Chapter Eight

The Sharqi Kingdom of Jaunpur

Foundation of Jaunpur

In 760/1358-59 Firuz Shah set out against Sultan Sikandar of Bengal. When he reached Zafarabad, monsoon had set in; further advance had become impossible and he was obliged to stay there for about six months. One day he found that on the other side of the river Gumti there were some buildings, which a displaced prince of the Gaharwar clan of Ratgarh had built. It was a site extremely pleasing to the eye and Firuz decided to build a new city there. In 1359 the foundations of the new city were laid and it was named Firuzabad. But the city was not destined to bear that name. One night Firuz saw Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq in a dream, probably suggesting that the city be named after him, and Firuz gave it the name Jaunpur. Thus Jaunpur, which became the seat of a great ruling house, was founded. It would, however, be too much to conclude that passing moods alone determined Firuz’s decision to found a new city at the place. Geopolitical considerations also determined his choice; it was an excellent place, which could serve as a point d’appui for his military operations in Bengal and Orissa.

Firuz Shah took a keen interest in the construction of the new city. When he returned from Bengal in the following year, he halted at the new city which had by now been fairly developed. There were a few government houses, houses for supervising construction work as well as military barracks, etc. for organizing an expedition against Orissa. After his arrival at Delhi, Firuz sent some nobles to Jaunpur and granted iqṭas to them in the vicinity. Soon after its foundation, Jaunpur became the administrative headquarters of the district, and Zafarabad gradually lost its importance.

Malik Sarwar Sultanus Sharq (1394-99)

The Sharqi kingdom of Jaunpur was founded by Malik Sarwar, a eunuch (khwaja sera) in the service of Sultan Firuz Shah Tughluq.

1 On the right bank of the Gumti.
2 Alif, 148-49.
3 Ibid., 148-49.
Details about his early life are not available in contemporary records. Afiq refers to him as the custodian of the royal jewellery; Muhammad Behamid Khani says he was shahna-i shahr under Firuz Shah. But these stray references are not helpful in fixing his exact position and status in the administration of Firuz Shah. But the way in which he played a leading role in the succession struggles, that followed the death of Firuz Shah, shows that he was in a strategic position to play a fairly important part in the political movements of the time.

Malik Sarwar continued to occupy the post of shahna-i shahr till the reign of Sultan Abu Bakr Shah. But his sympathies seem to have been with Muhammad Shah, Firuz's younger son, to whom Firuz had handed over the charge of the entire administration during his own lifetime with the title of Sultan. But under the pressure of his slaves, who disliked Muhammad Shah, Firuz Shah had deprived him of this honour and appointed his grandson, Tughluq Shah II, in his place. However, Muhammad Shah continued to manoeuvre for the throne; and when he started for a second time to try conclusions with Abu Bakr Shah, Malik Sarwar gathered together an army of fifty thousand, won over some nobles and provincial governors and joined Sultan Muhammad Shah at Jalesar. Muhammad Shah was so pleased with him that he conferred upon him the title of Khwaja-i Jahan and appointed him wazir. But the second march of Muhammad Shah on Delhi also failed (791/1389); he was defeated at the battle of Kundli and had to return to Jalesar with Malik Sarwar.

Frustrated and disappointed, Sultan Muhammad Shah thought of seeking the help of Timur. He entrusted the eastern districts to Malik Sarwar, conferred the title of Sultanus Sharq on him and left Prince Humayun under his tutorship. But he had hardly set out for Samarqand when developments at Delhi attracted his attention; on receipt of a message from the Delhi amirs, he took the road to the great capital and ascended the throne on 19 Ramazan 792/31 August 1390. Since the invitation had come from Mir Hajiib Sultani, Muhammad Shah appointed him wazir and conferred upon him the title of Islam Khan. Malik Sarwar was made his naib; this must have been

4 Ibid., 148-49.
5 Tarikh-i Muhammadi, Rotograph, f. 410b.
6 Tarikh-i Mubarak Shahi, 146.
7 Ibid., 138-39.
8 Tabaqat-i Akbari, I, 238.
9 Tarikh-i Muhammadi, f. 421, 422; Tarikh-i Mubarak Shahi, 146.
10 Tarikh-i Mubarak Shahi, 146; Tarikh-i Muhammadi, f. 421b.
11 Probably modern Kundla in the Saharanpur district.
12 Tarikh-i Muhammadi, f. 422a.
13 Tarikh-i Mubarak Shahi, 150.
a very uncomfortable position for Malik Sarwar, though he seems to have accepted it with temporary satisfaction.

Muhammad Shah was at Jalsar, building a fort under the name of Muhammadabad, when he received a report from Malik Sarwar that Islam Khan was conspiring against him and intended to proceed to Multan.\textsuperscript{14} Muhammad Shah rushed to Delhi, and without obtaining sufficient evidence against Islam Khan, executed him and rewarded Malik Sarwar by appointing him wazir (1392).\textsuperscript{15} It was in this manner that Malik Sarwar not only removed an inconvenient person from his own path but also got the post of wazir, which he held till the death of Sultan Muhammad Shah. When Humayun Khan ascended the throne under the title of Sultan Alauddin Sikandar Shah (22 January 1394), he recognized the ability of Malik Sarwar and entrusted to him the entire administration of the rapidly declining empire.\textsuperscript{16} When Sultan Sikandar died and the amirs and provincial governors refused to accept the accession of Mahmud, the youngest son of Sultan Muhammad, Malik Sarwar used his tact and diplomatic gifts in making matters smooth for him. It was in fact Sarwar’s support which enabled Mahmud to ascend the throne on 20 Jamadi I 796/23 March 1394, after a struggle of fifteen days. In recognition of his meritorious services, Malik Sarwar was confirmed in the post of wazir.

Soon afterwards Jaunpur and the region adjoining it showed signs of tumult, and Sultan Mahmud selected Malik Sarwar for setting right the affairs of the eastern districts. He was appointed governor of Jaunpur in Rajab 796/May 1394, and the title of Sultanus Sharq, which had been originally given to him by Sultan Muhammad, was confirmed by Sultan Mahmud.\textsuperscript{17}

Malik Sarwar put his adopted son, Malik Mubarak, in charge of all affairs at Delhi and honoured him by calling him Malikus Sharq. He then marched to Jaunpur to deal with the recalcitrant elements. He crushed the rebels of Dalmau (in the Rae Bareli district), Etawah, Sandila (in Bara Banki district), Kanauj, and Bahraich, and then proceeded towards Bihar and Tirhut. Maharaj Har Raj and Maharaj Kumar Gajraj of south Bihar, whose continuous activities had been disturbing the peace of the whole area, were defeated and killed at the battle of Ghaughat. Maharaj Kumar Gajraj and Deva Raj fled away when they heard about the forces of Malik Sarwar. Malik Sarwar’s strong and energetic measures restored law and order in an

\textsuperscript{14} Ibid., 152-53.
\textsuperscript{15} Ibid., 153.
\textsuperscript{16} Ibid., 155.
\textsuperscript{17} Tarikh-i Muhammadi, ff. 422-28; 450-51.
area which had long been a centre of lawless activities, contumacy and strife.

