III

EVIDENCE ON THE SIKHS

Origin of the crisis:-

On assumption of power at Delhi, Bahadur Shah decided to march upon the Deccan to proceed against his brother Muhammad Kambaksh. During his absence from the North, Guru Gobind Singh had gathered a large number of followers around himself. The author suggests that Wazir Khan the Faujdar of Sirhind, uprooted him from his head quarters. Guru Gobind Singh followed Bahadur Shah to the Deccan to meet the Emperor. Obviously, Guru Gobind Singh went there to seek the Emperor’s intervention for finding a solution to the grave problem that the Sikhs were facing in the Punjab. The author does not dwell on the details of his negotiations with the Emperor but hastens to suggest that the Guru was stabbed to death by a soldier. He also narrates that soon after, Banda assumed leadership of the huge gathering of the followers, created a stir determined to avenge the atrocities to which not only Guru Gobind Singh himself but also his children, followers and the entire family were subjected. The author here leaves no doubt about his knowledge of all the wrongs done to Guru Gobind Singh and concludes that they were consequently, one and all, carrying wounded hearts in their

---

2 Ibid., f.14 (Line 15).
3 Ibid., f.15 (Lines 2-3).
4 Ibid., f.15 (Lines 3-4).
5 Ibid., f.15.
breasts. All this was a result of the atrocities committed against them. According to the author these were the main causes of the rift between the Mughals and the Sikhs.

**Encounter with Wazir Khan:**

Here the author dwells on the Sikhs’ encounter with Wazir Khan. Equipped with huge war material, weapons and guns, heavy artillery and ghazbans Wazir Khan displayed a great valour on the battlefield but luck did not favour him and his own men deserted him. With a bow and a few arrows in his hands, he jumped into the fray all alone, and was killed\(^6\). His body was cut into pieces which were hung on the main gate leading to the town of Sirhind. His defeat encouraged commoners to indulge in loot and plunder and in destroying mosques, monasteries and other such places. The great Sayyads and Shaikhs were brought out from wherever they could lay their hands upon them and killed them all with a great torture\(^7\).

**Banda’s Steps for Administration:**

With Wazir Khan’s death, and Sirhind in Banda’s hands the road to give the conquered territory a sound system of administration was cleared for Banda. He made Sirhind his residence. He selected a group of people and entrusted to them the different areas for administration\(^8\) and, in order to ensure his superiority over others in this field too, a large number of people were appointed to look after the success and strength of the

---


\(^7\) *Ibid.*, f.18.

\(^8\) *Ibid.*, f.18 (Lines 11-15).
new system. He appointed heavy forces to guard the bridges and the highways. This strengthened his grip over the entire area and his followers held their heads high in pride.9

The author did not ignore the importance of further steps that he took to convince the people of the success of their endeavors. Thanesar and Muneaser, according to the author, were the gateway to India.10 A pillar made of heavy wood resembling a huge minar was got constructed and set up at Thanesar. Its importance could be gauged by the fact that in India warriors called it Khamba, while in Persian it was known as ‘Sutun-e-Jung’.11 The Sikhs were encouraged to use adages on their arms. Though actually these were originally reserved for brave soldiers like Rustam and Asfandryar. The purpose of installing this huge pillar on the gateway of India was obvious. Its purpose was to remind the Indian rulers with their huge forces, and war equipments, that if they ever dared march upon this land, they must hault their march and withdraw from the point the Khumba indicated.

The author further notices how a large number of Sikhs (Nanak-Parastan)12 from Iran, Turan, Kandhar, and many other parts of different countries hastened to add to Banda’s followers. The huge gatherings around Banda included people from different professions. They attempted to seek entry to the Punjab either by the beat of the drums or by stealthily joining chain of devotees descending upon the Punjab13. Their number increased daily which added to the pride and strength of Banda’s troops.

---

10 Ibid., f.19 (Line 6).
11 Ibid., f.19 (Lines 6-14).
12 Ibid., f.19 (Lines 14-15).
13 Ibid., f.20 (Lines 1-5).
This made Banda more conceited and arrogant\textsuperscript{14}. The genteel and the men of ranks among the Mughals tried to meet their threat but the great Sayyads from the town of Samana gave the Sikhs a tough time but failed to stem their tide\textsuperscript{15}. The author’s comments on the situation are very revealing. He writes it is impossible for a human power to seek encounter with a calamity from the heaven, which the Sikhs were\textsuperscript{16}.

All this afforded the Sikhs an opportunity to take into possession a large extent of territory which they occupied. Banda’s followers could be seen in large numbers from Lahore to Delhi.

**The Sikh Afghan Struggle for Supremacy in the Doab:**

The Doab area occupied a very important place in the social and political history of the Punjab in the early eighteenth century. Almost all the parganas yielded rich revenue and brought income from taxes and other sources too. Its resources precipitated a bitter struggle between the Afghans and the Sikhs. Shams Khan the Afghan of Kasoor was a young man of great valour, brilliant, enlightened and ambitious. He not only ruled over the territory but also aspired for further expansion. The Sikhs had established themselves on the banks of the Sutlej near Ludhiana\textsuperscript{17}. They too were keen to take possession of the entire region of the Doab. A bitter conflict between the two had naturally become inevitable. Shams Khan suffered great reverses. He lost a number of followers either by drowning at the banks of the Sutlej\textsuperscript{18} or if they succeeded in landing

\footnotesize
\textsuperscript{14} Ghulam-Muhy-ud-Din, *Futuhat-Namah-i-Samadi*, MS., BM., Or. 1870, London. f.22 (Lines 4-5).
\textsuperscript{15} Ibid., f.20 (Lines 7-8).
\textsuperscript{16} Ibid., f.20 (Line 10).
\textsuperscript{17} Ibid., f.22.
\textsuperscript{18} Ibid., ff.22-23
there they were killed by the Sikhs. When Shams Khan found it impossible to withstand their might he made a hasty retreat from the actual fighting. His withdrawal from the battlefield encouraged the Sikhs to accelerate their revolutionary activities with a greater pace in other parts of the region too.

The Sikhs found themselves virtually in possession of a greater part of the Punjab. The author’s pertinent reference to the Chak Guru reveals that he could not ignore the importance of the central place of their worship. It was situated hardly 18 Kohs from Lahore. They had built up a distinguished structure in the middle, surrounded by a tank of water. A yearly visit to the place was an integral part of their worship of the Almighty. Groups of people assembled there during this period. They persuaded each other to consider themselves each a son of Guru Gobind Singh, their departed Tenth Master. They got under this name a better publicity as Sahibzadas of Guru Gobind Singh. For them death on the battlefield while fighting for their religion bestowed upon them a perennial existence. They now determined to sharpen their struggle for emancipation from the foreign yoke. In the words of the author, they made huge conflagration all over the country and equated their stir with resurrection. The civilian authorities and the district faujdars who commanded armies in the battlefield were reduced to a ridiculous position as non-entities. Even the most distinguished Mughals found themselves helpless and totally insignificant before the ever-increasing might of the revolutionary Sikhs. The commoners sought safety in retreat to Lahore. The residents of Neshta situated at a distance of six kohs from Lahore suffered the most. The entire suburban area around Lahore was ravaged. The night assaults on Lahore made with ferocity and intensity

---

deepened the woes of the people of Lahore. Their peaceful life at Lahore had virtually become a life in hell.

