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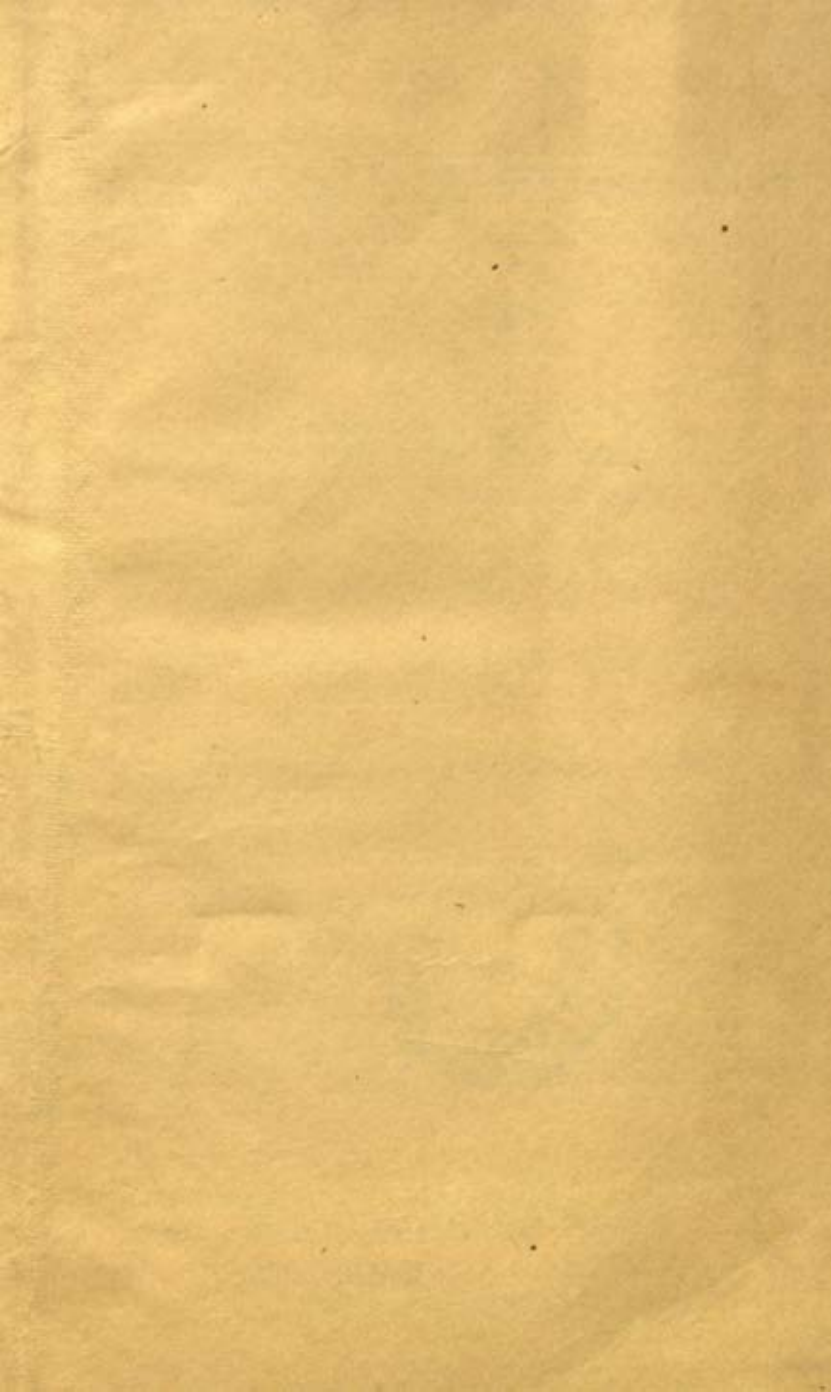
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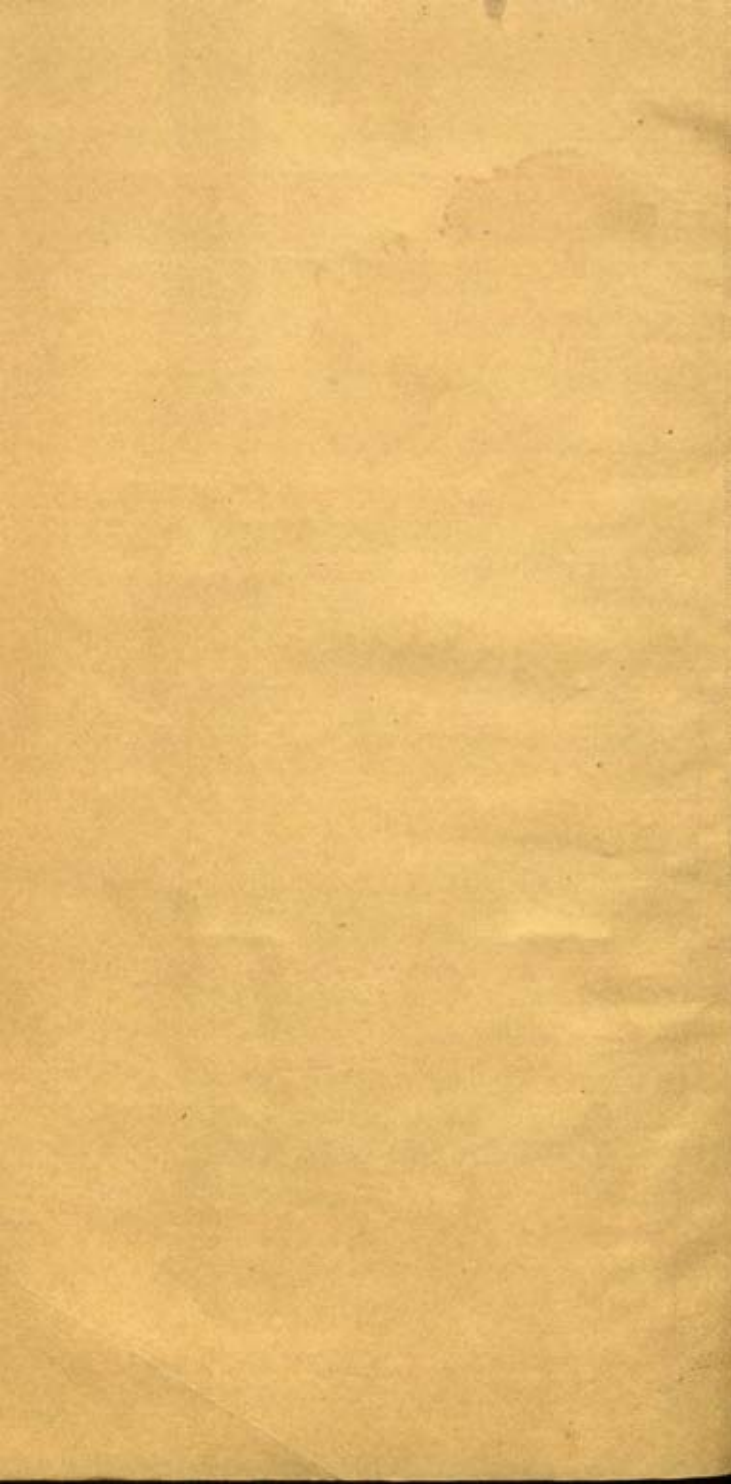
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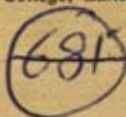
THE PUNJAB UNDER THE MUGHALS

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by

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FOREWORD

The Land of Five Rivers constitutes the backbone of Pakistan, and deserves to be closely studied by competent scholars in all its aspects. The historical aspect is not the least important of them, and the present treatise by Professor Muhammad Akbar on the Mughal Period of its history should, therefore, be welcome to a large circle of readers. As there is a regrettable dearth of good books on the subject, Mr. Akbar's work fills a real need. Amongst the earlier works on the Punjab, the *Tahqiqat-i-Chishti* by Nur Ahmad Chishti is fragmentary and mainly of archæological interest; while the *History of the Punjab* by Sayed Mohammad Latif and the *History of the Punjab* by Munshi Kanhaya Lal, though useful, are inaccurate and antiquated in certain respects. The inadequacy of these books left ample scope for further research work on the subject, which the talented author has undertaken with conspicuous success.

The writer has made use of a large amount of fresh material, which had hitherto been unknown to students and had consequently remained unused by them. It redounds to the credit of the writer that he has tapped new sources of historical information and has utilized them with critical skill. I think, he deserves to be congratulated on the thoroughness of his investigations and the technical competence, which he has shown in selecting and presenting his material. He has done a piece of sound, scholarly work and I hope his labours will be widely appreciated. I have no doubt that his valuable treatise will be read with interest by the scholar as well as by the general reader alike.

I have known Mr. Muhammad Akbar from his student days, when he attended my lectures at the Islamia College, Lahore. He always impressed me as a young scholar of great promise and with his keen and genuine interest in historical studies, gave promise of making useful contributions in the field of historical research. I am glad to say that in this belief I have not been disappointed. He has not only proved a successful teacher of the subject but has also found time to publish a number of valuable essays and books, which bear witness to his wide reading, his freshness of mind and his ability to present the result of his researches in a lucid style. The present book is an excellent contribution to the subject with which it deals and I have every hope that if he is afforded the opportunity to exercise his talents, he would produce many more books of great historical value.

SAYED ABDUL QADIR

Lahore :

27th November, 1948.

PREFACE

From time immemorial, the Punjab—the Land of Five Rivers—has been the first to receive outside influences. It has witnessed the pageant of civilisations, the march of ideologies in the wake of invaders swooping over its rich plains. For better or worse, it has played an important part, and in the dust and din of the past, we see this land exercising a tremendous influence in moulding the course of the History of the Indo-Pakistan Sub-Continent. By natural situation it has been the connecting link between the nomad-breeding grounds of Central Asia and the rich, alluvial plains of the Gangetic Valley. It was an easy gateway and as such through it poured the swarms of the Aryans, the Scythians, the Greeks, the Mongols and the Turks into the Indo-Pakistan Sub-Continent in successive waves. Geographically it was the only defensive barrier, and once passed, the conqueror had India at his feet. The fate of the great dynasties like that of the Ghorids the Khaljis, the Tughlaks, the Lodhis and the Mughals was decided on its plains. The Mughals understood this and were sensible enough to convert it into an active ally and its martial resources were harnessed to the chariot of the Mughal greatness.

It is a pity that no historian ever attempted to devote to the history of this important province the care and labour it deserved. In the present work an attempt has been made to present only a part of this vast spectacle. The survey covers a brief period. It begins with Akbar and comes down to the end of the reign of Aurangzeb. It is hoped this will throw a light on earlier as well as on subsequent periods.

The work is quite difficult, as there is no such thing as a provincial history of the Punjab by any contemporary. The student has to work his way through the whole mass of the available material and patiently collect the relevant information scattered all over them. A sentence here and a clause there, a hint here and a word there are picked up patiently. That this exercise requires much labour is evident.

The nature of the task makes it inevitable that there should be omissions, of which I am most conscious. My picture must be general and diffuse. Some scholars may even quarrel with my conclusions; I shall not argue with them. They will no doubt find many shortcomings in these pages, but even these will be useful, for by stimulating research, they will serve to advance our knowledge of the subject. For my part, I may humbly add that I shall always value criticism.

This attempt of mine is designed to meet the needs of the student as well as the cultivated layman. I may claim to have supplied information which has hitherto been inaccessible to them. But the attempt does not pretend to be complete. I have consulted all available sources and spared no pains to base my conclusions on sound evidence. I have not neglected any material which I was able to find. The work is based on primary authorities; but I have not ignored the writings of later scholars who have been of considerable help.

The European travellers who visited the Indo-Pakistan Sub-Continent in this period have written long accounts of the country. Their works are of great value, as they throw light on the condition of the people, the state of trade and industry and the history of the Christian churches. Moreover, their observations have a freshness and weight all their own. But apart from the events in which they

participated or which they personally witnessed, their report merely reproduced the bazar rumours and the stories current among the populace, and cannot be set against the evidence of contemporary Muslim or Hindu historians.

In the use of the material sufficient care has been taken. It is rarely that any second-hand authority has been given preference over the contemporary writers. As far as possible all the known original authorities have been carefully examined. This will be illustrated by the numerous foot-notes and the bibliography. In the case of works which were, however, not easily accessible, the best translations have been resorted to. No preconceived notions or time-honoured traditional beliefs have been allowed to interfere with the pattern the facts naturally fall into. I know the more exhaustive evidence puts complexion on some facts very much different from the traditionally accepted notions of Sikh history. But it is the duty of a historian to let the facts speak for themselves. I know I am making a break from the history writers of the last 100 years who allowed their imagination and bias to write much of their history for them. I hope that in my small way I will have initiated an attempt at a more honest survey of our past. It is a pity that as far as the history of the Sikh Gurus is concerned, we cannot rely on any original authority for an impartial account. Almost all such authorities happen to be either Sikhs or Hindus, and they often have given prejudiced views. As I have stated, I have let the facts interpret themselves.

I have also given an account of the land and the people of this province along with its important towns, sacred places, rivers, shrines, etc. For these we are very fortunate in having a first-hand information in the *Khulasatu-t-Twarikh*, written by

Munshi Sujana Rai of Batala. It also deals at length with the mineral and agricultural resources, economic conditions, industries and other similar statistics about the Punjab in that period. I have tried to reproduce all these things, fully in the first chapter and the appendix of this book. The chapter on *History of the Feudatory States* is based on sources which cannot be called original or primary, and those, who have any experience of historical research, would overlook this shortcoming as they can easily understand how difficult, and even impossible, it is to get access to those sources.

It would have been impossible to complete this thesis without the help and guidance given me by my Principal at the Government College, Jhang, Chaudhri Muhammad Sadiq, M.A. (London). I can never repay the debt of gratitude that I owe him; he has been much more than a friend to me and took a paternal interest in my welfare during my brief stay at Jhang. He shared my enthusiasm and encouraged me at every step to complete the work uninterrupted, particularly in those critical moments of storm and stress when I was being relentlessly persecuted by my anti-Muslim Departmental "boss" and felt inclined to discontinue the work due to mental anguish. Besides helping me out of my departmental difficulties, Chaudhri Muhammad Sadiq most cheerfully came to my rescue whenever I required his help and felt baffled by a problem, as he himself is a great scholar of Indo-Muslim history.

I am under deep obligation to Professor Namdar Khan, B.A. (Hons.), (London), my chief in the History Department at the Government College, Lahore. He has helped me by his suggestions and criticism, and evinced constant interest in the progress of my work. I am grateful to

my colleague, Dr. Muhammad Sadiq, M.A., Ph.D., Professor of English who has given me the benefit of his very helpful criticism and guidance. I am also indebted to my colleagues Professors F. A. Awan, S.G. Raza and A.A. Bhattye, who very kindly read through the manuscript and saved me from many errors of language. To Mr. Gul Muhammad Butt, B.A. (Hons), LL.B., Advocate and Councillor, Lahore Corporation, I am deeply indebted for help in procuring manuscripts from various quarters and also for affording me facilities in consulting manuscripts from his valuable library. I am grateful to my teacher, Professor Syed Abdul Qadir, M.A. for writing the Foreword. I owe thanks also to Sh. Ikram-ul-Haq, and Khwaja Mushtaq Ahmad Haroon of the Punjab Education Department for helping me in preparing the Index.

Lastly I have to thank the Proprietors of the Ripon Printing Press, Lahore, for having rescued this thesis from oblivion and undertaking its publication in spite of numerous difficulties.

As the book was printed at a time when I was busily engaged in the College and University work, I could not do full justice to the reading of proofs. The absence of diacritical marks and the disparity in the spelling of certain words will no doubt cause inconvenience to the reader, but I hope to remove all these blemishes in the next edition.

MUHAMMAD AKBAR

Government College, Lahore

31st Dec., 1948

ABBREVIATIONS

1. A.N. Akbarnama.
2. T.A.I.E. Takmil-i-Akbarnama.
3. A.A. Ain-i-Akbari.
4. M.B. Muntakhab-ut-Twarikh.
5. T.A.E. Tabkat-i-Akbari.
6. F. Firishta.
7. Z.T.E. Zubdat-ut-Twarikh.
8. F.E. Akbarnama by Faizi Sirhindi.
9. D.S.T. Dabistan-ul-Mazahab.
10. K.S. Khulast-ut-Twarikh.
11. A.T. Adi Granth.
12. C.M. Commentary.
13. D.L. De Laet's Empire of the Great Mogol.
14. E.T. Early European Travellers.
15. S.A. Akbar by Smith.
16. H.L. History of Lahore.
17. H.P. History of the Punjab.
18. H.S. The Sikh Religion.
19. P.H.S. History of the Punjab Hill States.
20. J.G.M. The Jesuits and the Great Moghal.
21. H.H.L. History of Hindi Literature.
22. H.P.L. History of Persian Literature.
23. S.P. Suraj Parkash.
24. C.A.M. Ancient Geography.
25. A.S. Agrarian system under the Moghals.
26. I.E.L. Indian Economic Life.
27. I.G. Imperial Gazetteer.

CONTENTS

	<i>Pages</i>
FOREWORD	v
PREFACE	vii
ABBREVIATIONS... ..	xii

CHAPTER I

The Land and the People

The Doabs—A Bird's Eye-view of the People—Extent—Divisions—Area and Revenue—Places of Note : Lahore, Jalandhar Bujwara, Sultanpur, Patti, Batala, Kangra, Nagarkot, Jawalamukhi, Sialkot, Dhonkal, Purmandal, Sodhra, Gujrat, Kheora, Shamsabad—Crops, etc.—Industries—Mines	1—22
---	------

CHAPTER II

Akbar's Accession and Early Difficulties

The condition of the Punjab on the eve of the accession of Akbar—The arrest of Shah Abul Ma'ali—The expedition against Sikan-dar Sur	23—32
---	-------

CHAPTER III

Bairam Khan's Rebellion

The Rebellion of Bairam Khan—The Invasion of Raja Ganesh—The Reduction of the Gakhars—March upon Kabul—The Invasion of Mirza Hakim—The Qamargah Hunt	33—47
---	-------

CHAPTER IV

Husain Quli Khan and Shah Quli Khan

The Emperor's visit to the shrine of Sheikh Shakarganj—The siege of Nagarkot—Arrest of Ibrahim—Arrival of Mirza Sulai-man of Badakhshan—Akbar's visit to the Punjab—Expedition against the Bilochis—Reforms—The removal of the Governor.	48—60
---	-------

CHAPTER V

Said Khan 1578—1585

The war of succession in Kashmir—Mirza Hakim's Invasion—March of Akbar and Death of Mansur	61—72
---	-------

CHAPTER VI

Lahore as the Imperial Headquarters, 1585–1598

Mirza Hakim's death and Akbar's march towards the Punjab—
North-West Frontier Policy and the Punjab—The conquest of
Kashmir—Akbar's visit to Kashmir—Death of Raja Bhagwan
Das and Todar Mal—Death of Mirza Sulaiman—Expedition
against Northern Hill States—The second Expedition to Kashmir
The first Mission at Lahore—The second Mission at Lahore—
—The Rebellion of Northern Hill Chiefs. Famine and pestilence
—The death of Faizi—Fire at Lahore—The third visit to Kash-
mir—Expedition to Turan—Arrival of the Persian Ambassa-
dor—The Administrative Reforms—The Social Reforms—
Akbar's departure from Lahore—Death of the Kotwal of Lahore
—Campaign against the Northern Hill Chiefs—Death of Akbar

73-114

CHAPTER VII

Jahangir's Accession

His Edicts—Said Khan—Children of Danyal—Siege of Kandhar
—38th solar day of the King—March to Kabul—Murtza Khan
—Rebellion of Raja Suraj Mal—Horses from Kabul—New Year's
Feast—Visit to Kashmir in his death 115—138

CHAPTER VIII

A Note on the Law of Succession 138 a-d

CHAPTER IX

Khusrau's Rebellion

Relations of Akbar and Jahangir—Law of Succession—Sultan Khusrau—His flight—Mother of Khusrau—Jahangir's measures in Khusrau's pursuit—Dilawar Khan—Fortifications at Lahore—Khusrau at Lahore—Fight between Khusrau and Royal armies—Flight of the prince—His capture—Punishments—His death ... 139—148

CHAPTER X

Conquest of Kangra

Position—People and worship of the goddess—Jawala mukhi—
Raja Tilok Chand—Raja Suraj Mal's revolt—Raja Suraj Mal
and Murtza Khan—Suraj Mal and Taqi—Suraj Mal and
Bikramajit—Raja Jagat Singh—Siege of Kangra—Conquest—
Emperor's visit 149-158

CHAPTER XI

Mahabat Khan and Nur Jahan

Mahabat Khan—Nur Jahan's and Asaf Khan's instigation— Orders of the king—His measures—Mahabat Khan's son-in-law to the king—His assault—Treatment to the king—Nur Jahan— Attack—Fight between Mahabat Khan and the Royal armies— Defeat of Royal army—To Kabul—Nur Jahan's measures— Back to the Punjab—The release of the king—Retreat of Mahabat Khan—Release of Asaf Khan	Pages ... 159—168
--	----------------------

CHAPTER XII

The Punjab under Shah Jahan.

Struggle for succession—His visit to Lahore in 1633—March to Kabul in 1638—Return in 1639—Construction of the canal— Nauroze—Jagat Singh's revolt—Death of Asaf Khan—Death of Nur Jahan—Preparations for an expedition to Kandhar—Death of Ali Mardan—Emperor's illness	... 169—174
---	-------------

CHAPTER XIII

The Punjab and the War of Succession

Punjab's part in the war—Dara's flight to Agra and Delhi after the battle of Smuhgarh—His plans upset at Delhi—Contem- plates flight from Delhi—Journey to Lahore—Preparations at Lahore—Aurangzeb's generals reach Sutlej—Dara's officers retreat from the ferries—Dara's flight to Multan—Aurangzeb marches into the Punjab—Turns towards Multan—Dara quits Multan for Sindh	... 175—186
--	-------------

CHAPTER XIV

Development of Sikhism

Sikhism—Guru Arjan—His help to Khusrav—Execution of the Guru—Hargovind—His help to the enhancement of Sikhism—His relations with Jahangir—Baba Atal—Guru Har Rai	... 187—195
---	-------------

CHAPTER XV

Aurangzeb and the Sikh Gurus

The rising power of the Sikhs—Guru Har Rai helps Prince Dara —Aurangzeb summons the Guru—The Guru sends his son Ram Rai—Ram Rai at Court—Death of Har Rai and the accession of Harkishan and the Emperor—Death of Harkishan and the accession of Tegh Bahadur and the Emperor—The execution of Tegh Bahadur and the accession of Guru Govind	... 196—205
---	-------------

CHAPTER XVI

Guru Govind Singh

Task before the Guru—Difficulties and advantages in his way—Govind creates a nation—Govind's armed campaigns : Battle of Bhangani, Battle of Nadaun, Battle with Hussain, Battle with Balia Chand and Alam Chand, First and Second battles of Anandpur, Battle of Nirmoh, Battle of Chamkaur, More battles at Anandpur, Second battle of Chamkaur, Battle of Mukatsar—Govind's wanderings and death 206—220
---	-----	-------------

CHAPTER XVII

The Feudatory States of the Punjab

Historical survey of the states—Their relations with one another—Their political history during Aurangzeb's reign : Kangra State, Guler State, Nurpur State, Chamba State, Suket State, Kulu State, Kahlur or Bilaspur State, Mandi State, Jammu State, Punch State and other smaller states—The relation of these states with the Mughal government 221—233
--	-----	-------------

CHAPTER XVIII

Economic and Cultural Life

Dearth of material—Economic conditions—Irrigation—Land revenue—Handicrafts—Trade and Commerce—Mining—The Currency System—Prices—Wages—Famines—General social condition—Dress—Houses—Religious condition as seen by the European travellers—The Hindus—Their God—Soul—Heaven and Hell—Islam—The Muslim Society—Hell—Sufi-ism—Rosh-nais—Christianity—Qadriyyas—Jogis—Education—Literature Persian—Commentaries and other Persian Works—Hindi—Urdu—Some Saints and Scholars of the time—Sh. Hassan Jami—Guru Arjan—Guru Har Gobind—Guru Har Rai—Maulana Mohammad Amin—Sh. Ibrahim Baba—Baba Talib—Sh. Mian Muhammad Mir—Mulla Shah Mohd—Baba Lal—Maulvi Abdul Hakim—Hakim Fateh Ullah—Hakim Shafai—Maulana Abdul Salam—Mir Nur Ullah—Architecture—Bagh-i-Mahdi Qasim Khan	...	...	...	...	... 234—284
Appendix	...	...	...	...	... 285—311
Bibliography	...	...	...	...	... 312—14
Index	...	...	...	...	... 315

Chapter I

THE LAND AND THE PEOPLE

"It should be known that close to Bhakkar seven rivers unite—five issuing from the kingdom of Lahore, which have their sources in the mountains of Sirinagar and Kashmir, and reach the province of Lahore by five openings. This is why the kingdom of Lahore is called the Punjab, that is to say 'Five Waters'".¹

These lines written by Munnucci, a Venetian soldier in India during the reign of Aurangzeb, tell us that the Punjab in those days consisted of the province of Lahore. In its length the province extended from the river Sutlej to the river Indus, a distance of 180 *kos* and in its breadth it extended from Bhimber to Chaukhandi, a distance of 86 *kos*.²

The Punjab proper in the Mughal times comprised five main Doabs, i.e. tracts lying between the two rivers, which were formed and named by Akbar by combining the first syllables of the names of the rivers between which they lie. The "Bait Jalandhar Doab" (Bist Jullundur Doab of I. G. Punjab, I, p. 220) extending from the river Beas to the river Sutlej covered an area of 50 *cos*³ and was made up of 60 mahals.⁴ The Bari Doab lying between the Beas and the Ravi stretched over a distance of only 17 *kos*⁵ and comprised 52 mahals.⁶ The third was the Rechna Doab which bounded by the Ravi and the Chenab⁷ stretched over a plateau

1. Munnucci : *Storia*, Vol. I, p. 322.

2. Sarkar : *India of Aurangzeb*, p. LXXII.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 312.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 315.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 316.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 311.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 312.

of 30 cos and was composed of 57 mahals.¹ It was the most fertile and rich tract yielding a revenue of 172,047,690 Dams.² The fourth Jehat Doab (Chaj Doab of I. G. Punjab, I, p. 220) was fringed by the Chenab and the Jhelum³ and extended over an area of 20 cos.⁴ The Sind Sagar Doab lying between the river Indus and the river Jhelum⁵ was the most sterile and desolate tract. A scanty and precarious rainfall had rendered it almost devoid of life and vegetation.⁶

The author of the *Chahar Gulshan* has supplied the following details about the Doabs⁷:

1. Bait Jalandhar—69 mahals, of 15 of which records not received, of 7 more area unknown. Remaining 47 mahals; area 39,39,518⁴/₃₀ bighas; 5,784 mauzas; revenue 14,37,50,069 dam (Rs. 35,93,751-11-7.)

Hilly	28 mahals	2,71,00,070 dam
Plain	19 "	11,65,80,069 "
	47 "	14,36,80,139 "

2. Bari doab—57 mahals, of 21 of which records not obtained. Remaining 36 mahals; area 52,39,857 bighas; 4678 mauzas; revenue 19,73,50,057 dam (Rs. 49,33,751-6-10.)

3. Rechna doab.....49 mahals, of 6 of which area unknown. Remaining 43 mahals; area 98,52,010 bighas; 4,693 mauzas · revenue 4,26,43,515 dam (Rs. 10,66,087-14-0.)

Mandyat (?)	12 mahals	34,13,340 dam
Baharjat (?)	26 "	4,20,30,440 "
	38 "	4,54,43,780 "
Parganahs	30 "	20,12,94,241 "

1. Sarkar : *India of Aurangzeb*, p. 312.

2. A. N., II, p. 319.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 311.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 312.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 311. Worked out in the modern currency the sum is equivalent to Rs. 107529.

6. I. G. Punjab, I, p. 225.

7. *India of Aurangzeb*, pp. 129-30.

4. Chunhat *doab*—22 *mahals*, of 3 of which records not received; of 5 more area unknown. Remaining 14 *mahals* area 40,41,809 *bighas*; 7,583 *mauzas*; revenue 9,26,88,735 *dam* (Rs. 23,17,218-6.)

Hilly	11 <i>mahals</i>	1,75,55,699 <i>dam</i>
Plain	11 „	7,51,33,241 „
	22 „	9,26,88,940 „

5. Sindh Sagar *doab*—48 *mahals*, of 17 of which records not received, of 19 more area unknown. Remaining 12 *mahals*; area 12,56,771 $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{3}{4}$ *bighas*; 2,177 *mauzas*; revenue 14,05,99,371 *dam* (Rs. 35,14,984-4-5)

Hilly	36 <i>mahals</i>	11 10,83,571 <i>dam</i>
Plain	12 „	2,95,15,500 „
	48 „	14,05,99,071 „

[The text has dropped by mistake 2 *kror* in the *dam* for "Plain."]

6. Kangra (outside the *doab* region) 63 *mahals*, of 32 of which records not received, of 25 others area unknown. Remaining 6 *mahals*; 311 *mauzas*; revenue 5,80,53,832 *dam* (Rs. 14,51,345-12-10).

[The different totals (inclusive of Kangra) are given below :—

Total	<i>Sarkars</i>	<i>Mahals</i>	Area in <i>bigha</i>	<i>Mauzas</i>	Revenue in <i>dam</i>
S.	5	308	2,43,29,965 $\frac{1}{2}$	25,226	67,50,85,579
P.	5	329	2,43,19,960	30,256	58,11,90,599
A.	5	232	1,61,55,643 $\frac{1}{2}$	...	55,94,58,423.]

The Punjab before the British was overwhelmed by the intermittent waves of immigration of the hordes of the Aryans, the Scythians, the Greeks, the Persians, the Arabs, the Turks, the Afghans and the Mughals. These groups appearing at intervals and advancing into the peninsula left something to be assimilated by the people already in the province. Thus there

A Bird's eye-view
of the people.

grew up in course of time a curious medley of races and by the time of Akbar we find a considerable number of them inhabiting the various parts of the country.

Apart from the historical division of the Hindu community into four varnas—Brahmana, Kashatriya, Vaisya, Sudra—we come across innumerable occupational and tribal castes belonging to the Hindus and the Muslims alike. Starting with the latest immigrants we have the Biloch tribe which under the leadership of Mir Chakar followed Humayun into the Punjab in 1555 and settled in the modern district of Montgomery.¹ Some of them seemed to have penetrated still farther into the heart of the country and planted colonies in the Bist Jullundur Doab at Nonagal,² in the Sind Sagar Doab at Kalabhalak³ and on the Indus just near the foot of the hills.⁴ The Afghans who came in the train of Mahmud Ghaznivi, Muiz-ud-Din Muhammad Ghorī, Babar and Lodhi and Sur Kings, were not concentrated at one particular place like the Biloch but were scattered all over the country. Their scions, the Lodhis, the Lohanis and the Rangars planted some Pathan colonies here and there which even to the present day are dotted all over the province. Khushab in the Sind Sagar Doab. Thandot and Jalalabad in the Bari Doab, and Islamabad, Melsi, Muhammadpur and Chaurasi⁵ and Jullundur in the Bist Jullundur Doab, were their chief settlements in the time of Akbar. The Afghans and the Biloch were regarded as foreigners, but their freedom from the "irksome and artificial restrictions of caste and the comparative licence which their tribal customs permit them in the matter of inter-marriage" had a considerable influence upon the indigenous races who were

1. Ibbston, p. 45. 2. A. A., II, p. 317. 3. *Ibid.*, p. 324. 4. *Ibid.*, p. 325.
5. Modern Sham Chaurasi on the Jullundur-Hoshiarpur Railway line.

already cast and recast so many times, and it was the result of this contact that ultimately made the grip of the caste upon the Punjab less severe than upon the rest of India.

The Gakhars inhabited the hilly parts of the Sind Sagar Doab from Khanpur on the borders of Hazara along the lower range of the hills skirting Rawalpindi, Kuhutu and Gujar Khan as far as Domeli in the Jhelum district. The jats occupied chiefly the northern part of the Rechna, and the Bari Doabs which from Sodhra on the banks of the Chenab along the foot of the hills and bordering round Sialkot stretched as far as Kalanaur near the Beas. The Rajputs of the Punjab fell under three main categories. The first group was spread over the western hills including the Salt Range tract; and its most prominent members, the Janujas and Awans, were dominant mostly in the Sind Sagar Doab. The second nucleus constituted by the Sombansis, the Bhattis, the Jaswals, the Surajbansis, the Jasrotiahs, the Narus, and the Mians, was to be found chiefly in lower hills which fringe the Punjab, Himalayas and the extreme northern plains of the Bist Jullundur Doab and the Bari Doab. Most of these belonged to the ruling clans which ruled over Chitor, Suket, Mandi, Kotlahar, Nandon, Hariana Dhameri, Man, and Kangra. Other chief castes like Khori Wagah, Khokhar, Sasa Nwal Sadhal, Brahman, Arwal, Bhanal, Kolra, Manhas, Bhutiyalab, Chimab, Silharia and Gujar were spread all over the country.¹

Lahore was the most important city of the province. It was an old town the foundation of which the author of *Khulasat-ut-Twarikh*² ascribes to Lav, the son of King Ram Chandra. This city

1. *The Castes in the Punjab* by Ibbston, p. 93.

2. Sarkar : *India of Aurangzeb*, p. 80.

had been the capital of many Muslim dynasties, but as the Mughals did not choose to reside in this city, its grandeur and population had declined. When Aurangzeb came to the throne, the river Ravi, which passed by this city, had become a menace to it. Every year there occurred heavy floods and many houses and gardens of the town were destroyed. So in 1662, Aurangzeb gave orders that a strong embankment should be built for their protection. Accordingly an embankment, about two *kos* in length was constructed and

"this rampart of Alimgir protects the town like the rampart of Alexander. In many places by building flights of steps they have made the lip (bank) of the river attractive like the lips of the fair. The high grandees have added to the beauty of the town by building charming houses and pleasant mansions overlooking the river."¹

Many skilled artisans of various countries and every class of handicraftsman of the age lived here. It had a very big market where all sorts of commodities were bought and sold. The city was full of mosques and Aurangzeb built another on the bank of the river opposite the lofty palace.² In the centre of the town, we are told, there was another important mosque

"that of Wazir Khan alias Hakim Alim-ud-Din of the time of Shah Jahan, which looks like a beautiful mole on the cheek of the town."³

On the other side of the Ravi, near Shahdara, stood the august tomb of Jahangir and close to it was the tomb of Asaf Khan (Abul Hasan) of the time of Jahangir. The town, we are further

1. Sarkar : *India of Aurangzeb*, p. 81.

2. Now there seems to be no trace of any such mosque at the bank of the river.

3. Sarkar : *India of Aurangzeb*, p. 82.

informed, was full of gardens and rose-bowers in the outskirts. But the garden of Shalimar, laid out by Shah Jahan in imitation of one of the gardens of Kashmir, 'ravishes the heart of the beholder.' "The greatest of the great" saints, Pir Ali Hajweri, who had both "learning and piety" also lay buried in the town."¹

Francois Bernier, a French traveller in India, gives the following description of the city of Lahore:

"Unlike the buildings of Delhi and Agra, the houses are very lofty; but, the court having resided during the last twenty years or more in one of those two cities, most of the houses in Lahore are in a ruinous state. Indeed many have been totally destroyed and have buried many of the inhabitants under their ruins, in consequence of the heavy rains which have prevailed of late years. There are still five or six considerable streets, two or three of which exceed a league in length; but not a few of the houses in them are tumbling to the ground. The river having changed its bed, the King's palace is no longer seated on its banks. This is a high and noble edifice, though very inferior to the palaces of Delhi and Agra."²

There were many other important towns in the province. Jallandhar was a town in the *doab* of Bait Jallandhar. Near this town there was the tomb of Pir Nasir-ud-Din, the well-known saint. This tomb was a place of pilgrimage. Another important tomb near the city was that of Sheikh Abdullah of Sultanpur, who was famous for his learning and accomplishments and became celebrated in the reigns of Humayun and Akbar.

1. K. As translated by Sarkar in *India of Aurangzeb*, p. 82.

2. Bernier's *Travels in the Mughal Empire*, translated by Archibald Constable, p. 384.

Bujwara¹ and Sultanpur were two other important towns in this *doab*. Both were known for their gold embroidery and cloth-weaving works. Patti² was a town in the Bari Doab. It had a large garden and a tank. A big fair was held there every year in the month of *Baisakh*. Two or three *kos* from Patti was the small town of Ram Tirath,³ which was a very ancient and holy place.

Another important city was Batala⁴, which had a very pleasant climate. This town was founded by Rai Ram Dev Bhatti, Zamindar of Kapurthala. This was a very prosperous town and contained many tanks, fine buildings and pleasant gardens. In the reign of Aurangzeb, Wazir Khan, who was employed as Overseer of this *parganah* of Batala effected many improvements in the city such as building *pucca* bazars. Banki Rai, who was the Qanungo of the city, built many charming rest-houses and caravan-sarais. Subsequently some wells were added to this town, and these increased its importance. Amar Singh, another 'Qanungo', laid out a garden in imitation of the garden of Shalimar, with three charming terraces. The highest terrace, we are told, overlooked the tank of Shamsher Khan and presented a fascinating spectacle.

In the outskirts of this town there were many important tombs. Two *kos* off in the village of Miani, there was the tomb of Shah Badr-ud-Din, who had his spiritual affinities with the great saint Mohy-ud-Din. Another tomb was that of Shah Shams, about four *kos* away from Batala. The author of the *Khulasat* dwells at length upon the miracu-

1. Bujwara, a village in the Hoshiarpur District, one and a half miles East of Hoshiarpur.

2. Patti in the Kasur Tahsil, Lahore District. Twenty miles north of Sobraon, 31°17' N. 74°54' E.

3. Ram Tirath is 18 miles north-west of Amritsar.

4. Batala in Gurdaspur District, 24 miles from Amritsar.

ous deeds of this saint¹ and then tells us that this tomb was a place of pilgrimage both for the high and the low. A peculiar thing which he tells us about the tomb is that, unlike the other Muslim saints' tombs, it was guarded by a family of Hindus.

Another saint about whom the *Khulasat-ut-Twariikh* tells us is Baba Lal, who was a very learned man, having the knowledge of spiritual truth and wisdom. He lived at a place known as Dhianpur² and many men were believers in him. It is also said that Prince Dara Shikoh held him in great esteem and admired his learning and scholarship.

Kangra³ was another important town in the Bari Doab. It was about 50 *kos* away from Batala. It contained a very strong hill-fort and was the capital of an important hill state ruled by a Hindu family. The Kangra fort was famous throughout the country for its invulnerability.

At the foot of this fort was another town known as Nagarkot.⁴ It was a very holy place as it contained the temple of *Devi Bhawani*, a Hindu goddess. This was known as one of the richest shrines in Northern India. Twice a year it was visited by the pilgrims from all parts of India. Similarly *Jawalamukhi*⁵ was another holy place. Here the people worshipped fire which was constantly coming out of a rock like 'jets of a combustible gas.'

Sialkot (on the Wazirabad-Jammu branch of the North-Western Railway, 32°3' North 74°32' East) was an old and an important commercial town. We

1. Sarkar : *India of Aurangzeb*, p. 87.

2. This place is neither found in Atlas nor in the *Imperial Gazetteer of India*. Probably modern Dina Nagar, near Pathankot.

3. Kangra, 76°16' East 30° S.N. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*).

4. Situated in the Northern slope of a hill surmounted by the fort of Kangra (Sarkar : *India of Aurangzeb*, p. 93).

5. At present it is connected with Kangra by a road about 20 miles long.

are told that it was once the seat of the government of this province. In the environs of the city there were pleasant gardens, especially a garden built by one Nazar Muhammad, famous for its plentiful fruit. In the centre of the town there were the remains of an old fort which was popularly believed to have been the stronghold of the Raja of Salwan.¹ A stream known as Khilree² passed by this town and used to provide a good deal of water to the inhabitants of the city in the rainy season. This town was a 'seat of learning, the resort of learned men, a mine of scholarship and the abode of scholars.'³

In the time of Aurangzeb, there resided a great scholar Maulvi Abdullah, second son of Maulvi Abdul-Hakim, (who distinguished himself in Shah Jahan's reign). This maulvi became a great teacher and imparted knowledge to his pupils. He acted as a guide for all classes of men and was surnamed the 'Imam of the age'. He died in the 25th year of Aurangzeb's reign (1682 A.D.). The city of Sialkot reminds us of the glory of Greece with its academies, philosophers, thinkers and seers who evoked a genuine love for knowledge in the minds of their pupils. The clash of ideas and the collision of mind made this city of mosques a great seat of learning where scholars came from far and near in search of truth.

A few miles away from Sialkot was the small, but holy town of *Dhonkal*,⁴ which was a place of pilgrimage for all times of the year. Purmandal⁵ was another important town about 15 *kos* away from

1. *Imperial Gazetteer*. XII, p. 451.

2. Now there is a stream about 5 miles from it with a different name.

3. Sarkar: *India of Aurangzeb*, p. 97.

4. In the present Gujranwala District, 14 miles north-west of Gujranwala.

5. Fourteen miles south-east-east of Jammu City.

Sialkot in the midst of the Jammu hills. It was known for the large fair that was held here at the occasion of Baisakhi (a Hindu festival). At this time many hill rajas used to come here to take part in the festivities and they used to construct high platforms in the open fields and practise archery. One river *Degh* issued from this place.

Sodhra¹ was an old fort at the bank of the river Chenab. In the reign of Shah Jahan, a noble, Ali Mardan Khan, built a garden city near Sodhra village, and called it Ibrahimabad, after his own son. One garden here rivalled the Shalimar and a canal dug out of the river Tavi used to water this garden. Aurangzeb's government assigned to this noble 2,000 villages of Sodhra, rent-free, for the repair of the aforesaid garden and city.

The most important town in the Chunhat Doab, was the town of Gujrat.² It contained a number of tanks, wells and mosques built by a saint Shah Daula. He also built a bridge over the Bhimber stream,³ which passed near this city. This town was an abode for all classes of men, and was a big market-place. Near it there stood the tomb of the aforesaid saint Shah Daula, who died in the 17th year of Alamgir's reign (1674). The tomb of this holy man, "who was a personification of charity," was an object of pilgrimage and veneration.

Kheora⁴ and Shamsabad⁵ were two important towns in the Sind Sagar Doab, and were known for the salt and lime mines.

The author of the *Khulasat-ut-Twarikh* gives the following account of the rivers of the Punjab :

1. Four miles north-east of Wazirabad.
2. At present a district town about 7 miles from Chenab river.
3. At present about 4 miles from Gujrat on the Grand Trunk Road.
4. Kheora, 32. 39 N. 73.4 E.
5. Near Pind Dadan Khan in the Jhelum District.

The river Sutlej issues from the mountains of Bhu Tibbat and travels by the territories of Kullu,¹ Bashahr² and Kalhur.³ Then this river parts into two branches at Maiko-wal⁴ and then forms one stream again on arriving at the village of Rupar.⁵ Then passing by the neighbourhood of Macchiwara,⁶ Ludhiana and the villages of Talun⁷ and Tharah,⁸ it joins Beas near the *mauza* of Bauh.

The second river Beas also rises in the hilly country of Bhu Tibbat, from a lake.⁹ Passing by the town of Kulu it arrives at the city of Mandi.¹⁰ Thence flowing through Suket,^{10a} it reaches the fort of the town of Hindur.¹¹ Passing near the territory of Guler and by the villages of Purnur¹² it descends from the hills. In the plains it passes by the fort of Khanwan,¹³ the city of Govindwal¹⁴ and thence joins the Sutlej at the *mauza* of Bauh. Both these rivers pass by the towns of Firozepur and Mamdot and reach the *mahals* and the Sarkars of Dipalpur.¹⁵ Leaving Dipalpur, the river again bifurcates, one part getting the name of Sutlej and the other Beas, but after a few leagues they unite

1. Kulu. 32.5 N. 77.2 E.

2. Bashahr. A hill state lying north-east-east of Simla.

3. Kahlur, a state north-west of Simla.

4. Twenty miles west of Bilaspur city. It was the abode of Guru Govind Singh.

5. Rupar : Situated in the district of Ambala at the point where the Sutlej issues from the hills. (47 south-west).

6. Macchiwara, midway between Rupar and Ludhiana.

7. Talun (Talwan), 32 miles south of Jalandhar City.

8. It is not found in Atlas.

9. No such lake is shown in modern atlases.

10 10a. Mandi and Suket are two small states about 70 miles north-east of Kangra.

11. Hindur, probably a mistake for Nadaun, 15 miles north of Kangra fort.

12. Purnur, probably a mistake for Nurpur, midway between Chamba and Batala.

13. Khanwan, 10 miles south of Gurdaspur town.

14. Govindwal, 14 miles south-west-west of Kapurthala.

15. Dipalpur, 30.40 N. 73.43 E.

again. Then passing by the limits of Fatehpur, and Khiror,¹ the river gets the name of Kanarah and then in the territory of the Baluchis it merges into the river Indus.

The third river Ravi issues from the mountain of Man Mahes (in the present Chamba State). After coming out of Chamba and flowing to the boundaries of the land of Beshuli,² it reaches the fort of the town of Shahpur,³ a dependency of Nurpur. After leaving this place it flows by the limits of Pathankot, Kalanor and Batala and then reaches the city of Lahore. At Lahore it passes at the feet of Imperial buildings. From Lahore it flows to Faridabad⁴ and then to Multan and finally it unites with the rivers Chenab and Jhelum near Sarai Sindhu (20 kos from Multan).

The fourth river is the Chenab, which also issues from the hills of Chamba. Leaving Chamba it reaches the feet of the towns of Ambara and Akhnoor⁵ and then enters the plains. Here it passes by the cities of Bhalulpur, Sodhra⁶ and Wazirabad and then proceeds along the fort of the cities of Bhowana, Mizl and Hazara,⁷ passes between two hillocks near the town of Jind-Niwat and finally uniting with the river Bihat (Jhelum) at the town of Jhang-Sialan,⁸ it proceeds onwards.

The fifth and the last river of the Punjab is Bihat or Jhelum. It issues from a lake (Verinag)

1. Khiror, probably a mistake for Kharrar, which is given in Atlas.

2. Beshuli, 20 miles South-West of Chamba.

3. Shahpur, (32.23 N. 75.44 E) North of Pathankot.

4. Faridabad, 28.25 N. 77.21 E. *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. IV, p. 392).

5. Akhnoor, 32.5 N. 74.47 E., (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. I, p. 140).

6. Sodhra, 32.29 N. and 74.14 E. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. XXIII, p. 68).

7. Hazara, between 33.45 and 35.2 N lat. and 72.35 and 74.9 long.

8. Now called Jhang, 31.16 N. long. 72.21 E. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. VII, p. 213).

in the Kashmir hills and reaches the city of Srinagar. Here it passes through the bazars and streets, where charming buildings, delightful gardens and attractive parks are built at its banks. From Srinagar the river flows on till it goes out of Kashmir. Here it is joined by the river Krishanganga.¹ Thence it reaches the foot of the town of Dangali,² (the seat of the government of the Chief of Gakkhars.) Afterwards the river passes near many places in the Gakkhar territory and reaches below the city of Jhelum and gets the name of the Jhelum river. Then flowing by the cities of Girjbak,³ Bhera⁴ and Khushab⁵ it joins the river Chenab at Jhang-Sialan.

The Punjab was a very fertile province. Its cultivation depended upon irrigation from wells. Water-wheels were constructed by mechanics and these were fitted to the wells and by means of this device, large quantities of water were drawn out of the wells by rotating the wheels, by means of bullocks or camels. The autumn crops depended upon rain. Musk-melons were grown in abundance and they could be had all round the year. Other crops of the province were rice, grain, mango and sugarcane. Snow was brought down from the mountains by the rich to cool their drinks. At some places in this province horses of good breed could be procured. One such place was Awan, according to the 'Ain' and Asatpur-mati according to 'Khulasat' (*India of Aurangzeb*, p. LXXVI).

The industries in this province were confined

1. "At Muzaffarabad, just before entering the British territory the Jhelum receives the Krishan Ganga, which rises in Baltistan or Little Tibet." (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. VII, p. 165).

2. Dangali, a Gakkhar stronghold near Hilan, a ferry on the Jhelum.

3. According to Cunningham, a Hindu name for Jalalpur. *India of Aurangzeb*, p. 107.

4. Bhera, on the left bank of Jhelum, 10 miles South-West of Pind Dadan Khan.

5. Khushab, 32.16 N. 72.14 E.

to a very few cities. Bujwara (1½ miles from Hoshiarpur) was famous for its cloth manufacture and gold-embroidered *fotah*. At Sultanpur in the Jalandhar Doab, *Chhint*, *dolai* and embroidered cloth were manufactured. Sialkot was known for the manufacture of many kinds of paper, such as *mansinghi* paper and silken paper of very fine texture. Embroidery with silk and gold threads and many kinds of sheets, table-clothes tray-covers etc., with figures in gold-threads were manufactured here. Weapons like *jamdhar*, *katari* and lance were also made in this city. Gujrat was another city where these weapons were manufactured. Some work of embroidery was also done in Gujrat. We are also told that in this city horses of very superior kind were bred and sold. Near the salt mines of Shamsabad some fancy articles were made of salt and sweet-lime.¹

Both 'Ain' and 'Khulasat' tell us about a number of mines in this province. There were copper and iron mines at Suket and Mandi in the Jalandhar Doab. Salt mines were found near Shamsabad on the Indus, and the best salt mine was that of Kheora. A quarry of sweet-lime was also found near Shamsabad. In Jammu there was a mine of tin. In certain rivers, especially the Beas and Jhelum, gold, silver and various other metals were found by washing sand.²

Lastly we might say something about the climate of this province of 'Five Waters'. 'Khulasat' tells us that on the whole the province had a very pleasant climate although its summers were hotter and winters cooler than those of the rest of Hindustan.

1. *Khulasat-ut-Twarikh*, in *India of Aurangzeb*, p. LXXVII.

2. *Ibid.*, p. LXXVII.

In the century that intervened between the 'Ain' and the 'Khulasat', changes occurred in the Mughal Empire. The names of the Sarkars, the numbers of the *mahals* the amount of revenue and the descriptions of the towns, as given by the author of the 'Khulasat,' enable us to institute an interesting comparison with the 'Ain', that is to make a comparative study, however, rude and incomplete,—of the *India of Akbar* (1594 A.C.) and the *India of Aurangzeb* (1695 A. C.).

Here is an attempt to do the same :—

Length from the Sutlej to the Indus 180 *kos* ;
 Extent breadth from Bhimber to Chaukhandi, 86 *kos*. (A.)

Divisions The province was divided into *doabs* insteads of *Sarkars*.

1594	....	5 <i>doabs</i> ,	232 ¹ <i>mahals</i>
1665	....	14 <i>Sarkars</i>	314 <i>parganas</i>
1695	....	5 <i>doabs</i> ,	316 <i>mahals</i>
1700	....	—	458 ..
1720	....	5 ..	329 ..

Sarkars (1594)

(1695)

(1720)

Jalandhar Doab, 60 m	[The 5 <i>doabs</i>	Jalandhar Doab, 69 m
Bari .. 52	of the Ain.]	Bari .. 57
Rechnau .. 57		Rachnau .. 49
Chinhat .. 21		Chinhat .. 22
Sind Sagar .. 42		Sind Sagar .. 48
		Kangra .. 63

1. The *Ain* (ii. 315) gives 234 *parganas* in the preliminary statement, but by adding to ether the *mahals* of the *Sarkars* we get 232 *mahals*.

The total area of measured land rose from
 Area and Revenue. 1,61,55,643 *bighas* in 1594 to
 2,43,19,960 *bighas* in 1720.

Sarkars	Area in <i>bighas</i> in		Rev. in Rs. in	
	1594	1720	1594	1720
Jalandhar ...	32,79,303	39,39,518	31,09,130	35,93,751
Bari ...	45,80,003	52,39,857	35,70,204	49,33,751
Rechnau ...	42,53,148	98,52,010	43,01,192	10,66,088
Chinhat ...	26,33,210	40,41,809	16,12,560	23,17,218
Sind Sagar ...	14,09,929	12,56,771	12,97,805	35,14,984
Kangra ...	...	...	...	14,51,346

The total provincial revenue was

in 1594 Rs.	1,39,86,460	1707 Rs.	2,06,53,302
1648 ..	2,25,00,000		1,45,29,765
1654 ..	2,72,43,994	1720 ..	{ excluding Kangra
1665 ..	2,46,95,000		1,59,81,111
1695 ..	2,23,34,500		{ including Kangra
1697 ..	2,33,95,000	Tieff ..	2,24,53,304.
1700 ..	2,23,25,985		

The chapter on the Panjab is by far the longest and most important in the *Khulasat*, whereas the account of the same province in the *Ain-i-Akbari* is very meagre and incomplete. In treating of the Panjab, Abul Fazl is silent on the industries, fairs, important cities, holy men, and other points on which he has usually a wealth of information in the case of other *Subahs*. On the other hand, the author of the *Khulasat* was a native of the Panjab, and he has lovingly recorded every piece of information he could collect about his own province. His account is, therefore, accurate, full, and up to date, and nowise inferior to the best descriptive chapter of the *Ain*. A brief summary only is possible here; for the full account the reader is referred to

the appendix. The few points supplied by the *Am* are marked 'A', all the rest, though unmarked, being supplied by K. I have no space in this chapter for the succession-list of Sikh Gurus and the detailed description of the courses of the six rivers of the Panjab which K. furnishes.

CITIES: (1) *Lahor*, supposed to have been founded by Lava, the son of

Lahor.

Ramchandra, the hero of the *Ramayan*; hence its other name *Lahawar* (A. & K.) In the later Hindu period, *Sialkot* became the provincial capital and *Lahor* fell into decay. But *Malik Ayaz*, the favourite of *Mahmud of Ghazni*, restored the town and defended it by a fort, and it again became a capital and remained so under the last two *Ghaznvide* kings. Under *Tatar Khan*, a noble of *Bahlol Lodi*, it again became the seat of government. Subsequently it was repaired and enlarged by *Akbar*. (A. & K.) *Jahangir* loved it particularly, and he increased its beauty and importance in various ways. He lies buried at *Shahadra*, on the other bank of the *Ravi*, and near him sleeps his brother-in-law and minister, *Asaf Khan*. Near *Lahor* *Shah Jahan* laid out the famous garden of *Shalimar*—which was one of the wonders of India. *Aurangzeb* constructed a bund, 2 *kos* in length to prevent the encroachment of the *Ravi* upon the town. He also built a lofty stone mosque at a cost of 5 lacs of *Rupees*. But the cathedral (*jama*) mosque of *Wazir Khan* is more celebrated. The saint *Pir Ali Hajuri* lies buried in this town.

(2) *Jalandhar* contains the tombs of the saints

Other Cities.

Nasir-ud-Din and *Abdulla Sultanpuri*. (3) *Guru Govind Chak*

had a large garden and tank to which pilgrimages were made annually. (4) *Ramtirath*, a holy place.

(5) *Batala* (in the modern Gurdaspur District) was the birth-place of the author of the *Khulasat*. A long and minute account of its foundation, history, buildings, and holy men, has been given in the appendix. In its environs were the tombs of many holy men. (6) At *Dhianpur*, near Batala, lived the Hindu saint Babalal, who was much respected by Dara Shekoh. (7) *Achal*, 2 kos from Batala, contained the shrine of Kartik, the son of Mahadeva. At the vernal equinox a *mela* took place here, of which a graphic description has been given in the appendix. (8) At the foot of the hill-fort of Kangra is *Nagarkot*, containing the shrine of Bhavani. Pilgrims visited it in September and February. Some of them, in order to gain their wishes, used to cut out their tongues (A., but K. adds that others severed their heads) before the idol, but the lost limbs were restored miraculously, and the men lived. (A. & K.) (9) *Jwalamukhi* 10 kos from Nagarkot; here tongues of flame issued from the ground and were worshipped as a manifestation of the Devi (A. & K.) (10) *Sialkot*, supposed to have been founded by Shalya (a hero of the Mahabharat), and restored by Shalivahan (the founder of the Shaka era), an old fort being traditionally ascribed to the latter. In later times it was repaired by Muiz-ud-din Muhammad Ghori, Man Singh, and Masdar Khan Faujdar in succession. Among the pious founders of the town were many members of the Jaina tribe of Bhabra. In the rainy season, when its canal over-flowed, the townsmen merrily disported themselves in the water on inflated skins. It was a seat of Islamic learning, the school kept by Maulana Kamal and his descendants being especially famous. (11) *Dhonkal*, 4 m. S. of Wazirabad, a place of pilgrimage. (12) *Purmandal*, 14 m. S. E. E. of Jammu city, had a temple of Shiva, to which pilgrims, mostly hill-men, flocked in the

month of Baisakh. (13) *Sodhrā*, 4 m. N. E. of Wazirabad. Near it Ali Mardan Khan, the famous engineer of Shah Jahan, founded a city named *Ibrahimabad* after his son, and laid out a fine garden, watered by a canal issuing from the Tavi river. (14) *Gujrat*, a town founded in the reign of Akbar, as the headquarters of a separate *pargana* created by detaching villages from the *pargana* of Sialkot. Shah Daula, a holy man of this town, whose illumination of mind was believed to have led him to discover hidden treasure,—spent large sums in adding buildings and bridges to the town and otherwise increasing its splendour. One of these bridges is given in the *Indian Atlas*. (15) *Balnath Jogi* (or Tilla), a hermitage and resort of Jogis, where pilgrims assembled on the Shiva-ratri. (A. & K.) (16) *Atak Banaras*, a famous fort built by Akbar, was the ethnic frontier of India. "It is a city....midway between Hindustan and Kabulistan, so that on this bank the manners, customs, and language are Indian, while on the other bank are the houses of the Afghans and Afghan customs and speech." Just below it the Indus swept violently through a narrow channel. The danger of the passage was increased by two jutting precipices of black slate, which formed a whirlpool between them. Many boats were wrecked here. The name of the rock (*Jalali*) originated in a *bon mot* of Akbar. (17) There was a sacred lake (named *Kota Chhina*?) in the *mahal* of Makhiala. It rivalled in sanctity the Pushkar lake of Ajmir.

The Panjab was a very fertile province (A.)

Crops etc.

Cultivation depended upon irrigation from wells (A. and K.)

Very good water-wheels were constructed by mechanics here. The autumn crops depended upon rain (K.) Musk-melons could be had all the year

round. (A.) Excellent vine, mango, rice, and sugarcane grew here. Snow was brought down from the northern mountains (A.) by the rich to cool their drinks. Horses of good breed were procurable, especially at *Awan* (A., or 'Astpur-mati' according to K.)

On this point the *Ain* is absolutely silent, and all our knowledge comes from

Industries.

the *Khulasat*. *Bajwara* (1½ m. from Hoshiarpur) was famous for its cloth manufacture, especially *sirisaf*, *adhars* (?), *doriah*, *panch tolia*, *jhona*, white *chirah*, and gold-embroidered *fotah*. At *Sultanpur* in the Jalandhar doab, *chhint*, *dolai*, and embroidered cloths were finely made. *Sialkot* was celebrated for the manufacture of paper (especially silk-paper and a variety called the *Man-singhi*) embroidered cloth (especially *bafta*, *chirah*, *fotah*, *sozani*, *adsaka* (?), table-cloth, tray-covers, and small tents), and weapons (the *jamdhar katari*, and lance.) At *Gujrat* were manufactured swords, *jamdhars*, and embroidered cloth. A species of horse resembling the Arab, was bred here some of them selling for a thousand Rupees each. Near the salt mines of *Shamsabad*, trays, dishes, lamps and other fancy-articles of rock-salt were made (A). Similar artware was also manufactured from sweet lime in that region.

The *Ain* mentions copper and iron mines at

Mines.

Saket and Mandi in the Jalandhar doab, salt mines at *Dhankot* on the Indus and at *Makhiala* and *Shamsabad*. The *Khulasat* mentions the last two places only, and gives a long account of the extraction of rock-salt near *Shamsabad* and the names of the best mines (*Keora* and *Khura*.) From the *Ain* we learn that the merchants purchased rock-salt from the mines at 2½ to 9½ pies a maund, the landlord charged a royalty of 4 annas on each porter of salt

(i.e., on say $1\frac{1}{2}$ maunds), and the State levied a duty of $11\frac{1}{3}$ pies on every maund. Thus, a maund of salt at the pit's mouth cost in all from 5 annas $1\frac{2}{3}$ pies to 5 annas $8\frac{1}{3}$ pies ; a little *less than* $5\frac{1}{2}$ annas on an average was the cost price of a maund of rock-salt in Akbar's reign. There was also a quarry of sweet lime in this region. (K.) In Jummu there was a mine of tin (*qal'i*). "Taking gravels from the river Tavi and setting them on fire, tin of unparalleled whiteness, hardness, and durability" was made. (Appendix) "In some places in the northern mountains, there are mines of gold, copper, brass, and iron, which yield revenue to the Imperial government" (K.) In certain rivers, especially the Beas and the Jhelum, gold, —(the *Ain* adds 'silver, copper, *rui*, zinc, brass, and lead')—was obtained by washing sand. (K.)

Chapter II

AKBAR'S ACCESSION AND EARLY DIFFICULTIES

The condition of the Punjab on the eve of the accession of Akbar presented a curious state of affairs. The first thing which strikes a casual observer is, that it was not a homogeneous state but was split up into two clear-cut parts. The one was held directly by the Mughals while the other lying chiefly to the North, enjoyed a complete independence. This was a nucleus of small hill states extending from the river Ravi to the river Jhelum and was governed by petty hill chieftains.

These small realms fell into three well-defined groups. First comes the Eastern Belt ranging from the Sutlej to the Ravi.¹ It comprised Kangra under Dharm Chand, Guler under Ram Chand, Siba under Prag Chand, Nurpur under Takhat Mal, Chamba under Ganesh Varman, Suket under Arjun Sen, Mandi under Saheb Sen, Kullu under Uttam Chand² and Spiti, Kullher, Bhangahal, Jaswan and Shahpur under other small chieftains. These states were primarily Hindu with the exception of Shahpur which was under the sway of a Muslim clan Pathania.³ The strongest of them all was Kangra under Dhram Chand.⁴

The Central Belt stretched from the Ravi to the Chenab and also embraced a portion of lower Eastern

1. C.A.G., p. 150.

2. P.H.S., I and II, pp. 137, 200, 210, 212, 222, 297, 352, 379, 450, 479, 499 respectively.

3. *Ibid.*, II, p. 50.

4. A.N., II, p. 35.

valley of the Jhelum. It included Jammu under Kapur Dev, Mankot under Partap Dev, Jasrota under Daulat Dev, Basolhi under Gajendar Pal, Bhadrawah under Bishambar Pal, Bhadu under Anant Pal, Kashtawar under Vija Singh¹ and Lakhan Pur, Samba, Bhan, Bhoti, Chanchi and Bandrata under various other chiefs. This part of the group again was primarily Hindu in which Jammu under Kapur Dev occupied a very conspicuous place. But the other part which was beyond the Chenab and covered an area up to the lower Eastern valley of the Jhelum was predominantly Muslim and was composed of Rajoari under Bahadur Khan, Punch, Bhimbar, Kari Khariah and Kotli under other Muslim chiefs.²

The Western Belt extending from the upper valley of the Chenab to the upper valley of the Indus was made up of Kashmir under Ghazi Khan, and Gingal, Muzaffarabad, Khajan, Garhi, Rash Dhantamar, Gandgarh, Darband, Torbela, Pharwala, Sultanpur and Khanpur and was governed by Muslim tribes of the Khaka, Bambas, Afghans and Gakhars under the hegemony of Kashmir ruler Ghazi Khan.³

Now turning to the other part held directly under the suzerainty of the Mughals we are confronted with a situation not less complicated. Though a greater part of the Punjab was reduced by Humayun, yet it cannot be asserted that his authority there was quite absolute and firmly established. It was disputed by Sikandar who, though ousted from the throne of Delhi by being defeated at Sirhind in June 1555, yet retained some pretensions to be the emperor of India and had therefore betaken himself to the Sivalik hills to harass the imperial authorities.⁴ To aggravate the situation still further Abul Ma'ali the governor of the Punjab, who instead of throwing

1. P.H.S., II, pp. 535, 565, 568, 599, 619, 633, 648 respectively.

2. C.A.G., pp. 152-53. 3. *Ibid.*, pp. 150-51. 4. A.N., I, p. 634

himself whole-heartedly into the execution of his duty of frustrating the designs of Sikandar Sur,¹ had begun to abuse his power by misappropriating royal treasury to his own personal use and molesting his subordinates, in the face of such a grave menace.² As a precautionary measure he was superseded, no doubt, by Akbar with his tutor Bairam Khan in November 1555³ but it improved the situation in no way. He was lingering in the Punjab still and was in a sullen temper because of his supersession and as well as owing to the slight which he had received at the hands of Akbar who refused to let him sit with him and partake of food on the same royal table, contrary to the habit of Humayun.⁴

Such was the state of affairs in the Punjab when Humayun died on 29th January, 1556 as a result of a fall from the roof of the royal observatory⁵ and Akbar ascended the throne at Kalanaur (in the Bari Doab *vide* A.A., II, page 319 ; now it is in the Gurdaspur District) on February 14, 1556 with the approval of the officers under Bairam Khan.⁶ But the coronation in no way implied a smooth sailing for the boy-king, who found himself in a most disconcerting and embarrassing situation, which was still further intensified by the fact that he was only a minor.

Humayun had left but a poor legacy for him. After his restoration he had hardly got any time to recover his old possessions or even to consolidate what little he had actually received ; consequently the whole of his dominions and especially the Punjab was in a somewhat unstable condition. Not only had he failed to bring the administration of the Punjab on to a regular basis but also he could not in so short a space of time, erase from the minds of the people the

1. A.N., I, p. 634.

2. T.A.E., V, p. 239.

3. A.N., I, pp. 639-40.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 662.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 662.

6. T.A.E., V, p. 241.

bitter memory of the invasions of Changiz and Timur. No genuine love and sympathy was felt for the Mughal Dynasty and the masses if not actually hostile were quite indifferent to its fate. Not to speak of others even his own officers did not appear to be sincere in their profession of loyalty towards him. Abul Ma'ali being out to the quick at his supersession and slight was nursing hostile designs and looking for an early opportunity to raise the standard of revolt against his authority.¹

To aggravate the situation still further, Sikandar Sur one of the claimants to the throne was still in the field and was only biding his time in the Sivalik hills to pounce upon Akbar at the earliest opportunity and to snatch the crown from him. Furthermore almost all the hill tribes except the Gakhars were in a defiant mood, so much so that one of their chiefs, Takhtmal of Nurpur, had actually allied himself with Sikandar and was helping him with men and money.²

Against these heavy odds, Akbar was but poorly equipped. He was only a minor (born on November 23, 1542 A.D., Akbar was only thirteen years of age at the time of his accession) and had no administrative training worth the name. He was surrounded by a host of officers in whom no confidence could be reposed but Bairam Khan who in ability and statesmanship outweighed them all stood out as one brilliant exception in this group. His unflinching loyalty combined with a unique presence of mind, administrative skill and consummate generalship made up for the tender age of the boy-king. With cool head and steady heart he placed himself at the helm of the affairs and set himself to the task of steering the ship of the state through these troubled waters of difficulties.

1. A.N., II, p. 26.

2. P.H.S., II, p. 223.

On February 17, 1556 a meeting of the nobles

The arrest of Shah
Abul Ma'ali.

was convened for the consideration of some financial and political

affairs of the state. Abul Ma'ali was also invited to this conference but he betrayed some hesitation to comply with the imperial orders and brought forth an excuse that he was still in mourning for the late Emperor and was therefore unable to present himself at the meeting. Being pressed, however, he consented to attend the meeting but on certain conditions about his reception and place of sitting. He came and occupied a seat on the right side of the Emperor. When he was in the act of washing his hands before partaking of the feast, Tolaq Khan Qucin, according to a preconcerted plan, slipped behind him quite unnoticed and at a signal from Bairam Khan held him in his grip. The men around also fell upon him simultaneously and after a little struggle overpowered and chained him.¹ Bairam Khan wanted to do away with him instantaneously but was restrained by the Emperor who did not want to mar his accession by this bloody deed, so his life was spared.² He was sent to Lahore and was placed under the custody of Pahlwan Gulgaz—the chief constable of Lahore. Somehow he effected his escape from the prison and took shelter with Kamal Khan Gakhar. Pahlwan was arrested for his criminal negligence, but being stung with remorse and shame, he committed suicide and thus atoned for his neglect.³

Akbar now directed his attention towards extir-

The expedition
against Sikandar Sur.

pating Sikandar Sur. A detachment, sent under the command of Pir Muhammad Khan, after reducing the territory round Dhamiri,⁴ pressed forward and advanced far into the hills. So Sikandar was much discon-

1. A.N., II, p. 29.

2. M.B., II, p. 3.

3. A.N., p. 30.

4. It is in Kangra and is now known as Nurpur. Vide C.A.G. p. 143
A.A., II, p. 318 calls it Dhamiri.

certed at the news about the rapid progress of the invading army and being afraid of withstanding Akbar's might solidly arrayed against his moderate strength, he took to his heels without giving any battle.¹ The Imperial army elated with preliminary victories continued to penetrate still further till it reached Nagar Kot. The fort was invested. After putting up a little resistance, Raja Dharm Chand gave way² and appeared personally at the royal camp accompanied by many other hill chiefs to tender his allegiance. He was accorded a befitting reception and was exalted by his admission into royal favour.³ However Sikandar successfully eluded the grasp of the pursuing army which after striving hard for three months to trace him out, retired to Jullundur at the commencement of the rainy season.⁴

Here at Jullundur on October 13, 1556 arrived the news about the fall of Delhi into the hands of Hemu and flight of Tardi Beg, its governor. Immediately a council of the leading nobles was convened in order to deliberate upon the plan to be pursued. Most of the nobles were for returning to Kabul and leaving India to its fate, but Bairam Khan did not fall in line with them and persisted in marching to Delhi and capturing it. At last after much discussion the will of the Khan prevailed and preparations for the march were made vigorously. When all was ready, Akbar, placing the affairs of the Punjab under Khizr Khwaja Khan, proceeded to Delhi on Friday October 23, 1556.⁵ No sooner had he quitted the Punjab, than Mulla Abdulla Sultanpuri instigated Sikandar to emerge out of the hills and fall upon the forces left behind. Seeing the critical situation in

1. A.N., II, p. 35.

2. F., II, p. 185-6 Raja's name is incorrectly given as Ram Chand by T.A.E., V, p. 248 and M.B., II, p. 4 but A.M., II, p. 35 and F., II, pp. 185-6 calls him Dharm Chand who was the son of Ram Chandra.

3. A.N., II, p. 35.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 36.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 50.

which Akbar was involved, Sikandar recovered his drooping spirits and attempted to make the best of the opportunity thus offered. Accompanied by some landholders and the Afghans, he descended upon the plains and began to collect the land revenue. Khizr making over Lahore to Haji Muhammad Khan Sistani, set out to oppose his progress; but his advance-guard of 2000 was repulsed near the town of Camyari,¹ at a distance of 20 *kos* from Lahore. Khizr struck a hasty retreat and fell back towards Lahore. Sikandar after giving him a hot chase for a short distance returned to his hiding-place.²

Akbar, by this time, being free from the embarrassment caused by Hemu, acted promptly and despatched hastily reinforcements under Sikandar Khan Alan for the help of Khizr. Realising the magnitude of the danger, he himself followed Alan quickly on December 7, 1556.³

On December 17, 1556, on his way to Lahore, he received news about the birth of Bairam Khan's son and regarding it as a good omen, he pressed on and reached Jullundur in a short time. The news about the arrival of the imperial armies at Jullundur paralysed Sikandar. Akbar immediately set his forces in motion and advanced into the hills. Reaching Dhamiri *via* Desuaha⁴ he was warned by his officers not to proceed further lest Sikandar should pounce upon him after enticing him into defiles. But he paid little heed to their cowardly advice and ordered Nasir-ul-Mulk to push on and to bring to book the neighbouring hill-chiefs who had thrown in their lot with the rebels. With a little exertion Nasir-ul-Mulk soon overcame their opposition and brought them to bay. They

1. In the Bari Doab, *vide* A.A., II, p. 318 where it is put down as Jamari or Chamri.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 73-4.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 75.

