CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

GINGEE\(^1\)
(ITS HISTORY DOWN TO 1600 A.D.)

I

GINGEE WAS NOT A PLACE OF IMPORTANCE in the period of the Cholas of the Vijayala dynasty; an inscription of Aditya I refers to Singapurandu, which evidently centred round Singavaram. In the epoch of the disintegration of the Chola empire in the thirteenth century, consequent on the encroachments of the Pandyas, the Hoysalas and the Kakatiyas, and on the increasing turbulence of the feudatories, Gingee became a fortified place and acquired some importance.

Ananda Kon, the chief of a shepherd tribe, brought under his sway the petty rulers of the neighbouring villages, built a small fort on the main rock of Gingee, and named it Anandagiri after himself. He built forts on the hill at Perumukkal near Tindivanam and at Padaividu in the present North Arcot district. His successor, Krishna Kon, fortified the northern hillock of Gingee and named it Krishna-giri after himself.

After several generations of rulers, the Kon dynasty was displaced by a chief of the Kurumba tribe, named Kobilingam. He built a brick fort at Sendamangalam in the South Arcot district and dug tanks and channels for irrigation purposes. According to the chronicles, Kobilingam fell a prey to the aggressions of the Vijayanagara captains. But it is not definitely known when and by whom the Vijayanagara conquest of Gingee was achieved. The *Karnataka Rajakkal Savistara Charitam* says that Kobilingam ruled about Fasli 740 i.e. nearly half a century after the death of Kopperunjinga of the epigraphs; and perhaps this Kobilingam belonged to the clan of the Kadavarayas to which Kopperunjinga belonged and which contributed largely to the dismemberment of the Chola empire in the thirteenth century and which had for its capital, *Kudal*, i.e. Cuddalore.

\(^1\) This Chapter on 'Other States of the Deccan and South India' was assigned to the late Professor Srinivasachari, but only the section on Gingee was written by him. It has been included as he left it [Edrons].
at the junction of the Cudilam and the South Pennar rivers, and later at Sendamangalam.

After Fasli 800, according to the chronicle, one Narasinga Udaiyar became the governor of Gingee, after he had conquered the country of Kobilam. But even before this time one, Vallala Raya, is said to have become the lord of the Gingee country and to have extended the temple of Tiruvannamalai.

The Hoysalas had made steady encroachments in the lower Karnataka country from the early decades of the thirteenth century. Narasimha II (1220-35) had occupied Conjeevaram. A record of A.D. 1229 informs us that he was ruling from Kanchi with the surrounding ocean as his boundary. We have epigraphic testimony to his driving out of Kanchi the Trikalinga king (probably the Telugu Chola Tikka), who claimed to have been a Chola Shapanacharya. The next Hoysala ruler, Vira Someswara, claims to have first routed in battle Rajendra Chola III and later to have succoured him in danger. He also engaged in a victorious expedition against the Kadavaraya. On his death there was a division of the Hoysala dominion between his two sons, Vira Narasimha (Narasimha III), who ruled over the greater part of the ancestral kingdom from Darasamudra, and his half-brother Ramanatha (Viramanatha), who got for his share the Kolar country and the Tamil lands to the east with Kannanur, near Trichinopoly, as his capital. Much of the time of Narasimha was spent in fighting with Ramanatha. The latter's son, Ballala III, became the sole ruler of the entire Hoysala kingdom, including the Tamil districts, about the year 1298. But he soon lost the southern portion of the Tamil country subject to him. About the time of his death, Harihara of Vijayanagara, the founder of the first (Sangama) dynasty, was established in some measure of power on the northern frontier.

Vallappa Dandanayaka, who figures in the later records of Ballala III, was very likely the Senji Raya who was married to the Hoysala princess, sister of King Ballala IV. This Vallappa was probably the same as Vallalaraya of the tradition embodied in the Tamil chronicle. Thus the Gingee country was under the rule of the Hoysalas in the latter half of the thirteenth century and also in the first half of the fourteenth. From the hands of the Hoysalas it passed into the hands of the first rulers of Vijayanagara. Gopanaraya became an independent ruler in the year 1243 and counted his regnal years from that date. He was the able co-adjutor of Sundara Pandya I, whose progress in Tondamandalam was rendered possible largely by his assistance and cooperation. His inscriptions are found largely in the South Arcot, North Arcot and Chingleput districts and
to a lesser extent in the Tanjore and Kurnool districts. He assumed many high sounding titles.

A theory of two Kopperunjingas, father and son bearing the same name, has also been put forward; and also different versions are held of his relations with the Pandyas and of his other acts like the imprisonment of the Chola ruler, Rajendra III. The Kadavarayas became powerful in the South Arcot district and contributed largely to the dismemberment of the Chola empire during the 13th and the early part of the 14th centuries. The Kadavarayas claimed kinship with the Pallavas. Kopperunjinga who ruled, or revived his rule, from 1242 to 1278 should be regarded as a really great personage. The chief Kadavaraya ruler had several subordinate chiefs under him.

The region of Gingee is associated with Kumara Kampana's famous southern conquests. Kampana (also known as Kamparaya and as Kampana Udaiyar) was the governor of the Mulbhagal Rajya in the years 1356-66. His military exploits are described by his wife, Ganga Devi, in the Sanskrit work, Virakamparaya-Charitam. Kampana first advanced on Virinchipuram on the Palar river, and attacked the strong fortress of Rajagambhiran in which the Sambuvarya chief had taken refuge. He captured the fortress and slew the enemy chief in single combat, according to one source of our information; but according to another source, he is held to have reinstated the defeated chief on his throne. Soon afterwards Kampana entered Kanchi and set up his authority there. Kampana's rule was almost like that of an independent sovereign. His capital was Marakata-nagara, identified with Virinchipuram. He was assisted by several able lieutenants of whom the foremost was Gopanaraya, who participated in the recovery of Srirangam from the hands of the Musalmans and in its reconsecration. Another general was Saluva Mangu, the ancestor of the great Saluva Narasimha, the founder of the second dynasty of Vijayanagara. Rajanatha Dindima's Saluvaabhuyudayam details the expeditions of Saluva Mangu against the Sambuvarya and the Sultan of Madura and notes the several titles that he assumed. Saluva Mangu helped in the reconsecration of Srrrangam and made a present to it of 60,000 madas of gold, 1,000 salagramas and eight villages to represent the eight letters of the

2 Refer to (1) K.A.N. Sastri, The Colas, 2, part I, 180-84 et seq; (2) the Kadavaraya Problem by Mr. R. Satyanatha Aiyar in the Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar Commemoration Volume; (3) the Kadavarayas by Mr. V. Vridhasagirin in the Journal of Indian History, XVI, 1937, 137-160, (4) The Madras Epigraphist's Reports, 1922 and 1923; (5) The Kadavarayas by S. Somasundara Desikan in the Journal of Indian History (XVII, part 3).
Ashtakshara. The services of Copanaraya have been praised by Vedantadesika. It is these generals who helped Kampana in the successful Hindu reaction against Muslim sway in the Tamil country. The reconsecration of the great shrines of Srirangam and Madura was essentially the restoration of Hindu glory and South Indian independence.

The Alampundi grant of Virupaksha Raya is important for our knowledge of the history of Gingee under the early Vijayanagara rulers. It is dated Saka 1305 and records that Virupaksha I, son of Harihara II of the first Vijayanagara dynasty, granted on the Pushya Sankranti day of Saka 1305, cyclic year Raktakshin, the village of Alampundi in the neighbourhood of Gingee to certain Brahmans as a Sarvamanyam. The third verse of the grant refers to Bukka Raya I, son of Sangama; and Bukka’s son, Harihara, is described in the following verse. Virupaksha, who conquered the kings of Tundira, Chola and Pandya and the Simhalas, presented the booty of his wars to his father.3

Srirangam was sacked first by Malik Kafur, and the invasion of 1327-28 ordered by Muhammad bin Tughluq resulted in its complete destruction. According to the Koyilolugu, a Tamil work, which describes the benefactions conferred on the temple in the different epochs from its foundation down to the 18th century, the Muhammadans entered Srirangam by the north gate and carried away all the treasure. From this sack both Pillai lokachary and the famous

3 The day of Pushya Sankranti of the year Raktakshin only corresponds to Saka Samvat 1507 and not to 1305. Alampundi had been previously granted by Harihara II (according to verse 9) and it had then received the surname of Jannambikahdi. Both these grants of Harihara and of Virupaksha were made at the instance of a princess, who was the sister of Harihara II and whose name must have been Jannambika. The village was very probably named Jannambikasamudram.

The Alampundi plate is the only epigraph which informs us of the name of Sangama’s wife, Kamakshi, and also that Malladevi was the queen of Harihara II. It is from this that we first learn that Harihara II had a sister, called Jannambika, and a son, called Virupaksha, who is reported to have made extensive conquests in the Tamil country and whom his father apparently placed in charge of the Gingee country, constituting a portion of the present South Arcot district. The accession of Harihara II is datable between 1293 and 1301 Saka. The grant omits the week day. This and other orthographical as well as calligraphical mistakes, which occur in the inscription, are facts urged against the genuineness of the plate. But we cannot assert that the entire plate is not genuine. It is interesting as the first known copper plate inscription in Grantha characters professing to belong to the Vijayanagara dynasty. (See R. Sewell, List of the Antiquarian Remains in the Presidency of Madras, I (1882), 207; J. H. Garstin, Manual of the South Arcot District (1878), 2; Epigraphia Indica, III, 224-29, wherein the inscription is edited by V. Venkayya; and V. Rangacharya, Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency, I, 169 (1919).
Vedantadesika escaped, the former going south and the latter to the Mysore country. After prolonged sufferings, the survivors carried the image of the god, rescued by a chain of miraculous circumstances, to Tirupati, from which it was taken over to Ginge by Gopanaraya and ultimately installed at Srirangam and reconsecrated under Kampana’s auspices. Gopanaraya was divinely inspired to do this task. According to Anantaraya’s Prapannamrtam (a work dealing with the history of Srivaishnavism in South India and the lives of its Acharyas) Gopanaraya proceeded from Tirupati to Ginge where he kept the images of the gods for a time—there were two of them—in the neighbouring rock-cut shrine of Singavaram. He then advanced south, destroyed the Muhammadan forces at Samayavaram and consecrated the images once more in the Srirangam temple. Thereupon Vedantadesika, who had returned joyfully to Srirangam, composed a verse in praise of Gopanaraya and his great achievement and had it inscribed on the walls of the temple. The date of the reconsecration is Saka Samvat 1293 (A.D. 1371-72).

The political and cultural significance of the achievements of Kampana, Saluva Mangu and Gopanaraya was, in fact, the destruction of the last vestiges of Muslim sway. It enabled Harihara II to assume imperial titles in full style.

According to tradition, these early Vijayanagara governors of Ginge were hostile to the Kurumbars, who were dominant in the region, and helped the Vellalars and the Vanniyars against them. Gradually the Vijayanagara dominion in the Tamil country was divided into three definite jurisdictions, each under a Nayak who wielded absolute power in his territories. Ginge, Tanjore and Madura were the respective capitals of these three Nayaks. The jurisdiction of the Ginge Nayak extended along the sea-coast from the Palar river in the north to the Coleroon in the south. Information about the Ginge Nayaks is, however, very scanty, relative to that available for the other two Nayak lines. Two inscriptions at Tirupparankunram in the Madura district give a list of the Nayak rulers of Ginge, and mention that they originally emigrated to Vijayanagara from Maninagapura in northern India and subsequently settled at Ginge under one Vaiyappî Nayak. We find in an inscription of Surappa Nayak, one of the dynasty, the ascription of the title of lord of Maninagapura to the Nayak. We have no other evidence about the Ginge Nayaks having originally migrated from Hindustan.

4 The word Nayak is derived from the Sanskrit term, Nayaka, meaning a leader, chief or general and frequently indicating an army captain. The use of the terms as meaning a provincial governor is peculiar to the Vijayanagara empire.
According to the *Karnataka Rajakal Savistara Charitam*, a Vijayanagara army defeated the Kurumba chief of the Gingee country, Kobilingan by name, and took possession of the fort. This event is datable about the time of Kampana and Gopanaraya. Gopanaraya's jurisdiction as the governor extended as far south as Chidambaram, for we find in the Vaishnava *Guruparampara* mention made of Sri Vedantadesika's persuading him to restore the image of the Vaishnava Deity, Govindaraja of Chidambaram, which had been thrown out (1370).

II

A regular viceroyalty or governorship of the Gingee country seems to have begun from 1464 when Venkatapati Nayak became the ruler of the country. There is a copper plate grant of Bala Venkatapati Nayak, who was either a son or a descendant of Vala Krishnappa Nayak of Gingee (dated Saka 1386/A.D. 1464—cyclic year *Pratibha*). This Nayak persecuted the Jains, who were numerous in the region of Tindivanam, and the memory of his persecution still survives in the neighbourhood of Gingee. He is also called in local tradition by the name of Dubala Krishnappa Nayak. The line of Nayak rulers of Gingee mentioned in the chronicles runs as follows:

1. Vaiyappa Nayak, 1490.
2. Tubaki Krishnappa Nayak, 1490-1520.
5. Venkatappa Nayak, 1570-1600.
7. Appa Nayak (up to the Muslim conquest).

S. M. Edwardes, writing in the *Indian Antiquary* (Vol. IV) gives the substance of a Modi manuscript entitled in English, *An account of the Chengy Rajas*, as follows. A certain Vijayarangana Nayak came with a permit from Anegondi to Chandi (Gingee) and secured it as a jagir. He cleared the forest, amassed riches, and effected the settlement of Chandi. In Fasli 852 (A.D. 1445) a Dhangar, named Anandakona, who was searching in the Gingee hillocks for some stray flocks belonging to his tribe, met a Mahapurusha, and was informed by him that by his exertions Chandi was soon destined to become a great place, and that he should straightaway seek the aid of Vijayaranga Nayak. True to this prophecy, a kingdom was established at Gingee with the help of Anandakona, whose son, Tristapitla, became the minister of the Chandi kingdom.

Thus the dynasties of Vijayaranga Nayak and Anandakona
enjoyed undisputed possession of Gingee for 224 years, i.e. up to Fasli 1077. The names of Vijayaranga’s successors are given in the manuscript as follows:

Fasli 883 (A.D. 1476) Muthiyal Naik.
" 918 ( " 1511) Krishnappa Naik.
" 943 ( " 1536) Chenam Naik.
" 962 ( " 1555) Vijayappa Naik.
" 987 ( " 1580) Gangama Naik.
" 1012 ( " 1605) Venkat Krishna Naik.
" 1032 ( " 1625) Venkat Ram Naik.
" 1052 ( " 1645) Trimbakmal Krishnappa Naik.
" 1062 ( " 1655) Varadappa Naik.5

Mr. Edwardes says: ‘The story of the foundation of Jinji and of the Naik dynasty and the Dhangar ministers seems to me to deserve a closer and more detailed inquiry.’ All that we learn from the Karnataka Rajakkal Savistara Charitam is that Gopalakrishna Pillai, and his son, Nandagopala Pillai, who were probably of the Yadava (shepherd) caste, were ministers to the Nayaks from the time of Tubaki Krishnappa Nayak to Varadappa Nayak.

This view is opposed to the tradition embodied in the legend that the great Krishnadeva Raya sent sardars into the Karnataka country to strengthen his authority. The Raya himself marched into the Carnatic, along with his chief Nayaks, Vaiyappa Nayak, Tubaki Krishnappa Nayak and others. After stabilizing his master’s authority in the south, Vaiyappa departed. He appointed Tubaki Krishnappa Nayak, his second in command, to rule over the land; Krishnappa thus initiated the Nayak line of rulers at Gingee. He exercised sway gloriously over all the coast, from Nellore down to the Coleroon, up to 1521 (Saka 1443). We are not able to ascertain the exact extent of his dominions for lack of reliable evidence. The date of the descent of Krishnadeva Raya into the Carnatic could have been only some time after 1509; and if we take it that Vaiyappa had appointed Tubaki Krishnappa—as the Nayak of Gingee, the latter could have been the ruler of the place only from after the epoch of the Raya’s conquests, i.e. after about 1520-21.

Tubaki Krishnappa and Vaiyappa are credited with having built

5 Pages 1-2 of the Indian Antiquary, LV (1926), from a manuscript bearing the words, ‘Mackenzie Collection, Dec. 3, 1883: No. 88’. The existing catalogue does not include this particular manuscript which has hitherto escaped scrutiny and elucidation. It associates the Kone dynasty of Gingee with the Nayak governors and makes them contemporaneous, whereas it is fairly well established that the Kone rulers preceded the Nayak rulers.
temples at Srimushnam and at Tirukkoilur (both in the South Arcot district). Among the monuments of Gingee, the big granaries, the Kalyanamahal and the thick walls enclosing the three hills are ascribed to Krishnappa, whose long and peaceful administration encouraged the expansion of the town and the growth of its pettahs and suburbs. It was this Krishnappa who gave the big rock citadel (hitherto known as Anandagiri) the name of Rajagiri, and encircled the foot of Rajagiri with a thick battlemented wall. The activities of this Krishnappa are, to some extent, confused with those of a later governor also called Tubaki Krishnappa Nayak, who lived about the middle of the 17th century.