**Aslam Khan’s role as Deputy Subadar:**

The situation was anarchical in the whole of the State. The Sikhs fell upon them like a calamity from the heaven. They were no match to such sudden attacks which had become notorious for their ferocity and intensity. Aslam Khan was a scholar. He could wield a pen but had never unsheathed a sword. Threatened by the people to wake up to the danger of the Sikhs, he agreed to lead them to the battlefield but lack of training and inaptitude for fighting made him a dismal failure. He fired heavy artillery but only wasted tons and tons of gunpowder, without killing even a single soul. He had the audacity to celebrate his retreat to Lahore as a great victory over the enemy. The Sikhs in the mean-time had blocked all the roads and paths meant for convenient and free movement of the passersby. The students, the artisans and the grass-cutters however, could not stir out of their homes. Dismayed at Aslam’s utter failure the extremists and the mullahs, preachers, teachers and students took the initiative in their own hands and attempted to give it the shape of a ‘jihad’\(^{21}\). They persuaded the common people to join the crusade and save their faith. Their cry for evangelizing the movement met a resounding response. A large number of people from the city gathered at the battlefield of Shahganj\(^{22}\). Those who expressed their inability to fight conveyed their willingness to finance the movement liberally and furnish them with money, material, food and fodder, weapons and equipments.


Assault on Chak Guru:

The mullahs’ preparations for war induced a fresh hope in the author that the Sikhs would certainly be overawed. The Sikhs too hastened to take shelter in the Chak Guru (present Amritsar) and carried on the fight by firing from within. The mullahs’ were not slow to fire from cannons. Outer walls and the doors of the Sikh structure were demolished, killing many people on both the sides. A big hole in the outer wall tempted the Mughals to attempt a forced entry into the Sikh temple but the sunset in the west ruined their plans. They suspended the fighting and took steps to strengthen the defense lines to prevent the night assaults. Tired and exhausted they took meals and went to sleep. The Sikhs availed of the opportunity and hastened to make good their escape in the darkness of the night. They rescued themselves from a dangerous and a highly fatal situation. With the dawn of the day the crusaders demolished the walls and entered the grand building of the temple to enrich themselves by looting and plundering their rivals’ possessions. Congratulating each other on the victory, they marched a retreat to Lahore. The Loyalist Hindus and the Muslims welcomed the ‘jihad’ by showering ‘Dirm-o-Dinar’ on their procession.

Aslam Khan was enraged over all these futile and ineffectual ostentations. He considered it a fake victory and dispatched a detailed report to the Imperial Majesty at Delhi. He warned the Government that such violations by the extremists and the

---

23 Ghulam-Muhy-ud-Din, Futuhat-Namah-i-Samadi, MS., BM., Or. 1870, London. f.27 (Line 3).
24 Ibid., f.27 (Lines 6-10).
25 Ibid., f.27 (Lines 10-15).
26 Ibid., f.28 (Line 1-4).
27 Ibid., f.28.
militant mullahs would in the future disrupt the fabric of entire Government in the State and would lead to chaos and disruption\textsuperscript{28}. He also sent a few distinguished persons who could corroborate his viewpoint before the Imperial Majesty.

**Description of Lahore:**

As already discussed the author was a distinguished and discerning poet of Persian and an esteemed scholar of the Law of Shariat. His contemporary views on the cultural and spiritual growth and development at Lahore and also on art and literature would make an interesting narrative. For him Lahore was a paradise on earth. It would instill a sense of pride among all the ‘millat parastan’. ‘Tariqat’ which is a path to the understanding of Sufism flourishes in this city. It is a center of all such people who are fond of justice, spiritual life and faith. It is a city of beautiful gardens, with fragrance from the blooming orchids to welcome all visitors. The Ravi flowing through the center of the city makes it a lovely place. Almost all the people enjoyed participation in discussion on ‘fiqah’\textsuperscript{29} i.e. understanding of law and divinity. The place has earned a distinction and prominence by imparting instructions in philosophy and many other such fields of learning. It had surpassed in the learning and teaching logics and reasoning. You will find saint in every part of the city. Its buildings made an interesting sight of wonder for the visitors. It could be compared with ‘Bagh-i-irm’\textsuperscript{30} set up in paradise. It offers all the beauties of spring and one is never tempted to ever think of a spring in Kashmir. It

\textsuperscript{28} Ghulam-Muhy-ud-Din, *Futuhat-Namah-i-Samadi*, MS., BM., Or. 1870, London. f.29.

\textsuperscript{29} Ibid., f.30 (Line 6).

\textsuperscript{30} Ibid., f.31 (Line 2).
has such attractive waterfalls and fountains that even the angels would feel like dancing all around them.

**Banda’s encounter with the Imperial Majesty**

Bahadur Shah’s campaign against his brother Kambaksh in the Deccan was a spectacular success\(^{31}\). Emboldened by his success against his brother which filled him with a renewed hope of fresh life he hastened back to the capital in order to make a public pronouncement about his taking over the reigns of the government in his own hands. On reaching Delhi he was informed of the devastation and depredations all over the Punjab made by the Sikhs under their commander Banda\(^{32}\). It was brought to his notice, how Wazir Khan with his large army well-equipped with heavy artillery and other vast war material, he suffered an ignominious defeat at the hands of the Sikhs. In the fight that commenced between the two sides, Wazir Khan lost heavily and all his followers and companions deserted him. When he tried to fight the Sikhs all alone, he was captured. His body was cut into pieces and hung at all important points on major roads and highways. Bahadur Shah took the news with all seriousness but chose to give the impression that he was proceeding to the Punjab on a site seeing and hunting expedition\(^{33}\). He soon reached Punjab. On getting the news of the Imperial majesty’s arrival in the Punjab Banda positioned his army on points at Thanesar where he had earlier set up the famous ‘Sutan-i-jung’ to over-awe the Mughals\(^{34}\). The author, however, sought to give the impression

---


\(^{32}\) *Ibid.*. f.31 (Lines 12-15).

\(^{33}\) *Ibid.*, f.32 (Lines 2-5).

\(^{34}\) *Ibid.*. f.32 (Lines 8-9).
that Banda at the sight of huge preparation for war by the Mughals lost his nerves. Moreover, the well-known Mughal warriors like Mahabat Khan was chosen to lead the vanguard of the Mughal forces\(^\text{35}\). He fell upon the Sikhs like the lightening that falls on the clouds, Banda became somewhat serious. Another important Mughal commander Zulfiqar Khan also joined the royal forces. Banda changed his tactics\(^\text{36}\). His first concern now was to ensure safety for his followers and for himself from the bloody conflict. He took to flight. To the great consternation of the Mughals he escaped alive with all his followers from the battlefield. The author attributed this to the novelty, agility and effectiveness of his war-tactics. Another important Mughal commander Rustam Dil Khan was also dispatched to the battlefield to secure Banda’s arrest. But he did not find himself a match to Banda’s courage and bravery in the battlefield. He and his followers refused to pursue the fugitive Sikhs, for which Rustam Dil Khan was subsequently summoned to the court and subjected to humiliation\(^\text{37}\). Bahadur Shah issued orders to Mohammad Amin Khan Chin Bahadur to pursue the fugitives\(^\text{38}\). Banda, however, suddenly changed his tactics and stopped running away from the battlefield. He turned back to face the Mughal forces. According to the author, Banda succeeded in settling all his previous scores with Mohammad Amin Khan Chin Bahadur.