4. In the Bist Jullundur Doab *vide* A.A., II, p. 316

offered their submission and were therefore confirmed in their jagirs.¹

Meanwhile dissensions broke out in the camp of Sikandar who now finding himself too weak to withstand the onslaughts of the imperial army, fled without encountering the enemy and shut himself up in the fort of Mankot² under Takht Mal. The fort was besieged and was put under a blockade, Adham Khan and Husain Khan acted most courageously and attempted to take the fort by storm but in vain.³ The insurgents bravely held on in the fond hope of an invasion of Delhi by Mubariz Khan Adili which would have served to divert the attention of the king and thus left an open field for Sikandar to realise his long-cherished ambition. But to his utter disappointment that attack never materialised.⁴ Meanwhile the supply of corn also began to run short and this led to a tremendous rise in prices. Desertion of his soldiers became more and more frequent.⁵ All these factors damped his enthusiasm and compelled him to sue for peace. He sent his son Abdur Rahman along with Ghazi Khan Sur to the court as a hostage and begged for pardon. At the intercession of Atak Khan and Pir Muhammad Khan on his behalf Akbar after a considerable deliberation forgave him for his past misdeeds and appointed him to a fief in Bihar.⁶ The fort was surrendered on May 24, 1557 and was put under the charge of Abul Qasim for the time being.⁷ Thakht Mal was arrested and was decapitated by the orders of Bairam Khan. Soon after, the fort was restored to his brother Bakht Mal who gave a pledge to remain loyal to the Emperor.⁸

1. A.N., II, pp. 76-79.

2. In the Rechna Doab A.A., II, p. 321.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 79.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 90. Because Mubariz was slain by Sada Khan the son of Muhammad Khan of Bengal *vide* p. 90 A. II.

5. M.B., II, p. 11.

6. T.A.E., V, p. 255.

7. A.N., II, p. 91.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 96.

Now after the fulfilment of his mission Akbar set out for Lahore on July 31, 1557 accompanied by his mother and other royal ladies who had arrived there from Kabul.¹

During the siege of Mankot a very interesting event which revealed the suspicious nature of Bairam Khan took place. During the last days of the siege Akbar for the sake of diversion, arranged an elephant fight. Two royal elephants, Fatuba and Lagna, were brought forward to fight. Being equally matched the contest between the two was somewhat prolonged and excited a great interest. As ill luck would have it, while fighting they happened to come near the tent of Bairam where he was lying suffering from some boils. There arose a general uproar which caused a great deal of annoyance to him. He scented a conspiracy in it and held Muhammad Atak responsible for all the trouble and his suspicion was allayed with much difficulty by Maham Anga. But reaching Lahore he again returned to the same topic.² Muhammad Atak was much perturbed at his accusations and thought it imperative to clear his position; accordingly he repaired along with his sons to his tent and removed his suspicion by swearing to his innocence.³

At Lahore there also arrived Adham Khan the chief of the Gakbars to pay his homage. Bairam contracted some special attachment to him and in the presence of the king reconciled him to his nephew Kamal Khan and thus helped considerably to smooth their strained relations.⁴

Rainy season being over by this time, Akbar started for Delhi on December 7, 1557, after en-

1. M.B., II, p. 12.

2. T.A.E., V, pp. 255-6.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 13.

4. M.B., II, p. 13.

trusting the affairs of the Punjab to Husain Khan.¹ Reaching Jullundur the marriage ceremony of Salima Sultan Begum—the daughter of Mirza Nur-ud-Din Muhammad—was performed with great pomp and show. Various feasts and amusements were held in the honour of the newly married couple. Thus moving leisurely and hunting on his way Akbar made his exit from the Punjab and reached Delhi on 25th April, 1558.²

1. A.N., II, p. 96.

2. M.B., II, p. 13.

Chapter III

BAIRAM KHAN'S REBELLION

(i) *Husain Khan, 1557-1560*

Husain Khan governed the Punjab for about three years. In 1560 when Bairam Khan began to raise tumult in India, he remained attached to him and was therefore superseded by Shams-ud-Din Muhammad Khan Atka who had been raised to the premiership after the overthrow of Bairam Khan.¹

(ii) *Shams-ud-Din*

Bairam Khan who was left sole master of the situation after the death of Humayun tided over all the difficulties one by one and made the position of Akbar quite secure. But the excess of power made him overbearing and his policy towards the nobles became quite harsh and barbarous. His oversensitive nature which scented a sinister conspiracy in trivial and accidental mishaps soon alienated all the nobility from him. His position as Vakil-i-Saltanat began to kindle feelings of jealousy in the hearts of persons like Adham Khan, Sadiq Muhammad Khan and Maham Anga² who themselves wanted to wield supreme authority in the state. The execution of Tardi Beg had further struck fear into the hearts of the officers³ who had begun to regard their position precarious as long as Bairam was in power. Already biased against him the Sunnis dubbed him as the patron of his own Shia sect. The appointment of Shaikh Gadai⁴ and the promo-

1. A.N., II, p. 143.

2. M.B., II, p. 29.

3. A.N., II, p. 86.

4. M.B., II, p. 22.

tion of his own men to the office of *panj hazari* to the exclusion of the more deserving candidates, disgusted them still further.¹ Not only the nobility and the orthodox Sunni class desired his overthrow but even Akbar was offended with his domineering personality and suspected him of harbouring designs of setting Abul Qasim (the son of Kamran) on the throne. The execution of his two elephant drivers at their most trivial misconduct² and the harsh treatment meted out to his household servants in general³ only served to accentuate the rupture still further. But the most important was the fact that Akbar had outlived the necessity of a hard-shell and his expanding nature sought to get rid of the tutelage of Bairam Khan who denied to him any power of discretion and participation in the political and financial affairs of the state and always kept him short of money.⁴ Akbar now wanted to be king in reality (*de facto*).⁵

So the jealous nobility and disgusted Emperor conspired together and plans were set afoot to compass his destruction. The young monarch, who had been prevailed upon by Maham Anga, Sharaf-ud-Din Husain and Adham Khan to assume the control of the state, one day on the pretext of hunting, repaired to Biyana where the whole conspiracy was hatched.⁶ So on Monday, 19th March, 1560 according to the plan hatched there Akbar set out from Agra accom-

1. A.N., II, p. 162.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 140.

3. M.B., II, p. 30.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 30.

5. A.N., II, p. 143.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 141 says that Akbar confided his intention of assuming the control of the state to these persons. This is mere garbling of the actual fact which seems to have been painful enough so as to make Abul Fazl try to show that his patron was not puppet in the hands of the courtiers. But the true fact is that Akbar was yet quite incapable of exercising his own discretion in the sphere of practical politics as is indicated by the terms "veil lifted" and "veil drawn" so many times used by Abul Fazl. It was Maham Anga, into whose hands he now resigned his whole authority. (*Vide* A.N., II, p. 149) who egged him on to declare himself so-called king *de facto* as well. And Dr. Smith has very aptly remarked, "That Akbar shook off the tutelage of Bairam only to bring himself under the monstrous regiment of unscrupulous women" (*vide* Akbar, p. 48).

panied by Abul Qasim on a hunting expedition and crossed the river Jumna. After passing the night at the house of Hakim Zambil he resumed his march next morning and by way of Jalesar arrived at Sikan-dara. There Maham Anga divulged the whole plot to Muhammad Baqi Baqlani (father-in-law of Adham Khan) who without any loss of time communicated the whole thing to Bairam Khan. But he laughed the matter off and undertook no measures to nip the trouble in the bud. From there, at the suggestion of Maham Anga, Akbar made for Delhi to see his ailing mother and arrived there on Tuesday March 27, 1560.¹

At the expression of the fear of Maham Anga about the resentment of Bairam which this step was likely to rouse, Akbar sent a letter to Bairam² explaining the cause of his stay at Delhi and requiring of him amicable treatment towards his servants who had accompanied him to Delhi.³ This message together with the letters which Akbar had despatched to his nobles inviting them to come to Delhi,⁴ convinced Bairam for the first time of the gravity of the mischief wrought by his implacable enemies. He deputed Khwaja Muhammad Khan of Sistan to plead about his honesty before the Emperor. But their solicitation failed to shake off the suspicion of Akbar who instead of communicating a reply to him detained his envoys too.⁵ Now Bairam himself resolved to appear before Akbar to convince him about his sincerity; but at the instigation of the persons around him, Akbar sent Tarsun Muhammad Khan and Mir Habib Ullah to prohibit him from coming to the court.⁶ This was a severe blow to Bairam Khan and this forced him into the arms of the disaffected nobles.

He summoned forthwith a council of his friends.

1. A.N., II, p. 142.

2. M.B., II, p. 30.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 30.

4. A.N., II, p. 143.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 31.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 146.

Sheikh Gadai and Wali Beg advised him to make a *coup de main* but the nobility of his spirit did not allow him to put this heinous manoeuvre into operation and he preferred to retire from public life and to spend the rest of his life in Mecca.¹ On Tuesday, April 8, 1560 he made for Alwar. Arriving at Biyana he set Abul Ma'ali and Shah Muhammad Diwana at liberty and instructed them to appear before Akbar.² He himself moved forward and arrived at Memat. Those who had the Emperor's ear represented to him that Bairam intended to go to the Punjab. The Emperor was alarmed and gave orders for general mobilisation on Friday, April 18, 1560. While Mir Abdul Latif hastened in advance to bring Bairam to a reasonable frame of mind, Akbar himself pressed forward and encamped at Jhajhar on April 22, 1560.³

Here one day Abul Ma'ali made his appearance before Akbar and saluted him from his horseback.⁴ Akbar was touched to the quick at his audacity and ordered him to be arrested. Instantaneously he was overpowered and was bound in chains. Shihab-ud-Din Ahmad Khan was entrusted with the duty of seeing him off to Hijaz.⁵ Having disposed of Abul Ma'ali Akbar turned towards the more pressing affair of forestalling Bairam Khan. A force under Adham Khan, Sharaf-ud-Din, Hussain Mirza, Pir Muhammad Khan, and Majnun Khan was ordered to advance and to block Bairam's passage into the Punjab. On May 3, 1560 Akbar himself retired to Delhi.⁶

1. M.B., II, pp. 31-32.

2. A.N., II, p. 152.

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 152-53.

4. *Ferishta*, A.N., II, p. 156 says that he offered the kornish from horseback while T. A. E., V, p. 25 and M.B., II, p. 33 say that he wanted to embrace Akbar from on horseback. Kornish and embrace are hardly possible from horseback. *Ferishta's* account is more likely. This was quite against the court etiquette and showed an height of impertinence on Ma'ali's part.

5. A.N., II, p. 156.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 157.

When the news about the march of the imperial army spread in the camp of Bairam Khan, a panic seized the soldiers and they began to desert him in large numbers. Only a few persons such as Wali Beg, Ismail Quli Beg, Shah Quli Khan Mahram and Hussain Khan remained attached to him.¹ At this mass desertion the spirits of Bairam sank and he began to feel repentant. Despaired of all success he sent Hussain Quli Khan with some elephants, *tuman-togah*, a standard, a kettledrum and other insignia of office to the court and implored for forgiveness and begged permission to go to the Holy Land. Being assured of his loyalty the royal officers came back while Bairam himself proceeded towards Bikanair² with the intention of keeping an eye on the movements of Maldeo, Raja of Jodhpur who with a considerable force had made himself the master of the road to Gujrat with the design of attacking him.³ But the court party construing this simple fact into something which reflected upon his sincerity renewed its plots against him. And when Bairam learnt that Anga and others were bent upon discrediting and ruining him completely, his exasperation knew no bounds.⁴ The climax was reached when to his great insult Pir Muhammad Khan was despatched after him "to pack him off as quickly as possible to Mecca without giving him any time for delay."⁵ To avenge this grievous slight and to rid the king of his evil councillors he resolved to march upon the Punjab. He sent Khwaja Muzzaffar Ali to Burvesh Beg Uzbek the governor of Dipalpur, to win him over to his own side,⁶ but he was arrested and sent to the court by the latter.⁷

1. A.N., II, p. 157. 2. *Ibid.*, p. 158.

3. T.A.E., V, p. 265. This fact makes shallow the charge levied by Abul Fazl that he was looking for an opportunity of raising disturbance. (*Vide* A.N., II, p. 159). His sincerity is also attested by the dispersal of his men like Sheikh Gadai at his own bidding. (A.N., II, p. 158).

4. A.N., II, p. 159. 5. M.B., II, p. 333. 6. A.N., II, p. 167.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 167.

When Akbar was apprised of his intention he wrote him a letter advising him to desist from his evil course and to proceed towards the Hijaz¹, but Bairam remained obdurate and continued his advance.² Reaching Tabar Hindah,³ he committed his three years old son along with his family and property to the care of Sher Muhammad Diwana and himself pushed forward. At Dipalpur he learnt about the perfidious conduct of Diwana who had appropriated his property to himself and had sent his family to the court.⁴ Bairam was perturbed at this news but being helpless to wreak vengeance upon him, he resumed his march towards Jullundur. On the way the fort of Tharah (situated on the banks of the Sutlej in the Sarkar of Sirhind, *vide* A.A., II, page 295) was invested by Wali Beg but Mirza Abdullah's brave defence set at naught all his attempts at storming it and he was in the end repulsed back with heavy loss.⁵

At the report of the advance of Bairam, Akbar, as a precautionary measure, put Husain Quli Khan under custody and ordered Shams-ud-Din Muhammad Khan Atka, his son Yusuf Muhammad Kokaltash, Mahdi Qasim Khan, Muhammad Qasim Khan of Nishapur, Ali Quli Khan, Mir Latif Hasan Khan and Ahmad Khan to march towards the Punjab. He himself followed them on Tuesday, August 12, 1560.⁶

When the advance-guard reached Guna Cur (it seems to be Gangot of A.A., II, page 317 in the Bist Jullundur Doab. M.B., II, page 35, has Phillour. Its modern name is Gunachaur) it found itself confronted with the army of Bairam. Both sides began to prepare for action. Bairam divided his forces into two parts. The advanceguard was given over to Wali

1. A.N., II, p. 160.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 166.3. *Ferishta* writes it Bhatinda

4. A.N., II, p. 167.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 167.6. *Ibid.*, pp. 168-9.

Beg, Shah Quli Khan Mahram, Ismail Quli Khan, Husain Khan, Yaqub Sultan and Sabz Talkh. The other part along with fifty elephants was kept under his own personal command. On the other Shams-ud-Din also arranged his forces in battle array. He himself commanded the centre; the right wing was placed under Mahdi Qasim Khan and the vanguard under Ali Quli Khan, Qiya Khan and Saheb Hasan; the *Altamash* was to be formed by Farrukh Khan while the post between the *Altamash* and the centre was entrusted to Yusuf Khan Kokaltash. To impart more sanctity to the duty of loyalty of the soldiers, Shams was prudent enough to exact oaths from them, thus binding them with moral as well as legal obligation.¹

The offensive was taken by Bairam, who on August 23, 1560 dashed forward vigorously and pressed on so heavily upon the imperial army that some of its ranks gave way and the soldiers took to their heels. Atka Khan and Yusuf Khan strained every nerve to stem this onrushing tide but in vain. Bairam Khan flushed with his victory and headed by elephants advanced with a firm resolve; but as ill-luck would have it, his elephant struck in the bog. Atka caught hold of the opportunity and began to shoot arrows upon the elephants. Bairam Khan with a mind to charge the imperial army from the left withdrew a little to strike more advantageously but his soldiers taking this retreat to be a flight turned their backs and fled in confusion. Now the imperial army sallied forth and fell upon the retreating soldiers. Many were butchered to death; Husain Khan, Yaqub Hamdani, Ahmad Beg and Wali Beg were wounded and they fell into the hands of soldiers; camps were plundered and burnt to ashes.²

The news about the victory was hailed with joy by Akbar who by this time had reached Sirhind.³

1. A.N., II, pp. 170-1. 2. *Ibid.*, pp. 171-72. 3. *Ibid.*, p. 172.

The title of Azim Khan together with the *Daqu* dress and the *Fath* dress of Bairam Khan were conferred upon Shams in recognition of the great service he had rendered to the king. The prisoners were sentenced to life-long imprisonment. However Wali Beg soon after succumbed to his injuries and some rebels at the intercession of the courtiers were set at liberty.¹

Leaving the army there in the charge of Munim Khan, Akbar himself advanced to Lahore where he was given a sumptuous entertainment by Atka on September 17, 1560. Akbar well-pleased with his reception bestowed upon Atka and his relatives the best land in the Punjab as jagirs. As Shams had fallen sick, Akbar leaving him there returned to Sirhind² alone. Making this place as base of his operations Akbar organised an expedition for the chastisement of Raja Ganesh of Talwara (In the Bari Doab *vide* A.A., II, page 318) with whom Bairam had taken shelter. A detachment advanced far into the hills and overbore the stern opposition of the neighbouring hill chiefs who after being defeated fled into the jungles.³

With the fall of Raja Ganesh the last hope of Bairam Khan flickered away. The valiant death of Sultan Husain Jalair on the battlefield struck him with remorse and he resolved to lay down arms rather than to cause bloodshed for his own selfish ends.⁴ He deputed Jamal Khan to the emperor and craved pardon in words couched in humility, "I deeply repent my deeds which have not been entirely under my own control, but if I am favoured with royal clemency, I will throw the veil of oblivion over my misdeeds and will present myself in your presence and hope for your forgiveness."⁵ At the receipt of this

1. T.A.E., V, p. 267.

2. A. N., II, p. 177.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 178.

4. M.B., II, p. 39.

5. T.A.E., V, p. 267.

message of supplication Akbar's heart was moved and he despatched Maulana Abdullah Sultanpuri to soothe his afflicted mind and bring him to the court. But he declined to appear until Munim Khan (who had by this time come from Kabul, *vide* A.N., II, page 174) was sent to assure him of his safety. At this Akbar moved forward and arriving at Haji Pur (in the Bist Jullundur Doab, *vide* A.A., II, page 316) situated between the Sutlej and the Beas he sent Munim Khan, Khwajah Jahan, Ashraf Khan, Haji Muhammad Khan Sistani to escort Bairam safely to him.¹ In spite of the warnings of his companions he accompanied the envoys to the court² and prostrated himself before Akbar in October, 1560. Akbar stepped forward and with tears in his eyes raised him up and bade him sit on his right hand. He awarded to him his own robe and permitted him to go to Mecca.³

Liberally equipped by his grateful sovereign Bairam now proceeded to the coast to embark for Mecca and in due time reached Patan. There he was surprised one day by a gang of 30 or 40 Afghans who fell upon him and murdered him brutally.⁴ His camp was plundered and his four-year old son and family were rescued with much difficulty by Muhammad Amin Diwana and were sent to the court where liberal provisions were made for the survivors.⁵

On Saturday, November 24, 1560, after making necessary arrangements Akbar at the head of the triumphant army wended his way back to Delhi from where he proceeded to Agra and arrived there on December 21, 1560.⁶

In November 1561 Shams-ud-Din was recalled to serve at the centre while Mir Muhammad Kalan was ordered to take over the charge of the Punjab.⁷

1. A.N., II, p. 179.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 180.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 181.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 202.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 203.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 187.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 230.

(iii) Mir Muhammad Khan Kalan

Raja Ganesh of Nandon¹ in whose mind the last
 The invasion of Raja Ganesh. defeat was rankling bitterly, now got an opportunity to avenge his humiliation and in 1562 he marched against Jan Muhammad Bahandi of Birka, but was driven back with heavy loss. His camps were plundered and his wife who had fallen into the hands of the soldiers was mercilessly put to sword. Being indignant at this unprovoked attack Khan Kalan himself marched into the hills and pressed so hard upon him that he was compelled to sue for terms. At the intercession of Raja Todar he was pardoned and was once again reinstated in his territory.²

The Gakhars belonged to one of the most warlike
 The reduction of the Gakhars. tribes inhabiting the confines of the Punjab at that time. Their territory, lying between the Indus and the Beas and hemmed in from all sides by the hills, occupied a most impregnable position and its reduction was regarded as next to impossible.³ Their relations with Babur and Humayun were quite amicable⁴ but with the accession of Akbar there was a marked change in their attitude. Adham Khan, their chief, had never appeared in the court since 1556 and Akbar was only biding his time to teach him a lesson for his deliberate negligence.⁵ That chance came in 1562.

Kamal Khan the nephew of the ruling chief was serving in the *sarkar* of Lucknow at the time when Khan Zaman was involved in a deadly struggle with the son of Adli in Bengal. The courage displayed by him in the battle won for him a great distinction and the king well pleased at his valour promised

1. Nandon is in the Bist Jullundur Doab A.A., II, p. 314.

2. A.N., II, p. 261. 3. *Ibid.*, p. 296. 4. *Ibid.*, p. 297.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 299.

him, as a mark of favour, any boon he asked. Kamal Khan, who was too shrewd to let this opportunity slip by, asked for his territory which was held unjustly by his uncle.¹ To Akbar who was already looking out for some excuse to make war upon the Gakhars, this was a heaven-sent boon. Immediately orders were issued for the division of the territory into two parts: one was to be placed under Kamal while the other was to be retained by Adham Khan.² But at the refusal of the latter to comply with the imperial order Khan Kalan determined to exact obedience to the decree at the point of sword marched into his territory and encountered the Gakhar forces near the town of Hilan. After a short skirmish the Gakhars were routed. Adham Khan fell into the hands of Khan Kalan's soldiers and was put under strong custody. His son Lashkari was also arrested shortly after and was decapitated by Kamal Khan. After restoring the whole of the territory to Kamal Khan, Khan Kalan marched back to Lahore triumphantly.³

In 1564 being expelled by Sulaiman of Badakhshan from Kabul, Mirza Hakim directed his steps towards the Indus from where he despatched Ghalib Beg and Tyfab Abh to the court and Diwan Khwaja Beg Mahmud and Maqsud Jauhari to Khan Kalan to beg for help. The latter together with the other Punjab officers sent him presents through Qazi Imad and assured him of his assistance⁴ but refrained from giving any active help for the time being. However, at the receipt of the Imperial order in response to the appeal of the Mirza, Khan Kalan accompanied by Muhammad Khan, Quli Khan Birlas, Qutub-ud-Din Khan, Mahdi Qasim Khan, Hasan Sufi, Sultan Jan Muhammad

1. A.N., II, p. 297. 2. T.A.E., V, p. 280. 3. A.N., II, p. 299.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 361.

Bahsuki, Kamal Khan Gakhar, Fazil Muhammad, Quli Khan and Qutub-ud-Din Khan (as guardian of the Mirza) set his forces in motion and crossed the Indus at the ferry of Atak Benares.¹

At the refusal of the governor Qambar to capitulate, the fort of Jalalabad was invested. The adventurous soldiers scaled the walls and jumped into the fort. Qambar along with his 300 men was arrested and beheaded at the spot. His head was sent to the besieged army of Kabul; a new life was infused into the soldiers who stiffened their resistance still more and began to fight with more vigour and determination. But the effect of the capture of Jalalabad on the army of Sulaiman was quite adverse. Consternation spread in the ranks and in spite of the attempts of Sulaiman to allay their fear, the soldiers turned back and fled. Sulaiman, now being helpless, too followed their example.²

Receiving the news of his flight at Jagdalk, Khan quickened his pace and made a triumphant entry into Kabul. Contrary to the orders of the Emperor he decided to stay at Kabul for some time but the other officers departed for the Punjab.³

The Mirza in trifling matters did all according to his bidding but in important and weighty matters no heed was paid to Khan Kalan's advice. For some time he put up with all this but gradually with the lapse of time harmonious relations between the tutor and the ward became more and more impaired. Matters came to a head when the Mirza gave his sister in marriage to Khwaja Hasan Naqshbandi without consulting Khan Kalan whose wrath was further roused at the attempt of the Khwaja to monopolise the whole authority in the household affairs. On one night he secretly left Kabul in a sullen

1. T.A.E., V, p. 294.

2. A.N., II, p. 363.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 364.

temper and reaching Lahore communicated the whole state of affairs to the Emperor.¹

On the other hand, Sulaiman was not a man to be ^{The invasion of} daunted by such reverses ; he once ^{Mirza Hakim.} more mustered his army and marched upon Kabul. The Mirza leaving the charge of Kabul to Masum, himself withdrew to the forts of Shakardera and Ghorband. Sulaiman played many tricks to ensnare him out of the fort but the Mirza received a timely warning and secretly escaped towards India. After crossing the Indus he despatched his ambassador to the Emperor to crave for help.² Akbar, who had already despatched Faridusi to help the Mirza out of the difficulty, at the arrival of the envoy also ordered Khush Khabar Khan to speed on to the Indus. The Punjab officers were also directed, if need be, to accompany the Mirza to Kabul.³

But fate decreed quite otherwise. Khush Khabar Khan, who had managed to reach the Indus earlier received a warm reception from the Mirza which seemed to have roused the jealousy of Faridusi who now excited him to march upon Lahore after putting Khush Khabar under custody. Sultan Ali and Husain Khan added fuel to the fire and whetted his ambition to occupy the Punjab. Thus being incited by all, he crossed the Indus and pillaged the town of Bhera. The report about his advance put the Punjab officers on their guard and Khan Kalan, Qutub-ud-Din Khan, and Sharif Khan concerted their measures together to defend the fort at all costs. The ingratitude of the Mirza worked up to inflame the feelings of Akbar who himself speeded on to the Punjab on Nov. 17, 1566 to conduct operations against him personally.⁴

Meanwhile the Mirza had reached the vicinity

1. A.N., II, p. 365.

2. M.B., II, p. 90.

3. T.A.E., V, p. 312.

4. A.N., II, pp. 410-11.

of Lahore and encamped in the gardens of Mahdi Qasim Khan. Next day the fort was besieged but all his attempts to take it by storm were frustrated by the brave defence of the besieged.¹ When the news about the march of Akbar himself was broken to the Mirza, his spirit sank and now apprehensive of his own safety he fell back hastily towards the Indus. Akbar learnt about his flight at the banks of the Sutlej but the march was continued and Lahore was reached in the end of Feb. 1567. Qutub-ud-Din and Kamal Khan were despatched to the border to chase the Mirza out of India and to soothe the afflicted peasantry which was much harassed by the invaders.²

Akbar now with his mind at rest found ample time for indulging in his hobby of hunting. Preparations for sport were ordered to be made on a very large scale. *The Qamargah Hunt.* *Bakhashis, Tawacis, Sazawals* and thousands of footmen were appointed to every quarter to drive the game within an area of ten miles stretching from the mountains to the river Jhelum. Within one month nearly 15000 animals of every species were driven into that arena. After the Emperor had enjoyed the game for five days, the permission for hunting was given to the senior officers and *harem* attendants. After them came the turn of the court servants and then the hunting ground was opened to all. And after every one had enjoyed the game to his fill, orders were given for the return journey. At the Ravi, followed by others Akbar put his horse into the water and crossed over to the other side safely but Khush Khabar Khan³ and Mir Muhammad were swept away by the rapid current of the stream.

1. A.N., II, p. 410.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 411.

3. T.A.E., V, pp. 316-17.

On March 23, 1567 when news about the revolt of Ali Quli Khan, Bahadur Khan and Iskandar Khan was broken to him by Munim Khan, he immediately set out from Lahore in order to bring the rebels to book.¹

In August 1568 Khan Kalan along with the other jagirdars of the Punjab was summoned to the court to be transferred somewhere else and the government of the Punjab was made over to Husain Quli Khan.²

1. A.N., II, p. 420.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 487.

Chapter IV

HUSAIN QULI KHAN & SHAH QULI KHAN

(i) *Husain Quli Khan, 1568-1575*

In 1570 Akbar once again turned towards the Punjab from Ajmer to pay his respects at the shrine of Shaikh Farid at Pattan. (In the Bist Jullundur Doab A.A., II, p. 322)

The Emperor's visit to the shrine of Shaikh Farid Shakarganj.

On the way receiving a report about the presence of wild asses in the confines of Talwandi (in the Rechna Doab, A.A., II, p. 320) he set out for sport accompanied by only a few attendants and hunted as many as 13 asses. Not contented with this he penetrated still further into the desert leaving his attendants behind to watch over the game; but had not advanced far into this waterless tract when under the scorching heat of the sun he began to faint. The accidental arrival of his water-carrier however saved him and his safe return to the camp was hailed with joy.

After resting there for a few days the camp moved forward and reached Pattan on March 13, 1571. The holy shrine was visited and alms were freely distributed among the poor. Due to the illness of Prince Murad the stay was somewhat prolonged. At his recovery the camp marched back on Monday, April 16, 1571. Akbar himself went in advance and hunting on his way reached Dipalpur (in Multan, A.A., II, p. 331) where he was given a sumptuous entertainment by Khan Azim Mirza Koka. On Thursday, May 17, 1571 he reached Lahore and was received by Husain Quli Khan. At his request he also paid a visit to the newly

built quarters in the town. In the end of May he started for the capital and by way of Hissar reached there in April 1571.

At the royal summons, Raja Jai Chand who had incurred the displeasure of Akbar on some account, after committing his son Bidhi Chand to the care of Raja Govind, repaired to the court in 1572 where he was arrested and sent to jail.¹ His jagir being confiscated was handed over to Raja Birbal. Bidhi Chand presuming his father to be dead girded up his loins to defy the imperial orders and broke out into open rebellion. Husain Quli Khan seeing the revolt assuming a serious aspect set his forces in motion and reached Dhamiri. The Raja Choto submitted but being apprehensive of his safety, he declined to come out of the fort and despatched his two deputies with valuable presents to Husain to pay homage on his behalf and undertook to guard the roads rather than to join the imperial army to effect the reduction of Kangra.² After garrisoning a neighbouring village with a small Mughal regiment,

1. At this point a great confusion has followed. Mr. Hutchison relying upon some Guler Chronicle says that Raja Jai Chand was arrested by Raja Ram Chand of Guler and was then sent to Delhi for confinement. (*Vide* H. P. H. S., I, p. 140). This does not appear to be sound. First because no Muslim chronicler supports the statement and Abul Fazl (A. N., III, p. 51) and Nizam-ud-Din (T. A. E., V, p. 356) are unanimous in saying that he was arrested in the court. Badaoni (M. B., II, p. 164) also corroborates them but with only a slight difference. He says that Jai Chand was in attendance at the court when he was arrested. Secondly we should not attach much value to the Guler Chronicle. There was a family feud between Jai Chand and Ram Chand because the former had wrested away the fort of Kotla from the latter. (*Vide* P. H. S., I, p. 141) so that Guler Chronicle tinged with partiality is likely to distort this particular fact so as to show that the humility on Raja Jai Chand was inflicted by Ram Chand. Abul Fazl (A. N., III, p. 51) says that the Raja returned to Nagar Kot and defended the town. But this is not borne out by facts because at the time of peace negotiations there is no mention of him and it was with Raja Gobind (whom by mistake he calls Gopi Chand) that the peace terms were finally concluded. *Vide* A. N., III, p. 52.

2. T. A. E., V, p. 357.

Husain advanced forward and laid siege to the fort of Kotla held by the Rajputs. The guns which were mounted on an adjacent hill thundered forth fire so terribly that the Rajputs seeing the futility of their resistance fled during the night. The fort was captured and was handed over to the Raja of Guler from whom it was wrested away forcibly by Dharm Chand and Jai Chand of Kangra. Leaving a small Mughal garrison there Husain marched forward and forcing his way through thick jungles he emerged near Nagarkot and pitched his camp by a field of maize. Next day the temple of Maha Mai was invested. The Rajputs held on bravely and died valiantly to a man in the defence of their sacred temple; but it was captured and all its inmates were done to death. The buildings were razed to the ground for making a camping ground.¹

Now came the turn of the main fort. *Sabats* were constructed, mounds and batteries were thrown up, and the guns were mounted on an adjacent hillock. The signal was given and the guns began to thunder forth fire creating havoc and causing destruction all round. A shell struck at the wall of the Palace where Bidhi Chand was taking his meals along with his chiefs. The wall crumbled down over their heads. Nearly 80 persons including Bhuj Dev the son of Raja Takht Mal were killed but fortunately enough Bidhi Chand escaped unscathed and succeeded in effecting a safe flight into the jungles.² Even this catastrophe seemed to have failed to damp the enthusiasm of the Rajputs and they continued to harass the imperial soldiers.

Thus three months passed away when suddenly one day the news of the march of Ibrahim Husain Mirza upon the Punjab reached the

1. T. A. E., V, p. 357.

2. *Ibid.*, V, p. 358.

Mughal Camp. Immediately the meeting of the Privy Council was convened to deliberate upon the course of action in the face of the impending danger. Ali Khan, Yusuf Khan, Karam Khan and Fattu were in favour of hastening towards the Punjab after patching up a hasty treaty with the Rajputs. But Husain Quli Khan with some others was averse to raising the siege as the reduction of the fort was at hand. However the distress of the besieging army threw its weight against Husain who was compelled by sheer force of circumstances to give way, but he was prudent enough to condition his surrender. He required that every Amir should hand over to him his written opinion, signed and sealed, about granting capitulation, so as to ward off any risk of personal responsibility in case the Emperor did not approve the Treaty.¹

The peace negotiations were set afoot and after much deliberation the following terms were laid down :—

1. The Raja should give his daughter in marriage to the Emperor.
2. Some compensation should be awarded to Birbal.
3. One of the Raja's relatives should stay with the imperial army as a hostage.
4. Raja Gobind Chand should come personally to pay his respects.²
5. Gold equal in weight of five men should be paid as tribute.³

The Rajputs agreed to the terms but demanded that one of the brothers of Yusuf Khan should come to the fort so as to guarantee the safe return of the Raja. The condition being complied with, the Raja

1. A. N., III, p. 52. 2. *Ibid.*, p. 52. 3. T. A. E., V, p. 359.

paid his homage. A mosque was also raised in front of Raja Jai Chand's Palace and on Friday, Khutba was read in the name of the Emperor ; coins were also struck.¹

Being now free to chastise the rebel Ibrahim,

Arrest of Ibrahim.

Husain Quli Khan marched back hastily accompanied by Mirza Yusuf Khan, Masnad Ali, Fattu Ismail Quli Khan, Raja Birbal and Raja Gobind Chand. On the way a flying visit was paid to Khwaja Abd-ul-Shahid who gave to Husain his garment and blessing. Leaving behind all the camp encumbrance Husain Khan hastened on at a break-neck speed and succeeded in overtaking Ibrahim near the town of Talamba. (In the Bari Doab, *vide* A.A., II, p. 329) as the latter was out for hunting. Husain Quli without losing any time immediately drew his forces in battle array. He himself occupied the centre; Muhib Ali Khan and Mirza Yusuf Khan were posted on the right wing and Khurram Khan, Dost Khan Sahari, and Shah Qazi Khan Tabrezi on the left; Jafar Khan and Dost Khan held the vanguard.²

At this stage there came a letter from Husain Khan Tukriya (who was pursuing Ibrahim from Sambhal and was now only one stage off Talamba) imploring him to delay the action for one day as he himself was anxious to participate in the struggle against Ibrahim. But Husain Quli who was too wise to let this opportunity slip by, ignored him and resumed his march, in order to assault the fort.³

Masud Husain Mirza, Ibrahim's younger brother, being thus caught unawares, hastily mustered his army

1. T.A.E., V, p. 59. This fact is neither mentioned by Abul Fazl nor by Guler Chronicle *vide* P. H. S., I, p. 145. The former seems to have passed over the matter simply because he did not want to injure the susceptibilities of the Hindus; and the latter is silent because of the injury which it inflicted upon the honour of the Rajputs in general.

2. A. N., III, pp. 152-53.

3. M. B., II, p. 161.

and marched forward to engage the imperialists and a terrible battle ensued. When the battle was at its height Masud's horse stumbled on the rugged ground and the poor fellow came down upon the ground violently. Husain's soldiers instantaneously sprang upon him and after a short struggle overpowered and chained him.¹ Meanwhile there arrived on the scene Ibrahim who, undaunted by the arrest of his younger brother, fell upon the right wing but was driven back with heavy loss. Seeing the wheel of fortune turning against him he took to his heels and escaped towards Multan.² Next day Husain Khan Tukriya also arrived there with his 80 men. At the refusal of Husain Quli to chase the Mirza he himself speeded on after him.³

The Mirza being thus hotly pursued, arrived at the Giara river formed by the junction of the Beas and the Sutlej. It was pitch dark and as he had no boats at his disposal to cross it over he decided to rest on the banks. At the dead of the night when complete hush was prevailing on all sides, he was suddenly awakened from his sweet slumber by a nocturnal attack of Jhils (fishermen of Multan). During the conflict he received a severe wound in the back of his neck.⁴ Disguising himself as Qalandar he escaped and sought asylum with *faqirs*. Sheikh Zakariya, recognising him, communicated his presence to Said Khan, the Governor of Multan. Said acted promptly and despatched Daulat Khan, his slave, to arrest him. At the same time he sent an intimation about his arrest to the Emperor who was on his way to Ajmer from Gujrat. Meanwhile Husain also arrived there and after having an interview with the Mirza returned to his Jagir taking along with him

1. M.B., II, p. 161.

2. A. N., III, p. 53.

3. M.B., II, p. 161.

4. T. A. E., V, p. 355.

nearly 100 prisoners.¹

At the arrival of the Emperor at the Capital Husain Quli hastened towards the court with his prisoners and presented them, wrapped up in the skins of asses, hogs, and dogs, before the Emperor.² Akbar feeling compassion at their wretched condition ordered to open the eyes of Masud which had been sewn up. Some of the prisoners were liberated while the ringleaders were cast into jail and were condemned to life-long imprisonment. Said Khan also arrived at the Court and presented the head of the Mirza who had succumbed to his injuries while in his custody.³

In recognition of the services rendered to the Mughal Dynasty the title of Khan Jahan was conferred upon Husain Quli Khan and also a considerable increment was made to his Jagirs. Rewards were bestowed upon other officers as well. Raja Todar Mal was also sent along with him to the Punjab.⁴

Mirza Sulaiman being ousted from the throne by his grandson Shah Rukh took shelter with Mirza Hakim in 1575. But at the cold reception of the Mirza all his hopes about the recovery of his throne melted away and he resolved to try his luck at the court of Akbar. Taking with him some of the Mirza's men he set out for India. He had traversed a short distance only when, to his utter amazement, he found himself deserted by Mirza's men who had secretly fled back to Kabul. Undaunted by this desertion he resumed his journey accompanied by his daughter only.⁵ After a great deal of difficulty he succeeded in reaching the banks of the Indus from where he wrote a letter to the Em-

1. M. B., II, p. 163.

2. *Ibid.*

3. T. A. E., V, p. 359.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 362.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 393.

peror apologising for his past misconduct and imploring for an asylum at the court. Akbar moved by his pathetic condition sent to him Agha Jani with Rs. 50,000 and some rare Indian gifts. Raja Bhagwan Das also followed him after a short interval. The Mirza was conducted to Lahore from where, after a short stay, he proceeded to the capital and arrived at Fatehpur in the middle of October 1575. He was accorded a royal reception and was lodged in a special palace.¹

The Punjab officers under Khan Jahan were ordered to make preparation to accompany the Mirza to Badakhshan. But God willed otherwise. On October 23, there arrived the news of the death of Munim Khan in Bengal and Khan Jahan was asked to hasten towards Bengal and to take over the charge of the Province.² Thus expedition to Badakhshan under the Punjab officers could not be undertaken.

Now Shah Quli Khan Mahram was appointed as the Governor of the Punjab.

(ii) *Shah Quli Khan Mahram, 1575-1578*

In 1577 Akbar after paying his usual annual ^{Akbar's visit to the} visit to Ajmer directed his steps ^{Punjab.} towards the Punjab in the month of October and reached Ambir on the 27th ^{via} Mahrot. Here on November 5, 1577 at the time of evening prayer, appeared a comet in the North-east, and remained there for full two hours.³ The astrologers predicted that its effect on the crops would be considerable and prices would rise to an abnormal extent. India of course would not be affected in any way.⁴

Laying the foundation of the town of Manohar-

1. A. N., III, p. 222.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 226.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 311.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 317.

nagar in the neighbourhood of Ambir, Akbar proceeded to Delhi *via* Narnaul. Marching leisurely he arrived there on 5th December and encamped near Hauz-i-Khas. Visits were paid to the tombs of Humayun and of various other holy men; and charity was freely distributed among the *faqirs* and the poor. From thence marching through Bamli, Palam, Hansi, Hissar, Ghana, Sunam and Shadiwal¹ he arrived in February 1578 at Lakhi Qiyampur situated on the banks of the Sutlej where he was received by Shah Quli Khan the governor of the Punjab. On February 19, he crossed over to the other side and reached Pattan on February 21. Next day he visited the tomb of Baba Farid Shakarganj and disbursed a considerable amount of money in charity.² On Tuesday March 11, 1578 a great feast was held in his honour.³ On 10th October while crossing the Chenab, near Chiniot, special royal elephant, Pundrik was drowned; however the remaining retinue landed across safely⁴ but only to face another trouble wrought by the elements. No sooner had the army crossed the river than there burst out a terrible hailstorm which accompanied by rain and wind continued to rage unabatingly with all its fury for several days. The hailstones which were as big as nuts caused a havoc in the camp and subjected the people to a great hardship. All hailed the cessation of rain with joy and resumed their march towards the town of Bhera.⁵ There on April 22, 1578 orders were issued to enclose the wild beasts from Girjah to Bhera, a distance of 25 cos, Yusuf Khan, Nuran Khan and Asaf Khan set themselves to the task of making the necessary arrangements and within ten days succeeded in driving a considerable number of game into that area. Akbar crossed over to the other side

1. A.N., III, p. 322.

4. *Ibid.* p. 341.2. *Ibid.*, p. 375.5. *Ibid.*, p. 342.3. *Ibid.*, p. 337.

of the Bihat¹ and was about to begin hunting when all of a sudden on May 4, 1578² Divine Revelation dawned upon him. Followed by many other persons he got his hair cut short³ and standing under a fruit tree distributed gold and silver among the poor.⁴ The hunting programme was cancelled and Akbar himself crossed over to the town of Bhera again. Here, being joined by his mother from Fatehpur and Raja Bhagwan Das and Man Singh from Ajmer, he set out on his return journey.⁵ On the 9th the Chenab near Kahlur (one of the Punjab hill states. A. A., II, p. 325 given as Kablor) and on 21st the Ravi near Kalanaur, were crossed. Here at Kalanaur

1. A. N., III, p. 345-46.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 346.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 347. Mr. Smith, accusing Abul Fazl of obscuring the fact with a cloud of rhetoric and regarding the statement of Badaoni "That a strange state and strong frenzy came upon the Emperor" (*vide* M. B., II, p. 260) more explicit, hazards a very fine suggestion that Akbar may have had an epileptic fit" (*vide* Akbar, p. 160) and adds that the purpose of the coming of the Queen-Mother was "presumably to watch over her son's health" (*vide* Akbar, p. 159). This all seems to be quite baseless. Neither Abul Fazl nor Nizam-ud-Din drops even a single hint about the sickness of the Emperor anywhere. Even Badaoni who was likely to make much of his sickness had it been a fact, has contented himself by calling it mere 'frenzy.' Moreover there is no connection between his sickness and cutting of hair and distribution of charity under a fruit-bearing tree. Furthermore had he been sick he would not have crossed the river on the same day, (*vide* A. N., III, p. 346). As for the arrival of the Queen-Mother, here too his statement is not borne out by facts. The date of the Divine Revelation was May, 4 (*vide* A. N., III, p. 346) while that of her arrival was May 9 or 10 (*vide* A. N., III, p. 346) and it was physically impossible in those times to traverse such a long distance from Fatehpur to Bhera within five or six days. So the position held by Mr. Smith is not tenable. What seems to me is this that Akbar being a man of mystic and religious temperament sought earnestly to have that divine ecstasy which can be gained only by a direct communion with the Supreme Being. To judge whether his this particular attempt was genuine or pretended is not a historian's business.

4. Badaoni making here one more addition states that when news of this spread in the Eastern part of India, strange rumours and wonderful lies became current in the mouth of the common people and some insurrections took place among the ryots, but these were soon quelled." (*Vide* M. B., II, p. 261). Badaoni seems to have been misinformed because we hear, just after this event, of the Divine Revelation "when the king was still at the banks of the Jhelum about the arrival of the couriers from Khan Jahan (the governor of Bengal) the gist of whose report was "that the eastern provinces were quite tranquil." *Vide* A. N., III, p. 349.

5. A. N., III, p. 348.

a great feast was held and there was much of mirth and merry-making for some days. From there the Imperial camp moved forward and crossed the river Beas near Khokhrowal (in the Gurdaspur district.) Crossing the Sutlej on the 26th, he reached the village Sultanpur,¹ (in the Bist Jullundur Doab A. A., II, of p. 317) from where he performed the rest of his journey by water and reached Delhi in the month of July. From Delhi he hastened towards Ajmer and after attending the anniversary of Khwaja Muin-ud-Din, he proceeded apace to Fatehpur and arrived there on the 9th, thus covering a distance of 120 cos in two days.²

In the second week of August 1578 while Expedition against Akbar was at Lakhi Qiyampur the Biluchis. at the banks of the Sutlej, an expedition under Mirza Yusuf Khan, Shah Quli Khan Mahram, Syed Hamid and Muhammad Zaman, was organised to conduct operations against the Biluchis among whom the manifestation of a spirit of discontentment and restlessness was becoming more and more apparent.³ As soon as the Imperial army made its entry into their territory, consternation spread in their ranks and they gave way without even striking a single blow. They deputed their two chiefs Haji Khan and Jihat Khan to crave for pardon from the Emperor who unmindful of their past misconduct accepted their submission and recalled the army.⁴ But there was no tinge of sincerity in their submission because as soon the king arrived at the Sutlej on his way back to Fatehpur they somehow effected their escape. Man Singh, Zain Khan Koka and Khwaja Ghiyas-ud-Din were hastily despatched in their pursuit but in vain; the absconders successfully eluded their grasp and

1. A.N., III, p. 356.

3. A. N., III, p. 345.

2. T. A. E., V, pp. 408-9.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 342.

were to be traced out nowhere. This failure exasperated the Emperor who in anger excluded them from his presence for some days as punishment.¹

The condition of the holders of the *Sayurghals* in the Punjab was quite deplorable

Reforms.

and demanded some immediate relief. Their lands, instead of being consolidated holdings at one place, were scattered at different places and were open to the encroachments of the strong. Even the Exchequer officers and agents of the life holders did not let any opportunity of oppressing them slip by and subjected them to a great hardship. To remedy all this Akbar while at the banks of the Chenab decreed that *Aima* lands should be kept distinct from the *Khalsa* and *jagir* lands and a particular recipient of *Madad-i-Maash* should be given lands at one place.² Qazi Ali Baghdadi, according to the royal orders, soon set himself to the task of remeasuring the enclosures, abolishing the old boundaries and arranging new ones and succeeded in settling the whole thing in spite of the dishonesty of Shaikh Abd-un-Nabi and his subordinates.³

The second thing which required prompt measures was the problem about the settlement of the Afghans. They had settled in the Punjab as traders and husbandmen but instead of pursuing their business peacefully they began to commit all sorts of atrocities and oppressed the weak with impunity. Raja Todar Mal in 1576 was entrusted with the task of curbing their wild spirit and to scatter them all over India so that with their power shattered they might not be a nuisance to any locality whatsoever.⁴ The Raja soon threw himself whole-heartedly into the execution of his duty and

1. A. N., III, p. 358.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 343.

3. M. B., II, p. 261.

4. A. N., p. 358.

accomplishing the whole business in a short time returned to the court at Fatehpur.¹

Justice in the time of Shah Quli Khan Mahram was in a languishing state; there was general laxity in its administration. The criminals escaped scot-free and no attempt was made to administer to them proper punishment. When Akbar was informed about this state of affairs in the Punjab, he issued orders for his recall in the month of *Amardad* 1578 and despatched Said Khan to the Punjab to take over the charge of the governorship from him. A considerable sum was also placed at his disposal for the distribution among the poor and the needy.²

1. A. N., III, p. 358.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 356-57.

Chapter V

SAID KHAN, 1578-1585

At the death of Ali Khan Kak in 1580, his son Yusuf Khan was immediately raised to the throne of Kashmir by the nobles. But one Abdal, his uncle, did not acquiesce in this peaceful settlement of the question of the succession to the throne and betrayed some hostile designs. Yusuf acted promptly and invested his house. A regular battle ensued in which Abdal was killed and the whole matter seems to have been hushed up there. But this was not the case. Hardly had the state of affairs resumed their normal course when a faction of nobles led by Syed Mubarak sought to set up Yusuf the son of Husain Khan on the throne. At Yusuf's refusal the nobles turned towards Syed Mubarak and proclaimed him as the ruler of Kashmir. Yusuf Khan, determined to stem this onrushing tide of rebellion, mustered his force and engaged the rebels in the plain of Idgah, but being defeated he withdrew hastily and reached the Nilab territory *via* Qirmiz and sought shelter with Man Singh and Mirza Yusuf Khan who took him to the court through the Punjab and presented him before the Emperor in January, 1580.¹ He was received well and was allowed to stay at the court.²

By the month of August, 1580 when he was permitted to return to his country and occupy it with the help of the army of the Punjab, the affairs in Kashmir had taken quite a new turn. In March the nobles once again rebelled and deposed Mubarak in favour of Lohar Kak, his cousin who now prepared

1. A.N., III, p. 357.

2. A., III, pp. 408-9.

himself to oppose the advance of Yusuf. But the nobles clearly perceiving the future pregnant with distress and misery in case of an invasion by the Punjab army, had recourse to a more prudent way. Sketching to him the possible evil consequences of an invasion of Kashmir they entreated him to come alone. Yusuf readily acceded to their request and made for Kashmir without telling anybody else. He was received by some prominent nobles in Bara-magla. Lohar Kak getting wind of all this business despatched Shams Kak and Haidar Kak to oppose Yusuf's progress. Yusuf, seeing the odds against himself, changed the route and turned towards Sonpur. There he found himself face to face with Lohar Kak, but taking heart at the smallness of the number of his enemies he crossed the Jhelum on November 8, 1580 and inflicted a crushing defeat upon the army of Lohar who was arrested and then blinded!¹

Assumption of the spiritual headship by Akbar on September 2, 1579,² flared up the bigotry of the orthodox section of the Muslims and a fire of discontentment and restlessness began to smoulder nearly all over India.³ The reforms in the administration of *Madad-i-Maash* executed by Qazi Ali of Baghdad only added fuel to the fire, which at last blazed forth at the *fatwa* of Mulla Muhammad Yazdi of Jaunpur and soon enveloped the whole of Eastern India. Muhammad Masum Faramkhudi of Ghazipur, Masum Khan Kabuli of Orissa, Mir Muizz-ul-Mulk, Nayabat Khan and Arab Bahadur took up cudgels on behalf of the orthodox Muslims and stirred up rebellion in Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa.⁴ Invitations were sent by the two former to Mirza Hakim to march upon India.

1. A., III, pp. 465-6. 2. A.N., III, p. 394. 3. *Ibid.*, p. 397.

4. M.B., II, p. 284. Mr. Smith on p. 192 asserts that leader of the conspiracy at the court was Shah Masseur but to me it does not appear to be true.

The Mirza who had since long set his heart upon the acquisition of the Indian Empire felt overjoyed at these bright prospects of realising his dreams. Faridun his maternal uncle was already there to egg him on to fish in troubled waters;¹ so in December, 1580 mustering together a force of 15000 soldiers he set out from Kabul to realise his long-cherished ambition.²

Arriving at the banks of the Indus he detached a battalion of 1000 from the main force and sent it in advance under Haji Nur-ud-Din. The Haji crossed the river and began to advance. Mirza Yusuf Khan at the report of his march acted promptly and sent hastily an army under Husain Beg to forestall him. On his way Husain was joined by Said Khan Gakkhar and the two jointly marched on rapidly. Reaching near the enemy they halted and as the main army had lagged behind in this hurried movement, Husain thought it prudent not to engage in action. Meanwhile there appeared on the scene a herd of deer and Husain being overfond of sport galloped after it. He aimed at one and pierced it with his arrow. The game fell and he hastened after it with his few companions but as fate would have it, instead of the game he found himself face to face with Haji Nur-ud-Din who had sauntered out of his camp just to enjoy the sport. Instantaneously they were engaged in hand to hand fight. The Haji was wounded and he fled. His followers followed him in confusion. Some of them made good their escape, some were drowned while crossing the river while others fell into the hands of the Mughals.³

The valour displayed was indeed marvellous and elicited a good deal of appreciation from Akbar but being not blind to the other side of the picture he removed Yusuf Khan from there as punishment for

1. M.B., II, p. 299.

2. C.M., p. 70.

3. A.N., III, p. 493.

the laxity in the management of the frontier affairs and substituted Man Singh (who was at this time in Sialkot) in his place.¹

The Mirza thus being checkmated in his first attempt now despatched Shah Daman who crossing the river invested the fort of Nilab. Zain-ud-Din whom Man Singh, had sent in advance from Sialkot defended the fort most heroically and kept the enemy at arm's length. Man Singh when he heard about this at Rawalpindi, hurried on and reaching near the enemy arranged his force in battle array. Giving the van to Alu Khan Kachwaha and *Altamash* to his own brother Suraj Singh he fell upon the enemy suddenly. A terrible battle ensued. Raja Suraj Singh wounded and killed Shah Daman in the hand to hand fight. The fall of the leader decided the issue for the Mirza. His men being bewildered took to their heels and dispersed on all sides in confusion.

This second victory revived the drooping spirit of Akbar who now regarding the personal attack of the Mirza inevitable sent reinforcements under Rai Singh, Jagan Nath and Raja Gopal, with orders to the Punjab officers not to oppose the Mirza's march but to leave his way quite open and thus to lure him into the interior. Consequently in compliance with the royal biddings, Man Singh leaving the fort of Nilab to its fate retired to the fort of Lahore² to await there the arrival of the Mirza.

When the news about the defeat of Daman reached the Mirza, he himself resolved to strike at the imperial authority. Crossing the Indus he advanced up to Rohtas without any opposition and laid siege to it. Mirza Yusuf held on bravely and refused to surrender the fort. Mirza Hakim was disappointed at the loyalty exhibited by the royal officers; however, he raised the siege and continued to march

1. A.N., III, p. 493.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 494.

forward.¹ He arrived at Lahore on 15th February, 1581 and encamped in the garden of Mahdi Kasim.² In order to make a favourable impression upon the mind of the citizens and to win them over to his own side he had strictly prohibited his soldiers, on the pain of death, from devastating the fields and harassing the non-combatants.³

Meanwhile the preparations for siege were kept apace and soon the fort was invested. Said Khan, Raja Bhagwan Das, Man Singh, Syed Hamid Khan, Muhammad Zaman concerting their measures together put up a bold defence and repulsed Sher Khwaja, Nad Ali, Qurban Ali and Mir Sikandar, every time they tried to take it by storm.⁴ Having failed to capture the fort by force, he had recourse to supplication and deputed his two envoys to Man Singh in order to prevail upon him and to win him over to his own side but in vain.

The flat refusal of Man Singh to capitulate and to betray the cause of his master and the unflinching loyalty of the other officers damped his enthusiasm.⁵ But the Mirza still lingered on in the vicinity of Lahore in the fond hope of receiving some help from the rebels of the eastern provinces;⁶ to his utter disappointment, however that help never came because the rebels had been scattered by this time.⁷ Running short of supplies further aggravated the situation and left him in a predicament.⁸ The climax was reached when the news about the march of the Emperor was broken to him. In bewilderment he raised

1. A. N., III, p. 507.

2. *Ibid.*

3. C.M., p. 71.

4. A.N., III, p. 508.

5. Mr. Smith (*Akbar*, p. 192) and Monserrate (C.M., p. 160) put down Man Singh as the governor of Lahore. He was appointed as the governor of the Nilab in place of Yusuf Khan in 1581 (*vide* A.N., III, p. 413) and not of Lahore. What he did was to retire to Lahore at the Imperial order (*vide* A.N., III, p. 494) and that in no way conferred upon him the governorship of Lahore. Said Khan was still there and there was no order for his supersession.

6. *Ibid.*

7. A.N., III, p. 511.

8. C.M., p. 72.

the siege and struck a hasty retreat. The royal officers desisted from pursuit in compliance with the royal orders and allowed him to escape.¹ He crossed the Ravi near Mahdi Kasim Khan's garden, the Chenab near Jalalabad, the Jhelum near Bhera and the Indus near Khip losing nearly 1600 men who were drowned during this hasty flight.² From the Indus he made for Kabul with his resources, quite crippled and exhausted by this useless struggle.

Mr. Smith has very aptly remarked that "the March of Akbar and year 1581 may be regarded as the death of Mansur. most critical time in the reign of Akbar if his early struggle to consolidate his power be not taken into account."³ The danger of internal disruption coupled with the fear of foreign aggression was potent enough to bear hard upon the nerves of Akbar no doubt but it failed to disturb the equanimity of his mind and he girded up his loins to face the menace with clear head and manly heart.

On 6th February, 1581, he mustered together a huge army of 50,000 cavalry, 500 elephants and innumerable infantry spreading over an area of a mile and a half⁴ and advanced to the assembled soldiers eight months' pay from the royal exchequer. After making suitable arrangements for the chastisement of the eastern insurgents he set out for Lahore on February 8⁵ accompanied by Prince Salim, Prince Murad⁶ and Father Monserrate.⁷ "This huge multitude, including innumerable camp-followers and dealers in every commodity moved with admirable precision"⁸ along the great northern road through Mathura and Delhi. When the camp moved to Sonipat there occurred an incident which disturbed the mind of Akbar a great deal. While Akbar was at Fatehpur he had

1 A.N., III, p. 508.

2 C.M., p. 72.

3 S.A., p. 190.

4 *Ibid.*

5 C.M., p. 79.

6 *Ibid.*, p. 77.

7 A.N., III, p. 75.

8 C.M., p. 74.

received three letters from Man Singh which he had discovered upon the person of Shah Daman. They were addressed to Hakim-ul-Mulk, Khwaja Shah Mansur and Muhammad Kasim Khan in answer to letters of invitation and encouragement.¹ Akbar ascertained the facts fully but regarding them as forgeries he had not shown them to Mansur,² however he had taken the precaution to take him along with him on his march towards Lahore lest he might raise commotion in his absence.³ The arrival of Malik Sani the ex-Diwan of Mirza Hakim in the Camp of Khwaja Mansur confirmed his suspicion and he placed Mansur under stricter surveillance. The army then moved on through Panipat and Thanesar to Shahabad where treasonable correspondence between Hakim and Mansur was intercepted for the third time. Here arrived Malik Ali with two more letters of Hakim Mirza which convinced the Emperor of the Khwaja's guilt and thus sealed the fate of the poor Khwaja. Without holding any further enquiry he ordered him to be hanged. Thus ended the life of a man who had risen from poverty to power through his own ability.⁴

A bitter controversy has raged round the death of Khwaja Shah Mansur. Some have pronounced it as "foul murder"⁵ and have sought to involve Todar Mal in the forgery of these letters;⁶ while others like Smith chiefly relying on the authority of Monserrate condemned him outright for his perfidious conduct and have asserted that the penalty was fully deserved by the ungrateful bigot.⁷

1. S.A., p. 193.

2. T.A.E., V, p. 422.

3. C.M., p. 77, Mr. Smith following Monserrate writes here that "Akbar placed the traitor under surveillance for a month and suspended him from office." This is a mere distortion of facts. Mansur was superseded by Shah Quli Mahram not because of the suspicion roused by the receipt of these letters but because he had treated Masum Khan Frankhudi harshly, A.A., I, p. 431.

4. A.N., III, p. 502.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 431.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 505.

7. S.A., p. 197.

A careful and minute study of the various versions of the incident makes quite untenable the position held by Smith. As to the last series of letters which doomed the fate of the unlucky Khwaja Shah Mansur, Nizam-ud-Din explicitly states that "when the Emperor was waited upon at Kabul by the confidential servants of Mirza Muhammad Hakim he made enquiry into the case of Khwaja Shah Mansur and it appeared that Karam Ullah had colluded with others to concoct letters and that he had forged the last letter on the evidence of which Khwaja Mansur was executed. After this was discovered, the Emperor often regretted the execution of the Khwaja."¹ Abul Fazl who has simply glossed over this particular matter which is likely to cast slur upon the judicious capacity of his lord, however, relieves us of our suspense about the first batch of letters and affirms that "Akbar regarded them as the work of the forgers and for this reason did not show them to the Khwaja."² Thus Mr. Smith's assertion about the genuineness of the documents seized on earlier occasions³ is contradicted in unequivocal terms by Abul Fazl himself. Besides this the charges of Monserrate, in whom Mr. Smith has reposed his whole confidence, are obviously the outcome of his vindictiveness for the hostility displayed by Khwaja Mansur against the Christian religion.⁴ Still further, had he been a traitor acting on the principle that birds of a feather flock together, he would not have treated Masum Khan Farankhudi his so-called accomplice with extraordinary harshness for which he was even censured by the king who had suspended him from office for some time.⁵

The real explanation of the Khwaja's death is to

1. T.A.E., V. p. 426.

2. A.N., III, p. 502.

3. S.A., p. 196.

4. C.M., p. 65.

5. A.A., I, p. 431.

he sought in his own unpopularity generated by his stern policy of retrenchment and his "meticulous inquisition" into the financial matters of his department. Abul Fazl writes, "From love of office and cupidity he was always laying his hands on trifles in financial matters which alienated the rest of the nobles from him who now committed forgeries to compass his destruction and ultimately succeeded in overthrowing him by playing upon the fear of the king about the foreign invasion. As to the question at whose instigation these forgeries were committed no true and exact conclusion can be deduced from the present records. However Todar Mal who has been accused often for this is exculpated by Abul Fazl corroborated by Father Monserrate and Nizam-ud-Din who nowhere have dropped even a hint about the complicity of Todar Mal in the conspiracy.

Reverting to our proper subject, after the injudicious execution of the Khwaja, Akbar resumed his march and passing through Ambala and Sirhind he arrived at Pael where the happy news about the flight of Mirza Hakim was broken to him. Up till then Akbar seemed to be 'constantly frowning with deep anxiety' but now after receiving this good news his 'cheerful expression showed that he had laid aside all his care'¹ and gave vent to his high spirits by taking a drive in a two-horsed chariot.²

Having determined to humiliate him completely in his own home, Akbar continued his march and passing by Machhiwara he encamped at the banks of the Sutlej. Then going upstream he crossed the river Ravi by a bridge of boats and marching through Pattan he reached the Beas which too was crossed by a bridge of boats and encampment was made at Kalanaur.³ Here he received a letter from Mirza

1. C.M., p. 102.

2. *Ibid.*

3. *Ibid.*, p. 104.

Hakim soliciting his pardon but paying little heed to it, he pressed on and first crossed the Ravi and then the Cingarous,¹ from where following a rough and dangerous road with constant steep rises and descents amongst marshy glens and overhanging crags," the town of Chamber was reached and then the rivers Nanis² and Chenab were crossed after much difficulty owing partly to the rapidity of the current and partly to the scarcity of boats which had been mostly burnt by Mirza Hakim. Then marching along the bank he reached Qhunia³ from where he directed his steps towards the Jhelum,⁴ after crossing which he halted at the foot of Tilla Balnath.⁵ Ordering his army to proceed to Rohtas he himself climbed up the hill to visit the *Kutiya* of Balnath and was much gratified to see the austerities of the *Jogis* who were stark-naked.⁶ Soon after he joined his forces and was entertained royally by Yusuf Khan the governor of the fort. Then by way of Riwat, Gagar and Hazara Akbar reached the Indus and encamped there.⁷

A delay of fifty days was caused at the Indus by the mutinous reluctance of the army which was however overcome by Akbar's airs of unconcern and dignity.⁸ In the end of June Prince Murad together with Raja Man Singh was despatched in advance.⁹ One by one the cities fell into his hands and on August 3, he made his triumphant entry into Kabul which was vacated by the Mirza who had betaken himself to the hills of Ghorband.¹⁰

Akbar who had left the bank of the Indus on July 11, 1581, also arrived there on August 9, 1581.¹¹ When he heard that the Mirza was intending

1. I have not been able to identify this stream.

2. C.M., p. 108. Probably the Bhimbar stream.

3. This place, too, cannot be traced.

4. C.M., p. 109.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 110.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 115.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 116.

8. *Ibid.*

9. A.N., III, p. 518.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 538.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 540.

to retire to Turan, he relaxed his sternness¹ and at the intercession of Ali Muhammad he forgave him and reinstated him on the throne of Kabul.² In the second week of August 1581 he directed his steps homeward and passing by Bigram and Jalalabad he reached Jamrud and Peshawar after traversing the Khaibar Pass.³ On September 2 the Indus was crossed by a bridge. Hunting on his way he proceeded forward and crossed the Jhelum on October 2 at Rasulpur,⁴ and the Chenab on October 7 at Hilan. On October 18 the Ravi was forded across and an encampment was made near the *Serai* of Daulat Khan. On November 3 the Beas and on November 10 the Sutlej were crossed. At Sirhind Raja Bhagwan Das, Raja Rai Singh, Syed Hamid Bukhari and Jagan Nath the officers of the Punjab were

1. A.N., III, p. 539.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 542, Mr. Smith basing his account of this event primarily on Monserrate's commentary remarks that "The Mirza had never come to make personal submission to Akbar and that the Emperor made over Kabul to his sister" (*vide Akbar*, p. 200). This mistake has arisen from the fact that Mr. Smith has relied upon an authority whose sources of information were not so reliable as that of Abul Fazl who had direct access even to original documents. In the first place it is noteworthy that at the time when Akbar was in Kabul the Mirza's sister along with her husband Khwaja Hassan had gone to Badakhshan (*vide A.N.*, III, p. 542). In the second place Abul Fazl in very lucid and explicit terms states that "The offences of the Mirza were forgiven and Zubulistan (Kabul) was conferred upon him anew (*vide A.N.*, III, p. 542) and there is apparently no reason why Abul Fazl should suppress the truth in this particular matter. Moreover his statement is also attested by Nizam-ud-Din who says "That H. M. having conferred Kabul upon Mirza Hakim turned towards India." (*Vide T. A. E.*, V, p. 425).

Continuing Mr. Smith on the same page puts down that "He (Akbar) did not care whether his brother resided at Kabul or not" (*vide Akbar*, p. 200). But the actual fact is quite otherwise. Akbar did care for his brother as the following statement of Abul Fazl shows: "On hearing the reverberation of the royal cavalcade he had gone off to Ghorband and his idea was that if an army should come to look for him he would become *Qalandar* and go off to retirement in Turan"; it was this fear which compelled Akbar to become lenient towards his brother and so "Out of abundant graciousness H. M. sent Latif Khwaja and Qazi Abdul Latif to him with salutary counsels. His whole design was that he should be convinced of the royal clemency and come to court." (*Vide A.N.*, III, p. 539).

3. A.N. III, p. 543.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 545.

allowed to depart.¹ Then through Delhi and Mathura² he arrived at the capital on December 1, 1581.³ In 1584 Newburry, Fitch, Story, and Leeds paid a visit to Lahore but in their accounts nothing is recorded about the Punjab.

1. A. N., III, p. 546.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 547.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 548.

Chapter VI

LAHORE AS THE IMPERIAL HEADQUARTERS, 1585 - 1598

In 1585 trouble seemed once again to be brewing beyond the N.-W. Frontier. At the sudden illness of Mirza Hakim disruptive tendencies began to raise their head in and outside Kabul. The situation seemed tempting enough for the aggression of the Uzbegs who after occupying Badakhshan to the exclusion of Mirza Shah Rukh and Mirza Sulaiman were casting their longing glances at Kabul,¹ and when the Mirza expired in July 30, 1585² the danger seemed imminent.

At the report of the death of the Mirza, Raja Bhagwan Das and Man Singh proceeded towards Kabul without delay to pacify the nobles³ who were meditating upon retiring to Turan.⁴ The Indus was crossed and Peshawar occupied. Shah Beg who held the fort in the absence of Faridun fled towards Kabul.⁵ Khwaja Shams-ud-Din, Muhammad Ali and Hamza Beg being followed by Man Singh pushed forward and entered the Khaibar Pass. The *Afridis* who were infesting the road were put to flight and the way was cleared. At Jalalabad they received the submission of Ali Muhammad along with many other *Kabulis*. Accompanied by Bakht Nisa Begam the sister of the Mirza they moved forward and reached Kabul.⁶ The *Kabuli* nobles tendered their allegiance and restrained themselves from stirring up any sort of disorder there.⁷ Faridun who was

1. T. A. E., V, p. 449.

2. M. B., II, p. 357.

3. T. A. E., V, p. 448.

4. A. N., III, p. 703.

5. *Ibid.*

6. *Ibid.*, p. 705

7. *Ibid.*, p. 703.

harbouring evil thoughts of flying along with the sons of Mirza Hakim to Transoxiana¹ also now submitted passively to the inevitable and presented Kaikubad and Afrasiyab, the sons of the Mirza, before Man Singh² who took upon his own shoulders the responsibility of escorting them to the Court. After making necessary arrangements and leaving his son Jagat Singh and Khwaja Shams-ud-Din there, he himself turned towards India accompanied by the sons of the Mirza and the chiefs of the country.³

Meanwhile Akbar being persuaded by his courtiers (who were apprehensive of the designs of the Uzbeks upon Kabul) to appropriate Kabul to himself instead of conferring it upon the minors, set out for the Punjab⁴ on 22nd August, 1585. He reached Sarai Dad on September 2, 1585 *via* Daulatabad and encamped on the bank of a tank built by Raja Todar Mal. On September 11, 1585 Delhi was reached⁵ where he paid a visit to the tomb of Humayun. After the celebration of the *Id* here, he resumed his journey⁶ and reached Thanesar on 24th September *via* Sonipat and Panipat. Then passing through Shahabad and Ambala the Imperial retinue encamped at Sarhind on September 29. The Sutlej was crossed at Machhiwara on October 5, and halt was made near Dikakdar. After traversing Hadiabad, Jalandhar and Sultanpur, Akbar crossed the Beas at Jalalabad,⁷ and proceeded towards Kalanaur. Here he alighted in the gardens where he had been crowned as the Emperor of India. Leaving behind Shaikh Jamal who had fallen sick, Akbar pushed forward⁸ and crossed the Chenab near Pasrur and encamped near Sialkot. After staying there a little the Camp moved forward and reached Rasulpur. After three days the Jhelum was crossed by a bridge.⁹ Enjoying deer-hunting on the way, Akbar moved

1. T., p. 449.

2. A. N., III, p. 713.

3. T., p. 450.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 450.

5. A. N., III, p. 705.

6. M. B., II, p. 359.

7. A. N., III, p. 706.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 707.9. *Ibid.*, p. 708.

leisurely and arrived at Rohtas on November 19. Qasim was sent in advance to level the road up to the Indus and to make the Khaibar and the road to Kabul passable for carriages. Being joined by the Queen-Mother, Akbar again started from here and reached Rawalpindi on December 7, 1585.¹

On the same day there arrived Man Singh from Kabul and presented the persons he had brought with him. Akbar received them kindly and bestowed upon them robes, horses, trays of *mohurs* and rupees. Faridun, however, because of his ingratitude, was placed under the custody of Zain Koka.²

After disposing of the affair of these Kabul Chiefs, Akbar left Rawalpindi and reached Hasan-
abdal on December 13, 1585. On December 20 he made the necessary arrangements for curbing the refractory temperament of Yusuf Kashmiri, and for exterminating the *Roshnais*, *Biluchis* and *Yusufzais* who were creating trouble on the North-west frontier of India.³ When all the plans were completed, he proceeded forward and reached Atak Benares on 23rd December, 1585.⁴ There he resolved to conduct operations for extirpating the Yusufzais but he was dissuaded, partly by entreaties of the Ambassador of Turan and partly by the dearness of provisions, from putting his intention into practice. He spent nearly four months in supervising the operations against the frontier tribes, and Kashmir, in hunting, in looking after gun-making and in gun-practising. At last in the beginning of April 1586 he set his face homewards and crossed the Jhelum on April 24. On the same day receiving the homage of Shah Rukh's aunts and his son Shah Muhammad he moved forward leisurely and crossed the Chenab on May 17. On May 27 Lahore was reached and the house of Raja Bhagwan Das was chosen for royal residence.

