swing, for every attempt was made to secure 'the greatest happiness of the greatest number.'

Progress of fine arts under his patronage.

Shāh Jahān was not made for the glories of conquest; he regarded war as inhuman and was not a great general himself,

though he had won splendid victories in his early career during the reign of his father. His reign was essentially a period of peace in which literature flourished, education made mighty strides, and architecture, painting, poetry and music progressed by leaps and bounds. What gave a fillip to these fine arts was Shāh Jahān's catholicity of mind, which soured above the snares of sectarian psychology, and appreciated and encouraged true worth from whatever sources it was evinced. The splendour of his Court and the glory of his reign, with all their dazzle and oriental colour, are a by-word to everyone who has even a nodding acquaintance with Indian history. Though much has been irreparably destroyed, yet there remains enough of the Mughal art under Shāh Jahān to give us an idea of that glorious period and the standard of Mughal civilization. Is there a soul that will not be stirred to its depths at the ethereal beauty and grandeur of the Tāj; or does not recognise the literary elegance and historical importance of the *Bādshāhnāmah*, ever a treasure-house of research for the ambitious historian; or does not go into ecstacies over the miniature and portrait paintings of that period; or does not have an ear for the melodious voice of Rām Dās and Mahāpattar, the philomels of the Mughal Court? "The Imperial patronage", says Prof. K. T. Shāh, "was no longer the monopoly of the poet or the painter; but every kind of artist was recognised and encouraged; giving us, in consequence, those wonderful creations, which, like the Tāj and Delhi Palace and the several mosques, must for ever immortalize the name of the Imperial patron."

Architecture

The reign of Shāh Jahān is rendered memorable in history for the excellence of its architecture. In this hurried survey it is impossible to enter into the canons of this art or to attempt a description of public buildings erected under the Imperial patronage. The Tāj alone demands a volume to itself. Standing majestically on a square platform of virgin marble with a beautiful screen of trellis-work, crowned with a fine dome above and consecrated by a pair of tombs below, surrounded by a domed apartment of two storeys in each corner and connected with one another by a number of halls and passages, with its main mansion lighted by a double screen of trellis-worked marble, one on the inner and one on the outer side of the wall, guarded at its corners by four lofty *mīnārs* of milky marble, rearing its stately head above its jewelled walls and lace-carved windows also of creamy marble, this superb structure, an ethereal beauty—the Tāj—nay the Queen of Architecture, a dream in marble, designed by Titans and finished by jewellers, placed in a beautiful garden with two *masjids* on either side, on the brink of the Jumnā—presents a most picturesque view and refreshes the awe-struck eyes of the native as well as foreign sight-seers. 'Those critics who have objected to the effiminacy of the architecture (Tāj) unconsciously pay the highest tribute to the genius of the builders. The Tāj was meant to be feminine. The whole conception, and every line and detail of it express the intention of the designers. It is Mumtāz Mahal herself, radiant in her youthful beauty, who still lingers on the banks of

the shining Jumnā, at early morn, in the glowing midday sun, or in the silver moonlight. Or rather, we should say that it conveys a more abstract thought; it is India's noble tribute to the grace of Indian womanhood—the *Venus de Milo* of the East.' The marble Moti Masjid (Pearl Mosque within the Āgrā Fort), described as 'the purest and loveliest house of prayer in the world', with its vast dimensions, shadowed aisles and sanctuary, all dressed in marble; the Dīwān-i-Khās (Court of Private Audience) overlooking the Jumnā, itself a masterpiece of delicacy, elegance and poetic design; the Dīwān-i-'Ām (Court of Public Audience), with its exquisitely ornamented ceiling supported by a row of richly jewelled columns, a magnificent *niche* at the centre and a marble platform, lavishly inlaid with precious stones and once the seat of the Peacock Throne, with its tail blazing in the shifting colours of rubies, saphires and emeralds, testifying to the fact that a lord of artists sat on that throne; the gorgeous Rang Mahal with its garden-court, containing His Imperial Majesty's recreation chambers; the most wonderful baths, fed by a canal worked out from the Jumnā; and the Jāma Masjid at Delhi, constructed on a rocky platform and finished in full six years,—are the finest Mughal monuments of that glorious age of Indian history.

Painting.

Shāh Jahān was an ardent lover of painting. Under him, miniature and portrait painting underwent a good deal of elaboration. It was considered incomplete unless a most beautiful border of birds and butterflies, flowers

and foliage was dexterously woven into the main theme. The best painter at the Court of Shāh Jahān was Muhammad Nādir Samarqandī. It may be remarked here that, like all other Mughal Emperors, Shāh Jahān was also a painter himself and a past-master in the art of illuminating manuscripts.

Music.

We learn it from the *Mirāt-ul-'Ālam* that Shāh Jahān was also a good singer, and Dr. N. N. Law says that he was 'a great patron of music'. The two most prominent singers attached to his Court were Rām Dās and Mahāpatter, whose mention has already been made in a previous chapter. They were rewarded for their services without cavil in the Mughal *Darbārs*. Professor Sarkar says that the Emperor also spent some portion of his time 'in listening to songs by women'. This shows that there were also female singers at the Imperial Court.

Gardens.

Shāh Jahān had a fine taste for gardens. Almost all his buildings contained beautiful gardens, or 'terrestrial paradises' as they have been styled. The Shālāmār Garden—extolled so much in Moor's *Lāla Rookh*—at Lāhore; the gardens in the Delhi Fort; the Tāj Mahal Gardens; the Shālāmār Bāgh at Delhi and Dārā Shikoh's Garden at Kashmīr were the most voluptuous of their class in the Mughal Empire. Even Bernier does not hesitate to admire them. Some of them have survived to our own times and they do not fail to attract our attention.

Shāh Jahān's philomathy.

We can hardly over-estimate Shāh Jahān's literary interest. He always tried to widen his mental horizon by studying the

best authors of Persian literature. He was very fond of history and used to hear the recitation of books on travel, lives of prophets and holy men, memoirs and autobiographies of sovereigns famous in history. Among these books, the *Life of Taimūr* and the *Memoirs of Bābar* were his special favourites. When he retired to bed, we learn, good readers sat behind a curtain which separated them from the Imperial bed-chamber, and read him to sleep.

Literary jems of his Court.

Himself a cultured king and a refined scholar, Shāh Jahān was a distinguished patron of letters. He used to grant stipends and scholarships to literary plodders and awarded honoraria to the superannuated. One day Abdul Hakīm Siālkotī was rewarded his weight in silver. The celebrated *Bādshāhnāmah* was written by Muhammad Amīn-i-Qazwīnī under his own direction. Some of the most famous poets and scholars of his reign were Maulānā Muhib Alī Sayyadī, Mīr Abdul Qāsim Īrānī, Mirzā Ziā-ud-Dīn, Sayyad Bukhārī Gujrātī, Shaikh Bahlol Qādirī, Shaikh Mīr Lāhorī, Shaikh Nazīrī, Khwājah Khwand Māhmūd and Mullah Muhammad Fāzil Badakhshī.

Promotion of learning.

During the reign of this Magnificent Mughal Monarch all the educational institutions with their vast endowments created by the previous kings, courtiers and private individuals, continued in undiminished prosperity. Besides, we know for certain that His Majesty himself added to the existing number of schools and colleges in his Empire. He repaired

and reconstructed *Dār-ul-Baqā*, or the Abode of Eternity—a magnificent ***madrasah*** which had been entirely ruined. In 1650 A. C. he founded the famous Imperial College at Delhi in the vicinity of the historic Jāmā Masjid.

Character and estimate of Shāh Jahān.

Shāh Jahān, who succeeded Jahāngīr, rose to be the most munificent member of his most magnificent house, 'excelling all his contemporaries in culture and refinement.' With all his magnificence and splendour, he was never arrogant. According to Mr. Stanley Lane-Poole, ' no other Mughal Emperor was ever so beloved as Shāh Jahān'. He was kind and sympathetic and his benevolence had endeared him to his subjects. He was a staunch Sunnī, deeply devoted to his religious as well as secular duties. The most remarkable trait of his character was, however, his love for his wife, Mumtāz Mahal, the lady in whose memory he never married. As a son, he was a great source of trouble and anxiety to his father; as a father, he was woefully wanting in discipline. His partiality for his eldest son was greatly responsible for his troublous old age. But his patience was marvellous. For eight years he remained a captive of his son and calmly bore the privations of that life. He was a great administrator, whose good government has exacted universal praise and admiration.

CHAPTER XIV

MUHĪ-UD-DĪN MUHAMMAD AURANGZEB ĀLAMGĪR

(1658 A. C.—1707 A. C.)

Early Acts, Afghāns, Hindūs and Rājptūs

Accession of Aurangzeb.

After removing his rivals from his way, Aurangzeb had ascended the throne of his father on July 22, 1658 A. C. and deferred the formal coronation to a future date. On the 5th of June, 1659 A. C. he enthroned himself with due ceremonials. The *Khuṭba* was read and the coins were struck in his name, and he assumed the pompous title of Abul-Muzaffar Muhī-ud-Dīn Muḥammad Aurangzeb Bahādur ʻĀlamgīr Bādshāh-i-Ghāzī. The bestowal of high honours on the members of the Royal family and the grant of promotions and rewards to the rank and file inaugurated, as usual, the new reign in the right oriental manner. Of the Royal Princesses, Bādshāh Begum received Rs. 5,00,000; Zeb-un-Nisā, Rs. 4,00,000; Badr-un-Nisā, Rs. 1,60,000; and Zubdat-un-Nisā, Rs. 1,50,000. Among the Princes, Muhammad ʻĀzam was granted Rs. 2,00,000 and a *mansab* of 10,000; Muhammad Sultān, Rs. 3,00,000, with jewels and elephants; Muhammad Muʻazzam, Rs. 2,00,000, and Muhammad Akbar, Rs. 1,00,000. Among the high officials, Āmīr-ul-Umarā Fāzil Khānsāmān, Saad-Ullah Khān and Rājah Ragnāth were the recipients of robes of honour and rich rewards. In short, the

coronation was made an occasion of great happiness. Feasts and festivities continued for full two months and nothing was spared 'to make the occasion a source of happiness to all sections of the populace in the empire'. Ambassadors came from other Muslim countries and congratulated Aurangzeb for his success in securing the throne of India for himself. They were received with great respect and presented with rich robes and rupees eight thousand each. Besides them, the Dutch and the French Governments also sent their representatives to the Mughal Court, and they too were given a warm welcome by Aurangzeb and treated with due deference. Thus, by the time Shāh Jahān died, his son, Aurangzeb had been recognised as the Emperor of India by all potentates.

His early acts.

The War of Succession had thrown the machinery of the Mughal administration out of gear. Consequently, the people were distressed and discontented. They were subject to several taxes, legal as well as illegal. In order to alleviate their sufferings, Aurangzeb abolished as many as eighty oppressive taxes, including the *rāhdārī* (toll) and *pandārī* (a kind of ground or house-tax). He also remitted the duty on corn so that the price of food should go down. Among the eighty taxes which he abolished were those collected at the fairs celebrated in honour of Muslim saints and Hindū pilgrims near their temples, and those levied on alcohol, gaming-houses and brothels. In order to bring the law into line with the tenets of Islām, the new Emperor dispensed with the solar system altogether and

introduced the lunar instead; he disallowed the use of the *Kalīma* on the coins with a view to prevent their defilement, put an end to the *Nauroz* which was a Persian custom, repaired and even reconstructed the mosques and monasteries which were in a state of decay and appointed paid *Imāms* and *Mu'azzins* to serve therein. The *Mohtasibs* (censors of public morals) were warned to be very strict in the enforcement of the *Holy Law*. In short, Aurangzeb tried his best to advance the interests of Islām and his solicitude for Sunnism won for him the title of the champion of his faith, and he is recognised as such even to the present day.

Appointments and transfers of provincial governors.

Among the early acts of Aurangzeb may be mentioned the changes he effected in the provincial governments and the transfers of the viceroys stationed there. Conscious of the consequences of the treatment he had meted out to his father and brothers and apprehensive of the possibility of a combination against him, he began to work for their reconciliation or removal, as he thought fit, immediately after his accession to the throne. To all those who had helped him in the achievement of his object, he tendered his thanks and made valuable presents. The pay of a number of nobles was increased and a new set of robes was bestowed on each of them. Many of the old governors and viceroys were cashiered and new ones were appointed at their places. Rajah Jai Singh was entrusted with the government of Sambhar in addition to that of Lāhore, which he was already governing. Shāistā Khān was invested with

the governorship of the Deccan. Mahābat Khān was superseded by Shaikh Mīr in Kābul and sent to take over the government of Gujarāt. Dānishmand Khān was made the governor of Delhi. Khalīlullāh of Lāhore, Mīr Bābā of Allāhābād, Lashkar Khān of Patnā, Diānat Khān of Kashmīr, and Allāhwardī Khān's son who had betrayed Shāh Shujā' at Khajwāh, was appointed governor of Sind. All this was done to prevent the possibility of a dangerous combination and the arrangement was quite efficacious.

Career of Mīr Jumla.

Mīr Jumla, we learn, was a Persian adventurer, who, by dint of his character and ability, had made himself the Chief Minister of the Kingdom of Golconda. Taking advantage of his high position and influence, he had carved out for himself in the Karnatic, an independent kingdom or and *imperium* in the *imperio*. No wonder if the Sultān of Golconda regarded this as an encroachment on his authority and therefore intrigued to deprive him of all his power and influence. The Minister saved himself by joining hands with Aurangzeb and taking service under Shāh Jahān. He rendered very valuable services to Aurangzeb in his Deccan campaigns and in the War of Succession. In view of his indispensable assistance, he was appointed governor of Bengāl. It was probably because he was too ambitious a man to be kept at the Capital that he was sent to that distant governorship.

His expedition against Assam and his death.

Under their Rājah, the Ahoms of Kuch-Bihār and Āssām attacked the Mughal territory and occupied it. An expedition was sent against the Rājah with Mīr

Jumla at its head. The Mīr overran Kuch-Bihār and Āssām and penetrated far into the interior of the country, presumably with the intention of attacking the Chinese territory. But his supplies were cut off when torrential rains and heavy floods set in and prevented his grandiose schemes of conquests to be carried to their logical conclusion. When pestilential disorder broke out in his camp, he altogether renounced his magnificent projects notwithstanding the reinforcements he received from the Emperor, and contented himself with obtaining such contributions and cessions from the Rājah as might serve a proof against the disgrace of a defeat. Exhausted by toil at a very advanced age and ruined in health, he returned and died at Khizrpur in Kuch-Bihār on March 31, 1663 A. C. before reaching Decca. His son, Muhammad Amīn, was immediately raised to a high rank and all honours and positions, which the deceased had held, were conferred upon him by Aurangzeb.

Conquest of Chittāgong.

Shāista Khān succeeded Mīr Jumla to the governorship of Bengāl and resumed the forward policy of his predecessor. The new governor began by punishing the pirates of Chittāgong and their patron, the Rājah of Arākān. He inflicted sharp defeats on his enemy and captured the Māgh outposts by the end of the year 1665 A. C. Chittāgong was occupied about the end of January, 1666 A. C. and it was renamed Islāmābād. Henceforth it became the seat of a Mughal *Faujdār*. The island of Sondīp in the Bay of Bengāl was also captured and Bengāl was saved

from the recurring raids of the pirates. Shāista Khān organized the Mughal flotilla and strengthened the Bengāl fleet by constructing a large number of ships for the protection of the Dacca Sub-Division.

Illness of Aurangzeb.

Aurangzeb was taken seriously ill in 1664 A. C. soon after the fifth anniversary of his accession. This shook the new regime to its foundations. Rumours ran afloat that Rājah Jaswant Singh, Mahābat Khān and many others were redoubling their efforts for releasing Shāh Jahān from his captivity. The partisans of the ex-King renewed their intrigues at the Capital in order to work out his restoration; but unfortunately, they were soon divided into two main parties—those who wanted to enthrone Mu'azzam, Aurangzeb's second son, and those who wished to secure the succession for his third son, Akbar. On the fifth day of his illness, however, Aurangzeb raised himself up and received the homage of his principal officers. He sent a *firmān* to his sister, Raushan Ārā Begum, to return the great-seal, which had been commended to her care, and put it near himself so that no use might be made of it except with his special order. He averted the dangers with his rare presence of mind and singular force of will. On these occasions he behaved with studied caution and the respect and admiration which his conduct inspired then went a long way in pacifying the people. As soon as he recovered a little, he set out for Kashmīr to recoup his health. He was accompanied by the French philosopher, Bernier, who has left us a beautiful account of the charming valley and of the Imperial march.

The Emperor, however, disliked the place and never expressed his desire to revisit it. While he was thus seeking repose in the North, a scene was opening in the North-West Frontier, which soon invited his serious attention.

North-West Frontier.

The North-West Frontier has all along been a vulnerable point in the Indian Empire and the tribes that have inhabited it have always been a source of trouble to all Indian Governments. The Mughal Emperors made many attempts to introduce law and order in that quarter but failed to accomplish anything substantial or permanent. Their success was short-lived; for the turbulent tribes availed themselves of the weakness of the Central Government during the War of Succession and carried their raids into the Mughal districts in the neighbourhood of Peshāwar. In 1667 A. C. the Yūsafzaīs, under the leadership of one Bhāgū, crossed the Indus and attacked the district of Hazāra. There they established their authority and exacted heavy contributions from the poor peasants. They also attacked the Mughal outposts and planned to advance even into the interior of the Mughal territory.

Suppression of the Yūsafzaīs: 1667 A. C.

Aurangzeb would not allow them to continue their raids into his own country. He took up the gauntlet thrown down by them; in response to the requests of the wardens of the Imperial outposts on the frontier, he issued orders to the *Faujdār* of Attock and the Governor of Kābul for reducing the Yūsafzaīs to submission and sent Muhammad Amīn Khān, son of

Mīr Jumlā, to take over the supreme command. Amīn Khān reached the Kābul Valley in August 1667 A. C. The three Mughal generals acted in perfect harmony and drove the enemy into the river. Kāmil Khān and Shamsher Khān engaged the Yūsafzaīs in several battles and inflicted sharp defeats on them. Rājah Jaswant Singh was posted at Jamrūd to see that the Afghāns kept quiet.

Afrīdī Rising and Imperial losses.

The peace restored was again broken. This time the Afrīdīs raised their heads and stirred up strife. In 1671 A. C. they declared war upon the Mughals under their leader, Acmal Khān, who had now assumed the title of King. Muhammad Amīn Khān marched against them, but sustained serious losses in men and money at Alī Masjid. Many of the Imperialists were seized and sent to Central Asia for sale. Amīn himself had a narrow escape. His family too was captured and released after a heavy ransom was paid. The prestige of the Afrīdī Chief rose high after his victory over the mighty Mughals and many an enthusiastic Afghān rallied round his banner in order to obtain money as well as to achieve military distinction.

Khattak Rising and arrest of Khush-hāl Khān Khattak.

A more serious revolt, with which the Imperial Government next concerned themselves, was the one headed by Khush-hāl Khān Khattak. The Khattak Chief was invited to a *Darbār* at Peshāwar and arrested by the orders of the Imperial Government. He was detained in prison at Delhi and then transferred to the prison of Ranthambhor. In

1666 A. C. he was brought out of prison and sent with the Imperial army to fight against the Yūsafzaīs, who were his hereditary enemies. His son was with him. At the sight of his native-land, his adventurous and freedom-loving spirit revived, and he offered his services to Acmal Khān, the leader of the confederacy which was organized for the overthrow of the Mughals in the Afghān territory. When the Imperial generals, employed against the Afghāns, failed, Aurangzeb took the field in person. Accompanied by his distinguished generals, he reached Hasan Abdāl and encamped there in 1674 A. C. His presence in the proximity of Peshāwar proved very efficacious. He himself organized his forces and directed vigorous military operations against the frontier tribes. Diplomacy proved quite effective an instrument, and the Emperor received the obedience of many a clan through offers of *jāgīrs*, pensions and concessions. Thus diminishing the force of opposition, Aurangzeb recalled Mahābat Khān from Kābul and sent his own son, Akbar, to take over. Aghar Khān was ordered to lead an army through the Khyber Pass in order to overbear the opposition of the Afghāns who numbered not less than forty thousand at that time. After both the sides had suffered heavy losses, the Afghāns gave way. The newly-appointed governor of Kābul reached Jalālābād and captured a number of Afghān outposts. At Gandamak Aghar Khān ousted the Afghāns from their positions and, had Prince Akbar proceeded towards Jalālābād when he was pushing westwards, the Afghāns could have been easily encircled and attacked from all sides.

But the Prince failed to follow the plan and thus allowed the opportunity an easy escape. In 1675 A. C. the Afghāns inflicted a crushing defeat on Fidāi Khān, an Imperial general, at Jagdalak on his way to Peshāwar. His fate would have been sealed if Aghar Khān had not rescued him by a prompt action from Gandamak.

Close of the Afghān War.

The expedition of Mukarram Khān against Bājaur was a greater failure. The Emperor employed his best generals, but it was extremely difficult to deal with the hardy mountaineers who were thoroughly familiar with the ins and outs of their passes and defiles. In 1675 A. C., towards the end, the situation improved and the Emperor came back to Delhi. Next year he sent Prince Mu'azzam against the Afghāns, some of whom were still at large. With the Prince were associated Amīr Khān and other distinguished generals. Amīr Khān successfully coped with the enemy and his services were recognised by the bestowal of the governorship of Kābul on him. He governed Afghānistān with considerable tact and ability. He granted large subsidies to the border tribes and won them over to his side by lucrative concessions. Under the influence of Amīr Khān's diplomatic policy, peace was maintained on the frontier. The Afghān War cost Aurangzeb a great deal. While his hands were full with Afghān affairs, the Hindūs created disturbance in the Empire and defied the authorities in the open. 'Ālamgīr therefore turned his attention towards them.

'Ālamgīr and the Hindūs.

The policy of the previous Mughal Emperors was extremely conducive to the growth of Hindū nation. It made no discrimination between the rulers and the ruled. Hindūs held the highest positions, next only to the Emperor's, in the civil as well as military departments of the Mughal Government. They enjoyed the freedom of worship and the liberty of conscience, and preached and propagated their faith without restrictions. During the reign of Shāh Jahān they pulled down mosques and made *mandirs* on their sites ; they became so bold that they forcibly carried away Muslim women and kept them in their houses.* Towards the close of his reign, when Dārā Shikoh managed the affairs of the Central Government, they took larger liberties and began committing atrocities freely without fear. To those with whom 'Ālamgīr's bigotry has become a household word it will come as a stunning surprise to learn that even at the height of their power the Musalmāns could not offer their Friday prayers in the Cathedral Mosque of one of the biggest cities of the Mughal Empire for full one year.† This state of affairs continued to the twelfth year of 'Ālamgīr's reign. As a result, their power and influence increased by leaps and

* See *Bādshāhnāmah*, Vol. ii, p. 58 ; *Adāb-i-Ālamgīrī*, *folio* 366-b ; *Tārīkh-i-Ferishta*, Vol. ii, p. 27 ; and *Aurangzeb and His Times*, p. 116 ff.

† "In Ahmadābād", so runs a *firmān* of 'Ālamgīr, "there is a Cathedral Mosque situated near the city gate.....for a year the Kulīs have not allowed the Musalmāns to offer their prayers. See that no one disturbs the Musalmāns." (*Vide Mirāt-i-Ahamdī*, p. 275).

bounds, and now they endeavoured to put them to their best advantage. In the rise of the Marhattās they saw the visions of a Hindū Empire. They rallied round Shivājī and worked for the overthrow of the Mughal Empire. Their risings in the North, particularly in the suburbs of Delhi and Āgrā, and their depredations in the South, especially in the Mughal territories, roused the Mughal Emperor to the danger that was developing so speedily and compelled him to reconsider his policy.

In order to make a correct estimate of 'Ālamgīr and his achievements, it is necessary first to remove the mud that has been thrown upon him by his hostile critics and then to present an accurate account of his reign with the insight and impartiality of an historian.

Re-imposition of the *Jizia*.

