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# DHAR & MANDU.

## A GUIDE.

By ERNEST BARNES, CAPT., I.S.C.

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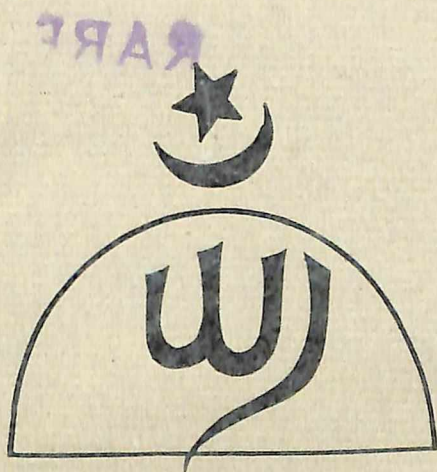
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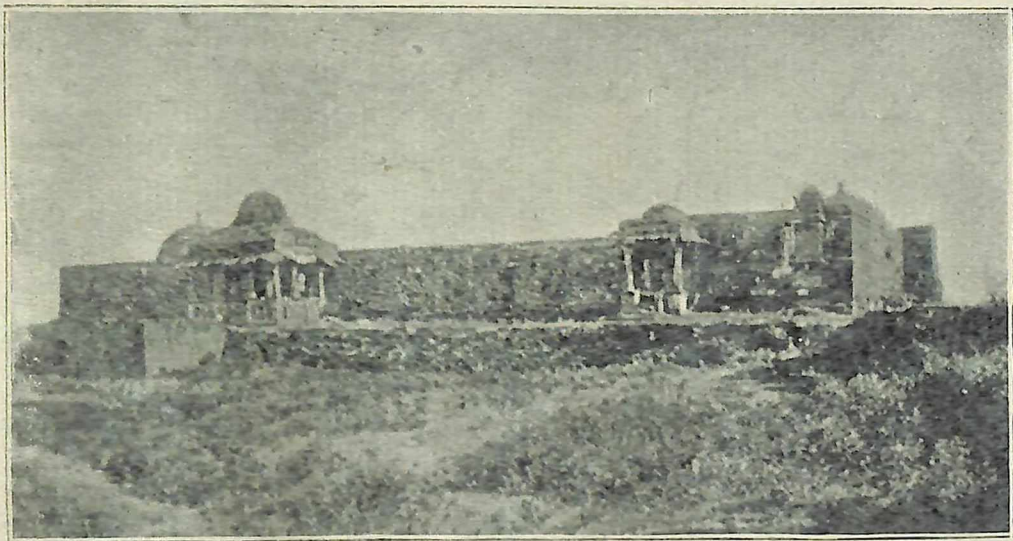
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Map of Mandu.





THE LAT MUSJID, DHAR.



*Dhar and Mandu.* By ERNEST BARNES, Capt., I.S.C.

(Communicated June 1902.)

*Preface.*

AN effort has here been made to collect in one paper such information as is obtainable regarding these places.

For the historical portion of the work I have relied principally on Brigg's Translation of Farishta's History, the Ain-i-Akbari of Abul Fuzl, and on Sir John Malcolm's History of Central India. A "History of Mandu" published by "a Bombay Subaltern" in 1844, and "Mandu" an article by Mr. (now Sir) J. M. Campbell, published in the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society in 1896, have been of invaluable assistance to me.

Much of the information regarding the buildings of Dhar has not, to the best of my belief, appeared in print before, and I am much indebted to Mr. Lele, Superintendent of Education in the Dhar State, and to his Assistant Babaji Nalchekar, in the matter of the Sanskrit inscriptions, also to Moulvie Syed Ahmed and Munshi Abdur Rahman who have rendered me similar help in dealing with the Persian inscriptions given in the text. For the photographs of inscriptions my thanks are due to Mr. Bodas of the Dhar High School, while the sketches have been lent by one who wishes to remain *incognito*.

The Sanskrit inscriptions in Dhar which have recently come to light open up a field of research far beyond the scope of this work. The history of Dhar and Mandu prior to the Mahommedan conquest is shrouded in tradition, but there would seem to be some probability that scattered over the country and indeed in Dhar itself, inscriptions do exist from which it might be possible to elucidate facts connected with this period. To decipher and co-ordinate these inscriptions is obviously a work which requires special knowledge and time; but local officials have now been interested in this matter, and it may be hoped that with assistance from the Durbar, some arrangements will be possible under which such work might be carried on, in a systematic way.

Though now fallen from their high estate the countries of the Bhopawar Agency have had a great past, and not only in Dhar and Mandu, but in Nimar along the Narbada Valley to Bagh and

Barwani many striking evidences of former greatness are to be found. Few things would be more agreeable than to have an active share in bringing to light those forgotten times, but if that should not be possible, I would fain content myself with the hope that the present work, however imperfect, will serve to further stimulate inquiry, and that in the future progress may not depend solely on the chance interest displayed by European officials, but that native gentlemen, many of whom are well-fitted to take up the work, will recognise that it is part of their duty to their country to endeavour to preserve from oblivion the records of the past.

ERNEST BARNES.

DHAR, C. I., 6th October 1902.

## DHAR.

### CHAPTER I.

#### *Historical Sketch.*

A. D. 567.

The Emperor Jehangir writes in his diary: "Dhar is one of the oldest cities of India. Raja Bhoj lived in this city one thousand years ago. Dhar was also the capital of the Mahomedan rulers of Malwa. When Sultan Mahammed Tugluk was on his way to the conquest of the Deccan, he built a cutstone fort on a raised site. Its outline is very elegant and beautiful, but the space inside is empty of buildings."

A. D. 1325.

A. H. 743.

The ancient name of the city was "Dhára Nagari" (Sanskrit, "the town of blades of swords"), as it appears that this place was originally a school for military training; but it is now known among Mahomedans as "Piran Dhar" owing to the number of tombs of Mahomedan saints that are to be found in its vicinity.

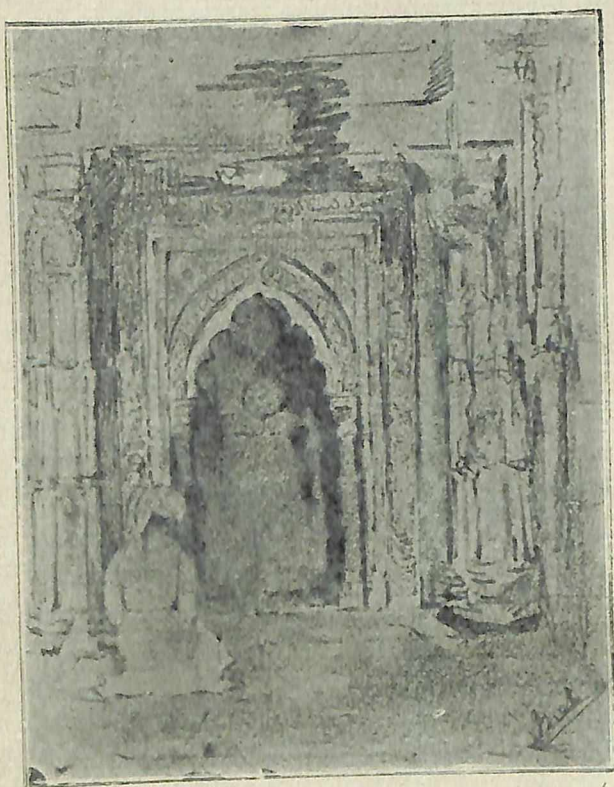
A. D. 44.

There seems to be little doubt that in the ancient Hindu kingdom of Ujjain, Dhar held the second place. Farishta, in the introductory chapter of his history, says that Vikramajit built the fort of Dhar. By this is evidently meant the earthen ramparts of which traces still remain and which are locally attributed to Raja Bhoj. As to Raja Bhoj, Farishta adds:—"After the death of Vikramajit, Malwa long remained in a state of anarchy, till at length Raja Bhoj setting up pretensions to the throne assumed the reins of Government. Raja Bhoj, also of the tribe of Puar, followed the steps of his predecessor."



CSL





THE "MEHRAB" IN "RAJA BHOJ'S SCHOOL,"

Considerable confusion exists as to this famous character, owing probably to the fact that there were certainly two Rajas of that name and probably more. Dr. Buhler, in his Introduction to the *Vikramānka devacharita*, puts the probable date of his death at A.D. 1065. In this poem, Bilhana, the author, states that Dhārā was taken by storm during Bhoja's reign by Somesvara I. the Chalukya king (1040—1069), and that Bhoja had to flee. Bhoja is also mentioned by Kalhana in the *Raja tarangini* as a great patron of poets (A.D. 1062). With the assistance of inscriptions available, it is hoped that it will be possible to increase our knowledge on these points, but as things stand at present, concerning the long period of time from Vikramajit and Bhoj, up to the first Mahommedan invasion, we have no historical record. Farishta speaks of this invasion as having occurred in 1304; he says :

“About this time, *Ain-ul-mulk* Multhani was sent with an army to effect the conquest of Malwa. He was opposed by Koka, Raja of Malwa, with 40,000 Rajput horse and 100,000 foot; in the engagement which ensued *Ain-ul-mulk* proved victorious and reduced the cities of Ujjain, Mandu, Dhara Nagari (Dhar), and Chanderi.”  
*Alla-ud-din Khilji* was then King of Delhi.

A. D. 1304.  
 A. H. 714.

It would appear that from this time Malwa acknowledged allegiance to the Delhi kings, until the reign of Mahommed II, son of Feroz Tughluk, when *Dilawar Khan Ghori*, a descendant on his mother's side of Sultan Shahab-ud-din Ghori of Damascus, was appointed governor. This prince subsequently established his independence, and at the suggestion of his son Alp Khan (afterwards Sultan Hoshang) assumed “the white canopy and scarlet pavilion of royalty.”

A. D. 1387.  
 A. H. 789.

A. D. 1401.  
 A. H. 804.

Dhar, not Mandu, was the capital both of the Mahommedan province and of the independent kingdom founded by *Dilawar Khan*, and it was not till after his death and the succession of his son Alp Khan that the pride of place passed to Mandu.

A. D. 1405.  
 A. H. 808.

From this time, until the Mahratta invasions, the city of Dhar loses its importance except as a theatre of the continued struggles between the kings of Malwa and Gujarat. It was also, as its many tombs attest, a favourite ground for the Mahommedan propaganda.



A. D. 1690.  
 A. H. 1108.  
 A. D. 1696.  
 A. H. 1114.

The first Mahratta invasion of Central India occurred in the year 1690, and for seven years their incursions into this part of Malwa continued. Malcolm in his history notes that in 1696 the Mahrattas ascended the Nalcha Ghât and took Mandu. They also engaged the Mahommedan troops at Dhar, the fort of which they are said to have reduced after a siege of three months. These incursions only ceased on the advance of the celebrated Jai Singh of Jeypur, who according to Mahommedan writers, while acting on behalf of the emperor, maintained a secret understanding with the enemies of Aurangzebe. At the commencement of the 18th century the invaders returned, and Udaji Puar<sup>1</sup> planted his standards at Mandu. This occupation also was but short lived, and it was not till the succession of Bajerao, the 2nd Peishwa, that permanent occupation was thought of.

A. D. 1720.  
 A. H. 1138.  
 A. D. 1731.<sup>2</sup>  
 A. H. 1149.

In that year<sup>2</sup> Bajerao marched with a large army from Poona and occupied Nimar. Dia Bahadur, who was at this time governor of Malwa, foreseeing the danger which threatened, sent continued appeals to Delhi for assistance, but no notice was taken of his requests, and he was left to make head as best he could against the storm. Expecting that the enemy would move by the Bagh-Tanda route, he blocked the passes in the neighbourhood of Bhopawar and marched thither with his army to await them. Meantime Bajerao's army, led by Malhar Rao Holkar and favoured by the Thakurs and Zemindars, crossed the Nerbada at Akbarpur (close to the present ford of Khalghat) and ascending the ghâts by the Bahru Pass through which the Gujri-Dhar road now passes, marched to Dhar. Dia Bahadur hastened back to meet the invaders and a battle was fought at Tirla (6 miles west of Dhar) in which the Mahommedan troops were completely defeated and Dia Bahadur was slain.

A. D. 1732.  
 A. H. 1150.  
 A. D. 1734.  
 A. H. 1152.

From this time the Mahommedan supremacy in Malwa ends. Two years later, Anand Rao Puar, the younger brother of Udaji (who had previously been deprived of all power by the Peishwa), was vested with authority to collect the Mahratta share of the revenue of Malwa and Guzerat. He shortly afterwards settled at Dhar, which province with some of the adjoining districts were assigned to him for the support of himself and his adherents. As

<sup>1</sup> The real founder of the present family.



Malcolm writes :— “It is a strange coincidence that the success of the Mahrattas should by making Dhar the capital of Anand Rao and his descendants, restore the sovereignty to a race which had seven centuries before been expelled from the Government of that city and territory.”

Anand Rao Puar died in 1749, and was succeeded by his son A. D. 1749.  
 Yeswant Rao, who accompanied the Peishwa to Hindoostan, and A. H. 1167.  
 was one of the many distinguished leaders who fell at the battle of A. D. 1761.  
 Paniput. He was succeeded by his son Kundi Rao, then only two A. H. 1179.  
 and a half years old, and the management of the family possessions  
 was carried on by the Diwan Madho Rao Urekar. From this time  
 the power of the State declined, and its total ruin seemed inevit-  
 able when Raghuba Dada, being compelled to withdraw from  
 Poona, sent his family to take refuge in Dhar. It was while in  
 the fort that Anandi Bai, his principal wife, gave birth to Baji  
 Rao, the last of the Peishwas. Dhar was immediately attacked by  
 the combined force of Raghuba's enemies, and as Kundi Rao had  
 openly espoused his cause, the Puar territory in Malwa was resumed,  
 and was only restored on the surrender of Anandi Bai and her  
 child. Kundi Rao married a daughter of Govind Rao Gaekwar,  
 by whom he had a son Anand Rao, who was born six months  
 after his father's death. Anand Rao remained at Baroda until A. D. 1780.  
 he was seventeen years old, when he proceeded to Dhar, and A. H. 1198.  
 although opposed by the Diwan Rung Rao Urekar, he succeeded  
 in establishing himself in power. For the next twenty years the  
 State was subjected to continued raids by the forces of Holkar and  
 Scindhia. The former, Yeswant Rao Holkar, received the rebellious  
 Diwan and, urged on by him, ravaged the country. Finding, A. D. 1797.  
 however, he could not obtain all he wanted, the Diwan went on to A. H. 1215.  
 Daulat Rao Scindhia and succeeded in instigating that chief to  
 attack Dhar. In this year Anand Rao died, leaving his distracted  
 territory to his widow Maina Bai. This courageous lady who was  
 pregnant at the time of her husband's death, took up her residence  
 in Mandu, where she gave birth to a son Ramchander Rao Puar.  
 Her cause being strengthened by this event, she continued her  
 struggle, in spite of all difficulties, to maintain the independence  
 of the State. Her son died when he was three years old, but Maina  
 Bai immediately had recourse to adoption, and with the concur-  
 rence of both Scindhia and Holkar nominated her sister's son, who  
 A. D. 1807.  
 A. H. 1225.  
 A. D. 1810.  
 A. H. 1228.

was about the same age as her own child, and seated him on the *gaddi* under the name of Ramchander Puar. The next seven years were a mere struggle for existence, and when the British forces entered Malwa, Dhar itself was the only possession<sup>1</sup> that remained to Ramchander Puar, while the entire revenue of the State did not exceed Rs.35,000. With the advent of the British, however, a rapid change took place. By opportune policy, Scindhia was induced to return the Badnawar pergana and his aid was invoked to recover Bersia which had been occupied by the Pindari Leader Karim Khan. Finally, on the 10th of July 1819, a treaty was concluded with the British, and Dhar was saved from the annihilation which undoubtedly awaited it. Prosperity rapidly returned, and Maina Bai and her Minister Bapu Raghunath, both of whom outlived Ramchander Rao, continued to carry on the administration.

A. D. 1833.  
 A. H. 1251.

A. D. 1836.  
 A. H. 1254.

A. D. 1857.  
 A. H. 1275.

1st Nov. 1857.

A. D. 1860.

Ramchander, who had married a granddaughter of Daulat Rao Scindhia, died childless in 1833. His widow adopted as his successor Yeswant Rao Paar of Malthan (Deccan), then about twelve years of age, and the administration was continued by Bapu Raghunath till his death in 1836. Nothing of importance marks the rule of this chief, but he introduced an organised system of government, and left a reputation for great generosity among the people. The fine temple of Kalka Devi to the north-west of the town, which was entirely repaired by him, shows his religious tendencies. He died suddenly in May 1857, having nominated on his death-bed Anand Rao Puar, his half-brother, as his successor. Anand Rao, then a boy of thirteen, was unable to stem in his territory the torrent of mutiny and disaffection which at that time spread over the whole country. His army, mostly composed of Makranis and Pathans, having looted the Agency at Bhopawar, occupied the fort at Dhar until it was captured by the British. In consequence the State was confiscated, but was subsequently restored to Anand Rao, with the exception of the Bairsia Perganna.<sup>2</sup>

British management was maintained, however, till 1864, when ruling powers were given to the chief. During his long rule, the

<sup>1</sup> The Nimar pergasas of Dharampuri and Tikri were still nominally in possession of the family, but no revenue was derived from these pergasas.

<sup>2</sup> This pergana was transferred to Bhopal as a reward for the services during the mutiny rendered by Sekunder Begam.





THE DOORWAY, KAMAL MAULA'S SHRINE.





prosperity of Dhar continued to increase, and the revenue rose from about 5 lakhs in 1857 to 9 lakhs in 1896. Anand Rao A. D. 1877. received several marks of favour at the hands of the Imperial Government. On the occasion of the Delhi assemblage in 1877, he was granted the title of Maharaja as a personal distinction, and was also appointed a Knight Commander of the Most Exalted Order of the Star of India. In 1883, the decoration of Companion of the Order of the Indian Empire was also conferred upon him. He died A. D. 1898. childless in July 1898, having previously adopted his nephew Udaji Rao Puar of Malthan. Of Anand Rao the people say : "He was short of stature, but large of heart"; and indeed no truer thing could be said of him ; but with all his unlimited hospitality towards Europeans as well as natives, he left his treasury full, and thus enabled the State to tide over with comparative ease the disastrous years which followed his death.

Udaji Rao Puar, whose succession was immediately recognised by the Government of India, is now sixteen years of age, and is A. D. 1902. being educated at the Daly College at Indore, the management of the State being in the hands of a Superintendent under the direct control of the Political Agent.

## CHAPTER II.

### *Buildings.*

The Fort is a rectangular construction of red sandstone, A. D. 1325-51. attributed to Sultan Mahmud Tughluk of Delhi. On the third gate A. H. 725-752. there is an inscription to the effect that "in the reign of Aurangzebe this gate was constructed during the administration of Ashur A. D. 1690. Beg,<sup>1</sup> a man of great resources and courage." A. H. 1108.

