

**ADMINISTRATIVE SYSTEM
OF
DEHLI SULTANAT
(1206-1413 A. D.)**

By

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1959

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**TO
MY MOTHER**

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P R E F A C E

The study of Political Institutions of the Pre-Mughal Muslim rule in India has not so far received from scholars the attention that it deserves. One reason for this apparent lack of interest in this study is the paucity of material bearing upon the subject. The contemporary chroniclers are found to be more interested in the narration of life-stories of the Sultans, and it is only incidentally and very briefly that they touch upon here and there the political institutions of the age.

The present work in its main content forms a part of my M. A. thesis which I had supplicated nearly two decades ago. When I took up the work originally the immensity of the task attracted me most, but while actually working on the subject I realised the magnitude and vastness of the scope. Since then many connected problems taxed my mind and I strove hard to find their solution. In the present work I have incorporated all such findings.

I make no claims of presenting an original work but I have spared no pains to examine all such source material as I could make an access to, before arriving at my conclusions. Throughout the course of this study I have tried to remain objective and have not allowed any preconceived notions to supervene my analysis. Before drawing conclusions I have weighed thoroughly the valued opinions of the scholars and if I have differed from them it is only because my findings led me to such conclusions, and with due regards I extend my apologies to them.

The subject being a part of Honours and M. A. syllabus, my students urged on me for its publication.

To make it intelligible to students and the interested literati, I have used the diacritical marks sparingly. The names of rivers and places have been spelt as they are pronounced.

A major portion of the present work was done under the guidance of Dr. P. Saran, and my indebtedness to him is too great for words. In spite of his bad health and heavy work he always came forward with a smile to guide and help me whenever and wherever I approached him. The credit of the work is entirely his, but he is in no way responsible for its shortcomings; they are mine.

I am particularly indebted to Professor S. A. Rashid who gave me his valuable time and offered his more precious views on the subject and to Professor Habib whose works of outstanding merit I have freely availed.

I also acknowledge my indebtedness to all authors on whom I have freely drawn. I have tried to acknowledge them at all places, but in a work which has extended over such a long period of time, and specially when it has also formed the basis of my teaching, I might have missed many. For any unacknowledged borrowing either in thought or expression I crave their pardon.

In the publication of the present work I have only ventured to present before my fellow countrymen as much a correct picture as I could make of the First Sultanate of India, because I find them different from what they are generally believed to be. How far have I succeeded can only be judged by the readers.

12th February 1959
53, Varuna Bridge
Varanasi Cantt.

U. N. Day

F O R E W O R D

The "Administrative System of Dehli Sultanat", by Prof. U. N. Day, M.A., is a welcome addition to the scanty literature we have on this subject. Prof. Day has made an attempt to give within a small compass the main outlines of the administrative system of the Sultanate of Delhi and has added valuable appendices explaining and interpreting controversial problems which add to the utility of the book.

The author's object, one is happy to note, has not been simply to write a text-book of the sort of which the book-shops are full these days. He has not been content with offering mere descriptions summarised from secondary works. He has, on the other hand, attempted to present his account of the various aspects of the Sultanate administration in a simple and well-argued manner. He sets himself to answer serious questions: Why did particular institutions arise? What were the principles behind the factional struggles amongst the officers of the Sultanate? What were the objectives and policies of the various Sultans and such other problems which puzzle the mind of a young student. For his answers he has availed himself of the results and findings of the latest scholars in this field. His acceptance of Prof. Habib's interpretation, embodied in the 'Introduction' to the Aligarh reprint of Elliot's Vol. II, voluminous history, is not accidental. The author has made a careful and intelligent study of the books of Dr. Tripathi, Dr. Qureishi and Dr. K. S. Lal and others and many long-standing errors, which these authors have helped in removing, are absent from his work. It would be unfair to the author if one regards his book as being based on secondary works only. He has studied Barani in the original and has also studied other sources, such as Tabqat-i-Nasiri and Ibn Battuta in standard translations, though he has, perhaps, used Elliot's volumes a little too extensively. He displays the capacity to form an independent judgment, and to choose wisely between conflicting opinions among modern authorities. His note on the controversy relating to the connotation of *do-aspa* in Barani (see pp. 126-7) furnishes a good example of this.

The most welcome feature of the book is its secular and scientific approach. The author is by no means an apologist for the Sultans or their government; but he also does not allow any preconceived notions to prejudice his judgment. This book will be welcomed I hope by the students and teachers of Indian history for whom it is primarily meant. The printing of the book has not been very good; but the numerous mistakes in the text have been corrected in the corrigenda, which should be consulted before passing any judgment on the book.

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CONTENTS

Foreword	v
Preface	vii
List of Abbreviations	ix
CHAP.	
I. <i>Introductory</i>	1
The period covered in the book—A rapid survey of Political history-Geographical factors—Physical features affecting the hold of the Sultanate—Source material for the study.	
II. <i>A Brief Sketch of Muslim Polity</i>	24
Persian court—Persian army—Abbasides and their institutions.	
III. <i>The Central Government</i>	32
The structure of the government—The Islamic theory of sovereignty—The term Sultan—The position of the Sultan—The Sultan and the Khalifa—The functions of the Sultan.	
IV. <i>The Central Government (contd.)</i>	50
Ministers, minor departments and other officers of Central Government—Ministers, Diwan-i-Wazarat, Diwan-i-Arz—Diwan-i-Rasalat and Diwan-i-Riyasat, Diwan-i-Insha—Minor departments and other officers of the State—Department of slaves—The karkhana—Intelligence department.	
V. <i>The Provincial Government</i>	67
Governors with unlimited powers—Governors with limited powers—Territorial limits of the Sultanat—Types of provinces—Officers of the Provincial government, sub-divisions of a province—Provincial Finance—provincial army—	

CHAP.

The Barids.—Provincial Judiciary—Checks over the provincial governors.	
VI. <i>Fiscal System</i>	86
A brief sketch of Muslim theory of taxation—Revenue System under the Sultans—Other sources of state income—Ownership of land under the Sultans.	
VII. <i>The Military Organisation</i>	115
Two main branches of the army—Recruitment of the army-officials—Remuneration—Elephants—Forts—Punishment and discipline of the army—Weapons used during the Sultanate.	
VIII. <i>Law and Justice</i>	134
Sources of Muslim law—Application of Muslim law, its scope—The attitude of the Sultans towards justice—Judicial system and law officers—Punishments—Network of law courts.	
IX. <i>Public Works</i>	152
Construction work—Education—Management of the department.	
X. <i>A Review of the Administrative Policy</i>	164
Appendix A	177
A note on Medieval Court.	
Appendix B	179
Indian Architecture under Muslim rule.	
Appendix C	188
The Ibahatiyahs.	
Appendix D	191
Assessment of Land Revenue.	
Bibliography	195
Index	211

ABBREVIATIONS

- Afif** —*Tarikh-i-Firuzshahi* by Shams-i-Siraj Afif (Bib. Ind.).
- Aghnides** —*Mohammadan Theories of Finance*.
- Badauni** —*Muntakhab-ut Twarikh* by Abdul Qadir Al' Badauni (Bib. Ind.).
- Basu** —English Translation by K.K. Basu of *Tarikh-i-Mubarakshahi*.
- Bib. Ind.** —Bibliotheca Indica.
- C.H.I.** —*Cambridge History of India* Vol. III.
- Elliot** —*History of India as told by its own Historians* by Elliot and Dowson.
- Firishta** —*Tarikh-i-Firishta* (Persian Text,) Newal-kishore Press, Lucknow.
- Habib** —*Introduction to Elliot*. Vol. II. (Aligarh, 1952).
- Hodivala** —*Studies in Indo-Muslim History* by S. H. Hodivala, (Bombay).
- Ind. Ant.** —*Indian Antiquary*.
- Isami** —*Futuh-us-Salatin* of Isami (Ed. by Mehdi Husain, Agra).
- J.A.S.B.** —*Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*.
- Minhaj** —*Tabakat-i-Nasiri* by Minhajus Siraj (Bib. Ind.)
- Moreland** —*The Agrarian System of Moslim India* by W. H. Moreland.
- MS.** —Manuscript, handwritten or typed.
- Qureshi** —*The Administration of the Sultanat of Delhi* by I. H. Qureshi (Second Edition).
- Raverty** —English translation of *Tabkat-i-Nasiri* by H. G. Raverty (Bib. Ind.).
- Saran** —*Provincial Government of the Mughals* by P. Saran.
- Tab-i-Akbari** —*Tabakat-i-Akbari* by Nizamuddin Ahmad (Bib. Ind.)
- Tab-i-Nasiri** —*Tabakat-i-Nasiri* by Minhajus Siraj (Bib. Ind.).
- Thomas** —*The Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi*.
- Tripathi** —*Some Aspects of Muslim Administration* (Allahabad, 1936).
- Wright** —*The Coinage and Metrology of the Sultans of Delhi*.
- Zia** —*Tarikh-i-Firuzshahi* by Ziauddin Barani (Bib. Ind.).

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY

The second Battle of Tarain fought in the year 1192 A. D. is a great turning point in the history of India. It decided the fate of the Rajput ascendancy in the life of the Indians. It also decided the fate of the orthodox Brahmanical thought which had been long basking under the patronage of a decadent Rajput polity. The ascendancy of the Brahmanical thought over the Rajput polity had only resulted in weakening the latter and lays bare before us that, when religion fails to march along with the march of life, it only paralyses the society. India had felt the impact of new vigour and new life when Mahmud of Ghaznin invaded the Indian borders in 1000. A. D.¹ Time after time Mahmud invaded Indian territories and all the Rajput kingdoms lay prostrate before his mace. The Rajputs were bewildered but only believed it to be the dispensation of Supreme Will. They never for once could think that it was not the fulfilment of divine dispensation but the result of their own stagnant mind which refused to understand the changing current. Thus the process started by Mahmud continued for almost about two centuries and only culminated in the second Battle of Tarain in 1192 A. D; exactly one hundred and ninety-two years after his first invasion. Indeed it is a fact that Mahmud had no desire of creating an empire in India, nevertheless by his activities both in India and outside he was only loosening the forces which he was not destined to live for ever and control. The same factors which had helped him to create his empire recoiled on his dynasty and finally destroyed it altogether.

1 Habib, *Introduction to Elliot*, Vol. II (Aligarh).

The rise of the Turks owes its origin in the political system adopted by the greater Abbasides (751-851. A. D.), and Mahmud was only the finished product of this system. By the "time of Sultan Mahmud all higher military commands and most administrative commands had by long standing custom come to be the monopoly of the Turkish slave bureaucracy." The Abbaside system had been extensively copied by the Sammanids which in turn had served as the parent institution of the Ghorian Turks.² It was on the ruins of the empire of Mahmud that Ghazz Turkomen were building their empire and in 1186 A. D. the last of the House of Mahmud was overthrown and imprisoned by Muizzuddin Muhammad-bin-sām or Muhammad Ghori and the Punjab (the Indian territory of the House of Ghaznin) became a part of the Ghorian empire. In 1192 A. D. Muhammad Ghori defeated Prithviraj Chauhan in the second battle of Tarain and extended his territories in India. Indian territories were converted into provinces, Governors of Provinces were appointed, the Turkish rule was established.³ The Ghorian rule came to an end in 1206 A. D. when Muizzuddin Muhammad-bin-sam succumbed to the assault of the assassin, leaving no heir to his big Empire. The Turkish provinces were separated and Turkish kingdom of India was founded.

The Turkish Sultanate thus founded remained in India for a number of centuries. But the factors which had led to the stir and rise of the Ghazz Turkomen or the Ilbari Turks, had not ceased to work after their rise. The process had continued and had led to the rise of the Mongols. In the wake of the decline of Sammanid empire the Khwarizm and the Ghorian empires had sprung up. Thus the rise of Mongols hit both the empires of Khwarizm and of Ghorians. Hardly had

2 Vide, Habib, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 90-94.

the Ilbari Turks settled in India when Chingiz Khan started his own organisation and destruction of the two empires. The result of the rise of Chingiz Khan was that the Turks in India lost their original home and had to reconcile their fate in the new land of their adoption. The Indianised Turks and their religious Indian *compatriots* formed the ruling class and retained the rein of administration in their hands. It was in India that they devised, formed and evolved their governmental machinery. Naturally they had to experiment and in these experiments they failed from time to time. No doubt they failed more than often, but one thing remained settled, that they were trying to build according to the needs of the conditions. It is therefore always misleading to search for their institutions and to find support for them in some tenets of Islam. There is no denying the fact that Islam was their faith and that Islam was their common bond. But for administrative matters they had to take into consideration their needs, and practical men as they were, they did not believe in gloating over the 'Shara'. Besides, by the time the Indian Sultanate was established, the Muslim world had already deviated a long way from the strict injunctions of the Quran.³

The Period of the Book

Thus for a study of administrative institutions of the Turkish Sultans we can safely start from 1206 A. D. The second question comes where to fix the other limit. The Slave kings or the Ilbari Turks ruled up to 1290. A. D. when they were replaced by the Khaljis. The Khaljis in their turn were replaced by the Tughlaqs or the Qaraunah Turks in 1320 A. D. The Tughlaqs continued to rule under varying fortunes up to the end of the century when in 1399 A. D. Timur invaded

3 The thesis has been very clearly expounded by Prof. Habib in the *Introduction to Elliot*, Vol. II (Aligarh).

India. Timur's invasion shook the very foundations of the Sultanate. The Tughlaq dynasty after his return gasped for life for about a decade, and with the death of Mahmud in 1413. A. D. the dynasty become extinct. No doubt the Sultanate continued in name under the Sayyads and the Lodis and was once again revived by the Surs. But the rule of the Sayyads can hardly be taken into consideration seriously. It is very doubtful if Khizir Khan ever assumed the role of an independent sovereign. In fact "neither in India nor outside was the sovereignty of the Sayyads recognized. Even an attempt was made to call in the Khalji rulers of Malwa, which was only frustrated by a timely rising of the Afghāns and taking over the power by them. Besides the Sayyads made no positive contributions to kingship.⁴ The Lodis were Afghāns, and the Afghans believed in tribal independence and were hardly prepared to recognize easily the idea of an indivisible absolute sovereignty in which all political relations could be summed up in two words; king and subject".⁵ Thus with the coming of the Afghāns, the Sultanate entered into a different phase. The political institutions of the Afghāns, both the Lodis and the Surs, therefore, form a separate chapter and should be treated separately. By mixing up the political institutions of the Afghāns we are more likely to arrive at wrong conclusions. In fact the end of the Tughlaq dynasty marks the closing of first phase of Turkish rule in India. However, it must be borne in mind that it is called a Turkish rule only in the sense that the rulers belonged to Turkish origin, otherwise they had hardly anything Turkish in them. They had become Indians and by the end of the Ibari Turks, everything Turkish had vanished from them. They were as much Indians, and the Turkish rule here is only used just in

4 See Tripathi, *Some Aspects of Muslim Administration*, pp. 78-80.

5 *Ibid.*

the same way as the Mauryan empire, the Kushan empire or the Gupta empire. Thus the present dissertation is limited and covers a period from 1206 to 1413. A. D.⁶

A Rapid Survey of the Political History

On the death of Ghiyāsuddin Muhammad-bin-Sām, in 1202 A. D. the ancestral lands of the Shansbaniyah dyansty was divided by Shahabuddin, the younger brother of the late monarch, amongst Nāsiruddin Mahmud and Ziāuddin the son and son-in-law of Ghiyāsuddin. This division was quite in confirmity with the family traditions of the Shansabaniyāhs. But Shahabuddin retained for himself the Ghorian empire with Ghaznin as the capital for himself. Over this portion there was no claim of any one else as it was his own achievement, created and built by him with the help of his own Turkish slave officers. In 1205 A. D. Shahabuddin after ravaging Khorasan attacked 'Alāuddin Khwārizm Shah. The battle that was fought outside Khwarizm, the capital, turned the tide against Shahabuddin. He retreated in haste and with great distress reached Andkhud. It was only on the mediation of the Sultanus Salatin of Samarqand that he was allowed to return to his capital. But reverses in the battle hardly ever damped the ambitions of Shahabuddin, and he turned to India to collect more money and men to retrieve his defeat. It was on this return march from India that Shahabuddin was assassinated by an Ismaili heretic and the procession reached Ghazni only with his bier.

6 It being outside the pale of my present dissertation, I have refrained from entering into a discussion and a comparison with the Sur and the Mughal institutions. The Sur administrative institutions originated in the first Afghan empire. The Afghan empires can be studied together but to mix them with Turkish Sultanate would only confuse matters and put a veil on the vision and weight on the understanding

The assassination of Shahabuddin left his empire in a precarious condition. Of course his nephew Nasiruddin Mahmud was there to claim authority over the dominions of his uncle. But to the Turkish slave bureaucracy, the once expressed wish of Shahabuddin that he had a thousand Turkish slave officers to inherit him, was well known, and they were not prepared to hand over to Nasiruddin the vast territories they had conquered for their master. Nasiruddin acted wisely and effected a compromise by issuing letters of manumission (*Khatt-i-Azadi*) to the three most powerful leaders of the slave community, Qutub-uddin Aibek, Nasiruddin Qubacha, and Tajuddin Yaldoz, and contented himself by accepting presents from them.

The immediate result of this action of Nasiruddin was that a triangular struggle started between the three erstwhile slaves of Shahabuddin, which ultimately resulted in dividing the territories of Shahabuddin into three divisions. But this division was not destined to last long.⁷ Within a decade Tajuddin lost his territories to Jalaluddin Mankbarni (1215 A. D.). In 1216 A. D. Chingiz Khan, the great Mongol conqueror, turned his attention to the dominions, once ruled by Mahmūd of Ghaznin, and kingdom after kingdom fell before his might. The activities of Chingiz Khan not only destroyed the kingdom, but also destroyed the remnants of the Ghorian dynasty.

In India, in the meantime, a new Muslim state had sprung up. The freedom granted⁷ by Nasiruddin Mahmud to the three slave officers of Shahabuddin led

7 The principles involved in this have been discussed by Prof. Mohammad Habib and are summarised here under (*Vide Introduction to Elliot and Dowson, Vol II pp. 96-97*).

I. By giving freedom to three great slave officers of his uncle and withdrawing his claim Nasiruddin only set free all the Ghorian

to four definite corollaries. By withdrawing his claim over his uncle's dominions and granting freedom to the three, Nasiruddin indirectly set free all the slave officers, for there could be no slave without a master. In India all the slave officers had been slaves of Shahabuddin and not slaves of Sultan of Dehli, thus all of them were co-heirs to the dominions. Anyone who succeeded as the Sultan only succeeded by the consent of the leading chiefs, which in its turn led to the growth of a fraternity of 'king-makers'.

The scramble for power continued so long as the three divisions continued. Qutubuddin Aibak contented himself by working as the leader of Indian branch of Shahabuddin's territories and kept his seat in Lahore, from where it was easier for him to keep a watch over the activities of his rivals, Yaldoz and Kubacha. Nevertheless his greatest service was to cut off India from Ghazni and thereby paving the way for an independent Sultanate of Dehli.⁸ The succession of Iltutmish led to the final establishment of capital at Dehli and Lahore lost its importance. The importance of the recognition and support of slave officers of late Shahabuddin led not only to the creation of a slave bureaucracy, but also made them the king-maker of India. The slave bureaucracy subsequently came to be known as *Chahalghani*. But Iltutmish was conscious that no

slave officers, because there could be no slave without a master.

- II. In India all the slave officers were slaves of late Shahabuddin and therefore not the slaves of the Sultan of Dehli, rather his co-heirs.
- III. The Sultan of Dehli being one of them could attain to his office only by the consent of chiefs resulting in their constant intrigues by either dethroning someone or placing another.
- IV. The principles of royal prerogative could not be established.

8 Tripathi, p. 24.

government could be established unless he could enforce obedience, and also that this enforcement of obedience could not rest on any legal fiction, but must rest on his own power to enforce it. In the next few years of his accession, the activity of Chingiz Khan threatened the newly founded kingdom of Dehli. But if the march of Chingiz Khan was full of danger it was also not devoid of rich rewards. After the return of Chingiz Khan, the rivals of Iltutmish were weakened and fell easy victims to his might. Thus by the year 1228 A. D. both Tajuddin Yaloz and Nasiruddin Qubacha were removed from the scene. The activities of the *Taziks* for expansion and consolidation under Iltutmish continued up to the year 1236 A. D. when death relieved him of his worldly worries. His death led to a scramble for power by the *Chahalghani* and continued up to 1254 A. D. when Balban finally succeeded in grasping all the powers as *Vakil* of Nasiruddin Mahmud. Balban remained as minister up to 1265 A. D. when Sultan Nasiruddin Mahmud died and he himself assumed sovereignty. The politics of the period from 1236 A. D. to 1265. A. D. clearly depicts two important aspects. First, it reveals that the power of the Turkish Slave officers was supreme in India. Iltutmish had kept them in check but after his death they became uncontrollable. Second, that the descendants of Iltutmish continued to rule not because there was any legal halo attached with them, but because this Turkish Slave Aristocracy of India was divided from within. They all claimed equality in position and authority, and were not prepared to tolerate the elevation of any one of them to a superior position. The conquered land of India was their property and they wanted to remain as co-sharers of it. They, therefore, organised themselves into a group that could dominate the court at Dehli. Naturally, therefore, officers placed at a distance from the court and deprived of the privilege of wielding power

in the court activities more than often revolted. But these revolts generally resulted in some compromise with the court party, and the persons were promoted and transferred. The Sultans too were not unconscious of such a state of affairs and some of them made efforts to set up a rival party to counteract against the dominating party. But such attempts on the part of the Sultans only resulted in their losing the throne, and the aspirants to power were either completely obliterated or thrown into obscurity. Apart from anything else this accounts for the quick change of Sultans up to 1246 A. D.⁹ Balban who was also a party to this faction was not unconscious of this spirit of *Chahalghani*. He had realised the weakness of the Sultan due to this dominating spirit of the Turkish nobility. Thus from the time he assumed authority he endeavoured hard to curb their power and influence. During his Naibship he successfully kept them at bay and divided them from within. After assumption of sovereignty Balban sedulously started with the destruction of this nobility and succeeded in almost annihilating them under the pretext of his strict adherence to the principles of justice. Whatever of this nobility was left was destroyed, during the reign of Kaiqubad, by the rival faction which in its turn was an outcome of the domination of the *Chahalghani*. Thus by 1290 A. D. nothing of the *Tazik* Turkish nobility was left in the field of Indian politics.

Secondly, along with the expansion of the Sultanate and coming of new regions within its ambit the Muslim population also grew in number. This growth was

9 The time of succession after Iltutmish.

1 Ruknuddin Firoz	1236 A. D.
2 Raziah.	1236-1240 A. D.
3 Muizuddin Bahram Shah	1240-1242 A. D.
4 Alauddin Momd. Shah	1242-1246 A. D.
5 Nasiruddin Mahmud	1246-1265 A. D.

quite fast because of wholesale conversions at many places, and conversion of the prisoners of war. These converts, once they became Muslims or followers of the faith, also began to aspire for power in the government. The *Taziks* kept them at bay and they began to make a separate group. Along with this group there were such Muslims too who could not claim to belong to the community of the *Taziks* such as the Khaljis and Qaranahs. Thus while the Turkish slave officers scrambled for power from within their group, they had also to fight against these intruders, as they thought them¹⁰. Thus when Balban destroyed the *Chahalghani* for his personal power, he also destroyed the very prop through which he had ascended. Naturally during the reign of his grandson Kaiqubad the power of the *Chahalghani* was completely destroyed and the weakness of the Turkish slave system was fully exposed. The rival party which had been watching for its chance seized the opportunity and raised its leader Jalaluddin Firuz Khalji to the throne. Jalaluddin's appeasement policy did not satisfy them, as they felt that they had long been deprived of the rewards by the *Taziks*. The futility of such party support, whose loyalty to the Sultan could hardly ever be relied, was crystal clear to 'Alauddin Khalji. 'Alauddin, therefore, after seizing the throne completely destroyed this party which had not hesitated in betraying the old monarch, and had come over to him for the sake of his money.

'Alauddin Khalji started a new era in the Sultanate official system. He was an imperialist and believed in complete autocracy. He created new officers and court-grandeess, who owed their elevation to the sweet will of the Sultan and thus existed on his will. They were there not to dictate policies to the Sultan but to carry

10 The rise of Imaduddin Rihan and Jamaluddin Yakut are glaring examples.

out the orders as dictated by him. In his attempt to crush the power of the aristocracy so as to make them dependent upon the Sultan, 'Alauddin certainly did a great service to the Indian peasantry or the people residing in the rural areas. He crushed not only the power of the Muslim nobles, but also the power of the Hindu nobles who had either retained the hereditary headships of the areas or had come to occupy that position during the ascendancy of "Turkish Slave bureaucracy" of ninety years. These headmen had been, not only cheating the government but were also exploiting the masses, therefore, when 'Alauddin enforced strictness these people failed to get local support and had to submit quietly. But 'Alauddin Khalji's system did not survive him. Even before his death disintegration began and disloyalty came above the surface. After his death, for some time, a scramble for power ensued between the converted Indian Muslims and the domiciled Muslims. For some time the power remained in the hands of the converted Muslims, one of them Khusru Parwari even assumed royalty with the title of Nasiruddin Khusru Shah. But he failed to get the support of the *Thakurs* who despised him as one of low origin and a convert, and on the other hand by his efforts to tighten the strings of administration he earned the hostility of the domiciled Muslims. Ghazi Malik took the opportunity and encashed it by seizing the throne of Dehli. Thus the Tughlaq dynasty came to the throne of Dehli.

Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq had to devote his entire energy to re-establishing order in the country and reviving the governmental machinery which had lost its bearing during the period following the death of Alauddin Khalji. Muhammad Tughlaq devoted his whole life to the realisation of his ideals and his constant failures only earned for him bad names and misunderstandings in the minds of the people. Firuz Tughlaq took a more practical view of the things and accepted political turn-overs as

accomplished facts. He more and more withdrew into his shell with the result that distant provinces tore themselves off and established Independent Principalities. Nevertheless in his attempt to reconcile the nobility Firuz Tughlaq only loosened such forces which his predecessors had been trying all their lives to keep in check. The inevitable result was that after his death, the Sultanate began to totter and crumble. At this time Timur invaded. At the beginning of the Sultanate rule of Dehli Chingiz Khan threatened the Indian dominions which was only averted by the tact and wisdom of Iltutmish.¹¹ But in 1299 A. D. Dehli deprived of wise politicians and statesmen, lay prostrate before Timur. Timur gave a death-blow to the Turkish Sultanate, which breathed its last in 1413 A. D. when Mahmud the last of the Tughlaqs died.

Geographical Factors

In a work like the present one where one has to study the political institutions, a study of land, its nature and conditions, become almost essential. The political institutions no doubt depend in a large measure on the psychology and the genius of the people, but in their working of the institutions, the nature of the land also places before them problems which too their genius is called upon to solve.¹² The physical feature of India is indeed a peculiar one. To a student of Geography India can offer examples of almost all types of land and climate, and to the student of History these conditions provide answers for many questions on the various political upheavals, disturbances, and even social changes. "Land and climate have perhaps wielded the most far-reaching and conspicuous influence on both the physiology and psychology of man. Climate has a great influence on the physique, pigmentation and the economic and mental

11 Tripathi, *Some Aspects of Muslim Administration*, p. 26.

12 P. Saran, *Provincial Government of the Mughals*, p. 12.

conditions of human beings and so has land. Land with its hills and glades, deserts and green pastures, fields and forests, its fertility or sterility, makes the inhabitants of a country in more than one sense, that is to say, it tends to determine the position of its inhabitants to the extent to which it offers them the facilities and means of progress and prosperity and provides stimuli to life and action. Hardihood and courage and capacity for suffering coupled with a spirit of struggle and effort against the hostilities of nature will considerably vary according to the above conditions. Even the faculties and dispositions are to an appreciable extent influenced by the environment."¹³

Conventionally India has been divided into three well-marked geographical regions, *i.e.*, the Himalayan region, the Indo-Gangetic plain, and the peninsula proper. To this division Dr. Saran has added another region which had failed to draw the attention of the scholars previous to him. "This region", writes Dr. Saran, "is formed by the confused mass of hills and forest fertilised by a number of river channels and it girds India like a belt right across from west to east, widening out in the centre and stretching northwards to the line of the Ganga near Allahabad, whence it runs due east as far as Rajmahal and falls sharply towards the south into Orissa."¹⁴ This region has been pointed out by the learned scholar as forming a separate region wielding great influence on the history of India. This region had been the home of many principalities which had defied their powerful neighbours successfully and effectively. It had sheltered a number of races which had successfully maintained their isolated existence. It is in this region that the Chandellas, had built their strong

13 Lucion Fabvre, *A Geographical Introduction to History*, Op. Cit., Saran, p. 20

14 Saran, *Provincial Government of the Mughals*, p. 5.

kingdom, and later the Bundellas maintained their independence.

To these divisions I venture to add one more region, the region of the north-west consisting of the Kirthar range, the Sulaiman mountains which almost come up to the Khybar, further north are the slopes of the Hindukush and the Himalayas. In short the entire region is formed by a rugged stretch of mountainous country from Baluchistan to Kashmir. This region is inhabited by tribes of Turko-Iranian origin, who were made ferocious by the nature of the land, and over whom civilization failed to exercise any softening influence. The eastern side of this region is flanked by the Gakkhar country, containing the Salt Range, the Makialah Hills, inhabited by the Gakkhars, Khokars, Awands and the Janjuhas. It is in this region that the gates of India are situated. Almost all the important races migrated to India from these gates. Thus while the protection of these gates was important to the rulers of India, the subjugation and pacification of the tribal regions was equally important to make the protective measures effective. The Sultans of Dehli no doubt maintained a frontier policy, though defensive, but they could not maintain a hold over the tribal regions, with the result that in spite of their best efforts the Sultans could not prevent the Mongols from coming within the neighbourhood of Dehli.¹⁵ This region like the central region had presented problems from times immemorial. During the Muslim rule, Sher Shah, Akbar, and Aurangzeb had to tax their brains to the limits to maintain order in this region.

The Indo-Gangetic Plain

“The Indo-Gangetic plain lies between the foot-wall of the Himalayas and the Central region which separates

15 This point has been discussed at a greater length in my paper, “North-West Frontier of the Sultanate during the 13th Century.” *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XVII No. 1, pp. 59-69.

it from the Deccan". In the east it stretches up to Brahmaputra and in the west up to Bolan pass. But this span of land again is not uniform in its nature. The Indus and the Ganges are the two water systems that make the mass of the land into a fertile land. In the south-west of this area is situated Rajputana, which again is divided into two halves by the Aravali Range. The western half contains the dry and bleak desert of Thar and Sind. The north-western portion constitutes the Punjab, in which a strip of land about hundred miles wide, skirting the mountain slopes is green, fertile and inviting. The Ganges system bends eastwards from Agra and constitutes the plain known as Aryavart or the Hindustan of Muslim writers. This land from times immemorial had constituted the heart of the Indian Empire, and is formed by fertile soil, green fields and pastures with ample water supply. The eastern portion of this plain contains Bengal which is one of the richest soils of the world. In this region the Ganges and the Brahmaputra join together and then break up into numberless streams, making the land at once fertile, and ever offering a temptation to any adventurer to form a kingdom of his own. Further in the north-east of Bengal is Assam, another land with fertile soil and hills capable of offering resistance to any invading army.

Physical Features affecting the Boundary of the Sultanate

The Indo-Gangetic plain with its various divisions has played a conspicuous part in the history of the country. Starting from the west we find the historic land of Rajputana, which is divided into two halves by the Aravali Range which runs from north east to south west. Of the two divisions the eastern half is less sandy and habitable, and its southern portion constituting Mewar, is quite fertile. It offers to its people a fair amount of subsistence, while the Aravalis provide quite a number of natural fortresses ingress into which is possible only through narrow passes. It was, to a large

measure, because of the intricate ravines and valleys that Mewar could never be properly subjugated, though it had been attacked by the Sultans so many times and Chitor fort conquered almost every time. The conquerors could defeat the military force, but found themselves helpless before the resistance offered by the nature in that region. While the political power in eastern half of Rajputana could be crushed by the Sultans, the western half presented a picture of different nature to them. It is almost cut off from the rest, and is a sandy desert merging with the deserts of Thar and Sind. The desert land in itself offers a resistance almost insurmountable by the human forces, and making ingress from Sind almost impossible. It is in this condition that we may find the main cause of failure of the Arabs of Sind in their expansion towards east. The desert land of Sind always offered resistance to the Sultans of Dehli and almost always remained outside their empire. This desert land contains the states of Bikaner, Jodhpur and Jaisalmer, which maintained their independence throughout the reign of the Sultanate of Dehli and only fell to the superior tact and diplomacy of Akbar. "Here amid the hills and sandy wastes they built new homes, and were never completely subjugated."¹⁶

The Valley of Kashmir, in the north had a geographical boundary of its own and had maintained her independent existence from times immemorial. Like Bengal it had often fallen before a mighty conqueror, but then it again became independent under the new governor who founded his dynasty. The Sultans of Dehli had no jurisdiction over Kashmir and hence Jalaluddin Mankbarni when refused shelter in Dehli found a refuge in the land of Kashmir. The political boundaries of Kashmir had always been defined by her own in physical features.

16 Holderness, *People and Problems of India*, p. 29, *Op. Cit.*, Saran p. 24.

Coming to the centre or the core of the Indo-Gangetic plain called Aryavarta or Hindustan we find a land at once rich in fields and pastures. From times immemorial this region had been the chosen land of the great rulers and empire builders. This land as it moves towards east becomes narrower and narrower, till it reaches Teliagarhi, where the Rajmahal hills in the south and Tarai in the north leave a narrow strip of land about hundred miles in width. The Teliagarhi pass formed a very strategic point and serves as a great buttress against ingress and egress from Bengal.¹⁷ The stretch of land north of the Ganges is again blockaded by a number of rivers traversing the whole plain. Some of these rivers are very wide and deep and present great obstacles to heavy and large armies moving towards Bengal. Thus Bengal always felt safe and secluded at a distance and always tried to maintain her independence. During the Sultanate period, it was a common feature for almost every Sultan to subjugate anew the kingdom of Bengal.⁸¹ During the entire period of the Sultanate (under examination) it was the land west of Teliagarhi and the heart of the Indo-Gangetic plain that received all the care of the Sultans. All the prized *Iqtas* were contained in this region. It was over this region that the personal rule of the Sultan was felt.

Thus to sum up, we find that outwardly the territories of the Sultans extended over a vast country but for administrative purposes, major part of the Rajputana, was outside their territories. In Punjab only eastern portion was under their control, with the province of

17 The importance and the role of Teliagarhi has been pointed out by Sarit Majumdar in his paper "Teliagarh", *Indian Historical Quarterly*. *Vide*, Vol. XVI 1940, pp. 105-17

18 Iltutmish, Balban, Alauddin Khalji, Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq Muhammad Tughlaq and Firuz Tughlaq all had to face the same problems of Bengal.

Multan as a strong buttress in its south. Gujrat, Malwa, and Bengal were the outskirts of the empire with the former two under greater control and the latter practically independent and living its life apart and secluded. In the Deccan, under Sultan 'Alauddin there existed subordinate States owing allegiance to Dehli. Muhammad Tughlaq, brought them under direct rule, only to afford the aspiring Muslim generals to create independent principalities, towards the close of his reign. Sindh and Kashmir practically remained unsubdued during the entire Sultanate period.

The Source Material for the Study of the Administrative Institutions of the Sultanate of Dehli

A study of the Institutions of the Dehli Sultanate is a difficult problem and a complicated task. Unlike the Mughal institutions, where one can get enough material in the shape of official records, diaries, firmans, and foreign accounts, the political institutions prior to the Mughals suffer from paucity of material. No doubt the chroniclers of the period have recorded the events but from their writings it is evident that in their enthusiasm for the glorification of their master, the Sultan, and in their zeal for the victories of Islam, they hardly ever thought of political institutions and their working. Nevertheless, with patience and by adding bit by bit it is possible to draw the framework and fill therein portions of administrative institutions. It may be of use to make a rapid survey of such works on the basis of which the study of the subject primarily depends.

Tajul Maasir

The earliest in point of time is Tajul Maasir of Hassan Nizami completed towards the end of Iltutmish's reign. It contains the chief military events of the years 588-620 A. H. and, although, extremely florid and ornamental in style, is generally correct in meagre facts which it narrates. The author came to India soon

after the conquest of Dehli and commenced his work early in the reign of Qutubuddin to whom he dedicated it. Extracts are given in Elliot, Vol. II.

Tabakat-i-Nasiri

Next comes *Tabakat-i-Nasiri* of Minhaj-us-Siraj completed in H. 658/1260 A. D. It is a general history of world, but its value consists in its contemporary account of the Shamsbani conquest of India and the subsequent history of the new kingdom in which the author held high ecclesiastical and judicial office. He is not only contemporary but also an actual participant in many events narrated in his work which consequently suffers from many prejudices. He is extremely biased towards the Ghorids and the dynasty of Iltutmish, and in many places conceals facts unfavourable towards Ulugh Khan and Sultan Nasiruddin Mahmud to whom the work is dedicated. He was also prejudiced against the converted Muslims of India, and gives a very garbled account wherever the connections of the *Tasiks* and the converted Muslims are involved. Thus the significance of Imad-u-ddin Rihan's advent to power and subsequent fall are not properly described. Although generally correct with regard to facts he is very sparing in supplying details and in some places makes contradictory statements. Nevertheless its value as one of the main original sources can hardly be overestimated. Although the author is known to have lived until the accession of Balban, it is unfortunate that he did not continue his work down to the death of Nasiruddin Mahmud. Consequently the history of the period from 1260-1265 A. D. is left in perfect darkness, and no subsequent writer made any attempt to fill up this blank, of course 'Isami in his *Futuh-us-Salatin* has thrown hints implicating Balban as a regicide.

Khazhin-ul-Futuh

The book, also called *Tarikh-i-'Alai* is written by Abu

Hasan popularly known as Amir Khusru, and a contemporary of Ziauddin Barani. The author died in 1325 A. D. having lived through the reigns of Balban, Jalaluddin Khalji, 'Alauddin Khalji, Ghiyasuddin Thughlaq and Muhammad Tughlaq. Amir Khusru was a poet, but being connected with government offices, he had weaved in his poems considerable amount of historical matter as well. *Khazain-ul-Futuh* deals with the military campaigns of 'Alāuddin Khalji and gives valuable information about the military organisation, mode of warfare and weapons, etc. The literary value of the book is also immense. The whole phraseology of the book is indication of the topic which is dealt in that particular paragraph. "Indeed these puns, riddles and analogies are even valuable on one more account, for the author rarely mentions a date which is not comprised in a sentence containing some kind of enigma, so that we can easily ascertain the correctness of a date if we have reasons to doubt the correctness of the numerals." The value of the book is all the more enhanced because of the fact that the author was not only contemporary with the events but was a participant in many of them.

Quiranus Sadain, Miftahul-Futuh, Ashiqa, Nuh Sipihr, Tughlaqnama and *Izaz-i-Khusravi* are some of the other works of Amir Khusru, which throw some valuable light on the spirit and working of the government.

Tarikh-i-Firuzshahi

Tārīkh-i-Firuzshahi of Ziauddin Barani was completed in 1359 A. D. and is dedicated to Sultan Firuzshah Tughlaq. Although Ziauddin claims to have resumed his work from where Minhaj-us-Siraj left his account, his book opens with the year of the reign of Sultan Balban. The book covers a fairly big period and much of his information has been taken by later writers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Ziauddin Barani came

from a family which was connected with the government; his father Muyid-ul-mulk and his uncle 'Alaul-mulk both had occupied offices during the Khalji reign. Towards the close of his life he was facing pecuniary trouble, which embittered his life, as a consequence of which the later portions of *Tarikh-i-Firuzshahi* do not bear the same scholarly impress as compared with the earlier period. *Tarikh-i-Firuzshahi* is very valuable for a study of the administrative institutions. But his language is a peculiar mixture of Persian and Hindustani and often creates difficulties in finding out the meaning of the author. Though Ziauddin is not particular about the dates in his book, but for a study of institution the dates are not very important. Even with all its defects the book forms one of the main sources for the study of institutions of the period covered by him and supplies considerable information, which the reader has to find out with patience and care.

Fatwa-i-Jahandari is another work of Ziauddin Barani which deserves notice. It deals with the legal aspect of monarchy and government, rather it tries to set an ideal that a Muslim monarch should try to follow. The book being a theoretical digression places before us the jurist's views, and offers an opportunity for comparison with the actual working of the government, *i.e.*, the theoretical and practical aspects of government as it obtained under the Sultans of Delhi.