Let us begin with the re-imposition of the *Jizia* by 'Ālamgīr and see if it was the outcome of his bigotry, as is alleged by his critics.* The *Jizia*, it must be pointed out at the outset, was not an obnoxious tax and was not meant to be a burden on the *Zimmīs*. It was, on the other hand, a blessing for them under Muslim rule, and was collected from them as the price for the protection of their person and property against their enemies. It was levied on able-bodied males in lieu of military service; but they were exempt from it if they served in the Muslim army. That it was not 'a tax on the free exercise of religion', is conclusively proved by the fact that the priests and religious heads

* For a clear and correct account of the *Jizia*, see *Aurangzeb and His Times*, pp. 140 ff.

of the *Zimmīs* were, as a rule, exempt from it. In order, perhaps, to remove the 'inferiority complex', with which it came to be associated later on, Akbar abolished it, and it was not levied till 1679 A. C., *i.e.*, some seventeen years after the accession of 'Ālamgīr. The fact that it was not imposed for so many years during 'Ālamgīr's reign shows that the much-maligned monarch appreciated the current state of affairs and was not inclined to revive it. He would have continued the same policy were it not for some serious considerations, political as well as financial. It must also be noted that the idea of re-imposing the *Jizia* originated not with 'Ālamgīr, as is alleged, but with the Muslim theologians. Ishwar Dās, who was intimately known to the Chief Qāzī, informs us: "The learned theologians, looking to His Majesty's piety, pointed out the propriety of levying the *Jizia*, which was necessary according to Islāmic Law. His Majesty, therefore, thinking its imposition binding upon him, appointed Enāyatullah Khān for its regulation."* Ishwar Dās is supported by the author of the *Mīrāt* and there is every reason to rely upon his statement. One who ascended the throne as 'a saviour of his religion,' and one who was hailed as a 'champion of Islām,' could not dare drop down the proposal of the learned Ulāmā. Apart from this, there were other considerations: The abolition of as many as eighty taxes meant an enormous decrease in the Imperial income. This as well as the heavy expenditure entailed in quelling disturbances and waging wars must have

* *Fatūhāt-i-Ālamgīrī* by Ishwar Dās, pp. 73-74; and *Mīrāt-i-Ahmadī*, 190-a.

driven the Emperor to the same conclusion. To him the re-imposition of the *Jizia* meant the adjustment of the Imperial finances and the discharge of a sacred duty. To say or to suppose that it was intended to effect forced conversion of the *Zimmīs* in the Mughal Empire is a grave misrepresentation of facts. The *Zimmīs* in the service of the State were exempt from it. It was not exorbitant, being levied on the surplus of income over and above the cost of maintenance. Apart from this, it was not regularly collected and was frequently remitted in the case of the poor.*

Dismissal of Hindū officials.

The charge that with one stroke of pen he dismissed all the Hindūs from Government service in a fit of fanaticism is false on the face of it, for there were numerous Hindūs who held highly responsible posts in the civil and military departments of the State during his reign. Many of them were appointed governors of different provinces and entrusted with the supreme military commands in various campaigns. The fact that he repeatedly pardoned Rājah Jaswant Singh for his treacherous conduct and treasonable designs, took him into confidence in spite of all that, and acknowledged his posthumous son, Ajīt Singh, when he grew up in age, as the Rājah of Mārwār, shows that 'Ālamgīr was not at all inclined to annoy the Rājpūts or to dispense with their services; on the other hand, he tried his best to please them in every possible way, so that they might not join hands with the Marhattās against him.

* *Fatūhāt-i-'Ālamgīrī*, by Ishwar Dās, 111-b; *Mirāt-i-Ahmadī*, p. 321; and *Aurang:eb and His Times*, pp. 153 ff.

While making a reply to a petition, praying for the dismissal of the *Zimmīs* from certain posts, 'Ālamgīr retorted : ' Religion has no concern with secular business and in matters of this kind bigotry should find no place.' Then quoting a verse from the *Holy Qur'ān* ' To you your religion and to me my religion,' he declared that if the petitioner's request were to be acceded to, ' we shall have to destroy all the Rājas and their subjects.' * The mere mole, therefore, of which a huge mountain has been made by his enemies is that in 1082 A. H. a *firmān* was issued to the effect that Hindū clerks, the *dīwāns* and the collectors of land revenue, who were corrupt, be dismissed and Musalmāns appointed instead, though this *firmān* was soon modified by another in this way that of the officials in the civil and military departments of the State one should be Hindū and one Muslim, so that one should serve as a check on the other. Obviously, therefore, the idea underlying the *firmāns* was to prevent corruption and nothing more. †

Destruction of temples.

Another equally false charge levelled against 'Ālamgīr is that he tormented the Hindūs and destroyed their temples, and that in accordance with the tenets of his religion. To be sure, Islām enjoins

* *Preaching of Islām*, by Sir Thomas Arnold, p. 214; *Anecdotes of Aurangzeb*, by Sir Jadunath Sarkar, pp. 97—100; and *Aurangzeb and His Times*, p. 202.

† *Muntakhib-ul-Lubāb*, Vol. ii, pp. 249 and 252; *Studies in Mughal India*, pp. 162-63; and *Aurangzeb and His Times*, pp. 190 ff. It may be pointed out here that even the Pathāns and Persians were not freely employed by 'Ālamgīr for political reasons. (See *Aurangzeb and His Times*, pp. 191 and 266).

universal toleration and its votaries have practised it with rare fidelity. The lot of the subjugated has never been happier than under the ruling races of Islām. Some time ago the Asiatic Society of Bengāl published a *firmān* addressed by Emperor ʿĀlamgīr to Abul Hasan, the Governor of Benāres, enjoining tolerance on him and his officials. This *firmān*, the genuineness of which cannot be called in question, gives a lie direct to the charge of intolerance laid at the door of the last of our Great Mughals, and reveals his care and concern for the well-being of his Hindū subjects. It reads:—

Firmān issued to the governor of Benāres.

"Let Abul Hasan, worthy of favour and countenance, trust to our royal bounty, and let him know that, since in accordance with our innate kindness of disposition and natural benevolence, the whole of our untiring energy and all our upright intentions are engaged in promoting the public welfare and bettering the condition of all classes, high and low, therefore, in accordance with our holy law, we have decided that ancient temples shall not be overthrown, but that new ones shall not be built. In these days of our justice, information has reached our noble and most holy Court that certain persons, actuated by rancour and spite, have harassed the Hindūs resident in the town of Benāres and a few other places in that neighbourhood, and also certain Brahman keepers of the temples, in whose charge these ancient temples are, and that they further desire to remove these Brahmans from their ancient office (and this intention of theirs causes distress to that community), therefore, our Royal Command is that, after the arrival

of our lustrous order, you should direct that in future, no person shall in unlawful way interfere or disturb the Brahmans and the other Hindūs resident in these places, so that they may, as before, remain in their occupation and continue with peace of mind to offer up prayers for the continuance of our God-given Empire, that is destined to last for all time. Consider this as an urgent matter. Dated the 15th of Jumada II, A. H. 1069 (A. D. 1659)." *

Two more *firmāns* issued by 'Ālamgīr to his officers, containing similar instructions, have come to light and they are reproduced *verbatim* because they are highly significant :—

Firmān No. 1.

"At this auspicious time an august *firmān* was issued that whereas Mahārājdhirāj Rāja Rām Singh has represented to the most holy, and exalted Court that a mansion was built by his father in Mohalla Mādho Rāi, on the bank of the Ganges at Benāres for the residence of Bhagwant Goshain who is also his religious preceptor, and as certain persons harass the Goshain, therefore, our Royal Command is that, after the arrival of our lustrous order, the present and future officers should direct that in future, no person shall in any way interfere or disturb the Goshain, so that he may continue with peace of mind to offer up prayers for the continuance of our God-given Empire, that is destined to last for all time. Consider this as an urgent matter. Dated 17th Rabī II, 1091 A. H."

* *J. A. S. B.* (1911), p. 689: and *Waqāi-'Ālāmgīrī*, pp. 104 ff. Also see *Aurangzeb and His Times*, pp. 106 ff.

Firmān No. 2.

"At this auspicious time an august *firmān* was issued that as two plots of land measuring 588½ *dirā*, situated on the bank of the Ganges at the Benī Mādho *Ghāt*, in Benāres (one plot is in front of the house of Goshain Rāmjīvan and on the bank of the Central Mosque, and the other is higher up) are lying vacant without any building and belong to *Bait-ul-Māl*, we have, therefore, granted the same to Goshain Rāmjīvan and his sons as *Inām*, so that after building dwelling-houses for the pious Brahmans and holy *faqīrs* on the above-mentioned plots, he should remain engaged in the contemplation of God and continue to offer up prayers for the continuance of our God-given Empire that is destined to last for all time. It is, therefore, incumbent on our illustrious sons, exalted ministers, noble *Umarās*, high-officials, *dāroghās*, and present and future *Kotwāls*, to exert themselves for the continual and permanent observance of this hallowed ordinance, and to permit the above-mentioned plots to remain in the possession of the above-mentioned person and of his descendants from generation to generation, and to consider him exempt from all dues and taxes, and not to demand from him a new *sanad* every year. (1098 *Hijra*.)" *

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* This and the preceding *firmāns* have been published by Mr. Zaḥir-ud-Din Faruqi in his valuable work *Aurangzeb and His Times* with the help of K B. Maqbul Hussain Sahib, Commissioner of Benāres Division (See pp. 131-132). For other *firmāns* issued by 'Ālamgīr to the same effect, *vide Mirāt-i-Ahmadi*, p. 253; and *Aurangzeb and His Times*, pp. 136 ff. Also see Ch. Nabī Ahmad Sandelvi's *Waqāi 'Ālamgīr*, which contains a number of Aurrangzeb's letters and *firmāns* with copious notes.

Which temples were destroyed and why?

The dates of the above two *firmāns* are highly important in that they relate to the period of 'Ālamgīr's reign when he is alleged to have exceeded every limit in bigotry and fanaticism. The information embodied in them militates against the theory of intolerance and iconoclasm enunciated against him by modern writers who have little acquaintance with the teachings of Islām and Islāmic history. It is certain that Islām enjoins toleration and its votaries have always tried to excel in this virtue. No nation has granted greater liberty to the subject races than that granted by the Muslim Rulers, whether in India, Spain, or elsewhere. It is equally true that 'Ālamgīr had a profound respect for the teachings of Islām. He always tried to be tolerant towards the *Zimmīs* and was true to the *Qurānic* text: "Let there be no violence in religion" and the sayings of the Prophet "Whoever torments the *Zimmīs* torments me" and "Whoever wrongs a *Zimmī* and lays a burden upon him beyond his strength, I shall be his accuser". What then is responsible for the popular belief that he was intolerant and the current notions that he persecuted the Hindūs and destroyed their temples? The real facts, when boiled down, resolve themselves into this: When the Hindūs destroyed mosques and constructed *mandirs* on their sites, the Muslim Emperor reclaimed them and issued an order to demolish only those temples which had become centres of sedition and political intrigue, and those that had been newly erected without permission.* The

* *Muntakhib-ul-Lubāb*, Vol. ii, p. 472.

later Muslim jurists disallowed the construction of new temples. Accordingly, in obedience to this injunction, Shāh Jahān pulled down a number of new temples.* But, curiously enough, no Hindū has so far dubbed him as intolerant. Why then such a tornado of vindictiveness against 'Ālamgīr? The reason is that, after Akbar, the Hindūs had found in Dārā a hero after their own hearts. They wanted him to be their king, but when he was defeated and killed, they turned against 'Ālamgīr, the new king, who was a staunch Sunnī. 'Ālamgīr was tolerant, and to a fairly high degree, but not so tolerant as Akbar and Dārā, who, in order to achieve their ulterior political aims, concealed their religious identities and even subscribed to the religion of the ruled.

Whether Hindū schools were destroyed? If so, which and why?

The isolated instance recorded in the *Ma'āsīr-i-'Ālamgīrī* that 'in the Province of Thattā and Multān and particularly in Benāres, the Brahmans were engaged in teaching unholy books in their schools, where the Hindūs and Musalmāns flocked to learn their wicked sciences' and that 'orders were, therefore, issued to all the governors of Provinces ordering the destruction of temples and schools and totally prohibiting the teaching and infidel practices of the unbelievers',† is not supported by any other contemporary Persian chronicle; on the other hand, it is contradicted by the cumulative evidence adduced above. We cannot,

* *Bādshāhnāmah*, Vol. i, p. 452.

† *Ma'āsir-i-'Ālamgīri*, p. 81.

therefore, but disbelieve it. It must be pointed out here that some of the contemporary chroniclers were unusually fond of unduly exaggerating things which added to their religious vanity, and that it would be wholly unsafe if their effusions are taken too seriously. Like those Muslims, who took delight in the extirpation of idolatory at any cost and with whom the destruction of temples was a theme of which they were never tired of weaving, Mustā'id Khān, the author of the *Ma'āsīr-i-'Ālamgīrī*, seems to have given a religious colour to a purely political *firmān*. It is certain that no *firmān*, as described by Mustā'id Khān, was ever sent to the governors for the destruction of temples and schools; but even if we take the dispatch of such a *firmān* for granted, the motive underlying it could be no other than to restrain Muslim students from attending Hindū schools and learning 'wicked sciences,' though in that case 'Ālamgīr should have checked the Muslims from going astray instead of ordering the destruction of Hindū schools and temples. In consequence, some of the schools (attached to temples) might have been closed with a view to prevent the Hindūs from admitting Muslim students in their schools, but the wholesale destruction of schools and temples throughout the Mughal Empire is highly incredible, more so when viewed in the light of the Imperial *firmāns* issued for their protection.

Toleration under 'Ālamgīr.

The policy of religious toleration adhered to by the Mughal Emperors was not abandoned by Aurangzeb. This fact is testified to by Alexander Hamilton who happened to be present in India during the later

part of 'Ālamgīr's reign. Speaking about the Pārsīs, he says that they enjoyed the freedom of worship and the liberty of conscience. The Christians, he continues, were free to build churches and to preach their religion, adding, however, that those who became converts to Christianity did not have enviable morals. "The Gentows", he concludes, have full toleration for their religion, and keep their fasts and feasts as in former times, when the sovereignty was in pagan princes' hands... ..... There are above an hundred different sects in this city (Sūrat); but they never have hot disputes about their doctrine or way of worship. Every one is free to serve and worship God in his own way. And persecutions for religion's sake are not known among them".* With all this, it must be admitted, 'Ālamgīr was not so tolerant towards the Hindūs as Dārā who shared their beliefs and supported their religion—nay even overlooked the occupation of mosques and the abduction of Muslim women by them. The death of Dārā dealt a *coup d'état* to Hindū domination. Smarting under the loss of a most powerful patron, they rose in rebellion, disturbed the peace of the country and defied the authority of the Emperor. Must the Emperor have kept quiet and allowed the existing state of affairs a free scope? No government can tolerate that.

Inferences drawn from the foregoing discussion.

Five inferences can be drawn from the preceding discussion:—(1) The destruction of places of worship is neither enjoined nor countenanced by the Islamic Law. (2) The Hindūs

*A *New Account of the East Indies*, by Alexander Hamilton, Vol. i, pp. 159, 162 and 163.

were the first to destroy the mosques of the Muslims. The latter retaliated by repaying the former in their own coin, but the Government issued *firmāns* for the protection of all sacred places, *masjids* as well as *mandirs*, without discrimination. (3) Owing, perhaps, to the narrow interpretation of the Islamic Law, so also to the prejudice which the Musalmāns had against idolatry, the later Muslim jurists allowed the preservation of ancient temples and prohibited the construction of new ones with a view to discourage idol-worship. The occupation of mosques by the Hindūs was, it must be remembered, responsible, and to a great extent, for the rigid enforcement of the injunction prohibiting the construction of new temples. (4) Where the ruler is resented by the ruled, no amount of toleration is of any avail and the places of worship are apt to become centres of political agitation and asylums for the malcontents and miscreants. This must have been so in the case of 'Ālamgīr, and as a political expedient some of the temples might have been destroyed during the suppression of a rebellion or a revolt in order to effect the early submission of the rebels. (5) It is also possible that some of the temples were destroyed with a view to teach a lesson to the Hindūs who had destroyed mosques and made *mandirs* on their sites.

'Ālamgīr justified.

In short, 'Ālamgīr would have continued the policy of his predecessors if the conditions had not changed; if the Hindūs had not become aggressive, defiant and even treacherous, ambitious to overthrow the Muslim Empire and to establish a Hindū Empire instead. He rightly gauged the strength of the forces that were gathering round him

and changed his policy according as the changes suggested. Any of his predecessors would have done the same if he had found himself besieged by so many forces of intrigue and insubordination which beset 'Ālamgīr. It must be remembered that it was only after he had discovered that it was impossible to reconcile the Rājpūts to his rule that he refused to rely on them and rallied round him his own co-religionists, with whose help he succeeded in crushing his enemies and enforcing his authority as well as restoring law and order. When he unsheathed his sword for the protection of mosques and Muslim women, he became the Defender of the Faith, but when he carried the Crescent far and wide, he became the Champion of Islām—a title with which he is remembered to the present day.

Jāt Rebellion.

The Jāts of Mathūrā had received great concessions from Emperor Akbar and his son, Jahāngīr: While Akbar himself had constructed the palacial temples of Gobind Dev, Jugal Kishor, Gopī Nāth etc., in Bindrāban and Mathūrā, Jahāngīr had permitted Rājah Narsingh Dev Bundelā, the murderer of Allāma Abul Fazl, to build a beautiful temple in Mathūrā with Rs. 32,00,000 which he had acquired after killing the *Allāma*. During the reign of Shāh Jahān the Jāts resumed their mischievous activities in Mathūrā. Distinguished officers, such as 'Āzam Khān and Mirzā Īsā Khān, who were sent to restore law and order in that district, failed to bring them to book on account of Dārā Shikoh, who managed the affairs of the Mughal Government. This state of affairs continued to the time of 'Ālamgīr with, of course, added

energy, because Dārā, their patron, was defeated and killed. They were touched to the quick when Sayyad Abdun-Nabī, the new *Faujdār* appointed by 'Ālamgīr, built a *Jāma Masjid* and not a temple in the heart of the Hindū city. In 1669 A. C. they insulted the mosque, broke into open rebellion under the leadership of Gokle, a *zamīndār* of Tilpat, and assassinated the Imperial *Faujdār*. Hassan Alī, the new *Faujdār*, resumed the struggle with the Jāts and inflicted a crushing defeat on them in 1676 A. C. The rebellion was suppressed and severe repressive measures secured peace for about a decade. The trouble was renewed again in 1681 A. C. when, taking advantage of the absence of Ālamgīr who was away in the Deccan, the Jāts again ran into rebellion under Rājah Rām. This time the centre of sedition was the stronghold of Sansānī, some sixteen miles to the north-west of Bharatpur. The leader was killed and the place was taken, but the lawless Jāts continued to give trouble to the Emperor to the close of his career. In 1691 A. C. they again raised the standard of revolt and offered a most acrimonious effrontery to the Imperial House, nay, they committed a most heinous offence against humanity when they desecrated and plundered the tomb of Emperor Akbar at Sikandara and burnt his bones.*

The Satnāmīs' Insurrection.

A more serious rebellion was that of the Satnāmīs. According to Ishwar Dās, a contemporary chronicler, the Satnāmīs were 'a filthy people', who were mostly agriculturists and traders. Their headquarters

* *Waqāi-'Ālamgīri*, pp 49—95; and Smith's *Akbar*, p. 328.

were at Narnaul. They were an armed and organized body. The trouble with them arose from an ordinary incident. One day a foot-soldier, who was keeping watch over a harvest, had a dispute with a Satnāmī cultivator. The dispute developed into a deadlock and the former was beaten to death. As a result, retaliations followed, lives were lost and disorder spread, taking a religious complexion. The Mughal officer, who tried to capture the culprits, was overpowered and the Satnāmīs gathered in large numbers. In some engagements they defeated the detachments detailed against them by the Emperor. Repelling the advance of the Imperial forces, they came within sixteen *kos* of Delhi, enlisting support on their way. They plundered Narnaul, domolished mosques and routed the Imperial *Faujdār* of the district. Taking advantage of the chaos created by the Satnāmīs, some of the Rājpūts also rebelled and refused to pay the revenue due from them. This aggravated the situation and compelled the Emperor to take a serious action. In the short but bloody battle that was fought, the Satnāmīs were badly defeated, and thereafter they ceased to be a source of trouble to the Mughal Emperor. Radandāz Khān, who defeated the rebels and reduced them to sore straits, was honoured with the title of *Shujā'at Khān.**

War with the Rājpūts.

The Rājpūts, who had grown rich in resources and strong in the sinews of war, never missed an opportunity of creating disturbance and disorder. Their

* *Muntakhib-ul-Lubāb*, pp. 254-55: and *Aurangzeb and His Times*, p. 210.

anti-government activities during the Satnāmī Rebellion are a case in point, proving that they wanted to stab the Mughals in the back while they were engaged elsewhere. This is not the only instance; the whole reign of 'Ālamgīr is full of such instances. Troubles continued in Rājpūtānā intermittantly, but the situation became serious in 1679 A. C., when Rājah Jaswant Singh whom 'Ālamgīr had posted at Jamrūd at the mouth of the Khyber Pass, died at that place, leaving no son behind to succeed him; more so when at Lāhore the widowed Rānīs gave birth to two sons, one of whom died and the other survived to secure the *Gaddī* of Mārwār and to stir up the sentiments of his co-religionists against the Muslim Monarch. The family of the late Rājah had left Jamrūd without the permission of the Emperor and killed an officer at Attock when asked to produce a passport.* This was a sufficient ground for incorporating Mārwār in the Mughal Empire, or reducing it to a state of dependency under a capable ruler. But there were more serious considerations: In the first place, it was impossible for any emperor of India to tolerate the existence of an independent and inimical state on the flanks of the trade-route through Rājpūtānā to Sūrat, Ahmadābād and other flourishing cities on the western coasts from the Imperial Capital. "No monarch could feel himself secure in the sovereignty of Upper India," says Smith, "until he had obtained possession of Chittor and Ranthambhor, the two principal fortresses in the domains of the free Rājpūt

* *Muntakhib-ul-Lubāb*, p. 259; and *Aurangzeb and His Times*, pp. 211 and 212.

chiefs." Secondly, the late Rājah Jaswant Singh had proved himself a traitor not only once or twice but throughout his career. It was he who plundered 'Ālamgīr's camp and formed a junction with Dārā. It was he who deserted 'Ālamgīr on the eve of the battle of Khājwah and retired to his home with his Rājpūt contingent. It was he who 'made overtures to Shivāji (like himself an implacable foe of the Moghuls), against whom he was sent to act' and secretly helped him in his daring attack on Shāista Khān. It was he who made an attempt 'to remove the Imperial lieutenants, one by assassination the other by open force.' It was he who incited Mu azzam 'whose inexperience he was said to guide, to revolt against his father.' Again it was Jaswant who tried to tamper with the loyalty of his brother-in-law, *viz.*, Rāo Bhāo Singh, who was his colleague in the Imperial army.* These are some among the many striking instances of his treachery and disloyalty. According to Bernier, there was a secret understanding between him and Shivājī, and he was supposed to have been accessory to the attempt on Shāista Khān and the attack of Sūrat.† Thirdly, almost all Rājpūt Rājahs were smarting under the Muslim Rule and aimed at the overthrow of the established government. It was but natural that 'Ālamgīr should seriously consider the question of succession of the posthumous sons whose legitimacy was open to grave doubts.‡ He wanted to confer the Rājship

Tārīkh-i-Dilkushā, p. 25; *Annals and Antiquities of Rājasthān*, (1894) Vol. ii, pp. 51 ff. and *Aurangzeb and His Times*,

†*Bernier's Travels*, (2nd edition), p. 188.

‡See *Aurangzeb and His Times*, p. 214 ff.

on one who would be more loyal and less treacherous than the late Rājah. Lest the surviving sons of the deceased Rājah should become a centre of Hindū resistance, 'Ālamgīr at once ordered the administration of Mārwār to be brought under Muslim officers. Early in 1679 A. C. he went personally to Ajmer to see through the operations in Jodhpur and to overawe opposition in that quarter. Khān Jahān occupied the city and carried all that came in his way. After the occupation of Jodhpur, 'Ālamgīr returned to his Capital on April 2, 1679 A. C. On May 26, 1679 A. C. he made Indar Singh, a grand-nephew of the late Rājah, the Rājah of Mārwār. The following month the family of Rājah Jaswant Singh reached Delhi and pleaded the right of Ajīt Singh before the Emperor, who proposed the infant to be brought up in the Imperial palace and promised to restore the kingdom to him when he would attain the age of discretion. Erroneously supposing that the intention of the Emperor was to bring up the boy as a Muslim, the Rānīs left Delhi in disguise with him. When the Emperor was informed of the flight, it was a little too late. Nevertheless, he sent a force to seize the Rānīs and the infant. A body of Rāthors, headed by Durgā Dās, one of the immortals in the annals of Rājpūtānā, fought against the Imperial force and succeeded in safely escorting the Rānīs and the little boy to Mārwār. Once in their own country, they were free from all external molestation. The Rājpūts rallied round their young chieftain and took up his cause. The Emperor, however, refused to acknowledge him as the real prince and declared the boy, whom the

Rānīs had left at Delhi to be the genuine son of Jaswant Singh. It cannot be definitely asserted whether the boy left at Delhi was the fictitious or the real son of the late Rājah, but when the Rānā of Chittor gave the hand of a princess of his family to the boy, the latter became the real son of Jaswant Singh even if he was not. This interesting episode bitterly disappointed Aurangzeb. His wrath fell on those of his officers who had been duped by the *Rānīs*. Tāhir Khān, the *Faujdār* of Jodhpur, was dismissed and Indar Singh was dethroned for inefficiency. Whatever the delusion of the Emperor in regard to the identity of Ajīt Singh might have been, there was no delusion as to the gravity of the situation that required a prompt action. Mārwār must be incorporated and Rāthor opposition must be suppressed.