1. A. N., III. p. 709. 2. *Ibid.*, p. 714. 3. *Ibid.*, pp. 715-6. 4. *Ibid.*, p. 717.

The defence of the North-west frontier of the Punjab against the incursions of the predatory nomads has always been a source of great anxiety to the rulers of India and Akbar, in whose time this danger was rather intensified by the presence of a formidable rival in the person of Abdullah Uzbek of Turan and the appearance of one person Pir Bayazid among the frontier tribes, was no exception to it. He was constantly troubled by the nightmare of some alliance between Abdullah Uzbek of Turan and the wild frontier tribes¹ who had already been welded together into one united whole by Bayazid whose religious philosophy as propounded in his book *Khiyal-i-Biyan* quite verged on heresy according to the strict injunctions of Islam.¹

Prior to 1585, Akbar could not take strong measures against them partly because of the non-existence of any acute frontier problem and partly owing to the fickle and ever-shifting loyalty of his brother Hakim Mirza. It was after the annexation of Kabul when the boundaries of his empire stretched as far as the borders of Badakhshan and Persia that any frontier problem arose for Akbar. As a first step towards its solution he determined to cripple to impotence once for all these turbulent and wild tribes who might at any time become dangerous and deadly instruments in the hands of Abdullah Uzbek of Turan in his designs upon the Punjab and then upon India.

Jalala, a *Roshnai* leader, who had a considerable following among tribesmen, at first did not evince any hostility towards the Mughal authority and maintained amicable relations with

1. M.B., II. p. 360. It was this fear of aggressive designs of Abdullah that had made Akbar lenient towards his brother Hakim Mirza who was meditating upon retiring to Turan in 1581.

Akbar. As nearly as 1585 he had come to him while he was returning from Kabul to pay his respects and accompanied the royal retinue for some distance into the Punjab. But one day he suddenly disappeared from the camp and joining his companions began to stir up the tribes against the Emperor. The tribes inured to a life of rapine and plunder gave a ready response to his call and began to create havoc all round. The roads between the Punjab and Kabul were infested by the rebels and the merchants and travellers were put to a lot of trouble. As a free and safe pursuit of commerce became impossible,¹ Akbar on December 20, 1585 vesting Man Singh with the governorship of Kabul ordered him to chastise the *Roshnais*. After waging an incessant warfare with them he crippled their power but not so completely. On his transfer to the Swat and Bajaur territory to help Raja Todar Mal, Ismail Quli Khan was despatched to Kabul along with Syed Bukhari who was to occupy Peshawar.²

But their tyrannous and repressive policy forced the *Mahmand* and *Ghori* tribes into the camp of Jalala,³ who now at the head of 20,000 foot and 50,000 horse marched upon Peshawar and inflicted a crushing defeat upon the Mughals.⁴ Syed Hamid Bukhari along with 150 men was slain during the affray. At the report of this disastrous defeat, Akbar despatched post-haste Shah Quli Khan Mahram, Shaikh Farid and Tash Beg Khan under Zain Khan Koka. On April 18, 1587, another force under Mutlib Khan was sent to reinforce Koka.⁵ The *Af-ridis* and *Aurakzais* being overawed by the cruelties perpetrated by the royal officers tendered their allegiance and offered hostages as a guarantee for

1. T.A.E., V, p. 450. 2. *Ibid.*, V, p. 453. 3. A.N., III, p. 781.
4. M.B., II, p. 366. 5. A.N., III, p. 794.

their future pacific attitude.¹ But the bulk of the tribes was still unsubdued. In May 1588 Sadiq Khan who was appointed in place of Koka, embarked upon a new frontier policy which aimed at conciliating the tribes. Not regarding it as expedient to penetrate into the heart of the Tribal territory, he posted men at different quarters to keep an eye on the movements of the tribes of the neighbourhood. This liberal and generous policy reconciled many of the tribes with the Mughal authority and the *Afridis* and *Aurakzais* engaged themselves in pledge not to create trouble any more.² Their enthusiastic leader Jalala who had planned an invasion of the Punjab³ was decapitated by Murad Beg in Hazara on 26th August 1600.⁴ His wives and children left in the custody of Wahdat Ali had already been captured with other 7,000 persons in 1593.⁵ Thus by 1600 the *Roshnais* were completely annihilated.

Allied with the *Roshnais* was the *Yusufzai* tribe which, entrenched by the Kabul river on the north-west, by the Indus on the south-east and by the range of the mountains on the north,⁶ carried on a life of rapine and plunder with impunity.⁷ These inhabitants of the Swat and Bajaur territory recognised no law and no authority and to disturb the tranquillity of the peaceful citizens was their only hobby. During the last Kabul expedition no serious operation was conducted against them because of their voluntary submission but as time wore on, it became apparent that their submission was offered merely out of expediency and was devoid of any tinge of sincerity. It was not long before feelings of discontent and restlessness began to smoulder in their hearts the first outburst of which was manifested in the flight of Kalu one of their chiefs from the Mughal

1. A.N., III, p. 96.

2. *Ibid.*3. *Ibid.*4. *Ibid.*, p. 1160.5. *Ibid.*, p. 984.6. *Ibid.*, p. 7177. *Ibid.*, p. 716.

camp where he was staying as a royal guest. However he was apprehended by Khan Shams-ud-Din near Attock and was re-escorted to the court where a liberal and generous treatment was accorded to him ; but this also failed to bring him to a reasonable frame of mind and he again escaped into his hilly stronghold and began to raise tumult.¹

This provided an excuse to Akbar who on December 20, 1585, sent Zain Khan Koka along with Hassan Khan, Raja Mukat, Hira Pardhan, Ram Chand, Kabir and Faulad for their extermination. Regarding this force as insufficient to accomplish its task he despatched immediately after him another reinforcement under Qara Beg, Zain-ul-Mulk and Farid Bakhshi on January 5, 1586, for operations on the plains. This contingent being further reinforced by 300 persons under Said Khan, Faizi, Sher Khwaja, Ali Muhammad, Fateh Ullah *Sharbatdar*, Ajab Beg, Yaqub Beg, Abdur Rahman Beg and Abul Barkat, marched towards the plain on January 13, 1586.²

The constant pressure of the Mughal soldiers weighed them down terribly and they were completely routed. The territory up to the Karkara Pass and the district of Buner was brought under subjugation but the rebels beyond the Karkara Pass were still unsubdued. Zain Khan seeing his soldiers quite exhausted and worn out by continuous warfare did not follow his success by marching still further and delayed the action till the arrival of fresh contingents³ which had already set out for his help under Raja Birbal on January 21, 1586 being followed by Abul Fateh Khan on January 28, 1586.⁴ At the Malakand Pass, junction between the three armies

1. A.N., III, p. 717.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 726.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 718.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 720.

was effected. But soon dissensions broke out in the Mughal camp and any concerted action on the part of the Mughal army became somewhat difficult.¹ Somehow Balandari was reached on February 16, 1586 and in the evening, taking a place to be the apex of the Pass, the army halted² in spite of the warnings of Zain Khan who wanted that the vanguard should advance further and occupy the top of the Pass while the main camp was to remain below during the night. The night had not far advanced yet when the Afghan hordes sallied forth from their dens and began to harass them. Koka tried to turn back but disorder spread in the ranks.³ Meanwhile the Afghans hemming them in from all sides began to shoot arrows and roll down stones upon the army below. A general panic seized the army which tried to escape in the dark but lost the way. Being enmeshed into narrow defiles the soldiers were massacred in cold blood.⁴ The Mughals were routed with the loss of 8,000 men and Raja Birbal, Khan Muhammad, Mulla Sheri Arab Shah, Mulla Ghayur, Jan Muhammad Bakhshi, Shaikh Junaid, Shaikh Hamid, Farmuli Bahadur and Aman Ullah Syed were the most prominent among the slain.

To Akbar this news of irreparable and incalculable loss was a bolt from the blue. He was stunned to hear the death of his most beloved minister Birbal and was so much overwhelmed by grief that he did not swallow even a single morsel for two days. His indignation knew no bounds when he came to know

1. A.N., III, p. 728.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 730.3. *Ibid.*, p. 731.

4. M.B., II, p. 361. Abul Fazl has given 500 as the number of the slain (*vide* A.N., III, p. 732). The account of this disaster has been given differently by Nizam-ud-Din who says that after his arrival near the Karkara Pass Birbal was informed about the intended night-attack of the Afghans. In order to avoid it he, without consulting Koka, mobilized his forces and pushed through the Pass which was only four or five *cos* long. Arriving at a defile in the evening he suddenly found himself surrounded by the Afghans. (*Vide* T.A.E., V, p. 45.)

of the perfidious conduct of Koka and as a punishment excluded him from his presence.¹ Akbar himself made up his mind to avenge this humiliating defeat but was dissuaded by the nobles from launching upon this enterprise and so he contented himself with making over the task of exterminating the tribesmen to Raja Todar Mal and Murad.² They at the head of a large force marching cautiously and capturing forts here and there and pillaging all along their way advanced far into the hills. The Afghans, although routed in preliminary clashes, still held the field and were in no mood to submit. Todar Mal near the Lungar hills posted himself while Man Singh who had arrived there after the departure of Murad stationed himself on the banks of the Indus near Ohind in the direction of Buner. Thus occupying both the exits Todar Mal carried daily incursions into the tribal territory and soon reduced it to the extremes. Abul Fazl extolling the achievements of the Raja records that 'A large number of tribesmen were killed and many were sold into Turan and Persia. The country of Swat, Bajaur and Buner... was cleansed of the evil-doers.' After him his work was carried on by Ismail Quli Khan³ and Zain Khan Koka and by 1588 the *Yusufzais* were reduced to straits. Disease and shortness of provisions began to thin their ranks and despaired of any success they laid down their arms. Their leader Kalu who presented himself before Akbar through Abul Qasim was put under strict surveillance.⁴

This brilliant demonstration of military power to-

1. A.N., III, p. 732. Akbar's indignation does not seem to be justified. It was Birbal himself who was responsible for his own death. According to Abul Fazl he, heedless of the advice of Koka, advanced into the Pass. (*Vide* A.N., III, p. 731). While according to Nizam-ud-Din he marched into the Pass without consulting Koka. (*Vide* T.A.E., V, p. 45). Although their accounts differ in details but they are unanimous on one point at least and that is the innocence of Koka and they clearly reveal that Koka was in no way responsible for his death. Birbal was quite inexperienced in the matters of warfare and had he acted upon the advice of Koka this disaster would not have happened.

2. A.N., III, p. 745.

3. *Ibid.*

4. *Ibid.*, p. 813.

gether with the annexation of Kashmir in 1586 seemed to have produced a deep impression upon Abdullah Uzbeg and his ambassador Mir Kuraish (who had arrived at the court in March 1586 along with Nazar Bey the Turanian noble¹ and his three sons Kabs Bey, Shadi Bey and Baki Bey) and convinced them of the impossibility of marching upon the Punjab and thus gaining the empire of India. Arrival of Murshid Tabrizi as an ambassador from Shah Abbas of Persia in 1591² and capture of Qandhar, the key to north-western position in 1590,³ seemed to have filled his mind with apprehension about a possible combination of Akbar and Shah Abbas against himself and the conclusion of Akbar's campaigns of Qandhar in 1595⁴ must have relieved him of great anxiety. Henceforward he strove hard to insinuate himself into the favour of Akbar⁵ and kept up amicable diplomatic relations with him up to the end of his life.⁶ Henceforth the Punjab was made quite secure against the possible incursions of the Uzbegs who now lost all hopes of becoming the masters of India.

The relations with Persia were further cemented by exchange of ambassadors in 1594 when Akbar sent his ambassador Zia-ul-Mulk to Persia along with the Persian ambassador Yadgar Sultan Shams who had succeeded Murshid Tabrizi after his departure in 1593.⁷ In 1598 Shah Abbas in return sent *Manuchehar* to the Imperial court with valuable presents.⁸ Thus Abdullah being hedged round by alliances was rendered still more helpless and the Punjab became quite safe.

1. A.N., III, p. 735. 2. *Ibid.*, p. 893. 3. *Ibid.*, p. 886. 4. *Ibid.*

5. This is evident from his refusal to help Jalala and from his attempt to keep friendly relations with Akbar. After the death of Mir Kuraish in 1589 (*vide* A.N., III, p. 881) he despatched Maulvi Husain as his ambassador to the Imperial Court (*vide* A.N., III, p. 885). Again it was in reply to his letter that Akbar sent Khwaja Ashraf Naqshbandi as an ambassador to Tuarn in 1596. (*Vide* A.N., III, p. 1052).

6. Abdullah died on January 4, 1598. *Vide* A.N., III, p. 1102.

7. A.N., III, p. 1007.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 1112.

Being elevated to the throne of Kashmir mainly through the aid of the Mughals, Yusuf Khan animated by feelings of loyalty¹ and gratitude, remained for some time on friendly terms with the Emperor and on February 9, 1585 he deputed his son Yaqub to the royal court to pay homage and present gifts on his behalf.² But this goodwill did not survive long and the growing estrangement between the two courts soon became manifest.

Akbar, who was also accompanied by Yuqub on his journey to the Punjab reaching at Kalanaur sent for Yusuf who had not appeared personally before him since long. But his son scenting some deep conspiracy in the summons ran away from the camp secretly and joined his father in Kashmir.³ When apprised of his flight Akbar immediately despatched after him Hakim Ali and Baha-ud-Din to prevail upon Yusuf either to appear personally at the camp or to send his son back to the court.⁴ All their persuasions were, however, of no avail and they failed to elicit his submission on either of the two alternatives.⁵

1. A.N., III, p. 576.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 676.

3. The flight of Yaqub had been misplaced chronologically by Mr. Smith who says, "Yaqub Khan who had been granted a petty stipend of thirty or forty rupees a month became alarmed and finding that Akbar in disregard of the treaty was preparing for a fresh invasion of his country fled from the imperial camp and prepared to resist." (*Vide Akbar*, p. 240).

There are three fallacies in the statement. First is chronological. Yaqub did not flee from the Mughal camp when he saw Akbar bent upon waging another war against Kashmir in violation of the terms of the treaty, but he fled when Akbar from Kalanaur issued summons in the name of his father in October 1585. (*Vide A.N.*, III, p. 707). The second fallacy lies in the reason assigned to his flight. There arises no question of violating the treaty as no treaty was concluded with Yusuf. The terms of the treaty as formulated by Raja Bhagwan Das were never ratified by Akbar. (*Vide A.N.*, III, p. 724). Thirdly Yuqub did not accompany his father to the court as has been assumed by Mr. Smith and the stipend which he got was given to him because he was received among the nobles (*vide M.B.*, II, p. 365) when Yusuf despatched him to the court on February 9, 1585 (*vide A.N.*, III, p. 676) and not when he was arrested.

4. A.N., III, p. 707.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 714.

This ungrateful behaviour of Yusuf Khan exasperated Akbar beyond all bounds and he resolved to adopt stern measures to punish his audacity and to curb his evergrowing arrogance. Accordingly on December 20, 1585 Shah Rukh Bahadur, Raja Bhagwan Das, Shah Quli Mahram Madhu Singh, Mubarak Khan¹ with 50,000 soldiers² and a contingent of the *ahdis* under Ali Akbarshahi, Shaikh Yaqub Kashmiri and Haider Kak, were ordered to march upon Kashmir. They lingered on in the plain for some time intending to commence hostilities after the rainy season but being overridden by Akbar they advanced into Kashmir by the Pakhli route instead of the Bhimbar route which they themselves desired to follow. After the arrival of the army at Pakhli,³ Yusuf acting promptly hastened from Srinagar and posted himself at the Buliyas Pass. Raja Bhagwan Das tried to force his way through the Pass but met with stern opposition and being checkmated thus, had to fall back. Meanwhile rainy season set in and snow began to fall profusely. Means of supply being cut off, the soldiers were put to a lot of trouble. The army already reduced to straits was further dissipated at the news about the defeat of Zain Khan Koka. Consequently peace negotiations were set afoot and after much deliberation a form of treaty was prepared but Akbar refused to ratify it and ordered them to send Yusuf to the court while they themselves were to push forward and occupy the capital. Raja Bhagwan Das conducted Yusuf to the court on February 14, 1584.⁴ Akbar wanted to put an end to his life but when the Raja—who was now appointed to Kabul—got wind of

1. A.N., III, p. 715.

2. T.A.E., V, 450.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 723.4. A.N., III, p. 724 Abul Fazl says he was honourably treated (*vide* A.N., III, p. 724) but Badaoni, who says that he was arrested seems to be more accurate (*vide* M.B., II, p. 364). He was not accompanied by Yaqub as Mr. Smith (A.N., p. 239) has put it. Yaqub stayed behind in Kashmir and later on became the leader of the rebels. (*Vide* A.N., III, p. 763).

it, seeing his honour compromised with, he stabbed himself at Khairabad but the timely medical aid saved him. The life of Yusuf was spared at the intercession of Shaikh Abdur Rahman.¹ The imperial army continued to advance and pressed so hard upon Yaqub that he was compelled to sue for terms. He not only undertook to pay tribute but also assented to the appointment of Mughal collectors in his territory. The proceeds from saffron crop, the shawl duties, and the mint were brought under the direct imperial control. Royal officers were appointed to various departments; yield of saffron crop and silk industry was placed under Qalandar Beg, the control of the mint was given over to Khwaja Mirkai and Mulla Mazhari was entrusted with the task of looking after the royal game. Akbar accepted the arrangement but only reluctantly.²

Now Yaqub, regarding his father as good³ as dead, assumed the title of Shah Ismail Quli Khan but his repressive rule and indiscriminate persecution disgusted his nobles⁴ who under the leadership of Sher Ali invited Akbar to march upon Kashmir. He responded eagerly to their call and in August 1580 despatched Muhammad Qasim Khan and Fateh Khan to relieve them from the clutches of the tyrant. They drew their forces in battle array to penetrate into the hills and traversed the Bimbar Pass on September 1, 1586. Encampment was made at Rajauri.⁵

Meanwhile civil war had broken out in Kashmir and Yaqub being ousted from the throne by Shams—one of the nobles—had betaken himself to Kishtwar,

1. M.B., II, p. 364. Abul Fazl tells us that it was on account of his madness that he stabbed himself. (*Vide* A.N., III, p. 44). This madness appears to be only an official madness and the real cause of all this was the intention of Akbar to do away with Yusuf (brought to court in his escort) as Badaoni has put it.

2. A.N., III, p. 725. 3. M.B., II, p. 365. 4. A.N., III, p. 763.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 765.

giving up all pretensions whatsoever to the kingdom of Kashmir.¹ To make much of the civil disturbance the imperial army hastened to Srinagar. Qasim pressed forward and engaged Shams outside the city on October 10, 1586 and after a bloody battle the enemy was routed. Shams escaped and the fort fell into the hands of Qasim who made a triumphant entry into Srinagar on October 17.² The "Bridal Chamber of Spring" was annexed to the imperial domains. Time and again Yaqub issued from his hiding-place and tried to capture the capital but in vain. Qasim Khan, whose energy was taxed to the utmost in counteracting their troublesome schemes, petitioned for his recall in 1588. His petition was granted and in his place Mirza Yusuf Khan was appointed as the governor of Kashmir. He soon managed to arrest Shams and sent him to the court with Mir Baha-ud-Din.³ On July 28, 1589 Yaqub also surrendered and offered his submission. Thus Akbar became the undisputed sovereign of this territory.⁴

Akbar on whose mind a spell had been cast by Akbar's Visit to the rumoured charms of the lovely Kashmir. valley of Kashmir, recently brought under his sway, in the year 1589, took fancy to have a pleasure walk in his "private garden."⁵ So on April 29, 1589 leaving the direction of the affairs under Raja Bhagwan Das, Raja Todar Mal and Qulij Khan he set out for the pleasant fairyland. On arriving at the *serai* of Madhu Singh on the other side of the river Ravi he bade Qasim to go in advance with 3,000 stone-cutters, mountain-miners and 2,000 levellers in order to smooth the road. He himself followed him soon after and traversing through Shahdara, Aminabad, Sitaram, Talwandi and Sodhra arrived at the banks of the Chenab. After observing the cere-

1. A.N., III, p. 768.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 770.3. *Ibid.*, pp. 797-98.4. *Ibid.*, p. 845.

5. M.B., II, p. 381.

mony of lunar weighthment there he by boat and his army by bridge crossed over to the other side on May 13, and after a march of two days halt was made at Gunacur,¹ from where he proceeded to the Bhimbar Pass by following the route which winded through Dikri and Jaipur Kheri. Accompanied by Zain Khan, Azd-ud-Daula, Hakim Abul Fateh, Jagan Nath, Mir Sharif, Qazi Hasan, Ram Dass and Abul Fazl he entered the Pass.² The defiles of Badhu *Ghati* and Ghazi Kot were traversed in two days and on the third Rajauri was reached where the camps of Qasim Khan were selected for stay.³ Then following the Pir Panjal route he arrived at Baramagla on the other side of the Pass where he was received by Yusuf Khan the governor of Kashmir and was led on to Pushiana. There nature was in her full bloom manifesting her transcendental glory in the springing fountains, shady jungles and in the sweet odour of lovely flowers.⁴ Thus drinking deep the beauty of nature on his way Akbar slowly and slowly moved on and crossing the Pir Panjal Pass encamped near Dand. At Hirapur he reposed in the camps provided by Mirza Yusuf Khan.⁵ After two more stages he made his entry into Srinagar on June 5, 1589 and alighted at the palace of Yusuf Khan.⁶ After having enjoyed himself to his heart's fill in the valleys of Srinagar he embarked along with the ladies (who had by this time arrived at Srinagar from the Bhimbar Pass where they had been left under the charge of Prince Murad (*vide* A.N., III, p. 819) followed by 1000 newly-built boats. This flotilla of boats slowly glided on the glossy and smooth surface of the river shaded on both sides by trees and verdure. After visiting Nandi Marg,⁷ Kahanpal and the fountain of Alanj he sailed back

1. A.N., III, p. 818.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 819.3. *Ibid.*, 821.4. *Ibid.*, p. 822.5. *Ibid.*, p. 823.6. *Ibid.*, p. 827.7. *Ibid.*, p. 836.

to Srinagar.¹ As Akbar intended to go to Kabul, Koka was sent to the Indus for preparing a bridge. After two days he set out for Kabul and passing through green valleys bounded on both sides by lofty mountains he arrived at the Buliyas Pass which marked the boundary of Kashmir and beginning of the Mastang country. On August 11, the Jhelum was crossed over to Sikri and then passing through the *serai* of Syed Pir Sabz and Hasan Abdal he reached near *serai* of Bahadur after crossing the Tarabardi stream. He reached Atak Benares on August 24, and was relieved of great anxiety to see the royal ladies and Prince Murad safe there.² The Indus was crossed on August 31, 1589 and after passing by the *serai* of Khairabad, Begram³ (Peshawar) and then through the Khaibar Pass⁴ Akbar arrived at Kabul on September 20, 1589. (Thereafter enjoying different gardens, and after paying visits to the tombs of Babar, Hindal and Mirza Hakim, Akbar turned homewards in the second week of November.⁵) In the second week of November after entrusting the affairs of Kabul to Asim Khan he directed his steps homewards⁶ and arrived at Jalalabad on December 12, 1589.⁷ Near Dakka on December 29, 1589 he sighted a hyena and seized with the love of sport he spurred his horse after the game but had not galloped far when his horse stumbled and he came down upon the ground violently; his face was bruised all over. The injuries received were serious but the careful treatment of Hakim Gilani healed up the wounds within a week and he recovered completely on January 4, 1590. Refusing to take rest he pressed on and reached the Indus on January 21, 1590. On February 2, encampment was made at the *serai* of

1. A.N., III, p. 840.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 853.3. *Ibid.*, p. 854.4. *Ibid.*, p. 856.5. *Ibid.*, p. 857.6. *Ibid.*, p. 861.7. *Ibid.*, p. 862.

Zain-ud-Din Ali and after sporting there for two days he resumed his march and pitched his tents near Hassan Abdal where he paid a visit to the tomb of Abul Fateh who had died in Kashmir. The next stage reached was Kahuriya and then Rohtas where encampment was made on February 20. Because of the advent of the rainy season the journey became somewhat difficult but Akbar heedless of all this speeded on horseback. After having a *qamargah* hunt on February 23 he crossed the Jhelum on February 27, near Rasulpur. On March 2, he met with a serious accident. He was just in the act of mounting a female elephant when a *mast* elephant dashed violently towards the female and knocked her down. Akbar too fell and received severe injuries. His condition raised an alarm throughout India and the false report of his death convulsed many *parganas* with rebellions but the alertness of the royal officers stood them in good stead and the tumult subsided down gradually. Akbar comprehending the gravity of the situation did not halt there but pressed on rapidly and crossed the Chenab near Bani Kabin. He recovered next morning and went on by an elephant. On March 7, Aminabad was reached where homage was paid by Qulij Khan, the governor of the Punjab in his absence. On March 9 at two *cos* from Lahore he held a review of his elephants and made his entry into Lahore on March 13, 1590.

During this short interval of his absence important events had transpired in the Punjab. In 1589 while Akbar was in Kashmir Raja Todar Mal on his application was allowed to retire and to pass the rest of his days in seclusion and solitude on the banks of the Ganges. But he was recalled soon from Hardwar and was ordered to resume his duties, as "the service of mankind was more virtuous than sitting on the banks of the Ganges." But he could not serve man-

Death of Raja Bhagwan Das and Todar Mal.

kind much longer. On his return he was attacked by fever and slowly and slowly pined away to death in November 8, 1589.¹ Raja Bhagwan Das also on his return from the cremation grounds was seized with a violent fever and remained confined to bed continuously for seven days. In spite of all the efforts of the *Hukama* to bring him round he did not recover and expired on the 14th of November 1589.²

Mirza Sulaiman of Badakhshan who was conducted to the court by Jagat Singh in February 24, 1587 also breathed his last a little before Raja Todar Mal's death on June 23, 1589.³

Although in the last campaign Bidhi Chand Expedition against Northern Hill States. was terrified into submission but at heart it appeared he was never reconciled to the Mughal domination and was only biding his time to throw off their yoke. By his strenuous and ceaseless efforts he once again succeeded in organising a secret confederation comprising nearly all the states lying between the River Chenab and the Sutlej and when all was complete he one day suddenly raised the standard of revolt. Zain Khan immediately set out from Lahore at the Imperial order on September 12, 1590 to make this rising tide of the rebellion subside. Marching through the hills of Paithan he reached Kahlur state (modern Balasapur) at the banks of the Sutlej and humbled the inhabitants after a slight contest. From there he pushed forward and within two months brought almost all the Rajas to bay. In December 1590 he winded his way back to the court accompanied by Raja Bidhi Chand of Nagarkot, Pars Ram of Jammu, Basu of Mau, Anruda of

1. A.N., III, p. 861.

2. *Ibid.*

3. *Ibid.*, p. 836.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 880.

Jeswal, Tila of Kahlur, Jagdesh Chand of Gwalior, Sis Pal of Dahpal, Sansar Chand of Sibab, Partab of Mankot, Bhuner of Jasrota, Bal Bahadar of Lakhanpur, Rai Daulat of Sherkot, Bhart Rai Krishen of Fort Bhila, Rai Narayan of Suket, Rai Udai of Dhamriwal and the Rajas of Chamba, Kulu and Mandi followed by 10,000 cavalry and 100,000 infantry. They paid their homage and presented 18 elephants, 115 horses, 205 hunting animals such as hawks and falcons.¹ Akbar received them warmly and dismissed them to their respective jagirs.²

The exactions of Yusuf Khan to whom Kashmir had been farmed out at 22 lac
The Second Expedition to Kashmir. *Kharwars* (one Kharwar being reckoned at 16 *dams*), told heavily upon the people. The surplus which accrued from the arbitrary rise in the value of *Kharwar* from 16 to 28 *dams* instead of being remitted to the royal exchequer was embezzled by him and his servants. When intelligence of this fraudulent misappropriation of money reached Akbar, he made a proportionate increase in the revenue in spite of the protests raised by Muhammad Yusuf Khan. On July 27, 1591 he sent Qazi Nur Ullah and Qazi Ali to hold a thorough investigation into the revenue accounts of Kashmir.³

This committee which was to hit hard the agents of Yusuf by eliminating their chances of collecting bribes was received with frowns which augured no good for its members. Qazi Ali at once divined this and sent Nur Ullah back to the court to intimate Akbar about the impending danger of rebellion. Measures were taken immediately to thwart the designs of the would-be rebels. Some of the suspects were summoned to the court and various penalties were inflicted upon

1. A. N., III, p. 884.

2. *Ibid.*3. *Ibid.*, pp. 906-907.

them while, to hold others in check, Husain Beg was deputed to Kashmir. But these precautionary measures were of little avail to put a stop to this increasing fermentation which at last found its outlet in the plots hatched by Darvesh Ali, Adil Beg Turkoman, Imam Quli, Qiya Beg and other servants of Yusuf. At the refusal of Kamal-ud-Din to assume their leadership they turned towards Yadgar and under his guidance raised the standard of revolt and began to harass the imperial soldiers.¹

The faction of the insurgents accumulated more and more power daily till it assumed quite a formidable aspect and it became impossible for Husain to live any longer in this atmosphere surcharged with revolution which might choke him to death at any time. So at the advice of Husain he set out homewards. When he arrived near Hirapur someone beat the drum with the result that the enemy got alert and smashed down the bridges. For fear of being overtaken by the enemy he with his men jumped into the water; some were drowned and others were arrested, but Husain and Qazi Ali escaped and pushed on vigorously. On the way Qazi Ali who had lagged behind on account of his exhaustion was attacked and arrested by the *Kashmiris* who after lopping off his ears and nose put him to death. The fate which befell his companion was not more enviable. When he emerged out of the hills, he found himself face to face with the landowners of that place who robbed him of his luggage and were about to execute him when there arrived on the scene the Chief of Rajauri. His appearance had an instantaneous effect; the band of free-booters being taken by

1. A.N., III, p. 944.

surprise at his sudden appearance took to their heels. Thus Husain was relieved from the clutches of death.¹

Meanwhile discerning the signs of the brewing tempest Akbar, heedless of rain and the opposition raised by his courtiers, had already set his forces in motion on July 22, 1592 and was near *Khaima Chatha* when the intelligence about the breaking out of the storm reached him.² He quickened his pace and on August 12, 1592 arrived at the banks of the *Chenab*. Amid torrential rain the army under his own supervision crossed the river and at dawn he himself landed across, opposite the *Caugan* ferry.³ At the report of the disastrous defeat of Husain he marched on more rapidly and ordered *Koka* to proceed from *Swat*, *Sadiq* to move from *Begram* and the chiefs of the northern hills from *Jammu*. The *Punjab* officers were bidden to enlist more men and to send them off to *Kashmir*. On August 15. *Farid Bakhshi Begi* and *Prince Murad* were ordered to speed on in advance. From *Rajauri* two roads branched off to *Kashmir* but as *Yadgar* had destroyed all the bridges on the *Pir Panjal* route so the *Katril* route was chosen.⁴ *Haji Mubarak* was despatched ahead of the army to escort the family of *Yusuf* back to him safely. He reached *Thans* just in time to save it from the clutches of the robbers.⁵

The news about the approach of Akbar spread like wild fire throughout *Kashmir*. *Yadgar* was terrified and became apprehensive of the security of his empire. His tone at once changed from that of arrogance to humility and he resorted to supplications. While vindicating his own honesty of intention, he charged Husain of gross breach of faith and accused him of inviting his rivals to the throne of

1. A.N., III, p. 946.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 943.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 946.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 947.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 951.

Kashmir. But Akbar turned a deaf ear to his venomous charges and continued to press forward. Yadgar despaired of getting any mercy from him resolved to resist his progress and consequently sent Darvesh Ali to fortify the passes.¹ When Farid Bakhshi Begi reached the foot of the Katril Pass, he built a fort there and advanced into the hills cautiously drawing his forces in battle array and after a hot engagement with the *Kashmiris* occupied the Kapartal Pass. At the dead of night when a complete hush was prevailing on all sides they sallied forth from their hiding-place filling the sky with their loud cries of *Allah-o-Akbar*. Yadgar was nonplussed and sought safety in flight. He took refuge in a thick bush and sent back his servant Yusuf to fetch a horse. But as ill-luck would have it, Yusuf fell into the hands of Saru Beg who was hunting out for Yadgar and was tortured into letting the secret out about his hiding-place. Yadgar was discovered and was decapitated by Shah Beg with one stroke.²

Meanwhile Farid continued his march and after traversing the Pass he reached Hiraipur on September 12, 1592. There his men found the corpse of Yadgar without head but the head was also soon discovered³ and was conveyed to Akbar through Mathra Das on September 16.⁴ Thus relieved of much of his anxiety the Emperor, leaving behind the *harem* and Prince Khusrô who was confined to bed on account of his sickness, under Prince Daniyal, moved on at leisure and entered the Bhimbar Pass. Prince Salim was sent ahead to see whether the road was fit for the travelling of the ladies. The tents were pitched on the other side of the Pass, where he had to stay for two days because of unfavourable weather. On

1. A.N., III, p. 951.

3. *Ibid.*2. *Ibid.*, p. 953.4. *Ibid.*, p. 954.

The third day Naushehra was reached where Salim submitted his report about the difficulty of the roads which were covered with snow. The intention of taking the royal ladies was therefore discarded and Prince Daniyal was ordered to repair to Rohtas to wait for him there. He himself following the easier route of Pir Panjal arrived at Pushiana and then passing through the Pir Panjal Pass he reached Barari¹ and encamped there. On October 3 Srinagar was reached.²

The neighbouring villages which were deserted by the people for fear of royal vengeance presented quite desolate appearance. The persuasions of the royal officers to the people to return, did not prove effective but at the arrival of the Emperor, being assured of their safety they came out of their hiding places and settled in their homes peacefully. Towards the active rebels he adopted a stern and repressive policy. They were hunted out of their secret places and were ruthlessly executed. Adil Beg eluded the grasp of the Imperialists and escaped to the Deccan in the garb of a *Qalandar*. On October 13 after the ceremony of solar weighment Akbar distributed charity among 14,000 persons. Rich rewards were given to the loyalists. On October 23, the celebrations of *Diwali* were observed with great pomp and show. The river bank, the boats and the roofs of the houses were illuminated and there was mirth and gaitly all round.³

As the winter was becoming more and more intolerable Akbar, after turning Kashmir into crown land and giving it over to Shams-ud-Din⁴, embarked on October 31 while the army proceeded by land. At Andarkul, at the request of Salim, Kashmir was made over to Yusuf Khan again and the rate of

1. A.N., III, p. 955.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 958.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 956.

4. *Ibid.*

land revenue was considerably decreased.¹ On November 3 halt was made at the banks of the lake Wular bounded by mountains on its eastern and western sides with the river Bihat flowing through it.² At dawn the tents were pitched at Baramula on the confines of Kashmir and at the end of the road to Pakhli. From Pakhli, as there was snow and rain throughout the night and no suitable camping ground, Akbar proceeded onward and alighted at the house of the son of Shah Rukh at Demtur. On November 17 he passed by Rawalpindi, Rebat, Nagarkot, Thana and *serai* Carwa and reached *serai* Har from where he arrived at Rohtas on November 18 after journeying night and day, thus traversing a distance of 22 *cos* at a single stretch. There he was received by Prince Daniyal and Khusro.³

His idea was to stay for some time at the banks of the Indus in order to reduce to submission the frontier tribes but being assured by Zain Khan Koka about the trivial nature of the affair he set out for Lahore in the beginning of December and arrived there on December 29 after full 16 marches.⁴

Akbar although illiterate felt within himself a surge of spiritual curiosity which had inspired him with a keen desire to "find out and disclose the principles of genuine religion and to trace it to its divine origin."⁵ It was this eclecticism of the Emperor which had transformed the Imperial court into a resort for the great and learned theologians of all the religions, one of whom was Grimon or Firmilun of Abul Fazl.

He was a Greek subdeacon⁶ who accompanied by many other *Farangis* and Armenians paid a flying

1. A.N., III, p. 959.

2. M.B., II, p. 398.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 961.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 966.

5. M.R.E., VI, p. 242.

6. J.G.M., p. 46.

visit to Akbar's court on April 6, 1590,¹ while on his way home,² and presented various sorts of China cloth and other China goods.³ Akbar gave him a warm welcome and placed under him some intelligent persons for learning Greek so as to enable them to render the translation of the Greek scriptures into Persian. He stayed for nearly three months and in the beginning of June he set out for Goa with a letter of invitation to the Portuguese officers there, to send to his court one more mission. Suitable arrangements for supplies and transport, and their safe escort to Lahore, were also guaranteed by him. Grimon dazzled before them bright prospects about the possibility of the conversion of Akbar whose mind was represented to be much unhinged and alienated from Islam. The officers felt in with the proposal and despatched in 1591 two fathers Durate Leitao and Christoval de Vega and a lay brother Estevavo Riboriro.⁴

They were accorded a rousing reception by the Emperor and were lodged in a fine palace with all sorts of provisions for comfort at their disposal. A school was also started under them for the instruction of the sons of the nobles to which Akbar's own son and grandson also sometimes repaired. But all their attempts to convert the king were quite futile and being disappointed Vega left Lahore for Goa and the Mission was brought to a close for unknown reasons.⁵

Akbar's interest in Christianity was by no means extinct yet. In 1594 the Viceroy of Goa was again entrusted to depute some Christian Missionaries to

1. A.N., III, p. 873.

2. J.G.M., p. 46.

3. A.N., III, p. 874. From where he came is not known. Most probably he came from China because the gifts which he presented before the Emperor were all of China.

4. J.G.M., p. 48.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 481.

the court. The Viceroy of Goa well aware of the fate of the first mission did not feel inclined to send them but after a good deal of deliberation with his colleagues he gave in. Accordingly a mission consisting of Father Jerome Xavier, Emmanuel Pinheiro and Brother Benedut and accompanied by a Portuguese painter and interpreter Domingo Piers set sail on December 3, 1594¹ and anchored at Cambay from where adopting a land route they reached Ahmadabad and then Patan. Traversing through the Rajputana Deserts they arrived at Lahore on May 2, 1595 after full five months.² They were received hospitably and were lodged in a separate dwelling. They were treated with every mark of consideration and nothing was spared in making them feel quite at home. The European section of the Royal Library was thrown open to them and permission was also granted for starting a school for the sons of some of the feudatory princes and chiefs of Badakhshan. His broadmindedness can be well judged in the words of the Fathers themselves: "He used to embrace images of our Lord and the Blessed Virgin and kept them for a long time in his arms in spite of their heavy weight. One day he came to the chapel while we were reciting Litanies and remained there like a Christian Prince with his knees bent and his hands clasped." He had attached himself to the missionaries so greatly that even took two of them Xavier and Goes to Kashmir in 1597. When Akbar departed from the Punjab in 1598 Xavier and Goes also accompanied him while Pinheiro was left behind in Lahore. In December 1600 he was joined by Father Francosco

1. J.G.M., pp. 50-51.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 52. Abul Fazl gives 19th of Ardibihisht or April 29, 1595 as the date of their arrival (*vide* A. N., III, p. 1027). This difference in dates seems to be due to the use of Gregorian Calendar by the Fathers and partly to the arrival of different parts of the Caravan on different dates.

Corsi.¹ The Fathers not once but thrice, strove hard to baptise the "Great Mogor" but ultimately failed. Their failure seems to have exasperated even modern historians like Mr. Smith who vents his spleen on him by accusing him of insincerity (*vide Akbar*, p. 255) and 'crafty tortuous' diplomacy (*vide Akbar*, p. 263). As to the first charge of insincerity in using "expressions implying belief in the Christian religion" we must keep it in mind that the blame for this rests with the Fathers themselves who failed to gauge the real depth of the mind of the "Great Mogor" and showed therefore a childlike simplicity in mistaking the Emperor's eclecticism for a desire to be baptised. Their credulous nature is further betrayed by the fact that they gave currency to such baseless gossips that were troubling the minds of the orthodox persons like Badaoni.² Grimon writes that "The Emperor has turned all the mosques of the city where he lived, into stables for elephants or horses on the pretence of preparation for war.....The name of Muhammad was as hated at the Mughal court as in Christendom and that the Emperor had restricted himself to only one wife, turning out the rest and distributing them among his courtiers."³.....The Members of the

1. J.G.M., p. 54.

2. It will be indeed very interesting to read the account of Badaoni side by side with that of the Fathers. He writes, "The killing of animals was strictly forbidden on the first day of the week.....A second order was given that the sun should be worshipped four times a day.....He used to wear Hindu mark on his forehead....Mosques and prayer-rooms were changed into state rooms and into Hindu guard rooms (*vide M. B., II, pp. 331-32*).....The failures of all the prophets the Emperor cited as reason for disbelieving them....." (*vide M. B., II, p. 349*). The real object of those who became his disciples was "nothing except an official post and an eye to the Emperor's friendship." (*vide M. B., II, p. 350*). "Another was that they should prohibit the basest people from learning science in the cities.....Another was that a learned Brahman should decide the cases of the Hindus and not a Qazi.....They should bury a man with his head towards the East and his feet to the West." *vide M. B., II, p. 368*.

3. J.G.M., p. 48.

second mission also dwelling upon the estrangement of the Emperor from Islam remark that "This king has destroyed the sect of Muhammad. In this city there is neither a mosque nor a Quran.... On every Friday it is arranged that forty or fifty boars are brought to fight before the king.....The king has made sect of his own and makes himself out to be a prophet. He has already many people who follow him, but it is all for money which he gives them."¹

A minute study of the charges will prove how baseless they are. How ludicrous is their statement that there was no copy of the Holy Quran when we know it for a fact there were so many commentators on it.² As for mosques it is sufficient to point out that Raja Bhagwan Das—a Hindu not to speak of Muslim nobles—built a *Jamia Masjid* at Lahore.³ The assertion that Akbar distributed all his wives but one among his courtiers is quite ridiculous and no sane person will believe it. As to other charges no historian of the time confirms them except of course Badaoni whose bigotry made him an avowed antagonist to the latitudinarianism of Akbar and consequently tinged every one of his remarks with narrow-mindedness. What seems to me is this that the Fathers recorded what they learnt from certain persons without taking the trouble of verifying their statements and thus unconsciously became an instrument in the hands of those who were bent upon vilifying the eclectic tendencies of Akbar.

As to the second charge of Mr. Smith we should

1. J.G.M., p. 55. By second mission, meant the second of the two which came to Lahore.

2. Maulana Abdullāh Sultanpuri (*vide* M. B., III, p. 113) Maulana Jalal of Tala (*vide* M. B. III, p. 157). Qazi Nurullah of Shushtar (*vide* M. B., III, p. 193) were among the most famous commentators of the Holy Quran.

3. A.A., I, p. 333.

bear it in mind that if Akbar had diplomatic designs in inviting the Mission, the Fathers were also not without political motive which is admitted by Mr. MacLagan who says that the Viceroy "impressed upon the missionaries the good results not merely of a religious but of a political character."

In spite of the strenuous exertions put in now ^{Rebellion of the} and then by the royal officers ^{Northern Hill-chiefs.} the complete subjugation of the northern hill states was still far from effected. In 1594 the hill chiefs under the leadership of the Raja of Jasrota¹ once more began to betray signs of restlessness and discontent with the existing regime. So on September 11, 1594 Akbar despatched Farid Bakhshi Begi, Husain Beg, Shaikh Umar, Ali Muhammad Darbari, Bahadar Khan, Ahmad Qasim, Muhammad Khan Turkoman, Nasir Khan Junaid, Ulugh Beg Kulabi, Abul Shaikh and Dost Muhammad Barwati to check their inordinate ambition² and to bring the rebels to a reasonable frame of mind. Jammu, owing to its strategical importance was first to be assaulted. The Raja being cowed down was forced into submission and was compelled to admit a Mughal garrison into the fort. The next fort to be invested was that of Ramgarh which was taken by storm after a little exertion and was made over to the men of Zain Khan Koka. From there the army pressed onward and reached Sambha where Suraj Singh the son of Raja Basu of Mau tendered his allegiance and was allowed to retire to his fort peacefully.

When Raja Bhabu of Jasrota—the brain of the whole conspiracy—was informed about the triumphant advance of the royal army he took alarm and sought asylum in the stronghold of Abiza which was bounded on all sides by impenetrable jungles. But

1. P.H.S., I, p. 151.

2. A.N., III, p. 1005.

Farid was not to be deterred by the dangerous nature of his enterprise. He advanced forward firmly and cutting his way through the jungles took Bhabu by surprise and captured him after a slight conflict. As it was not prudent to keep such a dangerous man in the vicinity of his native town he was conveyed to the court under the escort of Ali Muhammad.¹ Now Farid addressed himself to the reduction of the impregnable fort of Jasrota, approach to which was fraught with tremendous difficulties. However Husain took heart and started to invest the lower fort defended by the relatives of the Raja. By great exertion the moat was filled and the gates were burst open. The fort was occupied after a considerable loss of men. From there the troops penetrated into the jungles to deliver an attack upon the upper fort. The enemy hotly disputed the passage through the woods but the royal soldiers unmindful of the continuous fire which blazed forth from their muskets continued to press forward undauntedly and ultimately succeeded in gaining the gates of the forts. There they halted and set fire to the fort, the enemy being bewildered fled into the surrounding jungles leaving the whole city at their mercy who now wreaked their vengeance upon the buildings and crops and burnt them to ashes. As it was deemed quite dangerous to effect junction with the army, which was lying only two cos off, owing to the evening the soldiers bivouaced there in the open. But the enemy allowed them no repose and continued to harass them throughout the night. Under a constant shower of arrows and bullets and sitting behind their breast-plates with shields overhead they kept awake the whole night. With the first ray of the sun they winded their way back and joined with the main army. The valour and courage displayed by Husain Beg and other officers

1. F.E., VI, p. 126.

was greatly appreciated by Farid who rewarded them with *inams* and money and robes.¹ Leaving the fort under the charge of Husain Beg, Farid advanced to Lakhanpur. The fort was captured and after placing it under Muhammad Khan Turkoman, Farid forded across the Ravi and received the homage of the Raja of Pathan. Arriving at Mau he, at the invitation of Raja Suraj Singh, repaired to his palace accompanied by many officers and got valuable horses and cloth as tribute. Next he turned towards Guler but the Raja by his voluntary submission saved his state from being annihilated. The Rani of Nagarkot who did not seem to have involved herself in this rebellion, also paid him her respects through her *vakil* and assured him of her unflinching loyalty. The submission of Jesuwals gave a finishing touch to his task for the accomplishment of which he had set out from Lahore and the whole of the territory from Jammu to Nagarkot was once again brought under the imperial domination.

In the month of November being relieved of his duty by Qazi Hassan he came back to the court *via* Desuha and Batala. Raja Basu, who was absent in the Punjab during the last expedition of Farid returning to his state, broke afresh into open revolt in 1596 and put the Mughal soldiers left there to great trouble. On 11th July Rustam at the imperial orders hastened to the Sivalik hills² and exerted himself greatly in league with Qazi Hassan to put down the insurrection. The fort of Mau was put under blockade. Later on after being joined by Asaf Khan, Tash Beg, Hashim Beg and Muhammad Khan they renewed their work more vigorously. At last being pressed hard by the besieging army Basu on June 4 escaped secretly from the fort and took refuge in another place. The fort

1. F.E., VI, p. 127.

2. A.N., III, p. 1060.

was captured, his house was burnt and immense booty fell into the hands of the imperialists. On the 5th June, Rustum returned to the court.¹

In April 1598 Raja Maluk Chand of Nagarkot laid down his arms and was sent to the court under the custody of Jagat Singh and Hashim Beg. Akbar received him well and pardoned him for his past misconduct.² In October 1598 he appeared at the court through Prince Salim and was forgiven.³

From 1595 to 1598⁴ the entire country was

Famine and Pestilence. ravaged by a severe famine owing to the scarcity of rain.⁵

A kind of plague also added to the horrors of famine. The deserted towns and cities presented an awful and ghostly picture. There was such a dearth of corn that people once again relapsed into the most primitive stage of human existence and resorted to cannibalism. The streets and roads were blocked up with human corpses. Akbar took compassion on the miserable and wretched condition of his subjects and entrusted Sheikh Farid Bukhari with the relief work.⁶ Public kitchens were started. Experienced officers were dispatched in every direction to distribute food to the starving people.⁷ The condition of Kashmir was still worse and the appalling misery of the famine-stricken people shocked the Jesuit missionaries who had accompanied Akbar on his visit to Kashmir.⁸

Faizi the 'King of Poets' after suffering for

The Death of a long time from "conflicting diseases viz., from the trouble of the difficulty in breathing, and from dropsy, and swelling of the hands and from vomiting of blood

1. A.N., III, p. 1084.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 1108.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 1113.

4. Z.T.E. VI, p. 192.

5. A.N., III, p. 1063.

6. Z.T.E., VI, p. 192.

7. A.N., III, p. 1063.

8. J.G.M., p. 53.

which he had borne for six months " at last expired on Saturday, October 5, 1594.¹ A few days after his death Hakim Hamam also breathed his last.²

On March 26, 1597, while Akbar was celebrating the festival of the commencement of the New Year, a fire broke out in the kitchens; it was however soon overpowered, but the loss incurred was considerable.³

The enchantment of " the ' bridal chamber ' of Spring " seems to have completely fascinated the mind of the Emperor who never let any opportunity of drinking deep at the sweet fountains of nature slip by and he was always on the look-out for some chance to roam widely into that land of fairies where the sway of Nature was complete. In March 1597 Jamil the son of Sulaiman arrogating to himself the high sounding title of Umar Sultan began to create tumult but his timely arrest by Muhammad Quli Beg did not allow his insurrection to take root and was soon eradicated.⁴ When Akbar received intelligence of this commotion he set out for Kashmir on April 1, 1597. After taking some repose in the gardens of Dilawez⁵ he continued

1. M.B., II. p. 420. Not contented with giving such an awful picture of long and excruciating pain Badaoni goes further and remarks, " Since he hated the Musalmans and associated himself with " dogs " day and night, at the moment of death they heard him bark like a dog... " woe to the heretic and Shia and natural philosopher and the worldly man " ; and " the pillar of heresy is broken " were the chronograms on his death (*vide* M. B., II. p. 420).

2. A.N., III. p. 1034. Badaoni has placed it in the month of Safar 1000 A.H. (October 1596).

3. M. B., II. p. 421.

4. A.N., III. p. 1075. Here exaggeration of the destructive results of the fire as stated by the Fathers, is noteworthy. They write " Fire came down from heaven and consumed a large part of the palace, which was built of timber, destroying a vast quantity of rich carpets, plates, jewellery, and other valuables, to such an extent that it is alleged that molten gold and silver ran down the streets like water " *vide* J. G. M. p. 55.

5. A.N., III. p. 1080.

his march and on April 17 arrived at Aminabad where the rebel was presented before him. He was sentenced to life-long imprisonment.¹ On April 29 he took rest in the pleasant city of Gujrat and then made for the Bhimbar Pass where the tents were already provided by Mir Murad, the fief-holder. Here the army was split up into ten sections. The first section included Akbar himself the second consisted of the ladies in the charge of Abul Fazl, Prince Salim constituted the third while the remaining seven comprised the guards which were to attend upon the Emperor by rotation. Marching in this order the royal retinue reached Rajauri on May 17. Here an embroil which ensued between Fateh Ullah Khwajgi² who was posted at the top of the Bhimbar Pass to let nobody pass without imperial orders³ and the men of Prince Salim, resulted in the death of one of the soldiers of the latter. Akbar severely censured Salim for the conduct of his men but on enquiry by Abul Fazl⁴ he being found innocent was pardoned. Fateh Ullah Khwajgi who was sent to receive his punishment was accorded an honourable treatment by the Prince and thus the whole matter was wound up quite pleasantly.⁵

On 22 May the tents were pitched at Pushiana. From there he proceeded to Nari Barari through the Pir Panjal Pass where lodging was already arranged by Muhammad Quli Beg. On the 25th May after traversing through various defiles he arrived at Hirapur and enjoyed the spring of Jamal Nagari. From Punj Brara he began to march along the banks of the river Jhelum and reached Machi-Bhavan by way to Anca. On June 4,⁶ near Khanpul he embarked on a boat and enjoying the sight of the

1. A. N., III, p. 1077.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 1082.3. *Ibid.*4. *Ibid.*5. *Ibid.*, p. 1082.6. *Ibid.*, p. 1083.

delightful meadows on the two banks of the river he reached near Koh-i-Sulaiman on June 7 and alighted down to visit the Lake Dal. The next stage reached was Amritbal where a beautiful temple situated close by a fountain was worth beholding.¹ On June 8 he reached Nagar and put up in the quarters of Muhammad Quli Beg on the banks of the lake.²

The arrival of Akbar in Kashmir coincided with the time when due to the deficiency of rain, famine was stalking over the whole land and the *Kashmiris* were leaving for other places in search of food. The tenants who were already groaning under the burden of high prices were further subjected to the tyranny of the fief-holders who exacted cash payment from them contrary to their long-established custom of realising revenue in kind. His arrival only served to aggravate their condition still further and the pinching felt by the augmented scarcity became quite intolerable. Akbar, who was seeing and hearing all, was awakened to the sense of his duty and adopted benevolent measures to mitigate their suffering. The revenue was remitted and the fief-holders were visited with severe punishments. In the different quarters of the city twelve places were opened for feeding great and small. On every Sunday special royal officers were sent to distribute food among the needy. Work on public buildings began and thus a considerable number of persons was absorbed in the public works. As many as 55 customs were abolished. In this way 80,000 persons received relief and much of the misery was allayed.

Akbar stayed in Kashmir for full four months and whiled away his time in boat expeditions visits to Dal Lake, and in various other amuse-

1. A.N. III, p. 1084.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 1085.

ments. He desired to spend the winter there but owing to the bitter cold he had to give up his intention and embarked on October 5 for Panpur to visit the saffron fields. From there he proceeded to Pushiana. Then traversing through the Bhimbar Pass and passing by Akbarabad he arrived at Gujrat on October 30. He crossed the Chenab on an elephant on November 3 and reached Lahore on November 14, 1597.

The ruler of Turan died on January 24, 1598, and his country as usual relapsed into a condition of anarchy and chaos. The oppressive rule of his son made the situation still worse. Akbar felt tempted to incorporate the country into his own dominions but at the refusal of Salim to lead the expedition the enterprise was abandoned.

On August 2, 1598 Manuchehar Beg the Persian Ambassador appeared before the king and presented on behalf of his master 100 Iraqi horses and mares, 300 pieces of brocade, 50 masterpieces of carpets, besides embroidered mattresses, various seeds, 9 goats and 500 Turkoman slaves in rich dresses.¹

Akbar during his stay in the Punjab was not entirely engrossed in internecine and sanguine warfare with his neighbours but was also alive to the necessity of making his administrative machinery more efficient and more harmonious and therefore introduced some fine modifications in the working of the governmental machinery.

In 1587 he decreed that henceforth the Hindus should be tried by the *Brahmans* instead of the

Qazis and laid down three modes of trial; by ordeal, if it were necessary to have recourse to oaths. A heated iron bar should be put into the hands of the accused; if his hands were burnt he was to be judged as guilty, otherwise innocent. Or else he should put his hands into boiling oil; or that while they shot an arrow, the accused should jump into the water and if he came to surface before the arrival of the arrow he was to be declared guilty and then the defendant should satisfy the claims of the plaintiff.¹

Another reform was carried out in connection with the currency. The last edict of Azad-ud-Daula, that a *mohar*, the deficiency of which ordinarily did not exceed three grains and a rupee, the deficiency of which did not exceed six grains should be reckoned as of full weight²—had much encouraged counterfeiting and a great loss was incurred by the royal treasury. So to put a stop to this fraudulent practice this provision was annulled in 1592³ and it was ordered that all sorts of *ashrafis* and rupees with the royal stamp should be set in circulation and no difference of years was to be taken into account.⁴ The treasurers and revenue collectors were forbidden to demand from the tax-payers any particular species of coins and were required to take the deficiency in weight and purity, whatever it might be according to the existing rate only.⁵ Qulij Khan the Diwan carried out the order with a willing mind and inflicted heavy fines upon the bankers and others and tortured many of them to death. At his failure to exact complete obedience to this order he was superseded by Khwaja Shams-ud-Din who enforced it with success.⁶

In 1595 new additions were made to the duties

1. M.B., II, p. 368.

2. A.N., I, p. 33.

3. A.A., I, p. 35.

4. M.B., II, p. 393.

5. *Ibid.*, Badaoni is not clear about this measure.

6. *Ibid.*

of the *Kotwal*. He was required to take cognizance of the streets and houses of the city and to engage some of the prominent citizens in a pledge of reciprocal assistance and to keep a close watch without discrimination on every one who entered or left the city. They were to report about feasts, marriages, births, and deaths to the *kotwal*. A spy from among the obscure persons was to be kept in service by him in order to remain in touch with all that was going about in the area within his jurisdiction.¹

In addition to this an inspector and a registrar were employed to prepare a list of the property of the childless and the missing persons so that if anyone of them died his property might be reverted to the real heir provided he did not owe anything to the imperial exchequer or hold the office of a *krori* and was not a banker, otherwise it was to be escheated to the royal coffers. The prices of gold, silver and precious stuffs were to remain fixed and they were to be bought at the imperial tariff. A fixed profit was to accrue to the royal treasury.

Akbar also exerted strenuously to relieve his subjects from the deadly grip of silly superstitions and to imbue them with a high moral sense. In 1597 he ordered that one should not have more than one legal wife, unless he had no child; the rule should be 'one God and one wife.'² Remarriage of the widows among the Hindus was made lawful and it was positively laid down in 1592 that no Hindu woman was to be forced to become *Sati* against her will.³ The circumcision of the children before the age of twelve was prohibited. In 1592 it was directed that no ox, buffalo, cow, sheep, horse and camel

1. M.B., II, p. 404.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 367.3. *Ibid.*, p. 388.

should be slaughtered and the *kotwal* was bidden to see that the act was properly enforced.¹

In the same year it was ordained that no one should take his meals with a butcher and the *Kotwals* were ordered to amputate the hand of any person but his relatives (who were to lose only one finger) who contravened this law.² In 1595 another series of social laws was promulgated. "If a young woman were found running about the lanes and bazars of the town and while so doing either did not veil herself, and allowed herself to become unveiled or if a woman was worthless and deceitful and quarrelled with her husband, she was to go to the quarters of the prostitutes and take up the profession. A father or a mother might, if forced by hunger and extreme misery, sell their child, and afterwards when they had the means to pay, might buy it back again." "If a Hindu, when a child or otherwise, had been made Musalman against his will he was to be allowed if he pleased to go back to his religion." "No man should be interfered with on account of his religion and anyone was to be allowed to go over to any religion he pleased." "If a Hindu woman fell in love with a Musalman and entered the Muslim religion, she could be taken by force from her husband and restored to her family." "If any one chose to build a church or a synagogue or idol temple or Parsi Tower of Silence, no one was to hinder him."³ How far these reforms were actually put into operation cannot be judged from the present records at our disposal but one can hazard this suggestion at least that the range of their operation was quite limited

1. A.A., II, p. 42.

2. M.B., II, p. 438. This seems to be a very strange order and I have not been able to ascertain the reason for its promulgation. Probably this was meant to discourage animal-slaughter.

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 405-6.

and failed to touch the bulk of the people living in villages whose life continued to flow in like a dirty, stinking and slow gutter.

Akbar, whose authority over northern India had become quite supreme by the annexation of Kabul in 1585, now launched upon an aggressive policy towards the kingdoms lying to the south of the Vindhya Mountains and organised an expedition under Prince Murad. But as the Prince failed to achieve much, Akbar himself determined to lead his forces into the Deccan. So on Thursday November 6, 1598 in spite of the opposition of the courtiers he set out from Lahore on an elephant¹ entrusting the affairs of the Punjab to Khwaja Shams-ud-Din, Mir Murad and Malik Khair. The Queen Mother together with other Begums and Prince Khusró were left behind in Lahore. Crossing the river Beas at Gobindwal on an elephant on 24th November he went to pay a visit to Guru Arjan Dev.² He was charmed by his "saintly bearing" and at his intercession made a considerable decrease in the land revenue of the Punjab. The river Sutlej was crossed at Ludhiana on 2nd December and Sarhind was reached on December 7 from where he proceeded to Delhi and arrived there on December 31, 1598.

Khwaja Shams-ud-Din, the new *Subedar* of the Punjab governed the province very efficiently with the help of the capable *Kotwal* of Lahore, Malik Khairullah.

On July 26, 1599, while Khairullah was examining a notorious thief in his private room,³ there appeared some persons (thieves) who wanted to communicate to him a very important piece of information regarding this particular case. They were admitted in but

1. A.N., III, p. 1114.

2. A.N., III, p. 1115.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 1135.

instead of enlightening him about the case they pounced upon him with a dart and thrashed him to death with their iron claws which they were wearing on their hands. The alarm was raised but the criminals escaped along with their companions.¹ Shams-ud-Din² died in March, 1600, and Zain Khan Koka was appointed as the governor of the Punjab and Kabul.³ But he was soon recalled to Agra and Qulij Khan was sent in 1601 to assume the governorship of Kabul and the Punjab⁴ in his place.

The policy pursued by Farid in his last expedition of dispossessing the hill-chiefs of their forts and garrisoning them with the Mughal soldiers had a benumbing influence upon the recalcitrant temper of the chiefs and succeeded in holding them down. But the case of Raja Basu who had betaken himself to the jungles after his last defeat formed one glaring exception. He could not be kept down. In 1602 he again emerged out of his hiding place and began to raid the borders of Pathan. The inhabitants of the *pargana* of Muzaffarwal were put to great vexation by his guerilla warfare. At last Husain Beg and Sardar Umar took up cudgels on behalf of the oppressed peasantry and started from Rohtas to relieve them of their trouble.⁵ Hassan Qulij the son of Qulij Khan set his forces in motion to assist them in apprehending the Raja. Taj Khan, Ahmad Beg and others also left their respective *jagirs* to effect junction with the army of Hassan Qulij and render him assistance in subduing the rebels. Taj Khan met a terrible disaster on his way to Mau. He had not gone far from Pathan when suddenly there appeared the rebels on all sides. Jamil Beg, his son, advanced forward with a few men and engaged them in action but was completely

1. A.N., III, p. 1135.

2. J.G.M., p. 56.

3. A.A., I, p. 345.

4. A.N., III, p. 1196.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 1207.

hemmed in and the right and left wings of his army were overpowered. Jamil Beg himself died fighting valiantly along with fifty men.¹

The fate which befell Khwaja Sulaiman, the *Bakhshi* of the army, was not more enviable. He had despatched a detachment to raid a village but as no intelligence of its victory or defeat had arrived, he became anxious and himself set off towards that place. When he reached there he found his soldiers engaged in a deadly struggle with the enemy who were showering upon them arrows, and bullets from all sides. One of the bullets struck him and he fell down dead. His soldiers lost heart and were routed.²

Meanwhile Husain Beg and Sardar Umar had reached Jammu and had begun the siege. The soldiers of the Rajas of Mankot, Lakhampur, and Jasrota were pouring in to help the insurgents. But they could not hold on for long and escaped from the fort secretly one day. The fort was occupied. Ramgarh, Jasrota, Jammu and Mankot also soon fell into the hands of the imperialists and thus the commotion subsided gradually.³ But the Raja of Mau was still at large. In 1603 he came to Prince Salim and requested him to intercede on his behalf before the Emperor but himself remained on the other side of Jammu. Akbar sent Madhu Singh privately to arrest him but the Raja got wind of it and once more fled away.⁴

That was the position in the Punjab Hill States on the eve of Akbar's death.

1. A N., III, p. 1208. 2. *Ibid.*, p. 1221. 3. *Ibid.*, p. 1213. 4. *Ibid.*, p. 1248.

Chapter VII

JAHANGIR'S ACCESSION

On October 17, 1605, passed away Akbar, the Emperor of India, after a long illness, sorely troubled by his ungrateful and unmanageable son Salim. But the father and the son had been reconciled before the father died, and he had expressed a desire on his death-bed that his only surviving son should succeed him. So Salim ascended the throne on the 24th of October 1605, at the age of 37 years and 7 months. His name was Sultan Salim after the name of the Saint of Sikari, but now he changed it to Nur-ud-Din Muhammad Jahangir Padshah Ghazi.¹

The first thing that Jahangir did on his accession was to issue the twelve *Dastur-i-Amal* to all the provinces. The governors of the provinces were asked to enforce them in their respective provinces. The edicts were as follows :—

1. Prohibition of Cesses.
2. Injunctions to stop highway robbery.
3. Tax-free inheritance of property.
4. Prohibition of the sale of wine.
5. Prohibition of the forcible seizure of property.
6. Prohibition of cutting of noses of the criminals.
7. Building of Hospitals.
8. Prohibition of cow-slaughter.
9. Observing of Sunday as a sacred day.
10. General confirmation of *Nawabs* and *Jagirdars*.

1. *Jahangir's Mem.*, Vol. 1, p. 6.

11. Confirmation of *Aima* lands.

12. Amnesty for all prisoners detained in the forts and in the prisons of the realm.

The subsequent history of Jahangir's reign shows that these edicts were never strictly enforced.

The governorship of the Punjab was bestowed upon Said Khan. He was one of the confidential nobles and

Said Khan.

connected with Akbar by marriage. His forefathers had been in the service of the Mughals. He is well known for his patronage of the eunuchs and is said to have kept 1200 eunuchs. Once they, it is said, oppressed and committed many atrocities upon the weak and the poor people upon which Jahangir warned him that he would be punished if the same thing happened again. Said Khan on this gave a bond to the king that he would forfeit his head if the people were ever again oppressed.¹ He kept his word thereafter.

He sent a petition to the Emperor begging leave for Mirza Ghazi, his adopted son. Mirza Ghazi was in reality the son of the ruler of Thatta who had promised his daughter to Khusrau. Jahangir determined to allow the Mirza to leave the court when the alliance came into force.²

The children and dependants of Daniyal, brother of Jahangir were living at Burhanpur. Jahangir sent a message in a severe but dignified tone to the Khan-i-Khanan to send them and at the same time sent Muqarrab Khan generally known as Shaikh Hassan, to bring them to wait upon the Emperor. Muqarrab Khan proved very loyal and prompt. Bringing them he presented them before the Emperor at Lahore.³

1. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. 1, p. 331.

2. *Jahangir's Mem.*, Vol. 1, p. 20.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 28.

The news arrived that the governor of Herat had besieged Qandhar. Shah Beg Khan was putting up a stout resistance. Jahangir waited at Lahore to know the results. Meanwhile Aziz Koka's forged letters, that he had written against Akbar were seized, and his intrigues with Khusrau against Jahangir were revealed. Thereupon the Emperor confiscated his *Jagirs*.¹

Jahangir was weighed with all sorts of ostentatious ceremonies against 12 different metals which were distributed among the poor. Hunts were arranged in the various jungles of the Punjab and the Emperor busied himself in these hunting expeditions for three months and six days during which 576 animals were killed.² Ram Chander Bandillah was brought before the Emperor by Abdullah Khan, and was released with a robe of honour and was handed over to Raja Basu.³

The Emperor started for Kabul. The first halt was made at Gujrat. Next day the river Chenab was crossed and he camped at Jhelum. On account of heavy rains the river Jhelum was in flood. The bridge had been swept away. The Emperor was obliged to cross the river in a boat.⁴ On the 18th April, 1607 the King visited the strong fort of Rohtas from where he went to Tilla and then to Bhera. Next he visited Hatya, where lived the *Bhugayas* somehow connected with the *Gakhars*. The next camp was at Pakha.

From there the camp came to Rawalpindi founded by Rawal—a Hindu. It had a pool of the

1. *Jahangir's Mem.*, Vol. 1, p. 80.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 83.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 87.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 92.

breadth of an arrow's flight. Then passing through *Kharbuza Sarai* they encamped at Baba Hassan Abdal. There was a beautiful waterfall where the Emperor relaxed himself by catching fish and putting pearls in their noses and then again releasing them to swim. Next day the camp again moved. Attock and the *Jagir* around it was given to Zain Khan Koka. Mahabat Khan was promoted to a *Mansab* of 2500 horse. Mir Sharif Amli was given a reward of 1200 rupees for the services that he had rendered at Lahore. Passing through Naushera built by Zain Khan Koka he camped at Daulatabad where he visited Gorakh Nath Yogi. From there the entourage entered Kabul.¹

The Emperor remained there for some time during which orders were sent to Qulij Khan to despatch Rs. 1,70,000 to Qandhar for the expenses of the army.² On his return to Lahore he was invited by Asaf Khan who presented to him offerings worth 10 Lakhs of Rupees.³ Mirza Ghazi's envoy was presented before the King who offered 7 or 8 thousand of rupees with the curtain of the door of *Ka'aba*. The King sent him away with gifts worth 100,000 rupees to Mecca. The *Jagir* of Multan was conferred upon Mirza Ghazi.⁴

Murtza Khan of Gujrat got the honour of presenting a peerless jewelled ring. The Emperor made Qulij Khan the governor of the Punjab, Mir Qavam-ud-Din the *Dewan*, Shaikh Yusuf Bakhshi and Jamal-ud-Din *Kotwal* and himself left for Agra.⁵ On the way near Karnal he killed two tigers with a gun.

1. *Jahangir's Mem.*, Vol. 1, pp. 97-102.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 109.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 131. *Iqbal Nama*, p. 22, puts the sum to be two lakhs instead of ten lakhs.

4. *Jahangir's Mem.*, Vol. 1, p. 133.

5. *Iqbal Nama*, p. 22.

In 1610 the governorship of Lahore was given to Murtza Khan. This was a big charge and a great honour to him. Next year the Punjab was given to him as a *Jagir*.¹ In 1612, the news arrived about the death of *Amir-ul-Umra* from Burhanpur. He had caught the disease at Lahore. Some time after his illness, his mental power gave way to insanity. His memory was lost. This illness took him to his grave.²

In 1613 the bad news of the death of the *Hakim* of Peshawar arrived. He was 80 years of age, and was employed to bring the Afghans to order.³

In 1615, Murtza Khan was sent with Suraj Mal, to capture the strong fort of Kangra in the hill country of the Punjab. A conflict between Murtza Khan and Raja Suraj Mal arose. Suraj Mal was recalled, but soon after Murtza Khan himself died. He was the *Subedar* of the Punjab with a *mansab* of 6,000 *Zat* and 5,000 *Sawar*. He had rendered much service to the King when Khusrau rebelled. The Emperor was very much grieved at the death of such a loyal and capable officer and follower.⁴

On the anniversary of the King's accession in 1616 Suraj Mal came and laid before the King his offerings. He was much honoured. Khan Dauran had greatly exerted himself in the disturbance raised by the Afghans. He was given a reward of three lakhs of rupees from the treasury of Lahore.⁵

The fort of Kangra was on the verge of being conquered when Murtza Khan had died all of a sudden. But the management was soon controlled by Raja Man who showed much loyalty. The son of

1. *Iqbal Nama*, p. 37.

