

HISTORY OF FIRUZSHAH



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TUGHLUQ

JAMINI MOHAN BANERJEE

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HISTORY OF FIRUZ SHAH TUGHLUQ

by

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with a foreword by

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PROGRESSIVE BOOKS

40-B, Urdu Bazar Lahore

FOREWORD

I HAVE great pleasure in commending this book to the consideration of students and scholars of Medieval India. It takes the history of Tughluq dynasty a step further, the early phases having been dealt with assiduous erudition by well known savants like Dr. Ishwari Prasad and Dr. Agha Mehdi Hasan. Dr. Jamini Mohan Banerjee spent several years in collecting the relevant material and giving it shape. He has interpreted the life and achievements from an altogether different angle of vision and has attempted to present an objective picture. He has dealt with the various aspects of the life and activities of this sovereign and has thrown light on motives behind the policies enunciated and implemented by him.

Modern writers attach too much importance to the *Futuh-i-Firuz Shahi* which they accept as the conclusive proof of Sultan's orthodoxy and intolerance, which in their opinion, contributed to the disintegration of Tughluq empire. But this is not only a partial but vitiated approach because it does not take into account the fact that this pamphlet was composed for consumption among a particular class of men and that it did not correspond to realities. In fact, all-India empires in our country, particularly in this period, were no more than occasional experiments in polity. They could not last for any considerable time because of the working of numerous adverse factors e. g. difficulty of enforcing a uniform pattern of administration, hostile attitude of the people, and above all, the impossibility of overcoming the problem of distance. Therefore to hold Firuz Tughluq responsible for the downfall of Tughluq empire is neither fair nor just. On the other hand, he strove hard to keep together what he had actually inherited from his immediate predecessor. Dr. Jamini Mohan Banerjee has very successfully sustained this view by dealing at length with the administrative and social reforms undertaken by the Sultan.

This book cannot be said to be the final work on the subject, because in view of the possibility of fresh material being unearthed and consequently some of the opinions expressed therein may be modified. But what has been written is a proof

of sound and critical judgement. It reveals hard and sustained work and it opens out new avenues of thought. I hope and trust that it would be accepted as a welcome addition to the study of the history of Medieval India.

B. P. Saksena

November 24, 1966.

PREFACE

A DISPASSIONATE study of Firuz Shah Tughluq was long overdue. When I took up this work I realised, as they say, "To be too near the sun is to get blind." So it happened with the contemporary writers who wrote on Firuz. They painted him as an ideal Muslim, over exaggerating his religious qualities; they interpreted all his policies in terms of religion as a natural sequel. Some of the modern historians, I found have also been influenced by them. In the present work, which is an attempt at giving a continuous narrative of the reign of Firuz Shah I have tried to give a correct perspective of the policies of the Sultan taking into consideration the political, economic and other circumstances which gave birth to them.

The work is divided into seven chapters. It starts with a summary of Muhammad Tughluq's legacy which Firuz inherited and ends with a broad sketch of the cultural attainments of the reign. In course of this narrative I have traced the entire career of Firuz Shah from his childhood till death.

In the third chapter which deals with military expeditions, I have tried to indicate accurate locations of various places and have also given my own interpretation to the disputed chronology as far as possible. In the chapter on administration I have given a general background of the various institutions in order to present a comparative picture and understand the real contribution of the Sultan. Finally, fresh light has been thrown on the religious policy of Firuz Shah, by counteracting the charges of bigotry levelled against him by the modern historians. In preparing this work I have consulted all the available sources. Although the work is based mainly on a comparative and critical study of the primary sources in Persian, but the writings of the later historians have not been ignored. Fortunately for me almost all the records relating to the reign of Firuz Shah Tughluq are available at the Allahabad University Library which made my task easy. Only a few, I had to collect from the Aligarh Muslim University Library. Incidentally I may mention that in rendering the Hijra dates into English I have used the tables of Indian Ephemeris by L. D. Swami Kannu Pillai, published by

the Government of Madras. For the uniformity of the spelling of proper names, Cambridge History of India, Volume III has been accepted as the standard.

My thanks are due to my teacher Dr. Banarsi Prasad Saksena, Ex-Head of the History Department, Allahabad University, whose unfailing and keen interest, constant help and illuminating guidance have alone helped me to complete my work. I am also thankful to Dr. Ishwari Prasad, formerly Head of the Politics Department, for valuable help and encouragement. Dr. Chandra Bhusan Tripathi of the History Department of Allahabad University, has helped me by personal discussions to clear some of the disputed points connected with this work and for it I am grateful to him. I am indebted to Maulvi Muhammad Ibrahim of Anglo Bengali Intermediate College, Allahabad; Maulvi Hafiz Jan Muhammad of Jumna Christian College, Allahabad, Syed Muzabir Husain Rizvi and Mr. Muhammad Abu Bakr for helping me by translating original Persian texts and manuscripts. I thank the authorities of the Aligarh Muslim University for helping me with the materials I needed. I must also thank Sri Dharendra Kumar Bhattacharya of Anglo Bengali Inter College, Allahabad, and Sri Monish Chatterjee, Sub-Editor, Northern India Patrika, for reading the proofs, and Sri Alope Palit for helping me in the preparation of the Index.

I am indebted to Messrs Munshiram Manoharlal of Delhi for undertaking its publication.

Allahabad
April, 1967

Jamini Mohan Banerjee

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ABBREVIATIONS

- Aff**—Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi of Shams-i-Siraj Afif.
A.U. (MS)—Allahabad University Manuscript.
Ashraf—Life and Condition of the People of Hindustan of K.M. Ashraf.
Barani—Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi of Ziauddin Barani.
Budaoni—Muntakhab-ut-Twarikh of Abdul Qadir Budaoni, Vol. I, translation by Col. George S. A. Ranking.
Cambridge Vol. III—Cambridge History of India, Volume III of S. W. Haig.
Carr. Stephen—Archaeology and Monumental Remains of Delhi of Stephen Carr.
Firishta—Tarikh-i-Firishta of Firishta, translation by John Briggs.
Futuhāt—Futuhāt-i-Firuz Shahi of Firuz Shah, translation by Prof. N. B. Roy.
Hodivala—Studies in Indo-Muslim History of S. H. Hodivala.
Isami—Futuh-us-Salatin of Isami.
Ishwari Prasad—A History of the Qaraunah Turks in India of Ishwari Prasad.
J.R.A.S.—Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal.
K.S. Lal—History of the Khaljis of K.S. Lal.
Masalik—Masalik-ul-Absar, translation by Otto Spies.
Munshi—The Delhi Sultanate of K.M. Munshi.
Nizami—Religion and Politics in India during the thirteenth century of K.A. Nizami.
Nizamuddin—Tabqat-i-Akbari of Nizamuddin Ahmad, translation by B. De.
Percy Brown—Indian Architecture of Percy Brown.
Qureshi—Administration of Delhi Sultanate of I. H. Qureshi.
Sastri—History of South India of K.A. N. Sastri.
Tripathi—Some Aspects of Muslim Administration of R. P. Tripathi.
Yahya—Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi of Yahya, translation by Prof. K.K. Basu.

Chapter 1

LEGACY OF MUHAMMAD TUGHLUQ

THE LEGACY that Muhammad Tughluq left was beset with numerous obstacles, too overwhelming even for a great genius to surmount. The vast empire which had once extended from Delhi and Lahore in the North and to Dvar Samudra and Mabar in the south and included 23 provinces,¹ was reduced considerably as an aftermath of the centrifugal forces that had started during Tughluq's reign, covering the length and breadth of the country and hastening the process of disintegration. A spirit of general uncertainty was pervading the entire political atmosphere; for, the Sultan's administrative policy had provoked all classes of people, e.g., commonalty, the religious order and the nobility, so much so that they lost all sympathy for the Tughluq regime and looked for its decline. The masses were disgusted with the ambitious projects of the Sultan which brought on them immense sufferings. The religious order, which in the past had played a prominent role in the imperial politics and in most cases acted as an advisory body to the sovereign, was greatly dissatisfied; for the Sultan deliberately refrained from recognizing their ascendancy and kept them at arm's length in matters administrative and political. The native nobility having been deprived of their monopoly in higher services, now manned with foreign elements and the Hindus, on account of the Sultan's policy of career open to talents, became unfriendly towards the government and fomented strifes in different corners of the country. Even the foreign amirs in whom the Sultan had reposed so much confidence proved disloyal in the long run and promoted unrest throwing the administration into disorder. The policy of military coercion which the obstinate Sultan of irritable temper had adopted as a last resort to arrest the forces of disintegration had only precipitated the crisis further by a series of uprisings in the North and South where the leaders repudiated the authority of the Central Government at Delhi. In the year 735 A.H./1334-35 A.D.² Jalal-ud-din Ahsan Shah, the governor of Mabar, revolted and established the independent sultanate of

Madura. This development affected the imperial prestige adversely and sowed the seeds of disaffection in other parts of the empire.

In the North a Mongol Chief Haljaun assisted by a Hindu, Amir Gulchand,³ rebelled at Lahore, but both of them were suppressed by the Prime Minister Khvaja Jahan. Simultaneously Malik Hushang rebelled at Daulatabad. Being hotly pursued by the emperor he escaped to the territory of a Hindu king in the Western Ghat.⁴ Shortly after, Shahu Afghan revolted in Multan, killed the Naib Bihzad and occupied the city.⁵ When the Sultan marched against him he escaped to Afghanistan.⁶ Just at this moment the Hindus in Sanam, Samana, Kaithal and Kuhram rebelled. After the flight of Shahu, the Sultan raided these territories and suppressed the rebellion completely.⁷ In 737 A.H./1336 A.D.⁸ Bengal shook off allegiance to Delhi under the leadership of Fakhr-ud-din, the armour bearer of Bahram Khan the former governor of Sonargaon.⁹ The Sultan was so engrossed with troubles elsewhere that he was unable to take any effective steps against the rebel. This completed the chapter of the decline of the imperial power in the north.

While dark clouds were thus gathering fast one upon the other in the north, the Hindus in the south being dissatisfied with the oppressive policy of the Muslim governors, launched an anti-Islamic movement with the object of overthrowing the Muslim rule there. The immediate factor which moved the people to action was the revival of Saivism there. It inspired them and they resolved to restore Hindu rule and Hindu Dharma, and to throw back the tide of Muslim expansion.¹⁰ The leaders of this revivalism were Prolaya Naik and his cousin Krishna Naik¹¹ of Warangal who claimed his descent from the ancient Chalukyas, Vallal III of Dvar Samudra and Harihara the founder of the future kingdom of Vijayanagar.¹² At Kampli, the Hindus of the western Telegu country, under the leadership of Somadeva revolted against the governor Malik Muhammad and captured the forts of Anegundi, Raichur and Mudgal.¹³ The Sultan sent Harihara and Bukka¹⁴ to Kampli thinking that their old connections with the state would help them to overcome the crisis. But his hopes were belied. No sooner did these two brothers arrive at Kampli than they gave up the cause of Islam and inspired by a sage Vidyananya became the champions of

Hindu faith. They joined hands with Vallal III and Krishna Naik and forged a united front against the Muslims.¹⁵ Making Kampli the headquarter of their activities, the two brothers gradually strengthened their position, and ultimately founded on April 18, 1336 A.D. a new city opposite to Anegundi on the south bank of Tungabhadra and called it Vijayanagar.¹⁶

At Warangal Krishna Naik in league with Vallal III unfurled the banner of revolt and gave a death blow to the power of its governor Malik Muqbil who being unable to resist, escaped to Devagiri and later on to Delhi and thus Telingana was freed from the Muslim rule.¹⁷ The fall of Telingana was followed by the joint raid of Vallal III and Krishna Naik over the northern districts of Mabar called Tondi Mandalam, where the administration was entrusted to the native rulers of Sambuvarayas.¹⁸ Thus the Hindu movement in the south resulted in the complete extinction of the Muslim power in Dvar Samudra, Warangal and the Coromandal coast leading to the establishment of several independent principalities, viz., the territories of the Reddis of Kondavidu, extending from Sri Salam to Bay of Bengal, the small state of Velamas round Raja Konda situated in the hilly tract of Nalgonda district of Hyderabad State, and the coastal region from Godavari to Kalinga under the Koppula chiefs of Pithapuram.¹⁹

From 1338 A.D. to 1341 A.D. several rebellions occurred again in the south. They were initiated by Nizam Main at Kara, Nasrat Khan at Bidar, Ali Shah Natthu at Gulbarga and Ain-ul-Mulk the governor of Oudh at Sargadwari.²⁰ But timely action helped the Sultan to nip them in the bud. This was followed by the mass rebellion of the Amiran-i-Sadahs in Gujarat and Daulatabad as its chief centres.²¹ The movement assumed such a formidable shape that the Sultan had to rush to the spot personally in January 1345 A.D. to quell it.²² Ceaseless efforts were made to bring the situation under control, but they proved abortive. This led to the fall of the imperial power at Daulatabad and establishment of the Bahamani Kingdom on the 24th Rabi' as Sani 748 A.H./Aug. 13, 1347 A.D.²³ with Alauddin Bahman Shah as the first independent monarch.²⁴ Thus the imperial power disappeared completely from the Deccan excluding Gujarat which nominally remained a province of the empire.

In 1347 A.D. simultaneously with the rising of the Amiran-i-Sadahs; Taghi²⁵ along with a group of insurgents rebelled in Gujarat, killed Mazaffar the assistant of Shaikh Muizzuddin, the then governor of Nahrwala, plundered the territories of Nahrwala, Broach and reached Cambay.²⁶ Although the Sultan defeated Taghi at Takalpur, the latter escaped to Nahrwala, Patan and finally to Sind, where he sheltered himself under the Sumras, and revolted in league with them. Appointing a new governor in Gujarat, the Sultan then launched a military expedition in Sind in 1350 A.D. with a view to punishing Taghi and the Sumras who had given him protection. But the attempts of the Sultan proved abortive owing to his sudden death on 21st Muharrum 752. A.H./20th March, 1351 A.D.²⁷ on the bank of Indus, 28 miles from Tattah.

His unexpected death deepened the gloom and anarchy which had been enveloping his camp at Tattah. The Mughal auxiliary forces whom Amir Farghan had sent under the command of Ultun Bahadur to assist the Sultan became rebellious and joined the Sumras and for a little while there was a terrible confusion threatening to end in disaster. In order to avoid any untoward incident Firuz in consultation with the leading amirs asked Ultun Bahadur and his followers to return to their own country. Loaded with gifts the Mughals left the camp²⁸ Nauroz Karghan,²⁹ the son-in-law of Tarmashirin, who for years had enjoyed the protection and favours of Sultan Muhammad, also deserted him in view of the turn the events had taken, and joined his own kinsmen. Finding the opportunity favourable, because of the prevailing fear and uncertainty of succession, he incited them to attack the imperial contingent, which on the third day after the death of Muhammad Tughluq had left Tattah for Svistan.³⁰ The leaderless troops moved on like a forlorn caravan in a state of utter confusion and, when they arrived within one or two 'kos' of their camp, the Mughals, who had been already instigated, fell upon their front while the rebels of Tattah attacked the rear. The Mughals seized women, slave-girls, horses, mules, clothes etc. and were about to lay their hands on the harem and the imperial treasure laden on camels. To add to the misery, the villagers who had forcibly been recruited in the army, escaped and joined the Tattahians and shared the spoils with them.³¹ Sandwiched between two fires—the Mughals and the insurgents

of Tattah—the army halted on the bank of the river Sind. In great fear and anxiety they passed a sleepless night thinking about the safety of their life and property. A few of them who had gone ahead were slaughtered by the Mughals.³² In the midst of all, this chaos Makhdum Zadah Abbasi, Shaikhul-Shaikh Misri, Shaikh Nasir-uddin Mahmud Avadhi, the Ulama, the Malik, Amirs, the notables and the leaders of every tribe came to the camp and said to Firuz :

“Thou art the heir-apparent and nominee of Sultan Muhammad and nephew of Sultan Tughluq Shah. Sultan Muhammad had no son and there is none for him in the army and the city who has the claim or capacity for sovereignty. For God’s sake listen to the cry of these oppressed persons etc.”³³ Firuz considering himself to be unworthy of the heavy responsibilities declined the offer and put forward many excuses. But none of them were accepted and their repeated insistence compelled him to assume the reins of government.³⁴

The Central Government which Muhammad Tughluq had established was an absolute despotism based on the personal whim and caprice of the monarch. It had neither the support of the religious order nor of the nobility. In his attempt to evolve a new ideal of kingship based on secularism, the Sultan had only provoked the religious order in the people who refrained from extending to him any co-operation whatsoever. Similar was the attitude of the nobility. On the top of it there broke out rivalry between the foreigners and natives which proved fatal to the integrity of the empire by sapping its foundation. The foreigners on whom the Sultan had reposed so much confidence, in many cases abused their privileges and proved disloyal in the long run and fomented strife in different quarters. All these factors had practically ruined the efficiency of the central administration.

The provincial administration too lacked efficiency. The governors or the Walis who were the chief executive, judicial, and the military authority there and enjoyed the status of feudal barons, in many cases proved dishonest and extorted money from the people by various corrupt practices. Besides this, their spirit of non-cooperation, mutual jealousy and intrigues among them made it impossible even for the most talented to run the administration successfully. The Sultan tried his best to have a constant control over the provincial administration but the

distance between them and the headquarter prevented him to do it. The governors, therefore, were able to enjoy absolute authority in the provinces, and this helped them to repudiate the central authority when opportunities came.

The imperial army consisted of men of all nationalities, e.g., Turks, Khatians, Persians and Indians. Among them there was a close rivalry between the Hindustanis and the foreigners which retarded the unity of action. Besides this, most of the Muslims had lost their old stamina and became accustomed to the easy life at the court. This greatly affected the Turkish soldiery. There was hardly any military general of Malik Kafur's calibre. The manner in which the Sultan conducted the military campaigns single-handed reveals, above all, the want of skilled generals who could overcome oppositions successfully. Thus the army, upon which mainly rested the despotic State, lost its old vitality.

Financially the State had been crippled. The ambitious projects of the Sultan, besides long-drawn military expedition, had meant a heavy drain to the imperial exchequer. In order to get rid of this financial crisis the Sultan imposed a large number of taxes which affected the economic condition of the people adversely. The worst sufferers were the peasants whom the burden of over-taxation in the midst of frequent famines had practically ruined. The famines took a heavy toll of life, so much so that, the desolate villages and waste lands used to be seen stretched for miles without habitation.³⁵ Although the Sultan made various attempts to combat famines, encourage agriculture, and improve land revenue system, none of them could succeed and the economic problem remained unsolved.

The prosperity of the State was confined to the capital where imperial court proclaimed nothing but magnificence and grandeur. But the economic condition of the masses outside the capital presented a reverse picture.

In this state of economic crisis and political chaos when the time was out of joint Firuz Shah was called upon to set it right.

LEGACY OF MUHAMMAD TUGHLUQ

REFERENCES

¹ They were (1) Delhi (2) Deogir (3) Multan (4) Kahran (Kuhram) (5) Samana (6) Sivistan (7) Uch (8) Hansi (9) Sarsuti (10) Mabar (11) Telingana (12) Gujarat (13) Budaon (14) Oudh (15) Kanauj (16) Lakhnawati (17) Bihar (18) Kara (19) Malwa (20) Lahore (21) Kalanor (22) Jajnagar (23) Dvara Samudra. (*Masalik-ul-Absar* Tr. by O. Spies, p. 16).

² Opinions differ regarding the date of the rebellion. Barani, p. 482 has not mentioned any date of this rebellion but has placed it just after the rebellion of Bengal of 1337 A.D. Yahya, (Basu), p. 108 gives the date of this rebellion as 741 A.H./1340 A.D. According to Budaoni (Ranking), p. 309 and Firishta, (Briggs), Vol. I, p. 423 the rebellion occurred in 742 A.H./1341 A.D. All these dates given by the above authorities do not seem to be correct as they are not confirmed by the numismatic evidences according to which the date of the first coin minted in Madura, bearing the name of Jalaluddin Ahshan Shah is 735 A.H. (*J.R.A.S.* 1909, p. 673 and *J.R.A.S.* 1922, p. 304). In all probability the actual date of Mabar rebellion, therefore, seems to be 735 A.H./1334-35 A.D. as given by Dr. Ishwari Prasad, *History of Qurauna Turks*, pp. 141-44. This has been confirmed by Dr. Agha Mehdi Husain, *Rise and Fall of Muhammad Bin Tughluq*, p. 158.

³ Isami, *Futuh-us-Salatin*, p. 451.

⁴ Barani pp. 481-82.

⁵ *Ibid*, p. 482; Isami, p. 452.

⁶ Barani, pp. 482-83. It literally means the home of the Afghans i.e. Cambay, Gujarat, Nahrwala. See details in Dr. A.M. Husain p. 180.

⁷ Barani, pp. 482-483.

⁸ Neither Barani nor Ibn Batutah gives any exact date of this rebellion, except mentioning the fact. According to Barani, Bengal revolted before Mabar (Barani, p. 480). He is supported by Nizamuddin, *Tabqat*, p. 205. According to Yahya, (Basu), p. 106. Bengal revolted in 739 A.H./1338 A.D. Budaoni also supports Yahya and gives the date as 739 A.H. (Ranking) p. 308. Firishta (Briggs) Vol. I, p. 423, gives the date as 742 A.H./1341 A.D. But this is incorrect as it does not tally with the numismatic evidences. The statements of Yahya and Budaoni are supported by Blochmann, *J.A.S.B.* 1873, p. 252; Sir Wolsey Haig, *J.R.A.S.* 1922, p. 347 on the basis of a coin of Fakhruddin which they read as 739 A.H./1338 A.D. Dr. Ishwari Prasad, *History of Qurauna Turks*, p. 152, on the basis of the careful examination of the coin gives the date of this rebellion as 737 A.H./1336 A.D. which seems to be most convincing. He reads the date as 737. A.H. and not 739 A.H. which according to him was misread by Sir Wolsey Haig and Blochmann. This he supports also on the basis of the circumstantial evidences. Thomas (*Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi*, p. 263) has also expressed his views in support of the year. 737 A.H. As such it may be concluded that Bengal revolted in 737 A.H./1336 A.D.

⁹ Barani, p. 480; Yahya, (Basu) pp. 106-7, has given a detailed account of this rebellion. According to him immediately after the death of Bahram

Khan his armour Superintendent Fakhruddin unfurled the banner of revolt. But Malik Bidar or Pindar Khalji Qadr Khan the governor of Lakhnawati sent Malik Husam-al-Din Abu Raja Mustaufi Mamalik Iz-al-Din Yahya A'zam-al-mulk, governor of Satgaon and Firuz Khan, son of Musrat Khan amir of Kara against Fakhr-al-Din and forced him to escape leaving his entire baggage. Qadr Khan then became master of Sonargaon. But recovering his position Fakhr-al-Din again marched against Qadr Khan, killed him and himself became master of Sonargaon.

¹⁰ Sastri, K.A. Nilkanta, *A History of South India* p. 226.

¹¹ Barani, p. 484 calls him Kanya Naik.

¹² Sastri, K.A. Nilkanta, p. 226.

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ Tarihara and Bukka were the two brothers who had formerly served Prithviraj II upto 1323 A.D. and afterwards Kampli up to 1327 A.D. After the fall of Kampli they were carried off to Delhi, where they embraced Islam (See Sastri, p. 227).

¹⁵ Sastri, K.A. Nilkanta, p. 227.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, See also Dr. Ishwari Prasad, *History of Quarauna Turks*. pp. 187-90.

¹⁷ Sastri, p. 228.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ See details, Isami, pp. 462-63; Barani, p. 489.

²¹ See details, Isami, pp. 481-523; Barani, pp. 489-514. *History of Bahamani dynasty* (Founded on Burhan-i-M'aasir by J.S. King, *Indian Antiquary*, 1899, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 142-43. Sherwani, *Bahamanis of Deccan*, pp. 25-30. Dr. Ishwari Prasad, *History of Qurauna Turks*, pp. 214-21. Dr. A.M. Husain, *Rise and Fall of Muhammad Bin Tughluq*, pp. 180-83.

²² Barani, p. 509.

²³ According to Burhan-i-M'aasir, the date of accession of Alauddin Bahaman Shah is the ninth hour of Friday the 28th of Shaban 748 A.H./ 3rd December 1347 A.D. But most of the writers give the date mentioned above. Whatever might be the dispute in exact dates, there is no denying the fact that the kingdom was established in 1347 A.D.

²⁴ For details see Isami, pp. 522-23; Barani, pp. 513-14, *Indian Antiquary*, 1899 Vol. XXVIII, pp. 142-43, Sherwani, *Bahamanis of the Deccan*, pp. 36-37. Dr. Ishwari Prasad, *History of Qurauna Turks*, pp. 244-45. Dr. A.M. Husain, *Rise and Fall of Mohd. Bin Tughluq*, pp. 182-83.

²⁵ According to Barani, p. 516, Taghi was a cobbler and a slave of Malik Sultani. According to *Sirat* (A.U. Ms.), p. 15 he was one of those slaves presented to the Sultan Ghazi Tughluq Shah by a group of merchants who came from Turkey.

²⁶ The rebellion originated in the hostility with Tartar Malik Bahadur Sultani an adjutant to Shaikh Muizzuddin, the then governor of Gujarat, who in order to secure an Arab Horse and Gujarati slave girls which were in possession of Taghi used oppressive measures upon him. See details, Barani, pp. 516-19; Dr. A.M. Husain, pp. 189-91; Dr. Ishwari Prasad, pp. 225-31.

²⁷ Barani, p. 525.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 531-34.

²⁹ *Sirat-i-Firuz Shahi* (A.U. Ms.), p. 2 writes that he came in a destitute condition from Turkistan and received many imperial favours. Yahya (Basu), p. 122, erroneously calls him Nauroz Karkoz.

³⁰ Barani, pp. 533-34; *Sirat* (A.U. Ms.) pp. 2-3.

³¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 534-35.

³² *Ibid.*

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 535.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, Afif p. 48; Barani p. 536.

³⁵ Ishwari Prasad, *History of Qurauna Turks*, p. 305

Chapter II

CHILDHOOD OF FIRUZ SHAH, ACCESSION AND EARLY DIFFICULTIES

EARLY LIFE AND EDUCATION

FIRUZ SHAH Tughluq was born in the year 709 A.H./1309 A.D.¹ He was the son of Sipah Salar Rajab, brother of Ghiyas-ud-din. His mother, Bibi Naila, was the daughter of Bhatti Rajput, Rana Mall, one of the Rais of Dipalpur.² Afif³ has narrated an interesting story which throws light upon the marriage of Firuz's mother with Rajab under duress. It is related that Rajab came from Khorasan to Delhi along with his brothers, Ghiyas-ud-din and Abu Bakr, during the reign of Alauddin Khalji, who being impressed by their talents gave them suitable appointments in the imperial court. The governorship of Dipalpur was entrusted to Ghiyas-ud-din. During his stay at Dipalpur Ghiyas-ud-din had desired to marry his brother, Rajab, with the daughter of one of the Rais of Dipalpur. The daughter of Rana Mall was famous for her beauty. Having heard of it, Ghiyas-ud-din sent a marriage proposal to him. But the proud Rana Mall was highly offended at such a proposal and rejected it forthwith. This enraged Ghiyas-ud-din so much that he avenged his insult by a raid on the dependencies of Rana Mall, on the pretext of immediate payment of the year's revenue. The Muqaddam, Chaudharis, and other helpless people were severely coerced for days together. In the midst of this confusion, one evening the old mother of Rana Mall went to him and cried loudly describing the miserable condition of the people. The daughter of Rana Mall, who was also present there, enquired the cause of her distress. The old lady replied, "I am weeping on your account for it is on account of you that Tughluq Shah is weighing so heavily upon the people of this land."⁴ This led the daughter of Rana Mall to consent at once to the proposal of Tughluq Shah. She remarked, "If the surrender of me will deliver the people from such misery comply instantly with the demand and send me to him, consider that the Mughals have carried off one of your daughters."⁵ The old lady then informed

the Rana of his daughter's resolve and the reluctant Rana communicated the same to Tughluq Shah. The daughter of Rana Mall was then brought to Dipalpur and married to Rajab. After her marriage she came to be known as Bibi Kadbanu.

Firuz was the only son of his mother. He had two step-brothers, viz., Malik Naib Barbak and Qutbuddin. Of them Malik Naib Barbak had a great affection for Firuz and he remained loyal and faithful throughout his life.⁶ While Firuz was a child of seven his father died. Ghiyas-ud-din was greatly touched at the sudden and premature demise of Rajab. He consoled the aggrieved Kadbanu, and took up the responsibility of imparting education to Firuz. Thus the early education of Firuz started under the parental care of Ghiyas-ud-din. When the prince reached the age of twelve,⁷ Ghiyas-ud-din ascended the throne and during this short period of 4½ years, he acquainted Firuz with all practical problems by associating him with the work of the State. His constant companionship helped Firuz to gain the requisite knowledge. At the age of seventeen,⁸ Firuz came under the guidance of Muhammad Tughluq, the successor of Ghiyas-ud-din. Under his patronage he became well versed in the arts of government. From the outset of his reign Muhammad began to shower unstinted favours upon Firuz and wanted to make him his real successor. He appointed Firuz as deputy Lord Chamberlain (Naib-i-Amir-Hajib) with the title of Naib Barbak⁹ and gave him the command of 12,000 horses.¹⁰ When Muhammad Tughluq divided his kingdom into four parts, he placed Firuz in charge of one so that he might gain experience in the affairs of the State.¹¹ Again, when the Sultan went to the Deccan for the suppression of the rebellion of the Amiran-i-Sadah, he left the government of Delhi in the hands of a council of regency consisting of Khvaja Jahan, Malik Kabir and Firuz who was made its President.¹² All these favours enabled Firuz to acquire an insight in the art of government. So great was the affection of Muhammad Tughluq for him that in the moment of frustration when the centrifugal movement reached at its height, he once expressed his desire to abdicate in favour of Firuz who was to be assisted by other two persons, e.g., Malik Kabir and Ahmad Ayaz.¹³ On the eve of the Tattah expedition Muhammad Tughluq summoned Firuz from Delhi and asked him to accompany. In course of his march; the Sultan fell ill and Firuz took special care for his

treatment.¹⁴ He served him with devotion and discharged his duty as a faithful servant of his master. The Sultan was extremely pleased with Firuz and on his death-bed, he communicated all his political precepts to him, and nominated him as heir.¹⁵ After the death of the Sultan the Ulamas, Shaikhs, nobles and other military leaders at Tattah unanimously elected Firuz as their sovereign.

HIS TITLE TO THE THRONE.

Was he a usurper?

The sudden death of Muhammad Tughluq created great confusion in the imperial camp at Tattah. The political and military leaders found themselves face to face with the problem of succession. They were called upon to come to a prompt decision and in accord with the requirements of the situation. It was a moment of crisis and if dire calamity was to be averted their choice was bound to fall upon an individual who should command confidence of all and sundry and be in a position to rise equal to the occasion. Historical evidence conclusively shows that the question was discussed from every standpoint and that the decision was unanimous in favour of Firuz.¹⁶ His title was found to have legal as well as ethical and religious sanctions. It had the support of the Ulamas, the consecration of the religious divines who had prophesized¹⁷ the event, and, above all, the verdict of the army. But some of the modern historians have scrutinized the claims of Firuz to the throne from an angle of vision different from that of mediaeval writers, and they have come to the conclusion that the Sultan's accession was nothing short of usurpation.¹⁸ While propounding their theory they refer to the existence of a number of candidates claiming the crown of Delhi, to the gradual evolution of the practice of hereditary succession, and finally to the reluctance which Firuz expressed in assuming regal authority. Indeed during the Slave and Khalji periods the hereditary principle, if not the law of primogeniture, had made much headway. The founder of the Tughluq dynasty accepted the royal honour only when he was convinced or appeared to be convinced that "no member of the unfortunate house had escaped the bloody hand of tyranny and usurpation." In other words normally even in the moments of crisis an heir in the direct line was preferred to a more competent individual. In some cases the latter played the role of guardian or regent.

Therefore to form an impartial opinion with regards to the claims of Firuz to the throne, it is necessary to examine them from a number of standpoints, viz.,

1. Muslim traditions and conventions.
2. Practice as it has developed in India.
3. Status and position of the rival candidates.
4. Personal qualifications of Firuz.

As to the first aspect it may be mentioned that in the republican period of Islam, considerations of seniority in age, experience and the principle of the survival of the fittest were preferred to heredity. When the Prophet breathed his last, Abu Bakr was chosen as the Khalifa. The latter nominated Omar as his successor who in his turn appointed a board of six electors consisting of (1) Uthman ibn Affan (2) Ali-ibn-i-Talib (3) Al-zubayr ibn-al-Awwam (4) Tabib-bin-Abdullah (5) Sad ibn abi Waqqas (6) Abdal ibn Awf. When the time came for decision, the council selected Uthman in preference to Ali whose hereditary claims were forthwith rejected.¹⁹ In this way, was established the three-fold tradition of election by the assembled community, nomination by the Khalifa in power, and entrusting the choice of successor to a particular group of trustworthy individuals. Even so, the hereditary principle was far from being favoured. It was a sheer accident that it came to the forefront, when Ali became the pontif. But those who elected him paid more regard to experience and merit than to his relationship with the Prophet.²⁰ In short, the solution of the problem of succession thus far remained tentative subject to the modification in accordance with the exigency of the situation.

Under the Umayyads the republican system yielded place to imperialism. The Saracens were now masters of extensive and far flung regions. Election on democratic principle was neither feasible nor desirable. Nevertheless, the practice of election was maintained, though succession was determined by the will of the preceding pontif unless it was set at naught by the power and influence of the military and religious leaders. Nevertheless, the choice was restricted to the family of the Umayyads. In this way gradually the hereditary principle began to find its way into the political ideology and practice of the Saracens.²¹ And it continued to operate under the Abbasids and their successors. But the emphasis on the hereditary principle did

not rule out the contingency of disputed succession which became a usual feature among the Ghaznavides. And the Ghoris followed in the footsteps of their predecessors.

Thus when the Turks had established their authority in India they had no definite tradition to fall back upon to decide the question of succession. In the initial stages, the principle of the survival of the fittest was stressed. Subsequently, it was adjusted with the will of the deceased or the dying sovereign. But in spite of deviations and vagaries, the hereditary principle was scrupulously adhered to, and normally succession was confined to the family and offspring of a deceased monarch, though the power to choose a successor changed hands very frequently. Mostly it was exercised by one or the other of the factions among the nobles who were also military leaders. Sometimes at critical junctures a successful military leader himself stepped to the throne. In brief, in case of a conflict the sword was the final arbiter of claims to the throne.

It is in this context that the position of Firuz has to be examined. Contemporary historians have adduced considerations which, in their opinion, provided a valid justification for his accession.²² They give the first place to his seniority and experience which in the then circumstances helped the military leaders to decide the question in his favour. This is sought to be confirmed by the fact of his having been nominated as his successor by the late Sultan²³ who in his kindness had given him every opportunity to acquire first-hand knowledge of administration, having appointed him to the post of Naib Barbak²⁴. In the third place, mention is made of the prophecies by distinguished saints to the effect that Firuz would some day become a sovereign.

But if we scrutinize the above considerations closely we shall find them beset with serious flaws. In fact they appear to be after-thoughts devised to provide justification for an accomplished fact. Reading in between the lines of Barani²⁵ and Shams-i-Siraj Afif²⁶ we can come to the conclusion that the decision which was taken by the military and religious leaders was not a normal decision. It was an abnormal decision taken in an abnormal set of circumstances. Nor was it taken without arousing some opposition and resentment which would not have occurred if the fact of the nomination of Firuz by the late Sultan were either a truth direct or indirect. The only solitary instance of a

sovereign nominating his successor some one outside the circle of his own progeny is that of Qutbuddin Aibak. But even in this case the fact of nomination is of doubtful veracity, because Minhaj-us-Siraj²⁷ makes conflicting statements with regard to it. Iltutmish nominated Razia when he found his sons to be incompetent. In the case of Masud the claims of his uncles were passed over in preference to those of his own. Even so he was in the direct line of Iltutmish. Thus the tradition of confining succession to a line as distinct from a family or house was gaining ground in India and the case of Firuz militates against it. Even conceding his seniority and experience, it is difficult to reconcile ourselves with the way in which the decision was arrived at. Coercion in politics is not unusual, but that Firuz should have lent his support to it appears strange in the light of his character as delineated by contemporary and later writers.

There is, however, another aspect of the problem which deserves serious consideration, viz., the determination of the claims of Firuz Tughluq vis-a-vis those of other candidates. Contemporary historians have referred to two of them, viz., (1) an unnamed son of Sultan Muhammad Tughluq whom Khvaja Jahan Ayaz placed on the throne at Delhi and (2) Davar Malik, son of Khudavand Zada, the sister of the late Sultan. As to the former, Barani²⁸ has denounced him as a child of obscure parentage who was put up by the Prime Minister in furtherance of his own designs. According to Afif²⁹ when the news of the activities of Khvaja Jahan at Delhi reached Tattah Firuz Shah called a council of all the princes and nobles in the army in which it was unanimously agreed that the Sultan Muhammad had no son but only a daughter who was born in the reign of Sultan Tughluq. They condemned the attitude of Khvaja and called his protege a fraud. But when describing the rebellion of Khvaja Jahan Ayaz the very same writer says that he announced to the public the report brought from Tattah by Malik Tuntun and raised a son of Muhammad Tughluq to the throne.³⁰ Here he does not appear to doubt the identity of the boy. The historian's source of information was Kishlu Khan, son of Bahram Abiya, and a contemporary of Ghiyas-ud-din and Muhammad Tughluq. Yahya has paraphrased Barani's version adding that Khvaja Jahan having proclaimed this child of obscure parentage called him Ghiyas-ud-din Muhammad, and sent word to Firuz that

sovereignty still belonged to the house of Muhammad Tughluq.³¹ Thereupon, Firuz called together religious and political leaders and pressed before them his claims, on the basis of his intimate relations with the late Sultan and the obscure origin of the protégé of Khvaja Jahan Ayaz saying, "Had the late Sultan a son, the fact would not have been hidden from me."³² The author of *Sirat-i-Firuz Shahi* does not mention the episode specifically. Ibn-Batutah had left India in 1341-42 A.D. and it is likely that the child was born to Muhammad Tughluq after his departure, Isami was too far away to know the details with regard to the affairs at Delhi. The author of *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi*³³ has evidently paraphrased Barani and its testimony cannot be accepted as authentic. Nor can we accept the version of Nizamuddin Ahmad.³⁴ As to Budaoni³⁵ and Firishta³⁶ the former has reproduced a cock and a bull story unworthy of credence and the statements of the latter are all self-contradictory. In other words the likelihood of Sultan Muhammad Tughluq leaving an infant son behind cannot be completely ruled out. The negative testimony of the contemporary writers on this point is clear; the silence of others cannot lead us to any definite conclusion. Almost every individual historian is full of praise for the achievements of Firuz Tughluq because he promoted the cause of religion by acting according to the behests of divines. No wonder, therefore, that they have in their own way devised justifications for his claims on the throne.

But apart from the existence or otherwise of a son of Muhammad Tughluq, there was his nephew Davar Malik whose claims were vigorously pressed by the latter's mother Khudavand Zada.³⁷ Undoubtedly he was in the direct line of Ghiyas-ud-din, and though perhaps still a stripling should have been supported on grounds of heredity. It is recorded that the council of ministers and other military leaders gave very serious consideration to the matter and Khudavand-Zada herself appeared to plead her son's case.³⁸ In normal conditions she might have carried the day, but the existing crisis exercised the thoughts of the leaders. When, therefore, Khudavand Zada insisted to have her say, she was silenced or bribed into silence. It was bluntly told to her that the security of life and property in the imperial camp was more important than the claims of her son, and that even if his claims were conceded he would not be able to inspire confidence

or earn the esteem either of the masses or the classes.³⁹ To assuage her further the post of Naib Barbak was given to her son.⁴⁰ But she could neither forget nor forgive the episode and subsequently at Delhi she formed a plot to take the life of the Sultan.⁴¹

Nor should it be forgotten that even after the so-called unanimous election, Firuz was reluctant to mount the throne.⁴² Maybe he was imitating his uncle Ghiyas-ud-din Tughluq. Barani⁴³ and Afif⁴⁴ have adduced various reasons for it, as for example, the Sultan's fear of God and his averseness to assuming such a heavy responsibility. But if his predecessor had intended that he should succeed him and with that end in view had provided him with opportunities of gaining first hand experience of administrative matters, he should not have hesitated to ascend the throne. Firuz Tughluq's attitude appears to be inexplicable. Conceding that the sudden death of his cousin was very upsetting to him, the spontaneous and unanimous support of his cause by the military and religious leaders should have added to his confidence instead of creating a sense of diffidence in him. Perhaps his conscience was pricking him, because he was riding rough-shod over the legitimate claims of other candidates or otherwise he was apprehensive of opposition. In fact, in course of his journey from Tattah to Delhi several unsuccessful attempts were made on his life,⁴⁵ which knocks the bottom out of the common belief fostered by the deceptive words of contemporary historians and paraphrased by subsequent writers that his succession to the throne remained unchallenged.

But the merit of Firuz Tughluq's claims rests on other considerations than those indicated above. In view of the recurring emphasis in the Turkish polity of India and elsewhere on the principle of the survival of the fittest in moments of crisis, the conception of usurpation has no place. It does not fit either with the democratic tradition of Islam or the hard realities of the history of succession in Islamic countries. In fact, usurpation means repudiation of the principle of heredity. As such every important ruler of the Sultnat period, would have to be called a usurper. Iltutmish successfully challenged the claims of Aram; Balban set aside the offspring of his benefactor; Jalaluddin Khalji relegated into oblivion the surviving members of the family of Balban; Alauddin murdered his own uncle, and

Ghiyas-ud-din Tughluq walked in the footsteps of his predecessors. Indeed some of the circumstances preceding the accession of Ghiyas-ud-din are identical with those which preceded the election of Firuz Tughluq. In either case the assembled leaders unanimously proclaimed that there was none in the direct line of the deceased monarch. The hand of religious classes is also a common factor. In short, it was the exigency of the situation which threw up Firuz into prominence, and historians, contemporary and later, have created justification for a fact which had been accomplished under the pressure of necessity.

ACCESSION AND EARLY DIFFICULTIES

Thus Firuz ascended the throne at Tattah on 24th Muharrum 752 A.H./23rd March, 1351 A.D.⁴⁶ in an atmosphere charged with hope and fear. The occasion was celebrated with the usual rejoicings and the new Sultan was the recipient of congratulations from every quarter. Khudavandzada offered him the crown which had adorned the foreheads of his predecessors, valued at 10 lacs of tankas.⁴⁷ This was perhaps a token of loyalty which she had pledged to the sovereign. But serious and weighty were the responsibilities which stared Firuz in the face. The sense of danger was gripping the mind of his followers who were pining for peace and security. The problem which called for earnest and immediate attention of the Sultan was the Mughal menace. To liquidate it, the scattered soldiery was forthwith assembled and an attack was launched on the free-booters who were defeated and put to flight. They left their bag and baggage behind, and it fell into the hands of the victors. This was followed by the proclamation of general amnesty for such suspicious characters as had been put behind the bars, pending the decision of the question of succession.⁴⁸

But the generosity of the Sultan instead of pacifying the disgruntled elements encouraged them to redouble their efforts to create trouble. The author of Sirat-i-Firuz Shahi who completed his work in 1370-71 A.D. cites few instances in which attempts were made to take the life of the Sultan.⁴⁹ On one occasion he was invited to a dinner and poison was mixed with the eatables and drinks which were served to him; on another occasion a betel leaf with acacia pills rolled into it was offered to him; on a third occasion it was planned to murder him in

the hunting field at an opportune moment when he would be separated from his personal attendants, and on the fourth an arrow which was shot at the game struck the Sultan's robes. The author concludes each of these episodes with the remark that as the divine will was in his favour no harm befell him. But in effect it is a proof of the existence of a group in the camp which had not reconciled itself to the elevation of Firuz Tughluq to the throne, and which was constantly on the lookout for an opportunity to unsettle the settled fact.

The journey from Tattah to Delhi according to Barani⁵⁰ was like a triumphal procession. The first halt was made at Svistan to give rest to the army. Here the Sultan restored the assignments which had been brought under the Khalsa by his predecessor, alms were distributed to the poor and the indigent, and the envoys from Egypt and other foreign countries, who had been accredited to the court of Muhammad Tughluq were given leave to depart. Uch was the next stage in the journey. Here besides indulging in magnificent charity the Sultan ordered repairs to the tomb of Shaikh Jamaluddin and received the Ulamas, the Shaikhs and zamindars who had arrived from Multan to wait on him and to offer their felicitations. After he had left Uch and was on his way to Dipalpur, the Sultan received the report of events at Delhi. At Ajudhan⁵¹ he went to pay his respects to Shaikh-u-Islam, Shaikh Farid-ud-din and offered presents and gifts to the descendants of Shaikh Alauddin.⁵² At Fathbad he was joined by Malik Maqbul and Malik Qabtaga who had deserted Khvaja Jahan Ayaz.⁵³ Three days later arrived in the camp of Malik Muhammad with the troops from Samana and Sanam. At Hansi the Sultan and Tatar Khan waited upon Shaikh Qutbuddin who blessed them and advised Firuz to give up drinking.⁵⁴ On the day the Sultan left Hansi, were produced before him Shaikhzadah Bustami, Nathu Sodhal, Hasan Badruz, Husam Adhang and other associates of Ayaz with turbans round their necks. They were followed by Ayaz who was placed under surveillance.⁵⁵ When the royal cavalcade arrived within three karohs of the capital the Ulamas, the Shaikhs, the Sufis, the qalandars, the haidaris, the traders, the merchants, the notables, the sarafs, the Brahmans, all came out to extend to him a hearty welcome. He entered Delhi at an auspicious moment and took his seat on the throne. The city became the scene of universal

rejoicings. It was profusely decorated with victory arches, and floral buntings were erected at many places. Feasting, music and dancing continued for twentyone days.⁵⁶

Only a little before, the town had been in the grip of tension and suspense due to the activities of the prime minister who according to Barani to perpetuate his dominance had proclaimed a child of obscure parentage in opposition to Firuz.⁵⁷ But the stars were pointing towards the rising fortune of the latter; the efforts of the Khvaja Jahan proved abortive. He had not only to regret for his rebellious conduct but had to pay dearly for it. The author of Sirat-i-Firuz Shahi without saying anything about the identity of the child, refers to the hostile attitude adopted by Khvaja Jahan who recklessly distributed money to the assembled troops.⁵⁸ But Shams-i-Siraj Afif has given a detailed account of the circumstances which compelled the Khvaja Jahan to resort to the step.⁵⁹ According to him, it was dictated by the exigency of the situation which had arisen consequent upon the alarming report of the events at Tattah conveyed by a slave, Malik Tuntun, who had returned from there. He unfolded the story of the pandemonium prevailing there because of the sudden death of the Sultan and the disappearance of Firuz in the midst of orgy of bloodshed and violence let loose by the Chagtai auxiliaries. Hence to avoid untoward developments Khvaja Jahan acted the way he did. The difference in the version of Barani and Afif has given rise to a controversy, and some modern historians are inclined to believe the latter in preference to the former. To support their point of view they have urged that Barani was an implacable enemy of Khvaja Jahan Ayaz whom he regarded as the evil genius of the late Sultan and source of all mischief which had occurred during his reign. No wonder, therefore, that he has painted his character in a very dark hue; whereas Afif, who obtained his information from very reliable sources, was in a position to take an objective view of the entire affair. But if we analyse the statements of the two we shall find that the difference between the two is of degree rather than of the fundamentals. Barani has attributed a selfish motive to the Khvaja Jahan, whereas Afif does not doubt the sincerity of the minister. He adds that on hearing of the mishap which had occurred to Firuz, Khvaja Jahan expressed his feelings of sorrow, because he had a deep affection for him. His loyalty to the heir of the deceased

sovereign as much as his concern for the interests of the State and sincerity of the realm demanded immediate action with the object of allaying fear, and suspicion and preventing further deterioration in the political situation which was full of explosive tendencies. Evidently, the last device to achieve the object was to have a sovereign at the helm of affairs, however, nominal he might be. His existence would impart the colour of legality to the steps he was intending to take. To this extent his actions were legitimate and do not deserve the condemnation which Barani has given vent to.

According to Afif⁶⁰ when the state of affairs at Tattah came to the knowledge of Khvaja Jahan, he regretted the action he had taken. It can easily be presumed that he had numerous enemies among the followers of Firuz and he could not expect any quarter from them. In these circumstances, it became impossible for him to recede from the position he had taken. Naturally rumours of varied types began to spread. For example, it was given out that Khvaja Jahan intended to destroy the families of such amirs as were siding with Firuz by placing them in a balista which would be discharged. Or again, that Khvaja Jahan had destroyed the country between Delhi and Rohtak for about 30 Karohs. But not until Firuz Tughluq arrived at Multan that this equanimity was disturbed. Here he had a consultation with his officers and discussed the situation. It was suggested to him that instead of marching on Delhi he should go to Gujarat, recover that province and make it a base of operation for the capture of the capital. But the Sultan turned down the proposal and preferred to risk an open fight. His discussion proved encouraging to the people of Delhi and desertions began to occur. Even Qivaul-mulk, one of the most trusted lieutenants quietly left the capital and joined the Sultan. This disconcerted Khvaja Jahan who felt that the ground was slipping from underneath his feet. He moved out of Delhi and encamped at Hauz-i-Alai where he was joined by his associates like Malik Hasan, Malik Khatib and Malik Hisamuddin Uzbek who pressed him to give a fight to Firuz. But shrewd as Khvaja Jahan was, he forthwith rejected the proposal and made up his mind to tender unqualified surrender to the Sultan. Firuz Tughluq, in view of his past associations with him relented towards him and wanted to reinstate him. But the opposition

group led by Imadul mulk threatened to leave for Mecca if this was done. They insisted that Khvaja Jahan should be hanged. In a state of helplessness the Sultan left the case in their hands. The opponents of Khvaja planned to remove him by assigning Hansi to him. When the latter had moved towards the destination they had him murdered.

Even a cursory glance through the narration of Afif leaves no doubt that Khvaja Jahan did resort to rebellion, but the historian has exonerated him by adducing extenuating circumstances. And there is no reason to disbelieve him. He has written on the authority of Kishvar Khan, son of Bahram Abiya, a distinguished noble of the court. Khvaja Jahan did what any other responsible officer in his position would have done. Even if we concede with the statement of Barani that his motive was questionable and that he was egged on by selfishness and greed for power, it was nothing strange in an age in which he lived. But we cannot altogether ignore the decisive testimony of Afif⁶¹ that Khvaja Jahan had a sort of paternal affection for Firuz Tughluq. The responsibility for the hardening of attitude on either side should be attributed to interested parties which had their own axe to grind. Having once committed himself to a line of action Khvaja Jahan had to rely on his supporters, though in the last resort he brushed aside their suggestion and advice. On the other hand, Firuz Tughluq from the very start had surrendered his initiative to others and even when he wanted to be lenient to Khvaja Jahan he was not permitted to do so. In short, the rebellion of Khvaja Jahan was not a voluntary or premeditated action. It was purely accidental.

However, whatever might be the justification of the actions of Khvaja, there is no denying the fact that it added to the difficulties of Firuz by threatening the peace and tranquillity of the city and forming a rival group in the capital. His unconditional surrender and finally execution, therefore, solved one of the major problems of the Sultan, and hastened his triumphal march to Delhi.

Another problem which was weighing heavily on the mind of Firuz was the suppression of the rebel Taghi who had escaped from Tattah to Gujarat. But as the stars were all in his favour, the problem was automatically solved for the amirs of Gujarat murdered the rebel there, and with a sigh of relief the Sultan received his death news on the day he stepped into the city of Delhi.⁶²

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Shortly after his arrival in the capital, Firuz had to face another conspiracy led by Khudavandzada and her husband Khusrav Malik.⁴⁹ It is related that they used to reside in the palace of Muhammad Tughluq where Firuz on every Friday after the evening prayer used to meet and converse for a long time. The conversation used to be held in the wardrobe room where Khudavandzada and Firuz would sit together. Davar Malik, her son, would sit behind and Khusrav Malik would remain standing. After the conversation Khudavandzada would give a betel leaf to Firuz and the latter would depart.

Taking advantage of the paternal attitude of the Sultan Khusrav Malik and Khudavandzada hatched a plan to murder him. According to it, the two rooms were filled by men clad in armour and were instructed to cut off the head of Firuz when engaged in conversation with Khudavandzada who would give a signal by setting her garment right on the head. Some of them remained hidden. But Davar Malik who was not a party to this conspiracy, exposed the secret to the Sultan immediately after his arrival. The Sultan having been forewarned at once left the place on the pretence of his son's illness, in spite of the pressure of Khudavandzada to stay. The armed men who remained hidden could not know anything of all these happenings and thus the conspiracy ended in a fiasco. The Sultan then emerged out of the house of Khudavandzada and shouted for his followers. But this being Friday the amirs had gone away; only Rai Bhiru one of his trusted bodyguards came to his rescue. The Sultan snatched his sword from his hand and came out of the palace of Muhammad Tughluq. Going to the top of his palace he sent for the amirs and explained the situation. The house of Khudavandzada was then raided and the miscreants were all arrested. The armed men being chastised confessed. The Sultan then forced Khudavandzada to retire, confiscated her property and fixed an annual allowance upon her. Khusrav Malik was exiled and Davar Malik was asked to visit the Sultan on the first of every month.

Thus fortune smiled upon Firuz and by overcoming all oppositions he became the *de facto* and *de jure* sovereign and devoted himself to the task of reorganizing the administrative machinery after a new pattern.

REFERENCES

- ¹ Afif, p. 36.
- ² *Ibid.* "Dipalpur is a village to-day, the headquarter of the Tahsil Dipalpur in the Punjab. It is situated in 30° 40' N and 73° 32' E in Bari Doab. It lies on the old bank of Bias and the decay of the town is attributed to the shifting of that river". (*Imp. Gaz.*,—Vol. XI, p. 359). Afif, pp. 36-37 writes, "It was a wide area inhabited mostly by the Mini and Bhatti tribes. The town of Abuhar was one of its dependencies where Sadul Mulk Shihab, the great grandfather of Afif was the revenue collector."
- ³ Afif, pp. 36-41.
- ⁴ *Ibid.*, (Elliot), Vol. III, pp. 272-73.
- ⁵ *Ibid.*
- ⁶ Afif, pp. 40-41.
- ⁷ & ⁸ According to Afif, p. 41, when Ghiyas-ud-din had ascended the throne, Firuz had reached the age of fourteen; and eighteen, when Muhammad Tughluq succeeded Ghiyasuddin. But this does not seem to be correct. It goes against the writer's own statement, because if we accept that Firuz Shah was born in the year 1309 A.D. then in 1320 A.D. when Ghiyasuddin had ascended the throne, his age would not have been more than twelve. Similarly when Muhammad Tughluq ascended the throne in the year 1325 A.D., the age of Firuz would not have been more than seventeen. Afif has probably given an approximate idea instead of a correct one.
- ⁹ Afif, p. 41.
- ¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 41-42.
- ¹¹ *Ibid.*
- ¹² Barani, pp. 508-9.
- ¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 521-22, On this occasion the Sultan is said to have remarked, "If I can settle the affairs of my kingdom according to my wish, I will resign my realm of Delhi to 3 persons e.g. Malik Firuz Shah, Malik Kabir, and Ahmad Ayaz and I will then proceed on the pilgrimage to the holy temple."
- ¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 531-32.
- ¹⁵ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁶ Barani, pp. 531-38; Afif, pp. 43-48.
- ¹⁷ Afif, pp. 27-29.
- ¹⁸ See Sir Wolsey Haig's article in the *J.R.A.S.*, 1922, pp. 371-72 and also *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III, p. 173.
- ¹⁹ Ameer Ali, *History of Saracens*, pp. 21-46; Hitti, *History of Arabs*, pp. 178-79.
- ²⁰ Hitti, p. 179; Ameer Ali, *History of Saracens*, pp. 46-49.
- ²¹ See details in Ameer Ali, *History of Saracens*, pp. 70-184; Hitti, pp. 189-98.
- ²² Barani, pp. 531-38; Afif, pp. 43-48.
- ²³ *Ibid.*, p. 532.
- ²⁴ Afif, pp. 41-42.
- ²⁵ Barani, pp. 531-38.

