CHAPTER XV

THE SULTANATE OF DELHI—A GENERAL SURVEY

SECTION I

ADMINISTRATION

THE MUSLIM STATE

The Muslim State was a theocracy, and all political institutions were, in theory, derived from Islamic Law and sanctioned by it. In practice, however, this theory passed through many modifications, specially in a country like India, where non-Muslims constituted an overwhelmingly large majority of the population, and political conditions differed widely from those contemplated by the Muslim jurists.

According to the orthodox Muslim theory, sovereignty was based on election by the faithful. This theory was found unworkable even in the homeland of Islam, and Mawardi, the celebrated jurist, was forced to the conclusion that the sovereign might appoint his own successor. In the case of the Sultanate of Delhi it is difficult to trace the source of sovereignty. There was no recognised law of succession, no recognised procedure to be followed in cases of dispute. Broadly speaking, the choice was limited, as a matter of convenience, to the surviving members of the deceased Sultan’s family. The priority of birth, the question of efficiency, the nomination of the dead King—these considerations sometimes received some attention, but the decisive voice seems to have been that of the nobles, who usually preferred personal convenience to the interests of the State.

THE TURKISH RULERS OF INDIA AND THE CALIPHATE

By the thirteenth century the theory that the entire Islamic world was united under the religious and political authority of the Caliph had become an unreal but convenient political fiction, and a large majority of the faithful had begun to read the
Khutbah\(^1\) in the name of Muslim Princes who occupied an independent position. Under the Abbasids "Islam was... broken up into many fragments, not necessarily in any way dependent on the Caliphate, each with its separate history." In 1258 Hulagu, the great Mongol leader, took Baghdad and put the Caliph to death. The Caliphate now disappeared. "But a shadow survived in Egypt,—a race of mock-Caliphs, having the name without the substance; a mere spectre as it were."

The uncle of the last Caliph of Baghdad took refuge in Egypt, and was recognised by the Mamluk Sultans of the Nile valley as a spiritual potentate. The succession of the Egyptian Caliphs was maintained unbroken in the line, until the last of them resigned his theoretical rights into the hands of Suleiman II, the Ottoman Sultan of Constantinople, in the sixteenth century.

Tradition, especially if it is intertwined with religion, dies hard. The Caliphs lost political power after the fall of Baghdad, but they did not forfeit their political prestige. No true believer could ever forget that it was to the successor of the Prophet that his allegiance was due. "He was the fountain-head of all political authority; Kings and tribal chiefs were subordinate to him, and his sanction alone could provide a legal basis for their power." The relations of the Sultans of Delhi with the Caliphs of Baghdad and Egypt must be analysed against this background.

When Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni put an end to the Samanid dynasty and asserted his independence, his position was recognised by the Abbasid Caliph of Baghdad. Whether Mahmud himself desired to consecrate and strengthen his own authority by securing the formal recognition of the successor of the Prophet, or whether the declining Abbasid dynasty thought it prudent to take advantage of the situation in order to remind the world that the prestige of the Caliph was not a legend of the past, is not clear. Muhammad of Ghur inscribed the name of the Caliph in his early coins issued in Delhi.

\(^1\) Khutbah means the sermon delivered on Fridays at the time of Zuhr (or meridian prayer). "According to the best authorities, the name of the reigning Khalifah ought to be recited in the Khutbah; and the fact that it is not so recited in independent Muhammadan kingdoms, but the name of the Sultan or Amir is substituted for the Khalifah, has its significance."
Hunmish was the first Sultan of Delhi to receive formal recognition from the Caliphate. In 1229 the emissaries of the Caliph Al-Mustansir came to Delhi and recognised his position as Sultan of Delhi. The name of the last Caliph of Baghdad, Al-Mustasim, continued to be mentioned in the coins of Delhi for about four decades after his death (1258). Ala-ud-din and Qutb-ud-din Mubarak Khalji are described as Caliphs by the obliging court poet, Amir Khusrau; but epigraphic and numismatic evidence does not give any indication of the assumption of that dignity by Ala-ud-din, although his son openly proclaimed that he was 'the great imam, the Khalifah.' Towards the close of his reign Muhammad Tughluq, harried by rebellions and widespread discontent all over the Empire, fell back upon the old device of strengthening royal authority by the Caliph’s recognition. In 1343 an emissary from the Egyptian Caliph Al-Hakim II arrived at Delhi. Barani describes the Sultan’s attitude in the following words: "He had his own name and style removed from his coins, and that of the Khalifah substituted; and his flatteries of the Khalifah were so fulsome that they cannot be reduced to writing." Firduz Tughluq writes in his autobiography, "The greatest and best of honours that I obtained through God’s mercy was, that by my obedience and piety, friendliness and submission to the Khalifah, the representative of the holy Prophet, my authority was confirmed; for it is by his sanction that the power of Kings is assured, and no King is secure until he has submitted himself to the Khalifah, and has received a confirmation from the sacred throne." No successor of Firduz attached so much importance to 'a confirmation from the sacred throne', and no emissary from Egypt came to Delhi after the death of this devout monarch.

THE HINDUS IN THE MUSLIM STATE

The non-Muslim subjects of an Islamic State are called Zimmis (i.e., people living under guarantees). When the Muslims conquered a non-Muslim country they offered three alternatives to the vanquished people; conversion to Islam, the payment of Jaziyah, death. Naturally those who valued their own religion made terms with the conquerors by paying the
Jeziyah. A Muslim jurist says, “He who pays the Jeziyah and obeys the Muhammadan State is called a Zimmi.” The Jeziyah could not be levied upon monks, hermits, paupers, or slaves. The payment of the Jeziyah was associated with humiliation and degradation. Firuz Tughluq abolished the exemption which the Brahmans had enjoyed for centuries in respect of the Jeziyah.

There were learned Muslim divines who aimed at reducing the Hindus to the position of hewers of wood and drawers of water. The opinion of Qazi Mughis-ud-din has been quoted above. An Egyptian exponent of Islamic Law wrote to Ala-ud-din Khalji during his sojourn in India: “I have heard . . . that you have degraded the Hindus to such an extent that their wives and children beg their bread at the doors of Muslims. You are, in doing so, rendering a great service to religion. All your sins will be pardoned by reason of this single act of merit . . . .”

It would be a mistake to think that these uncompromising views were always reflected in legislation and administrative policy. Ala-ud-din Khalji degraded the economic position of the Hindus; Firuz Tughluq and Sikandar Lodi encroached upon their religion. But there was no continuous planned oppression, no systematic attempt at extermination. The worst charge that can be levelled against the Sultans is that they made no attempt to draw the Hindus into partnership in the management of public affairs.

THE MONARCHY

According to Muslim theology and jurisprudence, sovereignty was vested in the Law (Shar), which had its ultimate basis in the Quran. The King was the supreme interpreter of the Law. One of the important factors which curbed the despotism of the Muslim rulers was that they could not defy the Law with impunity. Among the Sultans of Delhi Ala-ud-din Khalji and Muhammad Tughluq made partly successful attempts to free themselves from the Law and its traditional interpreters—the Sunni divines.

1 See pp. 242-243.
Another important check on royal power was the privileged position of the nobles. "The chief constitutional interest in the history of the family of Iltutmish lies in the struggle between the crown and the peers for the possession of real power." The history of Nasir-ud-din Mahmud's reign shows that the triumph lay with the nobles. Balban as Sultan raised the power and prestige of the Monarchy and kept the nobles in check. This new tradition continued till the days of Muhammad Tughluq, who reminded his subjects through his coins that 'the Sultan is the Shadow of God.' A reaction began in the weak reign of Firuz Tughluq, who satisfied the religious classes by his ostentations devotion to the Law, and left the military classes in undisturbed enjoyment of their privileges. Under the Lodis the nobles claimed a status of equality with the King himself. The haughty Ibrahim disputed their claims and lost his life.

The Sultans of Delhi were not guided, assisted, or checked by any recognised system of constitutional law. Everything depended upon the personality of the ruler. There was no regular council of ministers, no cabinet in the modern sense of the term. The Sultan managed public affairs with the assistance of such ministers and officers as he might choose to appoint. If the Sultan was strong, these men were "mere secretaries who carried out the royal will in matters of detail; but they could never influence their master's policy except by the arts of gentle persuasion and veiled warning." On the other hand, if the Sultan was weak, they utilised him as a puppet.

**SOME IMPORTANT MINISTERS AND OFFICERS**

The chief minister of the Sultanate was called the Wazir, and his department was called the Diwan-i-wazarat. This department dealt mainly with finance. The departments called the Diwan-i-rasalat (which dealt with religious matters and endowments) and the Diwan-i-gaza (department of justice) were under the control of the Sadr-us-Saltan. The office of the Arizamalik (controller of the military department) was managed by the Dabir-i-iarz. The Diwan-i-asha (which dealt with royal correspondence) was managed by the Dabir-i-Khas. Of the
officers of the royal household mention may be made of the Wakil-i-dar (who was the controller of that department) and the Amir-i-Hajib or Barbak (the chief chamberlain).

FINANCE

The income of the State was principally derived from the following sources: (1) Land revenue. (2) Zakat or religious taxes. (3) Jizya. (4) Spoils of war. (5) Mines and treasure trove. (6) Heirless property. The principal item of the land revenue was the Khajāj. Among the Sultans of Delhi land revenue reforms were introduced by Ala-ud-din Khalji and Ghiyas-ud-din Tughluq. The former probably introduced the rule of measurement, which ensured a more equitable arrangement between the State and the cultivator. In Ala-ud-din's time the peasants were encouraged to pay in kind, although cash was probably accepted. In the thirteenth century the demand of the State was probably one-fifth of the produce. Ala-ud-din raised the demand to one-half of the produce. This heavy rate was reduced in the reign of his son. Ghiyas-ud-din Tughluq ordered that the State demand should not be increased by more than ten per cent.

JUSTICE

The Sadr-us-Sudur was the chief judge (Qazi-i-namalik) of the Empire. He heard appeals from the lower courts and appointed the local Qazis. All important towns, including Delhi, had a Qazi for the administration of justice. A high officer called the At' ir-i-dad enforced the sentences passed by the Qazis. The cases in which the Hindus alone were concerned were usually settled by the panchayats. Cases between Muslims and Hindus were decided by the Qazis. The Kotwal was the head of the police department in the towns, but he was also a committing magistrate. Criminal law was very severe; torture and mutilation were common practices. Firuz Tughluq abolished some of the more inhuman forms of punishment.

PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT

A large empire is necessarily divided into provinces for the convenience of government. Under Muhammad Tughluq we

In the Persian chronicles a Provincial Governor is usually called Wali or Muqti. It is difficult to say whether these terms were synonymous. One modern view is that the term Wali was reserved for Governors with extraordinary powers. Probably the larger provinces were divided into shiqqs, which were placed under officers called shiqqdar. The next smaller unit was the pargana, a collection of villages. In the parganas and the villages Hindu chiefs and Hindu petty officers probably exercised considerable power and influence; but in the provincial capital the Muslims enjoyed the monopoly of office and power. No Hindu was appointed Provincial Governor under the Sultanate.

Apart from provinces which were, more or less, directly under the Sultan’s authority, there were vassal States ruled by Hindu Princes, whose allegiance to the Central Government was generally little more than a formality.

THE ARMY

A large and efficient army was the first requisite of stable government in that age. The cavalry formed the backbone of the army. Horses were necessarily in great demand. Elephants also were highly valued, after the model of the Hindus. The foot soldiers, called payaks, occupied an inferior position. Some rudimentary forms of fire arms were in general use. The general administration of all matters connected with the army was entrusted to the Ariz-i-mamalik. His office kept a descriptive roll (kuliyyah) of all soldiers. Ala-ud-din Khalji introduced the system of branding the cavalry horses, so that the troops might not replace a good horse by a bad one. Apart from a body of regular troops maintained by the Central Government, there were provincial contingents under the control of the Provincial Governors.
MINGLING OF HINDU AND MUSLIM IDEAS IN ART

We are told by Sir John Marshall that the architecture of the Sultanate period was called into being by the united genius of the Hindus and the Muslims. It is difficult to ascertain how much that architecture owed to India and how much to Islam. This difficulty is partly due to the fact that “wherever the Muhammadans established themselves—whether in Asia or in Africa or in Europe—they invariably adapted to their own needs the indigenous architecture which they found prevailing there.” Thus Saracenic architecture had become a heterogeneous product before its arrival in India, where it absorbed new elements and further enriched itself. Of these elements borrowed from the Hindus, Marshall assigns the greatest importance to the qualities of strength and grace.

