CHAPTER V

DISINTEGRATION OF THE MUGHAL EMPIRE

The death of Aurangzeb on the 3rd March, 1707, was the signal for the disintegration of the mighty Mughal Empire. Aurangzeb's apprehension that a civil war would break out among his sons after him, to prevent which, it is said, he left a will directing his three surviving sons, Mu'azzam, Muhammad 'Azam and Muhammad Kām Baksh, to partition the Empire peacefully, was justified. No sooner had he breathed his last than his three sons entered into bitter fratricidal quarrels for the possession of the throne of Delhi. Of the three brothers, Mu'azzam was then governor of Kābul, 'Azam of Gujarāt, and the youngest, Muhammad Kām Baksh, of Bijāpur. Kām Baksh, though he assumed "all the attributes of sovereignty", could not leave the Deccan. But the eldest, Mu'azzam, hurried towards Āgra from Kābul; and 'Azam also marched towards the same city. Mu'azzam proposed to 'Azam a partition of the Empire on the lines laid down by their deceased father, but the latter did not accept these suggestions and resolved to fight for his right to the throne. Nothing but the sword could now decide the issue, and the two brothers soon resorted to it. They met at Jājan, a few miles from Āgra, in June 1707, and 'Azam lost the day as well as his life. After a brief expedition to Rajputāna, Mu'azzam marched to the Deccan, and Kām Baksh, being defeated near Hyderābād, died of wounds early in 1708.

Mu'azzam ascended the throne under the title of Bahādur Shāh (also known as Shāh 'Alam I). Though "a man of mild and equitable temper, learned, dignified and generous to a fault", he was too old to prevent the decline of the Empire. His death on the 27th February, 1712, was followed by a fresh war of succession among his four sons, Jahāndār Shāh, 'Azīm-us-Shāh, Jahān Shāh and Rāfī-us-Shāh. The last three were killed in course of the war, and Jahāndār Shāh secured the throne with the help of Zulfiqār Khān, who became the chief minister of the State. Jahāndār was completely under the influence of a favourite lady.
named Lāl Kumārī. "In the brief reign of Jābāndlār", observes Khāfī Khān, "violence had full sway. It was a fine time for minstrels and singers and all the tribes of dancers and actors." He was not, however, destined to enjoy power for a long time, but was deposed and strangled in the fort of Delhi under the order of 'Azīm-us-Shāh's son, Farrukhsiyar, who proclaimed himself Emperor in A.D. 1713. The king-maker, Zulfiqār Khān, was also executed.

Farrukhsiyar owed his elevation to the throne to the two Sayyid brothers, Husain 'Āli, deputy governor of Patna, and 'Abdullah, governor of Allahabad, who henceforth began to exercise the real power in the State and placed one prince after another on the throne. 'Abdullah became the Wāzīr and Husain 'Āli the commander-in-chief of the army; but as the former was a soldier and had no previous experience of civil administration, the full burden of administration fell on the latter. Farrukhsiyar was "feeble, cowardly and contemptible" and "strong neither for evil nor for good", and his attempt to assert his own power made his reign "throughout an agitated and perplexing one, ending in another Imperial tragedy". Under the influence of some of his anti-Sayyid friends, chiefly Mir Jumla, he acted ungratefully, from the beginning of his reign, towards his Sayyid ministers. Their resentment was so great that they deposed and blinded the Emperor and executed him in an ignominious manner. The treatment that Farrukhsiyar received from the Sayyids was in no way more harsh than what he had himself meted out to his possible rivals. His worthlessness, intrigues, and ingratitude made his removal almost necessary for his ministers. But for men of position like them "the way of doing what had become almost a necessity was unduly harsh, too utterly regardless of the personal dignity of the fallen monarch. Blinding a deposed king was the fixed usage; for that the Sayyids are not specially to blame. But the severity of the subsequent confinement was excessive, and the taking of the captive's life was an extremity entirely uncalled-for".

The king-makers, 'Abdullah and Husain 'Āli, now raised to the throne two phantom kings, Rafi-ud-Darnājāt and Rafi-ud-Daulah, sons of Rafī-us-Shāh. But within a few months the Sayyids, who determined to "rule through the Imperial puppets", thought that they had discovered another roi fainéant in a youth of eighteen, named Rohsan Akhtar, son of Jahān Shāh (the fourth son of Bahādur Shāh), who ascended the throne as Muhammad Shāh. The new Emperor did not prove to be a docile agent of the Sayyids, as they had expected, and found many supporters among
those who had become enemies of the ministers during the seven years of their power. The ablest of the new allies of the sovereign was the famous Nizâm-ul-mulk of the Deccan. Husain 'Ālit was removed by assassination while he was proceeding towards Malwa to chastise the Nizâm. 'Abdullah made an attempt to retain his power by placing on the throne a more convenient puppet, Muhammad Ibrāhim, another son of Rafi-us-Shān, but he was defeated and imprisoned in 1720 and killed by poison in 1722. The new wazîr, Muhammad Amin Khâñ, expired in 1721, and the Nizâm-ul-mulk was called upon to accept that post in February, 1722. As he was essentially a man of action, the atmosphere of the imperial court did not suit his temperament. He soon left it for the Deccan, where he established a virtually independent kingdom, though the fiction of imperial supremacy was maintained till the last. The fall of the Sayyids, and the departure of the Nizâm-ul-mulk for the Deccan, did not, however, serve to increase the power and prestige of Muhammad Shâh! As Ghulâm Husain, the author of Siyâr, writes: "Young and handsome, and fond of all kinds of pleasures, he addicted himself to an inactive life, which entirely enervated the energy of the Emperor". Though destiny granted him a long reign, yet "in utter unconcern he let the affairs drift in their own way, and the consequence was most fatal". A Province after province—the Deccan, Oudh and Bengal—slipped out of imperial control; the Marâthas established their power far and wide; the Jâts became independent near Agra, the Ruhelâ Afghâns founded the State of Rohilkhand (Ruhelkhand) in the North Gangetic plain; the Sikhs became active in the Punjab; and the invasion of Nâdir Shâh dealt a staggering blow to the Delhi Empire. Thus within about three decades of Aurangzeb's death, the vast Empire of the Mughuls ceased to exist as an all-India political unit and was split up into numerous independent or semi-independent states.

The next Emperor, Ahmad Shâh, son of Muhammad Shâh, was unable to cope successfully with the disintegrating forces that had grown so alarming on all sides. The Empire rapidly shrank in extent, being reduced only to a small district round Delhi. The Emperor was deposed and blinded in 1754 by the wazîr Ghâzî-ud-din Imâd-ul-mulk, a grandson of the deceased Nizâm-ul-mulk of the Deccan, who nowimitated the Sayyid brothers in playing the king-maker. He placed on the throne 'Azîz-ud-din (son of Jahândâr Shâh), who had been so long in confinement, and who now adopted the same title as the great Aurangzeb, and called himself 'Ālamgîr II. But the new ruler
“found himself as much a prisoner upon the throne as he was formerly in his confinement”. His attempt to free himself from the control of the all-powerful wazīr only resulted in his ruin, as he was put to death by the latter’s orders. The malignant hostility of this ambitious and unscrupulous wazīr compelled Shāh ‘Alam II, the son and successor of ‘Alamgir II, to move as a wanderer from place to place. Passing through many vicissitudes of fortune, this unlucky sovereign had to throw himself ultimately on the protection of the English and live as their pensioner till his death in A.D. 1806. Shāh ‘Alam II’s son, Akbar II, lived in Delhi with the title of Emperor till 1837. The Imperial dynasty became extinct with Bahādur Shāh II, who was deported to Rangoon by the English on suspicion of assisting the Sepoy mutineers. He died there in A.D. 1862.

2. Changed Character of the Later Mughul Nobility, and Party Fractions

The deterioration in the character of the nobility during the eighteenth century had a large share in hastening the decline of the Mughul Empire. The nobles of the time ceased to discharge the useful functions which some of them had done in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. To the great misfortune of the country, they became eager only for self-aggrandisement and personal ascendancy, to achieve which they plunged the land into bitter civil wars, disastrous conspiracies, and hopeless confusion and anarchy. “To the thoughtful student of Mughul history,” remarks Sir Jadunath Sircar, “nothing is more striking than the decline of the peerage. The heroes adorn the stage for one generation only and leave no worthy heirs sprung from their loins. ‘Abdurrahim and Mahābat, Sa’dullah and Mir Jumla, Ibrāhim and İslām Khān Rūmī, who had made the history of India in the seventeenth century, were succeeded by no son, certainly by no grandson, even half as capable as themselves.” This was partly due to the incapacity and lack of resolution on the part of the later rulers of the country, who had not the ability to select the right type of men for administration but were guided by the selfish advice of interested and depraved flatterers. Thus when the Emperor “was a sluggard or a fool, he ceased to be the master and guide of the nobility. They then naturally turned to win the controlling authority at court or in the provinces”.

Broadly speaking, the nobles were ranged in two parties. Those who were children of the soil, or had been long domiciled in the
country, formed the Hindustānī or Indo-Moslem party. To this
group belonged the Afgān nobles, the Sayyids of Bāhrā, and
Khān-i-Daurān, whose ancestors came from Bādakhshān. These
Indian Muslims depended mostly on the help of their Hindu com-
patriots. The foreign nobles of diverse origin, opposed as a class to
the members of the Hindustānī party, were indiscriminately called
Mughuls, but they were subdivided into two groups according to
the land of their origin. Those who came from Transoxiana and other
parts of Central Asia, and were mostly of the Sunnī persuasion, formed
the Turānī party. The most prominent members of this group
were Muhammad Amin Khān and his cousin, Chin Qulī Khān,
better known as the Nizām-ul-mulk. The Irānī party was
composed of those who hailed from the Persian territories and
were Shi'ahs. The most important members of the Irānī party
were Asad Khān and Zulfiqār Khān, the king-maker. These were
more factions and were not like the political parties of modern
times. Their members had no common principle of action among
themselves except that of self-interest and no firm party allegiance.
The nature of the political struggles of the period can be well
understood when we note that, during the reigns of Bahādur Shāh
and Jahāngīr Shāh, the Irānī party was in the ascendant under
its leader Zulfiqār Khān. But from the beginning of Farrukhsīyar's
reign the Hindustānī party maintained its authority in alliance
with the Turānī group. Then the Turānians and the Irānians
combined to oust the Hindustānīs from power.

3. Foreign Invasions

A. Invasion of Nādir Shāh

As a natural sequel to the notorious incapacity of the unworthy
descendants of Bābur, Akbar and Aurangzeb, and the selfish activities
of the nobility, the Mughul State grew corrupt and inefficient.
It lost its prestige not only within India but also outside it.
The country, famous for its riches, which excited the cupidity of
external invaders from time immemorial, became exposed to
the menace of a foreign invasion, as had been the case during the
dismemberment of the Turko-Afgān Sultanate. This time the
invader came not from Central Asia, but from Persia, which had
already snatched away Qandahār from the Mughuls. The weak
defence of the north-west frontier (the most vulnerable point in
the Empire), since the time of Aurangzeb, offered a splendid
opportunity to the Persians, when they had become free from
AN ADVANCED HISTORY OF INDIA

internal troubles by 1736, to make a daring push into the heart of Hindustān under the bold adventurer Nādir Shāh. The feeble attempts of Nāsir Khān and Zakariyā Khān, governors of Kābul and the Punjab respectively, to guard their provinces were of no avail, as their appeals to the Delhi court for help passed unheeded, owing to the machinations of the leaders of the rival parties who fought for power in the court. Their defenceless condition has been thus described by Ghulām Husain, one of the most important Indian writers of the mid-eighteenth century: “The roads and passes being neglected, everyone passed and repassed, unobserved; no intelligence was forwarded to court of what was happening; and neither Emperor nor Minister ever asked why no intelligence of that kind ever reached their ears.”

Nādir Shāh, born of a humble family and originally a robber chief, was, however, schooled by hardships and privations, which gave him considerable valour and ability and a restless energy. He helped in the recovery of Persia from the hands of the Afghāns, who had wrested it from Shāh Husain Safavi in a.d. 1722, and entered the service of its restored ruler, Shāh Tahmāsp, son of the deposed king, Shāh Husain, in a.d. 1727. Through the incompetence of his master, Nādir became the de facto ruler of the State and eventually deposed him in 1732. On the death of Shāh Tahmāsp’s infant son and successor, Nādir became the ruler of Persia in reality as well as in name.

Nādir commenced his march towards India in a.d. 1738. The alleged violation of promises by Muhammad Shāh, and the ill-treatment of his envoys by the Delhi court, served as the casus belli for his invasion. As the Mughuls had sadly neglected the defences of the north-west frontier, Nādir easily captured Ghaznī, Kābul and Lahore in a.d. 1739. The whole province of the Punjab was thrown into great confusion and disorder, while the pleasure-loving Emperor and the carpet-knights of his court, whose conduct during Nādir’s invasion “forms a tale of disgraceful inefficiency amounting to imbecility”, did nothing to oppose him. They could think of shaking off their lethargy only when the Persian army had arrived within a few miles of Delhi. The imperial troops then marched to check the advance of the Persians and encamped at Karnāl, twenty miles north of Pānīpat; but they were routed in February, a.d. 1739. The vanquished Emperor of Delhi, almost at the mercy of Nādir as his captive, hurried to sue for peace.

The victorious Nādir and the humiliated Emperor of Delhi together entered Delhi, where the former occupied Shāh Jahān’s palace-
chambers by the Diwān-i-Khās. At first there was no disorder in the imperial city, but a rumour of Nādir’s death, spread by some mischievous persons, gave rise to a tumult in which some Persian soldiers were slain. Nādir at first merely took steps to quell the disturbance, but the sight of his murdered soldiers infuriated him and, burning with feelings of revenge, he ordered a general massacre of the citizens of the doomed city of Delhi. A contemporary account tells us that the slaughter lasted from eight in the morning till three in the afternoon. “Within the doomed areas, the houses were looted, all the men killed without regard for age, and all the women dragged into slavery. The destroyers set fire to many houses, and several of their victims, both dead and wounded, Hindus and Muhammadans, were indiscriminately burnt together.” The survivors, blockaded within the city, were reduced to extreme misery, for, besides plundering the market-places, Nādir caused the granaries to be sealed up, placed guards over them and sent detachments to plunder the villages. The Persian soldiers deliberately tortured the principal citizens for money, and three crores of rupees were realised by force from the helpless and starving inhabitants of the wretched city, which presented for eight weeks a dreadful scene of arson and carnage. At the earnest appeal of Muhammad Shāh, Nādir at last called off his soldiers, but peace was not restored till the invader left the city for his own country. Muhammad Shāh retained the throne, but he had to sustain irreparable losses. The ruthless conqueror carried away all his crown jewels, including the famous Koh-i-nūr diamond, the costly Peacock Throne of Shāh Jahān, and the celebrated illustrated Persian manuscript on Hindu music written under the command of the Emperor Muhammad Shāh. According to the estimate of Nādir’s own secretary, he exacted at Delhi fifteen crores of rupees in cash, and a vast amount in jewels, apparel, furniture and other valuable articles from the imperial store-house. He also took away with him 300 elephants, 10,000 horses, and the same number of camels. Thus the Persian invasion entailed a heavy economic drain on the resources of the decadent Delhi Empire. The trans-Indus provinces (Sind, Kābul and the western parts of the Punjab) had to be surrendered to the Persians. Further, the Mughul Empire lost the little prestige that it had still retained, and its decline now became patent to the world. In short, Nādir’s invasion left it “bleeding and prostrate”. Internally exhausted, it could get no time for recuperation and revival, as the invasion of 1739 set a precedent for further invasions from outside and Ahmad Shāh Abdāl invaded India as the successor to Nādir’s empire.
B. Invasions of Ahmad Shāh Abdālī

After the assassination of Nadir in 1747, one of his officers named Ahmad Shāh, an Afghan chief of the Abdālī clan, rose to power and succeeded in establishing himself as the independent ruler of Afghanīstān. He styled himself Durr-i-Durrān, “the pearl of the age”, and his clan was henceforth known as the Durrānī. Ahmad Shāh Abdālī, while accompanying Nadir to India, had seen with his own eyes “the weakness of the Empire, the imbecility of the Emperor, the inattentiveness of the ministers, the spirit of independence which had crept among the grandees”. So after establishing his power at home he led several expeditions into India from A.D. 1748 till A.D. 1767.1 These were something more than mere predatory raids. They indicated the revival of the Afghāns, outside and within India, making a fresh bid for supremacy on the ruins of the Mughul Empire. As a matter of fact, the Afghān bid for supremacy was an important factor in the history of India during a considerable part of the eighteenth century. Ahmad Shāh Abdālī must have entertained the desire of establishing political authority over at least a part of India, though there were other motives, as Elphinstone points out, which led him to undertake these expeditions. He sought to consolidate his authority at home by increasing his reputation through successful foreign adventures, and he also hoped to utilise the booty derived from his Indian campaigns in defraying the expenses of his army and in showering favours and rewards on the Afghān chiefs.

After having conquered Qandahār, Kābul, and Peshāwār, Ahmad Shāh Abdālī invaded India for the first time, in January 1748, with 12,000 veteran troops. But he was defeated at the battle of Mānpur by Ahmad Shāh, the Mughul heir-apparent, and Mir Mannu, son of the deceased vazīr Qamār-ud-dīn, and was put to flight. Mir Mannu was appointed governor of the Punjab. But before he could settle down, Ahmad Shāh Abdālī invaded the Punjab for the second time in A.D. 1750 and conquered it after defeating him. Unsupported by the Delhi court, the Punjab governor found all resistance futile and submitted to the invader.

The Abdālī invaded India for the third time in December, 1751, when he again defeated Mir Mannu, conquered Kāshmir, and forced the Mughul Emperor, Ahmad Shāh, to cede to him the country as far east as Sirhind. Thus the Mughul Empire was further

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1 Some English records refer to an invasion of the Punjab by Ahmad Shāh Abdālī in A.D. 1769. *Indian Historical Quarterly*, December 1934.
DISINTEGRATION OF MUGHAL EMPIRE

reduced in extent. Mir Mannu was now left as the Abdali's governor in Lahore. He promised to send to the victor the surplus revenue of the Punjab and not to transact important matters without final orders from him. But the Abdali led another expedition in the time of Emperor 'Alamgir II (1754-1759). After the death of Mir Mannu in November, 1753, and that of his infant son and successor in May, 1754, the province of the Punjab fell into disorder and anarchy due largely to the wildness and caprice of the regent-mother, Mughlani Begum. In response to an appeal from her for help, Imad-ul-mulk, the all-powerful wazir at Delhi, marched to the Punjab, which he himself coveted, in 1756, brought it under his authority, and appointed Mir Mannu, "the leading nobleman of Lahore", governor of the province. Enraged at this, Ahmad Shāh Abdālī invaded India for the fourth time in November, 1756, with greater determination, and arrived before Delhi on the 23rd January, 1757. The imperial city was "plundered and its unhappy people again subjected to pillage". Imad-ul-mulk surrendered and was pardoned by the invader, who obtained from the Mughul Emperor the formal cession of the Punjab, Kāshmir, Sind and the Sīrhind district. After plundering the Jāt country, south of Delhi, the Abdālī retired from India in April, 1757, with immense booty and many captives, leaving his son, Timūr Shāh, as his viceroy at Lahore with Jahān Khan, the able Afghan general, as the latter's wazir.

