TUGHLUQ DYNASTY

[Containing a revised and enlarged edition of the *Rise & Fall of Muḥammad bin Tughluq*—thesis approved for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy by the University of London in 1935 and published in London with a grant from London University]



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Your name is *Tughluq Ghāzi the Great.* Among the Mongols too there was a man called Tughluq. You Tughluq! You are a warrior, wielding the sword in the holy cause, killing in the field (of battle) that archer Tughluq. (Amir Khusrau)

منظم تغلق غازی ترا نام مغل ہم نام تغلق داشت ز ایام
چو تو تغلق غزا را تیغ در دست چو او تغلق بگیرے تیر در داشت

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Muhammad Shāh, the crest-jewel of all rulers of the earth
(Madan Deva)

महमूदसाहिरखिलक्षाणीशचूडामणिः

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Shāhanshāh-i abul Barakāt Sulemān Jāh
Most Prosperous Emperor, of Solomon Rank, Firoz Shāh
T.F.S.A,, 394,428

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ABBREVIATIONS

A. H. G.—Arabic History of Gujarat, London 1928

A. N. P.—Akbar Nāmā, Persian (i) Lucknow 1866
(ii) Calcutta 1873

App. Ep. Ind.—Appendix Epigraphia Indica

A. R. I. E.—Annual Report of Indian Epigraphy

A. S. D. I. M.—Ādābu's-Sulṭāniya wa'ddawalu'l Islāmia

A. S. D. Q —Administration of the Sultanate of Dehli—
Qureshi, Lahore, 1944

A. S. I. R.—Archaeological Survey of India Reports
by Cunningham

A. S. M. I. M.—Agrarian System of Moslem India—
Moreland, Cambridge, 1929

A. S. R. C.—Archaeological Survey Reports—Cunningham
Calcutta, 1887

A. S. B.—Asiatic Society of Bengal

B. I. or
Bib. Ind. } Bibliotheca Indica

B. M.—British Museum

B. N.—Bibliothèque Nationale

C. H. I.—Cambridge History of India, Cambridge, 1928

C. H. S.—Carnatic Historical Society

C. P. K. D.—The Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Dehli
London, 1871

Def. et Sng.—Defremery et Sanguinetti

E. I.—Epigraphia Indica

E. I.—Encyclopaedia of Islam, London 1913

E. I. M.—Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica

F. S. or F. S. I.—Futūḥū's-Salāṭīn, 'Isami, Agra, 1938

G. O. S.—Gaekwar Oriental Series

H. C. I. P.—The History and Culture of the Indian People (Bombay, 1960)

I. O.—India Office

Ind Ant—Indian Antiquary

IPQT—Qarauna Turks—Iswari Prasad

J. B. O. R. S.—Journal of Bihar Orissa Research Society

J. A. S. B.—Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal

J. R. A. S.—Journal of Royal Asiatic Society

K. M.—Khairu'l Majālis

Kh. F.—Khazāinu'l Futūḥ

M. D. G.—Madras District Gazetteer

M. I. Q. A.—Medieval India Quarterly, Aligarh

M. M. Y.—Ma'ādanu'l Ma'āni of Sharaf Yaḥya Manerī (Bihar, 1884)

M. S. M. P. L.—Maktūbāt-i Seh-ṣadī—Manerī MS. Patna University Library

M. S. M.—Seh-sadi Maktūbāt-i Manerī, Jawābī, Lahore, 1319 A. H.

M. T.—Malfuẓāt-i Timūrī A. S. MS.

M. T. B.—Muntakhabu't-Tawārīkh, Budāūnī

P. O. L.—Patna Oriental Library

P. U. J.—Patna University Journal

Pr. I. H. C.—Proceedings of Indian History Congress

P. R. A. S. W. C.—Progress Report Archaeological Survey, Western Circle

P. R. M. I. M.—Preamble of Revaluation of the History of Medieval India (Calcutta, 1955)

Q. B.—Qaṣāid-i Badr Chāch (Lucknow, 1267 H)

Q. T.—Qarauna Turks, Allahabad, 1936

R. F. M.—The Rise and Fall of Muḥammad bin Tughluq, London 1933

S. E. I.—Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam, London, 1953

S. I. M. H.—Studies in Indo-Muslim History, Hodivala (Bombay, 1939)

T. F. } —Tarıkh-i Firishta, Bombay, 1832
T. Fr. }

T. F. S. A.—Tārīkh-i Fīroz Shāhī, Afīf, Calcutta, 1890

T. F. S. B.—Tārīkh-i Fīroz Shāhī, Baranī, Calcutta, 1862

T. M. } —Tārikh-i Mubārak Shāhī—Yahyā, Calcutta,
T. M. Y. } 1930

Z. N. } —Ẓafar Nāma of Sharafu'ddīn, Calcutta, 1885
Z. N. S. }

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TRANSLIATERATION

The scheme of transliteration followed in this book is the same as has been followed in the other works.[1] The transliteration marks are given to singular forms only and are withheld from the plural forms because plural is formed in the English manner by adding 's'. Hence sultans, qazis, amirs, Hindus, mamluks and shaikhs are written without the transliteration marks.

As regards spelling of proper names I have not followed the English method. For instance, they write Delhi and Meerut; and the same has become the fashionable spelling in modern India. But it is incorrect and misleading and highly undesirable for purposes of research and teaching in History. Anxious to avoid and cause any kind of wrong ideology—for wrong spelling leads eventually to a wrong ideology—I have written Dehli and Mirath.

I have noticed bewilderingly different spellings in modern books for the Arabic word 'saiyed' or 'saiyad' used in the Quran.[2] While I have borrowed the current spellings which are noticeable in this book I prefer *saiyed*.

1 The *Rise and Fall of Muḥammad bin Tughluq* ; *The Reḥla of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa*.

2 Sura iii, verse 34.

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PREFACE TO

The Rise and Fall of Muḥammad bin Tughluq

I am convinced that no greater service can be rendered to Indian historical research than the rewriting of the history of medieval India with a view to removing the misunderstandings that are, I fear, in spite of the efforts of modern scholars, still being perpetuated. It is believed, for example, that the lot of the Hindus under Muslim rule was that of 'hewers of wood and drawers of water to their Muslim masters inasmuch as Muslim rulers were in general under the influence of Muslim jurists who regarded the humiliation of the Hindus as a religious obligation.'

It is with the endeavour to combat such arguments and do away with beliefs of this kind that I venture to offer to the public the present work—*The Rise and Fall of Muḥammad bin Tughluq*.

Muḥammad bin Tughluq is perhaps the most important of all the Muslim rulers in India and certainly one of the most grossly misunderstood. His attitude towards Hinduism and his relations with his Hindū subjects and the Hindū ascetics on the one hand, and with the Muslim jurists—the 'ulamā and *fuqahā*—and the saiyeds, the Sunnis, the sufis and mashāikh[1] on the other were of enormous importance in one of the most interesting and momentous phases of Indian history. It is an irony of fate that no official records of his reign exist, and the only source of true

1 *Cf.* T. F. S. B., pp. 457-72-476

information, namely his *Autobiography* is meagre and insufficient.

What is still more unfortunate is the fact that Muḥammad bin Tughluq had the most unsympathetic chroniclers and historians, who for all their good intentions took a prejudiced view of things. It is a misfortune that Ẓiyāu'ddīn Baranī who presents a striking contrast to Sulṭān Muḥammad in almost every respect, specially in matters religious, has been regarded as his apologist. It is again a misfortune that Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, who was decidedly biassed, has been called an impartial journalist.

The bias of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa is evident from a comparative study of the *Reḥla* and the *Futūḥu's-Salāṭīn*. The *Futūḥu's-Salāṭīn* tells us that the *qazis* of the empire had declared war on the emperor and had approved of his execution. Now Ibn Baṭṭūṭa was one of the most important *qazis*. What could have been his attitude? Could he have failed to be touched by the spirit of revolt which was then in the air? Was he indifferent to the cause of his fellow-qazis and the fate of the *aṣḥāb-i dīn*[1] with whom the emperor was at war? One thing is certain. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa ultimately lost the emperor's favour, renounced his service and was confined to his own house under guard. How he managed to save his neck from the executioner's sword can be read in the *Reḥla*, but one would search in vain for the real cause of his estrangement from the emperor. The cause muse have been grave because Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's mind was positively set against him. He refused to accept service under him when it was offered again; and was not at heart reconciled even when favoured with

1 *Aṣḥāb-i dīn*, literally men of religion, is the term used by 'Iṣami for the 'ulamā, *fuqahā* and mashāikh.

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an opportunity to go on an embassy to China. After his shipwreck when most in need of the emperor's charity and benevolence—the only trait of his character he really liked—he avoided seeing him. Instead of going to Dehlī, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa proceeded to Ma'bar.

Now Ma'bar had long been the headquarters of rebels. Among the twenty-two rebellions of Sulṭān Muḥammad's reign, the rebellion of Ma'bar was the first of those he failed to subdue, and marked the beginning of the break-up of the empire. To the arch-rebel of Ma'bar, Jalālu'ddīn Aḥsan Shāh, who became the first king of Ma'bar, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa had been closely related, having married his elder daughter. Jalālu'ddīn Aḥsan Shāh was no more; but Ibn Baṭṭūṭa preferred to live under his successors, who were no less the enemies of the emperor of Dehlī.

It seems that Ibn Baṭṭūṭa had intended much earlier to leave Dehlī for Ma'bar; he would have gone there directly, had he not been sent on the Chinese embassy. His connections with the enemies of Muḥammad bin Tughluq help to illumine the background of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's mind.

The nature of the antagonism between Sulṭān Muhammad bin Tughluq and Baranī on the one hand and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa on the other will be clear to the readers of this book. Here it is advisable to note that the discovery of the *Futūḥu's-Salāṭīn* has made easier to understand the cause and source of the charges levelled by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa at the Sulṭān: for instance the plot Sulṭān Muḥammad, then known as Jauna Khān, is said to have formed with Aḥmad bin Aiyāz to murder his royal father, Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Tughluq. The *Futūḥu's-Salāṭīn* gives practically the same tale as is found in the *Reḥla*. Again, the story of the inhuman

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treatment meted out by Sulṭān Muḥammad to Bahāu'ddīn Gurshāsp (whose flesh was cooked with rice and given to elephants) as related by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa is found with minor differences in the *Futūḥu's-Salāṭīn*. And again, the blood-curdling stories about the forced exile of all the inhabitants of Dehlī and about the punishments inflicted upon a blind man and a cripple for having failed to leave the city, described in the *Reḥla*, find their parallels in the *Futūḥu's-Salāṭīn*. The natural result of our finding these stories similarly set out by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa and 'Iṣāmī is to make us suspect the accuracy of the Moorish traveller since we know that 'Iṣāmī was definitely hostile to the Sulṭān.

The *Futūḥu's-Salāṭīn* is a poetical history composed during the lifetime of Muḥammad bin Tughluq by 'Iṣāmī and dedicated to Sulṭān 'Alāu'ddīn Ḥasan, founder of the Bahmanī dynasty, a rebel against emperor Muḥammad bin Tughluq. Written to please the emperor's enemies, it censures him for his revolt against Islām, for making common cause with the Hindus and for mixing with the *jogis*—this last charge is also put forward by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa. Briggs was misinformed about the *Futūḥu's-Salāṭīn*, and is not justified in declaring it to be an unimportant book of historical romances[1].

I consider the *Futūḥu's-Sālaṭīn* an important source of information not only for the history of Muḥammad bin Tughluq but also for that of Medieval India up to 1349 A.D. It throws light particularly on the psychology of the Musalmans in the 14th century, on the geographical places and principal towns; on the nature of punishments then inflicted; on the Hindū chiefs and on the

1 Briggs, J., *History of the Rise of the Mahomedan Power*, I, 406.

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Muslim adoration of India. It abounds in moral discourses and in reflections on human life and its experiences. It is much to be regretted that the real name of 'Isāmī is nowhere mentioned in the book. An attempt has, however, been made to identify him with Khwāja 'Abdul Malik 'Iṣāmī on the authority of the *Khazīna-i Ganj-i Ilāhī* (Ilahi's treasury), a biographical account of the poets of the 9th and 10th centuries Hijra including also some of those of the 8th.

'Iṣamī tells us that on finishing his book—the *Futūḥu's-Salāṭīn*—he was forty years of age. This enables us to fix 711 Hijra (A.D. 1311) as the date of his birth. He was sixteen years of age when under orders of Muḥammad bin Tughluq (1327/727), he left Dehlī for Daulatābād in the company of his aged grandfather, 'Aizzu'ddīn. Perhaps his father had already died. He remained in Daulatābād for the succeeding twenty-four years—in the course of which he was so much weighed with grief that he became grey. He was so disgusted with life that he resolved to leave India, his native country, so that he could spend the remainder of his life in peace at Mecca. But he desired to leave a souvenir in the form of an epic, which might challenge comparison with the *Shāh Nāma* of Firdausī. Thus originated the *Futūḥu's-Salāṭīn* which may legitimately be called the *Shāh Nāma* of Medieval India.

'Iṣamī began to write the *Futūḥu's-Salāṭīn* on the 10th of December, 1340 and finished it on the 14th of May, 1350 A.D. It took him five months and nine days to complete the book. Previously he had written several works, but as they were not appreciated they fell into oblivion. However, they were followed by the *Futūḥu's-*

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Salāṭīn which survived because it was written under the royal patronage of 'Alāu'ddīn Ḥasan Bahman Shāh to whom 'Iṣāmī had been presented by Qāẓī Bahāu'ddīn of Daulatābād.

It should be noted that although 'Iṣāmī was the contemporary of Ẓiyāu'ddīn Baranī, neither makes any reference to the other. Perhaps each was unware of the other's existence; for while Baranī lived most of his life in the noth (Hindustān), 'Iṣāmī resided for many years in the south (Deccan); and he wrote his *Futūḥu's-Salāṭīn* some eight years before Baranī produced the *Tārīkh-i Fīroz Shāhī*. Nothing is known about 'Iṣāmī after the completion of the *Futūḥu's-Salāṭīn* (May, 1350). Perhaps it was at this time that he proceeded to Mecca.

'Iṣāmī's style is simple and unostentatious; his expressions are lucid; and he is free from that magniloquence and rhetoric which was then considered fashionable and beautiful. He is much clearer than Badr Chāch and might be called the best epic writer of his age.

The value of the *Futūḥu's-Salāṭīn* as an independent and contemporary source of information will be clear to those who study it along with Sulṭān Muḥammad's *Autobiography*. It will be seen that the *Autobiography* bears out the observations of 'Iṣāmī regarding the Sulṭān's revolt against Islām. The *Autobiography* illumines and explains many of Baranī's obscure passages regarding the psychology and character of Sulṭān Muḥammad. It enables the reader to understand the Sulṭān's attitude towards his predecessors and particularly towards his own father, Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Tughluq. It also explains the causes of the Sūlṭān's complete surrender to the Abbasid caliph. Furthermore, the *Autobiography*

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brings to light the nature of the difficulties confronting the Sulṭān as ruler of India and finally it helps us to form an estimate of the circumstances that led to the break-up of the empire and the troubles that overwhelmed the emperor.

The two Sanskrit inscriptions of 1327 and 1328 supply the much-needed Hindū evidence in favour of Muḥammad bin Tughluq. Mention may also be made of the *Tughluq Nāma.*

The foregoing are the new sources that have been, along with the others already known, examined and utilized in the preparation of this work. It is an attempt to present a true account of the life and policy of that emperor who was an enigma to Baranī, an enemy of Islām and friend of Hinduism to 'Iṣāmī and a mixture of opposites and a freak of nature to others.

In this work, the obscurities regarding the chronology of the Sulṭān's reign have been removed; and difficult passages in Baranī's *Tārīkh-i Fīroz Shāhī* regarding the Sulṭān's temper and mind, his personal and public policy, his cruelty and his devotion to philosophy have been explained. The generally accepted view that Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh had great regard for Sulṭān Muḥammad bin Tughluq has been examined. The stories of Tarmashīrīn's invasion, of the levy of oppressive taxes in Doāb, and of the man-hunting expeditions have also been discussed. Conclusions have been reached in each case after a careful marshalling of facts and a study of the factors underlying the fabric of history.

Hard was the lot of Muḥammad bin Tughluq; and he suffered amply for his free thought and rationalism. But he proved himself a revolutionary and his career helped Baranī to realize how little the preceding sultans of Dehlī

had been influenced by the jurists (*fuqahā*).[1] Baranī therefore discarded all of them; and regarded Fīroz Shāh as *the first truly Islamic king of India*. The historian was not without justification. History shows that the theories of Qāẓī Mughiṣu'ddīn, of Maulānā Shamsu'ddīn and even of the recognized Arab jurist Māwerdī did not carry much weight in the eyes of the sultans of Dehlī. Tritton's observation—'the conduct of the rulers was often better than the law demanded'—made with regard to the caliphs, is more true of the sultans of Dehlī.

Baranī puts into the mouth of Iltutmish a theory which the latter as well as his successors, notably Balban, regarded as impracticable. According to this theory, a Muslim king should always uphold the religion of Islām, endeavour to extirpate idolatry and humiliate the Hindus. He should suppress every heresy among the Musalmans and confer all high and responsible posts, particularly those in the judicial department, upon pious men of religion. And lastly he should do his utmost to administer impartial justice. This theory in so far as it inculcates severity to non-believers was rejected by almost all the sultans. Even a mild king like Jalālu'ddīn Khaljī remonstrated powerfully with the exponents of this theory and worsted them in argument, declaring the theory as impracticable, and graphically describing the powers and privileges the Hindus had hitherto enjoyed under Muslim rule. 'All along the course of history 'he said, 'the Hindus have been publicly practising idolaltry and have been freely celebrating their religious rites. 'Every day', he continued, 'I hear them playing their music under the walls of my own palace along the banks of

1 *I. e.* the 'ulamā.

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the Yamuna.' Addressing Ahmad Chap, the famous young politician of the Khaljī house, who had desired him in this connection to play in India the role of Sulṭān Maḥmūd and Sulṭān Sanjar, Jalālu'ddīn Khaljī said:

'O silly person! you consider yourself as wise as Buzrjamehr. Don't you see for yourself that every day these Hindus who are the bitterest enemies of God and of Islām are passing beneath my palace beating drums and trumpeting; and arriving in that fashion at the Yamuna and worshipping idols and making demonstrations of the rituals of *kāfir*' and *mushrik*[1] before our own eyes indeed! Although we consider ourselves king of Islām and Musalmans yet by our tolerance and through our indifference we have proved to have no zeal for our religion. And they have shown their utter disregard to our royal might and strength. Therefore if I were to prove a true king of Islām and a real king and prince of royal blood exercising the duty of a king of Islām and feeling zeal for my religion and God's faith, I should see that none of the enemies of God and of the religion of Islām, specially those who are the bitterest enemies of the Prophet of Islām chew *pans* with an easy mind or put on white dress and make any sort of demonstrations among the Musalmans.

'The present situation is a matter of shame to us and our kingship and to our so-called support of religion and adherence to it, pretending to be Defender of the Faith. How could we permit that our name be mentioned on the pulpit every Friday? And the *khaṭīb*[2]

1 *I. e.* the Hindus.

2 *I.e.* the man who recites the *khuṭba* from the pulpit.

falsely calls us Protector of Islām while during our regime the enemies of God and enemies of Islām strut about before our eyes and in our own capital in great pomp and magnificence, displaying their riches and wealth, enjoying life and all its amenities and luxuries—walking among Musalmans with extreme pride and self-assertion, worshipping idols openly and publicly and propagating their doctrines of idolatry and infidelity to the beat of drum.

'Woe on us and our kingship and our so-called defence of the Faith that we allow the enemies of God and His Prophet to live in luxury and comfort and do not run rivulets out of their blood, satisfying ourselves with a few tankas which we receive from them by way of alms. O little boy! in the eyes of men you are still like a baby sucking the mother's breast. Give up your inopportune views and do not compare our rule with that of Sulṭān Maḥmūd and Sulṭān Sanjar because we are no more than slaves, attaining kingship. We should be proud and feel highly honoured and elevated if we were admitted as their slaves.'[1]

For these reasons Sulṭān Jalālu'ddīn refused to change his mild attitude towards the Hindus. Before his accession[2] he had been attacked and wounded by a

1 T. F. S. B. pp. 216, 217.

2 Before his accession to the throne Jalālu'ddīn Khalji had been a governor (*nāib*) of Sāmāna and *muqṭi* of Kaithal. One day he led a punitive expedition against the suburban villages inhabited by the Hindū Mandahars. In the course of the fight that broke out one of the said Mandahars attacked him with the sword and wounded him on the face; and the scar of that wound remained on his face for the rest of his life. That Hindū Mandahar became since afraid of vengeance. One day, after the enthronement of

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Mandāhar Hindū, but refrained from taking revenge. After his accession to the throne he was pleased to appoint his Hindū assailant as a functionary on the staff of Malik Khurram, uuder the designation of *vakīldar* (palace secretary) and with a salary of 1,00,000 jitals or 1,562 silver tankas annually[1].

Much has been said about the anti-Hindū legislation of 'Alāu'ddīn Khaljī. But Moreland[2] has earned the gratitude of many by telling the truth about the nature of 'Alāu'ddīn's legislation. He has shown how Baranī's use of the term *Hindū* has been taken by the modern historians as evidence of 'Alāu'ddīn's hostility to his Hindū subjects. 'Baranī' observes Moreland, 'speaks of "the Hindus;" but here and in various other passages where the phrase occurs the context makes it plain that he is thinking of the upper classes, not of the peasants. Taking his book as a whole, I would infer that he thought of the kingdom as consisting not of two elements but of three—Moslems, Hindus and the herds or peasants[3] In this passage, the details which follow show that the question really at issue was how to break the power of the rural classes, the chiefs and the headmen of the parganas and villages; in point of fact, the regulation was favourable to the smaller peasants[4] in so far as it insisted

Jalālu'ddin Khaljī he appeared at the royal court, looking truly repentant and prepared to die. But the Sulṭān showed him kindness and praised him before his courtiers as bravest of his assailants and combatants. Then he appointed him a functionary on the staff of Malik Khurram and granted him the privilege of attending the royal court. T. F. S. B. p. 195.

1 The sum of 1,562 silver tankas annually amounts to 130 rupees per mensem approximately.

2 A. S. M. I, p. 32.

3 That is, Hindū masses or workers in contradistinction to Hindū chiefs, *i.e.* Hindū *khuts* and *muqaddams*.

4 *I.e.* the smaller Hindū peasants.

on the leaders[1] bearing their fair share of the burden—the weak were not to pay for the strong.'[2]

A careful study of Barani's *Tārīkh-i Fīroz Shāhī* and the *Fatāwā-i Jahāndārī* as well as of the *Reḥla* and the *Masāliku'l-Abṣār* further shows that it is historically inaccurate to say that 'the lot of the Hindus under Muslim rule was that of hewers of wood and drawers of water.' The *Reḥla* completely refutes such a charge. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa relates how a Hindū noble brought an accusation in the court of *qāẓī* against Sulṭān Muḥammad bin Tughluq and how the latter was summoned and tried. The case was decided in favour of the Hindū plaintiff, and the Sulṭān satisfied him. This tends to show that the Hindus under Muslim rule were not without the means of securing redress. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa tells us that law-abiding Hiṇdus lived on good terms with the Musalmans. A Hindū named Gul Chand was a companion of Amīr Hulājūn, the Muslim governor of Lahore. Another Hindū, Ratan, was appointed governor of Sind by Muḥammad bin Tughluq. And the Sulṭān was known to have similarly patronized several Hindus. Firishta tells us that Bhiran Rāi, commandant of the Gulbarga fortress, was one of the trusted officers in the royal service. Baranī tells us that Hindū nobles rubbed shoulders with the Muslim aristocracy. They possessed horses, lived in splendid houses, dressed magnificently and owned slaves; and Musalman servants were found in their suite. Before the Hindū aristocracy of wealth, the poor Musalmans used to come as supplicants and were seen begging at their doors. Even in the capital

1 *I.e.* Hindū, chiefs, *khuts*.

2 *I.e.* 'Alāu'ddin Khalji legislated with a view to protect the smaller Hindū peasants from exploitation by the more powerful Hindū chiefs.

city the Hindus in all honour and respect enjoyed the honorifics of Rāi, Thākur, Sāhū, Mahant and Pandit. They also had complete freedom to read their religious books and study Sanskrit. The use of Sanskrit on ceremonial occasions is attested by the Sanskrit inscriptions described in this book.

It remains for me, finally, to acknowledge my thanks to Sir E. Denison Ross for his inspiring encouragement and for kindly securing financial aid from the London University for the publication of this thesis. I also thank Nawab Sadr Yar Jang Maulvi Habibu'r-Rahaman Shewani of Habibganj for allowing me to make use of his library where I was able to consult a unique manuscript of Amīr Khusrau's *Tughluq Nāma*.

Lastly, I wish to thank Dr. C. Collin Davies, formerly of the School of Oriental Studies, now Reader in Indian History at Oxford University, for the keen interest he took in my work.

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London University
London,
December, 1935

MAHDI HUSAIN

PREFACE TO

The Tughluq Dynasty

At this stage I am inclined to say 'कृतकृत्य'[1]—I have done my duty; and feel encouraged to place at the tribunal of the public my researches in the shape of the *Tughluq Dynasty* which narrates the story of the rise and fall of the house of Tughluq. The same story is also told on the maps which illustrate the empire of Dehlī at its zenith and its piecemeal disintegration until it reaches the vanishing point. The *Tughluq Dynasty* tells the story of the Mongol tide and its reflux which had drowned, about a hundred years before the rise of Tughluq power, almost the whole Islamic world barring Arabia, Africa and Spain. In Egypt power had passed into the hands of the Mamluks—the manumitted Turkish slaves—who drove back the Mongols like the Mamlūk sultans of Dehlī, repulsing the invasions of the Chingiz Khānī Mongols. In 1258/656 Baghdād, the seat of Abbasid caliphate, fell into the unholy hands of Hulākū Khān, grandson of Chingiz Khān. Hulākū had seized Irān too; and his Il-Khānī Mongols who inherited the dominion of Irān became Muslims about 1295/694. With the dawn of the 14th century A. D. (8th century Hijra) began the age of Mongol conversion, and Islām became the State religion in the Mongol lands of Russia and Turkistān. In this century Russia was held by the Il-Khānī Mongols and eventually by the Timurid Mongols and the Kipchak Mongols. Egypt was still held by the Mamluks who had subjugated Syria and part of Arabia. The region from Anatolia to Transcaucasia was held by the Il-Khanī Mongols and Ottoman Turks; and Transcaucasia was

1 Gita, Chapter XV, verse 20.

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subsequently conquered by Tīmūr (1391/794). 'Irāq was held by the Il-Khānī Mongols until 1336/737. Then it was disputed between the Il-Khānī and Jalayr Mongols and was finally conquered by Tīmūr (1393/796). Irān was disputed among the Il-Khānī Mongols and their rival branches—Qara-khatāī khans of Kirman and Hazara khans of Luristān in the beginning of the 14th century. Then it remained the bone of contention among the Il-Khanids and Jalayr Mongols until 1382 when it was conquered by Tīmūr. Khurāsān continued under the rule of the Il-Khānī Mongols until 1337/738. Then it passed under rule of another branch of the Mongols; and in 1381/783 it was conquered by Tīmūr. There was no Afghānistān in those days. But the country which now goes under that name was held by Tīmūr from 1381 until his death; then it passed under the rule of the cognate Mongol tribes. Transoxiana was held by the Chaghatāī Mongols who were converted to Islām between 1325 and 1358 A. D.; and from 1358 to 1369 Transoxiana was in the throes of anarchy. Then it was conquered completely by Tīmūr who established his capital at Samarkand. His suzerainty extended from Moscow to Adrianople; and the *khuṭba* was recited in his name in the mosques from Baghdād to Dehlī. After his death this vast empire broke into pieces. His son Shāh Rukh ruled over Khurāsān. Of the other Timurids Ibrāhim Mirza ruled over Shīrāz, Ulugh Beg Mirza held Samarkand and Husain Mirza reigned at Herāt. Khizr Khān, the Saiyed pretender, held Multān and the adjacent parts and professed allegiance to Shāh Rūkh.[1]

1 This vivid sketch of the rise and fall of Mongol power I have based in part on Hazard's *Atlas of Islamic History*, Princeton University Press, 1954.

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The *Tughluq Dynasty* includes a study of the Qaraunas, Tartars Mongols and Turks. It has been shown that Tughluq was a Turk but not a Qarauna in the abusive sense. He and his successors on the throne of Dehlī were connected through a series of marriages with the Hindus. But racially they had close affinities with the Mongols; and all of them came under the generic name Tartar (*Tatār*).

Mr. Lamb is of opinion that the term Tartar (*T'a T'a*)[1] is Chinese in origin and signifies a nomad people who were conquered and absorbed by the Mongols. As for the Mongols they were an ancient tribe of Siberia and the desert of Gobi; and they included in their body the Turks. All these were looked upon as kinsmen of the Huns by the Europeans and were called *Hiung-nu* (literally nomads) by the Chinese. Chingiz Khān (1155-1227), himself a Mongol, united under his rule all the Mongol tribes—Manchus, Karats, Jalayrs, Uigurs and Turks. The term 'Turk' or *Toork*—meaning a brave white man with a distinctive helmet (*kulāh-i tatarī*) that he wore—is supposed to have signified a clan who broke away some time in the 5th century A. D. from the *Hiung-nu* Mongols inhabiting 'the Golden mountains between China and the Gobi.' Later 'Turk' was used vaguely as a comprehensive term to indicate the species of Mongols including Uigurs, Jalayrs, Karluks, Kankali, Hara Kalpak, Kipchak, Karats and others. Mr. Lamb thinks that all these were christened Turks or Tatars at some unkown date between the death of Chingiz Khān and the birth of Tīmūr.[1] They retained their special family names even after they became Muslims or Buddhists. All of them were conquered and integrated politically by Tīmūr who declared himself *Toork*.

1 Lamb, H.—*Tamerlane, the Earth Shaker*, Bristol, 1929, pp. 264-267..

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The Muslim chroniclers believe that 'Tūrk' was the name of Yāfṣ (Japhet), the son of Noah; he is regarded as the ancestor of all the peoples called Turks, Khozars, Slavonians, Russians, Turkomans and Chinese. Firishta says:

> 'Fifth in descent from Turk stands Alanja who had twin sons, Tartar and Mughul, between whom his dominions were divided. From the latter are descended the Mughul tribes, and from the former the different Toorkī tribes.'[1]

In a word the Tartars[2] as well as the Mongols descended from the loins of Tūrk, son of Noah according to the Indo-Persian writers.

In the *Tughluq Dynasty* has been condensed matter which had been intended for two volumes—the first volume embodying the history of Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Tughluq and his son Sulṭān Muḥammad and the second containing a study of the age of Fīroz Shāh and his successors. Such a work had been the desideratum of many students and scholars and will now, I hope, satisfy them. It will not only equip them with scientific knowledge of, and new information about, the Tughluq period or Indian history in general but will also help them build a new angle of vision, if not a new standard of judgment. It will promote in them a desire to think for themselves and remove the type of misunderstandings that are being cherished and repeated, as is shown below:

> 'The position of the Hindus in the Islamic state of

1 T. Fr. (Bombay) vol. I, pp. 15-16.

2 A school of European scholars consider the term Tartar as a generic name for the Manchus of China, for the Mongols inhabiting regions northward of Tibet and for the Turks who sprang from the desert of Gobi.

Delhī did not depend much on the character and personality of the Sultan but was determined by the Quranic policy as it was understood in this country in those days. This was clearly based upon discrimination between Muslims and Hindus; and the latter were relegated to an inferior position without any political or civil rights in the land of their birth."[1]

The *Tughluq Dynasty* shows that the law-abiding Hindus, called *zimmī*, enjoyed civil rights like the Muslims —a point which is elucidated also by the following extract from the *istifta* or catechism of the *Fiqh-i Fīroz Shāhī*[2]:

Q. A Muslim has non-Muslim parents, is he allowed by law to turn them out of the house?

A. No.

Q. Should a *zimmī* (Hindū) fall ill, would it be permissible by law for a Musalman to call and attend on him?

A. Yes.

Q. Suppose a Muslim murders a *zimmī* what would be the amount of the *diyat*[3] that the Muslim murderer shall have to pay?

A. It would be equal to the *diyat* of a Muslim.

1 *The History and Culture of Indian People* (Bombay 1960,) vol. vi; p. 59; (*Bharatiya Vidhya Bhavan publication*).

2 *I.e.* a work on Sunnī jurisprudence and a sort of encyclopaedia of Muslim law with discussions on theological, moral and philosophical matters according to the Sunnī doctrines. It was compiled by Ṣadru'ddīn Yā'qūb Muẓaffar Kirmānī and edited after his death under the orders of Fīroz Shāh. It is noticed in Ethe—*India Office Catalogue of Persian MSS.* No. 2564.

The same book is given under the title of *Fatāwā-i Firoz Shāhī* MS. No. 2466 in the Khuda Bakhsh Library catalogue. The whole book deals with *istifta* in question and answer form. The above extract has been drawn from this as well as from the Patna University Journal, vol. XIII, 1959, pp. 66-67.

3 *I.e.*, blood money.

Q. The *zimmis* possess some ancient idol-houses and temples in their village. Are the Musalmans permitted by law to damage or demolish them?

A. No.

Q. Is it obligatory on the *zimmīs* to pay kharāj on their residential houses?

A. No.

Q. A *zimmī* brings a waste land into cultivation, would he according to law become its owner?

A. Yes

Q. A certain *zimmī* has transformed some pieces of land adjoining his house into a garden and cultivated the land by using *'ushrī* water. Would the law require that *zimmī* to pay kharāj or *'ushr*?

A. That *zimmī* would pay *'ushr*.[1]

Q. A certain Muslim is indebted to a *zimmī*, say, to the amount of one hundred *dirhams* and that Muslim

1 *'Ushr* (literally, one-tenth) was a tax on agricultural produce. It was intended in the beginning of Muslim rule outside India as a concession to the Muslims. According to Abū Yusuf (*Kitābu'l Kharāj*, pp. 21, 35-39) *'ushr* was one-tenth of the produce of land irrigated by natural water. From the lands watered otherwise, that is, from wells and by means of buckets, one-twentieth was to be taken. But the application of *'ushr* in the history of Muslim land revenue had lost its force before the establishment of the first empire of Dehlī. 'Under the Mamlūk sultans' says Dr. Habibullah (p. 284), 'the land revenue is almost always referred to as kharāj'. The first and apparently the *last* real instance of *'ushr* as a discriminatory tax is noticeable during the short reign of Quṭbu'ddīn Aibak. He demanded an *'ushr* or one-tenth as a tax from the yield of the land held by the Muslims while demand for one-fifth was levied on others. But this discriminatory principle may be said to have died with Quṭbu'ddīn Aibak. It was revived under the reactionary regime of Sulṭān Firoz Shāh. There are no instances of the levy of *'ushr* in the Mughul empire. 'I have failed,' says Moreland, 'so far (barring one firman of Aurangzeb stressing the distinction between tithe-land and tribute-land) to find a single case of tithe-land existing in India and if any existed, it was certainly unimportant in extent.' (A. S. M. I., p. 140).

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practices procrastination in the payment of his debts, does the *Shari'at* permit the creditor *zimmī* to imprison the debtor Muslim.

A. Yes

Q. A certain Muslim woman suckles the child of an infidel, is she permitted by the *Shari'at* to do so?

A. Yes

Q. A certain Muslim sells a part of his house to another Muslim but a *zimmī* has got a redemption right in that house, is the *zimmī* in question entitled by the *Shari'at* to claim that part of the building by virtue of his right of redemption.

A. Yes

Q. An infidel prays to God for a blessing. Is it permissible for the Muslims to say *amīn* to the infidel's prayer?

A. Yes

Q. A *zimmī* salutes a Muslim, saying 'My peace on you (*salāmun 'alaikum*)', is it allowed by the *Shari'at* that the Muslim might say 'And my peace on you (*W'alaikumu's-salām*)?

A. Yes

Q. A certain *zimmī* has Muslim relatives who are in need of subsistence money, does the law permit pressure upon the *zimmī* to give them subsistence money?

A. No

Q If a Muslim woman suckles the son of an infidel on remuneration, will that be proper?

A. There is no harm.[1]

1 *Op. cit.*

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The *Tughluq Dynasty* will also encourage a revised opinion about the following:

> 'The earlier Muslim dynasties had remained a surface layer of alien rulers. It was Akbar who first attempted to strike root in the country by considering the interests of his Hindu subjects. It was Akbar who was exceptional and Aurangzeb a normal product of his age.'[1]

It has been shown that the reverse was true. It has also been shown that 'the study of the history of medieval Muslim India has been primarily the study of native tradition, method and conclusions from the earliest times. It has been the study of historians by historians'[2] That is, the thoughts and unscientific conclusions of the Turko-Indian chroniclers of those ages which were noted for religious intolerance throughout the world are being perpetuated; and their shibboleths pass unprobed like articles of faith from one generation to another in this age of research and enlightenment. For instance, the rationalism of Muḥammad bin Tughluq which was considered by Baranī and his successors as an anathema is still considered an evidence of his idiocy, delinquency and criminality. Further Baranī's accusation that Muḥammad bin Tughluq was a mixture of opposites is being repeated by the modern historian, who says:

> 'But there is no doubt that he was a mixture of opposites for his good qualities of head and heart seem to be quite incompatible with certain traits of vices in

1 Sharma, S. R.—*Religious Policy of the Mughuls* (Statesman, April 7, 1963.

2 Hardy, P.—*Medieval India and its Historians*, London 1960, p. 2, f.

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his character, such as revolting cruelty, frivolous caprice and an inordinate belief in his own view of things."[1]

In the *Tughluq Dynasty* the opinions of Baranī and other Turko-Indian chroniclers are probed from page to page ; and it has been shown that they were unable to understand the impact of the Hindū traditions of philosophy, criminology and penology on the statecraft of the empire of Dehlī. The *Tughluq Dynasty* shows that 'Alāu'ddīn Khaljī and in a larger degree Muḥammad bin Tughluq had imbibed the spirit of these traditions. Furthermore Muḥammad bin Tughluq was imbued with a strong desire for *ijtehād*, and tried it in the midst of a society which was hopelessly backward and had no appreciation for research in *Shari'at* or *ijtehād*. This made the situation tense and Muḥammad bin Tughluq became a problem in the eyes of Baranī. The *Tughluq Dynasty* shows that the royal *ijtehads* clashed with the time-honoured *Sharī'at* and involved him in a war with the vested interests.

The *Tughluq Dynasty* contains a critical study of all kinds of Persian and Arabic sources and draws upon the Sanskrit and Prakrit sources too. Then it includes a study of the latest discovery of the Tughluq period, namely the Firmān of Muḥammad bin Tughluq in favour of a Hindū (Jain) community of scholars who had been noted for their scientific outlook. A whole section containing some chapters has been written in the new light of this discovery. The Firman has been carefully examined and declared as genuine and no fake. In the new light which was not available to the previous

1 *Bharatiya Vidhya Publication* (*the Sultanate*). H.C.I.P., *Op. cit.*, Vol. vi. p. 87.

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writers on the subject has been visualized the genesis of Barani's shibboleths. In this connection the *Tughluq Dynasty* brings into relief the emperor's associations with Jinaprabha Sūri and his comrades; and an attempt has been made to assess the Jain compilations—*Vividha-tirtha-kalpa*' *Satrunja-tirtha-kalpa* or *Raja Prasada* which was dedicated to the emperor. Then the Jain reports of Jinaprabha Sūri's ascendancy at the royal court of Dehlī have been studied; and it has been shown that the role played by the Jains makes a good commentary on the emperor's *Fragmentary Memoirs*. Although, on recovering his faith in Islām and the Prophet the emperor gave a wide berth to Hindū and Jain philosophies and made no attempt to revive his old contacts with the Brahmins and Jains, he did not forget their *words* as he says:

> '*And some of their words*[1] *remained in my heart as a sort of preparatory teaching.*'

That is, the emperor had learnt different values. He had learnt that true *ahinsa* was the removal of persons of bad character, even by killing; and that killing such a person or persons was no sin, for soul can in no case be killed. The queer *words* or *values* which had been thus written ineffaceably on the tablet of his heart made Muḥammad bin Tughluq appear a queer man in the eyes of Barani. Hence his amazement at the emperor's behaviour and actions which militated against the conventional *Sharī'at*. Hence also Barani's remorse at his playing second fiddle to the despotic emperor. Hence finally the argument of Barani's *Na't-i Muḥammadī* which is really an inspiring reading.[2]

1 These *words* were nothing but Hindū Philosophy and *ahinsa* which he never forgot.

2 *Vide*, pp. 554-559 *infra*.

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The *Tughluq Dynasty* shows that Muḥammad bin Tughluq was a philosopher and researcher first and a Muslim afterwards and a statesman last. In his eyes an unmixed religion was an important step towards statesmanship; and he believed strongly in wide religious tolerance. As a statesman he frequently revised his policy—domestic as well as foreign—and modified and even cancelled and changed his projects in the light of the results and reactions but he was not prepared to recede from the stage he had reached in the domain of *ijtehād*. In other words he could not sell his conscience—for *ijtehād* unlike statesmanship is a matter of conscience—in spite of the many temptations that were held out to him and the dangers that threatened him. Having realized the pressing need for *ijtehād* or *ijtehāds* he was bent on implementing them by means of his *siyāsat* which was identical in his mind with the *daṇḍa-nīti*.[1] In consequence he became extremely unpopular with the orthodox Muslims of India; and Muslim public opinion was mobilized against him to such an extent that innumerable curses were heaped upon him. That is, he was cursed as a parricide, a schemer, a traitor, a lunatic, a bloody tyrant, a madman, a *khūnī*, a freak of nature and a mixture of opposites. Eventually he was advised to abdicate; and when he refused to abdicate his life was staked; and the manner of his death which followed, shortly after, suggested a case of suspected poison.

With his death came back the old order of the *Sharī'at* and *Ṭarīqat*, *Sharī'at* being synonymous with Sunnī orthodoxy and *Ṭarīqat* signifying Sufism with its many concomitants, the most important being the *khānqāh* institutions and belief in *waḥdat-i wujūd*. Apparently there was now

1 *Vide*. pp. 350-353 *infra*.

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such a complete accord between the *Shari'at* and *Ṭarīqat*—one being considered indispensable to the other—that need for adherence to both simultaneously was emphasized by the saints. Shaikh Sharafu'ddīn Manerī taught that a believer must equip himself with *Sharī'at* in order that he might find his way to *Ṭarīqat* which alone could take him into *Ḥaqīqat*. Fīroz Shāh approved of this teaching; and wanted to be in the good books of all kinds of sufis, 'ulamā and mashāikh. But he had no clear views; and his narrow-mindedness combined with the campaign of oppression that he had launched as a matter of policy against the heretics cut like a double-edged sword. Consequently two of the sufis—Aḥmad Bihārī and Shaikh Kākoī[1], both disciples of Shaikh Sharaf Maneri—were killed. They were charged with heresy by the 'ulamā whom Fīroz Shāh adored. They were executed accordingly.

Here is another instance[2] of Fīroz Shāh's subservience to the 'ulamā with disastrous consequences. Shaikh Sharaf Manerī bewailed the fate of his unfortunate disciples and is said to have remarked plaintively:

> 'It would be really surprising if a town (Dehlī) where the blood of such revered persons was shed continued to enjoy prosperity for long.'[3]

Fīroz Shāh heard, apparently unmoved, the wailing of Shaikh Sharaf Manerī and carried on the work, as before, of restoration and reinforcement of the *Shari'at* and *Ṭarīqat*. He obtained a world of admirers. A poet of Kaṛa surnamed Muṭahhir wrote a *diwān*, showing that in the capital city of Dehlī the *khanqahs* throbbed

1 *I.e.* resident of Kāko in Bihar.
2 Also see p. 428 *infra*.
3 M. I. Q., July 1950, p. 29.

with life again and became the abode of *qalandars*, Ḥaidarī darweshes and sufis in general. Robed in black and white woollen garments they moved about freely. On the one hand they mixed with the 'ulamā, drawing inspiration from them and on the other hand contacted the masses whom they inspired. All were care free and lived luxuriously being provided for liberally by the State. The poet was also proud of the orthodox, though sectarian, outlook of the Government. While singing praises of the royal mosque at Firozābād the muse said:

> 'The Sunnis have drawn the sword of Divine Will on its (Firozābād's) gates so that the wicked and licentious people may not disobey the commands.[1]'

That is, the commands based on *ḥadīṣ* regarding the modes of life, behaviour and belief of the Sunnī Musalmans were set forth at the gates of Firozābād briefly; and extensively they were described in the books[2], written with the

1 P.U.J. vol. XIII 1959, p. 58.

2 See p. xviii, f.n. 2 *supra*. Also see *Oriental College Magazine*. Vol. XI, No. 3 Sr. No. 41 and note:—

(a) *Fawāid-i Firoz Shāhī* which is a MS. No. 1069, A. S. B. containing detailed injunctions from *ḥadiṣ* regarding the modes of life, behaviour and beliefs of the Sunnī Musalmans. It was dedicated by the author Sharafu'ddīn Muḥammad al-'Atāī to Firoz Shāh.

(b) *Fiqh-i Firoz Shāhī* (the I.O. *Catalogue of the Persian MSS*, vol. I, p. 1377) which is a work on civil and ecclesiastical law according to the Sunni creed in Arabic text with Persian paraphrase and interpretation. It was composed by one Ṣadru'ddin Ya'qūb who died before its publication. It was published subsequently under the orders of Firoz Shāh.

(c) *Fawāid-i Firoz Shāhī* which is a MS. No. 2,564 of the India Office Catalogue of Persian manuscripts; and copies of it are also seen in the Asiatic Society catalogue, p. 499 and the catalogue of Persian MSS. in the Bankipur Library vol. xiv, p. 77. It is a kind of exhaustive treatment of Muslim law and *Shari'at* according to Sunnī doctrines.

(d) *Istiftā* or catechism which is a part of *the Fatāwā-i Firoz Shāhī*—MS. No. 2466 of the Oriental Library, Patna.

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object of channeling Muslim thought and preventing the 'wicked and licentious people' from rising in revolt against Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh. In this manner was secured the much desired co-operation between the church and state, which had been the sheet-anchor of the Sultanate from its beginning and had been badly shaken under Sulṭān Muḥammad. Now the 'ulamā became a compact body of loyalists; and no word, insinuating opposition and revolt, was even whispered in any private and random talks.[1] Tātār Khān, a spokesman of the 'ulamā and a ṣūfī, who had once remonstrated with Fīroz Shāh on detecting wine bottles[2] under his bed, resolved to spend the remainder of his life[3] in the light of the following verse:

Murād-i ahl-i ṭarīqat libās-i ẓāhir nīst
Kamar ba khidmat-i sulṭān be-band wa ṣūfī bāsh[4]

(The ṣūfī way of life is not to insist on outward dress. Gird up your loins in the service of the sulṭān and be a ṣūfī.)

He organized a school of Quranic studies which prepared and published two works of profound depth—one entitled *Tafsīr-i Khānī*, *i.e.* a commentary of the Quran

1 An instance of the random talk insinuating revolt against the Government may be read in the *Rehla of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa* (p. 88).

2 'Afif relates an incident whence it appears that Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh used to drink after performing his morning prayers. 'Although Tatār Khān remonstrated and Fīroz Shāh promised to give up the habit he remained addicted to wine, and has been depicted as an epicure in the choice of wines. Some were yellow as saffron ; some red as the rose and some were white and the taste of all was like sweet milk'. (T. F. S. A., p. 146)

3 According to 'Afif (p. 394) Tātār Khān died a few years after the commencement of Fīroz Shāh's reign. Tātār is written by Barani as Tatār (T. F. S. B., p. 423). Hence Tātār Khān of 'Afif is the same man as Tatār Malik or Tatār Khān of Barani.

4 *Ibid*

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with a compendium of all the extant commentaries and another a study of comparative jurisprudence in thirty volumes with a digest of all the *fatwas* that had been issued under the previous sultans of Dehlī[1]. Thus co-operating with Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh and the 'ulamā Tātār Khān adopted measures to control Muslim society. While under the previous sultans society was a little freer and women were not always kept isolated—they could go out on picnics and were occasionally seen riding horses[2]—they were prohibited under Fīroz Shāh to indulge in excursions. The idea of their riding horses was thoroughly disapproved. Whenever Tātār Khān's own womenfolk travelled, compelled by circumstances, he would dishorse them; and throw them in palanquins which he locked from outside[3].

While yet a baby, Tātār Khān had been thrown away by his father—an obscure Mongol invader—in the course of his flight from an Indian foray near Multān, under the pressure of a nocturnal surprise attack made by Sulṭān Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Tughluq. The baby was picked up by the victorious Sulṭān and adopted as his son and given the name of Tatār or Tātār Malik. When the Sulṭān died suddenly at Afghānpūr Tātār Malik was left an orphan and was brought up by Sulṭān Muḥammad. On attaining his full stature Tātār Malik turned out a great warrior; and the mantle of Ghāzī Malik Tughluq having fallen on him he earned the surname of Ghāzī.[4] Incidentally one day he[5] incurred the displeasure of Sulṭān Muḥammad who exiled him to an obscure place.[6]

1 T. F. S. A., p. 392
2 *The Rehla of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa*, p. 79
3 T. F. S. A., p. 394.
4 *Idem*, p. 393.
5 For the position of Tātār Malik (whom Ibn Baṭṭūṭā calls Malik Tatar) see the *Rehla*, p. 80.
6 T.F.S.A. p. 390.

From that place he wrote a letter to the emperor, perorating it with a few verses which are translated below.

'Ah! I do not know what is the cause of your (majesty's) anger. Without any cause you have severed connections with your adorer.

'My beloved is playing well on the harp which you always hear; but you never heard the wailing of the helpless.

'However, you never behaved in this manner (before). Have you changed your ways?

'If I have committed a fault, be pleased to forgive me, since you have forgiven many sins.

'I swear by the mighty Allah, Tātār, who is now frustrated, has committed no crime. Your Majesty is angry for no reason.'[1]

On reading this letter, the emperor forgave Tātār Malik and raised him to the position of a courtier, which he continued to enjoy during the reign of Fīroz Shāh. The latter conferred on him the title of Tātār Khān and granted him the honour of holding a special kind of velvet parasol (*chatr-i qaṭīfa*), surmounted by a peacock of gold.[2] He was also granted the privilege of occupying a seat in the royal durbar to the right of the throne.[3] Like 'Ainu'l-Mulk Multānī

1 Great is the importance of these verses (T. F. S. A., p. 390). They tend to show that after all Muḥammad bin Tughluq was not an indiscriminate killer as has been depicted by Barani and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa. He was prepared to listen to the petitions of sinners and pardoned them. Another case in point is that of 'Ainu'l-Mulk. See Appendix M.

2 This was a royal emblem, used exclusively by kings of the Tughluq house. Also see Appendix J. *cf.* T. F. S. A., p. 391.

3 For the story of Tātār Khān see 'Afif, pp. 388-394. 'Afif says that Khān Jahān the wazir continued to sit in the royal durbar to the left of the emperor as long as Tātār Khān lived.. It was after the death of Tātār Khān that the wazir occupied the right-hand seat. Compare Appendix R.

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Tātār Khān was an adherent of the old order of society and religion which emperor Muḥammad bin Tughluq had undertaken to reform. Both moved and behaved cautiously concealing their tenets as long as that emperor lived. After his death Tātār Khān became an outspoken ṣufī and 'Ainu'l Mulk found himself once more in element. Both had incurred the emperor's displeasure. Both had been punished though in different ways. Both were pardoned and restored to royal favour. Now both preached loyalty to Fīroz Shāh and both were like a tower of strength to him and his monarchy.

The *Tughluq Dynasty* builds a comparison between Sulṭān Muḥammad and his cousin and successor Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh. It has been pointed out that no two rulers on the canvas of history, standing so close to each other, differed so fundamentally as did these two.[1] It must be stated to the credit of Fīroz Shāh that he was able to inspire love, confidence and affection in the hearts of his relations. Dāvar Malik was his political rival, being a son-in-law of the late emperor; and after the latter's death at Sonda had been presented as heir to the throne while Fīroz Shāh, or Malik Firoz as he was then known, was himself a candidate for it. This rivalry could have well developed into bitter enmity, but it did not. On the contrary it was Dāvar Malik who later saved Fīroz Shāh's life.[2] Similarly his step-brother Malik Bārbak Ibrāhīm was attached to Fīroz Shāh. He would not take *pān* unless he heard that Fīroz Shāh had already taken one; nor would he eat anything unless Fīroz Shāh had had his fill. And in case the latter was indisposed, Ibrāhīm would gladly starve.[3] The history of Sulṭān Muḥammad such as has come down to us presents

1 *Vide* p. 509 *infra*.
2 *Vide*, p. 387 *supra*.
3 T. F. S. A., p. 429.

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no such instances of devotion and self-denial on the part of his relations. Perhaps he was not lacking in inspiring love, for his sisters were strongly attached to him, and his warm affection for them made him take steps against their husbands who had been found oppressive.[1] Perhaps he was kind and affectionate to his brothers too, for nothing adverse has percolated through the sources barring the *Rehla* which notices the execution of one rebellious brother.[2] But the information is not confirmed.

The *Tughluq Dynasty* touches on the slave system under Fīroz Shāh and says that Bashīr Sulṭānī 'Imādu'l-Mulk was the wealthiest and most influential of the royal slaves. Unlike many other slaves who presented the look of public servants (*amwāl-i baitu'l māl*), he had come to Fīroz Shāh like a family loom from his mother. If the report given by 'Afīf be credited it would follow that the said Bashīr was in the beginning a personal slave of Rānā Mal Bhattī who gave him as part of her dowry to his daughter.[3] In the service of Fīroz Shāh Bashīr became so rich that he purchased about four thousand strong and well-to-do (*bunehdār*) slaves out of his own money. But he manumitted them all after securing his own manumission eventually.[4] On his death which occurred during the lifetime of Fīroz Shāh Bashīr left behind twelve crore rupees[5] in cash out of which nine crores were taken by Fīroz Shāh and the remaining three crores were distributed

1 *The Rehla of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa*, p. 81.
2 *Op. cit*, p. 85.
3 T. F. S. A, pp. 436-437.
4 *Op. cit.* p. 444.
5 On page 440 of his *Tārīkh-i Firoz Shāhī* 'Afif says that Bashīr had hoarded thirteen crore *māl* (*vide*, p. 436 *infra*) and on p. 445 of the same book he says that Bashīr left behind, on dying, twelve crore *māl*.

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among Bashīr's son (Malik Isḥāq) and his sons-in-law and slaves. Apart from his paternal inheritance, Malik Isḥāq owned considerable wealth in cash and kind including four thousand garments of gold brocade, two thousand silver sash-cords and two thousand waist-bands (*band-i kamar*) of gold.[1]

The *Tughluq Dynasty* emphasizes the quality of Arab historiography as compared with that of the Turks and Mongols, the difference being due not only to their racial character but also to the inability of the Turks and Mongols to assimilate the ethics of Islām. However there may be a few exceptions; one being the gifted poet and seer, Amīr Khusrau who was also a patriot. His patriotism made him appreciate everything Indian. Thus in spite of his calling the Hindus *kāfir* and *dozakhiyān* he considered them his compatriots and praised 'their eloquence of speech, their tenacity and bravery, their loyalty to a plighted word, their hospitality and courtesy, the magnificence of their temples and the beauty of their women[2].'

Further the *Tughluq Dynasty* resolves some of the greatest puzzles of Indian research. *First*, it proves by internal evidence the authenticity of the *Fragmentary Memoirs* of Muḥammad bin Tughluq and the genuineness of the four surviving pages. No pretender could so boldly claim to have learnt Hindū philosophy to the extent of assimilating its '*words*' and then thrown himself into the work of *ijtehād*. These were conspicuously the high qualities and attainments of Muḥammad bin Tughluq as presented by Ibn Baṭṭūta[3] and Barani;[4] and he alone

1 *Idem*, p. 445.
2 Amir Khusrau—*Khazāinu'l-Futūḥ*, (Calcutta, 1953). p. 10ff.
3 *The Rehla* (G. O. S.), Appendix J.
4 T. F. S. B., pp. 463-467.

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of all the earthly beings could so naturally and with sentimental regard call Ghāzi Malik Tughluq 'my father' as he did so many times in the *Memoirs* under review. *Secondly* the *Tughluq Dynasty* proves by cumulative and incontrovertible evidence the mendacity that Dehlī was completely depopulated and that its inhabitants—all Hindus and Musalmans—were driven *en masse* towards Daulatābād. *Thirdly* the *Tughluq Dynasty* proves the fallacy of Tarmashīrīn's invasion and of the devastation of Dehlī by his army. *Fourthly* the *Tughluq Dynasty* unmasks the myth of the defeat and imprisonment of Muḥammad bin Tughluq at the hands of Rānā Hammīr. *Fifthly* the *Tughluq Dynasty* shows how misleading and erroneous is the statement that the sultans of Dehlī for the most part were foreigners and had neither sympathy for the Hindus, nor any sense of patriotism.

The *Tghhluq Dynasty* also contains a first-hand study of the pillars of Asoka and incorporates some of the unique and authentic pictures, illustrating the process of transplantation and then of construction of the three-storeyed structure on the top of which the golden pillar (*munārai zarrīn*) was installed and where it stands till today. The problem of the glory of Fīroz Shāh is next examined and his responsibility for the liquidation of the empire discussed. Besides, the legacy of Fīroz Shāh in the shape of civil wars that followed is sifted and five distinct stages through which the wars passed are neatly marked. Afterwards light is thrown on the *début* of Lodis, their battling with Tīmūr and their failure to make a stand against Khiẓr Khān who seized from them the throne of Dehlī.

The *Tughluq Dynasty* presents a precise chronology of the whole period, removing the controversy that had been

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shrouding certain dates; and gives a correct sequence of events. Then a couple of new maps elucidating the five-year-long war of Muḥammad bin Tughluq against the rebels is given and woven into the narrative, setting it off with a measurement of the long distances—routes and roads—then traversed on horseback only.

Finally the *Tughluq Dynasty* maintains that the Hindus and Jains were befriended and gives three genealogical tables[1] of the rich and talented Hindus of that period. This is not all. An absolutely new ground is explored; namely Philosophy and Penology—Hindū as well as Muslim—is discussed; and in the same way is also discussed the most difficult and ticklish subject of *Shari'at* and *Ijtehād*.

When the *Tughluq Dynasty* was completed and already in the press I received from Dr. Z. A. Desai, Superintendent Arabic and Persian Inscriptions, Nagpur, in response to my query, the Persian text of the Mangrol[2] inscription which says that a fort was constructed by Malik Shaikh son of Tāj during the reign of Nuṣrat Shāh while Ẓafar Khān son of Wajīhu'l-Mulk was the governor of Gujarāt. This

1 *Vide*, pp. 324, 328, 398.

2 *Wa-zo būd nāib ba Manglor khush*
Jawān-i jawān-mard r'anā sawād—ninth verse of the Persian inscription.

(On behalf of Malik Badr son of Baijhal was posted at Manglor a *nāib* who was a robust young man of good physique.)

The spelling *Manglor* as given in Persian script should be noted. It has been transformed into Mangrol as the British spelling (*Cf.* Bombay *Gazetteer*, Index, p. 235 and *Imperial Gazetteer* volume xvii, p. 180). I have followed the original spelling (*vide*, p. 599 *infra*) as given in the above-mentioned Persian verse.

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much has been included in an appendix;[1] and it has been pointed out that Wajīhu'l-Mulk was the title enjoyed by Sahāran, the Hindū brother-in-law of Sulṭān Fīroz Shah.[2] Here it should be noted that the reign of Nuṣrat Shāh or Nāṣiru'ddīn Nuṣrat Shāh who was a rival of Nāṣiru'ddīn Maḥmūd, really extended to five years (797-803 A.H./ 1395-1400) and did not close with the year of his accession (797/1395) as might appear from the genealogical table.[3] After he had been three years on the throne of Firozābād came the invasion of Tīmūr. Thereupon he fled away, this being his first flight. After the withdrawal of Tīmūr from India Nuṣrat Shāh came back and re-established his hold on Firozābād and seized Dehlī too. But he could not stand the attack made, shortly after, by Mallū Iqbāl Khān and fled towards Mewāt. This was his second flight whence he never returned. The five-year-long duration of his reign is confirmed by the Persian text[4] of the inscription.

Besides the authorities discussed in the chapter on Sources I like to mention here briefly two of the Persian manuscripts which I have used and found extremely useful. *One* of these is the *Gulzār-i Abrār*—an Asiatic Society MS. No. 259—of which a copy I also found in the library of Aligarh Muslim University. It is a rare compilation giving the history of the Indian mashāikh, particularly

1 Appendix B.

2 *Vide*, p. 408 *infra*.

3 *Cf.* p. 471 *infra*

4 That is, the text of the Manglor inscription which comprises fourteen verses composed by a contemporary poet, 'Alā bin Ṣadr. It has been edited in the *Epigraphia Indica* Arabic and Persian Supplement for 1962, pp. 38-40, Pl. (b).

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those who hailed from Gujarāt and flourished in 8th, 9th and 10th centuries Hijra (XIII-XVI centuries A.D.). The author Muḥammad Ghauṣ Shaṭṭārī had intended to write it out in 1590/998 but he could not set his hands to the work until 1010/1602. It brings into light the heresy or unorthodox speculation of Muḥammad bin Tughluq regarding *nabu'at*, which has been discussed by me within limits. *Second* is the *Jawāmi'u'l-Kilam* or the *Malfūẓāt-i Gesūdarāz*—MS. No. 1231 of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. It is a collection of the discourses of the ṣūfī saint Yusuf Ḥusainī surnamed *Gesūdarāz* (literally long-locked one), a renowned disciple of Shaikh Naṣīru'ddīn Maḥmūd *Chirāgh-i Dehlī*. He has given useful information regarding the ruin of ṣūfī life and the destruction of the *khanqahs* in and around Dehlī under Muḥammad bin Tughluq.

According to an Arabic saying—*shukru'l mun'im-i wājibun*—one must pay thanks to one's benefactor. I hasten therefore to thank Janab Muhammad Ismā'il *Noon*, Deputy Commissioner of Tatta, my host of 1960. Being well versed in the topography of Tatta and the local traditions he gave me much useful information. I visited the site of Sonda and the shrine of Pir Patho in his company; and he enabled me to draw on the spot two sketch maps—(1) illustrating the emperor's route in his Gujarāt and Sind expeditions and (ii) his pursuit of Ṭāghī until his death at Sonda. I calculated in milage the approximate distances, travelled by the emperor from place to place in the course of his five-year-long forced marches and expeditions and found that the total distance traversed across roads and rivers on horseback almost ceaselessly amounted to one thousand eight hundred and seventy-nine miles. Then

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I thank Professor M. M. Namazie who helped me in translating the difficult verses from the *Maṭla'u'l-Anwār* of Amīr Khusrau. I also thank Pandit Narendra Chandra Vedanta-tirtha, Retired Lecturer, Calcutta University, who helped me to understand some of the difficult Sanskrit verses. My thanks are also due to Dr. Z. A. Desai, Superintendent of Archaeology, Arabic and Persian section, Nagpur who gave me the much-needed information about inscriptions. Finally I thank Dr. K. A. Imam of Patna University Library who kindly copied for me two illuminating passages bearing on the sufis of the Tughluq period. One was taken from the *Rafiqu'l-'Ārifīn*, also called *Maqṣadu'l 'Āshiqīn* which being a discourse (*malfūẓ*) of Ḥaẓrat Ḥusāmu'ddīn Manākpurī was compiled by his disciple Farīd bin Sālār. The second was taken from the *Ma'danu'l-Ma'ānī*, the *malfūẓ* of Ḥaẓrat Sharafu'ddīn Manerī, compiled by his secretary Zain Badr 'Arabī. Zain Badr 'Arabī also compiled the *Mukhkhu'l Ma'ānī*, another *malfūẓ* of the same saint. Dr. K. A. Imam sent me further a copy of the relevant pieces from the *Mukhkhu'l Ma'ānī* and the *Istiftā*.

I thank H. H. the Nawab of Rampur for his permission to use the photos of Sulṭān Ghiyāṣu'ddin Tughluq, Muḥammad bin Tughluq and Fīroz Shāh out of his unique album of kings.[1] In my opinion it was prepared in the late Mughul period. Then I thank authorities of the Archaeological Survey Department for a similar permission. The copyright has been acknowledged in each case.

I cannot close this preface without thanking the Press and Publishers and without apologizing for the sins of

1 Raza Library, Rampur.

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omission and commission which my readers might notice. For their sake I state that the subject matter of the appendices promised on page 149 *infra* has been incorporated in my book entitled *Translation and Commentary of the Futuḥu's-Salāṭīn*; and the footnote 2 of page 145 *infra* is but a pointer to Appendix A, page 591

Of the two Chittor inscriptions promised elsewhere[1] one is referred to in Appendix B which contains two of the ten orginal verses. The seventh and eighth verses say that a magnificent house (*sulṭān serai*) was built at Khiẓrābād (Chittor) by its governor Asadu'ddīn during the reign of Sulṭān Muḥammad bin Tughluq ; and the ninth and tenth verses give the date, *Shawwāl* 725 (September 1325). Another inscription[2] which belongs to the reign of Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Tughluq mentions Asadu'ddīn Arsalān as the builder of some construction at Chittor. Asadu'ddīn, also known as Malik Asadu'ddīn,[3] was a nephew (brother's son) of Sulṭān Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Tughluq. He was then governor of Chittor; and he remained in charge of Chittor for some time in the succeeding reign of Muḥammad bin Tughluq.

The text of both the inscriptions, taken together, is a fruitful subject of study, It exhibits the fake and cooked report that Chittor became independent of Dehlī soon after

1 *Vide*, p. 112 *infra*.

2 Ep. Ind. (Arabic and Persian Supplement), 1955-56, p. 67.

3 According to Brrani (T. F. S. B., p. 428) Sulṭān Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Tughluq had conferred on Malik Asadu'ddīn the office of *Nāib Bārbak* (deputy grand usher). According to Amīr Khusrau (*Tughluq Nāma*, Hyderabad 1933, pp. 95, 122, 124) and according to 'Iṣāmi (verses 7221, 7275, 7294) Asau'ddin also took part in Tughluq Shāh's war against Khusrau Khān.

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'Alāu'ddīn Khaljī had recalled his son Khizr Khān from his new charge of Khiẓrābād (Chittor). But Malik 'Asadu'ddīn surely took charge of the government of Chittor from a governor who had been appointed before the establishment of Tughluq dynasty ; else Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Tughluq must have undertaken the conquest of Chittor.[1]

In the end I thank Shri D. S. Kothari, Secretary University Grants Commission whose kind grant of a stipend enabled me to concentrate on the *Tughluq Dynasty* and the *English Translation and Commentary of Iṣāmi's Futūhūś-Salāṭin or the Shāh Nāma of Medieval India* which gives evidence conspicuously of the Muslim adoration of India saying:

How marvellous is the beauty of the country of Hindustān[2] that even paradise is envious of this garden.

Its contour is an ornament to the globe, enhancing its beauty in the same way as does a mole on the face of a beloved one.

Its cultivable land is marvellous like red sulphur and in each of its four seasons there is the air of paradise.

During its autumn season sets in spring; flowers sprout if they sow thorns in it.

Its soil is all kneaded with roses ; in it dew works beneficially like clouds.

Anyone who arrived in this pleasant garden from

1 For further study refer to the inscriptions of 'Alāu'ddin Khalji and see (a) Ojha. G. S.—*Udaipur Rajya ka Itihās*, pp. 189-198 and (b) *Annual Report Indian Epigraphy*, 1955-56, Appendix C, Nos. 126, 128, 130.

2 *Hindustan Jannat Nishan* (India, the Semblance of Paradise) was the name given to India by the Musalmans.

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Arabia, the two Iraqs and Sind, attached his heart to this happy country so much that he hardly remembered his native land.

Those world tourists who go round the world always rambling do not fix their hearts on any country ; they do not stop a month in any city. When at last they come rambling suddenly to the country of Hindustān they give up rambling and settle down. Out of this country they scarcely go. To such an extent they set their hearts on this happy country that they do not detach themselves until they breathe their last. (Verses 11409-11429)

The researches embodied in these books I have pursued to the best of my powers in the light of the following verse from the *Rajatarangini*:

হলায়ঃ সঃ এব গুণবান্ রাগদ্বেষ বহিষ্কৃতঃ
ভূতার্থ কথনে যস্য স্থেয়স্যেব সরস্বতী

A writer of real parts is he whose narration of past events is free from anger and malice, and is firm like the word of the supreme arbiter—Saraswatī.

Calcutta University
September, 1963

(AGHA) MAHDI HUSAIN

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CHAPTER I

THE SULTANATE PERIOD: THE RISE AND FALL OF DYNASTIES

The three centuries of Muslim rule (1206-1526)[1] generally known as the Sultanate period witnessed the rise and fall of five dynasties, namely the Mamluks (1206-90[2]; the Khaljis (1290-1320);[3] the Tughluqs (1320-1413);[4] the Sayyids (1414-51)[5] and the Lodis (1451-1526).[6] The history of this period resembles a long drama in which various dynasties rise and fall in rapid succession, the average life of each being about seventy years. Why one dynasty alone did not maintain its rule throughout this period; what sounded the death-knell of each, and made the rise of another inevitable, are questions which call for an answer. One is struck by the long life of the Mughul empire under its illustrious line of rulers, which, beginning with Bābur's conquest of Dehlī and Agra in 1526/933, did not decline until the death of Aurangzeb (1707/1119), and was not finally extinguished until the war of 1857/1274 in Dehlī.[7]

Between the Mughul empire and the Sultanate of Dehlī there is, in spite of some resemblance, a brilliant and a striking contrast. The Mughul empire, under the dynasty founded by the Chaghatāī Timurid, Bābur, had a longer life than all the five dynasties of the Sultanate period put together. This was due to many causes, a discussion of which would require a comparative study of both in their various aspects—a subject not within the scope of this work. It should, however, be noted that the Sultanate was the root and the Mughul empire the fruit of Muslim initiative and statesmanship in India. The Sultanate period was decidedly one of experiment, and as such was one of great

1 A. H. 603-933. 2 A, H. 603-690.
3 A. H. 690-720. 4 A. H. 720-815.
5 A. H. 816-855. 6 855-933.
7 See my book—*Babadur Shah II and the War of 1857 in Dehli with its Unforgettable Scenes*, (Delhi, 1958).

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difficulty. The Mughul emperors had three hundred years of Muslim rule behind them, with all its experiments, failures and successes, and were able to profit from the lessons of the past. They had before their eyes a panorama of the difficulties and dangers which had beset their co-religionists in the 13th and 14th centuries. The problems of government were no longer so formidable. The Hindū princes and people, rebellious Muslim generals and maliks, the Mongol hordes of Chingīz Khān—these had been the most dreaded enemies of almost every dynasty in the Sultanate period; and the Sultans, unless they possessed great military skill as well as great organizing ability, had to succumb to one or another of these foes. Their power was broken either by external invasions or crushed by the forces of rebellious provincial governors. The hostile masses of the Hindū population were always a force to be reckoned with, and the Hindū chief and his clan were the most important factors in the political situation. That is why the majority of the sovereigns, who ascended the throne of Dehlī in the Sultanate period, came to grief. Some were deposed, others were imprisoned or killed. There was a constant struggle between the sovereign, that is, the Sulṭān, and the maliks or the captains of the army; and the principle of the survival of the fittest determined the life of every king and every dynasty. The slightest weakness of the executive led to rebellions and the rise of adventurers. The latter, anxious to gratify their own ambitions, attempted either to seize the throne for themselves or rallied round a puppet king entirely dependent upon them. This and the absence of any definite rule of succession produced anarchy, and led to the rise of rival parties. Faction fought faction, and dynasty succeeded dynasty.

Briefly, these were the reasons producing such a rapid succession of dynasties. Of the specific causes why each dynasty came to grief, the first was the inherent weakness of the government; the second, the deterioration of the ruling house; the third, the abuse of slavery; the fourth, decentralization and provincialization; the fifth, the strength of the Hindū opposition; and the sixth, the disturbing effects of the Mongol raids.

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It will not be amiss at this stage to enter into a more detailed examination of these factors:—

(1) The inherent weakness of the government.

The system of government was at this time based upon personal rule, as opposed to what is now known as the 'Rule of Law.' The only form of government then known was personal despotism.

The strength of the government depended upon that of the monarch, for a weak ruler was the signal for anarchy. Sulṭān Shamsu'ddīn Iltūtmish was a powerful ruler, who established peace and made many conquests. He was followed by weak rulers, Ruknu'ddīn Fīroz, Raẓiya, Mu'izz'ddīn Bahrām and 'Alāu'ddīn Mas'ūd. Under them everything was thrown into confusion, and the country witnessed terrible scenes of treachery, assassination, intrigue and discord. With the rise of a powerful man like Balban peace once more reigned supreme. Unfortunately, he left behind him no capable successor.

Rebellions and efforts to found new dynasties had always to be faced under a weak ruler when the power of the central government declined. This is well illustrated by the history of Sulṭān Mu'izzu'ddīn Kaiqubād, Balban's grandson and successor, whose weakness tempted his minister Niẓāmu'ddīn to cast covetous eyes on the throne. Niẓāmu'ddīn's innermost thoughts have been recorded for us in the *Tārikh-i Fīroz Shāhī* of Baranī. Says he[1]:

'Sulṭān Balban was a wary old wolf who held possession of the empire of Dehlī for sixty years and kept down the grandees of the empire by different means under his firm rule. He is gone and his son who was fitted to be a ruler was martyred during his lifetime. Bughra Khān has remained contented at Lakhnautī; and the roots of the empire, which the old man had planted, are day by day growing weaker. In his devotion to pleasure Sulṭan Mu'izzu'ddīn has not a thought for his government. If I get rid of Kaikhusrau, the son of the Martyr Prince, and can remove some of the old nobles

1 Baranī: *Tārikh-i Firoz Shāhi*, p. 132 (Bib. Ind.).

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(*malik*) from the person of Sulṭān Mu'izzu'ddīn, the empire will easily fall into my hands.'

Accordingly, he procured the assassination of Kaikhusrau and exterminated all undesirables, nobles, ministers and Mongol adventurers in the service of the Sulṭān. Even when Kaiqubād realized the danger, and removed this scheming minister by poison, he fell into the hands of the principal military leaders. Stricken with the palsy, Kaiqubād found that his amirs and maliks were all eager to seize the sceptre. A conflict arose between two factions—the Turkish amirs who espoused the cause of Kaiqubād's child Kaimuraṣ, and the Khaljis, the supporters of Jalālu'ddīn Fīroz, who seized the throne and founded the Khaljī dynasty.

Jalālu'ddīn Fīroz was a mild ruler. His mildness bred criticism, and finally produced open rebellion. Plots were hatched to murder him and to snatch the sceptre from his feeble hands, with the result that he was killed and 'Alāu'ddīn Khaljī, the powerful regicide, reigned in his stead.

'Alāu'ddīn can be fittingly compared with Shamsu'ddīn Iltūtmish, Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Balban, Sher Shāh Sūrī, and Jalāu'ddīn Akbar. Like these rulers he subdued his enemies, established order, overhauled the whole system of administration and extended his kingdom until it became a mighty empire, stretching from the Indus in the north to Madūra and practically to Rāmeśvaram in the south, touching the sea on the west and on the east. He introduced reforms into every department of government. But both his reforms and his empire were short-lived. What he created died with him, for it is impossible to postulate a succession of able despots. Ẓiyāu'ddīn Baranī bears testimony to the fact that symptoms of decline became manifest during his lifetime. He enumerates 'Alāu'ddīn's blunders which brought about the fall of his empire and dynasty. (a) He dismissed the wise and experienced officers of his empire and replaced them by idlers of slave stock, and by worthless eunuchs. (b) He gave his sons no proper training and saddled them with authority before their time. By a special document signed by all the maliks Khiẓr Khān was formally declared heir-apparent. Thus Khiẓr Khān obtained the

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parasol of authority at an early age. But he was put under no tutelage. Untutored and untrained, the prince began his public life by throwing himself headlong into pleasures and debaucheries. His association with persons of mean tastes and low morals heightened the prevalent disorders. (c) The infatuation of 'Alāu'ddīn for Malik Kāfūr, also called Malik Nāib, proved fatal. He had appointed him commander-in-chief of the empire and had raised him to the position of chief minister. As a result, Malik Nāib grew conceited. He became a deadly foe of Alp Khān the maternal uncle and father-in-law of Khiẓr Khān, poisoned the Sulṭān's mind, had Alp Khān executed, and imprisoned and exiled Khiẓr Khān. 'On the day of the execution of Alp Khān and the imprisonment and exile of Khiẓr Khan,' says Baranī, 'the dynasty of Sulṭān 'Alāu'ddīn fell.' Baranī stresses the point only to set off and bring into relief the destructive character of the policy Sulṭān 'Alāu'ddīn had pursued towards the end of his reign. Given supreme powers a despot who has grown old and lost balance is likely to do incalculable harm. His weakness means the weakness of the executive and is attended by the rise of adventurers and rival factions. The enfeebled mind of 'Alāu'ddīn was now swayed by minions. He had accepted a master in Malik Nāib ; hence the consequences. The execution of Alp Khān, and the maltreatment of Khiẓr Khān made matters worse. At this critical stage, while troubles were brewing and rebellion raising its head, Sulṭān 'Alāu'ddīn died.[1]

His death was followed by prolonged anarchy which, despite Quṭbu'ddīn Mubārak Shāh's spasmodic efforts at amelioration, did not end until the establishment of the Tughluq dynasty.

The Tughluq power reached its zenith under Sulṭān Muḥammad bin Tughluq and rapidly degenerated shortly after the death of Fīroz Shāh. His death was, therefore, the

1 Barani does not give the date of Sulṭān 'Alāu'ddīn's death. But, from a statement of his regarding the accession of Quṭbu'ddīn Mubārak Shāh, it follows that Sulṭān 'Alāu'ddīn's death took place in 1316/716 (Baranī—T. F. P. 381). Sir Wolseley Haig gives January 2nd, 1316 as the date of his death (*Cambridge History of India*, III, p. 119).

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signal for renewed anarchy. Weak and incapable rulers—Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Tughluq II, Abū Bakr, Muḥammad Shāh, Sikandar, Maḥmūd II and Nuṣrat Shāh—came to the throne in rapid succession.

Like 'Alāu'ddīn Khaljī, Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh gave his sons no efficient training and committed the same mistake of saddling them with authority and power before their time. He conferred on Prince Fatḥ Khān the paraphernalia of sovereignty with the permission to strike coins and have the *khuṭba* read in his name.[1] Fatḥ Khān as well as other princes formed factions of their own. Their jealousies and hostilities culminated later in wars of succession, which proved disastrous to the stability of the kingdom. The Hindū chiefs realizing the weakness of the government, defied the Sulṭān and refused any longer to pay taxes.

The Sayyid rulers who next wielded the sceptre at Dehlī cannot be called powerful. None of them was able to cope with the situation. As a result rebellions and disturbances continued. The degradation of the monarchy was complete, power having passed into the hands of the nobles. Under Muḥammad Shāh and 'Ālam Shāh, the last two Sayyid rulers, the crown of Dehlī became a bone of contention between the ambitious kings of Mālwa and Jaunpūr on the one hand and the nobles of Dehlī and Buhlol Lodī, the governor of Sarhind, on the other. Anxious to choose a candidate whom they could overrule, the nobles offered the crown to Buhlol Lodī, who founded the Lodī dynasty.

The first two Lodī kings, Buhlol and Sikandar were stronger and wiser than the last. By tact and a conciliatory policy they created a party sworn to support them. Thus they were able to wage defensive and aggressive wars and to re-establish in a way the prestige of the monarchy. But the third ruler Ibrāhīm Lodī was tactless. He came to grief by departing from the wise example of his predecessors. He lost the confidence of the nobles, who had hitherto formed the chief support of the Lodī monarchy.

1 Firishta assigns this event to the year 760 (A.D. 1358). *Vide* the *Tārikh-i Firishta* (Bombay, 1831) vol. I, p. 243. *Cf.* Edward Thomas—C. P. K. D., p. 297.

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Consequently rebellions broke out in different provinces—in Bihār, in the Punjāb, and in the Doāb. During these disturbances Bābur invaded India, and, after severe fighting, laid the foundation of the Mughul Empire.

In short, the Dehlī Sultanate sorely lacked a constitution, a permanent executive or legislative body, which like the Parliament of medieval England would have continued to function irrespective of the rise and fall of monarchs. The exceedingly great powers which the Sulṭān of Dehlī enjoyed proved highly detrimental to his rule. He became conceited, and neglected, or was inclined to neglect, the advice of every sagacious and wise minister in the realm. He carried all before him as long as he was powerful. But the betrayal of the slightest weakness on his part was exploited by the disaffected nobles—hence the rebellions and insurrections which form a normal feature of the political history of India in the 13th and 14th centuries.

(2) The absence of a definite and rigid law of succession was no less a cause of trouble. The fact that all the Sultans were military despots, combined with the disturbed condition of the country, meant that the sword was the natural method of settling disputes. The want of a body of disinterested workers in the cause of peace and order, combined with the assumption or the certainty that the death of a king would be the signal for civil warfare, made the Dehlī court an arena for powerful candidates and parties contesting for sovereignty. The candidates were recruited from within the ruling dynasty as long as it was practicable; otherwise power was seized by ambitious adventurers. Hence the frequent changes of dynasties.

As a rule, a dynasty was capable of producing two or three capable rulers, after which it deteriorated. This deterioration was inevitable because of the increasing Indianization which followed. Although the popular story of Sulṭān 'Alāu'ddīn Khaljī's adventures to win the hand of Padminī of Chittor is not correct yet his marriages with Kamlā Devī, wife of Raja Karan of Gujarāt and Princess Jhitāī, daughter of Rām Deo of Deogīr cannot be denied. As the saying goes *annas 'alā dīn-i mulūk-i him* the Sulṭān's example must have been followed by the Turkish amirs.

Further, prince Khiẓr Khān's imposing marriage with Devaĺ Devī created an atmosphere which intensified the process of Indianization. And Indianization enervated the manly Turk. That the Hindū-Turkish matrimonial alliance was not always capable of producing a man of strong character is shown by the story of Fīroz Shāh bin Rajab (1351-1388), his weaknesses and ineffective wars. How Rajab's marriage was contracted with Naila, the daughter of Rānā Mall Bhaṭṭī of Abohar is described by Shams Sirāj 'Afif.[1] The fruit of this marriage was Fīroz Shāh, who was not a good warrior in that age of warrior kings. Henceforth the Dehlī monarchy was degraded and the Sulṭān's prestige was undermined. The dying eyes of Fīroz Shāh witnessed the rise of mean factions in the State and the outbreak of a struggle which later flared into a civil war and sounded the knell of the Tughluq dynasty.

(3) The slave system had been originally and primarily a source of great strength to Muslim rule in India, which had in fact been founded and consolidated by the mamluks—by Quṭbu'ddīn Aibak, by Shamsu'ddīn Iltūtmish, and by Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Balban. Their careers amply prove that they had received a sound training. Slavery both provided a test of capability and character and gave opportunities for advancement. So long as the institution of slavery at its best flourished, an able ruler was always forthcoming, but with the detericration of slavery the supply was cut off at the source. Balban was the last product of the true system of slavery. After him the system was so corrupted that it ceased to produce men of character. The slaves of the Khaljī and Tughluq periods were far from being faithful and brave. Malik Kāfūr was a slave of Sulṭān 'Alāu'ddīn Khaljī. He behaved most disgracefully during the lifetime of his master and even after his death. Malik Ṭāghī was a slave of Sulṭān Muḥammad bin Tughluq, but he revolted like several others and defied his master. Fīroz Shāh increased the number of his slaves far more than any of his predecessors had done. When he sent one of his slaves, Malik Qabūl,

1 'Afif, *Tarikh-i Firoz Shāhi* (Bib. Ind.) pp. 36-37.

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to Sulṭān Sikandar of Lakhnautī, the latter asked if his master had other servants like him. Malik Qabūl replied that he was a slave in the second palace, and that 10,000 men as good as he kept watch over the palace of his sovereign. Sulṭān Sikandar was amazed to hear this.[1] According to the *Tārīkh-i Mubārak Shāhī* the number of Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh's slaves amounted to one lakh.[2] According to 'Afīf, the contemporary historian, it came to one lakh and eighty thousand.[3] A separate department with a large staff of officers had to be kept for their management.[4] The Sulṭān had swelled their ranks indiscriminately. Many of the Hindus, but nominally converted to Islām, had been accepted as slaves. They were neither loyal nor faithful. They were men of low morals, governed by sordid ambitions. Even during the lifetime of Sulṭān Fīroz they had proved themselves a curse to the empire and their intrigues heightened the disorders and troubles which clouded his closing years. Far from serving the State by crushing its rebellions or advancing its frontiers like the slaves of the 13th century they drained the State exchequer.

(4) The governmental organization in the Sultanate period was far from efficient. The provincial and central governments were not well knit together. The wālī or the provincial governor was endowed with almost absolute power, since he had an army and a treasury of his own, and exercised the powers of life and death over his subjects. He was constantly on the look-out for rebellion. But at the same time he was only too prone to make use of every opportunity of establishing his own independence, and even of usurping the throne of Dehlī. The history of the Mamlūk, Khaljī and Tughluq dynasties is replete with the rebellions of provincial governors. Baranī tells us how Tughral, the governor of Bengal, revolted against Balban and assumed the title of Sulṭān Mughīṣu'ddīn. The disaffected nobles encouraged him saying, 'Sulṭān Balban

1 'Afif: *Tārīkh-i Fīroz Shāhī* (Bib. Ind.), pp. 160-61.
2 Quoted by Firishta (Bombay), Vol. I, p. 270.
3 'Afif: *Tārīkh-i Fīroz Shāhī* (Bib. Ind.), p. 270.
4 *Ibid*, 271.

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has grown old, and has sent both of his sons to checkmate the Mongols. Take up hence (O Tughral !) the *chatr* (parasol); be a king and set your face against Balban."[1]

(5) The Hindū opposition was another force with which these rulers had to contend. The bulk of the people in India were Hindus. Every Muslim conqueror had of necessity to measure swords with them. Even after they were defeated in the field they had to be treated with consideration, as no administrative machinery could function and no government could be established without their co-operation. This is one of the reasons why the Arabs, the pioneers of Muslim rule in Sind as well as the Turks, the pioneers of Muslim rule in Hindustān, employed Hindus in the agricultural and revenue departments.

Some historians[2] are of opinion that Hindus were excluded from all offices by the Sultans of Dehlī. But this cannot be accepted in view of the contemporary evidence to the contrary.[3] While describing Balban's triumphant return after crushing Tughral's rebellion in Bengal, Baranī twice refers favourably to the Hindus. In the first instance we are told that through whichever town or region the Sulṭān passed, the qazis, the 'ulamā, the mashaikh as well as the karkuns, the mutasarrifs, the rajas, the *chaudhris* and the *muqaddams* advanced with their presents to offer him congratulations. They were honoured in return with royal favours and robes.[4] Again, we are told that as the Sulṭān entered Dehlī all persons, whether Musalmāns, *Hindus*, Turks or Tajiks, who held offices of honour or owned land or had been granted *in'ām* (free gift), came to pay their respects to the Sulṭān and were granted many favours and robes of honour.[5] Far from being excluded from office or neglected, the Hindus constituted an important factor in the politics of Dehlī, and Hindū chiefs and officials were paid in return for their services to the State by grants of

1 Baranī: *Tārikh-i Fīroz Shāhī* (Bib. Ind.) p. 82
2 Smith remarks that 'He (Balban) refused to employ Hindū officials.' (*Oxford History of India*, 1919, p. 228).
3 The *Rehla* of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (G.O.S.), pp. xxxiii, ff.
4 Baranī: *Tārikh-i Fīroz Shāhī* (Bib. Ind.), p. 106.
5 *Ibid*, p. 108

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land or by assignments. Barani shows clearly how the Hindus, like Muslims, held *in'ām* or land free from assessment. They were required to collect revenue from the peasants and remit it to the exchequer. Presumably the Hindus acted both as assessors and collectors of revenue. They performed a work on which depended the welfare of the country as well as the prosperity of the government. In other words, the Hindus controlled the local administration of the Muslim state in India.

Firishta[1] testifies early in the reign of Sulṭān Jalālu'ddīn Khaljī to the existence of several Hindū rajas of consequence. The *Fatāwa-i Jahāndārī* of Baranī equally testifies to the existence of Hindū chiefs. In a special chapter on the jizya and the kharāj even the *Fiqh-i Fīroz Shāhī* treats of the Hindus. Thus it becomes difficult to deny the existence of Hindū chiefs and rajas, throughout the period, holding and owning large districts and estates. They were expected to pay kharāj[2] to the royal officers at specific seasons, and as long as they made their payment regularly no interference whatever was made in their internal administration. It seems that the Muslim conquest produced but little change in the rural areas, for the country districts at a distance from the metropolis and the provincial capital remained practically independent under Hindū chiefs; and assignments were given to Hindus on lands and they were expected to raise the local revenue and pay it to the exchequer.

In rural India the peasantry was entirely Hindū; even in urban areas the agrarian, revenue and fiscal departments were manned by Hindus. Occasionally the Hindus formed the rank and file of a rebel prince. Such was the case with Malik Chhajjū. When he revolted against Sulṭān Jalālu'ddīn Khaljī he recruited Hindus freely in his army. At the head of an enormous following of Rawats—the term Ẓiyāu'ddīn Baranī employs for the Hindus—he marched against the Khaljī ruler.

1 Firishta (Bombay), vol. I, p. 154

2 The word kharāj here means tribute in a general sense. Cf. *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, II, p. 902

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It is true the Hindus in the Sultanate period did not hold as many and as high positions as they did later under the Mughul emperors. But this was partly due to a dearth of capable hands among them and partly to the general distrust and jealousy of the rival Muslim candidates. Still Sulṭān Muḥammad bin Tughluq did not hesitate to raise a capable Hindū, Ratan[1] by name, even to the office of a provincial governor. Another Hindū named Dhārā Dhar was appointed Nāib Wazīr of Deogīr[2] and head of the Dīwān-i Uslūb.[3]

It seems that the Hindus were not only an essential part of the Dehlī empire, but, what is more, they formed an *imperium in imperio*. The Muslim governing class consisting of the Sulṭān and the walis (provincial governors) had their sphere of control limited to the towns; it was the Hindū chief who was the link between the provincial governor, usually a Muslim, and the Hindū peasants. There was no love lost between the Muslim wālī, and the Hindū intermediary. Each was suspicious of the other. And while the Muslim master was content to leave the Hindū chief alone and let him enjoy a large measure of independence as long as he paid his dues, the latter would avail himself of every opportunity for collecting money and accumulating the sinews of war. He bided his time. At times he would tyrannize over the peasantry, at others he would become arrogant and politically disaffected. Given the slightest opportunity he would assert his complete independence and would refuse to pay his dues to the Muslim wālī (governor). That is why the kings of Dehlī had one after another to adopt repressive measures. Balban, 'Alāu'ddīn Khaljī and Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Tughluq have left behind records of their policy in this respect. Experience had taught each of them that the Hindū peasantry could under no circumstances be neglected, and could not be left to be exploited by the Hindū chiefs or intermediaries; and that the latter could not with impunity be allowed to accumulate treasures. When analysing the causes of rebellions. Sulṭān 'Alāu'ddīn Khaljī found the increasingly great

1 The *Rehle* (G. O. S.), p. 8
2 Barani (Bib. Ind.). p. 501.
3 *Hajjiu' ddabir*, III. p. 874.

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powers of the Hindū chiefs to be the principal cause; and he set about curtailing them.

It was too much to hope that these Hindū chiefs, masters of the peasantry and possessed of a considerable military force, and masters of their domains, enjoying rich legacies, and having a long and unbroken local independence, would always be loyal to the Muslim governors. Few Muslim rulers, therefore, had a peaceful time. Whilst the strongest of them wrestled with the hot-headed Hindū chiefs, the weakest fell victims to the chaos produced by the Hindū rebellions.

(6) The Mongol raids.

The Mongol hordes of Chingīz Khān constituted in the 13th and 14th centuries a great menace to the peace of India. For the most part they remained massed on the Indus, and raided frequently into the interior, plundering at times up to the gates of Dehlī and Amroha. Balban mentions their unfailing irruptions from year to year. 'These accursed wretches (Mongols) have...' says he, 'set their mind on plundering India. They have raided and plundered Lahore, which is an outpost of our empire. No year passes that they do not come here and plunder the villages.'[1] Accordingly Balban threw himself into the work of defence—fortifying the frontiers, disciplining the army, and keeping it ready for war at the capital with a view to marching at a moment's notice against the enemy. As a result he could not travel frequently, as he would otherwise have done, to the distant provinces of his kingdom, where rebellion was engendered. The disaffected nobles incited Tughral, the governor of Bengal (1279), to rebel on the ground that Balban was too busy with the Mongols to think of crushing him. For the Sultans of Dehlī, they contended, there could be no engagement more absorbing and more imperative than confronting the Mongols and repulsing them. Neither the Sulṭān nor his sons could possibly give it up; nor could they turn to Lakhnautī without neglecting the Mongol invasions.[2]

1 Barani: *Tārikh-i Firoz Shāhī* (Bib. Ind.), p. 50,-51
2 *Idem*, p. 82.

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The above illustrates fully well how the Mongol raids gave a lever to the forces of discontent. In their raids the turbulent elements in the country—the disaffection of the Hindū chiefs, the jealousies and revolts of the maliks and amirs and the prevalence of robbery and brigandage—found great stimulus. A strong government alone could cope with the situation.

With the increasingly pressing demand for an invincible army on the frontiers, and at the capital, as well as for new fortifications commanding the route of the Mongols, power passed into the hands of military commanders. Placed in charge of great forts of strategic importance or holding commissions in the army they formed the backbone of the state. They did not refrain from fishing in troubled waters when the executive became weak and from assuming sovereignty as soon as an opportunity presented itself. The history of the great military generals—Iltūtmish, commandant of the fortress of Budāūn under Quṭbu'ddīn Aibak; Jalālu'ddīn Fīroz Khaljī, muster-master under Kaiqubād; and Ghāzī Malik Tughluq, the warden of the marches and governor of Dipālpur under Quṭbu'ddīn Mubārak Shāh—affords an illustration of the above.

The vanquished Mongols and those who like Ulghū Khān,[1] a descendant of Chingiz Khān, accepted employment under the Sultans of Dehlī were potential enemies. On his defeat by the forces of Sulṭān Jalalu'ddīn Khaljī, Ulghū Khān embraced Islām, and settled in company with his 3,000 countrymen in the suburbs of Dehlī. They were granted estates, and were afterwards known as *amīrān-i jadīda* (new amirs). But they roused the suspicions of Sulṭān 'Alāu'ddīn Khaljī who put thousands of them to the sword—a tragedy known in history as the massacre of the new Musalmans. This alienated the survivors who cherished their grievances and later created or exploited disturbances in the country.

In spite of their destructive character the Mongol raids had exercised a kind of salutary effect on the military history of the Sultanate. Since the time of Iltūtmish Mongol-

1 Baranī: *Tārikh-i Firoz Shāhī* (Bib. Ind.), p. 219

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phobia had acted as a great incentive to the Sultans of Dehlī. When, however, the Mongol attacks ceased under Sulṭān Muḥammad bin Tughluq, the military superiority and morale of the Sultanate was undermined. Decay set in. All the successors of Muḥammad bin Tughluq, including the much-applauded Fīroz, were sadly lacking in the essential attributes of a warrior-king, and the standard of ability was generally low among the rulers of Dehlī. The demoralization of the army; the disloyalty and corruption of the military leaders, who were divided into rival factions; the insecurity of the frontier and the defencelessness of the fortresses commanding the traditional Mongol route in the time of Nāṣiru'ddīn Maḥmud II, the last of the Tughluq monarchs, facilitated the rapid progress of Tīmūr, whose success was symptomatic of a decline that had already taken place.

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CHAPTER II

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE TUGHLUQ DYNASTY

Of the five dynasties of the Sultanate period, the Tughluq dynasty occupies the middle position; and its opening scenes, staged in the reign of Sulṭān Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Tughluq, the founder of the dynasty, and in that of his son, that grossly misunderstood monarch, Sulṭān Muḥammad, mark the zenith of Muslim rule in India before the Mughuls.

Ibn Baṭṭūṭa[1] and Shams Sirāj[2] 'Afīf both assign the arrival of Tughluq in India to the reign of Sulṭān 'Alāu'-ddīn Khaljī. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa informs us that Tughluq came to Sind in a miserable condition. He was then in the service of a certain merchant under whom he worked as a shepherd. This occurred during the reign of 'Alāu'ddīn Khaljī, when the governor of Sind was his brother, Ulugh Khān.[3] Tughluq entered his service and was attached to his person. Ulugh Khān enrolled him among the infantry. Later his bravery became known, and he was promoted to the cavalry. Afterwards, he was installed as one of the minor amirs (*umāra-i ṣighār*), and Ulugh Khān made him his superintendent of the stable (*amīru'l khail*). Finally he became one of the great amirs (*umarā-i kibār*) and was named Malik Ghāzī. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa saw an inscription on the principal place of prayer in the great mosque at Multān—the mosque[4] which had been constructed by the orders of Tughluq—saying, 'I have fought twenty-nine battles with the Tartars, and have defeated them. Hence I have been named Malik-il

1 (*a*) B. N. MS., 909 f.
(*b*) Def. et Sang., III, pp. 201-202

2 Afif: *Tārikh-i Firoz Shāhi* (Bib. Ind.), p. 36.

3 His name was Almās Beg, and his title Ulugh Khān. Firishta: Bombay, Vol. I, pp. 174, 179, 180, 189. Defrémery's text gives the word as 'Ulū Khān.' Def. et Sang., III, p. 202. Cf. The *Rebla* (G.O.S.), p. 47.

4 The existence of this mosque is attested to by Amir Khusrau in his *Tughluq Nāma*, p. 63. (See p. 40 *infra*.)

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Ghāzī'. Says Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, 'When Sulṭān Quṭbu'ddīn Mubārak Shāh ascended the throne, he made Tughluq governor of Dīpālpūr, and his son Jauna superintendent of the royal stable (*amīru'l khail*).'[1]

'Afif is not so informative as Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, but he strikes a different note. He[2] holds that the three brothers, Tughluq, Rajab and Abū Bakr, came to Dehlī from Khurāsān during the reign of Sulṭān 'Alāu'ddīn, who showed them great kindness, employing them at his court. Tughluq fared extraordinarily well, and profoundly impressed the Sulṭān, who made him governor of Dīpālpur.[3]

Both these authorities agree that Tughluq came to India in the time of Sulṭān 'Alāu'ddīn, that he rose to the rank of great amīr, that he enjoyed the reputation of being the greatest warrior of the age and that he was invested with the command of the imperial armies which marched against the Mongols every time they invaded India. That Tughluq rose so shortly after his arrival in India to the highest offices of responsibility and was awarded the greatest possible distinctions, so much so that he secured the hand of a daughter[4] of Sulṭān 'Alāu'ddīn is not convincing. The information given by Firishta, who traces the rise of Tughluq from the time of Sulṭān Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Balban seems to be nearer the truth. He says[5] :—

> "The historians of India, the earliest as well as the latest, having been careless, none of them ascertained

1 Literally, superintendent of horses. *Vide* the *Rehla* (G,O.S.), p. 48. It should be noted that Tughluq was appointed governor of Dipālpur by 'Alāu'ddīn Khalji. Sulṭan Quṭbu'ddīn Mubārak Shāh subsequently confirmed him in that post.

2 Afif: *Tārikh-i Firoz Shāhi* (Bib. Ind.), p. 36

3 Dipālpūr is the modern spelling. Formerly it was spelt Dibalpur or Deobalpur. It is now reduced to a village in the Montgomery district of the Panjab

4 This follows from Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's account of Mas'ūd Khān, a brother of Sulṭān Muḥammad bin Tughluq. Mas'ūd Khan's mother was a daughter of Sulṭān 'Alāu'ddin Khalji. But Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's statement remains unconfirmed. *Vide* the *Rehla* (G.O.S.), p. 85

5 Firishta (Bombay), I, pp. 230-31

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the origin and descent of the Tughluq kings. When early in the reign of the emperor Nūru'ddīn Muḥammad Jahāngīr, the writer of these pages, Muḥammad Qāsim Firishta, arrived in the city of Lahore (*Lahaur*) on behalf of the *Sulṭān-i 'aṣr* (lord of the times), Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh, he enquired there of some of the people given to reading and learned in the history of Indian kings about the origin, descent and family of Tughluq Shāh. They said: 'We too have found no express mention about it in any book; but in these parts it is generally held that Malik Tughluq, the father of King Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Tughluq Shāh, was one of the Turkish slaves of King Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Balban; that he married into a local Jāṭ family,[1] and that King Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Tughluq was the fruit of that marriage."

Firishta has been in the main followed by the Hindū historian of the 17th century, Sujān Rāi, the author of the *Khulāṣātu't-Tavārīkh*.[2] Firishta's version may therefore be regarded as approximately true.

It follows that in the age of Balban, Muslim adventurers took unto themselves Hindū wives, though the practice had begun as early as the Arab conquest of Sind. According to the *Chach Nāma*[3] Muḥammad bin Qāsim had married Lāḍī, a wife of Rājā Dāhir. Later Muḥam-

1 An appendix in Elliot, I, (507), contains a note on the Jats, but a much clearer one will be found in Tod's *Rajasthan*, edited by Crooke, Vol. I, p. 127. The sum and substance is that the Jats were connected with the Rajputs. Both originated from the early Central Asian invaders. While their leaders became Rajputs, the lower orders became Jāt peasants.

2 Sujān Rāi says: 'Sulṭān Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Tughluq Shāh, formerly known as Ghāzī Malik, a king of Turkish descent, bore the name of Malik Tughluq Shāh. He was one of the slaves of Ghiyaṣu'ddīn, his mother being from a Jāt tribe of the Panjāb. (*Khulāṣatu't-Tavārīkh* MS., F. 95. School of Oriental Studies, London).

3 (a) B. M., Or, 1787, p. 183.
(b) Haig, Sir Wolseley: *The Cambridge History of India*, III, p. 5.

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mad of Ghor is said[1] to have married a Hindū princess of Uch (1175). The examples set by their chiefs must have encouraged the rank and file of Muslims to take Hindū wives. One is led to such a conclusion in view of the probability that the earliest Muslim conquerors and settlers had come to India unaccompanied by women. The scarcity of women of their own religion, and their resolution to make permanent homes in Hindustān, combined with a natural desire to increase their progeny, forced these Muslims to intermarry with the Hindus with whom they were thrown into contact. Such has been the practice of almost all conquering peoples. They have either intermarried or made concubines of the native women.

The first notice of the practice in the annals of Muslim India is the seizure of the harem of Rāi Karan of Gujarāt by Almās Beg Ulugh Khān and Malik Nuṣrat Khān, and the marriage of Sulṭān 'Alāu'ddīn Khaljī to Kamala Devī. Her daughter, Deval Devī, who had sought shelter with Rām Deo of Deogīr, was later recovered and married to prince Khiẓr Khān.

The second instance is mentioned by 'Afīf, who informs us that Sulṭān Tughluq desired to marry Rajab into the family of one of the *Rais* of Dīpālpūr. This took place during the reign of Sulṭān 'Alāu'ddīn, when Tughluq was the governor of Dīpālpūr. Rajab was his younger brother. Tughluq, however, resolved to marry Rajab to the daughter of Rānā Mall Bhaṭṭī of Abohar. The marriage proposal was at first refused, but Tughluq coerced[2] the Rānā into accepting it. The marriage took place about 1307 during

1 *Op. cit.*, p. 38.

2 'As he (Tughluq) was,' says 'Afif, 'making enquiries...he was informed that the daughter of Rānā Mall Bhaṭṭī was extremely handsome.....In those days the great-grandfather of this historian, namely Malik S'ādu'l-Mulk Shihāb 'Afīf, was the governor of Abohar on behalf of Sulṭān Tughluq. In consultation with him Sulṭān Tughluq sent some exceptionally wise and clever men to Rānā Mall with a marriage proposal. When the proposal was made on behalf of Sulṭān Tughluq, Rānā Mall, through his extreme arrogance and haughtiness, began to utter improper and unbecoming words. When the intelligence of the refusal of the marriage proposal was conveyed to Sulṭān Tughluq he again consulted my great-grandfather. After much discussion it was resolved

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the reign of Sulṭān 'Alāu'ddīn Khaljī whose marriages with Hindū princesses seem to have created a congenial atmosphere. The example set by the emperor and his son, prince Khiẓr Khān, was probably followed by many of the nobles. And in view of the information given by 'Afīf regarding the marriage at Abohar the conclusion cannot be withheld that this was the age of the rapid mixing of Hindu-Muslim blood.

It should be noted that the last-mentioned marriage differs characteristically from its prototypes. It was not personal but political. Of the need for such an alliance there was no better judge than Ghāzī Malik Tughluq. He had a personal experience of the difficulties with which a Muslim governor was confronted in securing the co-operation of the Hindus. He knew, also, what Ibn Baṭṭūṭa later noted, the Hindū contempt for the Muslim. Perhaps he wanted to remove the causes of friction alienating one people from the other. The idea underlying this marriage was to remove from Muslim rule the stigma of foreign rule. The favour he showed to his new sister-in-law Bībī Naila or Kadbānū—an honorific conferred upon her by Ghāzī Malik Tughluq—is highly significant.

Rajab had already two wives,[1] probably Muslim wives,

that Sulṭān Tughluq should go to Rānā Mall's villages, and demand payment in a lump sum instead of by instalments of the annual revenue. On the following day Sulṭān Tughluq went to Rānā Mall's villages and demanded cash payment of the annual revenue. He subjected the *muqaddams* and *chaudhris*...to hardship. The whole of Rānā Mall's government was confounded, and the people as a whole were reduced to the verge of destruction. When after a few days Rānā Mall's subjects were extremely hard pressed, his mother...came crying...into his house and spoke in despair. At that time Rānā Mall's daughter, the would-be mother of Sulṭān Firoz, stood in the courtyard. On seeing her grandmother cry, she enquired the reason. 'I cry,' replied the grandmother, 'for fear of your life. If it were not for you, Sulṭān Tughluq would not have subjected the people here to so great coercion.' Thereupon the daughter said, 'O grandmother! If by giving me away so many of your subjects can be relieved you should accept the marriage proposal...' ('Afīf: *Tārīkh-i Firoz Shāhī*, pp, 36-39).

1 'Sipah-Sālār Rajab had no other child, either son or daughter, from Bibi Kadbānū. Those who say that Malik Quṭbu'ddin was a

and by each he had a son. One was called Quṭbu'ddīn and the other Ibrāhīm. But, Bībī Naila or Kadbānū was held in higher esteem than the senior wives of Rajab. The same was the case with her son, Fīroz.[1] Ghāzī Malik Tughluq doted on both. In accordance with a promise he had made to Bībī Naila he continued to bestow special attention on Fīroz as long as he lived. After his death, Fīroz was specially favoured by Sulṭān Muḥammad. On the death of the latter, he became king in spite of other claimants to the throne. His brothers Quṭbu'ddīn and Ibrāhīm were overlooked in spite of their seniority. They are mentioned by Ẓiyāu'ddīn Baranī in the list of Sulṭān Fīroz's courtiers.

It is true that the method Tughluq adopted to win the hand of Bībī Naila for his brother, Rajab, was not laudable. But it must be acknowledged that Tughluq did or was prepared to do in the 14th century what few would think of doing now in the 20th. To accomplish his object he waged no war against the ruler of Abohar. Tughluq regarded the Hindū aristocrats, or, at any rate, the ruling family of Rānā Mall Bhaṭṭī of Abohar, as his equals socially; and in accordance with the time-honoured Muslim custom sent a marriage-proposal through some select officers. They were expected to broach the matter tactfully to the Rājā, to propitiate him, to win his goodwill and to take full care not to injure his feelings. When Rānā Mall spurned the proposal and despised Tughluq, the latter had no choice left. He had to be stern in order to convince the Rānā that the man whose proposal he spurned was no ordinary man, that he was a man of his word and was far superior to the Rānā in every respect.

While we possess a wealth of detail about the marriage

brother of Fīroz Shāh speak the truth, but he was born of another mother. The same was the case with Malik Nāib Bārbak (grand usher). He was also his brother, but by a different mother.' ('Afīf, p. 40.) This finds confirmation in Baranī (p. 527) and it follows that both Quṭbu'ddīn and Ibrāhīm, the grand usher (Bārbak), were older than Fīroz. It is also evident from 'Afīf (p. 40) that Bībī Nāila, the mother of Fīroz, was the last wife of Rajab.

1. 'Afīf: *Tārīkh-i Fīroz Shāhī* (Bib. Ind.), p. 40.

of Rajab, the younger brother, there is very little information available about that of Ghāzi Malik Tughluq, the elder brother. All that can be inferred is that he had several wives, and that his first wife was the mother of Jauna, his eldest son. She outlived him by many years, and was seen in her old age by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa,[1] when as the mother of the ruling Sulṭān Muḥammad bin Tughluq, she was the Queen-dowager, enjoying the title of Makhdūma-i Jahān (mistress of the world). She had lost her eye-sight. Her advanced age combined with the fact that she had borne Tughluq his eldest son, already a grown-up man under Sulṭān Quṭbu'-ddīn Mubārak Shāh, able to command armies and cut a prominent figure in war, encourages the conclusion that she was the first wife of Tughluq. In all probability Tughluq married her on his arrival in India soon after the death of Sulṭān Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Balban, as is evident from the memoirs of their son, Sulṭān Muḥammad. In those days Tughluq could not have obtained a wife from a ruling family. Whom, then, could he have married? His inclination towards a matrimonial alliance with the Hindus, which later became conspicuous in connection with Rajab's marriage, postulates such a contingency.

Ibn Baṭṭūṭa and 'Afīf have erroneously ascribed Tughluq's arrival in India to the reign of Sulṭān 'Alāu'ddīn Khaljī. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa obtains his information from Shaikh Ruknu'ddīn Multānī. But it is doubtful whether the Shaikh himself knew much about the antecedents of so obscure a man as Tughluq. Neither the Shaikh nor 'Afīf has mentioned any authority. They were not eyewitnesses; hence their statements cannot be regarded as authentic. Even Ẓiyāu'ddīn Barani, a contemporary writer, takes no notice of the matter, nor does Amīr Khusrau. Far less could later writers like Yaḥya bin Aḥmad, 'Abdul Qādir Budāūnī,[2] and Niẓāmu'ddīn Aḥmad, the respective authors of the

1 The *Rehla* (G.O.S.), p. 14.

2 This is how Sir Wolseley Haig transliterates it (*Cambridge History of India*, III, p. 646. Rieu (*Catalogue of the Persian MSS.* in the British Museum) has Badā'ūnī, and Lee (*Travels of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa*, p. 30) Badāunī. The correct old form is Badāūn, while the modern spelling is Badāyūn.

Tārīkh-i Mubārak Shāhī, the *Muntakhabu't Tavārīkh* and the *Ṭabaqāt-i Akbarī*, be expected to throw light on the matter. Embarrassed by this, Firishta set out with the object of making inquiries.

Firishta would have us place Tughluq's birth in India in the Panjāb, the home of his Jāṭ mother, early in the reign of Sulṭān Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Balban. But a reference to the memoirs of Muḥammad bin Tughluq shows that Firishta's information is inexact. Sulṭān Muḥammad affirms that his father had come as a stranger to India after the period of Balban. Presumably Tughluq was then (1286) a young man, approximately twenty years of age. It was in the reign of Mu'izzu'ddīn Kaiqubād that he married; and probably in the last year of Kaiqubād's reign (1290) was born his eldest son Jauna or Jauna[1] Khān, who later became Malik Fakhru'ddīn Jauna, and then Ulugh[2] Khān, and finally Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh.

This is borne out by Amīr Khusrau[3] who knew Tughluq personally before the establishment of the Tughluq dynasty.

1 The *Reḥla*: (G.O.S.), p. 56. According to Steingass (p. 379), Jaunah جونه is an Arabic word for sun. 'Iṣāmi,' who writes it as 'Jauna,' says it is a Hindī word. (*Futūhu's-Salāṭīn*. f. 23 a.) Now, Jawan or Jaun is a Hindī word for a Musalmān, a foreigner and a barbarian (Platts. 398). Jaunpūr, which as 'Afīf (p. 148) tells us, derives its name from Sulṭān Muḥammad's original title Jauna, perhaps meant 'the town of the foreigner or Mohammadan' (Platts, p. 398). 'Afīf's orthography جودان (Jaunān) remains unconfirmed.

2 Ulugh means powerful, great (Steingass, p. 94).

3 Amīr Khusrau's *Tughluq Nāma* contains some of Tughluq's antecedents—those which were described by himself on a historic occasion before an assembly of notables. 'I was,' says he, 'a man unknown to fame experiencing the coldness and bitterness of life. It was the late king Jalalu'ddīn who showed me favour and drew me near. I became a personal attendant of his. After his death I was much depressed and eaten up with anxiety as to my future. At last Sulṭān 'Alāu'ddīn ascended the throne, and because of his kindness I began to make gradual progress. I sought service under Ulugh Khān, the king's brother, After his death I was again cast adrift. Before long, however, I entered the service of Sulṭān

He holds that Tughluq had made a career and earned a reputation as a warrior under Sulṭān Jalālu'ddīn Khaljī—a fact which goes a long way to confirm the conclusion we have reached regarding his antecedents.

Jauna was born at a time when his father was yet in straitened circumstances. No one knew what a glorious fate was reserved for a child born in obscurity; none cared to record the date of his birth. Before long, however, better days came. Sulṭān Jalālu'ddīn Khaljī showed kindness to Tughluq and made him his courtier, and later enlisted him as a warrior. After his death Tughluq was again left to his own resources, but made his way to the front before long. He was introduced to Ulugh Khān, Sulṭān 'Alāu'ddīn's brother then governor of Sind,[1] whom he served in different capacities.[2] Subsequently he attracted the notice of Sulṭān 'Alau'ddin. It is by his favour that I have attained the position you see me in.'

The above is the address which, according to Amīr Khusrau, Tughluq delivered to the grand assembly at the Hazār Sutūn palace in Sīrī, where he was eventually elected emperor.

The assembly is reported to have made the following reply: 'O Amīr! We know you very well. We are aware of your distinctive parts. When Sulṭān Jalālu'ddīn had laid siege to Ranthambhor, and when the besieging army was violently attacked and harassed by the besieged it was to you that the Sulṭān looked for relief. You were commissioned to march against the enemy, whom you defeated. The Sulṭān honoured you in return. After his death Sulṭān 'Alāu'ddīn was usually kind to you, and fully recognized your merits as a warrior. He deputed you against the Mongol assailants...' *Tughluq Nāma* (Aurangābād, 1933), pp. 135-139.

1 Ulugh Khān was sent on an expedition to Multān in the very first year of Sulṭān 'Alāu'ddīn Khalji's reign. Barani (Bib. Ind., p. 249). The *Tārīkh-i Mubārak Shāhi* (Bib. Ind. p. 21) mentions the year 1296/696 as the date of this expedition. This was probably the time when Ulugh Khān became known as governor (amīr) of Sind. It is to this time, namely, Ulugh Khān's governorship of Sind, that Ibn Baṭṭūṭa erroneously assigns Tughluq's arrival in Sind.

2 The *Rehla* and the *Tughluq Nāma* practically confirm each other on this point.

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'Alāu'ddīn Khaljī, who appointed him governor (*muqṭi'*[1]) of Dīpālpūr.[2]

It was about this time that Tughluq committed Jauna to the care of a private tutor 'Aẓudu'ddīn.[3] Before long 'Aẓudu'ddīn was replaced by Qutlugh Khān.[4]

Ẓiyāu'ddīn Baranī skips over Jauna's childhood and boyhood, but one can infer that he must have been a precocious child. And from what the historian says regarding his attainments as emperor it follows that the youthful Jauna possessed a sharp intellect, a strong and retentive memory and an inquisitive turn of mind. He had a great liking for men of learning and loved to associate with the 'ulamā, the mashāikh (saints), the sufis and the philosophers. He had great respect for saints like Shaikh Ruknu'ddīn Multānī and Shaikh Niẓāmu'ddīn Auliyā. It was from them that he drew his inspiration; and to them, he was indebted for his initiation into sufism.

Side by side with the pursuit of letters Jauna acquired a training in the art of war. While still a young man he became effcient in theology, philosophy, medicine, mathematics, history and astronomy. He also became expert at archery, tilting, riding, and in the use of the javelin and the sword. He acquired a marvellous command of language and was, according to Baranī, an excellent conversationalist, his delivery being extremely lucid, simple and delightful.

1 (a) 'Afīf, p. 27.
(b) 'In those days Sulṭān Tughluq was the Muqṭi' of Dīpālpūr (*Idem*).

2 No date has been assigned to this appointment by Barani, but he, as well as the authors of the *Tārikh i Mubārak Shāhī* and *Muntakhabu't-Tavārikh*, refer to him as fighting the first battle of Sulṭān 'Alāu'ddīn Khaljī's reign against the Mongol invaders. Budāūnī assigns this battle to the year 1298/698. It seems that Tughluq was appointed governor of Dīpālpūr early in Sulṭān 'Alāu'ddīn Khalji's reign. *Tārīkh-i Mubārak Shāhī* (Bib. Ind.), p. 82; *Muntakhabu'-i Tavārikh*, p. 184.

3 Firishta mentions Maulānā 'Aẓudu'ddīn as the tutor of Sulṭān Muḥammad. *Tārikh-i Firishta* (Bombay), I, p. 236.

4 Barani (*Ibid.* Ind.), p. 454.

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Baranī is fully confirmed by his contemporary, Bahrām Aiba Kishlū Khān, the governor of Sind, and comrade of Ghāzī Malik Tughluq. Bahrām Aiba had seen Jauna as a youth, and possibly also as a boy. He was impressed by his talents and considered him fit to be a king, while his father Ghāzī Malik Tughluq was yet alive.[1]

The death of Sulṭān 'Alāu'ddīn Khaljī (1316) marks a stage in Jauna's life. He was still under thirty but was accomplished and ambitious, ready to embark on an adventurous and brilliant career. About twenty years were still to elapse before he ascended the throne of Dehlī as Sulṭān Muḥammad bin Tughluq. To understand the circumstances leading to his accession a survey must needs be made of the revolutions which followed the death of Sulṭān 'Alāu'ddīn.

After his death power passed into the hands of Malik Nāib, and a dictatorship began. Malik Nāib assembled the leading amirs, and in their presence cancelled the document by which Khiẓr Khān had been made heir-apparent. He installed Malik Shihābu'ddīn, a five-year-old son of Sulṭān 'Alāu'ddīn, as a puppet king, and set himself up as regent. He then issued orders in compliance with which Khiẓr Khān, still a prisoner at Gwālior, (*Gawālior*) was blinded, and the eyes of his brother Shādī Khān were torn out by means of a razor. Mubārak Khān, the other brother, was imprisoned. Malik Nāib was out to extinguish completely the 'Alāī house, and to sieze the throne for himself, but he feared opposition from the great 'Alāī maliks, still in power in different parts of the empire. He desired to collect them together in the capital where they might be conveniently put to the sword. But his plans leaked out, and the 'Alāī slaves, guardians of the Hāzār Sutūn palace in Sīrī, united to kill him. One night they broke into his sleeping chamber, cut off his head, and sabred his adherents.

Thus ended the dictatorship of Malik Nāib, thirty-five days after the death of Sulṭān 'Alāu'ddīn. Why it was not perpetuated, and why the Khaljī house was not extinguished are questions which call for an answer.

1 The *Reḥla* (G.O.S.), p. 49.

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It should be noted that among other essentials the establishment of a new government or dynasty requires the formation of a new and powerful party determined to support their candidate at all costs. This party must increasingly preponderate and establish itself by undermining and uprooting any rival factions, or any supporters of the old dynasty. An illustration of this is afforded by the conditions which obtained under Sulṭān Mu'izzu'ddīn Kaiqubād and Sulṭān Jalālu'ddīn Khaljī. The weakness of the executive under Kaiqubād led to the rise of a new and rival party headed by Jalālu'ddīn. Kaiqubād was put to death and Jalālu'ddīn proclaimed Sulṭān; but the supporters of the house of Balban being still strong, the new king had not the heart to enter Dehlī. He took up his abode at some distance from the capital city at a place called Kalū-Kaṛī. There he laid the foundation of a new city which he called Shahr-i Nau (new city), and began gradually to win adherents to his cause. When he considered himself sufficiently powerful he entered Dehlī, but he still encountered opposition from the supporters of the house of Balban. In fact, the latter were not entirely extinguished until the rise of Sulṭān 'Alāu'ddīn Khaljī. It was then that a strong Khaljī party was definitely formed, the party which Baranī calls the *A'wān-o Anṣār-i 'Alāī* (the helpers and comrades of 'Alāu'ddīn). That Malik Nāib was able, despite the 'Alāī party, to play the tyrant testifies to the great influence he had wielded over Sulṭān 'Alāu'ddīn and his empire. It is a proof of the weakness of the 'Alāī party. That is why a revolution was engineered by Malik Nāib immediately after the death of Sulṭān 'Alāu'ddīn. His will was abrogated; the *walī'ahdī* (heir-apparentship) of prince Khiẓr Khān was discarded and the document which had been so diligently executed to confirm it was publicly cancelled. Khiẓr Khān was blinded, exiled and thrown into prison; prince Shādī Khān's eyes were cut into slices and torn out; and prince Mubārak Khān was thrown into prison—all this was complacently observed by the 'Alāī party, and not a finger was raised in support of the sons of Sulṭān 'Alāu'ddīn. That Malik Kāfūr was not able to carry this tyranny to greater lengths, that he failed to murder Mubārak Khān and Malik Shihābu'ddīn and that he came to grief and lost his own head was entirely

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due to his mistakes and follies, which have been commented upon even by Baranī. He tells us that Malik Nāib failed to create a party for himself. He should have secured the alliance of the 'helpers and comrades of the empire,'[1] that is, the 'Alāī party. He paid no heed to the 'thousands' of 'Alāu'ddīn's helpers and comrades (*A'wān-o Anṣār-i 'Alāī*) and made no secret of his malicious designs and laid violent hands on the 'Alāī princes and harem. Furthermore, he erred by maintaining all the rules and regulations of Sulṭān 'Alāu'ddīn. He failed to realize how essential it was for the establishment of the new régime to subvert the old order and system of government. 'As a rule,' says Ẓiyāu'ddīn Baranī, 'after the death of a king no rules and regulations of his are observed; a new system of government arises, and new conditions of life obtain.' Malik Nāib was hopelessly wanting in statesmanship. On the very first day of his dictatorship he sent for the heads of administrative departments (*Davāvin*) and ordered them to continue to observe the laws and regulations of the time of Sulṭān 'Alāu'ddīn.

Had a more able dictator than Malik Nāib arisen at this time, the course of history might have been different. But the government had passed into the hands of mediocre slaves, and no wise man of established fame was at the helm of affairs. Still Baranī talks magniloquently and repeatedly of the overwhelming number and strength of the 'Alāī party and regards them as a great obstacle in the way of Malik Nāib. His statements lose obviously much of their force, when one realizes the weakness of the 'Alāī party. Curiously enough, it was the Paiks, the lowest slaves of Sulṭān 'Alāu'ddīn, who rose at last to overthrow the tyrant. Thoroughly demoralised, none of the 'Alāī party had the courage to rise and save the house and realm of their master from destruction.

The Paiks, who killed Malik Nāib, were too low and insignificant to make a bid for sovereignty. They stood by their royal master, whose dynasty they sincerely desired to perpetuate. The reactionary forces set in operation since

1 *A'wān-o-anṣār-i mulki*—Barani (Bib. Ind.), p. 473.

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the aggressions of Malik Nāib had long been working in favour of a restoration. Malik Shihābu'ddīn was therefore maintained on the throne. Prince Mubārak Khān, who was still a prisoner, was released and set up as his Nāib (deputy). He was in the prime of youth with no training and no culture, but he took a leaf out of the book of Malik Nāib, and aspired to sovereignty. After a few months' *niyābat* (deputyship) which he utilized to win over the maliks and amirs, he ascended the throne and assumed the title of Sulṭān Quṭbu'ddīn Mubārak Shāh (1316/717). His younger brother, Malik Shihābu'ddīn was blinded and sent to Gwalior—a fate which Khizr Khān and Shādī Khān had met at the hands of Malik Nāib.

