

S A M B H A L

A HISTORICAL SURVEY

BRIJENDRA MOHAN SANKHDHER

KUMAR BROTHERS
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SAMBHAL : A HISTORICAL SURVEY

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Dedication

To My Parents with Gratitude

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मंत्री
गृह मंत्रालय भारत शासन

New Delhi,
April 7, 1971.

Studies in local history have an extremely important place in a country as diverse as India. Such attempts centering around a place, an event of local importance or a hero of local repute, will serve to provide a well-documented basis for the construction of larger national histories. No pattern of local historiography nor any substantial output in the shape of local histories has so far emerged. Just as political science as a discipline has in recent years stood to gain considerably from electoral surveys at the constituency level, similarly micro-historical studies would add to our existing stock of historical knowledge.

I welcome **SAMBHAL - A HISTORICAL SURVEY** as an attempt to meet this need. The author has brought together various historical events centered round Sambhal through extensive research into the archival and archaeological sources. The result is a sequence showing the development of this capital town from ancient times upto 1857. Sikandar Lodi had his capital here. The Sambhal Sarkar embraced, during the time of Akbar, the area within the present districts of Bareilly, Moradabad, Rampur, Budaun and Bijnor. At one time its revenue, affluence and prosperity exceeded that of most of the other Sarkars of the Moghal empire.

I hope the monograph will be read with interest.

(K.C. Pant)

Foreword

History has come a long way since the days when it was solely concerned with the kings and their doings. Increasing attention is being given—and rightly—to social and economic evolution and the life of the common man. Old style political history, however, is far from worthless even today. The kings and their doings can still provide the broad framework of history, and Waterloo is as good—or no worse—a landmark in the story of the British people as the Spinning Jenny. If the coming of the railway affected the lives of the local villagers in Bengal, the storming of Seringapatam had no less impact on the lives and prospects of the people in Mysore.

Local history, moreover, has an importance all its own. It is only on minutiae of detailed local histories that valid generalisations can be based. The broad sweep of the mature historian, and his brilliant analyses of the trends and movements, have necessarily to be anchored on the little obscure facts brought out by young researchers, working within the modest confines of local history or short-term regimes. History needs both. The sculptor, the architect and the town planner, all have vital roles in creating a complete and satisfying metropolis.

I have no hesitation, therefore, in commending to scholars this work on Sambhal by my young colleague Shri B.M. Sankhdher. He has traced the history of this little-known town and area of U.P., once the capital of the empire—through the thousand years of its glory and its tears, to the final ignominy of oblivion some hundred years ago. The startling political vicissitudes of this obscure corner of India are treated in the

context of the major upheavals and ruling dynasties of northern India. The author's painstaking research is evident from the numerous references to contemporary accounts and original sources given by him. It would have been interesting to find in the book some vignettes of the daily life of the people, and data concerning economic conditions, and I hope the author would bear this in mind in preparing his future works. In spite of these minor blemishes, the book makes excellent reading and should bring praise to its young author. I congratulate Shri Sanjivdhar on this scholarly work on which he must have worked night after night, for years, in addition to his taxing duties in the National Archives.

Government of India
New Delhi.

Dr. S.N. Prasad
Director of Archives,

Preface

Need for local studies cannot be over-emphasised. They help in understanding the main currents of history from a closer angle. It is unfortunate that in India, local history has not received adequate attention and indulgence of scholars. A few works, which exist today, are either in the nature of general studies or a product of insular interest, without any scientific appreciation of historical principles.

Although, Sambhal has remained a favourite theme of the Purans and works of history during the medieval times, such as *Tarikh-i Firozshahi*, *Tarikh-i-Mubarakshahi*, *Tabkati-i-Akbari*, *Wakeate-Mushtaki*, *Tarikh-i-Daudi*, *Tarikh-i-Shahi*, *Gulshan-i-Ibrahimi*, *Tarikh-i-Alfi*, *Ain-e-Akbari*, *Baburnama*, *Tarikh-i-Shershahi*, *Nafaysul Masir*, *Tazkariya-e-Humayun*, *Iqbalnama-i-Jahangiri*, *Khulasatu-t-Tawarikh*, and *Chahar Gulshan*, yet no specialised micro-study has been produced so far on its historical evolution. Situated in Moradabad district of Uttar Pradesh, Sambhal occupies a unique place in the annals of India. According to tradition, it is an eternal town, as it has existed in all the yugas. One of the most ancient and sacred places in India, it came under the local Tomar sovereignty as early as 700 A.D. During the second-half of the twelfth century, it was a prominent seat of government under Prithviraj Chauhan, the well-known ruler of Ajmer and Delhi. Under Sikander Lodi it had proud privilege of becoming in 1499, the metropolis of India. It continued to hold that coveted position till the foundation of Agra in 1504 as the capital of the Lodi empire. During this period Sambhal emerged as a great intellectual centre, when under the aegis of Sikandar Lodi, a considerable number of scholars came from

Arabia, Iran, and Central Asia for cultural exchange and enrichment of knowledge.

Under the Great Mughals, Sambhal reached the pinnacle of its glory and it rose as the brightest diadem of the Mughal empire. Babur the first Mughal emperor visited Sambhal at the beginning of his reign. Humayun, Askari, Isa Khan, and other distinguished individuals of the age, served as Governors of Sambhal. In 1546, during the reign of Islam Shah, Sambhal witnessed the brutal assassination of Khavass Khan, a notable personage of that period.

When Akbar assumed the charge of administration Sambhal became one of the largest sarkars of the Mughal empire. It comprised forty seven parganas, spreading over the territories of present districts of Moradabad, Bijnor, Rampur Bareilly and Badaun. In 1720, it yielded an annual revenue of rupees 3541843 to the state, which was higher than any other sarkar of the Mughal empire, except Delhi and Sirhind. Its total area, which was 4047193 bighas in 1594, became 4753321 bighas in 1720. Thus it became even larger than Delhi sarkar which comprised only 121456 bighas of territory.

Even after the foundation of Moradabad by Rustam Khar Dakhani, the Governor of Sambhal, in 1624, Sambhal continued to hold its own position. It had the unique distinction of producing the great Rohilla Chief, Amir Khan, who founded the state of Tonk. Under the Mughals, Sambhal became so affluent and flourishing that it became a target of Maratha plunder under Visaji Pant and Tukoji Holkar, in 1773. In 1783, 20,000 Sikhs endeavoured to capture it but their attempt was foiled on account of the sagacity and alertness of Mirza Muhammad Kasim Khan, Amil of Nawab Asafudaula.

In 1801, Sambhal became a part of the British empire. During the Revolt of 1857, it became a scene of colossal mass uprising, when the people of Sambhal rose as a single individual to wreck the British imperialism and to restore the Mughal

Government to its pristine glory and splendour. It continued to be a part of British Crown till August 15, 1947, when India threw off the foreign yoke, and set on the path of freedom and prosperity.

I am grateful to Shri K C. Pant, Minister in the Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India for writing an appreciation for this monograph and to Dr. S.N. Prasad, Director of Archives, for his scholarly foreward, guidance and solicitude in this work. My thanks are due to Miss Dhan Keswani, Prof. B.R. Grover, Dr. B.P Saksena, and Dr. C.B. Tripathi for their valuable suggestions, and to Servashri L.C. Goswami, K.S. Talwar, C.P. Mathur, N.K. Mishra, P.L.Madan, J.A. Chisti, Dr. C.B. Pandey, and Dr. K.C. Yadav for their encouragement and help I am grateful to the Director, Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi, for supplying photographs of historical monuments at a short notice.

*New Delhi,
August 15, 1971*

B.M. Sankhdher
National Archives of India

Traditional Sambhal

Sambhal may aptly be described as Rome of India. It is an eternal town. Although not much has survived beyond vague tradition, nevertheless it is axiomatic that it has remained a convex of Indian culture and statecraft in the remote past. That it has survived the vicissitudes of time to preserve an inviolate thread of existence, despite mighty transformations, is nothing short of a miracle. It owes its venerable traditions not alone to the whims of its rulers but also to its central geographical position, rich climate and intrinsic natural excellence. These factors may be attributed to its politico-cultural maneticism and for remaining a cynosure of all eyes, throughout the ages.

Dr. P. Spear's view that foundation of a new city has been a traditional way of earning political immortality, of celebrating the rise of a new dynasty or of crowning the glory of an individual monarch¹ unfolds a significant historical truth and a deep psychological insight. Apart from politico-administrative needs this fundamental human characteristic has proved a potent factor in the erection of magnificent monuments. Paradoxically, however, it has also resulted in their demolition and destruction. Like most other ancient towns of the world, Sambhal was razed to the ground time and again by the succeeding hordes of conquerers. It did not regain its beauty and splendour, majesty and grace for ages. People were tortured and taxed beyond human endurance. They were deprived of the fundamental freedoms of life. But ultimately they succeeded. Their success lay in the conservation of an unbroken chain of ideas and ideals which they cherished throughout the ages; a culture which was distinctly their own—magestically splendid and unique.

1. Percival Spear, Delhi : A Historical Sketch, Introduction.

Curiously the time-worn, tottering structure of Sambhal provides a deep insight into the fabric of its glorious past. Its crumbling walls, mysterious mounds and broken images demonstrate the heroism, chivalry and courage of its gallant people. Their life was honour; they could not endure the agony of a slavish life. Every individual seemed to be inspired by the ideal :

Mine honour is my life ; both
grow in one.

Take honour from me, and my
life is done.

The 'Mahabharata' provides a valuable source material for a study of pre-historic India. Indraprastha, according to this source was a flourishing town during the Epic period. About Indraprastha or Delhi modern historians have surmized that it may be older still and even date back to the days of the Indus Valley Civilization. No doubt, Delhi, the Capital of India, is among the most ancient cities of the world, still it fades into insignificance when compared with Sambhal, the eternal city of India. It is said to have been called Sabrit or Sambhal-eshwar in the Satyug, Mahadgiri in the Tretayug, and Pingala in the Dwaparyug, while in Kaliyug it received its present name.¹

Sambhal is more of a legend than history. The fact that there are not many visible remanants of this ancient city except numerous mounds, still awaiting the excavator's spade, ought not lessen its importance.

During the traditional epochs, which lasted millions of years it is but natural that many magnificent monuments must have been erected in this territory ; but it is singularly unfortunate that nothing has survived the cruel hands of time to tell the story of its glorious past. It is mentioned in the Puranas as the spot where the incarnation of Vishnu is expected to appear at the termination of the Kaliyug. According to Bhagawat

1. E. Alexandar, Final Report on the Settlement of the Moradabad District, 1881.

Puran "at the time when the space of human life will be reduced to less than thirty years, when mankind will be utterly dishonest, fakirs become wordly, and relations eager to rob each others ; when cows will be made use of like goats, and medicines will have become effectless ; when trees will bear no fruit and rain cease from the earth, then the Narkalank incarnation will appear in the world at Sambhal¹." Without going into the question of the date at which the Puranas were written, it is clear from the extract that the place is of great antiquity. This belief has further enhanced its importance in the eyes of those who believe in the veracity of the scripture. An old mound which still exists, known as Surthal or the abode of the Gods, is said to be after a Raja of the Lunar race, the son of Satyabhan.

During fifth century B.C. Sambhal was part of a powerful principality Panchala,² the capital of which was Ahichatra. The principality occupied a prominent place in the country on account of its central geographical position. In the seventh century B.C. northern India and part of the Deccan were divided into sixteen principalities viz., Anga, Magadha, Kasi, Kosala, Vajji, Malla, Chedi, Vatsa, Kuru, Panchala, Matsya, Surasena, Asmaka, Avanti, Gandhara and Kamboja.

Ashok inherited an extensive empire from his father Bindusara and his grandfather Chandragupta³. The extent of his empire may be determined from the geographical distribution of his rock and pillar edicts. His sole conquest being Kalinga, it is undoubted that Sambhal, which was a part of his empire, had come under the Mauriyans much earlier. After Ashok, Sambhal was ruled by the Mitra rulers of Ahichatra till the invasion of the Kushans. In 150 A.D. Sambhal was a part of the Kushan

1. *Ibid.*

2. C. Collin Davies, *An Historical Atlas of the Indian Peninsula*, p. 6 ; *The Classical Age*.

3. V. Smith, *Asoka* ; *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, chs XVIII-XX.

empire, which covered large territories stretching from Kapisa and Khotan to Kashi.¹ At the close of the fourth century A.D. Sambhal was a part of the Gupta empire. It was an age of religious revival and witnessed an unprecedented march of Brahminism, Hindu philosophy, art, architecture and literature. During this period Kalidas wrote his *Ritusambhara*, *Meghaduta* and *Sakuntala*.² It is sad that no remains of the Gupta period have as yet been found in Sambhal.

From 606 to 647 A.D. Sambhal came under the sway of Harsha, who has erroneously been regarded as the last great Hindu emperor of northern India. Although the extent of Harsha's dominions is a matter of controversy³ between two eminent historians, Dr. R.C. Majumdar and N. Ray, it is uncontroversial that Sambhal was included in the Harsha empire. Towards the close of the eighth century A.D. Sambhal came under the control of the Gurjara-Pratiharas. It was an age of three cornered struggle for paramountcy among the Gurjara-Pratiharas of the north, the Rashtrakutas of the Deccan and the Palas of Bengal⁴.

Early Inhabitants of Sambhal

In the early period, Sambhal was surrounded on all sides by thick forests. The aboriginal tribes which inhabited this region were Ahirs, Gobris, Bhils and Bihars. Towards the beginning of the eleventh century, there was an extensive colonisation by various Rajput tribes, which continued for a long period. The most prominent among the Rajputs who now

1. O. Collin Davies, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

2. R.D. Banerji, *The Age of Imperial Guptas*.

3. *Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, Vol. IX p. 311, and *Indian Historical Quarterly*, 1927, pp. 769-93 : *The Classical Age*, pp. 110-13.

4. R.S. Tripathi, *History of Kanauj*; *Journal of the Department of Letters, University of Calcutta*, 1923, Vol. X ; R.O. Majumdar, *The Gurjara Pratiharas ; The Age of Imperial Kanauj*.

settled in Sambhal were the Katchrias—a race which plays a notable role in the annals of this region.

Before the Muslim conquest Sambhal was included in the Delhi Kingdom of the Tomars. With this period onwards Sambhal emerges from the realm of archaeology and legend into that of recorded history. Of course it is difficult to gather evidence in support of the fact that a battle, as the tradition goes, was fought between Prithviraj Chauhan of Delhi and Jaichanda of Kanauj in the vicinity of Sambhal. But it is probable that Prithviraj might have founded the celebrated temple of Vishnu at Sambhal, as scholars do not see reason to dispute this claim.

Prithviraj Chauhan and Sambhal

It is said that Prithviraj Chauhan, the powerful monarch of Ajmer and Delhi made Sambhal the capital of his kingdom in order to protect himself against the military expeditions of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni. However in the absence of authentic records it is difficult to prove the validity of the above point of view, although it looks convincing and sound. It is well known how the 'insatiable invader' from Ghazni had made 'acquisition of the wealth of India' and destruction of the morale of its custodians,¹ the prime object of his eastern expeditions. After annexation of Punjab and its occupation, Sultan Mahmud had virtually become a threat to the rulers of India, particularly, Prithviraj Chauhan, whose kingdom was the main target of Sultan Mahmud's greed and political ambition. A flourishing territory, with natural abundance and rich climate, Sambhal had everything which a king, his court and his soldiers needed to offer, as a metropolis. Moreover, strategically, Sambhal was safe and secure. Crossing of the Yamuna at Delhi and Ganga at Garhmukhteshwar to fight the forces of Prithviraj Chauhan at Sambhal would have proved a real challenge to the enemy.

1. *An Advanced History of India*, p. 276.

According to Dr. R.C. Majumdar, H.C. Raychaudhari, and K.K. Datta the Ghaznavid occupation of the Punjab served as the key to unlock the gates of the Indian interior¹. Big cracks were made in the great fabric of Indian polity and it was no longer a question of whether but when that age-old structure would fall.² The military expeditions of Sultan Mahmud paved the way for succeeding hordes of conquerors and were a prelude to the settlement of Muslims in Northern India. During this time the Muslims laid a net of their colonies in important Indian regions including Sambhal.

Self Immolation by Prithviraj Chauhan's Daughter Bela at Sambhal

While living at Sambhal, Prithviraj Chauhan, it is said, announced the marriage of his beautiful daughter Bela. According to the Rajput tradition, Prithviraj Chauhan laid the condition that the prince who seized the palanquin of the princess after defeating his warriors would qualify himself to be her husband. In response to this announcement the brave and gallant ruler of Mahoba, Raja Parmal, reached Sambhal and offered a fight in order to marry Bela. Accordingly the palanquin with princess Bela seated in it was placed in a ground selected for the purpose and a fierce battle ensued between the warrior-companions of both sides. Raja Parmal fought heroically. His performance was inimitable. But towards the end, when hand to hand combat was in progress, he was killed. Princess Bela's sorrow knew no bounds. She was so much down-hearted and aggrieved that she committed sati or self immolation on the site. The story of this romance and adventure has formed the theme of many bardic songs.³ It may be remarked that there is no reason to disbelieve the incident. The cremation site of Bela, known as Bela ka Than, still exists in Sambhal and is regarded as a sacred spot by the people. Some

1. *Ibid.*

2. *Ibid.*

3. See Dr. Dashratha Sharma, *Early History of the Chauhans.*

of the survivors of Raja Parmal's force, who had shown rare courage and bravery in the fight were duly rewarded by Prithviraj Chauhan. They were given estates and other high honours in the royal service. Among those who received the royal acclaim, the names of Alha, Udal and Syed Talib Ali may be counted as the foremost.¹

Salar Masud Ghazi Storms the Fort of Prithviraj Chauhan at Sambhal

Another interesting anecdote connected with Prithviraj Chauhan's stay at Sambhal may be briefly narrated as follows: During Prithviraj Chauhan's reign, it is said, one Syed Pachase, whose tomb is in mohallah Nala Qussaban, was residing inside the Kot or the fortwall. He had a beautiful young daughter. One day perchance a prince of the royal establishment saw the girl and fell in love with her. Syed Pachase being annoyed and enraged hastened to Ghazni and narrated the tale of his harassment. Thereupon Syed Masud Ghazi, son of Sultan Masud's sister, reached Sambhal with a large army *via* Multan, Meerut and Puranpur (Amroha) and fought a bloody battle in which thousands of soldiers on each side lost their lives. Finally the Fort of Sambhal was stormed and Prithviraj Chauhan had to leave Sambhal through an underground route in order to save his life. It is said that Ahmad and Mahmud whose tombs are on the eastern bastion attached to the Kumayun Gate of the Fort were first to enter it and in an encounter with the son of Prithviraj lost their lives². It is further said that enroute to Sambhal wherever Salar Masud Ghazi camped some sort of annual fairs are held since those days, such as Nauchandi at Meerut, Nezas at Puranpur, Thamlia and Sambhal and Urs at many other places. Although it is difficult

1. Even today exists a place in Sambhal known as Alha-Udal ka Maidan, believed to be after the name of the two brave soldiers of Raja Parmal's army. It is interesting to know that people claiming to be the direct descendants of Alha, Udal and Syed Talib Ali are still living at Hallusarai in Sambhal.

2. M.A. Waheed, Sambhal : Its Past and Present, 1968 ; *Tarikh-i-Sambhal*.

to lay much reliance on the above account, as there do not seem to be much authenticity in them, nevertheless it would be a mistake to dismiss them as a mere figment of imagination. A large number of tombs, graveyards and undisciphered monuments still await excavators' keen observation and critical inquiry. These require to be unearthed in order to tell their own tale. It may be mentioned that in commemoration of a victory achieved by Prithviraj Chauhan in his encounter against Salar Masud Ghazi at Sambhal, a festival of flags known as Dwaja is held there annually. This is attended by thousands of people, both men and women, who sing and dance wildly with flags in their hands amidst the beating of drums, etc. This is celebrated in the month of chaitra on the next day of Holi. This is followed by another festival of lances and shields, known as Neza in commemoration of the final victory of Salar Masud Ghazi over Prithviraj Chauhan. It is held on the first Tuesday immediately following Holi.

After storming the Fort of Sambhal, Salar Masud Ghazi went to Baharaich where he was killed in some other encounter.