During the Mahratta invasion the fort played an important part, and it was here that Anandi Bai took refuge and gave birth to Baji Rao, the third Peishwa. A toy well and miniature throne with slide are shown as having been his playthings. Later, at the commencement of the nineteenth century, the forts of Dhar and Mandu were practically the only pieces of territory remaining to the present family, and it was from here that Maina Bai, the courageous Rani of the time, directed her eventually successful A. D. 1857. struggles to preserve the State for her infant son, Ramchander Rao. A. H. 1275.

In 1857 the Arabs, Makranis, and Pathans, then in the service of

<sup>1</sup> Foster brother of Shah Jehan.

the State, joined the Amjhera mutineers and looted the Agency at Bhopawar. They then returned to Dhar, and having completely overawed the administration, took possession of the fort, which they held for about three months. An eye-witness describes what happened as follows: "The Diwan, Ramchand Rao (son of Bapuji Rughunath, the able minister of Maina Bai), the Raja being then a minor, informed the British authorities of what had occurred, and although frightened to openly ask for assistance, maintained secret correspondence with them. A force under the command of General Stewart eventually marched from Mhow, and the mutineers, hearing of its advance, took up positions on the high ground to the east covering the approaches to the city. On being attacked, they immediately retired to the fort. The British were without siege guns, and had to wait the arrival of two heavy pieces from Mhow. These guns were placed at the distance of about 300 yards from the south-west corner of the fort, and after battering the wall for thirteen days (using, as rumour goes, 40,000 projectiles), the breach was effected, which is still to be seen. That night the mutineers fled without the knowledge of the British, and the following day the bombardment was renewed. The prisoners who had remained in the fort began to wave their 'dhotis' in sign of surrender, and the British then took possession." It was only at the personal request of the late Maharaja, made to H. E. Lord Northbrook when he visited Dhar as Viceroy, that permission was given to rebuild the gap in the rampart. It has been found necessary to postpone the completion of this work owing to existing financial difficulties. The fort, at present, contains the jail and sepoy lines and a gigantic "baori." The palace known as the Karbuza Mahal, on the north-west bastion now in disrepair, apparently dates from the Mandu period.

At the upper entrance gate is a tomb known as that of Data Bandhi Chor. Very briefly the tradition is as follows: — The saint, by name Hazrat Mahbud, said to have been a servant in the fort, at the command of his mother, released all the prisoners. In struggling with the guards his head was severed from his body and fell at the place where this tomb now stands. The headless body continued the fight until it reached a spot about 200 yards to the north, where it fell and was buried. At this spot also a much-frequented shrine exists.

A. D. 1875.





THE LAT MUSJID, EASTERN ENTRANCE.



Among the guns stored in the Arsenal, at the entrance of the fort, there are some old pieces of the Mandu period of most primitive character; also a few camel guns. These were brought from Mandu for safe custody at the suggestion of the Political Agent<sup>1</sup> about 1878.

*The Lat Musjid.*

This mosque owes its erection to Dilawar Khan, first king of Malwa, the material used having evidently been taken from Hindu temples. The northern gateway is of particularly Jain-like style, and is in good preservation. The eastern gate is of a later epoch, and shows much more the influence of Mahomedan architecture. There are two inscriptions; that on the northern doorway is in prose, and to the effect that Ahmed Shah, known as Dilawar Khan, laid the foundation stone in the year A.D. 1405. The second inscription on the eastern entrance is in verse, and may be thus transcribed :—

- " Lord of the earth and mighty source of lofty heaven
- " The support of the people of this world
- " And sun of the zenith of perfection
- " In Him all good qualities are entered—
- " Of descent noble as the heavens
- " Powerful as the angels, and equal to Jesus
- " In justice, charity, gravity, war, assembly and magnificence
- " The eye of heaven hath not seen
- " A person of such lofty thoughts
- " The great supporter of Islam
- " Ahmed Shah Dawad
- " A hero of such noble qualities
- " As Ghor may well be proud of.
- " The helper and supporter of the religion of the Prophet
- " Dilawar Khan, the chosen one of the Great God
- " Disciple of Nazir-ud-din Mahommed
- " This Asylum and place of protection for all great men
- " In the city of Dhar constructed this assembly mosque
- " At a happy moment and on an auspicious day
- " A mosque like the second Kāba of the world
- " The praise of which is beyond description
- " A mosque which resembles one built by angels
- " Or the Kāba by which the great world has received pleasure and beauty.

<sup>1</sup> Colonel Lester.

“It was the year 808 Hijri that the construction of the mosque was completed with all splendour.”

Eighty feet from the northern gateway lies the square beam of iron by which the mosque is known. Jehangir in his diary speaks of it as follows :—

“Outside this fort (Dhar), there is an assembly mosque which has in front of it fixed in the ground a four-cornered iron pillar about four feet round. When Sultan Bahadur of Gujrat took Malwa, he wished to carry this column to Gujrat. In digging it up, the pillar fell and broke in two, one piece measuring 22 feet and the other 13 feet. As it was lying here uncared for, I (Jehangir) ordered the big piece to be carried to Agra, to be put up in the courtyard of the shrine of Him, whose abode is the heavenly throne (Akbar) to be used as a lamp-post.”

Evidently Jehangir's orders were never carried out. The piece fallen *in situ* actually measuring 24 feet is where Jehangir saw it; the second piece, 12 feet long, was removed to the Agency Garden some years ago. The end of this piece is octagonal and suggestive of its having been made for a lamp-post.

On the piece lying near the mosque is a short inscription in Persian as follows:—

A.D. 1591.

“In the reign of the most exalted emperor, the reflection of the Almighty, while on his way to the Deccan in the eighth year of Asfandia, 42 Julusi, corresponding to 1000 of the Hijra, the Emperor Akbar passed here with great pomp, and his order for engraving this inscription was carried into effect by Sharif Mahommed.”

*The “Kamal Maula.”*

This enclosure comprises the tomb of :—

- (a) Shaikh Kamal-ud-din Sahib Malvi;
- (b) The alleged tomb of Mahmūd Khilji, third king of Mandu;
- (c) A mosque; and
- (d) Several other ruined tombs of no historic importance.

As regards the tomb of Kamāl-ud-din, the inscription over the doorway reads thus :—

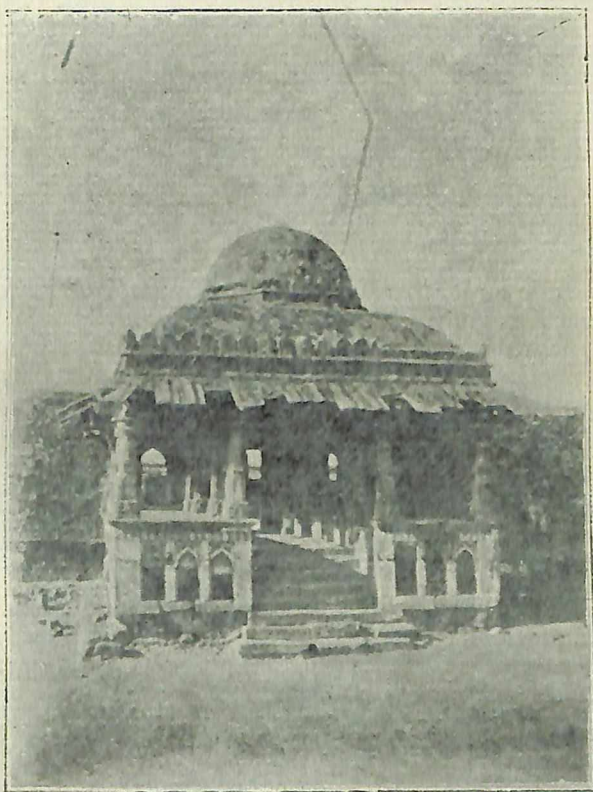
“This lofty tomb of beauty, this dome which reflects light,

“This is the shrine of the saint

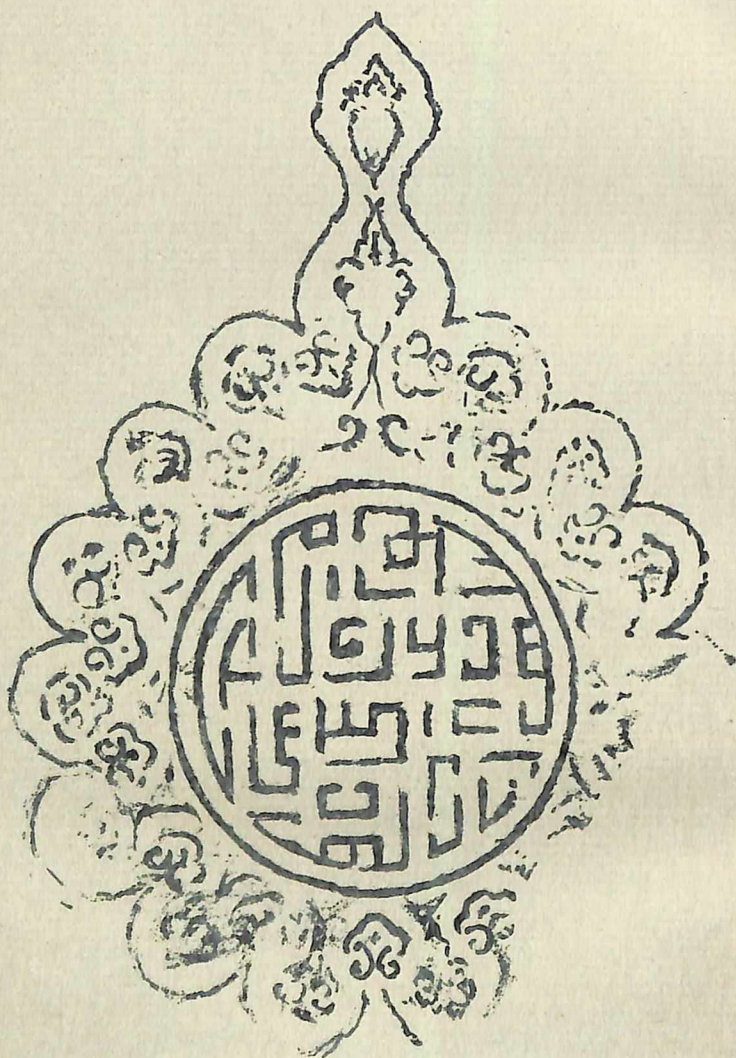
“And people coming from distant places

“Should here prostrate themselves.





THE LAT MUSJID, NORTHERN ENTRANCE.



*THE BLUE TILE ON THE WALL, KAMAL MAULA'S TOMB*



- “ Though the space was small, still the gateway was constructed  
 with beauty  
 “ The small arches over the platform, the threshold and this gateway  
 “ Resemble the new moon.  
 “ For the repose of all great persons  
 “ And for the support of all  
 “ In the happy reign of the emperor of the world  
 “ Mahmūd Shah Khilji  
 “ In the year 861 Hajri this was constructed.  
 “ May the place of his life be everlasting.  
 “ On the threshold of the Lord of this world and of Religion  
 “ Mahmūd lay prostrate.  
 “ May his kindness continue upon me  
 “ In the same way as it is extended to all who bow before him.”

A. D. 1457.

The origin of the quaint blue tile, with cufic characters, let into the wall above the Mulvi's tomb is a puzzle. There is nothing similar to it to be found in the neighbourhood, and up to the present it has not been possible to trace whence it came. The only mention of it is to be found in a Persian work called “Guljar Abrar,” where a translation is given in Persian verse, which we may thus transcribe :

“ On this tomb upon a green stone with golden letters it is written that, in this world nothing remains of good men, except their goodness.”

Kamāl-ud-din, known as “Malwi,” because of his long residence in Malwa, was one of the many disciples of the famous Nizam-ud-din Auliya, who flourished in Delhi at the beginning of the fourteenth century. Sent by his spiritual guide to Malwa, Kamāl became famous as a preacher and “attained the heights of sanctity.” The date of his death is unknown, but it must have occurred many years prior to the erection by Mahmūd Khilji of the buildings which adorn his grave. His teacher, Nizam-ud-din, died in A.D. 1325; it is thus hardly possible that Kamāl can have lived beyond A.D. 1400, and he cannot, therefore, have met Mahmūd in the flesh. It would seem probable that these buildings were erected as a thanks-offering to the local saint after Mahmūd's return from his successful campaign against the Rana Kumbhu of Chitor.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Since this was written an inscription has been exhumed from the small graveyard in this enclosure. It is dated, 795 A.H. (1395 A.D.), i.e., prior to the assumption of sovereignty by Dilawar Khan, 1st king of Malwa, and states that in that year in the reign of Mahmud Shah, son of Sultan Firoz Tughluk, the small and ancient mosques of Dhar which had fallen into ruin through the ravages of time were repaired in a beautiful fashion by Khan Palik Dilawar Khan (then Subah of Malwa).

Opposite that of Kamāl-ud-din stands a tomb which, local tradition insists, is that of Mahmūd Khilji himself. Again to quote tradition, the great warrior is said to have expressed the wish that he "should be buried in the place where people removed their shoes in going to visit the tomb of his patron saint Kamāl-ud-din."

### *Raja Bhoja's School.*

The mosque, contiguous to Kamāl-ud-din's tomb, is known among the Hindoo population as "Raja Bhoja ka Madrassa," i. e., Raja Bhoja's School. In its present form, it is contemporaneous with the buildings round it, but, as in the case of the Lât Musjid, all the materials used seem to have been taken from Hindoo buildings. The decoration of the "Mehrab" and the dome are more elaborate than in the Lât Musjid.

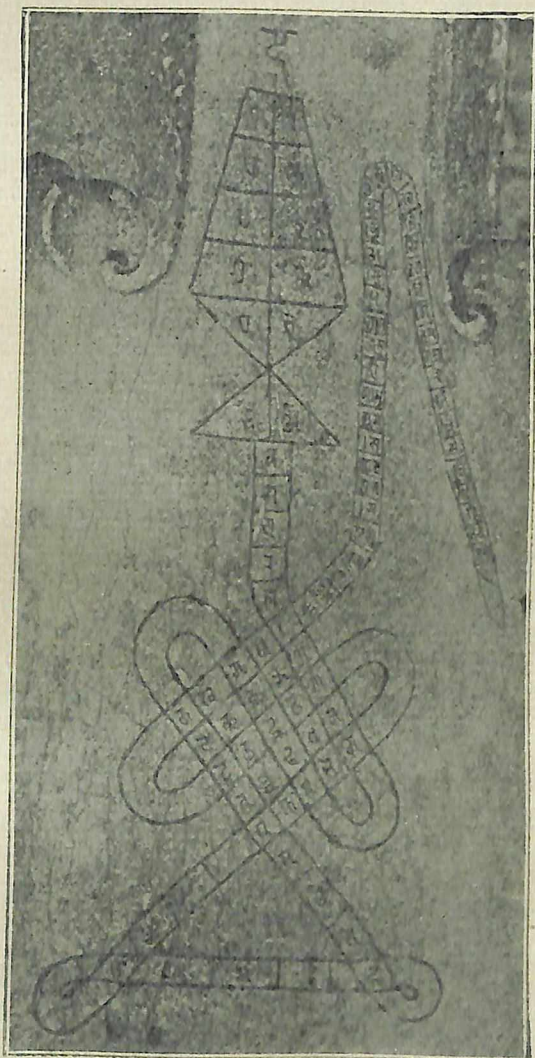
As confirming the local tradition of the existence of Raja Bhoja's school in this neighbourhood, the two *Serpobandhi* pillar inscriptions, photographs of which are given below, are extremely interesting.

The following explanation of them, has kindly been given me by Mr. K. K. Lele, Superintendent of Education in the Dhar State.

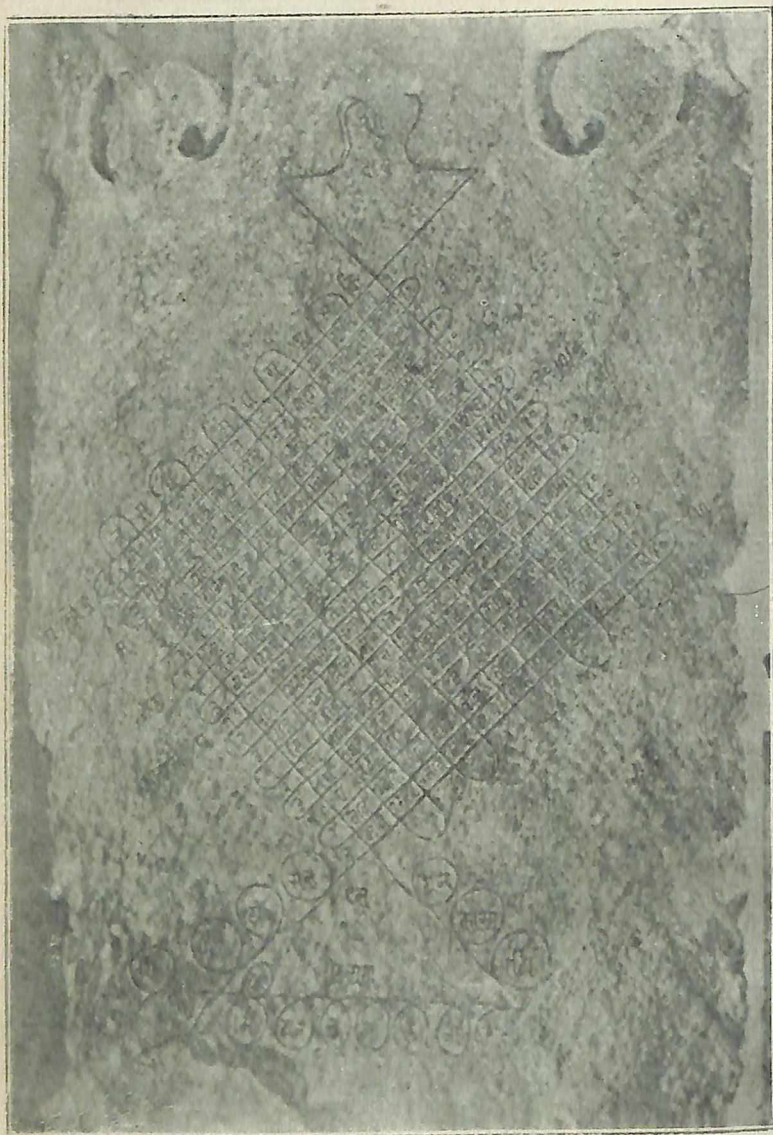
"Inscription No. I is made up by the windings of one serpent only. It contains the Sanskrit alphabet in the Nagari characters of the 11th or 12th century A. D., and the chief inflectional terminations of nouns and verbs. The former are given in the body of the serpent, and the latter in the tail. The consonants do not differ very much from those in common use now; but the vowels have quite a different shape. The whole inscription is 2 ft. 3 in. in height and 1 ft. in breadth. There are altogether 53 letters and symbols, and 21 nominal and 18 verbal inflectional terminations. As the alphabet plays the chief part in this inscription, it may be called alphabetical."

"Inscription No. II is bigger in size, 2½ ft. in height and 1½ ft. in breadth, with greater contents. It is made up by the intertwining of two serpents, probably male and female. It contains chiefly the personal terminations of the ten tenses and moods of Sanskrit grammar. There are three numbers in Sanskrit, and two sets of terminations (Parasmaipada and Atmanepada, transitive and intransitive) for each of the tenses and moods; so for the three persons in each there





SERPOBANDHA PILLAR INSCRIPTION NO. 1.