The administration of Timūr Shāh for one year, from May 1757 to April 1758, was a period of utter lawlessness and disorder. The Sikh community, infuriated by the maltreatment of one of its leaders, rose in rebellion on all sides. Ḩudina Beg Khan, governor of the Jullundur Doāb, revolted against the Afghan, called in the Marathas to help him. A large army of the Marathas under the command of Raghuvasī Rāo invaded the Punjab in April, 1758, occupied Lahore and expelled the Afghāns. They retired from the Punjab leaving Ḥudina Beg Khan as their governor there. But the occupation of Lahore by the Marathas did not last for more than six months. To avenge their expulsion of Timūr Shāh, Ahmad Shāh Abdālī invaded India for the fifth time in October, 1759, and finally conquered the Punjab. A more severe collision of the Afghāns with the Marathas was inevitable, because both had been, more or less, contending for political supremacy in Hindustān. This took place on the field of Pānīpāt on the 14th January, A.D. 1761. Ahmad Shāh Abdālī departed from India towards the close of A.D. 1762. He ordered the Indian chiefs to recognise Shāh 'Ālam II as Emperor. Nājīh-ud-daulah and
Munir-ud-daulah agreed to pay to the Abdālī, on behalf of the Indian Government, an annual tribute of forty laces.

The Sikhs, who had revived by this time, slew Khwāja Abīd, the Durrānī governor of Lahore, and occupied the city. This brought back the Abdāli to Lahore in March, 1764. He had, however, to return to his own country, after a fortnight’s stay at Lahore, owing to the outbreak of a civil war there and a mutiny among his troops. Ahmad Shāh Abdālī invaded India again in 1767. He could not succeed in effectively thwarting the Sikhs and had to retreat soon “with a consciousness of his ultimate failure”, owing to some internal troubles, chiefly the mutiny of his troops clamouring for pay which they had not received regularly. No sooner had he turned back than the Sikhs reoccupied Lahore and the entire open country. Ahmad Shāh Abdālī retained hold of Peshāwār and the country west of Attock, while he abandoned the Manja districts and central Punjab including Lahore to the Sikhs; but the Sind-Sāgar and Jech Doab in the western Punjab remained a debatable land which finally came into their possession in the days of his unworthy successors”.

Though Ahmad Shāh Abdālī had to return hurriedly from India, his invasion affected the history of this country in several ways. Firstly, it accelerated the dismemberment of the tottering Mughal Empire. Secondly, it offered a serious check to the rapidly spreading Marāṭhā imperialism. Thirdly, it indirectly helped the rise of the Sikh power. “His career in India,” observes a modern writer, “is very intimately a part of the Sikh struggle for independence.” Lastly, the menace of Afghān invasion kept the English East India Company in great anxiety, both during the lifetime of Ahmad Shāh Abdālī and for some time after his death.

4. Rise of New Muslim States

On the decline of the central authority at Delhi, the inevitable centrifugal tendency was manifest in different parts of the Empire, and the provincial viceroys made themselves independent of the titular Delhi Emperor for all practical purposes, merely pretending to own a theoretical allegiance to his nominal authority. The most important of them were the subahdārs of the Deccan, Oudh and Bengal.

A. The Deccan

The Deccan subah became independent under Mir Qamār-ud-din Ėlmī Qilīch Khān, better known as the Nizām-ul-mulk. His
grandfather, Khwāja Abīd Shaikh-ul-Islām of Bukhārā, migrated to India about the middle of the seventeenth century and entered the service of Aurangzeb. Ghāzi-ud-dīn Fīrūz Jang, father of the Nizām, also came to India during the reign of Aurangzeb and rose to fame by holding several posts in the Mughul imperial service. Mir Qāmār-ud-dīn himself was appointed to a small command in his thirteenth year but he was promoted quickly and given the title of Chin Qilīch Khān. At the time of Aurangzeb's death, Chin Qilīch Khān was at Bijāpur, and observed perfect neutrality during the war of succession among the sons of the Emperor. Bahādur Shāh removed him from the Deccan and made him governor of Oudh. He retired from public service for some time but entered it again towards the close of Bahādur Shāh's reign with the title of his father, Ghāzi-ud-dīn Fīrūz Jang. Farrukhsiyar appointed him governor of the Deccan (1713) and invested him with the titles of Khān Khānān and Nizām-ul-mulk Bahādur Fatḥ Jang, as a reward for his having espoused his cause. From the very outset of his viceroyalty the Nizām-ul-mulk tried to check the growing strength of the Marāthas in the Deccan. But owing to party cliques at the Delhi court, he had to lose his viceroyalty of the Deccan by the end of 1713, and it was then conferred on Sayyid Husain Ṭūli. The Nizām-ul-mulk was transferred to Murūdshāh and subsequently his removal to Bihār was also thought of. But before he took charge of the new province, Farrukhsiyar's regime came to a close, and he was transferred to the government of Mālwā. It was in Mālwā that the Nizām-ul-mulk was able to lay the foundation of his future greatness. His activities there roused the suspicions of the Sayyids, who, in disregard of a previous promise, again issued orders for his transfer. But instead of submitting to these orders, he prepared to defend his position by arms. He defeated and slew Dilbār Ṭūli Khān and Ṭūli Khān; and Husain Ṭūli, while getting ready to march against him, was stabbed to death. After the fall of the Sayyids, he again made himself master of the Deccan towards the end of 1720. On the death of his consin, the wazīr Amin Khān, in 1721, the Nizām-ul-mulk was summoned to Delhi and was appointed to the office of wazīr in February, 1722. But he did not find himself happy in the vitiated atmosphere of the Delhi court, where the frivolous courtiers of Muhammad Shāh rejected his advice and poisoned the Emperor's mind against him. So he left for the Deccan without the Emperor's permission in the third week of December, A.D. 1723. His enemies led their credulous ruler to believe that he was in rebellion and induced the Emperor to send secret instructions to Muhāriz Khān,
governor of Hyderabad, to fight against him, promising him the viceroyalty of the Deccan in the event of his success. But the Nizām-ul-mulk not only defeated and slew Mubāriz Khān at Sakhar Kheda in Berar on the 11th October, 1724, but also indirectly compelled the wretched Emperor of Delhi to recognize him as the viceroy of the south and confer upon him the title of Āsaf Jāh, which his descendant still bears. “From this time may be dated the Nizām-ul-mulk’s virtual independence and the foundation of the present Hyderabad State.” The Nizām-ul-mulk’s efficient administration of the Deccan has been highly praised by Khāfī Khān. Ghulām Husain also observes: “It is an extensive tract (the Deccan subah) that he governed with an absolute authority for the space of seven and thirty years.” He died at the grand old age of ninety-one on the 21st May, 1748, when the quarrels for succession to the Deccan government gave opportunities to the European trading companies to interfere vigorously in the politics of the subah.

B. Oudh

The subah of Oudh then comprised not only modern Oudh but also Benares to the east of it, a part of the territory to its west and some districts near Allahabad and Cawnpore. The founder of the kingdom of Oudh was Sa‘īdat Khān, an immigrant from Khurāsān. Appointed governor of Oudh in 1724, he rapidly rose to power and fame, and was summoned to Delhi at the time of Nādir’s invasion; but he committed suicide the same year. The next governor of Oudh was Sa‘īdat Khān’s nephew and son-in-law, Sa‘īdar Jang. Appointed vazir of the Delhi empire in 1748, Sa‘īdar Jang played an important part in the contemporary history of India till some time before his death in 1754, in spite of the opposition of Āsaf Jāh Nizām-ul-mulk’s son and grandson. He was succeeded in the government of Oudh by his son, Shujā-ud-daulah, who also became the vazir of the empire and was one of the principal figures in the history of Northern India till he died in A.D. 1775.

C. The Bengal Subah

Murshid Quli Jāfar Khān, appointed governor of Bengal by Aurangzeb in 1705, proved to be a strong and able ruler, though he occasionally adopted severe measures to collect revenues from the local zamindārs. He transferred the capital of Bengal from Dacca to Murshidābād. Fully alive to the economic interests of
his province, he made attempts to prevent the abuse of *dastaka* by the servants of the English East India Company and wanted to collect from them the same amount of duties on trade as the Indian merchants had to pay. After his death in A.D. 1727, his son-in-law, Shujā-ud-din Khān, succeeded him in the government of Bengal. It was during the regime of Shujā-ud-din that the Bihār *sabhā*, the eastern limit of which extended up to Tehāgarhī (near Sāhebganj on the E.I. Ry. Loop Line), was annexed to Bengal about A.D. 1733 and Ālīvardi was sent as its *nāib nāzim*. Shujā-ud-din died in 1739, after which his son, Sartarāz Khān, became the Nawāb of Bengal. But the new Nawāb's regime was not destined to last long. Ālīvardi, his brother Hāji Ahmad, the ūlūmfāqīn 'Abdul Kādir and Jāgat Seth Āmād Chānd, organised a conspiracy against him. Ālīvardi marched from Bihār, defeated and slew Sartarāz at Grīū, near Rāpunah, on the 10th April, A.D. 1740, and occupied the *masnad* of Bengal. He secured imperial confirmation of his new authority through questionable means, and began to govern the province in an independent manner. Trained in the school of adversity, Ālīvardi had developed some good qualities, which helped him to become an able administrator. Ghulām Husain observes: "A prudent, keen and a valorous soldier, there are hardly any qualifications which he did not possess." His attitude towards the European traders was strict but impartial, and he exacted occasional contributions from them only under the pressure of extraordinary circumstances. But destiny allowed him no rest to enjoy peacefully the *masnad* that he had seized by force. The Marāṭha invasions of Bengal from year to year during the greater part of his regime were a source of keen anxiety, and the rebellions of his Afghān generals, in alliance with their compatriots of Dārbhanga in Bihār, proved to be a serious menace to his authority. Unable to repel the Marāṭhas even by assassinating one of their generals, Bhāskhar Pande, at Mankariāh near Cāsimbāzār, Ālīvardi concluded a treaty with them in May or June, A.D. 1751, whereby he agreed to pay them an annual tribute of twelve lacs of rupees as *chaunth* and also ceded to them the revenues of a part of Orissa. This opened the way for ultimate Marāṭha supremacy over Orissa, which could not be done away with by the English till about A.D. 1803. Ālīvardi died in April, A.D. 1756, when the *masnad* of Bengal passed to his heir designate and favourite grandson, Mīrāz Muḥammad, better known as Nawāb Siraj-ul-daūlah, whose brief regime of about one year and two months forms a turning-point in the history of Bengal and also of India.
540 AN ADVANCED HISTORY OF INDIA

5. Political Revival of the Hindus

One prominent factor in the history of India during the eighteenth century was the revival of the Hindus. It was not, however, characterised by any spirit of an all-India national, religious or cultural renaissance, but by isolated attempts on the part of the different Hindu or semi-Hindu powers, such as the Rajputs, the Sikhs, the Jats and the Marathas, to establish their respective political supremacy on the ruins of the Mughul Empire.

A. The Rajputs

The principal Rajput states like Mewar (Udaipur), Marwar (Jodhpur) and Amber (Jaipur), whose sympathy for the Empire had been alienated by Aurangzeb, tried to throw off their allegiance to it after the death of that Emperor. They were first brought to submission by Bahadur Shah. But very soon, Ajit Singh of Jodhpur, Jay Singh II of Amber and Durgadus Rathor departed from the Emperor's camp on the 30th April, 1708, and formed a league against him. In view of the Sikh rising in the north of Sirhind, Bahadur Shah pacified the Rajputs by conciliatory measures. But during the disorder that followed his death, Ajit Singh invaded the imperial territories. Sayyid Hussain Ali was sent to subdue the Marwar chief, but the court-politics of the time had become so vitiated that the Emperor and the anti-Sayyid clique secretly urged the Rajput ruler "to make away with Husain Ali in any way he could, whereupon the whole of the Bakhshi's property and treasure would become his; and he would, in addition, receive other rewards". Ajit Singh, however, could not carry out these instructions. He came to terms with Husain Ali without a single battle, and in 1714 concluded peace with the Emperor by agreeing to give him one of his daughters in marriage. The marriage was celebrated the next year.

Henceforth, the chiefs of Jodhpur and Jaipur played important parts in Delhi politics and "by opportune aloofness or adherence they had added to their possessions a large portion of the Empire". The Sayyids tried to attach them to their party and they were rewarded with some appointments besides holding their own dominions in full sovereignty. Ajit Singh remained governor of Ajmer and Gujrat till 1721. During the reign of Muhammad Shah, Jay Singh II of Jaipur was appointed governor of Surat, and after the fall of the Sayyids, he received also the government of Agra. "In this way the country from a point sixty miles south
DISINTEGRATION OF MUGHUL EMPIRE

of Delhi to the shores of the ocean at Surāt was in the hands of these two Rājās, very untrustworthy sentinels for the Mughuls on this exposed frontier.” Ajit Singh secretly assisted the Marāthas in their activities in Western India, and was removed from the government of Gujarāt. He met with a tragic and mysterious death at the hands of his son, Bhākt Singh. The revival of the Rājputs was only temporary. Woeful days of internal disorder and foreign exploitation were in store for their land.

B. The Sikhs

Guru Govind was stabbed by an Afgān in 1708. After his assassination the Sikhs found a leader in Bāndā. Proceeding to the north, Bāndā organised a large number of Sikhs and captured Sirhind after killing its faujdār, Wazīr Khān, the murderer of Guru Govind’s children. The country between the Sutlej and the Jumnā next fell under his control. He established the stronghold of Lohgarh (or Blood and Iron Fort) at Mukhāspur, half-way between Nahan and Sadhaurā, where he “tried to assume something of regal state” and struck coins in his own name. The Emperor marched against him and besieged the fort of Lohgarh, whereupon he fled away with many of his followers into the hills north of Lahore. However, after the death of Bahādur Shāh, Bāndā came out of hiding, occupied the town of Sadhaurā, recovered the fort of Lohgarh and again plundered the province of Sirhind. But in 1715 he was besieged in the fortress of Gurudāspur. The Sikhs fought desperately “contending among themselves for martyrdom, and many of them were captured after a fierce resistance.” Bāndā and his followers were sent to Delhi and were relentlessly treated. “A reward was given for every Sikh head.” Taunted by a noble, Bāndā replied that he had been “a mere scourge in the hands of God for the chastisement of the wicked and that he was now receiving the meed of his own crimes against the Almighty”. His own son was killed before his eyes; and he himself “was tormented to death under the feet of elephants”. Thus “the fortunes of the Sikh nation sank to the lowest ebb in 1716”.

But the military power of the Sikhs could not be completely destroyed. The tenets of Nānak and Govind had “taken deep root in the hearts of the people; the peasant and the mechanic nursed their faith in secret, and the more ardent clung to the hope of ample revenge and speedy victory”. The Sikhs began to organise themselves gradually, and Kapur Singh, a resident of
Ryzullāpur, started an organisation which developed later into the celebrated Dal Khālsī or the theocracy of the Sikhs. The disorders and confusion in the Punjab, following the invasion of Nādir Shāh, were utilised by the Sikhs to augment their financial resources and increase their military strength. "The suppression of the Sikhs, difficult under all circumstances, became even more difficult now." They built a fort at Dālewāl on the Rāvī, and plundering the country around, carried their depredations to the vicinity of Lahore. The invasions of Ahmad Shāh Abdālī also helped the rise of the Sikh power to a great extent. Though they met with some reverses after 1732, they ultimately gained complete victory. Especially after the third battle of Pāñipat, they took advantage of the disturbed political condition of the country to organise and strengthen themselves sufficiently, and greatly harassed the Abdālī on his return march. They opposed the Abdālī in his subsequent invasions, and after his invasion in 1767 reoccupied the entire open country.

C. The Jāts

Towards the close of the reign of Aurangzēb, predatory bands of the Jāts under individual village headmen like Rājārām, Bhajja and Churūmān carried out depredations round Delhi and Āgra and increased their power. But whatever they could achieve was lost when in 1721 Sawai Jai Singh II captured Churūmān’s stronghold of Thun and the latter committed suicide. "Up to the middle of the eighteenth century," writes Sir J. N. Sarkar, "there was as yet no Jāt State, no politically united Jāt nation, no Jāt king standing clearly above the other village headmen or even recognised as first among equals; but only a robber leader whose success had drawn to his banners many of his peers in social status as partners in his adventures and plunder." But the scattered units of the Jāts were subjected to the "grasp of a superior controlling force" by Badan Singh, the son of Churūmān’s brother, Bhāo Singh. In the face of great difficulties, Badan Singh established the authority of his house over almost the whole of the Āgra and Muttrā districts by "matchless cunning, tireless patience, and wise versatility in the choice of means", and also by marriage alliances with some powerful Jāt families. Badan Singh died on the 7th June, 1756. His adopted son and successor, Sūrāj Māl, who has been described by a contemporary historian as "the Plato of the Jāt tribe" and by a modern writer as the "Jāt Ulysses", because of his "political sagacity, steady intellect and clear vision", extended the authority
of the Bharatpur kingdom over the districts of Āgra, Dholpur, Mainpuri, Hāthrās, ‘Āligarh, Etāwa, Meerut, Rohtak, Farrukhnagar, Mewāt, Rewārī, Gurgāon and Muttra. Sūrājmal, the greatest warrior and the ablest statesman that the Jāts have produced, died on the 25th December, 1763. "The reputation of the Jāt race reached its highest point under him and after him it was sure to decline."

\( \checkmark \). The Marāthas

The Marāthas were the most formidable of the Hindu powers who made a bid for supremacy on the dismemberment of the Mughul Empire. They could not, indeed, form any strong determination of founding an empire immediately after the death of Aurangzeb, but were absorbed for a few years in internal quarrels. 'A'zm Shāh released Shivājī II, better known as Shāhīn, in 1707 at the suggestion of Zu'līqār Khān. Zu'līqār Khān pointed out that Shāhīn's return to his kingdom would inevitably cause a division among the Marāthas, who would thus be disabled from plundering the imperial territories when the main army was absent from the Deccan. It happened as he had expected. The claims of Shāhīn were strongly opposed by Tārā Bai, and a protracted civil war consequently ensued. Shāhīn ultimately came out victorious, mainly with the help and advice of a Chitpāvan Brahmaṇa from the Konkān, named Bāḷājī Viswanāth.