*Sambhal During the
Sultanate Period*

Sambhal Under Quttubddin Aibak

The battle of Tarain in 1192 laid the foundations of Muslim dominion in India. It was complete and decisive. The mighty hero of the Rajputs, Prithviraj Chauhan was killed by Muhammad of Ghur. Quttubddin Aibak, who had proved his indispensability during those critical times, emerged as an indisputable and unrivalled claimant to administer and extend territories conquered by Muhammad of Ghur. This was a great opportunity for Quttubddin Aibak, and a rightful recognition of the meritorious services rendered by this faithful Turkish slave. Quttubddin was not a man to fritter away his energies and not to strike the hot iron. He was a man who could rise to the occasion and to make best use of the opportunity. Consequently at the beginning of the thirteenth century, "a considerable part of Hindustan, extending from the Indus in the West to the Ganges in the East" came under his sway. Originally a slave, this man endowed with all laudable qualities founded in India a dynasty known after his origin as the "Slave Dynasty". Although no specific reference has been made in the contemporary sources to the conquest of Sambhal by Quttubddin Aibak, nevertheless it is apodictic that it had become a Muslim settlement during that period. It is possible Sambhal might have come under his authority without much resistance after the death of Prithviraj Chauhan, the powerful King of Ajmer and Delhi. This is further strengthened by the fact of Badaun's¹ humble submission to the augmenting Muslim

1. One of the richest cities of Hindustan at that time. Hasan Nizami, *Taj-Ul-Ma'Asir*, vide *The Struggle For Empire*, p. 50.

power after Quttubddin Aibak's magnificent victory at Kalinger in 1202.

Revolt at Sambhal, 1253

That the people of Sambhal and its neighbourhood were not completely subdued is axiomatic from the fact that it remained a seat of insurrection and revolt throughout this period. In 1253 the rebellious tendencies of the people inflated into a disorganized revolt. Nasiruddin Mahmud, son of Iltutmish, who was raised to the throne four years after the death of Raziya on June, 10 1246, crossed the Ganges at Hardwar and followed to the foot of the hill as far as Ramganga, then marching southwards through the region to Badaun, inflicted a terrible punishment on the rebels.¹ Although man of "amiable and pious disposition, Nasiruddin Mahmud was incapable of defending his authority against the inflammatory internal situation and appalling external invasions. It was the seasoned Ghiasuddin Balban—his deputy, who was indeed piloting the ship of the state with prudence and maturity through the troubled waters.

Sambhal: A Centre of Colossal Insurrection: Balban's Sambhal Expedition and Suppression of Katehr Revolt

The *Tarikh-i-Firozshahi* provides an interesting peep into the state of India's body politic during the days of Balban. It also furnishes a valuable account of the character and accomplishments of that descendant from Illbar Tribe of Turkestan. But the most significant aspect of this valuable treasure of history is its vivid description of the Revolt of Katehr with Sambhal as its pivot. It proves beyond doubt the firmness and statecraft of the Sultan in his struggle against internal anarchy and chaos. It also confirms the atrocious nature of the Sultan who did not hesitate to trample in the dust the hapless inhabitants of Sambhal during the extermination of the Katehrias. When he assumed the charge of administration after the death of Nasiruddin Mahmud, he was confronted with a formidable task of internal anarchy. Chaos, conspiracy and confusion had

1. H.M. Elliot, *The History of India as told by its own Historians*, 1877, Vol. II, p. 863.

threatened to violate the security of the State. "Fear of the governing power which is the basis of all good government and the source of the glory and splendour of all states, had departed from the hearts of all men and the country had fallen into a wretched condition". This above remark of Barni had greater application to the state of Katehr than most of the other regions in India. Sambhal, Amroha, Badaun and the neighbouring regions had become centres of colossal insurrections. The chiefs of these territories has already demonstrated their helplessness to Balban, to deal with the rebellious tendencies of their subjects. This was a potent problem. An anemia of political pressure at the extremities meant a total apoplexy of the central governing power. These intermittant insurrections at distant places had a paralysing effect on the preservation of law and order in the state.

Balban's Ruthless Massacre at Sambhal 1254 : Stream of Blood Flows to Extinguish the Flame of Insurrection

Balban was the last person to ignore those vital facts and major considerations. His pellucidity did not allow him to follow a policy of masterly inactivity and become blind to the threat of the situation. He proceeded in person to Katehr and ravaged with fire and sword the whole region, ruthlessly slaughtering every Hindu that was found¹. According to '*Tarikh-i-Firozshahi*' the attack of Balban on Sambhal was sudden and unexpected. It came as a bolt from the blue for the enemy. Barni writes that on his return to Delhi from Kampil and Patiyali, Balban ordered for the readiness of his forces. He instructed that the common people should be informed that the Sultan was undertaking a hunting expedition to Kohapaya, situated in the Terai of the Himalayas. Even upto the eleventh hour when tents, curtains and other equipments for the attack were being taken out of Delhi, the Sultan did not disclose his real

1. The struggle for Empire : Dr. A.B.M. Habibullah, *The Mamluk Sultans of Delhi, 120-59.*

intentions. An air of secrecy was, thus, maintained by the Sultan, with regard to his Sambhal expedition upto the last moment. This was indicative of his maturity and caution in such matters. His army consisted of five thousand trained soldiers with bows and arrows; who were ordered to extinguish the flame of insurrection¹. According to Barni, Balban stayed in Katchr for some time for the suppression of the rebels, until a stream of blood flowed on earth and in front of every village, forest and farm heaps of dead bodies had collected, the smell of which reached the banks of Ganga. Balban was not satisfied with blood alone. The army was allowed to plunder the people time and again. The strongholds of rebellion were blown up; and it is interesting to note the roads were cut through the jungles which had hitherto served as an impenetrable refuge for the enemy. The over all result was that no trouble was experienced by the Sultan in Sambhal, Amroha and the neighbouring regions during his regime.

A word about the nature of Ibari Turks' rule in India with a particular reference to Sambhal seems unavoidable. The most remarkable feature of this period was a complete lack of homogeneity among the rulers and the ruled. Unfortunately it was a heterogeneous union of invaders with an insatiable lust for power on one hand, and a defiant, rebellious and uncompromising subject people on the other. The hyphen that kept them together was the strength of arms. Culturally there was nothing in common among them. Religion proved a dreadful heterogeneous negative catalyst in way of harmony and understanding. Apart from these factors the severity of the Turks

1. Dr. Muhammed Aziz Ahmad. Political History and Institutions of the Early Turkish Empire of Delhi, p. 276.

According to Dr. Muhammad Aziz Ahmad on reaching Kotehr the Sultan "ordered a wholesale massacre of the inhabitants of Kotehr excluding women and children. The extensive forests were cleared and the territories of Badaun, Amroha, Sambhal and Gannaur were purged of robbers and continued safe from their violence and assaults".

was also responsible for the propensity of the local chiefs to defy the authority and to search for a suitable opportunity for instruction. The only redeeming feature was the influence of men like Amir Khusrav, a poet and a great luminary of Indo-Muslim culture, who did much to soften the 'acrimonious differences' between the two cultures.

Sambhal Under the Khaljis : Nucli of Muhammadan Influence : Suppression of Sambhal Revolt by Jalaluddin Khalji

Sambhal once again rose in revolt against the Muslim authority round about 1290. With the death of Balban in 1287 the fear of government had almost vanished from the hearts of the people. Although the wounds of 1266 were still fresh in memory nevertheless any compromise with the heterogeneous system of the Muslim invaders was altogether out of question. The factor which might have precipitated the rebellion was the infirmity of the seventy years old Khalji Sultan, Jalaluddin Firozshah, who was 'preoccupied with preparations for the next world'. His excellence of character, justice and generosity proved out of place in politics and became a signal for the outbreak of rebellion in the distant region of Sambhal. It must, however, be admitted that the rebellion in Sambhal was quelled by this Khalji ruler, 'disposed to rule without bloodshed or oppression', in the conventional coercive manner.

All Beg's Invasion of Sambhal, 1305

The next reference to this region is connected with the invasion of 50,000 Mongols under Ali Beg, a descendant of Chengiz Khan in, 1305. Keeping close to the hills they turned southwards through Bijnor into Amroha territory, "plundering, burning and massacring on the way",² but were opposed by Malik Kafur, a deputy of Alauddin Khalji, who wielded great influence during this period. Malik, Kafur despite many

1. Delhi Sultanate : Dr. S. Roy, the Khalji Dynasty. pp. 12-44.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 29.

shortcomings and weaknesses was an able commander. He not only completely 'exterminated' the Mongols near Sambhal on December 31, 1305 but captured their leaders and brought them to Delhi.¹ The prisoners were beheaded and their heads were built into the towers of the Fort of Siri.²

Khizr Khan's Occupation of Sambhal, 1315

In 1315, Alauddin Khalji quarrelled with his son Khizr Khan and sent him in disgrace to Amroha, adding that the prince might have all the territory north of that town as a hunting preserve; a statement which implied that most of the Bijnor district was then waste and jungle. It is interesting to note that Khizr Khan married Devaladevi, a daughter of Rai Karna of Devagiri.

After the murder of Qutubuddin Mubarak in April 1320, Khusrav ascended the throne of Delhi under the title of Nasiruddin Khusrav Shah. According to Barni and Yahiyabin Ahmad Sarhindi, Khusrav favoured the Hindus and his brief regime of four months and a few days was marked by the ascendancy of the Hindus.

Murder of Salyyid Brothers by Kharag Singh, 1380.

The chaos that obtained during the reign of Muhammad Tughlaq and his wavering mind encouraged the people of Sambhal and its neighbourhood to preserve their unreserved hostility towards the Muslim authority. The weak and unimaginative policy of the Tughlaq rulers provided an opportunity to the Hindu chiefs to rise in revolt against the existing political system.³ As a consequence there was a widespread revolt in Sambhal in 1380.⁴ The most notable among the Hindu rebels were Kharag Singh and Har Singh, the Katchh Raj-

1. *Ibid.*

2. *Ibid.*

3. Dr. Jaminal Mohan Banerjee, *History of Firozshah Tughlak* p. 45.

4. *Cambridge History of India, Vol. III, p. 183.*

puts. They had established numerous strongholds and impenetrable refuges in Sambhal, Bareilly and Rampur. They followed a prudent policy of avoiding pitched battles against the large well-organized and well-equipped armies of the Muslims. Their favourite practice was to abandon the towns and take shelter into the forests at the time of crisis. This tactic proved fatal to the Muslim authority, which was never in a position to suppress their rebellious tendencies.

The revolt at Sambhal was preceded by the murder of Saiyyid brothers of Badaun. In 1379 Kharag Singh or popularly known as Khargu invited Saiyyid Muhammad, the Governor of Badaun to his Court. On his acceptance of the invitation and arrival at the Court along with his two brothers, the three Saiyyid brothers were treacherously slain. This cold-blooded murder was followed by a rebellion against the existing government.

It may be remarked that it was a common practice during that age to achieve political ends through such questionable means. Treason and treachery were universal and not uncommon occurrences. These were not an exclusive monopoly of any community or region. The assassination of Saiyyid brothers reflects the spirit of the epoch and the highly suspicious climate of the times. The result of heinous crime was a feeling of revenge in the ruling community. It was psychological. The Saiyyid brothers belonged to the highly respected political hierarchy of the Tughlaqs, and as already mentioned, Saiyyid Muhammad occupied the post of a Governor.

Firuzshah Tughlaq's March Against Kharag Singh, 1380 Indiscriminate Massacre and Enslavement of the people in Katehr

The murder of Saiyyid Governor of Badaun came as a shock to Firuzshah Tughlaq, who assumed the charge of Sultanate in 1351, and was engaged since then in his favourite policy of 'massacring the unbelievers (of Islam) and demolishing their

temples'.¹ In the King's pious estimation the heinousness of the crime was aggravated by the descent of the victims and in the spring of 1380 he marched into Katehr and there directed a massacre of the Hindus so generous and so indiscriminate that as one historian says 'the spirit of the murdered Saiyyids themselves arose to intercede'.² Kharag Singh fled into Kumaun³ and was followed by the royal troops, who unable to discover his hiding place, visited their disappointments on the wretched inhabitants, of whom vast numbers were slain and 23,000 captured and enslaved.⁴

Firuzshah Tughlaq's Annual Devastation of Hindus at Sambhal : Appointment of Malik Daud as Governor of Sambhal

Furious with the thirst for vengeance still unquenched, with the approach of the rainy season, Firuzshah Tughlaq returned to Delhi. He appointed an Afghan, Malik Daud, to the Government of Sambhal, and ordered him to devastate Katehr annually with fire and sword. He himself supervised that bloody work by annually visiting Sambhal for five successive years.⁵ The result was 'in those years not an acre of land was cultivated ; no man slept in house ; and the death of the three Saiyyids was avenged by that of countless thousands of Hindus'.⁶

Insurrection at Sambhal, 1394

Sambhal was again a scene of disturbance and insurrection in 1394. The civil war which followed after the death of Firuzshah was an ample opportunity for the Katchrias to assert their independence. As a result there was an open insurrection in Sambhal. During this period, although nominally under the

1. *Ibid.*, p. 182-83.

2. *Ibid.*

3. Dr. Jamial Mohan Banerjee, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

4. *Cambridge History*, *loc. cit.* pp.182-83.

5. *Ibid.*

6. *The Delhi Sultanate* ; Dr. R.C. Majumdar, *Firuz Shah*, p. 96.

control of Nusratshah, Sambhal remained the sole monopoly of its local chieftains. The same was the case with other neighbouring territories, e.g. Amroha. The revenue of these territories was collected by the local chiefs, who of course were not strong enough to undertake repression of the rebellious Rajputs and Ahirs. The weak and incapable successors of Firuz were utterly incompetent to keep the fragments of the state together and to keep the defiant local chiefs under their authority. In consequence, disruption of the Sultanate became inevitable and fast¹.

Timur Invasion, 1399

The invasion of Timur in 1399 made the confusion, caused by the death of Firuz, worse confounded. The effusion of blood of the people at Delhi², the storming of Meerut on January 9, 1399 and rout of certain Hindu chiefs near Hardwar shattered the political image of the Sultanate in the popular eye³. The chieftains and sardars at Sambhal, as in other places, felt the weakness of the central authority to deal with the situation.

Capture of Sambhal by Ibrahimshah Sharqi of Jaunpur, 1407

Asad Khan Lodi held Sambhal when Ibrahim Sharqi of Jaunpur made an attack on that territory. *Tarikh-i-Mubarakshahi*, *Tabqat-i-Akbari*, and *Gulshan-i-Ibrahimi*, the three contemporary sources provide a vivid portrait of the state of affairs during the epoch, particularly with regard to Sambhal and its capture by Ibrahim Shah Sharqi in 1407 and its recapture by Mahmud Shah in 1408. According to *Tabqat i-Akbari*, the power of Ibrahim Shah Sharqi had increased

1. *Ibid* : Dr. R.C. Majumdar, the Successors of Firuzshah, pp. 110-13.

2. According to Timur himself the citizens of Delhi offered a bold resistance : "The Hindus set fire to their houses with their own hands, burnt their wives and children in them, and rushed into fight and were killed."

3. Asit Kumar Sen, *People and Politics in Early Mediaeval India, 1206-1398*, Calcutta, 1963, pp. 75-79.

considerably during this period¹. Qannauj had already come under his control and a large number of nobles at Delhi had extended their hands of co-operation and friendship to the Sharqi ruler. Tatar Khan and Malik Khan were the foremost among those nobles who had joined the camp of Ibrahim Shah Sharqi.² Encouraged by this friendly gesture, Ibrahim Shah Sharqi marched towards Delhi in October-November 1407.³ On his way he captured Sambhal. Asad Khan Lodi was completely overpowered and the fort of Sambhal came under his control after two day's of siege.⁴ Ibrahim Shah appointed Tatar Khan as the Governor of Sambhal and proceeded towards Delhi.⁵ On the way to Delhi, Baran was captured to be given to Malik Marhaba. On his approach to Jamuna, while preparing to cross the river, Ibrahim Shah Sharqi heard with great displeasure the news of the capture of Malwa by Zafar Khan, the ruler of Gujarat. Information also reached him that Zafar Khan was shortly arriving in Delhi for the help of Mahmud Shah and later on to attack Jaunpur.⁶ This was a disheartening news for Ibrahim Shah Sharqi who without wasting time or thought retreated posthaste to save Jaunpur. It may be remarked that this retreat, after the grand victory of Sambhal and Baran, completely shattered the hopes and aspirations of Ibrahim Shah Sharqi. He gave up all hopes of conquering Delhi. In utter frustration and disappointment he became diseased and died in 1436.⁷

1. *Tabqat-i-Akbari*, S.A.A. Rizvi, (Uttar Timurkalin Bharat, Part I, p. 60.

2. *Gulshan-i-Ibrahimi* ; Rizvi, op. cit., pp. 15-16.

3. *Ibid* ; *Tabqat-i-Akbari*, op. cit., p. 60.

4. *Ibid*.

5. *Tarikh-i-Mubarakshahi* ; Rizvi, op. cit., p. 10.

6. *Tabqat-i-Akbari*, op. cit., p. 60 ; *Gulshan-i-Ibrahimi*, op. cit., pp. 15-16 ; Dr. K.S. Lal, *Twilight of the Sultanate*, pp. 51-57.

7. *Tabqat-i-Akbari*, op. cit., p. 60.

**Recapture of Sambhal by Sultan Mahmud Shah, 1408 :
Appointment of Asad Khan Lodi as Governor of Sambhal,
1408**

Learning of Ibrahim Shah Sharqi's retreat to Jaunpur, Zafar Khan did not proceed further. Sultan Mahmud made a capital out of the situation. In April 1408, he defeated and killed Malik Marhaba whom Ibrahim Shah Sharqi had posted at Baran.¹ Now he turned his attention towards Sambhal. Tatar Khan was still the Governor of Sambhal. Without any waste of time Sultan Mahmud Shah made a march towards Sambhal. Tatar Khan fled to Qanaauj,² leaving Sambhal at the mercy of Sultan Mahmud. Sambhal was thus recaptured without any resistance and was restored to Asad Khan Lodi.³

Not much is known about the attitude of Mahmud Shah or his deputy, Asad Khan Lodi towards the subject people. One thing, however, seems to be clear that no determined attempt was made during this regime to win over the ruled, who adhered to a different faith and religious discipline. At the same time it is redeeming that no distinct policy was followed to coerce the Hindus or the non-believers of Islam. This was a slight departure from the conventional policy of torturing and taxing the unbelievers of Islam, followed by numerous predecessors of Mahmud Shah. In this respect he was a shade better than the so-called followers of Islam, e.g., Balban and Firuzshah. It may be said to the credit of Ibrahim Shah of Jaunpur that he followed a policy of appeasement towards the Katehr Rajputs and had won their support and sympathy. During 1410 to 1412, Mahmud Shah undertook a few expeditions to Katehr not for political purposes but for sport viz. hunting. The last, in

1. *Ibid.* ; Rizvi, op. cit., p. 60 ; *Tarikh i Mubarakshahi*, Rizvi, op. cit., p. 10.

2. *Gulshan-i-Ibrahimi* ; Rizvi, op. cit., pp. 15-16.

3. *Taqbat-i-Akbri*, op. cit., p. 60 ; *Tarikh i Mubarakshahi*, op. cit., p. 10.

1412, proved fatal as Mahmud Shah died on account of illness before reaching Delhi.

After a merciless massacre and plunder of India, Timur crossed the Indus on March 19, 1399 on his way to Samarqand. Khizr Khan Saiyyid was appointed governor of Multan. In March 1414 he marched against Daulat Khan Lodi, the ruler of Delhi after the death of Sultan Mahmud, and captured Delhi by the end of May 1414. Daulat Khan Lodi was made a prisoner and was sent to Hissar Firuza.

Storming of Sambhal, 1414

Sambhal was the main target of Khizr Khan Saiyyid's anger for two main reasons. One, it had incurred his displeasure by expressing allegiance to his rival, Daulat Khan Lodi; and two, its defiant attitude. Khizr Khan it is said, had already led the armies of Firuz for the suppression of Katchrias in this region. Consequently, he proceeded once again to Sambhal and laid waste the whole countryside, before the capture of Delhi on May 28, 1414. Sambhal was plundered and a large booty was collected with the result that this founder of the Saiyyid dynasty in India, entered Delhi with an army of 60,000 horse.¹ Again in 1414 Tajulmulk marched from the capital and crossed the Ganges from Ahar into Katehr, driving Har Singh to the hills and compelling him to submit. Tajulmulk then returned following the course of the Ramganga as far as its junction with Ganga, so as to attack the rebels of the Doab and Har Singh remained submissive till 1418.

The trouble had not completely been over in the neighbourhood, and in 1410 Khizr Khan once again made a march on Sambhal². He scoured the jungles and inflicted severe punishment on the rebels. Tajulmulk had already attacked Aonla and after defeating the insurgents drove them across the

1. Cambridge History of India, Vol. III, p. 204.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 208.

Ramganga to the hills. In 1420 it was deemed necessary to despatch Tajulmulk once again to Katehr to receive tribute from Har Singh, a leader of remarkable influence and ability. The death of Khizr Khan in 1421 caused a stoppage of all payments for sometime, for in 1423 Mubarak Shah marched into the country to enforce submission, but Har Singh remained in the background, and it needed a second expedition a year later to bring him into subjection.

Thereafter the Katehrias ceased to give much trouble, at any rate for a long period and sorely harassed region of Sambhal was allowed to remain in peace.