3. *Ibid.*

5. *Ibid.*

2. *Jahangir's Mem.*, Vol. 1, p. 231.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 324.

the Raja of the fort was brought to the court and the fort was further reinforced. The Emperor was much pleased with Raja Man. He conferred upon him a *mansab* of 1,500 *Zat* and 1,000 *Sawar* instead of 1,000 *Zat* and 800 *Sawar*.¹

This was the cursed year when the most horrible disease—plague—started in Lahore and soon spread like wild fire in the whole of India, sweeping away the lives of thousands of the people. This had never happened previously in India.²

Still one more bad news came from the Punjab that year, that is the death of the loyal officer, Raja Man. He had been sent as the head of the army to Kangra. In his absence, Sangram one of the *Zamin-dars* of the hilly Punjab, had attacked and taken possession of a part of the province. Raja Man went to drive him out. Sangram fled and hid himself in the difficult hills. Raja Man pursued him there with a small force, and in the desperate fight that issued, a bullet struck Raja Man, and he was killed. His army was defeated and they fled. The King was grieved at his loss.³

Now that Murtza Khan was dead, the Government of the Punjab was given to Itmad-ud-Daulah in 1617. He was given an elephant when going to Shakhani tank.⁴

Upon the recommendation of Shah Jahan Raja Suraj Mal was sent as a superintendent of the expedition to Kangra. But he created trouble and revolted. Raja Bikramajit was sent against him. He was defeated and fled to Chamba where he died. The forts were conquered, and the Nurpur State was given to his brother Jagat Singh.

1. *Jahangir's Mem.*, Vol. 1, p. 326. 2. *Ibid.* 3. *Ibid.*, p. 361.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 384.

Although from the very beginning Jahangir had endeavoured to capture the fort of Kangra yet it had not been effected so far.

In 1618, Shah Jahan took the responsibility. Some musketeers and generals were given to him for help.¹

In these days Khan Dauran came from Kabul. He had brought many good horses, and horsemen from there for the King. But when he reached the Punjab many left him and were thus scattered all over the different parts of the Province.²

On the 14th new year's day of accession in 1619, Itmad-ud-Daulah invited the Emperor to his place.

New Year's Feast.

He prepared a very grand feast, the preparations for decorating the place and properly illuminating it had taken him full three years. It had cost him four lakh and fifty thousand rupees. This was all done under the directions of an European architect. This was one of the most splendiddinners ever given by a subject to the Emperor. After the dinner the host presented offerings worth one lakh in the shape of ornaments and jewels.³ In honour of his accession day the Emperor gave away two villages and 44786 *bighas* of land in Kashmir in charity.⁴ Khwaja Khan was made *Bakhshi* of Kangra. Karam Ullah son of Ali Mardan Khan and Baqir Khan *faujdar* of Multan were given elephants. The *mansab* of Muhammad Shafi, *Bakhshi* of the Punjab, was raised to 500 *Zat* and 300 *Sawar*. Khan Dauran petitioned the King to transfer him from temporal to secular service, as he could not carry out the present work due to his old age. He was given the *pargana* of Khushab fetching a revenue of 30,00,000 *dams* annual-

1. *Jahangir's Mem.*, Vol. 2, p. 25.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 80.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 61.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 84.

ly. The *mansabs* of his sons were also raised. Shah Muhammad to 1000 personal and 600 horse, Yaqub Beg to 700 personal and 350 horse, and Asaf Beg to 300 personal and 50 horse.¹ A road from Agra to Lahore was ordered to be built with a pillar at every *kos*, a well at every three *kos* and trees were planted on both sides of the road.²

Since the conquest of Kashmir in 1589, by Akbar, the Mughals had visited the charming and beautiful gardens of Kashmir very frequently. Jahangir was very particular about that. In 1619, he started for Kashmir. When he reached the river Beas, the news of the birth of a son of Shah Jahan reached him. The Emperor held and celebrated his annual solar weighing at the bank of the river and gave a big feast to Shah Jahan. On the same day Syed Bayazid Bukhari, *faujdar* of Bhakhar, sent an offering of a ram which he had brought from the hills. The King was very much pleased with the gift. It was a tamed ram. The King kept it with goats, so that they might pair. His *mansab* was raised to 1,000 personal and 700 horse. The same day Raja Bikramajit came from Kangra, to pay his homage to the King. He was given a jewelled dagger and dress of honour, and he returned to Kangra.³

The Emperor had sent in 1617, Mansur Khan to complete the erection of the Royal buildings at Lahore. They were almost complete by this time. But the Emperor had no time to visit Lahore. So he sent Shah Jahan to see them and return within ten days.⁴

The next halting station of the camp was Kalanaur. The news arrived that Khan Alam was arriving. He was coming back from the Shah of Persia. The

1. *Jahangir's Mem.*, Vol. 2, p. 93.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 90.

2. *Iqbal Nama*, p. 88.

4. *Jahangir's Mem.*, Vol. 2, p. 114.

King wanted to honour him, so he sent one courtier daily to receive him. On the third of Bahman, he presented himself before the King with an offering of 100 *mohars* and 1,000 rupees. He had many other presents. He told the Emperor that Zambil Beg, the ambassador of the Shah of Persia was following him with a letter and presents from the Shah. The Shah of Persia had been very kind and good to Khan Alam. He had conferred many titles upon him, but Khan Alam had never forgotten his position. The Shah had honoured him many a time by entering his quarters without any formality or ceremonies. He had shown his etiquette and good manners in a Qamargha hunt. The Shah had even embraced him. The beautiful and costly presents that he brought, had fallen into his hands just by good luck. Out of so many presents one picture showing the fight between *Sahib Qiran* Taimur with Tuqtamish Khan and his children and *Amirs*, was most charming. It contained 240 figures in all. The painter was some Khalil Mirza Shah Rukh. They were analogous to *Ustad Bihzad's* paintings, but he seemed to have been a pupil of Shah Rukh, as this present picture was of an earlier date. Shah Abbas wanted to retain it but had sent it, knowing the love and keen interest that Jahangir had for such things. Khan Alam was made a *Panjhazari mansabdar* and given the fort of Rohtas.¹ Bishan Das the painter had also been sent with Khan Alam. He had taken very magnified portraits of the Shah and his Courtiers. These were also brought to Jahangir. Bishan Das was given an elephant.²

The *Bakhshi* and *Dewan* of Lahore, Qasim Khan, came at this stage to pay his homage to the Emperor. Itmad-ud-Daulah reviewed the army. The area of Kashmir did not produce as much as to suffice both

1. *Iqbal Nama*, p. 93.

2. *Jahangir's Mem.*, Vol. 2, p. 119.

the inhabitants and the Royal camp. Moreover by the arrival of "the glorious and victorious standards," the prices had risen, and it was a discomfort for the people. Jahangir issued orders to his officials to prepare their retinues, to keep only the indispensable ones and sent others to their respective *Jagirs*. The number of the beasts was also to be reduced.¹

Baba Talib, the poet, was honoured and Shaikh Mian Muhammad Mir of Lahore was interviewed. The King was much impressed by his advice.²

Sangram—a *Zamindar* of the Jammu State, was given the title of Raja and a *mansab* of 1,000 personal, 500 horse, an elephant and dress of honour.³

Ghairat Khan *Faujdar* of the Doab was promoted to 800 personal and 500 horse rank.

Tahamtan Beg son of Qasim Koka got the *mansab* of 500 personal and 300 horse. Shah Jahan soon returned from Lahore and the camp again started. The next halt was at Kasohi, situated at the bank of the Jhelum. It was a hunting place in the hilly tract. Huntsmen had been previously ordered to prepare a big hunt. They had enclosed an area of 6 *kos* and the game therein. The Emperor hunted the entrapped game, in which 101 mountain sheep and several gazelles were taken.⁴ A report came from Nur-ud-Din stating that the Poonch road had been repaired but snow of the depth of 3 cubits had fallen, thus blocking the way. To pass through that road meant waiting for one month at least. So instead of waiting the King determined to go *via* Pakhli and Dhamtur. Two hundred elephants were engaged to cross the river Jhelum.⁵

When the camp had crossed the river the news of the death of Khwaja Jahan arrived. The King was

1. *Jahangir's Mem.*, Vol. 2, p. 119.

2. *Ibid.*

3. *Ibid.*, p. 120. He seems to be the same Sangram, who had killed Raja Man.

4. *Jahangir's Mem.*, Vol. 2, p. 121.

5. *Ibid.*

very much grieved. Khwaja Jahan had been his servant when he was only a prince. Afterwards his services were transferred to Akbar. When Jahangir came to the throne he had given him a *mansab* of 5,000 personal and 3,000 horse. He was a very successful man. Now while accompanying the King to Kashmir he suffered from heart disease. At Kalanaur he was allowed to return. He went to Lahore where he died after a few days.¹ Next the camp halted at Rohtas. Qasim Khan was given a horse, a sword, and a *shawl* and sent to Lahore. The gardens of the place were inspected, and were found full of charming flowers of two colours.²

Then Jahangir encamped at Hassan Abdal, where the Lunar weighing of the Emperor took place with all sorts of ceremonies.³ The Emperor allowed some of the camp under Mirza Rustam, Khan Azam and other nobles to go by the Poonch road. The King himself went to see different places, where he found flowers with sweet fragrant odour the like of which he had never witnessed before. *Banafsha*, a useful medicine, grew in abundance there.

The King made his next halt at Sultanpur on the bank of the river Haro. The sad news of the death of Rana Amar Singh of Udaipur reached the King. Bhim, son of Rana Amar Singh and Jagat Singh, grandson of Amar Singh, were both with the Emperor as hostages and were brought before the King. They were presented robes of honour. Raj Krishan Das was sent with a Royal *firman*, confirming upon Kunwar Karan, son of Rana Amar Singh the title of *Rana*, an elephant and the robe of honour. He was sent a letter of condolence upon his father's

1. *Jahangir's Mem.*, Vol. 2, p. 122.

2. *Ibid.*

3. *Iqbal Nama*.

death and congratulations upon his own accession.¹

One day all the people and the Emperor heard a very strange and loud voice although there were no clouds present. The King investigated but could not find out the clue.²

From there the King moved on to Hazara Qarlugh, to Nowshera and then to Dhamtur, known for the *Kanwal* flowers. After three and a half *kos* of marching they came to Salhar, where Mahabat Khan, as was ordered, came and presented himself with an offering of sixty thousand rupees. He was dismissed the next day with a robe of honour to his duty in Bangash. The rain fell very heavily, and with that came also snow-fall. As a result the weak animals fell down. Many of them died. The Emperor employed his own elephants to help them. They had to wait for two more days before they could start further.³

The camp had reached the village Malgalli or Maguli, which was the entrance to the country of Pakhli.⁴ Sultan Hassan the *Zamindar* of Pakhli came to pay homage to the Emperor. A strange coincident is recorded by Jahangir in his *Memoirs* that when his father Akbar, some years previously, had reached this village the snow had fallen. Except for these two occasions it had never even rained in that country.

The camp moved on in the country of Pakhli and came to Sawad Nagar. The road was very muddy but apricots, peaches and fir trees were blooming on both sides of the road. The next halt was made at Pakhli proper where the Emperor honoured the house of the *Zamindar* with his visit. Akbar on his way to Kashmir had also visited his house. The *Zamindar* offered many horses, daggers,

1. *Jahangir's Mem.*, Vol. 2, pp. 123, 24.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 124.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 125.

4. *Ibid.*

hawks and falcons. The Emperor went out for hunting.¹

Pakhli is 35 *kos* in length and 25 *kos* in breadth. In its east is the hill country of Kashmir, Attock in the west, Benares in the north and Gakhar and Poonch on its south. Taimur is said to have placed these victorious men there and thus founded this country. They agreed to be Qarluks but were not certain about their leader and origin. They were perfectly *Lahoris*, and spoke that language as if they were under that Government. The same was the case of Dhamtur. Bahadur, son of Shah Rukh a *Zamindar* of Dhamtur, was their leader. They were hostile to each other, but not to the Emperor. Shah Rukh and Mahmud, and the father of Sultan Hassan had the honour to wait upon Jahangir as prince Salim. Sultan Hassan was 70 years of age, when Jahangir visited his place, but was still very strong. The people of that country distilled a beverage called *sar*. They kept it for long before using it. The older it was the better. The least period for keeping it was a year. Sultan Mahmud and Sultan Hassan used it in jars. Sultan Hassan presented his choicest quality to Jahangir who found it bitter, harsh and intoxicating, but a good substitute for wine in time of need. The country bore many fruits like apricots, peaches and pears, but were all wild, harsh and unpleasant. The houses of the people were of wood and of *Kashmiri* fashion. They reared hawks, horses, cattle, buffaloes, goats and fowls. Their mules were comparatively small and carried light loads".² The country was not very productive and so was thinly populated. The Emperor ordered provisions for a few days to reduce the camp. The advance camp was to move

1. *Jahangir's Mem.*, Vol. 2, p. 125.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 126.

further. Others were to come a few stages behind under Khwaja Adul Hassan, *Mir Bakhshi*.¹ But even after this reduction the camp had seven hundred elephants with it. Sultan Hassan's *mansab* was increased to six hundred personal and three hundred horse instead of 400 personal and 350 horse. Bahadur was given a *mansab* of 200 personal and 100 horse.²

The river was crossed at Nain Sukh, where it was divided into two parts. So two bridges of 18 hands length and 14 hands length with 5 hands breadth were prepared. The making of the bridges was very easy there. These bridges could last for ten years. By crossing them they came to the bank of the Kishan Ganga river. On the way the Emperor visited a *Kotal* of great height called *Pir Darang*. There was a beautiful waterfall where the King drank his wine cups and started for his camp.³ The river Kishan Ganga had an old bridge of 54 yards length and $1\frac{1}{2}$ yard breadth. The Emperor ordered for another bridge. Mutamid Khan, the author of *Iqbal Nama*, was sent forward to select a place and prepare for the new year day feast which came off the next day. He selected a green plot near the place where the Kishan Ganga from the south and the Jhelum from the east joined each other. The King approved of the choice and the new year day was celebrated.⁴

After the celebrations the camp started and came to Bhakhar. The road was very stony. The country had enormous number of monkeys and black patridges. Now the road to be followed was by the bank of the river Jhelum which flowed so rapidly through the rocks that even the strongest elephant could not hold its own in it. It abounded in water dogs.⁵ At Musaram the

1. *Iqbal Nama*, p. 94.

2. *Jahangir's Mem.*, p. 127.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 128.

4. *Ibid.*

5. *Ibid.*, p. 150.

merchants of Bara Mula, the place of Boars, came to pay homage to the Emperor.

The next halting station was Bhulbas. The way to it was very narrow. The Emperor ordered that except Asaf Khan all should move a stage behind the Emperor. Mutamid Khan was asked to enforce the orders. But before he could check them many had already started. They halted wherever they had reached. The brothers of Mutamid heard of it at the *Kotal* of Bhulbas and pitched their camp at that very place. While the King was moving, the snow began to fall. The Emperor with his *harem* took refuge in the camp of Mutamid Khan's brothers. Mutamid Khan presented whatsoever he could gather, but the Emperor refused to accept anything. He was honoured by the gift of the dress that the King himself was wearing and his *mansab* was increased to 1500 personal and 1500 horse.¹

Before the camp entered the boundary of Kashmir the sad news of the drowning of Sohrab Khan son of Rustam Mirza reached the King. In spite of the warning he had jumped into the river Jhelum where he could not resist the waves and was swept away. His father was moving by the Poonch road. He came to the Emperor mourning. Sohrab was then 26 years of age and like his father a good shot and driver of carriages. He was the driver of the Emperor's elephant in the Gujrat campaign.²

After passing through Bara Mula and Shahabud-Din Pur where the Governor of Kashmir came to pay homage to the King, the camp entered Srinagar. It had taken 25 days in 19 marches and 6 halts to cross the 75 *kos* from Hassan Abdal to Srinagar.³ The *pargana* of Jammu was given to Raja Sangram.⁴ The news of the death of Rai

1. *Jahangir's Mem.*, Vol. 2, pp. 131-2.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 133.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 135.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 154

Prithi Chand son of Rai Manohar reached the King. He had sacrificed his life in the useless battle at Kangra.

While the King was staying in Kashmir a strange and very complicated case was referred to him. One Abdul Wahab son of Hakim Ali claimed Rs. 80,000 from the *Syeds* of Lahore. He had a bond with a seal of Qazi Nur Ullah. It was stated that his father had placed that sum with the father of the *Syeds*. He could produce actual witnesses as well. He was prepared to swear the truth on the Holy Quran. Beforehand the Qazi had been asked to do according to the Divine Law. Now Mutamid Khan represented that the *Syeds* were pious and were showing much humility. On his intercession, Asaf Khan was appointed to try the case, ascertain the truth, and if even Asaf Khan failed, the Emperor himself was determined to handle the case. But the appointment of Asaf Khan was enough to threaten Hakim's son. He withdrew the case. He did not like to refer the case to Asaf Khan and was prepared to abandon his claim if the *Syeds* also refused to refer the case to Asaf Khan. He evaded him for a long time, but after much delay handed over the bond to one of his friends. That friend betrayed him, and told the real state of things to Asaf Khan. He was brought before the court forcibly, where he confessed and gave in writing that the whole of the plot had been prepared by one of his servants. The case was reported to the Emperor who confiscated his *mansab* and rank and allowed the *Syeds* to go to Lahore with honour and dignity.¹

After a few days the sad news of the death of Khan Dauran reached the King from Lahore. He combined bravery with leadership in him. He had performed very great services for the Mughal

1. *Jahangir's Mem.*, pp. 157-8.

dynasty. He had left Rs. 400,000 on his death. All this property was given to his sons. The King was sorry to lose him.¹

The news of Zambil Beg, ambassador of the Shah of Persia reaching near Lahore reached the Emperor. He sent Hassan Din with Rs. 30,000 for the ambassador's expenses and five thousand more to spend on the feast on receiving him.²

The Emperor after enjoying the beauties of Kashmir set out for Lahore. In his previous march the Emperor had been troubled by the snowfall on the way. So he had ordered bungalows to be built at every halting station. A halt was made everywhere and the King moved on to Lahore. Near Manikyala the Emperor enjoyed hunting. The game was driven in for two days. Fifty-six hill sheep were killed. The King was not very much satisfied so the next hunting halt was made at Jahangirabad. The Emperor was used to this place as a prince. He put it under Sikandar Muin the chief huntsman. As Emperor he made it a *Pargana* and bestowed it upon Sikandar as *Jagir*. A palace with *Minars* for the Royal residence was built at the cost of 150,000 rupees. After the death of Sikandar it was given to Iradat Khan.³

The governorship of Lahore had sometime back been bestowed upon Qasim Khan. He came at Jahangirabad to pay homage to the Emperor and offered fifty *mohars*.⁴

On the 20th November, 1620, the King rode the elephant named *Indra* from the garden of Munim Ishqbaz on the banks of the Ravi and moved to the city distributing alms and charities on the way. With ceremonies, the Emperor entered

1. *Jahangir's Mem.*, p. 172.

2. *Iqbal Nama*, p. 117.

3. *Jahangir's Mem.*, Vol. 2, p. 182.

4. *Ibid.*

the newly built palace by Mamur Khan. The King praised the lofty buildings and sweet-scented gardens around it. It had cost 700,000 rupees. To enhance the rejoicings of the King came the happy news of the conquest of the fort of Kangra. Drums were beaten and the King prayed to God for his success.

Aman Ullah son of Mahabat Khan was promoted to 2000 personal and 1500 horse, and Mubariz Khan Afghan to 2000 personal and 1700 horse rank. They had been recommended by Mahabat Khan. The King visited the garden of Qasim Khan where he scattered 100,000 *charanas*. He accepted only one ruby out of the offerings of Qasim Khan. Zambil Beg's offerings were worth 3 lakhs. The camp moved for Agra and Zambil Beg was presented 500,000 rupees. Fazal Beg was made *Bakhshi* of Lahore.¹ The Lahore treasury was asked to despatch rupees 200,000 to Qandhar in addition to Rs. 600,000 already ordered. Mir Qiwam-ud-Din *Dewan* of the Punjab was given a dress of honour and the King moved on to Agra.²

Next year in 1621, the Emperor again became anxious to visit Kashmir; so he started in March. When the camp reached the bank of the Beas, Qasim Khan and his brother who were *Zamindars* of the hill-country came to pay homage to the King. The King had cherished a wish to visit Kangra. Now came his opportunity. He left the camp and with few attendants started for Kangra. Next day he again returned, and went on the third day and visited Kangra going *via* Chamba and coming back *via* Nurpur.³ While coming back he caught jungle fowls in Nurpur and ordered Rs. 100,000 to be spent on a lofty building from the public treasury. The

1. *Jahangir's Mem.*, Vol. 2, p. 187.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 192.

3. For details see Conquest of Kangra,

Emperor also visited a *Sanyasi* there.

In 1622, the 17th year of his reign, the Emperor again moved to Lahore. Qasim Khan was given a dress of honour and an elephant and sent to Lahore.

When near Rawalpindi, Zambil Beg was ordered to live in comfort in Lahore till Jahangir's return.¹

There was a wild rumour that the Shah of Persia had attacked Qandhar. The King did not believe it; still precautionary measures were necessary. The charge of the expedition to Qandhar was given to Shehryar at the suggestion of Nur Jahan. His *mansab* was increased to 12,000 personal and 8,000 horse and he was sent to Lahore to prepare for the expedition.² Mirza Rustam was to act as a *sipah-salar*. Aman Ullah Khan with 3,000 personal and 1,700 horse rank was sent to Lahore. Mahabat Khan was required to present himself before the King. Shah Jahan was also ordered to come with his army to Lahore and proceed to Qandhar, if needed.³

Two days later when the Royal Camp halted at Hassan Abdal, Mahabat Khan coming from Kabul offered 100 *mohars* and 1,00,000 rupees. He was shown favour. The army of Khwaja Abul Hassan was reviewed and hunting was arranged. The next feast was held in Pakhli.⁴

While in Kashmir the news of the attack on Qandhar by the ruler of Persia arrived. Khwaja Hassan and *Bakhshi* Sadiq were despatched to Lahore at once and were asked to receive the prince and the armies from the Deccan, Gujrat and Behar. Artillery and elephants were to be collected. Mirza Rustam and Itqad Khan were soon sent to reinforce the armies at Lahore.⁵ Asaf Khan

1. *Jahangir's Mem.*, Vol. 2, p. 230.

2. *Iqbal Nama*, p. 133.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 134.

4. *Jahangir's Mem.*, Vol. 2, p. 231.

5. *Ibid.*, pp. 233-4.

was sent to Agra to manage state affairs. This was done on the request of Mahabat Khan.¹ The King was not keeping good health. He still was worried by the attack on Qandhar, and the indifference shown by his second son Khurram. He sent Masum Khan to Shah Jahan to advise him and persuade him to remain loyal to the Emperor.²

The King moved for Lahore hunting on the way at Jammu. He entered Lahore and granted interviews to the envoys of the Shah of Persia, namely, Hyder Beg, Wali Beg and Zambil Beg. The letter of the Shah of Persia in which he had made excuses for the Qandhar affair was presented to the King. The ambassadors were all given dresses of honour and permitted to go. A reply was sent to the Shah stating that before the arrival of the Shah's letter the King had gathered large armies under Shah Jahan at Lahore. The King had meant to comply with the request of the Shah about Qandhar as stated by Zambil Beg. But being himself busy in the Deccan he had asked the ambassador to live in comfort at Lahore for some time. The Shah had not waited for the return of his envoy so he was to be blamed for anything that might ensue.³

Preparations and mobilization of armies began in right earnest; Khan Jahan was given an elephant and dress of honour and asked to wait for Shehryar at Multan. Baqir Khan the *Faujdar* of Multan was summoned to the court. Ali Quli Beg *Darban* was given a *mansab* of 1,500 personal and was asked to assist Khan Jahan. Mirza Rustam with a *mansab* of 5,000 was also asked to prepare himself for Qandhar. Many other nobles from the Deccan and other provinces were sent for. The treasury from Delhi was to be brought to Lahore. The armies of

1. *Iqbal Nama*, p. 135.

2. *Ibid.*

3. *Jahangir's Mem.*, Vol. 2, pp. 24 43-4

Behar were called and in a short time a very big host of the army gathered in the Punjab.¹

The instructions and advices sent to Shah Jahan had been of no use. He had raised the standard of rebellion, and instead of coming to Lahore with his large army he had turned towards Agra to attack it. He had heard that the treasury was being taken to Lahore. He wanted to lay his hands upon that. The King was intending to go and hunt at the bank of the Beas at Sultanpur, when he heard this news. The treasury could not be seized. They were defending it at Agra. Soon after the news was confirmed by Asaf Khan. The King decided to punish Shah Jahan. He gave Mirza Rustam Rs. 1,00,000 and Abdullah Rs. 2,00,000 as advance for their pay and being satisfied that Raja Bir Singh was also shortly joining him he started for Agra to punish Shah Jahan.²

Mahabat Khan had suggested to the King to kill Mutamid Khan. In his view he was kindling the flame, but the King did not mean to comply.³ He was very much disgusted with his son. He had bestowed upon him those favours which no father could do, still he had proved most disobedient and duteless. He was giving the King undue trouble in his weak and feeble health. He prayed to God to give him strength to bear it all.⁴

The Emperor was very harsh to disloyal servants. The disloyalty of Khusrav and his companions had been met with exemplary punishment. Now Mutamid Khan, Khalil Beg and Fidai Khan were arrested for disloyalty. The first two were awarded capital punishment, while Fidai Khan proved innocent and so was released.⁵

When the Emperor reached Nur Sarai, the

1. *Jahangir's Mem.*, Vol. 2, p. 245.

2. *Iqbal Nama*, p. 136.

3. *Ibid.*

4. *Jahangir's Mem.*, Vol. 2, p. 248.

5. *Jahangir's Mem.* p. 249

rumour of Shah Jahan's reaching near Agra spread. When he was near the Sutlej the prince's envoy came, but as his requests were most unreasonable, he was handed over to Mahabat Khan and imprisoned. Masum Khan who was sent to advise the prince, came back at Ludhiana. He had on the other hand joined Khurram in rebellion. So he was not heard and was put into prison.¹

Shah Jahan wanted to trouble the King from all sides. He sent Jagat Singh, son of Raja Basu of Nurpur, to the hill states and asked him to raise trouble for the King. Jahangir at once appointed Sadiq Khan, the *Bakhshi* of the Punjab, to go and punish him. He was given a dress of honour, sword and drums.² He was appointed Governor of the northern hill states. He soon defeated Jagat Singh, arrested him and after being satisfied with the condition of that country brought him before the Emperor at the Beas. But Jagat Singh was pardoned at the intercession of Nur Jahan.³ In subduing Jagat Singh he had been helped by Madho Singh the younger brother of Jagat Singh. He was appointed the Governor of Kangra.⁴

When Shah Jahan heard the coming of his father with all these preparations, he made a last attempt, but, being defeated, moved away from Agra. The King being satisfied with the expedition against Khurram, started for Kashmir to improve his health.⁵

On the 19th new year day of accession, Sadiq Khan was appointed the Governor of the Punjab. His *mansab* was raised and he was given an elephant.⁶

Soon after, the news of the defeat of Shah Jahan

1. *Iqbal Nama*, p. 138.

3. *Iqbal Nama*, pp. 147-8.

5. *Iqbal Nama*, p. 148.

2. *Jahangir's Mem.*, Vol. 2, p. 259.

4. *Jahangir's Mem.*, Vol. 2, p. 287.

6. *Jahangir's Mem.*, Vol. 2, p. 397.

reached the Emperor. He was much relieved. He moved down to the plains. His health was so much wrecked that he could not bear the hot summers of the plains. It was essential to go to Kashmir to maintain his health. So again in March 1625, the King moved to Kashmir *via* Poonch, remained there for a few months, and returned again to Lahore.¹ Khan-i-Khanan was given a present of one lakh, and Agha Muhammad, envoy of Shah Abbas of Persia was received.²

In these days Iftikhar Khan, son of Ahmad Beg Khan, brought the head of Ahdad Khan from the province of Bankash. This Ahdad Khan had begun robbery in Tirah. When he heard about the coming of the Royal armies he was upset and took refuge in Koh Lawagaz, but was defeated and killed. His head was ordered to be hung at the gate of the fort of Lahore. The King was much pleased.³

In 1626, Agha Muhammad the ambassador of the Shah of Persia was given 30,000 rupees for his expenses and one lakh for the Shah.⁴ The camp was moving to Kabul. Mahabat Khan was sent for to clear his position. He being afraid of Asaf Khan and Nur Jahan, revolted, captured the King and moved on to Kabul.⁵ When the camp returned to the Punjab, Nur Jahan succeeded in releasing the King from the custody of Mahabat Khan.

In these very days the Emperor had a severe attack of gout, but he had to leave for the Deccan and Gujrat.⁶

Khwaja Abdul Rahim, envoy of Imam Quli Khan of Turan, came to pay homage to the King. The King sent his nobles with all sorts of provisions to receive him at the Chenab.

The health of the King was giving way, so

1. *Iqbal Nama*, p. 161.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 172.

3. *Iqbal Nama*, p. 174.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 175.

5. See below.

6. *Iqbal Nama*, p. 197.

he left for Kashmir. But this time he could not remain there for long. He was too ill. He left for Lahore. On the way at Baran Kala hunting was arranged. While hunting the foot of a hunt's man slipped, and he was crushed to pieces. This proved an unusual shock to the King. He had no rest or ease and his state was entirely changed. Next day he sent for a glass of wine but could not drink it. Next morning, in October 1627, at Chingiz Hatli near Bhimbar the Emperor died. His remains were buried at Shahdara on the banks of the river Ravi.¹

1. *Iqbal Nama*, p. 203.

Chapter VIII

A NOTE ON THE LAW OF SUCCESSION

In the early days of Islam, real democracy prevailed. The first four caliphs were elected by the people and the hereditary principle was never recognised. Under the Umayyads, the caliphate ceased to be elective and the hereditary principle was first introduced by Amir Muawiyah who nominated his son Yazid as his successor and forced the people to swear fealty to him. This practice was followed by his successors as well.¹ The precedent created by Amir Muawiyah was generally followed during the Abbaside period too and the system of nomination eventually gave rise to monarchy in all Muslim states.

In Mughal India, as in other Muslim countries, the law of primogeniture was never recognised. The fittest rather than the eldest son usually succeeded to his father's throne. Ismail Safia, the Shah of Persia, had declared that the right of kings was founded on power, and the longest sword was the best title. Shaibani Khan also advanced a similar argument: "Those only like myself are worthy of possessing the bride of sovereignty, who dare kiss her through opposing swords. The right of kings is the best title."

Taking an instance from the Indo-Muslim history, we find that after the death of Sher Shah Sur, the Niazi overruled the suggestion of Khawas Khan, one of the most influential nobles of the time, that Adil Khan should be raised to the throne. They unanimously declared, "What advise is this? No

1. Amir Ali's *History of the Saracens*, p. 83.

one obtains a kingdom by inheritance ; it belongs to whoever can gain it by the sword."¹ These words of the Niazis aptly sum up the theory which held sway throughout mediæval India.

The absence of a fixed law of inheritance always made a war of succession probably at the death of every monarch. The fight was however confined to the members of the royal family, mostly to the brothers or their sons, as the outsiders had no chance to make a successful bid for the throne. Any one of the contestants by virtue of some superior quality might win the throne ; it all depended on circumstances. When real brothers were fighting against each other or father against the son, fraternal affection or paternal feelings did not serve as a restraining force on their respective ambitions and might was the only right which found general recognition when Khusrau fled from his father, the latter instructed his generals to use force freely if the prince refused to submit. "For kingship regards neither son nor son-in-law. No one is a relation to the king."²

If an Emperor made a will regarding the throne, it altogether depended on his sons whether they abided by their father's will or not. The final arbiter was an appeal to arms.

A war of succession sometimes broke out during the lifetime of a sovereign, and rebellions on the part of the sons against a reigning father were fairly frequent. Akbar, Jahangir, Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb—all had to suffer from the unfilial conduct of their respective sons.

The absence of a fixed law of succession was not an unmixed evil. From the uncertainty of the succession, the state benefited indirectly. The throne generally went to the ablest, the fittest and the most

1. *Tarikh-i-Daudi in Elliot*, Vol. IV, p. 487.

2. *Jahangir's Memoirs*. Translated by A. Rogers, Vol. 1, p. 52.

competent amongst the rival candidates. No unworthy candidate could ever hope to win it.

So long as the throne was being disputed the nobles had to watch the course of events carefully. As soon as one claimant succeeded in defeating all his rivals, he became the *de facto* sovereign and all the nobles readily acknowledged him as such and tendered him their allegiance. When Aurangzeb fell ill, his youngest son Kam Bakhsh wrote to Asad Khan, to hand over the treasure to him (Kam Bakhsh); Asad Khan replied :—

“May God preserve his Majesty's life! If it happen otherwise and he die, I am constrained to make over the treasure, the property, and the whole of his army to that one of the Emperor's four sons who succeeds in ascending the throne and crowning himself, and to him I shall render an account of everything.”¹ During the war of succession between the sons of Aurangzeb, Prince Azim-ush-Shan asked the governor of Akbarabad to surrender the fort but the latter replied that “at a time when the Imperial throne was disputed with slaughter and enmity, between three princes of the royal blood, he could not, with any propriety, deliver the fortress to any one of them unless that one should have established his government; in which case, he knew too well what became him, both as subject and a servant, to mistake his duty.”² These replies also clearly show that the only claim which was considered valid was the actual possession of the throne.

During the period of decline after Aurangzeb's death, the crown may be regarded as elective. But as the nobles wanted to be the real rulers of the country, they chose the most worthless prince and

1. Manucci's *Storia Do Mogor*, Vol. IV, p. 241.

2. Syed Ghulam Hussain's *Seir Mutakherin*. Published by R. Cambridge, Vol. I, p. 7.

placed him on the throne. Thus the Emperor was reduced to the position of a puppet in the hands of a powerful clique of nobles. The common people had absolutely no hand in choosing the king; they were not even asked to assent to the choice made by the nobles.

Chapter IX

KHUSRAU'S REBELLION

After a long reign of about fifty years, Akbar, the real founder of the Mughal Empire in India, had died of dysentery on the 17th of October 1605 and his only surviving son, Sultan Salim, had ascended the throne on the 24th of October.

In the last days of Akbar the relations between Jahangir and Akbar had been far from cordial. Akbar was always writing him letters reminding him of his duty. But on his death-bed he summoned his nobles and reconciled them to his successor Salim, who fell weeping on his father's feet and Akbar signed to him to bind the Royal Scimitar in his presence.

In the early days of Islam, the Caliph was the elect of the faithful. But gradually the right of succession became hereditary,¹ but the law of Primogeniture was still absent. Survival of the fittest was their general rule. This absence of a fixed law of inheritance essentially brought forth rebellions and wars of succession. Jahangir, though he had been a rebel in his father's lifetime, developed the theory of the divine right of kings after his accession. "The Just Creator bestows the kingship on him whom he considers fit for this glorious and exalted duty, and on such a person he fits the robe of honour."²

This haphazard law of succession when added to the special favour shown by Akbar and some of the

1. Some aspects of Muslim administration. Tripathi says that the elective rule of the Muslims existed even in time of the Mughals. The only change was that instead of the faithful the most important man—the king—in the empire used to elect him.

2. *Jahangir's Mem.*, Vol. 1, p. 53.

nobles, Man Singh and Khan Islam to Khusrau, induced him to conspire and rebel against his own father, Jahangir.

Jodha Bai, daughter of Udai Singh, the fat Raja of Jodhpur, and a wife of Jahangir gave birth to Khusrau in the 36th year of Akbar's reign in 1592.¹ He was well beloved of the people and Akbar is alleged to have preferred him to Jahangir. He was a gentleman of lovely presence and fine carriage. So greatly was he loved by the people that he was considered the very life delight by them.² Although Akbar had nominated Jahangir as a successor on his death-bed still this did not guarantee and secure his place on the throne. Moreover, as the events of the subsequent revolt showed some of the courtiers and nobles of Jahangir were also not satisfied with him and so they instigated the prince and thus kindled the flame of revolt.³ De Laet asserts that Jahangir himself was jealous of the popularity of his son and wanted to put him to death.⁴ This assertion is based upon no grounds, as we know that when Khusrau was brought chained before the King his parental love overpowered him and he wept before he punished him by taking away his eyesight. Anyway De Laet asserts that Jahangir on his accession sought the advice of Umrau Mirza regarding Khusrau, whom he so much feared.⁵ Instead of going to Shahdara he proceeded to the Punjab.⁶ The *Kotwal* Ghazi-ul-Mulk tried to stop him but in vain.⁷ In great hurry he asked the Lamp attendant to go and inform the King. He gave this news to Amir-ul-Umara, who approached the King about the matter. The King became furious. He appointed Wazir-ul-Umara to take an army and pursue the prince and bring him back dead or alive.⁸ But soon he cancelled his first orders and himself took the

1. *Jahangir's Mem.*, Vol. 1, p. 19.

2. Edward Terry, p. 412.

3. *Iqbal Nama*, p. 6. 4. *De Laet*, p. 173. 5. *Ibid.* 6. *Early Travels*, p. 30

7. *De Laet*, p. 173. 8. *Jahangir's Mem.*, Vol. 1, p. 53.

charge. Jahangir with a large army took the route to the Punjab, where he was told by Dost Muhammad Khan and Ahmad Beg, that Khusrau had fled. Jahangir feared that Khusrau might have gone towards Bengal, where his uncle Man Singh was the Governor.¹ When the camp reached the mausoleum of Akbar, Mirza Hassan son of Mirza Shah Rukh, who had accompanied the prince, was arrested and brought before the King. Jahangir had had no time since morning to have his dose of opium, he was still more enraged. He was all the time cursing his son who had put him to so much trouble. He ordered that the hands and feet of Mirza Hassan be tied and that he be mounted on a bare elephant.²

Khusrau in his flight, near Mathura, met a great Captain, Hassan Beg Badakhshani.³ He was coming back from Kabul, and had some cause to be afraid of the King. The prince persuaded him to join him. He agreed and the prince made him a captain of two or three hundred Badakhshani soldiers.⁴ He is said to have had about two or three thousand horses. Both of them started for Lahore, plundering the people and the merchants and violating the women on the way. Jahangir wished from the bottom of his heart that the prince might still repent, return, and beg his pardon. If he had done so, Jahangir would have pardoned him.⁵ But so far, the prince had been encouraged by his success. Wherever he went some of the people joined him. They plundered the Royal stables, set fire to the Sarais that came in their way.⁶

The mother of Khusrau was a Rajput princess. She was loyal to her husband. She wanted her son

1. *Jahangir's Mem.*, Vol. 1, p. 53.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 54.

3. *Ibid.* p. 55.

4. *Ibid.*

5. *Jahangir's Mem.*, Vol. 1, p. 56.

6. *Iqb Nama*, p. 8.

also to be obedient to his father. She had been urging this upon him for long. Now hearing that he had rebelled against Jahangir, she felt very low. She was ashamed of him so much that on the 6th May 1605, she swallowed opium and died.¹ The King chose Shaikh Farid *Bakhshi* and a band of valiant men to pursue the rebel prince. Mahabat Khan and the Amir-ul-Umara felt jealous of the Shaikh and tried to instigate the King against him but the King never gave way and went his way.² The King now trusted none of his nobles. The province of Lahore in those days was under the Governorship of Itmad-ud-Daulah. The King entrusted the management of Agra to Dost Muhammad. He was asked to despatch Itmad-ud-Daulah to the King and imprison and keep a watch over the sons of Mirza Muhammad Hakim, who were living in Agra. He believed that if he could meet such a treatment from his own sons he could expect anything from his nephews.³

Dilawar Khan, who was going to Lahore according to the previous orders given to him by the King, and who was a loyal servant, when heard the news of Khusrau's revolt near Delhi, sent his family across Jamana and himself made for Lahore as soon as he possibly could. He wanted to throw himself into the fort of Lahore and fortify it against the prince.⁴ He met Abdur Rahim and suggested the same plan to him, but the latter delayed. Soon after, the rebel prince met him and asked him to join him against the King. Abdur Rahim agreed and was made *Malik Ambar* and *Wazir* by the prince. He is said to have supplied the prince with hundred thousand rupees by which he succeeded in raising a large army.⁵

1. *Jahangir's Mem.*, Vol. 1, p. 56.

2. *Iqbal Nama*, p. 9.

3. *Jahangir's Mem.*, Vol. 1, p. 57.

4. *Iqbal Nama*, p. 9.

5. *Jahangir and Jesuits*, p. 4.

When he reached Lahore the army amounted to twelve thousand horsemen.¹

Dilawar Khan, as a loyal and brave soldier, turned towards Lahore informing everybody on the way about the misdeeds of Khusrau, persuading some to join him, others to stand aside and remain neutral.² But his courageous deeds and intelligence did not block the way of the prince who went on advancing without any check. But Dilawar Khan and Syed Kamal made amends for this fault of their, by making a rapid march and reaching Lahore before Khusrau could attack it.³ One other noble Shaikh Nizam had accompanied the prince for some distance. Jahangir met him and persuaded him to join his side and did not punish him. So it seems that Jahangir did not like to win more unpopularity among his people by punishing him at this critical situation. His subsequent treatment of such offences shows that he would never have spared him a heavy punishment if it had happened at some other time. Jahangir appointed Abd-ul-Nabi Uzbek and sanctioned forty thousand rupees to help Shaikh Farid. Seven thousand rupees were distributed among the Cavalry.⁴ On the 24th of the same month five other attendants of the prince were captured, and brought before the King. Two of them confessed their fault. They were trodden under the elephants, the other three, who denied, were put into custody to make further enquiries.⁵

Mirza Hussain and Nur-ud-Din Quli had reached Lahore. Shortly after their arrival, they received the news from Dilawar Khan that Khusrau was advancing very rapidly, and so they must remain on their guard. The city gates were guarded and

1. *Early Travels*, Purchas, p. 30.

2. *Jahangir's Mem.*, p. 59.

4. *Jahangir's Mem.*, Vol. 1, p. 61

3. *Ibid.*, p. 60.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 62.

strengthened.¹ Two days later Dilawar Khan also reached Lahore and with the help of Hassan and the *Kotwal* began to fortify the fort, strengthen the towers and walls and prepare for a battle. The Royal servants were assigned their duties, and every body prepared himself for the coming conflict. Two days later Khusrau also reached Lahore.

He is said to have taken nine days to reach Lahore. He fixed his camp and gave orders to invest the city and be prepared for a battle.² The people of Lahore closed the city gates upon him.³ He besieged the city and ordered to burn one of the city gates, and force open any gate they could. He encouraged his followers with the promise to plunder the city (and violate the women) and children after they had taken the fort. He set fire to a gate but the three brave and loyal servants of the King, Dilawar Khan, Hassan Beg and Nur-ud-Din Quli, the *Kotwal*, defended it by erecting a wall before the gate.⁴

Syed Khan, who had been appointed to the Government of Kashmir, was encamping at the banks of the Chenab, when he heard the news of the revolt. He proceeded towards Lahore and was admitted into the fort. The siege of the city lasted for 9 days.⁵

The prince was hard pressed by the rapid pursuit of Shaikh Farid and his father's army. Mir Jamal-ud-Din met him, and tried to advise him to beg pardon of the King. But the prince was intoxicated by his power. He cared for no advice.⁶ The days that he stayed there, his followers troubled much the inhabitants of the neighbouring villages.

1. *Iqbal Nama*, p. 10.

2. *De Laet*, p. 173.

3. *Jahangir and Jesuits*, p. 5.

4. *Jahangir's Mem.*, Vol. 1, p. 62.

5. *Ibid.*, *Jesuits* believe that the siege lasted for eight days. *Iqbal Nama* says that the prince simply prepared to besiege, but actually did not do it.

6. *Iqbal Nama*, p. 9.

Seeing that the Royal army was fast approaching, he turned to prevent them from crossing the river but he was late.¹ Shaikh Farid had crossed the river Beas with all his army very safely. A battle between the two parties ensued. Jahangir heard about it near the Govindwal bridge; he had about four hundred or five hundred horsemen with him.² But he showed courage by moving forward rapidly in spite of heavy rains. The rain was more disadvantageous to the prince. He could not manage his bows and horses. But he began the fight desperately.³ Many men were slain on both the sides. Now the Royal army played a trick. The captain sent some of his soldiers in disguise to Khusrau's army, to excite the people by the rumour of the King's crossing the river with a very big army. To confirm it many trumpets and drums were sounded and beaten to show that the King had arrived. This proved successful. The followers of the prince deserted him.⁴ His generals actually forced him to turn back. This led to the flight of all his followers. Many were slain in the pursuit.

The prince fled, and thought of going to Kabul, to prepare and gather an army there and come again like Humayun to restore his position.⁵ The King heard the news of his son's defeat, at Govindwal from Shansi Jashallhi, who was given the title of Khush Khabar Khan.⁶

The King had already taken measures to prevent the prince to escape. The treasury of the prince and his precious jewellery were captured and brought before the King.⁷

Raja Basu, Mahabat Khan and Mirza Ali were sent with a large army to pursue the prince.⁸ Jahangir himself even determined to pursue him

1. *Jahangir and Jesuits*, p. 5.

3. *Jahangir and Jesuits*, p. 5.

5. *Iqbal Nama*, p. 20.

7. *Ibid.*

2. *Jahangir's Mem.*, Vol. 1, p. 63.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 6.

6. *Jahangir's Mem.*, Vol. 1, pp. 64-5.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 65.

to Kabul.

Fifteen thousand rupees were given to Mahabat Khan, twenty thousand to the *Ahadis* and hundred thousand to be spent on the way.¹

After his defeat most of his followers had left the prince, but Hassan Beg followed him. He and Khusrau tried to cross the river at Shahpur, but no boats were available, so they went and tried that at Sodhra.² If they could cross at this place they meant to proceed to Kabul *via* the Rohtas fort, where Hassan Beg had his treasury, by which they could easily enlist a new army. The proposals given to him about attacking the Doab or going to his uncle Man Singh had been frustrated. But the King sent orders to all the ferries to check the crossing of the river by the prince. At Sodhra they found only two boats—one was without any crew and the other was full of hay—with difficulty the crew were prevailed upon to let them cross the ferry.³ The crew had come to know the state of affairs. They had previous orders from Killan, the *Chaudhry* of the place.⁴ When the boats reached the middle of the river, they intentionally struck them in some sandy part, and themselves jumped away on the pretext to fetch aid.⁵ They went into the village and informed the people and the *Chaudhry* of the place. Mir Abul Kasim and Halal Khan hurried to the scene of action.⁶ They captured the prince and Hassan Beg.⁷

The King heard the news of his capture at the

1. *Jahangir's Mem.*, Vol. 1, p. 66. 2. *Ibid.*

3. *Iqbal Nama*, p. 11.

4. *Jahangir's Mem.*, Vol. 1, p. 66.

5. *Ibid.*

6. *Iqbal Nama*, p. 11.

7. *Jahangir's Mem.*, Vol. 1, p. 67. *Jahangir and Jesuits*, p. 7, say that the prince was not arrested at that moment, but was conducted to the place of the *Chaudhry* with ceremonies and respect. There he was treated very kindly. But at the same time words of his arrest were sent to the King. *Iqbal Nama* says that he had still five or six companions with him. They were also arrested.

garden of Mirza Kamran, and ordered the *Amir-ul-Umra* to bring the prince before him.¹ He was brought before the King, chained hand and foot, covered with velvet, with Hassan Beg and Abdur Rahim on his two sides.² The King had sent an elephant very meanly dressed to enable the prince to cross the river. When the prince was brought before the Emperor, he went in for some time to give way to his father's feelings, and soon returned to meet him. Many people had gathered in the court to see the prince. They were moved by the humble and chained prince. The King reproached him much, and mocked at the captains, one of them having once been the Governor of Lahore even.³

The two captains, Hassan Beg and Abdur Rahim, were punished by being sewn in the fresh hides of an ox and an ass and taken through the city on a low elephant. Hassan Beg was in ox's hide so he died of suffocation, as the hide of an ox dries quickly. Abdur Rahim survived, as water had been poured over him, thus keeping the hide moist in the way. But he suffered much due to bad smell and vermin.⁴ The head of Hassan Beg was cut and sent to Agra, while the parts of his body were hung on the roadside.⁵ The other companions of the prince were put to stakes and hanged on both sides of the road, through which the prince was paraded on a low elephant.⁶ Coryat has given a very vivid and pitiable condition of the prince, when he beheld his followers being tortured. He in vain requested his father to leave them and hang him instead.⁷ Abdur Rahim was pardoned on the intercession of a courtier, who wanted to give him his daughter. He had to pay hundred thousand crowns to buy his

1. *Jahangir's Mem.*, Vol. 1, p. 68.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 9.

5. *De Laet*, p. 31.

7. *Early Travels*, p. 279.

2. *Jahangir and Jesuits*, p. 8.

4. *Jahangir's Mem.*, Vol. 1, p. 68.

6. *Iqbal Nama*, p. 11.

life. He was soon restored to his previous position.

Khusrau was put into custody and was blinded.¹ His palaces were given to his enemies. The King got much money from his victims.

Guru Arjun had helped the prince. He was arrested and sent to prison..²

Shaikh Farid was given Bharowal for his services. He was given the title of Murtza Khan.³ The *Chaudhries* who had helped the King were given *Jagirs*. Soon Jahangir left for Kabul; Khusrau was still in his prison. In the way his nobles Mirza Fatehullah, Mirza Sharif, Nuruddin and Zafar Beg, etc., made a plot to kill the King and place the prince on the throne. The plot was found out and they were executed.⁴ When the King returned to Lahore he punished all those nobles who had followed Khusrau and then gave him into the custody of Khurram, where he died a violent death.

1. *De Laet* says that his eyes were sealed and after some time restored. *Peter de la Vaille*, p. 55, says that he was not blinded. His eyes were sewn as was common in those days. If it remains so for long, one loses one's sight, but Khusrau's eyes were unripened after some time and so his eyesight was restored. Jahangir himself does not mention his blinding.

2. *De Laet*, p. 32.

3. *Jahangir's Mem.*, Vol. 1, p. 69.

4. *De Laet*, p. 177.

Chapter X

CONQUEST OF KANGRA

Among the Punjab Hill States at that time, Kangra occupied a prominent position. The name Kangra is alleged to have been given to it on account of its being situated on the ear of the demon Jullundur—Kangra meaning *Kan Garh* or house of the ear.¹ It is said to have become a holy place very early. Mahadev on the death of his wife, Mahamaya, had been carrying her from place to place. In course of time the limbs of the body separated, and fell down at different places. It is said that the breast fell at Kangra, and it being the most vital part of the body, Kangra became the most holy place.² The fort is said to have been built by Susarma Chand in the time of Mahabharata.

In the words of Cunningham, "The fort of Kangra was beautifully situated on a hill in a lofty manner. It occupied a long narrow strip of land in the fort between the Manyhit and the Banganga river. Its walls were upwards of two miles in circuit, but its strength did not lie in its works, but in the precipitous cliffs overhanging the two rivers, which on the side of Banganga rose 300 feet high. The only accessible point was on the land side towards the town, but here the ridge of rocks had left a very narrow path. The highest point was occupied by the palace. Below was a courtyard with the small stone temples of Lakhshmi, Narayan and Amtika Devi. It was enclosed by *Darshani*

1. *History of Hill States*, Vol. 1, p. 107.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 111.

*Darwaza.*¹

The fort was so strong that in spite of the fact that many kings tried to conquer it, it remained impregnable until the time of Jahangir.² So it was believed that from the time of its origin to that of Jahangir it remained in the hands of the Rajas of the same family. During the Muslim rule only it was besieged no less than 52 times, but was never conquered. Feroz Shah besieged it for a long time, but finding it impregnable contented himself with the Rajas coming and paying homage to him.³ The Sultan was even taken in the fort, where he was upset to see the armed men surrounding him, but the Raja never meant treachery. Akbar also tried to subdue it, but failed.⁴

The people in the Kangra State were most peaceful. Nagarkot was the biggest town of the state, which had a beautiful temple of the goddess with floor and ceiling of silver.⁵ The idol was also called Durga. People from all parts of India both Hindus and Muslims came to pay homage to it.⁶ Edward Terry describes it as follows:—"Nagarkot is a place in which there is a chapel most richly set forth, being ceiled and paved with plates of pure silver, most curiously embossed overhead in several figures, which they keep exceedingly bright by often rubbing it, and all this sort so seduced are they,

1. Cunningham as quoted in the *History of Hill States*, Vol. 1, p. 115.

2. *Elliot*, Vol. 6, p. 526.

3. *Ibid.*

4. *Jahangir's Mem.*, Vol. 1, p. 84. In 1337, Sultan Muhammad invaded Kangra. The court poet Badr-i-Chach says that the fort being situated on a hill was deemed impregnable and had defied renowned conquerors. The Sultan marched with an army of 100,000 soldiers to fight the battle of Islam. The attack was ordered at night and the walls of the fort were battered down after which the victorious army returned to Delhi. The author of the *Sirat-i-Feroz Shahi*, who wrote not long after Muhammad's death, writes that at the request of the Raja of the place the temple of Jawala Mukhi was spared.

5. *Early Travels*, p. 185.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 180.

to do honour to an idol they keep in that chapel. Nothing is too rich, too precious or too dear for their idol, and they are ready to give their gold not out of their possessions only, but from their ears too. The idol thus kept in that so richly adorned chapel, they call *Mata*, and is continuously visited by those poor blinded infidels who out of devotion cut off some part of their tongues to offer unto it, as a sacrifice which they say grows out again.¹

It was alleged that the stone of the idol was not the original one. The story goes that when the Muslims first invaded it they took away the idol and threw it in some river. The *Brahmans* were very much upset. They wanted to restore it somehow or other. A *Brahman* devised a scheme. He placed another idol of the same kind at some place and then told the people and the Raja that he had been told in a dream that the god had returned to some place. So with the help of the Raja the idol was again restored.² The offerings made to the idol were enormous. Some people, it is alleged, went and cut their tongues before the idol which after some time are said to be restored. Some out of piety even cut their throats.³

There was another famous place of pilgrimage called Jalla Mukhi or (Jawala Mukhi) "where out of old springs that issue from among hard rocks, were daily to be seen, continued eruptions of fire before which the idolaters fell down and worshipped."⁴

When Jahangir came to the throne Tilok Chand was the Raja of Kangra.⁵ He was so proud of his strong mountainous situation that he never cared to pay homage to the Mughal Emperors. Jahangir had from the very first determined to conquer the fort.

1. *Edward Terry*, p. 82.

2. *Early Travels*, p. 180.

3. *Ibid.*

4. *Edward Terry*, p. 82.

5. *De Laet*, p. 59.

In 1615, he appointed Murtza Khan to capture the fort.¹ Raja Suraj Mal, son of Raja Basu of Nurpur State, was appointed to help Murtza Khan in capturing the fort.

Raja Suraj Mal had succeeded his father Raja Basu, a noble chief and loyal to the Mughals,² in 1613 with the permission of the Emperor Jahangir. He had a *mansab* of two thousand and a title of Raja, when he was asked to help Murtza Khan. His *mansab* was further increased by 500 horse.³ He was the strongest chief in his neighbourhood. He did not wish that Jahangir should annex Kangra, as he anticipated his own turn after Kangra. He wanted to fish in troubled waters. So he gave trouble to Murtza Khan when he was about to succeed in his designs. Murtza Khan suspected him, so he sent a report against him to the Emperor.⁴ But Raja Suraj Mal was much too clever for Murtza Khan. He had great influence with Khurram. He cleared his position before him stating that Murtza Khan was accusing him of treachery because he himself was interested in Tilok Chand. The prince interceded on his behalf and the matter was hushed up,⁵ on the condition of his presenting himself before the Emperor. In 1616 he presented himself at the court and laid his offerings before the Emperor.⁶ Soon after the news of the death of Murtza Khan came and so the conquest of Kangra was postponed for the time being. Raja Suraj Mal was much honoured, given a push in his *mansab* and sent to the Deccan with Shah Jahan.⁷ He returned from there in 1617 and begged to be sent to conquer Kangra again. Although the Emperor was against that but on the recommendation of Shah Jahan he was made superintendent of the expedition to

1. *Jahangir's Mem.*, Vol. 1, p. 283.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 283.

6. *Jahangir's Mem.*, Vol. 1, p. 319.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 54.

5. *Maasir-ul-Umra*, p. 447.

7. *Jahangir's Mem.*, Vol. 2, p. 55.

Kangra.¹ Shah Quli Khan Muhammad Taqi was also sent to help him with a large number of soldiers and *Ahadis*.² Suraj Mal did not want any loyal servant of the King with him, as he wanted to plunder the country. He reported to the Emperor that the new general was quite incapable to help him. He could not achieve anything while he was there. So if he was given another general in his place, he might with the help of the *Ahadis* and musketeers easily conquer the fort.³ Jahangir recalled Taqi. He wanted to conquer the fort and did not worry about the generals or devices which were to be employed to subdue it. Raja Suraj Mal had not considered himself safe with the recall of Taqi alone. He had sent most of the loyal soldiers back to their *Jagirs*, on the plea that they had not been there for a long time. Now came his opportunity to rebel and plunder the Punjab, and he was not the man to miss it. He raised his standard against the King. The loyal *Ahadis* under Syed Saffi Bara, who had not returned, fought bravely, but many were killed and others taken prisoner.⁴ Then he attacked and plundered the country-side which was under the control of Itmad-ud-Daulah.⁵

Raja Bikramajit, a veteran and loyal general, had already been sent to Kangra to besiege the fort on the recall of Taqi. Now the charge of conquering the country was placed in the hands of Shah Jahan, who advised Bikramajit to apply all means to suppress Kangra and Suraj Mal.⁶ On the news of the rebellion of Raja Suraj Mal, the Emperor conferred the gift of an elephant, a horse and a dress of honour upon Abdul Aziz Khan and a *mansab* of 2,000 personal and 1,000 horse and asked him to go against Suraj Mal and then to Kangra.⁷ Tusam Bahadur with an increased *mansab*

1. *Jahangir's Mem.*, Vol. 2, p. 56.

2. *Maasir-ul-Umra*, p. 447.

3. *Jahangir's Mem.*, Vol. 2, p. 56.

4. *Maasir-ul-Umra*, p. 448.

5. *Ibid.*

6. *Jahangir's Mem.*, Vol. 2, p. 74.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 73.

of 1,200 personal and 450 horse was to help him.

When Raja Suraj Mal heard about the appointment of Raja Bikramajit with a large army, he lost all courage, and gave up his previous intention of plundering the Punjab. But he was not the man to give way without struggle. He determined to apply his diplomacy and then his strength. So he began by his treachery and tricks to delay the Raja, who had too strong a will to come under his spell.¹ Without paying least heed to anything he proceeded on his way. Suraj Mal had no alternative but to flee and gather some forces to face him. After a little skirmish he ran through Pathankot to the strong fort of Mau and prepared to fight.² The fort of Mau was one of the strongest forts in that country. But pursuing him fearlessly Raja Bikramajit besieged the fort and subdued it.³ Raja Suraj Mal fled to the fort of Nurpur.⁴ This fort had been built by his father Raja Basu. Previously it was called Dhamori. But he had no rest, he had to flee from there to Taragarh, and from there to Chamba hotly pursued by Bikramajit.⁵ About one thousand of his soldiers were killed. When the news of the defeat of Raja Suraj Mal reached the Emperor, he conferred great honours upon Raja Bikramajit and ordered him to demolish the forts of Suraj Mal in a way that no earthly trace should remain of them.⁶ Bikramajit returned to Nurpur and conquered the forts of Hara, Pahari, Jhatha, Palicotas, Surand, and Jawali in the vicinity of Nurpur.⁷ Madho Singh, the brother of Suraj Mal, who was living in that very country, also rebelled, but he was also subdued with some difficulty.⁸ Raja Suraj Mal had taken refuge with

1. *Jahangir's Mem.*, Vol. 2, p. 231.

3. *Ibid.*

5. *Ibid.*

7. *Elliot*, Vol. 6, p. 520.

2. *Elliot*, Vol. 6, p. 520.

4. *Ibid.*

6. *Jahangir's Mem.*, p. 75.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 520.

the Raja of Chamba. Bikramajit sent orders to him to surrender Suraj Mal and his property. He delayed, on which Bikramajit started for Chamba.¹ But in the way he heard of the death of Suraj Mal.² Orders were sent to the Raja of Chamba to surrender all the treasury of Suraj Mal. He soon complied.

Now Bikramajit was master of many forts. He established his own *Thanas* in order to keep order and peace. The servants of the King were given *Jagirs* in those *parganas*.³

Jagat Singh the brother of Suraj Mal, had been favoured by Jahangir on the accession of Suraj Mal with a small *mansab* and was passing his days in Bengal. He was sent for by the King. His small *mansab* of three hundred horse was increased to 1,000 personal and 500 horse. He was presented with 20,000 rupees, a dagger and a horse, and was appointed to succeed his brother. He was sent to Raja Bikramajit, where he ascended the throne and afterwards joined in rebellion with Shah Jahan against Jahangir.

After subduing the Nurpur State and establishing order, Raja Bikramajit turned his attention to his second and more important project of conquering Kangra.⁴ The place was besieged by surrounding it from all sides, and closed all roads for the provision to enter into the fort.⁵ He was very earnest about subduing the fort. He was most loyal to the Emperor. To show his loyalty he was prepared to act even against his own religion. His master was equal to God for him. His loyalty had made him

1. *History of the Hill States*, Vol. 12, p. 232.

2. *Elliot*, Vol., 6, p. 520.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 520.

4. *Elliot*, Vol. 6, p. 524.

5. *Jahangir's Mem.*, Vol. 2, p. 185.

what he was. His ancestors were never Rajas.¹ His own loyalty, faithfulness and meritorious services had won him a *mansab* of five thousand and the command of the expedition.² The fort was completely surrounded, but the besieged garrison also resisted with endurance. The siege continued for 4 months³ and after a very strong attack upon the fort a breach was made.⁴ Hard fighting took place. Hundreds of the besiegers were killed. It was only when the besieged were reduced to the condition of devouring each other for their lives that they surrendered.⁵ The fort was subdued on the 16th of November, 1620, and the armies triumphantly entered the fort.⁶ The army was well rewarded out of the treasury of the fort and the rest of the money was sent to the Emperor.⁷

The news of the conquest reached the Emperor at Lahore on the 20th of November. The King rejoiced, prayed to God for his success and ordered the drums and trumpets to be sounded loudly. The victorious army and officers were well rewarded.

Abdul Aziz Khan *Naqshbandi*, who had been sent to help Bikramajit was made the *Faujdar* of Kangra, and his *mansab* was increased to 2,000 personal and 1,500 horse. Alaf Khan was sent to take charge of the Kangra fort. His *mansab* was increased to 1,500 personal and 100 horse. Shaikh Faiz Ullah, son-in-law of Murtza Khan, the late *Subedar* of the Punjab, was to accompany him.⁸ Shaikh Ishaq was also sent to Kangra.

Raja Rup Chand of Guler had rendered very good service in subduing Kangra so half of his estate

1. Elliot, Vol. 6, p. 524.

3. *Jahangir's Mem.*, Vol. 2, p. 185.

5. *Iqbal Nama*, p. 120.

7. Elliot Vol. 6, p. 524.

2. *Ibid.*

4. Elliot, Vol. 6, p. 524.

6. *Jahangir's Mem.*, Vol. 2, p. 185.

8. *Jahangir's Mem.*, Vol. 2, p. 186.

was given to him and the other half was given as *Jagir*.¹

Even now there were in the neighbourhood of Kangra some seditious people; with a view to punishing them, Qasim was sent there.²

With the conquest of the fort of Kangra, the Emperor's fondness to visit the so-called impregnable fort increased. But he got his first chance to go there in January 1622, when he was going to Kashmir.³ The Emperor left the camp in the way, and himself started for Kangra with a few attendants only. But it seems that he had not left with good omens. As soon as the news of Itmad-ud-Daulah's precarious condition reached him, he had to return. Itmad-ud-Daulah died the same day, and the next day the Emperor again left for Kangra.⁴ The Emperor fixed his camp on the bank of the river Banganga. At this stage the chief of Chamba came to pay homage to the King.⁵ He was a very great *zamin-dar*. He had never paid tribute to any of the previous Muslim rulers. The King treated him and his brother with great honour. They were, according to Jahangir, very intelligent and cultured.⁶

Next day the king visited the fort of Kangra along with learned men, the *Qazi* and the chief Justice, and ordered them to carry out all ceremonies according to the Islamic law. The *khutba* was read in the name of the Emperor Jahangir, and a bull was killed in the fort for the first time in the history of Kangra. An order was issued for a mosque to be built in the fort.⁷

The fort according to Jahangir had 23 bastions and seven gates with an inner circumference of one

1. *Jahangir's Mem.*, Vol. 2, p. 187.

3. *Iqbal Nama*, p. 129.

5. *Jahangir's Mem.*, Vol. 2, p. 223.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 224.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 193.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 222.

6. *Ibid.*

kos and 2 ropes, and breadth between 22 ropes and 15 ropes. It was 114 cubics high. The fort had two reservoirs in it of 2 ropes length and $1\frac{1}{2}$ ropes breadth.

Then Jahangir went to visit the Durga temple at Kangra and Jawala Mukhi.¹ The next place that Jahangir went to visit was Koh-i-Madar or the hill which was used as the churn for gods. A royal building was ordered to be constructed there. Next day the Emperor returned to Lahore.

1. *Jahangir's Mem.*, Vol. 2, pp. 224-26.

Chapter XI

MAHABAT KHAN AND NUR JAHAN

Mahabat Khan was one of the most important nobles of Jahangir. He had been carrying on a campaign in the Deccan with prince Parvez. Both of them were haughty and proud by nature, so became jealous of each other, and could not pull on well together. Naturally the prince wanted to get rid of Mahabat Khan and thus remain alone to conduct the campaign in any way he liked. He advised his father to recall Mahabat Khan.¹ The daughter of Nur Jahan was married to prince Parvez so she was also in favour of the prince. She urged the King to send for Mahabat Khan to Lahore. Asaf Khan, brother of Nur Jahan, had always been jealous of Mahabat Khan and was in search of an opportunity to degrade him.² This was a good opportunity for him and he jumped at it. He also talked ill of him to the King thus kindling the flame set by Nur Jahan and prince Parvez. Nur Jahan and Asaf Khan both combined had great power over the King. He could not refuse the request of Nur Jahan and Asaf Khan. So the King sent orders to Mahabat Khan to present himself in the Court at Lahore. On the other hand Manucci thinks that it was not at the instigation of Nur Jahan or Asaf Khan rather Mahabat Khan himself felt jealous of Asaf Khan that he rebelled.³

When the orders reached him, instead of coming to Lahore he proceeded to Ranthambhor, where he had his own *Jagirs*.⁴

1. *De Laet*, p. 222.

2. *Iqbal Nama*, p. 176.

3. *De Laet*, p. 222, *Manucci*, p. 169.

4. *De Laet*, pp. 222-23.

The Emperor appointed Khan Jahan in his stead and Mirza Dost Ghaib was sent with a force in his pursuit. Orders were sent to Mahabat Khan to hand over Ranthambhor to Begam Nur Jahan and her deputy, Baqir Khan, and come to the court to prove his innocence.¹ Mahabat Khan took his 5,000 selected loyal Rajputs with him and left for Lahore to see the King.² When the King heard of his approach he sent him further orders not to present himself before the court until he had cleared the state accounts and offered his explanation against the claims of certain suitors. Moreover he was to send all the elephants that he had procured during the campaign. To degrade and dishonour him still further the King showed his vengeance upon his relatives. Mahabat Khan had married his daughter to the son of Khwaja Umar *Naqshbandi* without taking the previous consent of the Emperor. The Khwaja was imprisoned and degraded.³ Mahabat Khan had given lot of property to the Khwaja as his daughter's dowry. The whole of that property was escheated to the Royal treasury. When Mahabat Khan had reached the other side of the river Chenab Nur Jahan instigated the King to send him orders to leave his army and present himself to the court only with his household.⁴ Asaf Khan in a state of unconsciousness and intoxication, without caring for the results, crossed the river with all his army.

Mahabat Khan now realised that he could not save his honour any longer so he became desperate. But he still wanted to entreat the Emperor. On the Emperor's orders, he sent his son-in-law with

1. *De Laet*, pp. 222-33.

2. *Iqbal Nama*, p. 176. Muhtamid Khan says that he took these Rajputs with him not as his train but deliberately to fight with the Royal army if any need occurred.

3. *Iqbal Nama*, p. 176.

4. *De Laet*, pp. 222-33.

elephants to the King, begging that he could further send his sons and wives also as hostages but could not come himself as a guilty man.¹ He dreaded his own destruction. But when his son-in-law and his *vakil* reached the Royal court they were degraded and very much ill-treated. This still disheartened Mahabat Khan. He had by this time reached the river Jhelum where he received another order to move further with only 100 attendants.² He was now totally desperate. He was very much afraid of the plots of Asaf Khan, Nur Jahan and Iradat Khan, etc. He could never dare to take the risk. Knowing that Asaf Khan was on the other side of the river, he crossed it with his loyal Rajputs and besieged the King, posting about two thousand men at the bridge as a measure against any of the attempts from Asaf Khan.³

Mirza Mutamid who was in the Royal camp at that time, found Mahabat Khan with about 200 armed soldiers enquiring about the King. He was on foot. He entered by the big gate of the camp and sought for the King's camp. The Mirza objected that it was disrespectful to the Emperor and that if he really wanted to see him, the Mirza would first inform the King. Mahabat Khan refused. He wanted to see the King immediately and without any previous information. The guards of the King at his doors objected but the doors were broken open and Mahabat Khan entered the camp.

When Mahabat Khan came before the Emperor, against the expectations of all, he knelt before him, begged his pardon, and stated his helplessness for coming with so much care. He was really afraid of Asaf Khan. He was so humble before the King that he actually placed the sword before the King and asked him to kill him if he so pleased. He was

1. *De Laet*, p. 226.

2. *Ibid.*

3. *Iqbal Nama*, p. 177.

prepared to obey all his orders. But the King was very much enraged and wanted to kill Mahabat Khan there and then. He would have done this act if he had not been prevailed upon by Mansur Badakhshani to desist from it.¹ The Rajputs were surrounding the Royal camp from all sides. The King had but only a few attendants. Shortly after that Mahabat Khan requested the King to accompany him for a hunt, to which Jahangir could never have objections. The King's own horse was sent for and he rode it, although he had been disallowed leave to go and dress himself. Soon he was shifted from the horse to an elephant with Muqarrab Khan and other Rajputs both behind and in front of him.² Gajit Khan with his son were mounted on a female elephant but were afterwards killed by the Rajputs. The King was deceived, and instead of proceeding for hunting, Mahabat Khan conducted him to his own camp.³ But he was treated most kindly and respectfully. Mahabat Khan presented his son before the King.

All of a sudden he remembered Nur Jahan. He had forgotten to capture her, although he had surrounded her camp also.⁴ It seems that when Mahabat Khan succeeded in capturing the Emperor, he totally forgot anything else in the intoxication of his success. When he had gone, he had designed to arrest the Queen also; she was more dangerous than Asaf Khan or the King. She was sure to plot against him.

In the evening the King asked him for wine and Begam Nur Jahan. Mahabat Khan refused him the wine but promised to bring the Queen.⁵ Mahabat

1. *Iqbal Nama*, p. 179.

2. *Ibid.*, Manucci, p. 170. The King was taken on the elephant with a blind soldier with sword behind him.

3. *Iqbal Nama*, p. 180.

De Laet, p. 227.

5. Manucci, p. 170.

Khan was disturbed in his mind. He wanted to satisfy himself from Nur Jahan's side. He feared her very much. So he safely put the Emperor into his camp so long as he could not manage to arrest her.