Ibn Batuta

Ibn Batuta came to India during the reign of Mohammad Tughlaq and wrote his account after he had left India. His account of India where he stayed for eight years affords invaluable material specially for the period of Tughlaq's reign. However, Ibn Batuta's work *Kitabul Rihala* suffers from a great defect inasmuch as the author had a peculiar weakness for 'Bazaar' gossips and had spared no pains to incorporate them in his narration whenever he could find a possible opportunity.

But with all its defects and shortcomings *Kitabul Rihala* remains a valuable source, as he held appointment under the Tughlaq Sultan, and had also access to many eye-witnesses from whom he had drawn information. In many places Ziauddin's account is supplemented by Batuta and at places corrected too. Ibn Batuta's *Kitabul Rihala* is now quite accessible in Hindi and Urdu, besides, its French and English translations.

Masalikul Absar Fi Mamalikul Amsar

This is another book of considerable importance by Shahabuddin Abul Abbas Ahmad. His information is based mainly on the information supplied to him by Sheikh Mubarak and Khojandi, who had first-hand information about the affairs. As the author came from a family that was employed in administrative side his information on administration is very helpful. The only shortcoming of the book is that its author never personally visited India and drew his information from those who had been to India. Nevertheless by throwing sidelights on the positions of various government officials during the reign of Muhammad Tughlaq it deserves a prominent place as a source of information.

Tarikh-i-Firuzshahi

This is another book of great importance by Shams-i-Siraj 'Afif'. The author and his ancestors had not only administrative experience and information, but were closely associated and attached to the House of the Tughlaqs. The author's great grandfather was a revenue collector of Abuhar in Dipalpur and was quite intimate with Ghiyasuddin Tuglaq. He was also instrumental in bringing about the marriage of Rajab, Firuz Shah's father, and Bibi Naila, the daughter of Rana Mal Bhatti of Dipalpur. The author's grandfather Shams-i-Shahab 'Afif and Firuz Shah were born on the same day and were almost playmates of childhood. Thus we see that Shams-i-Siraj 'Afif had a first-hand knowledge of the reign of Sultan Firuz Shah and his book

deals exclusively with the reign of that monarch. The book deals fairly in detail with the administrative aspects of the reign of Sultan Firuz. "In style the history has no pretensions to elegance, being, in general, very plain. The author is much given to reiterations and recapitulations and he had certain pet phrases which he constantly uses." However, for study of administrative institutions of the Sultans of Dehli it is an absolutely indispensable book.

Other Books on the Reign of Firuz Shāh

Besides the *Tarikh, Futuhat-i-Firuzshahi, Sirat-i-Firuzshahi, Fiq-i-Firuzshahi* are three other very important sources which cannot be overlooked. The first mentioned book is believed to have been the personal composition of the monarch and throws sufficient light on the working of the mind of the Sultan in the direction of administration. The second book claims to be a dictation of the Sultan himself and throws some light on the administrative side also. The third one embodies the orthodox view of considerable administrative importance.

Some Later Histories

The first in this category comes *Tarikh-i-Mubarakshahi* of Yahia-bin-Ahmad bin 'Abdullah Sirhindi completed in 838/1434 A. D. The work though mainly based on the earlier works gives some additional information for which, however, no authority has been mentioned by the author.

Of the later chronicles mention must be made of *Tabkat-i-Akbari* of Nizamuddin Ahmad, *Muntakhabut-Twarikh* of 'Abdul Qadir Badauni, and *Gulshan-i-Ibrahimi*, better known as *Tarikh-i-Firishta* of Muhammad Qasim-bin-Hindu Shah known as Firishta. The first two are merely reproductions of earlier histories mentioned above. Firishta, though used other sources not available to us inserted many things from his own imagination and one has to be extremely careful in reading Firishta.

All other works of importance have been mentioned in the Bibliography.

CHAPTER II

A BRIEF SKETCH OF MUSLIM POLITY

Muhammad the Prophet was a great revolutionary. He came at a time when the masses were suffering from all sorts of inhuman oppression. "Arabia was tribe-ridden; in Persia the disenfranchised classes groaned under the triple burden of the royal power, the governing classes and the priesthood."¹ The Prophet's mission, therefore, became to overthrow the customs and habits. Naturally Islam during the Prophet's time could only stand for brotherhood and equality within the *millat* or the creed.² The revolutionary transition period began at Madina, of which the Prophet witnessed only the first act. He did not live to see his creed become a recognised one among the other creeds of the world and naturally enough remained silent regarding equality and brotherhood outside the *millat*. Islam, thus, after him followed a zigzag course. "On the one hand, the fanatical and reactionary religious leaders kept preaching war and hatred for which the occasion had passed. On the other hand, contact with non-Muslims of a higher variety with their great traditions in art and science and the necessity of learning from them the decencies of human life, the exigencies of government, the requirements of co-operation in industry and trade and all other spheres of work in which religion is immaterial—all those considerations demanded an expansion of Prophet's doctrine of brotherhood and equality outside the *millat*"³ No doubt it could not be brought to a logical conclusion, because of the presence

1 Habib, *Introduction to Elliot*, Volume II, page 3.

2 *Ibid.*

3 *Ibid.*, p. 4.

of reactionary elements and absence of textual religious authority.⁴

Politically Islam in Arabia remained a city state, and its expansion outside Arabia came first under Pious Caliph Omar I (634-644 A. D.) and next under Walid bin Abdul Malik 705-715 A. D. Internally, too, the political structure considerably changed in course of time. The Caliph Muawiyah (661-689 A. D.), a brother-in-law of the Prophet altered the Republican Caliphate into a monarchy and by organising the leading Arab tribes created an exclusive governing class.⁵ The two institutions, *i.e.*, the monarchy and a governing class since then became an integral part of the polity, notwithstanding all the scriptures and religious texts. After the Omayyads (661-750 A. D.) the political unity of the Islamic world began to disintegrate. The Abbaside Caliphs (750-1258 A. D.) lost the Arab countries and were left with its eastern lands alone—the *Ajam* as it is called.

It was in Persia that the Muslims or the Saracens came in contact with culture far superior to their own. Superior as they were in military strength they easily conquered the Persians and Persia became a part of the Caliphate. But they could not resist copying the Persian system of government and Persian culture. Persian pattern had been reorganised and given the final shape by Naushirwan⁶ of the Sasanian dynasty. Upon his accession to the throne Naushirwan found Persia suffering from tyranny, injustice, corruption, insecurity, fanaticism and crime, and set upon himself the task of remedying these evils.

The first step taken by Naushirwan was to form four great satrapies :

(a) The East comprising of Khorasan and Kerman;

4 *Ibid.*

5 *Ibid.*, p. 6.

6 Sykes, *History of Persia*, Vol. I., p. 461.

- (b) The West including Iraq and Mesopotamia;
- (c) The North including Armenia and Azerbaijan;
- (d) The South including Fars and Khujistan.

This innovation gave immense power to the four governors of the four satrapies, but the personal activity of the monarch, his prestige and the service of ubiquitous spies, counteracted and safeguarded him against the governors. Naushirwan's financial settlements were of far greater importance than this political division. The custom before him was that the state received a proportion of the produce fixed according to the richness of the soil and varied from one-tenth to one-half. But he substituted a payment "in money and in kind, each measure of ground being taxed at a dirham and one fixed measure of the produce".⁷ These payments which applied only to the sown land were never increased and in consequence the cultivator was free to work for his own benefit, sure of what he sowed. An annual survey of all land under cultivation was made. Besides, there was an assessment on fruit trees, a tax on property and poll tax.⁸ Payment of these taxes was made in three instalments, and to prevent oppression the Magians were allowed to act as inspectors.

The Persian Court

The Sasanian monarchs maintained a most splendid court and the ceremonies were performed on a stately bearing. The monarch sat remote on his throne behind curtains and not even the highest nobles were allowed to approach his person unless specially summoned. The court had three divisions. The knights and princes stood thirty feet from the curtain on the right of the throne. A similar distance further back were marshalled the

7 *Ibid*, p. 462.

8 *Ibid*.

governors and tributary kings who resided at the court, and finally the buffoons, singers and musicians formed a third division. Guards were probably stationed on the left of the throne. When the king gave permission for a subject to approach, he tied a cloth over his mouth and passing behind the curtain fell prostrate until bidden to rise.⁹

The Persian Army

The Sasanians maintained a splendid cavalry and much of their victory depended upon the strength of the cavalry. The cavalry was heavily armed like the knights of Medieval Europe, and the supply of light cavalry was left to somewhat despised allies such as the Saracens. His weapons consisted of a heavy lance, a sword, a mace and a bow and arrows. The horse too was much protected by armour. The archers formed the most important part of the infantry. The rest of the infantry whose function was to support the archers were armed with spears and swords but wore little defensive armour.¹⁰ Elephants were also used by the Sasanians and rendered remarkable service against the Arabs.¹¹ There was also a Paymaster-General of the Army.¹²

The Abbasides and their Institutions

In 752 A. D. the Ommayad rule came to an end and the sceptre passed into the hands of the Abbasides. The Abbasides were more inclined towards the Persians and the Khorasanis, besides they never felt secure in Damascus. Mansur, after the decisive victory over the 'Alids', energetically promoted the construction of a new imperial capital, which he had started soon after becoming the Caliph. He gave up the idea of

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 465.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 463.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 464.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 464.

Hashimiyah which was the residence of his brother Abul 'Abbas 'Abdullah the first Caliph of the dynasty. The chief consideration for this change was its close proximity to Kufah, whose unruly inhabitants had caused the Umayyads a great deal of trouble, and could easily become dangerous for the new dynasty in future. Mansur selected Baghdad, on the west bank of the Tigris, which had been originally a Christian village. He named his capital Dar-as-Salam or Madinat-as-Salam, (House or City of Peace) but the ancient name remained in popular use.

It was at Baghdad that the influence of the Arabs faded out and the Persian influence began to dominate. Soon an interest arose in the Persian books about the ceremonial procedure of the court of the Sasanids, and an attempt was made to imitate it. Rank and dignity no longer remained hereditary either in the court or in the state, but began to rest on the favour and caprice of the Caliph. The honorary garment (*Khilah*) unknown under the Umayyads became the outward sign of such favour.

The Abbaside Caliphate also owed the principles of its government to Mansur. For the most part he retained the procedure of the Byzantine and Sasanid chanceries.¹³ The empire, previous to him had been divided into provinces and under 'Saffah' Abul-Abbas the first Caliph there were twelve provinces including Sindh.¹⁴ Mansur always tried to place able governors at the head of the individual provinces. Although in this he was unable to disregard his clan, still he was never hesitant about appointing even clients and freed men to the highest offices. But by elaborating the institution of postal directors he created an effective machinery to keep in check these governors. The postal directors

13 Carl Brockelmann, *Geschichte der Islamischen* (Eng Trns), p. 110.

14 Khuda Buksh, *Orient under the Caliphs*, p. 218.

were incharge of the entire news service of the government but their principal duty was to keep the Caliph abreast of his governor's conduct in office.

Under the new regime new life and new vigour was infused in the government. Different branches of the administrative machinery were greatly elaborated and new departments were created according to the needs of time and place. The dynasty of the Abbasides lasted for full five hundred years and some of the Caliphs of the dynasty made lasting contribution in reconstructing and improving the administrative machinery. The first Caliph 'Saffah' made a beginning by reorganising the Board of Taxes under the title of *Diwan-ul-Kharaj*.¹⁵ and offering the headship of the office to Khalid-ibn-Barmark, a Persian convert. The next important office of *Wizarat* came into existence about this time and was in all likelihood of Persian origin¹⁶. For some time the *Wizarat* was eclipsed by the rise of *Amir-ul-Umra* but *Wizarat* soon regained its position and became the most important office in the state so much so that it attracted lengthy discussions and analysis on the part of the Muslim Jurists.

The power and authority of the *Wazir* varied with the strength and weakness of the Caliph. Under a weak Caliph the *Wazir* enjoyed much freedom and great authority, but under a powerful and strong Caliph his powers were greatly restricted. The Jurists, therefore, put the two kinds of *Wazirs* under the categories of unlimited and limited.

Similarly the Jurists have divided governorship under two heads, *i.e.*, limited and unlimited and to these two they had added a third category entirely different from the two. They called it governorship by 'Usurpation'. Every

15 *Ibid.* p. 219.

16 *Ibid.*

political adventurer who took possession of a province, without the sanction or authority of the sovereign and often against his will, but was so strong that the sovereign found himself almost incapable of overthrowing him, was recognised as the governor and was confirmed by the monarch. These are termed as the governors by usurpation, and the history of the Abbasides is full of such governors.

Under Caliph Mutwakil the following departments existed and roughly form a fair example of the executive of the Caliphate.

1. *Diwan-ul-Kharaj*, i.e., Board of Taxes.
2. *Diwan-ul-Dhiyyah*, i.e., Board of Crown Lands.
3. *Diwan-ul-Zamiah*, i.e., Board of Accounts.
4. *Diwan-ul-Jundwal Shaqiriyyah*, i.e., Board of Military.
5. *Diwan-ul-Mawali wa Ghilwan*, i.e., Board of Clients and Slaves of the ruling family.¹⁷
6. *Diwan-ul-Barid*, i.e., Board of Posts, but it was only for the use of state and not for public.
7. *Diwan-ul-Ziman wa Mifaqat*, i.e., Board of Central Expenditure.
8. *Diwan-ul-Tawai*, i.e., Board of Request and Petition.
9. *Nazar-ul-Mazalim* i.e., Highest office for control of administration and Judiciary.
10. *Baitul-Mal*, i.e., Board of Revenue.

17 This was an office of great importance, since it was here that the registers of slaves and freed-men counting many thousands were kept and their pay bills made out.

Along with these most important offices and departments, there were a limited number of subordinate offices of administrative, political and judicial character.

In the provinces the spiritual functions of the Caliph were performed by a representative, who could be the Governor himself or some other person, later on called *Shaikh-ul-Islam*. The judiciary under the Abbasides remained practically the same as under the Omayyads. As a rule the government did not interfere with the life of the people. Every town and every village was left to manage and conduct its own affairs. There was also a police system to which was later added the detective or a department of secret service. Under the Abbasides the functions of Muhatsibs was greatly enlarged. His functions were general supervision, maintenance of peace and order, preservation of good morals and enforcement of a great variety of other civil obligations.¹⁸

18 When Caliphate began to decline and distant provinces turned into independent Muslim kingdoms, this pattern was adopted by them with necessary modifications. The Turkish Sultans of Dehli also adopted many offices from this pattern and made additions and alterations in them as demanded by the various administrative problems that they were called upon to solve.

THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT

The Structure of the Government

The rise of 'Turks as a governing class owes its origin to the Abbaside Khalifa Mutasim (833-42 A. D.) who employed such a large number of 'Turkish slaves, that Baghdad became too small for them. Very soon the 'Turkish ascendancy in the court became complete, and power or influence began to rest on their favour and service. The Abbaside institution of recruiting the official bureaucracy from among 'Turkish slaves was adopted and elaborated by the Samanides. The Samanide slave system, in its turn became the parent institution which the Ghorians copied and applied as an instrument of domination over an entire body-social of an alien civilisation.¹ The 'Turkish slaves were taught the art of government along with the requisites of a good soldier, and very soon they became soldier administrators. Thus after the Ghorian conquest of India when these 'Turkish slaves had to carry on the work of administration and conquest, they naturally adopted the institutions which they had learnt before coming to India. But in India they had to face two problems, firstly, being foreigners they were ignorant of the customs and traditions of the land which were deep-rooted and could not be easily discarded, and secondly, their religion was different from those of their subjects. In India it had never been possible for anything new to push the old entirely out of the land. Naturally in the early stages the hold of the 'Turks remained in the nature of military occupation. In India the 'Turks therefore made a compromise between their own ideals and their practical

1 Habib, *Introduction to Elliot*, Vol. II, p. 93.

needs. While in the formation of the executive they kept their own institutions, in the revenue settlements they amalgamated many things from the land of their adoption.

In theory the Muslim State was a theocracy, *i.e.*, the head of the state was also the religious head and derived his position and authority from God. Thus the Khalifa was the supreme head of the whole Muslim world. But the Khilafat itself had long disintegrated before the coming of the Turks in India. Besides the Western Muslim world did not recognise the authority of the Abbasides. All this had created complications, resulting in a peculiar kind of theocracy contained within the bounds of a kingdom. The political need and the ignorance of the Sultans about the 'Shariat' had resulted in a division of the functions of the head of the state. The religious side was looked after by the Ulemas and the administrative side was managed, organised and supervised by the Sultan. Religion itself, in a hostile land, could only be maintained by a strong force. The Sultan naturally, was all in all. He was the ultimate head and fountain of all authority, besides, he was also the final court of appeal, chief law-giver and commander-in-chief of the realm.

The Sultan generally discussed all important matters of state in a council, *Majlis-i-Ām* or *Majlis-i-Khalwat*,² in which the most trusted and highest officers³ were allowed to sit. The four high ministers of the state⁴ were also present in the deliberations of the *Majlis-i-Khalwat*. But this council had neither any constitutional sanction nor it could enforce the Sultan to call it, besides the Sultan was not bound to follow its deci-

2 Zia, p. 36.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 203.

4 *Ibid.*, p. 224, 282.

sions. It was only consultative in character. Still the Sultans considered it always safe and wise to consult the council, as well as any wise counsel of any individual. There is before us the example of 'Alauddin who changed his idea of world conquest on the advice of the Kotwal of Dehli. Sultan Balban did not fail to stress this point when he advised his son Muhammad⁵ never to undertake any expedition without first consulting his councillors. These councillors were chosen by the Sultan and therefore consisted mostly of his favourites and supporters. It was only under a weak Sultan that the councillors exercised any authority, that too only by individuals and never collectively. This individuality coupled with the jealousy of the councillors never allowed the council to take shape of some consultative constitutional body.

The Sultan administered all the departments and every branch of the state. In his task he was assisted by a body of ministers of which four generally enjoyed a higher status than the rest. These ministers were in charge of their respective departments, but their policy was always guided, and dictated, by the Sultan. The advice given by Nasiruddin Bughra Khan to his son Muizuddin Kaigubād⁶ wherein he advised him to have four ministers, is a clear indication of the fact that four ministers enjoyed higher status and were considered as the four pillars of the state.⁷

Besides the ministers, there was an extraordinary officer known as the Naib-i-Mulk or Regent of the state. These Naibs enjoyed very high position and dignity and

5 Zia, p. 78

6 Zia, p. 153; *Tab-i-Akbari*, pp. 110. 111.

و ۵ چہار را چہار دکن مملکت خود ساز و قصر مملکت خود بچہار دکن
و نیک مستحکم گردان

7 Sultān Mahmūd of Ghāznah had five ministers. *Vide Nazim, Sultān Mahmūd*, p. 130.

behaved like the unlimited or Grand Wazir of the Abbasides. The examples of such Naibs are not rare in the history of the Dehli Sultanat. The cases of Ikhtiyar-ud-din Itigin during the reign of Muizuddin Bahram Shāh, Ulugh Khān Balban during the reign of Nāṣirud-din Mahmūd, and Malik Naib Kafur are well known facts of history. Muhammad Tughlaq, probably did not like the idea of allowing great power to a single person and therefore appointed a council of regency⁸ consisting of Firoz Shah, Malik Kabir and Ahmad Ayaz.

Along with the ministers, the Sultan was also helped in the task of administration by such officers as :—

1. *Barid-i-Mamālik.*
2. *Diwān-i-Siāsat.*
3. *Diwān-i-Khairāt.*
4. *Diwān-i-Istihqaq.*
5. *Mir-Imārat.*

These officers in their turn were also assisted by a host of junior officers and clerks.

The revenue administration was under the Wazir who was the head of the *Diwān-i-Wazārat*. Similarly the military organisation was supervised by the *Āriz-i-Mumalik* who was the head of the *Dewān-i-Arz*.

In the matter of law and justice, like all other affairs, the Sultan was the ultimate head, and final court of appeal and justice. But the *Sadr-us-Sadur*, who was the head Qazi of Dehli, was the head of the department of justice, and had under him all the Qazis of the realm. He was also called the *Qazi-ul-Quzāt*.^{8a}

8 Elliot, Vol. III. p. 254.

8a. The two posts were different, but occupied by one person. See Chapter, VIII.

The Sovereign

The Quranic law declares the Sovereign as the commander of the true believers, Amirul-Muminin and responsible to the general body, *Jamait* of the Muslims for proper discharge of his duties. At the head of the Muslim world stood the Khalifā. The Khalifa inherited all the powers of the Prophet excepting the Prophetic office. Later as the Khilafat changed its nature, and after the struggle and first contest for power was over, the Khilafat assumed the nature of monarchy. The history of the Khalifas is full of revolts, internal dissensions and rise and fall of the dynasties. It was during these struggles that various schools of law came into existence of which the most important are the Kharijites, the Hanafites and the Malikites. They made Khalifā the secular and religious head of the Muslim world. The title Amir-ul-Muminin emphasised and indicated the secular aspect of the high position of the Khalifā; the other title Imam had special reference to his religious functions as a leader of the faithful in public worship⁹. With the expansion of Islam, Muslim kingdoms were founded in distant lands and the conquerors of all these lands tried to keep their allegiance to the Khalifā. The name Khalifā bore such a charm for the Muslim people that even when the Khalifā was a nominal head or was no more in existence, mighty rulers like 'Alāuddin Khalji and Muhammad Tughlaq associated the title of the Khalifa with their own names.

The duties of a Muslim Sovereign according to Mawardi were (1) to uphold the fundamental principles of the Islamic faith, (2) to decide the law suits and to settle disputes, (3) to defend Muslim territories, (4) to administer the penal law (5) to guard the frontiers by

⁹ Arnold, *Caliphate*, p. 33.

keeping garrisons and making preparations for war, (6) to fight those who refused to accept Islam or to fight those who refused to submit upon terms laid down for non-Muslims, (7) to pay the annuity from state treasury, (8) to levy tax on imports according to law, (9) to appoint trustworthy men and councillors for administration of different districts and for fiscal purposes, and (10) to personally inspect and control the administration.¹⁰ These duties were imperative and the prince forfeited his claim to the throne if he failed to discharge his duties or willingly disregarded them. According to Mawardi it was a bilateral compact.¹¹

When Muslim empire in India was founded the monarch assumed the title of Sultan and this title continued till it was replaced by Babur, who took the title of 'Pādshāh'. The term Sultan is a vague one and has gone through a number of connotations. In 'Quran' the term occurs in the abstract sense of 'Power, Authority,'¹² but by the end of the first century of the Hijrat era it was used in the Egyptian Papyri as the common expression for the Governor of the Province.¹³ It gradually began to be applied to one who had been vested with authority, for example, Jafar bin Yahya, the favourite of Harun-al Rashid, was styled Sultan to indicate that he had been entrusted with the general administration of the empire. When the disintegration of the Caliphate began, the rulers of different provinces who assumed independence took the title of Sultan. It is commonly accepted that Mahmud of Ghazni was the first independent ruler who styled himself as Sultan. Thus by the time the Turks

10 Khuda Buksh, *Orient under the Caliphs*, pp. 265-66.

11 *Ibid.*, p. 265; Khuda Buksh, *Essays Indian and Islamic*, p. 45.

12 Arnold, *Caliphate*, p. 202.

13 *Ibid.*

came and conquered India, the term 'Sultan' was an accepted style for an independent ruler.

During the entire Sultanate period India was full of troubles and the position of the Sultan was never safe. The troubles arose firstly because of the mutual jealousy of the Turkish nobility, secondly, because of the hatred that existed between the foreign and Indian Musalmans, and thirdly because of the lack of prestige for the ruling house which in most cases was only the house of some successful rebel. The Ilbari Turks who first established the so-called slave dynasty, belonged to the great slave bureaucracy of Shihabuddin Muhammad Ghori and when Qutub-ud-din received his letter of manumission all these co-slave officers automatically became free, because when there was no master there could be no slave. These Turks naturally enjoyed the same status amongst themselves and vied with each other for power. After the successful capture of power by Iltutmish these nobles felt the need of co-operation with him as he had proved their best leader. With the death of Iltutmish the scramble for power began. The nobles tried to put up puppet kings and election and deposition became a common feature.¹⁴ That the nobles kept putting up and deposing the members from the descendants of Iltutmish was not because they had any regard for the house but simply because they were not prepared to tolerate any one from amongst themselves to become Sultan. The case of 'Izzuddin Balban-i-Kishlu Khan is very significant, because when Izzuddin began to assume marks of sovereignty¹⁵ there was a loud protest from the nobles, and Izzuddin had to withdraw his pretensions. "The chief constitutional interest," says Dr. Tripathi, "in the history of the family of Iltutmish

14 Raverty, *Tab-i-Nasiri*, pp. 639, 649, 669.

15 *Ibid.*, p. 780.

lies in the struggle between the crown and the peers for possession of real power". Unfortunately we do not find any struggle between crown and the peers. The crown was already subordinated by the peers, and they were fighting only for their own ends. 'This was only a scramble for power. The peers did not exist on any constitutional basis, and if there be any vestige of constitutional interest at best it could be a struggle of parties for power. Balban had taken full cognisance of this turbulent nobility during his leadership as minister. As minister his first act was to establish his personal prestige and to keep the Sultan in the background.¹⁶ It was during this period that he started the purging of the nobles. He easily created a new party of his supporters by his tact, ability and position. When he was strong enough he assumed the royalty himself.¹⁷ Balban's usurpation not only established a precedence, but it also led to the destruction of the party that had kept the scions of Iltutmish on the throne of Dehli. Usurpation henceforth followed, and there are before us the cases of Jalāluddin Firuz Khalji, 'Alāuddin Khalji, Malik Kāfur, Nāsiruddin Khusru Shāh, Ghiyāsuddin Tughlaq and even Firuz Tughlaq, which are matters of history and hardly need explanation.

During the reign of Iltutmish along with territorial expansion, there had been mass conversion, may be by force, may be by persuasion. These new converts after embracing Islam, theoretically became equal to the Turkish Mohmedans, but the Turks considered themselves superior and were not prepared to share the responsibilities of government with these converts. The converts, thus were left with no alternative but to organize themselves into a separate group. This group for

16 Zia, p. 27. سلطان را نمونه میداشت و پادشاهی خود می داند

17 Balban is believed to have poisoned Nasiruddin Mahmūd. *Vide.* Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, *Studies in Medieval India*, pp. 48-62.

the first time came into prominence under Imād-ud-din Rihān¹⁸ in the earlier part of the reign of Nāṣirud-din Mahmūd. A simple reading of the text is enough to indicate how such discord amongst the high nobles disturbed the peace of the country. The Turks, however, in this case soon united; the Sultan also joined them, and destroyed the power of Rihān and his party. The trouble did not end there. In the latter part of the reign of 'Alauddin Khalji, Mālik Kafur, an Indian convert, began to dominate. Though his aspirations for the crown did not succeed much yet he did get hold of the sceptre for a time. The attempt of the converts culminated with the rise of Khūsru Parwari. He not only subdued the Turkish nobility, but assumed sovereignty himself, with the title of Nasiruddin Khūsru Shah.¹⁹ Much of the opposition that was organised against him was due to rivalry of the two parties and not on religious grounds as a superficial reading of the text would lead us to believe.

The Sultans of Dehli did not come from any important ruling house of Central Asia, and therefore did not enjoy any family prestige. The first dynasty, that of the Slaves, as it is called, belonged to the Slave bureaucracy of Shihābuddin and had conquered the lands for him. Thus when Iltutmish was raised to the Sultanate because of his personal abilities and prestige, some compromise had to be made with his co-slaves.

18 Raverty, p. 829. Elliot, Vol. II (Aligarh), pp. 365-67.

19 *Tughlaq Nama*, pp. 120-121.

Prof. Sri Ram Sharma, suggests that "it was but natural that on his accession to the throne he should go back to his original faith. He lived in the royal palace of his predecessor, and with the accession of a Hindu king, Hindu rites of worship displaced Muslim rites in the palace." *Vide, Studies in Medieval Indian History*, p. 109.

But it is very difficult to accept this suggestion. Hindus of that age never came forward to take back any one who had once been converted to Islam.

They were recognised as the power behind the crown. Ghiyasuddin Balban destroyed them because he was not prepared to bear the arrogance of these nobles, and for himself he started tracing his ancestry from some old dynasty, of Khāqān Afrāsiyāb. Whatever prestige he succeeded in establishing for his dynasty was destroyed by the rise of the Khaljis. Jalaluddin, himself only an Ariz,²⁰ had no better claim to the throne than any other Khalji noble. That he was raised to the dignity of a Sultan, was because of his age and service rendered to the party. Jalaluddin fell as much because of the treachery of 'Alāuddin, as for his own weakness. His weak policy alienated the Khalji nobles, who only saw their own ruin in the policy followed by Jalaluddin. 'Alāuddin tried to establish a despotic monarchy and in this he succeeded not because of any family prestige but, as Prof. Habib maintains, because he succeeded in winning the co-operation of the masses, who were aching under the burden of nobility,²¹ and in curbing their power he only relieved the masses of the burden. 'Alāuddin had destroyed the house of Jalaluddin, his uncle and benefactor, but 'Nemesis' was not slow on him. His own house was wiped out by Malik Kafur and Nāṣiruddin Khusrū Shāh. Khaljis were followed by the Tughlaqs, who too had nothing to commend except the ability and vigour of Ghiyāsuddin Tughlaq Shah.

This lack of family prestige, created a feeling in the nobility that the Sultan's position depended upon his ability and of his acceptance by the people. So far the people were concerned they could be forced or purchased to submission. Thus every noble who felt himself strong enough to risk his neck attempted for the throne. Those who succeeded became Sultans and those that failed lost their lives. Therefore it is in this lack of

20 Elliot, Vol. III, p. 134 ; *Tab-i-Akbari* (Dc), p. 130.

21 Habib, *Introduction to Elliot*, Vol. II, p. 79.

family prestige that we can readily get an explanation for recurrent rebellions under the Sultans, making their life and position always uncomfortable.

Scholars hold unanimous opinion that theoretically the Sultanate was a part of the Caliphate. Their contentions are mainly based, firstly, on numismatic evidence wherein the Sultans always posed as the representative of the Caliph.²² The second reason forwarded by them in support of their contention is that the Sultans accepted the robe of investiture from the Khalifa and even sought to procure them,²³ and subsequently subscribed the name of the Khalifa in the *Khutba*. Whatever the truth may be in these observations, the theoretical aspect need not be questioned. But examined in its actual working, the relationship of the Khalifa with the Sultan presents an altogether different phenomena. It was Iltutmish who received the first robe of honour from the Khalifa of Baghdad, and thereby it not only fastened the fiction of Khalifat to the Sultanate of Dehli but legally involved the recognition of the final sovereignty of the Khalifa.²⁴ But it is strange enough that Iltutmish himself did not seem to have recognised the overlordship of the Khalifa. He did not hesitate to attack and subjugate Ghiyasuddin of Bengal who had also received a robe of honour, like Iltutmish, from the Khalifa.²⁵ Thus legally both of them were lieutenants of the Khalifa and equal in status. Theoretically, therefore, Iltutmish can have no justification for his violation of the allegiance. Thus we find that even at the outset when the fiction was attached

22 Vide (i) Thomas, *Chronicles of Pathan Kings of Delhi* (ii) Wright, *Coinage and Metrology of the Sultans of Dehli*.

23 The alleged case of Muhammad Tughlaq.

24 Tripathi, *Some Aspects of Muslim Administration*, p. 26.

25 Raverty, p. 774.

its importance was shattered and rendered meaningless. The Khilafat of Baghdad was destroyed by Hulagu (1258 A. D.) and not even the holy person of the Khalifa was spared. Thus to the Muslim world in general and India in particular Hulagu should have been an avowed enemy. But we find from Minhaj that when the emissaries of Hulagu visited India within two years of the sack of Baghdad, a very hearty welcome was extended to them.²⁶ If the Sultan had any conscience or regard and attachment for the Khalifa, the emissaries of its destroyer should not have been welcomed. But the political needs had a better hold on the Sultan. The Sultan succeeded in pleasing the Mongol ruler and thereby to a certain measure secured the safety of his borders.

Coming to the Khaljis we find the case of Sidi Maula. Sidi Maula organised a great conspiracy and was maintaining a big establishment²⁷ with which Khān-i-Khānān, the eldest son of Sultan Jalāluddin, was associated.²⁸ The conspirators even thought of raising Sidi Maula as the Caliph.²⁹ In this particular case it is very significant that people even could think of raising some one as the Khalifa. This, at least, makes one thing very clear, that to the common man the fiction of Khilafat hardly mattered much and they could not differentiate between the Khilāfat and the Khalifa. 'Alāuddin Khalji, on the one hand, styled himself as Yāmin-ul Khilafat Nāṣiri Amīr-ul Muminīn, while, on the other hand, kept his diplomatic relations with the Ilkhans,³⁰ who were the descendants of Hulagu, the destroyer of Baghdad and the Khalifa. This further strengthens the conten-

26 *Tab-i-Nasiri* (Elliot, Vol. II, pp. 382-83.)

27 *Zia*, p. 209.

28 Dr. Lal, *History of the Khaljis*, p. 29.

29 *Zia*, p. 210.

30 *Tarikh-i-Ghazān Khan*, pp. 171-173, See Ahmad Nizami, *Studies in Medieval India*, pp. 4-5.

tion that the Sultan did not care much for the Khalifa. According to Dr. Tripathi, "It was apparently not so much the Khalifa but the idea of Khilāfat that continued to receive the homage of Balban and 'Alauddin.'" In the reign of Mubarak Shāh Khalji we find still another example when the Sultan, otherwise hopeless and a weakling, not only completely removed the name of the Khalifa, but actually assumed the title "Khalifa" himself.³¹ That this act of the Sultan has not received any condemnation of the contemporary and later writers, who otherwise always posed as well versed with the Islamic law, adds further strength to the argument that Khilafat or Khalifa did not hold any strength in the Sultanate of Dehli.

The later part of the reign of Muhammad Tughlaq is full of humility for the Khalifa and had been much used by scholars³² to strengthen the legal aspect of the superiority of the Khalifa over the Sultan. But in the earlier part of his reign, this very monarch is found as paying all homages to Mubarak Shāh who had assumed the title of Khalifa, and even to have doubled the endowments assigned to his tomb. In the earlier part of his reign he dropped all reference of the Khilafat.³³ Various inscriptions on his coins put together may even convey his conception of sovereignty.

"Sovereignty is not conferred upon every man but is placed on the elect." "He who obeys the Sultan truly obeys God". "The Sultan is the shadow of God and God is the supporter of the Sultan."³⁴

There is no denying that Muhammad Tughlaq in the later part of his reign subscribed to the name of the

31 Wright.

32 Qureshi, *The Administration of the Sultanate of Delhi*, pp. 34-35.

33 Tripathi, p. 60, *Et. Seq.*

34 Zia, p.598.

Khalifa, accepted robe of honour and reintroduced the name of Khalifa in the khutba. But that it was only an attempt to reconcile a certain section of the populace to crush the growing unpopularity for his administrative measures, is a possibility which cannot altogether be rejected.

Firuz Tughlaq received twice the robe of honour and showed all respects to the Khalifa. He also "received a mandate from the Khalifa which conferred on Syed-us-Salatin Firuz Shah the Empire of India and allied territories like the islands of Serandip and the Javas, Ma-'bar, Ceylon, Kolum, Saulian, Hunor, Bankpore, Bengal, Lakhnauti, Tilang, Deogir, Coasts of the sea of Malwa, Gujrat, Dehli, Qarajil mountains, Sind, the border of Turkistan and Transoxiana³⁵". The mandate on the very face of it shows its spuriousness. While conferring such huge territories some of which were not even in India, the Khalifa was only conferring territories over which neither he nor the person to whom it was conferred had any control. It was only an empty talk in the air. Besides the Khalifa had also conferred the Bahminis to the Kingdom of Deccan. Firuz Tughlaq while restoring the names of the previous Sultans in the Khutbā curiously enough included the name of Qutubuddin Mubarak Shāh who had assumed the title of Khalifa himself. If the Khalifa or the Khilafat had any significant bearing on the Sultans, Firuz Tughlaq as a pious and religious monarch surely would not have included the name of a Sultan who had personally assumed the Khilafat.

Thus taking the entire logic of the argument we can only arrive at the conclusion that the Khilafat had no significant bearing on the Sultanate either theoretically or practically. That the Sultans often showed their

35 *Sirat-i-Firuz Shahi* as quoted by Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, *Studies in Medieval Indian History*, p. 8.

humility to the name of the Khalifa, was only to buttress their titles to the throne which otherwise they felt remained vulnerable, and secondly, to use it as a charm for the Muslim fanatics.

The administrative duties of the Sultan varied according to the needs of the empire. He was the supreme head of justice, and in his task he was assisted by the Qazis. Balban was the first ruler, who took the question of justice seriously, and never failed to give redress and comfort to the injured. To him birth and position were no exemptions from justice³⁶. 'Alāuddin's discussion with Qazi Mughisud din of Bianah,³⁷ about the Islamic law clearly reflects that the Sultans were expected to supervise justice. Writing about the reign of Muhammad Tughlaq Ibn Batuta mentions that twice a week, *i.e.*, on Monday and Tuesday the Sultan held his court of justice in Diwan-i-Khanah³⁸.

In the early Middle Ages the chief duty of the Sultan was to conduct the military campaigns. Those were the days of revolts and seditions, and absence of proper and adequate means of communication made the problem of defence and conquest the most prominent one. The Sultans were generally great military leaders who conducted the campaigns in person or directed them from the capital. The internal peace and order of the country and the personal safety of the Sultan depended on the strength and efficient organization of the army. The Sultans therefore devoted much of their time to look after the efficiency of the army. It therefore became one of the duties of the Sultan to look after, maintain, and lead the army.

36 Elliot, III, p. 100-1.

37 De, *Tab-i-Akbari*, pp. 170.

38 Ibn Batuta, III, p. 289.

Out of necessity the Sultans kept an army of spies. Sultan Balban while appointing his second son Bughrā Khān as Governor of Samana and Sunam, also secretly sent the spies to watch his actions.³⁹ 'Alāuddin Khalji increased the number and efficiency of these spies to such an extent that they were at work in every quarter and lane of the city,⁴⁰ and this was carried to such an extreme point that even the Amirs and men of wealth, could not mix or meet with one another, or go into the houses of one another. During the reign of Muhammad Tughlaq spies were formed into a regular body and were graded; they passed their reports through their superior officers which finally reached the Sultan.⁴¹

Sultans like 'Alāuddin Khalji and Muhammad Tughlaq took great pains to look after the public morals and the markets.⁴² 'Alāuddin Khalji went to the length of regulating the market prices and successfully controlled them. During the reign of Muhammad Tughlaq there is mention of the Muhatsib who was paid by the assignment of a village bringing in about 800 tankas.⁴³ The duty of the Muhatsib was to look after the public morals.

The Sultans could levy the annual taxes. Of course in this the Sultans were expected to keep in view the sanction of the law. But from a reading of *Futuhāt-i-Firuz Shāhī* we find that strong Sultans at times did impose taxes not sanctioned by law.⁴⁴

39 Elliot, III, p. 112.

40 De, *Tab-i-Akbari*, p. 168.

41 Ibn Batuta, III, p. 387.

42 Elliot III, p. 192; De, *Tab-i-Akbari*, p. 174; Zia, p. 318 *Et. Seq.*

43 Elliot, III, p. 579.

44 *Futuhāt-i-Firuzshahi* (Aligarh), p. 5.

It also became practically a duty of the Sultan to patronize learned men and provide for travellers and foreigners who adorned his court.

The Sultan no doubt was a despotic ruler, but his despotism was not without limitations. The spirit of the limitation can best be understood from the maxim of no less a despotic Sultan than Balban. Sultan Balban observed the golden mean on all occasions, and showed mercy, as well as wrath, at the right time for each. Balban used to say that the monarch who in his acts, and behaviour adopts the practices of a tyrant, commits infidelity to God, and acts against the behests of the Prophet, and punishment for such practices is nothing but suffering and ruin in the life to come.