SERPOBANDHA PILLAR INSCRIPTION NO. II.



are altogether 18 terminations, 9 of each set, as shown below:—

Parasmai.			Alwane.		
Sing.	du.	pl.	Sing.	du.	pl.
3rd person	...	...	3rd person	...	...
2nd „	...	...	2nd „	...	...
1st „	...	...	1st „	...	...

Inscription Serpobandha No. II.

Thus there are altogether  $18 \times 10 = 180$  verbal terminations, 90 of each set, given in the table and numbered on the right-hand side. They are given in slanting columns from the left to the right in the spaces left between the zigzag turnings of the serpents. On the left-hand side are marked the names of the two sets of terminations, the three persons: the third or prathama, the second or madhyama, and the first or uttama; and the three numbers by the figures 1, 2 and 3. The names of the tenses are marked on the top of each column by the initial letter of each. In Sanskrit, besides primitive verbal bases, there are several (not fewer than a dozen) derivative bases of verbs, which show causation, desire, intensity, etc. These and other details are indicated in the round knots below the principal table. The inscription is based on the *Ka-tantra* grammar of Sanskrit.

Above the table there are two Sanskrit stanzas of the Anustubha metre of 32 letters divided into 4 feet of 8 letters each. In the first verse occur the names of Udayaditya and Naravarman, and in the second that of Udayaditya alone. Now these Udayaditya and Naravarman were the almost immediate successors of the Raja Bhoja who ruled at Dhar during the first half of the eleventh century of the Christian era.

The probable meaning of the stanzas is as follows:—

“The swords of the king Udayaditya and Naravarman were equally ready for the protection of the varṇas (*i.e.*, the four castes) and the letters of the alphabet. This pillar inscription has been put here by king Udayaditya for the gratification of poets and princes.”

In addition to these evidences, a considerable portion of the floor of the mosque is paved<sup>1</sup> with black stone slabs, on which can be distinctly seen traces of the inscriptions which once covered them, but which unfortunately have been almost totally defaced by the Mahomedan conquerors. Finally, a recent close inspection has brought to light the fact that the reverse side of two of the great black stone slabs which form the lining of the “Mehrab” are covered with similar inscriptions, which happily by their position have escaped destruction, but of which,

<sup>1</sup> For about 1,200 sq. ft.

owing to that same position, it has only been possible up to the present to take fragmental impressions. These impressions seem to show that the inscriptions are a dramatic composition probably on an historical subject, written in the reign of a successor of Bhoja.<sup>1</sup>

*Mausoleum of Abdulla Shah Changal.*

This mausoleum lies south-west of the city on the ancient ramparts of the town. The tomb itself is insignificant, but the history connected with it, as detailed in the Persian inscription over the gateway leading up to the tomb, is of interest. It runs as follows :—

"His tomb appears to be wholly a reflection of light

"And the Saint who is buried here was the true lover of God.

"His voice possessed a power as marvellous as that of David

"And by it men and even animals were charmed;

"But what of men, even Angels do homage to his tomb.

"It was in the palmy days of the Hindus that he came to this city

"And Raja Bhoj,<sup>2</sup> then king, was so affected by his marvellous power

"That he embraced the Faith.

"Mahmud Shah Khilji repaired the dome over his tomb, which Allah-ud-din Ghōri had constructed before him.

"He is the first and foremost of the saints, and his tomb was constructed here in 857 A. H.

"He is termed Changāl, because all who once visited him remained for ever fascinated by his marvellous power.

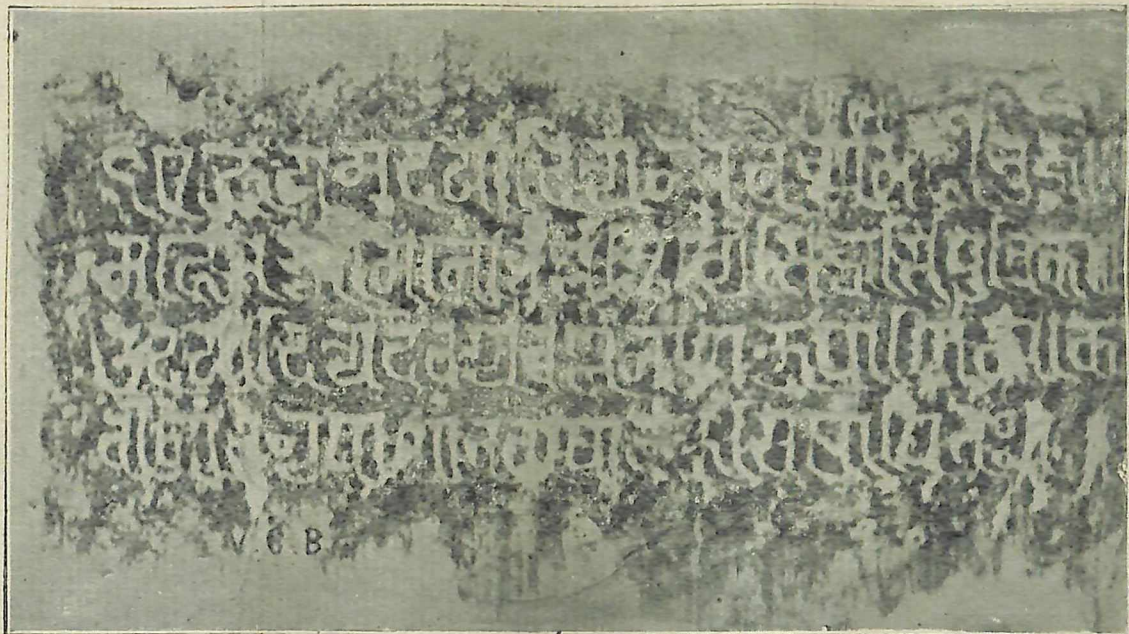
A. D. 1296-1316.

A. D. 1454.

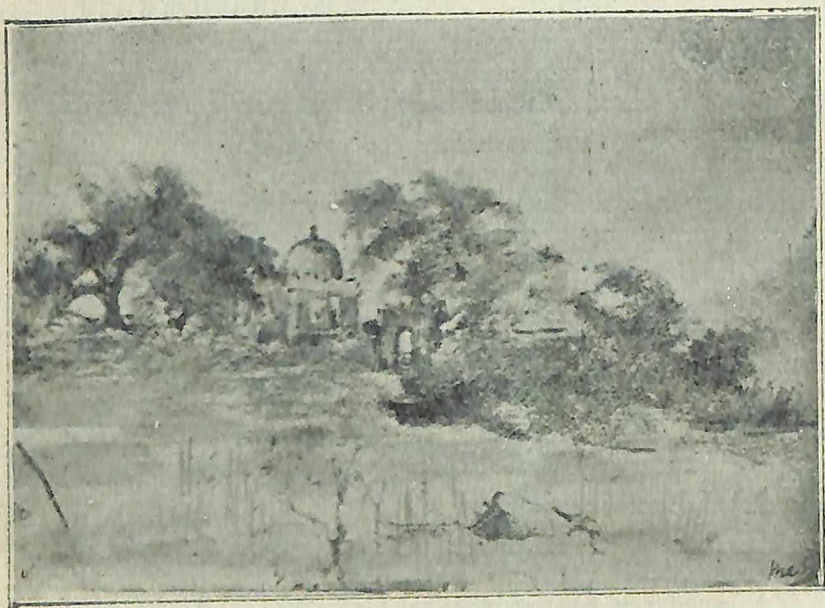
<sup>1</sup> The dimensions of the stone from which impressions have been taken are 5' 8" x 5', and the whole inscription consists on a rough calculation of about 80 lines of 116 syllables each. Owing to the position and then only with great difficulty 40 half-lines have been copied. The inscription is in classical Sanskrit poetry and was written by the Royal Tutor Madan to be reproduced at Dhar at the spring festival. It is written in honor of Arjuna Varma Deo (A.D. 1209—1217) and mention is made of the wars between the Pramanas and the Chalukyas now happily ended by marriage. A glimpse is given of the high states of civilisation and refinement then prevailing in Dhar, which is described as a city of palaces having beautiful pleasure gardens on the hills surrounding the town. The people prided themselves in the glories of Bhoja who had made Dhar the Queen of Malwa. The excellence of the Dhar musicians as well as of its scholars is also mentioned. It appears that some of the facts mentioned in this inscription are confirmed by a copper-plate grant of Arjuna Varma, dated Samvat 1272 (A.D. 1215) which was written by the same author Madan, and a copy of which has been published in the American Oriental Society's Journal (Part VII.).

<sup>2</sup> According to Tod, the dates of the three Bhojas were: A.D. 567, A.D. 665, A.D. 1305. The last was the predecessor of Udayaditya.





SANSKRIT INSCRIPTION ABOVE SERPOBANDHA NO II.



THE TOMB OF SHAH CHANGAL.





“He has attained the highest degree of piety and virtue known to the Dervishes.”

The Hindus naturally scoff at the idea that a Raja Bhoj should have been converted to Mahomedanism, but the inscription given above shows how ancient is the tradition, while the Mahomedan story, which is fully detailed in the “Annals of Malwa,” goes on to say that Raja Bhoja on his conversion took the name of Abdullah and was buried on the same spot as his teacher. A series of small tombs in the same enclosure are said to be those of forty missionaries who were massacred at the instance of Raja Bhoj himself, evidently prior to the arrival of Shah Changâl! The latter was a native of Medina and, in Malwa, one of the earliest apostles of the new creed <sup>1</sup>

Besides the above there are some twelve other tombs of known “Pirs” scattered in and about the city, dating from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. One of the most prominent, and whose tomb is visible at a distance of about a mile south from the Shah Changâl is that of Hazrat Pir Parahan. It is said of him that one of the elements, namely air, was under his control; the seat on which he used to sit floated in the æther, and on it he moved at will from place to place. Hence his name, Pir Parahan—the flying Saint. Another of historical interest is the shrine of Maulana Ghiyas, who is mentioned by Abul Fazl in conjunction with Shaikh Kamal and others as having been one of the saintly followers of Nizamuddin Auliya.<sup>2</sup> His tomb lies on the Khande Rao hill. He is more specially a patron of learning, and to this day the youth of Dhar frequent his shrine when troubled with the prospect of an examination.

It may here be noted that these Mahomedan shrines of Dhar are equally sacred both to Hindus and Mahomedans.

The only Hindu building of general interest is the temple of Kali, *Kalka Devi*, beautifully situated on a hillock overlooking the lotus-covered tank to the north-west of the city.

The building as it now stands is due to Jaswant Rao Puar, grandfather of the present chief, but the shrine itself is of a far remoter period, and is alleged to date from the early Hindu kings. When the Mahomedans invaded Malwa, the image, to avoid its destruction, was removed and hidden in the city, where it is still to be seen in a miserable hut. It is held by the devotees of Kali that with the exception of the famous Durga of Bengal, this is the only image of the goddess which escaped destruction and survived those iconoclastic times.

<sup>1</sup> I have not succeeded in finding any mention of this saint in the *Âin-i-Akbari*.

<sup>2</sup> *Âin-i-Akbari*, Vol. III, p. 365, Jarrett's translation.

*The modern city.*

But little comment is necessary on the modern city. It dates from the commencement of last century when Maina Bai built the palace and the Utawad gate as well as the fine temple of Mahadeo in the centre of the town. Of public buildings there are practically none, with the exception of the High School and the hospital founded by Anand Rao Puar, the late Maharaja.

### CHAPTER III.

#### *Nalcha.*

Nalcha, sixteen miles from Dhar, is now a small village, the headquarters of a tahsil of the same name.

A. D. 1617.

It has lost much of its importance since 1820 when it was the headquarters of Sir John Malcolm and still more, since the time when Jehangir visited it, and in his diary describes it as follows:— “What can be written worthy of the beauty and pleasantness of Nalcha? The neighbourhood is full of mango trees, the whole of the country is one unbroken and restful evergreen. Owing to its beauty, I remained there three days.

“Nalcha is one of the best places in Malwa. It has an extensive growth of vines, and among its mango groves and vineyards wander streamlets of water. I arrived at a time (February) when, contrary to the Northern clime, the vines were in blossom and fruit, and so great was the vintage that the meanest boor could eat grapes to his fill. The poppy was also in flowers, and its fields delighted the eye with their many coloured beauty.”

The vines have disappeared, and nothing is sadder than to see the ruin which the recent drought has caused to the mango-groves of which Jehangir speaks. Still much of the natural beauty of the place remains, and one can well understand how Sir John Malcolm chose it as a residence. The house where he lived lies a few hundred yards west of the village, and as he himself records is one of the palaces built by Mahmūd Khilji during the reign of the latter in Mandu.

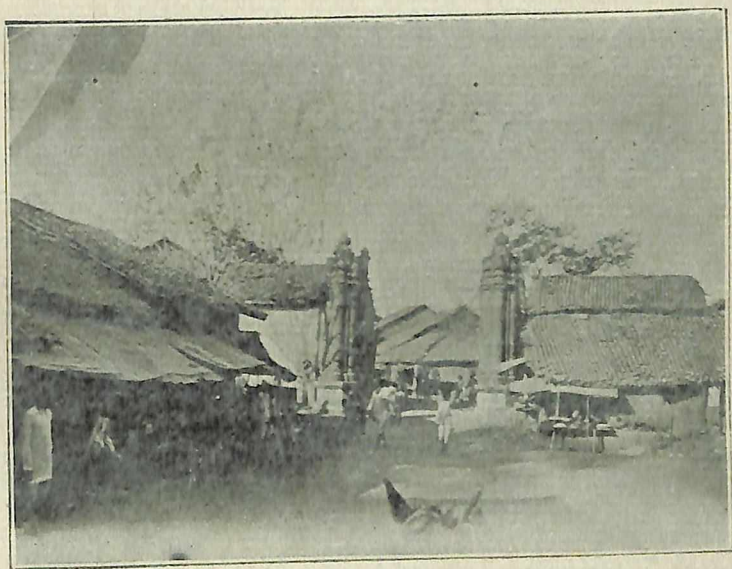
A. D. 1840.

Until about 1840, it was used as a travellers' bungalow, but has since fallen into total disrepair.

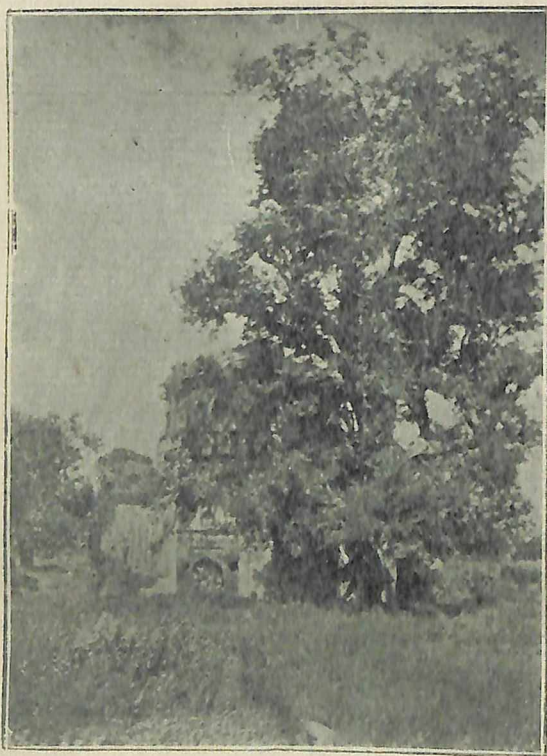
A. D. 1441.

The picturesque ruins surrounding the tank close to which the road passes, date from the time of Mahmūd Khilji who, it is recorded, built here some beautiful palaces and mosques. From Nalcha to Mandu the road becomes a sort of *Via Appia*. On the rising ground at a short distance from the village the ruins commence which extend without intermission to the hill of Mandu. On the right is a chain of





THE UTAWAD GATE, DHAR.



NALCHA.





hills, nearly every one of which is topped by crumbling relics of the past. Most of the buildings are quadrangular and surmounted by cupolas below which are ruins of ornamental carving with traces of the original blue enamelled ground. Some of the buildings are large with walled enclosures and porticos. As a "Bombay Subaltern" writing in 1844 says : "They form a dreary picture of the mutability of earthly pomp; a cutting satire on the vanities and nothingness of human endeavour; the hardy pipal tree has clung to the walls with destructive and unrelenting embrace, and the wild denizens of the jungle have usurped the halls of kings, the luxurious retreats of indolent Mahomedans, and of the fair inmates of their harem."

On the left, about half way to Mandu, is the "Kakra Koh," a magnificent ravine of great depth, which extending far into the distance breaks through the Vindhian chain into the Nimar plain. Two marks on the rock near where the two sides meet are pointed out as the veritable footprints of Murtaza Ali, the son-in-law of Mahomed. Just opposite, on the other side of the road, and strongly contrasting in its quiet beauty with the grandeur of the ravine, is a small lake surrounded on three sides by hills, its embankments covered with a rich belt of mangos and jamun trees.

The strange bulky tree, which cannot fail to have attracted notice, is the *Adansonia digitata*, the Baobab tree of Senegal known in Malwa as the Khorasani Imli. It abounds in Nalcha and Mandu, but is not to be found in any other part of Malwa,<sup>1</sup> and is exotic in India. Its trunk attains enormous dimensions, and was supposed by its discoverer, the French botanist Adanson, to exceed any other tree in longevity; he found one 30 feet in diameter, and calculated its age at 5,150 years ! The wood is extremely light, its specific gravity being only 262, water being 1,000, and is thus but little heavier than cork. The tree is in full leaf only during the rains, the pods ripening about March; the juice is used by the natives as a febrifuge and a basis for sherbet. It seems probable that this tree was introduced into Malwa from Abyssinia during the reign of Mahmūd Khilji, when Mandu was at its zenith and close trade relations with that country existed.

#### CHAPTER IV.

##### *Mandu—its History.*

Before attempting to describe the ruins, it seems desirable to take up the thread of history which connects this place with

<sup>1</sup> Except an occasional stray specimen.

Dhar, and to note as briefly as a period of five hundred years will allow, the events of which Mandu has been the scene.

From time immemorial Mandu must have been a fortress, but, as is the case with Dhar, of its history prior to the Mahomedan conquest very little is known.

Farishta mentions that one Anand Deo Rajput of the tribe of Bais who rose to power after the death of Pertab Chand, constructed the fort of Mandu in Malwa. This Anand Deo lived in the reign of A. D. 591-621. Khusru Parvis, King of Persia, and died after a reign of sixteen years.

In connection with the foundation of Mandu, Colonel Tod writes as follows :

“Maheswar . . . appears to have been the first seat of Government of the Pramaras.<sup>1</sup> They subsequently founded Dhara Nagar (Dhar) and Mandu on the crest of the Vindhian hills . . . the inscription in the nail-headed character fixes the date of the last prince of the Pramaras of Chitore at A. D. 714.”

A. H. 714.  
 A. D. 1305.

A. D. 1398.

In A. D. 1304-05 Mandu suffered the same fate as Dhar at the hands of Ain-ul-Mulk Multani, and one century later, on the succession of Alp Khan, known as Sultan Hoshang, became the capital of the independent kingdom of Malwa. It was seven years previous to this date that Alp Khan withdrew to Mandu, annoyed with his father Dilawar Khan for entertaining as his overlord at Dhar, Mahmud Tugluk, the refugee Monarch of Delhi. According to Farishta he stayed there for three years and laid the foundation of the famous fortress, the remains of which still exist. Although Dilawar Khan took up his residence at Dhar, and considered that place as the seat of his government, he frequently visited Mandu and, as available inscriptions show, built the Assembly Mosque near the Jahaz Mahal and the southern gateway of the fort now known as the Tarapur Gate.