Malik Sarwar then returned to Jaunpur and sent his adopted son, Malik Mubarak, from Jaunpur with instructions to deal with the recalcitrant Rai of Jajnagar. Mubarak successfully accomplished the task assigned to him and suppressed the Rai.

Events in Delhi were moving against Sultan Mahmud. Mallu Iqbal Khan was at the helm of affairs, and the Sultan was virtually under his dictation. Later, Timur's invasion paralysed Mahmud and he fled from Delhi to find shelter with Zafar Khan of Gujarat. Then he moved to Dilawar Khan of Malwa. This gave an opportunity to Malik Sarwar; he declared his independence in Jaunpur, struck his coins and recited the Khutba in his own name.

Taking advantage of the disturbed condition of the country, Malik Sarwar started extending his territory. He conquered Koil (modern Aligarh), Sambhal (in Moradabad) and Rapri (in Mainpuri district). After a careful analysis of all available sources, Dr. M. M. Sayeed makes the following observation about the extent of his jurisdiction:

'All our sources agree that his boundary in the north started from Koil, including all the rich districts of what is today known as Uttar Pradesh, and stretched north-east to the district of Tirhut in North Bihar, and touched the boundary of Nepal and the Himalayan tarai. On the west side, not only was the area with Kanauj as its centre, including the adjacent territory, under him, but also the city of Bhojpur, the capital of Maharaj Har Raj and Maharaj Kumar Gajraj, and the territory up to the boundary of Ujjain. In other words, in addition to UP the territories of Baghel Khand and Bundel Khand, 'including the Bhopal state, were also included in his kingdom. The whole territory of North and South Bihar was also included, and the rais of Jajnagar and the rulers of Bengal were his feudatories.'

Had circumstances favoured, the Sharqis would have established their hold over Delhi also.

Malik Sarwar died suddenly in Rabi I 802/November 1399, after a brief reign of five years and six months.

Malik Sarwar represented in his person the tact and efficiency of the great officers of the Tughluq sultans. His administrative talents coupled with his grim political realism and military efficiency immensely raised his stature. His established law and order in areas

18 The Sultmate of Jaunpur, thesis approved for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy by the London University (Typescript).
19 Tarikh-i Mubarak Shahi, 159.
which were seething with discontent and brought the recalcitrant zamindars under submission. With him also begins that period of Jaunpur's glory, which has aptly been praised by many writers. He enlarged the city of Jaunpur, constructed new buildings and renovated and repaired the old ones. He gave to Jaunpur the title of Darus Surur, and made it a centre of culture, where men of letters and poets, scholars and saints assembled and shed lustre on the capital.

**Mubarak Shah Sharqi (1399-1401)**

After the death of Malik Sarwar, his adopted son, Malik Mubarak Qaranfal, was raised to the throne by the amirs and the maliks. According to Yahya Sirhindi, he was a nephew or cousin of Khizr Khan, the founder of the Saiyyid dynasty, but this statement contradicts the opinion of those scholars who ascribe a Negroid origin to Mubarak.

Little is known about the early life of Mubarak Shah, but soon after his accession, he had to face an invasion from Delhi. Mallu Iqbal Khan, having overthrown Nusrat Shah, turned his attention to Jaunpur. In Jamadi I 803/January-February 1400 Mallu started for Jaunpur. When he reached the banks of the Ab-i Siyah (i.e. Kali Nadi), near Patiali, the zamindars of the territory challenged and opposed him, but they were defeated and chased up to Etawah. Mallu Iqbal then approached Kanauj and encamped on the bank of the river Ganges. Mubarak proved equal to the occasion; he dashed ahead with a large army consisting of Rajputs, Afghans, Mughals and Tajiks to prevent the advance of Mallu Iqbal and encamped on the other side of the Ganges. For two months the armies of Delhi and Jaunpur remained encamped on the opposite banks of the Ganges, but ultimately both of them gave up the campaign.

Soon afterwards Sultan Mahmud Shah Tughluq returned to Delhi from Gujarat and Malwa, and along with Mallu Iqbal Khan he organized a campaign against Mubarak Shah. The Sharqi Sultan marched out to face the invaders but died suddenly on the way.

**Ibrahim Shah Sharqi (1401-40)**

Sultan Ibrahim, who succeeded Mubarak Sharqi on the throne of Jaunpur, was his younger brother. Numismatic evidence shows that he ascended the throne sometime in 803/1400-1.

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20 Ibid., 181-82.
21 Cambridge History of India, III, 259.
22 Tabaqat-i Akbari, III, 274.
23 S. Lane-Poole, Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum (The Muhammadan States), 94.
Within the year of his accession Ibrahim had to face the joint attack of Mallu Iqbal and Sultan Mahmud Shah. Both armies met near Kanauj and for a few days only skirmishes took place between them. Sultan Mahmud, being suspicious of the character and loyalty of Mallu Iqbal, secretly met Sultan Ibrahim but the latter treated him with contempt. Sultan Mahmud then marched towards Kanauj, turned out its Sharqi governor, Shahzada Fath Khan Harvi, from the place and occupied the city. Mallu Iqbal found his position weak and returned to Delhi.

Sultan Mahmud Shah consolidated his position at Kanauj, where his occupation was generally welcomed by the people. Mallu Iqbal's attempt to overthrow him in 807/1404-5 failed, and Sultan Mahmud emerged all the more powerful from the contest. Sultan Ibrahim also made a bid to drive him away from Kanauj and besieged the fort. But he too failed and was obliged to make peace with Mahmud Tughluq.24

The territory comprising the districts of Darbhanga, Muzaffarpur, Champaran and a strip of Nepal terrain, known as Tirhut, was under a Hindu ruler, who used to send regular tribute to Jaunpur from the days of Malik Sarvar, who had subdued Rai Ganesvara in 1394. In 1402 Ganesvara was killed by Malik Arsalan and the territory was occupied by him. Kirti Singh, the son and successor of Ganesvara, sought the help of Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi. The Sharqi Sultan promptly responded and his army overthrew Malik Arsalan and killed him. Kirti Singh's accession, in which Sultan Ibrahim also participated, has been graphically described by Vidyapati Thakura in his Kirti Lata.25 Kirti Singh was succeeded by Shiv Singh, who seems to have broken his good relations with the Sharqi ruler. When Ibrahim was marching against Raja Ganesh (of Bengal), the activities of Shiv Singh forced him to attack and capture Tirhut, which thenceforward remained a vassal of the Sharqi kingdom.