In the discharge of his duties Balban kept four principles before him. (1) That the Sultan reserves his power and authority for the proper occasions, and keeps nothing before his eyes except the happiness of his people and the fear of God.⁴⁵ (2) That the Sultan does not allow cheating and other crimes to be committed in his kingdom; and completely stops such practices, and keeps the wicked and reckless under the dread of his punishment. (3) That the Sultan entrusts all business and duties to wise, meritorious, honest and God-fearing persons and does not allow treacherous men to live in his dominions as they produce confusion among the people. (4) That the Sultan in the administration of justice practises righteousness to such an extent that all vestiges of tyranny and oppression may disappear from his kingdom.⁴⁵

In the entire period of the Sultanate of Dehli no law of succession could be established. The form of election was changed into the form of public acceptance of

⁴⁵ De, *Tab-i-Akbari*, p. 96.

fait accompli. All the Sultans after their accession gave the first public audience in which the people offered their 'Bait'. The principle of nomination was repeatedly tried by almost every strong Sultan, but every time it signally failed and never the wishes of the dying Sultan were honoured by his trusted followers whom he left behind. The law of hereditary succession too was given a fair trial but the dynastic changes which took place so often indicate that it too failed to hold any ground with the Turks. The sword during this period always remained the final authority and it was the length of the sword that always decided the issue. With the power of the sword the Sultan got the sceptre and his power to wield it kept it in his hands. Even a pious king like Firuz Shah Tughlaq in his old age had almost to abdicate the throne in favour of his restless son.⁴⁶

In the end we can say that over the entire machinery of the empire the Sultan was like a watchful warden and upon his ability, guidance, and capacity rested the existence of the Sultanate.

46 Tripathi, p. 72.

CHAPTER IV

THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT (*Contd.*)

THE MINISTERS: MINOR DEPARTMENTS AND OTHER OFFICERS OF THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT

It is a law and principle of Hindu constitution that the king cannot act without the approval and co-operation of the Council of Ministers. Manu calls a king foolish who would attempt to carry on administration by himself; he lays down that the king must have colleagues and that in their midst and along with them he has to consider ordinary and extraordinary matters of State.¹ Kātyāyana ordains that the king should not decide even a law suit by himself and that he should do it along with the council.² Even the great monarchist Kautilya maintains that the matters of the State should be discussed by the Council of Ministers and whatever the majority decides the king should carry out.³ Thus we find that all the exponents of political philosophy have not only stressed the need and importance of the ministers but have tried to delegate powers to them sufficient to check the absolutist tendencies of the monarch. In the Hindu system the number of Ministers varied in practice and in theory from time to time. Manū prescribes twelve Ministers, Brihaspati sixteen, Usuanas twelve, and Kautilya prescribes as many Ministers as the need of State rendered desirable. The need of the Councillors had been also recognised from the earliest time by the Muslim Jurists. The authors of *Siyasat Namah* and *Qabus Namah* have tried to stress their

1 Manu, VII. 54-57. *Op. Cit.* Jaiswal, *Hindu Polity* (1955), p. 276.

2 *Op. Cit.* Jaiswal, *Hindu Polity*, (1955). 277.

3 *Kautilya's Arthashastra*, (1929), p. 29.

arguments for the advocacy of the need of Ministers by pointing out that even the Prophet was ordained by God to consult his disciples in his undertakings. But the democratic principles preached by the Prophet underwent great changes under the more secular aspects of the Umayyad Khalifās, and assumed the principles of Persian monarchies under the Abbaside Khalifas. The Muslim Jurists, too, could not prevent themselves from coming under the influence of the environment. Even Dr. Qureshi points out that "nowhere is the limitation of the Muslim Jurists so apparent as in the failure to organise well-defined institutions in accordance with democratic principles of Islam."⁴ Thus we find that while, on the one hand, the need and purpose of Ministers have been stressed, on the other hand, no legal sanction was accorded to them as representatives of the people and responsible to the public. The Khalifas and later the Sultans, therefore, employed the Ministers not as servants of State but as their personal servants, entrusted with the task of administration. The Ministers continued in their offices at the will of the monarch and their greatest security was their own ability and their capacity to make the monarch realise their indispensability. That the Sultans listened to their advice, was not because it was binding on the Sultan, but because he considered it a wise policy to listen to such advice. The need of such a council of advisers was emphasized by Nāṣiruddin Bughrāh Khān to his son Sultan Muizuddin Kaiqubād.⁵ No doubt the Ministers of a Sultan remained more or less in the nature of his servants, but it is not, that they had no real authority. The position of the Ministers had been long in existence before the establishment of the Sultanate of Dehli and as such it carried a tradition behind it which was further strengthened by the discussions and pronouncements of the Jurists.

4 Qureshi, *Administration of the Sultanate of Delhi*, p. 77.

5 Zia, p. 153.

The number of Ministers was not a fixed one, it varied from time to time. The Jurists favoured the idea of one powerful Wazir for an absolute Monarch, and desired that other officers would act as heads of different departments under the direction and the supervision of the Wazir.⁶ In Qānūn Nāmāh, the fundamental laws of the Turks, the four pillars of Government are the Wazir, the Qāzi-i-Askar, the Finance Minister (*Dafterdar*) and the Secretary (*Nishanji*). Thus the number of the Wazirs is four, but the Grand Wazir exists over them.⁷ Mahmūd, the creator of the kingdom of Ghazni inherited along with others, the administrative institutions of the Sāmānid rulers. He had five important Ministers looking after the administrative machinery of his empire. That the Sultans of Dehli borrowed much from the Ghaznavide institutions and thus they also maintained a number of Ministers of which four enjoyed a marked higher status has been accepted by all scholars. But in the earlier period of the 'Slave' Sultans, the Turks were in limited number, and therefore they had to take charge of more than one duty, as a result no clear-cut distinction was maintained in the duties of various Ministers. The Wazir, however, played a very prominent part practically from the inception of the independent Sultanate of Dehli.⁸ When Sultan Balban organised the administrative machinery he seems to have made arrangement for the division of work amongst the Ministers, because, immediately after him, we find that Bughra Khan, knew about the four Ministries and advised his son Kaiqubād to respect the tradition on the basis of its own efficacy. Of this Ministry the most important office was that of the Wazir.

The Wizārat as an institution was adopted by the Abbaside Khalifas from the Persians and under their

6 Ibn Hasan, *Central Structure of Mughal Empire*, p. 112.

7 Khuda Buksh, *Op. Cit.*, Ibn Hasan, pp. 112, 113.

8 Ravarty, *Tab-i-Nasiri*, p. 613.

patronage the institution became so prominent and important that jurists were led to discuss on the duties, privileges and powers of the Wazir in great details. Mawardi classified the wazirs under two heads, *Wazir Tafwid* and *Wazir Tanfiz*. The first, *i.e.*, *Wazir Tafwid* was popularly called the Grand Wazir and enjoyed unlimited powers.⁹ The Khalifa delegated to him all powers and at times only played the second fiddle. He enjoyed great powers and privileges and was only required to inform the Khalifa of all he had done. The Grand Wazir could make any arrangement he considered necessary without preliminary sanction. Only he could not dismiss an officer appointed by the Khalifa. On the other hand, he had the power of appointing officers in the name of the Sovereign, and sitting as the final court of appeal in a law suit dispensed justice.¹⁰ Since he enjoyed great privileges, he was required to possess great qualities. He was required to possess all the arts of an accomplished courtier and Khalifas demanded in this respect a constantly increasing standard. The Arabs expected great deal from him. He had to be conversant with the game of Chess and Polo and also expected to play the Guitar. He was to be proficient in Mathematics, Medicine, Astrology, Poetry, Grammar, History, and finally in the recitation of poems and narration of tales.¹¹

The second class, *i.e.* *Wazir Tanfiz* did not enjoy such large and extensive powers. He had no initiative of his own, but had merely to carry out the orders given to him by the all-powerful Khalifa. His position was that of an intermediary between the ruler and the people. He was in direct communication with the Khalifa and was always the first to draw upon the fountain of Royal

9 Khuda Buksh, *Orient under the Caliphs*, p. 221.

10 *Ibid.*

11 *Ibid.*, p. 222.

generosity. All commands and ordinances of the Khalifa passed through his hands. They were drawn up and given their official character by him, either by the affixing of his seal or signature, or by other prescribed form. But with all the limitations he was the highest official of the State and was required to possess many-sided knowledge of administration, of taxation, of the provinces, and of public and private laws. For the post of a limited Wazir some jurists consider even the employment of a non-Muslim as permissible.¹²

“It can hardly be doubted that the limited Wizarat was the earliest and the original form of this institution and that only with the increasing decline and decay of the authority of the Khalifa did the Unlimited Wazir step into light”.

DIWAN-I-WIZARAT

The Wazir under the Sultans of Delhi did not assume the distinction at the early stages. Nizam-ul-Mulk Muhammad Junaidi, the first Wazir of Sultan Iltutmish did not merely look after the financial department but also took active part in military campaigns.¹³ Iltutmish for a short time appointed another Wazir Fakharul Mulk ‘Isāmi’. May be Iltutmish was trying to give greater stress on the experience and ability than military powers. During the reign of the weak successors the Wazir began to assume greater powers. The case of Khwaja Muhazzab ‘uddin is a clear evidence, who managed the politics so cleverly as to remain in office¹⁴ in spite of the dislike of the Sultan and also a certain section of the nobility. The power of the Wazir began to decline and reached its lowest when Balban as Naib in the reign

12 *Ibid.*, p. 224.

13 Raverty, *Tab-i-Nasiri*, p. 613.

14 *Ibid.*, p. 641.

of Sultan Nasiruddin Mahmud, completely over-shadowed the Sultan and the Wazir and carried on the work of administration himself.¹⁵ His position became similar to those of the Abbaside *Wazir Tafwid*. But as Sultan, Balban did not like the idea of Wazir enjoying much powers; he appointed Khwajā Hasan Basari¹⁶ a mediocre, with the result that the Wazir remained in the background. Besides, during his reign Imādul Mulk, the *Diwan-i-Ariz* became very conspicuous by his activities,¹⁷ and the Ministry of Diwān-i-Āriz was raised in status. The Khalji period also did not prove favourable for the growth of the power of Wizarat. Jalālud-din appointed Khwajā Khatir¹⁸ who had established himself as a man of experience and wisdom as Deputy Wazir¹⁹ in the reign of Balban. He continued in office even after the accession of 'Alāuddin Khalji. 'Alāuddin subsequently appointed Nasrat Khan as the Wazir and after his death gave that office to Malik Kafur. With the office of the Wazir Malik Kafur was also made the Naib and naturally the dignity and position of Wazir was raised. Khusrū Khān (later Sultan Nāsiruddin Khusrū Shāh) as Wazir further buttressed the position of the Wazir. When he became Sultan he gave the office of the Wazir to Wahiuddin²⁰ who had proved his merit as Wazir of Gujrat previously.

Under the Tughlaqs the Wazir continued to become more and more important. He no longer remained a military man. Muhammad Tughlaq appointed Khwājā

15 Zia, p. 27.

16 Zia, p. 114.

17 Zia, pp. 112-123.

18 Zia, p. 117.

19 Zia, p. 410.

20 Zia, p. 410.

Jahān²¹ as the Wazir and he continued in his office during the entire reign of Muhammad Tughlaq and after the death of the Sultan fell a victim to the machinations of the courtiers from which Firuz Tughlaq cannot be entirely absolved. Firuz Tughlaq gave the office of Wizārat to Khān Jahān Maqbūl, the assistant of Khwaja Jahan. Truly speaking the Wazirship of Khān Jahān Maqbūl marks the meridian of the power of Wazir in the Sultanate period. Shams-i-Siraj Afif²² tells us that the entire administration was in the hands of the Wazir who was virtually the master of all lands. He was so powerful that when Āin-ul-Mulk Ashraf-i-Mamalik quarrelled with him the latter was removed from his office.

The Wazir under the Sultanate of Dehli was chiefly in charge of the financial Department, 'Diwan-i-Wizarat. As late as the reign of 'Alāuddin Khalji, the duties and functions of the Ministry were clearly defined. The details of account of the various governors were checked in the Ministry. The records of the various revenue collectors and officials were sent to this Ministry for inspection, and all the balance and arrears were realised²³. Similar duties were performed by the Wizarat in the reign of Firuz Tughlaq. Thus to generalise we can say that the Wizarat collected the revenue, checked the accounts of the Provinces and realised the balances. The Wizarat maintained the details of income and expenditure from day to day.²⁴ The accounts of all other departments were submitted to the Diwan-i-Wizarat for their proper inspection.²⁵ The pay of the army as well as of the other servants of the State was also disbursed from the *Diwan-i-Wizarat*. Allowances to

21 Zia, p. 454.

22 Afif, p. 400.

23 Zia, pp. 288, 289, 291.

24 Afif, p. 397.

25 Afif, p. 339.

holy persons, widows and orphans were also distributed from the Wizarat.

The Mint,²⁶ the Buildings,²⁷ the Intelligence Department, and agriculture, Charitable institutions and the Karkhansa²⁸ were under the Ministry of Diwan-i-Wizarat, and the Wazir was responsible for financing all these departments. The Wazir was assisted by a Nalb or deputy who was the next highest officer in the Ministry.

Diwan-i-Wizarat had under it other minor departments each under a distinct officer of its own. The most important officers that helped the Wazir, in the discharge of the duties, as departmental heads were :—

1. *Mushrif-i-Mumalik* or the accountant general.
2. *Mustaufi-i-Mumalik*²⁹ or the auditor general. He only checked the accounts of expenditure kept a supervision that no money was misappropriated.³⁰
3. *Majmuadar* kept the record of balances. The record of loans advanced to the people were kept in his registers.³¹
4. *The Khazin*³² kept the cash with him. His office corresponded to that of a treasurer.

26 Afif, p. 346

27 Afif, p. 333.

28 Afif, pp. 337-339.

29 *Ibid*, p. 409.

30 *Ibid*, pp. 409, 458, 464, 469

31 *Ibid*, p. 92.

32 Zia, p. 498.

و در معاملاً از دیوان زراعت دیوانی وضع شد و آن دیوان را دیوان امیر کوهی
نام کردند

5. *Amir-Kohi*³³ became an important officer during the reign of Muhammad Tughlaq. He was incharge of the department responsible to look after the Sultan's project of bringing the uncultivated land under the plough by means of direct State management and financial support.

Thus next to the Sultan, the Wazir was the most important officer in the administrative machinery of the Sultanate of Dehli and upon his wisdom, capacity, sincerity and loyalty the success of the Sultan and prosperity of the empire depended.

DIWAN-I-'ARZ

Diwān-i-'Arz was the Ministry that controlled and supervised the Military Organisation of the State. The head of the Ministry was called 'Āriz-i-Mumālik. The Sultanate of Dehli was essentially a military one and as such the importance of the 'Āriz-i-Mumalik and his Ministry must have been immense. It is the 'Āriz who was mostly responsible for the discipline and fitness of the army.

The recruitment of the soldiers was done by the 'Āriz.³⁴ The muster rolls were kept in his Ministry. It was the duty of the Ariz to examine the horses and the ability of the soldier to shoot before their enrolment.³⁵ The review of the army and branding of the horses was also done by the 'Āriz.³⁶ These were chiefly the peace-time duties of the 'Āriz. In war time, the Ariz or his deputy arranged for provisions and transports. His duty during war time was to attend to the administration of the army, the collection of supplies, and securing the elephants and the spoils of war.

33 Zia, p. 498.

34 Zia, p. 319.

35 Zia, pp. 319, 438.

36 Zia pp. 102, 319.

The 'Āriz' could even increase the salary of a smart horseman if he thought it fit.³⁷ The 'Āriz was assisted by his deputy or Naib and a number of clerks. The complaint of a soldier to Sultan Firuzshah that he did not possess the necessary money to get matters arranged with the clerks and thereby get his horse passed, not only indicates the work of these clerks but also the deplorable condition and degeneration of the department in the days of Firuzshah.

DIWAN-I-RISALAT AND DIWAN-I-RIYASAT

Diwan-i-Risālat was the ministry where complaints from the people were received. We do not precisely find any details about this ministry. It is only during the reign of Firuz Shah Tughlaq that it seems to have assumed some importance when it received appeals and tried to redress the grievances of the people,³⁸ in the capacity of Sultan's rasul (agent).

During the reign of 'Alāuddin Khalji another department known as Diwān-i-Riyāsāt was raised to the ministerial rank, and no mention is made of Diwān-i-Risālat. 'Alāuddin's market regulations required a constant watch for their proper obedience and compliance by the people. The merchants had to register their names in this ministry; the imposition and realisation of the octroi duty was also under this ministry; the Ministry also looked after weights and measures used in the market. It also inflicted punishments for any fraud on the part of the dealers. The head of the Ministry had to submit reports of the daily market rates and market transactions. The importance of the ministry remained only during the life-time of 'Alāuddin Khalji and after him along with his regulations the ministry too lost its importance and most probably its existence.

37 Zia, p. 115.

38 Afif, pp. 512, 513.

DIWAN-I-INSHA

This Ministry looked after the Local Governments and managed the royal correspondence. The head of this ministry was Dabir-i-Mumalik.³⁹ The function of this department was to draft the royal orders,⁴⁰ receive all correspondence from the Muqtis and Amils and to despatch the royal order.⁴¹ Thus the task of this ministry was of an extremely delicate nature, because it had to convey the wishes of the Sultan to the provincial governors and local officers and at the same time put their petitions before the Sultan. He naturally had to be cautious of the Sultan's humour. This ministry seems to be responsible for keeping the empire intact by its diplomatic manoeuvres. Because in those days when communication was slow and the relation of the governors with the Sultan rested on the military strength of the central authority, the Governors could be checked and kept under proper control only by careful manipulations. As a matter of fact he was the proper channel for all correspondence between the Central and local governments. As this ministry was chiefly in charge of correspondence, the head of this ministry served as the private secretary of the Sultan. All the farmans and letters were drafted by him, though the Sultan also at times dictated them. This ministry contained a large number of Dabirs or clerks.

During the reign of Firuz Tughlaq the ministry lost the high status and was reduced to a department under the Revenue ministry.⁴² It was also his duty to write the *Fatehnamah* of the monarch.⁴³

39 Afif, pp. 279, 364.

40 *Tab-i-Nasiri*, p. 175.

41 Zia, p. 153.

42 Afif, p. 409.

43 *Vide, Tajul-Ma-asir*; Zia, p. 361.

MINOR DEPARTMENTS AND OTHER OFFICERS OF THE STATE

Besides the four Ministers, the Sultans of Delhi had a number of minor departments each under a separate officer. These departments were independent of the ministries and were under the direct supervision of the Sultan. Of these departments the Household branch and the Intelligence branch directly affected the Sultan and the Sultans always exercised their judgment in selecting right men for the posts. The Household department was served by nobles as they thought it a privilege to serve the Sultan.

The Wakil-i-dar⁴⁴ was the most important officer connected with Court and royal establishment. "He controlled the entire household and supervised the payment of allowances and salaries to the personal staff of the Sultan". Even the royal kitchen, the royal stables and royal children were under his care. It was through him that the royal orders relating to the household were communicated. "He had a separate Secretariat where every order was first registered and then received the impression of his seal.⁴⁵ Thus we see that the duties of the Wakil-i-dar were of very serious nature. His position too was a delicate one. He had to deal with other officers of the Household who in the days of Sultanate were always selected from the supporters of the Sultan and as such enjoyed the confidence of the monarch. Naturally, therefore, the Wakil-i-dar had to possess extraordinary intelligence, tact and humour to deal with such important persons. A little displeasure and suspicion of the Sultan not only led to his losing the office but often his life as well.⁴⁶ In the discharge of his duties the Wakil-i-dar was assisted by another high officer

44 Zia, p. 576.

45 Qureshi, *Administration of the Sultanate of Dehli*, p. 59.

46 Basu, *Tarikh-i-Mubarakshahi*, p. 69.

called Naib Wakil-i-dar.⁴⁷ It was on the information of Naib Wakil-i-dar Naib Hamiduddin that 'Alāuddin Khalji was saved from the plot hatched by Akat Khan, and presented himself before the army in time to prevent them from going over to Akat Khan.

Next to Wakil-i-dar and almost equal to him in rank was the Amir-Hajib. He was also styled as Amir-i-Hajib-i-Barbak.⁴⁸ He was master of the court ceremonies. In all court ceremonies the Amir-Hajib made the necessary arrangements for proper places of the nobles according to their rank. He was assisted in his work by a Naib⁴⁹ and a number of hajibs.

Sar-jandar was the next important officer attached with the personal entourage of the Sultan. He was the head of the *jandars* or the personal bodyguards of the Sultan. The jandars surrounded the Sultan with drawn swords⁵⁰ which not only added to the magnificence, but also protected the Sultan from every unexpected attack. The Sultans generally had two Sar-i-jandars⁵¹ called *Sar-i-jandar-i-Maimna* and *Sar-i-jandar-i-Maisra*. Obviously for the right and left sides of the Sultan.

Other officers attached with the royal household were :—

1. *Dad-bak*
2. *Mir-Majlis*
3. *Sar-i-dawatdar*
4. *Sharabdar*
5. *Sar-silahdar*

47 *Ibid.*, p. 128; Zia, p. 275.

48 Basu, *Tarikh-i-Mubarakshahi*, p. 68.

49 *Ibid.*, pp. 27, 31, 50, 53, 58, 93, 99, 112, 122.

50 Zia, p. 30.

51 Basu, *Tarikh-i-Mubarakshahi*, pp. 58, 62, 82.

6. *Sar-pardahdaran-i-khas*
7. *Kitabdar*
8. *Chashnigir*
9. *Sar-i-farrash*
10. *Tasht-dar*
11. *Mashal-dar*
12. *Aghachi*
13. *Dabir-i-sara*
14. *Khazinahdar*
15. *Sar-Chatradar*
16. *Amir-i-Tuzuk*
17. *Khasahdar*
18. *Malik-ul-Hukama*

DEPARTMENT OF SLAVES

Under Sultan Firuz Shah Tughlaq a separate department was created to look after the slave establishments of the monarch. Sultan Firuz in his benevolent spirit thought of providing men with proper training and care and this he did through the institution of slaves. The institution of slaves, as previously mentioned, was not a new one for the Turks. But it had lost the old effectiveness in India. Sultan Firuz wanted to revive the old system without understanding that it would only create trouble for the future. In his enthusiasm he collected one lack and eighty thousand slaves. These slaves were trained in various trades and some were educated. "Some of the slaves," says 'Afif, "spent their time in reading and committing to memory the holy books, others in religious studies, others in copying

books". Some were placed under tradesmen and were taught mechanical arts, so that about 12,000 slaves became artisans of various kinds. Forty thousand were every day in readiness to attend as guards in the Sultan's equipage.⁵²

The slave establishment was provided with a separate muster-master or *Majmuadar*, a separate treasury for the payment of their allowances, and a separate officer called *Ashab-i-Diwan-i-Bandagan* was entrusted with the task of administering the affairs of the Slaves.⁵³

The Slave corps formed a separate unit from the regular army and consisted of such branches as, archers, swordsmen, *bandgan-i-award* (fighting men) *bandagan-i-Mahili* riding on male buffalo, and standard bearers armed with axes.⁵⁴

The slaves were also employed to perform household duties of the royal establishment. They were employed as *Atrdar*, *Sharabdar*, *Jamdar*, *Itradar*, *Tashtadar*, *Chatar-dar*, *Sham'dar*, *Pardahdar*, *Jandar*, *Salahdar*, *Shakrahdar*, *Pilban* and *Sangtarash*,⁵⁵ etc. These slaves were employed to serve inside and outside the palace and were also attached to various *Karkhanas* established by the Sultan.

THE KARKHANAS

Shams Siraj 'Afif tells us that Sultan Firuz had a huge establishment of *Karkhanas* over which the Sultan spent huge sums of money, and every effort was made to make them useful. These *Karkhanas* were of thirty six kinds,⁵⁶ and were classified as *Ratibi* and *Ghair Ratibi*.

52 'Afif (Elliot), Sushil Gupta, pp. 80, 81.

53 'Afif, p. 271.

54 *Ibid.*

55 *Ibid.*

56 *Ibid.*, p. 337.

Under the head Ratibi Karkhanas, 'Afif mentions the following: (i) *Pilkhanah* (Elephants) (ii) *Paigah* (for standard breeding of horses) (iii) *Mutabakh* (kitchen) (4) *Sharabkhana* (5) *Shamakhana* (lights) (6) *Shutar-khana* (7) *Sagkhana* (8) *Abdarkhana* (Water supply).⁵⁷

Over this establishment (Ratibi) in payment of the salaries of workers the Sultan incurred an expenditure of one lacs and sixty thousand tankas per month, and in addition to this amount an equivalent sum per month was disbursed in payment of the salaries of the accountants and other officers connected with the establishment.⁵⁸

The Ghair Ratibi Karkhanas consisted of (1) *Jamdarkhana* (Royal Wardrobe) (2) *Amalkhana* or *Alamkhana* (Standards) (3) *Farashkhana*⁵⁹ (Tents & furnitures) (4) *Rakabkhana* (Harness and saddle)⁶⁰ (5) *Zaradkhana* (armours) (6) *Silakhkhana* (jewels) (7) *Tashtadarkhana* (Hamams and baths).

The requirements of the Ghair Ratibi Karkhanas were procured every year according to orders given. In the winter season six lacs of tankas were spent on the Wardrobe (*Jamdarkhana*). Eighty thousand tankas were spent annually for the purchase of articles in *Alam khana*, besides the salaries of the accountants and wages of the workers. About two lacs of tankas were expended in *Farash khana*. Each of these karkhanas was placed under the supervision of some Khan of high rank and experience.

Khawaja Abul Hasan Khan was charged with the general superintendence of all the karkhanas and through

57 Afif, p. 337.

58 *Ibid.*

59 *Ibid*, p. 338.

60 *Ibid.*

him all orders were issued to respective establishments. There was a separate financial department for the karkhanas in which the general accounts were kept, but the accounts were rendered to and recorded in the Diwan-i-Wizarat. All the karkhanas had their own accountants '*Mutsarafs*' who kept the accounts of their respective karkhanas and passed them to higher officials. The salary of the officers connected with the karkhanas was disbursed monthly.⁶¹

The Intelligence Department

The Intelligence department was placed under Barid-i-Mumalik. Barids were a very important institution of the Sultans and were placed throughout the empire. That they might discharge their duties with efficiency and honesty, Balban did not give them too large a field of observation.⁶² The word Barid means a runner and is derived from the Latin '*Veredus*'.⁶³ These Barids did not serve merely as news carriers, but during the Sultanate period they performed duties similar to those of Waqiah Nawis under the Mughals.⁶⁴ These Barids also served as spies. But they should not be taken as only spies, they had to perform the duties of news reporters as well as those of secret spies.⁶⁵

The Barids served as a great check upon the activities of the governors and officials. Thus in the days of the Sultans when the bond between the Centre and the distant provinces was a slender one and depended on the power and strength of the Central authority, the Barid certainly was a very important institution. Sultan Balban always respected the information sent by the Barids and suspected all those against whom such information was sent.

61 Afif, pp. 339-40

62 Elliot. III, p. 101.

63 *Encyclopedia of Islam*.

64 *J. A. S. B.* 1870, p. 25, notes.

65 Zia, p. 40.

CHAPTER V

THE PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT

It is well-nigh impossible even for a highly centralised government to carry on the administration of a kingdom with extensive territories. This principle applies with greater force to ancient and medieval times, when the absence of quicker means of communication made the remote places of the kingdom more remote, thereby depriving them of the personal guidance and supervision of the monarch. A solution to this problem has come down in the shape of division of the kingdom into provinces. Such a division was new neither to Turks who came to India, nor to the Indians who inhabited the land. The empires of the Mauryas, the Kushans, the Guptas and the Maukharis were all divided into provinces, large and small. The empire under the Umayyads was also divided into provinces based on the Byzantine and Persian models and such a division was not discarded by the Abbasides, the successors of the Umayyads.¹ The extensive empire of the Khalifas after partitioning into provinces was placed under governors (*amir* or *amil*) and these governors began to enjoy powers and privileges according to their ability and the respective weakness or strength of the centre.² Thus Governors at a greater distance enjoyed greater powers and acted almost as independent rulers. This disparity in the powers and privileges of the Governors led the jurists to classify the Governors according to the privileges enjoyed by them. 'Al Mawardi has classified the Governors in the categories of Governors with unlimited powers and Governors with limited powers.³

1 Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, p. 330.

2 *Ibid.* p. 331.

3 Khuda Buksh, *Orient under the Caliphs*, pp. 272-276.

Governors with Unlimited Powers

The scope of the functions of a Governor with unlimited powers may be summarised as hereunder.

1. The supreme direction of the military affairs of his province, the stationing and distribution of troops and fixing of the scale of their pay.
2. The supreme control over the nomination of the judges (Qazi).
3. Levying of taxes and imposts and appointment of tax gatherers as well as apportioning of taxes.
4. The maintenance of public security and the preservation of spiritual matters from any innovation.
5. The administration of the Police which was divided into two branches, one attending the public morals and the other maintaining law and order.
6. Presiding at public prayers on Friday and on festival days.
7. The equipment and despatch of the annual pilgrim caravan proceeding to Mecca.
8. Waging wars against unbelievers, and distribution of booty among the soldiers as well as the levying of the one-fifth for the State Treasury (*Baitul mal*)

Jurists are of opinion that even such a governor could not enhance the salaries of the soldiers fixed by the Khalifa, and all such enhancements done in exigencies were considered as temporary unless the same was sanctioned by the Khalifa. It was, however, perfectly within the competence of the governor to assign the

annuities to the grown-up sons of the soldiers or to offer rewards to soldiers independent of the consent of the Khalifa. In financial matters the Governor had to remit all surplus to the Khalifa after defraying all the expenses of the provincial administration and the pay of the soldiers. But in actual working the revenue of the province was hardly ever sufficient to meet the provincial expenditure, and the governors had to obtain the shortage from the central treasury. In matters of appointment, if such a governor was appointed by the Khalifa he remained in office even after the death of the Khalifa, but if he had been appointed by a Wazir of unlimited powers, after the demise or removal of the Wazir, his service also terminated unless of course reconfirmed by the Khalifa.⁴

Governors with Limited Powers

The Governor with limited powers did not enjoy such extensive authority. He had control over the provincial military affairs, the conduct of the administration and the maintenance of public peace. He neither exercised control in the administration of justice nor in the affairs of the levying of taxes and imposts. In criminal matters too he had a very limited power, because all criminal matters which involved infringement of religious laws belonged to the jurisdiction of the Qazi. In other criminal matters not involving an infringement of religious laws the governor was only competent to deal with them when the party aggrieved laid his complaint before him. The supervision of public morals, however, formed a part of his duty. In matters of appeals he could give his decision provided a judicial sentence had already been pronounced, but not if such a sentence had to be pronounced by trial. The equipment and despatch of the annual pilgrim caravan to Mecca was also within the

⁴ Khuda Buksh, *Orient under the Caliphs*, pp. 272-274.

scope of the functions of such a governor. As regards presiding at the public prayer on Fridays, opinion is divided among the Jurists. According to the school of Shafa'i the *Qazi* had a better title to it, but according to Abu Hanifa the Governor. Generally on the appointment of the Governor it was settled whether he should or should not have the right to preside at the public prayer. If the province of such a Governor was contiguous to a hostile territory it was not open to him to wage war without previously obtaining the permission of the Khalifa.⁵

Governorship by Usurpation

Along with these two kinds the Jurists refer to a third kind essentially different from either of the two. They call it Governorship by Usurpation. To the installation of a usurper as a legitimate Governor the jurists attach certain conditions which he was required to fulfil and which were looked upon as a contract between him and the spiritual head of Islam. The usurper had to pledge himself to the following conditions for the legitimisation of his usurpation :

1. To preserve and respect the dignity of the Caliph as the supreme religious chief of the entire Muslim community.
2. Always publicly to avow religious submission to the Khalifa.
3. To render assistance and help in all common affairs of Islam in order to manifest to strangers the duty of the Islamic community.
4. To respect the Caliph's nominations to religious offices such as those of the *Qazis* and *Imams*.

5 Khuda Buksh, *Orient under the Caliphs*, pp. 274-276.

5. To see that taxes prescribed by religious laws were levied with justice and equity.
6. To watch that criminal justice was administered with fairness.
7. To urge the people to maintain the true religion and to keep them back from what God has forbidden.⁶

Thus we see that the jurists have tried to attach some sort of legal sanction for all possible activities of a governor and also that they have tried to legalise all irregularities that a political adventurer may undergo in the process of his aggrandisement. But all this classification and legalisation was more or less theoretical, because the authority of the provincial governor increased in direct proportion to the personal ability of the governor, the weakness of the Khalifa and the distance from the Capital.

Territorial Limits of the Sultanate

The territorial expansion of the Sultanate had been a continuous process from the time Shihabuddin Muhammad Ghori had defeated the Chauhan ruler in the second battle of Tarain. He had left Qutubuddin Ibeq to complete the work of conquest and himself occasionally came to his help when he was to encounter any formidable foe. After his death India was cut off from Ghor, but Qutubuddin directed the military campaigns through his lieutenants into the interior of India. In the meantime Bengal had been conquered and brought under the banner of Islam. Iltutmish shifted his headquarters to Dehli and made it the capital of the Sultanate.⁷ But his dominions did not extend far into the interior of India, even in Bengal his authority was only a nominal one.

6 Khuda Buksh, *Orient under the Caliphs*, p. 276.

7 Tripathi, *Some Aspects of Muslim Administration*, p. 27.

Throughout the rule of the Ilbari Turks, we find that every Sultan had to suppress one revolt or the other. These revolts were generally directed at throwing of the yoke of the centre on the part of the military commanders placed in charge of those places. Balban did not enter into any programme of territorial expansion. He contented himself by appointing Bughra Khan as Governor of Bengal on the eastern side of his kingdom and in Rajputana confined his activities on the fringes of the desert. His whole reign is a long story of his attempts to subjugate the various parts of his kingdom which roughly comprised of Multan, Lahore, Dipalpur, Samana, Sunam, Dehli, Ajmer, Badaun, Doab of the Ganga and the Jamuna, parts of Bihar and Bengal. With the accession of 'Alauddin Khalji the old policy was changed for a policy of expansion.⁸ Parts of Rajputana, Gujrat, parts of Malwa and parts of Deccan were added. But in the Deccan 'Alauddin satisfied himself merely with the acknowledgment of his suzerainty by the Hindu rulers. He gave clear instructions to Malik Kafur for the realisation of tributes from the Deccan Princes and to treat Ram Deo and Laddar (Rudra) Deo as friends.⁹ He even gave a sort of Viceroyalty of the Deccan kingdoms to Raja Ramchandra for a short period, and after his death for a short period Malik Kafur remained in Deccan with his headquarters at Deogir. Further a close study of his military, market, and revenue reforms clearly indicates that the core of his empire consisted only of the eastern Punjab, Multan and the Doab land (modern Uttar Pradesh) over which he ruled. The various states of Rajputana were in the nature of 'Tributary States'. On the east Bengal and Bihar existed as independent kingdoms. Most of the Central India with important places like Chanderi, Ellichpur, Dharanagri, Ujjain and

8 *Vide* K. S. Lal, *History of the Khaljis*,

9 Zia, pp. 326-328.

Mandu were under Governors appointed from the Centre.¹⁰ Gujrat was a province which enjoyed considerable independence under Alp Khan, and Deccan kingdoms were almost independent except that theoretically they were expected to send annual tributes. Mubarakshah Khalji altered the policy of his father and tried to establish greater control over the Deccan by appointing Muslim officers as Governors in the Deccan.¹¹

The first and the second Tughlaq monarchs brought the policy of Mubarakshah to its logical conclusion by completely replacing the administrative machinery of the Deccan with their own. But the experiment proved dangerous for them. Muhammad Tughlaq's attempt at changing his capital to Deogir was only a measure calculated to bring about a greater control over the Deccan. But with the failure of this measure Deccan practically passed out of his hands.¹² His whole life was spent in subjugating the outlying provinces of his empire. Firuz Shah, his successor, was not endowed with necessary qualities to check this disintegrating force. The distant provinces became independent kingdoms and after his abortive attempt at subjugating Bengal Firuz Shah reconciled himself with the territories left to him. His dominions remained in the Punjab, Multan and the doab of the Ganga and the Jamuna. His successors were equally hopeless and only helped the process of disintegration.

Thus we find that for administrative purposes the territories under the Sultans were of three kinds: firstly the regions of Multan, Eastern Punjab and modern Uttar Pradesh, secondly distant lands like Gujrat, Malwa,

10 Zia, p. 323, K. S. Lal, *History of the Khaljis*, p. 221.

11 Zia, p. 398

12 Zia, p. 471.

Bihar and Bengal, and thirdly territories of the tributary Chiefs owing nominal allegiance to the Sultan.

Types of Provinces

The three kinds of territories led to the creation of three types of Provinces. In the first kind, the Provinces were smaller in size and enjoyed greater supervision and control of the Sultans. The Governors of these provinces were generally designated as Wali and Muqti and enjoyed powers of a Governor of limited powers (*imarat-i-ammah*). In the second kind came such provinces as were situated at a greater distance and as such suffered from the absence of personal supervision of the Sultan. The Governors of these Provinces were styled as Wali and Naib and sometimes they were given the title of Sultan also. These Governors enjoyed the privileges of the Governors of unlimited power (*imarat-i-khassah*). At times some of the Governors of such distant provinces did not get the appointment from the centre but had assumed governorship themselves and the Sultan was left with no alternative but to accept them as the Governors of their respective provinces. Such Governors¹³ belonged to the category of Governors by usurpation. In the third kind the native chiefs were allowed to retain their territories subject to their payment of tributes to the Sultan. They were internally autonomous rulers and carried their administration according to their ancient traditions and therefore do not come within the scope of the present study.

The second kind of provinces, *i.e.*, those which were situated at a greater distance and were governed by (*imarat-i-khassah*) Governors of unlimited powers existed like kingdoms within a kingdom. The provinces of Bengal, Deccan and Gujrat were provinces of this cate-

13 Such cases are to be found in Bengal—*Vide* K. S. Lal, *History of the Khaljis*, pp. 94-97.

Also, *Tarikh-i-Mubarakshahi*, p. 156.

gory. During the reign of 'Alauddin Khalji Bengal was looked upon as a place where the Sultan could send such a person who was rather dangerous near the Centre. When Zafar Khan became very popular and renowned for his prowess and was holding the province of Samana, 'Alauddin Khalji began to think of sending him to Lakhnauti and leave him there to supply elephants and tribute.¹⁴ The governor of Lakhnauti during the reign of Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq was Nasiruddin whom Ziauddin Barani mentions as Sultan Nasiruddin.¹⁵ The title Sultan indicates that the Governor of Lakhnauti had a higher status than others. Even a Sultan like Balban allowed his son Bughra Khan as governor of Bengal to enjoy the authority of a semi-independent monarch. The province of Bengal, as obtained in the reigns of Balban and Muhammad Tughlaq, was divided into three sub-provinces of Satgaon, Sonargaon and Lakhnauti. Lakhnauti was the headquarter for all the three with the central treasury of the entire province.¹⁶ The Governor of Lakhnauti was like a Viceroy over the three sub-provinces.

Turning to the Deccan we find that it was divided into four provinces, *i.e.*, Deogir, Mabar, Telingana and Dwarsamudra. But the proper annexation and division of the Deccan was effected during the reigns of Ghiyasuddin and Muhammad Tughlaq, and most of the Deccan was also lost by Muhammad Tughlaq in his own lifetime. During the reign of Alauddin Khalji the arrangement of the Deccan was different from those of

14 *Zia*, p. 254.

15 *Ibid.*, p. 451.

16 The revolt of Malik Fokhruddin during the reign of Muhammad Tughlaq, who killed Kadar Khan, the governor of Lakhnauti and plundered the treasury and the three provinces of Bengal, *i.e.*, Lakhnauti, Sunargaon and Satgaon, indicate the division of Bengal into three sub-provinces (*Vide*, Elliot III, p. 242; Brigg's *Firishhta*, I, p. 423.)

others. He left the Hindu Rulers of the Deccan kingdom to continue in their own territories and satisfied himself only by reducing them to the status of feudatory chiefs. Rai Ramdeo, Rai Laddar (Rudra) Deo and the Hoysala chief Ballal Deo¹⁷ of Dwarsamudra remained in their territories subject to payment of annual tribute.

Muhammad Tughlaq's arrangement of the Deccan was somewhat similar to that of Bengal. Kutlugh Khan was recalled because the Sultan was informed that he could not properly manage the affairs of Deccan and much of the revenue had been wasted owing to his negligence. He then divided the Maratha country into four divisions, with Surur-ul-Mulk, Makhli-ul-Mulk, Yusuf Baghra and Aziz Khamar as the four divisional governors. Further, he made Deogir the headquarter of the Deccan under a Wazir who was assisted by a naib-wazir. 'Imadul Mulk Sarir Sultani was made the Wazir and Dharaohar was made *Naib-wazir*.¹⁸ The Wazir of Deogir became the supervisor over the four divisional governors and was like a Viceroy.