Jauna, now about twenty-seven years of age, first came into prominence under Sulṭān Quṭbu'ddīn. The latter appointed him first as superintendent of the royal stable (*Ākhur Bak*), and later as postal superintendent[1] (*Barīdu'l Mulk*). After this his progress was more rapid. By the close of Sulṭān Quṭbu'ddīn's reign he was classed with influential courtiers, and responsible officers—a fact borne out by later history. When after the murder of Sulṭān Quṭbu'ddīn the leading nobles of the empire were instantly sent for and taken into custody, Malik Fakhru'ddīn Jauna was among them. This is the only express mention of Jauna that Ẓiyāu'ddīn Baranī has made in the whole of his chapter on Sulṭān Quṭbu'ddīn. In his chapter on Khusrau Khān Baranī makes a similar but clearer reference to Jauna. 'Sulṭān Muḥammad bin Tughluq Shāh,' says he, 'held a high position in the court of, and enjoyed close access to,

1 Curiously enough, Barani is silent as to the manner in which Jauna acquitted himself under Sulṭān Quṭbu'ddin. How he attracted the Sulṭān's notice and had the responsible posts of Akhur Bak and Barīdu'l-Mulk conferred on him is not mentioned. It is only in the list of Quṭbu'ddīn's courtiers that he mentions Jauna as 'Malik Fakhru'ddīn Ākhur Bak Jauna, Barīdu'l-Mulk.' From this it can be inferred that Jauna was first appointed Ākhur Bak (superintendent of the stable), and then Barīdu'l-Mulk (postal superintendent). —(Barani (Bib. Ind.), p, 379). His appointment as Ākhur Bak is confirmed by the *Reḥla* (G. O. S. p. 48) which, however. gives Amiru'l-Khail (superintendent of the horse) as his designation instead of Ākhur Bak. The terms are practically synonymous,

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Sulṭān Quṭbn'ddīn.'[1] It follows that Jauna was towards the close, if not in the beginning, of Sulṭān Quṭbu'ddīn's reign a man of considerable importance, and rubbed shoulders with the old and experienced nobles of Sulṭān 'Alāu'ddīn Khaljī's court,[2] namely with Malik 'Ainu'ddīn Multānī and Malik Waḥīdu'ddīn Quraishī. This is borne out by the *Ṭabaqāt-i Akbarī*, which in the course of its chapter on Khusrau Khān refers to Jauna saying, 'Malik, Fakhru'ddīn Jauna, the real son of Ghāzī Malik, endowed with liberality, munificence and bravery, was classed with the 'Alāī nobles.'[3]

Sulṭān Quṭbu'ddīn was enamoured of a Hindū youth of obscure origin, whose real name is unknown. Historians[4] mention him as a Barwār[5] (Parwār) Hindū or Barwār (Parwār) bachcha,[6] bearing the name of Ḥasan and brought up by Malik Shādī, deputy-chamberlain (Nāib Ḥājib), to 'Alāu'ddīn Khaljī.

1 Baranī (Bib. Ind.), p. 411.

2 *Idem.*, p. 309.

3 Niẓāmu'ddīn Aḥmad (Bib. Ind.), p. 188. It has been contended (Lall, K. S.—*History of the Khaljīs*, pp. 93, 97) that Jauna Khān was sent out in 1303/703 by Sulṭān 'Aālu'ddīn Khaljī on a military expedition to Warangal. But the point is not confirmed. Presumably this Jauna Khān was a different person.

4 (a) *Muntakhabu't Tavārikh* (Bib. Ind.), p. 203; (b) Firishta (Bombay, p. 222).

5 There are some differences in the orthography of the word in different prints and manuscripts. Amīr Khusrau's *Tughluq Nāma* (p. 19) has 'Barādū,' or Barawū. The *Tārīkh-i Mubārak Shāhī* (p. 85), as well as the *Ṭabaqāt-i Akbārī* has Barav. But the Persian script of Barada is similar to that of Baraū. The difference may therefore be due to the carelessness of the copyist, as is evident from the plural forms, Bardāran and Barāwān used respectively in the printed editions and manuscripts of Baranī's *Tārīkh-i Fīroz Shāhī* (*cf.* Elliot, III, p. 221).

Barwār is probably a misprint for Parwār. Parwar or Parwārī means an individual of low caste (Molesworth's Marāthī dictionary). Parwārī was probably one of the divisions of the castes and trades of the lowest order of 'Shankerjāti,' described by Grant Duff, the kindred divisions being Dher or Mhār. (Grant Duff: *History of the Māhrattas*, Vol. I, pp. 11-12).

6 *Cf.* 'a young Parwārī'. (Elliot. III, p. 211).

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In the very first year of his reign (1317) Sulṭān Quṭbu'ddīn honoured him with the title of Khusrau Khān, entrusted him with the ministry (*wizārat*) and conferred on him the estates of Malik Nāib. Khusrau Khān accompanied him on his expedition to Deogīr in the second year of his reign (1318). From Deogīr as the Sulṭān returned to Dehlī he sent his favourite forward at the head of a large army to conquer Ma'bar.

'Khusrau Khān, the Barwār youth' observes Baranī, 'was a wretch of mean stock extremely cunning and treacherous. On account of the dimness that, as a result of his great vice, debauchery and indulgence, had affectad his vision, and inasmuch as his mind had become the bed of evil thoughts and the house of devil, Sulṭān Quṭbu'ddīn did not recall the fate of Sulṭān 'Alāu'ddīn who had similarly honoured Malik Nāib. He had raised him to the wizārat, and had sent him equipped with great powers and armies to conquer distant lands'.[1]

Khusrau Khān was decidedly encouraged by the example of Malik Nāib, whose companions he had welcomed and made his confidants. Throughout his march from Deogīr to Ma'bar he conspired with them and his fellow Hindus. Thus concerting measures of revolt he reached Ma'bar, where he launched a campaign against the 'Alāī Maliks.[2] Many of them like Malik Tamar, Muqṭī'[3] of Chanderī,

1 Baranī (Bib. Ind.), p. 391.

2 'Alāī malik' is the term frequently used by Baranī to indicate the nobles of Sulṭān 'Alāu'ddīn's court.

3 Elliot has omitted the word Muqṭi' from his translation (Elliot, III, p. 219). In his *Agrarian System of Moslem India*, Moreland has well discussed the position of the Muqṭi'. He has instituted a comparison between the Muqṭi' and the Wālī, and regarded the Wālī and the Muqṭī' as practically synonymous as far as the agrarian administration is concerned (Moreland: *The Agrarian System of Moslem India*, p. 222). I am so far in accord with Moreland. But on the authority of (1) Sulṭān Muḥammad bin Tughluq's autobiography, wherein he uses the word Iqṭā'i-Buzurg with regard to Dīpālpūr governed by his father, Ghāzī Malik Tughluq, and (2) the language of the *Tughluq Nāma*, which declares Tughluq to have been a minor chief, I am inclined to think that in theory at least the Muqṭi' was politically lower than or subordinate to the Wālī.

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Malik Afghān and Malik Talīgha, Yaghda Muqṭi' of Kaṛa had accompanied him. He aimed at killing them all. But as each had a large army of his own, Khusrau Khān was afraid to take the initiative. At last his plans leaked out and some of the most faithful of the maliks headed by Malik Tamar and Malik Talīgha remonstrated with him, and forced him to retire to Dehlī.

The maliks hoped strongly that their conduct would meet with the Sulṭān's approval. But he was still blindly in love with Khusrau. As soon as he learnt of the latter's departure for Dehlī he made special arrangements for his conveyance. On reaching the capital Khusrau poisoned the Sulṭān's mind by all kinds of slanders against the maliks. Although Malik Tamar and Malik Talīgha spared no efforts to inform the Sulṭān about Khusrau's conspiracy, he would not listen, and punished them ruthlessly. Malik Tamar was humiliated and forbidden admission to the palace and deprived of his iqṭā' of Chanderī, which was given to Khusrau Khān. Malik Talīgha, who had been more outspoken was beaten and deprived of his office. Punishments were also inflicted upon those who had borne witness against Khusrau; some were imprisoned, others were exiled.

Khusrau Khān's position was supreme and unrivalled; and he vigorously pursued his plans for the murder of the Sulṭān. He strengthened his party, which consisted primarily of the Parwaris of Gujarāt, and, was joined subsequently by disaffected Muslim chiefs—by Bahāu'ddīn, the 'ungrateful secretary', by the son of Qara Qimār and by Yusuf Ṣūfī. As the Sulṭān went out on a hunting expedition, the Parwaris wished to kill him, but the son of Qara Qimār and Yusuf Ṣūfī warned them against attacking the Sulṭān in the open country and suggested that he should be killed in the palace on his return.

When the Sulṭān returned from his hunting expedition he handed over to Khusrau Khān the keys of one of the palace gates. By this means large numbers of Parwaris secretly met in Malik Nāib's apartments, where they planned the Sulṭān's murder.

Qāẓī Ẓiyāu'ddīn, otherwise known as Qāẓī Khān, who held charge of the keys of the citadel, warned the Sulṭān

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against Khusrau Khān, and his Parwaris. But the Sulṭān refused to listen to him; and that same night he, as well as Qāẓī Khān, fell under the daggers of the Parwaris.

The murderers rejoiced in their victory in commemoration of which they illuminated the palace, and at midnight a durbar was held to which Khusrau Khān invited the maliks—Malik 'Ainu'ddīn Multānī, Malik Waḥīdu'ddīn Quraishī, Malik Fakhru'ddīn Jauna, who later became Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh, and Malik Bahāu'ddīn Dabū—together with other leading persons. All were taken on to the roof of the Hazār Sutūn (one-thousand-pillared) palace to witness the scene, and perhaps to share the responsibilities for the Parwārī atrocities, when Khusrau Khān ascended the throne and assumed the title of Sulṭān Nāṣiru'ddīn.

Amīr Khusrau, the next contemporary authority for this episode, differs in minor details from Baranī. He makes no mention of the lighting up of the palace subsequent to the murder of Sulṭān Quṭbu'ddīn; nor does he mention the summoning of the amirs in the night and their being kept in custody. He strikes a different note by saying that after the assassination some of the Muslim chiefs joined the Hindus and discussed all through the night which of the princes of the blood royal should be raised to the throne. The poet maintains that the objective of Khusrau Khān's conspiracy was the removal of Sulṭān Quṭbu'ddīn, not the usurpation of the throne. But the various attempts made by Khusrau Khān after his rise to the wizārat (ministry) to assassinate the Sulṭān, and to foment rebellion are well described by Baranī and give us a clear insight into the working of Khusrau Khān's mind. Furthermore, the latter had no reason to be personally hostile to the Sulṭān who was sincerely devoted to him and could never bring himself to accept any report against him, even though it was communicated personally by extremely reliable officers. However, the *Tughluq Nāma*[1] implies that Khusrau, after murdering Sulṭān Quṭbu'ddīn, was not anxious to reign in his stead. But he was prevailed on by his supporters to do so.

1 Amir Khusrau: *Tughluq Nāma*, p. 21.

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The *Tughluq Nāma* throws new light on the atrocities committed by Khusrau Khān, particularly the cold-blooded murder of Sulṭān Quṭbu'ddīn's brothers, Farīd Khān, Abū Bakr, 'Alī Khān, Bahār Khān and 'Uṣmān. The eldest, Farīd Khān, was fifteen years of age. He had finished his course of Quranic reading and was undergoing military training. Abū Bakr Khān, who was fourteen years old, was studying the Qurān and had a special taste for poetry, prose and calligraphy. The other two brothers, 'Alī Khān and Bahār Khān, were both eight years old. The fifth and the youngest, 'Uṣmān, was only five years of age. The first two of these brothers were killed and the other three blinded by the orders of Khusrau Khān. The poet affirms[1] that the information he has thus given is authentic and exact, but he does not disclose the source of his information.[2]

Barani[3] tells us that Khusrau Khān threw open the royal treasury and disbursed money liberally to his party, which he wanted to strengthen. He had, however, some apprehensions regarding Ghāzī Malik Tughluq who was still in his *iqṭā'* of Dīpālpūr, and was indignant at the excesses of Khusrau, and his henchmen. In the hope of enticing him to Dehlī and with the object of thus capturing him, Khusrau Khān showed every kindness to his son, Malik Fakhru'ddīn Jauna. He maintained[4] him in his old post of Ākhur Bak

1 *Ibid.*, p. 23.

2 The information here given by the *Tughluq Nāma* is partly confirmed by the *Muntakhabu't-Tavārikh*. The *Muntakhabu't-Tavārikh* (p. 217) mentions three princes—Abū Bakr, 'Ali Khān and Pahār Khān. It should be noted that instead of the Bahār Khān of the *Tughluq Nāma*, the *Muntakhabu't-Tavārikh* gives Pahār Khān. But this is due to the copyist's mistake.

3 Barani (Bib. Ind.). p. 418.

4 Ziyāu'ddīn Barani's language (p. 411) shows that Jauna had held some time in Sulṭān Quṭbu'ddīn's reign the post of Ākhur Bak (master of the horse) in which Khusrau Khān confirmed him. The *Tārikh-i Mubārak Shāhi* makes the point clearer still. It says: 'Malik Fakhru'ddīn Jauna, son of Ghāzi Malik, the Ākhur Bak (master of the horse) under Sulṭān Quṭbu'ddīn was maintained in his old post.' (*Tārikh-i Mubārak Shāhi*, Bib. Ind., p. 88). Almost the same is the meaning of the language used in the *Muntakhabu't Tavārikh* (p. 218) and the *Ṭabaqāt-i Akbari* (Bib.

(superintendent of the royal stable) and awarded him riches and robes of honour. But Jauna was no less indignant. 'His blood,' says Baranī, 'was boiling at the murder of the Sulṭān, and he was gnawing his hand at the predominance of the Hindus and Parwaris, whom he encountered.'[1] For the moment he was helpless, because Khusrau Khān and his followers were capturing and enrolling men by means of gold. Equally helpless was Ghāzī Malik, who spent his days at Dīpālpūr, forming plans for wreaking vengeance on these Hindū and Parwārī murderers. Still he could not take any decisive step in this direction lest the Hindus should hurt his son Jauna, then at Dehlī.

After ten weeks of tension Malik Fakhru'ddīn Jauna at last determined to avenge the murder of his royal patron. One afternoon he mounted his horse and fled with a few of his slaves from Dehlī to Dīpālpūr.

The *Tughluq Nāma* agrees in the main with Baranī's *Tārīkh-ī Fīroz Shāhī* but differs in so far as it calls Jauna Malik Fakhru'd-Dawal (the pride of the state) and Fakhru'l-Ḥaqq (the pride of truth). It informs us that the latter held a meeting[2] which was attended by his counsellors. With them he discussed the practical aspects of the situation and invited their opinion as to the best course to be adopted. His counsellors suggested that a message containing full news of all the late tragic occurrences and scenes should be sent to Ghāzī Malik and that his advice should be followed. Fakhru'd-Dawal accepted the suggestion, and sent one 'Alī Yaghdī to his father at Dīpālpūr. In reply to the message delivered by 'Alī Yaghdī, Tughluq sent word to his son desiring him to withdraw as soon as possible from Dehlī and come over to him. Fakhru'd-Dawal conspired with Malik Aiba's son, then at Dehlī, and both made their escape[3] to Dīpālpūr.

Ind., p. 188). The same is reported by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa. 'Sulṭān Quṭbu'ddīn,' says he, 'made Ghāzī Malik's son, now emperor of India, his master of the horse (Amīru'l Khail). When Khusrau Khān ascended the throne, he maintained him in the same post.'

1 Barani (Bib. Ind.), pp. 411-412.

2 Amir Khusrau: *Tughluq Nāma*, pp. 40-41, verses 748-765.

3 It may be interesting to note that there is a minor difference regarding the time and method of Jauna's escape between *Munta-*

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In view of the importance of Jauna's flight, which formed the prelude to the war of succession, and the establishment of the Tughluq dynasty, it is desirable to know whether Jauna fled from Dehlī of his own accord or was urged to do so by his father. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa maintains that it was Ghāzī Malik Tughluq who wrote a letter to Jauna desiring him to come over to Dīpālpūr and bring Bahrām Aiba's son along with him.[1] But in view of the evidence to the contrary given by the *Tūghluq Nāma*, the *Muntakhabu't-Tavārīkh*, *Futūḥu's-Salāṭīn*[2] and Jauna's own memoirs, the conclusion cannot be withheld that it was the son and not the father as Ibn Baṭṭūṭa would have us believe, who primarily revolted. It was Jauna who decided upon flight and intimated his intention to Ghāzī Malik Tughluq, requisitioning a relay of post horses to be fixed in all directions on the roads.[3]

Three points of some importance emerge from the above. First, that it was then possible for the officials of the Dehlī empire to carry on clandestinely hostile correspondence without being detected by the central government. The Sulṭān at Dehlī had, therefore, to be vigilant to protect himself against any hostile propaganda. Second, Malik Fakhru'ddīn Jauna possessed as a young

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khabu't Tavārikh and the *Ṭabaqāt-i Akbarī* on the one hand, and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa and Barani on the other. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's evidence is on the whole in conformity with Barani's (p. 414), though he was not an eye-witness. Unlike the *Muntakhabu't-Tavārikh* and the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbari*, he observes that Jauna fled in the day. He had suggested to Khusrau Khān that the horses had grown restive, and needed exercise. Accordingly, he took them out every day. Sometimes he was out for one hour, sometimes for two and sometimes for three hours, and at times he remained out even for four hours. One day he was absent till midday—which was the time for lunch. The Sulṭān (Khusrau Khān) ordered the horsemen to ride out in search of Jauna but no trace of him could be found, (*Vide* the *Rehla*, G. O. S., p. 48).

1 *Ibid*.

2 Agra edition, verses 7154-7603.

3 Budāūnī: *Muntakhābu't-Tavārikh*, (Bib. Ind.), p. 218.

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man much political acumen. Third, he was familiar with the physical geography of the territory lying between Dehlī and Dīpālpūr. He knew the distance which lay between the two, knew the time-limit necessary to traverse it and knew also the roads and paths. That his flight was successfully effected and that he defied all attempts[1] at his capture reflects creditably on his efficiency as a rider. The flight brings into relief the personality of Malik Fakhru'ddīn Jauna, who afterwards played the leading part in the establishment of the Tughluq dynasty.

Baranī[2] tells us that Ghāzī Malik Tughluq now began to make preparations for war. But how a Muqṭī'—for Ghāzī Malik was no more than a Muqṭī' of Dīpālpūr—was able to raise an army powerful enough to fight the imperial army of Dehlī is a problem, which cannot be answered with the help of Baranī. Nor are the *Muntakhabu't-Tavārīkh* and the *Ṭabaqāt-i Akbarī* of much help. But the *Futūḥu's-Salāṭīn*[3] and the *Tārīkh-i Mubārak Shāhī*[4] are of great use, and of still greater use is the *Tughluq Nāma*.[5] It not only gives a detailed account of Ghāzī Malik's preparations for war, but also draws a picture of what came to pass at the court of Khusrau Khān after Jauna's flight.

We are told that Jauna's flight dealt Khusrau Khān a staggering blow. He consulted his comrades, who advised him to kill immediately all the surviving princes of the royal house, and then win over to his side the military leaders and captains of the army by means of bribes. Khusrau acted accordingly. His murder of the princes inflamed

1 That attempts were made under Khusrau Khān's orders to pursue and capture Jauna follows from the *Tārīkh-i Fīroz Shāhī*. the *Muntakhabatu't-Tavārīkh* and the *Ṭabaqāt-i Akbarī*. The *Tārīkh-i Mubārak Shāhī* (Bid. Ind., p. 88) maintains that a force of mounted soldiers was sent by Khusrau Khān in pursuit, and that they chased Jauna in vain for three days and nights.

2 Baranī (Bib. Ind.), p, 415.

3 *Futūḥu's-Salāṭīn*, verses 7167-7201.

4 *Tārīkh-i Mubārak Shāhī* (Blb. Ind.), p. 241.

5 *Tughluq Nāma*, pp. 42-53, verses 794 and 807 ff.

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the anger of Ghāzī Malik, who vowed to wreak vengeance on all concerned in this foul crime.[1]

The *Tughluq Nāma* further informs us of Khusrau Khān's second advisory council in which Yusuf Ṣūfī, a Muslim adherent of Khusrau Khān, made a powerful speech despising Ghāzī Malik and rousing his comrades to a decisive war with him. Furthermore, Yusuf Ṣūfī sent a messenger to Ghāzī Malik Tughluq at Dīpālpūr, urging him to surrender to Khusrau Khān and refrain from war. This made Ghāzī Malik indignant. He denounced Khusrau and killed his messenger.[2]

The poet next tells us how Malik Fakhru'd-Dawal related to his father the atrocities which had been perpetrated in Dehlī by Khusrau Khān.[3] This made Ghāzī Malik still more indignant. He ordered his private secretary (Dabīr-i Khāṣṣ) to draft letters[4] to (1) Amīr Mughalṭṭī, the governor[5] of Multān; (2) Muḥammad Shāh, the governor[6] of Sivistān; (3) Bahrām Aiba, the governor of Uch[7]; (4) Yaklakhī, the governor[8] of Sāmāna; (5) Hoshang, the governor[9] of Jālor; and (6) 'Ainu'l-Mulk Multānī, desiring all to assist him in the retaliatory war that he intended to wage.

Of all the amirs to whom letters were sent the most important in the eyes of Ghāzī Malik were Malik Bahrām Aiba and 'Ainu'l-Mulk Multānī. To Bahrām Aiba he took care to send the letter through a special favourite of his,

1 Amīr Khusrau : *Tughluq Nāma*: (i) H. G., Ms. pp. 45-48. (ii) the Hyderabad edition, verses 843-896.

2 *Op. cit.*

3 The *Futūḥu's-Salāṭin* (I. O. 3,089, f. 207 b) confirms the *Tughluq Nāma.*

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 54-62.

5 *Ibid.*, p. 62. In the original the expression for the governor is Mīr.

6 *Ibid.*, 57.

7 *Ibid.*

8 *Ibid.*

9 Amīr Khusrau: *Tughluq Nāma*, p. 57. The poet uses the term Muqṭi' instead of Mīr in this case.

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named 'Alī Ḥaidar.[1] Alī Ḥaidar exerted his personal influence, and Malik Bahrām Aiba responded readily and came over to Ghāzī Malik. To 'Ainu'l-Mulk Multānī Ghāzī Malik Tughluq wrote a very persuasive letter. 'Ainu'l-Mulk showed the letter to Khusrau Khān and made no reply. Ghāzī Malik sent him a messenger[2] to make a personal appeal. 'Ainu'l-Mulk explained to him how he had as a matter of expediency joined the standards of Khusrau Khān, and promised to go over to Ghāzī Malik as soon as the war came to an end.[3]

Mughlaṭṭī, the governor of Multān, who was jealous of Ghāzī Malik, refused to help him because he regarded himself as the natural leader of the revolt.[4] Thereupon, Ghāzī Malik incited the amirs of Multān against Mughlaṭṭī urging them to rebel. A rebellion consequently broke out headed by one Bahrām Sirāj. Mughlaṭṭī was attacked and he took to flight, but was pursued and put to death.

1 'Ali Ḥaidar or Malik 'Alī Ḥaidar is mentioned by Ḥājjiu'd-dabīr (III, p. 86) subsequently as a courtier of Sulṭān Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Tughluq.

2 Amīr Khusrau: *Tughluq Nāma*, pp. 55-69.

3 The *Tārīkh-i Mubārak Shāhī* (Bib. Ind., pp. 90 ff.) maintains that 'Ainul-Mulk Multānī had been made wazīr by Khusrau Khān, and that he was in Dehlī when Ghāzī Malik's letter arrived. He wrote a reply expressing his inability to join the ranks of Ghāzī Malik, but promised at the same time not to join Khusrau Khān. He resolved to betake [redacted]elf elsewhere and await the issue of the war.

4 Amīr Mughlaṭṭī's contention that the Muqṭi' of Dipālpūr —a dependency of Mulṭān—was not in a position to lead the revolt throws light on the position of the Muqṭi' and the *iqṭā'*, (*Vide supra*, p. 31,n.3). Amir Mughlaṭṭī takes pride in being the wāli (the holder of the wilāyat or province) as is attested by the following verses (1169-80) in the *Tughluq Nāma*:

'I hold the wilāyat, and possess resources, a treasury as well as an army...'

He despises Tughluq as a Muqṭi' or petty governor of Dīpālpūr, a mere village compared to the big town of Multān.

'Between him (a Muqṭī') and us (the Amīr) there is as much difference as between Mulṭān (a big town) and Dīpālpur, a village.'

It seems that the position of the Muqṭi' was much inferior to that of the Wālī, at least in certain respects. Some of the following

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Muḥammad Shāh, the governor of Sivistān, was in trouble. He had been thrown into prison, before Tughluq's letter arrived, by the recalcitrant nobles, who were probably roused by the surging reaction against Khusrau Khān's atrocities in Dehlī. The nobles offered to release him, if he would agree to join hands with Ghāzī Malik. He agreed to do so, but the war had ended before his arrival.

Malik Yaklakhī, the governor of Sāmāna, refused to co-operate and resolved to fight Tughluq, whose letter he forwarded to Khusrau Khān. Before long, he attacked Dīpālpūr. But he had been unpopular in his own government. Ill-served by his subordinates, he was defeated and forced to retire. He was ultimately killed by his own subjects.

The *Tughluq Nāma* and the *Tārīkh-i Mubārak Shāhī*[2] are fundamentally in accord as regards the contents and results of the letters,[2] though the former is decidedly more informative. It mentions six letters, unlike the *Tārīkh-i*

verses (Nos. 1183-1186) tend to confirm this view. A further confirmation is afforded by the *Tārīkh-i Mubārak Shāhī* which relates that on being despised and refused support by Amir Mughlaṭṭī, Tughluq opened secret correspondence with the inhabitants and Muqtis of Mulṭān (p. 89). It follows that Amīr Mughlaṭṭī, the Wālī of Multān, had a number of Muqtis under him.

That Tughluq was a Muqṭī' of Dīpālpūr is mentioned by 'Afīf (p. 27), although the *Tughluq Nāma* (p. 62) and the *Tārīkh-i Mubārak Shāhī* (p. 89) call him 'amīr.' 'Amīr' was the general title for a chief applicable both to the wālī and the muqṭī'. This is attested by the *Tārīkh-i Mubārak Shāhī* (p. 89).

The *Tughluq Nāma* informs us that Ghāzī Malik was for some time the Muqṭī' of Multān and that during his term of office he built a great mosque—in all probability the same which Ibn Baṭṭūṭa saw subsequently (cf. p. 16 *supra*). He agrees with Amīr Khusrau (*Tughluq Nāma*, p. 63) that it was built by Tughluq and contained his famous inscription. *Vide* the *Reḥla* (G. O. S.) p. 48.

1 Yaḥya bin Aḥmad: *Tārīkh-i Mubārak Shāhī* (Bib. Ind.), p. 89.

2 Neither Baranī nor Ibn Baṭṭūṭa takes notice of these letters. But a reference to them is found in the *Futūḥu's-Salāṭīn* (I. O., Ms., F. 208 a and b) as well as in the *Muntakhabu't-Tavārikh* p. 218.

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Mubārak Shāhī, which has only five. The sixth letter, according to the *Tughluq Nāma*, was addressed and sent to Amīr Hoshang, the Muqṭī'[1] of Jālor. He was the son of Amīr Kamālu'ddīn Garg and has been mentioned by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa as well as by Baranī in the annals of Muḥammad bin 'Tughluq. It is to be regretted that the poet gives no details regarding this letter, and it is not known how Amīr Hoshang acquitted himself. The *Tughluq Nāma* is further outdone by the *Tārīkh-i Mubārak Shāhī* which tells us that on receiving answers to his letters Ghāzī Malik was disappointed and filled with anger. He then sent for Aiba and other maliks and amirs, and made a fiery speech, which ran as follows:—

> 'The Hindus have captured the realm of Islām, and have subverted the 'Alāī house. I hereby wish to avenge the wrongs done to that house. Just as you have readily and actively co-operated with me for years in the past I wish you even at this juncture to help me. I earnestly hope that with your help and co-operation I shall with others be able to wield the sword.....'

All the persons present having consented to this, the speech was recorded and drawn up in the form of a document, attested with the signatures of all.

Both the *Tughluq Nāma* and the *Tārīkh-i Mubārak Shāhī* which proceed to describe Tughluq's preparations for war are in general agreement except for minor details. The *Tughluq Nāma* relates the story of three of Ghāzī Malik's successive dreams which foretold victory; and both give a thrilling account of the following adventure of Ghāzī Malik's. A convoy with the revenues of Multān and Sivistān together with numerous horses was making its way to Dehlī. As soon as Ghāzī Malik came to know of this he sent a handful of his forces, captured the convoy and appropriated its wealth. With the money thus acquired Ghāzī Malik awarded two years' salary in advance to his armies.

1 Amir Khusrau: *Tughluq Nāma*, (p. 57) which says, 'The next letter was sent to Hoshang, the Muqṭi' of Jālor, who like his father is a wolf in battle'.

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It is interesting here to note that neither Ẓiyāu'ddīn Baranī nor 'Iṣāmī has mentioned any of the above facts, though both supply useful information concerning the war—more useful and richer in detail than the *Tārīkh-i Mubārak Shāhī*. But Amīr Khusrau gives by far the best account of the wars. His *Tughluq Nāma* contains a lively description, more detailed than any other history, contemporary or non-contemporary.

According to him Khusrau Khān sent his brother Khān Khānān against Ghāzī Malik. Setting out from Dehlī for Dīpālpūr the Khān Khānān reached Sartaba, a frontier outpost of Ghāzī Malik's *iqtā'*. The fortress of Sartaba was next besieged. Maḥmūd, the commandant of the fortress, put up a stubborn resistance, but could not prevent the suburbs from being plundered.[1]

After the Khusrau Khānīds had crossed the frontier, Ghāzī Malik's army was mobilized. It marched towards Dehlī headed by Malik Fakhru'ddīn Jauna, with Ghāzī Malik bringing up the rear. Passing through 'Alāpūr[2] the army arrived at the Ḥauẓ-i Bahat[3] in the vicinity of which they encountered the enemy.

Tughluq's army presented a weird sight. It was divided into several divisions, one of which was cut off from the rest of the army. The Khusrau Khānīds viewed this complacently, thinking that Ghāzī Malik's army had been struck with panic and was on the point of retreat. Consequently they made a rush towards a certain division, and fell upon it. Instantly, however, they caught sight of another division of the Tughluq army. This was easily

1 Amīr Khusrau: *Tughluq Nāma*, pp. 86-91, verses 1645-1880.

2-3 Amīr Khusrau (verse 1700, p. 89) locates the site of the battle beyond 'Alāpūr in the vicinity of Ḥauẓ-i Bahat which the *Tārīkh-i Mubārak Shābī* (p. 90) describes as Ḥaūẓ-i Bahatī. Barani (p. 416) mentions Dalilī which Raverty writes as Ḍabhalī (J.A.S.B., 1893, Pt. I, p. 262). He is of opinion that Ḍabhalī lay between Dīpālpūr and Sarastī or Sirsa, 36 miles west of Abohar (Uboh-har). Budāūnī (Ranking, p. 293) writes 'the reservoir of Thānesar,' which is presumably a mistake. Firishta (Bombay: Vol. I, p. 229) fixes the battle in the vicinity of the Sarsutī. The *Reḥla* makes no mention of the site of the battle.

defeated. So, the assailants, still more encouraged, made a furious charge. But hardly had the assault materialized than the various divisions of Ghāzī Malik's army, headed by their leaders—Bahāu'ddin, Asadu'ddīn, Alī Ḥaidar, and Shihābu'ddīn—advanced, and came in sight of the enemy. The latter, having advanced much too far, found retreat impossible. The Tughluq army now moved rapidly. One wing encircled the Khusrau Khānīds; and surrounding them on all sides, shot hundreds of them down with arrows. Then the rest of the Tughluq army charged the enemy, Tughluq personally taking the lead. As a result, the Khusrau Khānīds were panic-stricken, Khusrau Khān, Yusuf Khān, Shāista Khān, and Khiẓr Khān, the various commanders of Khusrau's army, taking to flight. One division, however, put up a fight against Malik Fakhru'ddīn Jauna, but not for long, for their leader Khān Khānān had fled. Malik Fakhru'ddīn Jauna refrained from pursuing the fugitives, and preferred to collect the booty. Among other valuables left behind by the Khusrau Khānīds Jauna obtained Khusrau Khān's red parasol and twelve elephants.

As Ghāzī Malik marched in triumph towards Dehlī Khusrau Khān, stricken with grief, gave up all hope. He spoke his mind to his comrades, who tendered their advice to him. Some were of the opinion that peace should be made with Tughluq. Others held that a final sally should be made, but that the booty from the imperial treasury should be first distributed to the army. Khusrau Khān approved of this plan, and ordered a general levy of the army in the Ḥauẓ-i Khāṣṣ, where the soldiers' tents were pitched. In front of the camp a ditch was dug, the rear being protected by a wall, which encircled the Raushan Ḥauẓ, the water supply of the Khusrau Khānīds.

On his way to Dehlī, Ghāzī Malik crossed the Sarsutī[1] —the extreme boundary of his territory. He then came to

1 *Cf.* (i) Elliot. vol. II, p. 350 and vol. I, p. 49.
(ii) *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāṣirī* (Bib. Ind., p. 120). The author mentions Sarsutī in connection with the battle of Tarain (1192/588). Rāi Pithaura is said to have been taken prisoner in the neighbourhood of the Sarsutī. Sarsutī is considered as part of the Śivālik territory and was together with Hānsi next captured. Raverty

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Hānsī, whence he proceeded to Madīna.[1] Later he arrived at Rohtak, and thence went past the towns of Maṇḍautī and Pālam. Crossing the *Kasambūr* hills of the Aravallis he came into the plain of Lahrāwat[2]—a plain bounded by the Yumna on the east, and Sīrī on the south.

It should be noted that the *Tughluq Nāma* alone gives us in detail the course of Ghāzī Malik's march towards Dehlī. The information it has given seems correct on the whole, and is borne out by Baranī[3] who likewise mentions Lahrāwat as the site of Tughluq's camp.

Amīr Khusrau tells us that Khusrau's army included many Muslim chiefs, namely Yusuf Khān Ṣūfī, Kamālu'ddīn Ṣūfi, Shāista Khān Qar Qimār; Amīr Ḥājib Kāfūr Muhrdār and Shihāb, the governor of Oudh (*Awadh*). Of the Hindū chiefs the poet mentions Ahar Deo, Amar Deo, Narsīa, Parsīa, Harmār, and Parmār, the most important of all being Khusrau Khān's brother Khān Khānān and his uncle Rāi Rāyān Randhol. Thus Khusrau Khān's army consisted of an almost equal number of Hindus and Muslims.

(p. 468) notes that the ancient word was Saraswatī. The printed text of the *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāṣirī* has Sursī, but the correct word is Sursutī. Ibn Baṭṭūṭā (Def. et Sang., III, p. 142) mentions Sursutī as a great city, which may be identified with the modern Sirsa. It was situated on the bank of the river Sarsutī. (*'Āin-i Akbarī*, Jarret, Vol. II, pp. 105, 281, 294, 326, and Raverty, p. 468.)

1 Madīna is now a village a few miles north of Rohtak. *Tughluq Nāma* (Hyderabad edition, pp. 54-57).

2 Lahrāwat (Baranī, Bib. Ind., p. 418) lay somewhere between Ḥauẓ-i 'Alāī and Dehlī. It is difficult to fix the site exactly, because Lahrāwat was only a village and was perhaps destroyed soon afterwards.

3 According to Baranī (p. 415) Khusrau Khān sent his brother Khān Khānān, accompanied by Amīr Ṣūfī Khān at the head of a large army against Ghāzī Malik, who came out of Dīpālpūr, and using the Sarsuti river to protect his rear gave battle to the enemy near the town of Dalilī. In the very first sally Khān Khānān and Ṣūfī Khān were routed. They fled to Dehlī' their armies having melted away. Their camp was plundered and their canopy, elephants, horses and treasure fell into the hands of the victor.

A week later Ghāzī Malik proceeded to Dehlī and halted at Indrapat. Dismayed and distressed at the defeat of his forces, Khusrau Khān now marched in person out of Sīrī at the head of a

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As soon as Ghāzī Malik reached the plain of Lahrāwat he was challenged to battle by Khusrau Khān. Having reached there first he had made his preparations for war, while Ghāzī Malik Tughluq was anxious to gain time by delaying the fight. The Ghāzi was forced, however, to draw up his army immediately in battle array. The disposition of his forces was as follows: —

I. (a) the right commanded by Bahāu'd-Daula.
   (b) the right wing commanded by Malik Bahrām Aiba.
   (c) the reserve commanded by 'Alī Ḥaidar.
II. (a) the left commanded by Fakhu'ddīn Jauna.[1]
   (b) the left wing commanded by Asad.
   (c) the reserve under several amirs.[2]
III. the centre under the personal charge of Ghāzī Malik.

According to Amīr Khusrau, Tughluq ordered his chieftains to tie peacock feathers[3] round their banners to serve as a distinctive mark, and fixed the word 'Qala'[4] as the password for his army.

large army. To induce men to fight in his cause he brought with him the 'whole treasure,' which he distributed recklessly on the way to his soldiers. But so deep was the soldiers' distrust and so profound their hatred of him that they seized huge sums of money and retired home. The battle was fought near the town of Lahrāwat. But Khusrau Khān's troops were routed at the first sally, and Khusrau Khān fled for his life.

1 The *Futūḥu's-Salāṭīn* similarly describes the plan and division of Tughluq's army. The difference between the version of the *Tughluq Nāma* and that of the *Futūḥu's-Salāṭīn* lies in the assignment of positions. Malik Fakhru'ddīn Jauna for instance, is mentioned in the *Futūḥus-Salāṭīn* (F. 212 A) as being posted together with an amīr named Shihāb on the right wing.

2 Amīr Khusrau gives no name.

3 Amīr Khusrau (p. 122) informs us that peacock feathers had been the distinctive mark of Ghāzī Malik's banners in his wars against the Mongols. He held them auspicious and looked upon them as emblems of victory. The use of peacock feathers is also reported by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa. See his account of the royal palace at Dehlī (the *Rehla*, G. O. S., p. 57). It was characteristically a Hindū custom and the manner of treating the peacock feathers at the court of Muḥammad bin Tughluq and Fīroz Shah ('Afīf: p.317) provides an instance of Hindū-Muslim cultural synthesis. *Vide* Appendix J.

4 'In that battle which looked like a world calamity, the password of Malik Ghāzi's army was 'Qala'. (Amīr Khusrau: p. 123).

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Khusrau Khān's army was the first to advance to the attack and, penetrating to the centre of the Tughluq army, put it to flight. But Tughluq himself stood his ground with only a handful of three hundred horsemen.[1] Before long some of his comrades rallied to him, and fell upon the Khusrau Khānīds. This attack proved an unqualified success. Khusrau Khān's army was disorganized and fled in utter confusion.

Amīr Khusrau informs us that the above charge was carefully planned by Tughluq himself. He had contrived that the brunt of the attack should fall on the weakest points of Khusrau's army, and the lead was taken by him personally. He made a charge on Khusrau Khān's parasol, which collapsed on his head. This was Tughluq's *coup de grâce*. Khusrau's army was consequently reduced to a rabble and a mass of fugitives.

Tughluq's troops then set their hands to plunder. While plundering they were suddenly attacked by a detachment of Khusrau Khān's army—a detachment, which had been kept in reserve, and was commanded by his Muslim officers headed by Yusuf Ṣūfī. Yusuf Ṣūfī had bided his time, and succeeded in taking the Tughluq troops unawares. He might have carried the day but for Ghāzī Malik, who forthwith realized the gravity of the situation. He pulled himself together, and contrived—by fixing his standard firmly in the ground, and making the kettle-drum beat incessantly and loudly—to rally his army. He then fell upon his assailants and utterly defeated them.

Amīr Khusrau is on the whole confirmed by Ibn Baṭṭūṭā[2] who says that the Hindus who formed the rank and file of Khusrau Khān's army put up a very severe fight. Ghāzī Malik's army was panic-stricken, and his camp was plundered. He remained stranded with his original three hundred veterans, whom he roused by a stirring speech. His scatter-

1 On this point Amir Khusrau is corroborated by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa. See the *Reḥla* (G.O.S.) p. 49.

2 The *Reḥla* (G.O.S.), pp. 48-49.

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ed army having once more rallied he fell upon the enemy and carried the day.

Amīr Khusrau[1] tells us that the victor spent the rest of the day in the camp. On the following day, Saturday, the 6th of September. 1320 (1st of Sha'bān, 720) he set out marching triumphantly to the capital. The procession was headed by a row of elephants, captured from Khusrau Khān's army. Next came the drummers beating their drums, and trumpeters blowing their horns, and the naqibs[2] calling out 'Dūrbāsh.'[3] Then followed the infantry and cavalry brandishing their swords. The poet does not tell us the position of Malik Fakhru'ddīn Jauna and of Ghāzī Malik in the procession. Probably they held the central position. On reaching the royal palace, the Hazār Sutūn of Sīrī, Tughluq dismounted from his horse and prostrated himself by way of thanksgiving to God. On rising, he announced a general amnesty. An assembly was next held in which all were treated and seated as equals, no honour or prominence whatever being assumed by Tughluq in token of his victory. Shortly after he rose and made a speech calling on the amirs to make whomsoever they liked king, and dissociating himself from every kind of desire or aspiration for rule. The amirs made an appropriate reply, fully acknowledging Tughluq's distinctive parts. They cited instances of Tughluq's victories which, they contended, constituted his title to the throne. Tughluq declined, and insisted that even if the royal stock had died out, any of the amirs could be selected, and made king. But he was silenced and set thinking, when he was told that he would be surely put to death, should any other person ascend the throne, because of all the people in Hindustān he would be the most formidable rival. Tughluq then consented to become king.[4]

1 Amir Khusrau: *Tughluq Nāma*, pp. 132-34.

2 'Naqīb' was a servant whose duty was to proclaim the titles of his master. (Steingass, p. 1421).

3 According to Steingass (p. 543) 'Dūrbāsh' is a mace or baton with which the mob is kept from pressing too close in public solemnities.

4 Tughluq consented to become king on 6th September, 1320 (1st Sha'bān, 720). He ascended the throne on Saturday, the 7th of September, 1320 (2nd Sha'bān, 720; *Tughluq Nāma*,)

Ẓiyāu'ddīn Baranī differs from Amīr Khusrau regarding certain details. He holds that Tughluq did not achieve the victory over Khusrau until the close of the day. The following night he spent in the camp. On the morrow he set out with a large following for the town of Sīrī and the Hazār Sutūn palace where great amirs and chiefs had assembled. He took his seat in their midst, and mourned in common with them the loss of Sulṭān Quṭbu'ddīn and his brothers. Then he offered thanks to God for his victories, and addressed the assembly, saying:—

> 'I am one of those who were exalted by Sulṭān 'Alāu'ddīn and Sulṭān Quṭbu'ddīn. Because of my inborn faithfulness I risked my life, and battled with the enemies and destroyers, of my (royal) patrons. I took revenge as best I could. You are the notables of the 'Alāī and Quṭbī realm. If any descendant of our patrons has survived, I ask you to bring him here instantly so that we should instal him on the throne; and I should gird up my loins (like a slave) before that offspring of my patron and pay him my homage. In case the enemies have completely wiped out the descendants of Sulṭān 'Alāu'ddīn and Quṭbu'ddīn I shall ask you as notables of either age to nominate and instal on the throne whomsoever you deem fit for rule. I for one am prepared to bow to him, and to abide by your choice. Verily I drew the sword merely to avenge the murder of my patrons, not to seize power. I hazarded my all—my life, my property, and my family—not for the sake of gaining a throne but with the object of wreaking vengeance on the muderers of my patrons. Whomsoever you are pleased to select as sovereign I also shall acknowledge him.' In answer to this the assembly replied, 'Not a single son of Sulṭān 'Alāu'ddīn and Quṭbuddīn fit to rule has survived the tyranny of these ingrates. These are difficult times when, on account of the murder of Sulṭān Quṭbuddīn,

pp. 132-134). This date of Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Tughluq's accession to the throne (720/1321) has better claims to accuracy than that given by Firishta and others, The same date, *i.e.*, 720/1320, is also given by 'Iṣāmī (*Futuḥu's-Salāṭīn*, verse 7404).

> the predominance of Khusrau and the Parwaris and the outbreak of rebellions and disorders, chaos reigns supreme. You, Ghāzī Malik ! decidedly command our allegiance ; for so many years you have been our protection against the Mongols. It is on account of you that the Mongols ceased to invade India. Even in the recent crisis it is you who rendered such invaluable service that your faithfulness will be writ large in the pages of history. It is you again who delivered Islām from the hands of the Hindus and Parwaris. It is you who wreaked vengeance on the murderers of our lords and masters. You have proved your right to the allegiance of the rank and file of the people of this country. Out of so many servants and slaves of Sulṭān 'Alāu'ddīn it is you whom God granted the grace and aptitude to render the distinguished service. It is you to whom He granted success. Each and every one of us—indeed all the Muslims of this country—are beholden to you ; and we hereby see none except you fit to rule. As far as we see no one saving you possesses intellect, talents, learning and probity befitting a king.'

This was the cry which rang out from the whole audience. All the great leaders, having then agreed, caught hold of Ghāzī Malik's hand and installed him on the throne. As Ghāzī Malik had rescued the Muslims he became known to history as Ghiyāṣu'ddīn (refuge of religion).

Like Barānī, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa gives no detailed account of these events. He says not a word about Tughluq's procession from Lahrāwat to Sīrī, which is graphically described by Amīr Khusrau. According to Ibn Baṭṭūṭa people crowded round Tughluq after the victory, and he took the road to the city. The Kotwāl brought him the keys. Tughluq entered the palace and said to Kishlū Khān,[1] 'You should become the king.' Kishlū Khān said in reply, 'But you should become the king'. Kishlū Khān concluded by saying, 'If you refuse, your son will become king'. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa states that Tughluq did not like this. He instantly accepted the

1 For Kishlū Khān or Bahram Aiba Kishlū Khān see Chapter VIII of this book.

kingship and ascended the throne. Then the upper classes as well as the common people swore allegiance to him.

It should be noted that Ibn Baṭṭūṭa[1] was not an eye-witness of this event, nor has he given his authority for the above statement. But a comment is found in the *Tārīkh-i Ma'ṣūmī*.[2] The author, Mir Muḥammad *Ma'ṣūm* who was a learned scholar of Sind, says :

> 'In the year 720/1320 when the title of Sulṭān Ghiyāṣu'ddīn was conferred on Ghāzī Malik, the title of Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh was given to his son Fakhru'l-Mulk. In the year 723/1322 Sulṭān Ghiyāṣu'ddīn appointed his son Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh as his heir, resigning the throne to him. He obtained from the amirs a written deed by which they agreed to make allegiance (*baia't*) to Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh.'[3]

As regards the fate of Khusrau Khān, Amīr Khusrau, Ẓiyāu'ddīn Baranī, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa and 'Iṣāmī are in general agreement. He was, under Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Tughluq's orders, captured by Jauna Khān[4] from a garden where he had hidden himself. He was paraded ignominiously through the streets and in spite of his entreaties put to death. His terror (*fitna*) as Sulṭān Muḥammad puts it, lasted four months.[5]

1 The *Reḥla* (G.O.S.), p. 49.

2 *I.e.* the *Tārīkh-i Sind* edited by Dr. Nabī Bakhsh of Sind University (1959), p. 64. Also see the *History of Sind* by Malet, G. G. (1932). He used a different manuscript, and his work was published by the Bombay Government in 1855.

3 This information given hy Mīr Muḥammad Ma'ṣūm gives an additional force to the arguments I have given elsewhere, removing the misunderstanding regarding the dates of Sulṭān Muḥammad bin Tughluq's accession and reign, created by the Cambay inscription. *Vide* Appendix B.

4 But 'Iṣāmī makes no mention of the part played by Jauna Khān in the capture of Khusrau Khān.

5 *Vide* Chapter IX *infra*. Barani (p. 411) too gives four months; and similar is the information given by Yaḥyā bin Aḥmad *Tārikh-i Mubārak Shāhī*, p. 86) and Budāunī (*Muntakhabātu't Tavārikh*, Vol. I, p. 221).

In his *Tughluq Nāma* (verses 345-46, p. 19) Amīr Khusrau puts the assassination of Quṭbu'ddīn Mubārak Shāh on 1st Jumāda II, 720/9th July and the accession of Tughluq Shāh on 1st

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Thus was established the Tughluq dynasty contemporary with the Plantagenets of England. Nominally the dynasty continued about 100 years (1320-1413), but its effective rule did not extend beyond 68 years—a period in which the throne was filled by the first three rulers, Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Tughluq (1323-25) Muḥammad bin Tughluq (1325-51), and Fīroz Shāh[1] (1351-88) successively. Before long decline set in. The convulsions of Sulṭān Muḥammad's reign dealt a staggering blow to the empire, recovery from which was rendered impossible by the weakness of Fīroz Shāh. The dying eyes of Fīroz witnessed the ghastly scene of domestic strife and rebellion, and in spite of his numerous offspring—Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Tughluq II, Abū Bakr, Muḥammad Shāh, Sikandar I, Nāṣīru'ddīn Maḥmūd II and Nuṣrāt Shāh—the Tughluq dysnasty came to an end within a decade of his death (1388). Tīmūr came in 1398 to administer the *coup de grâce*.

Sh'abān 720/6th September 1320 (verses 2, 599-2, 773, pp. 135, 144). This must not be taken to mean that Khusrau Khān's terror lasted two months only. The verse 2768 is significant enough and shculd be read together with other connected verses.

1 Firoz Shāh was succeeded by his grandson Ghiyāṣu'ddin Tughluq II who was deposed and killed within a few months (1388/791). A second grandson Abu Bakr, who next ascended the throne met with a similar fate (1389/792). Then came Muhammad Shāh, the third son of Fīroz Shāh. He ruled over two years (1389-92/792-795). His son Nāṣiru'ddin Maḥmud II ruled nominally about twenty years (1392/795-1413/816). But he was like a tool in the hands of the powerful amirs and had to wage wars with a rival king, Nuṣrat Shāh, who was another grandson of Fīroz Shāh and was set up by a rival party of nobles, namely the Ghulāmān-i Fīroz Shāhī.

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CHAPTER III

NAME AND DESCENT

There has been much speculation concerning the word 'Tughluq.'[1] Despite the efforts of Firishta and Sujān Rāi, its origin, as Sir Wolsey Haig points out,[2] remains obscure. Dictionaries[3] do not as a rule mention the word. Firishta[4] suggests that 'Tughluq' is an Indian corruption of 'Qutlugh,' a regular Turkī substantive. But, although he mentions the *Mulḥiqāt*[5] as his authority, his reasoning is not sound.

The confusion, which thus arose regarding 'Tughluq,' became worse by the different opinions held with regard to its conventional use. Some held it to be the name of a tribe or of a family, others that of a person. Sir Wolseley Haig[6] once regarded it as a tribal name.

It is still regarded as the cognomen, and is commonly attributed to all the monarchs of the Tughluq dynasty, although none except two rulers—Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Tughluq and Tughluq Shah II—really used it as part of their names. Of all the names borne by the successors of Sulṭan Muḥammad there is none with the suffix 'Tughluq.'

1 The transliteration of the word varies from Tughluq, the form used by Moreland (p. 45) and Tughlak as Lane-Poole prefers it to Tughlik, as Sir Aurel Stein would have it (*Ruins of Desert Cathay*, I, pp. 180, 185). But Ibn Baṭṭūṭa gives 'Tughluq' as the correct form, and there is no reason to question his knowledge of the word. Such is also the opinion of Sir Wolseley Haig (*J.R.A.S.*, July, 1922).

2 *J.R.A.S.*, July, 1922.

3 The *Lughāt-i Kishvarī* (1827), p. 105, mentions Tughluq as a Turki word for a chief. Maulvī Muḥammad Ḥusain (pp. 83-84) takes it to mean a hillock, but gives no authority.

4 Firishta (Bombay), Vol. I, p. 230.

5 As far as I know, the *Mulḥiqāt* of 'Aīnu'ddīn Bijāpurī is not available now.

6 'I have no doubt that Tughluq is a tribal name.....As Tughluq is a tribal name it is not necessary to describe the second of the line as Muḥammad bin Tughluq, as is often done. Each ruler of the dynasty is entitled to bear the tribal name as a cognomen.' (Haig: *J.R.A.S.*, 1922, pp. 319-72).

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The following titles occur on the coins of Sulṭān Fīroz: (1) Abul Muẓaffar Fīroz Shāh As-sulṭānī, (2) Fīroz Sulṭānī, (3) Fīroz Shāh.[1]

The coins of the successors[2] of Sulṭān Fīroz bear the following titles: —

(1) Tughluq Shāh.
(2) Abū Bakr Shāh bin Ẓafar bin Fīroz Shāh Sulṭānī.
(3) Muḥammad Shāh Fīroz Shāh (Muḥammad Shāh-i Fīroz Shāh),
(4) Sikandar Shāh or Sikandar Shāh Muḥammad Shāh (Sikandar Shāh-i Muḥammad Shāh).
(5) Maḥmūd Shāh Muḥammad Shāh Fīroz Shāh or Maḥmūd Shāh Muḥammad Shāh (*i.e.*, Maḥmūd Shāh, son of Muḥammad Shāh).
(6) Nuṣrat Shāh.

The first of these kings used the word 'Tughluq' as part of his name. Almost every one of them added to his own name that of his father to show his parentage. They might have used 'Tughluq' instead, if 'Tughluq' had been a family name or if it had signified a class, clan or tribe.

Of all these monarchs Sulṭān Muḥammad alone used the word Tughluq invariably with his name. His coins[3] bear 'Muḥammad bin Tughluq' 'Muḥammad Tughluq'[4] 'Muḥammad Shāh Tughluq,' 'Muḥammad Shāh bin Tughluq,' or 'Muḥammad Shāh bin Tughluq Shāh.' This shows that Tughluq was not an essential part of his name but merely indicative of his parentage. Unlike many other Muslim[5] rulers of medieval India he bracketed his name invariably and on all occasions with that of his father.

1 Edward Thomas: *Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Dehli*, p. 274.

2 *Idem.*, pp. 301-18.

3 *Idem.*, pp. 207-49.

4 The genitive case (*iẓāfat-i ibnī*) showing parentage is not expressed on the coins. But it is always understood. *Vide* Badr Chāch (I.O. Mss. 1232, 1233).

5 All the Mamlūk sultans as well as Jalālu'ddīn Khaljī, 'Alāu'ddīn Khaljī, Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Tughluq and Fīroz Shāh did not mention the names of their respective fathers because they were all obscure.

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So did also, in a way, Mu'izzu'ddīn Muḥammad of Ghor whose coins and inscriptions bear his name as well as that of his father, Sām, and who became known as Muḥammad Sām. In this connection mention might also be made of the coins struck at Ajmer by the son of Rāī Pithaura, acknowledging the paramountcy of Muḥammad of Ghor. One of the coins given by Edward Thomas bears on the obverse 'Prithvi' and on the reverse 'Sri Muḥammad Sām.'[1]*

Curiously enough, no mistake has been made regarding the name of Muḥmmed of Ghor. 'Sām' has never been regarded as part of his name, while 'Tughluq' has erroneously been considered as part of the name of Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh.

The numismatic evidence mentioned above is fully borne out by the contemporary writings,[2] by the epigraphic

1 Edward Thomas: *Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Dehli*, p. 18.

2 (a) Muḥammad Dāūd› bin Sulāimān Khaqānī dedicating his commentary on *Bānat Su'ād* (I.O. Ms. 2646, F. 104-5). the famous ode in praise of the Prophet, to Sulṭān Muḥammad mentions his name as Muḥammad bin Tughluq.

(b) Ṣadr-i 'Ālā Aḥmad Ḥasan Dabīr, a native of Dehlī, a hereditary servant of the court and author of the *Basātinu' l Uns* (B.M. Add. 7717)—a contemporary work—mentions the Sulṭān's name as Muḥammad Shāh bin Tughluq Shāh.

(c) The *Futūḥat-i Firoz Shāhi* which embodies the ordinances of Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh gives Sulṭān Muḥammad's name in the same way.

(d) The *Sīrat-i Fīroz Shāhī* gives the Sulṭān's name as Muḥammad Shāh and his father's name as Tughluq Shāh, p. 7, Ms. Bankipur Library.

(e) The *Inshā-i Māhrū* quotes a letter of Maliku'sh-Sharq Shihābu'd-Daula governor (*muqṭi'*) of Budāūn, addressed to Sulṭān Muḥammad congratulating him on his accession. The heading of the letter which has been quoted by 'Ainu'l-Mulk Multānī the compiler of the *Inshā i Māhrū*, the famous courtier of the Sultans of Dehlī and a rebel against Sulṭān Muḥammad bin Tughluq, gives the name as Muḥammad Shāh, p. 36. Letter No. XIII. *Inshā-i Māhrū*, Ms. Asiatic Society.

(f) Ẓiyāu'ddīn Barani mentions the name as Muḥammad Shāh son of Tughluq Shāh.

(g) Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (G.O.S., p. 48) gives the original name as Juna by which he was known early in his life. On his accession

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records[1] and by the odes of Badr Chāch. In the twenty-three verses, which are found to contain the emperor's name, the poet uses Muḥammad-i Tughluq in six and Muḥammad Shāh or Muḥammad Shāh bin Tnghluq in the remaining seventeen. A few verses are translated below for illustration.

'Muḥammad-i Tughluq (Muḥammad son of Tughluq) is the prince of the Sultans; he is the select among the kings invested by the caliphs. He is the greatest of the warrior-lords.'

'Muḥammed, son of Tughluq, is the prince of kings; his helper is God.'

'Sulṭān Muḥammad, whom the caliph has invested with the government of the universe, is at once the head of the church and state.'

'Muḥammad Shāh, the son of Tughluq, is the powerful master of the east and the west; from fear of his sword the sun is trembling within the nine skies.'

'Muḥammad Shāh is the ambitious and magnanimous king of the whole world; in comparison to the waves of his heart the river found itself reduced to a drop.'

'Sulṭān Muḥammad enjoys the title of Abul Mujāhid (chief of the fighters in the way of God). Ẓille-i Ḥaqq (shadow of God); he is so great that the smoke of the candle of his evening parties gives lustre to the effulgent sun.'

'Sulṭān Muḥammad is the king whose sword has conquered the land as well as the sea; his enemy, struck with envy, has been shedding tears.'

'Muḥammad Shāh is the viceregent of the caliph of the age; he is like 'Alī, the fourth caliph, master of all the sciences.'

'Muḥammad Shāh bin Tughluq is such a king that as soon as he ascended the throne, he was inspired and began to discover hidden things.'

to the throne he assumed the name Abu'l Mujāhid (father of fighters in the way of God), Muḥammad Shāh.

1 *Vide* Appendix B.

'Muḥammad, the son of Tughluq, is the chief of the fighters in the way of God, and is a Ghāzī: his position is so high that the king of China and Cathay is a slave at his palace.'

'The present king of India is one whose patronymic is *Abul Mujāhid*; and whose name like that of the Prophet of Arabia is Muḥammad.'

'Sulṭān Muḥammad, the son of Tughluq, is the king of the world; it befits Alexander to become a servant at his court.'

Another verse, analyzed according to the 'Ilm-i Jafr (art of divining), yields Muḥammad, the name of the king.[1]

Almost all later writers—'Afīf, Niẓāmu'ddīn, Budāūnī and Firishta—have followed suit[2]. 'Afīf gives Sulṭān Tughluq as the name of the first ruler of the dynasty, and Sulṭān Muḥammad as that of the second. Niẓāmu'ddīn[3] mentions the latter as Muḥammad-i Tughluq Shāh, while Budāūnī[4] calls him Muḥammad 'Ādil. There is reason to believe that Sulṭān Muḥammad claimed to be 'Ādil (just), and liked to associate this dignified word with his name, as is attested by his coins[5] and architecture[6]. But his claim to be 'Ādil was strongly questioned by a group of the 'ulamā[7]. And it is doubtful how far it was really acknowledged by Fīroz Shāh, although the latter mentions him as Muḥammad 'Ādil in his *khuṭba*[8] (sermon).

1 'Uṣmān Khān—*Commentary on the Odes of Badr Chāch* (1867), Vol. II, p. 480.

2 'Afif—*Tārikh-i Firoz Shāhī*, p. 27.

3 Niẓāmu'ddīn—*Ṭabaqāt-i Akbari* (Bib. Ind.), p. 198. It should be noted that the genitive (*iẓāfat*) is understood in the text.

4 Budāūnī—*Muntakhabāu't Tavārikh* (Bib. Ind.), p. 225.

5 Lane-Poole, S: *The Coins of the Sultans of Delhi in the British Museum*. Nos. 280, 281, 282, 283.

6 Sulṭān Muḥammad's fortress at Dehlī was named 'Ādilābād and bears the same name till today.

7 *Vide* the *Reḥla* (G.O.S.) pp. xxii-xxiv, 86.

8 'Afīf: *Tārikh-i Fīroz Shāhī*, p. 107.

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It follows that Muḥammad was the name of the Sulṭān, and that he was variously known as Muḥammad Shāh, Muḥammad bin Tughluq, Muḥammad-i Tughluq, Muḥammad Shāh-i Tughluq, Muḥammad bin Tughluq Shāh and Muḥammad Shāh. He has also been called Muḥammad III,[1] and Muḥammad II[2]. If Sulṭān Mu'izzu'ddīn Muḥammad bin Sām be regarded as the first king of Dehlī as is borne out by his coins, he should be called Muḥammad I; Sulṭān 'Alāu'ddīn Muḥammad Khaljī should be Muḥammad II; and Sulṭān Muḥammad bin Tughluq, Muḥammad III. Enough has been written to prove that Muḥammad Tughluq or Muḥammad Tughlaq, as some historians[3] call him, is a misnomer.

Equally confusing are the theories concerning his descent. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa[4] makes out that he belonged to the race of the Qarauna Turks.

'Qarauna' is a term of which the origin or meaning is as obscure as that of 'Tughluq.' In his enquiries regarding the descent and origin of Tughluq, Firishta did not come across 'Qarauna.' Hence no help can be had from him. Even Ibn Baṭṭūṭa gives no details.

Marco Polo[5] describes the Qaraunas ('Caraonas or Karaunah') as a people of mixed breed, and attributes the name 'Karaunah' to their mixed parentage. Yule[6] thinks

1 Dow, A.: *The History of Hindostan*, I, 299.

2 Lane-Poole: *The Muhammadan Dynasties*, p, 300. Also see Levy, R.: *The Sociology of Islam*, II, 263.

3 Moreland: *Agrarian System of Moslem India*, p. 45.

4 Ibn Baṭṭūṭa was informed by Shaikh Ruknu'ddin Multānī that Sulṭān Tughluq belonged to the race of the Qarauna Turks who lived in the hilly regions between Turkistan and Sind. *Vide* the *Reḥla* (G. O. S.) p. 47.

5 According to Marco Polo, Qaraunas (Caraonas) were people whose fathers were Tartars and mothers Indians. They were robbers by profession. Their chief, Nogodar, fled with a body of 10,000 Qaraunas from his uncle, Chaghatāi, to India, where he seized the province of Dalivar (Lahore) from Asedin Soldan (Sulṭān Mu'izzu'ddīn). There he established himself and spent his life fighting the Tartars. (Yule's *Marco Polo*, pp. 98-99.)

6 *Ibid.*, p. 101.

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that Marco Polo was misled by the term Qarāun ('Karāun'), which, he assumes, was in use among the Mongols. 'Qarāun' derived from Qara—black—denoted dark children born of Mongol fathers and black mothers. Mzik[1] is of opinion that 'Qarauna' is connected with the Sanskrit 'Karaṇa' which means mixed caste, the father being *Kṣatriya* and the mother *Śūdra*. He does not agree with Yule that 'Qarauna' is derived from a word Qara meaning black. That would only be a popular etymology prompted by the fact that the word denoted the offspring of a white Aryan with a black Sudra woman.

The translators of the *Tārīkh*-i *Rashīdī*[2] tell us that 'Qaraunah' or 'Qarāwana' was a term of reproach. It was contemptuously used by the 'Moghuls' for the Chaghatais. Perhaps it was used equally contemptuously in regard to Sulṭān Muḥammad bin Tughluq by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa or by his authority Shaikh Ruknu'ddīn Multānī, a saint by no means favourably inclined to the Sulṭān. No other historian identifies him with the Qaraunas. Badr Chāch,[3] the court poet, traces the Sulṭān's descent from Bahrām Gōr, the fifth king (246-93) of the Sasānian dynasty of Irān.

While Ibn Baṭṭūṭa is at variance with Badr Chāch he also differs from Marco Polo—a difference which raises two important points: (1) Were the Qaraunas Turks or Mongols? (2) How and when, if at all, did they come to settle in India?

Marco Polo[4] uses in regard to the Qaraunas the term Tartar in a sense apparently synonymous with Mongol. Mīr Khvānd[5] describes the Qaraunas as a tribe forming a

1 Mzik. *Die Reise des Arabers Ibn Batuta durch Indien und China*, p. 97.

2 Elias, N., and Ross, Sir E. D.: *Tārīkh-i Rashidī*, pp. 75-79.

3 "You (Sulṭān Muḥammad!) are the light of the eye of Bahram..."

'You (Sulṭān Muḥammad!) are the master of the world, and the pride of the house of Bahrām...'

'Muḥammad Shāh bin Tughluq is such a king that by virtue of his good fortune the standard of the house of Bahrām surpassed the sky.' (*Odes of Badr Chāch.*) I.O. MSS., Nos. 1232, 1233.

4 Yule: *Travels of Marco Polo*, Vol. I, p. 98.

5 Mir Khvānd: *Rauẓatu's-Ṣafā*, Vol. V, p. 96.

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a special division in the Mongol army. Waṣṣāf[1] is reported to have mentioned a tribe among the Mongols named 'Kurāna.' He describes the Qarawinah or Qarawinas who were enlisted in the Chaghatāī armies. Moreover, there is an evidence of the existence in modern Irān of the Qaraunas who speak Turkī and are considered part of the Goklān Turkman, though they identify themselves with the Chingīz Khānī Mongols. Probably the Qaraunas were Turks of mixed breed, and came like other tribes—Uighurs, Naimans, and Karluks—of Turkī descent, who joined the Mongol hordes, to be associated with the Mongols. If Tughluq or his father came to settle in India under Balban, and afterwards rose to prominence as Firishta informs us, he should be a Turk rather than a Mongol, since Balban hated the Mongols, and welcomed Turks.

Making a compromise between the different accounts of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa and Badr Chāch regarding Sulṭān Muḥammad's descent one feels constrained to conclude that he was certainly a Turk as his father's name 'Tughluq'—a Turkī word—indicates, but he was not identical with the Qaraunas. being a lineal descendant of the Sasānian kings of Irān.

Marco Polo's theory regarding the Qarauna settlement in India is misleading. He confounds Nogodar, whom he mentions as the progenitor of the Qaraunas in India, with Nigudar Aghul,[2] who had nothing to do with the Qaraunas. On the contrary they were his enemies, since they formed the peculium of his rival and nephew, Arghūn bin Abāqā, and eventually brought about his destruction (1284/683).

The *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāṣirī*[3] informs us that the Mongols raided Northern India and captured Lahore (1239) under the weak rule of Sulṭān Mu'izzuddīn (1239-41)—the Asedin of Marco Polo, whom Yule tries to identify with Sulṭān

1 (i) Elias, N., and Ross, Sir E. D.: *Tārikh-i Rashidi*, p. 77.
(ii) *Tārikh*-i *Waṣṣāf* (Bombay), p. 265.

2 According to Mirkhvānd (*Rauẓatu's-Ṣafā*, Vol. V, p. 100) Nigudar Aghul was the son of Hūlāgū and brother of Abāqā. He revolted against Abāqā and fled from him, not from Chaghatāī, as has been reported by Marco Polo.

3 Minhāj: *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāṣirī* (Bib. Ind.), p. 194.

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Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Balban.[1] Malik Ikhtiyāru'ddīn Qarā-Kush, the governor (Muqṭī') of Lahore, fleeing from them came to Dehlī. The Sulṭān sent an army headed by the wazīr to repel them, but a rebellion having broken out in the army the wazīr returned to Dehlī and fomented an insurrection, which resulted in the deposition and murder of the Sulṭān. Prince 'Alāu'ddīn was then raised to the throne. He was a weakling like his predecessor. The Mongols who had seized Lahore under Mu'izzu'ddīn remained in possession of it until[2] the accession of 'Alāu'ddīn Mas'ūd and perhaps for some time afterwards. Flushed with their victory in the Panjāb, the Mongols made a fresh incursion on Uch (1245).

The prolonged occupation of Lahore by the Mongols might have led to their association with Indian women. This might be considered more reasonable than Marco Polo's version of Nogodar's flight as marking the arrival of the Qaraunas in India, for there is no proof that the Qaraunas came to India *in large numbers* as settlers.

1 Yule: *Travels of Marco Polo*, Vol. I, pp. 104-105.

2 Sir Wolseley Haig implies that the Mongols retired immediately after taking Lahore. (*Cambridge History of India*, III, p. 63). But the *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāṣiri* (pp. 194-96) makes no mention of the Mongol retreat from Lahore under Mu'izzu'ddīn.

CHAPTER IV

ULUGH KHĀN

(A) Reorganization under Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Tughluq

Of the three great rulers of the Tughluq dynasty the most important is Sulṭān Muḥammad bin Tughluq, for under him the Tughluq empire reached its greatest extent. But no study of his reign would be complete without taking into account the history of his illustrious father and predecessor on the throne, Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Tughluq, and his much-extolled cousin and successor, Sulṭān Fīroz.[1]

Old as he was, Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Tughluq mounted the throne with a resolute determination to govern to the best of his abilities. Orderly in business, sparing in diet, his personal character profoundly affected his administration.

He awarded titles and honours to his comrades in war and to his kinsmen. To Bahrām Aiba[2] he gave the title of Kishlū Khān, with the government of Multān and Sind. He also honoured him by addressing him as brother. To his own adopted son Tatār Khān, he gave the title of Tatār Malik together with the *iqtā'* of Ẓafarābād. To his nephew Malik Asadu'ddīn he gave the office of Nāib Bārbak (deputy grand usher). Another nephew, Malik Bahāu'ddīn, was raised to the position of 'Arẓ-i Mumālik (minister of the army). He made his son-in-law, Malik Shādī, supervisor of the revenue ministry (Dīwān-i wizārat). Malik Burhānu'ddīn received the title of 'Ālimu'l-Mulk and was made kotwāl of Dehlī. Burhānu'ddīn's son Qutlugh Khān, was raised to the position of Nāib Wazīr of Deogīr. On Qāẓī Kamālu'ddīn, the Qāẓīu'l-Quẓāt, he conferred the title of Ṣadr Jahān, and appointed Qāẓī Samau'ddīn as Qāẓī of Dehlī. He raised Malik Tāju'ddīn Ja'far to the office of Nāib 'Arẓ (deputy minister of the army) and later entrusted him with the government of Gujarāt. He also honoured his own sons with titles, though he gave them no

1 Frequent references will be made to relevent parts of the history of Sulṭān Fīroz.

2 Barani (Bib. Ind.), p. 428.

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administrative charge or government. The eldest, Malik Fakhru'ddīn Jauna, was declared heir-apparent, and was awarded *the royal canopy* together with the title of Ulugh Khān. The remaining four sons obtained the titles of Bahrām Khān, Ẓafar Khān, Maḥmūd Khān, and Nuṣrat Khān respectively.[1]

He was tolerant to the Hindus[2] and Parwaris unless they had been implicated in the murder of Quṭbu'ddīn Mubārak Shāh or had misappropriated the public money while serving under Khusrau Khān. In this respect even the Muslims were not spared. All those to whom Khusrau Khān had recklessly advanced money were made to disgorge their ill-gotten gains. Even Shaikh Niẓāmu'ddin Auliyā,[3] the famous saint of Dehlī, was ordered to refund what he had received as a gift from the usurper. The saint's inability to comply with this order led to strained relations between him and the emperor.

He refrained from restoring the agrarian and fiscal policy of Sulṭān 'Alāu'ddīn Khaljī, but formulated, on the principles of Balban, a new policy in a spirit of concession and moderation. Instead of the Measurement[4] of 'Alāu'ddīn's time, Sharing was introduced ; and Hindū chiefs and headmen (*khuts* and *muqaddams*) who had been reduced to the economic position of peasants by 'Alāu'ddīn were restored to the status they had enjoyed under Balban. While they were strictly prohibited from imposing a separate assessment on the peasants, apart from the king's revenue, special instructions being issued to this effect to the walis and muqtis, they were granted remunerations[5]. Again, while they were strictly prohibited from making excessive demands on the peasants, they were given discretionary powers to force refractory cultivators, to till the soil.

1 Barani, (Bib. Ind.), p. 428.
2 *Idem*., pp. 432-33.
3 *Vide* Appendix K.
4 Barani (Bib. Ind.), pp. 429-32. *Vide* Appendix L.
5 '...He urged on the Muqtis' and governors' investigation and consistency in the collection of revenue, so that chiefs and headmen (*khuts* and *muqaddams*) should not impose a separate assessment...' Barani (Bib. Ind.), p. 430.

Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Tughluq denounced the farming system,[1] and appointed no revenue-farmers as provincial governors, who were usually recruited from the nobility[2]. They were regarded as responsible officers enjoying a position and status higher than those of the ordinary executive officers[3]. They were still, however, subject to the control of the revenue ministry (Diwān-i wizārat), which checked their accounts periodically. If found guilty of misappropriating public money they were to be punished and forced to refund it.

There is no evidence of any regular salaries being fixed for the provincial governors, but they were entitled to a certain proportion of the revenue. Their subordinates, the *karkuns* and *mutaṣarrifs*, had fixed salaries, though they were entitled in addition to a small percentage of the revenue.[4]

By prohibiting the governors from levying excessive demands on the peasants and the revenue ministry from making arbitrary demands on the governors, Sulṭan Ghiyāṣ-u'ddīn Tughluq sought to avoid the creation of strained relations between the revenue ministry and the provincial governors, which had been a prominent feature of the administrative system of 'Alāu'ddin Khaljī. The provincial governors were required to remit a specified amount to the central government and were in this way relieved from extravagantly irregular demands.[5]

Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Tughluq was a soldier by profession noted for his skill in war, who, after his accession to the throne, distinguished himself as an administrator. He was on good terms with the 'ulamā, but had fallen foul of Shaikh Niẓāmu'ddīn Auliyā. His reign would have been peaceful but for the troubles which broke out in the Deccan and Bengal.

1 *Ibid*, p. 429.
2 Barani (Bib. Ind.), pp. 430-31.
3 *Idem*., p. 431.
4 (i) *Ibid*., (ii) Moreland; *The Agrarian System of Moslem India*, p. 42.
5 Barani (Bib. Ind.), p. 429.

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(B) The Wārangal and Jājnagar Expeditions

That in 1310/710 Malik Kāfūr had overrun Telingāna, and the rājā (Rāi Ludder Deo) had engaged to send his tribute[1] annually to Dehlī is evident from the *Tārīkh-i-Fīroz Shābī*[2] as well as from the *Khazāinu'l-Futūḥ*.[3] But it is difficult to say whether this tribute was regularly paid. The only reference found to this effect is that in 1311 Rāi Ludder Deo sent twenty elephants to Dehlī with a letter stating that he was ready to pay tribute at Deogīr to anyone whom the Sulṭān ('Alāu'ddīn) would commission to receive it. Perhaps it was the practice afterwards to receive it at Deogīr. But with the subsequent extermination of the Khaljī dynasty, disorders followed in Deogīr, and Ludder Deo revolted and asserted his independence. To suppress him Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Tughluq deputed his son, Ulugh Khān, who marched at the head of a large army for the first time in 1321/721. Baranī says vaguely that the emperor sent along with the prince leading chieftains and experienced warriors. Firishta is more definite. He says that the emperor collected armies from Chanderī, Budāūn and Mālwa, placing them all under the command of Ulugh Khān.

On his way to Wārangal, the capital of Telingāna, the prince stopped at Deogīr, where he recruited more troops, and then resumed his march. Telingāna lay at a great distance from Dehlī and could not be reached in less than three months[4]. But Ulugh Khān, by forced marches, appears to have reached it in a much shorter time. The rājā shut himself up in the fortress of Wārangal, which was besieged. This fortress[5] was really two forts; an inner made of clay and an outer of stone. The clay structure was apparently much stronger than the stone. It was in the former that the rājā had taken refuge. The siege was unusually prolonged. The prince, running short of provi-

1 In his *Khazāinu'l Futūḥ* or *Tārīkh-i 'Alāi*, Amīr Khusrau uses the word 'jizya' for tribute. (i) B. M., Add. 16,838. (ii) Elliot, III, p. 84.

2 Baranī (Bib. Ind.), p. 330.

3 B.M. Add. 16,838.

4 The *Rehla* (G.O.S.), p. 50.

5 Barani (Bib.), pp. 330, 446.

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sions, detailed his soldiers to plunder the towns of Telingāna. Almost all kinds of weapons then used in war, including catapults and fire-engines, were brought into play. At last, the besiegers secured possession of the outer wall of the fortress. The rājā then sent his messengers (*basiṭhs*)[1] to Ulugh Khān, and through them sued for peace, offering to make rich presents and to send tribute regularly. Perhaps he hoped that, like 'Alāu'ddīn, who, twenty-five years before, had accepted the rich offers made and then raised the siege, Ulugh Khān would adopt a similar policy. But Ulugh Khān refused to accept the tempting bait and resolutely continued the siege.

Baranī is reticent regarding the details of the siege as he is of all Ulugh Khān's wars. His narrative[2] amounts to this, that the expedition of Telingāna had been hurriedly conceived, and Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Tughluq had no time to establish new posts or to improve the lines of communication between Dehlī and Telingāna. The old posts of the time of 'Alāu'ddīn Khaljī were utilized, which at first supplied Ulugh Khān with messages from Dehlī twice a week. Before long this system fell into disorder, and all communications ceased; and for about a month no news was heard from Dehlī. This gave rise to many suspicions. A few men, like 'Ubaid the poet, and Shaikhzādah of Damascus, joined with others in spreading a rumour of the death of Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Tughluq. They then instigated the leading captains of the army, Malik Tamar, Malik Tigīn, Malik Mall[3] Afghān and Malik Kāfūr, keeper of the seal (*muhrdār*), to desert Ulugh Khān on the plea that he was planning to have them assassinated. This created a panic. All the officers of the army withdrew with their respective

1 *Ibid.* p. 447. In his *Tārīkh-i 'Alāī*, Amīr Khusrau uses the same word *basīṭh* to indicate a messenger. It is an old Hindī word (Elliot, III, p. 83).

2 Baranī (Bib. Ind.), pp. 446-50.

3 The B.M. MS. (Or. 2039) of Baranī's *Tārikh-i Firoz Shāhī* has Malik Mullā Afghān on p. 467, and Malik Mull or Mull on p. 468. The printed text of Baranī (Bib. Ind.) gives in the first instance on p. 448 Malik Afghān, and in the second instance on p. 449 Malik Makh Afghān. Firishta (Bombay, I, p. 233) has Malik Gul Afghān.

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troops, and the prince with his forces seriously depleted was compelled to raise the siege, and to retreat in haste and disorder, towards Deogīr, where he received letters from his father. He then collected his scattered army. Most of the officers who had deserted him were killed by the enemy. 'Ubaid, Malik Kāfūr and Malik Mall or Malik Makh Afghān and a few others were taken prisoners and sent bound to the prince, who dispatched them in the same condition to his father at Dehlī. When Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Tughluq heard of this, he became furious and ordered the prisoners to be impaled on sharpened stakes.

'Iṣāmī[1] tells us that when the siege of the Wārangal fortress had dragged on for six months, Sulṭān Ghiyāṣu'ddīn suspected foul play on the part of his son. He thought that Ulugh Khān had secretly joined the enemy, and wrote to him weekly letters to this effect. Ulugh Khān was hurt, and wished to withdraw the siege immediately and return to his father[2]. But he consulted 'Ubaid, the philosopher-astronomer. The latter predicted victory, specifying its day and time, and expressed his readiness to die if the prediction fell through.[3] Consequently, Ulugh Khān pressed on the siege. When the specified time drew near 'Ubaid, who had duped Ulugh Khān, in self-defence, spread a false report of Tughluq Shāh's death. He conspired with Malik Tamar and Malik Tigīn, the leading officers of the army, telling them that Ulugh Khān intended to put the army chiefs to death by treachery, and that he had suppressed the news of his father's death with that object[4]. This led to the outbreak of a general revolt against Ulugh Khān.

Baranī accuses Shaikhzādah of Damascus as well as 'Ubaid. But a closer examination of the *Tārīkh-i Fīroz Shāhī*[5] reveals that they were after all not so disaffected and wicked as Baranī would have us believe. Had they been so, they would not have been allowed by Ghiyāṣu'ddīn

1 I.O. MS. 3089, F. 216A.
2 *Futūḥu's-Salāṭin*, MS,, F, 216A.
3 *Ibid.*
4 *Ibid.* F. 219A.
5 Barani—*Tārikh-i Fīroz Shāhi* (Bib-Ind). p. 198

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Tughluq to proceed with Ulugh Khān to Telingāna. This is clear from a different account about them given elsewhere by Baranī. In his chapter on Jalālu'ddīn Khaljī, Baranī tells us that Malik S'adu'ddīn Manṭiqī (the metaphysician) was the leading disciple of Shaikh Niẓāmu'ddīn Auliyā and had the honour of being a companion of Amīr Khusrau and a courtier of Jalālu'ddīn Khaljī. In his chapter on 'Alāu'ddīn Khaljī[1] Baranī commends 'Ubaid as 'Ḥakīm 'Ubaid, the court-poet.'

It may be interesting to note that on this occasion Baranī also mentions with equal respect one Maulānā Najmu'ddīn Intishār, whom he later[2] refers to as one of the evil-minded associates of Muḥammad bin Tughluq.

It seems that S'ad and 'Ubaid quarrelled with Ulugh Khān during the siege of Wārangal for personal reasons. They had previously come to Telingāna under Malik Kāfūr, and had taken part in the siege of Wārangal. They knew that 'Alāu'ddīn Khaljī had specially advised Malik Kāfūr to withdraw the siege, and retire to Dehlī as soon as the rājā surrendered and promised to pay the tribute. They favoured this mild policy of 'Alāu'ddīn, and recollected how they had profited by it. Perhaps they also recalled how Khusrau Khān, far from pressing the siege of Wārangal, had accepted the rich offers made to him, and had agreed to retire. They disliked the grim resolve of Ulugh Khān to press the siege and were chagrined at his refusal to accept the tempting offers made by the rājā. It is evident from the *Futūḥu's-Salāṭīn*[3] that they conspired with the rājā's messengers who were negotiating with Ulugh Khān. It was after the *basiṭhs* had retired that disorders broke out in the imperial camp. Malik Tīmūr, Malik Tigīn, Malik Kāfūr and Malik Mall Afghān left it, and withdrew, taking with them their respective detachments. Their departure profoundly influenced the remaining officers with the result that the whole army became demoralized. The beleaguered garrison threw

1 *Idem.* p. 360.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 465.

3 The *Futūḥu's-Salāṭīn* (I.O. MS. 3089, F. 217) describes a conspiracy into which the army chiefs, Malik Tamar (Timūr) and Malik Tigīn, had entered with Rāi Ludder Deo.

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open the gates of the fort, and rushed out *en masse* to plunder the imperialists. In this way arose the conflict between Ulugh Khān and his chieftains—'Ubaid, the poet, and Shaikhzādah of Damascus.

Why Ulugh Khān refused to accept the rājā's tempting offers ; why he persisted in pressing the siege until Telingāna was conquered ; why he failed to realize the discontent amongst his army chiefs ; and why he adopted no measures to prevent rebellion—these are problems which Baranī has evaded. Evidently, however, prince Ulugh Khān had a far deeper and more profound knowledge of Deccan politics than any of his subordinates. He knew how the mild policy of 'Alāu'ddīn Khaljī had failed. He apparently[1] argued that the tribute which the rājā then offered to pay would never be paid regularly in future. He recalled how 'Alāu'ddīn Khaljī had been betrayed at Deogīr, and how Quṭbu'ddīn Mubārak Shāh had failed to get the tribute regularly. He was convinced that the chronic restlessness from which Telingāna suffered could be removed only by its conquest and that drastic steps had to be taken, otherwise the fortress of Wārangal would be considered invincible, and would prove a perennial source of trouble.

According to Ibn Baṭṭūṭa,[2] Ulugh Khān intended to rebel in Telingāna. He conspired with his friend. 'Ubaid, and spread through him in the army the rumour of Sulṭān Tughluq's death. He calculated that the troops would immediately hasten to swear allegiance to him. But when the report of the Sulṭān's death was circulated the amirs refused to believe it, and would have killed Ulugh Khān had it not been for Malik Tīmūr. Deserted by his maliks, Ulugh Khān fled to his father with ten horsemen, whom he called his sincere friends (*yārān-i mū'āfiq*). His father gave him money and troops, and ordered him to return to Telingāna (Teling). Ulugh Khān did so. Later, Ghiyāṣu'ddīn

1 (i) Barani (Bib. Ind), p. 447. (ii) *Tārikh-i Firishta* (*Bombay*, vol. I, p. 233).

2 Ibn Baṭṭūṭa describes 'Ubaid as being at once a poet and a jurist, unlike Barani, who describes him only as a poet. (Def. et Sang. III, p. 209).

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Tughluq killed 'Ubaid and ordered Malik Kāfūr Mulrdār (keeper of the seal) to be impaled.

The accounts of Ẓiyāu'ddīn Baranī and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa are at variance. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa was obviously far less competent than Baranī to give the right information. He came to India ten years after the Telingāna expeditions, and wrote from hearsay. Furthermore, his account is far from complete. He does not even refer to the second expedition into Telingāna, and his account of the first is entirely inadequate. He makes no mention of the causes of the rājā's rebellion, and gives no account of the war. To crown all, he cites no authority for his statements. But he is in accord with 'Iṣāmī in holding Ulugh Khān guilty of conspiracy.

From Baranī[1] it appears that Ulugh Khān stayed in Deogīr four months, where he received reinforcements from Dehlī ; and Baranī is, on the whole, confirmed by 'Iṣāmī.[2] But Firishta[3] and Niẓāmu'ddīn Aḥmad[4] maintain that Ulugh Khān left Deogīr for Dehlī, where he remained four months. On being reinforced he proceeded to Telingāna. After conquering all the fortresses on the outskirts of Wārangal, the capital of Telingāna, including Bīdar, he laid siege to the outer fort of Wārangal. With great difficulty he reduced it, and afterwards also the inner fortress. Rājā Ludder Deo, with his relations and dependants, was sent to Dehlī under the charge of Qadr Khān and Khwāja Ḥājī Nāib.

Ulugh Khān then attempted to consolidate his new conquests. He divided Telingāna into serveral administrative units, over each of which he set up new officials and re-christened Wārangal Sultānpur.[5]

He then stormed Jājnagar[6] (Orissa). No contemporaty history, however, gives the reason for this. Ḥājjiu'ddabīr

1 Baranī (Bib. Ind.), p. 449.
2 *Futūḥu's-Salāṭīn* (I.O., MS., *F*, 220 A.)
3 Firishta (Bombay), vol. I, pp. 233-34.
4 Niẓāmu'ddīn : *Ṭabaqāt-i Akbarī* (Bib. Ind.), pp. 195-96.
5 Baranī (Bib. Ind.), p. 450.
6 In his account of the first Muslim invasion of Orissa,

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informs us that Ludder Deo had in his fight with Ulugh Khān secured the co-operation of a body of rajas.[1] This tends to confirm Baranī, and it follows that Bhānudeva II (1306-1328), the rājā of Orissa, had joined Rājā Ludder Deo in his wars against Ulugh Khān. The traditional wars of the rajas[2] of Orissa, the predecessors of Bhānudeva II, with the Muslims of Bengal and Dehlī, also confirm this view. Bhānudeva II himself is known to have intervened in Bengal, and fought with Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Tughluq during his famous Lakhnautī expedition. Perhaps the chiefs of Gondwāna,[3] the region lying between Berar on the west and Orissa in the east, were the allies of Bhānudeva II, referred to above. An indirect evidence to this effect is afforded by the reported flight[4] of the rebellious amirs of Ulugh Khān's army to Bengal. At any rate, it follows that the prince marched from Wārangal to Jājnagar and overran it by way of chastisement. According to Baranī, he captured forty elephants, which were subsequently[5] sent to his father at Dehlī. But an inscription of his at Rajamahendri near the

Banerji identifies Jājnagar with Jajallanagar in Chhattisgaḍh (Banerji, R. D., *History of Orissa*, Vol. I, 258). In a subsequent account of Firoz Shāh's invasion (p. 282) the author fixes Jājnagar at the extremity of Gaḍhakatañga (Jubbulpur). But there is no doubt that the Jājnagar of theMuslim historians of the 14th century was an area roughly corresponding to the Orissa of later times.

1 Ḥājjiu'ddabīr, Vol. III. p. 860.

2 The following table of the rajas of Orissa down to Bhānudeva II, the contemporary of Ghiyāṣu'ddin and Muhammad bin Tughluq, has been built up with the help of Banerji's *History of Orissa*, Vol. I, pp. 246-282.

Rājarāja III. (1198-1211).
Anangabhima III, (1211-1238).
Narasimha I. (1238-1264).
Bhānudeva I. (1264-79).
Narasimha II. (1279-1306).
Bhānudeva II. (1306-1328).

3 The history of Gondwāna is obscure. Sir Wolseley Haig (*Cambridge History of India*, III, p. 535) makes use of a local tradition at Kherla in Gondwāna to show how it came into the hands of the Muslims during the reign of 'Alāu'ddin Khaljī.

4 Def. et Sang., III, p. 210.

5 Barani (Bib. Ind.), p. 450.

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mouth of the Godāvari, bears testimony to his military triumphs. There he raised a mosque, which still exists.[1] There is no proof of Banerji's contention that Ulugh[2] Khān turned the principal temple of Rajamahendri into a mosque. Orissa abounded in temples, its rajas having been famous temple builders. But no instances[3] of demolition or of desecration of any of them have been ascribed to Ulugh Khān. Neither was the ruling dynasty extinguished, nor was the vanquished rājā maltreated.

Whether or not he proceeded from Jājnagar to Gondwāna to punish the remaining allies of Ludder Deo is not definitely known. It is, however, almost unanimously agreed[4] that he re-entered Wārangal in triumph, whence he returned to Dehlī. Niẓāmu'ddīn Aḥmad holds that Ulugh Khān stayed on at Wārangal until Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Tughluq decided to march on Lakhnautī, and sent for him. But the probability is that he had already set out for Dehlī before the royal summons for his recall was issued. On reaching Dehlī, Ulugh Khān was warmly received by his father, who conferred on him a robe of honour and ordered a week's rejoicings to commemorate his victory.[5]

The conquest of Telingāna reflects creditably on Ulugh Khān's perseverance and courage. It gives us information about some of the weapons of war[6] then in use, and brings

1 *Annual Report of Archæological Survey of India*, 1925-6, p. 150. (For details of the inscription see Appendix B).

2 Banerji, R. D.: *History of Orissa*, I, p. 276.

3 Muḥammad bin Tughluq is supposed to have erected the Deval mosque in the Bodhan town (*Report of the Archæological Department* of H. E. H. the Niẓām's dominions, p. 4). It has been contended that Deval was a temple, which was turned into a mosque. But the Persian inscriptions of Muḥammad bin Tughluq which have been discovered there contain no reference to this effect.

It should be noted that the remark of Shihābu'ddīn Aḥmad 'Abbās (Quatremére: *Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits*, Tome XIII, p. 198) regarding Muḥammad bin Tughluq's demolishing fine temples, and breaking the images, is evidently part of an eulogy and cannot be cited as a proof of the case under consideration.

4 (*a*) Baranī (Bib. Ind.), p. 450. (*b*) Firishta (Bombay) vol. I, p. 234.

5 *Futūḥu's-Salāṭīn*, MS. F. 222B.

6 See p. 65, *supra*.

into relief the importance of a fortress in a town of medieval India. The fortress then served as a protective bulwark for the entire town. On its capture depended to a great extent the results of the war. The strength of the mud fortresses of the fourteenth century is also demonstrated; the mud fortress of Wārangal long defied the Dehlī forces, and was captured at last with great difficulty.

The conquest testifies to the efficient postal system of the Dehlī empire, by means of which Dehlī was connected with Telingāna, and, in fact, with all other parts of the empire. An inefficient postal system would have led to serious disturbances in the army.

The conquest of Telingāna provides us with a detailed account of the organization of the Tughluq armies. They were composed of divisions, each under the command of an amīr. The allegiance of the army to the chief commander was very uncertain; it depended upon the goodwill and cooperation of the amirs and other subordinate commanders. If the amirs were estranged the whole army soon became uncontrollable. Furthermore, the amirs were not above corruption. Often they placed their private interests before their public duties. Presumably the armies were heterogeneous bodies or confederacies of amirs.

The accounts of the Telingāna campaigns afford us illustrations of the kind of punishments then inflicted upon Muslim rebels by a Sulṭān, famous for his mildness.

The conquest of Telingāna further shows how sparing Ulugh Khān was in the chastisement of Hindū rebels. There is no mention of the victor having indulged in a wholesale slaughter. Probably the *basiṭhs*, who had been responsible for the mutiny in Ulugh Khān's army were killed.[1] Nor is there any evidence of the enslavement of the conquered Hindus and the demolition of their temples.

'Iṣāmī[2] tells us that the rejoicings consequent upon Ulugh Khān's victories in the Deccan and his triumphant return were still in progress when a wave of Mongol inva-

1 This appears from Firishta (*Bombay*, I. 234) and 'Iṣāmī (F. 220B), though their language is not free from exaggeration.

2 *Futūḥu's-Salāṭīn* (Agra, 1938).

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sion burst upon northern India. Gurshāsp, the governor of Sāmāna, sent a message to Sulṭan Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Tughluq intimating that the Mongols had crossed the Indus and invaded Sāmāna. The Sulṭān sent an army, commanded by some Hindū[1] and Muslim officers. On reaching Sāmāna the supreme command of the army was assumed by Gurshāsp, the other officers being relegated to subordinate posts. Two battles were successively fought, and won ; one in the Siwālik hills east of Sāmāna and the other to the north on the bank of the Biās. The Mongols were defeated and repulsed, and many were captured alive. The triumphant army then returned with its Mongol prisoners to Dehlī and the emperor was pleased to reward the officers handsomely.

Two months after, according to 'Iṣāmī,[2] a Parwārī insurrection broke out in Gujarāt. Shādi Dāwar, the nāib wazīr, who had already distinguished himself by repelling the Mongol invaders, was dispatched to Gujarāt. The rebels were driven into a fortress, but they secured their release by means of a stratagem. A group of them pretending to be musicians gained access to Malik Shādī Dāwar, and killed him treacherously. His troops then retreated to Dehlī.

Nothing is known about the fate of the Parwārī murderers. The account given by 'Iṣāmī—the only source of information—is incomplete. But it cannot be altogether dismissed considering (1) that Malik Shādī Dāwar, the nāib wazīr, is mentioned by Baranī[3] as an amīr at the court of Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Tughluq, and (2) that Muḥammad bin Tughluq on his accession sent his wazīr, Malikzādah Aḥmad bin Aiyāz, on an expedition to Gujarāt.[4] This expedition was probably intended to restore order in Gujarāt. Firishta[5] bears out 'Iṣāmī.

1 *Idem.*
2 *Futūḥu's-Salāṭīn* (I.O., Ms. 3089, F. 224-25).
3 Barani (Bib. Ind.), p. 423.
4 *Futūḥu's-Salāṭīn* (Ms. F. 231B).
5 Firishta (Bombay I, 238).

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(C) Last Phase of Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Tughluq.

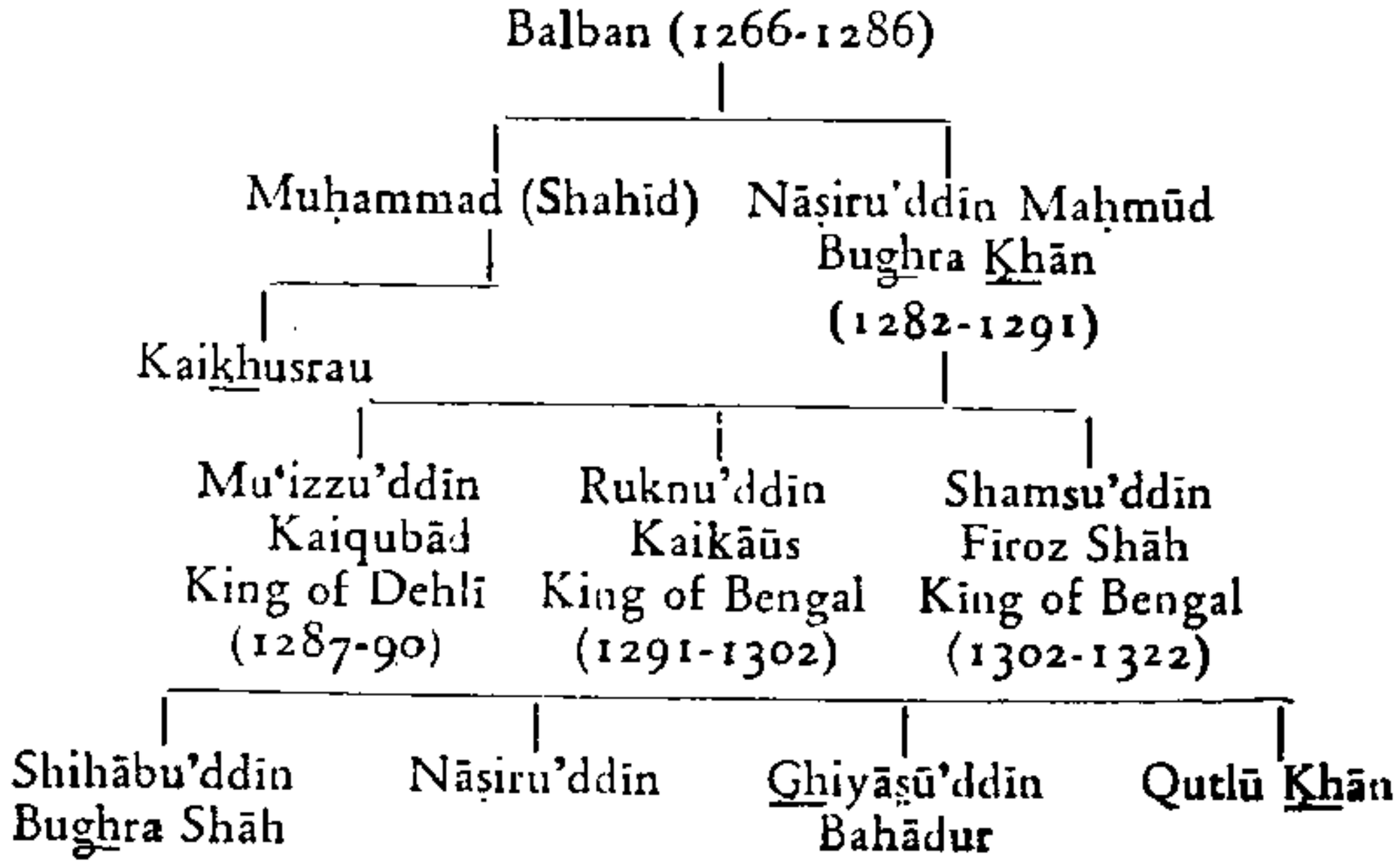
Lakhnautī and Tirhut expeditions and his death

To understand the circumstances leading up to the Lakhnautī[1] expedition some knowledge of the previous history of Bengal[2] is necessary.

From the time of Sulṭān Mu'izzu'ddīn Kaiqubād (1287-1290) an independent kingdom had existed in Lakhnautī, and the descendants of Balban ruled over it in undisputed succession till 1322. In that year died Shamsu'ddīn Fīroz Shāh, leaving four sons, Shihābu'ddīn Bughra Shāh, Nāṣiru'ddīn, Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Bahādur, and Qutlū Khān. Of all these Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Bahādur was the most powerful and ambitious. He had governed Sonārgāon during the lifetime of his father, asserted his independence (1310) and endeavoured to establish his claim over the whole of Bengal by striking coins in his name. On the death of his father he lost no time in attacking his brothers with a view to depriving them of their inheritance. He murdered the youngest, Qutlū Khān, and turned out the eldest Shihābu'ddīn, and

1 Lakhnautī is identified with Gaur, the ancient capital of Bengal on the left bank of the Ganges. (Stewart's *History of Bengal*, p. 49).

2 The following genealogical table of the descendants of Balban, independent rulers of Bengal, has been constructed from Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (G.O.S., p. 236 ff.) and Edward Thomas (C.P.K.D., p. 146 ff.)



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harassed the survivor, Nāṣiruddīn. The last two having, one after the other, attempted to seize the throne of Lakhnautī, were forced to abandon it. Both, according to Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, made their way to Dehlī and implored Sulṭān Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Tughluq's aid to regain the throne.[1] This provided the Sulṭān with a splendid opportunity of reducing Bengal to subjection, and he readily acceded to their request.

He seems to have attached far greater importance to Bengal than to the Deccan. When the subjection of Telingāna in the Deccan was desired, he had deputed his son to effect it; but the conquest of Bengal he undertook personally. Bengal was the traditional home of rebels. It had yielded but a wavering allegiance to the Dehlī empire since its conquest by Bakhtiyār Khaljī (1105/499). The Sulṭān, therefore, resolved to march to Bengal himself, leaving Ulugh Khān, the heir-apparent, as viceregent in Dehlī.

It appears from the narrative of Baranī that before the Sulṭān left Dehlī, Nāṣiru'ddīn had recovered his position and set himself up as ruler in Lakhnautī. The same appears from the text of Budāūnī.[2] According to Baranī,[3] when Tughluq's armies reached Tirhut, Sulṭān Nāṣiru'ddīn,

1 It should be noted that Ẓiyāu'ddīn Baranī differs from Ibn Baṭṭūṭa. He does not mention the flight of these princes to Sulṭān Ghiyāṣu'ddīn's court. He says that some of the amirs of Bengal came to Dehlī seeking redress of their grievances from the emperor (Barani, Bib. Ind., p. 450). From other sources it appears that petitions came from the amirs of Bengal, inviting Tughluq Shāh to rescue them from the hands of the tyrant of Bengal.

It is preferable here to follow Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, supplementing him with the numismatic records as found in Edward Thomas's *Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Dehli* since the above sources are generally at fault confusing Nāṣiru'ddīn Maḥmud Bughra Khān (son of Balban) with the latter's grandson Nāṣiru'ddīn (*Khulāṣatu't-Tavārikh*, p. 237); and again mistaking Bahādur Shāh otherwise known as Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Bhūra, for an amīr of the court of 'Alau'ddīn Khalji or of Quṭbu'ddīn Mubārak Shāh Khalji's court.

2 Budāūnī: *Muntakhabātu't-Tavārikh*, (i) Nawal Kishore Press, p. 58. (ii) Bib, Ind., I, p. 224.

3 Barani (Bib. Ind.), p. 451.

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ruler of Lakhnautī, attended the emperor and surrendered to him. The local Hindū chiefs submitted and acknowledged Tughluq's paramountcy, and the only resistance offered was that of Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Bahādur, governor (*ẓābita*)[1] of Sonārgāon. He was defeated by Tatār Khān, the emperor's adopted son, and was taken prisoner and sent to Dehlī. The emperor, then, set about consolidating his position in Bengal. He confirmed Nāṣiru'ddīn as ruler of Lakhnautī, conferring on him the parasol and the staff. Then Satgāon and Sonārgāon were placed under the charge of Tatār Khān. This accomplished, the emperor set out for Dehlī.

TIRHUT EXPEDITION

According to the *Basātīnu'i-Uns*,[2] the Sulṭān, after conquering Lakhnautī and Sonārgāon, advanced to Tirhut. The rājā (*rāi*) of Tirhut had maintained his independence against all former kings of Dehlī. But as soon as he heard of the arrival of the royal troops in his territory, he was seized with fear and took refuge in the hills. Shortly after, Tughluq encamped in Tirhut, where he stayed for some time. He showed kindness to the inhabitants of Tirhut and increased the powers and resources of the officials.

Firishta[3] bears out *Basātīnu'l-Uns*, but adds on the authority of the *Futūḥu's-Salāṭīn* that the rājā hid himself in the jungles, whither he was pursued and captured by the emperor.[4] Placing Tirhut under the charge of Aḥmad Khān, son of Malik Talīgha, the emperor proceeded to Dehlī.

1 This probably followed the death of Shihābu'ddīn, the brother of Nāṣiru'ddīn. Had he been alive he might have been made governor instead. Great difficulty arises from the fact that no help in this respect is forthcoming from any of the historians of this period.

2 B. M. Add. 7717.

3 Firishta (*Bombay*, vol. I, p. 234).

4 'Iṣāmi: *Futuḥu's-Salāṭīn* (I. O. Ms, F. 228-29).

DEATH OF GHIYĀSU'DDĪN TUGHLUQ

From Tirhut, the emperor proceeded by forced marches to Tughluqābād. As he neared it he sent orders, according to Ibn Baṭṭūṭa,[1] to his son, Ulugh Khān, that he should build him a palace on the bank of the river in the territory of Afghānpur. This palace, in the main a wooden structure was built within three days. It was carefully constructed under the supervision of Malikzādah Aḥmad bin Aiyāz, the inspector of buildings, and later Khwāja Jahān, the principal wazīr of Sulṭān Muḥammad. Its foundations were laid on pillars of wood. It was so constructed that on the approach of elephants it was bound to collapse. After the arrival of the emperor meals were provided for the guests, who later dispersed. The prince then asked the emperor to allow him to have caparisoned elephants ride past him in procession. Permission was granted. Shaikh Ruknu'ddīn who was with the emperor at the time, told Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, that Ulugh Khān approached him saying: "Master! this is the time for the *'aṣr*[2] prayer; come and pray." The Shaikh complied with this request. Elephants were then driven towards the palace, which immediately collapsed on the emperor and his son, Maḥmūd. On hearing the uproar the Shaikh returned, leaving his prayers unsaid. The prince, although he ordered pickaxes and shovels to be brought, made no attempt to rescue his father, the work of excavation not taking place before sunset. Some writers affirm that he was taken out alive, and afterwards murdered. His corpse was carried in the course of the night to the tomb, which he had constructed outside the city of Tughluqābād.

Ẓiyāu'ddīn Baranī differs from Ibn Baṭṭūṭa. He ascribes the construction of the palace to the personal initiative of Ulugh Khān. He maintains that on hearing of the emperor's forced march to Tughluqābād, Ulugh Khān[3] (Muḥammad) ordered that a small palace should be con-

1 The *Reḥla* (G.O.S.), p. 55.
2 One of the five daily prayers performed in the afternoon.
3 Baranī (Bib. Ind.), p. 452.

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structed near Afghānpur[1] at a distance of three or four *kos* from Tughluqābād to serve as a shelter for the night in order that the emperor should proceed in state on the morrow to the capital.

Baranī is certainly right, for such was the custom.[2] When Sulṭān Muḥammad himself returned from his wars and expeditions, he halted, as a rule, somewhere outside the capital city for the night. One such occasion, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa[3] personally witnessed.

Baranī also differs from Ibn Baṭṭūṭa when he says that after the meal most of the amirs came out of the palace to wash their hands while the emperor continued sitting with a few of them until suddenly a storm broke over the palace which collapsed, burying the emperor and a few of his amirs.[4]

Ibn Baṭṭūṭa charges Ulugh Khān with murder, and depicts him a patricide. Baranī completely exonerates him and ascribes the emperor's death to a stroke of lightning.

The author of the *Basātīnu'l-Uns*[5], Ṣadr-i 'Ālā Aḥmad Ḥasan, a courtier of Sulṭān Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Tughluq was in his suite in the Lakhnautī expedition, and accompanied him to Dehlī. He describes most vividly the overwhelming heat, hot winds and hardships that he, with his companions,

1 There being no village of this name now near Tughluqābād, Sir W. Haig is inclined to believe that the palace was built at Aghwanpur, a village about five miles from Tughluqābād. The name of this village, he suggests, may be a corruption of Afghānpur. But Ziyāu'ddīn Barani has clearly described Afghānpur as lying in the vicinity of Sīrī, the capital of Sulṭān 'Alāu'ddīn. Akat Khān, his rebellious nephew. on being surprised in the palace at Sīrī, had fled to Afghānpur, where he was captured and beheaded (Barani, Bib. Ind., p. 276.

It is no wonder that Afghānpur, merely a village in the 14th century, ceased to exist in the 20th. It was probably destroyed much earlier, for the *Maṭlūb't-Ṭālibīn* (I. O., Ms. 653, F. 54), a work of the 17th century, ignores it altogether and distinctly mentions Tughluqābād.

2 Cf. *Rehla*: (G.O.S.), p. 125.
3 *Idem*.
4 Barani (Bib. Ind.), p. 452.
5 B. M., Add. 7717.

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had suffered during the return journey to Dehlī where he at last fell dangerously ill. This is borne out by the *Memoirs*[1] of Muḥammad bin Tughluq which fix the death of Ghiyaṣu'ddin Tughluq about 15th May 1325.[2] There is therefore nothing improbable in Baranī's ascribing the collapse of the palace to a stroke of lightning. Circumstantial as well as contemporary evidence goes far to confirm this. In tropical countries on a summer's afternoon storms often occur.[3]

Sir Wolseley Haig[4] puts a special construction on Baranī's words and concludes that he did not speak the truth for fear of incurring the displeasure of Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh. Referring to Baranī's phrase, 'a thunderbolt of a calamity from heaven,' he contends that it should have been 'the calamity of a thunderbolt from the sky,' if Baranī really meant to express thereby the stroke of lightning. But the changed order of words is, in fact, immaterial. The meaning remains the same in either case. The phrase *Balā-i Āsmānī* and not *Ṣā'iqa-i Āsmānī* is idiomatic, as is

1, 2 Muḥammad bin Tughluq gives four years and ten months as the period of his father's rule (*Vide* Chapter VIII, of this book). This is in conflict with the generally accepted period of four years and four months, according to which Sir Wolseley Haig (*Cambridge History of India*, vol. III, p. 135) fixes the Afghānpur tragedy in February 1325, A computation on the basis of the evidence afforded by 'Iṣāmī (verse 7, 831) fixes the death of Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Tughluq in July 1325, his accession having taken place on 6th September 1320. See *Six Inscriptions of Sulṭān Muḥammad bin Tughluq*—edited and translated by me with full commentary for Epigraphia Indica, Arabic and Persian Supplement for 1957 and 1958 in the Journal of the Archaeological Department, Government of India—wherein this point is discussed at length. Also see Appendix B of this book.

3 For illustration see *Jāmi'u't-Tavārikh* of Rashīdu'ddīn Faẓlu'llāh (vol. II, p. 414) and the *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāṣirī* of Minhāj (Bib. Ind., pp. 22-23). In his account of Arsalān bin Mas'ūd the Saljūk the latter says that during the reign of Arsalān extraordinary accidents came to pass. One of them was that there dropped from the sky lightning and fire which burnt to ashes the banners of Ghaznī.

4 J. R. A. S., July 1922.

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borne out by Minhāj-i Sirāj[1]. The words *Ṣā'iqa*[2] and *Balā*[3] are quite clear and significant.

Whether Sulṭān Fīroz was interested in concealing Sulṭān Muḥammad's crime is a difficult problem. The contemporary evidence is against it. The *Sīrat-i Fīroz Shāhī*,[4] a unique but anonymous work of great importance, written probably at the dictation of Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh, contains a chapter which reflects adversely on Sulṭān Muḥammad: his reign—the year 1332/732—being specially denounced for its tyranny. Nevertheless, not a word regarding Sulṭān Muḥammad's responsibility for his father's murder is found therein. Probably Fīroz did not consider Muḥammad a patricide. In his *Futūḥāt-i Fīroz Shāhī* he says that out of regard for Sulṭān Muḥammad he secured a general forgiveness from those the latter had injured; and from the heirs of the injured persons he obtained a writ of pardon, which he deposited at the grave of the deceased Sulṭān. How far this was done by Fīroz out of true regard for Muḥammad, and how far his motive was political is a matter of opinion. The object of Sulṭān Fīroz was to dissociate himself from Sulṭān Muḥammad's policy; hence the demonstration. Still, if he had held Sulṭān Muḥammad guilty of his father's murder he would have first secured a writ of pardon from the heirs of Sulṭān Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Tughluq, whose daughter, Khudāwandzādah,[5] was alive. Fīroz often used to converse with her for hours. Even in his long and intimate conversations with her, there was not the slightest reference made to the alleged plot of Sulṭān Muḥammad. Nor does the *Inshā-i Māhrū*,[6] an important work of the same

1 'As the Mongols were besieging the fortress...there fell a thunderbolt from the sky: *Balā-i Āsmānī.....nāzil shud* (*Tārikh-i Āl-i Changez*, Bombay, p. 21.)

2 The use of the word *Ṣā'iqa* is illustrated in the *Jāmi'u't-Tavārikh* of Rashīdu'ddīn Faẓlu'llāh, vol. II, as well as in the *Tārikh-i Jahān Kushā* of 'Alā Maliku'l Juwainī, p. 162.

3 The word *Balā* signifies disaster.

4 Bankipur MS.

5 'Afīf: *Tārikh-i Firoz Shāhī* (Bib. Ind.), pp. 45-48, 100-104.

6 MS. A.S.B., No. 338, F. 33b.

period, written by the famous 'Ainu'l-Mulk Multānī contain anything regarding this plot. 'Ainu'l-Mulk was a leading amīr who served the state in different capacities from the time of Sulṭān 'Alāu'ddīn Khaljī down to that of Sulṭān Fīroz. He was by no means favourably inclined towards Sulṭān Muḥammad for he had revolted against him. His *Inshā* contains a letter[1] of condolence written by Shihābu'd-Daula, governor (*muqṭi*) of Budāūn. It clearly mentions the Afghānpūr palace to have been '*extremely strong and durable* and affirms the *accidental nature* of the death of Sulṭān Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Tughluq, telling the reader that it was brought about by an unforeseen calamity.'

From the *Tarīkh-i Mubārak Shāhī*[2], *Ṭabaqāt-i Akbarī*[3] as well as from the *Muntakhabu't-Tavārīkh*,[4] it appears that suspicions were cast on Sulṭān Muḥammad, and exaggerated accounts of the occurrence were given. The *Ṭabaqāt-i Ākbarī* informs us that the meal being over the amirs fearing that the Sulṭān would hasten to Dehlī, rushed out in order to wash their hands, but the Sulṭān continued sitting with his hands unwashed, when all of a sudden the roof of the palace tumbled down, and the Sulṭān was buried under it. The author also draws attention to the fact that in some accounts the cause of the fall has been ascribed to the weakness of the roof, and to its being newly and hastily erected, and to the tramping of the elephants around so frail a structure. He himself comes to the conclusion that Ulugh Khān must have built this frail structure with the deliberate intention of causing his father's death. Niẓāmu'ddīn Aḥmad also contends that inasmuch as the *Tārīkh-i Firoz Shāhī* was written in the time of Fīroz Shāh, who was devoted to Sulṭān Muḥammad, Ẓiyāu'ddīn Baranī feared to write the truth, and that it was a well-known fact that Sulṭān Tughluq was not on the best of terms with Shaikh Niẓāmu'ddīn

1 A.S.B. MS. No. 338, F. 33a, Letter No. XIII.
2 Yaḥyā bin Aḥmad: *Tārīkh-i Mubārak Shāhī* (Bib. Ind.), p. 96.
3 Niẓāmū'ddīn Aḥmad: *Ṭabāqāt-i Akbarī* (Bib. Ind.), pp. 198 ff.
4 Budāūnī: *Muntakhabu't-Tavārīkh* (Bib. Ind.), pp. 224-5.

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Auliyā. This was the reason why on his return from Lakhnautī, Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Tughluq ordered the saint to leave Dehlī before he arrived. To this the saint is reported to have replied, '*Dehlī hanuz dūr ast*' (Dehlī is yet distant).[1]

According to the *Muntakhabu't-Tavārīkh*[2] Ulugh Khān received the emperor warmly and entertained him sumptuously in the palace at Afghānpur. Then Tughluq Shāh ordered that the elephants, which had been brought by him personally from Bengal, should be stampeded. But as the palace had been newly built, and its foundation was very weak it began to shake on account of the elephants. The people knowing that the emperor was in a hurry, came out of the palace, their hands being still unwashed. But the emperor waited in order to wash his hands until he washed his hands of life. All of a sudden the whole palace tumbled down, and the emperor was buried under it. The author maintains that there was no need for raising such a palace. He insinuates that Ulugh Khān contrived to make its foundation hollow and unstable, and declares this to have been the general opinion. He thinks that Barani did not mention this for fear of Fīroz Shāh.

It should be noted that the purport as well as the language of both the *Ṭabaqāt-i Akbarī* and the *Muntakhabu't-i Tavārīkh* are almost the same. In fact, their source is the same. None cared to sift the matter. Each wrote what he had heard or read. Both were unaware of the *Inshāi-Māhrū*,[3] which testifies to the strength and durability of the palace.

According to Firishta,[4] Ulugh Khān had made no preparations to murder his father, and the fact that he left the palace before it collapsed was a mere coincidence. Firishta examines and dismisses the theories advanced by Niẓāmu'ddīn Aḥmad, by Budāūnī and particularly by Ṣadr Jahān Gujarātī, and agrees with Ḥājī Muḥammad Qandhāri,

1 Niẓāmu'ddin Aḥmad: *Ṭubaqāt-i Akbarī*, (Bid. Ind.), 198 ff.
2 Budāūnī: *Muntakhabu't-Tavārīkh* (Bib. Ind.), pp. 224-5.
3 Also called *Munshāt-i Māhrū*.
4 Firishta (Bombay), p. 235.

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who believes the collapse of the palace to have been an accident.

Rāi Bindrāban,[1] the Hindū historian of the reign of Aurangzeb, comes to the same conclusion. And so does also Muḥammad Bulāq, author of the *Maṭlūbu't-Ṭālibīn*.[2] He distinctly mentions lightning as the cause of the fall of the palace and exonerates Muḥammad bin Tughluq from all blame.

Sujān Rāi[3] another Hindū historian of the seventeenth century, is of opinion that Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Tughluq came to grief because of his quarrel with Shaikh Niẓāmu'ddīn Auliyā. This is also the opinion of Ḥusām Khān.[4]

But while they believe in the spiritual influence of the saint (Niẓāmu'ddīn Auliyā), some western writers[5] have cast suspicions on him. It has been contended that the saint had an understanding with Ulugh Khān to murder the emperor, and brought it about through the agency of his numerous wandering disciples.

Such a view, is according to Mzik,[6] untenable and unhistorical. The character of the saint is decidedly above all suspicion.

In view of the emperor's war with the 'ulamā and mashāikh, it is by no means improbable that a number of stories were concocted to denounce him and were given wide currency. That the story of his plot to murder his father was one of them is borne out by the *Futūḥu's-Salāṭīn*,[7] a contemporary work in verse, which in a way became more popular than Baranī's prose, and was drawn upon by the later writers. It contains in full the charges against the

1 Rai Bindraban: *Lubbu't-Tavārikh-i Hind*, I.O., MS., F. 38.
2 I.O. MS., 653. F. 54.
3 Sujān Rai: *Khulāṣatu't-Tavārikh*, B. M., Add. 55, 59. F. 186.
4 A.H.G., III, p. 862.
5 (i) Sleeman (Sir W. H.): *Rambles and Recollections of an Indian Official*, vol. II, p. 145.
(ii) Cooper: *The Handbook for Delhi*, p. 97.
6 Mzik: *Die Reise des Arabers Ibn Batūta durch Indien und China*, p. 103.
7 *Futūḥu's-Sulāṭīn*, I.O., MS. 3089, F. 229B.

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emperor, which with minor differences are found in the *Reḥla*[1] in the *Tārīkh-i Mubārak Shābī*, *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*[2] and in the *Muntakhabātu't Tavārīkh*.[3]

By telling us that 'a special construction was put on the Afghānpūr tragedy by a class of people who regarded Ulugh Khān (Muḥammad bin Tughluq) as an unscrupulous tyrant,' the *Futūḥu's-Salāṭīn*[4] enables us to realize why Barani's account of the flash of lightning was not generally incorporated in later works. We are told that during the Lakhnautī expedition the father (Sulṭān Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Tughluq) had been estranged from his son (Ulugh Khān) on account of the various reports that had reached him about his extravagance. The son contrived the father's murder, entering into a plot[5] with Malikzādah Aḥmad bin Aiyāz, who was promised the office of wazīr if Ulugh Khān ascended the throne after the death of Sulṭān Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Tughluq. The indictment of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa follows the same lines. Beginning with the estrangement between the father and the son, it recounts the rebellion of Ulugh Khān in Telingāna and his conspiracy in Dehlī and at Afghānpūr.[6]

Most of these charges lose their weight when the popularity of Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Tughluq is taken into consideration. Only a few years before, the amirs and maliks had joined together to place him on the throne. He could not have incurred the displeasure of all the nobles. Indeed, he was so popular that the slightest injury to him would have brought forth instantly hundreds of defenders.

Even Fīroz Shāh (1351-88), who was not so popular as Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Tughluq, was saved[7] by his attendants the moment they knew he was being attacked by Khudāwanzādah, the daughter of Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Tughluq. Dāwar Malik, the son of Khudāwandzādah, rose to defend him; and Fīroz

1 Def. et Sang., III, 210-14.
2 *Ṭabaqāt-i Akbarī* (Bib. Ind.), pp. 197-98.
3 *Muntakhabu't-Tavārīkh* (Bib. Ind.), p. 224.
4 I.O. MS. 3089, F. 229-30.
5 *Ibid.*
6 The *Reḥla* (G.O.S.), p. 54.
7 'Afif: *Tārikh-i Firoz Shāhī* (Bib. Ind.), pp. 100-104.

Shāh's orderly, Rāj Bheron, a Hindū, rushed at the enemy with drawn sword to save his royal master.

Jalālu'ddīn Khaljī, who was murdered with impunity by his nephew, 'Alāu'ddīn, had been unpopular[1] from the beginning. Unlike him, Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Tughluq was the idol of the army,[2] and enjoyed the full support of the *maliks*, who would have taken steps to save him.

Muḥammad bin Tughluq brands 'Alāu'ddīn Khaljī as a usurper, and the contempt he has for the latter on that ground is evident from his *Memoirs*.[3] It does not, therefore, follow that he courted the same indignity for which he had despised 'Alāu'ddīn, by murdering his own father of whom he speaks with great respect, and in glowing terms.

It is interesting to recall that two years before the Afghānpur tragedy when Muḥammad, then known as Ulugh Khān, had, according to Ibn Baṭṭūṭa,[4] revolted in Telingāna and spread the news of his father's death, the captains of the army had refused to co-operate with him and deserted him. Why they co-operated with him now in bringing about the murder of the same monarch is a difficult problem.

Ibn Baṭṭūṭa charges Muḥammad bin Tughluq with a conspiracy which he is alleged to have entered into with Malikzādah Aḥmad bin Aiyāz to bring about the death of Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Tughluq. This is exactly the charge mentioned by 'Iṣāmī.[5] A comparison of the *Reḥla* with the *Futūḥu's-Salāṭīn* enables us to realize how Ibn Baṭṭūṭa relied on circumstantial evidence and built up the following chain of events—Bahrām Aibā Kishlū Khān's proposal to raise Ulugh Khān to the throne, which Ghāzi Malik Tughluq had declined ; Ulugh Khān's rebellion in Telingāna ; his conspiracy in Dehlī and the eventual murder of his father at Afghānpur—which tends to show that there was no love

1 Barani: *Tārikh-i Firoz Shāhi*, 206-217.
2 *Ibid.*, 425-436.
3 *The Memoirs of Muḥammad bin Tughluq*, See Chapter IX of this book.
4 The *Reḥla* (G.O.S.), p. 50.
5 *Futūḥu's-Salāṭīn* MS., F, 231.

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lost between the father and the son.[1] But Ibn Baṭṭūṭa cannot be regarded as a reliable source for what he had not personally seen, and for events for which he acknowledges no authority.

All that is known about the character of Ulugh Khān, both as prince and Sulṭān, militates against the charges brought against him. He was much too strong a man to succumb to the temptation of murdering his father in order to win the throne. He would not have acted against his conscience even if his life had been at stake.[2] But here neither his life was in danger nor his crown. He was decidedly the best of all the sons of Sulṭān Ghiyāṣu'ddīn, and had long been, according to one account, virtually the king.[3] There was no rival claimant to the throne. If 'Alāu'ddīn Khiljī murdered his royal patron it was because his chances of ascending the throne were slight. If the Mughul princes, Khusrau, Khurram and Aurangzeb, revolted against their respective fathers, it was because each had to struggle for the throne, and because there was no definite will regulating the succession. None of these princes was sure of the crown. The case of Ulugh Khān was entirely different.

It is easy to understand why suspicions were cast on his conduct, when we recall his war with the *'ulamā*. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa who was one of these *'ulamā'* had eventually lost the emperor's favour and had been placed under guard in his own house.[4] Moreover, he was related to one of the emperor's enemies, and subsequently lived[5] with him in Ma'bar. It is by no means astonishing if he accepted the highly coloured reports, which tended to display Muḥammad bin Tughluq as a rebel and a parricide. Had there been any

1 In his *'Five Questions in the History of the Tughluq Dynasty of Delhi'*, Sir Wolseley Haig regards this as the third question, J.R.A.S., July 1922, pp. 319-72.

2 This is demonstrated in the course of the history of his reign, particularly in his conflict with Shaikh Shihābu'ddīn. See the *Reḥla* (G.O.S.), p. 86.

3 *Vide* p. 50 *supra*.

4 The *Reḥla* (G.O.S.), pp. 147-48.

5 *Idem*., p. 226.

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plot to murder Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Tughluq, then Baranī, who was by no means favourably inclined towards Muḥammad bin Tughluq, would have certainly made a great point of it in his narrative. Baranī's account is further confirmed by (1) 'Ainu'l Mulk Multānī,[1] (2) Firistha[2]. (3) Muḥammad Bulāq[3] and (4) Ḥājjiu'ddabīr.[4]

1 'Ainu'l-Mulk Māhrū: A.S.B. MS., F. 33a.
2 *Tārikh-i Firishta* (Bombay), I, 235.
3 Muḥammad Bulāq: *Maṭlūbu't-Ṭālibin*, MS., F. 54.
4 Ḥājjiu'ddabīr: *Arabic History of Gujarāt*, III, 862.