Nur Jahan on the other hand, seeing the King's arrest found an opportunity to run away to Asaf Khan accompanied by Jawahar Khan the *Khawaja Sara*.¹ She began, in her brother's company, to plan the King's escape. The King by this time was taken to Shehryar, where the latter betrayed himself in his talk. This was what the King feared most. This showed him clearly the real design of Mahabat Khan and was much upset. The King wanted to win Mahabat Khan by diplomacy. He wanted to please him as he was in his custody and so helpless. He agreed to whatever Mahabat Khan asked him. During all this time, when the Emperor saw Shehryar and others, Shujaat Khan had been in the King's company. Mahabat Khan came to suspect him. He thought him to be treacherous and this being confirmed, managed to get him murdered.² When the Queen reached the camp of her brother she scolded the nobles very much. She believed it was the carelessness of the nobles which had resulted in the King's capture. All the nobles were ashamed of it. Plans were suggested to rescue the King, and it was finally decided to attack Mahabat Khan with a large army, punish him, and rescue the Emperor. But when the King came to know of the plan, he was upset. He feared he would be murdered before he could escape by violence. He sent Muqarrab Khan, Sadiq Khan Badakhshani and Mansur Khan asking them not to carry out the plan.³ They could never have a chance to pay homage to the Emperor in this way. He gave them his ring to assure Nur Jahan, Asaf Khan and others of his

1. *Iqbal Nama*, p. 180.

2. *Ibid* p. 181.

3. *Ibid*.

safety. Asaf Khan was made familiar with the King's suggestion, but he did not agree. He wanted to take revenge. He decided to attack. Fidai Khan took his force and went to the bridge but found that the Rajputs had already burnt it.¹ There was no way to cross the river. Six of his attendants were drowned in the attempt to cross it by horses. He himself with seven others reached the bank but found it useless to endanger his own life. With cleverness he retreated and crossed back the river. The Emperor remained in Shehryar's chambers for that whole day. Next day Asaf Khan with his large army of fifty thousand men decided to cross the river and fight. A route was selected to cross the river but unfortunately it proved most dangerous and difficult. The army could not remain organised. Some landed at one place, others at some other place. The big host of the enemy was awaiting them with their lustful eyes and thirsty swords. Fidai Khan landed at one place. Sher Khwaja and Alah Yar Khan, etc. landed away from Fidai Khan.² When Asaf Khan and his army were still in water, the Rajputs found the opportunity to strike. The attack was very vigorous. The advance guard retreated. The difficulty was the dangerous route. Mutamid Khan, the author of the *Iqbal Nama* and Khwaja Abul Hassan were much surprised at the retreat of the army. But Nur Jahan was working very energetically. She was encouraging the soldiers. She sent her eunuch, who asked Mutamid and Abul Hassan to fight and defeat the enemy rather than stand and wait.³ They advanced on their horses but soon the Rajputs came upon them with their elephants. The crossing army fled and in the panic, the Rajputs began cutting them in large numbers. Nur Jahan was also on an elephant.

1. *Iqbal Nama*, p. 182.2. *Ibid.*3. *Ibid.*, p. 183.

She had Shehryar's daughter also in her *howdah*. Her eunuch attendants were killed and the elephant was wounded. Soon deep water was reached. They feared to be drowned. The reins were turned and with much difficulty the elephant reached the bank by swimming.¹ Khwaja Abul Hassan advanced but his horse was nearly drowned when a *Kashmiri* sailor rescued him. Asaf Khan was advancing but was much bewildered. The condition of the army was precarious.² Fidai Khan in disguise succeeded in reaching near Shehryar's Camp.³ He began to throw arrows over the Camp. Syed Muzaffar, Wazir Beg and Ata Ullah were killed. Fidai Khan found that he could not be successful; he was wounded, so he retreated and recrossed the river. Next day he fled away to the fort of Rohtas.⁴ Asaf Khan also lost courage and fled. Both Fidai Khan and Asaf Khan had fled.⁵ Asaf Khan with his son Abu Talib and 300 *sawars* left for Attock where his *Jagir* was. The Rajputs were victorious. They plundered the treasury and defeated the enemy. Asaf Khan near Rohtas asked Iradat Khan to accompany him but the latter refused.

Mahabat Khan had remained successful, but his enmity was mostly with Asaf Khan, who had fled with 300 horses only. He wanted to capture him so he sent *Ahadis* and other *Zamindars* under his son Bahroz to besiege the fort of Attock.⁶ The fort was subdued. Mahabat Khan himself went there, gave the fort to his servants and made Asaf Khan his prisoner.⁷ Mulla Muhammad and Muhammad Taqi were hanged for helping and giving instructions to Asaf Khan. Siddique Khan who was a brother of Asaf Khan but at variance with him, was made

1. *Iqbal Nama*, p. 184.2. *Ibid.*3. *Ibid.*4. *Ibid.*, p. 185.5. *De Laet*, p. 227.6. *Ibid.*7. *Iqbal Nama*, p. 186.

governor of Lahore.¹ The camp was proceeding to Kabul. The King remained in the custody of Mahabat Khan who with the help of the Rajputs had become most tyrannous. They did not care for anybody. Qasim Khan had been deprived of the governorship of Agra. His wife Muiza Begam entreated Mahabat Khan and succeeded in restoring her husband to his previous position.² The King showed much respect to everything that Mahabat Khan asked. So much so that he told him all the secrets of Nur Jahan and others who were against Mahabat Khan. The obvious result was that Mahabat Khan became kind and began to believe the King. He decreased the retinue and guard of the Rajputs on the King.³ On the other hand Nur Jahan was still on her alert; she was continuously attempting to release the King. She had sent Hushiar Khan, her eunuch, in advance to Lahore who had succeeded in enlisting 2000 soldiers in her name.⁴ The Queen had spent all her treasury to raise armies everywhere in the Punjab. Fidai Khan had remained hidden in Rohtas. He raised quite big an army by getting supplies even from Parvez.⁵ Orias Khan had promised the Queen to bring her 5000 cavalry.⁶ When the camp reached near Rohtas, the Queen's men were surrounding every place. The King asked Asaf Khan to keep his army a little away, as he was going to examine the armed forces of the Queen.⁷ The King feared the two armies coming to clash. Mahabat Khan had judged the strength of the Queen's army and he feared it. He moved two marches away on the other side of Rohtas. The Queen had about 20,000 soldiers with her. But Mahabat Khan even now relied on the loyalty of his Rajputs. The King asked Mirza Rustam to attempt his rescue. He had been joined by 30,000 more soldiers only the previous

1. *Iqbal Nama*, p. 186. 2. *De Laet*, p. 228. 3. *Iqbal Nama*, p. 192. 4. *Ibid.*
5. *De Laet*, p. 228. 6. *Ibid.* 7. *Iqbal Nama*, p. 193.

day. When Asaf Khan came to see the change in the King's position he moved still further away. The King examined the Queens' troops and he was satisfied. He sent Afzal Khan to Mahabat Khan with orders to set free Asaf Khan, and to go and join Shah Jahan in his expedition against Thatta. He was further ordered to send back the sons of Danyal and Lashmari, son of Mukhlis Khan. He was threatened with an attack if he did not comply with the orders. When Mahabat Khan received these orders he was upset. He sent back the children of Danyal with the request that he was prepared to proceed on any expedition but could not release Asaf Khan, as he himself was afraid of Nur Jahan. He promised to set him free after crossing the river Chenab.¹ The Queen had badly defeated Mahabat Khan in diplomacy. Both she and the King were very much annoyed. The King was ready to accept the condition but the Queen wanted to use force. Afzal Khan was again sent to Mahabat Khan with orders to rescue Asaf Khan.² Mahabat Khan had lost all courage. He could no longer rely upon his loyal Rajputs. The enemy had a very large force. The soldiers had also become disgusted with him due to the tyrannous nature of his Rajputs and the atrocities they had committed in Kabul. On the persuasion of Afzal Khan, he went to Asaf Khan, begged his pardon, and released him on the promise that he would speak good of him to the King. He still kept his son a prisoner as a preventive measure, but promised to release him after crossing the river Chenab.³ He kept his promise; so did Asaf Khan, as he praised him before the King. Mahabat Khan started for Thatta whereas Asaf Khan went to the King who received him with much pleasure. The trouble with Mahabat Khan had started at Jhelum and it was heard that it finished

1. *Iqbal Nama*, p. 193. 2. *De Laet*, p. 232. 3. *Iqbal Nama*, p. 194.

again. After some days he released Abdul Talib, Badi-uz-Zaman and Khwaja Abul Hasan who paid homage to the King. Mahabat Khan had gone away to Thatta. The Queen tried her best to destroy him but did not succeed in that.¹ The camp after a few days reached Lahore where the *mansab* of Asaf Khan was increased, and he was made governor of the Punjab.² The *Dewani* was made over to Abul Hassan. Afzal Khan was made *Khan-i-Saman* in place of Mir Jumla.

Soon it was told to the King that Mahabat Khan instead of going to Thatta had turned to India, and that he was receiving a sum of 22 lakh rupees from Bengal.³ The Queen persuaded Jahangir to send a large army after Mahabat Khan. About one thousand *Ahad's* were sent to capture the treasury and they brought it to the King. The ultimate success had gone to Nur Jahan Begam.

Nur Jahan had shown her cleverness, tact and generalship. The incident clearly showed the inactive and unvigorous nature of Jahangir's character. He was afraid lest he should lose his life. He wanted Nur Jahan to use some stratagem to free him. She showed her power and vigour of character, her successful diplomacy and her great genius in releasing the Emperor from the custody of Mahabat Khan.

1. *De Laet*, p. 232.

2. *Iqbal Nama*, p. 194.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 195. De Laet puts the sum to be twenty lakhs instead of twenty-two lakhs.

Chapter XII

THE PUNJAB UNDER SHAH JAHAN

When Jahangir died in October 1627, at Chingiz Hatli near Bhimbar, Shah Jahan was still in the Deccan. Since his rebellion and defeat by Mahabat Khan he had not returned to Agra. He had settled in the Deccan. Soon Nur Jahan sent a secret message to Shehryar, who was married to her daughter from Sher Afgan. She advised him to hasten to Lahore with as many troops as he could collect. Acting upon her advice he soon moved on to Lahore.¹ Asaf Khan, brother of Nur Jahan and father-in-law of Shah Jahan, was too clever for Nur Jahan. With the help of Iradat Khan he at once sent a hasty message to Shah Jahan of the happenings, himself got hold of the princes Dara Shikoh, Shuja and Aurangzeb, who were with Nur Jahan, and to prevent any further disturbance raised Bulaki, son of Khusrau, to the throne for the time being.² Shehryar had reached Lahore, and proclaimed himself Emperor. He seized the provincial treasury and managed to secure the allegiance of the army and nobility at Lahore with his lavish distribution of money. It is alleged that he spent seventy lakhs of rupees among the members of the nobility. About 45 lakhs of this money were recovered after his fall. But at Bhimbar the *Khutba* was read in the name of Dawar Bakhsh and the funeral rites of the late Emperor were performed. When Shah Jahan received the news, he sent a hasty despatch to Asaf Khan suggesting to him that it would be well if Shehryar, the *Nashudni*³, Bulaki and the sons

1. *Badshah Nama*, Elliot, Vol. 7, p. 5.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 6.

3. *Ibid.*

Shehryar was known as "*Nashudni*" which means "a good for nothing fellow."

of prince Danyal were "sent out of the world."² He himself at the same time moved on to Agra with forced marches.

The army of Asaf Khan had reached near Lahore. Shehryar himself remained in the vicinity of Lahore, and sent his cousin, Baisinghar with an army to face the Royal forces, but he was soon defeated, therefore he retreated. Shehryar took refuge in the female quarters, but was soon captured, brought before the new Emperor Dawar Shah, where he paid homage. In the meantime on the 6th February 1628, Shah Jahan reached Agra, and proclaimed himself king with the title of Abul-Muzaffar Shihabuddin Muhammad Sahib Qiran-i-Sani Shah Jahan.³ This success was mainly due to the efforts of Asaf Khan, who took prompt measures to place Nur Jahan under restraint. Left alone, she must have created much trouble for Shah Jahan. When the news of the approach of Shah Jahan reached his father-in-law, he closed the drama of Dawar Bakhsh also. He was secretly removed and put into prison, from where he was allowed to escape to Persia, where he passed his last days. Other members of the Royal family fared worse than he because all of them were soon "sent out of the world" as ordered by Shah Jahan. Thus came Shah Jahan to the throne.

In the first years of his reign Shah Jahan seems not to have been so fond of Lahore and Kashmir as his father Jahangir was. It was in 1633, in the seventh year of his reign, that he thought of visiting Lahore and Kashmir.⁴ The camp started for Lahore but soon on the way the Emperor found that his troops were spoiling the crops around the roads. He had a great sense of justice. He could not

1. *De Laet*, p. 237.

2. *Badshah Nama*, Elliot, Vol. 7, p. 6.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 43.

tolerate the waste of the produce for nothing. This brought him revenue and to the people prosperity. So he appointed *Ahadis* under a *Bakhshi* on one side of the road and *Mir Atash* with matchlock on the other side to protect the fields, from being trampled by the troops. *Daroghas* and *Amins* were asked to report the damage so that it might be repaired.¹

The next occasion when the Emperor thought of visiting Lahore was when he was going to Kabul in 1638 in the 12th year of his reign. The Emperor reached Lahore and received Ali Mardan Khan from Kandhar. His *mansab* was increased to 6,000 personal and 6,000 horse and he was appointed Governor of Kashmir. The Emperor visited his house with all sorts of ceremonies. Then the Royal camp moved for Kabul.²

The Emperor returned from Kabul in 1639, and then he reached Lahore. Ali Mardan from Kashmir came to pay homage. The Emperor seems to have been very much pleased with Ali Mardan Khan. His *mansab* was increased to 7,000 personal and 7,000 horse and he was made Governor of both Lahore and Kashmir.³

Ali Mardan suggested to the Emperor in these days to construct a canal from the river Ravi from the point it enters the plains. He had an expert who could well do the work and the canal it was thought would irrigate the suburbs of Lahore. The Emperor sanctioned one lakh rupees and the work was taken in hand.⁴

In the fourteenth year of the Emperor Shah Jahan's reign, the *Nauroz* which is described by Manrique in his account of India was celebrated at Lahore. But this year of the Emperor's reign was disturbed by the rebellion of Raja Jagat Singh, son of

1. *Badshah Nama*, Elliot. Vol. 7, p. 43.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 66.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 67.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 68.

Raja Basu of Nurpur. He had been made Raja after the defeat and death of his brother Raja Suraj Mal in 1619 by Jahangir. He had been given a *mansab* of 1,000 *Zat* and 500 *Sawar*, a dagger and one horse. He had succeeded subsequently by his influence at the court to get a *mansab* of 3,000 personal and 2,000 horse in time of Jahangir.¹ In 1640 he was appointed *Faujdar* of Bangash and ordered to suppress the enemies of Khauj. In the tenth year he was sent to Kabul where he helped in capturing Karim Dad, son of Tariki. He was sent along with Ali Mardan Khan. He came to see the Emperor at Lahore in the 12th year when he was given a dress, jewels and again made a *Faujdar* of Bangash. In the 14th year he asked for Faujdarship of the lower parts of Kangra for his son, Raj Rup Singh, and the power to collect tribute from the Rajas of that vicinity. This was accepted and he was appointed to that post. The job was worth four lakhs of rupees.² But when he reached his native state, he rebelled against the Emperor. Murad Khan of Barha, Said Khan, Jafar Jang and Aslam Khan were sent with armies to suppress him.³ Murad attacked the three strong forts of Mankot, Nurpur and Taragarh very forcefully. Jagat Singh faced the Royal armies bravely but was defeated and so surrendered. He was brought before the Emperor at Lahore, who pardoned him and restored him to his position. This pardon was on the condition that the forts of Mau and Taragarh should be destroyed.⁴

In 1641, Asaf Khan, father-in-law of the Emperor, died. With the permission of the Emperor he was buried in the mausoleum of the late King Jahangir at Shahdara.⁵ A dome was built over his grave.

1. *Maasir-ul-Umra*, p. 145.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 146.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 147.

4. *Ibid.*

5. *Badshah Nama*, Elliot, Vol. 7, p. 68.

In 1644, the 18th year of the Emperor's reign Tardi Beg Katghan revolted in Balkh. Ali Mardan was sent against him who soon defeated him and returned.

Next year in 1645, Nur Jahan Begum died. She had lost all control of administration and had been under a sort of custody. She was buried near the mausoleum of Jahangir on the bank of the Ravi.¹ In 1646, the Emperor left for Kabul.² In 1648 the news was received that the Persians had advanced to attack Qandhar. An army was to be sent to drive them out. The astrologers were consulted for the departure of the armies from Lahore and Kabul. Aurangzeb was to lead the expedition.³ The Emperor himself started on the auspicious day for Kabul. An army of 50,000 cavalry and 100,000 infantry was sent to Kabul under Sadullah Allami. In 1651 Aurangzeb also reached Qandhar.⁴

Dara Shikoh had promised to conquer Qandhar for the Emperor. For that purpose the provinces of Kabul and Multan had been bestowed upon him. He spent three months and some days at Lahore, preparing all the time the armies for Qandhar. He collected the guns of the weight that could carry iron shots of 96 lbs. and 112 lbs. Under orders of Qasim Khan, the Royal *Mir-i-Atash*, 30,000 cannon-balls both small and great, 50,000 maunds of gunpowder, 2,500 maunds of lead, and 14,000 rockets were prepared. Arrangement for the ration supply was made with the grain dealers. So at last with the permission of His Majesty, the Emperor, the above-mentioned army fully equipped, started for Qandhar *via* Multan.⁵

In 1656, the 31st year of the Emperor's reign,

1. *Badshah Nama*, Elliot, Vol. 7, p. 69.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 71.

3. *Shah Jahan Nama*, Elliot, Vol. 7, p. 87.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 99.

5. *Ibid.*, pp. 101-2.

the bad news of the death of *Amir-ul-Umra* Ali Mardan Khan arrived. His sons buried him by the side of their mother's tomb. He was a great favourite of the Emperor, so he naturally felt his loss very much. He was a powerful noble, and had amassed great wealth in his time.¹

In September 1657, the Emperor suddenly fell ill, and his absence from the court led to the bloody and famous War of Succession.² Ultimately the Emperor was imprisoned and remained in the custody of Aurangzeb until his death.

1. *Amal-i-Salih*, Elliot, Vol. 7, p. 124. 2. See the next chapter.

Chapter XIII

THE PUNJAB AND THE WAR OF SUCCESSION

At the beginning of the War of Succession between the sons of Shah Jahan, the Punjab was under the viceroyalty of Syed Ghairat Khan, who was a deputy of Dara Shikoh, and as such, kept faithful to his cause throughout the war. Dara himself had ruled this province for some time and the people here knew him better than they had known any other of his brothers. Therefore it was natural that in the beginning Dara's cause was popular in this province and the evidence of this is supplied by the fact that the people soon assembled under his banner in large numbers when he started collecting troops here. Many ruling Chiefs and *Jagirdars* offered their help to the Prince although most of them betrayed him afterwards when they found that his cause had grown weak.

This war did not very much affect this province as no important battle was fought on its soil except for a few skirmishes on the banks of the Sutlej and the Beas. But in spite of this, it can be reasonably said that whatever happened in this province in connection with this war ultimately proved decisive. By making a careful study of the various phases of this war we find that by the time Dara entered this province, Aurangzeb had almost got rid of his remaining two brothers. He had succeeded in capturing Murad, and Shuja had shown no activity after his defeat by Sulaiman Shikoh. Now he had only to deal with Dara in order to occupy the Imperial throne. Dara, too, had already suffered

a crushing defeat by Aurangzeb's forces at Samugarh but this defeat had not totally discouraged him, although it was, no doubt, a very rude shock for him. He still cherished hopes of regaining the throne of Delhi. He knew that his resources in men and money had not yet been completely exhausted, and that the treasuries of Delhi and Lahore contained enough wealth to enable him to raise another army in order to make another and a more sterner bid for the throne. Let us examine the events that shattered all these hopes of the Prince and made him quit this province in utter disappointment.

After his defeat at Samugarh (4th June, 1658),¹ Dara along with his son Sipihir Shikoh made a hurried flight to Agra, where he reached in the evening in utter desperation and exhaustion. At first he did not want to enter the city,

“fearing that Aurangzeb might invest it and prevent his exit and at the same time he was greatly ashamed at appearing before his father.”²

But as he badly wanted some rest, he decided to enter the city and not to visit his father.

Shah Jahan was very much grieved to hear of this. He sent letters to console him and also sent him a large amount of money with instructions to immediately leave for Delhi and wait there for the arrival of the army under Sulaiman Shikoh. Dara, who at this time was absolutely enfeebled and cast down due to the happenings, could not think of any other course and decided to leave for Delhi. So, after snatching a few hours' rest in his mansions, he resumed his flight. He took with him a large number of gold coins, precious stones and other

1. Manucci : *Storia-de-Mogor*, Vol. I, p. 273.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 287.

valuable property. His three wives, his daughter, Jani Begum and Sipihir Shikoh also accompanied him and besides these he was followed by a few slave-girls and about five hundred soldiers.

On arriving at Delhi (5th June)¹ he sent orders to the Governor to make over the fortress to him. Shah Jahan had also sent orders to the Governor to deliver the fortress to Dara with all treasures and other things within it. But the Governor, already bought over by Aurangzeb, declined to comply with Shah Jahan's orders. Thus Dara, having no other alternative, took quarters in the ruined fort of Babar in the old town. He seized as much of the government property, war material, horses and elephants, as he could lay his hands upon. His original plan was to enlist a new army at Delhi and combine it with Sulaiman Shikoh's victorious forces and then give another battle to Aurangzeb.² But, under the circumstances, this was not practicable. The Governor of Delhi was hostile to him and there was a very remote possibility of Sulaiman's forces joining him very soon and to add to it the

"unexpected fall of Agra fort within five days of its blockade by Aurangzeb (June 8, 1658) disconcerted all the plans of Dara."³

On hearing of the fall of Agra fort, Dara contemplated a flight from Delhi. But this time he was uncertain about his new destination. He had two options before him. First of these was to move to Allahabad where the fort was held by his devoted

1. Jadu Nath Sarkar : *History of Aurangzeb*, Vol. 2, p. 440.

2. Manucci on the other hand tells us that Dara did not halt at Delhi at all, but this seems to be incorrect as the date of his departure from Delhi is 12th June, as mentioned by Sarkar (p. 442, Vol. 2), who got it from *Alamgir Nama*. This shows that Dara halted at Delhi for a week.

3. Qanungo : *Dara Shikoh*, p. 21.

officers, join his son's victorious troops, make an alliance with Shah Shuja and then with the combined troops confront Aurangzeb. The second course open to him was to move to the Punjab where he could count on the support of his faithful deputy, Ghairat Khan. After some consideration Dara ruled out the first plan as he thought that moving to Allahabad might mean his getting crushed between two enemies, Shuja in the East and Aurangzeb in the West. To some extent, he was right in thinking so as Shuja, who had recently suffered a defeat at the hands of Sulaiman Shikoh, could not be relied upon for support, and his move towards the East might easily have brought an immediate disaster to him.

The Punjab, on the other hand, very much attracted Dara. He looked upon this province as the home of soldiers, 'close to Afghanistan from where the hardest mercenaries could be enlisted.' Besides this, the Lahore fort contained much of his property and vast arsenal and magazine. Thus he made up his mind to march to Lahore sending instructions to Ghairat Khan to raise troops. Sulaiman Shikoh was also instructed to join him in the Punjab. Letters were despatched to various Chiefs and Landlords requesting their help. A similar letter was also despatched to the Sikh Guru, Har Rai, who was on friendly terms with Dara.

On 12th June,¹ leaving Delhi, he started on his march into the Punjab. His following had now swollen to 10,000 men and with this army he reached Sarhind, about two weeks after his departure from Delhi. Here he captured the property of the revenue collector, who being hostile to Dara, had fled from there. Then he crossed the Sutlej and destroyed all the boats found at the ferries to check

1. Sarkar : *History of Aurangzeb*, Vol. 2, p. 442.

the progress of Aurangzeb's army that was pursuing him. Here he was met by his faithful general, Daud Khan, who after leaving Sulaiman Shikoh, had come hurriedly to help his master.¹ He was deputed to guard the ferry of Talwan (31 N. 75° 40 E. 4 miles North of Aliwal) and to oppose the enemy's crossing the river. After this the Prince reached the river Beas where he met Guru Har Rai. As the Guru was already interested in him and his attainments, he readily gave him some of his followers who served him to guard the river Beas.²

On the 23rd July, Dara reached Lahore. Here he at once set upon enlisting fresh men to form a good army to resist Aurangzeb. In a short time Dara collected about 30,000 horsemen of various races—Mughals, Syeds and Pathans. Some Imperial Commanders, such as Raja Rajrup of Jammu hills and Khanjor Khan (Faujdar of Bhera) also joined him. Manucci tells us a very interesting story about the time when Dara's preparations were going on at Lahore. One hill Raja (Sarup Singh) came to Dara and offered his help. Dara with great entreaty begged him to join him with all his forces. In order to gain the Raja securely on his side, he allowed his wife to send for the Raja in her harem where she again begged for his aid and addressed him as her son.³ This shows that the Prince, while at Lahore, adopted all possible—even degrading—means to enlist support for himself. So, Dara's strength went on increasing and his prospects seemed to brighten for a while. He felt a bit secure at Lahore, thinking that Aurangzeb's forces would be utterly

1. Manucci : *Storia-do-Mogor*, Vol. 1, p. 308.

2. Macauliffe : *Sikh Religion*, Vol. 4, p. 307.

3. Manucci : *Storia-do-Mogor*, Vol. 1, p. 309. The real name of the Raja, it seems, was not Sarup Singh, but Rajrup Singh. (See the *History of the Punjab Hill States*, by Hutchison and Vogel).

exhausted by then, due to their long march from the Deccan and two severe battles. So he thought that he would get time for consolidating and organising his power.

“ But in hoping this he had counted without Aurangzeb's energy and strength of will, before which every obstacle, human or physical, gave way.”¹

On 2nd August, Bahadur Khan, one of Aurangzeb's generals, reached the banks of the Sutlej. At Talwan,² he found the opposite bank very strongly guarded by Daud Khan, whose contingent had already been reinforced by another 5,000 men sent by Dara. He, therefore, guided by some friendly *zamindars* marched about 60 miles east of Talwan and reached the ferry of Rupar,³ which was very negligently guarded by Syed Ghairat Khan and Musahib Beg, whom Dara had sent from Lahore. Here he collected some boats and with the help of these crossed the river on the night of 5th August with about 800 men and some pieces of artillery. Then he made a furious attack on the enemy on the opposite bank. The enemy fled towards the Talwan ferry and spread panic in the forces of Daud Khan who on hearing the news of this disaster retreated towards Sultanpur.

Another division of the pursuing force led by Khalil Ullah Khan, on hearing about Bahadur Khan's success, made a forced march to the Rupar ferry and crossed it on the night of August 7.⁴ As a result of this all the ferries of the Sutlej river, that were guarded by Dara's men, were evacuated.

1. Sarkar : *History of Aurangzeb*, Vol. 2. p. 105.

2. Talwan, 32 miles south of Jullundher City.

3. Rupar, situated in the District of Ambala at the point where Sutlej issues from hills, (47 south-west.)

4. Qanungo : *Dara Shikoh*, p. 266.

Now the river Beas only separated Dara from his enemy, so he sent orders to Daud Khan to guard its western bank as strongly as possible and if the conditions became favourable, even give a battle to the enemy's troops by crossing to the other side. Daud Khan, accordingly, hastened to the ferry of Govindwal but found that Bahadur Khan's forces had already been reinforced by Khalil Ullah's contingents. Under the circumstances, he did not think it wise to risk a battle with such heavy odds and decided to defend the western bank.

At this stage Aurangzeb started using his cleverness and diplomatic skill to weaken the cause of Dara.¹ He wrote a very tempting letter to Raja Sarup Singh,² who had promised help to Dara and had taken from him ten lakhs of rupees for this purpose. This letter sufficed to make the Raja disappoint Dara who wrote to him letter after letter urging him to come with his force without delay, but he never answered and remained in his country with the money that he had taken.

Another equally successful trick played by Aurangzeb upon Dara was, that he caused a forged letter to be written in the name of Daud Khan making him say as follows :

"Your Majesty may rest assured that at the first opportunity I will do what I promised and never be false to my word."³

Aurangzeb managed that this letter should be intercepted by Dara's patrols and laid before him. The letter had the desired effect on Dara. He began to suspect not only Daud Khan but all his

1. Manucci : *Storia-do-Mogor*, Vol. 1, p. 311.

2. Also called Rup Singh or Rajrup Singh by Manucci. (Foot-note 3, page 179.)

3. Manucci : *Storia-do-Mogor*, Vol. 1, p. 313.

officers, as it appeared they had already fallen under the influence of Aurangzeb. When Daud felt that the Prince entertained some suspicion of him he wrote to him :

"If your Majesty has any doubt on my fidelity, order me to go and offer my life in the defence of your person and family."¹

On reading this Dara took pity on Daud and began to think that the letter was forged.

But shortly after this, Aurangzeb sent a similar letter which was again intercepted and laid before the Prince. The sight of this letter totally destroyed his confidence in Daud Khan. So he ordered him never to appear in Court and his appointment was cancelled.

Dara, thus found himself in great extremity. All his officers were, he thought, betraying him, and Aurangzeb continued his march by forced stages. He therefore, made up his mind to move to the kingdom of Kabul and implore help from the King of Persia.² He despatched an envoy to Mahabat Khan, the Governor of Kabul and to the Pathans of the hill-country requesting them to give him free passage on his way to Persia. Mahabat Khan, who was not on good terms with the Prince, gave a very evasive reply. Dara, quite understanding the meaning of this reply, changed his plans altogether. He ordered that all the artillery and war munition got ready by Shah Jahan for the conquest of Qandhar should be loaded in boats, and to these he added the vast treasures that he had carried with him, and other appliances and war materials that could possibly be obtained. Dara, now, knowing

1. Manucci : *Storia-do-Mogor*, Vol, 1, p. 312.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 315.

that Aurangzeb was drawing nearer and nearer and distrusting his officers, who, moreover, could not resist very long, ordered his men to withdraw from the river ferries and blow up the powder magazines. He himself then left Lahore at the end of October taking with him his family and about 8,000¹ horsemen, and marched towards Multan.

Manucci has given us a very graphic account of confusion that prevailed in Lahore after Dara's departure for Multan. The city remained absolutely unguarded. The whole of the army was taken away by Dara. Many were made to march even against their consent; others were forcibly enlisted in the army and compelled to march. Manucci himself had decided not to leave on the same day as Dara, but a few days later. He, too, met with a very sad experience, when one of Dara's officers, Rumi Khan, finding him still in Lahore after Dara's departure, seized him and ordered him to start his march for Multan. But Manucci did not want to accompany this officer in that manner. So with great difficulty he managed to escape although one of his friends was carried away against his will.

Early in November,² Dara reached Multan. Here again he started making military preparations. His first effort was towards winning the people over to his side. He gave out that he wished to stay in the city and enlist troops. He started repairing the house in which formerly Aurangzeb lived when he was the governor of this province. He also invited some of the religious and holy men in order to get their support. But all these efforts of Dara seemed to be useless as the residents of the city seemed to be disinclined to help him against Aurangzeb.

1. Sarkar gives this number as 14,000, but as Manucci was on the spot his information is more reliable.

2. Sarkar gives different dates which he got from *Alamgir Nama*.

Now turning to Aurangzeb we find that he reached Rupar on August 14. He halted here for about a month sending off Raja Jai Singh and Dilair Khan with artillery under Saf Shiken Khan to join Khalil Ullah Khan. This division soon joined Khalil Ullah Khan and there it got the news of Dara's flight from Lahore. At this news Khalil Ullah Khan, then at Garh Shanker (32 miles north-west of Rupar) had sent a party under Tahir Khan to reach Lahore by forced marches in order "to keep order in the masterless city and to save Dara's abandoned property and government stores from being looted." Khalil Ullah himself started towards Lahore and reached near the city soon after. He did not care to enter the city but set off towards Multan.¹

Aurangzeb crossed the river after some time and started towards Lahore. In the way he was informed that Khalil Ullah Khan had slackened the pursuit of Dara, due to some fears in his mind. On this he decided to pursue Dara in person. So he sent some unnecessary baggage and troops to Lahore with his son Azam and himself turned south-west towards Multan, making forced and long marches, moving on day and night without halting. He had brought with him the finest part of his army, and had left behind the rest with orders to follow.

When Dara learnt about this, he got startled out of wits. He at once decided to leave Multan. He ordered that all the boats be made ready for a voyage towards the fortress of Bhakkar. These boats were then loaded with supplies of food, cannons artillery, ammunition and other necessary material for strengthening the fortress at Bhakkar. After this the boats were put under command of Khwaja Basant,² and started down the river. Dara

1. Sarkar : *History of Aurangzeb*, Vol. 2, p. 115.

2. Manucci : *Storia-do-Mogor*, Vol. 1, p. 317.

himself left by land a few days afterwards at the head of a few faithful horsemen. His faithful general, Barqandaz Khan, went with him, most of the others deserted, as did those that had joined him at Multan. It is interesting to note that Daud Khan was still following his master with an "obstinate fidelity". He sent a message to Dara to have confidence and trust in him and expressed keen desire to be allowed to serve the Prince again with the utmost fidelity. But Dara went on growing more and more suspicious and wanted to get rid of him. So he sent a word to him to cease following him like that. Daud now felt that it was no use following Dara. So he sent an answer that he was prepared to obey the orders if his dismissal was in writing. Dara, thus, sent him a paper containing his formal dismissal on seeing which Daud departed sobbing like a child.

Soon after this Aurangzeb reached Multan and detached a force in pursuit of Dara with orders to capture him, or, at any rate, not to allow him any rest. Then he sent a letter to Daud Khan, asking him to join his service and tempting him with a very high pay. Daud, after some consideration, accepted this offer on the condition that he should not be made to take up arms against Dara. To this Aurangzeb agreed and treated him with consideration and Daud Khan subsequently filled high office in Aurangzeb's reign.

Thus, we have seen that Dara, when he entered the Punjab, had still hopes of encountering Aurangzeb successfully. He contemplated another bid for the throne of Delhi, which he thought he had not completely lost at Samugarh. But only a few months after his entry into this province all his

expectations and hopes were dashed and we find him quitting the Punjab in utter desperation. By this time he had been deserted by most of his followers and he, now, fled from place to place, not for the sake of the throne, but for his life. Aurangzeb was, thus, secure on the throne.

Chapter XIV

DEVELOPMENT OF SIKHISM

Sikhism was akin to the Bhakti movement which was the product of the liberalising influences that came visibly into play in the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries in the whole of the country. Founded by Guru Nanak in the reign of Babar, Sikhism laid emphasis upon the unity of the Supreme Being,¹ and sought to conciliate both Hinduism and Islam by proclaiming universal tolerance and by bringing home to the people that the essential parts of their respective creeds were one and the same.² Based on a deistic doctrine, it deviated only slightly from the pure principles of the Hindu faith in general. Guru Nanak did not enunciate any new religion but only wanted to reform Hinduism which had been quite obscured by superstitious customs during the course of centuries. It was a revolt against the tyranny of Brahmanism, therefore sought to strike at the prestige of not only the Brahmans but also of the *Mullas*, and strove to emancipate men's mind from priestcraft and polytheism and idolworship.³ Ridiculing the performance of austerities and pilgrimages it laid stress on the inward state of the mind. Guru Nanak does not seem to be up against the caste system; what he emphasised upon was the equality of caste before God. The most distinctive mark of

1. A. T. P.

2. A. T. P. Dr. Trumpp does not adhere to this view, in his *Adi Granth*, p. ci. he remarks that "It is a mistake, if Nanak is represented as having endeavoured to unite the Hindus and Muslims." But my own reading of the translation of the *Granth* does not support his view.

3. A. T. P. The dignity of the Brahmans has been indirectly assailed. Guru Nanak and his successors could not entirely free themselves from the thralldom of the Brahmans.

Sikhism was that the people were appealed to in their own tongue and were told that perfect devotion was not incompatible with the ordinary duties of life.¹ Guru Nanak was the first Hindu reformer to establish a popular religion by initiating into his faith all without any regard to caste.²

In its origin Sikhism was quite humble and obscure but it was in the reign of Akbar that it flourished and developed into a religious sect under the Guruship of Amar Das, Ram Das and Arjan Dev. (1552 to 1606) and began to magnetise into its fold even the *Pandits* of Benares and the Rajas of Kulu, Suket, Haripur and Chamba (Samba of Akbar's time).³ Guru Amar Das instituted the system of *Gaddis* throughout the country and divided the spiritual Sikh Empire into 22 districts.⁴ The system of a common *langar* was started in which all participated without distinction of caste or rank.⁵ The offerings of his numerous disciples also enabled him to build a great *Bawli* with eighty-four steps.⁶ He was succeeded by Guru Ram Das in 1574. His income from the voluntary offerings of his disciples seemed to have been considerable enough to enable him to found the magnificent tank of Amritsar.⁷ The new town which soon sprang up in its vicinity came to be known as Ram Das Pura.⁸ Under Guru Arjan Dev the foundation of Harmandir was laid in 1589⁹ out of the subscription raised from the hill chiefs.¹⁰ He organised its finances on sound basis and compiled the holy Granth, in which the sayings of the saints like Yog, Shambu Nath, Kabir, Shah Husain, Shah Sulaiman, Shah Inayat Qadiri and Shaikh Wali

1. A. T. P.

3. H. S. III, 63 & 70.

4. H. S. III, p. 151.

5. S. P. Vol. 5, Ras. I, Chap. 63, p. 1604.

6. S. P. Vol. 5, Ch. 51, p. 1541.

7. S. P. Vol. 5, Ras. II, Ch. 10, p. 1681.

9. H. S. III, p. 10.

2. A. T. P. cxii.

8. H. S. II, p. 276.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 4.

were also inserted in order to elevate it to the position of a Divine Messenger to the conflicting creeds.

So by the time of Akbar's death, the elements which constitute a theocratic state were almost complete. The Sikhs had their religious code in the holy Granth, their sacred city in Amritsar and their chief in the person of the Guru. The finances of the community had also become regularised. The power and prestige of the Guru was augmented and he became a strong factor in the political life of the province.

It was under the benevolent patronage of Akbar who had genuine admiration for the tenets of Sikhism that it matured into manhood and ultimately became a great political factor to be reckoned with. Quite early in his reign during one of his visits to the Punjab he is said to have gone to visit Guru Amar Das at Goindwal and to have dined at the common *langar*. He seemed to have contracted a special attachment for the Guru and at the time of his departure donated a vast tract of land in the name of the Guru's daughter, Bibi Bhani, for the upkeep of the *langar*.¹ On one occasion some Brahmans, whose ascendancy the Sikhs had violently assailed, lodged a complaint before Akbar that the conduct of the Guru in diverting the people from the prescribed religious and social customs was likely to lead to political upheaval. Consistent with his usual policy he wanted to confront the Guru with the Brahmans. He was much pleased at the convincing and weighty arguments advanced by the Guru's representative Jetha who concluded thus "The Brahmans claim to be equal to God. The Guru maketh no such boast for he is God's slave." The verdict of the Emperor went against the Brahmans who thus being foiled in their attempt to discredit the Guru retired from the

1. S. P., Vol. 5, Ras, II, Ch. 10, p. 1681.

court in utter humiliation. On the advice of Akbar the Guru started for Hardwar being fully assured about the exemption from the pilgrim tax.

His successor, Guru Ram Das, was also held in high esteem by him, and he granted him a *Jagir* within the limits of which the tank of Amritsar was excavated. Dwellings soon arose around the tank and the new town was named Ram Das Pur.

In 1604 when the Holy Granth was in the process of compilation, it was represented to the Emperor that the Guru had edited a book in which the Prophet of Islam and the Hindu incarnations had been held in bitter contempt and ridicule. Summons were issued to Guru Arjan who deputed Bhai Buddha and Bhai Gur Das with the holy Granth to Akbar. Recitations from it only served to excite his interest in the Sikh religion still further and 50 gold *mohars* along with dresses were bestowed upon Bhai Buddha and Bhai Gur Das.

On Nov. 24, 1598, while on his way back to Delhi, Akbar paid a flying visit to Guru Arjan Dev at Govindwal and was much impressed by his saintly bearing. The Guru told him of the havoc wrought by the last famine and also portrayed to him how people were likely to be reduced to a miserable condition by heavy depreciation of prices which would follow inevitably his departure after such a long stay of fourteen years. The complaint bore fruit and the revenue for that year was remitted.¹

When Jahangir came to the throne in 1605, the fifth Guru of the Sikhs, Guru Arjan Dev was on the Gaddi or Masnad.² The Sikh sect under Guru Arjan was not exactly the same as when initiated by Nanak.

1. S. P. Vol. 5. Ras. I. Ch. 43, pp. 1504-5. This statement is also affirmed by Abul Fazl (though indirectly only). What he says is this that "increase of the tax to twelve was remitted to the Punjab" after Akbar had reached Sarhind on Dec. 7 (*Vide* A.N., III, p. 1115) that is after he had an interview with the Guru.

2. *Macauliffe*, Vol. 3, p. 84.

It had developed and changed. Arjan had revived the custom of eating flesh once prohibited by Guru Nanak.¹ Still later when Guru Hargobind came, he actually encouraged it by his untiring habit of hunting and chasing. He himself took animal flesh.

Guru Arjan had endeavoured to develop Sikhism as much as possible, and he had achieved a fair measure of success in that. The Sikhs had enormously increased in numbers by his time, so much so that they were scattered in every big city of the North from Peshawar to Delhi.² It was difficult now for the Guru to collect the donations from all of them. He had an idea of converting this religious sect into a political organisation, and he achieved this by placing his revenue system on a sounder basis.³ So far the revenue had depended upon simple contribution. Guru Arjan fixed the amount of these donations, and appointed collectors in 22 different parts.⁴ He sent people to Turkistan to buy horses and sell them in India.⁵ This was of much use to the Hindus. The Hindu superstition of crossing the Attock was broken, it brought riches to the Sikh Church and developed a taste for riding among the Sikhs.⁶ The life of Guru Arjan was quite different from the previous ascetic Gurus. He gave a princely status to it. His importance was still more increased when Chandu Shah, *Dewan* of Lahore, offered his daughter in marriage to the Guru's son Hargobind.⁷ But the Guru refused the offer. This cost the Guru his life. But indirectly it led to the military organisation that Hargobind made.

After about six months of Jahangir's accession his son Khusrau rebelled against him. He fled from Agra towards the Punjab, hard pursued by the Imperial army. On his way he visited the Sikh Guru

1. *Dabistan*, Vol. 2, p. 248.

2. *Transformation*, p. 34; *Dabistan*, p. 253.

4. *Dabistan*, p. 271.

6. *Adi Granth*: Preface.

3. *Transformation*, p. 34.

5. *Transformation*, p. 36.

7. *Macauliffe*, p. 87.

Arjan at Tarn Taran and begged him to grant him pecuniary help. The Guru gave him five thousand rupees with other moral help.¹ Khusrau faced the Royal army at Lahore, was defeated and arrested. His followers were punished. The Guru was accused of helping Khusrau. The Emperor disliked the rising power of the Sikhs and wanted to nip this evil in the bud. This was a good opportunity. The Guru was summoned to Lahore, who knowing his end was near, made his son Hargobind his successor, and himself proceeded to Lahore.²

Jahangir fined him 2 lakh rupees,³ and put him into prison. The Hindus of Lahore were prepared to subscribe the fine but the Guru disallowed them. Hazrat Mian Mir Sahib with many other saints visited the Guru in the prison and they took pity upon his blistered body. They wanted to request the Emperor to release him but the Guru prevented them from doing so.

At last the Guru one day asked Chandu to allow him to take a bath in the Ravi with five of his Sikhs. He was allowed to do so. The Guru went there, took his bath, sat down on the bank, read his *Japji* and after giving instructions to his followers expired.⁴ Jahangir's attitude towards the Sikhs was a mixture of punishment for treason and the desire to curb a growing power.

This brought about a resentment in the minds of the Sikhs who now resorted to arms and became enemies of the Mughals.

1. *Transformation*, p. 38. 2. *Dabistan*, p. 273. 3. *Macauliffe*, p. 91.

4. *Dabistan*, p. 273. He died of sandy heat of Lahore and ill-treatment. Trump: Preface. Chandu Shah wanted to sew him in a cowhide. Arjan begged to take bath in the Ravi where he jumped in and was lost. From this it is quite clear that Jahangir was in no way responsible for the death of Arjan who had been convicted on the charge of treason and was undergoing imprisonment in Lahore. Chandu Shah, a Hindu, wanted to wreak vengeance on the Guru, as the latter had refused a marriage alliance between his son and the former's daughter.

Granth Sahib was read for ten days on Arjan's death and a temple was erected in Lahore in his memory.¹ Arjan had composed many hymns. He had moreover collected all the hymns of the previous Gurus and made it into one religious book of the Sikhs.²

Hargobind succeeded his father as the sixth Guru of the Sikhs in June 1605. Unlike the previous Gurus, he attired himself in a martial dress and girded two swords.³ The one was to avenge his father and the other was to "destroy the Muslims." Moreover he had natural disposition for war. To the end of his life his conduct partook as much of military adventures as of the enthusiastic devotee. He issued orders to his Sikhs to offer him arms instead of money.⁴ He wanted to be both a temporal and the spiritual authority. He raised for him a platform known as Akal Bunga.⁵ Soon several warriors and wrestlers came to be enlisted. He enlisted 52. Shortly after that 500 came from Malva and Majha with the offerings of their lives. They were given a horse and a sword each. Piara, Jetha and Langha were made captains of hundred horses each. People flocked around him. They came under his banner for two meals a day and a uniform half-yearly.⁶

In the beginning he had very good relations with Jahangir, so much so that the Emperor made him supervisor of officials in the Punjab, and he had for some time the command of 700 horses and 1000 foot and seven guns.⁷ After some time the Guru was summoned to Delhi to clear his position. For a time it seemed that the Guru satisfied the Emperor with his answers, as the Emperor took him for the chase

1. *Transformation*, p. 39.

3. *Dabistan*, p. 273.

5. *Macauliffe*, Vol. 3, p. 4.

7. *Transformation*, p. 56.

2. *Adi Granth*, Preface.

4. *Macauliffe*, Vol. 4, p. 3.

6. *Dabistan*, Vol. 2, p. 248.

where he saved him from a lion. But he was soon sent a prisoner to the fort of Guler on a charge of embezzlement.¹ After about 12 years on the petition of the Sikhs and the intercession of Hazrat Mian Mir the Guru was released.² The Guru in turn pleaded for the release of the imprisoned Rajas in Guler and succeeded to some extent.

The Emperor was then moving to Kashmir. He took the Guru in his company. In the way Nur Jahan Begum had an interview with the Guru. She was charmed by his talk and manners. The Emperor went to Amritsar with the Guru and showed a desire to pay for the completion of the temple, but the Guru refused on the plea that the temple belonged to all and not to one man.³ A Bawli and a temple were erected in memory of the late Guru in Lahore. At this time Painda Khan took service with the Guru. The Sikh power was increasing every day. The Guru had all the paraphernalia of royalty around him. He took horses and arms as his presents. He spent his time in wrestling, riding, tent-pegging, hunting tigers and boars.⁴ He had a stable of 800 horse, 3000 troops and 60 armed men as his bodyguard.⁵ The fugitives took refuge with him and carried on all sorts of professions. The Guru's power was great. He had both Hindus and Muslims in his army. Sikhism was becoming favourite with all. Bhai Gharia was sent to Kashmir and Bidhi Chand to Bengal for preaching.⁶

Attended by 1000 Sikhs the Guru now moved from place to place preaching Sikhism to the people. His followers were very loyal to him. They would take all sorts of risks for the Guru who had

1. *Dabistan*, p. 274. He had appropriated to himself the pay of the soldiers that was given in advance to him. So he was imprisoned.

2. *Transformation*, p. 41.

3. *Macauliffe*, p. 3.

4. *Transformation*, p. 54.

5. *Dabistan*, p. 277.

6. *Macauliffe*, p. 123.

influence with upon the rich and the poor. No one could refuse him anything and everyone was prepared to serve anywhere and at all times. Hargobind died on Sunday the third of Muharram in 1645.¹

Har Rai, the late Guru's grandson, was chosen the next Guru. He was a small child when his grandfather died. He lived in Kirat Pur with Raja Tara Chand. Soon Shah Jahan invaded Raja Tara Chand's territory for the latter had not paid the tribute, so the Guru also left the place for Jhabal to live with Raja Karam Parkash.²

Guru Har Rai was peaceful by nature, so much so that once the crushing of some flowers with his cloak was an occasion for deep regret with him and he took care not to do so in future.³ He once happened to give Dara Shikoh a medicine by which the Prince was cured. For this Shah Jahan felt grateful to him and never troubled him. The only time when Har Rai took to arms was when helping Dara Shikoh who was his disciple since the time he had cured him.⁴ Pursued by Aurangzeb he begged his help. Har Rai checked the troops of Aurangzeb to give time to Dara to fly away. Aurangzeb was not a man to forget such a crime. He afterwards sent for the Guru, who instead sent his son Ram Rai⁵ who remained at the court.

So we find that it was in the reigns of Jahangir and Shah Jahan that the Sikhs, a religious and obscure sect, became powerful in the Punjab.

1. *Macauliffe*, Vol. 3, p. 239.

3. *Transformation*, p. 62.

5. See the next chapter.

2. *Dabistan*, Vol. 2, p. 282.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 63.

Chapter XV

AURANGZEB AND THE SIKH GURUS

At the time of Aurangzeb's accession to the throne, the Sikhs were beginning to gain importance in the Punjab. The followers of the Gurus were increasing and their influence was spreading far and wide. This sect, that had primarily been founded by Guru Nanak as a religious sect, was gradually being converted into a martial race by his successors to such an extent that Shah Jahan experienced a great deal of trouble at the hands of the Sikhs. The warlike Guru Hargobind had led the Sikhs, many a time, against the Imperial troops and had very often defeated them. In the words of Cunningham, Hargobind had formed the Sikhs into a "separate state within the Empire."¹ Therefore, the Sikhs were, to Aurangzeb, a living danger.

In 1645, after the death of Guru Hargobind, his grandson, Guru Har Rai came to the *Gaddi*. He had a wife from a gentle family, Tarbeni² by name, Har Rai was a man of peace-loving nature. He had very independent ways of life.

"He preferred the solitude of the hills and quiet meditations to the excitement of the chase or the din of war."³

Therefore his Guruship was a period of comparative peace, except when he was called upon by friendship's claim to defend Dara Shikoh, who was his disciple, as stated in the preceding chapter.

1. Cunningham : *History of the Sikhs*, p. 59. (Garrett's edition).

2. Religious Policy of Aurangzeb by Prof. S. R. Sharma, in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, p. 403. (June 1936).

3. G. C. Narang : *Transformation of Sikhism*, Chapter VIII, p. 62.

The Sikh tradition declares that in 1648, Prince Dara's life had been saved by a medicine sent by the Guru. Ever since then Dara Shikoh felt grateful to him and took a very keen interest in his religion. The inclination of the Prince towards Hinduism and his admiration of the Guru's pious life had strengthened their relations into intimate friendship. So in 1658, when Dara after his defeat at Samugarh directed his steps towards the Punjab he addressed a letter to the Guru requesting his assistance. The Guru, it is said, sent a very favourable reply to this letter, and he actually met the Prince on the right bank of the Sutlej and gave him a detachment of his followers, who helped the Prince in guarding the passage of the Beas.¹

When Aurangzeb became secure on the throne of Delhi, he wanted to punish the Guru for having helped Dara. He, therefore, summoned him to answer for his conduct.² The Guru did not think it expedient to appear before the Emperor, but he could not afford to go to war by sending a direct refusal, as he was too weak yet to face the Imperial troops. Therefore, although he refused to wait upon the Emperor in person, he thought it politic to conciliate him by sending his son Ram Rai to the court. Ram Rai was accompanied by two elders of his community, Gurdas and Tara, who were sent along with him

1. But the *Khulasat-ul-Twarikh* states that although the Guru had brought with him a detachment of Sikh soldiers to help the Prince, yet these soldiers did not actually fight for him. The Guru soon found out that desertions were taking place in the ranks of Dara, so he himself deserted him along with the soldiers.

S. R. Sharma : Religious Policy of Aurangzeb, in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, June, 1936.

2. Bakht Mal tells us that the Emperor called the Guru to the court as he had heard of his miracles (translation of Bakht Mal by Prof. S. R. Sharma in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, June, 1936, p. 400) and Macauliffe in *Sikh Religion* tells us that some of the courtiers of Aurangzeb poisoned his ears against the Guru telling him that he was preaching a religion distinct from Islam. But it seems that these causes might have been in the background, the apparent cause of the summons was political, i.e., the help that the Guru had given to Dara.

so that he might not deviate from the true path.¹ He pleased the Emperor very much by some of his actions.² He was treated at the court with distinction and he seems to have got so much enamoured of the splendour of the court that even when Aurangzeb had lifted all sorts of restrictions from him, he did not like to go back to his father and stayed at the court. This behaviour of Ram Rai did not please his father, nor did the two advisers, who had gone with him to Delhi, approve of it. They found that they had no weight with him and that they were not respected. Hence both of them left Delhi and came to the Guru only to add to his growing resentment against his son.³ The result was that Ram Rai was disinherited and his younger brother Harkishen was chosen to be the successor of Guru Har Rai.

Therefore, when in 1661, Har Rai died, the *Gaddi* was occupied by Harkishen. Ram Rai, who was up to this time in the dark, protested against this.⁴ He at first tried to persuade the Sikhs to

1. Macauliffe : *Sikh Religion*, Vol. 4, p. 307.

2. Bakht Mal tells us that it was due to some of the miracles that Ram Rai performed, that pleased the Emperor. The miracles, he tells us, were that at first he was made to sit on a covered well and to the astonishment of the Emperor, no harm came to him. Similarly he is said to have brought to life a sheep which he had himself killed the previous day. So the Emperor got so much pleased with him that he granted him a *jagir* in the Garhwal mountains. (Prof. S. R. Sharma's translation of Bakht Mal's *History of Sikhs in the Indian Historical Quarterly*, June, 1936).

Macauliffe tells us that Ram Rai had pleased Emperor by interpreting a part of the text of the *Adi Granth* to Aurangzeb's satisfaction. (*Sikh Religion*, Vol. 4, p. 309). The latter view seems to be correct as this action of Ram Rai caused the displeasure of his father and we know that he was disinherited due to this act. Bakht Mal seems to have invented the story. On the contrary, it is possible that Ram Rai might have been impressed by the superiority of Islam and Aurangzeb's character and so he determined to remain at the Court.

3. Prof. S. R. Sharma's translation of Bakht Mal in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, June, 1936.

4. Macauliffe mentions that the decision of the Guru and his followers to disinherit Ram Rai was not made public. *Sikh Religion*, Vol. 4, p. 311.

recognise him as their Guru.¹ But having failed to achieve his object in this manner he put his claims before the Emperor. The Emperor, though apparently favourably inclined towards Ram Rai, very shrewdly refrained from taking any unwise step by taking sides. He summoned Harkishen to Delhi with the intention of making the two brothers decide the issue by peaceful methods and thus achieve a solution which should be impartial and bear no trace of the Emperor's favour.² Accordingly he sent for the young Guru (who was only six years of age) to the Court. Although Harkishen was very unwilling to go to Delhi, yet he was taken there by his followers. The Guru is said to have proclaimed before starting that he did not want to see the face of a single Muslim, and this desire of his, according to Bakht Mal, was realized as before meeting any Muslim the Guru died at Delhi of smallpox in the house of one of his disciples.³ The date of his death is 9th April, 1665.⁴

Harkishen is said to have left his disciples in a fix as to his successor. When he was about to expire, he is said to have stated that his successor would be found in the village of Bakala (near Govindwal on the Beas).⁵ But there were many⁶

1. The Sikh tradition declares that Ram Rai, in order to achieve his object of occupying his father's *Gaddi*, sent messengers to proclaim him Guru throughout the country. But these messengers are said to have followed their master's example by not being faithful to him and applied themselves to the accumulation of wealth rather than proclaim their master as their Guru (*Sikh Religion*, Vol. 4, p. 315).

2. Macauliffe says that the Emperor wanted both the brothers to fight each other for their claims which seems a misinterpretation of the Emperor's intention. *Sikh Religion*, Vol. 4, p. 317.

3. Cunningham gives us a different view, which he has borrowed from the Sikh tradition. He tells us that the Emperor got struck by the child's marvellous power of performing miracles and so he had recognised him as Guru before he died. (Cunningham: *History of the Sikhs*, p. 62). This again seems baseless. How could the Emperor form an opinion about a child whom he had never seen?

4. Prof. S. R. Sharma, in 'Religious Policy of Aurangzeb', in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, p. 400.

5. Macauliffe: *Sikh Religion*, p. 329.

6. As many as twenty according to Macauliffe.

descendants of the Gurus in Bakala and each claimed to be the successor designated. Ram Rai also continued to assert his claims. At last Tegh Bahadur, son of Guru Hargobind, was recognised as the leader of the Sikhs.¹ After a life spent in journeying in the various parts of India, Guru Tegh Bahadur settled at Kiratpur in the present district of Hoshiarpur. Unlike his father, he was a man of peaceful disposition and though he had accompanied his father on his campaigns and his father had left his arms to him,

"yet he preferred to be called Deg Bahadur, (hero of the cauldron, i.e., one who excels in hospitality and compassion) rather than by his warlike name."²

He was known far and wide for his piety and hospitality,

"Though a man of great humility and simple tastes in private life, his *darbar* always possessed splendour and magnificence."³

He lived a very hard life and was very independently inclined. Whatever his disciples brought to him, he spent and kept nothing for himself.

In a very short time he acquired mastery over his subjects. Sikhs from all sides began to flock to him. Ram Rai was still a favourite at the Imperial Court and he still cherished hopes of occupying his

1. Macauliffe, Vol. 4, p. 332 and Cunningham, p. 63, tell us a story on the authority of native accounts, showing the particular act which led to his recognition as Guru. A follower of the sect named Makhani Shah, who was passing through Bakala, wished to make an offering to the Guru of his faith, but he was perplexed by the number of claimants. His offering was to be 525 rupees in all, but the amount was known to him alone and he silently resolved to give a rupee to each, and to hail him as Guru who should (from intuition) claim the remainder. Tegh Bahadur claimed the balance and so he was recognised as Guru.

2. G. C. Narang: *Transformation of Sikhism*, Ch. VIII, p. 65, foot-note.

3. *Ibid.*

father's place. He was constantly intriguing against Tegh Bahadur and again made a representation to the Emperor who was very much impressed by his claims for Guruship.¹

He, therefore, summoned Tegh Bahadur to Delhi. The Raja of Jaipur,² who was the Guru's admirer, considered it unsafe for the Guru to proceed to Delhi. So he interceded on his behalf and wrote to the Emperor saying that such holy men went on pilgrimages rather than aspired to sovereignty, and he would take him with him on his approaching march to Bengal.³ The Guru is then said to have accompanied the Raja to the East. He went with him to Assam and helped him to gain victory over its ruler.⁴ It was during these travels towards the East that Gobind Singh was born to his wife Gujri at Patna.⁵ (A. C. 1665).

After a time Tegh Bahadur returned to the Punjab and purchased a piece of land called Makhawal, on the banks of the Sutlej, close to Kiratpur, for his residence.⁶ Soon after, he settled in the village that he founded here and the Sikhs from all parts began to flock to him. The Emperor

1. Narang says that the Emperor "only wanted a pretext to get rid of a formidable man like Tegh Bahadur." *Transformation of Sikhism*, Ch. VIII, p. 66. This is again a distortion of facts. A *Deg Bahadur* could not be considered "formidable."

2. There is a great controversy among the historians on the name of this Raja. Cunningham tells us that both Foster and Malcolm give Jai Singh as the name of the prince who countenanced Tegh Bahadur, but one manuscript mentions Bir Singh to be his name. Tod (*Rajasthan*, II, p. 355) gives this name as Ram Singh the son of the first, Jai Singh. Cunningham is also of the view that it was probably Ram Singh, who was nominally forgotten owing to the fame of his father (*History of the Sikhs*, p. 63, footnotes).

3. *Ibid.*

4. G. C. Narang: *Transformation of Sikhism*, Ch. VIII, p. 66.

5. Macauliffe: *Sikh Religion*, Vol. 4, p. 357.

6. Cunningham: *History of the Sikhs*, p. 64.

hearing of this or probably at the instigation of Ram Rai, who was still at Court and who considered Tegh Bahadur as a usurper sent some of his officers to summon the Guru to Delhi. The Guru is said to have promised these officers that he would go to Delhi but at a suitable time of the year. The officers agreed to this and went back.¹

The Guru, according to his promise, set out for Delhi at the appointed time, and we are told by some historians² that during this march he visited one of his Muslim friends, Saif-ud-Din, who lived at Saifabad near the present fort of Patiala. This man detained the Guru for a number of days and in the meantime the Emperor who was informed by somebody that the Guru had fled, sent out a force to capture him. The Guru was not aware of this. After some time he took leave of his friend and resumed his march, but in the way he was arrested by Aurangzeb's men³ and brought before him.

Aurangzeb now determined to do justice by depriving Tegh Bahadur who had twice defied his

1. The Sikh tradition gives us the following story which led to the summoning of Tegh Bahadur by Aurangzeb. Following the policy set by the Emperor, Sher Afgan, his Viceroy in Kashmir, was at this time forcibly converting the Kashmiris. Those who refused to accept Islam were troubled and tortured. This annoyed the Kashmiri Pandits who decided to approach the Guru for help. So they went in a body to the Guru and requested him to protect their faith and religion. He suggested that they should go to the Emperor and tell him that if he wanted to convert them he should first of all convert the Guru. The Pandits then laid this condition before the Emperor, who gladly adopted this proposal of the Guru and sent his officers to summon him. (*Sikh Religion*, Vol. 4, p. 372). This is incredible as Islam forbids forcible conversions. Aurangzeb, a strict follower of the *Shariat*, could never suffer its violation. In a *firman* to the Hakim of Benares which is preserved in the "Holy city of Benaras" a book written by a Brahman, the Emperor clearly states his views that forcible conversions and destruction of temples are great sins punishable in the Hereafter.

2. For example Macauliffe.

3. Macauliffe tells us that the Guru was arrested at Agra by a Muslim officer, who reported his capture to the Emperor. The latter sent a regiment of 1,200 horse to Agra to bring the Guru to his presence. (*Sikh Religion*, Ch., VIII, p. 376).

authority from the *Gaddi* and installing Ram Rai instead. Many of his courtiers, besides Ram Rai, had been constantly poisoning the mind of the Emperor, who having now found an opportunity ordered the Guru's trial on the charge of treason. Tegh Bahadur was convicted and awarded death penalty. Consequently he was executed on 11th December, 1675 (5th Maghar, 1632, bright half).¹ The execution of the Guru has been attributed to various causes by different historians. According to Bakht Mal² the execution was due to his refusal to perform a miracle. Cunningham³ tells us that the Guru was executed on charges of treason and Macauliffe ascribes the execution to the Guru's refusal to embrace Islam. But Cunningham's view seems to be correct, as Aurangzeb was more concerned with Tegh Bahadur as a political enemy than as the leader of a religious sect.

Thus we find that Tegh Bahadur died without having done much for the military organisation of the Sikhs. His reign extended to well over ten years, but during this time he was throughout harassed either by "domestic quarrels or Aurangzeb's hatred."⁴ His father had left to him some broken and scattered traces of the army but he had no time to unite,

1. Article on the 'Religious Policy of Aurangzeb' by Prof. S. R. Sharma, *Indian Historical Quarterly*, June, 1936, p. 401.

2. The story that Bakht Mal gives of his execution is as follows: When the Guru was brought before the Emperor, he was asked to perform a miracle in proof of the alleged divinity of his mission. The Guru having refused to perform one addressed the Emperor in a very offensive manner which he could not tolerate. He at once ordered the Guru's execution. Further, Bakht Mal tells that the executioner felt himself incapable of beheading the Guru. So by Guru's orders a Sikh who was in attendance executed him. (Bakht Mal's translation in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, June, 1936, p. 405). Obviously this is a biased view of the whole affair.

3. Cunningham's view is that the Guru was charged for having leagued with a Muslim zealot, named Hafiz Adam, and to have levied contributions upon wealthy Hindus and Muslims and for having given shelter to some fugitives. (*History of the Sikhs*, p. 64).

4. Narang: *Transformation of Sikhism*, p. 67. Mr. Narang should not forget that traitors are always and everywhere hated by the ruling power.

organise and lead it against the Imperial troops. Whatever time he got, he spent in peaceful pursuits and charitable works. The Guru, it seems, realized the Imperial might of Aurangzeb and this may, to some extent, have been the reason of his extreme inaction. The Guru suffered the fate of a rebel without having done much for the Sikhs. But still the Guru achieved with his death what he failed to do in his life.

"The execution of Tegh Bahadur proved a baptism of fire. It helped his son and successor, Guru Govind Singh, in transforming the Sikhs into the fiery warriors that they proved themselves in the eighteenth century."¹

The execution of the Guru was universally regarded by the Hindus as a sacrifice for their faith. The whole of the Hindu population of this province began to burn with revenge.

"The sturdy *Jats* of Majha and Malwa only wanted a leader under whose banner they could fight and avenge the insult done to their religion and this leader they found in the youthful Govind."²

For several years after the execution of Guru Tegh Bahadur, the Emperor left the Sikhs alone as he had left for the Deccan in 1680. This period gave a most needed respite to the Sikhs and Govind Singh made the fullest use of this. He matured his plans for entering into a fierce struggle with the Emperor and other hostile chiefs.

1. 'Religious Policy of Aurangzeb' in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, June, 1936.

2. *Transformation of Sikhism*, p. 67. Religious sentiment was greatly fanned and the execution of Tegh Bahadur was exploited by the disgruntled elements amongst the Hindus and the Sikhs to achieve their political ends.

Towards the end of 1693, Aurangzeb learnt that Govind Singh was gaining influence in the province so he issued an order on 20th November, 1693, that the Guru should be admonished.¹ But before we enter into the details of Guru Govind Singh's campaigns against the Imperial troops and against the native Rajas, we shall examine briefly how the 'youthful Govind' made use of the respite that he got and how he prepared himself and his followers for the ordeal that lay before them.

1. News-letter dated 20th November, 1693, as quoted in the Religious Policy of Aurangzeb, in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, June, 1936.

Chapter XVI

GURU GOVIND SINGH

Govind was hardly ten years¹ of age when he was installed on the *Gaddi* of Guruship. At this young age he was entrusted with the heavy responsibility of leading the Sikhs. It seems that hatred for Muslims and the desire for revenge early impressed themselves upon the mind of this boy and as he grew up, one of his chief objects in life became avenging the wrong done to his father. In order to achieve this object he knew that he had to effect certain radical changes in the character of the Sikhs. The Sikhs by this time were still a religious sect. Although some martial spirit had been introduced into them by the warlike Guru Hargobind, yet the peaceful nature of the three succeeding Gurus had served as a check on the further development of this spirit. Devotion and piety were still their chief characteristics. They were divided amongst themselves into mutually antagonistic groups. Under these circumstances Govind decided, first of all, to reform and transform the Sikh and the Hindu communities and thus make them capable of challenging the Muslim rule. His idea was

"to infuse a new life into the dead bones of the Hindus and make them forget their differences and by presenting a united front against tyranny and oppression emerge into a nation and regain their lost independence."²

1. He was formally installed in the year A.C. 1675 shortly after his father's execution.

2. G. C. Narang : *Transformation of Sikhism*. Here Mr. Narang shows Govind Singh in his true colours, as it is admitted that the struggle

He wanted to revive in them the military spirit which was at that time dying in them. He wished to teach them to stand erect and refuse to tolerate any humiliating treatment.¹

In order to judge Govind Singh's work one must take into account the advantageous situation in which he was placed after his father's death. The execution of Tegh Bahadur came as a rude shock to the religious sentiments of the Hindus and Sikhs. They were told by disgruntled and power-hungry politicians to consider it as a grave injury to their faith. It increased their hatred for the Muslim rule. They now wanted a leader under whose banner they could fight and avenge this insult done to their religion, and this leader they found in Govind. Another circumstance which proved of advantage to the designs of the Guru was the Emperor's long absence from the capital and this greatly helped Govind's cause. Aurangzeb had gone to the Deccan to fight against the Marhattas and to subdue the *Hinduised* states of Golkanda and Bijapur. This gave an opportunity to Govind to mature his plans undisturbed as the Emperor could not possibly have any effective control over the Punjab from such a great distance.

But we must not overlook the difficulties in the way of the Guru. Many Hindus and Sikhs of position had thrown in their lot with the Imperial Government. These people always sided with the government in return for the protection and favours that they received. This meant that although the religious sentiment of the non-Muslim masses had been greatly worked up to make them enemies of the Imperial Government, men in high positions were

was political in nature and not religious. Talk about tyranny and oppression is only fabricated.

1. This type of propaganda was meant to rouse the Hindu and Sikh feelings against the Muslim Rule.

most fervently loyal to it and definitely opposed to any movement which aimed at injuring Aurangzeb's Government. Another difficulty for the Guru was that the Punjab was a province where a large number of Muslims lived side by side with the Hindus. Thus they were bound to counteract any plan which sought for the overthrow of the Muslim rule. The third big drawback to the Guru was that a number of his own relatives¹ had joined the enemy's camp due to some personal grudges² and they were always on the lookout for opportunities to harm the Guru. These people, if they did not actually hinder, did retard the Guru's schemes.

The Guru found himself at his father's death in these circumstances, some favourable and others unfavourable. Being very young he could not possibly think of any immediate action. He, therefore, retired to the city of Anandpur and set upon his plans. For nearly ten years³ that followed Govind quietly remained in this city. Nothing much is known of the work that the Guru did during this time; he was too young to have done anything. But popular tradition suggests that he was all this time busy in giving a new shape to Sikhism. The Sikhs believe that a large number of followers gathered round him at Anandpur and this gave him an opportunity to give them some sort of military training and organise them into military units but the more important work that he did during this period was that of creating a nation of the Sikhs. Unity being the first essential of nationality received his attention at the very outset.⁴

1. Ram Rai and Dhir Mal who had played an important part in inciting Aurangzeb to have Tegh Bahadur executed (*Macauliffe*) were still at Court.

2. Ram Rai considered Govind Singh to be a usurper.

3. The date of the first battle that the Guru fought is A.C. 1685, according to Suraj Parkash.

4. It is impossible to believe that a ten-year old boy did all this.

The Sikhs believe that certain acts of the Guru were deliberate attempts to bring about national unity. He very strongly denounced the caste system which was a great barrier to this unity. He declared that nobody could be a true Sikh unless he gave up all class prejudices. The Guru also laid down certain rules for the Sikh community which, though very mechanical in nature, seem to be further efforts for the same end. For example, he made it compulsory for all the Sikhs to end their names alike ; to have one single form of salutation; to have no external object of homage except the *Granth* ; to keep long hair and long beards ; wear turbans, put an iron bangle on one of the wrists and use many other things¹ in order to be called true Sikhs. Thus in this manner the Guru created a national feeling and spirit in his followers. Besides this we learn of many incidents which tell us that the Guru laid emphasis on or enjoined upon his followers to lead a military life and also often demonstrated to them the value of virtues like courage, self-abnegation and self-sacrifice.²

The result of all these efforts of Govind was that during his time the character of the Sikhs changed radically. Instead of devotion and piety 'pugnacity and valour became the most important features of this sect.'³ The Sikhs who were up to

1. Viz., *Kachh* (underwear), *Kirpan* (sword), *Karā* (bangle), *Kangha* (comb) and *Kes* (long hair).

2. The following story generally believed to be true by all the Sikh historians gives us an idea how Govind used to teach these virtues like self-sacrifice etc., to his followers. Once the Guru addressed a mass meeting of his followers and after his speech he drew out his sword and asked if there was any Sikh who was prepared to lay down his head for him. After a tense pause one of them did offer his head. The Guru took him to a hidden place and there he killed a goat instead. Then with his sword smeared with blood he again went to the audience and asked for some others to make the same sacrifice. This time another one of them came forward and was treated in the same manner. In this way the Guru got hold of five such brave persons and then told the audience the real story. These five Sikhs were exalted and honoured by the Guru and his followers. They were afterwards known as '*Panj Piyare*' by the Sikhs.