Ibrahim Shah Conquers Kanauj

After the death of Mallu Iqbal Khan in November 1405, Sultan Mahmud left for Delhi at the invitation of the Delhi maliks and put Kanauj in charge of Malik Mahmud Tarmati. Sultan Ibrahim had not reconciled himself to the loss of Kanauj. This was an ideal opportunity for him, and in Jamadi I 809/October-November 1406 he marched against Kanauj. Sultan Mahmud advanced to defend it from Delhi. The two armies encamped on the two sides of the Ganges and

24 Tarikh-i Muhammadi, 434b.
retreated without achieving anything. But Ibrahim's retreat had been deceptive. As soon as Mahmud reached Delhi and the contingents of his iqtadars had returned to their own territories, Ibrahim hastened to Kanauj and besieged the fort. Malik Mahmud Tarmati stood a siege for four months but then surrendered. Ibrahim appointed Ikhtiyar Khan as governor and garrisoned the fort. Ibrahim’s conquest of Kanauj considerably enhanced his prestige and emboldened him to attempt greater objectives.

In Jamadi I 810/October 1407 Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi marched against Delhi. Some nobles of Sultan Mahmud, like Tatar Khan (son of Sarang Khan), Nusrat Khan, etc., deserted their master and joined Ibrahim. Sambhal and Baran were conquered on the way and assigned to Tatar Khan and Malik Marhaba respectively. But when the victorious army of Ibrahim had reached the banks of the Jumna, he heard about the march of Sultan Muzaffar of Gujarat against Jaunpur. Ibrahim Shah beat a hasty retreat and returned to Jaunpur, while Sultan Mahmud immediately moved forward to recover his lost possessions, Sambhal and Baran. Malik Marhaba committed suicide; Tatar Khan fled to Kanauj.

Kingdom of Kalpi

In the ravines of the Jumna, twenty-two miles from the town of Jalaun, there had sprung up the new but small state (masnad) of Kalpi. Hemmed in on all sides by the kingdoms of Delhi, Jaunpur and Malwa, Kalpi led a very precarious existence for the neighbouring kingdoms were anxious to grab it.

In 1411 Qadir Shah (1411-32), the ruler of Kalpi, attacked Bhongaon and plundered the territory around it. Ibrahim watched these activities with concern, and in April 1414 decided to attack Kalpi. Qadir Khan had been unpopular with the people and this seemed to strengthen the position of Ibrahim; nevertheless, Ibrahim Shah gave up the siege and returned to Jaunpur. But this was only a feigned retreat. He appeared again and captured Mahoba and Ruth and assigned them to Jalal Khan, son of Da’ud Khan, brother of Zahiruddin. Shahpur fell next, and then the Sharqi forces marched towards Iraj under the command of Malikus Sharq Maqbul. Muhammad Behamid Khani, the author of Tarikh-i Muhammadi, was governor of Iraj at this time. Iraj was conquered and assigned to Jafar, son of Da’ud. Ibrahim then joined Maqbul and marched towards the fort of Shaikhpur, where Qadir Khan challenged him. Ibrahim used naphtha engines and catapults and played havoc among the garrison of the

26 Tarikh-i Mubarak Shahi, 175.
fort. The garrison appealed to Ibrahim's mercy, and when Qadir accepted the suzerainty of Ibrahim, he was allowed to rule over Kalpi. Qadir Khan, however, gave up his allegiance and strove to regain his lost position. He sent Daulat Khan (son of Junaid Khan) to recapture Iraj from the Sharqi governor, Jafar. Jafar put up a strong defence, but a couple of years later Jafar was murdered and Iraj was conquered by the Kalpi ruler, whose capital was Mahmudabad.27

Campaign Against Ganesh of Bengal

In 1414 Ibrahim Sharqi was invited by Shaikh Nur Qutb-i Alam, a distinguished Chishti saint who resided at Pandua and exercised great influence over the people. Raja Ganesh of Dinajpur had at this time established himself in Bengal and was oppressing the Muslims. The two Muslim rulers, Saiyuddin Hamza Shah and Shamsuddin, were completely under his control. Shaikh Nur Qutb-i Alam wrote to Saiyyid Ashraf Jahangir Sammani of Kuchchocha to persuade Ibrahim to march against Ganesh. Ibrahim moved out with a strong army and in the way captured Tirhut and chastised Raja Shiv Singh. Ganesh became nervous and approached Shaikh Nur Qutb-i Alam to intercede and secure peace for him. The saint agreed to his request, provided his younger son accepted Islam and Ganesh made a definite commitment not to harass the Muslims. It was Ganesh's son Jadu, who later ascended the throne as Jalaluddin. Ibrahim returned to Jaunpur.

Qadir Shah's harsh and cruel treatment of his people created dissatisfaction and encouraged Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi to march against Mahmudabad in 831/1427. Qadir Shah sought the help of the Sultan of Delhi, Mubarak Shah, but at that time Mubarak was busy organizing a campaign against Muhammad Khan, the governor of Bayana. But Muhammad Khan left for Jaunpur to seek the help of Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi, and while Mubarak Shah was on his way, he heard about the march of the Sharqi ruler against him. According to Yahya Sirhindi, Mubarak postponed his campaign against Bayana and proceeded to deal with Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi, whose forces had already occupied Bhongaon and were moving towards Badaun. An army was sent under Mukhtas Khan to attack the army of Delhi. Mubarak Shah crossed the Jumna and attacked Atrauli; Malikus Sharq Mahmud Husain was sent to oppose Mukhtas Khan. Mukhtas, however, did not find his position strong enough and came back and joined Ibrahim.

Sultan Ibrahim reached Burhanabad, near Etawah. Sultan Mubarak's army also advanced and a battle took place in Jamadi I 831/

27 Tarikh-i Muhammadi, f.452.
February-March 1427 near Mali Kotah. Ibrahim found his position weak and left for Rapri. Mubarak pursued him and at Chandwara skirmishes started between the two armies. Both armies suffered heavy losses without any result. Ibrahim returned to Jaunpur and Mubarak came back to Delhi.

Qadir Shah, ruler of Kalpi, died in 1432. The nobles ignored his eldest son, Zaghir Khan Azam Humayun, and placed his second son, Jalal Khan, on the throne. Zaghir turned to Ibrahim for help. Ibrahim received him well and gave him the title of Khan-i Jahan.

Jalal, however, alienated both the amirs and the people; he was imprisoned and sent to Chanderi, which his uncle, Sultan Hoshang Shah of Malwa, had assigned to him as a jagir. The nobles then placed Firuz Khan on the throne of Kalpi.

Sultan Ibrahim now made up his mind to throw about his weight in favour of Zaghir Khan and besieged the city of Mahmudabad. When Hoshang Shah came to know of these developments, he marched towards Mahmudabad. Ibrahim Sharqi raised the siege. Hoshang placed Jalal Khan on the throne and returned to Malwa.28

Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi, eager to do something for Zaghir, gave to him the fort of Shahpur, which some time back he had captured from the ruler of Kalpi.

