

**M.A HISTORY**

**PAPER-14**

# **Socio-Cultural and Economic History of Medieval India**

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# **Paper-14**

## **POLITICAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE HISTORY OF MEDIEVAL INDIA (1526-1707)**

### **BLOCK INTRODUCTION**

The Mogul Empire was a Persianate empire. The beginning of the empire is conventionally dates back to the founder Babur's victory over Ibrahim Lodi In the first battle of Panipath (1526).It reached its climax under Akbar, Jahangir and Sahajan.Akbar transformed the Moghul empire in to a national monarchy. He also forged matrimonial relation with several Hindu Rajput dynasty.He separated religion from politics, rejected the Islamic theory of state and raised the policy of religious toleration to the height of secularism. By associating with Rajput, he strengthened the process of national state.His successor Jahangir and Sahajahan scrupulously followed his religious policy.But Aurangzeb reversed the the Akbar's policy of religious toleration and Moghul empire disintegrated within a short period of time.

Unit-1 deals with different sources of Moghul history.

Unit-11 analyses the foundation of Moghul empire by Babur. It further discusses the problem of Humayun and emergency of Afgan power.It also analyses the conquest, administration and religious policy of Akbar.

Unit-111 discusses the condition of Moghul empire in 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century. In the first section, it elaborates the administrative and religious policy of Jahangir, Shahjahan and Aurangzeb. Further it elaborates, decline of Mogul empire, emergence of regional states and emergence of Marathas.

Unit-IV deals with the emergence of Portuguese colonial enterprise and its economic and political consequence. It further analyses the invasion of Nadir Shah Ahmed Shah Abdali. The next section discusses political, cultural and economic weakness on the eve of the British Conquest of India.

## **Unit-1 SOURCES AND HISTORIOGRAPHY**

### Structure

#### 1. Objective

##### 1.1 Introduction

##### 1.2 Literary Sources

###### 1.2.1 Baburnama

###### 1.2.2 Ain-I - Akbari

###### 1.2.3 Tuzuk-I-Jahangir

###### 1.2.4 Muntakhab-ul - Lulab

##### 1.3 Foreign Travellers Account

##### 1.4 Maratha Sources

##### 1.5 Archeological Sources

###### 1.5.1 Study of inscription

1.5.2 Coins

1.5.3 Paintings

## UNIT- I

### 1.0 OBJECTIVES

- After going through this unit the reader will be able to :
- be acquainted with the different sources of the Mughal period.
- elucidate the significance of Literary sources for the study of Mughal History.
- Know how Foreign travelers provide information in the Mughal period.
- understand the importance of Maratha and archaeological sources for the study of History.

### **Introduction**

In the Mughal period an innovative class of historiography- that of official histories or *namahs*- came in to vogue in India under Persian influence. Akbar introduced the practice of commissioning officials or others to write the history of his new empire giving them access for this purpose to state records. This practice continued down to the reign of

Aurangzeb who, however, stopped it in his eleventh regnal year. Besides,, such official histories, biographical works great historical interest were also produced during the period under survey. And we are not entirely dependent upon chroniclers; we have in some instances contemporary, independent historians.

The historians of the Mughal Period did not develop any philosophy of history from which certain lessons may be drawn, and they mainly concentrated on the political history completely neglecting the cultural, religious and social aspects. So the historians of this period certainly differed from the historians of the sultanate period in social status class, outlook, idiom and approach. The element of personal gain, getting a reward or repaying a debt of gratitude receded into the background or at least was not so prominent now as in the previous period.

Another significant change was the secularization of the history. Though the divine element is still noticeable, the humanistic aspect of the history tends to be more prominent. This chapter shall deal with some of the prominent historians of the Mughal period, and the contribution made by them to the medieval historiography.

### **(a) Literature Sources**

#### **1.2.1 Zahir-Al-Din Muhammad (Babur) – Baburnama**

Baburnama, literary "Book of Babur" or alternatively known as Tuzk-e-Babri is the name given to the memoirs of Zahir-ud-Din Muhammed Babur(1483-1530). He was the founder of the Moghul Empire and great grand son of Timur.

It is an autobiographical work. It was originally written in the Chagatai language, known to Babur as "Turk"(meaning Turkic), the spoken language of the Andijan-Timurids. Babur's prose is highly Persianised in its sentences structure, morphology, and language. It also contains many phrases and smaller poems in Persian. During the Emperor's reign, the work was completely translated to Persian by a Moghul courtier, Abdul Rahim, in (1589-90)

Baburnamah can be divided into three Parts. The first part begins with his accession to the throne of Fargana and ends with his driving out from his flight to his last invasion of India. The third part gives an account of his transactions in India. It may be noted that there are three important gaps in the memories of the forty seven and ten years of his life, give an account of only 18 years.

In his Memoirs Babur gives detailed account of the land, climate, vegetation, trade, industry as well as social and political condition of the people. Talking of India he says. "It is a remarkable fine country. It is quite a different world, compared with other countries. Its hills and rivers, its forests and plains, its animals and plants, inhabitants and their languages, its winds and rains all are of a different nature.' He makes a reference to the economic prosperity and wealth of the country when he talks of the' abundance of gold and silver'. We gather from his account that the food-grains, clothes and other merchandise were not only cheap but also available in abundance. Talking of the political conditions, Babur tell us that the country was divided into small kingdoms. While the greater part of Hindustan was in the possession of the Emperor of Delhi, five Muslim Kings and two Hindu kings ruled the hilly areas.

Babur's observation was very keen and his style was pleasant and forthright. He describes even the minutest things with such meticulous care that readers of his diary feel that the things are happenings before their very eyes.

Prof. Lanepool says'. "If ever there were a case, when the testimony of a single historical document, unsupported by other evidence should be accepted as sufficient proof, it is the case with Babur's Memoires No reader of this prince of autobiographers can doubt his honesty or his competence as a witness and chronicler."Prof. Elliot also considers Babur's Memories as one of the best and most faithful pieces of autobiography.

Despite the highly useful character of his memories, we must remember that "the historical truth presented by Babur in his Memories is mixed up in an almost

inextricable manner with his own opinions, sentiments, judgments and his philosophy of life. His predilections colour all his observations, and while reading his Memoirs, we seem to live with him, to think with him, move with the hectic speed that was peculiarly his and yet stop to reflect on the surroundings. Babur combined chronology with a deep knowledge of geography. This formed a definite corollary to historical events and helped him in forming the estimate of the resources, the climate, and the habits of the people of a particular place". In view of the rich contents of the Memoirs is one of those priceless records which are for all time.

### **1.2.2 AIN - I-AKBARI -ABUL FAZL**

The Ain-i-Akbari or the "Constitution of Akbar" is a 16<sup>th</sup> century , detailed document recording the administration of the emperor Akbar's empire, written by Abul-Fazl –ibn-Mubarak. Ain –i- akbari is the third volume of Akbarnama containing information regarding Akbar's reign in the form of what would be called modern times, administration report, statistical compilation, gazetteers.

ABUL FAZL- (1551 - 1602) - Shaikh Abul Fazl belonged to the Hijazi Arab family which migrated to Sindh and then permanently settled at Nagor, near Ajmer. He was well educated by his father Shaikh Mubarak and soon earned reputation as a deep and critical scholar. At the age of 20 he became a teacher. He was introduced to the Royal Court in 1573 and soon won the trust of his master Akbar by extraordinary intellect, assiduous devotion and loyalty, and ultimately rose to the position of his Prime Minister.

Abul Fazl apart from being a great statesman, diplomat, and a military general also distinguished himself as a writer. His chief contribution to medieval Indian historiography were his two works Akbarnamah and Ain-i-Akbari, which are an important source for the history of the reign of Akbar.

Akbarnamah was written by Abul Fazl at the command of Akbar and contains a detailed history of his reign. He collected the material for this work from the records and narratives of the contemporaries and by interrogating the servants of the state and old members of the illustrious families. Abul Fazl devoted almost seven years to complete this work in 1596.

Akbarnamah consists of three volumes. The first volume traces the history of House of Fimur till the death of Humayun. The second volume deals with the reign of Akbar from 1556 to 1604. The third volume popularly known as Ain - I- Akbari, gives lot a gazetter information about the then prevailing social and economic conditions of the Empire. Making an assessment of the historical value of Akbarnamah.

Prof. V. A. Smith says.' "The historical matter in Abul Fazl's book is buried in a mass of tedious rhetoric, and the author, and unblushing flatterer of his hero (Akbar) sometimes conceals, or even deliberately perverts, the truth (e.g. the dating of Akbar's birth with the story of his naming, and the account of his capitulation of Asingarh). Never the less, the Akbarnamah, notwithstanding its grave and obvious faults, must be treated as the foundation for a history of Akbar's reign. Its chronology is more accurate and detailed than that of the rival books by Nizamuddin and Badauni, and it brings the story to a later date than they do."

Ain-i-Akbari, the other work accredited to Abul Fazl, as mentioned above, is the third volume Akbarnamah. It contains a detailed description of the empire and institutes of Akbar. Prof. Luniya Says : "It is a mine of information about the rules, regulations, topography, revenue system, social habits and customs of the people of India and many other things.... Ain-I-Akbari is such a valuable and important book that no historian of the Mughals can do without it."

Ain-I-Akbari consists of five books each dealing with one particular aspect. The various aspects dealt with this book include an account of Akbar's household and court;



the military and civil services and description of their ranks; the rules and regulations of the judicial and executive departments; and details about the revenue system etc.

In addition of these two outstanding works, Abut Fazl translated the Hindu scripture Gita and Published Mkhtabat-I-Abul Fazla collection of official letters.

### **1.2.3 TUJUK - I – JAHANGIR**

Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri or Tuzuk Jahangiri is the autography of the Moghul Emperor Jahangir.(1569-1609)It is also referred as Jahangir nama.Tuzuk-e Jahangir is written Persian and follow the tradition of his great grandfather Babur.Janangir went a step further and besides the history of his reign, he includes details like his reflections on art, politics and also informations about his family.

The text details the first nineteen years of his reign, but gave up the writing of his memoirs in seventeenth years of his reign. He then entrusted the task to Mutamad khan, tha author of the iqbal nama, who continued the memoirs to the beginning of nineteenth year.From wehere , it was taken up by Muhammed Hadi, who continued it to jahangir's death.

It forms an important reference point for the era along with his father, Akbar's Akbarnama. First important printed version of 'Jahangirnama ' was by Sayyid ahmad printed at Gazipur in 1863 and at Aligrah in 1864.Jahangir's autobiography also reflects the royal ideology of Jahangir's view on various political, religious and social issues.within the memoir, he noted many of his local level legislative policies in his lage empire consisting of all of modern day India. Among them were his decrees to manage and regulate the jagirdars. Jagirdars were holders of the Jahangir, the emperor's land grant title. The Jagirdar were to take the income of the land and use it mainly to finance the maintenance of the troops and to address the town needs. Jahangir made various attempts to prevent corruption within the Jagirdar. He prohibited each of them from using the money for personal peofit by ordering the part of the land t income to go to hospitals and infirmaries and for each town to be equipped with religious

buildings according to religion of that area. Jahangir also kept the jagirdar from gaining interest in family or land riches by ordering` for jagirdars from gaining interest in family or land riches by ordering for jagirdars to seek his approval before marrying someone from the town they ruled in.

Tuzuk-I-Jahangiri is the most important source for the study of the reign of Jahangir. It not only gives an account of the various riots and rebellions, wars, and conquests and official regulations but also contains a candid account of emperor's daily life. The Memories also provide a detailed account of the social, cultural and spiritual life of the people. One of the outstanding qualities of his memoirs is that they are marked by frankness. Jahangir even mentions how he got Abul Fazl murdered. However, there is no reference to his marriage with Nurjahan.

#### **1.2.4 Muhammad Hashim Alias Hashim Ali Khan -**

##### **Muntakhab - ul - Lubab**

Kafi Khan, author of the Muntakhab-ul- lubab, belonged to a respectable family of Delhi. His father, Khwaja Mir, also a historian, was an officer of high rank in the service of prince Murad Bakhsh and later on Aurangzeb. Kafi Khan grew up in Aurangzeb's service, and was employed by him for political and military affairs. In the reign of Farrukh Siyar, he was made Diwan by Nizam-ul-Mulk.

The Muntakhab-ul-Lubab is a highly esteemed history, commenting with the incursion of Babur and ending with the fourteenth year of Muhammed Shah's reign. Since Aurangzeb had prohibited the recording of events of his time, Kafi Khan completed a minute register of all happenings of the period and published it after the death of emperor. His work is very important as it contains an account of the reign of Aurangzeb.

Kafi Khan was Shia, and therefore, showed particularity towards the Shia nobles in his work. He was prejudiced against the Turani nobles, excluding the Nizam-ul-Mulk, whom

he was serving and for whom he was full of praise.owing to this partiality he is sometimes nicknamed Nizam-ul-Mulki.

Khafi khan informs us about the methods and principles which he has followed in completing this work.He says that it is obligatory on a historian to be truthful.he should be rise bove all hope of reward and fear of harm. He traces the beginning of partiality in historical writings to the reign of Farrukh Siyar, when interested people took advantage of the situation and got partial accounts prepared in which mutual jealousies determined the assessment of events.

Such people considered only their interest and discarded the requirement of truth.The good qualities of the opposite group were represented as vices, and the vices of the party to which they themselves belonged were depicted as virtues.. Kafi Khan then refers to his own approach and method of dealing with the subjects. Kafi Khan began his narratives from the establishment of Mughal Empire to the fourteenth regnal year of Muhammad Shah.

Muhammad Hashim popularly known as Khafii Khan wrote Mun - takhab-ul-Lubab or Tarikh-u-Khafi Khan, a complete history from the Muhammad conquest to the fourteenth year of Muhammad Shah's reign (1733).In his historical approach and representation of data, analyses of situation, they differ on many vital points. To Kafi Khan history connoted a catalogue of events, neatly presented in chronological sequences.He nowhere puts his fingers specifically on the role of the Mughal Emperor in accelerating the pace of political disintegration and administrative chaos.To him history is merely a jumble of facts without any co-ordination and coherence.

According to Khafi Khan, the conflict of the period could be explained only in terms of conflicts of Iranis (Shias) and Turanis (Sunnis) But Muhammad Qasim's opinion is that a class of newly promoted people from obscurity and poor social background that had upset the political equilibrium.

Khafi Khan ,however, gives a different pictures of divided loyalties for had connections with the Nizam-ul-Mulk and he had respect for the Sayyid Brothers. His attachments to the Sayiids who was to some extent was due to common religious affiliations.he therefore blames the turani Party in order to justify the actions of the Sayyid Brothers. The circumstances under which the Nzam-ul-M left for Deccan had been discussed by both Muhammed Quasim and Kafi Khan.

The reasons given by Khafi khan give an entirely different background to Nizam-ul-mulk's to quit the north. The account leaves upon one's mind the impression tha t khafi Khan was anxious to justify that Nizam-ul-Mulk's continued presence in the north was not interst of the people. He says that there were several reasons which led to an estrangement betewwn the Wazir and the Emperor Muhammed shah. These reasons are-

- 1.It was during the period that the Mughal Court received the news that there was political unrest in Persia and Muhammed khan, the Afgan, had overpowered sultan Hu ssain Shah and had imprisoned him.He had annexed a considerable part of Persia and brought untold miseries on the people.The Nizam-ul -Mulk recalled before Muhammedshah all the past events, when the sultan of Persia had rendered great service to Babur and Humayun.He advised the Emperor to send his forces to help the shah of Persia.He offered his service for this purpose. But when Emperor consulted his upstart advisors, they imputed motives to the nizam-ul-mulk, and thus the scheme of sending the forces to Persia was dropped.

- 2.The Nizam-ul-Mulk, advised the emperor to abolish the Jagirdari system and revoke the assignment of Jagir in Khalisa. This proposal was also rejected.

- 3.He advised the Emperor to stop the acceptance of presence in his name byhis favourites, as it had broughtbad name to him.But his practice was not dropped.

- 4.He desired the Emperor to agree to the reimposition of Jiziya, but the emperor did not pay any heed to this proposal.

Kafi Khan makes a subtle attempt to create an atmosphere in which the murder of Farruk Siyar becomes inevitable and leads to a logical culmination of the tragedy. He says that during his imprisonment, Farrukh Siyar made an attempt to escape from the prison by offering bribes to the person in whose custody he was placed. He offered a mansab of 7000 to Abdullah Khan, if he successfully manoeuvred his escape from prison and took him to Raja Jai Singh Sawai, with whose help, he thought, he would be able to reestablish himself. The circumstances leading to the death of Rafi-ud-Daula and Rafi-ud-Darjat are similarly a moot point. Khafi Khan says that they died a natural death. Muhammed Qasim, on the other hand, says their death was the result of slow poisoning. He gives several reasons which motivated the Sayyid Brothers to perpetuate the crime.

The princes were devoid of wisdom, lacked valour and were illiterate. The Sayyid Brothers found that they could not carry on administration, as they desired. In consequence they removed them by slow poisoning. Till then he had achieved success in all matters, but now they feared any discomfiture should befall on them and disgrace them. So, the Princes were removed. Kafi Khan, on the other hand, following the traditional style of writing history, has devoted more space to describing the minutest details of wars and campaigns. He has avoided making suggestions to cure the malaise that was eating into the very vitals of the Mughal body politic.

## **Conclusion**

A Survey of the works of the above historians of the Mughal period confirms the view of Prof. Jagdish Narayan Sarkar that they "differ from the writers of the sultanate period in social status, class, outlook, idiom and approach. The element of personal gain, getting a reward or repaying a debt of gratitude receded into the background or at least was not so prominent now as in the previous period. The most significant change was the secularisation of history in the Mughal age'. The other changes noticeable in the historiography of Mughal age are that history tends to be more humanistic than divine. Even the didactic element diminishes and the historians devoted

more attention to the events and measure taken and their effect and do not make general or vague moral warnings.

## **1.4 ©MARATHA- SOURCES**

### **Introduction :**

Maratha sources are important for writing medieval history. In the Seventeenth Century The Marathas started making history, but it took quite a long time for them to start writing history. Most of the Maratha families realized the importance of what was going on around them. Some of them maintained a record of the happenings; and some others who had actually participated in the events sketched their experience in their personal diaries.

Many of the historical exploits were rendered into ballads, and passed on from generation to generation. But the Persian version of the Marathi Chronicles are the Bakhars which form a priceless source of historical material from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century. They furnish us useful information about the rulers, the ministers, the Chieftains, the Saints, the campaigns and so on. But they have got to be used with as much care as the Persian chronicles, for these bakhars were written from memory long after the events had taken place. The dynamic style and the selective topics prevent them from being called sober history. They deal mostly with pomp and pageantry, the court and the taking, the war and the battles, and give us very little about the mainstream of the common man's life, his social, cultural and economic aspects. Their chronology is faulty, their language is archaic, and their genealogy is highly questionable. They have a truly oriental touch about them, as many of them start with the age of the panda Shivaji tracing their genealogy to the Pandavas through Prithviraj Chauhan and other Rajput Kings of Udaipur.

Good rulers like Shivaji are shown as incarnations of God, and bad rulers like his son, Sambhaji are punished for ignoring dharma. In short these bakhars share many features of Persian Chronicles, and its authors might have been influenced greatly by

the Muslim tradition of historical writing. It is a pity that these bakhars were not influenced by the western art of observing an event, and recording its occurrence. Although the Marathas came in contact with the English and the French, these bakhars make no mention of them. Even the type of historical material that existed in the Mughal period such as the Ain-e-Akbar, the several biographies, the official histories and the personal diaries are not present in the Maratha historical literature.

The period of the bakhars ends in 1818 when British Supremacy was established all over the Maratha dominions. With this a new kind of historiography emerges. Maratha scholars evince interest in the study of inscriptions of ancient India. Grant Duff's History of the Marathas (1826) was an eye-opening to the Marathas, who translated into Marathi and brought out two editions.

With Macaulay's introduction of English education, with Wood's Dispatch on educational reforms, and with growing realization of India's own glory, the Maratha scholars took to serious study of history from the second half of the nineteenth century. In 1867 Kirtane published his book challenging some of the views of Grant Duff. In 1878 a Marathi Journal, Kavyetihas Samgraha Patra Yadi was brought out which became a regular feature publishing family accounts, Chronology and ballads. This journal created a lot of interest in history but it died in 1890. It gave place to the next great step when Rajwade took the momentous decision to collect and print old papers, a task which rightly earned the gratitude of all scholars of Maratha history.

It was Rajwade who inaugurated the age of documents in true Ranke style. The task was not all easy. It demanded the energy of a giant to hunt for the material to obtain it from the unwilling hands of its owners and to study, edit and publish them. He left no stone unturned to collect the material, ignored no temple, village, mosque, cave or hill fort, and spared no jagirdar, priest, peasant, or person whether high or low. In the true Mackenzie spirit he made a wide survey, and the fruit was rewarding. He copied these documents, edited them, and printed them at his own cost, although he was by no means rich. With money borrowed from friends, the volumes of Itihasachi

Sadhanen (sources of the Maratha History) started pouring in year after year, until the mighty man breathed his last in 1926. The scope of these papers is wide, from Shivaji's time to the last of the Peshwas. He is surely a brilliant star on the horizon of Indian scholarship. For what he gathered in a life time was enough for generations of scholars to work upon.

Next importance to Rajwade stands the name of Vasudeo Shastri Kharii who carried on the task of Critical Scholarship, collecting data, and editing them with copious notes. The records of the Patwardhan Chiefs of Miroj with their letters and dispatches in twelve volumes stand to the glory of Kharp. Parasnis of Satara, though not so brilliant as the other two, carried on the task so well begun by his two illustrious contemporaries. His volumes *Itihasa Sangrha* brought out the records of the Raja of Satara and Nana Phadnaris. He wrote history as well. His *Rani of Jhansi* and the Marathas in Bundelkhand were early attempts to write history. Interest in Maratha history increased to such a pitch that in 1910 a research Organization, the Bharat Itihas Samsodak Mandali came into existence, which is doing a good job even today.

Another treasure house of historical knowledge was the official Record office which contained land Settlement papers used for settling alienation disputes. For a long time they were inaccessible to scholars. Justice Ranade brought pressure on the Government to permit the scrutiny of these records, which was done by parasnis. He brought out thirteen volumes from Peshwa's Rozkhirds or daily accounts. The Peshwa records comprised 35,000 bundles, which were permitted to be examined by another great name in Maratha history, G.S. Sardesai, who devoted almost his lifetime editing these records under the title *the Peshwa Daftar* in 45 volumes. From 1890 to 1960 almost 200,000 documents have been published, and the search for more documents has not yet stopped. No region in India is as rich as Maharashtra is in historical documents, and it is heartening to know that the Maratha Scholars have taken up the task of writing good history in right earnest on all aspects of Maratha life and culture.

### **1.5(d) ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOURCES**



Archaeological Sources of the Moghul period can be divided into inscriptions, coin, and paintings many monuments were constructed by the Mughal rulers. They proved valuable information to us. Similarly coins and painting, also proved economic and religious information for the period.

### **1.5.1 Study of inscription**

The archeological sources for the period consist of (1) Reports of the Archaeological survey of India Vols1-xxx111, Edited by Alexander Cunningham, Simla and Calcutta, 1865-87;

(2) The Annual Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India, New Imperial Series from 1902-1903 to date, Ed. By Sir John and others;

(3) The Moghul Architecture of Fatehpur Sikri, described and illustrated in 4 Volumes, by E.W. Smith, Government press, Allahabad, 1894-98,

(4) Akbar's Tomb, Sikandrah, near Agra described and illustrated, by E.W. Smith, published by the Government Press Allahabad 1909.

(5) History of Indian and Eastern Architecture by James Fergusson, revised and edited, with editions by James Burgess and Rhene Spiens, 2 Vols. Published by John Murray London, 1910;

(6) Moghul colour Decoration of area, described and illustrated, by E.W. Smith, Allahabad Government press, 1901;

(7) India Architecture: Its Psychology, Structure and History from the first Muhammadan Invasion to the present day by E.B. Havell, London, 1913;(8) Handbook to Agra and the Taj by E.B. Havell.

(9) Mathura, a district Memoir, by F.S. Growse, 1883;(10) Delhi Fort, a guide to the buildings and Gardens, Calcutta, 1929; (11) Mosque of Wazir Khan, Lahore(J.I.H.Vol.x) (12) A History of fine Art in India and Ceylon by V.A. Smith, 2<sup>nd</sup> Ed. Oxford, 1950;(13)

The Archaeology and Monumental Remains of Delhi, by car Stephen, Calcutta,1876;(14) Transactions of the Archaeologycal Society of Agra, 1874, Delhi;(15) Indian Architecture by Percy Brown,Vol.II (Islamic period) 4<sup>th</sup> Ed.Bombay,1964.

The number of inscriptions of the Period is not considerable large. The Archaeological Department of the Government of India has published Arabic and Persian Inscriptions in the Epigraphia Indo Moslemica (1907-1938). It may be noted that all these inscription arranged chronologically with Summaries, are given in V.S.Bandrey's. A study of Muslim Inscriptions (Karnataka publishing House, Bombay,1944.)

### **1.5.2 Coins:-**

As regards numistic sources, we have several important modern publication describing the coins of the period. These are of great volue in setting conficting dates, and also throwing light on the economic condition of the age. These works are:

1. Edward Thomas, the chronicles of the a Pathan kings of Delhi, illustrated by coins, inscriptions and other antiquarian memories (London, Trubner 1871). This work furnishes some information about the coinage and history of the Mughul age also.
2. Lane Poole, Stanley, The coins of the Mughul Emperors of Hindustan in the British Museum, London, 1892.
3. Wright, H. Nelson, A catalogue of the coins in the indin Museum, Calcutta, Vol.III ford 1908.
4. Writchead, R.B., Catalogue of coints in the Punjab Museum, Lahore, Vol.III Oxford, 1914.
5. Brown, C.J., Catalogue of coins in the luck now Museum,2 Vols, 1920.
6. Hodivala, S.H. Historical Studies in Mugul Numismatics, Calcutta,1923.
7. Rodgers, C.J., Copper Coins of Akbar(JASB, part I, 1880; 1885)
8. Rodgers, C.J., Rave Copper Coins (JASB, part I, 1895).

- 9.** Rodgers, C.J., Rave Copper Coins of Akbar (Indian Antiquary, 1890).
- 10.** Whitehead R.B., The Mint Towns of the Mughal Emperors of India (J.Pro. A.S.B., 1912).
- 11.** White King, L., Novelties in Mughal Coins (Num. Chron, 1896)
- 12.** Dames, M.L. Some Coins of the Mughal Emperors (Num. Chron, 1902).
- 13.** Habib, Arfan, The Mughal Currency System (Medieval India Quarterly, Vol.IV, PP. 1-21).

### 1.5.3 PAINTING :-

There is considerable contemporary material on painting. Reference has already been made to the Tarikh-I-khandan-I-Timuria, which is profusely illustrated and which traces the evolution of the art of Mughul painting in India. There are numerous other profusely illustrated works on the history and literature of the times of Akbar, Jahangir and Shahjahan. They are preserved at Jaipur and several other Ms. Libraries in India, England and some other western countries. There are numerous extant portraits of the Mughul emperors, princes, and some of the queens and princesses in the Indian Museum, Calcutta; Victoria Memorial, Calcutta; Kala Bhawan, Banaras; Jaipur; British Museum; South Kensington Museum; and India Office Library.

The Mural paintings and decorations can be seen in the Mughul buildings of the period. Several modern scholars from Comaraswamy to N.C. Mehta have made a special study of the Mughul art. The works of the technique of Mughul Painting. V.A. Smith rightly observes that there is enough contemporary material on Mughul art for writing more than one volume.

### Conclusion :

The inscription, coin and painting proved valuable information regarding social, cultural aspect of Mughal History.

## **UNIT-II**

### **FOUNDATION OF MOGHUL EMPIRE**

#### **Structure**

##### **2.0 Objectives**

##### **2.1 Introduction**

2.1 Political condition of india on the eve of Babur's invasion

2.1.1 Condition of Mewar

- 2.1.2 Condition of Sindh
- 2.1.3 Condition of Bengal
- 2.1.4 Kingdom of Deccan
- 2.1.5 Central Asia and Babur
- 2.1.6 Conquest of India
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- 2.5.1 Beginning of Religious Toleration
- 2.5.2 Personal reason for religious toleration

## **OBJECTIVES**

In the aforesaid unit you have gone through various sources of Mughal History. In this unit you will know about the establishment and growth of Mughal Empire. After reading this Unit you will :

- Babur's incursion and foundation of Mughal Empire In India.
- Various tribulations of Humayun
- Understand the regulation of Shenshah in India
- Get an idea regarding conquest and consolidation of Akbar.
- Familiar with administration of Akbar
- Know the religious policy of Akbar

### **2.1**

#### **Introduction :**

The political condition of India was extremely chaotic before the Baur's conquest of India .On the basis of Tuzuk-i-Baburi and other historical sources, the political condition of India on the eve of Babur's invasion can be analysed. According to Dr Iswari Prasad "India was a congeries of States at the opening of the 16<sup>th</sup> centuries and likely to be easy prey of an invader who had the strength and will to attempt her conquest."

The disintregation of Delhi Sultanate started since the Muhammed-bin Tughlug. The authority of Ibrahim Lodi, who ascended the throne of Delhi in 1517, did not extend beyond Delhi, Agra. Doab, Jaunpur, a part of Bihar, Bayana and Chandari. A believer in the theory of the Divine Right to Kings. He endeavoured to prescribe a rigid discipline at his court. The proud afgan nobles who used to

share the carpet with Ibrahim's father and grandfather, were made to stand in his durbar in an humble posture, with their arms folded across their breasts. The sultan publicly declared that kingship know no kinship and that all his nobles were his vassals and servants. When the Afghan peers made an attempt to assert their hereditary privilege, he meted out rigorous punishment. Consequently, many of the top ranking Lodi, Lohani, Farmuli and Niyazi Afghans revolted against him and he had to resort to force to suppress their rebellion. This led to widespread confusion and alarm.

Alamkhan Lodi, an uncle of the Sultan, claimed the throne of Delhi for himself, and he was supported by many disgruntled nobles. The Governor of the Punjab, Daulat Khan Lodi, resisted the authority of the Sultan and behaved like a de- facto ruler. The nobles of Bihar rallied round Dariya Khan Lohani, on whose death his son Bahar Khan (Bahadur Khan), declared his independence. In Jaunpur, too the Afghans rebelled under Nasir Khan Lohani . The Lodi Kingdom was thus greatly distracted and the Sultan lost much of his prestige. He clashed with Rana Sanga of Mewar who defeated him. His death, in April, 1526, was followed by a period of disturbance which considerably weakened the kingdom of Gujarat. In July, 1526 his son, Bahadur Shah, became king and he proved to be an ambitious and successful ruler.

2.1.1 Mewar - Mewar was another formidable power in India. Its capital was at Chittor. The reigning family traced descent since 6<sup>th</sup> century A.D. The dynasty produced a series of remarkable rulers among whom Rana Kumbha (1433- 1468) who occupied a pre-eminent place. He strengthened the defences of his dominion by erecting many forts and also beautified his capital with stately buildings. He defeated the Sultan of Mewar and established the supremacy of Mewar in central Hindustan. Babur's contemporary on the throne of Chittor was the famous Rana Sangram Singh, popularly known as Rana Sanga. He was a great warrior and general hero of a hundred fights, he received as many as eighty wounds from sword and lance. Unlike the generality of

Rajput Chiefs, Sanga possessed instincts of a politician and a statesman. He had cleverly turned the social pre-eminence enjoyed by his family among the Rajputs of the land into his Political Supremacy in Rajasthan . He was followed by two hundred vassal Rajput chiefs. Rana Sanga's ambition was to establish Hindu rule over Delhi. In Pursuance of this ambitious design he is said to have promised Babur that he would invade Ibrahim Lodi's territory from the side of Agra while Babur proceeded against him from the north. Rana Sanga was, thus, the greatest Hindu ruler in northern India in the entire country.

**2.1.2 Sindh :** The province of Sindh was a feeble state in the first quarter of 16<sup>th</sup> century . It became independent at the end of Muhammad-bin-Tughluq's reign. The Sumra dynasty, which had established its rule over the province towards the middle of the 14<sup>th</sup> century was in decay, and Shah Beg Arghun, Governor of Kandhar, who was hard pressed by Babur was casting longing eyes on Sindh. In 1520, being compelled to abandon Kandhar to Babur, Shah Beg turned Towards Sindh, defeated the Sumras and occupied the province. His son, Shah Hussain, consolidated his rule and even annexed Multan. At the time of Babur's invasion, the power of Arghuns in Sindh was at its height.

### **2.1.3 Bengal**

Bengal was a fertile country . It was an independent Kingdom under the Husaini dynasty. Ala-ud-din Husain (1493-1518), was the first ruler of this dynasty and was an able monarch. He extended the boundary of his Kingdom as far as the borders of Orissa, and encroached upon Kamatpur in Kooch Bihar on the border of Assam. As he had given shelter to Hussain Shah Shargi of Jaunpur, he came into conflict with Sikandar Lodi of Delhi, but was obliged to make peace and agree to respect the eastern frontier of Bihar. His son, Nusrat Shah, was a contemporary of Babur with whom he had to make peace. Nusrat Shah was an able ruler and patron of Bengali literature. The Mahabharata was translated into Bengali under his orders. The province was prosperous and the people, on the whole, contented.



**Malwa** – In Central India three important States were competing for domination , Malwa, Gujarat and Mewar. In the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> Century, Mewar had attained a position of pre-eminence and Malwa had become independent under Dilwar Khan Ghuri. But in 1435 Mahmud Khan, the minister of Ghuri King, had seized the throne and laid the foundation of the Khiliji Dynasty. Mahmud Khiliji was an able and energetic ruler. The contemporary of Babur on the throne of Malwa was Mohmud II, who was an incompetent ruler. During his reign Malwa fell under the control of Medini Rai, a gallant Rajput Chief who was appointed Prime Minister and who gave important positions of trust and responsibility to his clansmen. This excited the jealousy of the Muslim nobles who tried to bring about the overthrow of the Medini Rai with the help of the sultan of Gujarat. Medini Rai, however, secured the support of Rana Songa of Mewar who defeated Mahmud II and carried him a prisoner to Chittor. With characteristic Rajput generosity, the Rana released his royal captive and restored him to his Kingdom. Even this act of generosity failed to save Malwa which continued to be distracted by factious strife.

**Gujarat**- Gujarat got its independence under Zafar Khan in 1401. One of the famous ruler of Gujarat was Mahmud Begraha(1458-1511 )The Province of Gujarat had severed its connection with Delhi 1401 when Zafar Khan, asserted his independence and ascended the throne under the title of Muzaffar Shah. One of the most remarkable rulers of this dynasty was Mahmud Begarha(1458-1511). The ruler of Gujarat at the time of Babur's invasion was Muzaffar Shah II who had succeeded Mahamud Begarha in 1511. He had to fight throughout his reign.

**Punjab**- Punjab was nominally a part of the Kingdom of Delhi. But its Governor, Daulat Khan Lodi, was not on good terms with Sultan. He escaped from Delhi, informed Daulat Khan that the Sultan harboured evil designs and as soon as he would be free from his present difficulties he would turn his attention towards the Punjab. Daulat Khan made preparations for asserting his independence and invited Badur to help him in his

designs. The north western frontier province of the Sultanate of Delhi was thus not in a position to put up any resistance against a foreign invader.

**Kashmir** – The independent Kingdom of Kashmir was established by Shah Mirza in 1339. It is situated in the north-east part of the Punjab. Shah Mirza was a Muslim adventurer, and had entered the service of Hindu prince of the Happy valley. He seized the throne in 1339 and laid the foundation of a Muslim dynasty. The most notable Sultan of Kashmir was Zain-ul-Abidin (1420-70). He followed the enlightened and liberal policy of religious toleration and patronage of Sanskrit literature. He is deservedly called 'the Akbar of Kashmir'. After his death in 1470 anarchy ensued. As it was situated far away from Delhi and was in a state of distraction. Kashmir did not exercise much influence on the politics of northern India.

**Orissa**- The Hindu Kingdom of Orissa was a considerable state and was under powerful rulers. It had not been effectually subjugated so far by any Sultan of Delhi. Orissa, however, did not exercise any great influence on the politics of northern India. But it served one useful purpose namely, that of acting as an effective obstruction to the expansion of Bengal towards the south.

**Khandesh**- Khandesh, was founded by Malik Rja Faruqi. It was situated in the valley of the river Tapti. Khandesh was independent since the last decade of the 14<sup>th</sup> Century. The founder of the dynasty, Malik Raja He had peaceful reign and died in 1399. From the very beginning, the Sultans of Gujarat were desirous of establishing their supremacy over Khandesh. Hence, the two kingdoms were continually at war. After the death Daud in 1508. Khandesh was plunged into disorder owing to factious fights of rival claimants to its throne, one of whom was supported by Ahmadnagar and another by Gujarat. Sulatan Mohamud Begarha of Gujarata ultimately succeeded in placing his candidate, Adil Khan III, on the throne of Khandesh. He died on 25<sup>th</sup> August, 1520 and was succeeded by his son, Muhammad I. Owing to its distance from Delhi and weak condition, Khandesh did not play an important part in the Politics of the period.

#### **2.1.4. The Kingdoms of the Deccan**

The famous Bahmani Kingdom of the Deccan, founded in 1347 as the result of a triumphant upheaval against the tyrannical rule of Muhammad-bin-Tughlug, stretched from Berar in the north to the river Krishna in the South. It had a series of able rulers who engaged themselves in a perpetual war against the Hindu Kingdom of Vijayanagar, which was situated to the South of it. After the execution of the great minister, Mahmud Gawan. In 1481, the Bahmani Kingdom began to disintegrate. On its ruins sprang up five independent Kingdoms namely, Berar (1484-1557), Ahmadanagar (1489-1633), Bijapur (1489-1686), Golkunda (1512-1687) and Bidar (1526-1590).

**Vijayanagar:-**The Hindu empire of Vijaynagar, had been founded in the time of Muhammed Bin Tughlaq in the 14<sup>th</sup> century. It was a bulwark against the Islam in the south. Babur's contemporary on its throne was Krishnadeva Raya, the greatest ruler produced by Vijayanagar and the most notable in the whole of the country during the epoch. Besides being a great soldier and general who extended the boundary of his Kingdom by defeating his rivals and neighbours, he was a cultured patron of literature and art, politically, economically and culturally, This Kingdom was at its height at the time of Babur's invasion of Northern India. Foreign travelers and diplomats were dazzled by its wealth, prosperity and power, Although, Vijayanagar did not exert much influence on the politics of Northern India, it served the useful purpose of checking the Muslim expansion southward and preserved the ancient religion and culture of Southern India.

These states, ambitious as they were of establishing their individual supremacy, were at perpetual war with one another. Not only was the political expansion of the internally torn Sultanate of Delhi successfully checked by Rajput chivalry under Rana Sanga, but even its very existence was in danger in view of the Rajput ambition to establish their rule over Delhi. In fact, Sultan Ibrahim had suffered a severe defeat at the hands of the Sisodias of Mewar and was compelled to give up his scheme of aggressive conquest. In central Hindustan both the Muslim Kingdoms of Malwa and

Gujarat had suffered considerably at the hands of the Rana of Chittor. In the east, the expansion of the Muslim Kingdom of Bengal had been barred by the Hindu rulers of Orissa and Assam. In the Deccan, emire of Vijayangar had so far successfully checked the southward expansion of the Bahmani Kingdom and its successors, the five Kingdoms of the Deccan. Thus, in every part of the India Turko. Afghan and indigenous Muslim Chiefs had brought to bay obliged to fight for their very existence.

## **Conclusion**

India was thus a conflicting of States at the opening of the 16th centuries . The Indian rulers maintained huge army in order to expand their Kingdom. Their political and military organization suffered from intrinsic weakness since it was based on feudalism. The Indian rulers were unaware of superior technique of warfare, including the use of artillery which had became quite popular with their counterpart in central Asia. With such a state of affairs India was likely to be easy prey to an invader who had the potency and determination to attempt her conquest.

## **FOUNDATION OF THE MUGHAL EMPIRE**

### **2.1.5 – Central Asia and Babur**

#### **Introduction**

There was significant political transformation in central Asia during the fifteenth century. After the collapse of the Mongol empire in the fourteenth century,

Timur unified Iran and Turan under single rule once again. Timur's empire extended from the lower Volga to the river Indus, and included Asia Minor (modern Turkey, Iran, Trans - Oxiana, Afghanistan and a part of the Punjab). Timur died in 1404, but his grandson, Shahrukh Mirza , was able to keep intact a huge part of his empire. He gave support to arts and letters, and in his time, Samargand and Herat became the cultural center of West Asia. The ruler of Samargand had great reputation in the whole Islamic World.

During the second half of the fifteenth century largely due to the Timurid custom of partitioning the empire, the power of Timurid declined. Various Timurid principalities which arose were always fighting and squabbling among themselves. This provided an opportunity to two new elements to come to the forefront. From the north, a Mongol tribe, the Uzbeks, thrust into Trans - Oxiana. The Uzbeks had become Muslims, but were looked down upon by the Timurids who considered them to be uncultured barbarians. Further to the West, a new dynasty, the Safavid dynasty, began to dominate Iran. The Safavids descended from an order of saints who traced their origin to the prophet. They supported the Shiite, see him among the Muslims, and persecuted those who were not prepared to accept the Shiite tenet the Uzbeks, on the other hand - were sunni. Thus, political divergence between these two elements was embittered by sectarian conflict. Further to the west of Iran, the power of the Ottoman Turks was rising. They wanted to control eastern Europe as well as Iran and Iraq.

Thus, the scene was set for the conflict of three mighty empires in Asia during the sixteenth century.

Babur succeeded to Farghana, a small state in Iran - Oxiana at the younger age of 14, in 1494. Unconscious of the Uzbek danger the Timurid princes were busy in fighting on another. Babur too made a bid to defeat Samargand from his uncle. He won the city twice but lost it in no time on both the occasions. The second time the Uzbek chief Shaibani Khan was called in to help oust Babur. Shaibani defeated Babur

and conquer Samargand, soon, he overran the rest of the Timurid Kingdoms in the area. This forced Babur to move towards Kabul which he conquered in 1504. For the next years, Babur kept biding his time for the reconquest of his home land from the Uzbeks. He tried to enlist the help of his uncle the ruler of Heart, in the enterprise but to no avail. Ultimately, Heart, too was overran by Shaibani Khan. This led to a direct conflict between the Uzbeks and the Safavids since the latter also laid claim to Heart and the surrounding area which is called Khorasan by contemporary writers. In a famous battle in 1510, Shah Ismail, the Shah of Iran, defeated and killed Shaibani Khan. Babur now made another attempt to recover Samargand, this time with the help of the Iranian Forces. He was duly installed at Samargand, but chafed under the control of the Iranian generals who wanted to treat Babur as the governor of an Iranian province rather than as an independent prince. Meanwhile, the Uzbeks recovered rapidly from their defeat. Once again Babur was ousted from Samargand and had to return to Kabul. Finally, Shah Ismail himself was defeated in a famous battle by the Ottoman Sultan, thus leaving the Uzbeks masters of Trans - Oxiana.

These developments finally required Babur to look towards India.

### **2.1.6 Conquest of India**

Like countless earlier invaders from central Asia, Babur was drawn to India by the lure of its tremendous wealth. India was the land of gold and riches. Babur's ancestor, Timur, had not only carried an enormous treasure and many skilful artisans, who helped him to consolidate his Asian empire and restore his capital, but also annexed some areas in the Punjab. These areas remained in the possession of Timur's successors for several generations. When Babur occupied Afghanistan, he felt that he had a legal right to these areas.

Another cause why Babur conquered the Punjab parganas was the meager income of Kabul. The historian Abul Fazl remarks, 'He (Babur) ruled over Badakhshan, Qandhar and Kabul which did not yield sufficient income for the requirements of the

army, in fact, in some of the border territories the expense on controlling the armies and administration was greater than the income". with these meagre resources Babur could not provide well for his begs and kinsmen. He was also apprehensive of an Uzbek attack on Kabul, and considered India to be a good place of refuge, and a suitable base for operations against the Uzbeks.

The Political condition in north-west India was suitable for Babur's entry into India. Sikandar Lodi had died in 1517, and Ibrahim Lodi had succeeded him. Ibrahim's efforts to create a large centralized empire had alarmed the Afghan chief as well as the Rajputs. Amongst the most powerful of the Afghan chiefs was Daulat Khan Lodi, the governor of the Punjab, who had almost an independent ruler. Daulat Khan attempted to conciliate Ibrahim Lodi by sending his son to his court to pay homage. At the same time, he wanted to strengthen his position by annexing the frontier tracts of Bhina, etc.

In 1518, , Babur subjugated the Powerful fort of Bhina. He then sent letters and verbal messages to Daulat Khan and Ibrahim Lodi, asking for the cession of the areas which had belonged to the Turks. But Daulat Khan detained Babur's envoy at Lahore, neither granting him an audience nor allowing him to go to Ibrahim Lodi. when Babur returned to Kabul, Daulat Khan expelled his agent from Bhina.

In 1520-21, Babur once again crossed the Indus, and easily captured Bhirna and Sialkot, the twin gateways to Hindustan. Lahore also capitulated to him. He might have proceeded further but for the news of a revolt at Gandhar, he retraced his steps, and after a siege of a year and a half recaptured Gandhar. Thus reassured, Babur was once again able to turn his attention towards India.

It was about this time that Babur acknowledged an embassy from Daulat Khan Lodi, led by his son, Dilawar Khan. They invited Babur to India, and suggested that he should displace Ibrahim Lodi since he was a tyrant and enjoyed no support from his nobles. It is probable that a messenger from Rana Sanga arrived at the same time,

inviting Babur to invade India. These embassies convinced Babur that the time was ripe for his conquest of the whole of the Punjab, it not of India itself.

In 1525, while Babur was at Peshawar, he received the news that Daulat Khan Lodi had changed sides again. He had collected an army of 30,000-40,000 men, ousted Babur's men from Sialkot, and was marching on Lahore. At Babur's approach, the army of Daulat Khan melted away. Dault Khan submitted and was pardoned. Thus, within three weeks of crossing the Indus' Babur became the master of the Punjab.

### **The Battle of Panipath(1526)**

Babur's conflict with Ibrahim Lodi was obvious. Babur prepared for it by marching towards Delhi. Ibrahim Lodi met Babur at Panipat with a force estimated at 100,000 men and 1000 elephants. Since the Indian armies generally contained large holders of servants, the fighting men on Ibrahim Lodi's side must have been far less than this figure. Babur had crossed the Indus with a force of 12000, but this had been swelled by his army in India, and the large number of Hindustani nobles and soldiers who joined Babur in the Punjab. Even then, Babur's army was numerically second-rate. Babur strengthened his position by resting one wing of his army in the city of Panipat which had a large number of houses, and protected the other by means of a ditch filled with branches of trees. In front, he lashed together a large number of carts, to act as a defending wall. Between two carts, breastworks were erected on which soldiers could rest their guns and fire. Babur calls this device an Ottoman (Rumi) device, for it had been used by the Ottomans in their famous battle against Shah Ismail of Iran. Babur had also secured the services of two Ottoman master-gunners, Ustad Ali and Mustafa. The use of gunpowder had been gradually developing in India. Babur says that he used it for the first time in his attack on the fortress of Bhirna. Apparently, gunpowder was known in India but its use became common in north India from the time of Babur's advent.



Ibrahim Lodi was unaware of the strategy of Babur. He had apparently expected Babur to fight a mobile mode of warfare which was usual with the central Asians, making rapid advance or retreating as the need arose. After skirmishing for seven or eight days, Ibrahim Lodi's forces came out for the fateful battle. Seeing the strength of Babur's position, they hesitated; while Ibrahim was still reorganizing his forces, the two extreme wings of Babur's army wheeled round and attacked Ibrahim's forces from the side and rear. Babur's gunners used their guns with good effect from the front. But Babur gives a large part of the credit of his victory to his bowmen. Curiously, he makes little reference to Ibrahim's elephants. Apparently, Ibrahim had little time to use them.

Despite these early setbacks, Ibrahim Lodi's army fought courageously. The battle raged for two or three hours. Ibrahim Lodi fought to the last, with a group of 5000-6000 people around him. It is estimated that besides him, more than 15,000 of his men were killed in the battle.

The battle of Panipat is regarded as one of the significant battles of Indian history. It broke the back of Lodi supremacy, and brought under Babur's control the entire area up to Delhi and Agra. The treasures stored up by Ibrahim Lodi in Agra relieved Babur from his financial difficulties. The rich territory up to Janapour also lay open to Babur. However, Babur had to wage two hard fought battles, one against Rana Sanga of Mewar, and the other against the eastern Afghans, before he could consolidate his hold on this area. Viewed from this angle, the battle of Panipat was not as decisive in the political field as has been made out. Its real importance lies in the fact that it opened a new phase in the struggle for domination in north India.

The difficulties of Babur after his victory at Panipat were manifold. Many of his Begs were not prepared for a long campaign in India. With the onset of the hot weather, their misgivings had increased. They were far away from home in a strange and hostile land. Babur tells us that the people of India displayed "remarkable hostility", abandoning their villages at the approach of the Mughal armies. Obviously, the

memories of Timurs sacking and plundering of the towns and villages were still fresh in their minds.

Babur knew that the resources in India alone would enable him to found strong empire and satisfy his begs. "Not for us the poverty of Kabul again", he records in his diary. He thus took a firm stand, proclaiming his intention to stay on in India, and granting leave to a number of his begs who wanted to go back to Kabul. This immediately cleared the air. But it also invited the hostility of Rana Sanga who began his preparations for a showdown with Babur.

### **The Battle of Khanwa(1529)**

The rivalry between Rana Sangha and Ibrahim Lodi for the domination of eastern Rajasthan and Malwa was well known. After defeating Mahmud Khalji of Malwa, the arrival of the Rana had gradually extended up to Piliya Khar a small river in the neighbourhood of Agra. The establishment of an empire in the Indo Gangetic valley by Babur was a threat to Rana Sanga. Sanga set preparations afoot to expel Babur or, at any rate, to confine him to the Punjab.

Babur accuses Rana Sanga of infringe of accord. He says that Sanga had invited him to India, and promised to join him against Ibrahim Lodi, but made no move while he (Babur) conquered Delhi and Agra.

We do not know what exact agreement Sanga had made. He might have hoped for a long drawn out warfare during which he (Sanga) would have been able to seize the areas he coveted. Or he might have hoped that like Timur, Babur, would withdraw after sacking Delhi and weakening the Lodis. Babur's decision to stay on in India entirely changed the situation.

Many Afghans, including Mahmud Lodi, a younger brother of Ibrahim Lodi, rallied to Rana sanga, in the hope of regaining the throne of Delhi in case Sanga won. Hasan

Khan Mewati, the ruler of Mewat, also cast in his lot with Sanga. Almost all the Rajput rulers sent contingents to serve under Rana Sanga.

The status of Rana Sanga and his early achievement against some of the distant Mughal posts such as Bayana, disheartened Babur's soldiers. To rally them, Babur solemnly declared the war against Sanga to be a jihad. On the eve of the battle He emptied all the wine jars and broke the wine flasks to demonstrate what a staunch Muslim he was. He also, banned the sale and purchase of wine throughout his dominions and established customs taxes on the Muslims. Having carefully selected a site, Babur entrenched himself at Khanwa about 40 km from Agra. As at Panipat, he lashed together a number of wagons as an outer bastion and dug a trench in front for double protection. Gaps were left in the defences for his musketeers to fire and advance behind wheeled tripods.

The battle of Khanwa (1527) was violently contested. According to Babur, Sanga's forces exceeded 200,000 including 10,000 Afghan cavalymen, and an equal force fielded by Hasan Khan Mewati. As usual these figures may be greatly exaggerated, though Babur's forces were undoubtedly inferior in number. Sanga made fierce attacks on Babur's right and almost breached it. However, the Mughal artillery took a heavy toll of life, and slowly, Sanga's forces were pushed back. At this juncture, Babur ordered, his soldiers in the center, who had been sheltering behind their tripods, to launch an attack the artillery also advanced behind the chained wagons. Sanga's forces were thus hemmed in, and were defeated after a great slaughter. Rana Sanga escaped and wanted to renew the conflict with Babur. But he was poisoned by his own nobles who considered such a course to be dangerous and desperate.

Thus died one of the most brave warriors produced by Rajasthan. With Sanga's death, the vision of an integrated Rajasthan extending up to Agra received a serious setback.

The Battle of Khanwa consolidated Babur's position in the Delhi Agra region. Babur strengthened his position further by conquering the chain of forts - Gwalior, Dholpur, etc., last of Agra. He also annexed large parts of Alwar from Hasan Khan Mewati. He then led a campaign against Medini Rai of Chanderi in Malwa. Chanderi was captured after the Rajput defenders and fighting to the last man and their women performed Juhar. Babur had to cut short his plan of further campaigns in the area on hearing of the mounting activities of the Afghans in eastern Uttar Pradesh.

### **The Afghans –**

In spite of Afghan defeat, they did not reconcile to the Mughal rule in India. Eastern Uttar Pradesh was still under the command of the Afghan chiefs who had tendered their allegiance to Babur but were prepared to throw it off at any time. The Afghan Sardars were being backed by Nusrat Shah, the ruler of Bengal, who had married a daughter of Ibrahim Lodi. A number of times, the Afghans had ousted the Mughal officials in eastern Uttar Pradesh and reached up to Kanauj. But their greatest weakness was the lack of a popular leader. After some time, Mahmud Lodi, a brother of Ibrahim Lodi, who had fought against Babur at Khanwa, reached Bihar at the invitation of the Afghan leaders. The Afghans hailed him as their ruler and mustered power under him.

There was a threat which Babur could not ignore. Hence, at the beginning of 1529, he left Agra for the east. Crossing the Ganga near Banaras, he faced the combined forces of the Afghans and Nusrat Shah of Bengal at the crossing of the river Ghagra. Although Babur crossed the river, and compelled the Bengal and the Afghan armies to retreat, he could not win a decisive victory, and anxious about the situation in central Asia. Babur decided to patch up an agreement with the Afghans. He put forward a vague claim for suzerainty over Bihar, but left most of it in the hands of the Afghan chiefs. He then returned to Agra. Shortly after words, while on his way to Kabul, Babur died near Lahore.

### **2.1.7 Significance of Babur's Advent into India**

Babur's advent into India was important from various points of view. For the first time since the downfall of the Kushan empire, Kabul and Gandhar became integral parts of an empire comprising north India. Since these areas had always acted as staging places for an invasion of India, by dominating them Babur and his successors were able to give to India protection from external invasions for almost 200 years.

Economically also, the control of Kabul and Gandhar strengthened India's foreign trade since these two towns were the opening points for caravans meant for China and the Mediterranean seaports. Thus India could take a greater share in the great Trans Asian trade.

Babur shattered the Power of the Lodis and of the Rajput alliance led by Rana Sanga. Thereby, he smashed the balance of power obtaining in the area. This was a long step towards the establishment of an all-India empire. However, a number of conditions had still to be fulfilled before this could be achieved. Babur showed what a skilled combination of artillery and cavalry could achieve. His victories led to rapid popularization of gunpowder and artillery in India there by reducing the significance of forts.

Babur introduced a new mode of warfare in India. Although gunpowder was known in India before, by his new military methods as well as by his personal conduct, Babur re-established the prestige of the crown which had been eroded since the death of Fircez Tughlag. Although Sikandar Lodi and Ibrahim Lodi had tried to re-establish the prestige of the Crown, Afghan ideas of tribal independence and equality had resulted in only a partial success. Babur had the prestige of being a descendant of two of the most famous warriors of Asia, Chengiz and Timur. None of his nobles could, therefore, claim a status of equality with him or aspire to his throne. The challenge to his position, if any, could come only from a Timurid prince.

