

INTRODUCTION

In 1526, Babur, a Timurid descendant of Timur, swept across the Khyber Pass and established the Mughal empire, which lasted for over 200 years. The Mughal Dynasty ruled most of the Indian subcontinent by AD 1600; it went into a slow decline after AD 1707 and was finally defeated during the Indian rebellion of 1857. This period marked a vast social change in the subcontinent as the Hindu majority was ruled over by the Mughal emperors, some of whom showed religious tolerance, while the others liberally patronized Hindu culture, and some destroyed the historical temples and imposed taxes on the non-Muslims. During the decline of the Mughal empire, which at its peak occupied an area slightly larger than the ancient Mauryan empire, several smaller empires rose to fill the power vacuum which themselves were contributing factors to the decline.

Babar and Humayun had not tried to change the prevailing style of administration and government. It was only Akbar who established an efficient and strong administration. His administration was better than his predecessors. He not only adopted some of the rules of Sher Shah Suri's administration but also reformed the prevalent system and also introduced some new rules and practices. His successors adopted his basic administration and policies and ruled successfully. In the early time of their rule, Mughal rulers ruled according to the Islamic Law like the Delhi Sultans. They ruled according to the wishes of the Muslims and guidelines of the Ulemas. But Akbar abolished this practice. In case of differences between the Ulemas and the Emperor, Akbar's decision was considered to be effective. Thus, the Muslim religious lobby was barred from interfering in the administration and the Mughal Emperor became the supreme power in India.

3.1 INDIA ON THE EVE OF BABUR'S INVASION

After the invasion of Muhammad Ghori and the calamitous episode of Timur's invasion, India had not been invaded by any force or army beyond her frontiers. The reason for this respite was that the great Khwarizmi, an empire from the Central Asia to the valleys of Kabul, Herat and Kandahar was in utter confusion. The seat of dynastic power in the central Asia was shifted to Samarquand.

The legacy of the Sultanate, the medieval economy, and new connections with Europe, helped to create an imperial state in north India. The Mughal empire was the end product of a millennium of Muslim conquest, colonization and state building in the Indian subcontinent. The dynasty and the empire which the first two Timurid emperors founded became indisputably Indian. In the beginning, the principal adversaries of the Mughals were Afghans who had supplanted Turks and Persians to become the most powerful group in north India. In addition, the Hindu rulers in every region of the subcontinent (save the extreme south) were already a spent force. They recognized the legitimacy of the Islamic political power and adapted to a new order due to the exigencies of the circumstances.

Babur claimed descent from Timur on his father's side and from Chingiz on his mother's. He was fifth in descent from the great Timur and Babur was born on 14 February 1483. He inherited his father's precarious throne at the tender age of eleven, but the petty kingdom of Farghana which Babur inherited could hardly satisfy his ambitions. His insatiable dream was Samarqand, the proud capital of his great ancestors which he thrice won and lost. During this period, the Timurid princes had to contend with the two new powers, the Safavids in Persia and the Uzbeks in central Asia. By force of circumstances, Babur turned his attention beyond Hindukush and made himself the master of Kabul in AD 1504. But he had not abandoned the hope of conquering Samarqand and the defeat of Shaibani Uzbek in AD 1510 by Shah Ismail provided him the much-needed opportunity. With the Persian aid he mastered Samarqand but only to lose it subsequently. Babur's indomitable spirit turned towards India as a compensation for the lost dominions in the north. 'India was for him, as for the British East India merchants a century later, a second best as a field of activity.'

Babur swept down to the plains of India in AD 1517 and AD 1519 and came to the Punjab in AD 1523 at the invitation of Daulat Khan Lodi, the governor of the province and Alam Khan, an uncle of Sultan Ibrahim. But Uzbek's pressure compelled Babur to retire and the final invasion of India was undertaken in November 1525. With a tiny but a loyal army of 12,000 men, Babur came to the historic city of Panipat, about fifty miles from Delhi in early April 1526. On the opposite side stood Sultan Ibrahim Lodi with an immense host

numbering about 1,00,000 men. But the Afghan Sultan, a young inexperienced man, careless in his movements, was no match for Babur, a born general who had the strength of loyalty in a compact group, a well-trained cavalry and powerful artillery. The battle of Panipat which took place 21 on April 1526 was over within a day. As Babur wrote: 'By the grace and mercy of almighty God, the difficult affair was made easy to me and that mighty army, in the space of half a day, was laid in the dust.'

Delhi and Agra were promptly occupied, but Babur's troops demurred to proceed further owing to the intense heat. But like Alexander, Babur roused their passion by a dramatic appeal and prepared them to face the Rajput threat, headed by Rana Sanga of Mewar. On 16 March 1527, in the battle of Khanua, a village 37 miles west of Agra, Babur routed the formidable army of Rana, composed of the contingents of 120 chiefs including 80,000 horses and 500 war elephants. The Rana escaped from the battlefield and survived until AD 1529. 'It was the imperial swan song of the Rajputs. They have never since had any pretensions to north Indian hegemony.' On 29 January 1528 Babur stormed Chanderi, on the north-east of Malwa. He set out on 2 February 1528 on the eastern campaign against the Afghan chiefs of Bihar and Bengal. On 6 May 1529 Babur defeated the Afghan Chief on the bank of the Gogra (Ghagra), near the junction of that river with the Ganges. The battle of Gogra formed a valuable appendix to the battles of Panipat and Khanua. On 30 December 1530 Babur died leaving a loosely knit empire from Badakshan, Kabul through the Punjab to the borders of Bengal. Everything depended on the personal loyalty to Babur as the latter had hardly found any time to consolidate his conquests.

Babur was not only a soldier-statesman but a poet and a man of letters. His memoirs, originally written in Turkish, were translated into Persian during Akbar's reign. The English versions appeared in 1826 by Erskine and Leydon and later by Mrs. A.S. Beveridge. He had a zest for life and laid out gardens wherever he went. He bemoaned for his native country as India had 'few pleasures to recommend'.

3.2 EsTAbIlshMENT OF ThE MUghal EMPlrE

Zahiruddin Muhammad Babur was the son of Umar Sheikh Mirza, a descendent of the famous

invader Taimur Lane. His mother Qutulug Nigar Khanam belonged to the family of Changez Khan, the well known Mongol invader. According to famous historian Lanepoole. 'Babur had in him the blood of two great warriors of Central Asia (Changez Khan and Taimur).'

When Babur was born in AD 1483, his father was the ruler of a small principality of Fargana in Turkistan. In AD 1494 Babur inherited the petty Kingdom of Fargana from his father. He was then only 11 years and four months old. At such a tender age he had to shoulder the responsibility of ruling the state. As famous historian Dr. Ishwari Prasad points out, Babur who was yet very young was surrounded by enemies from all sides. His near relatives and Uzbek chief Shahbani Khan wanted to snatch away the principality of Fargana. Oblivious of the Uzbek danger, the Timuridin princess were busy fighting with one another. Babur, too, made a bid to conquer Samarkan from his uncle. He won the city twice but on both the occasions lost it in no time. The second time the Uzbek Chief Shaibani Khan was called in to help out Babur. Shaibani defeated Babur and conquered Samarkan. Soon, he overran the rest of the Timurid kingdoms in the area. Babur wrote in his autobiography, 'Tuzk-i-baburi, I had lost Samarkand for recovering Fargana but now I feel that I have lost even the first one without having possessed the second.' Having lost both Fargana and Samarkand, Babur was forced to move towards Kabul, which he conquered in AD 1504. For the next fourteen years, Babur kept biding his time for the reconquest of his homeland (Fargana and Samarkand) from the Uzbeks. When he was completely unsuccessful against the Uzbeks, he diverted his attention from the West (Central Asia) to the East (India).

3.2.1 causes that Inspired Babur to Invade India

Ambition of Babur

Like other contemporary brave rulers, Babur was very ambitious. He himself says that from the time he obtained Kabul (AD 1504) to his victory at Panipat. 'I had never ceased to think of the conquest of Hindustan. But he had never found a suitable opportunity for undertaking it. Hindered as I was sometimes by the apprehensions of my Begs, sometimes by the disagreement between my brothers and myself.' He was involved incessantly in the struggle for the conquest of Samrkhan, (which Babur loved dearly). When he was finally

unsuccessful there, he tried to fulfill his ambition by conquering India.

Miserable political conditions of India

The political situation in North-West India was suitable for Babur's entry into India. Sikandar Lodhi had died in AD 1517, and Ibrahim Lodhi had succeeded him. His efforts to create a large centralized empire had alarmed the Afghan chiefs as well as the Rajputs. Amongst the most powerful of the Afghan chiefs was Daulat Khan Lodhi, the governor of the Punjab, who was almost an independent ruler. Daulat Khan attempted to conciliate Ibrahim Lodhi by sending his son to his court in order to pay homage. At the same time, he was trying to capture neighboring states. He wanted to strengthen his position by annexing the frontier tracts of Bhira etc., which Babur had captured in AD 1518-1519 and all hopes of Daulat Khan Lodhi were shattered. Babur put a demand through his ambassador that Daulat Khan Lodhi and Ibrahim Lodhi should surrender all those places to Babur which were at one time under the Turks. Daulat Khan Lodhi very cleverly made the ambassador of Babur to stay at Lahore so that he couldn't meet Ibrahim Lodhi. When Babur returned from Bhira, Daulat Khan Lodhi took away Bhira from the representative of Babur. Next year Babur again attacked Bhira and captured it alongwith Sialkot. This victory opened a gateway of India for Babur. One thing was made clear by these preliminary invasions to Babur that India lacked the feeling of political unity. Babur knew that India is divided into several petty principalities and the rulers of these states could never unite together. It was within his knowledge that they often used to quarrel amongst themselves. Babur considered this anarchical situation as the appropriate opportunity to invade India.

Immense riches of India and legal right to Occupy some area

Like countless earlier invaders from the Central Asia, Babur was drawn to India by the lure of its fabulous wealth. India was famous as the land of gold and riches. Babur's ancestor's Taimur had not only carried away a vast treasure and many skilful artisans who helped him to consolidate his Asian empire and beautify his capital but had also annexed some areas in the Punjab. These areas remained in the possession of Taimur's successors for many years. When Babur conquered Kabul, he felt that he had a legitimate right to these areas.

geographical reasons

Moreover, India being very near to Kabul, where Babur was ruling, it was natural for an ambitious ruler to invade India.

Meager income from Kabul

Another reason for Babur's invasion of India was the meager income of Kabul. The historian Abul Fazal remarks, 'He (Babur) ruled over Badakhshan, Kandhar and Kabul which did not yield sufficient income for the requirement of the army, in fact, in some of the border territories the expense on controlling the armies and administration was greater than the income.' In this way, the meager income of Kabul also promoted Babur to invade India.

Babur knew very well that after capturing the fertile province of Punjab he would have no financial problems and he could strengthen his position very easily.

Fear of the Uzbeks

Babur 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.

Invitations extended by Daulat Khan Lodhi, Alam Khan and Rana Sanga

Some of the historians hold the opinion that Babur had been invited to attack the Delhi Sultanate by Daulat Khan Lodhi and Rana Sanga. According to them, in AD 1524 Babur had received an embassy from Daulat Khan Lodhi, led by his son Dilawar Khan. They invited Babur to invade India and suggested that he should displace Ibrahim Lodhi since he was a tyrant and enjoyed no support from his courtiers and nobles. According to some of the historians, it is probable that a messenger from Rana Sangram Singh (the ruler of Mewar and popularly known as 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, if not of India itself.

In brief, we can say that many factors inspired Babur to invade India. His ambitions, immense wealth of India, weak political conditions and some invitations extended by the enemies of Ibrahim Lodhi were some of them.

3.2.2 political conditions of India on the Eve of Babur's Invasion

On the basis of Tuzuk-i-Baburi and other historical sources the political conditions of India on the eve of Babur's invasion can be described as follows:

(i) There were innumerable small and independent kingdoms which often fought with each other.

(ii) There was no powerful central authority to unite all the small states against a foreign invasion. In the words of Dr Ishwari Prasad, 'In the beginning of the sixteenth century India was a confederacy of small independent states which could easily fall prey to any strong and determined invader.'

(iii) Babur writes in his memoirs that when he invaded India there were seven important states – five Muslim and two Hindus. Besides these states mentioned by Babur there were several other states which were also playing a considerable role in the politics of India. In Northern India, the main states were Delhi, Punjab, Bengal, Jaunpur, Gujarat, Mewar, Malwa, Orissa, Sindh, Kashmir and Khandesh.

(iv) The political conditions of the Southern India were also very deteriorating. The Bahamani kingdom had broken up into five small principalities. These were – Bijapur, Golkunda, Beedar Barar and Ahmednagar. Although all these states were ruled by the Shia rulers, still they used to fight against each other. The Hindu kingdom of Vijaynagar in South was under Krishandev Rai. He was very powerful but he was not having good relations with the Bahamani kingdom and was only interested in the politics of the Deccan.

(v) The people of India were lacking the feeling of modern nationalism. They were more loyal to their local rulers than the symbolic central power of Delhi.

In order to form an idea of the political condition of the northern India on the eve of Babur's invasion, a brief survey of these states would be very helpful.

(i) Delhi: In Northern India, the small remnant of the Delhi Sultanate was ruled over by an incapable ruler Ibrahim Lodhi against whom rebellions were a frequent occurrence.

(ii) Bengal: During the reign of Firoz Shah Tughlaq, Bengal became an independent

kingdom. Nusrat Shah ruled over the territory during the invasion of Babur, and extended the borders of the kingdom up to Hajipur and Mongher and annexed Tirhut.

(iii) Punjab: In the Punjab, Daulat Khan Lodhi had revolted against the authority of Ibrahim and had become an independent ruler of Punjab. He could not tolerate the insult of his son at the hands of the Sultan. He turned against the Sultan and joined hands with Alam Khan, an uncle of Ibrahim, and invited Babur to invade India. Besides that, the rulers of Sind and Multan were also hostile to the Sultan of Delhi.

(iv) The Eastern districts: The eastern district about Oudh, Jaunpur and Bihar rose in arms and chose Darya Khan Lohani as their chief.

(v) Jaunpur: It was absolutely independent of the central control.

(vi) Bihar: It was in an open rebellion.

(vii) Gujarat: The kingdom of Gujarat was ruled by the Muslim Sultans independent of Delhi.

(viii) Malwa: The ruler of Malwa was Mahmud II of the Khilji dynasty. The ruler of Chanderi, Medini Rai wanted to establish his control over Malwa with the help of Rana Sanga of Mewar. Malwa was beset with internal quarrels and rebellions.

(ix) Mewar: Mewar was the most powerful Rajput Kingdom under the able and wise leadership of the brave Rana Sanga who had united all the Rajputs under a single flag in a federation. Rana Sanga was a past master in the art of fighting and had defeated the rulers of Delhi, Malwa and Gujrat.

(x) Khandesh: Khandesh, once the province of the Delhi Kingdom had become independent at the close of the 14th century. Adil Khan Faruqu, who ruled over it from AD 1457-1503 did a lot to increase the material prosperity of the Kingdom. Under him Burhanpur, the capital of the Kingdom, became one of the most attractive cities of India. On the eve of Babur's invasion Miran Mohammad was the ruler.

(xi) Vijaynagar: Vijaynagar was founded in AD 1336 by Harishar and his brother Bukka. Krishna Dev was a very powerful ruler of this dynasty. The rulers of Vijaynagar were on a constant war with the neighbouring kingdom of Bahamani.

(xii) Bahamani State: It was founded in AD 1347 by Hassan, an Afghan noble. It produced a number of warriors and ambitious kings. Unfortunately, it was always on warring terms with her neighbor, Vijaynagar. Afterwards, this state was split up in five small states – Barar, Ahmednagar, Badar, Bijapur and Golkunda.

It is clear from the above account that the North and the South India was divided into small principalities where different Hindu and Muslim rulers were ruling. Under these circumstances, it was not a difficult task for anyone to conquer India.

3.2.3 Social conditions

At that time Indian society was divided mainly into two groups – Hindus and Muslims. After living together for centuries they were quite friendly with each other. Therefore, both considered Babur as an enemy of India. Several ills had crept in the Hindu and the Muslim religion.

3.2.4 Causes of Failure of Ibrahim Lodhi

Babur was victorious at the battle of Panipat because of a number of factors. The main factors are as follows:

(i) Scientific combination of cavalry and artillery: Firstly, the victory of Babur was due to the scientific combination of cavalry and artillery. The effective use of mobile cavalry and the skill with which Ustad Ali and Mustafa, two great Turkish gunners, fought in the field of Panipat were also important factors which contributed towards Babur's victory. Rush Brooke Williams writes, 'If it could be possible to emphasize any one of the factors as being the most important cause of his (Babur's) victory, one would surely have to assign the first place to his artillery.'

(ii) Disunity: The Indian rulers did not visualize eventuality beyond the borders of their kingdoms and could not stand united to face a threat on India from the

outside. Babur defeated them one by one, captured their kingdoms, and because their overload.

(iii) Babur's personality: One of the biggest causes of Babur's victory was also his impressive personality. He did not lose heart even in the most critical times. He had the capacity to infuse spirit in the dead bodies with his lively speech. He was a born general and was fully conversant with all the tactics of war.

(iv) Ill-treatment of Ibrahim Lodhi towards his Amirs: Sultan Ibrahim's treatment towards his Amirs was most discourteous and insulting. The proud Afghan nobles, who used to share the carpet with Ibrahim's father and grand-father, were made to loose land in his Durbar in a humble posture and with their arms folded to their brats. He also declared that kingship. Hence, the Amirs went against him.

(v) Disciplined Army: Babur's army was more disciplined than the Indian army. His soldiers knew how to stand in the battle array and when to charge. On the other hand, the Indian soldiers moved more or less like a crowd and a little charge from the enemy side was enough to cause confusion among them. Their vast numbers were more a source of weakness than a source of strength. They were ill organised, ill-trained and ill-disciplined.

(vi) Inefficiency of Ibrahim as a General: Fortunately for Babur, the rival he had to contend with was an inefficient Military General, who lacked the qualities of Generalship. Neither could he properly organize his forces nor could he plan the battle well. Babur himself remarks that, 'Ibrahim was an inexperienced, young man, careless in his movements who marched without order, halted or retired without plan and engaged in the battle without foresight.' It was not difficult for a brilliant General like Babur to defeat such an inefficient rival.

(vii) Use of elephants by the Lodhis: Ibrahim Lodhi made a big use of elephants in his army. As compared to this, the horses of the Mughal cavalry were more active. Very often elephants wounded in battle used to round back trampling their own army men under their feet.