Born of a poor family, Bāḷājī Viswanāth was appointed in 1708 a carcoom or revenue clerk by Dhanājī Jādav, the senāpati or commander-in-chief of Shāhīn. After Dhanājī's death, he was associated with the former's son, Chandra Senā Jādav, and received from him the title of Senā Karte, organiser or "agent in charge of the army", in 1712. Thus he got opportunities to display his ability both as a civil administrator and a military organiser, before Shāhīn, in recognition of the valuable services rendered by him, appointed him Peshvā or prime minister on the 16th November, 1713. In theory, the office of the Pratinidhi was higher than that of the Peshvā, but by virtue of superior talents and abilities, Bāḷājī Viswanāth and his illustrious son and successor, Bājī Rāo I, made the Peshvā the real head of the Marātha Empire, the Chhatrapati or the king being, in the course of a few years, relegated to the background.

The Marāthas did not fail to utilise the distractions of the tottering Empire to their advantage. Bāḷājī Viswanāth obtained important concessions in reality from Husain 'Āli when the latter came to the Deccan and in form only from the puppet Emperor of
Delhi. To win over the Marāthas to his party, Husain 'Āli concluded a treaty with them in 1714 on the following terms: (i) Shāhū was to get back all the territories that had once belonged to Shivāji but had been conquered by the Mughals, and to these were to be added the provinces of Khāndesh, Gondwāna, Berar, and the districts in Hyderabad and the Karnātak, conquered by the Marāthas; (ii) the chautr and sarādshmukhī of the six subhās of the Deccan were assigned to Shāhū, who was required, in return, to maintain 15,000 horse for imperial service, to pay an annual tribute of ten lacs of rupees, and to preserve peace and order in the Deccan. The acknowledgment of the overlordship of the Emperor of Delhi by Shāhū meant a complete departure from the ideal of absolute independence cherished by Shivāji, and the concessions secured by the Marāthas did not in any way affect the suzerainty of Delhi. But it should be noted that these were of much practical value. The treaty of 1714 has been rightly regarded as "a landmark in Marātha history", as by it the Marāthas were recognised "as co-partners in the revenues of the imperial provinces, and, as a corollary, in political power there".

To destroy the ascendancy of the anti-Sayyid party at the Delhi court, Sayyid Husain 'Āli marched to Delhi with his new allies and after deposing Farrukhsiyar placed another puppet on the throne, who was constrained to confirm the treaty already concluded between Husain 'Āli and the Marāthas. The march of the Marāthas to Delhi in 1719 was a significant event in their history. "The prestige of their presence at the imperial capital, not as mercenaries, but as the allies and supporters of the king-makers, held out to them a promise that they might some day make and unmake Emperors. Indeed, it was the surest basis on which Bālājī Viswanāth could confidently build his policy of founding a Marātha Empire." The power of the Marāthas also increased in other ways. Through the revival of the jāgīr system in the troubled days of Rājārām, the Marātha adventurers had splendid opportunities to carve out independent principalities for themselves. In addition to this, the Marāthas secured the right of collecting chautr and sarādshmukhī, for which distinct areas were distributed by Bālājī Viswanāth among the chief Marātha officers, who also took part in the wars of contendng Muslim nobles as paid partisans.

After Bālājī Viswanāth's death in 1720, his son, Bājī Rāo I, a promising young man, was invested with the office of the Pesāwā. The Peswāship came to be hereditary in the family of Bālājī Viswanāth.
Baji Rao I was not merely an able soldier but also a wise statesman. He at once perceived that the Mughul Empire was nearing its end and that the situation could be well utilised to enhance the power of the Marathas by securing the sympathy of the Hindu chiefs. Bold and imaginative, he definitely formulated the policy of Maratha imperialism, initiated by the first Peshwa, by launching a policy of expansion beyond the Narmada with a view to striking at the centre of the imperial power. So he suggested to his master Shahi: "Let us strike at the trunk of the withering tree. The branches will fall of themselves. Thus should the Maratha flag fly from the Krishnā to the Indus." This policy of Baji Rao was not supported by many of his colleagues, who urged on him the advisability of consolidating the Maratha power in the south before undertaking northern conquests. But by eloquence and enthusiasm, he persuaded his master to sanction his plan of northern expansion.

To evoke the sympathy and secure the support of the Hindu chiefs, Baji Rao I preached the ideal of Hindu-Pad-Padshahi or a Hindu Empire. When he invaded Malwa in December, 1723, the local Hindu zamindars assisted him greatly although they had to make thereby enormous sacrifices in life and money. Taking advantage of a civil war in Gujarāt, the Marathas established their hold in that rich province. But the intervention of Baji Rao I in its affairs was strongly resented by a rival Maratha party under the leadership of the hereditary senapati or commander-in-chief Trimbak Rao Dhābāde. Rājā Shambhūji II of the Kolhāpur branch of Shivaji's family and the Nizām-ul-mulk, jealous of Baji Rāo I's successes, joined Trimbak Rāo Dhābāde. But Baji Rāo 1, by force of his superior genius, frustrated the plans of his enemies. Trimbak Rāo Dhābāde was defeated and slain in a battle, fought on the 1st April, 1731, on the plains of Bīlpur near Dhābāi between Barodā and that town. This victory of Baji Rāo I "forms a landmark in the history of the Peshwās". It left him without any serious rival at home and "with all but nominal control of the Maratha sovereignty". With the Nizām-ul-mulk also he arrived at a compromise in August, 1731, by which the former "was to be at liberty to gratify his ambitions in the south, the Peshwā in the north".

Baji Rāo I fortunately secured the friendship of Jay Singh II Sawai of Amber and Chhatrasal Bundellā. In 1737 he marched on to the vicinity of Delhi but did not enter it in order to avoid hurting the Emperor's sentiments. To get rid of this Maratha menace, the Emperor summoned the Nizām-ul-mulk, the arch-enemy of Baji Rāo I, to Delhi for help. The Nizām-ul-mulk had no scruple in
ignoring the compromise of 1731 and at once responded to the Emperor’s call, which he considered to give a favourable opportunity of checking the rising power of Bāji Rāo I. The two rivals met near Bhopāl. The Nizām-ul-mulk was defeated and compelled to submit to terms by which he promised “to grant to Bāji Rāo the whole of Mālwa, and the complete sovereignty of the territory between the Narmadā and the Chambal; to obtain a confirmation of this cession from the Emperor; and to use every endeavour to procure the payment of fifty lakhs of rupees, to defray the Peshwā’s expenses”. These arrangements being sanctioned by the Emperor, Marātha supremacy, already established de facto in a part of Hindustān proper, became also de jure. On the west coast, the Marāthas captured Salsette and Bassein from the Portuguese in 1739. But soon Bāji Rāo I was somewhat perturbed by the news of Nādir Shāh’s invasion. By sinking all his differences with his Muslim neighbours, the Peshwā made an attempt to present a united opposition to the Persian invader, but before anything could be done, he died a premature death in April, 1740, at the age of forty-two. Thus passed away one of the greatest Marātha statesmen, who, in spite of some blots in his private character, tried his utmost to serve the cause of the Marātha State. He may very well be regarded as the second founder of the Marātha Empire.

Though Bāji Rāo I enhanced the power and prestige of the Marāthas to a considerable degree, the State which he ruled in his master’s name lacked compactness. Through the revival of the jāqir system in Rājārām’s time, some semi-independent Marātha principalities grew up within it. The natural consequence of this was the weakening of the Marātha central government and “its ultimate collapse”. One of the earliest and most important of such principalities was Berar, then under Raghūjī Bhonsle, related to Shāhū by marriage. His family was older than that of the Peshwā, as it had become prominent during Rājārām’s reign. The Dhbādes originally held Gujarāt, but after the fall of the hereditary senāpati, his former subordinates, the Ġālkwrās, established their authority at Barodā. Ranoji Sindhia, founder of the Sindhia house of Gwalior, served creditably under Bāji Rāo I, and, after the annexation of Mālwa to the Marātha State, a part of the province fell to his share. Malhār Rāo Holkar of the Indore family also served with distinction under Bāji Rāo I and obtained a part of Mālwa. A small sīf in Mālwa was granted to the Pawars, who made Dhār their headquarters.

Bāji Rāo I was succeeded as Peshwā by his eldest son, Bālājī II, commonly known as Nānā Sāheb and Bālājī Bāji Rāo, in spite of
the opposition of some Marātha chiefs. Bāljī was a youth of eighteen at the time, fond of ease and pleasure, and did not possess the superior talents of his father. But he was not devoid of ability, and, "after the manner of his father, engaged vigorously in the prosecution of hostilities, the organisation and equipment of a large army, and the preparation of all the munitions of war". He secured the services of some able and experienced officers of his father. Shāhū, on the eve of his death in 1749, left a deed giving the Peshwā supreme power in the State, with certain reservations. The Peshwā was to perpetuate the name of the Rājā and to preserve the dignity of the house of Shivāji through the grandson of Tārā Bāī and his descendants. He was also required to regard the Kolhāpur State as independent and recognise the existing rights of the jāgīrdārs, with whom he could enter into such arrangements "as might be beneficial for extending Hindu power; for protecting the temples of the gods; the cultivators of the soil, and whatever was sacred or useful". This arrangement was challenged by Tārā Bāī, who, acting in concert with Dāmāji Gāikwār, rose in arms against the Peshwā and threw the young Rājā into confinement. The Peshwā, however, defeated his opponents. The Rājā remained a virtual prisoner in the hands of his "Mayor of the Palace", the Peshwā, who became henceforth the real head of the Marātha confederacy.

Bāljī Bājī Rāo was determined to further the cause of Marātha imperialism; but he unwisely departed from the policy of his father in two respects. Firstly, the army underwent a revolutionary change in his time. The light infantry formed the chief source of strength in the days of Shivāji. Though Bājī Rāo I engaged a large number of cavalry, he did not give up the old tactics of fighting. But Bāljī admitted into the army many non-Marātha mercenaries of all descriptions with a view to introducing Western modes of warfare. The army thus lost its national character, and it did not become easy to maintain a number of alien elements under proper discipline and control. The old method of fighting was also partly abandoned. Secondly, Bāljī deliberately gave up his father's ideal of Hindu-Pād-Pādshāhī, which aimed at uniting all the Hindu chiefs under one flag. His followers resorted to the old plan of predatory warfare, and the ravages that they committed indiscriminately against the Muslims as well as the Hindus alienated the sympathies of the Rājputs and other Hindu chiefs. Thus Marātha imperialism ceased to stand for an India-wide nationalism, and it became no longer possible for it to organise the Hindu powers under one banner against the Muslim powers, internal or external.
These defects in Bālājī’s policy did not, however, immediately check the expansion of the Marātha power both in the south and in the north. A large number of Marāthas appeared before Seringapatam in March, 1757, and forcibly levied tribute from most of the principalities south of the Krishnā. The Nawāb of Arcot promised to pay “two lakhs in ready money, and two and a half lakhs in assignments” for the arrears of chaubh. The Marāthas also invaded Bednore and the Hindu kingdom of Mysore and assisted the English under Clive and Watson in suppressing the sea-captain Angria. No doubt their progress was somewhat checked by Hyder, the rising general of Mysore, by Bussy the clever Frenchman, and by Nizām ‘Alī of Hyderabad. But the Peshwā’s cousin, Sadāsiv Rāo, inflicted a defeat on Nizām ‘Alī at Udgīr in 1760. Ibrāhīm Khān Gardi, a brave Muslim artilleryman trained in Western methods of fighting under Bussy in the Nizām’s army, joined the Marāthas. A treaty was concluded by the latter with Nizām ‘Alī by which they got the whole province of Bījāpur, nearly the whole of Aurangābād and a portion of Bīhar, together with some forts including the famous fortress of Daulatābād. These were valuable gains of the Marāthas at the cost of Mughul possessions in the Deccan, which thus came to be “confined to an insulated space”.

More striking and significant was the expansion of the Marāthas in the north. At the end of the year 1756 Mallār Rāo Holkar, and, some weeks later, Raghunāth Rāo, were again sent to the north. Though Raghunāth Rāo was detained for about four months in Rājputāna, a force of 20,000 men sent by him under Sakhārām Bāpu cleverly secured the friendship of the Jāts and once more asserted Marātha supremacy in the Doāb. The Marāthas then entered into an alliance with the Delhi court against Nājīb-ud-daulah, who had been left by the Abdālī as his “supreme agent” at Delhi and dictator over the Emperor. They attacked Delhi in August, A.D. 1757, and compelled Nājīb-ud-daulah to surrender and make peace in September on terms dictated by them. Placing Delhi in the friendly hands of the vazīr Imād, Raghunāth Rāo and Mallār Rāo directed their efforts towards conquering the Punjab from the Abdālī’s son, Timūr Shāh. They captured Sirhind in March and Lahore in April, 1758, and retired from the Punjab after appointing there the experienced local noble, Ādīnā Beg Khān, as their viceroy, who promised to pay an annual tribute of seventy-five lakhs of rupees. They left, however, no adequate force for the defence of the newly acquired province. Thus Raghunāth Rāo’s policy seemed to have “carried the Hindu paramountcy up to Attock”. But “on a calm examination”, remarks Sir J. N.
Sarkar, "Raghunāthi's vaunted achievement is found to be politically a hollow show and financially barren". It secured not a pice for the Poona treasury but "saddled it with a debt of eighty lakhs to bankers, besides the arrears due to troops". Politically, it made another war with the Abdāli inevitable.

The Marātha domination over the Punjab could give no peace to the province. Ādīnā Beg died on 13th October, 1758, and the whole of the Punjab fell into anarchy and confusion affecting Marātha interests. To remove this, the Peshwā sent a strong force to that province under Dattāji Sindhiā in 1759, and the latter placed Sābhāji Sindhiā as governor there. But the province was soon invaded by a strong Durrāni army, and by the end of November, 1759, the Punjab was finally lost to the Delhi Empire. Ahmad Shāh Abdāli then marched towards Delhi. He had this time the advantage of securing the co-operation of the Ruhelas, who had been harassed by the Marāthas, and that of the Nawāb of Oudh, who believed that the Marāthas were then the greatest enemies of the Muslim position in India. The Marāthas, on the other hand, could not act in combination with the Rājpūts, who were alienated by the unsympathetic policy of Bālāji Bāji Rāo, and preferred to remain neutral; nor could they secure the alliance of the Sikhs, who had been rising in the Punjab. In fact, the shortsighted policy of Bālāji now reacted in depriving the Marāthas of the support of many of the principal indigenous powers at a very critical moment, when they were faced with a formidable opposition from the Durrānis and their Indian allies.

The Abdāli defeated Dattāji Sindhiā at Thānesar towards the end of December, 1759, and compelled him to fall back towards Delhi. The Marātha general was killed by the Afghāns at Barārī Ghāt, about ten miles north of Delhi, on the 9th January, 1760. "From the fatal field of Barārī Ghāt the Marātha army fled headlong towards the south-west, with the fresh Durrāni horsemen on their heels." The attempts of Jānkoji Sindhiā and Malāhar Rāo Holkar to oppose the march of the Abdāli also failed. Sadāshiv Rāo Bhāo, whose recent victory over the Nizām at Udghīr had immensely enhanced his reputation, was sent by the Peshwā with a large army to recover the lost predominance of the Marāthas in the north. By way of a brake on him, the Peshwā's son, Vishwās, a lad of seventeen, was sent as the nominal commander of this army. At the beginning the Bhāo's head was not "turned by insolence and pride"; rather he intended to increase his resources and strength by addition of arms and munitions and by securing the support of some North-Indian allies. He captured Delhi on
the 3rd August, 1760, but, unluckily for the Marathas, Sürajmal, "the shrewdest Hindu potentate then alive", abandoned their side owing to some differences of opinion with the Bhāo, who also antagonised Malhār Rao Holkar. Further, "the coveted capital of India proved a Dead Sea apple" to the Bhāo, who got no adequate resources therefrom but whose difficulties were much aggravated by its occupation. About the middle of August he moved north from Delhi, and reached Pānīpat on the 29th October, 1760.

In the meanwhile, the Abdālī had captured Āligarh, compelled the Jāt Rājā to promise tribute, and had been able, through the support of his most helpful and constant Indian ally, Nājīb-ud-daulah, to secure the alliance of Šujā-ud-daulah of Oudh, whose interests had been affected by Marātha ambition in the north and north-east. After undergoing some hardships and losses in the Doūb, the Abdālī arrived near Pānīpat on the 1st of November 1760. Thus the Afgāns and the Marathas met on the historic field of Pānīpat, where decisive contests had been fought in former ages. The strength of the Afgān army was 60,000, half of which were the Abdālī’s own subjects (23,000 horse and 7,000 foot) and the other half his Indian allies (7,000 horse and 23,000 foot). The Marātha army consisted of 45,000 soldiers in cavalry and infantry. Besides having superior horses, the Abdālī had artillery more efficient and mobile than that of the Marathas, and his officers were clad in armour which the Marathas hardly wore. In respect of their manner of campaigning, marching and discipline, the Afgān army was superior to the Marātha host. "The strict enforcement of order in camp and battlefield, the rigid punishment of the least disobedience in any subordinate, the control of every officer’s movements according to the plan of the supreme chief, the proper gradation of officers forming an unbroken chain between the generalissimo and the common soldier, the regular transmission of his orders by an efficient staff organisation, and above all the fine control of the troops—which distinguished Ahmad Shāh’s army—were unapproached by any other Asiatic force of that age. Above all there was the transcendent genius for war and diplomacy and the towering personality of the master—who had risen like Nādir from nothing and attained to almost the same pre-eminence of fortune and invincibility in war."

After a few minor skirmishes and battles near Pānīpat for about two months and a half, during which period the Marātha army suffered some losses and was reduced almost to starvation owing to lack of provisions, it marched to give battle in the morning of
14th January, 1761. The Abdâli kept in the centre 18,000 of his own national troops in charge of his wazîr, Shâh Wali Khân, while two other corps of about 5,000 each, composed mostly of cavalry, were placed at his extreme right and left. Nâjib and Shujâ were placed on the left and the other Ruhelas on the right of his centre.
The Marathas were arranged by the Bhao in three wings—the centre being under his personal command, the left one being composed of the regular sepoys of Ibrahim Khan Gardi, and the right one of the contingents of Malhar Rao Holkar and Jainkoji Sindhia. The Marathas began the offensive with a cannonade, and fought with the valour of despair, gaining some initial successes. Ibrahim Khan Gardi charged the right wing of the Durani army so furiously that about eight to nine thousand of the Rohillas were wounded or slain. Sadashiv Rao Bhao attacked the Durani centre under Shah Wali Khan and pressed it so hard that he seemed to carry everything before him. But the Abdalis reinforced his centre and right at the psychological hour with about 13,000 fresh troops, which turned the scale decisively against the already exhausted Marathas. The Bhao, however, continued to fight with reckless valour against enormous odds, but to no avail. At a quarter past two in the afternoon Vishwas Rao was shot dead. This made the Bhao desperate and he made another attempt to retrieve the fortunes of his people. But this also failed at about a quarter to three and "in a twinkle of the eye, the Maratha army vanished from the field like camphor". Five Durani horsemen, greedy for the costly dress of the Bhao, cut his head off. Thus fell Sadashiv Rao in defence of the honour of his nation, though it must be admitted that the failure of the Marathas in the field of Parnip was largely due to his disregard for others' opinions and miscalculated plans. The supreme leaders of the defeated Maratha army had fallen on the field, and thousands of soldiers and other people of all descriptions, men, women and children, were massacred. "It was, in short," writes Sir J. N. Sarkar, "a nation-wide disaster like Flodden Field; there was not a home in Maharastra that had not to mourn the loss of a member, and several houses their very heads. An entire generation of leaders was cut off at one stroke." The victors captured immense booty. The Marathas lost 50,000 horses, 200,000 draught cattle, some thousands of camels, 500 elephants, besides cash and jewellery. The news of this awful disaster was conveyed to the Peshwa in a merchant's message: "Two pearls have been dissolved, twenty-two gold mohurs have been lost, and of the silver and copper the total cannot be cast up." The Peshwa, already suffering from a wasting disease, could not survive this national calamity. He died, broken-hearted, at Poona on the 23rd June, 1761.