2nd King of  
 the Ghorī  
 dynasty, A. D.  
 1405-1432.

On the death of Dilawar Khan, Alp Khan assumed the title of King of Malwa under the name of *Sultan Hoshang Ghorī*.

A rumour prevalent at the time that he had poisoned his father (although according to Farishta not generally accepted) was evidently believed by Musaffar Shah of Gujerat, the sworn brother-in-

<sup>1</sup> Modern Puar.





arms of the late king, who immediately collected an army and marched against Hoshang.<sup>1</sup> He reached Dhar without resistance and a battle ensued on the plain in front of the town. The Gujerat chief was wounded and Hoshang was unhorsed, but the troops continued to fight desperately until the scale turned in favour of Gujerat. Hoshang threw himself into the fort of Dhar, wherein he was closely besieged, and was finally forced to surrender at discretion. He was taken prisoner to Gujerat, and Nasrat Khan, brother of Muzaffar Shah with a strong detachment, was left in charge of the Government of Malwa. Nasrat, however, failed to gain the goodwill either of the army or of the people and was forced to retire to Gujerat. On his departure, the Malwites appointed Musi Khan, nephew of the late Dilawar Khan, their leader. Hearing this, Hoshang wrote to Muzaffar Shah, pointing out that the unfavourable reports circulated against him were false, and requesting that he might be permitted to recover his usurped dominions. Muzaffar Shah acceded to his request, and deputed his grandson Ahmed to accompany Hoshang to Malwa and reinstate him on his throne. A. D. 1407.

On arrival at Dhar, which place they soon reduced, Ahmed returned to Gujerat, and Hoshang continued his advance on Mandu, but failed to make any impression on it until joined by his cousin, *Malik Moghis*. The desertion of this powerful noble so disconcerted Musi Khan, that he abandoned Mandu and fled without further resistance. Two years later, Hoshang, forgetful of all he owed to Muzaffar Shah, and personally to the prince Ahmed, who had now succeeded to the Gujerat throne, marched on Broach for the purpose of aiding Feroz Khan and Haibat Khan<sup>2</sup> in opposing Ahmed's succession. Ahmed Shah, however, prevented the junction of the three armies, and Hoshang returned incontinently to Dhar, but so restless was his disposition, and so inveterate his enmity to the rulers of Gujerat, that he soon afterwards involved himself in a new war. Hearing that Ahmed Shah had marched against the Raja of Jalwara, Hoshang again led his army into Gujerat and laid it waste. Ahmed Shah accordingly returned to meet him, on which occasion again Hoshang fled to Malwa. A third time Hoshang A. D. 1418.

<sup>1</sup> This attack marks the commencement of the series of wars between Malwa and Gujerat, which finally culminated in A. D. 1526, with the overthrow of the Malwa Kingdom.

<sup>2</sup> Younger sons of Muzaffar Shah.

invaded Gujerat during the absence of Ahmed Shah, but retreated on the prince's approach. On this occasion Ahmed Shah followed him up into Malwa and a battle was fought near Ujjain. Hoshang was defeated and fled to Mandu pursued by the Gujerat cavalry, while Ahmed Shah followed as far as Nalcha.

To punish Hoshang, Ahmed twice besieged Mandu, and though he failed each time to take the fort, his retirement had to be purchased, and both as regards success and fair dealing the honours of the campaign remained with the Gujerat chief.

A. D. 1420. In 1420, Hoshang marched on Kherla, a fortress of the Ghondwara kingdom, and having compelled the Raja by treaty to pay a yearly tribute to the king of Malwa, returned laden with booty to Mandu.

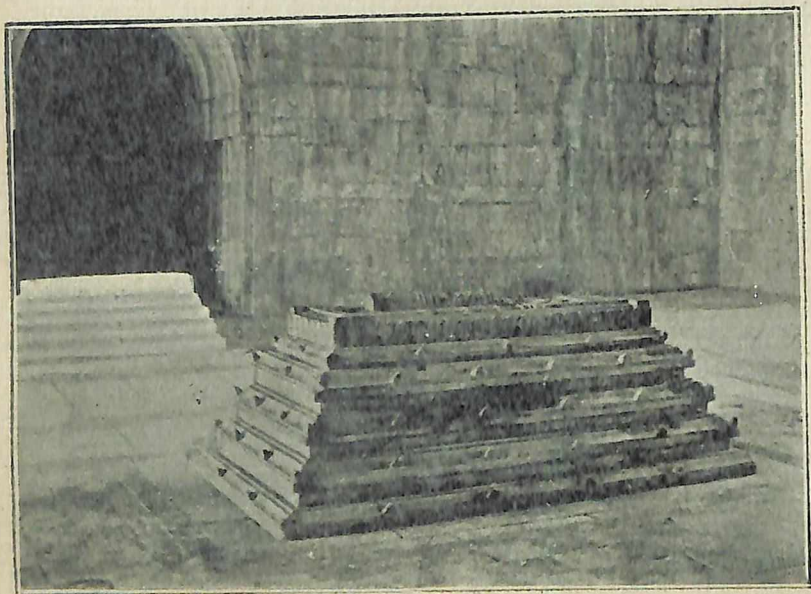
A. D. 1421. In 1421, assuming the character of a horse-dealer, and accompanied by a thousand cavalry, he went to Jainagar, now Jajpur in Orissa. He took with him a number of bay, chestnut and grey horses, such as that Raja was known to admire with the object of bartering these animals and other goods for the famous war elephants of Jainagar. The pretended merchants having arrived, the Raja intimated his intention first of all to inspect the linen-goods, and then, either to purchase them with money, or barter elephants for them. The goods were accordingly spread on the ground, but owing to the threatening appearance of the weather Hoshang remonstrated, pointing out that the articles would be damaged if rain came on. The Raja's servants, however, insisted, and the goods remained spread out in the open. At length the Raja arrived, and a thunderstorm coming on, the elephants of his cavalcade trampled over the merchandise, which was much damaged. Hoshang, irritated at his loss, without further ado ordered his followers to mount and attack the Raja's escort, many of whom were slain, the Raja himself being taken prisoner. Hoshang then informed him of his rank, and the Raja purchased his liberty with seventy-five elephants; he was also required to escort the warlike merchant to the confines of his country, whence he was permitted to return but not without having handed over a few more of his famous elephants.

On his way back to Malwa, Hoshang heard that Ahmed Shah had invaded the country and was besieging Mandu. He, therefore, seized the fort of Kherla so as to have a position to fall back on,





CSL



THE SARCOPHAGUS OF HOSHANG AT MANDU.



in case Mandu fell, and thence continuing his march he succeeded in entering the fort by the Tarapur Gate. On this Ahmed Shah raised the siege and retired to Sarangpur. Hoshang having followed by a shorter route, reached there before him, and sent the following hypocritical message to delay his advance :—" The blood of the faithful depends on us ; let us restrain then our hands from the mutual destruction of true Believers. I beseech you to desist from warfare and to return to Gujerat. Meanwhile, let hostilities cease, and receive my ambassador, who has power to conclude an eternal peace between us." Ahmed Shah was deceived by these protestations, and Hoshang availed himself of his credulity by making a night attack on the Gujerat camp. His army penetrated to the Royal Tent, and it was only through the gallantry of the Rajput guard that Ahmed Shah made his escape. The latter hovered about the skirts of the camp until day-break, and having rallied a small but resolute band of his followers, led them against the hitherto victorious Malwites. Hoshang fought bravely, and both chiefs were wounded, but the King of Malwa, " on whom the face of victory never smiled," was defeated, and took refuge in the fort of Sarangpur. Ahmed not only recovered all his property, but in addition captured twenty-seven of Hoshang's elephants ; he then retired towards Gujerat only to be followed by Hoshang. An action took place, in which Ahmed was again victorious and Hoshang fled a second time to Sarangpur.

Thence he repaired to Mandu to recruit his defeated army, and A. D. 1423. shortly afterwards besieged the fort of Gagrone, which fell into his hands. He also invested Gwalior, but was compelled to raise the siege and return to Mandu. In 1428 he again suffered defeat, A. D. 1428. on this occasion at the hands of the Deccanis under Ahmed Shah Bhāmāni, when his baggage, followers and the ladies of his family remained in the hands of the enemy. His last expedition was against the fort of Kalpi, which he took. From here he returned A. D. 1431. to Mandu and thence to Hoshungabad, where he died in the month of September. He was in the first instance buried here, but his Death of Hoshang, A. D. 1432. body was afterwards removed to Mandu in state and entombed in the splendid mausoleum which still exists. By the help of his minister, Malik Mughis Khilji and of his son Mahmud, Malwa during the last ten years of his reign prospered, and the limits of the Kingdom were much extended.

Third King of  
 the Ghori Dy-  
 nasty, A. D.  
 1432-35.

On Hoshang's death, his son Ghazni Khan, with the title of *Sultan Mahommed Ghori*, succeeded to the throne. It was this prince that ordered his capital to be called "Shadiabad,"<sup>1</sup> or the "City of Joy." Malik Mughis, Hoshang's minister, and his son, Mahmûd, were maintained in power. The Sultan, finding that the Nandod Rajputs were raiding a part of Malwa, despatched his chief minister with an army to chastise them, and leaving all public business in the hands of Mahmûd, abandoned himself to drunkenness and dissipation. After a reign of three years, during which the power of Mahmûd continually increased, he was poisoned by one of the private servants at the instance of his minister. The Ghori Dynasty thus came to an end.

A. D. 1435.

With the reins of power entirely in his hands Mahmûd asked his father to accept the succession, but the latter declined saying that he alone was best able to conduct the affairs of the State.

4th King of  
 Malwa and  
 1st of the  
 Khilji dyn-  
 asty, A.D.  
 1435-69.

Accordingly on the 16th of May 1435, Sultan Mahmûd Khilji ascended the throne in the thirty-fourth year of his age, and was crowned in Mandu with the tiara of Sultan Hoshang. He raised his father to royal dignity, and delivered over exclusively to him the seals of office of prime minister. Shortly after his accession, a revolt among the nobles was quelled, but Ahmed Shah of Gujerat, taking advantage of the discontent, marched to attack Mandu in support of Massaoud Ghori, son of the late King. This attack was repulsed by Mahmûd and his father, and a fatal disease breaking out in Ahmûd's camp he was compelled to retreat to Gujerat. Meantime Mahmûd, after a siege of eight months, took Chanderi, and marching into Gwalior ravaged that territory.

A. D. 1439.

On his return to Mandu he commenced the repairs of the palace of the late Hoshang and completed the mosque and tomb which that chief had begun. In the following year Mahmud received

A. D. 1440.

petitions from the chiefs of Mewat and Delhi stating that Syed Mahomed, King of Delhi, was totally incapable of carrying on the government of the Empire, and inviting him to march to Delhi and ascend the throne. With this invitation, Mahmûd willingly complied, and at once marched towards the capital. Syed Mahomed,

<sup>1</sup> Vide Farishta's History of Malwa. But on the Tarapur Gate, which was completed in A. D. 1406, the name "Shadiabad" and not Mandu is used. Vide infra. Chapter V., Translation of inscription on Tarapur Gate.



in alarm, wished to quit Delhi and fly to the Punjab. He was, however, dissuaded from this purpose, and sent his son to repel the invaders. Mahmûd, hearing the King was not with the Delhi forces, deemed it derogatory to proceed in person; so, keeping an escort of cavalry with him, he ordered the rest of his army under his two sons, Ghias-ud-din and Fidwi Khan, to oppose the enemy. In the engagement which ensued, both armies fought with great valour until sunset, when the retreat was sounded on both sides. On that night Sultan Mahmûd dreamed that he saw an unknown person placed on the throne at Mandu, and being much disturbed on this account was deliberating how to act, when a messenger unexpectedly arrived from Syed Mahomed ordering his son to make peace on any terms. An agreement was immediately come to, and Mahmûd with his army retreated to Mandu.

It is stated as a remarkable fact that on that very night an insurrection took place in the city of Mandu, which was put a stop to only by the resolute and timely exertions of Mahmûd's father. It is also stated, and Farishta says this version appears most probable, that "Mahmûd's return was caused by the rumour of an expected attack from Gujerat." He reached Mandu in 1441, and distributed alms among the poor as a thanks-offering for his safe return. It was in this year that he took up his residence in Nalcha and beautified that place with buildings.

He could not, however, remain long at peace, and during the A. D. 1442- following two years, devoted himself to the conquest of the <sup>43.</sup> Rajput Kingdom of Chitore. In this campaign he was partially successful. It was on the occasion of the capture and destruction of one of the forts<sup>1</sup> in the Chambal District that the defeated Rajputs were compelled to eat the calcined parts of their idols mixed with "pan" in order that Mahmûd might say: "They have eaten their own gods." This fort had frequently and successfully withstood the attacks of the kings of Gujerat, and on its capture, Mahmûd caused public thanksgiving to be made, which every person in the camp was required to attend. In the next year, he completely defeated the Rana of Chitore himself, and compelled that chief to take shelter in his fort. He did not, however, press his advantage, but returned to Mandu, where, in celebration of his successes, he built a beauti-

<sup>1</sup> Kumbhalmir.



ful Tower of Victory,<sup>1</sup> seven stories high, in front of the college which he had founded opposite the mosque of Sultan Hoshang.

It was while supporting him in this campaign that his father<sup>2</sup> died at Mandisaur. On hearing the news, Mahmūd immediately repaired to Mandisaur alone, caused the remains of his departed parent to be enbalmcd and conveyed to Mandu, "and became so distracted with grief that he tore his hair and raved like one bereft of his senses."

A. D. 1445.

In 1445 he occupied himself with an attack on the districts of Kalpi and Jaunpur, and quartered himself in Fatehabad, "where he built a palace seven stories high." He returned to Mandu in the following year and founded a large hospital<sup>3</sup> and appointed his own physician, Maulana Fazl Ullah, to superintend it. The establishment provided wards and attendants for all patients and "even apartments for maniacs." In 1446 he reduced the strongholds of Mandelgarh and Anandpur, and compelled the Raja of Kotah and Bundi to pay tribute, and in 1450 marched to the assistance of the Raja of Champaner, who had been attacked by Mahomed Shah, son of Ahmed Shah of Gujerat. On this occasion, Mahomed Shah was compelled to retreat to Ahmedabad with the loss of all his camp equipage and military stores. It was at

A. D. 1451.

this period that Mahmūd determined to conquer Gujerat. Accordingly, with an army 100,000 strong, he marched against Ahmedabad and encamped at Sirkej. The Gujerat army under Kutub Shah<sup>4</sup> lay at Khampur, six miles distant. In the battle which followed, Mahmūd himself led the centre of his line, while his sons Ghiasud-din and Fidwi Khan commanded the flanks. The King with a small escort made a dash on the royal pavilion, and actually succeeded in carrying off the crown of Gujerat; but the main body of his army was completely defeated, and he was compelled to retreat to Mandu. "It is worthy of remark," says Farishta, "that Sultan Mahmūd never experienced a defeat before or after during his reign."

<sup>1</sup> See Chap. V. Unfortunately this Tower, which must have formed one of Mandu's greatest monuments, is now a total ruin.

<sup>2</sup> Malik Moghis.

<sup>3</sup> The site of this building cannot now be located.

<sup>4</sup> Successor of Mahomed Shah.



In 1453 he concluded a treaty of peace with Gujerat, and entered A. D. 1453. into an alliance with that State, against the Rajputs of Mewar. In this campaign which was varied by a raid into the Deccan, he captured the fortress of Ajmere, and in a combat with the Rana Kumbu of Chitore (although Farishta does not admit it) must have suffered severe defeat, as it was in commemoration of this battle that the Column of Victory still standing in Chitore, was built.

In 1466 peace was concluded between Malwa and the Deccan, and it was agreed that Kherla should be retained by Malwa and considered the southern limit of the kingdom.

Meantime the fame of Mahmûd's successes had spread far and wide. The Kalifa of Egypt sent him an embassy with a letter in which he was styled "Defender of the Faithful." He was also visited by one Sheik Alla-ud-din, said to be one of the most holy men of the time, and other noted religious personages. In 1467 the King of Bokhara, ancestor of the Moghul Emperors, also honoured him with an embassy. Much flattered by this mark of attention, Sultan Mahmûd loaded the ambassador with honours and presents of every description, amongst these, which included elephants, horses, dancing girls, and slaves "a few mynas and parrots which had been taught the Persian language."

In 1469, after a campaign against the Kichiwara zamindars of Malwa, the great Mahmûd died at the age of sixty-eight. Farishta says of him: May 27, A. D. 1469.

"He was polite, brave, just, and learned. His tent was his home and his resting-place the field of battle. His leisure hours were devoted to hearing recitations from the histories and memoirs of the courts of different kings of the earth. He prided himself, not without reason, on his intimate knowledge of human nature. His justice was prompt and exact; if a theft was committed, a sum equal to the amount stolen was levied from the police and the injured party thus reimbursed. He ordered the destruction of tigers and other wild beasts, and proclaimed that if after a period of two years a human being was killed by a wild beast, unless in attacking it, he would hold the governor of the district responsible. The promptitude he observed in making his actions accord with his words

was so well understood that for many years after his death wild beasts of any description were scarce throughout the kingdom."

5th King of  
 Malwa and  
 2nd of the  
 Khilji dynas-  
 ty. A. D.  
 1469.

Sultan *Ghias-ud-din*, the eldest son of Mahmūd, ascended the throne on the death of his father. He compensated his brother, *Fidwi Khan*, with the gift of the government of Rintumbore in perpetuity, and appointed his own son, *Abdul Khader*, Prime Minister and heir-apparent with the title of *Nasir-ud-din*.

It was during the reign of this prince that Mandu justified its name of *Shadiabad*. Shortly after his accession, the king gave a grand entertainment and addressing his officers stated that as during the last thirty years he had been constantly employed in the field, fighting under the banners of his illustrious father, he now yielded up the sword to his son, that he himself might enjoy ease for the rest of his days. He accordingly established within his seraglio all the separate offices of a court, and it is said had at one time 15,000 women within his palace. Amongst these were school-mistresses, musicians, dancers, embroiderers; women to read prayers, and persons of all trades and professions. Five hundred beautiful young Turki girls in men's clothes, uniformly clad and armed with bows and quivers, stood on his right hand. On his left were five hundred Abyssinian females, also uniformly dressed and armed with fire-arms. Each dweller in the city of women received her daily dole of grain and coppers, and besides them were many pensioners, such as mice, parrots and pigeons, which similarly received their daily allowance.

With all these extraordinary fancies, the lord of the city of pleasure was extremely religious. None of the five daily prayers passed unprayed. If he was asleep, the attendants were authorized to use every exertion to prevent his missing the hour of prayer. And *Farishta* writes: "It is well known that they have even sprinkled water on his face and pulled him out of bed before he would rise, but that on these occasions he was never known to lose his temper."