(viii) Babur's formations or Tulugama: Babur took strategic positions as soon as he reached Panipat. He strengthened his position by resting one wing of his army in the city of Panipat which had a large number of horses, and protected the others by means of ditch filled with branches of trees. On the front, he lashed together a large number of carts, to act as a defending wall. Between those two carts, breastworks were erected on which soldiers could rest their guns and fire. Historians praise Babur's for his formation which was offensive as well as defensive. In brief, we can say that one of the causes of Babur's victory at Panipat was the Tulugama strategy of war.

3.2.5 The First Battle of Panipat

In November, AD 1525, Babur attacked India with 12000 soldiers. When he reached at Peshawar he got the news that Daulat Khan Lodhi had changed the side. He had collected an army of 30000-40000 soldiers and ousted the Amirs of Babur from Sialkot and reached up to Lahore. Therefore, first of all Babur paid his heed towards Daulat Khan Lodhi. At Babur's approach, the army of Daulat Khan melted away. Daulat Khan submitted and was pardoned. Thus, within three weeks of crossing the Indus, Babur became the master of the Punjab.

On 20th

April, AD 1526, Babur reached the famous historical field of Panipat along with his army with a view to conquer India. Ibrahim Lodhi met Babur at Panipat with a force estimated at 100000 men and 10000 elephants, Since the Indian armies generally contained large hordes of servants, the fighting men on Ibrahim Lodhi's side must have been far less than this figure. Babur had crossed the Indus with a force of 12,0000, but he had been swelled by his army in India and the large number of the Hindustani nobles and soldiers who joined him in the Punjab. Even then Babur's army was numerically inferior. On the morning of 21st

April 1526, they fought a pitched battle. Babur, with the tactical use of Tulugama, encircled Ibrahim Lodhi's army, and his artillery rained a hail of fire and shots on it. The Lodhi army was totally destroyed. Babur himself wrote, 'By the grace and mercy of Almighty (God), the

mighty army of Delhi was laid in the dust in the course of half a day.' After half a day of battle, Babur came out victorious. Ibrahim Lodhi lost his life along with his 15000 soldiers in the Battle of Panipat.

Effects of the First Battle of Panipat

(i) End of the rule of Lodhi dynasty: The battle of Panipat is regarded as one of the decisive battles of Indian History. It broke the back of Lodhi power, and brought under Babur's control the entire area up to Delhi and Agra. As Babur's predecessor Taimur had brought to an end the rule of the Tughlaq's, similarly Babur's success led to an end of the Lodhi rule.

(ii) Foundation of the Mughal empires: Babur's victory at Panipat led to the foundation of the Mughal empire in India. Soon after the victory, Babur occupied Delhi and Agra, seated himself on the throne of the Lodhis and laid the foundation of the Mughal rule in India. Of course, the empire founded by Babur was soon lost by his son, Humayun and it was Akbar who actually re-created the Mughal empire. Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that the actual foundation of the empire was laid with the victory in the battle of Panipat. This empire continued for more than two centuries.

(iii) End of Babur's bad days: The reassures stored up by Ibrahim Lodhi in Agra relieved Babur from his financial difficulties. The rich territory up to Jaunpur also lay open to Babur. Rush Brooke Williams writes, 'After being successful in this battle. The bad days of Babur came to an end. Now he need not bother about his personal safety or his throne.'

(iv) Re-establishment of the prestige of Crown: After the battle of Panipat, Babur laid the foundation of a new dynasty and called himself the monarch. Unlike the Sultans of Delhi Sultanate period, he never used to call himself the deputy of the Caliph but used to call himself Emperor. Thus, he revived the sovereignty of the monarch as it used to be in ancient times in India and thus established the prestige of the Crown.

(v) Use of artillery in India: The battle of Panipat led to the initiation of artillery in India. Up till now, India were not familiar with the gun powder. For the first time, it was used in a battle on the Indian plains and, since then, the artillery has been used in many important battles.

(vi) Birth of new struggles: However, Babur had to wage three hard fought battles, one against Rana Sanga of Mewar, another against Medini Rao at Chanderi and the third against the eastern Afghans, before he could consolidate his hold on this area (Delhi, Agra etc.) Viewed from his angle, the battle of Panipat was not as decisive in political field as has been made out. According to R. B. Williams, 'The victory at Panipat was excellent, which was actually a part of the beginning.' Some views have been expressed by renowned historian Dr. Satish Chandra, when he says about the battle in the following words. 'It's real importance lies in the fact that it opened a new face in the struggle for domination in North India.'

(vii) Tulugama became popular in India: One of the important causes of Babur's victory in first battle of Panipat was the adoption of a scientific war strategy called Tulugama (an Ottoman or Rumi device) by him. Gradually, India rulers also adopted this very system. Almost all the Indian rulers adopted this very system and started adopting the policy of keeping a reserve army. The Indian rulers were greatly impressed by the swiftness and immovability of horses and gradually the place of elephants was taken by horses in the army.

(viii) A shift in the political interest: After this battle the centre of Babur's political activities and ambitions was shifted from Kabul and the Central Asia to Agra and India. No doubt 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 homes in a strange and hostile land. Babur tells that the people of India displayed remarkable hostility by abandoning their villages at the approach of the Mughal armies. Obviously, the memoirs of Taimur's 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 a strong empire and satisfy his Begs. 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.

3.2.6 Battle of Khanwa

The battle of Khanwa was fought between Rana Sangram Singh of Mewar (popularly known as Rana Sanga) and the founder of Mughal dynasty, Babur, in AD 1527 at a place Khanwa, about forty kilometers away from Agra.

causes

(i) Ambitions of Rana Sanga: Rana Sanga was an ambitious ruler. He had been conflicting with Ibrahim Lodhi for the domination of eastern Rajasthan and Malwa. After defeating Mahamood Khilji of Malwa, the influence of 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 to expel out Babur at any rate and to confine him to the Punjab.

(ii) Rana being accused of treachery by Babur: Babur accused Rana Sanga of breach of agreement. He said that Sana had invited him to India and had promised to join him against Ibrahim Lodhi, but made no move while he (Babur) conquered Delhi and Agra. We do not know what were the exact terms and conditions of the agreement between Babur and Rana Sanga but it is certain that after the first battle of Panipat Babur had captured only Delhi and Agra. He had not become the emperor of India. He was also brave and ambitious like Rana Sanga. It was not possible for him to become the emperor of India without breaking the power of Rajputs.

(iii) Charges of Rana Sanga against Babur: Rana Sanga, on the other hand, had claim

on Kalpi, Dhaulpur and Agra and he blamed Babur for not fulfilling his promise. We cannot say definitely whether the charges of Rana Sanga against Babur were correct or not but it is definite that he might have hoped that like Taimur, Babur would withdraw after sacking Delhi and weakening the Lodhis. Babur's decision to stay on in India completely changed the situation. This made a war between Babur and Rana Sanga inevitable.

(iv) Inciting of Rana Sanga by the Afghans: Many Afghans including Mahmud Lodhi, a younger brother of Ibrahim Lodhi, rallied to Rana Sanga in the hope of regaining the throne of Delhi in case Sanga won. Hassan Khan Mewati, the ruler of Mewar, also joined hands with Sanga. Almost all the Rajput rulers of the North sent contingents to serve under Sanga.

Events

The armies of Babur and Sanga met at Khanwa on March 10, AD 1527. Babur arranged his army almost in the same fashion as he had done in Panipat. This time again, he had to face an army which was numerous and according to Lanepoole, 'Whatever the exact number might have been, a more gallant army could not be brought into the field.' A bloody war followed which lasted for about 12 hours. Dr. R. P. Tripathi writes, 'The ruthless slaughter, closed the bloody episode.' '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 dangerous and suicidal. consequences

(i) This battle was more decisive than that of the first battle of Panipat. After that Babur definitely became the ruler of India. The battle of Khanwa secured Babur's position in the Delhi-Agra region. Babur strengthened his position further by conquering a chain of forts in Gwalior, Dholpur, in the east of Agra. He also annexed large parts of Alwar from Hasan Khan Mewati. He then led a campaign against medina Rai of Chanderi in Malwa. Chanderi was captured after the Rajput defenders had died fighting to the last man and their women performed Jauhar. In

brief, we can say that the battle of Khanwa consolidated the foundation of Mughal empire by bringing the Rajput power to an end. The centre of activity of Babur had shifted from Kabul to Hindustan and, thus, the work of defeating the rest of the unimportant local Chiefs and the Afghans became easier.

(ii) With Sanga's death, the dream of a united Rajasthan extending up to Agra received a serious setback. The strength of the Rajput was broken and the kingdoms of Hindustan passed from the hands of Rajputs to the Mughals. The foundation of the Mughal empire in India was not laid more deeper than ever. For the Rajputs the result of this battle brought a sad day because hardly a clan of the Rajputs was there that had not lost the flower of its princely blood. The famous historian S.R. Sharma writes, 'Defeat of the Rajputs, at Khanwa ended the superiority of the Rajputs which they had established successfully in the last ten years and which was an eyesore to the Muslim ended forever' In contrast to this, Dr. A.L. Srivastava writes that, 'Rajput military' power was no doubt crushed in the battle of Khanwa but it was not totally crushed a few years they again raised their heads.' According to Dr. Lunia, 'After the defeat and death of Rana Sangram Mewar lost its prestige. Mewar, began losing its power and in place of it Marwar under Maldev got the leadership of Rajputs.'

3.2.7 Causes of the defeat of Rajputs or the victory of Babur

(i) **Treachery of Siladi of Rasin:** He was the Rajput ally of Rana Sanga and he had promised to fight for the common Rajput cause. In the thick of the fight he deserted Rana Sanga and went over to Babur for the latter is said to have influenced him. This treacherous behavior on the part of Siladi of Rasin broke the heart of the Rajputs and adversely affected their lot in the battle.

(ii) **Use of Cannons by Babur:** Babur used cannons in the battle of Khanwa. On the other hand, Rajputs were fully unaware of this device. Horses of Rajputs could not face the cannons and so the army of Rana Sanga was shattered.

(iii) **Babur as a Commander:** Babur was a very capable commander. His techniques

of warfare brought him success once more. In the face of stringent contingencies he exhibited patience and courage which made him an outstanding leader of his time. He promised that after this victory he would allow to leave everyone who wanted to go home.

(iv) Declaration of the holy war (Jihad): Babur had declared a holy war against the Rana and reminded his men that he was fighting for the glorification of his religion. The response was instantaneous and enthusiastic. Besides giving divorce to his wife everyone swore of the holy Quran that he would fight to the end and stand by Babur. The spirit of his troops was thus completely restored, and he won the battle against the Rajputs.

(v) Disunity of Rajputs: The Rajputs were not united. There were great dissensions between them, and due to the victory of Babur in this battle, whatever unity was left in them also ended.

(vi) Role of Ustad Ali: Ustad Ali, the captain of Babur's artillery must also share the credit of this victory. It were his R huge balls which threw the Rajputs into confusion.

(vii) Responsibility of Rana Sanga: Some historians are of the opinion that though Rana was a brave soldier but he was not a statesman of high order. According to Dr. Sharma. 'In his relation with Babur he showed vacillation and want of decisions and firmness. He failed to proceed and capture Agra which he ought to have done immediately after Babur had moved south of the Punjab to fight against Ibrahim Lodhi. Had he done so, he would not have acquired the immense treasures ad resources that lay stored in the town but also the support of the entire race of the Indian Afghans. Moreover, luck did not favour Rana Sanga. He was wounded during the course of the battle and failed to provide leadership to his soldiers at a critical moment. It also demoralized his soldiers. However, these can be counted only as the subsidiary causes of the defeat of the Rajputs'.

(viii) Disciplined Army: Babur's army was small, disciplined and experienced but the

Rajput army was a large crowd of indisciplined, inexperienced mercenaries.

3.3 hUMayUN's Early dIFFlCUITIEs aNd

ThE caUsEs OF hIs FallUrE

Humayun was born at Kabul on 6 March, AD 1508. He was the eldest son of Babur. His mother was Mahim Begum and Kamran, Askari and Hindal were his brothers. Proper arrangements were made for his education. He had a good knowledge of Arabic, Persian and Turkish. He had keen interest in philosophy, astrology and mathematics. To give him administrative training, Babur appointed him the Governor of Badakshan. On the eve of AD 1526, he went against Hamid Khan and defeated him near Hissar Firoza. In AD 1526, he got the districts of Hissar Firoza and Sambhal. After the defeat of Ibrahim Lodhi, Babur sent Humayun to capture Agra when he did not get Kohinoor as a prize from his father. At Sambhal, he fell ill in AD 1529 and was Humayun on himself. Babur died and Humayun was saved. After the death of Babur, Humayun came to throne on December 30, AD 1530.

3.3.1 Early Difficulties of Hmuayun

(i) Conspiracy by Khalifa and other people: Babur died on 26 December, AD 1530. On the same day his prime Minister, Nizamuddin Ali Muhammad tried to flout the succession of Humayun to the throne and raised Mehdi Khawaja to the throne. This plot, however, ended on the very third day perhaps because of the differences between Khawaja and Khalifa. But Humayun neither gave hard punishments to the rebels nor removed them from the high offices. Babur had counselled Humayun to deal kindly with his subordinates. Humayun was a man of kind heart and soft nature. Actually his kind nature dragged him into difficulties.

(ii) Disorderly administration: Humayun ascended a throne which was then unstable and unsecured. Babur had bequeathed an empty treasury and an ill-organized kingdom to him. Babur could rule over India only for 4-5 years and this time too he spent mostly in wars. He died before he could affect the consolidation of his empire. Humayun inherited an empire which was beset with many difficulties. Babur paid no attention towards the administration. The empire was although vast

yet lacked cohesion and internal unity and was comprised of small or big fives of the Amirs of the Kingdom. Babur did not involve any policy with regard to the land system or the judicial system. Neither did he do any work regarding the welfare of the common people. The jagirdars, created by Babur, were creating main problems for Humayun. Definitely, for this problem of Humayun, only Babur was responsible.

(iii) Economic problems: No doubt Babur left almost an empty treasury for Humayun. But Humayun enhanced his own economic problems due to his own foolishness. Whatever little money he got, he spent in military activities or distributed amongst his Amirs, soldiers, and relatives in order to please them. Because of the lack of money, Humayun could not carry on military preparations to face his enemies.

(iv) His brothers: There was the Timurid legacy of the partition of the empire among all the brothers. Babur had counselled Humayun to deal kindly with his brothers, but had not favoured the partitioning of the infant Mughal empire, which would have been disastrous. When Humayun ascended the throne at Agra, his empire included Kabul and Kandhar, while there was loose control over Badkshan beyond the Hindukush mountains. Kabul and Kandhar were under the charge of Humayun's younger brother, Kamran. It was but 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 option but to agree. Kamran accepted the suzerainty of Humayun and promised to help him whenever necessary. Kamran's action created the apprehension that the other brothers (Hindal and Askri) of humayun might also follow the same path whenever an opportunity arose. In fact Kamran was over-ambitious and he did not remain loyal to Humayun in the hour of the need. Humayun's other two brothers Lanepoole says, were weak and foolish. They were easily accessible to the clever and corrupt designs of the Amirs against Humayun. They had always added to his problems.

The acutest difficulties of Humayun were, however, those presented by the Afghans. Of course, Babur had defeated the Afghans in the battles of Panipat and Ghagra, yet their power was not crushed. The result was that on the accession of Humayun, they became as bold in their activities as ever. They were nursing the hope of expelling the Mughals from India. On the east his position was menaced by the Afghan chiefs of Bengal and Bihar. Mahmud Lodhi was trying to get back the throne of Delhi for the Afghan. Alam Khan who had once invited Babur to conquer India was now cherishing hopes of making himself the ruler. He was taking refuge with Bahadur Shah of Gujarat, who promised him help with men and money. On the South Bahadur Shah of Gujarat assumed a hostile attitude and pressing his triumph over the Rajputs of Mewar was rapidly approaching it in striking distances of Agra. More dangerous than all the other Afghans chiefs was Sher Shah Suri.

(vi) Unreliable army: The army which Humayun inherited from his father could not be relied upon. This army was not infused with national feeling and enthusiasm. His army consisted of Mughals, Uzbegs, Afghans, Indian Muslims, Turks, the Hindus and the Persians. The commanders of armies were jealous of one another. Their internal disunity and rivalry made the striking power of the Mughal army non-dependable. In fact a majority of these soldiers were selfish and were ready to cheat the emperor, if it suited their purpose.

(vii) Personal weaknesses of Humayun: One of the difficulties of Humayun was his own nature and character. He had certain weaknesses. Though, he was a brave soldier, but a weak administrator. He was addicted to wine and opium. He was very pleasure loving. By nature he was so kind that even at the right moment he could not punish his enemies and opponents severely. Lanepoole writes, 'He lacked character and resoluting. He was incapable of sustained efforts after a moment of triumph and would busy him in his harem and dream away the precious hour in the opium eater's paradise while his enemies were thundering at this

gate.'

3.3.2 humayun's Own responsibility for his Failure

No doubt there were many difficulties before Humayun, but according to many historians Humayun was his own worst enemy. He increased his own problems due to his own weaknesses and blunders. According to the famous historian Lanepoole, 'Humayun's greatest enemy was he himself.' As he was addicted to opium, he used to spend much of his time in thinking but even then he failed to take right decisions. He thought a great deal but acted much less. He spent all his time in thinking only and his enemies strengthened their position in the mean time. If ever he took any prompt decision he had not the capacity to get that implemented. He lacked strong determination. He was not able persevering and scholarly like his father, Babur. He demonstrated his lack of wisdom by dividing his empire. Instead of trying to increase the income and treasury, Humayun spent lavishly to celebrate his victory over Mahmood Shah. He followed a wrong policy towards Sher Shah and Bahadur Shah. Before the battle of Chousa, he believed the word of Sher Shah Suri who pretended to accept Humayun's vassalage. Similarly, he followed a wrong policy towards Bahadur Shah of Gujarat. He should have helped Karvavati, the ruler of Chittore. This was rather a blunder on the part of Humayun. Likewise, when Bahadur Shah escaped to Mandu and Dieu for shelter, Humayun should have completely crushed this dangerous enemy. But he did not do so. Bahadur Shah was, therefore, able to regain his lost empire.

In brief, we can say that Humayun inherited many problems from his father, Babur. Up to some extent, Babur was responsible for the early problems of Humayun. For example, for empty treasury and disorderly administration Babur was responsible. Humayun increased his problems by his faults and wrong policies.