CHILDHOOD OF FIRUZ SHAH

- 26 Afif, pp. 43-48.
- 27 Minhaj-us-Siraj, (Raverty), Vol. 1, pp. 528-31.
- 28 Barani, p. 539.
- 29 Afif, pp. 53-56.
- 30 *Ibid.*, pp. 50-51.
- 31 Yahya, (Basu), pp. 24-25.
- 32 *Ibid.*
- 33 *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi*, (A.U. Ms.), pp. 154-55.
- 34 *Tabqat-i-Akbari*, (Persian Text), p. 226, writes, "Khvaja Jahan had placed a boy of unknown birth on the throne describing him as a son of Sultan Muhammad Shah and had given him the designation of Sultan Ghiyasuddin Muhammad Shah and constituted himself as the regent with absolute power."
- 35 Budaoni, (Ranking), pp. 322-23.
- 36 Firishta, (Briggs.) Vol. 1, pp. 446-47.
- 37 Afif, pp. 44-45.
- 38 *Ibid*, p. 45.
- 39 *Ibid*, p. 46.
- 40 *Ibid*.
- 41 *Ibid*, pp. 100-3.
- 42 *Ibid*, p. 47 ; Barani, pp. 535-36.
- 43 Barani, pp. 535-36.
- 44 Afif, pp. 47-48.
- 45 See *Sirat-i-Firuz Shahi*, (A.U. Ms.), pp. 6-9.
- 46 Barani, pp. 535-36 ; Afif, p. 48.
- 47 Afif, pp. 47-48.
- 48 *Ibid*, pp. 48-49, *Sirat*, (A.U. Ms.), p. 4 ; Barani, pp. 537-38.
- 49 *Sirat-i-Firuz Shahi* (A.U. Ms.), pp. 6-9.
- 50 Barani, pp. 538-48. For details of the march see also Afif, pp. 57-62.
- 51 "It is an ancient town situated on the bank of the Sutlej and 10 miles from the present course of the river". Alexander Cunningham, *Ancient Geography of India*, p. 245.
- 52 Barani, pp. 542-43.
- 53 *Ibid*, p. 545 ; Afif, pp. 61-62.
- 54 Afif, pp. 78-82.
- 55 Barani, pp. 545-46.
- 56 Afif, p. 88.
- 57 Barani, p. 539.
- 58 *Sirat*, (A.U. Ms.), pp. 9-10.
- 59 Afif, pp. 50-53.
- 60 *Ibid*, p. 53.
- 61 *Ibid*, pp. 73-74.
- 62 *Sirat*, (A.U. Ms.), pp. 21-22.
- 63 See details, Afif, pp. 100-2.

CHAPTER III

MILITARY EXPEDITIONS, INTERNAL REBELLIONS AND HIS LAST DAYS.

MILITARY EXPEDITIONS

In spite of the progressive reforms introduced by Firuz which helped him to consolidate his empire internally, his regime was marred by the absence of a strong foreign policy. The reason for its chronic weakness may be traced to the character of the Sultan himself for he was neither a statesman nor a skilled military general. This basic drawback in the make-up of Firuz was responsible for his inability to formulate concrete schemes for the recovery of lost territories, not to speak of further territorial aggrandisement,—nor can we omit to take note of the spirit of the age in which politicians reposed more faith in the efficiency of the sword than in the potency of reason. It is summed up in the following lines of verse—

“If you desire stability and peace to stalk your country;
Keep your sword in a state of restlessness”¹

Iltutmish, Balban, Alauddin Khilji had always acted on this principle; but Firuz Shah could not do it. To cover up this particular weakness of the Sultan, Afif² writes, “Sultan was endowed with the ethical virtues of a saint who wanted to rule the people by means of conciliation, forgiveness, mercy and benevolence without using sword against them. He did not believe in the military sanctions of sovereignty, based on the above couplet. He used to remark that the past kings did not realize how a poor mother keeps a baby in her womb for nine months and suffers pain in giving birth to it. She feeds it for 2½ months and takes much pains in bringing it up. The Sultan based his rule on this particular sentiment and had it engraved on the royal palace... Throughout his long reign there was perfect peace within the empire and the weapons of war became useless”.³ But the facts unfold a different story and reveal that the statement of Afif is nothing short of over-exaggeration of the virtues of the Sultan. It is wrong to presume that there was perfect peace within the empire or the Sultan, owing to his excessive

kindness, was averse to shedding human blood. It is well known on the authority of contemporary writers that he led military campaigns to Bengal, Sind, Jajnapur and Nagarkot which took heavy toll of life. If the Sultan was so kind-hearted or averse to the use of sword who prevented him in going Asoka's way? Why did he undertake these expeditions at all? He must have been cognisant of its consequences and could have easily averted them. The mere fact that he undertook these expeditions is a positive proof of the fact that the maxim which he had engraved on the royal palaces or on which he based his rule did not represent his genuine feelings. In his heart of hearts he always cherished a desire to extend his dominions or recover the lost provinces of the empire which he could not realize owing to this weakness noted earlier. His expeditions to Bengal and Sind were nothing but an attempt to reassert the imperial authority over these provinces. But the manner in which he conducted them exposes the lack of statesmanly instinct in him which was unbecoming of a sovereign in the Sultunat period. Twice did he invade the province of Bengal but a galore of missed opportunities left his score sheet blank; and for this nobody but his weak character was to be blamed. His expedition to Sind was the most unhappy experience of his life. It was concluded at the cost of terrible sufferings to the soldiers and heavy loss to the imperial exchequer. Not an inch of land was conquered. Moreover the want of military skill in him comes into bold relief in the context of his indifference towards recovering the lost kingdoms of Mabbar and the Deccan which had become independent during the reign of Muhammad Tughluq. After his return from the expedition to Sind, while the Sultan was engaged in settling the affairs of the state, the messengers from Mabbar arrived at Delhi, complaining against a chief Bakan⁴ who had seized Mabbar by overthrowing its ruler Kurbat Hasan Kangu.⁵ They implored the Sultan to extend protection to Muslim women who had been victims of atrocities at the hands of the Hindus.⁶ But nothing could move the weak-minded Sultan to action and he expressed his inability to do anything on the pretext that his army was exhausted because of long marches in his campaigns in Sind. But he assured them that he would march to the distracted region as soon as his troops were in a position to do it.⁷ Shortly after this officers of the Sultan suggested to him to

lead a campaign against the kingdom of Daulatabad. But he fought shy of responding to the proposal. When the matter was broached by Khanjahan, the Sultan's eyes became full of tears, at the idea of shedding the blood of the Muslims and he vowed never to wage war against his co-religionists.⁸ In fact, this was a face saving excuse. It covered up the weakness of his mind with the cloak of religion.

The Sultan was, however, successful in his minor expeditions those against Jajnagar and Nagarkot. The former was indeed a bold venture involving a march into an unknown land full of dense forests and trackless regions ; but it did not yield results commensurate with the sufferings borne. All this unmistakably points to the conclusion that Firuz Shah was not even a mediocre military leader. Naturally he failed not only to add any territory to the empire but even to assert his authority on lands which he could have legitimately claimed as his own.

Attempts to reassert imperial authority in Northern India.

Major Campaigns :

FIRST EXPEDITION TO BENGAL

Bengal had been a dependent province of the Delhi Sultunat since the days of Qutbuddin Aibak and was administered by the governors appointed by the Central authority. The names of the Sultans of Delhi were recited in the Khutbah and appeared on the coins. Normally the governors remained loyal but occasionally they revolted, even compelling the Sultans to march in person and suppress them with an iron hand. However, the province recognized the sovereignty of the Sultunat till the rule of Bahram Khan, a deputy of Muhammad Tughluq. During the governorship of Qadr Khan, Fakhruddin⁹ the armour bearer rose to power and usurping all authorities in his hand he murdered Qadr Khan and established an independent principality at Sonargaon.¹⁰ Thus Fakhruddin¹¹ became the first ruler of the independent Bengal.¹² While Fakhruddin ruled over Sonargaon, Ali Mubarak¹³ ruled over Lakhnawati from 742 A.H. to 746 A.H.¹⁴/1341 A.D. to 1345 A.D. with the title of Alauddin. There was close rivalry between the two.¹⁵ The reign of Ali Mubarak in Lakhnawati terminated with his murder by his step

brother, Shamshuddin, who made himself master of Lakhnawati in the year 746 A.H.¹⁶/1345 A.D.

During the life time of Fakhruddin¹⁷ Ikhtiyaruddin Ghazi Shah ruled over a part of Sonargaon from 751 A.H. to 753 A.H. 1350 A.D. to 1352 A.D.¹⁸, when Haji Ilyas arrived at Sonargaon and made himself master of Sonargaon by overthrowing him.¹⁹ Thus when Firuz Shah Tughluq ascended the throne, Bengal was being ruled by Haji Ilyas Shamshuddin, who used to be called Shamshuddin Bhangarah.²⁰ Ilyas Shah established his capital at Pandua.²¹ He was an ambitious ruler who wanted to raise the glory of his empire by an aggressive policy of expansion of its boundaries. Shortly after his succession he invaded the kingdom of Jajnagar and secured the submission of the Rai who had offered him many presents, including some elephants. He had also encroached upon the neighbouring territories of Tirhut,²² Bharaich²³ and proceeded as far as Benaras. People in these districts were much oppressed and their property was looted. Shamshuddin had also imposed some illegal cesses which added to their sufferings.²⁴ Even women were subjected to great coercion. When the atrocities of Shamshuddin became unbearable to the people of Lakhnawati they sent a written petition to Firuz requesting his protection in the matter.²⁵ When Firuz Shah read the petition he was highly offended at the attitude of Ilyas and wrote a letter warning him; but to no effect, because the latter did not refrain from his atrocious activities.²⁶ This provided a justification for a military campaign against Bengal, the ostensible object of which was to punish Shamshuddin and save the people from his oppression.²⁷ He issued a proclamation which reads as follows :

“Whereas it has come to our auspicious ear that Ilyas Haji has been committing oppression and high-handedness upon the people of the territory of Lakhnawati and Tirhut, shedding unnecessary blood, even shedding the blood of women although it is a well established proposition in every creed and doctrine that no woman, even if she be a Kafer, should be slain. And whereas the said Ilyas Haji has been levying illegal cesses not sanctioned by the law of Islam and thus putting the people into trouble, there being no security of life and property, no safety for honour and chastity. And whereas the territory was conquered by our Masters and has come down to us by inheritance and also as a

gift of the Imam (Abasid Caliph of Egypt) it devolves upon our royal and courageous selves to safeguard the people of that State. And as Iliyas Haji during the life time of his late Majesty was obedient and loyal to the throne and even during our auspicious coronation he confessed his submission and fealty, as becomes a subordinate, sending petitions and waiters to attend upon us, so if heretofore, it were brought to our august notice an infinitesimal part of the oppression and high-handedness that he had been committing on God's creatures we might have admonished him, so that he might have desisted therefrom. And whereas he has exceeded the limits and publicly rebelled against our authority, therefore, we have approached with an invincible army for the purpose of opening this territory and for the happiness of the people thereof, desiring thereby to deliver all from his tyranny, to convert, the wounds of the oppression by the salves of justice and mercy and that the tree of their existence, withered by hot pestilential wound of tyranny and oppression, might flourish and fructify by the limpid water of our bounty....."²⁸

Another motive which may be inferred from the attitude of the Sultan was his desire to reassert the imperial authority over the lost provinces of Bengal. It being a war against a co-religionist, the Sultan was then to impart to it a justification in the eyes of religious leaders whom he was ever anxious to placate. No wonder that in his declaration he laid especial emphasis upon the necessity of affording relief and protection to the oppressed subjects, though the undenying motive was basically political.

Leaving the Wazir Khanjahan at Delhi, the Sultan left for Lakhnawati on the 10th Shawal 754 A.H./November 1353 A.D.²⁹ with an army consisting of 70,000 Khans and Maliks 80,000 cavalry, 470 elephants in addition to infantry³⁰ After a continuous march the imperialists reached Oudh and secured support of a large number of Ranas and Muqaddims, who accompanied them in the way and added much to the strength of the army by their contribution to infantry and elephants.³¹ After crossing the river Sarju³² the army passed through Gorakhpur,³³ Kharosa and Tirhut. The Rais of Gorakhpur and Kharosa³⁴, who had been evading payment of tribute for a long time, submitted and paid their dues in lacs. They offered some valuable presents

to the Sultan in addition to the elephants and received his favour.³⁵ Besides this they also helped him with their infantry and cavalry and joined the army which continued its march till it arrived on the bank of the river Kosi.³⁶

Haji Ilyas Shamshuddin, on the other hand, hearing the approach of the imperialists, fled from Tirhut to Pandua and encamped on the opposite bank of the river Kosi, which was so deep and its current so strong that it was too difficult to cross it. The Sultan, therefore, moved 200 miles upwards and arrived at a place where the river issued from the mountain.³⁷ Although the water was not so deep yet the current was so strong there that it could wash off a load of 500 maunds.³⁸ But the Sultan used the elephants in breaking the force of the current. They were placed in two rows in the river with ropes tied to the legs, and the soldiers managed to cross the river with great difficulty.³⁹ As the imperial forces were approaching fast, Ilyas Shah left Pandua and took refuge in the fort of Ikdala.⁴⁰ Firuz Shah pursued him by the way of Champaran⁴¹ and at last reached Pandua. He ordered his troops neither to harass the citizens nor to destroy the gardens of the palace of Ilyas.⁴² The imperialists encamped at a place just opposite to the fort of Ikdala.⁴³ Every day the army of Shamshuddin used to come out of the fort and indulge in sporadic raids.⁴⁴ This continued for a long⁴⁵ while, at length the Sultan held a council to decide the future strategy.⁴⁶

In the course of discussion it was pointed out to the Sultan that Shamshuddin had taken shelter in the fort of Ikdala because he was certain of the retreat of the imperialists during the rainy season, which was approaching fast. Once the rain had set in the low lands in which the imperialists had pitched their camp, would become water-logged. As such it was stressed that the operations should be completed before the rains. But this was not possible unless Shamshuddin had been lured out of the fort to meet the imperialists in an open engagement. The council devised a stratagem according to which they feigned retreat towards Delhi leaving behind a few soldiers in the disguise of beggars. The latter were directed to move to Ikdala and court capture by the evening. They were asked to inform Shamshuddin that the Sultan had retreated. The stratagem worked satisfactorily. When the fake beggars were ushered before Shamshuddin, they told the latter what they had been asked to.⁴⁷ Shamshuddin fell

a victim to the stratagem. Encouraged by seeming retreat of the Delhi army he emerged out of the fort to give a pursuit to the enemy. He pushed ahead with 10,000 cavalry, 2,00,000 infantry and 50 elephants.⁴⁸ Firuz Shah was lying in wait for the enemy. He disposed his army in battle array dividing it into three commands, i.e., the right wing under Malik Dhilan, the left wing under Malik Hasan Nawī and the middle under Tatar Khan. Each wing was supported by 30,000 cavalry.⁴⁹ The Sultan moved from one place to another goading his soldiers to action.⁵⁰

These preparations alarmed Shamshuddin who now realised that he had been deceived by the agents. The action started with full force. Shamshuddin attacked the left wing of the Firuz Shahi army ; the right wing fell on another group.⁵¹ The fighting continued for several days and a large number of Bengalis were slain in the field.⁵² Their bodies were piled in heaps which literally covered the entire field.⁵³ At length the imperialists won the day, and Iliyas Shah unable to resist, fled from the field. A large number of elephants,⁵⁴ the royal umbrella and other war materials fell into the hands of the imperialists.

Tatar Khan hotly pursued⁵⁵ Shamshuddin who took refuge in the fort of Ikdala again. The imperialists arrived there and were about to launch an attack on the fort when a large number of Muslim ladies appeared on the parapets of the fort, and removing their veils began to cry loudly appealing for mercy.⁵⁶

The mild-hearted Sultan was moved by the pathetic scene and he stopped fighting remarking, "I may enter into the fort and capture it, and the Khutbah may be read in my name but all these Muslim ladies would fall into the hands of our indisciplined soldiers and their honour will be at stake.....How shall I answer to God on the day of my judgement?"⁵⁷ Though Tatar Khan advised the Sultan to capture the fort, he remained firm in his resolve and abandoned the siege.⁵⁸ Undoubtedly the Sultan's attitude smacked of cowardice. The justification given by Afif⁵⁹ that he retreated in order to save the honour of Muslim women, does not carry conviction. In fact, there must have been some strange motive for the withdrawal. In this context it may be emphasized that Firuz was a poor military leader. Nor did he have guts to press any action against the enemy. On this occasion he might have been scared by the weakness of his own position. He was fighting in a distant land, away from

friendly regions and it is likely that supplies were failing him, and also that the spectre of heavy rains was staring him in the face. The presumption of religious sentiment is too much than a cloak to cover up his folly and weakness. It was only a face saving device.

The Sultan concluded peace with Shamsuddin who had written a letter of submission and had repented for his conduct. He promised to be loyal and in token thereof sent rich presents.⁶⁰ The Sultan released all the Bengali prisoners including the son of Shamsuddin and left Ikdala naming it Azadpur.⁶¹ He then came to Pandua where Khutbah was recited in his name. Pandua was renamed Firuzabad.⁶²

HIS RETURN

From Pandua the imperial army moved towards Delhi through Tirhut, Jagat⁶³ till it arrived on the bank of the river Sarju.⁶⁴ After crossing the river the imperialists reached Zafra-
bad,⁶⁵ where the Sultan permitted the Bengalis accompanying him from Pandua to return to their respective cities.⁶⁶ The imperial army then marched to Kara Manikpur,⁶⁷ crossed the river Ganges and arrived at Kol⁶⁸ and ultimately reached Delhi on the Shaban 755 A.H./1354 A.D.⁶⁹

The Wazir Khan Jahan who had been informed of the approach of the royal army before hand made elaborate preparations for the reception of the Sultan who had returned to the capital after 22 months.⁷⁰ The capital wore a gala appearance and festivities continued there for 21 days.⁷¹ The elephants which had been brought from Lakhnawati, were painted and covered with costly trappings and paraded through the streets of Delhi.

ITS EFFECT :

The net result of the expedition was the creation of friendly relations between the Sultan of Delhi and Haji Ilyas Shamsuddin. They were further cemented by exchange of gifts and envoys in 756 A.H./1355 A.D.⁷² In the year 757 A.H./1356 A.D.⁷³ Shamsuddin sent another envoy to Delhi in order to reaffirm his goodwill. Again in 758 A.H./1357 A.D.⁷⁴ he sent Tajuddin and others to Delhi with valuable gifts. In return Sultan Firuz sent many Arab and Turki horses and other presents through Malik Saifuddin. But when Saifuddin reached Bihar, he got the

news of death of Shamsuddin and so the gifts could not reach Bengal. Saifuddin was ordered to distribute them to the soldiers in lieu of their pay. Thus beyond a vague show of submissive attitude by the ruler of Bengal, the Sultan of Delhi gained little out of the costly and prolonged expedition. In effect that province continued to remain outside the pale of the authority of Firuz.

SECOND EXPEDITION TO BENGAL

Soon after the retreat of the imperial army in 754 A.H./1353 A.D. Haji Ilyas Shamsuddin marched to Sonargaon, killed Fakhruddin, gathered all power in his hand and committed atrocities upon the people there.⁷⁵ Zafar Khan, the son-in-law of the murdered chief, in sheer fright of the turn of the events escaped to Tattah from where he proceeded towards Delhi in 758 A.H./1357 A.D.⁷⁶ He met the Sultan at Hisar Firuza and related to him the pathetic tale of his sufferings. He solicited royal help for avenging the wrong done to his father-in-law and for his reinstatement in Sonargaon. The tender-hearted Sultan promised the refugee fullest support. He advanced to him and his followers a sum of four lacs of tankas besides conferring on him costly robes. Furthermore, an important post in the Diwan-i-Wizarat was assigned to Zafar Khan in addition to 1000 horsemen and innumerable infantry.⁷⁷ But these gifts and rewards did not soothe his mind that was thirsting for the blood of the enemy. He repeatedly broached the subject with the Sultan. The latter consulted Khanjahan and decided to lead a second military expedition to Bengal with the avowed object of reinstating the exiled Zafar Khan in the territory of Sonargaon.⁷⁸

Leaving Khanjahan at Delhi, Firuz started with a large army in 759 A.H./1358 A.D.⁷⁹ well equipped with two reception tents, two sleeping tents, and two tents for cooking and domestic work, 180 flags of various kinds, 84 drums and trumpets loaded upon asses, camels and horses in large number.⁸⁰ Tatar Khan also accompanied the Sultan for a few stages and then returned to Hisar Firuza.⁸¹ The imperial army marched through Kanauj,⁸² Oudh and reached Jaunpur where the Sultan stayed for six months and founded a city after the name of his illustrious predecessor Jaunan Shah⁸³ and, then, he marched to Bengal. When Sikandar Shah, the successor of Haji Ilyas heard of the

approach of the imperial army, he in full imitation of the example of Shamshuddin took shelter in the fort of Ikdala.⁸⁴ As on the previous occasion the imperialists opened the siege of the fort signalling their action with a heavy discharge of arrows and balistas.⁸⁵ In the midst of these operations one of the bastions of the fort collapsed causing much confusion on either side. In sheer nervousness Prince Fath Khan cried out, "The Bengalis are coming to fall upon the imperialists."⁸⁶ On hearing the uproar, the Sultan rushed to the spot and on the way was met by Hisamuddin Nawa who informed him of the actual state of affairs and sought his permission to dash into the fort and capture it at the opportune moment.⁸⁷ But the Sultan, apprehending the massacre of a large number of Muslims, did not agree to the proposal and asked him to wait till the following day.⁸⁸ Once more the Sultan, because of his chicken-heartedness, failed to rise to the occasion and play the rôle of a successful general. His hesitation proved a boon to the enemy, who, during the night, repaired the breach and strengthened their defences. Desultory warfare continued for days together till at length both the parties, getting tired of war opened negotiations for peace.⁸⁹

CONCLUSION OF PEACE

The plenipotentiary of Sultan Sikandar Shah⁹⁰ brought a letter to the minister of Firuz which contained the following words:

"Why should we fight among ourselves and be killed?..... The cause of Islam is endangered in this war because the combatants are Muslims. Soldiers of Sikandar want peace and therefore you (Wazir) should impress the desirability of the same upon your master and take him back."⁹¹ The Wazir read out the contents to Sultan who agreed to conclude peace only on condition of re-instatement of Zafar Khan on the throne of Sonargaon.⁹² This proposal was communicated to Sikandar through Haibat Khan, who had him specially appointed to conduct these negotiations between the parties. Sikandar readily agreed to it.⁹³ This greatly pleased the Sultan and he proclaimed, "There should be no war now."⁹⁴ He sent Malik Kabul, also called Toraband⁹⁵ to Sikandar with a golden embroidered cap costing 80,000 tankas, 500 Arabi and Turki horses.⁹⁶ Sultan Sikandar also sent 40 elephants and many useful articles to

Firuz and promised to pay yearly tribute in token of peace,⁹⁷ besides agreeing to quit the throne of Sonargaon in favour of Zafar Khan. The Sultan then asked Zafar Khan to proceed to Sonargaon offering to remain with his army near Ikdala till his arrival at the destination. But Zafar Khan consulted his followers and they pointed out to him the impossibility of staying at Sonargaon. He, therefore, gave up his project of going there and said to the Sultan, that he and his family were so happy and secure under the Government of Delhi that he had given up all desire for Sonargaon. In spite of the persuasion of the Sultan, Zafar Khan did not go to Sonargaon.⁹⁸ The Sultan left Bengal on Wednesday, 8th April 1360 A.D.⁹⁹ only with 40 elephants and the war booty as a token of his virtual victory.¹⁰⁰

EXPEDITION TO SIND

“Sind¹⁰¹ is a valley of many silences and these proclaim the limits in which its restricted life-flow wanders. Silence of desert and immensity of light without shade, silence as of drowsy forenoon of peaceful stretches of the river that have no allurements for the fisher. Silence of the more solemn of the dreary wastes where the river joins the sea on a lonely and uninviting coast, but has no silence so profound as the silence of its hills.”¹⁰² This valley once formed one of the most important dependencies of the Delhi Sultunat. Ever since its annexation by Muhammad of Ghor it had always been administered by the deputies appointed by the rulers of Delhi. But the rule of the Sultans was confined to the Upper Sind only, while the lower Sind was governed by the Sumras who established an independent power at Lar in 446 A.H./1054 A.D.¹⁰³ and ruled till the year 752 A.H./1351 A.D.¹⁰⁴, when they were finally overthrown by another tribe called Sammas.¹⁰⁵ Whatever be their genealogy¹⁰⁶ the fact cannot be denied that during the reign of Firuz, Tattah was being ruled by the Sammas. In 1361 A.D.¹⁰⁷ Firuz Shah made a feeble attempt for reasserting the imperial authority over Tattah¹⁰⁸ which was being governed by Jam Babaniya¹⁰⁹ at that time. The immediate cause which moved the Sultan to undertake this campaign was to suppress the high-handedness of Babaniya who in league with other Mughals frequently raided the provinces of the Punjab and Gujarat seizing men and money.¹¹⁰ In sheer

MILITARY EXPEDITIONS, INTERNAL REBELLIONS

distress Ain-ul-Mulk, who held the office of the fief holder of Multan¹¹¹ wrote a letter to the Malik-ush-Sharq imploring royal assistance.¹¹² The incident offered the Sultan the opportunity of recovering the lost province of Sind and so he marched there with an army of 90,000 cavalry, and 480 elephants equipped with 180 bags of grains, 2 sleeping tents, 2 dining tents along with other materials, leaving the Wazir Khanjahan at Delhi to act as Viceroy.¹¹³ On the way he visited the tomb of Shaikh Farid-uddin at Ajudhan and then after a continuous march arrived in the vicinity of Bhakkar and Svistan. The Governors, here, according to the royal instructions, had collected 5,000 boats, in which the imperial army crossed the river Sind and ultimately landed on the shores of Tattah.¹¹⁴

Jam Babaniya, the then ruler of Tattah opposed the imperialists with 20,000 cavalry, and 4 lacs infantry.¹¹⁵ But the royal army was greatly handicapped by the outbreak of pestilence among the horses which destroyed three-fourth of the total strength. Scarcity of food-grains leading to the rise in price from two to three tankas per maund added further to the sufferings of the soldiers who felt miserable. In spite of these calamities military operations did commence in Tattah.¹¹⁶ The imperial army was divided into three parts, viz., (1) right wing, (2) left wing (3) and the centre.¹¹⁷ The right wing and left wing of the army were posted on the western side, the naval forces towards the river while the Sultan himself commanded the centre on the eastern side.¹¹⁸ The battle ensued with a heavy discharge of arrows, the normal weapon of that age. While these preparations were going on, a strong gale enveloped the field making everything invisible, but the combatants continued to fight till the Jam and his army took to flight, and retired into a fort.¹¹⁹

The Sultan then held a council of war and expressed his desire of returning to Gujarat for re-inforcements with which to repeat the invasion of Tattah next year.¹²⁰ The council agreed to the proposal of the Sultan. The imperialists now set out for Gujarat leaving Tattah unconquered. But no sooner had the army gone 20 miles, than the soldiers of Tattah opened their onslaughts upon them.¹²¹ Zafar Khan who was in-charge of the rear and had a large force of Bengalis under his command, inflicted a crushing defeat upon the Tattahians, and slaying a large number of them sent their heads to the Sultan. But the flotilla of boats,

fell in the hands of the enemy. The imperialists, however, succeeded in saving the baggage and they resumed their march to Gujarat.¹²²

On the way the army faced a series of calamities. Firstly, the scarcity of grains, which was not available even at high prices, caused immense sufferings to the people.¹²³ Being unable to bear the pangs of hunger, men were compelled to boil old hides and eat them. All the horses perished and the Khans and Malikhs began to march on foot.¹²⁴ But worst was yet to come. They were deceived by the guides who led them to the salty region of Kunchiran¹²⁵ which was very near the sea. The Sultan, being informed of the mischief, beheaded some of the guides; but this brought no consolation to the distressed soldiery. They struggled hard in search of fresh water and they were able to find it after much labour.¹²⁶ They quenched their thirst. But this was not the end of their troubles, because, soon after they stepped into a desert where thousands of men and horses perished. This continued for six months. At last fortune smiled upon Firuz when the rain fell relieving the thirsty soldiers and a new route was found by which the army reached Gujarat.¹²⁷

Immediately after his arrival in Gujarat, the Sultan dismissed its governor, Amir Husan Nizam-ul-mulk, for his failure in sending supplies to the army which could have saved it from ruin.¹²⁸ This was followed by brisk preparations for the second campaign to Tattah. The revenue of Gujarat amounting to two crores was spent on troops. The irregular troops (Ghair-Wajāh dars) received advance from the Sultan for purchasing horses. The regulars (Wajāh dars) also received loans to equip themselves. The Wazir Khanjahan in accordance with the royal instructions had sent supplies. It is stated that nearly 7 lakhs of tankas were spent only on weapons of war.¹²⁹

When these preparations were complete, the Sultan started for Tattah for the second time. On the eve of his march, he was faced with a fresh problem caused by the desertion of a large number of soldiers who were unwilling to accompany him.¹³⁰ He sought the opinion of his advisers who suggested to him to stop such desertion by posting sentinels. But the Sultan, because of the inherent weakness of his character, could not agree to this suggestion, and remarked, "If they are detained forcibly, it will mean oppression on them. If I am destined to conquer Tattah,

their desertion will not affect me. If I am not destined to win, their presence will not help me".¹³¹ Such fatalistic ideas at the critical moment of war were really a most unusual feature for a despotic sovereign of Delhi. It displayed the Sultan's incapacity to exert his authority. Refraining from taking drastic steps against the deserters, he directed the Wazir that when they arrived at Delhi he should inflict on them a form of mild punishment, technically called Tadaruk-i-Ma'nwi which did not involve any physical torture, it caused only moral regret when their fault was pointed out to them.¹³² Another problem which disconcerted the Sultan at the moment was a civil war at Daulatabad, between its ruler Bahram Khan and the sons of Hasan Kangu.¹³³ Bahram Khan wrote a letter to the Sultan requesting him to come to Daulatabad and assume the reins of administration there. Although the invitation offered a golden opportunity to the Sultan for re-establishing the imperial authority over the Deccan, he did not avail of it sticking firmly to his original decision of reducing Tattah first.¹³⁴ With this end in view leaving Gujarat in charge of Zafar Khan, he once more marched towards Tattah and arrived there at the time of harvest, when the Tattahians were engaged in their fields.¹³⁵ The unexpected invasion frightened them so much that they destroyed their corn fields and crossing the river took shelter in the mud forts on the other side. The imperialists raided a large number of villages situated on the banks of Sind for securing grains, and the villages who could not escape fell a prey to their hands. Upon this, the Sultan issued an order saying, "They are Muslims ; it is not proper to plunder them or make them captives. He who will do it will be a sinner".¹³⁶ When these captives were sent to the Sultan, he ordered that they should be protected, and he sanctioned one seer of grain per day for each of them.

Imadul-Mulk and Zafar Khan¹³⁷ crossed the river Sind with great difficulty, started fresh operations against the Tattahians who came out of their forts.¹³⁸ The struggle continued till, the Sultan, who was anxiously waiting on the opposite bank of the river, sent an order to Imadul-Mulk to stop fighting, to avoid the terrible bloodshed of Muslims. Imadul-Mulk then gave up the siege and returned empty-handed without gaining any substantial result. The Sultan in consultation with his officers sent Imadul-Mulk to Delhi for bringing fresh-reinforcements. Accordingly

he went to Delhi where he received a warm reception¹³⁹ from the Wazir Khanjahan, who within a short time, organized a large army from Budaon, Chanderi, Kanauj, Sandila, Oudh, Jaunpur, Bihar, Tirhut, Mahoba, Iraj etc.¹⁴⁰ These troops accompanied him to Tattah.

The news of the arrival of reinforcements alarmed the Tattahians who were suffering from starvation because of the seizure of their cultivated fields by the royal army.¹⁴¹ A large number of them, unable to bear the pangs of hunger, left their master and joined the imperialists on the other side of the river.¹⁴² Moved by the pathetic plight of his people Jam Babaniya made overtures for peace and sent Sayyid Jalaluddin to Firuz to conduct the negotiations.¹⁴³

The Sayyid was held in high esteem by the Sultan and was accorded a warm reception in the royal camp. In course of his conversation he pleaded for the Tattahians, giving a pathetic description of their sufferings which greatly excited the commiseration of the Sultan.¹⁴⁴ Shortly after, Jam Babaniya arrived in the imperial camp and submitted to the Sultan. The latter treated him with great affection, gave him robes of honour and reinstated him in the government of Sind where he ruled for 15 years.¹⁴⁵ Jam Babaniya was also taken to Delhi;¹⁴⁶ and after staying there for some time was permitted to return to his country,¹⁴⁷ which, in the interval, was administered by the representative of his family.

Besides Jam Babaniya, a large number of other chiefs¹⁴⁸ also came to the Sultan along with their followers and individually tendered their submission to him. The Sultan forgave and bestowed on them many villages.¹⁴⁹ The imperialists now returned to Delhi by the way of Multan.¹⁵⁰ On the way a boat disaster resulted in the drowning of the children of Babaniya.¹⁵¹

Thus operations in Sind lasted for two years.¹⁵² The tragic expedition involved heavy financial loss besides causing immense sufferings to the army. And yet the province could not be annexed.

MINOR CAMPAIGNS

Expedition to Jajnagar :

The kingdom of Jajnagar¹⁵³ situated along the eastern sea coast in the extreme border of Hindustan was mostly inhabited by Hindus, besides a rude uncultured wild tribe that lived in

its dense forest.¹⁵⁴ It was a land of milk and honey¹⁵⁵ and a large number of flourishing towns with magnificent temples which held vast treasures of wealth added much to its grandeur. Besides its prosperity, the kingdom was known for the abundance of elephants which lured Firuz Shah to such an extent that in 762 A.H./1361 A.D.¹⁵⁶ while returning from his second expedition to Lakhnawati, he invaded this land only to satisfy his personal hobby of hunting.¹⁵⁷

With a large body of veteran soldiers the Sultan left Jaunpur for Jajnagar. He marched into Bihar from where he turned towards the hilly region.¹⁵⁸ When the army attacked Sikhar,¹⁵⁹ the Rai¹⁶⁰ of that place, who used to get the homage of 36 neighbouring chiefs fled from the fortress without giving any battle.¹⁶¹ A large number of his men were put to sword; while others with their women and children were taken prisoner.¹⁶² The infant child of the Rai, Shukr Khan, also fell into the hands of the imperialists, and the Sultan tended him with great care.¹⁶³ After scoring initial success at Sikhar, the imperial army resumed its march and moving rapidly through the wild regions, arrived at Tinanagar.¹⁶⁴ The town was captured and a large booty fell into the hands of the victors who now moved to the flourishing city of Kinanagar¹⁶⁵ inhabited mostly by the Brahmanas who used to dwell in the midst of orchards and gardens abounding in fruits and flowers.¹⁶⁶ The imperialists spared the town, and moving further arrived at a place known as Kulkul Ghat.¹⁶⁷ On the way they seized and put to death a large number of spies who had been sent by the Rai of Jajnagar to report upon the activities of the royal army.¹⁶⁸ The next stage in their advance brought the imperialists to the borders of Banarasi¹⁶⁹ and Saranghar.¹⁷⁰ Upon this, Rai Bir Bhan Deo¹⁷¹ handing over the conduct of the affairs of the Kingdom to his two generals Ahmad Khan and Baki Patar¹⁷² escaped to Chattargarh.¹⁷³ They gave battle to the invaders at Saranghar; but being overwhelmed by superior numbers, they took to flight, subsequently Ahmad Khan submitted to the Sultan¹⁷⁴ who honoured him by conferring on him robes and giving him gifts. The battle of Saranghar caused much loss of life, heaps of dead bodies lay piled up in the field and the animals had their fill for days together.¹⁷⁵ The number of prisoners was large and so also the amount of booty seized, from the flourishing towns of Jajnagar.¹⁷⁶ After

the battle of Saranghar, the Sultan marched in pursuit of the Rai. He now sent out scouts in different directions in search of hunting grounds. They reported the presence of elephants in a nearby forest.¹⁷⁷ Hunting being the chief motive of the Sultan's raid on this land, he gave up the pursuit of the Rai and made elaborate preparations for the same. They were completed in seven days¹⁷⁸ and then the Sultan started the hunt.¹⁷⁹ The Sultan succeeded in capturing eight elephants.¹⁸⁰

The Rai of Jainagar wrote a letter of submission expressing his regret, praying for royal mercy and promising loyalty to the Sultan.¹⁸¹ This letter was sent through five Patars¹⁸² (Ministers) of the Rai. On this receipt, the Sultan promised him amnesty. Thus assured of the royal pardon, the Rai came out of his hiding place and appeared in person before the Sultan and tendered his submission.¹⁸³ He promised to be a vassal and presented¹⁸⁴ 18 elephants, to the Sultan retaining only one for himself to maintain his title of Gajapati.¹⁸⁵ The Sultan rewarded him and his Patars with gold embroidered dresses of honour.¹⁸⁶

After the conclusion of the peace with the Rai of Jainagar, the imperial army marched to Puri¹⁸⁷ and destroyed the gorgeous temple of Jagannath which contained bright and shining icons carved in the walls.¹⁸⁸ The nose of the image was broken and it was cast to the ground.¹⁸⁹ After destroying the temple of Jagannath, the army started its return march by the way of eastern sea-coast.¹⁹⁰ On the way the imperialists massacred a large number of men who had taken shelter in an island near the sea-coast and seized many women.¹⁹¹ At Padamtala,¹⁹² the Sultan captured a large number of elephants and realized the primary object of his expedition to Jainagar.

His Return March :

After the elephant hunt at Padamtala when the Sultan resumed his journey through the hilly regions abutting on sea-coast, he lost his way.¹⁹³ He strayed into dense forests and pathless hilly tracts which caused much suffering to his weary soldiers.¹⁹⁴ They roamed in this wilderness for six months at the end of which they were able to spot a way out.¹⁹⁵ The Sultan arrived at Kara from where he proceeded to Delhi in 762 A.H./1361 A.D.¹⁹⁶ Four fifths of the spoils which he had brought was distributed to soldiers and the balance was credited to the Public Exchequer.¹⁹⁷

Expedition to Nagarkot :

The kingdom of Nagarkot¹⁹⁸ distinguished by its strong fortress¹⁹⁹ was situated in the Kangra²⁰⁰ district of the Punjab. It had remained loyal to the Sultans of Delhi ever since its submission to Muhammad Tughluq in 1337 A.D., and was governed by Hindu princes appointed by the Sultan of Delhi.²⁰¹ During the reign of Firuz Shah the 'Rais of Nagarkot' remained loyal till the appointment of Shastra Chand who repudiated his allegiance to the Sultan.²⁰² To bring back the Rai to obedience Firuz Shah decided to undertake a military expedition to Nagarkot. For this purpose he recruited a large army in 762 A.H./1360 A.D.²⁰³ and adequately equipped it with weapons of war of many patterns.²⁰⁴ The arrival of the imperial army had alarmed the Rai who retired into the fortress, leaving his country to the mercy of the invaders who plundered it extensively.²⁰⁵ Thus they opened the siege of the fortress, closely investing it from every side. The action commenced with the beating of war drums and similar other instruments.²⁰⁶ Catapults were set up and the valleys of stone pieces smashed the slabs of the outer walls to pieces.²⁰⁷ The siege continued for six months at the end of which the Rai tendered his submission.²⁰⁸ The Sultan forgave him and his followers and gave the Rai an umbrella, an embroidered dress of honour besides many horses.²⁰⁹ At the special request of the Rai, the temple of Jwalamukhi, the special attraction of the kingdom was spared.²¹⁰ The idol of Jwalamukhi²¹¹ with which are connected various fantastic stories,²¹² used to be placed in a recessed room and was worshipped by the Hindus. When Firuz Shah saw this temple he summoned all the Rais, Zamindars, Ranas accompanying him and rebuked them for worshipping this idol.²¹³ At first, the imperialists thought of burning the idol, but after the conclusion of the peace with the Rai they gave up the idea.²¹⁴ A library was attached to the temple and it consisted of 1300 books. The Sultan out of his deep love for learning took possession of them and had some of them translated to Persian by A'azz-ud-din Khalid Khani.²¹⁵ After the conclusion of peace, the Sultan distributed iced juice of sugar among the soldiers and then spent some time in that hilly region and killed some strange birds called Huma.²¹⁶

Thus although the Nagarkot expedition had ended in triumph, it did not yield any appreciable advantage to the empire except

the submission of the Rai who sent many presents to the Sultan.

INTERNAL REBELLIONS

The reign of Firuz witnessed the gradual shrinking of the empire which phase was interspersed with some internal disturbances which called for royal intervention.

Rebellion at Gujarat :

The first disturbance occurred in 778 A.H./1376 A.D.²¹⁷ in Gujarat where Shamsuddin Damaghani revolted. It is related that Damaghani presented to the Sultan 40 lacs of tankas, 100 elephants, 200 Arabian horses and promised an annual tribute in lieu of which the Sultan appointed him governor of Gujarat removing from the post of Darya Khan (the son and successor of Zafar Khan) who had expressed his inability to pay the higher revenue.²¹⁸

Thus the post was sold to the highest bidder. No sooner did Damaghani step into the frontiers of Gujarat, than realizing the impossibility of paying the promised sum he unfurled the banner of revolt.²¹⁹ But his action was bitterly resented by the armies and one of them, Shaikh-ul-Mulk Fakhruddin, killed him, and sent his head to the court, together with a letter describing his notorious activities.²²⁰ Thus the rebellion could not have far reaching repercussions on the political atmosphere of the country.

Rebellion at Etawah :

Firuz Shah marched to Etawah²²¹ twice. On the first occasion the object was to punish Malik Cheta, the son of Malik-ush-Sharq who had adopted a hostile attitude towards the government. He having been hotly pursued, took shelter in the fort of Etawah.²²² When the Sultan marched to invest it, the rebel escaped to the neighbouring districts, which were held by the Chauhan Rajputs. The Sultan plundered some of them. He then posted Malik Muhammad at Etawah and erecting a fort there retired to Delhi.²²³ The second campaign occurred in the year 779 A.H./1377-78 A.D.²²⁴ with a view to suppressing the rebellion of Hindu Zamindars,²²⁵ when Yel Khan, the son and successor of Malik Muhammad Shah Afghan, was in charge of the district.²²⁶ Simultaneously the territory of Akhal²²⁷ was also invaded.

Rai Sabir²²⁸ and Adharan,²²⁹ the Muqaddims of Etawah, who had rebelled against the Sultan, were suppressed and were taken to Delhi with their wives, children, horses and attendants and were placed in custody.²³⁰ The Sultan assigned the iqtas of Firuzpur and Patiali to Tajuddin and that of Akhal to Malik Bali Afghan and leaving Etawah in charge of Malik Zadah Firuz, son of Tajuddin, with a large number of Amirs, returned to Delhi.²³¹ He directed Malik Zadah Firuz to attack 'Kokran', an adjacent district, the inhabitants of which purchased peace by promising to pay the Khiraj.²³²

In 1379-80 A.D.²³³ the Sultan marched to Samana²³⁴ and having secured many offerings from its chief Malik Kubul Quran Khan²³⁵ moved to the hills of Santur²³⁶ by the way of Ambala²³⁷ and Shahbad²³⁸ and levied tribute from the Rai of Sirmur and the Rais of the hills.²³⁹

Rebellion in Katehr :—

The most serious disturbances occurred in Katehr²⁴⁰ where the Hindu Chief Kharku²⁴¹ inviting Sayyid Muhammad, the governor of Budaon and his brother to a dinner party, murdered them in cold blood.²⁴² This enraged the Sultan to such an extent that he raided the district in 1380 A.D.²⁴³ with a view to taking revenge upon Kharku who escaped to the hills of Kumaun,²⁴⁴ and the fury of the Sultan fell upon its inhabitants and he devastated the land ruthlessly. The rebels were imprisoned²⁴⁵ and the Sultan entrusting Sambhal to the charge of Malik Khattab Afghan returned to Delhi.²⁴⁶ It is related that every year the Sultan used to raid the district with the pretence of hunting.²⁴⁷

HIS LAST DAYS

At the fag end of his career, Firuz Shah became too weak to manage the affairs of the state which naturally passed into the hands of the Wazir Khanjahan.²⁴⁸ The Sultan had a great affection for the Wazir whom he used to address as his son. Whatever the Wazir suggested the Sultan accepted it.²⁴⁹ The powers of the Wazir increased to such an extent that the Firuz Shahi Amirs and Maliks became absolutely subservient to him and those who opposed him were removed from the presence of the Sultan by all possible means. Some were killed and others thrown into prison.²⁵⁰ So, for all practical purposes, the Wazir

became the real power and the Sultan was reduced to the position of a mere puppet. This was resented by a group headed by Prince Muhammad, the legal successor to the throne.²⁵¹ To get rid of his rivals the Wazir poisoned the king against heir-designate and represented that the latter in concert with other amirs like Darya Khan, son of Zafar Khan, the Amir of Gujarat, Malik Yakub, Muhammad Haji, the master of horse and Malik Shamsuddin was meditating treason.²⁵² The Sultan without considering the pros and cons of the issue, ordered for the arrest of the conspirators. The Wazir then confined Darya Khan in his house on a charge of embezzlement.²⁵³ This greatly enraged the rival party. Another factor which led to the immediate outbreak of the trouble was that the Wazir being afraid of Prince Muhammad, appointed a few amirs for murdering him.²⁵⁴ But the plan proved abortive, as one of the amirs silently revealed the secret to the prince who became alert and decided the future course of action by summoning Malik Muhammad Haji, Shamsuddin Kamaluddin, Malik Raju, Rais Audhan and Sabir. They assembled in the night and decided to raid the house of the Wazir next morning.²⁵⁵ The leading amirs and Firuzi slaves also joined hands with Prince Muhammad. Having thus strengthened his position, he raided the house of Khanjahan in the month of Rajab (July-August) 789 A.H./1387 A.D.²⁵⁶ only for self-defence, to survive and to get rid of the Wazir.

In this struggle, the Wazir being unable to resist, escaped towards Mewat and took shelter under Koka Chauhan at Majari.²⁵⁷ He was ultimately caught by Malik Yakub Sikandar Khan and executed. The prince sent his head to the court to the Sultan who shed tears for him.²⁵⁸ The house of the Wazir, which, in fact, was supposed to hold a vast treasure of chests, was plundered. His supporters viz. Malik Daulat, Malik Shamsuddin Bazban, Malik Musali, Muksaran, were executed.²⁵⁹ The Sultan moved by the tragedy abdicated (in the month of Shaban (August-September) 789 A.H./1387 A.D.)²⁶⁰ in favour of Prince Muhammad who ascended the throne with the title of Muhammad Khan. But the new prince was too weak and inefficient to control the then state of affairs and could not pull on for more than six months.²⁶¹

His policy created general resentment among the Firuz Shahi slaves, who broke into rebellion and joined Firuz Shah.²⁶² His

attempt to suppress them resulted in an open engagement. In the midst of the military operations, the slaves brought the old Sultan in the field and the soldiers seeing their old master, deserted the prince. This resulted in the final defeat of the prince who escaped to Sirmur hills.²⁶³

Firuz Shah now entrusted the government to his grandson (son of Fath Khan), Tughluq Shah.²⁶⁴ Shortly after the accession of Tughluq Shah, the old Sultan breathed his last on the 18th Ramzan/20th September Sunday 790 A.H./1388 A.D.²⁶⁵

REFERENCES

¹ Afif, p. 20.

² *Ibid*, pp. 19-26.

³ *Ibid*.

⁴ It is very likely that Bakan might have been the Bukka of Hindu historical records as identified by Sri Krishnaswami Aiyangar. (*South India and her Muhammadan invaders*, p. 187).

⁵ Afif, pp. 261-62 ; Prof. Hodivala traces the origin of the word Qurbat from Qurba and Qarib which means a relative of Hasan Kangu and on the basis of the numismatic evidences, (Num. Supp. No. XLV to *J.A.S.B.* 1934, p. 68 ; Rodgers in *J.A.S.B.*—LXIV-1895, pp. 49-50 ; Hultzsch in *J.R.A.S.*, 1909 p. 681) identifies this man with Fakhruddin Mubarak Shah of Mabar which seems to be very probable.

⁶ Afif, pp. 261-62.

⁷ *Ibid*.

⁸ *Ibid*, pp. 266-67.

⁹ Afif, p. 137, writes that the people of Sonargaon used to call him 'Fakhra'.

¹⁰ "The Hindus call it 'Suwarna gram'. It was the ancient Muhammadan capital of Eastern Bengal situated in 23° 4'N and 90° 36'E in the Narayanganj sub-division of Dacca district, Eastern Bengal and Assam near the banks of Meghana 15 miles east of Dacca city".—(*Imp. Gaz.*—Vol. XXIII. p. 81)

¹¹ Ibn Batutah describes him as "An excellent ruler with a partiality for strangers specially darwishes and Sufis." (Travels of Ibn Batutah—Gibbs, p. 267).

¹² *Riyaz-us-Salatin*, (Persian Text) pp. 92-93.

¹³ According to Yahya, (Basu p. 107) Fakhruddin took his seat at Sonargaon and left his slave Mukhlis at Lakhnawati. Ali Mubarak, the inspector of troops under Qadr Khan put Mukhlis to death and possessed himself of Lakhnawati.

¹⁴ This is supported by the numismatic evidence given by Thomas (*J.A.S.B.*, 1867, p. 53).

¹⁵ When Ibn Batutah visited Bengal, Ali Shah was ruling over Lakhnawati. He writes, 'Fakhruddin used to make expeditions up the river against the land of Lakhnawati because of his moral superiority, but when the rainless season returned, Ali Shah would make raids by lands on Bengal because of his superiority on land forces. (*Travels of Ibn Batutah*, Gibbs, pp. 267-68.)

¹⁶ (Thomas, *J.A.S.B.*, 1867, p. 58.) (Blochmann, *J.A.S.B.*, 1873, p. 254.)

¹⁷ (a) There is a great controversy regarding the death of Fakhruddin. Thomas on the basis of numismatic evidences writes that Fakhruddin ruled Sonargaon from 741 A.H. to 750 A.H./1340 A.D. to 1349 A.D. (*J.A.S.B.*, 1867, p. 52). (b) But according to Afif, (p. 137); who is a contemporary writer, Fakhruddin lived upto 754 A. H./1353 A.D. i. e. till after the first expedition of Bengal, when Shamsuddin marched to Sonargaon and killed him. (c) According to Yahya, (Basu), pp. 106-7, Fakhruddin ascended the throne in the year 739 A.H./1338 A.D. and was assassinated by Haji Iliyas in the year 741 A.H./1340 A.D. (d) According to Budaoni (Ranking) p. 309 the emperor Muhammad Tughluq, marched to Sonargaon in 741 A.H./1340 A. D. captured Fakhruddin, and brought him to Lakhnawati and killed him in 741 A.H./1340 A.D. and then retired to Delhi. (e) According to *Riyaz* (Persian text) pp. 92-93, Fakhruddin ruled only for two years and five months and was killed by Ali Mubarak.

The statement of Yahya, Budaoni or Riyaz seems to be incorrect because on the basis of the numismatic evidences as given by Thomas, Fakhruddin does not seem to have been killed before 750 A.H./1349 A.D. Doubt, therefore, arises whether Fakhruddin lived upto 750 A.H./1349 A.D. as mentioned by Thomas. (*J. A. S. B.* 1867, p. 52) or 754 A.H./1353 A.D. as written by Afif. The statement of Dr. Ishwari Prasad (*History of the Qaraunah Turks*, p. 156), helps us to find a satisfactory solution. According to him Ikhtiyaruddin Ghazi Shah of whom the contemporary writers have not made any reference at all, was probably a son of Fakhruddin who was ruling over a part of Sonargaon during the life time of Fakhruddin from 751 A.H. to 753 A. H. i.e., 1350 A.D. to 1352 A.D. On this basis it may be concluded that probably Haji Iliyas Shamsuddin made himself master of a part of Sonargaon in the year 753 A.H./1352 A.D. where Ikhtiyaruddin was ruling and in the year 754 A.H./1353 A.D. and after the return of Firuz from Bengal, he killed Fakhruddin and made himself master of whole of Bengal as narrated by Afif, p. 137.

¹⁸ *J.A.S.B.*, 1867, p. 52.

¹⁹ See (Thomas, *Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1867, p. 58). Blochmann writes, 'Abul Muzaffar Iliyas Shah having in 746 A.H./1345 A.D. become master of West Bengal established himself in 753 A.H./1352 A.D. in Sonargaon and thus founded a dynasty which with an interruption of 40 years in the beginning of 9th century Hijrah and continued to rule over Bengal till 896. A.H./1490 A.D. (*J. A. S. B.*, 1873, p. 254).

²⁰ The origin of the word has not been explained by Afif. According to *Riyaz* (Persian Text) p. 95 Shamsuddin was so-called because of taking excessive 'bhang.' This seems to be very probable. This is supported by

Blochmann who writes, that 'Ilyas is nick-named 'Bhangarah' a corruption, it seems of the Hindustani 'Bhangera' a seller or cater of the drug 'bhang' (hemp.)" See details in *J. A. S. B.*, 1873, pp. 255-56.

²¹ "It is a deserted town in the Maldah district, Eastern Bengal and Assam, situated in 25° 8' N and 88° 10' E at a distance of nine miles from old Maldah and about 20 miles from Gaur, in a north easterly direction from both." (*Imp. Gaz.* p. 392-Vol. XIX). Alexander Cunningham gives a very convincing explanation regarding the origin of the name. He writes, "The original name is said to have been Panduvya which was gradually shortened to Panduya and eventually to Pandua. The Hindus say it was so named after the Pandavas ; but I should think the Panduvis or water fowl with which the place abounds, have a much better claim to the honour. (Archaeological survey of India 1879-80 Vol. XV p. 79). It is called Hazrat Pandua in order to distinguish it from other Pandua near Hugli.

²² (a) "The ancient name for the tract of country bounded on the north by the Himalayas, on the south by the Ganges, on the west by the river Gandak and on the east by the river Kosi. The name is a corruption of 'Tira Bhukti' on the river-sided land ; and according to the tradition it is a land in which the three great mythical homas (sacrifice) were performed." (*Bengal—Dist. Gaz. Darbhanga*, p. 157).

²³ "Bharaich is a district of Oudh in the Fyzabad division. It is bounded on the north by the independent State of Nepal, on the east by the district of Gonda, on the south by Gonda and Barabanki in the west by Sitapur and Kheri, the Kauriala or Gogra river, forming the boundary." (*Imp. Gaz. Vol. 1*, p. 297). *Sirat-i-Firuz Shahi* (A. U. Ms.) pp. 27-28, writes that Firuz Shah went to Bharaich with the main object of visiting the tomb of Sipah Salar Ghazi. He heard that people who were victims of leprosy were cured at the sight of it. As Shamsuddin was himself a patient of leprosy he went to Bharaich through Gorakhpur and Kharosah, visited the tomb, and noticed a remarkable change in his disease. How far the Sultan really observed a remarkable improvement in his disease at the sight of the tomb is although a matter of doubt, yet it is probable that such was the belief among the people and for it Shamsuddin visited the place.