THE DELHI STYLE

The Indo-Saracenic style of architecture naturally flourished in all its richness and variety in Delhi, the centre of Muslim power and civilisation in India. The Quwwat-ul-Islam mosque, founded in 1191 by Qutb-ud-din Aibak to commemorate the capture of Delhi, was at first an essentially Hindu structure in design and appearance, but later on some characteristically Muslim elements were added. It was enlarged by Iltutmish and Ala-ud-din. The Qutb Minar, originally a tower from which the mu’azzin could summon the faithful to prayer, but soon regarded as a tower of victory, was begun by Qutb-ud-din and completed by Iltutmish. Fergusson describes it as the most perfect example of a tower known to exist anywhere, and Marshall says, “Nothing, certainly, could be more imposing or more fittingly symbolic of Muslim power than this stern and stupendous fabric; nor could anything be more exquisite than its rich but restrained carvings.” It was, however, a purely Islamic structure, for towers of this kind were unknown to the Hindus. The celebrated mosque at Ajmer, the Arhai-din-ka-Jhomptra, was built by Qutb-ud-din and subsequently beautified by Iltutmish with a screen.
No remarkable monument was constructed in Delhi between the death of Iltutmish and the accession of Ala-ud-din. The reaction against Hindu influences, which began in the reign of Iltutmish, reached its climax under Ala-ud-din. The mosque built by Ala-ud-din on the tomb of Nizam-ud-din Auliya has been described as "the earliest example in India of a mosque built wholly in accordance with Muhammadan ideas." Another interesting monument of Ala-ud-din's reign, the Alai Darwaza, is "one of the most treasured gems of Islamic architecture." Ala-ud-din built the city of Siri and excavated the Hauz-i-Khas tank. The ruins of Siri give us some idea about the military architecture of the period.

If the Khalji architecture is remarkable for the lavish use of ornament and richness of detail, the structures of the Tughluq period are attractive for a 'chaste sobriety' which gradually developed into 'a severe and puritanical simplicity'. This change was partly due to financial reasons, but the religious orthodoxy of Muhammad Tughluq and Firuz Shah was not without its influence. Ghiyas-ud-din Tughluq built the city of Tughluqabad, the ruins of which now 'produce an impression of unassailable strength and melancholy grandeur.' The tomb which this Sultan built for himself beneath the walls of this city is remarkable for its simplicity and strength. Muhammad Tughluq built the fortress of Adilabad and the city of Jahanpanah. Firuz Shah was a great builder. In Delhi he built the palace-fort of Firuzabad.

The Sayyid and Lodi Sultans were not rich and powerful enough to build grand structures. The best examples of architecture during this period are the tombs of the Kings and nobles. The Tughluq reaction was over, and the architecture of the Lodis was endowed with 'life and warmth' by 'the magic touch of Hindu genius'. The tradition was continued during the Mughal period: the architecture of the Lodis exercised a profound influence on that of the Mughals.

THE PROVINCIAL STYLES

Many Provincial rulers were patrons of art, and some of the provinces developed distinctive styles of architecture. In Bengal the ruins of Gaur and Pandua still excite our admiration.
The famous Adina Masjid at Pandua, built by Sikandar Shah, was one of the largest mosques in the Muslim world. The Dakhil Darwaza at Gaur is 'a superb example of what can be achieved in brick and terracotta'. On the whole, however, the Bengal style is inferior to the Gujarat style. In that western province architecture reached its highest development in the reign of Mahmud Begarha. The Jami Masjid of Ahmad Shah at Ahmadnagar, and Mahmud Begarha's great mosque at Champaner, were among the most remarkable structures of the Muslim world. The Gujarat style was dominated by the still surviving Hindu tradition, but in Malwa Muslim influence was predominant. According to Marshall, "Mandu is of all the fortress cities of India the most magnificent." A remarkable resemblance may be noticed between the styles of Delhi and Mandu. The great Jami Masjid, and the magnificent Darbar hall called Hindola Mahal, are unrivalled in their 'impressive grandeur' even among the monuments of Delhi. Jaunpur was another centre of architectural development in Northern India. The Atala Masjid, brought to its completion in 1408 by Ibrahim Shah Sharqi, is the finest example of the Jaunpur style.

In the Deccan, Muslim art tried hard to retain its individuality: "Nowhere else in India did the assimilation of indigenous art proceed so slowly as in the south." In the military architecture of the Bahmani Sultans it is easy to trace European and Persian influence. Muhammad Tughluq's capital at Daulatabad is 'one of the most striking examples of fortification known to the medieval world.' The mosques and tombs built by the Bahmanis lie scattered at Gulbarga and Bidar.

HINDU ARCHITECTURE

While the Muslims were erecting magnificent structures all over India, the independent Hindu rulers did not give up their traditional patronage of art. In North India the best specimens of Hindu architecture during this period are to be found in Rajputana. Rana Kumbha of Mewar erected a grand pillar of victory at Chitor. The powerful rulers of Vijayanagar were great patrons of art. They built Council Chambers, public offices, palaces, temples, and aqueducts which excited the admiration of foreign travellers. The famous Vithala temple,
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...gun by Krishna Deva Raya, has been described by Fergusson as the ‘finest building of its kind in southern India.’

LITERATURE: PERSIAN POETRY

A distinguished European critic tells us that “Persian literature produced in India has not, as a rule, the real Persian flavour. . . . which belongs to the indigenous products.” But it is probably not incorrect to say that some at least of the very large number of Persian poets who lived and wrote in India during the long period of Muslim rule, produced works of real beauty and left a deep impress upon Persian literature in general. Among them the greatest was Amir Khusrau.

Amir Khusrau was probably born in 1253. He made his debut as a courtier and poet in the reign of Balban. One of his earliest patrons was Muhammad Khan, Balban’s eldest son. On the accession of Jalal-ud-din Khalji he was finally recognised as the poet-laureate. This honour he managed to retain during the reign of Ala-ud-din. Ala-ud-din’s reign of twenty years constitutes the most important period in Amir Khusrau’s literary career, and, therefore, a great epoch in the history of Indo-Persian literature. Amir Khusrau became a disciple of Nizam-ud-din Auliya. He continued to enjoy royal patronage till his death in 1325.

Tradition ascribes to Amir Khusrau the composition of as many as ninety-nine works. Whether he really wrote so many works or not, there is reason to believe that some of his works have been lost, or, at any rate, have not yet been traced. Some of his works, apart from their poetic value, offer us historical information. One of his prose works deals with the campaigns of Ala-ud-din’s reign. In another book he gives us a very interesting description of the contemporary cultural, religious and social condition of India. He clearly shows that the intellectual life of the conquered Hindus was very vigorous in his days. With regard to Hindu religion, Amir Khusrau understands the fundamental Hindu idea that the idols and objects worshipped by the Hindus merely typify the power and majesty of God. How different from the orthodox Muslim point of view! We clearly see that the best minds of the conquering race were just beginning to understand the strange people of
the land of their adoption, and that the first steps were being laid of that tolerance and conciliation, comradeship and sympathy, which were to unite the victors and the vanquished in the reign of Akbar.

Another eminent Indo-Persian poet, Mir Hasan Dehlvi, was a contemporary of Amir Khusrau. He died in the reign of Muhammad Tughluq. His compositions are described as 'musical and most pleasing.'

LITERATURE: PERSIAN HISTORICAL CHRONICLES

Some valuable historical chronicles were composed in Persian during this period. Minhaj-ud-din's *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, Barani's *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*, Shams-i-Siraj Afii's *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi* and Yahya bin Ahmad's *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* are standard works utilised by the modern historians of the Sultanate.

ORIGIN OF URDU

"The various necessities which forced the Muhammadans and Hindus to meet each other involved the evolution of a common language." This common language came to be known as Urdu. "Urdu, by origin, is a dialect of the Western Hindi spoken for centuries in the neighbourhood of Delhi and Meerut, and is directly descended from Saura-Senic Prakrit." This essentially Hindu language became gradually Persianised after the arrival of the Muslims, and in course of time developed new characteristics. Amir Khusrau was the first literary writer who used Urdu as a vehicle for the expression of poetic fancy.

LITERATURE OF THE HINDUS

It would be a mistake to think that the literary activities of the Hindus failed to survive their political decline. Great scholars like Ramanuja, Partha Sarathi Misra, Deva Suri, Jiva Goswami, Vijnanesvara, Jimutavahana, Vachaspati Misra and others wrote many valuable Sanskrit works on religion, philosophy, and law. Sanskrit even attracted Muslim scholars, and some Sanskrit works were translated into Persian. Towards the
close of the period the religious movement gave an impetus to the development of vernacular literature in different provinces.

THE BHAKTI MOVEMENT: RAMANANDA

The great religious movement, which gradually permeated the whole of India and exercised a powerful influence on spiritual and social life during the medieval period, had its origin in the South. Its beginnings may be traced to the work of the celebrated philosopher-reformer, Sankaracharyyya, whose greatest achievement was the extermination of decadent Buddhism and the consequent revival of Hinduism. He established a logical monistic system, but his emphasis on the path of knowledge, so congenial to the learned Brahmins, failed to evoke a hearty response from the common people. It was felt that the best way to attract the popular mind towards Hinduism was to interpret it in terms understood by the masses. The necessity of making Hinduism a living, active force in the life of the common people was gradually becoming stronger and stronger, for Islam had already thrown up a powerful challenge to the guardians of Hindu society in the South.

The Bhakti cult provided the much-needed relief, and it was brought into prominence by the great Vaishnava teacher Ramanuja, who probably died in 1137. Ramananda, a disciple of the Ramanuja school, who may be placed in the last quarter of the fourteenth and the first half of the fifteenth century, was 'the bridge between the Bhakti movement of the South and the North'. The simplification of worship and the liberalisation of the traditional caste rules were Ramananda's most important contributions to the solution of the religious problems of his age. It has been argued that these novelties were due, in some measure at least, to the influence of Islam. Ramananda's contact with Islam at Benares ushered in one of the most fruitful movements in Indian history.

But we must not exaggerate Ramananda's success. There is no evidence to show that his teaching served as a step towards bridging the gulf between the Hindus and the Muslims. The Muslims did not accept the Ram-Sita creed. His only known Muslim disciple was Kabir; and, according to one tradition, Kabir was not a born Muslim. Hinduism gradually engulfed the liberal movement initiated by Ramananda. Most of the
present followers of this reformer observe caste rules with the utmost strictness.

KABIR

The most fruitful aspect of Ramananda’s work is to be found in the teaching of Kabir, perhaps the most cosmopolitan reformer in medieval India. He lived in the fifteenth century. Macauliffe says, “Kabir has written works which all religious denominations can accept, and which, if perused without bigotry, are advantageous for the salvation of all persons. Kabir was so steadfast in his utterance of God’s name, that in comparison with it he deemed worthless the rules of caste and the Hindu and Muhammadan religious observances”. He lived the unconventional life of a simple householder, and in spite of the mysticism which is so remarkable a feature of his verses, he was a practical reformer. He was the first leader of the medieval Reformation to make a conscious effort for Hindu-Muslim unity in the sphere of religion. He regrets: “Hindus call upon Rāma, the Musalmans on Rahimān, yet both fight and kill each other, and none knows the truth”.

CHAITANYA

In the fifteenth century religious life in Bengal was stagnant: “The rules of caste became more and more stringent . . . . the gap between man and man was widened by caste restrictions. The lower strata of society groaned under the autocracy of the higher, who shut the portals of learning against the inferior classes . . . the religion of the new School (Pauranik) became the monopoly of the Brahmins . . . .” A natural reaction against this system was embodied in the Vaishnavism preached by Chaitanya (born 1485, died 1533). This great teacher raised his voice against the rituals considered essential by the Brahmins and declared that true worship consisted of love and devotion. He did not observe caste restrictions in accepting disciples, and even Muslims were admitted to the new religious fraternity organised under his influence. Vaishnavism, like Methodism in England two centuries later, opened a new life of spirituality and knowledge to the lower castes. Vaishnavism is also Bengal’s abiding gift to Orissa and Assam.
REFORMERS OF MAHARASHTRA

In far off Maharashtra some ardent reformers tried to bridge the gulf between Hinduism and Islam. Ranade says that they were calling the people to identify Rama and Rahim, and ensure their freedom from the bonds of formal ritualism and caste distinctions, and unite in common love of man and faith in God.” The centre of Bhakti movement in Maharashtra was the shrine of Vithoba at Pandharpur on the banks of the Bhima. Among the saints associated with this movement special mention should be made of Jnanesvar (fourteenth century?), Namdev, and Tukaram (seventeenth century). Namdev says, “Vows, fasts, and austerities are not at all necessary; nor is it necessary for you to go on a pilgrimage. Be you watchful in your hearts and always sing the name of Hari.”