The minor provinces formed the chief bulk of the Empire over which the Sultan had his full control. During the thirteenth century the river country was divided into three provinces, Meerut, Baran and Koil, but 'Alauddin placed them on equal footing with the Dehli country directly under the revenue ministry¹⁹ of the Centre. Below the river country came Kanauj and below that Kara. Beyond the Ganges were situated Amroha and Sambhal with Badaun in their north. In the east of Badaun was Awadh and to the south-east of Awadh was Zafarabad (later on Jaunpur). In the north of the Ghagra was Bahraich, portion of Awadh including Gorakhpur and Tirhut. Beyond this was Bengal. In

17 Isami, *Futuh-us Salatin*, p. 290.

18 *Tab-i-Akbari* (De.), p. 230.

19 Moreland, p. 24. also compare Zia, p. 323.

the south-west of the Ganges was the province of Mahoba and next to it was Bayana which included Gwalior whenever the fortress belonged to the kingdom of Dehli. The provinces west of Dehli were Sirhind, Samana, and Hansi and beyond them Lahore, Dipalpur and Multan. The last three were frontier provinces and were always placed under Maliks of marked military experience and ability. Gujrat and parts of Malwa also constituted provinces but were mostly placed under Governors of unlimited powers. In Rajputana, for a brief period, Chitor was counted as a province. These were the provinces that formed the core of the empire of the Sultans. But the boundaries of these provinces were not properly defined with demarcations and often the border villages suffered from overlapping arrangements.²⁰

The Provincial Government was a replica of the Central Government, and for its working it had all the paraphernalia of the Central Government, but the various posts in the two governments did not carry identical designations. The governors of the provinces were called Wali, Muqti, Naib and even Sultan, but the last two mentioned titles were applied only to the governors of distant provinces enjoying unlimited powers. The governors were directly responsible to the Central Government for proper administration of the province. The people of the provinces had right of appeal to the Sultan against oppression of the governors, and this was the greatest check on the tyranny of the governors. The governors were subject to recall by the Sultan to the centre and then sent to some other province.²¹ Such a transfer was, however, looked upon by the governors as

20 Zia. p. 50. mentions twenty provinces forming the bulk of the resources of Balban.

21 Examples of such recall and reposting at a different place are not rare in the history of the Sultans of Dehli.

a disgrace and often the Sultan had to enforce his orders with the help of his army. The governors, throughout the Sultanate period, were essentially men of rank^{21a} and of tested military skill. This was such a common feature that we may even generalise that governorship was meant for military persons only.

Regarding the duties of the governors, no hard and fast rule was applied and much initiative was granted to them to meet the situations as they came. This was more so because the half-subdued Hindu masses along with their Muqaddams and Chaudhris were ever intent upon rebellion. But the Sultans did expect from the governors observation of certain rules which have been mentioned by Hassan Nizami in *Taju-l-Ma-asir* and also in some of the letters contained in the *Munshat-i-Mahru*. In *Tajul-Ma-asir* we find a passage which has been rendered by Elliot as follows: "That tract was freed from idols and idol-worship and the foundations of infidelity were destroyed, and all those who were oppressed found protection under the shadow of royal clemency. The keys of command and prohibition in the kasba of Koil were given to Malikul Umra Hishamuddin Ulbak, one of the chief pillars of the State".²²

According to Hasan Nazami the duties of a governor may be summarised as, the enforcement of laws, regula-

21a Zia, p. 51. اگر من اقلیمے جزا اقلیم مضبوط شدہ بگیرم و آنرا خواهم کہ در تصرف آرم و ضبط کنم مرا والی بزرگ کہ باوصاف پادشاهی باشد و لائق سری و سردوی بود انجا باامرا و عمال و متصرفان دانا و حشم چیده و گزیده نصب باید کرد

22 Elliot, Vol. II, p. 224. Elliot then notes, "Here follows a didactic passage on what he was expected to do as a good governor." But Elliot has not translated the passage which in his characteristic approach to Indian history he considers useless. But fortunately for us Dr. Qureshi and Prof S. A. Rashid have made this passage and the passage of *Munshat-i-Mahru* available to us.

tions and customs; and the protection of the Ulemas, the warriors and other officials. Secondly, pacification of the conquered people by reducing dues and introducing measures of prosperity. Thirdly, to encourage cultivation. Fourthly, to maintain proper justice for the protection of the weak. Fifthly, to take measures for the safety of the roads which were necessary for trade and communication.²³

Again in the reign of Firuz Shah Tughlaq similar instructions were given to a governor at the time of his appointment. The instructions were :—

- (i) to act as chief executive officer
- (ii) to protect the people and to guard their interest²⁴
- (iii) to help the learned and the holy.
- (iv) to maintain the army in a happy and contented condition
- (v) to supervise the work of the financial department
- (vi) to protect the peasants from undue exaction
- (vii) to supervise the work of public officers.²⁵

From these descriptions we find that scope of functions of the governor was very wide. But we have to remember, that the functions just described were more in the nature of theoretical digression, and in actual practice the chief guiding force was the personality of the governor and the respective strength or weakness of the Sultan and the distance of the province from the capital.

23 Compare, Qureshi, *Administration of Sultanate of Delhi*.

24 This seems very doubtful because if by people the entire subject is meant, the Hindus too would be included and a Muslim Governor whose first duty was to protect the faith could not naturally guard the interest of the 'unbelievers'. Thus either the instruction is meaningless or the term 'people' applies to the Muslims alone.

25 *Insha-i-Mahru I (Op. Cit. Qureshi, p. 199.)*

In the administration of the province the governor was assisted by a *Khwajah*,²⁶ who was the head of the provincial finance and was appointed by the Sultan on the recommendation of the Wazir. The *Khwajah* was assisted by *Mutsaraf* and *Karkuns*.²⁷ The other two officers mentioned by Zia are *Shiqdar* and *Faujdar*.²⁸ While the former was like a Governor the latter was the executive head of a sub-division, the 'parganah'.

The provinces were further sub-divided and the smallest unit in the province was a village. Village life had been the backbone of Indian civilization and had survived through the ages. The Sultans too did not disturb the village life. The villages continued to manage their affairs through their own hereditary headmen mentioned by the chroniclers as *Muqaddams*, *Khots* and *Chaudharis*. With the advent of the policy of centralisation adopted by 'Alauddin Khalji, the villages in the Doab, and the regions brought under the regulation which worked under the direction of Central Government, the revenue administration of which was directed by Sharaf Qai,²⁹ these headmen of the villages lost their privileges as revenue collectors. But the chroniclers have nowhere mentioned that the *Muqaddams*, *Khots* and *Chaudharis* were removed. They were only shorn of their perquisites. Thus it implies that these headmen continued to regulate and look after the villages. A number of villages collectively formed a *parganah*. A *parganah* was sometimes also called a *kasba*. The extent and area of a *Parganah* was not defined. But Dr. Qureshi on the evidence of Ibn Batuta mentions

26 Zia, p. 38.

27 Zia, p. 469.

28 Zia, p. 479.

29 *Vide*, Chapter, VI.

that a collection of hundred villages was called *Sadi*.³⁰ The term *Sadi* which Ibn Batuta used in connection with his description of the *Sadi* of Hindpat is identified as the parganah of Indrapat. This implies that a parganah contained hundred villages. As pointed out by Dr. Qureshi no such hard and fast rule can be attached to a parganah as to always contain hundred villages. But in India units of hundred villages had existed in ancient times and in the organisation of the Chauhans, units consisting of twelve villages "dvadasaka" as sub-division of a 'Visaya' are found.³¹ Thus grouping of villages to constitute a parganah, which may have been only a continuation of the system of the Rajputs, is a possibility which cannot be ruled out altogether. But *Sadi* was not used officially by the Government. Zia has mentioned both *Shiqdar* and *Faujdar*³² in his accounts. Unfortunately the nature and jurisdiction of these officers have not been described. But taking the matters as they stand we can say that *Faujdar* was the parganah officer or its executive head, a term which was commonly applied in the time of the Mughals. In the days of Firuz Shah Tughlaq the Doab country had fifty-two *parganahs*.³³ In connection with the supervision work of Sharf Qai, naib Wazir, Zia has mentioned a number of officers. According to *Ziauddin*, there were Sarhang, Mushrif, Amil, holders of posts in the offices (*مہمندانان دہانتہ*), *Gumashta*, *Muhassil*.³⁴ All these officers along with the *patwari* helped the parganah officer in the revenue administration. Naturally the chief parganah officer,

30 Qureshi, p. 203.

31 *Epigraphica Indica*, IX, p. 67; *J. A. S. B.* 1916, pp. 101-102.

32 Zia, p. 479.

33 Afif, p. 295.

34 Zia, p. 288.

Faujdar, was to maintain peace and order and the revenue side was looked after by a separate staff, as noted earlier.

Ziauddin has mentioned *Shiqdar*. This naturally brings in the question if there existed a division like a *Shiq* having the same connotations as it assumed later on. The term *Shiq* is often used by the chroniclers to indicate a division. Muhammad Tughlaq's division of Deccan into four provinces is mentioned as division into four *Shiqs*. Again, during the reign of Firuz Tughlaq, 'Afif has mentioned that "before this time in the days of former kings this country (Hisar Firoza) had been entered in the revenue accounts as belonging to the *Shiq* of Hansi".³⁵ Hansi was a province and not a sub-division and 'Afif meant a province or part of the kingdom when he wrote *Shiq* of Hansi. Again while describing the condition of the country 'Afif mentions that a good condition of things prevailed in every *Iqta* and *Shiq*. Mr. Moreland³⁶ is of the opinion that *Shiq* in the fourteenth century meant something similar to a province. A careful reading of the chroniclers would reveal to us that the term *Shiq* as used carries the sense of a sub-province. It is used for the four sub-provinces of Deccan. Again it is used for the provinces near Dehli and in the Doab country, the regions which were directly supervised by the Central Government. We can therefore safely say that *Shiq* as used during the Turkish Sultanate only implied a small province not enjoying all the privileges which were associated with a province. Later on in the time of the Afghans it began to be used for a sub-division of a province.

Turning to the revenue system of the Provincial Government two questions arise: (1) Provincial Finance the relation with the Central Government and (2) the relation with the cultivator.

35 Afif, p. 128.

36 Moreland, p. 25.

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The Provincial Government had to pay a stated sum to the Central Government because we find that Ghiyās-uddin Tughlaq gave orders that the ministry should not make an increase of more than one-tenth or one-eleventh on the provinces. This he said in connection with the surplus revenue from the Provinces. From the order it is clear that this surplus was a fixed sum and was therefore liable to be increased by the ministry. Again this was the best system because in those days if a fixed sum was not demanded the Governors would spend all and thus leave little or no surplus.

What was the system during the reign of 'Alāuddin we do not precisely know, but I think a similar arrangement as that of Ghiyāsuddin must have prevailed in such provinces where his regulation did not work, obviously because it was the best system and specially so when the interest of the Sultan was supreme. During the early period of Muhammad Tughlaq's reign detailed accounts of income and expenditure of the provinces were taken. But later on the revenues of the Provinces were farmed out. This farming of the revenue continued during the reign of Firuz Tughlaq.

The second question, *i.e.*, the relation with the cultivator is even more obscure. However, there is one passage dealing with the reign of Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq, "Again did Sultan Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq Shah being a wise and prudent king ordered that the collectors of the revenue and governors should make enquiry and should forbid the head-man to take more from the people than the revenue demanded by the king.³⁷" This passage indicates that the demand from the cultivator was a fixed sum and it was to be seen that more than that was not realized from the cultivator. During 'Alāuddin's reign the cultivator was brought under government revenue collectors in such province where his regulations operated.

37 J. A. S. B., 1871, p. 230.

In the army organization of the Sultans we find that the *iqta* holders and provincial governors were expected to supply their contingents in times of need. They were also instructed not to deduct from the salaries of the soldiers, nor to pay less. From these instructions we can deduce that each province had an army of its own, and the strength of this army depended upon their size, and distance from the centre. Naturally enough we may also deduce that provinces lying on the frontier regions had a larger force, notwithstanding the size of the province. This provincial army was also necessary for maintaining peace and order and to keep the Hindu chiefs within the province or in the neighbourhood in check.³⁸

To keep a constant watch and control over the movements and activities of the governors the Sultans kept 'barids' in the provinces, whose duty it was to inform the Sultan of every occurrences in the provinces. Sultan Balban while appointing his second son Bughrah Khan over the province of Samānā sent 'Barids' to give him information about the condition of the Province.

The Provincial Judiciary

The Provincial judiciary consisted of the courts at the Provincial headquarters, the parganah headquarters and the Village Panchayats in the villages. The village was the lowest unit of administration and for its management it was left to the local people or the villagers. A number of villages was grouped together under a panchayat, which consisted of five leading men. The chairman or the Sarpanch of the panchayat was appointed by the Wali, or Muqti or Faujdar. The panchayat heard civil or criminal cases of the locality and also maintained law and order in the locality.³⁹ In the days of the Sultans,

38 See Chapter X

39 Firishta (Briggs, III, p. 420.)

when the Hindu masses still suffered from inconveniences of a rule based on a religion different from their own, these panchayat courts must have been most useful. Appeals from panchayat courts could be made to the courts of the Qazi-i-Subah or the Governor.

Next to panchayat was the Parganah court with Qazi-i-parganah and the Kotwal administering justice. The Faujdar of the Parganah also attended to minor cases. Above the parganah there was the provincial headquarter courts, consisting of the courts of the Governor, Qazi-i-Subah, Diwan-i-Subah and Sadre Subah. The governor's court was the highest in the province, and worked both as original and appellate court. The Qazi-i-Subah was entirely responsible for the Judiciary of the province. The Diwan-i-Subah attended revenue cases.

Checks over the Provincial Governors

The Provincial Governors enjoyed considerable freedom in their provinces, but this freedom was not an altogether unbridled one. There were certain checks which always controlled their ambitions. The first was their own fear of becoming unpopular in the province. Secondly, the Governors could always be removed for their mal-administration, and the people were given the right of approaching the Sultan against the governors. Thirdly in matters of justice appeals from the Provincial courts could always be filed with the Centre. The governors of the provinces, naturally enough, took special care that proper justice was done in their provinces. Fourthly, in financial matters the provincial Diwan was practically independent and was responsible to the Centre. Fifthly, the presence of the Barids and spies informing the Sultan of everything that happened in the provinces, always reminded the governors of their duties. And last of all, the Sultan had always the right of transferring or removing any governor whom he disliked.

CHAPTER VI
FISCAL SYSTEM

(a) *A Brief Sketch of Muslim Theory of Taxation*

All the Muslim jurists had for their theories more or less the same sources. Yet they propounded theories which were quite divergent on some important matters. In India, however, the Hanafi school prevailed and remained the state religion throughout the Muslim period.¹

The Muslim jurists divide the revenue of a Moham-
medan state into two classes, *i.e.*, religious and secular
revenue. The religious revenue chiefly consists of the
'so-called *Zakat* taxes', and is derived from Muslims
alone. The secular revenue, which consists mainly of
Jizyah, *Kharaj* and *Khams* and was levied on the non-
Muslims.²

The Hanifite doctors define *zakat* in the following
manner :

"The giving, as an act of piety, of a legally stated
portion of one's property to poor Moslem, who is
not of the Hashim family or their clients, in such a way
as to preclude for the giver any sort of benefit."³ *Zakat*
and *Zadaqah* as religious taxes are often confused. But
in reality *sadaqah* is genus of which *zakat* is only the
species. More clearly all "*Zakat* is also *Sadaqah* but
only the *sadaqah* which is *fard* (obligatory) is *zakat*".⁴

1 Tripathi, *Some Aspects of Muslim Administration*, p. 338. Elliot,
III. p. 184.

2 Aghnides, p. 525.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 203 & 204.

4 Aghnides, p. 204.

But Shāfi and Mawardi make no difference between the two and consider both as the same. The property subject to *zakat* is again divided into apparent and non-apparent property. *Zakat* could be levied on a certain definite minimum quantity called the 'Nisab'. This *nisab* had three definite qualities, *i.e.*, (1) the *nisab* must be owned in full ownership. (2) Nisab must be over and above the primary necessities of life. (3) *Nisab* must be free from debt.⁵ Thus the bare necessities of life were free from *zakat* taxes. Again there are three definite conditions which a person must fulfil before he had a right to pay the *zakat* tax. (I) Reason and maturity, for there can be no responsibility without them, (II) State of Islam, because the payment of *zakat* is an act of worship and as such it can rightly be performed by a Moslem only, (III) Freedom of person because a slave cannot own any property.⁶ These qualifications naturally therefore exempt infants, non-Muslims, lunatics, slaves and even debtors, *i.e.*, insolvent persons from payment of *zakat* tax.

As already mentioned property subject to *zakat* was divided into apparent and non-apparent property. Apparent property comprised of animals and agricultural produce while the non-apparent property included gold, silver and articles of trade. As regards the collection of *zakat*, in theory at least Imām had no right to collect it by force because should he do so, the obligation of *zakat* to God remained undischarged.⁷

Hanifite doctors give the right of collecting the *zakat* tax to the state on the ground that state provide protection to property.⁸ The *zakat* of the apparent property

5 Aghnides, p. 207.

6 Aghnides, p. 213.

7 Aghnides, p. 297.

8 *Ibid.*, p. 298.

was collected by the state according to the fixed rate, but the *Zakat* of non-apparent property was given to the beneficiaries directly by the property owner according to his own discretion and judgment.⁹

Tithe is another source of *sadaqah*. Tithe is considered by Hanifite-doctors as *zakat* on the produce of land.¹⁰ However, they differentiate between the *zakat* proper and Tithe, they say "that while *zakat* is an act of worship pure and simple. Tithe is primarily a financial charge (*Maunah*) although it participates in a way in the nature of worship".¹¹

The properties of minors, lunatics, waqfs, *muqtabs*, slaves and insolvent persons were not exempted from the Tithe tax, as they were in case of *zakat* proper.¹² Moreover the Tithe, unlike *zakat* proper could be forcibly realised without losing any of its significance.

Now we come to the secular revenues (*Fa'y*) consisting of *jiziyah kharaj* and *khums*.

The origin of *jiziyah* is from divine words, *i.e.* Koran. "Make war upon such of those to whom a scripture has been given, as do not believe in God nor the last day, until they pay by their hands the *jiziyah* in order to be humiliated."¹³ According to Aghnides, the word *jiziyah* is derived from '*jaza*' meaning compensation, requittal for good or evil. Originally *jiziyah* was levied as a sign of humiliation, and compensation for security of life and property in a Muslim state and also as compensation for military service, which they being unbelievers were incapable of rendering personally¹⁴. Later

9 Aghnides, p. 526. Tripathi, p. 346.

10 Aghnides, p. 283.

11 *Ibid.*, p. 284.

12 *Ibid.*, pp. 284, 290.

13 *Koran*, Chap. 9 Verse, 29.

14 Aghnides, pp. 398, 399, 528.

on, however, the scope was widened and idolators and other non believers were brought under the heading of a *dhimmi*, e.g., the case of India. Women, children, insane and imbecile old people and monks retired from the world were free from *jiziyah*.¹⁵ These were freed from the tax on the ground of their being unfit for service to the state. But according to Abu Yusuf, blind and cripples holding property were not free from *jiziyah*, because according to him though these were incapable of rendering personal help they were quite fit to help with their wealth.¹⁶ The payers of the *jiziyah* were called *dhimmis*, and by paying the *jiziyah* they became entitled to two rights : (1) security from molestation and (2) protection. By virtue of the first right they became safe (*amin*) and of the second, proteges (*mahrus*). Later on, however, *jiziyah* began to be imposed 'as a punishment of the infidels for their unbelief.'¹⁷ People falling within the jurisdiction of *jiziyah* were divided into rich, the middle class and the poor and were taxed according to their respective financial capacities.¹⁸

Now comes *Kharaj* or the land-tax. It means revenue derived from a piece of ground. *Kharaj* is divided into proportional and fixed *kharaj*. "The proportional consisted in a proportion of the produce of ground like one-half, one-third, one-fourth or one-fifth of the same." 'Fixed *kharaj* on the contrary is a fixed charge on the ground, at so much of natural produce or money per unit area or per tree.¹⁹ It means two systems of assessment, i.e., assessment in proportion to the produce of land and assessment according to the area cultivated. The sys-

15 *Ibid.*, pp. 404, 528.

16 Aghnides, p. 404.

17 Tripathi, p. 340

18 Aghnides, p. 528; Tripathi, p. 341.

19 Aghnides, p. 378.

tem of measurement by *Jarib* was used for fixing the area,²⁰ and quality of land was determined by three factors. First of all was the quality of land itself which yields comparatively more or less produce. The second factor was the kind of crop. Since the price of different crops varied. The third factor pertained to the method of irrigation, *i.e.*, natural irrigation or artificial irrigation.²¹ In case of cash payments a fourth factor was also taken into consideration, namely, the distance of the land from cities and markets.²² for the obvious reason of transit charges. Nobody holding the *kharaj* land was exempted from the payment of the tax, irrespective of his being either minor or major, man or woman, free or slave and an infidel or a Muslim.²³ Though originally the Muslims were outside the pale of the *kharaj* tax they paid the tithe '*usur*'. Anybody deliberately neglecting the cultivation of the land was not exempted from *kharaj* tax.²⁴ According to Abu Hanifa a piece of land never paid both *kharaj* and Tithe.²⁵ But *kharaj* and Tithe are not to be confused; while the former is essentially secular, the latter is religious and obligatory to Muslims.

The third and last of the secular taxes was *Khums Ghanaim*, one-fifth of war booty and also one-fifth levied on mines and treasure-trove the latter was considered as case of spoil of war, because these were believed to belong formerly to infidels and became Moslem property by conquest.

20 Tripathi, p. 342.

21 Aghnides, p. 381.

22 *Ibid.*, p. 382.

23 Aghnides, p. 378. With the growth of Muslim population as cultivators the state could not afford to exempt them from payment of *kharaj*.

24 Aghnides, p. 385.

25 Aghnides, p. 389.

Revenue System under the Sultans

It is not possible to find one uniform and regular system of fiscal administration throughout the whole of the Sultanate period. As a matter of fact it varied frequently from time to time partly due to different problems arising and partly due to there being differences in the aims, mentality and personality of the Sultans. But what the Sultans had in common before them was the Muslim theory of taxation and the traditions of the land in which they were destined to wield the sceptre.

Iltutmish the real founder of Moslem Empire in India did little in the revenue system and hardly any records of his fiscal administration are to be found in the chronicles. Moreover Iltutmish was too busy with his expeditions and in subduing the Hindu chiefs and Moslem generals of Qutubuddin Ibeq, and naturally therefore had little time to devote his attention to revenue administration. But tracing back from Balban who never liked the arrangement he found,²⁶ we can conclude that Iltutmish divided the kingdom into 'Iqtas amongst his soldiers and nobles as their remuneration for their services. But what were his chief sources of income it is very difficult to say definitely. We can, however, guess that in all probability his income came from the war booty and the sums from subjugated Native chiefs.

Balban who occupies a greater portion of the thirteenth century had to face the problem of Mongol invasion and felt the weight of their pressure considerably. As a direct outcome we find in his policy two definite aims; firstly to strengthen his army and, secondly, to abstain from conquest of further territories. Thus while his income from the war booty was curtailed his expenditure over the army was considerably increased. Balban himself said, "I have devoted all the revenues of

26 Zia, pp. 61, 63.

my kingdom to the equipment of my army, and I hold all my forces ready and prepared to receive them".²⁷

Balban naturally therefore made a review of the existing system and found a lot of corruption and mismanagement among the assignees or the 'iqta' holders. The 'iqta' holders or *muqtis* who received the villages in Doab by way of salary now no longer rendered military service either voluntarily or were incapable of service due to old age or disease.²⁸ Balban, however, could not bring about any effective change in them owing to the appeals of Malikul Umra Fakhruddin the Kotwal of Dehli.²⁹ Balban took another step to supervise iqta holders, he appointed his sons to important provinces as governors, and created the office of *Khawaja*.³⁰ The fact that *Khawajas* were appointed by the Sultan on the recommendation of the Wazir and from clever men well-versed in the business,³¹ shows that they were directly responsible to the Central Government and as such were a clear check over the *Muqti's* actions and violation of the Central authority. It was a sort of diarchy though in a very limited sense, created by Balban. Though '*Muqta*' was chiefly the incharge and the *Khawaja* subordinate, yet the fact that the latter was responsible to the central government gave him a sort of authority and made him an obstacle in the way of independence of the *Muqtas*. Dr. Tripathi suggests that *Khawaja* was a civil official and had to deal with accounts and records.³²

27 Elliot, III., p. 102. (Zia, pp. 50-51.)

28 *Ibid.*, p. 107.

29 *Ibid.*, p. 108

30 Zia, p. 36. Elliot, III. 161. Mazidul Mulk, Zia's father was appointed to the *Khawajagi* of Baran.

31 Zia, p. 36.

32 Tripathi, p. 251.

Besides Iqtas there were further divisions called 'Khitta' and 'Qasba' (*کھیتا، قاسبا*), among whose officials are mentioned *Karkun* and *Mutsaraf*, and also *Chaudhari* and *Muqaddam*.³³ *Mutsaraf* and *Karkuns* were undoubtedly connected with revenue and office work. But they do not seem to be directly in touch with the peasants and had *Chaudharis* and *Muqaddams* as middlemen between them and the cultivator.³⁴

Besides Iqta's there were other lands as well, *i.e.* the Dehli country comprising mainly of the *Khalsa* land and directly under the Revenue ministry and the River country of Doab under Governors.³⁵ The fact that *Amils* gave accounts directly to central Government³⁶ indicates that the revenue of these regions were directly controlled by the central Government. The *Muqta* was the executive head and *Amils* served under him, but rendered the financial accounts to the Central Government. Thus the *Amils* were in charge of revenue divisions in the *Khalsa* or land or Doab country.³⁷

Now we come to the two important questions, *i.e.*, (1) the mode of assessment and (2) the proportion or amount of the state share.

33 Zia, p. 106.

34 It is very difficult to trace the exact relation between '*Mutsarfan*, *Karkunan*' and the cultivator, and as suggested by Dr. R. Tripathi '*S. A. M. A.*, p. 252) it were the *Chaudharis* and *Muqaddams* who directly realized the revenue from the cultivator and handed it over to the *Mutsaraf* or *Karkun*. This view seems most tenable to me, firstly because *Chaudharis* and *Muqaddams* were generally local men and therefore must have been well versed with the conditions of cultivation, and secondly they were generally *Hindus* and must have continued from previous times.

35 Moreland, *Agrarian System*, p. 23.

36 Zia, 52.

37 Dr. R. Tripathi *S. A. M. A.*, p. 246. "The *Khalsa* land was under the direct supervision and control of the Government and was probably managed through the agency of *Amils*".

There are three modes of assessment: (i) Compounding (ii) Sharing and (iii) Measurement. We know that during the Sultanate period 'Iqtas' were common and their holders were called Muktis. Now Iqta according to Mr. Moreland was an assignment and implied Military Service.³⁸ Mr. Moreland has also rendered the meaning of Iqta as an Assignment of revenue³⁹. Thus connecting the two meaning Iqta comes to be a portion of land given to an individual the revenue of which was supposed to be equivalent to his pay. The words *Iqta*, *Muqta*, and *Muqtaa*, etc. are all derived from the same root qita (ق-ط-ع = قطع) meaning 'a portion' or 'to divide into portions' Muqtai "was a system of compounding in which the peasant agreed to pay a certain amount of his produce to the king".⁴⁰ But during the thirteenth century there was nothing definite like this compounding system; and the system which prevailed in the provinces and the Iqtas might be called a mixture of Farming and Compounding systems. We find that there were Muqaddams and Chaudharis and 'Alāuddin found them growing richer day by day and prevented this. This indicates that these Chaudharis and Muqaddams use to contract a sum with the Government or Muqtas and then realised more from the peasants. This certainly was a farming system. But the relation with the Chaudharis and Muqaddams and the peasant must have been on the basis of compounding system where the peasant agreed to pay a certain fixed amount of the produce. Thus the whole system was a mixture.⁴¹

38 Moreland, p. 27.

39 *Ibid.*, p. 273.

40 *Vide J. B. O. R. S.* Vol. XVII. Pt. I 1931, p. 139.

41 In absence of anything definite this seems to be the most reasonable system prevailing. 'Alāuddin Khalji bestowed an iqta' of four villages on Khwaja Rashiduddin the envoy of Ghazan Khan of the Il Khans of Persia and issued instructions to the revenue officers to remit through trusted merchants, their revenues to the

So a mixture of compounding and farming was found in the iqtas. But the *khalsa* land directly under the Revenue Ministry had certain other arrangements. We know that during the reign of Balban, because of the Mongol menace, the sources of income were reduced while his expenditure had greatly increased. Now to meet this Balban certainly would have tried to get as much from the produce as he legitimately could. We find that during the thirteenth century there is no mention of measurement and it is accepted by historians that 'Alāuddin was the first Muslim ruler who brought into use measurement of land.⁴² Thus the two easy ways left for Balban were compounding and sharing. In compounding system the burden generally fell on cultivator which Balban definitely never liked, as is clear from his advice to his son.⁴³

Thus the way left was sharing and in this there was the least chance of fraud and oppression and naturally therefore it seems that Balban adopted the method of sharing in the *khalsa* land.

Now we come to the proportion or amount of Government share. The chroniclers are quite silent about it though about 'Alāuddin they say that he imposed the highest amount sanctioned by law, *i.e.*, 50 per cent. Balban in the face of pressing needs for income therefore must have taken a high share though surely less than 'Alāuddin.

Thus the whole sources of revenue of the Government of Balban comprised of sums from subjugated Hindu Chiefs, the *Khidmti* (presents) from the Provin-

Khwaja in his home land. (*Muktabat-i-Rashidi*, p. 167.) This instance further indicates that the holder of the iqtas need not collect the revenues themselves.

42 R. Tripathi, p. 261.

43 Zia, p. 100.

cial Governors⁴⁴ and their surplus income,⁴⁵ from iqtas' and revenue of the *khalsa* land.

The intervening period after the death of Balban and the coming of the Khiljis to the throne of Dehli is most obscure. The Sultan was too busy in his enjoyments and the whole Empire was in a state of great disturbance. There seems to have been no change in the revenue system and we can well imagine that revenue officials and others must have appropriated sums and defrauded the Central Government which was possible when the Government was weak. The founder of the Khalji dynasty, *i.e.*, Jalaluddin Khalji, was an old man, and at the same time of milder disposition.⁴⁶ Moreover he was anxious to command confidence and gain support of the officials, naturally therefore, he did not like to bring any change in the system of Balban and allowed the system to continue as he found it. But with the coming of 'Alāuddin to the throne of Dehli we find at once a man of strong will and definite aims. 'Alāuddin's aims of administration can well be understood from his talk with Qazi Mughisuddin where he said, "I know not whether these laws are sanctioned by our faith or not, but whatever I conceive to be for the good of the state, and whatever appears expedient to me at the time I order."⁴⁷

During the reign of 'Alāuddin the most important change that was effected was in the mode of assessment. He insisted on actual measurement of land, and it is clearly mentioned that not even a biswah was to be left.⁴⁸

44 Zia, p. 69.

45 Moreland, p. 29.

46 Elliot, III. pp. 139, 141.

47 *J. A. S. B.* 1870 p. 15 Tr. of *Tarikhi-i-Firus Shahi* of Ziauddin Barani.

48 Zia, p. 287; compare *J. A. S. B.* 1870, pp. 7 & 8.

But to fix the exact territory of land the revenue of which was assessed by measurement is again a difficult problems. Ziauddin mentions that 'Sharaf Qai, the Naib Wazir, brought under one regulation all the villages around the capital, the towns and districts in the Doab from Biyanah to Jhayin from Palam to Deopalpur and Luhar (Lahore) all the territories of Samanah and Sunam from Rewari to Nagore from Karah to Kamodi and whole of Katchar'. Taking the list as it stands we see that nearly the whole of the centre of the kingdom came under the rule of assessment by measurement.⁴⁹

As regards the proportion of the state or government share under 'Alāuddin, we are told that the Sultan organized a big army and for its maintenance he required greater amount of revenue. He, therefore, wanted to take advantage of the Muslim law and raised the scale of taxation to the highest point. According to Muslim law the proportion of land tax could be one-half, one-third, one-fourth or one-fifth.⁵⁰ Thus according to law 'Alāuddin was fully justified to impose as much as 50 percent⁵¹ in face of his increasing needs. Moreover he was actuated by another motive; he had observed that when people were left with plenty they hatched desires for revolt and seditions. 'Alāuddin also imposed a 'grazing tax' (on every animal that gave milk from cow to a she-goat) and also a house tax.⁵² Of course all these measures effected the Hindus,⁵³ but he did not spare the Musalmans. He 'gave orders that all villages which people held as *milak* or *inam* or *waqf* should forthwith be resumed and made Imperial Domain land.⁵⁴ Now,

49 Zia, p. 288.

50 Aghnides, p. 378.

51 Zia, p. 287.

52 *Ibid.*

53 *J. A. S. B.* 1879, p. 7.

54 *J. A. S. B.* 1870, p. 3.

the holders of these lands were undoubtedly Musalmans and by such an order were bound to suffer and even if we leave a margin we can fairly understand that a large number of such grants were confiscated.

Next we must consider the payment. Alauddin had fixed the market prices and for the success of these regulations he required heavy resources to meet the demands. Naturally therefore he preferred payments in kind.⁵⁵ He passed orders that all the revenue from the Khalsa villages in the Doab were to be taken in kind while from Shahr-i-nau and its adjoining territories half of the government share was to be taken in kind.⁵⁶ But the governors of distant provinces as suggested by Mr. Moreland were not in direct relation with the peasants;

55 Zia, p. 288.

56 Zia, p. 305, 306. Moreland, p. 37.

Dr. Tripathi says that "in the Khalsa (Crown lands) of the Doab and Shahr-i-Nau the share of the government be taken in kind." Tripathi, p. 263, The text reads:

تادر قصبات خالصه میان دوآب بدله خراج عین غله ستانند و ان غله ها رادر انبار هالی سلطانی در شهر و رسانند و فرمان شد تادر شهر نو و لائیت شهر نو نصف حصه سلطان عین غله ستانند و همه درجهایین و قصبات جهایین انبارها کنند غله ها مذکور بکاروانیدان شهر تسلیم نمایند

Major Fuller has translated the passage (*J. A. S. B.* 1870, p. 26) like this. "Throughout the crown land (Khalsa) in Doab they should take grain itself in place of money payment revenue. . . . while in Shahr-i-Nau and its adjoining territory they should take the moiety of the government share in kind. Elliot's reading of the passage is as follows:—

"All the Khalsa villages of the Doab should pay the tribute in kind. . . . In the country dependent on the New city (*Shahr-i-Nau*) half the Sultan's portion (or the produce) was ordered to be taken in grain.

Mr. Moreland identifies Shahr-i-Nau with Dehli and writes— (Moreland, p. 37). The whole revenue due from the River country and half the revenue due from Dehli was ordered to be paid in kind.

they continued in all probability to deal largely with the chiefs.⁵⁷

The officials connected with the collection of revenue were the local collectors, the Chaudharis, Muqaddams and khots who were Hindus⁵⁹, and Musarafs, Karkuns and Amils as government employees.

'Alāuddin brought into full use the office of village Patwari, and depended much upon his papers (bahi) for the exact amount to be taken from the local collectors. The ledger (bahi) of the patwari was taken to be the most important document and the entries therein were referred to for the dues from the revenue collectors.³⁹ Amils, Musarafs and Karkuns all continued to be revenue officials of the Diwan-i-Wizarat. For the realisation of arrears of revenue 'Alāuddin created a branch in the wizarat called "Mustakhraj"⁶⁰. 'Alāuddin was not oppressive over these officials and paid them enough to live in comfort.⁶¹ But he did not completely do away with the *iqtadari* system. In the areas brought under regulation by Sharaf Qai the *iqtas* as means of remuneration was not granted. But in the rest of the Empire 'Alāuddin had no other alternative but to allow the old system to continue.

With the death of 'Alāuddin his system too was thrown into oblivion. His successor, Mubārak Shah was incompetent and shortsighted. He depended on others, and his weakness caused much jealousy and contest for power amongst the nobles. Under such circumstances the harsh and rigid system of 'Alāuddin could survive no

57 Moreland, p. 38.

58 Zia. p. 291.

59 *Ibid.* (Zia), pp. 288, 289.

60 Zia. pp. 288, 292. "Qureshi. p. 200, says". Muhammad-bin-Tughlaq established a Diwan-i-Mustkhrij for this purpose.

61 *Ibid.*, p. 292.

more. But with the coming of Ghiyasuddin we once more find some effort on the part of the sovereign to tighten the reins and to look into the affairs of the state. Nevertheless Ghiyasuddin could not help giving concessions to his military followers, because they were his source of power and to their help he owed his crown. He did not want to displease them, and therefore fell back upon the tradition of granting *iqtas*⁶² even in the territories over which 'Alāuddin's regulations had once prevailed. We do not find references of *iqtas* granted to individual troopers. He granted the *iqtas* to higher officials and nobles⁶³. The system of measurement was not ruined. Ghiyasuddin departed from the policy of the great Khalji monarch and yet he wanted to have a happy and prosperous peasantry. He gave definite orders that the revenue should not be increased suddenly⁶⁴. Ghiyasuddin did not deal with the cultivators directly in the matter of revenue collection, but he assessed revenues on *iqtas* and *wilayats* and the holders of these, *i.e.*, *Iqtadars*, *Muqtas* and *Walis*⁶⁵ were made responsible to the Central Government for the payment of revenue. The *Muqtas* and *Walis* realized the revenue from the cultivators⁶⁵ through the agency of *muqaddams* and *khots*⁶⁶. Unlike 'Alāuddin, Ghiyasuddin granted certain concessions to the *khots* and *muqaddams*. Their lands were exempted from taxation but certainly they were not allowed to realise more from the peasantry than they were to deposit in the treasury.⁶⁷

It is very difficult to say anything definitely about

62 Zia, p. 428.

63 *Ibid.*

64 Zia, p. 430.

65 Tripathi, p. 270.

66 Zia, p. 429. *J. A. S. B.* 1871, pp. 229, 230.

67 *Ibid.*

the mode of assessment, but that it was not measurement is certain, because Zia writes that he relieved the peasants from innovation and apportionment of crop failure. There is a possibility that sharing was adopted by him⁶⁸. One of the most important steps taken by Ghiyasuddin, was that he ordered that the demand should be made on the actual produce (Hasil⁶⁹). This was definitely a very statesmanlike step taken by Ghiyasuddin because it clearly made concessions for cases of crop failures and other such unforeseen calamities.

Ghiyasuddin was also mild upon the revenue officials, *Muqtas*, *Mutasarafs*, *Karkuns*, etc. He made some con-

68 Moreland, p. 40. Opines that he discarded measurement in favour of sharing.

69 Zia. 429. خراج بلاد ممالک بر جاده معدلت بر حکم حاصل تعیین فرمود و محدثات و قسمتات بود و نابود را از رعایا بلاد و ممالک برداشت و سخنان ساعیان کلمات موخران و پرزفتیلها' مقاطعه گوان در باب اقطاعات و ولایت ممالک بلاد مسموع نداشت

Mr. Jogendra Nath Chaudhari in his article "The Administration of Dehli Empire in the Pre-Mughal Period" (I. H. Q. 1931) writes:

"The officers of the exchequer were ordered to assess either by guess or computation whether upon the reports of informers or the statements of values" (this statement is contrary to the text.)

Mr. Auckland Colvin has translated the passage (*J. A. S. B.* 1871, p. 229): "He decreed that taxes should be levied with moderation from the cities of his kingdom and would have no extraordinary taxes nor would he listen to the words of informers, or the prompting of publicans and such like."

It seems that Mr. J. N. Chaudhari has deduced this from a reading of Elliot, III p. 230: The officers of exchequer were ordered not to assess more than one in ten or one in eleven upon iqtas and other lands either by guess or computation whether upon the reports of informers or the statement of valuers". But this translation is of a later passage, and even as it is, shows that Ghiyasuddin was against the informers or valuers.

cession in their cases when there was difference of half or one per cent⁷⁰. He was also mild upon the Hindu cultivator and definitely ordered that they should not be taxed so much that they should leave their land and their cultivation.⁷¹

On account of lack of any definite mention in the chronicles we are at a loss to say the amount of share demanded by Ghiyasuddin's government from the peasantry⁷².