Disturbances in Sambhal, 1434

It was in the days of Khizr Khan that Amroha, with other territories, was bestowed on Saiyyid, Salim, who held the charge for many years. He was succeeded by his sons, Saiyyid Khan and Shujaulmulk. The former of these afterwards rebelled and their estates were confiscated; but subsequently they were pardoned and reinstated. When Mubarak Shah was murdered in 1434 by the agency of the minister Sarwarulmulk, the latter professed his allegiance to Muhammad bin Farid—the new Sultan, but took the whole power into his own hands. He ejected the old nobles and gave Amroha and other parganas to his Hindu dependents, a measure which gave much offence to Malik Allahdad Khan Lodi of Sambhal and others, who formed a conspiracy to rid themselves of the oppressors. Sarwarulmulk thereupon sent a force under Saiyyid Khan and Kamaluddin against the conspirators, but the former deserted his cause and united their army with that of the rebellious nobles at Ahar. They then besieged and took Delhi putting Sarwarulmulk and his adherents to death.

The Saiyyids and their companions were richly rewarded by the Sultan but Amroha was given to Malik Chaman with the title of Ghaziulmulk. Sambhal continued to be held by Allahdad Khan who was succeeded by his brother Darya Khan Lodi, the latter retaining possession of this government as well

as the Northern Doab, throughout the reign of Alauddin and for most of that of Bahlul Lodi.

Capture of Sambhal by Husain Shah of Jaunpur, 1487 : Defeat of Husain Shah and Recapture of Sambhal by Bahlul Lodi

After the ejection of Hamid Khan, the unpopular Wazir, whom Alauddin wanted to put to death and who seized Delhi round about 1450, Bahlul Lodi proclaimed himself as Sultan. Alauddin was allowed to remain in peace at Badaun. The march of Husain Shah of Jaunpur occupies a significant place among the events of this period. It shows the political climate of the times. Treachery, treason, statecraft, and other heinous attempts to seize political authority had become the order of the day. The weakness or even the disinterestedness of the Sultan in administration was a signal for the outbreak of rebellion in open defiance of the central authority. Alauddin died in 1487 at Badaun. Ostensibly to participate in the funeral ceremony, Husain Shah of Jaunpur arrived in Badaun. But his motive was different. Instead of participating the funeral ceremony, he captured the city of Badaun and seized the political authority in his hands. He was not content with Badaun alone. Sambhal occupied a notable position on the map of his political ambitions. He marched to Sambhal with tremendous force and made Mubarak Shah the Governor his prisoner.¹ The capture of Sambhal gave fillip to his ambitions; and a momentum to his speed. With enthusiasm redoubled he made a march towards Delhi. Bahlul Lodi was cautiously observing the rising tide of Husain Shah's ambition and the tremendous effort which the latter made to give a shape to his dreams. He realized the gravity of the situation but acted rather diplomatically. Statecraft at this moment was more important than the actual strength of the arms. After a small encounter, he made a truce with Husain Shah and agreed to consider the Ganga as the boundary between the two kingdoms. It was indeed a great concession but it was imperative for paying Husain Shah in his

1. K.S. Lal, op. cit., pp. 140-47.

own coins. In fact this defeat proved a political victory of Bahlul Lodi over his rival, as the later events proved unmistakably. Husain Shah had hardly turned his back when Bahlul broke his commitment and attacked him¹, shortly afterwards capturing Jaunpur and for all practical purposes terminating the eastern dynasty. Sambhal was then given to Muhammad Qasim, generally known as Sambhali, who held the place throughout the reign of Sikandar Lodi, the second Lodi Sultan (1489-1517).

Bahlul Lodi's Expedition Against Sambhal

Bahlul Lodi who belonged to the Shahukhel clan of the Afghans had great sagacity of a politician and an administrator. His expeditions against Sambhal², Mewat, Kol, Sakit, Etawah, Rapri, Bhongoan and Gwalior, had their origin in the fear of transference loyalty of their chiefs to the rival powers, particularly the Sharqis. That would have deprived Bahlul Lodi not only of political supremacy but also of the handsome revenues essential to replenish the treasury. In accordance with the political climate of the period the rulers and the chieftains of these territories wavered in their loyalty. But it was really creditable for Bahlul Lodi that for quite some time he could keep these rulers under the banner of his political authority. He died in July 1489.

Sambhal Under Sikandar Shah Lodi, 1484-1517 : Sambhal as the Capital of India

Handsome, healthy and smart, with a fine physique, Sikandar Shah Lodi who became Sultan on July 17, 1489 had a deep dislike for the old and shattered capital of Delhi. Perhaps he had a great passion for aesthetics; and presumably it was this factor which proved a hinderance in the way of his remaining in Delhi after 1500 and in growing his beard despite Haji Abdul Wahhab's remonstrances. Dr.

1. H.M. Elliot, op. cit. vol. v., p. 74-75.

2. The Delhi Sultanate; Hameeduddin, The Lodis, p. 141.

Hameeduddin has remarked: "The old and almost ruined capital of Delhi had lost its charm for Sikandar and political and strategic considerations induced him to choose another place. In 1499 he moved his residence to Sambhal where he spent about four years. His partial success in the campaigns against the Rajput States raised in his eyes importance of Agra where in 1504 he founded a new town and transferred his capital to it¹ About the transfer of capital there is yet another widely accepted thesis: "The latter (Sikandar Lodi) visited Katehr on a hunting expedition in 1493 and being delighted with the climate and the abundance of the game, returned in 1500 making Sambhal his capital for four years till the completion of the palace in the new city of Agra". Whatever the considerations for the change of capital, it is axiomatic that this sacred land had become more important, politically and strategically, to Sikandar Shah than Delhi and Agra. Delhi was in a complete ruined condition, while Agra had yet to grow itself to a stature suitable for the capital of the Lodi empire. Again Sambhal had an additional charm for Sikandar Shah, besides its natural beauty and richness of climate *viz.* its suitability for hunting expeditions which delighted him the most. Perhaps, an important factor has been completely ignored: the deep devotion of Sikandarshah to Islam and his wild intolerance for other faiths and religious disciplines. Sambhal was a prominent place of Hindu worship and pilgrimage in the remote past and it continued to be a centre of attraction for the people, both culturally and politically, even upto the days of the Muslim conquest. It was known for its beautiful temples during the days of Prithviraj Chauhan who made it a prominent seat of administration and statecraft and also built a magnificent Vishnu temple there. "Unfortunately Sikandar, deeply devoted to Islam, was intolerant of other faiths. Born of a Hindu mother and anxious to marry a Hindu princess, his attitude towards this religion of a vast majority of his subjects appears to be rather

1. *Ibid.*, p. 145.

2. H.M. Elliot, *op. cit.* Vol. iv, n. 403.

baffling and inexplicable, for it was bound to prejudice the realization of his political aims. Even as a prince he had been dissuaded from raiding the Hindu tanks at Thaneswar by a verdict of the famous divine, Mian Abdullah of Ajudhan, who had also ruled against the demolition of non-Muslim places of worship. Sikandar as a king, however, frequently razed temples to the ground and erected mosques and public utility buildings in their place as illustrated by his behaviour at Mandrail, Utgir and Narwar. At Mathura he prevented the Hindus from bathing at their sacred ghats or having themselves shaved. The stones of broken images of Hindu idols brought from Nagarkot were given away to butchers to be used as weights."¹

This wild furry and intolerance for non-Islamic faiths could find a natural outlet for this lover of beauty and aesthetics at Sambhal. Sikandar, as we know, was not only against idolatry but he also aimed at putting an immediate check on semi-idolatorous practices that had grown up among the Muslims e.g. the annual procession of Salar Masud Ghazi's lance; the visits to the tombs of saints by Muslim women; and carrying of Tazias during Muharram. This was not the extreme. History records his furry against the beautiful mosque built by the Sharqi King which he wanted to destroy in order to obliterate the memory of his foes. He was held back by the 'Ulama' from indulging in such wild madness.

The Sultan spent the most his time in playing 'chaugan' a game similar to modern polo, and it was there that the celebrated fight occurred on the ground between the Afghan nobles engaged in the game—an incident which is said to have been the origin of disunion that afterwards caused the downfall of the Pathan power. The offending noble, according to *Tarikh-i-Khan Jahani* and *Tarikh-i-Daudi* was ordered to be severely kicked by the Sultan. Thus Sambhal and its neighbourhood provided ample opportunity to the Sultan to fulfil both

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 146-147.

his personal and political ambitions, during his stay. He improved upon his father's system of government by slowly centralising the administration and persuading the Afghan chiefs to pay due allegiance and regard to the central authority. Sikandarshah died on November 21, 1517 on account of a disease of the throat. But before he breathed his last, as we have noticed, he had sowed the seeds of the downfall of the Pathan power. Sambhal, thus proved to be the Tilsit of his political ambition, while at Agra, where he shifted his capital after four years stay at Sambhal, he found his Waterloo.

Parliament of Hinduism and Islam at Sambhal : Execution of Lodhan for Non-Acceptance of Islam

During the reign of Sikandar Shah Lodi, while he was staying at Sambhal, a great parliament was held in order to decide whether Hinduism was as great a religion as Islam.¹ It was the result of indignation caused by the assertion of a Brahmin, named Lodhan who ventured to maintain publicly the truth of Hinduism.² He asserted that Hinduism and Islam were but two different paths for the attainment of the same goal viz., salvation. This excited a lot of interest among the people of both the communities and contempt among the precisions and protagonists of Islam. Consequently, Sikandarshah Lodi ordered a Parliament of Religions at Sambhal. Participants were invited from different parts of the empire. Among those who participated in the Parliament a mention should be made of Saiyyid Sadruddin Qannuji, Mian Abdur Rehman and Mian Azizullah Tulambi 'Sambhali. Distinguished scholars and theologians such as Mian Qadanbia Shaikh Khuju, Mian Abdullah Tulambi and Saiyyid Muhammadbin Saeed Khan were summoned from Delhi. Among those who came from Sirhind a mention may be made of Mullah Allahadad and Mullah Salch. Although not much information is available

1. *Tabqat i Akbari*, Rizvi, op cit.

2. *Ibid*,

about the participants it is axiomatic that these were among the top-ranking scholars and authorities on Islam and wielded great influence on the Government and the people. The delegation from Qannauj was led by Saiyyid Aman, and Meeran Saiyyid Akkhan.¹

It is unfortunate that the contemporary sources, such as *Tabqat-i-Akbari*, which otherwise provides a vivid account of the Parliament, do not provide any information about the defenders of Hinduism except Lodhan who, it seems, had to face "all the great Mullahs of the empire" alone.

After the discussion, the Parliament found the Brahmin guilty and sentenced him to imprisonment at the first instance.² After a period of probation he was to be invited to embrace Islam but if he declined to do so he was to be executed.³ The Government also issued a decree to this effect at Sambhal.⁴ The Brahmin was ultimately executed because he would not abjure his faith.⁵

Suppression of Delhi Revolt by Sikandar Shah Lodi, 1500

In 1500, when Sikandar Shah Lodi⁶ was staying at Sambhal, the Governor of Delhi, Asghar Khan organized a revolt against the Government.⁶ Sikandar Shah Lodi deputed Khavass Khan, the Governor of Mechhiwarah,⁷ to suppress the revolt at the

1. *Tabqat i Akbari*, Rizvi, op. cit.

2. Dr. A.B. Pandey. *The First Afghan Empire in India*, pp-249-50.

3. *Ibid.*

4. *Tabqat i Akbari*, op. cit.

5. *Ibid* ; Dr. Iswari Prasad, *Medieval India*, p. 445 ; J.M. Shelat, *Akbar*, p. 183 ; Dr. S.A.A. Rizvi, *Muslim Revivalist Movements in Northern India in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, pp. 59-60.

6. Dr. A B. Pandey, *The First Afghan Empire in India*, p. 150.

7. *Maasir i Rabimi*, *Tabqat i Akbari*, *Tarikh i Khan Jahani we Makhzan Al Afghani*, vide Dr. A.B. Pandey, op. cit., p. 150.

Maohhiwarah is situated at a distance of about 27 miles from Ludhlans.

earliest. The Governor of Delhi was so much frightened that much before Khavass Khan could actually undertake the suppression of revolt, he reached Sambhal and prayed for Sultan's foregiveness.¹ Sikandar Shah Lodi, however, did not think it prudent to release the rebellious Governor of Delhi and he ordered that Asghar Khan be put in captivity² Delhi was put under charge of Khavass Khan.³

Sambhal as a Centre of Education Under Sikandar Shah Lodi

Sambhal emerged as a great centre of learning under Sikandar Lodi. Himself a poet and litterateur, he encouraged the spread of education in different parts of his empire. According to *Akhbarul Akhyar*, the Sultan invited distinguished scholars from Arabia, Iran and Central Asia to India, in order to encourage learning in this part of the world.⁴ Shaikh Husain Tahir, Shaikh Abdullah and Shaikh Azizullah Tulambi, were invited to India and were given distinguished positions in the state. Shaikh Azizullah Tulambi who came from Multan was appointed Principal of a college at Sambhal.⁵ Among his distinguished pupils, the names of Mian Hatim Sambhali and Shaikh Ilah Diya Jaunpuri may be counted as the foremost. Sikandar Lodi also attended the lectures of Shaikh Abdullah who was the principal of a college at Agra and the real brother of Shaikh Azizullah.⁶

1. Dr. A.B. Pandey, *op. cit.*, p. 160.

2. *I id.*

3. *Ibid*

4. Dr. K.S. Lal, *Twilight of the Sultanate*, pp. 244-45.

5. *Ibid.*

6. *Ibid.*; B.K. Sahay, *Education and Learning Under the Great Mughals*, p. 38.

*Sambhal Under The
Great Mughals*

Babur's Conquest of Sambhal

'Next to a battle lost, the greatest misery is a battle gained'. After his victory at Panipat in 1526, Babur was confronted with great problems. Sambhal was hostile ; and so were Kol, Rapri and the Afghans. According to Gulbadan Begum, Amirs, Rajas and Ranas, who attended upon His Majesty now became enemies and joined the Rana (Sanga) until in Kol, Jalal, Sambhal and Rapri every pargana, Rais and Raja and the Afghans became hostile.¹

Muhammad Qasim Sambhali was still at Sambhal when Babur overthrew the Lodis in 1526. At the beginning of his reign the Emperor himself visited Sambhal.² It is, however, beyond doubt that he did not get the Jama Masjid at Sambhal constructed which has erroneously been ascribed to him.³ The mosque which still exists was not built even by his chief Amir Hindu Beg, who has been described by certain historians⁴ as its builder. The inscription in this magnificent mosque is a great historical forgery of all times.⁵ It is almost impossible to

1. *Tarikh i Humayun*, vide Dr. Rama Shankar Avasthi, *The Mughal Emperor Humayun*, p. 3.

2. Dr. R.P. Tripathi, *Rise and Fall of the Mughal Empire*, p. 45.

3. Dr. A.L. Srivastava, *The Mughal Empire*, p. 534.

4. For example Dr. A.L. Srivastava, Dr. B.C. Majumdar, Dr. H. Raychaudhary and Dr. K.K. Datta.

5. *Archaeological Survey of India : Report of Tours in the Central Doab and Gorakhpur in 1874-75 and 1875-76* by A.C.L. Carlyele, Vol. XII, 1879, pp. 24-27.

The mosque bears the following inscription in Persian ;

suppose that it was Babur who replaced the temple of Vishnu with the mosque, for the former would have never been permitted to remain in so lofty a position during so many centuries of Muslim rule. It is certain that Balban, during whose time ruthless massacre of Hindus took place at Sambhal or Firuzshah Tughlaq, who visited Kather regularly for a couple of years to devastate the Hindus, would not have allowed a Hindu shrine to occupy the loftiest site in Sambhal. Sikandar Lodi, an iconoclast and a bigot during whose time a Parliament of Hinduism and Islam took place at Sambhal, would not tolerate the presence of a Hindu temple in the centre of his temporary capital. The Archaeological Survey of India, Report of Tour in the Central Doab and Gorakhpur in 1874-75 and 1875-76 by A.C.L. Carlleyle with the superintendence of Major General A. Cunningham, Vol. XII, 1879 has clearly shattered the myth of Babur's Sambhal-mosque.¹

Learned and perfect in everything,
 Wielding the weapons of power and religion.
 Spreader of wings of safety and peace.
 Founder of the buildings of learning and acts or doing^a
 King Muhammad Babur, whose dignity is like Jamshah,
 God Almighty may protect him,
 When he lighted the lamp of wealth in India,
 Sambhal was brighter from its light ;
 For the erection of this mosque,
 May it be free from loss or injury ;
 Gave order to his meanest servant.
 Who is one of the noble and wealthy ministers,
 Full of wisdom and intelligence (Hindu Beg),
 Example of good manners.
 When by order of the Emperor of the world,
 This building was completed.
 This year, date, and month was found.
 This 1st day of the month of Rabi-ul-awal.
 According to the inscription it was completed in 933 Hijri.

1. Bengal Asiatic Society Journal, Proceedings for May, 1873, p. 93.

Afghan Menace at Sambhal : Muhammad Qasim Sambhali Defeats the Afghan Chief Biban at Sambhal

Babur's visit to Sambhal was brief. Immediately after his departure the Afghans became active in the region. Zahid Beg, the son-in-law of Babur, who was also the Governor of Sambhal at that time and his Mughals were soon ejected by the Afghans.¹ Biban, who was the leader of the Afghans, had become openly rebellious against the Government. He was planning to storm the fort of Sambhal with his large army.² Muhammed Qasim Sambhali, Amir Hindu Beg and other chiefs were instructed to crush the rising tide of Biban's ambitions. After Biban had laid the seige of Sambhal, a small battle took place between the Mughals and the Afghans.³ Biban could not withstand the Imperial forces and ran away from the battlefield.⁴ According to *Babur Nama*, Muhammad Qasim Sambhali gave a tough fight to Biban and captured his elephants and horses.⁵ But it was not till 1528 that Biban, who had driven away the Mughals from Oudh and captured Lucknow, was completely humiliated, when Babur drove him into Bengal.⁶

After defeating Biban, Muhammad Qasim Sambhali had no desire to quit the fort of Sambhal.⁷ He thought it to be his own personal accomplishment. Sheikh Guran and Amir Hindu Beg, therefore, had to hatch a plan to oust Muhammad Qasim Sambhali from the fort and take it into Imperial control.⁸

1. Harold Lamb, *Babur the Tiger : First of the Great Moghuls*, pp. 170-77

2. *Babur Nama*, vide Dr. S.A.A. Rizvi, *Mughalkalin Bharat*, pp. 207-8 ; Dr. R.P. Tripathi, *op. cit.*, pp., 49-52.

3. *Babur Nama*, *loc. cit.*

4. *Ibid.*

5. *Ibid.*

6. Dr. A.L. Srivastava, *op. cit.*, p. 27 ; Dr. Rama Shankar Avasthi, *op. cit.*, pp. 13-14 ; Dr. R.P. Tripathi, *op. cit.*, pp. 50-52.

7. *Babur Nama*, *loc. cit.*, pp. 207-8.

8. *Ibid.*

Sambhal Under Humayun : Humayun's Illness at Sambhal and Return to Agra, 1530

In May 1526 Humayun was generously rewarded by Babur for his accomplishments in the Battle of Panipat. He received seventy lakhs of 'sikandari' tankas with an unassessed treasure house¹. After two months he was once again honoured with a 'charqab', a sword-belt, a horse with a gold saddle.² But the most invaluable diadem which he received from the Government was Sambhal, which was added to his jagir of Hissar Firuza in July 1526.³

After the battle of Khanua, Humayun was sent by Babur to take charge of the administration of Badakhshan. Humayun, however, did not continue there for long and returned after two years to Agra in 1529.⁴ He was then despatched with a large army to Sambhal to bring that turbulent region into subjection.⁵ Humayun remained at Sambhal for six months to complete the settlement of his jagir⁶ with great content, comfort

1. Dr. A.L. Srivastava, *op. cit.*, pp. 40-07.

2. *Ibid.*

3. *Ibid.*

4. Harold Lamb, *op. cit.*, pp. 207-8.

5. According to L.F. Rushbrook Williams, Dr. A.L. Srivastava, and Dr. A.B. Pande, Babur had devised a unique plan for bringing more territory under his control, after the Battle of Panipat. He made grants of towns and fortresses yet unconquered to prominent men, and then sent them off with a small force to take possession. In this way Sambhal fell at length to Humayun, Rabiri to Muhammad Ali Jang, Etawah to Mahdi Kawaja, Qanauj to Sultan Muhammad Daldi, Dholpur to Sultan Junaid Barlas. These little bands fought with the most zeal, conscious that they were making their own fortunes, while at the same time, the territories thus acquired represented an extension of the dominions of their master.

Vide L.F. Rushbrook Williams, *An Empire Builder of the Sixteenth century*, pp. 139-42; Dr. A.L. Srivastava, *op. cit.*, pp. 20-22; Dr. A.B. Pande, *Later Medieval India : History of the Mughals*, pp. 5-6.