SIKHISM

Guru Nanak, the founder of Sikhism, was born in 1469 at Talwandi in the district of Lahore, and he died in 1538. It is difficult to give a critical account of his life, but some broad facts stand in clear relief. In his early life he held a minor post under Daulat Khan Lodi, Governor of Lahore, but after an intense inward struggle he concluded that “there is no Hindu and no Mussalman” and took upon himself the role of a religious teacher. He travelled extensively in different parts of India and even went as far as Mecca and Baghdad. During the last years of his life he settled down at Kartarpur (in the Punjab) and engaged himself in consolidating his sect and propounding the essentials of his creed.

The essence of Guru Nanak’s message consists in three ideas: The One True Lord, the Guru, and the Name. Some writers are inclined to think that he was ‘a revolutionary who aimed at upsetting the cherished institutions of the society in which he was born, bringing about a social cataclysm and building a new order on the ruins of the old.’ A more reasonable view is that “Guru Nanak had not attempted a destruction of the old order but a reformation to suit the growing needs of the time”.

Guru Nanak’s disciples would probably have dispersed, and gradually disappeared within the Hindu society, like the disciples
of other reformers like Ramananda and Kabir, if he had not appointed a successor before his death. The nomination of Angad to the Guruship is a fact of the profoundest significance in Sikh history, for it assured both unity and continuity. It was under Angad (1538-52) that the Sikhs developed into a distinct community. Tradition ascribes to him the invention of the Gurumukhi alphabet. His successor was Amar Das (1552-74), under whom Sikhism made a great headway. The Sikhs now became a separate community with its own social customs and ideals. The fourth Guru, Ram Das (1574-81), laid the foundations of Amritsar. The Guruship now became hereditary, for Ram Das nominated his youngest son Arjan as his successor. Guru Arjan (1581-1606) was a great organiser. He introduced the masand system for the purpose of collecting contributions from his followers. Thus the Sikhs gradually organised a kind of government of their own, and began to consider themselves as a distinct and somewhat self-sufficient unit within the State. Perhaps the greatest achievement of Guru Arjan was the compilation of the Granth Sahib (1604), the sacred book of the Sikhs. Arjan's political and religious activities excited the suspicions of Emperor Jahangir, and the Sikh Guru was cruelly put to death. The peaceful evolution of Sikhism came to an end, and the evolution of the Sikhs as a military sect began.

RESULTS OF RELIGIOUS REFORMATION

Two important results of the Reformation movement deserve special notice. In the first place, the religious teachers tried, not without a considerable measure of success, to bridge the gulf between the Hindus and the Muslims, and thus paved the way for Akbar's liberalism. Secondly, vernacular literature received a distinct impetus. Most of the religious reformers utilised vernacular as the vehicle of their teaching and thereby imparted to it a new dignity. In Bengal the Vaishnavas created a vast lyrical literature in the despised vernacular. In Maharashtra the verses composed by the religious reformers laid the foundations of Marathi literature. In the Punjab the Gurus put their teachings in the vernacular, and a new alphabet was invented.
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CHAPTER XVI

AFGHAN-MUGHAL CONTEST FOR EMPIRE

SECTION I

BABUR

CAREER IN CENTRAL ASIA

Babur, the founder of the Mughal Empire in India, was a Chaghatai Turk. He was descended from Timur in the direct male line, and through his mother he could claim descent from Chingiz Khan. His father, Umar Shaikh Mirza, ruled over Farghana (in Chinese Turkestan). Babur was born at Farghana in February, 1483. His father died in 1494, and he inherited his paternal principality at the tender age of eleven.

Babur showed remarkable precocity. His elder and younger paternal uncles died in quick succession; a scramble began for the possession of Samarqand, which he conquered in 1497—a victor hardly 15 years old. Not long afterwards Babur lost this capital of Central Asia, while he was preoccupied with the task of retaining his hold over Farghana. Soon he reconquered Samarqand, but this brought him into collision with Saibani Khan, the rising Uzbek chief, who defeated him in the battles of Sar-i-Pul and Akhsi and drove him from Samarqand and Farghana.

These defeats made Babur a wanderer, as he writes in his autobiography, “moving from square to square like a king on a chessboard.” He succeeded in seizing Kabul in 1504, dispossessing a usurper. Circumstances thus turned his attention from the north-west to the south-east. But Babur got another chance to re-establish his position in Central Asia. Saibani Khan seemed like Chingiz Khan and Timur to threaten universal conquest. He had aroused the enmity of Shah Ismail, the Safavi monarch of the rejuvenated Persian Empire. Shah Ismail completely defeated Saibani Khan and killed him.

¹ Chaghatai was the second son of Chingiz Khan.
Babur is said to have sent presents to Shah Ismail which the Persian King regarded in the light of tribute. Shah Ismail, the champion of the Shia sect agreed to restore Babur to Samarqand and Bukhara, but he probably insisted on Babur’s agreeing to the propagation of Shia doctrines. Though weakened by the death of Saibani Khan, the Uzbegs opposed Babur and he could not occupy Samarqand. The Persian army was defeated in the battle of Ghaj-davan, the Persians ascribing their defeat to the defection of Babur.

Babur’s career outside India materially influenced his career in India. At Panipat and at Khanna we find the finished warrior trained in the school of adversity, who had learnt the use of fire arms from his association with the Persians and the use of tulughma (or the flank attack) from his wars with the Uzbegs. The Uzbeg tactics consisted in turning the enemy’s flank and charging simultaneously on front and rear at breakneck gallop. The effective combination between highly trained cavalry and new fire arms, and the brilliant tactics that earned him victory at Panipat and Khanna, were the fruits of his experience in Central Asia. Another fact which is so often overlooked is the influence which Babur’s stormy youth and romantic adventures exercised on Mughal Central Asian policy in the days of his successors.

CAREER IN AFGHANISTAN

By April, 1512, Babur’s Central Asian ambition had suffered complete shipwreck. He withdrew to Kabul. Qandahar was occupied in 1522. The wealth of Ind had already tempted his adventurous spirit and fired his imagination. In 1516 he was busy re-organising his army, producing fire arms and perfecting the tactics which the use of fire arms necessitated.

The first Indian invasion of Babur took place in 1519. It was directed against the Yusufzais. An expedition was also directed against Bajaur in 1520. He regarded the Punjab as his own by right of descent from Timur. In 1524 he marched through the Khyber, crossed the Jhelum and the Chenab, and advanced up to Dipalpur, which he stormed. But he had to fall back on Lahore and return to Kabul. He depended on the co-operation of two discontented nobles of the Lodi Kingdom,
Daulat Khan Lodi and Alam Khan Lodi, who turned against him when they found that he aimed at conquest rather than plunder. The whole situation now became different. Babur prepared himself to deal a crushing blow at the tottering Afghan Kingdom of Delhi.

FIRST BATTLE OF PANIPAT (1526)

In November, 1525, he marched from Kabul and entered the Punjab with an army of 12,000. Daulat Khan Lodi, who opposed him, was worsted and offered his submission. From the Punjab he advanced in the direction of Delhi. Ibrahim Lodi advanced from Delhi to meet him. Ibrahim Lodi has been described by Babur as "an inexperienced young man, negligent in all his movements, who marched without order, halted or retired without plans, and engaged in battle without foresight." Such a man could not be expected to defeat a trained warrior like Babur.

The decisive battle took place on April 21, 1526, at Panipat, where the fate of India has so often been decided. In fact, if an enemy coming from the north-west could not be stopped at the Khyber, the inevitable battle ground was the region between the Sutlej and the Jumna. The Punjab rivers being fordable at many places during winter, it was very difficult to hold a river line there. An enemy could easily slip through. Naturally the next place where a decisive engagement could be fought with advantage was in the extensive plains between the Sutlej and the Jumna, where numbers could tell and where fighting could be done with Delhi and Agra behind the back of the defending army.

At Panipat Ibrahim brought about 40,000 troops. But the dense mass offered an excellent target to the fire-arms of Babur, managed by two experts, Ustad Ali and Mustafa. The country, being flat, was well suited to the handling of cavalry and the application of Babur's flanking tactics. Babur stiffened his weak front with a line of waggons, with a view to hold the Afghans along an extended front so that he could attack the flanks. Ibrahim was completely defeated and the total death roll on the Afghan side was terrible. Babur's skill and the brilliant combination of cavalry and artillery brought him complete success. Delhi and Agra were secured immediately.
afterwards. Babur's lavish liberality to his followers, and the rich presents he sent to his friends in Samarkand, Kashgarh, Khorasan, Persia and Kabul, spread his fame over distant lands, excited emulation and helped him in recruiting his army. He succeeded also in persuading his followers to stay in India.

RAJPUT AND AFGHAN OPPOSITION—BATTLES OF KHANUA AND GOGRA

The two enemies with whom Babur had to fight in order to secure his hold on Hindustan were the Afghans in the east and the Rajputs under Rana Sangram Singh of Mewar. The Afghans in the east under Nasir Khan Lohani and Maaruf Farmuli dispersed as Babur's eldest son, Humayun, approached with an expeditionary force. Within eight months of Ibrahim's defeat at Panipat Babur's sway extended from Attock to Bihar. Multan was also added to his dominions.

In the south Babur's territory extended up to Kalpi and Gwalior. But the danger that threatened from Rajputana had to be faced. Babur knew thoroughly well that he was now going to meet a veteran warrior. Rana Sanga had previous transactions with Babur. The latter complained that it had been arranged between him and the Rana that he would attack on the Agra side while Babur marched on Delhi. The Rana, on the other hand, complained that Babur had seized Kalpi, Dholpur and Bayana in contravention of previous agreement. Sanga acknowledged Sultan Mahmud Lodi who had been set up by the Afghans (in the west) as the rightful claimant to the Delhi throne.

The dispute between Babur and the Rana reached its culmination in the battle of Khanua, March 27, 1527). The Rajput cavalry could not stand Mustana's destructive fire. The Rajputs maintained a formidable pressure by the weight of numbers. But the artillery was the decisive factor. The Rajputs and their Afghan allies suffered a complete defeat. The battle of Khanua destroyed the prospect of the establishment of Rajput supremacy in Northern India on the ruins of the Turko-Afghan Sultanate. Medini Rai, one of the most distinguished of Rana Sanga's lieutenants, who was in charge of the important fort of Chanderi in Malwa, was next worsted. The Rana died broken-hearted in 1528.
Free from the Rajput menace, Babur turned against the Afghans in the east. They were divided among themselves. The feuds between the Loharis and the Lodis were fatal to Afghan interest. In 1529 Sultan Mahmud Lodi united a large section of the Afghans under him. Babur proceeded towards the east by way of Allahabad, Benares and Ghazipur. Jalal-ud-din Bahar Khan Lohani submitted to him. Babur occupied Bihar. The army of Nusrat Shah, Sultan of Bengal, which had come to help the Afghans, opposed him on the banks of the Gogra. Babur brilliantly forced the passage under a heavy fire. The Bengal army fled in confusion. Nusrat Shah concluded peace with the Mughals. Other Afghan Chiefs also submitted. Thus the battle of the Gogra (May 6, 1529) destroyed the chance of political revival of the Afghans, at least temporarily.

ESTIMATE

Babur died on December 26, 1530. It is said that in his last days there was a palace conspiracy to set aside his eldest son, Humayun. If there was really any such plot, it failed completely, and Humayun quietly succeeded to the heritage of Babur.

Babur had no administrative genius. He was a plain warrior. The old haphazard administrative system which he found in existence was continued by him. He left to his son a large empire (extending from the Oxus to Bihar) which was not consolidated and which could be held together only by the efficiency of the military machine. He has been rightly described by Lane Poole as the 'link between Central Asia and India, between predatory hordes and imperial government, between Tamerlane and Akbar.'

AUTobiography

Babur was gifted with a fine literary taste. He could write well in Persian as well as in Turki. The most important source of our information for his career is his excellent autobiography, originally written in Turki, transcribed by his son Humayun,

1 The English version of Mrs. Beveredge is very pleasant reading.
and translated into Persian in the days of Akbar. As Elphinstone puts it, "His memoirs contain a minute account of the life of a great Tartar monarch, along with a natural effusion of his opinions and feelings, free from disguise and reserve and as free from the affectation of extreme frankness and coquetry. The style is plain and manly as well as lively and picturesque and it presents his countrymen and contemporaries as in a mirror. In this respect it is almost the only specimen of real history in Asia—he gives the figures, dress, tastes and habits of each individual and describes the countries, the climate, scenery, production, works of art and industry. But the great charm of the work is in the character of the author. It is a relief in the midst of the pompous coldness of Asiatic history to find a King who can weep for days and tell us that he wept for the playmate of his boyhood."