3.3.3 Humayun's victories and struggle

Expedition of Kalinjar (ad 1531)

Humayun besieged the fort of Kalinjar in AD 1531. The Raja of Kalinjar was in favour of the Afghans. For full four months, the fort was seiged, but later on Humayun had come to peace terms with the Raja. He could not defeat him due to his own weaknesses.

Battle of dourah (ad 1532)

The Afghans of Bihar, emboldened under their leader Mahmood Lodhi, marched into the province of Jaunpur as far as Barabanki. Humayun defeated them in the battle of Dourah or (Dadrah) in AD 1532.

Siege of chunar

After defeating Mahmood Lodhi, Humayun besieged the fortress of Chunar. It was held at that time by Sher Khan (Sher Shah Suri). After about a siege of five months, Sher Khan made a purely perfunctory submission and Humayun raised the siege of Chunar. This was another big mistake of Humayun. He should have completely crushed the power of Sher Khan at that very time. If Humayun had done this, perhaps the history of India would have been different and Humayun would not have faced the tremendous difficulties which he experienced later. Humayun failed to understand the cunningness of Sher Khan and considered it as his big success and wasted a lot of time in merry making at Agra. This very merry making later on become the cause of Humayun's ruin and Sher Khan's success.

War against Bahadur shah of gujarat

The attitude of Bahadur Shah of Gujarat was hostile towards Humayun from the very beginning. He had sheltered Humayun's enemies, especially some of the Lodhi Princes, and encouraged a pretender to the throne, namely, Mehdi Khwaja, a brother-in-law of Humayun. On his refusal to surrender the pretender, Humayun attacked Bahadur Shah, dislodged him from his entrenched camp and chased him as far as Cambay. Bahadur Shah again invaded Chittore. Simultaneously, he supplied arms and men to Tatar Khan, a cousin of Ibrahim Lodhi, to invade Agra with a force of 40,000 while diversions were to be made to the north and the east.

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

Mandu was a vast fortress with a battlemented wall 23 miles in length. But the Mughal forced their way over an unguarded part of the wall and consequently entered the citadel of Mandu (called Sunga). Two high officers of Gujarat army Sardar Khan and Alam Khan were captured. Bahadur Shah, however, escaped and took his stand at Champaner. From Mandu, Humayun proceeded to Champaner and besieged it. Again, Bahadur Shah offered resistance and found out that it was difficult to stand against the mighty Mughal force. So, he set fire to the town and fled north to Cambay and then escaped to Diu. Humayun pursued him up to Cambay and then returned to Champaner. Thus, the rich provinces of Malwa and Gujarat, as well as the Agra treasure boarded by the Gujarat rulers at Mandu and Champaner, fell into the hands of Humayun. Both Gujarat and Malwa were lost as quickly as they had been gained. After the victory, Humayun placed Gujarat 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 the people to the Gujarat rule. Askari was inexperienced, and the Mughal nobles were mutually divided. A series of popular uprisings, the military actions by Bahadur Shah's nobles and the rapid revival of Bahadur Shah's power unnerved Askari. A few months after his appointment as the Viceroy of Gujarat, Askari rebelled and leaving the new conquests to their fate hastened towards Agra to seize the vacant capital. At this news, Humayun set out for Agra by way of Chittore and over took the rebel by forced marches. No sooner did the Mughals turn their backs upon Malwa and Gujarat, then Bahadur Shah issued from his retreat and rapidly recovered his lost territories and it appeared as if he would soon regain his former ascendancy in the Western India. But while returning from a visit to the Portuguese governor of Goa, Hilye was drowned in the sea on February 13, AD 1537. The Gujarat campaign 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 not in a position to concentrate all his resources in the struggle against Sher Khan and the Afghans.

War with Sher Khan (ad 1537-1539)

After the loss of Gujarat in AD 1536, Humayun stayed in Agra for a year. Although he got

the information that Sher Khan was strengthening his position in Bengal and Bihar, he did nothing to move against him. Sher Khan had already made himself the master of the whole of Bihar. He had also defeated the King of Bengal in AD 1534 and AD 1536. It was only in AD 1537 that Humayun felt that they should do something against Sher Khan. But instead of advancing straight on to Gaud from where he could defeat Sher Khan by combining his strength with the ruler of Bengal, he besieged the fortress of Chunar on the way. Six months were wasted in this siege and Sher Shah utilized this time in conquering the fort of Gaud. He plundered Gaud, the capital of Bengal, and dispatched all its wealth and his relatives to the fortress of Rohtas in Bihar and, gradually, Sher Khan himself also returned to Bihar. Having been unsuccessful in Bihar, Humayun turned towards Bengal but he reached Gaud at a time when Sher Khan had safely returned to Bihar after plundering away Bengal. In the absence of Sher Khan, Humayun easily occupied Bengal and to celebrate it, he wasted away a good deal of time. According to **Dr. A. L. Shrivastava, 'Humayun wasted eight months in Bengal and failed to maintain his communication with Delhi, Agra or even Banaras'**. But Dr. R.P. Tripathi says, 'He established order in Bengal and consolidated his army.' Whatever might be the reason behind, Humayun's staying, but he lost valuable time. During these months, Sher Khan captured Kara, Banaraj, Sambhal etc. and laid the siege of Chunar and Jaunpur. He virtually blocked the way of Humayun's return to Agra. After a few months the news of the activities of Sher Khan and also that of his brother Hindal, who declared himself as Emperor at Agra were received by Humayun. He left Jahangir Quili Beg with five hundred soldiers in Bengal and proceeded towards Agra in March, AD 1539.

The Battle of chausa (26, ad 1539)

For quite sometime, Sher Khan did not attempt to stop the Mughals but when they reached Chausa, near Buxar, he blocked their way to Agra and engaged himself in preparations. Both the armies faced each other. Thus, postponing a thin support when Humayun had no hope of help from any side also proved very disastrous for him. If he had attacked the enemy immediately, he would have fared well as the Afghan soldiers were much tired because of a long journey. Before Humayun could organize his men and launch a systematic attack,

the Afghans made a sudden attack and routed the Mughal force (26 June, AD 1539) A party of the Afghans even surrounded Humayun and inflicted a wound on his arm. This caused a great confusion. Humayun then thought that his safety lies in flight. So he proceeded to the bank of the river and plunged his horse into the stream and was about to be drowned, when he was saved by a water carrier named Nizam, whom he afterwards allowed to sit on the throne for two days. The contemporary historians tell us that about 8000 Mughals died and, consequently, he assumed the title and insignia of royalty. In December, AD 1539, he proceeded to Gaud where a formal coronation ceremony was performed.

The Battle of Bilgram or Kanauj (May 17, ad 1540)

At Agra, all the brothers met and held prolonged discussions about the measures to be adopted against their enemy, who flushed with his recent victory, had ascended the throne and assumed the title of Sher Shah. Kamran had a battle-hardened force of 10,000 Mughals under his command at Agra. But he was not prepared to loan them to Humayun as he had lost confidence in Humayun's leadership. On the other hand, Humayun was not prepared to entrust

Unit-3.indd 131 4/25/2011 11:25:54 AM Mughal Empire—

First Phase

132

the command of the armies to Kamran lest the latter use it to assume powerful himself. The suspicions between the brothers grew till Kamran decided to return to Lahore with the built of his army. Thus, Humayun had to face single handedly the advancing army of the Afghans in Bilgram near Kanauj. Humayun recruited a big army of 90,000 but unfortunately they were all new recruits and inexperienced in the warfare. Taking advantage of the heavy rains and the consequent shifting of the encampment of the Mughal soldiers, Sher Shah ordered his men on May 17, AD 1540 to attack the disorganized Mughals. Humayun had another disadvantage because due to the mud and mire he was not able to make use of his heavy artillery. The Mughals fought valiantly but were defeated. Humayun again fled away. The battle of Bilgram was the decisive battle between Humayun and Sher Shah. Humayun could reach Agra but had to fly from there as Sher Shah was pursuing him. Sher Shah captured Delhi and Agra and thus

the Afghans snatched the throne of Delhi from the hands of the Mughals.

Humayun tried to go to Kashmir but Kamran blocked his way. Ultimately, he decided to go to Sind. He was invited by Maldev of Marwar and he accepted the invitation. On the way, he came to know that Maldev had changed his mind and really wanted to arrest him with a view to please Sher Shah. Under the circumstances, he had to return his steps to Sind. He got a shelter from the Raja of Amarkot. In AD 1542, Akbar was born there. It was here that Bairam Khan, one of his faithful chiefs and the future guardian of Akbar met him and advised him to proceed to Persia. Humayun accepted his advice and with great difficulty he reached Persia. He was accorded a cordial reception by the Persian King Shah Tahmasp, who promised to help him recover his throne on the condition that he should embrace the Shia creed, would read Khutba in the name of Shah and would give over Kandhar to the Shah, when successful. The helpless Humayun had no alternative but to yield to his conditions. Shah Tahmasp of Persia placed an army (1400 strong soldiers) at this disposal with the help of which he conquered Khandhar from his own brother, Askari in AD 1554 and took Kabul from Kamran. He imprisoned his brother Kamran and sent him to Mecca after blinding him. Hindal was killed in the battle and Askari also went away to Mecca. In AD 1555 the state of affairs in India was most deplorable. Muhammad Adilshah, the last King of the Sur dynasty, was quite unfit to rule over his large kingdom. There was anarchy and confusion in the country and people were tired of it. Humayun, who was invited by some of his friends in India, accepted their invitation. He came, defeated Sikandar Sur at Sirhind in AD 1555. Humayun then occupied Delhi in July AD 1555. Afterwards Agra, Sambhal and the nearby territory was also occupied by the Mughals. Thus, Humayun again ascended the throne of India after the exile of fifteen years. But Humayun did not live long to enjoy the fruits of his victory. One day when he was coming down the stairs of his library in Delhi fort, he fell down and died.

3.3.4 Causes of defeat or Failure of humayun

humayun's Inability to Understand the Nature of the afghan power

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 a large numbers of the 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.

lack of Organizational ability in humayun

Organizational ability is very essential for a successful ruler. He ought to have appreciated the dangers ahead and taken a stiff action against Sher Khan from the very outset. He ought to have nipped the evil in the bud. His delay in taking action against Sher Khan resulted in his own failure. The same can be said about Humayun's treatment of Bahadur Shah of Gujarat. Humayun should have attacked and finished Bahadur Shah when the latter was busy against Chittore. He foolishly gave Bahadur Shah time. It was a blunder on the part of Humayun. Likewise, when Bahadur Shah escaped to Mandu and Diu for shelter Humayun should have completely crushed this dangerous enemy but he did not do so. Another mistake, which Humayun made, was to entrust the administration of Malwa and Gujarat to wrong and untrustworthy people. He knew how to conquer but unlike Babur and Akbar, he did not know how to consolidate his conquest. After the conquest of Bengal, he divided it into jagirs and gave these to his Begs, and himself became completely unconcerned about the welfare of the people. The military occupation of Gujarat, Malwa and Bengal created resentment against the Mughals.

division of Empire

Humayun divided his empire amongst his brothers according to the wish of Babur. Sambhal was given to Askari, Alwar and Mewar were given to Hindal. The cession of Kabul and Punjab to the hostile Kamran cut Humayun off from the main recruiting ground of his army and sapped the very foundation of his power which was based on military force.

humayun Incapable of sustained Efforts (his Worst Enemy – he himself)

Humayun's biggest enemy was no other than he himself. He was an addict to opium and liquor. He lacked a strong determination. He could not reach a right decision. He usually lost much time in pondering over the important matters. He gave costly gifts to his nobles

and spent most of his time in wine and women. He was not a clever politician. He was not a general administrator of the caliber of Sher Shah. He failed to amass his resources. In fact, he lacked the qualities of an able administrator.

squandering away of Money

Babur had bequeathed to Humayun an almost empty treasury and Humayun, instead of augmenting the royal treasury, spent a huge amount unnecessarily to celebrate his victory over Mahmud Lodhi. It is said that various robes of honour were distributed to 12000 people and valuable robes were presented to 2000 people.

sher shah, a Better army commander

Sher Shah was a better Commander in comparison with Humayun. Humayun could not keep full control over his soldiers and the Amirs. Many of his officers deserted him and joined the enemy's side. Sher Khan was an able Commander. He was a master of tactics. Sher Khan was such a clever politician that when he felt that he had no fully prepared military and was not in a position to face Humayun, he used to bow down and used to attack Humayun when the appropriate moment came.

Failure of humayun to understand the mutual relations between his two great enemies

Humayun failed to see that there was an understanding between Bahadur Shah of Gujarat and Sher Khan of South Bihar to the effect that while the emperor was busy against one, the other created strife so as to divert Humayun's attention. That was probably why he wasted much time in frivolous feasts and pleasure – parties at Agra and Delhi.

Treachery of Humayun's Officials

Many of Humayun's officials also proved treacherous to him. Hindu Beg, whom Humayun had sent to Bihar to report about the actual position of Sher Shah and his plans, took bribe from Sher Shah and sent a false report to Humayun. Likewise, Sher Ali was bought over by the enemy and he also disclosed to Sher Shah many of Humayun's secrets along with the hostile attitude of Humayun's brothers to him. The treachery on the part of Humayun's officials was to Sher Shah's advantage and Humayun had to suffer a big loss.

Non-cooperation of his Brothers

Humayun was asked by his father to be considerate and sympathetic towards his brothers. He did so but his brothers proved faithless and, thus, ultimately proved to be a potent cause of his failure. Though Mirza Kamran offered to fight against Sher Khan, but only on his own terms. In fact he had an eye on the throne of Delhi. Hindal and Askari also became a headache for Humayun. Just before the battle of Chausa, Hindal revolted at Agra and his revolt encouraged Sher Khan to declare war against Humayun. However, this view is not accepted by Dr. Tripathi. He points out that the behavior of Kamran during the first ten years of Humayun's rule was not at all hostile. As a matter of fact, he had been absolutely loyal to him. It was only after the battle of Kanauf that Kamran lost all faith in his brother and decided to leave him so that he may save some of the Mughal empire from passing into the hands of Sher Shah.

defective army of humayun

The army which was left by Babur for his son was defective in its organization. It was neither national nor a composite one. It was a mixture of successful adventures. It was composed of heterogeneous elements. This army was not so dependable. They were successful so long as they did not meet with fierce opposition. They had no love or loyalty for Humayun, and, once the enemy got the upper hand, instead of fighting, they took to flight. In Both the battles of Chausa and Kanauj, the defeats of Humayun were mostly due to the desertion of the soldiers.

In brief, we can say that there were many causes of Humayun's failure or the success of Sher Shah. The main causes were the inability of Humayun to understand the growing power of Afghans under the leadership of Sher Khan and Sher Shah's superior generalship.

3.4 shEr shah – ExpaNsiON OF His EMplRE aNd adMINISTraTION

Sher Shah Suri belongs to those great men in history who achieved greatness through their rising from a very ordinary position. The dynasty founded by him is known as the Sur dynasty. He was born in AD 1472 to the wife of Hassan Sur in Badwara (Hoshiarpur). Hassan was

an employee of the governor of Punjab, Jamal Khan. But after sometime, in the reign of Sikandar Lodhi, Jamal Khan was appointed the Governor of Janapur. Hassan and his son Farid accompanied their master Jamal Khan gave the Jagirs of Khawaspur, Sahasram and Tanda to Hassan. Farad's childhood was spent in Sahasram. After sometime, he came over to Janapur being fed up with the misbehavior of his step-mother and his father. He was twenty-two at that time. He impressed Jamal Khan with his scholarship and ability, and he pressurized Hassan to appoint Farid as the manager of the Jagirs of Sahasram and Khawaspur. Farid earned enough administrative experience by managing these Jagirs. But soon he had to leave the place because of the machinations of his step-brother and one powerful Afghan chief, Muhammad Khan who wanted that the Jagirs should be divided between the two. Farid, then, entered into the military service of the Governor of South Bihar – Bahar Khan Lohani. It is said that one day he slew a tiger with the help of a sword and impressed by his bravery, Bahar Khan gave him the title of Sher Khan and from then onwards Farid became famous as Sher Khan. It is said that he entered Babur's service in AD 1527. The historians hold that his motive in entering this service was to acquire knowledge of the system of Mughal warfare, and its effects. Babur became suspicious of his activities and asked his prime minister to keep a strict watch on Sher Khan and described him as a very clever person. Sher Khan is said to have quietly slipped away from there and again entered the services of Bahar Khan Lohani. He was appointed the tutor and guardian of Jalal Khan, the minor son of the ruler. After sometime, Bahar Khan Lohani died and his widow appointed Sher Khan as the regent of minor prince. In fact, Sher Khan became the de facto ruler of Bihar. He invited the younger brother of Sultan Ibrahim Lodhi, Mahmud Lodhi and made a plan of a military campaign against Babur. But Babur defeated him in the battle of Ghaggra (AD 1529). Sher Khan and Jalal Khan surrendered before the Mughals and got back their Jagirs on the condition of paying an annual tribute to Babur. Gradually, Sher Khan begun to add to the number of his supporters. Meanwhile the ruler of Chunar, Taj Khan died in AD 1530. Sher Khan married his window 'Lad Malika.' This brought him the fort of Chunar and enormous wealth. According to Dr. Qanunago in 1469 which is not accepted now.

Sher Shah was a daring soldier, a successful conqueror and an able administrator.

Famous historian Dr. Qanungo writes, **'Sher Shah had ruled for five years and five days. In the history of Medieval India he had proved to be a ruler second only to Akbar in greatness.'**

Accepting Sher Shah as the greatest of the Muslim rulers, Woolsev Haig writes. 'Sher Shah was the greatest of the Muslim emperors of India.' Though this description is not correct in our view and we think that this place should be reserved for Akbar only. There is no doubt in the fact that he was a lover of knowledge, patron of scholars and a very good ruler. He was the forerunner of Akbar in many fields, though he was not equal to Akbar in greatness.

Dr. Qanungo is right when he says, **'It is doubtful whether he would have done such deeds as Akbar if he had lived for fifty years more because Sher Shah had the drawbacks from which Aurangzed suffered.'** True, he did not have the feeling of a religious fanaticism but he lacked the great qualities of Akbar because in the context of that time liberability and the philosophical temperament of Akbar were neither easy to get nor easy to tolerate.