Yet he found it would not be possible for him to withstand the might of the Mughal forces equipped with superior artillery. He, therefore, preferred to seek shelter into the narrow valleys of the adjoining mountains. Incidentally, the author makes a very


\(^{36}\) Ibid., f.33.

\(^{37}\) Ibid., f.34 (Lines 2-8).

\(^{38}\) Ibid., f.34 (Lines 9-15).
revealing observation about the Zamindars in the hilly region and their political relations with the Mughals at Delhi. These people were addressed as Rajas though they were only Zamindars and did not possess the status of a sovereign ruler in relation with the Mughal Emperor\textsuperscript{39}. The author, however, gives some details about the power, armies and war equipments they held. Each Zamindar had huge followers in his respective areas. They had amassed great quantities of weapons and guns. Perhaps, these could be counted not less than 50 to 60 thousand guns. In addition to this they had built a stone-wall, which strengthened their defenses and completely shut all places providing entrance into their territory\textsuperscript{40}.

The author is surprised at Banda’s attempts to fight against these hill men. Each one of his followers had occupied a place higher on the hills and was hiding himself behind huge boulders. They were not visible to the men at foot of the mountain and hence all their efforts proved abortive in mounting the hills as they were greeted with a continuous shower of stones by the Sikhs above. These hill-men were forced to make a humiliating retreat before Banda’s war-tactics\textsuperscript{41}.

The author bemoans the fact that the Mughals were in comparison at a great disadvantage because they could encamp their forces only on plain grounds open with their complete exposure to the enemy. Perhaps, nature too was proving unkind to them. Their brave but old leader Khankhana died on the battlefield and the entire chain of administration in the ranks broke down into pieces\textsuperscript{42}.

\textsuperscript{39} Ghulam-Muh-y-ud-Din, \textit{Futuhat-Namah-i-Samadi}, MS., BM., Or. 1870, London. f.34 (Line 15).
\textsuperscript{40} \textit{Ibid.}, f.35 (Lines 1-7).
\textsuperscript{41} \textit{Ibid.}, f.35 (Line 8-12).
\textsuperscript{42} \textit{Ibid.}, f.35 (Lines 13-15).
Another calamity for the Mughals:-

Bahadur Shah’s life towards the end was a calamity for him as well as for his dynasty but when he breathed his last in 1123 A.H. events that followed were even more calamitous in effect. A bitter fratricidal struggle for the throne ensued among the royal princes. Mohammad Azim-us-Shan, Mohammad Rafi-us-Shan and Mohammad Jahan Shah were killed one after the other. The fourth son Mohammad Mazzud-Din Jahandar Shah was ably supported by the choicest of nobility, Amir-ul-Umrah Zulfiqar Khan, Kokal Tash Khan and Abdus Samad Khan who held aloft the banner of support to the Prince and hastened to the capital to join him. He rewarded Abdus-Samad Khan with the rank of ‘Sadar-us-Sadur’ and mansab of five thousand. He entrusted reigns of the entire administration in the hands of Amir-ul-Umrah Zulfiqar Khan. Soonafter he gave himself upto a life of sensual ease and pleasure and was always found closeted with his beloved Lal Kanwar. This ushered in an era of utter neglect and dereliction of duty.

Within a year Mohammad Azim-us-Shan’s youngest son Farrukhsiyar marched upon the capital with Sayyad Abdullah Khan and his brother Sayyad Hussain Ali Khan. Mohammad Jahandar Shah marched rapidly towards Akbarabad but found it impossible to engage Farrukhsiyar and his army in a battle. The Sadat brothers had made enormous preparations to confront the advancing armies of Jahandar Shah. Unnerved by the new situation Jahandar Shah suffered a crushing defeat which resulted in the death of his most

---

44 Ibid., f.37 (Lines 10-12).
45 Ibid., f.38 (Lines 3-6).
46 Ibid., f.38 (Lines 7-8).
trusted finance minister Kokal Tash Khan. The only option left for the Emperor was to seek safety in flight. He preferred to repair to the capital. Zulfiqar Khan finding the army without a commander took himself to the capital and stayed with his father Asif-ud-Daulah Asad Khan. The Prime Minister Sayyad Abdullah Khan pursued him and put him under arrest in Asad Khan’s Haveli, whereas Farrukhsiyar went straight to the Capital and issued orders for reading ‘Khutba’ and minting coins in his name.

Appointment of Abdus Samad Khan as Governor of Lahore:

The death of Bahadur Shah and the bloody war of succession among the princes, absence of a regular Governor in the Punjab, disintegration of the Mughal nobility, split of the nobility into powerful factions commanded by the Turani nobles and their followers, provided an opportunity to Banda and his followers to descend from their hidings in the mountains and occupy many places in the plains.

Earlier Banda had defeated and killed Bayazid Khan, Hussain Khan and their nephew Shams Khan. Banda then took Sirhind in his own possession and selected an elevated site to lay the foundation of small fortress with the installation of towers, walls and trenches. The Sikhs took shelter in the fortress, issued appeals to the Sikhs to join them in large numbers. He then dispatched followers all around on plundering raids.

---

49 Ibid., f.39 (Lines 9-10).
50 Ibid., f.39 (Lines 12-13).
51 Ibid., f.43.
Banda’s phenomenal success destroyed the terror of the Mughal sovereignty from the minds of the people and their government lost its respect exposing itself to further onslaughts on whatever little was left of its sovereign rights. Comparing Banda and his followers with a mighty cyclone which wiped out everything that came in its way, the author further narrated how all this induced more insecurity forcing the Mughal faujdars, and their army-commanders disperse and scatter in different directions\(^{52}\).

The news of such widespread chaos and disturbances created by Banda intimidated Farrukhsiyar to order Sayyad Abdullah, the Amir-ul-Umrah to depute someone to rid the country of all such irritations and destructions in the country\(^{53}\). Sayyad Abdullah had serious apprehensions about the loyalty of the Turani Mughals who often boasted of their primacy over the Sadats. He wanted to keep them away from the court lest they should assume a menacing position too dangerous to keep his own party united and integrated\(^{54}\). This fear persuaded Sayyad Abdullah to lend his ears to the voices suggesting the appointment of Nawab Abdus Samad Khan to the task.

Apart from this, the danger from the Sikhs whom they described as ‘a calamity on earth from the heavens’ had almost unnerved and paralyzed the nobility. No one was prepared to accept the Subadari of the Punjab\(^{55}\). Nawab Abadus Samad Khan willingly accepted the offer\(^{56}\). The author, however, has sought to emphasize that it was a conspiracy of the Sadat brothers who wanted to keep the Nawab away from the Imperial

\(^{52}\) Ghulam-Muhy-ud-Din, *Futuhat-Namah-i-Samadi*, MS., BM., Or. 1870, London. f.44 (Lines 3-5).


\(^{54}\) *Ibid.*, f.45 (Lines 1-5).

\(^{55}\) *Ibid.*, f.46 (Lines 10-12).

\(^{56}\) *Ibid.*, f.45 (Line 15).
Court\textsuperscript{57}. The Nawab himself may not have been aware of what was happening behind the curtain. He, however, was honoured not only with the Subadari of Lahore but a mansab of six thousand horse was also conferred upon him along with a robe of honour, a jiga, sirpech, kamar-khanjar, an embroidered sword, a horse and a special elephant. Similarly his son, Zakariya Khan’s rank was also increased and many other honours were showered upon him. Other privileged members of distinction and glory from amongst the nobility were also similarly complimented\textsuperscript{58}.