SECTION II

HUMAYUN AND SHER SHAH

DIFFICULTIES OF HUMAYUN

Humayun, who was born in 1508, ascended the throne on the 23rd December, 1530. His difficulties were very considerable. The conquest of Hindustan was not yet complete. The army that he commanded was a mixed body of adventurers composed of Chaghatai Turks, Mughals, Persians, Afghans and Indians. Babur's hold had been only one of military force. The Afghan chiefs in the east were still numerous and powerful, ready to take up arms. The Rajputs might at any time raise their head. Malwa was in deplorable confusion. In Gujarat Bahadur Shah was fast increasing his power. Humayun added to his own difficulties by confirming his brother Kamran in possession of Kabul and Qandahar and, in a fit of generosity, giving him the Punjab and the district of Hissar Firoza (to the east of the Punjab proper) as well. He gave Sambhol to Akbari and Mewat to Hindal. Kamran was more a rival than a brother and the block of territory given to him cut Humayun off from his best recruiting ground for his army. All these
brothers at the most critical stages of his career deserted him and this hastened his downfall.

HUMAYUN AND THE AFGHANS

Humayun's first military expedition was against the strong fort of Kalanjar in Bundelkhand, then ruled by a pro-Afghan Hindu Chief. Receiving a large sum of money from him, Humayun turned eastward to meet the Afghans under Sultan Mahmud Lodi, Biban Khan and Bayezid. The Afghans were defeated in the battle of Dauhrua. Bayezid was slain and Sultan Mahmud and the Afghans were dispersed. It was asserted by a section of the Afghans that their defeat was due to the treachery of Sher Khan. The Surs and the Lohanis were unwilling members of a confederacy dominated by the Farmanlis and the Lodis. Humayun then marched against the strong fort of Chunar, held by Sher Khan. After several months' blockade, Sher sent an ambassador to profess submission. He sent a body of Afghans under his son Qub Khan to join Humayun who was now anxious to march against Bahadur Shah of Gujarat.

HUMAYUN AND BAHADUR SHAH OF GUJARAT

Bahadur Shah had annexed Malwa and was besieging Chitor, which had fallen on evil days after the death of Rana Sanga. The latter's son and successor, Vikramaditya, was unable to defend his capital, and his mother solicited Humayun's assistance. Bahadur had been joined by some discontented Mughal Chiefs as well by Alam Khan Lodi and other Afghan refugees. From the east Humayun hastened to Malwa in 1534, defeated a considerable force of Afghan refugees sent by Bahadur, and intercepted Bahadur who was returning with the spoil of the successful sack of Chitor. Bahadur fortified his camp at Mandasar. He had an excellent train of artillery, 'second only to that of the Kaiser of Rum'. Humayun, who showed considerable daring, enterprise and skill, cut Bahadur off from all his resources, and Bahadur had to fly overnight with some of his followers, having spiked his heavy artillery. Humayun occupied the whole of Malwa and pushed on toward
Gujarat. Champaner was scaled; Bahadur was driven to seek shelter in Diu. Humayun occupied Ahmadabad and, leaving his brother Askari as his viceroy, came back to Agra. But Bahadur, with Portuguese support, soon began his offensive. There were rebellions everywhere. Askari, who at one stage even meditated treason to his brother, had to make a precipitate retreat. Bahadur recovered the whole of Gujarat. Even Malwa was lost to Humayun, the local chieftains re-asserting their independence. Though Bahadur died soon after in a scuffle with the Portuguese, Humayun had his hands too full in Bihar and Bengal to be able to take any advantage of this event.

EARLY CAREER OF SHER SHAH

Sher Khan Sur, an Afghan chieftain of South Bihar, was more successful than Bahadur Shah in the contest against Humayun, and even succeeded in expelling Humayun from India. His original name was Farid. He was born probably in 1486 (or 1472). His father, Hasan Sur, was a jagirdar at Sasaram in Bihar. On account of the machinations of his stepmother, Sher left his home quite early in life and spent several years in Jaunpur. There he devoted himself to study and acquired great proficiency in Persian. Restored to the favour of his father, he was for several years responsible for the management of the jagir. This administrative experience stood him in very good stead in later life. Once again his stepmother's jealousy compelled him to leave Sasaram. In 1522 Sher entered the service of Bahar Khan Lohani, the independent Afghan ruler of Bihar. After the first battle of Panipat he entered Mughal service, remained for some time among the Mughals and acquainted himself with their military arrangements. With Mughal help he recovered his paternal jagir in 1528 from his step-brothers, his father having died sometime before. In 1529 he became the guardian of the minor Lohani chief, Jalal Khan (son and successor of Bahar Khan).

Sher now found an excellent opportunity for personal aggrandisement. He seized the strong fort of Chunar in 1530. Humayun besieged Chunar in 1530, but Sher saved himself by a timely submission. The Lohani chiefs of Bihar now grew jealous of his rising power and entered into an alliance in 1533-
with the Sultan of Bengal, Mahmud Shah, who was naturally anxious to check a powerful neighbour. The minor King, Jakab Khan, found Sher’s yoke galling and fled to Bengal. Sher inflicted a crushing defeat on Mahmud Shah and his Lohan allies at Surajgarh (on the banks of the Kiul river) in 1534. This victory strengthened Sher’s position and made him the uncrowned King of a large portion of Bihar. Taking advantage of Humayun’s contest with Bahadur Shah in Western India, Sher invaded Bengal. Mahmud Shah purchased peace by paying a large sum of money and ceding several districts. Many distinguished Afghan nobles flocked under Sher’s standard. Towards the close of 1537 he again invaded Bengal with the purpose of conquering it permanently. The city of Gaur was besieged.

HUMAYUN AND SHER SHAH

At this stage Humayun thought it necessary to check the rising power of Sher, who was fast becoming a menace to the Mughals in the east. He set out from Agra in December, 1537, and besieged Chunar at the beginning of the following year. After reducing Gaur (April, 1538) Sher seized the impregnable mountain fort of Rohtas by means of a stratagem, thereby securing a shelter for his family. Mahmud Shah fled to the camp of Humayun. After taking Chunar Humayun hastened to Bengal and came to Gaur via Teliagarhi (near Sahebganj). Sher retreated from Bengal by another route via Birbhum and Jharkhand to Rohta. Humayun spent nine months in Gaur indulging in pleasure. Sher in the meantime took Benares, laid siege to Jaunpur and overran the whole country as far as Kanauj.

This state of things compelled Humayun to withdraw from Bengal. He was proceeding along the northern bank of the Ganges when a false sense of honour induced him to cross to the southern. Sher quitted the hills of Rohtas and marched out to meet Humayun. For about two months the two armies skirmished. As it has been said, “Situated as he now was, Humayun in ordinary circumstances might have looked for assistance from his brothers and the provinces around his capital. But no consolatory ray of hope gleamed on him. Instead of
ready succour there was procrastination, intrigue and treason." Hindal had abandoned his post. Kamran, who had come up to Agra, also left his brother to his fate. He looked to his own immediate interest without caring for the common cause. At this stage Sher opened negotiations. His terms were that the fort of Chunar, with the territories on its east, should be given to him. The Mughals were thus thrown off their guard when suddenly in the pleasing coolness of the early dawn of June 27, 1539, Sher made an attack on the Mughal camp. In this battle (at Chausa, near Buxar) Humayun lost his army. His Begam was captured by Sher, but he personally succeeded in escaping. In addition to Bengal and Bihar Sher was now in possession of Jaumpur. His horizon was widened. He was crowned King in December, 1539.

Early next year, Humayun tried to recover his lost position. A decisive battle took place at Hardoi (on the bank of the Ganges) on May 17, 1540. This battle is commonly known as the battle of Kanauj. The Mughal army was about 40,000 strong. At this decisive moment Kamran did not come to his brother’s help. What actually took place is very obscure. It was the first pitched battle that Sher did not win by stratagem. Khawas Khan, Sher’s lieutenant, charged the right wing of the Mughals. The attack succeeded. The camp-followers were driven to the Mughal centre and threw it into confusion. Humayun’s artillery could not fire, for in its front were his own camp-followers. The army became a mob. Sher left the pursuit of the broken army to his general Brahmapit Gaur.

**Humayun’s Flight**

After his disastrous defeat at Hardoi Humayun went to the Punjab, tried in vain to win over his brothers, and then withdrew to Sind. There he spent valuable time in the fruitless siege of Bhakkar and Sehvan. His marriage to Hamida Begam, famous in history as mother of Akbar, took place in the summer of 1541. After this he marched towards Marwar to meet Maldev who had agreed to support him. But Humayun appeared 12 months after the date of invitation. Now, under the changed circumstances, Maldev had to submit to Sher’s demand for Humayun’s expulsion from his dominions. In the course of
the retreat of Humayun from Rajputana Akbar was born at Amarkot on the 15th October, 1542 (23rd November, 1542?). Humayun retreated towards Qandahar. When Askari advanced towards Qandahar from Ghazni, Humayun fled to Persia. "Driven from every spot of which he had lately called himself master and viewing with the deepest dread the possibility of falling into the hands of his brother, he resolved to abandon the kingdoms of his father and threw himself on the dubious and untried generosity of a stranger".

CAUSES OF HUMAYUN'S FAILURE

Humayun's failure to hold his own in India was largely due to his own faults. It has been said that he was capable of great energy on occasions but he was incapable of sustained effort. His indolence and revels prevented him from following up his victories. Moreover, it was impossible with the limited number of his troops to maintain an empire so extensive and scattered without a well-combined general plan of operations against his enemies. A patient superintending policy was necessary. Most of his veterans perished in the Bengal campaign. His want of success and the discord of his brothers generated a general disaffection in his camp and court. Sher was astute and adroit enough to take advantage of this characteristic weakness of his enemy.

After the flight of Humayun, Sher Shah was the undisputed master of Northern India. He was so strong that Kamran had to placate him preceding the Punjab. Sher built the fort of Rohtas in the Punjab and left 50,000 troops there to watch the Mughals. Sind and Multan were annexed.

In Bengal the spirit of rebellion was so rife that the change of governors was no remedy. The city of Gaur (or Lakhnauti) was known as "the city of strife". Sher changed completely the military character of the government of Bengal. He reduced the boundary of the province, divided it into nineteen Sarkars, and, to co-ordinate the work of the Sarkars, appointed a Qazi Fazilat who was given the designation of Amin-i-Bangala instead of Hakim-i-Bangala.
In Central India Gwalior was taken after a siege of two years. Malwa submitted in 1542. But Puran Mal of Raisin (in Malwa) was in possession of a fort which was strategically very important. The siege of this fort lasted four months. Puran Mal was granted terms and he was assured that he would be allowed to march away safely with his family and followers. But as he came out with his troops and his family there was a general massacre. This atrocious act has besmirched the reputation of Sher Shah. It is said that he had to yield to the clamour of his troops.

The most difficult military operation of Sher was his fight in Rajputana against Maldev of Marwar, who was now the most powerful ruler in Rajputana. In 1544 Sher marched against him with an army of 80,000. But at some distance from Jodhpur the invading army was brought to a halt. For a month the two armies faced each other. Sher's military situation was difficult. But the simplest of stratagems was sufficient to disperse the Rathor army. A forged letter purported to have been written by some chiefs of Marwar to Sher Shah was dropped in the Rajput camp and fell into the hands of Maldev as designed. He suspected treachery and fled at once. Sher pushed on. Maldev retreated from Jodhpur to Siwana. Sher did not aim at the complete subjugation of Rajputana but wanted the political and geographical isolation of the chiefs. His hold on Rajputana was to be something like the British occupation of the N. W. frontier. He stationed his troops in Ajmer, Jodhpur, Mt. Abu and Chitor to overcome the Rajput chiefs.

In May, 1545, while assaulting the fort of Kalanjar in Bundelkhand, Sher met with his death by accident. The fort was captured.

**SHER SHAH'S ADMINISTRATIVE SYSTEM**

Babur brought with him a new theory of Kingship. He wanted to be no Sultan enjoying a kind of hegemony over autonomous princes but claimed to be a *padishah* with the

\[1\] Compare Bahlul Lodi's position. See p. 281.
divine right of Timur's blood. "It was Sher Shah who unwittingly built up for the Mughals that structure of administrative machinery which, while it was necessary for securing the triumph of the new ideal of Kingship they represented, they had been entirely unable to construct for themselves."