Macauliffe : *Sikh Religion*, Vol. 5, pp. 91-97.

3. Narang : *Transformation of Sikhism*, p. 68.

that time divided into groups hostile to each other were now united for a common cause and against common dangers. A deeply religious sect had got converted into a purely martial race. This being done, half the work of the Guru was accomplished. Now we turn to his armed campaigns against the Hill Rajas and against the Imperial troops.

We have already learnt that at Anandpur a large number of Sikhs gathered round the Guru. As all these Sikhs were converted into fierce warriors, the power of the Guru went on increasing enormously. Govind now started calling himself a king,¹ and received royal honours. The growing power of the Guru was looked upon as a menace by the neighbouring Rajas of Kahlur, Handur and many other states. To add to this fear, Govind constructed two or three forts along the skirts of the hills between Sutlej and the Jumna, one near Nahan at Pounta, another at Anandpur, and a third at Chamkaur, (near the town of Rupar).² Now these hill chiefs could not let it continue as, they thought, the Guru might even try to take possession of the hill-country which they were ruling. So the Rajas began giving him trouble. They used to obstruct people who carried presents to the Guru through their territories. This very much offended the Guru, who ordered his followers to go about armed and also ordered a big war drum to be constructed as a signal of preparation for war. These activities of the Guru again alarmed the hill chiefs, who were now on the look-out for an opportunity to crush this increasing danger. Some of the incidents that followed did provide them with an occasion to try odds with Govind.

1. Even Tegh Bahadur was known as 'Saccha Padshah' or true king by the Sikhs. So this was not an invention of Govind as Khushwaqt Rai says in *Twarikh-i-Sikhan*. (From the *Battles of Guru Govind Singh* by Sunder Singh, M.A.)

2. Bute Shah as quoted in *Transformation of Sikhism*, p. 89.

A chief from Eastern India had sent some presents to the Guru which included one well-tamed elephant and a very costly *Kabuli* tent. Raja Bhim Chand of Kahlur, who happened to visit the Guru, when he was displaying these presents, got jealous of him and made up his mind to wrest at least the elephant from him by whatever means he could. But his repeated requests to the Guru to deliver him the elephant were refused. At this Bhim Chand felt insulted and started making preparations for war against the Sikhs. But as his son's marriage (with daughter of Raja Fateh Shah of Srinagar) was drawing near, he thought it advisable to avoid an immediate conflict. The Guru at this time went to Nahan on an invitation from the Raja of that state.¹ While there, he effected a reconciliation between the Raja of Nahan² and Raja Fateh Shah of Srinagar. This made Fateh Shah a great friend of the Guru and thus he invited him to his daughter's marriage. Govind did not think it proper to go himself but sent his *Dewan*, Nand Chand, with some costly presents for the bride.

In the meanwhile Bhim Chand started from Kahlur with the marriage party. As he had to pass through Pounta, he sent his *wazir* to get the Guru's permission, but as he had a large force with him, the Guru did not allow them all to pass that way, although he permitted the bridegroom and a few others, while the rest reached Srinagar by following another path. So Bhim Chand, on reaching there

1. It was during this visit to Nahan that the Guru got the Paunta fort constructed. According to the Sikh tradition, however, it was the Raja himself who got it built, the Guru only helped the Raja in getting this fort constructed. (Macauliffe, Vol. 5, p. 17). This view is most likely true because the Raja was afraid of his neighbouring chiefs, many of whom were hostile to him, and thus he wanted a fort to protect his territory.

2. The author of '*Suraj Parkash*' gives Medani Parkash as the name of this Raja.

Macauliffe, p. 15.

forced Fateh Shah to refuse the presents sent by the Guru. This act of these Rajas now meant an ultimatum of war. Preparations for the coming conflict started on both sides, and Govind selected Bhangani (a place six miles from Pounta between the Jumna and the Sur) as a suitable place to give battle to the enemy and pitched himself there. On the other hand Raja Bhim Chand formed an alliance with a number of hill chiefs that included Raja Hari Chand of Handur, Gopal of Guler, Kesari Chand of Jaswan, Prithi Chand of Dadwala and many others.

As the combined armies of these chiefs marched against the Guru, some sections of his army got very much alarmed and actually deserted him.¹ This, however, did not deter the Guru, who appointed Sango Shah, Jit Mal, Gulab Chand and Ganga Ram as commanders of the remaining army and ordered them to attack the enemy. At this time one Budhu Shah,² with his four sons and seven hundred disciples, joined the Guru.

In the fierce battle that ensued many gallant warriors on both the sides were killed. One Hari Chand Handuria has been particularly mentioned to have very heroically fought on the side of the allied Rajas, but he was killed by the Guru. Mahant Kirpal, Jit Mal, Sango Shah and Budhu Shah fought valiantly for the Guru, and of these Sango Shah and Jit Mal were killed. The Guru's force, however, carried the day. This success greatly encouraged the Guru's followers, who would have pursued the

1. Five Pathan Chiefs, who had been recruited by the Guru, deserted him along with their men. Bute Shah gives the names of these Chiefs as Kale Khan, Bhikam Khan, Nizabat Khan, Hayat Khan and Jawahar Khan and further adds that they went over to the enemy's side. (*Battles of Guru Govind Singh*, n. 3, p. 6).

2. Budhu Shah was responsible for introducing the Pathans to the Guru and for persuading him to take them into employment, so now when he heard of their desertion, he came with his followers to wipe off the stigma of his men having proved traitors (*Macauliffe*, Vol. 5, p. 36).

enemy, but the Guru ordered them to march to Anandpur. The approximate date of this battle according to Suraj Parkash is A.C. 1685 or A.C. 1686 (i.e., Samat 1742 or 43).¹

After this battle of Bhangani the Guru had hastily fortified Anandpur and from this stronghold the Sikhs continued to raid Bhim Chand's territory. Being unable to withstand the Sikh forces after his defeat at Bhangani, Bhim Chand made peace with the Guru.²

The Emperor at this time still being in the Deccan, there were a great number of irregularities in the Punjab. Mian Khan,³ an officer of the Emperor, went to Jammu and sent his assistant Alif Khan to realise tribute from the various hill Rajas including Kirpal Chand of Kangra, Ram Singh of Jaswan, Bhim Chand of Kahlur, Sukh Dev of Jaunta and others. On hearing this Raja Kirpal Chand offered submission and told Alif Khan that everybody would pay this tribute if it was realised from Raja Bhim Chand, who was the strongest of them all. But Bhim Chand made up his mind to give a battle to the enemy, rather than pay tribute. He appealed to all the Rajas as well as the Guru to help him in this common cause. In the battle that took place at Nadaun between the Rajas and the Guru on one side and the Imperial troops commanded by Alif Khan on the other, a heavy loss was inflicted on both the sides although the Rajas, aided by the *Khalsa*, came out victorious at the end. Suraj Parkash tells us that this battle took place when Aurangzeb was fighting in the Deccan against Tana

1. *Battles of Guru Govind Singh*, p. 11.

2. *Battles of Guru Govind Singh*, n. 1, p. 12.

3. Gokal Chand Narang tells us that Aurangzeb had sent these men himself from Delhi, but that is not true as Aurangzeb was definitely busy conquering Bijapur and Golconda about the time these troubles were going on in the Punjab, i.e., about 1687 A.C., the year of the conquest of Golconda.

Shah of Golconda, so according to him the date of this battle is not later than A.C. 1687.¹

This defeat of Alif Khan provoked Dilawar Khan, the Mughal Commander at Kangra. So he sent his son Rustam Khan with a large force to punish the Guru and realise tribute from him. When he reached the bank of the Sutlej, the Guru was duly informed of his approach. The Guru immediately caused his drum to be beaten. His men fell into line at once and marched to the river. On their arrival there, they startled the enemy by peals of artillery thus giving an exaggerated idea of their numbers. This caused the worn-out forces of Rustam Khan to retreat.² On learning about this, Dilawar Khan sent another force under one of his slaves named Husain. Raja Bhim Chand at this stage betrayed the Guru and breaking the treaty with him threw his lot with Husain. Thus their combined forces marched against the Guru. But while on his way to Anandpur, Husain was drawn into a fight with the Raja of Guler and was killed there.

After these fights with Rustam Khan and Husain, the Guru had another minor trouble with two hill chiefs, Balia Chand and Alam Chand. These chiefs once found the Guru hunting near Dhera Dun with a very small retinue and thought of capturing him. In the battle that ensued, at first the Sikhs were almost defeated but were saved by the timely help brought by one Ude Singh. Both Balia Chand and Alam Chand were wounded and the Sikhs carried the day.

After this defeat of Balia Chand and Alam Chand the hill Rajas thought it highly dangerous to

1. Suraj Parkash in Macauliffe's *Sikh Religion*.

2. Govind himself in *Vichitra Natak* tells us that Rustam Khan's advance was checked by the flooding of a ravine near which he lay encamped, and for this reason that ravine was named *Himayati Nullah* or the helpful brook.

allow the Guru's power to increase unchecked. So all of them decided to complain to the Delhi government against him. They accordingly sent a *Vakil* to the Imperial court to ask for help. The Emperor was still engaged in warfare in the Deccan and in his absence the *Subedar* of Delhi received the complaint and forwarded it to Aurangzeb. After some time the Rajas got orders from the supreme government that an army would be sent against the Guru if they paid its expenses. The Rajas agreed to that and Dina Beg and Painda Khan, two *Sardars*, were sent to reduce the Guru. These armies were joined by the armies of the hill chiefs at Rupar. The Guru hearing of this huge army advancing towards Anandpur started making preparations for war. In the battle that was fought near Anandpur, Painda Khan was killed, Dina Beg was wounded and many hill Rajas fled. They were pursued for some distance by the Sikhs.¹

Now all these Rajas decided to make a united effort to crush the power of the Guru.² Accordingly invitations were sent to all the chiefs most of whom responded. A huge army, thus collected, marched towards the city of Anandpur. There were two fortresses within the city, Fatehgarh and Lohgarh. The Guru appointed Sher Singh and Nahar Singh, each with a contingent of five hundred to guard the fort of Lohgarh and the defence of Fatehgarh was entrusted to Ude Singh. A fierce battle ensued in which the Guru's eldest son, Ajit Singh, fought very bravely. One Jagatullah,³ leader of the *Gujars*, was killed on the very first day of the battle. For another few days the battle

1. Suraj Parkash in Macauliff's *Sikh Religion*, Vol. 5, p. 125.

2. The idea of this united effort was suggested by Raja Bhim Chand again, who seemed to be getting more and more jealous of the Guru's power.

3. He was the leader of the *Gujars* and the *Ranghars* who had joined the hill chiefs before the battle started.

continued with heavy losses on both the sides. Now it was clear to these Rajas that they would not be successful against the Sikhs in such open battles. So they decided to spend all their resources in a siege and cut off all the supplies of the Sikhs. The siege lasted for about twenty days,¹ but without any apparent effect on the Sikhs. The result was that another battle ensued in which Raja Kesari Chand of Jaswal was killed and the Rajas of Handur and Kangra were seriously wounded. This completely broke down the heart of the hill chiefs and they took to flight. This battle also ended in favour of the Sikhs.²

Now these Rajas appealed to Wazir Khan, the *Faujdar* of Sarhind, for help. Having received orders from Delhi, Wazir Khan now proceeded with a large army to attack the Guru. By this time the Guru had left the town of Anandpur³ and was encamped at some distance from it. With the approach of Wazir Khan, Govind found himself in a very dangerous position, with the hill armies on the one side and Wazir Khan on the other. But the Guru's followers stuck to him very faithfully and the battle started with great ferocity. Govind's son, Ajit Singh, fought very heroically. There were great losses on both sides on the first day of the battle. The second day proved disastrous for the Guru. The Imperial forces and the allied hill army made such a furious attack that he had to give way.

1. This is according to Gur Bilas in the *Battles of Govind Singh*, n. 2, p. 37.

2. Sunder Singh in the *Battles of Guru Govind Singh* calls this as the second battle of Anandpur, the first being that against Dina Beg and Painda Khan.

3. It is said that the Guru left Anandpur due to treachery played by the Rajas. When the Guru was besieged for a long time and his resources got exhausted, the Rajas sent him a message that if he vacated Anandpur, no harm would be done to him, but when Govind ordered a march out of the fort and encamped at Nirmoh, the Rajas again disregarded their promise and invited Wazir Khan. (Gur Bilas in *Guru Govind Singh*).

The Guru retreated to a place known as Bassali (beyond the Sutlej river on the other side of Nirmoh). At Bassali the Guru had also to fight against the *Ranghars* and some of the Imperial soldiers who had crossed the river in pursuit. But here the Guru was successful in repulsing the attack. After some time when Wazir Khan returned with his troops to Sarhind, the Guru again came back to Anandpur. Now Bhim Chand and other hill Rajas, who were almost all tired of wars, thinking peace to be the best policy for the time being, sent some offerings to the Guru and sued for peace. So an agreement was patched up between them.

But although outwardly at peace Raja Ajmer Chand and others were always on the look out for an opportunity to destroy the power of the Guru. Once Ajmer Chand heard that two Imperial generals, Said Beg and Alif Khan, were on their way from Lahore to Delhi. He at once approached them to secure their assistance against the Guru and promised them a large sum of money in return. The Guru was at this time encamped at Chamkaur with a very small contingent. Fortunately for him, before the battle started, Said Beg not only changed his determination to fight against the Guru, but on the other hand, he actually joined him.¹ So in the battle that took place Alif Khan could not stand alone and retired from the contest.

This conduct of the hill-chiefs greatly perturbed the Sikhs, who, in order to take revenge, were constantly harassing them. These chiefs again held a Council of war, and sent an envoy with large number of presents to Delhi.

Owing to these repeated representations of the

1. It is said that from that time Said Beg broke from the Emperor and remained a powerful ally of the Guru. The tradition seems to have confused this Said Beg with Said Khan who had also joined the Guru.

hill-chiefs, the Mughal Viceroy at Delhi sent a large army under Said Khan to reduce the Guru to submission. This army was again joined by the armies of the Rajas. The Guru received intelligence that the Imperial army had reached Thanesar and would soon reach Anandpur. On hearing this he collected all his troops, but found that they were only five hundred strong. The rest had retired to their homes.¹ The Guru had now no alternative except to make the best defence with these men.

As soon as the battle started, Said Khan left the field and went away.² Another general, Ramzan Khan, taking the command, defeated the Sikhs. Upon this, the Guru evacuated Anandpur, which was sacked and plundered by the Muslims. But when the Muslims were returning to Sarhind they were attacked by the Sikhs from the rear. Those who turned to oppose the Sikhs were killed and others took to flight. The Sikhs were also able to recapture most of the booty that the Imperial troops had plundered from Anandpur.

Ajmer Chand now proceeded in person³ to the Emperor to lay the petition of the allied chiefs before him. Aurangzeb, who was already thinking of putting a check on the increasing power of the Sikhs, at once ordered Wazir Khan of Sarhind and Zabardast Khan of Lahore to march against the Guru. A number of hill Rajas including those of Kulu, Bilaspur, Kangra, Kionthal, Mandi, Chamba, Guler, Nurpur and Jammu, also joined this army.⁴ The Guru also made all possible preparations to

1. Most probably this was due to the fact that most of the Sikhs being agriculturists used to retire at harvest time.

2. According to the Sikh tradition, Said Khan being related to Pir Budhu Shah had imbibed admiration for the Guru. So he did not want to fight against him. *Battles of Guru Govind Singh*, n. 1, p. 48.

3. Suraj Parkash in Macauliffe's *Sikh Religion*, p. 165.

4. Bute Shah says that as many as 22 Rajas joined the Imperial troops. *Transformation of Sikhism*, n. 1, p. 93.

meet this onslaught. A fierce battle took place near Kiratpur.¹ Although the Sikhs are said to have fought very desperately, yet they were driven back and the Guru had to take refuge in the fort of Anandpur. The enemy besieged the fort and cut off all the supplies. The result was that the Sikhs were reduced to starvation. But in spite of the fact that on one hand the Rajas tried to induce the Guru to leave the fort and on the other his own men made a number of representations for the same purpose, the Guru did not fluctuate from his determination to stick to the fort and offer all possible resistance. Even the Emperor's autograph letter, in which he promised the Guru safe conduct in case he capitulated and proceeded to his court, did not affect him. The result was that most of his followers, who could no longer bear the starvation inside the fort, deserted him. He was left with only a handful of soldiers. Even these pressed the Guru to leave the fort and thus save their lives. This time Govind seeing no other alternative decided to leave the fort. Accordingly, he set fire to all his property inside the fort and taking with him these faithful followers left Anandpur and reached Chamkaur *via* Kiratpur.

The allied armies, however, continued the pursuit and reached Chamkaur to capture the Guru. Here again a very fierce battle took place in which many of the Guru's followers, including his two sons, were killed.² The Guru, however, again managed to escape.

1. The probable date of this battle is 1701 A.C. as given by Bute Shah. (Translated in the *Religious Policy of Aurangzeb*.)

2. Latif in *The History of the Punjab*, on page 265, tells us that the two sons of the Guru were killed in the battle of Chamkaur. The Sikhs, however believe that Wazir Khan, who was the Governor of Sarhind, asked them to embrace Islam and on their refusal he got them killed. The latter view, however, seems to be prejudiced as that is taken from the authorities of Gur Bilas and Suraj Parkash.

Now Govind entered into his career of weary wanderings. He went to a small village, Macchiwara. Here he hid himself in a garden but was detected by two Muslims, Ghani Khan and Nabi Khan, but as these people had experienced some kindness at his hands, they decided not to harm him but to give him shelter. The Guru was thus able to pass on disguised as 'Uch-ka-Pir.'¹

Next he proceeded to Kanech (a few miles west of Ludhiana) and thence to Jatpura (in the present Ludhiana district). From Jatpura Govind proceeded to Dina. Here he is said to have addressed the *Zafarnama* to the Emperor.

At Dina many of the Sikhs, who lived in the surrounding country, began to gather round the Guru. Soon he had a considerable number of soldiers under him. When this was reported to Wazir Khan of Sarhind, he sent a large army against Govind. On hearing this Govind moved to a place called Khidrana (afterwards known as Muktsar, now in Ferozepur district), where a battle was fought in which the Guru's handful of soldiers perished, but the troops could not locate the Guru, who had taken position on a small hill nearby. The Guru now moved to a place called Talwandi Saho (now Damdama in the Patiala State). Here he stayed with a friend whose name was Dalla. Wazir Khan, hearing about this, repeatedly ordered Dalla to deliver the Guru to him, but Dalla constantly defied his authority and refused to betray the Guru. From this place the Guru proceeded to a village called Bhagaur. Here he heard of Aurangzeb's death and the accession of his second son, known as Tara Azim or Muhammad Azim Shah.²

1. *Uch-ka-Pir* means a spiritual leader of the town of *Uch*. (*Battles of Guru Govind Singh*, p. 63).

2. Aurangzeb had three sons, Bahadur Shah, Muhammad Azim Shah (called Tara Azim by the Sikhs) and Muhammad Kam Bakhsh. *Macauliffe*, Vol. 5, n. 1, p. 229.

Chapter XVII

THE FEUDATORY STATES OF THE PUNJAB

Most of the states of the Punjab are situated in the hills. It is for this reason that they have enjoyed a measure of greater peace and security as compared with the rest of the province. Their advantageous position has kept them away from the rulers that have governed the Punjab from time to time. Even when the outsiders invaded this province and established themselves here, these states were not very much interfered with. The Mughal Emperors, too, from time to time made efforts to subjugate them, but only met with partial success. The result was that these states were almost left to themselves.

But although these states did not experience much of outside interference, yet their internal history is one of continuous warfare. When a strong ruler rose to power the larger states absorbed their smaller neighbours or made them their tributary; but these again asserted their independence as soon as a favourable opportunity arrived. These internal wars, however, were quite minor ones and they did not lead to any important political changes. These chiefs, being almost of the same race and faith and nearly related to one another by marriage or even closer family ties, were content to make each other tributary or to replace a deposed chief by one of their own kinsmen.

Such is the simple tale of these small principalities within the province of the Punjab.¹ We shall,

1. The relations of the various Mughal Emperors with the Hill Chiefs have been discussed in some preceding chapters also.

during the course of this chapter, examine briefly the political history of some of the more important of them.

KANGRA STATE

The Kangra State was originally known as the kingdom of Jalandhra or Trigarata and extended to almost the whole of the hilly area between the Sutlej and the Ravi. But in later times its limits were restricted by the foundation of new principalities under the Ranas and the Thakars. It was this new territory round Kangra¹ that came to be known as the Kangra State.²

In A.C. 1620, the Kangra fort was captured by the Imperial troops and Chander Bhan, the ruler of the state, escaped. So, when Aurangzeb came to the throne, Chander Bhan was continuously prosecuting guerilla warfare against the Mughals, but is finally said to have been captured by Aurangzeb's troops in A.C. 1660 and put to death.³ Chander Bhan was succeeded by his son, Vijay Ram Chand. This new ruler was summoned by the Emperor and on his refusal to appear the 'Raj Tilak'⁴ was conferred on his younger brother, Udai Ram. But it seems that not until A.C. 1687, when Vijay Ram Chand died, did Udai Ram come to the throne. During the reign of Udai Ram, the guerilla warfare had ceased because the Raja realising the fruitless character of the struggle against a powerful foe, had quietly settled down as a tributary of the Mughals. Udai Ram died in A.C. 1690 and was succeeded by his son Bhim Chand. The new ruler also followed a pacific course and, in order to gain the favour of the

1. Kangra, 76°16 E., 30°5 N. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*).

2. Vogel and Hutchinson: *History of the Punjab Hill States*, Vol. I, p. 99.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 173.

4. This is the mark of investiture and is necessary for every Hindu sovereign.

Emperor, attended his court. He was given the title of *Diwan*'.

After his death in A.C. 1697, one Alam Chand came to the throne, but his reign was very short-lived as he died in A.C. 1700. He founded a city which was called Alampur¹ after his name. Hamir Chand, who succeeded him, had a fairly long reign extending over 47 years. Hamir Chand built a small fort at a place now called Hamirpur.²

"He lived long enough to see the appointment of Nawab Saif Ali Khan who was destined to be the last Muslim Commander of the Kangra fort."³

GULER STATE.

The Guler State is said to be an off-shoot of the Kangra State.

"In its palmy days it extended from Ganesh Ghanti in the east to Reh in the west and from the Beas in the south to Gangot and Jawali in the north."⁴

Raja Man Singh of Guler, who is said to have conquered a number of states, such as Mandi, Suket and Kulu, abdicated in favour of his son Bikram Singh in A.C. 1661. Aurangzeb conferred on Bikram Singh a *Mansab* of 2,500 and made him *Thanedar* of Kangra hills. He was sent to Peshawar by the Emperor to serve against the Pathans, and there he is said to have been mortally wounded and died in A.C. 1675, on his way back, at a place called Chuntra.

1. Alampur is a small town near Sujanpur in the Pathankot district.

2. Hamirpur, 25°58' N. 80°9' E. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*).

3. *History of the Punjab Hill States*, Vol. 1.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 199.

Bikram Singh was succeeded by his son Raj Singh. At that time Khwaja Raza Beg was the Viceroy of Lahore and he used to make inroads into the territories of the neighbouring Rajas. Raj Singh, joined by a number of other Rajas, recovered the lost territories from the Viceroy. He is also said to have saved Mandi and Kahlur from similar attacks by the Mughal officers and defeated the Mughal forces under Husain Khan, Alif Khan and Mian Khan.¹ He died in A.C. 1695, leaving a son Dalip Singh, who was still a minor. Udai Singh of Chamba was appointed his guardian. Udai Singh very often helped Dalip Singh in turning out the invaders, who, taking advantage of Dalip Singh's minority, invaded Guler. Dalip Singh reigned till A.C. 1730.

NURPUR STATE

Nurpur was another important state. It included Pathankot and a large tract on the plains; also the whole of the present *tahsil* of Kangra district with the addition of Shahpur and Kandi, (now in Gurdaspur district) and also a small tract on the west of the river Ravi, called Lakhanpur (now in Jammu State).² This state was bounded on the north by Chamba, on the east by Kangra and Guler, on the south by the Punjab plains and on the west by the Ravi.

In A.C. 1646, on the death of Raja Jagat Singh, Shah Jahan despatched a *khilat* to Raj Rup Singh and gave him the title of 'Raja'. At the outbreak of the 'War of Succession' Raj Rup Singh attached himself to Dara and proceeded with him to Lahore. We already know the story told by Manucci of the

1. According to the Sikh tradition a number of hill Rajas, with the help of Guru Govind Singh, defeated these officers at a place called Nadaun. *Battles of Guru Govind Singh*, p. 12.

2. *Kangra District Gazetteer*, p. 28.

...d by Dara to bind the Nurpur Chief to his subsequent desertion.¹ Raj Rup's ... increased by Aurangzeb to 3,500 and he ... to take charge of the armed post of ... in Garhwal in order to intercept Sulaiman Shikoh, who had taken refuge with the Raja of that state. He returned after some time, but was again sent back to Garhwal in A.C. 1659, to coerce Prithipal, the Raja of that state, who had declined to surrender Sulaiman Shikoh.² The last appointment of Raj Rup was that of *Thanedar* of Ghazni, where he was sent in the 4th year of Aurangzeb's reign (A.C. 1661). Shortly afterwards Raj Rup died and was succeeded by his son Mandhatta, who ruled till the year A.C. 1700. Mandhatta also held high offices under Aurangzeb. The greater part of his reign was spent away from Nurpur discharging duties assigned to him by the Emperor. When not engaged in duties he seems to have been in attendance at the Imperial court. He was the last Raja of his dynasty to hold office under the Mughal Emperors or to receive distinction from them. He died in A.C. 1700 and was followed by his son Dayadhatta, the history of whose reign is very obscure.

CHAMBA STATE

This is one of the oldest native states in India. It is situated in the bosom of the Himalayan mountains and its boundaries are as follows :

"On the north-west and west Jammu and Kashmir ; on the north-east and east Ladakh and British Lahul, on the south-east and south the districts of Kangra

1. *Storia-do-Mogor*, Vol. 1, p. 313.

2. *Alamgir Nama* in the *History of the Punjab Hill States*, Vol. 1,

and Gurdaspur¹ the mou
running through the State
east to north-west form
of great rivers."²

Raja Prithvi Singh, who ascended the
in 1641, was on good terms with the Mug
Emperor. After his death, his successor Chata
Singh continued to maintain these friendly rela-
tions till the year A.C. 1678, when he revolted
and joined the confederation of the hill chiefs
formed by Raj Singh of Guler, which defeated Mirza
Raza Beg, the Viceroy of Lahore. He died in
A.C. 1690, and was succeeded by his son Udai Singh,
who was an able administrator. The State enjoyed
a great deal of prosperity under him, but towards the
end of his reign, it seems, the government of the
state got disorganised and troubles arose. Udai Singh
himself was murdered in A.C. 1720.

SUKET STATE

Suket is bounded on the north by Mandi, on the
east by Saraj-Kulu ; on the south by the Sutlej and
the small states of Shanghri, Bhagal and Mangal, and
on the west by Bilaspur. Originally the State includ-
ed almost all the territory now in Mandi and a large
portion of Kulu, but at present its territory is limited
as compared with that of former times.

In the year A.C. 1650, Raja Ram Sen came to
the throne. He had many conflicts with the Raja
of Mandi, who had been continuously extending his
own borders at the expense of this state.³ In order

1. *History of the Punjab Hill States*, Vol. 1. p. 268.

2. The Rivers Beas, Ravi, Chenab and Indus all pass through
this territory.

3. Sir Lapel Griffin in *The Rajas of the Punjab* writes that
Mandi and Suket had always been rivals and enemies. Whenever a
powerful Raja ruled one state, he used to make encroachments
upon the territory of the other. (P. 578).

His territory from the inroads of Mandi, he fortified and called it Ramgarh after himself. In 1663, Ram Sen is said to have grown insane and was succeeded by his son Jit Sen. Jit Sen, too, had continuous troubles at the hands of these same Sen of Mandi and Bhim Chand of Kahlur. After Shyam Sen, Sidh Sen, the next Raja of Mandi, with the help of Bhim Chand defeated Jit Sen in a battle and captured some forts. Similarly a large portion of his State was lost in other battles with the Raja of Mandi. Thus under him the power of the State and its prestige got enormously diminished and at his death in A.C. 1721, more than half of its territory had been lost.

KULU STATE

In its most prosperous days Kulu included the whole of the territory now in the Kulu subdivision of the Kangra district except Spiti. It was bounded on the north by Ladakh, on the east by Tibet proper, on the south by the Sutlej and Bushahr and on the west by Suket, Mandi and Chamba.¹

Jagat Singh, one of the most notable Kulu chiefs, came to the *Gaddi* in A.C. 1637. He enlarged and consolidated the State during his reign. In about A.C. 1655, Jagat Singh, with the help of the Raja of Mandi, invaded and conquered the territory of Lag State. In A.C. 1657, Dara Shikoh sent a *firman* to him asking him to return the conquered territory, but Jagat Singh, having heard about the impending conflict between the sons of Shah Jahan did not comply with the royal command. Aurangzeb also addressed a *firman* to him asking him to help Raja Dhan Chand of Bilaspur in order to check the progress of Sulaiman Shikoh, who wanted to join

1. *History of the Punjab Hill States*, Vol. 2, p. 413.

Dara in the Punjab.¹ Jagat Singh d. 1672 and was succeeded by his son Bidhi also extended the territories of the State at the expense of his neighbours. He annexed Bramgarh and some other states now in the hills. He died in A.C. 1688 and was followed by Man Singh, "under whom the Kulu State reached the zenith of its power."² He twice invaded Mandi and annexed large territory to Kulu. He built forts at Kalgarh, Sirikot, Salachni and many other places. He died a very tragic death in A.C. 1719, having been killed at the instigation of the Rana Kamharsen, with whose wife he is said to have fallen in love.

KAHLUR OR BILASPUR STATE

Bilaspur is bounded by Kangra and Mandi on the north, by Hoshiarpur on the east; by Hindur³ on the south and by Suket on the west.

In A.C. 1650, Raja Dip Chand succeeded to the *Gaddi*. He restored the prestige of the State that had been lost in the previous reign and also recovered most of the territory. He is said to have been sent by the Emperor on an expedition to the north-west frontier. There he distinguished himself and on his return was awarded with a present of five lakhs of rupees. In A.C. 1667, he was poisoned at Nadaun, where he had been invited by the Raja of Kangra, and died. He was succeeded by his son Bhim Chand, who had a number of quarrels with Guru Govind Singh, the tenth Guru of the Sikhs. He had turned out his brother Manak Chand, who along with the Raja of Kangra, made many

1. *Storia-do-Mogor*, Vol. 1, p. 271.

2. *History of the Punjab Hill States*, Vol. 2, p. 463.

3. Now known as Nalagarh State.

missions to the Governor of Sarhind against
persuaded him to invade Kahlur. Bhim
however, with the help of the Raja of
repelled this invasion. He also helped the
This, in Kulu in getting back the territory which he
these states lost to the Raja of Bushahr. He died in A.C.
1622 after a long reign of about 45 years.

MANDI STATE

The Mandi State is bounded on the north by Kulu and Kangra, on the east by Kulu; on the south by Suket and on the west by Kangra. Like most of the other states it takes its name from its capital.

"The earliest mention of the town of Mandi is in the inscription of the Triloknath temple at Old Mandi, which is dated about the year A.C. 1520."¹

Raja Suraj Sen, who came to the *Gaddi* in A.C. 1637, was very successful in enlarging the extent of the State. In A.C. 1653, he took the districts of Patri and Sulani from Suket and was also successful in his conflicts with the Ranas of Kamalgarh and Chautha and annexed their possessions. Suraj Sen died in A.C. 1664 and was succeeded by Shyam Sen, his younger brother. Shortly after his accession to the *Gaddi*, a Mughal army invaded Bilaspur² and the Raja of that State appealed to him for help, which he at once gave. The Mughal army was thus repulsed by these combined forces. Shyam Sen had also to contend with the Rajas of Suket, who were jealous of the rise of this new principality, largely at the expense of their own. Once the agent of

1. *History of the Punjab Hill States*, Vol. 2, p. 373.

2. Most probably it was the army of the Commander of Sarhind who had invaded this state at the instigation of Manak Chand, the exiled brother of Bhim Chand.

Mandi was insulted at the Court of the Raja. This led to a conflict between the two rulers, which resulted in the defeat of the Raja of Suket, called Lohra. From this time onwards, the Raja of Mandi gradually got the upper-hand and gained possession of much of the territory, which had till then been in the hands of other rulers. Shyam Sen also built the famous temple of Shyam Kali in A.C. 1672, on the hill adjoining Mandi town. He died in A.C. 1679, and was succeeded by his son Gaur Sen, who reigned for only five years and died in A.C. 1684. It is said that during his reign Raja Man Singh recaptured some forts in Chauhar, but his army was routed and he was compelled to sue for peace. A Mughal army, under Jafar Beg, also invaded Mandi but retired in disorder.

After the death of Gaur Sen, Sidh Sen came to the throne. He also enlarged his territory at the expense of Suket, Kulu and Bangahal. Guru Govind Singh is said to have visited Mandi during this period and was treated with great respect.¹ Sidh Sen built the temple of Sidh Ganesh (two miles from Mandi). His reign lasted for about forty-one years. He is said to have died in A.C. 1725.

JAMMU STATE

This is another very ancient state. Originally it included a very small tract in the valleys of the Tawi² and the Chenab, in the outer hills, but at the period of its greatest expansion, i.e., in the 17th and 18th centuries, it was bounded on the west by the Chenab, on the north by the Dodhera range, on the east by the states of Chanehni and Jasrota and

1. *Mahma Parkash Wartak* in the *Life of Guru Govind Singh*, by Lakshman Singh.

2. A small river that passes by the present city of Jammu.

by the plains. The original name of was Durgara and according to tradition the as at Bahu, where the ancient fort and the wn still exist. In its palmy days the State This, in,üzerainty over a number of small states¹ these sh were ruled by petty chiefs as vassals of the rajas of Jammu.

In about A.C. 1660 Kirpal Dev was ruling at Bahu. Khwaja Raza Beg, the Viceroy of Lahore, made inroads into the hills and seized territory of the chiefs. Kirpal Dev, Chatar Singh of Chamba, Dhirajpal of Basohli and Raj Singh of Guler, therefore, combined their forces against him and defeated him.

Up till about A.C. 1675, there were two different chiefs in this state, one at Bahu and the other at Jammu and during this time one Hari Dev was ruling at Jammu. According to the *Tuzk-i-Jahangiri* and *Waqiat-i-Jahangiri*,² Hari Dev remained in power till A.C. 1675 and was succeeded by Gajai Dev. It was during Hari Dev's reign that the Bhau Raja either retired or was expelled from that portion of the Jammu State over which they ruled, and the two portions were then united under one chief, i.e., Gajai Dev. Gajai Dev enjoyed a long reign extending up to the year A.C. 1703, but his rule was most probably uneventful and there are no records about it.

POONCH STATE

This state in ancient times was situated in the valley of the Poonch Tohi and its tributaries. It was bounded on the north by the Pir Panjal range, on the west by the Jhelum, on the south by the plains and on the east by Rajauri.

1. Some of these were Riassi, Bhoti, Samba, Dholpur and Akhnoot.
2. *History of the Punjab Hill States*, Vol. 2, p. 538.

According to tradition the original name of the state was Parnotsa of which Poonch seems to be an abbreviation. This state was a vassal of the Mughals from A.C. 1586 to A.C. 1752.

During the reign of Aurangzeb Rajauri seems to have acquired suzerainty over this state. There are no sources from which we can find out any facts about the rulers of this state during Aurangzeb's reign.

OTHER MINOR STATES

Besides the above-mentioned states we can trace the existence of a large number of other smaller and less important states, from the stray references about them in various contemporary works. Very little is known about them and whatever is known is very confusing and unreliable. Some of these states were Jaswan, Siba, Datarpur, Lahul, Spiti, Handur, Kuthlehr, Bangahal, Mankot, Jasrota, Lakhanpur, Samba Bahu, Bhoti, Chanehni, Lag, Brahmgarh and Kamalgarh. All these places are now situated in the districts of Hoshiarpur, Kangra and Simla.

In the end a word might also be added regarding the actual relationship of these feudatory states with the Mughal government. We know that all these states owed allegiance to the Imperial government. But the fact remains, that this allegiance was, in some cases, merely nominal and conventional. The Emperor did not very much interfere with the internal affairs of these states and was content with the recognition of his suzerainty over them. If any new states were subdued by the Mughal forces, they were mostly left to their own traditions, customs and very often to the same old rulers. Thus we see, that the Mughals did not actually disturb the old machinery of these states, but only

"engendered the habit of looking at them

from a new point of view and bringing about only a possible change in the ideas."¹

This, in short, enables us to understand how all these states were related to the Mughal government.

1. *Calcutta Review*, February, 1925, article on 'The System of Government in Marwar', by Prof. S. R. Sharma.

Chapter XVIII

ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL LIFE

Imbued as we are by the modern conception of history, the lack of material for constructing a skeleton of social history of the time of the

Dearth of Material.

Mughals, simply excites our wonder. Although we hear a great deal about the valiant deeds of the kings and the remarkable feats of the veteran soldiers, the amorphous mass of mankind is enwrapped in mystery and our notions about it are quite dim and hazy. The explanation of all this is to be sought in the fact that to the historians of the time man as man was quite insignificant; it was only when he rose much above the common level that he came to have some meaning. So it was a king, a warrior, a savant, or a saint that attracted their notice and not men in the street. In no other work than the *Ain-i-Akbari* do we glean something about the economic and cultural life of the masses. Badaoni too occasionally throws a sidelight upon the general social condition, though indirectly only.

(a) Agriculture was the most important industry of the Punjab. The richness of the soil was remarkable and "rarely equalled" no doubt but

Economic Conditions.

rain was precarious so the people resorted to artificial methods of irrigation, the chief of which was the well system.¹ Under the diligent attention of the Emperors, agriculture flourished and new experiments in the cultivation of the choicest products of Turkistan Persia and Hindustan, were

1. A.A., II, p. 312.

made with brilliant success.¹ Vetches of Kabul and Muskmelons of Persia² were among the chief foreign crops which were given a trial here.³ There were two harvests: the *Asarrhi* (Rabi or spring)⁴ was sown mostly in October-November, and reaped in April-May;⁵ the *Sawani* (Kharif or autumn) was sown between the months of June and August and reaped from early September to the end of December.⁶ The principal autumn crops were wheat, barley, poppy, saffron, linseed, mustard, muskmelon, peas, rice, onions and carrots.⁷ Under the category of autumn crops sugarcane, cotton, pulses, *jawar*, *lobiya*, indigo, hemp, *turiya*, watermelons, betels were included.⁸ Muskmelons could be had throughout the year.⁹

In the time of Akbar, the people had mostly resorted to wells for irrigating their holdings and obviously this continued even in times of Jahangir and Shah Jahan.¹⁰ When Shah Jahan, in 1639, came to visit the Punjab, Ali Mardan Khan, the Governor of both the Punjab and Kashmir, suggested the digging of a canal. He told the King that he had an expert who could construct a canal from the river Ravi from the point it entered the plains. The canal was expected to be able to irrigate the lands around the city of Lahore. The Emperor gave his sanction and provided Ali Mardan Khan with one lakh of rupees. The work was taken in hand and the canal was constructed.¹¹ This facilitated agriculture. Failure of crops resulting in famine were not uncommon. Foreign crops had already been encouraged in the time of Akbar. Mostly the products of Turkistan, Persia and

1. A.A., II, p. 312.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 81.3. *Ibid.*, p. 312.4. *Ibid.*, p. 63.5. *Ibid.*, p. 64.6. *Ibid.*, p. 312.7. *Ibid.*, p. 81.8. *Ibid.*, p. 82.9. *Ibid.*, p. 312.10. *Ibid.*, p. 312.11. *Badshah Nama*, Elliot, Vol. 7, pp. 67, 68.

Hindustan had been tried with success, and there is no reason to imagine that it decayed in the time of his successors.¹

Revenue demand according to the standards of the time was exacting and weighed heavily upon the masses but

Akbar mitigated much of their trouble by leaving a clear margin between the gross produce of the cultivator and the state demand which was made quite definite. A great genius himself Akbar was fortunate in commanding the services of Raja Todar Mal (Tandon Khatri of Chunian) and Muzaffar Khan who after an extensive and thorough survey assessed the whole cultivable land. The land was divided into four classes according to the richness of the soil: the *Polaj*, *Pranti*, *Chachar* and *Banjar*. Of the first two kinds of land there were three classes, *viz.*, good, middling, and bad. The produce of each kind was added together and a third of their total represented the average produce, one-third of which was exacted by the Government.² Option lay with the peasant to pay in cash or kind but in case of indigo, poppy, *pan*, hemp, carrots, muskmelons cash payments were essential. In spite of the preposterous amount of revenue as given in the *Ain*,³ we have to admit that peasants began to enjoy peace which they had not done for the last four hundred years. If Akbar was ambitious of enhancing his receipts on one hand, he was also on the other more solicitous of the interests of the peasantry than any other previous monarch. The government sent detailed instructions to the *Amils* to befriend the cultivator in every way, to advance him money in time of need, to make remissions in time of drought and famine on lands newly brought under cultivation

1. A.A., II, p. 312.

2. A.A., II, p. 63.

3. The total revenue of the Punjab was Rs. 1,398,646, 2 as. 2 p. of which Rs. 2,46,639, 13 as. 7 p. was the amount of S-uyurghal. *Vide* A.A., II, p. 315.

and to send regular reports of the condition of the people, crops and local prices.¹ In 1598 at the request of the Sikh Guru Arjan Dev Akbar remitted the revenue of the Punjab.²

The state demand weighed heavily upon the poor farmers. Akbar, no doubt, had made the demand of the state definite thus leaving sufficient for the cultivators. The state demanded one-third of the produce.³ It depended on the cultivator to pay in cash or in kind. The exception existed in the case of the valuable crops like indigo, poppy, etc., in which case they were expected to pay in cash. The amount of the state land revenue was increasing every year.⁴ In the 31st year of the reign of Shah Jahan the *Subah* of the Punjab yielded a land revenue of 82,50,00,000 *dams* which in modern currency would come up to nearly Rs. 4,95,00,000 a year.⁵ But corn was so cheap that "every one could eat bread without scarceness."⁶

(b) The state extended its patronage to manufacturers also and Lahore was a great centre of handicrafts where "art or craft was practised."⁷ Akbar had a special taste for manufactures and paid much attention to various stuffs, and employed skilful masters and workmen "to teach people important methods of manufacture."⁸ The imperial workshops at Lahore and Gujrat turned out many masterpieces of workmanship and the figures and pattern knots and variety of fashion, astonished experienced travellers.⁹ Elaborate arrangements were made for importing raw material. Cloth was also manufactured by private concerns as for instance shawls and carpets at Lahore.¹⁰ There were more than a thousand

1. A.A., II, p. 44.

3. A.A., II, p. 63.

5. *Amal-i-Salih*, Elliot, Vol. 7, p. 138.

7. C.M., p. 160.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 88.

2. H.S., III, p. 84.

4. For details see the first chapter.

6. *Edward Terry*, p. 175.

8. A.A. I, p. 87.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 55.

workshops of shawls in Lahore only.¹ A kind of shawl called *Mayan* was chiefly woven here. Besides this brocaded velvet,² silk, cotton cloth³ and woollen stuffs⁴ were also prepared. Sialkot, Bajwara and Sultanpur were famous for embroidery. *Mansinghi* and silken paper of very fine texture, white clean and durable was produced at Sialkot. Many kinds of *Bafta*, *Chira*, *Fotah*, *Sozni*, *Adsaka*, tablecloth, tray covers small tents with figures were also manufactured there.⁵ Ship industry was also not unknown to the Punjab. In the *Akbar Namah* there is reference about the construction of two ships ; one was constructed in 1594⁶ and the other in November 1596.⁷ Gujrat which was founded by Akbar and had soon grown up into a great industrial town by the time of Aurangzeb became a great manufacturing centre famous for swords, *Jandhars* and embroidery.⁸ To create demand for the home industry Akbar had ordered that "people of certain ranks must purchase certain articles." The value of these articles depended upon the costliness of the material as well as on the artistic skill spent upon them, so these crafts could never become popular in spite of the active imperial patronage.

(c) A fairly brisk trade was carried on by land with the countries beyond the Indus on one side and the Sutlej on the other. Situated on the highway between Kabul and India, Lahore was a great commercial centre⁹ and regulated most of the foreign trade of India. From here many roads branched off to different countries and towns, the chief of which were :

1. A.A., I, p. 22.

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 92, 94, 95.

5. A.N., III, p. 1001.

7. K.S., p. 100.

9. C.M., p. 160.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 93.

4. K.S., 95.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 1066.

8. A.A., I, p. 88.

(1) *Lahore to Zendha*. The stages of this route were Chak Sundar, Nowshera, Mopalkee Kamal Khan, Harappa, Chakali Shah, Talamba, Siddu Serai, Khatti-Churkiabadi and Multan. From Multan it winded its way through Katzai, Duki, Secot and then passing through the passes of the Khoja Amran mountains it ended at Qandhar. This route lay chiefly through deserts and waterless tracts and nothing could be obtained on the way except a little grass for the beasts of burden.¹

(2) *Lahore to Fatehpur*. Starting from Lahore we had, as stages, first Kalanaur, then Jalalabad (at the Beas), Sultanpur, Jullundur, Hadiabad, Dikakdar, Macchiwara, Sarhind, Ambala, Shahabad, Panipat, Sonapat, Thanesar, Delhi, Daulatabad, Sarai Bad and then Fatehpur.²

(3) *Lahore to Kabul*. The main stages from Lahore to Kabul were Sarai Madhu Singh, Aminabad, Bani Kalun, Rasulpur, Rohtas, Kahuriya, Hasanabdal, Sarai of Zain-ud-Din Ali, Attock, Benares, Sarai Khairabad *alias* Jarha, Begram (Peshawar) and then Khaibar, Daka, Safaid Sang, Barikali and Kabul.³

(4) *Lahore to Srinagar*. The principal stages in this route were the Sarai of Madhu Singh, Shahdara, Jora, Aminabad, Sitaram, Talwandi, Sudhri, and Gunacur; then came the Bhimbar Pass, Rajauri, the Pir Panjal Pass, Baramula, Hirapur and Srinagar.⁴ A special officer was appointed to look after the upkeep of the roads. During Akbar's visits to Kashmir and Kabul we hear about Qasim Khan who was probably employed for this job.⁵

Thus by these roads Lahore was linked with the commercial centres of Asia and Hindustan

1. D.L., pp. 69-70.

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 853-870.

5. *Ibid.*

2. A.N., III, pp. 705-6.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 818.

and fairly brisk trade was carried on with them. Muskmelons were imported from Kabul, Badakhshan, and Turkistan.¹ Velvet and silk came from Herat, Basrah, Khurasan and Turkey.² The articles brought from Europe were broad cloth, musical instruments, pictures, curiosities and from 1,600 onwards tobacco.³ Ice was also brought to Lahore from the mountains. The Punjab's export trade mainly consisted of brocaded velvet,⁴ velvet, silk,⁵ shawls, carpets⁶ and horses. There were commercial relation between Nagarkot and Tibet also and the chief articles of trade were blankets of camel's wool and shawls⁷.

Awan in the Sindh Sagar Doab was a good breeding ground for horses⁸ while Hazara⁹ and country around Nagarkot¹⁰ were famous for cattle and sheep. The Gakhars of Rivat went as far as to exchange men for horses.¹¹ Abolition of arbitrary taxes and customs and removal of a great number of custom barriers, gave a great stimulus to trade. The roads between Kabul and Lahore which were infested by robbers were cleared and made secure by the occupation of Kabul in 1585. Trade which was in a languishing state before Akbar, was stirred into life once again.

Edward Terry from 1616 to 1619, found Lahore the chief city of trade in all India.¹² Before the coming of the English to Agra, Lahore was a very big centre of trade. Armenians and Aleppo merchants carried on large business here. It was a bigger market than Agra for indigo, as it was con-

1. A.A., IV, p. 310.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 95.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 93.
7. C.M., p. 107.
9. C.M., p. 118.
11. C.M., p. 117.

2. A.A., I, pp. 92-93.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 92.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 55.
8. A.A., II, p. 323.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 107.
12. *Early Travels*, p. 92.

venient for the merchants from Qandhar and Aleppo to get indigo from Lahore than Agra. So much so that the name of indigo in Europe came to be *lauri* or Lahori.¹

William Finch came with twelve carts of indigo, that he had bought at Bayana to sell at Lahore on the Company's behalf.² Any amount of indigo could be disposed of at Lahore at very high rates. Merchants from all over India came to embark their goods from Lahore to Thatta. From 12 to 14 thousand loaded camels passed from Lahore every year.³

The export trade was mostly concerned with the requirements of Persia and Turkey. Under the effective methods of transport of the time, it would have been too costly to supply the requirements of European countries. By the coming of the English and the Dutch, the trade of Lahore in a way decreased whereas that of Agra and Southern India increased. But Jahangir's fondness of Lahore compensated for that disadvantage. By the continuous stay of Jahangir for some years at Lahore in winter, and in Kashmir or Kabul in summer, Lahore regained its splendour and trade.⁴ In Jahangir's time brisk trade in fine cotton goods of Masaulipattam and Golkanda flourished in Lahore. To carry on a trade with Sindh was very easy, as the river Ravi flowed from Kashmir, through Lahore to Thatta and it was navigable.⁵ Lahore sent carpets and other things *viz.*, fresh and dry fruits from Kabul and Kashmir and rarities from Persia and Qandhar that it received from far off places to Agra. In return Lahore received from Agra spices brought in by the Dutch. White cotton goods both of Bengal and Golkanda, ivory of Multan, quicksilver, vermilion coral, turbans, girdles, silk goods from Ahmad-

1. *India of Jahangir*, p. 30.

2. *Early Travels*, p. 123.

3. *Early Travels*, Purchas, p. 63.

4. *India of Jahangir*, p. 3.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 31.

abad, silk from Patna, *Lac*, pepper and drugs were sent outside in very large quantity.¹

The province of Multan, being on the route to Qandhar and Persia and having the three rivers, Indus, Ravi and Jhelum which passed through the Punjab, carried on trade with Lahore easily. It sent sugar to Lahore. All the best camels, opium, sulphur, bows and white cotton goods came from Multan to Lahore and then were sent to Agra. In return Multan got the manufactures of Bengal and southern India through Lahore.² The horses mostly came from Afghanistan and Persia to Lahore through Multan. Hargovind got them from Afghanistan and Turkistan. The Sikhs bought horses from there and sold them in the Punjab. Jahangir himself sent Khan Dauran to bring horses from Kabul.³ These horses were used in the whole of India, both for the Royal stables and for individual soldiers. Murtza Khan sent 30 beautiful Iraqi and Turki horses for the royal use from Lahore.⁴

Gujrat, founded by Akbar and famous for swords *Jandhars* and embroidery exported its manufactures to other places. The rock salts of Kheora situated between Lahore and Qandhar produced much of commonsalt which was used both at Lahore and other places in India.⁵ Bajwara now in Hoshiarpur district was well known for weaving and the manufactures were sent to all parts of India.⁶ Bismuth was found in the hills of Jammu and sent out of the Punjab.⁷

The means of transportation were not easy. Caravans of oxen and camels were used for transport. Small carriages were also used, but they could carry only two men at a time. The oxen drew it. Rich

1. *India of Jahangir*, p. 31.

3. *Jahangir's Mem.*, Vol. 2, p. 61.

5. *John Marshall in India*, p. 414.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 8.

2. *Ibid.*

4. *Jahangir's Mem.*, Vol. 1, p. 322.

6. *India of Aurangzeb*, p. 83.

people used palanquins and litters for their women.¹ There were no permanent bridges on the rivers. Wherever they existed they were temporarily floating. Stronger and more permanent were built on the Kishan Ganga river when Jahangir was going to Kashmir.² The goods from Lahore to Multan went by the rivers in boats. Dara Shikoh when he fled from Lahore to Multan, sent his goods through the river. Jahangir helped the merchants by building some new roads, but generally the condition of roads was wretched. A road from Agra to Lahore was built with a pillar at every *kos* and a well at every three *kos* with trees on both sides.³ This so much impressed Coryat that he was led to think that a like of Lahore did not exist on the surface of the earth.⁴ Jahangir got the road from Poonch to Kashmir repaired.

Silver, copper, zinc, brass and lead were among the principal minerals which were found in the Punjab.⁵ Gold was obtained from the Indus by washing the soil.⁶ Copper and iron mines were found at Suket and Mandi.⁷ (In the Bist Jullundur Doab) Makhialah⁸ and Dhankot⁹ (in the Sindh Sagar Doab).

Prior to the Mughals especially in the reign of Muhammad Tughlaq the currency system of the country was in a chaotic condition; it was Akbar who resolved it into a well-devised system under the capable guidance of Raja Todar Mal, Muzaffar Khan and Shah Mansur. Up till now the mints were under the charge of 'Cadhories'¹⁰ but in the year 1577 the whole system was overhauled and the provincial mint of the Punjab was brought under the control of the imperial officer, Muzaffar Khan.¹¹

1. Tavernier, pp. 39 to 45.
2. Jahangir's Mem., Vol. 2, p. 128.
3. Ibid., p. 100.
4. Early Travels, Purchas, p. 62.
5. A.A., II, p. 312.
6. Ibid., p. 121.
7. Ibid., p. 317.
8. Ibid., 324.
9. Ibid., p. 323.
10. Karories probably became corrupt and therefore Abul Fazl uses terms of contempt for them.
11. A. N., III, pp. 320-321.

The coins were struck in gold,¹ silver and copper. There were 26 varieties of gold coins of different weight and value, varying from *Shanash* (Shahanshah) weighing 101 *tolas*, 9 *mashas* and 7 *surkhs*; to *muhar* (91 *tolas* and 8 *mashas*), *Aftab* and *Ilahi* equivalent to ten rupees.² The rupee was the chief silver coin weighing 11½ *mashas*³ and containing 172·5 grains of pure silver.⁴ The *Dam* was the common copper coin and weighed 5 *tankas*, i.e., 1 *tola*, 8 *mashas* and 7 *surkhs*.⁵ In purity of metal, fulness of weight as well as artistic design⁶ the Mughal currency was much superior to contemporary currency in neighbouring countries. Akbar for all his circulation in "apostasy" retained the old artistic calligraphy⁷ because etching of effigies was prohibited by the Quranic Law.

Abul Fazl has given an exhaustive list of prices in the *Ain*. Taking 2s. 3d. as normal value of the rupee⁸ the prices given by Abul Fazl worked out in modern currency will be something like this:—

Article		Price per 'Man' of 55½ lb. or ⅔ of the modern maund	Price per maund ⁹ in modern currency
Wheat	...	12 Dams	... nearly 11 as.
Gram	...	16 "	... 14½ as.
Barley	...	8 "	... or slightly above 7 as.
Rice (best)	...	110 "	... Rs. 6, 3 as.
" worst	...	20 "	... Re. 1, 2 as.
Mung	...	18 "	... slightly above Re. 1

1. A.A., I, pp. 27-30

2. *Ibid.*, p. 31.

3. *Ibid.*

4. Abul Fazl has mentioned only four places: Fatehpur, Ahmadabad (Gujrat), Bengal and Kabul where gold coins were struck. (*Vide* A.A., I, p. 31). But in the Lahore museum there is a gold coin of Akbar struck at the mint of Lahore with the inscription "Jalal-ud-din Muhammad Akbar." Badshah-i-Ghazi may God perpetuate his Kingdom and State, struck at the capital of Lahore in 976.

5. A.A., I, p. 31.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 27.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 28.

8. S.A., p. 389.

9. A.A., I, p. 262-64.

Article		Price per 'Man' of 55½ lb. or ⅔ of the modern maund	Price per maund in modern currency
Mash	...	16 Dams	... or nearly 14½ as.
Moth	...	12 "	... or nearly 11 as.
Jawar	...	10 "	... 9 as.
Wheat flour	...	22 "	... or nearly Re. 1 as 4
Ghee	...	105 "	... or Rs. 5, as 4. 6 p.
Seasamum oil	...	80 "	... Rs. 4, as 8.
Milk	...	25 "	... Re. 1, as. 6 p. 6
Salt	...	16 "	... nearly 14½ as.
Refined sugar (per seer)	...	6 "	... nearly 5½ as.

For purposes of comparison with the modern prices let us take five principal commodities, viz., wheat, barley, green jawar and ghee.

Article	1600 lb.	Price in lbs. per 1 Re. 1927-28 lbs.	Price 1827-28 taking prices in 1600 as. 1
Wheat ...	185	17.2	10.8
Gram ...	277.5	19.5	14.2
Barley ...	277.5	24.1	11.5
Jawar ...	222	19.3	11.5
Ghee ...	21	1.2	17.5

From this table it will be seen that prices have risen tremendously in modern times. In the case of Ghee the rise in price is the greatest while in that of wheat it is the smallest. Now let us examine the wages.

The normal rate of wages for an unskilled labourer was two *dams* daily equivalent to nearly as. 2. For carpenters it varied from 5²/₅ annas to 6³/₁₀ annas per day. The highest pay was given to skilled labourers who drew sometimes as high as 48 *dams*. Worked out in modern currency,

1. For this table I am indebted to Prof. Brij Narain's *Indian Economic Life*. (Vide, p. 22).

it would amount to something like Rs. 2, as. 11. In spite of the low wages as indicated above the wage-earners were quite well off because of the low prices then prevailing. There was no scarcity of *ghee*, milk and wheat. But the labourers today in spite of high wages are being hit hard economically and their condition is quite miserable and wretched because "the rise in prices in the course of the three centuries has been something like 500 or 600 per cent. The rise in wages has not been so great. It comes up to 300 per cent, so to conclude "the hired landless labourers in the time of Akbar had probably more to earn in ordinary years than he has now."¹

Famines must have been more frequent than at present due to the lack of artificial irrigation, undeveloped means of communication and any adequate policy of prevention. However we know only of one famine in the Punjab and that was of 1594-1598.

When considering the economic system of the Mughal period we are struck by the wide gulf that separated the masses from the nobles, or the producers from the consumers. This gulf became still wider in the time of Jahangir and Shah Jahan.

From economic point of view, the people were divided into three main classes. The highest and the most important class was the nobility, which comprised the *mansabdars* of various grades.² They were the imperial public servants and had the high positions in Civil and Military departments. These nobles were few in number, and were mostly foreigners. They were paid very high salaries, most of which were spent in luxuries and pleasures. They were not trained or encouraged to practise thrift, rather they were encouraged to spend and waste money. This was the logical result of the escheat system. The property

1. S.A., p. 394.

2. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. 1, p. 308.

of the nobles at their death was escheated to the state. When Jahangir came to the throne he declared, not to escheat the property of nobles.¹ But he did not observe it in his lifetime. The Emperor was helpless in that. In reality whenever the Mughals gave any Jagir to a noble, they gave him its revenue for his pay. The land belonged to the cultivator and the revenue to the state. Moreover, the nobles were transferred very often from one place to another. Their agents kept all the accounts with the state. Many of these nobles, when dead, were found not to have cleared their accounts with the state. So the state escheated the property of the deceased to balance its accounts and mostly in spite of the escheat the state remained in loss. But whatever the cause the system had a very grave effect upon the morality of the nobles. This gave a stimulus to their extravagance. The surplus was of no use either to them or to their children. This made these nobles "to live in an indescribable luxury and extravagance. They indulged in every kind of pleasure. Their greatest magnificence was their women quarters, for they married three or four wives or sometimes more. Drink was a common vice and many died of intemperance."² The paraphernalia and the ostentations that they kept around them were a heavy burden upon their purse. The Court of Shah Jahan was magnificent, and this compelled them to appear in the most rich, gaudy and costly dresses. For that, they procured silk, velvet, and woollen cloth from Europe, Persia, and Herat, etc. Sometimes even a single dress cost them 150 *muhars*.³ Jahangir and many of his courtiers were fond of fruits. He sent orders for fresh fruits like grapes, *kishmish*, mangoes, etc., from any place he could get.⁴ The nobles spent any amount to get

1. *Jahangir's Mem.*, Vol. 1, p. 8.

2. *De Laet*, pp. 88-90.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 90.

4. *Jahangir's Mem.*, Vol. 1, p. 5.

them from Kabul and Kashmir. When Manrique visited Lahore, he had the honour to see Asaf Khan. He presented him the gift of fresh fruits that he had received from Kabul.¹ Ice which was very costly, and brought down from the mountains, was used by nobles even in winter.² All this indulgence of the noble class in luxuries had a bad effect upon their health and morality, and the general condition of the masses, but it was a great stimulus to the foreign trade, which developed very much in the days of Jahangir and Shah Jahan. They were very fond of rarities from outside. The system of escheat further did away with the people born with a silver spoon in their mouths. No one belonged to a privileged class in the beginning of his career.

The second class comprised the professional men, religious classes, scholars, lower officials, merchants and traders. In De Laet's view they were leading quite a comfortable and peaceful life³. But they too could not expect to earn a fair income unless they were lucky enough to be attached to the court. Court officials were the usual consumers, and the life of the professional men and traders usually depended upon the mercy of these officials.

The third class, or the masses, were the real sufferers. They comprised the workmen, the labourers, farmers, the petty shopkeepers and domestic servants, etc. Their life was little better than slaves. The condition of the general masses was in no way enviable. "They lived on a plane hardly above that of the animals. They had scanty clothing, poor food and dirty huts without any furniture."⁴ Their houses were dirty and insanitary. Their food was little dry bread, and their

1. *Manrique*, Vol. 2, p. 211.

3. *De Laet*, p. 88.

2. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. 1, p. 56.

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 88-9.

clothes were none or very scanty. All of them remained barefooted. Their children up till the age of twelve remained naked except a loin-cloth or a chain round their waist. The workman was the victim of low wages, and oppression. Both Bernier and Tavernier describe that at the end of Shah Jahan's reign, official tyranny was prevalent to a large extent.

The fourth and the last class consisted of slaves and eunuchs. Slaves were bought and sold like other commodities. Their condition was miserable. The eunuchs were the personal attendants and *harem* attendants of the nobles, Governors and the Emperors. They were happy and comfortable. They received good wages and living in *harems*, had good clothes to wear and good food to eat. They even rose to very high *mansabs*. Said Khan, Governor of the Punjab, under Jahangir is said to have possessed 1200 eunuchs.¹ The service in the houses was done either by girls or eunuchs. Manrique in the house of Asaf Khan was served a betel by a eunuch.² When he went to see the *Nauroz* at Lahore, he found the main hall being guarded by eunuchs, who were richly dressed and were clearing the way for the great nobles with their gold and silver wands.³

The great commander of Dara Shikoh, who remained loyal to him to the last, was his eunuch who fought at Bhakkar and was afterwards murdered by Khalil Ullah Khan at Lahore.⁴

The army formed a class in itself. The big host of the Mughal army was very costly. The soldiers were not well paid. Their condition was no better than that of the general masses.

In the towns there was culture and luxury but life of the general masses living in the villages was quite simple. Society as a whole was still under the

General Social Condition.

1. *Jahangir's Mem.*, Vol. 1, p. 13.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 195.

2. *Manrique*, Vol. 2, p. 209.
4. *Manucci*, Vol. 1, p. 363.

thralldom of superstitions and was ready to believe in anything and everything. Badaoni has related a very interesting anecdote about a person Shaikh Kamal Bayabani who in the twinkling of an eye used to go to the other bank of the river and people were credulous enough to believe him (*vide* M.B., II, p. 378). The evil institution of child-marriage was there among the Hindus and Muslims alike and Akbar is said to have discouraged it. "He (Akbar) abhors marriages which take place between man and woman before the age of puberty." High dowries were the bane of the Indian society.¹ Akbar did not like the idea of high dowries.² Polygamy was prevalent and people used to marry three or sometimes four wives.³ Among the Hindus the terrible custom of *Sati* was still there and Akbar endeavoured his utmost to root it out by making widow remarriage lawful and by enjoining that no one should be forced to become *Sati* against her will.⁴

There were many kinds of amusements in which the people in general and the nobles in particular are stated to have taken a lively interest. The *Chaugan*,⁵ the *Kabutar Bazi*⁶ (pigeon-flying), the *Chaupar*,⁷ the *Chandal*⁸ *Mandal* (invented by Akbar) the playing cards⁹ and the hunting were the general games in which people usually indulged for recreation. Besides the Hindus on certain auspicious days celebrated innumerable religious festivals.¹⁰ The *Vipasa* (the Beas River), the *Vitasta* (the Jhelum), the *Chandarbhaga* (the Chenab), the *Iravati* (the Ravi) the *Satadru* (the Sutlej) were regarded as most sacred by them.¹¹

1. Raja Bhagwan besides 2 krors of tankahs gave as his daughter's dowry "several strings of horses and 100 elephants, boys and girls of Abyssinia, India and Circassia and all sorts of golden vessels set with jewels and utensils of gold and vessels of silver and all sorts of stuffs the quantity of which is beyond computation. (*vide* M.B., II, p. 352).

2. A.A., I, p. 278.

3. M.B., II, p. 388

4. A.A., I, p. 297.

5. *Ibid.*, pp. 297-98.

6. *Ibid.*

7. A.A., I, p. 30.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 304.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 306.

10. A.A., III, p. 31.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 317.

Nagarkot was one of the most important holy places where people from far and near assembled annually to observe their religious rites.¹

Very little is known about the social life of the people in the Mughal period. Contemporary Muslim writers tell us practically nothing of the common people and their mode of life and confine their record to a chronicle of kings, courts and conquests rather than one of the national and social evolutions.² The history of the Mughal period may be regarded as little more than the history of the rulers of three towns—Lahore, Delhi and Agra. Whatever little we know is from the European travellers, who visited India. The social condition of the general masses was far from satisfactory. Epidemics were common; we hear of the first great epidemic in the Punjab³ in 1616, in the reign of Jahangir. This came in the form of bubonic plague. It brought great havoc in the Punjab, and afterwards in the whole of India. A very minute description of how the disease originated and spread is recorded by Mutamid Khan in his *Iqbal Nama Jahangiri*. He records that, when the disease was about to break out, a mouse would rush out of its hole, like a mad one, and would die after striking itself against the door or the walls. If immediately after this, which was a signal of the coming of disease, the occupants of the house left it the lives of all were saved, otherwise it would spread throughout that city and sweep away the whole of it. It began in one of the *Parganas* of the Punjab and spread into Lahore where a large number of the people died. Therefrom it spread through the Doab to Delhi.⁴ The disease was contagious. Mutamid Khan further narrates that one man died in a city. He had

1. A.A., III, pp. 303-306.

2. Smiths' Akbar, p. 386.

3. Jahangir's Mem., Vol. 1, p. 326.

4. Iqbal Nama, p. 61.

no relatives to perform his death ceremonies. A *faqir* undertook to give him the last bath. The result was that the *faqir* also died. An ox had grazed on the grass where the *faqir* had given bath to the dead. The ox also died. A dog ate the flesh of that dead ox; the dog also died.¹ This was most horrible. This disease had never appeared before this in India.² It soon spread like fire in every part of Northern India. As there was very little of medical help available so this must have caused a very high mortality. Moreover, the physicians that existed knew nothing about this new disease.

To bring havoc to the people still further, came scanty rains. There was very little of irrigation in those days. If the rains fell in time and were enough, the farmers got good harvest, if not in time they were to have a famine. If, to the misfortune of the people, the Royal Camp happened to visit the place it still gave them further trouble. Once when Jahangir moving with his camp to Kashmir, reached near Pakhli, the news arrived that the harvest in the next country had been scanty, so the whole camp should not proceed. The Emperor ordered the camp to stop. Only the advance camp was to accompany the King.³

Most parts of the Punjab, like the rest of India, were covered with forests, and the presence of tigers, lions and elephants and other wild animals was not wanting.⁴ The Emperor Jahangir was very fond of hunting. He with his retinue used to hunt with bows and lances.⁵ After the capture of rebellious Khusrau, and punishing him and his companions, Jahangir spent three months and six days hunting in the various jungles of the Punjab.⁶

1. *Iqbal Nama*, p. 61.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 127.

5. *Jahangir's Mem.*, p. 284.

2. *Jahangir's Mem.*, p. 326.

4. *Early Travels*, p. 176.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 83.

They killed 576 animals in all. The Emperor Jahangir was so much interested in the big game, that his officials took him to any place they liked on the pretext of hunting. In 1610, the existence of two tigers in the district of Karnal was reported to him. The Emperor at once started for the place, and killed both with his gun.¹ Shah Jahan was no less interested and courageous to hunt the lions and tigers. The kings and the nobles were much interested in outdoor games. Shah Jahan was very fond of hawks. The story of the capture of his white hawk by the Sikhs, brought trouble upon Guru Hargobind.² Jahangir is said to have killed 17,167 animals up till 1616.³ Kala Shah Kaku was the well-known place for his usual hunt. The Mughal Emperors were also interested in the spectacle of animal fighting, elephants and rams. Even men were asked to fight both the tigers and elephants. Hawkins has recorded the fight of a Pathan with a ferocious tiger, which was killed with the help of 10 more men out of which three lost their lives. Besides these there were the amusements of wrestling, pigeon-flying, chaupar, and *chandal mandal* for the people.⁴

Jahangir, though himself a hard drinker, knew the evils of drinking and wanted to check them as far as possible. When he came to the throne he issued edicts prohibiting the sale of wine and *bhang*.⁵ Those who tried to break this law were even punished sometimes. It is rather difficult to decide whether he was successful in that or not. He could not enforce it. But so far as he himself was concerned after his marriage with Nur Jahan he became moderate in drinking. Still among the people "Drinking

1. *Jahangir's Mem.*, Vol. 1, p. 136.

2. *Macauliffe*, Vol. 4, p. 80.

3. *Jahangir's Mem.*, Vol. 1, p. 361.

4. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. 1, pp. 298, 303, 304.

5. *Jahangir's Mem.*, p. 5.

was a common vice, and many people died of intemperance. As stated earlier the nobles lived in indescribable luxury and extravagance caring only to indulge in them. Their greatest magnificence was their women quarters, because they married three or four wives and sometimes even more."¹ Murad and Danyal—sons of Akbar—had practically died of hard drinking.² By the time that Shah Jahan came to the throne the people took wine like water.³ Shah Jahan himself was not a heavy drinker, moreover he tried like his father and grandfather to check this evil habit by one of his statutes.⁴ By this the public sale and production of wine was strictly prohibited, but he did not succeed in enforcing prohibition.

Mostly people used Toddy—a liquor prepared from the juice of a tree with bows to the top. If this toddy was taken in the morning it was like a good wine but if taken when the sun had already arisen it was most heavy and unwholesome liquor.⁵ Those who could not afford either of the two would take to *bhang* and betels.⁶ These generalizations of the European writers refer to the Mughal high officials rather than the common people. Toddy, the only common wine mentioned, was used mostly in the South. *Bhang* may have been used on festive occasions sometimes. In the Punjab the use of betels was not very common.

In Shah Jahan's time female dancers and public women enjoyed great liberty and existed in large numbers. They were called on all festivals. The nobles kept them in their *harems* for amusement. Besides the fairs and pilgrimages of the

1. *De Laet*, pp. 88, 90.

3. *Manucci*, Vol. 1, p. 5.

5. *Edward Terry*, pp. 92, 93.

2. *I.H.Q.P.*, p. 294, June 1936.

4. *I.H.Q.P.*, p. 234, 1936.

6. *Manucci*, Vol. 1, p. 7.