All Amirs with glorious achievements to their credit were always rewarded with honours on such occasion. He was an experienced fighter, generous to his soldiers and in generosity he showered gold in huge amounts. He was an acknowledged leader of the Sunni faith always prepared to fight for the faith and ready to initiate crusade\textsuperscript{59}.

\textbf{Nawab Abdus Samad Khan’s Arrival As Governor Of The Punjab:-}

Nawab Abdus Samad Khan was sent to the Punjab to exterminate the Sikh revolution and restore peace and order in the State. The Sikhs had wiped out the ‘Rob-i-Sultani’ i.e. the terror of the Mughal sovereignty from the minds of the people. According to the author, the ‘Rob-i-Sultani’ was the only weapon of defense for any Government. It works as ‘Sad-i-Sikandri’\textsuperscript{60} The Sikhs had serious grievances against the Mughals. They were fighting with tenacity of purpose, which had no parallel in the history of India. They never feared death on the battlefield; rather they considered death for the cause of their faith as a perennial life. They had already carved out their own independent State in the

\textsuperscript{57} Ghulam-Muhy-ud-Din, \textit{Futuhat-Namah-i-Samadi}, MS., BM., Or. 1870, London. f.46 (Line 9).
\textsuperscript{58} \textit{Ibid.}, f.47 (Lines 7-15).
\textsuperscript{59} \textit{Ibid.}, ff.49-50.
\textsuperscript{60} \textit{Ibid.}, f.42 (Lines 12-13).
Punjab. The tract over which they set up this independent State was not very extensive but they had succeeded in imparting a sense of freedom and glory to the community. Nawab Abdus Samad Khan was well-aware that he was to face a bitter confrontation from the Sikhs. He himself was a reputed warrior. His qualifications and skills as a warrior were now at a test in the Punjab.

The author narrates how the Nawab succeeded in restoring the ‘Rob-i-Sultani’ in the minds of the people. At Delhi, while accepting the responsibility of the governorship from the Emperor, he had been given permission for organizing the entire campaign himself. He was made the sole in-charge of the ensuing struggle in the Punjab. He could now proceed ahead without any interference from any quarters. Apart from this, a huge sum of money was placed at his disposal. Strengthened, with a Royal mandate in hand and his treasury brimming with money when he arrived in the Punjab, he decided that making a fearful and a dreaded display of the Mughal forces along with their weapons, guns, heavy artillery, elephants, camels, horses, banners and drums, golden decorations both for the animals and the army commanders of different hues in a procession throughout the country had become incumbent. He expected that such an exhibit would make manifest the terror of Mughal sovereignty and their might on the minds of the people. This step was taken for the first time by Nawab Abdus Samad Khan after lapse of long period of the Mughal rule in the country. The Mughal glory had not disappeared altogether from the country but the Nawab took steps to raise it in a double splendour. These measures met with an outstanding success in restoring a great terror and respect for the Mughal sovereignty. There was symmetry, glory, order, splendour in the ranks and all this was accompanied by the beating of huge drums, unfurling tall flags and banners,
prodigious noises of the ringing bells which succeeded in reimposing the majesty of the Imperial order.  

The Nawab was careful enough to ensure the personal needs of the army uniforms, weapons, food, fruits, dry fruits and for this purpose the markets were held wherever the army was stationed. These bazaars were open to the public too. They could purchase anything for themselves. Apart from this, the Nawab treated his soldiers with a great generosity. Every accomplishment in the battlefield was rewarded with gold and dinars. These markets give us an insight into the economic prosperity of the people too. Shops were full of gold which were, of course, the attractive means of exchange. All these measures were rewarded with re-establishing respect for the predominance of the Mughals at the helms of affairs in the country. The soldiers, commanders, the nobility and the Nawab himself too were seen beaming with delight and confidence.

How did Banda respond to the developments in the Mughal Camp:—

From the very first day of his arrival in the Punjab, the Nawab had been making loud protestations of his determination to force the Sikhs making an unconditional surrender to the Mughals. Large-scale demonstrations of his preparation were obviously meant for such an eventuality. Abdus Samad Khan might have been sadly disappointed on this account presently. According to the author too, no such thing materialised. On the other hand, the Sikhs unmindful of the vast Mughal forces stationed all around them, proceeded ahead along their own lines. They made frequent visits to villages, towns and cities for bringing a large number of volunteers to fight the Mughals. Baj Singh took

62 Ibid., ff.53-55.
command of his troops. He belonged to Patti Haibatpura with several groups under his personal command. Such was the extent of their devotion, eagerness and zest for fighting the Mughals that they always fell upon the enemy like a calamity which huge floods rivers brought upon their victims\textsuperscript{63}.

Allowing no respite to their tired and exhausted enemies was one such exhibit of war tactics of the Sikhs. The Nawab’s reaction was also prompt and forceful. He took precaution to depute only experienced warriors on different fronts. Zakariya Khan was made incharge of all soldiers on these fronts.

Baj Singh fought bravely. His astounding feats while striking at the enemy’s center ruthlessly over-awed the Mughals. To penetrate the impregnable positions of Baj Singh had become a challenge to the Mughals\textsuperscript{64}. The Nawab’s artillery alone would come to his rescue. Baj Singh many a time made a determined bid to give the enemy a taste of their fight. A large number of men were killed on both the sides, and their dead bodies lay scattered on the fields. Lifting these dead bodies in their hands, the Sikhs advanced, step by step against the bombardment of heavy artillery perhaps to capture the heavy artillery itself\textsuperscript{65}. There were always huge causalities. The author reports how the Sikhs were always unnerved. Death on the battlefield in support of their faith and religion was a perennial life for them. Not a single Sikh turned his face on the battlefield. The question of their flight from the battlefield, therefore never arose\textsuperscript{66}. They continued to fight shooting arrows, firing guns, throwing big stones on the enemy and fighting with spears.

\textsuperscript{63} Ghulam-Muhy-ud-Din, \textit{Futuhat-Namah-i-Samadi}, MS., BM., Or. 1870, London. f.58.
\textsuperscript{64} Ibid., f.59 (Lines 8-10).
\textsuperscript{65} Ibid., f.60 (Lines 6-10).
\textsuperscript{66} Ibid., f.60 (Line 11-15).
The intensity of the combat could be gauged from the ferocity they displayed in their skill in fighting with small weapons\textsuperscript{67}. The author has given the minutest details of such fights in the manuscript.

The author does not omit to describe the horrible scene of the Mughal soldier lift a wounded heretic on his spear and keep him suspended in the air till he breathed his last. Not content with this, they would often let their horses, elephants and large camels in the battlefield make a short work of the wounded Sikhs with their teeth and kicks\textsuperscript{68}. Baj Singh and his followers according to the author, often retreated to their fortress\textsuperscript{69}. The Mughals refrained from pursuing them. Was it a fear of the Sikhs that held them back? The author, however, attributes it to their soldier’s valour because running after a fugitive from the battlefield was considered the least act of dignity in war\textsuperscript{70}. The author also paints verbal pictures of the terrible scenes created by combatants on both the sides; the outcome of each battle for the author was, however, a natural victory for the Nawab.