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CHAPTER V

POLITICAL CONDITIONS

INTERNAL

A study of the Minhāj-i Sirāj,[1] of Ḥasan Niẓāmī,[2] and of Baranī[3] shows that from 1175, when Muḥammad of Ghor launched his first campaign in India, capturing Multān, to 1236, when Shamsu'ddīn Iltūtmish died, Muslim rule was gradually extended over that part of northern India which roughly corresponds to the Panjāb and the modern Uttar Pradesh, to Sind in the west, to Bengal in the east, and to Mālwa in the south. Large tracts, however, still remained under Hindū rajas, some of whom were entirely independent, but the majority paid tribute to the central government. Ajmer was restored[4] to Hindū rule by Mu'izzu'ddīn Muḥammad of Ghor, though later it was consolidated under a Muslim governor.[5] Gwalior was restored to Hindū rule[6] by Quṭbu'ddīn Aibak, to whom it had surrendered in 1196. Jālor was left to its Hindū ruler by Shamsu'ddīn Iltūtmish.[7] Hindū chiefs were able[8] to retain their position in Kālinjar,

1 Minhāj-i Sirāj: *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāṣiri.*
2 Ḥasan Niẓamī: *Tāju'l Ma'āṣir.*
3 Baranī: *Tārīkh-i Firoz Shāhī.*
4 Ḥasan Niẓāmī: *Tāju'l Mā'aṣir*, B.M., 7623.
5 Raverty (*Ṭabaqāt-i Nāṣirī*, p. 519) mentions this point clearly.
6 Ḥasan Niẓāmī: *Tāju'l Ma'āṣir*, B.M., MS. 7623.
7 Ḥasan Niẓāmī informs us that the victorious Sulṭān Shamsu'-ddīn Iltūtmish granted Ude Sāh (or Udī Sāh: the word is transliterated differently in Elliot and Raverty, and written with slight variations in the various manuscripts of the *Tāju'l Ma'āṣir*), the vānquished rājā (Rāi) of Jālor (Jālior as given in I. O., MS. 209), his life and restored his fortress. The rājā presented by way of tribute one hundred camels and twenty horses (*Tāju'l Ma'āṣir*. I. O., MS. 209, F. 220A). This finds confirmation in the imperial gazeteer (XIV, p. 30); where probably on the basis of the local Rājpūt legends, the Udi Sāh of the *Tāju'l Ma'āṣir* is mentionad as Udai Singh, grandson of Rāo Kirthi Pal who mide Jālor his capital towards the end of the 12th century. It is related that Udai Singh surrendered the fortress to Sulṭān Shamsu'ddīn Iltutmish who immediately restored it to him.
8 Minhāj-i Sirāj: *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāṣirī* (Bib. Ind.), p. 291.

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in Ranthambhor and in Mālwa, which included Bhīlsa and Ujjain. The *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāṣirī* is full[1] of instances attesting the existence of Hindū rulers in Gwalior, in Oudh (Awadh), in the Arāvallī hills, in the Siwālik, in Kanauj and, in a word, in what was then known as Hindustān.

From 1236 to 1294 there was no expansion of the Muslim kingdom in any true sense of the term. Periods of disorder following the death of Shamsu'ddīn Iltūtmish alternated with those of peace and consolidation under Balban and Jalālu'ddīn Khaljī. The Hindus of Mewāt proved extremely troublesome and aggressive under Balban. The same was the case with the Hindus of the Doāb. Balban did his utmost to curb the Mewātīs,[2] and consolidate the Doāb. But Jalālu'ddīn Khaljī found it a hotbed of sedition, and had to subdue it by means of punitive expeditions. 'Alāu'ddīn Khaljī had also to adopt a similar policy. Eventually the Doāb was consolidated, the Hindus acknowledging Muslim rule. But their power was not

1 Minhāj-i Sirāj tells us that he wrote a separate work in verse called *Nāśirī Nāma*, giving details of Ulugh Khān's (Balban's) conflicts and wars with the great Ranas. The *Nāṣirī Nāma* is, as far as I know, not available now, but the object of its composition described by the author throws light upon its contents, a verification of which is afforded by the *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāṣirī* itself. In the course of the years 1247-1248, Balban, then known as Ulugh Khān, is reported to have urged Sulṭān Nāṣiru'ddīn Maḥmūd to lead an expedition into Hindustān on the plea that there was at that time no danger of any Mongol invasion from the north. Ulugh Khān contended that the 'Mawas' and Ranas who had paid no tribute for several years might be coerced into making payments, and the wealth thus gained would strengthen the hands of the state in resisting the Mongols. The royal troops accordingly marched into Hindustān, passing down the Doāb between the Ganges and Yumna (Minhāj, *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāṣirī*, p. 291). Minhāj proceeds to tell us that as a result of this expedition the fort of Bilsar, previously referred to as a fortified village in the neighbourhood of Kanauj, was captured, and Ulugh Khān was sent to subdue Dalaki wa Malaki, a powerful Hindū ruler in the vicinity of the Yumna between Kālinjar and Karā, over whom the Rāis of Kālinjar and Mālwā had no authority. No army of the Dehlī kingdom had yet penetrated into his territories.

2 The MSS. as well as the printed text of Baranī (p. 57) have 'Mewān' (= Meos), but Firishta (Bombay, vol. I, pp. 133-8) has 'Mewātis.'

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crushed, and intermittent revolts took place. A similar state of affairs existed under Muḥammad bin Tughluq.

Mālwa[1] affords another instance of a Hindū power. It had been overrun by Iltūtmish,[2] who had captured Bhīlsa and Ujjain in 1234/632. It was subdued by Balban, who took Narwar in 1251/649. But it had to be invaded once more under Jalālu'ddīn Khaljī, and the Hindus of Mālwa were strong enough to defy Sulṭān 'Alāu'ddīn. Amīr Khusrau[3] tells us that Malik Deo of Mālwa and Kūka Pardhān in command of a powerful army of some forty thousand horsemen, defied 'Alāu'ddīn until his conquest of Mālwa in 1305/705. This, combined with his other conquests of Gujarāt—Somnāth, Nahrwāla, and Cambay; of Rājpūtāna—Jālor and Jaisalmer; of Mewār or Chittor; and of the Deccan—Deogīr, Telingāna, Dvārasamudra and Ma'bar transformed the kingdom of Dehlī into an empire. 'Alāu'ddīn also established a line of communication between Hindustān and the Deccan through Mālwa, Māndu, Chanderī, Gwālior, Siwāna and Ellichpur. That the Hindūs still remained powerful rulers in the Deccan, in Tirhut, in Jājnagar, and in Gondwāna is evident from subsequent history.

'The Panjāb,[4] which constituted the northern and north-western parts of the Sultanate of Dehlī held a position of unparalleled importance in the thirteenth century. It had been the cockpit for the Mongol invaders. Muslim power had been consolidated here from Balban's time onwards under capable governors like Sher Khān, Muḥammad Shahīd, Arkālī Khān, Ghāzī Malik,[5] and Bahrām Aibā.[6] By the establishment of the Tughluq dynasty,

1 It appears from the *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāṣirī* that the Mālwa of those days did not include Gwalior and Chanderī, though it comprised Bhilsa and probably Ujjain. *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāṣirī* (Bib. Ind.), 215.

2 Minhāj, T. N. (Bib. Ind.) p. 176.

3 Amīr Khusrau: *Khazāinu'l-Futūḥ*, B.M., MS.16, 838, F. 26-29.

4 The term Panjāb was not used in the 13th and 14th centuries to indicate a province or a political and administrative division. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's use of the term as a name for the Indus valley is suggestive enough. (The *Reḥla*, G.O.S., p. 2).

5 The *Tārīkh-i M'aṣūmī* (B. M., Add, 24, 091) describes Ghāzi Tughluq as the governor of Multān and Sind.

6 The *Tughluq Nāma* as well as the *Tārikh-i Mubārak Shāhī*

Mongol raids had almost ceased.[1] As a result, Multān, which had hitherto been regarded as a city of first-rate importance, second only to Dehlī, fell into the background. Baranī does not emphasize the importance of Multān under Sulṭān Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Tughluq, nor does he mention any special administrative measure adopted by him with particular reference to it. Mīr M'aṣūm, however, informs us that one Tāju'ddīn was appointed governor of Multān, Khwāja Khāṭir, governor of Bukkur, and Malik 'Alī Sher, governor of Sivistān. He also records the conquest of lower Sind by the Sumera[2] tribe.

Gujarāt, administered as a province of the Dehlī empire since the time of 'Alāu'ddīn Khaljī, had been traditionally rebellious. His death (1316) was followed by a rebellion, which was subdued with difficulty under his son and successor, Sulṭān Quṭbu'ddīn. In the beginning the rebels were strong enough to kill one Malik Kamālu'ddīn, the first

describes several 'Alaī amirs—Ghāzī Malik, Muḥammad Shāh Lur, Bahrām Āiba and Amir Mughlaṭṭī—as governors of different parts of the Panjāb or Sind. »

1 The last Mongol invasion recorded by Barani as well as by 'Afīf—was about the year 1324/724 (Baranī—T.F., p. 450; 'Afif—T.F., p. 389). Both agree that it was unimportant and was soon repulsed.

2 A controversy rages about the origin of the Sumeras (See Elliot, I, 483 ff., and Ray's *Dynastic History of Northern India*, I, p. 30 ff). Basing his information on local traditions, Mir M'aṣūm is inclined to hold the view that the Sumeras were of Hindū origin. They rose to power under the leadership of one Sumra who fought against the Ghaznavid Sulṭān Abdu'r Rashīd about A.D. 1052. This view is confirmed by the *Tārikh'i Ṭāhirī* which distinctly mentions Sumeras (Sumra) as a Hindū tribe. The author tells us that they belonged to the Hindū faith but ate the flesh of buffaloes. The *Muntakhabu't-Tavārikh* of Muḥammad Yusuf agrees on the whole with the *Tārikh-i M'aṣūmī* but gives in addition a list of the Sumera rulers. The *Tuḥfatu'l-Kirām* states that the Sumra tribe sprang from the Arabs of Sāmira who came to Sind in the 8th century A.D. (second century Hijra). The same is the view taken by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (G.O.S., p. 6). He uses the term Sāmira for the Sumeras of Janānī on the Indus. He regards them as Muslims who had remained there from the days of the Arab conquest of Sind in the beginning of the 8th century A.D. But some of their customs which he later describes tend to identify them with the Hindus—a conclusion which is supported by Firishta (Bombay, II. pp. 609, 610, 613) and the *Dabistānu'l-Madhābib* (p. 188).

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governor sent by Sulṭān Quṭbu'ddīn from Dehlī. It was the capable 'Ainu'l-Mulk Multānī, subsequently deputed to Gujarāt, who succeeded in suppressing disorder and establishing peace. But his recall was the signal for the outbreak of old troubles, which continued, despite the efforts of several governors—Malik Dīnār, Ẓafar Khān, Hisāmu'ddīn and Wajīhu'ddīn Quraishī—to suppress them. Peace was not restored in Gujarāt until the establishment of the Tughluq dynasty. Sulṭān Ghiyāṣu'ddīn is reported in the *Mirāt-i Aḥmadī*, to have personally visited Gujarāt, and appointed Malik Tāju'ddin Ja'far as the governor[1]. The latter apparently continued as governor until the accession of Sulṭān Muḥammad bin Tughluq. No change was, however, made by him in the beginning, although Gujarāt was destined to prove during his lifetime a constant source of trouble.

Bengal[2]

Bengal[3] (*Bangāla*) as well as Bihār, had been from the beginning a hotbed of sedition, and its governors seized every opportunity of asserting their independence. The first governor to rebel was Muḥammad Sherān 'Izzu'ddīn, the successor of Muḥammad Bakhtiyār Khalji, the conqueror of Bengal and Bihār. He asserted his independence during the lifetime of Quṭbu'ddīn Aibak. Alī Mardān Khaljī, the next governor, rejected the authority of Dehlī on the death of the latter (1210). Ḥisāmu'ddīn 'Ivaẓ, the next governor, refused to send presents to Dehlī and was attacked by Iltūtmish (1225). But hardly had Iltūtmish returned to Dehlī, when Ghiyāṣu'ddīn[4] revolted again. Iltūtmish then sent his son, Nāṣiru'ddīn (1227), and the rebellious governor was killed. Bengal, as well as Bihār, remained under Nāṣīru'ddīn, until his death in 1227, was the signal for fresh disturbances. This forced

1 'Alī Muḥammad Khān: *Mirāt-i Aḥmadī*, I.O., MS., 444, p. 26.

2 In those days Bengal included Bihār, which did not form a separate political division until the reign of Muḥammad bin Tughluq.

3 Stewart's *History of Bengal* (pp. 38, 39.) *Riyāẓu's-Salāṭīn*, pp. 59-62 ff.

4 Ḥisāmu'ddīn 'Ivaẓ had assumed the title of Sulṭān Ghiyāṣu'ddīn.

Iltūtmish to march to Bengal a second time (1228). He restored order and appointed Malik 'Alāu'ddīn as its governor.

Under the weak successors of Iltūtmish there was renewed trouble in Bengal. Toghān Khān, the governor, became ambitious and made abortive efforts to conquer Karā-Mānikpur. Before long a fight broke out between Toghān Khān and Timūr Khān, another adventurer, a former governor of Oudh, for supremacy in Bengal. The latter eventually seized the government. Ikhtiyāru'ddīn Tughral Khān was the next governor to rebel, and he assumed the title of Sulṭān Mughīṣu'ddīn. But he died at last in an aggressive war with the Hindū rājā of Kāmrūp (1257). This was an opportunity for the Sulṭān of Dehlī to re-establish his authority in Bengal, and one Jalālu'ddīu Khānī was deputed as governor. But Jalālu'ddīn was attacked and killed by Arsalān Khīn, the rebellious governor of Kara.

Under Balban, Bengal, which was ruled by one Muḥammad Tatār Khān, paid tribute to Dehlī. But his successor, Tughral, raised the standard of revolt and was not finally subdued until Balban marched personally to Bengal. The government of Bengal was then bestowed by Balban on his younger son, Nāṣiru'ddīn, Maḥmūd. He became independent and continued until the time of Sulṭān 'Alāu'ddīn[1] who divided Bengal into two parts, western and eastern, in the hope of rendering it more subservient to the court of Dehlī. The capital of western Bengal, Lakhnautī, was subsequently held by Nāṣiru'ddīn, while that of eastern Bengal, Sonārgāon, was administered by a tyrannical chief named Bahādur Shāh[2]. Complaints against him reached Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Tughluq, and led to his Lakhnautī, expedition. He restored Nāṣiru'ddīn to the government of Lakhnautī and appointed Tatār Khān, under the title of Bahrām Khān, to the government of Sonārgāon.

On his accession Muḥammad bin Tughluq heard of the death of Nāṣiru'ddīn, and appointed Qadr Khān[3] to the

1 (i) R.S. (B.I.) pp. 88-89.
(ii) Stewart—*History of Bengal*, p. 79. Cf. C.P,K.D. p. 149.

2 *i.e.* grandson of Nāṣiru'ddīn Maḥmūd.

3 Qadr Khān was the title which Muḥammad bin Tughluq gave to an amir of his court named Malik Baidār. See Chapter VIII of this book.

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government of Lakhnautī. He made Bahrām Khān and Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Bahādur whom he now released from his confinement at Dehlī, where he had been brought a prisoner by Tughluq Shāh, joint governors of Sonārgāon.[1]

The Deccan

It follows from the *Khuzāinu' Futūḥ*[2] of Amīr Khusrau, and the *Tārīkh-i-Fīroz Shāhī* of Baranī,[3] that 'Alāu'ddīn Khaljī had subdued all the four Hindū kingdoms of the south—the Yādava kingdom of Devagirī, with its capital at Devagirī (Deogīr); the Kakatiya kingdom of Telingāna, with its capital at Wārangal; the Hoysala kingdom of Dvārasamudra; and the Pandya kingdom of the extreme south. The crowning feature of all the Deccan campaigns ranging over sixteen years was the capture of the Pandya capital, Mathra or Maḍūra (1311).

Professor Aiyangar,[4] who has dealt exhaustively with the wars of Malik Kāfūr and of Quṭbu'ddīn Mubārak Shāh in Ma'bar, tells us that a Muslim garrison was placed in Maḍūra 'from which the descendants of the ancient Pandyas retired once for all... ..'[5] Thus the presence of a Muslim garrison at Maḍūra, and Kannanūr has been regarded as sufficient evidence for the existence of a Muslim province of Ma'bar.

It should be noted that Baranī[6] mentions Ma'bar as a province of Sulṭān Muḥammad's empire, and clearly describes the conquest of Ma'bar effected by Malik Nāib.[7]

1 Here, there is a conflict between the *Riyāẓu's-Salāṭīn* and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa makes no mention of Qadr Khān, nor of the two distinct parts of the province of Bengal, western (Lakhnautī) and eastern (Sonārgāon) as is mentioned in Stewart's *History of Bengal* (pp. 79-80) and the *Riyāẓu's-Salāṭīn* (p. 90). Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (G. O. S., p. 94) maintains that Sulṭān Muḥammad released Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Bahādur (also called Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Būra) from imprisonment; and restoring him to his government of Bengal made him joint governor with his own nephew Ibrahīm Khān.

2 B. M., MS., 16, 838.

3 Barani (Bib. Ind.), pp. 328-29, 330-33.

4 Aiyangar, K.: *South India and her Muhammadan invaders*, pp. 132-34, 129-40.

5 Aiyangar, K.: *Nayaks of Madura*, p. 2.

6 Barani (Bib. Ind.), p. 468.

7 *Idem.*, p. 333.

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It is true that with the death of 'Alāu'ddīn Khaljī (1316) reaction began in some parts of the Deccan. Harpāl Deo, the ruler of Deogīr, asserted his independence, and Sulṭān Quṭbu'ddīn Mubārak personally led an expedition against him, in which Harpāl Deo was defeated and killed. Deogīr was afterwards consolidated under a Muslim governor, Yaklakhī by name. Another expedition headed by Khusrau Khān was directed against Telingāna, whose rājā had failed to send the stipulated tribute. In fact, it had been sent only once[1] since Malik Kāfūr's expedition into Telingāna. The rājā submitted and agreed to pay an annual tribute. Khusrau Khān was then sent on an expedition to Ma'bar.[2] Yaklakhī, the governor of Deogīr, having revolted, was punished and replaced by 'Ainu'l-Mulk.

'Alāu'ddīn's Deccan policy was that of letting the Deccan remain under its native Hindū rulers, if they agreed to pay tribute. This policy was abandoned by Sulṭān Quṭbu'ddīn, who after his conquest of Deogīr appointed Muslim officials.

Khusrau Khān's invasion of Ma'bar was uneventful. He meditated treason and was recalled to Dehlī where he killed his royal master and became king. During the Tughluq revolution that followed, Rudrā Deo, the rājā of Telingāna (1294-1325), threw off the yoke of Dehlī but was eventually subdued by prince Ulugh Khān, now Sulṭān Muḥammad. With his accession in 1325 Muslim power in the Deccan, in the words of Professor Aiyangar,[3] reached its greatest extent.

EXTERNAL

The thirteenth century, which witnessed the great Mongol irruptions, is of outstanding importance in the history of Central Asia. According to Ibnu'l-Aṣīr[4] (1160-1230), the Mongol hordes of Chingīz Khān emerging from the confines of China quickly overran Turkistān, Transoxiana, Khurāsān,

1 According to Baranī (Bib. Ind., p. 334), Ludder Deo (Rudra Deo) was the name of the rajā of Telingāna, who sent the tribute only once.

2 Baranī (Bib. Ind.), p. 398.

3 Aiyangar, K.: *South India and her Muhammadan Invaders*, p. 136.

4 Ibnu'l Aṣir: *Kāmilu't-Tavārikh*. (Leyden) vol. xii p. 236ff.

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Mesopotamia, Kipchak, Ghazna and the adjacent parts of India, Sīstān and Kirmān. Thus was eventually established an empire spreading from China to the Carpathians. Ibnu'l-Aṣīr's work comes to an end at this stage. But Juwaini,[1] Rashīdu'ddīn,[2] Waṣṣāf[3] and Ḥamdu'llāh Mustaufi continue the story, and tell us that after his death (1227) the empire of Chingīz Khān was divided among his four heirs. Jūjī[4], the eldest son, having died before his father, was replaced in the succession by his son Bātū, who occupied Kipchak, the region of the lower Jaxartes to the north of the Aral Sea, the valleys of the Volga and the Don, as well as territories in the north stretching beyond the river Ural as far as Western Siberia. The second son, Chaghatāī, obtained Transoxiana, the land between the Oxus and the Jaxartes, Badakhshān, Khurāsān, Herāt, Ghazna and Mekrān. Ogotāi, the third son, ruled to the east of Chaghatāī over Kara-Korum and Zungaria, that is, the essentially Mongal land called Tartary or Mongolia. Tulūy[5], the fourth son, received the territories of the extreme east, some of which were still to be conquered. But he died soon after Chingīz Khān, leaving behind several sons, the most famous being (1) Mangū Khān, who succeeded Kuyuk Khān, the son of Ogotāy, in the dominions of Tartary and (2) Hūlāgū Khān, who conquered the whole of Persia, Mesopotamia and Syria, and destroyed Baghdād (1258). He and his successors were called the Il-Khāns or provincial Khāns of Persia, owning allegiance to the Qaan[6] (Khāqān) or emperor of Tartary, namely Ogotāī[7] and his successors. Subsequently Ghazān Khān, a descendant of Hūlāgū, on his conversion to Islām, renounced his allegiance to the Khāqān of Tartary. The

1 Alau'ddīn Juwainī: *Tārīkh-i Jahān Kushāi.* (Leyden, 1937). vol, III, p. 83ff.

2 Rashīdu'ddin: *Jāmi'u't-Tavārikh*. (Leyden) vol. II, p. 532ff.

3 Waṣṣāf: *Tārikh-i Waṣṣāf*. (Teheran 1269 A. H.), p. 407ff.

4 Lane-Poole (*Muhammadan Dynasties*) writes Jujī, but Howorth (Pt. iv, p. 350) has Juchī.

5 Lane-Poole (p. 205) writes Tuluy but Howorth (Pt. iv, p. 374) has Tului.

6 Qaan, or Kaan as Howorth (vol. I, p. 116) writes, is a short form of Khāqān, a title which Ogotai and his successors enjoyed to distinguish them from other lines of the house of Chingiz.

7 Howorth writes Ogotai but Lane-Poole has Ogotay.

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Masāliku'l-Abṣār probably refers to him, when it says[1] that the Mongol ruler of Persia asserted his superiority over the respective rulers of Kipchak and Transoxiana, contending that his great-grandfather, Hūlāgū, was the real brother of Mangū, who had succeeded to the supreme Khānate of Chingīz Khān. In fact, a contest for ascendancy among the Mongol princes had been in progress since the days of Ghāzān Khān. The Il-Khānī claims to ascendancy were rejected by the rulers of Kipchak and Transoxiana, who asserted the superiority of their respective grandfathers, Jūji and Chaghatāī over Tulūy. They refused also to acknowledge the title of Hūlāgū, the son of Tulūy, contending that Hūlāgū owed his rise and authority to Mangū.

This was the origin of the hostility between the rival houses of Chaghatāi in Transoxiana and of Hūlāgū in Persia. It had begun according to the *Ḥabību's-Siyar*,[2] even before the death of Hūlāgū, when Khurāsān was invaded by the Chaghatāī Mongols for the first time. Hostilities continued right up to the time of Abū S'aīd and Tarmashīrīn. This is also borne out by the *Shājaratu'l-Atrāk*.[3] With Tarmāshīrīn's[4] conversion to Sunnī Islām, a new religious cause of hostility was added to the dynastic, political and territorial causes of hostility, already in existence. The Sunnī-Shi'a conflict in the fourteenth century was intense.[5] It was the age of Uljaitū Khān,[6] the aggressive Shi'a zealot of Persia, Malik An-Nāṣir,[7] the intolerant Sunnī monarch of Egypt, and the great Ibn Taimiya,[8] a Sunnī reformer or free-thinker and a bitter enemy of heretics. He exercised a powerful influence

1 Shihābu'ddīn Aḥmad 'Abbās: *Masāliku'l-Abṣār*, B. N., MS. 5867, F. 33.

2 Ghiyāṣu'ddīn: *Ḥabibu's-Siyar*, pp. 205 ff.

3 *Shajaratu'l-Atrāk*, B. M., Add. 26, 190, F. 128 c.

4 *Masāliku'l Abṣār* (B. M., MS. 5867, F, 54) informs us that although Islām was already introduced into Transoxiana, no Chaghatāi king embraced it until after 725 A.H. (A.D. 1325). The first to do so was Tarmashīrīn.

5 Ibn Baṭṭūṭa: Def. et Sang., I, p. 145 ff., II, p. 57 ff.

6 *Idem.*, II, p. 57, 114-115.

7 *Idem.*, I, p. 83 ff.

8 *Ibid.*, I, p. 215 ff.

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over the Muslims in different countries—in Syria, in Egypt, in Transoxiana, and in India.

The Mongol power in Persia, under the Īl-Khānīds, namely, Abāgha Khān (1265-82), Aḥmad Takūdar (1282-84), Arghūn Khān (1284-91), Kaikhātū (1291-95), Baydū (1295), Ghāzān (1295-1304), and Uljaitū (1304-16), experienced many ups and downs until finally under the young Abū S'aīd (1316-35), the contemporary of Muḥammad bin Tughluq, the signs of decay appeared on account of (1) the conflict between rival nobles, the chief of them being Amīr Chobān, and (2) the unruliness of the Chobanids.[1] Besides being entrusted with the management of public affairs during Abū S'aīd's minority, Amīr Chobān obtained the hand of Abū S'aīd's sister in marriage. Reaction began with the rebellions that broke out to deprive him of his supreme power, and the relations between him and his royal master, Abū S'aīd, became strained. Amīr Chobān thought it advisable to divert the Sulṭān's mind by wars, and military triumphs. Hence in 1325 he invaded the dominions of Uzbeg Khān.[2] Meanwhile he heard[3] that Tarmāshīrīn, the Chaghatāi king of Transoxiana, was raising armies near Ghazna and Qandhār with a view to invading Khurāsān. Hence in the following year (1326) he sent his eldest son, Ḥasan, towards Zābul[4] and Kābul to attack Tarmashīrīn. Tarmashīrīn was defeated and Ḥasan ravaged Ghazna and desecrated the tomb of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghazna. It is this defeat of Tarmāshīrīn, which in all probability forced him to go to India to solicit the support of Sulṭān Muḥammad bin Tughluq in a joint invasion of Khurāsān.

Amīr Chobān was no better for his wars, and eventually revolted[5] openly against Sulṭān Abū S'aīd. Still he met with no success, and was forced to take refuge in flight. At last he was betrayed and slain (1327). Tīmūr-Tāsh, one

1 *Ibid.*, I, p. 65ff.; pp. 115-121.
2 Ḥamdu'llāh Mustaufi: *Tārīkh-i Guzidah*, p. 588.
3 *Rauẓatu's-Ṣafā*, vol, p. 152.
4 Ḥamdu'llāh Mustaufi: *Tārīkh-i Guzīdah*, p. 588 ff.
5 *Op. cit.*

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of his sons, fled to Egypt, where he was killed by the Sulṭān of Egypt (1328). Amīr Ḥasan had fled to Khwārazm, but he too came to grief. Shaikh Maḥmūd, another son of Amīr Chobān, hitherto governor of Gurjistān, was taken prisoner by Abū S'aīd's troops and put to death at Tabriz.

Although the Chobanids were crushed by 1328, the troubles in Persia were not over. The ambitious amirs, the heads of the various Mongol clans, controlled the various government departments and lost no opportunity of defying the Sulṭān. It may be concluded that the empire of the Īl-Khānī Mongols of Persia founded by Hūlāgū Khān, comprising Persia, Mesopotamia and Armenia, collapsed by the middle of the fourteenth century, Abū S'aīd, Hūlāgū's descendant in the fourth degree, being the last of the series of the powerful Mongol rulers.

Though the Mongols still held sway over a vast territory from Pekin to Damascus, and from the Volga to the north-west frontier of India, their power had weakened. Far from playing the usual role of the invaders of India, they were now anxious to cultivate friendly relations with the Indian emperor. The 'Irāq[1] embassy sent by Mūsa, a cousin of Sulṭān Abū S'aīd, and king of 'Irāq ; the Chinese embassy sent by Togon Tīmūr,[2] the Chinese emperor ; and the Khwārazmī embassy sent by princess Turābak, wife of Qatlū Damūr, ruler of Khwārazm, were all attempts on the part of foreign governments to maintain friendly relations with Muḥammad bin Tughluq. Other instances with a similar objective are found in the arrival at Dehlī of Amīr Saifu'ddīn, son of Muhanna, chief of the Arabs of Syria, as well as of distinguished visitors from Damascus and Khurāsān.

1 The *Reḥla* of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (G. O. S.), p. 71.

2 *Idem.*, p. 150. It should be noted thar Ibn Baṭṭūṭa gives 'Pashai' as the name of the Chinese emperor. This is a mistake. The real name of the Chinese emperor to whose court he was sent in 1347 on a return embassy from Muhammad bin Tughluq was Togon Timur. He was called Shun Ti by the Chinese. He had ascended the throne of Pekin in 1333 and died in 1368 A.D.

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CHAPTER VI

THE EMPIRE

At his father's death in 1325/725, Ulugh Khān ascended the throne of Tughluqābād without opposition; and forty days after he celebrated his coronation in Dehlī. Baranī[1] tells us that before the royal entry the city of Dehlī was tastefully decorated. Cupolas were erected, streets were embellished with coloured and picturesque pieces of cloth, and drums were beaten in honour of the emperor. As soon as the royal parasol entered the city, gold was showered in the lanes and streets; and handfuls of gold and silver tankas[2] were thrown on the roofs and on the spectators. As the Sulṭān entered the Budāūn gate and alighted in the ancient palace, the amirs, mounted on elephants with trays full of gold and silver tankas, threw handfuls of these coins amongst the spectators. As a result, all the people, Hindūs as well as Muslims, invoked blessings on the emperor and sang his praises.

His first act was to make new appointments and confer titles, which had been the usual practice with his predecessors. But Ẓiyāu'ddīn Baranī has overlooked this, and so has Niẓāmu'ddīn Aḥmad. The evidence of Yaḥyā bin Aḥmad,[3] of Abdul Qādir Budāūnī,[4] of Firishta[5] and of Ḥājjiu'ddabīr[6] amounts to this; on the day of his coronation Muḥammad bin Tughluq made new appointments to offices

1 Baranī, B.N.. MSS., pp. 447-48 (Baranī, Bib. Ind., pp. 456-57). Ibn Baṭṭūṭa has nothing to say on this head. Later historians—Niẓamu'ddīn Aḥmad, 'Abdul Qādir Budāūnī, Ḥajjiu'ddabīr and Firishta—give similar accounts.

2 Baranī mentions this in his account of Ghiyaṣu'ddīn Balban (p. 25), of Jalālu'ddīn Khaljī (p. 176); of 'Alāu'ddīn Khaljī (p. 242); of Quṭbu'ddīn Mubārak Shāh Khaljī (p. 381) and of Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Tughluq (p. 428).

3 Yaḥya bin Aḥmad: *Tārikh-i Mubārak Shāhī* (Bib. Ind.), p. 98.

4 Budāūnī: *Muntakhabu't-Tavārikh* (Bib. Ind.), p. 226.

5 *Tārikh-i Firishta* (Bombay) I, p. 238.

6 Ḥajjiu'ddabīr, III, p. 863.

of great responsibility. On his cousin Malik Fīroz, afterwards emperor Fīroz Shāh, he bestowed the title of Nāib Bārbak (deputy grand usher), and appointed Malik Baidād[1] Khaljī as governor of Lakhnautī, giving him the title of Qadr Khān. He gave Malik Aiyāz, the inspector of buildings (*shaḥna-i'imārat*), the title of Khwāja Jahān ; to Malik Qabūl, that of Malik Kabīr ; to Malik Sartez that of 'Imādu'l-Mulk ; to Malik Maqbūl that of Qivāmu'l-Mulk; and to Malik Khurram Mubīz that of Ẓahiru'l-Juyūsh (commander of the armies). Ḥamīd Kūmalī was made the chief auditor[2] with the title of Raẓiu'l-Mulk. Malik 'Izzu'ddīn Yaḥyā Bandat was given the iqṭa' (administrative charge) of Satgāon, with the title A'ẓam Malik. Qivāmu'ddīn Qutlugh Khān was made vakildar (master of ceremonies), while his son was given the iqṭa' of Gujarat with the title of Alp Khān. The titles of Ṣadr Jahān, 'Ālimu'l-Mulk, Mukhliṣu'l-Mulk, Tāju'l-Mulk and Dāwar Malik were awarded to Kamālu'ddīn, Niẓāmu'ddīn, Niẓamuddīn Kamāl Surkh, Shihāb Sulṭānī and Maulānā Yusuf, respectively.

There is no mention of the emperor's brothers having received any titles or honours. A passing reference in the *Reḥla* informs us, however, that one of his brothers, Mubārak Khān[3], had been raised to an important office in the judicial department, and another, Bahrām Khān, had been deputed as governor of Lakhnautī. Even Mas'ūd Khān, later[4] suspected of rebellion and executed, seems to have

1 Firishta has Baidār instead of Bāidad; Yaḥyā bin Aḥmad has Pindar, and Thomas (p. 262) has Bandar.

2 Yaḥya bin Aḥmad: *Tārikh-i Mubārak Shāhi*, p. 98.

3 Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (Def. et Sang., III, p. 287) informs us that the emperor had ordered his brother Mubārak Khān to sit in the council-house by the side of the Qāẓiu'l-Quẓāt Kamālu'ddīn. Accordingly he sat on the Qāẓi's right, and his agents would summon to the court any great amīr who was to be tried. It follows that Mubārak Khān had been invested with the powers of an executive officer, and had under his control armed soldiers who dragged to the court headstrong culprits of high standing.

4 Only Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (Def. et Sang., III, p. 292) mentions the execution of Mas'ūd Khān, but he gives no date. As he says he had personally seen Mas'ūd Khān, it follows that the execution took place between December, 1333, or January, 1334, and July, 1342, before Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's departure for China.

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enjoyed some dignity. The remaining brothers, Ẓafar Khān,[1] Nuṣrat Khān[2] and Maḥmūd Khān, had probably died, although Baranī mentions the death of only the last-named, that is, of Maḥmūd Khān.

The emperor inherited from his father a large empire and a well-filled treasury, for Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Tughluq had been sparing in the use of money. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa[3] tells us that he had erected at Tughluqābād a palace of which the bricks were covered with a coating of gold. Therein he had stored valuables and had sunk a reservoir which he filled with molten gold.

The empire which Muḥammad inherited from his father was one of the largest to which any Muslim king of India has ever succeeded. Excepting Kashmīr and what is now called Afghānistān and Balūchistān, it embraced practically the whole of India. It extended to the Himālayas on the north-east and to the Indus on the north-west ; on the east and west it reached the sea, and in the south it covered

1 No contemporary or non-contemporary history makes mention of the life, work and death of Ẓafar Khān. A reference in the *List of Muhammadan and Hindu Monuments, Delhi Province* (1922), vol. IV, however, informs us that Ẓafar Khān's tomb lies in a bastion to the north of the gate of Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Tughluq's mausoleum. It bears the following inscription: 'This fine building was erected during the auspicious reign of...the master of the world, friend of the Caliph...Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Tughluq. May his rule last for ever!'

On a red sandstone slab over the same door inside there is another inscription, which runs as follows: "The emperor had specified the government of a certain province for Ẓafar Khān and had placed him in charge of Ẓafarābād."

The inscription continues: 'Early in his youth the late Khān (Ẓafar Khān) conquered (territories) up to Lakhnautī in a short time, and while making preparations for further conquests he died. This building called *Dāru'l-Amān* (house of peace) was raised by the emperor to the memory of the late Khān'.

This inscription tends to remove the misunderstanding about the above-mentioned tomb which is still erroneously known as 'Dād Khān's tomb.

2 Nuṣrat Khān's death is evidenced by the fact that Muḥammad bin Tughluq conferred the title Nuṣrat Khān on Shihāb Sulṭānī, an amir of his. (*Vide* Baranī—*Tārikh-i Firoz Shāhī*, p. 488).

3 The *Reḥla* (G.O.S.), p. 55.

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almost the whole of Mālābār. On the western Ghāṭs, however, a few of the states were independent. These were mostly seaports mentioned by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa as Sandābūr (Goa),[1] Hinaur,[2] Manjarūr (Mangalore), Jurafattan (Cannanore), Dahfattan, Budfattan, Fandarayna (Panderani) and Qāliqūt (Calicut). But they acknowledged the paramountcy of Muḥammad bin Tughluq.[3]

This wide extent of the empire is borne out by the accounts of contemporary travellers—Mubārak bin Maḥmūd and Abū Ṣafā Sirāju'ddīn 'Umar—preserved in the *Masāliku'l-Abṣār*.[4]

This vast empire was divided into twenty-three provinces, namely (1) Dehlī (Dihlī), (2) Deogīr (Dawakir), (3) Multān, (4) Kahrām (Kuhrām), (5) Sāmāna, (6) Sivistān, (7) Uch, (8) Hānsī, (9) Sarsutī (Sirsah), (10) Ma'bar, (11) Telingāna (Tilank), (12) Gujarāt, (13) Budāūn, (14) Oudh (Auz), (15) Kanauj, (16) Lakhnautī, (17) Bihār, (18) Karā, (19) Mālwa, (20) Lahore (Lāhaur), (21) Kalānaur,[5] (22) Jājnagar (23) Tilanj Ḍarusamand[6] (Telingāna (?) and Dvāra-Samudra).

Barani[7] makes no attempt to describe the provinces of the empire. He makes a passing reference to some, namely,

1 Moreas' view (*Kudamba Kula*, p. 213) that Goa (Sindābur) was conquered and destroyed by Muḥammad bin Tūghluq is not borne out by the *Rehla*. Moreas bases his theory upon the chance discovery of a coin of Muḥammad bin Tughluq at the local Saiva temple. The sight of a "mutilated granite Nandi" in front of the temple led him to conclude that the mutilation was the work of the armies of Muḥammad bin Tughluq, and that the copper coin had been dropped by them. All this is very plausible, but finds no confirmation in contemporary history.

2 Yule's *Cathay*, IV, p. 63. Cf. the various spellings, Honavar, Onore and Hunāwūr.

3 Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, Def. et Sang., IV, p. 71 ff.

4 (i) Quatremére: *Masalek alabsār*...Tome XIII, p. 167 ff. (ii) B. M., MS, 5687.

5 Elliot (III., p. 575) regards Kalānaur as Goalior but Kalanor or Kalānaur has been mentioned by Ḥājjiu'ddabīr (III, p. 865) and others in connection with Tarmashīrīn's invasion. It is in the present Gujarat district (Panjāb).

6 MS. 5687 gives Tilanj (Telingāna) twice. The second mention is presumably a mistake.

7 Barani (Bib. Ind.), p. 468.

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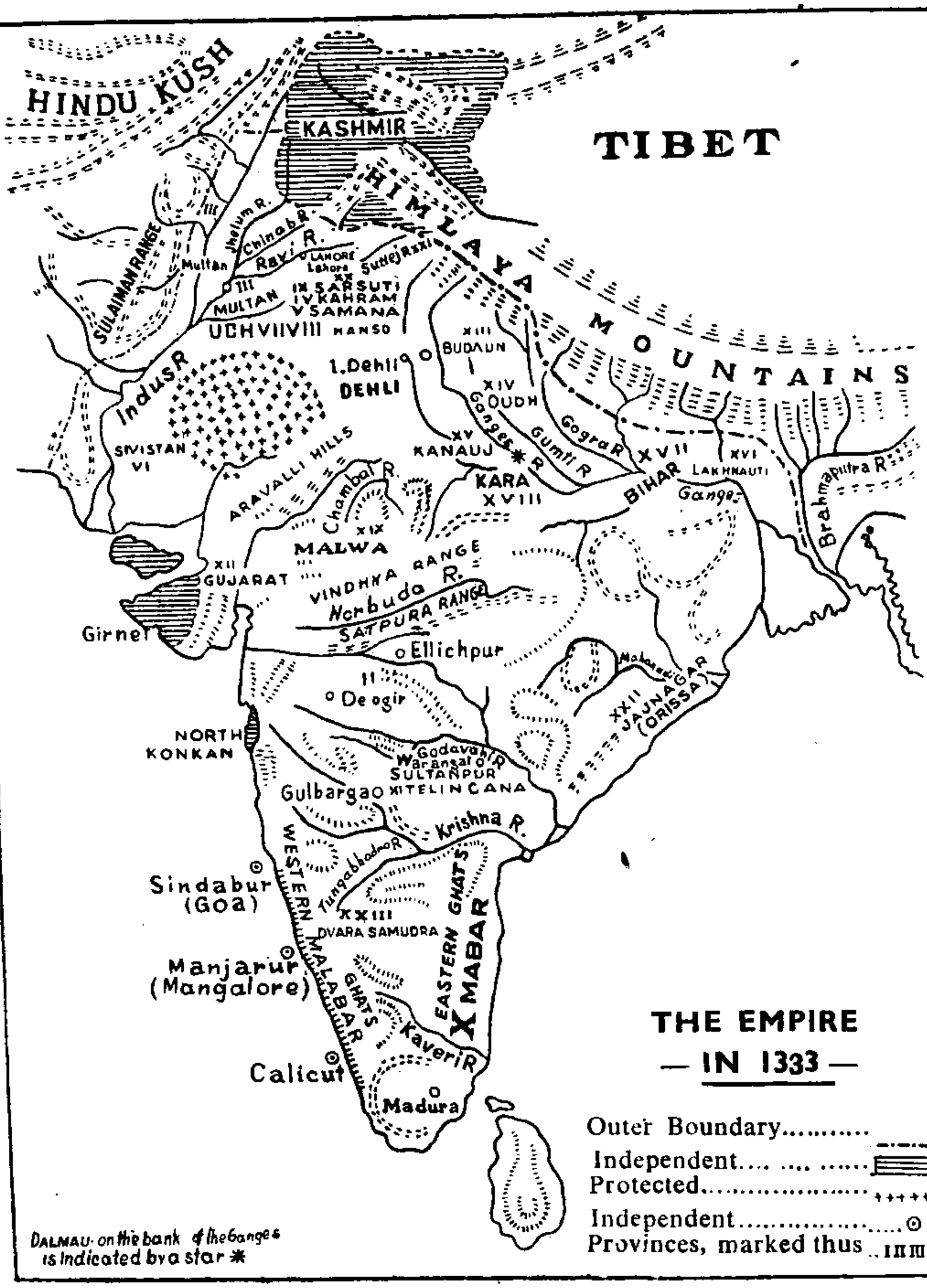

THE EMPIRE — IN 1333 —

Outer Boundary.....

Independent.... ....

Protected.....

Independent.....⊙

Provinces, marked thus ..III III C

DALMAU on the bank of the Ganges is indicated by a star *

Facing p. 106

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(1) Dehlī, (2) Gujarāt, (3) Mālwa, (4) Deogīr, (5) Telingāna (Tilang), (6) Kampīla, (7) Dvārasamudra (Dhūr-Samundar), (8) Ma'bar, (9) Lakhnautī, (10) Satgāon, (11) Sonārgāon, and (12) Tirhut.

Ibn Baṭṭūṭa gives no specific number at all. He simply notes those places through which he passed or about which he heard something remarkable, namely, (1) Dehlī (Dihlī), (2) Bengal, (3) Multān, (4) Uch, (5) Oudh ('Auẓ), (6) Hānsī, (7) Sirsutī (Sarsuti), (8) Ma'bar (9) Lahore (Lāhaur), (10) Telingāna (Tilinj), (11) Gujarāt, (12) Kanauj, (13) Daulatābad, (14) Mālābār, (15) Mālwa. In addition to these, more or less identical with the provinces given in Baranī's *Tārīkh-i Fīroz Shāhī* and the *Masāliku'l-Abṣār*, he mentions a few more towns, namely, Kamālpur, Koshak-i Zar,[2] Badrkot, Konkan, Thāna, Lucknow (Laknau), Ẓafarābād, Bahrāich, Amroha, Bijnaur, Biāna, Koil, Brijpur, Vazīrpur, Baroda, Nahrwāla, Agroha, Jalālī, Tājpur, Abharī, Bajālsa, Maurī, 'Alāpur, Gwālior (*Kālyūr*), Barwan, Amwarī, Kajrāo, Chanderī, Dhār, Ujjain, Nandurbār, Cambay, Sāgar (*Saghar*) Jidya, and Wārangal—all of which were included in the empire.

Of Mālābār, through which he travelled, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa has much to say,[3] and it can be inferred from his observations that Mālābār, which has been omitted both by Baranī and Shihābu'ddīn, was a province of the empire, except for certain ports and the adjacent coastal strip. 'The length of *Mulayabār*,' says Ibn Baṭṭūṭa,[4] 'is a distance of two months' journey; it stretches along the coast from Sandābūr (Goa) to Kawlam (Quilon). In Mulaybār there are twelve Hindū rajas, each having an army of his own. The army of the most powerful of them reaches the strength of 50,000 and that of the weakest 3,000. None goes to war against the other and none casts a covetous eye on the territories of

1 Kamālpur is in Kathiawar on the Bhaonagar and Gondal Railway, 17 miles east of the Limri station.

2 Koshak-i Zar was probably a small town near Dehli. It seems to have been destroyed after the death of Muḥammad bin Tughluq.

3 (i) B. N., MS. 909, F. 161. (ii) Def. et Sang., IV, p. 71 ff., (iii) The *Reḥla* (G.O.S.), Chapter XIV.

4 *Op. cit.*

the other.' But it is regarding Faknūr, Manjarur (Mangalore), Jurafattan (Cannanore), Dahfattan, Budfattan, Kunjā-Karī, Qāliqūt (Calicut) and Kawlam (Quilon) that Ibn Baṭṭūṭa gives more detailed information. 'Faknūr,' says he, 'was under a Hindū rājā named Bās Deo. Manjarūr was ruled by Rām Deo, the greatest of all the rulers of Mulaybār. Jurafattan was under a ruler named Koil, and to him also belonged Dahfattan and Budfattan. Qāliqut (Calicut) was ruled by one Sāmari....The king of Hannaur was subordinate to a Hindū ruler, Harib.' But he says nothing more about the latter. He mentions Abū Sarūr (Barcelore) as a state of Mālābār, but gives us no information about its ruler. It is not clear whether it was included in the empire.

Ibn Baṭṭūṭa has not given in full the boundaries of Mālābār; and in spite of all he has said the exact extent of Mālābār is unknown. He does not regard Mālābār as identical with the territories of the Hindū rajas, since, apart from their states, he mentions a few, namely Abū Sarūr. Helī and Fanderina (Panderani) which were possibly included in the Dehlī empire. That the Hindū rajas held the emperor of Dehlī in awe and esteem has been reported in the *Rehla*; and the fact that the Muslims in Mālābār were generally respected and even feared by the Hindus, combined with the warm welcome extended to the African traveller by the Hindū rajas tends to prove the overlordship or paramountcy of Sulṭān Muḥammad over Mālābār. Curiously enough, Edward Thomas confuses Mālābār with Ma'bar.[1] But in view of the information given by the

1 In *The Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Dehli* (p. 203). Thomas gives "Malabār" in English as corresponding to Ma'bar in Arabic script; both standing at the same number, *i.e.*, 10. Yule in his *Cathay and the Way Thither* (vol. I, p. 74) describes Mālābār and Ma'bar as two distinct parts on the authority of Friar Odoric. 'And now that ye may know how pepper is got let me tell you that it groweth in a certain empire where unto I came to land, the name whereof is Minibar." (Friar Odoric) "Minibar," Yule explains in a footnote, "is Mālābār and seems to have been an old Arabic form of that name. It is the same that we shall find in Marignolli. Edrisi has Manibar; so has Abul Fida. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa has Mulibar; Bakni has Malibar, and Fra Mauro Milibar.'

Subsequently Friar Odoric describes Ma'bar. "From this realm

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Reḥla one feels justified in stating that Ma'bar[1] and Mālābār[2] were distinct provinces of the empire of Sulṭān Muḥammad bin Tughluq.

This, then, was the vast empire which Muḥammad bin Tughluq inherited. His reign (1325-51) constitutes the most momentous period in the history of medieval India, and is noted for numerous insurrections leading to the break-up of the Dehlī empire, and to the formation of provincial kingdoms. It falls broadly into two parts: (*a*) 1325-1335; (*b*) 1335-1351. The first part was comparatively prosperous and peaceful; the second witnessed increasing troubles culminating in rebellions and disintegration.

(Minibar), says he, 'it is a journey of ten days to another realm which is called Mobar, and this is very great, and hath under it many cities and towns." Yule explains this in a footnote and identifies Ma'bar with the Coromandel region. 'It is possible,' says he, 'that the Arabic name Ma'bar was originally a corruption of Marawar, the name of the Hindū state which adjoined Adam's bridge.'

It appears from Yule that Thomas was not the first to confound Mālabār with Ma'bar. Such a mistake was committed earlier by Ritter and Lassen. 'Ritter', continues Yule, 'puts Ma'bar on the west coast, and Lassen says that the name with Ibn Baṭṭūṭa signifies the southernmost part of the Mālābār coast, but both learned authors are certainly wrong. Kuntomann, again, says, 'It has been recently pointed out that the name (Ma'bar) applies neither specially to the south-west coast nor to the south-east, but to the whole southern apex of the peninsula.' 'All use of it (Ma'bar)', concludes Yule, 'that I have seen is clear for its being the south-east coast, as Abul Fida precisely says, commencing from Cape Comorin.' 'Ma'bar,' says Rashīdu'ddīn, 'extends from Kulam (Kolam) to Silawar (Nilawar or Nellore) 300 *farsangs* along the shore. 'The king is called Dewar, which means in the Ma'bar tongue the lord of wealth.' Large ships called junks bring merchandise thither from Chin and Machin. Ma'bar is, as it were, the key of India. (Yule's *Cathay*, p. 219).

Again, Lee gives an instance of how Ma'bar has been confounded with Mālābār. 'The reader,' he says in a footnote (p. 123), 'should be informed that in many cases in which Firishta has Ma'bar, Col. Dow, not knowing, I suppose what to make of the word, has translated it by Mālābār.'

1 For a short history of Ma'bar see Appendix C of this book.

2 For an account of Mālābār see the the *Reḥla* (G.O.S.), pp. 175, 181, footnote 2.

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CHAPTER VII

HIS AMBITIOUS PROJECTS

Baranī[1] makes a special attempt to describe five of the emperor's projects—(1) the increased taxes in the Doāb, (2) the making of Deogīr into a capital, (3) the token currency, (4) the Khurāsān[2] expedition, and (5) the Qarāchīl expedition— the pursuit of which ranges over the first part of the reign. But the Rājpūt and Muslim legends refer to two other important occurrences in the opening years of the reign: (1) the defeat and imprisonment[3] of the emperor at the hands of Rānā Hammīr of Chittor, and (2) the emperor's[4] inability to withstand Tarmashīrīn's invasion.

Rāi Bahādur Gaurī Shankar Ojha contends that, encouraged by the miserable state of the Dehlī empire following the death of Sulṭān 'Alāu'ddīn, Rānā Hammīr wished to recover his paternal dominions. Accordingly, he first set his hands upon Māldev's[5] principalities and began during the latter's lifetime to annex them to his own estates. On the death of Māldev and in the time of his son Jaisa he acquired complete possession of Chittor, the capital city of the Gohilvaṁsh, about the year 1326. Later he established his rule over the whole of Mewār placing it under the paramountcy of the Sisodia branch of the Gohilvaṁsh. He then made Chittor his capital, and

1 Barani (Bib. Ind.). pp. 472-78.

2 Barani enumerates six projects, but in reality they come to five, the 4th and 5th being the same.

3 Ojha, G.S.: *Hindi History of Rajputana*, II, pp. 546.

4 Firishta (Bombay), I, 238.

5 The Sonigra chief of Jalor whom Rāi Bahādur G. S. Ojha on the authority of Nainsi declares as having been appointed governor of Chittor by 'Alāu'ddin on the recall of Prince Khizr Khān. He has been mentioned in Erskine's Gazetteer of Mewār as well as in Tod as having been appointed governor of Chittor by Muḥammad bin Tughluq. G. S. Ojha thinks that Tod was misled by the Mewār bards into believing that it was Māldev who on suffering the loss of Chittor went to Muḥammad bin Tughluq and persuaded him to co-operate in the storming of Chittor.

assumed the title of Mahārānā, Mewār remaining under Sisodia rule from this time onwards. When, thus, the Chauhans lost their hold over the stronghold of Chittor and upon Mewār, Jaisa, the son of Māldev, fled to Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughluq[1] at Dehlī and persuaded him to march against Mahārānā Hammīr. A battle was fought near the village of Singolī in which Hammīr defeated the Sulṭān, and took him prisoner. For three months the Sulṭān remained a prisoner in Chittor. In the end he purchased his release from Rānā Hammīr by giving him the territories of Ajmer, Ranthambhor, Nāgor and Sooespur,[2] together with fifty lakhs of rupees and one hundred elephants.[3]

Rāi Bahādur Gaurī Shankar Ojha contends on the authority of Naiṇsī that Māldev lived six years after obtaining possession of Chittor from 'Alāu'ddīn ; and there he at last died. Nine years after 'Alāu'ddīn's death (1316) Muḥammad Tughluq ascended the throne of Dehlī. At that time Māldev could not have been alive. Possibly his eldest son Jaisa went to the Sulṭān and obtained his help to storm Chittor. Rāi Bahādur G. S. Ojha thinks that Hammīr must have taken Chittor somewhere about 1328. He tells us that in an inscription of the reign of Mahārānā Kumbha (1438) Hammīr has been extolled as having defeated a Musalmān army, and is inclined to conclude the view that those were the Dehlī troops led by Jaisa.[4]

1 In a footnote (p. 234, *History of Udaipur*), G. S. Ojha points out Tod's mistake. He says that Tod has erroneously mentioned Muḥammad Khalji, instead of Muḥammad Tughluq.

2 Tod (vol. 1, p. 319) has "Sui Sopur."

3 Rāi Bahādur Gauri Shankar Ojha puts this in the form of a quotation and refers to Tod's *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, vol. 1, pp. 318-19. But of this, only a part is found in Tod, *e.g.*, "of the three steppes...from the first ascent from the plain of Mewār to the descent at Chambal the king of Mewār had encamped on the central at Singolī, where he was attacked, defeated and made prisoner by Hammīr who slew Hari Singh, brother of Banbir in single combat. The king suffered a confinement of three months in Chittor, nor was he liberated until he had surrendered Ajmer, Ranthambor, Nagor and Sui Sopur, besides paying fifty lakhs of rupees and one hundred elephants...." (Tod, vol. 1, p. 319).

4 Ojha, G. S. *History of Udaipur* (Hindī), p. 234.

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Rāi Bahādur Gaurī Shankar Ojha regards the Rājpūt report of Rānā Hammīr's recovery of Chittor from Muḥammad bin Tughluq as correct though he has some doubts regarding the emperor's imprisonment and his surrendering Ajmer and other territories, since these were captured snbsequently by Mahārānā Kumbha.[1] But there are two inscriptions of Chittor—one belonging to the reign of Sulṭān Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Tughluq and another to that of his son Sulṭān Muḥammad—which show that Chittor remained an integral part of the Dehlī empire till the reign of Muḥammd bin Tughluq[2]...Malik Asadu'ddīn Arsalān, a nephew of Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Tughluq, was the governor of Chittor until the death of the latter ; and he continued even after the accession of Sulṭān Muḥammad. It was Sulṭān Muḥammad, not 'Alāu'ddīn Khaljī, who had appointed Māldev as governor of Chittor. The inscriptions of Chittor[3] unmask the myth of Sulṭān Muḥammad's defeat and imprisonment at the hands of Rānā Hammīr and expose the following stages of that myth—'Alāuddīn Khaljī recalling prince Khiẓr Khān from Chittor and appointing Māldev as governor in his place ; Rānā Hammīr defeating Māldev or his son Jaisa ; Jaisa fleeing to Dehlī and Sulṭān Muḥammad fighting for his sake the battle of Singoli in which the Rānā is supposed to have defeated the Sulṭān and taken him prisoner. Of a piece with the above myth there is another to the effect that the whole of Rajputāna became independent after the accession of Sulṭān Muḥammad bin Tughluq, the Rajas of Jaipur, Bundī, Gwalior (*Gawaliar*), Chanderī and Kālpī having thrown off their allegiance to him. Now this myth too is unmasked. It should also be noted that Sulṭān Muḥammad bin Tughluq's policy towards the Hindus was extraordinarily liberal. He created Hindu rule in Jawhar[4]

1 Ojha: *History of Udaipur*, Hindi (1928), p. 236.

2 *Epigraphia Indica* (Arabic and Persian Supplement, 1955-56), p. 67.

3 For the Chittor inscriptions, see Appendix B.

4 On Nim Shah, son of Jayaba, the Koli chief of Jawhar, a modern state on the Central Railway, situated near Thana in the district of Bombay, Muhammad bin Tughluq is reported to have conferred the title of Rājā. 'So important was this event in the history of Jawhar that June 5th, 1343, the day on which the title

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and Karaulī[1] and tolerated Hindū power in other parts of the empire, for instance in Sind[2] and in Bihār.[3] Says 'Iṣāmī, 'He (Muḥammad bin Tughluq) uprooted the Muslims from Hindustān and installed the Hindus; and the whole country during his reign was seized by the Hindus, the Muslims taking shelter in enclosures like the Hindus in the past. At last the Muslims revolted against him when they found in him an ever-increasing desire for Hinduism.'[4] In consistency with all this—though he had never heard of 'Iṣāmī and never knew the contents of his *Futuḥū's-Salāṭin*—Gardner Brown observed, 'So far from oppressing his

was received, has been made the beginning of a new era which is still used in public documents.' (*Imperial Gazetteer*, XIV, p. 88).

1 Karauli is situated in the east of Rajputana. 'It was in the time of Muḥammad bin Tughluq that Arjunpal, one of the descendants of Kunwarpal, the rājā of Karaulī, recovered the territory of his ancestors. The revival of Hindū rule in Karaulī began in 1327, and culminated in 1348 with the foundation of the town of Karaulī, now the capital of the Karauli State.' (*Gazetteer of Karauli*, p. 26). From Drake Brockmann's *Gazetteer of Eastern Rajputana* (p. 298) it appears that a temple called Kalianji was built during the reign of Sulṭān Muḥammad bin Tughluq in 1348 by Arjundeo on the site of the present city of Karauli. The name of Karaulī is said to have been derived from Kalianji.

2 The Sumera tribe of Hindus was allowed to enjoy power in Sind. This is evident from the *Tārīkh-i Ma'ṣūmī* (B.M.). The *Tārīkh-i Firoz Shāhī* affords an indirect evidence of the Hindū power in Sāmāna, Kaithal, and Sunām (p. 483), as well as in the Doāb (p. 480).

3 Grierson's article on 'Vidyapati and his contemporaries' in the *Indian Antiquary* (XIV, July, 1885) contains a reference to the Hindū Power in Bihār. He says 'Although the Musalmans had conquered Bihār and Bengal, yet they were compelled to allow the burden of Government to remain in the hands of the Hindus. In this way Mithila or Darbhanga, while nominally under the sway of the Musalmans, was really governed by Hindū kings. They acknowledged their subordination to the emperor of Dehlī and paid him a yearly tribute, but in every other respect they were independent. From the year 1358 to 1459 Mithila was under a dynasty of Brahman kings and the third or the sixth of this line was king Siva Siṁha, who came to the throne in 1446.'

4 'Iṣāmī—F. S., verses 10,133-11,464 (Agra edition); Madras edition, pp.535-606.

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Hindū subjects he (Muḥammad bin Tughluq) showed himself the fore runner of Akbar both in his restriction of Satī and his employment of Hindū princes in high military posts and of competent Hindus in high civil posts. He appears also to have been willing to allow other classes of Hindus to prosper without interference."[1]

In his *Purusa Parīksā*[2] Vidyāpatī Thākura, the fourteenth century poet[3] of Bīhar, mentions a mighty Muslim ruler of India, named Muḥammad, presumably Sulṭān Muḥammad bin Tughluq. After acknowledging his greatness he describes the Sulṭān's fight with a rebellious Hindū rājā named Kāfūr. On his army being defeated, the Sulṭān made an appeal to some Hindū princes or chieftains. Two of them, Nar Singh Deva of Karnatakula and Charchik Devā of the Chauhānkula, volunteered their services. They fought for the Sulṭān against the rebellious Hindū rājā, killed him and sent his head to the Sulṭān.

It follows that Hindū princes flourished under Sulṭān Muḥammad and, if the Hindū testimony be credited, helped him even against their co-religionists.

To understand how the legend of Sulṭān Muḥammad's defeat and imprisonment at the hands of Rānā Hammīr arose it is necessary to make a survey of the history of Mewār.[4] Erskine has made an attempt to remove the

1 A. U. Magazine, 1925.

2 *Purusa Parīksā of Vidyāpati*, by Babu Maheshwari Prasad. pp. 20 ff.

3 It is not easy to give the exact dates of Vidyapati. In his 'Vidyapati and his Contemporaries' (p. 182, *Indian Antiquary*, XIV, July, 1885) Grierson mentions the year 1400 as the date when Vidyapati was granted the village of Bisapi by Siva Simha, later the rājā of Mithila. He tells us that Vidyapati died an old man, and was the author of many works; among them being the *Purusa Parīksa*. This work was written in the reign of Deva Simha (1385). It seems that Vidyapati flourished under Deva Simha (1385) and Siva Simha (1446), the successive rajas of Mithila. (*Indian Antiquary*, p. 188).

4 'Mewāṛ' is a corrupt form of the Sanskrit, *Medpat*, that is, the country of the Meos, a tribe usually found in Alwar and Bharatpur. (*Vide* Erskine: *Rajputana Gaz.*, II, p. 5). Mewāṛ, which since 1559 became known after its new capital Udaipur, in the 14th century went by the name of Chittoṛ.

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mystery which shrouds it. It seems that one Karan Singh was the great ruler of Chittor towards the end of the twelfth century. After his death, the ruling family became divided into two branches ; the first branch ruled at Chittor under the title of Rāwal and the second at Sisoda, a village in the Aravallis. An attempt is made below to show the line of rulers until the sack of Chittor (1303), which marked an epoch in the history of the Mewār family.

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Firishta informs us that Ratan Singh (Rāi Ratan) was the ruler when Chittoṛ was attacked by Sulṭān 'Alāu'ddīn Khaljī (1303/703). It seems that Rānā Lakshman Singh came to rescue Rāwal Ratan Singh, but both were killed. The survivors of the Rāwal family fled into the Bāgar forests in the south, where they ultimately carved out for themselves the states of Dūngarpur and Banswāṛa. The only son of Rānā Lakshman Singh who survived the siege of Chittoṛ, namely Ajāi Singh, fled into the Arāvallī hills. There he set up an independent rule of his own at Kelwāṛa.

Sulṭān 'Alāu'ddīn Khaljī re-christened Chittoṛ as Khiẓrābād and appointed his son Khiẓr Khān as its governor. Erskine tells us on the authority of a local inscription that Chittoṛ 'remained in the possession of the Muhammadans up to the time of Muḥammad Tughlak who appointed Māldev, the Sonigara Chauhān chief of Jālor, as its governor'. The legend attributed to Naiṇsi that Māldev had been appointed governor of Chittoṛ by 'Alāu'ddīn Khaljī is not acceptable.

From the accounts of Erskine,[1] Tod, and Rāī Bahādur Gaurī Shankar Ojha it follows that Rānā Hammīr survived Sulṭān Muḥammad bin Tughluq, and subsequently his son and successor Khet Singh defeated the Dehlī forces at Bakrol. Mokal, one of the successors of Khet Singh, is said to have completely defeated and expelled a Muslim invader, Fīroz Khān of Nāgor. Rānā Kumbha, the son and successor of Mokal, defeated the joint forces of the Muslim kings of Mālwa and Gujarāt. 'He (Kumbha)', says Erskine 'defeated Maḥmūd Khaljī of Mālwa and kept him prisoner at Chittoṛ for six months. Rāi Mal, a son and successor of Rānā Kumbha, defeated Sulṭān Ghiyāṣu'ddīn of Mālwa. And Prithwī Rāj, a son of Rānā Rāi Mal, according to one account, took the latter prisoner. According to another account he captured Muẓaffar Shāh, the king of Gujarāt. Rāi Mal was succeeded by the famous Rānā Sānga, who became the leader of a Rājpūt confederacy and fought against Bābur at Khānuā. (1527) The Princes of Mārwar and Amber did him homage and the Rāos of Gwālior, Ajmer, Sīkrī, Raisen, Kālpī,

1 Erskine: *Rajputana Gazetteer*, II, A., p. 5 ff.

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Chanderī, Būndī, Gāgraun, Rāmpura and Ābū served him as tributaries.'[1]

Thus the ascendancy of Mewāṛ, which became an outstanding feature of sixteenth century history, had a long story. It gave rise in the seventeenth century to the *khyāt* of Naiṇsī[2]. It seems that the long succession of victories which the Ranas of Mewār gained over the later Musalmans encouraged the Rājpūt bards, anxious to extol their idol Hammīr, to fabricate the story of Sulṭān Muḥammad's defeat and imprisonment—a lever to this in Indo-Muslim legend having been given by 'Iṣāmī, three hundred years before. He says[3]:

> 'During the reign of this accursed fellow (Sulṭān Muhammad) whose word has never been firm, the whole of India has been forcibly seized by the rebels, and disorders have broken out in every direction. On every side a bold man has raised his head and a rival king is set up in every province. The whole of Mālwa has become rebellious; Hinduism has become dominant all over, except in a few places.'

In these circumstances all that can safely be inferred is that Sulṭān Muḥammad, having refrained unlike Alāu'-ddīn Khaljī and Balban from waging war with the Rajputs and Hindus, allowed great latitude to Rānā Hammīr. Neither did he meet the latter in fight, nor did he send, nor allowed the despatch of his troops for any action in Mewāṛ. This is one of the reasons why Sulṭān Muḥammad became unpopular with the warrior chiefs among the orthodox Musalmans and why 'Iṣāmī denounced him as 'an adorer of Hinduism' and 'supporter of Hindus'. But the historian cannot draw from this any conclusion regarding the cowardice or humiliation of the Sulṭān in view of the Hindū applause of his valour, inscribed in chaste Sanskrit, which has been translated as follows:

'There is the renowned Mahamuda Shahi (Muḥammud Shāh Tughluq) the crest-jewel of all the rulers of the earth,

1 Erskine: *Mewar Gazetteer*, II, A, pp. 5-18.
2 Also spelt as Nensi.
3 F. S. verses 11,450-11,460 (Agra edition); Madras edition, pp. 606-607.

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the mighty Saka lord whose foes are overthrown by the valour of his arm and through fear of whom, when going to the hunting-park, the earth trembles, the ocean dries up, the whole world takes to trembling as well as mountains and his foes.'[1]

And in keeping with this Brahmanic report is the Portuguese report from the *Chronicle of Nuniz* reproduced by Sewell. It runs as follows: 'This king of Dehlī (Dili) who was called Togao Mamede (Muḥammad bin Tughluq) was a great conqueror. He held a large part of this earth under his dominion. He subdued kings and slew them and flayed them and brought their skins with him; so that besides his own name he received the nickname which means "lord of the skins of kings". There are tales of him which do indeed seem most marvellous of the things that he did; as, for instance, how he made ready an army because one day in the morning, while standing dressing at a window which was closed a ray of the sun came into his eyes and he cried out that he would not rest until he had killed or vanquished whomsoever had dared to enter his apartments while he was dressing. All his nobles could not dissuade him from his purpose, even though they told him it was the sun that had done it. With all this he made his forces ready saying that he must go in search of his enemy; and as he was going along with large forces raised in the country through which he began his march, so much dust arose that it obscured the sun. When he lost sight of it he made fresh inquiries as to what the thing was and the captains told him that there was no reason for him to wait and that he might return home since he had put to flight him whom he had come to seek. Content with this, the king returned by the road that he had taken in search of the sun, saying that since his enemy had fled he was satisfied.'[2]

Behind these exaggerated reports there is a substratum of truth, *i. e.* Muḥammad bin Tughluq could not tolerate an enemy, real or unreal, and would pursue him to the end

1 *Vide* Appendix B. Sanskrit inscription of the Reign of Muḥammad bin Tughluq of the Vikrama year 1384 (A.D. 1327).

2 Sewell—*A Forgotten Empire* (the *Chronicle of Nuniz*) pp. 9-10.

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at all cost—a point which he himself makes in the course of his historic conversations with Ẓiyāu'ddīn Baranī.[1] Obviously he did not look upon Rānā Hammīr as an enemy,[2] for he was kind to the Hindus as a rule and had an appreciation for Hinduism as is evident from the contemporary sources. Nuniz quotes the remark of a contemporary, saying 'Togao Mahemde (Muḥammad bin Tughluq) is held among the Hindus as a saint. Further he tells us that he (Muḥammad bin Tughluq) had built a temple—'a very large pagoda which is still there; it is a great place of pilgrimage'.[3] 'Iṣāmī expressed similar thoughts when he said that Muḥammad bin Tughluq played *Holi* with the Hindus and 'They (Muslims) revolted against this mean king because they found in him an ever-increasing desire for Hinduism.'[4]

Unlike Hammīr, 'Iṣāmī was an enemy of Muḥammad bin Tughluq. And the latter would have killed him or pursued him to his last breath as he pursued Tāghī,[5] but for the fact that 'Iṣāmī remained unidentified. On finding a patron in a rebel king 'Iṣāmī undertook to expose 'that Hindū-minded infidel Sulṭān' mercilessly. Under the heading of the 'Arrival of Tarmāshīrīn in India' he builds up a case of his cowardice or inability to oppose and fight an enemy in the battlefield and the humiliation involved therein, saying:

> 'One day, a courier came from Multān and announced at the royal palace that a Mongol army had made a bridge over the river Ravi of human bodies, destroyed everything in their way, raided the Sind area and are overrunnig the remotest parts of India.
>
> 'When the emperor came to know that the accursed enemies had crossed the boundary of Multān he girded

1 Barani—*T.F.* pp. 509-11, 516-17, 521-22.

2 The waging of wars with the Rajputs is wrongly imputed to Muḥammad bin Tughluq by the Bharatiya Vidhya Bhavan publication which says: 'The only exception to the brilliant military successes of the Sultan is furnished by his wars with the Rajputs' (H.C.I.P., Bombay, vol. vi, p. 70).

3 Sewell—*A Forgotten Empire*, p. 8.

4 'Iṣāmī—*F.S.* verses 9754, 11, 469 (Agra edition); Madras edition, pp. 515, 607.

5 *Vide* Chapter IX of the book.

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up his loins, mobilising troops in the manner of kings and commanders. He sent couriers to all parts of the country and summoned all divisions and ranks of troops. Every courageous amīr together with a strong contingent responded to the royal summons, and from every part of the country a lion-like brave officer proceeded towards the capital. Thus assembled a body of army officers, each attended by large contingents. When the countless army which had arrived at the capital by way of reinforcements was reviewed, the army reviewer enlisted on the roll 500,000 cavalrymen. The whole area from Siri to the Jud hills became a military camp which increased its strength by the arrival of new contingents every day.

'The following day there came another courier in great haste; and after making formal obeisance and kissing the ground he presented his compliments saying, "Your Majesty! The Mongols have arrived at Mirath (Meerut) and have been raiding the area for three days. The inhabitants are imprisoned like birds in a cage and there is no one to save them except Your Majesty, the saviour. All the inhabitants have confined themselves in the fortress and the whole area is devastated. It is an army like a roaring sea sweeping everything and everywhere with force. The well-known Tarmashīrīn is the commander of that wretched army." When the emperor heard this from the courier and came to know that the wicked troops had come nearer, he ordered Yusuf Bughra to march quickly to Mirath 10,000 brave cavalrymen and surprise the Mongols when off guard by falling upon them unawares in their camp. In case he found himself unable to make a surprise attack upon the enemy contingents, Yusuf Bughra should take his own troops inside the fortress and remain on the alert day and night like an experienced warrior. He should bide his time and remain in ambush against their ambush to emerge at the suitable moment. "And if the adversary advanced further' said the emperor addressing Yusuf Bughra, "you should move against them from the rear while I would march from the front. And the Mongol army being thus sand-

wiched we would make a sudden attack upon them from both sides ; and in one onslaught we would crush their contingents.

'When Yusuf Bughra heard the royal order he trumpeted forth his march and took the troops out for the fight. He pitched his camp at Mirath and looked for a favourable opportunity to make the attack.

'One day clouds of dust arose and the accursed troops appeared. Leaving behind all his contingents, that worthless surly Tarmashīrīn drew towards the fortress to a distance of an arrow flight attended by 500 seasoned cavalrymen. When Yusuf Bughra noticed the small number of the Mongols he lost no time in beating the drum of war and came out of the fortress, accompanied by the veteran warriors. He burst instantly on the Mongols who being smaller in number fled towards their army.

'One of the Mongols, who was dreadful like a dragon and was the son of Tarmashīrīn's sister, had halted nearby that day in order to drink wine in the company of ten other horsemen. The troops passed to his left and right, but he took no notice, drunk as he was. Suddenly a contingent of Indian troops sprang and captured him along with his comrades and sent them to the fortress, and advanced subsequently towards the Mongols. When the Mongols came near their main army they turned, confident of their backing, against the Indian troops in full strength ; and clashes began amongst the cavalry and combats were fought on each side. In the midst of the fight a noise arose from the Mongol army—a pandimonium like that of the Day of Resurrection. Their bugles sounded in such a way that the Indian troops were struck with giddiness. In spite of this the brave Indian cavalrymen put up such a heroic fight that they succeeded at last in dislocating the enemies and compelled them to take to flight.

'Yusuf sent the happy news to the capital that the Mongols had left India; and those who were captured by him were sent to the emperor. That fellow who

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was the son of Tarmashīrīn's sister was sent bound hand and foot to the capital, escorted by a hundred cavalrymen.

'When the emperor came to know of the Mongol retreat from India drums were beaten and he mounted his horse and led his troops in pursuit of the enemy. He sent some experienced cavalrymen as an advance guard, then he followed personally marching slowly along with his camps. On reaching Thānesar he sent numerous troops in pursuit of that accursed army of the Mongols, and under his orders the Indian troops continued their hot pursuit.

'The royal troops dogged the steps of the enemy. Would that such an enemy were driven out of India for ever and stepped no more into this country, for they are a wretched people with narrow eyes, flat noses and mouths as wide as the gates of a palace. From their depressed noses flows a paste-like yellowish fluid day and night. Many of them were killed by the Indian troops who followed them up to the Indus; and springing upon them from every place of ambush seized their banners and wiped them out. Then the troops came to the emperor who appreciated their bravery, and sent them from Thānesar to Dehlī.'[1]

The above scene described by 'Iṣāmī bears resemblance to a picture he had drawn earlier[2] of the great Mongol invasion of 1299/698, which had created a crisis during the reign of 'Alāu'ddīn Khaljī. Dehlī was then threatened with complete destruction at the hands of Qutlugh Khwāja, the infidel king of Khurāsān who had penetrated with an army of two lakh Mongol cavalrymen to the gates of the city and had spread great consternation among the inhabitants. To meet that crisis Sulṭān 'Alāu'ddīn Khaljī had summoned 'all the maliks, amirs and soldiers from the provinces' and had raised a large army. And he put in a strong fight. Confounding the situation of twenty-five

1 'Iṣāmi—F. S. verses 8772-8840 (Agra edition); Madras edition, pp. 462-466.

2 F. S. I. verses 4839-5154 (Agra edition); Madras edition, pp. 255-270. Also compare T. F. S. B. pp. 254-61.

years back in Khurāsān and India and having no clear idea about the habitat, religion and lineage of Tarmashīrīn, 'Iṣāmī mistook him for a brother of Qutlugh Khwāja and announced him as 'a well-known' warrior. But Tarmashīrīn had never been heard of in Indian history until 'Iṣāmī produced him in the above scene; nor was he connected with Qutlugh Khwāja; nor with Khurāsān. Nevertheless, placing Tarmashīrīn on a par with Qutlugh Khwāja, 'Iṣāmī denounces him as an infidel; and is as scornful of him and his army as he had been of the Mongols of the 'Alāī age. The difference in the situation, according to the poet, lay in this. 'Alāu'ddīn Khaljī was a bold, fearless and successful warrior who like a furious lion rushed on the Mongol warriors in the battlefield in spite of all the attempts of his amirs to restrain him. But Muḥammad bin Tughluq was such a 'frog-eating type of a lion'—a coward—that he would not stir out of Dehlī in spite of the distressing news of the Mongol hordes that poured in successively. He came out of Dehlī only when he had heard of their defeat and retreat. He betrayed his own man—Yusuf Bughra—whom he did not help in the hour of need in spite of the fact that he had promised him help previously. Out of a huge army of 500,000 cavalrymen that had been collected for the purpose from different parts of the country, the Sulṭān placed only 10,000 under the command of the said Yusuf Bughra, liquidating the rest.

Almost all the later chroniclers—Yaḥyā bin Aḥmad, 'Abdu'l Qādir Budāūnī, Firishta and Ḥāj Dabīr—followed 'Iṣāmī, using his *Futūḥu's-Salāṭīn* as their authority with or without an acknowledgment.[1] Yaḥyā bin Aḥmad says:[2]

> 'In 729/1328 Tarmashīrīn Mughal, brother of Qutlugh Khwāja, king of Khurāsān, invaded the capital town (*wilāyat*) of Dehlī and captured many forts. He took as prisoners many of the inhabitants of Lahore (*Lahaur*), Samāna and Indrī, right up to the frontiers of Budāūn. But immediately as his troops reached the

1 Budāūnī alone (M. T., *Bib. Ind.* p. 236) has acknowledged the *Futūḥu's-Salāṭīn*, others have not.

2 T. M., *Bib. Ind.* p. 101.

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bank of the Yamuna (*Jaun*) he returned. The Sulṭān, having collected large armies, had encamped (on a site) between Dehlī and Ḥauẓ-i Khāṣṣ. When the frustrated Tarmashīrīn had recrossed the Indus the Sulṭān went with his armies in pursuit of him to the confines of Kalānaur. Then he entrusted the fortress of Kalānaur which was in a dilapidated condition to the care of Malik Mujīru'd-dīn Abū Rijā, who was required to repair it. Then he deputed some of the leading brave and renowned maliks to carry on the pursuit of Tarmashīrīn, and himself returned to the capital city (*dāru'l-mulk*) of Dehli.'

'Abdu'l Qādir Budāūnī has given a similar narrative.[1] But Firishta appears to have improved in some minor points. He puts Tarmashīrīn's arrival before the so-called evacuation of Dehlī and not after it like 'Iṣāmī, Yaḥya bin Aḥmad and 'Abdu'l Qādir Budāūnī. And the information that Firishta gives on this head amounts to this, that in the year 1327/727, Tarmashīrin, son of Dawa Khān marched with a huge army upon India with a view to conquering it, and overran the whole country from Multān and Lamaghān to Dehlī. Sulṭān Muḥammad humiliated himself before him and purchased peace by giving the invader as much wealth as he wanted. Tarmashīrīn then withdrew, plundering as he went and taking many prisoners.[2]

Firishta contended that Baranī did not give Tarmashīrīn's episode lest he should displease Fīroz Shāh. Firishta's contention might appear plausible to those who believe that Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh was an apologist and held a brief for Muḥammad bin Tughluq. But the two stood on opposite sides of the square and both came from, and went in, opposite directions. Each was of contrary kind, diametrically different from the other. In order to save his own throne from the aggression of the 'ulamā and maliks, at whose hands he had obtained it, Fīroz Shāh always dissociated himself from the policy and philosophy of his distinguished predecessor whom he mercilessly but skilfully exposed in his *Futūḥāt-i Fīroz Shāhī* as well as in the *Sīrat-i Fīroz Shāhī*.

1 M. T. vol. I, pp. 227-28.
2 T. Fr., (Bombay) I, p. 238.

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Firishta did not notice that Baranī's chief object in writing the *Tārīkh-i Fīroz Shāhī* was to atone for his past sins;[1] and that atonement consisted in exposing Sulṭān Muḥammad bin Tughluq as much as possible. Far from defending him, Baranī considered it his personal salvation and sacred duty to bring out anything and everything, however discreditable to the latter; for in that manner alone he could rehabilitate himself in the eyes of Fīroz Shāh and even before God.[2] It is true that Baranī announced in the preamble his intention to write a selective study of the reign of Muḥammad bin Tughluq, but he never intended to hold a brief for the latter as holding a brief goes ill with the sacred task of a historian—to which effect Baranī had taken a solemn oath. Without describing all the events of the reign equally plainly he would dwell long on 'events of decisive importance' only and dismiss others by a wording, cryptic and discreet or clever. Tarmashīrīn's episode is dismissed in the following cryptic phrases:

> (i) 'Sulṭān Muḥammad used to give one hundred lakh tankas every year to Malik Bahrām of Ghaznī[3]; and so liberally would he reward the Qāzī of Ghaznī, giving away wealth—money in cash as well as in the shape of jewels—that the latter had never seen the like of anywhere else.
>
> (ii) 'Great personalities came to Dehlī from among the afflicted persons of Khurāsān, 'Irāq and Transoxiana.'[4]

1 T. F. S. B. pp. 466-97.

2 *Op. cit.* pp. 466-67.

3 It should be noted that Ghaznī (or Ghizna or Ghaznīn) was an integral part of Tarmashirīn's dominion. As such, no intermeddling with the administration of Ghazni—like the one reported above *e.g.* taking the Qāẓi of Ghazni in the pay of the Indian government—would have been tolerated unless there were close friendly relations between the two rulers.

4 Bārani (T. F. S. B. pp. 461-62) says that all these personalities were enriched at Dehlī. He has charged the 'intelligent reader' to trace in the said 'great personalities' the features of Tarmashirin who has been referred to, as 'an expectant looking for the proverbial generosity of Muḥammad Shāh'.

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(iii) 'Looking for the *'awātif-o marāḥim-i Muḥammad Sbabi* (the proverbial generosity of Muḥammad Shāh) there came to the exalted court crowds of great men and chiefs.'[1]

(iv) 'For two or three months out of the period that he was at Dehlī Sulṭān Muḥammad busied himself with nothing beyond welcoming the Mughuls and entertaining them with gifts and presents.[2]

(v) 'He had undertaken the conquest of Khurāsān and Transoxiana.'[3]

The wording above is cryptic to such an extent as to distract the casual reader. He cannot easily detect in it the hidden picture of Tarmashīrīn which is, in fact, *there* and is even adjustable to that drawn by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa on personal observation. But the catastrophe is reached in the last phrase wherein Baranī erroneously puts Khurāsān and Transoxiana together, as if Sulṭān Muḥammad wanted to conquer both these countries in one attempt, oblivious of the fundamental differences between the two. However, the reader must know that Transoxiana created no problem for the Indian emperor even after the deposition and death of his friend and 'brother' Tarmashīrīn, as is shown by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa.

Then, giving up his cryptic language Baranī says plainly that in the opening years of his reign Sulṭān Muḥammad was strong enough to meet any situation or crisis that might arise: 'Revenue was then collected from all parts of the empire with great ease. Every provincial governor used to send his contribution and quota to the imperial exchequer at the specified time. In other words, 'the emperor's control over distant provinces like Telingāna, Kampīla, Dvārsamudra, Ma'bar, Tirhut, Lakhnautī, Satgāon and Sonārgāon was as vigorous and effective as it was in Dehlī. He also conquered a number of territories successively and every new conquest made was carefully consolidated, new and capable officers—walis,

1 *Ibid.*
2 *Op. cit.* p. 499.
3 *Op. cit.* p. 477.

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naibs and amils—being immediately appointed. In this manner the new administrative organization established immediately after his accession was so effective that nothing resembling it had existed under the preceding kings. So much wealth now began to pour into the royal coffers that nothing like it had ever been realized. To crown all, neither in the distant provinces, nor in the outposts was any rebel to be seen; not a single *muqaddam* or *khūṭ* was defiant. There was not a single village, which dared disobey the emperor's orders or could delay, far less refuse, the payment of dues. Over and above the dues, even the arrears accumulated for many years were realized with great ease. Furthermore, all the rajas (*rāyān*), amirs, muqaddams and tribal chiefs were extremely faithful, loyal and submissive to the court of Dehli.'[1]

Firishta holds a similar opinion; and putting Tarmashīrīn's invasion in the second year of the reign,[2] testifies to the efficiency of the administrative system at the very outset.[3] But in this manner he appears to have contradicted himself. A king who was so weak as to surrender to an invader and purchase from him a most disgraceful peace was not likely to establish so effective and admirable an administrative system. Moreover, the slightest exhibition of weakness on his part would have encouraged the Turkish amirs and Hindū chiefs to revolt. In that case the disintegration of the empire would have come earlier and Muḥammad bin Tughluq could hardly have continued as king for about a quarter of a century.

Ḥāj Dabīr places Tarmashīrīn's arrival in India after the 'evacuation' of Dehlī which, it is contended, held out an invitation to the Mongols to lay waste and plunder India. He says,

> 'The Mongols in Khurāsān and 'Irāq having heard of the evacuation of Dehlī mobilised for Dehlī under Tarmashīrīn, brother of Qutlugh Khwāja. Muḥammad Shāh, on hearing of it, started, and the army (*an-nās*) also accompanied him; and after his arrival at Dehlī,

1 T. F. S. B, pp. 468-69.
2 *I. e.* 1327/726-27.
3 T. Fr. p. 238.

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Tarmashīrīn also reached there and halted in the suburbs of Dehlī; and his army scattered in the direction of Lahore (*Lāhaur*), Budāūn, Sāmāna etc. They made swift raids here and there and demolished buildings and wrought that havoc which actually Muḥammad Shāh had intended. And all the Muslim activities in the domain of cultivation and building came to a standstill. And Muḥammad Shāh remained besieged in Dehlī till Tarmashīrīn returned on account of the country being completely devastated.'[1]

This tale of Tarmashīrīn is deeply rooted in the *Futūḥu's-Salāṭīn* whence sprang that myth or legend which Tīmūr heard in India seventy years later. He carried it to Samarqand and incorporated the same in his *Memoirs*, saying,

'I now learned that there was in the vicinity of Dehlī a city called Mirath having a very strong fort. This fort was under the command of Ilyās Afghān and his son Maulānā Aḥmad Thānesari. There was a Hindū (*gabr*) named Sahāi who with a large body of Hindus had gone into the fort to aid in its defence. They had also plenty of ammunitions and implements of war. I sent my officers against this fort of Mirath with orders to grant terms to the place if the inhabitants showed due submission. They replied that Tarmashīrīn Khān with a host beyond all number and compute had assailed their fort but had retired from it baffled.

'This very fort Tarmashīrīn Khān, with all his glory and greatness and an innumerable army, had besieged for a long time and had been unable to capture. But I took it with scanty troops by quick direct assault.'[2]

Tīmūr knew the importance of collecting news from the enemy camps. As he himself says, he charged four of his commanders—Amīr Rustam, Amīr Tāghī Bugha, Amīr Shāh Malik, and Amīr Allāh-Dād[3]—to storm the

1 A. H. G. III, p. 865.
2 *Malfūẓāt-i Tīmūri* (Rampur, Raza Library, MS. No. 166, Fs. 561-563).
3 *Ibid.*

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fort of Mirath; and in the process these amirs employed their own scouts and news agents. Since the legend of Tarmashīrīn was still alive and the general opinion, as stereotyped by 'Iṣāmī, had not changed the local news came handy to Tīmūr who recorded it in such a manner as to help bring into relief his own military skill. But it is wrong on the face of it[1] and cannot be safely used as material for history unless read and studied in proper perspective. In other words, the picture of Tarmashīrīn as drawn by Tīmūr and before him by 'Iṣāmī must be examined along with that drawn subsequently at some length in the *Shajaratu'l-Atrāk*[2] which says:

> 'Tarmashīrīn[3] (Toormah Shere),[4] son of Dowa Chichum, was a just and magnificent prince. He was a Musalmān, and in his time the idolatrous doctrine of the plurality of the godhead was burnt up by the ardent rays of the true faith. The *aloos* or tribe of Chaghatāī, in his fortunate period, was enriched by the inestimable wealth of Islām and, independent of the enjoyment of the blessings of this world, was qualified for eternal happiness in the next. In the performance of the duties of the religion of Muḥammad and in the exaltation of the faith of Aḥmad, he exerted himself to the utmost. The professors of the Musalmān faith, in his time,

1 Tīmūr says that Tarmashirin had besieged the fort of Mirath *for a long time*. This is wrong and will find no confirmation even in 'Iṣāmī. The information regarding the period of the siege is, in fact, nowhere to be found, the whole thing being legendary.

2 The *Shajaratu'l-Atrāk*—literally the Genealogical Tree of the Turks—is a history of Chingiz Khān, his ancestors and descendants to the time of Tīmūr, based on the *Ulus-i arba'-i Chingizī* of Ulugh Beg Mirza. Miles who translated this book into English (London, 1838) says: 'This book appears to have been copied and abridged from the compilation of Toorkish or Moghool History made by order of Ulugh Beg Mirza' (Introduction, p. vii).

3-4 Tarmashīrin is a compound word consisting of 'Tarma' corrupted into 'Toorma' meaning a sword or dagger, and 'Shere' meaning lord or master.

(i) *Farhang-i Rashīdi*, Calcutta 1872.

(ii) Hony. A. C.—*A Turkish-English Dictionary* (Oxford)

enjoyed perfect prosperity. Among the events of his reign is the following:

'He marched an army to the conquest of Hindoostān and having penetrated to the gates of Dehlī plundered that country of everything he could carry away with him. When he encamped with his army at Dehlī the king of that country sent him some valuable presents out of the city as a *peshkash*[1] by his chief amirs and offered his submission. Tarmashīrīn, therefore, marched from Dehlī towards Gujarāt and plundered Somnāth and Surat and returned thence in safety to his own country laden with spoil.'[2]

Tīmūr, too, knew that Tarmashīrīn was a good Musalman. But he gave no information to this effect. Since the *Malfūẓāt-i Tīmūrī* had left the picture of Tarmashīrīn incomplete the *Shajaratu'l-Atrāk*, which was written half a century later under the order of Ulugh Beg Mirza,[3] completed it, describing him as a good Musalman. But the foundation being crooked—for it was laid on a legend heard at Mirath—the superstructure that was raised in the *Shajaratu'l-Atrāk* became palpably twisted and deformed. As a good Musalman Tarmashīrīn could not have made war on the Muslim sites and centres of Dehlī and Mirath as well as on the Hindū sites and centres of Somnāth and Surat in the same

1 *Peshkash* is a magnificent present, presented to great men who might be higher or even equal in rank.

2 *Shajaratu'l-Atrāk* (*Miles*)—pp. 370-71.

3 Ulugh Beg Mirza was the eldest son of Shāh Rukh, the fourth son of Tīmūr. Born at Sulṭāniya on 22nd March 1394/19th Jumāda I,796, he was appointed governor of Samarqand in 1409/812. From his father who had accompanied Tīmūr to India Ulugh Beg Mirza heard the above legend about Tarmashīrīn, and on ascending the throne of Samarqand after his father's death (12th March 1447/25th Dhilḥijja 850) he incorporated it with high amplifications in the *Shajaratul'-Atrāk*. I have used among other manuscripts the *Tadhkira-i Salāṭīn-i Chaghatāi* of Muḥammad Hādī Kāmwar Khān. No. 117 of Aligarh Muslim University, Lytton Collection and the *Maṭla'u's-S'adain* of 'Abdu'r-Razzāq, No. 250 of the same University, 'Abdu's-Salām section,

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campaign; nor could he plunder them all indiscriminately and with equal religious zeal; nor could he pursue the hypothetical routes *en route* Dehlī and back. According to 'Iṣāmī, Tarmashīrīn's initial route lay along the zigzag road running from the Indus *via* Sind area and Multān to Mirath. According to Yaḥyā bin Aḥmad it lay along the inhabited area of the Punjāb and Sarhind and the modern Uttar Pradesh—*i.e.* Lahore, Sāmānā, Indrī, and Budāūn to the neighbourhood of Dehlī. According to Firishta the route lay along the road *via* Multān and Lamaghān to Dehlī; and according to Ḥājī Dabīr Tarmashīrīn descended from Khurāsān into the plain of Dehlī, sending his army in different directions. In connection with his return journey 'Iṣāmī says that the emperor pursued Tarmashīrīn up to Thānesar[1] (in Sarhind), and Yaḥya bin Aḥmad holds that the emperor chased him up to Kalānaur[2] (a few miles south of the river Ravi), and Ḥājī Dabīr announces that not until Tarmashīrīn had recrossed the Indus did the emperor come out of Dehlī and that then he followed his track up to Kalānaur.[3] The author of the *Shajaratu'l-Atrāk* does not show at all the emperor's attempt at pursuit; on the contrary it says that Tarmashīrīn marched from Dehlī towards Gujarāt and plundered Somnāth and Surat and thence returned in safety to his own country. Here is a complex network of paths, not adjustable harmoniously on any atlas of physical and political geography.

Ibn Baṭṭūṭa who saw Tarmashīrīn with his own eyes and lived with him as his personal guest at Bukhārā for about two months (July-August 1333 Shawwāl-Dhilqa'da 733) on his way from Khurāsān to India, says:

> 'Alāu'ddīn Tarmashīrīn is a great king. He is very powerful and possesses huge armies and troops with an extensive dominion; and he is a mighty and just ruler. His country is situated between the dominions of the four great emperors of the world, namely the emperor of China, emperor of India, emperor of 'Irāq

1 F. S. I. verse 8834.
2 T. M. p. 101.
3 A. H. G. III, p. 865.

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and emperor of the Ozbek. All these respect him highly and hold him in great esteem and exchange presents with him. He succeeded his brother Chaghatāī to the throne. And this Chaghatāī was an infidel who had become ruler after his eldest brother Kabek, also an infidel.[1]

'Having stayed several days at the camp, which is called *Urdū*, I went one day to the mosque for the morning prayer as was my wont. When I had performed the prayer some people told me that the king was in the mosque. When he got up from his prayer-mat I advanced to salute him. Shaikh Ḥasan and Ḥisāmu'd-dīn Al-Yāghī the jurist came forward and introduced me to him and said that I had been there for several days. He addressed me in Turkish saying, 'How are you? You are an excellent man. You are welcome.' At that time he was wearing a green garment with a head-wear of similar colour, and he set out for the court on foot. As he walks the people present him on the way their petitions which he stops to receive from every petitioner whether big or small, male or female.[2]

'Then he sent for me, and I attended. He was in a tent. I found him seated on a chair resembling a pulpit and draped in silk embroidered with gold, while the interior of the tent was draped in gilded silk and a crown studded with pearls and rubies was suspended over the king's head at a cubit's height. While the grandees sat in the chairs to the king's left and right the maliks' sons with fly-whisks in their hands stood in his front; and at the door of the tent were posted the *nāib*, the wazīr, the chamberlain and the insignia officer. All these four persons stood up for me at the time of my arrival and accompanied me to the interior. I saluted the king who questioned me—and the insignia officer was acting as an interpreter—about Mecca, Medina and Jerusalem, about Hebron, about Damascus and Egypt, about king an-Nāṣir and about Kūfa and Baṣra and their respective kings as well as about the non-Arab territories.

1-2 For details see the *Reḥla* (G. O. S.) pp. 254-55.

'Then the muezzin announced the call for the *ẓuhr* prayer and we left. We used to attend prayer-services with the king during those days of severe, biting and deadly cold. And he never failed to attend the morning and night prayers with the congregation; after the morning prayer he used to sit for recitation in Turkish till sunrise while everyone in the mosque approached him with extended hands which he took amidst his own. They acted in the same manner after the *'aṣr* prayer. In case a present of raisins or dates is made to the king at the mosque—and dates are very dear there and are considered auspicious—the king gives a part of the same with his own hands to everyone present.

'The following is from among the deeds of this king. One day as I attended the *'aṣr* prayer, the king having not yet arrived, one of his pages brought a prayer-mat and spread it close to the imām's stand where the king used to perform his prayers. The page then said to Imām Ḥisāmu'ddīn al-Yāghī, 'His Majesty desires that you should wait a little for him till he makes his ablutions. The Imām got up and said in Persian, '*Namāz* (prayer) is either for God or for Tarmashīrīn'. 'Then he ordered the muezzin to announce the commencement of the prayer. By the time the king arrived two genuflexions had been already performed. He joined the congregation at the gate of the mosque where the people take off their shoes, and made the remaining two genuflexions after which he completed those genuflexions that he had missed. This done, he, smiling, approached the Imām to shake hands with him. Then he said to me, 'When you reach your country you should tell the people that an ordinary Muslim fakir behaves with the king of the Turks in this manner.'

'Two years after my arrival in India we heard that some of his tribal leaders and amirs collected in a remote outpost of his dominion bordering on China where most of his troops were stationed and they swore allegiance to his cousin, Buzūn Oghle. Buzūn Oghle was a Muslim, but he was corrupt and immoral. And the reason for their swearing allegiance to him and for

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deposing Tarmashīrīn was that Tarmashīrīn had violated the ordinances of their ancestor, the accursed Chingiz. Chingiz had compiled a book of his ordinances called *yasāq*; and it was obligatory according to the local custom to depose the king who had violated the said *yasāq*.

'Sulṭān Tarmashīrīn had violated the *yasāq*. They denounced him; and they also disapproved of his four-year-long stay in places adjacent to Khurāsān with the result that he could not reach the parts bordering on China, while the custom required that the king should visit these parts—the nucleus of their dominion—every year and examine also the condition of the country and troops.

'When they swore allegiance to Buzūn Oghle, the latter marched at the head of a large army against Tarmashīrīn who considered his position unsafe, fearing his own amirs whom he did not trust. He left with fifteen horsemen, for Ghazna which was a part of his dominion and was governed by one of his principal amirs called Barantiya who was one of his confidants and loved Islām and the Muslims.

'After Tarmashīrīn had crossed the river Oxus and taken the road to Balkh, a Turk—an attendant of his nephew Yanqī bin Kabek—recognized him; and whereas Tarmashīrīn had killed his aforesaid brother Kabek whose son Yanqi had stayed in Balkh, the Turk informed him about Tarmashīrīn. Yanqī said, 'Tarmashīrīn must have been fleeing on account of some mishap.' Saying this he pursued him along with his party and caught him and imprisoned him. When Buzūn reached Samarqand and subsequently Bukhāra and the inhabitants swore allegiance to him, Yanqī brought Tarmashīrīn to him. It is said that on reaching Nasaf, an outpost of Samarqand, Tarmashīrīn was killed and buried there.

'It is also said that Tarmashīrīn was not killed. When Buzūn's position became stable Bāshī Oghle, son of Tarmashīrīn, ran away along with his sister and her husband Fīroz to the emperor of India. The emperor

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received them warmly and accorded them due honour in view of the *friendship and correspondence and exchange of presents* that he had had with Tarmashīrīn whom he used to address as '*Brother*'.

'Then somebody* appeared in Sind claiming that he was Tarmashīrīn, but his identity was disputed. The news reached 'Imādu'l-Mulk Sartez—a slave of the emperor and governor of Sind—entitled Malik 'Arẓ, that is, an officer before whom the troops of India have to pass in parade and who is also their controller; his residence is at Multān, the capital of Sind. He sent some Turks who knew Tarmashīrīn to ascertain the truth. They returned and informed him that the man in question was Tarmashīrīn really. Thereupon Sartez ordered that a camp should be erected outside the city, and all preparations befitting the royal visitor were made. Then he personally went out to welcome him. And as soon as he saw him he dismounted and saluted him and escorted him on foot to the camp which Tarmashīrīn entered on horseback in right royal manner, nobody doubting his identity. This was then communicated by Sartez to the emperor who deputed the amirs to receive him and entertain him at feasts.

'The emperor's chief Indian physician who had previously been in the service of Tarmashīrīn suggested to the emperor saying, "Let me go and I shall ascertain the truth about him since I have treated him for a boil under his knee which has left its scar. I can easily recognize him thereby." His suggestion was accepted, and he came along with other amirs deputed to meet Tarmashīrīn. He was admitted to his presence and remained with him by virtue of his previous connection. Then he began to feel his legs and expose the scar. Tarmashīrīn rebuked him saying, 'You want to see the scar of the abcess which you have treated ; here it is.' Saying this he pointed it out to the physician who was

* This man was the pretender who was mistaken by 'Iṣāmī and even by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa for Tarmashīrīn.

satisfied about his identity. He returned to the emperor of India and acquainted him with it.

'Subsequently the wazīr Khwāja Jahān Aḥmad bin Aiyāz and the chief amīr Qutlugh Khān who had been the emperor's tutor during his boyhood had an audience with the emperor and submitted saying, 'O ruler of the world! This king Tarmashīrīn has arrived in this country and his identity has been established; here are about forty thousand of his nationals, his son and son-in-law. Have you realized the consequences that will follow if they rally to him?'

'This submission produced the expected effect on the emperor's mind and he ordered that Tarmashīrīn be produced immediately. When he arrived at the court he was compelled to bow like other visitors, no special consideration being shown to him. And the emperor said to him: "O son of a prostitute"—which is a filthy abuse —"how could you lie and say that you are Tarmashīrīn whereas Tarmashīrīn has been killed and here is with us the guardian of his grave. By God I would have killed you had it not been a matter of disgrace for me. Well, give him five thousand tankas and let him be taken to the house of Bāshī Oghle and his sister, the children of Tarmashīrīn with the message that this liar pretends to be their father." He met the children who recognized him; and he passed a night with them under surveillance of the guards. Next day he was taken out and the children, fearing that they might be killed on account of him, disowned him. He was expelled from Hind and Sind, and he travelled through Kij and Makrān getting rosy receptions and entertainment on the way everywhere from the people who even exchanged presents with him. Thus he reached Shīrāz where its king Abū Isḥāq welcomed him and fixed a decent allowance for him. On my return from India when I arrived at Shīrāz I was told that he was still there. I desired to see him but made no attempt because he was in a house where he could not be visited without permission from king Abū

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Isḥāq. I feared the consequences but later regretted having not seen him."[1]

Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's estimation of Tarmashīrīn is entirely different from that of 'Iṣāmī, and his narrative is genuine, exhilarating and conducive to research. In spite of some conflicting statements or paradoxes in it, it has great historical value. In three significant words *i.e.*, 'Friendship, Correspondence and Exchange of Presents'—Ibn Baṭṭūṭa has resolved for us the knotty problem of the much-misunderstood relations between Tarmashīrīn and Muḥammad bin Tughluq. In this manner, while he explodes the legend of Tarmashīrīn's invading India with a definite aim to conquer it, he also enables us to notice the residuum in the said legend.

As an eye-witness and on personal authority he testifies powerfully at the outset to Tarmashīrīn's religious orthodoxy and his devotion to Sunnī Islām. He also attests his humility, and simplicity of heart and manners, thus pointing out the basic conditions which tended to create a spiritual affinity between him and Muḥammad bin Tughluq. Then he tells us that the latter had engaged as his personal physician a surgeon who had been previously in the service of Tarmashīrīn. This shows an aspect of the background of the close accord between these two rulers.

This is not all. Muḥammad bin Tughluq also sympathised with Tarmashīrīn in his misfortunes as Ibn Baṭṭūṭa tells us ; and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's statement to this effect is confirmed by Barani's *Tārīkh-i Fīroz Shāhī*.[2] Dismayed by his misfortunes which commenced with his adventures

1 The *Reḥla* (G. O. S.) pp. 254-58.

2 *Vide* Barani's account of the great favours conferred by Sulṭān Muḥammad on Malik Bahrām Ghaznain—governor of Ghazna—who was no other than 'Barantiya of Ghazna' mentioned by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (T.F.B. p. 461). Also compare the observations of Shihābu'ddīn Aḥmad 'Abbās (*Masāliku'l Abṣār*, B. N., MS. 5867, F. 54). According to him the courtiers and chiefs of Tarmashīrīn were the most zealous converts to Islām. They had overcome all doubts and misgivings, and were able to distinguish the lawful (*ḥalāl*) from the unlawful (*ḥarām*). *Idem*, Fs. 55, 56.

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in Khurāsān Tarmashīrīn fled to Ghazna whence he sent his children through the good offices of Barantiya, governor of Ghazna, to Dehlī. The emperor of Dehlī (Sulṭān Muḥammad) 'received them warmly and accorded them due honour' ; and he maintained them under his personal care. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's summary expression[1] regarding the fate of Tarmashīrīn's unfortunate adventures in Khurāsān is highly significant. It urges a study of the background of these adventures which threw him into a whirlpool of troubles.

It should be remembered that the conversion of Tarmashīrīn to Sunnī Īslam, a little before the accession of Muḥammad bin Tughluq had marked a turning-point in the history of the foreign policy of the Sultanate of Dehlī. Tarmashīrīn turned a zealot, as is evident from Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's observations, and felt drawn towards Muḥammad bin Tughluq who too was a Sunnī. Although the latter was free from every kind of sectarian bias, was extremely broad-minded and was even at war with the reactionary 'ulamā and die-hard Sunnis at home ; abroad he enjoyed a good reputation for his religious zeal, conventionalism and orthodoxy. This was sufficient attraction for Tarmashīrīn who offered the Indian emperor a choice between the Sunnī Chaghatais and the Shi'a Il-Khanids, the former representing Tūrān and the latter Īrān. In those days the antagonism between the Shi'as and Sunnīs was exceedingly acute[2] ; hence the rivalry between the Il-Khanīds of Irān and the Chaghataīs of Transoxiana (*Tūrān*) became virulent.[3] The Īl-Khanids in Irān had accepted the Shi 'a faith. Uljaitū-Khān (1303-16), a contemporary of 'Alāu'ddīn Khalji of India, was a staunch Shi'a.' He is said to have severely persecuted the Sunnis in his dominions (1309). In 1311/712, he invaded Syria, then held by the Sunnī ruler, an-Nāṣir. Ibn Taimiya,[4] the great Sunnī

1 *I. e.* 'They (amirs of Tarmashirin) disapproved of his four-year-long stay in places adjacent to Khurāsān.' *Vide* the *Rehla* G. O. S., p. 256.

2 Ibn Baṭṭūṭa—Def. et Sang , I, pp. 144-17.

3 'Abdur-Razzāq—*Maṭla'u's-S'adain*, I.O., MS. 192, F. 19-23.

4 *Vide* Appendices, PART TWO.

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jurist or 'anthropomorphist free lance', as Macdonald[1] calls him, then in an-Nāṣir's service was authorized[2] to accompany the army departing for Syria; and it was he who incited Kabek Khān, the king of Transoxiana, and a brother and predecessor of Tarmashīrīn, to wage war against the Shi'a aggressor. Kabek Khān threatened to march on Khurāsān, and Uljaitū was forced to retire. He lost hold eventually on some of his territories—Kābul, Ghazna and Qandahār, which passed into the hands of the Chaghatais. In 1316 Uljaitū Khān was succeeded by his young son, Abū S'aīd. After some nine years, approximately the time when Muḥammad bin Tughluq ascended the throne of India (1325), the relations between Sulṭān Abū S'aīd and his powerful minister, Amīr Chobān, became strained.[3] Meanwhile, Tarmāshīrīn, having ascended the throne of Transoxiana, had become a staunch Sunnī. He pursued an anti-Īlkhānī policy like his brother and predecessor, Kabek, and began to make preparations for an invasion of Khurāsān. With this object in view he had collected troops in Ghazna, an outpost of strategic importance. No sooner did Amīr Chobān hear of this, than he sent a huge army, under the command of his son, Ḥasan, towards Ghazna. Ḥasan fell unawares upon Tarmāshīrīn, then in the vicinity of Ghazna. There a battle was fought early in 1326.[4] Tarmāshīrīn was defeated, and he fled to India. Says D'ohsson,' 'The

1 Macdonald: *Development of Muslim Theology, Jurisprudence and Constitutional Theory*, pp. 270-78.

2 *Encyclopædia of Islām*, Vol. II, p. 421.

3 D'Ohsson—*Histoire des Mongols*, Vol. IV, pp. 657 ff,

4 (*a*) Abdu'r-Razzāq: *Maṭlau's-Sa'dain*, I. O., MS. 192, F. 22-23.

(*b*) Ḥamdu'llāh Mustaufi: *Tārīkh-i Guzīda*, p, 607.

(*c*) Khvānd Mīr: *Ḥabibu's-Siyar*, III, Pt. I, p. 703.

(*d*) Mīr Khvānd: *Rauẓatu's-Ṣafā*, Vol. I, p. 152.

N.B.—Lee (*The Travels of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa*, p. 89) remarks that the exploits of Tarmāshirin in the neighbourhood of Ghazna are referred to in the *Maṭla'u's-Sa'dain* under the year A H. 732 (A.D. 1332). This is wrong. The *Maṭla'u's-Sa'dain* describes the above-mentioned fight of Tarmāshīrīn with Amīr Ḥasan near Ghazna under the year 726 (1326) and not 732 (1332).

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Khān of Transoxiana, Tarmashīrīn crossed the Oxus, but he was defeated near Ghaznain by Amīr Ḥasan son of Chobān and withdrew to his country.[1] But the developments in contemporary India studied in the light of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's summary—'Friendship, Correspondence and Exchange of Presents—which had already brought Sulṭān Muḥammad and Tarmashīrīn very close to one another make it highly probable that Tarmashīrīn seized this opportunity to go hurriedly into India and see the Indian emperor. The common interest that had bound the two together was still fresh, *i.e.* their mutual hostility towards the Īl-khanids of Irān and Khurāsān. D'ohsson tells us that 'the succeeding years, Tarmashīrīn employed in preparing another expedition against Khurāsān'.[2] On his part the emperor of India set about preparing a similar expedition. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa mentions Tarmashīrīn's four-year-long stay in places adjacent to Khurāsān'[3] which tends to explain D'ohsson's point. This was Tarmashīrīn's second Khurāsān expedition, the first being that of 1326, already mentioned. When this too proved a complete failure the fate of Tarmashīrīn was sealed. As Ibn Baṭṭūṭa says, the army chiefs of Transoxiana charged Tarmashīrīn with violating the *yasāq* of Chingiz Khān and deposed him.[4] Shortly after this, he was killed near Samarqand as is also stated in the *Shajaratu'l-Atrāk*[5]. Muḥammad

1 D'Ohsson—*Histoire des Mongols*, IV, p. 670

2 In his account of May 1328 (Rajab, 728) D'Ohosson says, 'Des avis successifs avaient annonce que le souverain de la Transoxiane faisait les preparatifs d'une expedition dans le Khorassan; a la fin de mai arriva un courrier avec la nouvelle que l'ennemi s'etait mis en marche et qu'on avait besoin de prompts secours., *Idem*, p. 701

3-4 *Vide*, p. 134 *supra*

5 Says the *Shajaratu'l-Atrāk*, 'Some time after this, his (Tarmashīrīn's) cousin Pooran son of Dowar Timur who was not a Musalman associated with certain Mongols (Mooghols) who had not yet been converted to Islām, assembled an army in Hubbeh, and in the year 728 (1328 A. D)., in the environs of the town of Kust at Koozi Mendak, put Tarmashirin (Toormeh Shere) to death; and he was buried in one of the villages of Samarqand., (Sh. At. p. 371).

While the above account of Tarmashīrīn's death is correct, the date is wrong. Certainly Tarmashirin was not killed in 728 Hijra

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bin Tughluq was perfectly right when, as Ibn Baṭṭūṭa tells us, he announced the death of Tarmashīrīn and rebuked the pretender[1] who was no other than the nephew of Tamashīrīn, described by 'Iṣāmī. But he gave him 5000 tankas in token of his own regard for Tarmashīrīn. Since the pretender in question had become commonly known as Tarmashīrīn, as is evident from the alleged report of the royal physician[2], Ibn Baṭṭūṭa was inclined to consider him as the real Tarmashīrīn. Such was the pressure of rumours which impressed him in Shīrāz[3] too. Since Tarmashīrīn's legend with all its portents had become a bazaar gossip 'Iṣāmī incorporated it, as was his wont, in his *Futūḥu's-Salāṭīn*.[4]

This is the truth about Tarmashīrīn. Iṣāmī's account of his invasion of India with a view to conquer it as well as the report about the abject surrender of emperor Muḥammad bin Tughluq is sham and false. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's narrative has clarified the moot points about Tarmashīrīn by supplying a much-needed corrective and a missing link in the chronicles of Transoxiana, Ghazna, Khurāsān and India. It has brought into relief the fact that Tarmashīrīn was an international figure differing completely from the Chingiz Khānī Mongol invaders who had been infidels. While they were out to destroy and devastate India and to conquer it from end to end, Tarmashīrīn was the first cultured Muslim of Mongol lineage whose heart throbbed for Islām and who felt bound personally to the Muslim emperor of India by ties of common interest and faith.

Baranī too has clarified a moot point arising out of an omission on the part of Iṣāmī. Immediately after Tarmashīrīn's return from India the latter describes the Qarāchil expedition under the following heading—'Troops despatched by Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh bin Tughluq (1328 A. D.), for in the summer of 733 Hijra (1333 A. D.) he was seen by Ibn Baṭṭuṭa at Bukhārā. Two years after his arrival in India Ibn Baṭṭūṭa heard of Tarmashirīn's mishaps. Tarmashirīn was killed approximately in 1334-A. D.

1, 2, 3 *Vide* the *Reḥla* pp. 257-58.

4 *Vide* pp. 119-122 *supra*

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Shāh to Qarāchīl (*Qarāchal*) with the intention of destroying them.[1]' But the Qarāchīl expedition was a corollary of the still-born Khurāsān expediton, described in the *Tārīkh-i Fīroz Shāhī* of Ẓiyāu'dīn Baranī. This Khurāsān expedition had entailed levy of a huge army which became known as 'Khurāsān army'[2]. Since 'Iṣāmī makes no mention of the Khurāsān expedition and Khurāsān army, it becomes easy in the light of Baranī's narrative of the same to spot the reason behind this omission. It lay in the masquerade of Tarmashīrīn's invasion which had necessitated, in the words of 'Iṣāmī, a levy of 500,000 cavalrymen'. The corresponding figure of 370,000 given by Baranī, marking the strength of the Khurāsān army suggests that there had been only *one* levy which was for the conquest of Khurāsān—a fact attested by the contemporary writer Mīrkhurd[3]. 'Iṣāmī erroneously put it down as the levy caused by the bogy of Tarmashīrīn and, therefore, omitted completely the episode of the Khurāsān expedition and Khurāsān army. And he has been followed by Yaḥya bin Aḥmad,[4] by Budāunī[5] and even by Ḥājī Dabīr[6] (Ḥusām Khān) without being acknowledged. Firishta[7] has sounded an independent note. From his language it is evident that after Tarmashīrīn's return, Muḥammad bin Tughluq began to make preparations for the conquest of the Il-Khānī territories of Khurāsān and 'Irāq. He began to raise a new army, subsequently known as 'Khurāsān army', and began also to award rich gifts to the Mongols, visiting his court from the Mongol countries. Baranī repeatedly complains against the emperor's lavishing wealth upon these Mongols.[8] But the emperor did so with a fixed purpose in the hope of eliciting information about the enemy's countries. In these circumstances it emerges like a self-evident truth that

1 That is, the troops, despatched to Qarāchīl. *Vide* 'Iṣāmī—F.S, verses 8,841-8, 884
2 Barani—T. F. B., pp. 4676-477
3 S. A. M.—pp. 271-273 *vide* p. 148 infra
4 Yaḥya bin Aḥmad—T. M. , p. 101
5 Budāūni—M. T. p. 227
6 A.H.G. , III, p. 865
7 T. Fr. (Bombay), Vol. I, pp. 238-239
8 Baranī—T.F., pp. 476, 477, 499

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Tarmashīrīn's visit had something to do with the Khurāsān expedition of Muḥammad bin Tughluq.

On reaching Transoxiana, Tarmāshīrīn sent his son-in-law, Amīr Nauroz,[1] with a large number of Mongol chieftains, to the court of Muḥammad bin Tughluq. All of them joined the Sulṭān's army; and Amīr Nauroz remained in Muḥammad bin Tughluq's service until the latter's death near Tatta (1351). It was after this visit of his that Tarmāshīrīn opened Ghazna to direct communications and negotiations with Sulṭān Muḥammad. Ghazna was afterwards made a diplomatic centre, and came within the Sulṭān's sphere of influence, as he frequently sent money to the Government of Ghazna, and almost took the Qāẓī of Ghazna into his pay, a fact which Baranī repeatedly deplores. It is to the friendly relations thus established between Muḥammad and Tarmāshīrīn that Ibn Baṭṭūṭa bears so powerful a testimony. It is, again, to these that the *Masāliku'l-Abṣār* testifies. It records on the authority of Shaikh Abū Bakr Bazzī, that Sulṭān Muḥammad sent a present of three lakhs of gold tankas to Transoxiana, Shaikh Abū Bakr Bazzī himself being one of the bearers of the money.

The cumulative evidence in favour of the establishment of a friendly alliance between Muḥammad and Tarmāshīrīn explodes the myth of the latter's invasion or raid.[2] In either case Muḥammad was not the man to forget or forgive Tarmāshīrīn. He would have waited long for his revenge, and instead of meditating an invasion of Khurāsān would have concerted plans for the destruction of Tarmāshīrīn.

No foreign conquest was possible without a large army and money for its upkeep, and the certainty of the

1 *Idem*, p. 533. Barani (p. 533) mentions Amir Nauroz as Nauroz Kargan

2 Sir Wolseley Haig (Cambridge History of India, III, p. 143 and J.R.A.S., July 1922) regards 'Tarmashirin's invasion' as a raid. But he considers the account of his invasion of India with a view to conquer it and of the abject surrender of Muḥammad bin Tughluq as, apocryphal. In fact he rejects this acccount as well as that of the latter's attempt to bribe the invader.

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continuance of peace and prosperity in the country. This turned the emperor's mind towards the Deccan, which of all parts of the empire was the weakest and most dangerous. Of this he had had a personal experience. The mere delay in the communication of news from Dehlī, while he was in charge of an expedition in Wārangal, had led to a revolt in the army.

One of the factors controlling the situation in the Deccan was the scarcity of the Musalmans—a fact which made it so tempting to the Hindū rulers to revolt, and so difficult for the emperor of Dehlī immediately to control the situation from so great a distance. At the slightest outbreak of trouble in any part of the Deccan, either a capable general had to be sent from Dehlī or the emperor himself had to march in person as Sulṭān Quṭbu'ddīn Mubārak Shāh Khaljī had done. Sulṭān Muḥammad's desire to make Deogīr a centre of Muslim culture and to plant there a colony of the Musalmans mentioned by the *Siyaru'l-Auliyā*[1] had probably this political motive behind it. He hoped in this way to solve the Deccan problem. He would employ the saints (mashāikh)—the disciples of Shaikh Niẓāmu'ddīn Auliyā and others—peacefully to disseminate the teachings of Islām in the south, as had been done with remarkable results in northern India by their predecessors—Shaikh Muḥammad Bakhtiyār Kākī, Shaikh Farīdu'ddīn Ganj-i Shakar, Shaikh 'Alāu'ddīn and Shaikh Niẓāmu'ddīn Aulīyā. Each had become a popular idol with a large following of both Hindus and Musalmans. All had been of great service in spreading the culture of Islām and in fostering the growth of a better feeling between the Muslims and the Hindus. This seems to have been one of the objects with which the Sulṭān endeavoured to choose a more centrally situated capital. Firishta tells us that the Sulṭān's wazīr and his councillors suggested Ujjain[2] as a suitable place, but he himself was in favour of Deogīr, which was re-christened Daulatābād.

1 Muḥammad bin Mubārak; *Siyaru'l-Aulīyā*, pp. 273-275.

2 T. Fr. (Bombay, 1831) vol. I, p. 242.

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The *Masāliku'l-Abṣar* makes no mention at all of the transference of the capital. On the other hand, it[1] tells us that the empire of Dehlī had two capitals;[2] (1) Dehlī and (2) Deogīr or Qubbatu'l-Islām (the metropolis of Islām) between which the Sulṭān had taken care to place drums at every posting station. Whenever anything happened in a city and whenever the gates of a town were opened or closed the drums were beaten in rapid succession from posting station to posting station. In this manner the Sulṭān knew every day definitely the time of the opening and closing of the gates of the towns lying at varying distances.

Gardner Brown[3] thinks that the emperor intended to take the new provinces of the Deccan under his personal rule, because Deogīr was more centrally situated than Dehlī and closer to the scene of action in the Deccan to make it into a second capital. He is definitely of opinion that with the accession of Muḥammad bin Tughluq the empire's centre of gravity had shifted from the north to the south, and to this Brown attributes the projected change. He suggests that one of the reasons responsible for the shifting of the centre of gravity was the decline in the importance of the Punjāb, which apart from being devastated by a hundred years of Mongol raids was, so it is reported, devastated by a great flood. That the Punjāb had been for a hundred years exposed to invasions from the north cannot be denied; that a great flood had occurred may also be conceded, but the diminished importance of the Punjāb was not the real or primary cause of the so-called transference of the capital.

Barani[4] tells us that the other project of Sulṭān Muḥammad, the carrying out of which brought destruction to the capital city and *misfortune to the upper classes, as well as decline of the select and distinguished people*, was that the Sulṭān took it into his head to rename

1 (*a*) B. N., MS. 5867, F. 27. (*b*) *Notices et extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque du Roi*, pp. 210, 172.

2 *Vide* Appendices PART TWO.

3 (i) *A. U. Magazine*, 1925. (ii) Journal, U. P. Historical Society, vol. I, pt. II, p. 13.

4 Barani (Bib. Ind.), p. 473.

Deogīr, Daulatābād. He desired to make it his capital, because it was comparatively central and equidistant from Dehlī, Gujarāt, Lakhnautī, Satgāon, Sonārgāon, Telingāna (*Teling*), Ma'bar, Dvārasamudra and Kampīla. Without discussing the project he devastated Dehlī so much that in its inhabited areas, inns and houses, not even a cat or dog remained.[1] All the dwellers, with their families and dependants, wives and children, male and female servants, were forced to leave. Many people, who had been living in their homes for years, and had been attached to their forefathers' houses for generations, perished in the long journey. All around Deogīr, the infidel land of old, there sprang up on all sides the graveyards of the Musalmans. Although the Sulṭān made liberal gifts, both at the time of their setting out for Deogīr and on their arrival, the people were unable to endure the hardships of the journey, and perished in 'this land of infidels'. Out of so many emigrants only a few ever returned. From that day the city of Dehlī, which had hitherto been 'the envy of the cities of the world,' was destroyed. Although the emperor brought nobles as well as men of learning and distinction into the city from other parts and made them dwell there, yet even by this importation of strangers the city was not populated. By these enormous changes and alterations great injury was done to the empire.

Ẓiyā'uddin Barani[2] distinctly says that the transference of the capital brought about the *destruction of the upper classes*. It follows that the common people, that is, the mass of the Hindus, were not affected by the forced emigration to Deogīr. Two Sanskrit[3] inscriptions of the years 1327 and 1328 tend to confirm this. The first inscription of the Vikrama year 1384 (A.D. 1327) 'records the foundation of a well by a Brahmin of the name of Śrīdhara at the village of Nadayana, the modern Naraina, in New Dehlī area. The inscription originally consisted of twenty-one verses inscribed on a piece of stone measuring eighteen

1 Barani (Bib. Ind.), pp. 473-474.

2 *Idem*, p. 473.

3 *Catalogue of the Delhi Museum of Archæology*, p. 29.

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inches in width and thirteen inches in height. A part of the stone being broken some of the verses are missing, but sixteen of them are yet preserved. The fifth verse expresses approval of Muḥammad bin Tughluq as ruler and as the institutor of a new era. The ten[1] verses which follow throw light on the favourable circumstances in which the Hindus of Dehlī lived under the Sulṭān at that time.

The other inscription[2] of the year 1328 (Vikrama year 1384) is said to have been found in the village Sarban,[3] south of New Delhi. It contains a sketch of the history of Dehlī from earliest times till the time of the inscription, with special reference to Muḥammad bin Tughluq, the ruling Sulṭān. It testifies to the prosperity of a family of Hindū merchants, dwelling in Agrotaka, its principal member being Shri Sachadevan. Two of his most distinguished descendants, Khetala and Paituka, sank a well in memory of their deceased ancestors and for 'the continuation of their race.'

These inscriptions throw a flood of light on the point at issue. If the Hindus had been persecuted by the emperor ; if they had been forced, one and all, to evacuate Dehlī; and if Dehlī had been ruined, surely no Hindū, even in the suburbs, would have thought of raising any monument, far less of sinking a well, to the memory of their departed ancestors and for the continution of their race. The memorialist is happy, and rejoices in the opportunity he has of serving his co-religionists, quenching their thirst and administering to their needs by means of this well. The well was actually thrown open to the use of the Hindus, who enjoyed and admired it.[4]

1 *I.e.* verses 6-16.

2 *Idem.*

3 The inscription has Sarvala or Sarbala.

4 Facts militate against Prof. N. B. Roy's remarks (JIH, vol. xx, 1941, p. 170), undermining the importance of these inscriptions. He ignores the fact that the Brahmin founder of the well sings the praise of the 'holy land of Hariyāna where Krishna walked for the suppression of sin.' 'In that holy region' says the Brahmin memorialist 'lies the city of Dilli', which was covered with jewels, 'and whence' sin had been banished through the chanting of the Vedas.' *Vide* Appendices, PART TWO.

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'Thus', continues the inscription, 'exclaim the crowd of wayfarers when they proceed home, after drinking the sweet clear water of this well.' The language of the inscription connotes that the memorialist had a long pedigree, and enjoyed social freedom and that the social history of the Hindus had a continuity irrespective of the changes in the government of Dehlī. It also appears from the inscription that the rank and file of the Hindus of Dehlī, far from being crushed, as is generally supposed, enjoyed peace and protection, and they seem to have been favourably inclined to the emperor ; at least they did not detest him like Ẓiyāu'ddīn Baranī, 'Iṣāmī and Mīrkhurd.[1] The second inscription is no less useful. It tells us that Hindū merchants lived peacefully and prosperously in the Dehlī of Sulṭān Muḥammad. 'Agrotaka' is mentioned as the dwelling-place of these merchants. 'Agrotaka', probably connected with 'Agarwāla' as the Hindū *Baniyas* of Agra are now called, was the name of that part of Dehlī where the Hindū merchants then lived.