6. Sambhal, one of the richest fields of Hindustan; Harold Lamb, *op. cit.*, pp. 207-8.

and ease. But after the completion of six months with the approach of hot weather, he fell dangerously. When Babur received the news of his illness he gave orders that the Prince should be brought to Delhi and thence by water to Agra.¹ But when Humayun arrived in Delhi from Sambhal his condition became acutely critical and his companion, Maulana Muhammad Parghari had to send an urgent communication to Maham Anaga, then pleasure seeking with her husband at Dholpur.² The communication said: "Humaun Mirza is ill and in an extraordinary state. Her Highness the Begum should come at once to Delhi for the Mirza is much prostrated."³ The long journey from Sambhal to Agra though performed amidst care and caution had its adverse effect on the ailing Prince. Maham, on meeting the princely convoy at Mathura found her son extraordinarily weak and dangerously ill. Notwithstanding every possible medical treatment and care under the supervision of Khawaja Nizamuddin, Humayun showed no signs of recovery at Agra. His condition continued to grow worse every day. His temperature sometimes used to shoot up so high as to throw him in a state of delirium. In utter disappointment Babur consulted the well renowned saint Abu Baqa, who advised Humayun to seek remedy from God and give in charity the most valuable thing in his possession.

1. Rushbrook Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 175 ; Dr. Ishwarl Prasad, *The Life and Times of Humayun*, pp. 27-28.

2. *Ibid.* According to Muhammad Qusim Hindu Shah Firishtah Babur was too much addicted to women and wine. On occasions when he was inclined to make marry, while he was in Kabul, he used to get a reservoir in a garden filled with wine, over which was inscribed a verse to this purpose :

"Give me but wine and blooming maids,
All other joys I freely spurn :
Enjoy them Babur, while you may,
For youth once passed, will ne'er return."

3. *Ibid.* ; Harold Lamb, *op. cit.*, pp. 207-8 ;
Dr. Ishwarl Prasad, *op. cit.*, pp. 27-28.

Babur intervening said. "I am the most valuable thing that Humayun possesses. I shall make myself a sacrifice for him. May God the Creator accept it." According to contemporary accounts soon afterwards Babur was taken ill and Humayun recovered from his remittent fever.¹

Humayun's Recovery and Return to Sambhal, 1530

The controversy regarding Humayun's recovery and Babur's illness and death on December 26, 1530 is too well known for repetition. It has, however, been proved beyond doubt that Humayun heard of his father's death at Sambhal, which forced him to repair hastily to Agra leaving a Mughal garrison in town.² About the return of Humayun to Sambhal after his recovery from illness most of the historians have maintained a barren silence. It is generally believed that at the time of Babur's death Humayun was physically present at Agra. Sir Richard Burn remarks: "As he lay dying Babur had warned Humayun of the possibility of claims (for the Mughal crown) by three brothers³ and had charged him (Humayun) always to forgive their faults."⁴ Such remarks implying Humayun's presence at Agra before Babur breathed his last have been expressed by a large number of historians.⁵ But it has been proved beyond doubt by Dr. Rama Shankar Avasthi in his learned treatise, "*The Mughal Emperor Humayun*", that after his recovery Humayun returned to Sambhal and remained there till the last gasp of his father's life.⁶ Similar opinion has been expressed by J.M. Shelat, who remarks that "Humayun recovered and repaired to Sambhal. When the end appeared near, he was recalled post haste."⁷

1. Dr. A.L. Srivastava, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

2. H.R. Nevill, *District Gazetteer of Moradabad*, 1911. .

3. Mirza Kamran, *Hindal and Askari*.

4. *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. IV, p. 21.

5. 'Abhyudaya', November 30, 1936; Sitla Sahai, *Babar Ki*

Mrityu.

6. Dr. Rama Shankar Avasthi, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

7. J.M. Shelat, *Akbar*, p. 21.

Although the first part of the learned author's statement is correct yet he has committed a greater blunder by stating that Humayun was called back to Agra from Sambhal before Babur's death. According to Dr. Rama Shankar Avasthi, Humayun received the news of Babur's death at Sambhal, "while he was watching the movements of the recalcitrant Afghans and guarding the Mughal frontiers".¹ It was on December 30, 1530, after four days of Babur's death that Humayun reached Agra and ascended the throne.²

Humayun's Return from Sambhal and Accession to the Throne, 1530

Immediately after Babur's death, Khawaja Khalifa sent a messenger to Sambhal to summon the crown Prince Humayun.³ Babur's death was kept secret.⁴ In order to prevent the tragic news from leaking out through bewailment even the Begums were removed from the Emperor's side.⁵ But after a day or so it was suggested that it was not proper to keep the death secret from the point of view of general security, law and order. It was further suggested by an Amir Araish Khan that it would be best to dress someone in red and set him on an elephant to proclaim that Emperor Babur had become a *dervish* and had given his throne to Emperor Humayun.⁶ According to *Humayun Nama* this was at once acted upon and had the desired effect.⁷ On reaching Agra from Sambhal, on December 30, 1530, Mirza Humayun ascended the throne and assumed the full

1. Dr. Rama Shankar Avasthi, *op. cit.*

2. *Ibid.*

3. Nizamuddin, Ahmad Tabqat-i-Akbari vide Dr. Rama Shankar Avasthi, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

4. Dr. Rama Shankar Avasthi, *op. cit.*, pp. 58-59.

5. Gulbadan Begum, *Humayun Nama*, vide Dr. Rama Shankar Avasthi, *op. cit.*, pp. 58-59.

6. *Ibid.*

7. *Ibid.*

insignia of royalty as Nasiruddin Muhammad Humayun Badshah Ghazi.¹

Administration of Sambhal Under Humayun

About the administration of Sambhal under Humayun upto the death of Babur, there is a great paucity of information. His appointment to Sambhal by Babur had the distinct object of bringing that turbulent region into subjection. That no rebellion or disturbance took place during his six months' stay at Sambhal is sufficient to believe that he did not 'tumble' there.² His stay there was both peaceful and comfortable,³ save his fever which forced him to return to the capital. In a way, Humayun was fortunate in remaining at Sambhal, for it ultimately kept him in closest touch with the Mughal metropolis and after Babur's death secure the Mughal crown for him. Had he continued to hold the charge of Badakhshan it was probable that the news of Babur's death might not have reached him in time and his accession succeeded by bloodshed and a war of succession.

According to Dr. Rama Shankar Avasthi, Humayun might have amused his leisure at Sambhal in "philosophical disputations and in discourses on Mathematics and other learned sciences".⁴ In administrative and political matters, he was assisted by Amir Hindu Beg, who according to Abul Fazl, wielded unlimited power and could remove even a *Vazir* from his place.⁵ He was not merely the supreme administrative

1. Gulbadan Begum, *Humayun Nama*; Nizamuddin, *Tabqat i Akbari*; Ibrahim Hariri, *Tarikh i Ibrahim*; vide Dr. Rama Shankar Avasthi, *op. cit.*, pp. 61-63.

2. This has a reference to Lane Poole's well known remark: "Humayun tumbled through life and tumbled out of it".

3. Abul Fazl, *Akbar Nama*; Nizamuddin, *Tabqat i Akbari*; vide Dr. Rama Shankar Avasthi, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

4. Sultan Ali Husain Safawi, *Madanus Sadat*, vide Dr. Rama Shankar Avasthi p. 39.

5. Abul Fazl, *Akbar Nama*, vide Dr. Rama Shankar Avasthi, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

officer under Humayun at Sambhal but also his Commander in Chief.¹

Sambhal under Mirza Askari, 1530

When Humayun assumed the charge of the Mughal government, Sambhal came under the control of Mirza Askari². Even earlier, when Humayun had to leave Sambhal on account of his illness, he entrusted the charge of Sambhal to Mirza Askari, who was to be assisted by a Mughal garrison. Mirza Askari was now the *de facto* and *de jure* Governor of Sambhal.³ According to *Tabqat i Akbari*, Humayun also paid a visit to Sambhal after the death of Babur.⁴

Humayun Sends Mirza Askari to Sambhal for the Suppression of 'Mischievous Mirzas', 1537

Muhammad Sultan Mirza, the leader of the Mirzas at Sambhal was a formidable obstacle in the way of Humayun's conquests. He was dissatisfied with the Government on account of its neglect of the Mirzas. Although already defeated by Humayun, the *mischievous Mirzas* were *lurking*⁵ in Sambhal and there still remained a possibility of the recurrence of an organized revolt against the Government. Humayun, therefore, deputed Mirza Askari to proceed to Sambhal in 1537 to root out every trace of Muhammad Sultan Mirza and his sons from

1. Nizamuddin, *Tabqat i Akbari*; Muhammad Qasim Hirdu Shab Firishtah, *Gulshan i Ibrahimi* or *Tarikh i Firishtah*; *vide* Dr. Rama Shankar Avasthi *op. cit.*, p. 63.

2. Dr. A.B. Pandey, *op. cit.* p. 26; Dr. S.R. Sharma, *The Making of Modern India*, p. 42; Dr. A.L. Srivastava, *op. cit.*, p. 44; Pringle Kennedy, *History of the Great Moghuls*. Calcutta, 1905, p. 173.

3. Nizamuddin, *Tabqat i Akbari*; *Firishtah, Gulshan i Ibrahimi* *vide* Dr. S.A.A. Rizvi, *Mughalkalin Bharat*, Part II, p. 93 and 194; Iqtidar Alam Khan, *Mirza Kamran; A Biographical Study*, p. 10.

4. Nizamuddin, *Tabqat i Akbari*, *vide* Dr. S.A.A. Rizvi, *op. cit.*, p. 93.

5. Dr. Rama Shankar Avasthi, *op. cit.*, pp. 254-56.

that region¹. In compliance of the Imperial orders, Mirza Askari reached Sambhal for the suppression of the Mirzas. He made frantic efforts to trace out Muhammad Sultan Mirza and his followers, but it proved to be of no avail.² The Mirzas had already left Sambhal and fled to Bengal³. Mirza Askari, therefore, returned to Agra from Sambhal. He was disappointed as his mission of rooting out the Mirzas had remained unaccomplished.

Sambhal Under Sher Shah, 1540-1545 : Appolntment of Isa Khan Kalkapuri as Governor of Sambhal

At the Battle of Chausa on June 26, 1539, Sher Shah defeated Humayun, who fled to Agra in utter frustration.⁴ Haibat Khan Niyazi was then despatched by Sher Shah to cut off the Mughal retreat. Oudh was captured and then came Sambhal, which according to Dr. P. Saran, was the 'home of most implacable rebels' during this period⁵. Mughals were driven out of Sambhal. The forces of Sher Shah under the command of Haibat Khan Niyazi plundered Sambhal and made slaves of its inhabitants⁶. According to *Tarikh-i-Khan-i-Jahan Lodi* the Afghans harried the Mughal soldiers out of Oudh, and Babraich and scorched the entire country upto Sambhal.⁷

After the capture of Sambhal, Nasir Khan was appointed by Sher Shah to control and administer the sarkar of Samb-

1. *Ibid.*

2. *Ibid.*

3. *Ibid.*

4. At Chausa Humayun suffered a severe defeat. Most of the Mughal soldiers were drowned or captured. Humayun's life was saved by a water-carrier, who carried him on his water-skin across the Ganga into which the Mughal emperor had recklessly jumped. Joannes de Laet, *A Contemporary Dutch Chronicle of Mughal India*. Translated and edited by Brij Narain and Sri Ram Sharma, Calcutta, 1957, p. 6.

5. Dr. P. Saran, *Studies in Medieval History*, p. 57.

6. Dr. Rama Shankar Avasthi, *op. cit.*, p. 306.

7. *Ibid.*

hal¹. He was hot blooded and strict. His tyranny and autocratic behaviour led to complaints. Appeals were made by the people of Sambhal to the Afghan Court for redress² Ultimately Sher Shah decided to replace him by a Sarwani noble named Isa Khan Kalkapuri. This new governor of Sambhal was asked by the Central Government to make Sambhal his permanent seat of administration, so that no complaints could be heard from the inhabitants. He was also ordered to suppress the insurgents with a ruthless hand.³ According to Dr. P. Saran, this was an emergency step. After the appointment of Isa Khan Kalkapuri to the sarkar of Sambhal, according to the same author, "Sher Shah felt at ease regarding the whole country from Delhi to Lucknow".⁴

After Humayun's overthrow at Kanauj on May 17, 1540, Bairam Beg, who fled to Sambhal, took refuge with a prominent noble, Abdul Wahad. He had great intimacy and friendship with him. But Abdul Wahad, afraid of Sher Shah's increasing power did not like to provide shelter to Bairam Beg. He advised him to seek shelter elsewhere. Consequently Bairam Beg approached the Katehr Rajput chieftain of Lakhnaur, Raja Mitrasen. Raja Mitrasen, despite the fact that he knew the consequences of granting refuge to Bairam Beg, welcomed him in his court⁵. When Nasir Khan came to know that Bairam Khan had taken refuge with Raja Mitrasen, he forced the chieftain to hand over Bairam Khan to him. It was indeed a challenging situation for the Rajput. He was not in a position to annoy the Afghan Government but at the same time

1. Dr. Ishwari Prasad, *The Life and Times of Humayun*, p. 157.

2. *Ibid.*

3. Dr. A.B. Pandey, *Later Medieval India : A History of the Mughals*, p. 43.

4. Dr. P. Saran, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

5. Mutamid Khan, *Iqbal Nama*, *Vide* Dr. S. A. A. Rizvi, *op. cit.*, p. 284.

he did not want Bairam Khan to be made a scapegoat. Timely intervention from Isa Khan Kalkapuri enabled Bairam Khan to escape with his life. Isa Khan sent him to Sher Shah at Agra, whence he fled to Gujarat, afterwards rejoining Humayun¹.

Sambhal Under Islam Shah, 1545-1553 : Khavass Khan's Assassination by Taj Khan Kirani at Sambhal, 1546

During the reign of Islam Shah, Sambhal was administered by Taj Khan Kirani. An important incident of this period was the treacherous murder of Khavass Khan at Sirsi, six miles from Sambhal². Khavass Khan was one of the most illustrious nobles of the age and was undoubtedly a good soldier. He was a staunch supporter of the Sur dynasty³. He was, however, disliked by Islam Shah for his support to his brother and rival, Adil Khan⁴. Although Khavass Khan had withdrawn his support to Niyazis in their rebellion against Islam Shah, yet he had clearly demonstrated his acute hatred for Islam Shah's policy of suppression and bloodshed by supporting Adil Khan in his struggle to achieve the Mughal crown, after the death of Sher Shah. Islam Shah had achieved the crown with tremendous difficulty and therefore, it was his natural desire to protect and preserve his power and influence at all cost. After his accession on May 27, 1545, he pursued a policy which was completely devoid of human touch. It was a policy of suppression and control, characterised by suspicion, hatred and bloodshed. He began his reign by putting the Chandel ruler of Kalinger, Raja Kirat Singh to death⁵. Raja Kirat Singh's seventy principal followers were also massacred. He hatched an unsuo-

1. For details see ; Dr. Kalikaranjan Qanungo, *Sher Shah and his Times*, pp. 27-183.

2. I.H. Siddiqi, *Some Aspects of Afghan Despotism in India*, p. 157.

3. *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III p. 59.

4. Dr. A.L. Srivastava, *op. cit.*, p. 115-17.

5. *Ibid.*

cessful plan to murder his brother, Adil Khan, at Agra. Another noble, Jalal Khan Julwani and his brother Khudadad were put to death at Chunar. Qutub Khan and several other nobles were sent to Gwalior Fort and were blown up by gun powder. Haibat Khan Niyazi, his mother and daughters were murdered after the unsuccessful finale of the Niyazi rebellion¹. Thus Islam Shah succeeded in his cruel policy of getting rid of all those nobles and chiefs who were either supporters of Adil Khan or were antagonistic towards Islam Shah himself.

After the failure of the Niyazi rebellion Khavass Khan fled to Kumayun and took refuge with the Raja of Kumayun. The Raja, however, was asked by Islam Shah to surrender the fugitive². But when his request was turned down, Islam Shah, diplomatically entered into communication with Khavass Khan himself. By promising to forgive his offences, he begged Khavass Khan to attend the Court and then proceed against the Rana of Mewar, who had plundered the royal territories and carried away the wives and daughters of the Muslims³. At the same time he sent secret orders of the Governor of Sambhal, Taj Khan Kirani to put Khavass Khan to death as soon as he should come within reach⁴.

The Raja of Kumayun advised Khavass Khan not to take Islam Shah's commitments and assurances seriously⁵. He was well aware of the political climate of the time, which was full of treachery and treason. He warned Khavass Khan not to attend the court of Islam Shah. Khavass Khan, disregarding the warning of his host, obeyed the Imperial summons and left Kumayun⁶. He was received at Sirsi by the Governor of

1. *Ibid.*

2. *Ibid.*

3. Dr. Ishwari Prasad, *op. cit.*, pp. 188-89.

4. I.H. Siddiqi, *op. cit.*, p. 157.

5. Cambridge History of India, *loc. cit.*, p. 59.

6. *Ibid.*

Sambhal¹. The Governor, Taj Khan Kirani, although owed his advancement to Kavass Khan, caused him assassinated in his tent at night². In order to flatter the Mughal King he sent Khavass Khan's head on a spear, with his body stuffed with straw, to Islam Shah³.

Death of Islam Shah : Mitrasen Becomes the Governor of Sambhal, 1553

During the confusion which ensured the death of Islam Shah the Katchrias regained much of their lost power and prestige. In addition to their strongholds of Aonla, Kabar and Lakhnaur, they now possessed the forts of Bareilly and Chaupalah. The credit for regaining the lost power, however, goes to Mitrasen, who became the *de facto* Governor of Sambhal in 1553⁴.

Qamber Diwana's Revolt and his Assassination by All Quli Khan Shaibani, 1556

Tarikh-i-Alfi and *Gulshan-i-Ibrahimi*, the two contemporary sources, provide a vivid account of Qamber Beg Diwana's revolt at Sambhal. Although brief yet it was remarkable for creating alarm and anxiety in the whole Mughal empire. Qamber Diwana, a private in the army of Humayun, deserted him after the victory of Sirhind on July 22, 1555⁵. It is well known how after defeating Sikander Sur, Humayun reached Delhi to reoccupy the Mughal throne after fifteen long years on July 20, 1555. After deserting Humayun, Qamber Diwana, organised a large following and started plundering villages and towns near Sirhind. *Tabqat-i-Akbari* speaks of the co-operation of *short-sighted* and *chaos-loving* people with this rebel. He had also succeeded in taking into confidence a

1. *Ibid.*

2. *Ibid.*

3. Dr. A.L. Srivastava, *op. cit.*, pp. 115-17.

4. *Ibid.*

5. *Iqbal Nama i Jahangiri*, ed. Dr. S. A. A. Rizvi, *op. cit.*.

large number of disorganised soldiers, who were unemployed and could easily come under his banner¹. After his atrocities at Sirhind, Qamber Diwana marched towards Sambhal. On his way he plundered the people and collected a large booty, a part of which he distributed among his friends and followers. He also generously helped the poor with the money he had snatched from the rich. The number of his followers thus increased tremendously. Charity and distribution of wealth made him popular among the people. It was indeed a political device to attract and enlarge his following and to win the sympathy of the masses. Within a short period he became so powerful that he attacked Sambhal and captured it².

After the capture of Sambhal, Qamber Diwana sent his son, Arifullah to capture Badaun, Rai Husain Jalwani, the Governor of Badaun, was totally unprepared for this sudden disaster. He had no other option but to run away without any encounter with Qamber Diwana's forces³. Thus Badaun was also captured by Qamber Diwana. He now went to Kantagola and plunder the whole region⁴. Rukn Khan, the Afghan noble at Kantagola was defeated. This was an open rebellion against the Mughal Government. Qamber Diwana's victories and plunders created an alarm and anxiety in the Mughal court. However as a political device to check his own criticism at the court and elsewhere, Qamber Diwana continued to despatch letters of his allegiance to the Mughal Emperor, regularly⁵.

According to *Iqbal Nama i Jahangiri*, Qamber Diwana was not merely mad but also a plain victim of worldly pride. There was absolutely no relation between his words and deeds.

1. *Tabqat i Akbari*, vide Dr. S.A.A. Rizvi, *op. cit.*

2. *Ibid.*

3. *Iqbal Nama i Jahangiri*, vide Dr. S.A.A. Rizvi, *op. cit.*

. *Ibid.*

5. *Ibid.*

He also conferred on his followers the titles of 'khans' and 'sultans'.