The Turko-Afghans had built an administrative system from the top downwards in the same way in which their architects had made Hindu temples into mosques by demolishing the upper portion and constructing domes and arches. Sher, who had begun his career as the "Zabbardast Shiqdar" at Sasaram, built from below. But he was not an innovator. It is unhistorical to say that he created a new pargana (which consisted of several villages) machinery unknown to the former Sultans. But he revitalised what he found in operation at the time when he took charge of his father's jagir. In every pargana he placed one Amin, one Shiqdar, one treasurer and two Karkuns, one to write Hindi and another to write Persian. Several parganas constituted a sarkar, which was placed under a Shiqdar-i-Shiqdaran and a Munsif-i-Munsifan. There were 47 sarkars in Sher Shah's empire.

Lands were surveyed on a uniform system, each holding being separately measured, and the Government demand was 1/3 of the gross produce. Sher Shah ordered a general survey of the land for the use of the Central Government. This gave him a new basis for the fixing of a new farm. But his survey could not have been very satisfactory, for his reign was too short for the purpose. The choice of payment in cash or kind was given. In order that there might not be any scope for confusion and oppression the Kabuliyat and Patta system was introduced. These documents contained a clear enumeration of the dues of the State from the individual concerned as also his rights over the particular piece of land. There were two additional charges besides the land revenue. These were the expenses of survey and the tax-gatherer's fee. Sher's policy was anti-jagir though the practice of granting jagirs continued during the Sur period. He also curtailed the grant of wakf lands as much as possible.

Sher was also responsible for a reform of the coinage. He issued an abundance of silver coins practically equal in value to the modern rupee. He fostered trade by abolishing vexations
He also established an excellent road system and is said to have built 1700 Sarais or rest-houses for travellers. The sikchauki system was also improved very considerably. The police system was remodelled; the village headmen were made responsible for the maintenance of peace and the detection of criminals in their respective areas. Attempts were made to administer prompt and impartial justice.

Sher Shah maintained a huge standing army, comprising 150,000 horse, 25,000 foot and 5,000 elephants. He continued Ala-ud-din’s system of branding the horses and used to keep a descriptive pay-roll in his archives. Some Hindus occupied positions of trust. The most important of his Hindu lieutenants was Brahmajit Gaur who was entrusted with the task of pursuing Humayun after the battles of Chausa and Kanauj.

ART

During the short time that Sher ruled at Delhi, a new form of architecture was initiated. Sher Shah’s royal chapel, the Qila-i-Kuhna masjid, shows a refined taste. Percy Brown says that “much of the character of the works carried out under Akbar and Jahangir may be traced to the genius of the master-builder who produced the remarkable little mosque in the citadel of Sher Shah”. The nice taste of Sher in architecture is manifested in his noble mausoleum at Sasaram. “Its pyramidal dome, the silhouette of which seen at sunset is something to be remembered, the sense of finely adjusted bulk, the proportions of its diminishing stages, the harmonious transitions from square to octagon and octagon to circle; the simplicity, breadth and scale of its parts, all combine to produce an effect of great beauty. India boasts of several mausoleums of more than ordinary splendour but Sher Shah’s island tomb at Sasaram, grey and brooding, is perhaps the most impressive of them all.”

ESTIMATE OF SHER SHAH

Sher Shah was a resourceful conqueror and a wise administrator. In estimating his abilities, two important facts must be noted. In the first place, his reign was very brief, covering a period of about five years. Within this short period he conquered almost the whole of Northern India and organised a
sound administrative system. Secondly, Sher Shah had to fight for himself; he did not command the united support of the Afghans. He did not rise to power as the champion of the Afghans against the Mughals. Despite the weakness of the Mughals it was not easy for the neglected son of a petty jagirdar to establish an empire.

With regard to the Hindus Sher Shah’s reign marks the emergence of a new policy which was developed by Akbar. He was tolerant of Hinduism and he had the wisdom of exploiting Hindu genius for the creation and consolidation of his empire. He deliberately set aside the traditions of Firuz Tughluq and Sikandar Lodi.

SUCCESSORS OF SHER SHAH

Sher Shah was succeeded by his son Jalal Khan, the elder brother Adil being passed over by the nobles. On his accession, Jalal took the title of Islam Shah. He suppressed rebellious nobles like Khawas Khan and Haibat Niazi. The Ghakkars were crushed and on the Kashmir frontier the fortress of Mankot was completed. He ruled for nine years, dying in 1554.

Islam’s son Firuz, who came to the throne, was a boy of twelve. He was murdered by his uncle Mubariz Khan, son of Nizam Khan Sur, brother of Sher Shah. Mubariz ascended the throne under the name of Muhammad Adil Shah. But other members of the Sur family naturally rebelled against him. Ibrahim Khan Sur succeeded in driving him from Delhi and occupied it. Adil fled to Chunar. Another rival claimant was Ahmad Khan, Governor of the Punjab and brother-in-law of Adil, who assumed the title of Sikandar Shah. Muhammad Khan Sur, Governor of Bengal, also threw off his allegiance. Sometime later Ibrahim Khan was defeated at Farah (near Agra) by Sikandar.

RESTORATION OF HUMAYUN

These dissensions among the Afghans made it possible for Humayun to invade India. He had in his exile succeeded in securing Persian help for the conquest of Afghanistan, on condition that Qandahar should be restored to Persia. He occupied
Quandahar and Kabul in 1545. Though he handed over Quandahar to Persia, he took the earliest opportunity of re-taking it. After the conquest of Kabul Kamran was blinded. Sometime later Humayun failed in his attempt on Badakhshan. In November, 1554, he invaded India. Lahore was captured in February, 1555. At Machhiwara (in the Punjab) Sikandar's army was completely defeated, and at Sirhind he was again defeated by the Mughals under Bairam Khan and driven to the Punjab hills. Delhi and Agra were occupied in July, 1555.

In the meantime Adil's Hindu general, Himu, had succeeded in defeating Ibrahim Sur at Kalpi and near Khanua; he also defeated and killed Muhammad Khan Sur at Chhapargarhata—20 miles from Kalpi. Only two powerful contestants now remained on the scene—Humayun and Adil Shah. But Humayun died in January, 1556, leaving to his boy son Akbar and his guardians the task of crushing the Afghans.

### Genealogical Table of the Sur Dynasty

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### For Further Study

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CHAPTER XVII

AKBAR

SECTION I

CONQUESTS

ACCESSION (1556)

Akbar was born on Sunday, October 15, 1542. V. A. Smith's reason for the choice of November 23, 1542, as his date for Akbar's birth is a statement by Jauhar, a contemporary writer; but all other contemporary writers controvert his theory, particularly Gulbadan Begam and Abul Fazl. On June 22, 1555, after Humayun's victory at Sirhind, Akbar was formally declared to be heir-apparent. In November, 1555, he was appointed Governor of the Punjab with Bairam Khan as his guardian. Akbar had a half-brother named Muhammad Hakim, two years his junior, who was appointed Governor of Kabul, with Munim Khan as the actual administrator. When the news of the accidental death of Humayun reached Bairam Khan and Akbar, the formal enthronement of Akbar took place in a garden at Kalanaur in the Punjab (February 14, 1556). This simply registered a claim to sovereignty, for Akbar had to reckon with Himu before he could exercise effective authority.

SECOND BATTLE OF Panipat (1556)

After getting rid of Muhammad Adil Shah's Afghan rivals, Himu marched towards Delhi with an army of 50,000 horse, 1,000 elephants and 500 cannon, sweeping all opposition aside. Tardi Beg Khan, the Mughal Governor of Delhi, was defeated at Tughluqabad. Akbar and Bairam Khan thereupon marched towards Delhi, and at the very beginning succeeded in seizing Himu's park of artillery which he had sent in advance in the belief that the Mughal army was far off. After this initial success the Mughal army drew up on the field of Panipat. Their effective strength was 10,000. The battle began on November
5. 1556. At first the Mughal horse seemed to be shaken by the
ferocious charges of Himu's elephants. A detachment was
then sent to attack Himu's flank, and some confusion was
created in his ranks. The Mughal archers used their arrows
with deadly effect. A simultaneous attack on all sides weakened
Himu. He was struck by an arrow and his army broke up in
disorderly rout. As he lay senseless he is said to have been
brought before the boy King, who was asked by Bairam to kill
Himu; but he refused to strike a senseless prisoner. Bairam
Khan then struck off Himu's head with his sword. Abul Fazl,
Nizam-ud-din, Badauni, Jahangir (in his autobiography) and
even Abdur Rahim Khan Khanan, the son of Bairam Khan,
support this story. But V. A. Smith, curiously enough, sets
aside this joint testimony and says that Akbar committed this
act of brutality. In any case, it was the well-directed flight
of the Mughal arrows that decided the second battle of Panipat.
The contest between the Afghans and the Mughals for the
sovereignty of Delhi was finally decided in favour of the latter.

Himu

Himu was originally a shop-keeper dealing in salt-petre in
Rewari. He caught the eye of Islam Shah and rose steadily.
As Adil Shah's general and chief adviser, he won a number
of victories against formidable opponents. There is nothing to
prove that Himu set himself up as an independent sovereign
at any stage of his career. No coin of Himu has been found
anywhere. There is the clear statement of Abul Fazl that
"from foresight he preserved the nominal sovereignty for Adil
and waged brave wars against his opponents". There is no
doubt that Himu was not an unworthy antagonist of the Great
Mughal and possessed courage, enterprise and plan.

END OF SUR OPPOSITION

After Himu's death Sur opposition to Mughal ascendancy
did not cause much trouble to Akbar and Bairam Khan.
Sikandar Sur led fled to the Siwak hills and thence with-
rawn to the fortress of Mankot, which was besieged by the
Mughals. The fortress surrendered on May 24, 1557. Sikandar
sent his son to the Mughal camp as a security for good behaviour and was assigned a jagir in Bihar. He died two years later as a fugitive in Bengal. Adil Shah, master of Himu, had not been able to accompany him to the west on account of disturbances in Bengal created by Khizir Khan, son of Muhammad Khan Sur. He was defeated and slain in Bihar in 1557. Sher Khan, son of Adil Shah, tried in 1561 to take advantage of Bairam Khan's rebellion but was defeated by Khan Zaman at Jaunpur. He disappeared after this. Ibrahim Sur died as a fugitive in Orissa some years later. Thus the cause of the Afghans collapsed soon after the second battle of Panipat.

Bairam Khan

Bairam Khan, a Turkoman, was originally a subject of Persia. He accompanied the Persian army sent by Shah Ismail to help Babur to conquer Samarqand and Bukhara. After the failure of that army he remained in the service of Babur and Humayun. He played a very important part in the Bengal expedition of Humayun, saving the imperial advance guard on one occasion by his valour and resourcefulness. After the battle of Kanauj he escaped; but he was subsequently taken prisoner by Sher Shah, who tried to win over this brilliant young warrior, only to hear in reply that real attachment can never change. Bairam again succeeded in effecting his escape and joined Humayun in Sind. When Humayun escaped to Persia, Bairam, naturally enough, became his chief adviser. At Qandahar and at Sirhind Humayun owed much of his success to the ability of this faithful follower, and it was in the fitness of things that he should appoint him as the guardian of Akbar.

As Akbar's guardian Bairam had to face a very difficult situation. In order to ensure discipline and vigour in the small army under his command, he had to adopt some drastic measures like arresting a rebellious noble named Shah Abu-l-Maali and putting to death Tardi Beg, the Mughal general who made a disgracefully feeble defence of Delhi against Himu. In consequence of these severe measures "the Chagatai officers, each of whom esteemed himself at least equal to Kaikobad and Kaikooos, now found it necessary to conform to the orders of Bairam Khan and to submit quietly to his authority". Bairam rejected the
timid advice of retreat to Kabul and boldly went forward to
meet Himu. He made an inspiring speech to dispel the gloom
of defeatism on the eve of the second battle of Panipat and won
the decisive victory there.

But when danger no longer threatened the Mughals, Bairam
was said to have changed. He married Salima Begam, the daughter
of Humayun’s sister, and thereby became connected by marriage
with the royal family. Hated as a Shia, he made the great
mistake of appointing in 1558-59 Shaikh Gadai, a Shia, as
Sadr-us-Sadr (the head of all the law officers and controller
of the grant of lands for ecclesiastical and charitable purposes).
The orthodox Sunnis resented this appointment. He had already
given offence to the friends and followers of Tardi Beg and Shah
Abu-l-Maali. It is said that his undue arrogance and indiscreet
remarks gave offence to many. There was a very strong court
party opposed to what they felt to be the oppressive dictatorship
of Bairam. Akbar, who had entered on the eighteenth year in
1560, also resented the galling yoke of Bairam, who even denied
him a privy purse. Akbar’s mother Hamida Banu Begam, his
foster mother Maham Anaga, her son Adham Khan, and her
relative Shihab-ud-din, Governor of Delhi, who surrounded
Akbar, had very little difficulty in inducing him to assert him-
self against his guardian. In 1560 Akbar informed Bairam Khan
that he wanted to take the reins of government into his own
hands and requested him to go to Mecca. Bairam submitted,
but Pir Muhammad Sherwani, an upstart who had been dis-
missed by Bairam Khan for his arrogance, was sent to ‘pack
him off as quickly as possible to Mecca’. Insulted by the
hustling tactics of Pir Muhammad, Bairam rebelled. He was
defeated near Jalandhar and captured; but Akbar pardoned him
and allowed him to proceed to Mecca in a manner befitting his
rank. In Gujarat, on his way to Mecca, Bairam was murdered
by an Afghan (1561). His little son Abdur Rahim was brought
to court and lived to become a Khan Khanan.