The report of the destruction of Dehlī coming from Baranī needs careful examination. His language, though distinct and clear enough in the beginning, becomes ambiguous towards the end. He deplores the fate of the Muslim emigrants in a language which has been taken to mean the wholesale and indiscriminate exile of the natives, the Hindus. But an examination of Baranī's account, word by word, will show that nowhere does he imply the exile of the Hindus. He is naturally aggrieved at the sight of the destruction of special Muslim dwellings. As regards the people who were made to go to Deogīr he uses the word *mutawaṭṭinān*,[2] which is particularly applicable to the Muslims who had adopted India as their home. That he distinctly means the Muslim Dehlī or Dehlī of the Musalmans when he deplores its fate appears from his reference to the growth of its population for 'the last 160 or 170 years,' that is, since the Muslim conquest. Certainly

1 That is, Muḥammad bin Mubārak, author of the *Siyaru'l-Auliyā*.

2 Literally an alien who is naturalized in a given country. Baranī—T.F. p. 474. Elliot (III, 239) has mistranslated *mutawaṭṭinān* as natives.

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there was a populous city of Dehlī even before the Muslim conquest. By ignoring the population of Dehli before the Muslim conquest Baranī has ignored in his above statement the Hindū element. The same is true of 'Iṣāmī.[1] He regards Muḥammad bin Tughluq as 'a scourge sent by God' to punish the Musalmans of Dehlī because of their corruption and unrighteousness.[2]

That the Hindus were not sent at all to Deogīr is clear from the *Siyaru'l-Auliyā*.[3] The author, who was a contemporary of the emperor and probably an eye-witness, informs us that while Sulṭān Muḥammad bin Tughluq was sending the *khalq*[4] towards Deogīr and meditating the conquest of Khurāsān, he had a special hall constructed in Dehlī. There a pulpit was placed. All the nobles and leading men of Dehlī and the suburbs were summoned to hear the emperor deliver a speech encouraging the *khalq* to a 'jihād' against the infidels.[5]

It should be noted that the same people (*khalq*), who were being sent to Deogīr, were addressed by the emperor and induced to proceed on a 'jihād' against the infidels. Obviously, the Hindus of Dehlī could not have been persuaded to join a 'jihād' against their co-religionists in Deogīr. The term jihād is used in a special sense to connote the peaceful dissemination of Islām, as is borne out by the following incident which, according to the *Siyaru'l-Auliyā*,[6] occurred about the same time. The emperor called Shaikh Shamsu'ddīn,[7] a disciple of Shaikh Niẓāmu'ddīn Aulīyā,

1 'Iṣāmī: *Futūḥus-Salāṭin*, (Agra edition) verses 8461-8841. *Vide* Appendices at the end of PART TWO.

2 *Idem.*

3 Muḥammad bin Mubārak: *Siyaru'l-Auliyā*, p. 271.

4 The term *khlaq* used here as elsewhere in contemporary literature, signifies Muslims. When the Hindus are intended, the term *khalāiq* is used. See *Maṭlūbu'ṭ-Tālibion* MS. 2352, Raza Library, Rampur; Fs. 41-44.

5 The term *kuffār* (infidels) in the text (S, A. p. 271) signifies Hindus and does not apply to the descendants of Chingiz Khān, many of whom had already embraced Islām.

6 Sayyid Muḥammad bin Mabārak, S.A., p. 228.

7 The *Maṭlūbu'ṭ-Ṭālibīn* describes him as Maulanā Shamsu'ddīn Yaḥya, a disciple of Shaikh Niẓām'ud-din Auliyā and teacher of the whole city (of Dehli). *Maṭlūbu'ṭ-Ṭālibin*, I, O. MS., F. 92.

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and asked what a man of his intelligence was doing there. 'You,' said the Sulṭān, addressing him, 'should go to Kashmīr[1] and preach Islām to the idol-houses there.' He then issued an order empowering certain officers to send Shamsu'ddīn to Kashmīr. Shamsu'ddīn returned home on the plea that he had to make preparations for his departure to Kashmīr. There, in reply to his relations' inquiry, he said to them, 'I saw my master, Shaikh Niẓāmu'ddīn Auliyā, in a dream; he calls me—I go hence to him. Where can they (the Sulṭān and his officers) send me?' On the morrow Shaikh Shamsu'ddīn fell ill, and developed an ulcer on his chest, which was operated upon. As the emperor heard of this he ordered Shamsu'ddīn to be brought to the court with a view to ascertaining how far he was really disabled. On the matter being ascertained the Shaikh was allowed to return, but he died[2] in a few days.

The story of Shaikh Shamsu'ddīn throws light on the purport of the emperor's reported speech in Dehlī. It enables us to understand the special meaning of the 'jihād' preached by the emperor. He did not mean to induce the Muslims of Dehlī to go to war with the Hindus of the Deccan, since there was no cause for war, but he meant some of the leading Muslims of Dehlī, the amirs, the 'ulamā and saints to establish themselves in Deogīr. That only the leading Muslims were pressed to go to Deogīr, and not the rank and file, is evident from the *Maṭlūbu't-Ṭālibīn*.[3] It tells us that in the days when Sulṭān Muḥammad bin Tughluq was forcing the *leading men of Dehlī* to Deogīr, Shaikh Sirāju'ddīn 'Uṣmān, a disciple of Shaikh Niẓāmu'ddīn Auliyā, and the author's spiritual guide and teacher, escaped to Lakhnautī. The words 'leading men of Dehlī' (*buzurgān-i Dehlī*)[4] used with regard to those who were

1 Islām had not been introduced into Kashmir as yet. Only a few years before Shāh Mirza, the famous adventurer from Swāt, who became in 1346 the first Muslim king of Kashmir, had entered the service of Sinha Deva, the Hindū ruler of Kashmir at that time. (Tr. F. II, pp. 647-648.)

2 Muḥammad bin Mubārak: *Siyaru'l-Auliyā*, pp. 225-228.

3-4 Muḥammad Būlāq—*Maṭlūbu't-Ṭālibīn* MS. 2352, Raza Library, Rampur, F. 45.

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forced to leave Dehlī for Deogīr, should be noted. Almost the same expression is used in the Arabic[1] history of Gujarāt. The author, borrowing his information from Ḥusām Khān, tells us that on resolving to make Deogīr his capital the emperor constructed inns and founded villages at every stage all along the way from Dehlī to Deogīr. He then ordered the outstanding inhabitants and nobles of Dehlī to set out. He gave them the price of their landed property as well as provisions and allowance for the journey. With them he himself proceeded to Deogīr, where he founded at the foot of the fortress a city called Daulatābād. He made it the metropolis and constructed new buildings in it, making the people[2] dwell there. Dehlī was evacuated even by the door-keepers (*bawwāb*).

There is no mention of the common people—the masses or the Hindus—being forced to leave Dehlī. The nobles and people of note are expressly mentioned as being the emigrants. With regard to the evacuation of Dehlī the word '*bawwāb*' has been used showing the extent to which emigration was carried. '*Bawwāb*' means the *durbān* or door-keeper. It follows that the houses of the aristocracy being emptied, the door-keepers were no longer needed.

The story of Shaikh Fakhru'ddīn Zarrādī, a disciple of Shaikh Niẓāmu'ddīn Auliyā, related in the *Siyaru'l-Auliyā*,[3] elucidates the point still further. It shows us the kind of people who were forced to leave Dehlī for Deogīr, Shaikh Fakhru'ddīn Zarrādī being one of them. Shortly after his arrival there, the Shaikh began to make preparations to retire or to proceed to Mecca. Kamālu'ddīn, the qāẓī of Deogīr, warned him against departing without the Sulṭān's orders. He told him that the Sulṭān aimed at making Deogīr a prosperous and renowned city of the world, and desired the 'ulamā, the mashāikh, and the nobles to make their homes there. But the Shaikh turned a deaf ear to the warning, and left for Mecca.

1 A. H. G., vol. III, p. 863

2 *I.e.* the outstanding inhabitants and nobles of Dehlī.

3 Muḥammad bin Mubārak: *Siyaru'l-Auliya*, pp. 263, 271-275

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'Iṣāmī who is the next contemporary writer says:

'Since the emperor was suspicious of the (Muslim[1]) population of the city and had poison-like bitter feelings which he had concealed for a long time he came out eventually in his true colour of injustice and tyranny behaving like Zaḥḥāk and killed many of them. When he found that it did not result in lessening their strength he evolved a mischievous plan secretly in order to destroy the city in a month's time. Accordingly it was announced that whoever was loyal to the emperor should vacate the city immediately and move in the direction of Maharashtra, that he who obeyed the royal order would receive much gold from the emperor; whereas he who failed to carry out the order would have his head cut off with the sword and his wealth confiscated.

'This order came like a fire blowing the city in flames and compelling all the people (*khalq*[2]) to leave their houses. They wept on leaving behind their dear ancestral homes. Women[3], who had been in *purda* and had never seen the sun outside, had been in seclusion in their houses, had not seen the gateway and did not know the way from the portico to the gate, as well as many of the pious saints who had retired into secluded and peaceful quarters and were indifferent to the threats of the kotwāl, were dragged out of their houses, the police pulling them by their hair and inflicting on them tortures and afflictions. The class of saints, who had been living in dark hovels away from the din of the world and were so indifferent to this world that they did not bother to choose between a kid and a camel, the gallows and pearls being equal in their eyes—all these people, terrorized by the police,

1 F. S. verse 8461. *Cf.* p. 159, *infra* footnote 2

2 Here as elsewhere Iṣāmī uses the term *khalq* (literally people) for the Muslims only, to the exclusion of Hindus. This meaning of *khalq* finds confirmation in the *Siyaru'l-Auliya* (p, 271), in other books as well as in the *Tārikh-i Firoz Shāhi* of Barani (p. 467) and the *Reḥla* of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa which has the synonym *an-nās*. (G.O.S., pp, 94, 12 and footnote 3).

3 That is, Muslim women.

came out of the city. In this way they walked with loud lamentations like a person to be buried alive. Every stage of their journey turned into a graveyard; none but the dead were to be seen at every halting station. Those of the men and women who survived brooded over the loss of their homes in accordance with the *ḥadīṣ* "love of home is a part of one's religion."

'An old man who was one of my ancestors and had been an inhabitant of this city was one among these emigrants. That enlightened old man of ninety lived in secluded retirement of his house; he had distributed among his sons the villages of his ancestral estate. In the house there was a balcony which served him as his retreat; there he performed his devotional exercises to the extent of fasting in the day and standing at prayers in the night. He bore the name of 'Aizzu'ddīn. The royal servants dragged him out of the city; and sitting in a litter he reached Tilpat where some of those who enjoyed access to him removed the cover of the litter. He was surprised to find himself at a strange place surrounded by thick woods, animals and wastes. He gave up all hopes of seeing his sweet home again and heaved a sigh and died. His death was mourned by all. Wailings and lamentations broke out in every direction; and men as well as women fell to lacerating their faces and pulling their hair. Eventually in the manner of spiritualists they gave him due burial. I was also in the company of that benevolent old man. I saw that a crowd of people were struck with sorrow and remained in this state for three days and nights. The third day they packed off in caravans and parties performing the irksome journey—treading over the iron-like hot soil under the burning sun. Those who had hardly ever walked round a garden were compelled to travel over strange parts of the country; and every-one old or young, man or woman had to quit his or her home and to bear the hardships of a journey through wildernesses. As a result, many a delicate person expired on the way like the pilgrims of Mecca expiring *en route*. The babies, suckled hitherto on the breast,

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died for want of milk; and the adults, unable to obtain water, died of thirst. In the course of that journey I witnessed that many a fairy-like person lay on beds of thorns, and the beauties who had had no conception at all of the burning sun treaded the scorching earth, tying their feet with rags which they stooped frequently to set right or to re-tie on the way. Some I saw were walking bare-footed and their bleeding feet painted the road like an idol-house. Those beautiful faces which had never exhibited a yellowish colour except when painted with sandal-wood had turned yellow and dark under the layers of thick dust arising from the roads. The eyes which had never beheld anything beyond a garden were now practically blinded with dust. And the feet which had never trodden anywhere except on the roses in a garden had to walk the uneven rough earth of the desert; they developed boils and were pierced with thorns. Out of that caravan trudging their way in great hardships only one-tenth reached Daulatabad.

'Six caravans had been formed of all the *khalq* whom the emperor supplied neither provisions nor conveyance. All those six caravans were driven out of the city in succession and with coercion and cruelty, contrary to the requirements of justice and goodness. Such a thickly populated city he destroyed. For this destruction, I wonder how he will account to God on the Day of Judgment. When not a single man from among the jurists of high calibre remained in that city, their quarters were shut and the gates were walled up. The city then looked like a paradise bereft of houris and the doors of the magnificent buildings in it were closed. All the houses were reduced into abodes of demons and the city was set on fire. Wailings arose from the walls and doors; the city was evacuated completely.

'After some time I heard that the accursed emperor and tyrant took it into his head to re-people the city and made the rural inhabitants[1] from the country-side

1 It appears that some Hindus were brought over from the country-side and installed in those quarters of the city which had been previously occupied by the Musalmans.

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parganas come over and settle there. Many villagers from every country-side he brought in, but this was no better than replacing flowers by cactus. This meant that nightingales[1] and parrots[2] were ejected and in their place were installed crows[3] and ravens.[4]

'I do not know why the emperor suddenly became suspicious[5] of that set of innocent people,[6] so much so that he uprooted the foundations which had been laid by their ancestors, and he is still after destroying their offspring. His heart melts neither for a child nor for an old man; neither a man of wealth nor an indigent person is safe at his hands. If Ẓaḥḥāk[7] had practised outrages he is universally cursed and is held in opprobrium. But if he were alive to-day he would have been looked up to by all as a considerate ruler. It is said that he used to kill two persons daily, and taking their brains out he fed the snakes with which he had been afflicted in the hope that these snakes might go to sleep and he might be relieved of their sting. This was the trouble Ẓaḥḥāk was creating in Babylonia. But Ẓaḥḥāk believed in no religion and had no conscience; he was Indignation and Malice personified. He was one of the followers of Satan from whom he had drawn inspiration in framing his rules and regulations in all. But look at the horrible state of things in our times, for our ruler has got his peculiar ways to pursue. Neither Satan admits him as his follower, nor has Satan kissed his shoulders, nor has anyone in the world prescribed for him the consuming of human brains as a remedy and medicine, nor is his religion identical with that of Ẓaḥḥāk. Why then have outrages on his part surpassed those of Ẓaḥḥāk? Such atrocities and outrages and so many cruelties as Ẓaḥḥāk did not commit in the course of a

1-2 *I.e.* the 'ulamā and ṣufi saints

3-4 These words are used by Iṣāmī for the Hindus.

5-6 Compare footnote 1, on page 152 *supra*.

7 Ẓaḥḥāk was the name of a king of ancient Irān. He was noted for his cruelty and bloodshed.

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thousand years our king has committed in a short while. If the accursed Ẓaḥḥāk was directed by Satan into killing two persons a day, our king kills thousands every now and then without rhyme or reason out of sheer tyranny. If Ẓaḥḥāk shed the blood of the miscreants and riffraff of Babylonia, this emperor has made *all the saints of the country flee*. Had the chiefs[1] (*khalq*) of Dehlī not acknowledged him as king and had they not made their submission to him they would not have fallen into troubles and would not have been entrapped in the net of tyranny. A set of the chiefs (*khalq*) who entrusted their country to such a tyrant-ruler deserved such a severe punishment.

'Should the Muslims (*khalq*) of this country co-operate in raising insurrections, no wonder they might easily remove this tyrant and kill him, for he is a danger to the cause of Islām (*dīn*).

'That capital city which had survived till recently as a monument of the kings of old, the lanes of which had been cleansed morning and evening by the angels' wings; that capital-city which had been kept in good order by every king and had been highly praised in all circles and in which the famous great kings had constructed a mosque like that of Mecca containing a minaret standing upright[2] like the *Sidra* tree in paradise and in which Sulṭān Shamsu'ddīn had built a reservoir whose crystal-like water outshone the beams of the sun; that capital-city whose handsome buildings erected one hundred and sixty years before looked as if they were constructed to-day and were provided with delightful windows set off by the fairy-faced girls; that capital-city which possessed many buildings facing north, constructed by the previous kings during their respective reigns; that capital-city which enjoyed ideal weather all the year round and was embellished with gardens surpassing the garden of paradise; that capital-city in which the men and women who came to live in succession were

1 That is, the Turkish amirs and the 'ulamā.

2 *I. e.* the Quṭub minār.

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so good that one would like to call them angels and houris and who were talked about throughout the world and by virtue of whose feet the universe acquired stability; that capital-city which had produced many eminent scholars and great jurists, distinguished in all branches of science and to whom all problems of great importance were referred for solution; that capital-city whose jurists were referred to by the muftis of Bukhārā and Samarqand for a proper *fatwa* and for the solution of any difficulty that they confronted; that capital-city where lived the past masters of all trades as well as technicians, well-versed in all kinds of crafts—such a city now suffered from the blows of autumn and its life and grandeur declined. Such a city was struck suddenly with deadly blows by the emperor who stripped it of the ecclesiastics[1] as well as of the laymen[2]. It looked as if the garden of paradise was bereft of the houris and the palaces[3] were reduced to abodes of demons.

'Instead of the hospitable people (*mardum nawāz*)[4] who once lived in that city, impure demons[5] are seen in every part of it. When this city has become from end to end a city of the Hindūs (*Deogīr*[6]) why are the Muslims (*khalq*) going to Deogīr?

'For a whole month the gates of the city have remained closed; in that city there are but sickly dogs. Then the emperor ordered that another set of people (*khalq-e*) be brought from the villages and installed in that auspicious city, that the demons be given the places of houris, that the nightingales be replaced by owls and that the nests of partridges be given away to the ravens'.[7]

1, 2, *I. e*, the 'ulamā and their followers.
3 *I. e.* the 'ulamā's quarters
4 *I. e.* the Muslims
5 *I. e.* the Hindus
6 Literally Deogīr means a stronghold of the Hindū gods
7 *I.e.* the Hindus

As their total grouping into six caravans[1] indicates, the number of the migrants from Dehlī to Daulatābād could not have been very large. If each caravan comprised two hundred persons, the strength of the six caravans amounted to one thousand and two hundred, as is notified by a directing-post[2] testifying to the local tradition, erected at the entrance of the cone-shaped hill fort of Daulatābād, saying; 'Here came 1,200 saints.' It follows that 'Iṣāmī has magnified into a mass move of unparalleled magnitude what was really a moderate trek. Disgusted with the discomforts and dislocation of life that the trek had entailed, he became highly indignant and emotional. No less so was Ibn Baṭṭūṭa when seven years later he came to Dehlī and heard a similar tale. He says:

'One of the most serious reprehensions against the Sulṭān is that he forced the inhabitants of Dehlī into exile. The cause of it was this. They used to write letters containing abuses and scandals, and they would seal the letters writing on the cover—'By the head of His Majesty none except he should read the letter'. These letters they used to throw into the council-hall in the course of the night. When he tore them open, he found abuses and scandals in the contents. So he resolved to lay Dehlī waste. He bought the houses and dwellings from all the inhabitants of Dehlī and paid the price for them. Then he ordered the inhabitants to leave Dehlī and move on to Daulatābād, but they refused to do so. Thereupon his crier went forth proclaiming that no one should remain in Dehlī after three days. As a result, most of the people went away; but some concealed themselves in their houses. The Sulṭān ordered a search for those who still

1 F. S. verse 8528. Also see p. 155 *supra*
This is just the number of caravans into which the Muslim nobles and their families and the escort of the 'ulamā and saints could have been grouped. The six caravans specified by 'Iṣāmī could not include the Hindū population of Dehlī. The number of caravans should have swelled to at least sixty if the Hindus were included.

2 In 1938 I went to the Deccan and visted the Daulatābād-Ellora region. On taking the road to the Daulatābād fort I noticed this directing-post of the Hyderabad State.

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lingered ; and in the lanes of the city his slaves lighted upon two men—one being a cripple and the other a blind man. Both were brought to the court and the Sulṭān ordered the cripple to be thrown up in the air by means of the ballista and the blind man to be dragged from Dehlī to Daulatābād—a distance of forty days' journey. He was torn to pieces on the way, and only a leg of his reached Daulatābād. When the Sulṭān had done that, all the inhabitants came out leaving behind their property and baggage, and the city was reduced to a desert. I was informed on reliable authority that in the night the Sulṭān mounted the roof of his palace and looked round Dehlī. When neither a light nor even a smoke or a lamp came into sight he remarked, 'Now, my heart is pleased and my soul is at rest. Then he wrote to the inhabitants of other provinces to repair to Dehlī and to re-people it. As a result, those provinces were destroyed, but Dehlī was not re-peopled on account of its vastness and immensity.'[1]

Both the versions read like a tale of sorrows and have much in common. It may be pointed out that the greatest common measure in both is 'suspicion'—a term used vaguely by 'Iṣāmī in the opening verse.[2] Surely the emperor could not have become supicious of *all* the people, in which case his empire would have liquidated and he would have been deposed and killed before long. In fact, he became suspicious of a group of people only, namely the 'ulamā, saints or mashāikh because of his psychological differences with them. Thus he was at war[3] with some Muslim elements; and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's account of Muslim bloodshed[4] and the executions of the 'ulamā[5] under his orders is of a piece with his version of the devastation of Dehlī, which reads like a gist of the first twenty verses from 'Iṣāmi's above-mentioned account of

1 The *Reḥla* (G. O. S.) p. 94
2 F. S. verse 8461. *Vide* p. 152 *supra*
3 The *Reḥla* (G. O. S.) pp. xxi-xxiv Introduction
4 *Idem*, pp. 83-93
5 *Ibid.*

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'Sulṭān Muḥammad's oppressions in the city of Dehlī' In these verses the poet impresses upon the reader the Islamic ideas about womanhood in purdah,[1] piety in seclusion,[2] graveyard[3] and home[4] and drives home the fact that the victims of the royal orders for exile and migration were Musalmans. Similar ideas are conveyed through the next forty-four[5] verses, describing (i) the death and burial of the saint A'izzu'ddīn[6] and (ii) the peculiar discomfort and restlessness of the purdah-guarded ladies[7] in the caravans. The remaining sixty-seven verses confirm the above conclusion. No less confirmatory is Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's story of the scandalous letters. Were these letters written by the Hindus ? Or by the Hindus and Musalmans jointly ? The answer to both of these questions must be in the negative, for Persian, which was the only medium through which the emperor could be approached formally and effectively, was not familiar among the Hindus. And the drafting of letters to the emperor was an art which was not known even to the average Musalman. That art was the speciality of the 'ulamā and the mashāikh and of some Muslim nobles. Their typical correspondence is preserved in the *Inshā-i Māhrū*[8] of 'Ainu'l-Mulk Māhrū. A glance at any of the letters in it will convince the reader that the Hindus were completely out of the picture. Moreover, the preferential treatment that the emperor is known to have extended to the Hindus and the curses that 'Iṣāmī heaped upon the latter on that account must have made the joint drafting of the said letters an impossibility ; the Hindus could not have enjoyed the 'ulamā's confidence to that extent.

1 F. S. verses 8472-8475
2 *Idem* verses 8476-8478
3 *Idem*, verse 8480
} Agra and Madras editions compared

4 *Idem*, verse 8481. This verse contains a direct reference to the *ḥadiṣ* which is also a famous Arab saying: ***Ḥubbu'l waṭan mina'l*** *īmān* (Love of home is a part of religion)

5 *Idem*, verses 8483-8524
6 *Idem*, verses 8482-8516
7 *Idem*, verses 8528-8595
} Agra and Madras editions compared

8 *Vide* p. 81 *supra*

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Another feature that strikes the eye on reading the above versions of 'Iṣāmī and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa is that both are fundamentally from the same source, though some of the scenes in each are differently set. For instance, the 'conflagration' in the city of Dehlī is differently set in each. According to 'Iṣāmī a destructive fire broke out in the city to complete the ruin under the orders of the emperor. According to Ibn Baṭṭūṭa the emperor was pleased when, on mounting the roof of his palace, he saw no trace of fire and light in any house. Then Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's story of the cripple and the blind man is a development, arising from the exaggerated reports of the hardships to which 'Iṣāmī's grandfather A'izzu'ddīn was believed to have been subjected.

An instance of similarly exaggerated reports is also found in the *Tārīkh-i Mubārak Shāhī* which was written a hundred years after the event, the author using 'Iṣāmī's *Futūḥu's-Salāṭīn* as his authority without acknowledging it. In his narrative of 1328-29/729 he says:

> 'Then his (Sulṭān Muḥammad's) order—which in firmness was similar to that of Destiny—was issued that all the inhabitants of Dehlī and suburbs be expelled to Daulatābād in the form of a caravan. The houses belonging to the city people were to be purchased and the price paid in cash from the treasury. Under this royal order all the inhabitants of the city and the suburbs were sent to Daulatābād. The city of Dehlī became so empty that the gates remained closed for several days, and even the crying of dogs and cats could not be heard from inside the city. Some rowdies and the masses who had remained in the city used to take out from the vacant houses the movables and misappropriate them. Afterwards orders were issued that the 'ulamā and chief sufis (*mashāikh*) of prominent and big towns from all directions be brought and given dwellings in the city (of Daulatābād). To all of them the government gave presents and allowances, and the whole of Daulatābād became flourishing and populated.'[1]

1 T. M. (Bib. Ind.) p. 102

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The first half of the above piece, which the author has given earlier under the year 1326-27/727, runs as follows:

'At a distance of every two miles (*krosh*) along the road from Dehlī to Daulatābād he (Sulṭān Muḥammad) constructed stations (*dhāwa*) and transformed the whole uninhabited area into a habitation. To the people in those regions he gave lands to dwell in; and the income of those lands was to be absorbed as their salaries. And they had to give conveyance to the royal messengers up to the boundary of their respective dwellings. And in every region he built a palace and secluded quarters for worship with a saint in charge of each; and he fixed special sums to be defrayed, providing every body who arrived with free board, cool drinks and betels and lodge. And he planted trees on both sides of the road, the remains of which are traceable even today; and he named Deogīr Daulatābād and made it his capital.

'He shifted his mother Makhdūma-i Jahān with the entire household of the amirs, maliks and men of outstanding position, nobles, courtiers and slaves, together with elephants, horses, treasures and the royal hidden wealth.

'After the arrival of the Makhdūma-i Jahān he summoned to Daulatābād all the sayyids, mashāikh, 'ulamā and grandees of Dehlī. All of them moved to that place and had the honour of presenting themselves to His Majesty; and their allowances and gratuities were raised to double the amounts. Moreover, they received special allowances to build houses (for themselves). All of them lived in happiness.'[1]

On the basis of these truncated pieces given at two places in the *Tārikh-i Mubarāk Shāhī*, it has been surmised that the exodus to the south was effected by two stages. The first step taken by the emperor, on choosing Deogīr as the site of his new capital in 1326-27/727, was to make adequate arrangements for facilitating the journey and providing the amenities for the travellers. Then he set out

1 T. M. (Bib. Ind.) pp. 98-99

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personally under a special escort of the nobles, 'ulamā and mashāikh, together with his family and the Makhdūma-i Jahān. The second step was taken (hypothetically[1] in 1328/729) when a fresh summons was issued for more of the sayyids, saints and 'ulamā and umarā (nobles) of Dehlī to proceed to Daulatābād. While the first shift was pleasant, happy and prosperous, the second proved extremely irksome and left behind unending bitternesses according to the *Tārikh-i Mubārak Shāhī*. But its choice of the year 1328/729 for the second stage of the exodus is seriously misleading, for in that year according to all accounts the emperor's hands were tied on account of the trouble that Bahrām Aiba Kishlū Khān had raised in Sind and Multān. On his return from Multān the emperor lived in Dehlī for two years. While his amirs and maliks and the army remained in Dehlī, their families were in Daulatābād. This is the information given vaguely by Baranī[2] whose meaning is clearly brought out by Yahya bin Ahmad in the following words: *Sulṭān az āṇjā ba dāru'l-Mulk Dehlī murāja'at farmūd*[3] (the emperor returned from Multān to the *capital* Dehlī). This shows that Dehlī was still the capital. And with Daulatābād as the second capital, the emperor moved between his two capitals as need arose. Such being the need in 1327-28/728 caused by the outbreak of Bahrām Aiba Kishlū Khān's rebellion in Multān the emperor moved from Daulatābād to Dehlī to raise a new army[4]. Then on his return from Multān he lived in Dehlī not only for two years as Baranī says, but several years, for he busied himself there with the pursuit of his ambitious projects—Khurāsān expediton, Qarāchīl expedition and the token currency. All this would have been impossible, if Dehlī had been already deserted and set fire to, as has been reported by 'Iṣāmī. It must be remembered as a settled fact of history that Dehlī always continued as a capital—an administrative centre, a minting centre[5] and a

1 Some of the dates given in the *Tārikh-i Mubārak Shāhī* are hypothetical and should not be accepted unless confirmed by another evidence.

2 T. F. S. B. (Bib. Ind.) p. 479

3 T. M, p. 101

4 T. F. S. B. p. 479

5 The coins struck in Dehlī in the years 727, 728 and 729

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military centre with a large and prosperous population of law-abiding Hindus and Muslims.

Baranī[1] has given an exaggerated account of the destruction of Dehlī. But none of the eleven[2] contemporary travellers, whose observations regarding Muḥammad bin Tughluq and his empire are preserved in the *Masāliku'l-Abṣār*, an Arabic work compiled some ten years after the so-called destruction of Dehlī, supports his contention. One of them, Shaikh Mubārak, informed the author of the *Masāliku'l-Abṣār* that Dehlī was the capital, and a city of first-rate importance, and that next to it was Deogīr. It should be noted that Shaikh Mubārak, like other travellers, had visited Dehlī subsequent to the rise of Daulatābād.

Shihābu'ddīn Aḥmad 'Abbās made special enquiries of Shaikh Mubārak regarding Dehlī. He was told that Dehlī combined several cities, each city having a name of its own and all together being known as Dehlī. Dehlī extended for several miles in length and breadth and had a circumference of forty miles. The houses in Dehlī were built of stone, and bricks, being roofed with wood and floored with marble-like white stone.

are mentioned by Edward Thomas; and the marginal legend gives Dehli as the capital. *Vide* C. P. K. D., p. 209

1 Barani (Bib. Ind.), pp. 473-475.

2 (i) Muḥammad bin Abdu'r-Raḥīm Qulainashī.
(ii) Shaikh Mubārak bin Maḥmūd.
(iii) Shaikh Burhānu'ddīn Abū Bakr bin Khallāl Bazzī.
(iv) 'Allāma Siraju'ddīn Abū Ṣafa 'Umar bin Isḥāq.
(v) Qāẓī Niẓāmu'ddīn Yaḥya bin Al-Ḥakīm.
(vi) 'Alī Bin Manṣūr' 'Aqīlī.
(vii) Qāẓīu'l-quẓāt Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan bin Muḥammad Ghorī.
(viii) Tāju'ddīn 'Abul Mujāhid of Samarqand, otherwise known as Sharīf Samarqandī.
(ix) Ibnu'l-Tāj Ḥāfiẓ of Multān.
(x) Shaikh Muḥammad Khajandī.
(xi) Sharīf Nāṣiru'ddīn Muḥammad Ḥasanī, Karamī called Zammurrudī. *Masāliku'l Abṣār*. MS. 5867, B. N., Paris.

N. B.—Shaikh Muḥammad Khajandī, the 10th traveller, had lived in Dehlī and served in the army of Sulṭān Muḥammad bin Tughluq. (*Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque du Roi*. Tome Treizième, p. 189.)

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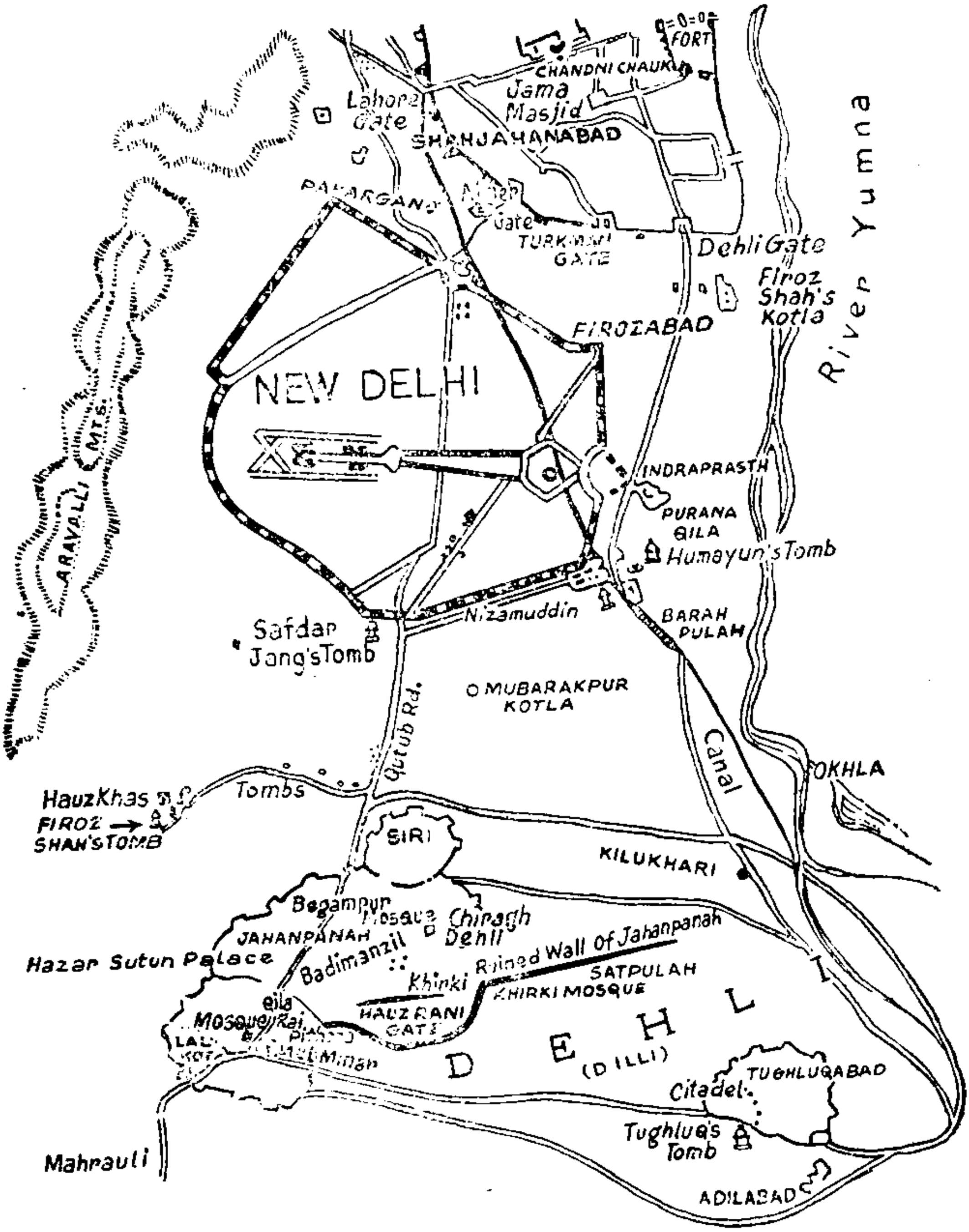
MAP OF DEHLI (DILLI)



The cities of Jahānpanāh and 'Adilābād were built in the years 1327-28-29.

The author obtained similar information from Shaikh Abū Bakr bin Khallāl, who improved upon Shaikh Mubā-

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rak's statement, distinguishing between the houses of old Dehlī and those of new Dehlī. He said that Dehlī was a name applied collectively to twenty-one cities. It was surrounded on three sides by gardens stretching each way to the extent of twelve miles. On its fourth side, namely to its west, because of the mountains, there were no gardens. It had 1,000 schools, one of which was for the Shafais and the rest for the Hanafis. It had about seventy hospitals as well as hospices, big streets and abundant baths. Its wells were not very deep, no deeper than seven cubits.

It should be noted that the new Dehlī mentioned above was the Jahānpanāh of Muḥammad bin Tughluq. It was personally seen by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa in 1334, three years before the emperor is said to have restored[1] the capital to Dehlī.

1 The restoration of the capital to Dehli is inferred by Moreland from Barani (p. 481). '...somewhere about the year 1337 came the restoration of Dehlī as the capital' (Moreland, p. 49). Barani's language, however, does not justify the use of the phrase 'restoration of Dehli as the capital.' All that he says is that the Sulṭān gave a general permission to those people of Dehlī who still remained in Deogir to return if they so desired. Evidently many of them had already returned. If the return of the people alone warrants the use of the above phrase then it follows that the restoration of Dehlī as the capital had already taken place at least in part. Barani does not say a word about the restoration of the mint, of the treasury, of the governmental machinery and of the army headquarters. As a matter of fact, none of these had been taken away from Dehli; no restoration was needed. It would be nearer the truth to say that about 1337 the emperor acknowledged the failure of his experiment in making Daulatābād a second capital; hence the general permission to those inhabitants of Dehli who still remained in Deogir to return to Dehli. It will be remembered that while Barani does not mention the transfer of the treasury from Dehli to Deogir, Budāūnī (Bib. Ind., p, 274) makes a statement to this effect. But in so far as Budāūni's statement is in conflict with that of Barani's, it cannot be accepted. Barani says that Dehli being laid waste the emperor endeavoured to re-people it with new inhabitants, imported from other parts (p. 474). It follows that the treasury was still in Dehli, otherwise the new importation would have been impossible; nor could the administrative machinery or the army have been taken away from Dehli, for in that case the Hindus who remained there throughout in full strength would have seized the opportunity to assert themselves. That Dehli did not cease to be the headquarters of the army is evident from the language of

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THE HAZĀR SUTŪN PALACE AT JAHĀNPANĀH



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It follows that in the preceding period (1327-28-29) when the emperor is popularly believed to have destroyed Dehlī, the new Dehlī (Jahānpanāh) was under construction. Badr Chāch describes it as the capital in an ode;[1] and a chronogram of his establishes the construction of the new Dehlī in 727.[2]

Badr Chach's Chronogram

ف	=	80
ا	=	1
د	=	4
خ	=	600
ل	=	30
و	=	6
ه	=	5
ا	=	1

وادخلوها = 727

Sir Sayyid Aḥmad regards this as the date of the erection of a fortress called Muḥammadābād or ʻĀdilābād by Muḥammad bin Tughluq. Budāūnī tells us that Badr Chāch was a court poet of Sulṭān Muḥammad and wrote in his praise a *Shāh Nāma* of 30,000 verses. Two of Budāūnī himself. In the closing months of the year 1327, the year which is supposed to have witnessed the transfer of the capital from Dehlī to Deogīr, there broke out in Dehlī according to Budāūnī, the rebellion of Malik Bahādur Gurshāsp, the muster-master-general. The wazir Aḥmad Aiyāz instantly gave him battle. (Budāūnī, B. I., p. 227.)

It follows from the above that neither the wazir had left Dehlī nor the muster-master-general (*ʻāriẓ-i lashkar*), a military officer, the scene of whose rebellion Budāūnī stages at Dehlī.

1 The poet praises the fort of Dehlī and then corrects himself, saying that the fort deserves a much higher praise than he has given it, because it belongs to the capital city. *Sharḥ-i Qaṣāid* Badr Chāch: (Lucknow), pp. 181-82.

2 ʻAbdul Qādir Budāūnī (*Muntakhabu'l-Tavārīkh. B.I.*, p. 222) quoting Badr Chāch gives the chronogram *Fad Khulūba*, which as worked out above yields 727 (A. D. 1327). Budāūnī places this chronogram by mistake in his account of the reign of Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Tughluq. It undoubtedly belongs to the reign of Muḥammad bin Tughluq, and is the date of the new city of Jahānpanāh or of one of its fortresses explained by Sir Sayyid. *Description des Monuments de Delhi de Saiyed Aḥmad Khān Par* M. Garcin de Tassy, pp. 23-25.

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these verses are reproduced in the *Muntakhabu't-Tavārikh*,[1] and their translation runs as follows:

'Like the sun shone the glory of the empire of Muḥammad 'Ādil[2] (Muḥammad the Just). He controlled India as he controlled Khurāsān.

'He constructed a fortress as formidable as the seven adventures of Rustam, cementing it with a compound of seven strong metals—iron, lead, copper, gold, tin, silver and antimony. The aquila star (*nasr'ṭā'ir*) touches its height which is like that of the pyramid tower.'

This was the fortress-city of 'Ādilābād[3] which has been mistaken by a modern writer[4] for Tughluqābād. The mistake arose from Budāūnī's insertion of the said chronogram of Badr Chāch in the chapter on Tughluq Shāh. It has, therefore, been surmised that Tughluqābād was completed by Sulṭān Muḥammad in 1327 A.D. But Tughluqābād had been completed in his lifetime by Tughluq Shāh himself as is attested by Baranī[5] and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa[6] as well as by 'Isāmī who says:

'I am told when four years of his reign had passed commendably the emperor completed a fortress at a distance of one parasang from the metropolis (Sīrī). From the foundation to the turret, under the emperor's orders, the fortress was built of hard stone and its foundations were laid in large rough stones. Then a reservoir was dug under that lofty fortress with the result that every moment its clear water gushed spark-

1 Budāūnī—M. T. (B. I.), Vol. I, pp. 240-241.

2 'Sulṭān Muḥammad 'Ādil' is the name of this emperor, mentioned by Budāūnī. *Idem*, p. 225.

3 In fact, 'Ādilābād was like Tughluqābād a city, every city in those days being called after the name of its fortress.
Vide Vogel—*Catalogue of Delhi Museum of Archaeology*, p. 70.

4 *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. xxi, 1941, p. 170.

5 T. F. S. B. (B. I.) p. 442.

6 The *Reḥla* (G.O.S.), pp. 25, 55.

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BEGUMPURI MOSQUE



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BADI'MANZIL (BAJI MANDAL)

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ling waves like the seventh sea under the Caucasus mountain. That fortress was named Tughluqābād since it had been built by that happy emperor.'[1]

Sir Sayyi'd[2] mentions two other buildings: (1) the Hazār Sutūn[3]—a palace of one thousand pillars—and (2) the Badī' Manzil or Baji Mandal, as it is popularly known, a tower of the fort of Jahānpanāh which Muḥammad bin Tughluq built about the same time. Badr Chāch[4] describes another fort which, together with a Jāmi' Masjid and school, was constructed in 1343/744. The fort named Khurramābād (house of joy), which was erected in honour of the Caliph's investiture, is no more; but the mosque, subsequently known as the Begumpurī mosque, is still in existence, and remains[5] a solitary monument of the massive structures of Muḥammad bin Tughluq's new Dehlī, which Madan Deva, a contemporary Brahmin poet, describes as 'the region covered up, as it were, with a collection of all sorts of jewels.'[6]

Ibn Baṭṭūṭa visited this Ḍillī[7] (Dehlī) about 1334 and was struck by its size and population. He[8] tells us that the city of Dehlī had a wide area and a large population. It was a combination of four adjacent and contiguous cities: (1) Dehlī, the ancient city of the Hindus, (2) Sīrī, which was also known as the metropolis, and where the Sultans 'Alāu'ddīn and Quṭbu'ddīn had lived, (3) Tughluqābād,

1 F. S. I.—verses 7832-7838.

2 Garcin de Tassy: *Description des Monuments de Delhi de Saiyed Aḥmad Khān*, pp. 23-5.

3 That the Hazār Sutūn palace was built by Muḥammad bin Tughluq in his city of Jahān Panāh is shown by Badr Chāch.
(Badr Chāch: *Sharh-i Qaṣāid* (Lucknow). pp. 51, 52.)

4 *Idem.*, p. 295.

5 See Photograph facing this page.

6 (i) Vogel—*Catalogue of the Delhi Museum* of *Archaeology*, P. 32.
(ii) *Proceedings of A. S. B.* (1873), pp. 104-107.

7 'Dilli' was mouthed by the people in general. 'Ḍhilli', the Sanskritized form of Dilli, was bookish and is seen in the Sanskrit inscriptions.

8 Ibn Baṭṭūṭa: *Reḥla* (G. O. S.), p. 25.

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named after its founder Sulṭān Tughluq, and (4) Jahān-panāh, a city particularly distinguished as the residence of Sulṭān Muḥāmmad Shāh, the emperor of India, whose court Ibn Baṭṭūṭa visited. Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh had built it and wished to include the four cities in one surrounding wall which he had partly constructed, but had left incomplete on account of the great outlay which its construction entailed.[1]

Ibn Baṭṭūṭa informs us that the rampart round the Dehlī city was without parallel. The breadth of its wall was eleven cubits and inside it were houses in which lived sentinels and gate-keepers. In it there were granaries and ammunitions, as well as ballistas and siege-machines. Corn could be stored there for a long time without undergoing any change or suffering damage. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa saw rice brought out from one of those granaries, which had developed a black colour but possessed quite a good taste. He also saw a kind of millet, which was being taken out from one of the warehouses. All had been stored there in the time of Sulṭān Balban, ninety years before. In the interior of the rampart horsemen as well as infantrymen walked from one end of the city to the other.

Ibn Baṭṭūṭa[2] ascribes twenty-eight gates to the city of Dehlī and mentions seven of them as follows: (1) the Budāūn Darvāzah (gate), the principal gate, (2) the Mandvī Darvāzah near the corn market, (3) the Gul Darvāzah by the orchards, (4) the Shāh Darvāzah, (5) the Kamāl Darvāzah, (6) the Ghazna Darvāzah, and (7) the Bejālsa Darvāzah, outside which was the splendid Dehlī cemetery, where flower trees like the tuberose, wild briar, and others grew.

Ibn Baṭṭūṭa confirms to a great extent the information collected by the author of the *Masāliku'l-Abṣār*[3] and his account enables us to check the statement of Shaikh Abū

1 *Ibid.*

2 The *Reḥla* (G. O. S.), p. 26

3 (i) Shihābu'ddin Aḥmad: *Masāliku'l-Abṣār*, B. N. MS. (ii) Quatremère. M. *Notices des Manuscripts*, Tome Treizième.

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Bakr bin Khallāl.[1] Like him, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa was impressed by the Jāmi' Masjid or cathedral-mosque, namely the Begumpurī mosque[2] of Jahānpanāh. He informs us that Sulṭān Muḥammad wanted to complete the other Jāmi' Masjid which Sulṭān Quṭbu'ddīn Mubārak Shāh Khaljī had founded but left incomplete in Sīrī. He supplements the information given by Shaikh Abū Bakr bin Khallāl regarding the tanks which supplied drinking water to the inhabitants of Dehlī. He specially describes two big tanks outside Dehlī—one called after Sulṭān Shamsu'ddīn Iltūtmish and the other, which was much bigger, called the Ḥauẓ-i Khāṣ. He is impressed by the fakirs[3] living in the dome of the former and by the musicians living in the pavilions around the Ḥauẓ-i Khāṣ (the special tank). He observes that they had a market there which was one of the largest in the world, as well as a Jāmi' Masjid besides many other mosques. He was told that the female singers living there recited the congregational prayers (*tarāvīḥ*) in the mosque during the month of *Ramaẓān*[4]. Female imams conducted those prayers, female singers being present in large numbers; and the same was true of the male singers.

Ibn Baṭṭūṭa[5] met in Dehlī many of the 'ulamā and men of probity. He makes particular mention of four of them: (1) Maḥmūdu'l-Kubbā, (2) Shaikh 'Alāu'ddīn Nīlī, (3) Shaikh Ṣadru'ddīn Kuhrāmī, and (4) Kamālu'ddīn 'Abdullāh. Each had a large following. But almost all of them had renounced the world. Shaikh Ṣadru'ddīn Kuhrāmī, who was often visited by the emperor Muḥammad bin Tughluq and other notables, was anxious to avoid an interview with them.[6]

It is amazing to compare this information of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's regarding Dehlī and its population with his subsequent account of devastation. The first is based on

1 *Ibid.*,
2 See p. 169, *supra*
3 The *Rehla* p. 27
4 The *Rehla* (G. O. S.), p. 28.
5 *Idem*, p. 31.
6 *Idem*, (G. O. S.) p. 94.

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an eye-witness's account; the second on hearsay and is a reflection of the tales of woe heard by the traveller. Some modern writers[1] are inclined to reverse the order of these two accounts. They suggest that Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's first account of Dehlī (portraying it as 'a magnificent city with a large population') be put in 1342—the year of his departure—and that his second account (notifying the city as 'empty and scantily inhabited') be fixed in 1333/734—the year of his arrival. But this will create an untenable situation, throwing out of gear some other events which are closely connected with his first account. Two of these are given below. *First*, the arrival in Dehlī of two of Tarmashīrīn's friends—Ibnu'l Khalīfa and Malik Bahrām of Ghazna. Both of these had been personally connected with Tarmashīrīn and subsequently came to Dehlī as personal guests of the Indian emperor. Their arrival[2] in Dehlī bordering on 1334/734 is inseparable from Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's first account which synchronizes with the lifetime of Tarmashīrīn. *Secondly* the construction of Jahānpanāh, the favourite city of Muḥammad bin Tughluq, with all its buildings, notably the *Hazār Sutūn* palace and the *Mashwar*, that took place in 1327-28-29. These were visited by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa[3]; and near the *Mashwar* he had been received and entertained by the Makhdūma-i Jahān immediately on entering Dehlī[4] in 1334/734. The fact that there is no trace in his first account[5] of any signs of devastation[6] suggests that Ibn Baṭṭūṭa was psychologically affected when subsequently, on mixing with the hostile elements, he heard the unfavourable reports about the emperor. As a result he added, on hearsay, the story of the scandalous letters including the rumours about the punishment of the cripple and the blind man and the emptiness of the city. In other words, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's information regarding the emptiness or evacua-

1 IPQT. p. 92.
2 The *Rehla* (G. O. S.) pp. 72-75, lxiii.
3 *Idem*, pp. 118-119 and p. 57 footnote 5.
4,5 *Idem*, pp. 25-31, 56-66 and 118-123.
6 *Idem*, p, 94.

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tion and devastation[1] of Dehlī reflects the universal displeasure the emperor had incurred by forcing the 'ulamā and mashāikh (the *buzurgān-i Dehli* or the leading men according to the *Maṭlūbu't-Ṭālibīn*[2]) to go to Deogīr. It is their forced migration which has been magnified into a wholesale and indiscriminate transportation to Daulatābād.

In the face of these eye-witness accounts establishing the magnificence and prosperity of Dehlī and the great constructive works designed and carried out there by the emperor during the very years which are said to have witnessed its destruction, the historian's judgment should not be deflected by the aberrations of the interested chroniclers. From the eye-witness accounts[3] embodied in the *Masāliku'l-Abṣār*, from the chronogramatic evidence[4] woven in the odes of Badr Chāch and from the numismatic evidence presented by the coins[5], it appears that the emperor had not intended to replace Dehlī by Deogīr. Far from it, he had intended and, in fact, planned to raise Deogīr to the height of Dehlī by making it *qubbatu'l-Islām*[6] and taking it under his personal charge. He aimed clearly at having two capitals—one in the north and another in the south. Such a plan of establishing two capitals for a far-flung empire was by no means chimerical in view of the changed circumstances brought about by (i) the establishment of friendly relations between India and Transoxiana and Ghazna, (ii) the pressing need for a more centrally situated capital and the difficulties of communication, (iii) the secondary place into

1 *Idem.*

2 Muḥammad Bulāq—*Maṭlūbu't-Ṭālibīn* (I. O. M. S.) p. 653.

3 *Vide* p. 164-166 *supra.*

4 *Vide* p. 167 *supra.*

5 Edward Thomas—C. P. K. D. p. 209, Nos. 173-174. These coins struck in 727 and the succeeding years in Dehli and Daulatābād describe *each as a capital*, the marginal legend of coin no. 173 being هذا الدينار بحضرة دهلى فى سنة سبع وعشرين وسبعماية (This *dinar* was struck in the *capital Dehli* in the year 727.)

6 Literally 'refuge of Islam.' This meaning is elucidated on a coin No. 174 (*ibid*) which bears the following marginal legend هذا الدينار فى قبة دين اسلام اعنى حضرة دیوگیر ۷۲۷ (This *dinar* was struck in the *qubba* (refuge) of Islām namely the capital) Deogīr

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which the Doāb or the Gangetic valley had receded in comparison with the Deccan by virtue of the great consolidatory work that had been done by the preceding sultans—notably Balban and 'Alāu'ddīn Khaljī and (iv) the diminishing fears of fresh Mongol invasions. And the methods the emperor adopted to execute this plan were certainly constructive and philanthropic[1]. It was on account of the opposition of the 'ulamā,[2] mashāikh[3] and the stiff-necked nobles[4] and also on account of his own peevish temper and wild anger spoiling his relations with the high-class Muslims that the plan failed. The seeds of Muslim opposition, thus sown, found a favourable soil in Daulatābād and sprouted in the distance. In course of time an incalculable number of Muslim enemies arose; and the emperor fought them successfully and recovered Daulatābād from their

1 (i) T. F. S. B. p. 474 'The Sulṭān made liberal gifts to the people both at the time of their setting out for Deogir and on their arrival' (Barani).

(ii) T. M. (Bib. Ind.) p. 98-99.

2-3 For the opposition of the 'ulamā and mashāikh see the *Reḥla* (G.O.S.) (i) p. xxi, introduction and (ii) pp. 86-87.

Ibn Baṭṭuṭa clearly says that the emperor wanted to employ in state service the 'ulamā, chief sufis and men of probity; and when any of them refused to comply, he became furious and inflicted severe punishments.

It follows that there was some very distinct and serious ideological difference between them and the emperor. This is elucidated by the insult that a ṣūfī, Shaikh Shihābu'ddīn by name, hurled upon the latter, saying 'I will never serve a tyrant.' The emperor ordered the ṣūfī to be brought into the royal court; and when he was brought the emperor said to him:

'You say I am a tyrant'

'Yes', retorted the ṣūfī, 'you are a tyrant and such are the instances of your tyranny'. Then he gave several examples amongst which was the destruction of the city of Dehlī and the expulsion of its inhabitants.' *i.e.* destruction of the quarters inhabited by the 'ulamā and mashāikh. The term 'inhabitants' signifies the same privileged class. Thereupon the emperor caught hold of his sword and handing it over to the Ṣadr-i Jahān (the qāẓīu'l-quẓāt) said, 'Prove now and here that I am a tyrant, and cut my head off with this sword.'

4 Read the story of Bahrām Aiba Kishlū Khān's rebellion in the *Reḥla*, p. 97.

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hands. But his successes were temporary ; and ultimately his enemies laid the foundation of a new Muslim state on that site, as will be shown in the sequel[1]. Here it should be noted that the cultural semen nesessary for the birth of that state with a powerful religious philosophy condemning Muḥammad bin Tughluq as an infidel and a tyrant was injected by the emperor himself unintentionally through his forcing out some 1,200 Muslims into his second capital. The mere springing up of a graveyard of the Musalmans around Daulatābād which Baranī[2] deplores and which was a necessary concomitant of their 'six caravans in trek' reported by 'Iṣāmī, contributed to Muslim expansion and the rise of Muslim monuments in the Deccan. The graves of the famous poet Amīr Ḥasan,[3] a comrade of Amīr Khusrau, of Shaikh Burhānu'ddīn Gharīb,[4] a disciple of Shaikh Niẓāmu'ddīn Auliyā, and of Qāẓī Sharafu'ddīn[5] which sprang up in Daulatābād were too important to be neglected. They afterwards became a place of favourite resort and pilgrimage for Muslims. Consequently, Muslim strength in the Deccan increased; and, when disintegration began, the said Muslim state arose under the name of Bahmanī kingdom with Daulatābād as its capital.

It should be recalled that after Tarmāshīrīn's departure the emperor's policy had been directed towards (1) the solution of the Deccan problem, and (2) the collection of a large army. Baranī[6] complains that 'huge wealth was given by the emperor to the Mongol chiefs of Khurāsān and 'Īrāq who came to this country and took away, extending false hopes, treasures from him.' He then mentions[7] among other misdeeds of the emperor the collection of a large army of 370,000 men within a year for the conquest of Khurāsān. This new army was obviously over and above the central army of

1 Chapter X of this book.
2 T. F. S. B. p. 474.
3 Sayyid Muḥammad bin Mubārak: *Siyaru'l-Aūliyā*, p. 308.
4 *Ibid.*, p. 282.
5 *Ibid.*, p. 309.
6 T. F. S. B. (Bib. Ind.). p. 476.
7 *Ibid.*, p. 477.

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Dehlī and the provincial armies in the different provinces. What constituted the personnel of this army and on what terms the soldiers were recruited is unknown. One thing is certain. The army being temporary, that is, levied to meet an emergency, the terms of appointment must have been tempting enough ; otherwise, it would have been extremely difficult to collect about 400,000 soldiers within a year.[1] A new recruiting scheme was drawn up in accordance with which not only Indians,[2] particularly the warlike Rājpūt clans of the Doāb,[3] but foreigners also were enlisted. Amīr Nauroz, the son-in-law of Tarmāshīrīn, had come with a handful of troops from Transoxiana to join this army. Other Mongols and Afghans, notably Ismā'īl Afghān, Gul Afghān, Shāhū Afghān and Hulājūn Khān mentioned on different occasions by Baranī[4] had come to India in this period to join the Khurāsān army.

However, the Khurāsān expedition did not materialize and the army remained unused. Its maintenance, combined with

1 *Idem.*

2 That Hindus were recruited in the army by the Muslim rulers as early as the 11th century A.D. is evident from the history of Maḥmūd of Ghazna and his successors. Al-Otbi remarks that Maḥmūd's army while marching on Balkh to encounter Ilek Khān contained Indians (*Encyclopædia of Islām*, I, 165). Baihaqī tells us that Mas'ūd, son and successor of Maḥmūd, employed Hindus in his army, and used them successfully in war against the Muslim rebel Aḥmad Niyaltigin (*Encyclopædia of Islām*, I 165). Other evidence on this point may be found in the *Encyclopædia of Islām*, and even in Baranī (182-477). He uses (p. 182) the term 'Hindustanian' (Indians) to describe the Hindū and Rājpūt warriors.

The Batiagarh stone inscription of 1328/v.s. 1385 (*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XII, p. 44) affords another piece of evidence that Hindū troops were employed by Muslim rulers in their armies. This inscription was found at Batiagarh in the Central Provinces and mentions a Muslim commander of the Hindū (Kharpara) armies. Rāi Bahādur Hira Lāl is of opinion that the Kharparas of this inscription 'are identical with the *Kharparikas* mentioned in Samudragupta's stone pillar inscription of Allahabad' (*Epigraphia Indica*, XII, 45).

3 *Cf.* Barani (Bib. Ind.), p. 477. The Doāb contained a proportionately large population of the warlike Rājpūt clans.

4 T. F. S. B. (Bib. Ind.), 533.

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all the expenses incurred for its equipment, caused a heavy outlay of money. Barani[1] tells us that 'three hundred and seventy thousand horses were enrolled in the muster-master's office. For a whole year these were supported and paid; but as they were not employed in war and conquest, when the next year came round there was not sufficient money in the treasury to support them.' But he gives no reason why the Khurāsān expedition was not undertaken. The reason certainly lay in the changes that had come about in the diplomatic and political history of Irān, Egypt, and Transoxiana—namely (1) the restoration of friendly relations between Abū S'aīd of Irān and An-Nāṣir of Egypt, and (2) the deposition of Tarmāshīrīn. As a result, the coalition, which had been formed against Sulṭān Abū S'aīd, was broken. Unaided Muḥammad bin Tughluq could not undertake the expedition.

That the emperor gave up all intention of invading Khurāsān early in his reign is clear from the fact that Ibn Baṭṭūṭa makes no mention of it at all. This is also evident from the *Masāliku'l-Abṣār*,[2] which recounts, in the first instance on the authority of the Qāẓīu'l-quẓāt Abū Muḥammad Ḥasan bin Muḥammad Ghorī Ḥanafī, how Muḥammad bin Tughluq sent one of his private secretaries named Baighṣān as an ambassador to Sulṭān Abū S'aīd, with a sum of ten lakhs of tankas to be given away in charity at the sacred shrines in 'Irāq. Hardly had the envoy reached 'Irāq when Sulṭān Abū S'aīd died. Now, Abū S'aīd's death is known to have occurred in the year 1335-6. It follows, therefore, that Muḥammad bin Tughluq had long given up his idea of invading Khurāsān and that friendly relations had been established between them. In the second instance, the *Masāliku'l-Abṣār*[3] recounts on the authority of Yaḥya bin Ḥakīm Ṭaiyyārī that a certain 'Aẓd bin Qāẓī Bard, employed in Abū S'aīd's army, aspired to become a wazīr, and set about intriguing to obtain the desired post. He

1 *Idem.* p. 477.
2 Quatremère: *Notices des Manuscrits*, Tome xiii, p. 187.
3 *Idem.* p. 193.

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incurred the displeasure of the other wazirs and military chiefs who contrived to have him sent to the court of Muḥammad bin Tughluq as an ambassador from Abū S'aīd. 'Aẓd's rivals expected that the emperor of India would put 'Aẓd to death. But, unfortunately for the success of their scheme, Muḥammad bin Tughluq showed special favour to him. As the latter was still cherishing his ambition to become a wazīr in Irān, he desired, after some time, to withdraw. On leaving the Dehlī court he was, by the orders of the emperor, taken into the royal treasury where he was permitted to take as much wealth as he desired. But he accepted nothing except a copy of the Qurān, whereupon the emperor was immensely pleased and gave him enormous wealth.

It follows that Muḥammad bin Tughluq had given up the projected Khurāsān expedition much before the death of Abū Sa'īd. The disposal of the huge army collected for this purpose must have presented great difficulties. Its maintenance was impossible, but a sudden and complete disbandment was fatal. The available evidence shows that 100,000 cavalrymen were employed in the Qarāchīl expedition; the rest were disbanded.

Qarāchīl Expedition.

Sir Wolseley Haig[1] regards the Qarāchīl[2] expedition as a part of the Nagarkot expedition which a chronogram of

1 *J.R.A.S.*, July, 1922.

2 The name Qarāchil or Qarājil is found in several forms. The *Bibliotheca Indica* edition of Baranī (p. 477) has Farajal; its manuscript (B.M. or 2039, F. 236) has Qarājil. Al-Berunī (*Sachau E.G.*, Vol. I, p. 207) has Kularjak, Firishta (Bombay I, p. 240) has Himājal or Himāchal. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (Defrémery et Sanguinetti, III, p. 325) gives Qarachil (Qarajil). The printed text of the *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhi* (p. 103) has Qarājal, while the MS. (B.M. or 1673, F. 3886) has Qarāchal. The *Ṭabaqāt-i Akbarī* (B.I., p. 204) gives Himāchal. Elliot (III, p. 241) writes Karājal. Yule holds that Karachil (Qarachil) is a corruption of the Sanskrit Kuverachal (*Cathay and the Way Thither*, II, pp. 410-11). Mzik (p. 168) analyses the word and suggests that its second part 'Achal'

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Badr Chāch[1] fixes in 1337-38/738. This may be so in view of the fact that the *Muntakhabu't-Tavārīkh*[2] as well as the *Tārīkh-i Mubārak*[3] *Shāhī* puts the Qarāchīl expedition in the same year, that is 738. But neither for fixing the Qarāchīl expedition in the year 738, nor for regarding it as a part of the Nagarkot[4] expedition is there any con-

is connected with the Sanskrit word, *achal*, which means a mountain. He tells us that in Sanskrit literature besides Himachal, Karachal is used as a proper name for a district.

1 Badr-i Chāch, *Qaṣāid* with Urdu commentary by Abdul Majid Khān (Lucknow) p. 103.

2 Budāūnī (B. I., pp. 229).

3 Yaḥya bin Aḥmad (B.I., pp. 103-4).

4 Nagarkot, an ancient town in the Kāngra district, was attacked by Maḥmūd of Ghazna in 1009. He captured the fort of Kāngra, although subsequently it was recovered by the Rajputs. The next Muslim king to attack Kāngra was Muḥammad bin Tughluq. His expedition of Kāngra has attracted little notice, because it has been mentioned neither by Barani, nor by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, nor by 'Iṣāmī. Badr Chāch alone mentions it under the title of *Fateh Qila'-i Nagarkot* (capture of the fort of Nagarkot, p. 103). From 'Afif (pp. 185-189), who describes Fīroz Shāh's attempt to recapture the same fort, it appears that Muḥammad bin Tughluq had left it in the hands of the Rajputs.

From a passing reference of 'Afīf (p. 187) to Muḥammad bin Tughluq's conquest of Nagarkot it is evident that the Nagarkot expedition was led by him personally. An indirect evidence of it is afforded by Barani, who mentions the emperor's march *via* Sunām, Sāmānā, Kaithal, and Kuhrām against the Hindū chiefs at the foot of the Himālayas (*Raygān-i Kohpāya*), who were subjugated p. 483). This is in all probability a reference to Muḥammad bin Tughluq's conquest of Nagarkot. That the Nagarkot fortress was taken by the emperor personally in 1337/738 is proved by the following verses of Badr Chāch.

(1) 'The lord of times (Muḥammad bin Tughluq) conquered the strong fort of Nagarkot in the year 738.'

(2) 'The Great emperor (Muḥammad bin Tughluq) arrived at the mighty fortress at night with hundreds of thousands of honours and glories.'

Unlike the Nagarkot expedition the Qarāchīl expedition was not accompanied by the emperor in person. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa mentions the Qarāchīl expedition twice. In the first place (the *Reḥla*, G.O.S., p. 86) he mentions Malik Yusuf Bughra

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temporary evidence. On the other hand, Ẓiyāu'ddīn Baranī[1] has shown it as a part of the projected Khurāsān expedition; and it appears from his language that part of the same army which had been collected for the Khurāsān expedition was utilized for the Qarāchīl expedition. He tells us that the Sulṭān, having resolved to conquer Khurāsān and Transoxiana, thought he should first bring under the dominion of Islām 'this mountain which lies between the territories of India and those of China, so that the passage of soldiers and the march of the army might be rendered easy.[2]' But Baranī's view that the Qarāchīl expedition was undertaken to facilitate the acquisition of Khurāsān cannot be accepted, for the Qarāchīl (Himālaya) mountains were no barrier in the way to Khurāsān. Baranī would have been justified in his remark if the expedition had been sent to the Hindū Kush instead, for the way to Khurāsān lay through the Hindū Kush. The Qarāchīl mountains commanded the route to China and Tibet, the conquest of neither of which was desired by Muḥammad bin Tughluq. Firishta perhaps realized Baranī's error, but in his attempt to find the truth committed an egregious blunder. He[3] erroneously put the conquest of China as the objective of the Qarāchīl expedi-

as its commander, and in the second Malik Nakbia (*Idem* p. 98). This shows that Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's account of the Qarāchīl expedition is not an eye-witness account, and the Qarāchīl expedition was over before Ibn Baṭṭuṭa's arrival in Dehlī. The conclusion thus reached here is supported by Mzik (pp. 170-171). He is of opinion that the revolt in Bengal as well as that in Ma'bar was the consequence of the Qarāchīl expedition. The most powerful army of the emperor being destroyed there, his power was dangerously weakened. At this moment, says Mzik, Fakhru'ddīn revolted in Bengal; and then also occurred the rebellion of Aḥsan Shāh in Ma'bar. Mzik (p. 172) strongly questions the traditional date of the Qarāchīl expedition, *i.e.*, A.H. 738 (A.D. 1337), since by that time, the rebellions in Bengal and Ma'bar having broken out, he had no army for such an undertaking. For the Bengal rebellion, the outbreak of which Mzik (p. 172) fixes in A.H. 737 (A.D. 1336) see chapter VIII of this book.

1 T.F.S.B. (Bib. Ind.). p. 477.
2 *Ibid.*
3 Firishta (*Bombay*), I, p. 240.

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tion. There is, however, no evidence whatsoever to attribute to Muḥammad bin Tughluq designs to conquer China.

The *Reḥla* throws some light on the point. It appears that early in the reign of Muḥammad bin Tughluq the Chinese had encroached on the hitherto independent Rājpūt states in the Himālayas ; and establishing their suzerainty there had built an idol fane at some place of strategic importance. Muḥammad bin Tughluq viewed this encroachment of the hostile and pagan Mongols on the Rājpūt states of the Indian frontier with grave anxiety ; hence the Qarāchīl expedition.

Another cause for the expedition lay in the need for securing the northern frontier. The emperor had rounded off all other frontiers of his empire. In the north-west Bahrām Aiba Kishlū Khān, hitherto the warden of the marches and the governor of Multān, having revolted had been crushed. The *Tārīkh-i Mubārak Shāhī*[1] informs us that Multān was a part of the frontier province of Sind, and after the suppression of Kishlū Khān's rebellion it was reconstituted under Qivāmu'l-Mulk Maqbūl. Again under Fīroz Shāh the *Tārīkh-i Mubārak Shāhī*[2] emphasizes the importance of Multān as a frontier outpost. In the north-east Bengal had been secured. The south had been made secure by the making of Deogīr or Daulatābād into a second capital. The new fortifications in progress there in the years 1327 and 1329 were witnessed by Shaikh Mubārak.[3] The Qarāchīl expedition seems to have been sent to complete the chain of fortifications in the north. The conquest of Nagarkot effected either[4] now or later in 1338 was part of the same plan.

1 Yaḥya bin Aḥmad (B.I.), p. 101.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 133.

3 Shihābu'ddīn 'Abbās Aḥmad. MS. 5867, B.N. (*Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliothéque de Roi*, Tome XIII, p. 186).

4 In 'Afif's account of Fīroz Shāh's expedition to Nagarkot (B.I., p. 187) there is a referenee to Muḥammad bin Tughluq. It is evident from it that the latter had personally led the expedition in 1338 The same appears from the ode of Badr Chāch.

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This was hardly perceived by the later writers, and in the absence of a clear contemporary record they blundered. Yaḥya[1] bin Aḥmad as well as Budāūnī[2] attributed the Qarāchīl expedition to the Sulṭān's attempt to bring under control the Qarāchīl mountain. Ḥājī Dabīr[3] ascribed it to the Sulṭān's desire to obtain for his harem the beautiful Qarāchīl women. But all accounts of Sulṭān Muḥammad's character exonerate him from every kind of licentiousness and indulgence. The fact that Ḥājī Dabīr, who usually borrows his information from Baranī and Ḥusām Khān, depicted Muḥammad bin Tughluq as licentious and dissolute without any evidence bespeaks his antagonism as well as that of his authorities against the latter.

The *Reḥla* helps us further to establish the objective of the Qarāchīl expedition. It[4] says that the Qarāchīl was held by one of the most powerful infidel rulers. By Qarāchīl' Ibn Baṭṭūṭa probably meant Kurmachal, the old name of Kumāon, and by infidel a Rājpūt. It follows that it was a Rājpūt state in the Kumāon-Garhwāl region or, as Gardner Brown[5] suggests, the mid-Himālayan tract of Kulu in the Kangra district against which the expedition was sent. The Kumāon-Garhwāl[6] region, wherein the Sultans of Dehli had never obtained a fixed footing, was in the fourteenth century under the Rajas of the Chānd dynasty. It is evident from the *Tārīkh-i Mubārak Shāhī*[7] that the hills of Kumāon served as the place of refuge for the rebels against the government of Dehlī. When Khargū, the

As such it is difficult to identify the Qarāchil expedition, which was certainly not led by the emperor personally, with the Nagarkot expedition.

1 Yaḥya bin Aḥmad (B.I.), p. 103.

2 Budāūnī: *Muntakhabu't-Tavārīkh* (B.I.), p. 229.

3 A.H.G, Vol. III, p. 877.

4 The *Reḥla* (G.O.S.), p. 98.

5 *Journal, U. P. Historical Society*, Vol. I, Pt. II. pp. 20-21.

6 *Imperial Gazetteer*, Second Edition, Vol. VIII, p. 350; Vol. V, p. 18.

7 The *Tārīkh-i Mubārak Shāhī* (B.I., p. 134) has Kharkū.

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chief of Katehar, revolted against Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh in 1380/782 he fled into the Kumāon-Garhwāl region[1] ruled by the Hindus.

One feels justified in stating that the accepted view of the Qarāchīl expedition based upon Barani's *Tārīkh-i Fīroz Shāhī* and the *Tārīkh-i Firishta* is incorrect. Barani mentions it among the misdeeds of the emperor, and Firishta brings it forward as one more example of his folly. Almost all sources agree that a large army was sent. While Barani[2] gives no exact number, Budāūnī[3] and Ḥāji-Dabīr[4] put it at 80,000. 'Iṣāmī[5] raises it to 100,000, and Ibn Baṭṭūṭā[6] follows him. While Barani mentions no commander of the Qarāchīl expedition, Firishta,[7] like 'Iṣāmī,[8] names Khusrau Malik, a nephew of the emperor.

As regards the route of the Indian army a reference which Ibn Baṭṭūṭa makes in his account of the Chinese embassy to the court of Muḥammad bin Tughluq is significant. He tells us that the king of China had asked the emperor's permission to build an idol fane on the skirts of the Qarāchīl mountain at a place called Samhal (Sambhal), which the Indian army had seized and sacked. This suggests that the Qarāchīl expedition entered the Himālayas after capturing Sambhal through the Ṭarai in the Moradābād district.

It cannot be denied that the emperor had made a careful study of the situation. He instructed Khusrau Malik

1 The *Tārikh-i Mubārak Shāhī* (B.I., p. 134) mentions 'Kohpāya Kumāon' held by the (Hindū) 'Mihtaragān.'

2 Barani (Bib. Ind.), 477.
3 Budāūnī (Bib. Ind.), 229.
4 A.H.G, III, 877.
5 'Iṣāmi: *Futūḥu's-Salāṭīn*, MS. F. 254 B; verse 8857.
6 The *Reḥla* (G.O.S.), p. 98.
7Firishta (*Bombay*, I, 240).
8 'Iṣāmī: *Futūḥu's-Salāṭīn*, MS. F. 254; verse 8850.

N.B.—It has been discussed in a footnote above (see page 179 *supra*) that Ibn Baṭṭūṭa failed to remember the exact name of the commander. In one place he has Malik Yūsuf Bughra (the *Reḥla* G.O.S., p. 86), and in another Malik Nakbia (*Idem*, p. 98).

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to establish military posts at intervals along the route through the mountains, between the position to be stormed and the base on the plains. These posts were to serve the two-fold purpose of facilitating the transport of provisions and of serving as places of refuge in case of retreat or disorder. As far as the emperor's instructions were acted upon Khusrau Malik met with success. The royal troops captured Jidya and the surrounding country at the foot of the Himālayas, seized the enemy's lands and valuables and then climbed up the heights and captured Wārangal. On this, they sent a written intimation of their victory to the emperor. He sent a qāẓī and a khaṭīb to them ordering them to remain there. But Khusrau Malik transgressed the emperor's orders. Flushed with victory he took the whole army or a detached force across the mountains into Tibet.[1] There it was overtaken by rains[2] followed by the outbreak of plague. A panic seized the army. The tables were turned. The mountaineers got the upper hand. They hurled blocks of stones from the mountain tops on to the retreating troops in the valley below. The military posts established to safeguard the retreat fell into disorder. As a result almost the whole army was destroyed. Only a few survived; three according to Ibn Baṭṭuṭa,[3] ten according to Ẓiyāu'ddīn Baranī.[4] According to 'Iṣāmī[5] about six thousand had escaped, but the emperor rebuked them as idlers and had them all executed.

1 There is a story relating to Sikandarpāl the 15th pāl or ruler of the Kulu state to the effect that he went to the king of Dehli to seek shelter against the Chinese who had invaded his kingdom. The Raja of Dehli came, marched through Kulu and took Gya Munou and Baltistan together with the country as far as Mansarowar. (Thornton, III, p. 180. Hunter, Imp. Gaz., xvi).

Probably on the strength of this story Gardner Brown has been led to think that the army pushed beyond the frontier to this Tibetan territory near the Mansarowar lake.

2 The *Reḥla* (G.O.S.), p. 98.

3 *Ibid.*

4 T. F. S. B. p. 478.

5 'Iṣāmi: F. S. verses 8869-8876.

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The disastrous results of this expedition, combined with the disbandment of a considerable part of the Khurāsān army, tended to create trouble. The disbandment had let loose a number of discontented and unemployed soldiers. This discontent was fomented by the 'ulamā, the sayyids, the mashāikh or chief sufis who had personal differences with the emperor on account of (i) his peculiar views about religion and administration, (2) his disregard of the time-honoured sanctity and privileges that the sayyids and saints had enjoyed heretofore, and (3) his cold-blooded murder of the Sunnīs and chief sufis, all supposed to be sacrosanct, in the Multān rebellion.

It should be noted that after the Multān rebellion the emperor had, on his return to Dehlī, made enquiries into the causes of disaffection. He found many of the 'ulamā, sayyids and mashāikh at the bottom of the trouble. He had them ruthlessly killed. This prejudiced Muslim public opinion against him and is the cause of Baranī's indictment.[1] Possibly some of Baranī's own friends or relations had suffered. But he slurs over the matter. What made the situation worse was the fact that many of the foreign 'ulamā—'Izzu'ddīn, Qāẓī Majdu'ddīn of Shīrāz, Burhānu'ddīn wā'iẓ-(preacher), Naẓīru'ddīn of Tirmidh, Shamsu'ddīn, and Malik Sanjar of Badakhshān—were granted allowances and maintained in the country by the emperor. This was gall and wormwood to the Indian section of the 'ulamā.

The situation was, thus, serious enough. It became uncontrollable before long on account of the financial stringency, famine and the rebellion in the Doāb. The financial stringency appears, from a superficial reading of Ẓiyāu'ddīn Baranī's work, to have led the Sulṭān to introduce a token currency. But whether the introduction of the token currency was the cause or the result of the financial stringency is a problem. In order to understand it aright it is necessary to study the problem of silver in medieval India.

1 T. F. S. B. p. 460.

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Up till the reign of 'Alāu'ddīn Khaljī the weight of the silver tankas was 175 grains, though he is said to have contemplated reducing it to 140. Among the coins struck after his death the number of silver coins is increasingly low, and even in those which are apparently classed as silver coins there is an appreciable mixture of copper. Under Sulṭān Quṭbu'ddīn Mubārak Shāh abundant wealth had come from the Deccan. There was accordingly some rise in the weight of the silver tankas which ranged from 168 to 170 grains. After Sulṭān Quṭbu'ddīn's murder there was again a fall in the weight of the silver coins. Under Nāṣiru'ddīn Khusrau they declined to 145 grains. After the accession of Sulṭān Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Tughluq immense wealth came into the imperial exchequer. New silver coins were struck, some of them even weighing 170 grains. During the reign of Sulṭān Muḥammad the demand for silver became much greater. On the one hand the large extent of the empire and, on the other, a large number of new mints spreading all over the country added enormously to the number of coins in circulation. This is attested by the fact that more of his coins than those of any preceding Sulṭān of Dehlī are still available.

In the opening years of his reign he increased the weight of gold coins by 28 grains but lessened that of the silver ones by 35. Enormous wealth came into the royal coffers when Daulatābād was made into a second capital. New coins were struck. But[1] still there was great disproportion between the amounts of gold and silver in the treasury. This is clear from the attempt Sulṭān Muhammad then made at adjustment. The weight of the new gold coins was greater than that of the silver coins, the increase varying from about 30 per cent to 50 per cent.

The expenses incurred as a result of the maintenance of a huge army of 370,000 cavalry made the problem of

1 Nelson Wright and Neville (J.A.S.B., 1924) have corrected Edward Thomas's views on the fall in the value of gold early in the reign of Muḥammad bin Tughluq. But the fact that a great disproportion between the amounts of gold and silver existed cannot be denied.

silver acute. The treasury contained, however, plenty of gold still. But the situation was not unlike that which Sulṭān 'Alāu'ddīn Khaljī had met by devising a new tariff and introducing economic reforms.

Sulṭān Muḥammad[1] knew the weakness and instability of the Khaljī economic system. He had studied the history of credit currency in China and Irān. In China its introduction is said to have been as old as the beginning of the ninth century A.D. Under Qublāi Khān, the Mongol emperor (1260-94), its use increased. A disastrous attempt at imitating him was made by Kaikhātū Khān of Irān (1293). His notes were direct copies of Qublāi Khān's, and were given the Chinese name *Chāo*. They were issued, however, with entirely different ends and results. Unlike the Khān of China who made due allowance for the people if they desired the use of gold and silver, and was favoured in his attempt by (1) precedent and tradition, (2) the instinct of the people and (3) the absence of coined money in gold and silver, Kaikhātū Khān of Irān introduced a new measure under unfavourable circumstances when, on account of the extravagance of the court, the treasury was emptied and the people were distressed.

Sulṭān Muḥammad was possibly tempted by the Chinese success to try the experiment. The Iranian fiasco was too disastrous to attract his attention. Like Kaikhātū Khān he was not compelled to introduce the token currency to refill his treasury, since he had not yet emptied it. It is a mistake to regard his attempt as the result of bankruptcy, as has been maintained by almost all the later historians. Ẓiyāu'ddīn Baranī, who must have been an eye-witness, carelessly remarks that the Sulṭān's bounty and munificence had caused a great deficiency in the treasury; so, he introduced his copper money. This statement of Baranī's has led many to conclude that the emperor had recourse to the token currency in order to refill his empty coffers.

1 This is evident from Barani (pp. 463-465), who tells us that Sulṭān Muḥammad was fond of history.

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That the treasury was still rich is attested by Ḥusām Khān whose narration Ḥājī Dabīr reproduces saying :

'In 734 Hijra (A.D. 1333) there was a reaction due to the forced currency of copper tokens which Sulṭān Muḥammad decided to pass for gold in his empire. This wrong step on his part was one of those which led to the ruin of the country with loss to the treasury and which strengthened the hands of the Hindus[1], because when he ordered that in all transactions, big or small, this copper token be utilized in order to save his gold coins accumulated in his treasuries, it appeared to every man[2] of reason that this (forced currency) could not continue for ever. So, each saved his gold and made purchases in copper token. Similar procedure was adopted by the Hindū inhabitants[3] of the country and the frontier regions. By spending these copper tokens they acquired war material and equipments which were beyond their means if they were to pay for these in gold. When the news travelled outside India, foreign merchants stopped coming to India, and they abstained from exporting to India the goods which were not produced in this country. As a result, transactions stopped and there was an immeasurable loss to the country. Then the copper token was abolished by announcement, and even during the period of its currency sellers had declined to accept this money. However, after it had ceased to be legal tender by announcement, there was nothing left to deal with, instead. As a result, the Sulṭān was forced to make another announcement and collected the copper tokens in the treasury, exchanging them with gold coins.'[4]

That the treasury was still rich is also confirmed by the fact that the emperor, after the failure of the token currency, had enough gold to pay in exchange for all the copper tokens, genuine or spurious, which had been issued by the

1 The text has *'ādā-i dīn, i. e.* enemies of Islām
2 *I. e.* the average Hindū and Muslim inhabitant of Dehlī.
3 The same as note 1.
4 A. H. G, III, p. 876

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government or forged by the shop-keepers and goldsmiths during the two years (1330-32). 'So many of these copper tokens were,' in the words of Baranī, 'brought to the treasury that heaps of them rose up in Tughluqābād like mountains. Great sums went out of the treasury in exchange for the copper and a great deficiency was caused.'[1] There is a discrepancy between the two statements of Baranī's. If the emperor's munificence had really impoverished the treasury and had even forced him, in order to refill it, to have recourse to the token currency, he could not have ventured to buy back thousands of copper tokens; or even if he had given orders to that effect, their execution would have been impossible. Perhaps, Baranī made the former statement to emphasize the enormous amount disbursed from the treasury for the Mongols. Perhaps, not the emptiness of the treasury, but the necessity of providing an adequate substitute for the much-needed silver was the immediate cause of this experiment in credit currency made by the emperor. Its principle was borrowed from China, but because of its notorious failure in Irān the emperor did not adopt paper as the medium of exchange. He preferred copper to paper.

The scheme was on the whole quite good and statesmanlike, but it failed despite the emperor's good intentions. The causes of its failure are interesting to note; the more so because the fundamental principle involved in it was in its essentials the same as that of the modern paper currency. The intrinsic value of Muḥammad Shāh bin Tughluq's copper tokens, like that of the modern bank notes, amounted to very little; and government credit was, as at present, the background. But his tokens were issued in place of small silver coins, while the modern notes are, or were, until the introduction of one-rupee[2] notes, for higher amounts. 'In no instance,'

1 T. F. S. B., pp. 475-476.

2 The one-rupee notes were introduced during the Great War (1914-18) on account of the difficulty of getting gold and silver for coinage. The general discontent consequent upon the change is well-known: the British Government wisely took back all the

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says Edward Thomas,[1] 'were these representatives of real money issued to pass for the more valuable current gold pieces, the highest coin he desired credit for in virtue of the regal stamp was a ṭanka of 140 grains of silver and the minor subdivisions were elaborately provided for in detail.'

Yet Sulṭān Muḥammad bin Tughluq's copper tokens, though at first successful, met in the end with complete failure because of *First*, the traditional instability of Muslim rule in India where one Muslim dynasty fast supplanted another. In order to succeed, a token currency scheme must have behind it the credit of the government. *Secondly*, the copper tokens could be easily minted in private houses. Barani tells us that with the promulgation of this edict the house of every Hindū was turned into a mint, and every goldsmith struck copper coins in his workshop. *Thirdly*, the abundant coinage of copper, which was already in common use, aggravated the situation. The uncultured and unlettered masses, who received them in great number, made disturbances and thought, not unnaturally, that the emperor was going to rob them of every penny. *Fourthly*, the price of metals depended on the law of supply and demand and could not be fixed by royal orders. The emperor roused discontent by disregarding this law and raising the price of silver on his own initiative.

Of the emperor's honesty of intention there can hardly be any doubt. When he found it impracticable and had reason to believe that the Hindus had set up mints in their houses, he recalled all the copper tokens, exchanging each at its face value for silver coin. Thus, the discredited coins being immediately recalled, all forgery was stopped and the credit of the government was restored. The panic ended ; and the people were so gratified that not even a murmur about the matter was heard by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, who

one-rupee notes and reintroduced them later when they found it convenient.

1 Edward Thomas: *The Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Dehli*, p. 245.

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arrived in India shortly after. Even the author of the *Masālik'ul-Abṣār* knew nothing about it. Iṣāmī[1] finishes it up in a few verses. But he charges the emperor with dishonesty and with the intention of impoverishing the *aṣḥāb-i dīn*.[2] Along with the copper tokens the poet also speaks of iron and leather ones, but as we can find no other mention of these we may assume that he was merely indulging in satire.

The fiasco of the Khurāsān and Qarāchīl expeditions and the failure of the token currency adversely affected the finances of the empire and led to the enhancement of taxation in the Doāb.

It will be remembered that, as declared in the preamble, Barani's[3] history is not a chronological account of the reign of Muḥammad bin Tughluq. He gives an event precedence *not because it happened first but because it struck his imagination most.* Evidently, by putting the enhancement of revenue in the Doāb at the head of the emperor's projects he does not mean to say that it was the first of all those formed and that it was followed by others, namely, the transfer of the capital to Deogīr, the introduction of the token currency, and the Khurāsān and the Qarāchīl expeditions. It would be absurd to take these events in the order described by Baranī. Yet Moreland assumes Baranī's order of events as correct. 'At the outset of his reign,' says he,[4] 'Muḥammad decided to enhance the revenue of the River Country. Not long afterwards the king carried out his plan of transferring the capital to Deogīr, and in the year 1329 Delhi was evacuated by practically the entire population.'

What Baranī really means is that, considering the disastrous results of all of the Sulṭān's projects, the enhancement of the revenue of the Doāb should rank first

1 F. S., verses 8715-8740.

2 *Aṣḥāb-i dīn*, literally *men of religion*; 'Iṣāmī probably means the mashāikh and 'ulamā.

3 T. F. S. B. (B.I.), pp. 467-468.

4 Moreland: *The Agrarian System of Moslem India*, p. 48.

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in importance. Along with the huge[1] enhancement of the assessment new cesses and taxes were imposed. As a result, the backs of the ryots were broken. Those who were already feeble and without resources collapsed, while those who possessed resources revolted. The news of the troubles in the Doāb spread to other provinces, where people revolted for fear of the same fate befalling them. Such a picture of chaos, insurrections and rebellions, which Barani here draws and which he connects with the emperor's punitive expeditions in the Doāb of the years 1333 and 1334, is inconsistent with his account of the brightness and prosperity, so characteristic of the beginning of the reign. It follows, therefore, that the enhancement of revenue in the Doāb was not the first but the *last* of the emperor's projects. It decidedly marked the beginning of the great disorders of the realm and will, therefore, be fittingly discussed in the next chapter.

1 How much the revenue was enhanced is a problem. Barani's words, '*yaki ba dah wa yaki ba bist*,' if translated literally would mean ten-fold and twenty-fold, or an increase of ten and five per cent., neither of which is correct. Moreland observes that Barani's phrase is 'rhetorical, not arithmetical,' and that it only signifies an enormous increase.

The Doāb was the most fertile part of the empire, and could well bear an increased levy which was much lighter than what 'Alāu'ddin Khaljī had imposed. He had raised the land revenue to 50 per cent of the produce (Barani, p. 287). This rate was reduced by Quṭbu'ddin Mubārak Shāh Khalji. Gardner Brown (*Journal, U. P. Historical Society*, Vol. I, Pt. II, pp. 11-12) is of opinion that while Ghiyāṣu'ddin Tughluq had fixed the rate roughly at 10 per cent Muḥammad bin Tughluq raised it to 20 per cent. Fīroz Shāh reverted to 10 per cent.

PART THREE

DISINTEGRATION OF THE EMPIRE

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CHAPTER VIII

REBELLIONS AND DISORDERS

The decisive year, 1335, which divides the reign of Muḥammad bin Tughluq into two[1] unequal parts, also marks a landmark in the history of its rebellions and disorders. Those which preceded it differed in number, in character and in their results from those which followed. While six[2] rebellions preceded the year 1335, fifteen[3] followed it. In between the two groups stands the Ma'bar rebellion of 1335.[4] Almost all the rebellions of the first group were essentially isolated instances of the outbreak of troubles primarily caused by individuals and were subdued

1 *See supra*, Chapter VI.

2 (i) The rebellion of Bahāu'ddīn Gurshāsp.
(ii) The rebellion of Kishlū Khān.
(iii) The rebellion of the Qāẓī and Khaṭīb of Kamālpūr.
(iv) The rebellion of Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Bahādur.
(v) The rebellion of Wunār and Qaiṣar-i Rūmī.
(vi) The Doāb rebellion.

3 (i) The rebellion of Hulājūn.
(ii) The rebellion of Malik Hoshang.
(iii) The rebellion of Mas'ūd Khān.
(iv) The Hindū rebellion of Kampīla and Wārangal.
(v) The rebellion of Sayyid Ibrāhīm, governor of Hānsī and Sirsa.
(vi) The rebellion of Fakhra.
(vii) The rebellion of Sunām and Sāmāna.
(viii) The rebellion of Niẓām Māin at Kaṛa.
(ix) The rebellion of Shihābu'ddīn Sulṭānī at Bidar.
(x) The rebellion of 'Alī Shāh at Gulbarga.
(xi) The rebellion of 'Ainu'l-Mulk.
xii) The rebellion of Shāhū Afghān.
(xiii) The rebellion of Qāẓī Jalāl.
(xiv) The rebellion of amīrān-i sadah of Daulatābād.
(xv) The rebellion of Tāghī.

4 The rebellion of Sayyid Aḥsan Shāh Jalālu'ddīn.
(i) T. F. S. B. (Bib. Ind.), p. 480.
(ii) The *Reḥla* (G.O.S.), p. 99.

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by the emperor in person or by his provincial governors or by the wazīr. But the rebellions of the second group, which range over the rest of the reign from 1335 to 1351, were far more widespread. The Ma'bar rebellion of the year 1335 partakes of the character of the first group in so far as it is raised ostensibly by an individual, namely, Aḥsan Shāh, governor of Ma'bar, and of the second because it found supporters amongst Aḥsan Shāh's dependants and followers throughout the whole country lying between the Cauvery and the Sutlej. This explains why at the first news of this rebellion in the south, the emperor had Aḥsan Shāh's relations and dependants arrested in the north.[1] That the Ma'bar rebellion had more in common with the second than with the first group is proved in the *first* place by the fact that it was the first of a series of rebellions, which Muḥammad bin Tughluq could not subdue, and resulted in the establishment of an independent provincial kingdom; *secondly*, by the fact that its origin must be sought in the mutinous conduct of his troops[2] and in the disaffection of the nobles and the *amīrān-i ṣadah*;[3] *thirdly*, by the fact that it was followed by calamities such as famine, drought, epidemics, as well as by his own illness;[4] and *fourthly*, by the fact that it marked the spread of the symptoms of disease and discontent from the north to the south, from the Musalmān walis or provincial governors and other officials to the Hindus across the Narbada, culminating in the establishment of Hindū and Muslim independent kingdoms with centres at Vijayānagar, Wārangal and Daulatābād.

To all that has been said above to prove the decisive character of the year 1335 may be added the fact that it was in this year that the emperor acknowledged the failure of his experiment in capital-making. It was the

1 T. F. S. B. (Bib. Ind.), p. 480.

2 *Ibid.*

3 The *amirān-i ṣadah* (centurions or amirs of hundreds) were not only military officers, but also civil officials collecting taxes in groups of about a hundred villages each (*J.R.A.S.*, July, 1922).

4 T. F. S. B. (Bib. Ind.), pp. 480-1.

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Doāb rebellion which had convinced him of the imperative need of his personal residence in the north on which he thenceforth concentrated leaving the south under the immediate control of his officials.

Baranī who makes no such discrimination gives, under a special heading of rebellions, an insight into the causation of these, saying:

> 'In his early youth and during the formative period of his life that king (Sulṭan Muḥammad) who was a prince of India and Khurāsān[1] was associated with the logician Sā'd who was known as a heretic and poet, 'Ubaid who was a disbeliever and Najm who was a philosopher. Maulānā 'Alīmu'ddīn who was most learned of the philosophers became a frequent visitor of his (prince's) chamber and used to meet him in privacy every now and then. These treacherous heretics—who were deeply rooted in, and firmly believed in, philosophy, were always debating the pros and cons of philosophy, contrary to the principles of the Sunnī faith which are based on the teachings given by 1,24,000 Prophets—made such a deep influence on Sulṭān Muḥammad's mind that it shook his belief in the holy books and the Prophets' sayings which are the fundamental basis and foundation of Islām and the source of salvation and spiritual upliftment. He would listen to nothing which was contrary to philosophy and never put his faith in anything that would not agree with it. Had his mind not been overwhelmed by the reasoning of these philosophers who disregarded the heavenly commandments, he (Sultān Muḥammad) would not have dared—being a virtuous man, possessing high and good qualities—to order the execution of any Musalmān and believer against the commandment of God, Prophet Muḥammad and the instructions of all the apostles of God and the 'ulamā. But the study of philosophy which is the

1 This is a reference to the numerous victories won by his father (*al-Ghāziu'l Khurāsān*) over the Mongols from Khurāsān. A. H. G. III, p. 853.

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source of all cruelty and stone-heartedness had soaked his heart completely. As a result no heavenly teaching and no *ḥadīṣ* of the Prophets* could make the slightest impression on his (Sulṭān Muḥammad's) mind, which was now absolutely free from the fear of God and His punishment. Therefore, the killing of Musalmans and the execution of the believers became a habit with him. He killed so many 'ulamā, mashāikh, sayyids, sufis, qalandars,[1] clerks and army men that their numbers could hardly be computed. Every day and every week he was shedding so much blood of Musalmans that literally their blood streamed forth before his gate. All these executions were a direct consequence of his study of philosophy and of the loss of faith in the Quranic science (*'ilm-i-manqūlāt i-kutb-i āsmānī*).'[2]

On analysis Baranī's narrative crystallizes as follows. Since his boyhood Sulṭān Muḥammad had been studying anti-Islamic philosophy under the influence of heretics and atheists. Consequently he lost faith in the principles of Islām, in the sayings of the Prophet and in the orthodox interpretations of the Qurān. He formulated his own opinions under the guidance of philosophers who were disbelievers. Now Ibn Baṭṭūṭa had personally witnessed the sittings of the emperor with the philosophers and noticed the discussions. 'I have seen,' says he, 'at the court of the Indian emperor Sulṭān Muḥammad philosophical matters alone being discussed every day after morning prayer.'[3] These philosophers were Muslim heretics and atheists[4] as reported by Baranī, as well as Hindū jogis as

I.e. Prophet Muḥammad who was the Prince of Prophets (*Sayyidu'l-Mursalīn*) and whose sayings alone count as *ḥadīṣ*. The holy Qurān says, 'Nor does he say (aught) of his own desire'. *Sūra* LIII, verse 3).

1 Derived from the Turkish word *qaldar* (powerful) or from *qulansavah*—a kind of cap which they wore, 'qalandar' indicated generically a class of Muslim fakirs noted for their indifference towards the duties and obligations of life.

2 T. F. S. B. p. 465.
3 The *Rehla* (G. O. S.) p. 266
4 *Op. cit.*

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reported elsewhere by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa. 'These jogis,' says he, 'work wonders.[1] They give information about hidden things, and the Sulṭān honours them and takes them into his company.'[2] And 'Iṣāmī says in a similar strain that 'the Sulṭān mixed privately with the jogis.'[3] 'This is confirmed by the *Tirtha-kalpa*[4] of Jinaprabha Surī, the Jain philosopher and favourite of the emperor and the author of hymns.[5] There are grounds of belief that the emperor had learnt some hymns and yogic practices as well as philosophy from these jogis. 'Philosophy,' says Zimmer, a modern German philosopher, 'is a kind of wisdom which enables the person acquiring it to become the master of his own mind and body, his passions, his reactions and his meditations. He is one who has transcended the illusions of wishful thinking and of all other kinds of normal human thought. He feels no challenge or defeat in misfortune.'[6]

Such was exactly emperor Muḥammad bin Tughluq whom no earthly power could frighten. Rebellions after rebellions broke out; enemies became numerous, and were organized; and troubles multiplied beyond count, but he stood unshaken like a rock, budging not an inch from the path he had chosen and the policy of *siyāsat* that he had formulated and adopted. He was a true philosopher-king who 'would accept nothing unless it stood the cold test of reason and philosophy.'[7] 'A philosopher 'according to Zimmer 'is one who is re-formed to a pattern of really

1 The emperor did not honour the jogis for their necromancy. He found them well grounded in philosophy which was the only criterion of manhood and fitness in his eyes. Perhaps he found in them congenial soul-force. That true jogis possessed great soul-force is shown in the *Gita* (Chapter III, verses 3-4).

2 The *Reḥla* (G.O.S.) p, 164.

3 F. S. L., verse 9755.

4 Gandhi, L. C. B—J. S. M. pp. 19-21, 30-32, 38-39, 60-61,

5 Maurice Winternitz—*A History of Indian literature*, Vol. II, p. 556.

6 Zimmer—*Philosophies of India*, p. 56 ff.

7 T.F.S.B. p. 465.

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superhuman stature, as a result of being pervaded by the magic power of truth.'[1] Such was emperor Muḥammad bin Tughluq. By virtue of his study and culture of philosophy—Greek as well as Indian—and even by his yogic process of meditating[2] and acting, he became mysteriously powerful and had acquired a remarkable soul-force. Barani was bewildered at finding him so extraordinarily equipped with wits and learning; and in utter helplessness and astonishment he declared him 'a mixture of opposites' —a point which will be discussed later.[3] To a modern historian it would appear that the emperor's learning had gone beyond the boundary of Islām into the domain of pre-Islamic India and Irān. He knew the jurisprudence and penology of the ancient Hindus[4] in the same way as he knew the Iranian *siyāsat*.[5] He knew also Kautilya's *Arthashastra* and was not unaware of the following teaching of the *Mahabharata* :

> 'The king should always keep the rod of punishment (*daṇḍa*) uplifted in his hand. And a king should display severity in making all his subjects observe their respective duties. If this is not done they will prowl like wolves, devouring one another.'[6]

On ascending the throne of Dehlī as emperor with absolute powers Sulṭān Muḥammad believed that he had attained the position of a *mujtahid* and was able to make radical reforms in the light of his own researches. Before

1 *Op. cit.*

2 He was seen plunged in meditation at mid-night in complete darkness renouncing the palace lights. Then took place an extraordinary upsurge in his thoughts. *Vide* Gesū-darāz—*Jawāmi'u'l-Kilam*, p. 175.

3 *Vide* Chapter on Review and Conclusions of this book.

4 *Vide* (i) *Calcutta Review*, 1875. vol. lxi, pp. 123-142.
(ii) Sen, P. K.—*Penology, Old and New*, p. 86.
(iii) Gupta, R. D.—*Crime and Punishment in Ancient India*, pp. 42-57.

5 Firdausi—*Shāh Nāma* (Bombay, 1846) pp. 14, 131, 758.

6 Zimmer—*Philosophies of India*, p. 121.

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deciding upon Devagīrī or Deogīr as the second capital of his empire he issued from Dehlī in 727 Hijra a gold coin[1] bearing the legend—*Muḥammad bin Tughluq Shāh, muḥi-i sūnan.i khātimu'n nabīīn* (Muḥammad bin Tughluq Shāh, reviver of the religion of the last of the Prophets), announcing thereby that the religion of Islām had suffered a death and that he would resuscitate it. It follows that he resolved to turn a new leaf, making war, unlike the preceding sultans of Dehlī, on *taqlīdī* Islām or the Muslim orthodoxy and its apparatus—conventional usages, not adjustable to philosophy, and arrogant declarations of opinions in the domain of Islamic law and Quranic sciences. In this manner was created a situation which the custodians of that orthodoxy—*muḥaddiṣīn*, *mutakallimīn*, *muftīīn*, and *fuqahā*—commonly known as 'ulamā did not like; and they became restive. Holding the *fuqahā* or the jurists responsible for what he considered unsuitable interpretations of the law, wrong and unfit for the problems of his far-flung empire comprising many peoples and discordant elements, he resolved to deprive them of their time-honoured supremacy in jurisprudence and began to suspect their *bona fides* as well as the sincerity and intentions of their adherents in the administrative services and the army units, particularly the amīrān-i sadah. This topic 'Iṣāmī has depicted, in his own way, saying:

> 'After the lapse of two years he (Sulṭān Muhammad Shah) changed his attitude and gave up justice and goodness. He became deeply suspicious of *khalq*[2] in the capital city with the result that the sweetness in him was turned into poison. He transformed his justice into tyranny and changed his kindness into cruelty and torture.'[3]

1 Edward Thomas—C. P. K. D., p. 211.

2 Like the term *an-nās* in Arabic (*vide* the *Rehla*, G. O. S., p. 12 footnote 3) *khalq* in the Indo-Persian chronicles has not always been used in its literal sense. Here *khalq* means 'ulamā and the old Turkish nobility. Also see page 156, footnote 1, *supra*.

3 F. S. I. verses 8062–8064

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This was according to 'Iṣāmī the real cause of Bahāu'ddīn Gurshāsp's rebellion which broke out in the second year of the reign as Ibn Baṭṭūṭa suggests by implication. But Iṣāmī suggests the third year of the reign (July 1327—June 1328) saying that the obnoxious change in the emperor's disposition which preluded the outbreak of Bahāu'ddīn Gurshāsp's rebellion became noticeable two years after the royal invasion of the Mongol territory which, in fact, took place after the exit of Tarmashīrīn towards the close of 1326. Since Bahāu'ddīn Gurshāsp's rebellion entailed war and since it prepared the way for the rise of Daulatābād as a second capital of the empire, it appears that the said change in the emperor's disposition had come about in the second year (June 1326—May 1327). And that was certainly the cause of Bahāu'ddīn Gurshāsp's rebellion. Prof. Venkataramanyya considers this unlikely. 'There is no evidence,' says he, 'to show that the Sulṭān began his oppressions so early in his reign.'[1] But Baranī's evidence quoted above does show that Sulṭān Muhammad had been equipped before his accession with arms to fight the 'ulamā. After his accession the war began. To understand the nature of this war three points must be borne in mind. *First*, Budāūnī[2], who uses 'Iṣāmī as his authority and is convinced like Iṣāmī of Sulṭān Muḥammad's 'oppressions', calls him Sulṭān Muḥammad 'Ādil *i.e.* emperor Muḥammad the Just. *Secondly*, Sulṭān Maḥammad struck coins[3] bearing his claim to be *'Ādil* (just) and styled himself السلطان العادل (Just emperor). He also named his Dehli fortress-city 'Ādilābād.' *Thirdly*, when, according to Ibn Baṭṭūṭa[4] and Budāūnī[5], he was upbraided as a tyrant in the presence of the chief Qāẓī Kamālu'ddīn Ṣadr-i Jahān, the emperor referred

1 Venkataramanyya, N.: *The Eearly Muslim Expansion in South India*, p. 131.

2 M. T. Vol. I, (Bib. Ind.), p. 225.

3 Edward Thomas—C.P.K.D. p. 216, Nos. 189, 192.

4 The *Reḥla* (G.O.S.) pp. 86-87, also see Introduction, xxi.

5 M. T. (Bib. Ind.), p 239.

the matter to the latter, saying: 'Prove me a tyrant as this man (Shaikh Shihābu'ddīn) says and cut off my head with this sword.' Simultaneously as he said this he flung the sword before the Ṣadr-i Jahān. Such was the war of ideology, which made the *'adl* of this *'Ādil* look like oppression and tyranny in the eyes of the 'ulamā and *vice versa*.[1] Bahāu'ddīn Gurshāsp's rebellion was a protest against this ideology and forged the *first* link in the chain of the war that was impending. No wonder if in these circumstances Gurshāsp claimed the crown for himself—an information which Ibn Baṭṭūṭa and Firishta communicate in distinct phrases. Possibly Gurshāsp also had a personal grievance, for the emperor had conferred on him no honours; and he (Gurshāsp) had obtained no increment like the others, who were much less qualified than himself. But a personal grievance, unless whipped up by the ideology of a war, could not have been made into a *casus belli* while the emperor was known to be overwhelmingly strong.

To revert to 'Iṣāmī:

'When Bahau'ddīn Gurshāsp, son of the emperor's aunt, who had been governor of Sāgar, noticed this change in him he threw off the veneer of allegiance. He collected troops in right royal fashion and lay hands on the remotest parts and gave a shock to the empire.

'When Malikzādah (Aḥmad bin Aiyāz), who was then in Gujarāt, heard of this rebellion he summoned the chieftains from the remotest parts of the realm, opened the treasury and gave them money lavishly. He managed to

1 This is a theme fully borne out by his *autobiography* which, though fragmentary, proves beyond the shadow of any doubt that the conception of *'adl* (justice) among other factors had formed the bed of opposition between Sulṭān Muḥammad and the preceding sultans of Dehli. While he denounces all from Balban downward barring his own father as tyrants, almost all of them have been praised and appreciated as just rulers by the chroniclers. Such was the ideology which he had acquired as a prince, so Barani tells us. It was but natural that war to the knife should break out after his accession. It broke out two years after his reign according to 'Iṣāmi. For the *autobiography* see Chapter IX of this book.

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collect speedily a large army of strong and well-equipped warriors and kept them in readiness.

'One day a courier came from the capital Dehlī and delivered to him the royal firman to the effect that he should proceed to Mahārāshtra with his troops and that he should take along with him chieftains like Qiwāmu'ddīn, son of Burhānu'ddīn, Quṭbu'l-Mulk Tatār, Ashrafu'l-Mulk and other seasoned officers. The emperor invested Malikzādah with the command of this army for which he was considered fit and worthy.

'When the brave Gurshāsp—the hero of Deogīr—who had been raiding the territories heard of the approach of the royal army he moved westward from Deogīr and crossed the Godavarī. Then he summoned his talented cavalrymen and commanded them to attack the enemy's centre.

'On both sides the army being arrayed in battle order, Gurshāsp rushed upon the centre of the royal army then under the charge of Aḥmad bin Ayāz, dislocating it thoroughly. But the accursed Khiẓr Bahrām, a comrade of Gurshāsp, whom the latter had posted to the right wing, deserted him; and joining hands with the troops of Mujīr he came with all his followers to help the royal army of Deogīr. Thus fate decided against Gurshāsp. He proceeded towards a river whither he was pursued by the victorious war lords from the royal army. But he crossed the river safely. As soon as he reached the fortress of Sāgar he took away his family, leaving behind all his troops and wealth, and proceeded to Kampīla (Kampīlī). From there he went running into the fortress of Kummaṭa (*Kumta*).

'The Rāi of Kampīla took him under his protection and each became sincerely devoted to the other. The Rāi said to him:

> "You must not be grieved on account of this defeat. Such is the nature of this world that it gives the upper hand in the battlefield sometimes, and sometimes compels you to run away. You should not feel sorrow for this mishap that has befallen you because human beings never remain in the same condition in

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this world of uncertainties. I value your high qualities and assure you my fullest support. You have done well to have come to me, and I am prepared to sacrifice my own life and whatever I possess in order to save you and protect you; no harm whatever will be done to you as long as there remains the last drop of blood in my body; I swear by the gods—Khurshīd[1], Zunnār,[2] Lāt[3] and Manāt.[4] Should the whole world resolve to do harm to you I would stand in their way; as long as a single vein is functioning in my body I won't allow anyone to touch you. They will have to pass over my dead body before reaching you. You should forget your sorrows and be happy and care-free because you are now in absolute safety."

'After a while the troops began to pour in from Dehlī in successive batches. In this manner a huge army assembled, looking like a shoreless sea. They surrounded the fortress and tightened their grip in all directions.

'Then the emperor marched with his troops towards Daulatābād where he came to know of Gurshāsp's defeat. He recalled Malikzādah and deputed Malik Ruknu'ddīn to march towards Kampīla. The latter went on two successive expeditions from both of which he returned broken and defeated. A third time Malikzādah Aḥmad bin Aiyāz was sent by the emperor to occupy the fortress. He was favoured by Providence with success. He dashed his troops to the fortress of Kumta'.[5] Gurshāsp and Rāi Kampīla who were much attached to each other came out two or three times to give battle, but they were at last broken and took shelter in the fortress. Fighting continued for a month or two. And when the besieged warriors were pressed hard, their resistance weakened and the royal army obtained the upper hand. One day the commander-in-chief of the royal army who enjoyed con-

1,2,3,4 *I.e.* Symbolic names of Hindū idols corresponding to sun-god etc.

5 *I.e.* the fort of Kummaṭa.

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fidence of the emperor ordered the whole army to get ready to make an attack on the fortress ; and they made their forced entry into it with drawn swords.

'When Bahāu'ddīn and Kampīla realized that they had lost possession of the fortress they came out of it and vacated it in the course of one day and set out for the fortress of Anegundi (*Husdarg*), passing through jungles and hills. They arrived there followed by the royal pursuants who gave them a hot chase. They resisted for one month and fought like brave warriors, using all sorts of arms—arrows, lances, bricks and stones.

'One day with a firm resolve to capture the fortress of Anegundi (*Husdarg*) the royal army made a violent attack before which all defence preparations and fortifications gave way and a great tumult arose. When Gurshāsp saw this, he found no alternative but to escape from the scene. He saddled some four horses which he had kept in readiness and took them out of the fortress into the plain skilfully. He seated his family on three of these while the fourth he mounted personally. Then he went away with all in broad day light and killed everyone who pursued him. Thus he saved himself from his enemies.

'Kampīla, the faithful Hindū ally, left not his post and stuck to the last like a veteran warrior. He threw himself and his family into danger for the sake of his friend. He put in a brave fight for long; but the stars being against him he was wounded and pierced by many arrows. He thought there was no alternative but to fight to a finish and die. So, like a brave and sincere man he fought until he was killed, laying down his life for the sake of his principles. The royal army, now victorious, entered the fortress and set their hands to plunder, killing and capturing many enemies. They seized many a treasure and acquired untold wealth.

'Malikzādah having captured Anegundi (*Husdarg*), one man from among the above-mentioned enemies was

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brought alive to him. He ordered him to disclose the identity of the inmates of the fortress and scrutinize every head that was presented by the troops and identify the same. That man examined the heads and was struck with grief at the sight of each. When his eyes fell upon a head dotted like a flower with shafts, he sank in grief, wept and shrieked and besmeared himself with dust, tearing away the hair of his head and beard. Malikzādah enquired of him the reason of his wailings and asked whose head it was. The man said with tears streaming down his cheeks, "This is the head of our Rāi whose death is the cause of our grief." Malikzādah ordered that the head should be placed in a tray of gold and skinned for the joy of friends and the sorrow of enemies; then the skin should be filled with straw and the fortress set on fire. This done, the head was sent to the emperor and a huge army was charged to pursue Gurshāsp.

'Gurshāsp who had lost everything managed to flee to the territory of Ballalā with a few horses and a little money. But fortune having set its face against him and his stars having declined, he was afflicted with untold miseries and griefs. That weak Hindū —Ballalā—who cared not for reproaches captured him treacherously and sent him to Malikzādah who put him in heavy chains and sent him to the emperor. The latter ordered that he should be skinned and that his skin should be stuffed with chaff and paraded through the country as a warning to all. As for his body, orders were issued that it should be cooked and mixed with the diet of the elephants to be consumed by them and that an announcement should be made throughout the country that whoever revolted against the emperor would meet with a similar fate.'[1]

Much the same information is given by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa[2] who says that on the death of his uncle Ghiyāṣu'ddīn

1 F. S. I., verses 8065-8201, (Agra edition); (Madras edition), pp. 424-431.

2 The *Reḥla* (G.O.S.), p. 95.

Tughluq Bahāu'ddīn refused to swear allegiance to his cousin Muḥammad bin Tughluq. A large army under the command of Malik Mujīr and Khwāja Jahān was sent against him. A severe fight ensued, followed by his flight to the Rāi of Kampīla where he was pursued by the royal troops. They laid siege to the dominion of the Rāi who was pressed hard and spent all his provisions. Fearing lest he should fall into the hands of the enemy the Rāi said to Bahāu'ddīn, "You see how things have developed. In these circumstances I have resolved to perish with my family and followers. You had better go to such and such sulṭān". And he gave the Hindū ruler's name to Bahāu'ddīn. "You should stay with him, and he will defend you," he added. Then he sent along with Bahāu'ddīn some one who took him to that ruler. After this the Rāi of Kampīla ordered a large fire to be made and said to his wives and daughters, "I wish to perish; those of you who desire to follow me may do so." Thereupon the ladies took to washing and rubbing their bodies with sandal. Then each prostrated herself before the Rāi and threw herself into the fire, till at last all perished. Then the Rāi washed himself and put on his arms but bore no shield. Those of his subjects who wished to die with him did the same. Then they sprang on the royal forces and fought until all were killed. The royal army entered the city and imprisoned its inhabitants as well as eleven of the sons of Rāi Kampīla who were taken to the Sulṭān; all of them embraced Islām. In consideration of their good descent and the noble conduct of their father the Sulṭān honoured them and installed them as amirs. 'In the court of the Sulṭān,' continues Ibn Baṭṭūtā, 'I saw three of these brothers—Naṣr, Bakhtiyār and the Muhrdār, that is, keeper of the seal. This seal the latter used for the water which the Sulṭān used to drink. His name was Abū Muslim, and between him and me a friendship grew up.'[1]

Before his death the Rāi of Kampīla[2] had secured

1 *Ibid.*

2 Kampila or Kampīlī or Kampil is a town in the Tungabhadra valley, ten miles north-east of the ruins of Vijayanagar (Mzik,

Bahāu'ddin Gurshāsp's flight to Vir Ballāla III, also called Bilāl Deva,[1] the Hoysala rājā of Dvārasamudra.[2] Bilāl Deva captured the latter and made him over to Khwāja Jahān. Bahāu'ddīn was then sent a prisoner to Dehlī, where he was flayed alive. His flesh, cooked with rice, was placed before the elephants and ultimately sent to his family.[3] Bilāl Deva acknowledged the paramountcy of Dehli.[4]

In this connection may also be read the Sanskrit 'Tale

p. 163 ; Imperial Gazetteer, Second Edition, vol. 7, p. 354). Sewell identifies it with Anegundi on the Tungabhadra, which in his opinion was captured by Muḥammad bin Tughluq in 1334 (Sewell: F. E., p. 16). But there is no proof that Bahāu'ddīn's rebellion took place in 1334.

Prof. Venkataramanyya (*Early Muslim Expansion in South India*, p. 144) is of opinion that the Rai of Kampila had purposely involved the emperor of Dehlī in trouble 'by advising Bahau'ddin Gurshāsp to seek shelter in his dominions'.

It should be noted that the Rāi of Kampila who held besides Kampila the districts of Bellary, Raichur and Dharwar had not been loyal to Dehlī since the time of Malik Kāfūr who had stormed it. Though nominally subject to the emperor of Dehlī the state of Kampila had long been trying to assert its independence.

So the sacrifice that the Rāi of Kampila made for the sake of Gurshāsp was not without selfish motives. Perhaps he was anxious to seize this opportunity to consolidate his independent rule.

But Fate ruled otherwise. Now Kampila was completely annexed to the empire of Dehlī and transformed into a regular province of the empire.

1 T. Fr. (Bombay) I, p. 241.

2 Mzik (p. 165) as well as Saletore (*Social and Political Life in the Vijayanagar Empire*, Vol. I, p. 6) mentions the demolition of Dvārasamudra in 1327. But this is not supported by the chronicles and the available data. In fact, Bilāl Deva saved Dvārasamudra from every kind of destruction by offering allegiance to the emperor of Dehlī. An attempt has been made to show, on the basis of an inscription of 1328, that Bilāl Deva did not acknowledge the paramountcy of Dehlī (IPQT, p. 81). But it is a fact that Dvārasamudra was made a province of the empire of Dehlī. See p. 106 *supra*.

3 The *Reḥla* (G.O.S.), p. 96.

4 *Vide* footnote 2 *supra*.

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of a Hero Truthful' from the *Purusa Parīksā* of Vidyāpati Thākura which runs as follows:

'Once upon a time in the city of Hastinapura there reigned a Muslim sultan named Mahammada. He ruled the land from sea to sea, but a Kaphara raja, unable to endure his tyranny, came thither with his entire army to attack him. The Sultan, hearing of his approach, issued from the city, escorted by horses from Balkh and Turkistan and many hundreds of thousands of riders, and challenged him to combat. In the ensuing battle the Sultan's army was defeated by that of the Kaphara and took to flight. When the Sultan saw his troops turning tail like a troop of elephants terrified before a lion, he cried:

"Ho, ye chiefs and Rajputs, sons of kings, champions of my army! Be there none among you who by the might of his arm can for a short moment bring to stand my troops, routed as they are by the enemy."

'Hearing these words of the Sultan, two young princes, by name Nara Simha Deva of the Karnata race and Charchika Deva the Chauhan shouted out:

"Thine army hath become scattered in terror of the foe, and like a stream of water is falling down. Who now can rescue it? But if Your Majesty will come back after a brief while and see what hath been done, then, in the meantime we two alone with our sword-blades, will heap up piles of the heads of soldiers of the enemies of Your Majesty."

'Replied the Sultan:

"Bravo! Princes, bravo! Who else but you dareth such a deed of daring do!"

'And thereupon Nara Simha Deva, his armpits bristling in fierce exaltation, turning his horse round, and urging it on with whip-lashes like blows of a thunderbolt, all unexpected, thrust his way into the Kaphara raja's army. As he so entered it, he met the Raja coming to him, haughty in his victory. He re-

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cognized him by the white umbrella held above him; and with an arrow pierced him to the heart. To the ground the Kāphara lifeless fell; and as there he lay Charchika Deva smote off his head and carried it away and laid it before the Sultan. The Sultan asketh how he had been slain:

"Sire," saith Charchika, "he was slain by one brave as Arjuna, by Nara Simha Deva. Then I who had followed him cut off the Kaphara's head."

"Where," asketh the Sultan, "be Nara Simha Deva?" "When last I saw him," saith Charchika, "he was alone and being attacked by a great crowd of soldiers eager to avenge their leader's death. Where he be now, I know not."

'Then the Sultan, seeing the enemy forces bereft of their leader and taking to flight, became full of joy; and observing some of his own troops pursuing them he called to them:

"Ho my men, why destroy these runaway soldiers? Tell me rather, where be that saviour of my kingdom—he who brought death to the Kaphara Raja, that lion in the form of man, Nara Simha Deva?"

'There, in the same place, on the scene of his fight, the Sultan discovered Nara Simha Deva, his body pierced with many arrows, pouring forth a thousand streams of blood, like a *bar* tree in crimson blossom and lying senseless from his wounds. Leaping from his charger the Sultan thus addressed him:

"Ah, Nara Simha Deva! Wilt thou survive?"

'Said he:

"Is Your Majesty aware of what I did?"

'Said the Sultan,

"Known is it all to me. Charchika hath told me how by thee mine enemy was slain."

'And Nara Simha replied,

"Then shall I survive, for the tree of my labour hath indeed borne its fruit, if he doth understand it,

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for whose welfare I undertook and fulfilled my arduous task."

'The Sultan extracted the darts from Nara Simha Deva's body, buried as they were in his flesh up their feathered ends; and, by due application of various appropriate remedies, in a few days caused his arrow-wounds to heal and disappear. When the cure had been effected the Sultan proceeded to show him honour with gifts of a thousand horses and a hundred thousand umbrellas of gold and other insignia of rank; but on the occasion of their presentation, Nara Simha Deva thus addressed the Sultan:

"Your Majesty! Giving battle is but the duty that runneth in the blood of the Rajputs, so what unwonted deed hath been done by me, that to me this honour hath been shown? Moreover, if honour must be shown, then let it be shown to Charchika Deva, for it was he who not only brought to thee the head of the foe but who also in his love for truth extolled me before Your Majesty and remained silent concerning his own valiant acts. If that had not been so, when it was he that was bringing the enemy's head as proof of his death, who would have reckoned that it was I that killed him? Therefore, it is to him that honour should first be given."

'Then said Charchika Deva,

"Prince Nara Simha! Say not so. How could I take the fruits of thy valour and pass a life supported on the leavings of another?"

'Nara Simha Deva then replied,

"Well done, Hero Truthful, well done."

'As the Sultan hearkened to their mutual converse he became filled with satisfaction and honoured these two, each with an equal reward.'

The reader will recall the substance of this tale, already given in this book[1] from Babu Maheshwar Prasad's translation of the *Purusa Parīksā*. Whereas 'Kāfūr' is stated there to have been the name of the Hindū rājā at war with

1 *Vide* p. 114 *supra*

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Sulṭān Muḥammad, 'Kāphara' is the reading according to Grierson. And he identifies Kāphara with Tarmashīrīn, saying:

> 'The Kāphara (i.e. kāfir) Raja was probably Tarmashirin, a Khan of the savage Mongols, who invaded India and advanced with a large force to tle gates of Delhi or one of his lieutenants. The Sultan had to buy him off by a heavy payment of blackmail.'[1]

Even if it be assumed that Tarmashīrīn[2] invaded India and reached the gates of Dehlī, he did not enjoy the characteristically Indian privilege[3] of unfurling the white umbrella which according to the tale was held over the Kāphara rājā in the battlefield; nor was he killed in the battlefield; nor was his head cut off and presented to the emperor of Dehlī; nor did Tarmashīrīn suffer from the tyranny of the latter; nor did any fighting take place near Dehlī throughout the reign of emperor Muḥamınad bin Tughluq. In fact the scene of fighting in the second year of his reign was in the Deccan—in the dominion of Rāi Kampīla as described by 'Iṣāmī and Ībn Baṭṭūṭa. Rāi Kampīla then ruled over the hilly region of Kampīla or Kampīlī, Raichur and Anegundi near the Tungabhadra. Since the time of Malik Kāfūr's expeditions in the Deccan he had been on a war footing[4] with the emperor of Dehlī. He had declined to pay tribute and sheltered the enemy fugitives from Telingāna; and finally he sheltered Bahāu'ddīn Gurshāsp, governor of Sāgar and a rebel cousin of the emperor. Finding himself unable to bear the emperor's tyranny[5], as the story goes, Bahāu'ddīn Gurshāsp revolted; and on being defeated near Devagirī he fled *via* Sāgar to Kampīla. The Rāi of Kampīla gave him shelter. Then opened the fighting that has been described above with the

1 Vidyapati Thakura: *Purusa Parīksā* (tr. Grierson), p. 19

2 *Cf.* pp. 128-141, *supra*

3 The presence of the rājā in India was recognized in India by the parasol held over his head. *Cf.* the *Reḥla* G.O.S.. p. 49

4 Venkataramanyya: *Early Muslim Expansion in South India*, pp. 134-135

5 *I.e.* his war with the Muslim orthodoxy, which 'Iṣāmī has depicted as 'a change in the emperor's disposition'. *Vide* F. S, I, verses 8062-8064 and page 201 *supra*.