Invasion of Mārwār and Mewar.

The invasion of Mārwār was ordered and the Emperor himself moved down to Ajmer in order to direct the operations from there. Prince Akbar was called from Multān and to him was entrusted the supreme command of the Imperial army, and with him was associated Tahawar Khān, the *Faujdār* of Ajmer. The Rāthors were defeated and Mārwār was occupied. It was parcelled out into districts, each of which was placed in charge of a Mughal *Faujdār*. The Rāthors now invoked the assistance of the Sisodians and their request met with a ready response. Fearing a similar fate, the House of Mewār made common cause with the House of Mārwār against the Mughal Emperor. The ever-loyal Rājah of Jaipur continued to side with the

Mughals. The war broke out with great fury in November 1679 A. C. and lasted till 1681 A. C. During this time Udaipur was overrun and Chittor was conquered. Unable to stand against the tremendous array of the Mughal arms, the Rājpūts retired to their inaccessible retreats in the mountains and resorted to *guerilla* warfare, for which the natural features of their country were so favourable. They inflicted heavy losses on the Imperial troops and caused consternation among them. Kumār Bhīm Singh, son of the Rānā of Udaipur, invaded Gujarāt in order to divert the attention of the Mughal Emperor from Rājpūtānā. He seized Idar, plundered some towns and destroyed as many as three hundred mosques.* Dīāl Shāh, the Rājpūt Finance Minister, made an inroad into Mālwā, 'plundered the mosques, burned the *Qur'ān* and insulted the *mullāhs*.' 'For once,' says Tod, 'they (Rājpūts) avenged themselves, in imitation of the tyrant, even on the religion of their enemies: the *kāzees* were bound and shaved, and the *Korāns* were thrown into wells.'† Akbar could make no headway against them. Therefore, he was called back and his place was taken by his brother, 'Āzam, who was summoned from Bengāl. Mu'azzam came from the Deccan, and the governor of Gujarāt was ordered to cut off communications between the Rājpūts and the Marhattas, and to deliver an attack

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**Annals and Antiquities of Rājasthān*, Vol. i, p. 302; *Mirāt-i-Ahmadī*, p. 294; *Fatūhāt-i-'Ālamgīri*, 80a; and *Aurangzeb and His Times*, p. 299.

†*Annals and Antiquities of Rājasthān*, Vol. i, p. 302; *Fatūhāt-i-Ālamgīrī*, 80a; and *Aurangzeb and His Times*, p. 229.

on Rājpūtānā from the South. The Rājpūts were surrounded from different directions and the new princes converged on the hills, which sheltered Rājah Rāj Singh of Udaipur. When success was in sight, the news of the rebellion of Prince Muhammad Akbar arrived and Mewār was easily relieved of the pressure at a most psychological moment.

Rebellion of Prince Muhammad Akbar.

Driven to despair, the Rājpūts resorted to underhand means. They secretly approached Prince Mu'azzam, holding out high hopes to him and promising to put him on the throne. Sternly advised by his mother, Nawāb Bāī, the Prince declined the offer.* The Rājpūts then turned towards Prince Akbar and won him over to their side.† In January, 1681 he broke into rebellion with the hope of acquiring the throne for himself. Supported by the Rājpūts, he crowned himself emperor and marched towards Ajmer to wrest the Imperial Crown for himself. But he was no match for the craft of his father. The situation was extremely grave and required a master-mind to control it. Aurangzeb put Ajmer in a state of defence first and then directed his energies towards the dissolution of the confederacy. Tahawar Khān, the principal supporter of the Prince, was called to the Imperial Camp. Other officers of the army of the Prince were also detached, and he was not so clever as to control the campaign against his father unaided and alone. The defection of his faithful followers scented treachery to the Rājpūts,

Aurangzeb and His Times, p. 229.

†*Ibid.*, pp. 229 and 230.

who took to flight at night after collecting their belongings and looting his camp. Finding himself deserted by his allies, he mounted his horse and fled to the Deccan, where he took refuge with Sambhājī. From the Deccan he went to Persia and remained there to die in 1704 A. C.

'Ālamgīr's success was due to a superior stroke of statesmanship. With Akbar as their trump-card, the Rājpūts would have succeeded in their nefarious plans, but the desertion of the Prince by his followers, manipulated by 'Ālamgīr, turned the trend of events in his favour.*

Treaty of Udaipur.

The war against Mewār and Mārwār continued till March, 1681 A. C. when both the parties desired peace—the Rājpūts, because they had become tired of war, and the Emperor, because matters had taken a serious turn in the South and his presence was urgently required there. Pourparlers for peace commenced and the result was the Treaty of Udaipur, according to which: (1) Jai Singh was acknowledged as the Rānā and a *mansab* of five thousand was conferred upon him. (2) The Rānā stipulated to cede certain tracts (three *parganās*) of his territory to the Mughal Empire and in return the

* The detachment of two or three officers from the Prince was not sufficient to occasion the flight of his Muslim followers and Rājpūt allies from the field. The story that 'Ālamgīr wrote a letter to the Prince, showering praises on him for his 'pretended revolt' and directing him to attack the Rājpūts in the rear, and caused it to fall into their hands furnishes a better explanation, but it is not supported by Khāfī Khān. (*Vide Muntakhib-ul-Lubāb*, Vol. ii, p 269.)

demand for the *Jizia* was dropped, but the territory ceded was returned three years later. (3) The Rānā also agreed to pay an indemnity of Rs. 3,00,000 within two years. (4) The Rājpūt contingent of one thousand horsemen was retained. (5) The fortress of Chittor was not to be repaired. (6) The rebellious Rāthors would not be sheltered by the Rānā.*

Results of the Rājpūt Revolt.

For a period of about three decades Rajpūtānā remained in a state of open revolt against the Mughal Emperor. "The elements of lawlessness that set moving overflowed fitfully into Mālwā and endangered the vitally important Mughal road through Mālwā to the Deccan." The Rājpūts, who had completely estranged themselves and become the bitterest enemies of the Mughal Empire, were suppressed only for the time being; they were not completely crushed. Since the affairs in Rājpūtānā occupied the attention of the Emperor for a fairly long time, his position was considerably weakened in the South, where the Marhattas had made a monarchy of their own. Evidently he could not completely reduce the Rājpūts, though he had won decisive victories against them. As his hands were too full of affairs, he advisedly entered into a treaty with them and turned his attention to the suppression of the Marhatta menace and the subversion of the Shīa Sultānates in the South.

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* For a detailed discussion on this treaty and Prince 'Āzam's secret alliance with the Rājpūts regarding this treaty, see *Aurangzeb and His Times*, pp. 231 ff.

CHAPTER XV

MUHĪ-UD-DĪN MUHAMMAD AURANGZEB 'ĀLAMGĪR—(CONTINUED)

Rise of the Marhattas

Introductory.

In the neighbourhood of 1634 A. C. a Marhatta soldier of fortune, named Shāhjī Bhonslā, began to play a prominent part in the politics of Southern India. He served and fought for the independence of the kingdoms of Ahmadnagar and Bijāpur against the Mughals and left a fairly large band of followers and a modest military fief to his son, Shivājī, the arch-enemy of Aurangzeb. Before taking up the story of this mighty Marhatta, it is necessary to give a brief account of the Marhatta country, its people, and the qualities that mark them off from the remaining population of India; for these are important factors bearing upon Shivājī's career which cannot be treated as an isolated phenomenon.

Description of Mahārāshtrā.

Mahārāshtrā, the habitat of the Marhattas, is comprised in the country lying between the mountain range which stretches along the south of the river Narbada, parallel to the Vindhya and Satpura ranges. The outstanding physical feature of the country is the Sahyadri range or the Western Ghāt which runs like a long wall along the western part and divides the tracts into two parts, each remarkable for its own peculiarities. Thus situated, the triangular table-land of the Deccan enjoyed

considerable immunity from the invasions to which the North had become a constant prey. The forts on top of the ranges ensured the security of the country. It is from these important positions that various princes and chiefs have, at different times, profited and successfully defied the authority of the mighty kings of the North.

Character and qualities of the Marhattas.

Owing to the peculiar nature of their country, the Marhattas have developed certain physical and moral qualities which distinguish them from the rest of their countrymen. The winding roads up the rocks, the fortified entrances with a succession of gate-ways, the towers erected in order to guard the approaches to the forts which studded the surface of that rugged country—all these gave the inhabitants of the country a decided advantage over their opponents. Their *guerilla* mode of warfare greatly exasperated their enemy and exhausted their resources in men and money. Even the Mighty Mughals found it difficult to defeat them, for they would never fight their enemy in the open field. The niggardliness of nature and the bracing climate of their country made them simple, strong, sturdy, daring, enterprising and persevering. They were peasant proprietors who never shirked the roughest and hardest toil. Mounted on small ponies and carrying some raw or parched millet, they undertook long marches and inflicted losses on their enemy. They could be easily dispersed and easily called together according to the season of the year. Except at the time of seeding and harvesting, they were

always at leisure to wage war. They joined the armies of Bijāpur and Golconda and soon acquired the necessary training in the art of fighting. Gradually they became first-class fighters, with ample chances of success against the men of the North, dissipated by luxury, indolence and ease. In the Rājpūt, the Mughals had found a most worthy antagonist; in the Marhatta, a most formidable foe; for the latter would not shrink from taking recourse to treachery when it served his ends.

Their religion.

We have already given a brief account of the *Bhaktī* Movement which appeared in the North in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and gave a new stamp to the religion of the Hindūs. Spreading throughout the length and breadth of India, this protestant movement, the *Reformation*, made its way into the humble ranks of the Marhattas and united them into a common brotherhood wherein there were no distinctions of caste and colour. The religious leaders of the Marhattas sprang from the lower stratum. They, therefore, preached equality of all persons and ruled out the differences of birth and blood. They declared a crusade against all those grave abuses with which Hindūism was honeycombed, and propagated the monotheistic principle which the Musalmāns had introduced in India. They condemned forms and ceremonies and succeeded in stamping out superstition from the ranks of Marhatta society. They taught their followers the philosophy of action and the science of discipline. By songs and speeches, they stirred up the sentiments of the people and inculcated

patriotism among them. According to Dr. Ishwari Prasad, the centre of these new ideas was Pandharpur, a seat of pilgrimage in the Deccan, and the Pandharpur movement was a powerful factor in unifying the Marhatta country. The principal preachers of the new ideas were Tukā Rām, Rām Dās, Vaman Pandit and Eknāth.

Their early training.

Under the Shiā Sultāns of the kingdoms of Bijāpur and Golconda, the Marhattas had acquired considerable training both in the civil and military administration of the country. They were employed in the revenue department and entrusted with important posts in the armies. Some of them enjoyed the unmixed confidence of their rulers and held even ministerial portfolios in the State. To give specific instances, Mudār Rāo, Madan Pandit and several other prominent members of the Rāj Rāi family served as ministers and *diwāns* in the State of Golconda ; Narsū and Yāsu Pandit were other Marhatta chiefs who distinguished themselves in the Kingdom of Bijāpur. The Bahmani Kings had employed the Hindūs of the South in the State and entrusted them with the most responsible positions. Their policy was followed and kept up by their successors, the rulers of the offshoots, *i.e.*, the five small states into which the Bahmani Kingdom had been split up. While in the military department the Marhattas served as *Siledārs* and *Bargīrs*, Brahman ambassadors were sent on important diplomatic missions. Thus, it is quite obvious that Bijāpur and Golconda were virtually dependent on Marhatta soldiers and statesmen who had

gradually acquired great power and influence in the affairs of these States.

The rise of the Bhonslā family: Shāhjī Bhonslā.

At the commencement of the seventeenth century, when the Kingdom of Ahmadnagar was blotted out of existence and those of Bijāpur and Golconda were threatened with a similar fate by the Mughals, the Marhatta ministers and warriors found ample scope for the display of their wisdom and valour. They took a leading part in the wars and revolutions that came in quick succession and advanced their own national interests. One of such persons was a *jāgīr dār*, called Shāhjī Bhonslā, the father of Shivājī, who had joined the service of the Sultān of Bijāpur in 1632 A. C. and risen to a high position with the help of Murārī Jagdeva, a friend of the *Vazīr*, Khawās Khān. Later on, he obtained in Mysore a much larger *jāgīr*, including Sīrā and Bangalore, when he returned after conducting a successful campaign in the South.

Early life of Shivājī.

Shivājī Bhonsla, son of Shāhjī Bhonsla by his wife Jījābāi, was born in the stronghold of Sivāner on the 10th of April 1627 A. C. On the male side he claimed descent from the Rājpūt Rājahs of Udaipur and on the female side he was a descendant of the Yādava rulers of Deogari. Both his parents being so highly connected, Shivājī might justly be proud of his noble ancestry. His mother has been described as a pious and devout Hindū lady, who used to relate to her son the thrilling tales of the famous Hindū heroes of the past from her stock of memory and stirred up his spirit by narrating

to him the stories of the *Rāmāyana*, the *Mahābhārata* and the *Purānās*. Thus, there is ample reason to endorse the view that Jījābāi had an important share in moulding the character of her son. To say with Justice Ranade : " If ever great men owed their greatness to the inspiration of their mothers, the influence of Jījābāi was a factor of prime importance in the making of Shivājī's career and the chief source of his strength." As Shāhjī had little time to look after the education of his son, he placed him under the tuition of his agent, called Dādājī Kondādev. This aged Brāhman of immense experience was an able administrator of the estates of Shāhjī. From him the young Marhatta imbibed and assimilated much that proved him so useful in his subsequent career. The education he received comprised in horsemanship, hunting and military exercises. It was sufficiently supplemented by lessons from the life and personal experience of Dādājī himself. The influence exerted on the mind of the young lad by Marhatta saints and scholars brought home to him the necessity of doing something for the cause of his country. 'Unite all who are Marathas,' his moral preceptor, Gurū Rām Dās, used to advise him, 'and propagate the *Dharma* of Mahārāshtra.' The Gurū convinced him that he had been sent to this world on the sacred mission of protecting the Brāhmans and the cow. 'Mother and motherland,' he used to tell him, 'are dearer than heaven itself, why live when religion has perished; when faith is dead, death is better than life.' The seed did not fall on a barren soil. Shivājī's outlook brightened, his

mental horizon widened and he now aspired to become an independent *polygar*. The natural scenery of his native-land, the environments of his early life, the influence of his mother, teacher and other saints fired him with the ambition of carving out an indepedent kingdom for himself.

His robberies.

Born and brought up in Mahārāshtra, Shivājī had made himself familiar with every nook and corner of that country with the help of his Mawāli associates. He began his public career at the age of nineteen. In 1646 A. C. the Sultān of Bijāpur fell ill and his illness was followed by anarchy and confusion. Taking advantage of this opportunity, Shivājī seized upon the stronghold of Torna and carried a successful raid into the fort of Rāigarh, which was easily occupied. He rebuilt Rāigarh and wrested Supa from his uncle, Shambhūjī. Fort after fort yielded to the young adventurer. The stronghold of Chakan and the outposts of Indāpur and Baramatī passed into his possession in rapid succession. The forts of Kondana, Purandhar and Singhgarh were captured next and the southern frontier of Shivājī's family estate was secured. The Sultān of Bijāpur, who was taken aback by the aggressive activities of Shivājī, would have reduced the young Marhatta to submission; but the friendly intervention of the ministers convinced the *Darbār* that the strongholds were captured in the general interest of his family estate. The ambitious Marhatta *Sardār* would not, however, rest on his oars. Soon he sent a body of Marhatta horsemen under the command of Abājī Sonder against the Konkan, and the

result was the capture of Kalyān. Next, Shivājī marched southwards in the district of Kolābā and enlisted the sympathies of the local chiefs in the common cause of overthrowing the Muslim yoke.

Seizure and release of his father.

The conquest of Kalyān in the Konkan by Shivājī and his activities in that country roused the authorities of Bijāpur against him. About this time Shāhjī was arrested and imprisoned by the Sultān, either because of his insubordination to Mustafā, the Commander-in-Chief of Bijāpur, or because of his son's encroachments on the territory of Bijāpur, or both. Shivājī was greatly upset at the news of his father's imprisonment and the confiscation of his *jāgīrs*. For some time he gave up his depredatory pursuits and planned to effect the release of his father. With this aim in view, he appealed to His Majesty the Mughal Emperor through his son, Murād Bakhsh, who happened to be in the Deccan at that time. He offered his services with the prayer that his father be released through his intercession. Shāh Jahān acceded to his request and enrolled him as a *mansabdār* of five thousand. Under the fear of Imperial intervention, the ruler of Bijāpur released Shāhjī, though he did not allow him to quit Bijāpur for four years. There is, however, another view as to the release of Shāhjī: It is said that it was almost entirely due to the friendly intervention and good offices of Sharza Khān and Randaula Khān, the two influential officers of Bijāpur. But it must be noted that the release was conditional; for Shivājī remained quiet for about six years (1649—55 A. C.),

so far as the interests of Bijāpur were concerned. During this period he kept himself busy in consolidating his newly-acquired territory and organizing its administration.

Massacre at Javlī.

No sooner was Shāhjī released and restored to his *jāgīr* in the Karnātic than his son resumed his relentless raids in the South. In order to acquire the tract of land in the southern Konkan, Shivājī made overtures to Chandra Rāo, the Rājah of Javlī, who administered that tract in the name of the King of Bijāpur, to join him against the Muslim State. Having failed to achieve his object in this way, he sent two agents to Javlī, outwardly for contracting his alliance with the daughter of its Rājah, but in fact for assassinating him. The Rājah received the agents with great respect, but treacherously enough, the guests put their host to death at 'a private interview', fled from the fort and joined Shivājī who had, meanwhile, detailed his troops to the Ghāts and had himself arrived there to conduct the operations in person. The citadel was stormed and 'the surprise was sudden'. The sons of the Rājah put up a vigorous defence, but were eventually taken prisoners and done away with in 1655 A. C. at Nimgazā to the south of Poona. For several days the ladies of the late Rājah were kept in confinement at Purandhar and then released.*

*See *Bisāt-ul-Ghanāim*, p. 40; *Shivā-Chhatrapatī-Chen Sapta prakaram-atmak Charitra*, Chitnis, pp. 81-82;; and *Kalmi Bakhar*, paras. 28 and 29. Sir Jadunath Sarkar's condonation o the above crime is curious. In his own words, 'his (Shivājī's

Renewal of hostilities.

Hostilities were renewed when, towards the close of 1656 A. C., 'Ali 'Ādil Shāh of Bijāpur died and Aurangzeb advanced against his dominion at that opportune moment. Shivājī, who longed for such opportunities, was only too glad to seize this one. He negotiated with Aurangzeb and became his ally, but failed to maintain friendship. He attacked the Mughal cities of Ahmadnagar and Junnār. But for the illness of Shāh Jahān, Aurangzeb would not have left the Deccan without punishing the Marhatta brigand. The absence of the Mughal troops from the Deccan left Shivājī free to fish in the troubled waters. During the war of succession among the sons of Shāh Jahān he consolidated his power and established his sway over his several strongholds. He enlisted in his army the disbanded soldiery of Bijāpur and renewed his attacks on that kingdom.

Afzal Khān's meeting with Shivājī.

The Sultān of Bijāpur could not tolerate the depredations of Shivāji. He ordered his father, Shāhjī, to stop him from making encroachments on the territory of that state. Shāhjī excused himself on the plea that his son was not subject to his control. The Sultān then sent his able and experienced general,

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power was then in its infancy, and he could not afford to be scrupulous in the choice of the means of strengthening himself' (*Shivājī and His Times*, p. 53). If the soundness of this new rule of ethics be admitted, then, *mutatis mutandis*, the alleged misdeeds of 'Ālamgīr should not be condemned. Sarkar has scrupulously adhered to the above rule in the case of his hero, Shivājī, but has totally deprived 'Ālamgīr of its benefit.

Afzal Khān, with a large force against the Marhattas. Shivājī regarded discretion as the better part of valour. He wished to achieve his object by feigning friendship with the foe. With honeyed words and rich presents, he succeeded in throwing Afzal Khān off his guard. With the help of Brāhman intermediaries, negotiations were opened between the two parties. A spot was fixed as a meeting place and it was agreed that they would meet unescorted. Shivājī took ample precautions for the protection of his person. He put on a coat of chain and a steel cap and kept them concealed under his embroidered cloak and turban. On the fingers of his left hand, he fixed a *Baghnakha*, or the tiger-claw, and carried another native weapon, called *Bichhwa*, or 'scorpion', concealed within his right sleeve. Besides, he posted his soldiers behind the trees along the route of Afzal Khān. Afzal advanced towards the appointed place (Javli), attended by a single servant. Shivāji descended from his stronghold slowly and came to the meeting-place with a timid and hesitating air. He was accompanied by a single attendant and was unarmed to all appearances. He approached to meet the Khān with all humility and Afzal advanced to embrace the Marhatta. As soon as the Khān stooped to raise Shivājī and embrace him, the short-sized Marhatta dispatched him with the deadly weapons he carried with him.

Rout of Afzal Khān's Army.

The death of Afzal Khān was at once signalled and the Marhatta warriors, who were lying in ambush, sprang up and slaughtered their enemies who were

reposing in their camp. The rout of the army of Bijāpur was complete. A large booty fell into the hands of the Marhattas.

Treachery of Shivājī.