3.4.1 character, personality and achievements of sher shah

as a man

Sher Shah Suri was farsighted, a lover of knowledge, dutiful, disciplined, industrious and a progressive thinker. He had a great love for his mother, as compared to his father because he disliked the partial behavior of his father towards his step mother. He was well educated. Along with studying Arabic and Persian language, he was also fond of studying history and literature. He had a great love for architecture. He had a feeling of love for the peasants, poor and destitute though he was not true to his word. The event of Raisin is a witness to the fact that he did not fulfill his promise to Puranmal even after swearing by the Quran. He was busy for as many as sixteen hours everyday in the state business. Though he became the emperor at the ripe old age of 68 but old age could not put an end to his enthusiasm, ambitions and hard work. He used to say that great men should always remain active. Abbas Sherwani as well as Rizqualla Mushtaki both have written that he used to get up in the very early hours of morning and after daily routine, was busy throughout the day with the work of the state.

As a commander, soldier and conqueror

Sher Shah was an able commander, a great soldier and conqueror. He is said to have lived just like a common soldier in the battlefield. He was an experienced soldier. As a soldier he had unbound bravery and patience and race qualities of a tiger and a fox. He attacked a weak army like a tiger but before a powerful enemy he received victory by his deceitful tactics of a fox. He defeated many small Rajput kings like a tiger but defeated Puranmal of Raisin and Maldev of Marwar by his deceitful tactics of a fox. He was a great conqueror who by his conquests annexed Bihar, Bengal, Punjab, Malwa, Gujarat, Rajputana and Sind etc. His empire was very vast. The frontiers of his empire extended from Punjab to Malwa and from Bengal to Sind.

As a ruler and administrator

(i) **Founder of Law and Order:** Sher Shah had many achievements as an administrator. He re-established law and order throughout his empire. He dealt very strictly with those Zamindars, thieves and dacoits who broke the social order or denied paying the land revenue. As an administrator, Sher Shah Suri had a great impact on his Zamindars, officials and chiefs. Abbas Sherwani writes, 'The Zamindars were so frightened of him that nobody liked to raise the boundary of revolt against him nor any of them dared to harass the travellers passing through his territory.' Though he did not bring about any change in the administrative units of the Sultanate period but he made such changes that nobody could be autocratic and harass the people.

He was a first ruler of the later Medieval India who thought it his duty to give a life of peace and comfort to his subjects forgetting the difference between the Hindus and Muslims. He established a democratic autocratism. In his central administration he did not make any one minister or Amir more important than the others and thus minimized the possibilities of mutual jealousies and plotting against the emperor. He organized his empire at the level of provinces, Sirkars, paraganas and villages. He issued certain instructions for provincial rulers so that they do not

minimize the importance of central administration like sitting equal to the emperor or behaving like an emperor. He divided very big provinces into smaller units and appointed separate officials there. He did not make the administration of all the provinces uniform because he thought that the administration of every province should be according to its special local needs. He appointed two separate officials of equal level in the provinces, Sarkars and Paraganas so that one was responsible for the maintenance of law and order and the other for the financial resources. He left the work of local defense and peace to the local officials and thus not only lessened the work of central administration but tried to involve a greater number of people in the administration. He gave an evidence of his administrative ability by delegating the responsibility of arresting thieves, dacoits and murderers to the village headmen and government official. During his time the arrangements of the life and property of the subject was more satisfactory than before.

(ii) **Able land administrator:** He gave special attention to land revenues system, army and judicial system. He fixed the land revenue on the basis of proper measurement of land, its productivity, actual produce and local prices and prepared detailed lists of the amount of the revenue to be paid. He gave an option to the cultivators to pay the revenue in cash or in kind. He started the practice of 'Kabuliat' and 'Patta' and gave priority to the Rayatwari system as compared to the Zamindari and Jagirdari practices, prevalent at that time.

(iii) **A great army administrator and organizer:** As a ruler, he devoted attention to the army administration and organization. He created a vast standing and efficient army, brought an end to the system of supplying a fixed number of soldiers to the centre by tribal leaders and began direct recruitment of soldiers. He started the practices of 'Huliya' and 'Dag'. He constructed cantonments among various parts of the empire, and placed a strong contingent army in each of these cantonment. His army consisted of 15000 infantry, 25000 cavalry armed with bows and arrows, 5000 elephants and an arsenal.

(iv) **A just ruler:** Sher Shah Suri loved justice. He paid special attention towards judicial system. He used to say that 'dispensing justice was the highest religious duty which should be discharged equally by Kafirs and Muslim Kings.' Sher Shah gave justice to everyone. He had assumed the title of Sultan-i-Adil or a just ruler. Sher Shah Suri had established law courts at various places which were called 'Dar-ul-Adalat'. He never pardoned any criminal whether he was a big chief, his own caste person or a near relative. For the establishment of law and order Qazis were appointed at various places but like earlier time village level Panchayats and Zamindars also heard civil and criminal cases. In his time criminal law was very strict and educative for others. He was very successful as a just ruler and appreciating his judicial system Nizamuddin has written that so much was the fear of Sher Shah and his justice that in his time the dacoits and the thieves themselves guarded the properties of the travellers.

(v) **Supporter of a Tolerant religious policy:** In spite of being a strict Sunni Muslim, Sher Shah was not a fanatic. Though he did not end Jaziya but he gave high offices to the Hindus in large numbers. He considered religion to be a personal affair and never let politics and religion to get mixed up. Dr. Qanungo writes, 'Sher Shah's attitude towards the Hindus was not one of the hateful tolerance but that of respect.' He was the first Muslim emperor having a national outlook that established a secular state and looked to the welfare of all his subjects in an impartial manner. In his time religious tolerance like that of Akbar could not be established. Dr. Qanungo writes correctly that during Sher Shah's time he had to struggle against religious and political orthodoxy as also against well established traditions of communal Sultanate of the last 300 years. Therefore, he did not have the congenial atmosphere which was inherited by his successors.

(vi) **Public welfare activities:** As a ruler, Sher Shah performed many acts of welfare for his subjects. He kept grain stores reserved for helping the people at the time of famine, established charitable state 'Langer' for feeding the persons destitute. He

got shady trees planted and roads, sarais, schools etc. constructed. He issued pure and high quality coins and standard weights and measures. He adopted a liberal attitude. At the time of fixing land revenues he ordered military officials that they should not harm the standing crops while travelling. He got government hospitals opened. Police and postal arrangements were made for the convenience of the public.

(vii) **Cultural achievements – (as patron of knowledge and art):** Sher Shah had many achievements to his credit even in the cultural field because he was a great patron of knowledge, literature and art. He made good arrangements for the education of his subjects. Financial grants were given to many Hindu schools. For his Muslim subjects he opened many Makhtabs of Arabic and Persian and also established Madarasas for higher education. To encourage the pursuit of knowledge he made arrangements for scholarships and arranged for the maintenance of the poor students by the state. Sher Shah showed interest in the field of architecture as well. He constructed many mosques, forts, sarais etc. Some scholars hold the opinion that he constructed the Purana Qila desecrating the Dinapanah city of Humayun. In it he constructed the Qila-i-Kuhana mosque which is counted amongst his famous buildings of the Northern India. Persian influence is discernible in the small minarets around the entrance gate and its artisanship. The other part of the buildings are constructed on an Indian pattern. According to Ferguson, 'This is the most beautiful of its buildings.' The mosque in Bihar constructed in the midst a lake in Sahasram is a clear example of the Indo-Muslim architecture so far as its grandeur, its beauty and its proportionate structure is concerned. The outer structure is of Muslim style but the inside of the structure is decorated by the Toranas and pillars of the Hindu style. According to Percy Brown, 'This is the best structure in the whole of the Northern India'. Its dome, shining in blue sky, appears to be very beautiful. There is a beautiful harmony of blue, red and yellow colours. In every corner there is the pillared pavilion on the top of the second

storey. The construction of a Lotus on the top has added to its decoration. Sher Shah constructed a new city on the banks of river Jamuna as well. Sher Shah patronized the scholars as well. Some of the best work of Hindu literature like 'Padmawat' of Malik Muhammad Jayasi were written during his time. Sher Shah was not a religious fanatic. His social and economic policies are an evidence of it.

In brief, Sher Shah Suri was the first great national ruler. He ruled only for a short time but subsequent history of India shows that this short rule of Sher Shah had the same significance as the fifty years of Akbar's reign. After him, his dynasty did not last even for ten years, but his sword and diplomacy had founded such an empire that its policies (especially currency system, land revenue system, judicial and military departments) continued for a very long time, extended and progressed. The masters of the empire changed (first the Mughals and then the British) but the institutions of Sher Shah continued. Erskine says rightly, 'No Government, not even the British, had showed that much of wisdom as was evidenced by this Afghan.'

3.4.2 Sher Khan's struggle against humayun and his other conquests

Struggle against Mughals on the fort of chunar

Humayun also had an eye on the fort of Chunar. In AD 1531, when Humayun encircled the fort of Chunar then Sher Khan pretended defeat at the hands of Humayun. In the mean time he strengthened his army.

The sole matter of Bihar (ad 1534)

The Lohani Chiefs of Bihar became jealous of Sher Khan at his increasing power. They won over Jala Khan to their side and also entered into an alliance with Mahmud of Bengal. They made a treaty with Mahmud Shah of Bengal in AD 1533, who himself was eager to check the rise of Sher Khan because it adversely affected his own prestige and power. But the brave Afghan Sher Khan defeated the combined armies of the Sultan of Bengal and the Lohanis at Surajgarh in the Eastern Bihar at the bank of the river Kieul. Mahmud Shah fled

to Bengal and with him fled Jalal Khan and his associates. Thus, the whole of Bihar came under Sher Khan and he became the sole master. The victory of Surajgarh was an important event in Sher Shah's life. In the words of Dr. Quanungo, 'If Sher Shah had not been victorious at Surajgarh, he would have never figured in the political sphere of India and would not have got an opportunity to compete with Humayun and Bahadur Shah for the founding of an empire' Taking advantage of the absence of Humayun in Agra, (February, AD 1535 – February, AD 1537) Sher Khan had further strengthened his position. The Afghans from far and near had congregated under him. Although he still talked of loyalty towards the Mughals but he had made a clever plan to drive the Mughals out of India. He had a close contact with Bahadur Shah of Gujarat. Bahadur Shah had helped him with men and money as well. Having acquired these sources he assembled a capable and vast army so that fighting could be indulged in against the Mughals at the opportune time.

Invasion of Bengal

Encouraged by his victory at Surajgarh, Sher Khan Launched an attack against Mahmud Shah of Bengal in AD 1535. Mahmud Shah saved his life by giving a vast sum of money to Sher Khan but after few years he again besieged Gaud, the Capital of Bengal in AD 1537 and by conquering it forced Mahmud Shah to seek refuge with Humayun. When Humayun started from Agra at the head of a large army for the support of Mahmud Shah, Sher Khan's son Jalal Khan kept him engaged for about six months at the fort of Chunar on his way to Bengal and during this period Sher Khan came back to Bihar after plundering enough wealth from Bengal. Humayun's brother Hindal declared himself as the emperor at Agra and Kamran came to Delhi from Lahore at the head of 1000 soldiers. When Humayun received this news he started towards Agra from Gaur.

Battle of chausa

Facing many difficulties, Humayun was somehow advancing towards Agra when Sher Khan Suddenly attacked him at Chausa in AD 1539. Humayun was defeated in this battle and he saved his life by jumping into a river, sitting on his horse but his horse drowned on the way. He was saved from drowning by a Bhishti. About 7000 Mughal soldiers had been killed in

this battle. Sher Khan's spirits were raised high as a result of this victory. He assumed the title of Sher Shah Sultan-i-Adil'. Now Sher Khan had become the undisputed master of Bihar and Bengal.

Battle of Kannauj or Bilram (ad 1540)

The Next year Humayun made an effort to regain his fortune but despite of his best efforts he could not secure the co-operation of his brother. On the 17th May, AD 1540 Mughals and Afghans again confronted each other near Kannauj. Humayun's army was defeated badly. Humayun managed to escape somehow. By this conquest Sher Shah became the master of Delhi, Agra, Sambhal, Gwalior etc. Thus ended the Mughal dynasty for the time being and for next fifteen years the power passed in the hands of Surs.

3.4.3 sher shah's conquests after becoming the Emperor

Conquests of punjab (ad 1540-1542)

Immediately after his accession on the throne at Delhi, Sher Shah snatched Punjab from Humayun's brother, Kamran. Alongside he also suppressed the turbulent Khokhars of the Northern region of the rivers Indus and Jhelum. About sixteen kilometers north of the river Jhelum, he constructed the fort of Rohtasgarh at the cost of about eight crores for the security of the North Western Frontier of India.

Conquest of Malwa (ad 1542)

The ruler of Malwa was known as Mallu Khan 'Qadirshah'. At the time of war with Humayun, he had not helped Sher Shah. So, Sher Shah attacked Malwa. Qadirshah did not fight but ran away to Gujarat instead. Sher Shah made Malwa an integral part of his empire. When Qadirshah asked his pardon Sher Shah excused him, treated kindly and appointed him the governor of Lakhpauti.

Conquest of raisin

Raisin was Rajput principality in the Central India ruled by the Rajput ruler Puranmal Chauhan. He had occupied Chanderi seizing from many other properties of the Mughal Chiefs. When Sher Shah came to know of it he attacked Raisin. According to Dr. Quanungo, 'The motive

behind the attack over Raisen was political not religious; Sher Shah wanted to made the Rajput principality of Raisen an integral part of the Delhi empire.' The fort of Raisen was besieged. After a prolonged siege the negotiations for peace started. Puranmal was prepared to surrender on the condition that no harm would come on the members of his family and his associates. Sher Shah promised to see to their security and Puranmal surrendered. But Puranmal and his followers were attacked without any prior information. One of his daughters and three of his nephews were caught alive and the others were murdered. His daughter was given away to Bazigars to dance in the Bazars. In the words of Dr. Ishwari Prasad, 'Sher Shah behaved with his very inhuman cruelty towards his enemy who had reposed trust in him at the time of his bad condition.'

Conquest of Multan and sindh

The General of Sher Shah, at the behest of Sher Shah attacked Multan and Sindh in AD 1543. Both of these provinces were conquered and annexed to the empire of Sher Shah.

Conquest of Marwar (ad 1543-1545)

In AD 1543, Sher Shah attacked Maldev of Marwar. In AD 1544 , the Rajputs and the Afghan armies fought each other at Semal between Ajmer and Jodhpur. Sher Shah advanced very carefully in Rajasthan. He did not think it wise to indulge in a straight fight against Maldev and resorted to diplomacy. He caused some such letters to be dropped near Maldev which led Maldev to suspect that some of his chiefs had deserted to him Sher Shah's side. Maldev was deeply grieved and decided to retreat. But his army launched a more fierce attack against Sher Shah's army. They fought very bravely but ultimately Sher Shah was victorious. The battle was so fierce and the victory so difficult that Sher Shah proclaimed that he had almost lost the empire of India for a handful of grains. In AD 1544, Sher Shah brought Marwar under his occupation but soon after his death, Maldev reoccupied the lost regions in July AD 1555.

Conquest of chittore and ajmer

The ruler of Mewar, Rana Udaisingh was a minor at the time of Sher Shah. When the Rajputs came to know of Sher shah's invasion they thought it better to accept his sovereignty rather than fighting with him. Now the whole Rajasthan except Jaisalmer was under Sher Shah.

But Sher Shah left the Rajput kingdom with the Rajput chiefs themselves. After establishing his control over some important forts (Ajmer, Jodhpur, Abu and Chittore) he posted the Afghan army in large numbers there. Side by side he kept a strict control over the routes of communications.

Conquest of Kalinjar and the death of sher shah

After these conquests, Sher Shah planned an invasion of Kalinjar because its ruler Kirat Singh had given shelter to the ruler of Riva, Virbhan against the wishes of the Afghan ruler and then had refused to return him to the Afghans against Sher Shah's wishes. Because of all these causes Sher Shah besieged the fort in AD 1544. But he could not achieve much success. On 22 May, AD 1545, Sher Shah launched a fierce attack. Sher Shah was inspecting the arsenal when he was grievously injured by the blast of a bomb. He ordered to continue the invasion and by evening the fort was under his control but Sher Shah was not fated to enjoy this conquest as he died of the injuries on 22 May, AD 1545 itself.

3.4.4 administrative system of sher shah

Though Sher Shah was given only a small period of five years to rule but within this short span of time he brought such important changes in the administrative system that he is considered as one of the best administrators. In fact, he managed his administration keeping before him a model ideal, without any religious discriminations he gave an opportunity to all his subjects to lead a comfortable life. According to him, the major aim of the state was public welfare. He tried to make the frontiers of the country so strong and powerful that Humayun or any other power should not be able to bring about any instability in the country. He brought about repossession of oppression and gave safety to the people against anti social elements. Accepting his administrative efficiency, English historian Keive wrote that none of the rulers, not even the English Government evinced so much wisdom as this Pathan Chief. The main features of his administrative system can be studied under the following heads:

Central administration

Though Sher Shah tried to follow the Afghan tradition for running the Central Administration, yet he tried to bring the office of the Sultan nearer to the Turkish ideal rather than the Afghan.

To some extent, he continued the central administration continuing from the time of the Delhi Sultanate and established a despotic system like that of Balban or Allauddin but he got it endorsed by a committee of the Afghan chiefs. Thus, his despotism had a democratic base. Probably looking at the outer structure of his administration, Dr. Qanungo remarked that Sher Shah Suri did not found any new administrative system but gave a new shape to the existing institutions. All the power of the state was centred in his hands. He was the highest official in the fields of administration, army, judiciary and law. There were four main ministers in his Central Government viz., Diwan-i-Wizarat (Kept control over the income and expenditure of the state) Diwan-i-Ariz (looked after military responsibilities) Diwan-i-Rasalat (looked after foreign affairs) and diwan-i-Qaza (head of judicial department). Sher Shah himself was so hard working and able that besides deterring the general policy of all the departments he also kept supervision over their everyday activities. He used to say that it behooved the greatmen to be always active and busy. During his reign he did not let any person or Amir emerge as an important figure. This might have been due to the fact the because of the importance given to any one individual, other Amirs would grow jealous of him and their dissatisfaction would lead them to organize intrigues etc. against the ruler. Removing corruption, he offered a clean administration to the people.