With the coming of Muhammad Tughlaq we are at once face to face with a man of stupendous qualities and extraordinary energy. But it was his misfortune that he was placed in a time when most of the natural calamities occurred, and at the same time people were unable to

70 Dr. Tripathi (p. 272) takes this view as against the translation by Auckland Colvin (*J. A. S. B.* 1871 p. 230) as 'a fifth thousand or tenth thousand besides their pay.' Dr. R. Tripathi's interpreting seems to be a correct one, because fifth or tenth of a thousand is surely a heavy sum and no government would forego it, while five or ten in a thousand is after all comparatively an insignificant amount.

71 Zia, p. 429.

72 *Cambridge History*, III, p. 128 says that state demanded was one tenth or one eleventh. Formerly Dr. Ishwari Prasad also held the same view. The passage relating to this is very obscure. But this view is rejected by Dr. Tripathi (p. 270). Moreland (p. 44), and even Dr. Ishwari Prasad has changed his opinion as is found in *Mediaeval India* (Third Edition), p. 291.

Unfortunately some college text books are still continuing with old view of one-tenth or one-eleventh as state demand.

To me it seems that one-tenth and one-eleventh as state demand from district and provinces means that provincial governors were to send one-tenth or one-eleventh to the central treasury while with the remaining portion they were to disburse their own expenses, *i.e.*, their own pay and pays of soldiers and officials, etc. Because Ghiyasuddin ordered the governors to pay their soldiers and others, which shows that they were not paid by the Central Treasury.—Zia, p. 429.

understand his motives. Thus he, with best of motives failed in his achievements. Muhammad certainly had not to suffer from the handicap that his father had, in as much as, he was the natural heir being the son, and at the same time acknowledged as the most capable person.

In the beginning of his reign the working of the revenue department was satisfactory. The fact that detailed accounts of expenditure and income were taken from distant parts of Deccan and Gujrat and the arrears were strictly realized from the Naibs, Walis and Mutsarrafs⁷³, shows that they were under full control of the Central Authority and could not do whatever they liked in the matter of revenue, and had to be guided by the general policy of the Emperor.

Muhammad Tughlaq's policy of increasing the taxation in the Doab failed. He selected Doab for his experiment, because it was fertile and nearest to the Central Government. But he certainly did not want to create new taxes. He simply wanted to go back to the policy of 'Alāuddin Khalji and that too only in the limited area, *i.e.*, Doab⁷⁴.

The distinction in this increased taxation between Doab and other parts, the inability of the country to recover from the burden of taxations during Alauddin, the increase of five to ten per cent was not a little sum to them; and the outbreak of famine⁷⁵ all these factors combined for the failure of the scheme. People rose in revolt and the feelings of the Sultan were completely embittered.

The failure of his schemes soured his temperament. But he did not fail in his dauntless courage to meet them. He submitted a little and abolished all the 'non-shara'

73 Zia, p. 468. Tripathi, p. 274.

74 Tripathi, p. 275.

75 Zia, p. 473.

taxes. But to meet the financial crisis and famine his expenditure increased and impoverished the central treasury. Loans were forwarded to the peasantry.⁷⁶ Wells were sunk⁷⁷. He also created a new branch in the revenue department the function of which was to look after, making arrangements and bringing uncultivated land under plough by means of direct state management, and financial support⁷⁸. He named it *Diwan-i-Kohi*.⁷⁹ A large tract of land, sixty miles square, was chosen and an attempt was made to produce different crops in rotation. A large sum was spent and a large staff, of hundred *shiqdars* and a thousand *sawars*, was appointed to look after it⁸⁰.

The old custom of granting *iqtas* was continued and Muqtis and Amils continued to serve the purpose of revenue collection. Several instances are mentioned when Sultan Muhammad farmed out the revenues to persons which created so much trouble⁸¹. Thus *iqtas* and farming became parallel institutions during later part of Muhammad's reign.

That the taxation of Muhammd Tughlaq was heavy cannot be doubted but it was certainly not higher than that of the Khalji Sultan for the simple reason that 'Alāuddin's rate of taxation was the highest. Moreover the fact that he abolished all 'non-shariyat' taxes and also

76 Zia, p. 482.

77 *Ibid*, p. 483.

78 Tripathi, p. 278.

79 Qureshi (p. 128) says, "The department of Amir-i-Kohi, however, seems to have been much older in origin." He refers to Amir-i-Kohi under Iltutmish vide Minhaj, p. 177; and under Jalaluddin Khalji vide Zia, p. 281.

80 Tripathi, p. 279.

81 Zia, pp. 487, 488.

import duties⁸² shows that he tried his best to bring back the taxation on a rational basis. But the peasantry was not happy because of farming and constant oppression on the part of officials.

Firuz Tughlaq on coming to the throne at once drew up all his energies to bring stability and order. He tried his best to bring out cosmos out of chaos, and tried his best to win the confidence of all shades of men. To meet this he had to undergo great amount of loss. The steps that he took were to rescind all loans that people had taken during the previous reign; to make concessions over the grants by the late wazir⁸³; to increase the salaries and allowances;⁸⁴ to regrant the lands that had been confiscated from religious holders⁸⁵; and to give fresh grants⁸⁶ to many.

Firuz first of all tried to determine the revenue of his empire and after great labour it was fixed at six crores and seventy-five lacs of tankas⁸⁷. Instead of paying the salaries, Firuz granted the revenue of villages and it is mentioned that grants of 10,000, 5,000 and 2,000 were given according to rank⁸⁸. Thus it became the interest of the officers to realize the revenue. But Firuzshah ordered that revenue demand should be made over actual produce and concession to be made for unforeseen accidents to the crops.⁸⁹

Firuz tried to increase his income, by means of imp-

82 Tripathi, p. 277.

83 Elliot, III. 288.

84 Zia, p. 555. Afif, pp. 94, 95.

85 Tripathi, pp. 282. 283. *Futuh-at-i-Firuzshahi*. p. 15.

86 Zia, pp. 558-561. *Fatuh-at-i-Firuzshahi*, p. 15.

87 Elliot, III, p. 288.

88 *Ibid.*, p. 289. *Tarikh-i-Firuzshahi*, ('Afif), pp. 94, 95.

89 Zia, p. 574.

proved quality of cultivation and superior crops, by means of '*haqi shirb*' or water tax over and above Kharaj on lands irrigated by canals its scale being one tenth⁹⁰ and from income of gardens⁹¹.

Other Sources of State Income

In pursuance of the legal sanction the Sultans derived a substantial amount from *jiziyah*. In India the big majority of the population constituted of the Hindus, and therefore the State receipt from *jiziyah* must have been a considerable amount. It is difficult to say what amount was or what portion it formed of the total income of the State. Contemporary historians have in their own manner described the attitude that a *dhimmi* was to show towards the tax collector while paying *jizaiyah*, but they have nowhere mentioned the amount that was received by the State. Throughout the Sultanate period *jiziyah* was levied and thus it constituted an important source of State income. Besides *jiziyah*, *khums*, *ghanavam* also constituted an important source of the State income. Contrary to religious sanction, the Sultans took four parts for the treasury⁹² (Baitulmal) and distributed only one-fifth to the soldiers. This was the practice mostly followed by the Sultans. In the earlier period, the Sultans had been constantly fighting and thus deriving a considerable amount for the State-Treasury. Later when Deccan was invaded the income from this source was really beyond all possible comprehension of the Sultans. Sultan Firuzshah mentions in clear terms that before him Sultans used to deposit four-fifth part in the treasury and distribute one-fifth part among the soldiers.⁹³ But Firuzshah changed this, illegal practice as he calls it,

90 Tripathi, p. 287.

91 Afif, pp. 295, 296.

92 *Futuh-i-Firuzshahi*, p. 6.

93 *Ibid.*

and reverted back to the sanctioned one-fifth for the treasury. The political history tells us that Firuzshah's reign is barren in victories, naturally Firuz Shah hardly lost any significant amount by this reversion.

The State under the Sultans imposed a number of imposts, but the income from these imposts was not very great. In the time of 'Alāuddin Khalji we have already noticed that state levied a grazing tax and house tax.⁹⁴ It is very difficult, again, to ascertain the various imposts that might have existed in earlier periods. Because of their indifference to administrative affairs, the chroniclers have not mentioned much about these imposts. However, from 'Afif and Firuz Shah himself we get a list of such imposts, which Firuz Shah abolished on the ground of their not being sanctioned by Muslim law. But both mention that they had existed in the past.

'Afif tells us that in the city of Dehli certain imposts were levied⁹⁵. His list includes such imposts as :—

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>(i) <i>Mustaghall</i>
or
<i>Kira-Zamin</i></p> | <p>It was a ground rent levied from houses and shops. It was levied from all classes not even excluding widows and poor people. It must have been a sort of municipal levy. State derived annually 150,000 tankas from this tax.</p> |
| <p>(ii) <i>Jazari</i>.</p> | <p>It was a tax levied on the butchers at the rate of 12 jitals per animal slaughtered.</p> |
| <p>(iii) <i>Dangana</i>.</p> | <p>It was a sort of octroi of modern times. The commodities were taxed according to their weight at a place fixed for its realization. It was</p> |

94 Zia, p. 287.

95 Afif, p. 375.

levied on commodities that came into the city. (This tax seems to have prevailed in all the trading centres.)

'Afif also informs us that the state lost by the abolition of these imposts a sum of 30 lacs⁹⁶ annually. These imposts were abolished in H. 777/1375 A. D.

The other minor imposts mentioned by Firuz Shah⁹⁷ are:—

1. *Mandawi Barg.* A tax on leaves. Leaves are generally used in shops dealing in edibles (Commodity)
2. *Balalat-i-Bazaraha.* Tax on brokers. (Professional)
3. *ʔazari.* A tax on butchers. (Professional)
4. *Amiri Tarab.* A tax on amusement; may be on the dancing girls or others. (Professional)
5. *Gul Faroshi.* Sales tax on flowers. (Commodity)
6. *ʔaziyah Tanbul.* Sale tax on betel leaves. (Commodity)
7. *Chunji Ghallah* Octroi on grain. (Commodity)
8. *Kitabi.* A tax on writers (Court scribes) (Professional)
9. *Nilagari.* A tax on indigo. (Commodity)
10. *Mahi Faroshi.* Sale tax on fish. (Commodity)

96 *Ibid.*, p. 379.

97 *Futuh-at-i-Firuzshahi*, p. 5.

- | | | |
|-----|--|---|
| 11. | <i>Nidafi.</i> | Tax in cotton carders. (Professional) |
| 12. | <i>Sabungiri.</i> | Tax on soap making. (Professional) |
| 13. | <i>Rishaman
Faroshi.</i> | Sale tax on ropes. (Commodity) |
| 14. | <i>Roghangiri.</i> | Tax on oil making. (Professional) |
| 15. | <i>Nakhud
Bariyani.</i> | Tax on parched gram (Professional)
May have included all grains which
were parched. |
| 16. | <i>Tah Bazari.</i> | Stall tax. (Sort of Municipal tax). |
| 17. | <i>Chhattah⁹⁸.</i> | A tax on building projections.
(Sort of Municipal Tax). |
| 18. | <i>Qamar
Khanah</i> | Tax on gambling dens. |
| 19. | <i>Dad
Beghi.</i> | Court fees for instituting a case in the
court. |
| 20. | <i>Kotowali.</i> | Police dues. (May be lock up fines). |
| 21. | <i>Ahtasabi.</i> | Payment to Muhtasibs (Nature un-
known). |
| 22. | <i>Qasabi.</i> | Tax on butchers (Professional) |
| 23. | <i>Kozah-i-
Khushta-
pazi.</i> | Tax on potters and brick kilns
(Professional) |
| 24. | <i>Karahi.</i> | } Tax on husks used for feeding cattle.
(Commodity) |
| 25. | <i>Charai.</i> | |
| 26. | <i>Masadarat.</i> | Small fines. |

From the above list of imposts that were levied by

98 Dr. Qureshi has (I) Jhabbah or (II) Chhappah: according to him is (II) a tax on printed cloth and (I) a tax on printed baskets. p. 245.

the Sultans we can easily understand that they had a developed city life and must have been maintaining sufficient staff for the realization of such taxes. Futuhat says that these taxes were prevalent in the reigns prior to Firuz and that Sultan Firuzshah abolished them.

Ownership of Land during the Sultanate Period

In India from times immemorial the land had belonged to the people and not to the king. A certain section of scholars still try to assert that in India feudalism has come down from ancient times. Their contention is mainly based on the existence of village head men and Zamindari system. Unfortunately their views are influenced by the opinions of Western scholars who have unconsciously read their own feudal law into Hindu jurisprudence. Late Dr. Jaiswal⁹⁹, however, as early as 1924, had thrashed out the question quite at length in this book (*Hindu Polity*). His findings also led him to conclude that the property in the soil rested with the cultivator and not with the king. "It is emphatically declared that the king has no property in the soil and that is declared in no less an authority than the very logic of Hindu Law the Mimamsa". The Hindu law provided that on conquest ownership of the conqueror extended only to the house, land and property of the conquered. The conqueror got the right of taxation if that had been with the conquered but no ownership of the soil of the people. Even some Western scholars of whom Wilks is the pioneer had to accept that no foundation exists for attributing the feudal theory to Hindu Law.¹⁰⁰ Macdonell and Keith also came to the same conclusion after a thorough study of material available to them that vestiges of feudalism never existed in

99 Jaiswal, *Hindu Polity*, p. 330.

100 Wilks, *History of Mysore* (Pub. 1869).

India.¹⁰¹ Unfortunately the idea of feudalism was propounded heroically and popularised sedulously by late V. A. Smith through his *Early History of India* that the "native law of India has always recognised agricultural land as being crown property".

In recent years Dr. Saran has re-examined the question on all its bearing in connection with his studies of the Rajput political organization, and has arrived at the same conclusion. According to Dr. Saran, "in Rajputana, just as in the rest of the country, the peasant was the proprietor of the soil, the king or his jagirdars having a claim only on a share of its produce. The king enjoyed only usufructuary rights in the land and not proprietary rights. He could therefore transfer only those rights which he possessed and nothing more".¹⁰²

In India the property right of the cultivator in the soil had been recognised and all the Hindu monarchs paid due respect to this inherent right of the cultivator. Therefore the nature of land revenue in India had been one of tax and not of rent. It was a sort of wages paid to the monarch (State) for his services rendered to the peasants in the shape of their protection and maintenance of peace and order so necessary for successful cultivation.

The next question comes: Did the Sultans of Dehli alter the position? The Turkish conquest no doubt had destroyed the Hindu monarchy, but by force of circumstances they were not capable of uprooting the cultivators. They were military conquerors, foreigners in the beginning, and very few in number, almost all of them soldiers. To settle the soldiers on the land as cultivators would have jeopardised their own position. Thus in the beginning, by force of circumstance they had to allow the cultivators to continue as they had

101 Macdonell and Keath, *Vedic Index*.

102 P. Saran, *Studies in Medieval Indian History*, p. 19.

existed before. Besides, the Turks had before them the traditions of Persian monarchy where too the cultivators' rights in the soil had been recognised. The Turks gradually became Indianised, and being cut off from their home land they began to look upon India as their own country. They accumulated wealth, lived in splendour, embellished their capitals and cities, with beautiful edifices but never for once thought in terms other than India. And if religion is set aside, they were like Samudragupta or Harsha, true Indian rulers. They had not destroyed the village Panchayats, the indigenous institution of India, they had laboured hard to maintain peace in the country, they had spared no pains to protect cultivation in the country. How far did they succeed is a different question.

In the Sultanate we do not find much reference of '*usur*', we are always informed of '*Khiruj*', The very meaning of the two terms is quite significant. *Usur* is demanded from the Muslims, and *Khiraj* from such owners of land who had been in possession of the land from before and were not replaced by the Muslims. The complete absence of the term *usur* could have been interpreted in a different way, but that the term was known and that *Usuri* land was practically insignificant indicates that land from the cultivators had not been snatched away. The cultivators paying *Khiraj* were therefore the indigenous cultivators. This implies that the property right of the cultivator had been recognised.

This brings us to another important question, the implication of *iqtas* and *jagirs*. The term *iqta* had been carelessly translated as fief. But a student of history knows that the fief is associated with feudal system. A fief holder under feudalism always had the right of making his own arrangements for cultivation, etc. in his fief. He could distribute the land among his

subtenants, *i.e.*, the knights, or employ his own villeins to cultivate the land. But *Iqta* in India had no such implications. The *Iqtadar* was entitled only to that share of the produce which would have legally belonged to the state and if this share happened to be more than his own remuneration he was to return the excess to the state. Besides, the *Iqta* was loosely used and at times even implied in a small province. In any case the Sultans always demanded from the *Iqtadar* to maintain order in his *iqta*. At times we come across instances that the *Iqtadar* had to lead an expedition against the Hindus. But in such cases expedition was only for the realisation of revenues due from the village headmen who had been made responsible for the collection of land revenue.

'Alāuddin Khalji in his revenue reforms increased the revenue, imposed taxes and brought these headmen at par with the cultivators so far as their personal lands were concerned. 'Alāuddin could not think of these cultivators in any other terms than proprietors of the soil. The use of the 'bahi' of the patwari is another indication that the cultivators had continued in their possessions, and 'Alāuddin only wanted to compare the amount paid by the cultivator and the amount deposited in the treasury.

In the grant of *jagirs*, *waqfs* also the same principle was maintained. Such grants did not imply the removal of the cultivator from the land but it allowed only the revenue to be enjoyed by such a grantee. The biggest proof that I have come across is in the grant to Khwajah Rashiduddin as referred earlier, in which 'Alāuddin clearly instructed the revenue collectors to collect the revenue from the lands of the Khwajah and send the amount to his native land. That the Khwajah had to make no arrangements for the maintenance of the land to get the money is indicative enough of the

fact that such grants did not in any way effect the peasantry.

Thus we find that during the Sultanate period the property right of the cultivator in the soil was fully recognised, that feudalism or feudal fief in no form existed in India, at least under the Sultans. The rendering of *Iqta* as fief is only a misnomer.

CHAPTER VII

THE MILITARY ORGANISATION

The first Muslim empire of Dehli was based mainly on the military strength of the Sultans. It was the standing army of the Sultans that served as a bond between the distant provinces and the Central Government. The circumstances in which the Sultanate was placed always necessitated the existence of a strong army. There were three important problems before the Sultans. The first and the immediate one was the unfavourable attitude of the Indian peoples in general and the Rajput chiefs in particular; the second, the turbulent tendencies of the nobles, both the Turks and the converted Muslims; and the third, the foreign invasions or the Mongol menace. To solve the first, the Sultans always tickled the vanity of the Turks, placed them in high positions and gave them responsible military posts; and because of the numerical strength of the Hindus they availed of the help of every Turk, and required from each one of them military service irrespective of his office in the government. In view of the second problem the Sultan kept a standing army directly under his supervision and kept himself in personal touch with the army so that the soldiers considered him as their great leader. To tackle the third, the Sultans sought to erect a barrier of fortresses on the North-West frontier and put them in charge of the best and tried generals¹.

The military organisation of the Sultanate was based mainly on the Turkish model. The framework of the

1 The Sultans failed to establish a natural frontier with a control over the passes and also to check the repeated Mongol inroads. Vide Author's paper in *The Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XVII, No. 1. 1941, pp. 59-69.

Turkish system had been improved and reorganized by the Mongol conqueror Chingiz Khan. Certainly no one can shower praises upon Chingiz Khan for devising any new system, though no one can deny him the credit for reorganization of the old system which was fast declining. The military organization of Chingiz Khan in short was like this: he divided it into thousands, hundred and tens. Experienced leaders personally known to the Khan were appointed as commanders of thousands and hundreds. The new post 'Cherlic' was instituted to look after the supplies. A guard corps (Keshik) was organised that was to be the Khan's personal guard as well as a '*corpe d'elite*', its organization was on a strictly aristocratic basis. The whole army was divided into units of Tuman which was the largest unit². Khans, maliks and amirs were the heads of the units of thousands and hundreds, Khan was the highest rank and next to him was malik³.

As the Government during the Sultanate rested on military strength, military service was in a way compulsory. The very titles of Amirs, Khans and Maliks with which every official was designated was a military gradation. The author of *Masālik-ul-Ābsār* has clearly mentioned the status of these title-holders. According to him a Khan had under him 10,000 horse, a Malik 1,000 and an Amir 100.⁴ These numbers certainly did not indicate the exact numerical strength of the contingents of these officers, but they only showed a gradation of the nobility.

Two Main Branches of the Army

The whole army of the empire consisted of the contingents of the nobles, the *walis* and *iqtadars* posted at

2 Vladimirtsov, *Life of Chingiz Khan*, pp. 58-69.

3 Howarth, *History of the Mongols*, Vol. III. p. 9.

4 *Masalik-ul-Absar*, Elliot, Vol. III, p. 577.

important outposts, and the personal army of the sultan directly under his command. This army comprised of cavalry, infantry and elephant corps, but the cavalry was their main source of strength and major portion of their attention was devoted to its organization. Next in importance was the elephant corps and the Sultans considered the elephants a valuable asset. The infantry generally served a purpose somewhat similar to that of the labour corps and of the sappers and miners of modern times. In emergencies, local levies were also enrolled for suppressing a rebellion. However, the Sultans always considered it a safe policy to strengthen and increase the army directly under their own command.

The Recruitment of the Army

The contingents of the nobles were recruited by themselves. When Bughra Khan was appointed governor of Samana and Sunam he was directed to increase the allowances of the old soldiers and to enlist twice as many more new men; he was also directed to be cautious in the appointment of the officers of the army⁵. This system of recruitment of the soldiers by the nobility must have continued all through the period. But such a system was not free from its defects. Sultan Balban therefore to safeguard himself, appointed at all places of importance his most trusted men, either his sons or his loyal slaves. The system of the division of the army under different nobles managed and recruited by them directly, was quite efficient during the reign of Balban, and was quite suitable to the time. They met quite successfully the Mongol invasions and at the same time threw less burden of expense and work on the Central Government which had to look after so many other problems. This force which was scattered all over could easily be gathered and directed to whatever direction they were

5 Elliot, Vol. III, p. 111.

needed. In one force sent against the Mongols, Balban sent three men, Bughra Khan from Samana, the Martyr Prince from Multan and Malik Barbak Baktars from Dehli. Each of these men had seventeen or eighteen thousand horses under them. Even during the reign of 'Alāuddin Khalji the nobles, especially those posted in distant provinces, recruited the soldiers and moved with them to the help of the Sultan. In the second expedition under Malik Kafur we are told that "he was joined at Chanderi by the maliks and amirs of Hindustan along with their cavalry and infantry where they were reviewed"⁶. This refers certainly to the soldiers recruited by the nobles and which as such needed review by the Ariz. The 900,000 horsemen mentioned by the author of *Masālik-ul-Ābsar*⁷ as the total strength of Muhammad bin Tughlaq's army refers to the whole army of the empire including those under the Sultan and the army of the nobles. This huge army must have been scattered all over the empire and therefore could never have been enrolled by the Central Government. The number of soldiers given by 'Afif during the reign of Firuz Tughlaq is 90,000⁸ but this refers to the soldiers enrolled in the office of the Ariz under the Central Government and not necessarily recruited by the 'Ariz. The boundary of the empire had much shrunk in size, hence the sudden fall in the number of soldiers. The military organization received attention for the first time when Balban became the Sultan. He increased the power and prestige of the Ariz⁹ the head of the military department and raised him to the ministerial rank. In the early period the Central Government kept only a record of the

6 Elliot, Vol. III, p. 200.

7 Elliot, Vol. III, p. 576.

8 Afif, p. 298.

9 Zia, p. 115.

military grantees and the military department did not look into their efficiency. Balban could not do beyond asking the Ariz to present an account of the Shamshi military grantees¹⁰.

It is with the advent of the military reforms of 'Alāuddin Khalji that we find greater centralization of the army. As an outcome of the said reforms the soldiers were paid in cash and remained in service throughout the year. The soldiers, before their appointment, were examined by the Ariz¹¹ and after they had passed the test their names were entered in the registers kept by the ministry of the Ariz. 'Alāuddin also introduced the system of *dagh* or branding the horses which was also done in the department of the Ariz. Henceforth the office of the Ariz continued to enrol and keep registers of the army. The department of the Ariz began to keep registers and enrol soldiers not only of the army directly under the Sultan but even a fairly large number of the soldiers that were to be posted at the strategic points¹². Such posting of army at different places is clearly borne out by the statement of Ziauddin in connection with Malik Kafur's Deccan expedition. According to Ziauddin, several divisions of the army, during the reign of 'Alāuddin Khalji had been posted near the frontiers to guard against the Mongol invasions and had to be withdrawn when Malik Kafur led an expedition to Deogir¹³. These divisions of army refer to the central army and not of the army of governors. The enrolment in the office of the Ariz-i-Mumālik remained a prominent feature of the military organization of the Sultanate of Dehli. In the reign of Muhammad Tughlaq 370,000 cavalry-men were enrolled in the office of Ariz. This figure indicates the

10 Elliot, III, p. 107.

11 Zia, p. 319.

12 *Ibid.*

13 Elliot, III, p. 200.

enrolment of the Central army, because as mentioned earlier, the author of *Masalik-ul-Absar* tells us that total strength of army of Muhammad Tughlaq was 900,000 horsemen, which included the army of governors also. Under the mild and weak rule of Firoz Shah the system certainly underwent a degeneration, with the result that many soldiers absented themselves from the inspection even after extra period for the purpose had been allowed to them¹⁴. Besides, corruption had also crept into the department, so much so that a soldier had the courage of complaining to Firuz Shah of his inability to settle the matters with the clerks of the department, because of inadequacy of his funds. Sultan Firoz at times even gave pecuniary help to the soldiers to settle their affairs with the clerks. The department of Ariz, in its heyday had expanded considerably and with the policy of centralization its functions had also increased. Ariz was therefore assisted by a Naib-Ariz¹⁵, clerks and functionaries. The soldiers of an army on expedition were reviewed and enrolled at some place where the entire army collected and the work was done under the supervision of *naib-i-ariz*. After the return of the army from expedition it was again reviewed and assembled for muster. A clear instance of such procedure is to be found in the statement of Ziauddin. "The Sultan now returned from the conquest of Chitor, where his army had suffered great loss in prosecuting the siege during the rainy season. They had not been in Dehli a month, no muster of the army had been held, and losses had not been repaired¹⁶". The system of taking the muster-rolls, reviewing the soldiers and

14 Elliot, III, p. 347.

15 For example, deputy Ariz of the reign of 'Alāuddin Khalji and Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq. Khwaja Haji was *naib-i-ariz* in both the reigns. Malik Razi was *naib-i-ariz* in the reign of Firuzshah. (*Vide*, Elliot, III, pp. 200, 233, 348.)

16 Elliot, III, p. 189.

branding of horses must have been very limited in scope even during its peak period under 'Alāuddin. The system was then in an experimental stage and full of difficulties. The *'iqtadari* system had not been discontinued by 'Alāuddin, and the *'iqtadars* at distant places were mostly unmanageable. Besides, 'Alāuddin had introduced the system for his central army the success of which depended much on the successful working of the market and revenue reforms. The difficulties of muster and review can well be imagined from even one single example of Amir Khusru. According to Amir Khusru fourteen¹⁷ days were taken in taking the muster rolls of the army that went to Warangal.

Thus we find that the recruitment of the army was done by the Ariz-i-Mumalik; the various *iqtadars* and the provincial governors recruited their own army. The Ariz recruited the central army of the Sultan and maintained a muster roll for them. This army was also reviewed periodically. The Ariz also maintained muster rolls of the army recruited by the *Iqtadars* during the reign of 'Alāuddin. The armies of the provincial governors were reviewed and temporarily enrolled when they joined in some expedition.

When an army was under movement it was organized on the basis of *'tumans*¹⁸, which was the old Turkish system. Ziauddin talks of *'tumans* in connection with the army of the Mongols but omits it when referring the armies of the Sultans. The existence of the *'tumans* becomes evident from an account of Amir Khusru describing one of the Deccan campaigns of Malik Kafur. Amir Khusru writes, "Every division was sent to its appointed place.....every tuman was assigned one thousand and two hundred yards of land, the total circumference

17 *Khazain-ul-Futuh* (Tr. Habib), p. 58.

18 A *'tumans* is a body of ten thousand men; *vide* Habib, *Khazain-ul-Futuh*, p. 63, n. 4.

of the fort as enclosed by the tents, was twelve thousand five hundred and forty-six yards".¹⁹

The Sultanate being on the military basis all the officers of the Government had a military rank. But all of them were not officers directly concerned with the army.

The army had no permanent commander-in-chief. The Sultan himself was the head of the army and its commander-in-chief. But whenever an expedition was sent a commander-in-chief was appointed whose tenure of the office remained only so long as the expedition lasted. Thus Amir Khan was commander-in-chief of the first army sent against Tughril.²⁰ Malik Kafur was made commander-in-chief of the expedition sent against Deogir and Warangal²¹. Prince Fakhruddin Juna (Ulugh Khan) was sent to Warangal and Tilang as commander-in-chief²². When the commander-in-chief was given authority of taking initiative and was given full freedom to meet the situation, he was given a canopy, generally red. Malik Kafur and Prince Juna both had canopies with them²³. To this general rule, however, Sultana Razia's reign presents an exception. Sultana Razia, being a woman probably did not like the idea of personally assuming the role of commander-in-chief of the army, and a post of permanent commander-in-chief as her lieutenant was created. To support this view I find a passage in Tabkati-Nasiri, which runs, "The charge

19 *Khasain-ul-Futuh* (Habib), p. 63.

20 Elliot, III, p. 114.

21 *Ibid.*, p. 200.

22 *Ibid.*, p. 231.

23 Elliot, III, pp. 200 and 231. Zia mentions in the case of Malik Kafur a red canopy but in the latter case he only mentions a canopy. 'Mir Khusru has also mentioned red canopy. (Habib), *Khasain-ul-Futuh*, p. 56).

of the army as her lieutenant was conferred upon Malik Saifuddin Ibak-i-Bihak who received the title of Kutulugh Khan. Suddenly Malik Saifuddin died and the charge of the the army was bestowed upon Malik Qutubuddin Husain son of Ali Ghuri.”²⁴ In this passage we find that as soon as the post fell vacant by the death of the incumbent it had to be filled in without delay.

The most important official concerned with the organization of the army was Ariz-i-Mumalik and Naib-Ariz-Mumalik. Muster rolls were taken, horses branded and other arrangements were made by the Ariz or his Naib. ‘Alāuddin always sent Naib-Ariz with the army going on any expedition,²⁵ whose duty was to attend the administration of the army, collection of supplies, the securing of elephants and the spoil. He was also expected to prepare an inventory of the booty, for proper rendering of the account to the Sultan. This must have been a very important function because out of this booty *Khums* was realised for the state and remainder was distributed to the soldiers.

Thus in times of peace Ariz was the highest military official and was wholly responsible for the fitness and order of the army. During peace time, in the military affairs he was only second to the Sultan. In times of war his position was second to the commander-in-chief appointed for the time.

Amir Akhur was also an important official in the king’s army. To trace a short history of Amir Akhur: we see that Qutubuddin Aibek was Amir Akhur of Muizzuddin Ghori²⁶, and in that capacity rendered some valuable service during the march of Muizzuddin Ghori against

24 *Tab-i-Nasiri* (Raverty), p. 641-642.

25 Elliot, III, p. 200 and 201; De, *Tab-i-Akbari*, p. 181.

26 *Tab-i-Nasiri*, (Raverty), p. 514.

Sultan Shah Khawarizmi²⁷. Sultana Raziya raised Malik Jamaluddin Yakut to the office of Amir Akhur and in that capacity "was made personal attendant of Her Majesty".²⁸ This caused much displeasure and rivalry among the other Turkish generals. Almas Beg brother of 'Alāuddin Khalji, was Amir Akhur²⁹ and always remained in the capital with the Sultan and through him 'Alāuddin succeeded in usurping the throne³⁰. Fakhr-uddin Juna (afterwards Sultan Muhammad Tughlaq) was also Amir Akhur under Khusru the Parwari and was in the vicinity of Dehli³¹.

Thus we see that all the Amir Akhurs were men of great abilities and in one way or other played most important roles in the history of the Sultanate of Dehli, and also that they were near about the capital or with the king. It is therefore erroneous to designate the Amir Akhur as mere superintendent of stables. In fact he was in charge of the Royal guards of the Sultan and was an important military official.

The remuneration of the soldiers varied from time to time. It seems that Iltutmish was rather liberal and gave more than what could have been their just demand. That Iltutmish gave the soldiers assignments or *iqtas* as their salary, is clear from the complaints of Balban. After an enquiry Balban found that two thousand horsemen of the army of

27 *Ibid.*, Foot note. 4.

28 Raverty, *Tab-i-Nasiri*, p. 642.

Elliot II. 334. In the foot note 3 of the same page Major Raverty writes, "He was Amir-i-Akhur or lord of stables, master of the horses, a high office only conferred upon distinguished persons".

29 Elliot, III, 137, 152.

30 *Ibid.*, pp. 152-154.

31 *Ibid.*, 224; Firishta (Briggs), p. 397. The army had its own kazi, because here and there in course of general narration we often find mention of a Kazi of the army. (Kazi Urdu, Qazi-i-Askar).

Shamsuddin had received villages in the doab by way of salary but had not rendered proper service. Balban wanted to readjust the system, but he could not do so owing to the protests of Malikul Umra Fakhruddin Kotwal of Dehli. Thus the old system, *i.e.*, pay in the shape of *iqtas* continued. The soldiers besides the grant of land must have received a share of war booty, which according to the 'Shariat' was their due, and Iltutmish would not have deprived them of the amount specially when he needed the continuous service of every soldier to fight the forces opposing him. The soldiers must have enjoyed this privilege up to the time of 'Alāuddin, because we find 'Alāuddin for the first time raising the question whether it was legitimate for him to keep the whole of war booty for himself, in his talks with Qazi Mughisuddin. 'Alauddin departed from the tradition and paid the soldiers in cash. But that the amount paid was less than either his predecessors or his successors is beyond doubt. While trying to improve and enlarge his army 'Alauddin said that he could not pay them much without impoverishing his treasury which was quite detrimental to the welfare of the state. The payment of the soldiers in cash is for the first time mentioned by Ziauddin in connection with military reforms of 'Alauddin. But it does not appear to have been an innovation of 'Alauddin; he simply mentions the amount that he desired to pay to his enlarged army, and nowhere indicated that it was an innovation.

The soldiers during the reign of 'Alauddin used to receive cash payments. But two questions arise about the payment: firstly, whether the whole army, *i.e.*, those of the provinces under the Walis, received cash payments; whether the amount mentioned by Ziauddin was universal throughout the empire. Regarding the first there is every possibility that the soldiers in the provincial and other armies received cash payment. About the second question we can safely say that the amount could not have been universal because the success of the payment

depended on the market regulations and the area where the market regulations prevailed was very limited. Thus outside the bounds of the market regulations the soldiers must have received more. 'Alāuddin Khalji, after he had successfully brought about his revenue and market reforms paid his soldiers at the rate of 234 tankas to a 'murattab' cavalry man and an additional sum of 78 tankas to a 'do aspah,' i.e., cavalry man, with two horses. By working out a simple arithmetic we find that 'Alāuddin fixed the salary of a cavalry man at double the maintenance cost of a horse, i.e., 156 tankas. He got a sum of 78 tankas for his horse making a total of 234 tankas and another 78 tankas for an additional horse, which was the case with the 'do aspah'. The *sawar* as referred to by Ziauddin does not indicate a grade, it only refers to the cavalry man. Officially a *sawar* was called a 'Murattab' and received 234 tankas but if he was a 'do aspah' i.e., with two horses he got extra 78 tankas for the additional horse³².

32 The particular passages of Zia on which these figures are based are not clear and can be interpreted in different ways.

(i) page 303. دویسپ سی و چهار تنکه بمرتب د هم و هفتاد و هشت تنکه بدواسپه و هم دو اسپ و استعداد بر اندازه ان از مرتب طلبم و یک اسپه د استعداد بر اندازه یک اسپ از و طلبم بگویند

(ii) Page- 319. حشم مرتب بدویست سی چهار تنکه و در اسپه بهفتاد و هشت تنکه بسیار شد و مستقیم گشت

(iii) page 320. لشکر اسلام بر لشکر مغل چلبان چیده گشت که یکد و اسپه دو مغل داشته در گردن انداخته می آورد ایک سوار مسلمان صد سوار مغل را پیش کرده می دوانید

Dr. Qureshi holds a view that 'do aspah' was something like a groom and looked after second horse belonging to the "murattab" and not a soldier with two horses. A *sawar* got 78 tankas for himself and 78 tankas for the maintenance of a horse which was not supplied by the state. 'A murattab' got 234 tankas, 78 tankas for himself and 78 tankas each for his two horses.

The state did not provide the soldiers with their equipments. The pay of the soldiers was paid in cash directly from the Central Treasury³³. The pay list of 'Alāuddin could not have survived after his death. The entire pay structure was based on the control of prices and his market regulations, which was discarded by his successors. Even during his own lifetime it was not universal. But the payment to the soldiers in cash remained in vogue, till it was discarded by Firuz Shah.

Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq advised his generals not to deduct any amount from the salaries of the soldiers rather to pay them something more from their own income³⁴. This indicates that the generals or *iqtadars* used to pay to

But the term *sawar* as used by Zia in passage (iii) refers to only a cavalry man and not any grade of a soldier. Dr. Qureshi has tried to base his conclusions on a still more confused account of Firishta, who gives three grades of soldiers, when actually in the days of the Sultans no such gradation existed. Even passage (iii) does not suggest, the existence of a *sawar*, and a very little of his being superior to a '*do aspah*'. A '*do aspah*' could capture ten Mongols but a *sawar* could capture none, only drove away a hundred.

For my views I find further support in Dr. K. S. Lal (*History of the Khaljis*) who has discussed this point quite at length. Dr. Lal concludes, "There is nothing to show that he (*murattab*) was a superior officer in the army. Had he been one, Barani (Zia) would have given his rank or at least would have said so. On the contrary a *murattab* is nothing more than an ordinary soldier (*ahl-i-jihad*) as both got 234 tankas. Barani (Zia) nowhere mentions a *sawar* as a second grade officer or that the lowest grade soldier was known as '*do aspah*'. In the above passage Barani simply uses the word *sawar* in the sense of a horseman. He does not specifically mention that a *sawar* was in any way superior to a '*do aspah*'.....It (the language of Zia in passage (iii) is only a hyperbolic way of asserting the supremacy of Indian soldiers and the passage should not be taken literally". The word *بسیار* in passage (ii) clearly indicates more or extra, and Zia indicates by this word the excess that was paid to a '*do aspah*'.

33 Zia, pp. 319, 320. (But this applied to the Central army only).

34 Zia, p. 429.

the soldiers under them, but the salary was fixed by the Central Government, and this instruction refers to the full payment of the stated sum. We do not know the definite amount paid to the soldiers, but it certainly must have been more than that of the Great Khalji monarch. During the reign of Muhammad Tughlaq we are told by the author of *Masālik ul Ābsar* that the pay of a soldier was 500 tankas over and above food, raiment and forage³⁵. We are further informed that the soldiers were not given assignments of land revenues but drew their pay from the public treasury. Firuz Shah departed from this system and began to assign land revenues. 'Afif tells us that regular (*Wajahdars*) of the army were paid in land assignments and had to maintain themselves from the income of land³⁶.

The nobles, *i.e.*, Khans, Maliks and Amirs were not paid from the central treasury, but were granted revenues of land in proportion to their rank. The author of *Masālik ul Ābsar* tells us, "The Khans, Maliks, Amirs and Ispah Salar receive the revenues of places assigned to them by the treasury and if these do not increase, they never diminish. Generally speaking they bring in much more than this estimated value. The Khans receive a grant of two lacs of tankas, each tanka being worth eight dirhams. This sum belongs to him personally and he is not expected to disburse any part of it to the soldiers who fight under his orders. The Malik receives an amount varying from sixty to fifty thousand tankas, the Amirs from forty to thirty thousand tankas and Ispah Salar twenty thousand or thereabout. The pay of the officer varies from ten to one thousand tankas"³⁷. The system described in *Masālik ul Ābsar* might have been a convenient arrangement for the Central Government.

35 Elliot, III, p. 577.

36 'Afif, p. 95.

37 Elliot, III, p. 577.

but it had certain difficulties for the incumbents. These nobles were not necessarily posted at the same place the revenue of which was assigned to them. He had therefore to make arrangements to see that the revenue of such places were properly collected and no shortage was shown. Firuz Shah made the system of revenue assignment universal, and if we are to believe 'Afif, he even went to credulous lengths. Firuz Shah made it a law that if an officer of the army died he was to be succeeded by his son, if he had no son,³⁸ by his son-in-law; if he had no son-in-law by his slave, if he had no slave by nearest relation, and if he had no relation by his wives.³⁹

The infantry was also a branch of the army, but it was mainly used for carrying loads and doing other necessary siege works. The infantry had also a number of archers, but the infantry was never of any importance during the Sultans.