Jalal Khan failed to win the loyalty and co-operation of his nobles, who were disgusted at his repressive measures. Some of them went over to Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi and sought his help. But at this juncture Hoshang Shah of Malwa again came to the help of Jalal Khan and attacked the Sharqi army. Nothing, however, came out of the battle; and both sides being tired of it, Hoshang left for Malwa and Ibrahim for Jaunpur. But the nobles of the court of Kalpi, who had been living as refugees under the Sharqi ruler, prevailed upon Ibrahim to attack the city of Mahmudabad again. This time matters went against Jalal Khan, who fled away towards Bhandir. Ibrahim occupied Mahmudabad and entrusted it to Zaghir Khan.29

Muhammad Behamid Khani has referred to Ibrahim's invasion of Bengal in 839/1435, but no details are supplied by him except the fact that the Sharqi Sultan besieged the Ikdala fort.30

In 1437 Ibrahim Sharqi marched against Muhammad Shah of Delhi. The authors of the Rauzaat Tahirin and the Jaunpur Namah refer to this campaign, which has been either ignored or casually treated by other chroniclers. Ibrahim laid siege to the city of Delhi and captured some parganas in the neighbourhood. Sultan Muham-

28 Ibid., f. 456-57.
29 Ibid., f. 458-59.
30 Ibid., f. 427.
mad found his position weak and sued for peace. A matrimonial alliance was also arranged and Ibrahim’s son, Mahmud Khan, married Sultan Muhammad Shah’s daughter, Bibi Raji.

The date of Sultan Ibrahim’s death is controversial. Muhammad Behamid Khani says that he ruled for a period of forty years. This means that his death occurred in 844/1440. This is confirmed to some extent by numismatic evidence. The latest coins of his reign so far discovered belong to the year 844/1440.

MAHMUD SHAH SHARQI (1440-57)

Mahmud Khan, the eldest son of Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi, ascended the throne in 844/1440 with the title Sultan Mahmud Shah.

Within a couple of years after his accession he organized an attack on Bengal. Our earliest authority for this invasion is Abdur Razzaq, author of the Matla’us Sa’dain. According to him the ruler of Bengal, Sultan Shamsuddin, found his position weak and appealed to Shah Rukh of Herat for help. Shah Rukh sent a message through Shaikhul Islam Karimuddin Abul Mukarram Jami exhorting the Sharqi Sultan to refrain from attacking Bengal. In case the ruler paid no heed to this request, he was threatened with an invasion of his own kingdom. The message had the desired effect and Sultan Mahmud gave up the contemplated invasion. The reasons for the invasion of Bengal contemplated by Mahmud Sharqi are not given; also it would have been impossible for Shah Rukh to attack Jaunpur.

Conflict with Kalpi

In 847/1443 Sultan Mahmud Sharqi heard about the devastation wrought by Nasir Khan (son of Qadir Khan) of Kalpi in Shahpur. Since Nasir Khan had an alliance with Sultan Mahmud Khalji of Malwa, the Sharqi Sultan reported the matter to him and complained about the activities of Nasir Khan. The ruler of Malwa honoured the messenger of the Sharqi ruler, concurred with his approach in the matter but politely refused to send his army as ‘it was busy punishing the rebels of Mewat’. Thus satisfied that the ruler of Malwa would not come to the help of Nasir Khan and in reciprocation of his gesture of good will, Sultan Mahmud Sharqi sent 29 elephants as a present to him.

Ibid., f. 427a.
32 S. Lane-Poole, Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum (The Muhammadan States), London, 1885.
33 Matla’us Sa’dain, edited by M. Shafi, Lahore, 1942, II, 782-83.
34 Details are supplied by Nizamuddin (Tabaqat-i Akbari, III, 279 et seq), Rizqullah Mustaqa (Waqiat f. 229-230), Firishta (II, 596) and Nurul Haqq (Zubdatul Tawarikh, f. 374 et seq).
Unable to put up any defence against the Sharqi forces, Nasir Khan abandoned Mahmudabad and fled to Chanderi, made an appeal to the mercy of the ruler of Malwa and professed to be a vassal of his kingdom. The Khalji ruler of Malwa sent a message to the Sharqi Sultan to restore the displaced prince as he had promised to behave well. Matters began to move quickly, and the appeals of Nasir Khan ultimately obliged the Khalji Sultan to march towards Mahmudabad at the head of a huge army on 3 Shaban 848/8 January 1444. Mahmud Shah Sharqi marched to deal with him; the jagirdar of Iraj, Mubarak Khan, joined Mahmud Sharqi.

On the banks of the Jumna an indecisive battle was fought, which was followed by another encounter between the rival forces near the village of Ruth, in which the Sharqis suffered a defeat. A third encounter took place in the same vicinity and resulted in enormous losses to both sides. The Sharqi Sultan sought the intercession of Shaikhul Islam Shaikh Jailadah, who was held in high esteem by Mahmud Khalji also, to bring hostilities to an end; he also sent a verbal message to Nasir Khan offering to deliver Ruth immediately and the town of Iraj along with all other territories of Kalpi, which had come under the control of the Sharqis, four months after the departure of the Khalji Sultan. Nasir Khan was agreeable to the offer but the Khalji ruler insisted on the immediate surrender of Kalpi. But ultimately the Khalji ruler also consented to this arrangement and returned to Malwa.

Mahmud Sharqi was soon afterwards called upon to deal with the recalcitrant elements of Chunar. He suppressed the rebels with an iron hand and ravaged the territory to strike awe and terror into the hearts of the people. He garrisoned the area and returned to the capital.35

Relations with Delhi

Sultan Mahmud Sharqi was keenly interested in Delhi affairs and politics for the ruler of Delhi, Alauddin Alam Shah (1445-78), was his wife’s brother. The ambitious manipulations of the Delhi nobles had reduced Alauddin to a mere symbol. Hamid Khan had obtained virtual control of the capital and Alauddin had to seek shelter in Badaun. Ultimately Alauddin invited Bahlul Lodi from Sirhind and Bahlul assumed the royal authority. Mahmud Sharqi’s wife prevailed upon her husband to attack Delhi to dislodge Bahlul. Some of the nobles of Sultan Alauddin also came to Jaunpur and persuaded him to attack Delhi.36

35 Tabaqat-i Akbari, III, 289; Ferishta, II, 598.
36 Rauzatul Tuhirin, f. 607b.
In 856/1452 the Sharqi Sultan marched at the head of an army consisting of 170,000 soldiers and 1,400 war-elephants and besieged the city of Delhi. Bibi Mato, wife of Sultan Shah Lodi and the mother-in-law of Bahlul, thought of a stratagem as the force in the fort at that time was not sufficient to meet the enemy. She ordered her women to put on male dress and stationed them on the parapets of the fort. The Afghan archers started shooting arrows at the besieging army but were ultimately forced to lay down arms. Saiyyid Shamsuddin, a noble of Delhi, brought the keys of the fort and handed them over to Darya Khan Lodi, the commander of the Sharqi forces. It was also decided that the Afghan force inside the fort would immediately vacate. Saiyyid Shamsuddin, however, thought out a plan to save the situation. He appealed in private to the racial loyalty of Darya Khan Lodi and requested him not to dishonour the Afghan women and children, who were inside the fort. The appeal touched the most sensitive cords in Darya Khan’s heart and he was thus cleverly won over by Saiyyid Shamsuddin to his side. Darya Khan took the keys of the fort to Mahmud Sharqi, and told him that though the keys of the fort had been received, yet Bahlul was on his way to Delhi with a large army under his command. If the Sultan won the battle against him, not only the city of Delhi but the empire of Delhi would be at his feet. Sultan Mahmud fell into the trap so cleverly laid for him by Darya Khan Lodi.\footnote{Waqiat-i Mushtaqi.}