²⁴ *Inshai-Mahru* (A. U. Ms.), pp. 23-26.

²⁵ *Sirat* (A. U. Ms.), pp. 31-33.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ *Sirat* (A. U. Ms.) 27-32, Barani, p. 586 ; *Inshai Mahru* (A.U.Ms.), pp. 23-26, *J. A. S. B.*, 1923. pp. 279-80.

²⁸ *Inshai Mahru* (translated by Prof. Abdul Wali in the *J. A. S. B.* 1923, pp. 279-80. See also Allahabad University Ms, pp. 23-26.

²⁹ Barani, p. 586.

³⁰ Afif, pp. 109 and 144. According to Afif at the time of fighting, the imperialists had 90,000 cavalry. The additional 10,000 must have been the contribution of neighbouring rulers who had recognized the suzerainty of the Sultan.

³¹ Barani, pp. 586-87.

³² Barani calls it 'Sro', But the author of *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi* (A.U.Ms) p. 158, writes 'Sarju' which seems to be more probable because the river flows on the border of Oudh through which the Sultan marched.

³³ "It is in the United Province situated 26° 45' N and 83° 22' E on the Bengal and North Western Railway. The city lies near the left bank of the Rapti and at the junction of roads to Ghazipur and Fyzabad" (*Imp. Gaz.*, Vol. XII, p. 341). During the reign of Akbar it became the headquarter of a Sarkar in the Subah of Oudh. *Ain-i-Akbari* (Jarret), Vol. II, p. 175.

³⁴ It is very difficult to locate the exact position of Kharosah which was also called Arsa-i-Kharosah. No contemporary authority except Barani has written about it. *Ain-i-Akbari* (Jarret), Vol. II, p. 93 speaks of Mahal Kharosna, but it is very difficult to infer that it was identical with Kharosah of Barani. However the fact remains that it must have been somewhere in Bihar near Tirhut.

³⁵ Barani, pp. 586-88. This is supported by Yahya, (Basu), p. 128 ; *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi*, (A.U.Ms.) p. 158 ; Nizamuddin (Persian Text), p. 229.

³⁶ Afif, p. 40 ; According to the *Sirat* (A.U.Ms.) pp. 34-35, the Sultan arrived on the bank of the river Ganges. During his stay there people from the surrounding districts used to come and flatter him. All of them recognized the authority of the Sultan and received some flags from him in order to place it in their cities, so that the imperialists may recognize them as their allies from long distances and refrain from raiding their territories.

³⁷ Afif, pp. 110-11.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 111.

³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰ (a) Barani, p. 589 describes it as village close to Pandua, on one side of which is river and on another a jungle (b) According to the *Sirat*, (A.U.Ms.) p. 36, it was a village surrounded by one of branches of the river. (c) Mr. E. Vessy West Macott fixes the position of Ikdala towards Dinajpur. He has not personally visited this place nor has he got any inscription, but he has based his opinion on the writings of Dr. Buchanan who in his account of Dinajpur has mentioned a particular area where he found the old tanks and between the ruins of old cities also the ruined forts. He writes Ikdala included a larger tract than the Mouza (village) to which it is confined now. (*Journal of Asiatic Society Bengal letters*, 1874, pp. 244-45. (d) Prof. Blochmann has located Ikdala at several places from which it is too difficult to find out the exact position. (*J.A.S.B.*, 1873 ; pp. 212-13). (e) Major Raverty identifies Ikdala with Dam Duma a corruption of Dam-damah in the pergunah of Debekote between Lakhnawati and Dinajpur (*Tabqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 591) (f) Sir Wolsey Haig places Ikdala on the Island in the Brahmaputra. (*Cambridge*, Vol. III, p. 176). On the basis of these divergent views, although it is very difficult to locate the exact position of Ikdala yet it may be inferred that it must have been situated in between Lakhnawati and Dinajpur on the bank of a river which was probably one of the branches of the river Ganges. As such there seems to be some truth in the accounts of Dr. Buchanan who has spotted 'Ikdala' towards

Dinajpur on the basis of the old ruins of the forts. It also agrees partly with the description of the environments of Ikdala as given by Barani.

⁴¹ In the original text Afif (p. 111) writes 'Jiaran' which does not seem to be correct. According to Hodivala it is an obvious mis-writing of Champaran the ruler of which is identical with the man whom Barani writes as the Rajah of Gorakhpur offering tributes to Firuz. (*Studies in Indo-Muslim History*, p. 311). In all probability, the actual name of the place, however, seems to be 'Champaran' as written by Elliot, Vol. III, p. 294. "It forms the extreme north-western portion of the Patna division and of the province of Bengal situated between 26° 16' and 27° 31' north latitude and between 83° 56' and 85° 18' east longitude. It extends over an area of 3,531 sq. miles."—*Bengal Gaz. Champaran*, p. 1.

⁴² Barani, pp. 589-90.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 590.

⁴⁴ Afif, p. 111.

⁴⁵ Afif, p. 112; It is related that while the fort of Ikdala was besieged from all sides, Shamshuddin came out of it in the guise of a mendicant and attended the funeral of Shaikh Raja Biyabani who died in 754 A.H./1353 A.D. After this, he rode alone to the camp of Firuz without being recognized by the latter and then returned to the fort. *Riyaz-us-Salatin* (Persian Text), p. 94.

⁴⁶ Afif, p. 112.

⁴⁷ Afif, p. 113.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 114; According to the *Sirat*, (A.U.Ms.), p. 36, Shamshuddin deputed 8,00,000 soldiers for war. This seems to be an exaggeration.

⁴⁹ Afif, pp. 114-115.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 116.

⁵² (a) According to *Sirat* (A.U.Ms.), p. 36, 6,00,000 men were killed in the battlefield. This seems to be an over-exaggeration. The figures given by Afif, p. 118; seem to be more probable. According to him 1,80,000 men were slain in the field. After the engagement the Sultan ordered his soldiers to collect the dead bodies, and rewarded them all at the rate of one tanka per head, (Afif, p. 121).

⁵³ Afif, p. 118. The author of *Riyaz-us-Salatin* describes the battle thus; "Owing to the sword and the arrow and the spear and the gun; "The market of fighting became warm on both sides; The bodies of heroes were emptied of their souls; Like roses on their faces budded forth wounds" (Eng. Translation, p. 112; Persian Text, p. 97).

⁵⁴ According to Afif, pp. 117-18, 47 elephants were captured, of which three were killed. Nizamuddin, (Persian Text), p. 229, *Riyaz* (Persian Text), p. 102, write that 44 elephants were captured by the Sultan. Probably they have given the exact figure which remained in possession of the Sultan excluding three elephants which were killed.

⁵⁵ It is related that when Shamshuddin was flying away he was followed by Tatar Khan who cried out "Oh Shams-i-Siyah (Black Sun) why are you flying? It is not the deed of a brave king. Wait for a moment". Afif, p. 117; Elliot and Dowson; Vol. III, p. 296.

⁵⁶ *Sirat* (A.U.Ms.), pp. 38-39 ; Afif, p. 119.

⁵⁷ Afif, p. 119.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

⁶⁰ Barani, p. 597.

⁶¹ Afif, p. 122.

⁶² *Ibid.*

⁶³ "Jagat at present is a large agricultural village near the south eastern borders of the pergana 'Jagat' in 'Tahsil' Budaon lying 27° 53' N and 79° 14' E nine miles South East from Budaon and two miles east, of the road Alapur and Miaon". *U.P. Gaz.* Vol. XV (Budaon, p. 215).

⁶⁴ Barani, pp. 594-95.

⁶⁵ "It is an ancient town standing 25° 41' N and 82° 44' E on the right bank of Gumti at a distance of 74 3/4 miles by metalled road to the S.E. of Jaunpur and 31 miles from Benaras". (*Dist. Gaz. Jaunpur*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 329).

⁶⁶ Barani, pp. 595.

⁶⁷ "Kara was once a place of great importance and till the foundation of Allahabad was the seat of government of a large province. The capital of Kara pergana stands in 25° 42' N and 81° 22' E at a distance of five miles north east from Sirathu and 41 miles from Allahabad. The present town is but a shadow of the former self." (*U.P. Gaz. Allahabad*, pp. 247-48.)

⁶⁸ "Kol is identical with Koil in the district of Aligarh and at present occupies the centre of the district and is a tract of somewhat irregular shape." (*U.P. Gaz.*, Vol. VI, Aligarh, p. 276). It is a separate Sarker consisting of 21 Mahals under Akber. (*Ain-i-Akbari*, (Jarret), Vol. X, pp. 97 and 186).

⁶⁹ Barani, p. 596.

⁷⁰ Afif, p. 123.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*

⁷² Yahya, (Basu), p. 131 ; Nizamuddin, (Persian Text), p. 230. According to *Riyaz* (Translation), p. 132 presents first came to Delhi in 755 A.H. 1354 A.D. But this does not carry conviction because the Sultan had returned to Delhi in 755 A.H./1354 A.D. in the month of Shaban. Therefore, it is very likely that the exchange of gifts and envoys might have taken place in the next year, i.e., 756 A.H./1355 A.D. as written by Yahya and Nizamuddin.

⁷³ *Riyaz*, (Tr.) p. 132.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

⁷⁵ Afif, pp. 137-39.

⁷⁶ Yahya, (Basu), p. 131 ; Nizamuddin, (Persian Text), p. 230 and *Firishta* (Briggs), Vol. I, p. 450 give the above date which seems to be correct one. Afif does not give any date of the arrival of Zafar Khan at Delhi.

⁷⁷ Afif, pp. 138-43.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 142 ; *Sirat-i-Firuz Shahi* does not mention anything about Zafar Khan. According to it, Sultan Sikandar the successor of Shamsuddin refused to recognize the authority of the Sultan who, at first, tried

to persuade him to come to the right path, failing which he marched against him in 759 A.H./1358 A. D. *Sirat* (A.U.Ms.) p. 42.

From this it may be inferred that the primary object of the second expedition to Bengal was to make a second attempt of reasserting the imperial authority there. The arrival of Zafar Khan provided Firuz the excuse.

⁷⁹ *Sirat*, (A.U.Ms.) p. 42; Afif has not given any date.

Yahya, (Basu), p. 133. Nizamuddin, (Persian Text), p. 231, Firishta, (Briggs), Vol. I, p. 451. Budaoni, (Ranking) Vol. I, p. 328 erroneously give the date as 760 A. H./1359 A. D. Thomas (*J.A.S.B.*—1867) p. 58 on the basis of numismatic evidence states that Haji Ilyas ruled up to 758 A.H./1357 A.D. The invasion of Bengal occurred just after the latter's death. As such it is very probable that it occurred in 759 A.H./1358 A.D. as related in the *Sirat*, (A.U.Ms.) p. 42.

⁸⁰ Afif, pp. 144-45.

⁸¹ Afif, pp. 146-47. It is related that Firuz Shah was in the habit of drinking. In course of his march, once after the morning prayer while he was about to drink, Tatar Khan arrived at the place and the Sultan concealed the wine cups under the bed cover. Tatar Khan is said to have reproached the Sultan for his habit specially at that critical moment. The Sultan confessed his weakness and promised to abstain from it so long he was in the army. Shortly after this incident the Sultan sent Tatar Khan to Hisar Firuza. Afif, pp. 146-47.

⁸² "It is an ancient city in Farrukhabad district, United Province situated in 27° 3' N and 79° 56' E two miles from Grand Trunk Road and the Cawnpur Achhnera Railway and close to the Kala Na li". (*Imp. Gaz.* Vol. XIV, p. 310.)

⁸³ Afif, pp. 148-49.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 149.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 150.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 151.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 152.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

⁹⁰ Afif, pp. 154-56, has given a detailed account of the peace negotiation.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 154.

⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 156.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, p. 158.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 159.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, Elliot, Vol- 3; p. 311, thinks it to be a 'pun' meaning 'Thy Slave'.

This seems to be a very probable interpretation of the term.

⁹⁶ Afif, p. 160.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 162.

⁹⁹ Yahya, (Basu), p. 134. Afif does not give the exact date of Sultan's departure.

¹⁰⁰ Afif, pp. 162-63.

¹⁰¹ "At present the province extends from 23° 35' to 28° 30' North

latitude and from 66° 42' to 71° 10' East longitude enclosing an area of 46,944 square miles exclusive of the territory of H.H., the Mir of Khairpur which measures 6,050 square miles. It is bounded on the east by the native States of Marwar, Jasalmer and Bhawalpur, on the north by a small corner of the Punjab and by the level and sandy portion of the territories of the Khan of Khalat known as Kachchi, on the west by the mountainous part of the same territories, the boundary like running along the ridge of the Khir Thar Range and Habb river and on the south by the Arabian Sea and Ran Cutch." (*Gaz. of Sind*, Vol. A page One).

¹⁰² Abott, History of Sind, p. 1.

¹⁰³ *Tuhfatul Kiram* (Elliot), Vol. I, p. 343, *J.A.S.B.*, 1846, p. 196.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 342. This is a controversial issue. According to *Tarikh-i-Tahiri*, the Sammas had come to power in 843 A.H., i.e., 1439 A.D. which is wrong, because Afif, (p. 199) writes when Firuz Shah invaded Tattah, the Sammas were ruling over Sind. This has also been confirmed by *Tuhfatul Kiram* (Elliot) Vol. I, p. 342; *J.A.S.B.*, 1845, pp. 159-60, *Sirat*, (A.U.Ms.), p. 78. According to Raverty, the Sammas established their power during the anarchical regime of Muhammad Tughluq in the year 1342 A.D. when the centrifugal movements were at its height. (*J.A.S.B.* 1892, p. 328). But this does not seem to be convincing because the *Tarikh-i-Sindhi* (Persian Text), p. 22 leads us to the conclusion that the Sammas had first established their powers during the reign of Alauddin Khalji. The relevant conclusion therefore which emerges out, is that the Sammas at first, had established their power over a portion of Sind in the reign of Alauddin Khalji. In 752 A.H./1351 A.D. they made themselves master of Tattah by over-throwing the Sumras.

¹⁰⁵ There are various theories regarding the origin of the Sammas, Elliot, on the basis of the writings of Chach Nama writes that the Sammas were unquestionably Rajputs of the Yadava stock and they occupied the banks of the lower Indus within known historical periods. (Elliot and Dowson, Vol. I, p. 496). *Sirat-i-Firuz Shahi*, (A.U.Ms.) p. 79 on the contrary reveals that Sammas were Muslims. The writer says, "When the fort of Tattah was about to be captured, Jam Babaniya made an appeal to the Sultan in which he remarked, "We tender apologies for our faults. If the Sultan does not refrain from violence, all the Muslims who are inhabiting this land will be molested by the imperialists. How the Sultan being a Muslim king...will tolerate it?" From this it appears that although the Sammas were originally Hindus, later on they embraced Islam. *Tuhfatul Kiram* has, therefore, traced its origin from Nuh. (See details, Elliot, Vol. I, p. 337; *J.A.S.B.*, 1845, pp. 159-60).

¹⁰⁶ *Tarikh-i-Masumi* (Persian Text), pp. 22-26, Elliot and Dowson, Vol. I, pp. 224-26 has given a very convincing account of the geneology of the Sammas. According to it the first independent ruler was Jam Unur who died after 3 1/2 years and was succeeded by Jam Juna who ruled 13 years. The next independent ruler was Jam Tamachi who was arrested by the soldiers of Alauddin Khalji who carried him to Delhi. After the death of Tamachi his son Khairuddin returned to Sind and established an independent principality there. When Firuz Shah Tughluq succeeded

Muhammad Tughluq, Khairuddin was ruling over the province. He was succeeded by Jam Babaniya. The author of *Tuhfatul Kiram* (Elliot, Vol. I, pp. 341-42, has given more or less the same chronology with slight alterations of the name.

¹⁰⁷ *Tuhfatul Kiram* (Elliot), Vol. I, p. 342, erroneously writes 772 A.H. 1370 A.D. But the circumstantial evidences lead us to the conclusion that the invasion occurred probably in 762 A.H. 1361 A.D. According to *Sirat* (A.U.Ms.), p. 68, Firuz Shah returned from his expedition to Jajnagar in the year 762 A.H./1361 A.D. Shortly after this he invaded Nagarkot and a little later Sind. As such it is probable that the expedition to Sind was undertaken in 762 A.H./1361 A.D.

¹⁰⁸ "It is situated on a low swampy valley 3 miles from the western bank of Indus or 4 miles above the separation of the Bagar or western branch from the Sata or main streams of the river." (Alexander Cunningham, *Ancient Geography of India*, p. 330).

¹⁰⁹ (a) Afif, p. 199; *Inshai Mahru* (A.U.Ms.), pp. 123-27. *Tarikh-i-Masumi*, (Persian Text), pp. 25-26; Yahya, (Basu), p. 138 are all unanimous on this point; But *Tuhfatul Kiram* (Elliot), Vol. I, p. 342 has erroneously related that when Firuz Shah invaded Tattah he was opposed by Khairuddin. (b) Afif, p. 199, and *Sirat* (A.U.Ms.), p. 77 have confused Jam Babaniya as two different individuals ruling over Tattah. But *Tarikh-i-Masumi*, p. 26, clearly mentions Jam Babaniya as one individual. *Tuhfatul Kiram* although defective in dates, describes Jam Babaniya, as one individual ruler of Tattah. *Inshai Mahru* (A.U.Ms.), pp. 122-26 speaks of a particular letter written by Ain-ul-Mulk which describes Babaniya as the ruler of Tattah without any other reference to Jam. From these statements, it may be concluded that probably Jam was the title of the chiefs and Babaniya was his name.

¹¹⁰ *Inshai Mahru* (A.U.Ms.), pp. 122-26. Divergent opinions have been expressed by the contemporary writers regarding the motive of Firuz Shah in invading Tattah. According to Afif, pp. 191-92, the Sultan was inspired by the motive of conquest and vengeance upon the Tattahians whom his illustrious predecessor, the late Sultan Muhammad, had failed to suppress owing to his sudden death. Once he expressed this desire to the Wazir Khanjahan who dittoed his proposal, pointing out the double advantage which would accrue therefrom. Firstly, it would enable him to perform his regal duties by fulfilling the testament of his predecessor to avenge the humiliation which the latter had suffered. Secondly, it would justify the famous lines of Saadi e.g. "If a holy man eats one half of his loaf, he will give the other half to the beggar. But if a king conquers all the world, he will seek another world to conquer". The words of the Wazir inspired the Sultan to action. But the statement of Afif does not carry conviction because Sind was not the only province where Muhammad Tughluq had suffered so much humiliation and failed to achieve his end. There were many other regions specially in the south where the late Sultan had failed miserably. Had Firuz been so keen to avenge the wrongs done to his predecessor, he would not have adopted an indifferent attitude towards their recovery. As such, the desire for

revenge does not seem to have been the real motive of the expedition to Tattah. There must have been some other objective to have inspired the Sultan in taking recourse to it. According to *Sirat* (A.U.Ms.), p. 77, the object underlying the Tattah expedition of Firuz was the insolence of the people of Tattah who for years had remained engaged in hostility having secured a safe abode in the island of Damrillah. This seems to be the real motive in which the expedition originated, for it finds support in the letters of *Ain-ul-Mulk* which are of great importance for they provide first-hand information of contemporary political events. One of them is a petition of *Ain-ul-Mulk* to the Malik-ush-Sharq imploring royal assistance for suppressing Babaniya who in league with the Mughals had carried on oppressive activities in the kingdom. *Inshai Mahru* (A.U.Ms.), pp. 122-26; *J.A.S.B.*, 1938, Vol. IV, Article II. A portion of it reads as follows:—"The object of submitting this petition which is clear and transparent to every one is that Babaniya has so fomented strife and sedition in the kingdom as to reach the sky; he has turned his face away from the qibla of submission, has made it his business to ruin the country and invite the Mughals and has pinned his faith and conscience....." (*Journal of Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal Letters*, Vol. IV, 1938, p. 287). Another letter in the *Inshai Mahru*, (A.U.Ms.), pp. 28 written by the amir of Multan to the Sultan mentions the Mughal raids for the suppression of which the amir organised a force there. All these facts therefore lead us to the conclusion that the immediate cause of the Tattah expedition was to suppress Babaniya who along with the Mughals had adopted a hostile attitude.

111 *Inshai Mahru*, (A.U.Ms.), pp. 17-18; *J.A.S.B.*, 1923, p. 272.

112 *Ibid.*, pp. 122-26; *J.A.S.B.*, 1938, Vol. IV Article II.

113 Afif, pp. 197-98.

114 *Ibid.*

115 *Ibid.*, p. 202.

116 *Ibid.*

117 *Ibid.*, pp. 201-2; *Sirat* (A.U.Ms.), p. 78.

118 *Ibid.*, p. 203; *Sirat*, (A.U.Ms.), p. 80.

119 *Ibid.*, p. 203; The author of *Sirat-i-Firuz Shahi* (A.U.Ms.), p. 80 writes that the imperialists besieged the fortress and were about to capture it, when Jam and Babaniya recognized the suzerainty of the Sultan. But if the Sultan had secured the submission of Jam Babaniya, there was hardly any necessity of going to Gujarat. He could have easily returned to the capital. As such the statement of Afif, pp. 205-6, seems to be more convincing, *i.e.*, the Sultan being unable to suppress Babaniya went to Gujarat for re-inforcement.

120 Afif, pp. 205-6.

121 *Ibid.*

122 *Ibid.*

123 *Ibid.*, pp. 207-8; *Sirat*, (A.U.Ms.), pp. 82-83.

124 Afif, p. 208.

125 *Ibid.*, At present "It forms the southern or south eastern boundary of Sind from Rajputana to the sea. It is now a vast salt waste flooded to

a great extent for several months of the year by the waters of the sea driven into it by the force of the south west monsoon, which converts it into a salt lake. At other season, it is a desert flat, firm and quite bare except on a few island, where there is scanty herbage. Chinkara and wild ass roam over it crossing the border only to feed". (*Gaz. of Sind*, p. 4).

126 Afif, pp. 209-11.

127 *Ibid.*, pp. 212-19.

128 *Ibid.*, p. 219.

129 *Ibid.*, pp. 221-23 ; *Sirat*, (A.U.Ms.), p. 84.

130 Afif, pp. 225-26.

131 *Ibid.*, p. 226.

132 *Ibid.*, pp. 227-28.

133 *Ibid.*, p. 224.

134 *Ibid.*, pp. 224-25.

135 *Ibid.*, p. 231.

136 *Ibid.*, p. 233.

137 As we have noted earlier, that Zafar Khan was left in charge of Gujarat, while the Sultan set out for his second expedition to Tattah. But Afif, p. 234, writes that he along with Imadul Mulk was appointed to command a part of the royal army at Tattah. From this it follows that the Sultan must have called him from Gujarat for this particular purpose.

138 Afif, pp. 235-36.

139 Afif, p. 236 ; The writer while giving a detailed account of the reception writes 'When Khanjahan first saw Imadul Mulk, he got down from his horse and embraced the latter and took him to the royal palace. He presented to Imadul Mulk embroidered clothes in addition to one lakh of tankas.'

140 *Ibid.*, pp. 237-38.

141 *Ibid.*

142 *Ibid.*, p. 240.

143 *Ibid.*, The incident has been described in detail in a Malfuz of the Saint. See *Mediaeval India Quarterly* ; 1957, Vol. III, p. 133 ; Aligarh Muslim University.

144 Afif, pp. 241-42.

145 *Tarikh-i-Sindhi*, (Persian Text), p. 26. Afif, pp. 242-46 who has treated Jam and Babaniya as two different individuals wrongly writes that Jam and Babaniya appeared separately before the Sultan and tendered their submission.

146 Afif, p. 281 ; The writer while describing the court etiquette of the Sultan speaks of a particular seat which used to be occupied by Babaniya in the imperial court.

147 Although Afif does not mention anything about the return of Babaniya to his country, yet it is inferred from the writings of *Tarikh-i-Sindhi* that he must have returned to his country, where he is said to have ruled for 15 years. See *Tarikh-i-Sindhi*, (Persian Text), p. 26. The return of Babaniya is also supported by Yahya (Basu), p. 136 ; Budaoni (Ranking), p. 332 ; Firishta, (Briggs Vol. I), p. 455.

¹⁴⁸ *Sirat*, (A.U.Ms.), p. 85, has given a detailed description of the peculiar features of these men.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁰ Afif, pp. 250-54.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁵² *Sirat*, (A.U.Ms.), p. 85.

¹⁵³ (a) According to Raverty Jajnagar appears to have been bounded on the east by range of hills forming present west boundary of Udissa Jagannath Katasin, on the Mahanadi being the nearest frontier town towards Lakhnawati territory, further north it was bounded towards east by the river called Braminy by some English writers and Sanak by Renell returning to the West of Gangapur. On the west, it does not extend beyond Wana Ganga and its feeder Kahan, but its southern boundary was the Godavari and S.W. lay Telinganah. (Raverty, *Tabqat-i-Nasiri*, Vol. I, p. 588). (b) According to Dr. R.D. Banerjee (*History of Orissa*, Vol. I, p. 282) the kingdom of Jajnagar extended from eastern boundaries of modern Central Provinces right up to the limits of Bengal and included Cuttuck, Puri, Chilka Lake. The statements of Raverty and Dr. Banerjee suggest that Jajnagar was distinct from Orissa. But the description of the kingdom of Jajnagar given in the *Sirat-i-Firuz Shahi*, (A.U.Ms.), pp. 48-96 or the *Inshai Mahru*, (A.U.Ms.), pp. 37-46, clearly reveals that Jajnagar was identical with Orissa which seems to be more convincing. Prof. Abdul Wali on the basis of the writings of Afif also concludes that Jajnagar represented greater parts of Orissa. (*J.A.S.B.*, 1923, pp. 289-90) Blochmann, in his contribution to the *Geography and History of Bengal* (*J.A.S.B.*, 1873, pp. 237-39) writes that Jajnagar was identical with modern Jajpur, 'Pur' and 'Nagar' being identical. In the light of the above statements the kingdom of Jajnagar may be located in the province of Orissa which included several territories. It must have been identical with modern Jajpur as stated by Blochmann. "It is the headquarter of the sub-division of the same name in Cuttuck district, Bengal, situated in 20° 51' N and 86° 20' on the right bank of the Baitarani river" (*Imp. Gaz.*, Vol. XIX, p. 10).

¹⁵⁴ *Sirat-i-Firuz Shahi*, (A.U.Ms.), p. 48 has given a detailed account of the mode of living of this tribe and writes that they used to put on feathers of peacock, eat flesh of the buffaloes, and could not understand the language of the civilized people.

¹⁵⁵ See Afif, pp. 164-65; *Sirat*, (A.U.Ms.), pp. 50-51. The author writes that the land was famous for the oranges and cocoanuts.

¹⁵⁶ *Sirat* (A.U.Ms.), p. 48.

¹⁵⁷ According to *Sirat* (A.U.Ms.), p. 48, the expedition of the Sultan was motivated by the desire to (1) suppress Rai Gajapati, the ruler of Jajnagar, (2) massacre the infidels and destroy their temples, (3) hunt elephants (4) and to have a glimpse of the city. Ain-ul-Mulk in his *Fath Nama* of Jajnagar has more or less expressed the same view. (See *Inshai Mahru* (A.U.Ms.), p. 39. But the religious motive inspiring the Sultan in his expedition to Jajnagar which is revealed from the above views does not seem to be a genuine one. If we go through the details of the

campaign, we will find that the destruction of the temple of Jagannath was the only solitary example of the Sultan's intolerance from which his policy cannot be generalized. Moreover, the temple was destroyed not only because of religious fanaticism, but for other reasons also; its stored wealth whetted his appetite; and he wanted to demoralise the general population. Had the Sultan been inspired by religious motive, other temples of Jajnapur which were equally important would not have escaped his attention. The fact that he refrained from the destruction of other temples is sufficient to prove that religious sentiment was not the decisive motive behind the scheme of the military campaign to Jajnapur. So far as the massacre of a large number of infidels is concerned, it must be noted that the kingdom of Jajnapur was not an exception to it. Such massacres were the natural consequence of any military expedition to any land. The expedition to Bengal and Sind had also taken a heavy toll of life, irrespective of Hindus or Muslims. As the kingdom of Jajnapur was mostly inhabited by Hindus, it was natural that a large number of them should have been killed. Even Afif who is an eulogist of the Sultan does not attribute to it a religious motive. According to him, the Sultan invaded the kingdom of Jajnapur with a view to hunting elephants. When the Patars of the Rai of Jajnapur presented themselves before the Sultan and inquired of him the object of his visit to their land, the Sultan replied, "People told me that the elephants graze here like sheep. So I have come here to hunt them." This view is further confirmed by the conduct of the Sultan during the expedition. When he heard about the wild elephants in the jungle, he made arrangements for hunting, instead of pursuing the Rai (Afif, pp. 166-71). Both *Sirat-i-Firuz Shahi* and the '*Fath Namah*' of Ain-ul-Mulk have dwelt upon the religious motive, probably to attach a greater importance to this expedition. In short, the conclusion that can be drawn from these facts is that the primary motive of the Sultan's expedition to Jajnapur was hunting, a hobby which he did not give up in spite of his promise to the Shaikh-ul-Islam Shaikh Qutbuddin at the outset of his reign. Even in course of his military campaigns, he always utilised his leisure in hunting e.g., in course of his expedition to Sind when Jam Babaniya surrendered before the Sultan, he met him in the hunting ground. (Afif, p. 243).

¹⁵⁸ *Sirat* (A.U.Ms.), p. 53, writes that the valley was full of wild animals e.g., wild ass and wild deer and the Sultan hunted a large number of them in course of his march.

¹⁵⁹ Yahya (Basu), p. 135 calls it Sikra; Firishta (Briggs), Vol. I, p. 452 calls it Songhur; Budaoni, (Ranking), p. 329 calls it 'Satgarh', Nizamuddin (Persian Text), p. 232, calls it 'Sankarah'. But all these seem to be a mis-interpretation of the original term 'Sikhar' as given by *Sirat* (A.U.Ms.), p. 54. Prof. N.B. Roy (*J.R.A.S.B.*, 1942, p. 66) writes 'Sikhar' was the surname of a ruler Talia Kumpa identified with Telkupi in the modern Manbhum district of Bihar. This seems to be a very probable location of the place.

¹⁶⁰ The contemporary writers do not mention any particular name, Yahya, (Basu), p. 135 writes Rai Sadhan; Firishta (Briggs) Vol. I, p. 452

calls him Ray Sidhun, Nizamuddin (Persian Text), p. 232, calls him Rai Sarbin. It is very difficult to find out the exact name from these varied accounts.

¹⁶¹ *Sirat*, (A.U.Ms.), p. 54.

¹⁶² According to *Sirat*, (A.U.Ms.), p. 54 ; 70,000 men with their women and children were taken prisoners. But this seems to be an exaggeration.

¹⁶³ *Sirat*, (A.U.Ms.), p. 54; The author writes that he was the son of the Rai who fell in the hands of the imperialists. He received such training from the Sultan that he could shoot deer, tigers etc. with his immature hands even at the early age of seven. Yahya, (Basu) p. 135 ; Nizamuddin (Persian Text), p. 232 and Firishta, (Briggs), Vol. I, p. 452, have erroneously written that the child was the daughter of the Rai. Yahya and Firishta have described him 'as Shahr Khatun' which does not seem to be correct.

¹⁶⁴ It was included in the kingdom of Jajnagar, *Sirat*, (A.U.Ms.), pp. 55-56.

¹⁶⁵ It was a large flourishing town whose cultivated area extended six farsangs ; it was included in the kingdom of Jajnagar (*Sirat*, A.U.Ms., p. 56). It is very likely that Kina Nagar was the distracted form of Khichinagar, the ancient capital of Mayur Bhanj, as identified by Prof. N. B. Roy (*J.A.S.B.*, 1942, Vol. VIII, p. 68).

¹⁶⁶ *Sirat*, (A.U.Ms.), p. 56.

¹⁶⁷ It appears that Kulkulghat is identical with modern Kulkula "which is 15 miles north of Cuttack lying on the direct road from lower Keonjhar to Cuttack." (*Gaz. of Cuttack*, p. 246). As such there seems to be nothing impossible if the imperialists halted here in course of their march. This has been confirmed by Prof. N.B. Roy (*J.A.S.B.*, 1942, p. 70).

¹⁶⁸ *Sirat*, (A.U.Ms.), p. 58.

¹⁶⁹ Banarasi should not be confused with modern Banaras situated on the bank of Ganges. It was the headquarter of the kingdom of Jajnagar and therefore situated within the province of Orissa.

¹⁷⁰ It was one of the most important towns of Jajnagar. The place is now covered with jungles in the midst of which the ruins of old Fort can still be seen and close by a large tank bears the name of Churang Pokhari' (*Gaz. of Cuttack*, p. 253).

¹⁷¹ *Sirat*, (A.U.Ms.), p. 58, writes him as 'Pir Bhan Deo and Budaoni, (Ranking), p. 329, calls him Rai Parihan Deo. All these sound unconvincing. The correct name seems to be 'Bir Bhan Deo as given by Yahya (Basu), p. 136.

¹⁷² *Inshai Mahru*, (A.U.Ms.), p. 40. According to this writer the Rai gave to Ahmad Khan and Baki Patar numerous elephants, riches, gifts in recognition of their services.

¹⁷³ (a) *Sirat*, (A.U.Ms.), p. 58 ; Afif does not give the name of any particular place ; he only states that the Rai fled away by sea to a place of safety. According to Yahya, (Basu), p. 136 and Nizamuddin (Persian Text), p. 232, the Rai escaped to Telang. But being later authorities it is very difficult to rely on them. (b) *Chattargarh*—It is very difficult to find out its exact location. But there seems to be some probability in the

statement of Prof. N.B. Roy (*J.A.S.B.*, 1942, Vol. VIII, p. 70) according to which it was situated either in Chatterpur in Ganjam district of Chhattar Duar—a narrow pass at a distance of 24 miles from Raja Mahendra.

171 *Inshai Mahru*, (A.U.Ms.), p. 40.

172 *Ibid.*, pp 40-41.

173 Afif, p. 164 ; *Inshai Mahru*, (A.U.Ms.), p. 40.

174 *Sirat*, (A.U.Ms.), p. 59 ; The writer adds that the report was confirmed by the captives who were accompanying the Sultan. Afif, p. 166 records that the Sultan received information that there were seven male and one female elephants and they were very dangerous.

175 *Sirat*, (A.U.Ms.), p. 59.

176 Both *Sirat-i-Firuz Shahi*, (A.U.Ms. , pp. 59-60), and Afif, p. 167, have given a detailed account of this hunting. Afif writes, "The Sultan erected a Kheda (Machan) measuring 10 yards broad and seven yards high overlooking an area of six farsangs, which was encircled by the soldiers from all sides excepting 2 outlets in the middle. After this, fierce elephants were led out by expert drummers from the elephant station and drums were beaten from the opposite direction. Herds of wild elephants ran helter-skelter trampling upon and uprooting trees and when they were completely exhausted, they were easily captured."

177 Afif, p. 166 ; *Sirat-i-Firuz Shahi*, (A.U.Ms. , p. 61, has not given any number but only mentions that a large number of mountain-like elephants were captured.

178 *Sirat*, (A.U.Ms.), pp. 61-62 ; Afif, pp. 170-71 ; *Inshai Mahru*, (A.U.Ms.), pp. 41-42.

179 Afif, pp. 170-71. The writer observes that there were 20 Patars in the kingdom of Jaj Nagar who used to advise the 'Rai' in the administrative affairs. Of them only five were sent to Firuz.

180 *Inshai Mahru*, (A.U.Ms.), p. 42.

181 *Inshai Mahru*, (A.U.Ms.), p. 42, *Sirat-i-Firuz Shahi*, (A.U.Ms. , p. 61 does not mention the exact number of elephants presented by the Rai excepting that the 'Rai' promised to send all elephants excepting one for himself. According to Afif, p. 171, the number of elephants presented by the 'Rai' were 20 ; but this seems to be less accurate than the official figure given by *Inshai Mahru*, (A.U.Ms.), p. 42. *Ain-ul-Mulk* speaks very highly of these elephants. He writes, "They were majestic beyond the description of a poet or the brush of a painter." *Inshai Mahru*, (A.U.Ms.), p. 43.

182 *Inshai Mahru*, (A.U.Ms.), p. 43, *Sirat*, (A.U.Ms.), p. 61. From this it follows that Gajapati was not the name of the 'Rai' but the title meaning the Lord of elephants.

183 Afif, p. 171.

184 "It is the headquarter of the district situated on the shore of Bay of Bengal in 19° 48' north latitude and 85° 49' east longitude. It is about 50 miles distant from Cuttuck by road and 58 miles by rail" (*Gaz. Bengal Puri*, p. 286).

185 *Sirat*, (A.U.Ms.), p. 63 ; The author has given a detailed account of the temple along with the methods of worship.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, Afif, p. 120.

¹⁹⁰ *Sirat*, (A.U.Ms.), p. 66.

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁹² *Ibid.*, (A.U.Ms.), p. 67. "Padamtala or Padmavati as it is called is a trading village in Khand Para State situated on the Mahanadi near the eastern border of the State in 20° 20' N and 85° 21' E." (*Orissa Feudatory State Gaz.*, p. 345). According to Yahya, (Basu), p. 136, the Sultan caught 33 elephants alive and killed only two. He has referred to the following quatrain composed by Zia-ul-Mulk.

"The Sultan who with justice to greatness did attain.
Did like glorious sun the entire world en crown.
To Jajnagar he came the elephants to hunt.
He captured three and thirty and two he killed."

Budaoni, (Ranking), pp. 329-30 ; Nizamuddin, (Persian Text), p. 232, and Firishta, (Briggs), Vol. I, p. 452, who have referred to the above quatrain write that the Sultan captured 30 elephants and killed two. How far these figures are accurate is a matter of doubt, but it gives an approximate idea of the fact that a large number of elephants were captured in the forest of Padamtola.

¹⁹³ Afif, p. 172.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 173-74.

¹⁹⁶ *Sirat*, (A.U.Ms.), p. 68.

¹⁹⁷ *Inshai Mahru*, (A.U.Ms.), p. 44.

¹⁹⁸ *Ain-i-Akbari*, (Jarret), Vol. 2, pp. 312-13, describes "Nagarkot is a city situated on a hill ; its fort is called Kangra. Near the town is the shrine of Mahamaya which is considered as the manifestation of divinity. Pilgrims from distant part visit it and obtain their desires".

¹⁹⁹ The fort is said to have been called as the fort of Bhim. It had been erected on the top of a mountain by a Hindu prince, of the same name, Firishta, (Briggs), Vol. I, p. 48.

²⁰⁰ The district of Kangra is the northern most of the five districts of Jullundur division and lies between north latitude 31° 20' and 32° 58' and east longitude 75° 39' and 78° 35'. This vast tract, comprising an area of 9,554 square miles stretches eastwards from the plain country of Bari and Jullundhur—Doabs over the Himalayan ranges to the boundary of Tibet." (*Punjab Dist. Gaz.* Vol. X-A, *Kangra District*, Pt. A, 1904, p. 1).

²⁰¹ This can be inferred from the writings of *Sirat*, (A.U.Ms.), p. 73 according to which the father of Shastra Chand who was deputed by Firuz remained loyal to him. Shastra Chand was also a nominee of the Sultan.

²⁰² *Sirat*, (A.U.Ms.), p. 73.

²⁰³ Neither Afif nor *Sirat* has given any date of this expedition. But *Sirat*, (A.U.Ms.), p. 68, clearly states that the Sultan returned to Delhi from his expedition to Jajnagar in 762 A.H./1360 A.D. This is also confirmed by Yahya, (Basu), p. 136, Budaoni (Ranking), p. 330 and Firishta, (Briggs), Vol. I, p. 452. All authorities are unanimous in opinion that the Nagarkot expedition of Firuz occurred just after Jajnagar and just before

Sind expedition, which occurred in 763 A.H./1361 A.D. Therefore it seems probable that Nagarkot expedition of Firuz might have occurred in 762 A.H./1360 A.D

²⁰⁴ *Sirat*, (A.U.Ms.), p. 74.

²⁰⁵ Afif, p. 185.

²⁰⁶ *Sirat*, (A.U.Ms.), p. 74.

²⁰⁷ Afif, p. 188.

²⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, *Sirat*. (A.U.Ms.), p. 74.

²⁰⁹ Afif, p. 189.

²¹⁰ *Sirat*, (A.U.Ms.), p. 76.

²¹¹ Budaoni (Ranking), p. 331, writes that the idol temple is known as 'Jwala Mukhi' because a flame of fire rises from it towards heaven and cannot be extinguished even by pouring on it thousands of bags of water. This seems to be very probable. Alexander Cunningham gives its exact location. He writes, "The Temple is built over a fixture at the base of a high range of hills about 20 miles to the South of Kangra." (*Archaeological Survey Report*, 1872-73, p. 156).

²¹² Manik Chand in his poem describes a story in which Sultan Firuz made Tapasya in this temple and the goddess being pleased with his devotion bestowed the kingdom of Delhi on him. After this he again made sacrifice to the goddess. (*Studies in Indo-Muslim History*, S. H. Hodivala, p. 321). This is nothing but an absurd fantasy of the poet as it seems most ridiculous to think that a Sultan like Firuz indulged in these practices. The author of *Sirat*, (A.U.Ms.), p. 75, gives yet another interesting story viz. the idol of Jwala Mukhi was the image of Nowshaba who was eloped by her beloved **Nowshab** Nowshaba was a favourite of the people and so they made an idol of hers and began to worship it since the time of the Sultan Zulquranain. How far the incidents occurred in actual practice is a matter of doubt, but the fact remains that the people used to hold such beliefs about the temple.

²¹³ Afif, p. 187.

²¹⁴ *Sirat*, (A.U.Ms.), p. 76. Firishta (Briggs), Vol. I, p. 454, erroneously writes that the idol was destroyed.

²¹⁵ Budaoni, (Ranking), Vol. I, pp. 331-32. Firishta, (Briggs), Vol. I, pp. 454-55.

²¹⁶ *Sirat*, (A.U.Ms.), p. 77 ; the Sultan took these strange birds to Hisar Firuza where they were paraded through the streets to be shown to the public who had never seen them.

²¹⁷ Yahya, (Basu), pp. 139-40.

²¹⁸ *Ibid.*, Budaoni, (Ranking), p. 334 ; Firishta, (Briggs), Vol. I, p. 455, writes that Damaghani made an offer of 40 lacs of tankas, 100 elephants, 400 Abyssinian slaves, 40 Arabian horses. The exact amount seems to be that given by Yahya, (Basu), p. 139. Afif, pp. 498-500, although speaks of the rebellion of Damaghani, yet does not mention anything about the offer. According to him, after the death of Zafar Khan, his son Darya Khan was made the governor of Gujarat. During this time the Sultan was in search of an abler governor for Gujarat owing to the disturbed condition in Daulatabad. Imadul Mulk at this time recommended

the name of Damaghani, for this post. But the Sultan having no confidence in Damaghani did not agree to the proposal. But the repeated insistence of Imadul Mulk compelled him to yield and he posted Damaghani to Gujarat. From this it may be inferred that one of the factors which inspired the reluctant emperor was probably the alluring bid which Damaghani offered for it. But as the statement would have cost a reflection on the character of his patron, so Afif glossed over it. The statement of Yahya as such seems to be more convincing. This fact has also been repeated by Budaoni, (Ranking), p. 334; Firishta, (Briggs), Vol. I, p. 455.

²¹⁹ Afif, pp. 498-500; Yahya, (Basu), pp. 139-40, Budaoni, (Ranking), Vol. I, p. 334 Firishta, (Briggs), Vol. I, p. 455.

²²⁰ Afif, p. 500.

²²¹ At present, "It lies in the south western portion of the United Province between the parallels of 26° 1' and 27° 1' North latitude and 78° 45' and 79° 45' East longitude, and forms a part of Agra division." (U. P. Gaz. Vol. XI, p. one).

²²² *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi*, (A.U.Ms.), p. 166.

²²³ *Ibid.*

²²⁴ Yahya, (Basu), p. 141.

²²⁵ *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi*, (A.U.Ms.), p. 167; Firishta, (Briggs), Vol. I, p. 456.

²²⁶ *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi*, (A.U.Ms.), p. 167.

²²⁷ Yahya, (Basu), p. 141, Budaoni (Ranking), p. 334 calls it Akchak which sounds unconvincing. It must have been a neighbouring territory of Etawah ruled by the Hindus.

²²⁸ & ²²⁹ In his description of the imperial court Afif, p. 281 has made a reference to these two persons and also the places which they used to occupy.

²³⁰ Yahya (Basu), p. 141.

²³¹ *Ibid.*

²³² *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi*, (A.U.Ms.), p. 168.

²³³ Yahya, (Basu), p. 141; Firishta (Briggs), Vol. I, p. 457.

²³⁴ "It is a town in the Bahwanigarh Tahsil; Karmgarh nizam, Patiala State, Punjab, situated in 30° 9' N and 76° 15' E, 17 miles S.W. of Patiala town with which it is connected by metalled road". (*Imp. Gaz. Vol. XXIII, page 1*).

²³⁵ Yahya, (Basu), p. 141.

²³⁶ *Ibid.*, Budaoni (Ranking), p. 334, calls it Sintur hills. According to Firishta, (Briggs), Vol. I, p. 457 and Elliot, Vol. IV, p. 14, the Sultan passed through the Saharanpur hills. In all probability, the Santur hills of Yahya were an integral part of the Sain Dhar range which falls in the Sirmur State. "This State lies, among the outer Himalayan ranges between 77° 5' and 77° 55' E, and 30° 20' and 31° 5' N. It is bounded on the north by the Simla Hill States of Balasan and Jubbal, on the east by the Tons river. On the South it borders on the State of Khalsia and the Ambala district of the Punjab". (*Sirmur State Gazetteer 1904, p. 1*).

²³⁷ Ambala, "It is the headquarter of the district and Tahsil of Ambala in the Province of Punjab situated in 30° 23' N and 76° 46' E, 17 miles S.W. of Patiala town with which it is connected by a metalled road." (*Imp. Gaz.*, Vol. V, p. 287).

²³⁸ Shahbad, "It is in the Thanesar tahsil of Karnal district, Punjab situated in 30° 23' and 76° 46' E 17 miles S. W. of Patiala town with which it is connected by a metalled road". (*Imp. Gaz.*, Vol. XXII; p. 198).

²³⁹ Yahya, (Basu), p. 141, See (*Sirmur State Gaz.*, 1904, p. 1).

²⁴⁰ "It is a village at present in the south of Purnea sub-division. It is the chief railway centre in the district, being an important junction at which Bengal and N.W. Railway meets the Bihar section of the Eastern Bengal State railway." (*Bengal Dist. Gaz. Purnea*, pp. 192-93).

²⁴¹ Yahya (Basu), p. 142; Budaoni, (Ranking), p. 335, writes 'Khakar' and Firishta (Briggs), Vol. I, p. 457 writes Kurgoo; All these seem to be less precise. The actual name therefore seems to be 'Kharku' as Yahya puts it.

²⁴² Yahya, (Basu), p. 142; Budaoni, (Ranking), p. 335 and Firishta, (Briggs), Vol. I, p. 457.

²⁴³ Yahya, (Basu), p. 142.

²⁴⁴ Firishta (Briggs), Vol. I, p. 457; According to Yahya (Basu), p. 142, he escaped to Mahtars which is very difficult to spot exactly. In all probability, it must have been a territory in the valley of Kumaun hills.

²⁴⁵ According to Firishta (Briggs), Vol. I, p. 457, 23,000 of those mountaineers were made prisoners and condemned to slavery.

²⁴⁶ Yahya (Basu), p. 142; Firishta (Briggs), Vol. I, p. 457.

²⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁴⁸ Afif, p. 426.

²⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁵⁰ Yahya, (Basu), p. 143.

²⁵¹ According to Afif, p. 427, the misunderstanding between Khanjahan and the prince was created by a large number of amirs. But it is hard to deny, that the Wazir taking advantage of the old age of the Sultan was attempting to perpetuate his own dominance which was bound to create a rivalry with Prince Muhammad who was legal heir to the throne. This is perfectly clear from the writings of *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi* (A.U.Ms.), pp. 170-171 and Yahya (Basu), pp. 144-47 and appear to us most convincing factor responsible for the hostile relations between the prince and the Wazir.

²⁵² Yahya, (Basu), pp. 144-47.

²⁵³ *Ibid.*

²⁵⁴ *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi*, (A.U.Ms.), pp. 170-71.

²⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁵⁶ Yahya, (Basu), pp. 146-47.

²⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, (Majari must have been a neighbouring territory of Mewat).

²⁵⁸ *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi*, (A.U.Ms.), pp. 170-71.

²⁵⁹ Yahya, (Basu), pp. 144-45.

²⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

261 *Ibid.*

262 *Ibid.*

263 *Ibid.*

264 *Ibid.*

265 *Ibid.*, p. 148 ; Budaoni, (Ranking), p. 338, writes that the Sultan died on the 16th Ramzan 790/A.H. and Firishta (Briggs), Vol. I, p. 461, writes 3rd Ramzan, 790 A.H. Of them, the date given by Yahya seems to be more probable than Budaoni or Firishta who were later authorities and have based their writings on the informations of Yahya.

Chapter IV

ADMINISTRATION

IDEAL OF KINGSHIP

THE IDEAL of kingship in the Sultunat period differed from regime to regime, according to the attitude of the sovereigns and the requirements of the current situation. The evolution of its two-fold aspects viz. the practical and the theoretical was conditioned by the personal equation of the individuals at the helm of affairs. As a rule, the sovereigns were despots, resting their power upon effective military organization. But their despotism was modified to a considerable extent by the (1) Nobles who were considered to be the pillars of the State and who missed no opportunity to share authority with the crown and (2) the religious orders who tried to influence politics under the garb of spiritualism.

So far as the rights of the nobles were concerned, they varied in inverse proportion to the powers of the sovereign. If the Sultan happened to be strong, the nobles sought security in subservience to him, but if the sovereign was weak they attempted to have their own way. During the reign of Iltutmish, they were granted privileges and honours in lieu of their military services and though conscious of their privileged status, impelled by a sense of gratitude, they remained loyal and obedient. But under his weak successors, this position was reversed. Theoretically, they were subordinate to the crown, but in actual practice they acquired an influence which was infinitely superior to that of the Sultan, whom they made almost a puppet in their hands. The same thing happened in the post-Balban and post-Alauddin Khalji periods. Indeed the tussle for power between the nobles and the crown forms a characteristic feature of the entire Sultunat period.

Like the nobles, the religious orders were also an effective check to the despotic powers of the sovereign. Their interference in the imperial politics sometimes led the monarchs to impart religious colour to their State policy, because in moments of crisis religion offered to be the most effective rallying cry.

Literal interpretation of the statements of individual historians has driven modern writers to the conclusion that the Turkish ideal of kingship was essentially and normally theocratic, but a careful study of facts reveals a different story. It is true that almost every Sultan declared to abide by the Quran and Hadith, but their practices were different from their profession. They proclaimed to protect and propagate Islam, but they did not hesitate to shed the blood of their co-religionists, nor did proselytisation form an important part of the political schemes. Nor should it be forgotten that the Turks had entered the country as conquerors, their object for several centuries remained territorial expansion and its achievement brought them into constant conflict with non-Muslims. In these circumstances it was difficult, if not impossible, for them to pursue a policy of conciliation. Further the ruling class being in minority, cohesion among them was only possible on the basis of occasional appeals to religion. And this is the reason why it allied itself with the religious group whose services were exploited for purposes essentially political. Such being the case, the influence of the ulamas could not be ignored at least in the earlier stages. After the advent of Balban, there occurred some change in the theory of kingship which began to bend towards secularism. He was reluctant to recognize the ascendancy of the religious order and although he associated with some of the prominent ulamas of that time, he kept them at arm's length in matters administrative and political. The Sultan also did not attach much importance to the traditional sanction of the imperial authority by the Caliph of Bagdad. He declared that he derived authority directly from God. He greatly emphasized the importance of a strong army, military skill of the ruler, and his ability to enforce his will upon the people.¹ Alauddin Khalji went a step further and declared 'Polity and government are one thing and the rules and decrees of the law are another. Royal commands belong to the king, legal decrees rest upon the judgment of the Qazis and Muftis'.² The Sultan consulted the Qazis but did not accept their advice if it ran counter to his assessment of the political situation. For various reasons, Ghiyasuddin Tughluq reverted to the reactionary ideal and the ulamas regained their prestige during his reign ; but with the advent of Muhammad Tughluq, they were again relegated to background. The Sultan's

intellectualism prevented them from becoming an instrument of his policy. He deliberately refrained from giving any prominence to the clerical order which fomented much resentment and led to many conspiracies against him.³

It was with this background behind him that Firuz Shah Tughluq stepped into the political field. He was a weak personality, which gave a chance to the religious order to gain their lost ascendancy. With him ended the age of royal initiative, it passed into the hands of the religious group. To strengthen his hands to meet the political crisis through which the empire was passing, Firuz made a frantic appeal to religion, declaring that he would protect and promote the cause of Islam. A modern writer⁴ has remarked that the Sultan's Kingship was the outcome of his religious emotions. While affirming that Sultan's ideal of Kingship was coloured by religion, it is difficult to conclude that it was dictated by his religious feelings. He was emotional, no doubt, but in actual life he cast to the winds the teachings of religion, even the vows which he had taken before some of the contemporary saints who had blessed his kingship. To him profession of adherence to the tenets of religion was a sort of safety-valve against the political storm which was raging. His religious faith was not the outcome of deep conviction; it was an instrument for winning general support. After his accession he offered prayers saying "O Lord! the stability of States, the peace, regulation, and occupations of governments do not depend upon man. Permanence of dominion depends upon thy behest. O God, thou art my refuge and my strength."⁵

In every moment of his life, Sultan feared to take drastic steps lest he should have to answer for them to God on the day of the last judgment. Out-wardly such an attitude was religious but in reality it revealed nothing but the weak mind of the emperor. Secondly, he owed his accession to the throne to the support of the ulamas, who, brushing aside the claims of other rival candidates discovered justification for his assumption of sovereignty in prophecies etc. As such, he considered it to be his moral obligation to shape his policies according to their opinion.

Thirdly, the Sultan inherited a difficult legacy battered by the centrifugal tendencies which were at their height, the times were out of joint. The order of nobility, particularly the Turkish

element, had ever since the reign of Muhammad Tughluq been in revolt accelerating the pace of the disintegration of the empire. The problem before Firuz was how to regain their loyalty and counteract their activities. The policy of conciliation was an alternative, but weak as he was he could not put warmth into it. This drawback was made good by appeal to religion which in the past had proved a successful rallying cry. It was intended to convince the order of nobility that their interests which had suffered in the past would once more be restored to them ; that they had little to fear from the pious Sultan who was extending the hand of love and affection towards them and that the saving of the integrity of the empire was identical with the promotion of the cause of Islam. In other words, having obtained the support of the order of the ulamas, which was a compact body, Firuz used the same instrument to obtain the co-operation of the nobles who were scattered throughout the empire.

Besides the religious principles, the ideal of kingship under Firuz was marked by the absence of the military sanctions which characterised the despotism of the sovereigns of the Sultunat period. The inherent weakness of the Sultan rendered him unable to establish absolute authority on the point of sword. As such the idea of the expansion of the empire, based upon the old maxim,

“If you desire stability and peace to stalk to your country. Keep your sword in a state of restlessness”.⁶

could not find any place in his ideal of kingship. The Sultan on the contrary had introduced some humanizing forces in his kingship e.g. toleration, forgiveness, love and kindness by eliminating all severities.⁷ Unlike Balban, Alauddin Khalji, or Muhammad Tughluq, the Sultan did not make any attempt at striking terror among the people by the use of brutal forces. He, on the contrary, wanted to be loved by the people and remove all fears from their minds. One of the main factors which forced the Sultan to resort to such a liberal move was the general resentment of the people caused by the excessive severities of the reign of Muhammad Tughluq of which Firuz himself was an eyewitness. The co-operation and loyalty of the people was the immediate need of the hour. Under these circumstances the only method that appeared to him as an effective remedy against the then state of

affairs was a liberal policy which expressed itself in the following words.