Provincial administration

The outline of the provincial administration under Sher Shah is somewhat dim. According to Dr. Qanungo, 'There were no provinces during the Sher Shah's time and the empire was divided in Sirkars.' As against this, Dr. P. Saran holds that there were twelve provinces in Sher Shah's empire each ruled by the military Governor. According to some historians, provinces did exist before Akbar's time but their shape and administrative system was not uniform. Even during Sher Shah's time there were many provinces or Subas which were called Iqtas. Modern historians hold that during Sher Shah's time there was a definite provincial organization. According to them, Sher Shah brought about two new experiments in the provincial administration but they were not so successful as to be implemented in other provinces. His first experiment was in Bengal in AD 1541. When Khizr Khan after

becoming its Governor started behaving like a Sultan. Sher shah got him imprisoned and after subdividing Bengal into many parts, appointed separate officials for each above them an official was appointed so as to maintain peace and order in the province. Because they were appointed by the Central Government and their sphere of work was different so the possibility of any revolt was minimized. Probably this system was implemented in Malwa, Punjab, Rajputana, etc. His other experiment was the appointment of Deputy Governors. He appointed two sub-deputy governors under Haibat Khan of Punjab. During his time, this scheme was probably implemented in Multan, Baluchistan, Sirhind etc. During his time, provincial Governor was probably called Hakim or Faujdar or Amin. But their rights were not the same. The governor of Punjab, Haibat Khan was probably the most powerful. He had thirty thousand soldiers under him whereas less powerful governors had just about five thousands soldiers under them. Sher Shah kept a strict control over the provincial governors and from time to time supervised their military and administrative activities.

Administration of a sirkar

Sher Shah Suri organized the local administration at the district, paragana and village level. The highest unit of the local administration was the District or the Sirkar. According to Dr. Ishwari Prasad, 'Sher Shah had sub-divided his empire into forty-seven parts, each comprising of many paraganas, This part or unit was called a Sirkar' Each Sirkar had two major officials – Shiqdar-i-Shiqdaran or Chief Shiqdar and Munsif-i-Monsifan or Chief Munsif, responsible respectively for the maintenance of peace and order in the Sirkar and supervising the officials of the paraganas and dispensing mobile justice. Sher Shah brought about some important changes in the administration of the Sirkar. Firstly, he established a satisfactory judicial system. Secondly, he ordered the officials to always look for the convenience of the people. Thirdly, he made the Chief Shikdar and the Chief Munsif respectively the highest but separate officials in the fields of army and finance. This minimized the possibility of revolt. Fourthly, he kept with himself the right of appointing and dismissing the officials of the Sirkar which strengthened the control of the centre over these units.

Administration of paragana

Every Sirkar or district was sub-divided into many paragons. Here, Shiqdar and Munsif were responsible for the maintenance of peace and order and the collection of revenues respectively. Besides these, there was one treasurer and two Karkuns or Munism one to keep the land records in Hindi and the other in Persian. The Treasurer or Fotdar kept the cash of the Paragana. The Munshif was responsible for the collection of the revenue of the whole paragana and also its land measurement. Shiqdar also enforced the Royal Firmans in addition to his duty of maintaining peace and order.

Village administration

The smallest unit of the empire was the Village. In every village there was a Mukhiya or Muqaddam. The chief of village collected the revenue from the marmers and sent it to the treasurer of the Paragana. Muqadam was responsible for maintaining peace and order in the village along with collecting revenue. He arranged for night watchmen. If a theft was committed in his area, he had either to catch hold of the thief or suffer the punishment himself. According to the contemporary historian Abbas, 'Because of this arrangements, the events of theft or dacoity in the empire were totally nullified and even if an old women travelled from one end of the empire to the other tossing gold, nobody dared to interfere with her.' If any traveller or merchant died on the way the local people gave the information to the Government officials and till the reaching of any instructions from Government, they kept watch themselves. This statement might be an exaggeration but it makes it clear that during Sher Shah's time, priority was given to the maintenance of peace and order throughout the empire. He dealt very strictly with thieves, dacoits and with those landlords who refused either to pay the revenue or refuse to obey the Government's instructions.

Revenue administration

During Sher Shah's time there were seven main sources of state income – land revenue, khams, custom, jaziya, nazrana, royal currency and sales tax. In his time 1/3 of the produce was taken as the land revenue. The peasants paid in cash or in kind though the state preferred the cash payment. He effected many reforms in the sphere of land revenue administration. He evolved a system of rates of land revenue called Rai, wherein there were separate rates of

land revenue, different parts of the empire for different kind of the produce. For the payment in cash, a list was prepared according to the prices, prevalent in the area. Besides the land revenue administration imposed duties on the import and export of the raw materials and the finished product. In Khans or war plundered state enjoyed 1/5 Share. A ruler like Sher Shah also did not abolish a tax like Jazia. This tax was levied on the non-Muslims and was an important source of governmental income. Nazrana or gifts were obtained almost from all tributary rulers, zamindars, government officials etc. Royal mint was also a good source of the royal income. Salt tax also yielded considerable income to the state. Sometimes unclaimed property also was an important source of income for the Government.

Land revenue administration

Sher Shah paid great attention towards land revenue system and land administration. Sher Shah was well acquainted with every level of land revenue system having managed for many years the jagir of Sahasram of his father Hassan and then having worked as a guardian of Jalal Khan, the ruler of Bihar. After becoming the Emperor, he set the whole land revenue system right with the help of a few able administrators. A glance at the different aspects of his administration shows clearly that he managed the land revenue system with greatest ability and interest. Praising his land revenue administration Dr. Ishwari Prasad writes, 'He tried to fix the land revenue in accordance with the income of the people.'

Military system

Sher Shah kept a strong army for defense of his vast empire. He knew very well the importance of the local army. According to the contemporary writer Abbas Sherwani, 'There were about 150000 infantry, 25000 cavalry, 5000 elephants and an artillery in his army.' Sher Shah put an end to the practice of supplying a fixed number of soldiers to the state by the chieftains and started direct recruitment of the soldiers and fixed their pay according to their ability. The salary was paid in cash. Promotion was given to soldiers and officials on the basis of their ability and working capacity. The descriptive roll of each soldiers was recorded. His horse was also branded so that it could not be replaced by a horse of inferior quality. Probably these practices were adopted by Sher Shah following the example of Allaudding Khilji, who

had first adopted these practices as the part of his military reforms. He constructed many cantonments in different parts of his empire and kept a strong army contingent in each of them. In addition to a big artillery Sher Shah made arrangements for supplying good quality guns to his soldiers. He maintained a strict discipline in his army. He caused a new fort to be constructed near Peshawar.

Judicial system

Sher Shah laid great emphasis on the dispensation of justice. He used to say, 'Doing justice is the greatest religious work which should be adopted alike by the state of Kafirs or Momins.' He never pardoned any criminal whether he was his near relative, big chief or any powerful person. He established law courts in the whole of his empire. At the centre the Emperor himself was the highest judge and next to him was the Qazi-ul-Qazt, who was the highest official of the judicial department. Besides big cities, provinces and their capitals Qazis dispensed justice. In the village the work of the dispensation of justice was undertaken by the Muqaddam or Mukhiya. The civil cases were heard by the Munsif, Amir and Munsif-i-Munsifan (Amin and Chief Aman). In fact, during Sher Shan's time not many changes were effected in the judicial system but he inspired all the officials to dispense justice impartially and fearlessly and did so himself as well.

Police arrangements

Sher Shah Suri made separate police arrangements. Before him, this function was also discharged by the army. Because of the police arrangements, it became easier to trace the criminals. In the Sirkars the Chief Shiqdar, in the Paragana the Shiqdar and in the villages Muqaddams used to perform police duties and hand over the criminals to the law courts. Abbas Sherwani wrote, 'During the time of Sher Shah, Travellers were free from the botheration of keeping a check over their belongings. Even in the desert region they had no fear. They could camp freely in a locality or in the deserted regions. They could leave their belongings in the open place also. Cattle could be left to graze freely and the owners slept carefree as if they were in their home.'

Espionage system

Sher Shah had spread a net of trusted and expert spies who kept on giving him information about the activities of the whole empire. Therefore, nobody dared to revolt against the emperor or shirk his duty. The daily report of the prices of commodities in the market used to reach the emperor. Messengers and spies were appointed in all the major cities and they had the orders to send any urgent message to the emperor at once.

currency

Sher Shah brought about many reforms in the currency system and got pure gold, silver and copper coins minted in the place of debased and mixed metal coins. His silver rupee was so authentic that even after centuries it continued to be used as a standard currency. Historian V.A. Smith wrote correctly, 'This rupee was the basis of the British currency system.' On the coins, the name of the emperor was inscribed in Devnagari as well as Persian scripts. The coins of Sher Shah were pure, beautiful and standard. He also issued small copper coins so that people may not have any difficulty in everyday transactions.

public welfare activities of sher shah

(a) For the benefit of the peasants, Sher Shah Suri carried on many land reforms such as getting the land measured and fixing of the prices, keeping in view the cultivate of land, its productivity, the crops grown and the local prices prevalent. The cultivators were given the option of paying the revenue in cash or in kind. He encouraged the Ryatwari system in place of the Zamindari system. (b) For the benefit of trading community he affected currency reforms. He showed special interest in the construction of roads, sarais, public kitchens etc. he issued standard weights and ordered the officials to behave courteously with the traders. He is said to have constructed about 1700 sarais some of which are still present. In addition to constructing good roads for the travellers, he also got shady trees planted on both sides of the roads. (c) He gave patronage to the artists and litterateurs. (d) For the welfare of the poorer of the capital, he made arrangements for charitable 'langar'. It is said that about 500 Tolas of gold was spent everyday on this lanagar.

In essence, Sher Shah was the first great and able ruler of the later medieval India.

V. A. Smith has justly written, 'If Sher Shah remained alive for some more time and if his successors had been as able as he was, the Mughals might not have reappeared on the stage of India.'

3.4.5 land revenue reforms of sher shah suri

Sher Shah paid great attention towards the land revenue system and the land administration. Sher Shah was well acquainted with every level of the land revenue system having managed for many years the jagir of Sahasram of his father Hassan and then having worked as guardian of Jalal Khan, the ruler of Bihar. After becoming the Emperor he set the whole land revenue system right with the help of a few able administrators. A glance at the different aspects of his administration shows clearly that he managed the land revenue system with greatest ability and interest. Praising his land revenue administration Dr. Ishwari Prasad writes, 'He tried to fix the land revenue in accordance with the income of the people.' The main features of his land and land revenue administration can be studied under following heads:

(i) **Measurement of Land:** Sher Shah Suri got the entire land of his empire measured in order to ascertain the total cultivable land of his empire. During his time Patwari kept the whole account of the cultivable land of every village. He used the 'Sikandari Gaz' for the measurement of land. During his time one Bigha measured 60x60 yards.

(ii) **Classification of land, fixing of revenue and lists of rates:** He got the entire cultivable land divided into three categories – good, middling and bad. He got the produce of all the three categories ascertained. After measuring the produce of each category of land, he decided to take 1/3 of the produce of each category as land revenue. During his time the amount of the produce was not estimated nor was the produce divided into fields or granaries. A common system of rates was started which was called the Rai according to which the share of the state differed on different kinds of crops. After that the price of the produce was fixed in different areas according to the market prices prevalent there. Thus, the revenue list of the produce per Bigha was prepared and one copy of it was given to the

concerned state officials. Thus, after serving the crop the cultivator knew how much he had to pay as the land revenue.

(iii) Option to pay the revenue in cash or in kind: Sher Shah had given the freedom to the cultivators to pay the land revenue in cash or in kind though he preferred the payment in cash.

(iv) Patta and Kabuliat: Sher Shah started the practice of issuing Patta to every cultivator. On it was written the area of the cultivated land, kind of crop, land revenue payable by the cultivator and he was informed of it. On the other hand, the Government got the signature of the peasants on the Kabuliat whereby they gave written assent about acknowledging the conditions of the state with regard to the land revenue administration.

(v) Eradication of middlemen: Sher Shah attached a greater importance to the Ryatwari system so that there could be a direct relationship between the peasant and the government. Undoubtedly, the Zamindari system was not ended completely during his time but there was a definite decline in it. He fixed a handsome emolument for the members of the measuring party so that they did not trouble the cultivators.

(vi) Instructions to the officials for good behavior: Sher Shah instructed all his officials to behave properly with the peasants. They should not take any bribe from them. According to the contemporary historian Abbas Sherwani, 'Sher Shah knew that there was no other office most lucrative than that of the Amin so he appointed new Amins every two years so that greatest number of Afghans should be able to take advantage of this post.' This statement of Sherwani leads to three conclusions. First, Sher Shah could not end bribery completely. Second, he tried to lessen the evil of bribery as far as he could by transferring the Amins repeatedly because at last they were put to some difficulty by going to new places again and again. Thirdly, in order to please the Afghans he seem to have given his silent consent unknowingly to the practice of bribery.

(vii) Liberality in assessment of revenue but strictness in collection: Sher Shah was

liberal at the time of the assessment of revenue and issued similar instructions to his officials as well but he did not like the idea of sparing the collection. Therefore, he instructed the time of land revenue collection. During natural calamities, he often pardoned the land revenue of the peasants.

(viii) Famine tax: To cope with natural calamities 2 ½ seer foods of grain per Bigha was charged extra from the cultivator. It was kept reserved for the time of famine.

Briefly then, Sher Shah cared greatly for the welfare of the peasants. Keeping in view the welfare of the peasants he fixed 1 / 3 of the produce at state's share which was not very high. In fact he did it because of the prevailing circumstances. At that time the cultivable land was available in plenty and there was a great danger of the cultivators leaving the land and going away if the state was oppressive. Probably, this factor placed a restriction on the emperor. On the basis of the description of Abbas Sherwani, it can be said that this factor counted with Sher Shah. He is said to have stated that the peasants were innocent, they bowed before the officials and if he perpetuated atrocities on them they would leave the land and go away. The country would be ruined and deserted and it would take a long time to make it prosperous again. According to the famous historian Qanungo, 'The land revenue arrangement of Sher Shah was a valuable heritage for the Mughals. He tried to levy the land revenue in accordance with the income of the peasants. The British adopted this very system.' But Sher Shah did not devote much attention towards irrigation. He did not completely abolish the Zamindari system probably to keep the Afghan chiefs satisfied. In spite of these defects, it will have to be conceded that his land revenue administration was good and was undertaken keeping in mind the interest of the cultivators.

3.4.6 Other administrative reforms

(i) Law and order: He reestablished law and order in his empire, holding the local official responsible for thefts, dacoities and murders. He made them responsible for the maintenance of peace and order. People could travel fearlessly throughout the empire.

(ii) Control over zamindars: He dealt strictly with those Zamindars who refused to

pay the revenue or obey the orders of the state.

(iii) Construction and improvement of roads: He got many pucca roads constructed so that the traders and travellers could travel and take goods easily. He got four important roads constructed namely the Grand Trunk Road (G.T. Road), running from the river Indus to Sonargaon in Bengal, was reopened and completed by him. It was the longest road. The second road ran from Agra to Burhanpur. The third road ran from Agra to Jadhpur and Chittore and was connected to the roads running to the ports of Gujarat. The fourth road was constructed from Lahore to Multan. Multan, at that time, was the initial starting point for the caravans going towards the western and the central Asia. These roads were often referred to as the arteries of the empire. They aided in the security and strength of the empire and helped in the maintenance of order. To help the progress in the area of trade and commerce he improved the road transportation and planted shady trees on the both sides of these roads.

(iv) Construction of sarais: For the convenience of the travellers and traders, Sher Shah got Sarais constructed at the distance of eight kilometers on all prominent roads of the empire. In the Sarais, there was an arrangement for boarding and lodging, food as well as the security of their luggage. He is said to have constructed around 1700 Sarais, some of them this exist. Brahmins were appointed for looking after the Hindus and Muslims for catering to the needs of Muslims. If the statement of Abbas is to be relied upon, it can be said that in these sarais travelers were accorded the treatment befitting their states and the cattle were given food etc. We believe that these facilities were available only to those travellers who travelled on duty as the Government officials, messengers and spies etc. Sarais were also used as Dark Chowkis. Efforts were made to habitate villages around these sarais. Later on these villages developed into 'Kasbas' and performed the work of Mandis of grain markets for the cultivators.

(v) Currency reforms: He issued coins of pure gold, silver and copper which

inspired trust among the people for the royal currency and encouraged trade and commerce.

(vi) Reforms in custom duties and other taxes: He removed the irksome duties and levied duties only at two places – one from where goods were carried and the other where they were to be reached.

(vii) Courteous behavior: He ordered his officials to behave courteously with the traders and protect their life and property. This also led to an encouragement of trade and commerce.

(viii) Standard weights and measures: He issued uniform standard weights and measures throughout the empire which facilitated the transition and minimized the chances of traders cheating the innocent people.

(ix) Military reforms: He got a vast and standing army prepared. He took personal interest in the recruitment of soldiers. They were given regular salaries and the practices of recording the descriptive roll of soldiers and branding the horses were started again.

(x) Reform in judicial system: He ordered all his officials to dispense justice impartially and accorded severe punishments to the criminals.

(xi) Partially liberal policy: He generally adopted a liberal policy towards the Hindus. They were given high posts. Very few evidences are available for his breaking the temples and idols. He was tolerant towards the religion and beliefs of the Hindus but he did not remove Jaziya.

(xii) Patronage to art and literature: He patronized art and literature. The famous historian Abbas Sherwani lived at his court. Besides many sarais, he also constructed the Purana Qilla of Delhi. Inside this fort has also got constructed a high mosque which is a good example of the mixture of the Indian and the Muslim architecture style. He also got his own tomb constructed at Sahasram. Briefly, then, Sher Shah brought about many reforms in the fields of land revenue, army and administration. He made an improvement in the judicial system, currency and

the postal system etc. In addition to reforms in the field of customs and tax system, he also gave encouragement to the trade and commerce. He took keen interest in art and literature but he was not completely liberal towards the Hindus. It was also his mistake to have excessively centralized the administration and keeping most of the powers with himself because immediately after his death, the defects of this system were revealed.

3.5 pOIIITical UNIFlcaTION, ExpaNsiON aNd CONsOlldaTION OF The MUghal EMplRE UNdEr aKBar

Jalauddin Muhammad Akbar was born of Hamida Banu Begum in AD 1542. in Amarkot when Humayun was wandering here and there after being defeated by Sher Shah. He distributed the pieces of saffron amongst his Amirs and said that the he hoped that the way the fragrance of the saffron was pervading the entire tent, likewise the fame of his son would spread in the entire world. The childhood of Akbar was spent amidst great perils and in the haste of going to Iran, one year old Akbar got left at the frontier of Qandhar. Askari who had no child of his own, brought him up. In AD 1554 Humayun reconquered Kabul and Qandhar with the help of the Shah of Iran. The very next year he occupied Lahore. He reconquered Delhi and Agra from the successors of Sher Shah but soon after he died on 24 January, AD 1556. Akbar at that time was in Kalanaur (District of Gurdaspur) in Punjab along with Bairam Khan.