Babur endeared himself to his Begs by his personal qualities. He was always prepared to share the hardships with his soldiers. Once, at the height of winter, Babur was returning to Kabul. The snow was so deep that horses would sink into it and parties of soldiers had to trample the snow so that the horses could pass. Without hesitation, Babur joined in the back breaking task, "At every step, the snow came up to the waist or the chest", he says. "After a few steps, the man in front would be exhausted, and another would take his place. When 10, 15 or 20 persons had trampled the snow thoroughly, then alone a horse could pass over it" following Babur's example, his begs also joined in the task.

Though an orthodox Sunni, Babur was not bigoted or led by the religious divines. At a time when there was a bitter sectarian feud between the Shias and the Sunnis in Iran and Turan, his court was free from theological and sectarian conflicts. Though he declared the battle against Sanga a jihad and assumed the title of Ghazi after the victory, the reasons were clearly political. Though it was a period of war, only a few instances can be found of destruction of temples.

Babur was deeply learned in Persian and Arabic, and is regarded as one of the two most famous writers in the Turkish language which was his mother tongue. As a prose writer he had no equal, and his famous memories, the Tuzak-I-Babur is considered one of the classic of world literature. His other works include a Masnavi and the Turkish translation of a well known Sufi work. He was in touch with the famous poets and artists of the time and described their works in his memories. He was a keen naturalist, and has described the flora and fauna of India in considerable detail.

## **Conclusion**

Thus, Babur introduced a new concept of the state which was to be based on the strength and prestige of the Crown, absence of religious and sectarian bigotry, and the careful fostering of culture and the fine arts. He thus provided a precedent and a direction for his successors.

## **2.2.0(B)**

## **HUMAYUN AND HIS PROBLEMS**

### **Introduction**

Nasir -ud-din- Muhammed Humayun was second Mughal Emperor. He ruled a large territory consisting of what is now Afghanistan, Pakistan and parts of Northern India. Humayun succeeded Babur in December 1530 at the young age of 23. He had to tackle with a number of tribulations left behind by Babur. The administration had not yet been consolidated, and the finances were precarious, The Afghans had not been subdued, and were nursing the hope of expelling the Mughals from India. Finally there was the Timurid legacy of partitioning the empire among all the brothers. Babur had counseled Humayun to deal kindly with his brothers. But had not favoured of the partitioning of the infant Mughal empire, which would have been unfortunate.

### **2.2.1 Immediate problem**

Kabul and Qandhar were included when Humayun ascended the throne at Agra. There were loose control over Badkhashan beyond Hindukush Mountain. Kabul and Qandhar were under the charge of Humayun's younger brother, Kamran. It was only natural that they should remain in his charge. However Kamran was not satisfied with these poverty-stricken areas. He marched on Lahore and Multan, and occupied them. Humayun, who was busy elsewhere, and did not want to start a civil war, had little alternative but to agree. Kamran accepted the suzerainty of Humayun, and promised to help him when ever necessary. Kamran's action created the apprehension that the other brothers of Humayun might also follow the same path whenever an opportunity arose. However, the granting of the Punjab and Multan to Kamran had the advantage that Humayun was free to devote his attention to the eastern parts without having to bother about his western frontier.

**Afghan Problem** - The Afghans were formidable enemy of Humayun. Secondly, the growing and sweep of conquests of Bahadur Shah, the ruler of Gujarat was another challenge for him. At the outset Humayun was inclined to consider the

Afghan danger to be the more serious of the two. In 1532, at a place called Daurah, he defeated the Afghan forces which had conquered Bihar and overrun Jaunpur in eastern Uttar Pradesh. After this success, Humayun besieged Chunar. This powerful fort commanded the land and the river route between Agra and the east, and was known as the gateway of eastern India. It had recently come in the possession of an Afghan Sardar, Sher Khan, who had become the most powerful of the Afghan Sardars.

The siege of Chunar had gone on for four months, then Sher Khan persuaded Humayun to allow him to retain possession of the fort. In return, he promised to be loyal to the Mughals and sent one of his sons to Humayun as a hostage. Humayun accepted the offer because he was anxious to return to Agra. The rapid increase in the power of Bahadur Shah of Gujrat, and his activities in the areas bordering Agra, had alarmed him. He was not prepared to continue the siege of Chunar under the command of a noble since that would have meant dividing his forces.

Bahadur Shah, who was of almost the same age of Humayun, was an able and ambitious ruler. Ascending the throne in 1526, he had overrun and conquered Malwa. He then turned to Rajasthan and besieged Chittor and soon reduced the Rajput defenders. According to some later legends, Rani Karnavati, the widow of Rana Sanga, sent a rakhi to Humayun seeking his help and Humayun gallantly responded. While this story cannot be fully accepted, it is true that from Agra Humayun moved to Gwalior to watch the situation. Due to the fear of Mughal intervention, Bahadur Shah patched up a treaty with the Rana, leaving the fort in his hands after extracting a large indemnity in cash and kind.

Humayun has been blamed for wasting valuable time, while Sher Khan was steadily augmenting his power in the east. During the year and a half, Delhi, which he named Dinpanah. He organized many grand feasts and celebrations during the period. It has also been said that Humayun's inactivity was due to his habit of taking opium. Neither of these charges has much substance. Babur continued to use opium after he gave up wine. Humayun ate opium occasionally in place of or in addition to wine, as did



many of his nobles. But neither Babur nor Humayun was an opium addict. The building of Dinpanah was meant to impress friends and foes alike. It could also serve as a second capital in case Agra was threatened by Bahadur Shah who, in the meantime, had conquered Ajmer and over run eastern Rajasthan.

Bahadur Shah offered a still grater challenge to Humayun. Not content with harbouring the relations of Ibrahim Lodi at his court, he openly welcomed some close relations of Humayun who had escaped from prison, having been confined there after an unsuccessful rebellion. Finally, Bahadur Shah again invaded Chittor. Simultaneously, he supplied arms and men to Tatar Khan, a cousin of Ibrahim Lodi, to invade Agra with a force of 40,000 while diversions were to be made in , the north and the east.

Humayun easily defeated the challenge posted by Tatar Khan. The Afghan forces melted away at the approach of the Mughals. Tatar Khan's small forces was defeated, and {re himself was killed. Determined to end the threat from Bahadur Shah's side once for all. Humayun now invaded Malwa. He marched forward slowly and cautiously, and occupied a position midway between Chittor and Mandu. He thus cut of Bahadur Shah from Malwa.

Bahadur Shah quickly compelled Chittor to capitulate, largely due to his fine artillery which was commanded by an Ottoman master - gunner, Rumi Khan. It has been said that Humayun refused to help Chittor due to religious considerations. However, Mewar was at that time passing through an internal crisis and from Humayun's point of view, its military value as an ally was limited.

Seera of Malwa and Gujrat - In the Struggle which followed, Humayun showed considerable military skill, and remarkable personal valour. Bahadur Shah did not dare to face the Mughals. He abandoned his fortified camp and fled to Mandu after spiking his guns, but leaving behind a, his rich equipage. Humayun war hot on his heels. He scared the fortress of Mandu with a smatiparty, Leing the fifth man to enter. Bahadur shah fled from Mandu to champaner, then to Ahmadabad and finally to kathiawar. Thus, the rich provinces of Malwa and Gujarat, as well as the large treasure hoarded by the Gujarat rulers at Mandu and champaner, fell into the hands of Humayun.

**Loss of Gujrat** – loss of Gujrat was another gross miscalculation of Humayan. After the victory Humayun placed Gujrat under the command of his younger brother. Askari, and then retired to Mandu which was centrally located and enjoyed a fine climate. The major problem was the deep attachment of people to the Gujarati rule. Askari was inexperienced, and the Mughal nobles were mutually separated. A series of popular uprisings, the military actions by Bahadur shah's nobles and the rapid revival of Bahadur shah's power, unnerved Askari. He fell back upon Champaner, but received no help from the commander of the fort who doubted his intentions. Unwilling to face Humayun at Mandu he decided to return to Agra. This immediately raised the fear that he might try to displace Humayun from Agra, or attempt to carve out a separate empire for himself. Deciding to take no chances, Humayun abandoned Marwa and moved after Askari by forced marches. He overtook Askari in Rajasthan; the two brothers were reconciled, and returned to Agra. Meanwhile, both Gujarat and Marwa were lost. So Both Gujrat and Marwa were lost as quickly as they had been gained.

The Gujrat operation was not a complete failure. While it did not add to the Mughal territories, it destroyed forever the threat posed to the Mughals by Bahadur Shah; Humayun was now in a position to concentrate all his resources in the struggle against Sher Khan and the Afghans. The death of Bahadur Shah in a scuffle with the Portuguese on board one of their ships ended whatever danger remained from the side of Gujarat.

Sher Khan had further strengthened his position, while Humayun was absent from Agra. He had made himself the unquestioned master of Bihar. The Afghans from far and near had rallied round him. Though he continued to profess loyalty to the Mughals he systematically planned to expel the Mughals from India. He was in close touch with Bahadur shah who had helped him with heavy subsidies. These resources enabled him to recruit and maintain a large and efficient army which included 1 200 elephants. Shortly after Humayun's return to Agra, he had used this army to defeat the Bengal King, and, compel him to pay an indemnity of 1,900,000 dinars (gold coins).

**Besige of Chunar** - After equipping a new army, Humayun marched against Sher Khan and besieged Chunar towards the end of the year. Humayun felt it would be dangerous to leave such a powerful fort behind, threatening his line of communications. However the fort was strongly defended by the Afghans. Despite the best efforts by the master - gunner, Rumi Khan, it took six months for Humayun to capture it. In the meanwhile, Sher Khan captured by treachery the powerful fort of Rahtas where he could leave his family in safety. He then invaded Bengal for a second time, and captured Gaur, its capital.

Humayun's Political Miscalculation - Thus, Sher Khan completely outmaneuvered Humayun. Humayun should have realized that he was in no position to offer a military challenge to Sher Khan without more careful preparations. However he was unable to grasp the political and military situation facing him. After his victory over Gaur, Sher Khan made an offer to Humayun that he would surrender Bihar and pay an annual tribute of ten lakhs of dinars if he was allowed to retain Bengal. It is not clear how far Sher Khan was sincere in making this offer. But Humayun was not prepared to leave Bengal to Sher Khan. Bengal was the land of gold, rich in manufactures, and a centre for foreign trade. Moreover, the King of Bengal who had reached Humayun's camp in a wounded condition, urged that resistance to Sher Khan was to continue. All these factors led Humayun to reject Sher Khan's offer and decided upon a campaign to Bengal. Soon after, the Bengal king succumbed to his wounds. Humayun had, thus, to undertake the campaign to Bengal all alone.

Humayun's march to Bengal was purposeless, and was to prelude to the disaster which overtook his army at Chausa almost a year later. Sher Khan had left Bengal and was in south Bihar. He let Humayun advance into Bengal without opposition so that he might disrupt Humayun's communications and bottle him up in Bengal. Arriving at Gaur, Humayun quickly took steps to establish law and order. But this did not solve any of his problems. His situation was made worse by the attempt of his younger brother, Hindal, to assume the crown himself at Agra. Due to this and Sher Khan's activities, Humayun was totally cut off from all news and supplies from Agra.

After a stay of three or four months at Gaur. Humayun started back for Agra, leaving a small garrison behind, despite the rumbling of discontent in the nobility. The rainy season, and the constant harrying attacks of the Afghans, Humayun managed to get his army back to Chausa near Buxar. without any loss. This was a big achievement for which Humayun deserves credit. Meanwhile, Kamran had advanced from Lahore to quell Hindal's rebellion at Agra. Though not disloyal, Kamran made no attempt to send reinforcements to Humayun. These might well have swung the military balance in favour of the Mughals.

Despite these setbacks, Humayun was still confident of success against Sher Khan. He forgot that he was facing an Afghan army which was very different from the one a year before. It had gained battle experience and confidence under the leadership of the most skilful general the Afghans ever produced. Misled by an offer of peace from Sher Khan, Humayun crossed to the eastern bank of the Karmnasa river, giving full scope to the Afghan horsemen encamped there. Humayun showed not only bad political sense, but bad generalship as well. He close his ground badly, and allowed himself to be taken unawares.

Humayun barely escaped with his life from the battle field swimming a cross the river with the help of a water - carrier. Immense booty fell in Sher Khan's hands. About 7000 Mughal Soldiers and many prominent nobles were killed.

After the defeat at Chausa (March 1539), only the fullest unity among the Timurid Princes the fullest unity among the Rimurid princes and the nobles could have saved the Mughals. Kamran had a battle - hardened force of 10,000 Mughals under his command at Agra. But he was not prepared to toan them to Humayun as he had lost confidence in Humayun's leadership. on the other hand, Humayun was not prepared to entrust the command of the armies to Kamran, test the latter use it to assume power himself. The suspicions between the borthers grew till kamran decided to return to Lahore with the bulk of his army.

### **2.2.2 The Battle and defects of Humayun**

The army hastily assembled by Humayun at Agra was no match against Sher Khan. However, the battle of Kanauj (May 1540) was bitterly contested. Both the younger brothers of Humayun, Askari and Hindal, fought valiantly but to no avail.

The battle of Kanauj decided the issue between Sher Khan and the Mughals. Humayun now became a prince without a Kingdom, Kabul and Qandhar remaining under Kamran. He wandered about in Sindh and its neighbouring countries for the next two and a half years, hatching various schemes to regain his kingdom. But neither the rulers of Sindh nor Maldeo, the powerful ruler of Marwar, was prepared to help him in this enterprise. Worse, his own brothers turned against him, and tried to have him killed or imprisoned. Humayun faced all these trials and tribulations with fortitude and courage. It was during this period that Humayun's character showed itself at its best. Ultimately, Humayun took shelter at the court of the Iranian King, and recaptured Qandhar and Kabul with his help in 1545.

It is clear that the major cause of Humayun's failure against Sher Khan was his inability to understand the nature of the Afghan power. Due to the existence of large numbers of Afghan tribes scattered over north India, the Afghans could always reunite under a capable leader and pose a challenge. Without winning over the local rulers and Zamindars to their side, the Mughals were bound to remain numerically inferior. In the beginning, Humayun was, on the whole, loyally led by his brother. Real differences among them arose only after Sher Khan's victories. Some historians have unduly exaggerated the early differences of Humayun with his brothers, and alleged faults of character.

Though not as vigorous as Babur, Humayun showed himself to be a competent general and Politician, till his ill-conceived Bengal campaign. In both the battles with Sher Khan, the latter showed himself a superior general.

## **Conclusion**

It is admitted that Humayun was a thorough gentleman. He was an ideal son, an ideal husband, and an ideal father and brother. In spite of the acts of betrayal on the part of his brother and others, he forgave them again and again. But this virtue was undoing of his career. Humayun's life was a romantic one. He went from riches to rags and again from rags to riches. In 1555, following the break-up of the Sur empire, he was able to recover Delhi. But he did not live long to enjoy the fruits of the victory. He died from a fall from the first floor of the library building in his fort at Delhi. His favourite wife built a magnificent mausoleum for him near the fort. This building marks a new phase in the style of architecture in north India, its most remarkable feature being the magnificent dome made of marble.

### **2.2.3 REVIVAL OF AFGAN POWER**

#### **Introduction**

Sher Shah Suri was founder of Sur Empire in North India, and his capital was Delhi. His birth name was Farid Khan, also known as Sher Khan. He took control of Moghul empire in 1540, when Humayun was elsewhere on an expedition, Sher Shah overran the State of Bengal and established Sur Dynasty. A brilliant strategist, Sher Shah proved himself a gifted administrator as well as able general. His reorganization of the empire laid the foundation for the Moghul empire, notably Akbar the Great, son of Humayun. During five years rule from 1540-45, he set up new civic and military administration, issued first Rupee and reorganized the postal system. He further developed Humayun's Dina-Panah and revived the historical city of Pataliputra. He extended the Grand Trunk Road from Chittagong in Bangladesh to Kabul in Afghanistan.

### **2.2.4 - Accession of Sher Shah**

Sher Shah ascended the throne of Delhi at the ripe age of 67: We do not know much about his early life. His father was a small jagirdar at Jaunpur. Farid acquired rich

administrative experience by looking after the affairs of his father's jagir. Following the defeat and death of Ibrahim Lodi and the confusion in Afghan affairs, he emerged as one of the most important Afghan Sardars. The title of Sher Khan was given to him by his patron for killing a tiger (Sher), soon, Sher Khan emerged as the right hand of the ruler of Bihar, and its master in all but name. This was before the death of Babur. The rise of Sher Khan to prominence was, thus, not sudden.

**2.2.5 Conquest and Extension of empire** - Sher Shah ruled the mightiest empire which had come into existence in north India since the time of Muhammad bin Tughlaq. His empire extended from Bengal to the Indus, excluding Kashmir. On the West, he conquered Malwa, and almost the entire Rajasthan. Malwa was then in a weak and distracted condition and in no position to offer any resistance. But the situation in Rajasthan when he ascended the gaddi in 1532, had rapidly brought the whole of Western and northern Rajasthan under his control. He further expanded his territories during Humayun's conflict with Sher Shah. With the help of the Bhatias of Jaisalmer, he conquered Ajmer. In his career of conquest he came into conflict with the rulers of the area, including Mewar. His latest act had been the conquest of Bikaner. In the course of the conflict the ruler was killed after a gallant resistance. His sons, Kalayan Das and Bhim sought shelter at the court of Sher Shah. Many others, including his relation Biram Deo of Merta, whom he had dispossessed from his jagir, also repaired to Sher Shah's court.

Thus the situation facing Rana Sanga and Babur was repeated. Various attempts to create a large centralized state in Rajasthan under his aegis were bound to be regarded as a threat by the ruler of Delhi and Agra. It was believed that Maldeo had an army of 50,000. However, there is no evidence that Maldeo coveted Delhi or Agra. Now, as before, the bone of contention between the two was the domination of the strategically important eastern Rajasthan.

**Conquest of Rajasthan** - The Rajput and Afghan forces clashed at Samel (1544) between Ajmer and Jodhpur. Sher Shah had adopted the greatest precautions he would throw up entrenchments to guard against a surprise attack. It is clear that the

Rajputs, too, had learnt a lot about military tactics since Rana Sangas disastrous battle with Babur. They refused to attack the strongly fortified positions of Sher Shah.

After waiting for about a month, Maldeo suddenly withdrew towards Jodhpur. According to contemporary writers, this was due to a clever stratagem on the part of Sher Shah. He had dropped some letters addressed to the Rajput commanders near Maldeo's camp, in order to sow doubt in his mind about their loyalty. The strategy worked. Maldeo seeing his mistake when it was too late, some Rajput Sardars refused to retreat. With a small force of about 10,000 they vigorously attacked Sher Shah's centre and created confusion in his army. But Sher Shah kept cool. Soon, superior numbers and Afghan troops halted the Rajputs. Surrounded, the Rajputs died fighting to the last man. Many Afghan soldiers perished with them.

The battle of Samel sealed the destiny of Rajasthan. Sher Shah now besieged and conquered Ajmer and Jodhpur, forcing Maldeo into the desert. He then turned towards Mewar. The Rana in no position to resist, and sent the keys of Chittor to Sher Shah who set up his outposts up to Mount Abu.

Thus, in a brief period of ten months, Sher Shah overran almost the entire Rajasthan. His last campaign was against Kalinjar, a strong fort that was the key to Bundelkhand. During the siege, a gun burst and severely injured Sher Shah. He died (1545) after he heard that the fort had been captured.

Sher Shah was succeeded by his second son, Islam Shah, who ruled till 1553. Islam Shah was a capable ruler and general, but most of his energies were occupied with the rebellions raised by his brothers, and with tribal feuds among the Afghans. These and the ever – present fear of a renewed Mughal invasion prevented Islam Shah from attempting to expand his empire. His death at a young age led to a civil war among his successors. This provided Humayun the opportunity he had been seeking for recovering his empire in India. In two hotly contested battles in 1555, he defeated the Afghans, and recovered Delhi and Agra.

The Sur empire may be considered in many ways as a continuation and culmination of the Delhi Sultanate, the advent of Babur and Humayun being in the



nature of an inter regnum. Amongst the for most contributions of Sher Shah was his re-establishment of law and order across the length and breadth of his empire. He dealt sternly with robbers and dacoits, and with zamindars who refused to pay land revenue or disobeyed the orders of the government. we are told by Abbas Khan Sarwani, the historian of Sher Shah, that the Zamindars were so cowed that none of them dared to raise the banner of rebellion against him, or to molest the travelers passing through their territories.

#### **2.2.6 SHER SHAH'S ADMINISTRATION -**

Sher Shah Suri, also known as Sher Khan or Lion King ,was one of the greatest administrator of Medieval India. The Sher Shah Suri administration was based on the old institution in Medieval Indian administration and made it served the interest of people. He created no new ministry and his administrative division and sub division were borrowed from the past, and also the title of his officer. His military reforms were those of Ala -ud-din-Khalji and even revenue administration was not really new and original. But he breathed a new spirit in these old institution and turned them into institution of public service.

Sher Shah's administration was not only autocratic but also enlightened and vigorous. He did not listen to the advice of the Ulema. He aimed at the betterment of administration and looked into the smallest details of administration .

Sher Shah is a benevolent despot. He had both civil and military powers in his hands and he exercised them in the interests of the people rather than for: himself.

Sher Shah was helped by four Ministers, Diwan-i-Wizarat, Diwan- i- Ariz, Diwan-i-Rasalat and Diwan-I-tnsha. The wazir was the head of the diwan-I-Wizarat. He was in charge. of both the income and expenditure of the country. He also exercised a general supervision over the ministers. The Diwan-i-Ariz was under Ariz-i-Mamalik. The latter was incharge of the recruitment, organization and discipline of the army. He was responsible for the payment of salaries of the army. On account of his personal interest in the military affairs, Sher Shah interfered a lot in this department. The Diwan-I-Rasalat

was under a foreign Minister. His duty was to keep himself in touch with the ambassadors and envoys. He also dealt with diplomatic correspondence. The work of charity and endowment was also in his hands. The minister-in-charge of Diwan-i-Inshah had to draft royal- proclamation and dispatches. He was in charge of Government records. His duty was also to correspond with the Governors and other local officers.

In addition to the four Departments or Ministries, there were also the Diwan-l-

Qza and Diwan-l-Barid. The first was under the Chief Gazi. The duty of the Chief Qazi was to supervise the administration of just        Diwan-iBarid was the intelligence Department of the Government. It had a large number of news-writers and spies who were scattered all over the country. There was also a high official in charge of the royalhousehold. He enjoyed a lot of prestige on account of his nearness to the royal family. He may be called the Lord High Steward.

There are two the theories with regard to provincial administration under Sher Shah. According to Dr. Ganungo, the highest division of the country was Sarkar and the provinces were the creation of Akbar, the Great According to Dr. Saran, Provinces, existed even before Akbar and it is wrong to say that Sarkar was the highest division for purpose of administration However, both the views do not seem to be quite correct. It can not be denied that there were administrative divisions which corresponded to provinces there was no uniformity with regard to their income and size. They were known as Iqtas and were assigned to Chiefs. Sher Shah established a new type of provincial administration in Bengal. Bengal was divided into a number of Sarkars. A civilian was to be at the head of the entire province and he was given a small army for his help. His duty was supervision over the various officials of the Sarkar and also to settle the disputes. The details of Provincial/administration are not clear and it is not possible to say as to how its officers were appointed and what their names were.

**Sarkar** - In the time of Sher Shah, Provinces were divided into Sarkars. The two important officials of a Sarkar were Munsif-I-Munsifan or Munsif-in-Chief and Shiqdar-i-Siqdaran or Munsif-in-Chief and Shigdar-I-shiqdaran or Shiqdar-in-Chief. The Munsif-I-Munsifan was Primarily a judge and tried civil cases. He also supervised the work of Admins. As regards the Shiqdar-I-Shiqdaran, his duty was to maintain law and order within the Sarkar and to put down those who dared to revolt. He was also to supervise the work of the Shiqdars of the Parganas.

**Parganas** - If there were many Sarkars in province, there were many parganas in a Sarkar. The important officials in a pargana were a Shiqdar, an Amin, a Treasurer, a Munsif, a Hindi writer and a Persian writer for accounts.

Besides these, there were the Patwari, Chaudhari and the Muqaddam who acted as intermediaries between the people and the Government. It is to be noted that the Shiqdar was a soldier. The Amin was a civilian whose duty was the assessment and collection of land revenue. The Amin was given military help by the Shiqdar. Sher Shah did not interfere with the work of the pargana officials. He merely tried to maintain contact with them through the Patwari and the Chowkidar. Villages were allowed to work with the help of their Panchayats.

**Sher Shah's Army** - The importance of the army to Sher Shah cannot be over emphasized. It was only with the help of the army that he was able to drive out Humayun and subdue practically the whole of Northern India. He invited Afghan Soldiers from every parts of the country and gave them highest posts in the army. He took great personal interest in the recruitment of the troops. In many cases he himself fixed the emoluments of the soldiers.

Sher Shah once again introduced the System of branding horses or "Dagh" and "Chera" or the preparation of descriptive rolls of the soldiers. Thus he was in a position to check fraudulent musters. Sher Shah gave a lot of emphasis on the cavalry. He armed his infantry with muskets

The army of Sher Shah was divided into a number of divisions. Each division was under a commander. Strict supervision and discipline was maintained among the soldiers for the movement of the army transport and communication were made.

**Finance** - Sher Shah tried to increase the State finances as much as possible. Most of the revenue was from the center and rest from the total revenues. *Jaziya* as well as heirless properly brought a lot of money to the Government. Taxes on salt, customs, mines, land revenue were other sources of revenue. The main source of income was land revenue .

**Revenue Administration** - It goes to the credit of Sher Shah that he ordered an accurate assessment of the land in the empire then the share of the Government was fixed at one third of the produce. The payment could be both in kind and cash. The Muqaddam were responsible for the collection of the taxes and for their services they got a certain percentage. In some cases the peasants were allowed to pay directly to the treasury .

Sher Shah gave strict instruction to his officers to show leniency at the time of assessment but strict at the time of collection of revenue. Thus, he was in a position to check corruption. The army was given orders not to destroy the crops while moving from one place to another. In case, such damage was done, then the Government had to compensate the loss .

Although, Sher Shah tried to have a good revenue system, yet it had some inherit defects. The Government Share was one-third of the produce of three kinds of land viz, good, middling and bad. The result was that the bad land was over - charged and the good land was under - charged.

**Justice** - Where justice is concerned, sher shah was very just. No body' could escape punishment on account of his status. The Qazi and Mir Adil Presided over the Civil Courts. Where the Hindus were concerned, their disputes were decided by the Panchayats. The Criminal cases, everybody was subject to the state law. The Criminal law was very hard and punishment was very severe. During this period, the

object of punishment was not to reform, but to set an example for other. In the case of government officials and other persons of high status, the punishment was more severe. So great was the reputation of Sher Shah as a just ruler that a merchant could travel and sleep in the desert without fear of being robbed.

**Police** - The functions of the police were performed by the army. The Shiqdar-i-Shiqdani was to maintain peace and order in the Sarkar. In the pargana, the same function was performed by the Shigdar. These officers had to keep a strict watch over thieves and robbers. Sher Shah introduced the system of local responsibility. Thus, it was the duty of the officers-in-charge to find the culprit in every case. Most of the historians have praised the police system of Sher Shah.

"In Sher Shah's rule a decrepit old woman could place a basket full of gold ornaments on her head and go on a journey and no thief or robber would come near her, for fear of punishment which Sher Shah inflicted."

**Currency** - The currency system at the time of his accession to the throne was in a hopeless condition. Debasing of the coins was common. There was no fixed ratio between the coins of various metals. Coins of various Governments were allowed to circulate at the same time and they created a lot of confusion. Sher Shah introduced a new coin called Dam. He also abolished the old and mixed metal currency. The names on the coins were given in Devangari script. Gold coins were also introduced. The ratio of exchange between the Dam and rupee was fixed at 64 to 1.

**Trade** - Sher Shah abolished the various duties which were levied at the frontiers of every province. The object was to facilitate trade in the country. Only two duties were allowed. The first duty was levied when the goods were brought into the country and the second was levied when they were sold. All internal customs were abolished.

**Means of communication** - Sher Shah Sur was a great road maker. He built four big roads. The first road was from Sonargaon in Bengal to the Indus. This road was known as the Sarak-i-Azam and was 1,500 Kos in length. It can be identified with the present Grand Trunk Road. The second road ran from Agra to Burhanpur. The third

road ran from Agra to Jodhpur and Chittor. The fourth road was from Lahor to Multan. Trees were planted on both sides of the roads, Sarais were built at a distance of every Kroh. separate provision was made for Hindus and Muslims in these Sarais. There was also a well, a mosque and officials such as an Iman, a Muazzin .

**Charity** - Sher Shah was very liberal in the matter of making grants. He gave grants to imams and holy men. He also patronized art and letters. Under the orders of Sher Shah, the old grants were scrutinized. He ordered Munshies to prepare the firmans. He examined them and sealed them himself and sent them to the Shiqdars for distribution. Every effort was made to give grants to those who deserved it. Special grants were given to Madrasas and mosques' Stipends were given to teachers and students. Free kitchens were \*established by the Government. It is to be noted that in the matter of making grants, Sher Shah was very liberal towards the Afghans'

**intelligence Department** - The Sarais were also used as Dak Chauki. A Daroga –I Dak Chauki was appointed by Sher Shah. A large number of news writers and news carriers were employed and the king got daily reports regarding what was happening in various parts of the country. The system was working so efficiently that Sher Shah was able to get information from all parts of his dominion.

**Religious policy** - There is a difference of opinion regarding the religious policy followed by Shersah. According to Dr' Oanungo' Sher shah followed a policy religious tolerance towards the Hindus. His attitude was not contemptuous sufferance but respectful deference". , Sri Ram Sharma differs from Qanungo. Sher Shah was very much devoted to his own faith. He did his prayers five times a day. On more than one occasion, Ser Shah resorted to Jihad or holy war against the Rajputs. War against Poora Mal of Raisin was officially called a Jihad. His treatment of Maldeo of Jodhpur is a symbol of his intolerance. Generally, Sher Shah was tolerance in matters of religious belief. He separated politics from ethics. He was tolerant towards the Hindus.

**Building** - Sher Shah was responsible for the construction of the Rohtasgarn on the Jhelum. The Puran Qila at New Delhi is::to believed to have constructed by Shersah. The Mausaleum of Shersah' at Sahsram is one of the most beautiful buildings in India.

## **Conclusion**

Sher Shah was a great empire builder. By sheer dint of hard work, he rose to the position of the emperor in Northern India. He possessed an iron determination. He was shrewd and diplomatic in his actions. He could at once grasp the situation and take full advantage of the same. He was not a soldier by profession but certainly he understood how to plan campaigns to a successful conclusion. He took advantage of the follies of Humayun and drove him out of the country.

## **2.3.0 CONSOLIDATION AND EXPANSION OF MUGHAL EMPIRE UNDER AKBAR**

### **Introduction**

Jalaluddin Muhammed Akbar, known as Akbar the Great, (1542-1605) was Moghul Emperor from 1556 until his death. He was third and greatest ruler of the Mughal dynasty in India. A strong personality and successful general, Akbar gradually enlarged the Mughal Empire to nearly all of the Indian Subcontinent north of Godavari river. His supremacy and influence, however, extended over the entire country because of Mughal military, political, cultural and economic dominance. To unify vast empire, Akbar established a centralized system of administration through the empire and adopted a policy of conciliating conquered rulers through matrimony and diplomacy. In order to preserve peace and order in a religiously and culturally diverse empire, he adopted policies that won him the support of his non-Muslim subjects. Eschewing tribal bonds and Islamic state identity, Akbar strived to unite far-flung lands of his realm through loyalty, expressed through Persianised culture, to himself as an emperor who had near-divine status.

### 2.3.1 - **Condition of India In 1556**

Akbar ascended the throne in 1556 after the demise of his father, Humayun. At that time he was a child of hardly fourteen. At that time the Mughal Empire had several inherent problems. The throne he inherited was not a bed of roses. As a matter of fact there was no throne at all. When Akbar got the news of the death of his father, he was at Kalanaur in the Gurdaspur District of the Punjab. It was at that place that Akbar was enthroned. According to Dr. Smith, "it merely registered the claim of Humayun's son to succeed to the throne of Hindustan". It is well-known that Humayun had recovered Delhi in June 1555 but he had not found enough time to consolidate his position in India. Everything was still disturbed. The position of Akbar was very shaky that he was advised by all except Bairam Khan to leave India and retire to Kabul.

Sikander Sur had been defeated by Humayun, but his power had not been crushed. He was still at large in the Punjab. He retained his pretensions to be the King of Delhi and Punjab. In the Eastern Provinces, the Afghans were strong under their King Muhammad Shah Adali. Adali's minister, Hemu, possessed a large army and was determined to prevent Akbar from taking possession of the dominion of his father.:

The Rajput princes also possessed substantial strength and sitting in their forts, they were formidable enemy of Akbar. The important Rajput Princes were those of Mewar, Jaisalmer, Bundi and Jodhpur. They had augmented their military strength to such an extent that they were thinking in terms of fighting against the Mughal Empire.

The states of Gujarat and Malwa had become independent. Their rulers acted in an independent manner and entered into diplomatic relations with other countries. Kabul at that time was under the control of Miza Hakim, the brother of Akbar. He was acting as an independent ruler and was ambitious enough to entertain dreams of acquiring the empire of India. Both Sindh and Multan were independent and did not owe any loyalty to the ruler of Delhi. Likewise, Kashmir was being ruled by an independent Muslim ruler. Gondwana at that time was being ruled by Rani Durgawati, in the name of her minor son.



## **SECOND BATTLE OF PANIPAT (1556)**

The second battle of Panipath was fought between the forces of Hemu, the Hindu ruler of Northern India and the army of Akbar on 5<sup>th</sup> Nov 1556. It was a decisive victory for Akbar.

During the early phase of his career, Akbar had to deal with the mounting power of Hemu, the Prime Minister of Mohammad Shah Adali of Bengal. On hearing the news he moved on to Delhi. Tardi Beg, the Mughal Governor, retired from that place and the city fell into the hands of Hemu who entered it as King Vikramajit. Hemu was a man of extraordinary personality. By sheer dint of hard work and honesty of purpose, he became a Chaudhry in his own circle. This brought him into contact with the Government officials who introduced him into the court of the Sultan. Within a short period, Hemu won the confidence of his master who employed him in different capacities. He proved himself to be a great administrator and general. No wonder, he became the right hand man of Muhammad Shah Adali. He won for him battles and conquered territories. Akbar had to deal with such a shrewd and ambitious man.

Undoubtedly, Akbar was in a distressed position. The expulsion of Tardi Beg added to the fears of his followers. In spite of all that he accepted the advice of Bairam Khan and decided to give battle to Hemu. In order to create an impression on his followers, Tardi Beg was executed. The armies of Hemu and Akbar met on the historic battlefield of Panipat in November, 1556. At that time, a severe famine was going on at Delhi and in the neighboring territories. To begin with, Hemu seemed to carry the day. However, he was struck in the eye by an arrow and he became unconscious. This was a turning point in the battle. The leaderless Afghan army fled away and 1,500 war elephants and other booty fell into the hands of Akbar and Bairam Khan. Hemu was captured.

The defeat of Hemu was the result of a mere accident. He himself was also partly responsible for it. He ought to have taken the offensive against the Mughals

immediately after the withdrawal of Tardi Beg when his stock was very high and the followers of Tardi Beg were clamouring for retreat to Kabul. Moreover, when Hemu decided to send his army to the Punjab, he did not plan the same after due deliberations. Foolishly, he sent most of his artillery along with the vanguard, The result was that the artillery was captured by Ali Quli and that raised the morale of the Mughals and disheartened the Afghans under Hemu. Hemu also committed the mistake of directing the movements of his troops in person in the battle field itself. He foolishly exposed himself on an elephant. The result was that he was personally injured and that decided the fate of the battle. His elephant driver also made the mistake. instead of carrying his master to a safe place within the army of his master, he tried to carry him away from the field of battle. This enabled Ali Quli to capture him. Hemu also made another mistake in not providing for leadership of the army in the event of his death or incapacitation by injury. The result was that as soon as he was removed from the field of battle, the fate of the battle was decided.

The second battle of Panipat was of far-reaching importance. Mughals got a decisive victory over the Afghans. The Afghan pretensions to the sovereignty of India were gone once for all. Delhi and Agra were occupied

### **Submission of Sikandar Sur (1557)**

Sikandar Sur had retired to the Siwalik Hills and Bairam Khan sent his forces there. The former shut himself in the hill fortress of Mankat. The fort was besieged and the siege continued for six months. Sikandar Sur sued for peace. He surrendered the fort. He was given a Jagir and his son was otherwise provided.

In 1557, Mahammad Shah Adli died as a result of his conflict with the ruler of Bengal. Thus, another enemy of Akbar was disposed of without any effect on his part.

### **Bairam Khan or Bayram Khan –**

Bairam Khan or Bayram Khan was an important military commander, among top generals, later commander in Chief of the Moghul army, a powerful statesman and regent at the court of Moghul emperor Humayun and Akbar, also guardian, Chief mentor, adviser, teacher and most trusted person of Akbar.

But he professed the Shia faith. He served faithfully both Humayun and Akbar. He fought in the Battle of Kanauj in 1540 and was taken a prisoner. However, he managed to escape and joined Humayun in his wanderings. He accompanied him to Persia and there exercised his own influence to get for Humayun the support of the ruler of that country. He was with Humayun when the latter conquered Kabul, Kandahar and later on the Punjab, Delhi and Agra. He was affectionately called Khani – baba (Lord Father)

When Humayun died, Bairam Khan and Akbar were in the Punjab pursuing Sikandar Sur who was still not crushed. Akbar a young man of 14, was in a very difficult situation. His followers advised him to retire to Kabul and from there attempt once again the conquest of India. However, it was Bairam Khan who opposed the idea and insisted upon giving battle to Hemu who had already occupied Agra and Delhi. The credit of winning the Second Battle of Panipat goes in a large measure to Bairam Khan. He may be accused of the execution of Tardi Beg but expediency required such an action to strike terror into the hearts of the traitors and cowards amongst the Mughal officials. He was responsible for the execution of Hemu and his father.

After the Battle of Panipat, Bairam Khan, by virtue of his wisdom, age and experience, was able to acquire substantial influence over Akbar and became virtually the ruler of the country. (1556-60)

Bairam Khan showered favours on his friends and followers. The titles of Sultan and Khan were given by him to his own servants and this was resented by the Muslim nobility. The title of Panchhazari was given by him to his own favourites and the claims of others were not considered. He adopted a discriminatory attitude in the punishment of the offenders. He severely dealt with the servants of the royal household but let off

the servants of his own household. He ordered the execution of the elephant driver of Akbar without any cause.

There was also a suspicion that Bairama Khan was plotting to place one the throne Abdul Qasim, a son of Kamran. This was considered to be the height of disloyalty which could not be ignored.

Bairam Khan was a Shia and his authority was resented by the Mughal nobles who. were all Sunnis. They would like to pull him down from his high position. The execution of Tardi Beg created the feeling that Bairam Khan would not mind disposing of any noble, however high he may be. this created a feeling of awe and terror in their minds and their personal safety demanded the removal of Bairama Khan.

Bairam Khan did not try to win over the nobles of the court. On the other hand, he was thoroughly unpopular. 'His disposition was arbitrary haughty and jealous and he could not easily tolerate the presence of possible rivals near his young master.

As Akbar began to grow in years, he made up his mind to take over the administration into his own hands Bairama Khan did not seem to like the idea and did not behave in a proper way. This made Akbar annoyed. There were also palace intrigues, Hamida Banu, the mother of Akbar, Maham Anaga, Adham Khan and Shahab-ud-Din, Governor of Delhi, hated Bairam Khan and plotted to remove him. A conspiracy was hatched. Akbar went to Delhi to see his mother who was reported to be ill. It was at Delhi that Akbar wrote to Bairam Khan that he had decided to take into his own hands the reigns of the government and, therefore, the latter should retire to Mecca. He also offered him a Jagir for his maintenance. Although Bairama Khan was advised by his followers to revolt, he refused to do so and submitted. Unfortunately, Pir Muhammad, a person whom Bairama Khan and he revolted. However, he was defeated and he begged forgiveness. That was generously given by Akbar who received him with most princely grace and presented him with a splendid robe of honour. Bairama Khan was allowed to proceed to Mecca with dignity. Unfortunately, he was murdered by, an Afghan in

Gujarat. His camp was plundered by his young son, Abdur Rahim, was saved. Later on he rose to the position of Khan-i-Khanan and married a daughter of prince Daniyal.

### **PETTICOAT GOVERNMENT (1561 -64)**

After the fall of Bairma Khan in 1560, Akbar came under the influence of Maham Anaga, his post - mother. According to Dr. Smith, Akbar threw off the Yoke of Bairma Khan only to be brought under the "monstrous regime of unscrupulous care for the interests of the country but nearly favoured worthless persons ". This point of view is not accepted by Indian historians. It is pointed out that if Maham Anaga had been all powerful, she would certainly have helped her own son. Adham Khan was not favoured, even the great influence of his mother could not save his life.

### **ADHAM KHAN**

In 1561 Adham Khan was sent to subdue Baz Bahadur, an Afghan, who had captured Malwa. Adam Khan was assisted by Pir Mohammad. He was able to defeat Baz Bahadur near Sarangpur. Unfortunately, he did not send the spoils of the conquest to the Emperor. Adam Khan tried to take possession of Baz Bahadur's Hindu mistress Rupmati. She Killed herself by taking poison. Akbar did not approve of the attitude of Adam Khan in retaining the spoils. He left Agra and reached Malwa by forced marches. He took Adham Khan by surprise. He seized the spoils and removed Adham Khan from his office. Pir Mohammad was appointed in his place. However, Baz Bahadur took advantage of the weak Government of Pir Mohammad and reconquered Malwa. Abdullah Khan Uzbek defeated him and Baz Bahadur entered the Mughal services.

Adham Khan was the victim of a miscalculation. He wrongly counted upon the influence of his mother over Akbar. Adham Khan stabbed Shams-ud-Din, the Minister of Akbar, in the royal palace. This was too much for Akbar. It is stated that he rushed to

the spot and gave a blow to Adham Khan with his fist and knocked him down to the ground. Adham Khan was seized and thrown headlong from the terrace of the place where the murder had taken place, This happened in May 1562.

### **UZBEG REBELLION (1564-67)**

Abdullah Khan Uzbek was not of the trusted officers of Akbar. It was he who was responsible for the conquest of Malwa from Baz Bahadur. However, he revolted against Akbar in July, 1564. He was joined by other Uzbek nobles. The rebellion became formidable. Akbar marched against him and he was forced to retire to Gujrat. Ultimately, he went to Jaunpur where he joined hands with another Uzbek Chief named Khan Zaman. The Uzbeks suspected that Akbar hated their entire race and was bent upon reducing them to a subordinate position. The result was that many of them joined the movement against Akbar. The trouble continued for a long time. The Mughal forces sent against Khan Zaman were defeated in 1565. Thereupon, Akbar himself took the field in person. Although the rebels made a show of submission, the matter did not end there. Akbar had to suspend his operations against the Uzbeks on account of the activities of Hakim Miza, his brother. After dealing with his brother, Akbar crossed the swollen Ganges in May, 1567 at night and attacked the rebels early in the morning. There was a bitter fighting. Khan Zaman was killed. Bahadur Khan, his brother, was taken prisoner and executed. It is evident that the rebellion was crushed through the bravery and promptitude of Akbar;

### **2.3.2 WAR AND CONQUESTS OF AKBAR**

Conquest of Akbar was largely successful and his empire extended from Kabul in the west to Bengal in the east and from Kashmir in the north to the Vindhya in the south. Akbar was an imperialist. He frankly declared and desired to pursue the policy of the extension of the empire. Akbar engaged himself in wars and conquest all through

his life. He initiated his conquest of southern India and partially successes before he died. He conquered the entire north India, and consolidated it under his administration.

Gondwana was occupied in 1564. This state incorporated the regions of Sagar, Darnoh, Mandal, Seoni, Narmada Valley and possibly a part of Bhopal. This state had 53 forts. Palpat Shah was its ruler. He died leaving behind his widow Durgavati and his infant son Bir Naraya. Durgavati became the Regent. Abdul Fazi says that "Durgavati ruled her country with wisdom and ability" She delighted in hunting and bringing down wild animals with her own gun. Asaf Khan, the Governor of Kara or Allahabad, was tempted by the wealth of Gondwana. Occasionally he ravaged the borders of this Kingdom. Rani Durgavati started negotiations with Akbar for a peaceful settlement and when those negotiations failed, she retaliated by making forays against Bhilsa. Asaf Khan marched against Gondwana. Durgavati defended her territory bravely. She was outnumbered and defeated in a battle between Garh and Mandal in the modern Jabalpur District. Rani Durgavati was injured and she plunged a dagger into her breast and ended her life to save herself from disgrace. Her country was devastated and a lot of booty fell into the hands of Mughals. Bir Narayana died fighting in the defence of his country.

## **WARS AGAINST RAJPUTS**

War against Rajput was based on a planned policy towards Rajputs. Akbar was first Mughal Emperor who pursued such a policy. Akbar was an imperialist and desired to bring under his rule as much territory of India as was possible. Therefore it was necessary to bring the Rajput under his suzerainty. Akbar tried to be friend to the Rajput instead of turning them into enemies. He was impressed by gallantry, faithfulness, combat skill of the Rajput. Akbar wanted reliable allies from among the Indian people instead of depending on foreigners. The Rajput, therefore became a good choice. The liberal policy of Akbar also directed him to be gracious with

him. Thus, he tried to be friend the Rajputs but at the same time desired to bring them under his suzerainty.

So, some of the Rajput princes entered into matrimonial alliances with him. Akbar married in 1562 the eldest daughter of Raja Bihar Mal of Jaipur. In 1570, he married princesses from Bikaner and Joysalmer. In 1584, Prince Salim was married to the daughter of Raja Bhagwan Das. However, Mewar defied the might of Akbar. Consequently, Akbar made up his mind to march against Chittor, in October 1567. As regards the courses of war between Akbar and Mewar, Abdul Fazal says that Akbar's object was to punish Rana's daring and superior pride due to his possession of big castles and mountains.

At that time Rana Uday Sing was the king of Mewar. He was the posthumous child of Rana Sanga. He was an unworthy, descendant of the house of Bapa Rawal. According to Todd, "He had not one quality of a sovereign and wanting martial valour, the common heritage of his race, he was destitute of all. Well had it been for Mewar had the poniard fulfilled its intentions and had the annals never recovered the name of Udaising in the catalogue of her princes."

Udai Singh had no grit to face Akbar and he retired from Chittor to the mountains leaving the defence of the country into the hands of Jaimal. The siege of Chittor was a long one. The Rajputs put up a stiff resistance. All the attacks of the Mughals were repulsed. Consequently, Akbar decided to proceed by regular sap and mine method. Two Sabats or covered approaches to the wall were built. The intention was to blow up a part of the fort by means of gun powder. However, one of the mines exploded earlier and was responsible for great destruction. A new work was started under the joint supervision of Kasim Khan and Todar Mal. A breach was made in the wall of the fort. In February 1568, Jaimal was supervising the repair of one of those breaches, Akbar saw and shot him dead with his gun. The Rajput performed the Jauhar ceremony and after killing their women and children, they fell upon the enemy about 8,000 Rajput warriors perished. Chittor fell into the hands of the Mughals in February, 1568.



Next came Ranthambhor which was the strong hold of the Hara Section of Chauhans. It was considered to be impregnable in Rajasthan. Akbar started against Ranthambhor in December 1568 and reached the scene of action in February, 1569. The Mughals were able to fix their guns at the top of another hill near the fort of Ranthambhor. The fire of the Mughal guns was too much for the fort of Ranthambhor. Surjana Hara, ruler of Ranthambhor, felt that it was impossible to hold the fort any longer. Through the good offices of Bhagwan Das and Man Singh, Surjana Hara sent his two sons, Duda and Bhoja, to Akbar. The later accepted the surrender and treated the young princes with great courtesy. Surjana Hara waited upon Akbar and handed over the keys of the fort of Ranthambhor to Akbar. He also entered the Mughal service and was appointed a Qildar of Garhkantak. Later on, he was appointed the Governor or Banaras.

Kalinjar was captured in 1569. Akbar sent Manjanu Khan to capture the fort of Kalinjar in Bundel Khand.- When the ruler of Kalinjar got the news of the surrender of Ranthambhor and Chittor, he himself , surrendered in August 1569. The capture of Kalinjar was a great military significance to Akbar on account of its position in Northern India.

Udai Singh died in 1572and was succeeded by Maharana Pratap. Soon after his accession to the throne, Pratap made up his mind to get back Chittor from the Mughals and vindicate the honour of the Rajput. Many a time, he remarked in sorrow that if Udai Singh had not intervened between him and Rana Sanga, no Turk would have given laws to Rajputana. He followed the traditions of his family that "the son of Bapa Rawal should bow the head to no mortal man". No wonder, he set aside all the offers on the part of Akbar and his associates. The bravest of the brave among the Rajputs carried on an unequal struggle for a quarter of a century. It is true that there was no comparision between his resources and those of the Mughals.

Akbar could not put up with the attitude of Maharana pratap and decided to crush him. The first battle between Pratap and the Mughals was fought near the pass of

Haldi-Ghat. In 1576 Maharana Pratap was defeated. The Mughal troops were commanded by Raja Man Singh and he was assisted by Asaf Khan. The Maharana guarded the pass of Haldi Ghat with his 3,000 horse men. The Battle of Haldi-Ghat was a ferocious one. It was a hand to hand fight from morning till midday. Maharana Pratap was at his best. However he got a serious wound, and retired into the hills. The victors were too exhausted to pursue him. Next day, the Mughals reached Golconda. Thus the Mughals got a complete victory.

The battle was remembered long after in every part of India. According to R.C. Dutt, "For many years afterwards in Delhi, in South India, in Bengal; hoary-headed Mughal warriors would pass the night recalling youthful soldiers with tales of Haldighat and the amazing deeds of Pratap Singh."

In spite of his defeat in the Battle of Haldighat, Maharana Pratap preserved in his purpose to win back his territory from the Mughals. In spite of the heavy odds, he was able to recover all Mewar except Chittor, Ajmer and Mandalgarh. He had resounded with his fame. Even Akbar himself talked highly of Pratap.

However, this great Rajput general died in 1597. He was worn out both in body and mind. It is stated that he was unhappy at the time of his death. Maharana Pratap feared that his sheds will give away in sumptuous dwellings, thus generating the love of ease. Luxury with all its concomitants will ensue and the independence of Mewar will be sacrificed. It is stated that Amar Singh and his nobles gave a promise to Pratap that they will carry on his mission after his death. It was then that Pratap got satisfaction and died in peace.

After the death of his father in 1597, Amar Singh carried on the war against the Mughals. The latter took the offensive once again in 1599 and Raja Man Singh and Prince Salim were invaded Mewar. Amar Singh was defeated and his country was devastated by the Mughal troops. The war had to be stopped because Man Singh had

to leave for Bengal where Usman Khan had revolted. The bad health of Akbar did not allow him to invade Mewar once again.

The policy followed by Akbar towards the Rajputs different from the one followed by him towards the rulers of other states in India. With the Rajputs, he followed a policy of coercion for the sake of conciliation. He never attempted to annex their states. He was satisfied if they acknowledged his Suzerainty and entered into an alliance with him. According to the General terms of his treaties with the Rajputs, the latter were allowed complete internal autonomy. Akbar demanded that either the ruler or his heir apparent must always attend the Mughal court. He also reserved to himself the right to interfere and regulate succession in the Rajput states. By allowing the Rajputs internal autonomy in their affairs he was able to satisfy them in their desire to rule their own states. By keeping the ruler or the heir apparent at the Mughal court, he was able to ensure their loyalty to the Emperor. He was also able to control successions in the state.

### **Other Conquest of Akbar**

#### **Conquest of Gujarat .**

The affluence and maritime trade of Gujarat were sufficient attraction for Akbar to invade that province. Muzaffar Shah III the ruler of Gujarat. It had practically no authority over his powerful vassals. One of his nobles called Itmad Khan invited Akbar to interfere in the affairs of Gujarat. Akbar reached Ahmedabad in November, 1572. Muzaffar Shah did not offer any resistance and submitted before Akbar. After making the necessary arrangements for administrative purpose, Akbar retired to Fatehpur Sikri. Akbar had already reached his destination when he heard of 'the trouble in Gujarat once again. He rushed back to Gujarat and it is stated that he completed a journey of 600 miles in a days. It was a marvelous feat of endurance. He won a decisive victory in September 1573. A few more expeditions had to be undertaken before Gujarat was completely subdued and annexed in 1584.

The annexation of Gujarat was of great advantage. The Mughals got free access to the sea. The conquest of Gujarat brought the Mughals into touch with the Portuguese. Raja Todar Mal made his first revenue settlement in Gujarat.

### **Conquest of Bengal**

Daud Khan was the Afghan ruler of Bengal. He was the son of Sulaiman who had founded a new dynasty in Bengal in 1564. Sulaiman recognized the supremacy of Akbar and continued to live on terms of friendship. Daud succeeded his father in 1572. He was a rash and headstrong youth who had great confidence in the military resources of Bengal. Daud annoyed Akbar by capturing the fort of Zamina. Akbar sent orders to the Governor of Jaunpur to teach him a lesson. As the governor was not successful against him, Akbar deputed Todar Mal to do the needful in the matter. It was due to the ceaseless efforts of Raja Todar Mal that Bengal was added to the Mughal empire between 1576 and 1580. When the Afghans revolted once again in favour of Hakim Mirza, brother, Man Singh reconquered the country in 1592.

### **Annexation of Kabul (1585)**

So long as Hakim Miza lived, Kabul remained in his possession. Akbar did nothing to deprive him of that territory. In 1579-80, he tried to capture the Punjab. Akbar himself rushed from Bengal to meet the danger. However, Hakim Mirza ran away to Kabul at the approach of the Mughal troops. Hakim Mirza was pursued by Prince Murod but all the same he was allowed to retain Kabul for the rest of his life. When he died in 1585, the province of Kabul was annexed to the Mughal Empire and Man Singh was appointed as its Governor. It was a difficult task to control the Afghans. In 1586, Raja Birbal was killed. The Mughal troops suffered heavy losses and retreated with great difficulty.

### **Conquest of Kashmir (1586-87)**

Yusuf Shah was the ruler of Kashmir. He committed great cruelties on his Hindu subjects. This gave Akbar an pretext for interfering in the affairs of Kashmir. Raja Bhagwan Das was sent with 5,000 men to conquer Kashmir. In spite of the difficulties on the way Raja Bhagwan Das persevered in his task and forced the ruler of Kashmir to surrender. The son of Yusuf Shah ran away and he continued the struggle for some time. However, he too was defeated and forced to surrender. Kashmir was annexed and made a part of the province of Kashmir. Akbar visited Kashmir in 1589. Yusuf Shah and his son got Jagirs and were made Mansabdars.

### **Conquest of Sind (1591)**

Akbar restrained Bhakkar in 1574 but a large part of Southern Sind was still to be conquered. Akbar attached great importance to the conquest of Sind because its possession was expected to help him in the conquest of Qandhar. In 1590, Miza Abdul Rahirn was appointed the Governor of Multan and was instructed to take over the work of the conquest of Sind. Miza Jani Beg was its ruler. After two battles, he surrendered. on account of the recommendation of Abdur Rahim. Jani Beg was given a very good treatment.

### **Occupation of Qandahar (1595)**

Akbar was craving for capturing Qandhar. At this time the Shah of Persia was in a great difficulty on account the activities of the Turks and Uzbegs. Akbar took advantage of the other preoccupations of the Shah of Persia and sent an expedition to defeat Qandbar. The won started in 1590 but was accomplished in 1595 when Qandhar was annexed to the Mughal Empire. Certainly, the conquest of Qndhar was a master-stroke of diplomacy on the part of Akbar. Without spoiling his relations with the Shah of Persia, Akbar was able to acquire Qandhar.