**Circumstances Leading to the Occupation of Lohgarh:-**

This phase of the Mughal-Sikh conflict for the Lohgarh fortress ended when the Sikhs made a dash into the fortress to ensure its security and their own safety. The Mughal superiority in the numerical strength of their forces and the relentless bombardment by their heavy artillery caused havoc among the Sikhs. Even such bombardment failed to decide the fate of the battle. No body was sure, who won or who

\textsuperscript{67} Ghulam-Muhy-ud-Din, *Futuhat-Namah-i-Samadi*, MS., BM., Or. 1870, London. f.61 (Lines 5-6).

\textsuperscript{68} Ibid., f.63.

\textsuperscript{69} Ibid., f.64.

\textsuperscript{70} Ibid., f.64 (Lines 3-7).
lost. Only the Nawab, hastened to celebrate it as his victory. The author reveals that soon after the celebrations of victory, the Nawab decided to fight for the conquest of the fortress. The author further relates the steps Nawab undertook for the accomplishment of the objective. Tried and experienced warriors whose trust-worthiness and loyalty was never questioned, were selected for the purpose. They were equipped with all the needed war material and dispatched on horses to lay siege to the fortress.

Morchals were made, trenches were dug, bungas and towers were constructed at a safe distance from the fortress. He tried to find out the traces of the impact if any on the faces of the Sikhs. But he was dismayed to observe none. The Sikhs were neither disheartened nor disillusioned. They never attempted to conceal the immaturity and impracticability of both their thoughts and actions. At one stage the idea of the Nawab occupying the fortress seemed to worry them. To prevent such an eventuality, they hurriedly began to rebuild, to repair and reconstruct all the defence units inside the fortress. They had a lot of skilled workers who took up the task of rebuilding the tombs, morchals, walls and towers. All this was accomplished with great skill and care. A very deep trench was dug out around the walls of the fortress and water was allowed to flow freely in it. They had guns too with them which they had obtained in battles fought against Wazir Khan, Shams Khan and Bayazid Khan. They had no heavy artillery but they tried successfully to compensate for the lack of it, with wooden guns made from hollowed stems of trees and strengthened its nozzle with iron rings.

---

72 Ibid., f.68 (Lines 6-9).
73 Ibid., f.68 (Lines 10-12).
74 Ibid., f.68 (Lines 12-15).
The author’s observation seems to suggest that such guns were only half as effective as the Mughal guns\(^\text{75}\). Occasionally, they rushed out of their hidings inside and indulge in plundering, robbing businessmen of building materials and commercial goods, like food for themselves and gunpowder for their guns\(^\text{76}\). The Mughal soldiers frequently fell upon such raiders and killed them mercilessly but according to the author death was no deterrent to them to lay down their lives for the sake of their religion\(^\text{77}\). Such death was considered a perennial life. The author says that the Mughals and the Sikhs were often engaged in a bitter fight with smaller weapons\(^\text{78}\). In desperate situations the Nawab was often found encouraging his men to make all out efforts to arrest the Sikh leader, alive and safe\(^\text{79}\). At the end, the author relates that Banda and Baj Singh slipped out of the fatal situation in disguise and disappeared in the adjoining mountains\(^\text{80}\).

**The Nawab’s Step for Administrative Reforms:**

The second phase for the battle of Lohgarh (Chamargarh), according to the author, begins with the news of the disappearance of Banda, Baj Singh and their followers from their fortress. Abdus Samad Khan was apparently unnerved but was actually taking things very seriously. He ordered his men to proceed towards the fortress along with a heavy troop of baildars i.e, skilled workers who could demolish the structure

\(^{75}\) Ghulam-Muhy-ud-Din, *Futuhat-Namah-i-Samadi*, MS., BM., Or. 1870, London. f.69 (Lines 2-3).

\(^{76}\) Ibid., f.69 (Lines 7-9).

\(^{77}\) Ibid., f.69 (Lines 9-12).

\(^{78}\) Ibid., f.71 (Lines 4-5). For details see ff.71-72.

\(^{79}\) Ibid., f.72.

\(^{80}\) Ibid., f.73 (Lines 4-7). The Sikhs were slaughtered in such a large numbers that their blood flowed in a huge flood in the streets of the town.
of a large building in no time. These baildars first removed the doors from the entire building then levelled the debris along the ground\textsuperscript{81}.

Thus ensuring himself of a phenomenal victory over the Sikhs, the Nawab turned his attention to the vast treasures of gold and diamonds collected from the debris i.e. ‘mal-i-ghanimat’ and distributed it amongst those who had participated in the work of demolition. This ‘mal-i-ghanimat’ actually belonged to the Sikhs who had left it behind in the fortress at the time of deserting it\textsuperscript{82}.

Similarly, he offered full compensation to all those who had suffered huge losses during the period of turmoil and chaos. He also assured the people that he would place the state administration in the hands of competent and capable administrators\textsuperscript{83}. The author goes on to describe the favours received through a royal order from Delhi which bestowed special favours, robes of honour, sirpech, jigha, kamar khanjar, embroidered sword, a horse and an elephant. To this was added the increase in his mansab, jagir, rank, further honours and a royal gift. Besides, Zakariya Khan and the high-ranking Khans and all other companions were made recipients of privileges and rewards\textsuperscript{84}. The royal farman instructed the Nawab to proceed to the Punjab with all that he had obtained earlier for fighting the Sikhs, and appoint a suitable administrator to punish the Sikhs in case they raised their heads again\textsuperscript{85}.

Arif Khan, who had fought against the Sikhs ruthlessly and who had shown his mettle in revenue and political affairs was associated in the task of revenue

\textsuperscript{81} Ghulam-Muhy-ud-Din, \textit{Futuhat-Namah-i-Samadi}, MS., BM., Or. 1870, London. f.75 (Lines 11-15).
\textsuperscript{82} \textit{Ibid.}, ff.75-76.
\textsuperscript{83} \textit{Ibid.}, f.76 (Lines 6-9).
\textsuperscript{84} \textit{Ibid.}, f.76 (Line 10-15).
\textsuperscript{85} \textit{Ibid.}, f.77 (Lines 6-8).
administration and appointed Naib Subadar of Lahore\textsuperscript{86}. Instructions were issued for easier approaches for seeking justice at the Nawab’s court. Emphasis was laid on assuring the people a speedy progress, development and security in all walks of life. The State government employees like the ‘Diwan-i-Suba’ i.e. finance minister, ‘Diwan-i-Biyutat’ (home-minister), a very important officer for the common people, Bakshi i.e. Chancellor of ex-chequer also benefited from the Nawab’s zeal for reform. Bounties, charities and largesses were lavishly distributed amongst the employees\textsuperscript{87}.

Safety and security of the peoples’ property and honour was declared a paramount duty of the state. The working classes were assured of the government responsibility to provide work and other facilities for the workmen. The author’s observations on the government determination to encourage development and growth of agriculture in the uncultivated areas are very informative. It was also made mandatory on all the officials that merit wherever found must be recognized and suitably rewarded\textsuperscript{88}.

The author’s appreciation of the importance of ‘Rob-i-Tasalat’ for all kinds of safety, growth and development in the State is significant. The various duties of State officials as enunciated above would yield results only if power, authority and majesty of the governor was not only recognized but also respectfully honoured and obeyed\textsuperscript{89}.