“Don't strive to shed the blood of men, because life does not return,

Once it passes away.

Don't make yourself an ally of villany by shedding men's blood.

After all, you have also blood under your skin”⁸

The Sultan was so liberal that he would not punish a person even if he committed hundreds of crimes.⁹ The offenders were generally used to be forgiven by him. His liberalism was specially tested when he forgave a large number of miscreants who made attempts upon his life.¹⁰ Again when Khvaja Jahan Ayaz was presented before him and his courtiers insisted that he should be severely dealt with, he remarked :

“It was a high duty of kings to overlook any irregular acts of their officers”¹¹

This was the attitude of the Sultan towards his subordinates throughout his reign. In spite of receiving reports of corruption in the various departments he refrained from taking any steps and deliberately overlooked them. Besides this, the Sultan made penal laws more humane to eliminate all severities.¹²

Although liberalism was the keynote of the idealism of Firuz Shah, yet it was not completely free from strictness. Circumstantial evidence leads us to the conclusion that at times the Sultan became very severe upon the offenders e.g. the punishment that he inflicted upon Khusrav Malik, Davar Malik, Khudavand Zada and Shamsuddin Aburija.¹³ Above all, the Sultan never showed any kindness towards the murderers or the robbers.¹⁴

Another characteristics of the kingship was his generosity. Immediately after his accession, he distributed large sums of money to the people, specially those who had suffered much in the last reign.¹⁵ He wrote off the loans of two crores which had been advanced to the people in the reign of his predecessor for the purpose of rehabilitation and refrained from recovering the gifts and jewels which Khvaja Jahan Ayaz had given to the people for gaining their support.¹⁶ Lavish gifts both in lands and cash were bestowed. Some were given 10,000 tankas, some 5,000 while others were given 2,000 tankas.¹⁷ They were given important

posts with high sounding titles e.g. Qivamul-Mulk received the title of Khanjahan and was made Wazir; Malik Maqbul the Naib Wazir on Shaikh Zadah Sadruddin was conferred the title of Shaikh-ul-Islam.¹⁸ Khudavand Zadah Qavamuddin received the title of Khudavand Khan and became vakildar; Imadul Mulk became the chief Silahdar. Some of the officials were also rewarded with costly jewels. The Wazir Khanjahan received a large cushion and gold embroidered pillows while others were given different kinds of umbrellas.¹⁹ Besides this, he used to receive 13 lacs of tankas in cash or fiefs and districts of equal value in addition to his usual allowances.²⁰ Whenever a son was born to him the Sultan gave him a maintenance allowance of 11,000 tankas.²¹ At the time of the marriage of his daughters, the Wazir used to receive an allowance of 15,000 tankas.²² Similarly, other nobles reaped rich harvest from the Sultan's generosity. Poor beggars also participated in it. Every Friday the Sultan made a lavish distribution of gifts to the old and young irrespective of the age.²³

The most important aspect of the theory of kingship of Firuz Shah was, that it laid special stress on the general welfare of the subjects. The Sultan himself was a progressive reformer and introduced various schemes with a view to promoting general welfare.²⁴ The greatest benefit was reaped by the peasants whose economic condition improved considerably owing to the benevolent schemes of the Sultan.²⁵ Schemes of artificial irrigation greatly promoted agriculture and raised the economic prosperity of the land.²⁶ Besides revenue reforms, the creation of unemployment bureau for solving the problem of unemployment, Diwan-i-Khairat, for helping the poor Muslim parents in marriage of their daughters, hospitals, rest houses, etc. greatly proclaim the benevolent spirit of the Sultan upon which his kingship was based.

Lastly, by promotion of learning and architecture²⁷ the Sultan added further laurels to the institution of kingship.

THEORETICAL ASPECT

Theoretically the Sultans considered themselves as the representative of Khalifa, who formally recognized their authority. They were supposed to perform the four-fold duties of a Khalifa viz., (1) Defend and maintain faith (2) Protect the

territory of Islam (3) To act as the supreme judge of the state (4) To be the chief organiser and administrator of the commonwealth.

Although in actual practice the first principle could not be strictly adhered to in India because of the presence of men of divergent faith, yet it was recognized in theory at least. So far as other principles were concerned, the Sultans in general had based their theory of kingship on them. Firuz Shah was no exception to it. He recognized the above principles as the basic objective of his ideal of kingship and tried his best to act upon them.

The formal recognition of the authority by the Caliph used to add a dignity to the position of the sovereigns and the Muslims valued it very much. Ever since the days of Iltutmish, who for the first time secured an investiture from the Caliph of Bagdad, it almost became an established convention. Even Muhammad Tughluq who had rejected the authority of the clericalists in the moment of frustration had sought the sanctions of his authority by the Khalifa of Egypt; only to win the sympathy of his co-religionists.

The authority of Firuz was also recognized by the then Caliph, who sent emissaries with Khelat and three robes, one for the Sultan, second for Fath Khan, and the third for Khanjahan.²⁸ The Sultan received the emissaries with great humility and sent through him appropriate presents for Caliph.²⁹ Besides the formal recognition of authority, the theoretical aspect of kingship included the recitation of Khutbah, striking of coins, embroidering the royal name on pieces of silk or gold brocade, technically called Taraz.³⁰

In the method of recitation of Khutbah Firuz Shah introduced a novel element viz., the inclusion of the names of his illustrious predecessors who had played roles as sovereigns. This he did out of his great regard for his ancestors. The names which were recited in the Khutbah were the following:—³¹

1. Sultan Shahabuddin Bin Sam
2. Shamshuddin Iltutmish
3. Nasiruddin Muhammad
4. Ghiyasuddin Balban
5. Jalaluddin Khalji
6. Alauddin

7. Qutbuddin Mubarak
8. Ghiyasuddin
9. Sultan Muhammad
10. His own name.

His idea was :

“If you wish that your name be everlasting
Don't keep the names of great unpublished.”³²

SIKKAH OR THE RIGHT OF COINING MONEY.

The striking of coins was the exclusive privilege of an independent monarch. It had been the usual practice of every Sultan to issue new coins as tokens of their royalty. In consonance with this convention Firuz Shah struck twenty one coins e.g.³³

1. Khutbai-Takht
2. Sandali
3. Moharbar Aqiq
4. Tughra
5. Rafi
6. Tabliqh
7. Magisran
8. Bangpas
9. Dar-e-Ghasia Para
10. Silah-bar-Waqt.
11. Zanzir Peshdar Akhwal
12. Dur
13. Mahal-Naubat-Dar-Sawari-Masiha
14. Kulah-e-Malik
15. Chatr-e-Siah
16. Tarkish Sufaid
17. Kitabat-e-Tawarikh
18. Barbar Pilan
19. Amdan-Muloq Dar Sara Awwal Waqt
20. Bang Taras Bar Waqt Dar Amad
21. Dura-i-Bed Kosh.

GOVERNMENT—ITS FORM

The government of Firuz was despotic in form, a usual feature of the Sultunat period. But it marked a great contrast with that which existed under Balban, Alauddin Khalji or

Muhammad Tughluq. Although theoretically the Sultan was the head of the state, the source of all power; in actual practice, he had delegated authority to the religious order, influential courtiers and powerful nobles of the realm. Moreover the military element in the system of administration had considerably diminished.

ORGANIZATION OF GOVERNMENT

The executive organ of the government meant the Sultan and the ministers who acted as his advisers. But they did not represent a co-ordinated team. Each minister presided over a department and was responsible to the Sultan individually. This occasioned conflicts and bitterness among the ministers who did not hesitate to make personal attacks on the integrity of each other in the midst of discussion e.g. Ain-ul-Mulk's personal attack upon the Wazir offended him so much that he complained about it to the Sultan who authorised him to dismiss the Mushrif which created a general resentment among the courtiers.³⁴ Though the Sultan effected a reconciliation between the two, their mutual bitterness did not cease and Ain-ul-Mulk refrained to go to the house of the Wazir.³⁵

Another similar instance of strain in the relation among high government officials is furnished by the complaint which Shamshuddin Aburija made to the Sultan that he was not getting active support of his colleagues. When the Sultan took up the matter, all agreed to help Aburija whenever required.³⁶

RELATION BETWEEN THE SULTAN AND THE MINISTERS

In consonance with past practice,³⁷ Firuz Shah also observed the procedure of consultation and deliberation with the ministers. The only change noticeable in his reign was that whereas powerful Sultans like Balban, Alauddin Khalji or Muhammad Tughluq, in spite of advice of their ministers, acted in their own discretion, Firuz generally, yielded to the decision of his ministers. In other words, the Sultan almost ceased to take active interest in the affairs of the government leaving everything in the hands of his ministers. Such an attitude gave ample scope to the ministers to dominate upon the imperial politics.

The Sultan made it a general policy of pleasing every-body, and did not hesitate even to break the established conventions to satisfy individual ministers. When there occurred general resentment among his ministers, following the dismissal of Ain-ul-Mulk who was proceeding towards Multan, he immediately sent for the Mushrif and summoning other courtiers and the Wazir, effected a compromise between the Mushrif and the Wazir, which saved the State from a great crisis.³⁸

Again we find that when Ain-ul-Mulk was given the fief of Multan he accepted it on the condition that he would not submit his accounts to the Wazir but to the Sultan directly.³⁹ Although it was the established convention that all fief holders should submit their accounts to the Wazir, yet the Sultan violated it and made an exception for Ain-ul-Mulk only to appease him.

The Sultan was empowered to demand explanation from any minister for mal-administration as he did in case of Shamsuddin Aburija.⁴⁰ But in most other cases he refrained from taking any action and overlooked their faults. The ministers thus acquired a great hold over the Sultan and secured favours for their nominees.

ADVISORY BODY

Majlis-i-Khass : (The Imperial Council)

The Sultan summoned the *Majlis-i-Khass* whenever he felt the need of discussing any legislative, financial, or executive problem of the State.⁴¹ It had no constitutional status, it was only conventional. The contemporary writers on Firuz have not given the details of its composition under him, but the fact that Malik Sahim Shahnaï was its Naib Amir confirms its existence.⁴² It may be surmised that the Wazir Khanjahan, Shamsuddin Aburija, Sayyidul Hujjab, Malik Naib Barbak and the religious leader Shaikh-ul-Islam dominated this body.

Majlis-i-Khalwat : (Privy Council)

Besides *Majlis-i-Khass* another advisory body was *Majlis-i-Khalwat*.⁴³ It was comprised of four trusted officials and some others called *Raizan-i-dargah* (Royal Counsellors).⁴⁴ The Sultan held its meeting in the *Mahal-i-Chhajai Choubin*.⁴⁵ But this was also a conventional body. The Sultan was neither bound to hold its meeting nor to accept its advice.

SHAIKH-UL-ISLAM

He was the religious leader of the realm.⁴⁶ He was held in much esteem by the Sultan, and consulted on State affairs. He exercised much influence upon the government policy. The Sultan used to have confidential talks with him in the Mahal-i-Chhajai Choubin (Palace having wooden portico).⁴⁷ It was on his recommendation that stipends were granted to saints and sufis. He enjoyed the first precedence in the court. He would be the first officer to enter into it and occupied the special seat reserved for him.⁴⁸

VARIOUS DEPARTMENTS OF THE EXECUTIVE

Firuz Shah retained almost all the departments of the executive which had existed in the past, with slight additions and alterations. Each department was in charge of a minister called Sahib-i-Diwan or a deputy minister called Naib-i-Diwan or both.⁴⁹ The most important department was that of the Diwan-i-Wazarat which had the following officials :—

1. Wazir (Prime Minister)
2. Naib Wazir (Deputy)
3. Mushrif Mumalik (Accountant General), assisted by Naib Mushrif, (Deputy Accountant General) Nazir, Naib Nazir.⁵⁰
4. Mustaufi Mumalik (Auditor General) assisted by Naib Mustaufi, Waquf, Naib Waquf.⁵¹
5. Majmuadar⁵² who used to keep record of the balances.

WAZIR

The Wazir was designated Khanjahan. At first, the post was held by Qiva-mul-Mulk and subsequently on his death by his son.⁵³ He was the most influential and powerful officer. He looked into the details of administration and supervised all other departments. In fact, he was the pivot of the administrative structure and performed manifold duties. He advised the Sultan in all important matters and enjoyed his implicit confidence. In the absence of the Sultan, he carried on the administration and held the court.⁵⁴ When Firuz Tughluq was untraceable for six months during his march from Sind to Gujarat it was the Wazir who maintained peace within the empire with great efficiency. In the midst of crisis he removed all the valuables from the royal palace to his own house for safe

custody and prevented any internal disorder by issuing a number of ordinances.⁵⁵ Afif writes, "Without such able ministers it would not have been possible for the Sultan to leave his kingdom and engage in conquest."⁵⁶ Another important duty performed by the Wazir in times of war was to send supplies to the different centres according to the needs.⁵⁷ The Wazir had the power of appointing and dismissing all civil officials.⁵⁸

In the royal court the Wazir was a dominating figure. All proceedings were conducted through him. He was the only official who had the privilege of talking to the Sultan directly in the court.⁵⁹ This was the old convention of court and Firuz Shah did not break it, because it meant lowering the prestige of the Wazir. The Sultan, therefore, made the Wazir a medium of his conversation with others. Even if he was displeased with any body, he expressed his resentment through the Wazir.⁶⁰ Again, the Wazir had much power as the head of the finance department. He had to supervise the work of his subordinate officials viz. Ashraful-Mumalik and Mustaufi Mumalik. All other departments had to finally submit their accounts to the office of the Wazir, where it was checked up and finally passed. The Wazir had to settle disputes regarding the financial matters, for which he had to act as the presiding officer of his revenue court, *i.e.*, the Diwan-i-Wizarat. He had to investigate the cases of fraud and embezzlement. It was he who found out the discrepancies in the accounts of Shamsuddin Aburija, who was tried in his court and was ultimately dismissed by the Sultan.⁶¹ When a rumour spread regarding the shortage of Shash Kani coins, the Sultan entrusted the Wazir to carry on investigation in the matter. The Wazir made a close enquiry, and being aware of the real fact, adopted unfair means to prove the purity of the coins only to safeguard the prestige of the State.⁶² Besides, the Wazir also controlled the military department and paid the army.⁶³

The Mint⁶⁴ and the building department (Diwan-i-Imarat)⁶⁵ the royal Karkhanahs⁶⁶ were within the jurisdiction of the Wazir. He had the power of dismissing even the director of the Mint.⁶⁷ Every scheme of constructing new building used to be examined by him carefully.⁶⁸ As the head of the Wizarat he was the final sanctioning authority of the various departments. Another important function of the Wazir was to manage fields of the

villages for which he used to charge something from the villagers and deposited a portion of it in the treasury.⁶⁹ But later on when Qiva-ul-Mulk was succeeded by his son, the latter performed the same job, but he did not take anything from the villagers; yet he deposited four lacs of tankas in the Treasury.⁷⁰ This reveals an important function of the Wazir. The power of the Wazir reached its climax at the fag end of the Sultan's career when he became too invalid to manage the affairs of the State and left the entire administration in the hands of the Wazir for whom he had a great affection and whom he treated like his son.⁷¹ So great were his powers that "The Firuz Shahi Amirs and Maliks were entirely subservient to him (Wazir) and those who opposed him were removed from the presence of the Sultan by all possible means; some were killed, others confined".⁷² For all practical purposes the Wazir became the real administrator and the Sultan only a puppet in his hands. Whatever the Wazir suggested, the Sultan accepted blindly. This is specially borne out by an incident: When the Sultan was told by the Wazir about an organised conspiracy, headed by Prince Muhammad and he without investigating the real issue gave orders for the arrest of the ring-leaders. The dominance of the Wazir in the imperial government caused a great resentment in a particular group headed by Prince Muhammad who rose to power and gave a death-blow to this regime.⁷³ Thus the Wazir was the most powerful personality who exercised tremendous influence throughout the reign of Firuz.

HIS SALARY AND ECONOMIC STANDARD

The Wazir enjoyed a good salary in addition to 1300 lacs of tankas annually or fiefs or districts of equal value instead.⁷⁴ The Sultan also sanctioned 11,000 tankas and 15,000 tankas for the marriage of his daughter.⁷⁵ He was one of the richest persons of his time. There were thousands of women of Rum and Chin in his harem and he spent much of his time in pleasures.⁷⁶

NAIB WAZIRS

The Wazir used to be assisted by the Naib Wazirs e.g. Malik Nizamul Mulk, Amir Hussain, Amir Miran.⁷⁷

MUSHRIF MUMALIK

Mushrif Mumalik was the Accountant General whose duty was to keep an account of the collection (Jama).⁷⁸ Prior to Firuz the position of the Mushrif was somewhat vague and obscure because the same function was also performed by the Mustaufi who, in fact, was supposed to audit the accounts.⁷⁹ This duplication of work although had the advantage of the accounts being checked by the two independent authorities yet it resulted in the serious conflict between the Mushrif and the Wazir during the reign of Firuz.⁸⁰ The Sultan, therefore, had to settle the disputes by clearly specifying the powers of the Mushrif and Mustaufi. According to it the duties of the Mushrif were confined to the task of keeping the accounts of collection and Mustaufi of keeping a detailed account of the expenditure.⁸¹ Thus the contribution of Firuz consisted only in the clarification of the vague position of the Mushrif and Mustaufi.

The post of Mushrif used to be held by Ain-ul-Mulk for a pretty long time. Within the court the Mushrif occupied a seat just below the Wazir.⁸²

MUSTAUFİ MUMALIK

Mustaufi Mumalik was the Auditor General whose duty was to take a detailed account of the expenditure, to check the accounts and prevent any mis-appropriation.⁸³ For some time it was held by Aziz-ul-Mulk, the nephew of Firuz, who was given a seat on the right side of the Wazir within the court.⁸⁴ But the most powerful personality who exercised the functions of Mustaufi was Shamshuddin Aburija.⁸⁵ He was one of the chief advisers of the Sultan and acquired a great hold over him. It was due to his personal influence that he, besides performing the duties of Mustaufi, also intervened in the work of other officials viz., Wazir, Naib Wazir etc.⁸⁶ He became so powerful that even Khanjahan began to work under his advice. All the petty officers were under his control. The jagirdars used to come first to him and then to the Sultan.⁸⁷

ADMINISTRATIVE POLICY OF SHAMSHUDDIN ABURİJA AND HIS DOWNFALL

As an auditor Aburija was most efficient and looked into the minutest details of accounts and pointed out such mistakes

which no one else could detect.⁸⁸ His power of discussion in the court was equally appreciable.

But in spite of all his virtues Aburija was dishonest and made a lot of money by taking bribes from the people.⁸⁹ He used to charge a person but after taking bribes he would let him off. This became a general feature of his administrative policy and finally resulted in his downfall, when he was accused of embezzling the Government money, and was tried in the court of Khanjahan.⁹⁰ When these charges proved to be true the Sultan ordered the confiscation of his entire property and his banishment.⁹¹ Thus ended the political career of Shamsuddin who played a very important role in the Diwan-i-Wizarat.

MALIK NAIB BARBAK

Like Wazir, Malik Naib Barbak⁹² held an important portfolio in the Wizarat. He was the step-brother of Firuz and was much loyal to him.⁹³ In the absence of the Sultan from the capital, he, along with the Wazir, acted as the deputy and held court in the middle of the royal palace.⁹⁴ His relation with Khanjahan was cordial. In his treatment with his subjects, he was kind and modest.⁹⁵ Normally the function of Malik Naib Barbak was to assist the Hajibs in performing the activities of the court.⁹⁶ Besides this, he was in charge of the arrangement of the religious festivals specially Id and Shabibarat.⁹⁷ Lastly he performed the duties of a revenue official and was in charge of several cities where he supervised the collection by appointment of revenue collectors⁹⁸.

DEPARTMENT OF COINAGE OR CURRENCY (MINT)—THIS WAS IN CHARGE OF KAJAR SHAH.⁹⁹

Diwan-i-Ariz (Military Department)

The highest official in this department was Ariz-i-Mumalik (Military Commander) held by Imadul Mulk Bashir Sultani. He was the officer of 5000 strong cavalry and had innumerable pergunas under his command.¹⁰⁰ During his old age his son Malik Ishak held this post.¹⁰¹ This official was in charge of the entire military administration. His duty was to make an annual inspection of troops.¹⁰² His office recommended assignments for the soldiers.¹⁰³ During the time of war he always accompanied the Sultan, and commanded a part of the army in

the field.¹⁰⁴ Lastly, he was the chief silahdar, *i.e.*, in charge of arms and ammunitions and the requirements of the department used to be placed by him.¹⁰⁵

DEPUTY ARIZ

The Ariz-i-Mumalik used to be assisted by a Deputy Ariz. It was held by Malik Razi a venerable and a righteous man.¹⁰⁶ His duty was to keep a record of the defaulters who failed to produce their horses for annual registration in the office of the Diwan. Sometimes he pleaded for the defaulters who could not present themselves in the Diwan for being sent by their officers to the villages for their pay or for some other business.¹⁰⁷ His pleadings for such soldiers led the Sultan to pass some regulations for the benefit of the soldiers.¹⁰⁸

DIWAN-I-RISALAT

This department dealt with ecclesiastical affairs of the State and used to be presided over by Sadr-us-Sudur who was also Sadr-Jahan of the State.¹⁰⁹ This was held by Sayyid Jalaluddin Kirmani. The chief duty of Sadr-us-Sudur was to look after the management of the madarsahs and recommend deserving men for stipends. Besides this, it performed the judicial functions by hearing complaints from subjects, against ministers, government officials, and members of the royal family and took measures for redressing them in the capacity of the king's agent.¹¹⁰ Thus it was more or less equivalent to the Diwan-ul-Mazalim of the Abbasids.

DIWAN-I-INSHA

This was the department of correspondence¹¹¹ which used to be made between the king and the provincial governors. The minister in charge of this department used to be called as Dabir-i-Mumalik or Dabir-i-Khan or Sar-i-Dabir styled as Umdat-ul-Mulk. His duty included drafting of royal letters e.g. Manshurs (royal mandate), Misals, (royal commands), Fath Namahs (letters of victories). Some times the Sultan himself dictated the letters. He used to be assisted by a large number of Dabirs. The existence of this department under Firuz can very well be inferred from 'Inshai Mahru' a collection of royal letters some of which have been drafted by Ain-ul-Mulk himself. From this

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it may be concluded that probably Ain-ul-Mulk acted in the post of Sar-i-Dabir for sometime.

DIWAN-I-ISTIHAQ

This department, as its name signifies, granted pensions (Istifa). It had the power of restoring old monasteries to their original possessors or giving allowances to them.¹¹² It granted allowances to 4200 Alims and Huffizes.¹¹³ The minister in charge of this department was Husain Amir-i-Miran.¹¹⁴

DIWAN-I-KHAIRAT

It was the special creation of Firuz for helping the poor Muslim parents in the marriage of their daughters. It was in charge of Sayyid Amir Miran.¹¹⁵ Its function consisted of the following.¹¹⁶ (1) to register the names of such needy persons who flocked from distant corners to reap benefit out of it. (2) to distribute money according to their needs. The financial aid used to be classified into three grades e.g. (i) 50 tankas (ii) 30 tankas (iii) 25 tankas. The officer in charge of this department had probably to use discretion for granting the above grades of monetary assistance according to the needs of the persons.

DIWAN-I-BANDGAN

This department was also a new creation of Firuz which administered the affairs of the slaves. The important officials which represented the department were Chawush-i-ghuri, deputy Chawush-i-ghuri, a Diwan,¹¹⁷ and a separate muster-master or majmudar to look after its general administration. It had its own treasury.¹¹⁸

IMARAT KHANAH (Department of Buildings)

This department dealt with the construction of new buildings and repair of old ones.

It had also existed during the reign of Muhammad Tughluq,¹¹⁹ although its activities were not so wide as in the reign of Firuz. The official who represented this department was Mir-Imarat. Under Firuz, Malik Ghazi Shahnah held this post to be assisted by Jahar Saundhar and several Shahnahs (superintendents).¹²⁰ He held a golden staff from the king. The scheme of every

new building used to be examined by the Wazir, after which money was sanctioned for it.¹²¹

ROYAL KARKHANAHS (The factories)

The royal karkhanahs owed their origin in the Sultunat period much earlier than Firuz. They manufactured all articles of royal use, e.g. caps, shoes, curtains, tapestry, waist-bands, embroideries, saddles etc.¹²² Muhammad Tughluq employed no less than 4000 manufacturers of golden tissues for brockades used by the ladies of the royal harem or given away in presents to amirs and their wives.¹²³ So the department of the royal karkhanahs does not represent anything new in the government of Firuz. The only remarkable feature noticeable in it in this reign was its vast expansion; and the Sultan's appointment of new officials for its supervision. There were thirty-six karkhanahs each under the supervision of a noble or a Khan of royal dignity called Mutasarrif who had to maintain the accounts of his department separately and submit it to the office of Diwan-i-Wizarat for annual audit.¹²⁴ These appointments used to be made by the Sultan personally. The following persons were appointed to act as Mutasarrifs in some of the departments.¹²⁵

1. Malik Ali and Malik Ismail in charge of Jamdar-Khanah (wardrobe)
2. Malik Sahin Sultani in charge of Peel Khanah (Elephants)
3. Malik Khizr in charge of Shikra Khanah (preying birds)
4. Malik Mubarak Kabir in charge of Zarrad Khanah and Silah Khanah (war materials, arms and jewels)
5. Helal Khan in charge of Tasht-dar-Khanah (ewer bearer and baths).
6. Alam Khanah (Standards) and Rikab Khanah (Saddlery, harness etc.) were held by the uncle and the father of Afif and the historian discharged its duties on behalf of them.

There was a general Mutasarrif held by Khvaja Abul Hasan whose duty was to supervise all these departments and to circulate the imperial orders to them.¹²⁶ A separate office was also created for the maintenance of the general accounts of the karkhanahs.

All these departments provided food and fodder for the stables, kennels, kitchen, and manufactured many perishable and

non-perishable goods e.g., clothes, uniforms, tents, furniture, arms and ammunitions etc.¹²⁷ The goods were classified into two categories viz.,

(i) Ghair-Ratibi which included non-perishable goods e.g. clothes, uniforms, carpet, tents, furniture, arms and ammunition etc.¹²⁸

(ii) The Ratibi establishments which included the following :—

1. Elephants, horses and camel stables, (Peel Khanah, Paiga, Suttur)

2. Dog Kennels

3. Butlery

4. Water cooling department (Abdar Khanah)

5. Department of Light (Shamah-dar Khanah)

6. Itr-dar Khanah (scents) etc.¹²⁹

The most extensive department in the Ratibi was the royal stables, which were established in five places. Add to this, a few thousands used to graze in the suburbs of Delhi and they were called Seh Panj.¹³⁰ Peel Khanahs which maintained the elephants were equally important. The camels had a separate karkhanah. They used to graze in the neighbouring villages of Dubaldhan.¹³¹

The Sultan granted a large number of villages to the keepers of the camel specially for this purpose.¹³² The Ratibi establishments received a monthly allowance of one lakh and sixty thousand tankas for the cost of furniture, salary of its officials etc.¹³³

The Non-Ratibi department included the following¹³⁴

1. Jamdar Khanah—wardrobe

2. Farrash Khanah—carpets, tents etc.

3. Rikab Khanah—saddlery, harness etc.

4. Tashtdar Khanah—ewer bearer and baths.

5. Zarrad Khanah—war materials.

6. Silah Khanah—arms and jewels.

7. Alam Khanah—standards etc.

The expenses of the Non-Ratibi department were not fixed because every year new articles used to be added. An amount of six lacs used to be spent on the wardrobe, besides the outlay for spring and summer, 80,000 tankas on Alam Khanah in the purchase of articles in addition to the salaries of the accountants and two lacs on Farrash Khanah.¹³⁵

SHIKRA KHANAH

This was an integral part of the Ratibi department of royal karkhanahs, which provided food for royal hunting. The Sultans of Delhi had mostly taken some interest in the hunting excursions in order to keep their army always active. This leads us to the conclusion that the department must have had its existence even before Firuz, although their activities might not have been so wide. However, Firuz Shah's special interest in the excursions is revealed through the activities of this department. It maintained a large number of hunting leopards, dogs, and hawks which specialized in training these animals and birds, breeding them in captivity or obtaining their young ones from the jungle.¹³⁶ The minister in charge of this department was Amir-i-Shikar (Lord of the hunt) held by Malik Waflan assisted by Malik Khizr.¹³⁷ Their duty was to arrange the hunting excursions of the Sultan.

DIWAN-I-VIKALAT (The Royal household department)

"The royal household played an important role in the government of Sultunat, not only because courtiers always possess influence in a polity of which the monarch is the pivot, but also on account of its actual share in the administrative affairs of the State".¹³⁸ The most important personality in this department which exercised much influence in the affairs of the government was the Vakildar. The post owed its origin under the Abbasids when it was known by the name of Ustad-ud-dar.¹³⁹ Under the Ghaznavides it was known by a different name called Sahab-i-diwan-i-Wakalat.¹⁴⁰ Under the Sultans of Delhi the influence of Vakildar increased to such an extent that he used to be considered as the king's agents in many respects.¹⁴¹ He was the chief dignitary of the household.¹⁴² His function included controlling the entire household department e.g. "(1) supervising the payment of allowances and salaries to the sovereign's personal staff (2) looking after the affairs of royal kitchen, the sharab Khanah, the stables and even the royal children (3) communicating the royal orders."¹⁴³

In consonance with the past tradition Firuz Shah maintained this office and conferred it to Khudavand Zadah

Qavamuddin with the title of Khudavand Khan at the very outset of his reign.¹⁴⁴ The Vakildar used to be assisted by a Naib Vakildar which was held by Malik-ul-Shark Sharf-ul-Mulk¹⁴⁵.

II—JANDARS OR BODY-GUARDS

The maintenance of a large number of body-guards technically called jandars was an usual convention followed by all the Sultans of Delhi. In most cases slaves of good physique used to be recruited by the Sultans for this purpose. Firuz Shah imitated the old practice, and thus recruited a large number of slaves whose duty was to protect the Sultan at all times.¹⁴⁶ They used to be imparted special training for it. Whenever the Sultan marched in a procession, the jandars surrounded him with open swords, and thus added some grandeur to it.¹⁴⁷ The chief jandar was 'Sarjandar' which was probably held by a Hindu named Rai Bhiru.¹⁴⁸

Besides these there were other officials who were in charge of various departments viz.

1. Silahdar—in charge of arms and ammunitions. The chief Silahdar was Imadul Mulk.¹⁴⁹
2. Kitabdar—in charge of libraries.
3. Khaznahdar—(keeper of privy purse).
4. Sharabdar—(keeper of royal drinks).
5. Itr-dar—(perfumer) who used to spread "itr" on the king.
6. Chitrdar—who waved "chitr" on the head of the king.
7. Abdar—water cooler.
8. Purdahdar—who used to draw royal curtains.
9. Jamadar—in charge of wine cups.
10. Shamadar—in charge of the department of light.
11. Shakradar—in charge of preying birds.
12. Khasdar—in charge of cooked food which was to be served to the king.
13. Chash nigir—who used to taste food and supervise kitchen and was under Khasdar.
14. Tashtdar—who used to give water to the Sultan for washing hands and feet.¹⁵⁰
15. Shabnabis was the night clerk who attended the Sultan in the night. It was held by the father of Afif.¹⁵¹

POSTAL DEPARTMENT

The contemporary writers on Firuz have not mentioned anything about the working of the postal department which was marked for its efficiency during the reign of Muhammad Tughluq. In the absence of any such record, it may be inferred that the Sultan probably did not introduce any change in the past system and continued it, *i.e.*, the medium through which news used to be conveyed from one place to another were the 'dak chowkis' or 'Sarais' erected in the different parts of the empire.¹⁵² There were three such chowkis within two miles.¹⁵³ The usual practice followed was that ten swift runners taking letters etc. in one hand and a stick tied with running bells in the other rushed from one 'Chowki' to other where similar runners kept in readiness for receiving these letters with which they rushed to the next 'Chowki'.¹⁵⁴ Thus the system enabled the news to be conveyed from one place to another within a very short time.

Firuz Shah is said to have erected 120 such inns in different parts of the empire.¹⁵⁵ From this it may be inferred that probably, these 'Sarais' served the purpose of dak chowkis as was in existence in the reign of Muhammad Tughluq.

DEPARTMENT OF THE STATE NEWS AGENCY

Ever since the days of Qutbuddin, the Sultans of Delhi had maintained this department which was in charge of an officer called Barid-i-Mumalik whose duty was to inform the Sultan, everything which happened within the empire.¹⁵⁶ The officer used to be assisted by a local barid posted in every administrative sub-division of the empire.¹⁵⁷ During the reign of Firuz, although the contemporary writers do not throw any light upon its activities, yet the existence of the post is revealed from a solitary reference.¹⁵⁸ How far this department worked well in the absence of a well-established system of espionage is, of course, a matter of doubt.

IMPERIAL COURT

Situated in the city of Firuzabad, the imperial palaces of Firuz were distinguished by special pomp and grandeur which reflected itself in the sessions held in the midst of ceremonies based upon well-defined procedure.¹⁵⁹ Three magnificent

palaces¹⁶⁰ were erected there by the Sultan for this purpose.¹⁶¹ They were (1) Mahal-i-Sahan-i-Gilin¹⁶² otherwise called Mahal-i-Daka meaning the Palace of Grapes where used to assemble the Khans, Maliks, Amirs and the leading intellectuals of the age. (2) Mahal-i-Chhajai Choubin was meant exclusively for distinguished persons (3) Mahal-i-Sahan-i-Miyanagi (the Palace of the middle courtyard) or the Bar-i-Am, *i.e.*, the hall of Public Audience.

The Sultan used to remain in Mahal-i-Sahan-i-Gilin up to 9 O'Clock in the morning¹⁶³ and after that he would go to the Mahal-i-Chhajai Choubin where he discussed confidential matters with Shaikh-ul-Islam. None else was allowed entrance into it. The deliberations there being over, the Shaikh would dine with the Sultan and leave the palace.¹⁶⁴ If after this the Shaikh had to speak something to the Sultan, he would write it on a chit of paper and put it on his turban. It was passed on to the Sultan who would read it carefully and send a reply through one of his trusted officers.¹⁶⁵ Besides his confidential consultations with the Shaikh-ul-Islam, the Sultan also convened special meetings of selected ministers and the jurists in this palace for discussing the numerous important problems of the State e.g., enactment of new regulations etc.

Lastly, mention should be made of special gatherings of musicians, dancers, wrestlers, story tellers, numbering two to three thousand from distant parts of the country on every Friday.¹⁶⁶ They entertained the Sultan throughout the day and received lavish rewards at the time of his departure.¹⁶⁷

The main centre of activity was Mahal-i-Sahan-i-Miyanagi where the Sultan conducted the bulk of State business. It was the hall of public audience similar to Darbar-i-Am of the days of Muhammad Tughluq. The contemporary writers have not recorded anything as to the time when the session was held. Very likely it was held after the meeting in the Mahal-i-Sahan-i-Gilin, *i.e.*, at 9'O Clock in the morning.¹⁶⁸

There is, however, no reference to the evening session as was the custom during the time of Muhammad Tughluq. This leads us to the conclusion that probably the court of Mahal-i-Sahan-i-Gilin held its session only in the morning. In this court, the Sultan performed judicial functions as the supreme judge, received petitions from the subjects, heard individual grievances

and pronounced his verdict on important cases in the presence of the jurists in consultation with the jurists. Besides the diplomatic representatives from the tributary states, ambassadors from foreign countries, were also received in audience here.

This was the place where the Sultan rewarded or gave robes of honour to the individuals and received annual tributes from the muqattis.

The Mahal-i-Sahan-i-Gilin was specially decorated on ceremonial occasions like the two Ids. On these days, the doors and windows of the palace were covered with fine cloth and costly carpets were spread on the floors. A special pandal was erected to which the Sultan would come in procession accompanied by the officials of the court and appear before the public. After enjoying a brief programme of music he would leave the place for offering his 'Id' prayers.¹⁶⁹

COURT CEREMONIALS

The most attractive feature in the court ceremonial was the royal procession when the Sultan accompanied by other officials marched to the palace. Seated on a Takht-i-rawan, the royal canopy spread over him, surrounded by bodyguards with drawn swords in their hands, the cavalcade moved in all its solemn grandeur creating awe in the heart of the people. The officials entered the court according to a clearly defined order of precedence.¹⁷⁰ The Sultan would be the first to enter the court and take his seat on the throne. He was followed by the Purdahdars (Incharge of curtains) who conveyed the royal permission for entry to other officials.¹⁷¹

The 'Purdahdar' sent the 'Hujjab'; then came the 'Bandagane-Teghdars' (Swordsmen) after which entered the officials of Diwan-i-Qaza, Diwan-i-Risalat, the members of the Diwan-i-Wizarat headed by the Wazir; the Diwan-i-Ariz, with the kotwals and other distinguished persons, one by one, offering the customary salutes, and took their allotted seats. All the officials saluted the king thrice by bowing their heads towards the ground which they touched with their fingers.¹⁷² This was the established custom of the court and even in case of the absence of the Sultan the officials observed it by bowing their heads towards the vacant throne.

DRESS OF THE COURTIER

The officials put on prescribed dress when in attendance at the court. It consisted of a 'Jama' made of fine cotton (Narmina), socks and cap.¹⁷³ None was allowed to enter the court unless he was properly dressed. Even the swordsmen had to wear a uniform which was supplied to them in the shape of a robe of honour consisting of the following :¹⁷⁴

1. Jama-e-Zur-Dozi—a coat made of cloth embroidered with gold.
2. Band Safed—A White belt.
3. Kamar Zarin—A golden girdle.
4. Kulah-e-Barbaki—A Barbak Cap.

In the absence of any reference to shoes, it may be inferred that probably officials were not allowed to step into the durbar with shoes.

SITTING ARRANGEMENTS

The seats of the officials were fixed according to their ranks.¹⁷⁵ The Wazir Khanjahan sat on the right side of the throne, and just above him a little behind his back Amir Muazzam, Amir Ahmad Iqbal, Malik Nizamul Mulk, Amir Hussain and Amir Miran ; the Naib Wazir sat on the left side of the Khanjahan and below them the Mushrif-Mumalik.¹⁷⁶ The seat of the Mustaufi used to be allotted below the Mushrif at first,¹⁷⁷ but Firuz made a slight change in the arrangement, when the post of Mustaufi was allotted to Azizul-Mulk (his nephew) for whom it was beneath his dignity to sit below the Mushrif. The Mustaufi, therefore, was then given a seat on the right side of the Wazir.¹⁷⁸ Qazi Sadr Jahan along with Babaniya, and Mangal Khan used to sit at a short distance behind Khanjahan on a folded carpet. On the right side, below Sadr Jahan, sat Sayyid Barkani, and below him, Shaikh Jamaluddin Rumi. On the left of the throne, a similar carpet used to be spread, on which sat Zafar Khan, along with Ahmad Khan, Azam Khan, the reporter, and behind them sat Rai Madar Deo, Rai Sabir, Rao Datt Aharan etc.¹⁷⁹ Although Zafar Khan occupied the left side of the throne yet prior to his arrival in the imperial court for a long time it remained vacant.¹⁸⁰ According to the old customs of the court, this side was exclusively meant for the military commandants. But Firuz Shah deviated from it and did not allow his military

commander Imadul-Mulk 'Bashira', who was his slave, to sit on the left. In the beginning, the Wazir used to sit on the left side of the throne, while the right side was occupied by Tatar Khan.¹⁸¹ But after the death of Tatar Khan, the Wazir was shifted to the right side and the left side again remained vacant till the arrival of Zafar Khan.¹⁸² After the death of Zafar Khan this place was allotted to his son Darya Khan.¹⁸³ Thus the sitting arrangements of the various officials were marked by a systematic order.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE COURT

One of the most important officials in the court was 'Amir Hajib' whose duty was to marshal the nobles according to their ranks, and maintain the dignity of the royal functions.¹⁸⁴ He used to be assisted by Malik Naib Barbak and other Hajibs. The chief Hajib or Sayyidul Hujjab introduced every individual to the Sultan without which no body could get an access to him.¹⁸⁵ The Sultan had such a keen memory that he could recollect the name of the ancestors of an individual merely by seeing his face.¹⁸⁶ But the Sultan never talked with any-body directly in accordance with the old convention of the court. The Wazir was the medium through whom the Sultan conveyed his meaning.¹⁸⁷ Even if the Sultan was displeased with any-body, he never showed his resentment directly, but through the Wazir.¹⁸⁸ The direct conversation with the subjects was considered to lower the prestige of the Wazir. Thus the Wazir was the most dominating figure in the court and looked into details of every matter. The general method which the Sultan followed for settling various issues was consultation and discussion with the jurists, theologians and other learned men whose opinion was the deciding factor in his final verdict. Among such persons who exercised tremendous influence besides the Wazir were Sayyidul Hujjab,¹⁸⁹ and Shamshuddin Aburija,¹⁹⁰ who sometimes accepted bribes to secure the king's favour for various persons.

JUDICIAL ADMINISTRATION

Main features of the Judicial System

The Judicial system of Firuz was characterised by the spirit of mercy and benevolence which won for him a great popularity

among the masses ; the nobility and the ulamas, who were tired of the severities of the reign of Muhammad Tughluq. Contemporary historians¹⁹¹ have lavished praises on the new spirit which is specially revealed in the regulation of the Sultan abolishing the brutal punishments like "Mutilation of hands, feet, ear and nose, plucking out of the eyes, pouring molten lead down the throats of the people, hammering the bones of hands and feet to fragment, roasting alive in fire, driving nails into hands, feet and chest flaying alive, battering with spiked rod, diving arteries, sawing a body into halves, and other forms of mutilation."¹⁹² The Sultan himself had witnessed the evil consequences of the brutal punishments inflicted by his predecessor, which had occasioned resentment on the part of the ulamas and the nobility. The only policy which in these circumstances could pacify the masses and the classes alike was the toning down of the severity of the penal law. The Sultan did away with all forms of in-human punishments. He also abolished the Diwan-i-Siyasat or the court of correction which had been established by Muhammad Tughluq, especially for hardened criminals.¹⁹³ All these measures enabled the Sultan to gain sympathy of the ulamas and nobility.

In consonance with such a policy, Firuz reduced the activities of the spies, who, in the past, had been a source of tyranny to the people. They could be punished only if found guilty of misrepresentation of facts, or of leading into evidence false witnesses.¹⁹⁴

Thus the reform of Firuz must have brought relief to the people, but it had a telling effect upon the efficiency of administration ; despotic as it was by nature, its success depending upon a well-established system of espionage which was a common feature with most of the powerful Sultans of Delhi.

FAIR TRIAL

Another characteristic noticeable in Firuz Shah's Judicial System was the method of public hearing of a case before the judgment was pronounced. The Sultan throughout his long reign always resorted to the procedure of thorough investigation, examination of witnesses, consultation of the Qazis, before condemning any person.

The following instances will confirm the view (1) When the

charges of embezzlement were levelled against Shamshuddin Aburija, he was tried before all in the open court of Diwan-i Wizarat, and when he was really proved guilty, then alone the Sultan pronounced verdict of the confiscation of his property and banishment.¹⁹⁵

(2) When the Sultan heard about the shortage of weight in the Shash Kani Coins, he at once asked the Wazir Khanjahan to investigate the matter.¹⁹⁶

Although the Khanjahan, by unfair means, proved its purity before the Sultan, yet the relevant conclusion that emerges out of it is that the Sultan could not be satisfied with second hand reports till they had been confirmed by testing of coins in his own presence.

(3) "Khvaja Ahmad, who was a clerk in the royal treasury, had once murdered a student, who used to teach his children at Firuzabad. It is related that Khvaja suspected the student of falling in love with a lady, and this led him to murder the student in a drinking party. The body was thrown over a bridge in the midnight and was detected by the Sultan the next morning who ordered the Kotwal to investigate the matter."

"After much enquiry the Kotwal traced the murderer and produced him before the court. The slaves and slave girls of the Khvaja being subjected to torture by the Kotwal, confirmed the real facts before the Sultan and gave a detailed account of the circumstances in which Khvaja had murdered the student in a state of drunkenness.

Although the statements of slaves as witnesses were sufficient for the execution of Khvaja, yet the Sultan was not satisfied because Khvaja pleaded his innocence and shifted the whole blame of murder upon the slaves. He had to wait for further investigations."

"When the slaves in their defence referred to the blood sustained cloth which Khvaja had given to the washerman, the Sultan at once sent for the washerman who appeared in the court with the washed clothes of Khvaja marked with yellow spots. When Khvaja was questioned about it, he said that the blood spots were of animals which he had slaughtered on that day. This could not satisfy the Sultan who then sent for the butchers who refuted the statement of the Khvaja and declared that the yellow patches are left on the clothes only after washing the

human blood." "Ultimately, the charge was proved and the Sultan executed Khvaja Ahmad."¹⁹⁷

The Sultan himself gives several instances¹⁹⁸ which reveal how religious offences or heresy were punished only after the charges were proved in the court in the presence of Qazis e.g.

(1) When Ahmad Bihari, the leader of a particular sect, was charged of leading men astray to perverse faith, and was produced before the Sultan, the latter gave orders for his imprisonment only after the offence had been proved against him in the court.

(2) When the 'religious order' brought complaint against Ruknuddin Mahdi for declaring himself the 'apostle of Allah' and converting others to his faith, the Sultan made a close enquiry and when the latter confessed his guilt, and the doctors of the law declared him an infidel, then he was executed.

(3) One of the sons of Ain-i-Mahru's teachers in Gujarat was charged for declaring himself as God, converting others to his faith, and reducing his ideas to writing. He was punished by the Sultan only when he was really found guilty in the court.

Afif¹⁹⁹ has recorded a similar incident which further supports the above view. According to him, once the Sultan heard that a Brahman was propagating idolatry. He ordered the Brahman to be produced in the court where he was tried in the presence of the judges and when the violation of law was proved by all, then the Brahman, according to the general decision, was given the choice of embracing Islam or death. The latter, having refused to accept the Islam, was burnt alive.

Thus Firuz Shah, in every issue, followed the method of impartial enquiry, open trial in the court, examining the circumstantial evidences, and only when convinced of the guilt, he issued orders of punishment.²⁰⁰ This was undoubtedly a novel feature in the Judicial System of Delhi Sultunat where the whims and obstinacy of the Sultan had played a greater role than reason. Firuz was always ready to hear the grievances of the people. Even while riding in a procession, he used to receive petitions of the people and hear their grievances and tried to redress them.²⁰¹

IMPARTIALITY

Impartiality was a special feature of Firuz Shah's Judicial System. His sense of justice knew no mercy even for his kith

and kin, co-religionists and favourite officials,²⁰² as for example,

(1) When the conspiracy of Khudavand Zada was out, the Sultan, without considering his blood relationship, banished Khusrav Malik,²⁰³

(2) Qazi-Sadr-ul-Mulk of Mahoba was a Musalman. But the Sultan did not hesitate to inflict upon him the penalty of death for the defalcation of an amount of 50 lacs from the treasury.²⁰⁴

(3) Malik Shamsuddin Aburija, one of the influential courtiers of his reign, in spite of being a favourite of the Sultan, could not escape the severe punishment of the confiscation of his property and banishment on the charge of embezzlement.²⁰⁵

STRICTNESS

The above incidents, besides indicating the Sultan's impartiality, also bespeak of the fact that the Judicial System, though characterised by humanising spirit, was not altogether devoid of strictness. The Sultan was never lenient to a robber or murderer.²⁰⁶ He always inflicted the penalty of death on a murderer although the law provided an escape in the shape of blood-money to be paid to the family of the deceased. He did not spare even his favourites. "When the charges of murder had been proved against Khvaja, the Sultan gave an order for his execution. The Khvaja began to tremble in fear and offered to pay 80,000 tankas as 'Khun Baha' (An Islamic law by which a murderer could be forgiven by paying a certain compensation) to the family of the deceased. The Sultan is said to have remarked on this occasion. If the wealthy persons are forgiven on such payments, they will go on killing men.....and on the day of judgment I will feel ashamed to appear before God'. The Wazir Khanjahan then said that Khvaja Ahmad owed lacs of rupees to the royal treasury and if this execution is delayed the amount might be realized. But the Sultan replied, 'I do not care for such lacs of rupees for the sake of Justice and Khvaja Ahmad must be punished.'²⁰⁷ So Khvaja Ahmad received the execution order along with other slaves." Another similar instance may be quoted 'Yusuf Bughra was the Jagirdar of Yusufpur and had acquired a prominent position in the imperial court during the reign of Muhammad Tughluq. He had two sons by his two wives. At the outset of the reign of Firuz, these two

step-brothers quarrelled among themselves, so much so that the elder brother murdered the younger one in order to have the whole property of his father. The mother of the younger brother lodged a complaint in the court of the Sultan. This murderer in spite of being a favourite of the Sultan was given a death penalty for his crimes.²⁰⁸ Besides these, the Sultan made a regulation which laid down that if a traveller died on the way, the feudal chiefs of that area should summon the Imams, Qazis, and other Musalmans in whose presence his dead body was to be examined and a report drawn under the Qazi's seal certifying that no trace of any wound had been found on the body, after that, it was to be buried.²⁰⁹ The regulation greatly ensured the security of life to the individuals and was a check against the murders.

PROCESS OF LAW MAKING

In accordance with the Sultunat traditions, Firuz Shah's government was marked by the absence of any separate law-making body like the modern Parliament nor was the enactment of laws based on the modern democratic process. In fact, there was hardly any necessity of too much of legislation as it is felt today, because the State in general was administered by the 'shara' (religious laws) as interpreted by the jurists. The shara is based on the Quran which was revealed to the Prophet.²¹⁰ No-body, even the Prophet, had the right to change the revelation except explaining or interpreting it. These interpretations were embodied in traditions called Hadith which formed the basis of the Muslim law.²¹¹ Under the Abbasid Caliphs the administration was based on the strict adherence to 'shara' But with the growth of the Muslim empire, when numerous people came under it, the rigid injunctions of the Quran proved insufficient for meeting such problems and fulfilling the requirements of the various cases. It was only at this time that the Muslim jurists adopted the process of interpreting 'shara' according to the needs of the time; it formed the basis of the law. This was the process followed throughout the Sultunat regime. Whenever there was a need of enacting a new legislation, the Sultan took the initiative of consulting the jurists, whose final verdict, with the formal sanction of the Sultan, passed for a modern 'Act'. Thus the sole deciding factor in the enactment of laws was the personality of the sovereign.

The weak sovereigns generally yielded to the decisions of the jurists, but the strong ones like Alauddin took all powers into their hands and initiated or enacted laws in the interest of the State by rejecting the interpretation of the jurists. Muhammad Tughluq did consult the Qazis but seldom accepted their advice.²¹² But the practice was completely reversed during the reign of Firuz whose policy of appeasement of the Ulamas led him to delegate most of his authority to the religious order who played the role of the modern M.Ps. Though, theoretically for all purposes, he remained the fountain head of justice, yet most of the new regulations which were initiated by the Sultan were enforced only after the approval of the religious order. The following instances will confirm the above view, e.g.,

(1) When the Sultan enforced irrigation tax *i.e.*, *Sharb*, he discussed its legality with the Qazis, who, having given their consent, the regulation was brought into action.²¹³

(2) The regulation regarding the abolition of a large number of taxes was announced to the public only after its approval by the theologians and the learned men in the court.²¹⁴

(3) The validity of the regulation regarding the re-imposition of *Jizya* upon the Brahmanas was discussed in a general meeting of the Ulamas.²¹⁵

From this, it may be inferred that the enactment of any new regulation was mostly the monopoly of the religious order. The Sultan took the initiative and when the religious order had given their approval, the law was put into operation.

ORGANIZATION OF JUDICIARY

In the organization of the Judiciary, the existence of four types of court are noticeable in the capital *viz.*,²¹⁶

1. "Imperial Court of the Sultan.
2. *Diwan-i-Qaza*, the chief appellate court in the capital, presided over by *Qazi-ul-Quzat-Sadr Jahan*.
3. The revenue court of *Diwan-i-Wizarat* presided over by the *Wazir*.
4. Court of Qazis for administering all canon law cases whether civil or criminal".

1. IMPERIAL COURT.

This was the highest court of appeal which had jurisdiction over

all cases, civil, criminal, religious, or political, presided over by the Sultan. Although in theory he was the fountain of justice and was supposed to give verdict in all cases, yet in actual practice, he was assisted by the Qazis whose legal opinion was valued much, and they were consulted in most cases. The muftis expounded the law in times of difficulty. In the absence of the Sultan the Wazir Khanjahan used to preside over it.²¹⁷

2. DIWAN-I-QAZA

It was supposed to be the highest judicial court below the Sultan. Its presiding officer was designated as Qazi-ul-Quzat Sadr Jahan. The post was held by Sayyid Jalaluddin Kirmani²¹⁸ and he had manifold duties to perform. As the chief Qazi of the realm he had to decide all cases himself, whether civil or criminal; to hear appeals from the lower courts, to settle disputes of the provinces which were directly referred to him, to supervise all other subordinate courts of the realm, and above all, to act as a legal adviser of the Sultan. He was given a prominent seat on a carpet in the imperial court just behind the Sultan.²¹⁹ He had also to supervise the work of Diwan-i-Risalat which dealt with the ecclesiastical affairs of the realm. As the presiding officer of it, he was called Sadr-us-Sudur who had to look after the management of the madarsahs, keep an account of the stipends granted to the scholars, darwishes and the needy persons. In fact, the Diwan-i-Risalat was nothing but a branch of this Diwan-i-Qaza presided over by the same officer.

3. DIWAN-I-WIZARAT

It was the revenue court presided over by the Wazir which decided all cases concerning the financial matters of the government. In the capacity of the presiding officer of this court, the Wazir had to investigate cases involving fraud or the embezzlement of Government money and to place the cases before the Sultan. It was the Wazir who detected the defalcation in the accounts of Shamshuddin Aburija, whereupon he was tried in this court, in the presence of the Sultan.²²⁰ After trial the Sultan handed over Aburija to the Wazir. He (Aburija) had been beaten daily for six months, but even then he did not confess his guilt. At last he was exiled from the realm.

Again when the Sultan heard about the shortage of weight of the Shash Kani Coins, it was the Wazir whom he entrusted with the charge of investigating the matter,²²¹ as detailed earlier.

All these incidents form an eloquent proof of the powers of the Wazir as the presiding officer of the revenue court and also his activities.

4. COURT OF THE QAZIS

These courts were presided over by the Qazis who decided all canon law cases, whether civil or criminal. Besides exercising judicial functions, the Qazis also acted as the legal adviser of the Sultan.²²² There used to be separate Qazis for the military areas known as 'Qazi Lashkar'. Sometimes the Qazis were entrusted with the duty of proclaiming the introduction of new regulation.²²³ If a traveller died in the way, his corpse had to be examined by the feudal chief in the presence of the Qazi, and when a report certifying that no trace of wound was discernible on the body was prepared under the Qazi's seal, then the body could be buried.²²⁴ Thus the Qazi occupied a most important position in the Judicial Organization of Firuz.

PROVINCIAL COURTS.

Within the provinces, the highest court of appeal was the governor's court presided over by the governors. Below it, were the court of the Qazis, presided over by the Qazis. Besides this, there was another judicial official in the provinces named Dad begi whose duty was probably to assist the Qazis and to look into the morals of the people.²²⁵

The revenue matters used to be dealt with separately by the revenue courts presided over by the provincial Diwan.