Elephants were also considered of great importance.

Elephants Sultan Balban valued them very highly and often said that an elephant was worth five hundred horsemen.⁴⁰ Elephant was always an important item of the terms of treaty. Sultan 'Alāuddin always insisted on it.⁴¹ Undoubtedly the cavalry formed their chief source of strength but elephants were not neglected rather were utilized to their own advantage and formed a prop of the bulk of their army. Muhammad Tughlaq had an elephant corps of about 3,000 elephants.⁴²

38 Afif, p. 96; *Fatihat-i-Firuz Shahi*, p. 18.

39 Afif, p. 96.

اگر همچنان زیست بر عودات او مستقیم میدادند

It is beyond comprehension, that such a system could have been according to 'Shara'.

40 Elliot, III, p. 103.

41 *Vide* Elliot, III, p. 201.

42 Elliot, III, p. 576.

There used to be a separate officer to look after the elephants called *Shānā-i-pil*. The elephants were well protected with heavy metal plates when actively engaged in a battle. They were so much in demand that they were exchanged for horses.⁴³

The forts were considered as great bulwark of strength. They were the frontier outposts and guarded the capital from Mongol invasions, which was an acute problem for the Sultanate. Balban appears to be the first ruler who directed his attention towards the forts. Ziauddin tells us that Sultan Balban erected in these places (Kampil, Pettiali and Bhojpur) three strong forts in which he placed strong Afghan garrison.⁴⁴ Other rulers must have observed the utility of the forts and we can never say that forts altogether went into oblivion.

Alauddin Khalji after the Mongol invasion under Turghi about the year 1303, ordered the old forts to be repaired and also ordered the erection of new forts wherever necessary.⁴⁵

Thus the importance of the forts being immense they were zealously looked after.

Each fort had its commandant who was generally called the kotwal and he kept the keys of the fort with himself.⁴⁶ But we find instances where the commandant and the Kotwal were two different persons. For example, in the year 643 H. when Mangu Khan the Mongol laid siege to the fort of Uchh, Minhaj-us-Siraj tells us that

43 Zia, p. 96. (Balban's advice to Bughra Khan.)

44 *Vide* Elliot, III, p. 105.

45 Zia, p. 302 and 303.

46 Elliot, III, p. 160.

there was a eunuch in command of the fort. Abu-bakr Kabir was chief justice and Mukhlisuddin was Kotwal.⁴⁷

That as a rule the office of the Kotwal and commandant were in the same person is clearly borne out by a few of the observations of the chroniclers. Minhajus-Siraj, writing about the arrangement of the fort of Gwalior effected by Iltutmish mentions that Rashiduddin who was in charge of the forces was made Kotwal of the fort.⁴⁸ Ibn Batuta mentions that when Malik Naib took the prince to this strong fort (Gwalior) he gave him into the charge of the Kotwal and the *Mufrids* or *Zamani*.⁴⁹ Again when Malik Shah was sent to the fort of Gwalior where the deposed Sultan Shahabuddin and Khizir Khan were imprisoned with the royal orders for their execution he called for the Kotwal or commandant and showed him the royal orders.⁵⁰ These two instances clearly show that Kotwal was the sole in charge of the fort and kept the keys which was of great importance.

The forts had also a number of *mufrids*. It is very difficult to ascertain the exact nature of the *mufrids*, but in absence of any definite mention I personally think them of the nature of engineers well versed in repair-work and handling of siege weapons.

Besides the Kotwal each fort had a *Qazi* and a *Mir-Dad*.⁵¹ It is interesting to note that the *Qazi* and *Mir-Dad* existed together, but as the functions of the two were different this arrangement must have made matters smooth going.

47 Elliot, II, p. 363.

48 Elliot, II, p. 327.

49 Elliot, III, p. 601.

50 Elliot, III, p. 60

51 Elliot, III, p. 603, Elliot II, p. 363. Raverty, *Tab-i-Nasiri*, p. 620.

For the management of the forts Balban adopted the very same and easy way that later on was adopted by Shivaji with great efficiency and success. The forts were placed under the charge of very efficient Malikis. Agricultural lands were attached to these forts for the maintenance of the garrison put into them.⁵² 'Alāuddin also kept these forts under veteran and prudent commandants.⁵³ Writing about the arrangement of forts during 'Alāuddin Ziauddin says, "Additional forts were directed to be raised wherever they were required. To these forts he appointed veteran and prudent commandants. Orders were given for the manufacture of *manjaniks* and *aradas*, for employment of skilful engineers, for a supply of arms of every kind and for keeping stores of grain and fodder".⁵⁴

Punishments and Discipline of the Army

The Sultans took particular care to maintain proper discipline in the army. Punishment to soldiers for neglect of duties was a common custom of the Sultans. Sultan 'Alāuddin used to impose a fine of three times the annual pay of the soldier if he failed to appear at the muster.⁵⁵ Proper discipline was also necessary when the army was on march or actually engaged in siege. The system of *Khums ghanaim* also entitled the state and the soldiers to portions of the spoil. The soldiers often were tempted to conceal something out of what they had plundered. In such cases everything was realised with strictness, and even torture, such as putting under 'bellows' or forcing them to drink saline water.⁵⁶ was resorted to. The army was provided with its own Qazi

52 Elliot, III, pp. 104-105.

53 Zia, pp. 302 and 303.

54 *Ibid.*

55 Elliot, III, p. 187.

56 *Vide, Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* (Basu), p. 75.

called Qazi Urdu or Qazi-i-Askar, who looked to the cases, arising in the camp areas, but involving civil or criminal laws and not military laws. The commander of the armies were fully empowered to inflict punishments or to take any disciplinary actions they thought proper for the occasion, and according to the nature of the breach of discipline.

Weapons used during the Sultanate

The cavalry man and his horse both were well protected. The horse was caparisoned with steel and a plate for the protection of the head and the soldier with a mail and head protector. The soldier had two swords the scabbard of one was attached with the saddle⁵⁷, besides he had bow and arrows, mace and battle-axes. The elephants were clad in metal plates and scythes were attached to their tusks, and they carried a number of soldiers in the *howdah* besides the *mahaut* on the neck. The foot soldiers were provided with long bows and arrows, besides sword and dagger. For successfully conducting a siege certain devices were used. *Maghrib*, *Manjaniq*, and *Arradah* were used for throwing heavy stones or burning metals, wood, etc. These catapults were very effective siege engines. *Gargaj*, the movable platform was very common. While conducting siege *Sabat* was also raised at times. It being a covered carrier sort of thing helped the besiegers to reach fortification safely.

57 Ibn Batuta (H. A. R. Gibb), p. 216. "It is customary for a man in India to carry two swords, one, called the stirrup-sword, attached to the saddle, and the other in his quiver."

CHAPTER VIII
LAW AND JUSTICE

The Sources of Muslim Law

There are four sources of Muslim Law, *i.e.*, the *Quran*, the *Hadis*, the *Ijma* and the *Qias*. *Quran* contains those revelations which were made to Mohammad after he was vested with the office of the Prophet and Messenger of God. The revelations were made in God's own words as containing his wishes and commands.¹ In the Islamic system the authority to enact laws primarily belongs to God and he alone has the supreme legislative power.² The *Quran* being the direct revelation from God to Mohammad is the highest authority and source of Muslim law. The next source is the *Hadis* or *Sunna* which are inspired precepts of Mohammad in matters of law and religion.³ Often questions arose for decision for the solution of which no direct revelation was found in the *Quran*, or some points that required explanations. On all such occasions the pronouncement made by the Prophet became precepts and are regarded as sacred authority. But the laws are for the benefit of the community, the Divine Legislator therefore has delegated power to the community to lay down laws by the resolution of those men of the community who were competent for the work, *i.e.*, the *Mujtahids* or *Jurists*. The laws so laid down are presumed to be what God intended. This source of law is called the *Ijma*. *Qiyas* or analogical deduction was in practical operation from a very early time but it was Abu Hanifa who formulated the theories and principles of jurisprudence and he was

1 Abdur Rahim, *Mohammadan Jurisprudence*, p. 17.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 52.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 53,

the first to give prominence to the Doctrine of *Qiyas*.⁴ Leaving aside these four main sources of law. Islamic system also recognises the force of custom and usages in establishing rules of law. The validity of such laws rests on principles somewhat similar to those of *Ijma*.

In Muslim jurisprudence law is personal in its application to the Mohammadans, *i.e.*, it is not affected by the constitution of a particular political society. According to Mohammadan theory the authority of law is primarily based on man's conscience and not political force. The Mohammadan law is applicable to a Mohammadan inside and outside the Islamic state, because his conscience remains the same even when he is outside the jurisdiction of the Islamic state. Thus according to the theory of Muhammadan jurisprudence the Muslim law is not applicable to the non-believers. But the law in general has two parts, *i.e.*, the religious and secular; and the non-believers living in the Islamic state were subject to the secular portions of the law.⁵ The secular portion of the law is in substance common to all nations.

The extent of the application of the Islamic law to India during the Muslim rule was as follows :—

(a) *Civil Law*. The purely personal law of Islam was applied to Muslims only, but secular portions of Civil Law relating to trade, sale, contract, etc., was made applicable to both the Muslims and the non-Muslims.⁶

(b) *The laws of land*. The system of taxation was adopted from the Arabs with modifications

4 Abdur Rahim, *Mohammadan Jurisprudence*, p. 25.

5 *Ibid.*, p. 59.

6 Wahed Hussain, *Administration of Justice during Muslim Rule*, p. 14.

according to Indian condition and was applied to both, *i.e.*, Muslims and non-Muslims.

(c) *The Religious and Personal Laws of non-Muslims.*

The Hindus and other non-Muslim subjects were governed by their own respective religion and personal law. Cases involving points of personal law of Hindus were decided with the aid of learned pandits and Brahmins' mostly in their own *Panchayats*.

(d) *Criminal Law.* That portion of Canon Law which deals with religious infringement was applied to Muslims only and for such offences non-Muslims were not held liable to punishment according to laws of Shara.⁸ But that portion of Islamic criminal law which dealt with crimes believed by all nations was applied to Muslims and non-Muslims alike, *e.g.*, the punishment for adultery, murder, theft, robbery, assault, etc. were the same for both.⁹

Shariat enjoined certain duties on the Caliph, and two of the most important functions were to lead personally the divine service at the mosque and to exercise judicial functions including the administration of the criminal justice.¹⁰

The first four Caliphs performed these duties strictly, but with the expansion of the boundaries of the Caliphate, it became no more possible for the Caliphs to attend to these duties personally. Thus the provincial governors were charged with these duties and were asked

7 Baillie, *Digest of Mohamman Law*, p. 174.

8 A. Rahim, *Mohamman Jurisprudence*, p. 59.

9 *Ibid.*, p. 59.

10 Khuda Buksh, *Orient under the Caliphs*, p. 244.

to carry on the work in the name of the Caliph. However, the Caliph continued to perform these duties within a limited area near about their capital. The Sultans of Dehli also acted upon this. While the Sultans administered justice at the capital with the help of *Qazis* and *Muftis* the distant provincial governors also administered justice on the same lines. During the Sultanate the *Qazis* and *Muftis* became very important, the reason being that most of the Sultans were illiterate and were thus unable to interpret and properly follow canon laws. The *Qazis* and *Muftis* were specially learned men of the law and hence their help became inevitable. In course of time these *Qazis* and *Muftis* turned into a hereditary class of men, recognised for their understanding of law.

Hindu system also assigned the duty of administering justice to the king. According to the Hindu idea of administration of justice, the king was the fountain-head of justice. From the early days of Hindu India the administration of justice was centralized. The monarch was alone the administrator of both law and justice.¹¹ But the monarch was not above law, on the contrary he was under it. If he diverted from the accepted law of land he was liable to punishment like an ordinary citizen of the state.¹²

The Attitude of the Sultans towards Justice

The Sultans of Dehli always recognised the importance of proper justice, and they were always active to see that the laws of the realm were not violated. Qutubuddin Aibak, though preoccupied with the problems of establishing himself in India, did not fail to maintain proper justice in his dominions. Writing about Qutubuddin

11 Dikshitar, *Hindu Administrative Institutions*, p. 226.

12 *Ibid.*, p. 216, *Manusmriti*, VIII, 336.

Aibak, Hassan Nizami has mentioned that "he extinguished the flame of discord by the splendour of the light of justice and the smoke of darkness of oppression vanished from the face of the earth." He administered justice with so much impartiality, that as a result "the wolf and sheep drank water out of the same pond, and the mention of thieves and theft, which had before been current on the tongues of every one, fell to dust."¹³ No doubt there is quite an exaggeration in the statement but it does reflect the spirit in which Qutubuddin administered justice.

Iltutmish, the real founder of the Sultanate of Dehli, followed the policy of his erstwhile master in administration of justice, and showed no partiality to strong or weak. Being a man of religious disposition he revered the Islamic law and 'Shara' had the greatest hold on his administration.

The enthusiasm of Sultan Balban for justice is well reflected in his fourth maxim about a wise ruler. Balban said that a monarch in the administration of justice should practise righteousness to such extent that all vestiges of tyranny and oppression might disappear from his kingdom.¹⁴ Sultan Balban was also careful to see that in the administration of justice he was inflexible showing no favour to his brethren or children, to his associates or attendants and if any of them committed an act of injustice he never failed to give redress and comfort to the injured person.¹⁵ Malik Bak-bak, the *Sarjandar* and *Muqti* of Badaun, caused a domestic servant to be beaten to death. When Sultan Balban went to Badaun, he came to know of it from the widow of the deceased. He at once ordered that Malik Bak-bak should

13 *Tajul-Maasir* (Elliot II, p. 217).

14 De, *Tab-i-Akbari*, p. 96.

15 Elliot, III, pp. 100, 101.

he scourged to death in the presence of the widow. The *Barids* of Badaun were also hanged for their failure to inform the Sultan about the matter. Haibat Khan also had to purchase his release with great difficulty after paying an indemnity of 20,000 tankas to the widow of the man whom he had killed.¹⁶ These two cases clearly illustrate the equality of justice during the reign of Sultan Balban.

To get information Sultan Balban appointed *barids* in every *iqta* and *wilayat* whose duty it was to inform the Sultan about the occurrences of the places.¹⁷

Jalaluddin Firuz Khalji was a man of milder disposition, and because of the senility of old age he did not like to inflict severe punishments towards criminals. When thieves and thugs, etc., were brought before him he pardoned them on their promise never to repeat their crimes.¹⁸ This not only lowered him before his own followers, but it gave positive indulgence to crime. It was wrong for Jalaluddin to believe that ordinary criminals could ever appreciate the virtue of forgiveness and would feel ashamed enough to correct themselves. As a man it was wrong of Jalaluddin to be so credulous and as a king this policy was positively harmful as it led to the breaking of discipline and order.

‘Alāuddin Khalji was a man of stronger disposition, firm determination and common sense wisdom. He had seen the bad effects of the policy of his uncle, and right from the beginning was determined to alter it. When he ascended the throne crimes were so common, that peace and safety was not to be found. ‘Alāuddin naturally became ruthless in inflicting punishments.

16 Elliot, III, pp. 100, 101.

17 Elliot, III, p. 101.

18 *Vide* Zia.

19 Firishta (Briggs, pp. 352-355).

He did not care whether the punishments were contrary to Islamic law.¹⁹ His first consideration was the welfare of the State and he stopped at nothing for that. He followed the policy of Balban in administering strict justice and like that Sultan he did not care for the position and status of the offender. By means of his spies and informers he kept himself well informed with everything that happened in his empire²⁰ and executed justice with such rigour that robbery and thefts were not heard of in the land. But this does not imply that 'Alāuddin was anti-Islamic, which no monarch of the age could afford. He simply tried to separate the spheres of personal law and social law.

In the sphere of personal law of Muslims he allowed the *Qazis* and *Muftis* to deal according to religious injunctions. But his conception of social law was based on his conception of the welfare of state, in that field he was not prepared to brook any interference. In his talk with Qazi Mughisuddin of Bayanah he gave him to understand that he did what he thought best for his state and acted according to the political exigencies. It may be that all his actions were not strictly in accordance to the laws of Islam but they were not contrary to the general principles of Islam. Moreover the Islamic laws were framed in a very different age and under very different circumstances. To meet the problems that existed in India it was not always possible to get support of the strict Islamic law. It was an absolute necessity to make adjustments and changes according to the different circumstances. While inflicting punishments, for example, he transgressed the code of prescribed punishments,²²

19 Firishta, (Briggs, pp. 352-355)

20 Zia, p. 284.

21 Zia.

22 Firuz Tughlaq in *Futuhāt-i-Firuzshahi* gives a list of such punishments.

but it should be remembered that the recipients of such punishments were offenders not of religious laws, but of the State laws formulated by 'Alāuddin.

Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq was a seasoned soldier and experienced administrator. On his elevation as Sultan at a time when much of the laws of 'Alāuddin had been relaxed, his first task was to set the administrative machinery in order. That done, he attended to justice. Under him a code of civil laws was framed²³ founded upon the 'Shara' and consistent with the old usages of the Dehli Sultans. Thus we find that Ghiyasuddin wanted to have proper justice done in all civil matters.

Muhammad Tughlaq was equally as much enthusiastic about justice as his father. We are told by Badauni that Muhammad Tughlaq kept four *Muftis* and consulted them whenever any person was to be sentenced. He used to keep, says Badauni, four *Muftis* to whom he allotted quarters in the precincts of his own palace and used to see that they kept to their appointed places, so that when any one was arrested upon any charge, he (Sultan) might in the first place argue with the *Muftis* to ascertain his due punishment according to law. Muhammad Tughlaq used to say to these *Muftis*, "Be very careful that you do not fail in the slightest degree by defect in speaking what you consider right, because if any one should be put to death wrongfully and the oversight had been on your side, the blood of that man will be upon your head. Then if after long discussion they (the prisoners) were convicted even though it were midnight he would pass orders for their execution".²⁴

From the above passage it is clear that Muhammad Tughlaq was very careful in the administration of justice. He would not pass his judgment until all possibilities

23 Briggs, *Firishta*, p. 402.

24 Ranking, *Badauni*, pp. 317-318.

were fully thrashed out. He instructed the *Muftis* that if because of their defective argument any person was wrongfully put to death the blood of the man so executed would be on their heads, *i.e.*, he held the *Muftis* responsible for any wrong judgment. He not only properly organised the judiciary but personally supervised its working.

In his enthusiasm for justice he surpassed all his predecessors when he subjected himself to the laws of the empire thereby setting the principle that the Sultan was to be governed by the same law²⁵ which applied to the people. The constant failure, which fate seems to have ordained for him, embittered his nature, and much of the man is lost under the various judgments pronounced either in favour or against him. That at times his punishments were heavy and cruel, was not because of miscarriage of judgment but because of the need of the circumstances.

Firuz Shah was certainly not the man capable of preventing the storms that were hovering over the Sultanate when Muhammad Tughlaq died. Much of the territories of the Sultanate were lost by the creation of various independent kingdoms. But Firuz Shah in spite of all his shortcomings was determined to maintain peace and order in the territories left to him. He was more strict about the 'Shara' and discontinued all such punishments, which were not sanctioned according to it.²⁶ The chroniclers would have us believe that he was rather more severe on the Hindus, but Firoz was equally severe on the Muslims other than the Sunnis. In the administration of civil law he certainly maintained the standard of his predecessors.

25 A. M. Husain, *The Rise and Fall of Muhammad bin Tughlaq*, p. 230

26 *Futuh-at-i-Firuzshahi* (Aligarh), p. 2.

Firoz was followed by a long chain of weak successors and the Turkish Sultanate began to decline. And along with the administrative dislocation justice also fell in the hands of power-seekers.

The Judicial System

The judicial system of the Sultans was a simple one. The ecclesiastical cases were separated from the civil and criminal cases. The highest court of appeal in civil and criminal cases was that of the Sultan himself. The Sultan could try cases singly both as an Original and as an Appellate Judge;²⁷ he was assisted by two *Muftis* in the application of the law. Next to the Sultan was the court of Qazi-ul-Quzat or the Chief Justice of the empire. But with creation of the office of Sadre Jahan in 1248 A. D.,²⁸ the Qazi-ul-Quzat lost his highest position and Sadre Jahan became the head of the Empire Judiciary.²⁹ In the absence of the king he tried Original cases on his behalf.

The Sadre Jahan also selected the Qazis. The chief aim of the creation of this office was to supervise the ecclesiastic side and therefore most of the work of the Judiciary was done by the Qazi-ul-Quzat. Naturally this arrangement created complications. 'Alāuddin solved the problem by amalgamating the offices of the Sadre Jahan and Qazi-ul-Quzat in one person by appointing Qazi Sadruddin Arif to both the posts.³⁰ However, under Firuz Shah Tughlaq the posts were again separated.³¹

The Sadre Jahan supervised the working of the Educational Institutions, the law officers and the grant of *Waqfs*

27 In the Sultan was the highest court for religious matters also.

28 Ahmad, *Administration of Justice in Medieval India*, p. 105

29 Zia, p. 580.

30 Zia, p. 247, 352

31 Zia, p. 580.

and *inams* and stipends to learned men and the poor. Thus we find that funds collected from the *Zakat* and *Sadqah* taxes were disbursed under his supervision. The Sadrs of the provinces were also under him.

Qāzi-ul-Quzāt

Even after the creation of Sadre Jahan most of the work of Judiciary was performed by him. In fact, as the term implies, he was the real Chief Justice of the empire. The Sadr's sphere of activity was wide and often he had to be absent from the capital. Qazi-ul-Quzat exclusively looked after the Judiciary. He was assisted by one or two other Qazis attached to his court. He disposed of all cases, civil and criminal and heard appeals from the courts of provincial Qazis and provincial governors.³² The Qazi-ul-Quzat was supposed to be well versed in law, and people seem to have a right in putting their objections to any appointment to this post.³³ The Qazi-ul-Quzat was appointed by the Sultan and continued in office at the pleasure of the monarch. He could be dismissed or demoted by the Sultan.³⁴ But such removal, if not effected on the ground of partiality, did not disqualify him from reappointment.

Besides his judicial duties the Qazi-ul-Quzat administered the 'Coronation oath' to the Sultan at the time of his installation. At times he gave company to the Sultan. He helped in the framing of the rules and regulations of the empire. With all such work he was required to be a man of high calibre and enjoyed great esteem in the eyes of the public. Some of the Qazi-ul-Quzats had been

32 Ahmad, *Administration of Justice in Medieval India*, p. 107.

33 Zia, pp. 352, 406, 408,

34 For cases compare, Badauni (Ranking, I.), p. 234, Elliot II, pp. 340, 349,

men of intrepid character and had the courage of giving judgment against the known wishes of the Sultan.³⁵

Thus we find that the highest court of the realm was in the capital, which constituted of the court of the Sultan in person, the court of *Sadre Jahan* and the court of the *Qazi-ul-Quzat*.

In the deliberations and hearing of the cases *Muftis* attached to the Court of *Qazi-ul-Quzat* played a very important role. He was like a legal assessor and his function was to expound the law. "The *Muftis* of the Chief Justice's court were lawyers of eminence. They were in theory appointed by the Sultan but candidates for this office were selected by the *Qazi-ul-Quzat*. The judge had to accept the view of the Law given by him and in case of difference, reference was made to the Sultan³⁶".

"In Civil cases, arising out of the Personal Law of the non-Muslims which came before the court, the law was explained by a Brahmin lawyer, called *Pandit*. The status of the *Pandit* was the same as that of the *Mufti*."³⁷

Another officer connected with the administration of justice was *Muhtasib*. He was the censor of public morals and was "incharge of prosecution under the canon law on the original side. In appeals he answered for the prosecution"³⁸. *Muhtasib* was like a Chief of the Police and looked to the moral conduct of the people in public.³⁹

35 Anand, *Administration of Justice in Medieval India*, p. 110.

36 *Ibid.*, p. 115.

37 *Ibid.*

38 *Ibid.*, pp. 115-6; Zia 441; *Masalik-ul-Absar* (Elliot III p. 578).

39 We cannot, however, take it for granted that the Sultans kept the *Muhtasib* simply for the enforcement and observation of the canon Laws. The strongest and the most autocratic of the sultans cared primarily for the state in the prosperity of which he discovered his own good. Sultan Balban under the garb of his justice slowly and gradually destroyed the famous forty. That

All the contemporary historians in the course of their narration of events have referred to Qazis of different places. In the reign of 'Alāuddin Khalji, Nizamuddin mentions nine Qazis besides the Chief Qazi. He also mentions about the Qazis of Awadh, Badaun and Kara⁴⁰. Minhāj-us-Siraj was Qazi of Gwalior for some time before his appointment as the Chief Qazi.

The Judiciary of the province consisted of four kinds of courts. They were :—(1) The Governors' Court

the Muhtasib was invariably placed in all such places where Muslim garrisons were posted or where a Muslim colony was set up, was not because the Sultans were anxious for the conduct of the people in everyday life according to strict injunctions of Islam; but because the Sultans knew that such places were the breeding-ground of real danger to them. The Military Commanders posted at different places were ever intent on rebellion and throwing a challenge to the authority of the Sultan. On the other hand, the Hindu masses never bothered about the fate of the Sultans so long as they were not driven to extremes. 'Alāuddin Khalji's anti-liquor policy was not because it was anti-Islamic, but because he realised that the drinking parties of the nobles only led to seditious talks resulting in rebellion. Prof. Khaliq Ahmad Nizami has pointed out that in spite of his prohibition against wine, the Sultan ('Alāuddin) entertained Khwaja Rashiduddin, the envoy of Ghazankhan, with wine. (*Studies in Medieval Indian History*, p. 4.) The learned Professor has based his fact on the statement in *Mukatabat-i-Rashidi*. This incidentally throws a very valuable light on the attitude of 'Alāuddin towards wine. If 'Alāuddin had promulgated his anti-liquor policy on the score of religion he certainly would not have exposed himself to criticism before a foreigner but belonging to the fraternity of Islam. 'Alāuddin Khalji never thought of meeting the Mongol menace by moral regeneration of the people. For that he depended on his army.

Muhtasib under the Sultanate no doubt continued to be an important officer of the judiciary, and certainly was entrusted with public morals, but his nature of work was more that of police with particular reference to the infringement of personal laws of the Muslims. But that such an officer served the political needs of the Sultan is also a possibility which cannot be rejected altogether.

40 *Tab-i-Akbari* (De), pp. 186, 187.

(2) The court of the Qazi-i-Subah (3) The court of Diwan-i-Subah and (4) The court of Sadre Subah.⁴¹ The governor of the province was the representative of the Sultan, and therefore the highest official in the province. One of his chief functions was to administer justice. He was a court by himself, and in the *darul-Adl* cases sat alone as a Judge. But in cases of appeal he always took the assistance of the Qazi-i-Subah along with others. The appeals from all the courts in the province and its subdivisions, including that of the court of the Qazi-i-Subah, could be filed in his court; and appeals against the decisions of his court could always be taken to the centre. His court had the greatest jurisdiction in the province as he could hear all kinds of cases.

Next to the governor, in matters of justice, was the Qazi-i-Subah. As the governor was the executive head of the province, he had to perform numerous duties, and thus was left with very little time to always attend to the day-to-day administration of justice. The Qazi-i-Subah therefore had to bear most of the burden of the Judiciary. He was appointed by the Sultan on the recommendation of the Qazi-ul-Quzat, *i.e.*, the Chief Justice of the empire, as a corollary to this he could be removed, transferred or demoted⁴² by the Sultan. Being appointed by the Sultan and controlled from the Centre the Qazi-i-Subah worked in absolute independence. The only check in the province on him was that appeals against his decisions could be filed with the governor. He had jurisdiction over civil and criminal cases and could hear appeals from courts of Parganah Qazis. But the Qazi-i-Subah had no jurisdiction over revenue cases which was left entirely to the provincial Diwan. He supervised the works of all the Qazis in the province⁴³ (province and its

41 *Vide*, Ahmad, *Administration of Justice in Medieval India*, p. 116.

42 Zia, p. 348.

43 Ahmad, *Administration of Justice in Medieval India*, pp. 118-119.

subdivision). He also recommended the candidates for appointment as parganah Qazis, and in his own turn always looked for a promotion to Qazi-ul-Quzat in recognition of his meritorious service.

The court of Diwan-i-Subah was presided over by the provincial Diwan. This court had a limited jurisdiction and could only decide cases involving land revenue. Appeals against his decision could be lodged with the governor or direct to the Sultan.

The next court that of Sadre-i-Subah was a court in a very limited sense. The Sadr in the province chiefly supervised religious affairs; and looked after the grant of stipends for religious and educational purposes. In case of dispute regarding claims over such stipends he was called upon to give his judgment. In all cases where the canon law was involved, he sat with the Qazi-i-Subah to hear the cases.⁴⁴

The important officers attached with the provincial courts were *Mufti*, *Muntasib*, *Pandit* and *Dadbak*. The *Mufti*, the *Muntasib* and the *Pandit* performed the same duties which were performed by their counterparts in the Centre. The *Dadbak*,⁴⁵ of the provincial court had a very important function. It was his duty to see that the persons summoned by the court presented themselves. It was probably his duty "to regulate filing of complaints and appeals".⁴⁶

The Judiciary in the subdivision of a province was a simple machinery. It consisted of the Qazi, the Faujdar, the Amil, the *Dadbak*, the Kotwal and the Village Panchayat. The Qazi in the parganah and in the *shiq* were appointed by the Sadre Jahan on the recommendation of

44 *Ibid.*, p. 120.

45 *Zia*, p. 441, ; Raverty, p. 790.

46 Ahmad, *Administration of Justice in Medieval India*, p. 119.

the Qazi-i-Subah. Since a *shiq* during the Sultanate was not a definite subdivision and was something similar to a province, its judiciary was also like that of a province. The Qazi in the parganah decided civil and criminal cases and even attended the cases involving canon law. In the *Shiq* he heard appeals from the courts of lower Qazis, Kotwals and Village Panchayat but in the Parganah he had no jurisdiction to hear appeals from the courts of village Panchayats and Kotwals.

The *Faujdar* of the Parganah attended to petty criminal cases and was generally appointed by the provincial governor. His main duties were executive and maintenance of peace and order in the parganah⁴⁷. Thus he was the busiest man in the parganah and was left with very little time to attend to cases. Appeals against his decisions were sent to the court of the provincial governor.

The Amil decided revenue cases and was a counterpart of the Diwan-i-Subah. Appeals against his judgment were filed with the Diwan-i-Subah.

The Kotwal looked after the security in towns and decided petty criminal cases, which were in the nature of those punishable under the Municipal Laws. The village panchayats were the lowest courts in the Judiciary of the Sultanate but performed the most valuable service to the rural life.

Punishments

It is very difficult to form a regular table of specified crimes with their respective punishments. But we can have some idea of the punishments from scattered instances. Thus from the case of Malik Bak-bak during the reign of Balban it appears that capital punishment was inflicted when any one caused the death of another, even of his servant. From the talk of 'Alāuddin Khalji

47 Zia, p. 479.

and Kazi Mughisuddin of Bayanah it is clear that for bribery and dishonesty and speculation the revenue officers were punished with sticks, pincers, racks and were even imprisoned. But for the same fault well-paid state servants were generally punished with mutilation.⁴⁸ But in general the punishments mentioned by the Muslim jurists were observed.

During the reign of Muhammad Tughlaq capital punishment was applied in more than the seven cases prescribed by Jamshid. The seven cases were :—

1. Apostasy from true religion and persistence therein.
2. Wilful murder.
3. Adultery of married man with another's wife.
4. Conspiracy against the king.
5. Heading a revolt or assisting rebels.
6. Joining the enemies or rivals of the king conveying news to them or aiding or abetting them in any way.
7. Disobedience productive of injury to the state.⁴⁹

Muhammad Tughlaq's maxims about punishments are well summed up in his statement. "I visit them with chastisement upon the suspicion or presumption of their rebellious and treacherous designs and I punish the most trifling act of contumacy with death."⁵⁰ But the punishment during the periods of mild rulers have been more relax. Firuz Shah in his *Futuhāt* informs us that the rulers previous to him had resorted to all sorts of tortures, and mutilation to create fear and dread in the hearts of the people, so that the government regulations may be strictly observed.⁵¹ He further gives the list of such punishments as were discontinued by him. His list of punishments which he discontinued gives a clear indication of the punishments which were common in the days of his predecessors.

48 Elliot, III, pp. 185,186. Traders were punished with mutilation for use of lesser weights and measures.

49 Elliot, III, p. 255.

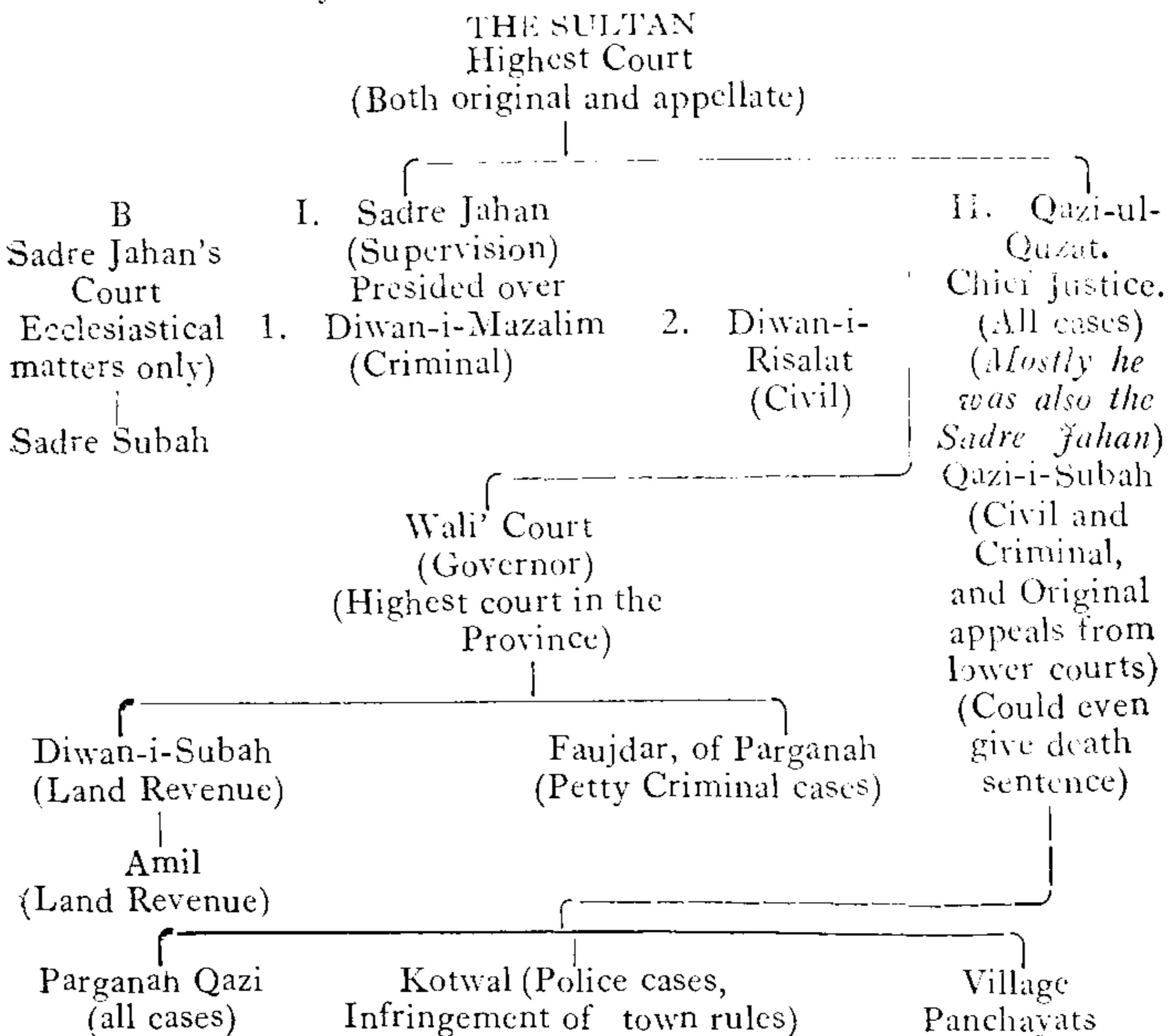
50 Elliot, III, p. 255.

51 *Futuhāt-i-Firuzshahi* (Aligarh), p. 2.

The list includes such punishments:—

Amputation of hand and feet, ears and noses, drawing the pencil on the eyes, pouring molten lead into throat, crushing the bones of hand and feet with hammer, burning of the body, driving nails into hands and feet and bosom, cutting of the sinews and sawing men into sections. The Sultan has further added that these and many others were prevalent in the past.⁵²

Network of Law Courts under the Sultanate of Delhi



Note :—(i) Any case could be filed directly with the Sultan.

(iii) Appeals from any of the courts could be sent directly to Sultan.

(ii) Provincial Governor being the representative of Sultan had appellate jurisdiction over all courts in the province.

CHAPTER IX PUBLIC WORKS

In spite of the fact that most of the Sultans of Dehli were illiterate and military leaders, they were all great builders. They extended their patronage over architecture and as a result the public places were adorned with beautiful edifices, many of them remain even today to give evidence of the high and lofty souls that were within their rugged and rustic body.

Construction Work

Mosque was one item that invariably formed a part of their programme of building construction. From the very beginning the Musalmans settled down in India they started the construction of Mosques. The mosques were the places of worship and at the same time it was in the mosques that the Mullahs and learned men taught children. Thus the mosques often served the purpose of Muktabs as well.

In the category of the religious buildings of the Muslims the mosque and the tomb occupy the most important place and their process of development deserves first consideration. Originally there had been no intention of providing buildings for prayers. It could be offered in open spaces under the sky. But in the time of hostility they felt the need of constant communication and contact with the incidents that were taking place and for this purpose congregational prayers were arranged where people of the locality would assemble and after the prayer they could discourse on the happenings. At every such congregational prayer meeting so long as the Prophet lived, he presided and after him his place was taken up by the Khalifas. Very soon men felt the need of some seclusion from the bustle of life during

the prayers and as a result of this need the open air prayers were given up in favour of enclosed quarters. The erection of compound wall gave birth to the mosque or masjid, *i.e.*, a place of prostration. The first Moham-madan mosque the Kaba is in all probability a modification of an early Buddhist monastery. In the mosque an open yard or *sahan* with a small tank in the centre became a prominent feature. In the western wall of the Kaba a niche was retained and soon on the left of the niche a platform was erected to serve as a seat for the leader of the prayer. This niche came to be known as the Kiblah and indicated the direction to which the faithful must face while offering their prayers. Later on the Kaba became a model for the mosques. Thus in a mosque the niche called the mihrab, the pulpit or the mimber on the left of the mihrab, and the compound consisting of pillared cloisters called the Lewan became the distinctive features. Of course a tank and a fountain in the centre remained an inseparable and important part of the mosque. In the erection of the mosques in different countries the niche is invariably towards the Kaba. Later on the *minars* and the frontal screen before the niche were added. To add greater importance a dome was set upon the central portion containing the mihrab. It is in the design, proportion and decoration of these essential features of the mosque that the Indian architects started a series of experiments and have left behind specimens portraying the process of evolution. The essential features of a mosque remained Islamic but in the design, proportion and decoration of these essential features it became Indian.

Next to mosque comes the Tomb in the category of religious architecture of the Muslims. Though strictly according to Islam memorials for the dead are forbidden, yet long before Islam came to India erection of memorials over the dead had become an accepted custom in Islam.

A tomb consists of a square room called the *huzrat* with the cenotaph or the *zarih* in the centre and the whole covered with a dome. But the real grave or the *qabr* remained underground in a vault within a plain mound of earth. This arrangement satisfied men's desire for erecting a memorial over the graves of their deceased dear ones as well as their desire to remain within strict rules of burial. A mihrab was added to the western wall of the building.

Besides the religious buildings, secular and military buildings were also erected under the Muslim rule, but they were free from conventional rules regarding their component parts and were constructed according to the need and purpose.

Qutubuddin Aibek began with the building of mosques. The Quat-ul-Islam Mosque at Dehli and Adhaidin-ka-Jhopra at Ajmer were started under Qutubuddin Aibek.¹ The former was started seven or eight years earlier than the latter.

By the time of Iltutmish the Muslim population of India must have increased and the former mosques were not sufficient to hold the Muslims that assembled there for their prayers. Iltutmish the real founder of the Muslim empire of India extended the Quat-ul-Islam mosque and "more than doubled the area of the mosque by throwing out wings to the prayer chamber and by extending the screen both to the north and the south and by adding an outer court".² The other mosque

1 *Cambridge History of India*, III, p. 576.