\textsuperscript{86} Ghulam-Muhuy-ud-Din, \textit{Futuhat-Namah-i-Samadi}, MS., BM., Or. 1870, London. f.78 (Lines 3-6).

\textsuperscript{87} Ibid., f.79 (Lines 1-5).

\textsuperscript{88} Ibid., f.80.

\textsuperscript{89} Ibid., f.81 (Lines 5-10). These lines contain government’s resolve to emphasize the importance of justice, resolution, safety and security to lives and property and enabling common people to trust the government. All the officials were expected to cultivate these qualities in themselves.
The demolition and the consequent levelling of the debris on the ground could have disheartened any other small community, but the Sikhs were made of a sterner stuff, and of different mettle. No such thing happened to them. They deserted the place hastily but showing no trace of any panic they silently crept into the adjoining mountains.

**Banda’s Reappearence**

According to Ghulam Mohy-ud-Din, the Nawab was then engaged in a tough expedition for reducing the rebellious Kharals who had repaired to Multan from the Dullah Bhatti Bar. On hearing of the news of Banda’s reappearence, the Nawab suspended the operation against the Kharals and hastened to march to Lahore. He covered a distance of 80 Kos in one day and the next morning he departed for Kalanaur, where the Sikhs had established themselves. The author further relates that on Mahabat Khan son of Khankhanan’s recommendation he reported himself to the court of the Nawab. Accompanied by Azahr-ud-Din, a close relative of Mahabat Khan, the author presented himself at the Nawab’s court and till the final subjugation of Gurdaspura, he remained with him.

The author narrates how one day while closeted with Nawab Qamar-ud-Din, he fired mortars on the Sikhs from cannons and received the Nawab’s approbation for his skill. Nawab Abdus Samad Khan wanted his son Zakariya Khan to stay behind in Punjab as naib subadar and manage the affairs of the State, but Zakakriya Khan

---

92 *Ibid.*, f.93 (Lines 4-7).
expressed his desire to join his father in the fresh campaign against the Sikhs. His request was granted\textsuperscript{93}.

The Sikh leader Banda had stationed his troops in Gurdaspura, situated at a distance of 6 Kos to the west of Kalanaur, 8 Kos from Batala and four from Rampur and Behrampur to the south. It was a very flourishing town, affluent and flowing in abundance of wealth\textsuperscript{94}. The Sikhs had stored grains and other eatables in large quantity, enough to meet their needs for a long time. A large number of Sikhs had joined Banda and established themselves firmly at Chamari, Neshta, Suri and Bhilowal\textsuperscript{95}. They had the illusion that all this would help them block the passage of the advancing Mughal forces. However, the sight of the Mughal forces arriving in huge numbers with huge wealth, quantities of weapons and war material, they lost their nerves realizing that their safety lay in their dispersal.

The author’s sense of acute observation persuaded him to watch the Sikhs who were boiling with rage to avenge the wrongs done to them by the Mughals. They had ‘attish-i-kina’ blazing in their breasts and they were all, almost, roasting in rage and anger at the cruelties perpetrated on them\textsuperscript{96}.

The presence of a huge array of the Mughal forces was causing the Sikhs some concern but before they could take a decisive step to accomplish their wishes, Arif Khan’s men arrived there with the number of their soldiers\textsuperscript{97}.

\textsuperscript{93} Ghulam-Muh-ud-Din, Futuhat-Namah-i-Samadi, MS., BM., Or. 1870, London. f.93 (Lines 7-10).
\textsuperscript{94} Ibid., ff.93-94.
\textsuperscript{95} Ibid., f.94 (Lines 3-9).
\textsuperscript{96} Ibid., f.95 (Lines 1-4).
\textsuperscript{97} Ibid., f.95 (Line 7).
A fierce battle ensued between the two on the banks of Shah Nehar at Talibpura. Bullets and motars were fired from guns, jazairs, ramchangis, ban and ghazban with amazing speed. Gurdaspura was situated at a distance hardly of one farsang from Talibpura and therefore, Banda took prompt steps to make large supplies of men and equipments to the Sikhs fighting at Talibpura. The author was apparently surprised at the vast number of men being regularly sent to the battlefield to help their compatriots, but the Mughals never allowed them steal a march over them in any field. Situation, however, drastically changed when Zakariya Khan joined the bitter fighting raging there. His arrival emboldened Arif Khan and helped him make all the more serious efforts to startle the Sikhs. The Sikhs displayed a hardiness which stunned the Mughals. Their readiness to sacrifice their lives was astounding. It sent their adversaries in a state of overwhelming bewilderment.

Soon after the fighting started with small weapons. They sheathed swords and blood started flowing like a river on the battlefield. Finding themselves in a desperate situation, they quietly dispersed in different directions. They reassembled in the ruins of Talibpura which provided them a temporary shelter. They devoted themselves to the strengthening of its defenses and installed morchals and fitted guns on the dilapidated walls. Once again a bitter fight erupted. Bullets, motars were fired from the jazairs and the guns. The Nawab ordered his men not to expose themselves to the firing from the enemy. This line has been added by the author to portray the merciful side of the Nawab’s personality.

98 Ghulam-Muhy-ud-Din, Futuhat-Namah-i-Samadi, MS., BM., Or. 1870, London. f.95 (Lines 9-13).
99 Ibid., f.96 (Lines 4-10).
100 Ibid., f.97 (Line 12).
He ordered baildars to raise morchals in front of the enemy. Both sides started making bold preparations anew for the ensuing battle. Banda had created an expert and reliable system of espionage\textsuperscript{101}. The spies reported him all about the fresh arrivals of the Mughal forces under the Nawab. The reports spread consternation among the Sikhs while their leader, Banda, deputed a large number of Sikhs with heavy equipments under the trusted lieutenant Baj Singh to deal with the situation. He changed his tactics and started following a new route. Banda surprised the Mughals with bullets and mortars. Heavy cannons, jazairs and guns blocked the advance of the Mughals\textsuperscript{102}. The unpredictable rather the risky situation forced the Nawab to commence firing from the heavy artillery. The persistent and unflagging bombardment wrought havoc in the battlefield. It blew men into pieces flying in the air. Both sides suffered heavy losses\textsuperscript{103}. The fate of Talibpura battle also remained undecided.

**Siege Of Gurdaspura:-**

The wicked infidels always stepped out of all the bounds of possibilities and tread on the paths of improbabilities. Their persistence and constancy in the battlefield supported by their firm resolve was remarkable. Burning with indignation but always retaining a rare sense of order and zeal in their extraordinary perseverance in the right course against the heaviest odds were qualities par-excellence. Their expertise in artillery battles enabled them obtain victories after victories over their adversaries. But in spite of all this, permanent victory according to the author, falls to the share of those whom the

\textsuperscript{101} Ghulam-Muhy-ud-Din, *Futuhat-Namah-i-Samadi*, MS., BM., Or. 1870, London. f.98 (Lines 7-8).

\textsuperscript{102} Ibid., f.98 (Lines 9-15).

\textsuperscript{103} Ibid., f.99 (Lines 3-6).
Almighty had blessed with His endless virtues and excellencies. Hence the heat of the volleys of mortars fired from the ‘Sarkari Thopkhanas’ i.e. royal artillery set ablaze the infidels\textsuperscript{104}.

In the above lines the author has poured out his sincere thoughts from the innermost recesses of his heart without any bias and rancour for anyone. He goes on to write that with their bodies blackened with smoke and ashes when they presented themselves before their leader, his agony could better be felt than written in words.