Department of Police and Jails

For the execution of laws and proper functioning of the law courts, it was necessary to have a department of police. Firuz Shah paid full attention to it. Under him, the most important figure in the department of Police was the Kotwal in charge of the city administration. He was both a judicial and a police

official and performed the duties of the modern District Magistrate and Superintendent of Police at one and the same time. In the capacity of the District Magistrate he sometimes decided petty criminal cases. But his duties as a police official were more important than the judicial ones e.g.,

(1) He was responsible for the peace and tranquillity of the city.

(2) In case of murder he had to trace the real culprit and produce him before the court.²²⁶

(3) The prisoners used to be in charge of the Kotwals who made a detailed report about them and presented it to the Sultan from time to time.²²⁷ Thus he performed the duty of a modern jailor.

(4) After the trial, the prisoners used to be handed over to the Kotwal who enforced the sentences passed by the different courts upon them.²²⁸

(5) The Kotwal had to prepare a list of the unemployed in the cities with the help of the in-charge of the different localities and forward them to the Sultan who provided them with suitable jobs.²²⁹ Here he performed the task of a modern employment exchange officer.

MUHATASIB

Another important police official in the city was the Muhatasib whose duty was to keep a record of the general conduct of the people and also enforce some of the moral regulations²³⁰ upon them. The post was in existence in the reign of Muhammad Tughluq.

Besides these, there were police men whose duty was to escort the notorious offenders who had been apprehended for serious crimes and to confine them to the Kotwal's prison²³¹ till their trial by the court. After conviction, the prisoners used to be handed over to the police either to be confined to prison or to be banished.²³²

Thus the police department played a very important role in helping the court in the execution of law as passed against the criminals.

JAILS

The Sultan also made proper arrangements for jails where the offenders were usually confined. Special care was taken of the

prisoners. They were not kept behind the bar for a long time.²³³ Those who were sentenced to transportation for life were given some monetary help, so that they may not be in trouble.²³⁴

Provincial Administration

The provinces, in the Sultunat period, were the primary division of the empire which used to be formed for the convenience of administration. Unlike to-day, they were not based on any linguistic or cultural consideration. They were neither uniform in size nor clearly marked in their boundaries. Each province was comprised of a small area. In consonance with the usual tradition, Firuz Shah divided his empire into a large number of provinces, each under an officer called Naib or Wali. The contemporary writers do not throw much light upon the provincial administration, but it seems that Firuz Shah had retained the old structure as was in existence under Muhammad Tughluq in which the villages formed the lowest unit of administration. Several villages were grouped together into a pergana, and placed in charge of an officer called perganadar.²³⁵ The pergasnas were grouped into a Shiq²³⁶ to be placed in charge of an officer called 'Shiqdar', and the Shiqs were finally grouped into a province. The important provinces that existed under him were the following:—

FRONTIER PROVINCES

1. Multan²³⁷—For some time its governorship was held by Malik-us-Sharq Nasir-ul-Mulk who was specially deputed by Firuz to check the Mughal raids.²³⁸

2. Dipalpur.

3. Samana—It was at first in charge of Malik Kabul Quran Khuan.²³⁹

4. Sirhind—This province, along with an area of 10 Karohs, was placed in charge of Malik Shamshuddin Aburija, when Firuz Shah made an expedition to Samana for uniting the two streams, Salima and Sarsutti, by breaking a mound in that hilly region.²⁴⁰

5. Lahore.

OTHER PROVINCES

1. Bihar—Under Malik Bir Afghan for sometime.²⁴¹
 2. Mahoba—It included the districts of Kara, Dalamau and was placed in charge of Malik-us-Sharq Mardan Daulat. When he was posted to Multan, Malik Shamsuddin Suleman, son of Malik Mardan Daulat, was appointed there.²⁴²
 3. Oudh—It was a large province and included Sandilah, Gorakhpur, Kharosah. It was in charge of Malik Nizamuddin Nau, and after him Malik Saifuddin was posted there.²⁴³ The chiefs of Gorakhpur and Kharosah were all under its governor, and paid the revenues to him.²⁴⁴
 4. Jaunpur—It included Zafrabad and was under Malik Bahruz Sultan.²⁴⁵
 5. Budaon—Sayyid Muhammad was its governor at first but after his death Malik Kabul Quran was appointed there.²⁴⁶
 6. Kanauj.
 7. Malwa—It was under Dilwar Khan Ghori.²⁴⁷
 8. Khandesh—Malik Raja Faruqi, one of the personal attendants of the Sultan, was appointed its governor in 1370 A. D.²⁴⁸
- Gujarat—In the South Gujarat²⁴⁹ played an important role throughout the long reign of Firuz. Circumstantial evidence leads us to the conclusion that it must have been one of the richest provinces of that time; otherwise Firuz Shah would not have returned here from Sind for reinforcement; nor Shamsuddin Damaghani would have aspired for its governorship by giving an alluring offer. At first, the province was held by Amir Hussain. After his dismissal, Zafar Khan was appointed in his place, and after him, Darya Khan. Darya Khan was succeeded by Shamsuddin Damaghani, after whose assassination, Malik Mufarrih Sultani, with the title of Farhat-ul-Mulk, was appointed there. Thus there were frequent changes of governors in the province of Gujarat. One of the reasons prompting adoption of such a policy was to prevent any uprising in this province, which had almost become a tradition among the Gujaratis, specially at such a time when the government at the centre happened to be weak.

ADMINISTRATION

As regards the personnel of the administrative machinery, the

most important was the 'Naib', the chief executive or the judicial head within the province who acted as the king's agent or deputy. Generally he was appointed by the Sultan, on the basis of his personal character.²⁵⁰ Sometimes, the Sultan sold the governorship of a province to the highest bidder.²⁵¹

The governor had to perform military, revenue and judicial functions. As a military official he was responsible for supplying a fixed quota of troops to the Sultan in times of need. He had to supervise the troops which were under the chiefs. As a revenue official, he had to supervise the work of collection of the various chiefs. As a judicial official, he presided over the highest provincial courts, and pronounced verdict in many important cases.

Lastly, the governor was responsible for the maintenance of peace and order within his province, but he did not enjoy local autonomy in the strict sense of the term. In spite of being the administrative head within the province, he had no power to make any appointment in any department which used to be done directly by the centre. He had no power to issue any regulation or read the Khutba in his name. In every matter he had to obey the orders of the Sultan and to enforce action.

Although theoretically the powers of the governors were limited, yet the general slackness in the administrative system leads us to the conclusion that in actual practice they must have enjoyed greater freedom than that existed in the past. This factor alone contributed to the maintenance of internal peace during the reign of Firuz, which was marked by the absence of the rise of centrifugal forces. Throughout the history of Mediaeval India, there had been a constant tussle between the principle of centralization and local autonomy. The authority at the centre ever aspired for unitary government at the cost of the independence of the local powers which was mainly responsible for internal chaos. Firuz Shah's government was unitary in character and the provinces were all under it. The liberal policy which he initiated enabled him to overcome the internal rebellion of any provincial governor. In fact, Firuz was more loved than respected by the governors. As such, the relations between the two were bound to be cordial. The governors, every year, offered presents to the Sultan which included horses, camels, slaves and other costly articles.²⁵² The

Sultan allowed them to deduct the value of these gifts from their annual revenues. In order to please the Sultan they used to present a large number of slaves every year.²⁵³

Besides governor, sometimes there used to be a deputy governor; specially in cases where the Governor held a post in the centre. This was specially done in the case of Shamshuddin Aburija who was removed from Samana and posted to Gujarat.²⁵⁴

REFERENCES

¹ Firishta, a later historian has very clearly enunciated his ideal of kingship in the following lines "To assume dignity and to exercise power at proper seasons and allow nothing to induce him to forget the majesty of God or the happiness of his subject"—Firishta, (Briggs), Vol. I, p. 254.

² Barani, (Elliot and Dowson), Vol. III, p. 183.

³ Dr. Ishwari Prasad writes "The reign of Muhammad Tughluq represents a struggle between the forces of liberalism and reaction, the sacerdotal order and the secular authority" (*Twentieth Century*, 1936-37 Vol. III, p. 440).

⁴ Dr. Ishwari Prasad, *Mediaeval India*, p. 314.

⁵ Afif (Elliot and Dowson), Vol. III, p. 277.

⁶ Afif, p. 20.

⁷ Dr. Ishwar Topa writes "His kingship was eventually humanized, as it discarded elements of fear and dread that were considered as un-Islamic and let loose forces of humanizing tendencies in order to bring about culturalization." (*Politics in Pre Mughal Times*, p. 232).

⁸ *Futuh-i-Firuz Shahi*, (*Islamic Culture*), Vol. 15, 1941, p. 449.

⁹ Afif, p. 25.

¹⁰ *Sirat*, (A.U.Ms.), pp. 5-10.

¹¹ Afif, (Elliot and Dowson), Vol. III, p. 285.

¹² *Futuh-i-Firuz Shahi*, (*Islamic Culture*), Vol. 15, 1941, p. 451.

¹³ Afif, pp. 104-5 ; pp. 477-92.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 94-95.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ Yahya, (Basu), pp. 127-28.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ Afif, p. 298.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 410.

²² *Ibid.*

²³ Afif, pp. 368-69.

²⁴ See, Chapter V.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ See details Chapter VII.

²⁸ See *Futuhāt, (Islamic Culture)*, Vol. 15, 1941, pp. 463-64; *Sirat, (A.U.Ms.)*, p. 274, Barani, pp. 598-99, Afif, pp. 273-77.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ Dr. Qureshi, p. 72.

³¹ Afif, pp. 105-7.

³² *Futuhāt, (Islamic Culture)*, Vol. 15, 1941, p. 452.

³³ Afif, p. 108.

³⁴ Afif, pp. 413-14.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 418.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 462-64.

³⁷ The principle of consultation had been recognized even in the days of the Hindus. Kautilya writes "Sovereignty is possible only with assistance; a single wheel never functions; hence the king shall enjoy ministers and listen to their advice, (*Arthashastra*, p. 13), Quoted in (Qureshi, p. 74). The Muslim Sultans of Delhi had considered it as their religious duty to consult their advisers. See (Qureshi, p. 74). Even the most despotic Sultan like Alauddin had believed in this process of consultation. Muhammad Tughluq had a body of advisers (Dr. Ishwari Prasad. *History of Qaraunah Turks* p. 259). So, the practice adopted by Firuz was nothing novel.

³⁸ Afif, pp. 416-18.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 415.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 477-92.

⁴¹ *Islamic Culture*, 1944, pp. 68-69.

⁴² Afif, pp. 297-98.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 457. See details in the *Journal of India History*, 1935, p. 97; *Islamic Culture*, 1944, p. 69.

⁴⁴ See *Journal of Indian History*, 1935, p. 97; Barani, pp. 153, 224, 282.

⁴⁵ Afif, p. 278.

⁴⁶ For the duties of Shaikh-ul-Islam, See *Inshai Mahru (A.U.Ms.)*, pp. 47-53.

⁴⁷ Afif, p. 287.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 281.

⁴⁹ See *Islamic Culture*, 1944, Vol. XVIII, p. 72.

⁵⁰ Afif, p. 409, 420.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 458, 419, 464, 469, 420, 409.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 92.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 394-428.

⁵⁴ Afif, p. 431; During the reign of Muhammad Tughluq a Naib chosen from among the Khans bearing the title of Amiryah, acted for the Sultan in his absence. Dr. Ishwari Prasad, *History of Qaraunah Turks*, p. 260).

⁵⁵ Afif, pp. 213-14.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 223, 238.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 414; Afif has referred to an incident which throws some light upon this point. He writes, "Khanjahan was at dagger's drawn with the Mushrif Ain-ul-Mulk, so much so that once the latter passed bitter remarks upon the Wazir in course of a discussion. The Wazir complained against him to the Sultan who remarked 'I have given you the office of Diwan-i-Wizarat, all officers are under you, dismiss whom you please and give the office of Ashraful Mumalik to another person. Ain-ul-Mulk was then dismissed from the post.'" (Afif, pp. 414-15).

⁵⁹ Afif, p. 283.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 283-84.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 477-92.

⁶² *Ibid.*, pp. 345-48.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, pp. 222, 223, 237, 238.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 346-47.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 333.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 337-42.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 348-49.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 333.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 427.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 427-28.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 426.

⁷² Yahya, (Basu), p. 143.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, (Basu). pp. 144-47.

⁷⁴ Afif, pp. 297-98.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 400.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 280.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 409.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 409-10.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

⁸¹ *Ibid.*

⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 419.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, pp. 409, 458, 464, 469.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 419.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 451-92 ; Afif writes that he was called Aburija because he belonged to the tribe of Mulk Bala which was known as Abhrejayat (p. 451).

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 457-58.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 474-75.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 459-60.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 474-75.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 477-92.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 491-92.

⁹² During the reign of Muhammad Tughluq, the post was held by Firuz (Afif, p. 42).

⁹³ Afif, pp. 428-30, Afif writes that he was so much devoted to the Sultan that he took his meal only when he knew that the Sultan had

finished it. He would not even chew betels before his master had taken it. If the Sultan offered fast, Malik Naib Barbak imitated him.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 431-32.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

⁹⁶ Qureshi, p. 59.

⁹⁷ Afif, p. 361.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 432-33.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 344.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 436-37.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 302-3.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, pp. 299-300.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, p. 301.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 234-35.

¹⁰⁵ Yahya, (Basu), p. 128.

¹⁰⁶ Afif, p. 300.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 301.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁹ Barani, pp. 527, 580.

¹¹⁰ Afif, pp. 512-13.

¹¹¹ For details see (i) *Journal of Indian History*, 1935, p. 107. (ii) *Islamic Culture*, 1944, pp. 78-79.

¹¹² The functions of this department can very well be inferred from the two letters of *Inshai Mahru* (A.U.Ms.), pp. 19-23.

¹¹³ Afif, p. 360.

¹¹⁴ *Inshai Mahru* (A.U.Ms.), pp. 21-23.

¹¹⁵ Afif, pp. 349-50.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 270-71; Dowson, Vol. III, pp. 341-42, writes 'Jao-Shughuri' and 'Deputy Jao-Shughuri' which does not carry conviction. In all probability, the exact interpretation of the term seems to be Chawush-i-Ghuri meaning an officer in charge of slaves belonging to Ghuri tribes as written by Prof. Hodivala. (S.H. Hodivala, *Studies in Indo-Muslim History*, pp. 327-28).

¹¹⁸ Afif, p. 271.

¹¹⁹ This is specially revealed from the existence of the post of Mir Imarat during this reign. (Dr. Ishwari Prasad, *History of Qaraunah Turks*, p. 261).

¹²⁰ Afif, pp. 329-31.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 333.

¹²² Dr. Ashraff, *Life and condition of the people of India*, p. 206.

¹²³ *Masalik*, (O. Spies), p. 30 and Ashraff, p. 206.

¹²⁴ Afif, pp. 337-40.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 338-39.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 339-40.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 337-38.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 340.

131 *Ibid.*, According to *Ain-i-Akbari*, (Jarret), Vol. II, p. 285 ; Dubal dhan Beri was a Mahal in the Sarkar Delhi. 'Beri is now in Rohtak district which lies 42 miles N.W. of Delhi on the road from Delhi to Hansi (S.H. Hodivala, p. 333).

132 Afif, p. 340.

133 *Ibid.*, pp. 337-38.

134 *Ibid.*, pp. 338-39.

135 *Ibid.*, pp. 337-39.

136 *Ibid.*, pp. 317-18; Qureshi, p. 65.

137 *Ibid.*, p. 317.

138 Qureshi, p. 47.

139 *Ibid.*

140 Nazim, *Life and Time of Md. of Ghazni*, p. 147.

141 Qureshi, p. 57.

142 *Ibid.*, Barani, p. 576.

143 Qureshi, p. 47.

144 Yahya, (Basu), p. 128.

145 *Ibid.*

146 Afif, pp. 270-71.

147 *Ibid.*

148 *Ibid.*, pp. 104-5. It was he who saved the Sultan from the house of Khudavand Zada, when the latter conspired against the Sultan.

149 Yahya, (Basu), p. 128.

150 Afif, pp. 270-71. These posts were held mostly by the slaves.

151 Afif, pp. 128-29.

152 *Masalik*, (Otto Spies), p. 53.

153 Ibn Batuta, *Rehla* (Mahdi Husain), pp. 3-4.

154 *Ibid.*

155 Afif, pp. 329-30.

156 Qureshi, p. 86.

157 *Ibid.*

158 Afif, p. 420.

159 Afif, pp. 277-87.

160 During the reign of Muhammad Tughluq the Sultan held two durbars, viz. (1) Darbar-i-Am (public audience) (2) Darbar-i-Khas (Private audience) characterized by great magnificence and liberality. The ordinary sessions used to be held in the Darbar-i-Am both in the morning and evening. (Dr. Ishwari Prasad, *History of Qaraunah Turks*, pp. 298-99.)

161 Afif, pp. 277-78.

162 Prof. Hodivala's interpretation of the term Mahal-i-Sahn-i-Gilin seems to be convincing. According to him, it means a palace with the quadrangle or courtyard of flowers i.e. floral design or flower pattern decoration. He further writes that 'Dikh' or 'Daka' is the vernacular word of vine or grape from Sanskrit 'Draksha'. The palace was called Mahal-i-Dikh probably because the ceilings were decorated with floral designs of vine leaves, creepers, blossoms or grapes. (*Studies in Indo-Muslim History*, p. 286).

- 163 Afif, p. 286.
 164 *Ibid.*, p. 287.
 165 *Ibid.*
 166 *Ibid.*, pp. 367-68.
 167 *Ibid.*
 168 *Ibid.*, pp. 286-87.
 169 *Ibid.*, pp. 361-65.
 170 *Ibid.*, pp. 279-80.
 171 *Ibid.*
 172 *Ibid.*, pp. 280-81.
 173 *Ibid.*, p. 280.
 174 *Ibid.*
 175 *Ibid.*, pp. 280-81.
 176 *Ibid.*
 177 *Ibid.*, p. 419.
 178 *Ibid.*
 179 *Ibid.*, pp. 281-86.
 180 *Ibid.*, p. 285.
 181 *Ibid.*
 182 *Ibid.*, pp. 285-86.
 183 *Ibid.*
 184 Qureshi, p. 59.
 185 Afif, pp. 445-46.
 186 *Ibid.*, p. 284.
 187 *Ibid.*, pp. 282-83.
 188 *Ibid.*
 189 *Ibid.*, pp. 445-46.
 190 *Ibid.*, pp. 457-74.

191 Afif, p. 23, "The Sultan was so merciful that he would not punish a person even if he committed hundreds of crimes.....During his reign if any body was tyrannized he was given sufficient compensation for it". According to Barani, p, 575, during the reign of Firuz the doors of oppression were closed. The Sultan had ordered all officials, courtiers, and judges of the court to act according to the principle of equity, so that no tyrant or oppressor might harass any individual. (*Inshai Mahru*, (A.U.Ms.), pp. 13-17 refers to a letter written by the Sultan to Azam Humayun, which also reflects the liberal spirit with which the Sultan tried to introduce reforms in the field of Judiciary. In the words of Yahya, (Basu), p. 148, "It was, in no way, possible that during the reign of Firuz any strong man could tyrannize the weak".

192 *Futuh-at-i-Firuz Shahi*, (*Islamic Culture*), Vol. 15, 1941, p. 451.

193 Barani, pp. 572-73 ; *Firishta*, (Briggs), Vol. I, p. 462; Bashir Ahmad, *Administration of Justice in Mediaeval India*, p. 127.

194 Barani, p. 557, writes that their activities in the past had ruined many families and destroyed many lives. But he exaggerates, when he remarks that Firuz Shah had disbanded the spy system. The presence of spies can be proved by a particular incident narrated by Afif, p. 345, viz. the shortage of the Shahs Kani coins was reported to the Sultan

by the two secret informers (Goendagan) on the basis of which he carried on investigation in the matter. The only conclusion that we can draw from it, is that the spies did not exercise as much influence during the reign of Firuz as they did in the past.

¹⁹⁵ Afif, pp. 477-92.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 345-48.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 504-9.

¹⁹⁸ *Futuhar-i-Firuz Shahi, (Islamic Culture)*, Vol. 15, 1941, pp. 454-56.

¹⁹⁹ Afif, pp. 379-81.

²⁰⁰ This aspect of Sultan's justice has also been admired by Barani, pp. 557-58 who writes "My enemies and rivals who were after my life ; poisoned the Sultan against me. But had the Sultan not been so merciful and just, my fate would have been otherwise and I would not have been able to survive to this day".

²⁰¹ Afif, p. 512.

²⁰² See details in S.B. Srivastava, *Administration of Justice (A.U.Ms.)*, pp. 147-48.

²⁰³ Afif, pp. 104-5.

²⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 472.

²⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 474-92.

²⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

²⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 506-9.

²⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 503-4.

²⁰⁹ Yahya, (Basu), p. 148.

²¹⁰ Qureshi, p. 41.

²¹¹ *Ibid.*

²¹² Dr. Ishwari Prasad, *History of Qaraunah Turks*, p. 257.

²¹³ Afif, pp. 129-30.

²¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 378-79:

²¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 382.

²¹⁶ S. B. Srivastava—*Administration of Justice in Mediaeval History (A.U.Ms.)* pp. 220-21.

²¹⁷ Afif, pp. 434-35.

²¹⁸ Barani, p. 527 and p. 580.

²¹⁹ Afif, p. 281.

²²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 477-92.

²²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 345-48 ; For details See Page (pp. 260-61).

²²² *Ibid.*, pp. 129-30.

²²³ Afif, pp. 378-79, writes how the regulation of the abolition of a large number of taxes were announced to the public by Qazi Nasrullah ; who was Qazi of the army.

²²⁴ Yahya, (Basu), p. 148.

²²⁵ *Inshai Mahru, (A.U.Ms.)*, pp. 26-28; speaks of a particular Manshur written to the Dad begi of the province of Multan from which we can have some idea of his functions. It read as follows :

"Certain villagers of Multan marry other's wives before they are divorced. This practice—vile and unauthorized and not sanctioned by any school of theologians—is prevalent among them. They are fit for punishment and

severe chastisement. As marriage is a divine institution for the purity of the person and propagation of progeny etc. It is not proper to keep women at home undivorced. He should see that they are divorced before they are given in re-marriage so that the children that may be born be legitimate and their soul may be saved from hell fire." (*J.A.S.B.*, 1923, p. 272) ; (*Inshai Mahru*, A.U.Ms., pp. 26-28).

²²⁶ Afif, pp. 505-7 ; when the Sultan found the dead body of the student murdered by Khvaja Ahmad ; it was the kotwal Hisamuddin whom he called first and asked him to investigate the matter. The kotwal carried on the enquiry and ultimately produced Khvaja along with other slaves in the presence of the Sultan. By chastising the slaves of Khvaja Ahmad, he found the real truth. (Afif, pp. 505-9) ; This particular incident throws some light upon the powers of the kotwal.

²²⁷ Afif, p. 494.

²²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 479.

²²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 334.

²³⁰ For the duties of the Muhatasib, See Barani's *Fatawa-i-Jahandari*, (Dr. Afsar Begum), *Mediaeval India Quarterly*, July-October 1957, Vol. III, Aligarh Muslim University.

²³¹ Afif, p. 494.

²³² *Ibid.*, p. 497.

²³³ *Ibid.*, pp. 509-11.

²³⁴ *Ibid.*

²³⁵ Afif, p. 273, writes that sometimes slaves used to be appointed as the 'Perganahdar'.

²³⁶ See Barani, p. 587, Afif, pp. 295-296, 305 and Qureshi, p. 90 ; Under Muhammad Tughluq Deccan was divided into 4 'Shiqs' ; (Barani, p. 300).

²³⁷ This province is frequently mentioned by Afif and also in the letters of Ain-ul-Mulk. One of the letters of Ain-ul-Mulk refers to the appointment of Khan-i-Azam Khan to the governorship of Sind (*Inshai Mahru*, A.U.Ms., pp. 1-12). (*J.A.S.B.*, 1923, p. 271) But we have already discussed how the province of Sind had become independent under the Sammas and Firuz Shah in spite of his two attempts failed to recover it. The only conclusion therefore, which can be drawn from the above letter is that, a portion of Sind with its head quarter at Multan formed a province of Firuz which also included the territories of Svistan and Bhakkar.

²³⁸ Yahya, (Basu), p. 140.

²³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 141.

²⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

²⁴¹ *Ibid.*

²⁴² *Ibid.*

²⁴³ *Ibid.*, pp. 40-41.

²⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, See, U.N. Dey, *Medieval Malwa* ; pp. 7-10.

- 248 Firsihta, (Briggs) Vol. IV, pp. 281-82.
249 See, S.C. Misra, Rise of Muslim Power in Gujarat, pp. 124-34.
250 Barani, p. 575.
251 Yahya, (Basu), p. 139.
252 Afif, p. 268.
253 *Ibid.*, p. 270.
254 *Ibid.*, pp. 452-53.

CHAPTER V

REFORMS AND PUBLIC WORKS

FIRUZ SHAH occupies a distinguished place in the annals of Sultunat History for his brilliant contribution to the field of administrative reforms and construction of public works, which had great utilitarian and aesthetic values. They comprise a series of constructive schemes, foundation of cities modelled after an ideal pattern, the novel creation of Tas-i-Ghariyal, and Usturlab besides extensive repairs to a large number of old buildings. All these schemes speak eloquently of the creative genius of the Sultan. His work may be classified under the following heads:

LAND REVENUE REFORMS

Firuz Shah recognized the revenue department on a new pattern by introducing a series of benevolent reforms which aimed at the welfare of the agriculturists, and increased production of the State. His predecessors from Qutbuddin Aibak to Jalaluddin Khalji did not introduce any effective reform in this department which is apparent from the reticence of the contemporaries e.g., Minhaj-us-Siraj or Ziauddin Barani. Alauddin Khalji was the first sovereign in the Turkish period who made an attempt to link up the prosperity of peasant or land revenue system with the interest of the State by a series of benevolent regulations. But the system ended with the death of the Sultan and under his weak successors Qutbuddin Mubarak and Nasiruddin Khusrav, the work of the revenue ministry fell into disorder. The position, however, improved under Ghiyasuddin, who re-organized the revenue department by giving a new orientation to the old ideology of Alauddin Khalji; which greatly benefited the peasants. Muahmmad Tughluq strove hard to effect some reforms in this department; but his efforts proved futile owing to the natural calamities. When Firuz Shah ascended the throne, he faced two-fold problems viz., political and economic, which greatly influenced his revenue policy. Firstly, there existed a great political unrest within the empire due to the resentment of the people on account of overtaxation and excessive

severities of the late reign. Indeed the imperial structure was on the verge of collapse. Secondly, the economic life of the people had been thrown into confusion because of the failure of various administrative schemes of Muhammad Tughluq and his policy of lavish generosity. In this respect, the worst sufferers were the peasants who were completely ruined. The production had considerably declined. The crisis worsened because of the extravagance of the Prime Minister Khvaja Jahan Ayaz who in the interim period had practically emptied the imperial treasury by his lavish distribution of gifts to the people.¹ The State had thus become bankrupt and it was in this background of political chaos and economic confusion that Firuz Shah started the work of remodelling the revenue system of the empire.

The first step which the Sultan took for overcoming the prevalent political crisis was a liberal policy towards the people and the officials. He strove hard to repose confidence in them in order to gain round him a body of supporters. On the suggestion of the Wazir Qivam-ul-Mulk he wrote off the loan of two crores which had been advanced to the people, and desisted from making efforts to recover the gifts which the Prime Minister Khvaja Jahan Ayaz had distributed to the people.² Further, to gain the goodwill of his officials the Sultan showered upon them presents and gifts in addition to their salaries. To some he gave 10,000 tankas to others he gave 5,000 or 2,000 according to their ranks.³

Another conciliating move of the Sultan was the giving up of the practice of confiscating any land to the State. He himself mentions how the villages and lands held in proprietary right confiscated by the State in the previous reigns were restored to their original masters after proper verification.⁴ The religious endowments were all restored to the original grantees by the orders of the department of Istifa.⁵ The Shaikhs and Ulamas were granted villages and lands for earning their livelihood. All these liberal measures greatly satisfied the officials.

In consonance with his general policy, the Sultan reviewed the 'Iqta System' in the context of the revenue administration which had existed under the Slaves, the successors of Alauddin Khalji or Muhammad Tughluq. Its main feature was farming and assignment. The provinces used to be farmed to the governors who had to remit a fixed amount to the treasury annually, and

they appointed their agents for the realization of the revenue. Sometimes a province used to be farmed to the highest bidder. This is specially revealed from the keen bidding between Aburija Ziaul-Mulk and Shamsi Damaghani for the province of Gujarat. The Sultan gave it to Damaghani because he offered to pay 40 lacs of tankas over and above the average revenue of Gujarat besides a hundred elephants, 200 Arab horses, 400 Hindu and Abyssinian slaves, which had been refused by Aburija.⁶ From this solitary instance, however, it would be erroneous to presume that the provinces in general used to be farmed on the basis of a higher bid. Generally it was at his discretion that the Sultan appointed governors in consideration of their personal character.⁷ The contemporary historians are silent about the terms on which the governors held their provinces. But from the circumstantial evidences it may be inferred that they could continue in their offices during their good behaviour, and so long they enjoyed the confidence of the Sultan.

Besides the provinces, the villages and pergunas were all assigned to the military leaders or the individual troopers in lieu of their pay.⁸ The assignment system became a regular feature throughout the country. The assignees had to maintain a separate account of their iqtas and submit it annually to the Diwan-i-Wizarat for audit. Sometimes discrepancies used to be detected in the account of the iqtedars but the Sultan refrained from taking any drastic steps against them.⁹ If there was any arrear against any iqtedar he used to be led into the presence of the Sultan who generally pardoned him.¹⁰ Such measures created a peaceful atmosphere within the empire no doubt, but they promoted corruption on a large scale.

The successful operation of this assignment system needed a systematic assessment of the land. Firuz Shah entrusted this task to Khvaja Hisamuddin who after touring the country for six years assessed the land revenue which amounted to 6 crores and 85 lakhs of tankas.¹¹ It was only a guess work based on the local reports, as well as the past records of the revenue department. This valuation formed the basis of the assignment.

It appears that probably the revenue ministry maintained a list of villages and pergunas and its expenditure and income and on its valuation the lands were assigned to the troopers. Under this system, the assignees must have reaped tremendous

profits, because the land yielded much more than its estimated value during this reign.

The contemporary historians do not throw much light upon the class of intermediaries, their position or relation with the administration. Barani,¹² however, makes a reference to the rebellion of the two chiefs viz. the Rai of Gorakhpur and Kharosah who had withheld their payments of revenue in Oudh for some years. While Firuz Shah was on his march to Bengal, these chiefs offered their submission to the Sultan and paid several lakhs of tankas to the camp treasury on account of arrears. Besides this, we do not hear of any punitive expedition launched by the Sultan to realise revenue. From this it may be inferred that probably there was hardly any need of it and the relation between the intermediaries and the administration must have been cordial.

In the method of realization, Firuz Shah followed the system of Ghiyasuddin which marked a great contrast with that instituted by Alauddin Khalji or Muhammad Tughluq. Under Alauddin the revenue was assessed by measurement of lands and the indigenous unit of measurement of land under cultivation was Biswa.¹³ The demand was calculated on the basis of the standard yields. The rate of government share was 1/2 of the produce without any allowance for crop failure. Thus, theoretically the peasant was bound to pay the full demand, even if the crops failed entirely. It involved great hardship to the cultivators, specially when the prices rose high or production declined considerably. Under Muhammad Tughluq the method of collection remained almost the same.

But Firuz Shah appreciated the truth of the maxim that the interests of the peasants should be identical with the interest of the State and made untiring efforts for improving their economic condition by abolishing the oppressive practices of the past.¹⁴ With this end in view, he discarded the old method of realization of revenues, based on measurement and assessed it by sharing *i.e.*, he demanded a portion of actual produce from the peasants, in the form of land revenue (Khiraj).¹⁵ Neither Barani nor Afif mentions the rate of the government demand. But the statement of the Sultan himself leads us to the conclusion that it was imposed at the rate of 1/5 of the total produce.¹⁶ It is not mentioned by any authority whether the payment was

demanded in cash or kind. It may be surmised that it was in cash. The Sultan allowed a further concession of 2 jitals per tanka of revenue to the cultivators.¹⁷ The officials were instructed not to realise any demand from the peasant in case of accidents or loss in crops (qismat and Nabud) or extort additional cesses¹⁸ from them or use any violence or roughness towards them at the time of realization of Kharaj.¹⁹ Another important regulation which proved of great benefit to the cultivators, was the abolition of the practice of taking extra-presents from the iqtedars, the incidence of which ultimately fell upon the peasants. The Sultan directed the iqtedars to deduct the value of such extra presents from the annual dues, so that the peasant may be relieved from the burdens of additional cesses.²⁰ All these measures greatly fostered the welfare of the peasants.

PROMOTION OF AGRICULTURE

In order to promote agriculture the Sultan made provisions for good seeds and laid out what may be termed as experimental farms in which rotation of crops was experimented upon. When experiments proved successful, they were passed on to the agriculturists. The cultivators used to sow four crops a year viz., (1) Rabie (2) Saif (3) Kharif (4) Shata.²¹ The crops which were produced included wheat, barley, gram, mustard, bajra, sugarcane, pea, etc. Of them wheat, barley, gram used to be cultivated in Rabie ; rice, mucca, mustard in Saif. Vegetables like radish, cauliflower, carrot etc., specially in Saif and Kharif. The Sultan encouraged the production of superior crops e.g., wheat, lentils, sugarcane etc.²²

Besides improving the quality of cultivation, a large number of gardens were laid out by the Sultan which yielded a revenue of 80,000 tankas to the State.²³ Of them, 1200 gardens were laid out in the neighbourhood of Delhi, 80 gardens in the neighbourhood of Salora, 44 in Chitur, besides 30 gardens commenced by Alauddin Khalji.²⁴

IRRIGATION

The most remarkable contribution of Firuz that gave a filip to agriculture was the scheme of artificial irrigation in which the excavation of canals,²⁵ occupied an important place. The important canals²⁶ which were excavated were the following :

1. The Rajiwah²⁷ excavated from Jumna.²⁸
2. Ulughkhani²⁹ from Sutlej. Passing through Karnal and Girnir the Rajiwah watered Hisar Firuza over a distance of 160 miles.³⁰ The cities which used to be irrigated by Rajiwah were Ambala, Karnal, Hisar, Rohtak, Delhi districts of the Punjab.³¹ The UlughKhani led to Jajhar,³² in the Rohtak districts of the Punjab within forty miles of Delhi.³³
3. Firuzabad canal starting from the vicinity of Mandali and Sirmoor hills and uniting with other seven canals³⁴ led to Hansi and from there to Hisar Firuza.³⁵
4. Khakkhar (Ghaggar) canal which passed through the fort of Sarsutti and flowed to Harni Khira.³⁶
5. The canal excavated from the river Budhi flowing to the fort of Firuzabad and joined to a reservoir.³⁷

Besides these, there were canals like (a) Ghamza (b) Adaq which irrigated the areas which suffered from in-sufficient rainfall.³⁸

II. Ramla, Najd, Naqa Khana, Baq flowing over the upper lands.³⁹

III. Hoda, Hadur, Had, watering lower lands.

In 762 A.H./1360-61 A.D.⁴⁰ the Sultan, in order to have a perennial supply of water in the lands of Sarhind, Mansurpur, and Samana, made a futile attempt of joining Sarsutti with Salima,⁴¹ by breaking a mound which had separated one from the other in the vicinity of Barwar.⁴² In the past Sursutti used to flow towards Samana, but people quarrelled among themselves and erected a mound by which they diverted it in the opposite direction.⁴³

The Sultan engaged 50,000 men for a period of 8 months in this work. In course of its digging, bones of men and elephants were found.⁴⁴ In spite of his sustained efforts, the Sultan was not successful in combining the two streams. He only separated an area of 20 miles from Samana and placed it in charge of Zia-ul-Mulk.⁴⁵ Although the attempt of the Sultan proved futile, it speaks of his unremitting zeal for the cause of irrigation. Besides the canals, the irrigation scheme of Firuz included the construction of a large number of wells, dams and reservoirs,⁴⁶ which greatly fostered agriculture. He was so much interested in the irrigational schemes that during the rainy season he used to appoint special officers for examining the banks of the water

courses and report the extent of inundations.⁴⁷ If any village went into waste, the officer-in-charge used to be dismissed in disgrace.

The scheme of irrigation had several advantages. In the first place, it enabled the Sultan to overcome famine which had been the greatest menace in the reign of Muhammad Tughluq. "If the Sultunat had remained in health and vigour after Firuz, a permanent Famine policy could have definitely been established."⁴⁸ Secondly, it helped the production of Rabie crops besides the Kharif in certain areas e.g. those round Hisar which had formerly been impossible owing to the scarcity of water.⁴⁹ Besides this, it brought vast areas of barren land under cultivation. In the Doab from the hills of Sakrudih and Kharak to Kol there was not a single village that remained waste or uncultivated.⁵⁰ Consequently, the production of the state increased considerably. The revenues of Doab amounted to 80 lakhs of tankas and that of the territories of Delhi 6 crores and 85 lakhs of tankas.⁵¹ But under the sharing method of assessment, the benefit of increased production was reaped only by the assignees and not by the State or the King because the valuation of the land remained unaltered throughout the reign. It could only be enhanced by revision of contract, or imposing additional cesses in the newly cultivated areas. It is for this reason that in consultation with the Muslim jurists, Firuz imposed an additional cess at the rate of 1/10 of the total produce upon such cultivators as were benefited by the scheme of artificial irrigation.⁵² This was known as Haqi Sharb. The cess did not yield any additional income to the State ; it was credited to the privy purse of the Sultan who appointed several officials for its management. It yielded a revenue of two lakhs of tankas which were utilized by the Sultan for the maintenance of the learned.

Further the increased production automatically occasioned a fall in the prices of commodities, some of which sold at the following rates:⁵³

1. Wheat—8 jitals a maund.
2. Gram—4 jitals a maund.
3. Dal—1 jital for 10 seers.
4. Barley—4 jitals a maund.
5. Sugar—1 jital per maund.

Besides these articles, cloth of various types was also cheap and the Sultan ordered a reduction in the price of sweetmeats.

Even in times of scarcity the prices did not rise more than one tanka for one maund. But this was only for a short period after which the prices again reverted to the normal.⁵⁴ As compared with the reign of Muhammad Tughluq, the reign of Firuz⁵⁵ showed a considerable fall in the prices of commodities, but we cannot deny the fact that in the reign of Alauddin Khalji,⁵⁶ and still more in the reign of Ibrahim Lodi, the prices were much lower. However, after the hard days of Muhammad Tughluq's reign, undoubtedly comparative cheapness of the commodities came as a boon to the people, who were much relieved and who improved their economic standards.

To sum up, it may be said that the revenue reforms of Firuz enhanced the economic prosperity of the country. The greatest advantage was reaped by the peasants who were relieved of their worries. Their houses became full of grain, cattle, cots and other furnitures. No woman was without her ornament.⁵⁷ This was indeed a great achievement.

FISCAL REFORMS

The Sultans of Delhi had based their financial policy mainly on the lines laid down by the Shara⁵⁸ and the Abbasid tradition. The principal sources from which they realized the revenue were (1) Khiraj (2) Jizya (3) Zakat (4) Khums. Besides these, there were some other minor sources of revenue e.g., a number of transit duties, tolls charged on ferries, roads, bridges etc. Sometimes the Sultan imposed additional cesses according to the exigencies of the situation e.g., Alauddin Khalji in addition to the principal sources of revenue imposed house tax and grazing tax which added to the income of the State. Muhammad Tughluq added a large number of miscellaneous cesses to the list of State revenue even against the orthodox tradition⁵⁹ which had a telling effect on the economic life of the people. It was in this background that Firuz Shah shaped his fiscal policy. The most important regulation in it which has been a matter of great controversy was the abolition of 25 cesses levied by Muhammad Tughluq. In the eyes of the contemporary writers⁶⁰ the above move of the Sultan was based on religious motive. Modern Historians, following in the foot-prints of contemporary writers, more or less hold the same view.⁶¹ But one should not only try to interpret the financial policy of the Sultan in the light of the

opinions of the contemporary writers but should also analyse the real circumstances that led the Sultan to undertake such a reform. It is indisputable that the people were hard pressed owing to the burden of over-taxation imposed during the reign of Muhammad Tughluq. Their economic life had to be resuscitated, for which the Sultan made unceasing efforts by introducing various benevolent schemes in the department of revenue. All these reforms had the primary object of relieving the people from economic distress. The contention finds support from the Sultan's own verse

“ To compose the hearts of friends is better than a store of
wealth.

To have empty treasure is better than draining the people to
affliction.”⁶²

As such the abolition of the cesses was intended to afford economic relief to the people, it might incidentally have also conformed to the requirements of religion. But as this was the age when the worth of a ruler was judged by the standard of religious law and its recognition by the religious orders, so the contemporary writers have laid a greater stress on the religious aspect of the regulation. This is hardly a fair estimate of the financial policy of the Sultan. How far the order of the Sultan was effective in practice is a matter of doubt, but theoretically it should be regarded as a measure of economic reform rather than a religious act.

The Sultan himself mentions the following cesses which he ordered to be abolished.⁶³

1. Mandwi barg—market dues.⁶⁴
2. Dalalat-i-bazarha⁶⁵—a cess on brokers.
3. Jazari⁶⁶—A tax on butchers.
4. Amir-i-Tarab—A tax levied upon the officers appointed by the State for superintending festival gatherings e.g., marriage, dances, musical programmes and other entertainments.
5. Gul Farosh—A tax on sale of flowers.
6. Daribah-i-Tambol—A tax on betels sold in the State market.
7. Chungi-gullah—A tax on the grains or cereals of all sorts.
8. Kitabi⁶⁷—A tax on booksellers or scribes.
9. Nilgari—A tax on the manufacture of indigo.
10. Mahi Faroshi—A tax on the sale of fish.
11. Niddafi—Tax on cotton cleaning.

12. Sabun Gari—tax on soap making.
13. Risman-i-Faroshi—tax on selling ropes.
14. Rogangari—A tax on manufacture of ghee or oil.
15. Nakhud Biryani—a tax on parched gram.
16. Teh-Bazari—A tax on stall keepers on public land.
17. Jhaba—A fee for stamps set upon stacks.⁶⁸
18. Qimar Khana—A tax on gambling place.
19. Dadbeki—Court fees *i.e.*, fees for Dadbak.
20. Kotwali—Fees for Kotwals.
21. Ihtisabi—It was a police tax paid to the Muhatsib who used to superintend weights and measures, regulated markets and public places in accordance with the religious law.
22. Karhi—one of the minor taxes.⁶⁹
23. Charai—grazing tax.
24. Musdarat—(fines) of various kinds.

Besides these, 24 cesses of which the Sultan himself makes a reference, he ordered for the abolition of one more tax viz., Khidrawat—a tax on vegetable.⁷⁰

In consonance with the past tradition, the chief sources of revenue⁷¹ consisted of (1) Khiraj⁷² (2) Zakat⁷³ (3) Jizya or Poll tax upon the Hindus (4) Khums. Of them the bulk of the State revenue used to be derived from khiraj

ZAKAT

Zakat was originally a religious tax imposed at the rate of 2½% upon the declared property of Muslims comprising mainly gold and silver, herds and merchandize. It was not imposed upon the primary necessities of life e.g., dwelling houses, clothes, utensils, slaves employed as servants, riding and draught animal, or those used for ploughing, food stuffs, required for the consumption of the family; books; tools and implements and decorative articles not of gold and silver.⁷⁴ Firuz Shah imposed this tax at the rate of 1/40th of property or 2½% upon the Muslims.⁷⁵ There was a separate department for its collection.⁷⁶

JIZYA

Firuz Shah imposed Jizya upon the Brahmanas. The step caused resentment in the community; and they assembled before the royal palace and prayed for the restoration of the status quo.⁷⁷ The Sultan relented to some extent and asked them to pay at

the rate applicable to the third category⁷⁸ viz., 10 tankas of 50 kani each.⁷⁹

According to Afif,⁸⁰ the step was motivated by religious considerations. He took it after due deliberation in a meeting of the religious divines who vehemently objected to the privilege enjoyed by the Brahmanas, who, according to them, were the root cause of infidelity. The statement of the medieval historian has been literally accepted by modern writers who do not pause to reflect upon other circumstances attending upon the promulgation of this seemingly fanatical ordinance which is pointed out as a convincing example of the Sultan's intolerance. In this context it should be noted that Jizya was not primarily conceived to be a tax on religious conscience, though individual writers, particularly in India, have interpreted it as such. It was a tax which earned exemption from military duty to the State. As non-Muslims could not be employed in the army, they were required to pay a compensation fee.⁸¹ As such it was a fiscal measure rather than a religious levy. What Firuz did was to end the exemption so far enjoyed by the Brahmanas who were non-Muslims ignoring the fact that even in the heyday of Hindu rule they were not required to perform military duty. But the same was the case, with some other communities e.g., Vaisya and Sudras. In view, however, of the poverty and sanctity of the Brahman community, Firuz allowed them some concession, which aspect changes the entire spirit underlying the measure.

In fact, the imposition of Jizya upon the Brahmanas might have been prompted by the following two motives :—

(1) PRINCIPLE OF EQUITY IN THE THEORY OF TAXATION.

The fiscal reforms of Firuz Shah provide proof that he wanted to introduce the principle of equity in taxation, for which reason he gave up the old practice of levying land revenue as existed in the days of Muhammad Tughluq. Accordingly he abolished the exemption enjoyed by a community.

2. TO ADD SOMETHING TO THE REVENUE OF THE STATE

Although we do not know if the regulation regarding the abolition of 25 cesses was actually enforced, there is no denying the fact that the idea was in the mind of the Sultan and had it

been really enforced, it would have meant some loss to the State treasury, which might have stood in the way of successful operation of various schemes initiated by the Sultan. The alternative remedy for this financial crisis was, of course, the enhancement of the land tax. But the Sultan did not like the idea, as it involved a pressure upon the peasants in whose welfare he took special interest. The only remedy which probably appealed to him was the imposition of Jizya upon the Brahmanas which, though it might not have yielded a large income, yet added something to the revenue of the State.

KHUMS

It was the share of the State in the spoils of war. The practice prescribed by Muslim law was that 1/5 of the booty should be taken by the State and 4/5 should be distributed among the soldiers. Alauddin Khalji for the first time reversed the system and adopted the practice of distributing 1/5 of the booty among the soldiers and appropriating 4/5 for the State⁸² and this continued till the reign of Muhammad Tughluq. Firuz Shah reverted to the old method of imposing Khums by distributing 4/5 among the soldiers and appropriating 1/5 for the State.⁸³ Perhaps Firuz was keen to appease the soldiery and so he revived this practice which fitted in with the legal aspect also.

HAQI SHARB

Besides these four taxes, the Sultan imposed an additional tax at the rate of 1/10 of the total production of such cultivators as were benefited by the new scheme of irrigation. But it did not yield any revenue to the State as it used to be credited to the privy purse of the Sultan.⁸⁴

CURRENCY

Firuz Shah reorganised the currency of Muhammad Tughlaq, by adding some new coins to it. Hitherto "Tanka" was the unit of the monetary system. It was issued both in gold and silver the ratio being 1:10.⁸⁵ The gold coins weighed 175 grains of 100 ratis.⁸⁶ In the first seven years of Firuz Shah's reign, gold coins were issued bearing the name of the Caliph of Egypt.⁸⁷ viz.,

1. Khalifa Abul Abbas Ahmad
2. Khalifa Imam Amirul Momin Abil Fatah (759 A.H.)
3. Khalifa Motazad Billah

4. Khalifa Imam Abi Abdullah.

The silver coins which were in circulation were of two types. The first was of 50 jitals or 140 grains; the second was of 64 jitals or 175 grains.⁸⁸

Besides gold and silver tankas which were standard coins, others of small denominations were also in circulation e.g., 48, 24, 12, 8 and 6.

They were technically termed as.⁸⁹

1. Chihal-O-Hast (48) Kani
2. Bist-O-Panj (25) Kani
3. Bist-O-Chakhar (24) Kani
4. Dwazda (12) Kani
5. Dah (10) Kani
6. Hast (8) Kani
7. Shash (6) Kani
8. Do (2) Kani
9. Yak (1) Kani

Under the dual system of silver coins, the value of the fractional pieces in terms of a tanka may be described as follows:—⁹⁰

1. Chihal-O-Hast Kani = $\frac{48}{64}$ or 175 grains of silver, *i.e.*, $131 \frac{16}{24}$ Kanis or 48 Kanis or $\frac{3}{4}$ of Old Tankah.
2. Bist-O-Panj-Kani = $\frac{25}{50}$ or of 140 grains of slightly alloyed silver or $\frac{1}{2}$ of the adali.
3. Bis-O-Chahar Kani = $\frac{24}{64}$ th of 175 grains or $\frac{3}{8}$ of old tankah.
4. Dwazda Kani = $\frac{12}{64}$ of 175 grains or $\frac{3}{16}$ of old tankah.
5. Daha Kani = $\frac{10}{50}$ th of 140 grains or $\frac{1}{5}$ of the adali.

The issuing of Hasht Kani, Do Kani or Yak Kani was nothing new in the scheme of Firuz as it also existed in the past in the reign of Muhammad Tughluq.⁹¹ The original contribution of Firuz Shah consisted in the minting of two smaller pieces of lower value of $\frac{1}{2}$ jital called 'adha' or quarter jital called 'Bikh' which greatly benefited the poor in their daily transactions.⁹²

The fractional pieces of coins were made of mixed metal viz., silver and copper in which the proportion of copper was greater than that of pure silver.⁹³

The greatest defect in Firuz Shah's currency lay in its mal-administration which left a wide field for corruption.⁹⁴ Kajar Shah, who was the Superintendent of Mint, failed to prove

himself an efficient administrator which ultimately led to his dismissal.⁹⁵

MILITARY REFORMS

The imperial army was organised on a feudal basis which told heavily upon its efficiency. This was a very old feature of our country and was known as 'Iqta system' in which the recruitment used to be made by the tribal leaders who were generally the nobles of the realm, and who frequently prompted unrest within the empire by defying the imperial authority. In fact, it left ample scope for the nobles to develop a parochial interest which in many cases ran counter to the interest of the State. Alauddin Khalji-like statesman and diplomat, realizing its basic weakness, did away with it, and replaced the practice of tribal recruitment with that of recruitment of an individual in consideration of his ability, merit and equipment. The process of direct recruitment of the soldiers involved a heavy strain upon the Sultan; as he had to look after all the details. It needed too much of analysis and supervision in the army. Besides this, in maintaining the standing army, the Sultan had always to keep the army satisfied and occupied lest there should be revolts. The successful tackling of these problems thus depended greatly upon the efficiency and alertness of the ruler. Alauddin Khalji had the requisite aptitude, but even he was compelled to the enactment of various ordinances. The system, however, went almost to pieces under his successor, Mubarak Shah, who lacked his predecessor's talent as much as his grasp of details. Under Ghiyasuddin Tughluq although iqtas were conferred upon the nobles and military officers as a measure of appeasement, yet the Sultan tried his best to infuse efficiency in the army by supervising and examining the horses personally and reviving some of the disciplinary measures of Alauddin Khalji e. g., the 'Dagh System'.

Muhammad Tughluq also organised the army on the feudal basis.

Firuz Shah was a man of average calibre, as such, he followed the line of least resistance by reverting to the traditional system. Thereby he also appeased the nobles and revived privileges which they had enjoyed in the past.

The Sultan made a lavish distribution of lands and villages to

Khans, Maliks, amirs and other distinguished persons according to their ranks.⁹⁶

The regular soldiers (Wajah Dars) were granted lands and villages in lieu of their pay,⁹⁷ and the irregular soldiers (Ghair Wajah) received cash salaries from the royal treasury so long as they were in the army.⁹⁸ Besides this, the soldiers also received 'Itlaq' (a payment order) from the Sultan by which they, in course of their stay in the cities, were entitled to draw half of their salary.⁹⁹ This practice became a source of profit to a particular class, namely the bankers, who generally gave the soldiers one-third of their salary and realised the full amount of the voucher from the assigned area.¹⁰⁰ Thus, in every 'Itlaq' one sixth of the salary of a soldier became a permanent source of commission to the bankers and the Sultan refrained from taking any step against this evil practice, because he had no practical solution for the same. Moreover, it was difficult to send money to soldiers in different areas. On the other hand, the soldiers also faced great difficulties in cashing their Itlaqs in places which had no such banking facilities as in the capital. An instance in point is when the Sultan, after his failure in the first expedition to Sind, retired to Gujarat for re-inforcement. Although as a temporary measure he met the situation by advancing loans to the Wajah-dars¹⁰¹ from the treasury, yet, all the same, it exposed the basic defect of the 'Itlaq system' introduced by him.

The soldiers purchased their necessary articles from the market held in the camp which was more or less equivalent to modern canteen.¹⁰² The shopkeepers could accompany the army for plying their business only after receiving permits from the Rais-e-Sahr, probably the officer in charge of market.¹⁰³ The abolition of the system of cash payment relieved the Sultan from formulating any scheme of price control as practised by Alauddin.

Another important characteristic of the military organisation of the Sultan was the revival of the practice of recruitment on hereditary basis, irrespective of any consideration of merits. He issued the following ordinance to give effect to it.

If any officer of the army died he was to be succeeded by his son ; if he had no son, by his son-in-law, if he had no son-in-law, he was to be succeeded by his slave ; if he had no slave, by his nearest relative, if he had no relative, by his wife.¹⁰⁴

The regulation seriously affected the efficiency of the army. Moreover the Sultan also allowed the old and invalid persons to retain their posts notwithstanding their incapacity to carry out their duties. The evil effects of the practice were once pointed out to him by Malik Ishaq.¹⁰⁶ But the Sultan was not only not convinced, on the other hand, he justified his action on the ground of affording relief to the old and the invalid. He silenced Ishaq by saying that his father who was also serving in the office at that time should first be turned out and then others.¹⁰⁶ Although the Sultan later on modified the original regulation to say that "when a soldier grew old and incapable, his son should succeed him as his deputy, if he had no son, his son-in-law, and failing any son-in-law, his slave should represent him."¹⁰⁷ But this was no remedy to the defective system of recruitment, which ignored merit in preference to heredity, with the result that his seemingly huge army yielded comparatively insignificant results. The military campaigns to Bengal and Sind are the instances in point.

In the matter of discipline, the flaw was still more serious. There was hardly any control in the military organisation. Bribery, corruption and impersonation were rife. Even when they were detected, the guilty were let off with mild admonition or even encouraged to perpetuate the evil. Strangely enough, Afif¹⁰⁸ has justified these evils on grounds of benevolence and has praised the large-heartedness of the Sultan. The evil consequences of such a policy was especially exposed on the eve of the Sultan's second march to Sind from Gujarat when desertions of the soldiers occurred on a large scale. Even then, disregarding the advice of his counsellors, he refrained from taking drastic step; when the soldiers had returned to Delhi, he instructed the Wazir to inflict upon them a light punishment, technically called 'spiritual admonition'.¹⁰⁹

The branding regulation of Alauddin Khalji or Muhammad Tughluq had fallen out of use, with the result that the soldiers presented at the time of review either inferior or borrowed horses. And although the attention of the Sultan was invited to the evil, he ignored it. But even if the regulation had been there, it would not have been enforced because of the mild-heartedness of the Sultan. His policy is eloquently expressed in the undermentioned episode.