3.5.1 Accession of akbar

On the 19th February, AD 1556, Akbar was declared the Emperor at Kalanaur when he was just thirteen years of age. At that time he was virtually a ruler without a kingdom. Vincent Smith wrote aptly that before Akbar could claim to be an Emperor in reality rather than just in name, he had to prove himself more capable than his other rivals for the throne, and at least had to reconquer the lost kingdom of his father.

Initial difficulties

At the time of his accession Akbar was confronted with the following difficulties:

- (i) **A small kingdom:** In fact Akbar was in possession of only a small part of the

Punjab. Though in theory Kabul, Qandhar and Badakshan were also the parts of the Mughal empire but he had no hope of any help from there because Kabul was under step brother of his, Mirza Hakim. He immediately declared himself independent. The Governor was in Bairam Khan's jagir but was in the danger of the Iranian invasion. The Governor of Badakshan, Mirza Suleman had become independent and he wanted to establish his control over Akbar as well as the ruler of Kabul, Mirza Hakim.

(ii) Akbar a minor: Akbar was very young and he had to follow the instructions and work under the guidance of Bairam Khan till he attained maturity.

(iii) Sikandar Sur: Though the ruler of Punjab had been defeated but his power had not as yet been crushed completely and he could become a danger for Akbar at any time. Adil Shah was in control of region from Bihar to Chunar and his able minister Hemu was making preparations for the war against the Mughals.

(iv) Ibrahim: Sur was occupying the Doab and Sambhal and he considered himself to be a claimant for the throne of Delhi.

(v) Other Afghan chiefs: Malwa, Gujrat etc. were still in the hands of Afghan chiefs. They could at any time become a problem for Akbar.

(vi) Rajputs: The Rajput chiefs of Marwa, Mewar, Jaisalmer, Ranthambhore, and Ajmer etc. were continuously organizing their strength.

(vii) Abdul Muwali: Famous Mughal Amir, Abdul Muwali had revolted at the head of his army and he did not attend the coronation ceremony of Akbar. Though Bairam Khan had captured and imprisoned him in the fort of Lahore, he posed a threat for the Mughals at any time.

(viii) Tardi Beg: He tried to fix the land revenue in accordance with Tardi Beg, the governor of Delhi who had also turned a rebel and Hemu, the minister of Adil Shah had driven him away from Delhi.

(ix) The kingdoms of Kashmir, Sind, Multan and Himalayan region: All these kingdoms were independent and a problem before Akbar was to bring them under

the Mughals.

(x) Bad financial condition: The Mughal treasury was empty. A terrible famine was raging Delhi and Agra. To arrange financial resources was a terrible problem confronting Akbar.

(xi) In the Deccan there were, besides the Vijaynagar empire, five Shia states viz. Khandesh, Bidar, Berar, Ahmadnagar and Golkunda. The country could be united politically only after bringing them under the Mughal fold.

(xii) Anarchy and confusion: Everywhere in the country there was indiscipline, disorder and anarchy. One of the problems before Akbar was to end them and give to the people a capable administration, peace and order.

solving the problems

Akbar gradually overcame all these difficulties in this conquest, where on the one hand, he was aided by his own good fortune and on the other hand credit should go to the loyalty and ability of Bairam Khan. He called a conference of the Mughals in Sirhind and gave a death punishment to the governor of Delhi, Tardi Beg who had not been able to defend Delhi against Hemu. Bairam Khan defeated Hemu in the second battle of Panipat and seated Akbar on the throne. But four years of power turned Bairam Khan into a vain person. In AD 1560, Akbar very deftly defeated him after he indulged rebellion but pardoned him keeping in view his past services. At a place called Patan, Bairam Khan was murdered by some rebel Afghans. Because of the treacherous activities of Akbar's foster mother and Adham Khan, Akbar was forced to give death punishment to Adham Khan in AD 1561 and his mother Maham Anaga died of the shock and grief. In AD 1565, the rebellious Uzbek chiefs Sardar Khan, Abdulla Khan and Zaman Khan were also punished. In fact, Zaman Khan died fighting and his brother Bahadur was accorded death punishment. Abdulla Khan died (after some time Akbar got all the supporters of his step brother, Hakim Mirza of Kabul, murdered and forced him to flee from Kabul). With the help of Bairam Khan Akbar conquered (besides Agra and Delhi), the regions of Jaunpur, Ranthambhore and Malwa. After the acceptance of the sovereignty of the Mughals by Bihari Mal, the ruler of Ajmer and marrying his daughter Akbar extended the

sphere of his power till Ajmer. After that he had to wage wars against Garkatanga (Gondwana), Gujarat, Bengal, Chittor, Kalinjar etc. After Bengal, Kabul and Kandhar were brought under occupation. Khandesh accepted his suzerainty. After a prolonged struggle, Ahmadnagar was conquered in AD 1600 and after the revolt of the new governor of Khandesh, Miran Bahadur shah of Asirgarh was conquered militarily on the 6 January, AD 1601. Briefly, then, it can be said that Akbar had to struggle to overcome the various problems which confronted him.

3.5.2 Policy of conquest of akbar

Akbar had inherited a very small kingdom at the time of his accession. He was king only in name, being just 13 years of age. He was surrounded by the enemies on all sides. Loyal Bairam Khan was his guardian. Akbar began his policy of conquest with the help of Bairam Khan.

conquest of northern India

1. Conquest of Delhi and Agra: Akbar conquered Delhi and Agra by defeating Hemu in the second battle of Panipat with the help of Bairam Khan.

2. Conquest of Gwalior, Ajmer and Jaunpur: After the conquest of Delhi he conquered Gwalior in AD 1558 again with Bairam Khan's help. By AD 1560, he established his control over Ajmer and Jaunpur as well.

3. Conquest of Malwa: In AD 1560, after establishing his freedom from the control of Bairam Khan, Akbar, with the help of Adham Khan attacked Baz Bahadur of Malwa. The latter was defeated in a battle near Sarangpur. Adham Khan brought all his wealth as well as the ladies of his harem under his control. Baz Bahadur's wife, queen Rupmati defended her chastity by swallowing poison. Adham Khan did not send the entire loot to Akbar. On this Akbar became annoyed on Pir Mohammad as the Governor of Malwa whose weakness led Baz Bahadur to again conquer Malwa. Akbar again sent Abdulla Khan who established the Mughal control over Malwa.

4. Conquest of Chunar: In AD 1561 Asaf Khan was sent to effect the conquest of Chunar and he occupied it without any difficulty.

5. Conquest of Gondwana (AD 1564): The independent kingdom of Gondwana was an eye sore to Akbar. Its ruler, Vir Narayan was a minor. His brave mother Durgawati was his guardian. Akbar sent Asaf Khan to conquer Gondwana, Durgawati fought against the Mughals near Narhi. She was badly wounded. To defend her honour she committed suicide by stabbing herself. Other Rajput ladies performed Jauhar. Vir Narayan also died in the battle and thus, Gondwana came under the Mughal control.

6. Conquest of Gujarat: Akbar launched an attack against Muzzafar Khan of Gujarat at the head of a large army in AD 1572. He was defeated and imprisoned and Gujarat came under the Mughals.

7. Conquest of Bengal and Bihar: The governor of Bihar, Suleman had conquered Bengal in AD 1574 and he was ruling over Bengal and Bihar. The Afghans killed him and made his son Daud Khan the ruler of that place. Akbar sent Munim Khan against Daud Khan. In AD 1575, Daud Khan was badly defeated and accepted the sovereignty of Akbar. After some time when he raised his head again, Akbar, himself proceeded towards Bengal. A fierce battle was fought between the two armies. Daud was defeated and he was killed. Thus, Bengal and Bihar came under the Mughal control.

8. Conquest of Mewar and the battle of Haldi Ghati: (For answer please see Part-II and III of Q. 6)

9. Conquest of Kabul: In AD 1585, Kabul was under Akbar's step brother, Hakim Mirza. In AD 1580 he attacked Punjab at the head of an infantry 1500 strong. Akbar defeated him. Mirza Hakim accepted his sovereignty. Akbar returned Kabul to him. In AD 1585, after his death, Kabul was annexed to the Mughal empire.

10. Conquest of Kashmir (AD 1588): The ruler of Kashmir was Yusuf Shah. In AD 1588, Raja Bhagwan Das and Qasim Khan were sent to conquer Kashmir. They succeeded in their mission.

11. Conquest of Sind (AD 1590): In AD 1590 Abdur Rahim Khan-i-Khana defeated

the ruler of Sind, Mirza Jani Beg and occupied Thatta, the capital of Sind.

12. Conquest of Orissa (1593): In AD 1593, Raja Man Singh defeated the ruler of Orissa and made it a part of the Mughal empire.

13. Conquest of Baluchistan and Makaran (1595 AD): In AD 1595, the Mughal Chief Quetta defeated the Panni Afghans and annexed the regions of Baluchistan and Makaran, to the Mughal empire.

14. Conquest of Kandhar (AD 1595): The Persian Governor of Kandhar Muzaffar Hussain Khan did not have very cordial relations with the Shah of Iran. On 5 April, AD 1595 he surrendered the fort of Kandhar to the Mughals.

15. North-Western frontier regions: Many tribes were independent in the North-Western hilly region and they affected plunder in the Indian territory. Akbar suppressed these tribes. The Mughals were victorious with continuous efforts of a few years and almost all the tribals were defeated. Gazni was snatched from them, being impressed by these campaigns the Uzbek leader Abdulla Khan abandoned the policy of warfare against the Mughals.

conquests of the deccan

1. Ahmadnagar: Akbar devoted his attention towards the Deccan after completing his victory campaigns in the Northern India. First of all, he dispatched Prince Murad and Abdur Rahim Khan-i-Khana in AD 1595 for the conquest of Admednagar. At that time Chand Bibi was ruling there as guardian of her minor nephew. She fought against the Mughals very bravely but was defeated because of the treachery and non-cooperation of her own Amirs and by the terms of a treaty she had to cede the region of Barar to the Mughals. Chand Bibi conquered Barar once again with the help of other Southern powers. Akbar dispatched his armies again but this time they were unsuccessful. Akbar then proceeded himself against Ahmadnagar in AD 1600, conquered it and imprisoned the minor ruler, Bahadur Nizam Shah. Chand Bibi had been assassinated by her own rebel Chiefs before this event.

2. Asirgarh: The ruler of Khandesh, Ali Khan, had already accepted Akbar's

sovereignty but his son Miran Bahadur Shah declared himself as independent.

After a prolonged struggle, Asirgarh came under the Mughals in AD 1601 and

Miran Bahdur was sent to Gwalior as a prisoner.

Struggle between akbar and Mewar

During Akbar's time Udai Singh ruled over Mewar. He was considered the most powerful ruler of Rajasthan. His influence extended to areas like Bundi, Sirohi, Joda, Ojana, Pankha and Merte etc. On the other hand, Akbar's influence extended to Ajmer, Nagore and Mewar. He had also conquered Gwalior in Central India and forced its ruler Ram Shah to seek refuge with Raja Udai Singh of Mewar. In AD 1559, the struggle started between the Mughals and Mewar. It is attributed to various factors:

- (i) According to Abul Fazal, Akbar wanted to conquer various forts under Mewar.
- (ii) According to the Nizamuddin and Badauni, the real cause of the attack was giving shelter to Baz Bahadur of Malwa by Rana in AD 1502.
- (iii) Smith attributes it to the desire of Akbar to conquer the whole of India which in turn was inspired by a political propriety and an economic necessity.
- (iv) According to Gopinath Sharma, Akbar decided to conquer Chittore first as against any other state because he thought if he defeated the Rana of Mewar or made him his friend, the other rulers of Rajasthan would accept his suzerainty automatically and he would not have to wage war against all of them and Akbar was right in the thinking. This policy of his was based on a study of Rajput psychology and it turned out to be successful. Within two to three years of the fall of Chittore, Ranthambhore (AD 1569), Jodhpur (AD 1570), Bikaner (AD 1570), and Jaisalmer (AD 1570) accepted the suzerainty of Delhi and entered into matrimonial relations with Akbar.

A.L. Srivastava in his book 'Akbar the Great' has said that Mewar was on way to Gujarat and therefore without bringing Mewar under the Mughal control, it was useless to try and conquer Gujarat. Conquest of Mewar was also essential if Akbar was to claim the title of the sovereign ruler of India. Thus, all the factors led to Akbar's decision to conquer Mewar.

akbar and Udai singh

Udai Singh's son Shokti Singh (who had sought Mughal's refuge sometime ago, being annoyed with his father) gave him the information that Akbar was planning to conquer Mewar. To fulfill his campaign of conquest, Akbar attacked Mewar in AD 1567, and established his control over its capital, Chittore. But Rana Udai Singh did not accept Akbar's sovereignty and he entrenched himself in Udaipur. For the next 7-8 years Akbar was busy in other serious problems of the empire and he could not devote attention towards Udai Singh, who died in AD 1572, being succeeded by Rana Pratap.

akbar and rana pratap

Akbar sent many emissaries to Rana Pratap to ask him to accept Mughal sovereignty and present himself at the Mughal court. Once Rana Man Singh also went to Rana Pratap as Akbar's Emissary. Rana Pratap welcomed him. The statement that Rana has included Man Singh is not a historical fact. It was also not in accordance with the characteristics of Rana Pratap because he was brave himself and treated his opponents with courtesy. But the Rana refused to compromise with his freedom. After this, two other emissaries were sent in AD 1573 October and December under the leadership of Raja Bhagwan Das and Todarmal respectively. Rana Pratap treated both of them with courtesy but hesitated to accept Akbar's sovereignty. Unlike other Rajputs, he did not agree to come himself to the Mughal Court but sent his son Amar Singh instead. But Akbar was not satisfied with it and he decided to launch an attack on the Rana and entrusted its command to the best Mughal General, Raja Man Singh of Ajmer. In the famous battle of Haldi Ghati (18 June, AD 1576) the Rana was defeated and he retreated to Gogunda. But he continued his resistance to the Mughals by Guerilla warfare. He got the co-operation of Bhils. When between AD 1579 to AD 1585 Akbar could not devote his attention towards the Rana because of numerous revolts taking place against himself, the Rana took advantage of the situation and reconquered many forts around Kumbhalgarh and Chittore though he could not reconquer Chittore itself. He established his new capital in Chawand near modern Dungarpur. In AD 1597 he sustained an internal injury while trying to fix the string of a hard bow which led to his death. At that time the Rana was just 51. With the

death of Rana Pratap ended an era in the history of the Rajputana. The story of his struggle is that of Rajput bravery and sacrifice for his principles.

akbar and amar singh

Amar Singh ascended the throne in AD 1597 after his father's death. He also continued the policy of struggle followed by his father and did not accept Mughal sovereignty. By the time of Jahangir he entered into a treaty after a prolonged struggle as a result of which the Mughal Emperor gave him the alternative of sending his son Karana Singh to the Mughal Court instead of presenting himself personally. Chittore fort was returned to him but he could not get it repaired.

3.5.3 policy of akbar towards the Non-muslims or the hindus

religious policy of akbar

Akbar's policy towards the non-Muslims was one of toleration. He soon abandoned the rigid, cruel and a hostile policy followed by the Delhi Sultans and the later Mughal Emperors towards the Hindus. He was the first national ruler who aspired to lay the foundations of his empire on the goodwill of both the Hindu and the Muslim communities. His religious policy heralded a new era of peace, prosperity and unity in the country. He founded the so called order or religion on Din-i-Ilahi to give a common platform to the Hindus and Muslims.

Factors responsible for akbar's adoption of liberal policy

Many factors inspired Akbar to follow a liberal policy towards the non-Muslims. Chief amongst them were as follows:

1. Personal life and personality: Akbar was liberal and tolerant by nature. The circumstances of his birth, his upbringing and the teaching of his preceptor Sheikh Abdul Latif played an important role in making him tolerant. The discussions in the Ibadat Khana had convinced him that inspite of having different names Ram or Rahim, God was one. He wanted to be a true national monarch.

2. Political necessity: Akbar wanted to extend and consolidate his empire. He knew that the Hindus were a majority in India. He also realized that without the cooperation and sympathy of the Hindus, the defense, extensions, peace stability

and order in Mughal empire was impossible. He was impressed by the qualities of the Hindus, particularly the Rajputs. There was scarcity of the Mughal soldiers for ruling over the whole of India. Further, to end the feeling among the people that the Mughals were foreign rulers, Akbar thought it essential to follow a liberal policy.

3. Influence of many factors and personalities: Before Akbar, many rulers in various parts of the country in the fifteenth century had got non-communal and got the religious literature translated into Persian, had extended patronage to regional languages, had followed a tolerant religious policy and had accorded high posts to the Hindus in their army and thus had created an atmosphere of mutual understanding between the two communities. This historical background inspired Akbar to adopt a liberal and tolerant religious policy. The Bhakti movement and the followers of Sikh saints also inspired Akbar to adopt a liberal and tolerant policy. Akbar's mother and his tutor Bairam Khan belonged to Shia sect. His Rajput wives also helped in making him tolerant, thus the atmosphere of the Royal harem and liberal personalities made him liberal minded.

Characteristics of akbar's religious policy

Akbar worked in this direction first in AD 1562 after his accession –

- (i) He issued a Firman prohibiting the war prisoners to be forcibly converted to Islam.
- (ii) In AD 1563, he brought to an end the pilgrimage tax of bathing in place of pilgrimage like Prayag and Banaras.
- (iii) In AD 1564, he abolished Jaziya. According to Islamic injunctions, non-Muslims of the Islamic States had to pay this tax. Though it was not very oppressive tax financially, yet it was not linked.
- (iv) Though he had opened the avenues for the appointment of non-muslims in the royal service in AD 1562, yet he appointed Todarmal only on a high post the revenue department in AD 1563. In AD 1574, he was made the Diwan (Wazir

or Finance Minister). Soon after Rama Das was appointed as the Naib Diwan in the State. The ruler of Amer Bharmal was given a high office, his son Bhagwan Das got a Mansab of 5000 and his son Man Singh got a Mansab of 7000. Another person worth mentioning was a Brahmin called Mahesh Das, who was given the title of Raja Birbal. He placed Birbal amongst the nine jewels of his court. Birbal always stayed with Akbar.