### **Conquest of Ahmednagar**

After conquering the Northern India, Akbar diverted his attention towards the Deccan. To begin with, he sent political missions to induce the rulers of the Deccan states to accept his suzerainty. However, he was futile in that mission. This forced Akbar to follow the path of war. Ahmednagar was the first to be attacked. Abdur Rahim and Prince Murad were sent in 1595. At that time, Chand Sultana was acting as the regent on behalf of her nephew. She bravely protected the city of Ahmednagar and behaved like a great general. It is stated that she appeared in the ramparts of the city in full armour and with drawn sword to encourage her troops.

Prince Murad and Abdur Rahim did not see eye to eye with each other and consequently their campaigns were not a success. The Mughals made peace and contented themselves with the attainment of Berar alone. Thus, the first operation, against Ahmednagar ended in 1596. However, peace did not last long. There arose internal dissensions in Ahmednagar and the result was that Chand Sultana was murdered. Moreover, the Government of Ahmednagar did not keep its word with the Mughal Government and tried to recover Berar. A battle was fought in February, 1596 at Ashthi and both the parties claimed victory for themselves. Occasional fights continued. Akbar decided to take the command in person. In 1600, he occupied Burhanpur and sent prince Daniyal with Abdur Rahim Khan-i-Khanan to conquer Ahmednagar. The Mughal troops did not find much difficulty in their way. About 15,000 of the garrison were put to the sword and Ahmednagar was annexed to the Mughal Empire.

### **Asirgarh**

Akbar determined to capture the fort of Asirgarh also, which was well defended. It was considered to be "One of the strongest and best equipped fortresses in the World at that time." The siege of Asirgarh continued for about 6 months and the Mughals did not make much headway. At that time, the news of Salim's rebellion came. Thus, Akbar was forced to have recourse to treachery. Bahadur was persuaded to come to the camp

of Akbar for the purpose of consultation, and was detained there. The blockade was pushed up with great vigour but in spite of that the garrison held out. It was in January, 1601 that "the gates were opened by golden keys or in other words Akbar corrupted the Khandesh officers by heavy payments". Thus, it was that the fort of Asirgarh fell in the hands of the Mughals in 1601.

### **2.3.3 Results**

The result of Akbar's conquest was that the Mughal border was pushed from the Narmada to the upper course of the river Krishna. The newly conquered territories were converted into three subas of Ahmednagar, Berar and Khandesh. However, the occupation of the three Subas was merely in name. The new territory was not totally subdued. The local officers who were connected with the former ruling dynasties created difficulties and no successful government could be set up. The distance from the North also added to the difficulties of the Mughals.

### **3.2.4 Administration under Akbar**

The administrative machinery of the Moghuls, which functioned through out the Moghul rule, was introduced by Akbar. That is why by Moghul Administration means Akbar's administration. Akbar was not only a brave soldier, a successful leader and a great religious reformer but also a great administrator.

Akbar inherited a composition of government based on the experience of the Delhi Sultanate. Babur and Humayun had no time to modify the system, a new momentum to it being given by Shershah. The system Akbar devised had some novel features. The functions and responsibilities of the various department were carefully

laid down so that they did not encroach on each other and at the same time balanced and supported each other. Thus, a system of checks and balances was devised. In this way, Akbar infused new life into the system.

Akbar hardly made any changes in administration at the sub-district levels. The Sarkar and the Parganas continued to function as before with some changes in the designation of officials. An important contribution of Akbar was the development of a Provincial administration, patterned on the Central System. Detailed rules and regulations were devised for controlling both the provincial and district administration. We have some idea of these from the Ain-I-Akbari of Abul Fazal. New regulations continued to be devised, and these were later brought together as Dastur-ur-Amats or Rule Books. Thus, an essentially bureaucratic system of government progressively emerged. However, the ruler remained the kingpin of the system.

### **2.3.5 CENTRAL GOVT**

#### **The Vakil**

Although there were a number of departments of government in the Islamic countries outside India, as well as in the Delhi Sultanate. The Central Asian and Timurid tradition was of a single Wazir who supervised the various branches of government including the revenue and military. Thus Babur's Wazir, Nizammuddin Khwaja, was the political and financial head of the government. A new situation, arose with the appointment of Bairam Khan as Vakil (guardian) of the emperor. He was all powerful, directing policy, appointing and dismissing officials at the highest level, and controlling both revenue and military affairs. Thus, as Vakil, Bairam Khan exercised the functions of an all powerful Wazir.

As Akbar took the reins of government in his hands, he devised ways and means to ensure that such a situation did not arise again. The drastic punishment of Adham Khan for stabbing Atka Khan signaled that Akbar would not allow the Vakil to be the tool of factional politics. Munim Khan was made the Vakil, but he ceased to be the moving spirit of the state, and the effective head of the administration. In 1564-65,



Muzaffar Khan Turbati, an Iranian who had been diwan of Bairam Khan, was made diwan of the Empire, with Todar Mal as his assistant. Gradually, the revenue and financial affairs were separated from the office of the Vakil. After the downfall of the Uzbeks in 1567, Munim Khan was appointed governor of Jaunpur and then of Bihar. Thus, his role in the central government came to an end. After that the post of vakil was not filled for seven years.

In 1595, Miza Aziz Kaka, a favourite of Akbar was made Vakil, and he remained in that post till Akbar's death. Though personally very influential, he does not seem to have played any role in administration. Thus like Munim Khan earlier, his term of office was more for show and personal dignity than for any real power or substantial work. As a modern historian, Ibn Hasan, says:

"The power (of the Vakil) was gone but the show of power and marks of outward distinction and prestige were retained".

### **The Ministries**

Akbar tackled the problem of organizing the ministries. These were four in number. The revenue department head by the Diwan or the Wazir; the military department headed by the Mir Bakshi; the department of Imperial establishments (Karkhanas) and the royal house hold under the Mir Saman and the judicial and revenue - free (inam) grants departments under the Sadar. Although four was a traditional figure suggested by Iban Khaldun, all departments were not equal in power or importance. Most powerful and influential, closely matched by that of the Mir Bakhshi.

### **Diwan**

According to AbuI Fazl, the person who headed the department of income and expenditure was the Wazir, also called Diwan. In Practice, under Akbar, the word Diwan or Diwan-I-Ala was used more generally. There were several reasons for this. The Diwans of Akbar were often men of humble social backgrounds who had attracted the emperor's attention by their knowledge and skill of revenue affairs. Although very influential and close to the Emperor, they were generally not given high Mansabs. Also

Akbar was till experimenting, and sometimes appointed two or even three persons as Diwans to discharge the duties of diwanship.

The duties of a Diwan are fairly well known. He was the lieutenant of the emperor in financial matters, superintendent of the imperial treasurer, and checked all accounts.

The growth of the Diwan's department began with the appointment of Muzaffar Khan. In the ninth year (1565), during his Diwanship of eight and a half years (1563-1572), he carried out several important financial reforms. But Muzaffar Khan fell out of favour because power had turned his head. He first annoyed Akbar when he abused him while playing a game of Chaupar with him. He was exiled to Mecca, but recalled while he was on the way, and made Vakil. He was removed for opposing certain financial and military reforms.

Muzaffar Khan was undoubtedly a competent Diwan who was associated with the finance department for sixteen and a half years. During the period, some very competent officials such as Raja Todar Mal and Khwaja Shah Mansur were inducted into the ministry. It was this band of expert, knowledgeable, loyal and hard working officials who carried out the new revenue system, called the Dabsala or Ten yearly system. This band broke up when in 1579 Muzaffar Khan was appointed governor of Bengal.

In popular memory the Dahsala system is associated with Todar Mal. It was the term of Todar Mal and Shah Mansur who divided the empire into twelve provinces. Todar Mal played an important role in carrying out further reforms in implementing the Dahsala system. As was his usual practice, during the period Akbar also associated others with the revenue system. Mir Fathullah Shirazi was one of these. He was a great favourite of Akbar, and for some time, Todar Mal was asked to work under him.

All in all, Akbar assembled a team of highly skilled financial experts, and gave them his full support and backing. None of them however, was allowed to feel that he was indispensable. Akbar took the important step of separating the finance from the military and political powers and functions. So that the Wazir, instead of being a danger to the state and source of intrigues, brought efficiency and responsibility to his task.

Akbar respected the Diwans for their efficiency and loyalty but he never sacrificed discipline, and stern action was taken whenever necessary. There were at times signs of rivalries and personal animosities concerning official rank, but the vigilance of Akbar kept them under control and they were not allowed to effect the administration.

### **Mir Bakhshi**

The Mir Bakhshi of the Mughals enjoyed all the powers of the Diwan- I-Arz, but his influence was even greater since all nobles were given a military rank or Mansab and it was the Mir Bakhshi who presented all candidates for appointment to the emperor. He kept a register of all the mansabdars who were employed for civil and military duties. All promotions, including appointments to all high officials of the state, such as Vakil, Wazir, Sada passed through the Chief Bakhshi. He was not the Commander in Chief but was the pay master - general, and could be asked to arrange for disposition of troops in battle. The soldier's and horses of the Mansabdars were also presented by the bakhshi after the banding of the horses and soldiers and verification of the soldiers. Similarly, the horses and soldiers of all Mansabdars were periodically inspected by the bakhshi.

The Mir Bakhshi presented before the King all high officers of state coming from the provinces or leaving the court for their posting. The Mir Bakhshi was also the head of the intelligence department, and all news - reports sent by the Waqa navis from different provinces were put by him before the king. Thus, as Ibn Hasan observed, the Mir Bakhshi's "influence extended beyond his own department and his nearness to the King in the darbar added much to his prestige."

### **Mir Saman**

The Mir Saman who was in charge of the royal household, was considered to be in charge of a department, like the Wazir and the Mir Bakhshi. Neither the word Mir

Saman or Khan - I- Saman was used in Akbar's time but came in use under Jahangir and Shah Jahan. Under Akbar, it seems that the office of the Mir Saman had not emerged. We do however, hear of the Diwan-I-Bayutal who was in charge of the Karkhanas. The Karkhanas included factories and stores maintained by the central government. They deals with every article from precious stones, pearls to swords and daggers guns and artillery. The diwan-I- boyutat maintained horses and elephants for the army, beats burden such as camels, mules etc. for baggage and other animals (elephants, horses) for the royal hunt. Thus, the Diwan-I-bayutat was an important officer who dealt with the household, the darbar and the army, and was close to the king.

Sadr - The Sadar or Sdar - us - Sdur was the head of the ulema and was considered to be the Chief advisor of the King regarding the enforcement and interpretation of Sharia or the holy law. He was also called the Qazi-ul-Quzzat, or head of the judiciary and appointed Qazis all over the empire. However, the king himself was the final court of appeal, and hear cases with the help of the mufti.

A major responsibility of the Sadar was to award subsistence allowances (madadd-I-maash) to deserving scholars, divines and weaker sections such as women of noble families. This was, in fact, a tremendous power of patronage which some of the Sadrs used for personal enrichment. The most powerful of sadrs used for personal enrichment. The most powerful of the Sadrs under Akbar was Shaikh Abdun Nabi.

Akbar had great respect for Shaikh Abdun Nabi because of his learning. But Akbar became disgusted with him when bribery, mismanagement an Saikh was also found to be narrow and bigoted and he lost Akbar's sympathy when he executed a prominent brahmin of Mothura a on change of blasphemy. He was exiled to Mecca in 1579. Thereafter, Akbar carried out reforms separating Jama or revenue free grant lands from Khalisa, and consdicated them so that the grantees were not harassed by being given scattered lands in different parts.

Akbar was keen that deserving Hindu scholars and religious men should also benefit from these grants. He therefore appointed as Chief Sadr men who had more

tolerant views, and ought to be at peace with every party" (Akbar Nama). Grants to the Hindu holy men had been unknown earlier but such grants became more widespread under Akbar due to this policy. Hindu Rajas and Zamindars continued to make such grants to Hindu holymen, temples etc.

### **2.3.6 Provincial government**

Under the Delhi sultanate there was no clear division of the empire in to provinces with definite boundaries. Akbar inherited this system and continued it till 1580. In 1580 the empire which by then had extended to include Gujarat, Bihar and Bengal, was divided into twelve Subahs or Provinces. The head of administration in the Subah was called Sipahsalar or commander though later the word Subahdar began to be used. The head of the Subah or Governor, was assisted by a Diwan a bakhshi, a Sadar. a Qazi, a amil all for justice - a Kotwal a Morbahr or Superintendent of rivers and ports and a waqia - navis or news writer. These officers were subordinate to the governor but were not appointed by him. They were appointed directly by the emperor and were answerable to him, and to the head of their ministry at the center. Thus the Principle of checks and balances was carried to the provincial government.

In 1586 as an experimental measure, Akbar decided to appoint two Governors in very province. According to Abul Fazal, this step was taken because if one governor had to be absent for duty at court, or fell ill, the administration would continue unhampered. Perhaps, a real purpose was to limit the power of the Governor. But it led to needless hostility and had to be abandoned.

The Ain-I-Akbari gives the geographical boundaries of the Subahs along with a brief account of the climate. The provinces are divided into Sarkars and Parganas, and the assessed income of each Sarkar, the cases of the Zamindars, and the military forces - cavalry infantry, elephants at their disposal is also given. This was so because the autonomous rajas were not listed separately as states, but included in the Subahs as

Sarkars and pargans. Thus Mewar was included in Sarkars Chittor, Kota is mentioned as a pargana of Sarkar Ranthambhar, while Jalpur (Amber) was a pargana of Sarkar Ajmer. There was a considerable range in the size, assessed income etc. of the Subahs. With Bengal having twenty - four Sarkars with an assessed income (Jama) of about one and a half crore rupees and, on the other end, Multan with three Sarkars with an assessed income of only about thirty seven lakh rupees. Other provinces fell in between these two extremes.

The Provincial Governors have been called vice-regents of the emperor. The governor was the commander of the provincial army, and was responsible for law and order, the general administration as well the welfare and prosperity of the people of the Subahs. He was to help the diwan in collecting the land revenue by controlling and, if necessary, punishing the recalcitrant or rebellious Zamindars. He was entrusted with the administration of criminal justice, but was to use the utmost deliberation before inflicting the capital punishment to anyone. He was asked to undertake tours of the Province and to keep himself in touch with all important happenings in his province through trusted spies and news - writers. It is significant that the Governor was also instructed not to "interfere in anyone's creed". There was no definite term for a governor, but Governors were constantly transferred.

The Diwan was the second most important officer in the Subah. Although, at first, the Governors were permitted to appoint the Diwans to assist them, from 1595 the Diwans began to be appointed centrally, possibly on the recommendation of the Chief Diwan, henceforth, the Diwan ceased to be a subordinate of the governor, but a colleague, though the governor remained the head of the administration. The Provincial Diwan had to send fortnightly reports to the central diwan on financial matters and the cash balance with him. He was responsible for collection of the land revenue and other taxes, and for their auditing and accounting. A principal duty of the Diwan was to extend and improve cultivation with the help of Amils in the Sarkars. He also supervised the lands given for Charitable purposes.

The Bakhshi also acted as the head of the intelligence service, and this sometimes brought him into conflict with the Governor, if he sent complaints against his conduct to the court. He recommended grants to religious men and was also head of the judiciary department. Akbar was not satisfied with the work of the Qazis and had appointed a Mir Adl as a judicial officer in the provinces. The qazi to act as his assistant.

The Kotwal was in charge of law and order in the city. He also looked after the general amenities in the city, such as weights and measures, as also control of gambling houses and houses of prostitution etc.

The point to note is that the governor of the province was the head of a team, and it needed tact and skill on his part to deal with officers each of whom was zealous of his privileges and had direct access to the center. But these checks and balances could only operate when there was a capable sovereign at the center. Thus Akbar tried to establish a provincial system of government which acted as a link to the local administrative units, and as a transmission belt for information to the center.

### **2.3.7 District and local government**

For purposes of administration the provinces were divided into Sarkars and Pargana. Each Sarkar was headed by a Faujdar who was responsible for the assessment and collection of land revenue. The Faujdar may be considered the man on whose shoulders rested the day to day functioning of administration. The qazi was responsible for criminal justice, as also civil law among Muslims, or when, one of the party to a dispute was a Muslim.

Each Sarkar was divided into a number of parganas. Each Pargana had a Shiqdar for general administration, an Amil for assessment and collection of land revenue, a treasurer, a Qanungo who determined the Pargana and village boundaries and kept the local revenue records and clerks or Karkuns.

### **Conclusion**

Since the ruler was the center of government his attitude towards public business set a standard and norm. These in turn, were widely emulated by the nobles. Akbar set the standard of appearing three times every day for state business. The first appearance was called Jharoka darshan was innovation of Akbar and designed to establish a personal bond between ruler and his subjects. The second appearance was in the afternoon when Akbar reviewed the condition of transport maintained by the state. Confidential business of the state was conducted in the evening. It will be soon that the Emperor tried to see a cross-section of the people, and to be accessible to them.

Akbar's significant contribution in the functioning of the government was to establish a routine which was strictly followed by his successors till the time of Bhadur Shah I, and of bringing the monarchy closer and more accessible to the people in various ways.

### **2.3.0 Establishment of Jagir and Mansab System**

#### **Introduction**

The Mughal army was based on Mansabdari system. Although the signs of Mansabdari system were visible during the Sultanate period but Akbar gave it a scientific structure. Normally mansab means rank and honour, so the post of Mansab can be said to be of a government officer who was paid salary or jagir according to his Mansab by the imperial treasury. Irwin writes, "Mansabdari was the measure of status under the Mughal government which determined a Mansabdar's rank, his salary and his office in the Royal court'. ." The Mansabs were from 10 to 10,000 in the beginning but later they were enhanced up to 50,000. Generally Mansabs above 5000 were reserved for the princes but during the reign of Jahangir and Shahjahan the Mansabs of 7,000 and 8,000 were awarded to the nobles. The members of the royal family were awarded Mansabs upto 40,000 and 50,000.



### **2.3.1 Classification of Mansabdars**

There were three categories of Mansabdars :

1. Mansabdars of 400 rank.
2. Mansabdars of 500 to 2,500 rank who were known as Umra.
3. Mansabdars of more than 3,500 were known as Umra-I-Azam.

Khan-I-Jahan was also a high military officer but Khan-I-Khanna was the highest army officer during Mughal period.

Later on, these Mansabs were further divided into several categories. Mansabs above 15,000 were called Sawar. The Mansabdars below the rank of five thousand were divided into first, second and third category. Use of the words 'Zat' and 'Sawar' became necessary for the proper understanding of these categories. Although historians are not unanimous about it, but perhaps the number of Zat indicated the categories of the Mansabdar while Sawar indicated his rank. Blackmann observes that a Mansabdar had to maintain as many as soldiers as shown by his rank of zat and sawar indicated towards the horsemen which he was required to maintain. But Irwin opines that zat indicated the cavalry to be maintained and Sawar was only an additional honour. Dr. Srivastava also expresses that while the rank of Zat indicated towards the number of soldiers sawar indicated towards Sawars (horsemen) to be maintained by Mansabdars.

### **2.3.2 Method of Recruitment**

The emperor was in charge of all recruitment of imperial officers. He was at liberty to award any Mansab to anybody with whom he was pleased. Promotion, degradation and dismissal were also in the hands of the emperor. Akbar was an expert in the selection of right persons and he often appointed competent persons direct to high Mansabs. Abul Fazal writes, "His Majesty sees through some men at the first glance and confers upon them high ranks." The devotion and faithfulness of a Mansabdar contributed a lot to his promotion to the high ranks.

### **Salary Structure**

Normally cash salaries were given to the Mansabdars and they were paid very highly. In case, any Jagir was awarded to some high rank officer it was not given to him

permanently .and changes were introduced from time to time: The Mansabdar led a luxurious life because even after meeting the expenditure, they saved a lot of money from the amount they received from the imperial treasury. A Mansabdar was paid a monthly salary of rupees 100,82.5 and 75 to the first, second and third category, respectively. A Mansabdar of each class was required to keep specified number of horses for which he was paid 44 rupees per month. The Soldiers of the Mansabdars, being part of royal army, received their salary in cash from the royal treasury and not from the Mansabdars, as has been pointed out by some of the scholars. At the same time, it is evident that some of the corrupt and dishonest Mansabdars did not maintain the exact number of soldiers and received salaries according to their fictitious pay rolls. Thus, they embezzled a great part of imperial treasure for their own benefit and luxuries.

Ain-I-Akbari refers that an ordinary soldier was paid 240 to 500 Dams per month. Dakhili troopers who were supplied horses and weapon from the state received 160 dams in the beginning. A matchlockman or Bandukchi was paid 260 dams to 300 dams. The Amirs or grandees were paid quite handsome salaries 80 that they could remain faithful to the empire. A Mansabdar of 500 received about 2500, 2300 and 2100 Darns per month according to his first, second or third class category respectively. The Mansabdars led a luxurious life, maintained big harems, and kept a number of domestic servants as they were earning a lot.

### **Different categories of Soldiers**

Besides the Mansabdars and their soldiers there were some more categories of soldiers who served the Mughal empire earnestly.

#### **Ahadi Soldiers**

They were the personal soldiers of the emperor. Diwan and Bakhshi looked after their appointment, training and discipline an behalf of the emperor. They were nicely

paid from the imperial treasury. The ordinary horseman was given as salary only rupees twelve to fifteen per month but an Ahadi was paid up to rupees five hundred per month. It was not decided as to how much Ahadis a King would recruit. As they were completely loyal to the emperor, Akbar enhanced their number up to twelve thousand.

### **Dakhili Soldiers**

They were also recruited on behalf of the emperor but kept in the charge of Mansabdars and formed a part of Mughal army. Mughal emperors had a powerful permanent army. According to Blockmann, the army of Akbar consisted of 25,000 soldiers but it seems to be a hypothesis and the truth must be very far from it. We know that the army of Jahangir and Shahjahan numbered about three Lakh, hence the army of Akbar could never be less than that of his successors. Actually if we count the entire army of the Mughals including the army of Mansabdars and the feudatories it would be in no way less than about forty four lakh. The following were the Significant units of the Mughal army which worked effectively and won laurels for the Mughal emperors by extending their territory.

**Cavalry** - During the Mughal period, the cavalry was divided into two parts : (i) Bargis, and (ii) Silehdar.

The Bargirs were the soldiers who received their arms and entry dresses from the state and the Silehdars were those who possessed their own weapons and horses. The horses used by the cavalry belonged to Turki, Tazi, Arbi, Farsi, Muzanna, and yabu. As the cavalry was the best part of the army, considerable attention was paid to it.

**Infantry** - All the Mughal emperors paid attention towards the proper upkeep of the infantry. The foot soldiers were mainly divided into two categories, i.e., Blunduqchi (riflemen) and Shamshirbaz (swordmen). Besides rifle and sword, the soldiers were expert in handling bows and arrows and javelins etc. Apart from the soldiers all workers who were attached with the army, such as slaves and water carriers, were also included in the infantry.

**Elephants** - The Mughal rulers also maintained a number of war

elephants. During the reign of Akbar, they numbered about one thousand but their number was about fifty thousand in the entire Mughal empire. Elephants were used for multifarious purposes. Besides fighting, these elephants were engaged as goods carriers also,

**Artillery** - Artillery was equally a significant part of the Mughal army. Babur was the first Mughal ruler who made use of gunpowder' His successors strengthened artillery later on. Min-l-Atish was the officer in charge of this branch. During the reign of Akbar the artillery was improved a lot. Besides small guns he also got the big guns prepared. The small guns could be carried on elephants or camels and used very effectively on the battlefield as their direction could be changed easily and immediately but the guns were either wheeled or carried on big wooden platforms. Dr. R.p. Tripathi has aptly praised the artillery of Akbar, "Excepting the Turkish artillery, Akbar's was second to none in Asia, for in Akbar's time it had reached the high point of efficiency". About 12,000 mounted musketeers and a great number of matchlockmen were including in his artillery which made it all the more effective during the war.

**Navy** - The Mughals did not pay attention to the development of naval force before Akbar established his control over Gujrat. In the meantime the Portuguese established their supremacy over the Indian seas and they did not see eye to eye with those who devoted themselves to the progress of navy. Akbar and his successors had strong land forces. They maintained only some small fleets of boats which in no way could be said to be a powerful navy. The officer in charge of these boats was known as Mir Bahr. His chief function was to prepare ferries and bridges for the passage of the troops and local inhabitants. No doubt Akbar and his officers were capable of maintaining a powerful navy on the European style but they did not suspect any danger from the sea route, hence they remained negligent towards the formation of a powerful navy. The task of the safety of the western coast was handed over to the sides of Janjira by the Mughals only because they did not maintain an efficient navy.

During the reign of Akbar there was a department of Dag Mahali whose Chief function was to maintain a Huliya register for each soldier. He also performed the duty

of branding the horses and elephants' Besides the mark of Mansabdar, the animal also had a special mark of the emperor. It[was properly done to avoid cheating by the Mansabdar's. The emperor used to inspect the army of each Mansabdar annually or once after three Years.

#### **8,8.11 Merits and Demerits of Mansabdari System -**

**Merits** - Mansabdari system was a progressive system adopted by Akbar for the reorganization of the army. No other Indian ruler had ever thought and planned on such lines as followed by Akbar. He tried to establish a link between chieftainship and feudalism through Mansabdari. Some of the Mansabdars were given liberty to recruit their soldiers from their own tribe and religion but they had to owe unconditional allegiance to the central government. The system of Mansabdari freed the emperor from the grips of the feudat lords as it put an end to the Jagirdari system. The post of a Mansabdar was not hereditary, hence every new Mansabdar received his Mansab from the emperor. His promotion and demotion also depended on the mercy of the emperor, hence he had to be faithful and devoted to the emperor, failing which he was deprived of all the privileges by the Emperor. It lessened the chances of revolt in the empire. Akbar also sought the help of his hereditary martial elements and brave citizens to join the royal army and he, thus, contributed to the political unification of the country.

**Demerits** - As most of the Mansabdars were foreigners they did not have any love towards Indian empire, hence Akbar failed to organize a national army with the help of these Mansabdars. Moreover, as the soldiers were recruited by the Mansabdars and they received their salary and promotion from the Mansabdars, they remained loyal to their masters instead of the Mughal emperors.

The Central army remained weak as the soldiers of the Mansabdars had different training of arms and discipline with their Mansabdars. They failed to coordinate with the royal army at the time of peril. As no systematic training was imparted to the soldiers by the central government before waging wars, their fitness remained always in doubt and their weapons and standards remained poles apart from one another.

With the passage of time the Mughal army began to deteriorate, the high officers of the army began to take their wives and concubines with them to the battlefield which affected the power and speed of the army otherwise.

The Mansabdari system created some malpractices in the army system. As the soldiers received their salaries through Mansabdars, they embezzled a lot of amount in transaction. Moreover, these Mansabdars horses and thus they amassed a huge amount.

## **Conclusion**

However, Historians praise the army organization of Akbar. It was ever superior to that of Babur which had been described as efficient and successful' and hardly inferior to the Ottoman Army which was admittedly one of the best of its kind in Europe. His successors failed to follow in his footsteps and the army structure of Akbar collapsed under the regime of his successors.

## **2.4 .0 AKBAR'S RAJPUT POLICY**

### **Introduction**

Babur and Humayun had strained relation with Rajputs. It was only Akbar who rightly professed that the Rajput were valiant and courageous people who could not be easily crushed by warfare. He therefore set himself to the task of winning over Rajputs. He entered into matrimonial alliance with the Rajputs. He started giving high positions to the Rajputs to the Rajput in Mughal service and treated them at par with Mughal nobility. He granted freedom of worship and conscience to the Rajputs. Those who allied themselves to Akbar were largely left in charge of their kingdoms. Where conciliation failed he resorted to warfare. His policy of carrot and stick won over the Rajput and they became a part and parcel of Moghul empire.

Before to the establishment of Muslim rule, the Raiputs were ruling over india. Undoubtedly, the Turks and Afghan established their control over a large part of India but the Rajputs continued to oppose the Muslims for they, still aspired to establish a Hindu Empire in India. Babur the great grandfather of Akbar, had to wage a bloody war against the Rajput's in order to establish his supremacy in India. It proves that their spirit of independence was still powerful and more than three hundred years of reign of Muslims could not curb their spirit of independence. The early two emperors, Babur and Humayun, could not adopt a specific policy against the Raiputs due to lack of time or their instable position but Akbar, being a great politician and farsighted ruler directed his attention towards the Rajputs. He knew that without the active support and cooperation of the Raiputs, it would not be possible for any one to establish a permanent empire in India'

The success of Akbar in India did not lie only on his military power but on his tolerant policies. Prior to Akbar the rulers who attained victories against any one, besides plundering, insulted and assassinated the vanquished; but Akbar gave up his policy' He decided to treat Hindus and Muslims similarly and adopted the policy of peace and consolation. He refused to consider the Hindus menial because they worshipped idols. No doubt he fought some fierce battles against the Rajputs but as soon as they surrendered or accepted the suzerainty of the Mughal Empire, he gladly established cordial relations with them and befriended almost all the vanquished Rajput rulers.

#### **2.4.1 Causes of Liberal Rajput Policy**

The liberal Rajput policy of Akbar was motivated by some farsighted political principles, precepts of history, , desire for establishing a stable Mughal empire and some fine humanly virtue.

1. The Rajputs were the political and military leaders of the Hindus and they held significant place in history. Akbar just after this accession to the throne realized

that it would not be possible for any one to establish a permanent rule over India or to reign peacefully without the active support of Rajputs. In fact, rulers of Delhi Sultanate, such as Balban, Alauddin Khalji and Muhammad Bin Tughluq failed in establishing a permanent Muslim empire because they did not care for the Rajput's cooperation.

2. Akbar had very well understood the Rajput character . The Rajput's were true to their words and were capable of handling the sword very skillfully. They preferred death against dishonour. They were not cheats or treacherous. Their standard of morality was quite high and they used to fight on the battlefield honestly and such chivalrous and courageous persons cannot be defeated by power or fear of death. No alien ruler could have a sound sleep after having spoiled his relations with the Rajputs. Hence Akbar thought it proper to make friendly relations with the brave Rajputs instead of making them of foe of the empire.
3. Akbar wanted to depend on the Indian people instead of the foreigners. The early Muslim rulers used soldiers of central Asia. They neither had sympathy towards the people of India nor had they faith in Mughal empire, hence Akbar adopted a liberal view towards the Rajputs to get rid of them.
- 4 . The revolts of the Afghans and the Mirazas which took place during the regime of Akbar also forced him to prepare a parallel group to curb the power of his rivals.
5. Akbar was an imperialist ruler. He knew it well that either the Rajputs should be defeated completely or they should be friended. The conflict against the Rajputs would not serve the purpose, hence he adopted a liberal policy towards the Rajputs.
6. The centers of Mughal power, Delhi and Agra, were quite near to Rajputana and it would have been very difficult for Akbar to rule peacefully, so long as the powerful Rajput rulers were having their existence near Delhi. So instead of adopting the bloody



policy towards the Rajputs, Akbar resorted to a policy of friendship and cooperation with them.

#### **2.4.2 Chief aims of the Rajput Policy of Akbar**

1. Every effort should be made to establish cordial relations with the Rajputs.
2. The Rajput Kings who accepted the supremacy of the Mughal empire, should be honoured. They should also be appointed on high posts in the Mughal empire so that they might be made obedient to the Mughal Empire.
3. Those Rajput Kings who intended to measure swords with the Mughals, should be brought to subordination with the help of military power and in case they accepted the supremacy, they should be pardoned and honoured by giving suitable respect.
4. Those Rajput Kings who considered the Mughal empire their enemy throughout the life, should be crushed mercilessly.
5. The royal authorities should not make any interference in the customs, social traditions and rituals of the Rajputs and they should pay proper regards to the pride and prestige of the Rajputs.
6. The Mughal Emperor should himself behave in such a way as to be able to mix ,up with the Rajputs so that they begin to consider him their well-wisher and guardian. The Emperor also stressed upon establishing matrimonial alliances with the Rajput rulers.
- 7 . He wanted to curb the power of the rival Muslim nobles with the help of the Rajputs.

#### **2.4.3 Implementation of Rajput Policy and its consequences**

Akbar being a great politician and shrewd diplomat adopted a very political and farsighted policy towards the Rajputs and extended his territory to a great extent. He made the brave Rajputs his partner in the establishment of a national policy. As a result, the Rajput rulers of Ajmer, Bikaner, Jaisalmer gave their daughters to the Mughal Emperor in marriage and earned his favour. After getting respectable and high posts in the service of the empire and expressed their faithfulness.

Soon Akbar realized that his Rajput Commanders were more confident than the Muslim ones. As Raja Bhagwan Das and Raja Man Singh proved to be very faithful and devoted to the Emperor, it gave new vigour to the Mughal Empire and he adopted similar measures in the case of other Rajput rulers. He knew it well that if similar opportunities were provided to the Rajputs as to the Muslim officials, they would be able to rule in their respective territory under the Suzerainty of the Mughal Emperor with great success. His liberal attitude inspired the other Rajputs to establish cordial relations with Akbar and they were employed as Mansabdars in the Mughal court.

But these achievements were gained after a lot of turmoil, and after waging various wars. The fall of Marwar in A.D. 1562, the conquest of Ranthambhor in A.D. 1568 and surrender of Marwar, Bikaner and Jaisalmer were incidents which inspired the other Rajputs to maintain good relations with Akbar.

Mewar was the only state which did not submit before the mighty Mughal empire. Rana Udai Singh, the Sisodiya Rajput, did not surrender before the Mughals due to their respectable position among the Rajputs. Akbar was very much annoyed with Rana Udai Singh as he had given refuge to some enemies of the Mughal empire such as Baz Bahadur and the rebel Mirzas. No doubt the Rajputs had to suffer a lot in this unequal struggle against the Mughals. Rana Udai Singh retired in the forests and his son and successor Rana Pratap had to face innumerable difficulties. But they continued to fight against the mighty Mughal empire as they had undoubted bravery and never-ending spirit for independence. Mewar fought very gloriously but she could not control the imperialist design of Akbar. The death of Rana Pratap after the battle of Haldighat and the accession of Rana Amar Singh gave further opportunity to the Mughal Emperor to establish control over Mewar in the reign of Jahangir, the son and successor of Akbar.

The Rajput policy of Akbar proved completely a success. As he did not differentiate between his Hindu and Muslim subjects, removed Jaziya and declared Suk

Kul, he could gain an exalted place in the eyes of his Hindu and Rajput subjects, and thus he consolidated the Mughal empire.

Influenced by his Hindu queens Akbar began to have faith in the Hindu religion and started listening to the preachings of Hindu saints and philosophers. The marriage alliance between Hindus and Muslims also mitigated the enmity between the two rival communities. Raja Bhagwan Das, Raja Birbal and Raja Todarmal were his most intimate friends. His liberal policy enabled him to establish his empire firmly and to maintain law and order in the country.

He appointed the Rajput Mansabdars in distant places for the safety of the empire and thus removed all the possibilities of impending revolts. Akbar also knew it well that iron cuts iron, So he took help of the Rajputs who were his close friends against the Rajput who were not prepared to bow down before him.

Akbar's liberal Rajput policy also helped in the progress and development of Hindu - Muslim culture. We find an excellent mixture of Hindu - Muslim ideas in architecture, painting, music, literature etc. The impact of Rajput architecture is clearly visible on the buildings of Akbar, and in most of the amalgamation of Hindu and Muslim styles is beautifully represented.

### **Conclusion**

The broadminded Rajput policy of Akbar enabled the Mughal empire to reach the pinnacle of Progress in all spheres. The establishment of peace accelerated the development in trade and commerce which helped a lot in the making of the nation. The cooperation of the Rajputs strengthened the military power of the Mughal empire. Akbar was the Mughal ruler who treated the Rajputs at par with the rest of the nobility and the highest posts were opened to them. The Rajput kings were assured of their hereditary claims, it proved to be a solid gain to the weaker state. The Rajputs were also granted freedom of worship and faith. Thus, the liberal Rajput policy of Akbar proved quite beneficial in the interest of the Mughal empire.

### **EVOLUTION OF RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL OUTLOOK**

The religious Policy of Moghul empire was on the whole was tolerant one. Though staunch Sunni, Personally, Babur and Humayun were tolerant. Akbar's policy was positively motivated towards achieving the cultural unity of India. Akbar was liberal in his policy. He abolished pilgrim tax and jiziya in 1563 and 1564 respectively.

Akbar's religious view underwent a process of evolution. Though brought up as an orthodox Sunni Muslim, he was greatly influenced by mysticism of sunni doctrines specially when he came in contact with two brilliant persons Faizi and Abul Fazal, who were Sufi. He invited learned professors of various religion to his Ibadat- Khanna, the hall of worship he built at Fatepur Sikri. In 1575, he gave impartial hearing to all religious experts, Hindu, Muslim, Jain, Christian and Zoroastrian.

### **Social and religious consideration**

A mystic as well, as a rationalist, Akbar was profoundly religious and an earnest seeker after truth. Akbar is said to have experienced religious ecstasy when he was barely fifteen. His mind delighted in listening to the philosophical discourses of Sufis and saints. Gradually he turned away from the path of narrow Muslim orthodoxy. The bigotry of the Muslim ulema disgusted him. He saw no harm in finding out the truth which other religions claimed to possess. Whereas the orthodox would accept only such features of other religions as did not come into conflict with Islam, Akbar did not respect these limits.

He felt that every faith had something of truth to offer but that all were false when they denied each others sincerity of purpose. He believed that the denial of the freedom of religion to non-Muslims was the negation of disservice to God. He therefore favoured complete tolerance of belief and rejected the Muslim ideal of one scripture and one brotherhood since it depended religious strife. Akbar's religious views thus were radically at odds with orthodox Muslim opinion. Conforming to his views, he abolished the practice of enslavement of the Hindu prisoners of war on seeking their conversion to Islam, as well as the hated imposts - pilgrim and jiziya taxes which the Hindus had

been paying for long and allowed complete religious freedom to his Rajput spouses in the Mughal palace. All this happened in the year A.D. 1562-64 when he was barely 20 or 22 years old. He thus broke away from the orthodox tradition of intolerance extended to the Hindus. Such near revolutionary measures were not based on political expediency. His own religious temperament was the chief reason for such enlightened steps. Significantly, by A.D. 1562 Akbar was free from his regent Bairam Khan's or his harem's tutelage and by that time Abul Fazl and Faizi (two of Akbar's close friends) had not been introduced to him. The decision to put an end to the traditional policy of denying the Hindus absolute religious freedom was independently his and it beyond doubt establishes that Akbar possessed a rare catholicity and natural liberalism.

### **Political Considerations**

Political considerations did not prompt him to internalize liberal outlook. It was a natural growth. Rather his catholicity and natural liberalism broadened his political vision and sagacity adequate enough as to realize that religious strife and discrimination made for political and social disintegration.

### **Akbar's Concept of Monarchy**

In addition to his being intrinsically liberal, Akbar had an impressive conception of monarchy. He sincerely believed that Kingship is a gift of God and that he had a divine mission of expanding his Kingdom and promoting the well-being of his subjects. Clearly Akbar was imperial by nature and therefore had no urge for power and to create an all-India empire. Realistically he analyzed that this implied the establishment of a common citizenship on the basis of complete toleration to the non-Muslims and their association in the administration on equal terms with the Muslims. Akbar's religious view and liberalism were absolutely in conformity with this. He therefore compounded his catholicity and liberalism with his concept of monarchy and imperial instincts to fully

conciliate the Hindus in general and the Rajputs in particular. Akbar was greatly successful in doing this. He achieved (i.e. a vast and consolidated empire) which was impossible for the Sultans of Delhi to achieve, because they lacked that inherent catholicity or broadmindedness which Akbar had and they could not adopt liberal principles even as political expedients, though they very much pursued imperialistic policies.

### **Sole Authority in the field of Religion**

By A.D. 1579 Akbar felt that he would have sole authority to take any decisions, therefore, he secured an authority (Mahazar) from Muslim theologians to invest him with the power to .adopt any one of the conflicting opinions of Muslims jurists on any issues. The Mahazar did not make him infallible, but it did give that power to adopt any one of the conflicting opinions of Muslims Jurists on any issues. The Mahazar did not make him infallible, but it did give that power to Akbar which had hitherto been the special privilege of the Ulema. In . 1582 AD Akbar, while referring to the discord among the diverse creeds, proclaimed his new order, Din-i-Ilahi, emphasizing the necessity of bringing ,them all into one in such fashion that they should be both 'one' and 'all' with the great advantage of not losing what is good in any one religion while gaining whatever is better in another. Din-i-Ilahi was no new religion. Being liberal, he never tried to coerce or induce his subjects or friends to adopt Din-i-Ilahi, he was rather persuasive.

Because of his new socio-religious outlook, Akbar is given a unique place in the History of India. So V A smith writes "Akbar was a born king of, men, with a rightful claim to be one of the mightiest sovereign, a known to history. That extra ordinary natural gifts, his original socio- reigious outlook and his magnificent achievements."

#### **2.4.4 THEORY OF SULH-I-KUL AND RELIGIOUS POLICY –**

Among all the Muslim Kings who ruled over India Akbar was most liberal exponent of religious tolerance. Rising above the prejudices of his age he followed, a very tolerant policy. There, were certain factors that determined his policy.

Factor Responsible for his Liberalism -The influence of his heredity endowed him with those qualities of head and heart that prepared him to receive the impress of his environments and reflect it in the best possible way, The Timurids besides their lust for blood and passion for warfare, proved equally voracious admirers of art and literature that rid them of the narrow religious orthodoxy. Babur and Humayun, while acquiescing to the tenets of Islam, were never orthodox. Moreover, Akbar's mother besides being a daughter of the Shia house, was herself a Persian Scholar. Akbar, therefore, born of a 'Sunni Shia Wedlock' early inculcated the necessity of tolerance, a quality that was equally impressed upon his mind by Abdul Latif, his tutor and the scholars who had sought shelter at the Kabul court. As a Sultan, his marriage with the Rajput Princesses and his close association with Hindus and the Rajput noblemen (Like Todarmal, Birbal and Raja Man Singh) and thinkers, further liberalized his thoughts and policies.

Akbar's religious tolerance was also an outcome of political necessity. In order to consolidate the state, he conciliated the Rajputs and attempted to abolish the glaring distinction between the Hindus and Muslims by abolishing the pilgrimage tax and the Jizya and encouraging the Hindus to growingly associate with the administration.

Besides the temporal motives, Akbar's inquisitive mind harboured an eager craving to discern 'the truth of life and the universe'. As in other parts of the world, the 16th century was a period of religious and social revival in India. The ground had already been prepared in the preceding two centuries by the various religious and social reformers like Guru Nanak and Chaitanya who had reawakened in the country appreciation of the necessity of tolerance and reform. They had prepared the way for

the integration and higher synthesis of all the dynamic and progressive forces. Akbar, "intelligent to an uncommon degree, with a mind alert and inquisitive, was best fitted by birth, upbringing and association to feel most keenly those hankerings and that spiritual unrest which distinguished the century in which he lived. He was not only the child of his century, he was its best replica". Even as a youth, he was inclined towards mysticism. This is corroborated by his foremost critic Badowni who writes that "he would sit many a morning alone in prayer and melancholy, on a large flat stone of an old building near the palace in a lonely spot with his head bent over his chest, and meditate on the eternal mystery of life". His association with the liberal, sheikh Mubarak, and his two sons Faizi and Abul Fazl, endowed him with a greater awareness of the hollowness of the ulemas' interpretations and encouraged him to discern the truth for himself.

#### **2.4.5 Beginning of Toleration**

His wedding with the princess of Ambar, 1562. It was the year 1562 when an important incident occurred in the life of Akbar, which is considered to be the starting point of his new religious policy. He married the daughter of Raja Behari Mal of Ambar. Akbar treated this Rajput princess by hearty love and good treatment. Raja Behari Mal and his grandson, Raja Man Singh, were admitted to royal services. They were treated with as much honour as any other high dignitary of the state. It was these Rajputs who were entrusted by Akbar with difficult and dangerous military expeditions. Thus Akbar's policy of marriages with Rajput princesses which began in 1562 ended the long standing friction between the Rajputs and the Muslims. It was really a master-stroke of his religious policy.'

#### **Abolition of Pilgrimage Tax, 1563.**

It was on account of this spiritual awakening that Akbar abolished the Pilgrimage Tax. In 1563, on his visit to Mathura, Akbar was told that all the Hindus who



had assembled there for pilgrimage had been charged pilgrimage Tax. On an enquire, he further learnt that this tax was charged from the Hindus at all places of pilgrimage. Akbar could never be in favour of such an unscrupulous tax, The result was that he abolished this tax through his kingdom, though at a great financial loss to the state.

**(C) Abolition of Jizya, 1564** - Next year Akbar enacted a more revolutionary measure. It was the abolition of the hated Jizya or Poll tax on non-Muslims, which all Turko. Afghan Sultans of Delhi and even his father and grand father had thought it as their religious duty to realize.. Akbar, who had determined to end all distinctions between the Hindus and the Muslims issued an order, in spite of the opposition of his revenue officers and the fanatic sunni Muslims, abolishing this tax on the Hindus throughout his empire. The abolition to a great extent, appeased the 'Hindus who were feeling agitated more on this tax than on anything else. Prof. S.R. Sharma says, 'with its abolition, Akbar created a common citizenship for all his subjects, Hindus and Muslims alike'.

**(d) Grant of Permission to non-Muslims to build their places of worship freely** - Akbar, not satisfied with these measures, went a step further. He wished to grant perfect liberty of conscience to his non-muslim subjects. Thus, with this aim in view, he removed all the restrictions which stood imposed upon the construction of their places of worship. The result of this ordinance was that the Rajput Sardars began to erect temples in the names of their gods and goddesses. Raja Man Singh got erected two great temples, one at Benaras and the other at Brindaban. The Christians also built their churches, one at Lahore and the other at Agra. Akbar also is said to visited Amritsar and made a good amount of offering to Guru Ram Dass, the fourth Sikh Guru. Akbar is also said to have put up a gold canopy over the Goddess of Jawalamukhi in Kangra.

**(e) Removal of long standing cultural differences between the Hindus and Muslims** -Akbar also removed the long standing cultural differences between the two

communities. Prof. S.R. Sharma Says. "He established a Translation Department". Apart from other duties, the duty of this department was also to translate the Hindu books of religion into Persian and thus this department was responsible in translating the Hindu religious books like the Atharvaveda, the Mahabharata, Harivamsa, and the Ramayana into Persian. It was, therefore, in this way the old Hindu religious literature was patronized during the reign of Akbar and long standing cultural differences were removed to a great extent".

**(f) Prevention of conversions by force** - By the issue of another royal order Akbar discouraged the use of force in the conversion of people from one religion to another so much so that the religion even of the prisoners of war could not be changed by force. Though this order could not fully arrest the speed of conversions, yet it had a very wholesome and encouraging effect upon the minds of the Hindus. This measure increased to a great extent the loyalty and devotion of the Hindus towards Akbar.

**(g) No consideration of religion in filling of high posts** – Akbar had opened the gates of government services to the people of all castes, creeds and colours. Before this, the posts were the monopoly of the Muslims, but Akbar appointed some of the Hindus also on high posts in the state. Todar Mall was his finance minister. Raja Mansingh was the Mansabdar of 7,000. In provinces 8 out of 12 Diwans were Hindus. Apart from this, Todar Mall appointed those Hindus in the Revenue Department who had learnt Persian language. The result was that most of the Hindus learnt Persian language. The result was that most of the Hindus learnt Persian and this brought the Hindus and the Muslims very much close to each other.

#### **2.4.6. PERSONAL REASONS FOR RELIGIOUS TOLERATION :-**

By the year 1575 Akbar's religious belief had ceased to be a mere personal affair. No aspect of Akbar's Character and history has been the subject of so much interest and

controversy as his faith and religious policy. The influence of heredity upon the development of Akbar's religious ideas should not be unduly exaggerated. There was wide difference between the indifferentism of his early Central Asian ancestors, the ,unorthodoxy of his grandfather, the superstitious mysticism of his father and the rational eclecticism and dreamy mysticism of the great Akbar. A mystic as well as a rationalist, Akbar was sincerely religious and an earnest seeker after truth. From early youth he was fond of the society of fakirs and yogis. From 1562 for long eighteen years he made annual pilgrimage to the Shrine of Shaikh Muin-ud-din Chisti at Ajmer. He had early come into contact with Sufi literature and thoughts . Hafiz and Rumi were read to him and he maintained this contact in advanced years.

Behind the conquest and the diplomacy there lay a melancholy soul. Suffering from 'internal bitterness' and 'lack of spiritual provision', yearning for truth. Jesuit Fathers found him melanchotic. In his 'Happy saying' Akbar tells us how one night his, heart was weary of the burden of life, when suddenly between sleeping and waking a strange vision appeared to him and his spirit was some what comforted. Such visions came to him from time to time. According the Abu-l-Fazl, as early as 1557, when Akbar: was barely fifteen, during the siege of Mankot he had experienced religious ecstasy when suddenly he broke away from the camp in to a distance where he spent many hours in solitary meditation. Seventeen years later as he would often listen to Mir Shari reading books on spiritual love, tears would roll down his eyes. Badun tells us that he passed whole nights in praise' of God and would sit many a morning alone in prayer and meditation on a large flat stone in a lonely spot'. In his eager search for truth, Akbar imbibed a passionate love for philosophical discussions and only the pressure of duties forced him to abstain from, religious discussion. . In the liberal Shaikh Mubarak and his son, Particularly Abul-Fazl, 'the Kings Jonathan' as the Jrisuits call him Akbar found his true spiritual companions. Abull-Fazl,'who according to Baduni 'set the world in flames', was a true eclectic whose heart was equally drawn towards the sages of Cathay, the ascetics of Mount Lebanon, the Lames of Tibet, the Padres of Portugal, the Mubids (Zorastran theologians) of Persia and the secrets of the Zend Avesta.

## **IBADAT KHANA**

The Ibadat Khana ( House of Worship) was a meeting house built in 1575 CE by the Moghul Akbar at Fatepur Sikri to gather spiritual leaders of different religious grounds so as to conduct a discussion on the teachings of respective religious leaders.

All these led to the foundation in 1575 of the 'Ibadat Khana (House Worship) at Faltehpur Sikri where religious discussions were held every Friday evening. It was confined to Muslims and was divided into four sections, occupied by four classes of members' the nobles of the court. Shaikhs or ascetics, Sayyids or descendants of the prophet, and the Ulama or jurists. The violent intolerance of the orthodox party led by Shaikh 'Abdun-Nabi and Makhadum-ul-Mulk and bitter differences between the Sunnis and Shiahs disgusted the emperor and alienated him from Orthodox Islam. Of course he showed his interest in pilgrimage by arranging Gulbadan Begam's journey to Mecca (1575) and next year he himself intended to proceed on pilgrimage. But Akbar was passing through a mental crisis, and 'the internal bitterness'. In January, 1578, he expressed his abhorrence of meat diet and in April at Bhera, on the bank of the Jhelum, occurred the famous hunting incident; when after ten days preparation birds and beasts within a circumference of fifty miles had been encircled for 'monstrous slaughter', Akbar all on a sudden broke the hunt and set free all animals' 'not the feather of a finch was to be touched.' 'A strong frenzy' seized him and he distributed alms and gold to jagirs. A garden was laid and a structure raised to commemorate the hallowed spot where, sitting under a tree, he had experienced the call.

In October, 1578, discussions in the Ibadat Khana were revived with renewed vigour and the House of worship had become a parliament of religions where the sufi, the philosopher, the orator, the jurist, the Sunni and the Shiah, the Brahman and the atheist (charvaka), the jain and the Buddhist, the Christian and the Jew, the Sabaeans and the Zoroastrian and others met and debated under the presidency of the Mughal

emperor. The bitter differences among the 'Ulema' in these debates, which revealed their shallow pride as well as the narrowness of orthodox Islam, further weakened his faith in it and he decided to take all religious matters in Islam into his own hands.

### **Mahzarnama**

The series of brilliant military successes had given him mastery over a considerable portion of Northern India and he had already adopted measures for its consolidation by the establishment of a centralized government. The time had arrived when the King as the secular head of the state should be the head in spiritual matters as well. The exalted conception of sovereignty that he held necessitated it, and the Timurid tradition pointed to it. On Friday, 26 June 1579, emulating the Caliphs and his illustrious ancestor Timur, Akbar mounted the pulpit of the mosque at Fatehpur Sikri and recited the Khutba composed by Faizi in verse which modern authors believe with Badayuni that Akbar made ambiguous use of these words to mean both God is great as well as Akbar is God. Like several Muslim rulers before him, Akbar claimed that he was the agent of God, Khatifatul-Lah; he never laid claim to divinity.

In 2nd September, 1579 took the final step when he became the Imam and the Mujtahid of the age by the famous Mahzar (Declaration) which he obtained from the 'Ulama. It determined the rank of just King as higher than that of Mujtahid (highest authority on law) and declared that Akbar as the just ruler (Sultan-i-Adil) could decide between Mujtahids, if they differed in opinion on any religious question, by accepting any of the conflicting views and that his decision was final and binding. Also it empowered him to issue new orders which the people must obey, provided they were in conformity with the Quran and were for the benefit of the people. This document was drafted by Shaikh Mubarak and signed reluctantly, according to Badayuni, by five others, the Principal Ulama and prominent theologians of Hindustan.

It made Akbar, who was the temporal head of the State, the Supreme Head of the Church or more properly the Islamic faith in India as well. The Mahzar was really the funeral oration of the 'Ulama' as it overthrew the nimbus of their legal and spiritual power. It was then natural corollary to Akbar's idea of royal absolutism. It led to the virtual assumption by Akbar of the title of the Caliph and is closely connected with the 'Pulpit incident'. Some of his coins also bear the title of exalted Caliph and we are told by 'Arif Quandadhari that in all the mosques of the Mughal empire the Khutba intioned him as Amir-ul-Muminim.

The decree had its significance in the outer Islamic world as well. It was a justification of Akbar's Sovereign authority and a challenge to the Sultan Caliph of Turkey, The juridical head of Islam in whose name the Khutba was recited at Mecca and Medina. It was a reply to the Safavi Shans of Persia as well, who posed as the perpetual patrons of the Mughal dynasty because both Akbar's father and grandfather had sought and obtained Persian help on condition of accepting the Shiah faith. Akbar's authority was now superior to that of the Mujtahids, the highest ecclesiastical and juridical authorities of the Shiahs. The decree, however, did not at all involve Akbar's repudation of Islam it was as a Muslim King that Akbar could decide between the conflicting views of the Mujahids. Neither was Akbar invested with infallibility. The scope of the decree was limited. The king should accept one of the conflicting views and any new order he might issue must be in conformity with the Qur'an and for the benefit of the people.

There can be no doubt that the declaration displeased the 'Ulama' and orthodox Muslims. Soon after Akbar made his last Pilgrimage to Ajmer and he showed extraordinary reverence to a stone brought from Mecca, carrying an impression of the Prophet's foot, Akbar, however, had definitely become estranged from orthodox Islam. The creed of his birth could no longer satisfy his enquiring spirit, and contact as well as acquaintance with diverse creeds made him a confirmed eclectic. The influence of the Hindu wives of his household had been strengthened by the Brahmans, particularly Debi and Purushottam, who participated in the debates of the 'Ibadat - Khana' and

instructed the emperor in the secrets of Hinduism. Akbar was converted to belief in transmigration. He gave private interviews to several Hindu yogis from whom he made enquiries about the secrets and spiritual questions regarding Hinduism.

### **Beginning of Sulh-i—Kul(Peace with all)**

A sacred fire was established in the palace. In 1580 Akbar began to prostrate himself publicly before the fire and the Sun. In this the emperor was influenced also by Birbal, who gave emphasis to sun-worship, and by the Hindu ladies of his harem who performed homa. Persian festivals were revived , with Persian names for month and days, was adopted in 1584.