Havel, *Indian Architecture*, p. 48.

Fergusson, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, Vol. II, pp. 198, 210.

Cunningham's *Archaeological Reports*, Vol. II, p. 256.

2 *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III, p. 577.

known as Adhai-din-ka Jhopra at Ajmer was also completed during the reign of Iltutmish. During the reign of Iltutmish another magnificent mosque called Shamshi mosque was built at Badaun. This mosque was built under the supervision of Rukn-ud-din Firuz, the son of the Sultan in the year 1230 A. D., when he was governor of Badaun.⁴ Iltutmish is also supposed to have built the Idgah at Badaun which stands in a grove in the west of the town.⁵

'Alāuddin built further extensions to the Jami Masjid or Quatul Islam mosque. He removed the east wall of Iltutmish's court about 155 ft. extending the south wall and its colonades so as to make the new court 385ft. from east to west and constructed the beautiful Alai Darwaza on that side. Another mosque was built in his reign near the present tomb of Nizamuddin, called Jamatkhana

Fergusson, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, Vol. II, p. 199, 201.

Havel, *Indian Architecture*, p. 48.

Fergusson holds A. D. 1225 to be the date of this extension while Sir John Marshall (*Camb. Hist.*, Vol. III. p. 57) gives 1230 A. D. as the date. It seems that Fergusson had given the date when the work was started while Marshall's date is that of completion.

3 Fergusson, *Indian and Eastern Architecture*. II. p. 211. Havel, *Indian Architecture*, p. 45.

Sir John Marshall (*Camb. Hist.* III p. 481) maintains that this mosque, *i. e.*, Adhai-din-ka-Jhopra was built during the life time of Aibek in 1200 A. D. But Fergusson on the basis of Cunningham opines that the mosque was completed during the reign of Iltutmish or between 1211 and 1235 A. D. Cunningham, (*Archaeological Survey, Reports*, Vol. II, p. 261) holds that the mosque was completed during Iltutmish or between A. D. 1211 and 1236. He rejects the authority of the other inscription giving 596 Hijra or A. D. 1200 the date of its completion. He holds that this stone must have belonged to some small mosque that was originally there.

4 *District Gazetteers of U. P.*, Vol. XV, *Badaun*, p. 134.

5 *Ibid.*

Masjid. During the reign of Firuz Shah a good deal of money was spent from public treasury for the construction of mosques. Firuz Shah furnished his city of Firuzabad with as many as eight public mosques⁶.

In the construction of the tomb which certainly does not fall within the scope of public works mention may be made of the tombs of Iltutmish and 'Alauddin K̄halji attached with the Quat-ul-Islam mosque, which are little gems by themselves. In their construction and decoration we find a beginning of the assimilation of Hindu and Muslim ideals. They stand as witness of the mingling of the Turks and Indians. But the tomb of Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq situated in Tughlaqabad (Dehli) is at once striking in its boldness of construction. It combines massiveness with beauty. That the Mongols were hammering at the gates of India can well be imagined from the outer structure of this tomb. The slopes in the walls, thick and heavy bastions and a fortified sort of compound, all combine to give it the shape of a fort, and suggests that it could be used as a shelter in case of any sudden attack.

The Sultans not only cared to build mosques for public prayers but devoted quite a bit of their attention for other constructions of public utility. Such activities of the Sultans included construction of (i) Water Reservoirs, (ii) Canals, (iii) Roads, (iv) Sarais (v) cities and (vi) educational institutions.

We find that during the reign of Sultan Balban, the turbulence of the Mewatis was so great that they used to come to the Sar-Hauz⁷ and molest the water-carriers. This was in all probability the same reservoir constructed by Iltutmish and called Shamsi Hauz.⁸ Sultan Firuz

6 Elliot, Vol. III, p. 303.

7 Elliot, Vol. III, p. 104.

Tab-i-Akbari (Dc), p. 69.

Shah Tughlaq in his *Futuhāt-i-Firuzshahi* says that he repaired the *Hauz-i-Shamsi*.⁹ This clearly proves that Sultan Iltutmish did construct the water reservoir and so well constructed that even during Firuz Shah's reign after a little repair it gave quite satisfactory work. 'Alauddin constructed another water reservoir'¹⁰ about two miles or more to the north of the Qutb. The reservoir used the hilly grounds at its side with a bund in the lower portion to hold up pure rain water. It supplied water to the town and at the same time provided a place of recreation to the citizens.¹¹

Alauddin deserves the credit of constructing the city of Siri the second of the 'Seven Cities of Dehli'. This city was built by 'Alauddin Khalji about the year 1303 A. D. in order to protect the ever growing population of the suburbs.¹²

That there were Sarais during the reign of 'Alauddin is certain from the fact that he prohibited the nobles, who might go to the Sarais, to sleep together or sit down closely and tell their troubles to each other.¹³ Qutub-uddin Mubarak Shah completed the walls of old Dehli (the first of the Seven Cities of Dehli) the repairs of which were commenced by his father.¹⁴ Ghiyas-ud-din Tughlaq reigned only for four years (1321-1325); yet

9 *Futuhāt-i-Firuzshahi*, p. 12.

10 Elliot, III, p. 383.

11 *Qiran-us-Sadain* of Amir Khusru, pp. 28-37. *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III, p. 584 also speaks of *Hauz-i-Alai* or *Hauz-i-Khas*, *i.e.*, the tank constructed by Alauddin.

12 *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III, p. 584. Elliot, III, p. 191: Zia attributes the construction of this city as a precaution against Mongol invasion. Colonel Sir Gordon Hearn in *Seven Cities of Delhi*, p. 36 writes that Siri is partly occupied by the village Shahpur.

13 Elliot, Vol. III, p. 181.

14 Vide, *Seven Cities of Delhi*, p. 141.

during this short period he succeeded in building a new city and named it Tughlaqabad, the third of the Seven cities of Dehli, and made it his capital.¹⁵ It was founded in the year 1321, A. D. the year of his accession.¹⁶ "Few strongholds of antiquity", writes Sir John Marshall, "are more imposing in their ruin than Tughlaqabad." Its cyclopean walls, towering grey and sombre above the fascinating landscape, colossal played out bastions, frowning battlements; tiers and tiers of narrow loopholes; steep entrance ways and lofty narrow portals all these contribute to produce an impression of unassailable strength and melancholy grandeur"¹⁷ and speak immensely for the man who constructed them.

Muhammad Tughlaq built the city of Jahanpanah about A. D. 1328 by linking up the walls of old Dehli on the one side and Siri on the other and so enclosing the suburbs that had grown up between them.¹⁸ He also enlarged and beautified Deogiri and renamed it as Daulatabad.

But of all the Sultans it is Firuz Shah Tughlaq who deserves to have the highest rank as a monarch who did immense work in the field of public works. Not only did he repair the old buildings but constructed many new ones. His operations in the field of public works were not confined to the buildings but were extended to every branch of public work that a fourteenth century monarch could conceive of. After returning from Bengal Firuz Shah laid the foundation of the city of Hissar Firozah¹⁹ in 1356 A. D. The city lacked in the supply of water.

15 *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III, p. 585 Elliot, III, p. 234.

16 *Seven Cities of Dehli*, p. 36.

17 *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III, p. 585.

18 *The Seven Cities of Dehli*, p. 40. ; *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III, p. 587.

19 *Afit.*, pp. 125, 126.

The Sultan therefore constructed two canals one from Jamuna and the other from Sutlaj named Rajiwah and Alaghkhani, and they supplied water to the town by means of a single channel. He provided the city with many gardens and all sorts of fruit trees were planted. Before his second expedition to Lakhnauti, Firuz Shah founded the city of Firuzabad Dehli where previously the village of Gawain had stood on the bank of the river Jamuna. Here he commenced a palace and the nobles of his court having also obtained houses there, a new town sprang up, five kos distant from Dehli. Eighteen places were included in this town, the kasba of Indarpat, the sarai of Shaikh Malik Yar Paran, the sarai of Shaikh Abu Bakr Tusi, the village of Gawin, the land of Khetwara, the land of Lahrawat, the land of Andhawali, the land of the sarai of Malika, the land of the tomb of Suitana Raziya, the land of Bhari, the land of Mahrola, and the land of Sultanpur. So many buildings were erected that from the kasba of Indarpat to the Kushk-i-Shikar, five kos apart, all the land was occupied. Firuz Shah also built the city of Jaunpur on the bank of the river Gomti. The other cities that he constructed were according to Afif, Fathabad, Firuzabad, Harvikhira, Tughlaqpur-i-Kasna and Tughlaqpuri-i-Muluk-i-Kamut.²¹

Afif had also given a detailed list of 'bunds' constructed by him, the names of these bunds were: 'Fathkhan-Malja, Mahalpur, Shukr-Khan, Sabaura (Sahapanah), Wazirabad and some more similar strong and substantial bunds.²² Firuz also constructed a number of inns and monasteries (Khankahs). Afif has given us the number as one hundred and twenty which were built in Dehli and Firuzabad. The Khankahs provided lodging and fooding free of charge for three days to travellers

20 *Ibid.*, p. 135, 137.

21 *Afif.*, p. 331.

22 *Ibid.*

and new-comers,²³ and the expenses were met by the government treasury. Firuz Shah also built a hospital *Darus Shifa* for the benefit of high and low, and the physicians who attended them were paid by the government.²⁴ Sultan Firuz Shah spent about 136 lacs of tankas in pensions and gifts of which 36 lacs were given to learned and religious men.

Sultan Firuz Shah himself has left an account of the repairs²⁵ that he effected in his *Futuh-at-i-Firuzshahi*. Among the public works of the previous Sultans that he repaired, he mentions Jami Masjid of old Dehli, Hauz-i-Shamsi or tank of Iltutmish, Hauz-i-Alai or the tank of Alauddin and the Madrasa of Sultan Iltutmish.

The patronage of the Sultan was not only limited to construction activities but it was extended to education religion and public morals also. Minhaj-us-Siraj says that at Gwalior in the year A. H. 630 (1232 A. D.) he was made law officer and was entrusted²⁶ with the supervision of preaching and of all religious, moral and judicial affairs.²⁷ Again the fact that Minhajus Siraj was appointed to the Nasiria college during the reign of Sultan Razia²⁷ indicates that this college must have been then in existence and that it was built by Iltutmish. It is not unlikely that this madrasa was built by Nasiruddin the eldest son of Iltutmish, who predeceased his father, hence the name Nasiria Madrasa. That the college was constructed by Iltutmish is confirmed by Sultan Firuz Shah's statement that he rebuilt the Madrasa of Sultan Shamsuddin.²⁸

23 *Ibid.*

24 *Fatuh-at-i-Firuzshahi*, p. 15

25 *Ibid.*, p. 13

26 Elliot., Vol. II, p. 327.

27 *Ibid.*, p. 335.

28 Elliot., Vol. III, p. 383, *Fatuh-at-i-Firuzshahi*.

During the reign of Alauddin Masaud Shah Minhaj-us-Siraj was again made the Principal of Nasiriyah college and Superintendent of its endowment.²⁹ This indicates that the college had continued as an important place during the period and for its maintenance lands were granted.

During the reign of Raziya we hear of another college at Dehli called the Muizzi college. We are told that Kiramitah and Mulahidah attacked Dehli in two bodies; one of them entered through the gateway of the Muzzi college under the belief that it was the Jami Masjid.³⁰ The work of Iltutmish did not perish with him. It was carried on by the so-called Slave Sultans, and here and there additions were made. During the reign of Nasiruddin Mahmud there existed another college (Madrassa) at Jalandhar in which the prayers for the Id-i-Azha were offered by the followers of Ulugh Khan (Balban) on their return journey to Dehli after a successful expedition.³¹

All the sultans of Dehli took special interest in men of learning. The responsibility of looking after education and providing stipends for maintenance of scholars had been entrusted to Sadre Jahan. Through Sadre the cultural activity of the Sultans continued. Alauddin was personally not literate, and was primarily a soldier, but he extended his patronage to scholars. It is from the scholars that he gathered knowledge about the world and its geography. He had built the Alai Madrasa,³² which in its ruin, stands even to this day adjacent to the quadrangle of his extended Jama Masjid.

29 Raverty, *Tab-i-Nasiri*.

30 Raverty, *Tab-i-Nasiri*, p. 646. Because the writer of this book Minhajus Siraj was personally connected with the Nasiriyah college and yet himself mentions it, shows that Muizzi college was separate from Nasiriyah college.

31 Raverty, *Tab-i-Nasiri*, pp. 678, 679.

32 Zia, p. 563.

The state patronage of education had continued, and Firuz Shah after his accession made lavish grants to the colleges that had existed, repaired their buildings and enhanced their endowments. Among the colleges that were built by Firuz Shah and deserve mention are the Qadam Sherif near the tomb of Fath Khan³³ with adjacent masjid and reservoir and the Firuz Shahi Madrasa at Firuzabad which was very commodious and well planned.³⁴ The Firuzi Madrasa was situated by the side of Hauz-i-Khas, and under Firuz Shah it became the best and the biggest college of the Sultanate. Eminent scholars were on the staff of the college with Maulana Jalalud-din Rumi as the Principal. "The state liberally financed the Madrasa and met all the expenses of the teachers and the students. The boarding arrangements for the inmates were made on royal scale".³⁵ The state patronage for education was great, but education was not dictated. The teachers were free to form their syllabus and teach the subjects they liked, religion being always an inseparable part of it. Besides from its working it is obvious that education through these institutions could not have been imparted to the Hindus. Thus the majority of the tax payers were deprived of this benefit of the state.

Management of the Public Works

The public works of Firuz Shah were well managed. Each Khankah was placed under a superintendent and assisted by certain other officers, and the expenses were met from the public treasury.³⁶ Sultan Firuz Shah was

33 *Vide* Edward Thomas, p. 298.

34 Zia, p. 563.

35 Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, *Studies in Medieval Indian History*, p. 91.

Professor Nizami has given a very graphic description of this college in his paper, *A Medieval Indian Madrasa*.

36 Afif, p. 331.

assisted in his building work by a chief state Architect (*Mir-i-imárat.*) named Malik Ghazi Shahna who had also a deputy (Naib) named Abdul Hakk or Jahir Sundhar.³⁷ Every class of artisans was supervised by a superintendent who was under the Deputy architect.³⁸

The wazir examined every plan of a proposed building and considered their estimated valuation. He was responsible for the supply of finances for the construction of buildings and advanced the necessary money before commencement of any work.³⁹

This was a perfect arrangement that was possible and clearly shows how well organised the public works department of Firuz Shah⁴⁰ was. What was the actual arrangement before Firuz Shah is not clear. But we can well guess that the system must have been somewhat on

37 *Ibid.*

38 *Ibid.*

39 *Ibid.* p. 332.

40 *Firishta*, (Briggs, Vol. I. 465.)

Firishta has given a list of works done by Firuz Shah —

- 50 dams across rivers to promote irrigation.
- 40 Mosques.
- 30 Colleges with mosques attached.
- 20 Palaces.
- 100 Caravansarais.
- 200 Towns.
- 30 Reservoirs or lakes for irrigating lands.
- 100 Hospitals.
- 5 Mansoba.
- 100 Public Baths.
- 10 Monumental pillars.
- 150 Bridges.
- 10 Public wells.

similar lines as it was during the reign of Firuz Shah, because we are nowhere told that Firuz Shah innovated anything new in the arrangement.⁴¹

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Lands were given for the maintenance of these public buildings in order to keep them in thorough repair." For its accuracy I only quote Edward Thomas' remark (p. 291.), "Nizamuddin Ahmad's totals on the other hand, though not so obviously exaggerated as Firishta's are clearly fanciful, specially in the number of even hundreds they display."

41 Two very vexing questions persist in my mind:—

(i) Did the Sultans make the system for the whole of the state?

(ii) What portion of the state income was spent on the works of public utility?

With the present material available I am not in a position to suggest anything, and leave it to scholars for enquiry.

CHAPTER X
A REVIEW OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE
POLICY OF THE SULTANS

The Sultanate of Dehli founded by Iltutmish endured a number of centuries, though one dynasty did not rule through these centuries, but the principles laid down by the first monarch continued in essence throughout the period. The boundaries of the Sultanate contracted and expanded, Sultans were deposed and new Sultans were instituted, but the basic principles,—protection of the country, maintenance of law and order, respect for the Islamic Law—continued to work. In this chain of Sultans the Ilbari Turks who were the first to sit on the throne of Dehli had to tackle a many-faced problem and as a result they had to follow a policy consisting of a mixture of strength and compromise. The next in the chain were the Khalji Turks who had nothing to recommend them to occupy the throne except their own ability to maintain internal peace in the country and protect it from the disturbance of the Mongol invasions. The third and last of the Turks in the chain were the Qarāunāhs or the Tughlaqs. By the time the Tughlaqs came to the throne, the Turks were thoroughly Indianised. The highbrow attitude of the Turks had vanished, the distinction between the converted Muslims and foreign Muslims had ceased to exercise any influence on the policy of the country.

Qutubuddin Aibak, the first independent governor of India,¹ could not easily forget his homeland, but his futile attempt to capture Ghazna and his subsequent disgrace there put an end to his desires of conquering the lands in the north-west of India. Being separated from

¹ He is considered as the founder of the Sultanate by some historians.

Ghazna his first care was to strengthen his position in the Indian territories. By nature and disposition Qutubuddin was a liberal and generous person, but he could not afford to allow his generosity to dominate over his administration. He was conscious that any laxity in the field of justice would only weaken his own position. Nor could his liberality and generosity dominate over his race consciousness and religious fanaticism. "He purged by his sword," says Hasan Nizami, "the land of Hind from the filth of infidelity and vice, and freed the whole of that country from the thorns of God-plurality and impurity of idol worship, and by his royal vigour and intrepidity left not one temple standing".² No doubt the writer in his enthusiasm of Islam has only exaggerated the actual things, but we can easily conclude that Qutubuddin was not tolerant towards non-believers. But such a toleration was also out of question when the Turks were just trying to settle in a hostile land. Qutubuddin was also trying to establish his prestige in the eyes of the 'Thakurs' of India. In contrast with his policy towards the Hindus, his policy towards the Muslims was more liberal. Such a policy was to a greater measure an outcome of the need of time. He knew he could not rouse the loyalty of his conquered subjects, and must depend upon his own followers and co-religionists. To win them, a liberal and indulgent policy was most necessary. Iltutmish, the real founder of the Sultanate of Dehli had before him as his first task the consolidation of the conquered territories and establishment of the authority of Dehli over territories in India under the Turkish generals. But in this his policy was not so much to bring the administration of the whole country directly in his own hands, as the acceptance of his suzerainty by all. Iltutmish was a man of religious leanings, and gave due respect to his religion. He accepted the Robe of Honour from the Khalifa and even subscribed to his name. He substi-

² Elliot, II, p. 217.

tuted Arabic character in his coins,³ and was ever ready to pay his respect to the Muslim saints. But with all this he had to take into account the reaction of the political forces in India, and had to consider to what extent his own tradition of Islamic law could be introduced. He had to feel his ground cautiously before progressing. A blind policy would have brought about a catastrophe. Prof. Khaliq Ahmad Nizami writes, "Not only the circumstances and historical traditions, but the very basis of the political organization which he had to manage rendered it difficult to resolve this contradiction between Muslim political theory and practice which had appeared after the fall of the Khilafat-i-Rashida."⁴

Even Ziauddin Barani had to admit that "sovereignty is never possible without practising non-Islamic customs."⁵ That Iltutmish granted a good deal of toleration to the Hindus is again borne out by the reply of Nizam-ul-Mulk Junaidi to the Ulemas who had approached Iltutmish with a petition for wholesale massacre⁶ of the Hindus.

The reply runs, "But at the moment India has newly been conquered and the Muslims are so few that they are like salt in a large dish. If the above orders (choice between Islam and death) were to be applied to the Hindus it is possible they might combine and a great confusion might ensue and the Muslims would be too few in number to suppress these confusions". May be that Iltutmish in extending a policy of toleration was influenced by the principle of 'Sulah-i-Kul' of Shaikh Muinuddin Chisty. But with all his toleration to the Hindus

3. Brown, *Coins of India*, p. 70.

4. Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, *Studies in Medieval Indian History*, p. 25.

5. *Ibid*, *Vide*, *Fatawa-i-Jahandari*.

6. This has again been brought to the notice of the readers by the same learned Professor.

it cannot be said to be an outcome of broad and liberal outlook on life.⁷

Itutmish was not free from iconoclastic zeal. He did destroy some temples and their images. Such an act, besides his own religious convictions and the traditions that he had inherited, was also necessary to satisfy the orthodox religious section which was wielding a considerable influence in politics. No doubt the contemporary historians found in such acts of fanaticism the glorification of Islam and have devoted a good deal of time and space in describing them, but the British historians and their disciples have laboured much more to find in such astray deeds evidence of oriental barbarism, ignoring, of course, the history of their own countries in those centuries.

Itutmish had to take into consideration the practical difficulties of administration and solved them by granting *iqtas* and *jagirs*. But the grant of *iqtas* and *jagirs* did not uproot the Hindu cultivators. He simply gave to the *iqtadars* right of realising the revenues from their *iqtas* and keep the amount as their remuneration instead of taking their remunerations from the central treasury. He also granted good deal of independence to the *Walīs* and *Muqtis*. In the matter of justice he strictly adhered to the principle of equity. The infant State under him was threatened from outside, but his polite refusal to Jalaluddin clearly indicates that he cared much for the welfare of his State and was not prepared to involve it in international conflagration. Fortunately for the Sultanate Itutmish did not succeed in establishing firmly the principles of hereditary kingship. The absence of such a law ensured the throne for a capable person only.

7 It is difficult to agree with Prof. Nizami on this point.

Such an outlook was then unknown anywhere in the world. The History of Europe will be found full of greater horrors and Christian religious fanaticism.

The latitude given to the Turkish generals by Iltutmish, made them powerful, and as soon as the controlling hand of Iltutmish was removed by his death, these nobles assumed the role of king makers. By their snobbery and high-handedness they not only disturbed the peace of the country but also antagonised the converted section of the Muslims. Fortunately for the Sultanate, Balban came to the forefront at this stage. Being a noble himself he had witnessed the bad effects of this supremacy of the nobility and as a Sultan therefore Balban's first care was to crush this disturbing element. His administrative policy is remarkable for the show of strength and authority. The authority of Sultan was established by all possible means. All the State departments were made to serve this end and he sedulously laboured to look into their efficiency. His principles of kingship have been well said as "Kingship knows no kinship", and his policy as one of "Blood and Iron". The result of his strong and vigorous policy was the destruction of *Chahalghani*. Balban also took particular care for proper administration of justice in the execution of which no favour or frown was shown. He also succeeded in his policy of establishing the dignity of crown and superiority of the position of Sultan. The centrifugal forces were working fast in the Sultanate and Balban adopted a very strong policy to check this tendency. He took most drastic measures in suppressing the rebellion of Tughril and even did not hesitate to throw a note of warning to his son Bughra Khan while appointing him governor in place of Tughril. With the same harshness, almost inhuman, he suppressed the Mewatis of Kampil Patiali and Bhojpur.

But this picture of his policy was not universal. He showed strength and severity where it was needed for the State, and compassion where that was demanded for the welfare of his innocent brethren. It was because of this compassion that he allowed the aged incumbents of the

iqbal or the widows of such holders to continue, even at a loss to the exchequer. Yet in actual administrative field he was not prepared to allow any weakness to creep in. To put a check on activities of the governors he separated financial works from their executive duties by entrusting the provincial finance to *Khwajah*. To put another brake on the ambitions of the governors, he re-organized the intelligence department and made it so much universal that his own sons were not spared from it.

No doubt Balban too was a religious man, but he did not allow his religion to interfere with politics. To be just in matters of government he even ignored religious laws.⁸ Balban did not take any particular measures against the Hindus and for such a measure there was no occasion. He had already refrained from territorial expansion and devoted all his time for the consolidation of the territories. He believed in a middle course in treatment with cultivators, who were mostly Hindus. In his advice to Bughra⁹ Khan he insisted on the danger of making excessive demands on the peasants, even when they were justified by precedent and on the need of firm but just administration. He pointed out that over-assessment would result in the impoverishment of the country, but under-assessment would render peasantry lazy and insubordinate, it was essential that they should have enough to live in comfort, but they should not have much more.¹⁰

Balban's experiments in centralization of power worked well so long he lived but Kaiquabad his successor and grandson was no match for such a centralised machinery. The young profligate Sultan buried himself in the pleasures associated with such a high position, without realising the thorns that were also attached with it.

8 Zia, p. 47.

9 Zia, p. 100.

10 Moreland, pp. 30-31.

Even the wise counsel of his father remained only skin-deep. Balban had destroyed the *Chahalgani* which was the prop of the Ilbari power in India. Whatever the results of this policy of Balban may have been for his house, but it certainly had a very healthy effect on the Sultanate. It liberated the Sultanate from the hold of nobility and cleared the path for 'Alauddin to establish a well-defined government for the good of the people.

That the Sultanate of Dehli could no more endure a weak monarch was once again affirmed by the success of 'Alauddin in replacing Jalauddin Firuz Khalji. The successful revolt of 'Alauddin further established that a monarch could allow powers and privileges to the governing class only at his own risk. 'Alauddin Khalji therefore adopted an all-comprehensive policy for his administration. He had realised that the success and stability of the government rested on the happiness of the masses and not on the happiness of a privileged few.

The Ilbari Turks had succeeded in establishing their hold on the principal towns and important centres but they had not interfered in the rural areas. They had contented themselves merely by taking agreement deeds or the *Khat* from the local Hindu intermediaries—called *Rais*, *Rawals*, *Chaudharis*, *Muqaddams* and *Khots* who were never landlords,—that the land revenue somewhat enhanced, over what the old government had been getting in the past, would be collected and paid by them into local treasuries. Thus on the face of it, the Indian countryside suffered little or no change owing to the Turkish conquest. The absence of paid agents of the revenue had resulted in the enhancement of power by these Hindu intermediaries, and more than often the government officers had to use force for the realisation of this revenue. Such acts of realisation had generally been misnomered by the contemporary historians

as expeditions. These Hindu intermediaries were gradually trying to convert their position from State agents into hereditary landowners, and in their attempts they were perpetrating all sorts of hardships on the rural masses living directly within their jurisdiction. In the process of their aggrandisement they not only withheld the land revenue, but they also plundered the trade routes, sacked the city suburbs and constantly fought with their neighbours. Such lawlessness could not be allowed by a strong monarch like 'Alāuddin. He therefore in his administrative policy made it a point not to allow such a state of affairs to continue. In forming his policy he had made it a point not to allow the Muslim nobles living in the cities and urban areas to meet with each other and discuss intimately their grievances, to enter into matrimonial alliances, and to accumulate great wealth, as he had realised that such practices were conducive to formation of conspiracies. To solve the lawlessness of the rural areas he made it a principle that "the burden of the strong was not to be thrown on the weak". Thus for the rural areas his agrarian laws were made applicable to all without any distinction. Land revenue was levied according to actual cultivation 'biswa by biswa'. Grazing tax was levied on the basis of cattle kept by the farmer, different rates having been made fixed for the smaller and larger heads of cattle. But 'Alāuddin could not afford to liquidate the headman. He only liquidated the privileges that they had acquired since the establishment of the Sultanate.¹¹ They were subjected to all the taxes which every common cultivator had to pay, *i.e.*, in matters of taxation they were brought at par with the rest. They remained headmen of the village in social life, but no more revenue collectors. 'Alāuddin also took special note of the *bahi* of the patwari, which was to be sent to Dehli where they were closely

11 Habib, *Introduction* (Elliot, Vol. II), p. 70.

examined and the money received by the local treasury branch was carefully compared with the amount paid by every cultivator. All differences were ruthlessly realised. 'Alāuddin had made it a point not to overlook crime, and he never hesitated to inflict punishments upon his government officers. The number of such officers at the close of his reign had risen to some thousands.

'Alāuddin was an imperialist and never bothered his head about religious sanctions. The sole object of his policy was service to the people.¹² 'Alāuddin was not a literate person. He had learned things not from books but from his personal experiences. According to Prof. Mohammad Habib, 'Alāuddin, the greatest ruler that the Mussalmans of India have produced, neither fasted nor prayed. He never went to the Friday congregation. He was hundred per cent Indian and had never been to foreign lands. He knew nothing about 'Shariat' and did not care to go to it for guidance. In fact he never interfered in matters of religion. He believed that he could only prove himself worthy of God's favour by serving His people. Under such a monarch the lot of the Hindus could not have been bad. Ziauddin's references to the miseries of the Hindus, which have been capitalised by a mass of historians only refer to these intermediaries and not to the masses, and if the masses were effected, it was only on the better side.

In the execution of his imperialistic policy 'Alāuddin followed a wise mean. He was conscious of his own limitations and wisely refrained from replacing the administrative machinery of the Deccan kingdoms with

12 Habib, *Introduction* (Elliot, Vol. II), p. 78. These points have been discussed at length by the learned scholar and I have in my humble way only tried to summarise them. The conclusions of Prof. Habib are the only rational explanations in the context of which the administrative measures of 'Alāuddin if read, can really be understood.

his own. He was contented with their annual tribute and recognition of his suzerainty.

Thus we find that 'Alauddin's administrative policy was based on saner principles than either those of his predecessors or his successors.

'Alauddin's death was followed by a period of confusion and the administrative machinery lost much of its efficiency. This confusion finally resulted in the elevation of Tughlaqs to the throne. Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq was a soldier of fame, and with his accession to the throne matters began to improve. Ghiyasuddin was elected to the throne by the military leaders, he therefore could not afford to displease them. His was really a difficult task, because he could afford neither to displease these military leaders nor to allow them to grow too powerful. Ghiyasuddin followed a comparatively milder policy towards them, and chose from them the governors of various provinces. He also instructed the revenue department to pay due respect to the position and dignity of the governors. But with all his leniency he was not prepared to tolerate insubordination. He followed the policy of Balban in this respect and ruthlessly crushed the revolts at the very sight of it. He was so harsh in crushing the revolts that cities trembled at the wrath of the Sultan. For better administration he caused a code of civil laws to be framed, based on the 'Koran' and past usages of the Dehli Sultans.

He did not follow a policy of persecution of the Hindus. They were allowed to live peacefully. Even when the administrative machinery of Deccan Kingdom was taken up, we do not find anywhere mention of massacre of Hindus or wholesale demolition of temples. Thus in a brief period of about five years that Ghiyasuddin ruled by his wise policy he restored peace in the country.

Ghiasuddin's successor Muhammad Tughlaq was a man of lofty ideas and profound learning. He had a deep regard for men of learning and even personally witnessed the performances of Hindu Yogis with reverence.¹³ But it was difficult for his contemporaries to comprehend the inner meanings and principles of his theories and actions. His whole life is a long struggle of constant labour for the realisation of ideals. He was extremely autocratic and did not believe in taking advice. Muhammad Tughlaq had extended the boundaries of his kingdom in practically the whole of India and for communication with various parts ordered the construction of roads, and establishment of a regular postal system. His creative faculty was so subtle and highly developed that he realised the need for a change in the laws of the government. New principles in statecraft were introduced and the old laws were changed as much as possible. In his administrative policy he too was not prepared to allow interference of religion, and even did not hesitate to execute a large number of Ulemas, Sayyads and *Masaikhs* when he found them guilty of abetment in the rebellion of Multan. In matters of justice he followed the policy of supremacy of law, and even subordinated himself to it. No punishment was given without regular discussion and pleading of the *Muftis*. In his policy towards the Hindus we do not find any departure from the policy of his father.

His successor, Firuz Shah was a man of milder disposition. In his administrative policy Firuz Shah allowed toleration to be the guiding principle. But in pursuance of the policy he went to credulous lengths. He was not very particular about toleration towards non-believers, on the contrary at times he went to the extremes of punishing Muslim sects as well which did not confirm to the 'Suni' creed. A man of such religious bias certainly could not

13 *Vide* Ibn Batuta (Gibb), p. 226.

have shown any toleration for Hindu faith. Though he had no regard for other religions, yet he tolerated the Hindu peasantry whom he considered as the backbone of the empire. His toleration is really to be discovered in his dealings with government officials. He started the policy of revenue assignment instead of cash payment. The jagirs were made hereditary. Government posts were also made hereditary. With such a policy the efficiency of administration was bound to suffer. The only redeeming feature of the administrative policy of Firuz Shah was his policy towards the cultivators. He gave them many reliefs and for the purpose of irrigation constructed a number of canals.

The bad effects of his administrative policy were visible towards the end of his own life. By allowing too much latitude to his officers he had allowed the reins of administration to slip out of the hands of the monarch. And he was the first victim of it when in his own lifetime his son practically threw him into the background amounting almost to his abdication.

After Firuz Shah, it is only a story of a long and painful death of the Turkish Sultanate. There was hardly anything left of administration. It was all chaos and confusion.

Taking the entire administrative policy of the Sultans we find that such Sultans who did not allow religion to dominate their policies succeeded. The moment the Sultan allowed himself to be dominated by the preaching *Ulemas* he dislocated the administrative machinery and only succeeded in bringing about the ruin of the empire.

APPENDIX A

A NOTE ON MEDIEVAL COURT

The following lines from Ibn Batuta throw valuable light on the procedure of the court held by Muhammad Tughlaq, and may be taken as a fair example for the courts of the Sultans.

“The third door opens into an immense audience hall called Hazar Ustun (Sutan) which means “A thousand pillars”. The people sit under this, and it is in this hall that the Sultan holds public audiences”.

“As a rule his audiences are held in the afternoon, though he often holds them early in the day. He sits cross-legged on a throne placed on a dais carpeted in white, with a large cushion behind him and two others as arm-rests on his right and left. When he takes his seat, the wazir stands in front of him, the secretaries behind the wazir, then the chamberlains and so on in order of precedence. As the Sultan sits down the chamberlains and *naqibs* say in their loudest voice ‘Bismillah’. At the Sultan’s head stands the *Qabula* with a fly whisk in his hand. A hundred armour-bearers stand on the right and a like number on the left, carrying shields, swords, and bows. The other functionaries and notables stand along the hall to right and left. Then they bring in sixty horses with the royal harness, half of which are ranged on the right and half on the left, where the Sultan can see them. Next fifty elephants are brought in,..... These elephants are trained to make obeisance to the Sultan and incline their heads..... They also are arranged half on the right and half on left behind the persons standing. As each person enters who has an appointed place of standing on the right or left, he makes obeisance on reaching the station of the chamberlains.

“If there should be anyone at the door who has come to offer the Sultan a gift, the chamberlains enter the sultan’s presence in order of precedence, make obeisance in three places, and inform the Sultan of the person at the door. If he commands them to bring him in, they place the gift in the hands of men who stand with it in front of the Sultan where he can see it. He then calls in the donor, who makes obeisance three times before reaching the Sultan and makes another obeisance at the station of the chamberlains. The Sultan then addresses him in person with the greatest courtesy and bids him welcome.”

APPENDIX B

A NOTE ON INDIAN ARCHITECTURE UNDER MUSLIM RULE

As a result of growing hostility at Mecca, Mohammed Sahib left the place on Thursday, the 15th of July 622 A.D. and took shelter in Yathrib or Madinat-un-nabi where he had a large following. The early hostility to his creed convinced him of the necessity of organising an army with a view not only to defend but also to propagate his religion far and wide. By the time of the Prophet's death, *i.e.*, within a short space of a decade the foundations of a full-fledged theocracy were deeply and finally laid. The aggressive attitude thus adopted in the nascent stage made the followers aggressive, and within a century the banner of Islam was spread over a region lying between Spain in the West and Sindh in the East. Khilafat, the seat of this theocracy, made wonderful advancement in learning and culture both at Damascus and at Baghdad. The Khalifas of Baghdad invited scholars from far and wide. Sanskrit as well as Greek books dealing with a wide range of subjects were translated into Arabic so as to make them accessible to the believers. This enriched the literature of the Muslim countries and apparently liberalised and broadened their outlook. However, the Arab civilization failed to produce any original art and they never showed any aptitude for fine arts. They have not left traces of any art worthy of note in any country. Some of the beautiful edifices erected in some of the countries occupied by them are mere productions of those countries or their neighbours, for example, the Muslim buildings of Spain and Syria may be mentioned.

Mahmud of Ghazni the inspirer of Islam in India.

The meteoric rise of the Khilafat under the Ommayyads and the Abbasides witnessed an equally rapid decline

which was caused by the political revolution within the Khilafat. The Khilafat was shattered in all but name. This decline of the Khilafat stimulated a revival of ancient Persian culture which had for some time been buried under the debris of Arab conquest. The Persian renaissance under Islam proved irresistible even to the orthodox Arab, and Islam in Persia had to yield to a considerable modification of its substance no less than form. While the culture of Persia progressed, its Imperial power soon began to decline. The Persian rulers had resorted to the help of Turks for the safety of their persons as well as their frontiers. This policy proved disastrous for the Persians. It provided the Turks with experience and encouragement and revived their imperialistic ambition. New flood started from the green pasture lands of Mawara-ul-Nahar and swept across the whole of western Asia and central Europe. At the head of one of these floods stood Subuktgin whose great son Mahmud was the first Muslim potentate to assume the title of Sultan. Mahmud inherited all the traditions of Persian culture and imperialism, and proved himself thoroughly worthy of the great legacy. On the one hand, he carried out with unprecedented success and glory the imperialistic policy of Persia by his extensive conquests, on the other hand, he fully vindicated his cultural indebtedness by becoming the founder of a magnificent city and a court which was not only the centre of the greatest and the most powerful empire in Asia but also equally unrivalled as a metropolis of the noblest learning, art and culture which the age could provide. Mahmud brought the banner of Islam into India (Arab conquest being fruitless), but he was no mere conqueror. He demolished the temples of Mathura but could not think of destroying the art of Mathura. On the contrary, he wanted to revive the art at Ghazni, his capital, and for that purpose he carried away thousands of Indian builders along with fragments of the demolished temples. It was at Ghazni that under

the patronage of Mahmud, the three streams of culture, Indian, Persian and Turkish met and mingled. The Indian builders of Mathura beautified the city of Ghazni and thus spread their building traditions outside India under the impulse of a new religion. The Indo-Islamic art was born and was destined to return to its native land to develop, thrive and prosper. But as the destiny would have it, Mahmud's architectural monuments otherwise infinitely more lasting than his invertebrate and loose-knit empire proved to be equally ephemeral. Even before the empire came to an end the glory of Ghazni had vanished. The Ghorian prince, Alauddin Hussain Jahansoz, satisfied his thirst for vengeance by levelling with dust the richest legacies which Mahmud had left in the shape of splendid edifices of Ghazni. The edifices were destroyed but the skill imparted at Ghazni remained within the hearts of the workers as secret treasures over which Jahansoz had no powers.

With the fall of Prithviraj in 1192 A. D. at the battle of Tarain, Dehli passed into the hands of the Muhamadans. The Muhammadan rule lasted for more than five centuries and these centuries witnessed not only Indianisation of Islam, but also in the field of art and architecture a rare achievement, resulting in the erection of some of the edifices which stand to this day as the noblest expressions of human mind and soul.

The Styles of Architecture under Muslim Rule in India

India under the Muslim rule witnessed the birth and development of nearly a dozen of different and distinct styles of architecture. Each style bears an impress of its immediate environment displaying the tastes and whims of its authors and stands as a proof of the wonderful adaptability of the Indian builders. These styles have in common certain fundamental features both of design as well as construction but all of them possess distinct

peculiarities and an individuality of their own so as to be classified as a style by themselves.

The great erudite scholar Ferguson made the classification and brought it to the notice through his scholarly work "History of Indian and Eastern Architecture". "The Saracenic architecture", writes Ferguson, "showed in India the same pliancy in adopting the styles of the various people among whom they had settled which characterised their practice. It thus happens that in India we have at least twelve or fifteen different styles of Mohmadan architecture".