According to the accounts of the Meckenzie manuscript, Krishnappa was succeeded by Achyuta Vijaya Ramachandra Nayak. An inscription in the Venkataramanaswami temple refers to a gift made by Achyuta Vijaya Ramachandra Nayak, the governor of Gingee (No. 244 of 1904). We find a reference to Achyuta Ramachandra Nayak, who was ruling Gingee in Saka 1464 (A.D. 1540-41), as one of the mahamandalesvaras and generals of Achyuta Raya of Vijayanagara. The next Nayak was Muthiyal Nayak, who built the Venkataramanaswami temple at the foot of Rajagiri. He was followed by Venkatappa Nayak. A Tamil inscription (No. 240 of 1904), found on the south wall of the Venkataramanaswami temple at Gingee, dated Saka 1472 (Sadarana), describes a gift made by Surappa Nayak for the merit of Sadasiva Deva and another gift by Adapattu Vallappa Nayak for a festival. Another inscription, dated Saka 1471, expired Saumya, of Sadasiva Raya mentions the gift of a village for the merit of the Raya made by Adappan Surappa Krishnama Nayakar Ayyan. Ratnakshita Srinivasa Dikshita, a poet who lived at the court of Surappa Nayak, dedicated to him a drama, by name of Bhavanapurushottama, in which Surappa is held to be the son of Potabhpala and praised as being the firm estabisher of the throne of Karnatak. Perhaps the Raya whom he helped was either Tirumala or Ranga I. It is difficult to fix Surappa among the rulers of Gingee at that period, and particularly to indicate his relation of Krishnappa II, who was the Nayak of Gingee under Venkatapati Raya (1585-1614).

According to the Mackenzie manuscript, Venkatappa Nayak is said to have ruled over Gingee from 1570-1600, a period that coincides with the rule of Krishnappa Nayak II, concerning whom the Jesuit records say that he was the contemporary of Venkata I and of Raghunatha Nayak of Tanjore. One writer had identified the Krishnappa Nayak of Jesuit records with Varadappa Nayak, son of Venkatappa Nayak; but this identification is not sustainable. Varadappa Nayak and Appa Nayak ruled during the last decades of the independent
Nayak rule of Gingee. Jesuit and other contemporary records do not mention anybody of the name of Varadappa Nayak, nor do the indigenous literary sources refer to the same name.

Anquetil du Perron (1732-1805) says that Krishnappa Nayak was the contemporary of Venkatapati Raya. According to Father Pimenta and Perron, Krishnappa’s succession after his father was delayed by his imprisonment at the hands of an uncle of his. In 1586 Krishnappa rebelled against his overlord, Venkatapati Raya, and was defeated and imprisoned. Raghunatha Nayak of Tanjore interceded with the Raya for Krishnappa and secured his release; and in return the grateful Nayak of Gingee gave his daughter in marriage to Raghunatha. The Raghunathabhyudayam of Ramabhadramba and the Sahityaratnakara of Yegnanarayana Dikshita both definitely refer to the release of Krishnappa from the Raya’s prison being effected through the help of Raghunatha.

Krishnappa’s rebellion against his overlord was suppressed by one Venkata, an elder brother of Ankabupala of Kalahasti. This Venkata seems to have ruled for a fairly long time at Gingee during the imprisonment of Krishnappa and is perhaps identical with the Venkatapati of the traditional list. This Venkata was the eldest of the three Velugoti chiefs of Kalahasti, viz., Damarla Venkatappa, Damarla Ayyappa and Damarla Anka, the author of the Ushparinayam. This Venkata enjoyed power up to a good ripe age, because he was a powerful noble not only during the reign of Venkatapati Raya (1585-1614) and the civil war of 1614-16, but also during the rule of Ramadeva Raya (1616-30), and he continued to be powerful even under his successor, Venkatapati (1630-42). It was from Venkatappa and Ayyappa that the English obtained first the grant of Madraspatnam in 1639.

Father Pimenta, a Portuguese Jesuit who visited Gingee in 1597 to show his gratitude to Krishnappa for his hospitality to several Jesuit missionaries, who had visited his dominions, has given an account of Gingee and its remarkable ruler. He writes: ‘We went to Gingee—the greatest city we have seen in India, and bigger than any in Portugal except Lisbon. In the midst thereof is a castle like a city, high-walled with great hewn stones and encompassed with a ditch full of water. In the middle of it is a rock framed into bulwarks and turrets and made impregnable.’ Father Pimenta entered the city through the Arcot or Vellore gate and was lodged by the Nayak in the great square tower, which was the most conspicuous building in the fort. The private dwellings in the city were not elaborate, except some belonging to rich and influential persons. The palaces of the Nayak were the most prominent, having been built in a peculiar style with towers and verandahs.
Pimenta adds that he saw much ordnance, powder and shot within the fortress. The Nayak was always guarded by a thousand armed men and 300 elephants were paraded before him.

One of the Jesuit letters of 1606 states that the Nayak of Gingee was at that time the most powerful of the three Nayaks; and among his feudatories were three prominent chiefs, viz. (1) the prince of Tiruvati (on the Gadilam river), (2) the Salavacha or Solaga of the Coleroon mouth, and (3) the Nayak of Vellore. The Solaga occupied Tivakottai at the mouth of the Coleroon, and was one of the most powerful chiefs of the Nayak. The description given of the Solaga by Pimenta agrees with that given of him in the Raghunathabhuyudayam and in the Sahityaratnakara. The former work says that this chief was so powerful that he defied even the great captains of the Raya, like Vittala Raja. Lingama Nayak of Vellore, the son of the famous Chinnabomma Nayaka, rebelled against Venkatapati Raya and laboured to secure independence not only from his immediate overlord, the Nayak of Gingee, but also from the Raya himself.

Krishnappa did not enjoy the confidence of Venkatapati Raya, nor would he pay him his tribute regularly. A few years after his first rebellion, Krishnappa again became disloyal. When the Raya threatened an immediate invasion of his capital, the Nayak pretended madness (circa 1600). One of the Raya’s lieutenants, Velugoti Yachama, was sent with a large army to capture Gingee. Towards the end of 1607 the Nayak was defeated and fell a prisoner in the invader’s hands. The Raya, who had meanwhile conquered Vellore and established his court there, set out for Gingee; and the imprisoned Nayak had to prostrate himself at the Raya’s feet, together with his family, and to pay him 600,000 crusados. Only at the intercession of the Nayaks of Tanjore and Madura did the Raya allow him to return to his capital.

Krishnappa had relations with the Portuguese and the Dutch. He granted permission to the Dutch traders to build a fort at Devanampatnam (Tegnapatam) by an olla (or farman) dated 30 November 1608. The Portuguese, who were then the bitter rivals of the Dutch and exercised much influence at the court of Venkata, tried by means of pressure from the Raya on the Nayak of Gingee, to prevent the construction of the Dutch fort at Devanampatnam and to secure their total expulsion from the Gingee territory. The Dutch somehow contrived to cling to Devanampatnam and the neighbouring town of Tirulpapuliyr, because the Nayak hoped to get great profits from them; and the Aya of Gingee, evidently a Brahman officer who was the all-powerful deputy of Krishnappa, protected them, helped them to continue on the coast against the wishes of the Raya and won over the Nayak of Gingee to his side.
Krishnappa was a great devotee of God Vishnu, perhaps under the influence of Tatakacharya, the famous Rajaguru of Venkatapati Raya, and rebuilt the Vaishnava shrine at Chidambaram. In the great civil war for succession to the Karnataca throne, Krishnappa was naturally involved, as he joined the side of the rebels. He had to flee from the battle-field at Topur (1617). He was again induced to support the rebels, was opposed by the loyal Tanjore Nayak and defeated on the banks of the Vellar. The campaign against the rebels after the death of Jagga Raya was mainly fought in the region south of the Gingee country. Krishnappa was ultimately reconciled to the loyalists and presented his homage to the new Raya.

The successors of Krishnappa Nayak were insignificant rulers. Varadappa and Appa were both imbecile and weak. There are inscriptions of Saka 1593 (A.D. 1670-71) in which reference is made to Varadappa Nayak, but as the Muhammadans had occupied Gingee some years before, probably the Nayak enjoyed merely a titular dignity. Appa Nayak, the last of the line, has been described in the chronicles as weak and extremely vicious and as being responsible for the easy conquest of Gingee by the Muhammadans. But he is glorified in one of the Mackenzie manuscripts, Chenji Rajakkal Kajfaiyat, which describes at some length the heroism he displayed. He led his troops in person, and when he found himself deserted by them, he rode on alone and unsupported into the ranks of the enemy, dealing destruction around him until he was overpowered and slain. The liberality of this Nayak and of his wife is also lauded in the Kajfaiyat.

We have already seen that Nayak rule in the Gingee country helped the strengthening and further fortification of the capital and the construction of forts in many stratagical places. The temples and mantapams still surviving in the ruined capital were largely the handiwork of the Nayaks. The Venkataramanaswami temple at the foot of the Rajagiri hill was built, according to tradition, by Muthialu Nayak. Krishnappa Nayak I is said to have built the Kalyanamahal. He added many pettahs and suburbs to the city of Gingee, and his successor, Achyuta Ramabhadra Nayak, built the temples of Tiruvannamalai and Tindivanam. The Tiruvikrama Perumal temple of Tirukkoilur received to a large degree the impress of the Nayaks. The portrait sculptures of some of the Nayaks were carved on the pillars of the Kalyanamantapam in front of the shrine of the goddess in this temple. The Vaishnava shrine of Srimushnam contains a fine and spacious six-pillared mantapam which bears on its pillars the sculptures of several of the Nayak rulers of the period, among them being those of Achyutappa Nayak of Tanjore and his three brothers. Venkatammalpettai was named after a lady, who was a sister of one of the Nayaks,
probably Venkatapati Nayak. It is one of the Panchamahals of the South Arcot district and is near Cuddalore. The town of Krishnapatnam, situated to the west of the modern port of Porto Novo and identified with the village of Agaram, was constructed by the famous Krishnappa Nayak II in 1599. The Nayak allowed the Jesuits to build a church in the town. He was a great patron of Vaishnavism and in that respect followed faithfully the policy of his master, Venkatapati Raya. The Nayaks of Gingee paid allegiance to their overlords, even after the disaster of Talikota, and continued to do so, nominally at least, till 1614. The great civil war of 1614-17 threw the Nayaks of Gingee and Madura into open opposition to Nayak of Tanjore and the loyalists. The ill-planned and traitorous policy of Tirumal Nayak of Madura brought about the Muhammadan invasion of Gingee, which also greatly affected the fortunes of Tanjore and Madura.

Tubaki Krishnappa was noted for the construction of a dam across the Varahanadi, a few miles distant from Gingee, which enabled the filling up of the irrigation tank of Sirukadambur. He settled all the castes of the 'left hand' in the village of Jayakondan and in the adjoining market-place at the foot of the Rajagiri and Krishnagiri hills. Further to the north of Rajagiri, other suburban villages were built by him for the settlement of the 'right hand' castes. Nallanchakravarti Satrayagam Seshadri Aiyangar was the Rajaguru of Krishnappa Nayak, who gave to him the Srotiam of Singavaram, a rock-cut shrine close to Gingee.

Achyuta Ramabhadra Nayak built the enclosing walls as well as the majestic gopuram of Tiruvannamalai temple (Saka 1443); and twenty years later he built the Vishnu temple at Tindivanam and also the temples and gopurams at Nedungunram and Settpattu in the North Arcot district. He is likewise credited with the construction of several other temples and agraharas. Muthialu Nayak (circa 1540-50) constructed the Venkatamanaswami temple at Gingee and a temple to Chakraperumal on the bank of the Varahanadi. His successor, Venkatappa Nayak (circa 1570-1600), was equally a great builder. It is said that the great gopuram of Tiruvannamalai begun by a previous Nayak was completed only in Saka 1494. This Nayak built a fort and a Shiva shrine at Tindivanam and permitted a Jain temple to be built at Sittamur; while his consort, Mangammal, dug two tanks, one near Gingee and another at Vriddhachalam, both known as Ammakulam. It was also about this time that the great wall and gopuram of the Vriddhachalam temple were finished. The architectural achievements of the Gingee Nayaks have, therefore, been considerable, though not as glorious as those of the two other Nayak lines of Tanjore and Madura.
Chapter Eighteen

SIND AND MULTAN

SIND UNDER THE CARMATHIANS; THE GHAZNAVID AND GHURIAN INVASIONS

The period of this chapter comprises the last six years of the reign of Mu'izzuddin, the Churid sultan, and extends to the fateful first battle of Panipat, in which Babur crushed the power of the Lodi dynasty. Sind, during this whole period, except for the first eight years of Arghunid rule, was governed by her native princes, Sumirahs and Sammahs, who were more or less tributary to the sultanat of Delhi, but who asserted their independent authority, whenever the power at the centre was weak. It is a dark and obscure period, and we are consciously treading on uncertain ground, when we narrate the events belonging to it. We may, however, state at the very beginning that Sind and Multan were closely connected during these three centuries and a quarter, although for paucity of historical material we can only here and there trace the relationship between them.

Sind, after its conquest by Muhammad bin Qasim in 712, was ruled by a succession of Umayyad and Abbasid governors till 258/872, when its government was handed over by the Caliph Mu'tamid (870-892) to Yaqub, the Saffarid, and remained under the rule of this dynasty till its downfall in 902. There seems to have been no centralised government of Sind for a very long time. In 1028 Mahmud of Ghazni, according to Masumi, despatched his general, Abdur Razzaq, to annex Sind to the Sultan's dominions and to expel the Arabs from it. There is, however, no authority for Masumi's sweeping assertion, as none of the generals or ministers of Mahmud bore this name (Abdur Razzaq); nor is there any direct evidence that Sind was effectually conquered by Mahmud or any of his successors. It is, however, a fact that Mahmud, while returning from the plunder of Somnath (1025), crossed the perilous Rann of Cutch and passed through Sind by way of Mansurah, which in those days was the capital of an Ismaili (Carmathian) prince, Khafif, who fled

1 The only source which gives this name is a qasidah by the contemporary poet, Farrukhi, who celebrated in it the victory of Somnath. See, Dr. Nazim, Mahmud, 120.
before him, crossed the river Indus and hid himself in a thicket of date-palms, to which he was hotly pursued, while his camp was beleaguered and many of his people were slain. As Mahmud was slowly winding his way to Multan his army was greatly harassed by the Jats inhabiting the banks of the Indus. Now if Sind had been a province of Ghazni, the officers of Sind would have done everything possible to facilitate his march through that country.

From the incident mentioned above, the fact emerges that Sind and Multan at this time were ruled by the Ismailis (Carmathians); and that even though Mansurah and Multan were independent of each other, they formed a close confederacy cemented by Ismaili doctrines. Multan had remained the Arab capital and the outpost of Islam in India till about 900 when its ruler became independent of Baghdad. About this time it was seized by Abdullah, the Qarmati (Carmathian), and became a stronghold of Carmathian heretics. One of the earliest, if not the earliest, Carmathian rulers was one Jalal bin Shaiban, who destroyed the famous temple which had been spared by Muhammad bin Qasim, and who converted his mansion into a mosque, closing the old mosque on account of the hatred he bore against everything that had been done under the Umayyad caliphs. After a century or so, in 1005 we come across another Carmathian ruler, Abul Fath Daud bin Nasr of Multan, who had incurred the ire of Sultan Mahmud by reason of his alliance with Anandpal. The Sultan invaded the Multan territory, besieged the ruler for seven months in his capital and compelled him to pay a heavy indemnity after abjuring his heresy. In 1011 Mahmud again invaded the territory of Multan, as Daud had relapsed into heresy, took the capital and, after slaughtering and mutilating a great number of his heretical subjects, sent Daud to end his days as a prisoner in the fortress of Ghurak. Even then the Carmathian power does not seem to have been destroyed as we find Mu‘izzuddin Ghuri wrestling Multan once again (1175) and appointing Ali Karmakh as its governor.

2 Ibnul Asir also makes reference to this incident, adding that when the Sultan marched, the ruler, who had become an apostate, fled from the capital (Vol. IX, 243).
3 Gardizi, Zainul Akhbar, 87.
4 As is made clear by the epistle of Bahauddin al-Muqtana, addressed in the year 423 A.H. (1032 A.D.) to the “Unitarians of Multan and Hindustan in general, and to Shaikh Ibn-i Sumir Raja Bal in particular” (vide, Elliot, I, 491). In this letter he exhorts Ibn-i Sumir, presumably the so-called second Sumirah ruler, Bhungar, son of Sumirah or Sumir, to bring back Daud, the younger, perhaps a son of Abul Fath Daud bin Nasr, to the fold of his former faith.
5 Alhirauni, India, 116.
6 Gardizi, Zainul Akhbar, 65, 66, 70.
THE SUMIRAHs

We may safely assume that the advent of the Carmathians in Mansurah also took place by about the beginning of the 10th century. Khassf, of whom mention has already been made, was presumably one of the Sumirah rulers, who, though originally Rajputs, had early embraced Islam. If this is correct, the statement of Mir Masum that the Sumirahs attained to power during the reign of the Ghaznavid Sultan, Abdur Rashid, or the reign of Farrukhzad (as stated by Sir Wolseley Haig) must be discounted. In the year 1053, according to Mir Masum, the Sumirahs mustered strong in the neighbourhood of Jharri and appointed a man, named Sumirah or Sumir, as their prince. Since there were two rulers among the known Sumirahs, who bore the name of Khassf, it must be concluded that the contemporary of Sultan Mahmud, who lived more than 30 years before this event took place, must be one of the many Sumirah rulers, who had governed Sind for many years before this Sumir; or that if this Sumir was actually their first prince, then his accession should be antedated by about 200 years, when the Abbasid caliphs, loosing their hold upon their far-flung provinces, handed them over to a plucky adventurer, like Yaqub bin Lais, in fief. Be that as it may, there can be no doubt as to the early rise of the Sumirahs, though in the absence of written records, even their names are not correctly known, not to speak of their reigns and deeds.