“Once the Sultan overheard a soldier posted in his royal palace talking to his friend about his distress regarding his inability to get his unfit horse approved by the officers by tipping the latter. The Sultan sent for the soldier and inquired from him the cause of his worry. The soldier replied ‘Tomorrow the office of Diwan will be closed and I have not the requisite amount of money to tip the officials to approve my horse.’ The Sultan then asked him how much he required for that and the soldier replied, ‘One yellow tanka’. Thereupon the Sultan gave him the money and the soldier was able to get his work done.”¹¹⁰

Besides this, even in matters of annual inspection of horses, the Sultan allowed many concessions to the soldiers. Although the soldiers were required to produce their horses at the registration office by the end of the year quite a large number of them failed to do so.¹¹¹ When the list of defaulters was submitted to the Sultan, he allowed them two months grace. Even then a number of soldiers failed to comply with the regulation. Malik Razi, the Deputy Ariz, would intercede for them, saying that they had been sent by their commanding officers to their villages to realize the amount of their pay.¹¹² Upon this the Sultan would allow them further concession by asking them to produce their horses for inspection in the districts where they had been posted by their Commanding Officer.¹¹³ Such a long rope was very advantageous but its evil consequences cannot be ignored. Verily, it led to the downfall of the Tughluq Empire.

IMPERIAL ARMY

The imperial army of Firuz mainly consisted of cavalry, elephant corps, and infantry of which the cavalry was the main source of strength.¹¹⁴ The Sultan maintained 80,000 to 90,000¹¹⁵ well-trained horses in the capital which were kept in the royal stables,¹¹⁶ in charge of an officer called Amir-i-Akhur or Akhur Bak.¹¹⁷ Besides Indian, there were Arab and Turki horses which were generally imported from outside¹¹⁸ and were much superior in quality to the Indian horses. These horses were of various types e.g., red, white, besides of a mixed colour of red and white.¹¹⁹ They were so trained that they could jump a distance of 20 yards.¹²⁰ During his first expedition to Bengal, the Sultan had 80,000 horses with him.¹²¹

ELEPHANT CORPS

The elephants, besides carrying load, served many useful purposes in the battlefield. They were generally placed in front of the army,¹²³ and were used for breaking the line of the opposition. In course of his first expedition to Bengal, Firuz Shah had 470 elephants¹²³ with him which greatly helped him in crossing the river Kosi. The Sultan invaded Tattah with 480 elephants.¹²⁴ All these elephants were properly maintained by the State and placed in charge of an officer called Shahnah-i-fil.¹²⁵ Besides this, there were camels and buffaloes in the army specially used for transporting goods and provisions. The officer in charge of the camel stable used to be called as Shahnah-i-nafar.¹²⁶

INFANTRY

The infantry consisted of a large number of slaves some of whom served as royal body-guards, while others were trained soldiers recruited in the army specially for this purpose. Imadul Mulk Bashir, the Commander-in-chief, was a slave. Malik Kabul, who was sent to Sikandar Shah by the Sultan, was also a slave.¹²⁷

BOATS

Boats were also an essential adjunct of the army. Firuz Shah had a large number of such boats which were maintained in the rivers by an officer called Amir-i-Bahr¹²⁸ for the transport of travellers and armies. The post of this official existed in the Sultunat regime ever since the days of the slaves, when his duties were confined to the collection of ferry dues or tolls on the water ways.¹²⁹ Thus it represented the department of inland shipping.¹³⁰ Gradually the post of Amir-i-Bahr assumed greater importance and he began to play the role of Commander of the flotilla. During the reign of Muhammad Tughluq, the Sultan had to bring boats from the fiefs of Multan, Uch, Dipalpur, Svistan for crossing the river Indus.¹³¹ During the reign of Firuz, boats played a similar role in the army. On the occasion of his first expedition to Tattah, the Sultan ordered the rulers of Bhakkar and Svistan for the collection of 5,000 boats with which the imperial army crossed the river Sind and stepped into the lands of Tattah.¹³² In course of his first

campaign to Lakhnawati, the Sultan had taken a large number of barrier breaking boats (Kistihe-i-Band Khusa) with him.¹³³ All these facts throw much light upon the importance of boats in the imperial army.

FLAGS

Flags or standards of varied colours formed a special feature of the army. At the time of war they were carried on elephants, so that the soldiers could see them from a distance. In fact, the flag was the traditional symbol of the army. So long it was visible to the soldiers, they continued fighting; the moment it became invisible, they stopped fighting. This was probably the only justification of carrying the flags upon the elephants. In the first expedition to Bengal, when the Sultan secured the submission of a large number of rulers of the neighbouring territories of Lakhnawati, he gave the vanquished rulers flags to plant them in their territories so that the imperialists may recognize them as their allies.¹³⁴ In his second expedition to Bengal the Sultan had taken 180 flags with him.¹³⁵

BANDS

Lastly, mention should be made of the bands which were played at the commencement of an operation. It included trumpet, clarion etc.¹³⁶

METHODS OF WARFARE

The usual mode of fighting may be inferred from the writings of Afif and the *Sirat-i-Firuz Shahi*.¹³⁷ The army was generally disposed in the field into three sections viz.¹³⁸

1. Right Wing (Maimana)
2. Left Wing (Maisara)
3. The centre (Kulb)

Each of them was led by experienced military generals. In the first expedition to Bengal, Malik Dhilan led the right wing, Malik Hasan Nawi the left wing, and Malik Tatar Khan the middle wing each with 30,000 cavalry forces.¹³⁹ Sometimes the Sultan used to lead the middle wing of the army as he did in the expedition to Sind.¹⁴⁰ The elephants were also divided into three sections and posted to suitable points.¹⁴¹ In the field, the front of the army used to be occupied by the infantry dominated

by the slaves. Behind it were the elephants, from where the archers seated on the howdahs discharged arrows. The cavalry forces occupied the right and left sides of the line.

The important weapons¹⁴² which were used in the field were the following :—

1. Seham—arrows.
2. Painkan—Sharp arrows.
3. Halahaq—bow.
4. Kadum or Tesha (dagger)
5. Togh—(Sword)
6. Zirih—Coat of mail with mail sleeves composed of steel links. The coat reached to the knees.¹⁴³
7. Khud—helmet.
8. Fala Khan—It was an ordinary sling made of ropes for throwing stones.
9. Bhalla—Javeline.
10. Asliha—armour.
11. Mighafar—It was a net-work of steel worn under the cap or hat or worn in battle as a protection for the face, also a helmet¹⁴⁴ etc.

Although artillery was unknown in the 14th century, yet rockets and Naptha balls were used in the army. In it 'Manjaniqs'¹⁴⁵ occupied an important place. Firuz Shah specially utilized it in his second expedition to Bengal¹⁴⁶ and also in Nagarkot.¹⁴⁷ They were of various types and of different sizes called maghribis, arradas.¹⁴⁸ etc.

SLAVE SYSTEM

The Slave System was an old institution among the Turks. The Abbasid Caliph maintained a body of slaves who, on the decline of the dynasty, stepped into the political void and divided the empire amongst themselves. Mahmud of Ghazni had a slave named Ayaz who carried much influence with his master. Muhammad of Ghor had slaves like Aibak, Yaloz and Qubaicha who played important roles in political and military fields. Iltutmish organized a corps of forty. It was comprised of the best available talents and its members were entrusted with administrative responsibilities. Nasiruddin Muhammad had a large number of slaves and on one occasion he presented 40 of them to Balban. Alauddin Khalji also maintained 50,000

slaves and it is said that he used to send slave-boys to detect short weight in the market.¹⁴⁹

Firuz improved upon it in certain respects. The real motive which inspired the Sultan to organize it, was to extend relief to a particular class of the oppressed and the down-trodden in the society. In this connection it must be noted that the disruption of the economic life in Northern India caused by persistent famines, failure of administrative schemes of Muhammad Tughluq and frequency of rebellions must have considerably added to the number of the poor and the destitute. Moreover, the existing practice of converting war prisoners to slaves, who like movable property could be disposed off by their master according to his whim, must have caused much suffering to the helpless individuals. In fact, the Sultan's heart was touched by their miserable plight and he realised the necessity of improving their condition so as to make them useful members of the community. As such his reform of the slave system was primarily a charitable activity. Add to this a desire on his part to collect round him a large body of faithful and loyal supporters.

METHOD OF RECRUITMENT

For the purpose of collecting slaves, the Sultan issued the following instructions to the iqtedars.¹⁵⁰

1. To make selections from amongst the war prisoners and to send them to the capital to be enlisted as slaves.
2. To include a large number of slaves in their annual benevolences to the Sultan. Thus the iqtedars on the occasion of their visits to the court, besides other gifts, also offered as presents slaves according to their respective ranks in the official hierarchy, and for it they were either paid in cash or an equivalent amount was adjusted to their annual remittances. The larger the number of slaves presented by the iqtedar, the greater was the favour of the Sultan. Such a policy naturally led to constant increase in the number of slaves assembled at the capital.¹⁵¹ Besides this direct method, the city *Mutwal* also sometimes recruited slaves from among the unemployed and sent them to the provincial governors. Such persons were recruited only when they volunteered themselves for it.¹⁵² With these methods, 1,80,000 slaves were assembled in the capital.¹⁵³

MAINTENANCE OF THE SLAVES

In order to look after the welfare of the slaves, the Sultan had created a separate department called Sahib-i-Diwan-i-Bandagan under a Majmudar (muster master of the slaves), with other officers called Chawush-i-Ghuri and a deputy Chawush-i-Ghuri besides a distinct diwan. There was also a separate treasury for the payment of their allowances.¹⁵⁴

Further to maintain the large number of slaves properly the Sultan retained 40,000 at the court and distributed 1,40,000 in various fiefs e.g., Dipalpur, Multan, Hisar Firuza, Samana, Gujarat etc.¹⁵⁵

The Sultan made untiring efforts to impart literary and technical education to the slaves, specially to those who were detained at the headquarters. Some of them received technical training in the government factories, provided they were suitable for it,¹⁵⁶ and this led 1200 slaves to specialise themselves in various mechanical crafts. Those who were intelligent were encouraged to receive academic instruction, which emphasized the study of theology.¹⁵⁷ Perhaps this latter class receiving, as it did, a preferential treatment, developed into a corporate body which, in course of time, began to influence the current politics. In the provinces too, the Amirs and Maliks were instructed by the Sultan to train the slaves in various vocational arts, present them to the court every year, and to submit their annual progress report which the Sultan listened to with great care.¹⁵⁸

The slaves were also allotted suitable jobs in the various departments of the state. Some of them were recruited in the army and according to the existing practice received villages in lieu of their pay. Those who were placed in cities received ample allowances of 100, 50, 30, 25, or 10 tankas from the Sultan at the interval of six, four or three months.¹⁵⁹ The infantry was dominated by them. Some of the slaves held very important posts in the army e.g., Imadul Mulk was the Commander-in-chief.¹⁶⁰ In the capital a large number of slaves were enlisted as the body-guard (Jandar) of the Sultan. They were very loyal to him; and whenever the latter came out of the royal palace the slaves accompanied him in large number with their arms, adding special grandeur to the imperial procession.¹⁶¹ The Sultan also posted 10,000 slaves for keeping a night watch over the royal palace.¹⁶²

Even the royal house-hold department was manned by slaves and they held posts like the

1. Abdar (in charge of water).
2. Jamadar (in charge of dresses).
3. Chitrdar (in charge of royal canopy).
4. Parada-dar (in charge of curtains).
5. Sharab-dar (in charge of drinks).
6. Shamadar (in charge of light).
7. Itrdar (Perfumery), etc.¹⁶³

Thus every attempt was made to provide the slaves in a liberal manner.

THEIR ROLE IN THE IMPERIAL POLITICS

As a result of the Sultan's special favour, the slaves at the headquarters formed themselves into a corporate body; and towards the fag end of Firuz's life, started taking active interest in current politics and their support and animosity became a deciding factor in the order of succession.¹⁶⁴ In the dispute between Khanjahan and Prince Muhammad—they championed the cause of the latter and their active co-operation with him was one of the main reasons of his success. Again, we find that subsequently when that support was withdrawn, the prince could not hold on even for six months. It is related that Firuzi slaves, numbering about 80,000 who had settled in Delhi and Firuzbad rose in revolt against the Prince and assembled in a body in the adjacent plain. Upon this, Prince Muhammad sent Zahiruddin Lohri to suppress them, which aggravated the crisis because the slaves pelted stones on him and compelled him to retire. Now the prince personally marched against them with a large army. Upon his approach, the insurgents took shelter in the imperial palace and rallied round the old emperor Firuz, whom they brought into the field. This changed the entire situation. The soldiers, out of their love for their old master, deserted Prince Muhammad, who fled from the field, enabling Tughluq Shah to step into the political void. The slaves continued to dabble in current politics till they were deprived of their possession of elephants, which finally crushed their power. Thus the slaves played a very important role in the imperial politics in the last days of Firuz Shah's reign.

Assessment of the System

The Sultan's special care for the slaves and the extraordinarily large number of them represents a two-fold aspect of his success. It brought him credit for his humanitarian instinct. It created peaceful conditions in the country, which had been seriously distracted during the concluding period of Muhammad Tughluq's reign. And finally, it placed at the disposal of the Sultan, an organized and loyal body of supporters. But these merits of the system should not blind us to the evil effects which flowed on the imperial politics in the long run. In the first place their active participation in the imperial politics in the last days of Firuz, created nothing but complications in the political affairs as detailed earlier. Besides, the institution caused a heavy economic drain to the State treasury.

Foundation of Cities

Foundation of cities had formed an important part of the imperial policy. Under the Hindus large numbers of cities flourished with distinctive features of their own. With the advent of the Muslims their numbers multiplied and their planning improved. In 1321 A. D. Ghiyasuddin Tughluq founded Tughluqabad which epitomized his power and glory ; the name of Muhammad Tughluq is associated with the cities of Jahanpanah and Adilabad. Firuz Shah continued the tradition. He founded a large number of cities well-planned and beautified with high palatial buildings, mosques, mausoleums, madarsahs, rest-houses, hospitals, tanks, dams, gardens etc. Most of them were surrounded by massive walls, pierced by fortified gateways for reasons of security. The important cities which owe their existence to him were Hisar Firuza, Firuzabad, Fathabad, Jaunpur etc.

HISAR FIRUZA

It was built in 1354 A.D., after the Sultan's return from the first expedition to Bengal.¹⁶⁵ Originally it was a desolate land consisting of two villages called Great Laras and Little Laras.¹⁶⁶ These two villages included 50 and 40 Kharks¹⁶⁷ respectively. The land suffered from water scarcity to such an extent that when a traveller from Khorasan came here during the summer, a pitcher of water cost him 4 jitals.¹⁶⁸ Probably the idea of

watering this land by the excavation of canals was originally in the mind of Firuz which explains why he selected this site for building the city of Hisar Firuza. He expressed his optimism by saying "I will build this city and I hope that by the grace of God the land will be full of water".¹⁶⁹ The city was completed after incessant work continuing for two years.¹⁷⁰ Stones for it were brought from the hills of Narsai, and the buildings were constructed with lime and burnt bricks.¹⁷¹ To provide the city with water, the Sultan laid out two canals viz., (1) Rajiwah (2) Ulugh Khani.¹⁷²

The main attraction of the city was a strong fortress with several dark apartments, so much so that one could not walk through them without any guide.¹⁷³ Once a merchant went into this palace alone, and lost his way into it. He groped for several days till he was rescued by a guide who led him out. A tank was also erected within the fort which was connected with a ditch dug round it.¹⁷⁴ Besides, the Sultan laid out a large number of gardens which added natural beauty to the city, and produced a variety of fruits.¹⁷⁵ The city became the headquarters of a division which included the districts of Hansi, Agrowah, Fathabad and Sarsutti as far as Salaura and Khizrabad.¹⁷⁶

FIRUZABAD

Firuzabad, the capital city, was the great achievement of Firuz, specially in the field of architecture. It was established in 1354 A.D. at the village of Gawin on the banks of the river Jumna at a distance of ten miles from Old Delhi.¹⁷⁷ It emerged out of the ruins of old Delhi., specially the bricks taken from the cities like Jahanpanah etc. which were transported on pack animals of the merchants who came to the Capital for business.¹⁷⁸ It was comprised of 18 towns some of which were as follows :¹⁷⁹

1. Indarpat.
2. Sarai-Shiekh Malik Yar Paran.
3. Sarai-Shaikh Abu Bakr Tushi
4. Village of Gawin
5. Khetwara
6. Andhawali
7. Sarai Malik
8. Mukbare Sultana Razia

9. Behari
10. Mehraula
11. Sultanpur

With its base facing the river, the shape of the city was probably half hexagon and in size it was more than double the size of Modern Delhi or Shahjahanabad.¹⁸⁰

Dotted with innumerable well-set beautiful buildings, the city proclaimed the grandeur of Tughluq architecture with special characteristics of its own. It was the seat of glamorous royal palaces like (1) Mahal-i-Sahan-i-Gilin (Palace of the clay court) which was also called Mahal-i-Dikh (2) Mahal-i-Chajjai Choubin (Palace of wooden gallery (3) Mahal-i-Sahan-i-Miangie (The Central Quadrangle).¹⁸¹ Besides these Kotla Firuz Shah with its famous Jami Masjid and columns of Asoka added further attraction to the city.

There were eight public mosques and one private mosque some of which were as follows:¹⁸²

1. Masjid Khas
2. Masjid Naib Barbak
4. Masjid Malik Bahre-e-Shahnah
4. Masjid Malik Nizamul Mulk etc.

CITY OF FATHABAD

Originally used as a hunting ground, Firuz turned the forest into a township naming it Fathabad after his son Fath Khan. It was situated between Hansi and Sarsutti in the boundary of Bhatner.¹⁸³

The Sultan had erected here a fine column of red sand stone which stood inside the spacious courtyard of a mosque and is engraved with an Arabic inscription describing the Tughluq genealogy.¹⁸⁴

CITY OF JAUNPUR

The city of Jaunpur was erected in course of the Sultan's six month's stay on the bank of Gumti while marching to Bengal for the second time.¹⁸⁵ It was named Jaunpur after the name of Sultan Muhammad Shah (Juna Khan, son of Tughluq Shah). The city bears a Firuzian architectural stamp only in a fort erected by the Sultan and a masjid which was built by his step brother Ibrahim Naib Barbak.¹⁸⁶ Another attraction of the city

is the Atala Masjid built on the ancient site of the temple of Atala devi,¹⁸⁷ the construction of which was commenced by Firuz Shah in 1376 A.D. and finished by Ibrahim Shah in 1408 A.D.¹⁸⁸

MOSQUES

The mosques were erected in different localities, for the benefit of every class of people. Each of them had a spacious courtyard surrounded by walls and surmounted by multidomed roofing. The principal mosque used to occupy a prominent place and generally presented an impressive appearance to a visitor. Timur was so much impressed by the craftsmanship of Jami Masjid of Firuzabad that he expressed his desire of constructing a similar one at Samarcand.¹⁸⁹ It was spacious and accommodated a large number of people for prayers in it.¹⁹⁰

HOUSING CONDITION IN THE CITIES

The houses of the nobles were also clustered in the city of Firuzabad near the royal palaces and were modelled almost after the same pattern.¹⁹¹ Ordinary people lived in plastered houses.¹⁹² Most of these houses were also double-storeyed consisting of one or two dalans with small rooms on sides, and an open courtyard in front bounded by a wall.¹⁹³ The courtyard sometimes used to be surrounded by dalans on all four sides.¹⁹⁴ Cities were not divided into localities on religious basis. Hindus and Muslims used to live in the same locality.¹⁹⁵

MADARSAHS

The existence of Madarsahs added to the cultural importance of the cities. Some of them were set in lovely surroundings. The Madarsah-i-Firuz Shahi which was built by the Sultan stood in the midst of a garden near Hauzi-i-khas at Firuzabad.¹⁹⁶ Mutahhar Kara, an eminent poet of the age, records his impression of this Madarsah thus, "The moment I entered this building through the gate, I saw an even space as wide as the plain of the world. The courtyard was soul-animating and its expanse was life-giving. Its dust was musk-scented and its fragrance possessed the odour of amber. There was verdure every where and hyacinth, basils, roses and tulips were

blooming and were beautifully arranged so far as the eye could reach Nightingales, so to say, were singing their melodious songs everywhere. It appeared as if they had guitars in their talons and flutes in their beaks".¹⁹⁷

Similar was the atmosphere of another madarsah founded by Firuz at Siri. " " The atmosphere of this building can be compared with heaven. Attractive and beautiful panorama stretched around it.¹⁹⁸

DARUSH SHAFI OR HOSPITALS

The Sultan also opened a large number of hospitals where medicines used to be distributed free to the people.¹⁹⁹ Experienced physicians, surgeons, eye specialists used to be appointed who attended the patients with great care. The expenses of these hospitals were borne by the State.²⁰⁰

REST-HOUSES

The rest-houses provided great comfort to travellers who could stay in them for three days.²⁰¹ The Sultan is said to have established 120 rest-houses, most of them being situated in Delhi and Firuzabad.²⁰² Throughout the year they remained over-crowded and the travellers were much benefited by them.²⁰³

SOURCES OF WATER SUPPLY

The chief sources of water-supply to the cities were the tanks, reservoirs, and wells. We find references of two such reservoirs during the reign of Muhammad Tughluq, one named after Lalmish situated outside Delhi meant for drinking purpose only and another private reservoir situated in between Delhi and Siri.²⁰⁴ Firuz Shah built one such reservoir in Firuzabad which was joined with a canal excavated from the river Budhi and other at Hisar Firuza.²⁰⁵ Besides these, the Sultan made extensive repairs to a large number of tanks,²⁰⁶ which greatly benefited the people.

BUNDS (Dams)

Some of the cities had bunds which added to their importance. The important bunds which the Sultan erected were the following :²⁰⁷

1. Bund Fath-Khan
2. Bund Malja²⁰⁸
3. Bund Mahapalpur
4. Bund Shukr Khan
5. Bund Salaura
6. Bund Wazirabad

GARDENS

The gardens added natural beauty to the cities. Firuz Shah planted 1200 gardens in the suburbs of Delhi, 80 gardens in the neighbourhood of Salaura, 44 gardens in Chitur, and many at Hisar Firuza which were properly maintained and produced varieties of fruits and flowers.²⁰⁹ They were a means to counteract the tropical heat.

INVENTION OF TAS-I-GHARIYAL

Tas-i-Ghariyal was a novel creation of Firuz. It was invented by the Sultan after his return from the expedition to Tattah. It was placed on the top of the Firuzabad palace from where it publicly announced the hours of the day and night.²¹⁰ It served the purpose of a modern clock tower and as such had a great utility for the people.²¹¹

USTURLAB (Astrological Charts)

Another novel creation of Firuz was the Usturlab or the astrological charts which gave the exact location of various stars and planets in different parts of the year.²¹² It is related that the Sultan after a deep study of a book of the time of Zulqurnain, which dealt in details about the plans of the Usturlabs was imbued with the ambition of a similar creation and with the help of the leading scientists of his time he materialized his plan.²¹³

REPAIR WORKS

Firuz Shah's efforts at the restoration of ruined buildings were remarkable and occupy an important place in his works of Public utility. He himself writes, "By the guidance of God I was led to repair and rebuild the edifices and structures of former kings and ancient nobles, which had fallen into decay, from lapse of time, giving the restoration of those buildings

the priority over my building works".²¹⁴ The following were the buildings which were repaired by the Sultan.²¹⁵

(1) The Madarsah of Shamsuddin was rebuilt and furnished with sandal wood doors.

(2) Extensive repairs were made in the Jami Masjid of Sultan Muizuddin Sam, so much so that it appeared to be a new building. Sultan Firuz built the western wall which were in the state of ruins and replaced the old wooden doors with new one made of sandal wood.

(3) The Sultan repaired the dome, the terrace, and surrounding walls of the tomb of Sultan Muizuddin (son of Sultan Shamsuddin) situated in Malikpur.

(4) The enclosure wall of the tomb of Sultan Ruknuddin (son of Shamsuddin) was repaired in addition to the construction of a new dome and erection of a monastery.

(5) The Sultan repaired the tomb of Jalaluddin and furnished it with new doors.

(6) Doors of sandal wood were supplied to the tomb of Alauddin, and the west wall of the Abdar Khana, west hall of the mosque situated within the Madarsah was also repaired.

(7) The Sultan repaired the tombs of Sultan Qutbuddin and the other sons of Sultan Alauddin e.g. Khizr Khan, Shadi Khan, Farid Khan, Sultan Shahabuddin, Sikandar Khan, Muhammad Khan, Usman Khan and his grand-sons and sons of his grand-sons.

(8) The doors of the dome, and the lattice work of the tomb of Shaikh-ul-Islam Nizamul-haq-Wa-uddin were made of sandal wood. The Sultan also made golden chandeliers which were suspended from the recesses of the dome with golden chains. A new meeting chamber was also built.

(9) Tomb of Malik Taj-ul-Mulk Kafuri, the great Wazir of Sultan Alauddin, which had been completely ruined was rebuilt by Firuz.

(10) The Sultan provided sandal wood doors to the Darulaman (House of rest) which consisted of the tombs of distinguished men.

(11) The city of Jahanpanah, the foundation of which was laid by Muhammad Tughluq was also repaired.

(12) The upper storeys of the Qutub Minar which were struck by lightning in 770 A.H./1368 A.D. were repaired by Firuz.²¹⁶ These repairs were confined to the fourth and fifth storeys,

which have led to several controversies. The minar which stands even to-day as the monument of the achievement of the Sultans of Delhi has 5 storeys with well-projected balconies round the top of each storey engraved with the inscriptions of different ages.²¹⁷ This provides us ample source of the history of the minar. The inscription of the first storey speaks of the foundation of the minar by Qutbuddin Aibak during the life time of his master Muizzuddin Bin Sam whose name is engraved in lower storeys and completed by Iltutmish. The inscription of the fifth storey reveals that in 1368 A.D. the minar was struck by lightning and was repaired by Firuz.²¹⁸ Besides this, there are some Nagri inscriptions on the fourth storey which mention the name of Firuz as the repairer of the fourth storey when it was struck by lightning. One of them reads as follows :²¹⁹

“On Thursday, the 15th day of dark fortnight of Phalguna in the year Samvat 1425, *i.e.*, 1369 A.D. lightning fell. The monument was then repaired in the year Samvat 1425 A.D. The architects were Nana, Salha, Lola, and Lashmana.”

These inscriptions lead us to the conclusion that Firuz Shah's contribution was confined only to the fourth and fifth storeys of this minar. This is also confirmed by the architectural style of the last two storeys.

The first three storeys of the minar are built of red sand stone with rich ornamental designs in it.²²⁰ But the upper part of the fourth storey and parts of fifth storey are built of white marbles. The stones which were used in the minar were of three types viz., (1) Grey quartzose rock of Delhi (2) White marble of Jaipur (3) Red Sand stones of the hills to the south of Delhi. Of them the grey quartzose stone is used only in the interior of building and the white marble is confined to the two upper storeys.²²¹

The marked difference in the architectural style between the first three storeys and the upper two storeys give ample evidence of the fact that the extensive repairs were made by Firuz to the fourth and fifth storeys. But the difficulty of accepting such a view arises from another inscription engraved in the name of Iltutmish in the fourth storey.²²² In fact, it stands against the claim of Firuz as the original repairer of the fourth storey. The only conclusion that can be drawn from it is that Firuz Shah, although he repaired the fourth storey ; yet his love and respect

for his predecessors prompted him to restore the original inscriptions in the name of Iltutmish.²²³ The fifth storey was, however, fully rebuilt by Firuz.

TANKS

Extensive repairs were also made to the tanks called Hauz. Of them the most important were :²²⁴

1. Hauz-i-Shamshi or tank of Altamash.
2. Hauz-i-Khudavand Khvaja.
3. Hauz-i-Muazzam Mubarak Khan.
4. Hauz-i-Alai or tank of Alauddin.

HAUZ-I-SHAMSHI

The Sultan opened the channels of water supply in this tank which had been choked by some impious men who were also punished.²²⁵

HAUZ-I-MUAZZAM

In the Hauz-i-Muazzam Mubarak Khan, the Sultan found some buildings, bunds and also a well built by some Brahmanas. He repaired all of them and restored in it the name of its original builder.²²⁶

HAUZ-I-ALAI OR TANK OF ALAUDDIN

Most extensive repairs were made in the Hauz-i-Alai situated at Firuzabad, extending over 70 acres of land.²²⁷ This tank had been drained of water so much so that the people had tilled it and dug wells on its site and sold water from them. Firuz Shah excavated it after an age as a result of which the tank remained filled with deep water throughout the year.²²⁸

Thus the public works of Firuz proved to be of general utility to the people, and as such the Sultan may be regarded as the benevolent ruler of the age. Sir Walsey Haig remarks "The Sultan's passion for constructing works of public utility was probably as much to vanity as to benevolence."²²⁹ But if we make a detailed study of the public works of Firuz we can hardly quote any incident which may stand in support of his vanity. It is related that in course of repairing the Hauz-i-Muazzam Mubarak Khan he found many old buildings, and a well built by a Brahman in the middle of the Hauz. He repaired

them restoring the name of its original builder.²³⁰ He is said to have remarked on this occasion, "I have undertaken the work with a view to do benefit to the public and not for my own reputation." Had the Sultan been inspired by the motive of blowing his own trumpet, he would have engraved his own name there instead of restoring the name of its original builder. Another such instance which may dispel the charges of vanity against the Sultan was the repairing of fourth storey of Qutub Minar and restoring the name of Ilutmish there.²³¹ In most of his buildings, either in the construction of new ones or repairing the old ones, no-where do we find the Sultan attempting to proclaim his vanity by engraving his own name. In every scheme of public works, the only motive that had inspired the Sultan to action was the general welfare of the people. As such it is very difficult to agree with the views of Sir Wolsey Haig that the public works of Firuz were the outcome of his vanity.

REFERENCES

- 1 Afif, pp. 90-91.
- 2 *Ibid.*, p. 94.
- 3 *Ibid.*, pp. 94, 298.
- 4 *Fatuh-at-i-Firuz Shahi*, (*Islamic Culture*, Vol. 15, 1941, p. 462.
- 5 *Inshai Mahru*, (A.U.Ms.), pp. 19-21 and pp. 21-23 has referred to some Manshurs which confirm the above statement. One of the Manshurs refers to the restoration of a monastery with wells etc. in Gujarat to Sayyid Muhammad Maajoomi of which he had been dispossessed during revolutions. The other Manshur describes the restoration of the Khanqah, village lands and wells to Shaikh Zadah Yazdi in Nahrwala. See also Barani, p. 558.
- 6 Yahya, (Basu), p. 139.
- 7 Barani, p. 575.
- 8 Afif, pp. 296-97.
- 9 *Ibid.*, pp. 341-42.
- 10 *Ibid.*
- 11 *Ibid.*, p. 94.
- 12 Barani, p. 587.
- 13 For the revenue system of Alauddin Khalji see Barani, p. 287.
- 14 Afif, p. 98, The writer observes, that the former practice was to leave the raiyats one cow and take away all the rest.
- 15 Barani, p. 574.

¹⁶ In this *Futuh-i-Firuz Shahi (Islamic Culture)*, Vol. 15, 1941, p. 452, the Sultan remarked that he imposed Khiraj from the tithes paying lands; Dowson (Elliot), Vol. III p. 337, interprets it as 1/10 of the total produce. But this does not seem to be a satisfactory interpretation, because the system of 'tithes' did not mean 1/10 only. It varied from half, a tenth, a fifty from different kinds of land. The most convincing interpretation seems to be that of Dr. Qureshi, p. 221, who writes, that Khiraj was levied at the rate recommended by the jurists for 'tithes' which amounted to double 'Ushr' or a fifth of the land produce as was in existence in the past.

¹⁷ Afif, p. 98.

¹⁸ Barani, p. 574.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ Afif, p. 268.

²¹ *Sirat*, (A.U.Ms.) p. 310.

²² *Ibid.*

Barani, pp. 569-70.

²³ Afif, pp. 295-96.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ For canals, see Barani, pp. 567-71, *Sirat*, (A.U.Ms.), pp. 154-55; Afif, p. 127; Yahya, (Basu), pp. 130-31; *J.A.S.B.*, 1833, pp. 105-9; 1846, p. 213; 1912, p. 279; 1840, p. 688.

²⁶ Barani, pp. 56-71, has not given the name of any particular canal. He only makes a general reference to it. Afif, p. 127, has mentioned only two canals which is inadequate. *Sirat*, (A.U.Ms.), pp. 154-55, although gives an exhaustive list of the canals, yet it is very difficult to trace their routes. Yahya, (Basu), pp. 130-31, has mentioned the names of five canals along with their routes. Of all these accounts, the statement of Yahya who had probably had at his disposal all the information supplied by the earlier historians seems to be a more adequate and precise. He does not mention all the canals named in the *Sirat*; and from this it may be inferred that he refers only to the principal ones. The others mentioned in the *Sirat* were perhaps their off-shoots.

²⁷ & ²⁹ Prof. Hodivala has given an interpretation of the terms which seems to be more probable. According to him these designations were given in honour or commemoration of the Sultan's father and his cousin. The former's name was Salar Rajab and latter, 'Ulugh Khan'. 'Rajib Wah' means the wah or canal of Rajab. (*Studies in Indo-Muslim History*, p. 314).

²⁸ Col. Colvin has given a very convincing account of the route of this canal. According to him the canal originates from the point where Jumna issues from the lower range of hills opposite to Badshah Mahal, the hunting seat for the emperor along with the old water courses of Jumna confluenced with Sumbi at its mouth. It was then made to pass through Karnal, Uncha Samana and joining with other branches of Chittang river was conducted to Hisar through Dhatrut. (*J.A.S.B.*, 1833, No. 15, pp. 106-7).

³⁰ Afif, p. 127.

³¹ Yahya, (Basu), pp. 130-31.

³² *Ibid*, Budaoni, (Ranking), pp. 326-27, Calls it 'Jijhar' and Firishta, (Briggs), Vol. I, pp-449-50 Calls it 'Kugur'. Both 'Jijhar' or 'Kugur' seem to be a misrepresentation of the original names 'Jajhar' which appears to be a correct reading.

³³ Yahya (Basu), pp. 130-31.

³⁴ Lieut. Yule (*J.A.S.B*, 1846, p. 213) has traced a canal pit of the time of the emperor Akbar dated A.H. 978 which throws some light upon the existence of a particular canal of Firuz which probably was one of these seven canals with which joined the Firuzabad canal. It reads as follows:— "The Chittang Nadi by which Firuz Shah Badshah 210 years ago brought water from the Nalas and drains, in the vicinity of Shahdra (a) at the foot of the hills at Hansi and Hisar and by which four or five months in the year, water was then available, has in course of time and from numerous obstacles became so choked that from the last hundred years the waters have not flowed past the boundary of Kythal and thence to Hisar ; the bed has become so choked that it is scarcely discernible, since which time the inhabitants of those parts have become parched with thirst and their gardens dried up." The contemporary writers on Firuz do not make any reference to any canal emerging from the river Chittang. But Timur in his autobiography (*Malfuzat-i-Timuri*, Elliot Vol. III, p. 433) while describing the position of the fort of Loni refers to a particular canal Halin which was cut from the river Kalini and brought to Firuzabad and there connected with the Jumna by Firuz Shah. This seems to be identical with that mentioned by Lieut. Yule. (*J.A.S.B*, 1833, p. 213). It may therefore be concluded that the canal referred in the canal Ain of Akbar or *Malfuzat-i-Timuri*, in all probability was one of the seven canals with which Firuzabad canal was joined and diverted to Hisar Firuza via Hansi.

³⁵ Yahya, (Basu), pp. 130-31 ; *Sirat*, (A.U.Ms.), pp. 154-55, although refers to this canal yet it does not give the routes through which it flowed.

³⁶ Yahya, (Basu), pp. 130-31.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, *Sirat*, (A.U.Ms.), pp. 154-55.

³⁸ *Sirat*, (A.U.Ms.), pp. 154-55.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, (A.U.Ms.), pp. 154-55, does not give any detailed account of these canals or their origin. As such it is very difficult to trace their routes. In all probability they must have been the off-shoots of the five canals as described by Yahya.

⁴⁰ The date can be inferred from the account of *Sirat*, (A.U.Ms.) p. 68 which writes that the work was undertaken by the Sultan immediately after his return from Jajnar in 762 A.H. This date has also been given by Budaoni, (Ranking), p. 330.

⁴¹ Yahya, (Basu), p. 137 ; Budaoni (Ranking), p. 330 ; Firishta, (Briggs), Vol. I, p. 451. But Nizamuddin (Persian Text), p. 233 erroneously calls it Aslima

⁴² Yahya, (Basu), p. 137 ; *Sirat*, (A.U.Ms.) p. 68 locates the mound in

the valley of Kanha and Barda, which in all probability seems to be a part of the Samana Range.

⁴³ *Sirat*, (A.U.Ms.), pp. 68-69.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, Budaoni, (Ranking), p. 330. confirms the statement and writes that every bone belonging to the arm of a man measured 3 yards in length.

⁴⁵ Yahya, (Basu), p. 137; Budaoni (Ranking), p. 330.

⁴⁶ According to Firishta, (Briggs), Vol. I, P. 465. Firuz constructed 150 wells, 50 dams and 40 reservoirs. How far these figures are correct is a matter of doubt, but it gives an approximate idea of the irrigational schemes of Firuz. Of the reservoirs, the most important one was in Firuzabad, excavated from the river Budhi and the other at Hisar Firuza.

⁴⁷ Afif, p. 131. The writer says that sometimes his father used to be entrusted with this job.

⁴⁸ Tripathi, p. 589.

⁴⁹ Afif, p. 128.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 295

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

⁵² *Ibid.*, pp. 129-30.

According to Dr. Qureshi, pp. 225-28, the Sultan did not increase the rate of taxation, but from the usual rate of 20 per cent he charged 10 per cent for himself and deposited 10 per cent in the State treasury. This 10 per cent was an income to the privy purse of the Sultan. He writes 'Had the rates of taxation been increased, the cultivators would not have come to the new land'. But the argument does not seem to be convincing, because if it was not an additional tax what made the Sultan to consult the jurists. The mere fact that the jurists were consulted suggests, that it must have been an additional tax. Moreover the production of the land had increased to such an extent that the enhanced rate would not be a burden on the peasants. As such it may be concluded that 'Haqi Sharb' was an additional tax. Dr. Tripathi, p. 287, has also expressed his views in favour of an additional taxation.

⁵³ Afif, p. 295.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵ *Masalik* has given the following price rates of different commodities during the reign of Muhammad Tughluq ;

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|----------------|
| 1. Wheat—Per Maund | 12 jitals. |
| 2. Barley " | 8 jitals. |
| 3. Rice " | 14 jitals. |
| 4. Peas " | 4 jitals. |
| 5. Sugar—5 seers | for 8 jitals. |
| 6. Qand (rectified sugar)—4 seers | for 8 jitals. |
| 7. Beef and Mutton—6 seers | for 2 jitals. |
| 8. Meat of Sheep—4 seers | for 2 jitals. |
| 9. One goose— | for 16 jitals. |
| 10. 4 fowls— | for 8 jitals. |
| 11. A good sheep— | for 64 jitals. |

12. Cow—for 128 jitals.

13. Buffalo—for 128 jitals.

(*Masalik*, Otto, Spies, p. 157).

⁵⁶ During the reign of Alauddin Khalji the following was the price rate :

Name of the commodity	Price rate
Wheat	7½ jitals.
Barley	4 „
Paddy and Pulses	5 „
Sugar	10 „

(K. S. Lal, *History of the Khaljis*, p. 272). During the reign of Ibrahim Lodi one Bahluji fetched 16 maunds of corn, five seers of oil and 10 yards of cloth (Pandey—*The First Afghan Empire in India*, p. 227, foot notes).

⁵⁷ Afif, p. 100.

⁵⁸ According to the jurists a Muslim state has two sources of revenue (1) religious (2) secular. The religious taxes are grouped under Zakat. The secular taxes are (1) Khiraj (2) Jizyah (3) the tax on Non Muslim traders and imposts on spoils of war, on mines, and treasure trove (Aghnides, *Theory of Muhammadan Finance*, p. 202).

⁵⁹ Dr. Ishwari Prasad, *History of Qaraunah Turks*, p. 285.

⁶⁰ According to Afif, pp. 373-74, the Sultan was led by the advice of learned and holy men in the court, who pointed out to him the need of abolishing a large number of taxes on the ground of being un-Islamic. The author of *Sirat-i-Firuz Shahi*, (A.U.Ms.), pp. 117-19, also supports the religious motive of the Sultan in abolishing the taxes and gives a detailed list of 24 cesses. In his *Futuh-at-i-Firuz Shahi (Islamic Culture)*, 1941, Vol. 15, p. 452, the Sultan himself writes "One of the gifts of the guide to righteousness—is that in previous ages they collected unjust and unlawful taxes and forbidden taxes for the public treasury—we ordered the court of exchequer to abolish these taxes from the register and declared, whoever among the empowered officers should realize these imposts from the people would be visited by condign punishment."

⁶¹ Dr. Ishwari Prasad writes "The whole system of taxation was made to confirm the spirit of Holy Law." (*Mediaeval India*, p. 316).

⁶² *Futuh-at*, (Islamic Culture), Vol. 15, 1941, p. 453.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 452.

⁶⁴ Prof. Hodivala interprets it as a tax on vegetables. Dr. Qureshi, p. 228, interprets Mandwibarg as a tax in kind on corn sold in the State market. He rejects the interpretation of Hodivala on the ground that *Sirat-i-Firuz Shahi* (A.U.Ms.), pp. 116-17, mentions a similar tax on vegetables called 'Khidrawat'. But the statement of Dr. Qureshi does not seem to be convincing. We find that a tax on corn was already in existence called Chungi gullah or Chinkari (*Sirat*, A.U.Ms.), p. 118; *Futuh-at*, Islamic Culture, Vol. 15, 1941, p. 453. Prof. N.B. Roy (*Islamic Culture*, Vol. 15, 1941, p. 453, rejects the interpretation of Hodivala on the ground that 'Barg' means leaf and not vegetable. He interprets Mandwibarg as a tax on betel leaf. But this cannot be a tax on betel leaf, as *Futuh-at* already speaks of a similar tax on betel leaf, i.e., Daribah-i-tambol. In all probability it was a tax paid by the shopkeeper for selling articles in the

public market. Dr. Ishwari Prasad, *History of Qaraunah Turks*, p. 285, also interprets it as market dues. In the modern period, similar taxes are paid by the shopkeepers in Municipal areas.

⁶⁵ This was identical with Dalganah as mentioned by *Sirat*, (A.U.Ms.), pp. 117-18.

⁶⁶ See Afif, p. 365.

⁶⁷ *Sirat*, (A.U.Ms.), p. 117, writes 'Kababi' which means a tax on a roast mince, or Sausages. But Kitabi seems to be more convincing.

⁶⁸ Dr. Qureshi's (p. 228) interpretation of the tax Jhaba as Chappa meaning print, i.e., a tax on printed cloth does not seem to be convincing.

⁶⁹ Dr. K.S. Lal, *History of the Khaljis*, p. 248. Most of the scholars are of opinion that 'Karhi' meant house tax. According to Dr. Qureshi, p. 232, 'Karhi' was not a house tax. He writes, "It originated from the term 'Karha' which means fresh butter and 'Karhi' itself means a shed for cattle. 'Karhi' and 'Charai' were identical; 'Charai' was levied for the use of land paying Khiraj for pasturing animals and 'Karhi' was a tax on the increase in cattle." He writes that the word 'Garhi', is obviously a mistake and the correct term of it is 'Karhi'. But the writer does not supply any satisfactory explanation for rejecting 'Garhi' and adopting 'Karhi'. As such it is very difficult to agree with him fully. The argument of Dr. K.S. Lal, pp. 247-48, seems to be most convincing. On the basis of the statement of Barani, pp. 288-89, he proves that Karhi or Kari is altogether a different tax from the house tax and as such should not be confused with it. It was derived from the Sanskrit word 'Kar' which means tax. It was one of the minor taxes imposed during the Hindu and Muslim period of Indian History from time to time.

⁷⁰ *Sirat*, (A.U.Ms.), pp. 117-19, has mentioned 25 cesses which included 24 cesses as given by *Futuhāt* in addition to the last one mentioned above, i.e., Khidrawat, which was probably an after-thought of the Sultan for which it has been omitted in the *Futuhāt*. Afif, pp. 373-79, has given the (1) Danganah. (2) Mustaghil levied in the form of rent for the houses or shops in the city, yielding an annual income of 1,50,000 tankas. This was identical with Tahabazari as mentioned above. (3) Jazari. (4) Rori. It was not a tax in the strict sense of the term, but a forced labour extorted from the merchants who were compelled to give their animals for a day to carry bricks from Delhi to the city of Firuzabad. Dowson, Vol. III, pp. 363-64, has misread it as 'Ruzi' meaning one day's labour. But Prof. Hodivala reads it as 'Rori' tracing its origin from 'Rora' which in Hindi and Gujarati means broken bricks, or stone, rubble or 'Kunkur' and from the Sanskrit 'Rudh' meaning hard or rough.

⁷¹ *Futuhāt-i-Firuz Shahi*, (*Islamic Culture*), Vol. 15, 1941, p. 453.

⁷² See details in pp. 117-18.

⁷³ 'Zakat' literally means growth and increase and according to some purity. It has been named Zakat with respect to the first meaning, because its giving leads to increase of property in this world and growth of religious merits in the next; and with respect to second meaning because its payment purifies from sins'. See Aghnides, p. 297.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 207; Tripathi, p. 345.

⁷⁵ *Sirat* (A.U.Ms.), p. 118. Dr. K. S. Lal, p. 251, has pointed out the following practical difficulties in collecting 'Zakat' in India in the Sultunat period:—(1) It was very difficult to ascertain the real property within the house of a Muslim, because he could either bring it under ground or transfer it to some body for avoiding the payment, (2) It could not be realized by force, (3) There was no check to a collector's realizing a certain sum of money and depositing a lesser amount in the exchequer. These difficulties seem to be most genuine which every Sultan might have faced in realizing the 'Zakat'. How far Firuz Shah was able to overcome these difficulties and realize the Zakat is a matter of doubt; but in theory he levied it as one of the chief sources of revenue.

⁷⁶ (Qureshi, p. 93-Foot Notes)

⁷⁷ Afif, p. 383.

⁷⁸ There were three rates of Jizya prevalent at that time e.g. (1) 40 tankas (2) 20 tankas (3) 10 tankas charged from rich, middle class and poor respectively. (Afif, p. 383)

⁷⁹ Afif, p. 384; Dowson, (Elliot and Dowson), Vol. III p. 366, has miscalculated the rate because he says that the Sultan imposed per head a tax of 10 tankas each of 64 jitals and one tanka of 50 jitals, *i.e.*, 690 jitals. This meant that the Brahmanas had to pay 50 jitals more than the non-Brahmanas of the lowest grade who paid 10 tankas of 64 jitals only. But this was no concession at all; as such, the interpretation does not carry conviction. According to Thomas (*Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi*, p. 272,) the tax was assessed at the rate of 150 Kani piece or adali for every 10 tankas, *i.e.*, 15 kani piece for a tanka. But this too does not seem to be a correct interpretation, because when Afif clearly states that the Brahmanas were taxed at the rate applicable to third category; it is apparent that they were asked to pay 10 standard tankas which valued either 64 jitals or 50 jitals. Further when only 10 tankas were levied, the question of the rate of assessment per ten tanka does not arise; it would have needed, if the tax was levied at the rate applicable to first or second grade, *i.e.*, 40 or 20 tankas. The most satisfactory interpretation of the original statement of Afif (p. 364) seems to be that made by Prof. Hodivala. According to him, there were two types of silver tankas in circulation, viz., one of 175 grains equivalent to 64 jitals and another of 140 grains equivalent to 50 jitals. When the Brahmanas pleaded their poverty, the Sultan made a concession by allowing them to pay 10 tankas of lower denomination which valued 50 jitals each.

⁸⁰ Afif, pp. 382-83.

⁸¹ Qureshi, pp. 93-94; Nizami, *Religion and Politics in India*, pp. 313-15.

⁸² K.S. Lal, p. 252.

⁸³ *Futuhāt*, (*Islamic Culture*), Vol. 15, 1951, p. 453, This view is supported by the circumstantial evidences in the expedition to Jajnagar; (*Inshai Mahru*, (A.U.Ms.), p. 44.

⁸⁴ See detail, p. 203.

⁸⁵ *Catalogue Coins in the Indian Museum—Cal.* Vol. II, H.N. Wright, pp. 62-63.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸⁸ Afif, pp. 383-84.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 344-45.

⁹⁰ Thomas, *Chronicles of Pathan Kings of Delhi*, pp. 280-81.

⁹¹ The statement of Afif, pp. 344-45, suggests that the minting of Shash Kani was a novel creation of Firuz. But Thomas, *Chronicles of Pathan Kings of Delhi*, pp. 280-81, on the basis of the writings of Ibn Batutah concludes that Shash Kani was already in circulation under Muhammad Tughluq; Firuz Shah only revised the old system by a systematic supply. As such it would be erroneous to presume that Shash Kani coin was a new addition in the Tughluq currency.

⁹² Afif, pp. 344-45; Prof. Hodivala, pp. 334-35 has given a very convincing interpretation of the term 'Bikh'. According to him, the real meaning is not 'Bikh' or 'Bhikh' but Paika from Pa, Pai, Sans, Pada, Paduka, a fourth quarter. This Paika was the quarter jital as 'adha' was its half.

⁹³ Thomas in course of his visit to Delhi has assayed some of the Firuzian coins and has given the following results which confirm the above view :—

- No. 1 S.C. Wt. 141 grains A.H. 765 Result 12 grains of silver.
- No. 2 S.C. Wt. 131.5 grains A.H. 767 Result 23 grains of silver.
- No. 3 S.C. Wt. 132.2 grains A.H. 771 Result 18 grains of silver.
- No. 4 S.C. Wt. 140 grains A.H. 781 Result 24 grains of silver.
- No. 5 S.C. Wt. 140 grains of A.H. 788 Result 17 grains of silver.
- No. 6 S.C. Wt. 140 grains A.H. 788 Result 18 grains of silver.
- No. 7 S.C. Wt. 132 grains (no date) 19 grains of silver.

—*Chronicles of Pathan Kings of Delhi*, pp. 281-82.

⁹⁴ Afif, pp. 345-48, has narrated the following story which throws some light upon the mint administration of the age :—

Once the Sultan was informed by his secret informers that the Shash Kani coins were deficient by one grain of silver. He entrusted the Wazir Khanjahan Maqbul to investigate the matter. The Wazir at first imprisoned the informers and summoned Kajar Shah to make a detailed enquiry, to ascertain the real truth. After close investigation the real shortage of weight in the Shash Kani coins was detected.

The Wazir at this time instructed Kajar Shah, to suppress the real fact and to play a trick in order to prove the purity of coins which were to be assayed before the Sultan. Kajar Shah according to the instruction of the Wazir made a secret arrangement with the goldsmiths and charcoal dealers who were summoned for assaying the coins. According to the arrangement, the charcoal dealers brought few pieces of silver with charcoal, which were thrown into the crucible at the time of melting the coins. The Sultan being engaged in conversation with the Wazir, failed to detect it, and as such when the melted coins were weighed before him they appeared to be of the correct standard value. According to Afif, the Wazir used unfair means only to preserve the value of the coins, otherwise people would refuse to accept them. His idea was that the coinage of Kings was just like an unmarried daughter, whom no body would marry if some black

are thrown in her character rightly or wrongly. Howsoever noble have been the motive of the Wazir, the relevant conclusion that can be drawn out of the above incident is that there was ample scope for fraud in the currency system, which the Sultan even failed to detect."

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 348-49.

⁹⁶ Afif, pp. 295-96.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, There were great difficulties in cash payment which meant huge payment or price control as done by Alauddin. This was not an easy job. As such, Firuz preferred granting of iqtas instead of cash payment.

⁹⁸ Afif, pp. 295-96.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 296-97.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 219-20.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, p. 290.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 96-97.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 302-4.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 302.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 303-4.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 298-302.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 227-29.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 298-99.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹¹² *Ibid.*

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 300.

¹¹⁴ The importance of cavalry was realised specially in the first expedition to Sind, where the outbreak of an epidemic among the horses greatly told upon the strength of the army and led to the failure of the Sultan. (Afif, pp. 200-3)

¹¹⁵ Afif, p. 298, considering that the empire of Firuz was confined to Northern India only, the strength of his cavalry appears to be quite large as compared to that of Alauddin Khalji or Muhammad Tughluq. According to Barani, p. 262, Alauddin Khalji maintained 70,000 horses in Delhi and its vicinity. According to *Masalik*, (O. Spies), p. 26, Muhammad Tughluq maintained 9,00,000 horsemen some of which were stationed near the prince and the rest were distributed in the provinces. But Dr. Ishwari Prasad, (*Qaraunah Turks*, p. 288) thinks it to be an exaggerated account and on the basis of the account of projected scheme of Khorasan expedition as given by Barani or the Qarchal expedition as given by Ibn Batutah concludes, that the strength of cavalry forces was much below the number as given by *Masalik*. If this was so, then we can say that Firuz Shah's cavalry force was far greater in number than that of his predecessors.

¹¹⁶ Afif, p. 340.

¹¹⁷ See, *Islamic Culture*, October 1937, p. 463 and Qureshi, p. 68. According to Yahya (Basu), p. 143 the post was held by Malik Yakub.

¹¹⁸ *Sirat*, (A.U.Ms.), p. 351; Afif, p. 340; the presence of Arbi and Turki horses is also revealed from his account of Bengal expedition when

the Sultan is said to have presented 500 Arbi and Turki horses to Sikandar (Afif, p. 159).

119 *Sirat*, (A.U.Ms.), p. 351.

120 Afif, p. 159.

121 *Ibid.*, p. 115.

122 *Sirat*, (A.U.Ms.), pp. 349-51.

123 Afif, p. 143. It is related that the ropes were tied to the legs of the elephants which the soldiers broke the force of the current.

124 *Ibid.*, p. 197.

125 Vide, *Islamic Culture*, October 1937, p. 463, Qureshi, p. 69 ; According to Yahya (Basu), p. 144, the post was held by Malik Saifuddin for sometime and later on by Malik Qutbuddin Farmarzy.

126 Afif, p. 340.

127 *Ibid.*, pp. 436, 161.

128 Afif, pp. 198-99.

129 Habibullah, *Foundation of Muslim Rule in India*, p. 263.

130 *Ibid.*, p. 225.

131 Dr. Ishwari Prasad, *History of Qaraunah Turks*, p. 249.

132 Afif, pp. 198-99.

133 *Ibid.*, p. 144.

134 *Sirat*, (A.U.Ms.), pp. 34-35.

135 Afif, p. 143.

136 *Sirat*, (A.U.Ms.), p. 74.

137 Afif, pp. 115, 201 ; *Sirat*, (A.U.Ms.), p. 77.

138 *Ibid.*

139 *Ibid.*, p. 115.

140 Afif, p. 201 ; *Sirat*, (A.U.Ms.), p. 72.

141 Afif, p. 115.

142 For details see *Sirat*, (A.U.Ms.), pp. 349-50.

143 See Irvine—*The Army of the Indian Moghuls*, p. 67.

144 *Ibid.*, p. 65.

145 It was by far the most effective and commonly employed siege-engine. It hurled with irresistible force huge pieces of rocks, stones, earthen or iron balls, vessels of Naptha or greek fire or casks containing foul matter scorpions, and poisonous reptiles, from a sling attached to a huge beam (*Islamic Culture-1937*, p. 475).

146 Afif, p. 149.

147 *Sirat*, (A.U.Ms.), p. 74.

148 These weapons find frequent references in the pages of Amir Khusrav (*Khaza-i-nul Futuh*—Tr. by Prof. Habib).

149 Barani, p. 318.

150 Afif, pp. 267-68.

151 *Ibid.*, pp. 268-69.

152 *Ibid.*, pp. 333-36.

153 *Ibid.*, pp. 268-69.

154 *Ibid.*, p. 271.

155 *Ibid.*, p. 278.

156 *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 270-71.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 272-73.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 269.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 436.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 270-71.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 157.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, pp. 272-73.