Hindus and Muslims, the *Nauruz*, the accession day of the Emperor, his feasts and dinners were occasions of great rejoicing. The festival of *Nauruz* which every year lasted for nine days is described by Manrique.¹ People dressed themselves in their best clothes, and wished each other a happy feast. They plastered their gates and hung green branches from them. The Emperor lived in the most magnificent way during these nine days, and daily appeared in public. On the night previous to *Nauruz* the highest pinnacles of the palaces were decorated and illuminated, which looked like so many flowers. Flags and banners of green silk were hung. Beyond the main gateway of the palace was another majestic entrance guarded by two glittering horsemen with green silk uniforms. Men were dressed in rich, glowing festival robes bearing gilt, coloured shields on their arms, bows and arrows in their hands. Their sharp scimitars hung from their belts. On the other side hung quivers full of sharp feather arrows. The horses were drawn up in two lines to form a long handsome avenue. The next avenue was of 600 elephants in two ranks, carrying towers and *howdahs*. They had sharp scimitars with blades 5 inches wide in their trunks. It was most pleasing to see the flowing silk banners hoisted upon them. At the end of this avenue was posted the Emperor's second guard. Another avenue of 100 elephants, far more decorated than the previous ones with *howdahs* of gold and silver, was made. They were accompanied by 200 armed soldiers. Next were the steps that led to a wide hall with lifelong pictures of battle-fields etc., hanging from its walls. Nobles of all ranks were seated within it. Beyond this was another hall of much more magnificence and splendour. The eunuchs were the guards there. They were richly dressed

1. Manrique, Vol. 2, pp. 192-204.

and cleared the way for the princes and nobles with their gold wands. An old eunuch, their commander, posted at the gate was managing everything. Next to the eunuchs were the Uzbegs with their short lances and javelins. Sweet perfumes were being burnt which spread sweet odours in the hall. The nobles passed through the twelve mace-bearers.

The four corners of the hall from the floor to the ceiling were covered with inlay work of intertwined flowering branches, and grotesques in the finest gold. Added to it the finest artificial stonework made the palace extraordinary.

In the centre of it was the throne seeing which Manrique's senses were so much distracted, that he could not well grasp the precise nature of its constituent materials. It was a throne of four seats in the sphere, each with six gold or silver steps on which the workmen had shown their unrivalled workmanship. Upon this throne stood eight exceedingly rich columns of gold sustaining a cupola of the same metal, which formed a canopy and covered a most magnificent and beautiful seat. There were the purest and most brilliant diamonds, rubies, green emeralds and sapphires.

The Emperor was enjoying in his own palace the dance, songs and spectacles. Then he proceeded to his mother's palace to receive her felicitations, many rich gifts were received by the Emperor. A grand feast was held and then the Emperor went to a private chamber. In the centre of this chamber hung the gold chains and scales. The Emperor was seated upon it, and weighed against silver coins, gold, cotton cloth woven with gold, and the eatables turn by turn. The eatables were distributed among the poor, the other weighings turned into cash and kept to be distributed the whole year. The Emperor then came to the throne where he distributed

fruits and coins among the people. These weighings took place twice a year—lunar and solar weighings.

The Emperor sometimes took dinner and held banquets in his nobles' houses. The dinner of Shah Jahan in Asaf Khan's house at Lahore is recorded by Manrique.¹ He had the privilege to go up to the gallery of the special bath to see the banquet. He writes that special arrangements with gold and silver embroidery had been made for the dining place. In the four corners were the stands upon which gold vessels had been put. The perfume holders were of silver. Sweet perfumes were being burnt to give fragrance. At the entrance was the hydra fountain. It threw scented water in a silver tub which remained half full to wash the feet and hands. *Dastar Khwan* was laid in the room. At the principal place were two cushions of gold cloth and at others of silver cloth. Then the Emperor entered amidst sounding sweet music with a bevy of gallant women, and his daughter and mother-in-law on his two sides. Behind him came Dara—the heir-apparent along with Asaf Khan. When the Emperor sat down, his father-in-law and mother-in-law knelt down before him. He seated his mother-in-law on his right, and favoured both at his table. Then entered four beautiful young girls of Asaf Khan and other noble families with the provisions for the Emperor's hand-washing. Then came twelve more for the princes, etc. The dishes were brought in by the eunuchs and presented to the King by the young damsels. The feast lasted for four hours with thousands of ceremonies. Then twelve more immodest dancing girls entered and began dancing. Then came three more girls with golden vessels, full of precious stones, jewels, and rubies, etc., worth seven hundred thousand rupees which were presented to the Emperor.

The population mostly consisted of *Gents* or

1. Manrique, Vol. 2, pp. 213-219.

Hindus and Moors or Muslims. The Hindus' caste system was in full sway. Besides *Brahmans*, *Khatris*, *Rajas* and *Shudras*, there were another class called *Chandals*.¹ They were called black or untouchables. They lived outside the inhabited towns. They were not allowed to mix with other Hindus. The Sikhs mostly consisted of *Khatris* and *Jats* of the Punjab.

The nobles bound their beard with a scarf called *Romali*.² Round their waist they tied a white cloth with red border, about a cubit in length. It came down to their knees. Above this they wore a white wrapper. Many wore gold or silver rings round their toes. Their children wore gold or silver bells on the legs, and chains round the waist. Great nobles wore turbans on their head and a gown on their shoulders. Their shoes were of velvet or red leather which they put off when they entered the palace.³

Soldiers, labourers, and ordinary men had a cloth round their head, and string in their middle with a cloth or napkin size to hide their private parts.

Women up till 12 had not much to wear like boys. They tied their hair on one side. They pierced their ears to wear ornaments. They used petticoats and *Saris*.

Except the temples and palaces all other houses were built of earth and wood. The floors were of pounded earth covered with cowdung. No Hindu ate without spreading cowdung.⁴ Their houses were low, not above two stories and many of them were flat and thick supported with strong timber and coated over with plaster. They never had chimneys in their houses, as they did not use fire for warming purposes. But the houses in villages were poor and base.⁵

1. Manucci, p. 36.

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 39. and 240.

5. Edward Terry !

2. *Ibid.*, p. 38

4. *Ibid.*, p. 41.

The soil bore the largest of crops. They tilled their lands with oxen and foot ploughs. They spread seed in May and June and reaped harvest in November and December. They did not make hay. Tobacco was sown in abundance which they took in a way quite strange to the Europeans.¹ The soil gave a better and more white grain than the European soil. It was very cheap. Everybody could eat to his hearts content. Ordinary people ate bread made of coarser grain but both the rich and the poor took broad cakes like oaten cakes, baked upon small iron hearth, which they carried with them. It was soft, sweet, and good.²

It will be interesting to reproduce what the contemporary European travellers have recorded about the two major communities inhabiting this land. But these observations must not be taken seriously.

The Hindus were divided among many sects, besides the four ancient castes.

"They say God is a being that cannot be divided, fills no place and yet is everywhere. He made the world at a breath. To show its singleness the Brahmans write the figure 1 when writing anything.³ God is knowledge, resides on four sides, nobody can see it and so is colourless and shapeless. He creates the beings in no time and when he wills. He is the greatest of the beings and so must be respected." "It can be divided, though like the light of the moon, everybody claims it to be his. There is nothing without or beyond God. Men when compared to it are candles in a Lanthorn. God is the spermatic life in everybody yet cannot properly be called a part of the thing. When breathing in and out man pronounces the name of God, *Rau-M* or *Ram*. But besides this God, Hindus believe in many other

1. Edward Terry, pp. 95-6. 2. *Ibid.*, pp. 87-8. 3. John Marshall, pp. 177-79.

gods, and its incarnation as fire, sun and air.¹ They call it *Parma Brahma* or excellent knowledge. Its name is *Om*. The other smaller gods number as many as 330 millions with their kings as *Deudram*." Agastayan is the author of all brutalities. Rudram is the god which rides the Bull. Lingam is placed in centre of the temple. The first three creations are Brahma, Vishnu and Rudra.² The most popular story of creation of the world is that the world is composed of five elements—earth, water, air, sky and fire. After God had made them, He wished to make a man. The moment He wished it, man arose out of a flower and was named Brahma. He wanted a companion so shook himself and out of his left arm fell a *Devi* or woman. Soon Brahma wiped his sweat, out of which came forth 7 men. Then he pressed the flower and a tortoise appeared, who delivered the book known as *Shastras*, telling what it was, and would be.³ The back of the tortoise being hard turned into earth. It was 4732 years ago when there was nothing in the world, but water and hill named Sindh with these 7 men.⁴ They soon beheld a flood which continued for 120 years, five months and five days after which by the union of Brahma and *Devi* the children were produced and the world began. The word Hindu is thought to be a misnomer of the word Sindhu or Vindhia mountains on which these creatures were preserved. The seed of the world is God's breath.

The soul is the vitality and physical power in a material body, without which life is nothing. Some of the people believe in two souls, one visible and the other intellectual. The second is *Paramatman*

1. *Storia-do-Mogor*, Vol. 3, pp. 3-6.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 6-9.

3. John Marshall, pp. 180, 181. This belief of the deliverance of the Vedas was never prevalent among Hindus.

4. John Marshall, p. 183.

or God. It is an essence in all human beings and animals. The soul of the animals does not possess reason whereas that of man has got it. All the creatures are thought to possess the same sort of soul.¹ There is nothing mine or thine, everything is one. Fools call it mine while the wise men call it thine. The soul is compared to a candle flame or water.² It changes with the shape of body. It is one with God, because God and man's soul are like sea and water. The soul of male is always male.³ When a man dies his thoughts wander and enter into the body which one last thinks of.⁴

Sawarg is a place where Devendra with his famous beautiful wives and 330 other gods live.⁵ Those who do good actions in this world go there. Some of the gods come to this world to enjoy. The second place is *Baikunth* where Vishnu with his two wives, and the bird he rides upon lives.⁶ The third is the *Kailasham* where Rudra lives with his wives. The fourth is the *Brahma Lokan*, and the fifth *Melampadan* or *Parma-vastu*. Under six other worlds is situated hell where *Shiyam Yama* lives. *Chitra Guptam* keeps account of all the sins and good deeds according to which man passes his days in *Swarg* or hell. All sorts of venomous animals to torture men are residing there. Whatever you give to the Brahmins in this world you get it there. A cow stands near the river of fire to cross it. *Yama* presides there and his god of death. Men go both to Heaven and Hell because God has made both.⁷

Hindus were thought to have the most polite manners, and were more orderly and civilised than any other nations.⁸ They were laborious and indus-

1. Manucci, Vol. 3, p. 28.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 192.

5. Manucci, Vol. 3, p. 22.

7. John Marshall, p. 186.

2. John Marshall, p. 187.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 179.

6. *Ibid.*, pp. 23-25.

8. Manucci, Vol. 3, p. 37.

trious people. They married one wife and were not afraid or jealous of her. They married at very early age, the choice being made by the parents.¹ They raised their hands to the head and prostrated on the ground. They adored God and their spiritual heads; Brahmans only prostrated before God. They lifted the hands to the head to the Generals, Ministers, Commanders and Kings. Equals and friends raised it to the stomach and embraced each other. The monks and priests displayed the two hands with palms joined before the princes.² The superiors met the inferiors by raising the right palm. The Hindus protect the cow as far as possible as all of them pay high reverence to it.³ Most of them believe that all religions are one.⁴ We have got laws for human beings because they fight, by which they can show their best brains. But ultimately the quarrels and fightings come to nothing, because nobody gets or gives but according to his credit.⁵ Their belief was that God produced *Ratans*, fourteen in number for the welfare of the humans. They are, *Lakhshmi*, *Thought*, *Parigata* or tree of paradise, *sura* or *Amrit* or wine, *Dhanwantri*. *Chandra Kamdhenu* or Cow, *Devattas*, Elephants, *Rambha* i.e., women good to produce children, Horse, *Indra Dhanush*, Pipe and Poison. With the achievement of all these man can achieve his best self.

The human beings are divided into three kinds, *Sanvasis*, worldly men and the devils. None of them has a free will of his own. They do according as God directs. The whole of the Hindu religious practices were based on Vedas which taught morals, arts and sciences.⁶ There are eight *mudas* o:

1. *Edward-Terry*, p. 301.

2. *Manucci*, Vol. 3, p. 38.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 44.

4. *John Marshall*, p. 183.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 185.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 188.

intoxicating desires which entangle man *Dhana* or Riches, *Putrya*, Nobleness of birth or family, youth, learning beauty, wit or judgment, and strength.¹ Those who are wise do not get into these snares.

There was another feat among the Hindu *Sanyasis* and that was to hold breath and thereby prolong the life.² This was called *Yoga bhyas*. Naked *Sadhus* were in abundance and women had no scruples in worshipping them.³ These *Yogis* were physicians. They cured all sorts of serious and grave diseases by applying small insignificant herbs, so much so that a little of herb could enable an old man to enjoy sexual pleasures. They performed *Yoga bayas* and so their lives were very long. It is alleged that *Sadhus* of four and five hundred years of age were existing and could change themselves to any shape or form they liked.⁴ They had power to tell about their previous birth. They did not care for the world, and were not subject to passions. They kept naked rubbed ash upon their bodies and wandered from place to place.

The whole of the Hindu year was reigned by seven planets. Some of them became furious. To escape it sacrifices were necessary and so were made. They were well-read in the science of the planets. They knew from their movements, the weather which was to follow. Some of these planets were good, others dangerous for people.

Besides this the Hindus were very much guided by certain charms which they got from the *Sanyasis*. Some of these were employed for the following purposes.⁵ No. 1. to hinder relatives from being angry. No. 2. To cause the money to stay by

1. John Marshall, p. 189.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 193.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 197.

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 231-233.

5. *Ibid.*, pp. 353-360.

a man. No. 3. To keep a man as your friend for ever. No. 4. To open a lock. No. 5. To remedy the snake bite. No. 6. Against enemies and devils. No. 7. To make the enemies sick. No. 8. To embrace women. No. 9. To win love of a woman.

People were very superstitious. They did every work, took journeys or fought their enemies with certain omens.¹ Brahmans thought that woman, horse and milk were the three best things in the world.² Brahmans and *Banyias* did not take flesh. Some took only fish. Rajputs ate pork, but all the Hindus abstained from beef. They burnt the bodies of their dead. Many women burnt themselves with their dead husbands or cut their hair and lived a neglected life.³

Islam being the state religion progressed very much under the Mughals. This is how the European travellers viewed the Muslim society which was also divided into water-tight compartments like the Hindu Society. There were the *Shias* and the *Sunnis*. The *Shias* believed that both Ali and Muhammad were their prophets, whereas the *Sunnis* believed in Muhammad only. The *Sunnis* being the sect of the Mughal kings had an upperhand. Then there were the *Syeds* whose origin is said to be from Hassan and Husain, sons of Ali, who married (*Hazrat*) Fatima, daughter of Muhammad⁴ the Holy Prophet. Next to them were the three kinds of *Shaikhs*. The first were *Siddiqis*, then the *Usmanis* and third were the *Faruqis*. Besides minor differences the Muslims were essentially the same. They all believed in the laws of the Quran. They all followed the Prophets. The priests of the Muslims were called *Mullas*. They prayed on Fridays among large gatherings, and united the people in prayers. They taught the young children both Quran

1. John Marshall, pp. 362-63.

3. Edward Terry, pp. 303-4.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 368.

4. John Marshall, pp. 394-95.

and other necessary teachings. They kept large beards. Their churches were called mosques, built long and narrow. The *Mullas* climbed five times a day on the turrets of the mosque and proclaimed the *Kalima* as loud as possibly they could.¹ They have a set form of prayers. While entering the Church they wash their hands and feet. When they begin it they shut their ears and eyes so that they may not be disturbed by any sound or sight. They set their faces towards Mecca which is the holy place for them. Those who have been there are called *Hajis*.² The religion of the Muslims was mostly based upon the following principles:—No. 1. God is great and is the only God, and Muhammad the Prophet of God. No. 2. Children must obey their parents. No. 3. Everybody must do to others as he wishes to be done by them. No. 4. Everybody must pray five times a day. No. 5. Everyone to keep fast for one month in a year from the rising to the setting of the sun. No. 6. Alms should be given to the poor regularly. No. 7. Everybody must marry to increase the followers of Muhammad. They permit polygamy. No. 8. Nobody should kill or shed blood, except in good cause.

In the beginning God Himself made the first man, Adam.³ This was it seems His masterpiece. He was proud of His accomplishment. He asked all the angels to worship Adam. All did but *Iblis* refused, so he was thrown out of heaven. God did not mean to create the world. *Iblis* annoyed with God persuaded Adam to eat wheat, which gave him lust, and he was "compelled to lie with Eve."⁴ Thus the world came into being. *Iblis* had previously tried all other objects of luxury upon Adam but the latter rejected all. He accepted only Eve, so "the Muslims prefer women to everything else."⁵

1. Edward Terry, pp. 247-48.

4. John Marshall, pp. 396-97.

2. *Ibid.*

5. *Ibid.*

3. *Ibid.*

Hell was made by God to punish humans who commit the breach of faith.¹ It is thought that when man was in the belly of the woman in a critical position with head downward and legs up he prayed to God to release him. God released him on the condition that he would remain godly. Those who do not pray are thrown into hell. The two good angels on both sides of every man record his good and bad actions, but in spite of this the devil succeeds in catching many of them in his snares.² Only those Muslims who have got faith in the Prophet and Quran can go to heaven. *Kafirs* are barred from that place. The shooting stars were meant to prevent the devil from going to heaven. They do not cremate their dead, but buried them with their faces towards Mecca.³

Islam, as has been stated earlier, was rapidly triumphing in the Punjab. As state religion it had many advantages over the Hindu religion. To the low and down-trodden in the Hindu society it seemed to open up prospects of equality in all walks of life. Proselytising activity of the Muslims was in full swing.⁴

Fanaticism and bigotry still seemed to have sway over the minds of the people and the rivalry between the *Shias* and the *Sunnis* was quite acute and sharp. In 1588 one Mirza Faulad Beg *Bartas* managed to get Mulla Ahmad the *Shia* on some pretext out of his house at midnight and stabbed him because he had "reviled the companions of the Prophet." The Emperor visited the brutal murder with severe punishment. He was bound to the foot of an elephant and was dragged through the streets of Lahore till he was

1. John Marshall, p. 399.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 420-3.

3. *Ibid.*

4. Shaikh Daud of Chari was carrying on the work of conversion quite vigorously and Badaoni says, "Few days passed on which Hindus, to the number of fifty or more, came each day with their families and relatives to pay their respects to the saint and under his spiritual influence embraced Islam—*M.B.*, III, p. 57.

dead. Fanaticism did not stop here but went still further. After burial of Mulla Ahmad, Faizi and Abul Fazl set guards over his grave, but in spite of all precautions the people of Lahore exhumed his carcase and burnt it.¹ Among the Hindus the caste-ridden Brahmans were feeling indignant over the preachings of Sikhism and tried to discredit it.² In spite of all this, general relations between the Hindus and the Muslims seemed quite harmonious and there was not much of communal bickering. New eclectic tendencies were slowly and slowly catching hold of the imagination of the people and there was fermentation of new ideas, and new thoughts. And in all this the person who played a leading rôle was none else than Akbar himself.

Akbar who was a man of mystic temperament evinced a keen interest in religious matters to gratify his spiritual craving. With his mind disgusted at the rancour displayed by the Muslim sectarians he began to develop eclectic tendencies and became an appreciative and an enthusiastic student of comparative religion.³ His court became a resort for the learned exponents of the various religions such as Jainism, Hinduism, Zoroastrianism, Christianity.⁴ Henceforth his aim became twofold, to ascertain the truth⁵ and to fuse together the heterogeneous elements of his state into an organic whole which at last culminated in the promulgation of *Din-i-Ilahi* in 1581.⁶

Under the ægis of such a tolerant and liberal monarch the blending of the doctrines of the two antagonistic religions, Hinduism and Islam, was nothing but inevitable. A general tendency caught hold of the imagination of the people to span this chasm of communalism.

1. M. B., I, pp 376-77.
3. Z. E., VI, p. 191.
5. Z. E., VI, p. 191.

2. See under Sikhism.
4. A. A., III, p. 366.
6. M. B., II, p. 335.

This sect, though an offshoot of Islam, embraced all the religions and counted many Hindus, Persians and Arabs among its adherents.¹ Being based upon rationalism of any sort of doctrine it never appealed to the ignorant masses as Sikhism had done and remained confined within the orbit of the most enlightened persons.² The Sufis were the men of highest philosophic nature and reposed their faith in precepts like "know thyself," "all in all, and all in every part," "who knows himself knows God." Believing in one God they were above all religions.³ They were "pious rebels" and words like fasts and pilgrimages were interpreted differently by them. ("Every action of the actions commanded by Law denotes a mystery of the mysteries.") Fast implies internal purification of man; the sight of Hilal (the crescent moon) brings to the innermost mind a vivid picture of the eye-brows of the "perfect spiritual guide," Id is the knowledge of God; Kurbanī is the annihilation of the brutal spirit and Jahad signifies combating with the "spirit of deceit."⁴ For them all religions were sincere and all opinions about the Supreme deity reconcilable.⁵ They did not say even prayers, for with God "there is no other but the soundless language of the Heart." Thus from excess of religion they had no religion at all and the most fervent zeal sank into the coldest indifference about religion as understood by most of the people.⁶ And their positive assertion that "whosoever says that the Musalmans are above the Christians does not know True Being"⁷ clearly reveals the catholic tendency of the Sufis' mind which even appealed to the Emperor and made him the patron of Shaikh Mubarak, Shaikh Faizi and Shaikh Abul Fazl, the greatest exponents of

1. D.S.T., III, p. 220.

2. D.S.T., I, Ch. VIII.

3. D.S.T., III, p. 221.

4. *Ibid.*, I, p. clxiv.5. *Ibid.*, III, p. 261.6. *Ibid.*, III, p. 263.7. *Ibid.*, I, p. clxiv.8. *Ibid.*, p. 276.

the Sufi philosophy then. The Punjab did not remain unaffected by this fermentation of the eclectic ideas which was felt all over the world. The Sufi saints like Shaikh Ishaq-i-Kaku¹, Qazi Sadr-ud-Din,² Shah Husain, Shah Sulaiman, Shah Inayat Qadiri, Shaikh Wali Shah³ were striving to cement the relations between the Hindus and the Muslims by their divinely inspired preachings.

This sect founded by Mian Bayazid (born at Juilundur in the Punjab) in the year 1542-43 in the reign of Emperor Humayun,⁴ flourished and developed in the time of Akbar. The sayings of Bayazid as quoted in the *Dabistan* expressed sound reason, pure morality and fervent piety.⁵ But there was also a tinge of heresy and aggression in the tenets of the Roshnais.⁶ "They had set aside the Holy Quran and believed that nothing existed except God, who filled all space and was the substance of all forms. The divinity despised all worship and rejected all mortifications." Prayers were allowed but there was no particular quarter to which they should turn because "wherever you turn, you turn towards God." Religious bathing in water was not essential for them for "as soon as the wind blows upon us the body is purified inasmuch as the four elements are equally pure." The believers were authorised to "kill a harmful creature before it caused harm." He and his son Jalala practised highway robbery and deposited fifth part of the booty in a storehouse to be distributed among the needy.⁷ This aggressive spirit of the creed had a great appeal for the wild and warlike people of the frontier and persons from the Koh-i-Sulaiman and the Khaibar Pass joined it in thousands. These unruly people thus assumed a formidable appearance and later on caused

1. M.B., III, p. 85.

2. M.B., III, p. 87.

3. H.S., III, p. 27.

4. D.S.T., III, p. 41.

5. D.S.T., I, p. cxlv.

6. M.B., II, p. 360.

7. D.S.T., III, p. 38.

much trouble to Akbar and his successors. Though the religious fervour subsequently died out, the clans of the frontier were permanently fired with the sense of independence which they have since cherished and in large measure enjoyed.

Under the patronage of Akbar even Christianity was making headway slowly and slowly into the Punjab.

Christianity.

The "truth-seeking" spirit of Akbar was not less interested in this religion and seemed to have been quite eager to be conversant with its doctrines. So first in 1591 and then in 1594 he sent for some Christian missionaries from Goa who at their arrival in Lahore were received with every mark of consideration and respect. They were lodged in spacious buildings and were permitted to carry on their evangelising activities with perfect freedom.¹ A Mission School was also established in Lahore for imparting the knowledge of the Portuguese to the sons of the nobles and was attended by King's own son and grandson.² The Fathers of the second Mission were also able to initiate three of the pupils into their own faith, one of whom went as far as to enter the order.³ In 1597 when Akbar was absent in Kashmir, the foundation stone of a church was laid with pompous celebrations.⁴ Prince Salim was also favourably inclined towards the Christian religion. At the Christmas he sent candles to the Church to be burnt in honour of Christ and gave liberal alms to be distributed among the needy.⁵

Shams-ud-Din the governor of the Punjab, after the departure of Akbar in 1598, continued his benevolent policy towards the Fathers and even sometimes proved to be of some practical help to father Pinheiro in his proselytising activity. On one occasion

1. J. G. M., p. 59.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 48.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 54.

4. *Ibid.*

5. *Ibid.*

he even pardoned some criminals condemned to death at his request.¹ After his death his successor Qulij did not show the same unflagging zeal for Christianity and consequently he has been made an object of severe censure by the Fathers. But their allegation that regular efforts were made to discredit the mission is quite baseless. The event about drugging of father Pinheiro with *dhatūra* and the looting² of his property do in no way indicate official hostility towards the religion professed by them and the efforts of the Viceroy and the Kotwal to trace out the real culprits exhibit hollowness of their charge. The charge that September 15, 1604, was fixed for the general arrest of the Christians—men, women and children is mere phantom of their imagination. The reasons put forward for the deflection of the intention of Qulij Khan to arrest all the Christians do not hold much weight when examined minutely. The Christian community was quite an insignificant factor then and had not assumed so formidable an aspect as to deter the governor from putting his plan into practice. The inconsistency which is running throughout their accounts also exculpates the governor. At one place they complained about the harsh treatment meted out to them by the governor, while at another place they tell us how the prisoners were liberated at their request, how the daughter, granddaughter and the wife of the governor used to come to the church for the correction of her son, Lahauri. Moreover, sometimes they do not appear to be quite certain about their own statement as is evident from the following, sentence, "Either he (the governor) or his brother had on one occasion actually dealt Pinheiro a severe blow in full *Durbar*." The poor fellow Pinheiro writing a letter on August 12, 1605, even does not know by whom he was beaten in full

1. J. G. M., p. 56.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 60.

Durbar. This statement is further contradicted by the fact that Pinheiro was received with courtesy though not Corsi."¹ It is quite inexplicable why the governor should treat so harshly a person for whom he had a far greater regard than others. To conclude, the inconsistency and the uncertainty of their statement and the lack of any tangible instance of the repression of the governor lead me to believe that there is a note of exaggeration in their account. What in reality seems to me is this, that the governor did not at all adopt a stern and repressive policy towards the Christians; what he did was to withdraw himself from the active support of their religion, a policy which marked a great contrast with the attitude of his predecessor and Akbar himself. And as the Fathers could not get any practical help from him they began to dub him as the persecutor of their religion and began to impute to him hostile motives.

Jahangir, too, continued to support the Mission School started by the Portuguese at Lahore for instructing the sons of nobles. A grant of Rs. 50 per month was given to this school from the royal treasury. Some of the courtiers once asked him to close the school but he refused.² Soon after that the Jesuites met him at Lahore and Jahangir gave them another fifty rupees a month for alms and Rs. 30 for the Church.³ The Fathers remained at Lahore with spiritual peace and they ministered to the Christians as much in the security in Lahore as was ever possible in a Catholic city.⁴ When the Emperor came back from Kabul, the Jesuites went two leagues ahead to see him, on which the Emperor honoured them by halting the procession for some minutes, and accepting the Bible presented by them.⁵ Again while sending ambassadors, he selected

1. J.G.M., p. 60.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 43.

5. *Ibid.*

2. *Jahangir and Jes.*, p. 35.

4. *Ibid.*

one of the fathers—Manoll Pinheiro with the embassy, and sent him with many gifts. He further, on the occasion of their decorating the Church and illuminating it, sent candles to be burnt there.¹ This was thought to be a very great achievement for the Christians in a Moorish city. Christians had much liberty in Jahangir's time. "The living of Christians was very safe. It was with freedom and safety in their journeys, and tents as if they were in an army of banners appointed for their guard, or as if the rivers and big trees under which they sit were their own. The people were also very civil. They never ill-used the Christians if they did not provoke them first."² The Mughals had declared that it would be lawful for anyone, persuaded so in conscience, to become a Christian and that he should not by so doing lose his favours. The story of a noble converted to Christianity was current.³ The Church at Lahore was handsome. It had a large flat roof or terrace, which was used for Easter illuminations. Jahangir on his accession restored the escheated lands to the owners. As the Church was built upon an escheated land, the owners claimed it. The Fathers argued that it had been confiscated for the debts due to the Crown by the owners. Jahangir decided in their favour. In 1614 when Jahangir quarrelled with the Portuguese, Father Machado was turned out of the Lahore Church and only a Venetian was left as the caretaker. It was reoccupied in 1624. In 1627 new players and musicians were brought from Goa. In 1632 when Shah Jahan fell out with the Portuguese of Hugli, the Church was destroyed. Then the Mass was celebrated at the Fathers' residence. The second Mission occupied a portion of the King's palace. They had a little more house property besides the Church at

1. *Jahangir and Jes.*, p. 45.

2. *Edward Terry*, pp. 160, 162.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 424.

Lahore. It was in Mohalla Talwaran belonging to Panna Suri. In Shah Jahan's reign they were sold. In 1641 the Mission closed down.¹

Besides these big religious movements in the Punjab there were also other Qadiriyyahs.

sects whose range was quite limited. Shaikh Daud of Chati (a pargana in the district Birun-i-Panjnad, *vide* A.A. II, p. 331) started a new order which was midway between "the two exalted orders, Soharawardiyyah and Chishtiyyah, and the Divine Power and by means of close connection with the true God, he so carried forward the work that the sound issuing therefrom will not die away, until the sounding of the last trumpet."² Beyond this nothing is known about this sect.

There was also one sect of ascetics called Jogis in the Punjab. Founded by Guru Gorakhnath it did not flourish much and its numerical strength was only 300 in the time of Akbar. It had two orders: married and celibates and the distinctive mark of the former was a shorter dress. They lived by beggary and their leader, who was said to be 200 years old, never left the Tilla of Balnath. Akbar is also said to have paid a visit to the Tilla Balnath while on his way to Kabul in 1581.³

The bulk of the people was ignorant and unlettered.⁴ There was no system of state education yet much was done by the Mughal government to disseminate knowledge among the masses and elaborate arrangements were made in the towns (which were only a few in number) to spread education. Besides ordinary *Pathshalas* and *Mukhtabs* endowed by

1. MacLagan, pp. 320, 22.

3. C. M., pp. 113-15.

4. D.L., p. 84.

2. M.B., III, p. 52.

private individuals, we hear from Abul Fazl about state schools and *madrisas* and there is also a curriculum suggested in the *Ain* which has dwelt upon the best methods of imparting education and has laid down a general course of study. Arithmetic, notation, agriculture, mensuration, geometry, astronomy, physiognomy, household matters, the rules of government, medicine, logic, the *tabi'i*, *riyazi*, and *Ilahi* sciences and history were among the most important subjects upon the study of which the government insisted.¹ A great stress was laid upon the moral aspect of education too.² Eminent scholars like Maulana Muhammad Mufti,³ Mulla Ala-ud-Din, Maulana Jalal of Tala and Shaikh Ishaq-i-Kaku⁴ were employed by the state for the enlightenment of the people. In the galaxy of scholars Shaikh Daud of Chati (in the Bari Doab, A.A., II, p. 318) Shaikh Abu Ishaq of Lahore, Maulana Abdulla Sultanpuri, Qazi Sadr-ud-Din of Jullundur, Shaikh Muin, Maulana Abdush Shakir of Lahore, Maulana Allahadad of Sultanpur and Qazi Nur Ullah of Shustar,⁵ were the most brilliant stars radiating the Punjab with their profound and deep learning. Even the study of Sanskrit was not neglected and students were instructed to read *Viyakarana*, *Niyai*, *Vedanta* and *Patanjali*.⁶ As stated earlier, there was also in Lahore a Mission School started by the Fathers under the patronage of the government for giving instruction to the sons of the nobles.⁷

The general trend of education was religious but secular aims were also not lost sight of, generally people studied not for the sake of education but merely to get government service—the sure avenue to glory and eminence in those days.

1. A.A., I, p. 279.

3. M.B., III, pp. 157, 215.

5. *Ibid.*, pp. 47, 79, 87, 113, 133, 147, 172, 193, respectively.

6. A.A., I, p. 271.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 278.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 85.

7. J.G.M., p. 48.

The period is marked by a vigorous outburst of literary activity which stands unsurpassed in the pre-British literature of the Punjab. The Catholic tendencies of the time are reflected in the Persian and Hindi literature and in the evolution of Urdu and Punjabi.

(a) The Persian literature of the time may be placed under three heads:—

Translations—By Akbar's orders many Sanskrit works were rendered into Persian, a fact which clearly reveals his innermost desire to make both the communities conversant with the real spirit of each other's religion and thus to pave way for their final fusion. Mulla Shirin and Mulla Shah Muhammad played a very considerable part in translating *Razmnamah* (Mahabharat) *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, *Yog Vaishishtha* and *Harivamsa*.¹ Even some of the other translations such as of *Ramayana*,² and *Nal-u-Damyanti*³ were made in the Punjab during the long stay of the Emperor here.

Verse—Though Akbar did not like poets yet many flourished in the Punjab under his patronage, the chief of whom were Sher Qasim, Arsalan, Sarfi, Tazrivi, Jafar, Qazi Nur Ullah and Ghaznavi⁴ (Mir Muhammad Khan Kalan). The former three from among the innumerable poets of the age have been placed in the category of the best by Abul Fazl,⁵ while the last remained for some time the governor of the Punjab. He was a great patron of art and literature and in spite of his constant employment in administrative business he found ample spare time which he devoted to the customary recreation of composing verses and compiled a large *Diwan* of his

1. A.A., I, pp. 104-6.

2. M.B., II, p. 378.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 410.

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 194, 251, 253, 261, 279, 298, 345, 396, respectively.

5. A.A., I, pp. 586, 609.

poems.¹ Shirin was past master in composing odes and epigrams and his felicity of diction was indeed remarkable. He was a man of sympathetic nature and ascetic temper which also coloured his poetry and gave it a tinge of pessimism.²

"O, ye dead, rejoice that ye are at rest,
For pleasure has departed from our midst;
O, ye who are to follow us read the *fatiha*
To offer thanks that you were not living in
our time."

In the composing of chronograms Arsalan had no equal.³

Maulana Abdullah Sultanpuri was a great scholar of Arabic, Quranic exegesis, scholastic theology, history and other Persian works. 'those branches of learning which depend upon the exercise of the memory.' He composed a good many works the best known of which was *Ismat-i-Anbia* and *Sharhu Shamailin Nabi*.⁴ Shaikh Muin the author of *Merijun Nubuwet* was very fond of collating the copies (of the Holy Quran) and having them bound for the use of his students. He had in his employ many scribes for copying valuable books.⁵ Qazi Nur Ullah among several other books also wrote a very fine monograph on the undotted commentary (*Sawatiul-Ilham*).⁶ *Haqiqat-ul-Malk* of Qulij Khan is also worth-mentioning as a great literary work of the time.

Change in the language of the records from Hindi to Persian gave a great stimulus to the spread of the latter language and it became quite popular among the Hindus too who in a short time became the Persian teachers of the Muslims.⁷

1. M.B., III, p. 396.

3. *Ibid.*

5. *Ibid.*, p. 147.

7. A.A., I, p. 352.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 346.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 251.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 194.

(b) In India at this time Hindi inspired by the devotional songs of Tulsi and Hindi. Sur was taking quite a new turn by its contact with Persian which was gaining more and more attention of the Hindus as stated above since the promulgation of the order of Raja Todar Mal. Under the patronage of Akbar it was shedding off its grossness and was assimilating into itself all the sweetness and charm of the Persian Language. Thus galvanised into a new and vigorous life Hindi began to insinuate itself into the favour of the general masses—Hindus and Musalmans alike and soon won the hearts of many eminent writers among whom Kirpa Ram stood unrivalled in his charm and style.¹

He composed his works chiefly in *Brijbhasha* among which *Hit-trangini* was fairly well-known all over India for its elegant style and charming diction. Composed in 1598 it chiefly dwelt upon the nature of man and marked a break with the past inasmuch as it was written in *Dohas* instead of *Chhands* which were then generally used for the expression of erotic sentiment. So Kirpa Ram broke a new ground in the Hindi literature by trying to compress his ideas into a few words. Raja Birbal one of the *Nau Rattans* was another poet whose musical skill and poetical talent won for him quite an eminent position among the Hindi scholars² and was given the title of *Kavi Rai* by Akbar.³ Raja Takht Mal was also a great Hindi poet and composed one work called *Shirikaar Kundki Chopai*.⁴ Ram Chandra's *Ram Vinoda*,⁵ Nain Sukh's *Vaidhya Manot-sava*,⁶ and Lakshmi Narayan's *Prem-Trangini* are among the only extant works of the time.⁷ Among

1. H.H.L., pp. 320-22.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 404.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 361.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 406.

2. A.A., I, p. 405.

4. H.H.L., p. 386.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 402.

the Muslims the only name known is that of Mubarak.¹ Among the dramas Dharam Chand's Natak was a great literary work.² The Sikh Guru Arjan Dev was singing his hymns in Hindi and Punjabi and was crystallizing his devotion into the Adi Granth and Sukhmani; these books shone above all as far as Bakti *ras* was concerned.³

(c) The intellectual, commercial and social intercourse coupled with the order of Urdu. Raja Todar Mal and Akbar's liberal policy, led gradually to the evolution of a mixture of Persian and Hindi.⁴ The name being derived originally from the Turki word Urdu, "Camp"—it at first signified a camp jargon formed by a mixture of Persian, Arabic and Turki with Hindi. Gradually, however, through the incessant work of the Court poets and literary persons at the Court of Akbar it developed a literary form and assumed the character of *lingua franca*⁵ especially of the Indian Muslims. "Originally it was an offspring of Hindi *Prakrits* but under a long and sustained influence of the spoken Persian and its vocabulary, gradually softened itself until it came to acquire the present form and texture."⁶

Jahangir was very fond of saints and scholars, and very often visited their shrines. There were all sorts of *faqirs*. Some of them could tell the exact time of their death. In 1615, in Kashmir a *darvesh* was found dead exactly at the time he had mentioned many days before.⁷ The *faqirs* resorted to various kinds of penance to suppress their worldly desire. While returning from Kangra to

Some saints and scholars of the time.

1. H.H.L., p. 397.

3. H.S., III, p. 59.

5. H.P.L., III, p. 266.

7. *Jahangir's Mem.*, Vol. 1, p. 290.

2. P.H.S., I, p. 139.

4. A.A., I, p. 352.

6. H.P.L., III, p. 265.

Nurpur State in 1622, Jahangir was introduced to a *sanyasi* who was called *Sarvvasi* or *Serve nasi*. He put himself in a cross position and remained there for days. Jahangir found his persistence most wonderful. Nothing could affect him. The Emperor thinking that wine might affect him, administered him cups in Royal fashion, but no change came into his state. The only effect was that he became senseless, but recovered soon.¹

When Jahangir came to the throne Shaikh Hassan occupied a prominent position among the *darveshes*. He was a disciple of Shaikh Shiraz. Six months before the accession of Jahangir, he had written to him disclosing his dreams, in which he stated he had seen pious men and saints delivering sovereignty to Jahangir. He was waiting the event very anxiously so that when it occurred, he might request the new Emperor to pardon the faults of Khwaja Zakariya and Aharari. Afterwards Khwaja Zakariya was given the *mansab* of a commander of 500 on the recommendation of the Shaikh who lived in Lahore.²

Arjan the fifth Guru of the Sikhs was also a very learned man. He had thousands of followers in the Punjab, who paid him a regular tribute.³ He built the golden temple at Amritsar and composed the *Adi-Granth*. The Sikhs increased enormously in his time, so much so that there was no city in Northern India where Sikhs were not to be found.⁴

Hargobind the sixth Guru of the Sikhs⁵ succeeded his father, Guru Arjan in June 1606. He was both the spiritual and temporal chief of the Sikhs. Thousands of Sikhs

1. *Jahangir's Mem.*, Vol. 1, p. 227.

3. *Dabistan*, p. 271.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 272.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 30.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 270.

were his followers. He transformed the Sikhs from religious to a political sect.

Har Rai was the seventh Guru of the Sikhs. He was very pious, and unlike his father did not believe in wars and hunting. He is said to have repented for destroying certain flowers. He was a great physician as well. He cured Dara Shikoh of a grave disease.

He was a great saint of the time at Lahore. When Jahangir, in 1606, returned from Kabul, he was reported of the great learning of the Maulana. The Emperor saw him and was much impressed by his advice.¹

He had established a new sect in the neighbourhood of Lahore. Jahangir did not regard it with favour, so in 1607 he was arrested and imprisoned.²

He was an Isfahani. In his very childhood he went away to Kashmir as an ascetic, but was so much attracted by the beauty of the place that he settled down there. When Akbar conquered Kashmir, Baba Talib became a servant of the Crown. In 1619, when Jahangir was going to Kashmir, he met the Baba, who was nearly 100 years of age at that time. He had been living under Itmad-ud-daulah for some time. The Emperor seems to have been much impressed by his poetry. He was given the title of *Malik-ush-Shu'ra* and a dress of honour.³

He was a great saint, Sindhi by origin; he lived in the suburbs of Lahore now commonly known as Mian Mir after his name. He was very eloquent, virtuous, austere, of

1. *Jahangir's Mem.*, Vol. 1, p. 133.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 77.

3. *Ibid.*, Vol. 2, p. 119.

auspicious temperament, and lord of ecstasy." He had his disciples both among Hindus and Muslims. He prayed seated in an isolated place. He considered himself rich even in his poverty. He was independent of the world. No care worried him. He had gone to see Guru Arjan, when he was in prison and had begged his leave to intercede with the Emperor on his behalf. But the Guru did not agree. This love of the Sikh Guru, he retained even after his death. The Emperor Jahangir heard about him in 1619, when going to Kashmir and showed a desire to see him, and sent word to Hazrat Mian Mir requesting him to see him.¹ The Shaikh did not mind his old age and promptly complied with the Emperor's wish. The King had an isolated and close interview with him, and derived much pleasure therefrom. He was a noble and a great man of his age. The Emperor wanted to offer him a precious gift, but the saint accepted only the skin of a white antelope to sit and pray upon. The Shaikh took leave of the King and returned to Lahore.²

He was known as *Lisan Ullah*. He was son of Mulla Shah Muhammad. He came to Lahore in 1614, attracted by the fame of Hazrat Mian Mir. He became his disciple and remained there until the death of Mian Mir in 1636, when he went away and settled in Kashmir. He was the most pious disciple of Mian Mir. No scholar of the age enjoyed greater reputation for learning and none among the contemporary authors except Dara Shikoh used his pen more usefully for the propagation of spiritual knowledge.³

He was a Khatri of Malwa,⁴ but lived in Dhayanpur, near Batala.⁵ He was a disciple of Chetan Swami.

Baba Lal.

1. *Jahangir's Mem.*, Vol. 2, p. 119.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 87.

5. *India of Aurangzeb*, p. 227.

2. *Ibid.*

4. *Shikoh*, p. 354.

His discourse with Dara Shikoh which took place at Chander Bhan's house at Lahore regarding bridging the gulf between race and race, and creed and creed, between Hinduism and Islam, is very famous.

He was the most accomplished scholar of the time of Shah Jahan in the Punjab. There was a great seat of learning at the tomb of Ali-ul-Haq, son of Zain in Sialkot near the river Aik. The Maulvi lived there and spread his learnings among the people.¹

He was a great physician. He came from Qilan. He knew a lot about medical science and astronomy. He wrote a Persian commentary of the Quran. He was commander of 1000 personal and 300 horse under Jahangir.²

He was a great physician of the time of Jahangir. He died in 1628.³

He was a great jurist. He died in the first year of Shah Jahan's reign.⁴

He was the Qazi of Lahore but Jahangir not being satisfied with him soon removed him from office.⁵

The glory of the Mughals does not only lie in the literary work and administrative organisation, it is also discernible in the masterly architectural achievements of the Emperors. Although no palatial buildings like that of Fatehpur were raised here but still we can say that the Emperors and their nobles did much to enhance the splendour of the Punjab in general and Lahore, its capital, in particular. This subject is so comprehensive that it deserves detailed treatment. As this does not form part of this thesis, I will make an attempt to describe in bare outline, the architectural activity of the time of Akbar only.

1. *India of Aurangzeb*, p. 96.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 542.

2. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. 1, p. 542.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 545.

5. *Ibid.*

The present citadel of Lahore was strengthened with brick masonry. Around it there arose splendid buildings and delightful gardens.¹ Hussain Quli Khan, the Governor of the Punjab, also built some new buildings in Lahore.² Of these buildings none is left.

A sort of Villa at Lahore—was built by Mahdi Bagh-i-Mahdi Qasim Khan. Qasim Khan himself.³ Raja Bhagwan Dass raised the Jami-Masjid of Lahore.⁴ Zain Khan Koka, the Governor of the Punjab, made a beautiful garden at a spot which is now called after his name Maidan of Zain Khan.⁵ But the artistic sublimity was displayed by Hakim Ali. In a tank he built a room of ordinary dimensions to which the only entrance was at top, by a sort of trap door. Over the roof of the room was constructed a reservoir which remained full of water and no one could enter the room except by plunging into bath. Upon reaching this single entrance he gained access to the room furnished with every sort of furniture.⁶ Among the cities, Gujrat on the banks of the Chenab⁷ and Atak Benaras on the banks of the Indus were founded by Akbar.⁸ The former soon grew into a great commercial city and by the time of Aurangzeb it was quite a flourishing city famous for embroidery work.⁹ The city of Amritsar which is now the commercial capital of that province was founded by Guru Ram Das at the land granted by Akbar.¹⁰ Kartarpur was populated by Guru Arjan in 1590.¹¹ Although there was not much art in the buildings still we can say that Akbar's time was full of building activity in the Punjab as well.¹²

1. A.A., II, p. 312.

2. A.N., II, p. 529.

3. A.A., I, p. 348.

4. A.A., I, p. 333.

5. H.L., p. 39, Latif.

6. Z.T.E., VI, p. 193.

7. K.S., p. 98.

8. A.A., I, p. 378.

9. K.S., p. 98.

10. H.S., II, p. 270.

11. H.S., III, p. 2.

12. Reference to some other buildings will be found in the Appendix, but a detailed discussion of Mughal art, architecture, literary and educational activities is much beyond the scope of this thesis. Obviously these subjects deserve separate attention and only a passing reference to them has been made in these pages.

Appendix

Description of the Punjab by Munshi Sujān Rai
of Bātālā in his "*Khulasatu-t-twarikh*." ¹

LAHORE is an old town on the bank of the river Ravi. Its foundation is ascribed to Lav, the son of king Ram Chandra. In some histories they write [the names] also as Lahu and Lāhaur. When in the course of the revolution of the revolving heavens long ages passed away and its buildings fell into ruin and few signs of habitation were left. Sialkot became the seat of government of this kingdom. After Sultan Mahmud of Ghaznin had conquered Hindustan, Malik Ayāz, who was acceptable in the eyes of the Sultan and a man of unparalleled keenness of sagacity, decided to restore this town and built a *pucca* fort and populated the town afresh. Khusrau Shah and Sultan Khusrau Malik, both descendants of Sultan Mahmud, having reconquered this kingdom made Lahore capital; and for 38 years² it remained the capital of the dynasty of Sultan Mahmud. After that, none of the kings of Hindustan chose to reside in this city and its population declined from grandeur. Afterwards, in the time of Tartar Khan, one of the nobles of Sultan Bahlol Lodi, it again became a seat of government. Thereafter, Kamran Mirza, the son of the Emperor Babar, resided in this city, and its population increased. Then the Emperor Akbar, in his own reign, turned his attention to the work of peopling it; and having built a strong fort, a rampart, and a palace, he gave it new splendour. Next the Emperor Jahangir built lofty mansions which are still extant; and his good fortune became for a time the means of its increased splendour. Its habitations were increased by the abodes of the princes and high grandees, especially, the house of Asaf Khan *alias* Abul Hasan, the son of Itimad-ud-

Lahore :
founded by
Lava.

Capital of
the Ghazni-
vids.

Buildings of
Akbar and
Jahangir.

1. This is a reprint of the translation of the *Khulasatu-t-twarikh* as given by Sarkar in his *India of Aurangzeb*. But in this reproduction certain mistakes have been corrected and improvements made by me.

2. From 1153 to 1184 A.C. (Elphinstone, 391) The two kings mentioned here reigned for 34 lunar years. The text is therefore wrong.

Aurangzeb's
embankment

daulah, which is very large and spacious. In the time of the Emperor Shah Jahan, the population increased daily. In the reign of the Emperor Aurangzeb, when the river Ravi encroached upon the town and by its violence destroyed many houses and gardens, in the fourth year from the Emperor's accession, the Imperial order was issued for building a strong embankment that would prevent the destruction of buildings. The officers constructed a strong embankment, two *kos* in length, and the rampart of Alamgir protects the town like the rampart of Alexander. In many places, by building flights of steps they have made the lip (bank) of the river attractive like the lips of the fair. The high *grandees* have added to the beauty of the town by building charming houses and pleasant mansions overlooking the river. From the commencement [of the work] to the present time, when more than 40 years have elapsed, repair and construction of buildings on behalf of the Imperial government have gone on, and much money has been spent on it.

Mosques of
Aurangzeb

and
Wazir Khan

It is undoubtedly a large city and a big town. Few towns can be pointed out that resemble it in extent of habitation and density of population. Various skilled artisans of every country and every class of the handicraftsmen of the age live here. The commodities of the seven climates and the things of sea and land are bought and sold here. Though there are many mosques in every lane and bazar, yet the Emperor Alamgir has built on the bank of the river opposite the lofty palace, a high stone mosque, on which more than five *lac* of rupees have been spent. In the centre of the town is another mosque, which was built by *Wazir Khan alias* Hakim Alim-ud-din of the time of Shah Jahan, which looks like a beautiful mole¹ on the cheek of the town.

Tombs of
Pir Ali
Hajweri.

In this town is the tomb of the greatest of great saints, *Pir Ali Hajweri*, who had both learning

1. A mole on the cheek was considered a sign of beauty. The Persian poet Hafiz, in a well-known couplet, wishes to give away the kingdoms of Samarkand and Bukhara in return for the black mole on the cheek of his mistress.

and piety. Having come from Ghaznin in the company of Sultan Mahmud, he died at Lahore. The Sultan ascribed his conquest of Lahore to the auspiciousness of his coming. Many other favourites of the Divine Majesty live in this town. The august tomb of the Emperor Jahangir is situated on the other side of the river Ravi, near *Shahdara*. Close to it is the tomb of Asaf Khan¹ (Abul Hasan) of the time of Jahangir.

Jahangir

and Asaf
KhanGarden of
Shalimar

Although there are many charming gardens and a thousand pleasant rose bowers in the outskirts of the city, yet the garden of Shalimar, which the Emperor Shah Jahan laid out in imitation of the garden of Kashmir, ravishes the heart of the beholder. As some parts of the capital have been described, I shall, for the satisfaction of people, write about a few of the other towns of this province.

In the *doāb* of *Bait Jalandhar* (between the Beas and the Sutlej) is Jalandhar, an old town. Near it is the tomb of Nasir-ud-din, who enjoyed the reputation of a saint in his lifetime. In summer people assemble at his tomb on pilgrimage. In the suburbs of this town is also situated the tomb of Shaikh Abdullah of Sultanpur² who was famous for his learning and accomplishments, became celebrated under the title of *Shaikh-ul-Islam* in the reign of Salim Shah, and enjoyed the surname of *Makhdum-ul-mulk* in the reigns of Humayun and Akbar. In this *doab* is also the old town of *Bajwara*,³ where *sirisaf*, *adhars*, *doriah*, *panchtoliah*, *jhonah*, white *chirah*, *fotah* of gold embroidery and other kinds of cloth are manufactured well. At *Sultanpur*, *chhint*, *dolai*,⁴ and embroidery are finely made.

DOABS :—
i. JALAN-
DHAR

Doab

Tomb of
Mukhdum-
ul-mulkBajwara :
cloth
weaving

In the *Bari doāb* (between the Beas and the

1. The brother of Nur Jahan.

2. For his life, see *Ain*, i, 544.

3. Bajwara, a village in Hoshiarpur district, 1½ m. E. of Hoshiarpur town. (*I.G.*, i, 439).

4. All the above, except *adhars* and *dolai*, are mentioned in *Ain*, i, 93—95. *Dolai* is a garment well-known in India even now.

ii. BARI Ravi) is the *parganah* of Ast-purmati.¹ Horses
Doab like those of Arabia are bred here ; the price of
some of them comes up to ten thousand or fifteen
thousand rupees. In the *chak* of Guru Hargovind,
a dependency of Patti Haibatpur,² there is a
large garden and a tank ; on a certain day in
Baisakh many men assemble here. Two or three
Ramtirath *kos* from it is *Ramtirath*,³ an ancient holy place

A few *kos* from it is Batala,⁴ a charming
BATALA town, with a pleasant climate. The founder of
this town was Rai Ramdeo Bhatti, zamindar of
Kapurthala and chieftain of his own clan. The
Story of its foundation legend runs that once, as God willed it,
a sort of flood raged in the Punjab, so that all the
land from the river Sutlej to the river Chenab,
was covered with water, and the houses of the
towns and villages were destroyed and many
living creatures perished. For some time after
the flood had subsided, this land remained
desolate. Afterwards habitations appeared in
some places. As the Mughals of Balkh and Kabul
used to make plundering incursions into the
Punjab every year, this country remained
desolate on every side, and many tracts of land
lay waste ; little produce or crop was raised. In
the reign of Sultan Bahlol Lodi, Tartar Khan
took it on lease, and by chance became honour-
ed with the honour of [conversion to] Islam, and
this became the cause of his advancement. In the
year 877 A.H. (1465 A.C.), during the lease of Tartar
Khan, the town of Batala was founded on a site oc-
cupied by a lonely forest. The reason of its being
so named was that at the time of the foundation of
the town there was no good omen ; and so, having
stopped building at that place, they laid the
foundation of the city elsewhere, on a hillock
near it. As 'exchange' is called *Batā* in the
Punjabi language, the town came to be named

Why so
named

1. Or, *Purmati*. No such *parganah* is mentioned in *Ain*.
Not identified.

2. *Patti* in the *Kasur tahsil* of Lahore district, 20 m. N. of
Sobraon, 31°17' N. 74°54' E.

3. *Ramtirath* is 8 m. N. W. of Amritsar.

4. *Batala* (*I. G.*, ii, 215), in Gurdaspur district., 24 m. from
Amritsar. Elliot mistook it for *Patiala*.

Batāla on account of its change of site. The jungle being cut, many hamlets were founded and cultivation took place, and it became recognised as a *parganah*. It has gradually reached such a condition that at present its income comes up to Qarun's¹ forty treasures and breathes equality with the treasury of Purviz. At first the population of the town was not so large. The eunuch Shamsher Khan, who was the *krori* (revenue-collector) of this *parganah* under Akbar,² increased the splendour of the city by building houses worthy of governors, many tanks, and pleasant gardens; and the population of the town increased daily, and it became a heart-ravishing place. Afterwards Shaikh-i-mashaikh, the *krori*, became the cause of its increase of population, by building numerous edifices and charming gardens. Now in the reign of the Emperor Alamgir, Mirza Muhammad Khan (who bears the title of Wazir Khan) made the shops of the bazar *pucca*, in the 12th year of Alamgir's reign (1669 A. C.), when he was employed as overseer of this *parganah*. Banki Rai, Sujan Singh the Qanungo, and their children have built charming rest-houses, caravan-serais, and *porah*.³ Qazi Abdul Haye has established lodging-houses, bazars, caravan-serais, a mosque, and a garden. These men have been the cause of the splendour and enlargement of the town. Gangādhār, the son of Hiranand-dhār, has sunk a *pucca* well in the bazar, beautiful like a mole on the face; and he has also laid out a garden and dug a well with steps in the environs of the city, on the Lahore road. As the water of both the wells rivals the water of the Ganges, their founder is rightly called *Gangādhār*.⁴

Improved
by Akbar's
governor

Buildings of
Wazir Khan.

Sujan Singh.

Abdul Haye

and
Gangadhar

1. Qarun, the cousin of Moses, believed to have been very rich and avaricious. Purviz or *Khusrau Purviz*, grandson of Naushirvan, reigned in Persia 591–628 A.C. (Malcolm's *History of Persia*, i, 125.)

2. "Akbar gave it in *jagir* to Shamsher Khan, his foster-brother who greatly improved and beautified the town, and built without it a magnificent tank." (*I.G.*, ii, 215).

3. *Porah* a set of houses, often enclosed by a wall and forming one ward of a town. (*I.G.*, i, 95.)

4. "He who holds the stream of the Ganges on his head," i.e., Shiva.

Garden of
Amar Singh

Though there are many fresh gardens and pleasant bowers in the suburbs of the city, yet Amar Singh the Qanungo has laid out a garden in imitation of the garden of Shalimar on different planes, with three terraces. The highest terrace overlooks the tank of Shamsheer Khan, it attracts the gaze of beholders by its freshness and beauty, and gladdens the sightseers of the town.

Holy tombs

The outskirts of this town contain many tombs of saints such as the Essence of those who have joined the court of the Lord, viz., Shah Shahab-ud-din Bokhari, Shah Kharab, Shah Ismail, Shah Niamatullah, and Shaikh Al-Haddad, each of whom was greatly revered in his lifetime. Two kos off, in the village of *Miani* is the tomb of Shah Badr-ud-din, who was connected with that saint of saints, Miran Mohi-ud-din. Four kos from Batala, in the village of *Danial-ti-wal*,¹ a dependency of Kalanaur, is the tomb of that Manifestation of Light, Shah Shams, who was one of those that had been admitted to the court of God and of whose miraculous deeds, wonderful legends increase our wonder. One of them is that, in his lifetime, a Hindu named Dipali, was his favourite servant. Once upon a time the day for bathing in the Ganges came round and groups of Hindus set out [for the river.] Dipali asked of His Holiness permission to journey to the Ganges. His Holiness refused to grant it, and ordered him to remind him of it on the day appointed for the assemblage on the Ganges. When the day arrived, Dipali made his petition and was commanded to close his eyes. As soon as he did so, he found himself on the bank of the Ganges, talking with his brothers and relatives who had set out before him, and bathing in the company of this multitude of people, all of whom saw him there. But as soon as he opened his eyes he found himself in the presence of His Holiness and became puzzled by his own achievement. Afterwards when his brothers came back from the journey to the Ganges and found him already at home, they all cried out, "Dipali was not with us in the

Shah Shams

his miracle

1. Not found in Atlas.

[outward] journey ; but all of us bathed in the Ganges with him ; and also at the time of our return he did not accompany us, and yet he reached home before us." At length, having learnt the truth of the affair, they were amazed at this manifestation of supernatural power by that Asylum of Saintship. And there was a more wonderful miracle : a few years after the passing away of this member of the Court of Great God, some carpenters at the command of the Governor of Kalanaur felled a gum tree which grew close to the tomb and were sawing it into pieces for use in a building, when suddenly by the power of God a terrible sound came out, the earth shook, the trunk of the tree erected itself, and the carpenters grew afraid at this occurrence. The tree again became green and put forth leaves and branches. The legend of this wonder became famous in all corners of the world and served to increase the faith of crowds of men in His Holiness, the Essence of eminent Saints. The tomb of this Manifestation of [spiritual] Light is now a place of pilgrimage for the high and the low. Every Friday night, especially on the Friday night of the new moon, many people, both male and female, gather together from far and near and make offerings of money, rice, *malida*, and butter and sugar mixed together. Every one makes vows in the hope of gaining his desire, and by the grace of God the wishes are fulfilled. Unlike the tombs of other [Muslim] saints, this tomb has for its servants and attendants a family of Hindus, the descendants of the said Dipali. Although the Muslims tried and are still trying to oust these Hindus, they have not succeeded, because the special favour of His Holiness was bestowed upon Dipali. Up to the present time the same family has remained confirmed in the service [of the tomb.]

another
miracle.

Hindu guard-
ians of a
Muslim
Saint's tomb.

Near it is a place named *Dhianpur*, in which lived Baba Lal, the chief of the lords of condition and speech, and the place of descent, (i.e., manifestation) of the triumphs of God (who is the Lord of Dignity.) In his own times he was a

Baba Lal, a
Hindu saint.

admired by
Dara
Shikoh.

master of knowledge and a knower of God, eloquent in expressing spiritual truth and wisdom, and the ocean of the waves of various words. Many men, high and low, were believers in him. It is their constant practice and religious duty to repeat his Hindi verses about the truth and knowledge of God. Prince Dara Shikoh, in his lifetime often interviewed this wise man and conversed with him on the knowledge of God. Munshi Chandrabhān of the time of Shah Jahan has penned in a pleasant style in Persian the dialogue between them.

Sikh Gurus:
1. NANAK,

Twelve *kos* from Batala, on the bank of the river Ravi, is the birth-place of Baba Nanak, whose descendants are still living there. In his own days, he was the leader of the caravan in the path of truth (*i.e.*, the spiritual guide of a sect.) the torch-bearer in the road of religion, the Manifestation of the splendour of the light of God, and the beholder of the rays of the secrets of the infinite. He composed Hindi verses on the real character of the True One—the Universal Soul—and thereby proved the unity of the Godhead in an impressive style and clear metaphors. It is said that this Elect One of the world was born at *Talwandi Rai Bhuna*,¹ in the year 1526 of Vikramajit, corresponding to 880 A.H. (1469 A.C.), in the reign of Bahlol Lodi, and lived at the same place in his maternal grandfather's house.² As he was predestined to be a receptacle of the victories of God, he exhibited in his 10th year signs of the knowledge of the invisible world, and performed superhuman acts and miracles; and many men became believers in him. After having gratified them [with spiritual teaching,] he came to the town of Batala, became a householder (*i.e.*, married), and fixed his residence

born at
Talwandi,
1469.

his boyish
miracles.

1. Talwandi, a village on the Ravi, which was held by one Rae Bhooa, of the Bhattee tribe." (Cunningham's *Sikhs*, 37n.)

2. Some say that though the father of Nanak was of Talwandi, Nanak himself was born in Kanakacha, 15 miles south of Lahore, in the house of his mother's parents. (*Ibid.*)

in one of the villages dependent on Batala on the bank of the river Ravi. The fame of his knowledge of God and wise sayings was noised abroad; large numbers of men from all sides of the country came to him and became his disciples. One of his favourites was a musician named Mardāna,¹ who lured men into the snare of faith by singing in a charming manner songs about the Favourites of the Court of the Creator. Nanak, the chief among the knowers of God, renounced this transitory world,² between his 70th and 80th years, in the reign of Salim Shah Afghan. Though he had an obedient son named Lakhmidas,³ yet, as spiritual wealth was not his share, Nanak, at the time of his death appointed as his successor a Khatri named Lehna⁴ (*alias* Teehun), under the title of Guru Anga J. He was one of Nanak's dear associates and intimate attendants. After occupying the seat [of Guru] for a period of 13 years, he departed (1552 A.C.). As he had no son, his son-in-law Amardas (*alias* Bhola) was seated in his chair. He, after acting as the spiritual guide of men for 22 years, vacated his body. (1574 A.C.) Though he had descendants [of his own body], yet at the time of his passing away, he seated in his place his son-in-law Ramdas (*alias* Sodhi), who lived as the object of adoration of his disciples for 7 years (d. 1581 A.C.). After him Guru Arjun,⁵ his son, sat in the chair and after 25 years tied up the baggage of life (d. 1606 A.C.). Then Guru Hargovind,⁶ his

founds the
Sikh sect.

dies 1539.

2. ANGAD,
d. 1552.

3. AMAR-
DAS,
d. 1574.

4. RAM-
DAS,
d. 1581.

5. ARJUN,
d. 1606.

1. "The sweet singer" of the movement, like Charles Wesley among the Methodists.

2. In 1539, at Kartarpur on the Ravi, 40 miles above Lahore.

3. His second son, the eldest Siri Chand having become an ascetic and the founder of the Oodassee sect.

4. Lehna belonged to the Teehun, Amardas to the Bhulleh, and Ramdas to the Sodhi subdivisions of the Kshatriya race.

5. He made Amritsar the seat of the religion, compiled the *Adi Granth*, and organised the Sikh community.

6. He first formed the Sikhs into a military body. Died at Kiritpur, on the Sutlej.

6. HAR-GOVIND.
d. 1645.
7. HAR-RAI,
d. 1661.
8. HAR-KISHEN,
d. 1664.
9. TEGH BAHADUR,
d. 1675.
10. GOVIND RAI.
The Sikh religion :
- faithful son, adorned the chair for 38 years. When he died (1645 A.C.), Guru Har Rai, whose father Guru Dutt¹ had died in the lifetime of Guru Hargovind, sat in the place of his illustrious grandfather, and for 17 years acted as the guide of the believers (d. 1661). After him, his young son, Guru Har Kishen, sat in the chair for 3 years (d. 1664). Then Tegh Bahadur, the younger son of Guru Horgovind, occupied the chair for 15 years, but at last he was captured by the Imperial officers and, in 1081 A.H. (1675 A.C.) corresponding to the 17th year of the reign of Alamgir, executed at Shah-Jahanabad by command of the Emperor. At the time of writing this book, Guru Govind Rai,² the son of Guru Tegh Bahadur, has been seated in the chair for 22 years.

In short, among the followers of Baba Nanak there are many ascetics, men agreeable in speech, austere devotees, and persons whose prayers have been heard [by God]. The essence of the worship of this sect is the recital of the verses of their Guide, which they sing with instrumental and vocal music and with a heart-ravishing chant. They have removed the effects of foul [worldly] attachments from their minds and cast away from their hearts the obscuring veil of impediments [to spiritual progress.] In their eyes, kinsmen and strangers are alike, friends and enemies are the same. They live with devotion to their friends, and without quarrel with their enemies. The reliance which this sect has on its leader is seldom seen in other sects. In the name of their Guide (which they continually repeat on the tongue), they consider it an act of great piety to attend on travellers. If a wayfarer arrives at midnight and takes the name of Baba Nanak, every such stranger and unknown man,—unless he happens to be a thief, highwayman, or person of evil notoriety,—is treated as a brother and friend and served in a worthy manner.

chanting
holy verses.

universal
brother-
hood,

devotion to
the Guru,

hospitality.

1. Eldest son of Har Govind.

2. He made the Sikhs an aggressive power in order to combat the Muslim faith and power, and established the theocracy of the *Khalsa*. He died in 1708 A.C.

Two *kos* from Batala is *Achal*,¹ a place sacred to Syam Kartik, the son of Mahadev; it is an old shrine. Here is a large lake, the water of which rivals that of Kausar in pleasantness and good taste. At the commencement or middle of [the Sun's journey in] the *Libra*, which is the time of the equinox and the merry season among the men of the world,—thousands of mendicants of austere devotion and many anchorites bent upon benefiting others, come to this place. And all classes of people, fashionable, respectable, great and small, male and female, having come from all parts of the country, assemble together for six days. This vast crowd of men and assemblage of private and public personages covers leagues [of ground]. Many get their temporal and spiritual desires gratified by interviewing and frequenting the company of the religious mendicants who know God. Others make merry by meeting and sitting with their friends. Some, by watching the throng of all species of men, understand the rare power of the Creator (who shines in dignity.) Multitudes by beholding the beauty of the moon-faced fairy-like [fair ones], gratify their wishes. Groups of pleasure-seekers and lovers of good cheer fill the stomach of their desire with every sort of eatables. Numbers of the sick, by the holy prayers of the benevolent, get curative medicines. And in this merry gathering, in one part of the bazar, on the two sides of the road, are arranged on trays and dishes many kinds of eatables, confects, fruits of spring and autumn, perfectly sweet and fresh. In another quarter of the assembly, music, song, dance, and pantomime delight the sightseers and the audience. At another place, clever buffoons and eloquent storytellers, by their rare speeches, excite the laughter of the spectators. Elsewhere strong-armed athletes and strong men of iron-like grasp perform the feats of Rustam² and Isfandyar in wrestling. At another place jugglers of

Achal

Mela

vast gathering :

ascetics

beautiful women

food-stuffs

confects

singing

gymnastics

jugglery

1. Not found in Atlas.

2. Rustam, the celebrated Persian hero and son of Zal. (Malcolm's *History of Persia*, l. 19 et seq.) Isfandyar, a son of Gushtasp, King of Persia. (*Ibid.*, l. 46 et seq.)

pictures

weapons

din and
bustle.

extraordinary capacity perform strange and clever tricks in sleights of skill and rope dancing. Elsewhere many matchless pictures of heroes, of banquet and war, of mountain-like elephants and strong-limbed horses, and of other objects, create a second picture-gallery of Mani¹ upon the walls, and make the beholders stand absorbed in the sight like figures on a wall. In another quarter the bazar grows warm with the buying and selling of many kinds of arms, accoutrements, and the various implements used by men and women, and children's toys. The ears of the heavens are deafened by the shouts of men, the din and bustle of the crowd, and the sounds of the large brass drum, the tabor, the tamburine, the cymbal, the lute, etc. The great dust chokes up the eyes of the sky. Undoubtedly this is a sight to behold which the sky opens its thousand eyes; and the stars grow in wonder as they gaze at it. The Sun, which does not stop for a moment in its swift revolution, stands in the sky to behold this assembly. The Moon, which illuminates the gathering of night, every day puts forth its face out of the window of the East in order to see it. Travellers of the habitable world and tourists of hill and forest have never seen such a gathering or spectacle in any other place. The people of Batala, even when they happen to be a hundred leagues away from their home and in the enjoyment of power, pleasure, comfort, and wealth, invariably wish to come to this place at the time of the gathering. As the birth-place of the author of this book is the pleasant land of Batala, he has thought it fit to record a few of the things of that happy town and this delightful fair.

Kangra

In this *doab*, 50 *kos* from Batala in the northern direction in the hilly region, is the fort of *Kangra*, famous for its strength. At the foot of that fort is a place named Nagarkot,² sacred to Bhawani,

1. The founder of the sect of Manichæans, and a celebrated painter.

2. Situated on the northern slope of a hill which is surmounted by the fort of Kangra. "The temple of Devi ranks among the oldest and wealthiest shrines in India." (*I.G.*, vii, 430.)

and an old place of pilgrimage. Twice a year, in September and February, people come here on pilgrimage from distant places,—sometimes after a year's journey—and get their hearts' desire. What is more wonderful is that some, in order to realise their wishes, cut out their tongues; these tongues are restored in a few hours in the case of some, in two or three days in the case of others. Another miracle is that in this place some men sever their heads from their trunks; their friends place the heads on the bodies and they again get life by the grace of God.

Ten *kos* from Nagarkot is *Jawālamukhi*,¹ in many spots of which tongues of fire shoot up like torches. Men make pilgrimages to this place also, and throw into the fire all sorts of things, which are reduced to ashes. This is regarded as auspicious.

In the *doab* of Rechnau [between the Ravi and the Chenab] there is an old town, Sialkot, also called Salkot. Its foundation is ascribed to Raja Sāl (Shalya) the general of the Pandus.² In the book *Mahabharat*, since the composition of which about 5,000 years have passed away, mention is made of the aforesaid town and Raja. It is called Sialkot in connection with Raja Salivahan,³ whose memory is preserved by a *pucca* fort. Formerly it was the seat of government of the Punjab, and the habitations covered 2 or 3 *kos*. It was famous and had a larger population than any other town in this province. In 580 A.H. (1184 A.C.), when Sultan Muiz-ud-din Ghori came for the fifth time with the purpose of conquering Lahore and besieged it without

Nagarkot

devotee cut
out their
tongues

and heads

Jawalamu-
khiiii. RECHNA
Doab.
SIALKOT
its founder
Shalyaor
Salivahan,
an old capi-
tal.fort repaired
by
Muiz-ud-din

1. It has "a very holy shrine, surpassing even that of Kangra. The temple stands above certain jets of combustible gas, issuing from the ground, and kept constantly burning, as a manifestation of the goddess Devi." (*I.G.*, vii, 162.)