The following extract from Mr. J. Campbell's paper on Mandu fittingly describes the time:—

"The king's spirit of peace steeped the land, which like its ruler after thirty years of fighting yearned for rest. For fourteen



years neither inward malcontent nor foreign foe broke the calm. When in 1482 Bahlol Lodi advanced from Delhi against Malwa, the talk of Mandu was of Bahlol's approach; but no whisper of it passed into the charmed city of women. At last the son-minister forced his way to the king's presence. At the news of pressing danger, the soldier spirit awoke, and Ghias-ud-din's orders for meeting the invasion were so prompt and well planned that the King of Delhi payed a ransom and withdrew. A second period of rest followed, and ended with Nasar-ud-din once more forcing his way into the Presence.

The son presented his father, now an aged man of eighty, with A. D. 1500. a cup of sherbet and bade him drink. The king, whose armlet of bezvar stone had already twice made poison harmless, drew the stone from his arm. He thanked the Almighty for granting him unworthy the happiest life that had ever fallen to the lot of man, and prayed that the sin of his death might not be laid to his son's charge. He then drank the poison and died." <sup>1</sup>

With reference to this crime, it is explained that the younger brother, Allah-ud-din, in view of their father's advanced age, resolved either to depose his elder brother (Nasir-ud-din) after his accession, or to cut him off before his father's death. The contention between the two princes rose to such a height that the elder brother was obliged to fly from Mandu. Having collected a force, A. D. 1499. however, he returned and besieged the fort, and using the influence which as Prime Minister he had gained during the whole of his father's reign won over certain officers within, who opened the Tarapur gate for his admission. On his entrance, Allah-ud-din A. D. 1500. fled to his father's palace, and Nasir-ud-din following him closely put him to death as well as all his children and the whole of his family. He then assumed the reins of government, and was formally crowned. A few days afterwards his father was found dead in the Seraglio.

On his succession to the throne, *Nasir-ud-din* had to deal with a 6th King of series of domestic feuds. Sher Khan of Chanderi, who was joined Malwa, and by the Governor of Mandisaur and other malcontent nobles, 3rd of Khilji dynasty. raised the standard of rebellion. In this and the following year, A. D. 1500-12.

<sup>1</sup> Journal of Bombay Branch of R. A. Society, † Article XI, "Mandu," by J. M. Campbell, Esq., LL.D., etc. Vol. XIX., No. LII.

however, they were defeated and the rebellion quelled. On his return to Mandu, Nasir-ud-din gave himself up to debauchery, and further devoted himself to discover and put to death all the adherents of his brother. His personal servants even did not escape his cruelty. It is said that one day whilst lying in a state of intoxication on the verge of a reservoir he fell into it, and was pulled out by four of his female slaves. On awaking with a violent headache, the women in order to account for his condition mentioned what had occurred, at which he was so enraged that he drew his sword and killed them all with his own hands.

A. D. 1502.

In 1502, the king marched to attack the Rajputs of Kichiwarā, and on arriving at Akbarpur,<sup>1</sup> built a splendid palace, which was much admired at that time. Having plundered the Kichiwarā country, he returned to Mandu, and in the following year proceeded towards Chitore. Here he succeeded in extracting a large present in money from the Rana, and procured as a wife a daughter of one of the Rajput nobles. He also directed a campaign against Ahmed Nizam Shah of the Deccan, who had attacked the Chief of Khandesh, then subordinate to Malwa. The result of these operations was that the Deccan Chief retired to Ahmednagar, while Nasir-ud-din's forces occupied Burhanpur.

A. D. 1512.

In 1512, the nobles, wearied and disgusted with the persecutions and cruelty of Nasir-ud-din, persuaded his son, Shahab-ud-din, to assume the government. For this purpose, the latter left Mandu and collected a large force, but was opposed and defeated by the king and thereupon fled to Delhi. Farishta says that shortly after this Sultan Nasir-ud-din was seized with a fever brought on by excess at the town of Bhurtpur, from which illness he died. But another version, which is confirmed by Jehangir's memoirs, has it, that he repeated his former experiences in the reservoir, whence on this occasion no pitying female pulled him out.

A. D. 1502.

Prior to his death, he had nominated his third son Mahmūd as his successor.

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<sup>1</sup> It is difficult to locate this place. Campbell identifies it with the village of Akbarpur on the S. bank of the Narbada about 15 miles from Mandu. It is true there are ruins of what was evidently once a fort, but these ruins have no suggestion of magnificence and bear no resemblance to those of Mandu. Moreover the Kichiwarā country lies far to the north of Mandu, the Chiefs of Raghugarh being the present descendants of the old Kichiwarā Rajputs, who troubled so much the Kings of Malwa.



He was buried at Mandu and the Emperor Jehangir thus describes his visit to his tomb : "It is related that when during his reign Sher Khan Afghan Sur visited Nasir-ud-din's grave, he ordered his attendants to flagellate the parricide's tomb. When I visited the sepulchre, I kicked his grave and ordered those with me to do the same. Not satisfied with this, I ordered his bones to be dug up and burned, and the ashes to be thrown into the Nerbada." A.D. 1540-55.

Mahmûd on his succession assumed the title of *Mahmûd the 7th King of Malwa, 4th of Khilji dynasty, A. D. 1512-30.* As showing the wealth and power to which the Mandu Kings had now attained, Farishta relates that at his coronation no fewer than seven hundred elephants with velvet trappings embroidered in gold formed part of the procession. A revolt on the part of Mahafiz Khan, Commandant of Mandu, made with the object of securing the succession of Nasir-ud-din's second son, prince Sahib Khan, forced Mahmûd to leave his capital. The king, however, succeeded in attracting to his standard many of the nobles of the surrounding districts, chief amongst them being Medni Rai, a Rajput. With his army he returned towards Mandu, and a severe engagement took place, the result of which was eventually decided by the gallant conduct of Medni Rai and his Rajput infantry. Sahib Khan was obliged to take refuge in the fort, and Sultan Mahmûd in consideration of their relationship was ready to offer him terms. These, however, were refused, on which Mahmûd commenced a regular siege, and Sahib Khan and Mohafiz Khan, fearing treachery from within, fled to Gujerat.

During the next few years, Medni Rai, who had acquired A. D. 1513. complete control over the king, succeeded in removing the Mahomedans from all posts of influence, and in becoming practical arbiter of the State. On one occasion, Mahmûd, recognizing that power was going from his hands, endeavoured to improve the situation by dismissing his entire Rajput army. Medni Rai, however, gained him over, and the Rajputs remained. A second time, apparently irritated beyond endurance by the helplessness of his position, he ordered his attendants to waylay Medni Rai and a certain Rajput officer Saliwahan, and to kill them. They were accordingly attacked, and the latter was killed, but Medni Rai escaped to his house. The Rajputs hearing of the death of Saliwahan attacked the palace, but the king, "who though a



A. D. 1517.

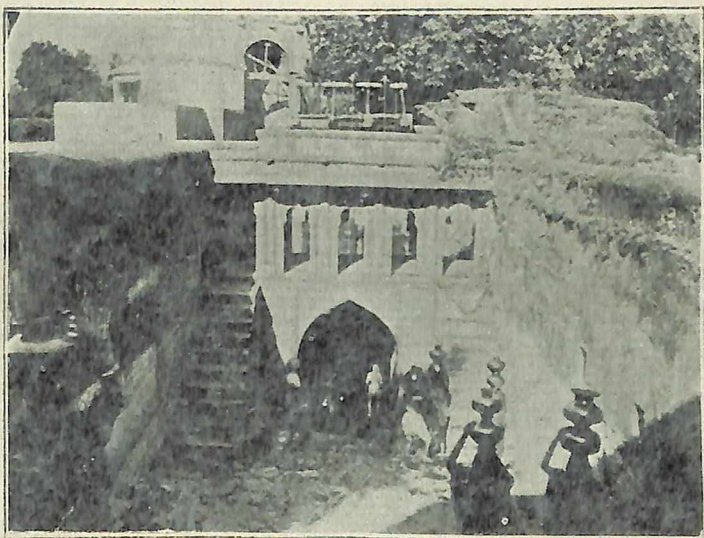
fool had not his equal in courage in the hour of danger," beat them back. Eventually Medni Rai was again taken into favour, but being ever after suspicious of his master's intentions, he always attended the palace with an escort of five hundred men. "This measure so greatly disturbed the king's mind," says Farishta, "that one night, leaving the fort of Mandu with one horseman and a few foot-attendants, he did not draw rein till he arrived on the borders of Gujerat." Here he was well received and after collecting an army, Muzaffar, king of Gujerat, accompanied him towards Malwa.

Having arrived at Dhar, which immediately surrendered, the two kings marched to Mandu and laid siege to that fortress. After a close investment, which lasted some months, Mandu was taken by assault, and it is said that 19,000 Rajputs were slain including those who were destroyed in the performance of the *Javar*, i.e., ceremony involving the sacrifice of their women and children on a funeral pile. While Sultan Mahmūd entered Mandu, Muzaffar withdrew to Dhar, where he received an invitation from Mahmūd as follows : "Mandu is a splendid fort, you should come and see it;" to which Muzaffar replied: "May Mandu bring good fortune to Sultan Mahmūd—he is the master of the fort. For the sake of the Lord I came to his help. On Friday I will go to the fortress, and having read the prayers in Mahmūd's name, I will return." Having thus visited Mandu, where he was magnificently entertained, the generous Muzaffar retired to Gujerat, leaving a force of three thousand men to help to guard the hill. Immediately afterwards Mahmūd marched against Medni Rai, and Rana Sanga of Chitore coming to the assistance of the latter, a great battle was fought. Despite the extraordinary bravery which Mahmūd showed on this occasion, the Malwa army was totally defeated, and the king himself, covered with wounds, was taken prisoner. Rana Sanga treated him with every mark of attention, dressed his wounds, and attended him in person, and after his recovery furnished him with an escort of a thousand Rajput horse and sent him to Mandu, where he reassumed the reins of government.

A. D. 1526.

In 1526, by giving protection to his outlawed brother Chand Khan, and to Razi-ul-mulk, a refugee Gujerat noble, Mahmūd incurred the wrath of Bahadur Shah, who had succeeded his father Muzaffar on the throne of Gujerat.





A WELL IN THE DHAR CITY.



Bahadur apparently did not wish to press matters to extremity, and it was only when it was evident that Mahmūd did not desire a peaceful settlement that he advanced against Mandu. Mahmūd defended the place with 3,000 men, and the defence was gallantly maintained until the Gujaratis having scaled Songarh rushed down the slope and burst into the fort.

May 20th,  
A. D. 1523.

Mahmūd was forced to surrender, and would probably have received kind treatment, but his temper got the better of his judgment, and he abused his conqueror to his face, whereupon he was despatched with his seven sons to the fort of Champaner. On the way the detachment was attacked by 2,000 Bhils and Kolis at Dohad. Asuf Khan, the commander of the escort, imagining that the assault was made with the purpose of effecting Mahmūd's release, ordered him and his sons to be put to death. Thus ended the Khilji dynasty, and until 1534 Mandu remained under Gujerat.

A. D. 1526,  
End of Khiljī  
dynasty.

In that year, Humayun Badshah marched against Gujerat, and having defeated Bahadur Shah at Mandisaur followed him to Mandu. He succeeded in capturing the fort in the same way that Bahadur had surprised Mahmūd's garrison. Sending two hundred men to the back of the fortress, they scaled the south-west heights of Songarh and opened the gate to let in their compatriots. Bahadur apprised by Mallū Khan of what had happened rushed out with four or five attendants, and being joined by some 20 others reached the gate by which Humayun's troops had entered. Cutting their way through these they gained the citadel of Songarh, and while two of Bahadur's chiefs, Suddar Khan and Sultan Alam Lodi, maintained themselves in the citadel, Bahadur himself let his horses down the cliffs by ropes, and after a thousand difficulties made his way to Champaner. On the following day, Saddar Khan and Alam Lodi surrendered to Humayun.

A. D. 1534.  
Conquest of  
Mandu by  
Humayun.

In 1535, owing to the revolt in Bengal, Humayun was forced to retire from Gujerat and withdrew to Mandu. Thence, as fortune was still against him, he returned to Agra.

Shortly afterwards, Mallū Khan, one of the officers of the late Khilji dynasty, retook all the country lying between the Nerbada and the town of Bhilsa, and had himself crowned in Mandu under the title of Khadar Shah of Malwa. It was about this time that he received from Sher Shah, then king of Bengal, a letter written



in the form of an order<sup>1</sup> requiring him to co-operate against the king of Delhi. Khadar Shah was so incensed at receiving a document of this kind that he sent a reply written in similar form. When Sher Shah received the answer, he tore off the seal and putting it on the point of his sword said: "God willing, if I ever meet with Khadar Shah, I will put him in mind of his impertinence in putting his seal on the face of a letter to my address." Consequently when that monarch ascended the throne of Delhi he marched against Malwa.

A. D. 1545.

A. D. 1545-53.

Khadar Shah went to do homage at Sarangpur, where he was well received, though his kingdom was given to Shujaat Khan. Nervous at what would next happen, Khadar Shah fled to Gujerat. Later, however, he returned with a large force and attacked Mandu, the Governor of which was then Hajee Khan. Hearing of his arrival, Shujaat Khan immediately proceeded to Dhar, and attacking Khadar Shah forthwith completely defeated him. During the reign of Sher Shah's successor, Selim Shah, Shujaat was forced to leave Malwa, but was eventually pardoned by Selim and reinstated in his government. He died in 1554 and was succeeded by his eldest son, Malik Bajazeed, who assumed the title of Baz Bahadur.

Farishta says: "Among the public works which do credit to Shujaat's memory is the town of Shujaalpur near the city of Ujjain, independent of which are many other memorials of his reign in different parts of Malwa." So far as is known, none of the ruins of Mandu are connected with this chief.

A. D. 1555.

After defeating and killing his brother Daulut Khan, who had control of the Ujjain and Sarangpur districts, and asserting his authority in other parts of Malwa, Bajazeed was crowned at Mandu under the title above mentioned. He then undertook a campaign against the Gonds, but his army having been drawn into an ambush, he was completely defeated and had to make his way alone to Sarangpur. Baz Bahadur was so much affected by this disgraceful defeat that to drive away the memory of it he abandoned himself to pleasure.

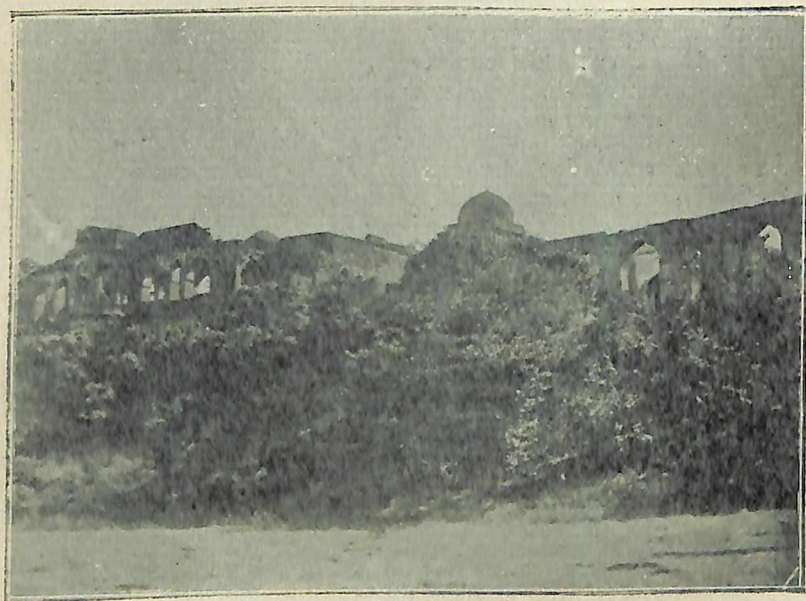
At this period the science of music had attained considerable perfection in Malwa, and it is said that Baz Bahadur devoted himself to its cultivation and encouragement. His attachment to

<sup>1</sup> Parwana as opposed to a Kharita.



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THE PALACE OF BAZ BAHADUR.

Rup Mati at that time became notorious, and the "Loves of Baz Bahadur and Rup Mati" have been handed down to posterity in song.

The following is one of the stories : Baz Bahadur, the last king of Malwa, a young and gallant prince, passionately fond of music, was one day hunting in the forest bordering the right bank of the Nerbada. Having outridden all his retinue, he was in eager pursuit, when his ear was attracted by the most exquisite flood of melody from a neighbouring glade. He followed the sound and soon reached the spot, where seated 'neath a *bargat*<sup>1</sup> tree a young Hindu maiden was singing to the woods and to the deer and birds which had thronged thither to listen to her voice. He was dazzled by her beauty and enchanted by her unrivalled song. Her conversation riveted his love. He strove to win her heart and hand.

The first was speedily his, but the splendid lot to which he wooed her could not tempt her to dishonour the sacred race from which she sprang. She replied to all his overtures : "When the Nerbada shall flow through Mandu, I will be thy bride, but not till then."

"Mandu is elevated by precipices at least 1,200 feet above the Nerbada ; nevertheless, Baz Bahadur determined that the river should obey the voice of love, and climb the mountain height. He assembled the strength of his kingdom, axe in hand, to try the force of art. The river god, dreading to measure his strength against the majesty of love, rose before the astonished people in the form of a giant, whose forehead was lost in the skies. "Desist," he cried, "from thy rash attempt, but receive the well-merited reward of thy love ;—repair to Mandu, to a spot which overlooks our flood ; search there for our sacred tamarisk and dig wherever it is found ; beneath it, thou shalt come to a pure spring which, being tributary to us, is part of our divinity. Thither bear thy bride, to live as she has often sworn to live, upon the borders of her natal river."

"The king obeyed, he found the tamarisk and the spring, he dug the reservoir, he built near it a palace, and constructed a fine aqueduct to lead the waters of the fountain<sup>2</sup> to the baths of the palace."

<sup>1</sup> *Ficus parasitica*.

<sup>2</sup> The Rewa Kund—*vide* map.



"Rup Mati's father, who was the Thakur of Dharampuri, having heard these things, the maiden was condemned by him, who fondly loved her but in whose race the pride of caste is a besetting sin, to drain the poisoned bowl of Durga,—her corpse to be consumed on a funeral pile, and her ashes to be scattered over the sacred waters of the Nerbada. She chants the Song of Death, but when about to drink the bowl, the Prince of Mandu rides up, and after a manly combat carries off Rup Mati to Mandu to become his queen."

The temple on the bank of the Nerbada is still shown at Dharampuri, on which Rup Mati's Gurn nightly lit his lamp to mark for the Hindu maiden the line of the sacred stream.

But to revert to history, Akbar taking advantage of the condition of Malwa under Baz Bahadur, despatched an army with Adham Khan in command to occupy the country. Baz Bahadur heard nothing of the movement until the Moghuls had arrived close to Sarangpur. He immediately collected an army and entering on the field of action "with as little concern as if going into the company of females" he led the attack. Although he personally behaved with the greatest gallantry, his troops deserting him, he was compelled to fly and took refuge with Miran Mobarik of Khandesh in Asirgarh.