When Humayun came to know about the rebellious activities of Qamber Diwana he ordered Ali Quli Khan Shaibani to send him to the Court. In case of defiance of Imperial orders he was to be suitably punished. Qamber Diwana had in the meantime suffered a defeat at the hands of Rukh Khan and had taken shelter in the Badaun fort. When Ali Quli Khan Shaibani had freed himself from the problems of Meerut in which he had remained engaged during this period he reached Badaun. In spite of all persuasions, Qamber Diwana refused to meet Ali Quli Khan Shaibani. He considered a meeting with this Mughal envoy as a humiliation and therefore, did not come out of the fort. In a communique to Ali Quli Khan, Qamber Diwana warned him not to interfere in his affairs.¹ He made it clear that he owed responsibility to none except the Mughal Emperor. He also emphasized that the victories which he had achieved were a result of his own individual efforts². Qamber Diwana also sent a petition to this effect. Ali Quli Khan Shaibani had no other alternative but to fight. He sent Muhammad Beg Turkman and Mullah Ghyasuddin to persuade Qamber Diwana to come out of the fort and obey the Imperial command³. But Qamber Diwana instead of coming out of the fort, arrested the two envoys⁴. But the captivity of the envoys proved fatal to Qamber Diwana. Muhammad Beg Turkman and Mullah Ghyasuddin in due course of time succeeded in winning over a large number of people to their cause, secretly⁵. And ultimately they made

1. *Ibid.*

2. *Ibid.*

3. *Ibid.*

4. Dr. A.L. Srivastava, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

5. *Ibid.*

6. Iqbal Nama i Jahangiri, *vide* Dr. B.A.A. Rizvi, *op. cit.*

Qamber Diwana a prisoner in his own fort¹. Ali Quli Khan also entered the fort and assassinated Qamber Diwana. His head was sent to the Mughal Court as a trophy on January 16, 1556².

Emperor Humayun, on receiving Qamber Diwana's petition, sent Qasim Mulkhliis to Badaun to bring Qamber Diwana to the Mughal court, assuring him all protection and mercy from the Government³. But before he could reach Badaun, Qamber Diwana had already been assassinated. Humayun, however, did not like the brutal murder of Diwana in captivity⁴. His heart was filled with profound sorrow. He severely reprimanded Ali Quli Khan for his cruel act⁵.

Sambhal under Hemu : Governor of Sambhal Abandons his Charge and joins Akbar at Sirhind

After the death of Humayun and immediately preceding Akbar's reign Sambhal passed under the Government of Hemu, who became the Emperor of India and occupied the throne of Delhi in 1556.⁶ It was a bold endeavour on the part of this Hindu Prime Minister of Muhammad Adil Shah, the Mughal Emperor. He re-established Hindu rule in Sambhal as in other parts of India after three and a half centuries of Muslim domination. The Governor of Sambhal, Ali Quli Khan Shai-bani abandoned his charge and fled to Sirhind. Hemu made a capital out of the confusion that obtained after the death of Humayun. Fully equipped for an attack, Hemu advanced from Gwalior to Agra. Iskandar Khan Uzbek, the Governor of Agra fled towards Delhi without offering any resistance. He lost about three thousand soldiers during his retreat. Hemu continued his march and reached Delhi. He defeated the

1. *Ibid.*

2. *Tarikh i Alfi, op. cit.*

3. *Iqbal Nama i Jahangiri, op. cit.*

4. *Tarikh i Alfi, op. cit.*

5. *Akbar Nama, vide Dr. Rama Shankar Avasthi, op. cit., p. 188.*

6. *Dr. A.B. Pandey, Later Medieval India, p. 92.*

Governor of Delhi, Tardi Beg Khan, who was hardly a match to his military skill and herosim. Tardi Beg Khan, Iskandar Khan Uzbek, and as already mentioned, the Governor of Sambhal, all fled to Sirhind⁴. Hemu, thus set himself up as a sovereign ruler under the title of Maharaja Vikramaditya. The entire country from Gwalior to river Sutlaj passed under his control.³

The Battle of Panipat on November 5, 1556, however, proved fatal to Maharaja Hemu³ and his defeat against Akbar re-established the Mughal authority in this country. The Governor of Sambhal, Ali Quli Khan Shaibani, who had fled to Sirhind and joined the forces of Akbar, demonstrated rare courage and bravery in Akbar's encounter against Maharaja Hemu at Panipat and was once again made the Governor of Sambhal. He captured the whole territory between Sambhal and Lucknow and as a recognition of his splendid services he was given the coveted title of Khan i Zaman.

The successors of Adil Shah continued for some time a desultory struggle in the East but in 1559 Khan i Zaman captured Banaras and Jaunpur and thus carried the limits of the Mughal empire almost to the confines of Bihar.

Famine in Sambhal, 1556

In 1556, there was a widespread famine in Sambhal. It was equally severe in Delhi and Agra, where thousands of people died of starvation. "The capital was devastated and nothing remained but a few houses. As epidemic plague ensued and spread through most of the cities of Hindustan, multitudes died and men were driven to feed on human flesh, parties being formed to seize and eat solitary victims"⁴.

1. *Ibid.*, p. 95.

2. *Ibid*

3. G.R. Hearn, *The Seven Cities of Delhi*, pp. 217-19

4. Dr. A.L. Srivastava, *op. cit*, p. 127.

Sambhal Under Akbar, 1556-1605

The battle of Panipat marked the real beginning of the Mughal Empire in India and set it on the path of expansion. It was decisive and it brought to an end the Afghan-Mughal contest for paramountcy in this country. Akbar had now no rival to the throne of Delhi. On November 6, 1556 he made a formal entry into the capital with his victorious army. He held magnificent celebrations of his success, and rewarded all those who contributed to it. As already described Ali Quli Khan Shaibani received the title of Khan i Zaman and the Sarkar of Sambhal together with few other parganas in Doab. He had been the main architect of Mughal victory against Hemu. He had not only captured Hemu's artillery but also inflicted a severe defeat on Hemu's advance-guard at Panipat¹. Although Bairam Khan commanded the Mughal army in person, Ali Quli Khan was placed in charge of the centre, while young Akbar was kept at a safe distance in the rear. In spite of the loss of artillery, Hemu charged the Mughal army and overthrew its right and left wings. He then launched an attack on the centre controlled by Ali Quli Khan Shaibani.² He hurled his one thousand and five hundred elephants against it. Ali Quli Khan showed remarkable valour, but was about to surrender to Hemu when a stray arrow struck him and made him unconscious. It was a golden opportunity for Ali Quli Khan Shaibani. He, taking advantage of the panic, which had taken hold of enemy's army, captured Hemu, whose head according to Ahmad Yadgar, was severed from his body by Akbar himself³.

Ali Quli Khan Shaibani Defeats Rukn Khan Lohani and Hasan Khan Bachhoti

Ali Quli Khan Shaibani was not satisfied with his meri-

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 129-31.

2. *Ibid.*

3. *Ibid.*

torious victory at Panipat. After the receipt of the Imperial distinction, Khan i Zaman turned his attention towards his own rivals. For occupying Sambhal and its adjacent territories it was essential for Khan i Zaman to defeat Rukn Khan Lohani, a notable officer of Adali. Without any further delay, he attacked the forces of Rukn Khan Lohani and inflicted a severe defeat on his formidable rival. The real task appeared when he made further advances eastwards to encounter Hasan Khan Bachgoti and Jalal Khan. It was rumoured that they had collected a large body of Afghan soldiers in the tune of fifty thousands and were marching towards Sambhal with tremendous force. Khan i Zaman was not a person to allow the enemy to take the upper hand. With four thousand soldiers he reached Lucknow and fought a bloody battle against Hasan Khan Bachgoti, who possessed twenty thousand cavalry. His victory was decisive. He captured a large booty including many elephants, two of the choicest among them, 'Sabdilia' and 'Dilshankar' were sent to the Mughal Emperor as trophies of the battle.

Rebellion of Mirzas at Sambhal, 1567

At Lahore, while pursuing Muhammad Hakim, his step brother, who had invaded Punjab in 1567, Akbar received the news of a rebellion of the Mirzas at Sambhal.¹ It was not confined to Sambhal alone but it had also engulfed Azampur. The rebels, Ibrahim Husain Mirza, Muhammad Husain Mirza, Musad Husain Mirza, Sikander Mirza and Mahmud Mirza, were all descendants of Timur's second son and were the blood relations of Akbar. The main cause of their rebellion was their neglect during Akbar's reign. As blood relations, they expected more honour, prestige and power from the Government, which in their belief did not adequately give them their share in the administration².

1. Dr. A. B. Pandey, *Later Medieval India*, p. 334.

2. Dr. S. R. Sharma, *The Making of Modern India*, pp. 76, 82-83.

Akbar's absence in Lahore, while marching against the retreating Mirza Hakim's forces, was the most opportune time for the Mirzas to rise into open rebellion.¹ Sambhal, which was their stronghold, became the centre of rebellion; and they started obtaining forcible possession of the Government territories, in different parts of the empire. Munim Khan, who took up the suppression of the rebellion, did not succeed against them for quite some time, as they had adopted guerilla tactics and fled from place to place, creating disorder and anarchy. Ultimately Munim Khan defeated them and drove them into Malwa. They could not remain at peace even at Malwa and were hunted down and expelled. They fled to Gujrat. They were not completely crushed till 1573, when Akbar himself undertook an expedition to Gujrat.²

Uzbegs Rebellion

Most of the Mughal officials who had enjoyed considerable autonomy in dealing with their 'subas' or 'sarkars' felt disgusted with Akbar's policy of centralization of politico-administrative authority.³ They had enjoyed autonomy in their respective jurisdictions and almost an independent status under the preceding regime. The Governor of Sambhal, Ali Quli Khan Shaibani, Khan-i-Zaman and other prominent officials of the Mughal Government had administered the territories under their control almost like an independent ruler. The Uzbegs who formed an influential and turbulent section of the Mughal nobility, were the most dissatisfied people in Akbar's court and wanted to get rid of Akbar's policy of concentration of all power in his hands.⁴ The leader of this group was Ali Quli Khan Shaibani.⁵ His brother Bahadur, their uncle, Ibrahim Khan, the Governor of Oudh, Iskander Khan and Abdullah Khan were

1. *Ibid.*

2. Dr. A.L. Srivastava, *op. cit.*

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 151-52.

4. Dr. A.B. Pandey, *op. cit.*

5. Dr. S.R. Sharma, *op. cit.*

among those Uzbegs, who actively supported and promoted the disaffection. They held important portfolios under the Government and were in command of the Mughal forces, stationed at different strategic points. The main reason for Ali Quli Khan's dissatisfaction and disappointment was that his valuable services in re-establishing the Mughal authority through his magnificent performance at the Battle of Panipat were not adequately rewarded by the young sovereign, Akbar. Similar disappointment was felt by Iskandar Khan and others. The result was an open rebellion against the existing order with Ali Quli Khan as the leader¹. Khan-i-Zaman defeated the royal troops and captured Manikpur². In May 1565, Iskandar Khan and Ibrahim Khan inflicted another defeat on the royal forces. It looked that the Uzbegs had taken a resolve to sink or swim together. The situation became so alarming that Akbar had no other option but to take the field against the rebellious Uzbegs himself. He made a surprise attack on Iskandar Khan and captured Lucknow³. Khan-i-Zaman and Iskandar Khan fled towards Hajipur in Bihar. After the rebellion, which lasted for two years, Akbar, decided to forgive the Uzbegs. But the Uzbegs had no desire to abandon their pretensions to feudal aristocracy and therefore, Akbar had to crush the Uzbegs nobility⁴. With the death of Ali Quli Khan Shaibani in January 1567, the rebellion came to an end⁵. His brother Bahadur had also to be executed.

Sambhal Under Muzaffar Husain Mirza, A Persian Prince, 1595

In 1595 Akbar appointed Muzaffar Husain Mirza as the Governor of Sambhal⁶. Prior to this Muinuddin Khan, Mir

1. Dr. A.B Pandey, *op. cit.*

2. Dr. A L. Srivastava, *op. cit.*

3. *Ibid.*

4. *Ibid.*

5. Dr. R S. Sharma, *op. cit.*

6. Thomas William Beale, *The Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, p. 200.

Muhammad Khan, Hakim Ainulmulk of Shiraz and Said Khan Chaghtai had served as the Governors of Sambhal after the death of Ali Quli Khan. The only notable incident of this interim period was the defeat of Adab Bahadur, a rebel, at the hands of Hakim Ainulmulk. This Governor of Sambhal had also to his credit the construction of a fort in Bareilly.

Muzaffar Husain Mirza, a Persian Prince, was the son of Sultan Husain Mirza and belonged to the Safwi race. He came to India from Kandahar in 1595, and was received by the Mughal Emperor Akbar in August 1595 with great kindness¹. He honoured Muzaffar Husain Mirza with the rank of 5000 mansabs and the Sarkar of Sambhal was assigned to him in jagir². His administration of Sambhal, however, was far from popular or praise-worthy. His treatment towards the cultivators was inhumane and autocratic. Ultimately, the cultivators complained to the Mughal Government regarding Mirza's exortations. The Mirza applied to the Mughal Emperor Akbar for leave to go to Mecca. He soon repented and was reinstated. In 1598 the Mughal Government removed him from his charge and appointed him on regular salary.

It is interesting to note that the first wife of Prince Khurram (afterwards Shah Jahan) was the daughter of this Governor of Sambhal³. She was married to Shah Jahan in 1609 and received the title of Kandahari Begum⁴.

Under Akbar, Sambhal assumed a significant position. It became one of the largest Sarkars of the Mughal Empire. It was divided between the three Dasturs of Sambhal, Lakhnaur and Chandpur. It comprised the following fortyseven Parganas

1. *Ibid.*

2. *Ibid.*

3. *Ibid.*, p. 141.

4. Dr. Banarsi Prasad Saksena, *History of Shah Jahan of Delhi*.

spreading over the territories of present Moradabad, Bijnor, Rampur, Bareilly and Badaun :

Sarkar of Sambhal :

- | | |
|--------------------|-------------------|
| 1. Amroha | 25. Seoharah |
| 2. Azampur | 26. Sirsi |
| 3. Islampur Bahru | 27. Sabspur |
| 4. Ujhari | 28. Sirsawah |
| 5. Akbarabad | 29. Sherkot |
| 6. Islampur Durga | 30. Shahi |
| 7. Islamabad | 31. Kundarki |
| 8. Bijnor | 32. Kiratpur |
| 9. Bachhraon | 33. Kachh (Tigri) |
| 10. Biroi | 34. Gandaar |
| 11. B sarah | 35. Kabar |
| 12. Chandpur | 36. Ganaur |
| 13. Jalalabad | 37. Kharkari |
| 14. Chaupalah | 38. Lakhnaur |
| 15. Jhalu | 39. Liswah |
| 16. Jadwar | 40. Muḡ halpur |
| 17. Haveli Sambhal | 41. Majholah |
| 18. Deorah | 42. Mandawar |
| 19. Dhaka | 43. Nagina |
| 20. Dhabarsi | 44. Nastaur |
| 21. Dudila | 45. Nadhana |
| 22. Rajpur | 46. Narauli |
| 23. Rajabpur | 47. Hathmanali |
| 24. Saimbhal | |

The Sarkar of Sambhal, 1556-1605

The Pargana of Amroha contained 320,654 bighas under cultivation, assessed at 6342000 dams. The Zamindars were Saiyyids and contributed a military force of 1,000 cavalry, 5,000 infantry and 50 elephants¹. This large contingent bears witness to the power and influence of the Saiyyids, the most prominent of whom was Saiyyid Muhammad, Mir Adil, a friend of Bada-

1. Neveill, *op. cit.*

oni, and one of the greatest Muhammedan lawyers of the day. He was a commander of 900 and in 1575 was made Governor of Bhakkar, where he died two years later. He was succeeded by his son, Abul Fazl, and other sons were Saiyyid Abul Qasim, a Commander of 600, Abul Maali, a Commander of 300 and Abul Hasan, a Commander of 200.

Narauli, held by Bargujar Rajputs, who furnished 40 horse and 400 foot had 181,621 bighas under tillage and was assessed at 1408093 dams.

Kundarki was owned by Kayasths who provided a similar force and paid 674,936 dams on 86,164 bighas.

Sahaspur belonged to Tagas, who were also responsible for a force of equal size and paid 944,304 dams on an area of 54,845 bighas ; and Deora had 96,965 bighas under cultivation assessed at 1,924,837 dams ; the Dor Zamindars providing 25 horse and 200 foot.

Sambhal was held by Tagas, Brahmins and Khokhar Rajputs, who together furnished 150 horse and 900 foot: the combined area under tillage was 252,850 bighas and the revenue 4,173,401 dams. Sirsi and Majhhaula were also included in Sambhal. The former was held by Saiyyids and others who contributed 20 horse and 200 foot, paying 958,769 dams on an area of 52,401 bighas, while the latter was a large Bargujar mahal with an area of 142,461 bighas, a revenue of 1,737,556 dams and a contingent of no fewer than 400 cavalry and 8,000 infantry.

Rajabpur had 40,346 bighas of cultivation assessed at 612,977 dams, and was held by Khokhar Rajputs and Sheikhzadas, who contributed 25 horse and 150 foot. Islampur was held by Bishnois, who furnished 100 horse and 200 foot and paid a revenue of 1,70,640 dams on 66,096 bighas of cultivation. Mughalpur was held by Tagas, who paid 3,580,300 dams on an area of 168,374 bighas, the local levy being 100 horse and 500 foot. Chaupalah¹ provided 100 cavalry and 500

1. *Ibid.*

infantry, while the cultivated area was 101,619 bighas and the revenue 1,340,812 dams. Bilari included four Mahals and a portion of Jadwar, a Bargujar pargana in Badaun.

Sambhal Under Shah Jahan : Foundation of Moradabad : 1624

During the reign of Shah Jahan Rustam Khan Dakhani was the Governor of Sambhal. In 1624, Raja Ram Sukh, the head of the Katchrias organized a revolt and invaded the Terai. The Raja of Kumaun sought the help of the Mughal Emperor, Shah Jahan, who ordered Rustam Khan Dakhani to suppress the rebellion. Rustam Khan Dakhani was a gallant soldier and able military commander. He marched against Raja Ram Sukh with a unique *tour de force* and captured the fort of Chaupalah. He was not satisfied with fort alone. In an encounter against the rebellious Rajput, Rustam Khan Dakhani completely frustrated the designs of the Katchrias by putting Raja Ram Sukh to death. It was a great victory for the Governor of Sambhal; and was followed by merriment and jubilation. A mosque was constructed at Chaupalah¹ in commemoration of the victory, and the place was named Rustamnagar.

1. Dr B.P. Saksena, History of Shah Jahan of Delhi; W.H. Moreland, From Akbar to Aurangzeb; Cambridge History of India, Vol IV, Ch. VII.

The mosque bears the following inscription in Persian :
 There was no mosque in Moradabad
 As there were only Kafirs and Hindus in that place,
 The just King Sahabuddin Ghazi, surnamed Shahjahan,
 Bestowed that place to Rustam Khan,
 The illustrious Rustam Khan built a beautiful and splendid
 mosque there,
 Made the foundation of his religion strong,
 And established his religion in the world.
 For the date of its erection every wise poet,
 Dipped down in the sea of his mind.
 One of the wise men from the sea of knowledge
 Brought out a brilliant pearl.
 That brilliant pearl is this, listen ;

The news of Rustam Khan Dakhani's victory over Raja Ram Sukh and the subsequent merriment reached the Mughal Emperor Shah Jahan. Rustam Khan was immediately summoned at the Mughal Court at Agra. He was asked to explain why he had exceeded his instructions. He was further questioned as to name he had given to the new town. The whole Court seemed to be antagonistic towards the ambitious Governor of Sambhal. Over-doing one's job meant at that time breach of trust and a sign of insubordination or rebellion on the part of the Mughal Governors. Rustam Khan Dakhani, however, had a great presence of mind. He said that after the victory he named the new town Moradabad in honour of the young prince. Having thus appeased the Emperor's wrath, Rustam Khan Dakhani was permitted to return to his charge, which henceforward was known as Moradabad.

Besides being a good general, Rustam Khan Dakhani was a talented administrator and an enthusiastic builder. In every department of administration he brought about radical changes. Like his master, the Creator of the Immortal Taj, Rustam Khan's interest in architecture was profound. He not merely founded the city of Moradabad on the bank of Ramganga and built Jama Masjid there but he also constructed a large number of buildings at Sambhal and its neighbourhood. He constructed a bridge over river Sot near Sirsi. At Sondhon he built a fort with a mosque inside. At Firuzpur on the bank of river Sot a small fort was constructed. A large number of mosques

From Ahrari, *not from Khizr or Masih,
Rustam Khan, by the favour of God,
Exalted the edifice of the faith on a lofty foundation.
The mosque was completed in 1629.

*Note : Ahrari, the close relations and connections of Muhammad
The meaning is to extol the Muhammadan religion in comparison with the Jewish and Christian.

vide E. Alexander, Final Report on the Settlement of the Moradabad District, Allahabad, 1881, pp. 9-10.

were constructed by him at Sambhal. He also got the Jama Masjid at Sambhal repaired under his directions.