9 The ruins of this town are to be found near Mubabbat Dero in district Hyderabad.
10 Tarikh-i Masum (my edition), 60.
11 According to the author of the Beglar Namah (fol. 7A of Mr. Siddiqui’s Ms.), the Sumirahs ruled for 505 years, and as their downfall is placed by the Tuhfatul Kiram in 752/1351, we can, by going back, date their rise to about 247/861 i.e. nearly 200 years earlier than the date given by Mir Masum. Historians are at variance as to the years of their rule. According to Abul Fazl (Ain-i Akbari, 559) it lasted for 500 years, which is nearly the same as the period given by the author of the Beglar Namah, while the Tarikh-i Tahiri makes it last for 143 years, which is definitely wrong. In this regard the Tuhfatul Kiram makes the significant statement that, before they came into light, the Sumirahs had ruled over some portions of Sind for over 200 years, but as they were tributary to the Muslim rulers, their account has not come down to us (III, 27).
12 Abul Fazl (Ain-i Akbari 559) gives their number as 36 which may be regarded as correct, if we are to believe that they reigned for 505 years. Masumi gives only 9 names without dates; the Tuhfatul Kiram, 19; and the Daulat-i Alawiyyah, 21 with dates which are hopelessly incorrect. (See my edition of the Tarikh-i Masumi, 289-91). Only a few dates in their long rule of 505 years can be fixed with certainty. We find the redoubtable Mahmud routing the Sumirah chief of Mansurah, viz., Khassf, in 418/1028-29. In 621/1224 when Jalaluddin Mankhani of Khwarazm reached Daibal,
But if the date of the beginning of the Sumirah rule cannot be traced back, the date of their downfall can be fixed with some accuracy. The statement of the *Tuhfatul Kiram* that this happened in 752/1351 should be accepted as correct, although their actual decline can be dated from 734/1333-34, or even earlier, when the Summahs virtually assumed the power of government under their chief, Jam Unar. This date is incidentally corroborated by Ibn-i Battuta, who while sojourning at Siwistan (modern Sehwan) in 734/1333-34 records a rebellion, narrating how two chiefs, Wunar-i Samiri and Qaisar-i Rumi conspired to kill a Hindu officer, Ratan, who was entrusted by Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq with the government of Siwistan and its dependencies and given the title of 'Chief of Sind' along with the insignia of that office; and how Wunar, who was dubbed as 'King Firuz' by his partisans, fearing the wrath of the Sultan, deserted Qaisar on the pretext of joining his tribesmen; and how Qaisar was punished by Imadul Mulk Sartez, who at that time was the highest officer of Sind on behalf of the Sultan and resided at Multan, the capital of Sind.

Now it seems that this Wunar-i Samiri is the same as Unar, the Sammah chief, who according to Mir Masumi, was appointed ruler by the Sumirah nobles after the slaying of the last Sumirah Prince, Armil. Ibn-i Battuta's mistake in calling him Samiri is perhaps due to the fact that at the time of the occurrence of the incident he mentions, Unar was the elected chieftain of the Sumirahs. Also an Arab would be more inclined to write *Samiri*, a name that occurs in the *Quran*, in preference to Sammah.

its ruler, Chanesar, fled from the capital in boats (*Tarikh-i Juhungsha* of Juwaini II, 148). He is the same ruler, whom the author of the *Tabaqat-i Nadiri* calls "Malik Sinaiuddin Chanesha, Wali-i Dewal wa Sind", who submitted to Nizamul Mulk Junaidi in 625/1228 and went with him to the court of Ilutmish at Delhi. These dates, however, prove the falsity of the years of reigns as given by the *Tuhfatul Kiram* and the *Daulat-i Alawiyah*.

13 According to the *Begar Namah*, the Summahs ruled for 199 years, and if 927/1521 is to be taken as the year of their downfall at the hands of Shah Beg Arghun, we get 734/1333-34 as the beginning of their rule.


15 *Tarikh-i Masumi*, 61-62.

16 According to the *History of the South* by Ranchodji Amari (tr. Burgess, 1882, 240), Anira' Sammah—Wunar seems to be a corruption of this name—became the ruler of Sind (i.e. Lower Sind adjacent to Cutch) in 692/1293-94, which is nearly 50 years before the above-mentioned event. Probably this Anira' or Wunar was a much earlier ruler of the same name, who acquired power under the Sumirahs. It is also probable that Mir Masumi's connection of Jam Unar with this event is wrong, in which case Ibn-i Battuta's Wunar-i Samiri may be identified with Unar Sumirah, one of the last Sumirah princes, who is known for his love romances with Maru'i and Ganga.
The five centuries of the Sumirahs are the most obscure period in the annals of Sind. They have left no monuments and even the towns founded by them lie in debris. Nor do we know with certainty who they were by descent. Elphinstone, with whom Elliot concurs, thinks that they were Rajputs, who had early occupied Lower Sind. But while we find the Sammahas and other indigenous tribes, mentioned in the Chach Nama, coming to pay homage to Muhammad bin Qasim, the name of the Sumirahs is not mentioned anywhere.\textsuperscript{17} We find a casual reference to their origin in Ibn-i Battuta, who while describing Janani, a large and flourishing town on the banks of the Indus, says its people are called Sumirah, who inhabited it a long time ago, their ancestors having established themselves there at the time of the conquest of Sind in the days of Hajaj bin Yusuf. ‘They do not dine with anyone, nor is anyone allowed to look at them at their time of eating and they do not intermarry with other people.’\textsuperscript{18} This means that according to Ibn-i Battuta the Sumirahs were of Arab origin. The author of the Daulat-i Alawiyyah asserts on the authority of their ancestral genealogies—which in my opinion are quite spurious—that they were Abidi (Shias), which incidentally would account for their adoption of the Carmathian creed.

The Sumirah territory seems to have extended from Lower Sind to Alor and comprised the entire eastern delta of the Indus, probably going beyond Dewal (Daibal) and almost touching Mekran. A portion of Cutch, too, was under their rule. A few towns of note have been mentioned by historians. Their first seat of power seems to have been Mansurah itself, which they probably occupied after the extinction

\textsuperscript{17} Shaikh Abdur Rahim Girhori in his commentary on the Bayaz-i Hashimi, while denying the descent of the Sumirahs from the Imam Ali Raza, says that both Sammahas and Sumirahs existed at the time of Muhammad bin Qasim and fought with him. The author of the Tuhfatul Kiram also holds the same view (35). ‘I have not been able’, he says, ‘to ascertain the origin of this people, except that they are the ancient inhabitants of this land and obviously are descended from an indigenous Sindian race.’ The Tarikh-i Tahiri, of course, blatantly declares that most of them were Hindus and that no historical matter has been left regarding them.

\textsuperscript{18} Rehla, III, 101-2. Ibn-i Battuta has described Janani (or Chanani) as existing between Multan and Siwistan (Sehwan) at a distance of two days down-sailing from Multan. But it seems that he has confused his account. We should like to locate Janani between Thatta and Sehwan, being nearer to the latter. The author of the Tarikh-i Mubarak Shahi, while mentioning the possessions of Sultan Muhammad, son of Balban, says ‘Janati (Janani) is 60 karohs above Thatta on the river’ (48). Since the distance between Thatta and Sehwan is at least 75 karohs, we must suppose that Janani was situated south or southeast of Sehwan at a distance of about 30 miles. Probably the town lay between Saun and Amiri, where the ruins of a large flourishing town are still visible. Haig has identified it with Halani, but as this town is more than 75 karohs distance from Thatta, his opinion must be held wrong.
of the Arab dynasty of Banu Habbar bin Aswad after 375/985. We find Mahmud of Ghazni expelling one Khaff, presumably a Sumirah chief, from this town.\(^9\) We do not hear any further mention of this Mansurah, the first Arab town in Sind. The most interesting town, held by the Sumirahs, whose identification has exercised the ingenuity of many writers, however, is Dewal or Daibal. References to it are found till 625/1228. Sultan Jalaluddin Khwarazm reached Dewal and Damrilah in 621/1224, when its ruler was Chanesar, another Sumirah prince. The Sultan captured both these places and built a cathedral mosque on the site of the famous temple of which the spire was demolished by Muhammad bin Qasim.\(^{20}\) The same ruler, who is designated as ‘Wali-i Dewal wa Sind’, presented himself before Iltutmish at Delhi in 625/1228, when the entire country of Sind right up to the Arabian Sea was reduced by his wazir, Nizamul Mulk Junaidi.

By 734/1333-34, when Ibn-i Battuta sailed from Sehwan to the mouth of the river, Dewal had ceased to exist and had given place to Lahari Bandar, which was then the Delta port. In the winter of 1350-51, when Muhammad Tughluq marched from Gujarat into Sind in pursuit of his cobbler-slave, Taghi, who had taken shelter with the Sumirahs of Thatta,\(^{21}\) the pair-towns of Dewal and Damrilah had made room for Thatta and Damrilah, which, however, does not mean that Dewal had come to be called by the name of Thatta.\(^{22}\) Thatta has not been mentioned by Ibn-i Battuta; nevertheless, it is evident that Thatta existed as early as 1350 and was probably founded by the Sumirahs themselves as is often mentioned in the so-called spurious passage, translated by Mallet\(^{23}\) and not by Jam Nindo (Nindah or Nizamuddin), as is vulgarly believed. Tharri and Muhammad Tur (Mahmatpur) were their capital towns. We find Hamu, the wife of the Sumirah ruler, Sanghar, carrying on the government after her

19 Dr. Nazim, Mahmud, 120.
21 There is some confusion in the account of Barani’s Tarikh-i Firuz Shahi. On page 519 it says that ‘Taghi fled from Karnal to Thatta and Damrilah and took shelter with them (?).’ Later, on page 523, it says that ‘Taghi fled from Karnal to Thatta and joined the Jam of Thatta’. Then again, ‘The Sultan passed the third bishkal (rainy season) in Kundal (or Gondal), which is in the direction of the Sumirahs of Thatta and Damrilah, near the bank of the river Indus, which he gradually crossed with his army and elephants, marching towards Thatta, with a view to crushing the Sumirahs and the rebel Taghi, who had taken shelter with them.’
22 Dewal was quite distinct from Thatta. It was situated in the land of Sakarah (Sakirah); and Bhambor, Bakar and Thavara (?), each of them a famous town, were also situated in the same land. When these towns perished one after another, their population migrated to Thatta (Tuhfatul Kiram, III, 185).
23 Elliot, I, 216-23.
husband's death from Wagah-Kot (Wakkah-Kot), and sending her brothers to rule at Tharri and Muhammad Tur.24 The latter, founded on a branch of the Indus, now called Gungro, seems to have been a flourishing town and its ruins are to be seen at a spot 28 miles east of Thatta, near the village of Shah Kapur in the old pargana of Durka.25 'Not I alone but many others have beheld these ruins with astonishment', says the author of Tarikh-i Tahiri.26 Its depopulation was due to the diversion of the course of the Indus, which took place towards the end of the 13th century. Besides Janani and Schwan, which have already been mentioned, we come across the name of Naspur, which seems to have existed long before the Sumirahs came into prominence, for we find Dodo (Dudah), a Sumirah ruler, extending his territory up to it.27

We have already stated on the authority of the Tuhfatul Kiram that the Sumirahs were overthrown by the Sammahs in 1351, which is the year of the death of Muhammad bin Tughluq in the vicinity of Thatta. While narrating the flight of Taghi to Thatta, Barani says28 only once that Taghi joined the Jam, but all along he has been speaking of the desire of the Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq to extirpate the Sumirahs; and so also does the author of the Tabaqat-i Akbari.29 But ten years later, i.e. in 762/1360-61, we find Firuz Shah, his cousin, contending against the forces of Jam Khairuddin.30 It seems that although the Sumirahs ceased to be rulers in 1353, their power was ultimately crushed in 1351. According to Firishta, whose authority could hardly be relied upon, the Muslims of Sind, towards the end of Muhammad bin Tughluq's reign, combined to overthrow the yoke of the Sumirahs, presumably on account of their heterodox tenets. In this connection it would not be impertinent to observe that the invasion of Sind by Ala-ud-din Khalji's general, Salar Khan, as described in the famous ballad of Dodo Chanesar, is a pure fiction, although it is quite possible that this Khalji monarch might have sent Nusrat Khan in 1297-98 to reduce the unruly Sumirahs to subjection, and establish his capital at Multan.31 This might have been the beginning of their end.

Although the Sumirahs may not have been originally Hindus, as

24 Tarikh-i Masumi, 61.
26 Elliot, 1, 256.
27 Masumi, 61.
28 Tarikh-i Firuz Shahi (Barani), see note (31).
30 Actually Jam Juna as will be seen later.
31 Masumi, 43.
averred by the author of the Tarikh-i Tahiri, yet by their long intercourse with the indigenous population they may have assimilated some of their customs. Ibn-i Battuta informs us that they did not intermarry with other people and that they would not allow anyone to look at them while they were eating their food. Some of their absurd customs have been described by the Tarikh-i Tahiri,32 from which the Tuhfatul Kiram and others have borrowed their accounts. Yet when Tahir Nisyani wrote his history, he found among them pious men like Durwesh Daud, Miyan Hamul and Miyan Ismail of Ag-ham, who maintained and fed and clothed at his own expense 500 students of the Quran at a college. It is probable that towards the end of their rule the Sumirahs renounced their Ismaili doctrines and became Sunnis under the influence of Saiyyid Jalaluddin Bukhari of Uch.33

THE SAMMAHS; LIST OF JAMS

The Sammahs, who succeeded the Sumirahs, have also left no records of their own, although our knowledge of them is much greater than of their predecessors, as they were nearer in point of time to the writers of surviving local histories. There were in all 15 princes of this race, who ruled for 175 years, neither more nor less.34 The following list of names is given by Abul Fazl in his Ain-i Akbari: 35

32 Elliot, I, 269.
33 Saiyyid Sulaiman, Arab wa Hind ke Ta'alluqat, 363.
34 This is the number of princes according to the Beglar Namah, which, however, gives the period of their rule as 193 years, going back to 1333-34, the year in which Ibn-i Battuta records the death of Ratan at the hands of Jam Wunar-i Samiri. Mir Masum gives 18 names. The number of years given here is also according to the Tuhfatul Kiram, III, 54.
35 There is considerable difference between the Ain-i Akbari and Masumi, who gives five names for the first three: 1. Jam Unar bin Babinah; 2. Jam Junah bin Babinah; 3. Jam Tamachi bin Unar; 4. Jam Khairuddin bin Tamachi; 5. Jam Babinah bin Khairuddin.

Ferihshta gives Mani bin Jauna as the name of the third prince, who opposed the forces of Sultan Firuz Shah Tughluq. This, however, is incorrect in the light of the information given by Siraj-i Afsf in his Tarikh-i Firuz Shahl.

According to Afsf the names would stand in the following order:
1. Jam Unar.
2. Jam Jauna, brother of Unar, and Unar’s son, Babinah.
3. Jam (Mani) and his son.
4. Jam Jauna (second time).

Siraj-i Afsf, of course, does not mention other names. Who that ‘Jam and his son’ were has baffled my attempts to discover. But if Ferihshta is to be believed, these rulers may be identified with Mani (Babinah) and Jauna, his father. Jam Khairuddin, mentioned by Masumi, may be identified with Jauna, as the incident of running away from Firuz Shah’s camp is connected with Khairuddin by Masumi and with Jam
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1. Jam Unar bin Babinah</th>
<th>3½ years</th>
<th>752-56 A.H.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2. Jam Jauna bin Babinah</td>
<td>14 years</td>
<td>750-70 A.H.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Jam Mani bin Jauna</td>
<td>15 years</td>
<td>763-78 A.H.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Jam Tamachi bin Unar</td>
<td>13 years and some months</td>
<td>778-91 A.H.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Jam Salahuddin bin Tamachi</td>
<td>11 years and some months</td>
<td>791-802 A.H.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Jam Nizamuddin bin Salahuddin</td>
<td>2 years and some months</td>
<td>802-5 A.H.</td>
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<tr>
<td>7. Jam Ali Sher bin Tamachi</td>
<td>6 years and some months</td>
<td>805-12 A.H.</td>
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<tr>
<td>8. Jam Karan bin Tamachi</td>
<td>one or two days</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Jam Fath Khan bin Sikandar</td>
<td>15 years and some months</td>
<td>812-28 A.H.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Jauna by Siraj-ud-Daula. Mani may stand for 'the son of the Jam', who was left by Firuz Shah to rule over Thatta along with Babinah's brother, Tamachi, when he led Jam Jauna and Babinah bin Unar as captives to Delhi.

36 This name is written as Babiniyah, Banbanah, etc. in various histories, but the name Babinah (Babino) is used in Sindhi, or it may be read as Jam Bambo.

"A contemporary work, the Insha-i Mahru (Compositions of Mahrul) edited by Professor S. A. Rashid, is now available. Ainul Mulk Mahrul was Firuz Tughluq's governor of Multan and other western provinces and his work was certainly completed before 1360. Mahrul complains that Jam Jauna and his nephew, Banbaniya, strove to induce the Mongols to attack his provinces. He considers Banbaniya to be the real instigator but says that his uncle, Jam Jauna, was lax in controlling him. The name of the nephew occurs thrice in the text (102, 186 and 230). It is twice spelt as Banbaniya and once as Banbani or Banbani. The editor, Prof. Rashid, prefers Banbaniya. Even Mahrul seems to have been unsure about the correct spelling of the name of the man he was condemning" — Edrons.

37 When Firuz Shah attacked Thatta in 762/1360-61 after the capture of Nagarkot, Aff gave the names of the two rulers of Sind as follows — (a) Jam Jauna, brother of Jam (or Rai) Unar and (b) Banbaniya, the son of Jam Unar. Firuz Shah took Jam Jauna and Banbaniya with him to Delhi in 1362, but after some years, when Tamachi grew recalcitrant, he sent Jam Jauna again to Thatta (Aff, 247, 253-54). It appears that Sind sometimes had two nearly related joint-rulers, but the Jam was superior.

38 It is likely that Mani is a corruption of Banbaniya, and that Jauna might have had a son bearing the same name as his nephew.