2. He was really a general on the side of the Kurus.

3. "Sialkot, founded by Raja Sāl or Shāl, an uncle of the Pandava princes. Restored about 65 or 70 A.C. by Salwān or Salivahana, otherwise called Vikramditya, father of the great Punjab hero, Rasālu.....In the centre of the town stands the remains of an ancient fort, popularly believed to have been the original stronghold of Raja Salwān" (*I.G.*, xii, 451). For further information see my article on Sialkot in the Punjab Government's Weekly, the *Panchayat*, dated the 7th January, 1946.

success, he turned to Sialkot, and, after repairing and renovating its old fort, left his army in it.¹ After a long time, Raja Man Singh, of Akbar's court, when he was Commandant of Jammu and fief-holder of Sialkot, turned his attention to the repair of the fort and the improvement of the town. After that, Masdar Khan, of Jahangir's time, who also was Commandant of Jammu and had this *pargana* as his fief, rebuilt the fort and battlements. Since then many governors have repaired it. In short, this delightful town is adorned with all sorts of beauty; the buildings of the *Qanungos* of the [Jain] tribe of *Bhabra* and of some other persons are extremely delightful and heart-attractive. Good paper² is manufactured in this town, especially the *Mansinghi* paper and silken paper of very good texture, white, clean and durable. These are exported in all directions. Embroidery with silk and gold threads and many kinds of *bafta*, *chira* (scarf), *fotah* (sheet), *sozani*, *adsoka*³ tablecloth, tray covers, and small tents with figures in gold-thread, are well manufactured here. Every year about a *lac* of rupees' worth of embroidered fabrics are bought and sold and sent to all parts of the world. The *jamdhar*, *katari*,⁴ and lance are well made.

In the environs of the city are pleasant and charming gardens, especially the garden of Nazar Muhammad, where plants and fruits of every kind are grown.

Near it flows the stream of *Aik*, which issues from the mountain of Jammu. This stream after leaving that town, for ten *kos* extends over the ground and gets the name of *Khelri*,⁵ and,

1. Elliot, ii, 295.

2. "The distinctive industry of the place is the manufacture of paper, carried on in 3 hamlets forming suburbs of the city.....Under the Mughal Emperors, Sialkot paper was noted for its excellence, being largely used at the Delhi court." (*I.G.*, xii, 452)

3. All these are mentioned in *Ain*, i, 93-95, except *adsaka*.

4. *Ain*, i, 110.

5. *Khilree*, a river directly south of Wazirabad, is also called *Aik*, though it is distinct from the *Aik* which flows by Sialkot.

Man Singh.

and Masdar
Khan.

Manufac-
tures:
paper.

embroidery

arms

River Aik

branching off on all sides, disappears. In the rainy season when this canal becomes flooded, many people of Sialkot, both high and low, strip themselves naked from head to foot and with only a waist-band on, get upon [inflated] skins and perform water-sports in this canal with happiness and joy. If any inhabitant of this town happens to be at a distance at that time, the memory of the water-sports of the town makes him cheerful. In this charming place is the tomb of Imam Ali-al-Haq, the son of Imam Zain-ul-Abidin. It is said that he came to Hindustan from the west in the company of many Muslims with the intention of waging a holy war. By chance he reached Sialkot, and having fought with the Hindus received the honour of martyrdom. The tomb of this Manifestation of Light is a place of pilgrimage to high and low.

water sports
at Sialkot

Tomb of
a holy war-
rior

Scholars of
Sialkot :

This happy town is a seat of learning and the resort of learned men, a mine of scholarship and the abode of scholars. In the reign of the Emperor Akbar, Maulana *Kamal*, that essence of the masters of condition and speech, getting angry with Husain Khan, the governor of Kashmir, came to Sialkot in 971 A.H. (1564 A.C.) engaged himself in teaching pupils, and thus gave currency to learning in this town. In the reign of Shah Jahān, Maulvi Abdu-l-Hakim—the most accomplished of the accomplished, the most perfect of scholars, the manifestation of the upright nature, the ocean of the waves of learning and perfection, the man of unrivalled accomplishments and beneficence,—spread learning still further. By writing marginal commentaries on some books, he interpreted the meaning of difficult passages ; the pupils who joined his blessed school from far and near, attained to many accomplishments. When he passed away, that leader of the men of God and guide of the creatures of the Deity, Maulvi Abdulla, the second son of the saved soul [Abdul Hakim], engaged himself in increasing the glory of the school and in guiding the pupils. He made his internal virtues match his external learning and his religious

Kamal

Hakim

Abdulla

poverty the close associate of his scholarship. As he promoted sweeter manners and acted as the guide of all classes of men, this great man was surnamed "the Imam of the Age." He passed on to the Eternal world in the 26th year of Alamgir's reign (1682 A.C.)

Places of
Pilgrimage:
Dhonkal

Twelve *kos* from Sialkot is *Dhonkal*,¹ a place associated with Sultan Sarwar. It is a place of pilgrimage at all times; but in summer crowds of people come from all sides of the country and offer presents, and for two months there is a great gathering here.

Purmandal

Fifteen *kos* from Sialkot is *Purmandal*,² in the midst of the hills of Jammu. It is sacred to Mahadev. When the Sun enters the Sign of Virgo, which is called *Baisakhi*, large numbers of people, coming from all sides of the world, form a great gathering. And the kings of the hilly region, coming with pomp and grandeur, construct high platforms and practise archery. A rare spectacle is seen.

River Degh.

The river Degh issues from this place. After leaving it and passing by the limits of villages of the *parganas*³ of Zafarwal, Haminagar, Pasrur, and Aminabad, it reaches the foot of the bridge of Shah Daula,⁴ which is on the high way. Flowing by the *parganas* of Daulatabad, Mihrabad, Manish, Faridabad, and others, it unites with the Ravi. This *pargana* is called Degh-Ravi.

Bismuth

In Jammu there is a mine of bismuth. Taking gravel from the river Tavi (which flows at the foot of Jammu city) and setting it on fire, they make bismuth. No other place produces bismuth of such whiteness, hardness, and durability.

SODHRA

Sodhra⁵ is an old fort on the bank of the river Chenab. In the reign of the Emperor Shah

1. 4 miles south of Wazirabad.

2. 14 miles S.E.E. of Jammu city.

3. Of these 8 *parganas*, Zafarwal, Pasrur, and Aminabad are given in Atlas; Haminagar and Daulatabad are mentioned in *Ain*, ii. 319; the remaining three have not been identified.

4. Given in Atlas, Sheet 30, as *Pool Shah Dowla*, 31.54 N. 74.25 E.

5. Four miles N.E. of Wazirabad.

Jahan, *Ali Mardan Khan*, the premier noble, founded a city near the aforesaid village and named it *Ibrahimabad* after his own son. He laid out a pleasant garden, which rivals the garden of *Shalimar*, and built lofty houses, spending six *lac* of rupees on these buildings, garden, and a canal¹ which brings the river *Tavi* to the garden-house. The Imperial government has assigned to the premier noble 2,000 villages of *Sodhra* rent-free for the repair of the aforesaid garden and city.

In the *doab* of *Chinhut*,² [between the *Chenab* and the *Bihat*] is the town of *Gujrat* which was populated in the reign of the Emperor *Akbar*; and villages having been detached from the *pargana* of *Sialkot*, a separate *pargana* was formed. At first the town was not so splendid as now. But *Shah Daula*, the Essence of saints, fixed³ his habitation here, and constructed a tank, wells and mosques. He also built a bridge over the river, which, flowing from the hills of *Bhimber*,⁴ had been doing injury to the above town. He thus became the cause of its growth in population and splendour. It is said that *Shah Daula* in early life was the slave of *Khema Bhadra*,⁵ an inhabitant of *Sialkot*, and loved *Faqirs* excessively. He particularly served his Holiness *Mian Midna*. When the time of departure of *Mian Midna* arrived, his gracious look fell on *Shah Daula*, and by the influence exerted at that time he was turned to another way of life, and his interior was illuminated with the light of spiritual knowledge. Leaving *Sialkot* for *Gujrat*, he resided there. As he was illuminated at heart, many treasure-troves became revealed to him, and he built houses and bridges in many places; in particular he built a strong bridge—such a substantial structure as no rich man even has constructed—over the river *Degh*

Ali Mar-
dan's
garden-
city

and canal.

iv. CHIN-
HUT
Doab.
Gujrat.

the abode
of Shah
Daula

his life

charity and
public
works;

1. Ali Mardan's canal "brought the waters of the *Tavi* to supply the Imperial gardens at *Shahdara*," on the *Ravi*, opposite *Lahore* city. (*I.G.*, xii, 441.)

2. Also spelt *Jenhat* or *Jechna*.

3. In the reign of *Shah Jahan* (*J. G.*, v, 196.)

4. West of *Jhelum* city.

5. *Kshema-bhadra*, or probably *Kshema* of the Jain tribe of *Bhabra*, mentioned by *Hunter* as living in *Sialkot*.

his tomb.

Manufac-
turesv. SIND
SAGAR
Doab :
Rock salt

on the highway, 5 *kos* from Aminabad in the direction of Lahore. While this Asylum of Saintship lived, many people used to make pilgrimages to him from all parts of the world, and present him with cash and kind. This knower of the secrets of the unseen [world] used to bestow cheerfully on other pilgrims more than what had been presented to him [by his devotees.] Every day he used to keep open the hand of gift and charity to such an extent that the liberality of the whole lifetime of Hatam was not a tenth part of a tenth part of his [daily alms.] At last in the 17th year of Alamgir's reign (1674 A.C.) he departed to the Eternal world. Near the city stands the tomb of this great man, an object of pilgrimage to many. This town is the abode of all classes of men and a store-house of the articles of all countries and the rare things of the age. Swords and *jamdhars* are well made, and more embroidery is done than at Sialkot. Here are bred horses resembling the Arab, some of which fetch prices up to one thousand rupees.¹

In the *doab* of *Sindh Sagar* (between the Jhelum and the Indus), rock salt is obtained near Shamsabad² at the foot of the mountain. The salineness and delicate taste of this salt are renowned as surpassing those of the salts of [other places on] the surface of the earth. It is called the *Sindh salt*,³ i.e., the salt produced in

1. In the *doab* of Chihut, we read of some flourishing places, viz., Thoon, Murrallah and Thimka. Thoon was known for its valiant Kashmiri Maliks and Gujjars who occasionally repelled the plundering raids of the Gakhars on the adjoining villages. The inhabitants of this village remained a constant source of trouble to the Sikhs also. Murrallah was mostly populated by Gujjars who also many a time repelled the Gakhar attacks. During the Sikh rule they gave much trouble to the government and were never completely subdued. Thimka was known for its Mian family which produced many fighters against the Sikhs. Thoon is situated one mile south of Serai Alamgir, Murrallah $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles S. E. of Kharian and Thimka two miles north of Jalalpur Jattan. For further information, see my article on Gujrat in the Punjab Government's Weekly, the *Panchayat* dated the 7th September, 1945.

2. It seems to have been situated near Pind Dadan Khan. There is a *Shamsabad* 10 m. S.E.E. of Atak, but it could not have been meant by our author.

3. Sanskrit *saindhava lavana*, 'salt of the sea,' the meaning of *Sindhu* being 'sea.'

the *doab* of the Sindh river. By the power of God, the Creator of rare things, the whole mountain has been formed of salt, though its length exceeds a hundred *kos*. In the *Zafarnama* and the *Akbarnama* it is called "the mountain of Judha." Judha was the chief of the tribe of Janjuah,¹ under whose name the hill is famous and whose descendants still hold sway over the *parganas* of Kirijhak, Pandna, Makhiala,² and others, which are situated at the skirts of the hills. In short, men called *Alasha-kash* are engaged in extracting the salt. Digging a mine of more than 200 or 300 yards deep in the hill side, each man, naked from head to foot, with torch in hand and pick-axe on shoulder, goes into the dark mine, digs out lumps of salt three *maunds* in weight, and comes out carrying them on the back. They get wages from the superintendents of this work. As they are well accustomed to this work, they do not feel any fear or bewilderment in going into the darkness, digging salt, and bringing it out of the mine. By the grace of God, inside the mines it is not hot in summer nor cold in winter, but temperate like spring in all seasons. Although rock salt is got from many places, yet *Khehra* and *Kheora*³ are two large mines near Shamsabad, from which several *lacs* of *maunds* of salt come out every year. The Imperial government gets from them a royalty amounting to the [total] revenue of other places. Many skilled artisans make trays, dishes, dish-covers, and lamps of salt.

vast deposits

how salt is
extractedthe best
minesart wares of
salt.

Sweet lime

Near it is situated a quarry of sweet lime which is used in whitewashing the inside of the houses of wealthy men. Of this stone also they make dishes, cups, and other things.

Near it, within the territory of Makhialah is *Kota Chhina*,⁴ a lake, the depth of which no man

Sacred lake

1. A pure Rajput tribe, mentioned by Hunter (vii, 168.)
2. *Kirjhak* (or *Girijak*) and *Makhialah* are mentioned in *Ain*. (ii, 324) *Pandna* cannot be traced.

3. Given in *Atlas* (Sheet 15.) *Kheora*, 32°39' N, 73°4' E., *Kheora* 4 m. N.E. of *Keora*. "The Mayo mines in the neighbourhood of the village of *Kheura*, a few miles N.E. of *Pind Dadan Khan*, in *Jhelam Dist.*" (*I.G.*, xli, 171.)

4. Not identified. The only lakes here are the *Kallar Kahar* and the *Sun Sukesur Kahar*.

knows. It is regarded as an ancient place of worship. On holy days, such as the time of the entrance of the Sun into the Sign of Aries, and such others, groups of Hindus assemble here for bathing. It is their belief that the Earth has two eyes,—the right eye is the lake of Pushkar near Ajmer and the left eye is this lake.

Balnath
Tilla

On the summit of this mountain, 7 *kos* from the fort of Rohtas is a cave of austerities, *Balnath Jogi*. It is [also] called *Tilla*,¹ and is situated four *kos* high (?) On appointed days, especially on the *Shiva-ratri* (which is a day sacred to Mahadev), at the end of winter, many men and crowds of *Yogis* assemble here and perform worship.

resort of
ascetics.

Rivers of
the Panjab :

1. SUTLEJ :

its course
in the hills

and plain

A few of the famous places of the five *doabs* have been set down here. It is now necessary to write a true account of the six rivers of this province which enclose the five *doabs*. The first river, the SUTLEJ, issues from the mountain of Bhu Tibbat and passes by the territories of Kullu and Bashahr.² Then it travels among the mountains, and reaching the limits of Kahlur encloses that country on three sides. The King of Kahlur by reason of the strength afforded by this river, the inaccessibility of the hills, and the security of his residence,—the city of Bilaspur is his seat of government,—swerves from [obedience to] the Imperial officers. This river, after issuing from the hills, parts into two branches, passes by the fort of Mako-wal³ (which was the abode of

1. Tilla, the sanitarium of the Jhelam Dist., 3242 ft. high, according to Hunter. (but 3215 ft. acc. to Atlas, sheet 29, where it is spelt *Jogi-tila*.) 32°51' N. 73°30' E.

2. Kullu, the territory round Sultanpur, 32°5' N. 77°2' E. (Letts' Sheet 11.) *Bashahr*, a hill State, lying N.E.E. of Simla *I.G.*, ii, 182) *Kahlur*, a hill State N.W. of Simla. (vii. 293.)

3. *Makowal*, 20 m. W. of Bilaspur city. *Kiratpur*, 'a place bestowed upon Hurgovind by the hill chief of Kuhloor.' (Cunningham's *Sikhs*, 56.) *Rupar* is in Ambala district; *Machhiwara* is midway between Rupar and Ludhiana; *Talwari* (Atlas, Sheet 30), 23 m. S. of Jullundur city; *Talwarah* is 4 m. W. of Aliwal, on the south bank of the Sutlej. *Bauh* is not found in Atlas, though Jarrett speaks of a *Baupur*. *Mandi* and *Suket* are given in Letts' Sheet 11. *Hindun* is probably a mistake for *Nandaon*, 16 m. S. of Kangra fort.

Guru Govind Rai) and Kiratpur (in which lived Gurus Har Govind and Har Rai), and then forms one stream again on arriving near the village of Rupar. Thence passing by the village of Machhiwara, it reaches the neighbourhood of Ludhiana. In this *mahal* is a royal road. From this place it passes by the villages of Talun and Tharah, and unites with the river Beas near the *mauza* of Bauh, a dependency of the *pargana* of Haibatpur Patti. The tract between these two rivers is called the *doab* of *Beth Jalandar* and [also] *Siharwal*.

unites with
the Beas.

2. BEAS:

The second river, BIAH (Bias), also rises in the hilly country of Bhu Tibbat, from a lake. Passing by the town of Kullu, it arrives at the city of Mandi. Then, flowing through the territories of Suket, Sachchan, and Machalmuri, it reaches the foot of the town of Hindun,—the residence of the Commandant of the hill country. Thence it passes by the limits of Dhual, Sabnah, and Gualiar. Though Gualiar is a small country, yet its Raja has often defied the Imperial officers by reason of the strength of the river and the inaccessibility of the hill. Then this river passes by the villages of Purnur¹ and descends from the hills. After reaching the plains and passing by the fort of Kanuahan, (which is one of the Emperor's appointed places of hunting), and the village of Rahila, it reaches the foot of the city of Govind-wal. Here is a royal road. After leaving this place, it unites with the river Sutlej near the *mauza* of Bauh. The tract between these two rivers is called the *Beth* of Jalandhar. [The united stream of] both these rivers passes by the towns of Firuzpur and Mamdot. Thence reaching the territory of the *mahals* of the *Sarkar* of Dipalpur,² it widens in the rainy season. Leaving Dipalpur it bifurcates: one branch flowing southwards gets the name of Sutlej, the other flowing northwards by way of Qabwal and Kata-i-Balbi gets the name of Biah. Both these streams, after a few leagues, unite again. Passing

its course
in the hills

and plain

junction
with the
Sutlej

1. A mistake for Nurpur, which is midway between Chamba and Batala. Kanhwan, 10 m. S. of Gurdaspur town. (Atlas, Sheet 30.) Govindwal, 14 m. S.W.W. of Kapurthala.

2. 30°40' N. 73°43' E. (*J.G.*, iv, 303).

merges in
the Indus.

3. RAVI :

its upper
course

four canals
issuing
from it.

its lower
course

unites with
the Chenab.

by the limits of Fatehpur, Khiror,¹ and other places, the river reaches the territory of Khalu Ketarah and gets the name of *Kanarah*,² [but] in the territory of the Baluchis it gets the name of Sindh river.

The third is the river RAVI. Between the Biah and this river lies the famous *doab* of Bari and Manjhah. The Ravi issues from the mountain of Man Mahes, a dependency of the country of Chamba, which is a place sacred to Mahadev and has the snow and climate of Kashmir and Kabul, and produces many sweet and delicious fruits. The kings of this place breathe the spirit of independence on account of the extent of their country, its large population, the inaccessibility of the hills, and the strength of their fastnesses, as this river forms a barrier to the Imperial army. After coming out of Chamba and flowing to the boundaries of the land of Besuhli³, it reaches the foot of the town of Shahpur, a dependency of Nurpur. Near Shahpur⁴ have been taken out of this river a royal canal which goes to the garden of Shalamar in Lahore, a second canal which goes to the *pargana* of Pathan [-Kot], a third [canal which goes] to the *pargana* of Batala, and a fourth [canal which goes] to the *pargana* of Biar Patti Haibatpur.⁵ These canals do good to the crops of the *mahals*. After leaving this place and flowing by the limits of the *pargana* of Pathan [-Kot], Katuhah, Kalanaur, Batala, Pursarwar, Eminabad, and other *mahals*, this river increases the splendour of the capital, Lahore. [It acts as] a highway at the feet of the Imperial buildings. After this place, passing by the limits of Sindh uan, Faridabad, Degh-Ravi, and Multha, it unites with the rivers Chenab and Bihat (Jhelum), which flow

1. Both given in Letts' Sheet 12, N. E. of Bahawalpur.

2. Atlas (Sheet 30) gives 2 canals as branching off from the Sutlej and named Kutora and Kanwah. Our text seems to be wrong here.

3. 20 m. W. of Chamba (Letts' Sheet 11).

4. 32°23 N. 75°44 E. (Atlas, Sheet 29), north of Pathankot. The main Bari Doab canal issues from *Madhupur*, 7 m. N.W. of Pathankot. Ali Mardan Khan's canal commenced a little below this point (*I.G.*, ii, 153).

5. The Sobraon branch of the Bari Doab canal goes to Patti. *Biar* is inexplicable to me.

together, near Sarai Sindhu,¹ 20 *kos* from Multan, and gets the name of Chenab.

The fourth river is the CHENAB. The region between the Ravi and this river is famous under the name of *Rechnau doab*. In the books of the Hindus, Chenab is written as the Chandrabhaga. It is believed to have come out of the country of Chin. When [the Chenab ?] after passing by the limits of the land of Chamba reaches Kishtwar,² (the saffron of which place is famous), the river Chandrabhaga, having come from the direction of Thibet, joins [it] and gets the name of Chandrabhaga.³ From this place, travelling by way of Hasial and Bahwal, at the feet of the towns of Ambara and Akhnoor,⁴ it descends from the hills with a hundred lustres. Passing near the hill of Tarakota, (a dependency of Jammu,) which is a famous place sacred to Bhawani, at the feet of Ambara and Akhnoor [it] emerges from the hills with a hundred lustres.⁵ In this place is [seen] a wonderful spectacle and [it is] a theatre of strange things. Its water in perfect deliciousness equals the *elixir vitæ*, and this is due to the reason that there is a similarity of spelling between *Ab-i-Chenab* (the water of the Chenab) and *Ab-i-Hayat* the water of life). After leaving this place it flows in 18 streams. On reaching the foot of the city of Bahlulpur, at a distance of 12 *kos*, it again becomes one stream. Passing by the villages of the *vargana* of Sialkot and the foot of the town of Sodhra,⁶ it arrives at Wazirabad. Merchants bring *sal* and the famous teak wood by the river highway from the hilly country of Chamba and elsewhere to Wazirabad, and make

4. CHENAB

its upper
course

and lower
course

1. *Sindhuan*, probably Syedwala, 4 m. S. W. of Faridabad. Faridabad, 31°8' N. 73°37' E. Deg-Ravi, in Montgomery district. Letts' Sheet 12 has *Sarai Sidhu*, 42 m. N.N.E. of Multan.

2. 33°14' N. 75°45' E. (Letts' Sheet 11).

3. The *Ain* (ii, 310) has "From the summit of Kishtwarah issue two sweet water streams, the one called *Chandar* and the other *Bhaga*, which unite near Kishtwar."

4. *Akhnoor*, 32°42' N. 74°48' E. *Ambarah* is 2 N. m. of it. *Tarakota*, given at *Trekotta Temple*, 3°3' N. 75° E. (Atlas, Sheet 29).

5. The text is evidently corrupt here.

6. *Behlolpur*, 32°41' N. 71°30' E. *Sodhra*, 4 m. N.E. of Wazirabad.

profit. Having built rafts with the wood, they carry them for sale along this river to Bhakkar and Thatha. At Wazirabad there is a highway. Then it flows by the feet of the towns of Jakubar [Chak Bhattee ?], Diudhath, Bhuna, Mizl, and Hazara.¹ Four *kos* from Hazara, on the bank of the river, is situated the tomb of Dhundu Ranjha, who was famous for his love of the lady Hir; the people of the Punjab have made rare pictures and wonderful verses about the love-madness of this pair, and sing heart-ravishing ditties and songs. After leaving this place, it passes between two hillocks, near the old town of Jind-niwat (?), and forms a wonderful spectacle. In this town is the tomb of Shah Burhan, who was famed as a saint, and in whom many people [still] believe. After passing by this place and uniting with the river Bihat [at Timmu] near the town of Jhang-Sialan,² (the residence of Hir, who became famous for the love of Ranjha), it proceeds onwards.

junction
with the
Jhelum.

5. JHELUM

its source

The fifth river is the BIHAT (*Jhelum*). The *doab* between the Chenab and this river is known as the *Chunhat*. The Bihat issues from a lake [*Ver*] in the hills and having reached the city of Kashmir (i.e., Srinagar) passes through the bazar and streets. Bridges have been built at various places in the town. Many heart-attractive gardens, delightful buildings, charming promenades, and unparalleled houses are situated on its banks. After leaving Kashmir, it is joined by the river *Kishengang*³ within the limits of Pakhli. Thence it reaches the foot of the town of Dangali, the seat of government of the chief of the Ghakkars. Afterwards, passing by Mirpur and other places in the Ghakkar territory, it comes below the city of Jhelum,—in which *mahal* there is a highway,—

junction
with the
Kishan
Ganga

1. *Bhowana*, 25 m. N. N.E. of Jhang. *Huzara*, 32·8 N. 73·18 E. in Shahpur district (Atlas, Sheet 30). The others cannot be identified.

2. *Jhang* was founded by Mal Khan, a *Sial* chieftain, in 1642, and its principal inhabitants are Sials (hence the name), and Khattris. (*I.G.*, vii, 213).

3. "At Muzaffarabad, just before entering British territory, the Jhelum receives the Kishan Ganga, which rises in Baltistan or Little Tibet." (*I.G.*, vii, 165). *Dangli*, a Ghakkar stronghold, near Hilan or Hil, a ferry on the Jhelum. (*Ain*, i, 457n.)

and gets the name of Jhelum river. Thence, flowing by¹ Girjhak, Zhandna, Shamsabad, Bhera, Khushab, and Khurd-khana, it unites with the waters of the Chenab [at Timmu] near the town of Jhang-Sialan, and gets the name of Chenab.

The sixth river is the *SIND*. Between the Bihat and this river lie the land of *Ponhuhar*² and the *Sind Sagar doab*. This stream intervenes between Hindustan, Kabulistan and Zabulistan (Ghaznin). Its source is not known, but according to travellers it issues from the country of the Qalmuqs. After passing by the limits of Kashghar, Tibbat, and Kafiristan, and the countries of Kashmir, Pakhli, and Dantur,³ it reaches the land of the Yusufzais. At the foot of Atak Banaras fort, the river *Nilab* (the Kabul) having come from the direction of Kabul, mixes with some other streams. As the river has little breadth here, it flows narrow and swift with great violence, so that the eyes of beholders cannot rest firmly on it and the sight of onlookers grows dim. Its dashing waves turn the bile of fish into water, and break into fragments the rocks and black boulders upon which they beat. In this *mahal* is a highway. The rapidity of the current makes boats travel quickly and arrive at the opposite bank in the twinkling of an eye. On the western bank of this river is a black rock which is called *Jalali*.⁴ Boats have often sunk by striking upon this fatal rock and the passengers have been drowned in the river of non-existence. Hence it is always dreaded by boats. The common people say that on the top of this rock is a great tomb which bears the name of Jalali; but the [true]

and with
the Chenab
6. INDUS:

its course
in the hills

at Attock

violent
current

a black rock
fatal to
boats

named
Jalali by
Akbar

1. *Mirpur*, 33°10' N. 73°55' E. *Girjhak*, the Hindu name for Jalalpur (acc. to Cunningham.) *Bhera*, on the left bank of the Jhelum, 10 m. S. W. of Pind Dadan Khan. *Khushab*, 32°16' N. 72°14' E. The others cannot be traced.

2. According to Blochmann (*Ain*, i, 487n) this is a mistake for *Pothwar*, the country between the Jhelum and the Sohan, from Margalah to Hatia.

3. *Dhantawar*, a district near the Kashmir frontier, close to Naushahrak. (Cunningham's *Anc. Geo.* 131.)

4. "Below their junction, a dangerous whirlpool eddies between two jutting precipices of black slate, known as *Kamalia* and *Jalalia*, from the names of two famous Roshnai heretics, who were flung from their summits during the reign of Akbar." (*I. G.*, i, 381.)

reason of its being so named is reported to be the following:—In the reign of the Emperor Akbar, an Afghan named Jalali¹ became notorious for wrong-doing, rebellion, and highway robbery. The Emperor once wished to cross this river for the purpose of travelling to and hunting in Kabul. All of a sudden his treasure-boat struck against the rock and went down, and the Emperor remarked, "This rock has proved a Jalali." As a king's word becomes the king of words, thenceforth the rock got the name of *Jalali*. Near it is a stone-house of the Raja of Hudi,² who held sway over this country in former times.

Attock fort

the ethnic
frontier of
India.

On the east bank of the river is situated the fort of Atak. There is no other road for the coming and going of travellers than [that through] the fort. There are pleasant houses overlooking the river; especially, the houses of the governors on the river-side wall of the fort are extremely delightful. It is a city of temperate climate, midway between Hindustan and Kabulistan, so that on this bank the manners, customs and language are Indian, while on the other bank are the houses of the Afghans and Afghan customs and speech.

The Indus
is joined by
the other 5
rivers.

In short, this river, after leaving this place and passing by the hills of Afghanistan, Khatak (Kohat?), etc., reaches the plain at Sanail³ within the limits of Afghanistan. Thence it passes on to the territories of Baluchistan and Multan. The five rivers of the Panjab, which have been described above, all come out of the northern mountains, and on the other side of Multan within the limits of Baluchistan, they unite with this river one after another. All of them then get the name of Sindh and proceed to the swelling ocean.

Bhakkar

Then, at the foot of the fort of Bhakkar, it

1. "A Hindustani soldier had come among the Afghans, and set up an heretical sect. He gave himself the title of *Pir-i-Roshan*, His son *Jalala*...raised disturbances, shut up the roads between Hindustan and Kabul. ("Elliot, v. 450.)

2. "Babar attacked the Ghakkar capital, *Pharwala*. It was defended with great bravery by its chief *Hati Khan*" (*I.G.*, xii, 24.) "*Hatia*, which was built by a Gakkhar of the name of *Hathi*" (*Ain*, i, 486n.)

3. Can it be *Sanawan*, the northern *tahsil* of Muzaffargarh district? (*I. G.*, xii, 193.)

branches off into two and surrounds the fort. This cause has led to the fort being famous for strength and difficulty of conquest. Thence it goes to the *mahal* of Thatha by way of the land of Sewistan. Thirty *kos* from the city of Thatha it ends in the ocean near the famous port of Lahori.

Thatha.

Port of
Lahori.Climate of
the Panjab

crops

Irrigation
by water-
wheels.

In short, the province of Lahore has a pleasant climate and matchless beauty. Summer is very hot and winter colder in comparison with Hindustan. Its melon and vine are like those of Persia and Turkestan; its mango resembles that of Hindustan; its rice is better than that of Bengal, and its sugar-cane sweeter than that of the Deccan. Cultivation depends upon irrigation from wells; old mechanics make waterwheels which require 360 large and small pieces of wood and more than 100 small pots. So skilful is their mechanism that a pair of oxen can turn such a wheel, at every revolution of which many hundred (?) maunds of water come out of the well in the pots and benefit cultivation. The autumn crops and cheapness of grains depend upon rain. In some places, especially in the rivers Biah and Bihat, they obtain gold by sand washing. In some places in the northern mountains there are mines of gold, copper, brass, and iron, which yield profit to the finders and revenue to the Imperial government.

Washing
gold.

Extent

The length of this province from the Sutlej to the river Sindh is 180 *kos*, its breadth from Bhatar to Chaua Kandi 87 *kos*.¹ Eastwards lies Sarhind, westwards Multan, northwards Kashmir, southwards Dipalpur. It has five *Sarkars* or *doabs* comprising 316 *manals*, and a revenue of 89 *kror*, 33 *lac*, and 80 thousand *dam*² (Rs. 22,334,500.)

Revenue.

1. The *Ain* (ii, 310) has 'from *Bhimbar* to *Chaukhandi*, one of the dependencies of *Satgarah*.' *Satgarah* is 13 m. E. of *Gugaira* on the *Ravi*.

2. Under *Akbar* the province had 232 *manals*, and a revenue of Rs. 13,986,460-9-2. (*Jarrett* has dropped the zero.) *Ain*, ii, 315.

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INDEX

- Abbas, Shah of Persia, 82, 123, 137
 Abdal, 61
 Abdul Aziz Khan, 153
 Abdul Hakim, Maulvi, 10
 Abdullah, 135
 Abdullah Khan, 117
 Abdullah, Maulvi, 10
 Abdullah, Mirza, 38
 Abdullah, Sheikh (of Sultanpur), 7,
 18, 28, 41, 275, 277.
 Abdullah Uzbek of Turan, 76
 Abdul Latif, Mir, 36
 Abdul Nabi Uzbek, 143
 Abdul Qasim, 30, 24, 35
 Abdul Rahim, Khwaja, 137
 Abdul Shahid, Khwaja, 52
 Abdul Wahab, 130
 Abd-un-Nabi, Shaikh, 59
 Abdur Rahim, 142, 147
 Abdur Rahman, 30
 Abdur Rahman Beg, 79
 Abdur Rahman, Shaikh, 85
 Abu Ishaq, Shaikh, 275,
 Abul Barkat, 79
 Abul Fateh, Hakim, 87, 89
 Abul Fateh Khan, 79
 Abul Fazl, 17, 68, 69, 81, 87, 106, 244,
 267, 268, 275, 276,
 Abul Hassan, Khwaja, 133, 164, 165,
 168
 Abul Ma'ali, 24, 26, 27, 36
 Abul Qasim, 81
 Abul Qasim, Mir, 146
 Abu Talib, 165, 168
 Achal, 295
 Adham Khan, 30, 31, 33, 34, 35, 36,
 42, 43
 Adil Beg, Turkoman, 92, 95
 Adil Khan, 138a
 Afghans, 24, 34, 80, 81, 119
 Afghanistan, 178,
 Afridis, 73, 77, 78
 Afzal Khan, 167, 168
 Agra, 7, 34, 41, 113, 118, 122, 132,
 134, 135, 136, 142, 147, 169, 170,
 177
 Ahdad Khan, 137
 Ahmadabad, 98
 Ahmad, Mulla, 266
 Ahmad Beg Khan, 137, 141
 Ain-i-Akbari, 14, 234
 Ajab Beg, 79
 Ajit Singh, 215, 216
 Ajmer, 55, 57, 58
 Akbar, 1, 4, 7, 18, 20, 25, 26, 28, 29,
 30, 31, 32, 34, 35, 36, 38, 40, 55,
 56, 66, 68, 69, 70, 74, 75, 77, 81,
 82, 84, 85, 87, 88, 89, 91, 93, 94, 95,
 97, 100, 104, 105, 107, 108, 112,
 122, 125, 126, 139, 140, 150, 188,
 189, 190, 236, 276, 278, 279, 281,
 284,
 Akbarabad, 108, 138c,
 Akhnoor, 13
 Alah Yar Khan, 164
 Alam Chand, 214, 223
 Ala-ud-Din, Maulana, 275
 Aleppo, 241
 Ali, Mirza, 145
 Ali, Qazi, 91, 92
 Ali Akbar Shahi, 84
 Ali Baghdadi Qazi, 59, 62
 Alif Khan, 214, 217, 224
 Ali Hajweri, Pir, 7, 18
 Ali Khan, 51
 Ali Khan Kak, 61
 Ali Mardan Khan, 11, 20, 171, 172,
 173, 174, 235
 Alim-ud-Din, Hakim, 6
 Ali-ul-Haq, 283
 Ali Muhammad, 71, 79
 Ali Quli Khan, 38, 39, 47, 134,
 Allahabad, 177
 Allahdad, Maulana, 275,
 Alwar, 36
 Aman Ullah, 132, 133
 Aman Ullah, Syed, 80
 Amar Das, Guru, 188, 189, 293
 Amar Singh, Rana, 8, 125
 Ambala, 69, 74, 239
 Ambara, 13
 Aminabad, 86, 89, 106
 Amir-ul-Umara, 140, 142
 Amrit Bal, 107
 Amritsar, 189, 190, 194, 280, 284,
 Amrika Devi, 149
 Anandpur, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217,
 218, 219
 Anant Pal, 24
 Angad, Guru, 293
 Arabs, 3
 Arab Shah, 80

- Arjan, Guru, 112, 148, 188, 190, 191,
 192, 278, 280, 284, 293,
 Arjun Sen, 23
 Aryans, 3
 Araf Beg, 122
 Asad Khan, 138c.
 Asaf Khan, 6, 18, 118, 129, 130, 133,
 135, 137, 159, 160, 161, 163, 164,
 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 172,
 248
 Atak Benares, 20, 75, 88, 284
 Ata Ullah, 165
 Attock, 79, 118, 127, 165, 191
 Aurakzai, 77, 78
 Aurangzeb, 1, 6, 8, 10, 11, 138c, 169,
 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179,
 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186,
 195, 196, 197, 198, 202, 204, 205,
 207, 208, 213, 218, 220, 222, 225,
 284,
 Awans, 5
 Ayaz, Malik, 18
 Azd-ud-Daula, 108
 Aziz Koka, 117
 Azim ush-Shan, Prince 138c.

 Babar, 4, 42, 88
 Badakhshan, 55, 73, 76, 240.
 Badaoni, 99, 100
 Badi-uz-Zaman, 168
 Badr-ud-Din, Shah, 8
 Bahadur, Serai of, 88
 Bahadur, son of Shah Rukh, 127
 Bahadur Khan, 24, 180, 181
 Baha-ud-Din, 83
 Bahlol Lodhi, 18
 Bahlulpur, 13
 Bahu, 232
 Bairam Khan, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30,
 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39
 Bajaur, 77, 78
 Bajwara, 8, 15, 21, 238
 Bakala, 199, 200
 Bakht Mal, 30
 Bakht Mal, the historian, 199, 203
 Bakht Nisa Begum, 73
 Baki Bey, 83
 Balandari, 80
 Balia Chand, 214
 Balkh, 173
 Balnath Jogi, 20
 Balnath Tilla, 70, 274, 304,
 Bambas, 241
 Banafsha, 125
 Bandrata, 24
 Bangahal, 23, 230, 232
 Banganga, 149, 157
 Bangash, 126, 172
 Banki Rai, 8
 Baqir Khan, 121, 134, 160
 Bara Mula, 129, 196
 Barari, 95
 Bari Doab, 1, 2, 4, 5, 8, 9, 16
 Barley, 235
 Barqandaz Khan, 185
 Barvesh, Uzbeg, 37
 Basant, Khwaja, 184
 Bashahr, 12
 Basu, Raja of Man, 90, 101
 Basu, Raja of Nurpur, 145, 186, 152,
 172
 Batala, 8, 9, 13, 19, 103, 282, 288
 Bawli, 194
 Bayazid, Pir, 76, 122, 269
 Beas, River, 1, 5, 12, 15, 22, 305
 Behar, 135
 Benedut, Brother, 98
 Bengal, 141, 168, 194, 201
 Bernier, Francois, 7
 Beshuli, 13, 24
 Bhabu, Raja of Jasrota, 101
 Bhadrawah, 24
 Bhadu, 24
 Bhagaur, 220
 Bhagwan Dass, 55, 57, 65, 71, 73, 75,
 84, 86, 90, 100, 284
 Bhakkar, 1, 122, 128, 184, 249, 310
 Bhakti, 187
 Bhan, 24
 Bhang, 253
 Bhangani, 212, 213
 Bhani, Bibi, 189
 Bharawal, 148
 Bhattis, 5
 Bhawani Devi, 9
 Bhera, 14, 56, 117
 Bhim, 125
 Bhimbar, Pass, 1, 11, 24, 84, 85, 87,
 94, 106, 108, 138, 169
 Bhim Chand, 211, 212, 213, 217, 222,
 227, 228
 Bhoti, 24, 232
 Bhulbas, 129
 Bhu Tibbat, 12
 Bible, 272
 Bidhi Chand, 49, 50, 90, 194
 Bigram, 71
 Bijapur, 207
 Bikanair, 37
 Bikramajit, 120, 122, 153, 154, 155,
 156
 Bikram Singh, 24, 223
 Bilaspur, 218, 228

- Biloch, 4
 Biluchis, 58, 75
 Birbal, 49, 52, 79, 80, 278
 Bir Singh, Raja, 135
 Bishambar Pal, 24
 Bishan Dass, 123
 Bist Jullundur, Doab, 1, 2, 4, 5, 7, 16
 Biyana, 34, 36
 Brahmgarh, 232
 Buddha, Bhai, 190
 Budha Shah, 212
 Bulaki, 169
 Buliyas Pass, 84, 88
 Burhanpur, 116, 119

 Camyari, 29
 Chaj, Doab, 2
 Chakar, Mir, 4
 Chamba, 13, 23, 120, 132, 157, 188, 218, 224
 Chamber, 70
 Chamkaur, 210, 217, 249
 Chanchi, 24
 Chanehni, 232, 230
 Chandai Mandal, 250
 Chander Bhan, 222
 Chandu Shah, 191, 192
 Chatar Singh, 226, 231
 Chaugan, 250
 Chauhar, 230
 Chaukhandi, 1
 Chaupar, 250
 Chaurasi, 4
 Chehar Gulshan, 2
 Chenab, 1, 2, 5, 11, 13, 23, 89, 93, 167, 307
 Chima, 5
 Chingiz Hatli, 169
 Chiniot, 56
 Chishtiyah, 274
 Chitor, 5
 Christianity, 97, 270
 Chunhat, Doab, 3, 11, 16
 Chuntra, 223
 Climate, 15
 Coins, 244
 Corsi, 98, 272
 Coryat, 147
 Cunningham, 149, 196, 203

 Dal, Lake, 107
 Dalip Singh, 224
 Dalla, 220
 Damdama, 220
 Dand, 87
 Dangali, 13

 Danyal, Prince, 94, 95, 167, 170
 Dara Shikoh, 9, 19, 169, 173, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 195, 196, 197, 227, 281, 282, 283
 Darband, 24
 Darvesh Ali, 92, 94
 Datarpur, 232
 Daud, Shaikh, 274, 275
 Daud Khan, 179, 180, 181, 182, 185
 Daulatabad, 74
 Daulat Dev, 24
 Daulat Khan, 53
 Dawar Bakhsh, 169, 170
 Dayadharta, 225
 Deccan, the, 133, 134, 137, 179, 204, 207, 213, 215
 Deg Bahadur, 200
 Degh, River, 11
 Delhi, 7, 30, 31, 32, 55, 36, 41, 71, 74, 112, 134, 176, 177, 178, 185, 190, 191, 193, 197, 198, 199, 201, 202, 215, 216, 217, 218
 Desuha, 103
 Dhamiri, 5, 29, 49
 Dhamtur, 124, 126, 127
 Dhan Chand, 227
 Dharm Chand, 23, 28
 Dhera Dun, 214
 Dhipanpur, 9, 19
 Dhiraj Pal, 231
 Dhonkal, 10, 19, 300
 Dikri, 87
 Dilair Khan, 184
 Dilawar Khan, 142, 143, 214
 Dina, 220
 Dina Beg, 215
 Din-i-Ilahi, 267
 Dipalpur, 12, 37, 38, 48
 Dip Chand, Raja, 228
 Diwali, 95
 Doab, the, 146
 Dost Muhammad Khan, 141, 142
 Drink, 247
 Durga, 150, 158
 Durgara, 231
 Dutch, the, 241

 English, the, 241
 Epidemics, 251
 Europeans, the, 259

 Faizi, 79, 104, 267, 268
 Faiz Ullah, Shaikh, 156
 Fatehgarh, 215
 Fateh Khan, 85
 Fatehpur, 13

- Fateh Shah, 211, 212
 Fateh Ullah, Mirza, 148
 Fateh Ullah, Sharbatdar, 79
 Watuba, 31
 Farid, Shaikh, 77, 142, 143, 144, 145, 148
 Faridabad, 13
 Faridun, 73
 Farid Shakarganj, Baba, 48, 56
 Farmuli Bahadur, 80
 Faulad, 79
 Faulad Beg, Mirza, 266
 Fazal Beg, 132
 Ferozepur, 12, 220
 Feroz Shah, 150
 Fidai Khan, 135, 164, 166
 Finch, 241
 Fitch, 72
 Francosco, Father, 98

 Gadai, Shaikh, 33, 36
 Gajai Dev, 231
 Gajender Pal, 24
 Gajit Khan, 162
 Gakhars, 5, 24, 26, 31, 42, 43
 Ganesh, 40, 42
 Ganesh Verman, 23
 Ganga Ram, 212
 Garhi, 24
 Garh Shanker, 184
 Garhwal, 225
 Gaur Sen, 230
 Ghairat Khan, 124, 175, 178, 180
 Ghazi Khan, 220
 Gharra, Bhai, 194
 Ghayur, Mulla, 80
 Ghazi Khan, Sur, 24, 30
 Ghiyas-ud-Din, Khwaja, 58
 Ghorri, 77
 Gilani, Hakim, 88
 Girjhak, 14
 Goa, 97, 98, 270, 273
 Gobind Chand, 52
 Gold, 243
 Golkanda, 24, 207, 214
 Gopal, 212
 Gorakh Nath Yogi, 118, 274
 Govind Singh, Guru, 201, 204, 205,
 206, 207, 208, 209, 216, 219, 220,
 228, 230, 294
 Govindwal, 12, 145, 189, 190, 199
 Grain, 14
 Granth, Sahib, 188, 190, 193, 209
 Greeks, 3
 Grimon, 96, 97, 99
 Gujars, 5, 215
 Gujrat, 11, 15, 20, 21, 106, 108, 117,
 118, 238, 242, 301

 Gulab Chand, 212
 Guler, 12, 23, 103, 194, 212, 218, 223,
 224
 Gunacin, 87
 Gurdas, 197
 Gur Das, Bhai, 190
 Gurdaspur, 224

 Habib Ullah, Mir, 35
 Hadiabad, 74
 Haidar Kak, 62, 84
 Haji Khan, 58
 Hajis, 265
 Hakim, Mirza, 43, 54, 62, 64, 67, 68,
 69, 70, 73, 74, 76, 88
 Hakim Ali, 83
 Halal Khan, 146
 Hamam, Hakim, 105
 Hamid Bukhari, Syed, 71, 77
 Hamir Chand, 223
 Hamirpur, 223
 Hamza Beg, 73
 Handicrafts, 237
 Handur, 12, 210, 216, 232
 Hansi, 56
 Hardwar, 190
 Hargobind, 191, 192, 193, 195, 196,
 200, 206, 294
 Hariana, 5
 Hari Chand, Handuria, 212
 Hari Dev, 231
 Harkishen, 198, 199, 294
 Harmandir, 188
 Har Rai, Guru, 179, 195, 281, 294
 Hasan, Mirza, 141
 Hasan Naqshbandi, Khwaja, 44
 Hasan, Qazi, 87
 Hashim Beg, 103
 Hassan Abdal, 75, 89, 118, 125, 129,
 133
 Hassan Beg, 141, 142, 146, 147
 Hassan Din, 131
 Hassan Khan, 79
 Hauz-i-Khas, 56
 Hazara, 5, 13, 70, 78, 240
 Hemu, 28, 29
 Hijaz, 36, 38
 Hindal, 88
 Hindi, 278
 Hinduism, 187, 197
 Hindus, 258
 Hira Pardhan, 79
 Hirapur, 87
 Hissar, 49, 56
 Hoshiarpur, 232
 Hugli, 273

- Mumayun, 4, 7, 24, 25, 33, 42, 56.
 74, 145
 Husain Shah, 188
 Husain Khan, 30, 31, 32, 33, 37
 Husain Quli Khan, 49, 51
 Hushiar Khan, 166
 Hussain Mirza, 143
 Hussain Beg, 92, 102, 103, 113, 114
 Hyder Beg, 134

 Iblis, 265
 Ibrahimabad, 11, 20
 Ibrahim Hussain, Mirza, 50
 Iftikhar Khan, 137
 Imad, Qazi, 43
 Imam Quli Khan, of Turan, 137
 Inayat Shah, Qadiri, 188
 India, 76
 Indra, 131
 Indus, River, 1, 2, 13, 15, 309
 Industries, 14
 Iqbal Nama, 128, 164
 Iradat Khan, 131, 161, 165, 169
 Ishaq, Shaikh, 156
 Ishaq Kaku, Shaikh, 269, 275
 Islam, 97, 187, 264
 Islamabad, 4
 Ismail Quli Beg, 37
 Ismail Quli Khan, 77, 81
 Itmad-ud-Daulah, 120, 121, 123, 142,
 153
 Itqad Khan, 133

 Jafar Beg, 230
 Jafar Jang, 172
 Jagan Nath, 64, 71, 87
 Jagat Singh, 74, 90, 120, 125, 136,
 171, 172
 Jagat Singh, Chief of Kulu, 227
 Jagat Ullah, 215
 Jahangir, 6, 18, 115, 116, 117, 121,
 122, 123, 125, 126, 133, 136, 139,
 140, 141, 142, 143, 145, 150, 151,
 152, 155, 157, 158, 159, 172, 190,
 191, 192, 193, 195, 273, 279, 280,
 281, 282
 Jahangirabad, 131
 Jai Chand, 50, 52
 Jaipur Kheri, 87
 Jai Singh, Raja, 184
 Jalal, Maulana, 275
 Jalala, 76, 77, 78
 Jalalbad, 4, 44, 71, 74, 88
 Jalesar, 35
 Jamal Khan, 40
 Jamil, son of Sulaiman, 105, 113, 114
 Jammu, 11, 15, 19, 22, 24, 101, 103,
 114, 129, 134, 213, 218, 230, 231
 Jan Muhammad Bahandi, 42
 Jan Muhammad, Bakhshi, 80
 Jani, Agha, 55
 Jani Begum, 177
 Janjuas, 5
 Jasrota, 24, 114, 230, 232
 Jasrotiahs, 5
 Jaswals, 5, 216
 Jaswan, 23, 213, 232
 Jatpura, 220
 Jats, 5, 204
 Jawahar Khan, 163
 Jawala Mukhi, 9, 19, 151, 158, 297
 Jehat Doab, 2
 Jesuits, 272
 Jetha, 189
 Jhabal, 195
 Jhajhar, 36
 Jhang Sialan, 13, 14
 Jhelum, 2, 5, 13, 15, 22, 24, 74, 75, 308
 Jind Niwat, 13
 Jit Mal, 212
 Jit Sen, 227
 Jodha Bai, 140
 Jogis, 70
 Jullunder, 4, 7, 15, 18, 28, 29, 32, 38,
 74, 222, 287
 Jumla, Mir, 168
 Jumna, 35, 210, 212, 224

 Kabir, 79
 Kabul, 31, 41, 66, 70, 73, 74, 75, 76,
 77, 78, 84, 88, 112, 113, 117, 118,
 121, 133, 141, 146, 148, 166, 167,
 170, 173, 182, 240, 281
 Kabutar Bazi, 250
 Kafirs, 266
 Kahanpal, 87
 Kahlur, 12, 23, 57, 210, 211, 213, 224,
 229
 Kaikubad, 74
 Kalanaur, 5, 13, 25, 57, 69, 74, 83,
 122, 125
 Kala Shah Kaku, 353
 Kalgarh, 227
 Kalima, 265
 Kalu, 78, 81
 Kamal, Maulana, 19
 Kamal, Syed, 143
 Kamal Bayabani, Sheikh, 250
 Kamalgarh, 132
 Kamal Khan, 31, 42, 43
 Kam Bakhsh, 138c.
 Kambarsen, Rana, 228

- Kangra, 3, 5, 9, 19, 23, 49, 119, 120,
 121, 122, 131, 132, 136, 149, 152,
 153, 155, 156, 157, 158, 214, 218,
 222, 223, 224, 232, 279, 296
 Kapartal Pass, 94
 Kapur Dev, 24
 Kapurthala, 8
 Karam Khan, 51
 Karam Ullah, 121
 Karan, Kunwar, 125
 Karim Dad, 172
 Karkara Pass, 79
 Karnal, 118
 Kartarpur, 284
 Kashmir, 1, 7, 14, 24, 75, 81, 83, 84,
 85, 86, 89, 92, 93, 96, 121, 122, 123,
 125, 126, 129, 130, 132, 133, 136,
 137, 138, 157, 170, 171, 194, 279,
 281, 282
 Kashmiris, 107
 Kasohi, 124
 Katril route, 93, 94
 Kesar Chand, 212, 216
 Khaibar Pass, 71, 73, 75, 88, 269
 Khairabad, 85
 Khalil Beg, 135
 Khalil Mirza, Shah Rukh, 123
 Khalil Ullah Khan, 180, 181, 184,
 249
 Khalsa, 213
 Khan Alam, 122, 123
 Khan Azam, 125
 Khan Dauran, 119, 121, 130
 Khan-i-Khanan, 116, 137
 Khan Islam, 140
 Khan Jahan, 134, 160
 Khanjor Khan, 179
 Khan Kalan, 43
 Khan Muhammad, 80
 Khanpur, 5, 24
 Khawas Khan, 138a,
 Kheora, 11, 15, 21
 Khilree, 10
 Khiyal-i- Biyan, 76
 Khizr Khwaja Khan, 28, 29
 Khlasatut Twarikh, 5, 8, 9, 11, 19
 Khurram, 134, 148
 Khushab, 4, 14, 121
 Khush Khabar Khan, 45, 46, 145
 Khustau, 94, 116, 117, 119, 135, 138b,
 140, 141, 142, 143, 146, 148, 169,
 191, 192, 252
 Khwaja Jahan, 124, 125
 Khwaja Khan, 121
 Killan, 146
 Kiratpur, 195, 200, 201, 219
 Kirpal Chand, 213
 Kirpal Dev, 231
 Kirpa Ram, 278
 Kishan Ganga, 14, 128
 Kishtwar, 24, 85
 Koh Lawagaz, 137
 Kotla, 50
 Kotli, 24
 Kulu, 12, 23, 218, 227, 230
 Kuraish, Mir, 82
 Kutlehr, 232
 Ladakh, 225
 Laet, De, 140, 248
 Lag, 232
 Lahore, 1, 5, 7, 13, 18, 29, 31, 65, 66,
 67, 72, 75, 89, 90, 96, 112, 116, 119,
 122, 123, 124, 125, 130, 131, 133,
 134, 135, 138, 141, 142, 144, 147,
 156, 159, 160, 166, 168, 169, 170,
 171, 172, 173, 176, 178, 179, 180,
 183, 184, 192, 193, 194, 217, 218,
 224, 235, 237, 273, 274, 281, 285
 Lahul, 225, 227, 232
 Lakhampur, 24, 114, 224, 232
 Lakshmi, 149
 Lal, Baba, 9, 19, 291,
 Lashmari, 167
 Lav, 5, 8
 Leitoo, Durate, 97
 Lingam, 260
 Lohanis, 4
 Lohar Kak, 61, 62
 Lohgarh, 215
 Lohra, 230
 Ludhiana, 12, 112, 136, 220
 Macauliffe, 203
 Machado, Father, 273
 Machi Bhavan, 106
 Machhiwara, 12, 69, 74, 220
 MacLagan, 104
 Madho Singh, 136, 154
 Mahabat Khan, 118, 126, 133, 134,
 135, 136, 137, 142, 145, 146, 159,
 160, 162, 163, 165, 166, 167, 168,
 169, 182
 Mahabharata, 149
 Mahadev, 149
 Maha Mai, 50
 Maham Anga, 31, 33, 34, 35, 37
 Mahamaya, 149
 Mahdi Qasim Khan, 38, 39, 46, 65
 Mahmand, 77
 Mahmud Ghaznavi, 4, 18
 Mahmud, son of Sultan Hassan, 127
 Majha, 193, 204
 Majnun Khan, 36

- Makowal, 12, 201
 Malakand Pass, 79
 Maideo, Raja of Jodhpur, 37
 Malgalli, 126
 Malik Ali, 67
 Maluk Chand, Raja of Nagarkot, 104
 Malva, 193, 204, 282
 Mamdot, 12
 Mamur Khan, 132
 Man, Raja, 119, 120
 Manak Chand, 228
 Mandhorta, 225
 Mandi, 5, 12, 15, 21, 23, 218, 223, 224, 229, 230
 Manikyala, 131
 Mankot, 30, 31, 114, 172, 232
 Manrique, 171, 248, 249, 255
 Man Singh, 19, 57, 58, 61, 64, 65, 67, 70, 73, 74, 75, 77, 81, 140, 141, 146, 223
 Mansur Badakhshani, 162
 Mansur Khan, 122
 Manucci, 159, 179, 183, 224
 Manuchehar, 82, 108
 Masaulipattam, 241
 Masnad Ali, 52
 Masud Hussain, Mirza, 52
 Masum Khan, 136
 Mathra Das, 94
 Mathura, 66, 71
 Mau, 113, 154, 172
 Mazhari, Mulla, 85
 Mecca, 36, 37, 41, 118, 266
 Melsi, 4
 Memar, 36
 Mian Khan, 213, 224
 Mian Mir, Hazrat, 124, 192, 194, 281
 Mians, 5
 Mines, 15, 21
 Monserrate, Father, 66, 67, 58, 69
 Montgomery, 4
 Muawiyah, Amir, 138a
 Mubarak, Shaikh, 268
 Mubarak, Syed, 61
 Mubarak Khan, 84
 Mubariz Khan, Adili, 30
 Muhammad, Agha, 137
 Muhammad, Mulla, 165
 Muhammadpur, 4
 Muhammad Baqi Baqlani, 35
 Muhammad Kalan, Mir, 41
 Muhammad Khan Sistani, Haji, 29, 35, 41
 Muhammad Khan Turkoman, 103
 Muhammad Masum, Faramkhudi, 62
 Muhammad Mufti Maulana, 275
 Muhammad Qasim Khan, 85
 Muhammad Qasim Khan, of Nishapur, 38
 Muhammad Taqi, 165
 Muhammad Yazdi, Mulla of Jaunpur, 62
 Muhammad Zaman, 65
 Muin, Shaikh, 275, 277
 Muin-ud-Din, Khwaja, 58
 Muiza Begam, 166
 Muiz-ud-Din, Muhammad Ghori, 4, 19
 Muktab, 274
 Munim Ishqbaz, 131
 Mukat, Raja, 79
 Mukhlis Khan, 167
 Muktsar, 220
 Mullas, 264
 Multan, 13, 53, 121, 134, 173, 183, 184, 185, 241
 Muqarrab Khan, 116, 162, 163
 Murad, Mir, 106
 Murad, Prince, 48, 66, 81, 87, 88, 93, 106, 112, 175
 Murad Beg, 78
 Murad Khan, 172
 Murrallah, 302
 Murshid Tabrizi, 82
 Murtza Khan, 118, 119, 120, 148, 152, 242
 Musahib Beg, 180
 Musaram, 128
 Muskmelons, 14, 20, 235
 Muslims, 206, 207, 208, 218, 258
 Mutamid Khan, 128, 129, 130, 135, 161, 164, 251
 Mutlib Khan, 77
 Muzaffar, Syed, 165
 Muzaffarabad, 24
 Muzaffar Ali, Khwaja, 37
 Muzaffar Khan, 236, 243
 Nubi Khan, 220
 Nadaun, 213, 228
 Nagar Kot, 9, 19, 28, 50, 96, 103, 150, 240, 297
 Nanhan, 210, 211
 Nahar Singh, 215
 Nain Sukh, 128
 Nanak, Guru, 187, 190, 292
 Nand Chand, 211
 Nandi Marg, 87
 Narayan, 149
 Narus, 5
 Nasir-ud-Din, Pir, 7, 18
 Nasir-ul-Mulk, 29

- Nauroz, 249, 255
 Naushehra, 95, 126
 Nazar Beg, 82
 Nazar Muhammad, 10
 Newbury, 72
 Niazi, 138a.
 Nirmoh, 217
 Nizam Shaikh, 143
 Nizam-ud-Din, 68, 69
 Nur Jahan, 133, 136, 137, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 173, 194
 Nurpur, 13, 23, 132, 154, 155, 172, 218, 224, 225
 Nur Serai, 135
 Nur-ud-Din, 124
 Nur-ud-Din, Haji, 63
 Nur-ud-Din Muhammad, Mirza, 32
 Nur-ud-Din, Quli, 143, 144
 Nurullah, Qazi, 91, 130, 275, 277

 Ohind, 81
 Orias Khan, 166

 Paimda Khan, 194, 215
 Pakhli, 84, 124, 126, 127, 252
 Panipat, 74
 Panna Suri, 274,
 Partap Dev, 24
 Parvez, 159, 166
 Pathankot, 13, 224
 Pathshalas, 274
 Patiala, 202, 220
 Patna, 242
 Patri, 229
 Patti, 8
 Persia, 76
 Peshawar, 77, 119, 191, 223
 Piers, Domingo, 98
 Pinheiro, Emmanuel, 98, 270, 271, 273
 Pir Darang, 128
 Pir Muhammad Khan, 27, 30, 36, 37
 Pir Panjal, Pass, 87, 93, 95
 Polygamy, 250
 Poonch, 24, 124, 127, 129, 137, 231, 232
 Poppy, 235
 Portuguese, the, 270, 272, 273
 Pounta, 210, 212
 Prices, 244
 Prithi Chand, 130
 Prithipal, 225
 Prithvi Singh, Raja, 226
 Provincial revenue, 17
 Punjab, the, 32, 33, 36, 41, 76, 77, 82, 168, 178, 185, 208, 237
 Purmandal, 10, 19, 300

 Pushiana, 87, 95

 Qalandar, 95
 Qalandar Beg, 85
 Qambar, 44
 Qandhar, 82, 118, 132, 133, 134, 173, 182
 Qara Beg, 79
 Qarlughis, 127
 Qasim Khan, 123, 125, 131, 132, 133, 166, 173
 Qiwan-ud-Din, Mir, 132
 Qulij Khan, 86, 89, 108, 113, 118
 Quran, the Holy, 100, 264, 266, 269
 Qurban Ali, 65

 Rai Singh, 64, 71
 Rajauri, 24, 85, 87, 92, 93, 106, 231
 Raj Jagat Singh, 224
 Raj Krishan Dass, 125
 Rajputs, 5
 Raj Rup, 224, 225
 Rajrup, Raja of Jammu, 179
 Raj Singh, 224, 231
 Ram Chand, 23, 79
 Ram Chandar, Bandillah, 117
 Ram Chandra, 5, 18
 Ram Dass, 87, 90, 188, 190, 293
 Ram Dev Bhatti, Rai, 8
 Ramgarh, 227
 Ram Rai, 195, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 203
 Ram Sen, Raja, 226, 227
 Ram Tirath, 8, 18, 288
 Ramzan Khan, 218
 Ranghars, 4, 217
 Ranthambhor, 159, 160
 Rasulpur, 71, 74
 Ravi, 1, 6, 13, 18, 23, 306
 Rawalpindi, 5, 64, 75, 96, 117, 133
 Raza Beg, 226, 231
 Rechna Doab, 1, 2, 5, 16
 Revenue, 236, 311
 Riboriro, Estevavo, 97
 Rice, 14, 21
 Roads, 238
 Rohtas, 64, 75, 89, 96, 113, 117, 125, 123, 125, 146, 165, 166
 Romali, 258
 Roshnai, 75, 76, 77, 78
 Rumi Khan, 183
 Rupar, 12, 180, 210, 215
 Rup Chand, Raja of Guler, 156
 Rup Singh, 172
 Rustam Mirza, 125, 129, 133, 134, 135, 166
 Rustam Khan, 214

- Sadiq Khan, 78
 Sadiq Khan, Badakhshani, 136, 163
 Sadiq Muhammad Khan, 33
 Sadr-ud-Din, Qazi, 269, 275
 Saffi, Syed of Bara, 153
 Saffron, 235
 Saf Shikan Khan, 184
 Saheb Sen, 23
 Said Beg, 217
 Said Khan, Governor of Multan, 53
 Said Khan, Governor of the Punjab, 116
 Said Khan, Gakkhar, 63
 Saifabad, 202
 Saif-ud-Din, 202
 Salachni, 227
 Salhar, 126
 Salim, Prince, 66, 94, 95, 104, 106, 108, 270
 Salima Sultan Begum, 32
 Samba, 24, 232
 Samugarh, 176, 185, 197
 Sango Shah, 212
 Sani, Malik, 67
 Sangram, 120, 124, 129
 Sanyasis, 263
 Sarai Dad, 74
 Sarai Sindhu, 13
 Sardar Umar, 113, 114
 Sarhind, 74, 112, 178, 216, 217, 218, 220, 229
 Saris, 258
 Sarup Singh, Raja, 179, 181
 Sati, 110, 250
 Sawad Nagar, 126
 Sawarg, 261
 Sayurghals, 59
 Scythians, 3
 Shadi Beg, 82
 Shaibani Khan, 138a
 Shaikh Hamid, Mulla, 80
 Shambu Nath, 188
 Sharaf-ud-Din, Hussain, 34, 36
 Sharif, Mir, 87
 Sharif, Mirza, 148
 Shah (of Persia), 133, 134
 Shahabad, 74
 Shahab-ud-Din Pur, 129
 Shah Beg, 73
 Shah Daman, 64, 67
 Shahdara, 6, 18, 86, 140, 172
 Shah Daula, 11, 20, 301
 Shah Jahan, 6, 7, 10, 11, 18, 20, 121, 122, 124, 133, 134, 135, 136, 152, 153, 155, 167, 169, 170, 171, 175, 176, 177, 182, 195, 196, 273, 283
 Shah Mansur, Khwaja, 67, 68
 Shah Muhammad, 75, 122
 Shah Muhammad, Mulla, 276
 Shahpur, 13, 23
 Shah Quli Khan Mahram, 37, 39, 77, 84
 Shah Rukh, 54, 75, 96
 Shah Shams, 8, 290
 Shoh Shuja, 169, 175, 178
 Shalimar, 7, 8, 11, 18
 Shalivahan, 19
 Shamsabad, 11, 15, 21
 Shamsheer Khan, 8
 Shams Kak, 62
 Shams-ud-Din, Khan, 79
 Shams-ud-Din, Khwaja, 109, 112
 Shams-ud-Din Muhammad Khan Atka, 30, 31, 33, 38
 Shastras, 260
 Shehryar, 153, 134, 164, 165, 169, 170
 Sher Afgan, 169
 Sheri, Mulla, 80
 Sher Khwaja, 65, 79, 164
 Sher Shah Sur, 138a
 Sher Singh, 215
 Shia, 33
 Shihab-ud-Din Ahamd Khan, 35
 Shiraz, Shaikh, 280
 Shirin, Mulla, 276
 Shujaat Khan, 163
 Shyam Kali, 230
 Shyam Sen, 227, 229, 230
 Sialkot, 5, 9, 11, 15, 18, 19, 21, 64, 74, 238, 297
 Siba, 23, 232
 Siddique Khan, 165
 Sidh Ganesh, 230
 Sidh Sen, 227, 230
 Sikandar, Mir, 65
 Sikandara, 35
 Sikander, Muin, 131
 Sikander Sur, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30
 Sikhism, 187, 188, 189, 194
 Sikri, 88
 Silhariaya, 5
 Simla, 232
 Sind Sagar Doab, 2, 3, 4, 5, 11, 16
 Sipihir Shikoh, 176, 177
 Sirikot, 227
 Sita Ram, 86
 Sivalik Hills, 24, 103
 Slaves, 249
 Smith, 66, 67, 68, 83, 99, 100
 Society, 249
 Sodhra, 5, 11, 13, 20, 86, 146, 300
 Soharawardiyyah, 274
 Sohrab Khan, 129

- Sombansis, 5
 Sonipat, 66, 74
 Spiti, 23, 232
 Sirnagar, 1, 14, 84, 86, 87, 88, 95, 129, 211
 Sudra, 4
 Sufis, 268
 Sugar-cane, 14, 21
 Suket, 5, 12, 15, 21, 23, 223, 229, 230
 Sukh Dev, 214
 Sulaiman, Mirza, 54
 Sulaiman, Mirza, of Badakhshan, 90
 Sulaiman, Shah, 188, 269
 Sulaiman Shikoh, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 225, 227
 Sulani, 229
 Sultan Hassan, 126
 Sultanpur, 8, 15, 21, 24, 58, 125, 180
 Sunnis, 33, 34
 Sur Kings, 4
 Surajbansis, 5
 Suraj Mal, 119, 120, 152, 153, 154, 155, 172
 Suraj Parkash, 213
 Suraj Sen, Raja, 229
 Suraj Singh, 103
 Susarma Chand, 149
 Sutlej, 1, 12, 304
 Swat, 77, 78
 Syed Pir Sabz Serai of, 88

 Tabar Hindah, 38
 Tahamtan Beg, 124
 Tahir Khan, 184
 Taimur, 123
 Takht Mal, 23, 26, 30, 50, 278
 Talamba, 52
 Talib, Baba, 124, 281
 Talwan, 180
 Talwandi, 48, 86, 292
 Talwandi Saho, 220
 Talwaran, Mohalla, 274
 Tana, 213
 Tara Azim, 220
 Tarabardi Stream, 88
 Tara Chand, 195, 197
 Taragarh, 154, 172
 Tarbeni, 196
 Tardi Beg, 28, 33, 173
 Tariki, 172
 Tarn Taran, 192
 Tarsun Muhammad Khan, 35
 Tatar Khan, 18
 Tavi, River, 11, 20
 Tegh Bahadur, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 207, 294
 Terry, Edward, 240

 Thakars, 222
 Thendot, 4
 Thanesar, 74
 Tharah, 12, 38
 Thatta, 167, 168, 241
 Thimka, 302
 Thoon, 302
 Tibart, 240
 Tilok Chand, 151, 152
 Todar Mal, 42, 54, 59, 67, 69, 74, 77, 81, 86, 89, 236, 278, 279
 Toddy, 254
 Torbela, 24
 Transoxiana, 74
 Trigarata, 222
 Tuqtamish Khan, 123
 Turan, 71, 73, 76
 Turks, 3
 Tusam Bahadur, 153

 Uch-ka-Pir, 220
 Udaipur, 125
 Udai Ram, 222
 Udai Singh, 214, 215, 224, 226
 Udai Singh, Raja of Jodhpur, 140
 Umar, Khwaja, 160
 Umar Sultan, 105
 Umar Mirza, 140
 Umayyads, 138a
 Uttam Chand, 23
 Uzbegs, 82, 256

 Vaisya, 4
 Wakil-i-Saltanat, 33
 Vega, Christoval de, 97
 Verinag, 14
 Vetches, 235
 Vijay Ram, 222

 Wages, 245
 Wahdat Ali, 78
 Wali, Shaikh, 188
 Wali Beg, 36, 37, 38, 39, 134
 Wali Shah, Shaikh, 269
 Wazirabad, 13, 19, 20
 Wazir Beg, 165
 Wazir Khan, 6, 8, 18, 216, 217, 220
 Wazir-ul-Umara, 140
 Wheat, 235
 Wular, 96

 Xavier, Father Jerome, 98
 Yadgar, 92, 93, 94
 Yadgar Sultan Shams, 82
 Yaqub Beg, 79, 122
 Yaqub Kashmiri, Shaikh, 84
 Yaqub Khan, 83

Yaqub Sultan, 39
Yazid 138a
Yogis, 263
Yusuf Khan, 51, 83, 84, 91, 92
Yusuf Khan, Mirza, 52, 61, 86, 87
Yusuf Muhammad Kokaltash, 38,
39
Yusufzais, 75, 78, 81
Zabardast Khan, 218

Zafar Beg, 148
Zafar Nama, 220
Zain Khan Koka, 58, 75, 77, 79, 80,
81, 84, 87, 90, 96, 101, 113, 118, 284
Zain-ud-Din Ali, 89
Zakariya, Shaikh, 53
Zambil Beg, 123, 131, 132, 133, 134
Zambil, Hakim, 35
Zia-ul-Mulk, 82





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