The Nawab ordered his men to go in hot pursuit of the burnt and the fugitives. It caused further terror in their ranks. Since the whole community of the Sikhs is a “ferocious congregation of calamities” on the earth\textsuperscript{105}, the Nawab rejected the suggestions of some well-wishers who advised him to lodge a sudden and imminent assault against them but he contented himself by issuing orders for laying a siege around the place where Banda was actually residing.

Keeping the gravity of the situation in view the Nawab took great steps:-

1) Only exalted Khans and nobles were deputed to manage the morchals.

2) All around the town of Gurdaspura guns like jazairs, rahkalas, ghazbans, ramchangis etc, from heavy artillery were fixed at places in close proximity to each other.

3) He informed the central government at Delhi of his success in overpowering the infidels and capturing their fortresses.


\textsuperscript{105} Ibid., f.101 (Line 14).
4) The Government at Delhi was cautioned that Banda was planning to construct a new fort.

5) That orders be issued to the various faujdars, chakladars and hill zamindars from Jammu to join the expeditions immediately.

6) That a sum of rupees 30 lakhs more was required for the expedition\textsuperscript{106}.

The emperor acceded to all their requests and informed Abdus Samad Khan that Nawab Qamar-ud-Din Khan son of Nawab Mohammad Amin Khan Chin Bahadar and Abdul Wahab were also being despatched to help the crusaders in the expeditions\textsuperscript{107}.

The Central Government further instructed the Nawab that several reputed warriors were being dispatched to join the Nawab. Daulat Khan Munj, the hill Zamindars Dhrip Dev Jamwal, Dhrip Dev Jasrotia, Hamsar Chand Katoch, Dabahu Nurpuria and other like them were directed to make a dash with their men and resources to the battlefield\textsuperscript{108}. Qamar-ud-Din Khan was made incharge of the Northern trenches, Zakariya Khan was given the charge of the entire Southern district. The morchals in the west were handed over to Arif Khan and other celebrated Khans. Similarly Ikhlas Khan Keshgi was put in-charge of the Eastern side\textsuperscript{109}. A passage each in the East and South sides were left unguarded for the Sikhs to lure them for a flight through the opening which would make their slaughter easier if they chose to escape through them\textsuperscript{110}. The Sikh, however, offered the besiegers a tough resistance with arrows, bullets, gun firing and huge

\textsuperscript{106}Ghulam-Muhy-ud-Din, Futuhat-Namah-i-Samadi, MS., BM., Or. 1870, London. f.102 (Lines 7-15).

\textsuperscript{107}Ibid., f.103 (Lines 7-10).

\textsuperscript{108}Ibid., f.104 (Lines 8-11).

\textsuperscript{109}Ibid., f.105 (Lines 1-10).

\textsuperscript{110}Ibid., f.105 (Lines 13-15).
boulders. So much so, that soldiers’ incharge of the morchals never got a moment’s respite to stir out of their shelters. The Sikhs, however, promptly carried out repairs and constructed towers, walls and tombs on a new wall ten yards wide around themselves. They placed there large number of guns also.\footnote{Ghulam-Muhy-ud-Din, \textit{Futuhat-Namah-i-Samadi}, MS., BM., Or. 1870, London. f.106 (Lines 8-15).}

At night they would dash out of their hidings with the intention of robbing and plundering to augment their stores of food, fodder and the magazine. Old and young were astonished at their audacity to indulge in hazardous endeavours. Their spirit of jollity, mirth and impudence on all such occasions was always very surprising. The night never follows the day unless they had led a night assault here or somewhere else. Similarly a day never turns into might if they never engaged with small weapons in a hand to hand fight with their enemies.\footnote{Ibid., f.107 (Lines 1-2).}

Banda’s advisers counselled him to seek a flight from the situation which was getting hopeless. He, however, ignored their suggestions and on the other hand advised them to carry on the fight with greater zeal and hardiness.

The author further relates what he observed regarding the siege around Gurdaspura in the Mughal camp. The Nawab had introduced some changes in the shape of new formations in laying a siege around Gurdaspura. He placed two jaziers at a distance of arrow-shots from within. Three yards from the foot of the wall, he ordered towers to be constructed on them so that heavy artillery could be placed to fire easily and more effectively. The gunners on both the sides showed such an agility that if the Mughal gunner raised his head above the wall, his head was sure to roll on the ground below. If an infidel dared to raise his head, a mortar from the opposite jazair would certainly

\begin{flushleft}
\footnotesize
\textsuperscript{111} Ghulam-Muhy-ud-Din, \textit{Futuhat-Namah-i-Samadi}, MS., BM., Or. 1870, London. f.106 (Lines 8-15).
\footnotesize
\textsuperscript{112} Ibid., f.107 (Lines 1-2).
\end{flushleft}
dispatch the owner of the head to hell. In the end the Nawab ordered the construction of tall towers on Arif Khan’s morchal to place the royal artillery there. The mortars from such guns caused maximum havoc to the Sikhs in their own courtyard within the four walls of the fortress.

**Fall of Gurdaspura:**

With all entrance and exit completely closed for the ever-increasing Mughal campaigns on seeking tough clashes and new conflicts on the war front had, according to the author made life more miserable for the starving and almost half-dead Sikhs. While being in such predicament they had lost all charm for life. Death was naturally their only preference. Groups of people jumping out of their hiding made sudden and surprise assaults on the Mughal morchals hoping to find some way out for their deliverance but the Mughal guns fell equally harsh upon them and only half of these who had ventured to come out fled back to alive into the fort. The Mughal soldiers considered their valorous deeds on the battlefields as totally incredible. They did not allow moment’s rest to the advancing Mughals. The Sikhs had created a situation for them that even the Nawab had to personally enter the combat lines to offer repeated encouragement to his men in the army. He had to change his war tactics too. Earlier following the example set by the Sikhs, he had ordered the digging out deep trenches around the Mughal morchals and make water from Shah Nehar flow in them. He

---

increased the number of trenches, walls in the center of the fort. These measures made it difficult for the Sikhs even to sacrifice their lives.

The excessive bombardment on the courtyard of the besieged was so heavy that almost all the animals perished inside. Zakariya Khan copied the tactics Aurangzeb had adopted in the Deccan. The morchals were carried forward slowly and gradually to reach the outer walls of the besieged fort. Similarly a big tower had been constructed on Arif Khan’s morchal to install the ‘Kohshikan’ gun which could fire a mortar weighing one mannd pukhta and which was brought from Lahore. This gun played havoc with the life and property of the besieged. The bombardment it made on the fort virtually made the situation entirely hopeless for the Sikhs who started thinking of laying down arms conditionally.117

The Sikhs had completely exhausted all their stores of food and fodder. They offered to pay gold equal in weight of the grains. On receipt of the news the Nawab took strong action to stop the evil practice118. The Nawab had become so serious about the outcome of the campaign that he announced throughout the Mughal camp that the Mughals should not resort to fasting. They would lose stamina and strength which they required to fight the enemy119. Such was the terror of the Sikhs that the Nawab refused to lend any credence to the news emanating from the captured Sikhs about the total disappearance of any grain inside. He showed them the leaves on the trees which he firmly believed to suffice to sustain life in them.120

117 Ghulam-Muhy-ud-Din, Futuhat-Namah-i-Samadi, MS., BM., Or. 1870, London. f.113 (Lines 5-14).
118 Ibid., f.114 (Lines 5-6).
119 Ibid., f.114 (Lines 14-15); f.115 (Lines 1-3).
120 Ibid., f.115 (Lines 8-15).
The author’s report that the Sikh revolt had widespread impact in the entire region was further confirmed by his later expressions in the text. The Sikhs, according to him, were collected at different districts. Their entrance and exit were all sealed. Their supply of food and water was cut off. Hunger and starvation reduced them to skeletons. When these famished Sikhs fell for the temptation of water and food held out before them they ventured to come out but when they stirred out of this covering, the soldiers fell upon them and cut them into pieces\textsuperscript{121}. The jubilant author makes a gleeful reference to such incidence and proudly expresses his satisfaction over the extermination of the Hindus and the Sikhs. In a verse in the text he becomes almost euphoric and says that the Sikhs and the Hindus had been completely eliminated from the State. There would be none to worship Nanak or Ram\textsuperscript{122}.