39 Jam Tamachi is represented by Abul Fazl as brother of Banbaniya; the third ruler according to him, and therefore son of Unar. But Banbaniya was only a joint-ruler with Jauna and could not be reckoned as a Jam in the strict sense of the term. It was he who instigated Jam Jauna to fight Firuz Shah and not to submit. He was also taken along with the Jam to Delhi, where he remained till 790/1388, when Sultan Tughluq Shah II gave him a white canopy and sent him to Thatta, but he died on the way. This incident precludes the possibility to Banbaniya having been a ruling prince.
10. Jam Tughluq bin Sikandar 28 years 828-56 A.H.
11. Jam Sikandar bin Tughluq one year and 836-58 A.H.
   6 months
12. Mubarak Pardah Dar 3 days —
13. Jam Sanjar, alias40 8 years 858-66 A.H.
   Radhan (Rai Dinah)
14. Jam Nizamuddin41 48 years 866-914 A.H.
   (Nindah) bin Babina
15. Jam Firuz bin Nizamuddin42 13 years 914-27 A.H.

The Sammahs were old inhabitants of Lower Sind and Cutch. They are mentioned in the Chach Namah as residents of Sind even before the conquest of Sind by Muhammad bin Qasim. They might have embraced Islam early enough, but they retained their old Hindu surnames. It was only after their contact with the Tughluq sultans and the Delhi court that some of them assumed honorific Muslim names. According to Elliot, the Sammahs were Rajputs of the great Yadava stock, and this is borne out by their family records.

CONFLICT WITH DELHI

It cannot be definitely determined when the Sammahs actually came to power. Their main occupation was agriculture and they held jagirs under the Sumirahs on the condition of helping them in time of war. Their tribes were numerous, but they were divided into two chief groups—the Pachhmas and the Sindhis headed by Jam Unar and Jam Hoto respectively. According to the Sumirah traditions, it was during the reign of their seventeenth ruler, Muhammad Tahir (1373-1410), that the Sammah tribes combined to have Jam Unar as their chief.43 While this statement may be accepted as

40 Masumi assigns a separate reign to Jam Radhan or Rai Dinah, but Abul Fazl seems to be correct in considering them one and the same person. At any rate, the name of the father of neither of them has been given.
41 The Tuhfatul Kiram gives his whole pedigree: ‘Nizamuddin (Nindo) bin Baniyah (Banbaniya) bin Unar bin Salahuddin bin Tamachi.’
42 Includes 8 months of the reign of the usurper, Salahuddin, also.
43 They are said to have become so bold and unruly that the Sumirahs were compelled to harry them out of Sind with great slaughter. They sought shelter with the Chawda ruler of Cutch, whom they undertook to supply 500 cart-loads of hay every year in lieu of the land given to them for cultivation. Once they concealed 1,000 armed men in the hay-carts and with 500 more men to conduct the carts, they forced their way into the fortress and expelled the Chawda ruler. Gradually they became so powerful that they overran the whole country and began to ravage the Sumirah territory, which they ultimately wrested from their hands by destroying their beautiful capital town of Muhammad Tur and other places, and exterminating the whole of the Sumirah fighting force.
true, the dates given are incorrect, for we certainly know that in 762/1360-61, when Firuz Shah marched on Thatta, the Sumirahs had ceased to be a power, and the Sammahs had extended their rule over the whole of Lower Sind. In 752/1351 when Muhammad Tughluq came near Thatta in pursuit of his rebel slave Taghi, the ruler, as mentioned by Barani, was a Jam, whose army seems largely to have consisted of Sumirahs and who, instigated by Taghi, harassed the Tughluq army for two or three days after the death of Sultan Muhammad on 21 March 1351. But they were compelled to retire to Thatta by the forces dispatched by Firuz Shah immediately after his accession to the throne. By 1360-61, however, when Firuz Shah came back with the determination to annex the Thatta territory to the sultanat of Delhi, Thatta was governed by Jam Jauna, the brother of Jam Unar, and his nephew, Banbaniya, Jam Unar’s son. Their resistance was so great that Firuz Shah had to retire to Gujarat, after losing many of his soldiers and three-fourths of his horses during the siege and in the Rann of Cutch. When in 763/1362 Firuz Shah, after replenishing himself in Gujarat, came suddenly back to Sind, encamped on the eastern side of the river just opposite to Thatta, and seized all the crops, the Sammah opposition which had seized all his boats was so grim that he had to send his armies up the river to cross it at Bakhar and then to come down by the west bank. But after a day of battle he had to direct them to beat a retreat by the same long route. It was only after their provisions ran short that the Sammahs sought the intercession of Saiyyid Jalaluddin Husain Bukhari of Uch, who made it easy for them to submit to the Sultan. The Jam and Banbaniya were taken to Delhi along with their families, leaving behind the Jam’s son (Mani) and Banbaniya’s brother, Tamachi, to carry on the government.

The subsequent Sammah rulers were more or less tributary to the Tughluq sultan, but soon after the death of Firuz Shah (1388), when weak rulers followed one after another in quick succession, the Sammahs threw off the yoke of submission and became independent, particularly in the days of Jam Tughluq, who established friendly relations with the Muslim kings of Gujarat. The local Persian histories give us only a few glimpses into the reigns of these petty autocrats, and we are not on sure ground until we come to the last.

44 Masumi’s assertion that the Sumirahs combined to elect Jam Unar as their ruler in preference to Arnil, one of their own kith and kin, looks unnatural.
45 According to the Sumirah annals, Taghi had taken shelter with their ruler, Unar II, who may be identified with Wunar-i Samiri.
46 Presumably Jam Unar.
47 Tarikh-i Masumi, 75.
but one ruler, Jam Nizamuddin (alias Jam Nindo), who died after a long, peaceful and prosperous reign of 48 years in 814/1508.

JAM NIZAMUDDIN

Jam Nizamuddin is by far the greatest Sindhian ruler, whose record is definitely known to us. In his early career he was extremely fond of study and spent much of his time in madrasas and mystic khanqahs. He was exceedingly humble and amiable, and was characterized by many praiseworthy qualities. Shortly after his accession, he went to Bakhar with a large army and within one year extirpated the freebooters and robbers, with whom that part of his territory was infested. He filled the fort of Bakhar with every kind of provision and left it in charge of Dilshad, his household-slave and fellow-student. He so ably administered the outlying parts of Sind that people travelled about in safety without fear of being molested.

He was a scholar and poet of no mean order, and patronized the learned and the pious, with whom he had converse on various subjects. The famous scholar, Jalaluddin Muhammad Asad of Dawwan (1422-1501), author of the celebrated treatise, Akhlaq-i Jalali, once expressed his desire to settle in Thatta. The Jam made the necessary arrangements for his stay, and sent two of his pupils, Mir Shamsuddin and Mir Mu'inuddin, to fetch him. But before their arrival at Dawwan, the master had departed the world. His disciples, however, returned to Thatta and settled there. 48

He was a contemporary of Sultan IIusain, the Langah ruler of Multan, and was on intimate terms with him, and the two often sent presents to each other. Once a week he would regularly visit his stables, and caressing the foreheads of his noble steeds, he would say, ‘Lucky creatures! I do not wish to ride on you except for the purposes of a religious war. On all sides of our territory are Muslim rulers. Pray that I should not march in any direction without a pious cause, and that no one enters our territory lest the innocent blood of Muslims be shed and I be ashamed in the presence of the glorious God.’ 49

‘The reign of this prince’, as Haig puts it, ‘was the golden age of native rule in Sind. The fact that his name alone among those of Sama, Sumra and other princes continues well-remembered and illustrious among Sindhians to the present day is a striking testimony to his exceptional excellence as a ruler. Among his virtues was that, so rare in the East, of recognizing true worth in others, and

48 Ibid., 75.
49 Ibid., 74.
giving his confidence where it was best deserved. His minister, Darya Khan, served him well and wisely, and probably no small part of Jam Nindo’s fame was due to this man’s loyal and able administration. All Sind, from Bakhar and beyond it to the sea, obeyed the greatest of the Sammah princes, and as the court at Delhi had enough to do in attending to matters that more nearly concerned it than the subordination of a distant province—to say nothing of the memories of what their contests with the Sammahs had cost the Tughluq sovereigns—Jam Nindo enjoyed absolute independence. Nevertheless, the shadow of coming calamity fell upon the Sammahs in his time. The Arghuns now began to threaten Sind.  

THE ARGHUNS AND JAM FIRUZ

The Arghuns came into prominence towards the end of the fifteenth century under Amir Zunnun Beg, an alleged descendant of the Il Khans of Persia, who, in return for his distinguished services to Sultan Husain of Herat, was invested with the governorship of Ghur, Sistan, Zamindawar and Garmsir. He fixed his capital at the growing city of Qandhar, where he made himself practically independent. Finding this territory too small for his ambitions, he began to expand southward, with the assistance of his son, Shah (Shuja) Beg, the overthrower of the Sammah dynasty. Having already annexed Pishing, Shal (Quetta) and Mastung in 899/1494, he wrested Siwi (Sibi) from the hands of the governor of Jam Nindo (Nizamuddin), who despatched a strong force under his able minister, Darya Khan, now called Mubarak Khan. Mubarak came upon the Arghuns at Jatugir, a place in the Bolan pass, and inflicted a crushing defeat on them, killing their leader, Muhammad Beg, the brother of Shah Beg. It sufficed for the time being, and so long as Jam Nizamuddin was alive, the Arghuns did not venture into Sind.

As the eventful career of Zunnun Beg is not a part of Sind history, we need not go into what happened till 913/1507, when he

50 Indus Delta Country, 75.
51 So says Mir Masum (175), but other writers, such as Nizamuddin Bakhshi and Ferishta, assert that the Arghuns promptly avenged the death of Muhammad Beg, and even at this time captured Bakhar and Siwistan (Sehwan). According to Nizamuddin Bakhshi, this battle was fought in 1494, but Mir Masum says that it took place in 914/1508, just a few months before the death of Jam Nindo. This is hardly credible. Mir Masum is so utterly incorrect in recording dates, that even this statement of his could be accepted with a grain of salt, were it not a fact that the forts of Fathpur and Siwi were once again taken by Shah Beg between A.H. 917 and 990 (1511 and 1514). See M. Longworth Damer’s article on ‘Arguns’ in the Encyl. of Islam, Vol. I. Similarly the date 990/1485 given by Ma‘asir-i Rahimi may be rejected.
fell fighting against the formidable forces of the Uzbeg chief, Shaibani Khan. His son, Shah Beg, found himself sandwiched between Shaibani Khan and Babur, who claimed to be the lineal heir to the Timurid possessions, and who had already established himself at Kabul and deprived Shah Beg in 1507-8 of Qandhar and his father’s priceless treasures. Naturally, therefore, he and his brother, Muhammad Muqim, who by his temerity to capture Kabul in 1505-6 had offended Babur, felt compelled by circumstances to seek alliance with Shaibani Khan, who restored Qandhar back to them. But finding himself insecure there, on account of the continuous harassment of Babur, Shah Beg began to extend his influence southward, and between A.H. 917 and 920 (1511-14) he attacked the Birlas tribes, who had established themselves at Siwistan, and took from them the forts of Siwi and Fathpur.

Time was now opportune for Shah Beg to invade Sind, but he was greatly distressed by the meagreness of his resources, for his new acquisitions had not added much to his revenue. Jam Nizamuddin was succeeded by his unworthy and indolent son, Jam Firuz, who gave himself up to vicious pleasures, not minding the counsels of the old veteran, Darya Khan, who in disgust retired to his estate in Gaha.\(^52\) Shah Beg was duly informed of this rotten state of affairs by some of his clansmen, who had found shelter at Thatta after the capture of Siur, and everything was ripe for a predatory incursion into Sind. So in 1519\(^53\) he made a rush upon Chanduka and onward to Baghban\(^54\) and Gaha, highly fertile and flourishing tracts, whence he gathered a rich booty.\(^55\) He now began seriously to contemplate an invasion of Sind. An opportunity soon offered itself. Jam Firuz, desiring to get rid of the influence of old Darya Khan and his sons, and egged on by his mother, Madinah Machhani, sent a messenger to Shah Beg, inviting him to Sind. Shah Beg, who was waiting for

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\(^52\) In Persian this town is written as Kahan, ‘kāf’ standing for ‘ga’, and ‘n’ being the termination of the Persian plural. But it is actually Gaha, a village 21 miles northwest of Schwan, inhabited by a people called Gaha.

\(^53\) Mir Masum has given 17 Ziqad 931/24 December 1515, placing the event four years before it actually happened. Babur, while recording the events of 925/1519 states that on 28 Rabi I (30 March 1519) when he had reached Qaraatu, a messenger of Shah Beg, Qizil by name, brought him news that Shah Beg had captured Kahan (Gaha), sacked it and returned (Beveridge, Babur Nama, 398).

\(^54\) Baghban (in Persian Mrs. Baghbanan) a township 27 miles north of Schwan, situated between Khushabad and Dadu.

\(^55\) Makhbhum Jafar of Bubak, a learned man of the time, related from Mirza Iva Tarkhan that in this raid alone 1,000 camels that plied the Persian wheels in the gardens at night were carried away. From this one can judge of the other spoils and the prosperity of the country.
such a pretext, collected a strong army and, without meeting any opposition on the way, suddenly appeared before the very gates of Thatta. Jam Firuz, who had realized his folly only too late, finding resistance impossible, quickly fled to Pir Ar, leaving his family behind. The small band of Samam warriors, headed by Darya Khan, who had severely berated Jam Firuz for his rashness, fought bravely till they were annihilated, and the victor entered the town on the 11 Muharram 927/22 December 1522, giving it up to plunder for nine days, after which he granted a general amnesty to the citizens. He also pardoned Jam Firuz, who offered his submission to him in the most abject fashion, called him his son, and restored to him the entire portion of Sind lying south of the latitude of the Laki hills, keeping North Sind for himself.

After settling the affairs of Thatta, he marched back to Sehwan, which had closed its gates against him, and treated it with utmost severity. He also defeated the remnant of the Samam army under the sons of Darya Khan and other generals, who had assembled at Talti to give final battle. He then proceeded to Bakhar, where he applied himself to the task of suppressing local disorders as well as to the restoration and enlargement of the fort. Having thus conquered Sind, he planted garrisons at Shal (Quetta), Siwi, Fathpur, Ganjava and Bughban, and then repaired to Qandhar, were he had kept a precarious foothold ever since its recapture in 1507-8.

While Shah Beg was absent in Qandhar, Jam Salahuddin, who had contested the Samam throne with Jam Firuz in 914/1509, once again appeared on the scene with the support of Muzaffar Shah II of Gujarat. The imbecile Firuz left Thatta precipitately and fled to Sehwan, whence, through the good offices of the Arghun chiefs, he sent an appeal to Shah Beg to come to his succour. Shah Beg despatched his son, Mirza Shah Hasan, who was just then in Qandhar after his two years stay at Babur’s court, with an army of tried soldiers to expel the pretender. A bloody battle took place near Jatar, resulting in the defeat and death of Salahuddin and his son; the remnant of his followers fled back to Gujarat. Jam Firuz returned to Thatta with great pomp and honour.

It was probably soon after this event that Shah Beg, finding his position at Qandhar altogether untenable, decided to hand over the keys of the fort to Babur, who assumed its possession on the 13 Shawwal 928/1 September 1522, and came down to Bakhar, which he made his capital. In 930/1524 Shah Beg formed the project

58 Kharabi-i Sind (937)—Destruction of Sind—is the date of the sack (Tuhfatul Kiram, II, 54).
of invading Gujarat and declared to Jam Firuz that, if he ever conquered that country, he would leave the entire Sind to Firuz. So leaving the government to Payandah Muhammad Tarkhan, he started with the pick of his men on an expedition to Gujarat. When he reached Chanduka (Larkana), his favourite officer, Fazil Gokaltash, fell sick and had to return to Bakhar, where he soon died. In the loss of his old friend Shah Beg saw his own approaching end. Nevertheless after performing the funeral ceremonies, he resumed his march and reached Ag-ham in Lower Sind, whence he sent summons to Jam Firuz to accompany him. But then he sickened and passed away on 22 Sha‘bān 930/25 June 1524.57

The news of Shah Beg’s death was received with jubilation by Jam Firuz, who had been inwardly wishing to extricate himself from the yoke of the Arghuns. When Shah Hasan, who had succeeded his father, Shah Beg, came to know of the secret preparations of Jam Firuz, he dropped the idea of proceeding to Gujarat and straightway marched on to Thatta. Jam Firuz, finding all resistance hopeless, took to flight, while the small army under his minister, Manik, and his son-in-law, Shaikh Ibrahim, was cut to pieces. Jam Firuz kept wandering about in Cutch for a number of years58 and it was not till 935/1528-29 that he was able to collect an army 50,000 strong, with which he gave battle at a place near Chachikand and Rahiman, but was completely defeated, losing 20,000 of his soldiers

57 While there is agreement as to the date and the month, the year has been disputed. Mir Masum followed by other local historians, gives 928/1522, while Ferishta and Nizamuddin give 930/1524, which has been adopted by Erskine, Beale, Ney Elias and others. (See Babur Nama, 437.) All circumstances point out to the correctness of the year 1524, for if Babur took over Qandhar in Shawwal 928/September 1522, Shah Beg could not have died two months earlier. The muddle has been created by Masum’s mention of dates which are invariably incorrect in all cases, and therefore, the year a. h. 928 must be rejected in spite of the chronogram ‘Sh-h-r Sh-a-b-a-n’ which is brought forward to support it.