The following are the various styles as placed by Ferguson :—(i) Ghazni, (ii) The Central Style of Dehli and Ajmer, (iii) Jaunpore, (iv) Gujrat, (v) Malwa, (vi) Bengal, (vii) Gulbarga and Bidar, (viii) Bijapur, (ix) Golkunda, (x) Mughal buildings of Dehli and Agra, (xi) Sind. Besides these Ferguson calls the styles Awadh and Mysore as bastard styles and he does not consider Aurangabad and Ahmadnagar as separate or individual styles. This classification of Ferguson while affording a wonderful basis for the study of architecture under the Muslim rule, needs some modification. The Central Style of Dehli and Ajmer and the Mughal buildings of Dehli and Agra should form one group. Ferguson based these different styles mainly on the ruling dynasties. This basis of classification has been rejected by some modern scholars who have justly pointed out that the peculiarities found in different styles are due not to the different dynasties but partly to local, ethnological, geographical and climatic environments, partly to the temperament, religious ideals and social needs of the builders and partly to the materials they had to build with. Hence they prefer to distinguish them on the basis of territories or provinces rather than dynasties. Besides, art is always a product of the soil and an expression of the inner urge of a man. It is like the unfolding of a bud into

a flower. To label art as Hindu or Muslim is a grave mistake, a distortion, yet this very mistake was committed by western scholars and their views have been sedulously copied by a generation of Indian scholars. Such designations as Hindu and Muslim are entirely misleading and unscientific to use. Architecture, which is only a branch of art, in its essentials is a product of the soil, its character and form being determined by the physical and intellectual environment of the people of the land. Thus throughout the Muslim rule all the buildings are essentially Indian. Of course there had been influence from outside now and then but never a single building was erected as a mere duplication or copy of any existing specimen outside India. In the construction of all the buildings, the contribution of Indian builders, designers and craftsmen had been a very substantial one. The difference of Muslim mosques having minarets and Hindu temples not having them is only a superficial one and an outcome of different needs. The mosques in India are as much Indian as the temples of India are.

The Basic Elements in the various Styles

“In art,” says Tagore, “man reveals himself and not object,” and nowhere can this be applied more accurately than to the Indian architecture. A single glance at the ruins of the gigantic and grim Tughlaqabad, for instance, is enough to reveal the personality of the man who erected it. No doubt he was beset with a number of problems which he simply solved by correctly using the material available and stamping the whole with his personality. All the Muslim styles in India have grown almost entirely out of the elements of the earlier Hindu architecture. The Hindu architecture itself was the result of a long and regular process of voluntary evolution revealing the genius and noblest ideals of the creators. It never was a product of indiscriminate imitation of any model. The genius of the builders of Muslim period was displayed

not in creation of independent styles but in skilfully modifying, altering and reassimilating the arrangements and constructions so perfectly as to suit their own ideals and needs. Indeed it is a remarkable achievement and more so because in its achievement neither the harmony of design, artistic grace nor durability has been sacrificed in the least for the sake of mere utility; rather these virtues have been combined with a skill and imagination altogether unsurpassed in the history of architecture. But the task before them was not an easy one, because of the apparent contrast that existed between the religious practices of the Hindus and the Muslims, because of the contrast in the arrangement of the temples and mosques. This contrast has been very vividly painted by Sir John Marshall who writes, "The shrine of the former was relatively small and constricted, the prayer chamber of the latter was broad and spacious. The one was gloomy and mysterious, the other light and open to the winds of Heaven". But along with the contrast there was some common ground as well. The most vital common ground was the innate decorative sense. The Turks who came to India and settled down had already developed a sense for decorative art and as such they highly appreciated the artistic decoratives of the temples. In the Indian mason they discovered rare skill and talent of workmanship in stone carving, a skill that they could readily utilise for the construction of their buildings. In ancient Hindu order of the society the builders and the masons were given a high status. But with the deterioration of the caste system accentuated by the class interest these workmen were deprived of their honourable status. They fell at the bottom of the society. Thus when Islam offered them either conversion or death they easily accepted Islam. These new converts with deep rooted skill and background of the Indian traditions formed the bulk of the builders of India under Islam. But as Islam forbade portrayal of any living thing they

resorted to other means for decoration, *i.e.*, they simply tried to change some of the motifs which obviously violated their conscience. Nonetheless the sense for decoration continued and found expression in carving geometrical arabesques, lettering and weaving of floral designs. It is just like the same Indian artist living through the ages. The spirit of the worker, purely Indian, dominated his whole being and whether he lived in the Northern plains or in the rugged Deccan, whether he lived under a Hindu ruler or under a Muslim ruler, he could not help but be influenced with a keen desire to produce some piece of art, ornamental, majestic and with an Indian personality. It is this artist who, more than any one else, lent the greatest amount of aid in bringing about a rapprochement between the two hostile communities.

The arch and the dome, the pendentive and the squinch arch, half domed double portal, flowing arabesque interwoven with graceful lettering and the use of colour by means of coloured stones encaustic tiling or enamelling roughly constitute the basic elements of the various styles in India. But each style has its own merits even in the use of these elements, and as such they deserve separate discussion.

The Contribution of Indian Art

Now the question as to how far this Indian architecture under Islam is derived from India and how far from outside has been a matter of dispute among scholars. Many scholars approaching the question from European standpoint being impressed with the striking contrast between some of the most remarkable mosques and tombs chiefly of the Sunni school have misunderstood its real derivative character and consequently they consider it as merely a local variety of Islamic art. The others have seen in it nothing but a modified form of Hindu art. In order to arrive at the nearest approach to truth in regard

to this question, and to clarify the issues, we must consider the nature of a few essential constituents of Muslim buildings, *viz.* the so-called Indo-Saracenic arch, the dome, the minaret and the spacious halls. Secondly how far the accessories, *viz.* the ornamentation, decorative motifs, etc. were derived from Hindu art and how far from Islamic sources. A study of these would at once concede that Indian architecture under Islam derived its character in a certain sense from both the sources. The influence of Persia and Islam both in ornamentation as well as in modifying the arrangements, use, and to a certain extent the appearance, of the buildings can be easily traced to an appreciable degree. But its central elements as also many decorative motifs and devices were derived from Hindu art. Basically the architecture of India under Islam remained Indian in its spirit and the opinion of Havell that Indian mosques and tombs are Indian and nothing else is a simple truth. The real contribution of Islam to Indian art is not in originality or in introduction of new elements as constituents of art but in the manner of their utilization of the existing material. The architecture of India under Muslim rule is a logical and natural descendant of its previous periods, a descendant in which imagination, sense of proportion and harmony are so nicely blended as to give it an unique merit and place in the history of architecture not of India alone but of the world. All the styles of architecture that developed in India during the Muslim rule leave an unmistakable impress of the personality and history of their authors. It is this quality of the Indian architecture that led James Burges to remark that "if anywhere the history of a country is imprinted in its architecture it is in India, that it throws the most continuous, distinct and varied light on that history. It is for these admirable virtues of selection, assimilation and synthesis that Muslim art deserves the highest credit". Thus the history of the growth of architecture of our country brings in clear relief that

pulsating spirit which was the soul of the Indian culture which lived and thrived during the centuries; and if ever a check to its growth came, it came not from the Asiatics but from the Europeans a fact which even Ferguson was compelled to confess that the style of Mysore "being far removed from the influence of European vulgarity is not so degraded as that of Lucknow".

THE IBAHATIYAHs

Dr. I. H. Qureshi (*The Administration of the Sultanate of Delhi*, p. 257) has concluded that "the *Ibahā-tiyāhs* were a *Tantric* sect; *Tantrism* was a common feature of the later day Mahayan Buddhism in its debased form. The Muslim chronicler, therefore, considered the *Vama-charis* to be Buddhists, hence Barani uses the term *Bodhgan* (or Buddhist) for this sect. *Ibahatiyāhs* has been used as a synonym to convey some idea of the customs of this sect to Muslim readers."

Prof. Hodiwala (*Studies in Indo-Muslim History*, p. 282) maintains that the *Ibahatiyas* were Ismailis. While discussing the particular passage of Ziauddin Barani (در شهر بودھگان و ابراحتیان بدید آمدند) the learned Professor explains that *Bodhgan* is a misprint of *Borhgan*, a plural of *Borah*. The explanation of the Professor cannot be discarded outright because the letters, *s* and *y*, can very easily be misread and a slight stroke of pen can easily do the mischief. The *Borahs* are a sect of the Ismailis and the *Ibahatiyāhs* also imply to some sect of the Ismailis which has gone out of use in the course of time and has become obscure to us.

Amir Khusru (*Khazain-ul-Futuh*, Tr. Habib, p. 127) has also mentioned this sect and has described a certain custom of the sect. "It was discovered that among these shameless wretches, mothers has cohabited with their own sons and aunts (mother's sisters) with their nephews; that the father had taken his daughter for his bride and there had been connection between brothers and sisters."

Prof. Habib has explained in a footnote that “by the ‘fraternity of incest’ is meant the Carmathians, Ismailis and other Shia heretics of the sect of seven imams, whom the ‘orthodox’ sunnis accused of permitting marriages within prohibited degrees and of practising incest in their secret assemblies. The charge, whether right or wrong, was generally believed.”

In *Futuhāt-i-Firuzshahi* (pp. 6, 7) we find the sect charged with similar allegation. “There was a sect of the *mulhdian* and *abahtiyān* who collected and laboured to seduce people to accept heresay and schism (*alḥād and abḥāat*). They met at night at an appointed place (and time) where relations and non-relations مؤمنين and غير مؤمنين all assembled. Wine and other intoxicating drinks (طعام) were served and they said this was their religious worship. An image was erected and the people assembled were asked to prostrate before it, they brought their wives, mothers and sisters on that night. The men threw themselves on the ground as if in worship and each man had intercourse with the woman whose garment he caught.”

The *Vam-Margis* or *Choli Margis* of the *Tantriks* were accused of a similar practice which is called *Bhairavi-chakra*; and hence Dr. Qureshi contends that the *Ibāhatiyāhs* were a Tantrik sect. As already mentioned the Ismaili Sects were also charged with a similar accusation and what led Dr. Qureshi to have a preference for Tantrism is best known to him.

The particular passage of *Futuhāt-i-Firuzshahi* is in continuation with the steps and measures taken by Firuz Shah to check evil practices of the class which had deviated from Islam. The reference of the Hindus comes much later. Besides Firuz Shah may be accused of harshness towards the Hindus, but certainly he can-

not be accused of making attempts at reforming the Hindu Sects. The Sultan was full of zeal for Islam and was making efforts to remove all evil practices that had come into it. *Ibāhatiyahs* were, therefore, some sect of the Muslims who had deviated from the right path, but in no case they are to be identified with any Tantrik or Buddhist sect.

APPENDIX D

ASSESSMENT OF LAND REVENUE

Ziauddin Barani (Bib. Ind. Text, pp. 287, 299) while describing the revenue reforms of *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi* Khalji writes : وفاء بسوا و مساحت of this sentence the words مساحت and وفاء have been explained by Mr. Moreland quite at length. The word مساحت means to measure and Mr. Moreland explains it as the system of measurement, مساحت being a technical term and a synonym for *jarib* or *paimaish* which were later on used in the time of the Mughals. "The word *Masāhat*," writes Mr. Moreland, "gives place to *jarib* or *paimaish* in the official records of the Moghul period but it seems to have survived in local use for as late as 1832 the native measuring staff was known as the 'masahut establishment.' *Hāsil* can be read quite naturally as denoting the process of sharing the produce, and, so far as I can see, it can carry no other suggestion." (Moreland, p. 226).

The word وفاء has been explained by Mr. Moreland as a technical agrarian term meaning yield of crop. Therefore وفاء بسوا would mean yield per biswa. Mr. Moreland has supported his conclusion with further evidence of *Tarikh-i-Mubarakshahi* (Bib. Ind. Text, p. 102) where in Yahia, in connection with the revenue settlement of Muhammad Tughlaq in Doab says : و دستها می پیمودند : و وفاءها فرمانی می گرفتند و نرخ فرمانی می بستند In this sentence the word (وفاء) has been used in the same sense *i.e.* yield. "It is permissible," writes, Moreland, "to infer that Barni also was familiar with this technical use of the word." (Moreland, p. 226).

Taking the conclusion of Mr. Moreland we find that during the reign of 'Alauddin Khalji *مساحت* *i.e.* the system of assessment by measurement was adopted and *بسیوی* *i.e.* the yield per biswa was taken as the standard of measurement. The mention of *hasil* which has been taken for sharing the produce indicates that the other system prevailing (in such place where *masahat* could not be enforced) was sharing which is commonly known as *batai*.

Describing the revenue administration of Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq, Ziauddin Barani writes : (Text, p. +29)

خواجه بلاد ممالک برپایه معدلات بود حکم حاصل تعیین فرمود و مساحتات
و قسمتات بود و مابود را از رعایای بلاد و ممالک برداشت -

The phrase *حکم حاصل* has already been explained as the 'rule of produce, 'hasil' denoting the process of sharing the produce. The phrases *بود* و *نابود* meaning existence and non-existence along with *قسمتات* informs us classification of areas of crop failure.

Thus we find that Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq issued orders that revenue was to be collected on the basis of actual produce based on the system of *حاصل* *i.e.* sharing, and that he discouraged the system of measurement which required provision of crop-failure.

The system of sharing *حاصل* had continued from earlier times and Ghiyasuddin showed a preference for it as against the system of measurement *مساحت* of 'Alauddin Khalji which was considered as an innovation.

Regarding the reign of Muhammad Tughlaq we are informed by Yahya (*Tarikh-i-Mubarakshahi*) that the Sultan wanted to reintroduce the system of 'Alauddin Khalji but he could not achieve much success. Unfortunately Ziauddin Barani hardly throws any light on this particular aspect of his reign.

Turning to the reign of Firuz Shah Tughlaq we find Ziauddin Barani referring to the revenue reforms of the Sultan as :

خراج و جزیه بر حکم حاصل حکم شد کہ بستانند و قسمتات و زیادت
طلبیها و ناپودها و معتدہا تصوری بکلی از میان رعایا برداشتند - (Text,
p. 574)

Regarding the same period Shams Siraj Afif writes :

محصول بلاد ممالک، از سر بسته - و برای بستن آن محصول بندگندی
خواجہ حسام الدین جنید غایبہ الرحمۃ والغفران از پیش تعیین شدہ -
مدت شش سال بند گندی خواجہ خوش خصال در بلاد ممالک گشتہ -
بر حکم مشاهده محصول بستہ - شش کرور و ہفتاد و پنج اک تکہ جمع
مملکت بر نظام سلطنت قرار داد - در مدت چہل سال در عہد فیروز شاہ
خوش خصال جمع دہلی ہمین بود - (Text, p. 94)

From the description of Barani we find that Firuz Shah based his revenue demand according to the rule of produce and that he discarded the apportionment, and increase of demand and crop failure and heavy demand based on surmise.

In the passage of Afif we find that *محصول* has been used instead of *خراج* but the word *محصول* of 'Afif stands for land revenue. For Zia Barani's *حکم حاصل* Afif uses *مشاہد*. Mr. Moreland has analysed *مشاہد* as inspection of the field or crop. The difference between *حکم حاصل* and *مشاہد* as pointed out by the learned scholar is that *حاصل* implies actual sharing of the crop or '*ghalla bakhshi*', while *مشاہد* implies sharing by estimation which was commonly called '*kankut*' in the Mughal times.

Thus we find that while Zia Barani tells that sharing prevailed in the time of Firuz Shah, Afif tells us that it was not actual sharing of the produce but sharing by estimation was promulgated by the Sultan which prevailed throughout his reign.

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I N D E X

- Abbasides, 2, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 35, 67, 179.
 Abbaside Caliphs, 25, 51, 52.
 Abdar Khana, 65.
 Abdul Qadir Badauni, 23, 141.
 Abubakr Kabir, 131.
 Abu Hanifa, 90, 134.
 Abul Abbas, (Saffah), 28.
 Abul Abbas Ahmad (Shahab-uddin), 22.
 Abul Hakk, 163.
 Abul Malik, 21.
 Abu Yosuf, 89.
 Adhai din ka jhopra, 154, 155.
 Afif (Shams Siraj), 22, 56, 64, 65, 82, 107, 108, 118, 128, 129, 159, 193.
 Aghachi, 63.
 Aghnides, 88.
 Agra, 182.
 Ahmad Ayaz, 35.
 Ahmadnagar, 182.
 Ahsab-i-Diwan-i-Bandagan, 64.
 Ahtasabi, 109.
 Ajam, 25.
 Ajmer, 154, 182.
 Akbar, 14, 16.
 Alagh Khani, 159.
 Alai Darwaza, 155.
 Alai Madrasa, 161.
 Alamas Beg, 124.
 Alauddin Husain Jahansoz, 181.
 Alauddin Khilji (Sultan), 10, 11, 18, 20, 34, 36, 39, 40, 41, 43, 44, 46, 47, 55, 56, 59, 62, 72, 75, 76, 80, 83, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 103, 104, 107, 113, 118, 119, 121, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 129, 130, 132, 139, 140, 141, 143, 146, 149, 156, 157, 161, 171, 172, 173, 174, 191, 192.
 Alauddin Khwarizin Shah, 5.
 Alauddin Masud Shah, 161.
 Alids, 27.
 Ali Ghuri, 123.
 Al Mawardi, 67, 87.
 Alpkan, 73.
 Amal Khana (or Alam Khana), 65.
 Amil, 60, 67, 81, 93, 99, 104, 148, 149.
 Amin, 89.
 Amir Akhur, 123, 124.
 Amir Hajib, 62.
 Amir-i-Tarab, 108.
 Amir-i-Tuzuk, 63.
 Amir Khan, 122.
 Amir Khusru, 20, 121, 188.
 Amir-Kohi, 58.
 Amir-ul-Mulk Ashraf-i-Mumalik, 56.
 Amir-ul Muminin, 36.
 Amir-ul Umra, 29.
 Amroha, 76.
 Andhawali, 159.
 Andkhud, 5.
 Arabesque, 185.
 Arch, 185.
 Ariz-i-Mumalik, 35, 41, 58, 59, 118, 119, 120, 121, 123.
 Arradah, 132, 133.
 Ashiqa, 20.
 Atrdar, 64.
 Aurangabad, 182.
 Aurangzeb, 14.
 Awadh, 76, 146, 182.
 Babur, 37.

- Badaun, 76, 138, 139, 146 (Id-gah of), 155.
 Baghdad, 179.
Bahi (of the Patwari), 99, 113, 172.
 Bahminis, 45.
 Bahraich, 76.
Bait, 49.
 Baitul Mal, 30, 68, 106.
Balalat-i-Bazaraha, 108.
 Balban (Sultan Ghiyasuddin), 8, 9, 10, 19, 20, 34, 39, 41, 44, 46, 47, 48, 52, 54, 55, 66, 72, 75, 84, 91, 92, 95, 96, 117, 119, 124, 125, 132, 138, 139, 149, 156, 169, 170, 171, 174.
 Balban (Ulugh Khan), 19, 35, 161.
 Ballal Deo, 76.
 Bandagan-i-Award, 64.
 Bandagan-i-Mahili, 64.
 Barid, 66, 84, 85, 139.
 Barid-i-Mumalik, 35, 66.
 Bayana, 77.
 Bhairavi Chakra, 189.
 Bhojpur, 130, 169.
 Bibi Naila, 22.
 Bidar, 182.
 Bijapur, 182.
Biswah, 96.
 Borah, 188.
 Borahgan, 188.
 Brihaspati, 50.
 Bughra Khan (Nasiruddin), 34, 47, 51, 52, 72, 75, 84, 117, 169, 170.
 Bundellas, 14.
 Byzantine, 67.
 Caliph Muaviyah, 25.
 Caliph Mutawakil, 30.
 Caliph Saffah, 29.
 Caliph Umar, 25.
 Carmethians, 189.
Chahalghani, 7, 8, 9, 10, 169, 171.
 Chandellas, 13.
 Chanderi, 118.
 Charai, 109.
 Chashnigir, 63.
 Chatar-dar, 64.
 Chaudhari, 78, 80, 93, 94, 99, 171.
 Chauhans, 71, 81.
Chhattah, 109.
 Chingiz Khan, 2, 6, 8, 12, 116.
 Chitor, 77, 120.
 Cholimargis, 189.
Chungi ghallah, 108.
 Dabir-i-Sara, 63.
 Dabir-ul-Mumalik, 60.
 Dadbak, 62, 146.
 Dad Beghi, 109.
 Damascus, 179.
Dangana, 107.
 Darus Shifa, 160.
 Daulatabad, 158.
 Deogir, 75, 76, 119, 122, 158.
 Dharaohar, 76.
 Dhimm, 89, 106.
 Dipalpur, 77.
 Diwan-i-Ariz, 35, 55, 58.
 Diwan-i-Barid, 30.
 Diwan-i-Insha, 60.
 Diwan-i-Istihqaq, 35.
 Diwan-i-Kohi, 104.
 Diwan-i-Risalat, 59.
 Diwan-i-Riyasat, 59.
 Diwan-i-Siasat, 35.
 Diwan-i-Subah, 85, 147, 148, 149.
 Diwan-i-Wazarat, 35, 56, 57, 66, 99.
 Diwan-ul Dhiyyah, 30.
 Diwan-ul-Jundwal Shaqiriyyah, 30.

- Ghilwan-ul-Khairat, 35.
 Ghilwan-ul-Kharaj, 29, 30.
 Ghilwan-ul Mawali wa Ghilwan, 30.
 Ghilwan-ul-Tawai, 30.
 Ghilwan-ul Zamiah, 30.
 Ghilwan-ul Ziman wa Mifaqat, 30.
 Ghoraspah, 126.
 Ghoraspah, 185, 186.
 Ghoraspasaka, 81.
 Ghoraspasamudra, 75.
 Ghori-i-Khusravi, 20.
 Fakhruddin Juna, 122, 124.
 Fakhrul Mu'k Isami, 54.
 Farash Khana, 65.
 Fathabad, 159.
 Fath Khan, 162.
 Fathkhan Majia, 159.
 Fatuhah-i-Firuzshah, 23, 47, 110, 157, 160, 189.
 Fatwa-i-Jahandari, 21.
 Faujdar, 80, 81, 82, 84, 85, 148, 149.
 Feudalism, 114.
 Fief, 112.
 Fiq-i-Firuzshahi, 23.
 Firozabad, 159.
 Firuzi Madrasa, 162.
 Firuz Shah Tughlaq (Sultan), 11, 12, 20, 22, 23, 35, 39, 45, 49, 56, 59, 60, 63, 64, 73, 79, 81, 82, 83, 86, 105, 106, 107, 108, 110, 118, 120, 127, 128, 129, 142, 143, 150, 156, 158, 159, 160, 162, 163, 164, 175, 176, 189, 193.
 Futuh-us-Salatin, 19.
 Gakkar, 14.
 Gargaj, 133.
 Gawain, 159.
 Ghagra, 76.
 Ghair Ratibi, 64.
 Ghair Ratibi Karkhana, 65.
 Ghalla bakshi, 193.
 Ghazi Malik, 11.
 Ghazni, 5, 165, 180, 181, 182.
 Ghazz Turkoman, 2.
 Ghiyasuddin Muhammed bin Sam, 5.
 Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq (Sultan), 11, 20, 22, 39, 41, 42, 75, 83, 100, 101, 102, 127, 141, 156, 157, 174, 192.
 Ghor, 71.
 Ghorians, 5, 19, 32, 181.
 Ghorian Dynasty, 3.
 Ghorian Turks, 2.
 Golkunda, 182.
 Gorakhpur, 76.
 Gujrat, 77, 182.
 Gullbargha, 182.
 Gul Faroshi, 108.
 Gulshan-i-Ibrahimi, 23.
 Gumashia, 81.
 Guptas, 67.
 Gupta Empires, 5.
 Gwalior, 77, 146, 160.
 Hadis, 134.
 Haibat Khan, 139.
 Hanifi, 86.
 Hanafites, 36, 87, 88.
 Hansi, 77, 82.
 Haq-i-Shirb, 106.
 Harsha, 112.
 Harun-al-Rashid, 37.
 Harvi Khira, 159.
 Hashimiyah, 28.
 Hasil, 101, 191, 192.
 Hassan Nizami, 18, 78, 138, 166.
 Hauz-i-Alai, 160.
 Hauz-i-khas, 162.
 Hauz-i-Shamshi, 156, 157, 160.
 Hauz-i-Sar, 156.
 Hazar Satun, 177.
 Hissar Firoza, 158.
 Hulagu, 43.
 Huzrat, 154.
 Ibahatiyahs, 188, 189, 190.

- Ibn Batutah, 21, 80, 81, 131, 177.
 Ijma, 134, 135.
 Ikhtiyar-uddin Itigin, 35.
 Ilbari Turks, 2, 3, 4, 38, 72, 165, 171.
 Ilkhans, 43.
 Iluttmish (Sultan Shamsuddin), 7, 8, 12, 18, 19, 38, 39, 40, 42, 54, 71, 91, 124, 125, 131, 138, 154, 155, 156, 161, 165, 166, 168, 169.
 (Madrasah of), 160.
 Imad-uddin Rihan, 19, 40.
 Imad-ul-Mulk, 55.
 Imad-ul-Mulk Sarir Sultani, 76.
 Imam, 70, 87.
 Imarat-i-Amah, 74.
 Imarat-i-khassah, 74.
 Inam, 97.
 Indrapat, 159.
 Iqta, 17, 82, 84, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 99, 100, 104, 112, 113, 114, 121, 168.
 Iqtadar, 100, 113, 116, 121.
 Iqtadari, 99, 121.
 Isami, 19.
 Ismaili, 5, 188, 189.
 Itradar, 64.
 Izzuddin Balban-i-Kishlu Khan, 38.
 Jafar bin Yahiya, 37.
 Jagirs, 112, 168.
 Jahanpanah, 158.
 Jahir Sundhar, 163.
 Jalaluddin (Firuzkhalji, Sultan), 10, 20, 39, 41, 43, 55, 96, 139, 171.
 Jalaluddin Mankbarni, 6, 15.
 Jalaluddin Rumi, 162.
 Jalandhar, 161.
 Jamat Khana Masjid, 155.
 Jamdar, 64.
 Jamdar Khana, 65.
 Jandar, 62, 64.
 Janjuhas, 14.
 Jarib, 90, 91.
 Jaunpore, 182.
 Jaza, 88.
 Jazari, 107, 108.
 Jiziyah, 86, 88, 89, 106.
 Jiziyah Tanbul, 108.
 Junaidi (Nizam-ul-Mulk, Muhammad), 54.
 Kaiqubad, 9, 10, 41, 52, 170.
 Kampil, 130, 169.
 Kanauj, 76.
 Kankut, 193.
 Kara, 76, 146.
 Karahi, 109.
 Karkhanas, 64.
 Karkuns, 80, 93, 99, 101.
 Katyayana, 50.
 Kautilya, 56.
 Khalid ibn Barmark, 29.
 Khalifa, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 166.
 Khaljis, 3, 10, 21, 43, 96, 100, 104.
 Khalsa (land), 93, 95, 96, 98.
 Khanjahan Makbul, 56.
 Khankah, 159, 162.
 Khan-i-khanan, 43.
 Kharaj, 86, 88, 89, 90, 106, 112.
 Kharijites, 36.
 Khasahdar, 63.
 Khatt-i-Azadi, 6.
 Khazain-ul Futuh, 20, 188.
 Khazin, 57.
 Khetawara, 159.
 Khidmati, 95.
 Khitta, 93.
 Khizir Khan, 4, 131.
 Khojandi, 22.
 Khokars, 14.
 Khorasan, 5.
 Khots, 80, 99, 100, 171.

- Khums, 86, 88, 106.
 Khums Ghanaim, 90, 106, 132.
 Khusru Khan, 55.
 Khusru Parwari, 11, 40, 124.
 Khusru Shah (Nasiruddin), 11.
 Khwaja, 80, 92, 170.
 Khwaja Abul Hassan Khan, 65.
 Khwaja Hasan Basari, 55.
 Khwaja Jahan, 56.
 Khwaja Khatir, 55.
 Khwaja Muhazzabuddin, 54.
 Khwaja Rashiduddin, 113.
 Khwarizm, 2.
 Khwarizm (Sultan Shah), 124.
 Kibleh, 153.
 Kiramitah, 161.
 Kitabdar, 63.
 Kitabi, 108.
 Kitabul Rihala, 21, 22.
 Koil, 76, 78.
 Kotwali, 109.
 Kushans, 67.
 (Empire), 5.
 Kutlugh Khan, 76, 123.
 Laddar Deo (See Rudra Deo), 72.
 Lahore, 77.
 Lahrawat, 159.
 Lakhnauti, 159.
 Lewan, 153.
 Lodis, 4.
 Lucknow, 187.
 Mabar, 75.
 Madinat-un-Nabi, 179.
 Maghrib, 133.
 Mahalpur, 159.
 Mahayan (Buddhism), 188.
 Mahi Faroshi, 108.
 Mahmud (of Ghazni, Sultan), 1, 2, 4, 6, 12, 37, 52, 180, 181.
 Mahoba, 77.
 Majlis-i-Am, 33.
 Majlis-i-Khalwat, 33.
 Majmuadar, 57, 64.
 Makhlis-ul-Mulk, 76.
 Malik Barbak Baktars, 118, 138, 149.
 Malik Ghazi Shahna, 163.
 Malikites, 36.
 Malik Jamaluddin Yakut, 124.
 Malik Kabir, 35.
 Malik Kafur, 35, 39, 40, 41, 55, 72, 118, 119, 121, 122.
 Malik Qutubuddin Hussain, 123.
 Malik Saifuddin Ibak-i-Bihak, 123.
 Malik Shah, 131.
 Malik-ul-Hukma, 63.
 Malik-ul-Umra Fakhruddin, 92, 125.
 Malik-ul-Umra Hishamuddin, Ulbak, 78.
 Malwa, 182.
 Mandavi Barg, 108.
 Mangu Khan, 130.
 Manjanik, 132, 133.
 Mansur, 27, 28.
 Manu, 50.
 Masadarat, 109.
 Masalik-ul-Absar, 22, 116, 118, 120, 128.
 Mashahat, 191.
 Mashaldar, 63.
 Mathura, 180, 181.
 Maukharis, 67.
 Mawara-ul-Nahar, 180.
 Mecca, 68, 69, 179.
 Meerut, 76.
 Miffah-ul-Futuh, 20.
 Mihrab, 153, 154.
 Millat, 24.
 Mimamsa, 110.
 Mimeter, 153.
 Minhajus Siraj, 19, 20, 43, 130, 131, 146, 160, 161.
 Mir Dad, 131.

- Mir Imarat, 35, 163.
 Mir Majlis, 62.
 Mongol, 9, 95, 115, 117, 118, 119, 121, 165.
 Mubarak Shah Khalji (Sultan), 44, 73, 99.
 Mufrid, 131.
 Muftis, 137, 140, 141, 142, 143, 145, 148, 175.
 Muhammad (Martyr Prince), 34.
 Muhammad (Prophet), 24, 134, 179.
 Muhammad Qasim bin Hindu Shah, 23.
 Muhammad Tughlaq (Sultan), 11, 18, 20, 21, 22, 35, 36, 44, 46, 47, 55, 56, 58, 73, 75, 76, 82, 83, 102, 103, 104, 113, 119, 120, 124, 128, 129, 141, 150, 158, 175, 177, 191, 192.
 Muhassil, 81.
 Muhtasib, 31, 145, 148.
 Muizuddin Bahram Shah, 35.
 Muizuddin Kaiqubad, 34.
 (See Kaiqubad).
 Muizzi College, 161.
 Muizzuddin Ghori (Shahabuddin Muhammad bin Sam), 2, 5, 6, 7, 38, 40, 71, 123.
 Mukhlisuddin, 131.
 Muktab, 88, 152.
 Mulhidah, 161.
 Multan, 77, 118.
 Munshat-i-Mahru, 78.
 Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh, 23.
 Muoaddams, 78, 80, 93, 94, 99, 100, 171.
 Muotas (Muqti), 60, 74, 77, 84, 92, 94, 100, 101, 104, 138, 168.
 Murattab, 126.
 Musarafs, 99.
 Mushrif, 81.
 Mushrif-i-Mumalik, 57.
 Mustaghall (Kira Zamin), 107.
 Mustakhraj, 99.
 Mutabakh, 65.
 Mutasim (Abbaside Caliph), 32.
 Mutsaraf, 66, 80, 93, 101, 103.
 Muvidul Mulk, 21.
 Mysore, 182, 187.
 Naib, 77, 103.
 Naib-i-Ariz-i-Mumalik, 120, 123.
 Naib-i-Mulk, 34.
 Naib-i-Wakil-i-dar, 62.
 Naib-i-Wazir, 76, 81, 97.
 Nakhud Bariani, 109.
 Naqibs, 177.
 Nasiruddin (Son of Ilutmish), 160.
 Nasiruddin Mahmud (Sultan), 5, 6, 7, 8, 19, 35, 40, 55, 75, 161.
 Nasiria Madrasa, 160.
 Nasiruddin Khusru Shah, 39, 40, 41, 55.
 Nasiruddin Qubacha, 3, 8.
 Nasrat Khan, 55.
 Naushirwan, 25, 26.
 Nazar-ul-Mazalim, 30.
 Nida'i, 109.
 Nilacari, 108.
 Nisab, 87.
 Nizamuddin Ahmad, 23, 145.
 Nizamul Mulk Junaidi, 157.
 Nuh Sipih, 20.
 Paicab, 65.
 Paimaish, 191.
 Panchayat, 84, 85, 112, 130, 148, 149.
 Pandit, 145, 148.
 Pardahdar, 64.
 Patiali, 130, 169.
 Patwari, 81, 99.
 Pendentive, 185.

- Pilban*, 64.
Pilkhanah, 65.
 Prithwiraj Chauhan, 2, 181.
Qabula, 177.
Qabus Namah, 50.
 Qadam Sharif, 162.
Qamar Khanah, 109.
 Qanun Namah, 52.
 Qaraunah (Turks), 3, 10, 165.
Qasabi, 109.
 Qazi, 35, 68, 69, 70, 131, 137, 140, 143, 146, 148, 149.
 Qazi-i-Askar (Qazi Urdu), 51, 133.
 Qazi-i-Parganah, 85.
 Qazi-i-Subah, 85, 147, 148, 149.
 Qazi Mughisuddin (of Bayanah), 46, 96, 125, 140, 150.
 Qazi Sadruddin Arif, 143.
 Qazi-ul Quzat, 35, 143, 144, 145, 147, 148.
 Qias, 134, 135.
 Qiranus Sadain, 20.
 Quatul Islam (Mosque), 154, 155, 156.
 Qutb (Minar), 157.
 Qutubuddin Aibak (Sultan), 6, 7, 19, 38, 71, 91, 123, 137, 138, 154, 165, 166.
 Qutubuddin Mubarak Shah (Sultan), 45, 157.
 Rai Ram Deo, 72, 76.
 Rai Rudra (Laddar) Deo, 76.
 Rajab, 22.
 Raja Ramchandra, 72.
 Rajputna, 77.
 Rajiwah, 159.
Rakab Khana, 65.
 Rana Mal Bhatti, 22.
 Rashiduddin, 131.
 Rasul, 59.
Ratibi, 64.
Ratibi Karkhanas, 65.
 Raziyah (Sultana), 122, 124, 159, 160, 161.
Rishman Faroshi, 109.
Roshangiri, 109.
Ruknuddin Firuz, 155.
Sabat, 133.
 Sabaura, 159.
Sabungiri, 109.
Sadi, 81.
Sadoqah, 86, 88, 14.
 Sadre Jahan, 143, 144, 145, 147, 148, 161.
 Sadre Subah, 85, 148.
 Sagkhana, 65.
 Sahan, 153.
 Salahdar, 64.
 Samana, 77, 117.
 Samanids, 2, 32, 52.
 Samarqand, 5.
 Sambhal, 76.
 Samudragupta, 112.
Sangtarash, 64.
 Sar-Chatradar, 63.
Sarhang, 81.
 Sar-i-tarrash, 63.
 Sar-i-dawatdar, 62.
 Sarjandar, 62, 138.
 Sarjandar-i-Maimna, 62.
 Sarjandar-i-Maisra, 62.
 Sarpanch, 84.
 Sar-pardahdaran-i-khas, 63.
 Sar-Silahdar, 62.
 Sasanian, 26, 27.
 Shafai, 70, 87.
 Shahna-i-Pil, 130.
 Shahr-i-Nau, 98.
 Shaik Abu Bakr Tusi, 159.
 Shaikh Mubarak, 22.
 Saikh Malik Yaar Paran, 159.
 Shaikh Muinuddin Chisti, 167.
 Shaikh Muinuddin Chisti, 167.
 Shaikh Nizamuddin Aulia, 155.
 Shaikh-ul-Islam, 31.

- Shakradar, 64.
 Shamakhana, 65.
 Shamdar, 64.
 Shansabaniyah, 5, 19.
 Shara (Shariat) 33, 104, 136, 138, 142, 173.
 Sharabdar, 62, 64.
 Sharabkhana, 65.
 Sharaf Qai, 80, 81, 97, 99.
 Sher Shah, 14.
 Shiqdar, 80, 81, 82, 104.
 Shivaji, 132.
Shutar Khana, 65.
 Sidi Maula, 43.
Silah Khana, 65.
 Sindh, 179.
 Sirat-i-Firuzshahi, 23.
 Sirhind, 77.
 Siri, 157, 158.
 Siyasat Namah, 50.
 Spain, 179.
 Squinch arch, 185.
 Subuktgin, 180.
 Sunam, 117.
 Surur-ul-Mulk, 76.
 Sutlaj, 159.
 Syria, 179.
 Tabkat-i-Akbari, 23.
 Tabkat-i-Nasiri, 19, 122.
Tahbazari, 109.
 Tajuddin Yaldoz, 6, 7, 8.
 Tajul Maasir, 18, 78.
 Tankas, 105.
 Tantrik (Sects), 188, 189, 190.
 Tarain, 1, 2, 71, 181.
 Tarikh-i-Alai, 19.
 Tarikh-i-Firih ta, 23.
 Tarikh-i-Firuzshahi, 20, 21, 22.
 Tarikh-i-Mubarakshahi, 23, 191, 192.
Tashtdar, 63, 64.
Tashtdar Khana, 65.
 Taziks, 8, 9, 10, 19.
 Telingana, 75.
 Thakurs, 166.
 Tilang, 122.
 Timur, 3, 4, 12.
 Tirhut, 76.
 Tithe, 88, 90.
 Tughlaqs, 3, 4, 11, 12, 22, 41, 73, 165, 174.
 Tughlaqabad, 156, 158.
 Tughlaqnama, 20.
 Tukhlaqpur-i-Kasna, 159.
 Tughlaqpuri-i-Mulk-i-K a m u t, 159.
 Tughril, 122, 169.
 Tuman, 116, 121.
 Turghi, 130.
 Turks, 180, 184.
 Turkish Rule, 4.
 Turkish Slave Bureaucracy, 2, 5, 6, 11.
 Turkish Sultans, 3.
 Turko-Iranian, 14.
 Uchh, 130.
 Ulemas, 33, 79, 167, 175, 176.
 Umayyads, 25, 27, 28, 31, 67, 179.
 Usuanas, 50.
 Ushr, 90, 112.
 Ushri, 112.
 Vamacharis, 188.
 Vam-margis, 189.
 Wahiuddin, 55.
 Wakil-i-dar, 61.
 Wali, 74, 77, 84, 100, 103, 116, 125, 168.
 Walid bin Abdul Malik, 25.
 Waqf, 88, 97.
 Waqiah Nawis, 66.
 Warangal, 121, 122.
 Wazarat, 29.
 Wazirabad, 159.
 Wazir, 29, 69, 76, 80, 92, 105.
 Wazir Tafwid, 53.
 Wazir Tanfiz, 53.

- Wilayats, 100.
Yahia-bin-Ahma-bin - Abdullah
Sirhindi, 23, 191, 192.
Yaldoz (See Tajuddin)
Yamin-ul Khailafat, 43.
Yusuf Baghra, 76.
Yathrib, 179.
Zafarabad, 76.
Zafarkhan, 75.
Zakat, 86, 87, 88, 144.
Zarad Khana, 65.
Zarih, 154.
Ziauddin (Barani), 5, 20, 75, 76,
80, 81, 82, 97, 101, 119, 120,
121, 125, 126, 130, 132, 167,
173, 188, 191, 192, 193.

CORRIGENDA

Page	Line	Read	For
7	24	Chahalgani	Chahalghani
9	26	Tajik	Tazik
17	2 fn	Historical	Historical
20	24	Ijaz-i-khusravi	Izaz-i-khusravi
44	23	to	of
57	Last line of fn in Per- sian	Read with fn 33	with fn 32
81	25	Ziauddin	Ziauddin
83	27	Order	Ordered
86	20	Sadaqah	Zadaqah
88	9	Comma after simple	Full-stop after simple
90	16	'Ushr'	'Usur'
94	4	Muqtis	Muktis
97	5	the towns	thet owns
97	29	milk	Milak
109	14	Kotwali	Kotowali
112	17	'ushr'	'usur'
"	"	'Khiraj'	'Khiruj'
"	21	ushr	usur
126	9	calculation	arithmetic
128	13	regular soldiers	regular
139	1	be	he
150	1	Qazi	Kazi
"	23	lax	relax
175	12	Mashaikh	Masaikh