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help of the *Futūḥu's-Salāṭīn* and the *Reḥla*. It appears that the Kāphara rājā of the *Purusa Parīksā* was Rāi Kampīla of the *Futūḥu's-Salāṭīn* and the *Reḥla*. It is difficult to identify Nara Simha Deva and Charchika Deva. Apparently they were the Rājpūt warriors serving in Muḥammad bin Tughluq's army which, as a rule, comprised Hindus. Nara Simha Deva pierced Rāi Kampīla with an arrow; and no sooner did he fall to the ground than his head was cut off by Charchika Deva who presented it to the emperor. This[1] is almost a replica of the information given by 'Iṣāmī and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa who, without giving the said Hindū names (*i.e.* Nara Simha Deva and Charchika Deva) state how Rāi Kampīla was killed in the battle-field. Then he was beheaded. Thus, Rāi Kampīla seems identical with the Kāphara Raja of the *Purusa Parīksā*: and the fact of Hindū hospitality towards a Muslim refugee and of the unique sacrifice performed for his sake by the Rāi is established. Whatever the motive, the Rāi Kampīla had abundant goodwill for Bahāu'ddīn Gurshāsp whose life he endeavoured to save by sacrificing his own; and while thus he brought destruction on himself, his family and state he had Bahāu'ddīn Gurshāsp escorted from Anegundi to Dvārasamudra, entrusting him to the care of Vira Ballāla III. Similarly the Rājpūt chieftains had abundant goodwill, even affection, for the emperor and saved his empire by plunging themselves in the thick of fight. They killed the emperor's enemy and, while Nara Simha Deva lay wounded in the battlefield, Charchika Deva cut off his head and took it to the emperor. The emperor on his part reciprocated the love and regard in which he was held by the Rajputs and rushed immediately into the battlefield to attend on the wounded hero, honouring him with the epithet—'saviour of my kingdom'.

This Sanskrit tale goes in line with the Persian and

1 An attempt made elsewhere to find a corroboration of this event is vague like the suggestion that it was an aftermath of Fakhru'ddin's rebellion in Eastern Bengal (I. C., V, p. 266). Similar is the suggestion that the tale 'refers to an attempt made by Muhammed Tughluq to suppress a rebellious local chieftain.' (IPQT. p. 38).

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Arabic narrations found in the *Futūḥu's-Salāṭīn* and the *Reḥla*. And all these accounts which illustrate one or other aspect of the same event of Muḥammad bin Tughluq's reign, namely the rebellion of Bahāu'ddīn Gurshāsp and his seeking shelter with Rāi Kampīla have grown out of the traditions about Muḥammad bin Tughluq in different parts of this country. The Hindū traditions (किमबदन्ती) and folk-lore about the emperor's valour and bravery fed the Sanskrit tale and are also traceable in the *Chronicle of Nuniz*[1] and the Sanskrit inscriptions of Dehlī.[2] The Muslim stories harped on his cruelty and brutality. In other words, 'Iṣāmī's narrative of Bahāu'ddīn Gurshāsp's rebellion and fate is rich in details which, mixed with bazaar gossip—that he was flayed alive and his flesh was cooked with rice and sent to his wife and children and given to an elephant to eat—were heard by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa eight years after the event by which time Muḥammad bin Tughluq had become extremely unpopular among the orthodox Musalmans for his ruthless killing of the 'ulamā, sayyids and Sunnis. It may be noted that the act of cooking a criminal's flesh and giving the same to his family to eat and then attempting to feed an elephant on such a diet sounds like a tale of vengeance as absurd as un-Islamic. The Hindū folk-lore kept clear of all this. But the Muslim chroniclers through the ages cared not for the Hindū folk-lore. They shared the sentiments of 'Iṣāmī and followed him. That is, Yaḥya bin Aḥmad,[3] Budāūnī,[4] Firishta[5], Ḥusām Khān[6] and others

1 *Vide* p. 118 *supra*
2 Vogel—*Catalogue of the Delhi Museum of Archaeology*, pp. 30-34
3 Yaḥya bin Aḥmad: *Tārikh-i Mubārak Shāhī* B.I., p. 99 ; B.M. MS. Or 1673, F. 386.
4 Budāūni: *Muntakhabatu't-Tavārikh* vol. I (B.I.), pp. 226-7.

N.B.—It should be noted that the account in the *Tārikh-i Mubārak Shāhī* is fuller, compared with that given in the *Muntakhabāu't-Tavārikh*. But the former has both in its manuscript and printed forms the word Safar as the place where rebellion broke out. Probably this is a corruption of *Ṣāghar* mentioned by Firishta (Bombay I, 241).

5 T. Fr. (Bombay), I, p. 241.
6 A.H.G., III, p. 867.

drew exclusively upon the *Futūḥu's-Salāṭīn* even without acknowledging it. By doing so, they imbibed the spirit of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's narrative also, without knowing him and his *Reḥla*.

However, there are some interesting points of difference between the accounts of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa and Firishta: (1) Ibn Baṭṭūṭa gives the name of the rebel as Bahāu'ddīn Kushtāsb[1]; Firishta has Bahāu'ddīn Kurshāsp or Garshāsp. (2) Ibn Baṭṭūṭa describes him as the son of Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Tughluq's sister; Firishta mentions him as the son of Muḥammad bin Tughluq's uncle. (3) Unlike Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, who gives no definite information regarding the position of Bahāu'ddīn, Firishta describes him as a leading amīr under Muḥammad bin Tughluq, and as the governor (muqṭi') of Sāgar.[2] (4) Unlike Ibn Baṭṭūṭa again, who gives no details of the war and dismisses the long story of successive actions by concentrating on the sacrifice performed by Rāi Kampīla, with whom Bahāu'ddīn had sought shelter, Firishta informs us that the first battle of the war took place near Deogīr. During the action, Khiẓr Bahrām, one of the leading amirs of Gurshāsp's army, deserted him and joined Khwāja Jahān. This led to Bahāu'ddīn's flight to Sāgar, where he was pursued by Khwāja Jahān's troops. So, from Sāgar the fugitive came to Kampīla, whose rājā being friendly to him he sought shelter there. (5) Unlike Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, Firishta says that the emperor came from Dehlī to Deogīr, presumably to direct military operations in person. Three successive battles were fought between Khwāja Jahān and the joint armies of Bahāu'ddīn and of Rāi Kampīla. In the first two, Khwāja Jahān was defeated; in the third, reinforcements having arrived from Deogīr, the allies were defeated and the rājā of Kampīla was taken prisoner.

1 There is practically no difference between *Kushtāsb* (the *Reḥla* p. 95) and *Kurshāsp* (*vide* MS. of the *Tārīkh-i Mūbārak Shāhī*. B.M. Or. 1673, F. 386) and *Gurshāsp*. *Vide* the printed edition of the *Tārīkh-i Mubārak Shāhi* (Bib. Ind. p. 99) and also the *Muntakhabātu't-Tavārikh* (Bib. Ind. p. 226).

2 Sāgar, near Gulbarga, about ten miles north of Shorāpur in the Deccan (*Cambridge History of India*, III, p. 140).

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Thus ended the *first* and one of the most important of all rebellions. It affords an instance of the inflammable temper of the emperor and indicates the manner in which by striking terror into every heart he wanted to crush all opposition. It affords an illustration of what Ibn Baṭṭūṭa would call the humanity and manliness of Rāi Kampīla, who sacrificed even his family by making them enter fire for the sake of his Muslim guest. Perhaps this sacrifice was not without a political motive. It might be contended that the Hindus of the Deccan were prepared to invite and support rebels against the emperor of Dehlī. Bilāl Deva, who betrayed Bahāu'ddīn, might be said to have taken the drastic step in self-defence. Perhaps he deceived Muḥammad bin Tughluq into a false sense of security about his dominions in the Deccan. Such appears to be the context of Firishta,[1] who tells us that Bilāl Deva preferred to remain on friendly terms with the emperor.[2]

This rebellion, which he is inclined to put in 1338/739, Firishta regards as one of the reasons prompting the emperor to transfer the capital to Deogīr. In view of the fact that Deogīr became Daulatābād in 1327, Firishta's date is absurd. Mzik[3] also rejects it on the plea that Firishta's dates are not reliable. Yet Saletore[4] puts this rebellion in 1338. The date 727 Hijra (A.D. 1326-7) given by Budāūni and Yaḥyā bin Aḥmad may be approximately correct as marking the extermination of the rebellion and war, not its beginning. As the rebellion, together with the war that it entailed, continued through some months it must have broken out one year earlier, as has been pointed out above in the light of the information given by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa. The value of his information lies in the fact that he saw the sons of Rāi Kampīla at Dehlī and had some personal affinity with one of them. From him, he might

1 *Tārikh-i Firishta* (Bombay) I, p. 241.

2 *Idem*., pp. 241-42.

3 Mzik: *Die Reise des Arabers Ibn Batuta durch Indian und China*, p. 162.

4 Saletore: *Social and Political Life in the Vijayanagar empire*, vol. I, pp. 6 and 11.

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have heard the story of Bahāu'ddīn Gurshāsp's rebellion and of Rāi Kampīla's self-sacrifice.

However, Budāūnī's statement that the rebellion broke out in Dehlī after the emperor had moved to Deogīr, leaving behind the wazīr Khwāja Jahān, creates a difficulty. It is in direct conflict with Firishta. If Firishta's view that the rebellion preceded the exodus from Dehlī to Daulatābād and that it broke out in the Deccan be accepted, it would appear that another rebellion in favour of Bahāu'ddīn encouraged by the hostile elements broke out in Dehlī. But there was no fighting at all in Dehli.

Firishta[1] tells us that Bahāu'ddīn's rebellion being over, the emperor marched from Deogīr against the hill-fortress of Kondhāna[2] which was held by Nāg Nāyak. This fortress was captured after a siege of eight months, and Nāg Nāyak surrendered and was subsequently enrolled as an amīr. Firishta follows 'Iṣāmī[3] who is our only source of information regarding this incident. It finds no place in the other accounts of the reign. As Bahāu'ddīn's rebellion had ended in 1327, the Kondhāna conquest took place the same year or early in 1328.

'Isāmī[4] next mentions the *secona* rebellion of the reign, namely the rebellion of Bahrām Aiba Kishlū Khān, governor of Multān. It was the first rebellion according to Baranī, who gives a sketchy account and mentions no cause. He says, however, that it broke out after the emperor had moved to Daulatābād.[5] It was, in fact, a demonstration of the amirs' protest against the royal orders to repair to Daulatābād. In other words the Multān rebellion which broke out after the change in the relative positions of Dehlī and Daulatābād had been

1 *Tārikh-i Firishta* (Bombay), vol. I, p. 242.

2 Kondhāna or Kandhyana also called Singarh stood in the vicinity of Daulatābād.

3 'Iṣāmī: F. S., verses 8229-8259.

4 *Idem* verses 8260-8405

5 Barani: T.F.S., p. 478.

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made, was a reaction from the projected exodus of the 'ulamā and mashāikh and their adherents to Daulātabād. 'Iṣāmī says that immediately on hearing of the outbreak of the rebellion the emperor left Daulatābād fot Dehlī where he entertained the army chiefs as well as the 'ulamā and mashāikh, and enlightened them all on the new problem that had arisen. Though the context of the royal speech made on that occasion has not come down to us it appears that he made an endeavour, thus, to liquidate the opposition that was gathering strength in the Punjāb and Sarhind under the leadership of Bahrām Aiba Kishlū Khān. Yaḥyā bin Aḥmad tells us that the emperor, having moved to Daulatābād, one 'Alī Khaṭaṭī fell out with Laula, son-in-law of Bahrām Aiba Kishlū Khān and was killed in a combat that followed.[1] This led to Bahrām Aiba Kishlū Khān's rebellion.

Ibn Baṭṭūṭa[2] is of opinion that Kishlū Khān had incurred the emperor's displeasure for having buried the corpses of Bahāu'ddīn Gurshāsp and Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Bahādur which, while being paraded together through the empire, reached his territories. The Sulṭān sent for Bahrām Aiba who refused to attend and revolted. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's[3] account is incomplete. He does not state whether the summons was issued from Dehlī or from Daulatābād. In view of Baranī's statement[4] that at the time of the outbreak the emperor was at Daulatābād, it will not be incorrect to say that the summons was issued from Daulatābād. The cause of Kishlū Khān's rebellion as described by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa may not be accepted in view of the fact that (1) Ibn Baṭṭūṭa was not an eye-witness though his information tallies as usual with that of 'Iṣāmī;[5] (2) Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Bahādur's rebellion

1 Yaḥya bin Aḥmad: *Tārikh-i Mubārak Shāhī*, p. 100.

2 The *Reḥla* (G.O.S.), p. 96.

3 *Idem.*

4 Baranī: T.F.S., p. 479.

5 According to 'Iṣāmī (verses 8422-8439) the emperor went from Multān to Dipālpur. There he heard that Būra (Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Bahādur Būra) was executed and skinned. His skin was then presented to him and he ordered that it should be put by the side

occurred some five years after that of Bahāu'ddīn Gurshāsp's as will be shown later.[1] Their corpses therefore could not have been paraded throughout the empire at the same time.

According to Baranī[2] the emperor marched from Daulatābād to Dehlī where he raised a new army and proceeded to Multān. The battle was fought on the neighbouring plain of Abohar. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa tells us that the emperor deceived the enemy in the course of the fight by placing under the royal parasol one 'Imādu'ddīn, who resembled him, while he himself lay in ambush with a handful of soldiers. Kishlū Khān's army mistook 'Imādu'ddīn for the emperor; and having killed him they dispersed, whereupon Muḥammad bin Tughluq sprang from his ambush, killed Kishlū Khān and completely routed his army.[3]

Our authorities assign no date to this rebellion. But the circumstances leading up to it enable us to assign it to the year 1327-28/728. The contention that it occurred about 1333, for Ibn Baṭṭūṭa saw the rebel's head suspended at the gate of Multān on his arrival there is weak. The sight of rebels' heads suspended at prominent places was not uncommon in those days.

Kishlū Khān's rebellion, commonly known as the Multān rebellion, was not the isolated rebellion of an individual; it formed the *second*[4] link in the emperor's war with the 'ulamā, evidenced by the fact that immediately on his entry into the city as victor the emperor seized the qāẓī of Multān and had him flayed.[5] The emperor regarded this insurrection as the nucleus of the rising against him of the joint forces of official hierarchy and military aristocracy. To nip it in the bud and

of the skin of Bahrām Aiba Kishlū Khān and that both the skins should be displayed together from a height 'like two kernels in one shell.'

1 *Vide* pp. 222-223 *infra*.
2 T. F. S. B. p. 79.
3 The *Rehla* (G.O.S.), p. 97.
4 For the first link see p. 203 *supra*.
5 The *Rehla* (G.O.S.), p. 97

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to uproot it, he first fought and killed Kishlū Khān, and then his hand fell heavily upon the 'ulamā, qazis and khatibs. Such was the emperor's war with the 'ulamā which 'Iṣāmī describes, in his own way, under the distinct heading of 'Commencement of the Sulṭān's tyranny (*ẓulm*)'.[1]

Shortly after, broke out a rebellion at Kamālpūr in Sind, the *third* rebellion of the reign, headed by the local qāẓī and khaṭīb. The *Reḥla*, which is the only source of information about this, informs us that the emperor ordered his wazīr Khwāja Jahān to go to the city of Kamālpur which is a large city on the seashore and whose inhabitants had rebelled. 'I was informed,' says Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, 'by a jurist, who was present in the city when the wazīr entered it, that the qāẓī and the khaṭīb of Kamālpūr were brought before the wazīr and the latter ordered them to be flayed. "Kill us" said they, "in any other fashion." "Why", he enquired, "are you to be killed at all?" "On account of our disobedience, said they 'to the Sulṭān's orders." "How," he rejoined, "can I myself act contrary to his orders? Verily he has ordered me to kill you in this very fashion." He then ordered those charged with flaying to dig a pit under their faces to enable them to breathe. It is a custom that those who are to be flayed are thrown down on their faces. When this was done the province of Sind was pacified and the emperor returned to his capital.'[2] In other words all the inhabitants of Kamālpūr who were reported to have rebelled were spared; and peace continued in Sind until the closing years of the reign when Tāghī raked up the old hostility in that zone of the 'ulamā-inspired Pir Pātho or Pir Ar[3]—the hero of the Sumeras—and tired the pursuing emperor to death.

The emperor then returned to Dehlī where, according to Baranī, he remained for 'two years'. Taking these two

1 F. S. I. (Madras edition, p. 446).
2 The *Reḥla* (G.O.S.), p. 97.
3 See chapter IX of this book.

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years to have been 1328 to 1330, Sir Wolsely Haig[1] concluded that the emperor returned in 1330 to Daulatābād whence there was no departure for the north until 1333. But it is evident from the text of Baranī—and the same is borne out by the *Futūḥu's-Salāṭīn* and the *Reḥla*—that after his return from Multān the emperor remained in Dehlī until the outbreak of the Ma'bar rebellion in 1334/735. During this period of about seven years took place the following events—the rebellion of Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Bahādur, also called Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Bahādur Būra or Bhūra, the rebellion of Wunār and Qaiṣar-i Rūmī, the Doāb rebellion, disbandment of the Khurāsān army, the Qarāchīl expedition and the token currency affair.

Baranī skips over the *fourth* rebellion of the reign, namely Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Bahādur's rebellion which 'Iṣāmī and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa describe in such a manner that they seem to have depended equally on the local traditions and gossip. Linking his narrative with his previous account of Bahrām Aiba Kishlū Khān's rebellion 'Iṣāmī says:

> 'One day a courier came from Bahrām of Lakhnautī and said with folded hands, "Your Majesty! Būra had revolted and had caused much bloodshed and disturbances in Lakhnautī. Bahrām Khān marched against him and had so many of Būra's men killed that the soil was moistened with blood and Būra was completely defeated. He fled towards a river and plunged himself into the waters, but his horse stuck like a donkey in the mud. Instantly he was pursued by Bahrām Khān who captured him alive. Then he killed him and skinned him and sent his skin to Your Majesty together with the news of victory."
>
> 'The emperor was highly pleased to hear this and ordered public rejoicings to the beat of drums and play of music for four days in the city of Dīpālpūr. Then he held a durbar and proclaimed from the throne that the skin of that stupid Būra must be put by the side of the skin of Bahrām (Aiba Kishlū Khān) and both the

1 *Cambridge History of India*, III, p. 147.

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skins should be displayed together from a height like two kernels in one shell.'[1]

Ibn Baṭṭūṭa tells us that Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Bahādur Būra had been kept a prisoner in Dehlī since Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Tughluq's triumphant return from Bengal. When Muḥammad bin Tughluq ascended the throne of Dehlī he released the prisoner and conferred on him as well as on his own brother Bahrām Khān, the government of Bengal. The *khuṭba* was to be read and coins struck in the names of both, but the former was required to send his son as a hostage to the royal court at Dehlī. Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Bahādur did not send his son, pretending that he had refused to go and had in his speech outraged decency. The emperor sent his own brother, Bahrām Khān, under the command of one Duljīu't-Tatarī. They fought Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Bahādur who was killed and then skinned ; and his skin, filled with straw, was paraded through the country.[2]

After a little diversion in the text Ībn Baṭṭūṭa says:

'When the skins (of Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Bahādur Būra and Bahāū'ddin Gurshāsp) reached the province of Sind its governor Kishlū Khān ordered both of them to be buried'.[3]

Here is a difference between the narrative of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa and that of 'Iṣāmī. The latter considered these skins to have been the skins of Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Bahādur Būra and of Kishlū Khān. However, this difference does not alter the fact that their sources were identical.

The date of this rebellion, is 1330-1/730 according to the numismatic evidence.[4]

The *fifth* rebellion broke out in Sehwān. The emperor had made a Hindū, named Ratan, governor of Sehwān.

1 F. S. I., 8422-8440 (Agra edition) ; Madras edition, p. 444.

2 The *Rehla* (G.O.S.), pp. 95-96.

3 *Idem.*

4 Lane Poole: *The Coins of the Muhammadan States of India in British Museum*, p. 11.

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But Wunār and Qaiṣar-i Rūmī, the two Muslim chiefs in the royal service, viewed his rise with jealousy and treacherously put him to death. They seized all government property in the city of Sehwān, amounting to twelve lakhs. The rebels next installed Wunār as their chief, whom they called Malik Fīroz, and distributed the plundered government property among the army. Wunār, fearing that his life was in danger, cut off as he was from his tribe, left Sehwān with a small following of his kinsmen. After his flight, the rebel army made Qaiṣar-i Rūmī their chief. When 'Imādu'l-Mulk Sartez, the governor of Multān, heard of this he marched with his troops to Sehwān, where a battle was fought. The rebels were defeated and were subsequently executed. As Ibn Baṭṭūṭa[1] arrived in Sehwān shortly after and witnessed the bodies of the executed rebels nailed to the cross over the ramparts of the city, the year 1333/734 can be conveniently fixed as the date of this rebellion. Baranī does not mention this rebellion and no reference to it will be found in any history of this period.

The *sixth* rebellion took place in the Doāb or strictly speaking in the region of Baran, the native place of Baranī[2] who is the solitary narrator of it. Neither 'Iṣāmī, nor Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, nor any of the travellers reported in the *Masāliku'l-Abṣār* heard of it. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa arrived exactly when the conflagration of Baran had spread to Kanauj (1333/734). If this rebellion was so fiery and destructive, to use the language of Baranī, as to have sounded the death-knell of Muḥammad bin Tughluq's power and glory as well as of his empire and administration, then Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, who possessed an inquisitive and wakeful mind, could not have missed it. Why the noise about it which 'struck terror into the hearts of the people of other provinces' did not catch popular imagination and reach the ears even of 'Iṣāmī is a problem which calls for an answer. It must also be noted that Baranī, who was no eye-witness of 'the scenes of destruction'

1 The *Reḥla* (G.O.S.), p. 9

2 T. F. S. B. (B.I.), pp. 473, 522.

he has depicted, had sharp ideological differences with the emperor whom he later advised to abdicate.[1]

Gardner Brown's remark that Barani's account is highly exaggerated is but a mild comment. He maintains that the taxation imposed by Muḥammad bin Tughluq in the Doāb was not heavy. 'Alāu'ddīn Khaljī had raised the state demand to fifty per cent of the produce. It was reduced by Quṭbu'ddīn Mubārak Shāh and later by Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Tughluq. From that reduced demand of his father's which was, according to a reading, ten per cent, Muḥammad bin Tughluq raised it to double the amount.[2] Baranī says:

> 'The first project which ruined the region and the ryots (*ra'iyat*) was this. It occurred to Sulṭān Muḥammad that the revenue of the Doāb land should be raised ten to twentyfold. To execute this project of the Sulṭān they (his officers) made effective schemes and imposed taxes which broke the back of the *ra'iyat*. And the enforcement of those schemes was made so rigorous that the feeble and low among the *ra'iyat* were wiped out, while those who were rich and possessed the means and wherewithal became rebellious, with the result that the cities and districts were ruined and cultivation was reduced to nothing. On hearing of the ruin and destruction of the *ra'iyat* in the Doāb and fearing lest a similar fate should befall them the inhabitants of distant provinces also revolted and crept into jungles. On account of the diminution of cultivation in the Doāb land (*miyān-i Doāb*), the ruin of the *ra'iyat* of the *miyān-i Doāb* and the rare arrival of the caravans and convoys of grain from other parts (iqtas) of Hindustān in Dehlī as well as in the suburbs of Dehlī and in the whole of the Doāb area (*miyān-i Doāb*), a destructive famine broke out; prices of grains soared high and the rains also stopped. A general famine prevailed, which continued for several years during which period perished millions of human beings; the old established life was disorganized and many people were displaced

1 T. F. S. B. (B. I.), pp. 473-522.

2 *Journal, U. P. Historical Society*, Vol. I, pt. II, pp. 11-12.

and uprooted. From that day departed the glory of Sulṭān Muḥammad's empire and his administration declined and became ineffective.'[1]

A little later Baranī reverts to the same topic, saying:

'During those two years that the Sulṭān remained in Dehlī the district of *miyān-i Doāb* was ruined on account of the high exactions and the levy of many taxes. The Hindus set fire to the grain barns and burnt them outright and drove out their cattle from their houses. The Sulṭān commanded the shiqdars and faujdars to set their hands to plunder. Some of the khuts and muqaddams were killed and others were blinded. Those who made their escape consolidated themselves in groups and crept into jungles. Thus the district became desolate. Meanwhile the Sulṭān set out on a punitive expedition in the territory of Baran and ordered the whole area of Baran to be sacked and pillaged. The heads of the Hindus were brought and hung over the turrets of the Baran fort'.[2]

After a little diversion Baranī writes again in the same strain, saying:

'In those days the Sulṭān had headed an army for the sack of Hindustān and pillaged it from Kanauj to Dalmaū. Whoever fell into their way was killed. Many fled and crept into jungles. Then the royal army besieged the jungles; and whosoever was found inside the jungles was killed. In this manner, in the course of that year, the tract from Kanauj to Dalmaū was overrun; and Sulṭān Muḥammad was extremely busy crushing the rebels of Hindustān in the neighbourhood of Kanauj.'[3]

1,2,3 Along with the above translation which I have made from the original Persian text of Baranī (T.F.S.B. pp. 473, 479, 480) may also be read Elliot's translation (III, pp. 238-243) which I consider incorrect in the places *italicised*. It runs as follows:

'The first project which the Sultan formed, and which operated to the ruin of the *country* and the decay of the people, was that he thought he ought to get ten or five per cent more

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Barani's language is hyperbolical, ill-arranged and impetuous. Waving his characteristic bias against the Hindus he brings them into the picture as an oppressed people in order to make his indictment against 'the tyrant emperor' complete and effective. But his memory has so completely failed him that he places the Doāb trouble

tribute from the lands in the Doāb. To accomplish this *he invented some oppressive abwabs (cesses), and made stoppages from the land revenues* until the backs of the raiyats were broken. The cesses were collected so rigorously that *the raiyats were impoverished and reduced to beggary.* Those who were rich and had property became rebels ; the *lands* were ruined and cultivation was *entirely arrested.* When the raiyats in *distant countries* heard of the distress and ruin of the raiyats in the Doāb, through fear of the same evil befalling them, they threw off their allegiance and betook themselves to the jungles. The decline of cultivation and the distress of the raiyats in the Doāb and the failure of the convoys of corn from Hindustān produced a famine in Dehlī and its environs and throughout the Doāb. Grain became dear. There was a deficiency of rain, so the famine became general. It continued for some years and thousands upon thousands of people perished of want. Communities were reduced to distress and families were broken up. The glory of the State and the power of the government of Sultān Muhammad, from this time withered and decayed.' (Elliot III, p. 238).

'*At this time* the country of the Doāb was brought to ruin by the heavy taxation and the numerous cesses. The Hindus burnt their corn *stacks* and turned their cattle out *to roam at large.* Under the orders of the Sultan the *collectors and magistrates* laid waste the country, and they killed some landholders and village chiefs and blinded others. Such of *these unhappy* inhabitants as escaped formed themselves into bands and took refuge in the jungles. So the country was ruined. The Sultan then proceeded *on a hunting excursion* to Baran where under his directions, the whole of that country was plundered and laid waste, and the heads of the Hindus were brought in and hung upon the ramparts of the fort of Baran.' (Elliot, III, p. 242).

'At the same period the Sultan led forth his army to ravage Hindustan. He laid the country waste from Kanauj to Dalmaū and every person that fell into his hands he slew. Many of the *inhabitants* fled and took refuge in the jungles, but the Sultan had the jungles surrounded and every individual who was captured was killed. *While he was engaged in the* neighbourhood of Kanauj a third revolt broke out.' (Elliot, III, p. 243).

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in those two years (1328-1330/729-731) which were decidedly years of peace and prosperity, if not the best years of the reign. The Multān rebellion having been successfully subdued, the emperor's prestige was then at its height. His war with the 'ulamā had opened, as it appears from 'Iṣāmi's statement,[1] but his treasury was still overflowing. This is not all. Barani's statement that 'the feeble and low among the ryots were wiped out while those who were rich and possessed the means and wherewithal became rebellious' is cryptic, and requires a commentary which is available in the words of Budāūnī. Commenting upon Barani's words—'the feeble and low among the ryots were wiped out (*bakullī-baruftād*)'—Budāūnī says that 'the feeble among the ryots driving out their cattle joined hands with the stronger ryots; and the more powerful of them began to rebel and revolt and they cut off the roads and took to pillaging the region. At any rate revenue began to decline, and the Doāb region (*miyān-i Doāb*) was ruined'.[2] Moreover, the prosperity of the Doāb or *miyān-i Doāb*, otherwise called the garden of India, is a commonplace of history. Watered by the Ganges and its tributaries —the Gandak, the Rapti and the Gogra in the east and the Yamuna in the west—with Awadh (*Ajudhya*), Ẓafarābād, Lucknow (*Laknau*), Kanauj and Shāmsabād as some of its rich towns, the Doāb has remained prosperous through the ages; and its prosperity continued unabated even during the reign of Muḥammad bin Tughluq. Four years after the arrival of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa when famine conditions prevailed in Dehlī the emperor moved into this fertile region; and establishing there his third capital[3] he lived about three years amidst all the amenities and luxuries of court life in the neighbourhood of Shamsābād. During this period he also raised and equipped an army and fought successfully in the vicinity of Kanauj a decisive battle with the rebel chief

1 F.S.I., (Agra edition) verse 8461 ff. Madras edition, p. 446.

2 M. T. (B.I.), p. 237.

3 Sargadwārī.

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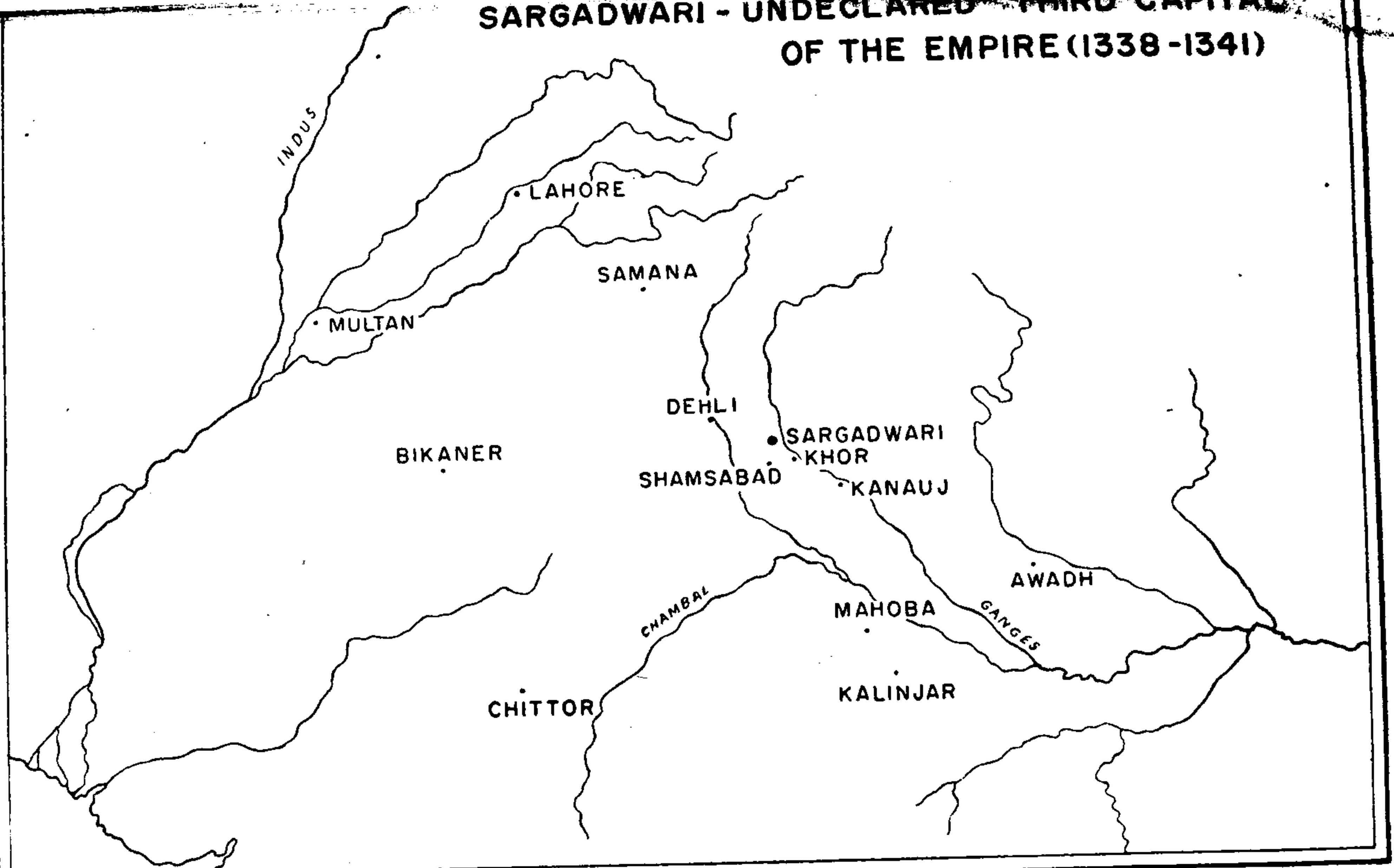
SARGADWARI - UNDECLARED THIRD CAPITAL OF THE EMPIRE (1338-1341)



'Ainu'l-Mulk Māhrū. All this would have been impossible if the whole Doāb region had been already ruined and mowed down.

All the later writers have, in the absence of 'Iṣāmī as another source, relied on Baranī ; and each has paraphrased the latter's text in his own way. Yaḥyā bin Aḥmad's paraphrase[1] runs as follows:

> 'Then it occurred to the Sulṭān to enhance the revenue of the land twentyfold. He also introduced kari[2] and chari[3] taxes; and for this purpose the cattle were branded and the houses of the *ra'iyat* were computed and their sown fields were measured, and their work was estimated and the rate of taxes was fixed accordingly. Thereupon the people left their cattle in the suburbs and crept into jungles. All this brought strength to the rebels[4] (*mufsidān*).[5]'

Niẓāmu'ddīn Aḥmad's paraphrase runs as follows:

> 'Of all the crooked regulations and unsound projects of his, one was this that he raised tenfold the revenue of the whole region of *miyān-i Doāb* ; and for this purpose he drew up certain schemes. This brought about extirpation of the people and rebellion of the *ra'iyat*. Cultivation came to a standstill and, rains also

1 T. M. (B. I.) pp. 101-102.

2,3 *I.e.* house tax and pasture tax.

4 A different translation with which I do not agree is given in the *Tārīkh-i Mubārak Shāhi* (Tr. G.O.S. p. 103) and is reproduced below :

> 'Subsequently His Majesty was pleased to increase the taxes of the country 20-fold. Khari was produced and pasturage laid out. Cattle was branded, the houses of the people were computed and the sown fields were measured, The royal order promulgated the business laws and fixed the price-current of grain. For these reasons the people left off their cattle and betook themselves to the forests and the malefactors gained strength.'

5 *Mufsidān* is Yaḥyā bin Aḥmad's paraphrase of Baranī's term *mutamarridān* which means rebels.

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having failed, a severe famine broke out in Dehlī. As a result many families were ruined. Communities became disorganized and administration of the empire was completely shaken.'[1]

Firishta's paraphrase runs as follows:—

'The story of the enhancement of *kharāj* is this: Taking to heart certain matters the emperor raised the revenue of the territory of *miyān-i Doāb* threefold and fourfold. This having uprooted the people and made the *ra'iyat* rebellious, cultivation came to a standstill; and rains also having failed for about two or three years, a dreadful famine broke out in Dehlī. As a result, good many families were uprooted and communities were disorganized and administration of the empire was highly disturbed.'[2]

Budāūnī has made two distinct observations. The *first* he has based directly on Baranī's text;[3] and his paraphrase runs as follows:

'In these days the Sulṭān decided that the ryots in the *miyān-i Doāb* having become refractory, the revenue of that region should be raised tenfold and twentyfold. Then he levied taxes on cattle and houses, and introduced other innovations which brought about complete ruin and desolation of that region. The weak (*ra'iyat*) were wiped out and the stronger ones began to revolt.'[4]

1 T.A. (B.I.) pp. 204-305.

2 *Tārikh-i Firishta* (Bombay) vol. I, p. 239.

3 *Vide* p. 225 *supra*.

4 M. T, (B. I.), Vol. I, p. 228. Ranking's translation of the same text runs as follows:

'At this time the Sultan formed the opinion that in consequence of the refractory conduct of his subjects in the Doāb it was advisable to double the taxes levied on that country; he also instituted numbering their cattle and a house census and other vexatious and oppressive measures which were the cause of the complete ruin and devastation of that country; the weak were utterly destroyed and the strong laid the foundation of rebellion.' (Ranking's translation of M. T. Vol. I, p. 305).

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The *second* he has based apparently upon the *Tārīkh-i Mubārak Shāhi*, saying:

'The revenue of the *miyān-i Doāb* which is one of the most important parts of India (*Hind*) was fixed one-ten-twentyfold with taxes on cattle and houses and with other taxes to boot. In this manner the weak ryots leaving their own property and cattle joined the strong ryots who, laying the foundation of revolt and rebellion, began to practise highway robbery and to devastate the region. Anyway, the revenue declined and the region of *miyān-i Doāb* was ruined.'[1]

Ḥājī Dabīr also drew upon Baranī. But, in his attempt to paraphrase the relevant pieces from the *Tārīkh-i Fīroz Shāhī*, he also synthesized the rambling thoughts of Baranī, saying:

'In the course of these two years the Doāb region was ruined on account of the oppression exercised over the ryots in the matter of *kharāj*, so much so that their cattle were sold out and their property consigned to the flames. And the campaign of oppression culminated in the killing and mutilation of ryots. Desperate on account of the oppression and tyranny, they lost hope of further life and killed the state officers. Thereupon the royal army was mobilized to plunder the region and to kill the inhabitants; and they did so. Now, the emperor set out hunting towards Baran and he gave free hand to the army to plunder every thing and kill everyone; and the heads were hung up from the heights of the Baran fort which was also ruined completely.'[2]

After making a little diversion, as has been pointed out in the above text of Baranī, Ḥājī Dabīr reverts to the subject, saying:

'Then the emperor marched with his army towards Kanauj in which region he caused heavy loss of life and property right up to Dalmaū. Only those

1 M.T. (B.I.), p. 237
2 A. H. G. Vol. III. pp. 864, 890.

escaped from being killed who fled away into deserts and waterless plains.'[1]

'Following the scheme of Baranī, Ḥājī Dabīr again makes a diversion; and then connecting up the story of the Doāb campaign with that of the emperor's war against the 'ulamā, he says:

'Not a night or day passed but the emperor busied himself with killing the 'ulamā. When he planned to conquer the world and drew accordingly a scheme to collect money he ordered a rise in the revenue demand to the extent of ten and twenty tankas, where there had been only one realized since the Dehlī conquest of the age of Quṭbu'ddīn. But instead of any increase being made in the treasury, it was emptied; not even a tanka being left in it. And the state officers having practised oppression, the peasants killed them. Then the emperor sent the amiran-i ṣadah against them. They killed the peasants. Then the peasants seized the opportunity and killed the amirān-i ṣadah. As a result the region was completely destroyed.'[2]

While following Baranī in condemning the emperor and in narrating the royal compaign of oppression twice over, Ḥājī Dabīr refers each time to 'the oppression exercised by the state officers and the ryots killing them in retaliation'—a phenomenon involving a civil war. He points out that the enormous revenue demanded by the emperor aggravated the sufferings of the ryots as well as of the tax-collectors (*'ummāl*). This was a stage which led to the appointment of the amīrān-i ṣadah over the *'ummāl* and resulted in bloodshed on both sides; and the soil ceased to be cultivated. The peasants or the ryots—who must have been armed, working in co-operation with the village chiefs, that is the khuts and muqaddams—killed the *'ummāl*. Thereupon the amīrān-i ṣadah prepared themselves and killed the ryots. Then the ryots killed the amīran-i sadah.

While it is easy to repeat the curses heaped by the Muslim chroniclers through the ages upon Sulṭān Muḥammad

1,2 A. H. G. Vol. III, pp. 864, 890

it is not easy to find out the causes that lay behind those curses. But one should dive below the surface to find out the true causes of the enhancement of taxes and the bloodshed in the Doāb region. To ascribe all this to the tyranny or bloodthirstiness of that 'accursed Sulṭān' will not do, for that will amount to begging the question. While reproducing the opinions of Baranī and others a modern writer wonders why Budāūnī thought that the enhancement of taxation in the Doāb was intended to punish the rebellious inhabitants of that region. 'It is not clear,' he asks, 'on what authority Budāūnī relied for this statement'.[1] But Baranī clearly says that 'those who were rich and possessed means and wherewithal became rebellious'.[2] This point was since accepted and each chronicler gave his own paraphrase or commentary as it suited him. Budāūnī gave his commentary and paraphrase in two distinct places—once on page 228 and again[3] on page 237. At any rate the emergence and operation of the forces of rebellion in the Doāb cannot be denied ; and this was certainly a determining factor in the shaping of Muḥammad bin Tughluq's Doāb policy.

It appears that some time after his return from Multān, about the year 1331/732, the emperor was confronted with a crisis in the Doāb which was caused not, as a casual reader of Baranī thinks, by the enhancement of taxation; but by the recruitment, maintenance and disbandment of the Khurāsān army of three lakh and seventy thousand mounted soldiers. The disbandment of this huge army, which had been manned largely by the warlike Rājpūt clans of the Doāb region, precipitated the crisis and led to the imposition of increased taxes in the Doāb.

The object of the Khurāsān army was to conquer Khurāsān, the Mongol land—for which purpose not many

1 IPQT., p. 67. 2 T.F.S.B., p, 473

3 The learned author of the *History of Qarauna Turks* noticed only one (M. T. Vol. I p. 228), leaving out the second on page 237 of the same book, *i.e.*

صنفهاے رعایا ... با نو یا پیوستند و اتو یا تمرد و فساد
بنیاد نهاده قطع طریق و تخریب ولایت میکردند

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Mongols could be recruited. It was the Hindū element—the 'ryots' of the Doāb—that dominated the Khurāsān army. When it was disbanded a huge mass of unemployed soldiers, both Muslims and Hindus, were let loose. They mixed with the turbulent elements, already existing in the country. So Baranī[1] tells us. The political atmosphere, which had been tense on account of the bitterness caused by the rebellions of Bahāu'ddīn[2] Gurshāsp and Kishlū Khān[3] and by the indignation of the 'ulamā and mashāikh, became highly favourable for an outbreak of civil war in the Doāb. The more so, as about this time the rains failed, and prices soared. The situation in Dehlī and its suburbs became worse when, because of the drought, the usual convoys of corn ceased to come from different parts of the Doāb.[4] This was a crisis unprecedented in the history of the Doāb. The nearest parallel to it can be found in that which had previously been encountered by 'Alāu'ddīn Khaljī. Like him, Muḥammad strove to prevent the outbreak of disorders and rebellions by keeping the refractory[5] inhabitants of the Doāb busy in agriculture, spending every ounce of their energy in eking out a living. Much the same principle, it may be remembered, was later adopted in the French Revolution during the Reign of Terror. But where 'Alāu'ddīn Khaljī of India and the terrorists of France succeeded, Sulṭān Muḥammad failed. 'Alāu'ddīn had met the crisis by controlling markets and fixing prices of all com-

1 T. F. B. S. (B. I.), pp. 470-499.

2 See p. 202 *supra*. 3 See p. 219 *supra*.

4 T. F. S. B. (B. I.), 473-479.

5 A survey of the history of Hindustān in the 13th, 14th and 15th centuries shows that the Doāb had been a danger-point. Its inhabitants were traditionally prone to insurrection. They would take advantage of the slightest weakness of the central government, and were ready to revolt at the earliest opportunity. Almost every great Sulṭān—Iltūtmish, Balban, and 'Alāu'ddīn Khaljī—had endeavoured to tame the refractory inhabitants of the Doāb. 'Alāu'ddīn Khalji was obliged to make special ordinances to control the Hindū insurrectionaries—a point cleared up by Moreland (see preface). The same was true of Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Tughluq. An account of unceasing troubles in the Doāb under the successors of Fīroz Shāh and the Sayyid rulers may be read in the *Tārīkh-i Mubārak Shāhi*. (B. I., pp. 146 ff.)

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modities. Muḥammad bin Tughluq made no experiment of this kind. He introduced new but 'oppressive' legislation, which Baranī figuratively describes as *yake ba deh wa yake ba bist*.[1] Moreland rightly observes that this phrase is 'rhetorical, not arithmetical.'[2] As long as the Rājpūt clans had been on the roll, the state demand on the produce of their land was either remitted[3] or reduced to a nominal sum. When the army was disbanded and the ex-soldiers were thrown out of employment and ceased to draw their pay, the state demand was reimposed and considerably increased. But it was not necessarily unbearable. However, the refractory inhabitants of the Doāb grew restive. They not only refused to pay the taxes, but also ceased to work—a circumstance unforeseen by the Sulṭān. Furthermore, they defied the tax-collectors; and when the time[4] for the collection of *kharāj* came round they set fire to the corn on the threshing-floors. This conduct of the cultivators amounted to rebellion, since the peasants' duty to till the soil formed the fundamental conception of the agrarian system of medieval India. The ryots made good use of the confidence, the arms, and the military training they had recently acquired at the expense of the State; and, as Hājī Dabīr informs us, they killed the tax-collectors.[5] The Sulṭān called the local Hindū chiefs—khuts and

1 T. F. S. B. (B. I), p. 473.
2 Moreland: *The Agrarian System of Moslem India*, p. 48.

3 Barani does not mention the remission but Ibn Baṭṭūṭa does, (G. O. S., p. 84) although the date he assigns to it is, in fact, later than that of the Doāb rebellion, which, it will be remembered, he completely ignores. Now, either Ibn Baṭṭūṭa has made a mistake in the date of the remission of taxes; or, if he is correct, the taxes were remitted on two occasions. It is difficult to dispute the veracity of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's statement because it is based upon personal observation. It would, therefore, follow that the first remission had already taken place before his arrival. It would also appear that after the Doāb troubles were over, the Sulṭān made compensations to the peasants for their sufferings by once again remitting the *kharāj* and other taxes.

4 *Jamādi*, II, 729 (April, 1329). This would appear from the text of Baranī (pp. 469-477) and that of Yaḥya bin Aḥmad (pp. 101-105).

5 A. H. G., III, pp. 877, 890.

muqaddams—to account, and inflicted on them exemplary punishments. This stage in the crisis Moreland describes, saying 'many of the leading men were killed or blinded.'[1] The amīrān-i ṣadah were then fitted out to crush the rebellion, but they were also killed by the rebels.[2] Fearing the consequences, the ringleaders then fled into the forests, with which parts of the Doāb were still covered ; and when they fraternized with the hitherto independent Rājpūt clans of Dalmaū, the Sulṭān pursued[3] them over the whole area up to Dalmaū. The fact that of all the places where the rebels mustered in strength and were attacked by the Sulṭān Baran is mentioned first, tends to suggest that the trouble started in Baran. Hence the correct name of the rebellion should be *Baran rebellion*.

1 Moreland W.H.: *The Agrarian System of Moslem India*, p. 48.

2 A. H. G., III, pp. 877, 890.

3 Barani's expression (pp. 472-80, *ba ṭarīq-i-shikār raft*) which has given rise to a misunderstanding that the emperor organized man-hunting expeditions (see Elphinstone's *History of India*, II, pp. 61-2), has two possible interpretations: (i) it means, as it has been used by Barani in his account of Balban (p. 85), to set out or to march in form on any expedition, not necessarily a hunting expedition. Barani (p. 85) describes Balban's resolve to lead a punitive expedition against Tughral, the rebellious governor of Lakhnautī, by saying '*Sulṭān bar 'azm-i lashkar kashi simt*-i *Sāmāna wa Sunām' bērūn āmad*...[with a view to raise armies for the Lakhnauti expedition the Sulṭān marched to Sāmāna and Sunām; (where) he divided the province of Sāmāna and Sunām into shiqs (districts)]. It should be noted that Barani has used here almost the same expression, *ba rasm-i-shikār raft*. But far from meaning a man-hunt, for there is nothing of the kind in the text, the phrase *ba rasm-i shikār raft* provides a concrete instance of its idiomatic use for the king's march on *any* expedition or campaign. (ii) The phrase *ba ṭarīq-i-shikār raft*, even if literally translated in the case of Muḥammad bin Tughluq, would mean that he set out in the same fashion and with the same processions as was usual for his hunting expeditions. A special form of his movements and processions explaining his hunting expeditions is given in the *Masāliku'l-Abṣār*, as well as in the *Rehla*. (*Vide* Appendix)

At any rate it does not follow that Muḥammad bin Tughluq was suddenly transformed into a man-hunter ; and surrounding the jungles hunted men indiscriminately as the Mongols (D'ohosson, I, pp. 404-410) used to hunt animals. Yet this is the meaning generally given to Barani's above-mentioned expression.

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Read in the light of the researches[1] made by Benett[2] it appears that Baranī's account of the devastation of Dalmaū is also misleading. Benett discovered that it was under Muḥammad bin Tughluq that Dalmaū first came under Muslim occupation; before his time it had been entirely Hindū. He is of opinion that it was Muḥammad bin Tughluq who had visited Dalmaū and beautified it. Malik Mubārak,[3] the brother of Muḥammad bin Tughluq, is mentioned as the governor of Dalmaū.

At that time he was, according to Benett, 'the founder of the Muhammadan settlement in Dalmaū.' His tomb on which the kings of Oudh in the eighteenth century are said to have kept a light burning, lies in the local fort, and his memory is still honoured at Dalmaū. It is now confirmed that it was the flight of the ringleaders from Baran into Dalmaū that forced Muḥammad bin Tughluq to pursue them from place to place. Dalmaū, a veritable Rājpūt[4] realm, formed a danger-point in the heart of the

1 Benett, W. C.: *A Report on the Family History of the Chief Clans of Roy Bareilly* (Lucknow, 1870).

2 The Hindī story book on which Benett bases his inquiry says that it was Jauna Shāh, the lieutenant of the emperor Fīroz who had stopped at Dalmaū and had beautified that city. Budāūnī (M. T., Vol. I, p. 250) mentions Jauna Shāh as the idol of one Maulānā Dā'ūd of Dalmaū who wrote *Chandāyan*—a love story—in Hindī poetry in 772 Hijra (A.D. 1373) and dedicated it to Khān-i Jahān, the second minister of emperor Fīroz Shāh, Khān-i Jahān's original name being Jauna Shāh. But Benett has no hesitation in identifying the above-mentioned Jauna Shāh with Muḥammad bin Tughluq. In a marginal note, (p. 2) he explains that Jauna Shāh had preceded Fīroz as ruler of Dehlī. It should be remembered that Muḥammad bin Tughluq's original name was Jauna.

3 This Malik Mubārak should not be confounded with prince Mubārak Khān mentioned by Barani (p. 527) under Fīroz Shāh. There was a brother of Muḥammad bin Tughluq called Mubārak Khān mentioned by Baranī (p. 454) as well as by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (G.O.S. p. 84). It is he who is mentioned as Malik Mubārak in the Hindī story book, quoted by Benett.

4 It appears from the census reports (*Gaz. Rāi Barelī District*, XXXIX, p. 58) that Dalmaū in the modern district of Rāi Bareli in the Doāb is overwhelmingly populated with a great variety of Rājpūt

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crown lands. The emperor, therefore, conquered it and placed a Muslim governor in charge, directly responsible to Dehlī. This was the first establishment of the Muslim element in Dalmaū.[1] But the Rajputs still remained powerful, particularly the Bhār Rajputs, who are known to have established a kind of organized government in the vicinity of Dalmaū. They would even take the offensive if circumstances were favourable. Such was the case in the time of Ibrāhīm Shāh Sharqī (1402-36), who had to fight a battle with them at Sudāwanpur.[2]

Dalmaū lay like an island in the Doāb, unconquered but partially subdued. It had been the centre of disorder and a den of rebels and brigands. Henceforth it was brought under control and better administered.

It will be seen that Baranī's version of the Doāb troubles is not only inexact but wrong and misleading. In the first place, he leaves his readers in ignorance as to the kind of

clans, the most numerous of all being (1) the Bais, (2) the Kanhpurias, (3) the Chauhans, (4) the Gautams, (5) the Amethias, (6) the Sombansis, (7) the Rathors, (8) the Panwars, (9) the Jauwars, (10) the Kachchwahas, (11) the Bisens, (12) the Dikhits, (13) the Bhadaurias, (14) the Chandels. Benett is of opinion that the specified area was until the middle of the 13th century largely covered with forests; the only signs of human habitation being the few brick huts and scattered hamlets of the Bhars. He thinks that about the middle of the 13th century there was a general advance of the Hindus into this district; the Kanhpurias, the Bais, and the Pandes having settled in its different parts. The Pasis, long feared for their dexterity with the bow, were perhaps the oldest inhabitants of the country. From their secret and inaccessible abodes in the jungles, where they took refuge on the arrival of the Rajputs, they used to harry the aggricultural Hindus up to the 18th century, and the agriculturists on the plain resorted in self-defence to 'an occasional combined attack on the offending jungle.'

1 The reference in the U. P. Gazetteer of Rāi Bareli (p. 162) regarding the prosperity of Dalmaū during the reign of Iltutmish is misleading. Far from its prosperity even the conquest of Dalmaū is not mentioned—neither under Iltutmish, nor under Balban, nor even under 'Alāu'ddīn Khaljī—in the chronicles. The reference to the residence of Makhdūm Badru'ddīn too is not confirmed.

2 Sudāwanpur or Sudamanpur is a village at a distance of 14 miles from Dalmaū. *District Gazetteer of the United Provinces*, XXXIX, p. 163).

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kharāj (land tax) then levied; in the second place, his account of the sufferings of the peasants is both exaggerated and confusing; in the third place he makes wrong use of *ra'īyat* and *ri'āyā* in the text which signifies iqtā'-dars, zamindars and landholders as well as armed and warlike clans; and in the fourth place he confuses the principal points in the story, and mistakenly describes the increases in taxation and outbreak of the famine as the causes of the insurrections.

We propose to discuss each of these considerations in turn:

(1) According to the Muslim[1] jurists there are three kinds of *kharāj* or land tax: (i) *kharāj-i-muqāsama*, (ii) *kharāj-ī-wazīfa*, and (iii) *kharāj-ī muqāṭa'a*. The *kharāj-ī muqāsama* or proportional *kharāj* is a definite proportion of the produce of the ground: either one-half, the maximum, or one-third, or one-fourth, or one-fifth, the minimum. The *kharāj-ī wazīfa*, on the contrary, is a fixed charge on the land: so much in natural produce or in money per unit area. The *kharāj-ī muqāṭa'a* has been variously interpreted. It is probably 'the lump sum agreed upon to be paid yearly to the state by individuals in consideration of public lands made over to them by the state.'[2] Of these three kinds of *kharāj* it was the proportional *kharāj* that Muḥammad bin Tughluq levied in the Doāb. In other words, the assessment of land tax at that time took the form of definite contributions of corn and foodstuffs levied on villages and on agriculturists at each harvest.

(2) Baranī[3] portrays the peasants as a famished mass of helpless people without arms or organization. But Ḥājī Dabīr[4] indicates that the peasants were armed and organized under their leaders. In view of the previous history[5] of the Doāb, it will not be unreasonable to infer that the mass of peasants had revolted being swayed by the rebels. The weakness of the central government had presented them

1 Aghnides, N. P.: *Muhammadan Theories of Finance*, pp. 378-380.

2 *Idem.*

3 T. F. S. B. (B.I.), pp. 473-479.

4 A. H. G., III, pp. 873, 890.

5 That is, in the 13th century and under 'Alāu'ddīn Khaljī.

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with a unique opportunity of casting off the yoke of Dehlī. Hence they entered into a war with the Sulṭān.

(3) It might be true to say that the levy of increased taxation in the Doāb was accompanied by drought and the rise of prices. But to regard the increases in taxation and the drought or famine as the causes of insurrection would be incorrect. It has been shown above that the increase in taxation was not unbearable and not unprecedented. If caused by the increased taxation, the insurrections should have broken out during the reign of Sulṭān 'Alāu'ddīn Khaljī; if caused by the famine, they should have come later, perhaps after 1335, when the famine was really severe. If the root cause was famine or the scarcity of fodder, then the remission of taxes, which Muḥammad bin Tughluq is known to have granted, and the administration of famine relief with which he is credited, would have come earlier. Surely no ruler in his senses could have increased the land tax and levied new imposts and cesses as well as a pasture tax, while famine was raging in the country and fodder was already scarce.

Muḥammad bin Tughluq's behaviour with regard to the *ra'iyat* of the Doāb is very similar to that of Mas'ūd,[1] the Ghaznavī ruler, with regard to people of Tirmidh and Balkh. When the *'āmil* of Tirmidh congratulated Mas'ūd on a victory, the sovereign was highly pleased, and showed his pleasure by remitting taxation. When, subsequently, the people of Balkh 'ventured in his absence to repel an attack from Qara Khānī raiders, Mas'ūd rated them angrily, telling them that it was not their function; and that as a penalty he would make them pay for the bazaars of their town, which he had built at great expense for them.' While recruiting the Khurāsān army Muḥammad bin Tughluq had made concessions to the *ra'iyat*[2] and the Rājpūt warrior clans of the Doāb.[3] He had remitted even the land tax, as

1 Levy, R.: *The Sociology of Islam*. II, pp. 221-234.

2,3 The Persian text shows that the terms *ra'iyat* (T. F. S. B., p. 473) and *Hindūān*, *i.e.* Hindus (*Idem*, p. 479) are used by Barani to indicate land-holders or zamindars. It would be a glaring mistake if the given terms were taken to mean a class of famished peasants.

Also see p. 176 *supra*, footnote 2

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mentioned above. On the disbandment of the army, when the taxes were re-imposed and increased, discontent arose. The emperor was displeased and indignant with the land-holders or zamindars on whom he had previously lavished favours. This is the real meaning of the stories of the Sulṭān's displeasure with his subjects, related by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa and 'Iṣāmī in a totally different connection. The recalcitrant zamindars organized a strike; and a drought having also broken out, famine conditions developed. But the emperor considered these troubles as largely their own fault, and refused to make further concessions to a people who had proved so ungrateful. That is why, according to Barani, in spite of famine conditions, strict orders were issued to the tax-collectors, to exact the state demands. The officials who were in personal touch with the excited zamindars and observed the extraordinary conditions then prevailing, knew the futility of the royal commands. But they were helpless. Barani[1] tells us that the officials were placed in a very difficult position. On the one hand, they feared the disastrous consequences of the royal orders, which, if carried out, the subjects could hardly endure; and, on the other hand, they knew that they risked their own lives if they neglected to obey the emperor. For fear of their lives they were compelled to wring money at any cost from the *ra'iyat* or *ri'āyā*[2] who became desperate, and did whatever they could by way of protest against the levy of taxes and the drastic measures adopted by the emperor.

The emperor appears to have lost his temper. He should have treated the matter more calmly and carefully. But Muḥammad bin Tughluq was not endowed with the diplomacy and coolness which are the characteristics of modern statesmanship. He was used to treating the orthodox Musalmans—'ulamā and mashāikh—harshly. He had no compunction with regard to the *ri'āyā* when they behaved as rebels. But he was by no means a tyrant as the text of Barani would make out.

1 T.F.S.B, p. 473.

2 *Ri'āyā* is the plural of *ra'iyat*. See p, 240 *supra* footnote 2, 3.

It is now clear that the accepted theory of the Doāb rebellion, founded on an assumption of Muḥammad bin Tughluq's capricious and uncalled-for increase of the taxes in the Doāb in the very beginning[1] of the reign, is not supported by facts. Nor was the increase of taxation in the Doāb due to any attempt on the emperor's part to introduce a uniform standard of land taxation throughout his dominions. A careful examination of all the available data suggests that the oppressive and repressive legislation in the Doāb or as Sir Wolseley Haig puts it 'the punitive measure in the Doāb'[2] was forced upon the emperor by the situation that had developed after the disbanding of the Khurāsān army, and by the unrest caused by the failure of his ambitious projects, and also by the serious rebellions that shook his empire from within.

According to Baranī[3] the Doāb rebellion occupies a middle position, standing as it does between the Multān rebellion which preceded it, and the Ma'bar rebellion which followed.[4] He tells us that while the emperor was still busy in his 'destructive work' in the Doāb, news came of the rebellion of Sayyid Aḥsan Shāh in Ma'bar. This was the *seventh* rebellion. In order to suppress it an army was sent from Dehlī, but it remained in Ma'bar, presumably joining hands with the rebel. At last the emperor repaired to Dehlī, whence, making preparations for the Ma'bar expedition, he marched to Deogīr.

Ibn Baṭṭūṭa,[5] who had recently arrived in India, supplies details which are wanting in Baranī. He gives the 8th of June (1334)[6] as the date of the emperor's arrival in

1 Moreland, W. H.: *Agrarian System of Moslem India*, 48.

2 J. R. A. S. 1922, pp. 342-343.

3 Baranī (Bib. Ind.), pp. 473-480.

4 This as well as the scheme of events given in the *Tārikh-i Mubārak Shāhī* (pp. 101-105) enables us to fix the year 1330 as the approximate date of the increase of taxes in the Doāb and 1332 as the date of the outbreak of rebellion, commonly known as the Doāb rebellion.

5 The *Reḥla* (G.O.S.), p. 118.

6 4th *Shawwāl*, 734 Hijrā. *Op. cit.*, p. 124.

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Dehlī, and the 5th of January (1335)[1] as that of his march for Ma'bar. It follows that on his return from the Doāb expedition the emperor remained in Dehlī for seven months before marching southward. In this period Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, together with many other new-comers, was introduced to the royal court and was made the qāẓī of Dehlī. Therefore, the date of the Ma'bar rebellion, must have been 1334/735, which is confirmed by the numismatic evidence.[2] The first coin of the Maḍura (*Madūra*) mint bearing the name and title of Jalālu'ddīn Aḥsan Shāh as an independent ruler or Sulṭān is of 1334/735, the latest date on the Maḍūra coins struck in the name of Muḥammad bin Tughluq being A.H. 734/1333. The dates 1340/741 and 1341/742 assigned to this rebellion by Yaḥyā bin Aḥmad, Budāūnī, and Firishta are wrong, because Sayyid Aḥsan Shāh had been killed in 1339.[3]

It is evident from Baranī's language that the nature of the Ma'bar rebellion was almost the same as that of the Doāb. He tells[4] us that on reaching Daulatābād on his way to Ma'bar the emperor levied new taxes (*abwāb*) in Mahārāshṭra (*Marhaṭ*), and made such atrocious demands that many died. Baranī implies that the emperor's oppressive policy in Mahārāshṭra was a replica of his Doāb policy. It should be remembered that the disbandment of the Khurāsān army previous to the outbreak of the Doāb rebellion had led to the dispersal of thousands of unemployed soldiers all over the country. Furthermore, the Qarāchīl tragedy, the Multān rebellion, and above all the emperor's devotion to pagan philosophy, his atheistic leanings and doubts about Islām, culminating in his ruthless murder of the orthodox Sunnis, sufis and the 'ulamā had spread an incalculable amount of discontent all over the empire.[5] This was multiplied enormously by the outbreak

1 9th *Jamādī* I, 734 Hijra. *Idem*, p. 140. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa gives the month in each case, not the year.

2 J. R. A. S., 1922, p. 344 and J. R. A. S., 1909, p. 673.

3 J. R. A. S., 1909, p. 671.

4 Barani: T. F. S, pp. 480-481.

5 *Cf.* 'Iṣāmī: F. S. Agra edition, verses 9748, 10,143, 10.980; Madras edition, pp. 515, 530, 580.

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of a severe famine in Dehlī and Mālwa and of epidemics in Telingāna where the troops, employed in the Ma'bar expedition, died in huge numbers; and the emperor himself having fallen ill, his death was rumoured. He was forced to relinquish the Ma'bar expedition and to retire to Daulatābād from Badrkot according to Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, and from Wārangal according to Baranī, whither he had proceeded in pursuit of his design. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa[1] remarks that rebellions having broken out and discontent having spread in all directions, the rule of Muḥammad bin-Tughluq was seemingly over, and the sceptre would have fallen from his hands had it not been decreed otherwise.

How far the Ma'bar rebellion was prepared by the Doāb rebellion and how far it was akin to it can further be gauged from the following two phrases of Baranī[2]: (1) On his return from Multān the Sulṭān stopped in Dehlī for two years, while his army as well as his amirs remained separated from their families, cut off in Daulatābād. From Dehlī the emperor evidently marched into the Doāb on the outbreak of the Doāb rebellion, the army chiefs, as Firishta[3] tells us, being still discontented. Presumably they would have left no stone unturned to make the emperor leave for Daulatābād. It would not be unnatural if in their anxiety to do so, they intrigued with the military chiefs in Ma'bar or with Sayyid Aḥsan Shāh himself to raise the standard of rebellion. (2) The troops which had been detailed from Dehlī for the consolidation of Ma'bar remained there, and joined hands with the rebel governor, Sayyid Aḥsan Shāh. It seems that on the disbandment of the Khurāsān army some regiments consisting mainly of the inhabitants of Kaithal and its surroundings—Kaithal, a town north-west of Dehlī was the native place of Sayyid Aḥsan Shāh of Ma'bar—were sent as an additional force to Ma'bar. It was they who, according to Baranī,[4] had joined hands with the rebel governor. Obviously the latter was not

1 The *Reḥla* (G. O. S.), p. 101.
2 Barani (Bib. Ind.), pp. 479-480.
3 *Tārikh-i Firishta* (Bombay), vol. I, pp. 243-244.
4 T.F.S.B., p. 480.

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granted any extraordinary monetary allowance from the central government to maintain the additional force. Instead of applying to the emperor or to his governments at Daulatābād and Dehlī, which was a tedious and doubtful process, Sayyid Aḥsan Shāh took the law into his own hands and asserted his independence. The emperor was distracted that, in spite of his utmost efforts, he could not crush the Ma'bar rebellion. The injuries that he sustained by the fiasco of the Ma'bar expedition, the impairment of his prestige and the loss of the monetary and man power entailed by his ill-fated journey from the Doāb or from Kanauj—for he was busy suppressing the Doāb rebellion at Kanauj when he heard of the outbreak of the Ma'bar rebellion—to Dehlī, and from Dehlī to Daulatābād, and thence to Telingāna, whence, retreat being unavoidable, his return to Dehli *via* Daulatābād and Dhār in Mālwa, were irreparable. That Ma'bar became independent and Sayyid Aḥsan Shāh successfully founded the Maḍūra Sultanate bears testimony to the decline in the fortunes of Muḥammad bin Tughluq and the disintegration of his empire. Although in the course of this journey he reorganized the administration in Daulatābād, in Telingāna, and in Bīdar, no real good came of this eventually. Daulatābād, which had now ceased to be the favourite capital city was, together with Mahārāshṭra (*Marhat*) placed under the governorship of Qutlugh Khān. Telingāna was placed under the charge of Malik Qabūl, the nāib wazīr, and the government of Bīdar was entrusted to one Shihāb Sulṭānī entitled Nuṣrat Khān for a stipulated sum of a crore of tankas to be paid within three years.

During this journey from Dehlī to Wārangal and back which took the emperor two and a half years, that is, from January 1335, to July, 1337, the eighth, ninth, tenth, eleventh, and twelfth rebellions broke out.

The *eighth* rebellion was that of Hulājūn. Hulājūn, or as Sir Wolseley Haig[1] suggests, Hulāgū, was probably one of those Mongol chiefs whom Muḥammad bin Tughluq had retained in his service. Baranī gives no account of this

1 *J. R. A. S.*, July, 1922, pp. 319-72.

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rebellion which he, however, places at Lahore during the ill-starred Ma'bar expedition. Budāūnī[1] says that Hulājūn treacherously killed Malik Tatār, the governor of Lahore, and set up as ruler. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa,[2] although he does not mention the murder, agrees on the whole with Budāūnī. He tells us that Hulājūn was assisted in his enterprise by Amīr Qul Jand.[3] The wazīr Khwāja Jahān raised armies and marched against him from Dehlī. A battle was fought near the Rāvī. The rebel was defeated and fled. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa gives no date of this rebellion, but helps us to fix it in 1335, inasmuch as he gives 9th *Jamādīu'l-'ūlā* for the Ma'bar expedition.[4] It was after the emperor's arrival in Daulatābād, up to which place the wazīr Khwāja Jahān had accompanied him, that the rebellion broke out. It was suppressed by the wazīr on his return from Daulatābād, about December 1335, the emperor having proceeded to Telingāna.

The *ninth* rebellion was that of Malik Hoshang in Daulatābād. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa tells us that Malik Hoshang, son of Malik Kamālu'ddīn Garg and the governor of Daulatābad, revolted on hearing of the emperor's reported death. The emperor was then on his way back from Telingāna to Daulatābād. Malik Hoshang fled to a neighbouring Hindū rājā, Burabrah, whose dominions lay in the western Ghats. It was probably the outbreak of this rebellion which forced the emperor in spite of his illness to travel back to Daulatābād. He pursued Hoshang in his mountainous retreat, but his Hindū protector refused to surrender him. The emperor, however, made some effective arrangement for crushing the rebellion; and, leaving instructions to this effect with Qutlugh Khān, the new governor of Daulatābād, he set out for Dehlī as has been mentioned above.

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1 Budāūnī: *Muntakhabu't-Tavārikh* (Bib. Ind.), p. 231.

2 The *Reḥla* (G. O. S.), p. 100.

3 'Qul Jand' is the Arabic form of Gul Chand, the name of a Hindū amir.

4 *Vide* the *Reḥla* (G. O. S. p. 140).

The *tenth* rebellion, which is mentioned in the *Reḥla* alone was that of Mas'ūd Khān, a step-brother of Muḥammad bin Tughluq. Says Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, 'Mas'ūd Khān's mother was the daughter of Sulṭān 'Alāu'ddīn. He was the most handsome of all the men I have seen in the world. The Sulṭān accused him of rebellion and prosecuted him. Mas'ūd Khān acknowledged the accusation for fear of torture. The Sulṭān ordered that he should be beheaded; and he was killed in the centre of the market where his corpse lay three days, according to the custom.' Ibn Baṭṭūṭa affirms that the Sulṭān prosecuted him.[1] That is, Mas'ūd Khān was tried before a panel of judges as was customary; and on being found guilty was executed. This rebellion finds no mention elsewhere, and it is difficult to fix its date. However, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa helps[2] us to put it about 1336/736.

The *eleventh* rebellion was a case of exploitation of the favourable opportunities which the pro-Hindū policy of the emperor, combined with the reactions of his war with the 'ulamā, had created for the Hindus in Telingāna and Kampīla. 'Iṣāmī says that 'the region of Telingāna became rebellious and the enclosure (*ḥiṣār*) of Telingāna was lost to the Turks.[3] Baranī[4] informs us that Malik Maqbūl, the nāib wazīr, unable to withstand Kanyā Nāyak who

1 The *Reḥla* (G. O. S.), p. 85.

2 Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (p. 85) states that Mas'ūd Khān's mother was killed two years before Mas'ūd Khān's rebellion. Now the site where the mother was killed has been identified by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa. If she 'had been stoned to death' in the year of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's arrival in Dehlī, *i.e.* in 1334/734, then her son's fate was sealed two years later, *i.e.* 1336/736.

Most probably Mas'ūd Khān had felt aggrieved on account of the charge of adultery that had been brought against his mother. And although the charge was proved, for she was stoned to death by Qāẓī Kamalu'ddīn, yet it created a great sore in the mind of Mas'ūd Khān. Hence his rebellion, and hence also the bold confession on his part, (*Ibid*).

3 F. S. I., verse 11, 454.

4 Kanyā Nāyak of Barani (p. 484) is Kāpā (Nāyak) and Kāpānid of 'Iṣāmī (verses 10, 706; 10, 718 and 10, 735) and Kanyā Nāyak or Krishna Nāyak of Firishta (RFMT, p. 162). The

asserted his independence, fled away from Wārangal (the capital of Telingāna) which fell into the hands of the Hindus. About the same time one of Kanyā Nāyak's relations whom the emperor had deputed to Kampīla as ruler apostatized from Islām and revolted. Thus Kampīla also fell into the hands of the Hindus, and disorders having spread in all directions nothing remained secure except Deogīr and Gujarāt. According to Firishta's[1] account of the Hijra year 744 (A.D. 1343) Kanyā Nāyak of Wārangal, son of Ludder Deo[2], went over to Bilāl Deo, the *rāi* of Carnatic, and instigated him to a rebellion, the object being to seize Wārangal, Ma'bar as well as Dvārasamudra and Kampīla from the Muslims, and to raise against them a barrier in the south. Accordingly, a frontier outpost in his mountainous territory was founded by Bilāl Deo and named Bījan Nagar (the city of Bījan) after the name of his son, Bījan Rāi. Bījan Nagar later became Vijayānagar. Bilāl Deo next helped Kanyā Nāyak to turn out 'Imādu'l-Mulk Wazīr from Wārangal; and subsequently emancipated from Muslim control Ma'bar and Dvārasamudra.

Firishta's account is inaccurate, and his date of the rebellion and foundation of Vijayānagar wrong, although his information regarding the Hindū conspiracy in the Deccan, and the part Bilāl Deo played in displacing the Muslim rule from Wārangal and the adjacent parts is correct. But Ma'bar still remained under Muslim rule.

A comparative study of Firishta, Baranī and Sewell, who records a story based on the Portuguese chronicler

manuscript of the *Tārīkh-i Firishta* (No. 39, M.U.A.; F. 93a) has *Kuntā Nāyak* and the same is seen in the printed text (Bombay, I, p. 246) which looks like a scribal mistake.

Ẓiāyu'ddīn Baranī means to say that Hari Hara on being appointed 'Rāi' of Kampīla by Sulṭān Muḥammad bin Tughluq was forced to accept Islām. But this is not proved, and reflects Baranī's own ideology, not that of the Sulṭān who did not encourage conversions and is known to have raised many Hindus to high positions without desiring them to change their creed.

1 *Tārīkh-i Firishta* (Bombay), Vol. I, pp. 243-44.

2 *I.e.*, Pratap Rudra Deva Kakatiya II.

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Nuniz, leads to the conclusion that Vijayānagar was founded in 1336. This is confirmed by the epigraphic evidence[1]. It follows that Kanyā Nāyak of Telingāna was connected in some manner with Hari Hara of Anegondi or Kampīla and that Hari Hara and Bukka, the two brothers, had fled from Wārangal when it was besieged by Ulugh Khān (1323), and had entered the service of the rājā of Anegondi—the Kampīla of Baranī and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa. They fell subsequently into the hands of the royal troops and were carried off to Dehlī, when, in connection with the rebellion of Bahāu'ddīn, Anegondi was besieged in 1327. According to Nuniz the emperor, finding his representative Malik Nāib unable to hold his own, had restored Anegondi to the Hindus, and made Devā Rāyā (Hari Hāra), formerly the chief minister, the rāja (*Rāya*). It was Deva Rāya Hari Hara who at the suggestion of the sage Mādhava Charya, surnamed Vidyâraṇya founded a city on the Tungabhadra. The city was named Vidyânagar after the sage, and subsequently became Vijayānagar (city of victory). It will be remembered that in his account of the Kampīla rebellion Baranī[2] says that a relation of Kanya Nāyak, whom the Sulṭān had deputed to Kampīla as ruler apostatized from Islām and revolted. Evidently this 'apostate'[3] was no other than Devā Rāyā, otherwise known as Hari Hara or Harihara I whom the emperor had made rāja of Kampīla. He became the first king of Vijayānagar.

Early in 1335, when the emperor had left for Ma'bar, a famine had broken out in Dehlī and its suburbs. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa

1 *Vide* the Hampi temple inscription in which Vidyaranya gives Salivahan Saka 1258 as the year in which the city of Vijayanagar was constructed (IPQT, p. 187). Also see Buchanan—*Travels in Southern India*, Mysore III, p. 110 (IPQT, p. 187).

2 Same as footnote 4, p. 247 *supra*

3 When in 1336 A.D. Hari Hara declared his independence, his kingdom stretched from Nellore in the south-east to Dharur or Dharwar and Badami in north Carnatic. To the north and north-east of this kingdom may be located the Andhra confederacy of Kanya Nayak. In the same area and along the river Kistna also lay the territory which still owned allegiance to the emperor of Dehlī. Qutlugh Khān, wazīr of Daulatābād, was in administrative charge of this territory.

gives an eye-witness account of the afflictions of the people, and tells us that the emperor ordered six months' provisions at the rate of a daily allowance of one and a half *raṭl*[1] per head to be given to all the inhabitants of Dehlī. Barani reports the spread of the famine to Mālwa and other parts of Hindustān, and says that on his return from the Deccan the emperor tried to improve the cultivation by sinking wells and by advancing loans to the peasants. The famine was the most terrible of its kind and lasted about six years (1335-41). The distress caused by it was one of the reasons why the emperor made no attempt to crush the so-called Hindū rebellion—which was, in fact, a case of an exploitation of the situation and of ungratefulness on the part of Kanyā Nāyak and Hari Hara. The emperor expected Qutlugh Khān, whom he had appointed wazīr of Daulatābād, to bring round the ingrates.

The *twelfth* rebellion was that of Sayyid Ibrāhīm, governor of Hānsī and Sirsa. Seizing the royal treasures which happened to pass through his territory in 1336/737 he assumed an independent attitude, but was easily captured and put to death.

The *thirteenth* rebellion was in Bengal. It will be remembered that after crushing the rebellion of Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Bahādur, Muḥammad bin Tughluq had made Tatār Khān,[2] entitled Bahrām Khān, governor of Sonārgāon, and Malik Baidar[3] surnamed Qadr Khān, governor of Lakhnautī. Barani[4] tells us that while the emperor was engaged in the Doāb expeditions, Bahrām Khān died; and Fakhra having killed Qadr Khān, revolted. Yaḥyā bin Aḥmad[5] describes Fakhra as Fakhru'ddīn, the armour-bearer (*silāḥdār*) of Bahrām Khān, who, after assassinating his master, assumed the title of Sulṭān Fakhru'ddīn. A comparative study of

1 *I.e.*, 12 chataks. See the *Reḥla*, p. 85, footnote 1.

2 He was the adopted son of Ghiyāṣu'ddin Tughluq and a step-brother of Muḥammad bin Tughluq.

3 Edward Thomas (p. 262) reads Malik Bandar Khalji

4 Barani: T. F. S. p. 480.

5 Yaḥyā bin Aḥmad: T. M., p. 104.

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tbe slightly varying accounts given in the *Tārīkh-i Mubārak Shāhī*,[1] *Muntakhabu't-Tavārīkh*,[2] *Ṭabaqāt-i Akbārī*,[3] *Tārīkh-i-Firishta*,[4] *Ḥāji Dabīr*,[5] and the *Riyāẓu's-Salāṭīn*[6] shows that between 1338 and 1341 a revolution was worked out in Bengal, as a result of which eastern as well as western Bengal, Sonārgāon as well as Lakhnautī were lost to Dehlī, the efforts of Muḥammad bin Tughluq at stemming the revolution[7] being completely frustrated. It follows that 739 Hijra[8]—the date of a coin struck by

1 *Idem*., pp. 104-5.
2 'Abdu'l-Qādir Budāūnī (Bib. Ind.), Vol. I, p. 230.
3 Nizāmu'ddīn Aḥmad: *Ṭabaqāt-i Akbarī* (Bib. Ind). p. 205.
4 Firishta (*Bombay*), Vol. II, pp. 574-5.
5 A.H.G. III, pp. 972-3.
6 Ghulām Ḥusain Salīm (Bib. Ind.), pp. 91-4.

7 Muḥammad bin Tughluq appears to have commissioned certain amirs—Malik Ḥisāmu'ddīn Abū Rija, the auditor-general of the empire (*Mustaufi-i-mumālik*), 'Aẓam Malik 'Izzu'ddīn Yaḥyā, Muqṭi' of Satgāon and Fīroz Khān, governor of Karā—under the direction of Qadr Khān, the governor of Lakhnāutī, to march against Fakhru'ddīn. Fakhru'ddīn was defeated and lost Sonārgāon, but recovered it before long from Qadr Khān, who was slain in 1339. Thus Fakhru'ddīn addded Lakhnautī, which he tried to hold through his slave, Mukhliṣ, to his possession of Sonārgāon. But 'Ali Mubārak, the muster-master (*'āriẓ-i lashkar*) of Qadr Khān, killed Mukhliṣ; and having in vain solicited a formal acknowledgment from Muḥammad bin Tughluq assumed the title of Sulṭān 'Alāu'ddīn. Muḥammad bin Tughluq had contented himself with nominating as governor of Lakhnautī, Malik Yusuf, the prefect of Dehlī (*shaḥna-i Dehlī*) who died before reaching Lakhnauti. Edward Thomas (p. 263) affirms that Fakhru'ddīn Mubārak successfully ruled Sonārgāon from 1340/741 to 1349/750.

Baranī (p. 480) places the Bengal rebellion before the punitive expedition to Kanauj and Dalmaū, that is, about the year 1333, which goes against the numismatic evidence. Edward Thomas (p. 263) draws attention to a coin of Fakhru'ddīn bearing the date A.H. 737/A.D. 1336; and is inclined to believe that the rebellion broke out in the same year, which is also the view of Mzik (p. 172). But Sir Wolseley Haig regards Budāūnī's date A.H. 739 (A.D. 1338) as correct. (*J. R. A. S.*, July, 1922, pp. 319-22.) Blochmann in the *Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal* (1873, p. 252) had already suggested reading 739 instead of 737 on the coin referred to by Edward Thomas.

8 *Cf.* J.A.S.B.. 1873, p. 252 and 1874, p. 291 and J.R.A.S. 1922, p. 349.

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Fakhra announcing his independence—is the correct date of his rebellion.

The *fourteenth* rebellion broke out in Sunām[1] and Sāmāna. Accoring to Baranī it resembled the Doāb rebellion in two respects: (i) because it was largely a rebellion of Hindus and (ii) because its root cause was the refusal of the ryots to pay the land tax. They had raised strongholds called 'mandals' from which they defied the authorities. The emperor marched against them personally after the fiasco of the Ma'bar expedition, and proceeded *via* Kaithal and Kahrām which had equally formed scenes of disturbance to the hills (*kohpāya*). The ringleaders were captured and carried to Dehlī where some of them became converts.[2]

But Yaḥyā Sirhindī throws considerable light on Baranī's narrative which is cryptic and confused. While narrating the emperor's expedition to Multān and Dipālpur in pursuit of an Afghān rebel, Yaḥyā Sirhindī says, 'Passing through Sunām and Sāmāna the Sulṭān massacred the Sayyids of Kaithal and other Muslims. Then he conveyed the Hindū chiefs of those districts to the suburbs of the city, conferred upon them villages and districts; and bestowing on each gold belts and head-dresses gave them a place of abode there'[3]. Unlike Niẓāmu'ddin Aḥmad, Ḥāji Dabīr and Firishta who have borrowed their information from Baranī and betray similar confusion, Yaḥyā Sirhindī gets his information from the local sources of Sirhind or the region of Sunām, Sāmāna, Kaithal and Kahrām; and in view of the fact that the event in question is not mentioned at all by 'Iṣāmī and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, he has a claim on our attention. And his statement is confirmed by Budāūnī who says:

'And in 744 the Sulṭān, passing through Sunām and Sāmāna, ordered as a decisive blow to Ḥasan Gangū[4] a

1 Also written as Sannām, a famous city of those days situated about sixty miles west of Sirhind.

2 Barani: T. F. S. pp. 483-84.

3 Yaḥyā bin Aḥmad: T. M., p. 106.

4 'Ḥasan Gangū' is a mistake. The person Budāūnī really meant was Sayyid Jalālu'ddīn Aḥsan Shāh.

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wholesale massacre of the sayyids of Kaithal and all other Muslims. And showing favour, instead, to the Hindū chiefs of that region he installed them in the city and assigned them lands and iqtas and conferred on them rich robes and golden belts.[1]

True to his preamble[2] where he announced his intention to write a thesis rather than a history of Sulṭān Muḥammad's reign, Baranī gave a wrong picture of the disturbances in Sunām, Sāmāna, Kaithal and Kahrām. Losing sight of the background and of the sequence of events—(i) the rebellion of Sayyid Jalālu'ddīn Aḥsan Shāh of Kaithal who had set up as king in the south at Maḍūra, (ii) the rebellion of his son Sharīf Ibrāhīm governor of Hānsī in the cis-Satlej area northward, and (iii) the emperor's measures to root out their mischief by massacring their sayyid tribesmen in Kaithal and Kahrām—Baranī conceals more then he reveals. He says not a word about the massacre of the sayyids and Musalmans of Kaithal and Kahrām which had created basic disorders and serious repercussions among the neighbouring Hindū chiefs.

1 Budāūnī: M. T., (Cal, 1868), pp. 231-32.

It should be noted that Ranking, translator of Budāūnī's *Muntakhabatut'-Tavārikh* (Vol. I, p. 310) did not notice the difference between Budāūnī's and Baranī's versions; and reading the given passage from the *Muntakhabatut'-Tavārikh* in the light of the corresponding passage from Baranī's *Tārikh-i Fīroz Shāhī*, he produced an absurd translation, which is seriously misleading.

2 In this history I have written the basic principles and most important affairs of the government and administration of Sulṭān Muḥammad, paying no heed whether a certain victory or incident preceded or succeeded the other, and disregarding also the sequence of events. I have even ignored the beginning and ending of every phase of the reign, rebellion and occurrence, and have made no allowance for method, since wisemen are bound to obtain a grounding by studying the fundamental principles of the Sulṭān's government and the important affairs of his administration. As for the ignorant and thoughtless people who possess no capacity and aptitude to discriminate good from evil and who know nothing about the science of history, there is no hope. Even if they read the achievements of Abū Muslim Khurāsānī in several volumes and reiterate the same, they would not improve at all for they possess neither grasp nor intelligence.' (Baranī: T. F. S., p. 468).

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Anxious to pacify the Hindū chiefs the emperor rewarded them; and he installed them in the places of the departed 'sayyids and Musalmans,' as has been reported by Yaḥyā Sarhindī as well as by Budāūnī.

Both Yaḥyā Sarhindī and Budāūnī fixed this event in the year 1343/744 which Sir Wolseley Haig regards as correct. But it is uncorroborated. The right date is suggested by Baranī who puts the Sunām and Sāmāna rebellion by the side of the Hindū rebellions in Kampīla and Wārangal. And coming as it did in the period of famine on the eve of the emperor's departure for Sargadwārī, the rebellion in question must have broken out in[1] or about 1338/737.

All authorities agree that the severity of the famine compelled the emperor with some of his troops and people to move to a camp in the riverain area of the Ganges, not far from Kanauj, where supplies could be obtained from the more fertile parts of Kaṛa and Oudh (*Awadh*). Here a temporary town arose which the emperor named Sargadwārī[1] ('the Gate of Paradise'). Sargadwārī[2] (*Swargadwāra*), being a Sanskrit word,[3] is significant because it shows how the emperor was interested in Sanskrit and preferred a Sanskrit name.

During his residence here for two and a half years, roughly from the close of 1338 to the middle of 1341, *Jumāda* II, 742 the fifteenth, sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth rebellions broke out successively. The *fifteenth* rebellion was that of Niẓām Mā'īn[4] at Kaṛa (1338/739).

1 A modern writer (*Indian Culture, Vol. V*, pp. 142-146) gives 1336 as the date of several rebellions—the rebellion of Shāhū Afghān, the rebellions of Sanam, Sāmāna, Kahrām and Kaithal, the rebellion of Kanyā Nāyak in Tilang and that of Hari Hara in Kampīla. In this manner too much has been compressed in one year.)

2 'Iṣāmī corrupts Sargadwāri into 'Sarkābari' and compares it to *Shaddād's* paradise, *Shaddād* being a proverbially impious king, who built the gardens of *Iram* (Steingass, 738). (*Futūḥu's-Salāṭīn*, Agra edition, verse 8943; Madras edition, p. 472.)

3 *Cambridge History of India*, III, 154.

4 Moreland (p. 47) rightly paraphrases Barani's scornful expressions for the rebel, 'a contemptible, drug-soaked little idiot.' (Barani, Bib. Ind., p. 487.)

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He had undertaken to farm the revenue of Kaṛa for a payment of several lakhs of tankas. On being unable to pay even one-tenth of it, he revolted and assumed the title of Sulṭān 'Alāu'ddīn. He was defeated by 'Ainu'l-Mulk, the famous governor of Awadh, and Ẓafarābād.[1] The rebel was eventually flayed and his skin sent to Dehlī.

The *sixteenth* rebellion was that of Shihāb Sulṭānī or Tāju'l-Mulk Nuṣrat Khān at Bīdar. He had engaged to promote cultivation and to hand over a certain fixed sum to the treasury. But he failed to carry out his pledge, and misappropriated in the course of three years about a crore of tankas from the imperial exchequer. On his raising the standard of rebellion his fortress was besieged. Qutlugh Khān joined by some troops from Dehlī and Dhār marched against him. He was defeated and sent a prisoner to Dehlī. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa misplaces this rebellion among those which broke out during the Ma'bar expedition. But it is evident from Baranī's text that[2] Nuṣrat Khān was appointed governor of Bīdar about 1336. On his failure to pay the promised sum of a crore of tankas in three years' time he revolted. The rebellion should therefore have occurred in 1338-9/740.

This rebellion provides an instance of revenue farming which was adopted in special circumstances, but always with disastrous results.

The *seventeenth* rebellion which followed (1339/740) was that of Alī Shāh Nathū[3] at Gulbarga, where he was deputed from Deogīr to collect the taxes. It should be noted that Baranī and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa both agree in describing 'Alī Shāh Nathū as an adherent of Qutlugh Khān. According to Baranī he was a nephew of Ẓafar Khān,

1 Ẓafarābād is mentioned in the *Aīn-i Ākbarī* as a pargana in Sarkar Jaunpur under the Ṣubah of Ilahabad (Allahābād). (Jarrett's tr., II, 164.) It lies on the right bank of the Gumtī, and was probably founded by Ẓafar Khān during the reign of 'Alāu'ddīn Khāljī.

2 Baranī: T. F. S., p. 508.

3 While Baranī (p. 488) gives 'Alī Shāh, the *Reḥla* (p. 111) has 'Alī Shāh *Kar* (deaf) and 'Iṣāmī (verse 9069) calls him 'Alī Shāh Nathū.

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the famous general and amīr of 'Alāu'ddīn Khaljī, and a 'centurion' of Qutlugh Khān. Raising a party of his own kinsmen, 'Alī Shāh Nathū killed Bhīran, the Hindū official of Gulbarga, and seized the government money. He then raided Bīdar and established his hold over both. Again Qutlugh Khān, joined by the Dehlī and Dhār troops, took the field. Alī Shāh Nathū was defeated and eventually captured and sent to the emperor at Sargadwārī. The emperor exiled him as well as his brothers to Ghazna. Both Baranī[1] and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa[2] relate this fact distinctly, and mention how ultimately on their return from Ghazna without the emperor's permission they were executed.

The fact that the rebels were exiled to Ghazna is significant. It shows that Muḥammad bin Tughluq still had no cause to fear a Mongol invasion from the north-west. It also tends to confirm the statements made above regarding his friendliness with the Mongols.

The *eighteenth* rebellion was that of 'Ainu'l-Mulk (1340/741). This man was an old friend of the emperor's, an able statesman, and governor of Awadh, Ẓafarābād and Lucknow (*Laknau*). Through his wise administration his subjects had enjoyed unbroken peace and tranquillity. Under his paternal rule they had prospered and flourished. Most of them were engaged in peaceful agricultural pursuits; and the soil being fertile the produce was abundant. This had enabled 'Ainu'l-Mulk to advance the surplus to the emperor. He is reported to have sent to the imperial camp 50,000 maunds of wheat, and an equal quantity of rice every day. But the emperor grew suspicious of 'Ainu'l-Mulk, the reason being that some of the rebels from Dehlī had taken refuge with him. Partly for this reason aud partly because of the misdeeds of Qutlugh Khān, wazīr of Daulatābād, the emperor resolved to transfer 'Ainu'l-Mulk to the south, making him wazīr of Daulatābād instead. But, 'Ainu'l-Mulk had his own fears. In the emperor's orders

1 T. F. S. B., p. 489
2 The *Reḥla* (G. O. S.), p. 111

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for his transfer he read his own destruction. So he rebelled. He marched at the head of a large army against the emperor, but was defeated and captured. He was subsequently pardoned by the emperor and restored to his position.[1]

On the suppression of this rebellion the emperor left Sargadwārī and made a pilgrimage to the shrine of Sālār Mas'ūd[2] in Bahrāich, whence he returned to Dehlī. An improvement in the condition of the people now led to a more hopeful outlook and a new phase began, for with the bursting of the monsoons the famine almost ceased.

1 (i) Barani: T. F. S., p. 491.
(ii) The *Rehla* (G.O.S.), pp. 105-109.

2 *Vide* the *Rehla* (G.O.S.), p. 110 footnote 3.

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CHAPTER IX

A NEW PHASE

The new phase covered the last eleven years of the emperor's reign, during which period whatever hopes he may have entertained of preventing the disruption of his empire were dashed to the ground by a series of disasters, from which there was no escape. While still at Sargadwārī, he had begun to consider. seriously the necessity of being recognized by the Abbasid Caliph.[1] No king, he argued, could legitimately wield the sceptre without securing the Caliph's confirmation decree. He then made diligent enquiries about the Caliphs of the house of 'Abbās.

It will be remembered that on the death of the Prophet of Arabia (632/11) the question of a successor was one of paramount importance. The Khilāfat or succession question divided Islām into two main sects; and two armed camps of the Shias and Sunnis were organized. The Shias, who form but a minority, regard 'Alī and his successors as the *de jure* successors of the Prophet and as true caliphs, while the Sunnis consider the historical succession of the Caliphs —Abū Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uṣmān and 'Alī—as correct. 'Alī's title was challenged by Mu'āwia, the governor of Syria, who subsequently founded the Ommyyad dynasty, making the Caliphate hereditary in his own family (661—750). The Omnyyads were succeeded by the Abbasids, descendants of 'Abbās, the uncle of the Prophet. They held the sceptre for more than 500 years (750-1258). In 1258 the Mongols, under Hulāgū Khān, destroyed the seat of the Caliphate and murdered Mu'taṣim, the last of the 'Abbasid Caliphs. His uncle, Aḥmad, escaped to Egypt, where the Mamlūk Turks had ruled since 1252. Ẓahīr, the reigning king (1258-1265), welcomed Aḥmad and installed him as Caliph. Hence began a revival of the Abbasid Caliphate in Egypt.

1 Barani: T. F. S., p. 491.

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It should be noted that on the destruction of Baghdād and the expatriation of the Abbasids, the Caliphate had been practically extinguished. According to Jalāluddīn as-Suyuṭī,[1] the Muslim world was without a caliph for three years and a half (February, 1258-June, 1261). It was on account of this interregnum and revolution in the history of the Caliphate that general ignorance in regard to the Caliphate prevailed in Muslim India. It was after this critical juncture in the history of Islām that Muḥammad bin Tughluq determined to secure the Caliph's investiture. He was not unaware of the destruction of Baghdād at the hands of Hūlagū Khān, but he was not sure about the fate of the Abbasids. Hence his enquiries. As soon as he learnt that an Abbasid Caliph, Al-Mustakfī Billāh, was in Egypt, he entered into communication with him, issued coins in his name for the years 742, 743 and 744 Hijra, although al-Mustakfī had died in 740 and had been succeeded by Al-Wāṣiq I. Three years later (1342/743) the latter was superseded by Al-Ḥākim II (1342-1352).[2] Meanwhile the emperor stopped the Friday and 'Īd prayers until the investiture was received in 1343/744. As Ḥāji S'aīd Ṣarṣarī, an envoy from the Egyptian Caliph, Al-Ḥākim II, appeared in the court with the confirmation decree and the robe of honour, the emperor humbled himself before him. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa tells us that the Sulṭān went forth to meet him with great ceremony and walked before him barefooted. He bowed down before him and ceremoniously helped him with his own hands to mount his horse and held his stirrup.

It is difficult to fix the cause of this servile humility on the part of the emperor to the Caliph. It might be supposed that his intense longing to be recognized as emperor by the Caliph was caused by his remorse for the murder of his father, and that he could not bring himself to justify to his conscience his own accession to the throne. But Muḥammad bin Tughluq was not the only king who sought

1 *As*-Suyuṭī Jalālu'ddīn : *Tārikhu'l-Khulafā*, Arabic Text p. 191.

2 A. H. 743-753.

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confirmation or investiture from the Caliph. Many of his predecessors and successors, the Mughul emperors excluded, are known to have sought confirmation of their title to the throne from the Caliph. Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghazna, for instance, secured the investiture at the expense of great wealth, and obtained from the Caliph the title of *Yamīnu'd-Daulah Walī-i Amīru'l-Mominīn*.[1] The Sultans of Dehlī and Bengal, who could not secure the investiture, usually described themselves *Walī-i Amīru'l-Mominīn* (friend of the Caliph). The Caliph's name is found inscribed on many of the coins of Dehlī and Lakhnautī. Allegiance to the Abbassid Caliph was maintained in form even after the destruction of Baghdād, as is verified by the numismatic records up to the death of 'Alāu'ddīn Khaljī (1316).[2] His son, Quṭbuddīn Mubārak Shāh, introduced a change. He declared himself *'the Most Mighty Imām, the vicegerent of God, the Caliph of the Lord of Heaven and Earth.'*[3] The rulers of the Tughluq house arrogated to themselves no such claims, but Muḥammad bin Tughluq's desire for the Caliph's investiture was thoroughly in accordance with the old traditions. Fīroz Shāh also secured, at the cost of immense wealth and with great exertions, the investiture of the Abbasid Caliph. He relates in his *Futūḥāt-i Fīroz Shāhī* how the investiture, together with a ring, a sword and the title of *Sayyidu's-Salāṭīn* (lord of the kings) was bestowed upon him.[4]

To understand this exhibition of servility on the part of Muḥammad bin Tughluq, it should be remembered that submission to the Caliph had been hitherto formal and theoretical. Muḥammad bin Tughluq endeavoured to make it real and practical. The reason was as much political as religious. The strength of the rebels and the malcontents, who had become prominent early in the reign, steadily

1 (i) Minhāj-i Sirāj (Raverty): *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāṣirī*. I, 75.
(ii) Firishta (Bombay). I, pp. 48-68.

2 Edward Thomas: *Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Dehlī*, pp. 133-176.

3 *Ibid*. pp. 178-183.

4 *Futūḥāt-i Firoz Shāhi*, MS. Or 2039, p. 16.

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increased despite the emperor's efforts to check the trouble at its source. He endeavoured, like 'Alāu'ddīn Khaljī, to analyse the causes of the rebellion and disaffection. But while his Khaljī predecessor, making a correct analysis of the causes, successfully grappled with the problem, Muḥammad bin Tughluq found the problem increasingly difficult. After suppressing the Multān rebellion he had remained in Dehlī instead of returning to Daulatābād and had deliberated on the causes of disaffection. The nature of the rebellions turned out to be different from those of the time of 'Alāud'dīn Khaljī. The rebels were not Hindus, but Muslims, the ringleaders being the official classes, the 'ūlamā, the qazis or judges, the khatibs or preachers, the faqhis or jurists, and the mashāikh or saints—a body of people who had hitherto enjoyed sanctity. It should be remembered that it is these whom, in connection with the exodus to the second capital, Baranī has called *khawāṣ-i khalq* (upper and official classes) and *mardum-i guzidah wa chīdah* (the choice of the people). Sulṭān Muḥammad put them ruthlessly to death—an action which horrified the rank and file of the Muslims. But murder was no preventive, far less a cure. A surgical operation on a diseased body is successful only when the operation is performed at the right moment and with skill. If performed before time or unskilfully, or when it is too late, serious complications are inevitable. Such was the case with Muḥammad bin Tughluq. Like an inefficient surgeon, he performed a serious operation or a series of operations in the hope of letting the bad blood out of the body of his empire, but every operation brought forth new complaints. New complications arose in other parts of the body politic. Baranī rejoices to narrate how the rebels from Dehlī fled to Awadh and undermined the loyalty of the veteran 'Ainu'l-Mulk. This is no isolated instance of the spread of trouble from one part of the empire to the other part. Almost the whole reign abounds in similar instances. By the time the emperor left Sargadwārī a generation of rebels had grown up. The trouble which arose almost in the beginning of the reign had ranged now over fourteen years. All this time the emperor had been confronting a steadily increasing volume of opposition, even enmity, as it appears

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from a closer study of the contemporary records. Hitherto, opposition to the Sultans of Dehlī had come from the Mongol chiefs,[1] as in the case of 'Alāu'ddīn Khaljī or from certain Turkish chiefs, as was the case with the successors of Shamsu'ddīn Iltūtmish, and with Jālālu'ddīn Khaljī. But unfortunately for Muḥammad bin Tughluq, a new and more formidable enemy arose in the 'ulamā and the mashāikh He had incurred their hostility mainly because of his peculiar views about what he understood as Īslām.

This is evident in the *first* instance from 'Iṣāmī, a contemporary ṣūfī poet, whose *Futūḥu's-Salāṭīn* being a charge-sheet against the *ẓālim* and accursed emperor may be read in my translation.[2] In the *second* instance the fact of the matter is evident from the *Gulzār-i Abrār*[3] which is a specialized study of the mashāikh through the ages. Though a work of 11th century Hijra (early 17th century A.D.) the *Gulzār-i Abrār* of Muḥammad Ghauṣī gives genuine information about the conflict between this emperor and Shaikh Shihābu'ddīn from unmixed ṣūfī sources. Son of a distinguished ṣūfī of Gujarāt, Shaikh Fakhru'ddīn Zāhidī by name, Shaikh Shihābu'ddīn himself became a ṣūfī saint of repute. Against the wishes of his aged father he left his paternal home and came over to Dehlī during the reign of Sulṭān Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Tughluq. One day he fell into an ecstasy and made an announcement, saying:

> 'I hereby present for sale the crown of this country (India) and I am looking for a buyer.'[3]

Prince Muḥammad, son of Tughluq Shāh, who happened to hear this announcement made a request with great humiliation and was accepted as a suitable candidate for the crown, the saint being impressed by his humility and modesty. But on ascending the throne he changed his demeanour. Puffed up with conceit he entertained unhealthy thoughts; and one day he summoned the 'ulamā

1 T.F.S.B., p. 259.

2 In Press

3 Shaikh Muḥammad Ghauṣi—*Gulzār-i Abrār* (MS. No. 853, M.U.A., Habibganj Collection).

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to a formal meeting in which he addressed the audience and questioned the position of Prophet Muḥammad as *khatmu'l-mursalīn* (last of the Prophets), saying:

'Reason (*'aql*) does not accept the possibility of the termination of *nabū'at* (Prophethood) in the same way as it does not accept the possibility of the termination of *wilāyat* (succession to Prophet's spiritual leadership).'[1]

On hearing this the 'ulamā were struck dumb; and expressing their inability to tackle the point, desired that the emperor should seek the advice of Shaikh Shihābu'ddīn who was the best and most accomplished of the ṣūfī saints in Dehlī. The emperor sent for him and posed before him his inquiry and doubts. At once Shaikh Shihābu'ddīn, flew into a rage. Finding no weapon within his reach he took off his own shoes and struck the same on the emperor's face. The emperor, too, warmed up and punished the Shaikh summarily, ordering that he should be thrown from the height of the royal fort into the ditch below. The order was carried out. But the Shaikh did not die. Then he was thrown down a second time and, when need arose, a third time until he died. He was given a burial by the orthodox Musalmans and his tomb still exists in Dehlī.[2] In commemoration of his sound belief and the great moral courage and fearlessness that he had displayed at the critical moment, he was given the epithet of *Ḥaq-go* (Truth Teller).[3]

In the *third* instance the fact of the matter is evident from the *N'at-i Muḥammadī*[4] of Ẓiyāu'ddīn Barani, who must have been aware of this incident; and having supported the emperor in his philosophy and *siyāsat* as he himself says,[5] had shared his sins. Smitten by remorse he cursed himself on this account, saying:

'As for myself I have to state that as a fateful consequence of what I have said and done during my

1 *Ibid.*
2-3 *Idem.*, pp. 22-23.
4 Barani—*N'at-i Muḥammadi* (MS. Raza Library, Rampur).
5 T.F.S.B., p. 466

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association with the Sulṭān, I have been distressed, disgraced and despised in my old age and have been compelled to go begging from door to door and exposing myself everywhere. And I do not know what would be my condition in the next world and what sort of punishments I may be subjected to there.[1]

This is the voice of remorse which is re-echoed in the *Tārīkh-i Fīroz Shāhī* after it had formed the argument of the *N'at-i Muḥammadī*. That *N'at-i Muḥammadī* (eulogium of Prophet Muḥammad) was chosen by Barani as a fit subject to be written upon profitably after the death of Muḥammad bin Tughluq suggests that the author had found no opportunity for dwelling on such a topic during the lifetime of that emperor.

In the *fourth* instance the fact of the matter is evident from the emperor's *Fragmentary Autobiography* wherein he confessed his own atheism and aberrations *vis-à-vis* Islām and its Prophet. A truncated document without beginning and end and comprising only four pages, this *fragment of an autobiography* betokens its royal author, who speaks in the first person describing his antecedents and explaining how he had serious doubts about the fundamentals of Islām—belief in Allāh and His Prophet. Then he narrates the story of his search for truth and rejoices to tell us how he at last discovered it. It follows that he made a comparative study of religions wherein he discovered a common thread; hence his appreciation of Jainism and his patronage of the Hindus. He also discovered the faults and weaknesses of the 'ulamā and revolted against their obscurantism. Knowing how ignorant Sulṭān Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Balban and Sulṭān 'Alāu'ddīn Khaljī had been of what he considered to be the truth he criticised them, calling each a *mutaghallib* (usurper). What he actually wanted to do or say is not further known; the autobiography is incomplete. It is an unfinished portion which escaped the hands of destruction, but its running contents remained intact through the ages miraculously. The matter that it contains is certainly obnoxious, but it is a

1 T.F.S.B., p. 466.

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fit commentery on the diatribes in the *Futūḥu's-Salāṭīn* and is of a piece with the kind of information given by the *Gulzār-i Abrār* regarding the temperament and psychology of Muḥammad bin Tughluq. It is strange that the authenticity of this *fragment* of the royal autobiography is being questioned, and it is now misjudged in certain circles[1] almost in the same way as Muḥammad bin Tughluq was misjudged in certain circles during his lifetime. But the same *Fragmentary Autobiography* is also used as the sheet-anchor and last piece of evidence to prove the emperor's recovery[2] of faith in Islām and its Prophet.[3]

The following translation of the translatable part of what might have been as important as Bābur's autobiography for a reconstruction of the history of Muslim India, will not be amiss at this stage in the narrative.

'Since the date when the above-mentioned Balban assumed the title of Sulṭān Ghiyāṣu'ddīn he exercised so much violence and high-handedness that religion grew weaker and weaker day by day, and the commandments of Īslām began to relegate to such an extent that the majority of the chiefs took to practising high-handedness and misappropriation. Indulgence in this evil they considered a source of benefit; and tyranny came to be regarded as a legitimate title to sovereignty. As a result the kingdom passed from one usurper to another and from one rebel to the next rebel. And the sanction of the rightful Īmām (*Īmām-i barḥaq*[4]), which is essential for the attainment of kingship and which

1 Ahmad, K. A.—*Studies in Medieval Indian History*, pp. 76-86.

2-3 Ahmad, K. A.—S.M.R. (Urdu), p. 328.

4 Namely the Khalīfa who was considered by Sulṭān Muḥammad bin Tughluq as an immaculate Imām also. *It follows that in the eyes of this emperor Imāmat and Khilāfat were no separate institutions but one and the same thing.*

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is one of the fundamental principles[1] of the *Sharia't* of Muḥammad and the cause of guidance[2] of the followers of Muḥammad, became effaced from the hearts of believers. And it is indisputable that whosoever does not bow his head in prostration[3] before that saintly

1-2 The reference is to the Quranic verse : —

'Obey God and obey the Prophet and obey those
From among you who are inspired to rule.'
(Quran, Sura IV, verse 62)

Now, the *'ulu'l 'Amr minkum* of the Quranic verse may include an ideal king like 'Umar bin 'Abdu'l Aziz. but a king who is worldly-minded and a sinner and a tyrant cannot come under the category of the *'ulu'l 'Amr minkum*. Nevertheless the Muslim opinion through the ages has included all worldly-minded kings who were also sinners and tyrants in the category of *'ulu'l 'Amr minkum* (*Cf. Munshāt-i Māhrū*, MS. pp. 2, 39). In the beginning emperor Muḥammad bin Tughluq too had held the same opinion and had presented himself as belonging to the order of *'ulu'l 'Amr minkum* (*Op. cit.*). Accordingly he had inscribed some useful Arabic texts like اطیعوا اللہ واطیعوا الرسول واولی الامر منکم and من اطاع السلطان فقد اطاع الرحمٰن on the coins, but he discovered before long that he had failed in that capacity to impress the recalcitrant 'ulamā and to suppress the Muslim rebels. Consequently he excluded himself from the category of the Quranic *'ulu'l 'Amr minkum* who must be a *de jure* and *de facto* commander of the faithful (*amīru'l mominīn*), capable of disciplining all kinds of Musalmans—'ulamā and mashāikh as well as the military aristocracy. Such a ruler must be the *Imām-i barḥaq* who alone will be able to give all the Musalmans the guidance enjoined by Prophet Muḥammad.

3 *I.e.* profound submission, an idea of which may be formed from the story of the royal servility *vis-à-vis* Ibnu'l Khalīfa who had visited the court at Dehlī. During his stay at Dehlī Bahrām the king of Ghazna also came to Dehlī; and there was an old enmity between king Bahrām and Ibnu'l Khalīfa. Emperor Muḥammad bin Tughluq ordered that king Bahrām should be lodged in a house in the city of Sīrī which he had assigned to Ibnu'l Khalīfa. He further ordered that a house be built for king Bahrām. When Ibnu'l Khalīfa heard of this, he was inflamed with anger. He went to the royal palace and sat there on the carpet on which he used to sit and sent for the wazīr and said to him: 'Convey my greetings to His Majesty and tell him that all he gave me is in my house and I have not used anything ; rather things have increased and multiplied with me, and I will no longer stay

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person (*Īmām*) and get his authority, the name of that accursed man must be cancelled from the roll of Īslām. The chiefs, in spite of that fundamental principle, acknowledged those usurpers as sultans and declared them as sultans.

'One of the servants of his (Balban's) household seized this kingdom by force. And for a period of five years the Muslims of this country were afflicted with the darkness of his tyranny. Afterwards his brother's son called 'Alī Gao[1] cut off the head of the aforesaid Jalālu'ddīn and took for himself the title of Sulṭān 'Alāu'ddīn.[2] He collected an army of rebels and recalcitrants and seized this empire. Neither he knew anything about the fundamentals of Īslām, nor had he the slightest conception about the rights of *Imāmat* in relation to kingship. During his reign the symbols of Īslām and Musalmanī[3] were disregarded in name with him.' Then he got up and withdrew. The wazir enquired of some of his staff the cause of this, and they explained to him that this was due to the issue of the royal order for the construction of a house in the city of Sīrī for the king of Ghazna. The wazir then went to the emperor and reported the incident to him. The emperor instantly rode with an escort of ten of his men to Ibnu'l Khalīfa's house. There he announced himself and dismounted his horse outside the royal palace (at Sīrī which was then occupied by Ibnu'l Khalīfa) where the ordinary people used to dismount. Then he saw Ibnu'l Khalīfa and apologized to him; Ibnu'l Khalīfa accepted his apology. Yet the emperor said, 'By God I shall not believe that you are pleased with me until you place your foot on my neck.' 'This', he replied, 'I will never do, even if I were to be killed.' The emperor added 'I conjure you by my head you will have to do it'. Then he placed his head on the ground, and the great Malik Qabūl, lifting Ibnu'l Khalīfa's foot with his hand placed it on the emperor's neck. This done, the emperor stood up and said, 'Now I know you are pleased with me and my heart is at rest.'

The *Reḥla* (G.O.S.), p. 75.

1 The information given by Sulṭān Muḥammad regarding the name and nickname of the great Khaljī emperor whom the world had hitherto known only by his title 'Alāu'ddīn is highly valuable. This is confirmed by 'Iṣāmī, verses 3891, 4313.

2-3 Literally 'Height of Islām'. How far Sulṭān 'Alāu'ddīn deserved this title is a problem which calls for an answer. Although

and deed, with the result that the laudable (*m'arūf*) became reprehensible (*munkar*) and denunciatory things (*munkar*) were considered virtues (*m'arūf*). Sanctity of the blood of Musalmans and safety of their lives and property were discarded and the propensities of tyranny and outrage reigned in the hearts of men.[1]

he performed no *namāz*, attended no Friday prayers and observed no *roza* and in the words of Barani was ignorant of the *t'abbudāt* in Islām (Barani, pp. 328, 289. 335), he occasionally recalled that he was born of Muslim stock and cited the name of Allāh and referred to His prophets. Considering this much of Islām in him as sufficient, his chroniclers, notably Amir Khusrau and 'Iṣāmī announced him as a strong believer, raising him high in the estimation of Muslims. Amir Khusrau depicted him as 'Caliph and the Imām of the age and as a pious and generous Sulṭān, adorned with every exalted virtue, endowed with a firm reliance on God and enjoying close access to Him and honoured with the dignity and rank of Moses and Solomon.' (Amir Khusrau: Kh. F., Tr. p. 4). 'Iṣāmī says that Sulṭān 'Alāu'ddin made Islām conspicuous in India and his conduct was consistent with the Shari'at. (Verse 11, 440). Barani credits him with banning all public indulgences in drink and pleasures of the flesh. But he also states that Sulṭān 'Alāu'ddin wanted to establish a new religion in place of Islām and discredits him as a Muslim, saying: 'Sulṭān 'Alāu'ddin was a Pharoah-like man (*mard-i Fir'aun ṣifāt*) having no acquaintance with the principles of Islām. Bereft of all spiritual guidance as he was, he might, it was feared, utilize his Satanic forces and wealth at any moment in killing sixty or seventy thousand Musalmans'. (p. 264). And he killed thousands of new Muslims, tortured their children, and gave away their womenfolk to the embraces of the Hindū scavengers; and last but not least he cruelly destroyed the Muslim minorities and dissenters, namely the Shias, nicknamed as al-Mutī, Ibāḥatī and Bohra. All authorites agree that he killed thousands of such Musalmans by sawing each head of theirs into two. (*Cf.* Baranī T. F. S. p. 336).

These are some of his misdeeds which would render 'Alāu'ddin Khalji in the eyes of a historian unfit for the high-sounding title of 'Height of Islām'. He exploited this title and made a thoroughly political use of it in the same way and equally profitably as he exploited Islām itself, making it a handmaid of the State.

1 'He had even some objections to religious performances. As a rule he shunned the 'ulamā and did not like to mix with them' (Baranī, T. F. S., p. 262). Although a long list of the 'ulamā is noticeable in Baranī's account of the 'Alāī reign, it is a fact that

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'He was succeeded by his son who was given the title of Quṭbu'ddīn. He took his father's place and promoted a slave-born son of a Hindū, and made him one of his close courtiers and bestowed upon him the title of Khusrau Khān. That Hindū boy imbibed the prevalent habits of treason and deceipt which he believed would lead him to kingship. Thereupon he meditated treason against his benefactor, looked for an opportunity and had Sulṭān Quṭbu'ddīn killed inside his house and left none of his sons alive. In this abominable manner he seized the empire from Sulṭān Quṭbu'ddīn by sheer force.[1]

'This terror lasted four months. I withdrew myself[2] from allegiance to that ungrateful Hindū boy. I thought it necessary to keep away from him. At this time my father who was one of the amirs of the above-mentioned usurper 'Alāu'ddīn was in charge of a large *iqṭā*. Disgusted with Dehlī I joined my father. The opposition and resistance to that despicable Hindū boy commended itself to my heart for two reasons: (i) the nature of human instinct to take revenge urged by the favours of a benefactor although he was not my supporter in the truest sense; (ii) fear of my life the Sulṭān neglected them; and they were all out of touch with the Muslim society which remained in a state of chaos and as much ignorant of the ethics of Islām as the Sulṭān himself. This is confirmed by the remarks of an Egyptian scholar Shamsu'ddīn Toork who visited India during the 'Alaī reign and was looking forward to meeting Sulṭān 'Alāu'ddīn. But on reaching Multān he heard stories about the Sulṭān's disregard of basic Islām', *i.e.* *aḥādīṣ-i Muṣṭafā* (sayings of Prophet Muhammad). Immediately he cancelled his intended journey to Dehlī and returned to his own country, leaving behind the following protest addressed to Sulṭān 'Alāu'ddīn: 'I have heard, O king! that in your country some of the accursed philosophers (*dānishmandān-i badbakht*) sit in the mosques and issue decrees (*fatwā*) on accepting bribes, while you remain ignorant of such evil practices. Through the machinations of the corrupted qazis no report about the current vices can reach you.' (Barani, T. F. S., p. 297).

1 The contents of this paragraph are fully confirmed in the chronicles (*Cf.* pp. 27-29, *supra*).

2 *Vide* pp. 31-32 *supra*.

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because every usurper had made it his practice to put to death the close courtiers and amirs of the preceding usurper. For these two reasons it was decided to start on an expedition in order to destroy that ungrateful wretch. Together with a party of followers which we succeeded in organizing, determined to die, we marched on Dehlī. That Hindū boy who by then had rallied round himself all the amirs and troops of Dehlī came out to meet us in war with all his

1 For an account of this war see pp. 38-40, *supra*. A summary of 'Iṣāmi's poetry which adds fresh lustre and details is given below:

'Tughluq himself stood in the centre of his army. 'Alī Haidar and Sahrāj Rāi took their positions behind Tughluq. Gul Chand led the vanguard along with all the Khokars. Asadu'ddīn, a nephew (brother's son) took charge of the right wing, attended by Shādī. He was also assisted by Malik Fakhru'ddin (later Sulṭān Muḥammad bin Tughluq) and Shihāb Jāshghorī. Bahāu'ddīn who was Tughluq's sister's son was commander of the left wing and was attended by some experienced men, namely Bahrām Aiba, Yusuf Yuzmandī the Afghān and Karrī the Mughul—each with his own banners and drums.

'The disposition of the Dehlī forces was planned row after row. Nāṣiru'ddin Khusrau Khān himself stood in the centre, and behind him were all the *marātib* (rank-holders), and Khān-i Khānān and Māl Dev stood deep in the centre. In the same line also stood Taligha son of Yaghda, and each chieftain was backed by a strong body of warriors. The right wing was commanded by Sumbul, the front by Ṣūfī Khān who was attended by Saif Chāūsh as well as by Ẓahīr and Maḥmūd. The left wing was entrusted to Ambar, entitled Bughrā Khān who was attended by Shāstī Khān, Qarqamāz, Nāg, Kachh, Mehta, Varma, Randhol, and Taligha of Nāgor, besides a whole contingent of Paraos.

'The war began when Qabūla, a chieftain of this army, sprang clamourously on the troops of Tughluq. He shot three or four arrows when suddenly Tughluq dashed to the rescue of his own troops and pinned him by means of an arrow. At that time Kachh Varma and Randhol—each commanding a contingent—reeled round from the left wing of the Dehlī army and fell upon Malik Fakhru'ddīn Jauna who, failing to make a stand, withdrew from the battlefield along with Shihāb Jāshghorī.

'Seeing this, the Parao troops rushed to exploit the situation. Thereupon Asadu'ddin emerged from the right wing of Tughluq's army and plunged in the fight. He dislocated the left wing of enemy troops, commanded by Bughra Khān and advanced towards

royal forces and equipments. God granted strength and endurance to my father at that moment and awarded him victory over that low and mean Hindū boy who was captured and put to the sword along with those associated with him in the murder of Sulṭān Quṭbu'ddīn and his brothers. Thus the country was relieved from his terror and the voluptuousness of his followers.

'Afterwards the chiefs of this country and the warriors of Dehlī gathered together and elected my father as ruler of this country. And he ruled with the support of all for four years and ten months. Since he had come as stranger to this country, some time after the days of Balban's tyrannous rule, he remained immune from the reproaches of tyranny and the dust of oppression and ingratitude did not soil the skirt of his garment. But the circumstances of his career prevented him from acquiring the knowledge of divine sciences and he was not honoured with the glory

the centre, killing Taligha and routing his contingent. And Khusrau Khān ordered Shāsti Khān to make an onslaught on Tughluq's camp. Shāsti Khān cut down the ropes of Tughluq's tent and announced into his camp that Tughluq had left the battlefield and fled. Khusrau Khān's troops then fell to plundering the camp of Tughluq.

'At that time Tughluq sent word to everyone of his men and ordered them to rally, saying, 'You must get together in one place and take your respective positions behind the enemy's centre. And as soon as you see that from this side I along with other chieftains make an attack on the centre of the enemy you should at once draw your swords and fall in a body on the enemy's centre ; also you should make an onslaught from behind with drawn swords. And while striking the enemy mercilessly with your swords you should voice together the war cry '*qala lamawar*'.

'Then Tughluq made Gul Chand their commander. And after despatching them with instructions to take their positions behind the enemy's centre, he himself rushed from his post ; and dashing on the enemy's centre made such a terrible and ferocious attack that the enemy forces were completely routed.

'When Khusrau Khān was hemmed in on all sides, he fled away from the battlefield; and so did his soldiers.

('Iṣāmi: F. S., verses 7202-7348).

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of making researches (*ijtehād*)[1] in *Shari'at*. And I too, a slave of his, was not, due to my ignorance, keen on making proper researches (*ijtehād*)[2] in the domain of religion and on finding the rightful Imām. As a result, a position which rested according to my knowledge, solely on the sanction of the rightful Imām[3]—peace on him and his forefathers[4]—was assumed by me without legal convention.

'However, my father appointed me[5]—his humblest slave—during his lifetime in accordance with the usual custom, and true to the manner of those unjust usurpers. But as I knew nothing of this matter I had to proceed in the manner of those usurpers, deceiving myself with the glorious titles which are not permissible for anyone to adopt without the sanction of the Abbasid Caliphs. And thus I was leading a life under a scorching curse, pretending satisfaction with absurdities —a crime punishable with nothing less than hell. And amongst the 'ulamā of the age believing in the saying that necessity renders permissible forbidden things, a certain group sealed their lips from telling the truth; and on account of their exceeding greediness extended the hand of evil out of the sleeve of godlessness.[6] In their greediness for the lucrative

1-4 All *ijtehād* in Shari'at had ended according to the Sunnis with the four great mujtahid imams, namely Abū Ḥanīfa (699/80-767/150); Imām Mālik (714/95-795/179); Imām Shāfa'i (767/150-820/204) and Imām Ḥambal (709/91-855/241).

5 That is, he (the autobiographer) was nominated heir-apparent and was even awarded the title of Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh during his father's lifetime as is clearly mentioned in the *Tārīkh-i Ma'ṣūmī*. Mīr Ma'ṣūm says that Sulṭān Ghiyāṣū'ddīn himself had secured the writ of allegiance (*bai'at nāma*) in favour of his son; and forestalling him as king had awarded him the title of Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh after having made him his heir-apparent. (Mīr Ma'ṣūm: *Tārīkh-i Ma'ṣūmī*, S. A. B., p. 64).

6 Godlessness is like a disease which develops from demoralization. That the 'ulamā through the ages had been demoralized is evident from the chronicles. To give only one example: A group of the 'ulamā during the reign of Raẓiya were found conspiring against an individual '*ālim* of eminent worth, namely, Maulānā Noor Toork. They accused him of Shi'a heresy and disaffection and

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posts, which they did not deserve, they marched hand in hand. For this reason, the keenness to acquire the glorious divine sciences disappeared from among the Muslims.

'Since human beings are by nature in search of science, my soul too could have no rest without seeking knowledge. By chance, I met a group of pseudo-philosophers ;[1] and thinking that they might be on

forged charges to bring about his death and destruction. (T. N. pp. 189-190 ; *Cf.* 'Iṣāmi, verses 2325-2334). But Shaikh Niẓāmu'd-dīn Auliyā who knew the latter personally acquitted him, declaring his accusers guilty of professional jealousy and parochialism (*Fawaidu'l Fuād*, p. 199).

That the morale of the 'ulamā of the succeeding periods continued lowering is evident from the story of Qāẓi Mughīṣu'ddīn of the 'Alāī age. He was a product of his times and had the courage to blacken Islām and its Prophet before Sulṭān 'Alāu'ddīn Khalji by making the following absurd statements: 'To keep the Hindus in abasement is specially a religious duty because they are the most inveterate enemies of the Prophet; and the Prophet has commanded us to slay them, plunder them and make them captive, saying, "Convert them to Islām or kill them, enslave them and spoil their wealth and property." Muḥammad bin Tughluq was not unaware of this kind of bunkum and rot which the 'ulamā could give out. He considered it preposterous to say that Prophet Muḥammad was harsh to the Hindus, and believed that nothing could be further from the truth. *Vide* the *Reḥla* (G.O.S.), p. 263.

It should be noted that the *qāẓi* of Koil who had a mentality like that of Qāẓi Mughīṣu'ddīn was killed by Muḥammad bin Tughluq. Now the fact that Qāẓī Mughīṣu'ddin had been tolerated and not killed by Sulṭān 'Alāu'ddin Khalji was gall and wormwood to emperor Muḥammad bin Tughluq ; and this was one reason among many others why he denounced his Khalji predecessor. (*Cf.*, the *Reḥla*, (G.O.S.), pp. 262-63.

1 That is, the Jain and Hindū philosophers and Muslim free thinkers. This does not mean that on coming back to the fold of Islām after a spell of atheism the emperor gave up his pursuit of philosophy and rationalism ; only his attachment with the pseudo-philosophers then ceased. His faith in philosophy, logical arguments and rationalism continued ; and in fact it was by means of his philosophic and rationalistic approach to the difficult problems of universe and the existence of God that he had been able to discover the Truth. As he himself says, he came back to Islām by dint of logical 'arguments and traditional proofs.' But he did

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the right path I mixed with them and took to hear some of the elementary principles of their discourses But when I found that, as a result of their sophisticated teachings doubts sprang in my mind even about the existence of the Creator, I had to halt.[1] And this circumstance too was the outcome of the evil regime of the usurpers in whose time the 'ulamā were not able to express the truth,[2] while the foundation of the kingdom is based on justice and religion.[3] My condition became so hopeless that every project[4] I set my hands to fell through and could not be completed;[5] and the important affairs of the state, nation, religion and government were jeopardised and disrupted.[6] The general chaos became such that one would have preferred (in despair of Islām) to become an idolater.[7]

'However, as by their nature people belong to civilized society it is but natural to establish balance by trying for gain and avoiding loss. Under the pressure of such bare requisites of human nature and the

not come back to a hidebound Islām and was not bigoted like Baranī. His Islām was broad and liberal and remained different till his last breath from that of Barani. That is why Barani felt that 'Sulṭān Muḥammad's attachment with the philosophers remained throughout his life'.