58 This is according to Masum (143). The author of Zafarul Walid (143) says that after the defeat and death of Daryn Khan, Jam Firuz, having conceived fear of the Mughals (Arghuns), fled to Gujarat, where Sultan Muzaffar II appointed him ruler over a portion of his kingdom, and that this happened in 929/1523. After the death of Muzaffar II he once again went to Sind, where he was able to gain a portion of his lost territory, but the Mughals combined against him and compelled him to return to Gujarat, where he was favourably received by Sultan Bahadur. This happened in 935/1528-29. The Sultan gave him 12 lakhs of tankas as his annual pension and promised to restore him to his kingdom. In 939/1532-33 Firuz gave his daughter in marriage to Sultan Bahadur and by this connection his hopes to regain his kingdom were further strengthened. But on account of the invasion of Gujarat by Humayun at this time, Bahadur could not attend to his affairs. When Bahadur was defeated by Humayun in 942/1535-36, Jam Firuz, who was in his camp, was captured by the Mughal soldiers and put to death.
on the field. He then made way to Gujarat, where he found an asylum with Sultan Bahadur and lived as his honoured guest till 1535-36, but after the defeat of Sultan Bahadur by Humayun, he was captured by the latter's soldiers and put to death.

Whether the final defeat and overthrow of Jam Firuz took place before the conquest of Multan by Shah Hasan, or after it, cannot be ascertained. Shah Hasan had signalized his accession by declaring his allegiance to Babur as a matter of policy and had the Khatiba read in his name; and the latter, being naturally flattered, permitted Shah Hasan to annex Multan to his territories.59

VICISSITUDES OF MULTAN

Multan at this time was ruled by the Rajput race of Langahs, who had formed an independent kingdom after the dissolution of the Delhi sultanat. After reducing the Baloch and Magasi tribes, who lay on the way and were subject to Sultan Mahmud Langah, the then ruling prince of Multan, Shah Hasan Arghun marched against this old capital of Sind in 930/1524. He defeated the Langah army near Uch and then advanced forward. Mahunud Langah, who went forth to meet him on the Satlej, died suddenly, and an agreement was drawn up between Shah Hasan Arghun and Sultan Husain Langah, the infant son of Mahmud Langah, by which all territory lying south of the Satlej was ceded to the Arghuns. The anarchy at Multan, however, led to a further invasion by Shah Hasan Arghun; after a long and cruel siege of sixteen months he took the fort of Multan by an assault in 934/1527 and ordered a general massacre of its inhabitants. But as he had no idea of holding Multan permanently, he ceded it to Babur, who gave it in fief to his son, Kamran.

This brings us near to the end of the period of this chapter. But it would be relevant to describe in brief the vicissitudes of fortune experienced by Multan after its conquest by the Arabs under Muhammad bin Qasim. Subsequently, it became the seat of government for the Ismailis (Carmathians), who were exterminated by Sultan Mahmud and Mu'izzuddin Ghuri; after the latter's death it passed on to Nasiruddin Qabachah, so famous for his patronage of letters. The author of the oldest Persian history of Sind, viz. the Fath Nama (wrongly but popularly called the Chach Nama) flourished in his days and so did the celebrated Persian writer, Awf, who dedicated his Jawaniul Hikayat to him. After his death by drowning in the river Indus at Bakhar, Multan and Sind were annexed by Itutmish.

59 According to Tabaqat-i Akbari (Vol. III, 540), when Babur, after reducing the whole of the Punjab, came to Delhi in 1526, he issued an edict conferring on Shah Hasan the city of Multan and its surrounding territories.
to the Delhi sultanat. It would be tedious to give a list of the governors, who ruled over Multan on behalf of the Delhi kings; some account of them has been already given in the preceding chapters. The most important of them, however, was Sultan Muhammad (Khan-i Sahid), the elder son of Balban. He was a great patron of learning and had a deep veneration for saints. He had invited the great Sa'di to come and live at his court, but the poet declined the offer on account of his extreme old age and sent instead his autograph copy of the Gulistan to him. In the year 734/1333-34, which marks the emergence of the Sammaha, we find one Imad-ul Mulk Saratz as governor of Multan and Sind on behalf of Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq, as has been already mentioned.

A very rapid process of political disintegration began after the death of Firuz Tughluq in 1388, and the invasion of Timur in 1398-99 completed the process. The Saiyyids and Lodis, who followed the house of the Tughluqs, held but one government out of the many that now existed in India. Thus in 847/1443 when the last Saiyyid ruler, Ala'uddin Alam Shah, came to the throne, the entire government was disorganized. The people of Multan, which was now without a governor, appointed Shaikh Yusuf Quraishi, a descendant of the famous mystic-saint, Bahauddin Zakariya, as their ruler; but after a reign of two years he was deposed by his father-in-law, Rai Sihrab, the chief of the Langahs, by means of a ruse. Rai Sihrab, who styled himself as Sultan Qutbuddin, ruled wisely and well till 874/1469-70, when he was succeeded by Sultan IIusain Langah, who had friendly relations with Jam Nizamuddin of Sind. It was in the last year of the reign of his successor, Mahmud Langah (a.H. 908-931), that Mirza Shah Hasan Arghun led an expedition against Multan, which he finally captured in 934/1527-29. Three years later it became a part and parcel of the Mughal empire.

**Literary Activity During the Arghun Period**

We have already noticed that literary and religious studies came to be fostered in the reign of Jam Nizamuddin. The movement went on apace and gained a great impetus when in 916/1510, owing to the massacre of Sunni divines in Herat by the Safavid Shah Ismail, many Sunni scholars and theologians migrated to Sind. Among them was the traditionist, Abul Aziz al-Abhari, who along with his two learned sons, Asiruddin and Muhammad, established himself at Faha in 918/1512, and laid the foundation of studies in rational sciences. Another learned divine of Gaha was Makhdom Mahmud Fakhri-Potiah, who was largely responsible for the spread of religious sciences throughout Sind, Makhdom Bital of Taltic (so known after his native
place), who lost his life in 929/1523 on account of his opposition to the Arghuns, was an expert in exegetics and tradition. Shah Beg Arghum and his son, Shah Hasan, were also good scholars and patrons of learning. A fairly complete list of learned men and poets is given by Mir Masum as contemporaneous with Shah Hasan. The chief seats of knowledge in those days were Gaha, Sehwan, Thatta, Bakhar and Darbela. The most remarkable feature is that most of these learned men were scholars of exegetics and tradition. None of them is mentioned as having had any connection with the teaching of jurisprudence and theology, which came to the fore after the decadence of rational studies.
CHAPTER NINETEEN

BENGAL

GOVERNORS OF LAKHNAUTI

Bengal appears in the history of the Delhi sultanat with the dare-devil attempt of Malik Izzuddin Muhammad Bakhtiyar Khalji to conquer the regions lying to the east of the newly acquired Turkish territory. The history of his exploits in Bengal and his penetration into Tibet and the subsequent annihilation of his army has been narrated earlier.1 Ali Mardan, who established his authority in Bengal after assassinating Bakhtiyar, was put to death by his officers, who were fed up with his tyrannical rule.2

Husamuddin Iwaz Khalji was then elevated to that position, probably sometime after 1211. He adopted the title of Sultan Ghiyasuddin and began to function as an independent ruler.3 Taking advantage of Iltutmish's preoccupations in the affairs of the Indus Valley, he extended his authority up to Bihar and exacted tribute from the rulers of Jajnagar, Tirbut, Bang and Kamrup.4 When Iltutmish was comparatively free from the problems of the northwestern frontier, he appointed a governor to look after the districts of Bihar south of the Ganges. In 1225 he himself marched along the Ganges. Iwaz marched out of his capital to challenge him but eventually decided to submit. He recognized the sovereign status of Iltutmish and paid a heavy indemnity.5 Iltutmish appointed Malik Jani as governor of Bihar, but soon after Iltutmish's return, Iwaz came back, ousted Jani and assumed an independent status. Iltutmish did not strike immediately; but he alerted his son, Nasiruddin Mahmud, then governor of Awadh, to watch developments carefully and be on the look out for an opportunity to strike. Iwaz interpreted this as a sign of weakness and ventured on a campaign in the east. Nasiruddin immediately invested Basankot6 and stormed Lakhnauti.

1 See supra, 171-78.
2 See supra, 203, 217.
3 Minhaj, 161.
4 Ibid., 163.
5 Ibid., 168, 171.
6 A fortress built by Sultan Ghiyasuddin Iwaz (Raverty, 582). Cunningham iden-
Iwaz returned to save his capital but was defeated and beheaded. Ilutmish appointed Shahzada Nasiruddin as governor of his eastern possessions. An inscription on his mausoleum in the village of Malikpur Koye, near Delhi, shows that the Sultan had conferred upon him the title of 'Malikush Sharq'.

Before Sultan Ilutmish could appoint another governor to the province of Lakhnauti, Malik Ikhtiyaruddin Balka Khalji turned out the royalists, occupied Lakhnauti and ruled independently under the title of Daulat Shah bin Mandud till he was defeated and captured by Ilutmish in 628/1230. The Sultan stayed for some time at Lakhnauti; he expressed his appreciation of the work done by Sultan Ghivasuddin Iwaz in his territory, and after conferring the governorship of Lakhnauti on Malik Alauddin Jani, formerly governor of Bihar, he returned to Delhi in the same year. The new arrangement did not continue for long; Alauddin Jani was later removed from Bengal and replaced by Malik Saifuddin Aibak. The latter was a Khitai Turk purchased by Ilutmish and had held Bihar before the new assignment. He effectively ruled over Lakhnauti and captured several elephants from Bang (the region to the east of the Delta) and sent them to the Sultan, who was very much pleased with his performance and granted him the title of 'Yughan-tat'. He died in 631/1233.

Disturbances again broke out in Lakhnauti after the death of Saifuddin Aibak. Probably no governor had been appointed or, if appointed, had not taken charge of Lakhnauti. In the meanwhile Aor Khan Aibak, a Turkish general and probably one of the slave-officers of Saifuddin, occupied Lakhnauti, but his authority was challenged by Malik Izzuddin Tughril Tughan Khan, the governor

tifies it with a mound of Bhasubhau near Mahasthanagar, more than one hundred miles from Lakhnauti. ASC, XV, 104, The History of Bengal, ed. J. N. Sarkar, Dacca, 1948, II, 33.

7 The malik is styled as Malik Ikhtiyaruddin Balka, the Khalji, on page 588 and as Balka Malik Husamuddin Iwaz on page 617 by Minhaj. From the fact that Sultan Ghivasuddin Iwaz Khalji's real name was Husamuddin Iwaz, it may be inferred that Balka Khalji was Husamuddin's son. He was, however, a malik of Ilutmish and presumably was put to death after his capture.

8 While referring to this incident, Minhaj does not give dates. The Riyazus Salatin (trans., 78) assigns Jani a rule of three years, while the History of Bengal (11, 45) has one year and a few months. Alauddin Jani is next mentioned as governor of Lahore. He later on created much trouble during the reign of Raziya but was finally beheaded. (Raverty, 634, 640.)

9 See Raverty, 731-32. Sultan Ilutmish had appointed Malik Alauddin Jani in A.H. 628, and Saifuddin died in 631. It means that the two governors together ruled for about four years. Therefore the account of the Riyazus Salatin that each of these governors ruled for three years does not seem to be correct.

10 Sarkar, 45.
of Bihar. An engagement took place near Lakhnauti in which Aor Khan lost his life. Consequently Malik Izzoeddin Tughril Tughan Khan became the master of a vast territory including Radha, Varndra and Bihar. He seems to have extended his power without the permission of the Sultan of Delhi. But he was shrewd enough to receive confirmation as the ruler of Lakhnauti from Sultan Razia, who honoured him with chatrs and standards. Throughout his rule he maintained cordial relations with Delhi by sending gifts and receiving honours. He is reported to have raided and brought much booty from Tirhut but could not occupy it.

Shortly after the accession of Sultan Alauddin Masud Shah (639/1242), Malik Izzoeddin Tughril Tughan Khan set out to capture Awadh, Kara, Manikpur and other territories. He reached the confines of Kara and Manikpur but soon returned to Lakhnauti. It was during this campaign that Minhaj met Tughan Khan near Kara and proceeded to Lakhnauti with him.

Immediately after this expedition he sent his envoy, Sharaful Mulk Ash’ari, probably with presents and excuses, to the court of Sultan Alauddin Masud Shah. The Sultan sent Qazi Jalaluddin Kashani along with Sharaful Mulk to Lakhnauti with a red canopy of state and robes of honour for the malik. The envoys reached Lakhnauti in 641/1243.

In the same year the Rai of Jajnagar, Raja Narsimhadeva I, began incursions into territory of Lakhnauti. When Malik Tughan Khan along with Minhaj set out in the month of March 1244, the forces of Orissa seem to have retreated to their frontier fortress, Katail, where an encounter took place in which the Jajnagar army fled, leaving behind nothing except a few elephants. When the Muslim forces were relaxing and making preparations for their meal at midday, a party of Orissan soldiers fell upon the rear of the Muslim army. This surprise attack routed the Muslim forces. Tughan Khan returned to Lakhnauti after suffering heavy casualties.

11 He was a Qara Khitai Turk, who gradually rose in the favour of Sultan Iltumish and was finally put in charge of Bihar, when its former governor, Malik Saifuddin, was transferred to Lakhnauti.

12 The regions on the eastern and western sides of the Ganges respectively. (See Raverty, 585 and n 5, 7.)

13 This probably refers also to a larger extent of the country further to the north-east, now included in Nepal. (See Raverty, 787, n, 9.)

14 It is not clear why he returned without an engagement. Probably it was due to the march of Malik Ikhtiyaruddin Qara Qash Khan, who had recently been appointed governor of Kara but had not yet entered that province.

15 Dr. Bhattacharji identifies it with Khasasanga, 5 miles south-east of Sommukhi, about 12 miles south of Damodar, situated on the boundary of Vishnupur in the Bankura district. (JRAI, 1935, 109; Sarkar, II, 48, n, 1.)
Realizing his weakness and his precarious condition, Tughan Khan despatched Sharaful Mulk Ash’ari and Qazi Jalaluddin Kashani to Delhi and sought help from the Sultan. The Sultan, as usual, sent royal insignias for the malik and directed Qamaruddin Tamar Qiran Khan, governor of Awadh, to march to the help of Tughan Khan with the forces of Hindustan. In the meantime, however, the Rai of Jajnagar\[^{16}\] had set out for Lakhnauti at the head of a huge army consisting of a large number of paiks (foot-men) and elephants. He captured Lakhnor\[^{17}\] and killed its governor, Fakhrul Mulk Karimuddin Laghri. When the Jajnagar army arrived before Lakhnauti, Malik Tughan came out to meet the enemy but was forced to seek shelter within the walls of the city. At this critical juncture messengers brought the happy news that the armies of Awadh were soon to join Tughan’s forces. This spread panic in the army of Jajnagar, which beat a hasty retreat.

The combined forces of the Muslims did not pursue the Rai; instead, the two commanders, Tughril Tughan and Tamar Qiran, grew suspicious of each other; and this led to an armed conflict between them before the gates of the city of Lakhnauti. After a prolonged engagement, Malik Tughril Tughan was compelled to retire and seek shelter within the walls of the city.

After his entry into the city Malik Tughan Khan employed Minhaj, who negotiated peace between the two khans. Tamar Qiran agreed to allow Tughril Tughan to leave the city with his family, treasures and elephants, provided he handed over Lakhnauti and Bihar to Tamar Qiran. Consequently Tughril Tughan bade farewell to Lakhnauti and proceeded to Delhi along with his followers and Minhaj.\[^{18}\] The usurper, Malik Tamar Qiran, held Lakhnauti for about two years till his death in 644/1247;\[^{19}\] Tughan was appointed governor of Awadh.

The next governor of Lakhnauti appointed by Sultan Nasiruddin Mahmud was Malik Jalaluddin Masud Jani (son of Malik Alauddin

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\[^{16}\] ‘A vague geographical expression, the northern boundary of which extended from Chota Nagpur to the Delta of the Bhagiratho, including roughly portions of the Birbhum, Bankura, Burdwan districts and the western half of the Hoogly district’. (Sarkar, 60.)

\[^{17}\] A city of the province on the western side of the Ganges, on the direct route between Lakhnauti and Katasin. (Raverty, 585 n, 6.)

\[^{18}\] The party reached Delhi in the month of Safar 643/July 1245. The Sultan bestowed his favours upon Tughan, and in the following month he was made the governor of Awadh, but he could not proceed to the new province till the accession of Nasiruddin Mahmud (644/1246). Shortly after his arrival in Awadh, he died in Shawwal 644/14 March 1247. Malik Qiran also died on the same night. (Ibid., 736-41.)

\[^{19}\] His dead body was taken to and buried in Awadh. (Ibid., 744.)
Jani who had been appointed to Bengal in 1230) with the high
sounding title of ‘Malikush Sharq’. Alauddin Jani called himself ‘Shah’
but maintained his allegiance to Sultan Nasiruddin.20

The first governor of Lakhnauti who assumed the title of ‘Sultan’
was Ikhtiyaruddin Yuzbek, who succeeded Masud Jani in 650/1252.
Before being assigned the charge of Lakhnauti, he had several times
rebelled against the Sultan of Delhi ‘for rashness and imperiousness
were implanted in his nature and constitution’. After having consoli-
dated his power in Lakhnauti (Varendra), he turned towards Radha
in 651/1253, where a son-in-law and feudatory of Rai Narasimhadeva I
had established his authority and whose capital was Umurdan
(Madaran in the north-eastern corner of the Hoogly district). He
fought two successful battles against the Rai of Jajnagar, but was
defeated badly in the third engagement.

Like his predecessor, Tughril Tughan Khan, Yuzbek implored the
help of the Sultan of Delhi but in vain. He, therefore, organized his
own forces and set out for Radha in 653/1255. This time he made
a surprise attack upon and captured Madaran. The Rai fled leaving
behind his family and followers, treasures and elephants, to be seized
by the Muslims. Malik Yuzbek completed the conquest of Radha by
capturing Nadia.

These conquests brought a change in his attitude towards Delhi.
More confident of his position now, he assumed three canopies of
state—red, black, and white21—and adopted the lofty title of ‘Sultan
Mughisuddin Abul Muzaffar Yuzbek as-Sultan’.