Even the greatest of men have not, at times, refrained from employing mean methods for gaining their ends. Yet, while recording their glorious deeds and paying a tribute to their talents, history must also register its findings, however damaging, and pronounce its verdict, however painful, on their misdeeds. Whereas Muslim as well as European writers have uniformly condemned the murder of Afzal Khān by Shivājī as a most heinous crime, Marhatta authorities, with the solitary exception of *Kalmī Bhakar*, have laid the entire blame at the door of Afzal Khān, alleging that while trying to strangle the Marhatta, the Khān got himself killed. Relying exclusively on the Marhatta sources of information, which are materially discrepant and contradictory, and discarding totally the testimony of contemporary Muslim as well as European historians, Ranade, Sarkar and Kincaid have made vigorous efforts to whitewash the treachery of their national hero in various ways. They have fully exploited their forensic eloquence in trying to defend the action of Shivājī on the ground that Afzal Khān had formed a plot against him and that the Khān himself was caught in the cage which he had prepared for the confinement of his opponent (Shivājī). The alleged 'plot', based on a mere presumption, invented either by Shivājī or his votaries, is not unravelled before us. As such, it is impossible to believe it. It is stated that when

Krishnājī, who acted as an intermediary between the parties, was invited and appealed to by Shivājī in secrecy, he "yielded so far as to hint that the Khān seemed to harbour some plan of mischief," and further that having learnt so much, he (Shivājī) sent the envoy (Krishnājī) back with his own agent, Gopīnāth Pant, "who learnt by a lavish use of bribes that Afzal's officers were convinced that 'he had so arranged matters that Shivājī would be arrested at the interview, as he was too cunning to be caught by open fight.'" There is not a tinge of truth in the above statements. They are not warranted by Afzal Khān's conduct and behaviour either before or during the interview. Even the most unimaginative plotter would not venture to launch his plot against his enemy before chalking out a programme, weighing the chances of his success and marking out a line of retreat. Afzal was not so foolish as to set out on his alleged mission of entrapping Shivājī without taking precautions and making preparations necessary for a plot. He was selected and sent against Shivājī by the Bijāpur Government because he was regarded as a great military commander. The fact is that he was honest in his dealings with Shivājī. If he had formed a 'plot', he must have taken someone into confidence and issued necessary instructions to his officers. That he did nothing to this effect and appeared at the interview unarmed and un-escorted leaves room for the only presumption that he boasted of his superior physical strength, disdained to take any force with him and desired to achieve his object single-handed. But it is generally admitted that he had started on this

expedition with 10,000 soldiers, who, however, were left behind when objected to by Shivājī's envoy. Likewise, the presence of Sayyad Bandā, a famous swordsman who accompanied the Khān, was objected to and he too was left behind. All this and the fact that after his murder his army was taken by surprise and routed conclusively prove that Afzal had made no preparations which might even remotely suggest that he 'intended treachery'. The rout of the army that was attacked unawares shows that Afzal's officers had no knowledge of the alleged 'plot' and had received no instructions from their commander. Consequently, one is at a loss to understand how Gopīnāth was able to learn from his officers that he had formed a 'plot'. It is also stated that Afzal had publicly boasted of bringing Shivājī alive to the Bijāpur *Darbār*, and that before a *faqīr*, who belonged to the Marhatta Secret Service. The story of Afzal's boasting before a Marhatta spy puts too much strain on our credulity. Professor Sarkar says that at the interview Afzal 'held Shivā's neck in his left arm within iron-grip, while with his right hand he drew his long straight-bladed dagger and struck at the side of Shivā'.* Whereas Kincaid avers

* According to Prof. Sarkar, Afzal used a long straight-bladed dagger, whereas Kincaid avers that he tried to stab Shivājī at his side with a sword. We learn from the *Shivā Bharat* (Ch. XXI) that before Afzal embraced Shivājī, he had discarded his sword. Muslim and European authorities inform us that Afzal was unarmed when he went to meet Shivājī. When 'the display of force' and the presence of Sayyad Bandā were objected to, there is every reason to believe that either Afzal did not carry any weapon with him, or if he had carried one, it must have been objected to and discarded.

that there was at first an exchange of hot words between the Khān and the Marhatta and then the former caught hold of the latter by his neck. If the 'Khān, enraged at the taunt, seized with the left arm Shivājī by the neck, forcing his head under his arm pit,' as is averred by Kincaid, then where is the element of the treachery alleged? As apart from this, can Afzal Khān, who is alleged to have attended the interview with the intention of killing him by treachery, be said to have 'addressed Shivāji in insulting tones'? And, when Shivājī was to be 'arrested alive,' as is alleged, why did Afzal try to 'strangle' him or 'stab him at his side' while he was in his embrace and did not order his attendants to arrest him or dispatch him, if he so desired? Obviously, nothing was pre-arranged by Afzal. If he had taken precautions and made necessary preparations beforehand, he would have issued instructions to his soldiers and warned them to be on the alert, and both he and his army would not have fallen so easy a prey to the Marhatta marauders. The fact that they were taken unawares and killed conclusively proves the *bona-fides* of Afzal Khān and shows that there was no 'plot' whatsoever. All this exonerates the Khān and establishes his innocence. On the other hand, it was Shivājī who invited his adversary (Afzal) to an interview at a suitable spot selected by himself, posted his soldiers on the route of Afzal Khān's army, issued necessary instructions to his officers, armed himself with the native weapons, *Wagnakhā* and *Bichhwā*, donned a steel cap, put on an iron coat, proceeded to the selected spot 'fully equipped,' objected

to the 'display of force' and 'the presence of Sayyad Bandā', appeared before the Khān in all humility, stabbed him while in his embrace at the interview, made a signal to his soldiers who lay in ambush, and routed the Muslim army—facts which form important links in the chain of the plot contrived and cleverly conducted by Shivājī and not by Afzal Khān.

Rapid progress of Marhatta arms.

The murder of Afzal Khān and the rout of the Bijāpurīs emboldened Shivājī who next carried his arms into the neighbouring territories. He seized the stronghold of Panhālā and a number of other forts and even threatened Bijāpur itself. He attacked Rājhpur and Dabhal and extended his dominions further South along the banks of the Krishnā. In all these campaigns he obtained immense booty, which he put to its best advantage.

Shivājī attacked from three sides.

'Alī 'Ādil Shāh, the Sultān of Bijāpur, was alarmed at Shivājī's acts of aggression. In 1660 A. C. he put his generals to their last trumps to cut short the Marhatta menace. While Shivājī was occupied in strengthening the stronghold of Panhāla, the Bijāpurīs attacked him from three directions. Panhāla was invested by Sidī Johar and the siege lasted for four months. Shivājī was reduced to sore straits and he would have been forced to surrender if he had not escaped to the stronghold of Vishalgarh in a dark night after he had amused the besiegers with the prospect of a capitulation. His escape was ascribed in the Bijāpur *Darbār* to the treachery of Sidī Johar, the commander-

in-chief of the forces of Bijāpur. 'Ādil Shāh now took the field in person. At the head of a huge army, he advanced against his enemy and captured the forts of Panhāla, Pavangarh and some other places. His victorious campaign continued till the rainy season, and he would have compelled Shivājī to ask for forgiveness if the rains had not set in and if the Sultān had not been called to the Karnātic to deal with the rebellion of Sidī Johar.

Shivājī as an independent ruler.

Hostilities ceased, and Shāhjī was appointed to negotiate the terms of treaty with his son on behalf of the Sultān. As a result of these negotiations, Shivājī was acknowledged as the independent ruler of the territory lying between Kalyān in the north and Ponda in the south and Indāpur in the east and Dabhal in the west—an area more than 150 miles in length and 100 miles in breadth. As for Shivāji, he promised to be at peace with Bijāpur during the lifetime of his father. At the instance of his father, he made Rāirī his capital and renamed it as Rāigarh. There he maintained an army of 7,000 horse and 60,000 foot.

Shivājī and Shāistā Khān.

Shivājī now felt himself strong enough to extend his ravages to the dominions of the Great Mughal. In order to put an end to his aggressions, the Emperor had appointed Shāistā Khān as Viceroy of the Deccan. The Mughal Viceroy drove the Marhattas out of the field and captured the fort of Chakan. Next, he occupied Poona without opposition and took up his abode in the very house in which Shivājī had passed his early

days. The Marhatta was thoroughly familiar with every nook and corner of the city and all the ins and outs of the house. Availing himself of local knowledge, he entered the city along with a marriage party of four hundred men, each of whom was a trained warrior. The Khān, who had cantoned his troops around him and had taken necessary precautions for his personal safety, was reposing in his *harem* when all of a sudden Shivājī entered his former residence and raided the room in which the Khān was fast asleep. In the general melee that followed, Shāistā Khān's son, Abul Fath, lost his life, and he himself received a blow which cut off two of his own fingers. With great difficulty, he escaped to Aurangābād, whence he was called back by the Emperor and transferred to the governorship of Bengāl.

Sack of Sūrat.

The city of Sūrat was at that time the most opulent and beautiful of its class on the western coast. Early in the year 1664 A. C. Shivājī deceived his enemies by a number of feigned movements and swooped down on the rich and defenceless city with as many as four thousand horse and carried away immense booty which he safely lodged in the stronghold of Rairi, or Rāigarh. The sack of Sūrat was an exploit far more profitable than the Poona escapade. It amply added to the resources of Shivājī and considerably increased his prestige in the Marhatta country.

Shivāji's assumption of independent sovereignty.

About this time Shāhji died in the Doāb of the Tungābhadra where he was engaged in suppressing the rebellion of the nobles of that place. On the death

of his father, Shivāji assumed the title of Rājah, which the Sultān of Ahmadnagar had conferred on his father in return for his meritorious services. He now began to coin money in his own name to mark his independent authority and undertook plundering expeditions along the coast, which greatly harassed the pilgrims going to Mecca and the merchants engaged in trade between India and other countries.

His submission to the Emperor.

In order to put an end to the high-handedness of Shivāji, Aurangzeb dispatched an efficient army under the command of Prince Mu'azzam, with whom were associated experienced generals. Sardār Jaswant Singh was appointed as second-in-command. He made a few useless attempts to bring the Marhatta Chief to book, but nothing substantial was achieved. Both the Prince and his lieutenant were called back and Rājah Jai Singh and Daler Khān were appointed in their place, and with them were associated some experienced generals. The new commanders laid siege to Singhgarh and Purandhar, respectively. Both the places held out heroically, but Shivāji seemed to have lost every hope of success and so opened negotiations. Receiving assurances not only of safety but of a special favour also, he quietly withdrew from his ranks and came to the camp of Rājah Jai Singh.

Treaty of Purandhar.

The result of the interview between Shivāji and Jai Singh was the Treaty of Purandhar, which embodied the following terms :—(1) Shivāji agreed to surrender twenty-three of his forts and retain only twelve as his

jāgīr. (2) He stipulated that he would pay to 'Ālamgīr forty *lākhs* of *Huns* in thirteen instalments if lands yielding an annual revenue of four *lākhs* of *Huns* in the Konkan and five *lākhs* in the Balāghāt-Bijāpur were granted to him. (3) The eldest son of Shivāji was promised a rank of five thousand. (4) He himself agreed to assist Aurangzeb in his military expeditions against his enemies. After the conclusion of the treaty, its terms were communicated to the Emperor who duly confirmed them. It took three months to reduce Shivājī to submission and to enlist his support for the Mughal Emperor. Shivāji, on his part, rendered good services to the Mughals in their wars against Bijāpur.

His visit to the Imperial Capital.

During the six months that followed the Treaty of Purandhar, Jai Singh turned his attention towards the Kingdom of Bijāpur. Shivāji took a conspicuous part in this expedition and contributed much to the success of the Mughal arms in the Deccan. Joining the Mughals with two thousand horse and seven thousand infantry, he reduced Phaltān and Thatwada and directed an attack on Panhāla in the Konkan. Pleased with his success in the early part of the campaign, the Emperor sent him a jewelled-sword and a robe of honour. The siege of Panhāla was not a success, but Shivājī's support was indispensable in seizing some strongholds. It was about this time that he received an invitation from the Emperor to the Mughal Court. Receiving assurances of safety, the Marhatta *Sardār* accepted the invitation. Putting the administration of his territory into the hands of his

mother and a council of three competent officers, he set out towards Āgrā about the third week of March 1666 A. C. with his son, Sambhūjī At the Imperial Capital, he was received by two Imperial officers, *viz.*, Rām Singh, son of Jai Singh, and Amir Mukhlis Khān. When he reached the Imperial Court, the Emperor was celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of his birthday. Rām Singh ushered him into the *Darbār*, and he presented 1,500 gold pieces as a *nazar* to the Emperor, and a *peshkash* of rupees 6,000. After the formal reception, he was enrolled as a *mansabdār* of 5,000 horse.* The treatment meted out to him, it is alleged, fell far short of the expectations he had formed and the promises held out to him by Jai Singh. His pride was touched to the quick when he found himself seated among the third grade nobles. In a fit of anger he lost his balance and used bold words of reproach for 'Ālamgīr. His conduct at the Court was insulting and insolent, and as a result, he was not granted any robes of honour. The following day he found himself a political prisoner in his house. Petitions sent to the Emperor for his release were rejected. In vain he protested his loyalty to the Mughal throne. He offered his services in conquering the kingdoms of Bijāpur and Golconda, but the Emperor would not listen to his remonstrances. In spite of his repeated requests, he was not granted a private interview.

* The *mansab* of 5,000 was not an inferior one. Those who held a *mansab* of 1,000 were called *Umarā-i-Kibār* or great nobles. For a long list of the dignitaries enjoying a *mansab* of 5,000 each. see *Aurangzeb and His Times*, pp. 360 ff.

Was the honour conferred upon him below his dignity?

Critics, who say that 'Ālamgīr could have gained the good-will of Shivājī and ended the Marhatta menace by meting out a more generous treatment to him, are, perhaps, unaware that Rājah Rāi Karan of Udaipur, than whom there was no more respectable Rājah, was granted a *mansab* of 5,000 by Jahāngīr when he became subordinate to the Central Government and that Rānā Rāj Singh too was enlisted as a *mansabdār* of 5,000 by 'Ālamgīr when he acknowledged him as his suzerain. Shivājī, it will be admitted, was not a greater personality than the *Rānās* of Udaipur. Apart from this, when Shivājī's father entered the service of Shāh Jahān, he was given a *mansab* of 5,000. As a matter of fact, none except the members of the Imperial family was granted a greater *mansab* than this in the beginning. It must be remembered that Shivājī came to the Mughal Court in the capacity of a conquered and that his conqueror, Mirzā Rājah Jai Singh, also held the same *mansab*, *i. e.*, 5,000, which was afterwards raised to 7,000 in recognition of his meritorious services against the Marhattas. It is true that the Rājah gave him assurances of becoming treatment, but nowhere does he appear to have promised to secure for him a greater *mansab* than that he himself enjoyed, and even if he did hold out too high hopes to him on his own account in order to succeed in his mission, the fault does not lie with 'Ālamgīr. It must as well be pointed out here that Fāzil Khān, the Prime Minister, was at that time no more than a *mansabdār* of 5,000. Do the critics

mean that 'Ālamgīr would have acted wisely if he had granted Shivājī a greater *mansab* than that held by the *mansabdārs* mentioned above? Obviously enough, 'Ālamgīr could not grant him a greater *mansab* than that of the Rānās of Udaipur, the Prime Minister and Rājah Jai Singh. The career and character of Shivājī are a sufficient guarantee of the fact that a *mansab* of 7,000, or even more, would not have satisfied him.

A word might well be said about 'Ālamgīr's attitude towards the sons and relatives of Shivājī. In spite of their hostilities, they were treated with great kindness by the Emperor: Shivājī's son, Sambhūjī, and his son-in-law, Nathūjī, were granted a *mansab* of 5,000 each at the recommendation of Mirzā Rājah Jai Singh, who had reduced the Marhattas to sore straits. Sāhūjī was honoured with the title of *Rājah* and a *mansab* of 7,000 was conferred upon him. This is how 'Ālamgīr treated the relatives of Shivājī; and how they repaid this kind treatment, will be seen in the subsequent account.

His escape from captivity.

In the middle of August Shivājī fell ill. After his recovery, he sent rich presents to the Brāhmans in big baskets. In two of these baskets, he and his son, Sambhūjī, made good their escapes. At a distance of six miles from Āgrā some horses were waiting for him and his son. Disguising himself as an ascetic, he soon found his way to Mathūrā. Avoiding the vigilant eye of the Imperial Police, he hastened to his home in the Deccan, passing through eastern Bengāl, Orissā and Gondwānā. He reached his capital in the month of

December after an absence of nine months. Sambhūjī, it may be said here, was left at Mathūrā and was brought back later on. Aurangzeb was greatly annoyed at the escape of Shivājī which was arranged with the connivance of Rām Singh who was therefore deprived of his pay and rank.*

Recall of Jai Singh and his death.

The conquest of the Kingdom of Bijāpur was by no means an easy affair. Jai Singh had succeeded in detaching Shivājī from that kingdom and the treaty of Purandhar was a master-stroke of diplomacy. Free from further troubles from the Marhattas, he organized a punitive expedition against 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh. He had 40,000 troopers at his disposal. He was joined by Shivājī, along with his experienced officers. Moreover, he was assisted by Daler Khān, Dāūd Khān, Rājah Rāi Singh Sesodia, Netojī Palkar and other distinguished generals. But the Imperialists did not meet with any great success; for the capital of Bijāpur was well protected by the Bijāpurīs, who were assisted by an army from Golconda. Finding his army face to face with starvation, Jai Singh decided upon a retreat on the 5th of January 1666 A.C. The retreat was disastrous. The Bijāpurīs now attacked the Mughal forces and inflicted heavy losses on them in men and material. At once the Rājah was called back and the viceroyalty of the Deccan was entrusted to Prince Mu'azzam and Rājah Jaswant Singh was appointed as his adjutant. Jai Singh died soon after his recall.

* See *Storia do Mogor*, Vol. ii, p. 139; *Fatūhāt-i-'Ālamgīrī*; and *'Ālamgīrnāmah*, p. 917.

The change of officers was not at all for the better. Rājah Jaswant Singh was no loyal servant of the Emperor. He was favourably disposed towards Shivājī and was interested in the rise of the Marhattas. Daler Khān was not liked by the Prince and was, therefore, sent away to Bidār. The Prince could do nothing alone. Moreover, a Persian invasion threatened the Punjāb and an army was dispatched there to ward off the Persians. About this time, the Yūsafzaīs also revolted in Peshāwar and harassed the Mughals for full one year. All these facts combined to contribute to the chances of success of the Marhatta Chief who found an open field for himself. But knowing too well the consequences of provoking the Mughal authorities, Shivājī remained quiet between 1668 and 1669 A. C. and utilized his time in the organization of his administration Through the intercession of Rājah Jaswant Singh, who was very friendly disposed towards him, 'Ālamgīr agreed to negotiate a treaty with Shivājī, whereby the latter was acknowledged as the independent ruler of Mahārāshtrā and the title of *Rājah* was conferred upon him. A *jāgīr* was also granted to him in Berār and his son, Sambhūjī, was confirmed in his *mansab*. With the exception of Purandhar and Singhgarh, the Emperor promised to restore all forts to Shivājī. The treaty concluded in March 1668 A. C. lasted till 1670 A. C.

Shivājī styles himself Rājah.

Soon after the conclusion of the treaty with Shivājī, 'Ālamgīr agreed to a peace-treaty with the Sutlān of Bijāpur. The Sultān promised to cede the district of Sholāpur and a territory

He exacts *Chauth* and *Surdeshmukhi* from Bijāpur and Golconda.

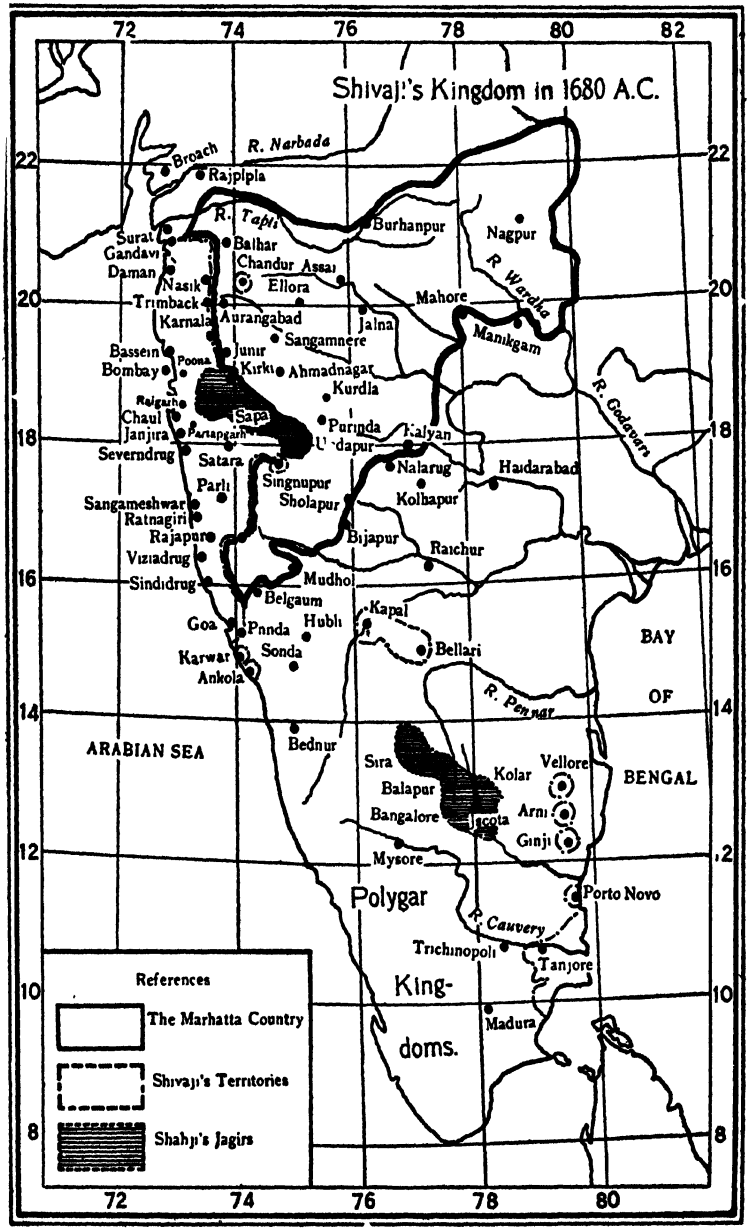
yielding 1,80,000 *pagodās* as revenue. Shivājī pressed his claims for the exaction of *Chauth* and *Surdeshmukhī* from Bijāpur and Golconda. Though the claims were not fully recognized, the two kings agreed to pay some annual tribute; the king of Bijāpur, 3½ *lākhs* and the king of Golconda, 5 *lākhs*. This extraordinary tribute was paid to Shivājī in order to maintain peace with the Marhattas.

Renewal of hostilities and sack of Sūrat.

Hostilities between Shivājī and the Great Mughal were renewed in 1670 A. C. when the former launched upon a fresh career of conquests. He reconquered many of his forts from the Mughals and his soldiers carried with great caution the capture of Singhgarh, Purandhar, Mahūlī, Karnalla and Lohgarh. Lack of discipline in the Mughal Camp and quarrels among the Imperial officers enabled Shivājī to carry his raids into the neighbouring countries. His officers exacted promises of collecting *Chauth* and *Surdeshmukhī*, for the first time, from the districts immediately under the Mughal Government. For a second time he sacked the city of Sūrat and acquired an enormous booty. He was now at the height of his power and was regarded by the Hindūs as the restorer of their freedom.

Coronation of Shivājī: 1674.

By the year 1674 A. C. Shivājī's mastery over Mahārāshtra was complete. Dispatches of victory from all sides, continued success in all quarters and prosperity within his kingdom persuaded him to crown himself at his capital, Rāigarh. This he did with full *Vedic* rights and ceremonies, and henceforth he was acknowledged as the



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independent ruler of the Marhatta country. Following the example of the Hindū Kings of old, he established a new era which commenced from the date of his enthronement.

His further conquests.

Finding that 'Ālamgīr was entangled in hostilities with the Afghān tribes on the North-West Frontier, Shivājī extended his conquests further South. From 1676 A. C. to 1680 A. C. he conducted a successful campaign in the South. He annexed Jinjī, Vellore and many other important places to his Kingdom. He conquered a considerable portion of the Vijāyānagar Empire and was making preparations for the final struggle with 'Ālamgīr; but before he launched his new scheme, he was carried away by death in 1680 A. C. at the age of fifty-three.

Extent of his Kingdom.

The Kingdom of Shivājī comprised a long narrow strip of land, consisting of the Western Ghāts and the Konkan between Kalyān and Goa. The extreme breadth of this Kingdom from east to west was about 100 miles. In the south the provinces, which had been conquered towards the close of Shivājī's career, comprised the western Karnātic and the territories extending from Belgaum to the bank of the river Tungābhādra. Later on, Jinjī and Vellore were also added to the Marhatta Kingdom.

His civil administration.

Shivājī was a good administrator and a great organizer. Both in the civil and military departments he displayed considerable tact and ability. Practically illiterate, he

devised an excellent system of administration for his Kingdom. It was based on the ancient Hindū system and was conducted in accordance with the principles laid down in the codes of Sukrāchārya and Kautilya. There was a Council of State, known as the *Ashtā Prādhan*, or *Mukhya Prādhan*. It consisted of eight members, each in charge of a separate department. The Prime Minister was known as *Peshwa*, the Commander-in-Chief was called *Sarāinaubat*, or *Senāpati*, and the Finance Minister was named *Mojmū'adār*, or *Amatya*. Home and foreign affairs were controlled and conducted by *Sharunavīs*, or *Sachiv*. The Minister of War bore the name of *Dabir*, or *Sūmant*. Justice was administered by *Nayāyādish* and the Minister of Religion was given the name of *Dānādhyaksha*. This was the Central Government of Shivājī. There were as many as eighteen departments of public service under him and the portfolio of each department was held by a separate minister.

Administrative divisions of his Kingdom.

For purposes of effective and efficient administration, Shivājī divided the whole of his Kingdom into three provinces and stationed a viceroy in each of them. The administrative system followed in these provinces was a replica of the Central Government. Each province was sub-divided into districts, having a distinct staff of officials. Each district was organized on the model of the Central Government and every district officer had eight subordinate officials to deal with the work of correspondence, accounts, treasury and other important matters.

Administration of justice.

As is mentioned before, justice was dealt out by the *Nayāyādish*, who was guided in his work by the principles laid down in the codes of Sukrāchārya and Kautilya. There was also a Hindū *Shāstrī*, appointed especially for the purpose of expounding Hindū law and dealing with religious, criminal and astronomical matters. The time-honoured and immemorial institution of *Panchāyat* was in vogue. It was an important instrument of dealing out justice. Almost all civil disputes were decided by it.