(v) Akbar entered into matrimonial relations with many Hindu Rajas and high families e.g. he married Mani Bai, the younger daughter of Bharmal. The rulers of Jaisalmer and Bikaner also established matrimonial relations with Akbar. In AD 1684, Udai Singh of Jodhpur gave the hand of his daughter Jagat Gosain or Jodhabai (she is famous by this name) in marriage to prince Salim. The marriage was performed both by the Muslim and the Hindu rites.

(vi) He treated his common Hindu subjects and Muslims equally. Hindus were given full freedom of construction of new temples or repair of old temples. They could celebrate their festivals freely.

(vii) He had given to his Hindu wives full freedom to worship as they liked in his Harem.

(viii) He honored the scholars of every religion equally. In AD 1575, he established an Ibadatkhana in his new capital of Fatehpur Sikri. Here he invited religious preachers and scholars of every religion. The discussion could continue till only AD 1582.

(ix) To give a uniform religion to the Hindus and Muslims, he propagated a new religion called Tauhi Illahi. Though this religion could not become very popular and came to an end with the death of Akbar, still the effort of Akbar was worthy of praise.

(x) He also tried to remove the evils prevailing in the Hindu religion. He opposed the customs of Sati and supported widow re-marriage.

(xi) Along with the Hindus he behaved equally and liberally with the Shias, Sufis,

Jains, Christians and others.

Development of akbar's religious views

Akbar's religious ideas did not develop all of a sudden. Undoubtedly, in the beginning of his reign he was a traditional and a staunch Muslim. Between AD 1562 to 1582 his religious ideas underwent a continuous transformation. Various stages of his religious views can be studied as follows:

(i) Orthodox Muslim: Initially Akbar was an orthodox Muslim. He respected greatly the Chief Qazi of the State, Abdul Nabi Khan. He is said to have even carried his shoes on one occasion. He is said to have remembered the name of Allah the whole night and remained emerged in the thoughts of Allah. He remained busy with a mystic view and thanked Allah for his successes. Very often he sat on a smooth stone of an old building in front of his palace and remained immersed in religious and mystic views.

(ii) His initial activities connected with liberal religious policy: From AD 1562, he started adopting a policy of religious tolerance. At that time he was a young man of just 20 years. By a Firman he prohibited the making of slaves of the women and children of the defeated party and also to force the prisoners to embrace Islam. In AD 1563, the pilgrimage tax on the Hindus was ended and in AD 1564 the Jaziya was ended. In AD 1562, he opened the doors of state appointments for the Hindus and the same year he married Mani Bai, the daughter of Bharmal of Ajmer. He still continued to read Namaz regularly and visited the tomb of saints like Sailm Chisti.

(iii) Establishment of the Ibadatkhana: With the liberal development in his religious view. Akbar on the one hand collected the scholars of various schools of liberal views and on the other in AD 1575, he got an Ibadatkhana constructed in his new capital, Fatehpur Sikri. In this house of worship he invited the religious preachers, mystics and famous scholars of his time and carried on discussions with them in spiritual subjects. He had to bear many attacks from staunch

Mullahs and the Ulemas after the construction of Ibadatkhana. He often used to attend the discussions going on here. Many times he told the Mullahs that his sole aim in it was to realize the truth brought to light by the real scholars. Initially, this Ibadatkhana was open only for the Muslims and then Mullahs had started quarrelling themselves only so he opened the doors of Ibadatkhana for the scholars and thinkers of non-Muslim religions also. Now the followers of all religions Hinduism, Jainism, Zoroastrianism, Christianity and even atheists started participating in the discussions of the Ibadatkhana. Gradually, the discussions in the Ibadatkhana widened so much so that the subjects like Quran being the Ultimate divine work and Muhammad being the Ultimate prophets were included in the discussions on which all the Muslims were of one opinion. This led to many orthodox Mullahs spreading the rumour that Akbar wants to forsake the Islamic religion. Actually, the Ibadatkhana brought more ill fame to Akbar rather than any credit. The Qazis issued many Fatwas against Akbar but he suppressed their revolt and accorded severe punishments to rebel Qazis.

(iv) Reading of Fatwa personally and giving land grant: On 16 June, AD 1579, Akbar removed the Imam of the Jama Masjid of Fatehpur Sikri and read the Fatwa himself. It was composed by the famous Persian poet Faizi. He said non-vegetarian food was unnatural. He started giving land grants to the Hindu, Jain and Persian institutions. It was not a new thing for the rulers in countries outside India to read the Fatwa themselves. But the orthodox Muslims of India considered it the beginning of a new custom and so activated rumours of Akbar being non-Islamic.

(v) Issuing of Mazhar: Akbar did not bow before the orthodox Mullahs. To deal with them as well as to consolidate his position, he proclaimed the Mazhar in August-September, AD 1579. This proclamation which was signed by the principal Ulemas was interpreted wrongly by some historians as the Doctrine of Infallibility. In reality, the proclamation said that in case of any dispute among the scholars with

regard to any interpretations of the Quran, Akbar would have right of choosing any interpretation he liked, which he thought to be in the interests of a majority of his subjects, and the country at large. It was also enjoyed therein that keeping in mind the welfare of the country, if Akbar issued any new proclamation in accordance with the Quran, it would have to be accepted. Thus, Akbar did not assume the position of maker of religious injunctions but claimed for himself the right to the ultimate interpretation of the Quran.

(vi) Abandonment of the pilgrimage to tombs: After AD 1579, Akbar did not visit any Mazar or tomb. He left it as being very much akin to a narrow outlook, belief in polytheistic and idol worship.

(vii) Stopping of the discussion of the Ibadatkhana and starting of personal interviews: Seeing the bitterness of the religious discussion in the Ibadatkhana and the efforts by the followers of one religion to degrade those of the other, Akbar brought an end to the discussions in the Ibadatkhana in AD 1582. But he continued his search for the truth. His critics and the staunch Muslim historian Badauni attacked him saying that certain people don't do anything except searching truth day and night. Akbar had personal interviews with the leaders of various religious saints and preachers etc. He invited Purushottam and Devi to know about the principles and teachings of the Hindu religion. To understand the Jain religion, he invited chief Jain saint Hari Vijay Suri from Kathiavad and made him stay at his court for two years. With all honour Meharji Rana was invited to explain the principles of Zorishtranism. Portugues scholars were invited from Goa to explain the principle of Christianity. Akabiba and Manseriat spent three years in Akbar's Court for this purpose. He met Sufi Saints also from time to time. These meetings led him to believe that in spite of difference in the name of different religions and their duties, certain good points existed in all. He realized that if common good points of all the religions are emphasized a goodwill can be created among the people of different sects in the country.

(viii) Founding the so called new religion: After discussion with the religious leaders of various sects, Akbar believed that in spite of the diversity in name, God is one. Historian Badauni said, 'The Emperor believed firmly that good people existed in all religions. If some true knowledge could be gained by this then why should the truth remain confined to just one religion.' Akbar was unhappy with the bitter religious discussions because it obstructed the creation of an atmosphere congenial to the progress and goodwill in the nation. To him, the solution to this problem appeared to be the founding of a new religion comprising of the good points of every religion but free of the defects of all. Badauni stressed the fact that Akbar gradually drifted away from Islam and founded a new religion comprising the good points of various religions like Hinduism, Christianity, Zoroastrianism etc. But modern scholars say that Akbar did not start any new religion. They think that his orthodoxy had led Badauni to exaggerate the facts. They say that there is no proof of the fact that Akbar either founded a new religion or ever thought of starting one. Abdul Fazal and Badauni used the word Tauhid-i-lahi to describe the so called new religion. Whatever is the truth, Akbar wanted to bring about a harmony between the people of various sects through the medium of this religion but he did not take very great interest in the propagation nor did he pressurize anyone to follow it.

Consequences and effects of akbar's new religious policy

(i) Advantage to the empire: The most important consequence of Akbar's new religious policy was that a majority of the Hindus and the Muslims became the supporters of the Mughal empire. They gave up the attitude of mutual hostility and gave their services and cooperation to the Mughal Emperor. The co-operation of these people helped Akbar in an extension of his empire achieving conquests and suppressing the revolts.

(ii) An atmosphere of Goodwill in the Country: Akbar's religious policy encouraged the establishment of peace, co-operation and goodwill in the country which helped

the growth of trade and commerce.

(iii) Social reforms: Akbar's religious policy aided in the social reforms. Inhuman practices like Sati prevalent amongst the Hindus were discouraged. Widows got the right to remarry. Akbar tried to restrict the sale of liquor. By giving up meat eating himself, he tried to encourage a vegetarian society.

(iv) Cultural unity: Akbar's religious policy encouraged the cultural integration in the country by bringing the Hindu and Muslims closer. He established a Translation Bureau so that Sanskrit, Arabic and Greek works could be translated into Persian. He encouraged music, sculpture and Hindu architectural style. The state could become secular because of his religious policy cultural unity was encouraged. A new religion Din-i-Ilahi was born though soon after him it came to an end.

3.5.4 din-i-Ilahi

Contacts with the leaders of various religions, reading of their learned works, meeting with the Sufi saints and yogis gradually convinced Akbar that while there were differences of sect and creed, all religions had a number of good points which were obscured in the heat of controversy. He felt that if the good points of various religions were emphasized, an atmosphere of harmony and amenity would prevail which would be for the good of country. Further, he felt that behind all the multiplicity of names and forms, there was but one God. As Badayuni observed, as a result of all the influences which were brought to bear on His Majesty, 'There grew gradually as the outline of stone, the conviction in his heart that there were some sensible men in all religions. If some true knowledge was thus every where to be found, why should truth be confined to one religion.' Hence, he brought a solution of the problem, i.e. of having a religion that should possess the excellent points of the existing creeds and the defects of none. So, he consulted the foremost leaders of the various religious communities and unfolded to them his scheme of having a religion which should be the combination of the merits of all the faiths and the defects of none. He said, 'We ought, therefore to bring them all into one but in such fashion that there 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. In

that way honour would be rendered to God, peace would be given to the people and security to the empire.' So, having put together the general principles of all religions, he established a synthesis of various creeds and called them Din-i-Ilahi.

Main principles of din-i-Ilahi

Mohsin Fani, the author of *Debistani-i-Mazahib*, described some of the leading principle of Din-i-Ilahi:

- (i) Liberality and beneficence;
- (ii) Abstinence from the worldly desires;
- (iii) Forgiveness to the evil doer;
- (iv) Soft voice, gentle words, pleasure speeches for everybody;
- (v) Good treatment to all those who come in contact;
- (vi) Dedication of the soul in the love of God.

The whole philosophy of Akbar was 'the pure weapon (shastra) and the pure sight never err.' He found that the narrow minded religiously zealous was a menace to the society. Accordingly, he made an attempt to bring about a synthesis of all the important religions and styled it Din-i-Ilahi or Tauhid-i-Ilahi (Divine Monotheism). It was a socio-religious order – a brotherhood designed to cement diverse communities in the land. The followers of this religion believed in the following principles:

- (i) God is one and Akbar is his Caliph or representative. In this way its basis was the Unity of God, the corner stone of Islam.
- (ii) The followers of this religion used to greet each other by one saying 'Alla-ho-Akbar' and the other replaying 'Jall-a-Jolalohu' when they met.
- (iii) As far as possible, the followers of his religion abstained from meat eating.
- (iv) The followers used to worship Sun God and considered the fire sacred.
- (v) The followers of this religion were opposed to child marriage and marriage of old women.
- (vi) The neophyte in the religion used to bow before the Emperor on Sunday and the Emperor used to instruct him and neophyte used to repeat the instruction again

and again.

(vii) Every member used to host a party on his birthday and used to give charity.

(viii) Apart from their own instructions the followers were not to honour any other ritual, place of worship or sacred book.

(ix) Every follower rowed to keep his character high and do good to other.

(x) The followers of this religion used to respect all religions equally.

Propagation of din-i-Ilahi

The number of the adherents of the so-called Divine Faith, Akbar's political sham religion, was never considerable. Blochman has collected from Abul Fazlal and Badayuni the names of eighteen prominent members, Raja Birbal being the only Hindu in the list. The herd of the unnamed and the unrecorded followers probably never numbered many thousands. In order to complete the subject, it may be noted that in September, 1595, Sadr Jahan, the Mufti of the empire, with his two sons, took the Shasi joined the Faith, and was rewarded with a command of 1,000.' At the same time sundry other persons conformed and received commands' ranging from 100 to 500. Father Pinheiro, writing from Lahore on September 3, AD 1595, mentions that in that city the royal sect had many adherents, but all for the sake of the money paid to them. No later contemporary account of the Din-i-Ilahi has been found.

Din-i-Ilahi perished with Akbar's death though Jahangir continued to make disciples after Akbar's fashion. Both Smith and Woolsey Haig have condemned Akbar for promulgating what they have termed a religion of his own. The Divine Faith' says Dr. Smith, was a monument of Akbar's folly and not of his wisdom. Elsewhere he calls it 'a silly invention' Similarly, Blochman and others have been deceived by it. They have mistaken appearance for actually. Following Badayuni, a bigoted and over-strict Muslim, with whom the omission of a single ceremony of Islam amounted to apostasy, and adopting the same line of argument as he, they have inevitably come to the same conclusion. As a profound student of India, as well as Islamic history, Akbar made a direct appeal to the inner most sentiments of his subjects by giving his Sangha a religious character. Neither the aim of the order nor the object of its author can be duly appreciated unless it is regarded as an instrument with which the

master-mind endeavored to consolidate the Mughal empire by eradicating from the minds of the ruled their sense of subordination to the Muslim rulers. The chief motive underlying the promulgation of the Divine Faith was the unification of India. Lanepool justly observes, 'But broad minded 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 before there had been only factions. The wisdom of Akbar assumption devotion from all and sundry by granting them the freedom of worship and the liberty of conscience. Therefore, Akbar gives up such a religious code in essence the political documents – as would commend itself to the whole populations.' According to a Renowned historian S.M. Zaffar, 'The Divine Faith had far-reaching consequences. It completely changed the character of the Muslim rule in India. The Mughal Emperor was no longer regarded as a foreigner, trampling upon the lives and liberties of the sons of the soil and depriving them of their birth-rights. The members of the different Faith had bound themselves by an oath to stand by the emperor in weal and woe to sacrifice the religion, honour, wealth life liberty and all for him'. Prof. R.S. Sharma also supports the same view. According to him, Akbar's aim in propagating this Doctrine was political not religious but Dr. Satish Chandra does not accept the view, he gives certain logic. Firstly, the number of people embracing this religion was very small and even amongst them many were Akbar's personal friends. Secondly, when Akbar propagated this religion (AD 1582) then he had already consolidated his empire. In our view, Akbar was a true national leader. He started Tauhid-i-Ilahi only with a purpose to bring about harmony and peace amongst the various sects. He was the most liberal exponent of the principles of universal toleration. To his open mind there was truth in all faiths, so he did not permit anybody to be persecuted on the score of his religion. Solh-i-Kull (peace with all) was the principle he acted upon. The Hindus, the Christians, the Jains, and the followers of other religion enjoyed full liberty, both of conscience and public worship. Even when he promulgated the new religion of Din-i-Ilahi he never sought converts either by force or coercion. By starting Din-i-Ilahi, he promoted the feeling of cultural unity and humanism to an extent.

3.6 The Mughal Administration

The early death of Sher Shah (AD 1545), and later, the second battle of Panipat (AD 1557), assured Mughal dominance. Their administration, known as the Mansabdar system, was in essence a military one because every official was expected to enroll in the army. Each officer held a mansab, an office of rank as well as of profit, and was obliged to supply the Emperor with a number of troops. He was also required to maintain a given quota horses, elephants and carriages. He was paid either in cash or gifted with a jagir, a tract of land which he did not own, but collected tax on it equivalent to his salary. The jagir was transferable from one Mansabdar to another; the office itself was not hereditary. The Mansabdars were directly recruited by the Emperor and were subjected to his rule.

The Emperor himself was an absolute ruler. Under him, there were several departments of the administration headed by the appointed officials such as the Imperial Household (Khan-i-Saman), the Exchequer (Diwan), Military Pay and Accounts (Mir Bakshi), the Judiciary (Qazi), Religious Endowments (Sadr-us-Sudur), and Censorship of Public Morals (Muhtasib). The Village administration remained as it was traditionally under the headman and his subordinate watchman. In the cities, the police duties were given to the Kotwal, and at the district level there was the Faujdar. The judges followed the Quranic precepts, its previous interpretations (fatwa), and the ordinances of the Emperor (qanun). Justice was speedy and impartial, as it was meted out equally to all, including the officials.

Salient Features

(i) Import of foreign element in administration: The Mughals imported certain foreign elements into their administrative system. They came to India from the Central Asia where they had their own system of administration. In India, they modified the same according to the Indian traditions and setting. Thus, the Mughal administration presented a combination of India and extra-India elements. More correctly, it was a Perso-Arabic system in the Indian setting.

(ii) Administration based on the military system: In its formal configuration, the Mughal government was based on the military system. For instance, every official

of the Mughal government was enrolled in the army list; he was given a mansab as the nominal commander of a certain number of horsemen, and that determined his status and pay. They were also paid by the bakshis or the military paymasters.

(iii) Despotic: Being militaristic in nature, the Mughal administrative system was a centralized despotism. The king had unlimited powers and his word was the law.

(iv) Mixture of religion and politics: A strong blend of religion and politics existed in the system. The king was expected to rule according to the Islamic traditions and obey the commands of the Ulemas. Resultantly, as Jadunath Sarkar observes, a difference existed in the attitude of the emperor towards his Muslim and Hindu subjects. For the Muslims, he undertook socialistic functions but towards his non-Muslim subjects, he followed the policy of minimum interference and thus confined himself to discharging the police and revenue functions.

(v) Paper government: The Mughal government, except, in the actual conduct of campaigns, was a kagazi raj, i.e., paper government. Because of the large territory, slow means of transport and communications and no political initiative left to the people, there was a multiplication of the official correspondence and the growth of massive records.

(vi) Police duties and revenue collection as the major function: As regarding the aims of the state, it contented itself with police duties and revenue collection. The state did not take any initiative in social progress or the economic welfare of the common man. Areas like education, health and promotion of art were largely left to a private initiative. Except for Akbar, the policy of benevolent intervention and paternal guidance was not pursued by the Mughal emperors.