Meantime Pir Mahomed, who had succeeded Adham Khan as Governor of Malwa, followed Baz Bahadur into Khandesh, and penetrating as far as Burhanpur, totally devastated the country. On this Miran Mubarik Khan called Fazal Khan of Berar to his aid, and an alliance was formed. The Moghul troops glutted by debauch, refused to fight, and their leader was compelled to retreat towards Malwa. The allied forces immediately followed, and an action was fought on the banks of the Nerbada, in which the Moghuls were totally defeated, and Pir Mahomed himself with many others was drowned in the river. The confederates continued their march to Mandu, where Baz Bahadur again assumed the reins of government. Scarcely had he done so, however, when Akbar despatched a second army under Abdullah Khan Uzbek to again conquer Malwa. Baz Bahadur on this occasion apparently offered no resistance, but fled to Gondwana, where he remained, except for occasional sallies against the Moghul power until 1570, when he gave himself up to Akbar, and was appointed a commander of 2,000 cavalry. He died some time prior to 1590, and according to the

A. D. 1561.

A. D. 1570.

Āin-i-Akbari "Baz Bahadur and his Rup Mati are buried together. Their tomb stands in the middle of a tank at Ujjain."

In 1573 Abdullah Khan, having evinced symptoms of revolt, Akbar had made a sudden incursion into Malwa. Abdullah retreated to Gujerat, but opposed such a steady resistance to the king that the latter, who was accompanied by a small body of cavalry only, had to retreat to Mandu. Here Farishta records he spent some time in viewing the buildings erected by the Khilji kings, and it was here he married the daughter of Mubarik, King of Khandesh, who came to do him homage. Abul Fazl refers to Mandu at this period as being one of the 28 towns in the Empire where copper coins were minted.

In 1584 Mirza Aziz Koka, foster-brother of Akbar, was Governor of Malwa, and in 1590 was succeeded by Shab-ud-din Ahmed Khan, who died in the same year, and was followed by the Emperor's own son Prince Murād Mirza. It was at this time (A. D. 1592) that Akbar again visited Mandu, when on his way to the Deccan. Mirza Aziz Koka, who had been transferred to Gujerat, having started on a pilgrimage to Mekka without leave, Prince Murād was ordered thither, and Shahrukh Mirza, to whom Akbar had married one of his daughters two years previously, was appointed Governor of Malwa, and held the appointment until 1605.

Meantime Mirza Khan, the son of Byrām, known as the Khan Khanān, halted for some time at Mandu while on his way to chastise the Chiefs of the Deccan. Later, Akbar sent his son Daniāl with powerful reinforcements for the same purpose, and in the same year he himself followed and again took up his residence in Mandu. Akbar returned to Agra from the conquest of the Deccan in 1602, and died there three years afterwards.

Although during this time Mandu continued to be nominally one of the four capitals of the Empire, it is evident that with the final overthrow of Baz Bahadur it lost its former lustre. We learn from Jehangir, who visited it twelve years after Akbar's death, and thanks to whose magnificence the ancient fortress again could bear its long-forgotten title of Shadiabad that the buildings had fallen into disrepair so complete that an expenditure of three lakhs was necessary to render them habitable. Of the condition of Mandu at this time one cannot do better than let the Imperial diarist speak for himself.



His entry into Mandu he describes as follows : —

“On Monday, the 23rd of Ispandád, the last month of the Persian year, when one quarter of the day had passed, I mounted my elephant, and, in good fortune and under kindly influences, made my happy entry into the fort of Mandu. About an hour (three *ghadis*) later, I entered the quarters which had been prepared to receive me. During my passage across the hill-top, I scattered Rs.15,000. Before my arrival, Abdul Karim, the Engineer, had been sent by me to repair the buildings of the former kings of Mandu. While my fortunate standards were at Ajmere, Abdul Karim repaired such of the old Mandu buildings as were fit to be repaired, and built others anew. On the whole, he had provided quarters for me, the like of which have probably never been built in any other place. Three lakhs of rupees were spent on these repairs and buildings. I wish it had been possible to construct buildings like these in all cities likely to be visited by royalty.”

“This fortress,” he continues, “stands on the top of a hill about thirty-six miles (18 kos) in circumference. They say that before the days of Raja Bikramájit, a king was reigning over these parts, whose name was Jaising Deva. In his time, a man went to the forest to cut grass. When he brought the grass back, he found that the blade of his sickle had turned yellow. The grass-cutter in his surprise went to Mándan, an ironsmith. Mándan knew that the sickle was gold. He had heard that in those parts was to be found the philosopher’s stone, whose touch turns iron and copper into gold. He told the grass-cutter to lead him to the place where the sickle had turned yellow, and there he found the philosopher’s stone. The smith presented this treasure to his king. The king amassed untold wealth, part of which he spent in building Mandu fortress, which he completed in twelve years. At the request of the smith, on most of the stones in the walls a mark was cut in the form of an anvil. Towards the

close of his life, when king Jaising Deva withdrew his heart from the world, he called many Brahmins together on the bank of the Nerbada close to Mandu. He gave each Brahmin a share of his wealth, and to the Brahmin, in whom he had the greatest faith, he gave the philosopher's stone. Enraged at the gift of a paltry stone, the Brahmin threw it into the Nerbada, and there the philosopher's stone still lies." The Emperor continues : " On the 20th of Farwardán, five weeks after my arrival (11th April 1617), in reward for his services in repairing the buildings of Mandu, I conferred on my Engineer, Abdul Karim, the command of 12,000 horse, with the title of Maâmúr Khan."

The sporting instincts of the Emperor were fully gratified, and numerous entries regarding his shooting expeditions occur :—

"On the fourth of the first month of Farwardán (16th March), the watchmen of the chase brought word that they had marked down a lion near the Sagar lake, which is a construction of the ancient rulers of Mandu. I mounted and proceeded towards the lake. When the lion broke cover he attacked and wounded ten or twelve of the *Ahádís* (*garde du corps*) and other men of my retinue. In the end, I brought him down with three gunshots and saved God's creatures from his evil. On the 22nd of the same month (3rd April 1617) the watchmen brought news of a tiger. I mounted forthwith and despatched him with three bullets. On the 7th of Adi'Bihisht (18th April 1617) the watchmen brought word that they had marked down four tigers. At one in the afternoon I started for the place with Núr Jehan Begum. Nur Jehan asked my leave to shoot the tigers with her gun. I said : 'Be it so.' In a trice she killed these four tigers with six bullets. I had never seen such shooting. To shoot from the back of an elephant, from within a closed howdah, and bring down with six bullets four wild beasts, without giving them an opportunity of moving or springing, is wonderful. In acknowledgment of this capital marksmanship, I ordered a thousand Ashrafis



(Rs.4,500) to be scattered over Nur Jehan, and granted her a pair of ruby wristlets worth a lakh of rupees."

The rains at that time were evidently more copious than they have been lately. Rain, it is said, fell for forty days continuously, and Jehangir's description of the break which follows is delightful: "What words of mine can describe the beauty of the grass and of the wild flowers! They clothe each hill and dale, each slope and plain. I know of no place so pleasant in climate and so pretty in scenery as Mandu in the rainy season. This month of July, which is one of the months of the hot season, the sun being in Leo, one cannot sleep within the house without a coverlet, and during the day there is no need for a fan. What I have noticed is but a small part of the many beauties of Mandu. Two things I have seen here which I had seen nowhere in India: one of them is the tree of the wild plantain which grows all over the hill-top; the other is the nest of the mamolah or wagtail. Till now no birdcatcher could tell its nest. It so happened that in the building where I lodged we found a wagtail's nest with two young ones."

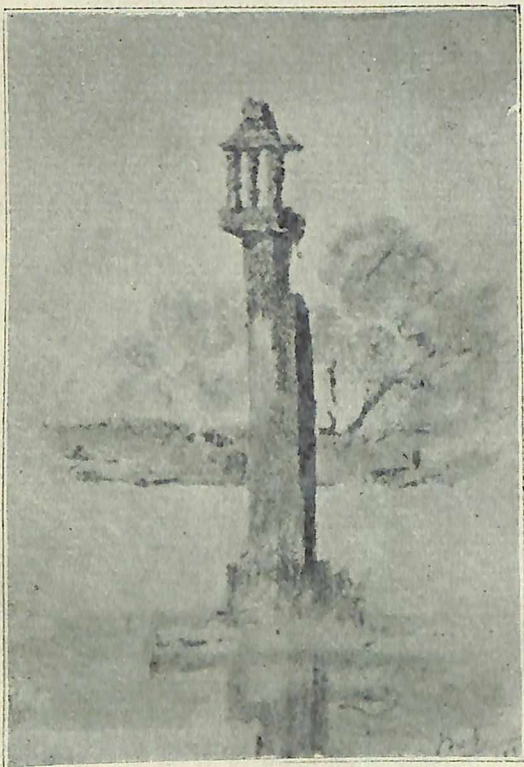
Another entry refers to a punitive expedition against a local Hindu Chief:—

"On the first of Tir, the fourth month of the Persian year (15th May 1617), the Hindu Chiefs of the neighbourhood came to pay their respects and present a tribute. The Hindu Chief of Jaitpúr, in the neighbourhood of Mandu, through his evil fortune, did not come to kiss the threshold. For this reason I ordered Fidáikhán to pillage the Jaitpúr country at the head of thirteen officers and four or five hundred matchlockmen. On the approach of Fidáikhán the Chief fled. He is now reported to regret his past conduct, and to intend to come to the Court and make his submission. On the 9th of Júr, the sixth month of the Persian Calendar (late July A. D. 1617), I heard that while raiding the lands of the Chief of Jaitpúr, Rúh-ul-Alh, the brother of Fidáikhán, was slain with a lance in the village where the Chief's wives and children were in hiding. The village was burned, and the women and daughters of the rebel Chief were taken captives."



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ANCIENT STONE LANTERN, NALCHA TANK.

Of its social delights he writes as follows :—

“On the evening of Thursday, the 19th of Amárdád, the fifth month of the Persian year (early July, A. D. 1617), I went with the ladies of the palace to see the buildings and palaces on the Ságar Lake which were built by the old kings of Mandu. The 26th of Amárdád (about mid July) was the Shab-i-Barát holiday. I ordered a jubilee or assembly of joy to be held on the occasion in one of the palaces occupied by Núr Jehan Begum in the midst of the big lake. The nobles and others were invited to attend this party which was organized by the Begum, and I ordered the cup and other intoxicants with various fruits and minced meats to be given to all who wished them. It was a wonderful gathering. As evening set in, the lanterns and lamps gleaming along the banks of the lake made an illumination such as never had been seen. The countless lights with which the palaces and buildings were ablaze shining on the lake made the whole surface of the lake appear to be on fire.”

During his stay in Mandu, Jehangir received a visit from his eldest son, afterwards the Emperor Shah Jehan, who had returned from his victorious campaign in the Deccan. His last entry regarding Mandu is :—

“On the night of Friday, in the month of Abán, in all happiness and good fortune I marched from Mandu and halted on the bank of the lake of Nalcha.”

Sir Thomas Roe, the ambassador from King James to the Great Moghul, accompanied Jehangir in his march from Ajmere to Mandu, and has left numerous records of that time.<sup>1</sup>

Shah Jehan spent the rains of 1622 in Mandu, and in 1627 appointed Khan Jehan Lodi as Governor of Malwa. There is no record of Aurangzebe having visited the place, except an inscription on the Alamgir gate to the effect that it was repaired by his order.

The Mahrattas took Mandu for the first time in 1696, but retired again to the south almost immediately. As already recorded, Udaji Rao Puar<sup>2</sup> occupied the Fort in 1709, and the Mahomedan

<sup>1</sup> See Roe in Kerr's "Travels" IX.

<sup>2</sup> Ancestor of the present Chief,

A. D. 1696.  
 The Mahrattas' invasion.



supremacy finally came to an end with the Mahratta victory at Tirla in 1734. From that time onwards, Mandu has remained deserted except for a short period at the commencement of the last century, when it sheltered Maina Bai, the famous Rani of Dhar, against the attacks of Sindhia and Holkar, and where she gave birth to her son, Ramchunder Rao Puar. Fifteen years later, Malcolm in his history describes the hill as a resort of religious mendicants. Colonel Briggs, the translator of Farishta, writing in 1827, says :—

A. D. 1805.

“ Perhaps no part of India so abounds with tigers as the once famous city of Mandu. The capital, now deserted by man, is overgrown by forest, and from being the seat of luxury, elegance, and wealth, it has become the abode of wild beasts, and is resorted to by the few Europeans in that quarter for the pleasure of destroying them.”

A. D. 1839.

Fergusson, twelve years later, describes the vegetation as tearing the buildings of the city to pieces, and obscuring them so that they could hardly be seen, and in 1844 “ A Bombay Subaltern ” writes that it was dangerous to venture unarmed among the ruins of the Jahaz Mahal, as it was a favourite retreat for tigers.

A. D. 1844.

The times have changed. No tiger has been seen in Mandu for the last thirty years, and the once famous capital is now the headquarters of a small Tehsil of the Dhar State.

## CHAPTER V.

### *Mandu — its Buildings.*

In the *Âin-i-Akbari*, Abul Fazl describes Mandu as a large city, the circumference of which is 12 “Kos.” He mentions the existence “of Mahmud Khilji’s Tower of Victory, and adds that for some period Mandu was the seat of Government, and stately edifices still recall their ancient Lords.” “Here are the tombs of the Khilji Sultans \* \* \* Here the tamarind (*Adansonia digitata*) grows as large as a cocoanut and its kernel is extremely white.”<sup>1</sup>

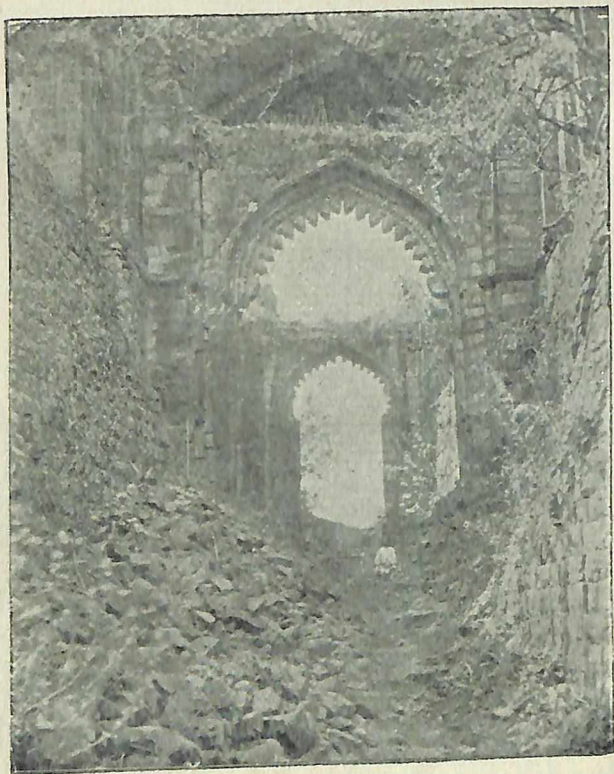
Twenty years later (circa, A. D. 1612), Farishta thus describes the place :—

<sup>1</sup> *Âin-i-Akbari*, Vol. II., Jarrett’s translation, p. 196.



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THE DELHI GATE.

"This fortification is one of the most extraordinary in the world. It is built on the summit of an isolated mountain, said to be 18 kos (28 miles) in circumference. The place of a regular ditch is supplied by a ravine, formed by nature round the fortification, which is so deep that it seems impossible to take the fort by regular approaches. Within the fort is abundance of water and forage, though there is not sufficient space for the purposes of cultivation. Any army besieging Mandu must confine its operations chiefly to blockading the roads; for it is scarcely possible to invest a place of such extent. Many of the roads from the fort are steep and difficult of access. That leading to the south, known by the name of Tarapur gate, is so rough and steep that cavalry can with difficulty be led up. The road on the north, leading to the Delhi gate, is by far the most easy of access."

It is by this road that we now enter Mandu.

Descending the slope and crossing the neck of land which connects the hill with the main Vindhyan Range, the lower fortifications are entered at the Alamgir gate, which bears the following inscription:—

The Alamgir Gate.

"In the time of Alamgir Aurangzeb, the ruler of the world, this gate resembling the skies in altitude was built anew. In the year A. H. 1079 the work of renewal was begun and completed by the endeavour of the exalted Khan Muhammed Beg Khan from the accession of the Emperor of the world, Aurangzeb, this was the eleventh year by way of writing history."

The old road leads thence by a stone causeway over the ancient ditch to a second gate known as the Banghi Darwaza, where tradition has it that on the completion of the fort and of this gateway a sweeper was immured alive.

The Banghi Gate.

Continuing onwards, the old paved road rises sharply to the edge of the plateau where stands the Delhi gate which, although much ruined, still preserves its elegance and beauty of outline. No inscription is available to show when this gate was built.

The Delhi Gate.

It may be convenient to mention here the other gates on the hill.



The "Ghari Darwaza." Close to the Delhi gate to the east is that now known as the "Ghari Darwaza," i.e., Carriage Gate. The road leading up to it leaves the old paved roadway close to the Alamgir gate, and is the only entrance into Mandu practicable for wheeled traffic. This gate also bears no inscription, and has no architectural interest.

The Rampol Gate. Continuing round the edge of the hill eastwards we come to the Rampol gate at a short distance from the modern village of Mandu, and about 50 yards from the edge of the cliff. This gate, which has no inscription and is not mentioned in any history, is somewhat difficult to explain, as no roadway leads from it to the valley. It is obviously of very ancient date and would seem to be a relic of the old Hindu city.

The Jehangir-pur Gate. The Jehangirpur gate gives access from Gujri to the eastern portion of the fort. Its construction is ascribed to the time of Jehangir, when a Pergannah of the same name was created. The revenue division still exists in name, but in fact the village of Jehangirpur is deserted, except for a few Bhil huts, and the head-quarters of the Pergannah are now at Gujri, four miles distant in the valley below. The road down the hill is a mere track. There is no inscription on this gate, but the ancient walls on either side are in good preservation.

The Bhagwan-ia Gate. On the southern face of the hill overlooking Nimar and the Nerbada valley are the Bhagwan-ia and Tarapur gates, named after the two villages at the foot of the hill to which each of them leads. The view from both gates is magnificent, and the Tarapur gate is particularly interesting both on account of its inscriptions and of the historical struggles for the possession of Mandu, of which it has so often been the scene.

A. D. 1519. The inscription on the Bhagwan-ia Darwaza is dated A. H. 923, taking us back to the reign of Mahmūd II., the last Khilji king of Mandu. It reads thus :—

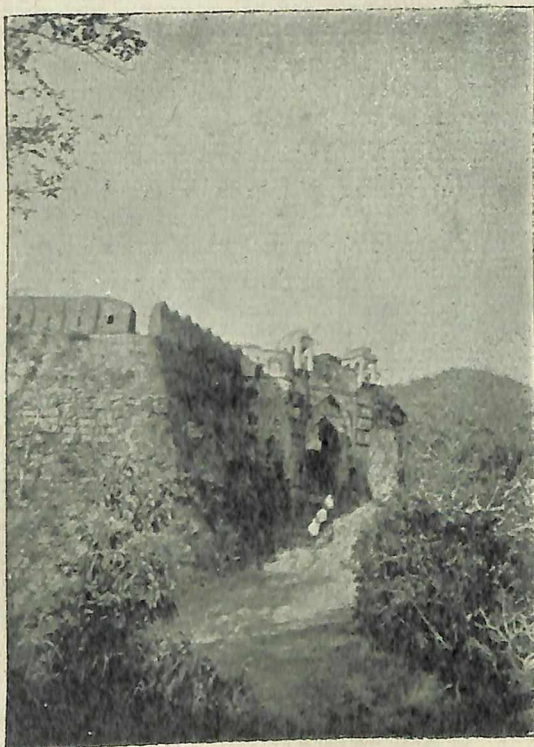
"This gate was built under the orders of Mirza Mahommed, son of Mirza Badu Uz-Zaman of Meshed by Mohamed Husein of Meshed in the month of Jamadi-Jussan, A. H. 923."