The next year brought an opportunity for Yuzbek to make an
attack on Awadh. Balban had ousted its governor, Malik Masud Jani,
and had penetrated as far as the frontiers of Tirhut in 554/1250. After
his departure Yuzbek marched towards Awadh, entered the province
triumphant and caused the Khutba to be recited in his name. But
he could stay there for two weeks only, because one of the Turkish
nobles spread the rumour that the army of Delhi was proceeding
towards Awadh. Yuzbek lost his courage and hastened back to
Lakhnauti. This step against the Delhi Sultan, Minhaj states, was
condemned by the people of Hindustan, Hindus and Muslims alike.

After his return to Lakhnauti, he decided to bring under his rule
the province of Kamrup (Kamrud).22 In the year 655/1257, he crossed

20 Sarkar, 51.

21 This is interpreted ‘as a token of his sovereignty over the three provinces,
Lakhnauti, Bihar and Awadh’. (See Ibid., II, 52.) But according to Minhaj, this
incident took place before the occupation of Awadh. (See Raverty, 783.)

22 ‘The land of Kamrup’, says Sarkar (II, 53), ‘was a term inognito to the Turkish
rulers of Lakhnauti.’ The river Karatoya (or Begmati) formed the dividing line
the river Begmati (Karāṭoya)\textsuperscript{23} and occupied the region without any opposition from its ruler, who retired to some place of safety. Yuzbek seized an immense booty and transformed Kamrup into a Muslim region by having the Khutba read in his name. But a tragic end awaited him. The shrewd Rai of Kamrup sent his envoys to Yuzbek, requesting him to reinstate him in his territory and promising that he would pay an annual tribute and would allow the Khutba to be read and the coins to be struck in Yuzbek's name. Yuzbek declined the offer. The Rai then cleverly sent his agents into the interior; they swore allegiance to Yuzbek, purchased all his grain at the high price he fixed and carried it to their headquarters. Yuzbek, unaware of the circumstances and the tricks, did not keep enough grain for his army. When the rainy season started, the Rai and his followers rose against Yuzbek on all sides.

Shortage of grain brought the Muslim army to the verge of starvation and it decided to retreat. But the Rai and his hidden soldiers surrounded the Muslim army, while the routes were flooded with water and occupied by the Hindus. Ultimately Yuzbek and his army were overpowered by the forces of the Rai. Yuzbek was wounded by an arrow in a skirmish and was then captured with his family. Before his death he made a request for his son being brought to him. He placed his face on the face of his son and breathed his last (1257).\textsuperscript{24}

After the death of Yuzbek, one Malik Izzuddin Balban-i Yuzbeki suddenly emerged as the ruler of Lakhnauti.\textsuperscript{25} He sent presents to the Sultan who confirmed him as governor of Lakhnauti. When Izzuddin marched to Bang, Arsalan Khan Sanjar, the governor of Kara, besieged Lakhnauti which was defended by the citizens for three days. At last the city fell and Arsalan Khan sacked and plundered it for three days. Malik Izzuddin returned in 657/1259 to Lakhnauti to share the fate that had befallen Sultan Ghivasuddin Iwaz Khalji.\textsuperscript{26}

The new master of Lakhnauti, Tajuddin Arsalan Khan Sanjar, was a slave of Sultan Iltutmish. After having served in various capacities, he finally reached Kara in 657/1259 from where he made a dash for

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\textsuperscript{23} Perhaps somewhere near Choraghat in the Rangpur district and marched through the modern Goalpara district along the northern bank of the Brahmaputra river. (Ibid., 83.)

\textsuperscript{24} See Raverty, 762-66.

\textsuperscript{25} Minhaj gives no details about his early career except that he held the post of Naib Amr-i Hajib at the Delhi court. (Ibid., 827.)

\textsuperscript{26} Ibid., 827, 769-71.
GOVERNORS OF LAKHNAUTHI

Lakhnauti. The Barahdari inscription of Bihar and a much later chronicle reveal that Malik Tajuddin Arsalan ruled over Bihar and Lakhnauti independently with the title of Sultan and died in 663/1265. He was succeeded by his son, Tatar Khan, who also was a capable ruler. He also ruled independently but is reported to have sent presents to Sultan Balban on the latter’s accession. He received gifts in return from the Sultan. He died probably two years after the accession of Balban. His successor, Sher Khan, a member of Tajuddin Arsalan’s family, restored the name of Balban on his coins in 667/1269.

Probably about this period the provinces of Lakhnauti and Bengal were conferred by Balban upon Tughril. Although originally a slave, Tughril possessed all the characteristic virtues of a Turk, indomitable will, reckless bravery, resourcefulness and boundless ambition. He soon consolidated his position and extended his power up to the modern districts of Faridpur and Dacca and annexed the river tracts on both banks of the Padma as far as Loricol, known as Aras-i Bangala. He established friendly relations with the ruler of Tippera. In addition, he sought the extension of his power in the tract of Radha also. He invaded the territory of Jajnagar several times and brought much booty from there. These successes made Tughril arrogant and defiant. He did not send the booty to the Sultan, and started using the chaht. He further assumed the title of Sultan Mughisuddin and caused the Khutba to be read and the coins to be

27 Ibid., 766-70. Here his account of Arsalan Khan breaks and Minhaj gives no further information about him.
28 Sarkar, II, 56-57.
29 Riazus Salatin (Trans.), 77-79.
30 Sarkar, II, 57.
31 See Barani, Tarikh-i Firuz Shahi. But according to Yahya (40), Amin Khan, the governor of Awadh, was assigned Lakhnauti and Tughril was made his deputy. The History of Bengal (II, 56) follows Yahya.
32 ‘About 25 miles due south of Dacca, and about 10 miles south-west of Rajabar.’ (Sarkar, 59.)
33 This political unit seems to be a portion of the bigger geographical unit known as Diyar-i Bangala (still unsubdued) for Balban is later reported to have referred to his conquest of Aras-i Bangala by turning out Tughril and to have ordered Bughra Khan to rule over Diyar-i Bangala. (See, Barani, 93; Sarkar, 59.)
34 Barani analyses the causes of his revolt. Besides the above-mentioned factors, the distance from Delhi and the preoccupations of the Delhi Sultan on the North-Western Frontiers made Bengal Balghakpur. (See Barani, 98-97.)
35 According to Yahya, rumours spread in Bengal about the death of Sultan Balban, and Tughril turned out Amin Khan and assumed royalty. The Sultan directed Malik Turmati, governor of Awadh, to subdue Tughril, but he was defeated. The Mir of Awadh, Malik Shihiabuddin, was sent against Tughril but he was also defeated. (Tarikh-i Mubarak Shahi, pp. 40-42.) According to Isami, Bahadur was sent from Delhi on the second expedition against Tughril. (Futuh-us Salatin, pp. 165-68.)
struck in his own name. In order to win the support of the people, he distributed his wealth lavishly.

When the news of his independence reached Delhi, it upset Balban completely. He lost his sleep and was extremely worried about the developments in Bengal, which seemed to compromise his position at Delhi also. He directed Amin Khan Aitigin Mui'daraz, governor of Awadh, to proceed along with other contingents of Hindustan and suppress the revolt of Tughril. The combined forces crossed the river Sarju. An engagement took place between the imperialists and Tughril somewhere between Tirhut and Lakhnauti. Many soldiers deserted Amin Khan and joined Tughril, and as a result the imperialists were routed. At Balban's order the defeated general was gibbeted and his body was hanged on the Awadh gate.

The Sultan then sent another army against Tughril but it also met with the same fate. The Sultan flew into a rage at the defeat of his second army and also assessed the proper dimensions of the Bengal revolt. He decided to march in person and ordered the construction of a fleet of boats on the Jumna and the Ganges. He placed Multan and the Mongol front in charge of his elder son, Prince Muhammad. Malikul Umara Fakhruddin, the Kotwal of Delhi, was appointed as the naib of the Sultan, and Bughra Khan, the younger son, was directed to accompany the Sultan to Lakhnauti. Thus, with vast preparations and determined to crush Tughril, Balban proceeded towards Lakhnauti in the beginning of January 1280.

On reaching Awadh, the Sultan reviewed the army. There were two lakhs of men, including cavalry, infantry, paiks, dhanuks, kahars, kiwani (?), khud-aspas (irregulars with their own horses), tirzan (archers), slaves, chakars (servants), saudagars (merchants) and bazaris (shop-keepers in the camp-bazar). The fleet also moved with these forces. The rainy season had started but the Sultan continued his march.

Tughril avoided a pitched battle; he left Lakhnauti and took the route to East Bengal (Jajnagar) with his family and picked soldiers. All those who were afraid of Sultan Balban's fury joined Tughril. They were under the false impression that the Sultan would not stay for long at Lakhnauti and that they would return to Lakhnauti with their booty from East Bengal.

In the meantime the Sultan arrived at Lakhnauti; he reorganised his army and conferred the shuhnagi of Lakhnauti upon Husamuddin, Barani's maternal grandfather, with instructions to keep him informed.

§§ Jajnagar is here incorrectly written by Barani for a place in East Bengal. Tughril obviously would not have gone to Jajnagar, which then meant Orissa.
about news coming from Delhi. The Sultan then proceeded towards East Bengal, determined to follow and capture Tughril. By forced marches he reached the suburbs of Sonargaon within a few days. Bhoj Rai of Sonargaon waited upon the Sultan and jointly they planned action against Tughril. The Rai was to be held responsible if Tughril fled by sea or land or crossed the river.

It is said that the Sultan often declared that he had put the kingdom of Delhi at stake for the capture of Tughril, and that he would not return to Delhi without achieving his aim. This determination of the Sultan disappointed his soldiers about returning to Delhi and they despatched farewell letters and their wills to their relatives at the capital.

The Sultan covered seventy or eighty kos by continuous marches and reached the frontiers of Sonargaon, but nobody could give him any idea of the whereabouts of Tughril. The Sultan detached a contingent of seven or eight thousand soldiers and dispatched it in advance under Malik Bektars. The malik, in accordance with Sultan's instructions, sent out some scouts every day to discover traces of Tughril. One day these scouts found out the camp of Tughril and at once sent news to Malik Bektars. But they did not wait for the arrival of Bektars and fell upon the camp of Tughril, when many of his soldiers were engaged in drinking. Tughril was taken by surprise; he jumped on to his horse and tried to escape. But before he could cross the river, one of the scouts shot an arrow at him and he fell down. His head was immediately cut off. Balban returned to Lakhnauti and mercilessly executed the relatives and supporters of Tughril. He appointed his eldest son, Bughra Khan, as governor of Lakhnauti, and left for Delhi in 1282.

The rebellion of Tughril during the reign of Balban was not merely an expression of the erratic behaviour of a provincial governor; it was symbolical of a situation arising out of geographical factors, which led the governors of Bengal to defy the authority of the Delhi sultans and attempt to establish independent kingdoms. When Barani wrote that Bengal was known as 'Bulghakpur', he had before him the political developments in that area since the establishment of the sultanat of Delhi.

After crushing the rebellion of Tughril, which took Balban three

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37 The History of Bengal (II, 65) gives a slightly different version. It says that Balban, and not the Rai, sought the interview; the latter insisted that the Sultan should receive the Rai (Rai Danuj) standing up from his throne. On the suggestion of a courtier it was arranged that when the Rai came, the Sultan rose up and let loose a hawk upon a bird. The Rai took it to be compliance with his condition, while others took it to be an accidental rising.
years of hard struggle, he sought to create conditions in Bengal which could ensure control of that region by Delhi. While entrusting its administration to his son, Bughra Khan, he made a long speech in which he expatiated on the need and expediency of obeying the central authority. But as things developed, Bughra Khan’s appointment itself facilitated the establishment of an independent dynasty in Bengal.

SULTAN NASIRUDDIN BUGHRA (1281-87)

When Balban put the province of Bengal under his son, Bughra, he appointed two advisers to help and assist the prince. One of them, a Khalji noble, was a seasoned civil officer of sound judgement and mature understanding; the other was an experienced warrior from the Salt Range (Koh-i Jud). One was expected to help the prince in civil and the other in military affairs.

Bughra Khan ruled over the province of Bengal for about six years (1281-87). It was during his regime that the well-defined divisions of Bengal began to appear—Lakhuauti, Satgaon, Sonargaon and Chatgaon. Balban had advised his son to conquer and consolidate the Arsa-i Bangala (Satgaon) and the Aqlin-i Bangala (Sonargaon). The prince set up his capital at Lakhuauti.

On Prince Muhammad’s death, Balban summoned Bughra Khan to Delhi as he wanted him to be near when the inescapable hand of death seized him. Bughra responded to the call but returned to his provincial capital against the wishes of his father. When Bughra decided to leave for the distant province of Bengal, he must have made up his mind to forego his claims on Delhi and exchange the crown of Delhi for the kingdom of Lakhuauti.

A week after Balban’s death, sometime in September 1287, during which he mourned his father’s death—Bughra assumed the title of Sultan Nasiruddin Mahmud and caused the Khutba and the coins to be put in his name.38 Barani refers to the cordial relations between Nasiruddin Mahmud and Kaiqubad and says that presents were also exchanged between them. It is not necessary to recapitulate here the developments in Delhi and the circumstances under which Bughra proceeded to Awadh to meet his son.

An important outcome of the historic meeting of the father and the son in Awadh was the implied and tacit acceptance of the independence of Bengal. Kaiqubad’s fast life led to paralysis and eventually paved the way for the rise of the Khalijis. No contemporary authority refers to the reactions of Sultan Nasiruddin to the tragic

38 Barani, 128, 141-43, 160.
end of his house at Delhi. The author of the *Riyazu Salatin*, perhaps on the basis of the traditions he found floating down the stream of time, says that Bughra discarded the insignia of royalty. It is difficult to agree with the author that he did this out of fear of the Khaljis. It was perhaps a shock which developed in him disgust of all material glory and power. It cannot be said as to how long Bughra survived this shock.

**Sultan Ruknuddin Kaikaus (1291-1301)**

Nasiruddin Bughra's son, Kaikaus, in his teens at that time, was raised to the throne after the abdication of his father. A silver coin minted at Lakhnauti in 690/1291 may be taken as the earliest evidence of his reign. Numismatic and epigraphic evidence shows that he ruled over Bihar and Bengal for about eight years. His reign saw a brisk architectural activity and a number of buildings were put up during his reign. The Devkot and Lakhirserai inscriptions record the construction of mosques in those areas in 697/1297. A madrasa was also built by him at Triveni in 698/1298.39

The kingdom of Bengal at that time comprised of four main political units namely, Bihar, Satgaon (Saptagram), Bang and Devkot, fencing in Lakhnauti and Radha. Sultan Jalaluddin Khalji, the contemporary ruler of Delhi, was busy elsewhere and could not turn his attention to Bengal.

**Sultan Shamsuddin Firuz Shah (1301-22)**

Sultan Shamsuddin Firuz, who succeeded Ruknuddin Kaikaus, had been a *de facto* ruler during the reign of Sultan Nasiruddin Mahmud and was governor of Bihar under his successor. Ibn-i Battuta includes him among the descendants of Sultan Nasiruddin Mahmud but this is not confirmed by any contemporary record.40 He and his descendants held sway over Bengal for about forty years till it was again made a province of the Delhi sultanat by Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq.

One of the significant features of the reign of the new Sultan was the expansion of Muslim power into the modern district of Mymensingh and thence across the Brahmaputra into the Sylhet district of Assam. The first invasion of Sylhet seems to have taken place in 703/1303.

Sultan Shamsuddin Firuz seems to have ascended the throne at

39 *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, 1917-18, 13, Plate II.
40 The fact that his coins do not contain the phrase, *Sultan bin Sultan*, shows that he did not belong to a royal dynasty. But most writers, relying upon the genealogy reconstructed by Thomas and on the doubtful testimony of Ibn-i Battuta, include Sultan Shamsuddin among the descendants of Nasiruddin Mahmud. (Sarkar, 77.)
the age of fifty. His grown up and ambitious sons were eager to seize the throne. At least three of his six sons assumed kingly power during his lifetime.

According to the numismatic evidence available, Sultan Firuz could peacefully rule over Bihar, Lakhnauti, Satgaon and Bang (Sonargaon) till 707/1307-8 and only over Bihar and West Bengal (Satgaon) during 710-22/1310-22.

Like the Tughluq Sultan, who was his name-sake, Firuz was fond of building cities after his name. He founded Firozabad-Pandua (generally attributed to Firuz Tughluq) and named Tribeni as Firozabad. He died in 1322.41

GHIYASUDDIN BAHADUR SHAH

Ghiyasuddin Bahadur, the turbulent son of Shamsuddin Firuz, ruled over Lakhnauti and Sonargaon during 710-28/1310-27 with two interruptions. During his father’s lifetime he ruled over Lakhnauti or over some part of North Bengal during 710-15/1310-16. In 717/1817 he was ousted from Lakhnauti by his brother, Shihabuddin Bughdah. He, however, captured Sonargaon at this time and Lakhnauti after two years, but his father challenged his authority. After his father’s death in 722/1322, he became the virtual ruler of Lakhnauti and Sonargaon. He seems to have been deprived of Lakhnauti once again, but this time by his brother, Nasiruddin Ibrahim Shah, who was ruling over it when Sultan Ghiyasuddin Tughluq came to conquer Tirhut and Bengal in 724/1324. When Sultan Ghiyasuddin captured Tirhut,42 Nasiruddin Ibrahim Shah came forward, met the Tughluq Sultan at Tirhut, and offered to capture and bring Bahadur Shah, if the Sultan would send a contingent with him. The Tughluq Sultan accepted the offer and sent Tatar Khan with Nasiruddin along with a strong army. Bahadur Shah was, at that time, in his newly founded city, Ghiyaspur (in the modern Mymensingh district). On the arrival of the imperialists, he hurried to Lakhnauti. Nasiruddin came out of the city to meet him. A severe conflict took place in which Bahadur was defeated. When he was retreating towards Ghiyaspur, the imperialists captured him and presented him to Ghiyasuddin Tughluq as a captive at Lakhnauti, where the Tughluq Sultan was holding his court.