The third battle of Parnip produced disastrous consequences for the Marathas and seriously deflected the course of Maratha imperialism. Besides immense losses in men and money, the
Moral effect of the defeat at Panipat was even greater. It revealed to the “Indian world that Maratha friendship was a very weak reed to lean upon in any real danger”. The powerful Maratha confederacy henceforth lost its cohesion and the Peshwa’s authority was terribly damaged. The Marathas could never return to the position they had established before 1761. But it must not be thought that their power was irretrievably shattered by their discomfiture at Panipat. They quickly recovered some of their losses and made fresh attempts to re-establish their authority in Hindustan. The Abdali could not stay in India as a permanent check on their revival, and he could not retain even the Punjab, where the Sikhs grew more and more troublesome. The next Peshwa, Madhava Rao I, a noble figure in Maratha history, “carried out the aims and objects of the Maratha policy as laid down by the first Peshwa” till he died in A.D. 1772. In considering the importance of the career of Madhava Rao I, Grant Duff observes that “the plains of Panipat were not more fatal to the Maratha Empire than the early end of this excellent prince”. The Marathas restored the exiled Mughul Emperor, Shâh ‘Alam II, to the capital of his forefathers in 1772; in 1789 Mahâdâji Sindhiâ made himself a dictator at Delhi; and before being finally crushed, the Marathas thrice opposed British attempts to establish dominion in India.

But none the less the third battle of Panipat “decided the fate of India”. “The Marathas and the Muhammadans weakened each other in that deadly conflict, facilitating the aims of the British for Indian supremacy.” The rising British power got thereby the opportunity it needed so much to strengthen and consolidate its authority in India. “If Plassey had sown the seeds of British supremacy in India, Panipat afforded time for their maturing” and striking roots.” When the Marathas again tried to check the supremacy of the English in India, the latter had been able to effect an immense improvement in their position.
CHAPTER VI

MUGHAL ADMINISTRATION

I. Nature of the Mughul Government

The establishment of the Mughul administration, on ideas and principles different from those of the Sultans of Delhi, was mainly the work of Akbar. Of his two predecessors, Bâhur and Humâyûn, the former had neither time nor opportunity, and the latter neither inclination nor ability, to elaborate a system of civil government. While gifted with political genius of a high order, Akbar was indebted in certain respects to the Sûr example of administrative organisation. The Mughul government was a "combination of Indian and extra-Indian elements". It was, more correctly speaking, "the Perso-Arabic system in an Indian setting". It was also essentially military in nature and every officer of the Mughul State had to be enrolled in the army list. It was necessarily a centralised autarchy, and the king's power was unlimited. His word was law, and his will none could dispute. He was the supreme authority in the State, the head of the government, the commander of the State forces, the fountain of justice, and the chief legislator. He was the Khalifah of God, required to obey the scriptures and Islamic traditions, but in practice a strong king could act in defiance of sacred law if he so liked. There was nothing like a cabinet of ministers in the modern sense of the term. The ministers could not claim to be consulted as a matter of right; it was entirely a matter of the Emperor's pleasure to accept their advice or not. Much depended, indeed, on the personality of the Emperor and his ministers. A wise ruler like Shâh Jahân wanted invariably to consult a Sa'dullah Khân, while a minister like Husain 'Ali Khân would have little regard, even open contempt, for his crowned puppets. The first six Mughul rulers of India possessed, however, a strong commonsense, and their autocracy did not, therefore, degenerate into an unbearable tyranny trampling on the rights and customs of the people. Endowed with the spirit of "benevolent despota", these rulers worked hard for the good of their subjects, in one way or another, especially
in the regions round the central capital and the seats of viceregal governments in the provinces. But the State in those days "did not undertake any socialistic work, nor interfered with the lives of the villagers so long as there was not violent crime or defiance of royal authority in the locality". From one point of view, the enormous power of the Mughul emperors was strictly limited. Their orders could not always be easily enforced in the distant corners of the Empire, not to speak of certain hilly parts of Chota Nagpur and the Santāl Parganās, which most probably never acknowledged their sway. When we find almost each and every Emperor issuing orders for the abolition of the same kind of taxes and cesses in the very first year of his reign, we are led to conclude that previous attempts to abolish these had proved ineffectual and inoperative. There are copious references in the records of the English factories in India to show that even in the days of Shāh Jahān and Aurangzeb, not to speak of the reigns of their weak successors, the subahdārs, the provincial divāns, and the customs-officers, occasionally acted contrary to the orders of the central government, mostly out of selfish motives.

2. The Nobility

Owing to several factors, the Mughul nobility was a heterogeneous body, composed of diverse elements like Turk, Tartar, Persian and Indian, Muslim and Hindu, and could not, therefore, organise itself as a powerful baronial class. Some Europeans also received titles of nobility. In theory, the nobility was not hereditary but purely official in character. A noble had only a life interest in his jāgir, which escheated to the crown on his death; and the titles or emoluments could not usually be transmitted from father to son. The effect of the system of escheat was, as Sir J. N. Sarkar has observed, "most harmful". The nobles led extravagant lives and squandered away all their money in unproductive luxury during their life-time. It also "prevented India from having one of the strongest safeguards of public liberty and checks on royal autocracy, namely, an independent hereditary peerage, whose position and wealth did not depend on the king's favour in every generation, and who could, therefore, afford to be bold in their criticism of the royal caprice and their opposition to the royal tyranny".

3. Public Service and Bureaucracy

To maintain the military strength of the Empire, it was necessary for the Mughuls to employ a large number of foreign adventurers.
Though Akbar inaugurated the policy of "India for Indians" and threw open official careers to the Hindus, yet the foreign elements predominated in the Mughul public service. The general character of the public services remained unaltered during the reigns of Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān. But deterioration in their efficiency began during the reign of the former, and became striking during the reign of his son and more so in the reign of Aurangzeb. Thus Prince Akbar wrote to Aurangzeb plainly in 1681: "The clerks and officers of state have taken to the practice of traders, and are buying posts with gold and selling them for shameful considerations. Every one who eats salt destroys the salt-cellar."

Every officer of the State held a mansab or official appointment of rank and profit, and, as such, was bound theoretically to supply a number of troops for the military service of the State. Thus the mansabdārs formed the official nobility of the country, and this system was the "army, the peercage, and the civil administration, all rolled into one". Akbar classified the office-holders into thirty-three grades, ranging from "commanders of 10" to "commanders of 10,000". Till the middle of Akbar's reign, the highest rank an ordinary officer could hold was that of a commander of 5,000; the more exalted grades between commanders of 7,000 and 10,000 were reserved for members of the royal family. But towards the end of his reign this restriction was relaxed, and, under his successors, the officers rose to much higher positions. The mansabdārs were directly recruited, promoted, suspended or dismissed by the Emperors. Each grade carried a definite rate of pay, out of which its holder was expected to maintain a quota of horses, elephants, beasts of burden and carts. But the mansabdārs rarely fulfilled this condition. Irvine writes that "in spite of musteringings and brandings we may safely assume that very few mansabdārs kept up at full strength even the quota of horsemen for which they received pay". A mansabdāri dignity was not hereditary. The State Service was not specialised, and an officer might be entrusted at any moment with an entirely new duty. Akbar's wonderful capacity for "picking the right man for the right job" checked the evils of this system, but a deterioration set in later on with the change in the personality of the rulers.

The officers of the Mughul government received their salaries in two ways. Either they received them in cash from the State, or occasionally they were granted jāgīrs for a temporary period. They were not, however, given any ownership over the lands in their jāgīrs, but were only allowed to collect and enjoy the land revenue, equivalent to the amount of their salaries, from the
assigned tracts. "Any excess collected not only involved injustice towards the cultivators; it was a fraud against the State as well." Jāgīrs were frequently transferred from one mansabdār to another. The jāgīr system, however, gave some undue power and independence to the holders of jāgīrs; and Akbar, like Sher Shāh, was justified in trying to remunerate his officers by cash payments, and in converting jāgīr into khālsā lands, whenever possible. Whether paid in cash or in jāgīrs, the Mughul public servants enjoyed, as we know from the Āin-i-Akbarī, inordinately high salaries, which attracted most enterprising adventurers from Western and Central Asia. Various evils crept into the Mughul public services after the reign of Aurangzeb, if not earlier.

4. Departments of Government and Chief Officers

Though the Mughul Emperors had absolute powers, they appointed a number of officers in the different departments of the Government for the transaction of its multitudinous affairs. The chief departments of the State were: (a) the Imperial Household under the Khān-i-Sāmān, (b) the Exchequer under the Divān, (c) the Military Pay and Accounts Office under the Mīr Bakhsī, (d) the Judiciary under the Chief Qāzī, (e) Religious Endowments and Charities under the Chief Sadr or Sadr-us-Sadār, and (f) the Censorship of Public Morals under the Muḥtasib. The Divān or Wazīr was usually the highest officer in the State, being in sole charge of revenues and finance. The Bakhsī discharged a variety of functions. While he was the Paymaster-General of all the officers of the State, who "theoretically belonged to the military department," he was also responsible for the recruiting of the army, and for maintaining lists of mansabdārs and other high officials; and when preparing for a battle he presented a complete muster-roll of the army before the Emperor. The Khān-i-Sāmān or the Lord High Steward had charge of the whole imperial household "in reference to both great and small things". The Muḥtasibs or Censors of Public Morals looked after the enforcement of the Prophet's commands and the laws of morality. The other officers, somewhat inferior in status to those mentioned above, were the Mīr Ātish or Dāroqā-i-Topkhanā (head of the artillery), the Dāroqā of Dāk chowkī (head of the correspondence department),

1 Making deductions for the monthly expenses of maintaining troops and other incidental expenses, Moreland calculates that a mansabdār of "5,000" received a net monthly salary of at least Rs. 18,000, one of "1,000" at least Rs. 5,000, and "a commander of 600" at least Rs. 1,000 a month. Moreland, India at the Death of Akbar, pp. 86 ff.
the Dārōgā of the Mint, the Mir Māl or the Lord Privy Seal, the Mustaufi or the Auditor-General, the Nāzir-i-Buyādī or the Superintendent of the Imperial Workshop, the Mushriq or the Revenue Secretary, the Mir Bahri or the Lord of the Admiralty, the Mir Barr or the Superintendent of Forests, the Wāga-i-navis or News-Reporters, the Mir Arz or the officer in charge of petitions presented to the Emperor, the Mir Manzil or the Quartermaster-General, and the Mir Tozak or the Master of Ceremonies.

5. The Police

So far as the rural areas were concerned, the Mughuls introduced no new arrangements for the prevention and detection of crimes. These remained, as from time immemorial, under the headman of the village and his subordinate watchmen. This system, which afforded a fair degree of security in the local areas with only occasional disturbances in times of disorder, survived till the beginning of the nineteenth century. In the cities and towns, all police duties, including the task of maintaining public order and decency, were entrusted to the Kotwāls, whose duties, as enumerated in the Ain-i-Akbari, were multifarious: (i) to detect thieves, (ii) to regulate prices and check weights and measures, (iii) to keep watch at night and patrol the city, (iv) to keep up registers of houses, frequented roads, and of citizens, and watch the movements of strangers, (v) to employ spies from among the vagabonds, gather information about the affairs of the neighbouring villages, and the income and expenditure of the various classes of people, (vi) to prepare an inventory of, and take charge of, the property of deceased or missing persons who left no heirs, (vii) to prevent the slaughter of oxen, buffaloes, horse or camels, and (viii) to prevent the burning of women against their will, and circumcision below the age of twelve. Sir J. N. Sarkar believes that this long list of the Kotwāl’s duties in the Ain represents “only the ideal for the Kotwāl” and not “the actual state of things”. But Manucci also gives from personal observation an exhaustive account of the Kotwāl’s duties. It is, however, certain that the Kotwāl’s main business was to preserve peace and public security in the urban areas. In the districts or sarkārs, law and order were maintained usually by officers like the Faujdār. “The Faujdār, as his name suggests, was only the commander of a military force stationed in the country. He had to put down smaller rebellions, disperse or arrest robber gangs, take cognizance of all violent crimes, and
MUGHAL ADMINISTRATION

make demonstrations of force to overawe opposition to the revenue authorities, or the criminal judge, or the censor.” The police arrangements were in some respects effective, though “the state of public security varied greatly from place to place and from time to time”.

6. Law and Justice

Nothing like modern legislation, or a written code of laws, existed in the Mughul period. The only notable exceptions to this were the twelve ordinances of Jahangir and the Fatāwa-i-‘Alāmghirī, a digest of Muslim law prepared under Aurangzeb’s supervision. The judges chiefly followed the Quranic injunctions or precepts, the Fatāwas or previous interpretations of the Holy Law by eminent jurists, and the ġanūns or ordinances of the Emperors. They did not ordinarily disregard customary laws and sometimes followed principles of equity. Above all, the Emperor’s interpretations prevailed, provided they did not run counter to the sacred laws.

The Mughul Emperors regarded speedy administration of justice as one of their important duties, and their officers did not enjoy any special protection in this respect under anything like Administrative Law. “If I were guilty of an unjust act,” said Akbar, “I would rise in judgment against myself.” Peruschi writes on the authority of Monserrate that “as to the administration of justice he is most zealous and watchful”. The love of justice of the other Emperors, like Jahangir, Shāh Jahān and Aurangzeb, has been testified to by some contemporary European travellers. Though approach to the Emperor through all kinds of official obstructions was not very easy, at least two Mughul Emperors, Akbar and Jahangir, granted to their subjects the right of direct petitioning (which was only won in England after a hard fight). The latter allowed a chain with bells to be hung outside his palace to enable petitioners to bring their grievances to the notice of the Emperor.

The Qāzī-ul-Qazāt or the Chief Qāzī was the principal judicial officer in the realm. He appointed Qāzīs in every provincial capital. The Qāzīs made investigations into, and tried, civil as well as criminal cases of both the Hindus and the Muslims; the Muftiīs expounded Muslim Law; and the Mir Ādils drew up and pronounced judgments. The Qāzīs were expected to be “just, honest, impartial, to hold trials in the presence of the parties and at the court-house and the seat of government, not to accept presents from the people where they served, nor to attend entertainments given by anybody and everybody, and they were asked to know poverty to be their glory”. But in practice they abused their authority, and, as Sir
J. N. Sarkar observes, "the Qāzi's department became a byword and reproach in Mughul times". There were no primary courts below those of the Qāzīs, and the villagers and the inhabitants of smaller towns, having no Qāzīs over them, settled their differences locally "by appeal to the caste courts or panchāyats, the arbitration of an impartial umpire (sālis), or by a resort to force". The Sadr-us-sulūr or the chief Sadr exercised supervision over the lands granted by the Emperors or princes to pious men, scholars and monks, and tried cases relating to these. Below him there was a local sadr in every province.

Above the urban and provincial courts was the Emperor himself, who, as the "Khalif of the Age", was the fountain of justice and the final court of appeal. Sometimes he acted as a court of first instance too. Fines could be imposed and severe punishments, like amputation, mutilation and whipping, could be inflicted by the courts without any reference to the Emperor, but his consent was necessary in inflicting capital punishment. There was no regular jail system, but the prisoners were confined in forts.

7. The Revenue System

The revenues of the Mughul Empire may be grouped under two heads—central or imperial and local or provincial. The local revenue, which was apparently collected and spent without reference to the finance authorities of the central government, was derived from various minor duties and taxes levied on "production and consumption, op trades and occupations, on various incidents of social life, and most of all on transport". The major sources of central revenue were land revenue, customs, mint, inheritance, plunder and indemnities, presents, monopolies and the poll-tax. Of these, land revenue formed, as in old days, the most important source of the State income.

The important revenue experiments of the Sūrs were undone in the period of confusion and disorders following the reigns of Sher Shāh and Islām Shāh. But the old machinery of government and the time-honoured customs and procedures must have been inherited by Akbar, who found at his accession three kinds of land in the country—the Khaliq or crown-lands, the Jāgīr lands, enjoyed by some nobles who collected the local revenues, out of which they sent a portion to the central exchequer and kept the rest for themselves, and the Sayyārkhāl lands, granted on free tenure. After securing his freedom from the influence of Bairam and that of the ladies of the harem, Akbar realised the importance
of reorganising the finances of his growing empire, which were in a hopelessly confused state. Thus in 1570–1571, Muzaffur Khân Turbatî, assisted by Râjâ Todar Mall, prepared a revised assessment of the land revenue, “based on estimates framed by the local Qânûngoes and checked by ten superior Qânûngoes at headquarters”. After Gujarât had been conquered, Todar Mall effected there a regular survey of the land, and the assessment was made “with reference to the area and quality of the land”. In 1575–1576 Akbar made a new and disastrous experiment by abolishing the old revenue areas and dividing the whole of the Empire, with the exception of the provinces of Gujarât, Bengal and Bihâr, into a large number of units, each yielding one krôr (crore) a year, and placed over each of them an officer called the Krôri, whose duties were to collect revenues and encourage cultivation. But the Krôris soon grew corrupt and their tyranny reduced the peasants to great misery. Their offices were, therefore, abolished and the old revenue divisions were restored, though the title of Krôri continued to survive at least till the reign of Shah Jahan.

Important revenue reforms were introduced in 1582, when Todar Mall was appointed the Diwân-i-Ashraf. Hitherto assessments were fixed annually on the basis of production and statistics of current prices, and the demands of the State thus varied from year to year. Todar Mall established a standard or “regulation” system of revenue-collection, the chief features of which were (i) survey and measurement of land, (ii) classification of land, (iii) fixation of rates. Lands were carefully surveyed, and for measurement the old units, whose length fluctuated with the change of season, were replaced by the Ilahi Gaz or yard, which was equal to about thirty-three inches, tanub or tent-rope, and jarib of bamboos joined by iron rings, which assured a constant measure. Land was classified into four classes according to “the continuity or discontinuity of cultivation”: (i) Polej or land capable of being annually cultivated, (ii) Paraûtí or land kept fallow for some time to recover productive capacity, (iii) Chachar or land that had lain fallow for three or four years, and (iv) Banjar or land uncultivated for five years or longer. Only the area actually cultivated was assessed, and, in order to ascertain the average produce of land belonging to each class, the mean of the three grades into which it was divided was taken into consideration. The demand of the State was fixed at one-third of the actual produce, which the ryots could pay either in cash or in kind. The cash rates varied according to crops. This revenue system, as applied to Northern India, Gujarât, and, with some modifications, to the
Deccan, was *rayatwāri*, that is, "the actual cultivators of the soil were the persons responsible for the annual payment of the fixed revenue". In the outlying portions of the Empire, this system was not applied, but each of these was dealt with as local circumstances required.