1,2,3 Muḥammad bin Tughluq considers the said usurper kings and the 'ulamā as jointly responsible for the chaos that had set in in Muslim society. In this connection he made a study of the Jain and Hindū philosophy which made an impression on his mind. Accordingly he welcomed in his society all kinds of free thinkers.

4 *I.e.*, the five projects described by Barani. *Vide* p. 110, *supra*.

5 For the failure of these projects read Chapter VII, *supra*.

6 Here is again a reference to the chaos that had set in in Muslim society and which led to the outbreak of so many Muslim rebellions during his reign.

7 That is, 'I was so much disgusted and fed up that adopting Hinduism seemed to me far better than remaining in doubts.' This shows that the emperor had become desperate having lost all hopes of amendment and improvement at the hands of the 'ulamā whom he considered incorrigible.

tendency towards making gain—which is the significant habit of man—I began to think about my own future and the future of people like myself who still considered themselves as belonging to Islām and about the end of such a situation.

'While I was afflicted with these sad meditations, a breeze of happiness came down on me from the sky where the wind of divine grace blows, and I began to feel. And by the grace of God the dazzling light of His bounties shone over my heart; and by dint of logical arguments and traditional proofs I acquired a firm belief in the fundamental principles of Islām, in the existence of the Creator, in the purity of His essence and the glory of His attributes—in such a significant and decisive manner that no trace of doubt whatsoever remained. In my heart of hearts I believed in the oneness of God and believed also in the truth about the Prophet who is the medium between God and man for the guidance of human beings.

'As a consequence of all this, following the rightful Imām who is the Caliph of the Prophet and acquiring his sanction to act as ruler seemed highly imperative, necessary and essential so that I might not be like that barber[1] who made a pilgrimage only to the stones without seeing the light and glory of God through inner vision or otherwise, and could not get inspiration from the shrine of the Prophet, thus rendering his pilgrimage a complete failure. Therefore I believed that any State, not founded on a legal base and truth, is but crystallized infidelity, resulting in evil; and further that submission to the Imām of the times, even if the distance be as big as that of east and west, is incumbent upon a slave like ourselves who has fallen in the last row of

1 At the Abbasid capital of Baghdād there once lived a barber who is said to have made a pilgrimage to Mecca, On his return they asked him about his impressions of the pilgrimage to Mecca. 'I am not happy' he replied, 'for I could not see God, and His Prophet had passed away. So, my hard-earned money was misspent.'

(Ḥabību'llah Kāshāni.....*Jām'iu'l Ḥikāyāt* Tabriz, 1892, p. 17).

Musalmans. Thereupon I, considering the threat contained in the *ḥadīṣ*—Whoever dies without recognizing the Imām of his times, dies the death of a *kāfir*[1]—found myself drowned in the ocean of disgust and fallen into the remorse of erroneousness and the abyss of ignorance and the darkness of misguidance; and afflicted by a state of confusion worse confounded, I felt as if I was on the brink of hell, feeling extremely uneasy and stranded. Neither had I a guide who could save me from falling into the depths of hell, nor a saviour and redeemer to put me on the basic path[2].....'[3]

Indirect indications are not wanting in the *Siyaru'l-Auliyā* and the *Reḥla* as to Muḥammad bin Tughluq's views about Islām. It has been contended that he had the audacity to employ and treat the 'ulamā and saints like

1 من مات ولم یعرف امام زمانه مات میتة جاهلیه is a famous *ḥadiṣ* of Prophet Muḥammad and is confirmed by another *ḥadīṣ* as well as by the *Qurān*. The confirmatory *ḥadiṣ* says یدعی کل قوم بامام زمانهم وکتاب ربهم وسنة نبیهم *i.e.* 'All communities will be summoned on the Day of Judgment along with the Imām of their times and together with the Divine Book revealed to them and the traditions of their respective prophets.' And the confirmatory Quranic verse says: یوم ندعوا کل اناس بامامهم *i.e.* On the Day of Judgment. We shall summon all the people along with their respective Imams. Sura xvii. verse 73

This *ḥadiṣ* as quoted by Sulṭān Muḥammad bin Tughluq is considered genuine by the Sunnis as well as by the Shias.

2 Here is an evidence of the spirit of enquiry and research that had been agitating the mind of the emperor Muḥammad bin Tughluq. While he tolerated all religions in his State, granting the followers of different cults complete freedom of worship, he did not look upon religion as a heritage like worldly property, passing from father to son. In his opinion it was the duty of the king to broadbase the State on a sound religion, for the position of religion in a State was like that of the lungs in human body.

3 B. M., Add. 25,785.

ordinary men. He was therefore a blasphemer. Baranī regards him as a Nimrod or as a Pharaoh. But a closer study of his *Tārīkh-i-Fīroz Shāhī* leads to the conclusion that the Islām of Ẓiyāu'ddīn Baranī was different from the Islām of Muḥammad bin Tughluq. 'Iṣāmī is outspoken. He denounces Sulṭān Muḥammad as *kāfir*, and urges a general revolt against him. He censures him for siding with the Hindus and for mixing privately with the jogis; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa is discreet. While he gives us the same information regarding the emperor's associations[1] with the jogis he does not accuse him of revolt against Islām.

But Iṣāmī's language is highly suggestive.[2] He tells us that the qazis of the empire had condemned Sulṭān Muḥammad bin Tughluq to death, and that 'the *Shari'at* had approved of his execution.'[3] In view of this, it is by no means unreasonable to infer that the series of rebellions in the empire was due to the influence the aggrieved qazis and 'ulamā, exercised over the provincial governments. After fourteen years of strenuous but fruitless efforts at checkmating rebels, the emperor had now become helpless. But he was ever courageous and resourceful. He evolved a new plan to thwart the enmity of the 'ulamā. He turned to the 'Abbasid Caliph, who was decidedly the spiritual leader of the Muslim world.

That this submission to the Caliph was a political move on the part of the emperor undertaken in order to regain the confidence and support of his subjects is borne out by certain economic and administrative measures he introduced.

These measures were systematically drawn up in the

1 Def. et Sang., IV, p. 36

2 F. S. (Agra edition, verses 9748-9753), Madras edition, p. 515.

3 F. S. Agra edition, verses 9751. Madras edition, p. 575.

form of a code called *uslūb* or *asālīb*.[1] The emperor is credited by Baranī with having worked on them sedulously and ceaselessly. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's testimony[2] in this respect is no less important; and the slightly varying but not conflicting accounts of the new reforms given by them both afford a proof of the emperor's sincerity of purpose. Still, Baranī does not fail to remark on the impracticability of these measures of reform, which in his opinion were not better than those which had been previously adopted in the Doāb.[3]

These measures were *five*. The *first* was the remission of almost all the taxes except the *zakāt* and *'ushr*. The *second* was his increased supervision of the administration of justice by holding a special court twice a week. The *third* measure was the setting up of a new agricultural department called the Diwān-i Amīr-i Kohī with a staff of about a hundred officials (shiqdars). The object of this department was to promote agriculture, and to increase the revenue. Accordingly, certain agricultural reforms[4] were introduced, and a large area of land in the Doāb was divided into plots, each sixty miles square. On each of these workmen were appointed to till the soil and to see that the produce was not less than necessary. Contractors were called for, and large sums of money were advanced to them on condition that they promoted cultivation. It was hoped that this promotion of cultivation would increase the

1 Barani—T.F.S. (Bib. Ind.), p. 498.

2 Ibn Baṭṭūṭa: G. O. S., p. 84.

3 Barani—T.F.S. (Bib. Ind.), 506.

4 Barani's statement (B.I. 498) that 'the crops cultivated should be changed, so that wheat should be sown instead of barley, sugar-cane instead of wheat, and dates instead of sugar-cane and grapes' is misleading. While on the one hand it affords no proof for the rotation of crops, a conclusion drawn by Sir Wolseley Haig (*Cambridge History*, III, p. 161), on the other hand, Moreland has pointed out (*The Agrarian System of Moslem India*, p. 91) that the passage may mean an attempt to substitute better crops. But any attempt to grow the vine and date-palms on a large scale in the vicinity of Dehli would have been doomed to failure owing to climatic conditions.

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population of the whole area, which would become a valuable recruiting ground for the imperial army. Barani calls these contractors 'superintendents of the cultivation of waste lands,' and informs us that in the course of two years (1341-43) about seventy lakhs of tankas were advanced to them from the treasury. But it was an uphill task. Not even one-hundredth or one-thousandth part of the promised cultivation was carried out. Fortunately for them, the emperor was confronted, before long, with a series of rebellions, the pursuit of which ended with his death near Tatta (1351). Had he returned alive from Tatta he would have put every contractor to death for his failure to carry out his contract. This is the opinion of Barani.

The *fourth* measure aimed at raising the strength of the army. Barani does not mention any attempts on the part of the emperor at the recruitment of Hindu and Indian soldiers, although his language affords indirect evidence of it. But he complains again, as before, that the emperor welcomed the Mongol chiefs and lavished his wealth on them. The object of the royal favours to the Mongols, was to employ them in the Indian army.

The *fifth* measure aimed at setting up a new regime in Deogir and Maharashtra (*Marhat*) based on a new administrative scheme. Maharashtra was divided into four divisions (shiqs), each under the charge of an officer. The four officers appointed were (1) Malik Sardawatdar, (2) Malik Mukhlisu'l-Mulk, (3) Yusuf Bughra, and (4) 'Aziz. All were to be placed under the control of 'Imadu'l-Mulk, the new wazir of Deogir, the latter being assisted by Dhara, a Hindu, who was made the naib wazir. The old wazir of Deogir, Qutlugh Khan, had incurred the emperor's suspicion and was recalled. To conduct him honourably back to Dehli, since he had been the emperor's tutor whom he still respected, Badr Chach, the court poet, was sent to Daulatabad. The poet[1] celebrates in a chronogram the 18th of December, 1345,[2] as the date of his departure from Dehli for Daulatabad.

1 *Qasaid-i-Badr Chach* (Lucknow), p. 64.

2 18th of *Sha'ban* 746.

As the new wazīr of Deogīr with his staff did not arrive in time to take over his office after Qutlugh Khān's departure, the emperor appointed Maulānā Niẓāmu'ddīn, Qutlugh Khān's brother, as a provisional wazīr, and ordered him to proceed from Broach to Daulatābād.

In pursuance of his new policy, the emperor dismissed all those old officials, Qutlugh Khān and his staff being among them, whom he suspected of disaffection. He had them replaced by new employees of humble extraction. Barani[1] condemns them all as upstarts, and stigmatizes one as *khammār*[2] (drunkard); the other as *muṭrib*, singer; the third as a barber; the fourth as a cook; the fifth as a gardener; the sixth as a weaver; and the rest as rogues.

It is difficult to believe that an emperor gifted with learning and experience would appoint rogues to responsible offices in the empire. The man whom Baranī calls vintner or distiller (*khammār*) was 'Azīzu'ddīn by name. He was like most of the new employees, a convert. His forefathers who were Hindus, might have been distillers or were in mockery called vintners; hence the name *khammār* stuck to his family. The emperor appointed him first a governor in the Deccan and later the governor of Mālwa. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa had seen him previously in Amroha working as a tax-collector (*wālīu'l-khīrāj*). The man whom Baranī calls a *muṭrib bachcha* (boy musician) was one whom Budāūnī mentions as Qivāmu'l-Mulk Maqbūl. He was also a convert, whom the emperor successively made the governor of Multān, of Budāūn, and of Gujarāt.

The cashiering of the old class of officials and the substitution of a new body of men taken from the humble ranks was evidently a new measure adopted by the emperor to assure the efficient working of the *asālīb*, his new code of reform. He had reason to distrust old officials like Qutlugh Khān. The latter had been appointed as wazīr of Daulatābād

1 Baranī—T.F.S. (Bib. Ind.) p. 505.

2 The printed text (Bib. Ind. p. 503) has '*ḥimār*,' that is 'Aziz., the ass. But the difference between *ḥimār* (ass) and *khammār* (vintner) is made by a dot. The Bombay text of the *Tārikh-i Firishta* has *khammār*.

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in 1335, when the emperor on account of his personal illness and the most unfortunate circumstances had to give up the Ma'bar expedition and return to Dehlī. Qutlugh Khān was expected to crush the Ma'bar rebellion, but he did not. As a result, the Maḍūra Sultanate was established and disintegration began. Qutlugh Khān was again expected to stem the Hindū revolt in Wārangal and Kampīla, and Dvārasamudra. But he made no attempt to do so. As a result, Telingāna was lost and a new Hindū kingdom of Vijayānagar was formed. The emperor saw all this and yet did not punish Qutlugh Khān. But he lost confidence in him and suspected him of maladministration when he was further informed about the decline in the Deccan revenue. It seems that the emperor's mind had been alienated from Qutlugh Khān for much the same reason as had alienated him from 'Ainu'l-Mulk in Sargadwāri. It was during his stay there and before the outbreak of 'Ainul'-Mulk's rebellion that the Sulṭān had primarily resolved to recall Qutlugh Khān from Daulatābād. The emperor suspected Qutlugh Khān of sheltering and supporting rebels and malcontents. At all events, great differences arose between the emperor and Qutlugh Khān. These differences were never settled and their nature is difficult to establish. They appear to have undermined the success of the new administration, inaugurated by the emperor. Barani[1] tells us that Qutlugh Khān's withdrawal shocked the inhabitants of Deogīr, who became apprehensive and panic-stricken.

At any rate the emperor was confronted with ever-increasing difficulties—by (1) the failure of his new administrative scheme and (2) the inability of his new and inexperienced class of officials to cope with the situation. The result was the outbreak of new troubles and rebellions, which overwhelmed him and ended with his death in 1351. Barani[2] attributes this tragic failure of the administrative scheme to (1) the impracticability of the *asālīb* and (2) the punishments which the emperor ruthlessly and indiscriminately

1 Barani,—T.F.S. (Bib. Ind.), pp. 501-502.

2 *Idem*, p. 499.

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inflicted upon the defaulters. He accuses the emperor of having, thus, deliberately brought about the destruction of his empire by alienating the ryots and the army. Even Moreland who regards Baranī as a true observer, thinks that the underlying idea of Muḥammad bin Tughluq's reforms was, in essence, sound ; it was the execution which broke down. Why the reforms failed is a mystery Moreland does not care to probe[1]. It appears that the malady was of old standing ; and the execution of the new scheme of reforms, as that of the old, failed on account of the want of co-operation and disaffection among the old officials, of whom many still remained in power. They were under the influence of the hostile section of the 'ulamā whom the emperor had failed to pacify in spite of his submission to the caliph-Imam. Presumably the emperor's political device to thwart their hostility through the Caliph's investiture and support and through recognizing in him the Imām of the times had failed to answer the purpose. There is evidence to believe that secret intrigues were being carried on to depose Muḥammad bin Tughluq, and instal his cousin Fīroz. Baranī slurs over the matter. But his language[2] is clear enough to establish two points: (i) that the punishments, which the emperor inflicted on the defaulters in Dehlī, sent a wave of repulsion and revolt throughout the empire, and (ii) that there was a party of influential men who sympathized with the victims. These were perhaps some of the 'ulamā and mashāikh or saints—disciples of Shaikh Niẓāmu'ddīn Aulīya like Shaikh Naṣīru'ddīn Chirāgh-i Dehlī, and Malik Firoz himself. At all events, with the accession of Malik Fīroz as Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh after the death of Muḥammad bin Tughluq, the above-mentioned 'ulamā and saints obtained the upper hand; and then, but not till then, these troubles ceased.

Muḥammad bin Tughluq committed a political blunder in removing the old and experienced officials and in replacing them by young and inexperienced hands. This is evident

1 Moreland: *The Agrarian System of Moslem India*, pp. 45-50.

2. Barani: T.F.S. pp. 511 ff.

from the case of 'Azīz who was certainly not fit to be the governor of Dhār. At the time of investing him with this office the emperor warned him to beware of the amīrān-i ṣadah[1]. The emperor regarded them as the promoters of mischief. 'Azīz arrived at Dhār, and before long beheaded about eighty of them. This was a horrid massacre, most treacherously perpetrated. It provoked the amirán-i ṣadah in other parts of the country, especially in Gujarāt and the Deccan, into a rebellion, the arms of the rebels being strengthened by the rebel Shāhū Afghān of Multān.

This was the *nineteenth* rebellion. Baranī[1] and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa[2] both agree that Shāhū Afghān killed Bahzād, the governor of Multān, and advanced his own claims to kingship. Both regard this rebellion as the cause of the increasingly hostile activities of the Afghans of Gujarāt and Deccan. The difference in the accounts of Baranī and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa is entirely a matter of detail. According to Baranī, the emperor marched from Dehlī to suppress the rebellion; but, on the way, he received the news of the death of his mother. Immediately he went into mourning, but resumed his journey before long. Near Dīpālpur he learnt of Shāhū Afghān's flight to '*Afghānistan*,' and thence returned to Dehlī. Baranī uses '*Afghānistān*' in its strictly literal sense, 'the home of the Afghans.' Ibn Baṭṭūṭa expressly mentions Cambay, Gujarāt and Nahrwāla as the home of the Afghans.[3] There Shāhū Afghān had fled; and on his successfully joining his fellow Afghans living in that part the emperor issued orders for the arrest of all the Afghān residents in his country.

Baranī's account urges us to place Shāhū Afghān's rebellion about 1337/738, but Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, who was a better judge of the situation, regards it as marking the outbreak of the insurrections of the amirān-i ṣadah of Gujarāt and Deccan; hence its date 1341/742.

The *twentieth* rebellion was that of Qāẓī Jalāl, men-

1 Baranī: T.F.S. (Bib. Ind.), p. 482.
2, 3 Ibn Baṭṭūṭa: (G.O.S.) p. 113.

tioned under this heading only by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, who had in fact left India before its outbreak. He probably collected the material for it on his return from China or in Cambay on the western coast. His reports deal with local events as his reporters were naturally most interested in the events which happened in the neighbourhood.

It should be remembered that the recall of Qutlugh Khān from the government of Daulatābād and Mahārāshṭra (*Marhat*) had created great discontent in those parts, especially among the amīrān-i ṣadah, the centurions or lieutenants of the army, as Mzik[1] calls them. Under his weak successor 'Ālimu'l-Mulk, the discontent became so widespread that the emperor was forced to issue orders for their arrest and removal.

Instructions[2] to this effect were personally given by the emperor to 'Azīz, the newly-appointed governor of Mālwa. But while 'Azīz succeeded in his attempt to exterminate the amīrān-i ṣadah as mentioned above, Malik Muqbil, the governor of Gujarāt, failed.[3]

Ibn Baṭṭūṭa[4] tells us that when the emperor wrote to his officials ordering them to seize the Afghans, he wrote to Malik Muqbil, the wazīr's *nāib* in Gujarāt and Nahrwāla, to capture Qāẓī Jalāl and his Afghān adherents. But Muqbil's plans were betrayed to them by Malik'ul-Hukamā, himself an Afghān, though a relation[5] of Muḥammad bin Tughluq and a companion of Malik Muqbil. As a result, some three hundred Afghans, whom the latter had intended treacherously to murder, revolted. They raided Cambay, where they plundered the government treasury as well as the goods of the people, particularly those of Ibnu'l-Kaulamī, a well-known merchant. Malik Muqbil marched against them but was defeated. A similar attempt by Malik 'Azīz and Malik Jahān Bambal at the head of

1 Mzik: *Die Reise des Arabers Ibn Batuta durch Indien und China*, p. 194.
2 Barani: T.F.S. (Bib. Ind.), p. 503.
3 *Idem*, p. 507.
4 B.N., MS. 909, F. 143. Def. et Sang., III, pp. 362-363.
5 *Ibid.*

7,000 horsemen was also unsuccessful. The turbulent and disaffected people[1] having now rallied around Qāẓī Jalāl, he broke out into open rebellion and defeated the emperor's armies, which were sent against him. The infection now spread to the Afghans of Daulatābād, who also rebelled.

From the above reports of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa it follows that Qāẓī Jalāl's rebellion is the same as that of the amīrān-i ṣadah, described by Baranī.[2] Baranī fully supports Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's version of Malik Muqbil's abortive attempt at the capture of the Afghans, whom he identifies with the amīrān-i ṣadah. When the news of this general conflagration reached the emperor in January,[3] 1345, he was thoroughly incensed, and set out in person against the rebels.

Both the *Sīrat-i Fīroz Shāhī*[4] and the *Burhān-i Ma'āṣir*[5] fully confirm Baranī. Referring to the same[6] year as does Baranī, 'Alī ibn 'Azīz affirms that serious disorders had broken out in the empire of Muḥammad bin Tughluq. The emperor was informed that the amīrān-ī ṣadah, who had been appointed to keep in subjection the coast of Gujarāt, had revolted. Upon this, he proceeded in person to crush this rebellion.

Baranī[7] disapproves of this move on the part of the emperor. At such a disturbed time, when disorder had set in, and rebellions were rife, the emperor's leaving his capital or his moving in person against a large body of rebels was in Baranī's opinion unwise. He was warned against the danger by Qutlugh Khān, who sent him a message through Baranī. Qutlugh Khān offered his personal services, and wished to proceed against the

1 *The Rehla* (G.O.S.) pp. 279-280.
2 Barani (Bib. Ind.), pp. 503-7.
3 *Idem., Ramazān* 745.
4 Bānkipore, MS. F. 8-13.
5 King: '*History of the Bahmani Dynasty*,' *Indian Antiquary*, XXVIII, p. 141 ff.
6 The *Burhān-i Ma'āṣir* gives no year. The probability is that it refers to 1343/744 or 1344/745.
7 Barani (Bib. Ind.), pp. 507-8.

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amīrān-i ṣadah; but the emperor distrusted Qutlugh Khān, who had disappointed him previously in the Deccan.

The emperor[1] appointed in Dehlī a council of regency consisting of Fīroz Shāh then Malik Fīroz, Malik Kabīr and Aḥmad-i Aiyāz, and then set out on his journey. Reaching Sulṭānpur, a town lying at fifteen kuroh[2] from Dehlī, he remained there until the 5th of February,[3] 1345. During his stay there, two notable incidents occurred:— (1) 'Azīz Khammār's rash fight with the amīrān-i ṣadah of Gujarāt; and (2) the emperor's conference with Baranī on the causes and remedies of rebellions.[4]

The halt at Sulṭānpur was made with a view to avoid the fatigue of travelling in the fasting month of the *Ramaẓān*. This being over, the emperor resumed his journey to Gujarāt marching *via* Paṭan and Mount Ābū, a distance of nearly 540 miles,[5] which he traversed in about two months. He arrived there in April, 1345 (*Dhilḥijja* 745).

From Mount Ābū, the emperor sent a force in pursuit of the amīrān-i ṣadah of Dabhoī and Baroda. A severe and prolonged battle ensued resulting in huge casualties. The rebels at last broke up and fled towards Daulatābād. From Mount Ābū the emperor marched to Broach, whence he detailed Malik Maqbūl, the nāib wazīr, to pursue the fugitives, placing him in command of a body of the Dehlī and Broach troops for this purpose. The nāib wazīr overtook them near the Narbada, and dispersed them. He then encamped in the valley of the Narbada, where he treacherously killed a large number of the amīrān-i ṣadah of Broach, previously specified by the emperor.

This was the third massacre of the amīrān-i ṣadah, the first being the Dhār massacre and the second the Gujarāt 'massacre,' which had proved a fiasco. Those who escaped

1 *Ibid.*, p. 509.
2 'Kuroh' is the word used by Barani (p. 509) for what is called 'kos,' league.
3 *Shawwāl*, I. 745.
4 Barani (Bib. Ind.), pp. 509-10.
5 Sir Wolseley Haig, *J.R.A.S.*, July, 1922.

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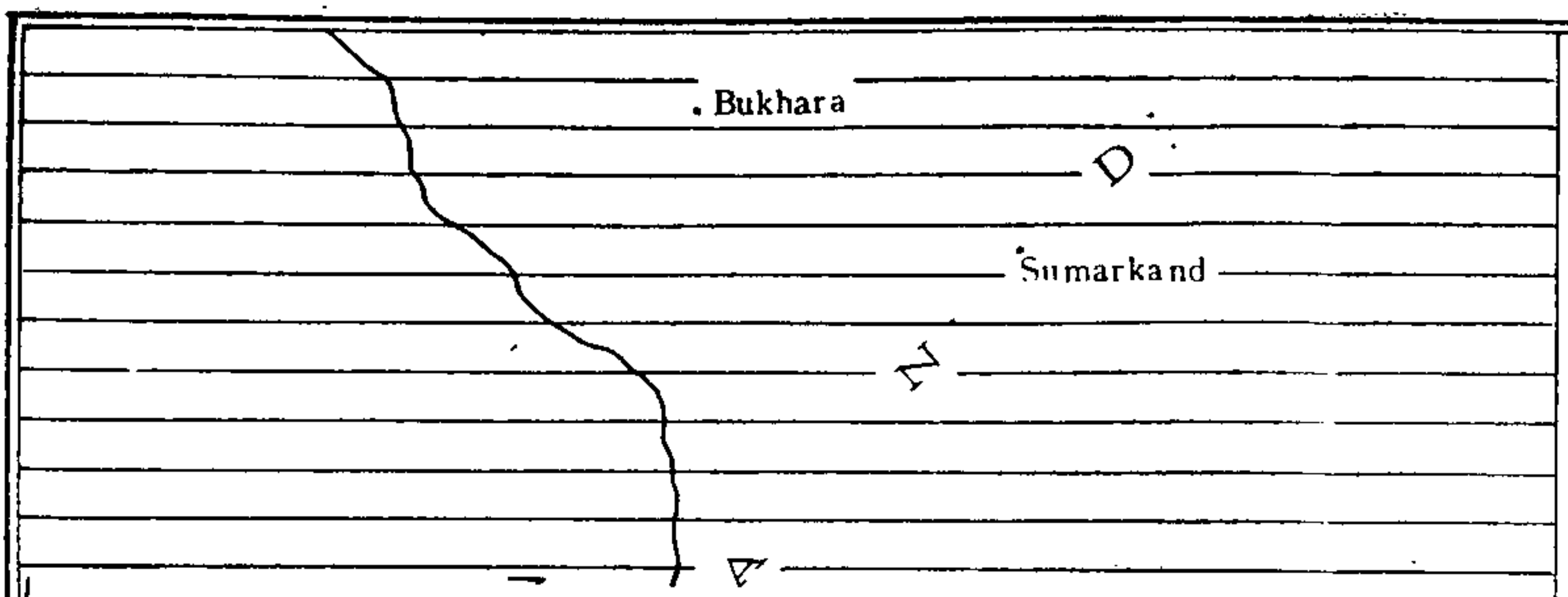

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the third, namely the Narbada massacre, became divided into two parties. One party fled to Deogīr, and the other repaired to Gujarāt, joining hands with the Hindū muqaddams.

During his stay at Broach the emperor set about collecting the land tax which had been in arrears for some years. Oppressive collectors were appointed, and dues were realized from Broach as well as from Gujarāt and Cambay. Moved by his vindictive temper, in the words of Baranī,[1] the emperor ordered a general arrest and execution of all those who had defied the authorities and aided the rebels. He then deputed to Deogīr two most infamous and scandalous persons—namely, Zain Bandah entitled Majdu'l-Mulk, and a son of Rukn Thānesarī—as inquisitors to pursue[2] and bring to book the amīrān-i ṣadah who had on the emperor's arrival in Gujarāt fled to Deogīr. This created a panic in Daulatābād, as a result of which the emperor deputed two more amirs.

They were commissioned to bring to Broach the leading amīrān-i ṣadaḥ of Deogīr together with an army of 1,500 horse which 'Ālimu'l-Mulk Niẓām'uddīn, the wazīr of Deogīr, was to raise. The amīrān-i ṣadah had not gone much farther from Daulatābād when, apprehending the bitter fate awaiting them, they revolted.

They killed the two amirs who were taking them to Broach and returned to Daulatābād, where they laid hands upon 'Ālimu'l-Mulk Niẓām'uddīn and threw him into prison. Almost all other officials were put to death, the son of Rukn Thānesarī being hacked to pieces. The rebels then captured the government treasury in the fort of Dharāgīr; and selecting Makh Afghān, one of the body of the amīrān-i ṣadah of Daulatābād, as their leader proclaimed him king.[3]

1 Barani: T.F.S. (Bib. Ind.), p. 514.

2 This meaning of Barani's phrase (p. 514) is corroborated by the *Sirat-i Firoz Shāhī* (Bānkipore MS.).

3 Barani: T.F.S. (Bib. Ind.), pp. 513-514.

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Barani's[1] statement is fully confirmed by the *Sīrat-i Fīroz Shāhī*[2] and the *Burhān-i Ma'āṣir*.[3]

Thus broke out the *twenty-first* rebellion of the amīrān-i ṣadah of Daulatābād which resulted in the foundation of the Bahmanī kingdom. The prime movers of this rebellion were the amīrān-i ṣadah of the Deogīr army, who had refused to proceed to Broach and had returned to Deogīr.[4] Joined by the amīrān-i ṣadah of Dabhoī and Baroda, under the leadership of Ismā'īl Makh Afghān, they seized Mahārāshṭra which they portioned out among themselves. Thus a conspiracy of great magnitude and significance was organized with Deogīr[5] as its centre.

When the emperor heard of this he raised a large army and marched from Broach[6] to Deogīr, where he fought a battle with the rebels, who were defeated and put to flight. Among the fugitives was Ḥasan Kānkū,[7] the would-be founder of the Bahmanī kingdom. Ismā'īl Makh Afghān with his adherents shut himself up in the fortress of Dharāgīr, which the emperor besieged. He then sent 'Imādu'l-Mulk Sartez with an escort to Gulbarga, which was to be raised into a protective bulwark against the rebels,[8] and from which centre he was to institute a search for the fugitives.

Meanwhile, the emperor concerted[9] measures for the consolidation of Daulatābād and Mahārashṭra, making a redistribution of the Iqtas to the amirs. Barani affirms that the emperor also sent all the Musalmans, who yet

1 *Ibid.*

2 Bānkipore MS.

3 King: *History of the Bahmani Dynasty*, *Indian Antiquary*, XXVIII, pp. 141-8 ff.

4 Deogir stands for Daulatābād, the new name of Deogir. But Barani persists in using the old name, thus showing little regard for the emperor's choice.

5 Barani: T.F.S. (Bib. Ind.), p. 514.

6 *Idem.*

7 *Idem*, p. 515.

8 *Ibid.*

9 Barani: T.F.S. (Bib. Ind.), p. 515.

remained in Daulatābād, to Dehlī, dispatching at the same time news of his success to the council of regency. Shortly after, news came of the outbreak of a new rebellion in Gujarāt headed by Ṭāghī; and the emperor lost no time in leaving for Broach.

Barani's[1] remark regarding the emperor's measures to send back the Muslims of Daulatābād to Dehlī is worth reflecting over. It should be compared with his previous statements[2] to the same effect. It is a commentary on the much-misunderstood forced emigration from Dehlī to Daulatābād, previously discussed. It follows that emigration, even when primarily carried out in connection with making Deogīr a second capital, had left the Hindus alone. Still, Barani's[3] expression is far from exact and cannot be literally accepted. The emperor was busy consolidating Daulatābād and Mahārāshṭra, which, according to Barani,[4] he apportioned in the form of Iqtas to the amirs. And before long he marched to Gujarāt leaving Khudāwandzāda Qiwāmu'ddīn, Malik Jauhar, and Shaikh Burhān with some divisions of the principal army in Daulatābād. Thus the exaggerations in Barani's statement stand revealed. Further, the inconsistencies and improbabilities with which it abounds leap to the eye, when one reads a subsequent remark that the emperor, on setting out to Gujarāt, took all the Musalmāns,[5] young and old, who had still remained in Daulatābād. The word *lashkar* (army) in Barani's phrase led Mzik[6] to think that the emperor took as many soldiers with him as possible to suppress the new rebellion.

At any rate, the emperor could not afford to deplete Daulatābād of the Muslim element at this stage, when a considerable part of the Deccan had been already recovered

1 Barani (Bib. Ind.), p. 513.
2 *Ibid.*
3 *Ibid.*, p. 481.
4 Barani (Bib. Ind.), p. 515.
5 Barani (Bib. Ind.), p. 516.
6 Mzik: *Die Reise des Arabers Ibn Batuta durch Indien und China*, p. 194.

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by the Hindus. Baranī[1] acknowledges that the emperor on his march to Gujarāt left behind in Daulatābād an army under Muslim generals. How far this army was manned by Muslims and how far by Hindus is a problem which Baranī does not help us to solve.

The *twenty-second* and last rebellion was that of Ṭāghī. It finds no mention in the *Reḥla*, and Baranī gives scanty information regarding Ṭāghī. The *Sīrat-i Fīroz Shāhī* tells us that Ṭaghī, originally a Turkish slave, was brought from Turkistan to the court of Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Tughluq by some Turkī merchants. Among other presents they made to the emperor were some slaves, Ṭāghī being one of them. He was bestowed by the emperor on Safdar Malik Qīrān-i-Sulṭānī. By virtue of his wits, intelligence and cleverness, Ṭāghī created a favourable impression at the court. After the death of Safdar Malik Muḥammad bin Tughluq appointed him superintendent of the durbār and later made him an officer in the wazīr's army. In the course of the performance of his official duties, Ṭāghī once committed an offence and was ordered to be exiled to the Yemen. He was first taken in chains to Cambay, where he was still a prisoner when Qāẓī Jalāl's rebellion broke out in Gujarāt. This rebellion was joined by the Gujarāt army, the ringleaders being Mubārak Jauhar, Bambal, Jhallū and Qāẓī Jalāl. This necessitated the emperor's march from Dehlī to Gujarāt. Meanwhile, Ṭāghī encouraged and helped the inhabitants of Cambay in dispersing the rebels. This secured him his release and restoration to his original post of the *Shaḥnah-i bārgāh* (superintendent of the court).

When on the outbreak of the Daulatābād rebellion the emperor proceeded to the Deccan, he appointed Tatār Malik Bahādur Sulṭānī in Asāwal as an adjutant to Shaikh Mu'izzu'ddīn, governor of Gujarāt. Tatār Malik became hostile to Ṭāghī, who was still in Gujarāt and possessed an Arab horse and a Gujarātī slave girl. Tatār Malik desired possession of both, and adopted measures which goaded Ṭāghī into rebellion.

1 Barani—T.F.S. (Bib. Ind.), p. 516.

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Baranī tells us that Ṭāghī revolted in conjunction with the muqaddams, and the amīrān-i ṣadah of Gujarāt. He slew Shaikh Mu'izzu'ddīn, the governor of Nahrwāla, as well as his deputy, Malik Muẓaffar, and plundered Cambay; and with a large following of both Hindus and Muslims he besieged the fort of Broach.

On hearing of this the emperor marched from Daulatābād; and at Ghātī-Sagon, a place about twelve miles from Daulatābād, he met Baranī, who had come from Dehlī with a congratulatory message from the council of regency. Meanwhile, Ṭāghī fled from Broach. Near Cambay he defeated and slew Malik Yusuf Bughra, who was pursuing him under the emperor's orders. The emperor immediately marched to Cambay, but Ṭāghī forestalled him and left Cambay for Asāwal. The emperor learnt of this, while still on his way to Cambay, and instantly turned towards Asāwal. But Ṭāghī fled from Asāwal to Nahrwāla (Paṭan). Baranī amazingly remarks how Ṭāghī, with a handful of rebels, defied the emperor by means of his skilful tactics and guerilla warfare. From Broach to Cambay, from Cambay to Asāwal, and from Asāwal to Paṭan he fled wherever he liked; and the emperor followed him in vain from place to place. In Asāwal he stopped about a month partly on account of the fatigue and partly on account of the incessant rains. There he heard that Ṭāghī had left Paṭan and was marching towards the town of Kadi, where the emperor at last overtook him. Ṭāghī gave battle at Takalpur, twelve leagues (*kurob*) from Paṭan, but was defeated and fled towards Paṭan. The emperor at once commissioned Khiẓr, whose father, Yusuf Bughra, had been previously killed by Ṭaghī, to pursue the fugitives. But Khiẓr had hardly reached Paṭan, when Ṭāghī, having collected his party, marched out with all his adherents and family from Paṭan to *Kant*[1] *Barābī*, whence he opened correspondence with the Rāi of Girnār. After a few days

1 Hodiwala (*Indo-Muslim Studies*, Bombay 1939, Vol. I, p. 302) has given a useful note pointing out the scribe's mistake. This must be read as Kant (Kanthkot) in Vāgaḍ, east of Kachh to which place Tāghi went, pursuing an obscure route and making a way for himself.

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he went to Girnār, but being disappointed he proceed to Sind, seeking shelter there with the Sumeras of Tatta a Damrīla. It is evident from the *Sīrat-i Fīroz Shāhī*, whi fully confirms Baranī, that the Sumeras were also in revolt

At this stage, Baranī reports how once more fortu smiled on Muḥammad bin Tughluq. He encamped i Nahrwāla on the platform of the tank called Sahsilang an busied himself with measures for the consolidation o Gujarāt. The Hindū muqaddams, rajas, and chiefs (*Rāigā wa Mahantagān*) came to pay their homage and mad presents, and were awarded gifts and robes in return Thus, in a short time, in the words of Baranī, peace wa re-established in Gujarāt and order restored.

It should be noted that the Gujarāt expedition, which had commenced in January, 1345, with the emperor's march from Dehlī, merged, in October, 1350, into the Tatta expedition, for in that year the emperor moved towards Tatta, in Sind, where he died (March, 1351). The five years of the Gujarāt expedition fall into two parts. The first is a period of two years (1345-1347) which witnessed the emperor's struggle with the amīrān-i-ṣadah of Gujarāt and Daulatābad, and the outbreak of Ṯāghī's rebellion in Gujarāt. In the beginning of this period had occurred an event which formed a glowing background in the otherwise gloomy picture of the period. This event, which finds no mention in Baranī, but to which an inscription of the year, 1345, as well as the testimony of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa directs us, was the Piram and Gogha expedition—Piram being an island in Cambay and Gogha a seaport in Kāthiāwār. In his historical sketch of the 'town of Gogha,' published in the *Indian Antiquary*, Watson[1] quotes thirty-eight Sanskrit bardic verses celebrating the success of this expedition, which Muḥammad bin Tughluq is believed to have sent. On his visit to Piram, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa[2] heard local reports about an invasion, which had laid the island waste. He mentions the efforts made later by Maliku't-Tujjār, an amīr of Muḥammad bin

1 *Indian Antiquary*, III, 1874, pp. 279 to 284.
2 The *Reḥla*—G. O. S., p. 176.

Tughluq, to colonize it with Muslims. Possibly the Muslim invasion reported by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa was the Gogha expedition, which, according to the above-mentioned local legend, the emperor had sent. Details of the expedition are not known, and the fact itself remains doubtful, as there is no regular historical account of it. But indirect evidence is not wanting. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa mentions Gogha as being ruled by a Hindū chief named Dankol, who acknowledged but nominally the suzerainty of Muḥammad bin Tughluq. An inscription celebrating his triumphs about the year 1345/744 has been recovered from Gandhār. Gandhār, like Gogha, lay in Kāthiāwār, as mentioned in the *Āīn-i-Akbarī*. It seems that it was after the said Gogha expedition that the inscription[1] was fixed at the Gandhār (Qandhār) Fort.

The second period is of three years (1347-1350) in which the emperor was mainly occupied with efforts to suppress Ṭāghī, but at intervals he set his hands also to other things; for instance, the restoration of peace and order in Gujarāt mentioned above, and the conquest of Northern Konkan, which Baranī has failed to mention. But Edwards, using local accounts, informs us that it was about this time (1347-48) that Natho Rāo Sindha Bhogle, one of the disaffected Sardars of Nagardev, then king of North Konkan (1331-48), saw Muḥammad bin Tughluq, or his governor (*wālī*) of Gujarāt, at Wadnagar. He complained of the great oppression exercised by King Nagardev, and described how Bhagadcharī, the king's favourite, then governor of the province of Shanti (Salsettle), oppressed his subjects by levying extravagant taxes and by outraging women. The Sardār had a personal grievance against his king; anxious to wreak vengeance on him, he urged the Sulṭān to conquer North Konkan. The Sulṭān, who was engaged in the pursuit of Ṭāghī, entrusted his general, Nikā Malik, with this task. Thus North Konkan, including the islands of Bombay (Salsette, Bassein, Prattspur, Thāna and Mahim), were conquered and annexed to the empire.[2] Further, the

1 *E. I. M.*, 1919-20, p. 20.

2 Edwardes, S. M.: *Gazetteer of Bombay City and Island*, pp. 18-20.

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emperor showed great kindness to the Rānā of Mandal-Patri,[1] to whom some of the adherents of Ṭāghī had fled, but the Rānā gave them no shelter. On the contrary, he killed them and sent their heads to the emperor. The Rānā became the recipient of royal favours, and paid a visit to the emperor. It was about this time (August 1347) while the emperor was halting at Paṭan, that he heard of the death of 'Imādu'l-Mulk brought about by Ḥasan Kānkū and his adherents; of the latter's rise to kingship in Daulatābād, and of the flight of his own army and officers—Khudāwandzāda Qiwāmu'ddīn and Malik Jauhar—from Daulatābād. Now, the emperor became desperate.

He considered his difficult position and realized that he was facing a terrible crisis, which, unless met by a wise change in his policy, would certainly result in destruction. The new policy that he now evolved to meet this emergency was what Baranī so much desired, namely, abstention from punishments. Baranī's remark that for a few months of his stay at Nahrwāla the Sulṭān abstained from punishments, gives a wrong impression. What he really means is that, as a result of the news of Ḥasan Kānkū's rise to power in Daulatābād, the emperor revised his policy which ceased to be so sanguinary and uncompromising as it had previously been. No further murders of the Sunnis and Sayyids, nor even of the amīrān-i ṣadah, are reported, although the emperor's temper became, in the words of Baranī, the more vindictive. An approximately true estimate of the emperor's mind and temper may, however, be formed by studying the conference, which he now held with Baranī. In a moment of distraction he sent for Baranī[2] and plaintively remarked that the body politic of the empire was overwhelmed with diseases; and that the attempt to cure one disease was, instead of healing, sure to produce another. That is, an attempt on his part to remove the disturbance in one quarter was invariably followed by the outbreak of disorder in another quarter. He asked Baranī as a historian

1 Mandal-Patri are two towns immediately to the east of the Little Rann (*J. R. A. S.*, July, 1922).

2 Barani: T.F.S. (Bib. Ind.), p. 521.

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how such a crisis in political history had been treated in the past. Barani advised abdication.

Abdication, which was uncongenial to Muḥammad bin Tughluq, might have been the best remedy in the opinion of Barani. But whether in suggesting it Barani was not acting as the spokesman of the hostile section of the 'ulamā and saints, anxious to depose Muḥammad bin Tughluq and instal Fīroz in his place, is a point worth considering. It appears that the emperor could not measure correctly the strength of his enemies. A demonstration of this is afforded by the fact that he sent orders to the wazīr, Khwāja Jahān Aḥmad Aiyāz, Malik Bahrām Ghaznīn, Amīr Qabtaghū, and to Amīr Mahān at Dehlī, commanding them to come over with an army to Paṭan. His object was to dispatch them to the Deccan againt Ḥasan Kānkū. But after they had arrived in Paṭan the emperor did not consider it expedient to send them to Daulatābād. Perhaps, he did well as the strength of Ḥasan Kānkū had risen enormously, and the chances of the wazīr's successfully coping with him had diminished.

However, the emperor resolved first to settle affairs in Gujarāt, to crush Ṭāghī and even to capture Girnār before marching against Ḥasan Kānkū. In pursuance of this resolve he spent three rainy seasons successively in Gujarāt. In the *first* (June to October, 1348) he was busy improving the administration of Gujarāt and raising armies. During the *second* (June to October, 1349) he remained in the neighbourhood of the fortress of Girnār (Junāgarh). Impressed by the royal troops, the Hindū ruler of Girnār proposed to capture Ṭāghī alive and surrender him. But Ṭāghī lost no time in making his escape to Tatta, seeking shelter with the Jām of Tatta. In the closing months of the year 1349, the rainy season being over, the emperor captured Girnār and consolidated his rule over the adjacent coastal strips and island. The Ranas and Hindū chiefs attended the court to pay their homage, and were awarded gifts and robes of honour. Khengār (the Rāo of Kachh) and the Rānā of Girnār were also brought to the court. Order being thus fully established in Gujarāt, the emperor set out towards Sind in pursuit of Ṭāghī.

In the course of this journey, which he was forced to break at Gondal[1] on account of illness, news came from Dehlī of the death of Malik Kabīr Qabūl, his friend and minister. Then began the rainy season, the *third* and the last, which he spent in Gondal. In spite of bad health he was no less intent upon the problems confronting him. The death of Malik Kabīr having intensified the situation in Dehlī, he sent the wazīr, Aḥmad Aiyāz as well as Malik Maqbūl, the nāib wazīr, to Dehlī. He then made preparations on a large scale for a final reckoning with Ṭāghī. In the first place, he sent for troops from different parts of India as well as from outside India, a detachment of the Mongols under Altūn Bahādur having in response come from Farghāna. Baranī fixes their arrival at a time when the emperor, having crossed the Indus, had bent his steps towards Tatta. In the second place, the emperor ordered a a large number of boats to ferry the army across the Indus. The boats came from such distant places as Dīpālpur, Multān, Uch and Sivīstān, while the emperor was still at Gondal. In the third place, he ordered some of the u'lamā[2]' and saints, as well as the leading nobles, to come over from Dehlī to Gondal, together with the families[3] of the maliks and amirs in the royal army. When all the preparations were complete, the emperor moved with a huge army from Gondal and crossed the Indus. He moved on towards Tatta in a vigorous pursuit of Ṭāghī and in oder to crush the Sumeras who had given him shelter. Before long his condition became worse. The fever which he had hardly shaken off since his departure from Gondal tightened its grip. On breaking the fast of the tenth of *Muḥarram*, he took fish which did

1 Gondal is in Kāthiawar situated in 21° 58′ and 70° 48′ E.

2 *i.e.* those of the 'ulamā and saints who had been suspect in the emperor's eyes. They were required to attend the mobile court of the emperor in the interest of peace and success of the military operations in hand. Past experience had shown that these 'ulamā and saints had tempered the loyalty of the troops,

3 While conducting the siege of the Wārangal fortress as a Prince, Muḥammad bin Tughluq then known as Ulugh Khān had known from personal experience that prolonged separation from their families had made the army officers grim and discontented.

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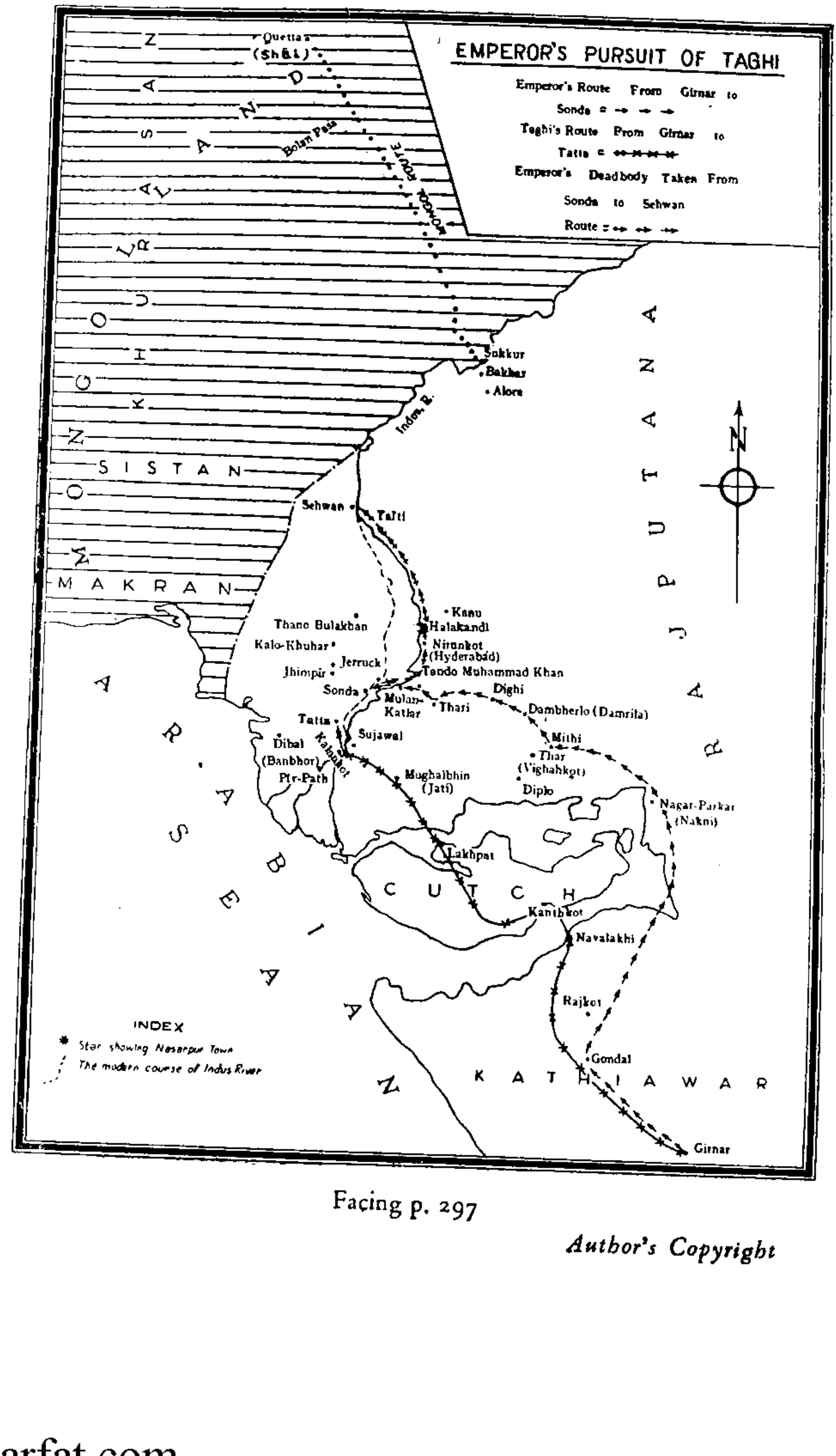

Facing p. 297

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not agree with him. In spite of fever, he sailed on for two successive days. At last, within fourteen *kuroh* of Tatta, he was compelled to land on a site in the modern village of Sonda[1] where after little over a week he died on the 20th of March,[2] 1351.

The following couplets[3] are said to have been composed by him while writhing in the agony of death:

'We strutted about this world a good deal; we indulged in luxuries.

'We rode many high-statured horses. We bought many highly-prized Turkish slaves.

'We had many joys; till, at last, we sank and became humpbacked like the new moon.'

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1 *Vide* map, facing page 297.

2 21, *Muḥarram*, 752.

3 *Tārikh-i Firishta* (Bombay, vol. I), p. 258.

CHAPTER X

WAR ON *ẒĀLIM*

The emperor who had claimed the title of *'Ādil*[1] in the beginning of his reign and had fared well became with the lapse of years a *ẓālim* or tyrant in the eyes of a large section of the 'ulamā and mashāikh and their satellites in the army,[2] as is shown by the following speech of 'Ainu'l-Mulk. Born of the 'ulamā stock (*mullāzādah*) and an influential officer of the royal army, 'Ainu'l-Mulk addessed a private assembly of his comrades in arms—the satellites—saying :

'Fellow chieftains and comrades ! Since this accursed ruler has set his heart upon tyranny, he has gradually destroyed some of the unique veterans of the Indian armies. One single man has swept away a whole human race, high as well as low. Even if he has become the emperor of India, revolt against a tyrant king (*Shāh-i ẓālim*) is permissible. Should all the troopers join hands with the sole object of putting up a united front on the day of battle they would surely free the country from his tyranny for he has killed many innocent soldiers.'[3]

1 *i.e.* a man of equity and justice.

2 Although the 'ulamā did not serve in the army they were closely connected with it. Ḥāji Dabīr (A.H.G., III, pp. 906-907) gives several names of the 'ulamā who were connected with the army of Amīr Tīmur. In the course of his battle with Sulṭān Nāṣiru'ddīn Maḥmūd of Dehlī (1398) Amīr Tīmur addressed them saying, 'O maulanas! Where is your stand today ?' 'Our stand is along with women' was the reply given by Maulānā Khwāja Afẓalu'ddīn son of Maulānā Jalālu'l-Kāshī. Unlike the 'ulāmā the association of the mashāikh with the army was distinct and clear. One of the mashāikh Sayyid Kamālu'ddīn Amīr Aḥmad by name joined the army at Lahore and died there in the camp according to the *Siyaru'l-Auliya*, p. 215.

3 F. S. I. verses 8950-8956.

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This speech portends a revolt and a jihad against that emperor whom Baranī depicts as *ẓālim*[1] being the 'votary of a perverse philosophy, contrary to the principles of Sunnī faith.'[2] This speech is also a commentary on the qazis' verdict[3] reported by 'Iṣāmī to the effect that Muhammad Shāh had revolted against Islām; and having joined hands with the Hindus (*zumra-i kufr*) had rendered himself fit to be executed publicly. Although reported and reproduced by 'Iṣāmī only, the contents of this speech are also traceable in Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's narrative of the rebellion and war of the clique of 'Ainu'l-Mulk.[4] Far from being an isolated incident as it might appear to a casual reader, this speech supplies a much-needed and missing link in the story of the ceaseless rebellions and revolts[5] and is basically connected with the rising of 'Alī Shāh Nathū, as described by 'Iṣāmī.

'Alī Shāh Nathū Ẓafar Khānī who was a *muqṭi'* of Kohīr[6] and a military officer directly subordinate to Qutlugh Khān, wazīr of the Deccan, had found a plea for revolt in the latter's pro-Hindū policy, Qutlugh Khān having favoured Bhīran Rāi, the Hindū governor of Gulbarga with the *iqṭā'* of Kohīr. Unable to tolerate the idea of subordination to a Hindū—for, by the promotion of Bhīran Rāi, 'Alī Shāh's position was lowered—he vowed to wreak vengeance on the emperor of Dehlī whom he considered the source of all mischief. He planned to oust him; and, advancing his own claim on the throne of Dehlī, looked forward to celebrating his own coronation as

1 *Ẓālim* is derived from *ẓulm* which means وضع شيء في غير محله

(placing a thing at an indecent spot and improperly). So, anyone guilty of abusing a thing or person is a *ẓālim*. According to Barani Sulṭān Muḥammad was guilty of abusing things as well as persons.

2 T. F. S. B., p. 565.

3 F. S. I., verses 9748-9752.

4 The *Reḥla* (G. O. S.) pp. 107-108.

5 Ibn Baṭṭūṭa himself heard 'Ainu'l-Mulk's chamberlain Dā'ūd bin Quṭbu'l-Mulk denouncing the emperor. (*Op. cit.*)

6 Kohir is situated in the Medak district of Andhra Pradesh.

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emperor. He performed a small rehearsal of it in 1340/739 at Dhārūr[1] proclaiming himself emperor under the title of Sulṭān 'Alāu'ddīn. But Destiny ruled otherwise, for he had a tragic end the story of which has been related above.[2]

His mantle fell on Ḥasan Ẓafar Khān, the namesake of Ẓafar Khān of the 'Alāī age. Ḥasan Ẓafar Khān who later became known as Ḥasan Gangū[3] was born in 1292/691. At an early age he had attracted the attention of Muḥammad bin Tughluq and was appointed by him an amīr-i ṣadah in the army of Dehlī.[4] In this capacity he served in the army under the personal charge of Qiwāmu'ddīn Qutlugh Khān, the emperor's tutor. When Qutlugh Khān went to the Deccan to conduct the war against Bahāu'ddīn Gurshāsp, Ẓafar Khān accompanied him, and participated in the fight.[5] Then he stopped in the Deccan, acquiring possession of the territories of Mīraj,[6] Hukeri[7] and Budgaon.[8] Touched to the quick by the tragic end of his

1 Dhārūr is in Mahboobnagar district of Andhra Pradesh.

2 *Vide* p. 256 *supra*.

3 Regarding the name 'Gangū Bahman or Bahmanī' a careful study is made by Prof. Sherwani (*Journal of Indian History*, vol. xx, 1941, pp. 95-99). He has concluded that 'Gangū had no connection with the Brahmans and that he was descended from a Persian ruling family of the Kakuyids of Isfahān and Hamadān whence they had come to India and lived at Multān.' But Firishta's account of the name (T. F., Bombay, vol. I, p. 519) cannot be summarily dismissed since Ulugh Khān (Prince Muḥammad of Firishta) who later became Sulṭān Muḥammad was mysteriously associated with jogis and Brahmans, some of these being philosophers, others astronomers and some ministers. One such instance is noticeable in the Sanskrit inscription of Chunār (E. I. vol. xx, 1929-1930 and J.A.S.B., vol. v, 1836, pp. 342-347).

4 T. F. (Bombay, I) p. 520 and B. M. (Dehli) p. 12.

5 The *Burhān-i Maaṣir* also says that Ẓafar Khān was enrolled in the Deccan army by Tughluq Shāh who appointed him warden of the Deccan (*Muḥāfiẓ-i Mulk-i Dakan*) and he remained there since.

6 'Miraj' was the capital of the erstwhile state of the same name, now in the Satara district of Maharashtra.

7 Hukeri lies in the Belgaon district of Mysore.

8 Budgaon may be identified with Belgaon, near modern Goa.

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brother 'Alī Shāh and encouraged by the example of Ismā'īl Makh Afghān, an amīr-i ṣadah of the Deccan, who became king of Daulatābād, Ẓafar Khān joined hands with the rebels who were then besieging Gulbarga. But he fled before the emperor[1] of Dehlī when the latter himself came down to fight the rebels. The fugitive Ẓafar Khān made his way to Mīraj where he raised an army to fight the *ẓālim* emperor. Before long this army was joined by Ẓafar Khān's comrades—Sikandar Khān, Qīr Khān and Husain Hatiyah alias Ḥusain Gurshāsp—and their contingents whom 'Iṣāmī depicts as the 'army of deliverers.' Ẓafar Khān conducted this army to fight what he called 'the battle of Islām' at the beleagured fortress of Daulatābād.

On his march from Daulatābād to Gujarāt the emperor had left behind an army under some unspecified generals according to Baranī. These were Jauhar and Sartez according to 'Iṣamī.[2] To their care the emperor now entrusted the fortress of Gulbarga also. And he ordered Sartez, better known as 'Imādu'l-Mulk Sartez,[3] the commander-in-chief (*'arẓu'l-mamālīk*) of the imperial army, to fight the miscreants of Daulatābād whom 'Iṣāmī styles 'heroes,' saying:

> 'In that fortress were besieged those *heroes*. They had neither a way open to flight, nor one of escape. Inside the fortress they were like prisoners; and outside execution awaited them. All were extremely perturbed and were looking forward to the arrival of a Rustam to deliver them:'[4]

Presumably these 'heroes' were looking forward to the arrival of Ẓafar Khān who was already marching towards the fortress of Daulatābād at the head of the above-mentioned army of deliverers. Near the river Godavarī he was informed that the imperial army headed by 'Imādu'l-Mulk Sartez was also marching in the same direction. He ordered his comrade Ḥusain Hatīyah to surprise the imperial

1 *Vide* p. 224 *supra*.

2 F. S. I, verse

3 *The Reḥla of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa* (G. O. S.), pp. 8, 9, 64, 90, 91, 126, 257.

4 F. S. I, verses 10, 206.....10, 218.

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army. Ḥusain fell upon its vanguard at Dāmkhera[1] and stampeded it. While the soldiers fled towards Bīr, which Ẓafar Khān readily seized, 'Imadu'l-Mulk Sartez fled to the neighbouring stronghold of Mahwa[2] whence he proceeded to Sindtan.[3] But he was pursued by Ẓafar Khān and his comrades and was overtaken at Katgarh, the military station of Sindtan. In the course of his vain attempt to escape from Katgarh the fugitive Sartez was arrested and beheaded. His son-in-law Qamar also fell under the executioner's sword. Then his comrades—Maḥmūd, Tāj Qalta and Saif 'Arab—who had been working, according to 'Iṣāmī, for the 'destruction of Iṣlām' were taken prisoner alive ; and the head of Sartez was presented to Ẓafar Khān who speared it. This was a glorious victory for the organizers'[4] of the 'War on *Ẓālim*'. 'Iṣāmī goes into raptures, saying :

> 'The king of Dehlī tried persistently to play black magic on Ẓafar Khān. But the Khān being fortified by the amulet of Fortune the magic had no effect on miracle. The amulet of Fortune was the inspiration Ẓafar Khān had drawn from two successive dreams that he had dreamt. Accordingly he believed that he was fighting in the cause of God. Then Ẓafar Khān's army acquired so much plunder that each trooper was satiated. The plunder included a hundred rows of swift-footed camels and a hundred stables full of Turkish horses, Indian and Chinese girls and slaves, glittering gold and silver bullions, many paradise garments of high value, rich woollen and silk clothes besides 1,200 tents and a parasol with two magnificent camps and other requisites of royal fashion.
>
> 'All this looked like a treasure-trove without an owner, fallen into the hands of Ẓafar Khān's troops.

1 Dāmkhera lies near Gulbarga.

2 Mahwa lay in the vicinity of Bir district, not far from Sindkher.

3 Sindtan may be identified with Sindkhar in Bir district of Maharashtra.

4 *I.e.* Ẓafar Khān and his comrades.

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It was a wonderful booty. The world rejoiced over this victory and was transformed into a fresh thornless garden since Sartez who was like a thorn was removed. A pillar of the edifice of oppression collapsed and the whole empire of the accursed ill-wisher shook from end to end.'[1]

By portraying 'Imādu'l-Mulk Sartez who was a loyal slave of the emperor as a 'pillar of the edifice of oppression' and by nicknaming the emperor as an 'accursed ill-wisher' Iṣāmī endeavours to expound the ideology that lay behind the 'War on *Ẓālim*,' pointing out at the same time how Ẓafar Khān triumphed over the *ẓālim*.[2] That is, Ẓafar Khān with his comrades marched triumphantly to the fortress of Daulatābād which Jauhar, the imperial commandant, had left, fleeing in the direction of Dhār.[3] The prisoners or the 'heroes' as 'Iṣāmī would have us believe, were released and king Nāṣiruddīn Ismā'īl, the most notable figure amongst them, mused on the situation thus:

> 'I had told the army chiefs the right thing in the very beginning that there was none in the whole country worthier than Ḥasan to fill the throne. As for myself I had held the throne and worn the crown provisionally as a trust for that warrior. Now that the proper recipient has arrived it is advisable to make over to him what I had so far held as a trust.'[4]

Saying this he sent for the army chiefs and took them into his confidence. All agreed to make Ẓafar Khān king. Accordingly, as soon as Ẓafar Khān arrived in the city of Daulatābād—and this took place on the third day after his victory—he was welcomed by king Nāṣīru'ddīn Ismā'īl and the army chiefs. Nāṣiru'ddīn Ismā'īl then persuaded him to ascend the throne and urged him to fight the *Shāh-i ẓālim*, saying:

> —'Let us put our swords like our hearts together

1. 2 F. S. I., verses 10,400 ff.

3 Dhār was the capital of Malwa, now in the Madhya Bharat State.

4 *Op. cit*, verses 10,446-10,449.

and make a joint effort to bring about the fall of the *Ẓālīm*, thus relieving the country of his *ẓulm* and introduce a new era."[1]

Immediately after this he unfolded the parasol on Ẓafar Khān's head; and stepping backward, he made a ceremonial bow to him. Thereupon Ẓafar Khān ascended the throne, and assumed the title of Sulṭān 'Alau'ddīn Wa'dunniyā Abu'l Muẓaffar Bahman Shāh (24 *Rabī'* II, 748/12 October, 1347). Then he formulated an ambitious policy of conquests and projected a new empire, extending as far as Rameswaram in the south and northward as far as Dehlī. But he was advised by his minister Saifu'ddin Ghorī[2] to confine his activities to consolidating his newly acquired kingdom in the Deccan and abandon his ambitious programme of conquests in the far south and north. The Sulṭān accepted the advice and acted accordingly. He sent five expeditions successively under the command of capable maliks with the object of rounding off the frontiers of his kingdom. As a result, the territories of Gandhāra,[3] Kotgīr,[4] Akalkot,[5] Maram,[6] Kalyan,[7]

1 *Idem*, verses 10,476-10,477.

2 T. F. (Bombay, I), pp. 529 ff.

3 Gandhāra—Qandhār according to Firishta (T. F., I, p. 276) and Gandari, as shown in the *Indian Antiquary* (vol. xxix p. 5)—lay in Telingana, north of Kaliyam Pet. Also spelt as Kandahar it has been spotted in the Nanded district of Maharashṭra.

4 Kotgir or Kotagir according to King (I. A. *op. cit.*) is situated east of the Landi river, a tributary of the Godavari. Prof. Sherwani (B. D., p. 71) puts it in the Nizamabad district of the erstwhile Hyderabad state.

5 Akalkot also spelt as Akkalkot was formerly the capital of a state of that name, now in the Bombay state or in the Sholapur district of Maharashṭra.

6 Maram or Moram is located in the Osmanabad district of the erstwhile Hyderabad state, now Maharashṭra.

7 Kalyān or Kalyāni is situated in the Bidar district of Mysore. An important Sanskrit inscription of Muḥammad bin Tughluq's reign has been found here.

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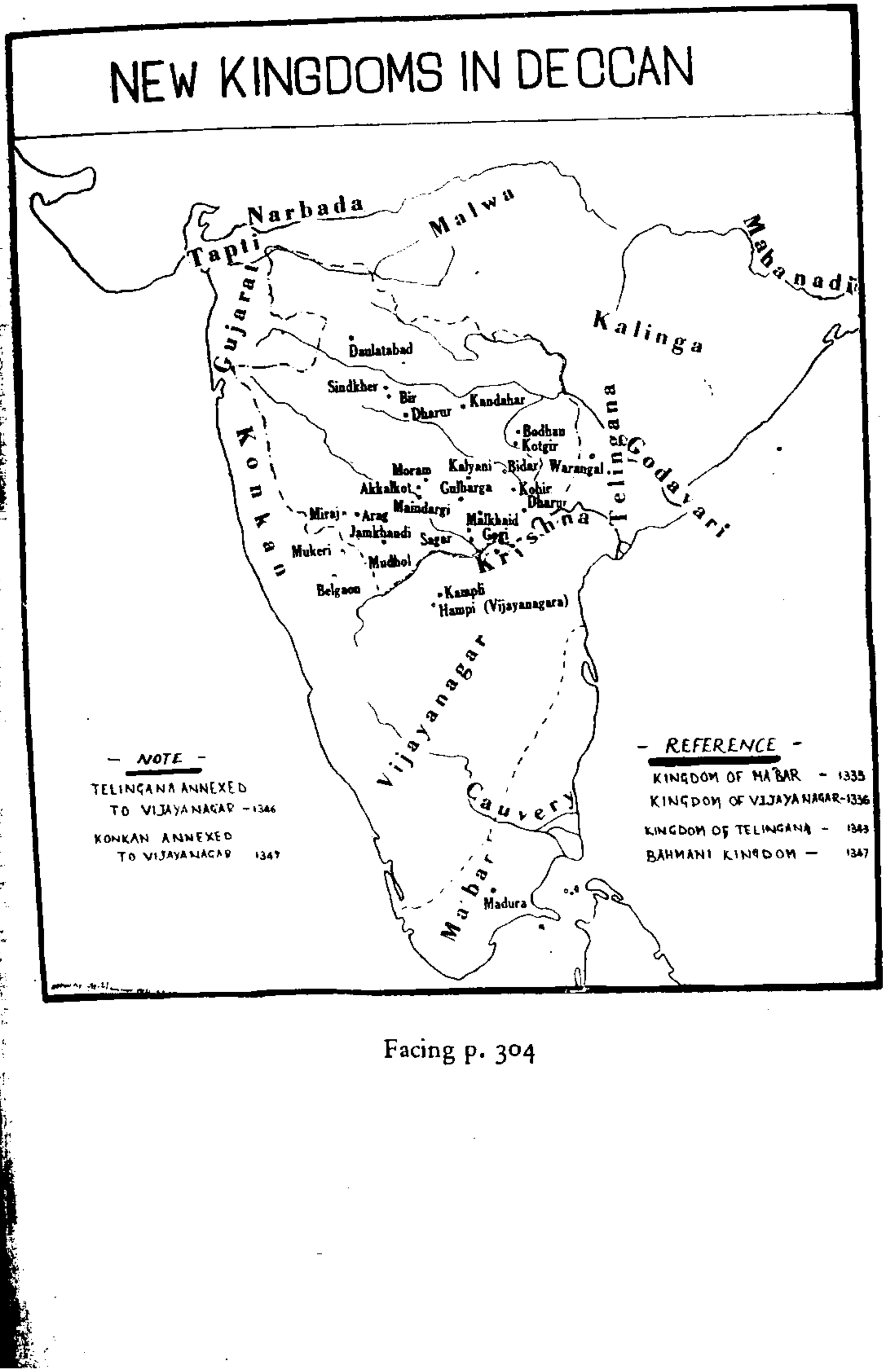

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Malkher,[1] Telingana[2], and Gulbarga[3]—all these being still loyal to the emperor of Dehlī—were captured for the Bahmanī kingdom of Daulatābād; and Daulatābād was given the new name of Daulatābād-Fatḥābād, literally the city of wealth and victory.

The *first* expedition aiming at the conquest of Gandhāra and Kotgīr was led by Ḥusain Hatīyah or Ḥusain Gurshāsp who fell on Akhrāj—the Hindū governor of Gandhāra and an adherent of emperor Muḥammad bin Tughluq—and compelled him to flee to Bodhan.[4] As soon as Akhrāj left Gandhāra Ḥusain Hatīyah captured it. Subsequently he seized Kotgīr too without encountering any opposition. The *second* expedition which was headed by Quṭbu'l-Mulk secured the fortresses of Maram, Mahendrī and Akalkot. The fortress of Akalkot was rechristened Sayyidābād. The *third* expedition led by Qīr Khān subjugated Kalyāṇa (*Kalyān*) or Kalyānī, driving out the imperial army; and Kalyān was given the name of *Dāru'l-Aman* (the city of peace). The *fourth* expedition commanded by Sikandar Khān achieved the conquest of Bidar and Malkher where the Hindū zamindars had asserted their own independence. Sikandar Khān also secured

1 Malkher is Malkhed or Malkhaid in the Gulbarga district of Mysore.

2 Telingāna or Trilinga (literally the three lingas of Siva) indicates the territory where the three ancient temples of Kālahasti, Srisailam and Drākshārāma are situated. It may be roughly identified with the land of Telugus, north-east of Madras. It is bounded by the Godavarī on the north and is now a part of the Andhra Pradesh.

3 Gulbarga lying near the Bhima—a tributary of the river Kistna—had been captured by Ulugh Khān, later Muḥammad bin Tughluq, from the Rāja (*Rāi*) of Telingāna during the lifetime of his father. Later it was included in the Bahmani kingdom and became its capital. On the break-up of that kingdom it was acquired by Bijāpūr. It was annexed to the Mughul empire by Aurangzeb. Subsequently it became a part of the Hyderabad State and is now merged in the Andhra Pradesh.

4 Bodhan lying west of the Manjra river was a part of the Hyderabad state. Now it is merged in the Andhra Pradesh Nizamabad district.

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the allegiance of Krishna or Kanya Nāyak of Telingāna. The *fifth* expedition led by Khwāja Jahān ʿĀẓam Humāyun aimed at the conquest of Gulbarga which had changed masters several times and was still held for the emperor of Dehlī by a Hindū chief, Poch Reddi by name. Now it was conquered and annexed to the Bahmanī kingdom.

ʿIṣāmī tells us that Sulṭān ʿAlāu'ddīn Bahman Shāh was inspired in a dream by the famous saint, ʿUwais Qarani,[1] to fight against all those elements who still continued to adhere to the emperor of Dehlī. Accordingly the Sulṭān marched on Sāgar[2] and encamped in its vicinity at a place called *Ḥauẓ-i Shāh* where he contacted some sufis who blessed his arms. Then he returned to Daulatābād, passing through the Hindū territory of Arkā[3] and Khembavī[4], both of which places had still adhered to the emperor of Dehlī. Both were coerced into submission. Then the Sulṭān advanced to the hilly stronghold of Mudhol[5] in the vicinity of Jāmkhandī[6] which was held by Narāin, another Hindū chief, devoted to Muḥammad bin Tughluq. Unable to fight Narāin unaided, for Narāin possessed a large following and resources, the Sulṭan intrigued with a local *qāẓī*, commonly known as Qāẓī Saif, the *muqṭī*ʿ of Arka, who made up his

1 'Uwais-i Qaranī, commonly known as 'Uwais Qaranī—an inhabitant of t e Yemen (*Yaman*) in the south-west of the Arabian peninsula—was a contemporary of Prophet Muḥammad. He became a real and genuine Muslim in the true sense of the term without having seen the Prophet and adored him more than some of his distinguished companions (*Vide* Amin Aḥmad Rāzī—*Haft Iqlim* (B. I.) vol. I, pp. 19-22.

2 Sāgar near Gulbarga, lies on a tributary of the river Kistna, about ten miles north of Shorāpūr.

3 Dr. Z. A. Desai informs me that Arka is identifiable with Arag—a place about 18 kilometres to the east of Miraj.

4 The *Burhān-i Maaṣir* (p. 21) has Kambavi which must be the same as Kembhavi, lying in the Gulbarga district of Mysore, a few miles to the west of Sāgar.

5, 6 Mudhol and Jamkhandi lie in the Bijapur district of Mysore.

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mind to denounce Muḥammad bin Tughluq as *ẓālim* and said:

'When I found the emperor of Dehlī and his henchmen immersed in treachery and tyranny, I gave up serving the tyrants.'

The Sulṭān received Qāẓī Saif warmly at Daulatābād and congratulated him on his ability to distinguish between a *ẓālim* and an *'ádil*, saying:

'O loyal Saif, such is the custom of upright men of faith ; they strive hard in the cause of their master and ply their swords in whichever direction their master would direct. But as soon as they are able to distinguish between a tyrant and a man of justice they desert the *ẓālim* and go over to support an *'ādil*.'[1]

Now the Sulṭān sent an ultimatum to Narāin, calling upon him to surrender. But Narāin defied him and fortified himself in the fortress of Jāmkhandī which the Sulṭān besieged. Then followed a hand-to-hand fight in which the Sulṭān himself participated ; and he succeeded with the help of his generals—Mubārak Khān, Saif Khān and Malik Aḥmad—in making a breach in the Jāmkhandī fortress and seized it. Narāin fled to Mudhol wherein he fortified himself again. But Mudhol too fell after a siege of four months, and Narāin was compelled to sue for peace, offering to pay two years' tribute. The peace was granted and the Sulṭān restored him his lost territories.

In this manner ended the 'War on *Ẓālim*' which the Muslim rebels had organized, foremost amongst them being Ẓafar Khān who became the founder and first king of the Bahmanī kingdom. 'They tore from the emperor's hands the vast area stretching from the Tapti hinterland to the Kistna and Tungabhadra valleys. That the local Hindū chiefs were no enemies of Muḥammad bin Tughluq, shouted no abuses at him and did not believe like the orthodox Muslims that he was a *ẓālim* is also evident from the following verses of 'Iṣāmī.

1 F. S. I., verses 11, 131—11, 133.

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'He (Sulṭān Muḥammed) uprooted the Muslims from Hindustān and installed the Hindus. He killed many sayyids with cruelty. God as well as man became displeased with him. He has turned out another Yazīd in the country of Hindustān. All his sayings and doings are reprehensible.

'Hinduism has become dominant all over except in a few places. The country has been seized completely by the Hindus. The Musalmans have taken shelter in enclosures.[1]

1 F. S. I., verses 11,433—11,449 and 11,461.

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PART FOUR

NEW LIGHT

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CHAPTER XI

JAINS AND HINDUS BEFRIENDED

The emperor, who was at war[1] with a section of the ʿūlamā[2] and mashāikh[3] and shed their blood in streams,

1,2 That he shed the best Muslim blood is evident from the narrative of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa who says, 'His (Sulṭān Muḥammad's) gate was hardly free from the corpse of a man who had been executed. And I used to see frequently a number of people at the gate of the palace and the corpses abandoned there. One day as I arrived there my horse was startled and as I looked round I saw on the earth some white thing. "What is it", said I. One of my comrades replied, "It is the torso of a man who has been cut into three pieces." The Sulṭān used to punish all wrongs whether big or small and he would spare neither the 'ulamā nor sayyids (*ahlu'l-'ilm w'aṣ-ṣalāḥ w'sh-sharaf*). Every day hundreds of these, in chains with their hands fastened to the neck and their feet tightened, were brought into the council-hall. Those who were to be killed were killed and those who were to be tortured were tortured and those who were to be beaten were beaten. The Sulṭān used to summon all the prisoners to the council-hall every day except Fridays, when they were not taken out, for Friday was the day of their rest when they would clean themselves and take rest.' (The *Reḥla*, G.O.S. p. 85).

3 Shaikh Shihābu'ddīn was the son of Shaikhu'l-Jām of Khurāsān, and was one of the principal saints (mashāikh), pious and accomplished. He used to fast for a fortnight at a stretch. Sulṭān Quṭbu'ddīn and Sulṭān Tughluq had held him in great esteem and used to pay him visits and solicit his blessings. When Sulṭān Muḥammad ascended the throne he intended to employ the Shaikh in some capacity as was his habit to employ jurists, sufis and 'ulamā. Shaikh Shihābu'ddīn refused to accept service. Once the Sulṭān discussed the matter with him in public audience, but he still refused. The Sulṭān became indignant and ordered the venerable jurist, Shaikh Ẓiyāu'ddīn of Simnān, to pull the hair of his beard, which the latter refused to do. The Sulṭān then ordered that the beards of both of them should be pulled out. The order was carried out. Ẓiyāu'ddīn was then banished to Telingāna and installed after some time as the *qāẓī* of Wārangal where he died. Shihābu'ddīn was exiled to Daulatābād and later appointed head of the *dīwanu'l-mustakhraj*—the department for the realization of the revenue officials' arrears.

'When the Sulṭān took up lodgings on the bank of the Ganges where he built a palace called Sargadwri and when he called on

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was kind and favourable to the law-abiding Jains and Hindus and protected them against all dangers and enemies,

the army to build there houses of their own, Shaikh Shihābu'ddīn solicited his permission to stay at the capital city. The Sulṭān permitted him to stay assigning him an uncultivated piece of land at a distance of six miles from Dehlī. Shihābu'ddīn dug there a deep cavern in whose cavity he built chambers, granaries, an oven and a bath. He brought water into it from the river Yamuna and cultivated that land. And he amassed great wealth by means of its produce. He lived there two and a half years—the period of the Sulṭān's absence. When the Sulṭān returned to his capital, the Shaikh proceeded to a distance of seven miles to meet him. The Sulṭān honoured him and embraced him on seeing him ; and then Shihābu'ddīn returned to his cavern. After a few days the Sulṭān sent for him, but he refused to come. The Sulṭān sent to him Mukhliṣu'l-Mulk of Nandurbār who was one of the leading maliks. He spoke to him very kindly and even warned him of the Sulṭān's wrath. The Shaikh said, "I will never serve a *Ẓālim*." The Sulṭān ordered the Shaikh to be brought ; and when he was brought the Sulṭān said to him, "You say I am a *ẓālim*." "Yes" retorted the Shaikh, "you are a *ẓālim* and such and such are the instances of your *ẓulm*". Then he gave several examples amongst which was the destruction of the city of Dehlī and the expulsion of its inhabitants. Thereupon the Sulṭān caught hold of his sword and handing it over to the Ṣadr-i Jahān said, "Prove now and here that I am a *ẓālim* and cut my head off with this sword." "Whosoever" said Shihābu'ddīn, "wishes to give evidence to confirm your *ẓulm* (tyranny) will himself be killed. But you in your heart of hearts know your tyrannies well".

'The Sulṭān ordered the Shaikh to be made over to Malik Nukbia, chief of the dawadars who tied him with four chains and fastened his hands. In this state he remained fasting for a fortnight at a stretch ; neither did he eat, nor drink. Every day, meanwhile, he was taken to the council-hall where the jurists and sufis, who used to assemble, advised him to recant. "I will not recant was his reply." "I wish" , he added, "to join the rank of martyrs" On the 14th day the Sulṭān sent food for him but he refused to take it, saying: "I am no longer destined to partake of food in this world ; take back the food to the Sulṭān". When the Sulṭān was informed of this, he ordered the Shaikh to be forcibly fed with five *istars* of human refuse. They stretched the Shaikh on his back, opened his mouth with pincers and dropped into it the human refuse, dissolved in water. On the following day the Shaikh was taken to the house of Qāzī Ṣadr-i Jahān where the 'ulamā and mashāikh and prominent foreigners (*ā'izza*) had assembled. They admonished him and desired him to recant, but he still refused. At last his head was cut off'. (*Idem*, pp. 86-88).

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When some Hindus were accused of treason by a *qāẓī* and were likely to be killed the emperor came to their rescue and saved their lives by killing the *qāẓī*. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa narrates the story thus:

'The pious Shaikh Shamsu'ddīn, son of Tāju'l-'Ārifīn, was an inhabitant of the city of Koil and he

Another account of the execution of the 'ulamā given in the *Reḥla* is this: 'During the years of famine the Sulṭān had ordered the sinking of wells outside the capital city and the cultivation of crops there. For this purpose he had provided the people with seeds as well as with the requisite sum of money. And he had made them undertake this cultivation with the object of enriching the granary. When the jurist 'Afifu'ddin heard of this he said, "Such a cultivation as this cannot serve the purpose." This was reported to the Sulṭān who put 'Afifu'ddin into prison, saying: "Why do you meddle with the affairs of the State?" Then after some time he released him. As he was going home he met two of his fellow-jurists, ('ulamā) on the way. They said to him, "Thank God for your release!" The jurist said, 'Praise be to God who released us from the tyrants (*Ẓālimīn*). Then they parted; but hardly had they reached their respective houses, when the Sulṭān came to know of this. He summoned all three of them and referring to 'Afifu'ddīn said, "Take away this fellow and cut off his neck diagonally, that is, cut his head with the arm and part of his chest and behead the other two." "As for him", said the other two, addressing the Sulṭān 'he deserved the punishment for what he said; but why are we being put to death?" "You", said he "heard his remarks and did not disapprove; you appear to have concurred with him." At last all of them were executed.

'Then he killed two of the 'ulamā of Sind, in his service. He ordered these 'ulamā to go along with an amīr, appointed as an 'āmil in a certain province. He said to them, "I entrust to your care the affairs of the province and subjects; and this amir will remain with you. He will act according to your instructions." They replied, "We would be but as witnesses and would show him the right way, which he might follow." Thereupon the Sulṭān said, "Indeed, you intend to consume and dissipate my wealth and attribute to this Turk who does not possess sufficient knowledge." They said, "God forbid! Your Majesty, we did not intend this." The Sulṭān said, "You intended nothing but this." Then he ordered, "Take them to the Shaikhzādah of Nihāwand", who was charged with inflicting punishment. At last they were killed.

'Then he killed Shaikh *Hūd*—grandson of the pious and holy Shaikh Ruknu'ddīn of Multān whom he held in great esteem (*Idem*, pp. 88-91).

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had devoted himself exclusively to worship. He was a man of great parts. As the Sulṭān visited Koil he sent for him but the Shaikh did not come. The Sulṭān went to see him but as he came near his house he changed his mind and did not see the Shaikh.

'Later on, it so happened that one of the amirs in a certain province revolted against the Sulṭān and the people swore allegiance to him. It was reported to the Sulṭān that the rebellious amīr was mentioned before Shaikh Shamsu'ddīn who praised him and said that he was fit for kingship. The Sulṭān sent an amīr who chained the Shaikh and his sons as well as the *qāẓī* and the *muḥtasib* of Koil. The *qāẓī* and the *muḥtasib* were reported to have been present in the assembly in which the Shaikh had eulogized the rebellious amīr. The Sulṭān threw them all into prison after having blinded the *qāẓī* and the *muḥtasib*. Shaikh Shamsu'ddīn died in prison. The *qāẓī* and the *muḥtasib* used to be taken out in the charge of one of the jailors to beg alms of the passers-by and were then taken back to the prison. 'It had been reported to the Sulṭān that the Shaikh's sons used to mix with the Indian infidels and rebellious Hindus and associated with them. When their father died the sons were taken out of the prison. The Sulṭān told them not to continue their former practices. They said, "What have we done?" The Sulṭān became indignant and ordered them all to be killed, and they were killed. Then the Sulṭān sent for the aforesaid *qāẓī* and said to him: Tell me who else concurred with the views of, and acted in the same way as, those who have been killed.[1] The *qāẓī* dictated the names of many of the infidels[2] of the country. When his dictated list was presented to the Sulṭān he declared: This man

1 The *Reḥla* (G. O. S.) pp. 91-92.

2 *I.e.* the Hindus. Def. et Sang.'s Arabic text (III, p. 309) has '*kibār*' (great) for '*kuffār*' (infidels or Hindus). See my paper *Ibn Baṭṭūṭa and his Reḥla* in the *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress* (1938), p. 279. See p. xii of the *Reḥla of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa* (G. O. S.). See also Appendix H. p. 260 of the same.

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desires the destruction of the country. Cut off his head. So his head was cut off.'[1]

The emperor also punished the *shaikh* and the *muḥtasib* who were suspected of a conspiracy with the *qāẓī* ; and the shaikh's sons too suffered ; for, by their conduct, they had implicated the Hindus.[2] 'The Sulṭān' says 'Iṣāmī 'destroys the Muslims in the attempt to patronize the Hindus.[3] Evidently 'Iṣāmī made no distinction between the Hindus and Jains ; and the emperor patronized the Hindus and Jains alike. Ẓiyāu'ddīn Baranī describes them all indiscriminately as *multānīān*[4]—a term then used for money-lenders. According to a Jain account the Jains were the bankers of medieval India.[5] The Jain monks were invited to the royal court and the Jain laity occupied influential positions in state service. Nain was an officer under Sulṭān Jalalu'ddīn Khaljī. His son Dusàju held an influential position in the 'Alāī[6] government and continued to enjoy the same under Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Tughluq and Sulṭān Muḥammad successively. Feru[7] was a jeweller and a leading merchant during the reign of 'Alāu'ddīn Khaljī ; Samar Singh Jain[8] was a close friend of Alp Khān, the Khaljī governor of Gujarāt. He repaired with the permission of the Khaljī government the famous Satrunjaya temple of Palitana 'with great pomp and ceremony' in 1315 A.D. Then he was invited to Dehlī by Quṭbu'ddīn Mubārak Shāh who made him his commissioner (*Vyavahāra*). Sulṭān Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Tughluq regarded him as his own son and sent him to Telingāna where he built many temples. Sulṭān Mmḥammad looked upon

1, 2 *Ibid.*

3 F. S. I. verses 11, 447.

4 T. F. S. B., p. 385.

5 Pr. Or. Conf. Baroda, 1933, pp. 629-633.

6 *'Alāī* is an adjective and abbreviation of 'Alāu'ddīn.

7 Feru, (the *Reḥla of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa*, G. O. S., p. 287) wrote *Vattuhusara-payaranam* in V. S. 1372 (A. D. 1313).

8 Also called Samara Simha and Samara Shah. He was a Jain chief of Anhalwara.

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him as his brother and made him governor of Telingāna.[1] The unique position that Samar Singh Jain thus enjoyed is attested by Nayachandra, a contemporary Jain poet, who says:

> 'Free from greed Muḥammad (bin Tughluq) used to give lakhs of dinars, scattering them like grass every year uniformly to acquire merit by helping the poor and the afflicted. He (Samar Simha) is the only great man—and none else—who obtained appreciation of king Muḥammad Shāh.'[2]

Futhermore, Raja Sekhara[3], Bhima[4], Mantri Bhanaka[5], Mahendra Suri,[6] Bhattaraka Simha Kirti[7], Somaprabha Sūri[8], Somatilaka Sūri[9], Sena Sūri[10] and Jinaprabha Sūri enjoyed royal favours. Raja Sekhara and Jinaprabha Sūri were scholars ; and, by virtue of their scholarly works, enjoyed close access to emperor Muḥammad bin Tughluq. Bhima was a wealthy merchant who gave large sums of money in charity at the outbreak of famine in Gujarāt during the reign of Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Tughluq in V. S. 1376-77 (A.D. 1321).[11] Then he erected the image of Bhimasimhaprasad in a temple on Mt. Abu. Subsequently three more images, identified with Gosala, Gunadevi and Ambikadevi, were added and the opening ceremony of the temple was performed.[11] In this connection some interesting datails are collected by a modern Gujarati scholar in his book entitled *Jinaprabha Sūri Ane Sultana Mahammada*. He says:

> 'It is but natural to wonder how that emperor of Dehlī (Sulṭān Muḥammad) became well-disposed towards the Jain *sangha* and what he did for it. We wonder how he was introduced to that Jain saint,

1 Sheth, C. B.—*Jainism in Gujarat*, p. 179.

2 (i) Pr. Or. Con. Baroda, 1933.
(ii) Pr. I. H. C. 1941, p. 301.

3,4,5 Sheth, C.B.—*Jainism in Gujarat*, p. 181.

6,7,8,9,10 *Vide* Pr. I. H. C. (1941), pp. 301-302 and Inscription, No. 46. *Epigraphia Carnatica*, vol. 88, pp. 377-378.

11 *Op. cit.*

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Jinaprabha Sūri who exercised wholesome influence on him to such an extent that he made the Jain *dharma* and society quite safe. Also the Jain tīrthas were protected against every kind of aggression; and Jinaprabha Sūri unfurled the banner of Jainism by recovering from the Muslims the idol of the Jain apostle Mahāvira. He was profoundly respected by the emperor. Unfortunately we know little about him and have not been able to appreciate his works. However, this book is intended to present before the public some historical evidence in this connection. It is also intended to present about Sulṭān Muḥammad some *facts* which are not found in the (Muslim) chronicles and are hidden in the contemporary Sanskrit-Prakrit sources.'[1]

These *facts* are traceable in the works of Jinaprabha Sūri and his disciple Sangh Tilak Sūri in the light of the following extracts:

(i) 'This book was finished in Yoginīpattana in the Vikrama era 1389 (1332 A.D.) in the latter part of the month of Bhādṛa on Wednesday, the tenth day of the moon when Hammīr Mahammada (Muḥammad) was ruling powerfully over the whole earth. May this book—*Kalpa-pradīpa* by name—sanctified by the utterances of the Tīrthas (Tīrthaṅkaras) and of the devotees of the Tīrthas [or sanctified by the record of the sacred places (Tīrthas) and of the devotees of the Tīrthas]—flourish and enjoy popularity for ever!'[2]

(ii) 'One evening in V. S. 1385 (1328-9 A.D.) of the first half of the month of Pauṣa, Jinaprabha Sūri

1 J. P. S. B. pp. 1-2

2 नन्दोनेकप-शक्कि-शीतगुमिते श्रीविक्रमोर्वीपते-
वर्षे भाद्रपदस्य मास्यवरजे सौम्ये दशम्यां तिथौ ।
श्रीहम्मीरमहम्मदे प्रतपति क्ष्मामण्डलाखण्डले
ग्रन्थोऽयं परिपूर्णतामभजत श्रीयोगिनीपत्तने ॥
तीर्थानां तीर्थभक्तानां कीर्तनेन पवित्रितः ।
कल्पप्रदीपनामाऽयं ग्रन्थो विजयतां चिरम् ॥

(J.P.S.B. p. 23)

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met Mahārājādhirāja Mahammada (Sulṭān Muḥammad) who offered him a seat near his own and enquired after his health. Jinaprabha Sūri gave him blessings. They entered into a conversation which continued till midnight. For the rest of the night Jinaprabha Sūri lived in the royal palace. On the morrow the Sulṭān presented him good many gifts out of which Jinaprabha Sūri accepted a few only. Then he asked for a firman for the protection of the Jain tīrthas which the Sulṭān gave immediately.'[1]

(iii) 'In V. S. 1385 (1328 A.D.) an accursed fellow[2] of the Viya[3] dynasty invaded Asinagar[4] and arrested a number of Jains, laymen as well as bhikṣus. An image of Pārśvanātha was broken while an image of Mahāvīra, which had remained intact, was taken to Dhillipurī and transferred to Tughluqabad and deposited in the treasury there. For fifteen months it was kept there under the custody of the Turks. In course of time Sulṭān Muḥammad (*Śrī Mahammada Surttana*) came to Yoginīpura from Deogiri. Later Jinaprabha Sūri too came to Dhilli-Sahapur. It so happened that the learned men of the royal court asked the emperor (*Mahāraina*) to name the most distinguished pandit of the age. Thereupon Pandit Dharādhara began to sing praises in honour of Jinaprabha Sūri and the emperor was pleased to call him to his court. Jinaprabha Sūri came and met the emperor (*Mahārājā-dhirāja*) in the evening of 2nd Pauṣa, the bright fortnight 1385 V.S. (November 1328). The emperor offered him a seat close by his side and enquired after his health. Jinaprabha Sūri blessed the learned men at the royal court. Then began some discussion, which continued till midnight. Jinaprabha Sūri spent the rest of the night at the palace and met the emperor again at sunrise. The emperor (*Mahā-naro-deo*) conferred on him one thousand cows and much wealth

1 J. P. S. B., p. 32,
2 Perhaps a *shiqdār* (Pr. I. H. C. 1941, p. 299).
3 A name which has been corrupted and cannot be identified.
4 Perhaps a corrupt form of Asirgarh.

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including garments, blankets, perfumes, sandal-paste and camphor. But Jinaprabha Sūri declined all these on the plea that such royal gifts were not fit for a *sādhu*. Later he took a few garments and blankets, and entered into discussion with the learned men at the royal court.[1]

'The discussion over, the emperor sent for a couple of best elephants, one of which was mounted by Jinaprabha Sūri and the other one by Jinadeva Ācārya. In this state they proceeded to the *poṣaśāla*'[2] attended by drummers, conch-blowers and players on musical instruments—*mṛdaṅga*, *kansala*, *ḍhola*, *mārdala*—and amidst a throng of the reciters and the *sangha*. As soon as the processionists entered the *poṣabśālā* a Jain ceremony was performed and many gifts were distributed.[3]

'Afterwards the emperor (*Patasahina*) issued a firman guaranteeing protection to the Śvetāmbara Jains at the time of rebellions throughout the empire. Then he released many captives.

'Later, the *guru* went to the royal palace on Monday while it was raining. The emperor (*Surattana*) met him. Then Malik Kāfūr[4] (*Malikka-Kaphur*) brought a piece of silk which he gave as a royal gift to Jinaprabha Sūri who, after blessing the emperor, recited some verses in his praise. The emperor was highly pleased and the *guru* seized the favourable opportunity, thus created, to ask back the image of Mahāvīra. The emperor favoured him with the desired image. It was brought out of the treasure house of Tughluqābād and handed over to him in the open court. Subsequently

1 J.P.S.:—*Vividha-tirtha-kalpa*, Pt. I (Santiniketan) pp. 45-46.

2 Poṣa-śālā literally means maintenance house or lodge.

3 J. P. S. B.. (Lohawat, V. S. 1986), p. 33.

4 Malik Kāfūr, *muhrdār* (keeper of the seal) had been killed under the order of Sulṭān Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Tughluq. The man here mentioned may be identified with Malik Kāfūr *Lang*, mentioned by Baranī (T.F.S.B., p. 455).

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the image was installed in Malik Taj-din Serai[1] with great eclat.

'Jinaprabha Sūri having then prepared to leave for Mahārashṭra, his disciple Jinadeva Sūri was put in charge of the Jain centre of activities at Dhilli-maṇḍala. On the eve of his departure the emperor was pleased to give Jinaprabha Sūri a set of gifts which included bulls, horses, tents and palanquins. On their arrival at Daulatāvāda (*Deogiri-nagar*) Jinaprabha Sūri and his party were accorded a welcome and fêted on behalf of the emperor. Then they went to Paithan[2] where they visited the image of Muni Suvrata, a Jain *tīrthaṅkara*.[3]

(iv) 'With his superhuman knowledge Śrī Jinaprabha Sūri pleased Mahammada Shahi who was a great Muslim emperor of Dillī.[4]

(v) 'When the emperor (*Rājādhirājā*) visited the Śatruñjaya[5] *tīrtha* he was the first to be delightd on

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1 The image was taken from Tughluqābād to Jahānpanāh and installed there at the Tāj-dīn serai where was also built a Jain monastery (called *sultān-serai* after the Sulṭān) as well as a Jain temple.

Vide Jhavery, M. B. D.—*Comparative and Critical Study of Mantraśastra*, pp. 229-230.

2 Paithan—one of the oldest cities in the Deccan—stands in the Aurangabad district on the Godāvari. It contains some ancient temples.

3 J.P.S.B. pp. 34-35. *Cf.* Pr. I. H. C. 1941, p. 299

4 दिल्यां साहिमहम्मदं शककुलद्मापालचूड़ामंणिं
येन ज्ञानकलाकलापमुदितं निर्माय षड्दर्शनीं ।
प्राकाश्यं गमिता निजेन यशसा साकं स सर्वागम-
ग्रन्थज्ञो जयतात् जिनप्रभगुरुर्विद्यागुरुर्नः सदा ॥
(J. P. S. B. p. 39)

5 Satrumjaya (शत्रुंजय)—the most sacred of the five hills of the Jains at the eastern base of which the town of Palitana is situated, 70 miles north-west of Surat.

[Law, B.C.—*Mountains of India*, p. 19.]

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hearing the contents of this *Satranjaya-tirthakalpa*. So this *Kalpa* is entitled as *Rājā-prasād*[1]. May this (work) enjoy perpetuity![2]

'This work is solemnly dedicated (to the emperor) on Friday in Samvat 1385 in the bright fortnight, 7th day of the moon'.[3]

(vi) 'Sinhakirti, the great son of Vidyananda Swami —a man of excellent character and lineage—was born in the region surrounded by the Mandara hills.[4] He was blessed with offerings by Mahammada (Sulṭān Muḥammad) in the city of Dillī (*Dillipuri*).

(vii) 'The emperor, guided by Jinaprabha Sūri, visited the Satrunjaya temples at Palatina as well as the idol-houses of Girnār. In the Satrunjaya temples he performed some acts of devotion appropriate to a leader of Jain *sangha*'.[5]

Son of Ratan Lal, a Jain devotee (*shravak*), and his wife Khetala Devi of Vadodra village, Jinaprabha Sūri bore the name of Subhata-Pala Sūri in his childhood. It is surmised that he was born in V. S. 1317 (A.D. 1261) and died in V.S. 1387 (A.D. 1331). But the probability is

1 Literally 'Sulṭān's favour',

2,3 Jinaprabha Sūri—*Vividha-tirtha-kalpa* (Santiniketan, 1934), pt. I, p. 5.

प्रारम्भेऽप्यस्य राजाधिराजः सङ्घे प्रसन्नवान् ।
अतो राजप्रसादाख्यः कल्पोऽयं जयताच्चिरम् ॥
श्रीविक्रमाब्दे बाणाष्टविश्वेदेव(१३८५)मितेसितौ ।
सप्तम्यां तपसः काव्यदिवसेऽयं समर्पितः ॥

4 Mandara hills are identified by Cunningham (A.G.I., p. 582) as well as by B. C. Law (*Mountains of India*, Calcutta, 1944, p. 16) with Mandara hill situated 30 miles to the south of Bhagalpur. If the poet were born near Dehli, then these must be the Arravali hills of Dehli.

At any rate the Jain poet Sinhakirti flourished during the reign of Sulṭān Muḥammad and was honoured by him.

Cf. Pr. I. H. C. 1941, p. 297.

5 Jhavery, M.B.—*Comparative and Critical Study of Mantra-śāstra*, p. 28.

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that he was born in V.S. 1326/1270 and died in V.S. 1390/1334 A.D. While still a child he was taken by his parents to Deogīr where his *gurū* Jinasimha Sūri named him Jinaprabha Sūri and his tutelary deity, Padmavati Devi, foretold a bright future that awaited him at Dehlī. Accordingly he went to Dehlī, in 1326 A.D. for the first time; and then in 1329. The emperor was pleased to discuss with him some problems of religion and heard him sing the *Vijaya Yantra* which, it was believed, protected miraculously the person wearing it against all mishaps and attacks. Presumably the emperor could understand Sanskrit as well as Prakrit in which languages Jinaprabha Sūri spoke. Jinaprabha Sūri might have spoken Persian as well; for, it is said that he recited Persian verses at the royal court, and thereby awakened the jealousy of some courtiers —Muslims[1] as well as non-Muslims.[2]

1 Among the Muslim courtiers, according to the Jain account, there was a learned *qalandar* who had come from Khurāsān and offered to show some miracles. He threw up a cap (*kulāh*) which remained hanging in the air without any support. Then he said addressing the emperor:

'Your Majesty ! Is there anyone in your court who can bring down this cap ?'

The emperor looked towards his courtiers, expecting that at least one from among them might respond. Seeing this Jinaprabha Sūri said:

'Your Majesty ! Just see what I will do.'

Saying this, he brought it down with his *rajohara*. Then the *qalandar* played another trick. He removed skilfully the earthen water-pots which a woman was carrying on her head and kept them hanging in the air. Jinaprabha Sūri challenged him to keep the water in the said earthen pots hanging without the support of the pots. The *qalandar* was unable to do so. Seeing this, Jinaprabha Sūri stepped forward. He broke the earthen pots which were still hanging in the air and suspended the water in the cavities of the sky. Thereupon the emperor asked him to split up the water into drops which should remain suspended in the sky. Jinaprabha Sūri did so ; and the *qalandar* was ashamed. (JPSB, pp, 145-146).

2 Among the non-Muslim courtiers was one Raghavacaitanya. He was proficient in *mantras*. He resolved to drive away Jinaprabha Sūri from the royal court. But he was worsted in a contest with Jinaprabha Sūri and had to leave the court, crest-fallen.

(i) JPSB, pp. 18, 141, (ii) Jhavery, M.B.—CCSM, pp. 229 ff.

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An imposing amount of Jain literature was also produced; and Jain books came to be written on paper, instead of palm leaves.[1] Merutungācārya,[2] a Jain chronicler, completed in V. S. 1361 (A. D. 1304-05) the *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi*—a Sanskrit work dealing with the history of Gujarāt. Feru,[3] son of Candra Ṭhākura, composed the *Vastusāra*[4] in V.S. 1372 (A.D. 1315-16). Jinaprabha Sūri completed the *Vividha-tirtha-kalpa*[5] in V.S. 1389 (A.D. 1333). Then Somatilaka wrote three philosophical books—*Navyakṣetra-samasa*, *Vicāra-sūtra* and *Saptatiśatasthānaka*—and Sudhākalasa, a master-musician, brought out two volumes on music entitled *Saṅgītopaniṣad*.

Even after the death of Sulṭān Muḥammad the Jains enjoyed royal favours. In spite of his narrow religious outlook and reactionary government, Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh honoured, at least, three eminent Jains, *i.e.*, Gunabhadra Sūri, Munibhadra Sūri, and Mahendra Sūri, the last-named being an astronomer and mathematician of repute.[6]

Writing in the seventh year of Fīroz Shāh's reign Baranī says in his *Fatāwa-i Jahāndārī*:[7]

> 'They (Hindus) are held in the greatest respect and esteem and are honoured highly. They enjoy the insignia—drums, standards, tight tunics, bejewelled and brocaded and well-equipped horses. The sultans confer on them responsible offices including governorship of provinces. They also allow them (infidels and pagans) to raise their palace-like lofty houses, to wear robes of brocade, to ride steeds, equipped with gold and silver saddles, and to be furnished with complete paraphernalia of greatness. Thus the Hindus (infidels and pagans) enjoy all luxuries, employing Musalmans as their servants and keeping them in attendance before their horses. They also carry on an unrestrained and open propaganda of their books and disseminate their teachings, preferring Hindū (pagan) philosophy to Islamic literature.'

1,2 Sheth, C. B.—*Jainism in Gujarat*, pp. 182 ff.
3,4,5,6 *Op. Cit.*
7 I. O. Manuscript of the *Fatāwā-i Jahāndāri* translated in part in *the Reḥla of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa* (G. O. S.), p. 261.

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Almost all the available Sanskrit inscriptions of this reign give similar information. The *first*, commonly known as the Naraina inscription, shows that the Hindū gods were invoked publicly in and around the capital city of Dehlī. Then it introduces Śrīdhara, a prominent and rich Hindū merchant of Naraina—a part of Dehlī—who had inherited great wealth and land from his ancestor Govinda Deva. This was a typical unit of Hindū aristocracy, as outlined by Baranī in his *Fatāwa-i Jahāndārī*. While in the end the Sanskrit text[1] announces the construction of the commemoration well, invoking blessings on Srīdhara's ancestors, it also testifies to the sanctity of their social life and the integrity of their genealogy through six generations, as shown below:

Govinda Deva

Ratna + Gaganāśrī

Gaṅgādhara | Mādhava | Lakṣmaṇa | Dāmodara + Viradā

Kṛṣṇa | Śrī Dhīra-deva + Dhānī

Rīsaḍa + Rājaśrī | Sudeva

Dullabha-deva | Śrīvara + (1) Kallya + (2) Gaṅgadiśrī

Pṛthvīdhara

Śrīdhara | Solhaṇa

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1 [ओं स्वस्ति]
[स्मृतः प्रणतदेहिनां] निखिलविघ्न [विध्वंसकृ]-
न्नमज्जनसमीहितं वितरतीह यः पूजितः
[स धारयति विघ्नपो रदनमे] कमत्युन्नतं
प्रभेत्तुमिव नाकिनां स्फटिकदं [ड]मुग्रं द्विषः ॥१॥

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Writing in the Vikrama year 1384 (A.D. 1327) Madana Deva, a Brahmin poet who enjoyed the patronage of the said Śrīdhara, says:

Let all go well. It is stated in the sacred lore (*Smriti*) that He being worshipped grants in this world

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सुरेंद्ररिपुमर्दनी महिषघा[टिका] संस्थिता
हरीशकमलोद्भवैरखिलसिद्धिहेतोः स्तुता ।
भवेत्स्वकुलदेवता भवदघौघविच्छित्तये द्रु[तं ज]नफल-
प्रदा भुवनधारिणी चंडिका ॥२॥
हरियानकसंज्ञोस्ति देशः पुण्यतमो महान्
कृष्णः सपा[र्थो]व्यचरद्यत्र पापौघशांतये ॥३॥
तस्मिन्नियं निखिलरत्नचयोपगूढा वेदस्वनैः
श्रुतिविदां हृतपापपुं[जा ।]
दिल्ली पुरी सुरनदीव विभाति रम्या
रम्यांगनाचरणनूपुर[हंस]शब्दैः ॥४॥
तत्रासीन्महमूदसाहिरखिलक्षोणीशचूडामणि-
र्विख्यातो निजबाहुवीर्यदलितारातिः शकेंद्रो बली ।
त्रासाद्भ्रश्यतीह यस्य [मृगयाक्री]डावनीं गच्छतः
[सिं]धुः शुष्यति कंपमाशु[हि] दिशो [यांत्य]द्रयोपि द्विषः ॥५॥

वंशवर्णनं ।

आसीद्वणि[ग्वंधुपरीवृतः] प्राग्नाडायणग्रामकृताधिवासः ।
गोविंददेवो बहुपुण्यकर्म्मदक्षोत्र रोहीतकवंशकेतुः ॥६॥
[तस्माद्वै गु]णवान् जज्ञे रत्नो रत्नमिवांबुधेः ।
येनोढा धर्म्मिणा पत्नी गगनाश्रीः पतिव्रता ॥७॥
तस्यामजायं[त सु]ताः प्रसिद्धाश्चत्वार एते किल रत्नसाधोः ।
गंगाधरो[माध]वलक्ष्मणाख्यावन्यो (?)तु दामोदरनामधेयः ॥८॥
[ल]घुर्द्दामोदरस्तेषां विरदां प्राप्य सुप्रियां ।
श्रीधीरदेव [कृष्णादी]स्तनयांल्लब्धवान् नव ॥९॥
तेषा[मभूत्स]र्व्वकला[स्व]भिज्ञो
वाणिज्यकर्म्मक्रयविक्रयज्ञः ।
गोभूमिहे[मांबरदानशील]ः
श्रीधीरदेवो मतिमान् गुणज्ञः ॥१०॥

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the desired objects to those who prostrate themselves before Him. He holds a sharp and projecting tusk as if to pierce the dreadful crystal rod of the enemies of gods.

Let Chandika, the holder of the universe, and who is the hammerer of the enemies of the lord of gods and who stands on the shoulder of the buffalo and who is adorned by Brahma born from the lotus of god Hari for the achievement of all success and who rewards people quickly, be the goddess of my family for the eradication of all your evils.

There is a region called Hariyāna which is great and most sacred and where Kṛṣṇa with Arjuna wandered

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तेनोद्वाह्य शुभां पत्नीं धन्यां धानीतिविश्रुतां ।
द्वावंगजौ [रीसडाख्यसुदेवौ] जनिताविमौ ॥११॥
राजश्रियां [नाम] पत्न्यां रीसडः सत्सुताविमौ
लेभे दुर्ल्लभदेवाख्यं [श्रीवरं च ततः परं ॥ १२]
श्रीश्रीवरः श्रीवरपाद[पद्मसेवार]संज्ञो मतिमान् विधिज्ञः ।
सद्वंशजेसौ लभते ह कांते कल्लयाभि-[धानामथ गंगदि]श्रीं ॥१३॥
श्रीश्रीवरस्येह कलासु दक्षाः पुत्रास्त्रयोमी गुणिनो बभूवुः ।
पृथ्वीधरो ज्येष्ठ[पतिव्रतायां जा]तो [परौ श्रीधर-]
[सोहणाख्यौ] ॥१४॥

इंद्रप्रस्थाद्वाहणे दिग्विभागे ग्रामः
ख्यातोप्यस्ति नाडायणाख्यः ।
ग्रामादस्माद्दिश्युदीच्यां पितृणां
तृप्त्यै कूपः कारितः श्रीधरेण ॥१५॥
किमु सुरसरिदंभः शीतलं मिष्टमिष्टं
किमिह तदमरैर्व्वा क्षिप्तमत्रामृतं यत् ।
इति पथिकसमूहस्तस्य कूपस्य पीत्वा
मधुरमुदकमच्छं प्रस्तुवन्याति गेहं ॥१६॥

कृतिर्मदनस्य ॥

संवत् १३८४ भाद्र वदि ३ गुरुदि ने ।

[शुभं भवतु]

for the extirpation of sin. In that region lies the beautiful city of Dilli in which are hidden all sorts of jewels and whence all kinds of sins are driven out by the chanting of the Vedas, performed by the knowers of the *Sruti* and which is lit up with joy like the celestial river through the sound of the swan-like anklets in the feet of beautiful ladies.

There is the famous king Muḥammad Shāh, crest-jewel of all the rulers of the earth, who by his personal bravery has crushed the enemies, and is the powerful *Sāka* lord.

When he goes out to the site of hunting excursion the earth moves as it were, out of fear ; the river dries up and the mountains as well as the enemies and directions shudder simultaneously.

Lineage sketch

There was formerly a merchant named Govinda Deva who made his abode in the Nādāyana village and lived amidst friends and family. He was the glory of the Rohitaka family and was accomplished in various pious deeds.

To him was born a meritorious son, Ratna by name, like a jewel born from the ocean, who took the faithful and pious Gaganāśrī as wife.

Of her were born four famous sons who were jewels of piety—Gaṅgadhara, Mādhava, Lakṣmaṇa and Dāmodara.

The youngest among these, Dāmodara, having married the beloved Viradā, obtained nine sons—Śrī Dhīra-deva, Kṛṣṇa and others.

Among them there was one Śri Dhīra-deva who was accomplished in every art and well-versed in mercantile pursuits—in buying and selling. And he was liberal and habituated to giving in charity cows, land, gold and clothes. He was an appreciator of merits.

He married a good-looking, fortunate and wealthy wife, widely known as Dhānī. Of her were born these two sons—Rīsaḍa and Sudeva.

From his wife Rājaśrī Rīsaḍa obtained two good sons—Dullabha-deva and Śrīvara

Śri Śrīvara, who delighted in serving the lotus-like feet of Vishnū and who was wise and well-versed in decorum, obtained two beautiful and high-born wives called Kallya and Gaṅgadiśrī.

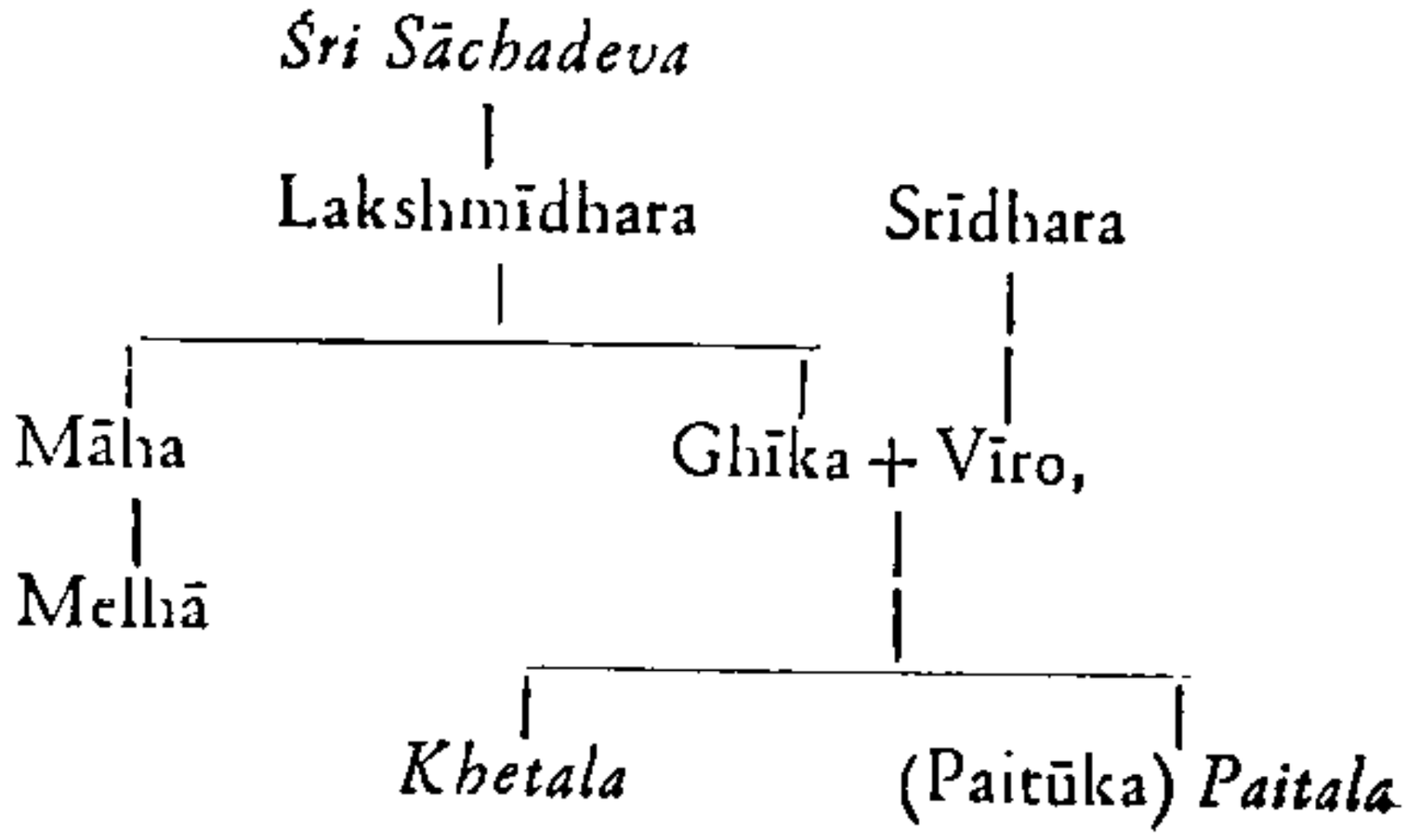
To Śrīvara were born three talented sons who were skilful in arts. One was Prithvidhara—who was born of the elder and devoted wife—and the other two were Śrīdhara and Solhaṇa by name.

In the western direction of Indraprastha there is a village called Nādāyana. To the north of this village Sridhara had a well dug up for the propitiation of his ancestors.

Is this the cool, pleasant and sweet water of the celestial river or is it the nectar scattered here by the gods? Thus the wayfarers remark while going home after drinking the sweet and transparent water of this well.

Written by Madana.[1] Samvat 1384 on the 3rd of the wane in the month of Bhadra, Thursday. May this be auspicious!

The *second* inscription[2] also, eulogizes the Hindū gods and celebrates the Hindū dharma and appreciates the ruling emperor Muḥammad Shāh. Then it introduces Śri Sāchadeva, a leading merchant (*agarwāl*) of the Agrotaka quarter of the city of Dehlī. As shown in the following sketch of his genealogy Śri Sāchadeva was allied through marriage with Śrīdhara of the previous inscription:



1 Vogel, J.—*Catalogue of the Delhi Museum of Archaeology*, Calcutta, 1908; pp. 30-32.

2 Pr, A. S, B., 1873, pp. 102-104

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Two of the descendants of Sāchadeva, Khetala and Paitala by name, were profoundly religious, orthodox and devoted to the Brahmins and *sadhus*. They had become famous for their deeds of piety, one of such deeds being the foundation of the commemoration well at Sarban[1] (*Sāravala*). Composed in V.S. 1384/A.D. 1328 this anonymous inscription was probably the work of a leading Brahmin poet of Dehlī. It opens in characteristically Hindū manner with a prayer to Hindū gods in Sanskrit verse[2] and its translation runs as follows:

'Let all be well! Obeisance to that Gaṇeṣa, by worshipping whose feet mankind gains all results desired for.

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1 The village of Sarban also called Sāravala lay in the area of Raisina, now called New Delhi. See PRAS. NC. 1907-08, pp. 10-11 No. 10

Vogel J.—*Catalogue of the Delhi Museum of Archaeology* (Calcutta, 1908), pp. 34-37.

2 ओं स्वस्ति ॥

सर्व्वाभीष्टफलं यस्य पदाराधनतत्पराः ।
लभंते मनुजास्तस्मै गणाधिपतये नमः ॥१॥
सत्यलो नाम वः पातु सांबवत्यांबया सह ।
प्रसादाद्यस्य देवस्य भक्ताः स्युः सौख्यभाजनं ॥२॥

देशोस्ति

हरियानाख्यः पृथिव्यां स्वर्गसंनिभः ।
दिल्लिकाख्या पुरी तत्र तोमरैरस्ति निर्मिता ॥३॥

तोमरानं-

तरं यस्यां राज्यं निहतकंटकं ।
चाहमाना नृपाश्चक्रुः प्रजापालनतत्पराः ॥४॥
अथ प्रतापदहनदग्धारिकुलकानन: ।
म्लेच्छः सहावदीनस्तां बलेन जगृहे पुरीं ॥५॥
ततः प्रभृति भुक्ता सा तुरष्कैर्यावदद्य पूः ।
श्रीमहंमदशाहिस्तां पाति संप्रति भूपतिः ॥६॥

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Let that (god) Satylla (Siva) together with mother goddess Ambavati by whose grace the devotees enjoy ease and happiness protect you!

There is a region called Hariyāna—a very heaven on earth. Therein lies the city of Dilli, built by the Tomaras.

Therein, subsequent to the Tomaras, the Chauhān kings, intent on protecting their subjects, established a

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अपि च ॥

तस्यां पुर्यस्ति वणिजामग्रोतकनिवासिनां ।
वंशः श्रीसाचदेवाख्यः साधुस्तत्रोदपद्यत ॥७॥
लद्दमीधरस्तत्तनयो वभूव लद्दमीधरांघ्रिद्वयपद्मभृंगः ।
देवद्विजाराधननिष्ठचित्तः समस्तभूतावनलब्धकीर्त्तिः ॥८॥
लद्दमीधरस्य तनयौ कलिकालबाह्यावास्तामुभौ महिमवारिनिधी सुरूपौ ।
माहाभिधो निपुणबुद्धिरभूत्तदाद्यो घीकाख्य उत्तमयशाअनुजस्तु तस्य ॥९॥
माहाख्यस्याभवत्पुत्रौ मेल्हानामा मनोहरः ।
देवद्विजगुरूणां यः सदाराधनतत्परः ॥१०॥
श्रीधरस्यात्मजां वीरोनाम्नीं भर्त्तृपरायणां ।
घीका विवाहयामास तस्यामास्तामुभौ सुतौ ॥११॥
ज्यै(ज्ये)ष्टस्तयोः खेतलनामधेयः
साधुत्वपाथोधिरनंतशीलः ।
पैंतूकनामा च लघुः समस्तगुरुद्विजाराधन-शीलचित्तः ॥१२॥
अथैतयोः खेतलपैतलाख्यसाध्वोः
सदाकीर्त्तनकर्मबुद्धयोः ।
इयं शुभा सारवलाभिधानग्रामोन्तभूरध्यवसत्स चित्त ॥१३॥
पितृणामक्षयस्वर्गप्राप्त्यै संतानवृद्धये ।
षे (खे)तलपैत[ल]श्चैन (नं) कारयामासतुः प्रहिं ॥१४॥
वेदवस्वग्निचंद्रांकसंख्येब्दे विक्रमार्कतः ।
पंचम्यां फाल्गुनसिते लिखितं भौमवासरे ॥१५॥
इंद्रप्रस्थप्रतिगणेग्रामे सारवलेत्र तु ।
चिरं तिष्ठतु कूपोयं कारकश्च सबांधवः ॥१६॥
संवत् १३८४ फाल्गुन शुदि ५ भौमदिने ॥

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kingdom, in which all enemies of public order were struck down.

Afterwards Sahabadin (Shihābu'ddīn) the barbarian having burnt down the forest of hostile tribes by the fire of his valour, seized that city.

Thenceforward that city has been in the possession of the Turushkas to this day: at present emperor Śri Mahammada Śāhī (Muḥammad Shāh) rules over it.

Now, in that city there is a family of merchants dwelling in Agrotaka. In this family was born the virtuous Śri Sāchadeva.

His son was Lakshmidhara—the bee on the lotus-like pair of Lakshmidhara's (Vishnū's) feet—whose mind was ever bent on the propitiation of the gods and Brahmins and who obtained fame by his kindness to all beings.

Lakshmidhara had two sons who were strangers to the age of sin; both of them were oceans of greatness and of goodly form. The first of them was Māha by name, of subtle mind; and his younger brother, named Ghīka, of highest renown.

Māha had a charming son, named Melhā who was ever bent on propitiating the gods, Brahmins and gurus.

Ghīka married Śrīdhara's daughter, Vīro by name, devoted to her husband, by whom he had two sons,—

The elder of them, Khetala by name, was an ocean of goodness and of boundless piety; and the younger was named Paitūka whose mind was devoted to the propitiation of all gurus and Brahmins.

Now in the thought of these two virtuous men, Khetala and Paitala, whose minds were occupied with deeds of renown, was dwelling this fair piece of ground in the vicinity of the village called Sāravala.

Khetala and Paitala, with the view of their deceased ancestors attaining to imperishable Heaven,

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and for the continuation of their race, caused a well to be made.

Written in the year countable by Veda (4), Vasu (8), Fire (3) and Moon (1), from the time of Vikramarka, on Tuesday the 5th of the bright half of Phālguna.

In this village of Sāravala, in the pargana (*pratigaṇa*) of Indraprastha, may this well and its author with his family, exist for a long time !

Samvat 1384, bright Phalguna 5, Tuesday.

The *third* inscription, commonly known as Kalyān[1] inscription[2] of the Sāka year 1328/A.D. 1326, should have headed the list of all the other Sanskrit inscriptions, considering its date and importance. But it is a much later acquisition. Instead of invoking the Hindū gods in the beginning as is customary in Hindū epigraphy this inscription opens with a kind of homage to the emperor (*mahārajādhīrāja*) Muḥammad and an appreciation of Qiwāmu'd-din Qutlugh Khān (Mallika Kamadina), viceroy of the Mahārashtra-mandal 'and of Khwāja Aḥmad bin Aiyāz (Shoja[3] Ahmada) who had under his administrative charge the area of Kalyān. Then the Hindū gods, Madhukeshwara and Vishnū, are mentioned. The translation runs as follows:

'Hail ! In the Sāka year 1248, Kshaya by name in the month of Kārtika, bright half, on the full moon day, Monday when *Mahārajādhīrāja Suratana Mahammada* glorified and honoured by all the princes arranged like a necklace around him, and when the chief minister Mallika Kamadina bedecked with the stately paraphernalia was exercising authority and possessing

1 Kalyān is a town in the Bidar district of Mysore. Formerly it was included in the Hyderabad state.

2 *Annual Report of the Archaeological Department,* Hyderabad, Deccan (1936-37), pp. 43-44

3 A Sanskrit form of Khwāja

the seat in Maharashtra, and when at Kalyān Khwāja Aḥmad was appointed by him in Karnatak, during the rebellion, the vicinity of the god Madhukeshwar was awaiting consecration. Efforts were being made, and desires as to why the deity should not be reinstalled were whispered.