In response to Akbar's invitation the first Jesuit mission from Goa arrived on 28th February 1580, at Fatehpur Sikri, and received with gracious respect. It consisted of Father Rudolf Aquaviva, an Italian, Antony Monserrate, a Spaniard, and Francis Henriquez, a Persian convert who acted as the interpreter. Akbar showed profound reverence for a copy of the Bible which the Fathers presented and made respectful salutation to a picture of the Madona. He appointed Abu-I-Fazl to translate the Gospel and Monserrate to give Murad a few lessons in Christianity'. The emperor built for them a chapel in the palace and held prolonged discussions with them on Christianity. The Fathers took part in the discussions with them at the 'Ibadat Khana' where they used very strong words about Islam and its Prophet, so much so that Akbar had to give them mild warning. Akbar was highly impressed by Christianity, though he was not convinced of the doctrines of the Trinity, of the Virgin birth of the son and the incarnation. The Fathers hoped that they had discovered the second constantine in the Mughal Emperor, for in their zeal and bigotry they could not properly understand him and failed to notice the varied appeals to which he equally responded.

Akbar invited and in 1582 received a Jain delegation as well which consisted of Hivavijaya Suri, Bhanuchandra Upadhyaya and Vijayasena Suri. Jainism, with its doctrine of non-violence, made a profound impression on him and influenced his personal life. He curtailed his food and drink and ultimately abstained from flesh diet altogether for nine months in the year. He renounced hunting which was his favourite pastime, restricted the practice of fishing and released prisoners and caged birds. slaughter of animals was prohibited on certain days and ultimately in 1587 for about half the days in the year.

Already Akbar had become acquainted with Sikhism and came into contact with its Gurus, Amar Das (died 1574) and Ram Das (died 1581). He found in the Granth only love and devotion to God.

These studies and discussions on religions of various hues confirmed the growing eclecticism of the Emperor who, as Badwin points out, found truth in all religions and realized that it was not the monopoly of Islam. The idea gained ground among the people that (Akbar was the Sahib-I-Zaman who would remove all differences of opinion among the seventy two sects of Islam and the Hindus'. The turbulence of schisms grieved him and he sought the way for its subsidence. He had so long strayed in the maza of jarring creeds and he would now find out the path. The zero hour had arrived in Akbar's Spiritual evolution and early in 1582 he promulgated the Sulh-I-kul. It is difficult to define the Divine Faith, for its author did not define it. It was neither inspired by revelation nor based on any well defined philosophy or theology. It was deism modified by Hindu and predominant Zoroastrian influence, a religion without priests and books, 'an ethical rationalism leading to the ideal of mystic union of the soul with the divine', in which respect it was based on the sufi idea of absorption of the soul in the Divine being. It enjoined such ethical and social reforms as recommending alms – giving and sparing of animal life, permitting remarriage of widows, prohibiting child marriage and marriage among close relations as well as forced sati, recommending monogamy enforcing chastity and controlling gambling and' drinking by restricting the sale of drink. The Din-I-Ilahi was definitely an attempt at religious syncretism, as much



a child of Akbar's spiritual development as a product of the age, following as it does the movement of Kabir and Nanak. The syncretism was not quite happy because, though Akbar was 'a rare jeweler and seeker after truth; his knowledge could neither be systematic nor thorough, acquired as it was through ears. He sought for lighting the variegated and jarring creeds of man, but could not find it.

Towards the close of 1581, Akbar took another step in the field of religious toleration. He thought of establishing a synthesis of various creeds by putting together the fundamental principles of various religions. In the beginning of 1582 he actually translated his ideas into practice by establishing a new religion or brotherhood known as sulh-i-kul. Dr. Hodlen writes, "Akbar experimented in all departments from religion to metallurgy". Its basis was love, truth and religious tolerance, were to greet each other in a new manner, they were to celebrate their birthday, they were to give a dinner to their co-religionists, they were to abstain from meat - eating as far as possible, they were to regard five as sacred and they were also expected and supposed to respect all the religions. But unfortunately it could not become very popular. In the words of Dr. V. Smith, "The whole scheme was the outcome of ridiculous vanity, a monstrous growth of unrestrained autocracy. Its ignominious failure illustrated the wisdom of the protest addressed by the Kolwal to the Sultan of Delhi some three centuries earlier, and the folly of kings who seek to assume the role of prophets".

The divine faith was a monument of Akbar's folly, not of his wisdom. His actions throughout his reign exhibited many illustrations of both qualities. Both the Hindus and the Muslims failed to appreciate it and only a few persons became its members. Lawrence Benyon says. "The new faith was a failure and was destined to be a failure, because in religious societies toleration is not virtue, it is the despised offspring of lukewarmness of difference. A creed so simple was obvious to the approach of vagueness and emptiness." As the Jesuit Fathers said that by prompting all religions he was insulting all religions. The new faith could not appeal to the masses and during the

life time of the Emperor was accepted by only a few persons. It is also evident from the fact that new faith died along with the death of the emperor.

### **Meaning**

In 1581 , Akbar founded order of brotherhood, known as sulh-i-Kul. Woolseley Haig writes, "with the aid of his advisers he had concocted an assent from all men which neither Christianity nor Islam had been able to ensure". Baduni Characterises it a Tauhid-I-Ilahi, or Divine Monotheism. According to Dr. Iswari Prasad, "It was an eclectic pantheism containing good points of all the religions", Lanepoole says, "of couse, an electic religion never takes hold of the people and Akbar's curioslity interesting hotchpotch of philosophy mysticism and nature - worship practically died with him". But the broadminded sympathy which inspired such a vision of catholicity left a lasting impression upon a land of warring creeds and tribes and for a brief, while created a nation where there had only been factions.

Akbar was very keen on making experiment". In fact Akbar, as a result of long discussions at Ibadat Khana, had come to the conclusion that all the religions were alike in their fundamental principles. They differed only on their outer forms. So Akbar, having put together the general principles of various religious, tried to establish a synthesis of various creeds and named it Din-i-Ilahi. Malleson opines, Akbar's foremost aim was the union of Hindustan under one head which was difficult to achieve and he persecuted all non-Islamic religions. To accomplish such a union it was necessary first to conquer, secondly, to respect alt consciences and all methods of worshipping the Almighty. To carry out this plan he availed himself to a modified extent only of a Muhammedan ritual.

### **Principles and Practices –**

Abul Fazall has given a detailed account of the Principles and practices of Din-I-Ilahi. All the persons who became members of Din-I-Ilahi had to observe the following practices

1. They were to follow a new mode of greeting each other A member while meeting the other of his faith will salute by saying 'Allah-u- Akbar" and will be responded by "Jalla-a-Jallahu."
2. The members were to celebrate their birth day and invite their co- religionists a feast.
3. As far as possible they were to abstain from meat-eating but not to hate the meat-takers. In the month of their birth they were not to take meat at all.
4. They were not to have any relation with animal or bird catchers and hunters.
5. They were neither to marry old women nor minor girls.
6. They were to respect all the religions.
7. They were to regard fire as very sacred.
8. They were supposed to avoid formalities.

Was Din-I-Ilahi a Monument of Akbar's Folly ?

Dr. V.A. Smith had strongly denounced Din-I-Ilahi of Akbar. According to him, "The whole scheme was the outcome of ridiculous vanity, monstrous growth of unrestrained autocracy a monument of Akbar's folly not of his wisdom." The vastness of Akbar's empire, he contends, had turned his head and like Ala-ud-din Khilji he aspired to become King, Prophet and Pope in one. And as such an attempt of every king had failed . Akbar's Din-I-Ilahi met with failure. In this connection Havell opines," In the western sense his mission was political rather than religious but for his endeavours to make the highest religious principles the motive powers of state policy he won an imperishable name in Indian history and failed the political ethics of Islam into a plane higher than they had ever reached before .

But this view of Dr. Smith had been refuted by Dr. Ishwari Prasad and Shri Ram Sharma. D. Ishwari Prasad writes. "It was an eclectic pantheism containing the good points of all religions - a combination of mysticism, philosophy and nature worship. Its basis was rational; it upheld no dogma, recognized no gods or prophets and emperor

was its Chief exponent" The emperor's aim in founding Din-I-Ilahi was not religious at all. It was not to satisfy his vanity or to play the role of the prophet and pope that he founded the new faith. Had this been his motive he would certainly have employed the whole state machinery for propagating his faith. Akbar did not even compel his close associates, like Bhagwan Dass and Man Singh to become its members.

According to S.R. Sharma, "It was the crowning expression of the Emperor's national idealism.' Just as the Emperor had conquered the whole of India he also wanted to put the chief principles of various religions together and create a new religion in order to bind India as a nation. Evidently, Din-I-Ilahi was not the monument of Akbar's folly. It was a monument of converting the empire.

Some modern writers maintain that it was not a new faith but a reformation of Islam. The Divine Faith ignored both the Prophet and the Quraan. Its ceremonial law and theological doctrines were considerably different from those of Islam.

As an eminent authority has remarked. "The religion of Akbar is not to be looked upon as a reform but a denial of Islam - a break with its traditions more decided than that which manifests itself in the doctrines of Islam. In one of his 'Happy saying' Akbar confesses that he is no longer a Muslim. He ignored revelation and rejected the Islamic doctrines of resurrection and Judgement. He believed in the doctrine of trans migration of souls and in the worship of the Suri which Islam does not admit. But, in his letter to the Sharifs of Mecca, written not long before 1582, and in his two letters written in 1586 to "Abdullah Khan", ruler of Bukhara, Akbar maintains that he is not only a good Muslim but a champion of Islam. He was not prepared to risk his empire for the sake of his personal religion ,

## **Conclusion**

In short, his Din-Illahi was personal and rational from start to finish. From the time of Akbar ascended the pulpit at Fatehpur sikri to the Din-i-Ilahi, he was intensely

spiritually. He was neither a fanatic nor a fool. The , German historian , Von Noer, says that Badauni merely represented the popular misconceptions. Many incidents of his life show that he was a modest man. It was the people who made a God of the man.

### **UNIT - III**

#### **MOGHUL EMPIRE IN THE 17TH CENTURY**

##### Structure

##### 3.0 Objectives

##### 3.1 Introduction

##### 3.2.1 Administrative and Religious Policy Jahangir

##### 3.2.2 Rajput Policy

##### 3.2.3 Policy towards Deccan

##### 3.2.4 Policy towards central Asia

##### 3.2.5 Nurjahan

##### 3.2.6 Religious policy Jahangir

##### 3.3.0 Administrative and Religious Policy of Shah Jahan

##### 3.3.1 Policy towards Internal Rebellion

##### 3.3.2 Policy towards Central Asia

- 3.3.3 Deccan Policy
- 3.3.4 General Administration
- 3.3.5 Religious Policy
- 3.4 Administrative and Religious Policy of Aurangzeb
  - 3.4.1 Policy towards North East and North West
  - 3.4.2 Religious Policy
  - 3.4.3 Rajput policy
  - 3.4.4 Administrative System
  - 3.4.5 Deccan Policy
- 3.5. Later Moghuls
  - 3.5.1 Emergence of Rulers after the death of Aurangzeb
  - 3.5.2 Jahandar Shah
  - 3.5.3 Farruk Shiyar.
  - 3.5.4 Causes responsible for decline of Mogul Empire.
- 3.6 Emergence of regional Identity
  - 3.6.1 Emergence of Bengal ,Avadh and Deccan
- 3.7 Rise of Maratha
  - 3.7.1 Administration of Shivaji
  - 3.7.2 Mughal Maratha Relation
  - 3.7.3 Peshwa
  - 3.7.4 The Maratha Confederacy
  - 3.7.5 Decline of Maratha

In the 17th Century three important rulers of the Mughal Empire came to the Throne. They were Jahangir, Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb. So after reading this unit, you will :

- Know the administrative and religious policy of Jahangir, Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb.

- Understand the the role of the role of Later Moghuls and factors responsible for decline of Mogul empire.

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- Understand the regional power which developed after the decline of Mogul empire

- Know importance of Maratha power which challenged the Mogul Empire .
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## **Jahangir (1605 -1627)**

### **3.2.1 Introduction; Administrative and Religious Policy :-**

Nur -ud-din Mohammed Salim known by his imperial name Jahangir. He was fourth Moghul Emperor who ruled from 1605 until his death in 1627. Jahangir built on his father's foundation an excellent administration. His reign was marked by political stability, a strong economy and impressive cultural achievements. It was credit of Jahangir that while, he possessed characteristics that he deserved much condemnation, he possessed sufficient charisma of his own that ranked him among the most fascinating and controversial monarch of Indian history.

Jahangir possessed thirty Six year of enriching experience of his fathers diverse policies to guide him. His liberal education, (his mother Jodha Bai, was a Rajput Princess ), natural shrewdness and a strong common sense, well experienced him to be the rightful successor to Akbar's vast empire.

Notwithstanding the above, Jahangir neither possessed the strength of Akbar's character nor his ability to make decisions. On the other hand, throughout his life Jahangir succumbed to the influence of his companions. As prince Salim goaded by his friends, he rebelled against Akbar, and got rid of Abul Fazl, Akbar's closest friend in 1602 A.D. As the Sultan, Jahangir allowed himself to drift gradually under the influence of Nurjahan till his failing health during last five years, resulted in Nurjahan reigning supreme. Whilst her policies not did fundamentally deviate from Jahangir, principle of administrative the intensity of her ambition provoked party factions of a magnitude that irreparably damaged the Mughal state. To that extent, Jahangir unconsciously helped to weaken the Mughal solidarity and initiated the decline of Mughals.



**Administration** - Soon after his taking over to the throne, Jahangir in order to placate the nobility, "honoured many of the greatest nobles (Abdur Rahim Khan, Son of Abul Fazl and Mirza Ghiyas Beg) and powerful ministers and brave youths with honourable titles and acceptable dignities."

' To win over the hearts of his people he suspended the chain of justice with golden bells "so that the aggrieved persons could obtain adequate justice at all hours of the day" (Jahangir's Memoirs).

He issued twelve ordinances to be uniformly implemented all over his empire, prohibiting numerous cesses that only hindered trade and commerce; advocating road safety for the travellers; regulating the inheritance of property; regulating wine; forbidding the cutting of limbs by way of imparting punishment; regulating building of hospitals; prohibiting slaughter of animals on certain days including Sundays; confirming various Mansabs and jagirs and issuing new ones to individuals and religious preachers of merit: and granting amnesty to all prisoners.

### **Khusrau's Rebellion**

- Before the above mentioned reforms could impact on the administration, Jahangir had to brazen out the rebellion of his eldest born, Prince Khusrau who in spite of his magnetic charm was "an immature youth of fiery temper and weak judgement". Earlier too, he had been coaxed into rebellion by Raja Man Singh Akbar's death, however, had effected a temporary conciliation between the Raja and Jahangir. On latter's accession to the throne, however when Raja Man Singh's fortunes suffered an inevitable eclipse, the relations between Jahangir and Khusrau also correspondingly worsened. The latter was kept semi-confined. In 1606 A.D, Khusrau escaped to Punjab. At Taran Taran, he received the blessings and gift of Rs. 5000 from Guru Arjan Singh and successfully besieged Lahore. The governor however, refused to render any assistance and the prince was finally captured while attempting to cross the Chenab. Khusrau was partially blinded, imprisoned and till the end remained under a cloud of suspicion. The other

supporters, including Guru Arjan Singh, were ruthlessly killed. While some critics have tried to pin Guru Arjan's murder as a symbol of religious persecution, in reality, the punishment was "inflicted as a penalty for high treason and conspiracy" V. Smith.

### **Jahangir's Wars**

The Principal wars of his reign were spread from Qandhar in the North to the Deccan in the South and can be analyzed under four headings.

1. His Rajput policy that culminated in the subjugation of Mewar in 1614 A.D.
2. The Deccan policy leading to the capture of Ahmadnagar in 1616 A.D.
3. Policy towards Central Asia which resulted in the ultimate loss of Qandhar in 1622A.D.
4. The Capture of Kangra in 1620 A.D.

#### **3.2.2. Rajput Policy-**

##### **Mewar campaign**

Profoundly conscious of the politico-strategic and economic significance of Mewar to the Mughal empire, Jahangir at once dispatched an army of 20,000 against Mewar under the command of his son, prince Parvez. The first battle proved indecisive for Khusrau's revolt necessitated the recall of the Mughal troops.

A second mission was dispatched in 1608 A.D. under the distinguished command of Mahabat Khan. This time too, the Mughals secured only marginal victories that failed to impress the enemy. In 1609 A.D., Mahabat Khan was replaced by Abdulla Khan but, with fortunes varying, neither side could proclaim a victory. Meanwhile, Abdulla Khan was recalled to the Deccan Wars. Finally, in 1614 A.D., under the able and absolute command of Prince Khurram, the Mewar region was devastated. Consequently, the Rana, Amar Singh, was forced to seek peace. He agreed to recognize the suzerainty of the Mughals and send his son to the imperial court. This is corroborated by Jahangir in his memoirs "Rana Amar Singh and his ancestors, relying upon the security of the mountains and his home, had never seen any of the Kings of Hindustan, had never shown obedience, but now in my fortunate reign he had been compelled to make his submission." In return, Jahangir restored Chittor to the Ranas on

the condition that it should neither be refortified nor repaired. Rana Amar Singh abdicated in favour of Karan Singh, his eldest son.

### **Significance –**

Jahangir, like Akbar, was fully aware of the extreme sensitivity of the Rajputs. Accordingly he expressed due to courtesy and honour to Raja Karan Singh. He was given a Mansab of 5000 Zat and Sawar, besides many lavish gifts of Jewellery and cash. As for the house of Mewar, the Ranas remained loyal supporters of the Mughals till Aurangzeb's fanaticism and suspicions constrained them into open rebellion.

### **3.2.3. Policy towards Deccan, 1616 A.D.**

Prince Salim's rebellion had compelled Akbar to hastily conclude his Deccan campaign. His victories, therefore, besides securing Berar and Asirgarh, had proved indecisive, and unless the Mughals seized the districts of Balghat and Telingana, they could be politically or economically effective. :Jahangir, therefore, had two alternatives :

- (a) Either he could confine the Mughals to the upkeep of Akbar's policy in the region and contain themselves to Akbar's victories. This' however, would continue to embroil the Mughals in border clashes with the Deccani states and the Nizam Shahis in particular.
- (b) Jahangir could pursue a forward policy with the ultimate aim of establishing paramountcy in Deccan. This policy, however, was bound to involve the Mughals in direct confrontation not only with the Nizamshahis but also with the other two Deccani States of Bijapur and Golkonda.

So, Jahangir, faced with the same dilemma ., if the Mughals confined their Southern borders to Ahmad nagar, these would be continuously infringed by the

representatives of the Nizamshahis; if they attempted to annex the areas of Balghat and Telingana, it was bound, to entangle them deeper in southern politics. While Jahangir discerned the two courses of action clearly, he was unable to commit himself to either. In spite of his best intentions therefore, his indecisiveness to launch an forward attack, encouraged the Deccanis to consolidate their defences and at best, secured a stalemate for the Mughals, from 1621-1631 A.D.

The position of the Mughal governor in the Deccan was equally ambiguous. Faced with the imperial reluctance to place any additional resources at his command, he had to fend for resources from the Deccan. He had to consolidate the Mughal conquests and yet annexation or extension of the territory was no part of the Mughal scheme. This naturally resulted in his reluctance to maintain large troops in the Deccan' and was the cause for the slow progress of the Mughal army in the Deccan.

During Akbar's life time itself, disturbances increased owing to the want of care on the part of the administrators. The bulk of Mughal soldiers and officers were reluctant to stay in the Deccan partly because it was distant from the North and partly because the prices of the provisions waged high. The nobles too pressed for a transfer to the North and many officers departed without permission. :

At this juncture, the two Deccan leaders, namely Malik Amber and Raja Deccan, exploited the Mughal dilemma to their maximum advantage. In 1604 A.D. the Mughals arrived at Ahmadnagar, with the Mughals controlling the Northern territory while Telingana and Sholapur were taken by Bijapur. In 1607 A.D. Raja of Deccan was arrested, imprisoned and disappeared into oblivion.

Malik Ambar, however, during the period of peace between 1603- 1608 A.D. taking advantage of Jahangir's occupation with affairs nearer home, "laid the foundations of a new system of administration in Deccan". (Grant Duff) In him, the Mughal faced the rigour of one of the shrewdest minds and the ablest commanders of Deccan India. He introduced a new revenue system modeled on the reforms of Todormal as also manifold administrative reforms that re-consolidated the Nizam Sahahi

state. To thwart the Mughal challenge, he effectively mobilized the existing state resources to strengthen the Nizam Shahi army. By adopting the guerilla tactics , he successfully negated the impact of the traditional methods of warfare on which the Mughals relied exclusively. Thus, no quick decisive victory was possible for no pitched battle was fought. The methods, an outcome of the Deccan terrain, when later exploited by the Marathas for more extensively, ultimately brought forth the ruin of the Mughal empire.

Malik Ambar was also the first to perceive the valour of the light Maratha horse. (B. Prasad), and effectively organized them against the Mughals. They avoided pitched battles but always hung on the skirt of the enemy, cutting off supplies, wasting the country, robbing and plundering. The Mughals always deficient in the military art, seldom adopted themselves to the new tactics and ultimately succumbed to them. Thus Malik Ambar, as great a master of the art of guerilla warfare as Shivaji himself, stands at the head of the builders of the Maratha nationality. Unconsciously he nourished into strength a power which more than revenged the injuries of the South on the Northern empire. .

Malik Ambar's assignment of recovering the lost territories was made easier by the existing mutual jealousies and factions that waged rampant amongst the Mughal officers posted at Burhanpur. Prince Parvez incapable of imposing any discipline proved a governor only in name and the real authority was exercised by Khan-i-Khanan. Consequently, the Mughals had to fight the battle on two fronts - against the Nizam Shahi forces which were expediently guided by the master mind of Malik Ambar; and a war of recriminations within their own empire.

From 1608 A.D. to 1610 A.D., Khan-i-Khanan was in command of the Mughal operations. He, however, could barely withstand drought, took a heavy toll of the Mughal army. The Khan-i-Khanan, therefore was forced to sign a humiliating peace. The Mughal promised a safe passage to Burhanpur on the condition that they surrendered Ahmadnagar.

Khan-I-Khanan was replaced by Khan-I-Jehan Lodi, who had severely criticized the former's policy and advocated his own appointment. Jahangir readily agreed and dispatched fresh enforcements and Khan Azam to assist the campaign. But the Mughals, hopelessly disunited, failed to make any headway.

In 1611 A.D., the Mughals planned a major offensive against Ahmadnagar. Abdulla Khan and Raja Man Singh were sent to assist him. The Mughals planned a major campaign on two fronts, while Khan- I-Jahan and Man Singh were to march from Berar across Godavari and Telingana, Abdulla Khan was to proceed through Nasik. But the three Mughal generals brilliant in their own right failed to synchronise their movements. Their lack of coordination resulted in Abdulla Khan's abortive expedition and eventual hasty retreat. Once again, the guerilla tactics of Malik Ambar, out of their supplies and the Mughal efforts failed disastrously. Jahangir seething with wrath, severely reprimanded his officers, particularly Abdulla Khan. For some time, he even thought of taking the field of person. Ultimately, Khan-I-Khanan was reinstalled as the governor of Deccan. He continued to be in office till 1616 A.D; When Prince Khurram, in a bid to impress the Emperor, and with the help of Nurjahan, claimed the charge for himself.

The Mughals now aimed at a political rather than a military settlement. War tactics having failed "Khan-I-Khanan now resorted to diplomacy against Malik Ambar. Consequently, many leading supporters of Malik Ambar-Marathas , came over to the Mughals, Jahangir himself in order to keep a closer watch on the Deccan affairs, moved to Mandu. Prince Khuram, assisted by a nucleus of able commanders like Prince Karan, Khan-I-Khanan, Khan-Jehan and Mahabat Khan entered Burhanpur in 1617 A.D. He dispatched Afzal Khan and Raja Bikramjit to Adil Shah of Bijapur, with a "definite offer of peace of payment of tribute and restoration of the lost territory". The Deccanis, viewing the over whelming number and freshly equipped Mughal forces, clearly disarmed the Mughal intention of securing a decisive victory. Moreover, the Deccan confederacy, in spite of Malik Ambar's sincere efforts, and true to its nature was falling

apart. The emissaries, therefore, were cordially received; Adil Shah accepted the Mughal terms without fighting a war. Among others Adil Shah himself waited on the Prince and rendered a handsome tribute of over fifteen lakhs on behalf of the Deccan Chief.

In the entire territory of Balaghat recently seized by Malik Ambar was ceded to the Mughals and the keys of the Ahmadnagar fort and other strongholds were formally delivered. Khan-I-Khanan was appointed the governor of Berar, Khandesh and Ahmadnagar while his eldest son, Shah Nawaz Khan was stationed in the territory restored, at the head of 12000 cavalry. Selected reliable officers were appointed to every post. In all, 30,000 forces were left in the Deccan. Khurram himself was promoted to the unprecedented rank of 30,000 Zat and Sawar. He was also bequeathed the title of Shahjahan and entitiled a chair near the imperial throne in the Darbar. Adil Shah, far from being humiliated was extended due courtesy and respect.

### **Assessment of Jahangir's Deccan Policy –**

Jahangir's policy of safeguarding the Mughal holding of Ahmadnagar by entering into a military alliance with Bijapur, only increased the Mughal obligations and led to their futile involvement in the Southern politics. There were several factors accounting for the failure of Jahangir's Deccan policy among others. So long as Malik Ambar lived, no Mughal victory could remain permanent. Deeply devoted to his state and region, he won back all that he had lost to the Mughals. Even in 1621 A.D. the Mughals, besides a sum of 50 lakhs of rupees, gained barely fourteen 'Kos' of territory. The mutual recriminations and jealousies of the various Mughal Commanders proved a further setback to the success of the Mughal policy. It was easy to build forts in the natural rugged land of Deccan but difficult to subdue them. Since every hill was a fort, large armies got lost, while small armies simply collapsed. The Mughals never learnt to effectively thwart the guerilla warfare. The transportation of various goods and

commodities was equally hazardous, for the Banjaras were often intercepted by the Deccanis. The main cause was, however, the reluctance of the Mughals to launch an all forward attack which gave the Deccanis an opportunity to organize themselves. Jahangir's indecisiveness only secured the Mughals a stalemate in Deccan from 1621'1631 A.D. Had he devoted all Mughal energies and resources to the consolidation of Mughal suzerainty over Deccan region, he might have secured a long lasting success.

#### **3.2.4 Policy Towards Central Asia –**

Jahangir's Central Asian policy consisted of two facets. :

- (a) Relations with Persia.
- (b) Relation with Central Asia.

It is commonly believed that, Babur's homesickness for the lost ancestral lands had equally fired the imagination of his successors. The Mughals, therefore, planned to recover Trans - Oxiana, in Central Asia, as part of their imperialistic and expansionist activities, the desire to possess Mawara -un-Nahr also brought them in line with the cause of the Persian diplomacy and frustrated the attempts of the Ottoman Sultans to draw them into a religious alliance of Sunni powers against Persia. It also estranged them from the Khans of Mawara-un- Nahr who afraid of an invasion from India .They exploited their religious tolerance by extensive propaganda amongst the North west frontier tribes of India and on the other hand the fear of the Indo - Persian cooperation in case of an attack drew them into closer alliance with the Ottoman sultans (Abdul Rahim)

The Safavid empire (Persia) and the Uzbeks constituted the traditional political rivals in central Asia. Their incessant warfare and interminable internal wrangles of succession compelled them to seek alliance with outside powers, like the Ottoman Empire and the Mughals.



As for the Mughals, traditionally, they felt closer to the Persians since their cultural-heritage was more akin to them. Both Babur and Humayun had appealed to the Persians for help which was duly granted. The Persian influence was equatly evident at the Mughal court where the Sultans as enthusiastic patrons of art and literatures, had provided adequate asylum for the various intellectuals who had eschewed the narrow fanaticism of the Safavids. A policy of matrimonial alliances had further strengthened their mutual relations. Thus the daughter of Muzaffar Hussain Mirza was married to Shahjahan while two of his nieces were married to Parvez and Shuja; the daughter of Shahanzavaz Khan Safavi was married to Aurangzeb.

Politically, too, the Mughals preferred the Persians to the Uzbeks, who not only vied with the Mughals for the possession of Badakshan which constituted the main defence of Kabul but also maintained sufficient hold on the frontier tribes of the North - West region, to create trouble for the Mughals.

When the Uzbeks inspite of their common Sunni heritage could not successfully wean away the Mughals from Shia Persians, they drew closer to the Ottoman Sultans who proved yet another serious contender for the struggle for dominance in central Asia. If Persia was exterminated, it would be only a question of time before the Ottomans together with the Uzbeks threatened India. Moreover, a strong Persia would also restrain the Uzbeks from inciting the Afghan tribes of the North-Western frontier into rebellion against the Mughals.

A powerful Persian empire, was a political necessity for the Mughals, not only for maintaining a balance of power in central Asia, but also to safeguard their North Western borders. Hence, while the annexation of their traditional lands was an ideal to strive for, the policy of expansion towards Central Asia was secondary to the primary consideration of safeguarding their North-West borders.

**Relations with Persia** - The occupation of Qandhar proved the sole bone of contention between the two powers. Strategically, the occupation of Kabul and Qandhar was regarded essential for the security of the Indian borders. Economically it provided a

valuable commercial route for all the trade to Central Asia passed through these regions. The Persians, too, for historical reasons, were equally keen to possess the region. Consequently, when Humayun sought asylum in Persia, he was granted the same on the condition that he surrendered Mughal claims to Qandhar. However, once Humayun secured its possession, he changed his mind and refused to hand over Qandhar to Persia. An exchange of embassies between the two imperial courts, however, continued as before.

During Akbar's reign, while he was occupied with affairs nearer home, the Persian Shah launched an attack on Qandhar. A ready Pretext was provided by the revolt of Bahadur Khan, the Mughal governor. To justify his attack on Qandhar, the Shah of Persia sent 3000 Turkomans to help Muhammad Kiladi. Bahadur Khan's army completely routed. Shah Muhammad, however, evaded the surrender of the fort of Qandhar. The Persians launched a second attack which proved more successful and resulted in the Persian occupation of Zamindar; Akbar was unable to send any reinforcements and ultimately the local governor, left to exercise his own discretion, surrendered to the Persians.

### **Relation with Central Asia**

Akbar's primary interest was protection of North West frontiers and not the conquests of his home land. So he pursued a policy of 'masterly inactivity', towards Central Asia. A powerful Persia was necessary for the maintenance of balance of power, but Akbar was not prepared to be drawn in the Central Asian Politics. Consequently, he continued an exchange of embassies with both Persia and the Uzbeks. In 1563 A.D., the Persian Shah sent a historic mission under Prince Sayyid Beg, with the choicest gifts, in an apparent bid to woo the Mughal neutrality "for: on North of the Persian empire. A new power, fanatically Sunnite and anti Persian was rising under the greatest of the Shaibani who also were very friendly with the Turks," Similarly Abdulla Khan, the Uzbek Chief, in order to secure Mughal neutrality, sent embassies in 1572 A.D. and again in 1577 A.D. While Akbar extended them proper protocol, he diplomatically

avoided getting in a joint expedition against the Persians. Thus in 1572A.D, when Miza Sulaiman fled from Badakshan, he was given asylum at the Mughal court but refused any military help. It was only in 1585 A.D. that Akbar became furious with Abdulla 'Khan, and when approached by Sutaïman and Shah Rukh, ordered Raja Man Singh to move the imperial army. At this juncture, Mirza Hakim's death led to the annexation of Kabul to the Mughal empire.

Akbar had simultaneously strengthened "his Northern borders by capturing Kashmir and Swat. In 1594 A.D. he wanted, to seize Qandhar. The Persians, in need of the Mughal good will, had no option but to accede to the demand.

**Jahangir's reign** – Jahangir had no intentions of pursuing an active policy towards Central Asia. As a Prince, he had been friendly with Shah Abbas, the Persian Sultan. His reign, however, began with an unsuccessful attempt by the Persians to occupy Qandhar who, taking advantage of Akbar's death and Khusrauls rebellion, attacked Qandhar. Shah Beg Khan, the Mughal governor, bravely held fast till fresh reinforcements under Mirza Jani of Sindh foiled the Persian attempt and forced them to retire. The of friendship was maintained between the two imperial courts. The Persian Shah sent Hussain Beg to apologise for the indiscretion of his governors. Jahangir, too, reciprocated the friendly sentiment by sending an ambassador with precious gifts for the Shah. The exchange of embassies continued till 1622 A.D. The Persian embassies in all probability, were sent to expedite the negotiations for a peaceful restoration of Qandhar. But when these effort proved of no avail, the Persians taking advantage of Jahangirs departure for Kashmir and the Mughal negligence of Qandhar, besieged Qandhar in 1622 A.D. Jahangir ordered immediate preparations for war, but the imperial plans were frustrated by Shahjahan's refusal to accompany the expedition. The internal dissensions of the Royal family allowed the Persians to seize Qandhar. While Jahangir was in the midst of planning another expedition, the news of Shahjahan's rebellion came forth and Qandhar was lost to the Mughals for the time being.

While Shahjahan's refusal and rebellion undoubtedly led to the loss of Qandhar, it would be far -fetched to assume that Shahjahan concived with the Shah of Persia and the Deccanis to launch a simultaneous attack on the Mughals. He, however, did send his personal emissary with chosen gifts for the Shah and the message. "I too have like my forefathers turned to you for help with the hope that you will give me proper aid at the proper time". The Shah advised Shahjahan to remain loyal to his father. The Shah also explained the 'fall of Qandhar. to Jahangir, " as promised to him by his ancestors." Jahangir, however, rebuked the Shah for breaking faith and old friendship. "There should be no need for physical contact and still less should there be any necessity for visiting one another's countries for hunting and sight seeing". The shah endeavoured to reconcile Jahangir by cold shouldering Shahjahan. In 1624A.D., he sent Aqa beg to bring about a possible resumption of diplomatic negotiations. Jahangir gave him due respect but sent no ambassador to Persia.

### **Conquest of Kangra 1620 A.D.**

The Kangra fort, situated on a lofty hill, was massively fortified by nature. It was also surrounded by a number of fortress which were in possession of hill chiefs- In its vicinity, lay the famous temple of Jawalamukhi at Nagarkot.

Firoz Tughlaq was the first Sultan who had tried to conquer the formidable fort. Akbar too, had attempted to conquer the fortress but all invain. Jahangir, on ascending the throne, entailed Murtaza Khan, the governor of Punjab, to conquer the fortress. The attempt proved futile. Next, Shahjahan was entrusted with the command. The imperialistic forces launched an offensive with full vigour, the hill chiefs were subdued and after a prolonged siege of fourteen months. The fort surrendered on 16th November 1620 A-D.

### **3.2.5 NURJAHAN**

Nur Jahan or Noor Jahan (1577-1645) was born as Mehr-un-Nissa was empress of the Mughal Empire and the chief consort of the Emperor Jahangir. A strong, charismatic and well educated woman, she is considered to be one of the most powerful and influential women of the 17<sup>th</sup> century Mughal Empire. She was the twentieth and favourite wife of the Emperor Jahangir who ruled Mughal Empire at peak of its power and supremacy. The story of the couple's infatuation for each other and the relationship that developed between them has been stuff of many (often apocryphal) legends.

As result of her second husband's, the emperor Jahangir serious battle with alcohol and opium addiction, Nur Jahan was able to wield a considerable amount of imperial influence and was often considered at the time to be the real power behind the throne. She remains historically significant for not only the sheer political power she maintained but also for her contribution to the Indian culture, charity work commercial trade and her ability to rule with an iron fist. She was the aunt of the Empress Mumtaz Mahal for whom the future Emperor Shah Jahan built the Taj Mahal. Further more she is the only Mughal empress to have her name struck in silver coins.

### **Early Life-**

Miher –un-nissa born in Qandhar. His father name was Mirza Ghiyas Beg. His family left Tehran, for India, in search of employment. At the Mughal court, Ghiyas, endowed with adequate intelligence and shrewedness, rapidly achieved eminence and in 1595 A.D. was appointed the Diwan of Kabul. Miherunnisa, still in her teens, was married to Sher Afghan who himself had attained a jagir in Bengal through sheer hard work.

The popular belief that Jahangir inflamed by Nurjahan's poise and beauty, got rid of Sher Afghan, in order to marry her, is a romantic myth and is corroborated neither by any contemporary chronicles nor any foreign travelers .

Jahangir, therefore, was innocent of Sher Afghan's murder though on hearing reports of his anti-state activities, he had advised the governor of Bengal to send him to the Imperial court. Qutb-ud-din, the governor, made the mistake of attempting to imprison him. Sher Afghan, misinterpreted the Mughal intentions, attacked the Governor, which provoked the latter's retainers to lacerate Sher Afghan to pieces.

His widow, Miher –un-nissa together with her daughter, Ladli Begum, proceeded to imperial court where her father was holding an important office, and where soon she was appointed a lady in waiting. In all probability, it was there that Jahangir fell for her sentiments that Miherunnisa sincerely reciprocated.

Their grand alliance was celebrated in 1611 A.D. when she was thirty-four years old and the Sultan was fast approaching his mid forties age. However, it proved no hindrance to the success of their union. It also did not deprive them of the romantic aura. For Jahangir specially, the alliance proved more emotional for having succumbed to a life of ease luxury. He was psychologically not disinclined to be pampered in his personal life. Politically too, he was not "unwilling to see the business of government pass into the hands of a fair creature, who loved with all the strength of her strong personality, who was willing to follow all the principles of his government; who gave him entire satisfaction and yet spared him a great deal of extortion and anxiety.,

### **The Junta -**

No aspect of Nurjahan, except her marriage to Jahangir, has provoked such blatant criticism, as the contention of the existence of a Junta. The issue is important for it reflects a distinct phase in Nurjahan's bid for gradual yet complete political ascendancy in the state. To Dr. B. Prasad, the leading supporter of the Junta theory, Nurjahan's political dominance can be clearly demarcated into two phases.

From 1611-1620 A.D. when shortly after Nurjahan's marriage, Junta comprising of Nurjahan, her father Itmad-ud-Daula, her brother. Asaf Khan and Prince Khurram (Shahjahan) was formulated who gradually assumed a predominant hold over the state politics. Consequently, all important political events of this time, namely, the rapid rise in the Mansab of Itmad-ud-Daula and his son Asaf Khan, the sudden halt of Mahabat Khan's promotion between 1011-1022 A.D were monitored. The imprisonment of Khan-I-Azam, the extraordinary rise of Khurram that culminated in his marriage to Mumtaz Mahal, Asaf Khan's daughter, the eclipse of Parvez and the varying fortunes of Khusau, all accrued from the likes and dislikes of the Junta members. Through-out this period, "the court politics was divided into pro junta and anti-junta nobility" and "what has been called Nurjahan's sway, was really the sway of these four personages". However, so long as the Junta operated, it restrained Nurjahan's inordinate love for power.

From 1622 A.D. onwards, partially owing to the death of her parents who had always exercised a moderating restraint on her ambitions and the increasing invalidity of Jahangir as well as the growing realization that in a single empire there was no room for two such masterful spirits as Nurjahan and Shahjahan," Nurjahan was convinced of the necessity to bid for unrestrained autocracy. This only plunged the country into blood and strife unlike the Junta which, on the whole had maintained peace and prosperity in the Kingdom. The supporters of 'Junta hypothesis', chiefly B. Prasad, have advocated the following arguments:-

1) From 1611 Nurjahan and her associates filled most of the vacancies in the Imperial service with their own supporters. Their favour was the sole passport to honour and rank. . Among others

(a) Itmad-ud-Daula, Nurjahan's father while deserving promotion on his own merit, as the Emperor's father-in-law and the strongest pillar of Nurjahan's Junta, was conferred the high Mansab of 7000 Zat/ 7000 Swaar; (b) Nurjahan's brother, Asaf Khan, was appointed the master-of household in 1611 A.D, which was only the beginning of his unchecked promotions, Apart from these appointments there were other events of significance manipulated by the Junta, Thus (a) Prince Khurram's marriage to Mumtaz Mahal, Asaf Khan's daughter, was clearly an outcome of political expediency and it solemnized the adoption of Khurram as the Junta candidate for the Imperial throne.

(b) Khurram's ascendancy to the Mansab of 30,000 Zat/ 20,000 Sawar, over other princes, as also his appointment to command the Mewar and the Deccan campaign were attributed to the predominant influence wielded by the Junta

(c) The varying fortunes of prince Khusrau, too were attributed to Junta's dislike of his personality. Thus in 1613 A.D. when the Emperor relented and permitted Khusrau to pay the reversal of this provision. Similarly the transfer of the captive Khusrau to the charge of Asaf Khan and the way in which the latter ultimately got rid of Khusru, only illustrate the supreme hold that the Junta enjoyed over the Sultan.



(c) The stagnation of Mahabad Khan's otherwise brilliant career also resulted from his refusal to pay any homage to the Junta. His plea to the Emperor to get rid of the petticoat shackles not only proved effective but caused a further set back to his career. Consequently, having risen to the Mansab of 4000 Zatt 3500 Sawar in 1612 A.D. he had to wait for the next promotion till 1612A.D. He had to wait for the next promotion till 1622 A.D. when Nurjahan, to safeguard her own interest. He preferred to appease him rather than incur his antagonism. "Meanwhile, he was required to waste his talents in fruitless campaigns of Deccan and Afghan warfare from the center of the empire".

(d) The growing influence of Nurjahan in the state affairs, is categorically pointed by Mutamad Khan. Day by day her influence and dignity increased. All her relations and connexions were raised to honour and wealth. No grant of lands was conferred upon any one except under her seal. In addition to giving her the titles that other kings bestow, the Emperor granted Nurjahan the rights of Sovereignty and government. Sometimes she would sit in the balcony of her palace, while the nobles would present themselves and listen to her dictates. Coins were struck in her name. Repeatedly he gave out that he had bestowed the sovereignty on Nurjahan Begum and would say, "I require nothing beyond a sip of wine and half a seer of meat".

### **Advantages of the Junta-**

The Junta regime continued the maintenance of peace and prosperity in the Kingdom, and proved a far better alternative to Nurjahan's later attempt at autocracy. Moreover, the dominant clique, closely aware of the Emperor's temperament, like and prejudices, sought to manage him rather than rule him. Jahangir's fundamental principles underlying the domestic and foreign policy remained intact and were adhered to by the Junta.

As for the emperor, so long as he enjoyed sound health, he continued to evince keen interest in the affairs of the state. Basically, therefore, there was no clash of

interests between the Junta and the emperor. If at all, it acted as a restraint on the overly ambitious Nurjahan.

### **Causes of the downfall of the Junta-**

The fast deteriorating health of Jahangir by 1623 A.D. made Nurjahan insecure for her own future status and Power. Nurjahan, fully acquainted with Shahjahan's rise and ambition as also his ability to rule and command, understood well that he would brook no interference nor dominance of anyone, least of all of her equally imperious self.

Another wedge was drawn on account of religion. According to Dr. B. Prasad, this was yet another factor that estranged the Shia Nurjahan from the Sunni Shahjahan. Nurjahan, aware of these three factors, clearly discerned, therefore that within Jahangir's lifetime, she could either retire from public life or could attempt to so effectively assert herself that she became the unquestionable spokesman of the imperial policies. In full enjoyment of splendid vigour of body and mind, she preferred

### **Conclusions -**

There is lack of substantial evidence to prove that the imperial court, from 1611 A.D., was divided into pro-Nurjahan and anti- Nurjahan factions, There is no doubt that Nurjahan, by her stubborn, haughty and revengeful temper worsened in proportion to her growing insecurity regarding her future, encouraged the court factions and princes intrigues. To a great extent, this provoked Shahjahan to revolt against Jahangir. Had she kept the Imperial interests above mutual recriminations, she would not have been misled by her passions to support Shahriyar against the far more able Shahjahan. She supported Shahriyar merely because he seemed "a pliable instrument to further her own gains." The real cause of the growing court frictions "lay in the deepening crisis of the Mansabdari system." The incessant demand of the nobility to claim higher Mansabs for themselves on the other hand, the laxity with which Jahangir granted them, created an anomaly which soon lost all relations to reality. Besides the impossibility of finding

adequate Jagirs, the higher Mansabdars found it difficult to maintain the required number of Sawars and bring them for periodic review. Constantly the Mansabs fast lost their intrinsic value and gave way to incessant intrigues amongst the nobles. Jahangir's own soft and erratic handling of the Mansabadari crisis, his unpredictable temperament and susceptibility to gossip, only worsened the situation. Since, by 162AA.D., no group emerged as stronger than others it convinced Nurjahan of, the need to consolidate her own position, especially in view of Jahangir's failing health.

### **3.2.6 Religious Policy of Jahangir –**

The tolerant and secular character of the religion and state instituted by Akbar was maintained during the first half of the 17th Century. But during the reign of Jahangir there was minor lapses. At the outset of Jahangir's reign, there was an orthodox circles that Akbar's policy of Sulh-l-kul and religious eclecticism would be abandoned, and the supremacy of the Sharia restored. The hopes of the Orthodox sections were raised by some actions of Jahangir immediately after his accession. Thus, he had asked the ulema and the learned men of Islam to collect distinctive appellations of God which were easy to remember so that he might repeat them while using his rosary. On Fridays he associated with learned and pious men and saints. At the Ramzan Id which followed his first accession, he went to the Idgah, and several lacs of Dams were distributed in charity. However, there was nothing unusual in these actions, and the orthodox elements were soon disabused of their expectations. Neither by temperament nor by training was Jahangir orthodox. A part from his own fondness of drinking which he sometimes 'carried to excess-he tells' that by the time of his accession he had reduced his in take of wine from twenty cups of double distilled spirit (brandy) to five, and that, too only at night. Jahangir felt free to invite his nobles and others to join him in wine drinking. When he visited the grave of Babur at Kabul he found a basin which could contain two Hindustani maunds of wine. Jahangir ordered another such a basin to be built, and every day he ordered to fill both the basins with

wine and gave it to the servants who were present there. There was a supplement of dance and music. There are frequent references in his Memoirs to such parties to which nobles were invited.

In the ordinances which Jahangir issued at the time of his accession, for two days in a week, Thursday; the day of his accession, and Sunday, the day of Akbar's birthday and because 'it was dedicated to the Sun and also the day on which creation began' (according to the Christian). There was to be no killing or slaughter of animals for food. Shortly, after words, in what were called the Ain-I-Jahangiri or Jahangiri rules, forcible conversion to Islam was forbidden.

Not only did Jahangir follow Akbar's policy of Sulh-t-Kul, he continued Akbar's Policy of enrolling murids (disciples) and giving each of them a token, or shast, and Shabi or likeness of the emperor. At the time of initiation, the disciples were advised to avoid sectarian quarrels, and to follow the rule of universal peace with regard to religion they were further advised not to kill any living creature with their own hands, honour the luminaries (sun, light etc) which are manifestations of God and to dwell constantly on God. However, the devise of discipleship which was meant to bind the nobles closely with the Emperor seems to have fallen into disuse after some time.

Jahangir also proscribed cow slaughter in the Punjab, and perhaps extended it to Gujrat. Nauroz, which was an old Central Asian festival as also the festival of the Parsis, was celebrated for nineteen days with music and festivity. The Christians, too, were allowed to celebrate Easter, Christmas and other Festivals. These practices were a public declaration of a policy of religious freedom to all. They also provided opportunity for greater social interaction between the ruler and his officials with people of various religious persuasions.

The position regarding religious freedom is set out clearly in one of the early drafts of the Tuzuk where Jahangir says, "I ordered that with this exception (prohibition of forcible sati), they (the Hindus) may follow whatever is their prescribed custom, and none should exercise force or compulsion or oppression over any one."

There was no ban on the Hindus building new temples. Apart from Bir Singh Deo Bundela building a magnificent temple at Mathura, a large number of new temples were built at Banaras. The Christians too, were given land and permission to build Churches. Jahangir continued Akbars policy of giving gifts and grants to Brahmans and temples. In his first Regnal year (1605-06), when marching against Khusrau, he distributed large sums of money to fakirs and brahmans. Documents in the possession of the Vrindavan temples of the Chaitanya sect show how Jahangir went on adding grants to the temples and their votaries. Thus, between 1612-15, he made at least five grants to the followers of Chaitanya at Vrindavan.

Despite his liberalism, there were occasions when Jahangir displayed a narrow spirit, perhaps out of a desire to please the orthodox clerical elements who were powerful, or out of a desire to be seen by them as an orthodox Muslim ruler. Thus, he declared the war against Mewar to be a jihad, although there was little reason for doing so. During the campaign, many Hindu temples were destroyed which, again, was uncalled for. because Jahangir had instructed Khurram to treat the Rana as a friend if he was prepared to submit. Again, in 1621 the Kangra campaign was declared a Jihad, even though it was commanded by a Hindu, Raja Bikramjit. As we have noted, in the presence of theologians a bullock was slaughtered in the fort and a mosque ordered to be erected. From Kangra, Jahangir went to the Durga temple at Jwatamukhi. He found that apart from "infidels whose custom is the worship of idols, crowds on crowds of the people of Islam, traversing long distances, bring their offerings, and pray to the black (stone) image." No attempt was made to put a stop to this practice. Earlier, while visiting Pushkar, Jahangir was shocked to find that the Hindus worshipped Vishnu in the form of a Varaha (boar). He ordered the image to be broken noting that the Hindu theory of incarnation in ten forms was not acceptable to him since God could not be limited in this way. However, none of the other temples dedicated to Vishnu were harmed. At Ajmer, Jahangir granted in Madadd-i-maash the entire village of Pushkar to the brahmans of that place.

In 1617, Jahangir issued an order in Gujarat that all Jain temples be closed and the Jain saints expelled from the empire because of moral reasons. Wives and daughters of the devotees visited the Jain Saints at the temples should be ousted. But this order does not seem to have been implemented because we have inscription at evidence from Gujarat supported by Jain sources that during the period when the order was issued Jahangir continued to have good relations with Jain saints and also gave liberal grants for the construction of Jain temples .

There has been a good deal of controversy about Jahangir's attitude towards the Sikhs, and his dealings with the Sikh Guru Arjun. In his Memoirs, Jahangir notes that at Gobindwal on the river Beas, Guru Arjun "posing as a religious guide and instructor" had enrolled as his followers a large number of Hindus and Muslims, that "They called him Guru, and from all sides came to him and expressed their absolute faith in him". He goes on to say that this had continued for three or four generations. Denouncing the followers of the Guru as "fools and fraud - believers," Jahangir declares that "Many times it occurred to me to put a stop to this vain affair or to bring him into the assembly of the people of Islam."

This statement occurs almost immediately after Jahangir's accession, and in the context of Khusrau's rebellion. It is not clear when precisely Jahangir had contemplated taking action against the Sikhs. If it was during Akbar's reign, it is well known that Akbar had favoured Guru Angad and Guru Ramdas and given them a grant of five hundred Bighas of land and a pond around while the Harmandir and the city of Amritsar grew. If after accession, the period had to be very brief because Khusrau rebelled barely six months after his accession. Thus, this again appears to be an attempt on Jahangir's part of trying to please the orthodox sections.

It is clear that Jahangir took no action against the Sikhs as such, but only against Guru Arjun on a charge that he had blessed Khusrau by putting a tika on his head, and by giving him some money. It has been argued on the basis of Jesuit and other evidence including Sikh traditions, that Jahangir had not ordered the Guru's execution but only

imposed a heavy fine on him which he refused to pay, and that was due to the tortures inflicted on him to realize the fine that he died. However, this does not exonerate Jahangir from the charge of awarding excessive." punishment to a highly „respected saint for an inadvertent mistake' His action in imprisoning the Guru's Son and successor' Guru Hargovind' five years later for realizing the amount of the fine, and keeping him in prison for two years, appears even less defensible.

Jahangir continued Akbar's practice of inviting religious divines for personal discussions. It seems that Jahangir's main area of religious interest was monotheism: It was this which made him seek the company of Mir, the famous Qadri sufi of Lahore and a friend of Guru Arjun. Jahangir was also devoted to Muinuddin Chishti, the patron saint of the Mughals. In 1613, when he visited Ajmer, he walked on foot for a kos before entering the Shrine. He was hostile to Saikh Ahmad Sirhindi ;who denounced Wahdatul-Wajud or monotheism.

As Jahangir says, he kept him for sometime in "the prison of correction until the heat of his temperament and the confusion in his brain were somewhat quenched, and the excitement of the people should also subside. The greatest satisfaction Jahangir found was among varieties of vedant which he calls "the science of tasawwuf'. In this search, he met Jadrup Gosain at Ujjain in the eleventh year of his reign (1616)' During the next three years, he met Jadrup seven times. Jadrup lived in a hole on the side of a hill which had been dug out and a door made. Hearing of his reputation' Jahangir wanted to call him to Agra,. but did not do so on account of the trouble it would cause him. Jahangir went one-eighth of a kos or two and a half furlong on foot to see him. Jadrup made a great impression on Jahangir by his knowledge and simplicity. Jahangir says "he (Jadrup) had thoroughly mastered the science of vedanta", and "God Almighty has given him unusual grace, a lofty understanding, an exalted nature and sharp intellectual power. He was free from the attachment of the world, so that "putting behind him the world and all that was in it he sits content in solitude and without want'. Subsequently, Jadrup shifted to Mathura where Jahangir visited him twice. when

Hakim Beg, brother-in-law of NurJahan, who held charge of Mathura, ill-treated', Jadrup' Jahangir dismissed him from service.

We do not know much about Jahangir;,, personal religious beliefs' He remained within the framework of islam. But had a good knowledge of other, religions, especially Hinduism and Christianity. Though continuing to follow many Hindu practices which had become common in India, he specifically rejected idolworship and, as we have seen' the theory of incarnation. Jahangir had a very exalted opinion of Kingly duties. Echoing Abul Fazl, he says that the just creator bestows sovereignty on him whom he considers fit for this glorious and exalted duty. It was therefore futile for the seditious and the short-sighted to try and deprive crown and dominion from one chosen by God the Grown - cherisher.

However, despite his benevolence, the Mughal emperor remained a despot. Liberalism and autocratic benevolence were underpinned by a policy of cultural pluralism, enabling people of all religions and regions to contribute. These included not only architecture and gardening, but music, painting, literature etc. The work of making Persian translations of Hindu religious works, such as Ramayana, continued. Court patronage was also given to Hindi poets. The new spirit was reflected in the Hindi poems of Abdur Rahim Khan-I-Khanan in which verses on niti or polity was taken up, along with a strong lyrical sense of devotion to God in his various incarnations, especially Krishna.

## **Conclusion**

There is much in his character that deserves to be condemned but there is a great deal that entitled him to be placed among the most fascinating personalities of Indian History (Beni Prasad). While he never inherited the intellect and political intrepidity of his father nor his strength of Character or his singular determination, nevertheless, the practical genius of Akbar was bound to impress the youthful prince. Consequently, Jahangir was not only an excellent shot but an equally capable general who could plan and lead military campaigns. He was equally ruthless in implementing law and order and administration of Justice. A strange mixture of tenderess and cruelty,



his indulgence in mortal pleasure of life were well balanced by his passion for justice and law for the people. He began his rule with the himself intentions of striving to maintain the principles and dominions of his great father. However, his two inexcusable defects namely his habitual and excessive intemperance and his willingness to vest the reign, of the state government in Nurjahan married his honest effort to maintain the principles and dominions of his great father.

Consequently, what ultimately emerge, is the image of a typical benevolent autocrat whose political side "is interesting enough but its virtue lies in cultural development". (Beni Prasad) A strict connoisseur of art and painting, he patronised the best painters of the period like Abu-l-Hassan and Mansur. The tombs of Humayun at Agra, Akbari Mausoleum at Sikandra and Jahangir's adequately reflect his impeccable taste and the skill of his architects. He fully encouraged the growth of Persian literature. His own autobiography, Tuzuk-i-Jahangir is an extremely meritorious piece of literature while his observations on flora and fauna of the various regions, reflect an insatiable love for scenic beauty.