MISGOVERNMENT (1560-62)

The pilot was dropped but Akbar was still too young to
control the army and administrative. Bairam Khan’s ascendancy
had created in his mind a feeling that all authority should not
be concentrated in the hands of an all-powerful Wazir. Munim Khan was summoned from Kabul to take charge of administration. Pir Muhammad and Adham Khan led an expedition against Malwa. Maham Anaga exercised considerable influence. Akbar, however, began to take some personal share in public business. He summoned an experienced administrator named Shams-ud-din Muhammad Khan Atga from Kabul and appointed him as a minister. Slowly but steadily Akbar asserted himself. He recalled Adham Khan from Malwa, replacing him by Abdulla Khan Uzbek, and on the murder of Shams-ud-din Atga by Adham Khan, had him killed. The period 1560-62 has been described as the period of petticoat misgovernment. Maham Anaga, no doubt, exercised considerable influence on account of Akbar’s inexperience, Munim Khan’s weakness and the trust that Akbar reposed in her and her relatives, who were false friends. The mismanagement of these years is to be attributed to Akbar’s inability to find a capable minister in succession to Bairam Khan. In 1562 his period of apprenticeship was over; he took upon himself the direction of policy and control over administration, with the ministers henceforth acting in a position of definite subordination.

EARLY CONQUESTS (1558-62)

Akbar has been described as “a strong and stout annexionist before whose sun the modest star of Lord Dalhousie pales”. No doubt he was intent upon conquest and must be regarded as one of the greatest imperialists of history. “A monarch”, he said, “should be ever intent on conquests, otherwise his neighbours rise in arms against him”. This was, of course, ordinary kingly ambition. The path chalked out by him was faithfully followed by his successors until the Mughal Empire reached the limit of its territorial expansion under Aurangzeb.

The recovery of the first Mughal dominion in Hindustan was begun even during the Regency of Bairam Khan, when, one after another, Gwalior, Ajmer and Jaunpur were reconquered. This helped the gradual consolidation of Akbar’s dominion around Delhi and Agra. Between 1560-61 the conquest of Malwa was completed. Adham Khan, assisted by Pir
Muhammad Sherwani, succeeded in defeating Baz Bahadur, who had assumed the title of Sultan, near Sarangpur. After the recall of Adham Khan, Pir Muhammad was placed in charge of the imperfectly conquered province. He was drowned while pursuing Baz Bahadur. Abdulla Khan Uzbek, who succeeded him, expelled Baz Bahadur, who did not, however, submit until 1571.

In 1562 Raja Bihari Mal of Amber (Jaipur) submitted to Akbar without fighting. He was given a command of 5,000, and his son Bhagwan Das and grandson Man Singh entered the Mughal army. Both Bhagwan Das and Man Singh played a leading part in extending and consolidating the Mughal Empire, and the close connection with the imperial family raised the hitherto obscure principality of Amber to a position of predominance in Rajputana.

CONQUEST OF GONDWANA (1564)

Akbar's next conquest was that of Gondwana. Asaf Khan, Governor of the eastern provinces, was directed to attack Rani Durgavati who governed Garah Katanga (northern portion of the Central Provinces) in the Gond country as the Regent for her minor son, Bir Narayan. She made a stubborn resistance worthy of her Rajput ancestry; but she was overwhelmed in a battle that took place between Garah and Mandala (in the Jubbulpore district). When she was faced with defeat she stabbed herself. Bir Narayan also died fighting bravely to save the fortress of Chauragarh. The women performed self-immolation, the awful sacrifice of jauhar.

SIEGE OF CHITOR (1567-68)

Akbar's famous military enterprises, the siege and capture of Chitor, was begun in October, 1567. The Rana of Chitor, Udai Singh, son of Rana Sangram Singh, is said to have given shelter to Baz Bahadur and another subordinate chief, that of Narwar. In any case, strategic considerations demanded that the sovereign of Upper India should have in his hands the fetters of Rajputana—Merta (which had already been conquered) in Marwar, Chitor in Mewar and Ranambhor in Bundi. Akbar's
siege of Chitor lasted four months. Udaï Singh was, unfortunately for Mewar, a craven prince who hid himself in a distant forest, leaving the defence of Chitor to Jaimal Rather and Patta. They offered obstinate resistance. Akbar showed considerable patience and skill in conducting the siege of Chitor in which three things were employed—a long and deep trench (Sabat), movable shields to protect the workmen (Turah), a high erection commanding the walls (Siba). The siege might have lasted much longer but Akbar succeeded in killing Jaimal by a lucky shot. The garrison then gave up all hope and the women resorted to the jauhar sacrifice before the final capture. The Rajput warriors perished fighting. Akbar was so much exasperated by the obstinate defence that he massacred a large number of non-combatants who had helped in it. Chitor had before been taken by Ala-ud-din Khalji and Bahadur Shah of Gujarat and its capture was not in itself a unique military achievement; nor did the fall of the capital lead to the complete subjugation of the State.

RAJPUT POLICY

Ranthambhor fell in 1569. A treaty was then concluded with Bundi which gives us a very good idea of Akbar's eagerness to placate the Rajputs and the policy which he pursued towards them. Tod in his Annals says that through the mediation of the ruler of Amber (Jaipur) a treaty was concluded with Bundi. The terms were:—(1) The chiefs of Bundi should be exempted from the custom, degrading to a Rajput, of sending a bride to the Mughal harem. (2) They were to be exempted from the Jeziyah or popery tax. (3) They were not to be compelled to cross Atock. (4) They were not to send their wives and female relatives to hold a stall in the bazar on the occasion of the Nauroz. (5) They were to have the privilege of entering the Dewan-i-Am fully armed. (6) Their temples were to be respected. (7) They should never be placed under the command of a Hindu leader. (8) Their horses should not be branded with the imperial Dagh. (9) They should be allowed to beat their kettle-drums as far as the Red Gate.

Though Mewar never submitted to Akbar and Pratap Singh, son of Udaï Singh, offered him stubborn resistance, the Mughal
Emperor was for all practical purposes the paramount power in Rajputana, most of whose chieftains became mansabdars of the Mughal Empire. The Rajputs became the most devoted soldiers of the Padishah. One-third of the Mughal horsemen were recruited from the Rajput clans. Tod describes Akbar as "the first successful conqueror of Rajput independence; to this end his virtues were powerful auxiliaries, as by his skill in the analysis of mind and its readiest stimulant to action, he was enabled to gild the chains with which he bound them." This was precisely the difference between the Rajput policy of Akbar and that of Ala-ud-din Khalji and Sher Shah.

CONQUEST OF GUJARAT (1572-73)

After the surrender of Kalanjar in 1569, Akbar felt himself free to devote his attention further towards the west as well as the east. His next move was against Gujarat which his father had conquered and lost. There was anarchy in Gujarat. The nominal Sultan, Muzaffar Shah III, was unable to control the warring chieftains, one of whom invited Akbar. In November, 1572, Akbar approached Ahmadabad; Muzaffar Shah III submitted and was pensioned off. He then advanced to Surat and on the way showed conspicuous personal bravery in a hard-fought skirmish at Sarnal. The siege of Surat was terminated by capitulation in February, 1573. A treaty was concluded with the Portuguese at Cambay, which secured safe-conduct for the Mecca pilgrims. After making arrangements for the administration of the province Akbar returned to his capital, which was then at Fathpur Sikri.

Very soon, however, Akbar received information that a fresh insurrection had broken out, led by certain irrepressible Mughal princes known as Mirzas. He fitted out an expedition with astounding rapidity and advanced at hurricane speed, reaching Ahmadabad, a distance of 500 miles, in nine days. With an army of about 3,000 only he made an impetuous attack at Ahmadabad on a rebel army of 20,000. He did not wait for reinforcements and charged like a fierce tiger. He won the fight and crushed the rebellion (September, 1573). Akbar's second Gujarat expedition has been described as the quickest Indian campaign on record. The conquest of 1573 was final. Gujarat not only increased the resources of the empire but also
secured for it free access to the sea and brought it in contact with the European merchants.

CONQUEST OF BENGAL (1574-76) AND ORISSA (1592)

Akbar's next conquest was that of Bengal. Sulaiman Kararani, an Afghan chief, became ruler of Bengal in 1564 in succession to the Surs. In 1566 he besieged Rohtas, but when Akbar sent an army to relieve the fortress he thought it prudent to withdraw to Bengal. He formally recognised the superior authority of Akbar by sending him valuable presents. He transferred his capital from Gaur to Tanda. He also conquered the Hindu Kingdom of Orissa. He died in 1572. His elder son, Bayazid, succeeded him but died soon after. Daud, the youngest son who came next, assumed all the insignia of royalty, reading the Khatba in his own name and issuing coins. This was a challenge to the Mughal Emperor. Moreover, Daud provoked Akbar, who was then in Gujarat, by advancing and seizing imperial outposts.

In 1574 Akbar began his voyage down the Ganges in the rainy season, which is not the campaigning season in India. Daud was driven out of Patna and Hajipur. Akbar returned to his capital, leaving the Bengal campaign to be conducted by his general Munim Khan, assisted by Raja Todar Mal. Akbar's capture of Patna in the middle of the rainy season was an almost unprecedented achievement. Munim Khan followed up this success, seizing in quick succession Monghyr, Bhagalpur, Colgong and the Teliagarhi pass. Then he entered Tanda, Daud retreating to Orissa. In March, 1575, a decisive battle was fought at Tukaroi in the Balasore district. Daud was defeated and made his submission. In opposition to the advice of Raja Todar Mal, Munim Khan granted him favourable terms, leaving him in possession of Orissa. But Daud rose up in arms again a few months later. He was defeated and slain by the imperialists in the battle of Rajmahal in July, 1576. Although Bengal formally became a part of the Mughal Empire, some powerful Chiefs continued to enjoy practical independence for many years. Of these Isa Khan (of Dacca-Mymensingh), Kedar Rai (of Vikrampur), and Pratapaditya (of Jessore) deserve special mention.

Orissa was annexed in 1592.
RANA PRATAP SINGH (1572-97)

Even after the conquest of Chitor and the submission of almost all the Rajput States Akbar had his troubles in Rajputana. Pratap Singh, the gallant son of the craven Udaipur Singh, ascended the throne in 1572 and began his memorable struggle against the Great Mughal. The Princes of Marwar, Amber, Bikanir and Bundi had made their submission, but “single handed for a quarter of a century,” to use the inimitable language of Tod, “did he withstand the combined efforts of the empire, at one time carrying destruction into the plains, at another flying from rock to rock, feeding his family from the fruits of his native hills, and rearing the nursling hero Anar, amidst savage beasts and scarcely less savage men, a fit heir to his prowess and revenge”. Man Singh of Amber, Akbar’s loyal general, inflicted a crushing defeat upon Pratap in June, 1576, at the battle of Haldighat or Gogunda. His strong places fell one after another into the hands of the Mughals, but he continued the unequal fight from the mountain regions. During the protracted contest the fertile tracts of Mewar were buchirag, without a lamp. Pratap later recovered all Mewar except Chitor, Ajmer and Mandalgarh. He died in 1597. During the last days of Pratap, Akbar was unable to continue active campaigns against him because of his preoccupations elsewhere. It has been suggested by Tod that Akbar was touched by his gallant resistance and refrained from disturbing his repose during his last years. But such sentimentalism was out of place in Akbar’s politics. Pratap Singh was so surrounded by Mughal dominions on all sides that Akbar with his almost unlimited resources could afford to wait and pursue more easy conquests further afield.

REBELLION IN BENGAL (1580-84)

In 1580 there was a rebellion of Mughal officers in Bengal and Bihar as a protest against Akbar’s religious and administrative innovations. The Qazi of Jarnailpur is said to have issued a jatwa justifying rebellion against Akbar in view of his heterodoxy. The rebels are said to have united in concert with Akbar’s half-brother, Mirza Muhammad akim of Kabul. By 1584
rebellion in Bihar and Bengal was suppressed by Akbar's officers—Raja Todar Mal, Mirza Aziz Koka and Shabbaz Khan.