Rustam Khan Dakhani was killed in 1658 at the battle of Samogar. His place was taken by Muhammad Qasim Khan who had fought for Dara Shikoh but was afterwards pardoned. Sambhal remained under his charge till his death in 1661. The next Governor was Raja Murkand Rai. He held the charge of Sambhal, Moradabad and Bareilly. He was succeeded in 1685 by Aminuddaulah.

Sambhal under Aurangzeb, 1658-1707

Aurangzeb ruled over India for a about half a century¹. Throughout his reign of fifty years he remained engaged in warfare and conquests. He fought against the frontier tribes, the Jats, the Satnamis, the Sikhs, the Rajputs and finally the Marathas. In 1681, Deccan became a centre of administration and political gravity, when the Mughal Emperor went there with his family, his Court and his army. The administration of north, consequently suffered a great neglect, and ultimately the 'Deccan ulcer, proved fatal to the Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb, when he died at Ahmadnagar, 'lonely', 'worn out in mind and body by heavy cares and hard toil'. It also proved fatal to the stability and integration of the Mughal Empire, which began to decline immediately after Aurangzeb's death².

As regards the administration of Sambhal under Aurangzeb we find an entirely different picture of peace and prosperity. The importance of Sambhal as an administrative unit of the Mughal Empire and as a source of revenue to the Government had increased tremendously. When in 1580, the *twentyfifth* year of Akbar's reign, the ten years' settlement of revenue was made, the Government apportioned the Empire into twelve

1. Subhansal Khatri, *The Khulasatu' t-Tawarikh*, Rai Chatarman Kayath, *The Chahar Gulshan*, *vide* Jadunath Sarker, *India of Aurangzeb*.

2. *Ibid.*

divisions, to each of which it gave the name of 'subah' and distinguished them by the appellation of the tract of country or its capital city. These were : Allahabad, Agra, Oudh, Ajmer, Ahmadabad, Berar, Bengal, Delhi, Kabul, Lahore, Multan and Malwa, and when Berar, Khandesh and Ahmadnagar were conquered their number was fixed at fifteen. The above list omits Kashmir, which was conquered in 1586. Sambhal was a part of Delhi during Akbar's time. The other 'Sarkars' which formed a part of the 'Subah' of Delhi at that time were Badaun, Kumaon, Saharanpur, Rewari, Hissar and Sirhind. Even at Akbar's time Sambhal was the greatest Sarkar, after Delhi, in the 'subah' as it comprised fortyseven Mahals. Badaun, Kumaon, Saharanpur, Rewari, Hissar and Sirhind were comparatively much smaller to Sambhal as they comprised thirteen, twentyone, thirtysix, twelve, twentyseven and thirtythree Mahals respectively. Only Delhi, which was the capital town comprised one Mahal more than that of Sambhal, viz. fortyeight. During Aurangzeb's reign two more Mahals were added to Sambhal, and the number of Mahals under its control reached fortyone. It was the highest in the whole 'subah' after Delhi which now comprised fiftyone Mahals¹. The Table given below shows the exact number of Mahals under various Sarkars in the Subah of Delhi, in 1720 :

Sarkars with Number of Mahals, 1720

| | | | | | |
|------------|---|----|----------|---|----|
| Delhi | : | 51 | Hissar | : | 28 |
| Badaon | : | 20 | Sirhind | : | 38 |
| Kumaon | : | 7 | Narnol | : | 15 |
| Sambhal | : | 49 | Tijara | : | 18 |
| Saharanpur | : | 28 | Srinagar | : | 7 |
| Rewari | : | 11 | Faizabad | : | 12 |

As regards area, it will be sufficient to state that the Sarkar

1. Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *India of Aurangzeb*, Vols I-V.

of Sambhal which had a total area of 4,047,193 bighas in 1594 now in 1720 covered 4,753,321 bighas. It was larger than Delhi, which held only 121,456 bighas in 1720. The revenue of Sambhal which was 1,673,536 in 1594 now became more than double in 1720, viz. 3,541,843 rupees. It was the highest after Delhi and Sirhind¹.

*Sambhal: The Intellectual
Amphitheatre*

When a place assumes political significance it cannot remain oblivious of literary and cultural developments. Sambhal, which became the Capital of India under Sikandar Lodi from 1499 to 1504, and which continued to hold an important place in the politico-administrative set-up of the Mughal emperors, such as Babur, Humayun and Akbar, emerged during the medieval period as a prominent centre of intellectual endeavour. Shaikh Azizullah Sambhali had already brought Sambhal on the intellectual map of the world, through his effort in the field of education and patronage to men of learning¹. Under the great Mughals, who gave considerable impetus to the development of literature and learning, Sambhal transformed itself into an intellectual amphitheatre of the whole empire.

To Shaikh Hatim² Sambhali, who was a disciple of Shaikh Azizullah and a distinguished mystic and teacher of the Mughal period, Sambhal served as the Lyceum³. Before his death in 1560-61, after a teaching career of seventy years, he had the opportunity of producing some of the most eminent scholars of the Mughal empire, such as Shaikh Abul Fazl, 1551-1602, and Abdul Qadir Badaoni, 1540-1615. According to Abdul Qadir Badaoni, Shaikh Hatim had no equal in his generation as a sage and as a man of literature and

1. Abdul Qadir Badaoni, *Muntakhabu't-Tawarikh*, Translated and edited by Sir Wolseley Haig, (Calcutta 1925), Vol. III, p. 14-18.

2. There is a locality known as Hatim Sarai, in Sambhal, after the name of Shaikh Hatim Sambhali.

3. Badaoni, *op. cit.*, p. 3-5, 109-13.

theology¹. He was well read, rational in his approach and had a sharp memory. To Badaoni in scholastic theology the greatest of Imams (Imam Abu Hanifah, founder of the Hanifi school of jurisprudence) was inferior to Shaikh Hatim². He had studied Maula Hisamuddin-al Muwazzini's commentary on *Miftahu-t-utun*, a work on grammar and rhetoric; *the Mutawwal*, a commentary on *Talkisul Miftah* and many other advanced studies on theology³. A disciple of Shaikh Alauddin Chisti, Shaikh Hatim, when first drawn towards God, 'wandered about for ten years, bareheaded and barefooted, in the waste country round about Sambhal and Amroha, during all this time his head touched neither bed nor bolster'⁴. He was a man who took keen pleasure in contemplating God and whom the singing of God's praises threw into an ecstasy of delight. After Shaikh Hatim's death, Shaikh Abdul Hatim, his son, became his successor as a religious leader and a teacher. He died in 1581⁵.

Another great scholar to whom Sambhal served as the Lyceum was Maulana Usman of Bengal⁶. An old Shaikh and a teacher of Shaikh Hatim, Maulana Usman made Sambhal a place of his residence and scholarly pursuits⁷. He was a great teacher.

Sambhal had the unique distinction of remaining in the closest touch of the Mughal emperor Akbar's teacher, Maulana Alauddin Lari⁸. He had a deep knowledge of philosophy and theology. Son of Maulana Kamaluddin Husain and a disciple of Maulana Jalal Dawwani Shafri, Alauddin Lari was given

1. *Ibid.*

2. *Ibid.*

3. *Ibid.*

4. *Ibid.*

5. *Ibid.*

6. *Ibid.*

7. *Ibid.*

8. *Ibid.*

four thousand bighas of land as suyurghal in Sambhal, by the Mughal administration. He died at Sambhal¹.

Perhaps the most accomplished Persian scholar produced by Sambhal during the reign of Akbar, was the poet, historian, essayist, and critic, Abul Fazl². He was a disciple of Shaikh Hatim Sambhali. He was gifted with extraordinary intelligence and had to his credit the production of the *Ain-i-Akbari* and *Akbarnamah*, the well-known historical works.³ In 1574, he was presented before the Mughal Emperor Akbar, who was so much impressed by his scholarship that he ordered him to translate into Persian many Sanskrit works. In August 1602, he was killed at the instigation of Prince Salim⁴.

A notable contemporary and class-mate of Abul Fazl, Abdul Qadir Badaoni, was a distinguished scholar, who spent a good deal of his life at Sambhal. His father Shaikh Muluk Shah⁵ was disciple of saint Becchu of Sambhal⁶. He had also studied under Shaikh Hatim. Born at Badaun, Badaoni had his early education at Sambhal.⁷ He also studied with Abul Fazl and Faizi under their father Shaikh Mubarak. A brilliant scholar, Badaoni had a deep interest in music, astronomy and history. In 1573 he was introduced to Akbar⁸. He translated *Mahabharat* into Persian⁹. His magnum opus, *Muntakhabu't-Tawarikh*, 'a check on the turgid panegyric of Abul Fazl',¹⁰ has been described as an immortal piece of

1. *Ibid.*

2. Prof. Mohibbul Hasan, *Historians of Medieval India*, (1908) : N.A. Siddiqi ; Shaikh Abul Fazl, p. 123-41.

3. *Ibid.*

4. W.T. Bary, *Sources of Indian Tradition*, p. 405-6.

5. There is a spot in Sambhal known as 'Mulukshah' after the name of Badaoni's father Shaikh Muluk Shah.

6. Badaoni, *op. cit.*

7. *Ibid.*

8. by Jamal Khan Qureshi and Hakim Anul Mulk.

9. Bary, *op. cit.*, p. 438.

10. Mohibbul Hasan, *op. cit.* ; M. Mujeeb, Badaoni, p. 106-12

Persian literature of Akbar's reign¹. A sunni Muslim, Badaoni had an original mind. He was undoubtedly the most distinguished scholar of his age, who challenges comparison with Abul Fazl and Faizi.

Under Akbar, some of the most distinguished people of the age, remained in charge of the administration of Sambhal. One such notable individual was Mir Muhammad Khan-i-Kalan, better known by his poetic name, 'Ghaznavi'. In spite of his over occupation with administrative matters, he found time to indulge in customary recreation of writing verses and collected a large 'diwan' of his poems. According to Badaoni, he used to say to the Mughal Emperor, that the boast of his reign was that a man like him had lived in it².

Elder brother of Shamsuddin Muhammad Ataga, Azam Khan Ghaznavi served under Kamran and Humayun till he rose to high dignity during the reign of Akbar. As Governor of Punjab he distinguished himself in the war with Gakkhars. He received Sambhal as jagir for his distinguished services. He was a commander of five thousand³.

Ghaznavi was a remarkable poet. When he was Governor of Sambhal, he gave vogue to the following ode of Shaikh Sadi, one of the most famous Persian poets of Shiraz :

"The heart which loves and is patient must surely be a
stone,

For love and patience are a thousand leagues apart."⁴
He himself wrote the following ode :

"When the cup-bearer's cheek is rosy with wine,
Drink wine to the sound of the flute, for the heart is sad"⁵.

1. *I id.*

2. Badaoni, op. cit., p. 396-98.

3. *Ibid.*

4. *Ibid.*

5. *Ibid.*

"The fresh dawn has sprung from her ruby lip with moisture
and splendour,
For she ever drinks water from the fountain of the sun¹."
In another ode he wrote :

"I am thus fallen in the road of grief and toil like rubbish,
Perchance some breeze of thy favour and grace will raise me
from the dust."²

While in prison, Azizullah, gave expression to his mental agony and 'boundless' sorrow, when he wrote :

"O Lord, I am distracted by the multitude of my sins,
Show me some mercy, for I am heavily weighed down by
my sins,
I have grief in plenty, boundless sorrow, but no comforter.
How shall I make friends for myself I am heavily
afflicted"³.

Shaikh Muhammad-i-Kambu of Sambhal belonged to the 'Qadiri' order⁴. On first entering the religious life he subjected himself to a most rigorous discipline. He was a man who was mysteriously drawn towards God and was subject to fits of religious ecstasy. He had a sweet voice and when he was in one of his fits of ecstasy he would chant so sweetly as to touch the hearts of all who heard him. Badaoni was deeply impressed by his ecstatic songs⁵. In his earlier years Kambu acquired exoteric knowledge and was engaged in teaching⁶. He was also known as Shaikh Muhammad-i-Ashiq or the lover⁷.

He died in 1579⁸.

Shaikh Aban of Amroha was a sufi but observed the

1. *Ibid.*

2. *Ibid.*

3. *Ibid.*

4. *Ibid.*, p. 12-13.

5. *Ibid.*

6. *Ibid.*

7. *Ibid.*

8. *Ibid.*

ceremonial and ritual law. He performed many miracles. He lived and received many disciples without pomp or ceremony¹. His death occurred in 1579².

As a religious leader and a teacher, Shaikh Aban was known throughout the length and breadth of the Sambhal sarkar.

Shaikh Abdul Ghafur of Azampur was the disciple of Shaikh Abdul Quddus of the 'Chisti' order³. He spent most of his time in giving instruction in religious knowledge⁴. He received disciples and exhorted and advised the people. He died in 1577-78 and was buried in Azampur, in the sarkar of Sambhal⁵.

A contemporary of Badaoni, Shaikh Allah Bakhsh of Garmukhteshwar lived for forty years in poverty and contentment, employed in imparting religious instruction to students⁶. He was noted for his resignation. In his seventieth year he journeyed to Sambhal for pleasure and married the widow of Shaikh Banju of Sambhal.⁷

Maulana Iahdad, of Amrora, a friend of Badaoni, was an able Mullah of a pleasant disposition. He was a good conversationalist. He was ever ready with a pleasant jest⁸. He obtained an appointment in the military service of the empire. In 1582 he died. He was buried in Amroha⁹.

Mir Sayyid Muhammad, Mir-i-Adl of Amroha, a friend and class-mate of Badaoni's father, was exceedingly pious,

1. *Ibid.*

2. *Ibid.*, p. 63-65.

3. *Ibid.*

4. *Ibid.*, p. 69-70.

5. *Ibid.*

6. *Ibid.*

7. *Ibid.*, p. 96.

8. *Ibid.*

9. *Ibid.*, p. 219, 346.

devout, and abstemious¹. He studied under various teachers in Sambhal. In Badaun he studied under Mir Sayyid Jalal, a sage who had studied the traditional sayings of the Prophet under Mir Sayyid Rafiuddin. Mir Sayyid Muhammad, after completing his course of studies employed himself in teaching and towards the end of his life attained to a high position in the Imperial Court receiving the appointment of Mir-i-Adl. In this high post he showed himself to be scrupulously just, straightforward and trustworthy so that even the Qazi-ul-Quzzad of the time, out of respect to Mir's age, refrained from his customary double dealing and base behaviour and during the Mir's tenure of his post no heretic or schismatic had an opportunity of damaging the faith of Islam².

Mir was appointed to the Government of Bakkar in 1577. He died in 1579.³

Mir Sayyid Muhammad was one of the leading authorities on Islamic Laws and judicial administration of his time:

Ulfati Qilij Khan Andajani, who according to Badaoni was accomplished in learning and the sciences, was the Governor of Sambhal under Akbar. He had earlier distinguished himself as commander of Surat and for his negotiations with the Portuguese. A pious man, Qilij Khan was a staunch sunni⁴. His poetic genius and facility in writing verse were remarkable.

He wrote :

"No sooner had my sun cast the veil from off her face
Then the sun appeared no more than a mote in a sunbeam
in motion.

I am slain by that languid narcissus-like eye, which, in its
heaviness.

Has slain a whole world and composed itself to sleep⁵".

1. *Ibid.*, p. 420-21.

2. *Ibid.*

3. *Ibid.*

4. *Ibid.*, p. 263-64.

5. *Ibid.*

Perhaps he had a fascination for the eyes of his beloved, for he wrote :

“Thy two dark languid eyes, play havoc with my wit and
my faith,
With drawn bows they lie in wait for me in every
corner¹”.

Qilij Khan had a wide canvass for his poetic genius. He wrote.

“It is not the rosebud like arrow of my slayer that rankles
in my heart,
But my own blood which, while apart from her lips,
I have swallowed, that is clotted in my heart²”.

Qilij Khan died in 1613³.

Besides these poets, philosophers, and other intellectual prodigies, Sambhal had the privilege of producing Shaikh Tajuddin Sambhali (1552-1642), one of the foremost pioneers and precursors of Naqsbandi order in India. Sambhal, during his time served as the nucleus of this great religious discipline.

Shaikh Tajuddin, an eminent disciple of Khawaja Baqi Billah, hailed from Sambhal and was formerly a disciple of Shaikh Illah Baksh, the Khalifa of Mir Saiyid Ali Qiwan of Jaunpur. Shaikh Tajuddin's first contact with Khwaja Baqi Billah dated back to the time when the latter, during his first visit of India, reached Sambhal in search of an eminent saint⁴. Shaikh Tajuddin was highly impressed with the Khwaja. When Khwaja Baqi Billah again came back to India from Transoxiana

1. *Ibid.*

2. *Ibid.*

3. *Ibid.*

4. Dr. S.A.A. Rizvi, *Muslim Revivalist Movements in Northern India in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, p. 108-109.

5. *Ibid.*

Shaikh Tajuddin met him in Delhi and became his most intimate companion. Shaikh Tajuddin was first to be permitted by the Khwaja to initiate disciples into the Naqshbandi order and was allowed to go to Sambhal and popularise the Naqshbandi discipline there¹.

At Sambhal, Shaikh Tajuddin came in conflict with a Majzub named Abu Bakr, who in the former's eyes had gone astray from the path of righteousness.

1. *Ibid.*

*Sambhal After the Decline
of the Mughal Empire*

Sambhal Under the Later Mughals

Aurangzeb's immediate successor was his over-sixtythree years old son Muazzam, who crowned himself emperor and assumed the title of Bahadur Shah in May 1707. He was weak and generous and was too old to prevent the disintegration of the mighty Mughal Empire. His death on February 27, 1712 was followed by a war of succession among his four sons. Ultimately, after the death of three brothers, Jahandar Shah secured the Mughal throne¹. During this time Mohammad Amin Khan Itmadduaddaulah better known as Qamaruddin was appointed as Governor of Moradabad. He was, however, soon recalled, when Jahandar Shah was deposed and strangled in Red Fort at Delhi under the orders of Farrukhsiyar, who proclaimed himself Emperor in 1713². Mohammad Amin Khan Itmaduaddaulah was now despatched on an expedition against the Sikhs, who were a source of constant fear and anxiety to the Mughal Government³. He was succeeded by his son, Intizamuddaulah, who held Moradabad for some time. Sambhal and Moradabad experienced disturbances during this period on account of central government's indifference towards regional matters. In 1716, Mughal Emperor Farrukhsiyar appointed Chin Kalich Khan, the celebrated Nizamulmulk as the Governor of Moradabad, with orders to suppress the disturbances and restore peace, law and order in Sambhal and other

1. William Irvine, *The Later Mughals*, Vols. I-II.

2. *Ibid.*, ; Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *Fall of The Mughal Empire*, Vols. I-IV.

3. Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *op. cit.*

parts of the 'sarkar'. Nizamulmulk proceeded to the places of disturbances and remained in Moradabad till the restoration of normal conditions.

In 1718, Nizamulmulk was recalled. The place was now given to a Kashmiri, named Ruknuddaulah Itiqad Khan, and the name of Moradabad was changed to Ruknabad. It was also made a distinct Subah. But the arrangements were short-lived, for immediately after the deposition of Emperor Farrukhsiyar, who was blinded and strangled to death on April 28, 1719, Ruknuddaulah was deprived of his office by the new Emperor, Rafiuddarajat. Moradabad was now given to Saifuddin Khan, the younger brother of Wazir Abdullah Khan, but on the fall of the Barha Saiyyids the region was allotted first to Haidar Quli Khan and then to the younger Qamaruddin. Qamaruddin held the charge of Sambhal and Moradabad for a long period, but in reality the real administrator was Sheikh Azmatullah Khan, a Sheikhzada of Lucknow, Sheikh Azmatullah Khan had also repressed a revolt in the region by Sabir Shah, an imposter. In 1737, he took part in an expedition against Jansath, the home of the Barha Saiyyids in Muzaffarnagar.

The Rohillas and Sambhal

In this affair he had been accompanied by Ali Muhammad, a young Rohilla chieftain, who had acquired considerable estate including the town of Aonia and owed his aggrandisement in large measure to the patronage of Azmatullah, having taken part with the latter in the campaigns against Sabir Shah.

The Rohillas were Afghans of various tribes who had come to India in search of service during the troublous days of the later empire and had settled in large numbers in Katehr, being generally engaged as mercenaries in the service of the local chieftains.

Ali Muhammad had attracted thousands of these freebooters to his standard and had become a person of much consequ-

ence, his position being secured by the success of the Jansath expedition, which had won for him the title of Nawab. His strength had much increased by the influx into Rohilkhund of Afghans who had fled eastwards on Nadirshah's invasion, and the continual aggression of Ali Muhammad at length resulted in an order given in 1742 to Raja Harnand, the Khattri governor of Moradabad to expel the Rohillas from the Katehr.