The Tarapur Gate. The Tarapur gate has two inscriptions ; that on the upper gate shows it was commenced by Dilawar Khan Ghorī, the 1st king of Mandu, and completed in the year following his death.



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THE SONGARH GATE.

The second inscription, let into the more modern portion of the structure, shows that repairs to the gateway were carried out by one Sahib Mahomed Hussein during Akbar's time. The difference in construction of the upper and lower gates is very striking, the older portion bearing all the evidences of Hindu art and workmanship, while the lower gates are similar in design to the remaining gates of the fort, and all traces of Hindu influence is absent. The following is the translation of the two inscriptions.

A. D. 1406.  
A. H. 809.

On the upper doorway :—

"This gate, of which there is none finer in any other city, was built in the town of Shadiabad by Dilawar Khan, the head of Islam and leader of the community, most great in dignity and kind, ever Victorious and Powerful, Generous and Liberal. This door by the grace of God was completed in A. H. 809."

A. D. 1406.

On the main gate :—

"In the reign of Jelal-ud-din Mohamed Akbar Badshah this beggar (fakir) Sahib Mohamed Hussain Imad-ud-din, son of Sultan Ali of Sabswar, repaired this road by the grace of God in the year A. H. 1014."

A. D. 1605.

From here a steep paved road, quite impassable for carts, leads down the hillside to Tarapur village and beyond to Dharampuri and the Nerbada river. The village of Tarapur, now a mere agglomeration of Bhil huts, must have been a large place when Mandu was in its prime. An inscription recently found in an old "baori" states that Nazir-ud-din granted land in this village to a certain Mahājān Baia among his following for the construction of a garden and of a well.

A. D. 1500-1512.

There are two gates on the N.-W. face of Mandu. That known as the Songarh Gate was rebuilt by Maina Bai, the great Rani of Dhar, at the commencement of the 19th century. There is no access to it from the valley below, and it forms the entrance to the citadel of Mandu, the scene of the famous exploit of Bahadur Shah, when after the capture of the main fort by Humayun he fought his way to the citadel, and thence, while two of his followers defended the gate, let himself down over the edge of the cliff and effected his escape to Gujarat.

The Songarh Gate.

Finally, overlooking the wild country to the N.-W. of Mandu is the Lowani gate, whence a very rough and steep paved road,



The Lowani Gate.

similar to that at Tarapur, leads to the Lowani country. This gate is undoubtedly one of the most ancient in Mandu, but it is now in ruins, and there is no inscription to show from what time it dates. On the edge of the cliff is a stone "lat" evidently of Hindu origin, and scattered round close by are numerous fragments of carved pillars and a few defaced images of the Hindu pantheon.

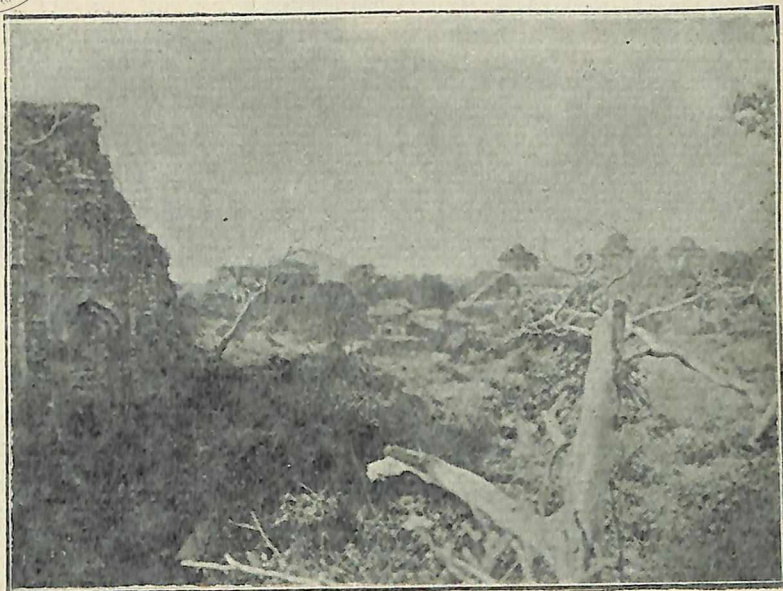
To return now to the Ghari Darwaza by which the traveller will ordinarily enter Mandu. The road leads westwards past the Delhi gate to the beautiful mass of ruined palaces in which the Khilji kings held their court. The wall which enclosed this whole area is in places still standing, and the road enters the enclosure between a much-ruined mosque, a miniature in architectural form of the great Jama Musjid, and the gate now known as the Hatipol, which was probably the main northern entrance to the palace. On each side of this gate is the remains of a life-sized model of an elephant. These figures are built of blocks of red sandstone, and were evidently covered with white marble plaster. They are probably relics of the days of Mahmûd II., when Rajput influence was supreme in Mandu. At present only the legs and lower halves of the bodies remain with a low stone erection in front on which the trunk rested.

The principal buildings within the enclosure are the Hindola Mahal, the Jahaz Mahal, the Toweli Mahal, the Nahar Jhiroka and the Champa Baori, with the so-called Treasury and the ruin now known as Gadhasa's<sup>1</sup> palace, but what is much more probably the *Koshak-jehan-namah*<sup>2</sup> palace, mentioned in *Farishta* as having been built by Ghias-ud-din. Close to this are two more fine "Baoris," one known as the *Ujâl* (bright) and the other as the *Andher* (dark), from the fact that the former is completely open to the light and air, and the latter altogether roofed in.

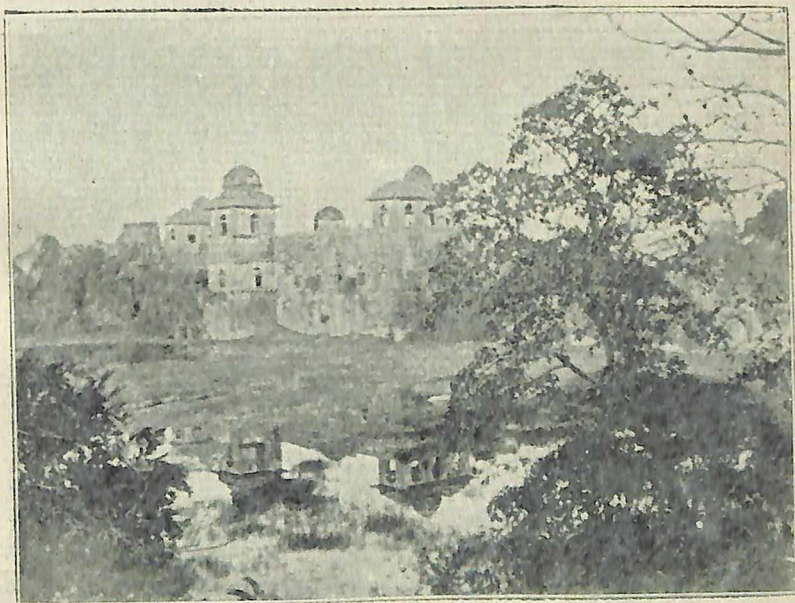
Much damage has been done by time and nature to these magnificent ruins, but the spirit of the place is there, and one can still reconstruct in imagination the splendour of the time when Ghias-ud-din, quitting the scenes of turmoil of his youth, held here his court, and so that no unsightly thing should strike his eye, ruled that within these walls only the fairest of the fairer sex should dwell.

<sup>1</sup> According to tradition, a great Mahajan of the time of the Khiljis.

<sup>2</sup> Palace whence all the world is seen.

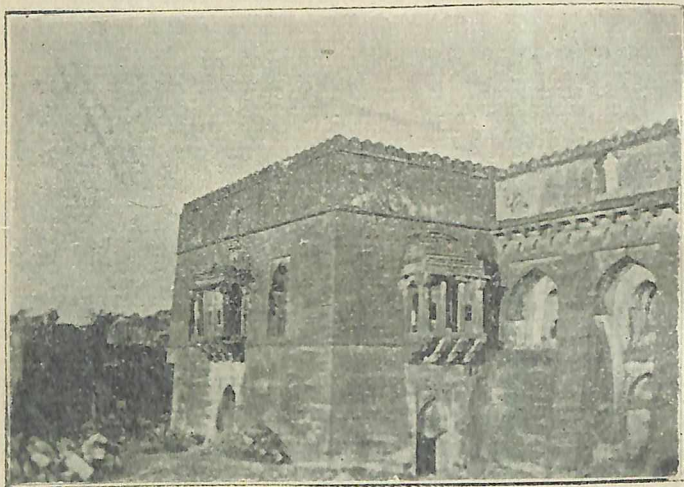


"THE MASS OF RUINED PALACES."

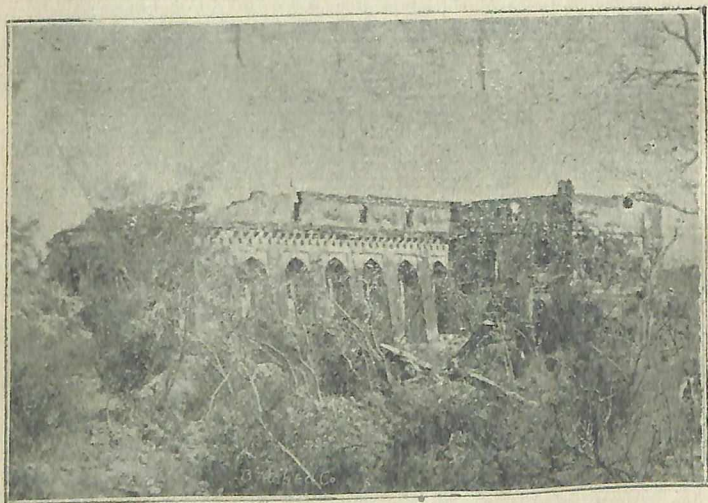


THE JAHÁZ MAHAL.





THE HINDOLA MAHAL FROM THE WEST.



THE HINDOLA MAHAL FROM THE EAST.



The prognostications of those who visited Mandu in the first half of the nineteenth century have happily not been fulfilled. The "larger vaulted halls, of which Fergusson speaks, are still entire, "and the courts are still surrounded by arcades of great beauty."<sup>1</sup>

The massive masonry and design of the Hindola Palace, which has withstood better perhaps than the other buildings the ravages of time, is most striking. The sloping buttressed walls, the deep windows, and the long lofty hall suggest some old Chapter house or Refectory, and have a style and grandeur all their own. *The Hindola Mahal.*

Passing through this building and along the northern bank of the lake, we come to the Champa Baori and the tangled mass of ruins above and below ground which surround it. A portion of one of the bathing houses remains intact and shows the care, thought, and elegance that was bestowed in a Mahomedan palace on this important part of the building. *The Champa Baori.*

The Jahaz Mahal with its long low façade stands as the centre of this group of palaces. Seen from either side but especially from the west where it overhangs the lake, it is very beautiful, while from the terraced roof a magnificent view of the surrounding country is obtained. The main doorway in the centre of the eastern face is exceedingly well built and in very good preservation. This is probably due to renewal at the hands of Karim Khan, Jehangir's engineer, as it would seem that it was in this palace that the great king made his head-quarters during his stay in Mandu. In the centre of the lake stand the ruins of the palace last occupied by Shah Jehan Begum, who accompanied Jehangir to Mandu. The main gateway is worthy of notice, the arch being of entirely different design to that common in Mandu. *The Jahaz Mahal.*

A. D. 1617.  
A. H. 1025.

North of the Hindola and forming part of the walled enclosure is the Nahar Jhiroka. The marble-framed window set in the northern wall with its small platform and cupola has given this building its name. It was seated at this window (jhiroka) that the king used to receive daily in the morning (nahar) the salutations of his court. *The Nahar Jhiroka.*

Outside to the north of the whole enclosure lies the most ancient mosque in Mandu, the inscription which is given below showing it to have been by built Dilawar Khan Ghorī in A. D. 1405. *Mosque of Dilawar Khan.*

A. H. 808.

<sup>1</sup> Fergusson, Vol. II., p. 666.



*Translation of inscription.*

A. D. 1405. “Dilawar Khan, the guardian of religion, who is as an assistant to the Prophet, and supporter of his people. High as the sky in honour and like the angels in aspect. Whose actions are unrivalled, and whose majesty and dignity is great, who is praised by all, who is wealthy, happy, and of good health, over whose actions God watches and is always present to render him aid in his work.

By the grace of the Almighty God and in an auspicious hour. He (Dilawar Khan) laid the foundation of this mosque in the Fort of Mandu in A. H. 808.

It resembles the kaaba whereof a copy stands in the sky.

By the grace of Jesus, Son of the Blessed Virgin Miriam, and of Moses, son of Amran, may he be always blest by God.”

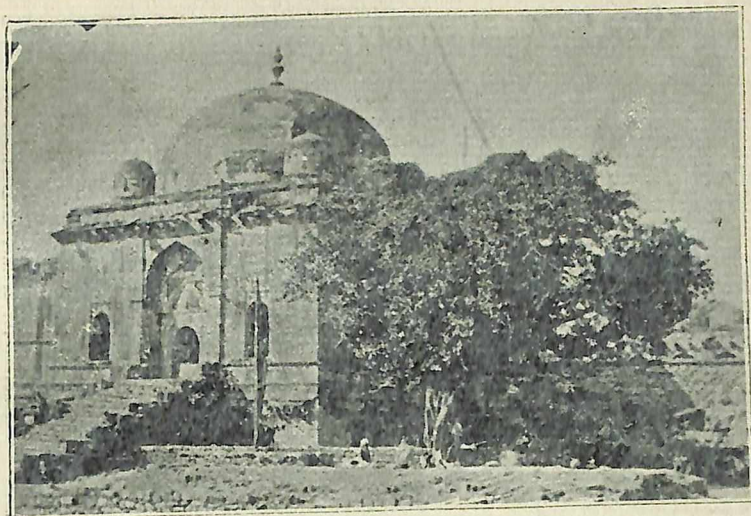
More modest in proportions than the Lat Musjid built by him at Dhar, this building has a rugged simplicity which is decidedly attractive. The low pitch of the whole structure has probably helped to maintain it in fair preservation through more than 500 years. The materials from which it is built are evidently taken from Hindu shrines.

*The Taweli Mahal.*

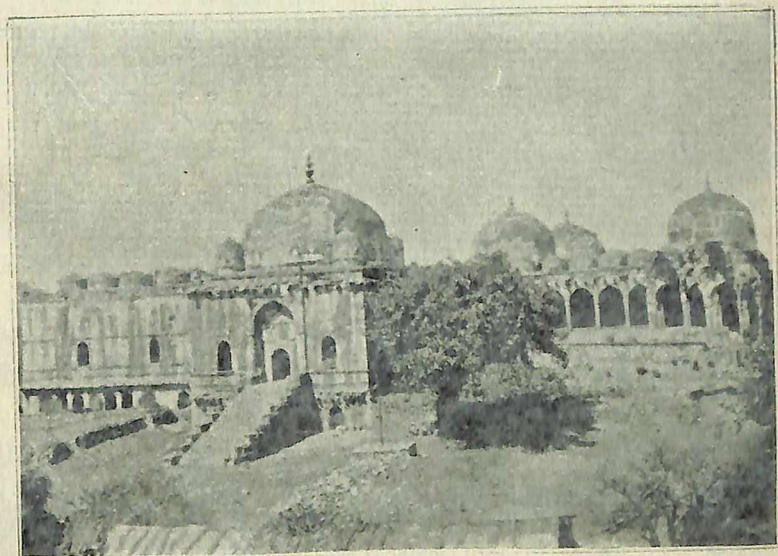
Retracing our way back, passed the Jahaz Mahal and out through the gateway by the Taweli Palace, the quarters of Ghiasud-din's amazon guard, the road leads winding through the jungle to those buildings which were and indeed still are the glory of Mandu. The tomb of Hoshang and the great mosque commenced by that prince and completed by his more illustrious successor Mahmud.

*Hoshang's Tomb and Mosque.*

“Though the badly fitting joining of the marble slabs of the tomb walls are a notable contrast to the finish of the later Moghul buildings, Hoshang's tomb in its massive simplicity and dim-lighted roughness is a solemn and suitable resting-place for a great Pathan warrior. On the western side of the enclosure which surrounds the tomb, the pillars which near the base are four-sided, pass through an eight-sided and sixteen-sided belt into a round upper shaft. The round shaft ends in a square under capital, each face of which is filled by a group of leafage in outline, the same as the favourite Hindu *Singh-Mukh* or horned head. Over the entwined

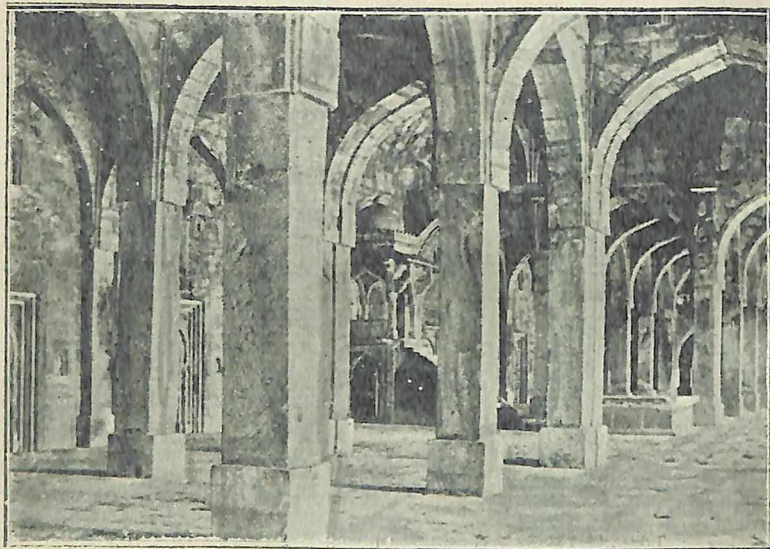


THE ENTRANCE PORCH OF THE JUMMA MUSJID.

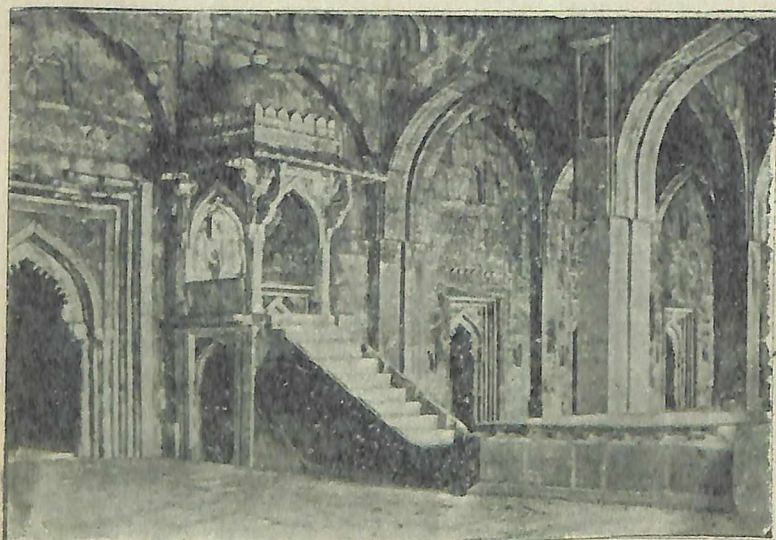


GENERAL VIEW OF JUMMA MUSJID, MANDU.