ABSORPTION OF KABUL (1581-85)

Akbar himself led an expedition to Kabul in 1581. Laurence Binyon says, "He thought as much of his brother as an eagle might think of a mosquito". Hakim was nominally dependent on the sovereign of Hindustan but was really independent. He was a weakling, a worthless drunkard. But besides the Bengal rebels, some influential court nobles, including Shah Mansur, the Finance Minister, were suspected to be in league with him. At the head of 15,000 cavalry Hakim came as far as Lahore. He was opposed by Man Singh and compelled to withdraw to Kabul. But Akbar pursued him at the head of 50,000 cavalry and 500 elephants. Shah Mansur was hanged on the way. Akbar entered Kabul in August, 1581, Hakim having fled to the hills on his approach. Hakim was permitted to rule at Kabul until 1585, when he died of excessive drinking and his territory was absorbed. Man Singh made the necessary arrangements for its administration.

THE NORTH-WEST FRONTIER

The absorption of Kabul in the empire made it necessary for Akbar to keep close watch on the north-west frontier. That frontier had great political, military and economic importance. A vast, irregular belt of territory extends from the western border of Kashmir round Peshawar, Kohat and Bannu and then stretches southward down the Indus valley to the Sind seacoast—a total length, including deflections, of about 1200 miles. In the north the Khairpur pass connects the Peshawar valley with Kabul; in the centre the Tochi and Gomal passes connect the Indus plain with Ghazni and South Afghanistan; while the Mulla, the Bolan and Gomal passes connect the plain of Sind with the plateaus of Khoiat and Qandahar. Through these routes passed the trade between Afghanistan, Baluchistan and India. For the protection of this difficult frontier the effective subjugation of the turbulent Afghan tribes, such as the Yusufzais, was necessary. In 1586 a Mughal army suffered a disaster in the Swat valley. Akbar had to conciliate the tribes.
AKBAR'S CONQUESTS

leaders by granting them pensions. His long-continued residence at Lahore suggests a desire to strengthen the north-west frontier.

The rising power of the Uzbegs was a threat to Mughal rule in Afghanistan. Abdulla Khan, an Uzbeq chief, had made himself master of Badakhshan. The grandson of Babur could not but have some respect for a strong Uzbeq ruler. As the master of Kabul he could not but crush or conciliate the Uzbegs. As Abdulla Khan remained friendly to him Akbar was not drawn into war in Central Asia.

The safety of Kabul also required the occupation of Qandahar, which was a place of great commercial and strategic importance. Nearly 14,000 camels with goods passed annually from India via Qandahar to Persia. "The wise of ancient times considered Kabul and Qandahar as the twin gates of Hindustan, the one leading to Turkestan, the other to Persia." The fort of Qandahar guarded the road to India from the west and to Kabul from the south. "Its strategic importance lies in the fact that only 360 miles of level country separate it from Herat near which the lofty Hindukush range sinks down to offer an easy passage to an invading host from Central Asia or Persia. Such an army must pass through Qandahar and must be turned back there, if ever at all." In an age when Kabul was a part of the Delhi Empire Qandahar was very naturally a bone of contention between the rulers of Persia and India. In 1595 the Persian Governor of Qandahar surrendered it to Akbar without fighting. Kashmir was annexed in 1586, Sind in 1590-91 and Baluchistan in 1595.

DECCAN CONQUESTS

Having consolidated his position in the north-west Akbar could now devote himself to the conquest of the Deccan. A sense of security in the North justified a forward policy in the South. Towards the close of Akbar's reign there were five Muslim Sultanates in the Deccan-Khandesh, Ahmadnagar, Bijapur, Bidar, Golkonda. Akbar did not concern himself with the territory south of the Krishna. In 1591 four missions were sent to Khandesh, Ahmadnagar, Bijapur and Golkonda in order to ascertain whether they would willingly accept the suzerainty of Delhi. Khandesh was the most important of these four
Sultanates from the point of view of Mughal expansion, because it contained the celebrated fort of Asirgarh\(^1\) which commanded the road to the Deccan. Ahmadnagar was the next accessible state. Raja Ali Khan of Khandesh offered his submission. But Burhan-ul-Mulk, the ruler of Ahmadnagar, was more contumacious. After his death his successor was pressed hard by the imperialists in the north and by Bijapur in the south. The imperialist generals—Abdur Rahim Khan Khanan and Prince Murad, Akbar's second son—quarrelled among themselves. They, however, laid siege to Ahmadnagar (1595) which was defended with great vigour by Chand Bibi, Queen Dowager of Bijapur and sister of Burhan-ul-Mulk. The imperialist generals thought it prudent to accept terms according to which Berar was ceded and Bahadur, a grandson of Burhan-ul-Mulk, was recognised as the dependent Sultan of Ahmadnagar (1596). But intriguers at Ahmadnagar ousted Chand Bibi and violated the treaty. Bijapur sent a contingent to help Ahmadnagar, but the combined army could not win a victory over the imperialists in the battle of Supa on the Godavari (1597). Prince Murad died in 1599. Abdur Rahim Khan Khanan was goaded into activity by Akbar who came himself to Burhanpur. Chand Bibi was murdered about this time. Ahmadnagar was stormed in August, 1600. The whole of Ahmadnagar could not, however, be occupied, and a prince named Murtaza continued to rule over a considerable portion.

In the meantime Miran Bahadur Shah, the successor of Raja Ali of Khandesh, had found the Mughal yoke galling; he thought of defying the Emperor from the impregnable fort of Asirgarh. Akbar marched to the Deccan in July, 1599, captured Burhanpur, and besieged Asirgarh. Here he could not use the devices so effective at Chitor and the siege became almost a blockade. The fort capitulated in January, 1601. It has been said that the surrender of Asirgarh was due to the outbreak of pestilence. The Jesuit missionaries, however, say that it was taken by bribery, Miran Bahadur being previously made a prisoner in violation of a safe conduct promised to him. Asirgarh was the last of Akbar's conquests. Prince Daniyal

\(^1\) It was situated on a spur of the Satpura Range, and its natural strength was reinforced by three very strong concentric lines of fortifications.
was married to the daughter of Abdur Rahim Khan Khanan and left as the viceroy of the Deccan to govern the three newly acquired provinces (Berar, Ahmadnagar, Khandesh) under the guidance of his father-in-law.
SECTION II

ADMINISTRATION

AKBAR AND HIS PREDECESSORS

Akbar had a genius for organisation and an extraordinary capacity for attention to detail. It has been said that in his administrative measures he merely walked in the footsteps of Sher Shah. Abul Fazl, on the other hand, has sought to belittle Sher Shah in his statement that "he sought the applause of future generations by mere revivals of Alauddin’s regulations which he had read in the Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi." V. A. Smith, however, remarks that "from the time of Warren Hastings in the last quarter of the eighteenth century the newly constituted Anglo-Indian authorities began to grope their way back to the institutions of Akbar. They gradually adopted the principal features of his system in the important department concerned with the assessment of the land revenue. The structure of the bureaucratic framework of government still shows many traces of his handiwork". In connection with the revenue organisation of Bengal it may be noted that when the Hastings policy of centralisation was abandoned and Sir John Shore (in 1786) created districts as territorial units, he only revived Akbar's system of Sarkar. This is merely to point out that all successful administrators owe something to their predecessors, and even Akbar was no exception. Sher Shah's land survey, however incomplete, his extensive construction of roads and establishment of mint towns must have helped Akbar materially in his administrative organisation. But there is also no doubt at the same time that Akbar's principles of government and the administrative system that he created differed essentially from the principles and system of his predecessors.

THE CENTRAL STRUCTURE, THE SOVEREIGN

The centre of the whole structure of government was, of course, the Sovereign, and as Abul Fazl says in connection with the ambition of Muhammad Hakim, "race and wealth and the assembling of a mob are not enough for this great position." In Akbar’s scheme of things the Sovereign must not be an
easy-going man. He must lead a strenuous life. Akbar used to have three daily meetings, one an open court, another concerned with routine work, and a third in the night or in the afternoon in which there was a discussion not merely of religious matters but also of State policy and State affairs. All these meetings had a profound influence on general administration. A day was set apart for judicial cases. Before the Sovereign all important matters relating to appointments, increments, jagirs, mansabs, Government grants, orders of payment, petitions of Princes, Governors, Bakshis, Dewans, Faujdaris, and private petitions sent through nobles were submitted. Even when the Sovereign was on the move the daily routine was observed.

THE CENTRAL STRUCTURE: THE MINISTERS

The unrestricted use of the powers of a Wazir by Bairam Khan was a warning against the appointment of an all-powerful Wazir. The office of the Vakil was retained, but none of the Vakils after Bairam Khan exercised the powers and influence of a Prime Minister. The office of the Vakil continued until the early years of Shah Jahan. It retained its dignity and status but was deprived of all real power.

Akbar had four Ministers—the Dewan, in charge of revenue and finance; the Mir Bakshi, head of the military department; the Mir Saman, chief executive officer in charge of factories and stores; and the Sadr-us-Sadr, head of the ecclesiastical and judicial departments. In 1582 the post of the Sadr is said to have been abolished. But State affairs were not confined to these four Ministers only and in council others were admitted. Other checks on these Ministers were provided by the officers at court who were associated with State work, and the vigilance of the Emperor also acted as a check on the Ministers. The four Ministers of Akbar have been described as “the four pillars of the Empire, but not like the symbolical pillars of the Turkish Empire which held the tent but pillars like those of the Mughal Taj which do not support the structure but add to its dignity, majesty and beauty”.

Besides these Ministers two other officers also counted for much in the central administration. They held the posts of
Daroga-i-Ghusal Khana and Arz-i-Mukarrar. The former acted as a private secretary to the Emperor. The latter revised the Emperor's orders and presented them a second time for his sanction. Among other officers of an inferior status we may mention the Daroga-i-Dakchauki and the Mir Arz. The former was in charge of the Intelligence Department and the latter was in charge of petitions.

Akbar succeeded in establishing routine in his administration and "Zabita nast" ("this is not the custom") became a familiar phrase and tradition under his successors.

RANK IN MUGHAL STATE SERVICE: MANSABDARI SYSTEM

The bureaucracy was framed on military lines. The superior officers were classified in 33 grades ranging from mansabdars of 10 to mansabdars of 10,000. The highest grades (10,000, 8,000 and 7,000) were reserved for the three princes. Abul Fazl gives the following number—1,388 commanders from 150 to 10, and 412 commanders from 5,000 to 200. Most probably in Akbar's time mansabs under 200 and in Shah Jahan's time mansabs under 500 did not entitle the holder to call himself an Amir. The title Amir-ul-umara was, curiously enough, held by several persons at the same time. These formed the official nobility, the military and imperial service being formed on one uniform mansabdari system. The mansabdars raised the troops they commanded. The grades fixed seemed to indicate the number of men which each officer was expected to bring, but effective strength had a tendency to fall below the nominal. Akbar recognised this divergence, and it was regulated by the introduction of double rank in his eleventh year—the Zat and the Sowar, i.e., personal and trooper rank. A further complication was introduced later by the introduction of Suhaspah (three horses), Duaspah (two horses) and Yakaspah (one horse) gradation in the case of the higher mansabdars in their Sowar rank. "The pecuniary advantage of triple rank lay in the flat rate per head which an officer received and the average rate at which he was able to secure his troopers. Triple rank might have been profitable as also an honourable distinction. From the military standpoint there were not three classes of troopers but only one and the distinction was merely
of accountancy." Under Jahangir, on account of his laxity trooper rank again ceased to be a military fact, and Shah Jahan again effected a drastic re-organisation by scaling the effective strength of contingents down to 1/3rd or 1/4th and reducing officers’ salaries substantially. They could be paid either in cash or in jagirs. Akbar preferred to pay his officers by salaries rather than by assignments. According to Moreland’s calculation, a mansabdar of 5,000 received a salary of at least 18,000 rupees a month, and a commander of 500 at least 1,000 rupees a month. Thus the mansabdar’s salaries were very high. Akbar’s standing army was small, not more than 25,000 according to Blochman, though Father Monserrate’s estimate is that in 1581 Akbar had an army of 45,000 cavalry raised and paid by himself and 5,000 elephants. The greater part of the army consisted of contingents furnished by the mansabdars.