### **Shahjahan (1627-1658)**

#### **3.3.0 Administrative and Religious Policy :-**

Ala-ud-Din Ahmad Azad Abdul Azaffar Sahab –ud –Din Mohammed Khurram better known as his imperial name Shah Jahan, He was fifth Mughal Emperor who ruled from 1628 until 1658. At young age, he was chosen as successor to the Moghul throne after the death of his father, Jahangir in 1627. He was considered one of the great Moghul emperors. His reign has been called Golden Age of the Moghuls and one of the prosperous ages of Indian civilisation. Like Akbar, he was eager to expand the vast empire. In 1658, he fell ill and was confined by his son Aurangzeb in Agra Fort until his death in 1666.

After Jahangir's death a misfortune came to the Moghul Empire. While Shahjahan was away to Deccan, Nurjahan made a desperate bid to grab power by claiming the throne for Shahriyar. Fortunately for Shahjahan, at this juncture, his father-in-laws, Asaf Khan came out in the open against his sister. The rival forces of Shahriyar and Daevar Bakhr, met at Lahore. At the very first attack, Shahriyar's forces fell back, he himself was blinded and confined to Prison.

Wading through the blood of his Kingmen, Shahjahan formally ascended the throne on 6th February 1628 A.D. The Khutba was read in his name and Nurjahan was politely asked to retire. All coins bearing her name were immediately withdrawn. Amidst much display of regal splendour, Shahjahan proclaimed the commencement of a new era.

At the time of his accession, the empire's structure had somewhat weakened. Jahangir by his indecisive and feeble tendencies had inadvertently sown the seeds of its disintegration. Similarly, the worsening Mansabdari crises, gave fresh lease to the forces of dissatisfaction amongst the nobility, who in times of civil war, displayed no sympathy for the emperor and openly sided with contenders for the throne. So Shahjahan's intentions towards the empire and his subjects, were above reproach. In the true tradition of his grandfather, he devoted all his energies to the consolidation of the empire and not even the minutest details of administration escaped his attention. The events of Shahjahan's sovereignty can be divided into the following phases:-

### **Administration**

- 1) Policy towards internal rebellion
- 2) Policy towards central Asia.
- 3) Deccan policy
- 4) Administration
- 5) Religious Policy

### **3.3.1 - Policy towards internal rebellions-**

#### **(a) The Bundella Rebellion, 1628 A.D.**

Immediately after his coronation the Bundelas under their leader, Juhar Singh, rebelled. The community had enjoyed a astounding rise of fortune under Jahangir, who had profusely compensated the Bundela leader, Bir Singh Deva, for accomplishing Abul Fazl's murder, Jahangir's over - indulgence, however, had emboldened the Bundelas. When Shahjahan ascended the throne, far from sharing the same rapport with the Bundela Chiefs, he remained suspicious of their motives. Consequently, when Jujhar Singh, the new Bundela Chief, left the capital without the imperial permission, Shahjahan became infuriated, ordered him to render adequate explanation for his misconduct. Jujhar Singh, on the other hand, confident of his resources which had been considerably extended by enormous wealth that he had recently inherited, as also fully aware of the strategic impenetrability of his territory, decided to defy the Mughal authority. Shahjahan, equally determined for a fight, ordered massive war arrangements.

The Bundela territory was ordered to be surrounded by three armies commanded by Mahabat Khan (Khan-I-Khanan), Khan-I-Jahan who, proceeded from Malwa and Firoz Jung of Kanauj, who marched from Bundel Khand. Jujhar Singh who had never anticipated the Mughal outrage on such a vast scale, was completely taken aback. His efforts to secure peace, however, proved futile. In the battle that ensued, Jujhar Singh's fort was captured and over 2,000 of his men were slain. Forced into surrender, he was required to submit 1,000 gold Muhars and forty elephants and 15 lakhs of rupees as compliment. His Jagir was curtailed to a Mansab of 4,000 Jat, 4000 Sawar, and the surplus was distributed amongst other loyal nobles. The settlement, however, failed to establish tranquility everlastingly.

### **(b) Rebellion of Khan-I-Jahan Lodi, 1629**

In the first struggle for succession, Khan-I-Jahan Lodi, son of Daulat Khan Lodi, failed to support Shahjahan. Later, however, on ascending the throne, Shahjahan had granted Khan-I-Jahan the royal pardon and also conferred the Governorship of Deccan. But unconfident of his intentions, the imperial orders soon recalled him to the court. In

spite of Shahjahan's written assurance safeguarding his security, Khan-I-Jahan, sullen and Petulant, and mistrustful of Shahjahan's antagonism towards his family, sought refuge with his old ally, Nizam-ul-Mulk, who could not shelter him for long. Relentlessly pursued by the Imperial troops, Khan-I-Jahan fell back to the Bundela country where an irresolute slanting battle was fought. Ultimately in Kalinjar district, Khan-I-Jahan offered submission. His head was severed as also that of more than a hundred of his followers which was displayed in public to warn others from indulging in similar anti- state activities. The two imperial generals, in lieu of their untiring efforts, were promoted to higher Mansabs.

### **Policy towards the Portuguese 1631-32 A.D**

All through Jahangir's reign itself, the Portuguese by their reprehensible behavior had earned the imperial anger and only through Jesuit's persuasive efforts, peace had been, restored, Shahjahan, while in exile, had suffered personal insult at their hands when they had refused to release the two slave girls' of Mumtaz Mahal; Their policy of forcible conversion, both at Goa and Hugli, gave Shahjahan the desired opportunity to suppress them. Consequently, in 1631 A.D. he appointed Qasim Khan as the Governor of Bengal and ordered him to 'wipe out the infidels'. The Mughal forces led by Inayatuallah and Bahadur Kambu ruthlessly exterminated the Portuguese. The Seige of Hugli lasted for over three months. Ultimately, the Portuguese were over powered; their losses were heavy in men and resources, Over 10,000 of their people were killed while about 4,400 were captured. The Mughals lost over a thousand soldiers.

While Shahjahan's revengeful action has been termed as a 'religious perseuction' by his critics who attributed it to the fact that he detested their conversion method, in reality-it was Portuguese insolence and impertinence towards the Mughal empire, that was mainly responsible for Shahjahan's cruel retaliation.

### **3.3.2 - Policy towards Central Asia**

The Primary Mughal interest towards Central Asia was confined to the intensification of the North west border. Thus, right from Babur to Shahjahan, the occupation of Kabul and Qandahar was as much economically crucial and politically essential to the Mughals, as the maintenance of a strong Persia that could counter the Uzbek and Ottoman ascendancy in Central Asia.

It would therefore, be unfair to term Shahjahan's Central Asian policy as expansionist in nature for he too, like his forefathers; was guided by the imperial interests to strengthen the borders.

**Shahjahan's border policy had two objectives:**

- (a) To secure the possession of Qandhar which the Persians had re-occupied during Jahangir's reign.
- (b) The intensification of Kabul principality by creating trouble for the Uzbeks in their dominions of Balkh and Bandakshan and if the opportunity arose to extend the Mughal frontiers up to Badakshan that would also fulfill the Mughal homesickness of occupying their ancestral lands.

**Policy towards Qandhar –**

Although Shahjahan continued to exchange embassies with Shah Abbas, the Shah of Persia, he throughout looked for a chance to recapture Qandhar. Said Khan, the governor of Kabul, was asked to re-conquer the Qandhar region and futile attempts were made to wean Ali Mardan, the Governor of Qandhar, from the Persian region. Fortunately for the Mughals, a misunderstanding between Ali Mardan, the Governor of Qandhar, from the Persian region, and Shah Abbas, led the former to surrender the fort to the Mughal forces in 1638 A.D. Ali Mardan was paid a lakh of rupees as compensation and was later appointed the Governor of Kashmir and Punjab.

Shah Jahan, however, true to tradition, explained the incident as an 'occupation of territory that was rightfully theirs' and hoped for a continuation of cordial relations with the Persians, who felt furious but were unable to retaliate straight away. Moreover,

Shah Safi's pre- occupation in neighbouring states, his premature death in 1642 A.D. and the helpless youth of Shah Abbas II, helped the Mughals to retain Qandhar uncontested for a number of years. Once, however Shah Abbas established peace with the Sultans of Turkey and the Uzbeks, he concentrated his energies towards Qandhar. Shahjahan's failure in Balkh only strengthened his hands. In February, 1649 A.D. his army recaptured the fort of Qandhar. Shahjahan incensed with rage refused to see the Persian envoy and made three desperate attempts to re-possess Qandhar.

The first blockade of over 60,000 Cavalry and 10,000 infantry was led by his son, Aurangzeb, and Sadullah Khan, in 1649 A.D., The Emperor, in order to observe the operations himself proceeded to Kabul. The extra - concessions offered to the troops clearly indicate the growing reluctance of the imperial troops to fight in these areas where they had to tolerate nonstop hardships. The Mughal divisions found the Persians equally well entrenched and failed to make any movement. The imminent winter forced the Mughal forces to raise siege, after a period of three months.

The subsequent blockade of Qandhar in 1652 A.D. accrued again out of the Emperor's nervousness and Aurangzeb's resolve to recover his pride. This time the Mughal forces were accompanied by matching powerful canon. Over two crores of rupees were sanctioned from the imperial purse and Shahjahan himself proceeded to Kabul. Aurangzeb, ably assisted by Sadullah Khan and Rustam Khan, began the siege in May, 1652 A.D. The Persians, however, once again proved better in the adroit use of artillery. The Mughals suffered heavy casualties. In sheer desperation, they attempted treachery but all in vain. The Second siege lasting for over two months also proved futile and was deserted in spite of Aurangzeb's promise to win against all odds. Shahjahan lost confidence in Aurangzeb and shifted him to Deccan. Dara was not put in charge of Kabul.

The third siege of Qandhar was led by Dara in 1653 A.D. who in order to humiliate Aurangzeb, was determined to secure victory. According to a contemporary author, Inayat Khan author of Shahajahanamah, the Mughal army comprised of over 70,000 cavalry and was accompanied by over 10,000 artillery; one crore of rupees were

endorsed as war expenses. The Mughal attacked the fort four times. Each time they were confidently resisted by the Persians. Once again the Mughals suffered heavy loss and the futile siege continued for over seven months. Ultimately, the meager supplies of men and animals forced the Mughals to recede.

**Effects -(a)** It was a miserable manifestation on the military incompetence of Mughals and resulted in an undeniable loss of the Mughals esteem at home and broad.

From this time onwards the Mughal Persian relations quickly deteriorated especially during the tie of Aurangzeb who become increasingly possessed to persophobia and their plans to attack India. The ceaseless losses suffered by the officers and the soldiers robbed them of their self-confidence and made them reluctant in them to accept service in the frontier region. This complicated the North West problem during Aurangzeb's region.

### **Policy towards Kabul**

Principality of Kabul was another stronghold of Moghul in the North-West frontier. Since Babur's era however, the Mughals had realized the unfeasibility of annexing the region to the Empire .so it assented to its virtual independence and management from its own resources, as long as homage was paid to the Mughal Suzerainty. However to make the Mughal hold more effective the Uzbek interests had to be clearly restrained. Economically, Badakshan was not an attractive sources of revenue. Strategically, however, it constituted the outer defence for Kabul.

The Mughals, therefore, if they could not effectively possess the region of Balkh and Badakshan, could successfully create trouble and keep the Uzbeks diverted from Kabul "Against this background, Shahjahan's resolve to fortify the Kabul principality and if the opportunity provided to move upto Balkh and Badakshan, can be logically understood. The two Uzbek invasions of Kabul in 1624 A.D. and 1628 A.D. respectively, further convinced Shahjahan of the necessity that Badakshan should be occupied by an ally.

Apparently however, inspite of Nazar Muhammad's bid to conquer Kabul, Shajjahan and Imam Quli, the ruler of Samarqand and Nazar Muhammad's brother continued an exchange of embassies. In 1632 A.D. Nazar Muhammad himself sent an emissary to Shahjahan with 15,000 presents and apologies for his earlier behaviour. Shahjahan reciprocated by sending a robe of honour and a jewel sword. Their cordial relations lasted till 1641 A.D. when a political change took place in Transoxiana (the Persian chronicles have suggested that as early as 1639A.D. Shahjahan marched to Kabul with the hope of invading Balkh. However seeing the two brothers unite, Shahjahan a had to postpone his plan). Nazr Muhammad, taking advantage of Iman Quli's blindness, Occupied Samarqand and successfully proclaimed himself the ruler. Imam Quli sought help from the Persian court. But before Nazr Muhammad could consolidate this position, he was threatened by the rebellion of his own son, Abas Aziz, who proclaimed himself the ruler at Bokara in 1645 A.D. soon Nazr Muhammad was reduced to the Possessions of Balkh and Badakshan. In 1647A.D. afraid of being deprived even of the principality of Balkh, he asked Shahjahan for military help.

Shahjahan, having waited long for such an opportunity, readily agreed. He dispatched Prince Murad at the head of over 50,000 cavalry and 10,000 infantry and the ablest military commanders to assist in the Comapign. They occupied Badakshan and after restoring order, proceeded to Balkh. Nazr Muhammad, now ensure of the Mughal intentions fled to Persia.. Balkh soon came in the possession of the Mughal army.

Shahjahan, delighted at the easy victories, now ordered Murad to conquer Samarqand and Bokara. He, however, should have realized that while it was easy to win wars to up root, the Uzbeg pressure and replace it by an alien Mughal rule was an impractical task, doomed to failure. The loal people soon organized themselves in various resistant groups.. The Mughal generals and the soldiers too found the land inhospitable and so far from their homes, they became home sick. Murad himself, felt exhausted, expressed a desire to come back and ultimately returned without securing



the Emperor's permission. In his absence, the four military commanders turn by mutual rivalries, further weakened the Mughal power.

In 1647 A.D. Shahjahan sent Aurangzeb and Ali Mardan Khan to curb the growing Uzbek danger. Aurangzeb also fought a brutal battle against Abbas Aziz. Though the Mughals emerged successful, the campaign proved a tragic story of devastation, ruin and death for the Mughals. Aurangzeb, aware of the limitations of distance, poor means of communication and shortage of provisions, prevailed upon Shahjahan to settle for peaceful reinstatement of Balkh to Nazr Muhammad. After much hesitation, Shahjahan ultimately gave consent to the settlement provided Nazr Muhammad treated himself as a vassal of the Mughal empire.

**Effects- (1)** The positive result that accrued from the Balkh fiasco was that the Uzbeks once and for all, were given such a fatal blow "that during Aurangzeb's reign they never attempted to invade Kabul. To this extent the primary objective of Shahjahan was realized. Costing over 2 crores, the Transoxiana campaign proved fatal to the Imperial finances. Politically, too, it heralded the beginning of the end of the Mughal glory for it was an acknowledgement of the Mughal limitations and weakness.

The Persians, taking advantage of the Mughal fascination, annexed Qandhar in 1648 A.D. The decline in the Mughal - Persian relations and the loss of Mughal glory emboldened the North-West frontier tribes to create unrest on the borders that reached unprecedented heights during Aurangzeb's reign. The loss of Qandhar and lack of security on the North - West borders resulted in a corresponding decrease of trade and commerce. Gradually, the trade was weaned from the North-West passes to south India where trade was initiated through sea routes thereby causing an enormous loss to the Mughal prestige and Mughal treasury.

### **3.3.3 Shahjahan's Deccan Policy -**

Towards the latter part of Jahangir's reign, the Deccani Kingdoms had divided into two types of alliances.

(a) Mughals and Bijapur had signed an offensive and defensive alliance.

(b) Ahmadnagar and Golkonda formed the other group. The Mughals, however, had been unable to solve the dilemma of maintaining their paramourty in Deccan without getting involved in the ceaseless embroils of the Deccani State.

At Shahjahan's succession, however, the situation in Deccan seemed favourable for the Mughals. On the one hand, the demise of Malik Ambar and Ibrahim Adil Shah of Bijapur, had left a vacuum which the Mughals could use to their advantage. Moreover, Shahjahan's intimate knowledge of the Deccan Politics could now be effectively utilized to pursue a more vigorous Mughal Policy in Deccan.

For the time being, Khan-i-Jahan, the Governor of Deccan, unsure of the outcome of the civil war and hastily restored peace with the ruler of Ahmadnagar. A general agreement was signed according to which Balaghat was restored to Ahmadnagar for a paltry sum of 3 lakhs. Khan-i-Jahan has been charged with treason, for signing such a hasty agreement. Yet Shahjahan himself had entered into a similar agreement with Malik Ambar against Jahangir. If, therefore, Khan-i-Jahan followed suit, it could not be termed as treason. Moreover, while the civil war was on it was impossible for the Mughals to safeguard Balaghat from the Nizam Shahis for long. The conclusion of an alliance, therefore, offered the best possible alternative. Shahjahan himself viewed the agreement with leniency. On receiving Khan-i-Jahan's letter of submission and a valuable peshkash, Shahjahan appointed him the Governor of Berar and Khandesh and ordered him to recover the lost provinces. Only when the Mughal attempts proved futile, Khan-i-Jahan was replaced by Murtaza Khan.

In the absence of any fresh reinforcement from the North, the Mughals could not advance in Burhanpur. Shahjahan now proceeded in person. In 1629 A.D. the situation was precipitated by the flight of Khan-i-Jahan who sought shelter with Murtaza Nizam Shah. They not only welcomed him but also gave him the charge of the very areas in Balghat which the Mughals had earlier occupied.

At this juncture, Shahjahan was convinced that a more vigorous policy was needed for the Mughal advance in Deccan and this concerned the extinction of Ahmadnagar. Consequently, careful military and diplomatic preparation were made. An

army of over 50,000 was assembled. Over 20,000 troops were sent under Azam Khan to Balaghat. An army of over 15,000 proceeded under Khaja Abul Hussain through Nasik and Sanganeer, while a third army under Nasir Khan headed towards Telangana to suppress Qutab-ut-Mulk.

Simultaneously efforts were made at the political front to formulate an alliance with Bijapur. A partition of Ahmadnagar was formulated as follows (a) Bijapur was to be assigned five forts along with their surrounding territory i.e. the entire southern portions of Ahmadnagar including Sholapur.

(b) The northern area of Painghat was to be annexed to the Mughal empire. For the Mughals, the accord was noteworthy for it marked a departure from their earlier policy of refusing involvement in the Deccan politics and avoiding the extinction of Ahmadnagar. Secondly, the coalition with Bijapur henceforth formed the basis of the Mughal policy in Deccan.

The alliance was severely opposed by a nucleus of powerful nobles at Bijapur court led by Khwaj Khan, Murari Pandit and Randola Khan. They advocated the continuation of Ahmadnagar as a buffer state against the Mughals. Prospects of territorial gains, however, silenced them for the time being. The alliance was soon put to test when the capture of Dharwar fort by the Mughals. It magnified into a bone of contention between the two powers. Bijapur asked for its restoration for as per the alliance it was assigned to them, Azam Khan, the Mughal commander distrustful of the Bijapur army, refused to hand over the fort on the ground that Bijapur had rendered no assistance in its capture.

In 1631 A.D. the Mughal commander Asaf Khan laid siege to the fort of Bijapur. But when the Mughals found that men and cattle were dying of hunger and the price of grain had risen to one rupee per seer. Asaf Khan raised the siege after barely for twenty days, The Bijapur tactics of devastating the country within the vicinity of the fort were weakened by the Marathas. Asaf Khan was now replaced by Mahabat Khan.

**Extinction of Nizam Shahis** –In spite of Fath Khans efforts, the anti-Mughal sentiments in the Nizam Shahi Kingdom continued to be propagated, mainly under the leadership of Shahji. While in 1631 A.D., Shahji, whose jagirs were formerly in possession of Fath Khan, had defected to the Mughals. At the re-possession of his jagirs by Fath Khan, he became disillusioned with the Mughals and joined the anti-Mughal campaign. while Mahabat Khan was determined to annex the fort of Daulatabad. Shahji requested Bijapur to wrest the fort from the Nizam Shahis.

Fathe Khan meanwhile expressed to Mahabat Khan his readiness to surrender the fort. The latter lost no time in dispatching his son. In a well-contested battle, the Bijapur was defeated and the Mughals forced entry into the fort. At this juncture, Fathe Khan, alarmed at the impending extinction of his own power, tried to delay the surrender of the fort. Mahabat Khan, convinced of Fath Khan's deceit, asked for his eldest son as a captive, which was complied with. Mahabat Khan sent 10 lakhs to Fath Khan as the price for surrender who, in exchange, sent the keys of the fort to Khan-i-Khana and made his shameful exit on 18th June, 1633 A.D.

For the remarkable deftness with which Mahabat handled Shahji, Maratha auxiliaries and Bijapur forces on the one hand and secured the siege of the fortress on the other. He deserves unqualified praise, The Mughal flag ultimately was hoisted on the Daulatabad fort and Khutba was read in Shahjahan's name. Husain Shah, the puppet Nizam Shahi King was handed over to the Mughals who imprisoned him for life. The Kingdom of Ahamadnagar ceased to exist.

Peace, however, still evaded the Mughas. Shahji raised a rival pretender to the throne and aided the Bijapur forces to fight the Mughals. Their combined efforts fructified to the extent that even after seven months, the Mughals failed to secure the fort of Parenda. The advent of monsoons forced them to retreat to Burhanpur. Mohabat Khan died in 1634 A.D. consequently when Shahjahan arrived in 163s A.D., he realized the necessity of detaching Adil Shahi forces from Shahji whose guerilla tactics had continued to baffle the Mughal strategy. From Daulatabad, he sent an imperial firman

to Bijapur and Golkonda to acknowledge the Mughal Suzerainty and abstain from interfering in Ahmadnagar. In case of their refusal, Shahjahan was determined to launch a vigorous offensive and had ordered the three imperial generals viz. Khan-i-Jahan from Sholapur Khan Saman from Indapur and Khan-i-Duran from Bidar, to encircle the country on all sides. The three commanders mercilessly plundered the country side till Shah was forced to submit. Adil Shah was also forced to sign a peace treaty which continued to guide the future Mughal-Adil Shahi relations till the final extinction of Bijapur, fifty years later.

### **Results -**

The ruler of Bijapur accepted the Mughal Suzerainty and promised to abstain from interfering in the affairs of Ahmadnagar. The Ahmadnagar country was partitioned between the two powers with Bijapur retaining fifty pargans, including the fort of Parenda and yielding an income of 80 lakhs of rupees, with the assistance of Shahji. However, the Mughals also captured the western areas around Poona. When the Mughals besieged and occupied the fort of Pursandar, it seemed a question of time before the Nizam Shahis now confined to Dautatabad were extinguished. In sheer desperation, the Nizam Shahis offered Sholapur to Bijapur. At this juncture, an anti-Mughal revolution transpired at the Bijapur court. Mustafa Khan lost his influence, was deprived of Peshwa and thrown into prison. Khawas Khan, Murari Pandit and Rendola Khan, the opponents of the Mughal alliance, now led the Bijapur politics.

As for the Nizam Shahi Court, Murtaza Nizam Shah under the influence of his wife released Fath Khan whom they had earlier imprisoned and now appointed him the Wazir. Fath Khan unlike his father Malik Ambar, was always pro-Mughal and was convinced of the necessity of allying with the Mughals for the existence of the Nizam Shahi Kingdom. In order to appease the Mughals, Fath Khan even got rid of Murtaza Shah and instead put Husain, a minor son of Murtaza Shah, on the throne.

Bijapur rendered a war tribute of 20 lakhs to the Mughals. Further, Shahjahan ensured that as long as the following conditions as mentioned in a firman were observed by Bijapur, his officials and descendants would never encroach upon Bijapur

territory. Bijapur could no longer impose four lakh of Huns from Golkonda annually and was to refrain from influence in the affairs of Golkonda. Both powers were to refrain from employing the rebels of the other state. A special clause pertaining to Shahu declared that he was neither to be entertained nor employed unless he abandoned all the Nizam Shahi forts which he had seiged during the war. Both man and God were made witness to the treaty which Shahjahan promised to adhere to.

**Golkonda** - Shahjahan entered into a Similar alliance with Golkonda. Since Akbar's reign, the Mughal relations with Golkonda had remained cordial with the exception of the period when Golkonda had entered into a defensive and offensive alliance with Malik Ambar. In general, the Qutb Shahi Sultans had restrained from joining against the Mughals. Shahjahan, however, in 1638A.D. had sent a list of complaints to Qutb-ul-Mulk and ordered him.

(a) To suppress Shias "He had heard that in his country (Golkonda) companions of prophet were reviled, he should stop these practices, punish the quilty ones or it was Shahjahan's duty to attack the country".

(b) To send arrears of tribute

(c) To insert Shahjahan's name in place of Shah of Persia in the Khutba.

(d) To issue Silver and gold coins in Shahjahan's name.

(e) He promised to pay from the beginning of 9th regnal year "two lakh Huns against 8 lakh rupees very year.

(F) Out of the 4 lakh Huns which were earlier paid by Golkonda to Bijapur, now 2 lakhs were to be paid to the Mughals as their due for their paramountcy in Deccan.

(g) To pay 8 lakhs as arrears of Peskhash out of thirty two lakhs which were due till the end of the eighth year.

(h) The two powers promised mutual help against an invasion by Shahis.

The agreement, therefore, resembled a subsidiary coalition for while the Mughals were to protect Golkonda from any invasion from Bijapur; Golkonda could not indulge in

any warfare against another Deccan power on its own. In case in ever did so as in the region of Carnatic and remnants of Vijayanagar empire, the Mughals were to receive their share as the paramount power.

### **Significance –**

"The struggle for the country of Deccan which was going on for fifty years since Akabar's time and which could not be terminated was now brought to a successful close to the satisfaction of the grandees of the realm". A Lahori.

The treaties with Bijapur and Golkonda formed the basis of the Mughal - Deccan relations for the next fifty years till Aurangzeb decided on their ultimate annexation to the Mughal empire in 1685 A.D. The treaties ensured a comparatively larger period of peace than ever before for both the Mughals and the Deccan State. Assured of peace from the Mughals, the Deccani states diverted their energies towards the consolidation of their Kingdoms and expansion towards southern India. Consequently, the period between 1636-37 A.D. witnessed the rise of Bijapur and Golkonda to the Zenith of their power and glory.

The Mughals too, for the first time, were able to concentrate upon the settlement of the Deccan country which was now divided into two administrative units (a) Balaghat included all countries south of Narbada and the total anticipated income was fixed at three crores of rupees.

(b) Painghat which included the districts of Khandesh and Burhanpur and their total incomes was estimated at two crores and thirty lakhs.

(c) In addition, the area acquired by Ahmadnagar Kingdom was supposed to yield a crore of rupees annually.

During Aurangzeb's first viceroyalty of Deccan (July 1638 May 1644A.D) the Subash of Deccan was divided into four provinces;

(a) Daulatabad with Ahmadnagar and other districts with its capital initially at Ahmadnagar and later at Daulatabad.

- (b) Telingana which was situated in the country of Balghat. :
- (c) Khandesh with headquarters at Burhanpur and fort at Asirgarh.
- (d) Berar, South-east of Khandesh with its headquarters at Elichpur.

Comprising of over sixty-four forts and with an income of over 5 crores of rupees, Aurangzeb administered the region with utmost efficiency. During this time Shahji submitted to Khan-i-Zaman and Aurangzeb also subdued the district of Belghana with thirty-four parganas.

Aurangzeb, however, at this juncture was mysteriously relieved of his command by Shahjahan who in probability was instigated and prejudiced by Dara. His absence together with the frequent change of governors, once again unleashed the forces of corruption, mal-administration and petty feuds amongst the imperial officials which in turn, led to a steep fall in the revenues of the Subah.

The emperor fed up with the unrest and mismanagement of the Subah, posted Aurangzeb back as the Governor in November 1653 A.D. The actual collections sometimes amounted to only one tenth of the assessment and Aurangzeb himself had to draw on the reserves of the Daulatabad fort. He also requested for fresh grant of productive jagirs and additional financial assistance. While Shahjahan granted former, he refused to render any fresh assistance.

Aurangzeb undertook to turn towards introducing measures to improve the economic conditions of the peasantry. Adequately assisted by Murshid Quli Khan, an officer of rare administrative genius, he introduced revenue reforms on Todarmal's Pattern. The land was thoroughly measured. Various Amils and Muqaddams were appointed, and loans were advanced for cultivation to procure seeds and cattle which could be repaid in instalments. The two main systems of determining the land revenue were Batal (where the state took one half) and measurement through Jarib.

## **War with Golconda**



The Sultan of Golkonda, taking advantage of his Kingdom's tactical isolation, stopped the regular payment of tributes on the first available opportunity. Aurangzeb warned him that unless he paid the arrears a part of his territory would be annexed to the Mughal Empire. Moreover, the conquest of Karnatic without securing the permission of the Mughals and without rendering any tribute, was considered an affront to the Mughal sovereignty. The immediate pretext was provided by the shabby treatment that the sultan rendered to his minister Mir Jumla. Endowed with brilliant qualities, Mir Jumla soon rose to the top of the official hierarchy and the conquest of carnatic a rare feat was entirely due to his determined efforts. The Sultan and the nobility how ever felt inseuere with his growing political and military strenght. A conspiracy was, there, fore, hatched with the royal assent to detain Mir Jumla. Latter, however, got wind of the plot in time and opened negotiations with Bijapur and Shah of Persia. Aurangzeb, regarded it as a golden opportunity to intervene in Golkonda affairs, offered Mughal refuge. He also sought Shahjahan's permission to intervene in Golkonda's affairs. The emperor promptly ordered Qutb Shah to release Mir Jumla's family. Any defence was to be met by a full-fledged war. Aurangzeb, anxious to possess the initiative, declared war against Golkonda.

A large army was dispatched under his son, prince Muhammad on 10 January 1656 A.D. and Aurangzeb too soon joined the troops. Qutb Shah true to his nature, apologised to the Emperor, offered un-conditional surrender and released Mir Jumla's family. The prince, fully aware of the previous unkept promises of the Shah led on the forces. Qutb shah together with his family, evacuated the capital which was in vain defened bravely by over 17,000 of his soliders. The Mughals next reached Golkonda and thoroughly plundered it. Qutb shah kept on making futile bids of lavish gifts to appease Aurangzeb. The imperialists, however continued with the siege of the fort, and rightly so for Qutb shah had also been secretly appealing to Bijapur for help. At this juncture Shahjahan, much against Aurangzeb's appeals, ordered a cessation of hostilities.

Aurangzeb agreed to restore the Kingdom to Qutb shah's son Abdulla, on payment of one crore of rupees as indemnity and arrears of tribute. A matrimonial alliance was also formulated between his son, Muhammad and Abdulla's daughter. Shahjahan, on Abdulla's entreaties, further reduced the war indemnity. Golkonda's humiliation however was complete. Henceforth it ceased to be an independent power.

### **War with BijaPur -**

Shahjahan desired a mere conquest but it resulted in the payment of arrears of war indemnity and re-establish Mughal pre-dominance. Aurangzeb wanted to annex the Bijapur territory.

So long as Muhammad Adil Shah ruled over Bijapur, he maintained in principle the treaty with the Mughals. At his death, however, when he was succeeded by Adil shah II, a lad merely out of his teens, Aurangzeb decided that the time was opportune to annex to the empire. Doubting his bonafides, fresh reinforcements were sent to assist the imperial troops and Mir Jumta, now in service of the Mughal empire, was ordered to assist the prince. The war was unjust and uncalled for because the question of succession was a purely internal concern of Bijapur.

The Mughal forces laid Siege of Bidar which traditionally constituted one of the strongest forts of the region. After a well fought battle of twenty seven days, the Mughals emerged victorious. They occupied the fort as also secured a large booty. Aurangzeb caused the Khutba to be read in Shahjahan's name.

Bijapur undeterred gathered their troops at Gulbarga. Aurangzeb sent 15,000 troops under Mahabat Khan. In a well contested battle, the Mughals again proved victorious. It encouraged them. They led an attack on Kalyani, the ancient Chaulakya capital which too surrendered on 21 July 1658 A.D.

The Mughal troops were all set to march to Bijapur when the imperial Firman ordering an end of hostilities was received, largely through the efforts of Bijapur Sultan's emissaries who had convinced Shahjahan of the Sultan's Sincere apologies. According to the peace terms.

- (a) The Sultan agreed to pay one and a half crore of rupees as war indemnity and to surrender to the Mughals the fort of Bidar, Kalyani and Parenda. Shahjahan, later reduce the war indemnity by half a crore.
- (b) Aurangzeb was ordered to return to Bidar. So were the other Mughal officers asked to return to their respective charge.

#### **Criticism -**

Shahjahan is blamed for having lost what Aurangzeb had nearly secured for the Mughal empire. In all probability, Shahjahan did not want to deviate from the traditional Mughal policy to maintain supremacy, without getting involved in the direct administration of the two Kingdoms of Bijapur and Golkonda. In this way like Ala-ud-din Khilji, he wanted the Mughal flag to fly dominant all over India, without any cumbersome responsibility that direct annexation would involve.

#### **3.3.4 General Administration -**

Traditionally, the period from 1628-58 A.D. has been described by both the modern and the later historians, as denoting the Mughal empire at the height of its glory with Shahjahan depicting the epitome of mediaval splendour and refinements including the lavish, majestic building that Shahjahn built, referred to his reign as the classical Age, when the institutions of the empire were working at its best'. (I. Habib) The grandeur of the empire has been equally brightly described by the contemporary foreign travelers. Seemingly, therefore, Shahjahan like Jahangir proved an equitably just and popular monarch, who continued the same pattern of administration which his grand father Akbar, had initiated. Similarly, Shahjahan has been duly praised for increasing the income of the state to an extent that "the Paragana that had yielded' three lakhs in Akbar's reign, now yielded ten. The expenditure of foreign reigns was not even one fourth of the cost of this reign, and yet the king amassed a treasure which would have taken years to accumulate under his predecessor". Rai Bhar Malin Luftal. Tawarikh.

On the other hand, the foreign contemporary travelers like Peter Mundy and Bernier, who traveled for in the interior of the country have severely condemned the

economic reliability of Shahjahn's policies, which placed insurmountable burden on the agricultural and industrial masses.

A question therefore arises: (a) was Shahjahan's reign really a classical age or in reality the beginning of the end ? (b) What were his achievements and how far were they synonymous with the economic interests of the peasantry ?

We find that since Jahangir's reign, though no fault of his, certain discrepancies had crept in the politico - economic institutions of Mughals which were beyond the control of the monarch and needed a serious analytical study.

The entire Mughal administration was based on the Mansabdari system. While the latter revolved round the distribution of Jagirs, the emperor was forced with a paradox - while there was a sharp "increase in the price index, that resulted in increase in land revenue and higher Jama, the salary scale of the Mansabdar had not increased since 1600 A.D. Consequently, the same Mansab would either be granted to a higher Mansabdar or divided between two lower Mansabdars. In reality however, their salary had reduced whereas his military liability remained the same or even increased in relation to the price - index.

The Mansabdars, therefore, had to be given some concessions. Moreover, since the period from 1606-1627 A.D. was marked by revolts, Jahangir in order to appease the nobility, increased the number of Mansabdars which caused a shortage of Jagirs. Consequently, fresh jagirs had to be assigned out of Khalsa. This is corroborated by Shahjahan's court historian. -In the latter years of Shahjahan, annual expenditure was one crore fifty Lakhs of rupees. But because of alienation of districts from Khalsa, Jama had fallen to seventy lakh of rupees." A deficit of eighty lakhs and over seven crores of rupees was spent, and when Shahjahan came only one crore was left in the treasury.

The solidarity of Khalsa (a source of all important wars and construction of buildings) was not very sound and Shahjahan, to strengthen his power, had to devote all his energies to the expansion of Khalsa.

The proposition, however, involved two-fold problems.

(a) On the one hand, the price-hike, necessitated an increase in Mansabdar's salaries so that they could maintain sufficient military contingents. This however, involved an issue of additional Jagirs.

(b) On the other hand, an increase in the size and revenue from the Khalsa involved a corresponding reduction in the issue of Jagirs and a reduction in the Mansabdar's salaries. Shahjahan determined to augment the Khalsa income, preferred to reduce the Mansabdar's salaries and lessened their military liabilities by introducing the Mahawar scales or month ratios.

Moreland had pointed to the reduction of Salary in the Zat Rank by 25 to 30 percent as also nominal reduction in the Sawar Rank. The military liabilities of the Mansabdars were also correspondingly reduced Hence,

(a) A man posted in his Jagir was to bring one-third of troops for marter.

(b) If a mansabdar was posted outside jagir, then he was to bring one fourth of the troops for marter.

(c) If a mansabdar was posted to Kabul or badakshan, then he was to bring only one-fifth of the troops for marter.

In order to solve the problem of the discrepancy between the Jama required and the hasil received (actual payment). Shahjahan far from re-assessing the Jagir, introduced the more convenient system of Month scales. The practice was not an innovation for earlier, too, jagir had been granted for four to six months. The system, however, was never practiced on such a large scale. The number of months by no means denoted that the salary was for a corresponding period. It only indicated the difference between the Jama and the the hasil and correspondingly reduced the military obligation of the Mansabdar. Thus, all those jagirs, where the Hasil proved equivalent to the jama, were declared as Shasmah' or six monthly.

In this way, Shahjahan achieved an increase in the Khalsa revenues which soon began to yield a revenue of one crore fifty lakhs. While at Jahangir's death, the Khalsa revenue was one fifteenth till in the last years of his reign and the beginning of Aurangzeb's rule, it amounted to one-tenth of the total revenues.

The increase in revenues of Khalsa, however, was achieved at times, at the expense of the peasantry. The office of Krori was now broken up into that of an Amin who assessed and a Krori who collected the revenues. But since the Amin was not responsible for collection, he often acted arbitrarily in laying the assessment and the Krori had no option but to collect the laid amount similarly, emphasis was not laid on checking the embezzlement as on increasing the state revenue. To this extent, the burden on peasantry increased e.g. before Shahjahan, the practice of demanding revenue before the harvest was unknown.

Henceforth, the peasant had to pay before the harvest which forced him to borrow money either from the money lender or from the official. This is described by Peter Mundy for the region of Aligarh. The generally harsh and rigorous collection of revenue is also mentioned by other foreign travelers, who also point out to the lapse of strict discipline amongst the officials. "If a Jagirdar proved oppressive, he was merely transferred, as the brother of Ahmad Beg Khan who was transferred from Subban to Multan."

While, therefore, Shahjahan's reign evolved a greater efficiency in administration, his government was not lenient or welfare oriented. His primary object was to increase his financial resources and to an extent, appease the Mansabadars, on hears of no gigantic agrarian reforms or innovations that were introduced for the welfare of the peasantry. Murshid Quli Khan's revenue reforms in Deccan and the construction of a few canals for irrigation purposes by no means, indicate a state of devotion to the cause of the peasantry. Moreland has aptly described the period as one of agrarian tranquility.

## **Religious Policy of Shah Jahan**

### **3.3.5**

Religion during ShahJahan was completely under the cotrole of the Emperor and displayed a marked intolerance towards the practice of any other religion.However during the later period of his reign his religious intolerance relaxed to a considerable exrent and he became more accomodatiing towards the practice of other religion.

Shah Jahan exempted the theologians from Sijda or Zaminbos, the former implying postration before the ruler, and the latter putting both the hands on the ground and touching them to the forehead. It might be mentioned that Jahangir had also exempted the high theologians from Sijda, Shah Jahan banned mixed marriages between Hindus and Muslims in Kashmir which had implied that Muslim girls embraced the religion of their Hindu husband, and vice versa. Earlier Jahangir had also banned this practice, but unable to stop it.

Most significant step taken by Shah Jahan in the sixth Regnal year (1633) he ordered that no temple whose foundation had been laid in Jahangir's time but had not been completed would be allowed to be completd. Accordingly, 76 temples begun at Benars were destroyed. Temples and Churches were also destroyed during the wars. Thus during the Burdela rebellion Bir Sing Deo temple at Orcha was destroyed and a mosque buit in its place. Christian Churches at Hugli were destroyed during the clash with the pertuguse there.

Howeve it does not seem that Shah Jahan tried to implement seriously the policy of not allowing near temples to be built. Thus, in 1629, he granted land to Shantidas, the leading Jain Jeweller and banker at Ahmadabad, to built resting place, (poshata) for jain Saints. He also built a beautiful Jain temple near Ahemabad. In 1654,when Aurangzeb was Governor of Gujarat, he converted this temple into a, mosque". However on a complain from Shanitdas that Aurangzeb had flagrantly violated the Sharia by usurping Shantidas property. Shah Jahan ordered the Mitrab to be blacked up and temples restored. The imperial forman also commanded that any material taken

from the temples should be restored and compensation paid for any material lost. Likewise the magnificent temple built at Mathura by Bir Sing Deo Burdella during the reign of Jahangir was not interfered with.

That Shah Jahan's bear on new temples was only a taken in conceded by I.H. Qureshi, a leading historian in Pakistan, saying that the measure was "more an assertion of a principle than an effective measure (it) was more an effective declaration that Islam would again be treated as the dominant religion that an attempt at the suppression of Hinduism."

It has been argued that the building of many magnificent mosques including the Jama Masjid at Delhi and Taj Mahal at Agra was supposed to replicate the Muslim idea of paradise. It also demonstrated Shah Jahan's new emphasis on the power and majesty of Islam. The building of such mosques was no unusual. The broad tolerance continued was also evident from his confirmation of the grants given to the Vaishnava temples at Vrindavan. Even more significant was his order permitting the construction of temples. A large number of God worshipping Hindu mendicants are engaged in divine worship according to their own religion and custom. This was an affirmation of Akbar's policy of Sul-i-Kul.

The Muslim orthodox section rallied under Shaikh Abdul Haq of Delhi and Shaikh Ahmed Sirhindi who was hailed as Mujadid or renovator during the second millennium of Islam. Both of them were profound scholars of Muslim jurisprudence, theology etc. and laid great emphasis on strict implementation of Sharia. They also enrolled students in their seminars. From an analysis of their letters, it would appear that their demands were.

(i) The humiliation of Hindus which implied breaking of temples, having no social intercourse with them and denying them public service, and if that was inescapable, not to trust them.

(ii) Revival of the Jizyah which was the mark of the superiority of the Muslims, and was meant to humiliate the Kafirs, and (iii) Exclusion of all practices which were bidat, i.e. not strictly within the ambit of the Sharia, whether they applied to culture (ban on music



and painting morality (ban on wine etc.) or social practices (tuladan, jharoka darshan etc.)

Like Jahangir, Shah Jahan also rejected almost all these demands. Even the ban on construction of new temples was not implemented strictly, as Aurangzeb found when he was governor of Gujarat. The liberal elements came together under the slogan of Wahdat-al-waiud or monism. The Chisti saints, and the Qadiri saint Main Mir of Lahore, who was backed and supported by Dara and Jahanara, led this trend. Shahjahan did not join either of these trends, even though some contemporary historians gave him the title of mujaddid or renovator of Islam. Nor did the nobles, as a whole, join either the liberal or the orthodox group, remaining eclectic in their approach.

We may conclude that Shahjahan tried to effect a compromise, while formally declaring the state to be an Islamic one, showing respect to the sharia, and observing its injunctions in his personal life, he did not reject any of the liberal measures of Akbar, such as jharoka darshan, weighing himself for gifts (tuladan) etc. like all compromises, Shahjahan's compromise was based not on principle but on expediency. As such, it satisfied no party, and the orthodox elements, feeling themselves to be stronger than before, continued the demand of a state based on a strict implementation of the Sharia.

### **Conclusion :**

Shahjahan, as long as he ruled, devoted all his energies to the consolidation of the state interest. However, it would be gross exaggeration to place his administration as Kafi Khan has done, higher than Akbar's for with all his ability; he lacked the vision, liberalism and welfare zeal of Akbar. He was a replica of his time.

However, he combined the brilliance of soldiery with cultural refinements of the age with rare acumen and epitomised the unprecedented prosperity of the Empire. Even in prison, he conducted himself with utmost dignity.

### **3.4.0 Administrative and religious Policy of Aurangzeb (1658-1707)**

Abdul Muzaffar Muhi-ud-Din Mohammed Aurangzeb(1618-1707) commonly known as Aurangzed and by his imperial title Alamgiri was sixth Mughal Emperor. His reign lasted for 49 years.Aurangzeb was a notable expansionist and during his reign, the Mughal Empire reached its greatest extent. He was among the wealthiest of the Moghul ruler with an annual yearly tribute of \$ 38,624,480(in11690 )He was a pious Muslim, and his policies partly abandoned the legacies of Akbars' secularism.During his lifetime, victories in the south expanded the Mughal Empire to the more than3.2 million square kilometer and ruled over a population estimated as being in the range of100-150 million subject. He was strong and effective ruler,but with his death great period of Mughal Dynesty came to an end ,and central controle of the sub –contient declined rapidly.

After having settled with his brothers, Aurangzeb acended the throne in July 1658. However the formal accession did not take place till June 1659. On the latter occasion Aurangzeb assumed the title of Alamgir.

### **Early Measures-**

There was a tot of confusion in the country on account of was of succession. The enormous armies of the Mughals damaged the crops of the people on the way. The tolls and taxes which had to pay already added to their difficulties and interfered with the trade of the country. So Aurangzeb abolished Rahadari which was collected from every highway. He also abolished the Pandari, or ground tax. About 80 cesses collected from Hindus and Muslims were abolished. Aurangzeb provibited the Kalima on the coins so that same may not be touched by the non-Muslims. He also abolished to intoxicants abolished by the Holy Koran. Aurangzeb ordered the repair of the mosques and Khanquarh, Imamas and Muazzims were regularly paid. Strong measures were taken against those Sufi who were the associates of Dara.

The period of Aurangzeb was traditionally divided into two phases; (a) The first twenty-five years which he spent in the North and when peace prevailed over the

Deccan and South India. (b) The next twenty- five years until his death, however, he had to spoil to the Deccan affairs.

### **Administration -**

1. Policy towards North-East and North - Western borders.
2. Religious Policy
3. Rajput Policy
4. Administrative infrastructure
5. Deccan Policy..

#### **3.4.1 - Policy towards North -East and North - Western borders**

##### **The Frontier Wars**

On the North -East Border, since 1639 A.D. there had been no chaos. Shuja's negligence of the Bengal administration and the waging of the civil war, had encouraged the Ahoms (local resident's) to reassert autonomy. Consequently, the Assamese infringed the Mughal borders and even occupied Gauhati. The Mughals engrossed in a civil war, remained helpless till 1660 A.D. when Aurangzeb appointed Mir Jumla as the Governor of Bengal. One of the ablest trusted lieutenants of Aurangzeb, he was ordered to 'Punish the lawless Zamindars of Arrakan. In 1661 A.D. Mir Jumla occupied Kutch Bihar while Jayadhwaj, the Raja of Garhgaon, was expelled'. The Mughals collected enormous booty. Mir Jumla would have continued with the warfare but unfortunately was seized by the fever epidemic which had badly mutilated the residents of Assam as also the Mughal army'. So peace was concluded hastily in December 1662-A.D. According to Khafi Khan, the Raja agreed to pay 120,000 tolas of silver 2000 tolas of gold and fifty elephants to the Emperor. He also agreed to surrender all towns and forts that were captured by the Mughals. Mir Jamla's untimely death, in 1663 A.D. gave a serious setback to the peace. By 1667 A.D. under the enterprising Chakradhwaj, the Ahoms soon recovered their lost possessions including

Gauhati. From 1670- 80 A.D., a series of weak rulers, once again tilted the scales in favour of the Mughals and by 1711 A.D., the Raja was forced to confirm the Mughal seizure of Rangpur and western Kamrup districts.

### **Towards the North - western frontier,**

Aurangzeb followed a forward policy out of political and economic considerations. The turbulent Muslim tribes were always a source of danger and trouble to the Moghuls. They were attracted by the riches of Punjab and their poverty forced them to attack India time and again.

The pathan tribes of Yusufzais and Afridis, from time to time, had threatened the peace and security of the region. But never did they pose a more serious threat than in 1667 A.D. When under the able leadership of Bhagun, over five thousand of the tribesmen, crossed the river Indus into Allock. Aurangzeb was equally determined to quell the incursion. By October, 1667 A.D. Muhammad Amin-Khan, son of Mir Jumla, reestablished peace on the frontier which lasted for a period of five years. In 1672 A.D. the Afridis under the dynamic leadership of Ajmal Khan proclaimed war against the Mughals and summoned all the pathan clans to join the national movement. The Mughal governor, Muhammad Amin Khan, however, underestimated the enemy strength. Consequently, disaster struck the Mughal army when over 10 thousand of their men were slain and almost double the number were imprisoned including the family of the governor and over two crore of rupees in cash and kind was looted by the enemy. Aurangzeb, however, remained demoralized. Muhammad Amin Khan was replaced by the more mature Mahabat Khan. Aurangzeb himself directed the operations from June, 1674 A.D. After a protracted fighting, the Mughals emerged triumphant. Diplomacy was simultaneously resorted to and numerous presents, Jagiri and, offices were bequeathed on the Pathans. From 1677 A.D., under the able guidance of Ami Khan a period of comparative peace followed. A fear of their uprising, however always loomed large and the Mughals had to leave a precious part of their troops to maintain the border security

- a fact which proved a serious handicap against Shivaji where every extra contingent was a blessing for the Mughals :

### **3.4 .2 - Aurangzeb's Religious Policy –**

Religious policy of Aurangzeb was abased on the Islamic theory of Kingship. Aurangzeb felt that he was superior to administer the empire in a better way but also to protect and strengthen Islam particularly its sunny faith. He was a strict follower of suni sect, to the extent that he percutted the member of the Shia sect. Inorder to achive his objectives of strengthening Islam, he imprisoned his father, killed his brother, forced his son Akbar to revolt and pass a miserable life. He also compelled the Rajputs, the Jats, the Sikhs, and Narathas to rebel, destroyed the state of Bijapur and Golkunda and imposed political, economic and social disability on the Muslim subjects with a view to convert them to Islam. Aurangzeb belived that all the Moghul rulers who ruled prior to Islam committed one blunder of not trying to establish the supremacy of islam in India. He attempted for it during his life time because he beloved that it was the formost duty of a Muslim king.

It would, however, be irrational to term Aurangzeb as a fanatic, purely on the basis of above statement just as it would be ridiculous to interpret all his acts as solely religion - oriented. Secondly, all debate, on the spread of 'Islam in India' must be preceded by the contention that while the establishment of a theocratic state continued to remain the ideal of Islamic state, in reality its interpretation varied from state to state according to the existing political exigencies. Hence, in a predominant Hindu "India, no ruler but an imbecile could hope to debar Hindus from the state service, civil and military, leave alone attempt their total annihilation. In fact in India since Mahamud Ghaznavis time the Muslim rulers, had realized the essential difference between the ideal 'Din Panahi' and the functional 'Din Dari' and had perforce preferred to enforce

the latter in the country. 'The diligent utilization of the Hindu potential to the maximum advantage of the Muslim ruler' may have differed from ruler to ruler, but the impossibility of bringing about a total extermination of Hindus was universally recognized by all. Against such background, as also keeping in view Aurangzeb's brilliant political record under Shahjahan, it seems incredible and entirely irrational that Aurangzeb, when a sultan, threw all political caution to wind and attempted to establish a fanatic rule.

Reason, therefore, necessitates a logical interpretation of Aurangzeb's motives and policies which were based upon (a) the personal religious views of the emperor, (b) his policy towards the Ulemas and theologians who consistently endeavored towards the creation of an Islamic state, and (c) his policy towards the non-Muslim subjects and the handling of those issues which were primarily political in nature but involved certain religious elements too.

#### **(a) Aurangzeb's individual spiritual views –**

By the 17th century, there main religious streams existed amongst the Muslims in the country : (i) The progressives like Akbar and Dara Shikoh who believed in the universal tolerance and considered all religions as different roads to the same goal. (ii) The liberalists who; within the general frame work of the Islamic state, preferred to rule according to the political exigencies of the state. Consequently, they kept state above religions. Jahangir symbolized its best representation. Shahjahan, while adhering to its, essentials, was more inclined towards orthodoxy, (iii) The orthodox, like Ahmad Sirhindi who were bitterly opposed to all association of the Hindus with the Muslim state and pressed for the procrastination of the Hindus.

Aurangzeb, since his childhood, had been brought up to be a good Muslim and throughout his life, he remained a man of simple habits who sincerely abided by the tenets of Islam. The ground towards orthodoxy was prepared by his father, Shahjahan, who while continuing with the association and employment of the Hindus,

had attempted to appease the conservatives, by forbidding the construction of new temples. Shahjahan had also frowned upon the inter-racial marriages that were popular in regions near Kashmir. On the Political front however, he had managed to retain the facade of impartiality. Nevertheless, for Shahjahan, precedence of keeping the state above religion, especially when he had made upon pronouncements of 'his leanings towards Islam .. Firstly, it was beyond the comprehension of the Ulemas. Secondly Aurangzeb unlike Shahjahan, by his upbringing and nature was orthodox in temperament. To him, therefore, the concept of state above religion was acceptable only so long as it was politically workable. This perhaps explains the long lapse of twenty one years before he re-imposed Jaziya, for originally, Aurangzeb, realizing the political exigencies, did refrain from advocating an absolute Islamic state.

Moreover to assume that Aurangzeb's religious views during the fifty years that he reigned, remained static, does not appeal to reason. When age, experience and the prevalent conditions could markedly after Akbar, it would be futile to expect that Aurangzeb would remain protected to the changing chain of events as it would be equally unreasonable to race his rigid orthodoxy and the zeal to restore true Islam, as far back as the civil war against Dara which primarily arose from a clash of interests over the succession to the imperial throne.

Thus, whereas Aurangzeb, by birth and background was undoubtedly inclined towards orthodoxy. During the earlier years of his reign, his impasse to choose between orthodoxy and political pragmatism, was confined to his mind. During this period, he did try to solve the various issues according to their political weightage and made efforts to keep the state above religion. However as political and economic pressures drew the state into numerous unsolvable crises, his own frustrations increased and he turned towards religion as the true cause and panacea for all ills.

Having once crossed the thin wedge between orthodoxy and fanaticism, Aurangzeb not only lost the perception of keeping religion away from politics but came to view all political problems in the narrow parochial light.

**(b) Policy towards the Ulemas** -Aware of their views and strength, Aurangzeb attempted to conciliate them by appointing Muhatsibs of public morals, and ordering repairs of old mosques and Khankhas.

**(c) Policy towards the Hindus** -Aurangzeb also ordered a series of anti- Hindu measures like the general destruction of temples in April, 1669 A.D. It included the famous temples at Mathura, Benaras and Somnath, while his order of 1671 A.D. affirmed that 'all rent collectors of crown land must be Muslims and Turkdar were to dismiss the Hindu Peshkars and Diwans and replace them by Muslims. "This is also corroborated by the court historian, Thus as' by one stroke of pen, Aurangzeb dismissed the Hindu writers from his service. However, when Aurangzeb was advised the difficulty of implementing,. the order was withdrawn the next day.

The Hindus also had to pay heavier custom duties and Jaziya was re-imposed in 1679A.D. The Hindu, except for the Rajputs and the Marathas, were prohibited from wearing arms, fine dress and riding horses. They were also prohibited from holding fairs and the Hindu learning was proscribed. The above mentioned measures, however, were spread over a period of time and it would be a grave mistake, as some historians have done in the past, to summarise their conclusions on a few examples for just as a few pronouncements can prove his fanaticism, an equal number of examples can be quoted to prove Aurangzeb's initial tolerance. Some of these are cited below

(i) According to Khafi Khan, the court historian, Aurangzeb as soon as he ascended the throne, abolished eighty Awabs, levied from both the Muslims and the Hindus including the Rahdari (a toll tax) and Pondari (a house tax) and duty on corn.