¹⁶⁴ See Yahya, (Basu), pp. 144-47.

¹⁶⁵ Afif, p. 124.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 124-25.

¹⁶⁷ According to Raverty (*J.A.S.B.*, 1892, p. 266) 'Kharak' means a dwelling house such as the Jats of the Kharal and Sial tribe construct, *i.e.*, flat roof or thatch or canes raised on poles, but without sides or poles. But this does not seem to be an appropriate interpretation of the term specially in that desolate land. Prof. Hodivala gives a very convincing interpretation of the term according to which it means pastures or grazing fields. (See *Studies in Indo-Muslim History*, S.H. Hodivala, p. 313). This is confirmed by the Hindi dictionary meaning of the term.

¹⁶⁸ Afif, pp. 124-25.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 127.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 125.

¹⁷² See details in p. 119.

¹⁷³ Afif, pp. 125-26.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 128.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 129.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 134.

¹⁷⁸ See Carr. Stephen, *Archaeology and Monumental Remains of Delhi*, pp. 122-23, *List of Monuments (Muhammadans and Hindus)*, Delhi Zail, Vol. II, p. 70, Afif, p. 377; writes how the government officials in those days detained the animals owned by the traders for a day, specially for carrying bricks to Firuzabad.

¹⁷⁹ Afif, pp. 134-35.

¹⁸⁰ Carr. Stephen, p. 123.

¹⁸¹ Afif, pp. 277-78; See details in Chapter IV, p. 90.

¹⁸² Afif, pp. 135-36.

¹⁸³ Barani, p. 566.

¹⁸⁴ *Archaeological Survey Report*, 1883, p. 84.

¹⁸⁵ Afif, p. 148.

¹⁸⁶ See details (*Archaeological Survey Report*, Jaunpur, A. Fuhrer, p. 23).

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 29-30.

¹⁸⁸ Alexander Cunningham (*Archaeological Survey Report*, 1872-73, Vol. XV, p. 124) refers to the construction of the Atala devi Masjid by Ibrahim Shah during the early part of his reign, which seems to be unconvincing. The reliable information is, of course, gathered from an inscription of Jaunpur Namah of Khairuddin according to which Firuz commenced its construction in 1376 A.D. and Ibrahim Shah finished it in

1408 A.D. (See details, *Sharqi Architecture of Jaunpur*, A. Fuhrer, p. 27).

¹⁸⁹ *Mulfuzat-i-Timuri* (Elliot and Dowson), Vol. III, p. 447).

¹⁹⁰ Barani, pp. 561-62, writes that it could accommodate 10,000 people for prayers in it. This seems to be an exaggeration.

¹⁹¹ Afif, pp. 134-504.

¹⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 135.

¹⁹³ This is revealed from a Sanskrit inscription of the reign of Firuz recently discovered from the residential quarters around the tomb of Sultan Ghari (See, Dr. Riazul Islam's article on 'Age of Firuz', in *Mediaeval Indian Quarterly*, Aligarh Muslim University Journal, 1950, Vol. I, p. 39).

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁶ Barani, p. 564.

¹⁹⁷ *Diwan-i-Mutakhir*, Aligarh Muslim University, MS., quoted in *Studies in Mediaeval Indian History*, Aligarh Muslim University, pp. 87-88 Edited by Khaliq Ahmad Nizami.

¹⁹⁸ Barani, p. 565.

¹⁹⁹ Afif, pp. 356-60.

²⁰⁰ *Ibid.*

²⁰¹ Afif, pp. 329-30.

²⁰² *Ibid.*

²⁰³ *Ibid.*

²⁰⁴ Gibbs, *Travels of Ibn Batutah*, p. 196.

²⁰⁵ See details in p. 119.

²⁰⁶ See details in p. 145.

²⁰⁷ See Afif, pp. 329-30.

²⁰⁸ Prof. Hodivala has given a very convincing location of Malja and Mahapalpur. According to him Malja or Malcha was near the grove of gardens of Talkatora, 8 miles from Shahjahanabad. It seems to have been in the vicinity of Kalika Mandir, an ancient place of worship which is about 7 miles south of the city near Khizrabad grove, between the shrines of Nizamuddin Aulia and Nasiruddin Chiragh Dehlavi. (*Studies in Indo-Muslim History*, p. 331). 'Village of Mahapalpur still survives, some 3 miles to the west of old Delhi' (*Studies in Indo-Muslim History*, S. H. Hodivala, p. 331).

²⁰⁹ See Afif, pp. 295-96.

²¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 254-60.

²¹¹ Afif, pp. 254-60 has greatly stressed its utility from the religious point of view and points out the following advantages :—

(1) In cloudy weather it enabled the people to know the exact time of the prayer for noon or afternoon. (2) Formerly people had to consult the Moulvis for knowing the exact timings, and there used to be a great difference of opinion amongst them on this issue. But when the Ghariyal struck, there was no need of such an enquiry as the people could know it themselves. (3) The exact time of the night prayer (between mid-night and morning) which was very difficult to ascertain formerly could be known by the Ghariyal. (4) Without knowing Astronomy which was forbidden by the

holy Prophet, people could know about the stars. (5) It had a great utility for the people who kept fast in the month of Ramzan. (6) It enabled the people to know the exact time of the 'Isha Prayer' which used to be offered after one-third of the night hour had passed. (7) When it used to strike, all people could know the time and idlers who wasted their time for nothing repented at the passing of the hour. Thus Afif, has greatly stressed the religious utility of the Ghariyal forgetting that an instrument of this type could also have some utility even for the non-Muslims who did not observe fast in the month of Ramzan or offer five prayers a day. In fact, he failed to realise its utility in the transaction of every day life other than the religious. Moreover, it is very difficult to conclude that the Sultan invented Tas-i-Ghariyal mainly with a religious motive. An instrument of this type had always been a necessity in all ages both to the sovereign and to the subjects. It had utilities in all spheres of life. Firuz must have been impressed by its general utility which led him to invent this novel device.

²¹² *Sirat*, (A.U.Ms.), pp. 300-9.

¹²³ See detail *Sirat*, (A.U.Ms.), p. 300.

²¹⁴ *Futuh-at-i-Firuz Shahi*, (*Islamic Culture*), Vol. 15, 1941, p. 459.

²¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 459-61.

²¹⁶ *Futuh-at-i-Firuz Shahi*, (*Islamic Culture*), Vol. 15-1941, p. 461, although speaks of the event, yet does not mention the date which is given by *Sirat* (A.U.Ms.) p. 153 and the inscriptions quoted in *Memoirs of Qutub*, *Archaeological Survey of India*, Appendix II-C. p. 42.

²¹⁷ (a) For details see, *Memoirs of Qutub*, J.A. Page; Carr. Stephens, pp. 58-66; Alexander Cunningham, *Archaeological Survey Report*, 1862-63-64-65, Vol. I, pp. 185-206.

²¹⁸ *Memoirs of Qutub*, *Archaeological Survey of India*, J.A. Page, Appendix II C. p. 42.

²¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²²⁰ Alexander Cunningham, *Archaeological Survey Reports*, 1862-63-64-65, pp. 197-98.

²²¹ *Ibid.*

²²² *Memoirs of Qutub*, J.A. Page, Appendix, p. 42.

²²³ This argument has been given by Mr. C. J. Campbell. (*Bengal Asiatic Society*, 1866, p. 205) supported by Mr. J. A. Page, (*Memoirs of Qutub*, *Archaeological Survey of India*, Foot Notes p. 20), which seems to be most convincing. Mr. J. A. Page aptly remarks, "To a man of his nature, however, anomalous it may seem with his times, the restoration of records with Altamash's name with the full title of the Sultan (as distinct from 'Slave of the Sultan as Sultani on that portion of the work which must be accredited to him) may well have seemed, the merest act of justice, to 'Render unto Caesar the thing that are Caesar's'. (*Memoirs of Qutub*—J. A. Page—Foot Notes, p. 20).

²²⁴ See *Sirat*, (A.U.Ms.), pp. 149-52. *Futuh-at-i-Firuz Shahi*, (*Islamic Culture*, Vol. 15, 1941), pp. 459-60.

²²⁵ *Ibid.*; The author of *Sirat-i-Firuz Shahi*, (A.U.Ms.), pp. 149-50, quotes an interesting story from '*Fawa Edus Salkin*' which describes the

circumstances that led Iltutmish to undertake the construction of this particular tank. It is related that Iltutmish was in search of a proper place for erecting a Hauz. One night, Prophet Muhammad riding on a horse appeared in his dream and showed him a particular place where the tank was to be erected. The next day Iltutmish went to that place and located a particular spot marked with hoofs of a horse, from where water was coming out of the ground. The Sultan took some water and found it to be sweet. After this incident, he erected the Hauz on that place. Although the story appears to us nothing but a gossip, yet the author of *Sirat-i-Firuz Shahi* quotes it probably to attach a religious importance to this particular repair work of Firuz. But it should be remembered that these works were undertaken purely with an utilitarian point of view ; as such it had no bearing upon the religious sentiments.

²²⁶ *Sirat*, (A.U.Ms.) p. 152.

²²⁷ *Futuh-at-i-Firuz Shahi*, (*Islamic Culture*), Vol. 15, p. 461. See also Carr. Stephens, p. 83. When Timur visited Delhi he thought it to be a reservoir and described it thus "Each side of the reservoir is a bow shot long and there are buildings round it. This tank is filled by the rainy season and it supplies water to the people of the city throughout the year"-*Malfuzat-i-Timuri*-(Elliot and Dowson), Vol. III, p. 441.

²²⁸ *Futuh-at-i-Firuz Shahi*, (*Islamic Culture*) Vol. 15-1941, p. 460.

²²⁹ *Cambridge*, Vol. 3, p. 185.

²³⁰ *Sirat* (A.U.Ms.), p. 152.

²³¹ See details in Chapter V.

CHAPTER VI

PERSONALITY

HIS HOBBY

FIRUZ SHAH possessed a good physique. He was fair complexioned, neither tall nor short, neither fat nor thin and had a prominent nose.¹ Although we do not find him taking interest in physical exercises, yet he was very fond of hunting. Muhammad Tughluq used to remark frequently, "Malik Naib Hajib (Firuz) is wise and intelligent, but it is a matter of deep regret that he takes so much interest in hunting." Muhammad Tughluq advised Firuz not to hunt birds but to select some other animals for it. But Firuz Shah did not obey him in actual practice.² At the very outset of his reign while marching from Tattah to Delhi although Firuz promised to Shaikh Qutbuddin to abstain from it,³ yet he failed to keep his promise. Throughout his long reign the Sultan always⁴ used his leisure-time in hunting excursions. His Jajnar expedition was mainly inspired by this consideration. Even in his expedition to Sind, we find him in the hunting field, where Jam Babaniya offered his submission.⁴ In times of peace, hunting was the Sultan's best-pastime.⁵ So great was the Sultan's interest in this particular game that he reserved a special forest for it.⁶ The ministers who supervised these excursions were Malik Waflan and Malik Khizr, who held the title of Amir-i-Shikar, *i.e.*, Chief Huntsman.⁷

The personality of the Sultan reflected itself in hunting excursions.⁸ He used to march with a large army well-equipped with such weapons as were available for killing birds and animals. The soldiers marched in line and spread over a wide area in the forest. The Sultan always remained in a safe position in the middle, protected by body-guards. Malik Naib Barbak, Imadul Mulk, and Shams-i-Siraj Afif were also sometimes in attendance.

The animals which were hunted were wild ass (Gorkhar), deer, elephants, lions⁹ besides birds like hawk, falcon etc.¹⁰ The hunting continued for days together, after which the Sultan would return to the city of Hisar Firuza in right royal fashion

accompanied by his amirs, khans and maliks.¹¹ On such occasions the Wazir made elaborate arrangements to accord a hearty reception to him. He would decorate the city and order the playing of various musical instruments.¹² The officials graced the occasion by offering presents to the Sultan each according to his rank.¹³

HIS SPECIAL VIRTUES

The Sultan was endowed with several virtues, e.g., kindness, generosity, tolerance, perseverance, benevolence, justice etc.¹⁴ Of them the generosity and charitable disposition was a special feature of his character. He had inculcated this habit even at the very early stage of life when he was appointed as the Naib Amir Hajib by the late Sultan Muhammad.¹⁵ As a ruler the Sultan's generosity benefited all classes of society.

Immediately after his accession he distributed large sums of money to the people who had been the worst sufferers of the reign of Muhammad Tughluq. He obtained documents from these persons in which they expressed their satisfaction in writing and these were placed on the tomb of late Sultan Muhammad.¹⁶ Throughout his long reign the officials received grants of lands and villages, in addition to their usual allowances, e.g., the Wazir Khanjahan received from the Sultan a sum of 13 lacks of tankas or fiefs besides the usual allowance for his retainers, friends, and sons.¹⁷ Whenever a son was born to him he received an allowance of 11,000 tankas from the Sultan. In the marriage of each daughter the Wazir received from the Sultan a gift of 15,000 tankas.¹⁸ Similarly other officials received rewards according to their ranks. Even the sons or sons-in-law of the officials used to reap benefit out of Sultan's generosity.¹⁹ The religious leaders were also granted lands for their livelihood. The Shaikhs, who had been dispossessed of their lands, were reinstated in them.²⁰ Even the beggars and the invalids, were sanctioned lakhs of tankas annually.²¹ Reference may be made to a particular incident which throws much light upon the Sultan's generosity and kindness.²² Every Friday the musicians, dancers, story-tellers, and magicians used to gather in the royal palace and entertained the Sultan throughout the day by the display of their art and got rewards at the time of their departure. On this occasion the Sultan used to reward the old and the young

equally irrespective of their age. In order to reap benefit out of it, the musicians of Delhi also brought their young children with them who were equally rewarded. Once a courtier advised Sultan to bestow such gifts on the basis of their age. The Sultan is said to have remarked on this occasion, "They are the victims of poverty, and wait anxiously for a week for this particular day, to get some reward from the king and in the hope of getting more rewards they bring their young ones. If a distinction is made between the old and the young what will be their fate?"²³

The charitable disposition of the Sultan is further revealed from the organisation of 'Khairat Khanah'²⁴ which provided financial aid to the poor Muslim parents in the marriage of their daughters and also the Sihhat Khanah²⁵ (hospitals) which distributed free medicines to the people. The creation of Unemployment Bureau²⁶ shows nothing but the Sultan's sympathetic feelings for the unemployed. The institution of slave system was organised mainly on a benevolent consideration, *i.e.*, to promote relief to the distressed slaves.²⁷ Besides these, the establishment of 120 inns (rest-houses) for the benefit of the travellers who could stay in them only for three days as free lodger speak nothing but of the benevolent spirit of the Sultan.²⁸

The important reforms which the Sultan introduced both in the revenue and military department were marked by the same spirit.

In the revenue department, his reforms brought a revolutionary change in the economic standards of the people specially the peasants who reaped greatest benefit out of them because they relieved the economic distress and burdens of over-taxation.

In the military department although the Sultan's benevolent regulations had a telling effect upon the efficiency of the army, yet, outwardly, they spoke of his kindness and charity.²⁹

The Sultan's tolerance and mercy is specially reflected in the organisation of Judiciary which breathed a humanizing spirit because of the abolition of all tortures and brutal punishments.³⁰

CULTURAL TASTES

Besides other virtues, the Sultan's personality was marked by a special taste for learning. Although he was not as cultured as his illustrious predecessor was yet he had a cultural taste which enabled him to leave behind a definite cultural tradition by his many-sided activities.³¹

HIS ATTITUDE TOWARDS RELIGION

The most important aspect of Firuz Shah's character was his attitude towards religion. In the eyes of the contemporary writers,²¹ the Sultan was an orthodox Muslim, who strictly adhered to the principles of Quran, both in private and public life.

Modern historians interpreting literally the words of contemporary historians opine that the Sultan was imbued with the ambition of becoming an ideal Muslim.²² To achieve this object he chalked out and pursued a reactionary religious policy characterised by bitter hostility towards the non-Muslims. But if we try to examine the background and circumstances in which the Sultan was called upon to play the role of a sovereign, we may arrive at a different conclusion.

In the first place we find that he had inherited a difficult legacy in a tottering political edifice; the centrifugal tendencies being at their peak. The empire was cracking under the impact of popular hostility occasioned by the failure of the schemes of Muhammad Tughluq. And it was in the midst of this strife and storm that Firuz was called upon to shape his line of action. Weak and irresolute as he was, he saw no other alternative but to pamper to the demands of the religious order and to yield to the pressure of his co-religionists. Fortunately or unfortunately, he is not the solitary example of such a tragedy. There is no dearth of instances in which stronger rulers than Firuz, finding themselves beset with crisis, have fallen victims to religious orthodoxy only to save their political objectives. In the immediate past Ghiyasuddin Tughluq had appealed to religion. Even Muhammad Tughluq who had followed a secular ideal of kingship by total rejection of the clerical authority had to secure the sanctions of his authority by the Caliph of Egypt, simply to win back the sympathy of his co-religionists who were bitterly hostile to him. Subsequently a great conqueror like Timur declared his Indian expedition a Jihad simply to enthuse his followers. Babar did the same thing on the eve of the battle of Kanwa. Firuz Shah's policy, therefore, should be examined within the frame-work of circumstances in which it was evolved out.

Another point to be kept in mind in this context is that because Firuz owed his throne to the Ulamas and other allied religious groups who had defended his claims against other

rivals which placed him under a heavy load of obligation to them and rendered his position so delicate that it became more or less impossible for him to avoid their influence, or to by-pass their pressure direct or indirect. In support of this contention few instances may be quoted from the writings of Afif³⁴ who in his *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi* has referred to the prophecy of Shaikh-ul-Islam Alauddin, Shaikh Sharfuddin Panipatti, Shaikh Nizamuddin Aulia, Shaikh Nasiruddin Muhammad Chiragh, regarding Firuz's accession to the throne.

"Once Ghiyasuddin, Muhammad and Firuz went to pay their respects to Shaikh Alauddin who presented them pieces of cloth of different measurements and asked them to put them on. Ghiyasuddin's turban measured 4½ yards, Muhammad's 27 yards, and Firuz's 40 yards which indirectly indicated the respective periods of their reigns.

Similarly during his childhood Firuz was once in attendance upon Shaikh Nizamuddin Aulia, who being pleased, asked the boy his name. Firuz replied, 'My name is Kamaluddin.' The Shaikh said, "May you achieve life at its zenith, wealth at its zenith, grace at its zenith"³⁵.

However fantastic or superstitious these incidents might appear to us, it cannot be denied, that they had made a deep impression on the mind of Firuz who readily threw himself at the mercy of the religious order at Tattah. Add to this his outward show of religiosity; for example, when he was asked to wear the crown he expressed his reluctance to do it expressing his desire to go to Mecca. This in itself might have been a device on his part to carry conviction with the Ulamas that given a chance he would favour their attitude and act according to their advice. The result was as expected. The Ulamas forced him to the throne. In a way this preliminary phase in his regal career had far-reaching implications for the future.

In the early stage of his reign when the trouble stared him in the face from all sides and when he was struggling hard to wriggle out of the situation, he was most probably persuaded to believe that the policy of secularization of the state followed by Muhammad Tughluq was eating into the vitals of the Tughluq reign and was responsible for all the miseries. It was justly surmised that the Sultan was impressed by the contention. He did not pause to analyse the real causes of the failure of his

predecessors In fact, it was impossible for him to do it. Moreover in the existing set-up it was incumbent upon him to adopt a line of action which would close up the ranks of his followers. An appeal to religion was the only way and no wonder that he restored to it.

In his personal life we find that the Sultan was a pious Muslim who offered his regular prayers. He used to recite six chapters of Quran daily and on Friday night, he recited special chapters viz. 'Khahaf' and 'Taha'.³⁶ So great was the reverence for the Almighty that whenever he came across His name, he would kiss the book and shed tears as if it was a compulsory religious practice.³⁷

OBSERVANCE OF RELIGIOUS FESTIVALS

The religious festivals like Id, Shabibarat used to be observed by the Sultan with great pomp and show. Of these, the festival of Id had a special grandeur of its own.³⁸

SHABIBARAT

The Sultan took a similar interest in this festival. On this day he used to assemble in the Firuzabad palace along with Malik Naib Barbak and Yakub etc. and took part in the display of fire-works which continued for three days in the midst of beating of drums.³⁹ Even the non-Muslims used to take part in the celebration of this festival.⁴⁰

HIS ORTHODOXY AND STRICT ADHERENCE TO FAITH

The Sultan himself mentions the following instances in support of his orthodoxy :⁴¹

1. He forbade the use of gold or silver vessels at the royal table and used stone or clay dishes as permitted by the law.
2. The use of sword-belts or quiver with rich ornamentation of gold or precious jewels was strictly prohibited and the weapons were mounted with bones of hunted animals.
3. Painting of pictures on different utensils, e.g., cups, dishes, saddles, bridles, curtains, tents, banners, and ensigns was disallowed.
4. Pictures and portraits which were painted on the walls and doors of the royal palace were all effaced. Painting of jungle scenes was only allowed.

5. Nobles were not permitted to put on garments made of silk and gold brocade. They were allowed to put on such dresses as permitted by law, e.g., the trimmings of the gold, brocade or embroidery in their dresses were not to exceed more than four figures.

6. Women were forbidden to go out on pilgrimage to the tombs of great men on holy days.

Afif⁴² writes that in his old age the Sultan became a shaveling (Mahluk).

Of the above instances the banning of women's visit to the tombs on holy days although quoted by the Sultan as a measure of orthodoxy, in reality, does not seem to be so. It was, in fact, a measure to prevent some public scandals, for the Sultan himself writes that while the women, mounted on palanquins, carts, litters, horses and camels or on foot, used to come out of the city, rakes and ruffians given to sensuality committed wild and rowdy deeds.

So far as other practices are concerned they were probably a means of posing himself as an ideal Muslim before his co-religionists. Outwardly³ although they speak of Sultan's orthodoxy, yet we cannot call him an ideal Muslim, because instances are not wanting to show that he indulged in un-Islamic practices which was unbecoming of a strict Musalman, e.g.,

1. In spite of his orthodoxy Firuz could not avoid grandeur in the observance of religious festivals, which, according to the law, should have been most simple. In these festivals the descriptions of use of gold or silver embroidered clothes proves nothing but the encouragement of un-Islamic practices.⁴³

2. Wine drinking is not permissible to an orthodox Muslim. But Firuz Shah was addicted to it. In the early part of his reign although he promised to abstain from it to the Shaikh Qutbuddin,⁴⁴ yet in course of his second expedition to Lakhnawati, he was seen drinking in the bed-room by Tatar Khan who happened to enter that place unexpectedly. The Sultan concealed the wine cups under his bed cover.⁴⁵ This shows that he lacked one of the most essential characteristics of an ideal Muslim.

3. Encouragement of music and dancing was contradictory to the orthodox practice of Islam. But we find that the Sultan

used to encourage the musicians and the dancers to a great extent. On every Friday musicians and dancers used to gather in the hall of Chhajai-choubin and entertained the Sultan throughout the day and received rewards at the time of their departure.⁴⁶ Even in the programme of Id celebrations music formed an important item before the Sultan left the palace for the prayers. On this day too the Sultan rewarded the musicians.⁴⁷

3. Jihad⁴⁸ is an essential duty of an ideal Muslim ; but we do not find Firuz making any effort to perform this duty. Although he waged wars against the Hindu Kingdoms of Jajnagar and Nagarkot, yet it is futile to interpret them in terms of Jihad. The Jajnagar expedition was launched primarily with the motive of hunting elephants as detailed earlier. The Nagarkot expedition originated in the desire of punishing the disloyal Rai.⁴⁹ As such they had nothing to do with the idea of Jihad. On the other hand we find that the religious sentiment did not prevent him to wage war against his co-religionists Haji Illyas Shamsuddin of Bengal or Jam Babaniya of Sind. In spite of receiving the news of the atrocities upon the Muslims in Mabar he refrained from taking any step.⁵⁰ All these facts stand in support of the contention that Firuz Shah did not act on the principle of Jihad.

HIS INTOLERANCE

Most of the modern historians have levelled the charge of intolerance against Firuz and quote the following incidents of his life in support of their argument :

DESTRUCTION OF TEMPLES

It is related that the destruction of the temple of Jagannath was the outcome of Sultan's fanaticism. But one should not forget that the temple was destroyed as an act of war under some special circumstances, in course of the Sultan's raid upon Jajnagar. It had nothing to do with his intolerance. Moreover had the Sultan been so intolerant, he would not have left other temples of Jajnagar unplundered which were equally important. As such the destruction of the temple of Jagannath does not seem to be a convincing argument for justifying Sultan's intolerance.

In his Futuhat-i-Firuz Shahi the Sultan quotes three instances⁵¹ of temple destruction. The first refers to the destruction of idol temples, situated within a tank in a village, called Maluh ; the second in the village of Salikpur and the third in the village of Kohana where the Sultan had also destroyed the books and the vessels used in the worship and executed the Hindus who worshipped them. But they were destroyed firstly because of their construction without State permission, and secondly because their being the centres of public corruption during the festivals when men and women both Hindus and Muslims used to assemble there in large number, and indulge in immoral acts. It was, in fact, a measure for purging out the unclean atmosphere.

From these few instances it should not be inferred that the Sultan followed a policy of temple destruction so as to be charged as a fanatic. We do not find the contemporary writers mentioning any other instance of temple destruction excepting the four mentioned above. It seems, therefore, that the instance of temple destruction must have been rare throughout the long reign. On the contrary we find that in spite of getting ample opportunities of destroying the temple of Jwala-mukhi at Nagarkot the Sultan left it unplundered at the request of the Rai.⁵²

Other instances which stand in support of the Sultan's intolerance and are quoted by himself in his Futuhat-i-Firuz Shahi are the following :⁵³

1. He suppressed the sect of the Shias and punished its leaders for they had called upon the people to espouse Shiaism, wrote books and pamphlets and gave instructions to the people upon the tenets of their faith and criticised the first two Shaikhs.

2. Sects of Mulhids and Abahityans were suppressed for preaching heresy and schism to the people.

3. A particular sect led by Ahmad Bihari a resident of the city of Delhi, being found guilty of leading people astray by discourses in the perverse faith, was suppressed by the Sultan. Ahmad Bihari along with one of his disciples was imprisoned while others were exiled in different towns.

4. Another person at Delhi, named Ruknuddin, having the title of Mahdi, being charged of heresy for declaring himself as

an apostle of Allah⁵⁴ and seducing others by his faith was executed along with a large number of disciples.

5. One of the sons of Ain-i-Mahru's teacher in Gujarat had set himself as a spiritual guide in the province, proclaimed himself as God and tutored his disciples to respond by saying, "Thou art Thou" and wrote a book on his sayings. The Sultan imprisoned him and ordered his book to be burnt in order to prevent unrest among the monotheistic Muslim.

Afif⁵⁵ writes how a Brahman was burnt alive for publicly preaching idolatry and converting many Muhammadan women to his faith.

Modern historians very often quote these instances for justifying the charges of fanaticism against Firuz. There is no denying the fact that these actions speak of an intolerant attitude of a ruler. But at the same time we must try to understand the motive and the circumstances in which they originated.

So far as the suppression of the sects like Mulhids or Abahityans⁵⁶ are concerned, we find that they are more an act of social reform rather than the religious intolerance. It is related that people belonging to these sects used to assemble with their wives, mothers and daughters to a particular place on an appointed night and indulged in wine drinking and carried on intercourse with the women whose garment they caught while throwing themselves on the ground in the pretence of worship. The corrupt practices of the sects must have offended the Sultan for which he executed their leaders and imprisoned others. Such an activity is bound to cause a resentment to any sensible ruler whether he is religious or irreligious. But because Firuz Shah wanted to get the sanctions of his co-religionists for each of his actions he had given a religious colour to it. In fact, here he has played the role more of a social reformer than an orthodox Muslim. As such it had nothing to do with his intolerance.

For the measures like the suppression of the Shias, punishment inflicted to Ahmad Bihari and the disciple of Ain-i-Mahru or the execution of Ruknuddin and the Brahman, the Sultan cannot be blamed directly, because both Futuhat-i-Firuz Shahi⁵⁷ and Afif⁵⁸ clearly state that the cases of these persons were decided in the presence of the Qazis and other religious leaders and the Sultan gave his verdict in consultation with them. Again when it is remembered that the Sultan had

delegated all his powers to them which resulted in their dominance in the political activities of the State and he himself became a puppet in their hands then it can be inferred that the punishment orders of these persons were issued more due to their insistence than the Sultan's own personal initiative.

Unlike Alauddin Khalji or Muhammad Tughluq Firuz did not possess the boldness to reject the opinion of the clericalists and to exercise his own discretion in the details of administration. As such he had no other alternative than to ditto their decision. Besides these, the Sultan also wanted to appease the clericalists in every matter.

ALLEGED CONVERSIONS

According to *Sirat-i-Firuz Shahi*⁵⁹ the Sultan encouraged some conversions. There might be some truth in this statement, but it is futile to think that the Sultan indulged in mass conversion or persecution of the non-Muslim subjects. Had it been so there would have been a general repercussion throughout the length and breadth of the country, specially at a time when the state hinged on a weak military strength. But as the contemporary writers are reticent on this point we may conclude that there was no such mass conversion at this time. In fact, it is futile to think of mass conversions in India which had not been possible even under the Moghuls. There might have been some individual cases of conversions during the reign of Firuz, but they should not be given so much prominence as to generalise the religious policy of the Sultan. Another point to be noted in this connection is that the practice of conversion was not only prevalent among the Muslims but also among the Christians, whom we never call a fanatic. As such why should it be an exception for Firuz ?

IMPOSITION OF JIZYA UPON THE BRAHMANAS

The imposition of Jizya upon the Brahmanas is very often quoted by the modern historians in support of the Sultan's intolerance. But we have already discussed how the measure, primarily fiscal, intended to add to the financial resources of the government.⁶⁰ As such it is futile to interpret it in terms of religious intolerance.

EXCLUSION OF THE HINDUS FROM THE GOVERNMENT SERVICE

The exclusion of the Hindus from the higher posts although might appear to us as the intolerance of the Sultan yet the justification of it was that the Sultan owing to the frequent oppositions of the Hindus offered in the previous reigns had probably no confidence in them. Even today we find that the party which adopts a hostile attitude towards the government is generally deprived of such privileges. As such it was nothing unusual in the reign of Firuz. Besides this, it was also a measure to please his co-religionists. But the policy was not strictly adhered to, because Rai Bhiru who was also a Hindu, is seen holding one of the most important portfolios, e.g., the body-guard of the Sultan.⁶¹

Lastly, the general happiness and contentment of the Hindus bear eloquent testimony to the tolerant attitude of the Sultan. The majority of the Hindus were peasants whose economic conditions improved considerably during this reign. Their houses became full of grains, cots, furniture, horses and gold etc.⁶² The Hindu Rais and Zamindars received good treatment from the hands of the Sultan. In course of his Bengal expeditions the Sultan had been helped by a Hindu Zamindar, Rai Ziaran,⁶³ whom he conferred a title and gave assignments. Most of the benevolent schemes of the Sultan have benefited the Hindus as well as the Muslims equally.

Judged by these tests we refute the charges of intolerance levelled against Firuz which seem to be more exaggerated than real. The Sultan, in fact, was the victim of circumstances in every sphere of action and not of the ambition of becoming an ideal Muslim as charged by the modern historians.

HIS ACHIEVEMENTS

As a ruler Firuz Shah made several achievements which are worthy of appreciation.

(1) Firstly, he was able to overcome the general hostility of the people by means of a liberal policy. When he stepped into the political field the imperial structure was on the brink of collapse owing to the mass resentment caused by the oppressive policy of the late Sultan Muhammad. In the midst of these heavy odds Firuz initiated such a policy which enabled him to secure an active cooperation of the officials in particular and

people in general. For full thirty-eight years the Sultan ruled in an atmosphere of peace and tranquillity. Although some minor disturbances did occur yet they did not ruffle the general political atmosphere in the country. On the whole, his reign was marked by the absence of any centrifugal movement, on a mass scale, which was an usual feature of the Sultunat period. This should be attributed to the generous, benevolent, tolerant and merciful spirit which the Sultan infused in his administrative policy.

(2) The state that he established was a welfare state based on the general interest of the people. Like the 'Utilitarians' it aimed at the greatest good of the greatest number. The reforms that the Sultan introduced were progressive in nature and a great utility for the people in general. Of them, the most novel feature was the scheme of artificial irrigation by the excavation of canals, digging of wells, etc. which supplied water to a vast area of barren land and brought them under cultivation. The scheme greatly fostered the cause of agriculture. The increased production led to lowering of the prices. In the midst of this atmosphere of plenty and cheapness, the economic standards of the people belonging to the different sections of the society improved considerably. The remarkable improvements were noticeable in the economic life of the peasants who had been financially crippled in the reign of Muhammad Tughluq. The benevolent financial regulations of the Sultan relieved them from the burdens of over-taxation and they prospered considerably.⁶⁴ Besides agriculture, trade and commerce also flourished. Every year the traders used to derive greater profits than previous year.⁶⁵ The general prosperity of the State⁶⁶ is specially judged from the economic standards of the nobles and other officials of the realm. The nobles were so prosperous that each had a 'Farrash Khanah' of his own.⁶⁷ The richest person of the age was Imadul Mulk who used to hold vast treasures of wealth.⁶⁸ There is an interesting story which throws some light upon his affluence, e.g., "once Imadul Mulk wanted to keep his treasures in the bags which used to be sold at that time at the rate of 4 jitals per bag. Imadul Mulk spent 2000 to 2500 tankas in purchasing them, still they proved to be insufficient. At last he dug big holes in the ground and kept his bags there."⁶⁹ Such instances can be multiplied, e.g., when Malik Sahim Sahanah, the Naib Amir of the Majlis-i-KLas, died, 50 lacs of tankas in

cash besides horses, valuables and jewels were taken out of his house.⁷⁰ Similarly when Shamsuddin Aburija was punished, his property valuing 80,000 tankas besides 3000 Asharfi was recovered from his house.⁷¹ The Wazir was also one of the richest persons of the age, who had maintained two thousand women of Rum and Chin in his harem. His magnificence reached to such an extent that the Sultan used to call him as the magnificent king of Delhi.⁷² All these facts throw sufficient light upon the economic prosperity which was shared by every class of the community of the age.

As a progressive reformer the Sultan had made attempts to remove poverty and unemployment. In order to improve the economic standards of the beggars, the Sultan sanctioned an allowance of one lakh of tankas yearly to enable them to lead a decent life.⁷³ Similarly his institution of Employment Bureau performed the function of modern employment exchange and solved the problem of unemployment.⁷⁴

Besides this, the Sultan's humanitarian measures like the organization of Khairat Khanah, Sihhat Khanah or the public inns were equally important which added to the general comfort of the people and confirm his claim as the benevolent reformer.⁷⁵ In such an atmosphere it was natural that the people would live in happiness and comfort.⁷⁶

Thirdly, Firuz Shah like Shah Jahan deserves the title of a great builder for his special contribution to the field of architecture, characterized by its simplicity and massiveness. The city of Firuzabad situated on the bank of Jumna with its special attractions of the Jami Masjid and Pillar of Asoka, the Kushk Shikar or the hunting palace situated on the top of the hill, the cities of Fathabad and Hisar Firuza, Madarsah-i-Firuz Shahi built on the Hauz-i-Alai with the combination of Hindu column and Muslim arch are some of the best examples of the architectural interest of the reign. Besides these, the construction of a large number of mosques, built on a uniform plan, extensive repairs to the old buildings were equally important. The architecture that he developed had an aesthetic and utilitarian value. "Its virtues reside in its simple broad effects and in purposefulness with which it had evolved new structural features."⁷⁷

Lastly, the Sultan infused a cultural atmosphere within the State by the promotion of learning. Under his inspiration the

intellectuals enriched the field of knowledge by their contributions to various subjects, viz., History, Mathematics, Astronomy, Medical Science, Literature and Poetry. The Sultan's contribution to the field of education was equally important. The erection and repairing of a large number of madarsahs, and adequate financial aid from the state for its maintenance greatly encouraged its cause.

On the basis of these achievements we agree with the remark of Sir Wolsey Haig, "The reign of Firuz closes the brilliant epoch in the Muslim rule in India before Akbar."⁷⁸

HIS SHORT-COMINGS

In spite of his progressive outlook, Sultan had several shortcomings. He could not exercise his power with firmness and courage. His greatest handicap was his lack of resolution. It prevented him in formulating a vigorous foreign policy which was the immediate need of the hour. Although the Sultan had received some military training under the guidance of his predecessors, viz., Ghiyasuddin and Muhammad, yet he could not distinguish himself as a military General. As such the idea of expansion of empire could not strike his imagination. In his military expeditions he only displayed the inherent weaknesses of his character instead of the skill of a statesman or a diplomat, in which he was lacking.

In the matters of internal administration the Sultan's weak personality alone led him to adopt a non-interfering attitude in the detailed affairs of Government and delegate all his powers to his officials and to the religious order. The officials in their turn became all powerful and taking advantage of the Sultan's leniency misused their powers by taking bribes from the subjects. Of them, special mention should be made of Sayyidul Hujjab and Shamshuddin Aburija. The former used to take bribe from the subjects and secured imperial favours for them. The Sultan was aware of this fact but he refrained from taking any step; Shamshuddin Aburija made a lot of money by means of bribes; he used to charge a person but after taking bribe would let him off. People did not dare complain against him because he was in the good books of the Sultan. Similar corruptions prevailed in the military department.

Sometimes the Sultan had given indirect encouragement to

corruption. This is specially revealed from the monetary help which he once gave to a soldier for producing his horse on the last day in the office of the Diwan. Again, we find that in spite of his knowledge that the horses of cheaper value were often registered in this office of Diwan at the time of annual inspection, he refrained from taking any steps against the culprits.

In the revenue department whenever discrepancies used to be detected in the accounts of the chief-holders they were produced before the Sultan who generally forgave them. His idea was that on the last day of judgment God will forgive his faults just as he forgave his subjects.

Even the department of coinage and currency was not free from the corruptions.

All these facts lead us to the conclusion that corruption and bribery were the order of the day and for it the Sultan's policy of generosity without the firmness, his weak personality and passive role in the administrative affairs were alone responsible.

The revival of iqta system was one of the greatest blunders that the Sultan had ever committed. It increased the power of the nobles to a great extent and prevented direct contact with the soldiers. The fate of the soldiers rested with the nobles who recruited them. Their immediate masters were the nobles and not the Sultan to whom they owed indirect loyalty. Besides this, the Sultan's regulations regarding the hereditary succession or allowing the old and infirm persons to remain in office in spite of their incapacity to work, practically ruined the efficiency of the military organization. Such a system completely ignored the individual merits and the talents. It ate into the vitality of the military organization which was, in fact, the backbone of the despotic government in the Sultunat regime.

The Sultan's humanization of penal code by abolishing all sorts of brutal punishments had a moral aspect, no doubt, but in it, he had failed to realize that it was an age when brawn was much respected than brain. The punishment which sometimes turned into brutality introduced some kind of an awe in the minds of the subjects which prevented them from committing heinous crimes. The mentality of the people had not changed nor had they become Saint like their Sultan. As such moral force was not an effective remedy for controlling them. Further for no valid reason the Sultan reduced the importance

of the secret service department ignoring that the efficiency and strength of a despotic system of administration depend on the loyalty and alertness of spies.

Lastly the 'slave system', which the Sultan organized out of his sympathy for the distressed slaves, was a menace to the empire.

Judged by these tests it may safely be asserted that Sultan's excessive liberalism although secured for him a general popularity for the time being, yet in the long run it told heavily upon the efficiency of the internal administration. In fact, the age demanded a strong man which Firuz was not. Had he been born after Akbar perhaps the things would have been much better.

Applying the famous dictum of Mathew Arnold on Shelley in case of Firuz it may be remarked, "The Firuz of actual life is a vision of beauty and radiance indeed, but availing nothing, effecting nothing.....He is a beautifulineffectual angel, beating in the void his luminous wings in vain."⁷⁹

REFERENCES

¹ Afif, p. 19.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 315-16.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 78-79.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 243.

⁵ Afif has referred to many such excursions, See, pp. 175, 497.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 321.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 316-17.

⁸ Most of the Sultans of Delhi used to organize hunting excursions only as a means to keeping the soldiers active. Balban tried to impress his people through these excursions. Muhammad Tughluq although not so much interested in hunting as Firuz, organised excursions with great pomp and show. According to *Maslik*, (Otto Spies), p. 55. The Sultan went with small escort of not more than 1,00,000 riders, 200 elephants. He carried with him 4 pavilions of wood and 800 camels. Firuz Shah maintained these traditions and used to march with similar pomp and grandeur."

⁹ See Afif, pp. 315-29.

¹⁰ *Sirat*, (A.U.Ms.), pp. 87-99.

¹¹ Afif, p. 290.

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 291.

¹⁴ See Afif, pp. 19-20 ; Barani, p. 548. Yahya (Basu), p. 148, describes

him as emperor with habits angelic and qualities Muhammad like gentle, kind and just.

¹⁵ Afif, p. 42.

¹⁶ See *Futuh-i-Firuz Shahi*, (*Islamic Culture*), Vol. 15, 1941, pp. 462-63.

¹⁷ Afif, p. 297.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 400.

¹⁹ Barani, pp. 555-56.

²⁰ *Inshai Mahru*, (A.U.Ms.), pp. 19-23.

²¹ Afif, pp. 176-77.

²² *Ibid.*, pp. 368-69.

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 349-50.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 333-36.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 267-73. See Chapter V, pp. 133-37.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 329-30.

²⁹ See details in Chapter V, pp. 127-30.

³⁰ Chapter IV, pp. 91-94, Yahya, while admiring the Sultan's sense of justice has compared him with second Nausharwan (Basu), p. 148.

³¹ See details Chapter VII, pp. 180-92.

³² According to Barani, p. 548, since the Muslims came to India after Sultan Muizuddin Muhammad, there was no king on the throne of Delhi, more benevolent, kind, just, righteous than Firuz.

(b) According to Afif, p. 19, the Sultan was endowed with the ethical virtues of a saint.

(c) In his *Futuh-i-Firuz Shahi*, the Sultan describes, how his legal measures were based on a religious motive. (*Islamic Culture*), Vol. 15, 1941, p. 451-63.

(d) The religious aspect of the Sultan's character has also been stressed through the pages of *Sirat-i-Firuz Shahi*, (A.U.Ms.), pp. 160, 294.

³³ Dr. Ishwari Prasad writes "He was an uncompromising bigot who followed the straightest path of orthodoxy and in the management of government employed theocratic principles of Quran". (*Mediaeval India*, p. 300). See also, Munshi, pp. 103-107; A.M. Husain, *Tughluq Dynasty*, pp. 425-28.

³⁴ See Afif, pp. 27-28.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 28.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 278.

³⁷ *Ibid.* The Sultan's respect for the religious text is revealed from the following interesting incident narrated by Afif:—"Once a person sought the help of Sayyidul Hujjab for the marriage of his daughter. The latter asked the man to take five seers of wheat and to put them in his turban and stand on the way through which the Sultan used to pass in a procession. The person did accordingly. In course of the Sultan's march, Sayyidul Hujjab took some wheat from his turban and presenting it to the Sultan said, "This man had recited 12 times 'Sura : 'Bhla' (a particular Chapter of Quran) with it and wants to present it to the Sultan. The king gave it to the royal kitchen, and ordered that bread be prepared of it. At the

time Hujjab narrated the poor condition of the person and the Sultan sanctioned him one tanka daily from the Zakat collected in the city." (See Afif, pp. 446-51).

³⁸ For details—See Afif, pp. 361-64, and also Chap. IV., p. 90.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 366-67.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 367.

⁴¹ *Futuhāt-i-Firuz Shahi*, (*Islamic Culture*), Vol. 15, 1941, pp. 458-59.

See also Afif, pp. 371-72.

⁴² Afif, pp. 371-73.

⁴³ See details Afif, pp. 361-65.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 78-82.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 147.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 367-69.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 363-65.

⁴⁸ It originally meant a religious war with those who were unbelievers in the mission of Muhammad. "It is an incumbent religious duty, in the Quran and in the traditions as a divine institution and enjoined especially for the purpose of advancing Islam and repelling evil from the Muslims." See-Hughes—*Dictionary of Islam*, pp. 243-48. This religious duty finds reference in the Quran in many verses e.g. "And when the sacred months are passed, kill those who join other deities with God, whenever ye shall find them. But if they shall convert then let them go their way". (*Quran IX. 5, 6*).

"Say to the infidels if they desist from their unbelief what is not past shall be forgiven them. But if they return to it fight them against them till strife be at an end and the religion of all of it God's. (*Quran, VIII. 39-42*).

⁴⁹ *Sirat* (A.U.Ms.), p. 73.

⁵⁰ Afif, pp. 261-67.

⁵¹ *Futuhāt-i-Firuz Shahi*, (*Islamic Culture*), Vol. 15, 1941, pp. 457-58.

⁵² *Sirat*, (A.U.Ms.), pp. 75-76.

⁵³ *Futuhāt-i-Firuz Shahi*, (*Islamic Culture*), Vol. 15, 1941, pp. 454-56.

⁵⁴ It is related that Ruknuddin declared "I am the last Mahdi, I have acquired inspired knowledge and I have not learnt from any body and the names of all created beings which no other Apostle except Prophet Adam (may peace be upon him) was aware of, are known to me and the mysteries of the science of alphabet which are not disclosed to any body else have been revealed to me."

See *Futuhāt-i-Firuz Shahi*, (*Islamic Culture*), Vol. 15, 1941, pp. 455-56.

⁵⁵ Afif, pp. 379-81. It is related that the Brahman had constructed a wooden table covered within and without with paintings of demons and other objects and persisted in publicly performing the worship of idols in his house. Hindus and Muslims thus gathered in his house on appointed days and resorted to the worship of the idol.

⁵⁶ *Futuhāt-i-Firuz Shahi*, (*Islamic Culture*), Vol. 15, 1941, p. 454.

⁵⁷ *Futuhāt-i-Firuz Shahi*, (*Islamic Culture*). Vol. 15, 1941, pp. 454-56.

⁵⁸ Afif, pp. 379-81.

⁵⁹ *Sirat*, (A.U.Ms.), p. 160.

- 60 See details in Chapter IV, pp. 123-24.
- 61 Afif, pp. 99-100.
- 62 *Ibid.*, pp. 104-5.
- 63 *Ibid.*, p. 111.
- 64 See Chapter V. (pp. 117-18).
- 65 Afif, pp. 288-89.
- 66 See details (*Sirat*, A U.Ms.), p. 290, Afif, pp. 288-98.
- 67 Afif, p. 288.
- 68 *Ibid.*, pp. 436-42.
- 69 *Ibid.*
- 70 *Ibid.*, pp. 297-98.
- 71 *Ibid.*, pp. 491-92.
- 72 *Ibid.*, p. 400.
- 73 *Ibid.*, pp. 178-80.
- 74 *Ibid.*, pp. 333-36.
- 75 See details in Chapter V. p. 141.
- 76 In praise of the Sultan's achievement Barani writes "Even birds and fish lived in contentment." (Barani, pp. 548-49).
- 77 *Cambridge*, Vol. III, pp. 588-89.
- 78 *Ibid.*, p. 188.
- 79 *Vide* Mathew Arnold's Essay on 'Shelley' in "*Essays in Criticism.*" Second Series (Macmillian & Co., 1925), pp. 251-52.

CHAPTER VII

CULTURAL ATTAINMENTS OF THE REIGN

PROMOTION OF LEARNING

Firuz SHAH Tughluq left behind a definite cultural tradition by his many-sided activities. He took an intelligent and sustained interest in the promotion of art and learning and his long reign sums up the cultural achievements of the Tughluq dynasty.

The imperial court of Delhi had been turned into a centre of culture owing to the influx of a large number of poets, philosophers, jurists and historians who flocked to the capital from distant corners and received warm reception at the hand of the Sultan in the Mahal-i-Sahan-i-Gulband, a palace specially built for the purpose.¹ The Sultan conversed with them on many important subjects. In his time flourished the intellectuals like Maulana Jalaluddin Rumi, Maulana Alim Andapatti, A'azuddin Khalid Khani, the poets like Maulana Mutahhar Kara, Qazi Abid, Maulana Khwajgi, Malik Ahmad son of Amir Khusrav and historians like Ziauddin Barani and Afif.² These scholars greatly enriched the field of knowledge by their erudite contribution. The Sultan himself had a taste for writing and he composed the Futuhat-i-Firuz Shahi.³ It is surmised that the Sirat-i-Firuz Shahi was written to his dictation. Ziauddin Barani dedicated his famous work to him and named it after him. Ain-ul-Mulk who, for long, held the post of Mushrif in the Diwan-i-Wizarat has left behind a very important and popular work called 'Ain-ul-Mulki'.⁴

The activities of scholars were not confined to literature alone. Books on other subjects namely religion, law, medicine, and astronomy were also written which bear an eloquent testimony to the comprehensive progress made in the field of knowledge in that reign.

Some of the important books written in this period were:—

1. Maktūbāt-i-Ahmad Munyari.
2. Irshad-u--Salikin
3. Khulāsāt-ul-Alfāzi
4. Jami-ul-Ulūm

5. Manāqib Makhdūma-i-Jahāniyān

6. Rāhat-ul-Insān

7. Fiqh-i-Firuz Shahi

8. Fawāod-i-Firuz Shahi etc.⁵

The most remarkable contribution was made in the science of astronomy. There is a book, Ziqr-Munsobat-Kawakib, dealing with several planets whose places are fixed in heavens.⁶ There is another book, Ziqr-Munsobat-Burooj,⁷ which deals with changes in human life as effected by stars.

A third one, 'Shikar Namah Fath Khan', is a book on the astronomy and hunting.⁸

Besides these original works, there were some translations made from the Sanskrit books which the Sultan had selected from the library attached to the temple of Nagarkot. A'azuddin Khalid Khani translated one such work and named it 'Dalail-i Firuz Shahi.'⁹ The work was moderately good neither free from beauty nor defects.¹⁰

It appears that the Sultan was deeply interested in astronomy because he prepared astrological charts which had great utilitarian value.¹¹ Other works dealt with wrestling or music. One of them was named Patur bazi.¹²

Harmuk Hela dealt with Tilismat (Magic) and Ajaib (wonderful things)¹³ and Sarwali dealt with Mawalid¹⁴ (Metallurgy).

The science of medicine also made much progress and many books were written on this subject. Tibb-i-Firuz Shahi was named after the Sultan.¹⁵

POETRY

The field of poetry was enriched by the poets like Maulana Mutahhar Kara, Malik Ahmad, the son of Amir Khusrav, Qazi Abid, Maulana Khwajgi, the preceptor of Qazi Sahabuddin Daulatabadi etc.¹⁶

Maulana Mutahhar Kara was more of a mulla than a poet.¹⁷ His elegant style is reflected in a 'Diwan' consisting of 15000 to 16000 verses.¹⁸ Malik Ahmad, was a close associate of the Sultan. Although his poems were imitations of earlier poets like Zahir yet they were highly appreciated by the learned men of that age.¹⁹ Besides these, Zia-ul-Mulk Shamsuddin Aburija was also a poet²⁰ who is said to have composed and presented several collections of his verses to the Sultan.

SPREAD OF EDUCATION

As a true patron of learning Firuz Shah gave great impetus to the cause of education in India which was characterized by a uniform and systematic plan which stressed moral and spiritual values. His unremitting zeal expressed itself in the construction and repairing of a large number of madarsahs²¹, the epicentres of academic training and which were provided with adequate endowments. These madarsahs were generally attached to a mosque or a monastery and each of them being placed under a Shaikh. The most famous madarsah of the age was Madarsah-i-Firuz Shahi established in his newly founded city of Firuzabad.²² It was placed under the supervision of Maulana Jalaluddin Rumi, a scholar of great repute. It was adequately staffed. There were many Quran reciters (Huffaz) who were paid from the state treasury. The teachers and students were provided with hostel accommodation.²³ Arrangements for their meal were also of a high order. The dishes which were served included "Pheasants, partridges, herons, fish, roasted fowl, and bulky kids, fried loaves, sweets of different kinds, and other things were heaped every where in large quantities. Pomegranate syrup prepared with the mixture of sorrel was served as a drink".²⁴

The second important madarsah was at Siri the head of which was Sayyid Nizamuddin Samarqandi who gave religious instructions to students.²⁵

Another madarsah was attached to the tomb of Fath Khan at Qudam Sharif about a mile and a half from the modern Delhi.²⁶

CURRICULUM

The study of religion (Ilm-i-Dini) which was the epicentre of Islamic culture occupied an important place in the curriculum which had a good effect of toning up the moral character of the students. It enabled them to understand religion at the very early stage of life, and helped them to become pious Muslims. It had several branches, e.g.,

- (1) Tafsir (Commentary on Quran)
- (2) Hadis (Sayings of the Prophet)
- (3) Qirat (Art of reciting Quran)
- (4) Ilm-i-Fiqh (Theology)
- (5) Ilmul-Ikhlaq (Ethics)
- (6) Ilmul-Kalām (Philosophy)²⁷

Although great stress was laid on religious education yet it would be wrong to presume that the secular side of it was altogether neglected. Non-religious subjects included²⁸ :

1. Ilm-i-Nujoom (Astronomy)
2. Ilm-i-Riyadi (Mathematics)
3. Ilm-i-Tabibi (Physical Sciences)
4. Ilm-i-Tibb (Science of medicine)
5. Khatt (Calligraphy)
6. Nahv-o-Sarf (Grammar)
7. Maani-o-Bayan (Rhetoric and figures of speech).
8. Ilm-i-Nazri (Abstract and Speculative Sciences).

METHOD OF TEACHING

In the method of teaching much stress was laid upon seminars and mutual discussions among the students. When the poet Mutahhar visited the Madrasah-i-Firuz Shahi he found the students engaged in discussion. He writes, "In this way the students were carrying on discussions and debates in every corner and their voices echoed in the heavens."²⁹ The medium of instruction in all institutions was Persian. There was no such system of examination as it exists to-day. The students were promoted to a higher class by the judgment of the teachers. The relations between the teacher and the taught were most cordial. The teacher, in fact, used to be held in great esteem by the students.

MEDICAL EDUCATION

In the medical education symptoms of every disease with its remedy were taught to the students.³⁰ In the hospitals expert surgeons and eye specialists were appointed which clearly shows that there were specialists in every branch of the Science.³¹ Surgery was fairly well advanced and there were fine instruments with which the internal working of the body could be observed. There was a particular instrument by which the position of a child in a mother's womb could be ascertained.³²

TECHNICAL EDUCATION

While academic instruction was imparted in the madarsahs, the royal Karkhanas imparted technical training in various vocational arts. A large number of slaves recruited by the Sultan

received training in them, which resulted in the creation of 1,200 skilled artisans³³

MUSIC

The Sultan also patronized the art of music. This is specially revealed from his encouragement of the musicians gathering in the hall of Chhajai Choubin every Friday³⁴ or in the Mahl-i-Sahn-i-Miangie on the day of Id Festival.³⁵

Music parties were also popular with the soldiers³⁶ and Quwwali among the mystics.³⁷ Important musical instruments were the following:³⁸

1. Chang (harp)
2. Rubab (Reback)
3. Kamañcha (lutes)
4. Miskat (a kind of harp)
5. Nai (flute)
6. Tanboor (Mandolin)
7. Dohl, duhl (drum)
8. Bhir, Sahana (Clarion)
9. Arghuna (Organ)
10. Nafiri (Trumpet)

PAINTING

Although the Sultan forbade the painting of portraits because of being un-Islamic, yet he allowed the garden scenes to be painted which shows that he had some interest in the art.³⁹

ARCHITECTURE

Like Shah Jahan Firuz Shah made a brilliant contribution to the field of architecture which bore a mark of distinctness in many respects in relation to the past and future. The Slaves and Khaljis, more the former than the latter, moulded their buildings according to the availability of materials. The Khaljis laid special stress on richness of appearance, brilliance, grandeur, and lavishness of details.⁴⁰ They did not subscribe to a set pattern and traditional fashion. Those were the youthful days of Indian architecture. It came to maturity with the advent of the Tughluq who evolved a new spirit marked by austerity.⁴¹ This was sequel to the economic crisis caused by the extravagance in the

later Khalji regime.⁴² Thus there occurred a great change in the technique and method of construction of buildings. This is reflected in the buildings of the first two Sultans of this dynasty. They kept their eye on economy. The problem remained the same for Firuz, nay, it got a little more complicated. The failure of the schemes of his predecessor had drained the treasury dry. Besides this, the loss of man power caused by the transfer of population to Daulatabad, added fuel to the fire.⁴³ In these circumstances the style could only be simple. It served the two-fold purpose. It saved money to the State and it served the religious class as well.