INTERIOR JUMMA MUSJID, MANDU.



THE "MIMBAR" IN THE JUMMA MUSJID, MANDU.

leafy horns of this moulding, stone brackets support heavy stone beams, all Hindu in form.”<sup>1</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Fergusson considers that these pillars were taken from a Jain building ; and certainly the colonnade has the appearance of having been taken bodily from some Jain temple, of which, according to tradition, there were several on the shores of the Sagar lake.

Hoshang's mosque was completed in A. D. 1454. The entrance porch is a massive domed building projecting from the centre of the east face. Over the marble-lined doorway is the following much damaged Persian inscription :—

*The Great Mosque.*  
A. H. 858.

“ The mosque of exalted construction, the temple of heavenly altitude.

“ Whose every pillar is like to those of the ‘ Kaba ’

“ And (where) angels like the pigeons of the ‘ Kaba ’ make their circles round it, desiring to show it their respect.

“ When he came to a full age and had passed through the merciless revolutions of the skies

“ Aazam Humayun (*i.e.*, Malik Mughis) said—

“ The administration of the country, the construction of buildings and the defeat of our enemies,

“ Are things which I leave to you (my son) as parting advice with great earnestness.

“ The personification of the goodness of Providence, the Sultan Alla-ud-din (Mahmūd I.)

“ The Light of Religion and the satisfier of the wants of the people

“ In the year A. H. 858 (A. D. 1454).

“ In the words of this parting advice, finished the construction of this building.”

The interior of the court in its simple grandeur and expression of power may, according to Fergusson, be taken as one of the very best specimens of Afghan architecture to be found in India. It is almost an exact square enclosed on the east, north and south by

<sup>1</sup> “ Mandu ” by J. M. Campbell, Esq., No. LII., Vol. XIX, Journal of the Bombay Branch, R. A. S.

<sup>2</sup> History of Architecture, p. 666, Vol. II.





colonnades, portions of which are sadly ruined. The west face with its three lofty domes and great pointed arches is in fair repair.

*Tower of  
Victory.*

A. D. 1442-3.  
A. H. 846.

Opposite the Jama Musjid are the ruins of Mahmūd's great Tower of Victory, and beneath it the college erected by the same king. Only a fragment of this tower remains to show that it was faced with white marble slabs inlaid with black stone. But history records that it was seven stories high, and the existing basement gives us an idea of its size. The fates have been hard on Mandu in this particular instance. The tower was built by Mahmūd in commemoration of his victory over the Rana Khumbu of Chittore: it is now an utter ruin while the Rana's great Tower of Victory at Chittore built about twelve years later in token of his victory over this same Mahmūd stands practically intact, and is among the most perfect models of the Hindu architecture of those days. Who shall say that this is not an emblem of the permanence so characteristic of all Hindu life and thought?

To the north-east of the square stand the modern public offices and state-endowed temple of Mandu. Southward the road leads to the Sagar lake, and is lined on either side for a short distance by the mean huts which go to form the modern village. A road branching to the eastward leads to the Lal Bungalow and beyond to what is locally known as the Sath Sao Siri (700 steps), where the walls of the fort leaving the crest of the hill dip down to a ravine some 700 feet in depth, and rise again on the opposite side to the crest close to the Jehangirpur gate.

It has up to the present not been possible to fix the date of construction of the Lal Bungalow, but it is hoped that from a broken inscription in the Tugra character, which was found within the enclosure, it will be possible to "locate" this building. The site of this building, fixed as it is on the edge of a masonry enclosed tank buried in the jungle, is extremely romantic. It was here that the final scene in the history of the Khilji Kings was enacted, when Mahmūd II. surrendered to his conqueror, Bahadur Shah of Gujerat.

A. D. 1526.

The environments of the Sagar lake have suffered much from the recent drought, as many of the "spreading mango trees" along its banks are now mere skeletons. To the east of it and

forming the end of the encamping ground is the smaller Jama Musjid built by Málík Mughis in 1432 A. D. The entrance door of which bears the following inscription :—

“With good omens, at a happy time and in a lucky and well-starred year

“On the 4th of the month of Alláh (Ramazán) on the great day of Friday,

“In the year 835 and six months from the Hijrah

“Counted according to the revolution of the moon in the Arabian manner,

“This Islâmi mosque was founded in this world,

“The top of whose dome rubs its head against the green canopy of Heaven.

“The construction of this mosque was due to Mughis-ud-din-wadunya (Málík Mughis), the father of Mahmúd I. of Mál-wa (A. D. 1435—1469), the redresser of temporal and spiritual wrongs.

“Ulugh (brave) Aázam (great) Humáyun (august) the Khán of the seven climes and of the nine countries.

“By the hands of his enterprise this mosque was founded so great,

“That some call it the house of Peace, others style it the Kaâba.

“This good building was completed on the last of the month of Shawwál. A. H. 835.  
A. D. 1432.

“May the merit of this good act be inserted in the scroll of the Khán's actions!

“In this centre may the praises of the sermon read by Mahmúd Shah

“Be everlasting so long as mountains stand on the earth and stars in the firmament.”

This mosque must have been a jewel, and makes the ruin which has overtaken it all the more distressing. Here there can be no doubt of the Hindu origin of the material used for the building, and the elegance of outline of the entrance porch even in its ruined state is fascinating. Opposite is what was Málík Mughis' palace, and a little beyond that prince's tomb, the black dome of which is “brightened by a belt of brilliant, pale, and deep-blue enamel.”



Beyond again on the right is the so-called Dhair-ka-Mahal,<sup>1</sup> and close by, the "Dhair-ki-Choti Bhair-ka-Mahal,"<sup>2</sup> of which there is nowhere historic mention.

The "Bombay Subaltern," writing in 1843, remarks "on our right, and on the high ground to the south of the Sagar lake "are the walls of the Shikarikot, said to have been built by Baz Bahadur ; in different directions are domed pavilions from which "the great men of those days used to observe the contests of "elephants hawking and any other spectacle that might offer."

To the writer it seems more probable that these buildings were some of the ordinary houses or tombs of the richer classes, more specially as the road which winds below them is lined with the remains of what were evidently houses of a meaner sort used probably by their retainers and servants.<sup>3</sup>

The road continues southwards to the Rewa Kund, Baz Bahadur's palace, and finally to Rup Mati's pavilion—perhaps the most delightful spot in Mandu.

*The Rewa Kund.*

The Rewa Kund, the pool or spring where to meet Rup Mati's wishes, the Nerbada is said "to have made its appearance on the mountain top" lies to the west of the road immediately opposite to the palace of Baz Bahadur. It is a small masonry-lined tank, and a ruined bathing house is on one side of it.

*Baz Bahadur's Palace.*

A fine, easy flight of steps leads from its north-east corner up the slope on which the palace of the last independent king of Mandu stands. On the left a portion of the lofty aqueduct by which the holy water of the Kund was introduced into the palace is still standing. On the entrance arch of Baz Bahadur's palace is a Persian inscription which shows that although the latter may have repaired the building it owes its origin to Nazir-ud-din. It runs thus :—

A. D. 1500,  
1512.

"In the time of the Sultan of Nations, the most just and great, and the most learned and magnificent Sultan Nazir Shah Khilji, written by Yusuph the year A. H. 914."

A. D. 1509.

Much of the marble from this building, especially from the balcony overlooking Mandu, has been mercilessly mutilated by a former generation ; but happily some of the sides of the courtyards are intact, as also are the cupolas, which surmount the colonnades.

<sup>1</sup> i.e., the Nurse's Palace.

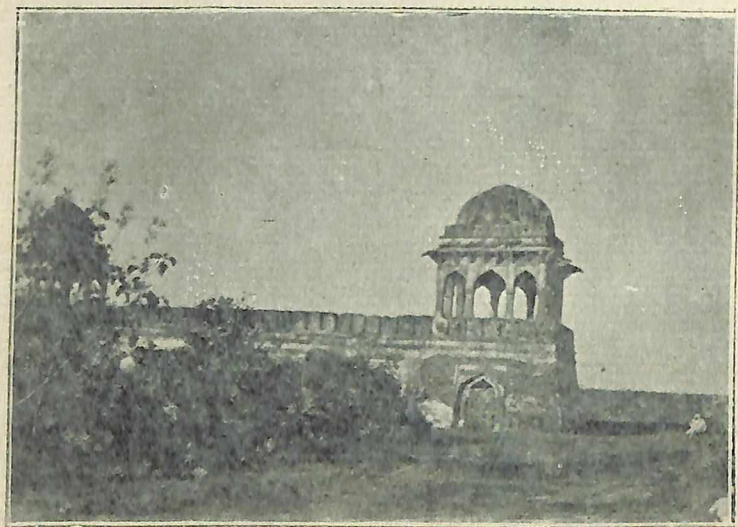
<sup>2</sup> i.e., the Palace of the nurse's young sister.

<sup>3</sup> The Shikari Kot was probably much nearer Baz Bahadur's Palace. The walls of an enclosure are still visible to the east of this building.



THE DHAI-KA-MAHAL.





THE PALACE OF RUP MATI.

On the hill immediately overhanging the palace and clear against the sky-line stands "Rup Mati's Chatri."

Rup Mati's Pavilion.

"From a ground-floor of heavy masonry and arched gateways, stairs lead to the flat terrace, at the north and south ends of which are massive heavy-eaved pavilions, whose square pillars and pointed arches support lofty deep-grooved domes. The southern pavilion (unhappily now much ruined) on the very edge of the Vindhyan cliff commands a long stretch of the south face of Mandu, with its guardian wall covering the heights and hollows of the hill-top. Twelve hundred feet below spreads the dim hazy Nimar plain, brightened eastwards by the gleaming line of the Nerbada. The north pavilion through the fresh clear air of the hill-top looks over the entire stretch of Mandu from the high shoulder of Songarh in the extreme south-west across rolling tree brightened fields, past the domes, the tangled bush and the broad grey of the Sagar Lake to the five-dome cluster of Hoshang's mosque and tomb, on, across a sea of green tree tops, to the domed roof chambers of the Jahaz and the Toweli palaces, through the Delhi gateway, and beyond the deep cleft of the northern ravine, to the base level and low ranges of the Malwa plateau."<sup>1</sup>

Though it seems ruthless to lessen the romance attached to this building so intimately connected with Rup Mati and her princely lover, it should be noted that on an inner archway of the lower floor is an inscription so damaged as to be only partly decipherable, which shows that at some period this building was used as a Dharamsala for poor and needy travellers who might climb up the hill.

We must now retrace our steps back to the Mandu village, and taking the road which leads south-west reach the edge of the cliff above "Nilkanth." A long flight of steps leads down to the deep shady dell, where a "Mahomedan chamber with great open arched front looks out across a fountained courtyard and sloping scalloped water-table, to the wild western slopes of Mandu."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> S. M. Campbell, "Mandu" Journal of Bombay Branch, R. A. Society, No. LII., Vol. XIX.

<sup>2</sup> Campbell's "Mandu."



A. D. 1574.

This is the place where Akbar lodged in A. D. 1574, and which Jehangir visited in A. D. 1617. It was built by Shah Budagh Khan during his tenure of office as Commandant of Mandu, and bears the following inscriptions :—

“Call it not waste to spend your life in water and earth (i.e., in building).

“If perchance a man of mind for a moment makes your house his lodging.

“Written by Shah Budagh Khan in the year A. H. 982.”

A second inscription on the great southern arch reads thus :—

“This pleasant building was completed in the reign of the great Sultan, most munificent and just Khakan, the Lord of the countries of Arabia and Persia, the Shadow of God on the two earths, the ruler of the sea and of the land, the exalter of the standards of those who war on the side of God. Abu Fatah Yahal-ud-din Mahomed Akbar, the warrior king, may his dominion and his kingdom be everlasting.

A. D. 1574.

“Written by Faridin Husein, son of Hat-ul-ward, in the year A. H. 982.”

The stones of this inscription have been wrongly placed by some illiterate restorer, the latter portion of the inscription coming first, and the first one last. A third inscription on the right wall, which is dated A. D. 1591-92, runs as follows :—

“In the year A. D. 1000, when on his way to the conquest of the Dekhan, the Slaves of the exalted Lord of the Earth, the holder of the sky-like throne, the Shadow of Allah (the Emperor Akbar), passed by this place.”

“That time wastes your home, cease, soul to complain

“Who will not scorn a complainer so vain;

“From the story of others this wisdom derive

“Ere nought of thyself but stories survive.”

Finally on the left wall is the fourth inscription dated A. D. 1600 :—

“The Shadow of Allah, the Emperor Akbar after the conquest of the Dekhan and Khandesh in the year 1009, set out for Hind.



"May the name of the writer last for ever !

"At dawn and at eve I have watched an owl sitting

"On the lofty wall-tops of Shirwan Shah's tomb,

"And the owl's plaintive hooting conveyed me this warning,

"Here pomp, wealth, and greatness be dumb."

This spot is now the retreat of a Hindu recluse, and has probably, as its Hindu name implies, reverted to its former use. Its gentle occupant, however, has not improved its artistic appearance, and although this building is the only one in Mandu which has been kept in proper repair externally, its internal arrangement has now little in keeping with the memories of Akbar.

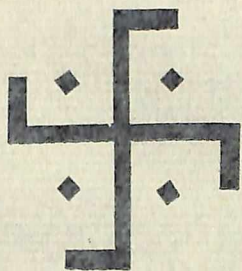
A few other buildings call for mention. The tomb of Daria Khan. Khan about half-way between the great mosque and the Sagar Lake on the left of the road, still bears portions of the texts from the Koran in coloured enamel tiles with which it was entirely decorated.

A little beyond in the jungle is a building locally known as the Hathi-Khana. "Hathi-Khana," but evidently a tomb, interesting on account of the four massive pillars which support the dome, and which are unique in their style in Mandu.

The palace known as that of "Chisti Khan," commander of the Chisti Khan's army in the time of Mahmûd Khilji, is a ruin beautifully situated palace. at the extreme north-east point of the hill. Here, too, is a sadly-damaged relic of what was once a most artistic piece of enamelled wall-decoration. Close by are vaults said to have been the magazines of the great Mahmûd. On the road to the Lal Bungalow, one passes two stone pillars evidently the "Dip stambhas" of a Hindu temple, while buried in the jungle to the west of the Jahaz Mahal is a large building said to have been the school of "Shah Baddar," a reputed sage. On the map attached to this paper, the position of numerous other buildings is shown, but the names given have a purely local significance, and are merely noted in order to assist the traveller when wandering with a local guide among these relics of the past.

KOOB





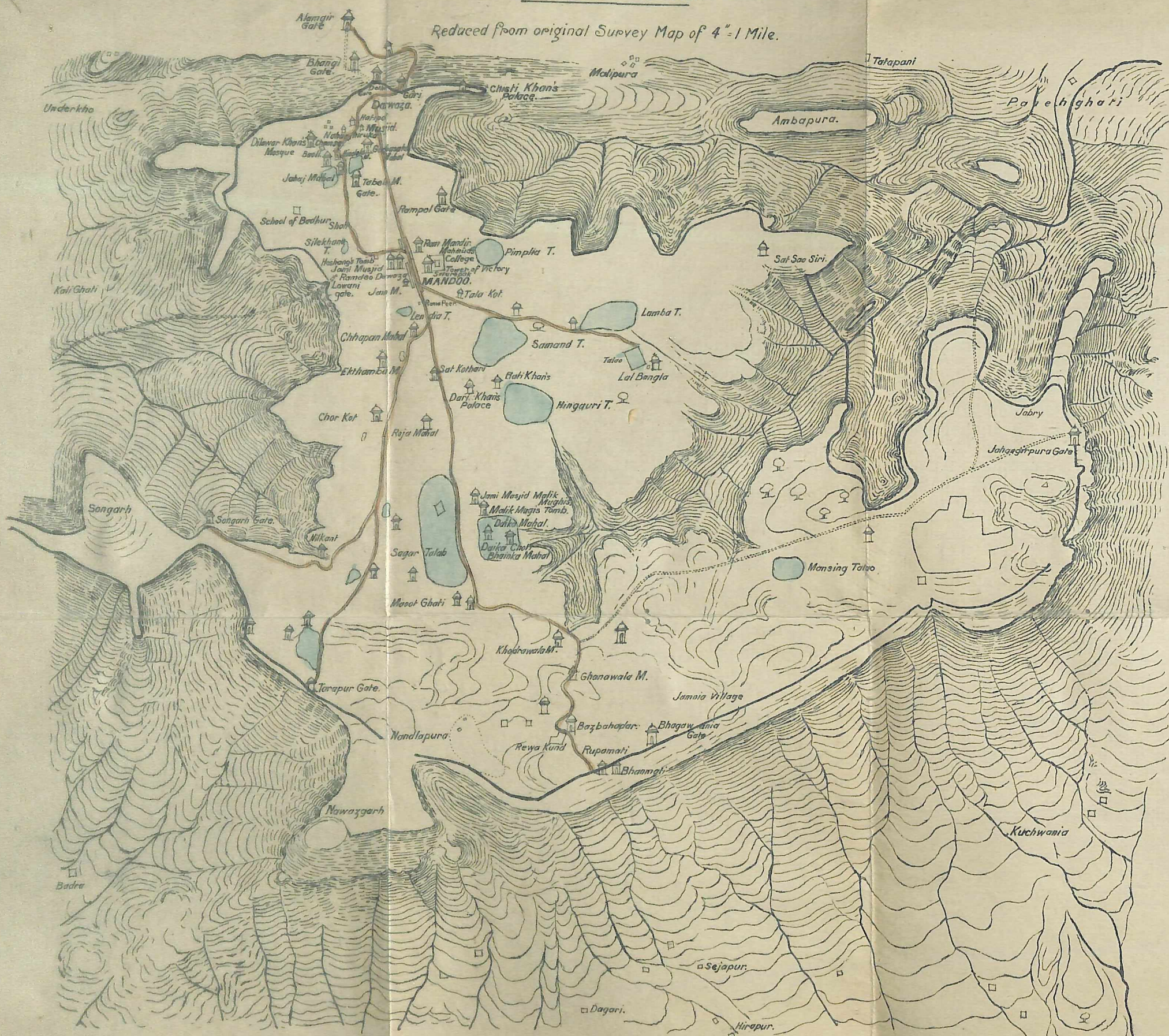


# MAP OF MANDU, DHAR STATE.

SHOWING POSITIONS OF ANCIENT BUILDINGS.

Scale 1-8232 Inches = 1 Mile.

Reduced from original Survey Map of 4" = 1 Mile.



Thick black line round edge of hill shows remains of old fortifications.