Harnand was joined by Abdun Nabi, the governor of Bareilly, who urged prudence ; but the Raja rejected his advice and marched with 50,000 men to Asalatpur Jarai, a village in the Ari pargana of Bilari, where he waited for the astrologers to declare a favourable opportunity. Meanwhile Ali Muhammad had marched swiftly with 12,000 Rohillas from Aonla and fell upon Harnand's force by night. The Imperial army was completely routed, both the governors, being slain and Ali Muhammad seized Sambhal, Moradabad and Amroha as well as Bareilly.

This action was too flagrant to escape notice and Qamrud-din, the Wazir, though friendly to Ali Muhammad, despatched a force under his son Mir Mannu to chastise the rebels. The army reached the Ganga and encamped at Daranagar, commanding the fort, while Ali Muhammad with a superior force occupied the opposite bank. Eventually the Rohillas induced Mir Mannu to come to an agreement by which he gave his daughter with a large dowry to Wazir's son, while in return he was recognized as the governor of Rohilkhund, on the condition of paying a fixed tribute.

The whole country was rapidly brought under his sway and the Raja of Kumaon lost all his ancestral properties lying below the foot of the hills. But in 1746 Ali Muhammad came into conflict with his powerful neighbour Safdar Jang, the Nawab Wazir of Oudh, with the result that he had to contend once again with the Imperial army, commanding on this occasion by Muhammad Shah in person, who marched from Garhmukhtesh-

war through Sambhal into Badaun. Being unable to meet his opponents in the field he retired into his fortress of Bangarh near Badaun and was soon compelled to surrender. He was carried off a prisoner to Delhi, owing his life to his friendship with Qamruddin. He was kept under close surveillance for six months when suddenly Hafiz Rahmat Khan with 6,000 Rohillas appeared before the capital demanding his instant release. A compromise was effected whereby Ali Muhammad gave his two sons, Abdullah and Faizullah, as hostages, while he himself was sent as governor of Sirhind.

Affairs in Moradabad 1748

The surrender of Ali Muhammad led to the re-establishment, at least in outward form, of the Imperial authority at Sambhal and Moradabad. The Government of Moradabad was entrusted to Fariduddin, the son of Azmatullah and a proclamation was issued forbidding Afghan immigration into the province, while at the same time Safdar Jang's forces proceeded to drive the Rohillas out of the Terai, to which he himself laid the claim. The Rohillas, however, were not to be so easily suppressed. They made a raid on Sambhal and Moradabad and slew Fariduddin, whose place was taken by Raja Chaturbhuji. The latter does not seem to have taken over charge without opposition; for in addition to the hostility of the Rohillas he had to contend with Qutbuddin Muhammad Khan, the nephew of Fariduddin who established himself at Chachait in the Bareilly district, whence he was only ejected by the co-operation of Hidayat Ali Khan, the Imperial Governor of Bareilly.

The Invasion of Ahmad Shah Abdali, 1748

The invasion of Ahmad Shah Abdali in 1748 introduced a fresh element of confusion for Ali Muhammad at once left Sirhind, entered Bijnor and marched through this region, expelling Chaturbhuji without difficulty and recovering the whole of his lost possessions, in which he was confirmed by the new emperor Ahmad Shah. He forthwith devoted all his energies to establish his position and with this object displaced all the

old zamindars, including Thakur Mahendra Singh, the creator of Thakurdwara. Shortly afterwards on September 14, 1748, Ali Muhammad died and his sons being absent, the government was made over to a Council of Nobles with Hafiz Rahmat Khan at their head.

Plunder of Sambhal by the Marathas Under Visaji Pant and Tukoji Holkar, 1773

In 1773, the Marathas under the command of Visaji Pant and Tukoji Holkar plundered Sambhal¹. This was an outcome of their desire to restore the Mughal Empire to its pristine glory². There was yet another cause for this plunder. Hafiz Rahmat Khan, the Rohilla Chief and the ruler of Rohilkhand, had openly ignored their offers of friendship³. On June 17, 1772, on the advice of Sir Robert Barker, the British Commander in Chief, a treaty of alliance was made between the Rohillas and Nawab Shujauddaula, the ruler of Oudh. Hafiz Rahmat Khan agreed to pay to Shujauddaula forty lakhs of rupees on his obliging the Marathas to retire from their territory 'either by peace or war'⁴. Almost before the signatures were appended the Marathas evacuated Rohilkhand, and the Rohillas re-occupied the country⁵. But by February 15, 1773, the Marathas re-entered Rohilkhand at Ramghat⁶. Forging the river north of Ramghat, Tukoji Holkar inflicted a severe defeat on the Rohilla forces under Ahmad Khan, on March 20, 1773. He now moved with tremendous speed northwards and raided Sambhal and Moradabad⁷. He had 30,000

1. Dr. S.P. Varma, *Anglo-Maratha Relations, 1772-1783*, p. 23.

2. *Ibid.*

3. *Cambridge History of India, Vol. V*, pp. 215-24.

4. *Ibid.*

5. Dr. S.P. Varma, *op.cit.*

6. Sir John Strachey, *Hastings and The Rohilla War*, p. 233.

7. National Archives of India, Foreign and Political Department, Secret Consultations, October 4, 1773, No. 2 ;

Mahmud Husain, *A History of the Freedom Movement, Vol. I, 1707-1831*, Pakistan Historical Society Karachi, 1957. [The Rohillas, pp. 803-86.]

soldiers at his command and the assistance of the Mughalia troops under Najaf Khan.

The Maratha forces left at Ramghat quietly crossed the Ganga back. On Sir Robert Barker's moving northwards to the defence of the Rohilla regions from Tukoji Holkar's ravages, the latter also quickly recrossed the Ganga on March 26, 1773. At the approach of the British detachment, the Maratha armies, which had struck terror into the hearts of the people of Sambhal, Moradabad and other regions in Rohilkhund, ran for shelter in all directions. By March 28, 1773, no Maratha soldier had been left within twenty-five miles of the Ganga.¹

The Marathas would have continued their plunder of Sambhal and other opulent parts of Rohilkhund, as a reaction to the Treaty of June 17, 1772 and as a part of their programme to restore Mughal Empire to its pristine glory, had not revolution broke out in May 1773 on the death of the Peshwa, Madhu Rao, which caused them to return to Poona, leaving only a few small garrisons in Northern India².

Sambhal Incorporated in Dominions of Nawab Shujauddaula, 1774

In 1774, Sambhal became a part of Oudh³. By a treaty made on October 7, 1774, between the British Government and Faizulla Khan, son of Ali Muhammad, the founder of the Rohilla power, the whole of Rohilkhund excluding Rampur, was incorporated into the dominions of Shujauddaula, the Nawab of Oudh.⁴ It was a result of the well known Battle of St. George at Miranpur Katra, in which the Rohilla chief, Hafiz Rahmat Khan was killed by the combined forces of Oudh and

1. Dr. S.P. Varma, *op. cit.*

2. *Cambridge History of India*, *op. cit.*

3. G. Collin Davies, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

4. *For Details*, *op. cit.*, p. 233.

the East India Company¹. 20,000 Rohillas were driven out of Rohilkhund, and according to the British Colonel Champion, the chief architect of this Rohilkhund victory, the Nawab of Oudh and his troops inflicted severe cruelties on the Rohilkhund peasantry². Even the family of Hafiz Rahmat Khan could not escape humiliations and tortures after the St. George encounter³.

20,000 Sikhs Attempt to Plunder Sambhal, 1783

In 1783, twenty thousand Sikhs under the command of four renowned chiefs tried to cross the Ganga near Ramghat and Rajghat. Their objective was to plunder Sambhal, which during this period, as also earlier, was an opulent region and a flourishing centre of commerce and cottage-industries. The attempt of the Sikhs, however, was foiled on account of the alertness and gallantry of Mirza Muhammad Qasim Khan, the Amil of Nawab Asafuddaullah in Rohilkhund. Mirza Muhammad Qasim Khan's Report of his encounter with the 'terrible' Sikhs at Ramghat, is highly interesting and it throws a flood-light on this remarkable episode of Indian history. The Report, dated January 20, 1783, is reproduced below :

"On the Seventeenth of the present month⁴ a numerous army of the Sikhs under the conduct of four renowned chiefs appeared at the gates of Kurum, Ramghat and Rajghat, where the river is fordable. On hearing of this I forthwith ordered some infantry and cavalry to those ghats, to prevent their crossing and directed them to secure all the boats and fasten them on this side of the water. On that day an engagement continued between the army and my people till the setting of the sun.

1, Cambridge History of India, *loc. cit.*

2. *Ibid.*

3. *Ibid.*

4. January 1783.

Now whereas a mighty host of the enemy appeared in force at Rajghat, where the river is shallow and narrow, and which is distant from my place of residence, Rajpura, about four kos, I before the day-break of the 18th¹ got all my baggage and camp followers lodged in the small Fort of Rajpura, under the charge of Mirza Sudauddin Mahomed and marched with the small party of horse and foot that I had, towards Rajghat, where I arrived before the rising of the sun. The enemy consisting of about 20000 fighting men including those who serve for booty made an effort to cross but I arrived at the critical juncture and they could not succeed and fierce battle ensued and continued till the setting of the sun. But I cannot say that any blood was shed on that important day, yet at the close of the day the enemy returned and I faithful to my trust continued with my gallant followers on the bank of the river all night, nor did we ungird our loins though wearied with glorious labour from the excess of our vigilance and alertness, think not it was from fear and that it was for the sake of running away and the divine favour joined with the auspices of His Highness and your operating in our favour, fear and dismay invaded the hearts of our enemies and drove away sleep from their camp and made them anxious for their own safety, so that they ceased not to watch all night and on the morning of the 19th too, and behold despairing of success here they moved off towards Khurja and Shikapur.²

And to my honour I can relate it, the Gosains and village people the very numerous dare not face these terrible Sikhs but on their approach they scuttled into their forts and sneaked into their strong places, leaving to their eternal disgrace the 'jaydads' of their Lords, the Gosain

1. January 18, 1783

2. National Archives of India, Foreign and Political Department Secret Consultations, June 23, 1783, No. 18 and 23.

chiefs, to these merciless wretches' pleasure and they did not fail to ravage and destroy the country and plunder the poor farmers and inhabitants, for they found no one to oppose them in what they did. Finding no difficulty in committing these depredations emboldened them to meditate upon acting the same on this side of the river and they immediately conceived the design of penetrating into Rohilkhund as far as Sambhal, Chandausi, Moradabad, which opulent places they had fixed their eyes upon as worthy of being plundered.

The merchants and the people of those places, hearing of their intentions took the alarm and moved with their families and valuables from thence and went to other places of security. But fortunately for the country and the inhabitants, I arrived and protected them from being spoiled and had I had with me but a little large force and two or three guns, I should without hesitation have crossed the river and have given them battle and flatter myself I should have defeated and punished them for their imprudence but considering there was a strong and numerous fort on that side of the water and I had but a few followers, I thought it advisable to remain within my own limits. But let it suffice I had under the divine favour and your happy auspices prevented any damage being committed by them and caused the terrors, that had seized His Excellency's good subjects to subside.

Yet, tho' I have so gallantly defeated their designs and discomfited the enemy in their first effort, I apprehend they will not lay aside their enterprise so quietly and easily but expect that they will return about two months' hence to renew their attempts with an army as numerous as the locusts in summer"¹.

1. National Archives of India, Foreign and Political Department Secret Consultations, March 3, 1783, No. 32; March 3, 1783, No. 55 and 841.

Thus Sambhal and its neighbourhood were saved from a terrible disaster by the timely and gallant intervention of Mirza Muhammad Qasim Khan¹. Had this Amil of Nawab Asafuddaulah not foiled the designs of the Sikhs, Sambhal, Moradabad and Chandausi, would have faced the plunder of the inhabitants beyond measure. Mirza Muhammad Qasim Khan was later on directed by Nawab Asafuddaulah to prepare against Sikh incursions and report about his measures².

Sambhal under the East India Company, 1801

Sambhal, which was incorporated into the dominions of Shujauddaula, the Nawab of Oudh in 1774, could not remain under his control for long. In 1801, it became a part of the British Empire,³ when the Nawab of Oudh was forced to surrender Rohilkhund, Farrukhabad, Mainpuri, Etawah, Kanpur Fatehgarh, Allahabad, Azamgarh, Basti and Gorakhpur to the East India Company. This meant that Oudh now ceased to be a buffer state, for except where it was bounded by Nepal, it was entirely surrounded by the British territory⁴. Its weakness as a buffer state, paradoxically, had been Lord Wellesley's excuse for these annexations⁵.

Amir Khan and Sambhal, 1805

In 1805, Sambhal was a scene of contest between Jaswant-
rao Holkar and the East India Company's forces. While the English forces were engaged in a siege of Bharatpur, Holkar directed one of his generals to create a diversion in Doab and Rohilkhund. This was a military strategy. The person who was selected to perform this task was the famous turbulent Afghan chieftain, Amir Khan, who was born and brought up at

1. *Ibid.*

2. *Ibid.*

3. C. Collin Davis, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

4. *Ibid.*

5. For details please see Cambridge History of India, Vol. V, p. 215-23, 295-300.

Sambhal. His father was Muhammad Hayat Khan⁴. Amir Khan, with the help of his cavalry tried to capture Moradabad. He destroyed the European houses and the Police Lines and collected about three lakhs of rupees through plunder. He then endeavoured to capture the Moradabad treasury. On February 16, 1805 he collected bales of cotton with the object of delivering an attack the next morning, but on February 15, 1805 General Joseph Smith crossed the Ganga and the news of his approach towards Sambhal caused the Afghans and Pindaris to retreat in haste to Kashipur. At dawn on February 17, 1805 General Smith accompanied by Charles Metcalfe rode into Moradabad with Captain Robert Skinner and Murray and their regiments of irregular horse. The pursuit was vigorously maintained and on March 2, 1805 the Pindaris were defeated at Afzalgarh near Bijnor. Retreating with great haste Amir Khan sped through Kashipur and Thakurdwara to Moradabad. Thence he went to Chandausi and Sambhal. His object was now to attack Bareilly. While at Sambhal a party of three hundred men under Captain Robert Skinner was attacked by Amir Khan and for two days irregulars had to defend themselves in a walled 'sarai'. Skinner's troopers displayed great gallantry in spite of the proffered bribe of six month's pay for the surrender of their leader to their fellow Afghans.

In March 1805, Amir Khan reached Fatehpur Sikri. He was followed by General Smith, who shortly afterwards joined Lord Lake near Bharatpur. The subsequent history of Amir Khan has not much concern with Sambhal; but it must be mentioned that he ended his career as the founder of Tonk State, which till recently was under the Government of his descendants².

Sambhal became a part of the North Western Provinces or

1. There still exists a place in Sambhal known as Hayatnagar, after the name of Amir Khan's father.

2. For details see, J.T. Prinsep, *Life of Ameer Khan*.

as latter known the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, in 1836. Sir Charles Metcalfe, who had acted as the Governor General of India in 1835, became its first Governor. He was known for his liberalism and his sympathy towards the Indian subjects. During this period onwards Sambhal marched forward on its path of progress and prosperity. Law and order situation improved tremendously. Great strides were made in the field of education, transport, communications, sanitation, agriculture and industry. With the establishment of Police Stations and Law Courts in different parts of the Province, people felt security and peace. According to J.C. Wilson, the Collector in 1846, the percentage of literacy among the children in Sambhal was the highest in the whole district of Moradabad during the years 1845-1846¹.

With peace and prosperity, law and order, discontent and unrest also increased. In 1803, immediately after Sambhal became a part of the British Empire, the monsoon failed and famine visited the Upper Provinces². One-third of a million sterling of land-revenue was remitted and land-holders were assisted with advances, while bounties were given on import of grain. In 1812 famine again appeared in the country lying west of Jamuna³. In 1837 and 1838 it prevailed in a severe form in a tract which held a population of twenty eight millions, including twentyone millions in the then newly formed North Western Provinces⁴.

The Government had not recognised famine relief as a part of its administrative responsibility, so far. The efforts which were made in this direction were just an eyewash. The overall result of these severe famines was that people felt disappointed with the new administrative structure.

1. J. C. Wilson, General Report on Public Instruction in the North Western Provinces of Bengal Presidency for 1845-46.

2. Cambridge History of India, Vol. VI, p. 34-35.

3. *Ibid.*

4. *Ibid.*

In Sambhal, which was a centre of Hinduism and Islam the religious policy of the British government, particularly its encouragement to Indians' conversions to Christianity produced a strong reaction and disappointment. In 1832, the British Government passed a law which protected all those persons who should change their religion from consequent loss of property¹. This measure evoked Hindu protests². The cry of 'religion in danger', which undoubtedly contributed to the Revolt of 1857 was mainly an outcome of a feeling that the Indian religions were losing their distinction, position and privilege.

Similarly in other fields of social reform, education and modernisation, the British administration felt the subdued opposition of the Indian people. Thus a ground was being prepared, consciously or unconsciously, for an outburst of inner emotions and feelings.

Communal Riots at Sambhal, 1840

In 1840 a serious riot resulting in the loss of fourteen lives took place between the Hindus and Muslims in Sambhal and its neighbourhood.

Another riot occurred in 1853 between Sunnis and Shias. Mir Nawab and his Sunni followers attacked a huge procession of Shias headed by a deputy Collector. Several casualties were occurred. Many prominent leaders of Sambhal and Moradabad were tried and hanged.

1. Dr. Ishwari Prasad, *A History of Modern India*, p. 233-41.

2. *Cambridge History of India*, *loc. cit.*, p. 121-23.

*Sambhal and the Revolt
of 1857*

Sambhal and the Revolt of 1857

It is hardly possible to study history in watertight compartments, particularly, in the present context, the Revolt of 1857. Although its first signs appeared early in 1857 at Barracpore and Behrampore and on May 10, 1857, the sepoys broke out into open rebellion at Meerut,¹ nevertheless in the course of development it escalated the entire length and breadth of India. Even the remotest cities and villages felt its tremor². On the Outbreak of 1857, as on many other landmarks in the History of Sambhal there is not only a great paucity of material but also uncertainty about the authenticity of the material which is available. In Volume V of "Freedom Movement in Uttar Pradesh" and a few other historical studies on Oudh and Rohilkhand, a brief account of events during that great uprising is available. This is, however, incoherent, inconsistent and disjointed, presenting but a lopsided portrait of the whole struggle.

A detailed analysis of the causes of the Outbreak of 1857 at Sambhal is difficult to provide. On the whole, the factors which were attributable to the Revolt of 1857 in other parts of the country may also be ascribed to this uprising. Emphasis, however, may be laid on freedom from the British yoke and restoration of the Mughal authority as the guiding aims and aspirations of those who actively participated in this movement at Sambhal³. People, fed up with British imperious and

1. P.E. Roberts, *History of British India Under the Company and the Crown*, p. 368-77 : *The Mutiny*.

2. For details please see, Tara Chand, *History of Freedom Movement in India*, vols. I and II.

3. *Freedom Movement In Uttar Pradesh*, Vol. V, p, 998, 165.

autocratic ways, wanted to strengthen the hands of the rebel king of Delhi, Bahadur Shah Zafar, to fight for the restoration of his lost glory and power.

In Sambhal, surprisingly, the Revolt assumed a popular form from the beginning. Although civil and military men both participated actively in the Uprising, yet the leaders of the Revolt were not necessarily the people belonging to higher echelons. Most of the rebels came from the common stock, whose strong resentment against the British authority found expression in defiance, plunder and bloodshed¹.

Revolt of 1857 at Sambhal

The British Government made elaborate arrangements in Moradabad and Sambhal, when the news of the outbreak of the revolt at Meerut reached Moradabad, in May 1857. C.B. Saunders, J.J. Campbell, J. Cracroft Wilson, Captain Wilsh and other high officials were given necessary instructions for the maintenance of law and order and for safety against the rebels. Nawab Yusuf Ali Khan of Rampur was also directed to despatch 300 irregular horse to hold the road between Meerut and Bulandshahr.

On May 15, 1857, the Gujars, who had declared an open revolt against the British Government, closed the road between Meerut and Moradabad. A large party of mutinous "20 Native Infantry" crossed the Ganga and rapidly advanced towards Sambhal and Moradabad. In Moradabad they were joined by "29 Native Infantry". Hundreds of Indian soldiers entered the Moradabad jail and released not only the sepoy but also the prisoners. Rampur cavalry was also defiant. It refused to obey the orders of the British officers. On May 21, 1857, the rebels hoisted Indian flags on the banks of Ramganga. In sympathy with the rebels and as a mark of protest against the

1. *Ibid.*

active assistance of some of the most brilliant leaders of the time. In April 1858 Firozshah, the well known rebel prince of the Delhi marched towards Sambhal and captured it¹. He was provided with necessary assistance by the ruler of Rohilkhand, Khan Bahadur. Already under the leadership of Majju Khan and others the revolt at Sambhal had assumed grave proportions for the British. With the appearance of Firozshah on the scene with his large following the British looked in an extremely precarious situation. Their frustration knew no bounds when the victorious rebels under Firozshah entered Moradabad on April 21, 1858 and captured it. Colonel J. Coke, Brigadier Jones and Inglis tried to prevent Firozshah from reaching Bareilly, but failed miserably. On April 25, 1858—the Mughal Prince reached Bareilly with all his booty and guns. This was a magnificent victory of the rebels. The revolt at Sambhal continued even after the departure of Firozshah to Bareilly. He had left some of the princes of royal blood at Sambhal to continue their fight against the British Imperialism. Majju Khan provided an excellent support to these Delhi Princes in their endeavour to re-establish Indian rule in Sambhal.