The Land Revenue System.

Shivājī also re-organized the entire system of the land revenue and based it on that of his early tutor, Dādājī Kandādev. The land in every province was measured and an estimate was made of the expected produce of each *bīghā*. Three parts of this produce were left to the peasant and two parts were appropriated by the State as its own share. The revenue settlements were made annually. The revenue officials were appointed directly by the Central Government. They were mostly Brāhmans. Their duty was to collect the land revenue and remit it to the State Treasury along with the accounts. The existing practice of farming out land revenue to hereditary landlords (*mirāsdārs*) was abandoned and henceforth the dues of the State were to be collected by the officers of the State. In order to encourage cultivation, liberal advances were made to the cultivators from the State Treasury to enable them to purchase seeds, bullocks, ploughs and other agricultural implements, etc.

Military Organization.

Shivājī was a great military genius, endowed with uncommon organizing capacity. He united the Marhatta chiefs and tribes in a common cause,—the cause of their own country. He wielded the scattered Marhattas into a nation, thus giving rise to a third party in the Deccan. His army consisted of both infantry and cavalry, having a sensible gradation of officers. In the infantry there was a *Nāik* over every nine privates, a *Havildār* over every five *Nāiks* and forty-five privates, a *Jamāldār* over every three *Havildārs* and one hundred and thirty-five privates, and over ten *Jamāldārs* there was a *Hazārī*, having as many as one thousand, three hundred and fifty privates under his command. It may be noted at this place that the *Sarāinaubat*, or Commander-in-Chief, in the infantry was quite a different man from the officer of his rank in the cavalry. In the latter, the unit was formed by twenty-five troopers. Over twenty-five troopers was a *Havildār*, over five *Havildārs* or one hundred and twenty-five troopers was a *Jamāldār* and over ten *Jamāldārs* there was a *Hazārī*, having as many as one thousand, two hundred and twenty-five cavaliers under his command. Still higher ranks were those of the Supreme Commander or *Sarāinaubat*, and the *Panj-hazārīs* or those having command over five thousand soldiers. Every squadron of twenty-five troopers was provided with a water-carrier and a ferrier. Soldiers whose horses were supplied by the State were called *Bargīs* and those who supplied their own horses were called *Siledārs*. The troops in the main consisted of spearsmen, mounted on light but strong and hardy

ponies. They were the peasant proprietors of Southern India, who could be easily called together and dispersed. Except at seed-time and harvest, they were always available for war. Their equippage was of the simplest kind and no elaborate commissariat arrangements were required. An ordinary blanket and a bag of grams were sufficient to meet their wants. Shivājī maintained his military department in a high state of efficiency. He paid his soldiers by a part of the plunder, himself receiving the lion's share. He introduced the system of branding horses and keeping descriptive rolls. Under him the post of a military officer was not hereditary. His army was free from the curse of female followers. He ordered that " no man was to take with him his wife, mistress or prostitute to the battle-field " Since forts played a conspicuous part in Mahārāshtrā, they were properly provided with arms and ammunitions and placed in charge of responsible and trustworthy officers.

Shivājī's fleet.

Shivājī added to his military strength by building a considerable number of ships. He stationed his fleet at Kolāba. Two advantages accrued to him from this: (1) it checked the growing power and influence of the Abyssinian pirates of Janjīra, and (2) it plundered the rich cargoes of the Mughal ships sailing for Mecca. The fleet was a constant source of trouble to the *Hājīs* sailing for Mecca.

Shivājī's estimate.

Shivājī's place in history rests mainly on his personal achievements, both military and administrative. To rise from the position of a petty *Jāgīrdār* to that of the Mahārājah of Mahārāshtra

and to carve out an independent kingdom for himself was no mean achievement, though it must be acknowledged that Shivājī had grown fat at ill-gotten gains. To his reckless courage and prowess in battle he added caution and cleverness in commensurate proportions. His success was due as much to bravery as to cunning and fraud. He never refrained from taking recourse to treachery if it served his purpose. The murder of Chandrā Rāo of Javlī and of Afzal Khān of Bijāpur was each an act of treachery—treachery 'that does not disappear in the multitude of his good qualities'. He was indeed the Machiavali of India, with whom the ends justified the means. He has been called 'the father of fraud,' not unreasonably. None of his enemies surpassed or even equalled him in guile and deceit. In private life he was simple, straightforward and even pious. Although an orthodox Hindū, he never persecuted the Musalmāns for their faith, that in an age when his co-religionists never missed an opportunity of destroying mosques and defiling the *Qur'ān*. Khāfī Khān, a contemporary chronicler, informs us that whenever his soldiers went on plundering expeditions, they were ordered not to do harm to the mosques,* the Book of God or the woman of anyone. With him women's honour was safe. He never allowed his followers to enslave the prisoners of war. He was bold, active and resourceful, and no other Hindū displayed such courage and capacity as he in

*But for one instance of demolishing mosques and that referred to by Afzal Khān in his message to Shivājī, I have not come across any evidence to show that Shivājī ever destroyed mosques. For the passage relating to the destruction of mosques by Shivājī, *vide Shivā Bharat*, Chapter XVIII.

Muslim India, with the solitary exception of Rāṇā Prātāp, who was doubtless his superior in personal character and nobility of purpose. Though regarded as their saviour by the Hindūs, he was not at all fired with the flame of patriotism, much less with the desire of liberating his co-religionists from the yoke of Muslim rule. He fought Hindūs and Muslims alike for his personal aggrandisement. Whatever his shortcomings, it is impossible to challenge his greatness. He was indeed the last constructive genius that Hindū India has produced.

CHAPTER XVI

MUHĪ-UD-DĪN MUHAMMAD AURANGZEB 'ĀLAMGĪR

(CONCLUDED)

Conquest of Bijāpur and Golconda—End of Marhatta Menace—Suppression of the Sikhs—Anglo-Mughal War—Administration under 'Ālamgīr.

Introductory.

Aurangzeb had tried almost all his trusted officers in the conquest of the Deccan; but when they all failed, he was convinced that the only course open to him was to conduct the campaign against the Deccan in person. After making peace with the Rājpūts, he gathered together his grand army at Ahmadnagar and continued as emperor that forward policy—the annexation of the Deccan—which he had so brilliantly commenced as his father's lieutenant. Of the five off-shoots of the Bahmanī Kingdom, Bidār, Ahmadnagar and Berār had fallen to his arms as a prince in command of the Shāhjahānī forces during the reign of his father. The remaining two, *i.e.*, Bijāpur and Golconda, struggled and survived longer, as we have noticed; but the Emperor was bent upon destroying them root and branch. The main cause of their conquest was evidently the ambition of the Mughal Emperor; the faults found with them may be summarised as follows: (1) These Sultānates were Shīā in faith. (2) Their tributes had fallen in arrears. (3) They incurred the wrath of the Emperor

by supplying resources to the Marhattas in the form of black-mail. (4) They sought protection with the Shāh of Persia rather than with the Emperor of India.* (5) They were not only independent in spirit but were also rich in resources ; they might profitably be included in the Mughal Empire. (6) Finally, their internal dissensions also stimulated 'Ālamgīr in no less degree to carry out his designs.

Fall of Bijāpur.

Dividing his grand army into two main parts, 'Ālamgīr ordered Prince Mu'azzam to march against the Marhattas at the head of one division and Prince 'Āzam against Bijāpur at the head of another. The former penetrated far into the interior of the Konkan, but was driven back with heavy losses. The latter succeeded in capturing Sholāpur, but he too was forced to beat a retreat when he attacked Bijāpur itself. In 1684 A. C. Prince Mu'azzam was next entrusted with the conquest of Bijāpur, but he annoyed his father by making peace with the Sultān. Early in 1685 A.C. 'Ālamgīr sent a *firmān* to the Sultān (Sikandar 'Ādil Shāh), asking him to dismiss his *Wazīr*, Sharzā Khān (also known as Sayyad Makhdūm), who was an excellent soldier and statesman ; to supply provisions to the Mughal army ; to send a contingent of 5 or 6 thousand cavalry to fight for the Mughals against their enemies ; to allow free passage to the Imperial armies through his country ; to

*They were justified in looking to the Shāh of Persia for protection because the Mughal Emperors had definitely decided to destroy their independence and to incorporate them in the Mughal Empire.

boycott the Marhattas and to help the Mughal Emperor in the time of need. The Sultān not only declined to obey the Imperial *firmān*, but demanded the return of the tribute and the territory already taken from him either by the Mughals or by the Marhattas, and pressed for stopping the *Thānābandī* (formation of outposts or block-houses by the Mughals) within his dominions. Then he made an alliance with the Sultān of Golconda and invited the Marhattas to his aid. When, feeling strong and secure, he attacked the Mughal outposts, the Emperor himself marched against him at the head of a huge army. In April, 1686 A.C. he laid siege to Bijāpur. After a short but stout resistance, the city, falling short of provisions, capitulated in September, 1686 A.C. Sikandar 'Ādil Shāh, who saw safety in surrender, was enlisted as a *Mansabdār* and his kingdom was annexed to the Mughal Empire.

Fall of Golconda.

Bijāpur annexed, the turn of Golconda came next. In addition to the faults found with the Kingdom of Bijāpur, Golconda furnished three more : (1) It had a number of Hindū ministers, two of whom, *viz.*, Madannā and Akannā, who were at the helm of administrative affairs in the State, were extremely cruel to the Muslim population.* (2) Its king had given help to Sambhūji against 'Ālamgīr. (3) It had sided with Bijāpur in its war

* For the cruelties committed by Madannā and Akannā, *vide Aurangzeb and His Times*, pp. 305 ff. Speaking about these two Hindūs, Orme says, their 'rule was insolent, mean and avaricious'. (*Fragments*, p. 147.)

against the Mughals.* Golconda was besieged. The Sultān (Abul Hasan), who had hitherto led an easy and luxurious life, gave up his pleasures and pastimes, and defended his capital with such courage that 'Ālamgīr found it difficult to conquer it. In defending his reputation, which was at stake, the Sultān was nobly served by his general, Abdur Razzāq, who stood firm and faithful to his master to the last moment of his life. When 'Ālamgīr found it impossible to achieve his object by force, the treachery of one of the officers of the garrison enabled him to gain admittance into the fortress. Abul Hasan was taken prisoner and his kingdom was incorporated in the Mughal Empire.

Abdur Razzāq.

Historians have rightly spun a halo of heroism round Abdur Razzāq, the valiant hero of the State, whose noble presence was highly prized in the Shīa army. No amount of money could induce him to surrender to the Mughal arms. He fought bravely in a hand to hand fight till at last he fell down, covered with seventy wounds. His sterling qualities of head and heart exacted praises from friends and foes alike. 'Ālamgīr was so much impressed by his character that he put him under the

* "When Aurangzeb tried conclusions with the King of Golkondā, the crimes he alleged were these: high-handedness, oppression, permitting public drinking-shops, women of evil life, and gambling houses, appointing Hindū Governors, maintaining temples and not allowing to Muhammadans that free liberty which they were entitled to. Therefore, God had made him (Aurangzeb) King for the suppression of all these disorders allowed by Abul Hasan." (See *Storia do Mogor* by N. Manucci, Vol. III. pp. 131-32.)

treatment of his own private physician and got him healed. "Had Abul Hasan had but two such servants," said 'Ālamgīr, "his fortress could never have been taken." What a virtue is chivalry even in a foe!

Impolicy of the Deccan Conquest.

The greatest political blunder recorded in the annals of Indian history is alleged to have been the conquest of the Southern Sultānates by 'Ālamgīr. The reasons advanced may be enumerated as follows:—(1) Consequent upon the conquest of Bijāpur and Gloconda, the armies of these States were disbanded and the discharged soldiery took service under the Marhattas and swelled their ranks. (2) The Sultānates exercised a healthy check on the growing power and increasing influence of the Marhattas in Indian politics. Their destruction removed this check for good and freed the Marhatta marauders from all fear of local rivalry and offered them a free field against the Mughal Emperor. (3) The protracted and expensive war against the Deccan exhausted the Mughal resources in men and material. As a result, the Mughal soldiers murmured for arrears and were allowed to quit the Imperial Army if they so desired. Again, the unemployed soldiers joined the Marhattas. (4) The continued absence of 'Ālamgīr from the North resulted in the administration of that part of the country growing slack and corrupt. (5) Finally, the annexation of the Deccan Kingdoms immensely increased the extent of the Mughal Empire and made it "too big to be ruled by one man from the centre." It is argued by the critics of 'Ālamgīr that he

would have acted wisely if he had left the Sultānates of the Deccan alone until he had completely crushed the Marhattas ; that he should have buried the old enmity between the Shīas and the Sunnīs and united the arms of Islām against the Hindū confederacy which had assumed most threatening dimensions ; or that he should have allowed the Marhattas and the Shīas to use up their strength in mutual warfare because there existed a fierce rivalry between them ; and that time, men and money that he wasted there could have been profitably employed elsewhere. While admitting the impolicy of the Deccan conquest, the apologists of 'Ālamgīr assert that the idea of conquering the Sultānates of the South originated not with 'Ālamgīr but with Akbar the Great who first launched a campaign against them and left their conquest as a family legacy to his successors; that what was commenced by Akbar and continued by his successors was finally completed by 'Ālamgīr ; and that, therefore, if the conquest of the Deccan was a blunder, 'Ālamgīr alone should not be held responsible for it ; the onus of responsibility, they aver, must be shared by his predecessors as well. The critics of 'Ālamgīr, not satisfied with this answer, retort that times had changed since Akbar and conditions had become different in the reign of 'Ālamgīr ; that Akbar had the support of the Sikhs and the Rājpūts, and with their help he could easily conquer the Deccan, for the Marhattas had not yet made their appearance on the stage of Indian history ; that 'Ālamgīr had to fight against the Hindūs, the Rājpūts, the Marhattas and the Sikhs

unaided and alone; and that, therefore, he ought to have made common cause with the Sultāns of Bijāpur and Golconda and defeated his enemies. But it must be remembered that the "forward policy" of the previous Mughal Emperors against the Deccan had made the Sultāns the avowed enemies of the Mughal Empire and it is doubted if 'Ālamgīr could enlist their sympathy or support. Moreover, when he could do without their help and achieve his object without their support, he thought, there was no need to resort to that step. Had he failed to conquer the Deccan and had the conquest of its Sultānates resulted in his defeats elsewhere, the Deccan Conquest may then justifiably be dubbed as impolitic; but we know for certain that the Sikhs were subverted, the Rājpūts were reduced to submission, the Marhattas were defeated and the Deccan was conquered. It may as well be pointed out that if 'Ālamgīr had allowed the Marhattas and the Sultānates to continue their fight, the latter would have, in all probability, succumbed to the arms of the former and added immeasurably to their resources. There was, however, one thing which he could do: He could help the Sultāns against the Marhattas until they had completely crushed them. This he would not do. At any rate, the conquest of the Deccan did not in any way contribute to the fall of the Mughal Empire. If the Mughal Empire did not survive long after him, it was mostly because his sons and servants were treacherous and corrupt. Had India had but one more 'Ālamgīr, she would have had a different history.

Renewal of activities against the Marhattas.

'Ālamgīr's expeditions dispatched against Mahārāshtra in 1682-83 A C. had ended, as we have seen, in smoke and nothing substantial was achieved. After the conquest of Golconda, he diverted his attention towards the Marhattas. Sambhūjī, who succeeded his father, Shivājī, lacked all the qualities of his talented father. While Aurangzeb was occupied in the Deccan campaign, Sambhūjī should have mobilized his forces against the Mughals and thereby saved himself as well as the Sultānates. But he remained inactive during all this time and failed to embrace the opportunity. As an indolent sensualist, he wasted away his time and treasure in drunkenness and debauchery. His favourite minister, Kāvī Kulesh (famous as Kālūshā), to whom he had entrusted all the affairs of his government, was extremely unpopular with the Marhattas. He was totally devoid of that organizing capacity which had characterised his father. As a natural consequence, his soldiers reverted to their usual habit of plunder. They lost their unity and became scattered. Aurangzeb availed himself of this opportunity and soon conquered the dis-united country. In 1689 A. C. Sambhūjī was taken prisoner by a Mughal general, Taqarrab Khān, in his pleasure-house at Sangāmeshwāra, whither he had retired with his women to bathe, drink and make merry. The loose assembly was overpowered and their leader was executed. This happened in March, 1689 A. C. Sambhūjī's son, Sāhū, was nicely treated by 'Ālamgīr and was given the title of *honest*.

These repeated disasters weakened the Marhattas.

Rājah Rām as regent and as Rājah.

The presence of Aurangzeb near Poona, surrounded by a halo of grandeur combined with his personal reputation, struck terror into their hearts. Their weakness became the more conspicuous when he sent an army to besiege Rāigarh, their capital. It was there that, after the death of Sambhūjī, the leading Marhatta nobles gathered together and acknowledged his son, Shivājī II, a boy of about five, as Rājah and appointed Rājah Rām as his regent. The Mughals captured Rāigarh and took possession of the forts of Mirīch and Panhālā. They also made Shivājī prisoner. Rājah Rām escaped to Jinjī and there he assumed the title of *Rājah*, because his nephew, the minor Rājah, was in captivity.

Expedition against Rājah Rām

Aurangzeb sent his general, Zulfiqār Khān, against Rājah Rām, but the Mughal general failed to take Jinjī. He, therefore, applied for reinforcements which the Emperor was not in a position to supply, for the grand army was split up into small portions and detailed to different parts of the Empire to take over the provinces and forts of the newly conquered kingdoms from the officers of those places. The Mughal general could make no headway and therefore prolonged the siege for full seven years. The Marhattas, in the meantime, recuperated and strengthened their position. They fully availed themselves of the opportunity presented to them by the lack of harmony among the Mughal generals. Prince

Kām Bakhsh was suspected of traitorous correspondence with the Marhattas and was, therefore, sent to the Emperor as a prisoner. Zulfiqār Khān was also recalled (1694 A. C.). During 1694-97 A. C. several other generals were tried, but no better luck was in store for them, for the victories they won were short-lived. The Emperor himself encamped at Brāhamāpurī on the Bhīmā and from there directed the operations against the Marhattas. The rivalry between the Marhatta generals enabled the Mughals to inflict defeats on the Marhattas in some engagements. When Rājah Rām, who had made Satārā his seat of government after the fall of Jinjī, heard of Aurangzeb's intention of attacking that place, he escaped to Khelānā along with his family. The Mughals occupied a series of outposts and linked them in such a way as to form a blockade. The next item on the war programme was to lay siege to the stronghold of Satārā, which stood at the summit of a hill. The besiegers suffered heavy losses when the garrison rolled down huge stones from the top. Notwithstanding the great disaster which befell the Mughal forces, the Marhattas could not hold their own for a long time. They ran short of their provisions and Prince 'Āzam would not now connive at their underhand transactions. Rājah Rām, exhausted by a long expedition, retired to Singhgarh only to expire there on the 2nd of March, 1700 A. C.

Tārā Bāī as regent of her son Shivājī III.

Rājah Rām was succeeded by his young son, Karnā, who died of small-pox after a few days. Tārā Bāī, the dowager-queen, raised her son, Shivāji III, to

the throne and herself became his regent. This remarkable lady rose to the height of the occasion and continued a vigorous defence against the Mughals who had, by this time, sufficiently extended their sway in Mahārāshtrā. Under her influence, the Marhattas received a new lease of life and enthusiasm. They now fought with greater vigour, with the result that the Mughal-Marhatta War dragged on till the grand Imperial army was completely disorganized and its resources were exhausted.

End of 'Ālamgīr.

Troubles, in the meantime, thickened on all sides and the valiant old man of eighty-seven faced them heroically. The Sikhs had established their sway over the Punjāb and had become a power to be reckoned with. The Jāts of Burhānpur were in open rebellion against the Empire and never obeyed the Mughal Emperor. Amidst these disappointments the hero of the field, Aurangzeb, passed away in 1707 A. C. leaving the Peacock Throne as a bone of contention among the Mughals, the Marhattas the Sikhs and the Rājpūts.

Mughal Empire after the death of Emperor 'Ālamgīr.

As long as Emperor 'Ālamgīr was alive, all went well; but his death spoiled his schemes and defeated his purpose. The Marhattas now rose everywhere, plundered the Mughal convoys and recovered almost all what they had lost. The Hindūs had already alienated themselves and the Sikhs were endeavouring to carve out an independent kingdom for themselves. The English had established their factories in many places and had started siding with the native powers in their

wars. Such was the state of affairs when 'Ālamgīr expired. It will now be easy, perhaps, to appeciate the gravity of the situation which the later Mughals found themselves face to face.

Rise of the Sikhs: Gurū Nānak Dev.

The appearance of the Sikhs on the stage of Indian history may be said to have dated from the close of the fifteenth century when Bābā Nānak, the founder of Sikhism, was busy in preaching the unity of God, the purity of thought and the nobility of action. As a religious reformer, he condemned caste and colour, and inculcated the equality of all men in the eyes of the Almighty. His followers came to be known as Sikhs. The word *Sikh* means a disciple and he was the disciple of the Gurū who was the head of the new Church. In all, there were ten Gurūs, including Nānak, whose short account has already been given. A summary sketch of the remaining nine follows.

Gurū Angad Dev: 1539–1552 A. C.

Little is recorded of the ministry of the next Gurū, who succeeded the first Gurū as Angad Dev, except that he committed to writing much of what the Great Gurū had performed and preached and some devotional observances of his own, which were subsequently incorporated in the *Granth Sāhib*, the *Bible* of the Sikhs. He was true to the principles of his great teacher and, finding that none of his sons was worthy of apostolic succession, he nominated Amar Dās, an assiduous disciple of his, as his successor. The crowning achievement of Gurū Angad was the invention of the *Gurmukhī* alphabet.

Amar Dās, the third Gurū, was a zealous preacher. He was successful in winning several converts, many of whom were drawn from the Jāts. He divided his spiritual jurisdiction into a number of *dioceses*, over each of which he placed a pious Sikh. This extended the authority of the *Gurū* and increased the popularity of the new religion over the country. In a pious and humane spirit, he denounced the black rite of *Satī* and pronounced that the true *Satī* was she whom grief and not flame consumed, and advised that the afflicted should seek consolation with God. He died in 1574 A. C. and was succeeded by his son-in-law, Rām Dās.

Gurū Amar Dās: 1552—1574 A. C.

The name of Gurū Rām Dās is intimately associated with the foundation of Amritsar, the centre of Sikhism. From Emperor Akbar he received a piece of land and in it he dug a reservoir, since known as Amritsar, or the 'Pool of immortality'. He is reckoned among the most revered of the Sikh Gurūs, though 'no precepts of wide application, or rules of great practical value are attributed to him'. Moreover, 'the progress of Sikhism was slow in his ministration of seven years.' He passed away in 1581 A. C., leaving his son to succeed him to his *Gaddī* as Arjan Dev.

Gurū Rām Dās: 15741—581 A. C.

Gurū Arjan was a great organizer. He made Amritsar the proper seat of his disciples to carry on their religious propaganda as best as they could. The result was that the obscure village, with its small pool, gradually grew up to be a populous city and the

Gurū Arjan Dev: 1581—1606. A. C.

greatest place of pilgrimage of the Sikhs. He edited the *Granth Sāhib* and converted the customary offerings of his adherents into a regular tax. He encouraged trade among the Sikhs and tried to ameliorate their economic condition. Unfortunately, he incurred the wrath of Jahāngīr by offering help to Prince Khusrau who was then in rebellion against his father He was fined and thrown in prison where he died owing to the severity of confinement in 1606.*

Gurū Har Govind: 1606—1645 A. C.

Gurū Arjan's successor was his son, Har Govind, under whom the Sikhs formed themselves into a military organization. The new Gurū united in his person the qualities of a soldier, a saint and a sportsman. He went out for hunting and ate meat. During his ministry the Sikhs made marvellous progress and multiplied in large numbers. The author of the *Dabistān* informs us that he was employed by Jahāngīr, but was imprisoned at Gwālior for a period of twelve years when he appropriated to himself the pay of his soldiers and refused to pay the fine imposed on his father.† Subsequently, he took service under Shāh Jāhān, but soon separated himself by raising a petty

*Vide *Dabistān-ul-Mazāhib*, p. 234. According to Malcolm, the Gurū was imprisoned by the Governor of Lāhore at the instigation of his enemy, Danīchand, whose writings he had refused to incorporate in the *Ādi Granth*. (See Malcolm's *History of the Sikhs*). A Muslim writer, on the other hand, informs us that the cause of the Gurū's imprisonment was his refusal to marry his son to the daughter of Danīchand (*Tārīkh-i-Punjāb* p. 87).