(vii) State as an entrepreneur: The concept of the state as an entrepreneur and the system of public corporations were firmly entrenched. The state maintained many karkhanas (factories) of its own in the principal cities of the empire and produced several commodities.

(viii) Administration of justice and maintenance of peace: A striking feature

characterized the Mughal administration's attitude towards law and order. While the administration of justice and maintenance of peace are considered as essential functions of the modern state, during the Mughal era, however, it was left to the initiative of the local administration. Policing in the vast rural areas was done by the local chaukidars who were maintained by the villagers themselves. No doubt, the faujdar acted as the agent of the government, but the area under him was so large that he could not supervise all the villages.

(ix) 'Parochial' self-government: Though the administration was decentralized into the provincial and the local administrations, it would be more correct to say that the villages and small towns of the Mughal empire enjoyed 'parochial' self-government rather than local autonomy. They had no political freedom as such and were more payers of taxes.

The Emperor

In the Mughal system of governance, the emperor enjoyed real sovereignty which was indivisible and inalienable. Within this realm, he stood supreme as the symbol of unity and a preserver of peace. He actively performed all the major functions of the government. He was the head of the civil and military administrations, responsible for the appointment and removal of all high officials. No farmans could be issued without his seal. The exchequer was also not outside the royal authority and the king determined the expenditure and sources of revenue. He was in no formal way responsible or accountable to the people. But, it may be said to the credit of the most Mughal emperors that they did not abuse the powers vested in them. Actually, they covered their despotism with a thick veil of paternalistic benevolence. There are accounts of the king touring the country extensively to keep a finger on the pulse of the administration. Consequently, the idea of a fixed capital did not possess much attraction for them. They carried their capital with them. It is wrong to think of the emperor's life as one of 'elysian ease'. Akbar, for instance, dealt with all the administrative work in an open darbar called Diwan-i-Aam.

The King's council

Although the emperors had a few important officers to assist them, they, in no way, bear any resemblance to the modern-day council of ministers. These officials invariably included the Wazir and the Diwan/ the rest of the strength of the officials was determined exclusively by the emperor. These officials were mere delegates of the royal polity. Their primary function was to advise the sovereign but this advice was not binding. He heard them but did not always listen to them. They provided no checks on the royal will and, in no sense, were they his colleagues. Sarkar observes that they deserved to be called 'secretaries rather than ministers.' They could never influence his policy except by gentle persuasion and veiled warning. Little wonder, they never resigned if he rejected their counsels.

chief departments of administration

The chief departments of the Mughal administration were:

(i) Exchequer and revenue: The Revenue Department was headed by the Diwan or Wazir.

(ii) Imperial household: The Department of Imperial House-hold was headed by the Khan-i-Sama. All the personal servants of the emperor were under this officer's control and he also supervised the emperor's daily expenditure, food, stores, etc. He enjoyed the trust of the emperor and there are examples of wazirs being appointed from among the Khan-i-Samas.

(iii) Military pay and accounts office: The military pay and accounts office were under the Mir Bakshi. He was the paymaster of the central government. Since all the civil officers were part of the military, their salary also was released by the Mir Bakshi. He assisted the king in the appointment of mansabdars. His other duties included the recruitment of the army, the maintenance of the troops, determining the strength of troops, assisting the king in the conduct of foreign relations, leading the army or a section of it and accompanying the king on tour.

(iv) Canon law, both civil and criminal: The Department of Law had the Qazi as its head. He was responsible for the administration of law in the land and, besides,

was the chief judge in criminal suits which he tried according to the Muslim law.

(v) Religious endowments and charity: The Sadar was the head of the department of religious affairs. He was the guardian of the Islamic law and the spokesman of the Ulema. He made religious grants and it was his duty to see that such grants were applied to the right purpose. He was also a judge in some types of civil cases.

(vi) Censorship of public morals: The Department of Censorship of Public Morals, under the Muhtasib, was the censor of public morals. It regulated the behavior of the people, curbed immorality and punished those who indulged in anti-religious acts.

(vii) The artillery: It was headed by the Mir Atish or Daroga-i-Topkhana.

(viii) Intelligence and posts: It was headed by the Daroga of Dak Chouki.

Personnel Administration

The personnel in the departments mentioned earlier formed the Mughal bureaucracy. They were a heterogeneous group comprising Persians, Afghans, Mughals and a few Hindus. As already mentioned, the personnel administration under the Mughals was military in origin. All civil servants were enrolled in the army list as mansabdars. They were given this designation because each one of them held a mansab or official appointment of rank and profit and was bound, theoretically, to supply a prescribed number of troops for the military service of the state. Under the Mughals, the word mansab was applied only to the higher rank of officials and, although it had a military connotation, it was a myth because no military obligations were always incumbent on a mansabdar. It became merely symbolic that the mansabdar (the holder of the mansab) performed military duties. The mansabdars also formed the official nobility of the country and this system was thus a combination of the army, the peerage and the civil administration – all rolled into one.

The appointment of all mansabdars was entirely in the king's hands. He granted mansabs or ranks to them and dismissed them at his free will. The orders of appointment were issued by the High Diwan. The king remained the source of all administrative authority and, by his powers of appointment and removal, he kept all-embracing control over the administrative

machinery.

Provincial administration

It was Akbar who organized the provincial administration of the country and put it on a sound footing. He divided the empire into twelve divisions, later on increased to fifteen, calling each a subah. The administrative system in the provinces of the Mughal empire was an exact miniature replica of the Central government.

The officer-in-charge of the subah was the subedar, also known as the nazim, in certain provinces. There was no regulation fixing the tenure of this office. The subedar was responsible for the general supervision, economic prosperity, law and order and defence of the province. Besides being responsible for the general administration, he also supervised the administration of justice, helped the Diwan in collecting revenue, maintained the provincial forts and recommended appointments and promotions to important positions in the province. The provincial diwana was second in line, but interestingly, not subordinate to the subedar. Rather, he was the latter's rival in the province. He too was directly appointed by the emperor on the recommendation of the high diwan. He acted directly on the orders of the high diwan, and was in constant correspondence with him. We see here a violation of the principle of the unity of command. By placing the diwan on an equal footing with the subedar, the Mughals created two parallel and mutually independent organizations in the province. They jealously watched each other's activities and reported to the emperor. Though they were supposed to work in close collaboration, the records prove that the two quarrelled violently, leading to frequent transfers of one or the other.

local administration

During the Mughal administration, each subah was divided into a number of units called the sarkars. Each sarkar was subdivided into parganas or mahal. At this level, people came in direct touch with officials. Below the parganas, there were villages called mawdah or dih. In the Mughal terminology, a village included the land surrounding it and, therefore, the boundary of each mawdah was clearly demarcated. In a mawdah, there were smaller hamlets called naglah. Under Shahjahan, his wazir created another unit called the chakla between

sarkar and pargana which included a number of parganas. The sarkar however continued to exist.

A brief mention of the officers at the sarkar may be made. The faujdar was the executive and the military head of a sarkar and, since he was the direct representative of the Mughal government at the local level, he too was appointed by the central government. The faujdar had military, police, judicial and executive authority rolled into one. He had a small army at his disposal to suppress the rebellious zamindars. Besides, he also helped the amir in revenue collection. The amir was responsible for the working of the entire revenue department of the subdivision and functioned under the direct control of the provincial diwan.

Pargana administration

As noted above, each sarkar was divided into parganas. The shigdar was the executive head of a pargana and responsible for the maintenance of law and order as well as criminal justice. He conducted census operations and helped the amir in the collection of land revenue. Below him was the qanungo, who dealt primarily with the survey, assessment and collection of the revenue. The qanungo was the head of the patwaris of a pargana.

Village administration

Village Administration, during the Mughal period, was in the hand of the village panchayat. The organization of the village life and the observation of the accepted codes of conduct were maintained through the village panchayat which acted as a social development agency, catering to the welfare of the people. It was also a judicial agency for disposing of cases involving disputes among the villagers. However, an appeal against the decision of the panchayats could be taken to the higher authorities of the government.

Administration of law and order

The king and his wakil or the prime minister was primarily responsible for this task. At the provincial level, there was the faujdar whose duties have been described above. Below him was the kotwal who appointed a headman for each mohalla (ward) to look after the reports about the law and order situation. However, Sarkar points out that the state almost neglected the law and order situation in the villages except when there was a violent crime. The policing

of the vast rural areas was left to the locality. It was done by the local chaukidars who were servants of the village community and were maintained by the villagers themselves out of the village community or through a share of the crops. They were not considered officers paid or supervised by the state. It is noteworthy that, instead of the Mughal government undertaking the responsibility for rural peace and security, it made the villagers responsible for the safety of their own property and that of the travellers in the neighbouring roads.

Revenue administration

The revenue administration under the Mughal rule was under the wazir. The nomenclature of the diwan and the wazir was used interchangeably by the various Mughal emperors. For instance, Akbar preferred the designation diwan while Jahangir reversed it to wazir. All diwans were however not wazirs and we read of no Hindu diwan being given the high title of wazir. In both the cases, in administration, the diwan or wazir was the alter ego of the emperor. However, Akbar did not like the idea of the diwan becoming all powerful and he kept rotating this office amongst his ministers. When the king was incompetent, a pleasure-seeker or a minor, the wazir assumed the charge of the army also. During Akbar's time, he had Diwan-i-Tan (diwan of salaries) and the Diwana-i-Khalsa (diwan of crownlands) to assist him. By the end of Jahangir's era the number of such assistants of the emperor went up to four. Thus, besides the earlier two, there were mushriff (chief accountant) and mustanfi (chief auditor) who collectively acted as controllers of financial affairs.

The wazir's office received all the revenue papers and returns despatches from the provinces and field armies. All orders for the payment except for the small sums had to be signed by the diwan and the actual payments were made through his department only. All questions connected with the collection of revenue were decided by the diwan who functioned under the control or guidance of the emperor.

The ryatwari system

The Ryatwari system of land revenue launched in AD 1582 by Raja Todar Mall (a Hindu), who was appointed by Akbar as the Diwan-i-Ashraf, is noteworthy. Land was surveyed and measured carefully, and was classified into four categories based on the frequency of

cultivation and productivity, each with an annual fixed rate of revenue. Only the area that was cultivated was assessed, and the state took a third of the actual produce. The actual cultivator of the land was responsible for the payment of tax. For purposes of the revenue administration, the empire was divided into several subahs, with each subah subdivided into sarkars, and each sarkar into paraganas. A paragana consisted of several villages. There were several revenue officials appointed such as the Amalguzar (revenue collector), and the Potdar (treasurer) both at the district level, and the Muqqaddam (headman), and the Patwari (recorder) at the village level. Interestingly, the village officials did not function as servants of the State, but of the local community.

3.7 sUMMARY

After the invasion of Muhammad Ghori and the calamitous episode of Timur's invasion, India had not been invaded from any force or army beyond her frontiers. The reason for this respite was that the great Khwarizmi, an empire from the Central Asia to the valleys of Kabul, Herat and Kandahar was in utter confusion. The seat of dynastic power in the Central Asia was shifted to Samarquand. Zahiruddin Muhammad Babur was the son of Umar Sheikh Mirza, a descendent of the famous invader Taimur Lane. His mother Qutulug Nigar Khanam belonged to the family of Chingiz Khan, the well known Mongol invader. Some of the historians hold the opinion that Babur had been invited to attack the Delhi Sultanate by Daulat Khan Lodhi and Rana Sanga. According to them, in AD 1524 Babur had received an embassy from Daulat Khan Lodhi, led by his son Dilawar Khan. They invited Babur to invade India and suggested that he should displace Ibrahim Lodhi since he was a tyrant and enjoyed no support from his courtiers and nobles. In November, AD 1525, Babur attacked India with 12000 soldiers. When he reached at Peshawar he got the news that Daulat Khan Lodhi had changed the side. He had collected an army of 30000-40000 soldiers and ousted the Amirs of Babur from Sialkot and reached up to Lahore. Therefore, first of all Babur paid his heed towards Daulat Khan Lodhi. At Babur's approach, the army of Daulat Khan melted away. Daulat Khan submitted and was pardoned. Thus, within three weeks of crossing the Indus, Babur became the master of the Punjab. The armies of Babur and Sanga met at Khanwa on

March 10, AD 1527. Babur arranged his army almost in the same fashion as he had done in Panipat. Humayun was born at Kabul on 6 March, AD 1508. He was the eldest son of Babur. His mother was Mahim Begum and Kamran, Askari and Hindal were his brothers. Proper arrangements were made for his education. He had a good knowledge of Arabic, Persian and Turkish. Humayun besieged the fort of Kalinjar in AD 1531. The Raja of Kalinjar was in favour of the Afghans. The attitude of Bahadur Shah of Gujarat was hostile towards Humayun from the very beginning. He had sheltered Humayun's enemies, especially some of the Lodhi Princes, and encouraged a pretender to the throne, namely, Mehdi Khwaja, a brother-in-law of Humayun. After the loss of Gujarat in AD 1536, Humayun stayed in Agra for a year. Although he got the information that Sher Khan was strengthening his position in Bengal and Bihar, he did nothing to move against him. Sher Khan had already made himself the master of the whole of Bihar. Humayun divided his empire amongst his brothers according to the wish of Babur. Sambhal was given to Askari, Alwar and Mewar were given to Hindal. The cession of Kabul and Punjab to the hostile Kamran cut Humayun off from the main recruiting ground of his army and sapped the very foundation of his power which was based on military force. Sher Shah Suri belongs to those great men in history who achieved greatness through their rising from a very ordinary position. The dynasty founded by him is known as the Sur dynasty. He was born in AD 1472 to the wife of Hassan Sur in Badwara (Hoshiarpur). Hassan was an employee of the governor of Punjab, Jamal Khan. But after sometime, in the reign of Sikandar Lodhi, Jamal Khan was appointed the Governor of Janupur. Sher Shah kept a strong army for defense of his vast empire. He knew very well the importance of the local army. Sher Shah put an end to the practice of supplying a fixed number of soldiers to the state by the chieftains and started direct recruitment of the soldiers and fixed their pay according to their ability. Sher Shah paid great attention towards the land revenue system and the land administration. Sher Shah was well acquainted with every level of the land revenue system having managed for many years the jagir of Sahasram of his father Hassan and then having worked as guardian of Jalal Khan, the ruler of Bihar. On the 19th February, AD 1556, Akbar was declared the Emperor at Kalanaur when he was just thirteen years of age. At that time he

was virtually a ruler without a kingdom. Akbar's policy towards the non-Muslims was one of toleration. He soon abandoned the rigid, cruel and a hostile policy followed by the Delhi Sultans and the later Mughal Emperors towards the Hindus. The early death of Sher Shah (AD 1545), and later, the second battle of Panipat (AD 1557), assured Mughal dominance.

3.8 gLOssary/chrONOIogy OF EvENTs

1451-1526 Bahlul Lodi (1451-89), Sikandar Lodi (1489 -1517), and Ibrahim Lodi (1517-26), who was defeated by Babur in the first battle of Panipat.

1519-26 Babur's seven raids on Hindustan. (Babur himself states that he raided India five times).

1526 Babur defeats Sultan Ibrahim Lodi at the battle of Panipat Ibrahim Lodi killed in the battle. Foundation of the Mughal empire in India.

1509-28 Rana Sanga, the greatest ruler of the house of Mewar. His defeat at the hands of Babur in the battle of Khanua-1527.

1527-97 Maharana Pratap.

Unit-3.indd 168 4/25/2011 11:25:56 AM Mughal Empire—

First Phase

169

3.9 sEIF assEssMENT QUEsTIONs

a) Multiple choice Questions (McQs)

1. Babur swept down to the plains of India in 1517 and 1519 and came to the Punjab in _____ at the invitation of Daulat Khan Lodi, the governor of the province and Alam Khan, an uncle of Sultan Ibrahim.

- a) 1533
- b) 1523
- c) 1522
- d) 1519

2. Khandesh, one of provinces of Delhi Kingdom had become independent at the close of the _____.

- a) 12th century
- b) 15th century
- c) 14th century
- d) 13th century

3. The battle of Khanwa was fought between Rana Sangram Singh of Mewar (popularly known as Rana Sanga) and the founder of Mughal dynasty, Babur, in _____ at a place Khanwa, about forty kilometers away from Agra.

- a) AD 1627
- b) AD 1537
- c) AD 1727
- d) AD 1527

B) True or False

4. Zahiruddin Muhammad Babur was the son of Umar Sheikh Mirza. (T/F)

5. Mewar was the weakest Rajput Kingdom under the leadership of Rana Sanga who had united all the Rajputs under a single flag in a federation. (T/F)

c) short answer Questions

- 6. Write a brief note on Babur's invasion of India.
- 7. What were the political conditions of India on the eve of Babur's invasion?
- 8. Write a brief note on the first battle of Panipat.
- 9. Write a brief note on the Battle of Khanwa.
- 10. Write a brief note on Humayun's war against Bahadur Shah of Gujarat.
- 11. Write a brief note on the administrative system of Sher Shah Suri.

Unit-3.indd 169 4/25/2011 11:25:56 AM Mughal Empire—

First Phase

170

d) descriptive Type Questions

12. Who established the Mughal empire in India? What were the causes that inspired Babur to invade India?

13. What were the causes of failure of Ibrahim Lodhi?
14. Discuss in detail Humayun's early difficulties and the causes of his failure.
15. Discuss the efforts of Akbar for expansion and consolidation of the Mughal empire.

3.10 sUggEsTEd rEadINgs

1. Habib, Irfan, An Atlas of the Mughal Empire, 1982.
2. Hurlimann, M., Delhi, Agra and Fatehpur Sikri, 1963.
3. Habibullah, A.B.M., The Foundation of Muslim Rule in India, 1961.
4. Husain, Y., Glimpses of Medieval Indian Culture, 1957.
5. Moreland, W.H., India at the Death of Akbar, 1920.
6. Nizami, K.A., Studies in Medieval Indian History and Culture, 1966.
7. Ojha, P.N., Some Aspects of North Indian Social Life, 1556-1707, 1961.
8. Rashid, A., Society and Culture in Medieval India, 1969.
9. Saletore, B.A., Social and Political Life in the Vijayanagar Empire, 1934.
10. Saran, P., Studies in Medieval Indian History, 1952.
11. Shejwalkar, T.S., Panipat, 1961.
12. Sherwani, H.K., The Bahmanis of the Deccan, 1953.
13. Siddiqi, J.H., History of Sher Shah Suri, 1971.
14. Smith, V.A., Akbar, the Great Mogul, 1958.
15. Spear, T.G.P., Twilight of the Mughals, 1951.