In the meantime Bahlul marched with a large army, enlisted the support of many Afghan nobles and reached Narela some 17 miles from Delhi. The Sharqi Sultan despatched 30,000 cavalry and 30 elephants under Darya Khan Lodi and Fath Khan Harvi to deal with Bahlul. In the battle that followed at Narela, Fath Khan Harvi, the commander of the Sharqi forces, was forced to withdraw as his elephant was seriously injured by Qutb Khan Lodi. As soon as he had withdrawn from the battle, Qutb Khan Lodi approached Darya Khan Lodi and appealed to his racial sentiments to save the Afghan women. Darya Khan was so moved that he deserted the Sharqi army. As was inevitable, utter confusion prevailed in the Sharqi ranks. Fath Khan Harvi, who had been taken prisoner, was later beheaded by Rai Karan of Khor, whose brother, Rai Pithaura, had been killed by him. Fath Khan’s head was brought before Bahlul.\footnote{Tariq-i Da’udi, n. 15; Waqiat-i Mushtaqi, 8; Tabaqat-i Akbari, 1, 302.} When Mahmud Sharqi was informed about the disaster of Narela and the death of Fath Khan, he effected a retreat to Jaunpur.

Ujjain had accepted the suzerainty of Jaunpur during the reign
of Sultanus Sharq Malik Sarwar. The atmosphere of Ujjain under Ishwar Singh forced Mahmud Sharqi to send a force in 1454 to conquer Ujjain. Ishwar Singh fled and the Sharqi forces captured Dawa, the capital of Ujjain.

The ignominious retreat of the Sharqi forces from Delhi and the death and desertion of its outstanding military leaders—Fath Khan and Darya Khan Lodí—emboldened Bahlul to consolidate his position, regardless of the interests of the Sharqi ruler. When Bahlul’s officers reached Etawah and the Sharqi governor was expelled from there in 1455, Sultan Mahmud Sharqi made up his mind to check and challenge the Lodi advance. The two forces met at Etawah, but peace was concluded through the intercession of Qutb Khan Lodí and Rai Pratap. It was agreed that Bahlul would return the seven elephants he had captured at Narela, and that the territories under the control of Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi and Mubarak Shah of Delhi would form the basis of the territorial adjustments between the Sharqis and the rulers of Delhi. Further it was agreed that Shamsabad would be returned to Bahlul after the monsoons.39

This treaty proved short-lived and hostilities started again in 861/1456-7. When Bahlul demanded the vacation of Shamsabad by the Sharqi governor, Jauna Khan, he delayed and hesitated. Thereupon Bahlul expelled him and handed over the fort to Rai Karan.40 Jauna appealed to Jaunpur for help and Sultan Mahmud quickly marched to Shamsabad and attacked Rai Karan. Darya Khan Lodí and Qutb Khan Lodí made night attacks upon the Sharqi camp; Qutb Khan Lodí fell from his horse and was captured. Bahlul was deeply shocked at the arrest of his cousin and wife’s brother. After posting Jalal Khan and Prince Sikandar to support Rai Karan, Bahlul proceeded to deal with Sultan Mahmud. But at this time Sultan Mahmud fell suddenly ill and died in 862/1457.

MUHAMMAD SHAH SHARQI

On Sultan Mahmud Sharqi’s death, his queen, Bibi Raji, raised his eldest son, Bhikan Khan, to the throne with the approval of the nobles. Bhikan assumed the title of Sultan Muhammad Sharqi. One of the interesting anomalies of the Sharqi administration was that during his life-time—two years before his death—the deceased ruler (Mahmud Shah) had issued coins in the name of his son.41

39 Ni’matullah, Tarikh-i Khan-i Jahani; Tabaqat-i Akbarí, I, 302-3.
40 Tabaqat-i Akbarí, 302-3.
The first problem which confronted Sultan Muhammad immediately on his accession was the conflict with Bahlul. Realizing the basic weakness of his position, he preferred to patch up differences. Bahlul was to retain all areas already under his control and Sultan Muhammad was to keep control over his father’s territories.

The next problem before Muhammad Shah Sharqi was that of his brothers, whom he suspected of rebellious intentions. He imprisoned Hasan Khan and Qutb Khan Lodi and put some nobles to death. But the problems of Muhammad Shah were far from being solved. Apart from the fact that his harsh treatment of the nobles and his brothers created widespread discontent, Bahlul marched again to Jaunpur. Bahlul’s wife, Shams Khatun, who was a sister of Qutb Khan Lodi, sent him a message to the effect that ‘so long as Qutb Khan remained in the prison of Sultan Muhammad, sleep and repose should be unlawful for him.’ In consequence of this message Bahlul did not keep his plighted word and turned from Dankaur to Jaunpur. Sultan Muhammad did not hesitate to take up the challenge this time. He expelled Rai Karan from Shamsabad and appointed Jauna Khan again. Rai Pratap of Etawah joined the side of Sultan Muhammad. The two armies came face to face near Sarsuti. Sultan Muhammad found his position weak and thought that this was due to the non-co-operation of his nobles. He sent an order to the kotwal of Jaunpur to put to death his brother, Hasan Khan, along with Qutb Khan Lodi. The kotwal replied that due to his mother, Bibi Raji, it was not possible to carry out the royal orders. Sultan Muhammad deceitfully removed Bibi Raji from Jaunpur and had Hasan Khan executed.

Sultan Muhammad’s ruthless behaviour excited the fury and suspicions of his other brothers—Husain Khan and Jalal Khan—and created unrest among the nobles. Husain Khan and Jalal Khan thought of a stratagem for saving themselves. They spread the rumour that Bahlul was contemplating a night-attack and thus induced Muhammad Shah to put three thousand horsemen and one thousand elephants at their disposal. This army encamped on the bank of Jhirna, a small tributary of the Jumna. Since Jalal Khan had been left behind, Husain Khan called him to his camp. Bahlul came to know of this and sent an army against them. Husain Khan and Sultan Shah (a Sharqi noble) turned towards Kanauj to be in a safe place, but Jalal Khan, not knowing of this, proceeded towards Jhirna,

42 Tabaqat-i Akbari, I, 304; N'imatullah, Tarikh-i Khan-i Jahani.
43 It may be Sirsaganj town on the bank of the river Sirsa, in Etawah district.
44 It joins the Jumna near Shabdra after passing through the Bulandshahr and Aligarh districts.
which the Lodi forces had already occupied. He went to the Lodi camp under the impression that it was the camp of his brother, Husain Khan, and was immediately taken into custody.45

Sultan Muhammad became nervous at this development and started for Kanauj. Bahlul chased the retreating army and plundered it.