The Mughal nobility was a nobility by service. Hawkins wrote in 1608, "The custom of the Mughal Emperor is to take possession of his noblemen’s treasure when they die and to bestow on their children what he pleaseth but commonly he dealt well with them." There was a regular department of the State, the Bait-ul-Mal, in which the escheated property was kept. As a consequence of this the nobles lived extravagantly and squandered money. The results were that private capital could not accumulate, and a hereditary independent peerage as a check on the Monarchy could not develop.

Troops paid by the State but placed under the command of Mansabdars were called Dakhili (supplementary). There was a body of gentlemen troopers who were individual recruits. They were called Ahadis. They were not distributed among Mansabdars but were always placed under the command of a great noble assisted by a separate Bakhsh. An Ahadis’ pay was very high.

REVENUE SYSTEM

During the early years of Akbar’s reign several revenue experiments were made. After the revenue reforms of Todar Mal (1582) there were three principal revenue systems in the empire, which may be thus described:

(1) Ghallabaksh or crop division. Under this system a
share of each crop was taken by the State. This system prevailed in Lower Sind, a part of Kabul and Kashmir.

(2) *Zabit* or regulation system associated with the name of Todar Mal. It extended from Multan to Bihar and in large parts of Rajputana, Malwa and Gujarat. "The essence of this system was the determination of fixed cash rates payable in place of the fluctuating share of the produce on each unit of area sown with each crop." It was necessary to measure and record the areas cultivated every season. The system rested on two factors: a schedule of rates called *Dastur* and preparation of crop statements. Land was classified into four types: *Polar* (continuously cultivated), *Parauti* (left fallow for a year or two to recover productivity), *Chachar* (left fallow for 3 or 4 years) and *Banjar* (uncultivated for 5 years or more). Each of the first three classes was subdivided into three grades: good, middling and bad; the average produce was calculated from the mean of the three. Only the area actually under cultivation was assessed. The area under each crop had its own rate and the mean prevailing prices were taken into consideration. The revenue system was *ryotwar*. Akbar's demand was at the rate of one-third. The seasonal record was a laborious and expensive affair and some of the cost must have fallen on the peasant. But the great merit of the system was that there were no assignments, no farming of revenues and no summary settlements. But "orders issued in the eighth year of Aurangzeb's reign show that the assessor proposed each year a lump sum and applied Akbar's method only when a village or a larger area refused. The village as a whole became more directly subject to the assessors and individual peasants to the stronger men among them. . . . . Akbar's revenue system there was no trace of rent in the sense of a sum payable for the right to occupy land; his revenue was charged not on occupation but cultivation. This system was still predominant in the days of Aurangzeb but by its side there was an alternative by which the peasant could compound for his revenue by annual cash payments agreed on with the authorities for the land in his occupation."

(3) *Nasaq* or estimated. Abul Fazl writes thus in his *Ain-i-Akbari* about Bengal land revenue, "It is not customary in the Suba for the husbandmen and Government to divide the crop. Grain is always cheap and the produce of the land is determined.
by Nasaq. His Majesty has had the goodness to confirm those customs". Todar Mal was in Bengal for a period of two years during which he had the Afghan rebels to deal with. His residence was too short for an extensive and laborious survey. He collected the accounts of the Qanungos and in some places ascertained their accuracy by local enquiries. From these accounts he prepared the rent roll of the Subah. The Nasaqi system did not depend upon survey or seasonal records of produce. It resembled the Zamiindari settlement.

PROVINCIAL AND LOCAL ADMINISTRATION

The empire of Akbar was divided into fifteen Subahs or provinces1 and the Provincial organisation was a miniature replica of the Imperial. The Subahdar or Sipahsalar, officially styled Nazim, was at the head of the Provincial Executive. He was assisted by the Provincial Dewan, Bakshi, Qazi and Sadr. The Dewan was the head of the revenue department and held charge of civil justice; so, though he was subordinate to the Nazim, he really served as a check upon him. At important centres, at the head of several parganas, over the administrative unit called Sarkar there was an officer—the Faujdar—who gave the Nazim every assistance in his power in the administration of criminal justice and police and in the exercise of his military functions. Another officer, the Amalguzar, was in that area in charge of accounts, assessment and collection of revenue. In the big cities the Kotwal or prefect of police enforced law and order and discharged many of the functions of a modern municipality. In the rural areas peace was maintained by the Faujdar. "The state of public security varied greatly from place to place and from time to time". The local revenue was derived from minor duties on production and consumption, and also from taxes on trades, occupations, transports, etc.

The Central Government controlled the Provincial machinery by dividing the authority, by reducing the duration of the

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There were 17 Subahs under Jahangir and 21 under Aurangzeb.
office of the Subahdar, and by frequent transfers. It kept itself informed of what happened in the Provinces by means of news-reporters, in public as also in secret. They sent their reports at regular intervals. All these reached the Emperor through an officer, the Daroga-i-Dakhouki.

JUDICIAL SYSTEM

The most important point to note about the administration of justice is that the policy of the Government was to discourage litigation for which no facilities were created. The ancient village organisation with all its Hindu institutions remained intact and the State had to concern itself mostly with the Parganas, Sarkars and Provincial head-quarters. The religious character of Hindu law was responsible for the fact that even in urban areas civil cases of the Hindus regarding inheritance, marriage, etc., were decided according to Hindu religious law.

The Emperor's court was a court both of first instance as also of appeal. Most of the cases before him related to criminal justice rather than civil and his sanction was necessary in cases of capital punishment. The Provincial Governor also tried cases like the Emperor and the district Faujdar sent him the accused who were arrested by him. If after enquiry he found that the particular case fell under the Shariat he sent it to the Provincial Qazi. He tried political offences himself and sent the revenue cases to the Dewan. He also exercised supervision over criminal justice. The Emperor appointed the chief Qazi who appointed subordinate Qazis with his sanction. The Muftis, who explained Muslim law and custom, were not appointed in every case and there is no reference to their existence in the smaller administrative units. The Muhtasib performed police duties and also acted as a religious censor. There were Muhtasibs in the capital as well as in the provinces. The Qazis were not confined to cities only; they were appointed also for smaller units. The Muslim law of inheritance, marriage and divorce could only be decided by the Qazis and Muftis, but in the law of evidence and criminal justice Akbar introduced some modifications requiring that the Qazis should not rely exclusively on witnesses but on other sources of information as well.
SECTION III

RELIGION

EVOLUTION OF AKBAR’S RELIGIOUS VIEWS

Akbar’s religious views went through a process of slow evolution. His soul was sometimes convulsed by genuine spiritual doubts. Badauni, who, far from being an admirer, was not even a friendly critic, tells us that the Emperor “would sit many a morning alone in prayer and melancholy... near the palace (at Fathpur Sikri) in a lonely spot with his head bent over his chest, and gathering the bliss of early hours”. From his childhood Akbar had contact with Sufism. His Rajput wives and Hindu courtiers gave him a glimpse into the world beyond Islam. The Bhakti movement had created a new atmosphere in India.

It has been said that Akbar was up to 1574 an orthodox Sunni Muslim. Then he came into contact with the liberal views of Shaikh Mubarak and his famous sons—Faizi and Abul Fazl—who made him a rationalizing Muslim. At Fathpur Sikri he built a house of worship (Ibadat Khana), where selected men representing various schools of religious thought—Muslim, Hindu, Parsi, Jain, Christian—used to take part in religious debates. These debates probably convinced Akbar that “There is light in all, and light with more or less of shade in all modes of worship”.

Determined to challenge the undue influence of the Ulema, Akbar issued the so-called Infallibility Decree in September, 1579, which gave him the final authority to decide all questions concerning Islam. Neither this Decree, nor the propagation of Din-i-Ilahi, justifies Badauni’s charge that Akbar renounced Islam in his later years. The motive behind the Decree was Akbar’s desire to command the indivisible allegiance of his Muslim subjects, not the assumption of spiritual leadership. He did not found a priesthood.” Badauni has criticised some of the regulations issued by Akbar concerning religious matters and customs; but a close examination of those regulations shows that they were not inconsistent with the fundamentals of Islam.
DIN-I-ILADI

Akbar is said to have evolved an eclectic religion of his own, described as Din-i-Ilaahi, and he was its prophet between 1582-1605. This Din-i-Ilaahi has been described as monotheistic Parsi Hinduism.

According to Badauni, Akbar was not very willing to include Hindus among the followers of his supposed new creed. In the list of eighteen principal adherents of Din-i-Ilaahi we find only one Hindu name, that of Raja Birbal, and he cannot certainly be taken very seriously. This disproves the theory that there was a political move of unification of the warring creeds behind this new religion and that the Emperor wanted to alchemise old hate into the gold of love and make it current. In that case a deliberate attempt would have been made to include Hindus.

As a matter of fact, Din-i-Ilaahi was not a proselytising religion. It was confined to a select few. "It was a Sufi order of Islam within Islam depending on individual experience of the follower and only open to men who had attained a certain stage of development. Akbar was a Sufi like Sadi, Rumi, Jami, Hafiz, Fariduddin, Shamsuddin and others". V. A. Smith’s assertion that "the whole scheme was the outcome of ridiculous vanity, a monstrous growth of unrestrained autocracy" is due to his reliance on Badauni and the Jesuit Fathers, and his own inability to understand that an autocrat was capable of self-doubting thoughts, spiritual dissatisfaction and a craving for illumination.

POLICY TOWARDS THE HINDUS

With great originality and courage Akbar introduced several important reforms very early in his career (1562-64). This gives us a very good idea of the policy he wanted to pursue with reference to the Hindus. He abolished the taxes on Hindu pilgrims, forbade the enslavement of prisoners of war and abolished the Jeziyah on non-Muslims. The pilgrim taxes, according to Abul Fazl, amounted to millions of rupees. So the abolition of these taxes and the Jeziyah was a great financial sacrifice. No credit for these measures should be given to any adviser. As Akbar himself says, "It was the effect of the grace
of God that I found no capable minister (between 1562-64). Otherwise people would have considered my measures had been devised by him”.

Akbar’s principle was universal religious toleration (Suhi-


-Kul). But apart from religious considerations, a sound
political instinct dictated his policy towards the Hindus. His
Hindu male relatives by marriage, like Raja Bhagwan Das, Man
Singh and others, obtained very high ranks in the Mughal
peerage and were treated with distinction as befitting their posi-
tion as royal relatives. Hindu learning was encouraged, Hindu
temples allowed to be freely erected, Hindu religious fairs
permitted to be freely held and Hindu population not subjected
to any special fiscal burden as a public badge of inferiority.
Akbar knew that the Hindus formed more than three-fourths of
the man power of the State and their intellect, organisation and
economic resources could not be allowed to deteriorate. Those
who assert that Akbar was pro-Hindu and lay emphasis upon
his so-called un-Islamic ordinances and point out that he had
been hailed as Jagatguru (or the world’s guide) by the Hindus
should keep the following facts in their mind. Akbar succeeded
in securing Hindu support, thus making Mughal hold on India
much stronger than the control exercised by the Turko-Afghans.
This was sound policy. At the same time he “made a supreme
effort to free Indian Islam from Arabicism and adapt it to the
needs of India as the Persians had evolved Shiaism to make
Islam suited to their national genius. With Akbar began a
great religious and literary movement for the adaptation of
Islam to the traditions of India and with Dara it ended.” His
policy was national and rational. Undoubtedly the Turko-Mughal
dynasty became more Indian than Turk or Mongol.

STATE

A review of the career of this great architect of empire
gives us an idea of the place which he occupies in Indian
history. As Laurence Binyon puts it, “Standing in the full
daylight of history, Akbar appears to us between two shadowy
yet contrasted worlds; between the world of his Central Asian
ancestors, a world of torrential human energy, idolising that
energy for its own sake and possessed with the fever of hunt,
whether of beasts or of men—between the world of furious
action, passing like a dream, and the world of India, which could revel indeed in luxuries and cruelties but which could also produce the exalted spirits of Buddha and Asoka, speaking to us from a far remoter past than those wild conquerors but with voices that still live and move us. Akbar too is possessed with insatiable energy, he seems action incarnate and yet at the core of his nature is something alien to all that, something that craves for thought and contemplation, that seeks justice and desires gentleness”. What is more remarkable is that under Akbar the old Indian ideal of a united India again took shape and he strove to bring about not merely political unification but also cultural fusion.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE GREAT MUGHALS

Babar (1526-30)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Humayun (1530-39, 1555-56)</th>
<th>Kainra</th>
<th>Hindal</th>
<th>Askari</th>
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Akbar (1556-1605)  

<table>
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<th>Muhammad Hakim</th>
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<tr>
<td>Jahangir (1605-27)</td>
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<td>Murad</td>
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<td>Khusrav</td>
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<td>Dara</td>
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FOR FURTHER STUDY

V. A. Smith, Akbar the Great Mogul.
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