The suppression of revolt at Sambhal and its neighbourhood was far from any ethical principles. It was cold blooded and cruel. The chief architects of this suppression were Colonel J. Coke and R. Alexander, the Commissioner of Rohilkhand. Majju Khan, the brave and courageous leader of the revolt, was captured and shot. A large number of other rebels were slain. Two of the Delhi Princes, who were captured in the guise of mendicants, were put to death. Awards were generously given to all those who had assisted in the suppression of the revolt².

Thus, ended the Revolt of 1857 at Sambhal. It also brought to an end the Indian Government of the East India Company. It was felt in England that it was an anachronism that a private

1. *Ibid.*, 407—408

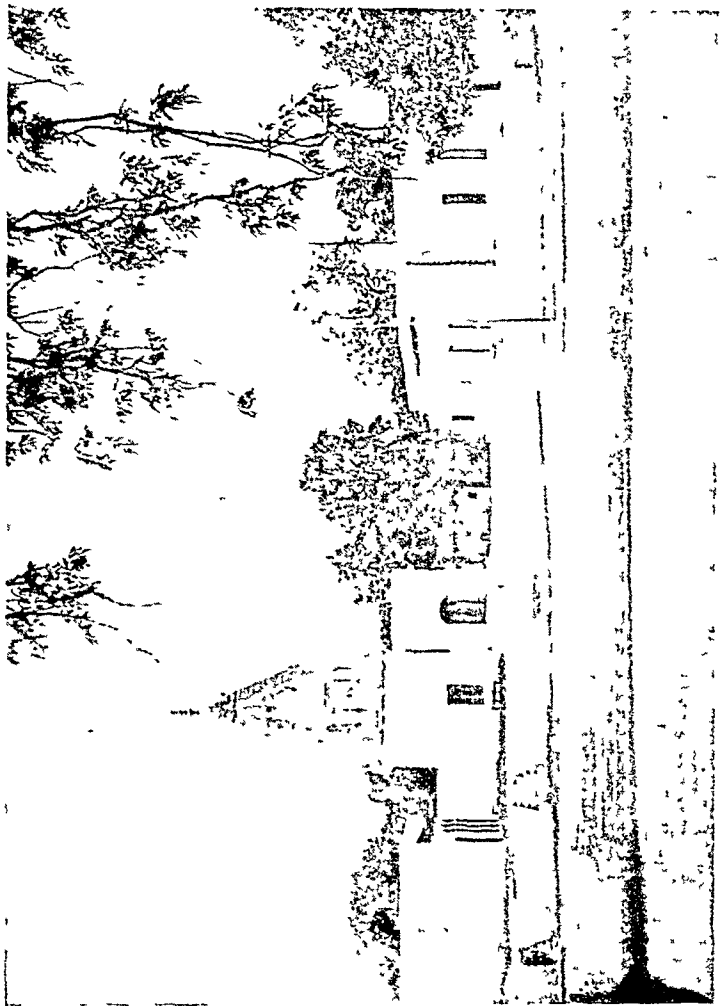
corporation should administer so vast a dominion as India¹. On November 1, 1858, the new government was proclaimed by Lord Canning at Allahabad as first Viceroy and Governor General for the British Crown. Thus Sambhal also became a part of the British Crown. Its position remained constantly the same till the achievement of self-rule, when Sambhal became a part of Independent India, on August 15, 1947.

1. P.E. Roberts, *op. cit.* p. 283; A.B. Keith, *Speeches and Documents on Indian Policy*, Vol. I, p. 320—349; G.N. Singh, *Landmarks in Indian Constitutional and National Development*, p. 52—69.

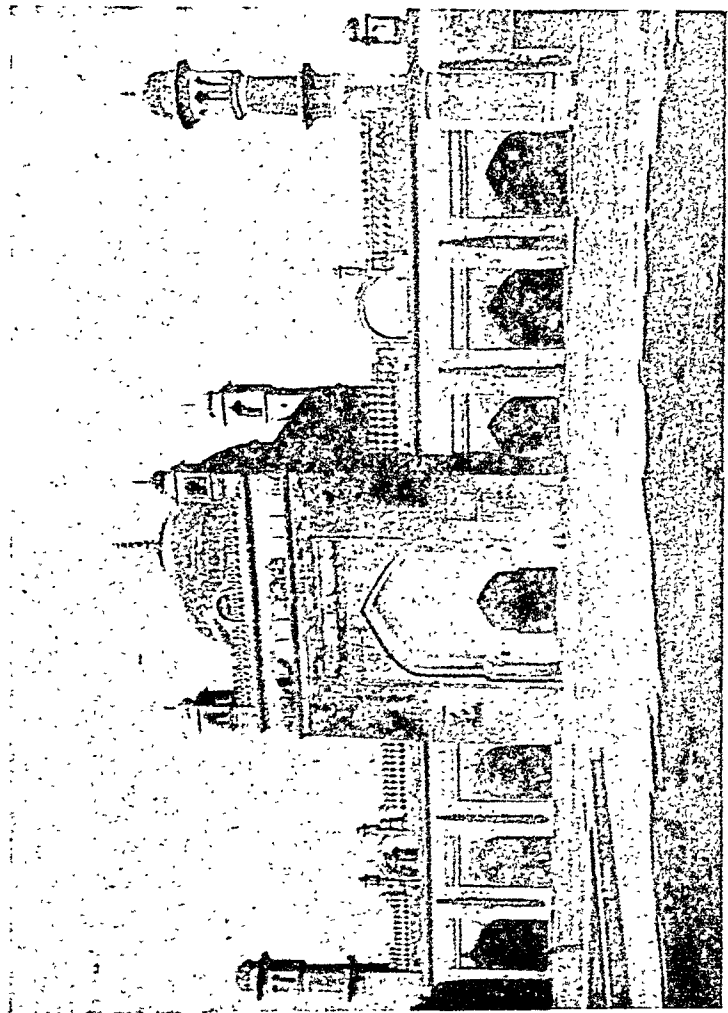


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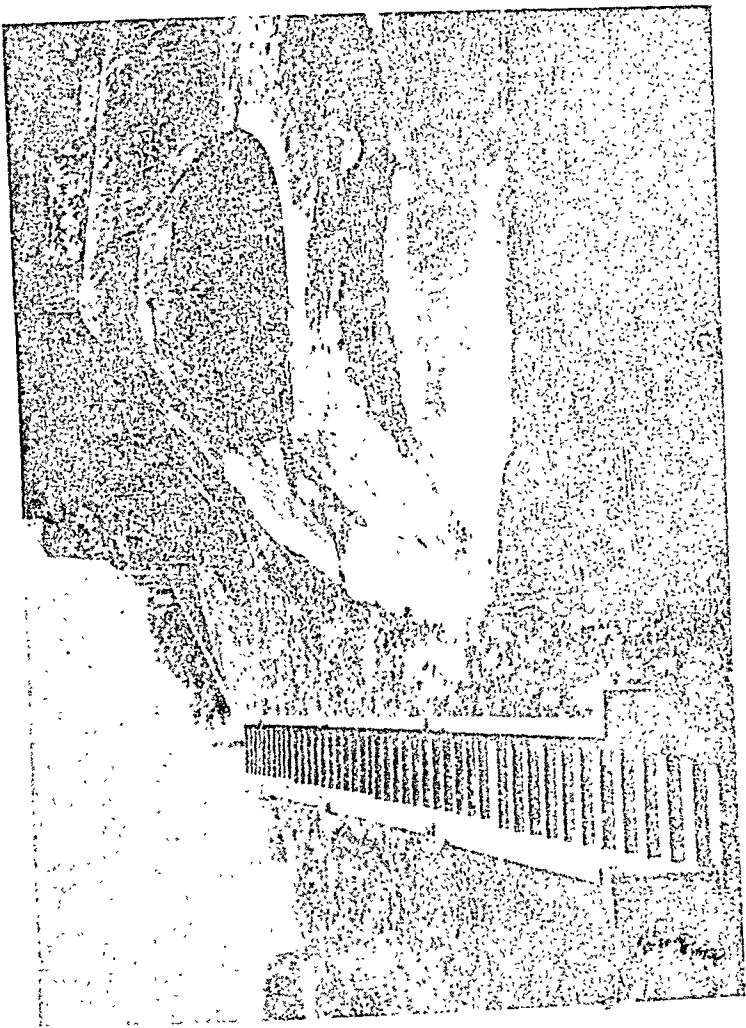


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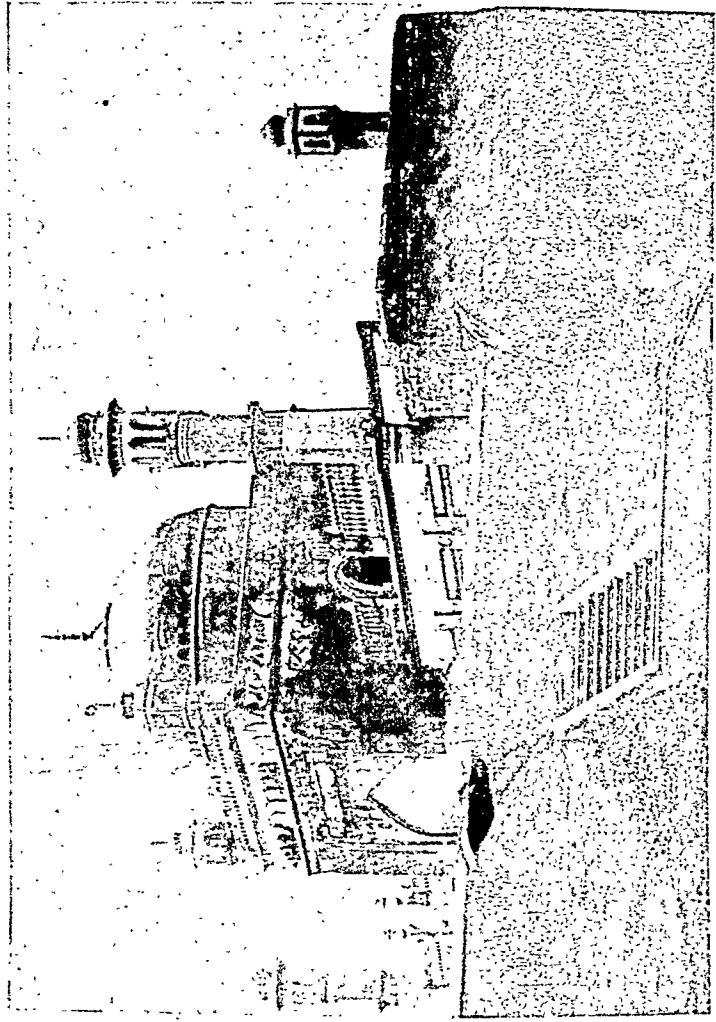
Archaeological Survey of India

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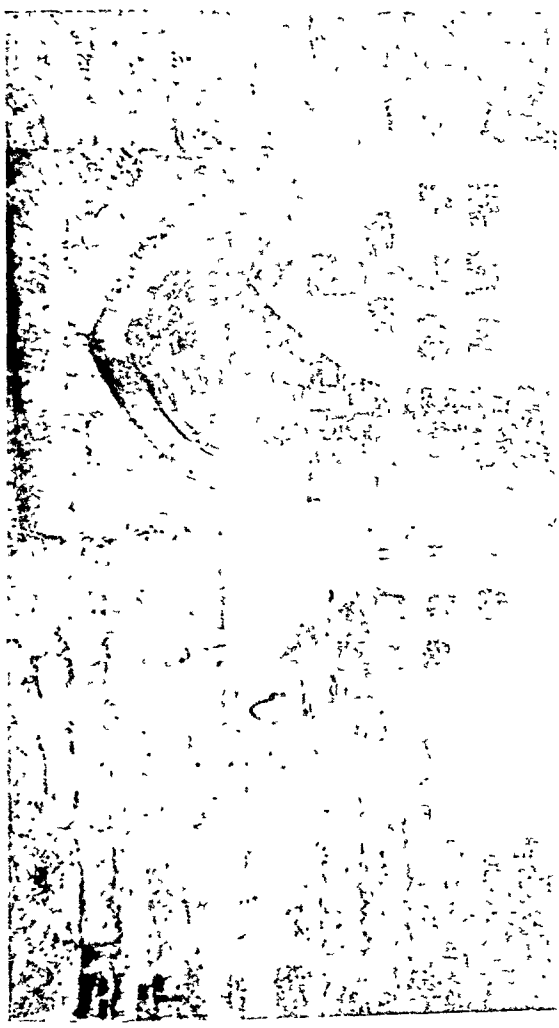
JAMA MASJID : VIEW FROM THE WEST



Archaeological Survey of India
JAMA MASJID : VIEW FROM THE EAST FACADE



TOMB OF SHAIKH HATIM

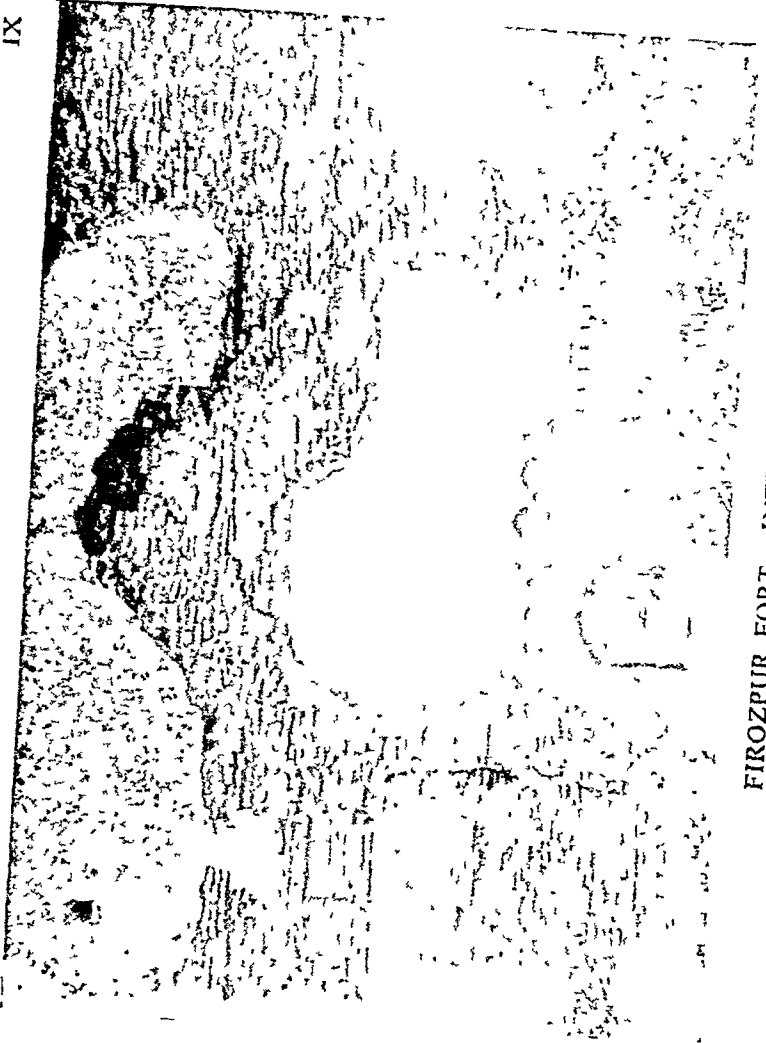


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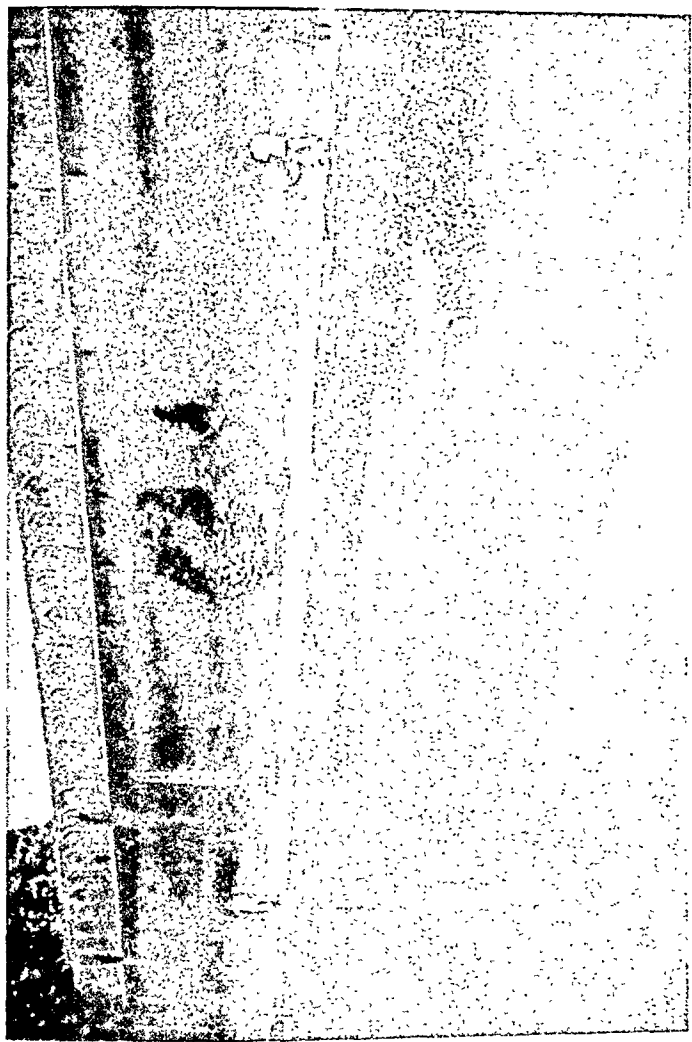
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FIRUZPUR FORT



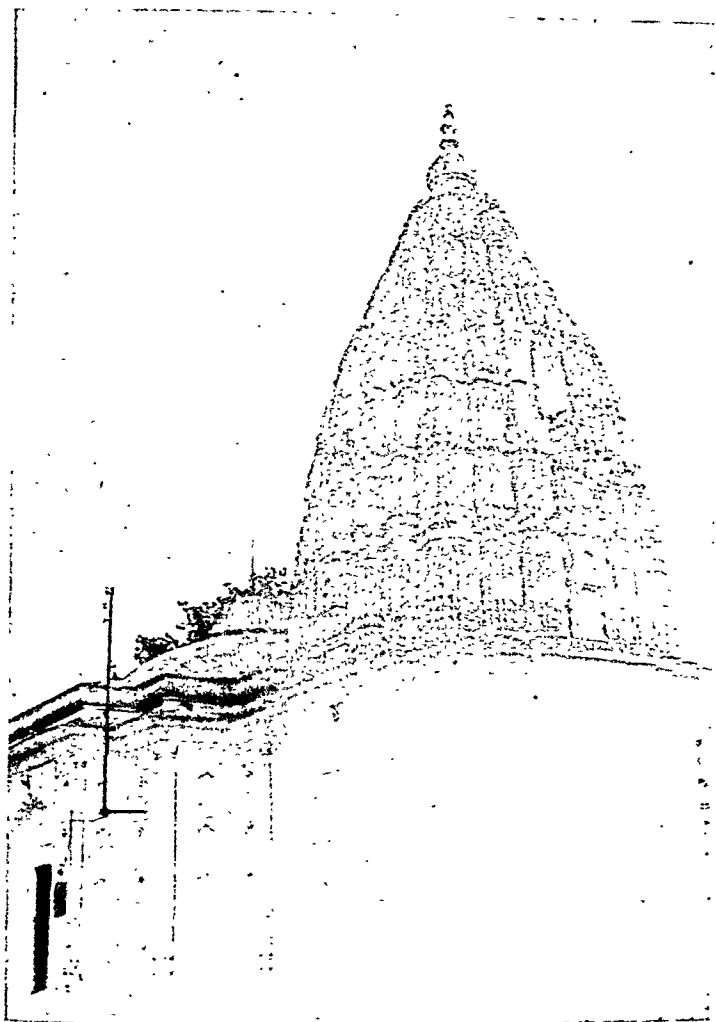
FIROZPUR FORT : INTERIOR VIEW



AMINUDDAULLAH FORT



MONUMENT AWAITING EXCAVATOR'S SPADE



KALKI MANDIR
(Where Narkalank incarnation will appear at the
termination of Kalyug)