In the meantime Bibi Raji had decided, in consultation with the nobles, to place Husain Khan on the throne. It was further decided to do away with Sultan Muhammad, who was encamping at the Rajgir ford, three miles south-east of Kanauj on the banks of the Kali Nadi. As soon as this new Sharqi army approached the camp of Sultan Muhammad, his nobles and officers, who were disgusted with his cruelty and harshness, deserted him and joined the army of Husain Khan. Sultan Muhammad became panicky and hid himself in a garden. When chased by Husain’s soldiers, he took out his bow and arrow and started shooting at his pursuers. But to his great misfortune, Bibi Raji had already bribed his body-guard to make his arrows harmless by removing their iron-points. Sultan Muhammad was a good shot but this made him helpless. He, however, took out his sword and killed several soldiers before he himself fell dead, when an arrow pierced his neck. He was buried at Dalmau, in the district of Raec Bareli. Husain Shah built a mausoleum over his grave.

Husain Shah Sharqi (1458-1505)

Husain found the field clear for him after the death of Sultan Muhammad Shah, but Bahlul was still there. Husain Shah decided to make peace with him and both agreed on a four-year truce. He marched from Kanauj to Jaunpur and sent an advance-message to Jaunpur for bringing Qutb Khan Lodi with honour. Husain sent Qutb Khan to Bahlul, who in return sent Prince Jalal to Jaunpur.

Husain Shah’s first concern after his return to Jaunpur was to establish peaceful conditions. He punished the nobles who were involved in the murder of Prince Hasan.46

Orissa had become a feudatory area of Jaunpur during the time of Sultan Mahmud Sharqi. Later, however, its ruler had stopped paying tribute. Having reorganized his army to deal with all recalcitrant elements, Husain Shah chastised the rais of Tirhut and realized the revenues due from them and then proceeded towards Orissa. The ruler of Orissa, Rai Kapilendra Deva (1435-67), submitted and presented thirty elephants and one hundred horses to

45 Tabaqat-i Akbari, I, 305; Tarikh-i Khan-i Jahani.
46 Tarikh-i Ferishta, II, 801.
the Sharqi ruler.\textsuperscript{47} Sultan Husain returned to his capital victorious and elated at his achievement.

In 870/1465 Sultan Husain Sharqi rebuilt and repaired the fort of Banaras,\textsuperscript{48} which had a great strategic importance. He garrisoned the fort also.

In 871/1466-67 the Sultan sent an army against Raja Man Singh of Gwalior. Unable to stand a long siege, the Raja submitted and recognized the suzerainty of Jaunpur.\textsuperscript{49}

A truce for four years had been arranged between Bahlul and Sultan Husain Sharqi. During this period Husain considerably increased his military strength and gained great self-confidence and reputation by his successful campaigns against Orissa and Gwalior. The only other power which the Sharqis looked upon as a rival to their own authority was that of the sultan of Delhi.

In 1468, when Bahlul was on his way to Multan to quell certain disturbances, Husain Sharqi planned to attack his capital. Though the Sharqi Sultan's own imperialistic instincts were sufficient to goad him to action against Bahlul, the expulsion of Jauua Khan, the Sharqi governor of Shamsabad, by Bahlul had provided him with a moral justification, if any was necessary, for an attack on Delhi.

As Husain Sharqi marched towards Delhi, some of the Afghan amirs, like Ahmad Khan Mewati and Rustam Khan, governor of Koil, deserted Bahlul and joined him. Bahlul turned back to face the invader and the two armies met at Chandwar. The battle lasted nearly a week without any decisive results. Again a truce for three years was agreed upon by the combatants and the Sharqi ruler had to return to his capital.

On his return from his \textit{first} inconclusive campaign against Delhi, Husain Sharqi turned his attention to increasing his military strength. He sought the help of his vassal chiefs and zamindars to increase his military resources; an artillery (\textit{top khana}) was also organized. Attempts were further made to win over some allies and find some supporters. The governor of Bayana, Ahmad Khan Jilwani, joined him and recited the \textit{Khutba} in his name at Bayana. The Sultan won the good will and alliance of Ahmad Khan of Mewat also.

Having thus consolidated his position, the Sharqi Sultan made preparations for his \textit{second} attack on Delhi. Malik Shams, a distinguished noble, advised him to postpone the campaign by a year and to try in the meantime to win further support from the people.

\textsuperscript{47} \textit{Tabaqat-i Akbari}, III, 284; \textit{Ferishta}, II, 601.

\textsuperscript{48} \textit{Tabaqat-i Akbari}, III, 284. \textit{Ferishta}, II, 601-2; he gives the date of this repair as 871/1466-67.

\textsuperscript{49} \textit{Tabaqat-i Akbari}, III, 284.
and intensified his preparations along the border. But Sultan Husain's wife, Bibi Khunza, did not agree with this suggestion and urged her husband to seize without delay the throne of her father, Alauddin Alam Shah. So in 1469 Sultan Husain Sharqi marched against Delhi at the head of an army comprising of 140,000 cavalry and 1,400 war-elephants.  

Bahlul realized the gravity of the situation and sought the alliance and support of a powerful potentate—the Khalji ruler of Malwa, Sultan Mahmud Khalji—to deal with the powerful Sharqi army. As a political bargain, Bahlul offered the fort of Bayana with its dependencies to the Khalji ruler. But before the terms of this agreement could be implemented or acted upon, Sultan Mahmud Khalji died (3 May 1469) and Bahlul was left to deal with the Sharqis on his own resources.

Capturing important towns that stood in the way, like Koil and Bulandshahr, Husain reached the Jumna and encamped on its eastern bank. Bahlul encamped on the opposite bank with an army of 18,000 horsemen only. The Jumna lay between the armies of Delhi and Jaunpur, and prevented a headlong clash between them. Husain started sending his troops to the neighbouring areas in order to plunder; Bahlul took advantage of this and ordered his army to cross the Jumna at midday. This unexpected attack created a panic in the Sharqi army and Husain was forced to take to flight, leaving behind his haram, including the Malika-i Jahan, Bibi Khunza. Malik Shams was killed. Bahlul treated Husain's haram with consideration and sent Bibi Khunza and Malik Shams's head to Sultan Husain. This was the disastrous result of Sultan Husain's second invasion of Delhi.

Husain Sharqi was a man of persistent and dogged tenacity and was not prepared to give up his ambition of conquering Delhi. In 1471 for the third time he led an army consisting of one lakh of horsemen and a thousand elephants against Delhi. Bahlul came out to oppose him, but before the actual combat began he sent a polite message to Husain Sharqi to 'pardon his faults' and to leave him alone as some day he might be of help to him. This had no effect on the ambitious Husain. The two armies fought at Bhatwara, a village in Bulandshahr district. Ultimately Khan-i Jahan Lodi intervened, peace was arranged and Husain returned to Etawah.