41 Ibid., 77-82.
42 It was the last Hindu stronghold in Mithila under the Karnatak dynasty, which after its fall became a mint-town of the Tughluq sultans and came to be known as Tughluqupur urf Tirhut. (Ibid., 84.) But according to an alternative version, Sultan Ghiyasuddin invaded Tirhut when he was returning from Bengal. Harisimha, the ruler of Tirhut, had not been subdued completely when the Sultan heard disturbing news about the conduct of his son and had to leave Tirhut.
Ghiyasuddin Tughluq stayed at Lakhnauti for some time to make administrative arrangements, and after having confirmed Nasiruddin in Lakhnauti, he assigned the charge of Sonargaon and Satgaon to Bahram Khan alias Tatar Khan. After that the Sultan returned to Delhi to meet his tragic end at Afghanpur in 725/1325.

The next Delhi Sultan, Muhammad bin Tughluq (1325-51), adopted a more effective policy towards Bengal. In order to check the power of Tatar Khan and Sultan Nasiruddin, Muhammad bin Tughluq made the following arrangements. He liberated and loaded with honours Sultan Ghiyasuddin Bahadur Shah and sent him to Sonargaon to rule over that province as a ‘vassal king’, while Tatar Khan was to stay there as the representative of the Delhi Sultan. Malik Pindar (or Bedar), entitled Qadr Khan, was appointed governor of Lakhnauti, Malik Abu Rija was made the wazir of Lakhnauti, and Izzuddin Yahya was appointed to the governorship of Satgaon. Thus all the three centres of political power in Bengal—Lakhnauti, Sonargaon and Satgaon—were effectively controlled. Perhaps the Sultan realized the difficulties of controlling Bengal if local elements were not associated; and the danger of their rebellion was eliminated by placing a permanent representative of the centre at each of the two governments of Bengal.

Sultan Nasiruddin was, like Ghiyasuddin of Sonargaon, a nominal sultan who continued to issue coins in his own and Sultan Muhammad’s name till 726/1326. Later he was recalled by the Sultan to join the imperial army against Kishlu Khan. His name was omitted from the coinage of Lakhnauti from 727/1327 onward. He died some time after 728. The exact date and place of his death are unknown.

Sultan Ghiyasuddin ruled over Sonargaon and issued coins both in his own and the Tughluq Sultan’s name till 728/1328. When he aspired for the sovereignty of the whole of Bengal and rebelled against the Tughluq Sultan, he was punished by Tatar Khan, who flayed his skin and sent it to Sultan Muhammad who ordered it to be hung from the dome of victory.

Thus came to an end the rule of the house of Shamsuddin Firuz, and the three main divisions of Muslim Bengal—Lakhnauti, Satgaon and Sonargaon—passed under the kingdom of Delhi and were governed by Qadr Khan, Malik Izzuddin Yahya, and Tatar Khan respectively. The system worked successfully till 1388.

43 Isami, 422.
44 Yahya, 96.
45 Isami, 444.
CIVIL WARS IN BENGAL

Disturbances broke out when, on the death of Tatar Khan at Sonargaon in 739/1338, Fakhruddin, a confidential officer of Tatar Khan, rebelled and assumed the title of Sultan Fakhruddin Mubarak Shah. But the combined forces of Lakhnauti and Satgaon, led by Qadr Khan, Izzuddin Yahya and Firuz Khan of Kara, expelled Fakhruddin from Sonargaon. Qadr Khan occupied Sonargaon and the other generals retired to their respective provinces. But after some time Fakhruddin returned to fight with Qadr Khan, who was staying at Sonargaon. On this occasion the supporters of Qadr Khan, who had not been given any share out of the booty acquired from Sonargaon, not only deserted him but killed him and joined Fakhruddin. Fakhruddin then sent his slave, Mukhis, to capture Lakhnauti but Mukhis was killed by Ali Mubarak, the oiriz of Qadr Khan. After this victory, Ali Mubarak applied to Delhi for his confirmation as governor of Lakhnauti. The Sultan, however, sent Malik Yusuf, the shahna of Delhi, to assume charge of Lakhnauti, but he died on the way. After that the Sultan could not turn his attention to the affairs of Bengal, which lost all contact with Delhi after 740/1339.46

Fakhruddin Mubarak Shah ruled over Sonargaon from 1338 to 1350 and annexed Chittagong.47 He was succeeded by Ikhtiyaruddin Ghazi Shah, probably his son, who ruled till 753/1352-53, when Sonargaon was occupied by Haji Ilyas Shah.48

Ali Mubarak ruled over Lakhnauti under the title of Alauddin Ali Shah from 1339 to 1342, when he was killed by his officer, Ilyas.

SULTAN SHAMSUDDIN ILYAS SHAH (1342-57)

Ilyas Shah, who captured Lakhnauti in 743/1342 and Sonargaon in 753/1352-53, initiated an era of brilliant achievements in the history of Bengal. After having consolidated his position at Lakhnauti, he began to extend his dominions in the west. Tirhut, then ruled by two rival Hindu rulers, Sakhi Singh and Kamesvara, was conquered by him. Next in 1396 he invaded Nepal which was ruled by Jayrajdeva. He plundered it without much opposition and destroyed the Swayambhunath Stupa at Khatmandu but he did not stay long and retired to his capital. These successive conquests encouraged Ilyas Shah to march

46 Yahya, 104-05.
47 Sarkar, 99. It was during his reign that Ibn-i Battuta visited Bengal. He gives an interesting account of it in his Rihla.
48 Sarkar, II, 96. But according to Yahya (105) and Afif (137) Fakhruddin was captured and later beheaded by Ilyas Shah, while the Rihzus Salatin (96) says that he was killed by Ali Mubarak in 741/1340-41.
into Orissa from where he brought an immense booty, including forty-four elephants. He further extended his authority beyond Tirhut to Champaran and Gorakhpur, whose rajas acknowledged his authority. He, finally, extended his dominions right up to Banaras. 49

When he was at the peak of his power, Sultan Firuz Tughluq knocked at the gates of his kingdom to measure swords with him. The Delhi Sultan set out in 1353 at the head of a mighty army, 90,000 cavalry, a large infantry, archers and a flotilla of a thousand boats. The imperial army proceeded to Awadh and, marching through Gorakhpur and Champaran (the newly subdued territories of Ilyas) and pushing back the forces of Bengal at every point by its superb strategy, entered Bengal and occupied Firozabad-Pandua. The Sultan granted amnesty to the inhabitants of the city and, in order to win their support, liberally granted lands to the nobles and other deserving people.

Shamsuddin Ilyas Shah had shut himself up in the fort of Ekdala, 50 which was regarded as one of the strongest forts of Bengal. Sultan Firuz Shah proceeded towards Ekdala and tried to besiege it, but the site where he had encamped was not suitable. Mosquitoes gave much trouble to the imperialists. The Sultan decided to retreat towards Pandua. But he did this in such a manner that Ilyas took it to be a panic-stricken flight, threw all caution to the winds and came out of the fort to deliver a charge upon the retiring imperialists. The Sultan immediately turned towards the enemy, and completely routed the forces of Bengal, which fled to Ekdala leaving behind a large number of dead soldiers and elephants. The latter were captured by the army of Delhi. Ilyas again shut himself in the fort of Ekdala.

Sultan Firuz now made up his mind to punish Ilyas Shah. He marched to storm the fort, but moved by the lamentations of the women, who appeared without their veils on the top of the ramparts, he abstained from an assault. Peace was concluded and the Sultan returned to Delhi in 755/1354. 51

49 Sarkar, 104-05.

50 Westminster has identified it with a village of the same name in the Dhanjar Pargana of Dinajpur district, about 23 miles north of Pandua in Malda district, 42 miles north of Gaur. 15 miles west of Ghoraghat on the Malda side of the river Tangan. (Sarkar, 107, n. 1.)

51 For details see, Barani, 587-96, Afs, 109-22; Yahya, 124-25; Sirot-i Firoz Shahi, 15a-22a.

According to Barani, Firoz started in 754/1353 and returned in 755/1354, i.e. within 10 months. This chronology is found unsatisfactory. Sarkar (105, n. 1) suggests 1353 and 1354 as dates of march and return respectively on the basis of Afs’s reference to the campaign and on the authority of an inscription on a tomb at Bihar.
For the rest of his reign Ilyas Shah remained at peace with the Delhi Sultan and exchanged gifts with him.\textsuperscript{52} This amicable settlement with the Delhi Sultan gave Ilyas Shah an opportunity to extend his territory. Kamrup, hitherto unsubdued,\textsuperscript{53} proved to be a fertile land, which was ruled at that time by a weak raja.\textsuperscript{54} A bold attack in 758/1357 laid Kamrup at the feet of the Sultan of Bengal.\textsuperscript{55}

After a peaceful reign, Ilyas Shah died in 759/1358 and was succeeded by his son, Sikandar Shah.

\textbf{Sikandar Shah (1357-89)}

The efforts of the new Sultan to maintain cordial relations with Firuz Shah failed.\textsuperscript{56} Zafar Khan,\textsuperscript{57} a son-in-law of Sultan Fakhruddin of Sonargaon, waited upon Sultan Firuz Shah Tughluq and persuaded him to espouse his cause. Firuz set out for Lakhnauti in 1359 at the head of a huge army consisting of 80,000 cavalry and a large number of infantry and 470 war-elephants. Sikandar adopted his father's tactics and took shelter in the fort of Ekdala. Firuz besieged the fort in vain. Ultimately a peace was concluded, gifts were exchanged and Firuz Shah returned to Delhi.\textsuperscript{58} No other sultan of Delhi, till the rise of the Lodos, disturbed the rulers of Bengal.

After a long and peaceful reign of about thirty-five years Sikandar Shah died in a battle against his rebel son, Ghiyasuddin Azam Shah, near Pandua\textsuperscript{59} (in 1389).

\textsuperscript{52} Yahya, 126, 127.
\textsuperscript{53} Both Ghiyasuddin Iwuz in 1227 and Malik Yuzbek in 1257 had failed to capture it.
\textsuperscript{54} The ruler of Kamta at that time was Indra Narayan. During his weak rule a Hindu chief had set himself up as an independent ruler at Kamrup in 1329. (Sarkar, 110.)
\textsuperscript{55} Sarkar, II, 109-10.
\textsuperscript{56} Yahya, 128.
\textsuperscript{57} He was a Persian noble and son-in-law of Sultan Fakhruddin of Sonargaon and held an important post in the revenue department. He lost his post and honour when Ilyas Shah captured Sonargaon in 1352-53. He went to Hisar Firoza in A.H. 758 and sought the help of Sultan Firuz, who honoured him with the post of naib wazir and promised to help him. (See Afif, 137-44; Yahya, 128.)
\textsuperscript{58} Afif gives a graphic account of this expedition. (\textit{Tarihk-i Firuz Shahi}, 137-41, 144-63; see also Yahya, 127-28.)
\textsuperscript{59} Sikandar had seventeen sons from his first wife and only one (Ghiyasuddin) from his second wife. He loved Ghiyasuddin more than his other sons. This aroused jealousy in the heart of his first wife, who intrigued against the prince. The prince got an inkling of the plot, fled to Sonargaon and openly rose against his father. Ultimately a battle took place at Goalpara in which Sikandar was killed, although the prince had ordered his soldiers not to strike at his father in the battle-field. (See \textit{Bisan\textsuperscript{5}} Sola\textsuperscript{3}, 108-9.)
Sultan Ghiyasuddin Azam Shah was one of the most popular sultans of Bengal. He is known for his love of justice and his relations with the outside academic world, including the celebrated poet, Hafiz of Shiraz.

During his reign there occurred a conflict between the Ahom Raja Sudangphua (1397-1407) and the Raja of Kamta. He tried to utilize this opportunity for extending his authority and invaded the territory of the Raja of Kamta; but the two rajas patched up their differences and appeared against the Sultan with their combined forces. Ghiyasuddin could not face them and his army was forced back to the river Karatoya.

Sultan Ghiyasuddin is reported to have established friendly relations with Khwaja Jahan, the ruler of Jaunpur (1394-99). In 1406 a Chinese envoy visited his court, and the Sultan sent his own envoy with some gifts to the court of the Chinese emperor in 1409. The Sultan had very intimate relations with the famous Chishti saint of his time, Shaikh Nur Qutb-i Alam. He is reported to have met his tragic death at the hands of Raja Ganesh in 813/1409.

After Sultan Ghiyasuddin Azam Shah several minor and weak successors came to the throne but they were puppets in the hands of the powerful nobles. One such noble was Raja Ganesh of Dinajpur, who rose to power towards the close of Ghiyasuddin’s reign. Three weak kings—namely, Saifuddin Hamza, son of Ghiyasuddin with the title of Sultanus Salatin (c. 813-14/1410-12), his adopted son, Shihabuddin Bayazid Shah (c. 815-17/1413-14), and Alauddin Firuz Shah, son

60 Sarkar (118) gives the date of his accession as 1389, The Delhi Sultanate (203) places it between 1389 and 1393. In The Cambridge History of India (III, 289, n, 1) the date fixed by Stanley Lane-Poole (The Mamlukid Dynasties, 307) is quoted as 1389. In view of the the fact that the poet Hafiz, with whom Ghiyasuddin corresponded, died in 1388, it is suggested that unless his accession is antedated, it should be assumed that Ghiyasuddin enjoyed royal power at Sonargaon before his father’s death.

61 Once an arrow shot by the Sultan accidentally hit a widow’s son. She brought her complaint before the qazi, who summoned the Sultan to his court and decided the case against him. The Sultan was pleased with the qazi for his boldness and rewarded him liberally. (For details see the Riazus Salatin, 110-11.)

62 The Chinese interpreter, Mahum, who came to Bengal in 1409, has left an interesting account of Bengal. (See Sarkar, 118-19.)

63. See Riazus Salatin, III, but it gives A.H. 775, as the date of his death. We have accepted the date given in The History of Bengal (119).

64. One notable thing about his reign is that he continued friendly relations with China and sent a letter written on a gold plate and a giraffe to the Chinese emperor. (Sarkar, 118.)
of Shihabuddin, (817/1414-15)—were raised to the throne one after another, till in 1415 Raja Ganesh himself managed to assume the royal power.\textsuperscript{65} This created a stir in Bengal and a number of ulama and saints, including Shaikh Nur Quth-i Alam, wrote to Sultan Ibrahim of Jaunpur and sought his help to overthrow Ganesh. The ruler of Jaunpur marched into Bengal in 1415. Thereupon peace was concluded on condition that Ganesh would convert his son, Jadusen, to Islam and would raise him to the throne of Bengal.

After the departure of the Jaunpur army, Ganesh placed his twelve-year son on the throne and himself wielded authority under the title of Danuj-mardan Deva. According to Ferishta he ruled effectively and treated Muslims with favour. But he is alleged to have reconverted his son to Hinduism, which made him unpopular. The reconverted son could not secure a proper place in Hindu society and at the same time he lost the support of the Muslims. Ganesh died in 812/1418. After his death the Hindu chiefs placed his younger son on the throne under the title of Mahendra Deva (devoted to the feet of the goddess Chandi), but he was removed in the same year (1418), and the crown then passed on to the elder son of Ganesh, Jadusen.

**Sultan Jalaluddin Muhammad Shah (1418-31)**

Jadusen (Jalaluddin) agreed to assume the crown on the condition that he was allowed to accept Islam. Thus, after reconversion to Islam, he ascended the throne in 1418.\textsuperscript{66} He then ruled peacefully over the whole of Bengal, from the Kusi river in the north-west to Chittagong in the south-east, and from Fathabad and Satgaon in south Bengal to the border of the Karatoya in the north-east. He annexed a portion of Tipperah and Rohtasgarh in south Bihar to his dominion. He transferred his capital from Panud to Gaur, but decorated the former capital also with fine buildings, mosques and inns.\textsuperscript{67} He was a liberal monarch and conferred several high posts upon his Hindu subjects and patronized several Hindu scholars also.\textsuperscript{68}

After a long and peaceful reign he died about 835/1431 and was succeeded by his son, Shamsuddin Ahmad Shah.

\textsuperscript{65} Ibid., 116, 119.

\textsuperscript{66} Ibid., II, 128-29.

\textsuperscript{67} Ibid., 129.

\textsuperscript{68} For instance, a Brahman, named Brhaspati Misra of Kulingram (in Burdwan district), was made the court-pandit; Sri Rajyadhara, another notable Hindu, was raised to the status of an army commander, and Brhaspati's son, Visvas Rai, was one of his ministers. He patronized a famous Sanskrit scholar, who was probably his teacher also and who wrote commentaries on several works and prepared a digest on Hindu rites. (See The Delhi Sultanate, 209-10.)
SHAMSUDDIN AHMAD SHAH (1431-35)

Shamsuddin continued his father's liberal policy and maintained friendly relations with China. A Chinese envoy came to his court in 1431-32. During his reign Ibrahim Sharqi led an invasion against Bengal. Shamsuddin implored the help of Shah Rukh of Herat. Shah Rukh sent a message to the Sultan of Jaunpur asking him not to attack his territory.

His short rule came to an end with his assassination by his slaves, Shadi Khan and Nasir Khan.

RESTORATION OF THE ILYAS SHAHI DYNASTY;
NASIRUDDIN MAHMUD SHAH (1442-58)

Soon dissension broke out among the assassins themselves. Nasir Khan first crowned Shadi Khan and then got him killed and took his place. But he was assassinated by his rivals, who raised to the throne Mahmud, a descendant of Ilyas. He assumed the title of Nasiruddin Abul Muzaffar Mahmud. He enjoyed a peaceful reign from at least 846/1442 to 862/1458.