(ii) Similarly, his correspondence with the dubious Raja Jai Singh and his effort to win over Raja Raj Singh of Mewar, clearly reflect his appreciation of the political significance of the Rajputs. :

(iii) Ahkam-i-Alamgiri mentions Aurangzeb rebuking Mahammad Amin Khan in 1689 A.D. for suggesting the removal of one of the two Hindu Bakshis and instead conferring it on a Muslim.



(iv) In spite of Aurangzeb's order of 1664 A.D. regarding the general destruction of the temples, there are Firmans found dated later, which gave grants for the running of schools and temples. Bhinsen, writing towards the end of Aurangzeb's reign, has mentioned numerous temples that flourished in Deccan. Similarly, Ishwar Das in Futuhat-i-Alamgiri while rendering a chronological account of Aurangzeb's reign has mentioned various temples that existed in the country including the Sikh Gurdwara in Dehradun for which a gate was provided by Aurangzeb.

The preceding arguments, however, in no way justify Aurangzeb's views or actions for he was undoubtedly Pro-Islamic and more orthodox than any of his predecessors. The re-im-position of Jaziya and the various discrimination against the Hindus, substantiate his gradual reluctance to treat the Hindu subjects on an equal footing. Nevertheless, it is essential to recognize that the transition from orthodoxy to fanaticism came over a period of time. His reign reflects a constant struggle between politics and religion till towards the latter half of his reign, pressed by the economic and political crises, Aurangzeb restored to religion as the true cause of and remedy to solve all ills. This proved his undoing.

The generally upheld views that Aurangzeb's religious persecution of Hindus alienated the various sections of Hindu community who retaliated by resorting to arms. The strength of Aurangzeb's administration was challenged at its very nerve centre around Delhi by Satnamis, the Jats and the Sikh uprising. Even though the number of people involved in these uprisings was not large, they were significant because they were popular in character. All of them were to a considerable extent the result of religious persecution of Aurangzeb. They also showed that the Hindus were deeply dissatisfied..

### **Conclusion:-**

Whilst the anti-Hindu policy of Aurangzeb collectively with the mounting economic and social pressure led the Hindu communities into revolt; it was Aurangzeb's

total mistake to regard them as a religious conspiracy to under mine the might of the Mughal empire and therefore, deserving of the utmost religious discrimination. The religious remedy of the political ills, only convinced them of Aurangzeb's intentional humiliation of the Hindus and further estranged than from Mughal Empire.

### **3.4.3 - Rajput Policy of Aurangzeb**

#### **Main Objectives of Aurangzeb –**

Aurangzeb grew sceptic about the faithfulness of the Rajputs as most of the Rajput general took side with Dara in the succession war. Aurangzeb being an orthodox Sunni could not rely on the Rajputs who were Hindus. He thought that in his attempt to turn the country into an Islamic country the Chief resistance would come from the Rajputs. The Rajputs were the pioneer Hindus. They had political and military powers. As such they could give brave fronts against his plan of enforcing Islamic rule over the Hindus. The Rajputs had sympathy for the Satnami rebels. A few Rajput generals opposed him openly. Jaswant Singh was an important Mansabdar in the Mughal court from the time of Shah Jahan. He sided with Dara Shukoh in the war of succession against him. Later, after when he was defeated in the battle of Dharmat though Jaswant Singh showed adherence to Aurangzeb's court was Jay Singh. Aurangzeb was suspicious of him too. Aurangzeb apprehended stiff resistance from them in his project to bring the semi-independent Rajput states under the fold of the Mughal empire. The great emperor Akbar brought allegiance of these Rajput kings by letting them rule their Kingdoms in exchange of accepting his Suzerainty. Aurangzeb followed Islamic principles of Kingship and wanted to snatch away the Rajput King's territories and subjugate them.

#### **Relation with Jaya Singh :-**

Aurangzeb sent Jay Singha, the King of Ambar, to the south to fight against Shivaji. Jay Singha was successful in the struggle with Shivaji. He captured most of the forts Shivaji and the latter was compelled to sign the treaty Purander. Jay Singha persuaded Shivaji to come to Delhi. Jay Singha requested the emperor to treat Shivaji with honour. But Aurangzeb disregarded Jay Singha's advice and maltreated Shivaji. Then Aurangzeb sent Jay Singha to Bijapur. There Jay Singha died an unnatural death most probably by swallowing poison. It was suspected that the emperor played a foul in this case. This incident alarmed other Rajput nobles about Aurangzeb's secret intentions.

### **Relation with Jaswant Singh –**

Next came the case of Jaswant Singh of Marwar. Marwar was a very powerful autonomous state situated at the heart of Rajputana. Marwar had immense commercial importance. It fell enroute the road from Delhi to Bombay port. Marwar could, if she so wished, disconnect the trade route from Bombay to Delhi with least effort. All these worried Aurangzeb. He waited for chance to swallow the Kingdom of Marwar. He sent Jaswant Singh to Jamrud in the N.W. Frontier far away from Delhi. There Jaswant Singh died in 1678. As soon as Aurangzeb heard the news, he sent troops in haste to capture the state of Marwar which was at that time without any one to protect. Aurangzeb fortified his imperial rule at Marwar by appointing Fauzdars, Killadar and other officials instantly. He appointed Indra Singh, a psychopant, the King of Marwar. He issued orders to demolish all Hindu temples at Marwar and soon after he came back to Delhi. He imposed jizya tax (12 April, 1670) on the Hindus long years after it was withdrawn by Akbar.

This act of Aurangzeb aggrieved most of the Rajputs and they wanted to retaliate upon him. While Jaswant died his two wives gave birth to two posthumous brothers of which only one survived. He was named Ajit Singh. The Rajput Chiefs now appealed to Aurangzeb

to give back their kingdom in favour of Ajit Singh; but the emperor turned a deaf ear to their request. He proposed to keep the baby Ajit in his haram till he got to age. Another source of information on this issue states that Aurangzeb agreed to give back Ajit's Kingdom if he was converted to Islam. At this critical situation a bold step was taken by Durgadas, a faithful follower of Jaswant Singh. He rescued Ajit Singha and his mother from the Mughal harem and returned to Marwar.

### **War with Mawar**

This infuriated Aurangze greatly. He directed his three sons to attack Marwar from three sides with their troops. The people of Marwar resolved to resist Mughal aggression to their land even if it cost their lives. The Mughal army destroyed numberless temples and replaced them by Mosques. Rana Ajit Singh's mother was a daughter of Mewar's Sidodio royal family. During this crisis of Marwar she sought the help of Raj Singha, the Rana of Mewar. Raja Singha could properly guess that as Marwar was contiguous to his empire Aurangzeb would pounce upon Mewar to subjugate it. The safety of Mewar rested on the freedom of Marwar. Secondly, Raj Singha was further annoyed with Aurangzeb as he claimed 'Jijiya 'from Mewar. Tod's 'Annals of Rajputana' mentions a letter written by Raj Singha to Aurangzeb inl which he gave ent to his anger against the Emperor's evil design of Jiziya imposition on the Rajputs. Hence the Rana decided to take Marwar's side. Thus grew up a joint Rajput resistance against Aurangzeb's reactionary policy.

### **War With Mewar**

Aurangzeb could easily guess the Rana's motive. Without delay he attacked Mewar and forestalled the Rana's designs to put up stiff resistance against the Mughals. A huge army of 7000 was deployed to attack Mewar. Thinking it impossible to confront such a big army Raj Singha abandoned his capital at Udaipur and retired to the hills. The Mughal army occupied Chittore and Udaipur easily and demolished the temples there. Thinking that Mewar was subdued Aurangzeb proceeded towards Ajmer with his

troops. He left Prince Akbar in charge of Chittore. Raj Singha then came out of his hides and raided Mughal out posts and discontinued their supplies. Some of the Rajputs surprised Akbar's camp near Chittore one night and put many Mughals to death. Raj Singha inflicted grave losses. Aurangzeb was compelled to come back from Ajmere. He transferred Akbar to Manruar and gave Chittore in the Charge of Prince Azam.

### **Failure of the Revolt of Prince Akbar**

This dishonor by his father upset Akbar. He revolted against his father. The Rajputs (Sisodias and Rathors) took his side. In the mean time the old king of Mewar took up his father's mantle and fought against the Mughals. The Rajputs under Jay Singha supported Akbar in his endeavour to become emperor replacing his father. On 11 January 1681 Akbar declared himself to be the Emperor. He also declared, that Aurangzeb to be anti-Islam and as such denied his authority as an emperor. He, along with his Rajput followers, started an invasion against Ajmere where Aurangzeb was encamping. At this critical juncture Aurangzeb, though stunned by the blow delivered by his favourite son, did not lose presence of mind. He resorted to a cunning diplomacy to dissociate Akbar from the Rajputs. He wrote a letter to Akbar commending him for successfully implementing the emperor's stratagem of first earning the faith of the Rajputs and then to crush them by the imperial troops and his own. This letter was purposely dropped near the Rajput camp. When the substance of the letter was known the Rajputs left Akbar's side. The confused Prince was afraid of his life. He took help from Durgadas and sought political asylum to Shamhaji in the south. Later Aurangzeb's trick was revealed to the Rajputs. Prince Akbar ultimately took refuge at the court of the Persian King.

### **Treaty with Mewar**

Aurangzeb got nothing from his long standing struggle with the Rajputs. In the year 1681 he made peace with Jay Singha, the king of Mewar by a treaty (1) The Mughal army left Mewar. (2) The Maharana ceded the Parganas of Madal, Pur and bednor in lieu of the Jaziya imposed on him. (3) The emperor appointed the Maharana to the mansab of 5,000 and confirmed him in the territory with the title of 'Rana'.

Marwar, however was not prepared to make peace and it remained at war with the Mughal emperor for twenty seven years more. After the death of Aurahgzeb, Ajit Singha established himself finally as the Maharana of Marwar and in 1707 he was given recognition by Bahadur Shah- the then Mughal emperor.

### **Result of Rajput War**

The Rajput War alienated the sympathy of the loyal Rathor and Sisodia clans from the Mughal throne. According to Sir J.N. Sarkar. The Results of Rajput war was disastrous to the empire. Hundreds of lives were sacrificed in the deserts of Rajputana for nothing. This war diminished the prestige of the empire and damaged men and material to a great degree. Aurangzeb's imprudent policy deprive him of the loyal services of the Rajputs warriors which he needed badly to fight against the Marathas in the south and the Afghans in the north western frontiers. As the emperor was engaged in futile war with the Rajputs in the North the Southern rulers enhanced powers. The Marathas specialty took full opportunity of the situation. Aurangzeb's narrow vision and religious bigotry led him to break the pillars on which the empire rested for more than a century.

### **3.4 .4 - Administration of Aurangzeb-**

Aurangzeb's administration, it seems that in no way deviated from that of his forefathers, including Akbar. Extremely conscientious and fully aware of the grave responsibilities of his office, Aurangzeb, gifted with an untiring spirit of body and mind, attempted to live up to the ideal of Muslim Kingship. Nothing escaped his eye and the minutest details of administration were referred to the Sultan. An enthusiastic dispenser of justice, he treated the Royal Princes and his subjects alike and strictly adhered to the rule of law. As he himself Put it "sovereignty signifies protection of the people. It is the repose and prospects of my subjects that it behoves me to consult; nor are these to be

sacrificed to anything besides the demands of justice, the maintenance of the royal authority, and the security of the State.

Moreover, under him for the first time, the Mughal empire spread over the whole of India and he, determinedly, kept a hawk like vigil on the affairs of the vast realm. It is ironic, therefore, that inspite of his complete adherence to the system of administration as originated by his forefathers, Aurangzeb proved a failure.

The reasons are not far to seek. In his blind devotion to implement the rule of law, Aurangzeb unconsciously ignored the spirit of the law and thus his very zeal proved his undoing. Moreover, certain glaring malpractices had crept into the Mughal administration; even .before Aurangzeb ascended the throne.

Firstly, the Mansabdari system which formed the basis of the Mughal administration, having outlived its utility. It had degenerated into corruption and an inefficient system that impaired the solidarity of the Mughal army and the state. The rise in prices, the accelerated growth of Mansabs without a proportionate increase in the jagirs, the constant dilemma of increasing the Khalasa revenues at the expense of the jagirs and the consequent growth of unemployment were glaring abuses Aurangzeb The decay had set in Jahangir's time but the ruler seemed to have had no alternative for the Mansabdari system. Consequently, while theoretically the Mansabdari system retained its original characteristics as under Akbar; in reality, the no-adherence to the principle of 'maintenance of troops according to Zatt /Sawar rank' and the introduction of the 'Mahawar System' robbed the practice of muster of its discipline and efficiency.

Moreover, the Emperor faced with the paradox of increasing the Khalsa revenues (on the one hand it meant, bringing more land within the imperial fold and appeasing the nobility on the other), had no choice but to declare that only one fourth of the troops was essential for muster. The frequent transfers of jagirs made confusion worse confounded for with no security of their tenure. The Mansabdars never bothered about the welfare of the peasants and were inclined to extract the maximum amount in the

shortest possible time. The Mansabdari crisis also engendered a scarcity of jobs and the rapid growth of unemployment amongst the Muslims made the Hindu majority in the revenue services of the state appear as a monopoly. Consequently, Aurangzeb's firman of "putting all Hindus aside" was not merely an outcome of religious persecution but probably was meant to redress the Muslim grievance and even when the impracticability of the firman was pointed out to Aurangzeb. He limited the Hindu employment to 50 percent. Similarly, the lot of Peasantry at the time of his accession was far from satisfactory. Shahjahan's policy of securing the highest Khalsa revenues was unfortunately unaccompanied by a strict enforcement of discipline amongst his officials.

Consequently, with the best of intentions, Shahjahan failed to implement any land reforms largely because of the reigning corruption and nepotism of the official hierarchy.

When Aurangzeb ascended the throne, he was fully aware of the economic hardships of the people and at once ordered the abolition of over eighty Aawabs, and thereby relieved the traders and the peasants alike. Unfortunately, the order was not followed by a rigid implementation a chronic weakness of the administration. This is corroborated by the court historian Khafi Khan, who referred to the continuation and collection of these forbidden dues by selfish local officers. "when reports reached the government, of infractions of these orders (the offenders) were punished with a diminution of Mansab...". After a while, the offenders through their patrons or the management of their agent got their Mansabs restored to its original amounts. So the regulation for the abolition of most of the imports had no effect. Similarly, his revenue regulations clearly ordered the officers to refrain from charging more than the specified amount (50%) and practice benevolence towards the cultivators. So that they may be encouraged into securing the maximum yield. In case of emergencies and calamities, the cultivators were to be extended loans and granted remissions. Those Amirs and Kroris (revenue collectors) who served sincerely, were to be rewarded just as those



quilty of infringing the royal orders, were to be severely punished. The officers were also emphatically told to be regular in their records, just and honest in their assessment and humane in collection.

But, in reality, the situation was radically different" The Mughal Mansabdars and the Subordinate officers were so adapted to corruption that they openly infringed the royal commands and got away. This leads to two conclusions (a) either Aurangzeb was too generous and vacillating so that his officers exploited these sentiments to their utmost advantage. (b) The Mughal empire had become too vast and its administrative machinery too inefficient .corrupt and outdated. Consequently, an irreparable decay and apathy had set in which unless totally eradicated could never be effectively dealt with. It also demanded a dynamic and far sighted monarch, who free from any parochial, religious and political fetters, could view each and every issue on its own merit and unhesitatingly adopt radical reforms.

#### **3.4.5 DECCAN POLICY OF AURANGZEB**

Decan policy of Aurangzeb had political as well as religious consideration. The extension of the empire was also one of the purpose of Aurangzeb.It is belived that the extinction of the state of Bijapur and Golkunda was a prior necessity for the destruction of the power of the Maratha in the Deccan. Besides this political motive, he desired the annex these states because their rulers were Shias.Therefore, Aurangzeb was not satisfied simply by acceptace of his suzerainty by them but he desired to annex them to the Moghul empire.

#### **Conquest of Bijapur (1686)**

Sikandar Adil Shah was the ruler of Bijapur. His weakness lay in his youth. In 1682, an expedition was sent against him under Prince Azam, but the same failed and Prince was called back. For two years, Aurangzeb was busy against the Marathas and Prince Akbar. This period was utilized by the ruler of Bijapur in re-organizing his army with the

help of Sharza Khan, his minister. Aurangzeb demanded the dismissal of Sharza Khan. As his order was not complied with,' he proceeded against the King in person and besieged Bijapur in April 1685. A breach was made in the fortifications of the city. It is true that the garrison fought very bravely and the Marathas also tried to help the People of Bijapur, but the Siege could not last long. The city of Bijapur fell in September 1686. Sikandar Adil Shah was captured and made a prisoner. His kingdom was annexed in 1686 and he himself was taken into the Mughal service. He was made a Mansabdar and followed a pension of is. One Lakh. Later on, he was imprisoned in the fort of Daultatabad where he died in 1700.

### **Conquest of Golconda (1687)**

Abdul Hasan was the ruler of Golconda and he was not in the good books of Aurangzeb. The cause of Aurangzeb's annoyance was not only the Shia religion of the ruler but also the employment of Hindus in his Kingdom. During the Mughal invasions of Bijapur under Jai Singh in 1665-66, under Dilir. Khan in 1679 and under Prince Muhammad Azam in 1686, the Sultan of Golconda had openly set his troops to assist his brother in distress" The first two wrongs were condemned by the payment of tribute.. Moreover, the sultan of Golconda had helped Shivaji with the sinews of war after his flight from Agra in 1666 and thus enabled him to recover his forts from the Mughals. He also welcomed Shivaji on his visit to Hyderabad in 1677 and behaved like a humble vassal of Maratha King, placing a necklace of gems round his horse's neck and promising him in annual subsidy of one lac of Huns for the defence of his territory. He made Madanna and Akkanna, two Brahmins, his Chief Ministers. Aurangzeb himself explained the causes of the war in these words'. The evil deeds of this wicked man passed beyond the bounds of writing, but by mentioning one out of a hundred and a little out of much, Some conception of them may be formed. First placing the reins of authority and government in the hands of vile tyransical infidels; oppressing and afflicting the Saiyids, Shaikhs, and other holy men; openly giving himself up to

excessive debauchery and depravity in indulging in drunkenness and wickedness night and day; making no distinction between infidelity and Islam, tyranny and justice, depravity and devotion; waging obstinate war in defence of infidels, want of obedience to the Divine commands and prohibitions especially to that command which forbids assistance to a country, the disregarding of which it cast a censure upon the Holy book in the sight both of God and man. Letters full of friendly advice and warning upon these points had been repeatedly written, and had been sent by the hands of discrete men. No attention has been paid to them; moreover, it had lately become known that a lac of pagodas had been sent to the wicked Samba. That in this insolence and intoxication and worthlessness, no regard had been paid to the infamy of his deeds, and no hope of deliverance in this world or in the next."

The war between Golconda and the Mughals dragged on for some time. Ultimately, Aurangzeb himself arrived at Golconda in January 1687 and pressed the siege. Both mining and assaults failed. Then Aurangzeb had recourse to bribery and gained admittance through the treachery of one of the officers of the garrison who opened a gate. Abul Hasan was captured and made a prisoner. His Kingdom was annexed in September, 1687.

The fall of Golconda has been described thus" Before break of day, the imperial forces attacked the city and frightful scene of plunder and destruction followed; for in every part and road and market there were lakhs upon lakhs of money stuffs, carpets, horses, elephants, belonging to Abul Hasan and his nobles. Words cannot express (writes Khafi Khan) how many women and children of Mussalmans and Hindus were made prisoners, and how many women of high and low degree were dishonored, carpets of great value which were too heavy to carry were cut to pieces with swords and daggers and every bit was struggled for".

Reference may also be made to the bravery of Abdur Razzak, one of the ablest officers of Abul Hasan, who remained faithful to his master to the last. He rejected the tempting offers of Aurangzeb and fought bravely in the hand to hand fight at the gateway till he fell with 70 wounds on his body. Aurangzeb was so much impressed by his bravery and

fidelity that he appointed one of his surgeons to cure him. Khafi Khan has given the following account of his brave man. "Abdur Razzak Lari heard this and, Springing on horse without any saddle, with a sword in one hand and a Shield in the other, and accompanied by about 12 followers, he rushed to the open gate through which the imperial forces were pouring in. Although his followers were dispersed, he alone like a drop of water falling into sea, or an atom of dust struggling in the rays of the sun, threw himself upon the advancing foe, and fought with inconceivable fury and desperation shouting that he would fight to death for Adul Hasan. Every step he advanced, thousand of swords were aimed at him, and he received so many wounds from swords and spears that he was covered with wounds from the crown of his head to the nails of his feet. But his time was not yet come, and he fought his way to the gate of the citadel without being brought down. He received twelve wounds upon his face alone, and the skin of his forehead hung down over his eyes and nose. One eye was severely wounded and the cuts upon his body seemed as numerous as the stars. His horse also was covered with wounds and reeled under his weight, so he gave the reins to the beast, and by great exertion kept his seat. The horse carried him to a garden called Nagina, near the citadel, to the foot of an old coconut tree where by the help of the tree, he threw himself off; On the morning of the second day, a party of men belonging to Husaini Beg passed and recognizing him by his horse and other signs, they took compassion upon him and carried him upon a bedspread to a house. When his own men heard of this they came and dressed his wounds.

According to Lane Poole, "With the conquest of Golconda and Bijapur, Aurangzeb considered himself master of the Deccan. Yet the direct result of his destruction of the only powers that made for order and some sort of settled government in the peninsula was to strengthen the hands of the Marathas. The majority of the vanquished armies naturally joined the Marathas and adopted the calling of the road. The local officials set themselves up as petty sovereigns, and gave their support to the Marathas as the party most likely to promote a golden age of plunder. Thus the bulk of the population of the two dissolved states went to swell the power of Sambhaji and his highlanders, and the

disastrous results of this revolution in Deccan politics were felt "for more than a century. The anarchy which desolated the Deccan was the direct forerunner of the havoc wrought by the Maratha in Delhi in the time of Shah-Alam and Wellesley."

### **Aurangzeb and the Marathas**

Suffice it to say that Aurangzeb sent Shayista Khan against Shivaji in 1663, but the latter failed to restrain him and with great difficulty escaped with his life. Later on, Prince Muazzam and Raja Jai Singh were sent against Shivaji. Jai Singh forced Shivaji to sign the treaty of Purandhar in 1665. Shivaji attended the Mughal court at Agra in 1666. Although he was placed under detention, he managed to escape to his headquarters in the Deccan. Prince Muazzam and Jaswant Singh were sent against him.

After the death of Shivaji in 1680, Aurangzeb carried on the struggle against Sambhaji. The latter was arrested and put to death. His son, Sahu, was put in prison where he remained till 1708.

After the execution of Sambhaji in 1680, the struggle was carried on by Raja Ram up to 1700. After his death, the same struggle was successfully carried on by his widow, Tara Bai. In spite of his best efforts, Aurangzeb failed to crush the Maratha resistance. He had completely failed in his mission.

About Aurangzeb, war against the Marathas, Dr. K. M. Panikkar says that for about 20 years, the Emperor chased his own shadow. He marched up and down, attacked and conquered fortress but the Maratha resistance became stronger as years went by. It was a national war against an enemy. The Maratha campaign became what the Spanish campaign was to become for Napoleon, a running sore where his superiority in almost every calculable factor counted for nothing against a country in arms. After a arduous campaign led by the Emperor in person against Maratha strongholds, lasting for over 6 years, Aurangzeb came back a broken and defeated man and died. The Marathas had not only not been put down but were in effective possession of a great territory and had attained massive national reputation by their triumphant resistance.

### **Consequences of the Deccan Policy of Aurangzeb**

The Deccan policy of Aurangzeb had far-reaching consequences. If Napoleon could say that "It was the Spanish ulcer which ruined me", Aurangzeb could also say that the Deccan wars not only undid his own work but also those of his predecessors. It was foolish on the part of Aurangzeb to have conquered the states of Bijapur and Golconda. It is true that their rulers were Shias, but Aurangzeb ought to have subordinated his religious zeal to statesmanship. Anyhow, the annexation of Bijapur and Golconda destroyed the check on the Marathas. It was difficult for Aurangzeb to deal with the Marathas from so distant a place as Delhi. No wonder, he had to spend the rest of his life in the Deccan to subdue the Marathas. On account of his absence from the North for a quarter of a century, the administration of the country was thrown out of gear. The provincial governors and Faujdars defied the central authority and there was nothing to curb them. It was during this period that the Jats and Sikhas got an opportunity to strengthen their hands.

The operations of the Imperial armies, especially the numerous sieges, led to the total destruction of forests and grass. The huge Mughal forces, totaling 1,77,000 including non-combatants, ate up everything green. The Maratha raiders destroyed whatever they could not carry. The total deforestation injured agriculture. The power of resistance of the common man was weakened on account of the long duration of war. Everything they produced stored up was swept away by the hordes on both sides. The result was that when famine or drought came, the peasants and landless labourers perished helplessly like flies.

Referring to the Deccan, Bhimsen, a noted historian of Aurangzeb, says. 'All administration has disappeared - the realm has been desolated, no body gets justice, they have been utterly ruined. The ryots have given up cultivation; the jagirdars do not get a penny from the fields. Many mansabdars in the Deccan, starving and impoverished, have gone over to the Marathas'. The economic situation of the Mughal empire became so feeble that it was on the verge of bankruptcy. Hundreds of soldiers and several officers fell into arrears for three years. The starving men created scenes in the court of

the Emperor. Although the government made reckless promises of money grants, it was humanly impossible to fulfil them.

Aurangzeb spent huge amounts on bribing the Maratha officers in charge of hill-forts. It was impossible for the Mughal treasury to meet all the demands.

The spirit of the Mughal army in the Deccan was utterly broken. Soldiers grew sick of the endless and futile war. Even the most rusted officers of Aurangzeb became home-sick. One such nobleman offered the Emperor a bribe of Rs. 1 lakh for transferring him to Delhi.

Sir Jadunath Sarkar has made the following observation with regard to the effects of the Deccan Wars. "all seemed to have been gained by Aurangzeb now but in reality all was lost." The saddest and most hopeless chapter of his life now opened. The Mughal Empire had become too large to be ruled by one man or from one Centre. His enemies rose on all sides; he could defeat but not crush them for ever.' Lawlessness reigned in many parts of Northern and Central India. The old Emperor in the far off Deccan lost all control over his officers in Hindustan. In the province of Agra in particular, there was chronic disorder. Art and learning decayed' at the withdrawal of imperial patronage; not a single grand edifice finely written manuscript or exquisite picture commemorates Aurangzeb's reign. The endless war in the Deccan tired his treasury. Napoleon used to say, "It was the Spanish ulcer which ruined me'. The Deccan ulcer ruined Aurangzeb!

### **Effects**

Aurangzeb has been vehemently criticised for his Deccan policy. Politically, his long stay in Deccan gave a big blow to the administration of the north and let loose the centrifugal forces. Aurangzeb's long absence from the north resulted in sudden breakdown of administration which had been evolved over the centuries. Therefore, while the Deccan did prove a tremendous strain on the Mughal empire, there were other factors, of political, economic, religious and social nature, which rapidly sapped the Mughal empire of its energy.

Economically, the Deccan expenditure proved a strain on the imperial exchequer. In six months, he spent thirty lakhs from the imperial treasury apart from one crore of rupees that Jai Singh had spent on his own. At Aurangzeb's death, the Agra treasury barely possessed thirteen crores while Akbar had left over twenty crores.

### **Causes of Aurangzeb Failure**

Aurangzeb in spite of his ideals and dedication, failed to resolve the crux of the issue. A dedicated Sultan and Muslim, his ideals of Kingship was circumscribed by the tenets of the Shariyat of living Saint, he never deviated from the tenets of Islam. But while ideally suited for a theocracy, Aurangzeb proved temperamentally unfit to rule over a subcontinent where racial diversity of caste and creed, required a ruler of Akbars lofty vision, liberation and tolerance, to unite the scattered elements into a political whole. With all his intrepidity, devotion, excellent physical and mental faculties and a long reign of over sixty years, Aurangzeb could have overhauled if not totally eradicated the degenerative process of the Mughal administration machinery. Yet when he left, the empire, it was in uncertain state of affairs.

The success of the revolts, then, given the complexities of their genesis and the nature of ambition of their diverse leaders, could not lead to the creation of any new order in the place of the empire that they helped to destroy. In the period that followed, the gates were opened to anarchy and colonial conquests.

### **3.5(B) LATER MUGHALS AND DISINTEGRATION OF THE MUGHAL EMPIRE**



Aurangzeb died in 1707 and before his death he left a will by which he partitioned the empire among his three sons. In spite of this, a bitter fratricidal war took place among three sons of Aurangzeb. No body cared for the will of the father. Muazzam was the eldest son of Aurangzeb and he was the ruler of Kabul and Punjab. Mohammed Azim was the second son and was ruler of Gujrat and Malwa. Kam Bakas was the third and he was the ruler of Deccan.

Price Muzzam heard then news of the death of his father while he was in Jamrud in Afganistan he rushed to Delhi to contest for the throne. He was assisted by Munim Khan. His second son Azim-ush-Shan, also hurried to Agra and occupied the same. Muzzam himself reached Agra

On Aurangzeb's death his three sons fought among themselves for the throne. The 65 years old Bahadur Shah emerged victorious. He was leared, dignified and able. He followed a policy of compromise and conciliation and there was evidence of the reversal of some of the narrow minded policies and measures adopted by Aurangzeb. He adopted a more tolerant attitude towards the Hindu Chiefs and Rajas. There was no destruction of temples in his reign in the beginning, he made an attempt to gain greater control over the Rajput states of Amber and Marwar (Jodhpur) by replacing Jai Singh by his younger brother Vijai Singh at Amber and by forcing Ajit Singh of Marwar to submit to Mughal authority. He also made an attempt to ganison the cities of Amber and Jodhpur; This attempt was, however, met with firm resistance. This may have made him recognize the folly of his actions for he soon anived at a settlement with the two states, though the settlement was not magnanimous. Though their states were restored to the Rajas Jai Singh and Ajit Singh, their demand for high mansabs and the officers of subahdars of important provinces such as Bengal and Gujarat were not accepted. His policy towards the Maratha Sardars (chiefs) was that of half-hearted conciliation. While he granted them the Sardesh mukhi of the Deccan he failed to grant them the Chauth

and thus to satisfy them fully. He also did not recognize Shahu as the rightful Maratha king. He thus let Tara Bai and Shahu fight for supremacy over the Maratha kingdom. The result was that Shahu and the Maratha Sardars remained dissatisfied and the Deccan continued to be a prey to disorder. There could be no restoration of peace and order so long as the Maratha Sardars fought one another as well as fought against the Mughal authority.

Bahadur Shah had tried to conciliate the rebellious Sikhs by making peace with Guru Gobind Singh and giving him a high mansab (rank). But when after the death of Guru, the Sikhs once again raised the banner of revolt in the Punjab under the leadership of Banda Bahadur, the Emperor decided to take strong measures and himself led a campaign against the rebels, who soon controlled practically the entire territory between the Sutlej and Jamuna, reaching the close neighborhood of Delhi. Even though he succeeded in capturing Lahgarh, a fort built by Guru Gobind Singh north-east of Amballa at the foothills of the Himalayas and other important Sikh strong holds, the Sikhs could not be crushed and in 1722 they recovered the fort of Lohgarh.

Bahadur Shah conciliated Chatarsal, the Bundela chief, who remained a loyal feudatory and the Jat chief Churaman who joined him in the campaign against Banda Bahadur.

There was further deterioration in the field of administration in the field of administration in Bahadur Shah's reign. The position of state finances worsened as a result of his reckless grants of jagirs and promotions. During his reign the remnants of the Royal treasure, amounting in 1707 to some 13 crores of rupees were exhausted.

Bahadur Shah was groping towards a solution of the problems besetting the empire. Given time, he might have revived the imperial fortunes. Unfortunately his death in 1722 plunged the Empire once again into civil war.

A new element entered Mughal politics in this and the succeeding wars of succession. While previously the contest for power had been between royal princes and the nobles had merely aided the aspirants to the throne, now ambitious nobles became direct contenders for power and used princes as mere pawns to capture the seats of

authority. In the civil war following Bahadur Shah's death, one of his less able sons Jahandar Shah, won because he was supported by zulfiqar khan, the most powerful noble of the time.

### **3.5.2 Jahandar Shah**

Jahandar Shah was a weak and degenerate prince who was wholly devoted to pleasure. He lacked good manners and dignity and decency.

During Jahandar Shah's reign, the administration was virtually in the hands of the extremely capable and energetic zulfiqar khan, who had become his wazir. Zulfiqar Khan believed that it was necessary to establish friendly relations with the Rajput rajas and the Maratha Sardars and to conciliate the Hindu chief tains in general in order to strengthen his own position at the court and to save the empire. Therefore, he rapidly reversed the policies of Aurangzeb. The hated jizyah was abolished. Jai Singh of Amber was given the title of Mirza Raja Sawai and appointed Governor of Matwa, Ajit Singh of Marwar was awarded the title of Maharaja and appointed Governor of Gujarat. Zulfiqar Khan confirmed the earlier private arrangement that his deputy in the Deccan, Daud Khan Panni, had concluded with the Maratha king Shahu in 1711. by this arrangement, the Maratha ruler was granted the Chauth and Sardeshmukhi of the Deccan on the condition that these collections would be made by the Mughal officials and then handed over to the Maratha officials. Zulfiqar Khan also conciliated Churaman Jat and Chhatarsal Bundela only towards Banda and the Sikhs he continued the old policy of suppression.

Zulfiqar Khan made an attempt to improve the finances of the Empire by checking the reckless growth of jagirs and offices. He also tried to compel the mansabdars (nobles) to maintain their official quota of troops. An evil tendency encouraged by him was that of ijarah on revenues farming. Instead of collecting land revenue at a fixed rate as under Todar Mals land revenue settlement, the Government began to contract with revenue farmers and middlemen to pay the Government a fixed amount of money while they were left free to collect whatever they could from the peasant. This led to increased oppression of the peasant.

Many jealous nobles secretly worked against Zulfiqar Khan. Worse still, the Emperor too did not give him his trust and cooperation in full measure. The Emperor's ears were poisoned against Zulfiqar Khan by unscrupulous favouritism. He was told that his wazir was becoming too powerful and ambitious and might even overthrow the Emperor himself. The cowardly Emperor dared not dismiss the powerful wazir, but he began to intrigue against him secretly. Nothing would have been more destructive of healthy administration.

Jahandar Shah's inglorious reign came to an early end in January 1713 when he was defeated at Agra by Farrukh Siyar, his nephew.

### **3.5.3 Farrukh Siyar**

Farrukh Siyar owed his victory to the Saiyid brothers, Abdullah Khan and Husain Ali Khan Baraha, who were therefore given the offices of Wazir and Mir Bakshi respectively. The two brothers soon acquired dominant control over the affairs of the state. Farrukh Siyar lacked the capacity to rule. He was cowardly, crude, undependable and faithless. Moreover, he allowed himself to be influenced by worthless favorites and flatterers.

In spite of his weakness, Farrukh Siyar was not willing to give the Saiyid brothers a free hand but wanted to exercise personal authority. On the other hand, the Saiyid brothers were convinced that administration could be run properly, the decay of the Empire checked and their own position safeguarded only if they wielded real authority and the Emperor merely reigned without ruling. Thus there ensued a prolonged struggle for power between the Emperor Farrukh Siyar and his Wazir and Mir Bakshi. Year after year the ungrateful Emperor intrigued to overthrow the two brothers; year after year, he failed. In the end, in 1719, the Saiyid brothers deposed him and killed him. In his place they raised to the throne in quick succession two young princes who died of consumption. The Saiyid brothers now the 18 year old Muhammad Shah the Emperor of India.

The three successors of Farrukh Siyar were mere puppets in the hands of the Saiyids. Even their personal liberty to meet people and move around was restricted. Thus, from 1713 until 1720, when they were overthrown, the Saiyid brothers wielded the administrative control of the state.

### **The Saiyid Brothers**

The Saiyid brothers adopted the policy of religious toleration. They believed that India could be ruled harmoniously only by associating Hindu chiefs and nobles with the Muslim nobles in governing the country. Again, they sought to conciliate and use the Rajputs, the Marathas and the Jats in their struggle against Farrukh Siyar and the rival nobles. They abolished the jizyah at once after Farrukh Siyar's accession to the throne. Similarly, the pilgrim tax was abolished from a number of places. They won over to their side Ajit Singh of Marwar, Jai Singh of Amber and many other Rajput princes by giving them high positions of influence in the administration. They made an alliance with Churaman, the Jat chieftain. In the later years of their administration they reached an accord with king Shahu by granting him the Swarajya (of Shivaji) and the right to collect the Chauth and Sardeshmukhi of the six provinces of the Deccan. In return, Shahu agreed to support them in the Deccan with 15,000 mounted soldiers.

The Saiyid brothers made a vigorous effort to contain rebellions and to save the Empire from administrative disintegration they failed in these tasks mainly because they were faced with constant political rivalry, quarrels and conspiracies at the court. This continued friction in the ruling and conspiracies at the court. This continued friction in the ruling circles disorganized and even paralysed administration at all levels. Landlessness and disorder spread everywhere the financial position of the state deteriorated rapidly as zamindars and rebellious elements refused to pay land revenue, officials misappropriated state revenues and central income declined because of the spread of revenue farming. As a result, the salaries of the officials and soldiers could not be paid regularly and the soldiers became indisciplined and even rebellious.

Saiyid brothers had tried to appease and befriend all sections of the nobility. A powerful group of nobles headed by Nizam-ul-mulk and his father's cousin Muhammad Amin Khan began to conspire against them. These nobles were jealous of the growing power of the two brothers. The deposition and murder of Farrukh Siyar frightened many of them; , the Emperor could be killed, what safety was there for more nobles ? Moreover, the murder of Emperor created a wave of public revulsion against the two brothers. They were looked down upon as traitors-persons who had not been 'true to their self' (namak haram). Many of the nobles of Aurangzeb's reign also disliked the Saiyid alliance with the Rajput and the Maratha chiefs and their liberal policy towards the Hindus. These nobles declared that the Saiyids were following anti-Mughal and anti-Islamic policies. They thus tried to arouse the fanatical sections of the Muslim nobility against the Saiyid brothers. The anti Saiyid nobles were supported by Emperor Muhammad Shah who wanted to free himself from the control of the two brothers. In 1720, they succeeded in deceitfully assassinating Hussain Ali Khan, the younger of the two brothers. Abdullah Khan tried to fight back but was defeated near Agra. Thus ended the control of the Mughal Empire by the Saiyid brothers known in Indian history as 'king makers'.

### **Muhammed Shah**

Muhammed Shah's ruled for 30 years (1719-1748') It was the last chance of saving the Empire. There were no quick changes of imperial authority as in the period 1707-1720. When his reign began Mughal, prestige among the people was still an important political factor, the Mughal army and particularly the Mughal artillery was still a force to reckon with. Administration in northern India had deteriorated but not broken down yet. The Maratha Sardar were still confined to the South, while the Rajput Rajas continued to be loyal to the Mughal dynasty. A strong and farsighted ruler supported by a nobility conscious of its peril might still have saved the situation. But Muhammad Shah was not the man of the moment. He was feeble minded and lighthearted and over fond of ease and luxury. He abandoned the affairs of state. Instead of giving full support to able

Wazirs such as Nizam-ul-Mulk, he fell under the evil influence of corrupt and worthless flatterers and intrigued against his own ministers. He even shared in the bribes taken by his favourite courtiers.

Shocked with the fickle mindedness and doubtful nature of the Emperor and the constant quarrels at the court, Nizam-ul-Mulk, the most powerful noble of the time, decided to follow his own ambition. He had become the Wazir in 1722 and had made a vigorous attempt to improve the administration. He now decided to leave the Emperor and his Empire to their fate and to strike out on his own. He relinquished his office in October 1724 and marched south to found the state of Hyderabad in the Deccan. "His departure was symbolic of the flight of loyalty and virtue from the empire", the physical break-up of the Mughal Empire had begun.

The other powerful and determined nobles also now began to utilize their energies for carving out semi independent states. Hereditary nawabs owing allegiance to the emperor, for example in Bengal, Hyderabad, Awadh and Punjab. Everywhere petty Zamindars, Rajas and nawabs raised the banner of rebellion and independence. The Maratha Sardars began their northern growth and overran Malwa, Gujarat and Bundelkhand. Then in 1738-39 invaded India and the empire by force.

As a result of the invasion of Nadir Shah and Abdali the internal feuds of the Mughal nobility, the Mughal empire had by 1761 ceased to exist in practice as an all India Empire. It remained merely as the kingdom of Delhi.

Shah Alam II, who ascended the throne in 1759, spent the initial years as an emperor wandering from place to place far away from his capital. In 1764 he joined Mir Qasim of Bengal and Shuja-ud-Daula of Awadh in declaring war upon the English East India Company. Defeated the British at the Battle of Buxar, he lived for some years at Allahabad as prisoner of the East India Company. He left the British shelter in 1772 and returned to Delhi under the protective arm of the Marathas. The British occupied Delhi in 1803 AD and from that year till 1857, when Mughal dynasty finally extinguished.

## **Conclusion**

Thus we see that the later Mughals ruled over India for more than a century and half (1707-1858 AD) which in a pretty long time, but they failed to establish their power and maintain their prestige according to the honour and glory of the early Maghul emperors. Actually their own incompetence contributed to their downfall and also led the Mughal empire towards collapse.

### **3.5.4 DECLINE OF THE MUGHAL EMPIRE ITS POLITICAL, ADMINISTRATIVE AND ECONOMIC CAUSES**

#### **Introduction**

The Mughal Empire, which had reached its pinnacle during the rule of Akbar, Jahangir, Shah Jahan and his sons, began to decline after the rule of



Aurangzeb. In fact decline began during the last days of Aurangzeb. There are several causes responsible for the downfall of this great empire. Let us analyse the causes that hastened the fall of the Mughal empire after Aurangzeb.

### **Responsibility of Aurangzeb**

Aurangzeb was mainly responsible for the collapse of the Mughal empire. One of the primary failures of Aurangzeb lay in the realm of statesmanship. He was not willing to identify to the full the Maratha demand for local autonomy, failing to grasp the fact that Shivaji and other Marath Sardars represented forces which cannot be easily crushed. Akbar, placed in similar circumstances, had made an alliance with the Rajput Princes and Chiefs. Aurangzeb too would have been well advised to win over the Maratha Sardars. Instead, he chose to suppress them. His fruitless but tiring campaign against the Marathas extended over many years, it exhausted the resources of his empire and ruined the trade and industry of the Deccan. Secondly, his absence from the north for over 25 years and his failure to suppress the Marathas led to the weakening of administration, this undermined the prestige of the Empire and its army, led to the neglect of the vital north-west frontier, and encouraged provincial and local officials to confront central authority and to dream of independence. Later in the 18th century Maratha expansion in the north weakened central authority still further.

### **Clash with Rajput**

Aurangzeb's inconsistency with some of the Rajput states also had serious consequences. Alliance with the Rajput Rajas with the consequent military support was one of the main pillars of Mughal strength in the past. Aurangzeb himself had in the beginning adhered to the Rajput alliance by raising Jaswant Singh of Marwar and Jai

Singh of Amber to the highest of ranks. But his short-sighted attempt later to reduce the strength of the Rajput Rajas and to re-extend imperial sway over their lands led to the withdrawal of their loyalty from the Mughal throne. Wars which the Rajput rajas further weakened the Empire and encouraged separation. In particular they extended to create a wall between the Hindu and the Muslim upper classes.

### **Uprising of Satnami, Jat and Sikh**

The potency of Aurangzeb's administration was challenged at its very nerve centre around Delhi by the Satnami, the Jat and the Sikh uprisings. Even though the number of people involved in these uprisings was not large, they were significant because they were popular in character-peasants formed their strength of character. All of them were to a significant extent the result of the oppression of the Mughal revenue officials over the peasantry. They showed that the peasantry was deeply discontented with feudal oppression by zamindars, nobles and the state.

### **Religious policy**

Aurangzeb's religious policy and his policy towards the Hindu rulers seriously damaged the stability of the Mughal Empire. The Mughal state in the days of Akbar, Jahangir, and Shahjahan was fundamentally a secular state. Its stability was essentially founded on the policy of non-interference with the religious beliefs and customs of the people, fostering of friendly relations between Hindus and Muslims. Aurangzeb made an attempt to reverse this policy by imposing the Jiziya destroying many of the Hindu temples in the north, and putting certain restrictions on the Hindus. In this way he tended to alienate the Hindus, split Mughal society and in particular, to widen the gulf between the Hindu and Muslim upper classes. But the role of the religious policy of Aurangzeb in causing the decay of Mughal power should not be over-stressed. It was speedily abandoned by his Successors. The Jiziyah was abolished within a few years of Aurangzeb's death. Amicable relations with the Rajput and other Hindu nobles and chiefs were soon restored; and some of them such as Ajit Singh Rathor and Sawai Jai Singh rose to high offices under the later Mughals. It should also be kept in view that

the Rajput, Jat, Maratha and Sikh chieftains of the 18th century also did not behave as champions of the Hindus. Power and plunder were more important considerations to them than religious solidarity. In fact, neither the Hindus nor the Muslims formed a homogenous community at the time. Sometime the Hindu and Muslim nobles and chiefs used religion as a weapon of propaganda to achieve their political aims. But even more often they formed mutual alliances against fellow coreligionists for gaining power, territory, or money. Moreover, both the Hindu and the Muslim nobles, Zamindars, and chiefs ruthlessly oppressed and exploited the common people irrespective of their religion. The Hindu peasantry of Maharashtra or Rajputana paid as high an amount in land revenue as did the Hindu on Muslim peasantry in Agra or Bengal or Avadh.

### **War of Succession**

If Aurangzeb left the Empire with many tribulations unsolved, the condition was further worsened by the disastrous wars of succession. In the absence of any fixed rule of succession, the Mughal dynasty was always plagued after the death of a king by civil war between the princes. These wars of succession became extremely violent and destructive during the 18th century. They resulted in great loss of life and property. Thousands of trained soldiers and hundreds of capable military commanders and efficient and tried officials were killed. Moreover, these civil wars loosened the administrative fabric of the Empire. The nobility, the backbone of the Empire, was transformed into warring factions.

The weaknesses of Aurangzeb's reign and the evils of the wars of succession might still have been overcome if able, far-sighted and energetic rulers had appeared on the throne. Unfortunately, after Bahadur Shah's brief reign came a long reign of utterly worthless, weak-willed and luxury-loving kings the character and personality of the ruler do play a crucial role.

### **Nobility**

Apart from the Personalities of the Great Mughals the strength of the Mughal Empire lay in the Organisation and character of its nobility. The weakness of the king could have been successfully overcome and covered up by an alert, efficient and loyal nobility. But the nature of the nobility had also deteriorated. Many nobles lived extravagantly and beyond their means. Many of them became ease-loving and fond of excessive luxury. Many of them neglected even the art of fighting. They were often poorly educated.

A large number of vigorous and able officials and brave and brilliant military commanders came into prominence during the 18th century but most of them did not benefit the Empire because they used their talents to promote their own interest and to fight each other rather than to serve the state and society.

In fact, contrary to the popular belief, the major weakness of the Mughal nobility during the 18th century lay, not in the decline in the average ability of the nobles or their moral decay, but in their selfishness and lack of devotion to the state. In order to increase their power- prestige, and income, the nobles formed groups and factions against each other and even against the king. Their mutual quarrels exhausted the empire, affected its cohesion, led to its dismemberment and in the end made it an easy prey to foreign conquerors. Thus, the decadence of the later Mughal nobility lay not so much in private vice as in lack of public virtue and political foresight and in its devotion to the short-sighted pursuit of power. But these characteristics were not the monopoly of the Mughal nobility at the centre. They were found in equal measure among the rising Maratha chiefs, the Rajput rajas, the Jat, the Sikh, and the Bundela chiefs, the new rulers of autonomous provinces and the other innumerable adventurers who rose to fame and power during the troubled 18th century.

### **Economic causes**

One of the main causes of the rising selfishness and cliquishness of the nobles was the scarcity of Jagirs and the reduced income of the existing jagirs at a time when the number of nobles and their expenditure was going up. The heart of the matter perhaps was that no arrangement could have been made which would satisfy all the nobles, for there were just not enough offices and jagirs for all. The paucity of Jagirs had some other consequences. The nobles tried to get the maximum income from their jagirs at the cost of the peasantry. They tried to transform their existing jagirs and offices into hereditary ones. To balance their own budgets they tended to appropriate khalisah (crown) lands, thus intensifying the financial crisis of the Central Government.

### **Problem of Revenue**

A basic reason of the collapse of the Mughal Empire was that it could no longer satisfy the minimum needs of its population. The condition of the Indian peasant gradually worsened during the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries. The burden of land revenue went on rising from Akbar's time. Moreover, constant transfer of nobles from their jagirs also led to great evil. They tried to extract as much from a jagir as possible in the short period of their tenure as jagirdars. They made heavy demands on the peasants and cruelly oppressed them often in violation of official regulations.

### **Problem of Agriculture**

All these factors led to stagnation and weakening in agriculture and the hardship of the peasant. Peasant dissatisfaction increased and came to the surface. There are some instances of the peasants leaving the land to avoid paying taxes. Peasant discontent also found an outlet in a series of uprisings (the satnamies, the Jats, the Sikhs, etc) which battered the stability and power of the empire.

As a matter of fact, agriculture was no longer producing enough surplus to meet the needs of the Empire, of constant warfare and of the increased, luxury of the ruling classes. If the Empire was to survive and regain its strength and if the people were to go forward, trade and industry alone could provide the additional economic resources. But it was precisely in trade and industry that stagnation was most evident. But unlike in Europe at this time, Indian industry did not make any new advances in science and technology. Similarly, the growth of trade was hampered by bad communications and by the self-sufficient nature of village economy. Moreover- emphasis on land as a source of wealth and government revenue led to the neglect of overseas trade and the navy. In the absence of scientific and technological development and a social economic and political revolution, India lagged behind Europe economically and politically and succumbed to its pressure.

### **Absence of Nationalism**

An important socio-political cause of the downfall of the Mughal Empire was the absence of the spirit of political nationalism among the people. The people of India did not feel that they were all Indians, nor were they conscious of oneness or of having common interests, even though elements of cultural unity had existed in the country for centuries. Therefore, there did not exist the ideal of living and dying for one's nation. Instead people were loyal to persons, tribes castes and religious sects.

### **Failure of Administration**

The Mughal Empire might have continued to survive for a long time if its administration and armed power had not broken down. There was a fast decline in the administrative efficiency of the Empire during the 18th century. Administration was neglected and law and order broke down in many parts of the country. Even the royal camp and Mughal armies on the march were often plundered by hostile elements. Corruption and bribery, indiscipline and inefficiency, disobedience and disloyalty prevailed on a large scale among officials at all levels. The central Government was often on the verge of

bankruptcy. The old accumulated wealth was exhausted while the existing sources of income were narrowed. The area of the Khalisah lands was gradually reduced as emperors tried to soothe friendly nobles by granting Jagirs out of these lands. The mutinous zamindars regularly withheld revenue. Efforts to increase income by oppressing the peasantry produced popular reaction

### **Role of Army**

The might of the Empire was affected. During the 18th century the Mughal army lacked obedience and combating morale. Lack of finance made it difficult to maintain a large army. Its soldiers and officers weren't paid for months and, since they were mere mercenaries, they were constantly disaffected and often verged on a mutiny. Moreover, the civil wars resulted in the death of many brilliant commanders and brave, and experienced soldiers. Thus, the army, the ultimate sanction of an empire and the pride of the Great Mughals was so destabilized that it could no longer grab the ambitious chiefs and nobles and defend the Empire from foreign aggression.

### **Foreign Invasion**

The final blow to the Mughal Empire was given by a series of foreign incursion. Attacks by Nadir Shah and Ahmad Shah Abdali, which were themselves the consequences of the weakness of the empire, drain the Empire of its wealth, ruined its trade and industry in the North and almost shattered its military power. Finally, the emergence of the British challenge took away the last hope of the revival of the crisis ridden Empire.

### **Conclusion**

In this last fact lies the most important result of the decline of the Mughal Empire. None of the Indian power rose to claim the legacy of the Maghul for they were strong

enough to destroy the Empire but not strong enough to unite it or to create any thing new in its place. They could not create a new social order which could stand up to the new enemy from the west. All of them represented the same declining social system as headed by the Maghul and all of them suffered from the same weakness which had destroyed the mighty Maghul Empire.

### **3.6 ©EMERGENCIES OF REGIONAL IDENTITIES :**

#### **BENGAL, AWADH, NIZAMS's DECCAN**

##### **Introduction**

On the ruins of the Mughal Empire and its political system arose a large number of self-governing and semi-independent powers such as Bengal, Avadh, Hyderabad, Mysore and the Maratha kingdom. It is these powers which challenged the British supremacy in India in the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The rulers of these states established law and order and viable economic and administrative states. They curbed, with varying degree of success, the lower local officials and petty chiefs, no zamindars who constantly fought with higher authorities for control over the surplus produce of the peasant and who sometimes succeeded in establishing local centres of power and patronage.

The politics of these states were invariably non-communal or secular, the motivations of their rulers being similar in economic and political terms. These rulers did not distinguish on religious grounds in public appointments, civil or military; nor did the rebels against their authority pay much attention to the religion of the rulers.



None of these states, however, succeeded in arresting the economic crisis. The zamindars and Jagirdars, whose number constantly increased continued to fight over a declining income from agriculture while with the condition of the peasantry continued to deteriorate. While these states prevented only break down of internal trade and even tried to promote foreign trade, they did nothing to modernize the basic industrial and commercial structure of their states.

## **Bengal**

Taking advantage of the mounting weakness of the centre authority, two men of exceptional ability, Murshid Quli Khan and Alivardi Khan, made Bengal almost independent. Even though Murshid Quli Khan was made Governor of Bengal as late as 1717, he had been its successful ruler since 1700, when he was appointed its Dewan. He soon freed himself from central control though he sent regular tribute to the Emperor. He established peace by freeing Bengal of internal and external danger. Bengal was now also relatively free of uprisings by zamindars. The only three major uprisings during his rule were first by Sitaram Ray, Udai Narayan and Ghuram Muhammad and then by Shujat Khan, and finally by Najat Khan. After defeating them, Murshid euli Khan gave their zamindars to his favourity, Ramjivan. Murshid Quli Khan died in 1727 and his son-in-law Shuja-ud-din ruled Bengal till 1739. In that year, Alivardi Khan deposed and killed Shuja-ud-din's son Sarfaraz Khan and made himself the Nawab.

These three Nawabs gave Bengal a long period of peace and orderly administration and promoted its trade and industry. Murshid Quli Khan effected economies in the administration and reorganized the finances of Bengal by transferring large parts of jagir lands into Khalisah land by carrying out a fresh revenue settlement and by introducing system of revenue-farming. He also granted agricultural loans (Taccavi) to the poor cultivators to relieve their distress as well as to enable them to pay land revenue in time. He was thus able to increase the resources of the Bengal Government. But the system of revenue-farming led to increased economic pressure on

the peasant. Moreover, even though he demanded only the standard revenue and forbade illegal cases, he collected the revenue from the zamindars and the peasants with utmost cruelty. Another result of his reforms was that many of the older zamindars were driven out and their place taken by upstart revenue farmers.

Murshid Quli Khan and the succeeding Nawabs gave identical opportunities for employment to Hindus and Muslims. They filled the highest civil posts and many of the military posts with Bengalis, most of whom were Hindus. In choosing revenue farmers Murshid Quli Khan gave preference to local zamindars and Mahajans (money-lenders) who were mainly Hindus. He thus laid the foundations of a new landed aristocracy in Bengal .