† *Ibid.*

revolt. When defeated and driven to despair, he took refuge in the hills. He died at Kartārpur in 1645 A. C.*

Gurū Har Rāi: 1655—1661 A. C.

The next Gurū was Har Rāi, the grandson of the late Gurū Har Govind. He remained in peace at Kartārpur till the war of succession broke out among the sons of Shāh Jahān and the Gurū became a partisan of Dārā. When Dārā was defeated, the Gurū surrendered his elder son to the Emperor as a hostage. The youth was treated with due deference and his father was excused. Har Rāi died at Kartārpur in 1661 A. C., leaving the pontifical office to be filled by his second son, Har Kishan.

Gurū Har Kishan: 1661—1664 A. C.

Gurū Har Kishan remained in office for about three years. His ministry was absolutely uneventful, except that he had to contend against the rivalry of his brother, Rām Rāi. The latter was born of 'a hand-maiden' and 'not of a wife of equal degree'; the former, therefore, had a stronger claim to the *Gaddī*. When the struggle for succession reached a high pitch, the case was referred to 'Ālamgīr, who allowed the Sikhs to elect their own Gurū. Har Kishan was, accordingly, elected,† but he was not destined to live

* The learned author of the *Tārīkh-i-Punjāb* informs us that Danīchand, the persecutor of Gurū Arjan Dev, was handed over by Shāh Jahān to Har Govind who 'put the tormentor of his father to death.' (*Tārīkh-i-Punjāb*).

† According to the *District Gazetteers of Dehrādūn*, the election of Har Kishan was disputed by Har Rāi and the matter was referred to 'Ālamgīr who confirmed the election. (*Aurangzeb and His Times*, pp. 248-49.)

long. Attacked by small-pox, he passed away at Dəlhi in 1664 A. C.

Gurū Tegh Bahādur: 1664—1675 A. C.

Before his death, Har Kishan had nominated Har Govind's son, Tegh Bahādur as his successor. Tegh Bahādur had a formidable foe in Rām Rāi, who continued to assert his claims till at last the former was acknowledged as the spiritual leader of the Sikhs. Not long after, however, both his life and leadership were endangered by the machinations of Rām Rāi as well as by 'his suspicious proceedings'. Summoned to the Imperial Court, he was executed 'as a rebel' in 1675 A. C.*

Gūru Govind Singh: 1675—1708 A.C.

Gurū Tegh Bahādur was succeeded by his son, Govind Singh, at the age of fifteen. The execution of his father had made a deep impression on the mind of the young Gurū and he now made a vow to avenge the death of his father. For full twenty years (1675—95 A.C.) he made preparations for the struggle against the supremacy of Islām in India. He waged wars against the Rājahs of Jammū, Garhwāl and other places in order to carve out for himself an independent principality, or at least to sieze a few fortresses in the hills, which might serve as a base of

* See *Siyār-ul-Mutaʻakhkhirīn* (Brigg's ed.) pp. 74-5; *Later Mughals*, Vol. I, p. 79; and *Aurangzeb and His Times*, pp. 253 ff. It has been alleged that the Gurū (Tegh Bahādur) was executed for refusing to accept Islām. This is incorrect. The fact is that when sentenced to death 'for his crimes against the State,' he was asked to save his life by accepting Islām. He declined the offer and was executed for the offence charged with.

military operations against the Mughal Emperor and to which he might retire in the event of danger. Having matured his plans, he emerged out of the hills with a vow to fulfil his mission and an oath to avenge the death of his father.

His Reforms.

Gurū Govind was a great religious and social reformer. He enjoined the worship of *Shaktī*, the goddess of force, and made it compulsory for the Sikhs to wear steel on their person in one form or the other. He denominated his disciples the *Khālsa* (elect of God) and taught them that they were born to conquer. He gave them outward signs of their religion in the five *Kakkās*, or K's —*Karā* (iron bangle), *Kachhā* (short drawers), *Kangā* (comb), *Kes* (uncut hair) and *Kirpān* (dagger). He also introduced a new form of salutation, *'wāh gurū jī kā Khālsā srī wāh gurū jī kī fateh.'* He prohibited the use of tobacco, liquor and other intoxicants. He emphasised the equality of all men before God and preached monotheism. He made a clean sweep of caste distinctions and declared that the lowest in Sikh society were equal with the highest. In all this the influence of Islām is obvious. According to him, salvation could be attained only by the *Khālsa*. He emphasised the importance of military training and diverted the attention of the Sikhs, each of whom he called *Singh*, from the plough to the sword. 'The Turks must be destroyed' he said, 'and the graves of those called saints must be neglected.' Suchwise, the ways of the Hindūs must be deserted and the Brāhmans' thread must be broken. He ruled out superstition and social ceremonies.

Suppression of the Sikhs.

From what has been said, it will be evident that the religious aspect of the movement was gradually transformed into a military and political organization with definite aims and ideals. The Gurūs of the later times were not the prototypes of the first four Gurūs, who were exclusively devoted to their religion. In fact, there cannot be greater contrast than that between the unostentatious, inoffensive and peace-making Nānak and his subsequent successors who entirely changed their mode of life and began to live like princes royal amidst regal pomp and splendour, organizing armies, building forts and fighting for the achievement of political supremacy. Gurū Govind Singh's military career extended over fifteen years, during which period he successfully fought against the hill chieftains and provincial governors. His conquests roused the Mughal Government to another danger which might become a menace if allowed to persist. When the distressed Rājahs applied to 'Ālamgīr for aid against their oppression, he dispatched an army against the Gurū in order to bring him to book. The Gurū was defeated and two of his sons were slain. From this it is amply clear that 'Ālamgīr launched his campaign against the Sikh Gurūs in response to the repeated requests of the Hindū Rājahs who had suffered great injuries at the hands of the Sikhs, and yet by a curious irony of fate the Mughal Emperor is blamed for unjustly provoking the Sikhs. The Imperialists then laid siege to the fort of the Gurū at Anandāpur and reduced him to such straits that he was compelled to make his way to the

deserts of the district of Firozpur. Hotly pursued by the Imperialists, he betook himself to a place which subsequently became famous as *Damdama*, where he compiled the *Granth* of the tenth Gurū. After a stormy career, he settled at Anandāpur, where, in response to his request, he received an invitation from the Mughal Emperor. He proceeded to the Mughal Court in compliance, but before he reached it, 'Ālamgīr had passed away (1707 A.C.). The Gurū espoused the cause of Bahādur Shāh and accompanied him to the Deccan where at Nander he was killed by a Pathān whose father he had slain.

'Ālamgīr and the English : Early English settlements in India

Ever since the arrival of Sir Thomas Rao at the Court of Jahāngīr and the grant of the Imperial *firmān* to the English, allowing them some trade facilities in the Mughal Empire, the English had endeavoured to maintain friendly relations with the Mughal Government for the furtherance of their trade interests. As has already been mentioned, the English had succeeded in 1616 A. C. in receiving permission from the Mughal Emperor for building a factory at Masūlīpatam. In 1639 A.C. they had obtained a piece of land from the Rājah of Chanderī on lease and built at Madrās a factory with a fort to defend themselves against the Dutch who had been hostile to them. The fort was afterwards named as Fort St. George. Shāh Jahān, who was more favourably disposed towards the English than his predecessors, apart from allowing them fresh trade concessions, permitted them to build factories at

Huglī and Kāsimbāzār in 1650-51 A. C. Eight years afterwards, all their factories were put under Sūrat. In 1666 A.C. 'Ālamgīr rewarded them for their heroic resistance in the sack of Sūrat by Shivājī by reducing the import duty on their goods. Their position on the western coast improved in 1668 A. C. when for an annual quit rent of £10 Charles II made over the islands of Bombay and Salsette, which he had received as part of the dowry of his wife, Catherine of Braganza, to the East India Company. Now as they had a harbour of their own, they little feared the Marhattas and the Dutch. The hostilities between the Dutch and the Marhattas further stimulated their ambition and they fortified their possessions on the western coast in self defence. Not long afterwards, Charles II granted a new charter, which conferred some privileges on the East India Company, making it an important power in the land.

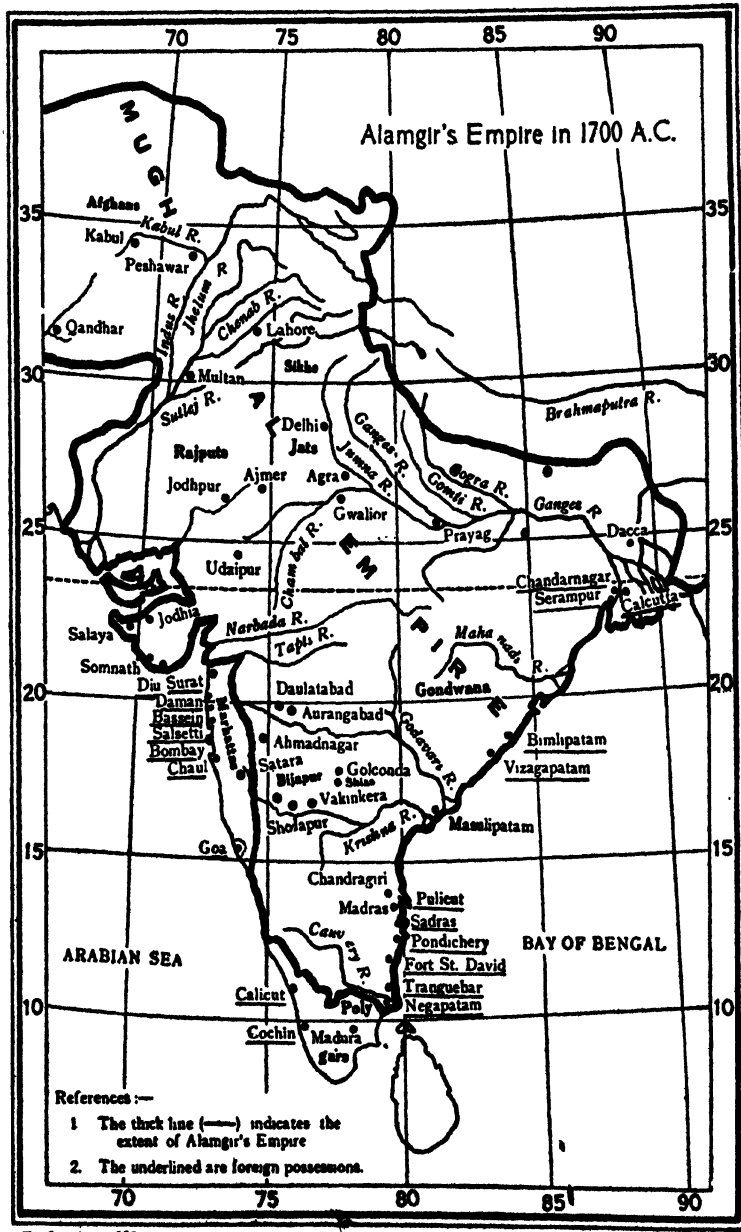
Anglo-Mughal War.

Shāista Khān, the Governor of Bengāl, imposed some duties on English trade in 1685 A.C. The factors refused to pay them to the local authorities and defied the Mughal power. This led to a sort of semi-official war between the English and the Mughals. The English were assisted by King James II of England with ten or twelve ships for the capture of Chittāgong. When they attacked the Mughal ships under Sir John Child, 'Ālamgīr ordered their arrest and the annihilation of their factories at Sūrat, Masūlīpatam and Huglī. The factories were seized and trade with the "audacious foreigners" was forbidden. But the Emperor was not

keen to prolong the war; he forgave the English and instructed Ibrāhīm, the new governor of Bengāl, to treat them with leniency. Ibrāhīm arranged terms with them and invited Job Charnock to return to his former settlement at Huglī early in the month of October, 1690 A. C. and allowed him to plant a small station below the Huglī, which took its name 'Calcutta' from an adjoining village, called Kālīkatā. This small station soon developed into an important city and became the seat of British Government in India. Sir John Child, the President of Sūrat, who had declared war against the Mughals with a view to establish a strong and well-founded English dominion in India, was at last compelled to sue for peace. The Emperor extended his pardon to the English without grudge and allowed them to trade as before on payment of Rs. 1,50,000. Henceforth, the English East India Company returned to its former methods of peaceful trade till the middle of the 18th century when the political chaos, which followed the fall of the Mughal Empire, and the activities of the French in India eventually forced upon them a new policy, and they began to fish in the troubled waters. From this time onwards their progress was less showy but more sure and steady.

Extent of his Empire.

By the year 1690-91 A. C. 'Ālamgīr was at the height of his power. Nearly the whole of India was under his sway. He had succeeded in achieving what he had been struggling for. The Shīa Sultānates of the Deccan were conquered and annexed to the Mughal Empire. Most of the Marhatta forts were captured



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and Sāhū, the principal claimant to the Marhatta throne, was a captive in the Imperial Camp. A glance at the map will show that 'Ālamgīr was the Lord Paramount of the whole of India, extending from Kashmīr in the north to Cape Comorin in the south and from Kābul in the west to Chittāgong in the east.

Administration under 'Ālamgīr.

The main framework of the machinery of government under 'Ālamgīr was the same as under his predecessors. We may, however, note the following changes in and improvements on the existing system made by 'Ālamgīr to suit his convenience :—

Re-arrangement of the *Sūbahs*.

The extent of the Mughal Empire had increased and the territorial boundaries of the old provinces were re-arranged. The number of *Sūbahs* was raised from fifteen to eighteen in the North and from three to six in the South. The provinces of Bengāl, Multān and Kābul were too big to be efficiently administered by a single governor each. A new arrangement was, therefore, essential. Orissa and a part of Gondwāna were taken from the jurisdiction of the viceroy of Bengāl and placed under a separate governor. Likewise, the whole of Southern Sind was detached from the province of Multān and formed into a distinct province of Thattā, with a governor of its own. So also were Kashmīr and a part of Hazāra extracted from the province of Kābul and made into a separate province and placed under a separate governor. The reconstitution of the different provinces of the Mughal Empire was quite satisfactory from the Imperial point of view.

Theocratic character.

Although 'Ālamgīr tried to draw a line of demarcation between religion and politics,* yet in practice he carried on the administration of his kingdom strictly in accordance with the rules laid down in the *Qur'ān*. The theocratic character of the Government implied that the Muslim lunar calendar should be restored. This was done and the *Ilāhī* era of Akbar was discontinued. Likewise, taxation was brought down to the limits prescribed by the Muslim Law. The Emperor abolished all those taxes for which sanction could not be obtained from the *Qur'ān*. As many as eighty taxes were done away with. Taxes on Hindū pilgrims were removed, but the *Jizīa* was revived, though it was not strictly collected.

The suppression of public immorality.

The Islamic State is also concerned with the manners and morals of the Muslim community. The Emperor, therefore, appointed censors whose duty it was to look after the conduct of the people and to enforce the laws of Islām. Drinking was strictly forbidden and the use of other intoxicants was prohibited. Prostitution was discouraged and prostitutes were ordered to leave the cities and to remove their brothels. They were, however, allowed to take up their residence outside and were ordered to wear red clothes so that they might be distinguished from the rest of the women-folk, and hence the name '*lāl bībī*'.

* 'What connections have earthly affairs with religion'? 'What right have administrative works to meddle with bigotry'? 'For you your religion and for me is mine. Religion has no concern with secular business,' etc. (See *Anecdotes*, p. 99.)

The practice of *Darshan*, introduced by Akbar and followed by his successors, was regarded as against Islām and was, therefore, put an end to.

Bait-ul-Māl.

The King was the custodian of public money. He effected economies everywhere. The expenses of the Court were reduced to a considerable extent. He maintained a well-organized department, called the *Bait-ul-Māl*, or God's Treasury, where the property of the heirless deceased was kept in safe custody. Moreover, the property escheated from the noblemen was also deposited there. 'Ālamgīr always endeavoured to increase the property of the *Bait-ul-Māl* and the money accumulated there was spent for the promotion of Islāmic culture and civilization.

Policy of over-centralization.

The policy of centralization, introduced by Akbar and continued by his successors, culminated with Aurangzeb. The result was that the provincial governors could not find scope for the development of their natural abilities, so much so that when the Emperor died the machinery of Mughal administration collapsed all of a sudden and there was no one who could administer such a centralized government.

Justice.

Justice was rigorously administered and the Emperor himself sat at the *Dīwān-i-Khās* from 8 A.M. till noon on every Wednesday and dispensed even-handed justice to all and sundry. In his work he was assisted by a set of law officers of great renown. Under his patronage a syndicate of theologians compiled the famous *Fatāwā-i-'Ālamgīrī* at the cost of two *lākhs*

under the supervision of one Shaikh Nizām. Referring to 'Ālamgīr's justice, Ovington says: 'He is the main Ocean of justice and equity, and from him all small rivulets of wealth flow, and to him they all pay tribute, and return again. He generally determines with exact justice and equity, for there is no pleading of peeridge or privilege before the Emperor, but the meanest man is soon heard by Aurangzebe as the chief *Omrah*. Which makes the *Omrahs* very circumspect of their actions, and punctual in their payments; because all complaints against them are readily adjusted, and they never want jealous rivals at Court who are willing to bring them into disgrace with their King for any fault.'*

Progress of education.

'Ālamgīr was an eminent educationist. For the widespread diffusion of education he established universities in almost all the important cities of his far-flung Empire and erected schools in smaller towns. During his reign, we learn, Delhi, Jaunpur, Siālkot and Thatta (in Sind) were important centres of education. 'The city of Thatta,' says Hamilton, 'is famous for learning theology, philology, and politicks, and they have above 400 colleges for training up youth in those parts of learning.'† His interest in education, it may be pointed out at this place, took after his general policy which aimed at bringing the law into line with the tenets of Islām. During his reign Muslim education made mighty strides and Islāmic literature flourished abundantly under his patronage. He enunciated a new theory of what the education of the Royal Princes should

* *A Voyage to Sūrat in 1689*, p. 120.

† *A New Account of the East Indies*, Vol. i, p. 78.

be. This theory of imperial education emphasised, in brief, the importance of general knowledge, such as a familiarity with the languages of the surrounding nations ; an acquaintance with the distinguishing features of every nation of the earth : its resources and strength ; its mode of warfare ; its manners, religion, form of government, and wherein its interests principally consist ; with the origin of states ; their progress and decline, the events, accidents, or errors, owing to which such great changes and mighty revolutions have been effected ; with the reciproçal duties between the sovereign and his subjects, the art of war, of besieging a town or drawing up an army.*

Architecture.

'Ālamgīr's political pre-occupations left him but little leisure to indulge in his artistic fancy. Nevertheless, he made some important additions to the existing architecture. Among the most remarkable buildings erected by him may be mentioned the Marble Mosque in the Fort of Delhi and the *Bādshāhī Masjid* at Lāhore. The latter is the latest specimen of the Mughal style of architecture.

Music and Painting.

Quite unlike his ancestors, 'Ālamgīr did not actively patronize music and painting. Himself ' well-versed in the science of music,' he was deadly against its practical performance. Likewise, in painting, though he delighted in the pictorial records of his own grand-doings, he sought to discriminate between the artists of his own creed and those of others and therefore did

* For a detailed discussion on the subject, *vide Education in Muslim India*, pp. 175 ff.

nothing to popularize it. A number of pictures, illustrating his battles and sieges, have come down to us, which show that he did not discourage this art wholesale. All the same, the fine arts did not die at once the death the Emperor is said to have desired to such frivolities as music and dancing. The musician and the painter still flourished and continued to ply their respective vocations notwithstanding the lukewarm, if not positively hostile, attitude of the Emperor towards them.

Gardens.

The glorious reign of this simple and unostentatious king was not without its beautiful gardens. Among the most attractive of their class may be mentioned the Bādshāhī Masjid and Garden at Lāhore, the Garden of Raushan Ārā Begam at Delhi, the Chauburjī Bāgh, the Nawān Kal Bāgh at Lāhore and the Pinjor Garden.

Character of 'Ālamgīr.

It is impossible to under-rate the character and achievements of Aurangzeb 'Ālamgīr, the last of our Great Mughals, described as 'the puritan in the purple'. Magnificent in his public appearance, simple and unassuming in his private life, exact in the peformance of his religious observances, prompt in the dispatch of his daily business, an eminent educationist, a remarkable religious enthusiast, a patron of the poor and the learned, a great literary genius, an elegant letter-writer, 'a fountain of justice as of honour,' and a master of pen as of sword'—'Ālamgīr was indeed a triumph of character. He left no faculty of his active

mind to rust and allowed no spring of his frame to relax even in the evening of his life. His ideal of kingship was very high: 'I was sent into the world by Providence,' he said, 'to live and labour, not for myself, but for others; that it is my duty not to think of my own happiness, except so far as it is inseparably connected with the happiness of my people. It is the repose and prosperity of my subjects that it behoves me to consult; nor are those to be sacrificed to anything besides the demands of justice, the maintenance of the royal authority, and the security of the State.' It is indeed to his credit that he lived up to this lofty ideal. With him governing was a duty, seriously undertaken and honestly performed. He felt disgusted at the idea of making religion (Islām) a plaything of mental gymnastics and a sport of royal whims and moods. He deplored the debasement of the noble ideals and traditions of Islām and was exasperated at the aberrations of those who lacked courage and concealed their religious identities for political reasons. He could not tolerate religion being overriden by politics and therefore raised his voice against the 'danger' that lay ahead. He tried to restore Islām to its pristine purity and perfection. Thus did he play the rôle of a reformer and it was in this capacity that he commanded the confidence of his co-religionists during his lifetime and again it is in this capacity that he enjoys the reverence of his co-religionists even now. He ruled India as a Muslim King and was therefore hated by the Hindūs then as much as now. But the fact cannot escape recognition that 'Ālamgīr was a little too rigid in his methods and

betrayed a narrowness of vision in displaying his reforming zeal. As a man of imperial instinct and a man of iron-will, he disdained to yield to popular agitation and never changed his attitude even when exegencies of the hour demanded lenity and liberal treatment, though he did yield to the demands of the *Ulāmā*. Justified from the standpoint of the Emperor, some of his acts were undoubtedly calculated to create difficulties for him. The allegation that he was distrusful and suspicious by nature is not justified. The treachery of his sons and officers, who secretly joined his enemies against him, put him on his alert and constrained him to take necessary safeguards against them. If, therefore, their acts were vigilantly watched by the Emperor, it was because they had proved treacherous time and again. To sum up, 'Ālamgīr was indeed a great king, doubly so from the standpoint of his co-religionists. No other emperor has been subjected to such severe scrutiny as he, and yet he has exacted the admiration of friends and foes alike.

Bernier's view.

Bernier, who was present in India during the first quarter of 'Ālamgīr's reign, was by no means favourably disposed towards the Great Mughal. Even he had no hesitation to admit that 'this Prince (*viz.*, 'Ālamgīr) is endowed with a versatile and rare genius, that he is a consummate statesman, and a great King'.*

Hamilton's view.

Hamilton, who visited India towards the close of the seventeenth century, pays the following well-deserved tribute to the

* *Bernier's Travels in the Mogul Empire*, p. 199.

much-maligned monarch: 'He (Aurangzeb) was a Prince in every way qualified for governing. None ever understood politics better than he. The balance of distributive justice he held in exact equilibrium. He was brave and cunning in war, and merciful and magnanimous in peace, temperate in his diet and recreations, and modest and grave in his apparel, courteous in his behaviour to his subjects and affable in his discourse. He encouraged the laws of humanity and observed them as well as those of religion.'*

Manucci's view

Writing about the reign of Emperor 'Ālamgīr in 1701 A.C., Niccolao Manucci, the Italian traveller who was in India during the second half of the seventeenth century, says:—"The great age of the Emperor.....and the ambition to gain the throne continuously displayed by his sons and grandsons, give rise to the apprehension of some catastrophe quite as tragic as that supervening at the close of Shāhjahān's reign. In spite of this, the ablest politicians.....assert that all will be peaceful so long as the aged monarch is still in this world. In saying this, they rely on the admirable conduct and the good government of this Prince (Aurangzeb), who in spite of his great age and the infirmities inseparable from it, knows how to get himself always obeyed with his former vigour, and to hold every man to his allegiance".†

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*A *New Account of the East Indies*, by Alexander Hamilton, Vol. II, p. 103.

† *Storia Do Mogor* by Niccolao Manucci, Vol. iii, pp. 249=50.

Keen's view.