Undeterred by the losses he had suffered and keen on conquering Delhi, Husain marched against it for the fourth time. In the engage-

50 Tabaqat-i Akbari, II, 285; Ferishta, II, 602. The author of Afsana-i Shahan, however, says that the army comprised of 100,000 horsemen and 500 elephants. The figures given by our historians are obviously inflated.

51 Tabaqat-i Akbari, III, 286; Ferishta, II, 602.
ment that took place at Sikhara, twenty-five miles from Delhi, Husain was prevented by rain from realizing his ambition and had to return to Etawah after concluding a peace treaty with Bahlul.

In 1478 Sultan Alaeddin Alam Shah died at Badaun. Husain went to Badaun to offer condolences on the death of his father-in-law but decided to occupy the place. He expelled Mubarak Khan (son of Tatar Khan) from Sambhal and occupied it also.

Having annexed Badaun and Sambhal to his kingdom, Husain proceeded against Delhi for the fifth time and encamped on the bank of the Jumna, near the ford of Kachh in Sambhal sarkar, in February-March 1478. Bahlul hurried from Delhi. The battle went in favour of Husain Sharqi and Bahlul's forces were out-numbered and out-manoeuvred. But Husain was not destined to reap the fruits of a hard-won victory. The deceitful planning of Qutb Khan Lodi turned the tables against him. Qutb sent a message to Husain and, referring to the affection of his mother, Bibi Raji, for himself, persuaded him to leave Delhi unmolested. Husain agreed to a peace-treaty with Bahlul according to which the territory east of the Ganges was to belong to Husain and the territory to the west of it was to be ruled by Bahlul.52

Sultan Husain, who had broken one peace-pledge after another and one truce after another, had to face the serious consequences of his enemy's breaking his word of honour this time. One night Husain held a convivial party in an extremely colourful background. Qutb Khan, who was present, praised the party but suggested that it would become all the more romantic if arranged in the more pleasant surroundings on the bank of the river. Husain approved of the suggestion and the venue was changed to the river-bank. At this time Bahlul's army made a sudden and surprise attack on Husain's party. Husain's victory turned into a complete rout. His seasoned war-veterans were made prisoners; his baggage, stores and treasures were seized. Bahlul chased Husain also but he escaped somehow. His wife, Bibi Khunza, was again taken into custody. Bahlul did not lose time in establishing his hold over Kampl, Patiali, Koil, Shamsabad, Marahra and Jalali. He also pursued Husain closely. Driven to extremes, Husain turned round and gave battle to Bahlul at Rajhohar, a village some sixteen miles from Farrukhabad. Husain fought boldly and Bahlul was obliged to conclude peace. It was agreed that both rulers would keep to their old boundaries.53

Sultan Husain Sharqi was not the man to rest on his oars or to

52 Tabaqat-i Akbari, I, 309; Ferishta, I, 325; Badauni I, 309; Tarikh-i Khan-i Jahani.

53 Tabaqat-i Akbari, I, 310; Tarikh-i Khan-i Jahani.
stick to his plighted word. In 885/1480-81, instigated by his wife, he marched for the sixth time against Delhi. The Delhi army intercepted him at Sonhar and inflicted a heavy defeat on him. Bahlul plundered his equipment, treasures, stores, etc. Husain retired to Rapri; Bahlul stayed at Dhupamau.

Neither Husain nor Bahlul had yet been satisfied fully with the results of the battle. Another engagement took place in 1482 at Sirsa, near Rapri, and the Sharqi Sultan, effectively defeated, had to fly away from the field. While crossing the Jumna, some members of his family were drowned. Reduced to extremes, Husain sought the help of his vassal chief, the Raja of Gwalior. The area was infested with robbers and bandits and, at Hatiyakant, the Bhadauryas—a band of free-booters—plundered his camp. Raja Kirat Singh offered a tribute of several lakhs to him and supplied horses, equipment, etc. Husain encamped at Rangam on the Ganges, and Bahlul proceeded there to deal with him. Skirmishes went on for several months without result as the Ganges flowed between the two armies. With the help of Raja Tilok Chand, the governor of Baksar (in the pargana Daundia Khera, Tirwa Tehsil of Unao district), Bahlul succeeded in fording the river and Husain was forced to retire to Bhattah (Rewa). He was, however, pursued by Bahlul, and instead of proceeding to Jaunpur, he went to Kanauj. Bahlul chased him further and a battle was fought on the banks of the Kali Nadi (Rahib) in 886-87/1481-82, in which Husain suffered a defeat. His wife, Bibi Khunza, was taken into custody by Bahlul but she succeeded in securing her release.

BAHLUL CAPTURES JAUNPUR

Bahlul pushed ahead with his victorious forces, captured Jaunpur in 888/1483-84, and issued his coins from there. Military outposts were stationed in and around Jaunpur, and the town was placed under the charge of Mubarak Khan Nuhani. But Husain was not the man to accept all this quietly. He mustered his scattered forces and marched to Jaunpur. The Lodi governor, Mubarak Nuhani, was forced to seek shelter at Mijhanli, where Bahlul had planted an outpost. Bahlul sent his son, Barbek Shah, to support his entrenched forces. Bahlul subsequently marched on Jaunpur in person and forced Husain to fly away to Bihar. He was chased further but he

54 A village ten miles north-east of Sakit, in the Etawah district.
56 A village on the banks of the Chambal in Agra district.
57 Tabaqat-i Akbari, I, 311; Tarikh-i Khan-i Jahani.
58 IASB, 1922, Numismatic Supplement, No. XXXVI, N. 17.
59 A village in the Gorakhpur district, situated on the left bank of the Gandak.
60 Tabaqat-i Akbari, I, 312; Ferishta, I, 327; Tarikh-i Khan-i Jahani.
cluded the Afghan forces. Bahlul, out of generosity to a fallen enemy, allowed him to retain a small tract in Chunar,\textsuperscript{61} which had once constituted his family jagir. Barbek Shah was placed on the throne of Jaunpur; the Sharqi kingdom was extinguished; and the Lodi prince issued coins in his own name. The Sharqi territories were annexed and Afghan officers were appointed to administer them.

Husain made another attempt to dislodge the Lodi power from Jaunpur and compelled Barbek Shah to surrender. But Bahlul returned to the scene. He divided his army into two divisions—one comprising of 15,000 cavalry under the command of Ahmad Khan and Qutb Khan; the other wing of 5,000 horse under Daulat Khan. The ambuscade tactics were cleverly employed. The second wing was to give battle to the Sharquis; the first wing was to appear later and disrupt the Sharqi dispositions. Husain was again defeated and he had to seek shelter in Bihar once more. Barbek Shah was reinstated.