All the three Nawabs recognized that expansion of trade benefited the people and the Government and therefore, gave encouragement to all merchants, Indian or foreign. They provided for the safety of roads and rivers from thieves and robbers by establishing regular Thans and Chowkies. They checked private trade by officials. They prevented abuses in the customs administration. At the same time they made it a point to maintain strict control over the foreign trading companies and their servants and prevented them from abusing their privileges. They forced the servants of the English East India Company to obey the laws of the land and to pay the same customs duties as were being paid by other merchants. Alivardi Khan did not permit the English and French to fortify their factories in Calcutta and Chandrangar. The Bengal Nawabs proved, however to be short sighted and negligent in one respect. They did not firmly put down the increasing tendency of the English East India Company after 1757 to use military force or to threaten its use to get its demands accepted. They had the power to deal with the companies threats but they continued to believe that a mere trading company could not threaten their power. They failed to see that the English Company was no mere company of traders but was the representative of the most aggressive and expansionist colonialism of the time. Their ignorance of and lack of contact with the rest of the world was to cost the state dear otherwise. They would have known of the

destruction caused by the western trading companies in Africa, South-East-Asia and Latin America.

The Nawabs of Bengal neglected to build a strong army and paid a heavy price for it. For example, the army of Murshid Quli Khan consisted of only 2000 cavalry and 4000 infantry. Alivardi Khan was constantly troubled by the repeated invasions of the Marathas and in the end he had to cede a large part of Orissa to them. And when, in 1756-57 the English East India Company declared war on Siraj-ud-Doulat the successor of Alivardi. The absence of a strong army contributed much to the victory of the foreigner. The Bengal Nawabs also failed to check the growing corruption among their officials. Even judicial officials, the Qazi and Muftis were given to taking bribes. The foreign companies took full advantage of this weakness to undermine official rules and regulations and policies.

## **Avadh**

The state of Avadh was founded by Saadat Khan Burkhan-ul-Mulk. He was appointed Governor of Avadh in 1722. He was an enormously brave, vigorous, iron-willed and bright person. At the time of his appointment, rebellious zamindars had raised their heads everywhere in the province. They refused to pay the land tax, organized their own private armies, erected forts and defied the imperial Government. For years Saadat Khan had to wage war upon them. He succeeded in suppressing chaos and disorderliness among the big zamindars and thus increasing the financial resources of his government. Most of the defeated zamindars were however not displaced. They were usually confirmed in their estates after they had submitted and agreed to pay their dues (land revenue) regularly. Moreover, they continued to be refractory. Whenever the Nawab's military hold weakened or he was engaged in some other direction, they would rebel, thus weakening the Nawab's power. As Safdar Jang, Saadat Khan's successor, later wrote:- "The Avadh chiefs were capable of creating a disturbance in the twinkling of an eye and were more dangerous than the Marathas of the Deccan." Saadat Khan also carried out a fresh revenue settlement in 1723. He is

said to have improved the lot of the peasant by levying equitable land revenue and by protecting him from oppression by the big zamindars.

Like the Bengal Nawabs, he too did not distinguish between Hindus and Muslims. Many of his commanders and high officials were Hindus and he curbed refractory zamindars, chiefs and nobles irrespective of their religion. His troops were well-paid, well-armed and well trained. His administration was well-organized. Before his death in 1739, he had become virtually independent and had made the province an inherited possession. He was succeeded by his nephew Safdar Jang, who was at the same time appointed the Wazir of the Empire in 1748 and granted in addition the province of Allahabad.

Safdar Jang gave a long period of peace to the people of Avadh and Allahabad before his death in 1754. He suppressed rebellious zamindars and made an alliance with the Maratha Sardars so that his dominion was saved from their incursions. He carried on warfare against the Roelas and the Bangash Pathans. In his war against the Bangash Nawabs in 1750, he secured Maratha military help by paying a daily allowance of Rs.25,000 and Jat support by paying Rs.15,000 a day. Later, he entered into an agreement with the Peshwa by which the Peshwa was to help the Mughal Empire against Ahmad Shah Abdali and to protect it from such internal rebels as the Indian Pathans and the Rajput rajas. In return the Peshwa was to be paid Rs.50 lakhs, granted the Chauth of the Punjab, Sindh and several districts of northern India and made the Governor of Ajmer and Agra. The agreement failed, however, as the Peshwa went over to Safdar Jang's enemies at Delhi who promised him the governorship of Avadh and Allahabad. Safdar Jang also organized an equitable system of justice. He too adopted a policy of impartiality in the employment of Hindus and Muslims. The highest post in his Government was held by a Hindu, Maharaja Nawab Rai.

The prolonged period of peace and of economic prosperity of the nobles under the government of the Nawabs resulted in time in the growth of a distinct Lucknow culture around the Avadh court. Lucknow, for long an important city of Avadh and the

seat of the Avadh Nawabs after 1775, soon rivaled Delhi in its patronage of arts and literature. It also developed as an important centre of handicrafts.

Safdar Jang maintained a very high standard of personal morality. All his life he was devoted to his only wife. As a matter of fact all the founders of the three autonomous kingdoms of Hyderabad, Bengal and Avadh, namely, Nizam-ul-Mulk, Murshid Quli Khan and Alivardi Khan and Saadat Khan and Safdar Jang, were men of high personal decency. Nearly all of them led austere and simple lives. Their lives give rise to the belief that all the leading nobles of the 18th century led extravagant and luxurious lives. It was only in their public and political dealings that they resorted to fraud, intrigue and treachery.

## **Deccan**

The independent state of Hyderabad in the Deccan was founded by Chin Qilich Khan, titled Nizam-ul-Mulk Asaf Jah afterwards. At the time of the death of Aurangzeb, he was at Bijapur. He observed perfect neutrality in the war of succession which ensued between the sons of Aurangzeb. Bahadur Shah I, who became the emperor after finishing his rivals, removed him from the Deccan and made him the governor of Awadh and faujdar of Gorakhpur.

After the death of Bahadur Shah, he supported the cause of Farrukhsiyar against Jahandar Shaha. Therefore, when Farrukhsiyar became the emperor, he appointed him governor of the six Subahs of the Deccan and awarded him the titles of Khan Khanan and Nizam-ul-Mulk Bahadur Fatah Jang. From that time onwards, he thought of nothing except to rule over the Deccan independently of Delhi.

He however, was recalled to Delhi in 1715 AD. He was first appointed at Moradabad and then as the Governor of Malwa. His activities in Malwa aroused the jealousy of the Sayyid brothers who were de-facto rulers of Delhi at that time. They planned to throw away Nizam from Malwa. This time Nizam opposed them. He defeated and killed

Dilawar Khan who was sent to displace him from Malwa. He also captured forts of Asirgarh and Burhanpur and thus became the undisputed master of the Deccan.

After the fall of the Sayyid brothers, emperor Muhammad Shah called him to Delhi and appointed him to Wazir of the empire. He however did not find the atmosphere of the court friendly for himself and left for the Deccan. The new Governor of the Deccan, Mubariz Khan opposed him as he was secretly advised to do so by the emperor. But the Mizam enlisted the support of the Marathas and defeated Mubariz Khan in the battle of Sakharkharda in 1724 A.D. He occupied Hyderabad in 1724 A.D, that marked the founding of the independent state of Hyderabad. Nizam-ul-mulk from that time ruled as an independent ruler in the Deccan except that he did not use an imperial umbrella and mint coin in his name.

Nizam-ul-Mulk faced greatest challenge from the Marathas who under the leadership of Peshwa Bajji Rao I were determined to collect Chauth and Sardeshmukhi from the six Subahs of the Deccan and limit the power of Nizam. Nizam was an shrewd diplomate and a competent commander. He tried to divide the Marathas, roused the ambition of senapati Trimabak Rao against Peshwa Bajji Rao and refused to pay Chauth and Sardeshmukhi. But, Bajji Rao proved more than a match for him. He defeated Nizam twice-first at phalkhed in 1728 AD. and, next time near Bhopal in 1738 AD. Therefore, both times he had to purchase peace from the Peshwa and agree to pay Chauth and Sardeshmukhi besides other terms. Thus, Bajji Rao successfully put a check on the power of Nizam in the Deccan. In between Nizam was once called to the Mughal court and awarded the title of Asaf Jah. Once more he was called to the court from the Deccan to settle the terms of peace with Nadir Shah. He failed to settle anything with Nadir Shah and returned back to Deccan. Thereafter, he did not participate in the politics of Delhi. He died in 1748 A.D. at the age of seventy-seven. Nizam was the first independent ruler of Hyderabad and he was also the most capable one among the rulers of the Deccan.

Uncertainty prevailed in the Deccan after the death of Nizam-ul-mulk-Nasir Jang . Muzaffar Jang contested for the throne and took help of the English and the French respectively which resulted in increased influence of those powers, in turn in the affairs of the state. The meddling of the Marathas in the politics of the Deccan and the rise of the state of Mysore under Haider Ali created further complications for the rulers of Hyderabad. The participation of the state of Hyderabad in the politics of the Deccan afterwards was humiliating and it paid the price for it. In September, 1798 A.D. the Nizam of Hyderabad entered into a subsidiary alliance with the English and virtually became their secondary ally.

## **Conclusion**

The dismemberment of the empire and the emergency of these states did not adversely effected the political and economic development of the area. In brief, all the three provincial kingdom of Bengal, Awadh and Deccan pursued similar policy. All their rulers were men of high personnel morality and all of them did a lot of good to the public by maintaining peace and checking various forms of corruption.

### **3.7 (D)Rise of Marathas**

## **Introduction**

The glory of the rise of the Marathas goes to Shivaji. But it is a fact that the background of their rise had already been prepared before the rise of Shivaji on the horizon of Indian History. Dr. Ishwani Prasad affirms that the rise of Shivaji was not a strong event in the history of Maharashtra. Shivaji did not rise to power by sheer did not of his bravery and courage but the geographical situation and the people of that region contributed to it all , who cooperated and supported him with all three might.

Owing to specified geographical conditions of Maharashtra some special characteristics flourished in the character of the inhabitants of Maharashtra. The hilly range of Deccan always saved them from the invaders. Different problems of livelihood

made the Marathas strong, industrious and self confident. The secret of success of their guerilla warfare lay in the valleys and caves of Maharastra which defended them like strong forts. J.N. Sarkar mentions that nature had stuffed Marathas with toleration, clarity and social equality. There was no difference among the Marathas and their women were completely complement and helpful to them in their patriotism and strength.

### **3.7.1 Shivaji (AD 1627-1680)**

Historians have conflicting opinions about the date of birth of Shivaji. V.K. Rajware and B.G. Tilak mention in Shiva Charitra Pradeep that he was born in A.D. 1627 whereas some other historians like J.N. Sarkar considered 19th March A.D. 1630 to be the date of birth of Shivaji. He was born in the hilly fort of Shivner near Junnar to Jija Bai who was the first wife of Shahji Bhonsel. As Shahji Bhonsel married another woman Tuka Bai Mohite, in his early age Shivaji was taken by his mother fond to his grandfather, Dadaji Kondeva, brought him up with great care. From the very childhood Shivaji was fearless. In the making of his character and personality the three great personalities- Jija Bai, his mother, Guru Samarth Ram Das and Dadaji Kondva- contributed a lot. Soon he became specialist both in the religious scriptures and in handling various arms.

When Shaji Bhonsel handed over to Shivaji his Jagir of Poona, he was only twelve years old. In A.D. 1641, he was married to Sai Bai Nimbalkar at Bangalore. The town of Joudali had a great significance in the rise of Shivaji where mostly Nawalis lived. Shivaji organized them by his military ability and began to conquer forts, one after the other.

The year A.D. 1646 was very precarious for Bijapur as problem of law and order emerged there and anarchy and insecurity prevailed in the entire kingdom. Shivaji, took advantage of this situation and attained some early victories. It is not certain whether Shivaji wanted to establish a Hindushaki kingdom in Deccan or he was endeavouring



just to satisfy his ambitions. Dadaji kondeva was against this tendency of Shivaji. But Dadaji Kondeva breathed his last in A.D. 1641, hence Shivaji got an opportunity to lead his self decided path with out interruption.

### **Early Expeditions of Shivaji**

First of all Shivaji conquered the fort of Toran and found immense wealth there. He utilized this wealth in building the famous fort of Rajgarh and organizing his army. Later on he attained victory over other Kingdoms of Bijapur. As a result of Shivaji's victories, the Sultan of Bijapur put his father Shahji into imprisonment on the charge of treason. Shahji endeavoured to set his father free with the help of prince Murad Bakhsha but he did not succeed. J. N. Sarkar opined that Shahji was freed by the efforts of Sarja Khan and Randaula Khan, nobles of Bijapur, and Murad did not support Shivaji. Dr. A.L. Srivastava writes, "The release could be possible only after Shivaji had returned the conquered forts."

After an unstable and temporary truce, Shivaji again resorted to conquests and established his control over Jawali in A.D. 1556: Chandra Rao Mal, a noble of Jawali, was put to death for he planned a conspiracy to check the expansion of Shivaji in Deccan with the help of the Suljan of Bijapur; Khafi Khan has pointed out that the power of Shivaji went on increasing day by day. He captured some of the forts of Bijapur. Within a short span of time, Shivaji attained power and prosperity. According to J.N. Sarkar, the Victory of Jawali was the outcome of well – planned murder and conspiracy. He failed to enhance his meager power through proper means. However, the conquest of Jawali proved very significant for Shivaji. He got efficient warriors from there and captured the vast treasury of Morios.

Mughul Maratha relation

### **First conflict Between Marathas and Mughals-**

Perhaps Shivaji, being a shrewd politician and efficient diplomat, did not want to wage a war against the Mughals and the Bijapur's at a time. In A.D. 1656, after the death of Muhammad Adil Shah Aurangzeb planned to invade Bijapur. Shivaji was prepared to support Aurangzeb on the condition that Aurangzeb recognized his victories in Bijapur. But seeing the indifferent attitude of Aurangzeb he concluded a pact with the Sultan of Bijapur, and Maratha soldiers and commanders, plundered the region upto Ahmadnagar. Shivaji himself entered Junnar and they looted three lakh along with some horses. Aurangzeb wanted to punish Shivaji but he could not take any action against the Maratha Chief, because in A.D. 1657 war of succession broke out among the sons of Shahjahan due to his illness. Aurangzeb had to withdraw his attention from Deccan to the Mughal throne.

### **Invasion of Kankan**

When Shahjahan was emperor he had ordered his son Aurangzeb to launch an expedition against this 'province due to its constantly deterioration position. In the meanwhile, war of succession irrupted among the Mughal princes and Aurangzeb was very much involved in it. So Shivaji got an appropriate opportunity to increase his power and to strengthen his army for the extension of his empire. He unsuccessfully endeavored to attain victory against the sides. In A.D. 1657, Shivaji achieved victory over Kankan and forced the Portuguese for the payment of, revenue. Shivaji got a vast booty from this place.

### **Murder of Afzal Khan**

Afzal Khan was sent against Shivaji in order to crush his increasing influence. He was also Known as Abdullah Bhattari. He was proud of his efficiency in war and used to say, "I will imprison Shivaji without being dismounted from his horse." Afzal Khan proceeded from Bijapur. He plundered the temples in the territory of Shivaji and destroyed the images. A contemporary historian has remarked about the success of Shivaji that within no time, Khan turned the conquered land of Shivaji into "Jalaurgah' (the land of the

horse-riders). Afzal Khan endeavored to entrap Shivaji into his clutches with the help of Krishnaji Bhaskar. With the help of his spy Shivaji came to know that Afzal Khan had conspired to arrest him at the time of meeting. As per plan a meeting was arranged between these two diplomats on the top of the hill and below the fort of Pratapgarh. Shivaji went to the spot well prepared. He hid his soldiers in the nearby bushes. He wore a Kavach (armour), put on lion paw (Bagh nakha) and 'Bichhuwa' for attacking the enemy, at the time of need. At the spot Afzal Khan showing his compassion embraced Shivaji and tied him in his arms. He also used his dagger to kill the Maratha Chief but as he was putting on a Kavach (armour) he could not be hurt. At the same time Shivaji pulled out the intestines of Afzal Khan with the help of 'Baghnakh' and 'Bichhuwa'. Sayyid Banda, a companion of Afzal Khan hit on his head but it did not affect as Shivaji was wearing an iron helmet below the turban. At the same time the Maratha soldiers came out of the bush and forced the soldiers of Bijapur to run away.

Had Shivaji not been acquainted with the conspiracy of Afzal Khan, he would have been assassinated by him. Actually he paid Afzal Khan in his own coin and hence his act was justified against the strategy of Afzal Khan who wanted to deceive Shivaji. The slightest carelessness of Shivaji would not only have changed the result of this meeting but also the history of the Marathas.

### **Encirclement of Shivaji in Panchala**

The victorious Maratha forces invaded Kolhapur out of enthusiasm and established their control over the fort of Panchala. The Sultan of Bijapur at once dispatched Sidi Jauhar and Fazal Khan, son of deceased Afzal Khan, against the Marathas. Shivaji cleverly won the favour of Sidi Jauhar but Afzal Khan alone continued efforts to recapture the fort. In A.D. 1660, when Shivaji felt the fall of the fort inevitable, he proceeded to Vishalgarh.

### **Shaista Khan and Shivaji**

After the second coronation ceremony Aurangzeb posted his maternal uncle Shaistan Khan in Deccan and ordered him in clear terms to crush the power of Marathas in Deccan. Shaista Khan established his control over the fort of Chakan by his diplomatic tricks. He also tried to capture the province of Konkan and attained victory over Katlan again but Shivaji was not less efficient than his rival Shaista Khan. He soon recaptured Konkan, Kolaba and Ratnagiri from the Mughals.

In A.D. 1660, Shaista Khan came back to Poona and stayed in Lal Mahal where Shivaji had passed his childhood, Shivaji made a scheme of night attack against Shaista Khan. He entered the campus of Mughal camp with his four hundred trusted and selected soldiers. On enquiry they told the royal guards that they were soldiers of the royal army in the south and were going to join their new posting. After taking some rest, the Marathas soldiers reached the abode of Shaista Khan in the night. In one stroke a thumb of Shaista Khan was cut down and he was sure to risk his life when at this critical juncture an intelligent woman put out the lamp. So taking the advantage of the darkness, Shaista Khan could escape from the camp but his son died in defence of his father. Khaf! Khan remarks that this act of Shivaji terrified the Mughal court. They felt that Shivaji had some magic power because he wounded the Governor of Deccan Shaista Khan in his own camp in his bedroom where he was surrounded with his maidservants and body guards. Thus the night attack of Shivaji proved completely successful and the Mughal commanders did not attack the retreating Maratha Soldiers out of fear.

### **Plunder of Surat**

From 6th January to 10<sup>th</sup> January A.D. 1664 Shivaji plundered the most prosperous port of Surat. After making a secret scheme Shivaji started an invasion against Surat when the process of exchange subedars was going on in Aurangzeb. The sudden attack of Marathas terrified the people and they began to flee away with their families. The Marathas, therefore, plundered unguarded and depopulated port of Surat freely. They procured as much wealth from the coffers of the rich people as they could

and set their houses on fire. J.N, Sarkar writes that nobody opposed the plunder. heaps of all kinds of things were placed before Shivaji, The Marathas took advantage of their four days stay in the town and did not show cruelty towards any one. The ruler of Surat tried to assassinate Shivaji but he murder himself became a victim of the sword of Shivajis bodyguard, On 10h January A.D, 1664 when Shivaji came to know about the arrival of a vast Mughal army for the defence of the city, he secretly slipped away from surat along with his soldiers and booty' Shivaji gathered about one crore rupees in all from this plunder. moreover, the town of Surat became 'Besurat'(without beauty) as result of plunder and fire.

### **Arrival of Jai singh and the treaty of purandar**

Seeing the growing power of Shivaji, Aurangzeb posted Raja Jai Singh of Amber against him. Jai Singh was a great commander and he was honoured several times in the reign of Shahjahan for his brilliant successes. Besides being a brave soldier and General Raja Jai Singh was shrewd politician and worthy diplomat. He separated Shivaji from Adil Shah very skillfully. Raja Jai Singh intended to terrify him by organizing all his opponents and making their use against him at a stretch.

So he gained the favour of the Portuguese, the Sidis, the Morios and Afzal Khan in order to achieve his object. With a view to encircling Shivaji in Purandar, jai Singh attacked the fort of Bajragarh, and the fall of Bajragarh made the defence of Porbandar difficult for Shivaji. On the other hand Jai Singh was plundering and terrifying the Maratha territory constantly, The successes of Jai Singh forced Shivaji to conclude a treaty with Aurangzeb, But Jai Singh did not accept the proposal of Shivaji at the outset as he was well aware with the nature and tendency of Shivaji but after getting a promise and assurance of his life and honour Shivaji went to meet the Rajput commander on 24h June A.D. 1665 in person. Raja Jai Singh welcomed the Maratha ruler with due respect and made him seated beside him. After the treaty of Purander was signed the fort of Purander was surrendered to the Mughals and Shivaji was honoured with a Khillat from the Mughat emperor. After a prolonged discussion

between Raja Rai singh and Shivaji the following terms were included in the treaty of Purander.

(1) Out of his thirty-five forts, shivaji handed over twenty – three forts to the Mughals which had an annual income of 40 lakh Rupees.

(2) On the condition of being faithful to the Mughal empire Shivaji was allowed to maintain his influence over the remaining twelve forts.

(3) Shivaji would send his eight-year old son Shambhaji in the Mughal court in his place where he given a Mansab of 500 and a post of pride on the recommendations of Raja Jai singh.

(4) Shivaji would present himself in the royal army at the time of need and on the royal command. Shivaji's proposal of having his control over the province of Konkan and Balaghat - Bijapur's province was also accepted which fetched an income of 4lakh Rupees and 5 lakh Rupees to the Mughal emperor in 13 instalments, provided he was assured that these provinces would remain under his control inspite of their impending victory by the Mughals.

### **Defeat of Panchala**

Jai Singh made a surprise attack on Bijapur with the help of Shivaji but he did not get success in his mission as Bijapur had made wonderful preparations for its defence. A vast area around the fort was devastated by the army of Bijapur so that the army of the enemy could not get food grains. In the absence of food and fodder, Jai Singh was forced to retreat on 15h January A.D. 1666. At the time of retreat he directed Shivaji to besiege the fort of Panchala but as it was delayed, the Mughals failed to capture the fort. Actually the mistake of Nathuji, a relative of Shivaji, proved disastrous in getting the fort in possession.

### **Shivaji's visit to Agra (A.D. 1666)**

After the collapse of Bijapur expedition Raja Jai Singh undertook the task of sending Shivaji to the Mughal court with a view to enhancing his influence in the Mughal court. He made Shivaji sure about his future good and assured him of safety of life and prestige, in case he visited the Mughal court. At last he succeeded in preparing Shivaji to visit the Mughal court under the regency of his son Kunwar Ram Singh. Leaving the work of administration on the Shoulders of his colleagues under the guardianship of his mother Jija Bai, Shivaji marched on 16<sup>th</sup> Masuh A.D. 1666 towards Agra along with his son Sharnbhaji and a few soldiers. In the Mughal court at Agra, Shivaji was made to stand among the third rank officers, and no further notice was taken of him. Shivaji felt embarrassed to find that he was placed among the Panch Hazari nobles. He expressed his resentment in a loud voice and dishonored the court decorum. So he and his son were put under house arrest.

When Shivaji failed in his attempt to be permitted to return home in the normal course, he resorted to diplomatic trick and feigned illness. He started distributing fruits and sweets to the poor daily in order to get rid of the sickness. In the beginning the watch and ward department of the Mughal court was quite vigilant and checked every basket properly well but with the passage of time some looseness crept in the checking of the baskets as it had become a common feature. Shivaji and his son managed to escape in the baskets. Leaving Shambhaji with a Maratha Brahmin at Mathura, Shivaji proceeded very carefully towards Deccan. The adventurous escape of Shivaji infected a revolution among the Marathas. It was a turning point in Mughal - Maratha relations. It not only cancelled the treaty of Purandar but also created a deep gulf between the Mughals and the Marathas. As Shivaji was very much exasperated with the behaviour of Aurangzeb, he once again started fighting against the Mughals and recaptured most of the forts.

In A.D. 1670, he plundered Surat for the second time. Aurangzeb had been advised by Raja Jaswant Singh and Prince Muazzam to confer the title of Raja on Shivaji and to make Shambhaji a Panch Hazari mansabdar. This had been done before the

Sack of Surat but peace was broken after a couple of months. The war which started in A.D. 1670 continued upto A.D. 1674. Shivaji attained wonderful victories during this period. In June A. D. 1674, Shivaji crowned himself at Raigarh. It was a landmark in the history of the Marathas, Shivaji ruled upto A.D. 1680 and died at the age of 53 in A.D. 1680. Lane pool remarks, " A sudden illness put an end to his extraordinary career in A.D. 1680 when he was about quite fifty three years of age. At the time of the death of Shivaji he had quite a big Kingdom. His civil administration and military organization have been highly praised by contemporary and later historians".

### **3.7.1 Administration of Shivaji**

Shivaji was not merely a daring soldier and a successful military conqueror, but also an enlightened ruler of his people. As Mr. Rawlison observes like nearly all great warrior Napoleon is a conspicuous example - Shivaji was also a great administrator, for the qualities which go to make a capable general are those which required by the successful organizer and statesman.

His system, like that of the Muslim rulers of India, was an autocracy, of which he himself was the supreme head. But in actual discharge of state business he was helped by a council of eight ministers' the Ashtapradhans whose function were chiefly advisory. . In the army organization of Shivaji, a Havaldar was appointed on twenty five horsemen. One Jumaldar was appointed on five Havaldars, one Hazan on ten Jumaldars and one Five hazari was appointed over five Harazins. Sar-i-naubat was the head of all cavalry in the army of Shivaji.

The infantry of Shivaji was also divided in the same style. One Nayak was posted on nine foot-soldiers. One havaldar over ten Nayaks, one Jumaldar over two or three Havaldars and one Hazari Mansabdar was appointed over ten Jumaldars. The post of sar Hazari was considered the highest in the infantry but he was controlled by Sar-i-Naubat.



The army of Shivaji comprised soldiers of dissimilar castes but all of them were always prepared to sacrifice their lives on the command of their master. The soldiers were paid their salary in cash and they were kept in strict discipline. During rainy season the army remained at the headquarters' but went on expeditions after wards. The soldiers were strictly warned not to misbehave with the womanfolk and Brahmins nor were they permitted to harm the peasants and agriculture.

There were about 250 forts under the control of Shivaji which were properly administered. Normally, the forts were constructed on the top of hills and no enemy could conquer them easily. Contingents were kept in the forts for their safety.

Realizing the Significance of the navy, Shivaji organized it also it was essential for the safety of sea-coast. Dr. S.N. Sen writes, 'Unlike many of his contemporaries, the great Maratha had realized that a strong naval power without a strong mercantile navy was impossibility'. Hence Shivaji resorted to the organization of a strong navy, and safeguarded his empire from the invasions of the Sidis of Janjira. Shivaji's navy consisted of about four hundred ships of different Kinds. Daulat Khan and Misri were his most capable and trusted naval commanders. The fought battle against the Dutch, the Portuguese and the British, but it was no match to the European naval forces. Actually the navy of Shivaji was not meant for waging wars but to collect trade tax from the traders.

## **Revenue System**

In order to reinforce the financial condition of the empire Shivaji paid proper attention towards the revenue system of the empire. After making an evaluation of the total produce of empire, 2/3 part was fixed as the Share of the royal treasury. The farmers were at liberty to deposit this revenue (tax) in the form of corn or cash. During his reign Shivaji did not encourage the system of Jagirdari as he believed in Rayatwari

system in which the state used to keep direct relations with the peasants and looked after the welfare of the peasants by providing them help at the time of natural calamity.

Besides land revenue, Chauth and Sardeshmukhi were also the source of income of the empire. Shivaji used to realize both these taxes. from the neighbouring countries. The Chauth was 1/4<sup>th</sup> part of the income of the province while the eight ministers who formed Asta Pradhan.

**1. Peshwa** - he was the Prime Minister. He was in charge of general welfare of the state.

**2. Amatya** - He was the Finance Minister. He used to check and countersing all public accounts of the state.

**3. Mantri**- The Mantri or Chronicler used to keep a diary of the Kings daily work in the court. He was also known as Wakia Navis.

**4. Sumanta** - He was the Foreign Secretary. He was in charge of foreign affairs. He discussed questions of war and peace with the King and advised him on matters relating to foreign affaris. His duty was to keep himself in touch with other states.

**5. Sachiva** - He was the Home Secretary. It was his duty to look to the correspondence of the King. He was authorized to revise the Kings letters. He used to check the accounts of the Parganas.

**6. Pandit Rao or Davadhyaksha** - He was the Ecclesiastical ead and looked after grants to religious bodies and learned men.

**7. Nyayadhish** - He was the Chief Justice. He was responsible for civil and military justice.

**8. Senapati** - He was the commander-in-Chief and looked after the recruitment, organization and discipline of the army.

Besides the Nyayadhish and Pandit Rao all were required to command armies and to led expeditions at the time of need.

### **Provincial Administration**

Shivaji had divided his entire Kingdom into four parts for: the facility of administration and well being of the people.

(1) The first part, known as northern province, contained Dung, Baglana, Loli Pradesh, south of surat, Konkan, northern Bombay and Deccan plateau in Southen Poona.

(2) The second part, known as Southern province, contained Konkan, Southern Bombay, Sawant vadi and the northern Kanara coast.

(3) The third part, known as South-eastern province, contained Satar and Kolhapur district, Belgaon in the west of Tungabhadra, Dharwar and Kopal.

(4) The fourth part, the newly conquered province contained the area on the other side of Tungabhadra i.e. from Kopal to Vellore.

### **Military administration**

The military organization of Shivaji was quite good. The basic part of the army of Shivaji was infantry and cavalry. 45,000 Paga and 60,000 Silhadar cavalry was the strength of the army. Shivaji when he breathed his last, also contained one lakh infantry .Elephants and a small artillery was atso significant part of his army. The paga soldiers were also Known as Bargirs. They were provided horses and arms by the state whereas the Silhadars were the owners Sardeshmukhi was 1/ 100'. Historian are not unanimous about the causes of the realization of these taxes. M.G. Ranade opines that these taxes were collected from the neighbouring states in lieu of their safety from foreign invaders, but Dr. Sarkar, Dr. Sardeshi and Dr. Sen do not agree to this opinion of Ranade. They mention that Shivaji did not undertake the responsibility of their safety but only realized these taxes by dint of his force of arms. Besides these taxes there

were some other sources of income of the state in the form of taxes on the sale and purchase of things, trade taxes, forest tax, gifts and presents and the booty collected during invasions.

### **Religious policy**

Shivaji was a tolerant ruler. His spiritual teacher Guru Ram Das infused the spirit of tolerance in him and as a true Hindu he honoured the Brahmins, the Vedas and the cows but he was not fanatic at all. He behaved with the people of other sects quite politely and never offended them for their being followers of Islam or other religions. He used to pay proper regards to the Quran and the Mosques and protected the Muslim ladies and children during wars. Owing to his liberal religious attitude, , his bitter critic Khafi Khan also has praised him a lot.

### **Weakness in Shivaji's System -**

The Kingdom carved out by Shivaji did not last long after his death. One of the reasons of this was that the reign of Shivaji was very short and throughout this period he had to fight against his enemies. He therefore, could not consolidate his empire. There were constant disputes among the Marathas regarding the distribution of hereditary land. Shivaji could not solve all of them. Those who were not satisfied, joined Shivaji's enemies and tried to weaken his government. The caste system among the Marathas also produced dissensions in the society. it stood in the way of their solidarity.

No organized attempt was made to educate. to the people of Maharashtra and to improve their intellect and character. The masses were ignorant, hence the Maratha nation could not become very strong.

### **Conclusion**

Nevertheless, to treat Shivaji as a protector of Hinduism and a projector of Hindu political ambitions, i.e. far too much or an exaggeration. Influenced by his age, he was more interested in carving out a place for himself on the political map of India, particularly as the Deccan Sultanates were crumbling. By many acts and deeds, he showed himself to be tolerant towards Muslims. Even his greatest Muslim critic recorded that he made it a rule never to harm, Mosques the book of God, or the women of any one. And whenever he came across a copy of Quran, he treated it with great veneration. That shows the highness of great Maratha hero.

### **3.7.3 The Peshwas, The Maratha confederacy, Causes of decline.**

#### **Introduction**

Peshwas is a Persian word which means leader. It was a designation of the Prime Minister in political system of the Marathas. The title was enforced during the Ashta Pradhan Administrative system of the Shivaji. It is yet to be decided as to wherefrom he borrowed this term. Some scholars believe that it was not an independent thinking of Shivaji but a practical mixture of Hindu and Muslim systems. This post was given to a person who was confident of the King. Later on this post was made hereditary and the Peshwas grabbed all the power of the state.

#### **Sahu (1707-49)**

After the death of Aurangzeb in 1707, the Mughals tried to divide the Marathas. In 1707, Zulfikar Khan, the Governor of the Deccan, set Sahu free and the latter claimed the Government of the country from Tara Bai. Sahu had been captured in 1689 and kept in Mughal custody along with his mother. He was seven years of age at that time. He spent more than 18 years in captivity and got the training which could be available under the circumstances. Efforts were made to convert him without much success.

When Sahu was released by the Mughals, there started a struggle between the two groups of the Marathas. Tara Bai declared that Sahu was an importer and he had

no right to the Kingdom which had been lost by his father Sambhaji. The present state was created by her husband Raja Ram and Shivaji II was the lawful ruler. She sent an army under Dhanaji to check the advance of Sahu and a battle was fought at Khed in November, 1707. Tara Bai was defeated and she retired to Kolhapur with her son Shivaji II. When Shivaji II died, his step brother Shambhaji was put on the Gaddi of Kolhapur. Sahu was recognized as the ruler of the Marathas on the Gaddi of Satara.

The relations between Sahu and Sambhaji were not cordial. The latter was determined to get back half of Maratha territory for himself. Sambhaji went to the extent of hiring assassins for murder Sahu. However, in 1731, the Treaty of Warna was signed between Sahu and Sambhaji. According to it, Sahu gave to Sambhaji the Warna Mahal and all the Districts known as Dotarfa along with the forts and military outposts to the South of confluence of the Warna and the Krishna. The fort of Kopal was also giving to Sambhaji in exchange for Ratnagiri. All the forts and military out posts from the confluence of the Warna and the Krishna to that of the Krishna and the Tungabhadra to the South were given to him. From the Tungabhadra to Rameswaram, half the territory was given to Sambhaji. In the Konkan, all the districts from Salai to panch Mahal were given to Sambhaji. Both the Parties agreed to destroy the enemies of each other and agreed to work together for the improvement of the Kingdom .

The treaty of 1711 resolved the differences between Satara and Kolhapur and after that the relations between Sahu and Sambhaji remained cordial. Sambhaji paid many visits to Satara and he was very nicely treated by Sahu. Sambhaji died in 1760, 11 years after the death of Sahu.

Sahu had a soft corner in his heart for every one who approached him. There was no drop of caste prejudice in his nature or policy. Although he did not personally lead distant expeditions, he kept a close watch over the actions. Of his subordinate to whom he had allotted separate spheres of influence. He called them to account for any wrong or misdeed committed by them, reprimanded, punished them, rewarded them,

compromised their quarrels and adjusted their disputes by calling them to his presence at satara for personal explanation, for settlement.

### **Ramraja (1749-77)**

Sahu I was succeeded by Ram Raja. He was declared by Tarabai to be grandson of Rajaram who had lived in exile as an ordinary fellow. There was a struggle for power between Tarabai on the one side and Balaji Baji Rao on the other. The Peshwa was not prepared to give up the power which he was enjoying. Tarabai captured RamRaja on 24<sup>th</sup> November, 1750 and made him a prisoner. This imprisonment continued upto 1763 when Tarabai herself died. To begin with, the Peshwa wanted to free Ramraja from the hands of Tarabai but later on a reconciliation was made between Tarabai and the Peshwa and on that occasion Tarabai but later on a reconciliation was made between Tarabai and the Peshwa on that occasion Tarabai declared that Ramraj was an impostor and not the real grandson of Rajaram. The result at this was that no respect was left in the eyes of the people for Ramraja. However, he was freed after 1763 and he spent the rest of his days in peace.

### **Sahu II (1777-1808)**

Ramraja was succeeded by his adopted son Sahu II. He was a youngman of strong build and took to his high position with high hopes of improving the lot of his family and striving in Maratha state so far as it lay in his power. However, he found that his position was very miserable. His allowances were met down by Nana Phadnavis, and many kinds of restrictions were imposed upon him and the members of his family. Although he was known as Chhatrapati, he was looked upon as costly appendage with no assigned duty to perform. The only function left to him was to bestow the official robes of the peshwaship whenever a new Peshwa succeeded.

### **Pratap Singh (1808-1839)**

When Sahu II died in 1808, he was succeeded by his son Pratap Singh. The relations between the Chantrapati and peshwa Bajirao were not cordial. The result was that in many occasions Pratap Singh approached the British Government to help him against the Peshwa. When the Peshwa fell In 1818, Pratap Singh was installed once again in his former position by the British. A small territory nearly equating a district was given Pratap Singh for his rule. So a formal treaty was entered into between the British Government and pratap Singh.

By that treaty, Pratap Singh undertook not to hold any correspondence with the outside powers. He was not to increase his forces but was to remain for ever loyal to the British Government.

To begin with, the relations between the British Government and Pratap Singh were friendly and he was even honoured by the British Government. However, later on the relation became strained and he was deposed on 4th September, 1839 without giving him an opportunity to explain his conduct. Pratap Singh died in 1847 . According to a contemporary Maratha writer, "He (Pratap Singh) possessed a very keen intellect and an uncommon address. An expert rider and born soldier, a pure generous heart, trained in the traditional lore, he quickly detected the merits and foibles of those who came in contact with. He adjudicated disputes with exemplary impartiality and conducted the administration with firmness and regularity. He was ever disposed to forgive rather than to avenge. He was careful in his religious observances and took delight in relieving the misery of the poor and the oppressed.

### **Shaji (1839-48 A.D.)**

Pratap Singh was succeeded by his brother, Shaji Appasaheb. He was notoriously incompetent. However, he died childless on 5th April, 1848. No adoption, was allowed and the state of Satara was annexed by the British Government. This annexation was one of the causes of the Mutiny of 1857.

### **Balaji Vishwanath (1714-20 A.D.)**



Balaji Viswanath laid the foundation of the future Maratha confederacy. He sided with Shahu and helped him in getting the throne of Maharashtra. He enabled Shahu in consolidating his power. Although the financial arrangement made by Viswanath made Shahu dependent on him, yet in the long run his policy failed. He utilized all the resources towards completing the construction of a Hindu empire which Shivaji had started. For his task of a Hindu empire he had to look to the north as his path to the sought was permanently closed by the independent existence of Tarbais Kingdom.

### **Baji Rao I (1720-40 A.D.)**

After the death of Balaji Viswanath, his eldest son Baji Rao, was appointed the Peshwa by Shahu. This was done in spite of the opposition of his advisors and chiefs. Unlike his father, he was a successful commander and in a period of about twenty years he made the Marathas one of the strongest powers in India.

Baji Rao reorganized the armies of the state and started his campaigns in 1731. The Maratha claim of Chauth and Sardarmukhi was recognized. In 1732, Baji Rao overran the Province of Malwa and conquered Bundelkhand. Baji Rao appeared before the walls of Delhi in 1737. The Nizam of Deccan advanced from the Deccan to help the Mughal emperor but he was defeated near Bhopal and agreed to the cessation of Malwa and Gujarat along with a war indemnity of Rs. 50 lacs. The Portuguese were defeated in 1739 and the Island of Bassein was taken from them. Thus, Baji Rao was successful in his policies but his success was due to the sword. Had he been a little more conciliating and considerate, he could have won over many of those who had become his avowed enemies.

Balaji Baji Rao became the next Peshwa on the death of his father but he was smart enough to take the worth of his cousin Sadasiva Rao. He consulted him in every important matter of the state, and succeeded in taking the Maratha power to its climax in 1760.

### **Third Battle of Panipat (1761)**

The cause of the Third Battle of Panipat lay in the decades preceding the battle. The weakness of the Mughal Empire had created some sort of a power vacuum in northern India. Ahmad Shah Abdali, who had succeeded Nadir Shah in Afghanistan, hoped to repeat the exploits of Nadir in India. The rising power of the Marathas infused with the ideal of Hindu-pada-padshahi coveted position and power at Delhi. The Marathas posed as defenders of the empire from internal and external dangers. In 1752 the Nawab Wazir Safdar Jang had concluded an agreement with the Marathas offering to concede to the Marathas, among other things, the right of collecting Chauth from the Punjab; Sindh and the Doab in return for the Marathas defending the Mughal empire against internal and external dangers. Though the agreement was not ratified by the Emperor, it whetted Maratha hunger for territorial ambition in the North. Thus a clash between Ahmad Shah Abdali and the Marathas lay in the logic of political developments.

In 1757, Ahmad Shah Abdali had left Najib-ud-Daula as Mr. Bakshi at Delhi and entrusted him with the duty of protecting the Mughal emperor against the excesses of the overbearing Wazir Imad-ul-Mulk. However, Alamgir II found Najib even worse than the wazir, for Najib treated the emperor "with a roughness unknown to the nobly-born Wazir. At this stage the Wazir solicited Maratha help against Najib. Raghunath Rao entered Delhi in May 1757, he restored the emperor to his position, won over Ghazi-ud-din to their side and compelled Najib to retire to his estate in Najibabad.

In March 1758 Raghunath Rao, the Maratha leader, crossed into the Punjab, and drove away prince Timur, Ahmad Shah Abdali's son and agent out of the Punjab. The following months saw the Maratha authority extending up to attack. The Marathas appointed Adina beg Khan as Governor of the Punjab on his agreeing to pay an annual tribute of 75 lakhs of rupees. On Adina's death, Sabaji Sindhia assumed and was charged as Governor of the Punjab. Perhaps, it was Raghunath Rao's mistake to advance into Punjab without crushing Najib-ud-daula or befriending Shuja-ud-daula of Oudh or befriending the Jats and the Rajputs.

The Maratha conquest of the Punjab from the Afghans was a direct challenge to Abdali and the latter decided to accept it. Moreover, Najib Khan and the Bangash Pathans, who had entertained designs of reviving Pathans rule in India, exhorted Abadali to rescue the empire from the control of the infidel Marathas and promised all support to him. Najib- ud-Daula also used his influence and secured to Ahmad Shah Abdali the active co-operation of Shuja-ud-Daula (Nawab of Oudh), and Rohitla ChiefS hafizRehmat Khan Sadullah Khan, Dundi Khan, and Mala Khan. "Ahmad Shah", writes Sidney Owen, "was not only a King and a conqueror, but, as an Afghan, he sympathized with the Rohillas; and as a devout Mussulman, he resented Maratha aggression on his co- religionists in Hindustan. The cup of his fury was full; and he resolved to bring to a decisive issue his quarrel with the Hindoo power which had thus crossed his track of conquest, ill-treated his allies, and made war on true believers".

Ghazi-ud-din's extermination of Emperor Alamgir II on November 1759 along with many others upset Abdali's administrative arrangements at Delhi. Abdali planned to chastise the wrong doers.

### **The Battle of Panipat, (14<sup>th</sup> January 1761).**

Towards the closing months of 1761 Ahmad Shah Abadali with a large army crossed the Indus and overran the Punjab. Finding resistance - impossible Sabaji and Dattaji Sindhia had to fall back towards Delhi. In the encounter that followed at Barari Ghat, some ten miles north of Delhi (on 9 January 1760), Dattaji was killed. Jankaji Sindhia and Mathar Rao Holkar also failed to check the advance of Abadali and the latter occupied Delhi.

To assert Maratha authority in the north, the Peshwa sent Sadashiv Rao Bhau to Delhi. Bhau captured Delhi on 22 August 1760. Proceeding from Delhi on 7 October, Bhau captured Kunjapura, so as to drive the invader to the north and relieve pressure on Delhi. The two armies faced each other on the battlefield of Panipat in November 1760. Both sides were handicapped for supplies and negotiated for peace. Since no meeting

ground was found, the battle came on 14 January 1761. The Marathas lost the day. The Afghan victory was complete and the Maratha casualties were very heavy, estimated at 75,000. "There was not a home in Maharashtra"; writes J.N. Sarkar, "That had not to mourn the loss of a member, and several houses their very heads and entire generation of leaders was cut off at one stroke..

### **Cause of the Maratha defeat**

A number of factors were responsible for the defeat of the Marathas and victory of Ahmad Shah Abdali.

1. Abdali's forces outnumbered the forces under the command of Bhauji. Sir J.N. Sarkar, on the basis of contemporary records, has estimated Abdali's army at 60,000 while the Maratha combatants did not exceed 45,000.
2. Near famine conditions prevailed in the Maratha camp at Panipat. The road to Delhi was cut off by the Afghan war. There was no food for men and no fodder for the horses. The stench of the carcasses of men and beasts lying uncremated and unburied made the Maratha camp a virtual hell. So desperate was the food position that on 13 January 1761 the officers and soldiers approached Bhau and said, "It is now two days that no man among us has got a grain to eat. A seer of grain can not be had even for two rupees. Do not let us perish in this misery. Let us make a valiant struggle against the enemy and then what fate has ordained will happen".
3. While all the Muslim powers of Northern India rallied to the side of Ahmad Shah Abdali, the Marathas had to fight alone. The over-bearing attitude of the Marathas and their policy of indiscriminate plunder had estranged not only the Muslim powers but the Hindu powers like the Jats and the Rajputs. Even the Sikhs, the deadly enemies of the Afghans, did not help the Marathas.
4. Mutual jealousies of the Maratha commanders considerably weakened their side. Bhau called Malhar Rao Holkar a dotard past his usefulness and lowered his esteem in

the eyes of the army and the public. Malhar Rao angrily remarked that it these proud Brahmins of Poona (referring to Bhau) were not humbled by the enemy they would make him and other captives of the Maratha caste wash their soiled clothes. Thus, the Maratha captains were individualistic in spirit and their military tactics. The officers and the soldiers alike defied discipline and disliked team - work as the destroyer of their claim vital.

The campaigning, marching and discipline of Abdali's army was a direct contrast to that of the Marathas. The entire Afghan troops worked according to a single plan under strict discipline, alike in the camp and battle field.

So, Abdali's troops were not only better organized but better equipped. While Abdali's troops used muskets, the Marathas fought mostly with swords and lances. The heavy artillery of Ibrahim Khan Gardi could not prove its usefulness in hand to hand fighting. On the other hand, Abdali's swivel guns mounted on camel's back caused havoc.

Ahmad Shah Abdali, on the other hand, was probably the best General of his times in Asia and a worthy heir of Nadir Shah in capacity and spirit. Abdali's experience and maturity were great assets. In fact, Abdali's superior tactics of war and his strategy of action foiled all chances of Maratha success.

### **Political Significance of the Battle of Panipat**

Historians have held divergent views about the effects of the battle on the fortunes of the Maratha power in India. Maratha historians hold the view that the Marathas lost nothing of political importance by it except of loss of 75,000 soldiers, that Ahmad Shah Abdali practically gained nothing, GS. Sardesai writes, "Notwithstanding the terrible losses in man power suffered on that field by the Marathas, the disaster decided nothing. In fact, it pushed forward in the distant sequel two prominent members of the dominant race, Nana Phadnavis and Mahadji Sindhia, both miraculously escaping death on that fatal day, who resuscitated the power to its former glory. Not

long after the Battle of Panipat, the Maratha power began to prosper again as before and continued to do so for forty years, until the death of Mahadji Dindhia or until British supremacy was established early in the 19th Century by the second Maratha war (1803). The disaster of Panipat was indeed like a natural visitation destroying life, but leading to no decisive political consequence. To maintain that the disaster of Panipat put an end to the dreams of supremacy cherished by the Marathas is to misunderstand the situation as recorded in contemporary documents.

J. N. Sarkar's view seems more objective. The Maratha losses in manpower were very great. Out of the total of about one lakh persons only a few thousands escaped alive. So, great was the disaster that for nearly three months the Peshwa could not get authentic details about the casualties and the fate of the military leaders. Even the Peshwa succumbed to the news of the disaster.

### **Conclusion -**

Sidney Owen writes that by the Third Battle of Panipat the Maratha power was, for the time, shattered to atoms, and though the hydra-headed monster was not killed, it was so effectually scotched that it remained practically quiescent, until great British statesmen were in a condition to cope with, and ultimately to master and disintegrate it." Certainly, the battle cleared the way for the rise of the British power in India.

### **3.7.4 THE MARATHA CONFEDERACY**

#### **Introduction**

Confederacy means a combination of autonomous political units or states which combine for certain common purpose like defence, foreign affairs, etc. During the period of Sahu (1708-1748), the Peshwas became powerful. The Peshwas, although fifth in succession, came to be called the first Minister, i.e. the Peshwas

#### **THE MARATHA CONFEDERACY**

## Introduction

**8.17.4 Origin** - The origin of this confederacy is traced back to Sahu, who issued letters of authority to his various Maratha Sardars for collecting Chauth and Sardemukhi from various parts of India. These letters of authority were called Saranjamdars and the system was called Saranjami. Consequently, under the pretext of collecting Chauth and Sardesh Mukhi, these Maratha Sardars created spheres of influence for themselves in different parts of India and eventually set up their own semi-independent states there.

A nominal recognition of the Maratha Peshwa as their nominal head, after the death of Shahu, was the only thing they did and showed. In this way rose up the Maratha Confederacy, consisting of very important Maratha jagirdars like (1) Raghoji Bhonsle of Berar, (2) The Gaekwar of Baroda, (3) The Holkar family of Indore, (4) Sindia of Gwalior and (5) The Peshwa of Poona himself. It should be remembered that it was with the increase in the Maratha territories and it was also with a view to creating interest in their respective spheres of influence that the Peshwa gave portions of lands to the Maratha Sardars for their maintenance in those far off territories.

It was after the death of Shahu in 1749 that the Peshwa was made supreme in the Maratha State, and as such, he began to carry on the affairs of the Government on behalf of the royal family, while the Maratha Chiefs were confirmed in their respective places provided they owed allegiance to the Peshwa. It was during this time that the two Maratha leaders, Malhar Rao Holkar and Ranoji Sindia, for the first time laid the foundation of the two Semi-independent States in the Central India. with their capitals at Indore and Gwalior which became important centres of the Maratha confederacy of latter days. But Sydney Owen is of the opinion that it was during the Period of Balaji Bajirao when the Maratha monarchy was converted into Maratha confederacy consisting of five Maratha chiefs. The Peshwa was confirmed as the enduring and traditional president of this confederacy. Though the Maratha leaders remained chafing under the control of supremacy of the Peshwa and were slow in obeying his orders, yet he was in

all intents and purposes the practical superior of the Maratha Chiefs. Members of the Maratha confederacy and the territorial limits of their states -

The following were the five members of the Maratha confederacy with their respective territories.

### **(1) Raghuji Bhonsle II, the Raja of Berar-**

One of these Semi-independent maratha Chiefs was the Peshwa's general, Raghuji Bhonsle II, the Raja of Berar, whose territory extended from Nagpur, to Cuttack. In the Maratha army Raghuji enjoyed the title of "Sena Sahib subab's as a military leader. Being busy in the civil war against his brothers he could not participate in the Maratha war against Tipu Sultan in 1791, but on Nana's asking he contributed ten lacs of rupees as his Share in the war fund

**(2) Sayaji -** The Gaekwar of Baroda - Another leader of the Maratha confederacy was Gaekwar of Baroda whose territories roughly comprised Gujarat and Kathiawar Peninsula, with its capital at Baroda. The original ruler of Baroda was Sayaji who, being physically unfit to rule, was represented by his younger brother, Fateh Singh.

### **(3) Holkar Family of Indore - Ahalya bai -**

The third member of the confederacy was Holkar of Indore whose territory embraced the southern-most part of Malwa and after Malhar Rao Holkar's death these were governed by his daughter in law. Ahalya Bai, from 1700 to 1709s, when her death occurred.

### **(4) Sindia of Gwalior - Mahadai Sindia**

The fourth member of the Maratha confederacy was Sindia whose capital was Gwalior. His territory comprised of Eastern Malwa, the lands west territory comprised of Eastern Malwa, the lands west of Jumna and the Upper Ganges..

### **(5) Daulat Rao Sindia - end of the Maratha predominance**



After the death of Mahadaji Sindia, Daulat Rao, who was devoid of his (Mahadaji's) far sightedness, succeeded him, The moment he gave to power in his hands, he began earnestly to take part in the intrigues and counter intrigues in the Poona Durbar of the peshwa. He attempted to establish his control at Poona and in this attempt he came into a serious clash with Jaswant Rao Holkar. The British took advantage of the serious differences of these to great Maratha Sardars, defeated them turn by turn in the second and the third Maratha wars and established their ascendancy in India.

**(6) The Peshwa of poona** - The fifth members of the Maratha confederacy was the Peshwa himself. He became the real leader of the confederacy in due course of time. Thus the Peshwa became the real leader of the Maratha Confederacy and Poona, where he removed his capital after the death of Shahu in 1749, became the Military and political centre of the Naratha empire.

### **(7) The Piratical Chiefs of Western India**

Besides these five, there were some other minor members of the Maratha confederacy also among the piratical chiefs of western India, who caused frequent troubles to the suppressed in the year 1812. company, till they were finally

### **The Objects of the Confederacy**

The substance of the Maratha association was to make the position of the Peshwa supreme over the other Chiefs in the Maratha empire. Its aim was to unite the Marathas under the leadership of the Peshwa and to look to him for guidance. Their sole business was to collect Chauth from the territories placed under their charge but in matters, political or financial, they were always supposed to look to the peshwa for guidance, without whose permission nothing could be done, he being the sole authority in the state. Thus the office of the Peshwa became the greatest authority in the Maratha Kingdom and, as such, no Maratha chief was to undertake any matter without the guidance of the peshwa. They considered the peshwa as their head.

## **Character of the Maratha Confederacy**

In due course of time, the Maratha Chiefs who were confirmed in their respective territories stopped showing their allegiance to the Chhatrapati of Satara. After some time they began to adopt an independent attitude even towards the Peshwa. They were under strict control neither of the Chhatrapati nor of the Peshwas, though they accepted the Peshwa's supremacy to some extent. It has already been pointed out in another connection that when Mahadaji Sindhia got the title of "Wakil-i-Mutliq" from the Mughal Emperor, he got it not in his own name not in the name of the Chhatrapati, but in the name of Chhatrapati, but in the name of the Peshwa. This clearly indicates the relation in which the Maratha chiefs of the confederacy stood to the Peshwa. This supremacy of the peshwa over the Chiefs of the Maratha confederacy was the basic feature of the Maratha confederacy.

## **Growth of the Maratha Confederacy**

But with the passage of time, when the weak Peshwas came to power the numbers of the Maratha confederacy became quite independent of the authority of the Peshwa but at the time of some common danger they used to unite together and meet their common enemy. Thus this combination of the Maratha chiefs in the eighteenth century which consisted of the ruler of Gwalior, Baroda, Indore, Berar and Poona, who owed a nominal allegiance to the Peshwa of Poona, is generally described by the name of, "Maratha confederacy"

## **Maratha confederacy under Baji Rao and Balaji Baji Rao –**

It was due to the efforts of this Maratha confederacy that the Maratha state expanded to the far flung parts of India. There was a healthy rivalry between the Maratha Chiefs to extend their territories at the expenses of neighbouring states. The Peshwa himself invaded Mysore and the Karnatic. He defeated Salabat Jung and Nizam Ali, the son of Nizam-I-Mulk at Udagir in 1760 and compelled them to hand over to the Marathas the forts of Asirgarh, Daulatabad and Bijapur, It was during the time of Baji Rao I and Balaji

Baji Rao that Ranoji Scindia and Malhar Rao Holkar occupied Gwalior and Baroda respectively. Most of the Maratha Chiefs had fought under the leadership of the Peshwa in the third battle of Panipat in 1761 and in this way had accepted the Supremacy of Poona. The result of the combined efforts of the members of the Maratha confederacy was that the Maratha Kingdom extended from Chambal and the Jumna to the Godavari, from the Arabian Sea to the Bay of Bengal and the Marathas were in position to levy Chauth over the whole of India from the Indus to the Southern Frontier of Mysore. The Mughal Emperor was a puppet in their hands.