'The qāẓī *advised that it was their religious duty and that they should act according to it.*

'While Suratana Mahammada, lord of the world, was reigning and the merits of Kamadina were also shining, the town of Kalyan had prosperity and the chariot of Śambhu was moving freely. In Saka 1248 when on the Śeshachala mountain Lord Vishnū is also glorified, Lord Madhukeshwar was reinstalled. Lord Madhukeshwar the greatest amongst gods with ornaments like the cobra whose deadly poison he drank to free the world from its fatal clutches, also blesses his devotees by brightening their intellect. This benevolence of the god is permanently associated with him. The worshippers of this god receive propitiation from the Lord and their worldly aspirations are fulfilled. The inscription has been scribed by Vijayaditya.'

'The need for this inscription arose when in the course of the fighting entailed by the rebellion of Bahāu'ddīn Gurshāsp, governor of Sāgar, north of Shorāpūr, some unruly elements in the royal army damaged the temple of Madhukeshwar at Kalyān and the Siva-*linga* was broken. The trustees of the temple, headed by Thakkura Mala, son of Vainasiṁha, waited on Aḥmad bin Aiyāz, governor of Kalyān, and requested him to reinstate the deity and arrange for the resumption of the ceremonial worship of the Siva-*linga*. Aḥmad bin Aiyāz granted the request and issued an order which ran as follows:

Since worship in the temple is the religious duty of the petitioners, they should follow it.'[1]

1 Epg. Ind. vol. xxxii, Part iv, October 1957, pp. 165 ff.

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The order was carried out and the installation of the deity (Siva) took place amidst formal chanting of *mantras*. This has been rightly called *'a charter of religious tolerance and freedom of worship granted to the Hindus by the Muslim government.'*[1]

The *fourth* inscription[2] announces the construction of the Jin-mata temple—Jin-mata or Jayanti-mata being a Hindū goddess—about six miles to the south of Revasa near Jaipur in Rajputana. 'Inside the temple in the lower parts of the pillar shafts', says the Archaeological Report, 'there are six Sanskrit inscriptions, one of which belongs to the reign of Muḥammad bin Tughluq. It is dated Samvat 1382 which corresponds to A.D. 1326. When the king Mahamada Śāhī was reigning, one *thākura* Vichuchchhaja son of *thākura* Daipati of the Lohatani family rebuilt the Jini-dehara, *i.e.*, the temple of Jini. Lohatani is probably identical with Natani, a surname found both amongst the Khandelval and Mahesari mahajans. Mahamada Śāhī of this epigraph is obviously Muḥammad bin Tughluq.'

The *fifth* inscription[3] comes from Batihagarh, a flourishing town, now reduced to a village, twenty-one miles north-west of the Damoh district in Madhya Pradesh. It announces the construction of a cow-temple (*gow-māṭh*) and a step-well together with some gardening done under the personal orders of Sulṭān Muḥammad bin Tughluq. The work was completed by Khwāja Jalālu'ddīn (*Jallalā*) Khoja son of Isḥāq (*Isaka*) in the town of Batihagarh (*Batibadim*) under the supervision of a senior official Ḥisāmu'ddīn Shafīq (*Hisamadini Chhipaka*) son of Malik Zulchi (*Julachi*) —a commander of the Hindū (Kharpara)[4] troops in the royal army and also governor of the Bundelkhand (Chedi)

1 *Op. Cit.* The italics is mine.

2 PRAS, WC., 1909-10, p. 52

3 *Descriptive Lists of Inscriptions in Central Provinces and Berar* by Hira Lal, Nagpur, 1916; p. 50

4 The Kharpara were a tribe of Hindū warriors, tracing their descent from the Kharparas or Kharaparikas of Samudragupta's times and mentioned in Samudragupta's inscription on the Allahabad pillar. See J. R. A. S., 1897, p. 893

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territory. Muḥammad bin Tughluq[1] is described in the inscription as *Sakendra* (*i.e.*, Muslim emperor)[2] ruling from Yoginipura, after having defeated other kings. The inscription further states that Jallala appointed his servant Dhanau as manager of the said institutions—cow-temple, step-well and garden—of which the principal architects were Bhojuka, Kamdeva and Hata of the Silapaṭṭa family, that is the Silawat caste of the Hindus who are still masons, living in the neighbourhood of Damoh. The composer of the inscription was the *kāyastha* Baijuka of the Mathura subdivision and the writer bore the name of Vasu son of Sahadeva. The date is given in the 13th verse as Wednesday, the 3rd day of the bright fortnight of the Vaisakha month in the Vikrama year 1385/ A.D. 1328.

The *sixth* inscription[3] coming from Chunār and dated samvat 1390/ A.D. 1333 announces that Sulṭān Muḥammad had appointed a Hindū, Sai Raj by name, as his wazīr. Written in Sanskrit poetry the inscription opens in the customary Hindū manner, invoking the Hindū gods. The translation runs as follows:

'Om ! Salutation to Ganapati.

I 'Of him who under the name of Dévaca reigned on the opposite coast to Kāśī (Banaras) the son called Sevana was as the sun in the firmament, greatly renowned.

'II That king being celebrated as illustrious by the sovereigns of the world, was ever surrounded by sages, ever devoted to Sambhu (Siva) as the bee to the lotus.

1 Sri Hira Lal, the editor of this inscription, has erroneously read this as Maḥmūd whom he mistook for Nāṣiru'ddin Maḥmūd of the Slave dynasty. His reference to Cunningham's Archaeological Reports Vol. II does not improve the situation.

2 A reference to the first inscription of this series (*vide*, p. 325 *supra*) will show that *Sakendra* was the title given by Madana Deva to Sulṭān Muḥammad bin Tughluq. 'Sakendra' (literally king of the Sakas) then signified a powerful Muslim emperor. In this particular case it was no other than Sulṭān Muḥammad.

3 J. A. S.B. vol. V., 1836, pp. 342-345

III 'Of him was born Chandragana—merciful, devout to the gods, endowed with all kingly virtues, lord of all, guardian of the city (Banaras).

IV 'His younger brother Svami Raja excels as a religious king, gracious to all creatures and skilfully exercising government, to the delight of all good men.

V 'By Muhammad—lord of the hostile Yavanas, Shihabu'ddin and the rest—though an enemy, was Sai Raj, the treasure of benignity, employed as prime minister.

VI '(By him) from a (far) country was an army sent to the bank of the Ganges. The king, on hearing of this believed that an angry and invincible enemy was approaching.

'VII 'Upon this Swami Raja and other brave men went with horses and men and sound (of arms etc.) to defend from the assaults of the foe, their fort (Chunar).

VIII 'Then did all the inhabitants sleep secure, for those waves of terror had passed by; and then the army of the Yavanas entered their fort by surprise.

IX 'And since pacification was not expedient, he (Swami Raja) abandoned the fort for some days; only presents having been given to the enemy according to usage.

X 'But once more, to protect his own people did the noble king Swami Raja, the crusher of the pride of alien heroes in fight, (ascend his chariot) surrounded by applauding heralds; but having perceived the great Turkish warrior surnamed Satdast—him of the hundred arms—at the approach of the hateful one in battle, he again left the fort of his own accord.

XI 'Thence having approached Bhagavati and meditated on her benevolence, and thence returning with care he established his kingdom here, free from all thorns of trouble.'

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The essence is that Sai Raj was originally a minister in the service of Swami Raja, the Hindū ruler of Banaras. Afterwards he accepted service under Sulṭān Muḥammad, the emperor of Dehlī who invested him with great powers. Sai Raj sent one Malik Shihābu'ddīn at the head of an army against Banaras. Swami Raja joined battle and was worsted but refused to make peace with the enemy. However, he discreetly withdrew from the fort of Banaras, giving presents to the enemy. Sometime afterwards he resolved to put in another fight and marched accordingly. But finding that the enemy's strength was much too great he withdrew from the battlefield, imploring mercy of the goddess Annapurna who showed favour. Thenceforward Swami Raja ruled over his kingdom without any difficulty. The kingdom was set free on August 5, 1333 (Samvat 1390 in the month of Bhadra Thursday, 5th day of the waning moon) from Malik Shihābu'ddīn who had been able to occupy it under the protecting favour of Sai Raj.

In this connection may also be read the Petlad[1] inscription of Tughluq Shāh's reign. Intended originally to announce the royal gift of land and a well for the maintenance of the shrine of Pīr Arjun Shāh, commonly believed to have been a saint of Rajput origin,[2] the aforesaid inscription—bilingual in character, in Persian as well as in Sanskrit—still adorns the saint's tomb bearing 1380 as samvat date.[3] The translation of the Sanskrit portion runs as follows:

> 'Om! in V.S. 1380 on the 7th day of the dark fortnight of Pausha, on the 20th day of the lunar month of *Dhu'lḥijja* on Tuesday—in the victorious

1 For Petlad, now in the Kaira district of Bombay state, see *Six Inscriptions of Sulṭān Muḥammad bin Tughluq Shāh*, edited by me (Ep. Ind. 1957-58) the third inscription in this group being the Petlad inscription.

2 His ancestry and parentage are obscure. It is said that one of his ancestors had come from Akhsī, the capital of Farghāna and that his father had married a Hindū wife. Their son Arjun Shāh who later became a saint was given a Hindū name, and the Hindū mother exercised great influence on him.

3 A. D. 1323.

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reign of the glorious sulṭān, the illustrious Gayasadina (Ghiyāṣu'ddīn) the paramount king of great kings, by the order of the diwān of Anahilapattana under the dispensation of the glorious Badaradina Avubaka, Ahmada Amir-i koha (Badru'ddin Abu Bakr Aḥmad, Amīr-i kohi) agent in the circle of Petilapadra in the proximity of the revered Arjuna-Ghori at Petila by Ismaila Ushmana Siraj (Ismail 'Uṣmān Shīrāzī)—an inhabitant of Khambayat—were given twenty *kubbas* of land marked off with boundary...repaired well. The illustrious thakkuras (thakurs) should protect these gifts. Written also in Persian.'[1]

In tune with these Sanskrit inscriptions—almost all combining to install the first two Tughluq monarchs in the hearts of their Hindū subjects—is the Sanskrit tale of a Hero Truthful (सत्यवीर) which has been already reproduced[2] from Grierson's translation of Vidyapati's *Purusa Parīksā*[3].

1 E.I.M, 1915-16 pp. 15-18

2 *Vide* pp. 210-214 *supra*

3 Since the Sanskrit text of the *Purusa Parīksā* (पुरुषपरीक्षा) Bombay, 1947) edited by Pandit Chandra Kant Pathak came into my hands after the said pages (210-214) had been printed, I reproduce here the relevant piece from the Sanskrit text in question with its English translation :

पुरा हस्तिनानाम्नि नगरे महमदनामा यवनेश्वरो बभूव। तस्मिन्नासमुद्रं धरणीवलयं शासति तदुत्कर्षासहिष्णुः काफरराजस्तमभियोद्धुं सकलबलसहितस्तत्रजगाम। यवनेश्वरस्तम् यान्तं ज्ञात्वा कांवोजैस्तुरुष्कैश्च ... ...

'In ancient times there was a Muslim emperor Muhammad by name in the city of Hastna (pūr). He ruled over the earth right up to the sea. A certain Kaphar raja became jealous of his glory; and burning with jealousy he marched upon Dehlī with his army in full strength in order to make war with the emperor. On hearing this the emperor went with numerous mounted warriors from their military habitat.'

It should be noted that the Sanskrit word उत्कर्ष which has been translated as 'tyranny' by Grierson has a different meaning, in fact. According to the lexicons उत्कर्ष means उत्कृष्टता (glory); उत्तमता (excellence); प्राधान्य (precedence) ; श्रेष्ठता (superiority); आधिक्य (amount by which one exceeds another in virtue;

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And equally in tune is Barani's eye-witness account of the prosperity and happiness of the Hindus in the empire. He notices painfully that 'contrary to the best teaching of administrative science given by the jurists, the Muslim emperors of Dehlī befriended the Hindus. As a result, idolatry permeated in Muslim society ; and infidelity, and paganism and idol-worship got rooted among the Musalmans and believers' :

کفر و شرک و بت پرستی میان مسلمانان و دین داران بیخ گرفت [1]

(Continued)

अतिशय (in abundant quantity); वृद्धि (expansion); उन्नति (progress and prosperity); स्वकालसे परकाल तककर्त्तव्य (dutifulness through the span of life). Thus उत्कर्ष is always used in good sense in Sanskrit; and the given expression in the *Puruṣa Parīkṣā* means that the Kaphara Raja became jealous of Sulṭān Muḥammad because of the Sulṭān's glory, excellence, precedence, superiority, and the amount of merits which he possessed in greater measure than did his contemporaries, and further on account of the expansion of his power, his prosperity and progress, and finally because of his sense of duty and dutifulness, exhibited on all occasions uniformly.

Further Grierson translates कांबोजैस्तुरुष्कैः as 'horses from Balkh and Turkistan.' I differ. I feel that the term तरुष्क here stands for a typical warrior; and कांबोज signifies a typical habitat of warlike Hindū clans, not necessarily Muslim regions like Balkh and Turkistan. If कांबोज be taken to signify Cambodia then it should suggest the Hindū centres of recruitment. At any rate the idea that the armies of the Dehlī Sultanate were manned by thè Muslims only and not by the Hindus is essentially modern and has resulted from a wrong interpretation of the misleading phrase *lashkar-i Islām*, frequently seen in the Indo-Persian chronicles.

1 Barani: *Na't-i Muḥammadi*, MS. p. 393

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CHAPTER XII

PHILOSOPHY AND PENOLOGY

Philosophy and penology (*siyāsat*)[1] are interrelated according to Baranī. Philosophy is that wisdom which guides the individual or the government to certain actions in the interest of the State; and the reactions that follow like fire following the smoke have to be controlled. That control is synonymous with *siyāsat*, which is an Arabic word meaning 'administration, public punishment and torture.' But in Baranī's glossary *siyāsat*[2] would mean penology and execution or putting to death by cutting off the head in an inhuman manner after trial or without trial. *Siyāsat* has also been described as severity of punishment and as 'a companion feature to medieval administration.'[3] It was equally 'a companion feature' to ancient administration.

In Athens the teaching of false philosophy was punishable with death, banishment and fine.[4] In ancient Irān Māni the philosopher was charged with teaching a false philosophy and fell victim to a *siyāsat* under the orders of the Sassanian king Bahrām I and was flayed alive with great cruelty in the course of a whole night.[5] An elaborate

1 T. F. S. B., p. 467

2 For Baranī's use of the term *siyāsat* see T. F. S. B., pp. 460, 465, 467, 469, 500, 508, 509, 510, 511, 517.

3 Bashir Ahmad.....*The Administration of Justice in Medieval India* (Aligarh, 1941), p. 232

4 Gupta, R. P. D.....*Crime and Punishment in Ancient India*, p. 41

5 A native of Hamadān, Māni was born in 215 A. D. He made some researches in religion and announced himself as a reformer and prophet before king Shāpūr of the Sāssanian dynasty on the day of his coronation (March 20, 242 A. D.). Shāpūr showed him kindness in the beginning but subsequently expelled him from Irān. Māni wandered about in Central Asia, India and China, and returned to Irān after the death of Shāpūr (272 A. D.), Before long the old troubles revived, and Māni was flayed alive under the orders of Bahrām I about 274 A. D. (Brown, E. G..... *A Literary History of Persia*, vol. I, pp. 157-158)

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nology was also followed in ancient India, as is given a nutshell in the following table from the code of Manu:

Book	*Verse*	*Offences*	*Punishment*
IX	275	Opposing the king's command	Death
	282	Encouraging or adhering to the king's enemies	Death
	232	Forging the royal edict	Death
	275	Robbing the king's treasury	Punishments discretionary with the king
VIII	321	Theft of more than 50 panas or less	Amputation of the hand
VIII	323	Theft of diamond and rubies	Death
	325	Theft of kine or other cattle belonging to a priest.	Loss of half one foot
IX	277	Theft from the person (cut-purse)	Amputation of the thumb and index for the first conviction; for the second one hand and foot, and death for the third conviction
VIII	332	Robbery	Death
IX	276	House-breaking and robbery by night	Hands to be lopped off and the offender fixed on a sharp stake
VIII	34	Appropriation of lost property	To be trampled on by an elephant
VIII	193	Obtaining goods under false pretences	Whipping or multilation or death
IX	279	Breaking a dam which secures a pool	Immersion under water or corporal punishment
IX	280	Breaking into a temple	Death
		Wearing the string or other marks of the twice-born	Corporal punishment at discretion

Book	*Verse*	*Offences*	*Punishment*
VIII	359	Adultery by a servile man with the wife of a priest	Death
VIII	281	A low class man sitting on the same seat with one of the highest	Banishment after branding or the king shall cause a gash to be made on his buttock
VIII	282	Spitting on one's superior or indecently insulting him	Gashing the lips or other parts concerned
	270	Insulting the twice born with gross invectives	Slitting of the tongue
VIII	271	Contemptuous language used regarding the twice-born or his class	An iron style ten fingers long shall be thrust red hot into his mouth
VIII	272	Presuming through pride to give instructions to priests concerning their duty	Hot oil to be dropped into the mouth and ears
VIII	279	Assault by a low-born man	Mutilation of the organ with which the offence is committed
	280	Raising a staff or hand against another or kicking another	Mutilation of the hand or foot
	283	Assault on a Brahmin	Mutilation of the hands
	367	Contamination of a damsel by a man through insolence without her consent	Amputation of two fingers and a fine of 600 panas
	370	Pollution of damsel by a woman	Her head will be shaved and two of her fingers shall be chopped off and she shall ride, mounted on an ass through the public street.[1]

1 Fink, H. R..... *Crimes and Punishments under Hindu Law* (Calcutta Review, 1875, vol. 61), pp. 132-133

Islām brought into the world an improved penology[1] and introduced punishments, severe as well as light, under the Quranic terms—*ḥudūd* and *ta'zīr*. *Ḥudūd* (literally limits or bounds) indicated severe punishments because the person incurring any of these violated the right of God (*ḥaqqu'llāh*) as well as the public rights. The Quran says:

'These are *ḥudūd* prescribed by God. Come not too near them.'[2] This verse warns all believers against violating the *ḥudūd* which include renouncement of Islām, punishable with death; murder, punishable with *qiṣāṣ* (retaliation) and *diyat* (blood money) unless the heirs ot the murdered person agreed to forgive the murderer; adultery, punishable with lapidation; fornication, punishable with one hundred lashes; accusing a married woman of adultery, punishable with eighty lashes; theft, punishable with amputation of a part of one hand; and highway robbery, punishable with the loss of one hand and the opposite foot. These are severe punishments which could neither be altered nor forgiven unless *ṭauba* were performed with some formality, *before* the guilt had been proved in the *qāẓi's* court.

The word *t'azīr* has two opposite meanings—(i) light punishment; (ii) helping and glorifying, as used in the

1 In his book *Crime and Pudishment in Ancient India* Calcutta, 1930 p. 58) Mr. Gupta says on the authority of the *History of Continental Criminal Law*, Part I, Chapter IV, Section 38 that 'an enumeration of the forms of mutilation used as punishment in the south of Germany (branding, cutting off the hand, ears, the tongue, putting out of the eyes) is revolting and the modes of death ranged between breaking on the wheel, quartering in the crudest manner, pinching with red-hot tongs, burying alive and burning. In medieval France, the methods of putting to death varied; in general, they hanged the man and burned or buricd alive the woman; there are instances of men being buried alive for the crime of theft and men being burned for rape. Counterfeiters were thrown into boiling water. In certain special heinous cases, the death penalty was preceded by an ignominious torture or even a mutilation. In medieval and early modern England, the punishments were hardly less cruel. The punishments of Imperial Rome were no less cruel.'

2 Quran, Sura ii, verse 183

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Qurān.[1] It is also a legal term indicating a set of light punishments for offences outside the purview of *ḥudūd*, and dependent for the determination of the nature and of punishment on customary law and the discretion of the *qāẓī*.[2] Abetting a murder, stealing a third time and renouncement of Islām on the part of a woman—these three are typical cases of *t'azīr*, punishable with imprisonment only.

Inasmuch as the *Shari'at* took no cognizance of crimes against the State the Muslim rulers of India acted capriciously,[3] conforming to no fixed principles. For all the offences of political complexion they inflicted severe punishments which may well be compared with those of Ancient

1 *Idem*, Sura vii, verse 156; Sura v, verse 15; Sura xlviii, verse 9.

2 In his *Jāmi' 'Abbāsī*—a recognized work on Muslim jurisprudence composed during the reign of Shāh 'Abbās Ṣafavī of Irān—Bahāu'ddīn 'Āmilī says, 'In *Shari'at* the degree of *ta'zīr*, *i. e.* the amount of punishment, is not fixed except in five items; in the remaining thirty items of *ta'zīr*, the amount of punishment is left to the discretion of the *qāẓī*. Those five items run as follows:

(i) co-habitation with one's own wife during the month of *Ramaẓān*, punishable with *kaffāra* (atonement) to be performed through *qaẓā* (belated performance of fast) and twenty-five lashes.

(ii) marriage (*'aqd wa dukhūl*) of an already married man with a slave girl without the permission of his permanent wife, punishable with twelve and a half lashes.

(iii) Two naked persons sleeping under a quilt, punishable with thirty to ninety-nine lashes.

(iv) A man and a woman (unmarried) found naked under a quilt, punishable with ten to ninety-nine lashes
N. B. Some of the 'ulamā hold that this is an offence, punishable under *ḥadd*.

(v) Anyone assaulting a virgin girl with his finger, punishable with thirty to ninety lashes.

(*Jāmi' 'Abbāsī*; Tabriz (1323 Hijra), p. 422.

3 Although Islamic law formed the chief basis for the judgment of the *qazis*, the Sultans as well as the Mughul emperors paid little heed to the limitations imposed by it while dealing with crimes against the State and with personal or dynastic enemies.

India. In his essay on *Hindu Crime and Punishment* Jolly says:

'Capital punishment in various aggravated forms such as impaling on a stake, trampling to death by an elephant, burning, roasting, cutting to pieces, devouring by dogs and mutilations are also frequently inflicted even for comparatively light offences. The *jus talionis* becomes specially conspicuous in these punishments. Thus a criminal is condemned to lose whatever limb he has used in insulting and attacking another.'[1]

And in his *Penology, Old and New*, Sen says:

'One class of punishment in vogue in ancient India was mutilation (*angachheda*) of different limbs and organs of the body. Manu mentions ten kinds of mutilation. Bṛhaspati prescribes fourteen referring to fourteen parts of the body which may be mutilated. Then there was capital punishment (*pramapana*) of the pure and the mixed variety, *i.e.* mutilation or some other form of punishment combined with death sentence. The pure variety is of two kinds—ordinary (*avicitram*) and extraordinary (*vicitram*). The ordinary form of execution is by means of ordinary weapons such as sword and the like ; the extraordinary is by means of impaling or the other awe-insipring methods.'[2]

Almost all these punishments are seen reflected and repeated in the 'Alāi and early Tughluq periods. Under the orders of Sulṭān 'Alāu'ddīn Khaljī a criminal was made to lose his organ which he had used in making aggression on the opposite sex.[3] Then, impaling on a sharpened stake and trampling to death under the feet of an elephant were, among others, the conspicuous punishments inflicted

1 Gupta, R. P. D.....*Crime and Punishment in Ancient India* (Calcutta, 1930, p. 58. Also see Crime and Punishment (Hindu) in the *Encyclopaedia* of *Religion and Ethics* (Hastings), vol. iv.

2 Sen, P. K.....*Penology Old and New* (London, 1943), p. 127

3 T. F. S. B., p. 295

by Sulṭān Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Tughluq.[1] His son and successor Sulṭān Muḥammad went further and is said to have ordered cutting to pieces and mutilations, even through trained elephants. When it was proposed to punish the rebels of 'Ainu'l-Mulk's defeated army, they were thrown before the elephants. Says Ibn Baṭṭūṭa who was an eye-witness:

> 'The elephants started tearing them to pieces by means of the iron forks fitted on their tusks. Some they threw up into the air, catching them as they fell.'[2]

The punishments of skinning and flaying alive are not traceable in the above description of Hindū penology. Perhaps these were borrowed from ancient Irān. But Ẓiyāu'ddīn Baranī says that the Hindus of Wārangal had killed and *skinned* Malik Tikīn, a rebel chief of the royal army, and they sent his skin to prince Ulugh Khān at Deogīr.[3] The Muslim chronicles describe these punishments colourfully,[4] emphasizing the fact that penology

1 *Idem*, p. 449
2 The *Rehla* (G. O. S.), p. 109
3 T. F. S. B., p. 449,
4 Ibn Baṭṭūṭa describes these under ten distinct headings:
(i) He kills his brother.
(ii) Three hundred and fifty men are executed under his orders in the course of one hour.
(iii) Torture and execution of Shaikh Shihābu'ddīn under his orders.
(iv) He kills the professor and jurist 'Afīfu'ddīn Kāshānī and two other jurists along with him.
(v) He kills two jurists of Sind in his service.
(vi) He kills Shaikh Hūd
(vii) He imprisons Tāju'l-'Ārifīn and kills his sons.
(viii) Shaikh Ḥaidari is executed under his orders.
(ix) He kills Ibn Maliku't-tujjār
(x) The khaṭību'l-khuṭabā is beaten to death under his orders

(The *Rehla*, G. O. S., pp. 85-93)

And Baranï (T. F. S. B, p. 497) says:

> 'He (the Sulṭān) had established a *Diwān-i Siyāsat* and placed it under the charge of some *muftis* who were irreligious and wretched wrecks; and he had appointed some apostles of the worst type as officers and superintendents of the said *Diwān-i Siyāsat*.'

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became a grave problem of government under Muḥammad bin Tughluq. And the serious reactions together with the rebellions and revolts that followed coerced his successor, Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh into saying:

> 'In bygone days blood was shed profusely and different kinds of punishments—cutting off hand, foot, ear, nose, pulling out eyes, thrusting molten lead into human throat, hammering the hand, foot and chest, skinning, amputating the leg, sawing the human body into two and mutilation of limbs—were inflicted. The Almighty God helped me to such an extent that I banned the shedding of Muslim blood and prohibited every kind of torture and mutilation'.[1]

But in spite of the prohibitions of Fīroz Shāh the practice of inflicting cruel punishments did not die out, and Fīroz Shāh himself inflicted perhaps the most horrible of all punishments by burning to ashes a recalcitrant Brahmin.[2] Again, Jahāngīr, actuated by a liberal spirit announced similar prohibitions. By means of a firman issued on his accession he prohibited the cutting of nose and ears of any person and said, 'I myself made a vow by the throne of Allah that I would not blemish anyone by this punishment.[3] 'By means of another firman issued in the sixth year of his reign Jahāngīr confirmed the above prohibition and forbade the governors of the provinces of his empire to inflict the punishment of blinding.[4] But Jahāngīr himself could not abstain from inflicting cruel punishments. One day he had the feet of two kahars cut off for obstructing the royal hunt.[5] Jahāngīr also inflicted extremely cruel punishments on the adherents of the rebel prince Khusrau.[6] Such was the *siyāsat*, of which the bloodcurdling instances can be cited *ad nauseum*. Since it was

1 Firoz Shāh—*Futūḥāt-i Firoz Shāhī*, (Aligarh, 1954), p. 2
2 T. F. S. A., C. C. pp. 379-381
3 T. J. (Persian text, Lucknow) p. 5
4 *Idem*, p. 101
5 *Idem*, p. 79
6 *Idem*, p. 29

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not essentially disconnected with the old Hindū penology. it created no trouble and caused no repercussions in the country until the reign of Muḥammad bin Tughluq. Then trouble arose through the clash of State interests with those of the 'ulamā and mashāikh. Seeing this Baranī chafed and writhed, and remonstrated with him one day. The emperor retorted:

> '*Mā rā az chunīn fitnahā iltefāt-e nīst.*' That is, 'I am not at all perturbed by these rebellions. I am aware of the gossip that the rebellions are due to the exceeding bloodshed, caused by the Sulṭān. But I am not prepared to give up *siyāsat* on account of such gossip, nor on account of the outbreak of rebellions.'[1]

Then followed an interesting conversation which is reproduced below.

> Emperor—'Ẓiyāu'ddīn ! you are steeped in history. Do you know the crimes for which the kings in the past used to kill the guilty ?
>
> Ẓiyāu'ddīn Baranī—I have read the history of king Anūsherwān; and I found that he was of opinion that the punishment of killing (*siyāsat*) is essential for the State, otherwise satanic people would cause such turmoil that the consequences would be incalculable. As for the law-abiding subjects, they would be involved in all kinds of immoralities and mischief. When Jamshed was asked for which crime death is to be inflicted he said, 'For seven crimes a king can legitimately inflict *siyāsat*—
>
> (i) for renouncement of religion
> (ii) for murder of loyal subjects
> (iii) for adultery of married persons
> (iv) for treason
> (v) for rebellion

1 T. F. S. B., p. 509

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(vi) for complicity in it

(vii) for violation of the royal orders, resulting in serious iujury to the State.

Emperor—How many of the crimes which according to Jamshed entailed capital punishment (*siyāsat*) are traceable in the Prophet's sayings (*aḥādīṣ*) ?

Ẓiyāu'ddīn Baranī—Only three of them are traceable in the Prophet's sayings. These are—

(i) renouncement of Islām

(ii) murder of a Muslim

(iii) adultery of married persons

As for the other four they are not traceable (in Islām) but are left to the discretion of kings to determine.

Emperor— In the age of Jamshed there were few rebels ; and wicked people were then but rarely found. For this reason he had confined himself to what you have attributed to him. But in my reign rebels and wicked people have increased ; therefore I kill on suspicion of rebellion and wickedness, and also I kill on the upsurge of revolt until the idea of revolt among the army (*khalq*) vanishes or I perish.

I have no wazīr who could administer the empire on my behalf so that I could abstain from *siyāsat* and killing. I see that the army (*khalq*) have renounced my allegiance completely ; for this reason I have resolved to punish them. I spent my treasure beyond count for their sake ; in spite of this they have revolted against me. I have tested them many times and have come to know their minds and disposition. I found in their midst none but enemies and opponents. Now, my sword alone will settle matters with

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them and the final decision rests with the sword.'[1]

The psychology of the emperor exhibited in the above conversation reflects the teaching of the *danḍa-nīti* and *raja-nīti* thus:

'If the king were not without indolence to punish the guilty, the stronger would roast the weaker like

1 (i) T. F. S. B., pp. 510-11

(ii) Mr. Bashir Ahmad (*Administration of Justice in Medieval India* pp. 228-232) raises Ẓiyāu'ddīn Barani to the position of a *qāẓī*, thus giving some weight to his remarks. He says: 'In stating the Law on the subject to Muhammad (bin Tughluq), Qāẓī Ẓiyāu'ddīn said that such a step could be taken firstly against those who were alleged to be in revolt or from whom the king feared a revolt and there was proof of their intentions; secondly against those who were leading it or helping it, and thirdly against those who disobeyed the just orders of the Sulṭān which meant that they were disobeying God, but proof of damage to the State was necessary.'

Mr. Bashir Ahmad is of opinion that while dealing with the revolts and the area of disturbances, the emperor made use of the lawyers' doctrine of *Dāru'l-Ḥarb* which brought about 'a temporary suspension of the guarantees enjoyed by the subjects for as long as the conditions in the land required.' This is a conclusion reached on the face value of Barani's narration of the Doāb rebellion which is seriously misleading ; (see p. 238 *supra*). Further, Barani's special meaning of the term *khalq* (for Barani means *khalq-i lashkar* and not mankind as Mr. Bashir Ahmad thinks) being disregarded, Mr. Bashir Ahmad puts Muḥammad bin Tughluq on a par with three of the weak-minded sultans of the Deccan, namely (i) Maḥmūd Shāh Bahmanī who killed his minister Khān Muḥammad in a state prison (ii) Meerān Husain Niẓām Shāh of Ahmadnagar who murdered fifteen princes in one day and (iii) Ismāil Niẓām Shāh who had his well-meaning wazīr Mirza Khān ignominiously paraded, seated on an ass and then had him killed cruelly, his body being hewn to pieces. But there is no comparison at all between any or all of these sultans and Sulṭān Muhammad bin Tughluq of Dehlī, not even in the matter of the so-called 'emergency powers.' While Sulṭān Muḥammad bin Tughluq was a philosopher and almost always acted under the urge of his philosophy—may be misdirected and anti-Islamic philosophy—none of the above-mentioned sultans of the Deccan history could claim even a fraction of philosophical learning. Unlike them all the emperor of Dehlī (Sulṭān Muḥammad) always justified the bloodshed that he caused on the basis of philosophy.

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fish on a spit; the crow would lick the clarified butter; ownership would remain with none; the lowest would overset the highest. The whole race of men is kept in order by punishment; for a guiltless man is hard to be found; through fear of punishment, indeed, this universe is enabled to enjoy its blessing; deities and demons, heavenly songsters and cruel giants, birds and serpents are made capable by just correction of their several enjoyments. All classes would become corrupt; all barriers would be destroyed; there would be a total confusion among men, if punishments were not inflicted or were inflicted unduly. But where punishment with a black hue and a red eye advances to destroy sin, there if the judge discern well, the people are undisturbed.'[1]

A similar teaching was given by Bhisma to Yudhisthira and is reproduced below.

> Yudhisthira—What course of conduct should be adopted by a king shorn of friends, having many enemies, possessed of an exhausted treasury and destitute of troops, when he is surrounded by wicked ministers, when his counsels are all divulged'?
>
> Bhisma—Conversant as thou art with duties, thou hast, O bull of Bharata's race, asked me a question that touches on a mystery. Without being questioned, O Yudhisthira, I could not venture to discourse upon this duty. Morality is very subtle. Listen, therefore, O Bharata, to the means that kings may employ during seasons of distress. From the standpoint of true morality, however, I would not call these means righteous. The last word of social wisdom is, never trust.
>
> Do not fear the results of *karma*; rely on your strength. No one has ever seen in this world

1 Fink, H. R.....*Crimes and Punishments under Hindu Law* (Calcutta Review, 1875, vol. 61, pp. 123-124)

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what the fruits are of a good or of an evil deed. Let us then aspire to be strong, because all things belong to the man who is strong. Might is above right; right proceeds from might; right has its support in might, as living beings on the soil. As smoke follows the wind, so right must follow might. Right in itself is devoid of command; it leans on might as the creeper on the tree. Right is in the hands of the strong; nothing is impossible to the strong. Be a heron in calculating thine own advantage, a lion when thou dost attack, a wolf when thou dost prey, a hare when thou takest to flight. When thou findest thyself in a low state try to lift thyself up, resorting to pious as well as to cruel actions. Before practising morality, wait until thou art strong. If thou art not prepared to be cruel and to kill men as the fisher kills the fish, abandon every hope of great success. If men think thee soft, they will despise thee. When it is therefore time to be cruel, be cruel; and when it is time to be soft, be soft.'[1]

Yudhisthira—'O grandfather! You have not finished your discourse on the duties of kings. From what you have said it appears that Danḍa occupies a high position, and is the master of everything, for everything depends on Danḍa. It seems, O puissant one, that Danḍa is most powerful and is the foremost of all beings among either gods and

1 (i) Zimmer.....*Indian Philosophies*, pp. 120-121, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127

(ii) Mahābhārata.....*Op. cit.*, p. 121)
Book, verses 80, 12
(*Idem*, 134-134, 2-3
(*Idem*, 134, 5-7)
(*Idem*, Book xii, 140-25)
(*Idem*, Book xii. 140, 38
(*Idem*, Book xii, 15, 14, 140, 50
(*Idem*, Book xii, 56, 21)

Rishis, Yaksas, Raksas, Pisacas and Sadhyas or living beings in this world consisting of beasts and birds. You have said that the entire universe, mobile and immobile including gods, *asuras* and men, depends on Landa. O foremost of Bharata's race, do tell me: Who is Penal Providence ? Of what kind is he ? What is his form ? How does he control ?

Bhisma—Listen, O scion of the Kurus: Who is *Danda* and why he is also called *Vyahara* (*i.e.* law or judicial proceeding). *Danda* is that by which righteousness is maintained. He is sometimes called *Vyahara* (law). *Danda* is so called in order that the righteousness of the king who is wide awake may not suffer extinction. *Danda* is the mighty *Vishnu*, the veritable *Yajna* (sacrificial rite), the Lord *Narayana*. He is called the Great Being bearing an eternal mighty form. Danda, the daughter of the Supreme Being under diverse appellations such as *Lakshmi* (prosperity), *Nīti* (moral ordinance), *Saraswati* (learning), *Danda-nīti* (penal ordinance) is made manifest in diverse forms and supports the universe.

'There is nothing which deserves greater respect from kings than *Danda* by which the ways of righteousness are marked out. Brahma himself, for the protection of the world and for establishing the duties of the different orders has sent down *Danda*.'[1]

It appears that Muhammad bin Tughluq had learnt this ; and had also drawn upon the *Mahābhārata*, assimilating the political wisdom which had been taught by king Dyumatsena to his son, prince Satyavan :

'A number of men having been brought out for

1 Sen, P. K.....*Penology Old and New* (London, 1943), P. 91

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execution at the command of his father, the prince observed:

'Sometimes virtue assumes the form of sin and sin assumes the form of virtue. It is not possible that the destruction of individuals can ever be a virtuous act.'
Thereupon the father observed:

'If the sparing of those who should be killed be virtuous; if robbers be spared, O Satyavan! all distinction between virtue and vice will disappear'[1]

A scene of this type was frequently staged at the royal court of Dehlī when delinquents and criminals—who were no other than a section of the 'ulamā, and mashāikh and their followers—were 'brought in and taken out for execution'. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa says:

'Every day hundreds of people in chains with their hands fastened to the neck and their feet tightened were brought into the council-hall. Those who were to be killed were killed and those who were to be tortured were tortured and those who were to be beaten were beaten'.[2]

Baranī too describes a similar scene, saying:

'He (Sulṭān Muḥammad) put so many Musalmans to *siyāsat* and killed so many believers—sayyids, mashaikh, 'ulamā, Sunnis, adherents and followers of the 'ulamā (*nuqtadiyān*), men of religious cadre and conduct (*ashrāf wa aḥrār*) and kindred classes of people (*ṭawāif-i dīgar*)—that their numbers defied computation.'[3]

Baranī continues:

'But for his *adherence to philosophy* and *siyāsat* (which brought on his head and his empire inconceiv-

1 (i) *Mahābhārata*, Chapter CCLVII of the Santiparva
(ii) Sen, P. K.....*Penology, Old and New* (London, 1943) p. 93
2 The *Reḥla* (G. O. S.), p. 85
3 T. F. S. B., p. 459

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able disasters) I would have declared safely that Sulṭān Muḥammad was a unique sulṭān the world ever produced and that from Adam's time no such king was ever enthroned. He would have then been one of those rare personalities, outlined in the following couplet:

> If you decide to advance, surely you acquire a kingdom. And if you choose to remain behind, still you are the refuge of the world.
>
> If you look right, you are a provider of human mind and if you look left, you are the supporter of old age.[1]

Muḥammed bin Tughluq's adherence to philosophy is also attested by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa who says:

> 'I have seen at the court of the Indian emperor Sulṭān Muḥammad philosophical matters alone being discussed every day after morning prayer.'[2]

Which philosophy was discussed at the royal court? Was it Muslim philosophy or Greek philosophy or a compendium of Indo-Greek philosophies? These are problems which call for an answer. Since the *raison d'étre* of Muslim philosophy—the rationalism of the M'utazalites —is a protest of sound human reasoning against the arbitrary and oppressive demands imposed by orthodox teaching; and again, because Muslim philosophy[3] has embraced the essence of Greek philosophy which according to Baranī had been pursued ardently by the emperor, it follows that the reported discussions at the royal court were held in the light of the Greek philosophy. Influenced by Greek philosophy which insisted on the study of causes and phenomena the emperor had resolved to accept no established opinions in Islām, unless they stood the cold

1 *Idem*, p. 467

2 The *Reḥla* (G. O. S.) p. 266

3 Almost all the great Muslim philosophers—al-Fārābi, Ibn Sina, Ibn Rushd, al-Kindi and Ibn Ḥazm—had made profound study of Greek philosophy.

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test of his reasoning.[1] Like a philosopher-scientist he moved in the world of ideas and believed in Aristotle's saying that 'the ruler of the State possesses greater powers of wisdom and foresight, while the subjects had only bodily powers suitable for carrying out the ruler's designs.'[2] Hence the emperor's own designs (*andeshahā*) as Barani has worded these. These were the emperor's *ijtehads*—'a gift born of his own superior wisdom or intuition (*ṣawāb-i maḥẓ*).[3]' When for certain reasons, his *ijtehads* were not carried out, he was not tired but evolved readily new *ijtehads*, justifying his own conduct in the light of Aristotelian maxim, and said: 'People are naturally in search of science: I cannot feel composure without that search.[4] And he behaved similarly or, in a symbolic manner,[5] on a special occasion witnessed by Ibn Baṭṭuṭa:

> (1) 'One of the eminent Hindus filed a suit against the emperor to the effect that he had killed his brother without any cause and had him summoned before the *qāẓī*. The emperor walked on foot completely unarmed to the *qāẓī's* court where he salured and bowed. Previous to his departure he had issued orders to the *qāẓī* instructing him that he must not stand or budge out of regard for him when he appeared in his court. Accordingly the emperor attended the court and stood before the *qāẓī* who gave his verdict ordering him to compensate his opponent for the blood of his brother. The emperor gave him satisfaction.

1 T. F. S. B. p., 471

2 Robin.....*Greek Thought* (London, 1928), p. 190

3 T. F. S. B., p. 471

4 *Vide* p. 273 *supra*

Aristotle had said, 'Man by the natural necessity of his being is a political animal.' Robin, *Op. cit.*

5 That is, in a manner essentially Islamic and in consistency with the practice of the orthodox caliphs and also comparable to Aristotelian regard for law and judiciary. 'Man, when fully developed in an ordered community, is the noblest creation, but when deprived of law and justice he is the worst', said Aristotle (*Op. cit.*)

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(ii) 'Once a Muslim filed a suit against the emperor, making certain monetary claims. The case was taken up and tried by the *qāẓī* who gave his judgment against the emperor, requiring him to pay the plaintiff the desired sum of money.

(iii) 'A boy from among the sons of the maliks brought a suit against the emperor, complaining that the emperor had struck him without cause, and had him summoned before the *qāẓī*. The *qāẓī* pronounced a sentence against the emperor ordering him to indemnify the plaintiff by payment of cash, if accepted; otherwise he must let the plaintiff beat him in return. That day I saw that the emperor came back to his court, sent for the boy and gave him a cane saying: 'I call upon you by my head, you must strike me just as I struck you. 'The boy took hold of the stick and struck the emperor twenty-one strokes so that his cap (*kulāh*) flew off.'[1]

Barani was aware of this but was unable to understand the meaning behind the emperor's behaviour. He wondered if that emperor stood higher than Aristotle.[2] Aristotle had believed that 'worship was indispensable for the existence of a state ; and had defined the duties of priests and other sacred officials and had provided that all the expenses of public worship should be borne by the state.'[3] The Indian emperor (Muḥammad bin Tughluq) behaved similarly. In his empire not only were all kinds of religions tolerated, but denominational heresies amounting in the eyes of the orthodox Musalmans to paganism and atheism were also allowed to flourish ;[4] and Śiva-linga was worshipped publicly.[5]

1 *The Reḥla* (G. O. S.), p. 83

2 T. F. S. B., p. 462

3 Robin, L.....*Greek Thought* (London, 1928), p. 180

4 *Futūḥāt-i Firoz Shāhī* (Aligarh, 1954), p. 2

5 *Annual Report of the Archaeological Department*, Hyderabad (Deccan) 1936-37; pp. 43-44. Also see p. 333 *supra*.

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CHAPTER XIII

Sharī'at and Ijtehād

Shari'at[1] is a technical term for the law[2] of Islām—divine commandments as laid down and acted upon by Prophet Muḥammad and expounded out of the Quran and *aḥādīṣ* by the divine 'ulamā of his times. Hence it became the motto of Islām that obedience to the *Shari'at* is obligatory for all.[3] But there was something weird about the conduct of emperor Muḥammad bin Tughluq. Although he had a profound regard for the *Sharī'at* he acted sometimes mysteriously,[4] 'Iṣāmī considered him an enemy of Islām and reported that he had revolted against the *Sharī'at*.[5] Baranī considered him an eccentric and reported that

1 *Shari'at* literally means the clear path to be followed. Says the Quran (Sura xiv, verse 17): Then WE gave them a *Sharī'a* (a path to be followed in religion); follow it and not the wishes of those who have no knowledge.'

Sharī'at also means the religion of Islām as the Quran (Sura xlii, verse 11) says: 'To you HE hath prescribed the religion (*Sharī'at*).'

2 *I.e.* the *Shari'at* embraces *hadd*; the law of inheritance; commands and prohibitions; rules determining one's conduct in private and public life; jurisprudence (*fiqh*) and sayings of the Prophet (*aḥādīṣ*); regulations relating to worship—*namāz*, *roza*, *zakāt*, *khums* and *jihād*; permitted and forbidden things like indulgence in music and playing with certain musical instruments; use of gold and silver vessels; the relation between sexes; racing and shooting for wagers; the copying of living persons; clothing and ornaments for men and women and finally regulations for punishment (*Cf.* E. I., vol. iv, p. 320).

3 K. M., p. 26.

4 That is, his treatment of the *Shari'at* has remained inexplicable and there is some mystery or obscurity about it. Perhaps he thought that the *Sharī'at* was not a complete code of commands the relations of the believer's soul with Allah having remained, beyond its province. In other words the *Shari'at* was the *forum extranum* only; it was not what the emperor desired it to be, *i.e.* *forum internum* also.

5 F. S. I., verses 10, 945—10, 951.

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he was a freak of nature, a mixture of opposites and a mystery.[1] Ibn Baṭṭūṭa thought likewise and reported that he had killed in a single day nine persons for neglecting to say prayers in congregation.[2] It seems that the emperor believed he was a *mujtahid*; and while practising *ijtehād dar Sharī'at*,[3] he also aimed at playing the role of a *mujaddid*.[4] As such he made researches and exercised his own judgment but impaired his work by discounting an important feeder of the *Sharī'at*, namely the *aḥādīṣ*.[5] Read in the light of his phrase *ijtehād dar Sharī'at*[6] Baranī's remark that Sulṭān Muḥammad became hard-hearted and cruel[7] because of his disregard of the *aḥādīṣ* becomes intelligible; and it follows that the emperor's deeds and actions were determined by his *ijtehād*.

Literally *ijtehād* means exertion; technically it means 'to exert with a view to form an independent judgment on a legal question.' Says the Quran: 'And to those who exert, WE show OUR path.'[8] And the Prophet explained the need for *ijtehād*, addressing Ma'ādh bin Jabal, governor-designate of the Yemen. 'How will you decide matters coming up before you, Ma'ādh': the Prophet enquired. 'I will judge matters according to the Book of Allah' was the

1 T. F. S. B., pp. 457-68 and 470-72.

2 The *Rehla* (G. O. S.) p. 83.

3 Literally 'making researches in *Sharī'at*. *Vide* p. 272 *supra* and the facsimile of Muḥammad bin Tughluq's *Memoirs* at the end of this book.

4 For *mujtāhid* and *mujaddid* see p. 361 *infra* and note Barani's remark *taḥkīmāt-i mujaddid ghair qānūn bar āward*. (He posed as a *mujaddid* but made arbitrary decisions in contrast to the *Sharī'at* directives) T. F. S. B., p. 470.

5 The *aḥādīṣ* (plural of *ḥadīṣ*) were codified in the course of the second and third centuries Hijra, the most important and latest of such codifications being those of Bukhāri (869/256) and Muslim (875/261). It is said that Bukhāri collected after a prolonged study in the countries of Syria, 'Irāq, Egypt, Irān and Arabia about 60,000 *aḥādīṣ*, out of which he selected 7,275.

6 *Op. cit.*

7 T. F. S. B., pp. 465-66.

8 Sura xxix, verse 69.

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reply. 'But if Allah's Book contains nothing to guide you', added the Prophet. Ma'ādh replied: 'Then I will act on the precedents of the Prophet of Allah.' 'But if the precedents fail?' queried the Prophet. 'Then I will exert to form my own judgment, based on the best of my knowledge,' said Ma ādh. The Prophet was pleased and signified his approval.[1]

It follows that recourse to *ijtehād* is indispensable under certain conditions and that the duty and right of *ijtehād* did not involve an inerrancy. Anyway, the practice of *ijtehād* and the role of *mujtahids*[2] can be traced through the ages in the Islamic (Shi'a) world. According to the Sunnis all *ijtehād* closed after the death of Aḥmad bin Ḥambal in 856/241; and for some centuries since, there was no *mujtahid* in the Sunnī world. One reason behind this indifference towards *ijtehād* was that the 'Sunnī 'ulamā preferred *ijmā* '(agreement of the whole Muslim people) to the fallible opinion of an individual.' When, at last, the succeeding generations found out the need for *ijtehād*, there 'appeared from time to time individuals who, moved either by ambition or by objection to fixed positions, claimed for themselves the right of *ijtehād*.' One such claimant was Juwainī (1028/419—1085/478); another was Ibn Taimiya (1263/661 —1328/728); another was Suyūṭī (1445/849 —1505/911). Juwainī and Ibn Taimiya repudiated the Sunnī belief that all *ijtehād* had closed with the first three centuries of Islām and that every Musalman must follow without circumspection one of the four schools—Ḥanafī, Mālikī, Shāfa'ī and Ḥambalī. Juwainī and Ibn Taimiya also affirmed that *ijtehād* was obligatory for later scholars. Suyutī held that there must exist in every age at least one

1 Happy over his successful choice of Ma'ādh bin Jabal as governor, the Prophet thanked God immediately on hearing the reply.

Sulemān bin al-Ash'aṣ.....*Sunan Abi Dā'ūd*, vol. ii, p. 505, Karachi.

2 A *mujtahid* is one who exerts himself to form an independent opinion in law. The Shias believe that every generation must have at least one *mujtahid*, functioning in a particular area.

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mujtahid and that in every century there must come a *mujaddid*.[1]

It should be noted that thirty years after the demise of Prophet Muḥammad Arab life on the whole ceased to embody the spirit of his *Sharī'at*, and un-Islamic notions were sponsored by the Umayyads and subsequently by the Abbasids. When disintegration of the Abbasid empire began and secular[2] states arose, the empire or Sultanate[3] of Dehlī followed suit. The divine 'ulama[4] (*'ulamā-i ākhirat*) who had long

1 A *mujaddid* (literally renewer) is a reformer in Islām. It is agreed that every *mujaddid* must be a *mujtahid* first, but every *mujtahid* need not be a *mujaddid*. For every particular century there can be only one *mujaddid*, but there may be any number of mujtahids in a given century.

Some of the Shi'a *mujtahids* have been called *mujaddid*.

Among the Sunnis too, Abū Hanifa (799/80-767/150); Mālik (714/95-796/179); Shāfa'ī (767/150-819/204) and Aḥmad bin Ḥambal (780/164-855/241) who were *mujtahids* in the first instance have been called *mujaddid*.

2 *'Uẓūẓ* (literally biting hard) is the corresponding term in the Arabic text. It signifies the secular character of the States. *Vide* Maududi, A.....*Tajdīd-o Aḥiyā-i Dīn* (Lahore) pp. 18, 25.

3 The term, Sultanate or Sulṭān has no legal sanction in Islām. While 'Sultanate does not appear in the Quran at all, the term Sulṭān is used in a different sense, *i.e.* superior argument or power. See my book *Le Gouvernement du Sultanate de Delhi* (Paris), p. 13, footnote 1.

4 The divine 'ulamā are defined in the Quran (Sura xxxv, verse 29) as those alone of God's servants who fear Him. According to a *ḥadīṣ* they enjoy the status of the Israelitish apostles

(علماء امّتی کانبیاء بنی اسرائیل); and according to another (العلماء ورثة الانبياء) they are heirs of prophets.

'The divine 'ulamā are further described as those who will stand higher than the martyrs on the Day of Judgment. It is because of their learning, probity and piety that the world is replenished. It is up to them to see that the commands of the *Sharī'at* are observed and good work is performed. Under their

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disappeared from the centres of Muslim administration were replaced in Dehlī by the *'ulamā-i dunyā* or *'ulamā-i sū*[1] who are described in a contemporary work[2] as the worst type of 'ulamā because they attended on amirs and sought access to kings. They aimed at determining the laws of the realm and guiding the sulṭān in its administration. They desired him to perform certain religious duties[3], namely attending the Friday and 'Īd prayers; reciting the *khuṭba* or getting it recited in his name; supervising the administration of justice including the *ḥudūd*; waging holy wars; creating and managing religious endowments; hearing complaints and settling disputes; announcing himself as *sulṭān-i Islām*[4] and *pādshāh-i Islām*[5] and his army as *lashkar-i Islām*[6] and humiliating the Hindus. But the sulṭān did not like the guidance of the 'ulamā in all the affairs. Unable to break with them while the State was yet in its infancy he made a compromise, granting them favours.[7] He recognized the

spiritual influence vices diminish and recede into lurking-places.' (*Tārikh-i Fakhru'ddin Mubārak Shāh*. (London, 1927), pp. 9-10.

Again, 'had there been no (divine) 'ulamā in the world, men would have been reduced into animals. Sleep of these 'ulamā is as good as worship ; their respiration amounts to the counting of beads ; their pious deeds are doubly valued before God, and their sins are forgiven.' (*Op. cit.*)

'I have heard says Balban from my father that the 'ulamā are of two kinds—*'ulamā-i ākhirat* (divine 'ulamā) and *'ulamā-i dunyā* (worldly 'ulamā). The divine 'ulamā lived a spotless and selfless life for the principles of Islām.' (T. F. S. B., pp. 154-55).

Some of the divine 'ulamā may be spotted among those forty-six who are said to have come to Dehlī during the reign of 'Alāu'ddīn Khaljī. But they were neglected and were cut off from public life. Says Barani:

> 'Alas ! a thousand times alas ! Sulṭān 'Alāu'ddīn did not appreciate the greatness of these 'ulamā ; nor did he pay them even a hundredth part of the reverence due to them.'
>
> (*Op. cit.* p. 354).

1 *'Ulamā-i sū* is another term used in contemporary literature for the worldly 'ulamā as opposed to the *'ulamā-i ākhirat*.

2 *Tārikh-i Fakhru'ddin Mubārak Shāh* (London, 1927), p. 10.

3 *Op. cit.* pp. 13-14.

4, 5, 6 *Op. cit.* pp. 24, 25, 27, 28.

7 From the language used in the *Tārikh-i Fakhru'ddin Mubārak Shāh* (pp. 16, 17, 35) it appears that salaries were granted.

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FIRMAN OF EMPEROR MUHAMMAD BIN TUGHLUQ



Facing p. 363

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Shari'at officially and undertook to protect it and appointed choice believers to the religious and judicial offices in the administration but abstained from humiliating the Hindus and destroying their idol-houses. In his *Na't-i Muḥammadī* Baranī surveys briefly the situation in regard to the Hindus and idolatry since the beginning of the Sultanate and shows that the sultans successively pursued a secular or pro-Hindū policy till it became an established tradition.[1] As a courtier Baranī watched it closely during the reign of Muḥammad bin Tughluq; and, irritated by the secular policy of the government, indignantly remarked that idolatry was firmly fixed among the Musalmans.

Recently a firman of the emperor has been discovered. Composed in simple Persian, free from metaphor and written in black ink in *naskh* character on brownish, native paper over 12 inches broad and 2-3 feet long, full of text divided into regular lines, it bears at the forehead an imperial monogram (*ṭughrā-i shahryār*), namely *Abu'l Mujāhid Muḥammad bin Tughluq Shāh as-sulṭān*—a picture of the emperor's interwoven signature[2] in Turkish style. This may not be in his own handwriting, for it is not confirmed by a seal. But the firman itself in its present shape is genuine[3] and may be taken as a copy, intended for the record office. It announces the royal appreciation of a community which is definitely a Hindū tribe—possibly the Jain Suris[4]—and promises them rewards. Instructions about

1 Barani—*Na't-i Muḥammadi* (MS. Raza Library, Rampur), pp. 391-92. Also see p. 339 *supra*.

2 See photo on the adjoining page.

3 Such is also the opinion of Dr. Nizamu'ddin of Hyderabad who examined it independently of me but the same day at Calcutta.

4 The firman is, in fact, a charter in favour of a people, described as سیورگان —a term which Elliot (III, p. 352) has translated as 'Hindū devotees'. Hodivala (I, p. 331) identifies it with 'Shrivara'—a Jain sect. But I am of opinion that these are the *seoras*—Jaina ascetics—of Abu'l Fazl (A. N. P., III, p. 68). Here the term signifies the community of Jinaprabha Sūri who says he obtained a charter from the emperor, though he gives

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this are given in the text to the ministerial departments ; and the fact is notified to the khans, and amīran-i ṣadah in the capital city of Dehlī as well as in the territories of Gujarāt, Dhār and Nāgor. This firman was written and issued in the first year of the reign, *i.e.* 725 Hijra.

Barani's narrative of the reign contains no reference to this firman, but there is an ironical remark that shortly after his accession the emperor began to issue one hundred or two hundred firmans a day[1]. Since Barani feared his *siyāsat* and at the same time coveted his rewards he dished up spurious *ḥadises*[2] in order to please him. Thus he joined hands with the worldly 'ulamā who had stooped since the time of Mu'izzu'ddīn Muḥammad of Ghor to glorify monarchy.[3] They had set the fashion which was subsequently

a later date. Perhaps he or the Suris of his community had obtained an earlier charter too.

1 T. F. S. B., p. 470.

2 Barani presented before the emperor as genuine the following spurious *ḥadises* :

(i) If there is no sulṭān, the people will devour one another

لولا السلطان لاكل الناس بعضهم بعضا

(ii) The sulṭān is the shadow of God

السلطان ظلّ الله

(iii) He who obeys the sulṭān obeys God.

من اطاع السلطان فقد أطاع الرحمن

Barani also exploited the following verse of the Quran :

Obey God and obey the Prophet and those in authority among you.

اطيعوا الله واطيعوا الرسول واولى الامر منكم

Muḥammad bin Tughluq used this Quranic verse as well as the above-mentioned *ḥadises* on his coins. C. P. K. D. E., pp. 250-253. *Cf.* T. F. S. B., p. 446.

3 The sulṭān was raised to the height of *imām* ; and a *ḥadis*

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adopted by Amīr Khusrau, investing royalty with radiance and transforming it into something really splendid. However, this gifted poet being also a seer was subsequently struck with remorse, as is shown in the following verses:

'O Khusrau! as an atonement for your glorifying the king you should place your head at the feet of the divine 'ulamā and seek their blessing.'[1]

از کنّار دشت تعظیم نیست دیده ز پائے علما بر نگیر

O Khusrau! there is no peace amidst the amirs. Stand up; run towards the divine 'ulamā.'

خسرو اماں در امرا نیست خیز سوئے فقیہاں خدائے گریز

His conscience was since awakened, and his verses that follow abound in warnings. He relates the story of an *'ālim*[2] who suffered after his death[3] for justifying through

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was quoted to that effect—he who obeys me obeys God and he who obeys the *imām* (*i.e.*, sulṭān) obeys me,' said the Prophet. See the *Tārikh-i Fākhru'ddīn Mubārak Shāh* (p. 12) which was written in the opening year of Quṭbu'ddīn Aibak's reign but enables us to know the political thought of the whole period of Muslim rule.

1 *Maṭla'u'l Anwār*, p. 61

2 *'Alim* is the singular of 'ulamā

3 'A certain *'ālim* used to discourse to a king on certain topics at midnight. When both of them had passed away, a saint beheld them in a dream and enquired of the *'alim* how he was faring. The *'ālim* replied:

'I am suffering from inconceivable tortures.' The saint was astonished at this and said:

'You lived and moved in the manner of the 'ulamā. Why should you suffer?

Afterwards the saint queried the king who said:

'My association with the *'ālim* led to my salvation. While making his discourses he was very particular about pleasing me. That has saved me from hell. Now he is being burnt in the hell that had been prepared for me, while I am enjoying the paradise that he has lost.'

Op. cit. p. 54

his discourses the misdeeds of a king. Then he makes an observation about the 'ulamā and warns them, saying:

'They ('ulamā) are intent on being counted associates of the ruler, concealing as they do many tricks beneath their cloaks. They make Nu'mān's[1] turban which they wear serve as a foot-wrapper of the tyrant ruler.

Do not ply the pen with the object of burning down the people. Do not make the pen an instrument of forgery.

Do not play the role of Nu'mān deceitfully. Do not place the Satan's egg beneath an angel.[2]

You are not ashamed of the fact that when you issue a *fatwā*, your unjustified *fatwā* amounts to putting the Prophet's sword in the hands of Satan.

The divine 'ulamā remain far away from fraud. Nobody can ever see the shadow of the sun.[3]

An interpretation of things with the object of defacing reality fraudulently amounts to violating the ruling of the Quran'.[4]

Amīr Khusrau was not prepared to acknowledge the 'ulamā's claim for spiritual leadership unless they cast off their vanity and became better men. He says:

'Knowledge is nothing but research. You should always speak, quoting authorities.

Whatever you do must be right and you must be afraid of the wrath of God.

Since you are not even afraid of making mistakes, your learning is damaging religion seriously.

You have girded up your loins to promote mischief.
Your foot is inactive on the road of right action.

1 Nu'mān was the epithet of imām Abū Ḥanīfa.

2 That is, do not show yourself like an angel while you are no more than a devil.

3 That is, the virtuous or divine 'ulamā never play tricks.

4 That is, your interpretation of the Quarn is wrong like the pigments of a turkey.

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A knowledge that does not bear the stamp of deed is
like a body without a soul.

To please a tyrant king you throw overboard the rights
of a hundred darwesh.

Those 'ulamā who pass wrong judgments turn religion
into a means of exploitation at the hands of a
tyrant ruler.

They raise the king's absurdities to the height of Nu-
'mān's laudable qualities; they depict the king's
irreligious deeds as religion.

And whatever wrong is done by the king is done by
their permission.

The king snatches the people's wealth while the 'ulamā
declare it a legal and religious deed.

They join hands in pursuing the art of Abū Jihl[1]; and
out of hypocrisy they declare it as justice of
'Umar[2].

Any jurist trying to acquire position through the stupid
amirs is, in fact, trying to benefit the amirs at the
cost of his own class of jurists.

(O worldly 'ulamā !) If you take the topmost position
for yourself, basing your claim to it in the light
of the *ḥadīṣ* that the 'ulamā are the heirs of pro-
phets, where will you stand amidst the divine
'ulamā who are really the heirs of the prophets?

A person whose abode is supposed to be in the best
part of paradise will never ask for worldly favour
from the materialists.

The wording of an *'ālim* who (by evidence of his
deeds) heeds not the Day of Resurrection has no
effect at all and is like nonsense uttered by a
person in his sleep.

1 'Amr bin Hishām who enjoyed the patronymic of Abu'l Hikam was contemptuously called Abū Jihl (father of ignorance) by the Muslims because he was a bitter enemy of the Prophet. He was a powerful leader of the Quraish and was killed in the battle of Badr.

2 That is, while playing the role of Abū Jihl they represent it as signifying the justice of 'Umar.

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A needle might penetrate cloth a hundred times but it does not perform any sewing without thread. Similarly an *'ālim* without deeds cuts no ice.

Acquire knowledge in such a manner that your sleep be counted as devotion to God (*'ibādat*) throughout your life.

Since you are a hypocrite engaged in profane love and wine, your knowledge is nothing short of a disturbed dream.

How long will you continue to drink wine in secret and base your misdeeds deceitfully on permission from the Quran?

It is very ugly on the part of an *'ālim* to drink wine; it is no better than mixing poison with sweets.

When a person having learnt the Quran by heart drinks wine continuously he floods the place of the Quran (heart) with wine.

When a man who has acquired learning becomes a constant sinner he must be discarded even if he be the most learned man of his age.

An *'ālim* who does not act up to the law is barren and useless, even if he makes himself renowned through a hundred tricks.

An *'ālim* who sets his face against good deeds is branded on his forehead as a donkey carrying loads of books.

Every sin of serious nature that the sulṭān commits they connect with the *fatwā* of Abū Ḥanīfa; and the travesty of *Sharī'at* law on his part they take as *Sharī'at* itself.

They are using cheap clothes for the purpose of economy and in order to hide their true wealth.

Those 'ulamā who desire to obtain honour through kings and for the sake of worldly material have turned their faces towards hell.

The knowledge that men of high position have acquired is not knowledge properly speaking; it is a kind of magic in order to enchant the king.

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The person who runs ceaselessly up and down is, in fact, practising the habit of attending the royal court.'

On seeing many of his co-religionists go astray Amīr Khusrau was hurt; and he broke out:

'What an age is this? Everywhere people obtain dignity in proportion to their indulging in sins.

He who is not slow at performing (merely) his *farz*[1] is declared a man of piety and a friend of God.

Since the world abounds in vice, a person who is no more than a spark is to be counted as a flame.

Alas! a hundred times alas! These Musalmans are like Zoroastrians.

They claim Islām as their religion but their hearts are bereft of the fear of God. Let them not mock at the holy religion.

Let those who have pursued Zoroastrian habits all their lives explain what right they have to call themselves Musalmans.

The pronouncement of Allah and *Yā Rab* on the part of those who have exceeded the bounds of the *Sharī'at* is nothing but the cry of a drunkard.'

On seeing the mashāikh or ṣufī saints go astray Amīr Khusrau was no less hurt, as is evident from the following verses:

'Clad in rough woollen garments there are many sufis who have not heard the call for prayer.

When the report about his indulging in wine reaches the sulṭān at last, the ṣūfī walks smartly into the mosque.

1 *Farz* means a religious obligation like *tauḥīd*, *namāz* and *roza*. The poet says that those Musalmans who perform the essential part of religious duties (*farz*) are called *wali* (friend of God). But this amounts to lowering the standard of *wali*.

> Do not place your head under anyone's skirt lest he should souse you under the wet border of his garment.
>
> Do not bow before the keeper of a tavern lest he should lead you astray.
>
> Why do you walk submissively behind that religious leader? He is a man of evil which he displays fraudulently as virtue.
>
> All these mashāikh are worshippers of money; they are all like Brahmins with idols of gold in their hands.'[1]

It appears that Sufism had lost its moorings? in this age. Having originated from the mystic aspects of the Prophet's life and from a specialized reading of some Quranic verses it had brought into the world a doctrine called *ṭarīqat* which taught and insisted on the development of the believer's soul, thus pointing the way to communion with the Creator and of absorption into Him. In other words Sufism undertook to determine and regulate the believer's consciousness (*niyyat*)—a task which, it is said, 'the *Sharī'at* had attempted and intensified but left incomplete'. Emerging into importance in the second century Hijra Sufism met with opposition at the hands of the orthodox 'ulamā, namely Bukhārī (d. 870/256) and Muslim (d. 875/261) who declared it a heresy. In the fifth century it strengthened its position by winning over the veteran Sunnī scholar and *'ālim* of Irān, namely Imām Ghazzālī. Dissatisfied with the psychology of the fellow-'ulamā and desiring a realistic approach to his Creator, Ghazzālī joined hands with the Sufis and succeeded in reconciling Sufism to the orthodox theology. In the sixth and the succeeding centuries Sufism branched out into a few orders or fraternities[1], the most important of them being Chishtiya,[2] Suhrwardiya, Qādiriya, Naqshbandiya and Firdausiya.

1. For the Persian text of the verses from the *Maṭla'u'l Anwār* (Lucknow, pp. 50-86) translated above see Appendix.

2 The Chishtiya order which traces its rise from Khwāja Abū Abdāl Chishti (d. 966/356) was introduced into India by Khwāja Mu'inu'ddin Chishti of Sistān (1142/537—1236/634). After

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Located, as a rule, at the grave of its founder amidst

twenty years of discipleship under Khwāja 'Uṣmān Chishtī Hārūnī he undertook a long and arduous journey through Arabia, 'Irāq, Irān and what is now called Afghanistān, and finally came to Ajmer in 1195/592 where he died at the age of ninety-four. Among his successors the most notable were (i) Quṭbu'ddīn Bakhtiyār Kākī (d. 123 /634); Farīdu'ddīn Mas'ūd Shakarganj (d. 1266/665) and (iii) the Sulṭānu'l-Aulīya Shaikh Niẓāmu'ddīn (d. 1325/725). For details see the *Reḥla of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa*, pp. 21, 29, 51.

The Suhrwardiya order was organized at Uch in Sind by Bahāu'ddīn of Multān (d. 1266/665), the real founder of the order being Shihābu'ddīn Suhrwardī of Baghdād. Among his disciples the first place is held by Sayyid Jalālu'ddīn Surkh-posh (1199/596 1291/690) of Sind. He is said to have been 'the ancestor of a generation of saints, some of whom were active and successful propagandists of Islām'. Second was Jalāl bin Aḥmad Kabīr, entitled Makhdum-i Jahāniyān (d. 1383/785). Third was Burhānu'ddīn Quṭb-i 'Ālam (d. 1452/850) of Gujarāt. Fourth was his son Sayyid Muḥammad Shāh 'Ālam (d. 1474/879 of Rasulābād-Ahmadābād.

The Shaṭṭāriya order was introduced into this country by 'Abdullāh Shaṭṭārī who was inspired in Irān and finally died in Mālwa. His disciple Muḥammad Ghauṣ (d. 1562/970) of Gwalior made the Shaṭṭāriya order better known by securing the patronage of Humāyun and Akbar the Great. Muḥammad Ghauṣ was followed by two saints of lesser fame in succession. These were Wajihu'ddīn (d. 1589/998) and Shāh Pīr (d. 1632/1042)

The Qādiriya order was founded by 'Abdu'l Qādir Jilānī who died in Baghdād in 1166/560. He has had a large following in India. His order known after his name was introduced into this country three hundred years after his death by one of his descendants—Muḥammad Ghauṣ of Sind (d. 1517/923) who settled at Uch. Among the other saints of this order perhaps the most important was Shaikh Mīr Muḥammad commonly known as Miyān Mīr (d. 1635/1043), the spiritual teacher of prince Dārā Shikoh.

The Naqshbandiya order was founded by Khwāja Bahāu'ddīn Naqshbandī of Turkistān (d. 1389/190), It was sponsored in India by Khwāja Bāqī Billāh (d. 1601/1010). The foundation of this order is also attributed to Shaikh Aḥmad Fārūqī of Sarhind (d. 1625/1033) who is called *mujaddid-i alf-i ṣānī*, that is, the reformer of the second millennium of Islām.

The Firdausiya order was founded by one Najmu'ddīn Kubrā who was a disciple of Abū Najīb Suhrwardī (d. 1235/632). He was addressed by his spiritual teacher as Shaikh-i Firdaus (shaikh of paradise). Hence the name of his order—Firdausiya.

premises called *khānqāh* or *ziyāratgāh*[1], each order formed a hierarchy with the *murids* (disciples) and *khuddām* (servants) as the lowest rung of the ladder and the *shaikh* (chief) at the top. They conveyed to the common people the following message of Sufism:

> 'God has endowed all His servants with the capacity for union with Him. They have this capacity hidden in their hearts. But it cannot be developed without guidance. Therefore it is necessary that every person should voluntarily seek to attach himself to some illuminated soul, who has become qualified to lead men to God. To perform the function of spiritual leadership there have arisen pious souls, who, because of their peculiar spiritual gifts and diligence in seeking God, have been divinely blessed with the gift of miraculous powers (*karāmat*). These men, out of their practical experience in the way (*ṭarīqa*) of coming into union (*waṣl*) with God, have defined the stages (*maqāmāt*) of progress and laid down rules for the guidance of all men who desire to live on terms of the closest possible intimacy with God and His saints (*walis*).'[2]

However, in actual practice things differed. No member bowed before any authority other than his own *shaikh* or the head of his own order who assumed great self-importance. Being the director of the order, the *shaikh* assigned duties to all the members and kept them busy. Some were labelled as *sālik* (travellers) who were told off daily to go out begging for the *khānqāh*, while others who stayed indoors were made to do menial work and others known as *muntazimīn* (administrators) looked after the *khānqāh* and entertained the visitors. Thus each order possessing a government, resources and finances of its own became self-centred and acted selfishly; and in the majority of cases the members were uneducated and uncultured. They began to indulge in the use of drugs and stimulants, and lost their

1 Gesūdarāz, M.....*Jawāmi'u'l—Kilām*, p. 143
2 Titus, M. F.....*Indian Islam*, p. 113

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sober and scholarly habits; and tendencies towards superstition and vanity grew apace.

While no order liked State service on principle, circumstances compelled many sufis of the Firdausiya and Suhrwardiya orders to join State service in different capacities and accept State gifts and grants during the reign of Muḥammad bin Tughluq. Shaikh Sharafuddīn Yaḥyā Maneri, the famous saint of the Firdausiya order, is said to have accepted reluctantly a prayer-carpet with the grant of a *jāgīr*; and Shaikh 'Imādu'ddīn of the Suhrwardīya order joined the army.[1] Some members of the Chishtiya order proved recalcitrant, adhering to the principle of non-co-operation as had been practised by the Sulṭānu'l-Auliyā Shaikh Niẓāmu'ddīn. His mantle fell upon his leading disciple Shaikh Naṣīru'ddīn *Chirāgh-i Dehlī* who looked upon Muḥammad bin Tughluq as *ẓālim* and abhorred every kind of connection with his empire. He used to reiterate the saying of Shaikh Farīdu'ddin Shakarganj (1173/569-1265/664): 'to the sufis of all orders it is forbidden to associate with kings and government officers'. He was ordered to go to Daulatābād but managed to remain at Dehlī as had been desired by his spiritual teacher Shaikh Niẓāmu'ddīn; and earned the epithet of *Chirāgh-i Dehlī* or the torch of (learning) in Dehli, held aloft by him amidst the darkness of Dehlī, caused by the forced migration of other mashāikh from that city to Daulatābād. Afterwards he is said to have been forcibly employed as superintendent of the royal wardrobe. But no reconciliation with the emperor was possible. On the contrary, the relations were further embittered; and the emperor would have executed him in the course of his Tatta expedition, where he summoned him[2] from Dehlī, but for his own death which overtook him all of a sudden (1351/752). The *Tārīkh-i Muḥammadī*[3] says:

1 This is evident from the context of the *Reḥla of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa*, p. 97

2 S. A., p. 246

3 Bihāmīd Khānī, M.....*Tārīkh-i Muḥammadī* (M. U. Rotograph, F. 149 b).

'Muḥammad bin Tughluq, who was an oppressor and a tyrant emperor, tortured the saint (Naṣīru'ddīn Maḥmūd) in a variety of ways. The saint endured the tortures patiently, heaving not a sigh, although the tortures continued to be inflicted for a long time.'

Evidently Shaikh Naṣīru'ddīn Maḥmūd confronted a very grave situation. He could neither save himself nor the sufis from the tyranny of the emperor. So vexed was he in spirit that, one day, he exclaimed:

'I am not fit to perform the role of a ṣūfī. Today the role of a ṣūfī has become a sport in the hands of novices'.

Then he recited the following verse of Shaikh Sanāī[1]:

O (true) Muslim! O (true) Muslim! believe me, this kind of Islām, this very kind of Islām practised by these faithless people is nothing but a sham, the observation of which brings nothing short of sorrow and regret.

And he affirmed that a ṣūfī must endeavour earnestly to attain Faith and must not merely pose as a dignified personality, hankering after miraculous powers. 'I wonder' he added, 'how they acquit themselves as sufis without attaining nearness of God through religious experience'.[2]

Similar was the case with Shaikh Sharafu'ddīn Yaḥyā Manerī who was aggrieved to hear from the lips of an *'ālim*, Maulānā Karīmu'ddīn, a report about demoralization. One day in the course of a *majlis* the Maulānā said:

'I know a legist (*dānishmand*) at Dehlī who claims to narrate many *aḥādīṣ* about the permissibility of

1 Abu'l Majīd Majdūd of Ghazna used to write verses in praise of the later Ghaznavī kings, but was so disappointed that he gave up his vocation and left Ghazna. He retired to Merv where he lived like a recluse in strict religious seclusion until his death in 1131/526.

2 Abdu'l Haq—*Akhbāru'l Akhyār* (Mirath, 1278 Hijra). p. 76.

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wine; and in the light of those correct *aḥādīṣ* he can issue a decree (*fatwā*) with such an effect that people would place barrels of wine before their houses and drink openly'.[1]

On hearing this the Shaikh retorted that no right type of *muftī* could issue such a *fatwā*; but he sadly remarked that the Musalmans of his day were demoralized and had no idea of pristine Islām.[2]

A similar report of demoralization came from Ibn Taimiya of Damascus who attributed it to five diseases. First, obscurantism of the 'ulamā who concealed their knowledge and thus obstructed the progress of Muslim thought. To them he used to say, 'I cannot conceal knowledge.' Secondly, *taqlīd*[3] and *waḥdat-i wujūd*. While *taqlīd* which is the opposite of *ijtehād* had, in his opinion, paralysed independent thinking, the doctrine of *waḥdat-i wujūd* had killed the Islamic sense of *tauḥīd* by teaching that the Creator was present in one form or another in every part of His creation. Finding that many of the sufis had been captivated by the doctrine of *waḥdat-i wujūd* and were consequently practising *sijda*, saint-worship and grave-worship, Ibn Taimiya was provoked into stopping these and similar practices by force. Thirdly, *ijmā'* or consensus. Ibn Taimiya declared it impracticable under the circumstances; and was of opinion that it was likely to do more harm than good to Muslim society. Fourthly, *firaq wa bid'aāt*. That is, sectarianism and heresy which had rent Muslim society, and perpetuated heretical and doctrinal differences. Fifthly, corruption in the *khanqahs* and among the sufis.

It appears that Muḥammad bin Tughluq took a leaf out of the book of Ibn Taimiya, whose disciple Abdu'l Azīz

1 M. M. Y., p. 346.

2 *Op. cit.*, p. 370.

3 *Taqlīd* (literally to hang something around the neck) has a technical meaning in religion, *i.e.* 'the adoption of the utterances and actions of another as authoritative with faith in their correctness without investigating reasons.'

Ardwelī came on a mission to Dehlī where he made his discourses[1]. The emperor was deeply impressed; and the reaction, interpreted in the light of a constructive reading of the discursive remarks of Barani and Mīr Khurd, suggests that collaterally with his five projects[2], mentioned above, the emperor was pursuing a *sixth* project, namely a Reformation comprising eight items.

The *first* was the disrobing[3] of sufis, that is, making them wear the layman's dress instead of the distinctive woollen garment (*lubs-i ṣūf* or *khirqa*) which could be used in special cases only. A ṣūfī of high standing Saiyed Quṭbu'ddīn Husain[4] by name was so embarrassed at this ban that, on being ordered to go from Dehlī to Daulatābād in the ministerial equipage of Khwāja Jahān Aḥmad bin Aiyāz' he became restive. He made it clear to the authorities that he was determined to continue dressing and behaving in characteristic ṣūfī manner on moving to Daulatābād. He was shown unusual kindness by the wazīr. But others were not so, lucky, and the defaulters were punished.

The *second* item was the drafting of the mashāikh and 'ulamā into government service and harnessing them with administrative duties as was the case with Shaikh Mu'izzu'ddīn, Khwāja Qāẓī[5], Khwāja Karīmu'ddīn Samarqandī[6] and the two Sindi jurists. Shaikh Mu'izzu'ddīn was posted at Gujarāt and Khwāja Qāẓī at Daulatābād. Both met with a tragic fate[7]. Khwāja Karīmu'ddīn Samarqandī was posted at Satgāon to perform some duties of religious and political character with the title of *shaikhu'l Islām* and wazīr. There he remained undisturbed until his death.[8] The two jurists

1 The *Rehla of Ibn Battūta*, p. 70.

2 *Vide* p. 110 *supra*.

3 S. A., pp. 215, 218.

4 Commonly known as Saiyed Quṭub'ddin Husain Kirmānī—a disciple of Shaikh Fakhru'ddin Żarrādī—was an extremely rich and influential ṣūfi. He dressed, ate and moved in characteristic ṣūfi manner and helped and encouraged others also. (S. A., p. 218).

5, 6, 7, 8 S. A. pp. 196, 197, 307.

of Sind whom Ibn Baṭṭūṭa has left unnamed[1] were appointed advisers to a revenue collector (*'āmil*) in a certain province. They were subsequently tortured to death. A ṣūfī of the Chishtī order, Shaikh Quṭbu'ddīn Munawwar by name defied the emperor. Even the bait of a *jāgīr* of two villages could not entice him into the trap of royal service. And although he had moved from Dehlī to Daulatābād, a new centre of administration, the emperor could not lay severe hands on him.[2]

The *third* item aimed at reforming the *khanqahs* as well as the sufis—those called *zindīq*[3] or *be-shara'*,[4] and *qalandars*,[5] who had renounced the Islamic ritual of *namāz* and *roza'* ; and others who used to idolize the senior mashāikh and adored them unduly, considering them as high as the Prophet. In this connection the emperor fell foul of a Chishtī saint, Shaikh Quṭbu'ddīn Dabīr by name. On seeing the latter pick up the shoes of Shaikh Fakhru'ddīn Zarrādī he shouted:

> 'Give up such a practice as this and the belief behind it, for it amounts to infidelity.[6]

The emperor also set his hands to settling disputes about successions to the *khānqāh* management', an eye-witness account of which may be read in the *Rehla*.[7]

The *fourth* item aimed at recruiting the sufis for military service and making them fight in the field of battle. A ṣūfī of the Suhrwardīya order, Shaikh 'Imādu'ddīn by name, who was a brother of Shaikh Ruknu'ddīn Multānī

1 *The Rehla of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa*, p. 89.

2 S. A., pp. 250-51.

3 An atheist or dualist.

4 An irregular person who does not follow the *Shari'at*.

5 *Qalandar* (a rude fellow or a wine-drinker) signifies a sect of wandering darweshes with shaven heads and beards who abandon everything—wife, friends and possession—in search of what they call *ḥaqiqat* (truth).

6 S.A., p. 273.

7 The *Rehla*, p. 90.

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having enlisted in the royal army came to the battlefield of Abohar to fight the vast host of Bahrām Aiba Kishlū Khān. He was posted at the centre under the royal parasol and was killed[1]. The emperor granted to his surviving brother a hundred villages for his maintenance and for the administration of his *khānqāh* at Multān.[2]

The *fifth* item was the usage of gold and silver utensils, the forbidden metals. One day the emperor invited Shaikh Naṣīru'ddīn *Chirāgh-i Dehlī* to dinner which was served in gold and silver plates.[3] The Shaikh considered this a heresy and would not eat out of the said plates. The chronicles are silent about the reaction. But the inference is that the emperor who religiously adhered to his *ijtehads* ordered wider use of those metals. That is, why Firoz Shāh says:

'It had become a practice in the past that vessels of gold and silver were used at the time of meals; and sword-belts and covers and quivers were made of gold and set with jewels. And garments were printed with pictures and as a token of honour were bestowed on persons in the royal court. Similarly figures and portraits were painted on bridles, basins, ewers, tents, curtains, throne, chair and on all other utensils and articles.[4]

From a comparative study of the *Futūḥāt-i Fīroz Shāhī*[5] and the *Masāliku'l-Abṣār*[6] it appears that most of

1, 2 *Op. cit.* p. 97.

3 *Akhbāru'l Akhyār*, p. 75.

4 *Futūḥāt-i Firoz Shāhi*, Persian text, p. 11. (M. U. J. March, 1943. p. 115)

5 *The Futūḥāt-i Fīroz Shāhi* (*Op. cit.*) further says that the garments of great men were often made of silk and ornamental gold which are prohibited by the *Shari'at*. Flags and caps also were made of gold brocade.

6 The *Masāliku'l-Abṣār* (M. U. J. March 1943, p. 47-61) testifies to the usage of saddles and horse-covers, embroidered with gold, subject to the emperor's special permission: 'When he has bestowed upon any one something embroidered with gold, then he is allowed to use it whenever he likes. The emperor bestows upon those who are in his service according to their different classes

the above articles and other moveables were either made of gold or decorated with figures and portraits of gold, for gold was abundant in India.

The *sixth* item, on being worked out, enabled all denominations or sects and creeds in the empire to flourish. Not only the Muslim dissenters and heretics preached their doctrines and wrote books, but also the Hindus and Jains did so; and all of them enjoyed complete religious freedom.

The *seventh* item was the problem of *khatm-i nabū'at*[1] or the termination of prophethood, which must remain a sealed book until further material comes to light. It appears that the emperor held some unorthodox views about the matter. Perhaps his mind worked on lines similar to those of the Qadiyanis, Ahmadis and Bahais of the present day. Perhaps he held views like those of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan who considered prophethood 'a special aptitude or faculty which, God bestows on certain persons out of His special favour ; and they rise to prophethood in the same way as through divine grace certain professionals acquire supremacy over their fellowmen and become leaders in their special art and trade. In this manner any man specially gifted with powers to cleanse the human soul, to give it a moral rebirth and to heal it of all earthly ailments can become a prophet.'[2]

The emperor also held slightly unorthodox views regarding the institutions of *khilāfat* and *imāmat*, considering them one and the same thing.

The *eighth* item aimed at making some economic and agrarian reforms[3] and at the levy of some taxes which were not prescribed by the *Shari'at* but were advisable according to

from amongst the masters of the sword, the pen and learning nice things of every description.....and saddles embellished with gold and golden girdles.....For about three thousand years gold has not been exported from India.'

1 *Vide* p. 263 *supra*

2 Dar, B. A.,—*Religious Thought of Syed Ahmed Khan*, pp. 148-266.

3 *Vide* pp. 278-80 *supra*.

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the *ijtehād* of Ibn Taimiya.[1] All of them were illegal according to the 'ulamā under whose advice they were abolished subsequently by Firoz Shāh who said:

> 'Illegal and unlawful taxes, not sanctioned by the *Shari'at*, were raised for the public treasury in the past reigns.[2] I ordered all these taxes[3] to be removed from the registers of the offices and the *dīwān*, and

1 S. E. I. p. 152.

2 The phrase 'past reigns' is likely to create a misunderstanding; and might be taken to mean that the extra-*Shari'at* taxes were levied during the preceding reigns of Shamsu'ddin Iltutmish Ghiyāṣu'ddin Balban and 'Alāu'ddin Khalji. But Firoz Shāh had lived through the reign of Muḥammad bin Tughluq and cannot be considered an authority for the preceding reigns. He had seen with his own eyes the troubles of Sulṭān Muḥammad's reign and planned to prevent their recurrence by glorifying his own reaction or retrograde tendency and extolling the same as *moral victories*.

3 (i) i.e. tax on vegetables; (ii) brokerage; (iii) a tax levied on butchers at the rate of twelve *jitals* per head on cows for slaughter; (iv) tax on amusements and luxuries; (v) on the sale of flowers; (vi) on the sale of betel leaves; (vii) octroi duty on grain; (viii) *kitābi* may be read as *kabābi* as Shaikh Abdu'r Rashīd (M. U. J. 1943, p. 98) has suggested, meaning a tax on roasted minced meat. It is unlikely that knowledge and learning were taxed, if the given tax was an impost on books and scribes; (ix) on vine-dressing or on indigo if it were *nilgari* instead of *bilgari*; (x) on the sale of fish; (xi) tax on cotton cleaning; (xii) tax on soap-making, (xiii) tax on the sale of roaps; (xiv) tax on *ghee*; (xv) tax on roasted gram; (xvi) ground rent of stalls; (xvii) duty on stocks or a tax for the use of any projected structure in front of a shop or house; (xviii) tax on gambling; (xix) fees for *dādbak*, who was a judicial officer. But it was very unlikely that Muḥammad bin Tughluq or any Sulṭān of Dehli would levy tax on the administration of justice. Nor was it a tax on suits and petitions, for all suits and petitions according to Ibn Baṭṭūṭa were filed free of cost. (xx) Prof. Shaikh Rashid is of opinion, that it was 'a town duty which included many other imposts.' But the term *kotwāli* indicates that it was a tax involving the fees for *kotwāl*; (xxi) a tax realized in connection with the fees for *muḥtasib*. It is also depicted as *dādbegi* in which case it would mean fees for *dādbak*; (xxii) this was identical with *jazzāri*, else it was intended as an additional duty on the butchers' trade; (xxiii) tax on pottery and bricks; (xxiv) house-tax; (xxv) tax on grazing; (xxvi) fine. *Futūḥāt-i Firoz Shāhi* (Persian text), p. 5 (M. U. J., March 1943, p. 108)

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declared that whosoever of the tax-collectors of the empire realized these from the people would be duly punished."[1]

Such was the *sixth* project which Barani failed to specify since it had not been distinctly formulated like the other five projects. Its genesis may be traceable from the beginning of the reign, but it remained in a nebulous state for years because of the increasing volume of opposition roused at every stage by the ideology on which it had been based. Although it was gradually unfolded, yet it remained indistinct in the eyes of Barani who confounded it with the *siyāsat* that was simultaneously in operation. Like a nightmare that *siyāsat* had been haunting his mind; and he feared it like the decree of Destiny. Similar was also the fear of the other courtiers and khans and maliks of the reign. Such is the information given by Shaikh Sharafu'd-dīn Yaḥyā Manerī of the Firdausiya order of Bihar. In a *majlis* held at Maner after the emperor's death the Shaikh said[2]:

'It is recorded in the books of mashāikh that the prophets and *walis* laboured under an apprehension as to what Destiny had in store for them and what would be the decree of Destiny against them. Sulṭān Muḥammad (may God forgive him!) was feared like Destiny, his khans and maliks having horrors as one would have horrors of the "night expectations," materializing in the day under the decree of Destiny.

'While the khans and maliks were seated in their respective seats, they were filled with fear, apprehending any unknown calamity to fall on them. And lo! some were suddenly removed from their seats, handcuffed and haltered and were either thrown into a well or sent to a prison. And certain 'ulamā dressed in turban had suddenly to replace their turbans with the Brahmanic thread (*zunnār*). Today, so to speak, they are in turban; to-morrow they may have to wear

1 *Op. cit.*
2 *Mukhkhu'l Ma'ānī* MS. POL, p. 28.

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the *zunnār*. Could they abstain? No, no one had a say in the matter.

'There were many devotees who had been in seclusion for years, engaged in worship. Suddenly they had to take the road to a tavern. How could they decline going there? There was no alternative.'

Destiny had decreed the failure of the nebulous *sixth* project under review. But it brought in its train many more disasters than did any of the five other projects. It raked up fiery issues and pulled out explosive ideas—the blood-curdling stories of the torture and execution of the sufis, mashāikh, qalandars and 'ulamā—which continued bubbling up like lava from a volcano, thus feeding the ceaseless political disorders and rebellions of the reign until the empire of Sulṭān Muḥammad was blown up at the altar of his *ijtehads* and the failure of his *taḥkīmat-i majaddid*[1] was fully demonstrated.

1 *Cf.* p. 359, footnote 4*supra*.

PART FIVE

REACTION

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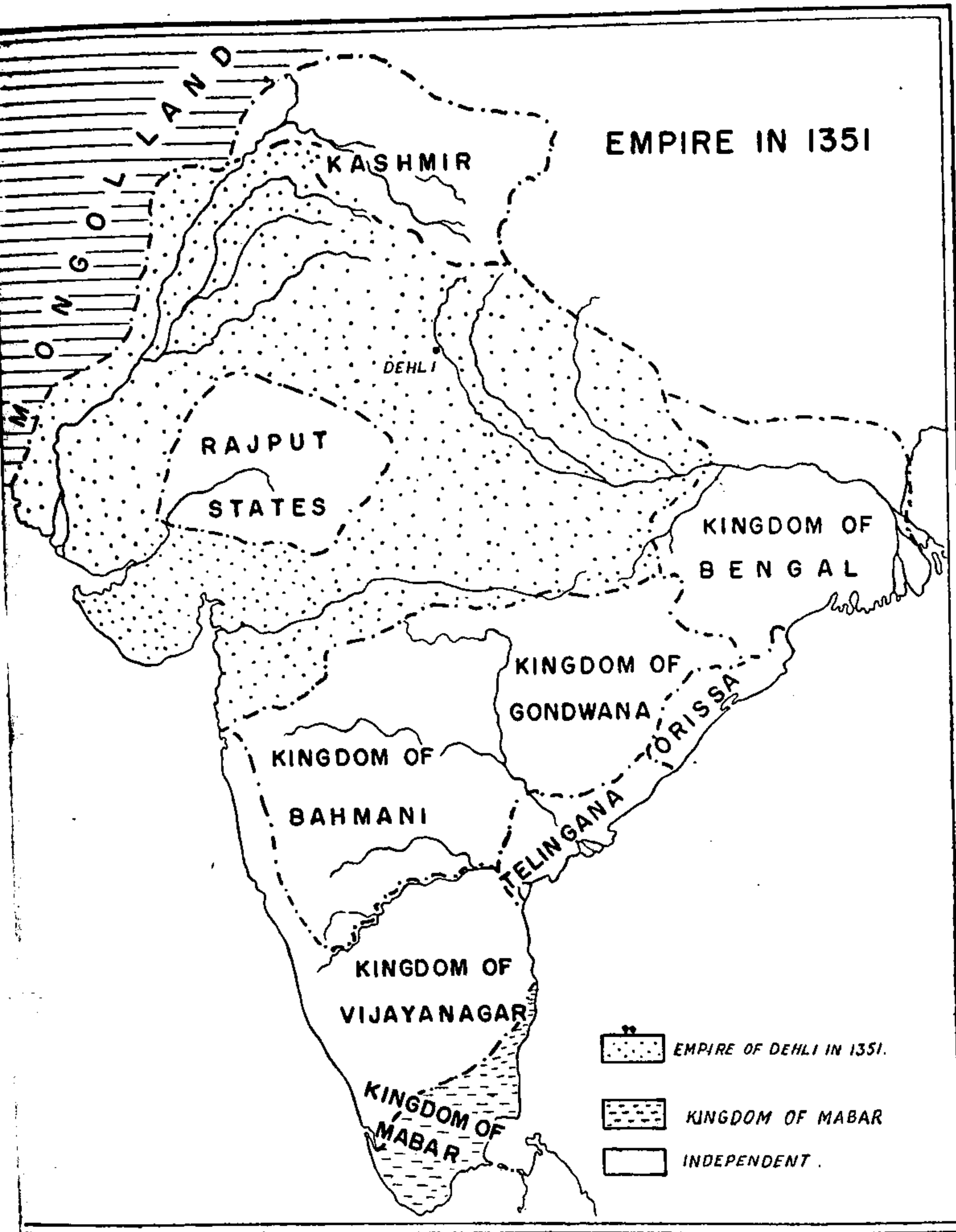
EMPIRE IN 1351
MONGOLS
KASHMIR
DEHLI
RAJPUT
STATES
KINGDOM OF BENGAL
KINGDOM OF GONDWANA
ORISSA
KINGDOM OF BAHMANI
TELINGANA
KINGDOM OF VIJAYANAGAR
KINGDOM OF MABAR
EMPIRE OF DEHLI IN 1351.
KINGDOM OF MABAR
INDEPENDENT .

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CHAPTER XIV

FĪROZ SHĀH

Bloodless Coronation (?)

It will be recalled that emperor Muḥammed bin Tughluq died on the site of the modern Sonda village[1] (20th March 1351) while his five-year-long war[2] covering the last three rebellions[3] of the amīrān-i ṣadah of Gujarāt and Daulatābād was drawing to a close. His huge army of discordant elements whom his personality had held together was disorganized ; and the Mongol (Maghūl)[4] cavalrymen, amirān-i-hazārah[5] and amīrān-i ṣadah—who had

1 *Vide* p. 297, *supra.*

2 'History tells us that a state of war having broken out between the Afghān rebels and the amirān-i ṣadah on one side and the emperor on the other in 1345, the emperor marched from Dehli'. This was the conclusion I reached in 1953 after studying Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's account of the Afghān rebellions of Qāẓī Jalāl and Ibn Malik Mall whom he depicted as ringleaders with a large following of the turbulent and disaffected people infesting the area from Gujarāt to Daulatābād and carrying fire and sword to Cambay and Broach (The *Rehla of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa*, pp. 279-280). To illustrate this war I have given in this book a map entitled 'Emperor's Route In Gujarāt an Sind Expeditions.' *Vide*. 297 *supra.*

3 *I.e.* 20th, 21st and 22nd rebellions. *Vide* pp. 283-290 *supra.*

4 Barani (T.F.S.B., p. 531) has 'Mughul' instead of 'Maghūl'. But the context shows that he means thereby the traditional and unclean warriors of the Chingizī stock. Niẓāmu'ddīn Aḥmad (T. A. Vol. I, p. 225) chooses the term Maghūl and discards the term Mughul. Budāūni (Vol. I, p. 243) mentions both—Maghūl as well as Mughul.

However, Barani's attitude towards the Mughuls or Mongols of Muḥammad bin Tughluq's army is clear. While reporting the position of Amīr Nauroz he gives vent to his indignation, denouncing the latter as a tyrant (*mushaṭṭaṭ*) and an ungrateful wretch, untrue to his salt and the son of an infidel (*kāfir bachcha*). T. F. S. B., pp. 531-536.

5 *I.e.* the Mongol commanders of thousands and captains of hundreds. *Cf.* Hodivala—*Studies in Indo-Muslim History*, Vol. II, p. 120.

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come from Transoxiana[1] to assist him in his war joined hands with the Sindī rebels. Already discontented with the situation created by the emperor's death, which had put a dramatic stop to the military operations in which they had been engaged, the said Mongols were further provoked by Amīr Nauroz[2] (Kargan), son-in-law of Tarmashīrīn, who had now lost the promising and favourable position he had been enjoying at the royal court of Dehlī for over twenty years. Accordingly the Mongols fell upon the imperial camp which had already broken up and started from Sonda in the direction of Dehlī with a following of Indian soldiers. While the Mongols attacked it from the front, the Sindī rebels plundered it from behind.

Seeing this the maliks, khans, 'ulamā and mashāikh in the imperial camp resolved to enthrone their forty-six-year old[3] favourite, Kamālu'ddīn[4] Malik Fīroz. But Khudāwandzādah, daughter of Tughluq Shāh and sister of Sulṭān Muḥammad, who was present in the imperial camp together with her son Dāvar Malik opposed their resolution.

1 Sulṭān Qāzān who ruled over Transoxiana from 733 to 760 Hijra, (A.D. 1334 to 1361) was a friend of Muḥammad bin Tughluq.

Shajaratu'l-Atrāk (Tr. Miles) pp. 374-377.

2 *Vide* p. 176 *supra*.

3, 4 Regarding the date of birth (706 Hijra, A.D. 1305) and antecedents of Malik Firoz, Ḥusām Khān says: 'When his father Rajab died, Fīroz was seven years of age. So, he was brought up by his uncle Ghāzī Malik like one of his own sons. And when Ghāzī Malik ascended the throne, Firoz was fourteen years of age. One day Firoz attended the *majlis* of Shaikh Niẓāmu'ddīn Auliyā who enquired of him his name. 'Kamālu'ddīn is my name', replied Fīroz. The saint added *Kamālu'ddīn wa'ddunyā* (perfection of hereafter as well as of this world). And this was his name during his boyhood.' (A. H. G., III, p. 893).

'Afif makes a conflicting statement. While he gives 709 Hijra as the year of Fīroz Shāh's birth, he says: 'On the day of Sulṭān Muḥammad's departure from this world, Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh completed forty-five years of his age.' (T. F. S. A., 23).

Since Sulṭān Muḥammad died in 752 Hijra, Fīroz Shāh was forty-three lunar years old then by ordinary computation. Ḥusām Khān's statement, therefore, is preferable to that of Afif.

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She claimed the throne for the latter and voiced a protest which was not heard. Finally she was silenced by the powerful logic of Malik Saifu'ddīn Khwāja (*Khojā*), a spokesman of the above-mentioned maliks, khans, ulamā and mashāikh, now playing the role of kingmakers. 'They proceeded with their task; and in spite of the fact that Malik Fīroz made formal excuses, pleading his inability to bear the burden, they crowned him king the same day'[1]. Khudāwandzādah is said to have completed the ceremony of his coronation 'with the tiara of his two predecessors'. Nevertheless she cherished a malice; and some time after her arrival in Dehlī she plotted in conjunction with her husband Khusrau Malik to murder Fīroz Shāh. But the plot failed through Dāvar Malik's probity; and the royal victim escaped. Khudāwandzādah suffered the consequences. She was interned for life and was separated from her husband who was banished from the palace and was not allowed to enter the environs of it; and their property and estates were confiscated. Dāvar Malik was granted the privilege of coming into the royal presence on the first day of every month, wearing the court uniform (*bārānī*) and with shoes on.[2]

Then the kingmakers saved Fīroz Shāh from the rivalry of his two elder brothers, Malik Quṭbu'ddīn and Malik Ibrāhīm, both sons of Rajab from his Muslim wives. They accorded them no recognition. Further they stopped the source of danger that the wazīr Khwāja Jahān Aḥmad bin Aiyāz had created by raising the late emperor's son[3] to the throne. On hearing that the 'ulamā', mashāikh

1 Baranī says: 'On 24th *Muḥarram* 752 (23rd March, 1351) Abu'l Muẓaffar Firoz Shāh ascended the throne by the unanimous consent (*ijtimā'*) of all the courtiers, great men of Hind and Sind and by virtue of his right elaims (*istiḥqāq*) and due succession (*istikhlāf*) within the boundary of Tatta near the bank of the river Indus, although the army had already commenced their return journey for Dehlī'. T. F. S, B., pp. 535-536 and T. F. S. A., pp. 19-20.

2 T. F. S. A., pp. 45-48; 100-104.

3 Sir Wolseley Haig (J. R. A. S., July 1922, pp. 371-372) believes that Sulṭān Muḥammad had a son, but he considers him an infant. Barani (T. F. S. B., 539) too uses the term *pisar* and puts his age between six and seven years.

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khans and maliks had jointly installed Fīroz as king in the Tatta region, Khwājā Jahān crowned that son (*pisar-i sulṭān*) king under the title of Sulṭān Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Maḥmūd ; and he began to raise an army to strengthen his position. Such was the opinion then current at Dehlī according to 'Afif.[1] But he discredits it in the same breath saying :

> 'I heard it from Kishwar Khān (Lashkar Khān), son of Bahrām Aiba Kishlū Khān, that the amirān-i hazārah of Khurāsān who had come to assist Sulṭān Muḥammad in the war set fire to and plundered the imperial camp after his death in the region of Tatta. Then the imperial army was scattered. Seeing this, Malīḥ Tūn Tūn, a slave of Khwāja Jahān whom the latter had sent previously from Dehlī to the emperor, rushed to Dehlī and broke the news to Khwāja Jahān and added that Malik Amīr Ḥājib, namely Fīroz, had disappeared. Khwāja Jahān mourned the loss of both—Sulṭān Muḥammad and Malik Fīroz. Then he made his own *ijtehād*, raising accordingly a son of Sulṭān Muḥammad to the throne, and declared him king. Through Providence the *ijtehād* of Khwāja Jahān miscarried. He realized the mistake in his *ijtehād* as soon as he heard that Malik Amīr Ḥājib was alive and had been enthroned.'[2]

The kingmakers lost no time in denouncing Khwāja Jahān as a rebel; they thirsted for his blood and had him executed as will be shown below. Here it should be noted that Budāūnī reproduces a two-hundred-year old legend[3] to the

1 T. F. S. A., pp. 50-51.

2 *Ibid.*

3 This legend is confirmed in the *Arabic History of Gujarāt*, which says: When Muḥammad Shāh bin Tughluq Shāh died Maulānā Naṣīru'ddin *Chirāgh-i Dehlī* came to Fīroz Shāh and said, 'I wish to swear allegiance to you upon your undertaking to behave in the manner of the righteous caliphs. If you accept this condition, then stretch out your hand. Fīroz Shāh stretched his hand and Naṣīru'ddin *Chirāgh-i Dehlī* swore allegiance to him, saying. '*I prayed this for you forty years ago.*' (A.H.G., III, p. 894). The italicised part containing the forty years' prayer of the saint is a confirmation of the above-mentioned legend.

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effect that the late emperor had also a grown-up son ; and that Shaikh Naṣīru'ddīn Maḥmūd *Chirāgh-i Dehlī* had secretly nominated Malik Fīroz as sulṭān at Dehlī while the emperor was away pursuing his war with the rebels of Gujarāt, Deccan and Sind. According to the legend the nomination was confirmed by Makhdūmzādah 'Abbāsī. Immediately on hearing this the emperor summoned all the three—Shaikh Naṣīru'ddin Mahmūd Chirāgh-i *Dehlī*, Makhdūmzādah 'Abbāsī and Malik Fīroz—to his camp at Gondal. When the arrival of the first two—Malik Fīroz having lagged behind—was announced the emperor issued orders for their execution. Simultaneouly, however, he fell into the agony[1] of death and died. As a result the orders remained unexecuted. The emperor had a son who at that time was out on a hunting expedition. Putting him aside treacherously with the assistance of the amirs and maliks Malik Fīroz ascended the throne'[2].

The amirs, maliks, 'ulamā and mashāikh who were playing the role of kingmakers must have also apprehended trouble from another source, that is, the grandsons of Sulṭān Muḥammad. Muḥammad and Maudūd—the sons of his daughter—were already grown-up and had a legal claim on the throne. They played a modest role[3] during the reign of Fīroz Shāh but appear to have been silenced at this moment by the kingmakers.

In the face of so many legitimate heirs to the throne Barani's brief[4] that Fīroz Shāh was the only legitimate heir

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1 The Persian phrase *dar sakarāt-i maut uftād* (signifying the agony of death) is translated by Sir Wolseley Haig (J. R. A. S., July 1922, p. 367) as follows: 'The emperor drank himself into a state of insensibility.' It should be noted that *sakarāt* (plural of *sakara*) is an Arabic word meaning pangs, throes and agony (Haïm: *Persian-English Dictionary*, p. 460) ; and it is a fact that Muḥammad bin Tughluq never took wine.

2 M. T., B. I., Vol. I, pp. 241-242.

3 T. F. S. A., p. 419.

4 Barani says: 'Of all those who enjoyed access to his throne and person, Muḥammad Shāh bin Tughluq Shāh had selected three

is not acceptable. It is not confirmed by 'Afīf although he is a panegyrist like Baranī. As for Niẓāmu'ddin Aḥmad and Firishta who followed it, it must be noted that they made no allowance for the peculiar circumstances in which Baranī had written it. Baranī had fallen into the hands of his enemies and would have been surely killed[1] like Khwāja Jahān Aḥmad bin Aiyāz, had he not been supported by Fīroz Shāh. He could not have depicted his saviour as a usurper or murderer. His outlook was the same as that of the above-mentioned kingmakers. However, circumstances justified the accession of Fīroz Shāh who controlled the uncontrollable situation better than any or all of his rivals could have done. Starting from the Sonda-Sivistan region he proceeded in royal cavalcade in the direction of Dehlī and visited on the way the *khanqahs* of Bhakkar, Uch, Ajodhan and Hānsī, many of which had been ruined.[2] He ordered repairs of the ruined parts and made necessary grants. He also showed kindness to those *khanqahis*[3] who had suffered at the hands of the late emperor and conferred on them gifts in kind and cash. At a station (*manzil*) called Dhānsūr[4] near Agrowah, twenty-seven miles north of Hānsī he saw Khwāja Jahān Aḥmad bin Aiyāz looking truly repentant—with his clean-shaven

men. He raised them to a higher grade than the rest of the maliks, amirs and courtiers. He regarded those three as befitting heirs to the throne and had mentioned each of them in his petition to the Egyptian caliph and had made each send his own petition. Of these three, the first was Malik Qabūl Khalifatī who died an early death. Second was Aḥmad Aiyāz who being an octogenarian was expected to retire from public life. Third was Firoz Shāh who was the son of the emperor's uncle and was looked upon as his legal heir (*istikhlāf*). When during the Sind campaign the emperor fell ill, Firoz Shāh attended on him and ministered to him in such a manner that the latter was pleased to nominate him as his successor. And while life was closing on him, the emperor gave special instructions (*waṣāya*) to Firoz Shāh regarding the empire and made him his heir-apparent.' T. F. S. B., p. 532.

1 *Cf.* T. F. S. B., p. 554.

2 *Op. cit.* pp. 543, 545, 546.

3 *I.e.* the inmates of the *khanqāh*.

4 'Dhānsūr' is a Railway station, eight miles north of Hiṣār.

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head covered with a skull-cap (*ṭāqia*) and his turban together with a sword hanging like a coffin round his neck. He was in tears and trembling with fear. Immediately as he saw the new emperor he prostrated himself and implored mercy. The emperor talked to him politely and said, 'It was not becoming a person of your wisdom and age and accomplishment to engineer rebellion against a personality like myself'. 'Khwāja Jahān replied, 'It was the hand of destiny that drove me into it[1]. 'Afīf says that Khwāja Jahān loved Fīroz and used to call him 'son'. Fīroz too had high regard for Khwāja Jahān and called him 'father'[2]. He pardoned him and proposed to re-instal him as wazīr and assigned him the estate of Sāmāna[3]. Khwajā Jahān started towards it but had not gone far when he was overtaken by the executioner, Sher Khān. On seeing him Khwāja Jahān performed his ablutions, said his prayers, asked the executioner to do the same, and then bowed to the prayer-carpet. Thus, while the name of God was on his lips, his head was cut off.[4] Sir Wolseley Haig believes that 'Khwāja Jahān was guiltless of disloyalty and was the victim of the animosity of the officers of the army to which Fīroz basely abandoned him.[5] These may easily be identified with some of the aforesaid kingmakers.

On drawing near[6] Dehli, the new emperor was greeted by crowds of people from the city—'ulamā, mashāikh, sufis, qalandars, darweshes, traders, merchants and Brahmins. All paid their homage to him. Attended by them all the royal cavalcades proceeded and finally entered the city of Dehlī on Thursday 25th August 1351 (2nd *Rajab*, 752). Then and there Abu'l Muẓaffar[7] Fīroz Shāh *as-Sulṭān* as-

1 A. H. G., III, p. 896.

2 T. F. S. A., p. 68.

3 *Op. cit.* p. 76.

4 *Idem*, p. 78.

5 J. R. A. S., July 1922, pp. 371-372.

6 *I.e.* within a radius of forty-five miles from the inhabited area of the city. T. F. S. B., p. 546.

7 *I.e.* Father of Victory Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh. Such was the title assumed by the new emperor. *Op. cit.* p. 546.

cended the throne in true regal pomp and glory and celebrated his coronation. 'This was a bloodless coronation.' Such is the conclusion[1] reached by Baranī. According to him, 'no more than fifteen or sixteen men were executed till the sixth year of the reign and their families were spared and permitted to remain in their estates."[2]

Fīroz Shāh's reign of thirty-seven years falls into two parts—the first part comprising twenty years (1351/752-1371/772) and the second covering the next seventeen years (1371/772-1388/790). The first was marked by glad reception, welcome relief, ambition, 'reflected glory', peace and prosperity. The second was tarnished by the results of reaction—enervation, inanition, corruption, strifes, depression and a precipitate fall.

(*A*) *First Part of the Reign*

For two decades Fīroz Shāh was lucky to have found a capable wazir in Qiwāmu'l-Mulk Khān Jahān[3]

1 *Op. cit.*, p. 552.

2 *Idem.*

3 Originally a Hindū of Telingāna, Kannū by name and a favourite of the Rāi of Telingāna, had joined the service of Sulṭān Muḥammad who named him Maqbūl. 'He was an expert in arithmetic and was accomplished, possessing great acumen, intelligence, worldly wisdom and tact. Later, Sulṭān Muḥammad appointed him deputy minister (nāib wazir)—that is, an assistant to Khwāja Jahān Aḥmad bin Aiyāz—and granted him also the title of Qiwāmu'l-Mulk together with the *iqṭā'* of Mulṭān.

Qiwāmu'l-Mulk became the right-hand man of Khwāja Jahān who trusted him and depended on him. Reserving for himself the nominal charge of government and its administrative departments, he transferred the powers of control, check and verification and minutia to the care of Qiwāmu'l-Mulk. But he was disappointed at last. Leaving him alone at Dehlī in a predicament after he had raised the son of Sulṭān Muḥammad to the throne, Qiwāmu'l-Mulk fled to join Fīroz Shāh who was then travelling from Sonda-Sehwān region to Dehlī.

Fortune smiled on Qiwāmu'l-Mulk who now became Khān Jahān the wazīr. In this capacity he amassed huge wealth. He had the knack of collecting money and was very successful in realizing State dues from the Hindū chiefs—khuts and muqaddams. He was also skilled in recruiting soldiers and possessed a large following

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'Āẕam Humāyūn—a statesman who had been trained fully in the art of administration during the previous reign. He advised him to write off the *sondhār* money amounting to two crore tankas that Sulṭān Muḥammad had advanced to the peasants[1] and bidders for increased tillage[2] and rehabilitation. Then were made some new appointments;[3] and the 'ulamā and mashāikh in whose holiness, reverence and inviolability the wazīr believed as strongly as did the emperor were granted an annual allowance of thirty-six lakh tankas.[4] Also a sum of one crore tankas[5] was earmarked for pensions and gifts to the poor and needy.

Then were composed in Persian prose and poetry the principles and mottos[6] of the new government which were

of supporters, kinsmen, sons and sons-in-law. He possessed a large harem with women hailing from distant parts of the world like China and the Levant. But he was conscientious and dutiful. He worked so efficiently that he won the heart of the emperor who is said to have remarked, 'It is 'Āẕam Humāyūn Khān Jahān who is the king of Dehli'. T. F. S. A, p. 400.

1, 2 The Persian text (*ṭāifa kih ba-īn wujūhāt nisbat dāsht i.e.* the people who were particularly connected with tillage and the like) shows that these were Hindus. T. F. S. A., p. 92.

3 Firoz Shāh's brother Ibrāhim bin Rajab was appointed a judicial officer (*bārbak*) ; another brother Quṭbu'ddīn bin Rajab was made a leading amīr (*amīru'l umarā*). Saifu'ddīn Tirmidhi was made lord of hunting (*amīr-i shikār*). Bashīr, a favourite slave was appointed commander-in-chief of the army (*sar-lashkar*) with the title of 'Imādu'l-mulk: another slave was made superintendent of hunting (*shikār-bak*) ; another still was appointed auditor (*mustaufi*) of Gujarāt with the title of Iftikhāru'l-Mulk.

4 T. F. S. A., p. 179.

5 *Ibid.*

6 *Futūḥāt-i Firoz Shāhi* (Persian text), pp. 2-5.

'Mercy, kindness, forbearance and grace are the guiding principles of my government and my motto is—

Better a people's weal than treasures vast
Better an empty chest than hearts downcast.

The preceding sultans had as their motto the following: —

If you want to maintain the stability of your kingdom then keep the sword in action.
But I say that stability comes through the ordainment of God.

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announced and subsequently inscribed on the portico of the royal palace at Fīrozābād. At the same time compensation was given to the heirs of those Musalmans who had been tortured to death or mutilated by Sulṭān Muḥammad; and the letters of forgiveness and reconciliation written by them were deposited in a box[1] near his tomb.

This was considered a noble deed; and combined with many others of the kind it created a wholesome effect on people's minds and refined the currents of thought. The country enjoyed that peace and prosperity[2] which it had not known for many years, and prices fell beyond the mark that had been reached sixty years before.[3] Not only in

Show mercy when you have the power, since forgiveness is nobler than punishment.

While God has granted you greatness it is wrong to inflict punishments rashly.

If punishment is delayed at the outset, you could kill him whom you had left, unpunished

When the body is disintegrated, your orders cannot bring it back to life.

Keep in mind the affectionate mother who has borne so many hardships for that child of hers.

I remit the taxes which had been imposed and cancel the cruel punishments that had been inflicted during the preceding reigns. But whoever turned away from the path of the *Shāri'at* must receive due punishment according to the holy law and the decision of the *qazis*.

God had inspired so much of our awe in the minds of the people without our using the sword that all the world has flocked to us. Fear and respect have taken firmer hold of the hearts of men and there has been no need of executions, tortures and terrors.' M. U. J. March 1943, p. 107.

1 This box was not deposited inside the grave as some have erroneously thought. Certainly no part of the grave was dug into. The box was only placed (*dāshta*) by the side of the grave towards the head. *Futūḥāt-i Firoz Shāhi* (Persian text, p. 16).

2 T. F. S. A., pp. 230, 288 and 293-298.

3 'Afif (p. 294) says that Sulṭān 'Alāu'ddin had made strenuous efforts in order to obtain the results which Fīroz Shāh obtained without moving his little finger. It is a fact that 'Alāu'ddīn had made regulations and had drawn a tariff list containing the prices of all the articles which were fixed by imperial enactment. In other words

the city of Dehlī, not only in a province, but all over the country the edibles became cheap. According to Shams Sirāj 'Afif[1] wheat was selling at the rate of eight *jitals a mann* and gram and barley four *jitals* a *mann*. A camp follower could give his horse a feed of ten *sers* of corn for one *jītal*. Fabrics of all kinds were cheap and silk goods, both white and coloured, were low-priced (*arzān*).[2]

It appears[3] that the state demand for revenue was also reduced[4] and the assessment system or valuation of the land was revised. 'Afif says:

> 'The Sulṭān settled the valuation (*maḥṣūl*)[5] of the empire afresh. And for the settlement of that valuation Khwāja Ḥisāmu'ddīn Junaidī was appointed. The latter having spent six years in touring the country settled the valuation according to the findings of inspection (*bar ḥukm-i mushāhida*) at six crore and seventy-

he had devised a military regime for which purpose he had established a well-organized army. Malik Qabūl Khān, a military officer, was appointed superintendent of the market and was charged to enforce the regulations. Grain was to be regulated in the royal granaries and revenue was to be realized in kind, not in cash. Wheat was to be sold at $7\frac{1}{2}$ *jitals* per *mann*; barley at 4 *jitals* per *mann*; rice at 5 *jitals*; pulses at 5 *jitals*; gram at 5 *jitals*; salt at 5 *jitals* per $2\frac{1}{2}$ *mann*.

1 T. F. S. A., 293.

2 *Idem*. pp. 294-295.

3 T. F. S. A., pp. 94-100.

4 'Afif has not mentioned the precise figure of the revenue demand. But a sound reading of the text will show that there was definitely some reduction. Perhaps the state demand was reduced from one-fifth which had been the normal demand heretofore to one-sixth of the produce according to the old practice in ancient India. *Vide* A. S. D. Q., 117, 112 and A. S. M. I., p. 15.

But Dr. Qureshi is of opinion that one-fifth of the produce continued to be the state demand throughout the reign of Firoz Shāh. *Vide* A. S. D. Q., pp. 112, 117 and A. S. M. I., p. 15.

5 The term *maḥsūl* should not be translated as 'revenue', as is done in Elliot's *History of India* (Vol. III, p. 288). It is wrong to say that the state demand for revenue was fixed for the whole region at six crore and seventy-five lakh tankas and remained unchanged. Since Sharing by estimation or valuation was adopted

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five lakh tankas on the basis of which assignments were allocated. During the forty years of the reign of Fīroz Shāh this aggregate of the valuation of (the empire of) Dehlī remained unchanged."[1]

That is, new arrangements for assessment of the land revenue were made by employing the method of Sharing by valuation (*kharāj-i muqāsamah*); and Khwāja Ḥisāmu-'ddīn Junaidī built a new valuation on the basis of his six-year-long personal inspection and investigation. The valuation which amounted to six crore and seventy-five lakh tankas continued undisturbed for the rest of the reign.[2]

Then was introduced a new method of paying the soldiers by assigning them villages in lieu of making them payments in cash (*qā'ida-i nānbā-i jadīd*). 'Afif says:

'Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh granted innumerable estates (*nānbā*) to the army men (*khalq*), showing in this respect great liberality of mind. Thus allured, many (*jahān-i*)[3] rallied to him. The Sulṭān gave to some an assignment of land, yielding a revenue of ten thousand tankas (annually); to others an estate, capable of fetching an income of 5,000 (a year) and to others still an *iqṭā'* the proceeds of which amounted to 2,000 tankas a year. In this manner the Sulṭān provided the irregulars as well as the regular and salaried officers of his army. This has remained a speciality of Fīroz Shāh because no such practice had obtained under the previous rulers of Dehlī. In the reigns of the former rulers of Dehlī it had never been the rule to bestow villages as stipends upon officers. The author has understood from various historians that Sulṭān 'Alāu'ddīn used to speak of this practice with disapprobation and say that in every village thus granted

as the method of assessment 'the revenue-demand' in the words of Moreland 'varied from season to season with the area sown and the produce reaped.' A. S. M. I., p. 233.

1 T. F. S. A., p. 94.

2 A. S. M. I., pp. 54-57, 232.

3 That is, 'a world of recruits.'

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there would be two or three hundred residents, all of whom would receive pay from the grantee. Such a (great) number of pensioners would generate conceit and insubordination. If a few of such grantees (*wajhdār*[1]) joined hands and revolted they could create a lot of disturbance. Hence Sulṭān 'Alāu'ddīn gave no one a village in lieu of salary. He used to pay his army money in cash. But Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh remunerated the army by means of assignments on land in rural areas instead of paying them in cash. He also introduced another rule. If a military officer (*yakey az yarān-i ḥasham*[2]) died leaving behind a son, his assignment (*istiqāmat*) was transferred to the latter. In case the deceased had no son, the assignment would go to his son-in-law. If there was no son-in-law either, the assignment would be transferred to his slave. And in the absence of a slave, the assignment would pass to a near relation of the deceased; and if no such relation existed the assignment was given to the widow and female relations (*'aurāt*) of the deceased.'

Similarly Fīroz Shāh was kind to the peasants (*ri'āya*). Under the previous kings one cow—and no more than one—was allowed to every house and family (*dumbāl-i ra'iyat yak māda gā-o mīguzāshtand*). Fīroz Shāh removed this restriction. Now, more than one cow was seen in every homestead.[3]

In the case of all other demands of the court other than the revenue he made concessions to the extent of ordering that two *jitals* should be accepted where formerly a tanka was taken. If the tax-collector (*'āmil*) collected more, he was punished.[4]

Thus 'Afīf holds a high opinion of the concessions made by Fīroz Shāh and speaks commendably even of the enlargement of the assignment system. Then he applauds

1 Literally, a salaried officer.
2 Literally 'one of the army men.'
3 This is the inference which is left out in the Persian text.
4 T. F. S. A., pp. 94-99.

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him for choosing a better type of *muqtis* and *walis* on the basis of their personal character, discarding their speculative offers in revenue farming. Fīroz Shāh is also credited with determining the nature of transactions in the market on fair and right principles. That is, he ordered that silks and brocades and goods required for the royal establishments should be purchased at the market price and the money paid. 'Afīf says:

> 'For the purpose of storing in the *karkhanas* numerous purchases used to be made in the market. The Sulṭān was anxious that there should be no black-mailing and no outrage on genuine producers and vendors who must be enabled to make regular profits. As a result, prosperity increased; and with it increased the population. In every *iqṭā'* and parganah and at every *krob* there sprang an average of four villages and every house possessed plenty of grain, property, horses and furniture as well as precious metal. No woman from among the peasant womenfolk was without her ornaments. Every house also possessed clean beds, attractive cots (*palang*) and numerous articles, property and clothing (*māl-i farāwān wa rakht-i be-pāyān*)[1]'.

Under a special heading of *muḥāriba and muqātila* (fighting and battling) 'Afīf next describes the wars of Fīroz Shāh. These were, in fact, a few military expeditions—two to Bengal, one to Jājnagar, another to Nagarkot (Kangra) and two to Tatta ranging over thirteen years (1352/753—1366/767. In 1353 he led an expedition to east Bengal where, it may be recalled, Fakhru'ddin Mubārak Shāh (Fakhrā[2]), the armour-bearer of Bahrām Khān, governor of Sonārgāon, had revolted in 1338. Sulṭān Muḥammad had sent an army under the joint command of the *walis* of Kaṛa, Lakhnautī and Satgāon. They fell upon Sonārgāon and expelled the rebel. The government of Sonārgāon was entrusted to the care of Qadr Khān, governor of Lakhnautī. Shortly after, Qadr Khān was

1 T. F. S. A., p. 100.

2 *Vide* p. 250 *supra*.

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killed by his discontented soldiers ; and Sonārgāon was recovered by Fakhrā who sent his slave Mukhliṣ to occupy Lakhnautī. Mukhliṣ was murdered by 'Alī Mubārak, an officer in the army of Qadr Khān ; and the murderer set up as king of West Bengal, assuming the title of 'Alāu'ddīn 'Alī Shāh (1340/741).[1] He transferred his capital from Lakhnautī to Pandua, also called Fīrozābād-Pandua.[2] Then commenced hostilities between the two Bengals—East Bengal under Fakhru'ddīn (Fakhrā) and West Bengal under 'Alāu'ddīn 'Alī Shāh. Subsequently Fakhru'ddīn was captured by 'Alāu'ddīn 'Alī Shāh who was assassinated by his foster-brother Ilyās in 1346/747.

Now Ilyās became Sulṭān of united Bengal.[3] He proved an ambitious ruler with a set programme for new conquests. He invaded the south-eastern parts of the Dehlī empire up to Tirhut and penetrated into Nepal up to Khatmandū and overran Orissa. His increasing power, in the words of Edward Thomas, 'excited the emperor Fīroz III to proceed against him in all the pomp and following of an oriental suzerain, resulting only in the confession of weakness, conveniently attributed to the periodical flooding of the country—which effectively laid the foundation of the ultimate independence of Bengal.'[4]

On hearing of the emperor's approach, Shamsu'ddīn Ilyās, the rebel Sulṭān, fled from Pandua to Ikdāla—a village with a strong foundation in the islands of the Brahmaputra in east Bengal. He shut himself in that insular fortress (*jazīra-i ikdāla*) which was well-guarded by rivers and a thick jungle. The emperor besieged the for-

1 Edward Thomas (p. 265) gives a coin of 'Alāu'ddīn 'Alī Shāh bearing the year 742 Hijra.

2 Fīrozābād-Pandua had been founded by Shamsu'ddīn Fīroz Shāh, a descendant of Balban and king of Bengal from 1302 to 1322. *Vide* p. 74 *supra*.