In 894/1488-89 Bahlul died and Sikandar Lodi ascended the throne, but some nobles were in favour of Barbek Shah’s accession. Barbek, on his part, declared his independence. This was a golden opportunity for Husain Sharqi to divert the attention of Barbek towards Delhi and consolidate his own position at Jaunpur. Sikandar Lodi, however, dealt with the situation firmly; and having suppressed Barbek’s rebellion, he deemed it more politic to entrust Jaunpur again to Barbek.

Though Husain had been ousted from Jaunpur and the Sharqi power had been smashed, the attachment of zamindars and chieftains of the area to Husain was such that he did not give up the hope of regaining his throne for many years, in fact till the very end of his life. One of the most powerful Rajput chiefs, who supported Husain by creating disturbed conditions in the areas under the Lodi control, was Juga, a Bachgoti Rajput.\textsuperscript{62} After giving considerable trouble to Barbek Shah and Sikandar Lodi, he fled to Sultan Husain and joined him at the fort of Jaund. Sikandar sent a message to Husain asking him either to deliver Juga to him or to punish him on his behalf. Husain’s reply was as follows: ‘Juga is my servant. Your father was a (mere) soldier with whom I was measuring swords. To me you are but a silly child. If you talk nonsense, I will belabour you with my shoes—not with my sword.’\textsuperscript{63} Sikandar was left with no alternative but to march against Husain. The armies met at Kathgarh in 1492.

\textsuperscript{61} Chunar lies on the right bank of the Ganges in the Mirzapur district.
\textsuperscript{62} Waqiat-i Mushtaqi; Tarikh-i Da’udi.
\textsuperscript{63} Ibid.
Husain was badly defeated; he had to fly to Bihar\textsuperscript{64} but continued to hold Chunar, Cherand and Bihar for some time.

When Sikandar left Jaunpur, the local chiefs again rose against Barbek and ousted him from Jaunpur. Sikandar interpreted this as the incompetence of Barbek and had him arrested.

Sikandar was convinced that so long as Husain was in Bihar, there could be no peace in Jaunpur. So he turned to Husain’s strongholds. At his order Chunar was besieged by Mubarak Khan. The Sharqi governor of the fort sought assistance from Husain, who sent a Rajput chief to help him. In the battle fought at Chunar in 1498, the forces of Sikandar were defeated and Mubarak Khan was taken prisoner.

Sikandar next marched in person against the fort of Chunar but failed to achieve anything. He then turned to Raja Bhid of Bhattah, who had Mubarak Khan in his prison. The Raja got panicky, liberated Mubarak and fled to Husain. In 1494 Sikandar again marched against Raja Bhid and defeated him.

Sikandar then turned his attention towards Phapund, which was a dependency of Bhattah. Lack of provisions, bad means of transport and bad roads caused great hardships to his army. According to Nizamuddin Bakhshi, ninety per cent of his horses were lost.\textsuperscript{65} The supporters and sympathizers of Husain sent messages to him, advising him to make a bid to regain his lost kingdom. Sultan Husain set out immediately and was joined in the way by Rajput chiefs and others. Sultan Sikandar met the forces of Sultan Husain 36 miles away from Banaras in 1494; a fierce battle took place and Husain was defeated completely. He fled towards the country of Bhattah\textsuperscript{66} but Sikandar followed in pursuit. Reduced to a position of extreme helplessness, Husain left Malik Kandu in the fort of Bihar and proceeded in person to Colgong,\textsuperscript{67} a dependency of Lakhnauti. The King of Lakhnauti, Sultan Alauddin Husain Shah (1493-1518), received him cordially,\textsuperscript{68} provided him with all comforts and assigned the pargana of Colgong to him. He was even permitted to issue his own currency.\textsuperscript{69}

Sikandar sent a detachment against Malik Kandu, who left the fort and fled in 901/1495. The fort was captured and Mubarak Khan

\textsuperscript{64} Tarikh-i Da’udi, 47.
\textsuperscript{65} Tabaqat-i Akbari, I, 318-19.
\textsuperscript{66} Ibid., 319.
\textsuperscript{67} In the Bhagalpur district of Bihar.
\textsuperscript{68} A daughter of Alauddin Husain Shah was already married to Jalal Khan, son of Sultan Husain Sharqi.
\textsuperscript{69} Afzana-i Shaham, f. 29b.
Nuhani was entrusted with the duty of garrisoning it. Sikandar next decided to deal with the king of Bengal, who had given asylum to the Sharqi ruler. He captured many frontier places of importance and consolidated his position in such a way that Alauddin Husain Shah could not help challenging his activities. He sent an army under his son, Daniyal, to deal with the Lodi Sultan. Sikandar sent Mahmud Khan Lodi and Mubarak Khan Nuhani against him. The two armies met at Barh, a town in the Patna district; but before an engagement could take place, negotiations were started and both sides agreed to respect the territorial integrity of the other and not to give asylum to each other's enemies.  

Sikandar returned to Jaunpur and stayed there for six months. He destroyed all the Sharqi buildings and monuments, palaces, gardens, etc. He would have even destroyed the mosques built by the Sharqi rulers but the protest of the ulama prevented him from going that far.

Sultan Husain was deeply distressed at the way the Sharqi power was being liquidated by the Afghan rulers. He thought of making one more effort to recapture the throne before it was too late. Alauddin Husain, the ruler of Bengal, advised him to defer military action, but in 1500 Husain dashed forward, reached Bihar and besieged the fort.  

Darya Khan, the Afghan governor, shut himself up in the fort and sought help from Sultan Sikandar. This last siege was pressed forward by Sultan Husain with great courage and determination. He got the moat of the fort cleared of all water in one night.  

But the arrival of a division of 9,000 horsemen to reinforce Darya Khan's army made Husain's position precarious, and he was obliged to return in frustration to Colgong. A completely broken and frustrated man, Sultan Husain Sharqi breathed his last at Colgong in 911/1505.  

With him the last vestige of Sharqi dynasty disappeared.

Despite many shortcomings of character, Husain was a remarkable man. His tenacity of purpose and his refusal to take any defeat as final raised his stature head and shoulders above many contemporary Indian princes. He left no stone unturned to recapture his lost power and prestige. The way in which he succeeded in winning the active and loyal cooperation of a large number of Hindu zamindars and chieftains shows that his administration had left a very

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70 Tabaqat-i Akbari, I, 320.  
71 Waqiat-i Mustaqqi; Afsana-i Shahan.  
72 Waqiat-i Mustaqqi.  
73 Numismatic evidence shows that he issued coins until his death (911/1405). Numismatic Supplement (36) to JASB, 1922, No. 35.
favourable impression on the minds of the people and he had succeeded in a remarkable way in winning regional loyalties. The Sharqi kingdom had so closely identified itself with the people and problems of the region that its fall did not go un lamented by the people. In fact the protracted fight that Husain could give to Bahlul and Sikandar was only made possible by the loyalty of his people. Sultan Husain was a highly cultured prince, interested in fine arts, poetry, music, etc.