For purposes of administration and revenue collection, the Empire was divided into *subahs*, which again were subdivided into *sarkārs*, each of which in turn comprised a number of *paraganās*. Each *paraganā* was a union of several villages. The *amalgūr* or revenue-collector in charge of a district was assisted by a large subordinate staff. Apart from the village *Mugnad* (headman) and the village *Patwāri*, who were servants of the village community and not of the State, there were measurers and *kārkuns*, who prepared the seasonal crop statistics; the *Qānūngo*, who kept records of the revenue payable by the villages; the *Bitikhā* or accountant; and the *Podār* or district treasurer. These officers were instructed to collect revenue with due care and caution and "not to extend the hand of demand out of season". The Emperors were for ever "issuing orders to their officers to show leniency and consideration to the peasants in collecting the revenue, to give up all *āwūbs* and to relieve local distress". There are instances in the reigns of Shāh Jāhān and Aurangzeb of extortionate revenue officials and even provincial governors being dismissed on complaints being made against them by the subjects to the Emperors. Though the lower revenue officers, especially those in the outlying provinces and districts, were not above corruption and malpractices, "the highest were, on the whole, just and statesmanlike" with few exceptions.

The success or failure of the revenue system thus organised must have depended on the quality and nature of the administration at the centre, and evils could not but appear when the administrative machinery was getting out of gear in Aurangzeb's reign. But on the whole its principles were sound and "the practical instructions to the officials all that could be desired". The ryots got a certain amount of security and the fluctuations of the State revenue were prevented, or at least minimised. Further, the ryots were not evicted from their holdings for default of payment, and the "custom of payment by the division of the crop", on the basis of the actual produce of a year, was better than the modern money rent system by which one has to pay the fixed amount irrespective of the harvest of the year. The demand at the rate of one-third, though rather high, as compared with one-sixth prescribed by Hindu law and custom or with what a modern landowner gets, was
MUGHUL ADMINISTRATION 563

not a heavy burden on the peasants, who were compensated by the State with the abolition or remission of various cesses and taxes.

8. The Provincial Government

In 1579-1580 Akbar divided his Empire into twelve provinces, the number of which rose to fifteen towards the close of his reign, to seventeen in the reign of Jahāngīr and to twenty-one in the time of Aurangzeb. “The administrative agency in the provinces of the Mughul Empire was an exact miniature of the Central Government.” The Governor (styled the Sipāh Sālār, Commander-in-Chief, or Sāhib Subah, Lord of the Province, or simply Subahdār, and officially described as the Nāzim) was the head of the civil as well as military administration of each subah. He had a staff of subordinate officers under him, like the Diwān, the Bakhshi, the Faujdar, the Kotwal, the Qāzi, the Sadr, the ‘Amil, the Bātikchi, the Poddār and the Wāga-i-navis. The Diwān or revenue-chief of a province often acted as the rival of the Subahdār. Each was enjoined "to keep a strict watch over the other" so that none of them could grow over-powerful.

9. The Army

No large standing army was maintained by the State, but theoretically “all able-bodied citizens of the empire were potential soldiers of the imperial army”. The history of the Mughul army is largely the history of the Mansabdāri system, the principal features of which have already been noted. Besides the Mansabdārs, there were the Dakhilis or supplementary troopers placed under the command of Mansabdārs and paid by the State, and Akhas or a body of “gentleman troopers, a special class of horsemen, who were generally round the Emperor’s person, and owed allegiance to no one else”. The Mansabdāri system was not free from corruption. “False musters,” writes Irvine, “were an evil from which the Mughul army suffered in its most palmy days. Nobles would lend to each other the men to make up their quota, or needy idlers from the bazaars would be mounted on the first baggage pony that came to hand and counted in with the others as efficient soldiers”. Steps were taken by Akbar’s Government to remove these evil practices. Regulations were introduced for periodical musters, a chihrāh or descriptive roll of a Mansabdār was drawn

1 Āgra, Allahābād, Oudh, Delhi, Lahore, Multān, Kābul, Ajmer, Bengal Bihār, Ahmadābād, Mālwa, Berar, Khāndeah, Ahmadnagar.
up, "showing his name, his father's name, his tribe or caste, his place of origin, followed by details of his personal appearance"; and the system of branding horses, known as Dāgh-o-mahalli or simply Dāgh, was revived. But these measures could not effectively check the evils.

To express it in modern terms, the Mughul forces were composed of (i) cavalry, (ii) infantry, (iii) artillery and (iv) navy. The cavalry was the most important of all these branches. The infantry was largely composed of men drawn from ordinary townsmen and peasants; and "as a part of the fighting strength of the army it was insignificant". Guns, manufactured within the country and also imported from outside, were used in wars by Bābur, Humāyūn, and Akbar, but "the artillery was much more perfect and numerous in 'Ālamgīr's reign" than before. The artillery was wholly state-paid. There was nothing like any strong navy in the modern sense of the term, but Abul Fazl writes of an "Admiralty Department", the functions of which were (i) to build boats of all kinds for river transport, (ii) to fit out strong boats for transporting war-elephants, (iii) to recruit expert seamen, (iv) to supervise the rivers, and (v) to impose, collect or remit river duties and tolls. A fleet of 768 armed vessels and boats was stationed at Dacca to protect the coast of Bengal against the Mugs and the Arakānese pirates. But the naval establishment of the Mughuls does not seem to have been very formidable.

The Mughul army, though not so inefficient as some writers would ask us to believe, was not, however, without certain defects. Firstly, it was not a national army, but was a mixture of diverse elements, each trying to follow its own peculiar methods and manoeuvres. Thus, though its numerical strength increased as years went on, it grew cumbrous and hard to be controlled and managed. Secondly, the soldiers did not owe direct allegiance to the Emperor, but were more attached to their immediate recruiters and superiors, whose acute jealousies and bitter rivalries often destroyed the chances of success in campaigns. Lastly, the pomp and display of the Mughul army in camp, and on the march, were largely responsible for marring its efficiency. Akbar could at times depart from this practice. But generally the imperial army looked like "an unwieldy moving city" and was "encumbered with all the lavish paraphernalia of the imperial court, including a proportion of the harem and its attendants, mounted on elephants and camels, a travelling audience-hall, musicians' gallery, offices, workshops, and bazaars. Elephants and camels carried the treasure; hundreds of bullock-carts bore the military stores; an
MUGHUL ADMINISTRATION 565

army of mules transported the imperial furniture and effects”. Referring to the grand camp of the Emperor Aurangzeb at Ahmadnagar, Grant Duff comments that “it proved a serious encumbrance to the movements of his army, while the devouring expense of such establishments pressed hard on his finances, and soon crippled even the most necessary of his military and political arrangements”. This sort of camp life naturally produced luxury and indiscipline in the army. The inevitable deterioration set in under Jahāngir and Shāh Jahān and manifested itself fully in the time of Aurangzeb. The army became incapable of “swift action or brilliant adventure”. In this respect, the then light cavalry of Shivājī, maintained by him under strict discipline, was far better than the Mughul army.
CHAPTER VII

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC LIFE

The real history of the people in Mughul India, that is, of their social life and economic condition, is of greater interest and importance for us to-day than mere catalogues of political events or military campaigns. The sources for studying it are indeed meagre, but valuable information can be gleaned from the accounts of contemporary European travellers and records of the European factories; and incidental references are available in contemporary historical works in Persian as well as vernacular literatures of the period.

1. Social Conditions

A. Structure of Society

Society looked like a feudal organisation with the king at its apex. Next in rank to the king were the official nobles, who enjoyed special honours and privileges, which never fell to the lot of the common people. This naturally produced a difference in their standard of living. The former rolled in wealth and comforts, while the condition of the latter was comparatively pitiable. With abundant resources at their disposal, the rich naturally indulged in luxury and intemperance, and the apprehension of escheat of the wealth and property of the nobles at death destroyed their incentive to thrift. Excessive addiction to wine and women was a very common vice among the aristocrats. We are told by Abul Fazl that the Emperor had a seraglio of 5,000 women, supervised by a separate staff of female officers. Francisco Pelsaert, the chief of the Dutch factory at Agra in the time of Jahângîr, observes that "the mahals of the rich were adorned internally with lascivious sensuality, wanton and reckless festivity, superfluous pomp, inflated pride, and ornamental daintiness", and he denounces their debauchery in strong terms. The food and dress of the wealthy were rich and costly. They lived in highly decorated palatial buildings and amused themselves with outdoor sports as well as indoor games.
It should be noted that the existence of an alien nobility did not usually cause any heavy drain of the country’s wealth to foreign lands, as none of the class was allowed to carry it outside. The nobles originally possessed qualities which made them efficient servants of the State so long as it retained its vigour, but they began to lose their old usefulness, and grew more demoralised, with the closing years of the reign of Shāh Jahān. Further deterioration set in during the reign of Aurangzeb and in the eighteenth century. The rivalries and conspiracies of the selfish and debased nobility of the later period, besides casting a malign influence on social life, were largely responsible for the political disorders of the age.

Below the nobles, there was “a small and frugal” middle class, not given to “ostentatious expenditure” but living on a standard suited to their respective offices and professions. The merchants in general led simple and temperate lives. According to some European writers, the merchants of the western coast, having made much wealth out of their extensive commerce, lived in a comparatively rich style and indulged in luxuries. The condition of the lower orders was hard as compared with that of the two higher classes. They could have no sufficient clothing; and woollen garments and shoes were above their means. As their other demands were few, they did not suffer from want of ordinary food under normal conditions; but, in times of famine and scarcity, their miseries must have been very great. Francisco Pelsaert writes with the experience of seven years that there were in his time “three classes of people who are indeed nominally free but whose status differs very little from voluntary slavery—workmen, poons or servants and shopkeepers”*. Their work was not voluntary, wages were low, food and houses poor, and they were subject to the oppressions of the imperial officers. The shopkeepers, though sometimes rich and respected, generally kept their wealth hidden, or, as Pelsaert writes, “they will be victims of a trumped-up charge, and whatever they have will be confiscated in legal form, because informers swarm like flies round the governors and make no difference between friends and enemies, perjuring themselves when necessary in order to remain in favour”. Towards the end of Shāh Jahān’s reign, the peasants were more harassed by the provincial governors, their condition became worse, and the evil of pauperism increased.
B. Social habits and practices

The vice of intemperance was not so common among the ordinary people as among the rich. "None of the people there," remarks Terry, "are at any time seen drunk (though they might find liquor enough to do it) but the very offal and dregs of that people, and these rarely or very seldom." They were temperate in their diet, and were civil to strangers.

Both Hindus and Muslims believed in the maxims and predictions of astrology. Prominent social practices of the period were sati, child-marriage, kulinism and the dowry-system. Akbar tried to regulate social usages in such a way as to make the consent of both the bride and the bridegroom, and the permission of the parents, necessary for marriage contracts. He also sought to check marriage before puberty by either party, marriages between near relatives, acceptance of high dowries, and polygamy. But his attempts do not seem to have been effective in practice. Social evils increased during the eighteenth century, particularly in Bengal, and they have been frequently referred to in the works of contemporary European writers like Bolts, Craufurd and Scraffon, and also in contemporary literature. The Marathas of the time did not, however, encourage acceptance of dowries. The Peshwá exercised an effective control over the social and religious affairs of Mahäśhtra, and their marriage regulations "evinced," remarks Dr. Sen, "a liberal spirit that may be profitably imitated by their modern descendants". They were opposed to forcible marriages, but informal marriages were occasionally permitted by them if the motives of the contracting parties were correct. Widow-remarriage was prevalent among the non-Brāhmaṇas of Mahārāṣṭra, as also among the Jāts of the Punjab and the Jumna valley; and polyandry was not unknown among the latter. In the middle of the eighteenth century, Rājā Rājballabh of Ducea made an unsuccessful attempt to introduce widow-remarriage. Though the women were generally "subject to the will of their masters", instances of their taking an active part in political affairs are not rare.

C. Deterioration in the eighteenth century

In general, however, we notice a regrettable deterioration in social life during the eighteenth century, which forms, from many points of view, one of the darkest periods in the history of India. A modern writer has justly remarked that by the end of this century
and the beginning of the next “in social usage, in politics, in the
realm of religion and art, we had entered the zone of uncreative
habit, of decadent tradition, and ceased to exercise our humanity”.

One redeeming feature in this period of all-round decline was
the continuity of the process of Hindu-Muslim rapprochement and
amicable contact between the members of the two communities,
in spite of the bitter political rivalries of several centuries. Akbar’s
reign is remarkably important and instructive for the existence
of Hindu-Muslim harmony. Illustrations of this are not lacking even
in the reign of Aurangzeb. Alāwal, a Muhammadan poet, who
translated in the seventeenth century the Hindi poem Padmāvat
into Bengali, was the author of several poems on Vaishnava sub-
jects. 'Abdullah Khān, one of the Sayyīd brothers, observed the
Basant and Holi festivals, and Sirāj-ud-daulah and Mīr Jāfār enjoyed
Holi festivals along with their friends and relatives. It is said that
on his death-bed Mīr Jāfār drank a few drops of water poured in
libation over the idol of Kīriteswari near Murshidābād. Daulat
Rāo Sindhia and his officers joined Muharram processions in green
dress like Muhammadans. It has been noted by a modern Indian
writer on the authority of Jām-i-Jahān Nāmā, a Persian weekly
of the early nineteenth century, how the Durgā Pūjā was celebrated
at the Delhi court so late as A.D. 1825.

2. Economic Conditions

A. Economic condition in pre-Akbarid days

We have very meagre information about the economic condition
of India during the reigns of the first two Timūrids. Most of the
historians have questioned the accuracy of the description of
Hindustān given by Hābur in his Memoirs. The Humāyūn-nāmah
of Guibdan Begam refers incidentally to the low prices prevailing in Hindustān; for example, at Anarkot, the birth-
place of Akbar, the price of four goats was one rupee. The compre-
hensive economic reforms of Sher Shāh must have effected an
improvement in the economic condition of the people in his king-
dom, which was not very much disturbed at least so long as the
Sūr administration retained its vigour.

B. Economic condition after the days of Akbar

So far as the economic condition of the country during the
reigns of the great Mughuls, and those of the later Mughuls, is
concerned, we get copious information from the Ain-i-Akbari and
some incidental references in some other works in Persian; from
the accounts of contemporary European merchants, travellers and
writers; from the records of the European factories in India; and
also from contemporary Indian literature. We can only attempt
here to give a brief survey of the important aspects of the economic
condition of India during the centuries of Mughul rule.

C. Prosperous cities

Prosperity and plenty prevailed in the chief cities of India
in the age of the great Mughuls. Writing in A.D. 1585, Felth
observed: "Agra and Fatehpore are two very great cities, either
of them much greater than London and very populous. Between
Agra and Fatehpore are twelve miles, and all the way is a market
of victual and other things, as full as though a man were still in
a town, and so many people as if a man were in a market." Terry
refers to the Punjab as "a large province, and most fruitful.
Lahore is the chief city thereof, built very large, and abounds
both in people and riches, one of the principal cities for trade
in all India". Monseerat asserted that in 1581 Lahore was
"not second to any city in Europe or Asia". Burhanpur in
Khāndesh was "very great, rich and full of people". Ahmadābād
in Gujarat has been described by Abul Fazl as "a noble city in
a high state of prosperity", which "for the pleasantness of its
climate and display of the choicest productions of the whole globe
is almost unrivalled". In Eastern India there was much opulence
in cities like Benares, Patna, Rājmahal, Burdwan, Huli, Dacca
and Chittagong.

D. Communications

There was no want of communications, along roads and
rivers, for the purposes of the vast mercantile traffic, though they
compare unfavourably with those of the present day improved
under scientific conditions. Of course, with the exception of
certain highways, the roads were generally unmetalled, but the
"main routes of land travel were clearly defined, in some cases
by avenues of trees, and more generally by walled enclosures,
known as sarais, in which travellers and merchants could pass
the night in comparative security". The rivers, some of which
were navigable throughout the year and some through a part of
it, afforded excellent means for the carriage of heavy traffic. Of
course, the security of the communications depended greatly on the
efficiency of the administration of the country. But even in the
eighteenth century the facility of river communication has been referred to by such writers as Dow, Rennell and Stavorinus, who had intimate knowledge of the province. There was a tradition of road-building activity on the part of the State since the early days of Indian history, which the great Sir rulers imitated and the Mughuls also followed. A bridge was built at Jaumpur by Mumīn Khān early in Akbar’s reign. Jahāngīr constructed water-works at Burhānpur, and, under Shāh Jahān, ‘Ali Mardān Khān repaired or built the Rāvi canal in 1639, which benefited the people to a great extent.

E. Agriculture

The agricultural crops of the time were much the same as those of to-day. It is wrong to say that there was no localisation of crops as in the present day, for sugar was cultivated in many parts of Bengāl and Bihār and was carried to other parts of India; and indigo was cultivated in certain places of Northern India. Pelsaert definitely tells us of the large-scale production and manufacture of indigo in the Jumna valley and Central India. To meet the demands of widespread manufactures of cotton and silk goods, both cotton and silk were cultivated extensively in certain parts of India. Tobacco, introduced either late in 1604 or early in 1605, began to be cultivated by the people thereafter. Agricultural implements were also very much the same as those of the present day, and such was the case with the agricultural system with the exception of the comparative absence of artificial irrigation. The tenants were often subjected to the oppression and exactions of local officials.

F. Famines

The sufferings of the peasants knew no bounds during the frequent outbreaks of famine, caused by the failure of seasonal rains, especially because the Mughul State then made no systematic and prolonged efforts to provide relief and effected no substantial remissions in revenue collection. The little that they did was insufficient to alleviate the acute miseries of the myriads of people who died of starvation and the pestilence that closely followed it. A terrible famine broke out in 1556–1557 in the neighbourhood of Āgra and Bīyāna, and Badāūnī “with his own eyes witnessed the fact that men ate their own kind and the appearance of the famished sufferers was so hideous that one could scarcely look upon them. . . . The whole country was a desert, and no husbandman remained to till the ground”. Gujārāt, one of the richest
provinces in India, was stricken with famine and pestilence in 1573–1574, so that "the inhabitants, rich and poor, fled from the country and were scattered abroad". The country was so greatly affected by the horrors of a severe famine lasting from 1594 to 1598 that "men ate their own kind. The streets and roads were blocked up with dead bodies and no assistance could be rendered for their removal". Akbar made an attempt to relieve the distress of the people by placing Shaikh Farid of Bukhārā, a naturally kind-hearted man, in charge of relief measures. But the miseries of the people, due to this catastrophic visitation, were too appalling to be removed by such steps. An equally horrible famine devastated the Deccan and Gujarāt in 1630–1632. The horrors of this calamity were so great that, as 'Abdul Hamīd Lāhorī, the official historian of the reign of Shah Jahān, writes, "men began to devour each other, and the flesh of a son was preferred to his love". A Dutch merchant, who witnessed the calamity, notes that "men lying in the street, not yet dead, were cut up by others, and men fed on living men, so that even in the streets, and still more on road journeys, men ran great danger of being murdered or eaten". Shah Jahān "opened a few soup-kitchens", distributed 1½ lacs of rupees in charity and remitted one-eleventh of the land-revenue assessment; but this could not suffice to mitigate the sufferings of the starving people. There were occasional outbreaks of famine during the succeeding years till the close of Aurangzeb's reign, but none was so severe in nature as that of 1630–1632.