Under Madhav Rao-The Maratha Confederacy remained perfectly under the Peshwa's control. If there was any person who deserves credit for arresting the centrifugal forces operating in the Maratha confederacy, after the third Battle of Panipat in 1761, it was Itladho Rao I, (1761 -1772) He brought his pressure to bear upon Janoji Bhonsle of Nagpur and forced him to submit to the central Government of the Peshwa. Similarly, if Mahadaji Sindia re-established the Maratha Supremacy in the North, he did it in the name of the Peshwa.

### **Period of decline of the Maratha Confederacy (1773-1802)**

But after the death of Madhavrao Peshwa in 1773, the Period of decline of the confederacy began. Besides their loose allegiance to the confederacy, the different members of the Maratha confederacy during this period were divided by national distrust and selfish intrigues and consequently then of the sacrificed their national interests for the sake of their selfish personal interests. The Raja of Satara, the nominal head of the Maratha confederacy, was already living virtually as a prisoner in his palace, while all powers in western India had already passed into the hands of the Peshwa by the will left behind by Raja Sahu on his death in 1749. So by this document the Raja of Satara became only the 'Nayer of the Palace.' But the Peshwas after the death of Madhavrao -I also fell into the hands of their able Minister, Nana Pharnavis, as puppets and the members of the Maratha confederacy began to assume independence of the Central Government of the Peshwa and hence they began to sacrifice the Maratha

interests as a whole for the sake of their personal selfish interests. Thus a sort of an anomalous position cropped up and Raja was merely a puppet in the hands of the Peshwa. Peshwa himself in turn was merely a puppet in the hands of his Wazir. Nana Pharnavis, taking advantage of this situation, had converted their charges into independent principalities, practically independent of the central authority of the Peshwa at Poona. That is why Mr. Roberts has aptly described the constitutional position of the Maratha confederacy at this time as a "curious and baffling political puzzle".

The Nizam was simply unnerved when he found the Chiefs of the Maratha confederacy arrayed against him. Hence he applied for British help against the Marathas. Since he did not believe in the policy of intervention and he gave no help to the Nizam, who was consequently defeated by the Marathas at Khandla.

### **Suicide of Madhavrao II, the Peshwa, 1795**

The presence of internal differences and intrigues amongst the members of the Maratha confederacy at Poona and also the arrogant and haughty behaviour of Nana Pharnavis forced Madhavrao Narayan's, the Peshwa to commit suicide which he did in 1795. The unfortunate death of the Peshwa, instead of improving conditions, worsened the situation. All the leading Maratha Saradars like Daulat Rao Sindia, Jaswant Rao Holkar and Nana Pharnavis - developed the malady of controlling the Peshwa like a puppet in their hands. This resulted in many intrigues and counter intrigues and ultimately a great confusion ensued when Nana Pharnavis passed away on 13th March, 1799.

### **The end of the Maratha confederacy - 1818**

In a period of another twenty or twenty-five years, the Maratha confederacy succumbed to the evil effects of their mutual intrigues and jealous and ultimately the British completely annihilated the Maratha confederacy in 1818. They got a decisive victory over the confederacy in the fourth Anglo - Maratha war.

## **Conclusion**

Thus in view of the above discussion; we conclude that the Maratha confederacy was a combination of the important Maratha Chiefs who expanded the Maratha Swarajya in the far flung parts of India by their efforts but who ultimately fell from power because of their mutual intrigues and jealousies. Consequently, all the territories conquered by them gradually slipped out of their control when they fell a victim to the onslaughts of the British power which now stepped into their shoes as the paramount power in India.

### **3.7.5 DECLINE OF MARATHAS**

Mostly, the inherent defects in the character of the Maratha State brought the ruin of the Marathas. No attempt was made at well, thought out and organized social improvement, spread of education, and unification of people either by Shivaji or the Peshwas. The result was that the cohesion of the people in the Maratha state was never organic but artificial, accidental and therefore, precarious.

Secondly, the Marathas lacked a sound economic policy. Maharashtra was not a rich region, and the state depended on fluctuating source of revenue like chauth, Sardesmukhi .

Thirdly, Marathas discarded their tactics of was and they lost their native advantage and strength. Also the Marathas never paid proper attention to artillery despite assistance from outsiders

Fourthly, Sardeshi maintains that the downfall of Marathas was primarily due to incapacity of the two feeble Peshwa Baji Rao "and Daulat Rao Scindhea. During their period of Mendals and Mozal degeneration were such that , life property and honour was safed.

Sardeshi also finds fault with the Marathas for the total neglect of the study of military science and organization. They never carried to learn the western method of

warfare. The Peshwas seeking supplies of gun-power, cannon, medicines, gems and even gumplaster from the British in Bombay.

Finally, in the contest between the British and Marathas, leadership played an important role. There were many important leaders like Elphinstone, Sir John Malcolm, Sir Thomas Munro, Lord Lake, etc. of whom the British could trust on. On the other hand, favouritism reigned among the Marathas, particularly the undue favours that they conferred on Brahmins in the later period, destroyed the homogeneity of the Marathas.

## **UNIT -IV**

### **FOREIGN INVASION AND ADVENT OF EUROPEANS**

#### Structure

#### 4.0 Objectives

#### 4.1 Introduction

#### 4.2 Portuguese colonial Enterprise

##### 4.2.1 De Almeida and other rulers

##### 4.2.3 Causes of Failure

##### 4.2.4 Political and Economic Consequence

#### 4.3 Emergency of Afgan Power

##### 4.3.1Nadir Shah Invasion

##### 4.3.2 Effects

##### 4.3.3 Ahmed Shah Abdali

##### 4.3.4 Effects

#### 4.4 Political , Cultural and Economic weakness on the eve of British Conquest

##### 4.4.1Political weakness

##### 4.4.2 Economic weakness

##### 4.4.3Cultural weakness

After going through this unit you will be able to

- Know the growth and effect of the portuguese colonial enterprise.
- Understand the causes and effect fo Nadir Shah Invasion of India.
- Explain the causes and effects of Ahmed Shah Abdalis invasion of India
- Discover the political, cultural and economic weakness of Mughul empire before the British conquest

#### **4.2 (A)The Portuse colonial enterprise its political and economic consequence**

The turn of the fifth century witnessed two invaders who approached India,namely,the portuguse by sea and moghuls by land.Both initiated great and lasting changes.But whers as the mughal contribution, political administrative, and cultural, has been justily appreciated, that of the portuguse has been both undervalued.in popular mythology the portuguse contribution has been narrowed down to just two persons,via, Vasco-do-Gama, dauntless navigator and European' discover' of India, and Albuquerque, the creator by terror and the sword of a brief sea-borne portuguse empire in Asia.

It is a subject of widespread knowledge that Indian commodities were in great demand in European markets throughout the middle ages. These things used to reach Europe either completely by land or partly by land and partly by sea. However, difficulties began to rise on account of the rise to power of the Turks. As the land route was practically closed, there arose the necessity of finding a new route to India.

The Portuguese led the way in this matter. Prince Henry of Portugal (1393-1460) who is commonly known as the "Navigator" did a lot in this field. He set up a regular school for the training of seamen on scientific tines. He patronized all those who who took up work of navigation. The result of the Portuguese was that practically the whole



of the coast line of Africa came to be known to the Portuguese. They crossed Equator in 1471 and reached the Congo in 1481.

In 1487, Bartholomeo Diaz was carried by storms past the cape of Good Hope. He was patronized by King John II. In 1497, Vasco da Gama started on his expedition under the patronage of King Emmanuel. To begin with, he covered the whole of the route which had been followed by Diaz and crossed the cape of Good Hope. He reached Mozambique. He got the help of an Indian pilot and set sail for India in April 1498. After a voyage of a month, he reached Calicut. He was cordially received by King zamorin who gave him certain privileges also.

The arrival of Vasco da Gama on the Indian Scene was not liked at all by the Arabs. They started rumours of many kinds against the Portuguese. Finding the situation hard, Vasco da Gama left India after a stay of about three months.

In 1501, Vasco da Gama came to India for the second time and founded a factory at Cannanore and returned to Portugal in 1503. In spite of the opposition from the Arabs, the Portuguese were able to establish their trading centres at Calicut, Cochin, and Cannanore and they treated the Arabs with cruelty and oppression. After Vasco da Gama left India, the Portuguese suffered. King zamorin attacked the Portuguese in Cochin, but was defeated. This established the Supremacy of the Portuguese.

#### **4.2.1 De Almeida (1505-09)**

De Almeida was the first viceroy of the Portuguese possessions in his countrymen to concentrate on the development of their naval power. ' This Policy has rightly been called the "Blue Water" policy. Both Almeida and his son were defeated and killed in 1509 by the Egyptians.

#### **Albuquerque (1509-15)**

He was the second viceroy of the Portuguese in India. Mr. Stephens desired to occupy certain important places for trading purposes, and to rule them directly.

Secondly, he desired to colonize the selected districts by encouraging mixed marriages with the native inhabitants. In the third place when Albuquerque could not conquer or colonise, he desired to build fortresses. Fourthly, when this was impracticable, he desired to induce the native merchants to recognize the supremacy of the king of Portugal and to pay him tribute. Albuquerque was a great conqueror. He conquered and annexed Goa in 1510. This place became the head quarters of the Portuguese Empire. He conquered Malacca in the Far East and fitted out an expedition for the spice Island. In 1515, he conquered Ormuz, an Island in the Persian Gulf. He built a fort at Cochin with the permission of the Raja.

He appointed a large number of Portuguese officers for the work of administration. While the Muslims were persecuted, the Hindus were welcomed in the various branches of administration. Schools were established for them. The Panchayats of the Hindus were not discarded. Indian soldiers commanded by Hindu Officers were welcomed. He also encouraged the marriages of the Portuguese with Indian women.

Albuquerque was a great man. He can really be called the founder of the Portuguese Empire in India. The Power of Portuguese kept on growing even after the death of Albuquerque. They got Diu and Bassien in 1534. Four years after, they conquered Daman. In the same year they got permission to establish a factory at Goa. In 1515, the fort of Diu was attacked by the King of Gujarat but was successfully defended. In 1571, the rulers of Bijapur, Ahmednagar and Calicut combined together against the Portuguese. However, they failed to take possession of Goa. The appearance of the Portuguese in India led to a conflict of interests. It was not a struggle between the Christians and Muslim, but one between importers and exporters. The Indian importers, many of whom were Muslims, welcomed the Portuguese as new customers. The Arab and Egyptian customers objected to them as new competitors who might break their existing monopoly. The result was that the Portuguese acquired from the ruler of Calicut, the Principal sea-port on the Malabar coast and established friendly relations at those centres which offered the largest supply of pepper.

The Portuguese were not satisfied with merely a share in the trade. They were determined to control the same. This they were able to accomplish by setting up a strong navy which helped them to command the sea. They also build fortresses to grand the narrow waters. They set up a central establishment from which operations could be directed on which the nevy could be based.

As regards the methods adopted by the Portuguese to control the tread, Some route, and Some commodities on all routes, were monopolized for the benefit of the Kingdom of Portugal. Subject to these restrictions, Indian or other ships could obtain licenses to play between specified ports on payment of substantial fees. An unlicensed vessel was liable to be captured and confiscated. The gun boats employed by the Portuguese to Patrol the routes were more than a match for the cumbrous ships of their rivals. By these methods, the Portuguese controlled the main trade routes through out the sixteenth century. It is true that some goods continued to reach Europe over land, but that was due mainly to the increasing corruption of the Portuguese officials who looked upon their posts as source of private gain and could be bribed to allow the contraband good to pass.

The possessions of the Portuguese on the West Coast of India were an integral port of the Kingdom of Portugal. However, settlements of less regular type cropped up on the east coast of India. At various places in Bengal and on the Coromandel Coast. Portuguese merchants settled with the consent of the local rulers. However, relying on the prestige of their nation, they fortified their settlements, assumed right of self government and eventually in some cases repudiated the authority of the Portuguese viceroy at Goa. Thus Portuguese settlements became of lawlessness and in some cases nests of pirates.

The immediate effects produced by the Portuguese in India were not great. In the field of politics, their capture of Goa involved them in emity with Bijapur. On the whole, they maintained friendly relations with Mjayanagar, but they did not render any material help to her in her, struggle against the Muslims. From the point of view of the

Indians, the appearance of the Portuguese merely added one more element in the confused politics of the time. In war, they introduced higher standards of efficiency in artillery and musketry. They created a legend of invincibility which immensely helped them in their work.

So far as commerce was concerned, it cannot be said that the diversion of trade was accompanied by any great expansion in the exports of Indian goods. It is probable that more pepper reached western Europe than before. However the only new development was the opening of new markets for Indian cotton goods in Western Africa and Brazil. The Portuguese were not successful in developing the import trade. The great bulk of their purchases were paid for in silver. They could sell little except luxuries and curiosities from Europe. The important service which they rendered to India was the effective policing of the coastal trade. There were nests of pirates along the Malabar coast who lived mainly by attacks on the small vessels which plied in great numbers between Gujarat on the one side and Ceylon, Madras and Bengal on the other. The Portuguese provided gun-boats to convoy the fleets of these vessels and thereby established a reasonable degree of security on the main line of Indian trade. However, we must not forget the toll whether in licence fees or in bribes, which they levied on Indian commerce, both coastal and foreign.

From the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century the power of the Portuguese began to decline. This was particularly due to the fact that in 1580 Portugal was made a part and parcel of Spain in the time Philip II of Spain. Spain herself was not doing well at that time. She could hardly be expected to defend the interests of the Portuguese. The result was that nearly one-third of the Portuguese lost many of their possessions. They were turned out from Amboyna by the Dutch. In 1622, Ormuz, was snatched away by the Government of Iran. The Dutch got Malacca in 1640. They were also turned out from Ceylon in 1656. In 1739 the Marathas got Bassem.

#### **4.2.3 Causes of Failure of Portuguese in India**

Many causes were responsible for the failure of the Portuguese empire in India.

After the death of Albuguerque, no strong person was sent by the Portuguese Government to India. The result was that the Portuguese Empire began to disintegrate. The Portuguese empire in India was corrupt. The salaries of officials were low and consequently they felt no hesitation in accepting bribes from any quarter. The bulk of the Portuguese officials were selfish. Unmindful of the sufferings of the people, they were bent upon making fortunes for themselves.

The religious policy of the Portuguese was also responsible for their ruin. The Portuguese introduced the Inquisition into India and they committed atrocities on those who were not Christians. They used all kinds of methods for the conversion of the people of India to Christianity. Their coercive methods created bitterness in the minds of the people. In 1540, all the Hindu temples in the Island of Goa were destroyed under the orders of their king. The establishment of the Mughal empire was also partly responsible for Portuguese failure. At the beginning of the 16th, the Portuguese did not meet any great opposition. However, after the accession of Akbar in 1556, the Mughal power began to grow. The Mughals were able to bring practically the whole of India under their control. Under these circumstances, there was no scope for the growth of the Portuguese power on the mainland of India. Portugal is a small country, did not have enough resources for the conquest of a vast country like India. Moreover, the resources were divided between the Portuguese possessions in India and Brazil.

In 1580, Portugal came under the control of Spain. The result was that the Spanish interest predominated and the Portuguese interests were subordinated. Various restrictions were put on Portuguese enterprise in the interests of Spain.

The rise of the Dutch and the English power in India created strong rivals in the country. They were more than a match for the Portuguese. The result was that by slow degrees the Portuguese empire in India failed.

The Portuguese who came to India were characterized by great individual courage, enthusiasm for conquest, personal and national pride, but many of them were cruel, factious and domineering. Their early success encouraged their inborn arrogance. No wonder, they came to regard the Asiatics in general as their natural subjects. As very few Portuguese came from Europe, they were encouraged to marry Indian women. It was hoped that in this way the Portuguese settlements in India would become self-supporting in soldiers and sailors. Unfortunately, they mixed race which came into existence was inferior to the original stock, less brave but not less arrogant, increasingly avaricious and corrupt. Records of gallant exploits became fewer, and

The Dutch followed the Portuguese and later the French and English which resulted in a struggle for power. The English came out successful in this struggle.

#### **4.2.4 POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC CONSEQUENCE**

Portuguese desired to establish a monopoly and to establish fortified establishments so that they could defy the local rulers. The Portuguese landing in India "was fortunate both as to place and time." The Malabar coast was then divided between petty chiefs who were too weak and torn by internecine strife to resist the Portuguese.

The plan of Albuquerque, the Governor formed strategically a complete whole and consisted of three series of operations : (1) the control of the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea; (2) the establishment of the headquarters of the Portuguese power at a central port on the west coast of India; (3) the destruction of Mussalman trade in the Malay Peninsula and the Far East. The conquest of Goa was Albuquerque's first achievement (Feb., 1610)

The Portuguese power had begun to decline in the second half of the sixteenth century as was demonstrated by the defeat of the Spanish Armada by England in 1588.

In 1571 the Asiatic empire of Portugal was divided into three independent commands, viz, a Governorship at Mozambique controlling the settlements on the African coast; (2)

a viceroyalty at Goa in charge of the Indian and Persian territories; and (3) a Governorship at Malacca to control the trade of Java and the spice Archipelago, the Portuguese dominion was based upon command of the sea and upon possession of forts at strategic points along the coast. They were bitterly jealous of all rivals at sea.

Besides controlling the whole of the export trade to Europe, the Portuguese monopolized the port - to port trade on the Matabar coast and the trade from the Indian to the Persia coast on the one side and Malacca on the other. The Portuguese treatment of their native subjects and opponents showed "a consistent and systematic cruelty and barbarity tower even than the standards of a cruel age."

## **Conclusion**

After 1540, the Portuguese Government in India markedly came to be dominated by priests-Dominicans, Franciscans and Jesuits – who displayed an intolerant bigotry and introduced all the honors of the inquisition into India. The Portuguese monopoly of the Indian Ocean remained unbroken till 1595, fifteen years after the fatal union of Portugal and Spain.

## **4.3(B) EMERGENCE OF AFGAN POWER**

### **Introduction**

After his death in 1227, Chaghi Khan's vast empire fell to pieces. In Afghanistan some local Chiefs succeeded in establishing independent principalities and other acknowledged Mongol Princes as Suzerains. This state of affairs continued until the end of the 14th Century, When Timur (Tamerlane) conquered a large part of the country.

Timur's successors the Timurids, were great patrons of learning and the arts who enriched their capital city of Herat with fine buildings. Under their rule (1398-1507) Afghanistan enjoyed peace and prosperity. Early in the 16th Century the Uzbeks, a Turkic people, rose to power in Central Asia under Muhammad Shaybani, who triumphantly entered Herat in 1507. Babur, a direct descendant of Genghis and Timur

and the founder of the Mughal dynasty in India, made Kabul the capital of an independent principality in 1504. In December 1510, the safavid Shah Esmail, to avenge an insult, attacked Shaybani, besieged him in Merv, and slew him in an ambush.

During the next 200 years Afghanistan had no political identity and was parceled between the Mughals of India and the safavids of Persia - the former holding Kabul north to the Hindu Kush and the latter Herat and Farah Qandahar was for many years in dispute.

Overthrow of Foreign rule - Periodic indigenous attempts were made to gain independence. In 1709, Mirveys Khan, an influential leader of the Hotaki Ghilzay tribe, led to successful rising against Gorgin Khan, the Persian governor of Qandahar.

The Hotakis, Mir Veys Khan Governed Qandhar until his death in 1715. In 1716 the Abdalis of Herat, encouraged by example, took up arms against the Persians and under their leader, Asadullah Khan, succeeded in liberating their province.

Mahmud, Mir vey's young son and successor, was not content with holding Qandahar, and in 1722 he led about 20,000 men against Isfahan; the safavid government surrendered after a six-month siege.

Mahmud immediately set out to reorganize the Persian administration and economy, but he died in 1725. His young cousin Ashraf, who succeeded him, came to power at a critical time; the afghans in Persia were threatened on all sides, the Russians were advancing from the north, and the Ottoman Turks seized part of western Persia. Internal strife and jealousy among the Afghan Chiefs made the situation worse. Shah Ashraf halted the Russian advance at Darband and in 1726 inflicted a crushing defeat on the Turks, who were marching on the capital. Meanwhile news was brought to him that a brigand chief Nadr Qoli Beg, had attacked Rus and was on his way to take Meshed and Herat. Collecting all available troops Ashraf hastened northward to meet him but was defeated at Damghan on October 2, 1729. The Afghan position in Persia was



thereafter untenable, and during the retreat Ashraf himself was murdered, probably on orders from his cousin, who was then holding Qandhar.

#### **4.3.1. Nadir Shah**

Nadir Shah's Invasion of India was an important foreign invasion of India in 1738-39. Emperor Nadir Shah, the Shah of Iran and founder of the Afsharid dynasty, invaded India with a fifty-five thousand strong army, eventually attacking Delhi in March 1739 where he sacked the city, after issuing orders for a general massacre to take place. His army had defeated the Mughal emperor Muhammad Shah at the battle of Karnal and had taken over control of northern India.

One of the most important events of the reign of Muhammad Shah was the invasion of Nadir Shah in 1739. Aurangzeb's death had created a void in the Mughal Empire which none of his successors were able to fill. Frequent struggles for throne and the betrayal of ministers had resulted in the weakening of the empire. Nadir Shah, who from being a chief of dacoits had become the king of Persia, saw the weak empire as an opportunity.

After consolidating his position in Persia, Nader Qoli Beg marched against Hevat in 1732. The besieged fought desperately, but dissension forced them to sue for peace. Impressed by their valor, Nader treated them with courtesy and recruited many of them into his own army. He was elected shah of Persia, with the name Nader Shah, in 1736.

In 1737 Nader Shah advanced with an army of 80,000 men against Kandahar. The city fell after a year of siege, and Nader then came into conflict with the Mughal Empire of India. He reigned Ghazna and Kabul and advancing in to India, defeated the Mughals at Karnal, north of Delhi, in 1739. Then having seized the jewels and treasure of the capital; including the Koh-i-noor diamond and the famous peacock throne, he returned to Persia. He was assassinated at Khabushan in 1141.

The following factors were responsible for Nader Shah's invasion of India.

### **(1)**

The Mughal Emperors had long been in the practice of exchanging ambassadors with the Persian courts. This diplomatic usage was suddenly discontinued by Mohammad Shah, the Mughal Emperor, when Nadir Shah ascended the throne. Nadir Shah resented this very much.

**(2)** - In 1737, immediately after his accession to the throne of Persia, Nadir Shah marched against Kandahar with 80,000 men, because in his opinion, "so long as that centre of Afghan power was not destroyed, it would remain a menace to the safety of Persia. Moreover, with the conquest of Kandahar the full heritage of Salpvis could not be said to have come into his possession". Further, he wanted to teach the Afghans a very good lesson for their having invaded and occupied Persia and, side by side with it after subduing them, to keep them under his obedience. Being frightened by the siege of Kandahar by Nadir Shah, most of the Afghans, in order to save their lives from him, fled from Kandahar and took refuge in the Mughul province of Kabul. Two of these Afghans were Mir Wais and his son Hussain, the usurpers of Kandahar, the Persian

province. The new ruler of Persia resented this and sent an ambassador to the court of Mohammad Shah, the Mughal Emperor, not to give refuge to the Afghan fugitives in Kabul. The Emperor, no doubt, promised to do the needful, but failed to carry out his undertaking.

**(3)** - A second ambassador was sent to Delhi repeating the request with no better result.

In 1737, therefore, when hostilities had already begun in Kandahar, Nadir Shah dispatched a third envoy to the Mughal court expecting an urgent and clear reply. But the "Mughal sphinx was silent as ever. On the other hand, the ambassador was detained in the Mughal court and no reply was sent to Nadir Shah for a year. A year passed and matters crossed the frontiers of diplomacy. Nadir Shah making the disgrace of the ambassador as an excuse decided on invading India.

**(4)** Prof. S.R. Sharma says, 'In the last analysis, this must be attributed to the ambitions of Nadir Shah on the one hand and the apparent weakness of the Mughal Empire on the other. Anand Ram Mukhlis writes, "The train had long been laid and from these negotiations sprang the spark that fired it ..... the true cause was the weakness of its (Hindustan's) monarchy". The fabulous wealth of India also prompted him to enrich himself with her spoils.

**(5)** - After the death of Aurangzeb, the Mughal Emperors had very sadly neglected the defence of Afghanistan and the Punjab and as such, Nadir Shah defeated a Mughal force of 20,000 strong which was stationed at Khyber pass under Nasir Khan, the Mughal governor of Kabul. Then he crossed the river Sind and proceeded towards Lahore. The Punjab was at this time under its governor Zakariya Khan. He was, no doubt, 'a brave and an active soldier and 'a good administrator of, but being a Turani foreigner, he was hated by the Hindustanis at court who enjoyed favor with the Emperor. The gateway of India being in no state of defence Nadir Shah's invasion was both tempted and facilitated. Under these circumstances, Nadir Shah occupied the

North Western Frontier province and Punjab without any difficulty. Thus Zakariya Khan, finding resistance impossible surrendered to the invader and thus saved the city of Lahore from the wrath of the invader. He was made to pay a contribution of 20 lakhs of rupees, in order to retain his governorship. Similarly, Nasir Khan was also restored to the viceroyalty of Kabul and Peshawar.

**(b) The Battle of Karnal (1739)** - Continuing on his march, Nadir Shah appeared in the neighbourhood of Karnal where Mohammad Shah's army sent from Delhi awaited him. The fateful battle of Karnal was fought on the 13th February, 1739 between the two armies. The royal army consisted of 2,00,000 horsemen and 5,000 gunners. On the other hand, the Persian army was far less in strength. Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar puts down the strength of the Persian army at 55,000 horses. This number is nearest the truth: He also states, the total Indian force at Karnal could not have exceeded 75,000. But including the non-combatants it was very "near a million men". The Mughals broke at length and fled and the Persians got decisive victory in this battle. As to the cause of the failure of the Mughals, the writer of the "Bayane-i-Waki" states, "that if the army of Hindustan had been fully provided with artillery the Persians would not have been able to oppose it? Of the Indian army 30,000, according to one account, and 17,000 according to another account, were slain in this battle the vanquished sued for peace by sending Nizam-ul-Mulk to Nadir's camp. These were the results of the battle of Karnal.

(d), After the Battle of Karnal a massacre of unprecedented dimension witnessed in Delhi. On 11th March 1739, the Chandni Chowk, the Paribah Bazar and the buildings around the Jama Masjid set fire and reduced to ashes. The inhabitants, one and all, were slaughtered. The town was reduced to ashes and had the appearance of a plain consumed with fire. At last the unlucky Mughal Emperor, accompanied by two of his wives, presented themselves before Nadir Shah and beseeched him to spare the lives of his subjects. On this, Nadir Shah ordered the carnage to be stopped.

Thus, the great invader left the Mughal Empire bleeding and prostrate. According to estimates the Persians invaders took away to crores of rupees. He carried away 100

elephants, 7000 horses, 10,000 camels, 100 eunuchs, 130 writers including peacock Throne. Thus after restoring Mohammed Shah on the throne and warning him against the treacherous conduct of Nizam-ul-Mul who, he said was cunning, self-seeking and more ambitious than became a subject.

#### **4.3.2 Results of Nadir Shah's Invasion**

**(1) Loss of Sind, Kabul and the West Punjab-** Before his departure from Delhi on 5th May 1739, Nadir Shah placed the crown of Hindustan on the head of Mohammad Shah who was made to Surrender to Nadir the Trans - Indus provinces including Sind, Kabul and the Western Punjab, which were thus permanently lost to be the descendants of Babur. These provinces were the most vital part of the Mughal Empire. In other words, the first result of Nadir Shah's invasion on India was that it struck a very deadly blow on the Mughal Empire and hastened its downfall. With the Khyber Pass and Peshwar district in foreign hands, there was established a power which served as a constant menace to the Mughal authority at Delhi.

**(2) Loss of Prestige -** Nadir Shah's invasion exposed to the world the rottenness of the Mughal Empire and this, therefore, destroyed its prestige. Whatever amount of it was left over.

**(3) Dismemberment of the Mughal Empire complete-** immediately after the departure of Nadir Shah, India fell a victim to a great disorder, confusion, an anarchy. The central Government was paralysed and the administration was thrown into utter confusion. Robbery and brigandage became common in this country the roads became unsafe and the whole tracts of land laid waste. This confusion and disorder of an unprecedented magnitude offered suited opportunities to Mughal nobles and others to increase their power' appropriate the Mughal territories to themselves and declare themselves as independent from the Mughal Empire. Thus the Marathas became dominant in Malwa, Gujarat and Bundelkhand. The Rohillas set up their own independent state in Rohilkhand under Mohammad Khan. The best three subas or

provinces of the Mughal Empire, Bengar, Bihar and orissa, declared their independence under the leadership of Ali Vardikhan.

#### **(4) Mughal empire deprived of entire wealth :**

The Mughal Empire was destitute of the accumulated wealth of 348 years in a moment. All the rare and precious articles were permanently lost and all the valuable articles, jewels and other properties of the nobles, rich citizens and the Mughal countries were taken away by the invaders. In this way, all the economic resources of the Mughal Empire were exhausted and the empire stood completely bankrupt. This complete breakdown of the finances of the empire completely incapacitated the Mughal emperors to arrest the further progress of dismemberment of the empire by effectively controlling the remaining parts of it.

#### **Conclusion**

In short, Nadir Shah's invasion gave a final death-blow to the already tottering Mughal Empire and left it bleeding, prostrate and helpless. The ruin of the Mughal Empire which was a treaty crumbling to pieces was complete.

#### **4.3.3. AHMED SHAH ABDALI'S INVASION OF 1761**

. Ahmad Shah Abdali (1726–1773) was the founder of the Durrani dynasty in Afghanistan. He was born in Multan of Pakistan, the son of Sammaun-Khan, hereditary chief of the Abdali tribe. As a young boy, Abdali fell into the hands of the hostile tribe of Ghilzais and kept as a prisoner in Kandahar. On March 1738, he was rescued by Nadir Shah, who had him guard over some regions that are now in the North Western Frontier of Pakistan. Nadir Shah was known to be a child molester and it was not a surprise that he kept Abdali as one of his slaves. Shah favored Abdali above the rest because of Abdali's young, handsome features. Abdali was then given the title of "Dur-Durrani" (Pearl of Pearls) by Shah and then Abdali changed

the *Abdali* tribe name to the *Durrani* tribe. Shah gave Abdali the command over a cavalry of Abdali tribesmen.

Ahmed Shah Abdali or Durrani was an important general of Nadir Shah. When after the conquest of Qandhar, Nadir Shah decided to settle all his Abdali subjects there, the relatives of Ahmed Shah also settled there. After the murder of Nadir Shah in 1741, all the Afgans proceeded towards Qandhar and chose Ahmad Shah Abdali as their leader. On reaching Qardhel they had to fight against the local garrison which was captured. Ahmed Abdali was declared Emperor and coins were struck in his name. After Qandhar Ahmad Shah Abdali occupied Gazni, Kabul and Peshawar. All that added to his personal glory and the morale of his troops.

### **Cause of Invasion**

Ahmed Shah Abdali led as many as seven expeditions, against India between 1748 and 1767. He undertook those invasions mainly with a view to establish Afghan supremacy over India. There were many factors which encouraged him to undertake those invasions. The weak and precarious condition of the Mughal empire encouraged him in his invasion. He had seen the weakness of the Mughal empire when he came to India along with Nadir Shah. In subsequent years, the Mughal Empire became weaker further. Ahmed Shah Abdali wanted to take advantage of that position. The neglect of the North western border by the later Mughals encouraged him to launch so many invasions. The Mughal rulers completely neglected the roads, passes etc, on the border. They did not employ any intelligence to keep the court informed about the development on the border. This indifferent attitude of the later Mughal rulers towards the defence of their border was fully exploited by the invader. The view of Elphinstone

is that Ahmad Shah Abdali invaded India so many times with a view to make financial Gains and realize his political ambitions. He carried with him a lot of money and gifts from India which were utilized by him for increasing his military strength and improving its organization. The immediate cause of his invasion of India was that he was invited by Shah Nawaz Khan, the Governor of the Punjab, to undertake an invasion of India. That invitation fitted very well into the ambitious plans of Ahmad Shah Abdali.

### **First Invasion**

Ahmad Shah Abdali crossed the Indus and the Jhelum to invade the Punjab in 1748. Lahore and Sirhind were occupied but he was defeated by the Mughal army near Sirhind and he was forced to withdraw.

### **Second Invasion**

Ahmad Shah Abdali was not prepared to put up with the insult and he led another attack on India in 1749, Muin Khan, Governor of the Punjab, resisted the advance of Abdali and asked for the reinforcements. As he did not get any help, he agreed to pay Rs. 14000 as annual tribute to Abdali.

### **Third Invasion**

Ahmad Shah Abdali led the third invasion of India towards the close of 1751 as the promised tribute was not paid to him. After defeating the Governor of the Punjab, Abdali advanced towards Delhi. The Mughal Emperor offered to transfer Multan and Punjab to Abdali. The view of some scholars is that Ahmad Shah Abdali also conquered Kashmir during his third invasion and appointed his own Governor. He had to go back because there was a possibility of opposition at home at that time.

### **Fourth Invasion**

Ahmad Shah Abdali invaded India for the fourth time to punish Imad-ul-Mulk who had appointed his own man as the Governor of the Punjab. Ahmad Shah Abdali had



appointed Mir Mannu as his agent and Governor of the Punjab. In 1753, after the death of Mir Mannu, his infant son, under the Regency of his mother Mughlani Begum, succeeded him. In May 1754, even this successor of Mir Mannu died. After that there was chaos and confusion in the Punjab. Mughlani Begum invited Imad-ul-Mulk, the Wazir of Delhi and he appointed Mir Munim as the Governor of the Punjab after imprisoning Mughlani Begum, when Ahmad Shah Abdali came to know of these developments, he decided to attack India. He came to India in November 1750. As soon as he reached Lahore, Mir Munim ran away to Delhi. After capturing the Punjab, Ahmad Shah Abdali marched towards Delhi. He reached Delhi on 23 January 1757 and captured the city. He stayed in Delhi for about a month and repeated the carnage and arson of the type of Nadir Shah's invasion. The rich and poor, noblemen and commoners, men and women all suffered torture and disgrace indiscriminately.

After pillaging Delhi, the Afghan army marched out leaving a trail of burning villages, rotting corpses and desolation. Crushing the Jats on the way, they proceeded to Mathura, Brindban and Gokul. The carnage and destruction that visited these sacred towns beggars description. For 7 days following the general slaughter, 'the water (of the Jamuna) flowed of a blood-red colour'. Temples were desecrated, priests and Sadhus were put to the sword. Women were dishonoured and Children were cut to pieces. There was no atrocity which was not perpetrated. However, the outbreak of cholera halted the Afghan army and compelled him to return home. Before his departure from Delhi Abdali compelled the Mughal Emperor to cede him Kashmir, Lahore, Sirhind and Multan. He appointed Timur Shah to look after the Government of those regions.

**(5) Fifth invasion - 1759 and the Third Battle of Panipat, 1761-** Hardly a year had passed after the departure of Ahmed Shah Abdali from India when the Sikhs, Adina Beg and the Marathas joined hands together and expelled Prince Timur and his commander, Jahan Khan, from the Punjab. Ahmed Shah considered the defeat of the prince as his personal defeat and, as such, decided to punish the Marathas, the Sikhs and Adina Beg. Hence a clash between the Marathas and Ahmed Shah Abdali became

inevitable. The Abadali Sardar invaded the Punjab the fifth time in 1759-60. After smashing the enemies in the Punjab, he proceeded towards Delhi to Punish the Marathas. A fierce battle was fought in the historic plain of Panipath in 1761, called the Third Battle of Panipat, in which the Marathas suffered a clear defeat at the hands of Ahmed Shah Abdali.

### **(6) Sixth, Seventh and Eighth invasions**

After the Third Battle of Panipat in 1761, Ahmed Shah Abdali had completely become the master of the Punjab, Kashmir, sind and Sirhind but the rise of the Sikh Misls during this period had made his occupation of the Puniab very very ineffective. The Sikhs killed Khawaja, the governor of the Punjab, occupied Lahore and struck their own coins. Not only this, but they also defeated and expelled the two Afghan faujadars of Jullundur, Saadat Khan and Sadiq Khan. Moreover, the Sikhs now decided to punish Mahant Akit Das, the leader of Niranjani sect, who was acting as a secret spy of Ahmed Shah Abadali against the Sikhs. In response to this invitation, Ahmed Shah Abdali invaded the Punjab three times more in 1762, 1764 and 1 766-67, but inspite of the best efforts and with all the resources of a powerful ruler, he could not crush the Sikhs. The Sikhs rendered all his Schemes in effective and thus themselves occupied most of the Punjab by the year 1767 and set up an independent Sikh state there. The regions beyond the river Indus remained with Ahmed Shah Abdali, while the entire Manjha region of central Punjab with Lahore as its capital became an independent Sikh state under the Sikh Misls.

#### **4.3.4 The Results of Ahmed Shah Abadii's Invasions**

There is no doubt that Ahmed Shah Abdali, on the occasion of any of his invasions, could not stay in India for a long time and each time he had to hurry back to his country under one reason or the other, yet, it wilt be difficult to deny that inspite of all this, his invasions in India did have many effects on the history of India in many ways, as discussed below :-

**(1) These invasions paved the way for the rise of the Sikh power in the Punjab** -

From 1752 to 1761, there were frequent wars amongst the four great powers to gain ascendancy in the Punjab. These powers were (1) The Durranis (2) The Mughals (3) The Marathas, (4) The Sikhs. The invasions of Ahmed Shah Abdali at first so much weakened the Mughal Empire that he was able to wrest away the two provinces of the Punjab and Sind from the Mughal Emperor in 1752. Third Battle of Panipat was fought between him and the Marathas, who were thus given a crushing defeat by the Afghans under their Abdali Sardar. Thus with their defeat in the Third Battle of Panipat, the Marathas lost all opportunities to set up their empire in the Punjab. Now with the extinction of the two powers in the Punjab, the Mughal and the Marathas only two powers now remained behind to contest their supremacy there, and these powers the Sikhs and the Afghans. In spite of his many invasions on the Punjab to crush the Sikh Power, he failed and ultimately in his despair and helplessness he was forced to quit the Punjab which now the Sikhs occupied.

**(2) They inflicted stunning blows to the tottering Mughal Empire-**

The Mughal Empire had already become squeezed and now it was confined to the four walls of Delhi City, the rest of the provinces having declared their independence from the Mughal Empire. Ahmed Shah's invasions hastened the downfall of the Mughal Empire. The anarchy destroyed the internal organization and vitality of the Mughal government. This also gave rise to insubordination and indiscipline towards the Mughal government on the part of the Mughal officers and officials. Thus, these invasions proved stunning blows to the already crumbling Mughal Empire.

**(3) The dream of the Marathas to found the Hindu Empire after the Mughals came to nothing** -

It is not to be forgotten that the Third Battle of Panipat was not fought between the Mughal ruler of Delhi and the Afghan invader, but between the Marathas and Abdali. The crushing defeat was, therefore a disaster for the Marathas and not for the Emperor. Thus, as said above, the dream of the Marathas to establish a Hindu Padshahi from the Deccan right up to the Punjab came to nothing. After their

defeat in the Third battle of Panipat, the Marathas had to face a lot of troubles before they could recover from the deadly effects of the battle. Their prestige felt down very low and the Charm of their invincibility also broke down. The result of all this was that the organization and authority of the Marathas became weak and their enthusiasm and initiative became almost dead.

**(4) They made the way clear for the third power, i.e. The English to establish their rule in India** - The Afghan invasions on India under Ahmed Shah Abdali weakened the Marathas so much that the English found no difficulty in founding their Empire in India later on. Even Sir Desai admits that at Panipat "The field was made clear for the third . power, i.e, the English'. This amply corroborated by the easy manner in which four years after panipat, clive obtained the Diwani of Bengal i.e., practically the mastery of that rich province and consequently of India.

## **Conclusion**

In the middle of the eighteenth century in the history of India, two powers came into clash with each other. One was dealing power of the Mughals and other was rising power of the Marathas. But the Third Battle of Panipath weakened these two powers to such an extent that the English came forward to be the legal heir to the Moghul Empire. According S.R. Sharma "The doom of the Empire which was weakened from within, was sealed by the two fateful invaders who came from without first Nadir Shah and then Ahmed Shah Abdali dealt the to the empire blows which it was ill-equipped to sustain."

## **4.4(C) POLITICAL, CULTURAL AND ECONOMIC WEAKNESS ON THE EVE OF THE BRITISH CONQUEST**

### **Introduction**

On the eve of the British conquest, Indian socio-cultural and political ethos was in a state of turmoil. A study of the socio-political scene is most instructive. It

reveals some of the defects and weakness of Indian medieval social, economic and political structure which were responsible for the eventual defeat of the country by the English East India Company.

#### **4.4.1 Political Weakness**

##### **Decaying Nobility**

One of the foremost political weakness before the coming of the British was position of nobility. The weakness of the King could have been successfully overcome and covered by an alert efficient and loyal nobility. The character of nobility had also deteriorated. Many nobles lived extravagantly and beyond their means. Many of them became ease loving and fond of unnecessary luxury. Many of them even deserted in the art of fighting. Earlier, many able persons from lower classes had been able to rise to the ranks of nobility, thus infusing fresh blood in to it.

Later the existing families of nobles began to monopolised all offices, barring the way to fresh comers. Not all the nobles, however, had become weak and inefficient. A large number of energetic and able officials and brave and brilliant military commanders came into prominence during the 18th century,

but most of them did not benefit the Empire because they used their talents to promote their own interest, and to fight each other rather than to serve the state and society.

In fact, contrary to the popular belief, the major weakness of the Mughul during the 18th century lay, not in the decline in the average ability of the nobles or their moral decay, but in their selfishness and lack of devotion to the state. In order to increase their power, prestige and income, the nobles formed faction against each other and even against the King. Their Mutual quarrels exhausted the Empire, affected its cohesion and in the end made it an easy prey to foreign conquerors. These characteristics were not the monopoly of the Mughal nobility at the time. They were found in equal measure among the rising Maratha chiefs, the Rajput Raja the Jats, the Sikhs, new

rulers of autonomous provinces, and the other innumerable adventures who rose to fame and power before coming of the British to India.

**Lack of Nationalism-** An important, political wakeness before the coming of British was absence of the spirit of political nationalism among the people. This was because India at the time lacked political nationalism among the people. This was because India at the time lacked the element which constitute a modern nation. The people of India did not feel that they were all Indians, or they were conscious of oneness or of having common interests, even though elements of cultural unity had existed in the country for centuries. Therefore, there did not exist the ideal of living and dying for one's nation. Instead people were loyal to persons, tribes, castes and religious sects.

### **Political weakness in different States**

On the debris of the Mughal Empire and its political system arose a large number of independent and semi independent powers such as Bengal, Avadh, Hyderabad, Mysore and the Maratha Kingdom. It is these powers which challenged the British attempt at supremacy in India. However, these powers unable to form a common political platform against the British Power.

**Hyderabad-** The state of Hyderabad founded by Nizam - ul-Mulk Asaf Jah leading nobles of the post at the time lacked the element which constitute a modern nation. The people of India did not feel that they were all Indians, nor they were conscious of oneness or of having common interests, even though elements of culture unity had existed in the country for centuries. Therefore, there did not exist the ideal of living and dying for one's nation. Instead people were loyal to persons

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**Hyderabad** - The state of Hyderabad founded by Nizam-ul-Mulk Asaf Jah in 1724. He was one of the leading nobles of the post Aurangzeb era. From 1720-1722 he consolidated his hold over Deccan by suppressing all opposition to his viceroyalty. He laid the foundation of Hyderabad state. He never openly declared independence from the central government. He consolidated his power by establishing an orderly administration in Deccan. But after his death in 1748 Hyderabad falls prey to the same disruptive forces as were operating Delhi.

**Carnatic** - The Carnatic also another theatre of political intrigue Just as in pratese the Nizam had became independent of Delhi, so the nawab Saadututla Khan of Kamatic had made his nephew Dost Ali his successor without the approval of his superiors the Nizam. Later, after 1140, the affairs of the carnatic deteriorated because of the repeated struggles for its Nawabship and this provided on opportunity to the Europear trading Companies to interfere in the Indian Politics.

**Bengal-** Bengal was another fertile ground for the British East India Company. Taking advantage of the growing weakness of the central authority two men of exceptional ability Musted Quli Khan and Alivardi Khan made Bengal virtually independent. Murshid Quli Khan was made Governor of Bengal in 1717. Murshid Quli Khan died in 1727 and his son-in-law Shuja-Uddin ruled Bengal till 1739. In that year Alivardi Khan deposed and killed Shuja-ud-dins son, Sartarz Khan, and made himself the Nawab.

The Bengal Nawab proved, to be short shighted. They did not firmly put down the increasing tendency of the English East India Company after 1707 to use military force. Thus failed to see that the English East India Company was mere company of traders but was the representative of the most aggressive and expansiononist colonialism of the time.

Another major weakness of the Nawab was neglect of army, and for this he paid a heavy price for it. Because in 1756-57, when East India Company declared war on Siraj-Ud-Dautah, the successor of Alivardi, the absence of strong army contributed

much for the victory of foreigner. The Bengal Nawab also failed to check the growing corruption among their officials. Even judicial official the Qazi and Muftis were given to taking bribes. The foreign companies took full advantage of this weakness to undermine official rules and regulators and policies.

**Maratha** - The most important challenge to the decaying Mughal power came from the Maratha kingdom which was most powerful of the successor states. In fact, it only possessed the strength to fill the political vacuum created by the disintegrated of Mughul empire. But the Maratha Sardars lacked unity, and they lacked outlook and programme which were necessary for founding all India empire.

This basically because the Maratha Empire represented the same decadent 'social order as the Moghul Empire did and suffered from the same underlying weakness. The Maratha chiefs were very similar to the later Mughal nobles, just as the Saranjami System was similar to the Mughal system of Jagirs. So long as there existed a strong central authority and the need for mutual cooperation against a common enemy, the Mughals, they remained united in a loose Union. But at the first opportunity they tended to assert their autonomy. If anything, they were even less disciplined than the Mughal nobles.

Like the Mughals, the Maratha rulers were also mainly interested in raising revenue from the helpless peasantry. For example they too collected nearly half of the agricultural production as tax. Unlike the Mughals, they failed even to give sound administration to the people outside Maharastra. They could not inspire the Indian people with any high degree of loyalty than the Mughals had succeeded in doing. Their dominion too depended on force and force alone. The only way the Maratha could have stood up to the mounting British power was to have transformed their state into a modern state. On the other hand, the European knocking at the gates of India had the benefit of coming from societies which had evolved a superior economic system and which were more advanced in science and technology's' .



The tragedy of the dealing of the Mughal Empire was that its courage fell on a foreign power which dissolved, in its own interest, the centuries old socio-economic and political structure of the country and replaced it with a colonial structure

#### **4.4.2 - Economic weakenes**

India before advent of British failed to make progress economically, socially, or culturally at a pace which would have saved the country from collapse. The increasing revenue demand of the state, the oppression of officials, the greed and rapacity of the nobles, revenue farmers, and the zamindars, the marches and counter marches of the rival armies, and the depredations of the numerous adventures roaming the land during the first half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century made the life of the people quite wretched.

India of those days was also a land of contrasts. Incredible poverty existed side by side with extreme riches and lavishness. On the one hand, there were rich and powerful nobles steeped in luxury and comfort. On the other, backward, oppressed and impoverished peasants living at the bare subsistence level and having to bear all sorts of injustice and inequities. Even so, the life of the Indian masses was by and large better at this time than it was after over 100 years of British.

The main weakness of Indian agriculture during 18<sup>th</sup> century was technically backward and sluggish. The technique of production had remained stationary for century. The peasant tried to make up for technical backwardness by working very hard. He in fact, performed miracles of production; moreover, he did not usually, suffer from shortage of land. But, unfortunately, he seldom reaped the fruits of his labour. Even though it was his product that supported the rest of the society, his own reward was miserably inadequate. The state, the Zamindars, the jagirs and the revenue farmers tried to extract the maximum amount from him. This was as true of the Mughal state as of the Maratha or Sikh Chief or other successors of the Mughal state

Indian villages were largely self-sufficient and imported little from outside and the means of communication were backward, extensive trade within the country and between India and other countries of Asia and Europe was carried on under the Mughals. India imported pearls, raw silk, wool, dates, dried fruits and rose water from the Persian Gulf region; coffee, gold, drugs, and honey from Arabia; tea, sugar, porcelain and silk from China; gold, musk, and woolen cloth from Tibet; tin from Singapore; spices, perfumes, arrack; and sugar from the Indonesian islands; ivory and drugs from Africa; and woolen cloth, metal such as copper, iron, and lead, and paper from Europe.

India's most significant article of export was cotton textile which were famous all over the world for their superiority and were in demand everywhere. India also exported raw silks and silk fabric, hardware, indigo, salt, opium, rice, wheat, sugar, pepper and other spices, precious stones, and drugs. India was on the whole self-sufficient in handicrafts and agricultural products. It did not import foreign goods on a large scale. On the other hand, its industrial and agricultural products had a steady market abroad. Consequently, it exported more than it imported and its trade was balanced by import of silver and gold. In fact, India was known as a sink of precious metals. :

Regular conflict and disturbance of law and order in many areas during the 18th century harmed the country's trade to some extent and in some directions. Many trading centers were looted by the contestants for power and by foreign invaders. Many of the trade routes were infested with organized bands of robbers, and traders, and their caravans were regularly looted. Even the road between the two imperial cities, Delhi and Agra, was made insecure by the marauders.

Moreover, with the rise of autonomous provincial regimes and innumerable local chiefs, the number of custom houses or chowkies grew by heaps and bounds. Every petty or large ruler tried to increase his income by imposing heavy customs duties on goods entering or passing through his territories. All these factors had an injurious effect on trade though much less than generally believed. The impoverishment of the

nobles, who were the largest customers of luxury products in which trade was conducted, also injured internal trade.

Political factors which impair trade also adversely affected urban industries. Many prosperous cities, centres of flourishing industry, were sacked and devastated. Delhi was plundered by Nadir Shah; Lahore, Delhi and Mathura by Ahmad Shah Abdali; Agra by the Jats, Surat and other cities of Gujarat and the Deccan by Maratha Chiefs; Sarhind by the Sikhs, and so on. Similarly, artisans catering to the needs of the feudal class and the court suffered as the fortunes of their patrons declined. The decline of internal and foreign trade also hit them hard in some parts of the country. Nevertheless, some industries in other parts of the country gained as a result of expansion in trade with Europe due to the activities of the European trading companies.

Even so India remained a land of extensive manufactures. Indian artisans still enjoyed fame all the world over for the skill. India was still a large scale manufacturer of cotton and silk fabrics, sugar, jute. Dye-stuffs, mineral and metallic products like arms, metal wares, and saltpeter and oils. The important centres of textile industry were Decca and Murshidabad in Bengal, Patna in Bihar, Surat, Ahmedabad and Broach in Gujarat, Chanderi in Madhya Pradesh, Burhanpur in Maharashtra, Jaunpur, Varanas, Lucknow, and Agra in U.P. Multan and Lahore in the Punjab, Masulipatam, Aurangabad, Chicacore and Mshakhapatnam in Andhra, Bangalore in Mysore, and Coimbatore and Madurai in Madras. Kashmir was a centre of woollen manufactures. Ship-building industry flourished in Maharashtra, Andhra, and Bengal. Writing about the real skill of Indians in this respect, an English observer. "In ship building they probably taught the English far more than they learnt from them". The European companies bought many Indian-made ships for their use.

In fact, at the dawn of the 19th century India was one of the main centres of world trade and industry. Peter the Great of Russia was led to exclaim.

"Bear in mind that the commerce of India is the commerce of the world and '.. he who can exclusively command it is the dictator of Europe."

#### **4.4.3 Cultural Weakness**

Culturally, India showed signs of degradation during the 19th Century. Cultural continuity with the preceding centuries was, of course, maintained .But at the same time .culture remained wholly traditionalist. Cultural activity of the time were mostly financed by the Royal court, rulers, and nobles and Chiefs whose impoverishment led to their: gradual decline.' The most rapid decline occurred precisely in those branches of art which depended on the patronage of Kings, Princes and nobles. This was reflected in the Mughar architecture and painting. Many of the painters of the Mughal school migrated to provincial courts and flourished at Hyderabad, Lucknow, Kashmir and Patna. At the same time new school of paintings were born and achieved distinction. The paintings of Kangra and Rajput school revealed new vitality and taste . In the field of architecture, the Imambra of Lucknow , reveals proficiency in technique but decadence in architectural taste .in the other hand the city of Jaipur and its building were an example of continuing vigour. Music continued to develop and flourish in the 18<sup>th</sup> century.

Poetry in every the Indian language lost its touch with life had become decorative, artificial, mechanical and traditional. Its pessimism is reflected the prevailing sense of despair and cynicism, while its content reflected the impoverishment of the spiritual life of its patrons, the real nobles and kings.

A noteworthy characteristic of the literary life of the 18th century was the spread of Urdu language and vigorous growth of Urdu poetry. Urdu gradually became the medium of social intercourse among the upper classes of northern India. while Urdu poetry shared in common the weakness of the contemporary literary in other India languages. It produced brilliant poets like Mir, Sauda, Nazir, and in the 19<sup>th</sup> century that great intellect Mirza Ghalib.

Similarly, there was a revitalization of Malayalam literature; especially under the benefaction of the Travancore rulers, Martarda Varma and Rama Varma. The 18<sup>th</sup> century Kerala also witnessed the full development of Kathkali literature, Drama and Dance. The Padmanathan palace with its astonishing architechure and rural paintings was also contructed in the century.

Tayumanavar (1706-44) was one of the best exponests of Sittar poetry in Tamil. In Assam, Literature developed under the patronage of the Ahom Kings. For Sindhi literature, the 18h century was a period of enormous achievement.

The main weakness of India culture by in the field of science. Through out the 18<sup>th</sup> century India remained for behind the west in science ad technology. For the last 200 years western Europe had been under going a scientific and economic revolution that was leading to a spate of inventions and discoveries. The scientific outlook was gradually pervading the western mind and revolutioning the philosophical, political and economic outlook of the Europeans and their institutions.

On the other hand, the Indians who had earlier ages mode vital contributions in the field of mathematics and natural science, had been neglecting the sciences for several contraries. The Indian mind was still tied to tradition. Both the nobles and the common people were superstitious to a high degree. The Indian remained almost wholly ignorant of the scientific, cultural, political and economic achievements of the west. The 18h century Indian rulers did not show any interest in things western except in weapon of war and techniques of military training. This weakness in the realm of science was to be a large exlent accountable for the total overthrow of India by the most highly developed country of the time.

Struggle for supremacy and wealth, economic decline, social backwardness, and cultural stagnation had a deep and harmful impact on the morals of a section of the Indian people. The nobles, in particular, degenerated in their private and public life. The virtues of loyalty, gratitude, and faithulness to their pledged word tended to disappear

in the single minded pursuit of selfish aims. Many of the nobles were prey to degrading vices and excessive luxury. Most of them took bribes when in office. Surprisingly enough, the common people were not debased to any marked extent. They continued to exhibit a high degree of personal integrity and morality

## **Conclusion**

So before the advent of the British East India Company, Indian Political, Economic and Cultural condition was in State of Stagnation. The Stagnation of India was broken and new forces of change emerged. This process grew out of a colonial contact inevitable brought with it intense misery and national dilapidation not to mention economic, political and cultural backwardness. But it was precisely these new forces of change which were to provide the vitality of modern India.

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