"The abilities of Shāh Jahān's son and successor, 'Ālamgīr," says Keen, "rendered him the most famous member of his famous house. Intrepid and enterprising as he was in war, his political sagacity and statecraft were equally unparalleled in Eastern annals. He abolished capital punishment, understood and encouraged agriculture, founded numberless schools and colleges, systematically constructed roads and bridges..... In his reign the house of Timūr attained its zenith. The wild Pathāns of Kābul were temporarily tamed, the Shāh of Persia sought his friendship, the ancient Muslim powers of Bijāpur and Golconda were subverted and their territories rendered subordinate to the sway of the empire; the hitherto indomitable Rājpūts were subdued and made subject to taxation; and if the strength of the Marhattas lay gathered upon the Western Ghāts, it was not possible to anticipate that a band of such marauders would long resist the might of the great Mughal."*

Orme's view.

Orme, the famous historian, only sums up the achievements of 'Ālamgīr when he says:—'The condition of the Moghul Empire, began to lose its vigour immediately after the death of Aurangzeb, ***the ablest monarch that ever reigned over Indostan.***'†

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* *The Fall of the Mughal Empire*, by H. G. Keen.

† *A History of the Military Transactions of the British Nation in Indostan from the year 1745*, by Orme.

CHAPTER XVII

RETROSPECT

Mughal Culture and Civilization

Introductory.

"No presentation of history can be adequate which neglects the growths of the religious conspicuousness, of literature, of the moral and physical science, of art, of scholarship, of social life." An inquiry into these aspects of life during the Mughal Period of Indian History forms the subject-matter of the present chapter. Though these aspects have been treated at some length in the preceding account at their proper places, it is proposed to sum up the subject in the RETROSPECT. For the sake of convenience, it is best to classify them as Political, Social, Religious and Economic.

Political Features

The Law of Succession.

The hardest nut to crack in any sovereignty is that of succession. This must have been very much so in Islām if it had not cut the gordian knot by giving unlimited latitude to the law of succession which it based on the earliest traditions of its rule. A reference to a typical one of such traditions appears apropos of the subject. The Prophet of Islām governed his people as a divine commissioner. After his death, the Caliphate (succession) became a cause of contention between the several claimants and the solution of the tangle involved three principles: first, the ruler's heir—his son, or a relative in the absence of a son; secondly, the person appointed by him or his nominee; and thirdly, the

person on whom the majority of the Musalmāns were agreed. Thus, it is apparent that there was no well-defined law regulating the succession to the throne. Sometimes the law of *primogeniture* applied, in which case the claims of the first-born were recognised; often the nominee succeeded; and not infrequently the succession was effected by a *plebiscite* conducted by the chief officers of the State, and the sovereign-elect was not necessarily a direct descendant of the late king. Owing to the absence of a fixed law of succession to the throne, rival interests often came into conflict and resulted in bloodshed. But underlying this absence was an advantage: in the civil war that followed the death of a king, only the fittest survived and ruled with great efficiency. In Mughal India, neither the law of *primogeniture*, nor the principle of *plebiscite*, nor even of nomination was adhered to. Except in the case of Akbar, who enthroned himself unopposed at the death of his father, the sword decided the struggle for succession and the successful prince cut short the life of his rival collaterals lest they should, at some future date, re-assert their claims to the throne and create disturbance in the kingdom.

Mughal Monarchy and its nature.

Our Mediæval Mughal Monarchy was a secular institution. The *Sharīyat*, was seldom allowed to interfere with the State. The Mughal Emperor derived his power not from the Muslim Law but from Persian traditions. He was virtually the State and his will was absolute. From the very nature of the case, the Mughal Government was an absolute monarchy, which

knew nothing of constitutional rights and elective assemblies, but it had so much of democratic element in it that it was based not on force but on the acquiescence of the people and its general administrative policy was at once in accord with the spirit of the age and the sentiments of its subjects. The Mughal Emperor took care to carry out the wishes of his people and tried his best to secure 'the greatest happiness of the greatest number'. Perfect religious freedomand unconditional liberty of conscience are the *sine qua non* of the stability and success of every State. The Mughal Emperors understood this and therefore shaped their policy accordingly. They adopted a *Sulh-i-Kul* policy and carried it to its logical conclusion. Reconciliation and universal toleration were their watch-words. The testimony of contemporary chroniclers and European travellers eloquently testifies to this fact.

Functions of the Mughal Government.

The Mughal Government undertook to guard the country against external invasions, to regulate foreign policy, to maintain law and order, to suppress crime and encourage public morality, to provide for the protection of life and property, to disseminate justice and to enforce private contracts. Apart from these constituent functions, the Mughal Government performed some ministrant duties, such as the fixing of coinage, regulation of trade and industry, maintenance of roads and highways, establishment of hospitals, rest-houses and other works of public welfare, administration of famine relief, promotion of education and encouragement of arts and literature.

Methods of administration.

The methods of administration of the early Sultāns of Delhi were rough and rude indeed; but the later sovereigns of Islām, especially the Mughal Emperors, were great statesmen and they have left many fruitful ideas and useful institutions behind them. The Mughal Empire manifested a higher degree of polical organization than had previously existed in India. Bābar, Humāyūn, Akbar, Jahāngīr, Shāh Jahān, and 'Ālamgīr were all sovereigns of uncommon political acumen and marked administrative talents. The last three retained intact the vast and wonderful Empire which the constructive genius of Akbar had brought into being. Where they received their talent for administration is not hard to say—it was intuitive, inborn, self-taught—not acquired.

Administrative divisions

For purposes of efficient administration the Empire was divided into a number of provinces, at each of which was stationed a *Subedār*, or viceroy who was assisted by a revenue officer, called *Diwān*. Each province was sub-divided into districts, or *Sarkārs*, each of which was placed in charge of a local governor, or *Faujdār*. Each *Sarkār* was further sub-divided into *Parganas* and each *Pargana* into villages. The officer in charge of a *Pargana* was called *Qānūngo* and that of a village *Muqaddam*.

Administration of justice.

In the modern sense of the word, there was no hierarchy of courts of justice. The King was the fountain of justice and his was the highest court of appeal. The justice

dealt out was rough and ready and the procedure of the courts was simple and summary. Its merits were that it was quick and cheap. Its danger was that it was apt to miscarry. The *Qāzīs* settled the cases between the Musalmāns according to their religious code, whereas civil disputes among the Hindūs were decided by Hindū judges and those between Hindūs and Musalmāns by Muslim Judges assisted by a set of Brāhman scholars competent to expound Hindū customs and *Shāstrās*. The Emperors and the Provincial Governors also heard appeals and often revised and even modified the decisions of the lower courts. Punishments were, of course, severe, but they had deterring effects.*

Taxation.

In theory, taxes were levied in accordance with the limits prescribed by the Muslim Law; but in practice, they were imposed, relaxed and remitted arbitrarily by the Emperors as well as by the Provincial Governors. Taxes on Crown-lands, the land revenue, customs duties, tributes from dependencies, escheats and presents were the principal sources of income. The *Jizia*, or poll-tax, abolished by Akbar, was re-imposed by 'Ālamgīr, though it was not strictly collected.

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* On the authority of European travellers who visited India during the Mughal Period, some modern writers have frequently referred to the vanity of the Qāzīs and the corruption of other Government officials. I do not for a moment deny the charge altogether, but I cannot help pointing out that the picture painted by them is rather exaggerated. Corruption there was, but it was not condoned or connived at by the Government. On the other hand, it was strongly suppressed and severely dealt

Police organization.

For the maintenance of law and order and the even-handed distribution of justice, a highly organized police is absolutely essential. The Mughal Emperors maintained one in a high state of efficiency. The principal police officer was *Kotwāl*, the custodian of public peace and security, whose duties have been detailed at some length in a previous chapter. He was assisted by a set of subordinate officers in the discharge of his multifarious duties. It is a tribute to the Mughal Government that owing to an efficient police organization 'order and security prevailed in the cities, business was safe, and foreign merchants were well protected.'

Secret service.

Espionage has indeed a bad odour about it and yet it has been found indispensable even by the most advanced and civilized governments. In a despotic government the need for sound spying system can be well imagined. In Mughal India, there were the *Waqāi Nāvīs*, or Recorders of Events, and the *Khufiā Nāvīs*,

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with. No government, however advanced, can claim to be free from corrupt officials, and the Mughal Government was no exception to the rule. Notwithstanding the efficient systems of administration evolved by different nations and the deterrants devised by them, there is corruption, and corruption in plenty, in every country and in almost every department, at least among the ministerial staff. In Mughal India, we gather from the original sources of information, every effort was made to remove it and, in consequence, there was in those days a good balance of justice and fair-dealing, certainly better than any other country could claim.

or Writers of Secret Intelligence, stationed at each provincial capital and entrusted with the task of informing the Emperor of all that occurred in the different parts of his Empire. There was a close connection between the Secret Service and the Postal Service so that no secret should leak out.

Postal Service.

There was a regular postal system in vogue in Mughal India. Along every Imperial road there was, at a distance of six miles, a post office, called *Chowkī*, where the runner (*Harkārā*) brought the Imperial dispatches and whence the runner, appointed to go to the next *Chowkī*, set off at full speed with the mail. At night the runners were guided by the avenues of trees standing on either side of the road. Where there were no trees, heaps of stones were set up at a distance of every five hundred paces and kept white-washed by the residents of the neighbouring villages. Horses were also kept in all the *serāis* along the Imperial highways to provide a regular mail-service. But the runner was sometimes swifter than the horseman, because at night in the dark the former ran undeterred by darkness or storm, whilst the latter was compelled to ride slowly. On the whole, the system worked so well that it secured the stability of the Empire by keeping the Emperor in touch with what occurred in the provincial governments.

Art and architecture.

The beneficent character of the Mughal Government comes out to its best advantage in relation to arts and architecture. There was none whose skill and ingenuity were not appreciated and rewarded.

The Imperial patronage raised the fine arts to a high water-mark, and as a result, we have those masterpieces, which, like the Tāj, will always elicit our spontaneous admiration. "After all" says an English scholar, "the splendour of the Mughal dynasty is unsurpassed in the annals of the world, and that splendour has always found its supreme expression in architecture. The Mughal craftsmen made lovely buildings because they had beautiful ideas, and the technical skill to embody these ideas in stone."

Education.

"In those days no Government had a regular department of public instruction." The Mughal Emperors, however, opened schools and colleges in the various parts of their Empire and sought to supplement their achievements by extensive patronage of literary worth. During the Mughal period, education was diffused by the threefold means of (1) schools and colleges, (2) mosques and monasteries and (3) private houses, typifying three forms of education, *viz.*, university, primary and domestic. The curriculum embraced the art of administration, arithmetic, algebra, geometry, accounts, agriculture, economics, history, ethics, astronomy, medicine, physics, philosophy, law and ritual. It may be mentioned here that in the schools and colleges founded by the Mughal Emperors and others, Hindū students studied side by side with their Muslim class-fellows and there was no restriction in this or in any other respect. For the instruction of girls there were separate ***maktabs*** and ***madrasahs***, but usually they received their education in their own houses or in the houses of their chosen ***Ustāds***

(teachers) living in the neighbourhood.*

Was Muslim Rule in India a rule of foreigners?

The impression seems to be current in some quarters that the Muslim Rule in India was that of foreigners. It is necessary to strike at once at the root of this erroneous notion. To be sure, the Muslim Kings from the establishment of the Slave Dynasty down to the decline of the Mughal Empire were foreigners only in the sense in which the sovereigns of England have been foreigners to the Mother Country since the time of William the Conqueror. It cannot be disputed that William was a foreigner, but because he made England his home, he is as much English as all his successors down to the present king have been. Again, they were foreigners only in the sense in which all the Presidents of the United States of America have been owing to their foreign extraction. Aibak, the first king of the Sultānate of Delhi, and Bābar, the first king of the Mughal Empire, came from foreign lands, no doubt, but they settled down in this country, made it their permanent home, identified themselves with the interests of the country and ruled it rather as Indians than as foreigners. Their successors were born in India, lived in India and died in India. Thus, they were Indian every inch. They came as foreigners indeed, but like the Aryans, who too were foreigners, they engrafted themselves on the Indian soil, sucked into their veins the Indian sap, nurtured themselves under the warmth

*For the contributions made by the Muslim Kings and others to the sacred cause of education, *vide Education in Muslim India.*

of the Indian sun and conditioned their growth, multiplication and expansion under the Indian climates. So, with the march of time they became, with each succeeding generation, 'of the earth earthy'. The metamorphosis, which was proceeding apace, was rendered complete by the intermingling of the children of the soil. If they retained a distinctive stamp, it was largely of religion, but that too was evanescent, because the converts to the faith from the natives were indistinguishably absorbed into their ranks. Many of those who still retained their old faith completely identified themselves with the patriotic spirit so natural to the sons of Islām and were called to occupy from the lowest position to the highest, next only to the king's. Again, it was the Muslims who first put a barrage against the Khyber Pass and other Eastern Passes and thus kept India in immunity from foreign invasions. Finally, all the material resources of the State were spent in the country itself and nothing was drained away to foreign lands. Another important feature of the Muslim rule was that the ruling class did not interfere with the old institutions of the natives. The time-honoured system of corporate village government and district administration was not disturbed in the least and every care was taken to establish law and order within the country and to maintain a peaceful policy outside.

Are Muslims foreigners ?

Some have gone even so far as to declare all Musalmāns as foreigners. With the exception of a few Semitic races, such as the Sayyads, the Qureshīs and others, the forefathers

of a vast majority (9/10th) of Muslims were Hindūs and hence Indian. They embraced Islām and left behind generations of Muslims who multiplied in numbers as the time rolled on. Change of religion does not imply change of nationality and an Indian Hindū who becomes a Muslim to-day does not become an Arab, an Afghān or a Persian, but continues to be Indian as long as he does not change his nationality. As regards the Sayyads and others who came from outside, settled in this country and made it their home, it is never too much to say that they were Indian quite as much as the Aryans who preceded them. Just as the Aryans came from outside, took up their permanent abode in India and became Indian in course of time, similarly they (*i.e.* Sayyads and others) came as foreigners no doubt; but, like their predecessors (Aryans), they made India their home and became naturalised in it.

Social Features

Cultural unity of India during the Muslim Rule.

The cultural unity of India was another enduring achievement of the Muslim Rule. Hindū-Muslim social intercourse; Hindūs and Muslims studying side by side in the same schools without any restrictions; compulsory education in Persian; mutual exchange of words, thoughts and ideas both in arts and literature; adoption and incorporation—all these forces combined and cumulatively contributed to the cultural unity of India during the Muslim Rule, particularly during the Mughal Period under the tolerant rule of the Great Mughals. There were many Muslim scholars who studied Hindū arts and sciences, wrote

poetry and prose and encouraged their cultivation. Likewise, there were several Hindūs who cultivated Muslim arts and sciences and made their mark in Persian literature. Either community contributed to the literature of the other, enriching its vocabulary and ennobling its outlook on life and letters. They devised a common medium of expression, Urdū, and developed it into a literary language. All these forces, while acting and reacting on each other, brought the two communities nearer to each other, merging them into a homogeneous whole. All this had its natural result in the evolution of a common culture which united them and bridged the gulf which existed between them on account of religious differences.

Muslim Society and the sources of its strength.

It is a commonplace of history that the Musalmāns have always been great nationalists, because nationalism is at the very core of their religion. A Musalmān, who is not a nationalist, is not, strictly speaking, a true follower of his faith inasmuch as he is not obeying the Divine Order: "Let there be in you a nation summoning unto the good." In India, as elsewhere in the Muslim World, the Musalmāns formed one solid nation, ready to immolate themselves at the shrine of religion, honour and love. Their life of action moderated their fear of death and they achieved uncommon triumphs in almost every sphere of human endeavour. Their religion was a great source of strength to them. The wars of the *Crescent* were won, in the first place by science, in the second by patience, and in the third by discipline. The five daily prayers portended

active life, fasting in the month of Ramzān implied a test of endurance, the niggardliness of nature and the rigours of climate, in which they lived, meant an excellent discipline for them; while the vision of becoming a foremost nation of the world fired their spirit.

The splendour of the Mughal Court.

The proverbial pomp and magnificence of the Mughal Court will always remain a byword of those who have even a nodding acquaintance with Indian history. The foreign travellers were surprised at the splendour that surrounded the Sovereign and his Court. On Fridays, after public prayer, musicians, story-tellers, athletes and wrestlers assembled at the Royal Court and amused the King and his courtiers with their performances. The Court presented a scene of most joyous activities and there was nothing wanting to make the show a splendid success.

Male Dress

Dress in Mughal India is another instance of the vanished glory upon which the mind delights to dwell. Hailing from different climates, the warlords of Islām naturally paid great attention to the requirements of their dress. Wool was preferred to cotton and silk to the flimsy gauze-like stuffs in fashion with the native aristocracy. The trousers worn by the people of India during the pre-Islāmic period made room for the *Pājāma*—more stylish and close-fitting—, which came to be known as *Shalwār*, or *Izār*, tied by a string with tussles at the waist; the high-heeled slippers gave place to the heel-less. The so-called *Jāmah* became the usual court dress: Knee-long in the beginning, it reached up to the

ankles in the later Mughal days. The *Nādrī* wear, invented by Jahāngīr, was a robe of honour reserved for the favoured few of his courtiers. One of the noblest contributions made by Musalmāns to Indian dress is the popular head-wear called *Pagrī*, which became universal after the establishment of the Mughal Empire in India. The dress of the Emperor was often made of thin material, interwoven with gold thread and decorated with embroidered patterns of flowers and foliage. His head-wear was embellished with pearls, jems and jewels.

Female Dress.

It is extremely difficult to determine at this distant date the *minutiæ* of female dress because of the observance of privacy among the ladies of the *Harems*. The paintings of eminent court ladies are non-existent, or are too apocryphal to be described in detail. A reputed portrait of Empress Nūr Jahān distinctly shows her in close-fitting trousers and bodice coming down to the end of the Shalwār and a slight *Sārī* to serve for setting rather than for clothing. The female-dancers dressed themselves in full skirts of the flimsiest material with a light jaugy *Sārī* and a tight-fitting bodice with long sleeves. This was, perhaps, necessitated by the very nature of their profession.

Personal decoration.

Profuse jewellery was used for extra-personal ornamentation. The use of *Kamar-band*, or the waist-band, was universal among both the sexes. For the rest, it may be mentioned that almost every part of the body, on which some ornament or other

could possibly be fixed or hung, was not without it. Anklets, bracelets and armlets rivalled necklaces, collars and girdles—the former adding ornamental splendour to feminine grace and the latter adding form to masculine vigour. The nose-ring is a Muslim contribution to Indian woman's face ornaments. The Musalmāns made ear-rings much lighter but more brilliant and valuable than before. Of personal ornaments, the use of betel, or *pān*, to colour lips as well as to sweeten breath, and of *henna* to colour palms, nails and finger-tips of hands and nails and soles of feet of females as well as gray beards, moustaches and heads was in vogue in those times as it is now.

Amusements.

In amusement and recreation the Musalmāns maintained throughout their ascendancy those illustrious traditions of boundless magnificence which have come down to posterity and still astound the foreigners. Of outdoor games, *Chausar* (chess) and *Chaupar* (a game played with dice or cowries on a piece of cloth or board) seem to have been favourite with the commonalty as well as aristocracy. Akbar is credited with the repute of having invented a number of new games on the principle of *Chaupar* and playing-cards. Gentler arts, such as music and painting, were among other indoor amusements. Hunting, chariot-racing, pigeon-flying, gladiatorial combats, elephant-fights, swimming and *Chaugān* (polo) may also be mentioned among the popular outdoor sports. "In many of these sports" says Professor K. T. Shah, "women joined their men-folk in a most perfect abandon."

Status of women.

The lot of women, as ordained by the Holy *Qur'ān*, the real place they occupy in the frame-work of Muslim society, is absolutely misunderstood by an alien missionary as much as by a native visionary. The widespread, not to say the ludicrously untenable notion, that women in Islām have no souls, that they are too much the servants of their husbands' passions or the toys of their idle hours, has by this time been fully exploded, and it is now certain that it was nothing more than what a jaundiced eye could see.* The honour of women has always been jealously safeguarded by the followers of Islām. The very word *Harem* signifies something sacred and shows that women were held in honour verging on veneration. This is borne out by the testimony of native historians as well as by foreign travellers.

Slavery

Slavery was a recognised institution in Mughal India as it was everywhere else in the world. It must, however, be remembered here that in Islām little degradation is attached to the condition of slaves. The fact that slaves and their sons could rise to the most distinguished positions in the State is a glowing tribute to the attitude of Islām towards slaves.† Besides, we know for certain that the State always encouraged the practice of manumission. Akbar is credited with the introduction of a reform whereby the prisoners of war were forbidden to be enslaved.

*See *Spirit of Islām*, pp. 222-57.

†*Ibid.*, pp. 258-67.

Religious Features

Extraordinary increase in Muslim population, its causes.

Unlike their predecessors—the Indo-Bactrians, the Sākās, the Hunās and others—the Musalmāns were not absorbed by the very elastic and ever-expanding Hinduism. On the other hand, they made large conversions in this country. The followers of Islām multiplied in India during the Muslim rule and we are not in the least surprised at their rapid growth when we penetrate deep into the problem and discover some inevitable forces working towards this end.

Islām *versus* Hinduism.

In matters of faith, the human mind is prone to work in certain paradoxical ways: While the learned seek for their satisfaction the remote and the abstruse, the crude, on the other hand, are always in quest of the simplest and the most direct to which they cling tenaciously. Customs, ceremonies, pictures and idols are various ways of impressing an idea on the rude mind. The transcendant philosophy of Hinduism was the monopoly of the favoured few who so jealously guarded its treasures partly from motives of self-aggrandisement and partly because they thought it would not answer to cast pearls before swine that they thought it was sufficient if the curiosity of the vulgar was dazzled by an array of picturesque ceremonials and the splendour of images and idols preserved in shrines raised at inestimable costs. The ignorant felt, however imperceptibly at the time, a great gulf between them and their preceptors. They saw in the advent of Islām the

visions of liberation from intellectual thraldom. The Muslim missionaries had an untold advantage of a clear-cut cosmogony and a definite set of dogmas about heaven and hell, how to attain the former and avoid the latter, in contrast with the vague and poetical version of popular superstitions presented by Hindūism. The doctrinal simplicity of Islām, which was like an open book to all, from the highest to the meanest, heralded the dawn of the day of the down-trodden. For the slaves of numerous gods and rituals, the brotherhood of Islām, the simple monotheistic idea of God, the democratic principle of equality and the rationalistic doctrines, like fasting and prayers, had a lure that was irresistible. Voluntary conversions were the inevitable results.

Spirit of freedom

The spirit of freedom has always had a fascination for all races under all climes and conditions. It is no mere platitude to say that this spirit is inherent in mankind. It has moulded the destinies of nations. Self-realisation is nothing but a discovery of this spirit. It has been the corner-stone of the greatest of our empires. It is in the fitness of things that the classes to which a degrading position had been assigned in Hindū society, leading to invidious distinctions between the natural rights of man and man, should shake off their lethargy, and thus, giving a rude shock to the Pharisaism of the Brāhmans, raise up such a tornado of vindictiveness against the helpless visionaries that the only course open to them was to seek shelter in the fold of Islām. To the low-caste Hindū, the new faith meant a perfect democracy

wherein the stains of blood and occupation were exorcised by the pronouncement of the 'open *sesame*' of the simple Islamic creed: 'There is no God but ***Allāh***, and Muhammad is His Prophet.' Thus, it was the human aspect of the Muslim faith which was at the back of its propagation and proselytising capabilities.

Intrinsic worth of Muslim Faith.

Too much cannot be said about the Muslim religion as a spiritual force. Its intrinsic worth has been a magnet for all seekers after truth. It was this that occasioned conversions during that period and it is this that is winning converts even now. George Bernard Shaw does not over-estimate the value of Islām when he says that 'England in particular and the rest of Western Europe in general are sure to embrace Islām within a century.' This is a fact, otherwise how can Musalmāns, poor and powerless as they are, win converts of the calibre of Lord Headley, Khālid Sheldrake, David Upson, K. L. Gauba, etc.,- not from the ignorant classes of the lowest strata, but from the most cultured classes of the highest order. Everyone feels that the laws of Islām are the laws of Nature which must ultimately prevail. The spirit of Islām dominates the world and the tendency of Islamisation is patent to the naked eye.

Examples of Muslim Saints.

The noble examples set by the votaries of Islām—their chaste lives, their sincere devotion, their unselfish motives for the spread of their religion—must have contributed to the same end in no small measure. The career and character of such men as Khwājah

Mūīn-ud-Dīn Chishtī, Sayyad Ali Hajveri (also called Dātā Sāhib), Bandānawāz Sayyad Muhammad Gesūdarāz and Shaikh Salīm Chishtī are cases in point.