**G. Industry and Crafts**

One of the most important factors in the economic history of India during the period under review was the extensive and varied industrial activity of the people, which besides supplying the needs of the local aristocracy and merchants could meet the demands of traders coming from Europe and other parts of Asia. By far the most important industry in India during this period was the manufacture of cotton cloth. The principal centres of cotton manufacture were distributed throughout the country, as, for example, at Patan in Gujarāt, Burhānpur in Khāndesh, Jaunpur, Benares, Patna and some other places in the United Provinces and Bihār, and many cities and villages in Orissa and Bengal. The whole country from Orissa to East Bengal looked like a big cotton factory, and the Dacca district was specially reputed for its delicate muslin fabrics, "the best and finest cloth made of cotton" that was in all India. Peissert notes that at Chābāspur and Sonārgān in
East Bengal "all live by the weaving industry and the produce has the highest reputation and quality". Bernier observes: "There is in Bengale such a quantity of cotton and silk, that the Kingdom may be called the common storehouse for those two kinds of merchandise, not of Hindostan or the Empire of the Great Mogul only, but of all the neighbouring kingdoms, and even of Europe." The dyeing industry, too, was in a flourishing condition. Terry tells us that coarser cotton cloths were either dyed or printed with a "variety of well-shaped and well-coloured flowers or figures, which are so fixed in the cloth that no water can wash them out". Silk-weaving, limited in scope as compared with cotton manufacture, was also an important industry of a section of the people. Abul Fazl writes that it received a considerable impetus in the reign of Akbar due to the imperial patronage. Bengal was the premier centre of silk production and manufacture and supplied the demands of the Indian and European merchants from other parts of India, though silk-weaving was practised in Lahore, Ágra, Fatehpur Sikri and Gujarát. Moreland writes on the authority of Tavernier that, about the middle of the seventeenth century, the total production of silk in Bengal was "about 2½ million pounds out of which one million pounds were worked up locally, ½ million were exported raw by the Dutch and ½ million distributed over India, most of it going to Gujarát, but some being taken by merchants from Central Asia". Shawl and carpet-weaving industries flourished under the patronage of Akbar; the former woven mainly from hair, having originated from Kashmir, was manufactured also at Lahore, and the latter at Lahore and Ágra. Woollen goods, chiefly coarse blankets, were also woven. Though India had lost her old vigorous maritime activity, the ship-building industry did not die out at this time, and we have references to it from contemporary literature. Saltpetre, used chiefly as an ingredient for gunpowder in India and also exported outside by the Dutch and English traders, was manufactured in widely distributed parts of India during the seventeenth century, particularly in Peninsular India and the Bihār section of the Indo-Gangetic region. Bihār henceforth enjoyed a special reputation for the manufacture of this article till the first half of the nineteenth century, and it was in high demand by the Europeans for use in wars in their countries. Besides these major industries, we have testimony regarding various crafts during the Mughul period. Edward Terry noticed that "many curious boxes, trunks, standishes (pen-cases), carpets, with other excellent manufactures, may be there had". Péllaert also writes that in Sind "ornamental disks, draught-
boards, writing-cases, and similar goods are manufactured locally in large quantities; they are pretty, inlaid with ivory and ebony, and used to be exported in large quantities from Goa, and the coast towns”. Though the State encouraged manufactures, the weavers were directly financed in most cases by middlemen, who must have exploited them greatly. Further, as both Bernier and Pelsuert tell us, they suffered from harsh treatment at the hands of the nobles and officers, who forced them to sell goods at low prices and exacted from them forbidden abwābs. This deprived the weavers and craftsmen of the benefit of economic profit from their occupations, though the taste of the nobles for high-class manufactures kept up the tradition of their quality.

H. Prices

We learn from Abul Fazl, and some other writers, that the prices of articles, especially those of common consumption like rice, vegetables, spices, meat, livestock and milk, were very low. Edward Terry observes that “the plenty of provisions was very great throughout the whole country: . . . and everyone there may eat bread without scarceness”. Smith writes that “the hired landless labourer in the time of Akbar and Jahāngir probably had more to eat than he has now”, but Moreland is of opinion that “speaking generally the masses lived on the same economic plane as now”. It is certain that there was no golden age of opulence for the common people under the Mughuls, because though the prices of articles were cheap, their average income was proportionately low or perhaps lower. They did not, however, grovel in misery and smart under discontent, as their needs were few and the problems of life were not so complicated as those of the present day.

I. Mints and Currency

Akbar, like Sher Shāh, tried to regulate the currency of the State. Towards the end of 1577 he appointed Khwāja ‘Abdus Samād of Shīrāz master of the imperial mint at Delhi, and one important officer was placed over each of the chief provincial mints in Bengal, Lahore, Jaunpur, Ahmadābād and Patna. During the reign of Shāh Jahān, one of the most important mints was at Surāt. Akbar issued gold, silver and copper coins, the first having no less than twenty-six varieties of different weights and value. In Akbar’s time, the silver rupee of about 175 grains was equivalent
in value to 2s. 3d. sterling. Akbar also issued a square silver rupee known as the jalāī. As in Sher Shāh’s currency, the chief copper coin of Akbar’s time was the dām, also called paisā or julā, which weighed 323.5 grains, formed the ready money for both the rich and the poor, and was divided into twenty-five parts, known as jites, for purposes of account. Mercantile affairs of the Empire during the reigns of Akbar and his successors were transacted in round gold mohurs, rupees and dāms. The coins of the Mughul State, especially those of Akbar, “were excellent in respect of purity of metal, fullness of weight, and artistic execution”. The rupee was equivalent in value to forty dāms up to 1616 and thirty dāms, or a little more or less, from 1627 onwards. But there was no great alteration in currency after Akbar, though in 1659 the English merchants wrote to the authorities in England that “the new king, Oran Zeeb (Aurangzeb), hath raised his coine (silver) to ¼ per cent finer than formerly; which hath caused much trouble and contention between the merchants of Surat and Governor”.

J. Foreign Trade

India had an active and considerable foreign trade, during the greater part of the Mughul period, with different countries of Asia and Europe. The chief imports of the country were bullion, raw silk, horses, metals, ivory, coral, amber, precious stones, velvets, brocades, broacloth, perfumes, drugs, Chinese porcelain and African slaves, and her exports were various textiles, pepper, indigo, opium and other drugs, and miscellaneous goods. There were two main land routes for export trade on the north-west—from Lahore to Kābul and from Multān to Qandahār, while there were a few more in other parts. But the traffic along these routes was restricted and insecure. The sea and the rivers were more advantageous for commercial purposes. The chief ports of India were Lahori Bandar in Sind; the group of Gujarāt ports like Surāt, Broach and Cambay; Bassein; Chaul; Dabul (modern Dabhol) in the Ratnagiri district; Goa and Bhatkal; Malābār ports, the most important of which were Calicut and Cochin; Neganapatam, Masulipatam and a few minor ones on the east coast; and Sātgaon, Sripur, Chittagong and Sonārgaon in Bengal. The customs duties, fixed by the State, were not very high; for example, at Surāt these were 3½ per cent on all imports and exports of goods, and 2 per cent on money either gold or silver. No merchant was allowed to “carry any quantity of silver” out of the country. The important feature of the trade of India from the reign of Akbar
was the commercial activity of the English and the Dutch, who gradually established factories in widely distributed centres. As the demand for the costly European goods was confined to the wealthy, the European merchants had to import bullion from home to purchase Indian commodities in spite of strong criticism in England against this practice. Moreland’s contention that the European traders in India during the Mughal period had not “matters all their own way” is supported by numerous references in the factory records of the time. While they had to experience difficulty in dealing with Indian merchants and brokers, who were “generally subtle and clever”, and with commercial monopolies, the chief obstacle in their way was the interference of the local governors and other high officers. As an instance, we may note the evidence of an English letter of 1659 to the effect that Mir Jumla had caused the doors of the English factory at Çâssimbâzâr to be closed, and had forbidden anybody to trade with the English, until they had paid him a formal visit. The European traders spared no pains to humour and satisfy these officers in a variety of ways; sometimes they could gain their objects and sometimes they were disillusioned.

**K. Economic Deterioration after the Reign of Aurangzeb**

With the closing years of the reign of Aurangzeb, the economic prosperity of India deteriorated as a natural sequel to the disappearance of peace and political order. The incessant wars of the reign, bankruptcy of the administration and exhaustion of the exchequer, made maintenance of peace and order impossible; and consequently agriculture, industries, and trade were so badly affected that for some time trade came almost to a standstill. During the years 1690-1698, the English could not procure sufficient cloths for their shipping. “Thus ensued,” observes the historian of Aurangzeb, “a great economic impoverishment of India—not only a decrease of the ‘national stock’, but also a rapid lowering of mechanical skill and standard of civilisation, a disappearance of art and culture over wide tracts of the country.” Though comparatively free from wars, Bengal was put to a great economic strain as the revenues of the _subah_ financed the Deccan wars of Aurangzeb and were sorely tapped by the rapidly declining Mughal Empire.

The economic decline of the country began much earlier than 1757, but a number of causes accelerated it, especially in Bengal, during the eighteenth century, which is indeed the “darkest age” in the economic history of India. The weakness of the central
government, court revolutions and conspiracies, the terrible Persian inroad of 1738-1739, the ravages committed by the Marāthas, the Himalayan tribes, the Mugs and the Portuguese pirates, the abuse of dastaks and other trade privileges by the servants, agents and gomastās of the English Company in their private trade, the Company's monopoly of some of the articles of prime necessity like salt, betelnut and tobacco, the oppression of merchants and weavers for the sake of a rich return on the investments of the Company, the huge drain of wealth out of the country since 1757, the oppressive revenue-farming system, and currency disorders—all combined to bring about the economic ruin of the country. To add to these, the gradual supplanting of the Nawāb's government by the East India Company, and the consequent disbandment of armies and disestablishment of courts and native secretariats, threw many people out of employment, who joined the ranks of the professional robbers and criminal tribes, and produced general lawlessness and insecurity during the post-Plassey period. In May, 1765, the Select Committee beheld Bengal as a "presidency divided, headstrong and licentious, a government without nerves, a treasury without money, and service without subdivision, discipline, or public spirit . . . amidst a general stagnation of useful industry and of licensed commerce, individuals were accumulating immense riches, which they had ravished from the insulted prince and helpless people, who groaned under the united pressure of discontent, poverty and oppression". The dual government of Clive and his two inefficient successors, Verelst and Cartier, made confusion worse confounded, and the terrible famine of 1770 filled the cup of popular misery. After 1772, when the Company's government decided "to stand forth as the Diwān", attempts were made by Warren Hastings and Cornwallis to remove some of these evils, but many years more were to elapse before a new order could be brought into existence.

1 Letter from the Select Committee in Bengal to the Court of Directors, dated 19th February, 1767. Vide Verelst, View of Bengal, Appendix, p. 471.
CHAPTER VIII

EDUCATION, LITERATURE AND ART

1. Education and Literature

In Mughul India there was nothing like the modern system of education established and maintained by the State. But primary and secondary education of some sort existed. The rulers themselves, as well as many of the grandees, encouraged such education by grants of lands or money to mosques, monasteries and individual saints and scholars. Thus almost every mosque had a maktatab attached to it, where the boys and girls of the neighbourhood received elementary education. Hindu Sanskrit and vernacular schools also continued to function for the benefit of students in the urban as well as rural areas.

The Mughul rulers of India were patrons of education. It is stated, on the authority of the Tawārikh of Sayyid Maqbar ‘Ali, a minister of Bābur, that one of the duties of the Public Works Department (Shuhrat-i-Ām) of that ruler’s time was the building of schools and colleges. Humāyūn, though indolent and addicted to opium, had a passion for study, his favourite subjects being geography and astronomy; and his fondness for books was so great that he always “carried a select library with him”. He caused a madrasā to be established at Delhi and changed the pleasure-house built by Sher Shāh in the Purāna Qil’ā into a library. “Akbar’s reign marks a new epoch for the system introduced for imparting education in schools and colleges”. He built colleges at Fathpur Sikri, Agra and other places. With a view to improving the state of Muslim education, he effected certain changes in its curriculum, which it would be unreasonable to say produced no effect at all. As a matter of fact, Abul Fazl, referring to its good results, writes that “all nations have schools for the education of youths; but Hindustān is particularly famous for its seminaries”. Prompted by his policy of religious toleration, Akbar arranged in later years for the education of Hindus in madrasās. Jahāngīr, possessed of some literary taste and well-read in Persian as well as Turki, issued a regulation to the effect that on the death of a
rich man or traveller without any heir, his property would escheat to the crown and be utilised for building and repairing madrasas, monasteries, etc. It is recorded in the Ta’rikh-i-Jān-Jahān that, soon after his accession to the throne, Jahāngīr “repaired even these madrasas that had for thirty years been the dwelling-places of birds and beasts, and filled them with students and professors”. Shāh Jahān, though more interested in magnificent buildings than in anything else, was educated in his early youth in Turki, spent a part of the night in his own studies, and encouraged learning by granting rewards and stipends to scholars. He founded one college at Delhi and repaired the college named Dīr-ul-Baqā (Abode of Eternity), which had been almost in ruins. In Dārā Shukoh the Mughul imperial family possessed one of the greatest scholars that India has ever produced. Well-versed in Arabic, Persian and Sanskrit, he was the author of some famous works, including Persian translations of the Upanishads, the Bhagavat Gītā and the Yoga Vāśishtha Rāmāyana; a calendar of Muslim saints; and several works on Sufi philosophy. Looking at the grave of this unlucky person, Sir William Sleeman rightly thought that had he lived to occupy the throne, the nature of education, and therewith the destiny of India, would have been different. Aurangzeb, though highly educated, did nothing substantial to promote learning in general, though he extended every encouragement to Muslim education, and founded, according to Keene, “numerous colleges and schools”.

Female education of some sort existed during the Mughul period. The daughters of the imperial household, and of rich nobles, were given tuition in their houses, and we may assume that the daughters of the middle-class people among the Hindus received primary education along with the boys in the schools and that some of them were conversant with religious literature. The Auxiliary Committee of the Indian Statutory Commission rightly observed in September, 1929, that there is “nothing inherent either in the Hindu or in the Muslim religion which militates against the education of women. In fact, there were in India even in early days many examples of women possessing wide knowledge, particularly of sacred and classical literature”. In Akbar’s time “regular training was given to the ladies of the royal household”. Some of the ladies so instructed distinguished themselves in the sphere of literature. Thus Bābur’s daughter, Gulbadan Begam, authoress of the Humayūnāmā, Humayūn’s niece, Salimā Sultānā, authoress of several Persian poems, Nūr Jahān, Mumtāz Mahal, Jahānārā Begam and Zeb-un-Nisā were highly educated ladies, well-read
in Persian and Arabic literature. Besides being a fine Arabic and Persian scholar, Zeb-un-Nisā was an expert in calligraphy and had a rich library.

As we have already noted, the Timūrid rulers of India were patrons of literature and gave a considerable impetus to its development in different branches. Many scholars flourished and wrote interesting and important works under the patronage of Akbar. One of Akbar’s contemporaries, Mādhavāchārya, a Bengali poet of Triveni and author of Chandī-mangal, bestows high praise on the Emperor as a patron of letters.

The Persian literature of Akbar’s reign may be considered under three heads: (i) historical works, (ii) translations, and (iii) poetry and verse. The well-known historical works of the reign are the Ta’rikh-i-Alfī of Mullā Dāīd, the ‘Āin-i-Akbarī and Akbarnāmāh of Abul Fazl, the Muntakhab-ut-Tawārikh of Badaūnī, the Tabaqāt-ī-Akbarī of Nizām-ud-din Ahmad, the Akbarnāmāh of Faizi Sarhindī, and the Ma’āsir-i-Rahīmī of ‘Abdul Bāqi, compiled under the patronage of ‘Abdul Rahīm Khān-i-Khānān. The most accomplished writer (in Persian) of the reign was Abul Fazl, a man of letters, a poet, an essayist, a critic, and a historian. By order of the Emperor, many books in Sanskrit and other languages were translated into Persian. Different sections of the Mahābhārata were translated into that language by several Muslim scholars and were compiled under the title of Razm-Nāmāh. After labouring for four years, Badaūnī completed the translation of the Rāmāyana in A.D. 1589. Hāji Ibrāhīm Sarhindī translated into Persian the Atharva Veda; Faizi the Lālābāti, a work on mathematics; Mukarram Khān Gujarāti the Tajak, a treatise on astronomy; ‘Abdul Rahīm Khān-i-Khānān the Wāgiat-i-Bāburī; and Maulānā Shāh Muhammad Shahābādī translated the History of Kāshmīr. Some Greek and Arabic works were also translated into Persian. A number of famous poets or versifiers produced works of merit under the patronage of Akbar. The most famous among the verse-writers was Ghizālī. Next in importance to him was Faizi, a brother of Abul Fazl. Other prominent poets were Muhammad Husain Nazirī of Nishāpur, who wrote ghazals of great merit, and Sayyid Jamāluddīn Urfī of Shirāj, the most famous writer of Qasidās in his days.

Jahāngīr, possessed of an excellent literary taste, also extended his patronage to scholars. His autobiography is second only to that of Bābur in matter and style. Among the learned men who adorned his court, of whom the Iqbalnāmāh-i-Jahāngīrī has given a comprehensive list, we may mention here the names of Ghiyās
Beg, Naqib Khan, Mu'tamid Khan, Niamatullah and 'Abdul Haqq Dihlawi. Some historical works were written during Jahangir's reign, the most important of these being the Ma'asir-i-Jahangiri, the Ishqanamah-i-Jahangiri and the Zubd-ut-Tawarikh. Shāh Jahān followed his predecessors in patronising learned men. Besides many poets and theologians, there flourished in his court some famous writers of history like 'Abdul Hamid Lahori, author of the Pādshāh-nāmāh, Aminād Qazwini, author of another Pādshāh-nāmāh, Inayat Khan, author of the Shāh-Jahānnāmāh, and Muhammad Sali, author of 'Amal-i-Sālih, all of whom are important authorities on the history of Shāh Jahān's reign. The scholarly works of Prince Dara Shukoh, to which reference has already been made, are masterpieces of Persian literature. A zealous Sunni, Aurangzeb was a critical scholar of Muslim theology and jurisprudence. He had no taste for poetry. Though opposed to the writing of histories of his reign, so that the Manuakhah-ul-Lahāb of Khāfi Khan had to be written in secrecy, there are some well-known works of this kind, such as the 'Ālamgirnāmāh by Mirzā Muhammad Kazīm, the Ma'āsir-i-Ālamgīrī of Muhammad Sāqi, the Khwāsul-at-Tawārīkh of Sujan Rād Khatri, the Nashkha-i-Dilkushā of Bhimsen and the Fatūhāt-i-Ālamgīrī of Ishwar Dās.