During this period the Sharqi rulers were engaged in their fateful conflict with the Lodi kings, and so they could not turn their attention to Bengal.

So far as the political achievements of Mahmud are concerned, it may be mentioned that some part of the Jessore and Khulna districts and part of the modern 24 Parganas (in the Satgaon province) seem to have been annexed by him to his large and consolidated kingdom. He further beautified the capital city (Gaur) with many buildings.99

RUKNUDDIN BARBEK SHAH (1459-74)

The efficient administration and peaceful reign of Nasiruddin Mahmud enabled his son and successor, Ruknuddin Barbek, to extend his dominions. The new ruler organized a militia of Abyssinian slaves and employed Arab soldiers also. One of these Arab soldiers was a Quraish, named Ismail, whose military exploits are preserved in the Risahtatus Shuhada.70 According to this work, Ismail reoccupied the fort of Madaran, which had previously been captured by the Raja of Orissa, called the Gajapati. The Hindu commandant of the fort was also captured by Ismail. The hero of these exploits was then deputed to lead an army to Kamrup. Here again the expedition led to the


70 Compiled in 1633 by Pir Muhammad Shattari and discovered at the shrine of that saint at Kantaduar, a few miles north-east of Ghoraghat, Rangpur district. The text and an abridged translation of it were published by G. H. Damant in JASB, 1874, 218-39. (See Ibid., II, 193, n. 1.)
reoccupation of the cis-Karatoya region, lately overrun by the Kamrup forces. A tough battle was fought near (Mahi) Santosh in Dinajpur, at the end of which the Raja of Kamrup, Kameswar, surrendered and accepted Islam, and the Kamrup forces withdrew. But the warrior-saint, at the instigation of the commandant of the frontier-fort of Ghoraghat on the Karatoya, was executed by the orders of Barbek in 1474.

The reign of Barbek witnessed an all-round expansion. North of the Ganges his empire extended at least up to Barur (a pargana in the Purnia district) while the newly conquered Jessore-Khulna region formed his southern frontier.

Barbek was a great patron of Bengali literature. The celebrated poet, Maladhar Basu, compiler of Sri Krishna Bijay, was patronized by him and was granted the title of Gunaraj Khan. His son was honoured with the title of Satyaraj Khan.71

SHAMSUDDIN YUSUF SHAH (1474-81)

Ruknuddin Barbek was succeeded by his talented and learned son, Shamsuddin Yusuf, who was a capable administrator and had a deep regard for justice. He introduced prohibitionary measures. The Baisdarwaza mosque built by him contains an inscription which indicates that he had acquired some territory in the south-west at the expense of Orissa. He constructed several other buildings also. He died about 886/1481, and was succeeded by Sikandar, probably his son. Sikandar was, however, deposed after three days when it was discovered that he was a lunatic.72

JALALUDDIN FATH SHAH (1481-87)

The next ruler was Husain, son of Nasiruddin Mahmud,73 who styled himself as Jalaluddin Fath Shah. He was an intelligent and enlightened ruler. As the Abyssinian slaves had become turbulent, he tried to curb their power but fell a victim to their dagger. The chief eunuch, Sultan Shahzada, in league with the discontented Abyssinian slaves, assassinated the Sultan in 892/1486. Thus came to an end the Ilyas Shahi dynasty, which had produced several talented and liberal monarchs, who were great builders and were very popular in Bengal.74

After the murder of Fath Shah, Shahzada with the title of Barbek

71 Ibid., II, 132-36.
72 Ibid., 156; also The Delhi Sultanate, 213.
73 The Riazus Salatin (121) calls him the son of Yusuf Shah, but this is contradicted by numismatic evidence and by inscriptions in which he is described as the son of Nasiruddin Mahmud. (Sarkar, 187.)
74 Ibid., 137.
Shah assumed the crown but was assassinated within a few months by Malik Andil, a loyal Abyssinian commander. Andil offered the crown to Fath’s infant son, but the mother of the child did not agree to it. Consequently the nobles persuaded Andil to accept the crown.

**Saifuddin Firuz (1487-90)**

Malik Andil then ascended the throne with the title of Saifuddin Firuz. He was loyal to the house of Ilyas Shah and was a just and efficient ruler. After a peaceful rule of three years, he was killed by the *paiks*, who had now assumed the role of king-makers.\(^{75}\)

**Nasiruddin Mahmud (1490-91)**

The next ruler was Nasiruddin Mahmud, either the son of Firuz or of Fath Shah. Being a boy-king, he was dominated by his tutor, an Abyssinian noble, Habsh Khan, who himself aspired for the throne. But before he could usurp the throne, another Abyssinian noble, Sidi Badr, killed him. He then assassinated Nasiruddin Mahmud and ascended the throne without much opposition. Nasiruddin reigned for about a year.\(^{76}\)

**Shamsuddin Muzaffar (1491-93)**

The Abyssinian assassin, nick-named Diwana, ascended the throne as Shamsuddin Muzaffar Shah and inaugurated a reign of terror. He mercilessly put down all Hindu and Muslim nobles suspected of opposition to his authority. He did not spare even the soldiers and the common people. Heavy revenue demands and the reduction in the salaries of the soldiers hastened his fall. His talented wazir, Saiyyid Husain, noticed the tide of opposition and made a common cause with the discontented people. Leading the opposition, the wazir besieged Muzaffar in his fort. The siege continued for four months with heavy casualties on both sides. Subsequently the wazir got Muzaffar killed secretly with the help of the *paiks* about the end of 1493.\(^{77}\)

**Alauddin Husain (1493-1519)**

Saiyyid Husain, who assumed the crown in 1493, inaugurated a brilliant epoch in the history of Bengal. A year after his accession he adopted the title of *Khalifatullah*.\(^{78}\) Under his peaceful and enlightened rule, the creative genius of the people of medieval Bengal reached

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\(^{76}\) *Tabaqat*, III, 440-41; Sarkar, II, 139-40.

\(^{77}\) *Tabaqat*, III, 441-42; Sarkar, II, 140-41.

\(^{78}\) In an inscription found in Malda he styles himself as such.
its zenith. The vernacular made a tremendous advance. He allowed a fairly liberal share to the Hindus in his administration.

He was, however, a stern administrator, and he executed about twelve thousand soldiers, who had continued to plunder the capital city against his orders. He further disbanded the notorious paiks, liquidated the Abyssinian slaves, and restored Hindu and Muslim nobles to their former positions. All these measures won for him the golden opinion of the people of Bengal. His reign witnessed the consolidation of the kingdom. He not only restored the old frontiers of Bengal but also annexed certain other areas to his kingdom.

Alauddin shifted his capital to Ekdala and, after consolidating his position there, adopted a vigorous foreign policy which brought him fame and glory.

The fall of the Sharqi kingdom and its annexation by the vigorous Lodis and their march up to the borders of Bihar threatened the frontiers of the Bengal kingdom. The defeated Sultan of Jaunpur, Husain, had sought shelter with the ruler of Bengal, a fact which Sultan Sikandar Lodi could not ignore.

Incensed at the friendly attitude of the King of Bengal towards the fugitive Sultan of Jaunpur, Sikandar Lodi proceeded from Darweshpur to Tughluqpur, on the Bengal frontier, in 1495. The aggressive designs of the Lodi Sultan brought the Bengal army into action. Alauddin Husain despatched his son, Daniyal, to check Sikandar’s progress. No battle, however, was fought but both the armies remained encamped at Barh, facing each other. Ultimately, on the instructions of Sultan Sikandar, his generals, Mahmud Lodi and Mubarak Nohani, entered into a non-aggression treaty and Prince Daniyal gave a pledge not to give shelter to the Sultan’s enemies.

After the departure of Sultan Sikandar Lodi, Husain Shah seems to have occupied the whole of north Bihar, including the trans-Gandak area. Some inscriptions found at Monghyr and Bihar testify to the fact that south Bihar, extending to within few miles of Patna, also formed part of the Bengal kingdom.

During the preceding period of civil wars, Nilambar, the Khen King of Kamtapur, seems to have extended his frontiers on the eastern bank of the Karatoya. In 1498 Sultan Husain despatched Ismail Ghazi to recover the lost territory. Ismail besieged the Khen capital, but the siege continued for many years. According to one tradition it lasted for twelve years. Finally Kamtapur fell and was plundered. Its ruler was captured and brought to Gaur but he managed to escape. His possessions up to Hajo were annexed to the Bengal

79 About 30 miles east of Patna.
kingdom and a colony of Afghans was planted in Kamrup. Husain's son, Daniyal, was appointed viceroy of the newly occupied region.

On the frontier of Orissa, the fort of Mandaran, formerly a frontier fortress between the two kingdoms, seems to have come under the control of the Rai of Orissa. Here again Ghazi Ismail is reported to have eventually occupied this fortress. 80

Another conflict of a protracted nature took place against the ruler of Tipperah. The first attack, launched not later than 1513, was repulsed by the Tipperah army. The second expedition led by Gaur Malik suffered a heavy loss. The third expedition sent under Hatim Khan also met the same fate. During the last two mentioned expeditions most of the retreating Bengali forces were drowned in the Gomati. The fourth and the final attack was launched by Husain Shah in person. A severe battle was fought near the Kailagarh fort. The battle seems to have ended in the occupation of some portion of Tipperah by Husain Shah. It was probably about the same period that Chittagong was also occupied by the Bengali forces, but it seems that, taking advantage of the prolonged conflict between the Orissan and Bengali forces, the ruler of Arakan captured Chittagong.

A powerful army under the command of Prince Nusrat was sent against the King of Arakan, who had occupied Chittagong. The prince recovered Chittagong. After the departure of Nusrat, Paragal Khan and later on his son, Chhuti, continued to press the Arakanese forces southwards. This struggle came to an end by 1517.

The peaceful and glorious reign of Husain Shah came to an end in 1519. He had not only restored the old boundaries of the Bengal kingdom but had also added Kamrup, Saran and part of Tipperah to it. His kingdom comprised of a vast territory bounded by Saran and Bihar on the north-west, on the south-east by Sylhet and Chittagong, Hajo on the north-east, and Mandaran and the 24-Parganas on the south-west.

Himself a learned man, Husain Shah patronized learning and the Bengali language. He won the hearts of his subjects—Hindus and Muslims alike. The former went so far as to honour him as an incarnation of Krishna—Nripati Tilak (Crown of Kings) and Jagat-Bhushan (Adornment of the Universe). He liberally conferred high posts upon his Hindu subjects. His wazir was a talented Hindu, Gopinath Basu. Mukanda Das was his private physician, Kesava Chhatri held the post

80 The exact date of this expedition cannot be determined. The Mudha Panjika (a chronicle of the Jagannath temple at Puri) places it in 1509; the biographies of Chaitanya indicate that it took place between 1509 and 1516, while the numismatic evidence puts it on a date earlier than 1504-5. It may have been a war of protracted nature. (Sarkar, 148.)
of the chief of his body-guard, Anup was the master of the mint, and Gaur Malik was the military chief who led the expedition to Tipperah. The two celebrated brothers, Rupa and Sanatan, held high posts, and one of them was his private secretary (dlabir-i khas).

Maladhar Basu, Bipadras, Bijay Gupta and Jasoraj Khan, the famous Bengali writers, flourished during his enlightened rule. He is reported to have shown great respect to Chaitanya.  

Nasiruddin Abul Muzaffar

Nusrat Shah (1519-32)

Nusrat, the eldest son and heir-apparent of Husain Shah, was unanimously raised to the throne after his father’s death. Curiously enough, instead of executing his brothers, he increased their allowances and raised their dignities.

His father had witnessed the extinction of the Jaunpur kingdom; he witnessed the fall of the Lodí power and managed to deal with the problems that cropped up.

A new power, the Lohani kingdom, had emerged in Bihar in 1522; it was eager to maintain friendly relations with Bengal in order to safeguard its position against the Lodís. Towards the close of Ibrahim Lodí’s reign, the eastern provinces had slipped out of his hands. The Lohanis and Farmulis built their power from Jaunpur to Patna, while Nusrat Shah extended his hold in Bihar up to Tirhut and placed it under his brothers-in-law, Alauddin and Makhduum-i Alam. The latter established himself at Hajipur and brought under his control the whole tract on both sides of the Ghogra, as far as Azamgarh. The Afghan kingdom served as a barrier to the Bengal kingdom and Nusrat Shah maintained cordial relations with it.

When Humayun dislodged Maruf and Nasir Lohani from Kanauj and Jaunpur in 1526 and appropriated the Gangetic region up to the Ghogra (south of the Tons), Nusrat Shah realized the danger of the Mughal threat. He, therefore, assured Babur of his neutrality by sending his envoys to the Mughal court and this led Babur to abandon his campaign against Bengal in 1528.

The disorganized Afghans could not withstand the Mughal pressure, and their collapse in the eastern region created a serious problem for Nusrat Shah, who had to face the Mughals with his own resources and diplomacy.

In 1529 Babur sent his envoy from Buxar and demanded from Nusrat free passage across the Ghogra. The latter evaded an early reply and directed his governor, Makhduum-i Alam, to strengthen the line of defence on the Ghogra-Ganges confluence. Babur sent another

81 Ibid., 142-52.
envoy demanding the acceptance of his terms. Probably no answer came and finally Babur mobilized his forces which crossed into Saran after a severe conflict. After some time Husain Khan and the Shahzada of Monghyr signed an agreement on behalf of Nusrat and thus saved the kingdom of Bengal from a Mughal attack.

After the death of Babur, Nusrat hit upon a plan in order to check Mughal aggressive designs. He sent his envoy, Malik Marjan, to Gujarat to win the support of, and enter into an alliance with, Bahadur Shah of Gujarat. Thus he could divert the attention of Humayun. But before the agreement could assume a definite shape, Nusrat was assassinated by one of his slaves in 1532.

Nusrat had, however, certain achievements to his credit. He made an attempt to bring under his control the Upper Brahmaputra valley. The details of the campaign are not known, but it seems that the Ahom king of that region proceeded towards Hajo in 1529 and built a base at Narayanpur, north of the river, two years after the incident; but he was defeated in a naval engagement at Temani (Trimohani), and retreated to Kamrup. Their victory encouraged the Ahoms, who built two more strongholds at Sala and Singiri, opposite Hajo. The Bengali forces later made an attempt upon Singiri but were badly defeated. In the meantime Nusrat died.

Later attempts were again frustrated due to the superior naval forces of the Ahoms. Shortly after that Biswa Singh founded the Kuch dynasty, appropriating much of the Muslim territory in Kamrup, but also at the cost of the Ahom kingdom.

During his reign Nusrat Shah kept the kingdom intact. He, however, could not face Babur, who weakened Nusrat’s hold on the trans-Gandak region. Like his father he was a liberal monarch. A Bengali version of the Mahabharata was made at his instance.82

**Alauddin Firuz (1532-33)**

Nusrat Shah was not destined to be succeeded by a worthy ruler. The heir-apparent, Abdul Badr (Mahmud), Nusrat’s younger brother, was eliminated by Makhdum, the governor of north Bihar. He raised to the throne his son, with the title of Alauddin Firuz, but he was assassinated after a few months by Abdul Badr.83

**Ghiyasuddin Mahmud (1533-38)**

After the assassination of his nephew, Abdul Badr ascended the throne with the title of Ghiyasuddin Mahmud. He was a weak ruler and lacked both tact and courage. He failed to strike at the Mughals

82 Ibid., 152-59.
83 Ibid., 159.
when they were engaged in Gujarat. Another blunder committed by him was that he not only lost the friendship of a possible ally, Sher Khan, but made him a bitter enemy by joining hands with the Lohánis of Patna. In 1533 Sher Khan defeated and killed Qutb Khan, who was sent by Mahmud to conquer Bihar. As Makhdum was an enemy of Mahmud, Sher Khan won him over to his side and utilized his resources and wealth (even after his death) in his conflict with Mahmud’s army and continued to expand his power. In a decisive battle at Surajgarh, Sher Khan defeated the Bengalis in 1534.

When Sher Khan found Humayun engaged in Gujarat, he decided upon a bold and decisive policy towards Mahmud and marched towards his capital in 1536. Mahmud strongly defended the Taliagarhi Pass with the help of the Portuguese. Sher Khan left his son, Jalal Khan, with a detachment to hold the Bengalis at the Pass, while he himself passed through Jharkhand and appeared suddenly before Gaur. Mahmud was so upset that he immediately made a truce with Sher Khan by promising to pay him an indemnity of thirteen lakhs of gold coins. Sher Khan withdrew for the time being but he had made up his mind to overthrow the enemy. Having consolidated his position at the Taliagarhi Pass, Sher Khan marched on Gaur in 1537 on the pretext of the non-payment of the indemnity by Mahmud. The capture of Gaur was, however, delayed as Humayun, realizing the dangers of the rising power of Sher Khan, hurried to check him. But the Mughal emperor, instead of marching direct to Gaur, opened a front at Chunar. Sher Khan left his son, Jalal Khan, and his powerful general, Khwas Khan, to push on the siege of Gaur and himself rushed to save Chunar. The siege of Chunar dragged on, while the siege of Gaur was pressed hard and it finally fell in 1538. Mahmud fled to north Bihar and sought the help of Humayun. Before Humayun could conclude a treaty with Sher Khan, the envoy of Mahmud had changed Humayun’s mind and he decided to march on Gaur. He reached the city to find it empty of its treasures, which had been taken away by the Afghans when they evacuated the city. Humayun was not destined to hold Bengal and was badly defeated by Sher Khan in the subsequent fateful engagements. The whole kingdom of Bengal now lay at the feet of Sher Khan—the future Sher Shah. Its former ruler Mahmud disappeared from the scene. When he was marching with Humayun to Gaur, he heard that his two sons had been executed by the Afghans at Gaur. He could not survive the shock and died soon after.84

84 Ibid., 153-65.