Economic advantages.

The desire for material prosperity lies embedded in the very conception of freedom. The forces that should underly such a desire can by no means be over-estimated. Social uplift was a vital factor that accelerated conversions into mass movements. The following ends can be easily comprehended to have been in view side by side with spiritual cravings : a lucrative post, or position in the State, escape from the payment of the *Jizia* and other cesses levied on the *Zimmīs*, daily contact with the ruling class which centred in itself all the graces of good breeding and culture, the personal favours of the Emperor, which in itself meant so much in those times.

Virility of Muslim races.

Recent census reports have directed our attention towards another possibility which accounts for the preponderance of Muslim numbers over those of others in some parts of this country. This is the virility of Muslim races which, on account of the heritages of food and mode of living, has immense capacity for the propagation of species. All this furnishes an explanation for the rapid spread of Islām so often viewed with amazement.

"No compulsion in religion."

In the light of the circumstances presented above, the slanderous theory that Islām was propagated in India at the point of the sword does not hold, especially in view of the *Qurānic* teaching : 'Let there be no compulsion in

religion.' Forcible conversions, if any during the war-times, may at the most be acknowledged to be only a temporary phase, for the permanent acquiescence in the faith thus imposed upon is highly incredible. Had Islām been propagated under compulsion, verily there would have been no *Zimmīs* in India and elsewhere, where Islām was once so supreme.

Forces that brought about a *modus vivendi* between Islām and Hinduism.

In passing, it will not be without interest to note that there were many political, social and religious forces operating secretly and silently for a *modus vivendi*, if not for a complete reconciliation, between Islām and Hinduism. Among the political forces may be mentioned those that led the Hindūs to join hands with the Musalmāns in the event of a common danger. Men as well as women of all castes, who had suffered much, felt drawn together in a common bond of sympathy. The policy of opening careers to talents contributed much to mutual love. Socially, the presence of Hindū women in Muslim *Harems* went far enough towards welding the two elements together. The schools, where Hindūs and Muslims received their education together, too had a great unifying influence. The policy of religious toleration and the influence of the Muslim *Sūfī*, who came to deride the ritualistic side of his faith and believed that salvation was a concern for all, that all were equal in the eyes of God, and that there was no difference between the high-born and the low, between a Hindū and a Musalmān, were among the religious force which had no mean share in bringing about a reconciliation between Islām and Hinduism.

Rise of the Bhaktī Movement

The forces that were working for the *modus vivendi* were also responsible for the rise of the *Bhaktī* Movement—analogous and contemporary to the Reformation Movement of Mediæval Europe—which recognized no difference between Rām and Rāhim, Ka'ba and Kailāsh, *Qur'ān* and *Purān*, and inculcated that *Karmā is Dharma*. The preachers of this creed—Rāmānandā, Kabīr, Dādū, Rāmdās, Sūrdās, Nānak and Chaitānya—who flourished in different parts of India and preached the principle of Unity of God, were immensely influenced by Islām. Sikhism is only a phase of the same movement.

Influence of Islām on Indian religious life and thought.

The influence of Islām on Indian religious life and thought has continued to our own times and will continue into the future which is still before us. The systems of belief in vogue among the Indians at the advent of the Musalmāns in India had drifted very largely away from the fundamental principles and practices embodied in their earliest religious texts and numerous forms of idolatry had been substituted for divine worship. Things have changed so much since the advent of Islām that though the orthodox still have idols in their temples, their attitude towards them is not the same as it used to be before Islām appeared in India. The intelligentsia among them assert that the idols are not worshipped as gods, but that they are employed as aids to concentration of thought and that those who appear to worship them are, in fact, worshipping Him to Whom alone worship is

due. The influence of Islām can be clearly traced in this changed attitude of the Hindūs, so also in the movements which have sprung up within the fold of Hinduism itself for combating idol-worship and reviving the ancient Vedic faith. Though the Sikhs and the Āryāsamājists sometimes adopt a militant attitude against Islām in order, perhaps, to counteract its influence, they owe a lasting debt of gratitude to Islām, to which they owe the origin and existence of their religions which, under the influence of Islām, denounce idol-worship, preach the unity of God, condemn priest-hood, deprecate caste restrictions, admit others into the fold of their faiths and recommend widow-marriage. This is what Islām has contributed to Indian religious thought and spiritual ideals.

The two Royal Houses of Islām in Mughal India.

In India, Islām was represented by its two famous sects: the Shiās and the Sunnīs. Geographically, the former were Persian. Numerically the latter were stronger. The Sunnīs in the North and the Shiās in the South formed the two Royal Houses of Islām in India. As almost everywhere in the Muslim World, these two sects of Islām were at daggers drawn with each other and a fierce rivalry existed between them.

Economic Features

The early Emperors of India were occupied too much with the work of conquest and consolidation. Consequently, in a relatively unsettled state of affairs economic development could not take place quite so effectively as in the more peaceful times. But gradually as the Mughal power struck its root deep into the Indian

soil, the Mughal Emperors began to devote their attention to the material well-being of their subjects.

Agriculture.

Agriculture, the most important industry of India, was properly understood and encouraged by the Mughal Kings. They introduced multifarious reforms: waste lands were reclaimed, canals were opened, tanks were constructed and wells were dug for irrigation purposes.* The interests of the peasants, who constituted the back-bone of Indian social structure, were properly looked after and every impetus was given to agricultural pursuits. The beneficent results were that agriculture improved, agriculturists flourished, peasants prospered and the land revenue increased abundantly.

Land Revenue System and its working.

Closely connected with agriculture is the land revenue system which next demands a word of comment. To Sher Shāh Sūrī must be given the credit of introducing an elaborate system of revenue settlement based on the actual measurement of land, which was subsequently improved by Akbar the Great. The system is justly regarded as one of the crowning achievements of Mughal Rule in India. It is in fact an enduring contribution to Indian agriculture. It has survived in India under the British Rule with all its essential features under the *Raiyatwārī Settlement*. The share of the State was sometimes one-third and often

* It may appropriately be pointed out here that it was the Muslims who, for the first time, introduced the Persian-wheel and dug canals in India for purposes of irrigation. This was decidedly a great improvement on the means of irrigation then known to India.

one-fourth of the aggregate produce, which was paid in cash or kind according to the convenience of the cultivator.

Was the land revenue exorbitant?

At present the land revenue represents about one-fifth of the aggregate produce of the whole land under cultivation. There is no instance of any Hindū or Muslim ruler who could be satisfied with such a low rate of land revenue. How is then such an enormous rate of land revenue to be accounted for? The reason is not far to seek: In the past, the land revenue constituted the main source of State income; whereas the sources of revenue, such as the income-tax and customs duties, in these days are so important that 'the land revenue has ceased to be a source of Imperial revenue.'

Farmer of Akbar's time and his brother of to-day compared.

Professor Brij Narāin, while comparing a farmer of Akbar's time with his brother of to-day, refers to the status of a Lyallpur farmer, the most opulent of his class, and comes to an interesting conclusion. He points out that Akbar's peasant was more prosperous than the best of these days. The instructions to the collectors of the land revenue were couched in extremely humanitarian terms and were worked with great lenity unless we postulate that they were not strictly enforced. Rebates and remissions were never grudged. According to Mr. Moreland, the land was cultivated in small holdings in the seventeenth century, but we are left in the dark as to the average size of a holding. That it was larger than the average holding of to-day is true because a larger proportion of population is now supported by land than in those

days. Finally, the average yield per acre in those times must have been greater than at present because of the depreciation in the quality of land caused by more intensive cultivation in order to keep pace with the increase in population. Even if we suppose for argument's sake that the fertility of the land then under cultivation has not diminished during the past three hundred years, we cannot but admit that extensive cultivation, necessitated by growing population, embracing inferior lands, must result in the decrease of average produce. To avoid further controversy, suffice it to say that reliable statistics are now available to prove that an average workman in those days was better off than at present.* It is estimated that the rupee in terms of important food-grains, such as wheat, gram, barley, jowār and *ghee*, was, three centuries ago, worth thirteen times as much as the rupee of to-day. The average daily wage of an ordinary workman was 2·7*d.* If Coryat, an English traveller, could maintain himself 'very competently' in his travels, 'with meate, drinke and clothes' for 2*d.* a day, we can safely assume that a common labourer and a native of the country could maintain himself as competently, if not more, with the same. Smith says that a man could live on '1*d.* to 2*d.* a day.' The inference is obvious.

Famine Relief.

We cannot presuppose a country depending on agriculture without facing failures of crops, resulting in starvation and deaths. Famine-relief, if rendered properly, is a tribute to the stability of a State and its economic well-being.

* See *Indian Economic Life*, by Brij Narain.

So it is a part of our review to state how famines were dealt with in those days. During the Mughal Rule whenever a famine broke out, State assistance was given to the famine-stricken and grain was supplied free from the Imperial granaries. State hospitals and alm-houses were established in important quarters for the sick and the poor. Large *Khānqāhs*, or charitable establishments, further helped the State in the administration of relief, and the testimony of foreign travellers shows that at these *Khānqāhs* hundreds of men were fed gratis. With all the solicitude of the State, the horrors of famine were great and alarming because of the imperfect means of communication and transportation. The fact, however, remains that the Mughal Government was alive to its duty of combating this calamity, or at least mitigating its horrors.

Textile Industries.

The State encouraged other industries also. Among local manufactures, foreign travellers have counted six fine cotton fabrics and have recorded that silk handkerchiefs and caps embroidered with gold, painted ware, basins, cups, steel guns, knives and scissors were all manufactured at different places in this country. It is also said that a kind of white paper was also manufactured from the bark of a tree which was very smooth and glossy.

Foreign Trade.

Trade was carried on with foreign countries. The most important item in the foreign trade of India may be said to have been textile manufactures of all sorts. Borbose and Varthema, two European writers, inform us that India supplied 'all Persia, Tārtary, Turkey, Syria, Barbary,

Arabia, Ethiopia. . . . with silk and cotton stuffs.' Other articles of export were the beautiful *shawls* of Kashmīr, made of pure wool and silk mixture, the carpets of Lāhore and Āgrā, and the cotton cloth of Dacca, called the Dacca muslin, fittingly styled '*Āb-i-Rawān*,' or the moving water, famous in the world for its fine texture. In the middle of the seventeenth century India supplied Europe with diamonds, pearls, chintzes, large quantities of spices, drugs, such as horax, opium, etc., tobacco and saltpetre. Even the steel used in the manufacture of the famous Damascus blades was exported from the Kingdom of Golconda. Opium and indigo, with dye stuffs, were practically Indian monopolies and formed the bulk of India's international trade. Skins and hides were also exported. Among the articles of import may be mentioned woollen fabrics, scarlet cloth, metal works, raw silk, porcelain, glass-ware, paper and such other things. Animals, specially horses, were imported from Arabia, Persia and Turkey. Of other animals, such as apes, peacocks, parrots and other pretty birds, figuring either as exports or as imports, there is no specific evidence recorded. The trade in these animals, therefore, if any, must have been very insignificant.

Ship-building.

Ship-building was also an important industry of India in those days. Certainly, wood products, occurring so commonly in Indian trade, must have been Indian ships constructed to serve as ocean-carriers. Mr. Moreland informs us "that apart from the Portuguese trade to Europe, the great bulk of the commerce in the Indian seas was carried in ships built in India, and that most of these

and certainly all the large ones, were constructed on the west coast, not at any one centre, but at various points or inlets within easy reach of the forests. It is practically certain that India also built all the small boats required for the coasting trade from Bengal as far as Sind, and the aggregate volume of shipping was therefore very great when measured by contemporary standards." We know that both the English and the Dutch had some of their ships constructed in India. This could not be so unless those ships were cheap and durable. A letter of 1668 A. C. by the English President and Council to the Company in reply to some anticipated objections with regard to the starting of ship-building in Bombay states : "...these carpenters are grown so expert and masters of their art that there are many Indian vessels that in shape exceed those that come either out of England or Holland."

The industrial condition of India during the Mughal Period and before has been admirably summed up by the Industrial Commission in the following passage :—

"At a time when the west of Europe, the birth-place of modern industrial system, was inhabited by uncivilized tribes, India was famous for the wealth of her rulers and for the high artistic skill of her craftsmen. And even at a much later period, when the merchant adventurers from the west made their first appearance in India, the industrial development of the country was, at any rate, not inferior to that of more advanced European nations."*

* This view is shared and supported by many an eminent authority on the subject; *e.g.*, "The skill of the Indians in

Mineral Wealth.

Turning next to the mineral wealth of the country, we find that gold was found in Kamāon and in the Punjāb mountains and rivers; silver in Agrā; copper in Nārnaul and Kamāon; iron in Bengāl; saltpetre in Thatta, Gujarāt and Kheorā; tin in Jammū; sweet-lime in Kheorā; and saltpetre was in abundance at Āgrā and Patnā; whereas diamonds were extracted from the mines of Harpāl (in Bengāl) and Golconda.

Currency System.

Coming next to the currency of the country during the Muslim rule, we notice that coins of various denominations were in circulation in India. In the main, the currency consisted of gold *mohars*, silver *tānkās* and copper *dāms*. There were also fractional parts of these three standards. Villagers and citizens of small towns used shells (*cowries*) in the ordinary bargains of their daily life. The ratio between gold and silver coins varied from time to time, though both were coined freely by the Mughal Emperors. It was 8 : 1 in the early Muslim period and had fallen to 7 : 1 after the conquest of the Deccan by Alā-ud-Dīn Khiljī, had now become

the production of delicate woven fabrics, in the mixing of colours, the working of metals and precious stones and in all manners of technical arts has from very early times enjoyed world-wide celebrity."—Professor Weber. "Industry not only supplied all local wants but also enabled India to export its finished products to foreign countries."—Ranade. "It was this trade and prosperity that attracted the European traders to India. Their rivalry to secure a footing in India at that time was occasioned not by the raw materials of the country but by the value and variety of her manufactures and crafts."—Professors Jathar and Beri. (Also see *Education in Muslim India*, pp. 200 ff.)

9·4 : 1. Gold was the chief currency of the country for all big transactions. Ordinary calculations were made in rupees and gold was used for making presents and paying tributes. The silver *tānkās*, first coined by Altmash, became the legal tender of Northern India for all subsequent years and acquired its present weight (180 grains) and the name of *rupee* in the reign of Sher Shāh Sūrī (1542 A. C.) The fact that the currency of India underwent considerable improvement in purity, weight and artistic execution during the Mughal period can never be called in question. Akbar deserves very high credit for the excellence of his extremely varied coinage, both as regards the purity of metal, the fulness of weight, and artistic execution. Neither Akbar, nor his successors, ever yielded to the temptation of debasing coinage either in weight or in purity, so that Smith is fully justified in pronouncing the Mughal coinage as far superior to that of Queen Elizabeth or other contemporary sovereigns of Europe.

Means of communication and transportation.

Many a magnificent Muslim monarch, like Balban, 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Firoz Shāh Tughluq, Sikandar Lodhī, Sher Shāh Sūrī, and almost all the Great Mughals paid specific attention to the construction of roads and highways in their kingdom. Several roads were laid so expeditiously that they linked together all the strategic frontier cities of the Empire. Sher Shāh Sūrī's name is intimately associated with the opening of the Grand Trunk Road, running from Peshāwar to Calcutta. Riding horses, bullock-carts, elephants, camels, and palanquins were the principal means of

conveyance and baggage transportation. Great care was taken to secure the person and property of the travellers. Many *caravanserāis* were built along the chief routes with fruit-gardens and separate arrangements for the comfort of Hindūs and Muslims alike. The splendour of the Imperial Musalmāns, as displayed in their extensive paraphernalia of travel and encampment, reached its climax during the Mughal Period of Indian history. So says Professor K. T. Shah :

" In Muhammadan times, there is hardly a prince of any importance who is not in some ways connected with road-making. Great arterial highways, planted with an arcade of trees all along their length, linked the principal centres of the Empire over hundreds and hundreds of miles. The comfort and convenience of the travellers was duly secured by the public hostels—walled enclosures, with ample lodging and stabling, water tanks, and provision-shops, to supply all the needs of the travellers at convenient stages; while the distance travelled was indicated by mile-stones easily noticeable even at night. Where the nature of the country would not permit of proper road making, or where transport by water was more convenient, the rivers were utilized for popular as well as Imperial voyages, attended by all pomp and ceremony of a most luxurious court."

Condition of the people.

The people in general, we gather from the contemporary chronicles, were, on the whole, happy and prosperous. Their houses were *kachcha* as well as *pakka*, though those of the former kind (*kachcha*) were more numerous. They were 'airy, and pleasant,

most of them having courts and gardens, being commodious inside and containing good furniture.' Every modest house was well-furnished, and had a garden, a reservoir and an audience room, called *Dīwānkhāna*, the floor of which was covered with costly carpets. Every important city had schools and colleges, libraries and literary societies, hostels and hospitals, baths and wells for the convenience of the public; and the streets, we learn, were daily cleaned by sweepers.

Relations between Hindus and Muslims.

Barring out a few instances of intolerance and some outbursts of fanaticism, the relations between the Hindūs and Muslims were cordial and were characterised by good-will and mutual love and toleration. Matrimonial alliances of the Imperial House, social equality of all classes of people, 'uniformity of law and usage', indiscriminate distribution of posts and powers among all classes of people,* regardless of their rank, race or religion, and social

*Even 'Ālamgīr, who was so much harassed by the Hindus, did not refuse to employ them in his service. "In an interesting collection of Aurangzeb's orders and despatches as yet unpublished", says Sir Thomas Arnold, "we find him laying down what may be termed the supreme law of toleration for the ruler of people of another faith.....*Government posts ought to be bestowed according to ability and from no other consideration.*" (*Preaching of Islam*, p. 214). That 'Ālamgīr was true to this 'supreme law of toleration', is testified to by Hamilton who says:—

"The religion of Bengāl by law established is Mahometan, yet for one Mahometan there are above an hundred pagans, and the publick offices and posts of trust are filled with men of both persuations." (*A New Account of the East Indies*, Vol., ii, p. 14.)

intercourse were some of the dominant factors which contributed to communal harmony and national solidarity.

Conclusion.

As this interesting study comes to a close, it is hoped that the preceding account is sufficient to enable the reader to gauge the prosperity of those times. The Mughals have come and gone, but they have left a lasting impress not only on the history of their times but also on the hearts of the inhabitants of Hindūstān, Hindūs as well as Musalmāns. Their civilizing influence, as seen in their *Sulh-i-kul* policy, enjoining the freedom of worship and the liberty of conscience, in the protection of the poor, in the works of public welfare, in the encouragement of arts and sciences, poetry and philosophy, in the promotion of education and literature; in the abundance of industry and commerce, in the rich efflorescence of fine arts, can be traced not only in the huge mass of historical literature that has come down to us, but also in the beneficial institutions which have survived to our own times. The revenue and the judicial departments of the present Indian administration teem with terminologies of their invention and in almost every part of Modern India the entire language of administration, of navigation, of technique in many an art and craft is of Muslim creation and bears the stamp of Mughal Rule. Mountains were not yet tunnelled and space was not yet conquered; science, in short, had not yet achieved its victories. The wonder, therefore, is not that the Mughals maintained peace and established law and order throughout the length and breadth of their far-flung Empire, but that they did it so admirably.

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ADDENDUM
ON
BĀBAR'S DEATH

The accuracy of the story of Bābar's 'miraculous death' as told by Allāma Abul Fazl and reproduced on pages 21-22 of this book has been called in question by some modern research-scholars. The first to challenge its authenticity was Professor Rushbrook-Williams, who, however, left the question undecided Dr. Bannerji, the latest biographer of Humāyūn, has repeated the story, making a few halting suggestions here and there. Professor Sri Ram Sharma has written an interesting article on the subject and tried to close the controversy for good.* Here I cannot do more than to summarise the results of what I have been able to gather on the subject from various sources.

When Humāyūn fell ill and his illness took a serious turn some time in the month of April, 1530, A.C., so much so that the Court physicians failed to cure him, Bābar expressed his desire to have recourse to methods other than medicinal. Mir Abul Baqā, the leading living saint of the day attached to the Imperial Court, suggested that the Emperor, in order to save the life of his son, should give away in sacrifice something that was very dear to him. Bābar decided to sacrifice his own life to save that of his beloved son. Some of his associates dissuaded him from this step and suggested that the precious *Koh-i-Noor*, 'worth half the daily expenses of the world', might be given away in sacrifice. But quite in keeping with his romantic nature, Babar argued that 'a life for a life' was a better means of persuading fates to change their course of action. Thinking that death might spare Humāyūn if he resorted to that step, he walked round the bed of his son and prayed that his son's illness might be transferred to him. 'O God,' he said, 'if a life can be exchanged for another life, I, Bābar, give away my life and remaining years to Humāyūn.' His incessant prayers proved too much for him and it may well be said that the fates took him at his word, for he fell ill while his son began to recover till at last he was perfectly well. So far the story of sacrifice, popularized by Abul Fazl, is correct and there is nothing in it that can be questioned. But the miracle

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*For Professor Sri Ram Sharma's article, see *Calcutta Review*, September, 1936.

did not proceed further, for after some time Bābar too recovered from his illness and became so well that there was absolutely no cause for anxiety, so much so that Humāyūn was sent away to Sambhal because his presence was no longer considered necessary. After some time Bābar was taken ill again and Humāyūn was called back from Sambhal. On his arrival, Humāyūn was horrified to see his father ill again. He is reported to have exclaimed: 'I left him well. What has happened all at once?' Later, Bābar seems to have recovered somewhat, for he is said to have ordered the betrothal of two royal princesses. But again there was a relapse and again his condition became precarious. In order to relieve him of his increasing distress, Humāyūn held a meeting of the Imperial physicians, who, after due consideration and consultation, unanimously came to the conclusion that Bābar's disease was due to the poison administered to him by the mother of Ibrāhīm Lodhī. They admitted their inability and declared that the disease was incurable. Bābar then nominated Humāyūn as his successor and after three days he expired on Monday, the 25th December, 1530.

The foregoing facts, pure and simple, clearly show that there was no connection whatsoever between Bābar's death and his son's illness. The Imperial physicians would have been, from the very nature of the case, quite as willing to connect Babar's last illness and death with the miracle (act of God) performed by him at the illness of his son as Bābar himself; but the fact that they declared that Bābar's last illness was due to the effects of a poison leaves no room for the miracle to continue and shows that Humāyūn's illness had nothing to do with his death. The contemporaries too did not see any connection between the two and the silence of such writers as Mirzā Muhammad Haidar Dughlat, Abdul Qādir Badāonī, Nizām-ud-Dīn Ahmad and Ferishta on the subject seems to suggest that Bābar did not die as a result of the sacrifice he performed for saving the life of his son. The last part of the 'miraculous story' (that Babar's death was due to the sacrifice) is, therefore, incorrect.*

*The above piece of information, throwing some fresh light on the subject, ought to have been inserted at its proper place in Chapter II, but it escaped my notice when that part of the book was being printed and hence it finds its place here.

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[*Abbreviations.*—d/o=daughter of; f/o=father of; Kh=Khawajah; M.=Maulānā; m/o=mother of; P.=Prince; R.=ruler; S.=Sayyad; Sh.=Shaikh; and s/o=son of.]

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BY THE SAME AUTHOR

EDUCATION IN MUSLIM INDIA

Being an Inquiry into the State of Education During the Muslim Period of Indian History 1000—1800 A C.)

WITH A FOREWORD BY

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FOREWORD

I BELIEVE it was Froude who once said something to the effect that one should not raise one's pen to write unless one can add to human knowledge, and there is no doubt that Mr. S M. Jaffar has done a great service to the cause of education in general and Indian Culture in particular by writing this book on **Education in Muslim India** and thus made a distinctive contribution to the field of Indian historical literature.

Time was when a student of Indian history had to be content with knowing something about warring dynasties court intrigues, internecine feuds and other matters which went to make the '*history*' of this country a subject of useless, if not actually harmful, study. Happily we have now come to feel the necessity of the whole of Indian history being re-written not so much from the point of view of occurrences at the capitals of various states as in order to delineate the spread of culture and to demonstrate the value of its present composite form, so that our people may not be led away by the false notion that whatever paraphernalia of civilization we possess does not go back to more than a century and a half. Indian civilization, with its real and inherent unity in the midst of its outward diversity, is age-long and not a mere graft, and this is one of the great and abiding results of the events which go to form the history of India.