The peace and order secured by Akbar, and the cosmopolitan ideas of the religious movements of the period, preached by a band of saintly teachers in a language "understood of the people", stimulated the genius of the latter, which unfolded itself in manifold petals. The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries consequently became "the Augustan age of Hindustani literature". The first writer of note after 1526 was Malik Muhammad Jayasi, who in 1540 wrote "the fine philosophic epic entitled the Padmāvī, which gives the story of Padmīni, the queen of Mewār, in an allegorical setting". Akbar's keen interest in, and patronage of, Hindi poetry gave a great stimulus to Hindi literature. Among the courtiers of the Emperor, Birbal, who received from him the title of Kavi Priya, was a famous poet. Rājā Mān Singh also wrote verses in Hindi and was a patron of learning. The most distinguished writer among Akbar's ministers was 'Abdur Rahim Khan-i-Khānān, whose dohās are even now read with interest and admiration all over Northern India. Naraḥari, whom the Emperor gave the title of Mahāpātra, Harināth and Ganj were also noted writers of his court.

The greater part of the poetical literature of the time was religious, marked by an exposition of either Krishna worship or the Rāma cult. Many writers of the former faith flourished in the Brajabhumi, corresponding roughly to the Jumna valley, where
it developed remarkably. Among the eight disciples of Valla-
bhāchārya and his son Bithal Nāth, grouped under the name of “Astrachāp”, the most notable was Surdās, “the blind bard of Āgra”, who, writing in Brajabhāṣā, described in his Surāgār the sports of Krishna’s early life, and composed many verses on the charm of Krishna and his beloved Rādhā. The other important poets of this school were Nand Dās, author of the Rās-panchadhyāyī, Vithal Nāth, author of the Chaurāṇi Vaishnava ki vārtā in prose, Paramānanda Dās, Kumbhan Dās, and Ras Khān (a Muslim disciple of Vithal Nāth), author of Premavārtikā. Among the writers of the Rāma cult, the most illustrious was Tulsi Dās (A.D. 1532–1623), who lived in Benares “unapproachable and alone in his niche in the temple of Fame”. He was not merely a poet of a high order, but a spiritual teacher of the people of Hindustān, where his name has become a household word and his memory is worshipped by millions. The most famous of his works, known as Rāmcharitamānas, or “The Pool of Rāma’s Life”, has been justly described by Sir George Grierson as “the one Bible of a hundred millions of people” of Hindustān. Growse also observed in his translation of the Rāmadynā of Tulsi Dās that “his book is in every one’s hands, from the court to the cottage, and is read and heard and appreciated alike by every class of the Hindu community, whether high or low, rich or poor, young or old”. This period was also marked by “the first attempts to systematise the art of poetry itself”, made by writers like Keshava Dās (A.D. 1580), a Sāndhya Brāhmaṇa of Orchā, Sundar Senāpati and the Tripathi brothers, who flourished during the reign of Shāh Jahān.

In Bengal, this period was remarkable for a brilliant outburst of the Vaishnava literature. Its various branches, such as the Karchā or notes, the padas and songs, and the biographies of Chaitanya Deva, have not only saturated the minds of the people of Bengal with feelings of love and liberalism, but have also survived as a mirror of the social life of the province during that age. The most prominent Vaishnava writers were Krishnadās Kavirāj (born in A.D. 1517 of a Vaidya family of Jhāmālpur in Burdāwn), the author of the most important biography of Chaitanya, bearing the title of Chaitanyacharitāmītra; Brindāvan Dās (born in A.D. 1507), the author of Chaitanya Bhāgavata, which besides being a standard work on the life of Chaitanya Deva, is a store-house of information concerning the Bengali society of his time; Jayānanda (born in A.D. 1513), the author of Chaitanya Mangal, a biographical work giving some fresh information about Chaitanya Deva’s life; Trilochan Dās (born in A.D. 1523 at Kowgrām, a village situated
thirty miles to the north of Burdwan, the author of a very popular biography of Chaitanya Deva also known as Chaitanya Mangal; and Narahari Chakravarty, the author of Bhaktiratnakar, a voluminous biography of Chaitanya Deva, written in fifteen chapters and considered to be next in importance only to the work of Krishnadās Kaviraj. This period also saw the production of numerous translations of the great epics and the Bhagavata, and books in praise of Chand Devi and Manasā Devi. The most important of these works were the Mahābhārata of Kāśirām Dāś and the Karikānkan Chandī of Mukundarām Chakravarti, which enjoys to this day as much popularity in Bengal as the famous book of Tulsī Dās in upper India. Mukundarām’s work depicts a graphic picture of the social and economic conditions of the people of Bengal of his time, and it is for this that Prof. Cowell has described him as “the Crabb of Bengal”, and Dr. Grierson considers his poetry “as coming from the heart, and not from the school, and as full of passages adorned with true poetry and descriptive power”.

The Emperors’ fondness for books led to the foundation of libraries, which were stocked with numerous valuable manuscript works. Akbar’s library had enormous collections, which were properly classified under different sections. The art of calligraphy reached a high state of excellence. Among the famous penmen of Akbar’s court, of whom the ‘Āin-i-Akbarī has preserved a list, the most distinguished was Muhammad Husain of Kāshmir, who got the title of Zarringalam (Gold-pen).

The growth of Hindi literature received a setback during the reign of Aurangzeb, owing to the stoppage of court patronage. Not much Urdu poetry also was written in Northern India during this period; but some famous writers of Urdu verse flourished in the Deccan.

 Literary activity did not entirely cease even in the troubled days of later Mughal rule. Men of letters were patronised by Emperors like Bahadur Shāh and Muhammad Shāh, subahdars like Murshid Quli Jāfār Khān and ‘Ālīvārdi Khān, and zamindārs like Rājā Krishnachandra of Nadiā, Asadullāh of Bīrbām and some others. The literature of this period, with the exception of the devotional songs of Rāmprasād, was often of a low tone and a vitiated taste. Female education, both among the Hindus and the Muslims, was not unknown to the age. The two daughters of Jan Muhammad, a converted Hindu and father of the well-known Koki Jiu, were “sent to school and attained some proficiency in letters”. Koki Jiu “excelled her brothers in handwriting and composition”. In
Bengal, we find several instances of educated ladies; for example, the wives of Rājā Nāvākrishṇa of Soblāhāzār (in Calcutta) were famous for their capacity to read, and Ānandamāyī of East Bengal was a poetess of no mean repute.

2. Art and Architecture

A. Architecture

As in literature and religion, so in art and architecture, the Mughul period was not entirely an age of innovation and renaissance, but of a continuation and culmination of processes that had their beginnings in the later Turko-Afghān period. In fact, the art and architecture of the period after 1526, as also of the preceding period, represent a happy mingling of Muslim and Hindu art traditions and elements.

With the exception of Aurangzeb, whose puritanism could not reconcile itself with patronage of art, all the early Mughul rulers of India were great builders. Brief though his Indian reign was, Bābur could make time to criticise in his Memoirs the art of building in Hindustān and think of constructing edifices. He is said to have invited from Constantinople pupils of the famous Albanian architect, Sinān, to work on mosques and other monuments in India. “It is, however, very unlikely,” remarks Mr. Percy Brown, “that this proposal ever came to anything, because had any member of this famous school taken service under the Mughuls, traces of the influence of the Byzantine style would be observable. But there is none. . . .” Bābur employed Indian stone-masons to construct his buildings. He himself states in his Memoirs that “680 men worked daily on his buildings at Āgra, and that nearly 1,500 were employed daily on his buildings at Sikri, Biyāna, Dholpur, Gwālior and Kiul”. The larger edifices of Bābur have entirely disappeared. Three minor ones have survived, one of which is a commemorative mosque in the Kābuli Bāg at Pānīpat (1526), another the Jāmī Masjid at Sambhal (1526) in Rohilkhand, and the third a mosque within the old Lodi fort at Āgra. Of the reign of the unlucky emperor Humāyūn, only two structures remain in a semi-dilapidated condition, one mosque at Āgra, and the other a massive well-proportioned mosque at Pathbād in the Hissār district of the Punjab, built about A.D. 1540 with enamelled tile decoration in the Persian manner. It should be noted here that this “Persian” or rather “Mongol” trait was not brought to India for the first time by Humāyūn, but had already been present in
the Bāhmanī kingdom in the later half of the fifteenth century. The short reign of the Indo-Afghān revivalist Sher Shāh is a period of transition in the history of Indian architecture. The two remaining gateways of his projected walled capital at Delhi, which could not be completed owing to his untimely death, and the citadel known as the Purāna Qilʿā, exhibit "a more refined and artistically ornate type of edifice than had prevailed for some time". The mosque called the Qilʿa-ī-Kabna Masjid, built in 1545 within the walls, deserves a high place among the buildings of Northern India for its brilliant architectural qualities. Sher Shāh's mausoleum, built on a high plinth in the midst of a lake at Sasarām in the Shāhābād district of Bihār, is a marvel of Indo-Moslem architecture, both from the standpoint of design and dignity, and shows a happy combination of Hindu and Muslim architectural ideas. Thus not only in government, but also in culture and art, the great Afghān prepared the way for the great Mughul, Akbar.

Akbar's reign saw a remarkable development of architecture. With his usual thoroughness, the Emperor mastered every detail of the art; and, with a liberal and synthetic mind he supplied himself with artistic ideas from different sources, which were
given a practical shape by the expert craftsmen he gathered around him. Abul Fazl justly observes that his sovereign "planned splendid edifices and dressed the work of his mind and heart in the garment of stone and clay". Fergusson aptly remarked that Fathpur Sikri "was a reflex of the mind of a great man". Akbar's activities were not confined only to the great masterpiece of architecture; but he also built a number of forts, villas, towers, sarais, schools, tanks and wells. While still adhering to Persian ideas, which he inherited from his mother, born of a Persian Shaikh family of Jâm, his tolerance of the Hindus, sympathy with their culture, and the policy of winning them over to his cause, led him to use Hindu styles of architecture in many of his buildings, the decorative features of which are copies of those found
in the Hindu and Jaina temples. It is strikingly illustrated in the
Jahângîrî Mâhal, in Ágra fort, with its square pillars and bracket-
capitals, and rows of small arches built according to the Hindu design
without voussoirs; in many of the buildings of Fatehpur Sikri,
the imperial capital from 1569 to 1584; and also in the Lahore fort.
Even in the famous mausoleum of Humâyûn at Old Delhi, com-
pleted early in a.d. 1569, which is usually considered to have dis-
played influences of Persian art, the ground-plan of the tomb is
Indian, the free use of white marble in the outward appearance of

JAHÂNGÎRî MÂHAL, ÁGRA FORT

the edifice is Indian, and the coloured tile decoration, used so much
by Persian builders, is absent. The most magnificent of the
Emperor's buildings at Fatehpur Sikri are Jodh Bâi's palace and
two other residential buildings, said to have been constructed to
accommodate his queens; the Diwân-i-'Am or the Emperor's office,
of Hindu design with a projecting veranda roof over a colonnade;
the wonderful Diwân-i-Khâs or Hall of private audience, of distinctly
Indian character in planning, construction and ornament; the
marble mosque known as the Jâmi' Masjid, described by Fergusson
as "a romance in stone"; the Buland Darwâza or the massive
triumphal archway at the southern gate of the mosque, built of marble and sandstone to commemorate Akbar's conquest of Gujarat; and the pyramidal structure in five storeys known as the Panch Mahal, showing continuation of the plan of the Indian Buddhist viharas which still exist in certain parts of India. Two other remarkable buildings of the period are the Palace of Forty Pillars at Allahabad and Akbar’s mausoleum at Sikandara. The palace at Allahabad, the construction of which, according to William Finch, took forty years and engaged 5,000 to 20,000

workmen of different denominations, is of a definitely Indian design with its projecting veranda-roof "supported on rows of Hindu pillars". The colossal structure of Akbar’s mausoleum at Sikandara, planned in the Emperor’s lifetime but executed between A.D. 1605 and 1613, consists of five terraces diminishing as they ascend with a vaulted roof to the topmost storey of white marble, and it is thought that a central dome was originally intended to be built over the cenotaph. The Indian design in this structure was inspired by the Buddhist viharas of India and also probably by Khmer architecture found in Cochin-China.
The number of buildings erected during Jahāṅgīr's reign was poor as compared with the architectural record of his father, but two structures of his time are of exceptional interest and merit. One is the mausoleum of Akbar, whose striking features have been already discussed. The other is the tomb of I'timād-ud-daulah at Āgra built by his daughter, Nūr Jahān, the consort of Jahāṅgīr. The latter was built wholly of white marble decorated with pietra dura work in semi-precious stones. We have an earlier specimen of this work in the Gol Mandal temple at Udaipur (from A.D. 1600). It was therefore a Rājput style, or, most probably, an older Indian style.

Shāh Jahān was a prolific builder. Many buildings, palaces, forts, gardens and mosques due to him are to be found at places like Āgra, Delhi, Lahore, Kābul, Kāshmir, Qandahār, Ajmer, Ahmadābād, Mukhliṣpur, and elsewhere. Though it is not possible to form a precise estimate of the expenditure on these buildings, yet there is no doubt that the cost must have run into several dozen crores of rupees. The structures of Shāh Jahān, as compared with those of Akbar, are inferior in grandeur and originality, but they are superior in lavish display and rich and skilful decoration, so that the architecture of the former "becomes jewellery on a
DIWĀN-I-KRĀS, DELHI

DIWĀN-I-AM, DELHI
bigger scale". This is particularly illustrated in his Delhi buildings like the Divān-i-'Am and the Divān-i-Khās. The latter, with its costly silver ceiling, and mingled decoration of marble, gold and precious stones, justified the inscription engraved on it:

"Aqar firdaus bar ru-yi zamin ast
Hamin ast, u hamin ast, u hamin ast."
(If on Earth be an Eden of bliss,
It is this, it is this, none but this.)
for disbelieving the supposed participation of Italian or French architects in the designing or construction of this noble monument of conjugal fidelity and gives the credit for the design to Ustad 'Isa. While studying the Tāj, a student of Indian art should not fail to note certain points. Firstly, the plan and chief features of it were not entirely novel, for "from Sher's mausoleum, and through Humayun's tomb and the Bijāpur memorials, the descent of the style can easily be discerned"; even the "lace-work in marble and other stones, and precious stones inlay (pietra dura) work on marble" were already present in Western India and Rājput art. Secondly, "the lavish use of white marble and some decorations of Indian character" lead us to think that there is no reason to overemphasize the domination of Persian influence in Shah Jahān's buildings as is usually done. Thirdly, considering the intercourse of India with the Western world, particularly the Mediterranean region, during the Mughul period, it would not be historically inconsistent to believe in the influence of some elements of art of the Western world on the art of India during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and also in the presence of some European builders in different parts of contemporary India.

Though not so famous as the Tāj, the mausoleum of Jahāngir, built by Shah Jahān at an early date at Shāhdara in Lahore, is a beautiful specimen of art. Another celebrated work of art of this reign was the Peacock Throne. "The throne was in the form of a cot bedstead on golden legs. The enamelled canopy was supported by twelve emerald pillars, each of which bore two peacocks encrusted with gems. A tree covered with diamonds, emeralds, rubies, and pearls stood between the birds of each pair." Nādir Shāh removed the throne to Persia in 1739, but unfortunately it is no longer to be found anywhere in this world.

In Aurangzeb's reign the style of architecture began to deteriorate. If not openly hostile to architecture, the puritanic Emperor ceased to encourage it, or to erect buildings, like his predecessors. The few structures of his reign, the most important of which was the Lahore mosque, completed in A.D. 1674, were but feeble imitations of the older models. Soon the creative genius of the Indian artists mostly disappeared, surviving partly in Oudh and Hyderabad in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

B. Painting

Like architecture, painting in the Mughul period represented a happy mingling of extra-Indian as well as Indian elements. A
provincialised form of Chinese art, which was a mixture of Indian Buddhist, Iranian, Bactrian and Mongolian influences, was introduced into Persia in the thirteenth century by its Mongol conquerors and was continued by their Timūrid successors, who again imported it into India. The characteristics of this Indo-Sino-Persian art were assimilated, mingled and combined, in the time of Akbar, in products of the contemporary Indian schools of painting, which flourished, as a renaissance of earlier Hindu, Buddhist and Jain styles, in different parts of the country, such as Gujarāt, Rājputāna, Vijayanagar, Bijāpur, Ahmadnagar and some other places, and led to the development of a style of painting in which the Mongoloid elements gradually declined and the Indian ones predominated. This modification can be clearly seen in the paintings in the copies of the Khāndān-i-Timūrta and the Pādshāhnāmah, both of which are preserved in the Khudābakhsh Library of Patna.

It is possible that Bābur, who was “always keenly observant of the beauties of Nature”, patronised the art of painting, like his Timūrid ancestors, according to his limited resources. The paintings in the Alwar MS. of the Persian version of his Memoirs probably represent the style that grew up in his time. Humāyūn, who, like other Timūrids, possessed a taste for art, spent his hours of exile in Persia in studying Sino-Persian music, poetry and painting and came in contact with the leading artists of Persia, who flourished under the generous patronage of Shāh Tahmāsp. Two of them—Mir Sayyid ‘Āli, a pupil of the famous Bihzād of Herāt, who has been styled “the Raphael of the East”, and Khwāja ‘Abdus Samād—were persuaded to come to his court at Kābul in A.D. 1550. Humāyūn and his son Akbar took lessons from them in the art of painting and engaged them in the task of preparing the illustrations to the Dāstān-i-Amīr Hamzah. These two foreign artists, working with their Indian assistants, “formed the nucleus of the Mughal school of painting”, which became so prominent in the time of Akbar. This passed on as a valuable gift from Humāyūn to Akbar, while his political legacy was precarious.