\textbf{Circumstances leading to Banda’s surrender:-}

The famished Sikhs were fading fast every moment. The remnants tormented by lack of food and wearing lean and hungry looks approached their leader Banda and complained about the non-receipt of food and reinforcements. Banda had no answer and he kept mum\textsuperscript{123}. Narrating their tales of woes about starvation and hunger, they made a forceful submission for immediate surrender to the Nawab. In despair they did not hesitate to make some unpleasant remarks too. The foul and offensive smell emanating from the dead both men and animals had made the situation more gruesome and horrid than could be described. The incessant heavy bombardment from the

\textsuperscript{121} Ghulam-Muhy-ud-Din, \textit{Futuhat-Namah-i-Samadi}, MS., BM., Or. 1870, London. f.116 (Lines 1-4).
\textsuperscript{122} \textit{Ibid.}, f.99 (Line 13).
\textsuperscript{123} \textit{Ibid.}, f.116 (Lines 7-9).
‘Kohshikan’ and the heavy artillery had virtually demolished everything leaving no place to take shelter. Banda took no time and announced that time for him to lay down his own life had arrived. Baj Singh considered those words an opportunity and hastened to reach Arif Khan’s morchal calling out to him, If you are prepared to grant safety and security, our commander with few companions was willing to present himself at the Nawab’s court, but on condition that Nawab would forgive them for their past errors committed by them\textsuperscript{124}.

Arif Khan reported the matter along with the tidings to the Nawab who asked him to contact Baj Singh and to emphasize that the Nawab was a kind and generous person and that Banda with his son and a few other selected persons should meet the Nawab, and that after the passage of time whatever was settled would be implemented\textsuperscript{125}. Baj Singh carried the tidings to Banda. Consequently Baj Singh accompanied by Banda, his wife, son and a few other selected and important personalities from amongst his followers presented themselves at the Nawab’s court for the proposed meeting. Banda had asked for ‘Aman’, a Persian word which denotes ‘peace and protection, safety and security’. But far from getting any protection or safety, Banda was arrested in strict violation of the terms on what Banda had laid down arms. Similarly, his followers too were not granted any security or safety. Thousands of them, in absolute violation of the terms of Banda’s surrender, were arrested and all excepted one thousand to be presented alive to the Emperor at Delhi were mercilessly slaughtered\textsuperscript{126}.

\textsuperscript{124} Ghulam-Muhy-ud-Din, \textit{Futuhat-Namah-i-Samadi}, MS., BM., Or. 1870, London. f.117 (Lines 1-15).

\textsuperscript{125} \textit{Ibid.}, f.118 (Lines 1-4).

\textsuperscript{126} \textit{Ibid.}, f.118 (Lines 5-15).
The Sikhs had very explicitly conveyed their terms of surrender to the Nawab. They had asked for ‘Aman’. Their offer of surrender to the Nawab was conditional and the Nawab had extended an invitation to Banda to meet him with a few selected companions and his son, had showed that the terms were acceptable to him and that details only were to be settled afterwards. Banda believed in his words while the Nawab had obviously some hidden thoughts in his minds. Immediately on Banda’s landing in the Amir’s camp, he was put under arrest. Expecting one thousand, all the rest consisting of several thousands were massacred indiscriminately in strict violations of the terms on which Banda had offered to lay down arms.

The Nawab was adept in playing such tactics and choosing similar strategies with others also. The Pathans were vanquished with such deceptive politics. Isa Khan Munj and his followers Daulat Khan Munj too were similarly liquidated.

Khafi Khan, the celebrated contemporary historian was conscious of the imperfection and the blemish in the Nawab’s approach to the final settlement of the problem connected with the surrender of the Sikhs and their leader Banda. He, however, justified the Nawab’s action on grounds of ‘expediency’. This does not appear to be a reasonable justification.

Dispatch of Banda and the Sikhs to Delhi

The concluding chapter gives an account of the ‘unparalleled’ virtues of the author’s patron Nawab Abdus Samad Khan, who accomplished a phenomenal success in a task which all the other renowned Amir’s nobles at the court had declined to

---

127 Ghulam-Muhy-ud-Din, Futuhat-Namah-i-Samadi, MS., BM., Or. 1870, London. f.120 (Lines 1-12).
undertake. The author comments on the unchallenged supremacy of the Mughal Emperor in the political affairs of the country was ultimately re-established.

Banda, the leader of the Sikhs had broken the spell and had emerged alive many times out of the most difficult situations faced by the community. The Nawab, however, succeeded in doing what he contemplated. The author rightly takes pride that the Nawab ultimately triumphed and arrested alive the entire army of the Sikhs with their leader without sacrificing the life of a single soldier from his camp.

He attributed such miraculous success to the Nawab’s own determination, valour and courage. He further relates the purpose why he put in writing what he had witnessed or experienced in the limited period of less than a decade when he remained with the Nawab during all the expeditions. He was inspired by too considerations. Firstly, he wanted to perpetuate his own memory and secondly he desired to convey to his countrymen what the Nawab had done for them\textsuperscript{128}.

After demolishing the Gurdaspura fort, when the Nawab hurriedly went back to Lahore he arranged to send the captives to Delhi. They were chained together and driven like animals throughout on the route to Delhi\textsuperscript{129}. Banda and his wife were escorted in a manner which they thought would serve a drastic warning to others who ever contemplated a revolt against the Mughals\textsuperscript{130}. Accompanied by Qamar-ud-Din Khan and Zakariya Khan, these helpless prisoners were presented at the royal court. The Nawab stayed back at Lahore to re-establish the administration on sound lines. The Emperor held a royal jashan to celebrate the victory. Banda and his men were presented before the

\textsuperscript{128} Ghulam-Muhy-ud-Din, \textit{Futuhat-Namah-i-Samadi}, MS., BM., Or. 1870, London. f.124.
\textsuperscript{129} Ibid., f.126.
\textsuperscript{130} Ibid., f.125.
Emperor. Banda was tortured to death. Rewards were given. Honours were bestowed. Ranks were conferred\textsuperscript{131}.

The prisoners were beheaded one by one and heads dispatched to different parts of the country to be hung on the trees on both sides of the highways. Zakariya Khan was handed over the rewards for Abdus Samad Khan and sent back loaded with honours, gifts and ranks to Lahore\textsuperscript{132}.


\textsuperscript{132} \textit{Ibid.}, f.128.