In the new technique of the Firuzian buildings red sand stone and marble which were used largely under the Khaljis were replaced by rubble and plaster. The buildings of the walls generally used to be plastered and white-washed which had a dazzling effect.⁴⁴ There was no surface ornament except in the form of inscribed border.⁴⁵ Though these buildings gave an impression of low cost, their simplicity was a treat to the eye. Another characteristics of the Firuzian architecture was its massiveness and sobriety which was very much prominent in his palace forts and other buildings. This was achieved by a special device, e.g., the attachment of turreted buttresses to the buildings or the scheme of multi-domed roofing.⁴⁶

Additional strength was added to some of the buildings by making certain portions of it thicker at the base than the top.⁴⁷ It had a utility and appeal of its own.

Buildings of Firuzabad

KUSHK FIRUZ OR KOTLA FIRUZ SHAH

It was a palace fortress built on the design of Tughluqabad of Ghiyasuddin, having an appearance of strength and vitality. Situated on the bank of the river Jumna, it covered an area of not less than half a mile in length and quarter of a mile in breadth and surrounded by massive walls of 60 feet height, with circular bastions at each angle.⁴⁸ The chief entrance to the citadel was from the western side through a fortified gateway supported on bastions.⁴⁹ There were other gateways in the centre of each line of walling. The walls were plastered with local quartzite, rubble and Chunam which imparted the dazzling marble like polish. The most attractive building in the

citadel was the Jami Masjid and the pyramid of cells on which was erected the pillar of Asoka.

JAMA MASJID

It was constructed in 1354 A.D. It was a double-storeyed building with a large number of chambers where the worshippers gathered for Friday prayers. The assemblage used to be so large that no space was left either in the lower or on the upper storey or in the courtyard.⁵⁰ The rooms had arched entrances and the walls were plastered with lime. The whole edifice was built of rubble and mortar.⁵¹

The chief entrance to courtyard was from the northern side, through a gateway of a domed structure with the interior doorways. Four staircases along the walls in the lower storey led to the upper storey.⁵² There is a mark of a deep pit in the centre of the courtyard which might have been a well⁵³ or else it was a shaft to support the foundation of an octagonal dome erected over it, on the eight sides of which marble slabs were set, on which was engraved the text of the Futuhat-i-Firuz Shahi.⁵⁴

PILLAR OF ASOKA

Another interesting object in the Kotla of Firuz Shah was the Asokan pillar. It is said that it was connected with Jami Masjid by means of a bridge. The pillar was originally situated in the village of Tobra⁵⁵ in Khizrabad district from where it was brought to Firuzabad in 1356 A.D.⁵⁶

It attracted the notice of the Sultan in course of his visit to that district. He collected a large number of labourers from the Doab and its neighbourhood and employed them to shift it from the site. Every attempt was made to prevent any damage to the pillar. It was pulled down very gently and wrapped in bark of Saimal tree; it was transported to the Jumna on a carriage of 42 wheels pulled by 200 men, with strong ropes fastened to its wheels. The pillar was then placed on the boats which could carry heavy loads and they were floated to Firuzabad where it was set on the top of a pyramidal structure consisting of three terraces having cells and arches all round it. It was set in standing position by the skilled technicians and architects in course of several days. The top of the pillar was

decorated with black and white stone work and covered with a copper dome. This pillar was named as 'Minara-yi-Zarin' or 'golden pillar'. It is a sound stone monolith and is of pinkish colour, having some dark spots outside it.⁵⁷ The height of the pillar is 42 feet 7 inches of which underground portion is only 4 feet 4 inches.⁵⁸ It is thicker at its base and thinner at its top. Its lower diameter is 38.8 inches and upper 25.3 inches. The pillar is polished at its top but the lower portion of it is rough. Its weight is supposed to be 27 tons.⁵⁹

On surface of the pillar were engraved the edicts of Asoka which Firuz was unable to decipher. He called several Brahmanas and asked them to do it but even they fared no better attempt.⁶⁰ At last a Brahman pretended to make out as follows :

"None would ever succeed in removing the pillar from the spot on which it originally stands until a king should be born by name 'Firuz Shah'."⁶¹

The fact of the matter is that the Asokan edicts are in Pali characters. One of them runs thus, "Let this religion be engraved on stone pillars and stone tablets, that it may endure for ever."⁶²

Besides the edicts of Asoka there are also other minor inscriptions, e.g., (1) Inscription of Chauhan Prince Visala Deva whose power extended from Himadri to Vindya dated 1163 A.D. (2) Inscriptions of Sri Bhadra Mitra in the Gupta Characters, (3) the Inscription of Ibrahim Lodi.⁶³

KUSHK-I-SHIKAR OR JAHAN NUMAH

It was the hunting palace of Firuz built in 1354 A.D. on the top of a hill to the north west of modern Delhi. It was a double storeyed building constructed of rubble masonry.⁶⁴ The lower storey of the building consisted of the two narrow chambers which formed the passage from the east to the west of the building. The upper storey had two chambers which reached by staircases attached to the southern side of the building.⁶⁵ These rooms were pierced with arched entrances on the eastern side. The floor and roof of the southern apartment was pierced with a hole in such a way that if any body stood on the ground floor, he could see the sky. There were arched gateways on the southern and western side of the buildings.⁶⁶

The second pillar of Asoka which was brought from Meerut

was erected in this palace. Its size was shorter than that of the Minara-yi-Zarin.⁶⁷

CHAR BHURJI OR FOUR TOWERS

It was the mausoleum of an unknown person. It was situated very close to, if not within, the hunting palace of Firuz Shah. It bore all the characteristics of the Firuzian architecture which leads us to the conclusion that it must have been erected in his reign. It was a double-storeyed building having arched entrances and multi-domed roofing built of stone and mortar with lime facing.⁶⁸ There were nine rooms in the ground floor, the largest of which situated in the middle contained a grave. Each corner of the upper storey contained a small domed room.⁶⁹

BUILDINGS OF JAUNPUR

The main architectural contributions of the Firuzian regime to the city of Jaunpur consisted of the Jaunpur Fort, Masjid of Naib Barbak and the conversion of the Atala Devi temple into a Masjid in 1376 A.D., which was subsequently completed by Ibrahim Shah in 1408 A.D.

JAUNPUR FORT

It was built on an earthen mound on the north bank of the river Gumti and was surrounded by massive stone walls which were pierced with arched gateways surmounted by loop-holed bastions.⁷⁰ It measures 46' 4" wide at the base, 40' 3" along the top giving a slope to the walls of 1' 8½" each.⁷¹

MASJID OF IBRAHIM NAIB BARBAK

This was built by Naib Barbak. It measures 130 feet by 22 feet and consists of 3 chambers, roofed by plastered domes of Bengali type.⁷² The rooms have arched entrances. There are two stone pillars placed at a short distance in front of the masjid. It was constructed of stone, mortar and concrete and the walls were plastered with cement.⁷³ One portion of the mosque bears an inscription which reads as follows :—⁷⁴.....(In the reign of) the king of kings of the world, the just and the great ruler, the lord of neck of nations, the master of the kings of Arabia and Persia who professes the exalted creed and seizes the firm handle, who watches over God's faith, protects God's lands and

defends God's servants, who gives the faithful peace and security to the heir of kingdom of Solomon Abul Muzaffar Firuz Shah the king, may God perpetuate his kingdom and his rule, and in the name of Malik of Maliks of the east and of China, the king of beings, the helper of the warring monotheist, his excellent Imam, the hope of the age, the general of the present time The great Ulugh Ibrahim Naib Barbak, the king may God continue to him, his high position (this building) received the distinction being erected and this whose walk of life is good, whose faith is pure, exerted himself to the utmost to finish this religious edifice. In the month of Zil Qadah and in the year 778 A.H. of the Flight of the Prophet, upon whom rest God's blessings (April 1376)."⁷⁶

ATALA DEVI MASJID

It was built on the site of an ancient temple of Atala Devi. In 1376 A.D. Sultan Firuz commenced its appropriation and in 1408 A. D. Ibrahim Shah finished it.⁷⁶ It is a quadrangle surrounded by two storeys on three sides, having several rooms surmounted by domes.⁷⁷ It is characterised by its highly decorated prophyllon, with smaller prophyllon on each side of it.⁷⁸ There is an inscription on it which reads as follows :—⁷⁹

“Praise Be to God, In the reign of Firuz Shah who is benevolently the repository of religious men in the year 765 La Sakhani at an auspicious time, on Sunday, the first shawal ;

The generous Khwaja Kamal Khan founded this Masjid for the guidance of every country ”

FORTRESS OF FIRUZPUR

In 1385 the Sultan built a fortress and a Beoli 14 miles from Budaon and gave it the name of Firuzpur.⁸⁰

MOSQUES

During the reign of Firuz a large number of mosques were erected in the different parts of the empire. Some of them were erected by the Sultan himself, and others by the Prime Minister Khanjahan and his (Khanjahan's) son. These mosques were of a uniform pattern with slight variations. They were generally built of rubble and plaster. Their chief characteristics were strongly fortified gateways, multidomed roofings, with round

turreted corners. They had square quartzite pillars on the doors, and the roofs and a general courtyard surrounded by a strong enclosure round it.⁸¹ They stood as the symbol of strength without any ornamentation.

QUDAM SHARIF

This mosque had a special importance of its own as it contained the holy stone slab engraved with the foot-prints of the Prophet which was set near the tomb of Fath Khan.⁸² Raised on a masonry platform, the tomb is surrounded by massive walls constructed of rubble, furnished by the bastions which impart to it the appearance of strength.⁸³ The walls are pierced with gateways. The principal building of the shrine stands in the centre of this enclosure and is covered by a flat roof supported on stone pillars. There are colonades with domes on the northern and southern sides of the shrine.⁸⁴

Within the enclosure the Sultan built a charity house (Langar Khana) ; a madrasah and a mosque consisting of three chambers, covered with domes with a courtyard attached to it surrounded by walls.⁸⁵

TOMB OF KHANJAHAN TILANGANI

It was the tomb of Prime Minister Khanjahan who died in (1368-69 A D.). Situated in the dargah of Nizamuddin near Kali Masjid, it marks the beginning of a new architectural style which greatly influenced the royal tombs of the Sayyids, in the following century.⁸⁶ It was characterized by its octagonal shape as opposed to the square plan of the Firuzian tombs and was roofed by a single dome, with low arched verandahs on each side. The parapet of each octagonal side was set with a dome which was another novel feature.⁸⁷ The building was enclosed by strong walls with towers at the corner in accordance with the defensive idea of the previous style. The materials with which it was constructed consisted of grey quartzite red sand stone, white marble and plaster.

A large number of mosques were constructed by the Sultan's Prime Minister, Jaunan Shah, who also held the title of Khanjahan. These mosques were also of great architectural importance, having been built on a uniform plan. The most important of them were the following:⁸⁸

1. Kali Masjid built at Jahanpanah in 1370 A.D.
2. Begampur Masjid at Jahanpanah in 1370 A.D.
3. Khirki Masjid built at Jahanpanah in 1375 A.D.
4. Kalan Masjid built at Shahjahanabad in 1375 A.D.
5. The mosque built in the dargah of Shah Alam at Timurpuri."

Of them the Khirki Masjid and Kalan Masjid presented a more impressive appearance raised as they were on a 'tah khana' or a substructure of arches.⁸⁹ Both of them had bold projected entrances approached by a flight of steps having rounded bastions thrown from each corner.⁹⁰ But these mosques were not modelled after the usual planning of a prayer chamber; on the contrary, they had a fortress like appearance.⁹¹

Another characteristic of the Khirki Masjid was that it had no open court in front of the prayer chamber.⁹² The entire mosque was covered except for four open quadrangle, one in the centre of each of the four quarters.⁹³ The Kali Masjid was also designed after the same pattern.⁹⁴

The Begampuri mosque was a prototype of the usual mosques of the age. Its main feature was a large courtyard around which is a Tudor arched arcade that forms its cloisters.⁹⁵

MADARSAHS

The madarsahs⁹⁶ which the Sultan built bore the usual stamp of the Firuzian architecture. Of them the most important was the Madarsah-i-Firuz Shahi built at Firuzabad over the remains of an older structure of Alauddin Khalji.⁹⁷ Situated on the side of the Hauz-i-Alai, the building extended over a large area consisting of a number of square domed halls, with spacious yards attached to them. It was double-storeyed in front of the tank and single-storeyed behind. It was characterized by the combination of Hindu column and Muslim arch in the facades, which added to its decorative designs.⁹⁸ Thus it had an architectural beauty of its own which surpassed all other buildings of his time. Travellers who came from outside and entered into this building, forgot all their worries and fatigue and felt as if they were in heavens.⁹⁹

The second important madarsah was situated at Siri. It was lofty, spacious and attractive and was marked by a heavenly atmosphere. The fine architectural delicacy of its style was

beyond description.¹⁰⁰ Another important madarsah established by the Sultan was attached to the tomb of Fath Khan about a mile and a half from the modern Delhi, the doorway of which was engraved with the following lines :—

“The guide of those who have lost (their way) Muhammad

“The preacher of preacher Muhammad !

“Glorious is the madarsah, the pulpit and the house

“In the midst of which is read the praise of Muhammad

“For the broken hearts He is a (Healing) balm.

“For the afflicted in the heart Muhammad is a comfort etc.¹⁰¹

Thus a large number of high palatial buildings were constructed after the new technique of the Firuzian architecture marked by its simplicity, massiveness and sobriety which had great utilitarian and aesthetic values.

RELIGIOUS ACTIVITIES

The reign of Firuz Tughluq was marked by the religious activities of the Muslim mystics, who were patronised by the Sultan. The leading mystics who flourished were Shaikh Nasiruddin Chiragh Dehlavi, Shaikh Qutbuddin Munawwar, Sayyid Jalaluddin Bukhari popularly known as Hazrat Makhdum-i-Jahanian, Shaikh Sadruddin, Shaikh Sharfuddin Yahya of Maner etc. All these Shaikhs were held in high esteem by the Sultan who frequently visited their hospices and sought their blessings.

Shaikh Nasiruddin Chiragh Dehlavi was one of the most popular mystics of the reign of Firuz. He belonged to the Chistia order and was the disciple of Shaikh Nizamuddin Aulia.¹⁰² During the reign of Muhammad Tughluq, the Shaikh had to suffer much humiliation. At Tattah he pleaded for the cause of Firuz. The Sultan held him in high esteem and the Wazir Khanjahan was his disciple. He died in the year 757 A.H./ 1358 A.D.¹⁰³ Admiring the virtues of the Shaikh, one of his disciples wrote :

“The external and internal devotions of this dignitary are more than the pen can describe. Those who had the honour of kissing his feet have realized that his countenance was the picture of perfect piety. Towards the end of his life his work reached perfection ; he became a pure soul. When I saw this miracle I said to myself since he has reached perfection, it

would be strange if they allowed such a pure existence to remain in this world."¹⁰⁴

HIS TEACHINGS

According to the Shaikh the real happiness of man lay in the mystic path alone. He ignored the king and bureaucracy of the day.¹⁰⁵ The Government officials were never allowed to become his disciples. Although he allowed the clerks to be enrolled as his disciples, yet he believed that they could never make higher spiritual attainments. He advised them to be honest and truthful. His idea was that real happiness could only be found in the religious poverty.¹⁰⁶

Shaikh Qutbuddin Munawwar of Hansi was also a disciple of Shaikh Nizamuddin Aulia ; and was a man of independent nature.¹⁰⁷ He did not care for the royalty and never cringed before the sovereigns. Like Nasiruddin he had also been ill-treated during the reign of Muhammad Tughluq.¹⁰⁸ But Firuz Shah showed him a great honour. It is related that in course of his march from Tattah to Delhi the Sultan halted at Hansi and sought the blessings of the Shaikh who predicted his future success.¹⁰⁹ The Sultan sent a silken garment to the Shaikh but the latter refused to wear it, because that was not permitted by the law.¹¹⁰ Shaikh Qutbuddin Munawwar also died in 757 A.H./ 1356 A.D.¹¹¹ He was succeeded by his son and successor Nuruddin who is said to have been requested by Firuz Shah to come and settle in the city of Hisar Firuza. But Hansi being the land of his ancestors the Shaikh did not leave it; he declined to accept the request.¹¹²

Sayyid Jalaluddin Bukhari popularly known as Hazrat Makhdum-i-Jahanian was also a great mystic of that age.¹¹³ He belonged to Suhrawardiya order, the founder of which was Shihabuddin Shurawardi of Baghdad, a contemporary of Abdul Qadir Jilani founder of the Qadiria order.¹¹⁴ In India it was sponsored by Bahauddin Zakariya a native of Multan. Sayyid Jalaluddin was the grandson and disciple of Sayyid Jalaluddin Surkposh, one of the disciples of Bahauddin Zakaria. During the reign of Firuz Shah, the Multan branch of the Shurawardi Silsilah had completely lost its spiritual importance. But the inspiring leadership of the Shaikh Makhdum-i-Jahanian enabled the Uch branch to play a prominent role in the cultural life of

the country. Sayyid Jalal is said to have extensively travelled in different parts of the world, and influenced many by his impressive personality. He made pilgrimage to Mecca 36 times and performed many miracles.

The Shaikh maintained a cordial relation with Firuz Shah. He made frequent visits to Delhi and received warm reception from the Sultan. He stayed there as a state guest and either in the Kushk of Firuzabad or at the residence of Fath Khan. The chief purpose of his frequent visit was generally to redress the grievances of the people or to secure royal assistance for the poor and the needy.¹¹⁵ On many occasions he recommended persons for royal favour and the Sultan always accepted his recommendations. His religious influence was greatly felt at the time of the Sind expedition when he negotiated peace talks, and secured the submission of the Sammas to the ruler of Delhi.¹¹⁶ The Shaikh was also held in great esteem by the prominent state officials. In times of emergency the officials would seek his help in solving difficult problems. On one occasion Ain-ul-Mulk solicited his help for realizing Khiraj in Sind.¹¹⁷ The last visit of the saint to Delhi occurred in 1385 A.D./781 A.H. and he died in 1386 A.D. at Uch.¹¹⁸

Another important mystic of the Shufawardi Silsilah was Shaikh Sadrudin, a grandson of Shaikh Baha-uddin Zakariya. He was appointed by the Sultan as Shaikh-ul-Islam¹¹⁹ and he exercised tremendous influence in the imperial politics at that time. The Sultan held him in high esteem and always listened to his discourses with deep respect.¹²⁰

Similarly important was the personality of Sayyid Sadrudin popularly known as Raju Qattal. He also belonged to the Shurawardi Silsilah and was the younger brother of Makhdum-i-Jahanian.¹²¹

4. Shaikh Sharfuddin Yahya of Maner was a popular saint of Bihar and was known as Shaikh Sharifia.¹²² He was also an alim and a disciple of Shaikh Najib Firdausi. He made a detailed study of the works of earlier mystics e.g. Mohiuddin Ibn Arabi-Imam Ghazali, Ainul Quzzat Hamdani, Khvaja Fariduddin Attar and Maulana Jalaluddin Rumi. His passion for learning took him to Sonargaon and to Nizamuddin Aulia at Delhi.¹²³

He was also a great writer. Besides his Maktubat (epistles) and

Malfuzat (sayings) the Shaikh is said to have compiled several books for the guidance of his devotees e.g. Fawaidul Muridin, the Irshadat Talibin and the Rahatul Qulub.¹²⁴ Most of the letters of the Shaikh reveal his insistence on the service of humanity as a part of mystic discipline. The ideal of the Shaikh was that the Kings, nobles or wealthy persons could reach God only by helping the poor and the needy.¹²⁵ In one of his letters to Malik Khizr the Shaikh wrote, "In this dark world it is incumbent to serve the needy by the pen, tongue, wealth and position: Prayers, fasting and voluntary worship are good as far as they go but they are not as useful as making others happy."¹²⁶ He died in 782 A.H./1381 A.D.¹²⁷

The essence of the philosophy of these mystics centered round the principle of Wahdat-i-Wujud¹²⁸ (unityism) according to which universe is an emanation from God, and that God is immanent in the universe. God and material universe, therefore, are not separate entities but form one unity. This particular doctrine led some of the mystics to utter, 'I am God,' an utterance made much earlier by Mansur, who was executed for it. Such mystics also met the same fate in the reign of Firuz. Two of them were the disciples of Shaikh Sharfuddin Maneri, e.g. Ahmad Bihari and Shaikh Aziz Kakoi, who went to Delhi and made bold statements on the principles of Tauhid.¹²⁹ The imperial court being dominated by the Sunni orthodox party, could not tolerate their utterances and compelled the Sultan who was an instrument in their hands to execute them. Their execution greatly offended the Shaikh Sharfuddin who is said to have cursed Delhi at this time.¹³⁰ Besides these two mystics Ain-i-Mahru of Gujarat and Ruknuddin Mahdi were also executed for similar utterances. It is related that Ruknuddin claimed himself to be Imam Mahdi who was to appear in the latter days and to be the possessor of all knowledge by inspiration. This being unacceptable to the orthodox Sunni circle he was condemned to death.¹³¹

Thus we find that although the doctrine of unityism was recognised by all the mystics yet, extreme unityism could not be tolerated by the orthodox Sunni Circle.

SHARIAT AND TARIQAT

Most of the mystics of the age equally recognised the importance of the principle of Shariat and Tariqat, the successive stages

for realising the Ultimate Reality. Shaikh Nasiruddin and Qutbuddin Munawwar, laid much insistence on Shariat. Shaikh Sharfuddin Maneri greatly stressed the importance of Shariat and Tariqat for attaining divine communion.¹³²

Thus the religious movement of the Muslim mystics made a wide progress during the reign of Firuz. It revolved round the philosophy of unityism 'Wahdat-i-Wujud or Tauhid-i-Wujud' and recognized the principles of Shariat and Tariqat as the chief means of realising Ultimate Reality.

REFERENCES

¹ Afif, pp. 277-78.

² See details, Law, N.N., *Promotion of Learning in India*, (p. 65), Abdul Haqq-Dehlvi, (Elliot), Vol. VI, pp. 483-88, Budaoni, (Ranking), pp. 339-41.

³ The author of *Tabqat-i-Akbari*, (Persian Text), pp. 239-40, has made a brief review of the book and observes that the Sultan engraved 8 chapters of the book on the 8 corners of the Jami Masjid.

⁴ Afif, p. 408.

⁵ See details in catalogue of Persian MS. of *Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. I, 1924, *Islamic Culture*, Vol. 15, 1941, p. 449.

⁶ *Sirat*, (A.U.Ms.), p. 308.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 309.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ Budaoni, (Ranking), Vol. I, p. 332, *Ma'asiri Rahimi*, Pt. I, 372, *Tabqat-i-Akbari*, (Persian Text), p. 233.

¹⁰ Budaoni, (Ranking), Vol. I, p. 332.

¹¹ *Sirat*, (A.U.Ms.), pp. 300-309.

¹² Budaoni, (Ranking), Vol. I, p. 332.

¹³ *Sirat*, (A.U.Ms.), p. 300.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ See details in the catalogue of Persian MS. of *Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. I, 1924, *Islamic Culture*, Vol. 15, 1941, p. 449.

¹⁶ See Budaoni, (Ranking), Vol. I, pp. 33 and also Abdul Haqq Dehlvi, (Elliot), Vol. VI, pp. 487-88.

¹⁷ Budaoni, (Ranking), Vol. I, p. 341.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi* has mentioned some of the Qasidas written by the poet in praise of the Sultan See *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi* (A.U.Ms.), pp. 156, 161, 168.

¹⁹ Budaoni (Ranking), Vol. I, pp. 340-41 has mentioned some of his verses.

²⁰ Afif, pp. 451-52.

- ²¹ According to *Ma'asiri Rahimi*, (Vol. I, p. 380) he erected 150 madarsahs, according to *Tabqat-i-Akbari*, Vol. I, p. 241 and Firishta, (Briggs), Vol. I, p. 465, he built 30 madarsahs. There is no denying the fact that Firuz Shah erected a large number of madarsahs, but it is very difficult to give the exact number on the basis of the accounts of these later authorities.
- ²² See details, *Studies in Mediaeval Indian History*, Aligarh Muslim University, 1957, edited by Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, pp. 86-91.
- ²³ Barani, p. 564.
- ²⁴ *Dewan-i-Mutahhar Kara*, Quoted in *Studies in Mediaeval Indian History*, Aligarh, 1957, p. 91.
- ²⁵ Barani, p. 565.
- ²⁶ See Carr. Stephen, p. 147.
- ²⁷ *Sirat*, (A.U.Ms.), pp. 296-99, Barani, pp. 564-65.
- ²⁸ See *Sirat*, (A.U.Ms.), pp. 296-99, Barani, pp. 564-65, *Islamic Culture*, 1949, Vol. XXIII, Nos. 1 and 2, p. 291.
- ²⁹ *Diwan-i-Mutahhar Kara*, Quoted in the *Studies in Mediaeval Indian History*, Aligarh, pp. 87-88.
- ³⁰ *Sirat*, (A.U.Ms.), pp. 327-48. The writer gives an exhaustive list of the diseases and their remedies in pp. 234-40.
- ³¹ Afif, p. 356.
- ³² *Sirat*, (A.U.Ms.), pp. 319-21.
- ³³ Afif, pp. 270-71.
- ³⁴ See details, Afif, pp. 367-69.
- ³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 363.
- ³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 289.
- ³⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 84-85.
- ³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 363, See also (*Mediaeval Indian Quarterly*, Aligarh, 1950, p. 34).
- ³⁹ See Afif, pp. 373-74.
- ⁴⁰ See details, *Cambridge*, Vol. III, p. 584.
- ⁴¹ *Ibid.*
- ⁴² *Ibid.*, Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture*, Islamic Period, p. 20.
- ⁴³ *Ibid.*
- ⁴⁴ *Cambridge*, Vol. III, p. 588, Percy Brown, p. 20.
- ⁴⁵ *Cambridge*, Vol. III, p. 588.
- ⁴⁶ Percy Brown, p. 20.
- ⁴⁷ *Ibid.*
- ⁴⁸ See details, Carr. Stephen, pp. 122-25, *List of Muhammadan and Hindu Monuments*, Delhi Zail Vol. II, pp. 69-72. *A Memoir on Kotla Firuz Shah Delhi* by J.A. Page with a translation of *Sirat-i-Firuz Shah* by Muhammad Hamid Kuraishi in the *Memoirs of Archaeological Survey of India*.
- ⁴⁹ *Ibid.*
- ⁵⁰ See Barani, pp. 561-62, Carr. Stephen, pp. 126-28 and also *List of Muhammadan and Hindu Monuments*, Delhi Zail, Vol. II, pp. 72-73.
- ⁵¹ Carr. Stephen, pp. 126-28, Delhi Zail, Vol. II, pp. 72-73.
- ⁵² *Ibid.*
- ⁵³ *Ibid.*
- ⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵ Alexander Cunningham writes that the village from where it was brought was perhaps the present Paota on the Western bank of Jumna and 12 miles in a direct line to the north east of Khizrabad. In its immediate neighbourhood, at a distance of 66 miles from Thanesar was situated the ancient capital of 'Shrunghna' consisting of a large number of stupas of the time of Asoka as described by the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen S-Tang (A.D. 630-40). The village of Tobra was probably within the limits of this kingdom". (*Archaeological Survey Report*, 1862-63, Vol. I, p. 162). This seems to be a very convincing location of the village.

⁵⁶ See Afif, pp. 305-15 and *Sirat* (A.U.Ms.), pp. 178-79 and "A Memoir on Kotla' Firuz Shah Delhi' with a translation of *Sirat-i-Firuz Shahi* by Md. Hamid Kuraishi, pp. 35-37 in the *Memoirs of Archaeological Survey of India*.

⁵⁷ Alexander Cunningham, *Archaeological Survey Reports*, 1862-63, p. 162.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 165. According to Afif, pp. 305-15, the pillar measured 32 yards of which 8 yards were sunk in the ground. But it seems to be an approximate idea of the author as such less precise than given by Alexander Cunningham which seems to be more accurate.

⁵⁹ *Archaeological Survey Reports*, 1862-63, p. 162.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

⁶¹ *Archaeological Survey Reports*, 1862-63, p. 165.

⁶² *Ibid.*

⁶³ *Archaeological Survey Reports*, 1862-63, p. 166.

⁶⁴ For details (See *List of Hindu and Muhammadan Monuments*, Delhi Zail, Vol. II, pp. 243-44, and Carr. Stephen, pp. 140-42.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶⁶ *List of Hindu and Muhammadan Monuments*, pp. 243-44, Carr. Stephen, pp. 140-42.

⁶⁷ Afif, p. 309.

⁶⁸ Carr. Stephen, pp. 144-45.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

⁷⁰ *Archaeological Survey of India, Sharqi Architecture of Jaunpur*, A. Fuhrer, p. 23.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*

⁷² *Archaeological Survey of India, Sharqi Architecture of Jaunpur*, A. Fuhrer, p. 23.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, pp. 23-24.

⁷⁴ See *J.A.S.B.*, 1875, p. 15.

⁷⁵ *J.A.S.B.*, 1875, p. 15.

⁷⁶ *Archaeological Survey of India, Sharqi Architecture of Jaunpur*, A. Fuhrer, p. 29.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 29-30.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, Fergusson has highly admired this building and writes "Of the three masjids in Jaunpur Atala Masjid is most ornate and beautiful"
History of Indian and Eastern Architecture, pp. 522-24.

⁷⁹ *Sharqi Architecture of Jaunpur*, A. Fuhrer, p. 38.

⁸⁰ Yahya, (Basu), p. 142.

- ⁸¹ Percy Brown, p. 21, *Cambridge*, Vol. III, p. 592.
- ⁸² *List of Muhammadan and Hindu Monuments*, Delhi Zail, Vol. II, p. 241. It is related that Firuz Shah secured it as a gift from the Prophet by sending his spiritual guide Makhdum Jahanian Jahan Gasht, to him. The Sultan received this relic with great reverence and expressed his desire that after his death it should be placed over his grave. But when his favourite son Fathkhan died before him in 1374 A.D. it was placed on his grave.
- ⁸³ *Ibid.*, pp. 241-42.
- ⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 242-44, Carr. Stephen, 147-48.
- ⁸⁵ *Ibid.*.
- ⁸⁶ *Cambridge*, Vol. III, p. 591.
- ⁸⁷ Percy Brown, p. 22, See also *Cambridge*, Vol. III, pp. 591-92.
- ⁸⁸ Percy Brown, p. 21, See also *Cambridge*, Vol. III, p. 592, Carr. Stephen pp. 148-57.
- ⁸⁹ Percy Brown, p. 21.
- ⁹⁰ *Ibid.*,
- ⁹¹ *Ibid.*,
- ⁹² See *Cambridge*, Vol. III; p. 592, and also Percy Brown, p. 21.
- ⁹³ Percy Brown, p. 21.
- ⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, *Cambridge*, Vol. III, p. 592.
- ⁹⁵ Percy Brown, p. 21.
- ⁹⁶ For details See (Capter V), pp. 140-41.
- ⁹⁷ Barani, p. 565.
- ⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, *Cambridge*, Vol. III, p. 591.
- ⁹⁹ Barani, p. 566.
- ¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁰¹ Carr, Stephen, p. 147.
- ¹⁰² For details of his life, See Habib's *Shaikh Nasiruddin Muhammad Chiragh Dehlavi*.
- ¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, p. 144.
- ¹⁰⁴ *Siyar-ul-Aulia* quoted in Shaikh Nasiruddin Mahmud Chiragh Dehlavi by Habib, p. 144.
- ¹⁰⁵ Habib, p. 149.
- ¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 149-50.
- ¹⁰⁷ *Mediaeval Indian Quarterly*, Aligarh, 1950, Vol. I, p. 26.
- ¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁰⁹ Afif, pp. 78-82.
- ¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*
- ¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, *Siyar-ul-Aulia*, pp. 247-253. Quoted in *Mediaeval Indian Quarterly*, Aligarh, 1950, p. 26.
- ¹¹² Afif, 131-33.
- ¹¹³ For Shurawardi Silsilah and its influence on Mediaeval Indian Politics-See *Mediaeval Indian Quarterly*, Aligarh, 1957 Vol. III, pp. 109-49.
- ¹¹⁴ Titus—*Indian Islam*, p. 122. See also Yusuf Husain, p. 49, and *Mediaeval Indian Quarterly*, Aligarh, 1950, p. 27.
- ¹¹⁵ Once on being asked about the purpose of his visit to Delhi

Sayyid Jalal-uddin Bukhari said, "I did not undertake this journey to Delhi for the sake of fame or worldly fortune. (The reason was) that the son of a teacher of mine told me : Your teacher died leaving behind seven daughters. The Sultan of Delhi and dignitaries of state have faith in you. You should go there and collect from these people something for me so that through your kind help, I might arrange for their marriages. I have come to Delhi with this purpose otherwise, what has a darwesh to do with the society of rich people and nobles (*Mulfuzat-i-Qutub-i-Alam*) (MS. Etawa Islamiya College Library ff, 129, a, b) quoted in the *Mediaeval India Quarterly*, Aligarh, Muslim University, July-October, 1957, p. 114.

116 Afif, pp. 241-42.

117 *Inshai Mahru*, (A.U.Ms.), L. No. 21.

118 See Afif, pp. 514-16, *Mediaeval Indian Quarterly*, Aligarh, 1950, p. 27, July-October, Vol. III, 1957, p. 131.

119 See *Inshai Mahru* (A.U.Ms.), Letter No. 15.

120 See Afif, pp. 96-98.

121 See *Siyar-ul-Arifin*, (p. 158, *Mediaeval Indian Quarterly*, Aligarh Muslim University, July-October 1957, p. 134).

122 See details, Dr. Yusuf Husain, *Glimpses of Mediaeval Indian Culture* p. 49.

123 *Ibid.*, *Mediaeval Indian Quarterly*, Aligarh Muslim University, 1950, p. 27.

124 Yusuf Husain, *Glimpses of Mediaeval Indian Culture*, p. 52.

125 *Ibid.*

126 *Ibid.*

127 *Mediaeval Indian Quarterly*, 1950, p. 28.

128 See details *Mediaeval Indian Quarterly*, Aligarh 1950, pp. 28-29.

129 See details in the *Manaqibul Asifa*, Quoted in the *Mediaeval Indian Quarterly*, Aligarh Muslim University, 1950, p. 29.

130 *Mediaeval Indian Quarterly*, Aligarh, p. 29.

131 *Futihat-i-Firuz Shahi*, (*Islamic Culture*), Vol. 15, 1941, pp. 455-56.

132 See details, *Mediaeval Indian Quarterly*, Aligarh, 1950, p. 30.

AUTHORITIES

Contemporary Sources

FUTUH-US-SALATIN

FUTUH-US-SALATIN of Isami is one of the chief sources for information with regard to the Deccan expeditions of Muhammad Tughluq. The author was born in India in 1311 A.D. and his ancestors had served under the Sultans of Delhi ever since the days of Ilutmish. During the reign of Muhammad Tughluq when he was only 16, he was compelled to go to Daulatabad and he lived there upto the age of 40. It was here that he began writing his work on 10th December, 1349 A.D. and completed it on 14th May 1350 A.D. It was dedicated to Alauddin Bahman Shah the first ruler of Bahman dynasty.

The work begins with the history of Mahmud of Ghazni and concludes with the reign of Muhammad Tughluq. It is written in verse and its poetical style is marked by simplicity and lucidness. Although Isami gives a detailed account of the Deccan campaigns of Muhammad Tughluq, yet at times his views have been coloured by prejudices, against Muhammad Tughluq, with whom he was dissatisfied owing to the great hardship suffered during the transfer of capital.

TARIKH-I-FIRUZ SHAHI OF ZIAUDDIN BARANI

Barani stands in the long line of the distinguished historians which begins with Minhaj-us-Siraj and concludes with the author of Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi, named Yahya. He is certainly the first of the chroniclers who were born and brought up in India. His ancestors held high posts under the Khalji monarchs. The historian was a contemporary of Ghiyasuddin Muhammad and Firuz Shah Tughluq. Of them Muhammad Tughluq had a great intimacy with him and consulted him in many of his projects. Within the imperial court the historian occupied a prominent place.

As a scholar Barani was talented and was specially interested in History which he made the object of his study and interpretations.

His scholarly pursuit is revealed in his *Tarikhi-Firuz Shahi*, which was completed in 1359 A.D. and dedicated to the ruling sovereign, i.e., Firuz Shah. He died at a ripe old age during the reign of Firuz Shah Tughluq.

The historian commences his narrative with the reign of Balban and concludes it with the sixth year of the reign of Firuz Shah. In an introductory chapter he lays down the canons of historiography, laying great stress on impartiality and adherence to truth. He observes if for certain reasons a historian cannot speak the truth, which it is his duty to do, he should express himself in metaphors etc. For the reign of Muhammad Tughluq and first six years of the reign of Firuz the author is our sole authority and guide. Most of his statements are based on personal knowledge.

STYLE OF WRITING

Although the preface is written in ornamental language, other chapters are marked by simplicity and lucidness.

ITS DEFECTS

But unfortunately Barani's writing suffers from several defects. Firstly, his outlook was coloured by the faith of the school to which he belonged, and therefore he interpreted the methods and measures of the Sultan in terms of religion. Secondly, the chronological order of events in the narrative is also defective. This is specially revealed in the account of the centrifugal movements that started from the middle of the reign of Muhammad Tughluq. In spite of an exhaustive account of the rebellions, the writer does not give the date in most cases, and in general it lacks a complete and connected account.

Another defect of Barani's writing is that in consonance with the usual practice of the age he has bestowed lavish praises upon his patron, which in some places seem to be more exaggerated than real, e.g., while speaking about the virtues of the Sultan he writes, "No sovereign of India after Muhammad Ghor who sat on the throne of Delhi was so just, kind-hearted, benevolent etc.... as Firuz". In another place the writer greatly admires the peace and comforts of the reign of Firuz, observing, 'Even the birds and fish lived in contentment during this reign.'

In fact, Barani has deified Firuz in this chapter, by narrating same virtues of the Sultan times out of number.

The author starts the reign of Firuz with an elaborate account of the anarchical conditions in Tattah, following the death of Muhammad Tughluq, the difficulties of Firuz, his accession with the help of the ulamas, and triumphant march to Delhi. He justifies the claims of Firuz both in the ground of the nomination by the deceased monarch and his inherent right of succession and refuses to believe that the late Sultan Muhammad Tughluq had any son. His personal malice against the Prime Minister Khvaja Jahan Ayaz leads him to declare the son of Muhammad Tughluq as of obscure parentage and to interpret the action of the Minister in elevating him to the throne as a means of perpetuating his self-dominance.

The most useful information provided by Barani and which we do not come across in Afif, relates to the method of realization of taxes and the description of some of the important madarsahs, viz., Madarsah-i-Firuz Shahi at Firuzabad and another at Siri, with its architectural designs, management, curriculum revealing the educational system of the age.

Although Barani speaks of the canal system of Firuz Shah, yet his description is inadequate because it neither mentions the names nor the routes. His whole emphasis is upon the benefits which the people were to reap out of it.

In his six year's narrative, Barani's account of the first expedition to Bengal is also important. He is the only authority which mentions the date of the expedition which seems to be correct. The motive mentioned by him tallies with that indicated in the Sirat. The detailed account of the routes through which the Sultan passed is also very convincing.

SIRAT-I-FIRUZ SHAHI

Sirat-i-Firuz Shahi was written in 1370 A.D. during the life time of Firuz. It appears that the author, if not a courtier, was intimately attached to the court and enjoyed the patronage of the Sultan. His information is based on personal observation. He supplies the gap which are found in Barani.

Although the book is full of flattery and glowing tributes to the Sultan, yet, it has a literary beauty of its own. Unlike the simplicity of Barani it exhibits an ornamental style with a rich

vocabulary soothing rhymes, appropriate analogies and beautiful metaphors. In fact it evidences the skill of a great scholar.

The work is divided into four chapters. The first chapter makes chronological survey of the political events of the reign of Firuz Shah Tughluq started from his accession at Tattah in the midst of a chaotic atmosphere and concluding with an account of the Sind Campaign. In it adequate information had been provided on the expeditions to Bengal, Sind, Jajnagar and Nagarkot.

Of these, the account of Jajnagar expedition is worth mentioning. It is the only authority which gives a picturesque description of the kingdom of Jajnagar ; the chief produce of the land, its inhabitants and the mode of living.

The second chapter gives an elaborate account of the benevolent and charitable deeds of the Sultan, besides the birds and animals and their mode of living etc.

In the third chapter we have an exhaustive account of the canals of Firuz Shah ; cultivation of crops and some of the important buildings of the age.

The last chapter deals with the description of the astrological charts (usturlabs) weapons of war etc. It mainly deals with the cultural contribution of the various books produced in different subjects. In it we find also a glimpse of the educational system of the age.

FUTUHAT-I-FIRUZ SHAHI

Futuh-at-i-Firuz Shahi of which the Sultan himself was the author, contains a brief summary of his reign. The Sultan calls it as his 'Victories'. The work is written in a very simple style ; and deals with some of the most important regulations of the State. Throughout the work the Sultan tries to pose himself as an orthodox Muslim ; and show how most of his regulations hinged on a religious motive, although in reality he might not have been guided by it. It was, in fact, a political pamphlet written probably to win the co-operation of his co-religionists.

INSHA-I-MAHRU OR MUNSHAT-I-MAHRU

Insha-i-Mahru is also one of the most important sources for the reign of Firuz Shah. It is a collection of a large number of official documents, e.g., (Manshurs, Misals, and Nishans), petitions (Arzdashts) besides letters on varied subjects

(Maktubs) addressed to the prominent personalities of the age. Its editor Ain-ul-Mulk has drafted most of the letters either on behalf of the Government and the Sultan or on behalf of other persons. Some of them are private letters written by him to his sons or brothers.

Born and brought up in the province of Multan Ain-ul-Mulk started his political career from the reign of Alauddin Muhammad Shah Khalji (1295-1315 A.D.) who made him in charge of the fiefs of Dhar and Ujjain and on one occasion appointed him Secretary under Ulugh Khan to draft despatches and letters.¹ In the reign of Qutbuddin Mubarak Shah he served as the Wazir of Deogir. Khusrav Shah conferred on him the title of Alam Khan.² During the encounter between Ghazi Malik and Khusrav Shah, Ain-ul-Mulk deserted the latter and went to Ujjain and Dhar. In the reign of Ghiyasuddin Tughluq, Ain-ul-Mulk held the position of Umara.³

Muhammad Tughluq bestowed on him many favours and assigned him the iqta or the feudal tenure of Multan. For some-time he was also incharge of the United Province of Oudh and Zafrabad. Although once Ain-ul-Mulk being dissatisfied with the policy of the Sultan revolted yet the latter after suppressing the rebellion treated him with great affection.

During the reign of Firuz, Ain-ul-Mulk held a very important portfolio in the Diwan-i-Wizarat, i.e., Ashraful Mumalik.⁴ Here he used to have frequent disputes with the Wazir Khanjahan; and sometimes the Sultan was forced to interfere. Once the situation came to such a pass that the Sultan was forced to give powers to the Wazir to dismiss Ain-ul-Mulk. But his dismissal caused much resentment among the public; the Sultan, however, saved the situation in a tactful manner, by bringing compromise between the two ministers.

Thus Ain-ul-Mulk was one of the most leading personalities of the age. Barani calls him "An eminent scholar of highest character and benevolent disposition".⁵ In the words of Afif "He was a wise, accomplished, excellent clever man full of sound judgment and intelligence."⁶

The letters of Ain-ul-Mulk are of first rate importance for they provide many useful information regarding the political events of the reign of Firuz some of which do not find any reference in the account of other contemporary writers. For some of the

military expeditions of Firuz Shah, the letters of Ain-ul-Mulk should be considered as our sole authority and guide. In its special mention must be made of the proclamation (Nishan) of the Sultan addressed to the aima sadat, mashaikhs, khans, maliks to all rayyats and general public of the country of Lakhnawati⁷ and the petition of Ain-ul-Mulk to the Chief Minister of the Kingdom (Malik-Ush-Sharq Wal Wizra).⁸ Both of them throw important light upon the causes in which the expeditions to Lakhnawati and Tattah originated. In the letter addressed to the Chief Minister, Ain-ul-Mulk speaks of the Mughal raid. Another letter written by an Amir of Multan to the Sultan reveals the same fact.⁹ This particular event has altogether been omitted by Afif and Sirat ; only Barani makes a brief reference to it in his concluding chapters.

Ain-ul-Mulk's documents detailing Firuz Shah's expedition to Jajnagar is also important¹⁰. Although unlike Sirat-i-Firuz Shahi it gives an unconvincing account of the routes through which the Sultan passed, and in many cases over-exaggerates the achievement of the Sultan, yet there is no denying the fact that his graphic account provides adequate information to the events of the expedition.

Besides this military expedition, the letters of Ain-ul-Mulk form an important source of information for the administrative system of Firuz Shah, e.g. one of them addressed to Azam Humayun delineates the prominent features of the Sultan's ideal of Kingship.¹¹ Some of them speak of the activities of the Diwan-i-Istifa and the Sultan's special efforts for the maintenance of old monasteries by granting adequate funds. Frequent references are made to the province of Multan and some of the letters throw important light upon the social and religious condition of the age, besides the sympathetic feelings of the author for his home province.

TARIKH-I-FIRUZ SHAHI OF SHAMS-I-SIRAJ AFIF

Afif belonged to a family which had settled in Abuhar, the home-town of the Rajput mother of Firuz. His great grandfather, who was a collector of revenue of Abuhar, had a great intimacy with Ghiyasuddin Tughluq. His father had served in the government of Firuz in various capacities, and was one of

the chief sources of information to him, upon which he based his work. In his childhood the writer on many occasions had also visited the imperial court and this too had some effect in his writing.

His *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi* is a continuation of the work of Barani. The author devotes his entire history to the elucidation and description of the reign of Firuz Shah Tughluq. Like Barani he has also lavished high praises on qualities and virtues of this king. But in process of development of art of historiography, in him we have a landmark. Whereas Barani and his predecessors confined themselves simply to the description of events in a chronological order though occasionally they offered comments of their own, *Shams-i-Siraj* displays, comparatively speaking, a more comprehensive outlook. Besides initiating us into the politics of Firuz Tughluq's reign, he also acquaints us with the institutions of his time. As such he may rightly be styled as precursor of Abul Fazal. He begins his narrative with the early life of Firuz and traces it to the point when the latter assumed sceptre of authority. He seeks to justify the action of Firuz Shah Tughluq, in taking the reins of Government in his hands both on superstitious and political grounds and in this respect his view is different from that of Barani. Barani has condemned Muhammad Tughluq's Prime Minister Khvaja Jahan Ayaz for placing on the throne a son of Muhammad Tughluq whom the historian calls of obscure parentage. But Afif has got to offer altogether a different explanation. He defends the conduct of the Prime Minister on the ground of incomplete information. He definitely says that Khvaja Jahan Ayaz bore no ill-will to Firuz and that he never intended rebellion or high treason. Firuz Tughluq according to him was destined to become a king because his kingship had been prophesized by four leading saints at different times.

Afif's style of writing is interesting. Besides details of political events he has described the system of administration, organization of army, various factories, the provision made for maintenance of slaves and for providing employment to the unemployed etc. He refers to the introduction of the practice of striking hours and gives a graphic description as to how some Asokan pillars were removed to their present sites. He does not mince matters while referring to the corrupt

practices which developed during the reign of Firuz Shah Tughluq.

Afif concludes this historical work with information on the life of the nobles, and perhaps this is his greatest contribution. It brings out clearly the economic contrast amongst various classes of society. Habits of extravagance indulged in by those belonging to higher ranks have been described as also in certain cases the licentiousness of the order of nobility.

The work of Afif also throws some light on the life of the common people, e.g., the writer mentions that the Sultan strove hard to ameliorate the misery of girls of middle class families by making suitable provision for their dowries. The description makes it plain that pernicious system of dowry infected the Muslim society. Secondly, it brings out common attitude towards female children. Interesting lines are quoted in this connection. One of them may be translated as follows:—

“A daughter has her name embedded in danger. She keeps her parent in perpetual humiliation. Woe to a family in which a daughter is born. If she dies it is all for the better.” It speaks of the spirit of the age when the daughters were considered to be a liability by the parents. Another interesting line throws some light upon the position of the women in society. It reads as follows:—

“The coinage of kings is like an unmarried daughter, whom no one would seek after, however beautiful and charming she might be if any aspersions had, either rightly or wrongly, been cast upon her character.”

Like Barani the work of Afif is also coloured by religious prejudices. He has painted the Sultan as an ideal Muslim whose actions streamed from religious motive. Even in his account of Tas-i-Ghariyal the writer fails to appreciate its general utility to all, and only insists upon its religious utility to the Muslims. Throughout his narrative he has praised the Sultan, and concealed the latter's weaknesses under one cloak or another, e.g., the Sultan's lack of military skill has been justified on the ground of his Idealism. The writer's appreciation of the Sultan's generosity and kindness illustrated with the narration of the various anecdotes of his life, incidentally exposes the administrative inefficiency and the corruptions of the age.

*Secondary Sources***TARIKH-I-MUBARAK SHAHI OF
YAHYA BIN AHMED BIN ABDULLAH SIRHINDI**

Yahya was a contemporary of Bihamad Khan, the author of *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi*. The work was written in the days of the Sayyids. It starts with the history of the conquest of Hindustan by Muhammad Ghorî and concludes with the accession of Muhammad Khan bin Khizr Khan in 1434 A.D. As a secondary source of information the work has a special importance of its own because it supplements the information of Afif from 1380 A.D. onward with an elaborate account of the last days of Firuz Shah for which he seems to have consulted some of the immediate contemporaries of the Sultan. His account of the internal rebellions that occurred during this period with specific dates are also very convincing. His chief source of information in general seems to be Barani and Afif, but in many cases he fills their gaps.

The work is written in a simple style and its chronology and general treatment stands in startling contrast to that of his predecessors.

TARIKH-I-MUHAMMADI

Tarikh-i-Muhammadi was written 90 years after the death of Firuz in the year 842 A.H. in the days of the Sayyids. Its author Bihmand Khan was a contemporary of Yahya. His father has been in the service of the revenue and military department in the reigns of Sultan Tughluq Shah, Muhammad Shah, son of Firuz Shah.

In it the author has made a very brief survey of the reign of Firuz. It seems that he has based his account mostly on the writings of Barani. Like Yahya it has also given an elaborate account of the last days of Firuz Shah.

TABQAT-I-AKBARI OF NIZAMUDDIN AHMAD

The work was completed in 1593 A.D. in the reign of Akbar. The writer commences his narrative with an account of the Kings of Ghazni and concludes with the reign of Akbar 1002 A.H. In a particular chapter, brief survey has been made of the reign of Firuz Shah which does not provide us with any new material. His sources of information seem to be Barani and Afif.

MUNTUKHAB-UT-TWARIKH OF BUDAONI

Budaoni was a contemporary of Nizamuddin Ahmad and finished his work on February 23, 1596 A.D. after Nizamuddin's death. Like Nizamuddin he also commences his narrative with a brief introduction of the Ghaznavides and concludes with the reign of Akbar. In dealing with the reign of Firuz Shah the writer seems to have relied mostly on the accounts of Yahya. He provides us with much useful information regarding the distinguished literary personages of the age and their patronage at the hand of the Sultan.

TARIKH-I-FIRISHTA OF FIRISHTA

Firishta wrote his history in Deccan in 1606 A.D. during the reign of Akbar and presented it to Ibrahim Adil Shah. Like Budaoni or Nizamuddin the writer also makes a brief historical survey of the reigns of earlier kings before Akbar. It, therefore, begins with the account of the Ghaznavides and concludes with the events up to the date of its completion. In the account of Firuz Shah's reign the writer only makes a repetition of the earlier accounts, viz., those of Barani, Yahya, Nizamuddin and Budaoni. The work in many cases gives inaccurate dates of the events. In the Persian literature it is known for its simple style of writing.

MA ASIR-I-RAHIMI

Its author, Abdul Baqi, Nahavandi, originally belonged to Persia and at the special invitation of Abul Faiz Faizi the brother of Abul Fazl and Abdul Rahman Khan Khanan, visited Hindustan in 1023 A.H./1614 A.D. and arrived at Burhanpur in Khandesh, where he was conferred a Jagir. In 1616 A.D. the author completed his work Ma'asiri Rahimi after the name of his patron Abdur Rahim Khan Khanan.

So far as the reign of Firuz Shah is concerned the author does not throw any new light upon it. In the brief survey of the rulers of Hindustan from Ghaznavides to the accession of Jahangir, it has only devoted few pages to it; which is only a repetition of the facts as detailed by the earlier historians.

AKHBAR-UL-AKHYAR OF ABDUL HAQ (DEHLWI)

The work was completed in the reign of Jahangir. It deals

with the life and works of some of the leading poets and philosophers of Delhi. In it reference has also been made to the intellectuals of the age of Firuz with a list of their contributions. A few extracts of the works have been translated by Elliot and Dowson in (Vol. VI).

Provincial Histories

RIYAZ-US-SALATIN

It was written by Ghulam Husain Yazdpuri in 1202 A.H./1788 A.D. It gives a connected historical account of Bengal from the earliest times to the date of writing. But it is marked by the inaccuracies and mis-statement of facts. The dates which it gives do not agree with the coins or inscriptions.

TARIKH-I-MASUMI

It is a history of Sind written in 1599 A.D./1008 A.H. by Mir Masum. The author commences his narrative from the Muhammadan conquest and concludes with its annexation by Akbar. In the reign of Firuz Shah it throws important light upon the Sultan's raid upon the province of Tattah besides giving a convincing account of the genealogy of the Sammas.

TUHFATUL KIRAM

Tuhfatul Kiram of Mir Ali Qani of Tattah is another important history of Sind that provides some information regarding the military expedition of Firuz Shah to Tattah. Its elaborate account of the origin of the Sammas is also very important. But the work suffers from defective chronology. A few portions of the work have been translated by Elliot (Vol. I).

ARCHITECTURE

For the Architecture of Firuz I have mainly depended upon the reports and Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India.

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- 2 *Ibid*, p. 379.
- 3 *Ibid*, p. 424.
- 4 Afif, pp. 406-18.

- 5 Barani, p. 584 ; *J.A.S.B.*, 1923, p. 26.
- 6 Afif, p. 406.
- 7 *Inshai Mahru* (A.U.Ms.), pp. 23-26.
- 8 *Ibid.*, (A.U.Ms.), pp. 123-27.
- 9 *Ibid.*, pp. 28-29.
- 10 *Ibid.*, (A.U.Ms.) pp. 75, 37-47.
- 11 *Ibid.*, pp. 13-14.

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The Seven Cities Of Delhi

GORDON RISELEY HEARN

The work has been divided into three parts as under:

1. Situation of seven cities and their monuments.
2. Archaeology and antiquities of seven cities.
3. History of Delhi from 1191 A.D. before the Muhammadan conquest to 1905 A.D. This arrangement increases the utility of the work to the reader.

PROGRESSIVE BOOKS
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