In the illustrative paintings to Amīr Hamzah, done by Sayyid ‘Āli and ‘Abdus Samād between A.D. 1550 and A.D. 1560, the Sino-Persian influence was still predominant. But in 1562, when the famous painting showing the arrival at the Mughul Court of the Vaishnava musician, Tansen, was executed, the fusion of Hindu and Sino-Persian styles began to manifest itself. From A.D. 1569 to 1585 the walls of Akbar’s new capital at Fatehpur Sikri were embellished with the masterpieces of the painter’s art by the joint labours of the artists of the Hindu and Persian schools, both being
ready to imbibe and utilise new ideas and thus facilitating the
growth of a new school of art. The Persian or other foreign artists
in Akbar's court were few in number, the most famous of them
being 'Abdus Samad, Farrukh Beg, who was of Kalmuck origin,
Khursau Quil and Jamshed. The Hindu artists predominated in
number. Of the seventeen leading artists of Akbar's reign, no
less than thirteen were Hindus. Abul Fazl thus refers to the
standard of their art: "More than a hundred painters have become
famous masters of the art, while the number of those who attain
perfection, or of those who are middling, is very large. This is
specially true of the Hindus, their pictures surpass our conception
of things. Few indeed in the whole world are found equal to them."
They worked in collaboration and excelled in portraiture, book-
illustration and illumination and animal painting. Chief among
them were Basawân, Lâl, Kesu, Mukund, Haribans and Daswanth.
The last named belonged to the Kâhâr or palanquin-bearer caste,
while the rest belonged to the Kâyastha, Chitera, Sîlavat and
Khatri castes and were drawn from different parts of the country.

Akbar, who shared with others of his race "an intense apprecia-
tion of the wonder and glory of the world", encouraged pictorial
art in every possible way and gave it a religious outlook in spite
of the Islamic injunction regarding the representation of living
forms. "It appears to me," said he, "as if a painter had quite
peculiar means of recognising God; for if a painter in sketching any-
thing that has life, and in devising its limbs, one after the other,
comes to feel that he cannot bestow individuality on his work,
he is forced to think of God, the Giver of life, and will thus
increase his knowledge." In this way he sought to remove the
discontent of the orthodox Muslims, who were opposed to the art
of painting. "Bigoted followers of the letter of the law," writes
Abul Fazl, "are hostile to the art of painting, but their eyes now
see the truth."

The school of art that grew up under Akbar continued to flourish
in the reign of Jahângîr through the enthusiastic support and patron-
age of the latter. Jahângîr was an excellent connoisseur, who paid
high prices for any pictures that satisfied his aesthetic taste, and an
art critic who could tell the names of individual artists in a com-
posite piece. The famous Muslim artists of his court were Âgâ Rezâ
and his son, Abul Hasan, of Herât; Muhammad Nâdir and
Muhammad Murâd from Samarqând, who were among the last
foreign artists to come to India; and Ustâd Mansûr. Among the
Hindu painters of this reign, Bishan Dâs, Manohar and Govardhan
were the most eminent. Himself having a fair acquaintance with
the classical aspects of miniature painting, the Emperor frequently purchased examples of the best schools of art in India or abroad; and his zeal, combined with the skill of his artists, led to the emancipation of Mughul pictorial art from the tutelage of Persian influences and to the development of an art style essentially Indian.

With Jahāngīr, however, according to Percy Brown, the real spirit of Mughul pictorial art declined. Shāh Jahān did not possess the same passion for painting as his father, and his tastes were more for architecture and jewellery. The court portraiture and darbār pictures of his reign were characterised by rich pigments and a lavish use of gold rather than by the harmonious blend of colours which was present in Jahāngīr's art. He reduced the number of court painters, and the art of painting was soon deprived of imperial patronage. In the imperial family only Dārā Shukoh was a patron of art, as is proved by his album now preserved in the India Office, and his untimely death was a great blow to art as well as to the Empire. The artists were compelled to seek employment under nobles, as in Rajputāna and the Himalayan states, set up studios in the bāzārs and sell their pictures, as a means of livelihood, to the general public, whose number was, however, limited. Bernier noted that the artists had no chance of attaining distinction and worked under adverse circumstances and for poor remuneration.

The reign of Aurangzeb saw a distinct decline of pictorial art, as the Emperor regarded its patronage as opposed to the precepts of sacred law. Large numbers of portraits of him in various situations were indeed drawn, with or without his consent, and he is said to have inspected at intervals the portrait of his rebellious son Muhammad Sultān, painted by his order, to know his condition in prison. But he is reported to have defaced the paintings in the Asār Mahal at Bijāpur, and Manucci writes that under his orders the figures in Akbar's mausoleum at Sikandara were whitewashed. With the disintegration of the Mughul Empire after the death of Aurangzeb, some of the surviving painters migrated from the capital to the states of Oudh, Hyderabad, Mysore and Bengal, which had made themselves practically independent, and some went to Lucknow and Patna. But both the support that they got and the work that they executed were far inferior to what had been the case under the Great Mughuls.

In the eighteenth century a style of painting noted for brilliance and decorative effect flourished in Rājputāna, particularly in Jaipur. In the latter half of the century, highly beautiful and refined pictures were painted by the Kāṅgrā school, of which the Tehri-Garhwāl school was an offshoot; and in the early nineteenth
century this developed into Sikh portrait painting. Recently, artists both in India and Europe have begun to appreciate Mughul and Rājput paintings and are trying to revive the style.

C. Music

Indian rulers like the Ādil Shāhi Sultāns of Bijāpur and Bāz Bahādur of Mālwa, a contemporary of Akbar, and all the Great Mughuls, with the exception of Aurangzeb, appreciated the art of music. Akbar, Jahāngir, and Shāh Jahān extended considerable patronage to it, which led to the improvement of its quality and to its being widely cultivated. According to Abul Fazl, thirty-six singers enjoyed the patronage of Akbar’s court. Of them, the most famous were Tānsen, about whom Abul Fazl writes that “a singer like him has not been in India for the last thousand years”; and Bāz Bahādur of Mālwa, who was employed in the service of Akbar, and has been described as “the most accomplished man of his day in the science of music and in Hindi song”. Aurangzeb positively discouraged music and placed a ban upon it.
THE SO-CALLED SLAVE DYNASTY, 1296–90

I. Qutb-ud-din Aibak, d. 1210
(Slave of Mu'iz-ud-din Muhammad Ghārī)

II. Arām (adopted?)
d. 1211

Daughter = III. Hārūn Turk Shams-ud-din Itutmīsh
(Slave) d. May 1, 1226.

IV. Rukn-ud-din
Firūz Shāh, d. 1236.

V. (Daughter)
Bāriyya, d. May 15,
May 1240

VI. Mu'iz-ud-din
Bahrām, d. Oct. 1240
1242

VII. ‘Alā-ud-din Ma'sūd,
deposed June 1246.

VIII. Nāṣir-ud-din
Mahmūd, d. Feb.
1266

IX. Guyāz-ud-din
Balban, d. 1287.

Prince
Muhammad

Daughter = Nāṣir-ud-din Mahmūd
Bughrā Khān
(Bengal)

X. Mu'iz-ud-din, Kāiqubād,
killed 1290.

XI. Kayāmār.
THE KHALJI SULTANS OF DELHI, 1290-1320

Quain Khan (Tūlak Khan of Qanduz)

Khaljīs of Mālwa. I. Jalāl-ud-dīn, Firūz Shāh, d. July 21, 1296
   Masūd (Shihāb-ud-dīn).

II. Rukn-ud-dīn, Dāhūm, 1296
   deposed Nov. 1296

III. 'Alā-ud-dīn Sikandar
   Sāmī, Muhammad Shāh.
   d. Jan. 1316.

Prince Khizr Khan

IV. Shihāb-ud-dīn 'Umar, d. April, 1316
   V. Qutb-ud-dīn Mubārak
   d. c. April, 1320.

VI. Nāṣir-ud-dīn Khusrav

(estarpei).
   d. c. Sept. 1320.

THE HOUSE OF TUGHLUQ, 1320-1413

I. (Turki Slave of Balka) Ḡayāṣ-ud-dīn (Ḡāzī Mubīk)
   Tughrūq Shāh 1.
   d. Feb. 1325

II. Ṣābūh Shāh, d. Sept 20, 1388

Muhammad, Jauna
   d. March 20, 1351.

Fath Khan

Zafar Khan VI. Nāṣir-ud-dīn, Muhammad Shāh

V. Abu Baqr, d. 1390
   deposed

IV. Ghayāṣ-ud-dīn Tughrūq (II)
   VIII. Nisrat Shāh, 1389
   VIII. Alā-ud-dīn IX. Mahmūd

   deposed and succession. Set
   killed 1395; deposed or 1399
   up in Jan. 1395; d. 1398 or 1399

   Shāh Shāh
   (Humāyūn)
   d. March 8, 1394.
GENEALOGICAL TABLES TO PART II

THE SAYYID RULERS OF DELHI, 1414-1451

I. Khizr Khan
    May 28, 1414; d. May 20, 1421.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>H. Mu'izz-ud-din, Mubarak.</th>
<th>Fareed Khan</th>
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<td>Killed 1434</td>
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| III. Muhammad Shâh         |            |
| d. 1443.                   |            |

| IV. 'Alâ-ud-din, 'Alam Shâh |
| d. 1453.                    |
|                            |
| (Removed to Budaun, 1451).  |

THE LODI DYNASTY OF DELHI, 1451-1526

I. Bahlul Lodi, d. July, 1489

| Barbak Shâh                | II. Nizâm Khân, Skandar Lodi |
|  (Jumpur)                  | (Jumnapur)                   |
| d. Nov. 21, 1517.          | d. April 21, 1526            |

| III. Ibrahim Lodi          |
| d. April 21, 1526.         |

KINGS OF BENGAL

(1) EASTERN BENGAL

| Falâr-ud-din Mubâvak Shâh  |
| 1336 or 1338               |
| Khuyar-ud-din Ghazi Shâh   |
| 1346 or 1552               |

(2) WESTERN BENGAL AND ALL BENGAL

| 'Alî-ud-din 'Ali Shâh       | 1339 |
| Hâjî Shams-ud-din Tâhir Shâh, Bhangara |
| Skandar Shâh                |
| 1357 | 1357 |
| Ghuyar-ud-din A'zam Shâh    |
| 1393 |
| Saif-ud-din Hamza Shâh      |
| 1410 |
| Shâhâb-ud-din Bayzâd        |
| 1412 |
| Ganesh of Bhâilâ (Kânâ Narîâr) |
| 1414 |
| Jadu, alias Jalâl ud-din Muhammad Shâh |
| 1414 |
| Danuja-mardana              |
| 1417 |
| Mahendru                    |
| 1418 |
| Shams-ud-din Ahmad Shâh     |
| 1431 |
| Nasir-ud-din Mahmud Shâh    |
| 1442 |
| Rukn-ud-din Barbak Shâh     |
| 1460 |
| Shams-ud-din Yusef Shâh     |
| 1474 |
| Skandar Shâh II             |
| 1481 |
| Jalâl-ud-din Fath Shâh      |
| 1481 |
| Barbak the Erench, Sultan Shâhzâdu |
| 1486 |
| Malik Indil, Fruz Shâh      |
| 1486 |
| Nasir-ud-din Mahmud Shâh II |
| 1489 |
| Sidi Badr, Shams-ud-din Muzaffar Shâh |
| 1490 |
KINGS OF BENGAL—continued.

Sayyid 'Ala-ud-din Husain Shâh . . . . 1493
Nasir-ud-din Nusrat Shâh . . . . . 1518
'Ala-ud-din Firuz Shâh . . . . . 1533
Ghûyûs-ud-din Mahmûd Shâh . . . . 1533
Humâyûn, Emperor of Delhi . . . . 1538
Sher Shâh Sur . . . . . 1539
Khur Khân . . . . . 1540
Muhammad Khân Sur . . . . . 1545
Khur Khân, Bahadur Shâh . . . . . 1555
Ghûyûs-ud-din Jalal Shâh . . . . . 1561
Son of preceding . . . . . 1564
Tâj Khân Kararânî . . . . . 1564
Sulamân Kararânî . . . . . 1572
Bâyazid Khan Kararânî . . . . . 1572
Dâûd Khan Kararânî . . . . . 1572-1576

HOUSE OF ILIYÂS

Hâji Shams-ud-din Ilyâs

| Sikandar Shâh | Nâsir-ud-din Mahmûd Shâh I |
| Ghyûs-ud-din A'zam Shâh | Ruhn-ud-din Bârûbak | Jalal-ud-din Shâh | Fath Shâh |
| Saif-ud-din Hamza | | | |
| | | Shams-ud-din | Nâsir-ud-din |
| | | Yûsuf Shâh | Mahmûd II |
| Shams-ud-din 11 | Shahsh-ud-din | Bâyazid | Sikandar Shâh II |
| | | Firuz |

SAYYID KINGS OF BENGAL

Asraf

| | | | | | |
| Alâ-ud-din Husain | Nusrat Shâh | | Mahmûd Shâh |
| | | Alâ-ud-din Firuz | Daughter = Khur Khân |

KARARÂNî DYNASTY

Jâmâl

| | | | | | |
| Tâj Khân | Sulamân | Imad | Ilyâs |
| | | | |
| Bâyazid | Dâûd Khân |
BAHMANI KINGS OF THE DECCAN

(1) 'Ala-ud-din Bahman Shāh

(2) Muhammad I

(3) Mujāhid  Fath Khān  Muhammad Sanjar

Hasan  Mubārak

(10) 'Ala-ud-din Ahmad  Dāūd  Mahmūd  Muhammad

Daughter = (11) Humāyūn  Zāhira  Hasan Khān  Yahyā Khān

(12) Nizām

(13) Muhammad III,  Jamshid

(or Ahmad)

Daughter  Daughter  Daughter

(6) Ghyās  m. Fīrūz  m. Ahmad

(7) Shams-ud-din

(14) Mahmūd

(15) Ahmad  (16) 'Ala-ud-din  (17) Wali-ullāh  (18) Kalimullāh
AN ADVANCED HISTORY OF INDIA

RĀNAS OF MEWAR (From Ari Simha)

Ari Simha

Harir or Hammira I

Kshetra (Kheta) Simha

Lakshā (Lākhā)

Chūndā

Mukala

Rāna Śri Kumbhakarna Sārvabhauma
1430–1469

Udaya Karnā
1469–1474

Rājamalla (Rāvanamallā)
1474–1508

Prathvānāja

Sangrāma (Sanga) I
1509–1527

Bāmbir
1535–1537

Ratna Simha
1527–1532

Rātrasenā
1532–1536

Udaya Simha
(Udayapur)
1537–1572

Pratāpa Simha I
1572–1597

Amara Simha I
1597–1620

Karan
1620–1628

Jagat Simha I
1628–1652

Rājā Simha I
1652–1680

Bhīm Simha

Jay Simha
1680–1698

Amar Simha II
1699–1711

Sangrāma Simha II
1711–1734
GENEALOGICAL TABLES TO PART II

RĀNĀS OF MEWĀR (From Aṛi Simha)—cond.

Jagat Simha II
1734-1751

Fourth on

Pratāp Simha II
1752-1754

Aṛi Simha II
1761-1773

Fateh Simha
1884-1930

Rāja Simha II
1754-1761

Hamir II
1773-1778

Bhopūl Simha

Bhim Simha
1778-1828

Jawān Simha
1828-1838

Princess Krishna

Sardār Simha (adopted)
1838-1842

Sarup Simha (brother, adopted)
1842-1861

Samblu (nephew, adopted)
1861-1874

Sujun Simha (first cousin)
1874-1884

VIVĀVAS OF VIJAYANAGAR

Sangrama I

Haribara I
Kampuṇa
Bukka I
Mahapura

Sangrama II

Sister’s
Daughter = son of Ballāla III

Son of Bhāskara

Malladovē = Haribara I
Kumbāra
Virāṇa
Bukka I
Virūpākṣa

Kumbāra
Virūpākṣa

Jambūnā

Bukka II
Virūpākṣa
Devā Rāya I

Vira Vējaya

Daughter = Firuz Bahmad

Devā Rāya II
Pratāp Devā Rāya I

Malikārjuna (Praudhā Immedi Devā Rāya, Pīna Rāo)

Virūpākṣa II

Praudhā Deva
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I. Fakr Khan, then Sher Khan (Sher Shāh)</th>
<th>II. Islam (Sulaiman) Shāh = Daughter d. November, 1554</th>
<th>III. Muḥāṣṣar Khān</th>
<th>IV. Ibrāhīm Khān, Ibrāhīm Shāh, married sister of 'Adil Shāh; fled from Upper India; killed in Oressa between July 1597 and July 1598</th>
<th>V. Ahmad Khān Sikandar Shāh, married sister of 'Adil Shāh; retired to hills, 1556; expelled by Akbar, 1557; fled to Bengal and died, 1558-1559</th>
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<td>Nizām Khān</td>
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</table>
TIMURID DYNASTY—THE FIRST SIX RULERS
So-called "Barlas Turka", "Chaghatai Gurgani", or Mughul Emperors

I. Zahir-ud-din, Babur
d. 1530

II. Muhammad Humayun, Kamran, Hindal, Asikari
d. 1556

III. Jalal-ud-din Akbar, Mirza Hakim
d. 1605

IV. Nur-ud-din Muhammad, Murad, Danyal
Jahangir, (Salim),
d. 1627

V. Khurram Shhuhud-din, Shahryar
Muhammad, Shah Jahan,
deposed 1658,
died 1666

VI. Mumtaz-ul-mulk, Mufti, Muhammad Aurangzeb
Murtad, Alamgir,
d. 1707
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The Later Timurids</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>VI. Muḥammad Aurangzeb, Aḥmad I (d. 1707)</td>
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<tr>
<td>VII. Muʿazzam, Shāh Ṭāhī I (killed at Jājau 1707)</td>
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<tr>
<td>VIII. Muḥammad Sultān, Shāh Ṭāhī I (died 1676)</td>
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<tr>
<td>IX. Muhammad Farrukhsayyar (killed at Jājau)</td>
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<tr>
<td>X(b). Nekusayar (1719)</td>
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<tr>
<td>XI. Ṭūhā Bakht (killed at Jājau)</td>
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<tr>
<td>XII(b). Muhammad Ibrāhīm (1720)</td>
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<td>XII. Rafiʿ-ud-Daulah (Shāh Jahān II)</td>
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<tr>
<td>XIII. Akbar Shāh II (d. 1806)</td>
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<tr>
<td>XIV. Muzaffar Shāh (killed 1713)</td>
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<tr>
<td>XV. Muhammad Farrukhsayyar (1713)</td>
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<tr>
<td>XVI. Akbar Shāh II (d. 1806)</td>
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<tr>
<td>XVII. Bahādur Shāh II (d. 1858)</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Note: The table outlines the genealogy of the later Timurid rulers, starting from Muhammad Aurangzeb to Muhammad Ibrāhīm.
THE PESHWA

Vorvanath

1. Balaji Vorvanath (1713)
   
   II. Baji Rao I (1720)  Chunnajji Appa
   
   III. Balaji Baji Rao (1746)  VI. Raghunath Rao
      
      IV. Madhava Rao  V. Narayan Rao
      
      Ballal (1772)  (Raghaba)

      VII. Madhava Rao
      
      Narayan (1774)

     VIII. Chunnajji Appa
     
     (adopted)  (1796–1818)  (1796)

     IX. Baji Rao II
     
     Anand Rao
     
     (adopted)

     X. Vamshaj Rao
     
     Nam Sudeb
     
     (adopted)
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