3 Edward Thomas (p. 269) gives a summary of the dates and mints of Shamsu'ddīn Ilyās. It appears that Fīrozābād-Pandua (West Bengal) was his mint from 740 to 758 Hijra and Sonārgāon (East Bengal) was his mint from 753 to 758 Hijra.

4 *Op. cit*, pp. 268-269.

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tress; and after a little fighting, in the course of which were hunted down forty-seven elephants, he rushed into the fortress. But, on hearing the women inside it cry, he was moved with compassion and decided to withdraw. Then he left Ikdālā, giving it a new name, *viz.*, Azādpūr or city of freedom, as if he had freed it from the clutches of the rebel sulṭān. He stopped at Pandua *en route* Dehlī and had the *khuṭba* read in his name. He also sent a formal announcement of victory (*fatḥnāma*) to Dehlī where the wazīr odered state rejoicings for twenty-one days. Thus ended in September 1354 the first Bengal expedition after a period of eleven months.[1] In the autumn of the same year (1354/755) the emperor founded the city of Firozābād on the bank of the Yamuna. In 1356/757 he received a robe of honour from Abu'l Fatḥ Mu'taẓid, the 'Abbāsī caliph of Egypt with a patent and the title of *Saiyedu's-Salāṭīn*.[2] The same year there came some Bengali envoys from Ḥājī Ilyās (now Sulṭān Shamsu'ddin) who also sent in the following year an embassy headed by Malik Tāju'ddīn with many precious gifts for the emperor. The latter sent in return an embassy with still more precious gifts. But Sulṭān Shamsu'ddīn died before the imperial gifts reached him. The emperor recalled his embassy and subsequently led a second expedition to Bengal (1359/760).

1 T. F. S. A., p. 124.

2 Barani (p. 598) says that in the course of the first six years of his reign the emperor received investiture from the Abbasid caliph twice over. 'Afif (p. 274) shows that the Egyptian caliph's investiture came several times until 778 A.H. (A.D. 1379)—the year of the death of prince Fatḥ Khān. Counting from his coronation until then—a period of eighteen years—there were two Abbasid caliphs in Egypt, namely Mu'taẓid (753-763 A.H./A.D. 1353-1362) and his son Mutawakkil ('763-785 A.H /A.D. 1364-1386). 'Afif (274) gives one name only, *i.e.* Abu'l Fatḥ Abū Bakr (Mu'taẓid) which also appears on the coins. *Cf.* C. P. K. D. E. pp. 274-275. While Barani and 'Afif leave the arrival of the caliph's investiture undated, Yaḥyā bin Aḥmad (T. H. Y. p. 126) puts it in 756 Hijra but gives al-Ḥākim Abu'r-Rabī' Sulaimān as the caliph. There was a caliph bearing this name earlier in the first half of the 8th century Hijra (14th century A.D.). He was caliph for thirty-nine years (1301/701-1340/740).

The cause of this expedition was the flight of Ẓafar Khān, son-in-law of the late Fakhru'ddīn Mubārak Shāh, to the imperial court with complaints against Shamsu'ddīn Ilyās Shāh. The emperor decided to help him and proceeded from Dehlī with a huge army of mounted warriors, foot-soldiers and maritime equipments which created the impression that he was intent on reconquering Bengal. But his leisurely march belied it. In the course of it he was seen indulging in wine. Then he spent much time in founding a city on the Gomti in the tract between Kanauj and Awadh to which he gave the name of Jaunpūr, perhaps to honour the memory of the late emperor whose original name was Jauna.

When at last he arrived in Bengal, Sulṭān Sikandar was seized with fear and fled into the fortress of Ikdāla as his father had done before. The emperor chased him thither and besieged the whole insular tract. But he failed at the critical moment and desisted from storming the fortress lest the women in it be widowed and the children be orphaned. Then he opened negotiations which culminated in a treaty of peace with Sulṭān Sikandar who agreed to offer Sonārgāon to Ẓafar Khān. The emperor gave him a bejewelled crown with eight-thousand tankas of gold and five hundred horses, thus accepting his independence. Sulṭān Sikandar made a formal expression of fealty, promising to send forty elephants annually to Dehlī by way of tribute and remarked that he would have placed Ẓafar Khān in possession of Sonārgāon if an order to this effect had been sent to him from Dehlī.[1]

It may be noted that Ẓafar Khān declined to accept the government of Sonārgāon and decided to return to Dehlī in the emperor's retinue. Thus the second Bengal expedition proved fatuous.

From Bengal the emperor proceeded to Jājnagar *via* Jaunpūr, Kaṛa and Bihār. 'Afif's father who attended him says that Jājnagar was an extremely rich and fertile region with Banārasī as the site of governmental buildings—a

1 T. F. S. A., pp. 158-162.

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combination of fortified enclosures, covering a vast area. The emperor occupied it. The Rāi named Adesar left Banārasī and fled to some unknown place. This amounted in the eyes of 'Afif's father to a conquest of Orissa, as it appears from the following verse:

Dar Jājnagar cho burdah lashkar[1]
Begrift Udīsa rā sarāsar

(When the emperor marched with his army on Jājnagar, he captured Orissa (*Udisa*) from end to end.)

It is said that the emperor left Banārasī and set out in pursuit of the Rāi. On the way he met the Rāi's ambassadors to whom he explained the motive behind his expedition, saying:

Mā rā dar-īn ḥudūd maṣlaḥat ba khair būd[2]

(We intended peace and goodwill for this part of the country.)

On hearing this the Rāi sent to the emperor a gift of twenty elephants with a few slave girls (*pātar*) and acknowledged his suzerainty. The emperor ordered that the statue of Jagannāth which stood inside the fortress be rooted out and taken to Dehlī whither he himself proceeded. According to 'Afīf the expedition was successful on the whole but entailed disaster; for the army, while returning, was distracted by the mischievous guides. After six months of prayers and supplications a road appeared in sight—pursuing which they came into the highway and reached the capital at last[3] (1361/762).

Shortly after the emperor marched again with his army, moving this time in the direction of Daulatābād, but changed his mind on the way and returned to Dehlī. Again he left it and changing the direction marched towards Nagarkot[4], because the Dehlī territory had been plundered

1, 2 *Op. cit.* pp. 162-169.

3 T. F. S. A., pp. 172-174.

4 Nagarkot was the name generally given by Muslim chroniclers to Kangra or Kot Kangra (Cunningham—A. S. R. vol. v.

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by Udakpati,[1] the Rāi of Nagarkot. 'Afīf's father who accompanied the emperor says that the fortress of Nagarkot was captured after a siege of six months. Then the Rāi waited on the emperor with rich offerings and acknowledged his suzerainty. He was allowed to retain his dominion, but his capital Nagarkot was named Muḥammadābad, according to one account[2] in honour of Sulṭān Muḥammad who had conquered it earlier. Sulṭān Muḥammad had also visited the idol of Jwalāmukhī which stood in the neighbourhood of Nagarkot and had installed over it a gold umbrella according to a local report. It is said that Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh followed suit. But 'Afīf discredits this and observes that the latter pointed out to the idol worshippers their folly in deifying a piece of stone.[3] Any way the idol of Jwalamukhi fared better than all the other idols seen by Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh. It was not dislocated; nor was its removal to Dehlī thought of. Its antiquity, if not its sanctity, impressed the *Pādshāh-i Islām* who found in its vicinity a large store of ancient manuscripts. A few of these were translated into Persian prose with the help of some Brahmin scholars; and one was rendered into Persian verse by 'Aizzu'ddīn Khālid Khānī under the title of *Dalāil-i Fīroz Shāhī*.[4] Subsequently the emperor returned to Dehlī (1362/763).

After two years he resolved to march against the rebels of Tatta who had defied his predecessor. Their old leader Ṭāghī[5] was no more but the situation in Tatta, capital of lower Sind, had deteriorated on account of the rise of

p. 155). It was first captured by Maḥmūd of Ghazna in 1009/400; then by Muḥammad bin Tughluq (*vide* p. 179 *supra*). Badr Chāch who gives a vivid account of its conquest by the latter says that the 'stone fort of Nagarkot is placed between rivers like the pupil of an eye, and the fort has so preserved its honour and is so impregnable that neither Sikandar nor Dārā was able to take it.' (Q. B. Lucknow, 1279H. p. 28 *Cf.* Elliot, III, p. 570). Subsequently it was captured by Firoz Shāh about 1365. A. S. R. C., Vol. V, p. 157).

1 T. Fr. Vol. II, p. 450. Also see Sufi, M. D.—*Kashir*, Vol. I, (Lahore 1948) p. 138.

2 M. T. B., Vol. I, p. 248. 3 T. F. S. A., p. 187.

4 Literally 'arguments of Firoz Shāh'. M. T. B., Vol. I, p. 249.

5 Ṭāghī had fled from Tatta towards Gujarāt where he was

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Sammas,[1] the aggressions of Jām Jūna and his nephew Banhbina on the borders of Gujarāt and Punjab and their alliance with the hostile Mongols across the Indus, and last but not least on account of the death of 'Ainu'l-Mulk Multānī,[2] governor of Multān, capital of upper Sind.

In October 1365 (*Ṣafar* 767) the emperor issued orders to prepare an expedition (*isti'dād-i sawārī-i shikār*[3]). The wazīr collected a large army amounting to ninety thousand horse and four hundred and eighty elephants and arranged a fleet of five thousand boats to be requisitioned from the region of Bhakkar. With these equipments the emperor set out from Dehlī marching *via* Ajodhan and Bhakkar whence the fleet, placed under the charge of 'Afīf's father, sailed along the Indus. On their arrival at the vicinity of Tatta the emperor set the fleet and arrayed the army in battle order. The above-mentioned Jām Jūna and Banhbina were already prepared for war, their army amounting to twenty thousand horse and four lakh foot. Fighting began. But an epidemic broke out in the imperial camp, followed by the shortage of food and fodder. To be able to crush the enemy in these circumstances some reinforcements were absolutely necessary which the emperor now resolved to bring from Gujarāt. Hence he retreated. But his retreat brought on his head inconceivable disasters. The enemy fell on the rear of his army and fleet with the result that many of his soldiers were killed and his boats were seized. Then, distracted by the mischievous guides, a division of the army fell into the Rann of Cutch.[4]

killed. This happy news the new emperor had learnt in the course of his journey from Sehwān to Dehlī. T. A. Vol. p. 227.

1 The Samma power noticeable in the biginning of Firoz Shāh's reign, was built on the ruins of the Sumeras. See Is. Cul. XXII, 1948. pp. 359-368.

2 'Ainu'l-Mulk Multānī died probably in 1364/765. *Ibid.*

3 Literally 'preparation for a hunting expedition' (T. F. S. A., p. 193). The idiomatic use of the given phrase which is synonymous with Barani's phrase *ba ṭarīq-i shikār raft* (T.F.S.B., pp. 479-480) confirms the conclusions reached in this book regarding Sulṭān Muḥammad's Doāb expedition. See p. 236, *supra* footnote 2.

4 T. F. S. A., p. 207.

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When, at last, the emperor arrived in Gujarāt he cashiered Amīr Ḥusain Nīẓāmu'l-Mulk[1] the governor who had failed to send the much-needed supplies and replaced him by Ẓafar Khān *Lodī* whom 'Afīf calls Ẓafar Khān-i *Buzurg*[2] (Ẓafar Khān the elder). About this time came a deputation headed by Bahrām Khān Mazandarānī, a rival prince of the Bahmanī dynasty, inviting the emperor to conquer and annex the Deccan. But Fīroz Shāh was unable to accept the invitation.[3] He went back with the desired reinforcements, some of which had also come from Dehlī, to Tatta. The Sindis and and their rulers Jām Jūna and Banhbina were taken unawares for they had never expected the imperial army back[4] in Sind. As the latter appeared on the eastern bank of the Indus the Sindī troops fled together with Jām Jūna and Banhbina across the Indus into western Tatta. Some four thousand of them who lagged behind were taken prisoners by the imperial army. Then the Jām was pursued by a contingent of the imperial troops under the joint command of the emperor's slave, Bashīr 'Imādu'l-Mulk and Ẓafar Khān, the new governor of Gujarāt. But they were disappointed and came back unsuccessful. However, the object with which they had been told off was achieved otherwise. The emperor having meanwhile received more reinforcements from Dehlī, the Jām and Banhbina were terrorized into submission. Thereupon the emperor made Jām Jūna's son and Tamachi, Banhbina's brother, joint rulers of Tatta.

1 T. F. S. A., pp. 219-220

2 *Op. cit*, p. 499. Also see p. 440 *supra*

3 T. F. S. A., p. 224.

4 While chuckling over the emperor's misfortunes they sang a Sindi verse which is translated as follows:

'By the grace of Shaikh Pattho one died, the other fled away.'

That is, Sulṭān Muḥammad died and Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh took to flight. Shaikh Pattho who is mentioned above as Pīr Patho (p. 221 *supra*) was the popular saint of Tatta. I visited his shrine in 1960. It lies on a cliff and is revered. The keeper of the shrine related some local traditions about the Pīr and brought out a copy of the *Tārīkh-i Ma'ṣūmī* which he showed to me, saying: 'This is always kept here for reference.'

They acknowledged the suzerainty of the emperor and promised to send an annual tribute. This done, the return journey of the emperor began. Taking in his *entourage* Jām Jūna and Banbibna he reached Dehlī in the autumn of 1366.

(i) *Public Works*:

To the First Part of the reign under survey also belong the public works which were of different kinds. Edward Thomas says:

> 'The history of his (Fīroz Shāh's) reign is justly celebrated in the traditions of the land for the number and magnificence of the public works executed under his auspices.[1]

Firishta computed the number of dams built across the rivers to promote irrigation at fifty; of mosques at forty; of schools at thirty; of palaces at twenty; of caravansarais at one hundred; of towns at two hundred; of reservoirs at thirty; of hospitals at one hundred; of public baths at one hundred; of monumental pillars at ten; of public wells at ten and of bridges at one hundred and fifty[2]. Firishta's computation[3] might have encouraged Sir Wolseley Haig to appraise Fīroz Shāh as follows:

> 'He (Fīroz Shāh) is still remembered as the author of the schemes of irrigation, and his passion for building equalled, if it did not surpass, that of the Roman emperor Augustus'.[4]

Firishta's computation, combined with 'Afīf's sketch of the canals and towns, appears to have inspired Edward Thomas to make an appraisal which runs as follows:

1 C. P. K. D. E., 273.

2 T. Fr. vol. I., p. 273.

3 The archaeologists have failed to spot many of the constructions, mentioned by Firishta; and in the absence of the necessary identifications and chronological and topographical data the historical value of the above computation is little.

4 C. H. I., III, p. 175.

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'The most important feat of Fīroz Shāh's reign was the construction of a double system of canals to supply his new city of Hiṣār Fīrozah, the head waters of which were drawn both from Jumna and Satlej. Both these canals continue till the present day. The Satlej section can be seen from Ruper to Sirhind.'[1]

This appraisal is weighty and stimulates reflection. It suggests that the foundation of towns and the construction of canals came together like twins simultaneously. It also tends to clarify the series of five canals which have been confounded in the chronicles. That is, two canals were conducted into the city of Hiṣār Fīrozah, one being taken from the river Yamuna (*Jumna*) and the other from the Satlej. The former was called *Rajīwah* and the latter *Ulughkhānī*. Both passed through the vicinity of Karnāl and travelling a length of about eight *kroh*[2] discharged their waters through a channel into the town of Hiṣār Fīrozah.[3] The third canal following a similar course watered a larger area, terminating at the river Saraswatī. The fourth, which was the largest, watered an area of one hundred and fifty miles and then came to the town of Hiṣār. This canal is usually identified with the modern western Yamuna canal. The fifth canal connected the waters of the Saraswatī and the Markanda, the high ground which had hitherto separated the two rivers being removed completely.

Edward Thomas observes that the real motive of Fīroz Shāh in the construction of these canals was not merely 'a desire to aid and succour his subjects but to make existence possible in the new towns his early Bhaṭṭī predilections had induced him to found in the districts of Hānsī.'[4]

This remark has proved no less suggestive. Fīroz Shāh did not know the principles of eugenics which, in the hope

1 C. P. K D. E., p. 294.

2 *i.e.* a unit of distance of those days corresponding roughly to one and a half miles of the present day.

3 T. F. S. A., p. 127.

4 C. P. K. D. E., p. 274.

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of getting the finest offspring, his great uncle Tughluq Shāh had followed, *e.g.* by securing the hand of Rānā Mall Bhaṭṭī's daughter[1] for Rajab. Fīroz Shāh blindly followed the precedent that had been set ; and was romantically married with a Hindū girl of Gujar stock. During the reign of Sulṭān Muḥammad he rode out one day disguised as a hunter and was stranded in the midst of a jungle in pursuit of a game. Overtaken by night and whipped by hunger and bitten by cold he took shelter in a neighbouring village called Laras where he was welcomed by two villagers, Sādho and Sahāran by name. They entertained him with wine and food. While drunk Fīroz disclosed his identity to his hosts and hostess—the wife of Sādho. Then he was married to the young and beautiful sister of Sahāran. Sahāran later embraced Islām and was awarded the title of *Wajīhu'l-Mulk*[2]. The story of this marriage given in the *Mira't-i Sikandārī*[3] should be read side by side with the story of Hiṣār Fīrozāh as given in the *Tārikh-i Fīroz Shāhī* of 'Aṣīf. He says:

'The author was told by his father that in the second year after the Bengal campaign, the Sulṭān founded Hiṣār Fīrozah. In the place, now occupied by this city, two large and populous villages formerly stood; they were Great Laras and Little Laras. The neighbourhood of Great Laras greatly pleased the Sulṭān and he thought it would be well to build a town there, for it was very deficient in water and during the hot season travellers who came from 'Irāq and Khurāsān had to pay as much as four *jitals* for a pitcherful. He began constructing the town and persevered in it for several years. Hard stone was brought from the hills of Narsai and was used with strong quicklime and burnt bricks. A fort of great extent and height was also undertaken. The Sulṭān gave to the place the name of Hiṣār Fīrozah. Inside the fort was built a palace which had no equal in

1 *Vide* p. 19 *supra.*

2 Literally 'distinguished man of the State.'

3 Sikandar—*Mira't-i Sikandarī* (Bombay, 1308 Hijra), p. 6.

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the world, its various apartments being contrived with infinite pains.'

The author's father was then in the service of the court and held the office of *Shabnavīs*.[1] He informed the author that Sulṭān Fīroz was occupied two years and a half in building this town. When it was built he laid out many gardens and planted many trees, including all sorts of fruit trees.

Under the preceding kings this region had been entered in the revenue accounts as belonging to the division (*shiq*) of Hānsī. Fīroz Shāh ordered that the *shiq* should be called Hiṣār Fīrozah and that the *iqtas* (districts) of Hānsī, Agroha, Fatḥābād and Sarsutī as far as Salaurah and Khiẓrābād should be included in the *shiq* of Hiṣār Fīrozah.[2]

It appears that the village where the said marriage took place was no other than the above-mentioned Great Laras which was given the topmost place in the list of towns by 'Afīf though, considering the chronological order, it should have been mentioned after Fatḥābād. According to 'Afīf while the whole of Hiṣār palace stood unrivalled in the world, certain apartments in it were constructed with strange contrivances. They were artistically interconnected and closed to the rays of the sun, thus forming a complicated irregular structure with many zigzag passages which made it extremely difficult for persons walking through them to find their way out unless they knew the scheme.[3] Perhaps Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh built these zigzag passages commonly known as *bhūlbhūllaiyān* in order to please his Gujarī queen[4] and to suit the sportive native taste of high-class Indian ladies.

1 Literally writer of occurrences in the night.

2 T. F. S. A., p. 124.

3 *Op. cit.*, p. 126.

4 I heard the local people say this in the course of my visit to Hiṣār. I noticed the term Gūjar in the phrase *Gūjarī Maḥal* (Gūjarī Palace), mouthed by the people living in the neighbourhood of the ruined palace at Hiṣār.

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His Gujarī queen gave birth to a son at a village called Ikdar where the new emperor had encamped in the course of his journey from the Sonda-Sivistān region to Dehlī. That son was named Fath Khān (lord of victory); and in his honour was founded a town which was named Fatḥābād (city of victory). While the site of Fatḥābād was irrigated by means of a channel dug up to the Saraswatī, inside the town of Fatḥābād was built a mosque with a spacious courtyard in which was raised a pillar bearing an inscription of Fīroz Shāh's genealogy.[1]

Third[2] in chronological order came Fīrozābād (city of Fīroz)—the New Dehli of emperor Fīroz Shāh. It was founded on the eve of his second Bengal expedition and covered a vast area of at least ten square miles which had previously been the site of eighteen habitations[3] and villages. The contemporary observers were highly impressed by its numerous buildings which now reared their heads to the sky from the *qaṣba* of Indrapat to the *koshak-i shikār*.[4] According to one account the whole area between these places always thronged with people and travellers. The traffic was busy and ceaseless to such an extent that porters, conveyances of all kinds, horses, mules, palanquins or *dolas*[5] and carriages were available at almost all hours. The rate of fares was fixed. While a carriage plied for four

1 A. S. R. C., Vol. XXIII, p. 11.

2 First was Fataḥābād and second Hiṣār Firozah.

3 *I.e.* 'the town (*qaṣba*) of Indrapat, the *sarai* of Shaikh Malkiyār-Parān ; the *sarai* of Shaikh Abū Bakr Ṭūsī ; the village of Gāwīn : the land of Katiwāṛa ; the region of Lahrāwat ; the tract of Andhāwalī ; the land of Sulṭān Raziya's tomb ; the open land called Bhārī or Bihārī ; the land of Mahroli (*Mahrolah*) ; the land of Sulṭānpur and the like.' T. F. S. A., p. 134.

4 To form an idea of the area spreading from Indrapat or Indraprastha by the river Yamuna in the east and the *koshak-i shikār* in the Aravalli hills on the west, the reader is requested to refer to the map on page 156 *supra*.

5 The *dolas* mentioned by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (*vide* the *Reḥla*, p. xxiv) were a popular conveyance of those days. The fare of a *ḍola*, though not mentioned by 'Afīf, may be easily conjectured. It was much lower than that of a palanquin.

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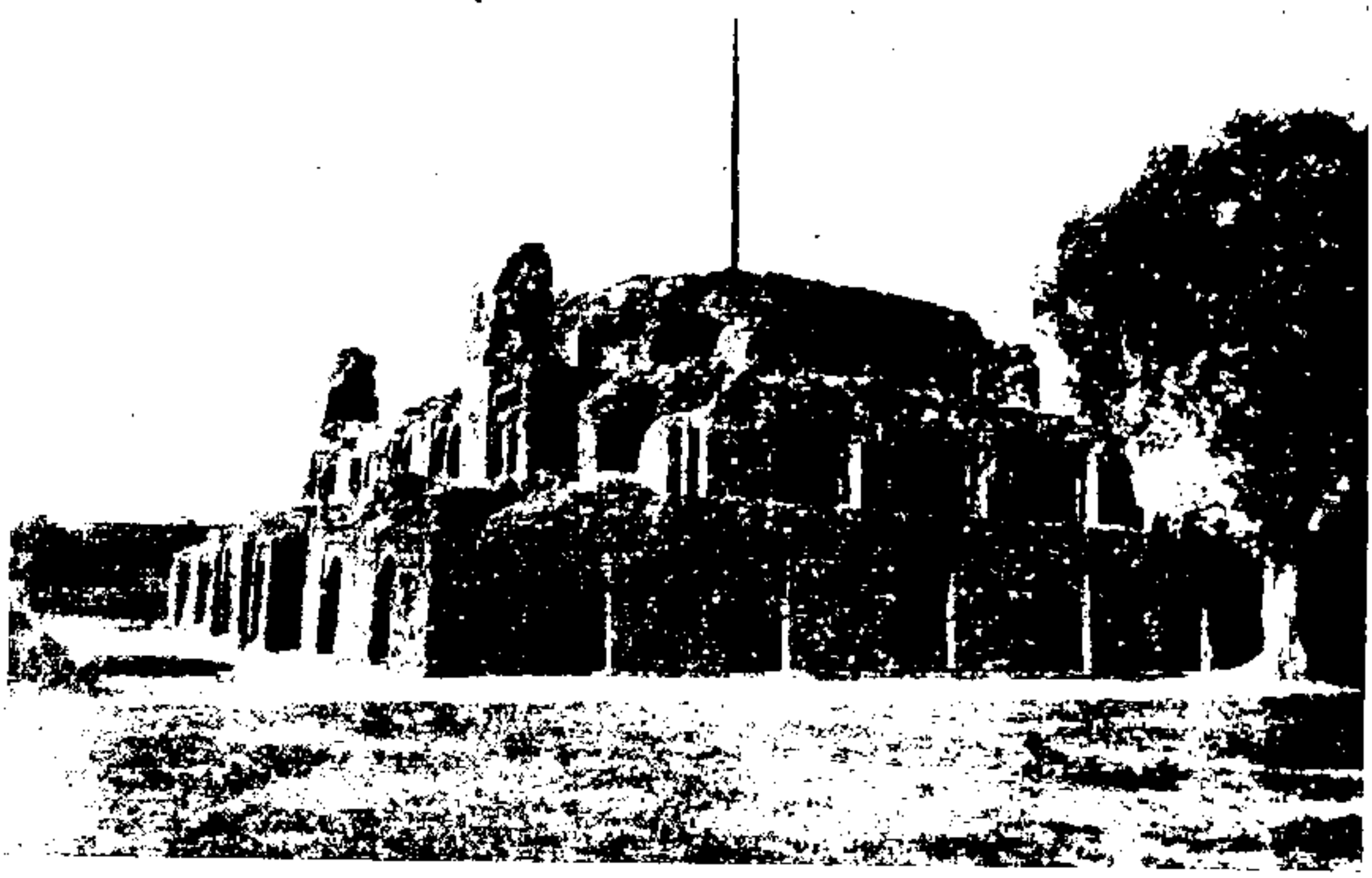
ASOKA'S PILLAR ON TOP OF A THREE-STOREYED BUILDING



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jitals per head; a mule plied for six; a horse for twelve and a palanquin for half a tanka.[1]

This great city of Fīrozābād stood about ten miles north of Jahānpanāh. Its ruins still exist outside the Dehlī gate of modern Delhī or Shahjahānābād and it goes under the name of Fīroz Shāh's Kotla.[2] In it is seen standing prominently at the top of a three-storeyed building a stone pillar[3] which was transplanted there in 1367/769. In this connection 'Afīf says:

> 'The Sulṭān used to make excursions since his return from the Tatta expedition (1366/768) in the neighbourhood of Dehlī. There he found two pillars of stone—one in the village of Toprā (*Tobra*),[4] situated in the hills of Salaura and Khiẓrābād, and the other in the vicinity of Mirath.'[5]

This is confirmed by Fīroz Shāh himself in the *Sīrat-i Fīroz Shāhī*[6] which contains in Persian verse his first impressions of the Dehlī-Topra pillar. The verses are reproduced below together with their translation.[7]

> This pillar looks like the sky; it is made of one piece of stone. Its foundation is thick but it tapers towards the top.

آسماں سا ستونے ست زیک پارہ سنگ گاودم رفتہ زبنیاد ہیں بالا تنگ

1 T. F. S. A., p. 136.

2 Sir Syed Ahmad gives a picture of Kotla in his *Āṣāru's-Sanādīd* and says, 'It is now seen standing at a distance of a few furlongs outside the Dehli gate. This Kotla is the remnant of the New Dehli or Firozābāḍ—the favourite city which Firoz Shāh had built in 755 Hijra (A.D. 1356). *Āṣāru's-Sanadīd* (Lucknow, 1876 A.D.), p. 51. Also see the *Archaeological Memoir* on Kotla, No. 52.

3 See photo on the adjoining page.

4 Tobra was the name of a village in the Siwālik hills. It has been identified with the modern Topra between Ambala and Sirsa, eighteen miles to the south of Sadhora and twenty-two miles to the south-west of Khiẓrābād.

5 T. F. S. A., pp. 305-314.

6 *Sīrat-i Fīroz Shāhi*, MS. POL.

7 The English translation was made by me some years ago and was published in the *Hindustan Standard*, Puja Annual, 1958, p. 24.

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Seen from a distance it appears like a mountain of gold, presenting the look of the morning sun sending forth its red rays.

می نماید چو یکے کوہ زر از صد فرسنگ ہمچو خورشید کہ در صبح بروں یازد چنگ

No bird of any kind can fly up to its height. And no arrow—neither *khandag* nor *khatāī*—can rise even to half its height.

نپرد مرغ بر اوبش نہ عقاب و نہ کلنگ نہ رسد تیر بنیمش نہ خطائے نہ خدنگ

Should lightning fall on the top of this pillar, none of those at the base would be able to hear the noise.

وہ گزیر سر او تند بر آرد آہنگ نغنود ہیچ کس آواز ز دوری نہنگ

O God! how have they raised this mountain? What have they tied it with? It does not even shake!

یارب این کوہ گرانرا چہ برداشتہ اند در چہ بستند کہ جنبیدن نگذاشتہ اند

How have they possibly lifted it up? How have they maintained it in that height? Its foundations are so high that the top of the pillar rises right into the sky.

چوں برند ہالا و چساں داشتہ اند بر بنائے کہ سرش بر فلک افراشتہ اند

How have they been able to write it over in gold, presenting the look of a golden morning.

چوں توانند کہ در زر ہمہ بنگاشتہ اند تا چو صبحے بزر آراستہ پنداشتہ اند

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Is it the *Ṭūba*[1] tree of paradise which the angels have transplanted on this earth ? Is it the heavenly *Sidrā*[2] tree which people have mistaken for a mountain ?

طوبیست این کہ ملایک بزمین کاشتہ اند یا یکے سدرہ کہ مردم جبل انگاشتہ اند

The cavities in the depth of its foundation are filled with steel and stone. It is a single shaft of pinkish sandstone and looks as if the whole of it is made of gold.

ہمن زبخش بحد بد و حجر انباشتہ اند ہمایون تنہ وشاخ زر ساختہ اند

The emperor resolved to take the pillar from Topra across a distance of over one hundred and fifty miles to his capital at Dehlī Firozābād. He did so at some personal inconvenience and by spending an incalculable sum of money and finally by employing man-handle. When all the elephants and oxen yoked to the pillar-laden cart had failed to drag it, hundreds of men—Muslims as well as Hindus—of high rank rushed forward and joined to pull the ropes of the cart. They succeeded in moving the cart and took it with great zeal from Topra to the river bank. The process of digging into the foundations of the pillar, of lowering it and then raising it first on a boat and then to its present height before the principal mosque at Fīrozābād was subsequently illustrated under the royal orders in the *Sīrat-i Fīroz Shābī*. Six out of the thirteen illustrations[3], taken from that unique manuscript are reproduced below.

1 *Ṭūbā* is the name of a tree of paradise according to Muslim belief.

2 *Sidra* is a lote-tree in paradise. It is also the name of the heavenly mansion of the angel Gabriel. (Steingass).

3 A study of these illustrations will be a lesson in the art of medieval Indian engineering. Sir John Marshall could not withhold his tribute of praise from this masterpiece of the Tughluq period, 'considering the different mechanical appliances then available.' Hodivala—S.I.M.H., p. 329.

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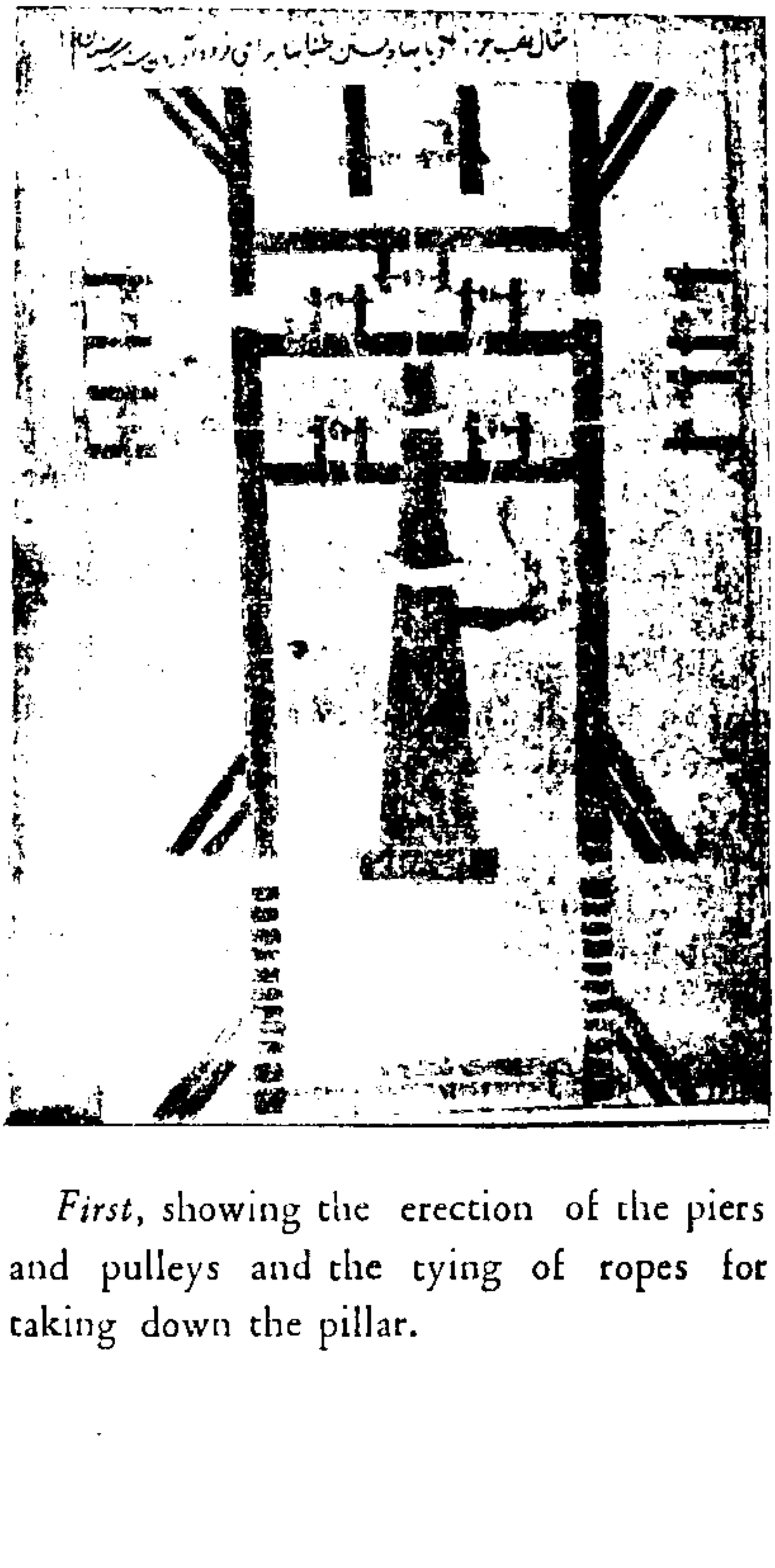
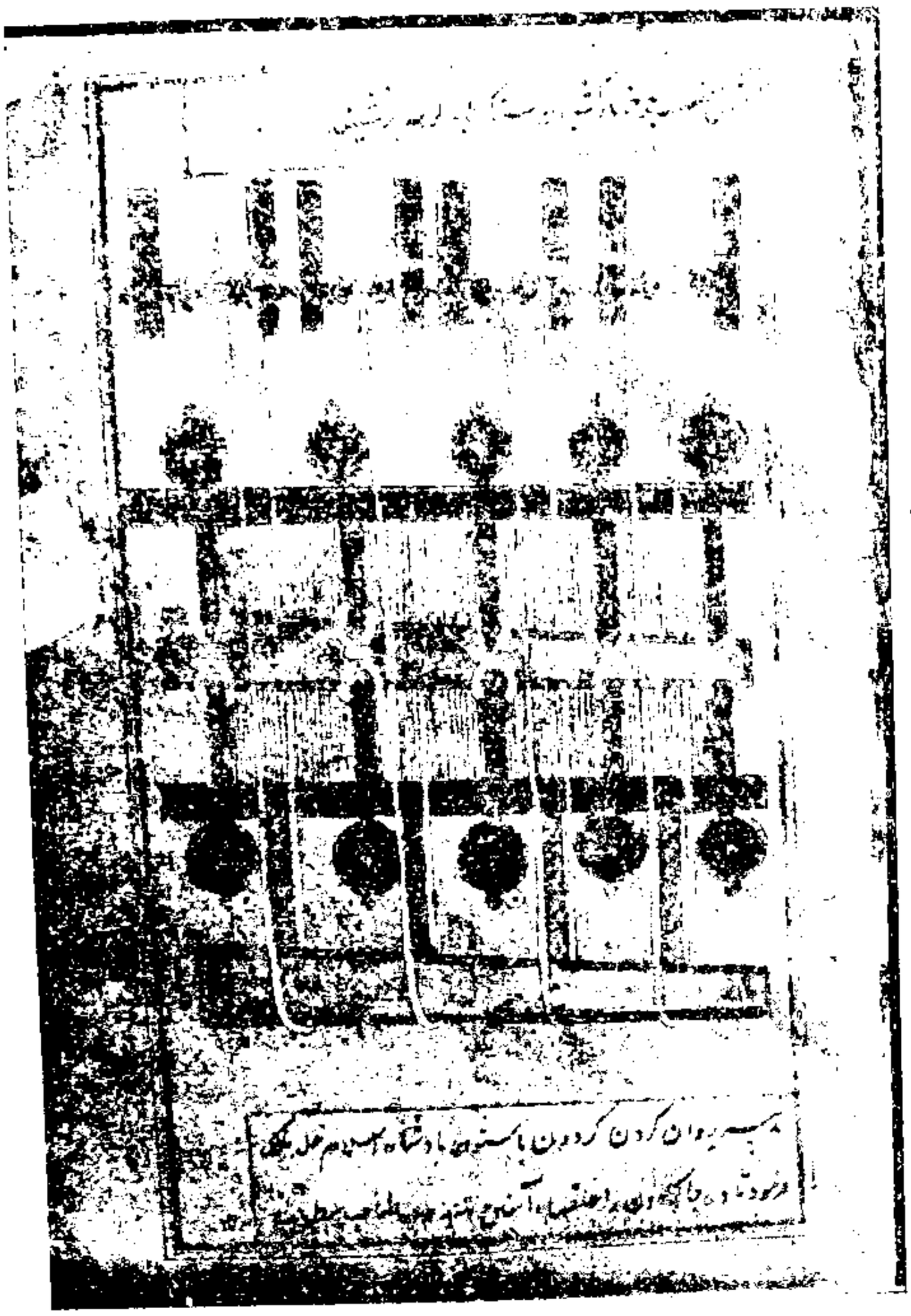


First, showing the erection of the piers and pulleys and the tying of ropes for taking down the pillar.



Second, showing the erection of pulleys and the raising of the pillar in order to place it on the cart.

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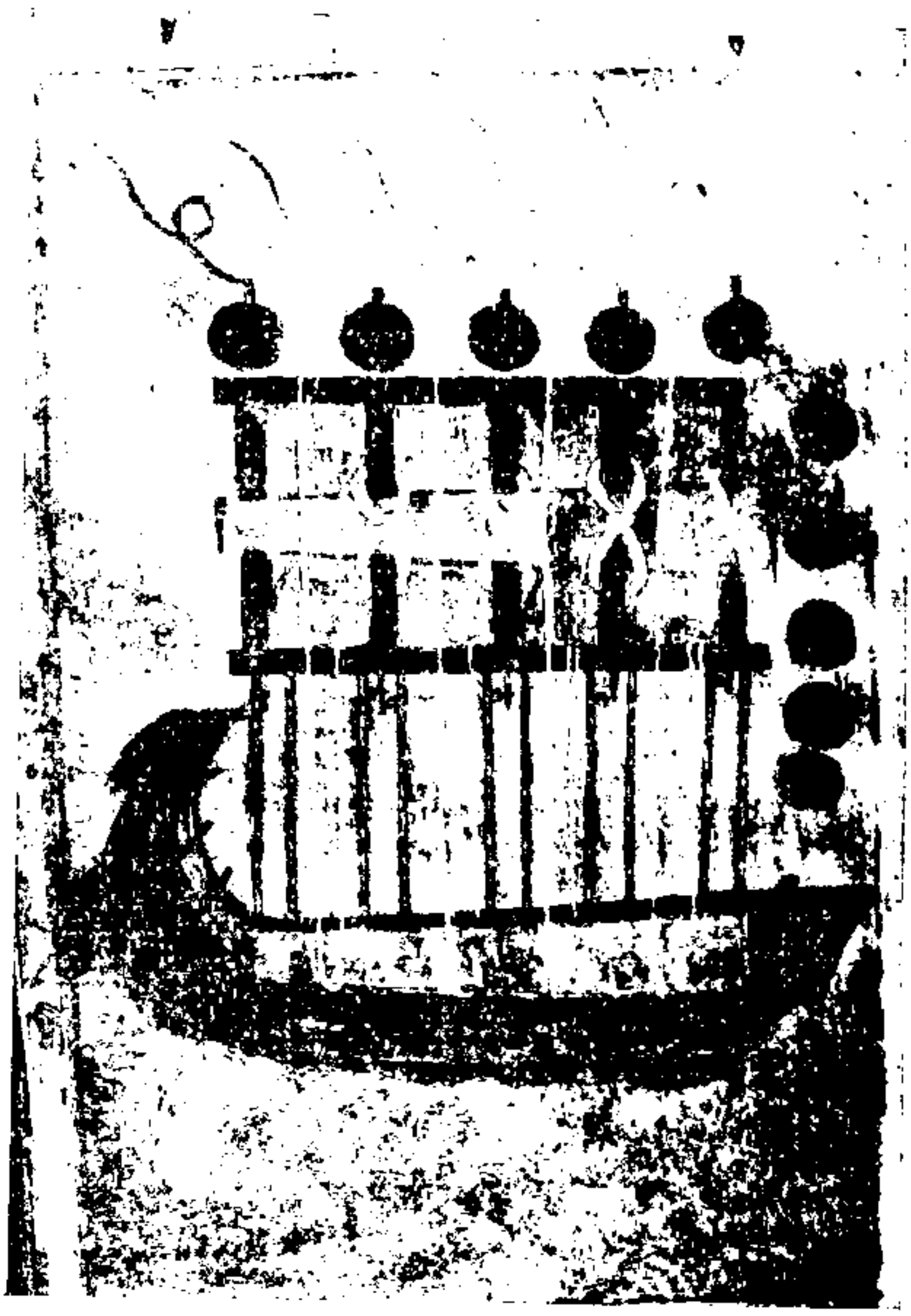

Third, showing the pulling off of the wheels of the cart from one side and the tying of ropes and pulling up of the pillar so that it may be placed in the boat.

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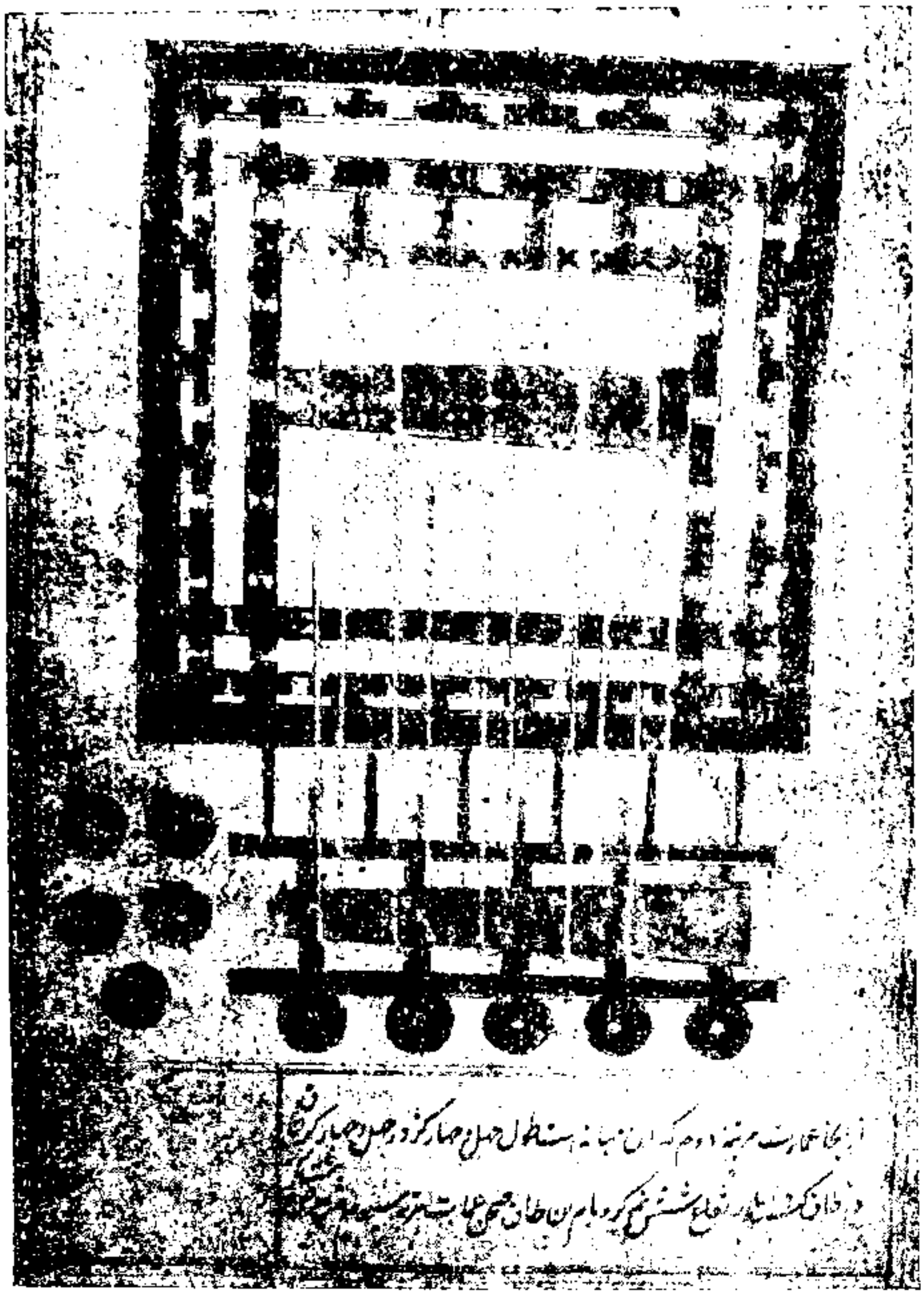

Fourth, showing building of the first storey and raising the pillar on its top by means of ropes.

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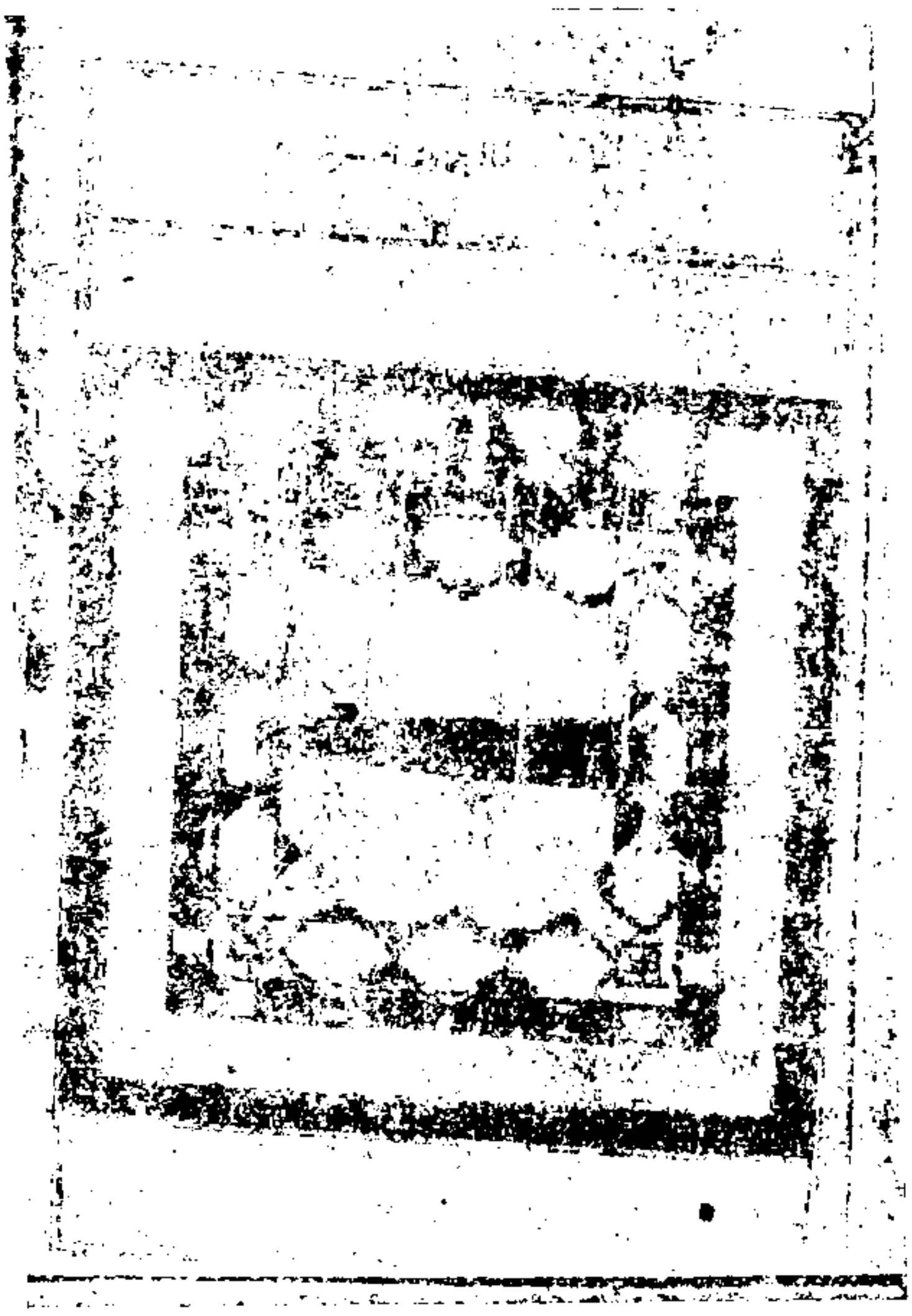

Fifth, showing plan of the second storey.

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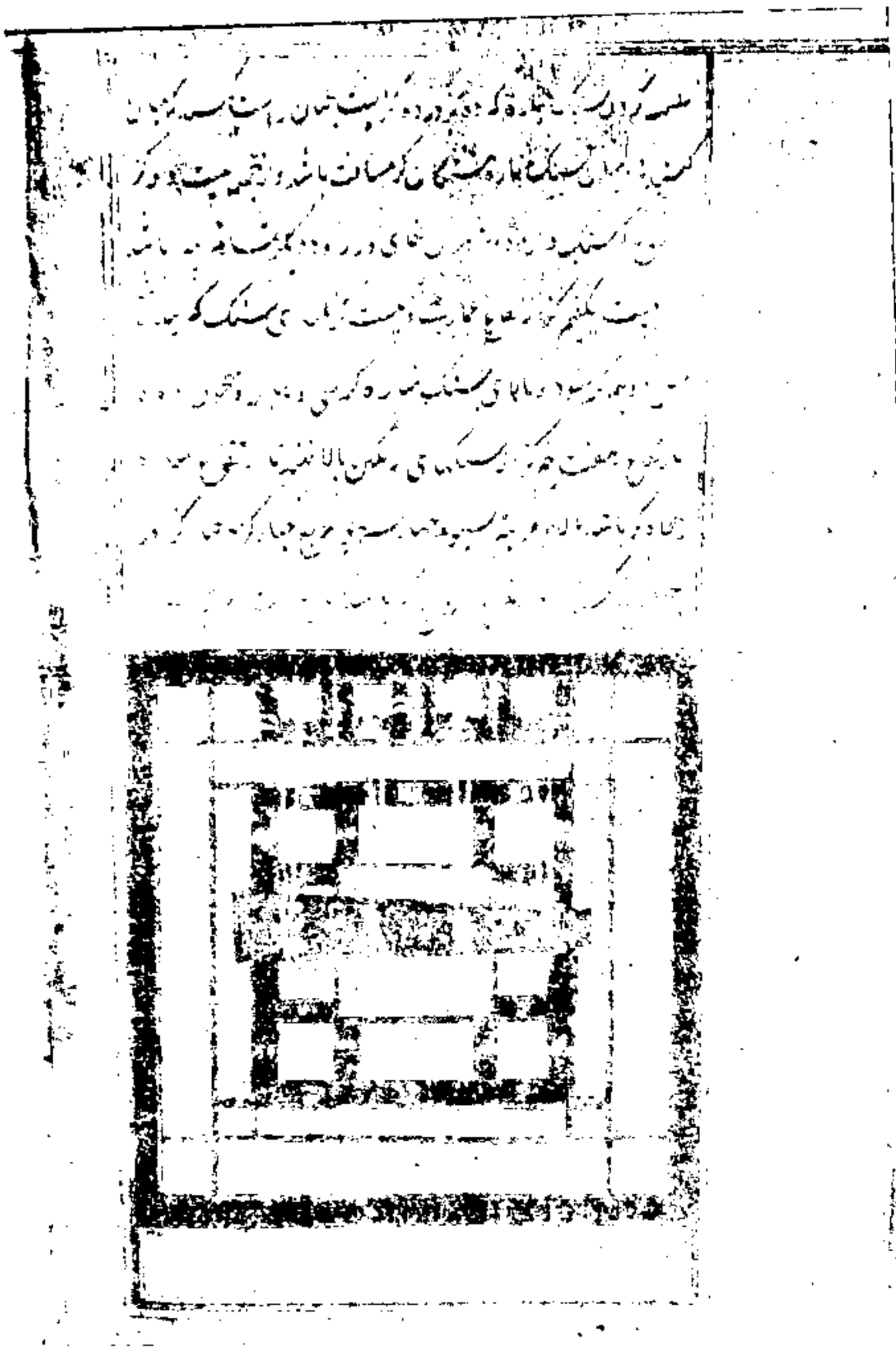

Sixth, showing third storey of the structure on which the pillar was set up.

A detailed account of all the illustrations is given in the *Sīrat-i Fīroz Shāh* which establishes among many other points the following:

That all the devices for the careful uprooting, dislocating, lowering, transporting and erecting the pillar in his palace and before the principal mosque at Firozābād were made by Fīroz Shāh himself. 'No other man's schemes, not even a word from any wise man, engineer, architect, mason or labourer had anything to do with this achievement. From the scheme of taking down the pillar, to its transportation by boats and from the boats to the fort and its re-erection therein as well

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as the construction of the building on which it was erected—each of these detailed performances was completed exactly according to the order and suggestions of His Majesty the King[1]".

Similar is the information given by 'Afīf who was then twelve years old[2]. He gives the whole story independently from beginning to end with the vivid touch of an eye-witness. In conclusion he says:

'It is not known who had erected the pillar in the village of Topra (*Tobra*) and who had kept it up. Some lines had been inscribed in Hindī[3] character at the foot of the pillar. Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh called many Brahmins and *Sūyūṛagān* (سیورگان)[4] and inviting their attention to the same asked them to read it. But they could not.'

No illustrations of the second pillar—the Dehli-Mirath pillar—are available. 'Afīf says:

'It is smaller in size than the golden pillar. It stood originally near Mirath whence Sulṭan Fīroz Shāh was pleased to transport it to Dehlī and erect it on a hill in the *koshak-i shikār*[5]. In the process the emperor adop-

1 *Sīrat-i Firoz Shāhi* MS. POL.

2 T. F. S. A., p. 310.

3 *I.e.*, the Pali character. Both the pillars were inscribed in the 27th year of Asoka's reign. C.P.K.D. p. 292.

4 In the attempt to identify *Suyuṛagān* or *Suyūragān* Hodivala (S. I. M. H., I., p. 331) has quoted A. N. P., III., p. 68. These were the Hindū devotees (Elliot, III, 352) or rather the Jaina ascetics skilled in science. It was on them that Sulṭān Muḥammad bin Tughluq showered favours; and to them he granted a charter. *Vide* p. 363 *supra* for the firman and its photo.

5 The Persian term *koshak-i shikār* (literally a hunting place) has given rise to serious misunderstandings. Since it was a three-storeyed building at the top of which the Mirath pillar was finally erected, it is contended that it was used partly as menagerie and partly as aviary. But there was nothing of this kind. This magnificent building which also contained a mosque was certainly

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WINDSOR OF DEHLI or Koshak-i Shikār (destroyed in 18th century A.D.) ON TOP OF WHICH THE SECOND PILLAR HAD BEEN RAISED. See p. 420, f.n. 2



Facing p. 421

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ted the same contrivances of variant type and nature as before and experienced from day to day increasing hardships. The day he successfully raised the second pillar to its proper height and place he ordered State rejoicings. The whole day being observed as a State festival all people were entertained; and passers-by irrespective of all distinctions enjoyed the sherbet."[1]

Thus the second pillar was raised to the top of the royal palace on the ridge.[2] There it remained until the latter part of the eighteenth century when it was destroyed, the whole palace having toppled down on account of an explosion of the neighbouring powder magazine. The pillar was broken into five pieces which lay on the ridge in this state for about a hundred years. In the latter part of the nineteenth century the pieces were joined together and the pillar was restored and re-erected by the British government on the site of the dismantled palace on the ridge where it can be seen at present.[3]

Apparently Fīroz Shāh knew little about Asoka the Mauryan emperor (273-232 B. C.); and certainly he did not know him as the author of the said pillars.[4] There was a tradition that these pillars had been built in the age of the

not meant for, nor used as an abode of, wild animals and birds. The term *koshak-i shikār* should rightly be translated into modern English as Windsor. Then the *koshak-i shikār* served the same purpose for the royal family of Dehlī as does the present Windsor for the royal family of England.

1 T. F. S. A., pp. 312-313.

2 See photograph on the adjoining page.

3 A. S. R. C. Vol. V, p. 143.

4 That he did not know Asoka as the author of the pillars does not reflect adversely on Firoz Shāh. Many of the pillars which are now attributed to Asoka have remained untraceable. Only ten can be seen today—five in a fairly good condition and five broken and in a mutilated state. These are the Dehli-Topra pillar; the Dehli-Mirath pillar; the Allahabad pillar; the Lauriya-Araraj pillar in the Champaran district of north Bihār; the Lauriya Nandangarh pillar on the road from Bettiah to Nepal; the Rampurwa village pillar; the Sanchi pillar; the Sarnath pillar in Banaras; the Rummindei pillar in the Basti district of Uttar Pradesh and the Nigliva pillar again in the Basti district.

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Mahābhārata and were used as his walking sticks by Bhim, who was a glutton and the most powerful of the five Pandava brothers. He tended their cattle with the help of these pillars. When Bhim died these pillars were left as his mementoes in the vicinity of Dehlī where the brothers had lived.[1] This tradition seems to have continued till the time of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan who left the pillars unidentified.[2]

The next town founded by Fīroz Shāh was Tughluqpūr-i Mulūk-Kamūt. The name of certain villages called Mulūk-Kamūt which stood by the banks of the Saraswatī was given to it. Its foundation synchronized with that of Fīrozābād. Then followed Tughluqpūr Kāsna. It was founded near the Ganges on the road from Mirath to Hardwār. Formerly on this site there stood a village named Kāsna. Another town *viz.* Fīrozābād Harī-khīra was subsequently built in a region close to Agra. The name Harī-khīra suggests that the site of this town had some associations with local Hindū mythology. A village bearing the same name is said to have existed on the given site prior to the foundation of the new town. Last in the chronological order stands a town with a fort which bore the popular name of Fīrozpūr. It was in derision called Akhīrpūr because it came last in the list of Fīroz Shāhī towns. According to Ḥājī Dabīr it was a fortress built in 787 Hijra (A.D. 1384) near the village of Siyulī somewhere along the latitūde of Sambhal and Katehr—the area which abounded in rebels.[3]

About the same time a department of charity (*dīwān-i khairāt*) with its three wings—a marriage bureau, a hospital and an employment bureau—began to function. A fund was established for the marriage of marriageable daughters; and every such case had to be reported by the parents concerned to the superintendent (*amīr-i amīrān*) of the said *dīwān-i khairāt*. After the case was investigated, the *amīr-i amīrān*

1 T. F. S, A., p. 306.

2 Syed Ahmad Khan—*Āṣāru'ṣ-Ṣanādīd*, (Lucknow, 1876), p. 51.

3 A. H, G., III, p. 898.

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made a grant out of the three kinds of allowances set apart for the purpose. The first-class allowance carried an aid of fifty silver tankas; the second-class thirty silver tankas and third-class twenty-five silver tankas. Like the marriage bureau worked also a hospital with a pharmacy and a dispensary, wherein a large number of learned and expert physicians were employed; and each physician had a staff of assistants and hospital attendants under him. All of them were paid by the State; and patients of all kinds and of all races and denominations were treated and given medicines, free of charge. A public announcer (*chā'ūsh*) made an announcement to that effect, inviting patients to take advantage of State aid. But this was not a novelty of Fīroz Shāh's reign. 'Afīf says:

> 'Verily always kings have made arrangements for treating the patients and spending lavishly on them and for giving them consolation and comfort in their suffering, considering them their kinsfolk. Every ruler considered it his moral duty to give food and entertainment to the patients and sufferers and gave them medicines freely.[1]

Then was set up an employment bureau[2] which was planned by Malik Nek, the *kotwāl* of Dehlī, for the emperor who used to make personal enquiries of him about the poor and the afflicted in his jurisdiction. Eventually a firman was issued and the *kotwāl* carried it out thus. On specified days and stated hours the prominent inhabitants from every part of the city were sent for and queried about the economic conditions in their respective quarters and also about any of the able-bodied and qualified persons who had been deprived of their employment. The *kotwāl* then had the matter threshed out by the clerks. Finally the deserving persons were produced before his Majesty; and provision was made for them. Those who wanted to pursue a certain trade were enabled to do so; and those who wanted to be attached to some khān or malik were allowed to do

1 T. F. S. A., p, 349.
2 *Op. cit.*, pp. 350-357.

so, recommendatory letters to that effect being written by the *kotwāl*. In every case an assignment with a sure means of income was granted.[1]

(ii) Devices or inventions

'Every invention',[2] says 'Afif, 'that Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh made under divine inspiration and through his own sagacity and insight was a wonder of the world. The first device was the clock-bell (*Ṭās-i Ghaṛīyāl*)[3] which has remained his memento from Khurāsān to Bengal. After his return from the Tatta expedition he associated himself with some astronomers and worked out the device in full co-operation with them. When it was given a final shape and set in working order it was placed on the top of the darbar hall at Fīrozābād and people crowded to see it. It announced the hour of day and night.'

Under a fresh heading of *namūnahā-i jadīd* (new samples) 'Afif introduces the second device which the emperor made, *viz.*, a couple of large-sized revolving cauldrons of iron, in each of which ten fat sheep could be cooked.

Then came the third device. This was a couple of cauldron stands, each with ten iron legs. The stands, as well as the revolving cauldrons used to be carried side by side with the royal cavalcade by a group of one hundred bearers (*kahār*).

The fourth device was a big white dome with a special portico (*farīza*) forming part of the royal camp (*farrāsh-khāna*). It served as the chief apartment for the personal use of the emperor and formed a connecting-link between

1 From 'Afif's language (pp. 334-336) it might appear that such relief was intended for the inhabitants of Dehli only. But the sympathies of the ruler being not confined, according to the chronicles, to his capital city, 'it will not be correct to say that the unemployed in the provinces were neglected and allowed to perish.

2 *'Har waza' kih waz' kard'* (T. F. S. A., p. 254) used in the Persian text is an idiom meaning invention.

3 Hodivala (I, p. 324) does not consider the *Ṭās-i Ghaṛiyāl* as a clock-bell. But one such clock-bell was invented under Hārūn Rashīd, fifth Abbasid caliph (786/170-809/193).

the royal camp and its different sections—the *dahlīz*, *bārgāh* and *khwābgāh*.

The fifth device was a replica of the picture of moving tanks which the elephants marching on the field of battle —panoplied in armour with howdahs containing armed warriors on their backs and clad in a complete suit of armour—had presented in the preceding reign.[1] This device was a kind of box-like apparatus. Into the hollow of the box sat a man controlling the machine and its mechanism with both of his hands. Two pieces of this—*viz.*, *azhdar-pīl*—for such was the name given to it—were fixed on the backs of two elephants by means of ropes and were thus carried with the army on the march, one to each of its left and right wings.

The sixth device was a couple of huge drums—each bigger than the ordinary drum in length and breadth to the extent of one foot. These were tied to the top of the said boxes (*nishāna-i azhdar pīl*) mounted on the back of elephants. Into the hollow of each drum sat too drummers (*dahūli*). Furnished in this manner, these drums were carried behind the *nishāna-i azhdar pīl* with the army on the march.

The seventh device was a compass or an instrument which indicated directions (*usṭurlāb*). It was suspended near the Golden Pillar. Another kind of compass called *usṭurlāb-i niṣfi* which indicated the meridian was kept about the person of the emperor.[2]

(iii) Age of Reaction.

The age of emperor Fīroz Shāh was an age of retrograde tendency and of repulsion against the rationalism and latitudinarianism of the preceding reign. The emperor had bowed to the imperious demands of the times and had passed, out of policy, completely under the influence of the retrogressive 'ulamā and mashāikh who were incapable of learning a lesson from history. He imposed *jizya* on the

1 *The Reḥla of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa*, pp. xxvi-xxvii.
2 T. F. S. A., pp. 369-370.

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Brahmins who had never been taxed before. He convened a meeting of the 'ulamā and mashāikh—the legists of that age. And, pointing out that the Brahmins should not have been exempted from the tax so far[1], he said:

> 'The Brahmins are the very keys of the chamber of idolatry and the infidels are dependent on them. They ought therefore to be taxed first. The 'ulamā and mashāikh agreed that they should be taxed?[2]

The Brahmins protested strongly; but their protests went in vain and unheeded. When they threatened to die and to burn themselves alive before the palace and starve themselves to death, and when many of them started doing so, the sight apparently melted the emperor's heart. He made a concession by reducing the amount of *jizya* in their case. That is, he allowed each able-bodied Brahmin—their women, children, old men and disabled members of the family being exempted—to pay uniformly the minimum[3] rate, *i.e.* ten tankas and fifty jitals per annum[4].

Then the case of those Hindus who had built new temples during the reign of Sulṭān Muḥammad was considered; and because the *Sharī'at* then did not permit the construction of new temples 'those unholy edifices were demolished'. These were the idol-temples in the villages of Malūha.[5] Tughluqūr and Ṣāliḥpūr near Dehlī and in the town of Gohāna[5] in the Panjab. Fīroz Shāh says:

> 'The polytheists who had assembled for idol worship were brought before me. I ordered that the evil conduct of these persons who had been the originators of this wickedness be proclaimed in public and that they be executed in front of the gate of the

1 T. F. S. A,, p. 382.

2 *Idem.*

3 The rate was of three kinds: first-class, forty tankas: second-class twenty tankas and third-class ten tankas per annum. T. F. S. A., p. 383.

4 *Op. cit.*, p. 384.

5 *Futūḥāt-i Firoz Shāhi* (Persian text), pp. 9-10. M. U. March, 1943, p. 113.

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royal palace. Their books of infidelity, idols and other paraphernalia of idol-worship which had been brought with them were ordered to be burnt in public at the place of execution. The rest were restrained by admonition and public censure.[1]

The emperor was equally intolerant of the Shias[2] and other Muslim dissenters. He says:

> 'The Shias otherwise called Rāfiẓī[3] invited the people to the cult of the Rāfiẓī and the Shias, and wrote treatises and books on their religion and they took to teaching and instructing the people in their cult. I seized all such persons; and when it was established that they had not only deviated from the right path but were also leading others astray, I inflicted *siyāsat* on the most fanatical of them. I had their books burnt in public.'[4]

Similarly a sect of *Mulhids*[5] and *Ibāḥatīyān*[6] had collected together and invited people to *Ilḥād* and *Ibāḥat*. The *maḥram*[7] and *ghair-maḥram*[8] used to assemble at night in an appointed place and designated this as religious worship. They made an image and caused the people to prostrate themselves

1 *Idem.*

2 To understand the position of Shias and their many sects and sub-sects in India and elsewhere the reader may refer to the *Reḥla of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa*, pp. 249-253 and 273-277.

3 The term *Rifizī*—the nickname of a Shi'a Muslim—is misleading. Literally *rāfiẓ* means a deserter and a rebel; and *rāfiẓa* is a term used in Islamic history to signify a body of soldiers who deserted their commander; *e.g.* a sect of the Shias who, after vowing, renounced their allegiance to Zaid, the grandson of Imam Ḥusain. They became known as *Rāfiẓa*.

Subsequently all the Shias were contemptuously called *Rāfiẓī*; but, far from being deserters, they claim to be the true supporters of Ḥaẓrat 'Alī as well as of his two sons and descendants.

4 *Futūḥāt-i Firoz Shāhi*, Persian text p. 6.

5, 6 These are opprobrious terms for Muslim dissenters.

7 Literally close relations recognized by the *Shari'at*.

8 *I.e.* strangers with whom mixing of the fair sex under the Muslim law is forbidden.

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before it. I ordered the leaders of this sect to be beheaded; others were imprisoned or banished.'[1]

Thus under the force of reaction Fīroz Shāh departed from the path of mercy and commiseration whenever a case of the permeation of wrong beliefs among the Sunnī Musalmans was brought to his notice and proved. In a situation like this the Muslim heretics were as bad in his eyes as the Hindus. When the case of a Brahmin who was found inviting the Muslims to idolatry and had actually converted a Muslim woman was brought to his notice he referred it to the 'ulamā, mashāikh and *muftis*. All of them unanimously demanded the conversion of that Brahmin to Islām ; and in case he refused to accept Islām he was to be burnt alive. That Brahmin stuck to his principles. He carried on public worship of idols and rejected Islām. He was burnt to death.[2]

Though this was an isolated instance, it has been considered an evidence of Fīroz Shāh's uncompromising bigotry. Sir Wolseley Haig brackets it with 'his ruthlessly avenging the murder of the three saiyeds in Budāūn.' In his opinion all the benevolence of Fīroz Shāh was strictly limited to the Muslims, and he was harsh to the Hindus.[3] But according to a Hindū historian[4] of seventeenth century the taxes on earthen pots and utensils (specially used by the Hindus) were abolished and 'the buying and selling of their land and of the load of bones which the Hindus used to carry to the Ganges was forbidden.'

(B) *Second Part of the Reign*

(i) *Exit Ẓālim Pādshāh*

The drama of reaction or exit *Ẓalīm Pādshāh*[5] which had opened with the coronation of Fīroz Shāh runs now into its

1 *Futūḥāt-i Firoz Shāhi* (Persian text), pp. 6-7. M. U. J. March 1943, p. 109.

2 T. F. S A., p. 379.

3 C. H. I., III, p. 187.

4 Sujan Rai—*Khulāṣatu't-tavārikh*, (Dehlī, 1918), p. 249.

5 T. F. S. A., p. 289.

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second part. The first part of about twenty years which was full of retrogressive tendencies closed with the death of the wazīr Khān Jahān I in 1370/772. Then the curtain dropped. When it rose again Khān Jahān II had become the wazīr[1] and a new nobility of the amirs, maliks and khans and slaves had been formed. Shams Sirāj 'Afīf says:

> 'Every amīr, khān and malik as well as slaves enjoyed many sources of income—assignments, gifts, estates comprising gardens and villages. Everyone possessed a staff of male and female servants as well as bearers whom they took along with themselves whenever they attended the emperor on a campaign. Wherever they halted and at whichever station they encamped they found abundant food and necessaries of life. They had no fear of a *Ẓālim Pādshāh*[2] and no apprehensions whatever of any consequences. Never were they deprived of their assignments.
>
> All delighted themselves with music and spent money liberally on physical enjoyments. So much were they pleased with the amenities in camp life that they did not like to leave it and return home. They were free from domestic worries for their houses were stocked with abundant food and riches.
>
> As a result, there was a tremendous increase in the number of soldiers; and men of all trades became anxious to join the army. And whenever, on the emperor's return, the soldiers at last came back home they came in a happy mood and cheery spirits, and a custom sprang among them to give away their daughters in marriage at a tender age[3].'

Again 'Afīf takes up the thread and says:

> 'During the reign of Fīroz Shāh there was an army of eighty thousand horse, exclusive of slaves, on the

1 T. F. S. B., p. 553.
2 *Dar har manzil-i hech khauf-i ẓālim Pādshāh na* (J.F.S.A., pp. 288-289.
3 T. F. S. A., p. 292.

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roll. Horses of little value were brought to the registration office (*dīwān-i 'arẓ*) and were passed as serviceable. Reports about this reached his Majesty, but he took them indifferently. When the year drew to a close and there remained yet many soldiers (*yārān*) who had not presented their horses, the clerks (*kārkunān*) reported the matter to his Majesty who granted them an extension of two months and then a period of grace.

In those days Malik Raẓī, a ṣūfī of high standing was the deputy commander (*nāib 'āriẓ*) of the army. He pointed out to his Majesty that those men who had not brought in their horses were soldiers in the pay of the army chiefs (*khail*) who had sent them into the districts to realize the amount of their pay and when that was effected they would come back to Dehlī. But the whole year passed by and they did not return.

His Majesty said, 'If any man had been sent on business by his commanding officer and the year should end while he was absent without his making any statement of the fact or presenting his horse, then if he were discharged it would[2] go ill with him and his family. In these circumstances substitutes should be provided by the officers for those men who went away on business.' The emperor pleaded that 'the soldier who was absent might put in his appearance at the office of the chieftain in whose district he was; he might also produce his new horse there, thus, avoiding all the unnecessary inconvenience.'[1]

'Afīf closes his narrative with an interesting story of a soldier who had failed to produce his horse and was complaining against his fate to a fellow soldier. This was reported to the emperor who sent for both of them and enquired about the matter.[2] The soldier who had been a defaulter said:

Soldier—Your Majesty! to-morrow the muster registers at the *dīwān-i 'arẓ* will be closed; and I have not presented my horse as yet.

1, 2 T. F. S. A., pp. 298-300.

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Emperor—*Ai fulān*! go and arrange matters with the clerks of the office (*navīsandagān-i dīwān*)

Soldier—Your Majesty: I do not possess the necessary amount of money.

Emperor—How much money do you require?

Soldier—If I had but a gold tanka I could obtain a certificate for my horse (*asp iṣlāḥ*).

Emperor—(addressing his cashier) Let a tanka be given to him.

The tanka was given; and the soldier went immediately to the military office (*dīwān-i 'arẓ*) and placed it before the clerks who gave him the certificate. Thus satisfied, the soldier went back to his Majesty and thanked him profusely.[1]

Similar are the impressions of Baranī who says:

> 'I do not remember nor can anybody else recall instances of such an easy life lived by the army under any king of Dehlī for generations. The most difficult problem of army administration is the problem of the supply of provisions (*rasad*). Never was the system of *rasad*[2] so fine as under Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh.
>
> It is a practice that in lieu of pay they give some villages to the army men (*ḥasham*) who bring in for review their slaves, servants, relatives and retinues as if they belonged to the army and pocket their allowance. Their comfortable, easy-going and luxurious life is known to all the common people. They are not required to perform any hard labour, nor are they required to go out on any (hunting) expedition. The question of recovery of dues (*istidrāk*) does not arise. Many other facilities have been extended to them so that the majority of them are receiving their allowances regularly while sitting at home.

1 *Op. cit*, p. 301

2 Literally 'a store of grain laid in for the army.'

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It is true that some of them are greedy to take the allowance of retired amirs and clerks and seize it (at least) in part. But the fact remains that the royal treasury is paying the complete allowance (*wujūh-i mawājib*) of the whole army in full.

Since this king has ascended the throne the armies have not been tasked to do any difficult campaigning, nor compelled to go to far distant places, requiring a journey of a couple of years."[1]

This easy life of the army under Fīroz Shāh stands in striking contrast with the rigid disciplinary and arduous life of the army under Balban, an ocular evidence of which in Sanskrit verse runs as follows.

'In this kingdom the king takes the army men who run to bathe every day in the east towards the confluence of the Ganges with the sea and in the west to the confluence of the Indus with the ocean. And the soldiers come and go easily swinging their hands in jingling sound fearlessly at sunrise when the sky presents a variegated look.

गंगासागरसंगमं प्रतिदिनं प्राच्यां प्रतीच्यामपि स्नातुं सिंधुसमुद्रसंगम महो यत्सैन्यमाधावति। हेलांदोलितपाणिकंकणरणत्कारेण[2] रणांगना यांत्यायांति च निर्भया यदुदयाच्चित्रांवराडंबराः॥

Here the disturbed clouds of dust arising from the hoofs of the agitated horses of that advancing army ward off the enemies from a distance in the front. Then, that powerful warrior himself, conqueror of the world with its seven seas, Śri *Hammīr* the emperor Ghīyāṣu'ddīn emerges into view.

यत्सेनाग्रसर तुरंगमखुरप्रक्षेप विक्षोभिताशत्रून्न निवारयंति। पुरतो दूरेण भूरैणवः सोयं सप्तसमुद्रमुद्रितमहीहारावलीनायकः श्रीहम्मीरगयासदीन नृपतिस्सम्म्राट् समुज्जंभते॥

Practically no other kings count whether at night or by day while the horses rush towards home, clouding

1 T. F. S. B., p. 553

2 Instead of कंकणफणत्कारेण a more suitable reading in

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even the highest point in the sky in all directions by the dust arising from the trampling of the earth under their hoofs with the scorching and increasing heat of the overhanging sun.'

यद्वाटीवेग धावत्तरगखुरं पुटापात संचूर्णयमान क्षीणे रेणु च्छटाभिः कवलित ककुमि व्योम्नि संच्छाद्ययाने आदि व्यस्य प्रतापखरतर विसरद्दीप्तिभि स्साकमस्तं याति प्रायेण राज प्रभृतिषु गणवा क च रात्रौ दिवा वा[1] ॥

my opinion is कंकणरणत्कारेण (by jingling of the bracelets). In either case the poet's meaning should remain unaffected. That is 'the soldiers come and go swinging their hands in jingling sound.'

कंकण (literally a bracelet) signifies a part of the special armour used as hand-wear by the soldiers on the march and fitting in each case like a glove. The steel hand-wear swinging with the hands struck as the soldiers moved ahead smartly against the body armour and produced a sound.

Instead of वारांगना (meaning prostitutes and courtesans) a more suitable reading in my opinion is रणांगनं indicative of the सेनानी or soldiers. This would be conformable to the historical background. The commonly accepted translation made on the basis of the वारांगना reading runs as follows:

> 'Through his (Balbān's) ascendancy the courtesans glorying in their brilliant raiment come and go with their bracelets, tinkling on their sportively swinging arms.'

If there is any sense behind this translation, then it surely militates against all that is known about the character of Balban; and it also militates against the contemporary information which runs as follows:

> 'Balban used to go out before dawn and returned at night. A thousand horsemen belonging to the palace guard accompanied him, besides a thousand old and trusty footmen and archers. Reports of his hunting expeditions were carried to Hulākū at Baghdād; and Hulākū said, 'Balban goes out apparently to hunt but really to exercise his men and horses so that they may not be wanting when times of danger and war arrive.' T. F. S. B., p. 55.

1 Vogel J.—*Catalogue of the Delhi Museum of Archaeology*, pp. 23, 26

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Unlike Balban, Fīroz Shāh gave the soldiers' an easy and unarduous life—free from pain and anxiety—which, he believed, was necessary in order to keep the army calm, unexcited and peaceful. This was a natural consequence of the new mottoes and sentiments that he had announced after his coronation. To a modern historian this would appear as the *first* corollary of the *Exit Ẓālim Pādshāh* regime in the course of which Fīroz Shāh looked for a new basis of support for his power.

(ii) *New Basis of Support*

'The *ḥasham*[1] and *ri'āyā*[2] are the two wings of the State,' says Baranī. But Fīroz Shāh found a third wing in the slaves, embracing all the urban and rural elements. Baranī says:

> 'And the amenities, comforts and prosperity that the peasants enjoyed are beyond description. Verily the abundant wealth of the merchants, traders, caravan men, soldiers, bankers (*ṣarrāfān*) opportunists (*murbiyān*) and hoarders (*muḥtakrān*) in cash and kind have exceeded the figure of lakhs and have reached crores. And in the houses of *khuts* and *muqaddams* so many horses and cattle and such a vast quantity of corn and utensils are to be seen that accommodation has become difficult and scarce. As for the peasants (*ri'āyā*) they have been enriched to such an extent that no needy person is seen amongst them.'[3]

Muḥammad bin Tughluq had sought a new basis of support for his power in upstarts and men of humbler extraction whom he raised to high and responsible posts.[4] Unlike him Fīroz Shāh followed the Arab precedent. The Arabs used to bring Turkish slaves from Central Asia whom they reared for military and administrative purposes. They called them *mamluks* to distinguish them from the humbler slaves (*'abd qinn*) who were intended for domestic purposes. Fīroz Shāh found his *mamluks* in the stray Hindū children

1-2 *i. e.* army and peasantry. T. F. S. B., p. 553

3 T. F. S. B., p. 554

4 *Vide* p. 280 *supra*

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whom he brought up, and ultimately raised to the dignified status of amirs. Taking a leaf out of the book of the Abbasid caliph Mu'taṣim (833/218-842/227) who had ordered the governors of provinces to send him slaves of tender age, Fīroz Shāh ordered all the *muqtis* and officers in the provinces to pick up slaves wherever found and send the best among them to the royal court. Accordingly slaves poured forth, their strength rising to 1,80,000. They were brought up by the *muqtis* and *walis* like their own children and dressed beautifully and were presented for royal inspection periodically together with remarks and reports about each. In the light of the opinion, thus formed, about their aptitudes they were given requisite training in different vocations. Many turned out artisans and craftsmen and many joined the army and became warriors. Some mounted guards at the royal palace and some were employed in the royal *karkhanas*[1] and also in the department of drinks, vestment and cookery. Some were posted as ewer-bearers, curtain-bearers, weapen-bearers, keepers of medicines and libraries and some held charge of elephants, rapacious birds and hunting panthers. Some

1 *Kārkhāna* (literally a workshop) signifies an establishment. According to 'Afīf' the Sulṭān had thirty-six *karkhanas* for which enormous supplies of articles were collected and the annual outlay on which was very large. Some received a regular grant (*rātibī*); others went without a regular grant (*ghair rātibī*). Amongst the former were the stables of elephant, horse and camel, besides kitchen, wine-cellar (*sharābkhāna*) candle and water-cooling departments and dog-kennels and the like. These received a regular allowance of one lakh and sixty thousand tankas, besides a casual grant covering the cost of their furniture and the salaries of the functionaries. In the case of the *karkhanas* which were *ghair rātibī* receiving no regular allowance such as the wardrobe (*jāmdārkhāna*), insignia department ('*alamkhāna*), carpet establishment (*farāshkhāna*) and pantry (*rikābkhāna*') annual requisitions of goods were made. For the wardrobe in the winter season winter clothes worth six lakhs of tankas were purchased besides a similar outlay for the spring and summer necessaries.

Each *kārkhāna* was under the charge of a Khān or malik of high standing. The stable of elephants was under the charge of malik Shāhīn Sulṭānī and the jewellery department was under the charge of Khwāja Jahān Sarwar Sulṭānī—both slaves of the Sulṭān. *Cf.* T. F. S. A., pp. 337-338

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were employed as grooms while others served on the staff of *muqtis*, pargana officers and *muhtasibs* ; and a few were made amirs and maliks. They had a department of their own called *dīwān-i bandagiyān* with a staff and a treasury ; and special rules were made determining their grades. Some had fixed salaries ranging from one hundred to ten tankas per head ; others were remunerated through assignments and grant of villages.[1]

While Fīroz Shāh made these slaves the basis of support for his power, they were neither attached to his person nor to his dynasty ; and after his death cut off ruthlessly the heads of his dear children and hung them to public view in the durbar.[2] As long as Fīroz Shāh was in power they amassed wealth for themselves and their kinsfolk. One such slave was Bashīr Sulṭānī who had been awarded the title of 'Imādu'l-Mulk. He was appointed *muqṭi'* of Rāprī but paid no state dues for several years. The clerks of the revenue ministry refrained from calling them to account. When the emperor came to know this, and a huge amount of balance standing against the name of Bashīr was reported he remarked, 'What difference does it make, whether it is my property or the property of Bashīr (*chey māl-i man wa chey māl-i Bashīr* !)' Thereupon Bashīr courageously prepared a statement of his wealth and placed it before his Majesty who read it and then returned it without making any remark.[3]

It is said that Bashīr had hoarded thirteen crore tankas[4] —a huge mass of metallic coins—which created for him the problem of space. When forty thousand canvas bags purchased for the purpose at the rate of four *jitals* a piece could not contain the whole amount, he dug large pits under the floor of his house ; and filling each pit with the money he closed the mouth in each case carefully, roofing the same finally with lime and mortar.[5]

1 T. F. S. A., pp. 267-272

2 *Op. cit*, p. 273

3 *Idem*, p. 441

4 Equal to about sixteen crore and ninety lakh rupees in modern currency,

5 T. F. S. A., p. 439

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From the surplus he offered to the emperor one crore tankas by way of *'alūfa*[1] which the latter did not like to take. Aware of Bashīr's enormous wealth, the emperor connived at the unfair means, which must have been adopted in collecting it. Rather, he considered it as a personal asset ; so completely he identified himself with the slaves. Lest non-acceptance of the said offer should displease and discourage Bashīr, the emperor directed that the given amount be deposited with another slave called Maqbūl the perfumer. The story goes that the wazīr used to draw upon this amount, subject to the royal permission, taking small sums by way of loan in order to meet certain contingencies in connection with the State functions. Since the sums withdrawn were refunded from the proceeds of the royal establishments (*isti'dād-i kārkhānhā*[2]) the principal amount of one crore remained intact till the death of Fīroz Shāh. Afterwards, it created much trouble, setting the entire royal house on fire. The holocaust that must have resulted can be imagined with the help of the following contemporary verses[3] :

'Every slave of the king was another king.
Everyone possessed elephants, troops and wore a *chatr*.
Night and day they waited on his Majesty. They
were so many that they could not be computed'.

These slaves became indistinguishable from the military aristocracy of the Turks. They carried the germs of corruption into the highest class of society and in all the government circles, infecting even the clerks and servants with the disease of speculation. The story of only one, Malik Shamsu'ddin Abū Rijā by name, may be recalled. Primarily a clerk of the revenue ministry and subsequently *nāib muqṭi'* of Sāmāna, he wormed himself into favour

1 *i. e.* a small contribution for the use of the servants of the royal court. T. F. S. A., p. 44[1]
2 T. F. S. A., p. 44[2]
3 *Op. cit.*, p. 44[0]

هر بندہ شہ چو شاہ دیگر — با پیل و سپاہ و چتر بر سر
شب و روز بخدمتے گرایند — چندان بحساب در نیایند

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with the emperor to such an extent that he was able to grab powers of the wazīr and *nāib* wazīr and also acted as controller of accounts (*mustaufī*), treasury officer (*mushrif*), controller-general (*majmua'dār*), postal officer (*barīd*), bailiff (*nāẓir*) and controller of stipends (*wuqūf-i waẓāif*). Not content with grabbing their powers he also exacted money from the legitimate holders of these posts and rebuked them in case they declined or grew restive. Khwāja Ḥisāmu'ddīn Junaidī *majmua'dār* who was too pious a ṣūfī to understand his tricks was rebuked so bitterly, one day, in the government office that he felt stung at heart. He contracted fever on going home and died after a few days. His death tended to expose the said *malik*. A search made into his house under royal orders brought to light a surprising store of precious things, amounting in value to eighty thousand tankas of gold besides three thousand gold tankas in cash and a wooden box full of golden spears, soaked in poison.[1]

(iii) *Disorders*

Such an ugly state of affairs was the *second*[2] corollary of the *Exit Ẓālim Pādshāh* regime. In almost all the departments of the government including the army bribes were openly demanded and reluctantly given. Since the *siyāsat*[3] of the *Ẓālim Pādshāh* had been completely dropped and there was no fear of the *danḍa*[4], drones and parasites arose and vicious spirits multiplied. A Khurāsānī merchant whom 'Afīf has left unnamed was a typical example. One day, he committed a petty offence for which he was thrown into prison by Malik Nek Āmadī, the kotwāl of Dehlī, but the emperor would not punish him considering that he was a stranger. Accordingly he was unfettered and was allowed to proceed freely into the royal palace. Immediately as he entered the courtyard he seized a sword from the hands of a slave on duty and struck the same at the head of the *kotwāl* who was providentially saved. The assailant was

1 *Idem*, p. 490
2 *Cf.* p. 434 *supra*
3 *Vide* pp. 341, 348 *supra*
4 *Vide* p. 352 *supra*

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arrested and thrown into rigorous imprisonment. Now the *kotwāl* pressed on the wazīr Khān Jahān II the seriousness of the case. But the latter postponed the matter until the emperor was pleased to take it up. One day, at last, the prisoners were summoned into the royal palace; and in their midst walked, unfettered, the Khurāsānī culprit. Suddenly he began to brandish the sword and rushed to assault anyone who came within his reach. A noise arose; and the emperor who was sitting in a wooden portico of his palace mounted its roof. About this time the Khurāsānī struck a mortal blow of the sword at the *kotwāl* who weltered in his blood and died. No one had the courage to seize him and his weapon while he kept running along the compound of the royal palace with a view to find an outlet. Accidentally his foot slipped and he fell down. Then the soldiers at guard rushed and caught him. But he was not killed. The emperor ordered that he should be disgraced before the other Khurasanis who might spit at him. Unable to bear this insult that brave culprit thrust a big knife, which he had kept concealed about his person, into his own belly and died. 'This was the first instance of bloodshed inside the royal palace under Fīroz Shāh,'[1] says 'Afīf. It took place in 1378/780. No wonder, if in these circumstances the Hindū counterparts of the vicious spirits[2] among the Musalmans took the law in their own hands. Rāi Kharkū a leading zamīndār of Katehr[3] treacherously murdered three saiyeds—Saiyed Muḥammad governor of Budāūn and his two brothers. This was a concomitant of the rebellion of the zamindars of Etawah. Finding the situation uncontrollable the emperor took his army to the affected area and killed the delinquents including many of the innocent Hindus. Rāi Kharkū fled into the hills of Kumāyūn whither the emperor pursued him. But he became untraceable. It is said that the emperor's anger was not appeased until many more of his adherents had been put to the sword; and the military

1 T. F. S. A., pp. 496-497
2 T. F. S. A., pp. 498-501
3 Katehr is identifiable with Rohilkhand

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operations of Katehr continued even after the emperor's withdrawal. But this event is not mentioned by 'Afīf.[1] He refers to the rebellion of the zamindars of Etāwah[2] and mentions that of Shamsu'ddīn Dāmghānī who was a relation of Ẓafar Khān *Lodī* I, also called Ẓafār Khān-i *Buzurg*,[3] the governor of Gujarāt. On his death (1379/781) the latter was succeeded in the office by his son Daryā Khān surnamed Ẓafar Khān *Lodi* II.[4] Later the emperor called Ẓafar Khān *Lodī* II to Delhī and appointed Shamsu'ddīn Dāmghānī as governor, instead.[5] He too was a *Lodī* Afghān, but he proved a traitor. Having seized huge amounts of State money he resolved to assert his independence. But he was killed by the amīrān-i ṣadah (1380/782) and the contract[6] of the government which Dāmghāni had taken was later given to Malik Mufreh Rāsti Khān.

Now Fīroz Shāh was seventy-three years old. Never had he attended to the minutia of administration which he had entrusted from the beginning to the care of his wazīr Khān Jahān I who was one of the few capable men in the realm. His death in 1370/772 sounded the knell of emperor Fīroz Shāh's reflected glory. Building vain hopes on inherited merit he raised Jauna,[7] son of the deceased

1 Ḥāji Dabīr puts it in 782 Hijra (A. D, 1380). A. H. G., III, p. 898

2 'Afīf (T. F. S. A., p. 497) refers to this under the heading of a hunting expedition in the year 781 (A. D. 1379)

3 *Nisbat-i qarābat ba Ẓafar khān-i Gujarāt dāsht* (Dāmghāni was related to Ẓafar Khān of Gujarāt). *Wa darān aiyām Ẓafar khān-i Buzurg naql karda būd* (at that time Ẓafar Khān I had died). T. F. S. A., p. 499.

4 The son of Ẓafar Khān *Lodī* I, described by 'Afīf (*ibid*) indiscriminately should be called Ẓafar Khān Lodi II.

5 *Ibid*

6 Shamsu'ddin had contracted to enhance the revenue of Gujarāt by 40 lakh tankas.

7 Born durin the reign of Sulṭān Muḥammad bin Tughluq and intended to be presented to him in the swaddling clothes, the Sulṭān wrote to Qiwāmu'l-Mulk Maqbūl—such being then the title of Khān Jahān I—to name him Jauna, Jauna being the Sulṭān's own name in childhood. T. F. S. A., p. 425

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wazīr, to the *wizārat* and granted him the same title which his father had enjoyed. But Khān Jahān II was no comparison to Khān Jahān I. Although the emperor held the second Khān Jahān in equal esteem and addressed him as 'my son' (*farzandam*)[1] and although he entrusted to his care the entire government and was content with the annual amount of four lakh tankas that he gave him, yet the ship of the State under the helm of Khān Jahān II could not steer clear of the stormy waters. Self was placed above the State; and personal interests clouded the vision of the new wazīr. Encouraged by the dotage of Fīroz Shāh and the fact that his eldest and dearest son Fatḥ Khān had died (1376/778), he cast covetous eyes on the throne; and endeavoured to drive out prince Muḥammad Khān, the only surviving son of the emperor. Ḥājī Dābīr says:

> 'It happened that Khān Jahān reported to the Sulṭān that his son Muḥammad Khān and Daryā Khān son of Ẓafar Khān, governor (*nāib*) of Gujarāt, were conspiring with others and intended to rebel. The Sulṭān who used to believe him ordered their arrest. When Muḥammad Khān came to know of this, he remained in his house. But Daryā Khān was arrested at the wazīr's house. Then Muḥammad Khān went to his father to secure the release of Daryā Khān and said, "Khān Jahān is bent on doing what Kāfūr had done in regard to Khiẓr Khān in order to seize the throne for himself, thus taking it away from your progeny. If you are agreeable to this, then here I am before you." The Sulṭān reflected a little and then said, "If you are sure that such is the case, then do as you deem advisable."'[2]

Thereupon the prince went out with a following of his soldiers and fell upon the house of Khān Jahān. The latter killed Daryā Khān; and then emerged from his house fighting. On being wounded, he retreated to his house which he entered by one door and left by another, fleeing in the direction of Mewāt with the intention of seeking shelter with Kokā Chohān. Prince Muḥammad lost no time in

1 *Op. cit*, p. 426

2 A. H. G. III, 899

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digging him up and forced Kokā Chohān to surrender him to Sikandar Khān, the official who had been deputed for the purpose. The latter killed him and delivered his head at the royal court.[1] This took place in July 1387/*Rajab*[2] 789.

Now the emperor glorified prince Muḥammad Khān and showed him greater attention than had been shown to Fatḥ Khān[3] and Ẓafar Khān.[4] Fatḥ Khān had been invested with the insignia of royalty in 1358/760 and coins were struck jointly in the names of both, father and son.[5] After the death of Fatḥ Khān prince Ẓafar Khān was similarly made a joint ruler. But Muḥammad Khān was appointed wazīr in the first instance; and in the second instance the emperor abdicated in his favour and arranged his coronation in the *Jahān Numā* palace at Fīrozābād (22nd August 1387 /4th *Sha'bān* 789); and ordering him to sit on the throne he addressed him as Muḥammad Shāh.[6] Then coins were struck jointly in the names of the father and son.[7]

The coronation over, the emperor retired into a corner of the palace; and after a period of thirteen months during which he helplessly witnessed the outbreak of a civil war and the rising of the slaves who had made him destroy his own work, he died on 20th September 1388/18th *Ramaẓān* 790. He was buried close to the *Ḥauẓ-i Khāṣṣ* which had been constructed as a reservoir of water by Sulṭān 'Alāu'ddīn Khaljī.[8] His tomb was built by his son Muḥammad Shāh and still commands a prominent view on the margin of the Ḥauẓ-i khāṣṣ, lying a few miles south of the Safdar Jang tomb in New Delhi.

1 *Op cit.*

2 C. P. K. D., p. 305

3-4-5 T. Fr. (Bombay), I, pp. 263-264; C. P. K. D., p. 298

6 A. H. G., III, p. 899

7 C. P. K. D., pp. 308-309

8 Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh says he cleaned and repaired the Ḥauẓ-i 'Alāī (*Futūḥāt-i Fīroz Shāhī*, Persian text, p. 12). It should be noted that the *Ḥauẓ-i 'Alāī* is another term for the *Ḥauẓ-i Khāṣṣ*; and since the day Fīroz Shāh repaired it, it also became known as *Ḥauẓ-i Fīrozī* (A. H. G. III, p. 895). That is why the construction of the *Ḥauẓ-i khāṣṣ* came to be attributed to Fīroz Shāh.

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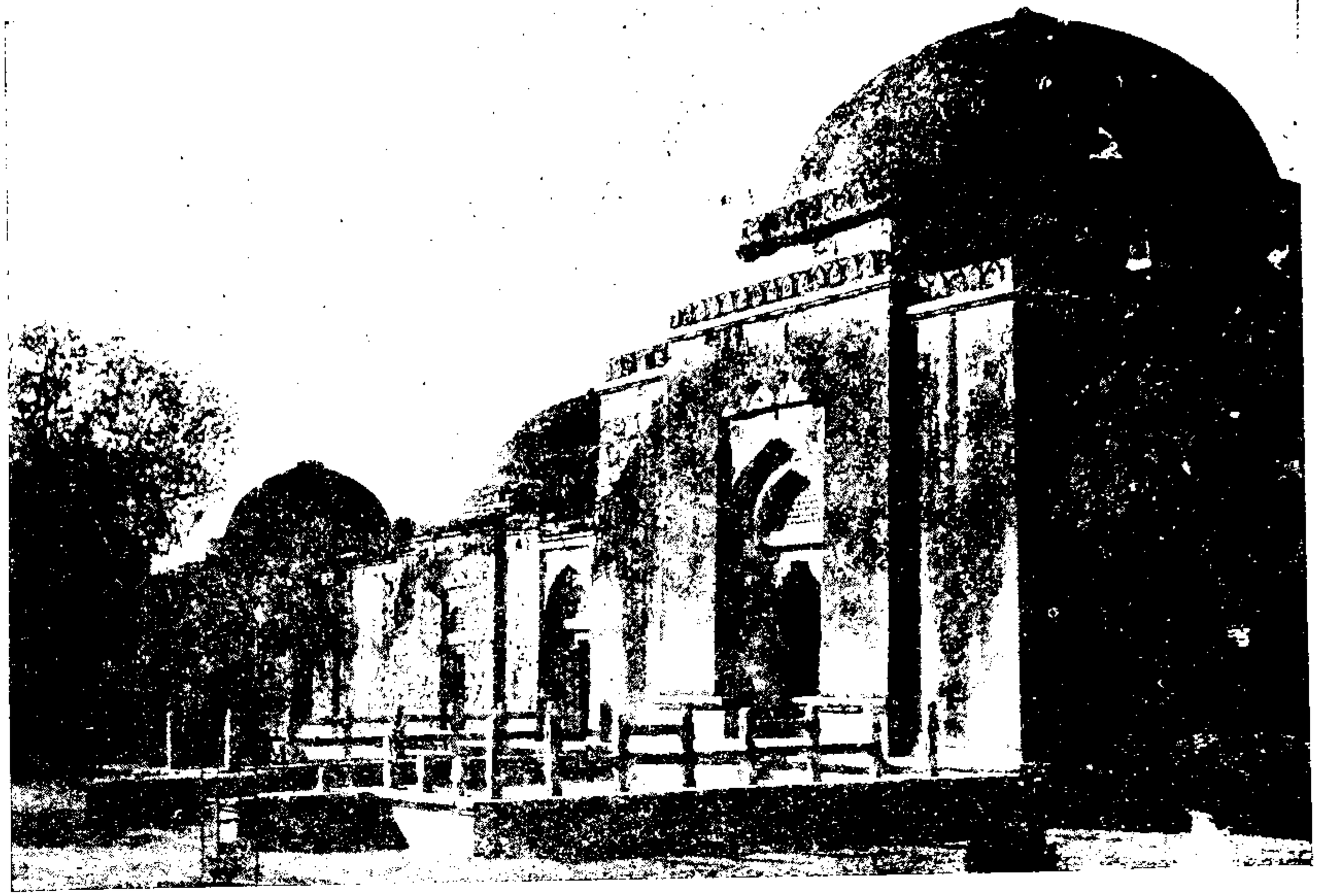
TOMB OF FĪROZ SHĀH



Facing p. 442

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A true child of Rajab and Naila Bhaṭṭī, he had good Rājpūt blood in his veins.[1] But he gave no evidence throughout his life of Rājpūt prowess ; nor was he a Rajput-like soldier ; nor a chivalrous horseman ; nor a dauntless warrior with racial militarism which should have made him the pride of the house of Rāṇā Mall Bhaṭṭī. Nonetheless Barani announces his military spirit, addressing him thus[2] :

'Your Majesty is, alone like the sun—the ornament of the whole earth—capable of confronting a hundred armies.

You do not stand in need of an army since, through good fortune, you hold possession of the army camp of this world.

You are victorious like Rustam[3] and possess the glory of Faramars.[4] You are glorious not only like Jamshed[5] but possess all the majesty of Kayūmarṣ.[6]

You are a red lion like 'Ali[7] although your descent is from the kings of Badakhshān,[8] not from the *Ahl-i Bait*.[9]

1 *Vide* p. 8 *supra.*

2 T. F. S. B. p. 540

3, 4, 5, 6 These were the legendary warriors of ancient Irān

7 'Alī, the son-in-law of Prophet Muḥammad and father of Ḥasan and Ḥusain, enjoyed the surname of *asdu'llah i.e.* lion of God

8 A reference to the reputed swordsmanship of Tughluq Ghāzī, the destroyer of peace in the Mongol homeland of Badakhshān.

9 *I. e.* descendants of the Prophet.

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CHAPTER XV

SUCCESSORS OF FĪROZ SHĀH

Civil Wars

The successors of emperor Fīroz Shāh—one son and five grandsons—were afflicted with an ulcer, namely the corrupting influence of the anamalous institution of the Fīroz Shāhī slaves who hung like a millstone round their necks, enervating them and depriving them of all initiative. Intent on playing the role of kingmakers and on governing the country in the name of puppet kings they created a split and an unbridgeable gulf in the royal house and brought about endless civil wars. The resultant chaos and disintegration invited Tīmūr's invasion which administered the *coup de grâce* to the moribund empire and the Tughluq dynasty.

Since two of his elder sons—Fatḥ Khān and Ẓafār Khān had died at an early date the emperor made his youngest son king with the title of Muḥammad Shāh (August 1387). This was his first coronation.[1] Thereupon the Fīroz Shāhī slaves took the law in their own hands and compelled their royal master to dethrone Muḥammad Shāh and to make Tughluq Khān, son of Fatḥ Khān king, instead. This was the *first* stage of the civil wars ending in the victory of the slaves who disposed of the throne in their own way and to suit their own purpose while emperor Fīroz Shāh was yet alive. After his death they played the kingmaker's role, with a vengeance and wrought a holocaust. They maintained Tughluq Khān under the title of Sulṭān Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Tughluq II on the throne for a few months and then dispensed with him, installing in his place Abū Bakr Shāh, another grandson of Fīroz Shāh. They resumed their malicious war against Muḥammad Shāh, dogging his heels with the object of killing him or of subduing him. But he was

1 *Vide* p. 442 *supra* and for the second and third coronations see pp. 447, 450 *infra*.

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unconquerable and refused to bend his knees before the slaves; and the fight that he put up in self-defence for more than two years (1387-1390) makes the first four preparatory stages[1] of the civil war[2] that flared up after his death. In the opening stages he was the principal figure and made history, the events coiling round him like branches of a tree in an ungainly and straggling form with leaves irregularly placed and bearing an unusual fruit.

(i) *Holocaust* (1388/790-1390/792)

Muḥammad Shāh fled into the Sirmur hills ; and when his pursuants could not trace him they made a scapegoat of his friend Sikandar Khān. Then two of the slave ringleaders Malik Sama'u'ddīn and Malik Kamālu'ddīn obtained a large following of ruffians, raided Firozābād and seized the royal palace as well as the person of the emperor. On hearing of this Muḥammad Shāh left his mountainous retreat and set out for the capital. He halted at some distance from the city whence he sent a message to the slaves, asking them to disperse and let the emperor alone. But they stoned Zainu'ddīn Lāhaurī, the man who had taken to them the message, and forced him to return. Thereupon Muḥammad Shāh resolved to teach them a lesson. He marched on the palace and endeavoured to terrorize the slaves. But they played a trick. They took the emperor out of his death-bed and set him against his 'assailant' son. This was a ruse and an ugly spectacle which produced the desired effect. It bamboozled the soldiers of Muḥammad Shāh ; and they deserted him to a man. Left alone and in utter helplessness, he went back into the hills. The slaves won the day ; and triumphantly dictated their terms to the emperor who dethroned Muḥammad Shāh and declared Tughluq Khān son of Fatḥ Khān as king. Then he retired to die. This was the *second* stage of the civil wars, ending in the victory of the slaves.

1 The first stage (September-October 1387); second stage (December 1387-August 1388); third stage (September 1388-February 1389) and the fourth stage (September 1388-1389).

2 *I. e.* the war between Nāṣiru'ddīn Maḥmūd and Nuṣrat Shāh (1394-1397).

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Tughluq Khān became king under the title of Sulṭān Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Tughluq II (July 1388/ *Rajab* 790). The Fīroz Shāhī slaves obtained the lion's share of the offices and honours that were formally distributed. One slave Malik Fīroz 'Alī by name became the wazīr with the title of Khān Jahān, and another called Rukn Chand who was a popular leader of the *ghulāmān-i Fīroz Shāhi*[1] was oppointed *nāib* wazir. Another slave was made arms-bearer (*silāḥdāriya*) and another known as Malik Fīroz Sulṭānī was designated superintendent of the royal household (*sarjāndāriya*) ; and Malik Mufreḥ Sulṭānī who had also been a slave, was installed governor of Gujarāt with the title of Rāstī Khān.

These slaves put to the sword some of the relations and friends of Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh, *e.g.* (i) his son-in law Amīr Ḥusain who had been a staunch supporter of Muḥammad Shāh, (ii) Malik Kabīr who was an aged amīr of the court of Ghāzī Malik, founder of the Tughluq dynasty. Sālār Shāh and Abū Bakr, the two brothers of the regnant sulṭān, were thrown into prison[2]. Sālar Shāh died or was killed in the prison. Now the war against Muḥammad Shāh which had slowed down was speeded. A contingent of troops set out under the command of Khudāwandzādah Ghiyāṣu'ddīn to dig him up ; and with that object combed the hills. Penetrating through the hills—from Sirmur to Baknari and thence to Sakhet—Muḥammad Shāh found his way eventually to Nagarkot[3].

The Fīroz Shāhī slaves laid severe hands on the king of their choice, namely Tughluq II—a young man of eighteen years—who was unable to understand the mind of his kingmakers. Considering his government and throne stable, he had left everything to their care ; and sank into pleasures. But the slaves had made a cat's-paw of him while a few of them were biding their time to seize the throne. They attacked the royal palace. The king

1 Literally slaves of Firoz Shāh.
2 T. Fr. (Bombay), vol. I, p. 273
3 T. M. Y., p. 143

who was absolutely defenceless left it by a back door and fled towards the Yamuna. He was soon overtaken and killed.[1] Thus ended his short reign of five months and a few days on 30th January 1389/1st *Ṣafar* 791. This was the *third* stage of the civil wars ending in the victory of the slaves.

Rukn Chand[2] or Malik Ruknu'ddīn who had been *nāib* wazīr and had killed Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Tughluq II now played the role of a kingmaker. He released Abū Bakr and made him king under the title of Sulṭān Abū Bakr Shāh and announced himself as wazīr. He aspired to become king and intended before long to kill the new sulṭān. But he lost confidence of some of his own confederates who put him to death ; and as a counterblast to his devouring ambition —for the ghost of Rukn Chand still stalked the streets and the murderers apprehended an adverse reaction—they resolved to invite Muḥammad Shāh to the throne. They offered him the government of Sāmāna as a stepping stone to the throne of Dehlī ; and in order to assure him of their *bonafides* they cut off the head of Sulṭān Shāh Khushdil, governor of Sāmāna who had been a well-known supporter of Abū Bakr Shāh. The severed head of Khushdil was sent by the murderers to Nagarkot as an evidence of their good-will, seeing which Muḥammad Shāh left Nagarkot and occupied Sāmāna. There he celebrated his second coronation[3] and was joined by fresh troops of the slaves who had deserted Abū Bakr Shāh. He was then persuaded to invade Dehlī but he preferred to wait and increase his power. He visited the neighbouring parts of the Doāb region and enlisted the support of some amirs like Malikus'-Sharq, governor of

1 A. H. G., III, p. 90

2 Budāūnī (M. T. B., vol. I, p. 258) has read this name as Ruknu'ddīn Chanda and its abbreviated form Rukn Chand (C. P. K. D., p. 303) is understandable. But Hodivala (S.I.M.H., vol. I, p. 391) is of opinion that Chand which is also written as Janda is connected with Junaidī. I differ, for Junaidī was a ṣūfī family while Rukn Chand was one of the notorious Firoz Shāhi slaves who were not sufis.

3 The first coronation was celebrated in August 1387. *Vide* p. 442 *supra*.

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Multān, whom he later gave the title of Khiẓr Khān, Khawāṣu'l-Mulk governor of Bihār, Ḥusāmu'l-Mulk governor of Awādh, the sons of Daulatyār Kambal governor of Kanauj, Malik Sarwar the *kotwāl* of Dehlī and some Hindū chiefs (*rāyān wa rāyagān-i dīgar*) including Rāi Rāyān Sambarī[1] and Rāi Sabīt[2] of Patiāli. Each of these placed a contingent of troops at his disposal. Thus equipped Muḥammad Shāh decided to risk a battle which was fought at the village of Kandalī near Dehlī (August 1389/*Sha'bān* 791). But Abū Bakr Shāh was no less equipped. He had secured among other allies Bahādur Nāhir the chief of Mewāt[3] ; and won the day. Muḥammad Shāh was defeated. He retired to the village of Jalesar[4] (*Jatisar*) and

1 The correct name appears to have been Sumair Singh and he was the raja of Etāwah.

2 *I. e.* Subair Singh who was the Rāja of Patiāli as mentioned by Yaḥyā bin Aḥmad (T. M. Y., p. 169).

3 The term *Mewāt* then signified a tract south of Dehlī including parts of modern Mathra, Gurgaon, Alwar and Bharatpūr which is still inhabited by the Meos and other Rājpūt tribes who played an important part in the later Tughluq period. The Meo chief named Bahādur Nāhir or Bahadur Nāhar (literally a brave killer of tiger)—a Hindū convert whom Sulṭān Firoz Shāh had awarded this title—became closely connected with the events of the period under review (1389/791-1405/803) as will be shown in the text. He was the founder of a family of the Meos called Khanzadas (*i. e. khanazadahs* or Fīroz Shahī slaves) who became rulers of Mewāt.

Here it may be noted that Iltutmish was the first sulṭān who annexed Mewāt. His mosque—called *Chausath-khamba masjid*—possessing sixty-four pillars still stands at Kāman. Mewāt was since restored to native rule and Rāna Ranpāl of Mewāt gave shelter in 1256/654 to the rebel Qutlugh Khān. Ulugh Khān who later became Sulṭān Ghiyāṣu'ddin Balban and was then the chief minister sacked Mewāt and Qutlugh Khān fled away. In 1260/658 Ulugh Khān marched upon Mewāt again and arrested the ringleader of the local rebels Mangla (*Malka*) by name. He also captured Hindwari-Indwar (which later became Indore), the capital of Mewāt, as well as Salmūr or Arbalpur (city of the Aravalli hills) which later became Alwar. A. S. R. C., p. 14 f.

4 Jalesar—the Chetra of Ḥājī Dabīr (A. H. G., III, p. 903) and *Jatisar* of the *Tārikh-i Mubārak Shāhī* (B. I., p. 152)—was a

bided his time. As soon as his son Humāyūn Khān brought fresh supplies from Sāmāna he went in for a fresh encounter which took place near Panipat but with no better results (January 1390/*Muḥarram* 792). At last, chance succeeded where planning had failed more than once. Incidentally one of the leading Fīroz Shāhī slaves Malik Mubashshir Rajab by name entitled Islām Khān fell out with Abū Bakr Shāh and invited Muḥammad Shāh into Dehlī at a time when Abū Bakr Shāh had gone out to *Chetra*[1]. Muḥammad Shāh immediately dashed and entered the capital on 31st August 1390/19th *Ramaẓān* 792. Abū Bakr Shāh was confounded and retired to the citadel (*kotla*) of his friend Bahādur Nāhir of Mewāt[2], leaving Dehlī into the hands of the aggressor. Then he started intriguing with the Fīroz Shahī slaves who were still as greedy as they had been under Fīroz Shāh. He held out a richer bait and succeeded in recovering many of those slaves who had deserted him. Seeing this, Muḥammad Shāh's mind was filled with hatred and disgust. He devised a test,[3] applying

part of the Doāb region in those days. Now it is a town and *taḥṣīl* of the Etah district in Uttar Pradesh. It was visited by Muḥammad bin Tughluq about 1338/739 on his way to Sargadwārī. Fifty years later Sulṭān Nāṣiru'ddīn Muḥammad Shāh found this area so infested by the miscreants that he made Jalesar his new capital. It served as a useful basis of military operations during his war with Sulṭān Abū Bakr Shāh and of his campaigns against the insurrectionary Rajpūt tribes of the Doāb. The new fortress and city founded on the given site in 1392/794 was given the name of Muḥammadābād by the Sulṭān (Nāṣiru'ddīn Muḥammad Shāh). But the roots of mischief remained in the soil and the site of Jalesar continued to give rise to lawless elements. In 1393/795 there broke out a fresh insurrection of some Rajputs while the Sulṭān had gone out to Dehlī. It was subdued by his general Muqarrabu'l-Mulk.

1 A. H. G., III, p. 902.

2 While it appears (A. H. G. III, *Ibid*) that Abū Bakr Shāh retired from Chetra or Jalesar to Mewāt, Firishta does not mention Jalesar in this connection. He brings home the fact that Abū Bakr Shāh bad gone out of Dehlī to Mewāt primarily when his rival Muḥammad Shāh entered Dehlī (T. Fr. vol. I, 275)

3 The utterance of the word *aṣīl* with a particular intonation was the test. T. M. S. Y., p. 150

which one could distinguish a Fīroz Shāhī slave from a non-Fīroz Shāhī slave and ordered all the Fīroz Shāhī slaves to leave Dehlī under pain of death within three days. At the same time he charged prince Humāyūn Khān who had brought some reinforcements from Sāmāna to fight a decisive battle with Abū Bakr Shāh. Humāyūn Khān marched to Mewāt and found Abū Bakr Shāh ready with his army for a trial of strength. A battle was fought near the village of Mahendwari and Abū Bakr Shāh was defeated. He shut himself in the citadel (*kotla*) which was attacked by Humāyūn Khān. After a few days Abū Bakr Shāh emerged from the *kotla*, attended by Bahādur Nāhir, and asked for amnesty. Humāyūn Khān gave a robe to Bahādur Nāhir and secured his return to Mewāt. Then, according to one account[1], he sent Abū Bakr a prisoner to Mirath where the latter died. According to another account[2] the victor set out for Dehlī along with Abū Bakr Shāh whom he killed on the way (September 1390/ *Ramaẓān* 792). This was the *fourth* stage of the civil wars in which the Fīroz Shāhī slaves were put to the worst. Muḥammad Shāh triumphed and the holocaust ended. But nothing could stop its consequence, namely the disintegration which appeared again after a pause of some forty years.

(ii) *Disintegration* (1390/792—1412/814)

Muḥammad Shāh celebrated his third coronation[3] on 31st August 1390/19th *Ramaẓān* 792 and assumed the title of Sulṭān Nāṣiru'ddīn Muḥammad Shāh. He appointed Islām Khān[4] as his minister and set about stripping the Fīroz Shāhī slaves of some of the high offices[5] that they

1 T. M. Y., p. 151

2 A. H. G. III, p. 902

3 For the first and second coronations see pp. 442, 447 *supra*.

4 Malik Mubashshir Rajab—for such was his Muslim name—was a Hindū slave of Sulṭān Firoz Shāh. After he had rendered the unique service to Muḥammad Shāh, the latter granted him the title of Islām Khān *Vide* p. 449 *supra*.

5 The Sulṭān deprived the Fīroz Shāhī slaves of the charge of elephantry, T. A. vol. I p. 246

had been holding and exiled[1] many of them from Dehli and many were put to the sword.[2] But no tinkering of this kind could kill the germs of disintegration which had been deeply seated in the bowels of the empire for the past forty years by the maladministration of Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh and his slaves. Gujarāt had not recovered its normalcy since the days of Shamsu'ddīn Dāmghāni.[3] He was succeeded in office (1380/782) by Malik Ya'qūb who fared no better and was killed by Malik Mufreḥ Rāstī Khān,[4] who has been mentioned above. The murderer seized the government but proved a downright self-seeker and a tyrant. Complaints against him reached the ears of Muḥammad Shāh who appointed Ẓafar Khān son of Sahāran (Wajihu'l-Mulk) as governor of Gujarāt, honouring him with the title of Ā'ẓam Humāyūn (1394/792). The new governor asserted his independence and founded the Muẓaffarī dynasty of Gujarāt.[5]

Then broke out the rebellion of the zamindars of Etāwah who had caused much disturbance during the reign of Fīroz Shāh and had not been effectively suppressed. Now they organized a rising under the leadership of Har Singh, the Rāi of Etāwah. Simultaneously the zamindars of Kanauj and Dalmau organized fresh risings and the Sulṭān crushed all these.[6] In order to prevent recrudescence of the trouble he chose in the infested area the site of Jalesar[7] for his headquarters and new capital. There he founded a new city which he named Muḥammadābād. According to Ḥājī Dabīr, he considered the above site auspicious since it was here that he had attained kingship.[8]

1 T. Fr. Vol. I. p. 276

2 'Many of the Firoz Shāhī slaves in Multān, Lahore (*Laubore*), Sāmāna, Hiṣār Firozah and Hānsī were killed in the course of one day,' says Yaḥyā bin Aḥmad (T. M. S. Y. p. 147).

3 *Vide* p. 440 *supra*

4 *Ibid.*

5 A. H. G. III, p. 903

6 T. M. Y. p. 152

7 *Op. cit.*

8 A. H. G. III, p. 903

Anyway, he founded his new capital; and while he was busy, raising the new buildings he fell ill. In the midst of his illness he heard of an invasion of Dehlī by Bahādur Nāhir of Mewāt who had plundered it up to Mahroli.[1] The Sulṭān rushed to Mewāt (August 1393/*Shawwāl* 795) and defeated Bahādur Nāhir and captured his stronghold of Kotla.[2] Bahādur Nāhir fled to Jhirka-Fīrozpur. The Sulṭān returned triumphantly to his capital, Muḥammadābād, where he remained giving finishing touches to the buildings until news came of the Khokhar[3] rising from Lahore (*Laubore*). The Khokhars of that region who had been restive since the time of Fīroz Shāh organized themselves under the leadership of one Shaikha Khokhar, a Hindū convert, who threw off the yoke of Dehlī. The Sulṭān charged prince Humāyūn Khān, to suppress the rising[4] (January 1394/*Rabi'u'l-awwal* 796). The prince had marched hardly a few stages from the capital when he heard the sad news of the death of the Sulṭān[5] (20th January 1394/17th *Rabi'u'l-awwal* 796). He returned to Muḥammadābād and took the Sulṭān's body to the Ḥauẓ-i Khāṣṣ and buried it by the side of the tomb of Fīroz Shāh.[6]

After the death of his father prince Humāyūn Khān ascended the throne at Muḥammadābād and assumed the title of Sulṭān 'Alāu'ddīn Sikandar Shāh.[7] He made no

1 A. S. R. C., p. 15

2 This event is mentioned according to Cunningham, in an inscription affixed to the gateway of the *jāmi' māsjid* at Kotla. A. S. R. C. vol. xx, p. 16

3 The Khokhars – a Hindū (Jat) tribe of the Jhelum-Chenab and Satlej valleys with their habitat in the Jhang, Lahore and Multān districts of western Panjab as well as in the Sind-Sagar Doab of the Indus region. They are distinct from the Ghakkars.

Dr. Iswari Prasad (Q. T., p. 20) says that these two are separate and distinct tribes of the Hindus. *Vide* Raverty—*Ṭabāqāt-i Nāṣiri*, I, p. 455 and J. A. S. B., 1871, pp. 67-107

4 T. M. Y., p. 154

5 *Op. cit.*

6 T. M. Y., p. 155

7 *Ibid.*

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changes in the personnel of the government but died after a short reign of one month and fifteen days. With his death monarchy too suffered a death. The confusion that prevailed now at the royal court is reflected in the chronicles which give conflicting narratives. For example, the *Tārikh-i Mubārak Shāhī* says:

'When Sulṭān, 'Alāu'ddīn Sikandar died, the majority of the amirs and maliks whose iqtas lay westward like Ghālib Khān, amīr of Sāmana, Rāi Kamālu'ddīn Māīn, Mubārak Khān Hulājūn and Khawaṣ Khān, amīr of Indrī and Karnāl who were at the moment present at Dehlī, intended to withdraw to their respective *iqtas* fighting shy of the problem (of succession). On hearing of this Khwājā Jahān induced them to raise Maḥmūd son of Nāṣiru'ddīn Muḥammad Shāh to the throne.'[1]

While Niẓāmuddīn Aḥmad and Budāūnī follow the *Tārikh-i Mubārak Shāhī* on the whole, Firishta says that the throne of Dehlī lay vacant for two weeks and the amirs debated much the problem of filling the vacant throne.[2] Right opposite to this stands the following narrative of Ḥājī Dabīr:[3]

'The day his brother died, Nāṣiru'ddīn Maḥmūd bin Muḥammad Shāh bin Fīroz Shāh ascended the throne at Dehlī. He confirmed the officers in their respective offices and promoted the grade of Mallū—one of the Fīroz Shāhī slaves—whom he gave the title of Iqbāl Khān; and he made him wazīr. This was disapproved by their Fīroz Shāhī slaves and they jointly revolted. One of these rebels Sa'ādat Khān al-Fīrozī caught the hand of Nuṣrat Khān bin Fatḥ Khān bin Fīroz Shāh and made him king at Fīrozābād in the year 797 (A.D. 1395).'

A comparative study of all these narratives shows that the chroniclers did not see things clearly. And in the

1 *Op. cit.*
2 T. Fr. vol. I, p. 278
3 A. H. G., III, p. 898

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confused scene that the Dehlī politics then presented the *Tārīkh-i Mubārak Shāhī* which may be considered a contemporary authority failed to take cognizance of the Afghans who were now appearing on the stage to play a role abreast of the Fīroz Shāhī slaves. In fact, none of the chroniclers barring Firishta brings into the picture the Afghans or their Lodī offshoot who taking advantage of the confusion prevailing at the capital silently seized the sceptre from the hands of the slaves. Perhaps the reason was that the slaves had become amirs and maliks and bore names like those of the Afghans. That is, why Ḥājī Dabīr put Mallū Khān or Mallū Iqbāl Khān and his brothers as Fīroz Shāhī slaves. Eventually in dealing with Daulat Khān—the famous Daulat Khān Lodī, a cousin of Mallū Iqbāl Khān and his successor—he acknowledged that he did not possess adequate information.[1] Firishta alone notices the fact that the Afghans had begun to feel their legs under Fīroz Shāh. In other words Fīroz Shāh was the first among the sultans of Dehlī to have patronized the Afghans.[2] Three of the Lodī Afghans—Ẓafar Khān, Daryā Khān and Shamsu'ddin Dāmghānī—are clearly mentioned[3] by 'Afīf as governors of Gujarāt, appointed one after another by Fīroz Shāh. Daryā Khān,[4] son of Ẓafar Khān Lodī I, became known as Ẓafar Khān Lodī II and was killed by Khān Jahān II, wazīr of Fīroz Shāh, because he had been a supporter of prince Muḥammad Khān. Ẓafar Khān Lodī II left behind three sons —Sārang Khān *Lodī*, Mallū Iqbāl Khān *Lodī*, and 'Ādil Khān *Lodī* and a few nephews, notably Daulat Khān *Lodī*. Amongst these, four were the moving spirits, namely Sārang Khān, Mallū Khān, 'Ādil Khān and Daulat Khān.

1 Ḥāji Dabir's authority Ḥusām Khān did not know the house and descent of Daulat Khān. A. H. G., III, p. 912

2 *Wa awwalin pādshahest az pādshāhān-i Dehli kih dar maqām-i tarbiyat-i Afghānān shuda.* T. Fr. vol. I, p. 271

3 *Vide* p. 440, f.n. 3, 4, *supra.* It should be noted that Ẓafar Khān *Lodi* I is synonymous with *Ẓafar Khān-i Buzurg* of 'Afif (p. 499) and *pisar-oo Daryā Khān Ẓafar Khānī* (*ibid*) is Ẓafar Khān *Lodi* II.

4 *Vide* p. 441 *supra*

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The *Ẓafar Nāma* mentions two only, namely Sārang Khān and Mallū Iqbāl Khān. It says:

'Since the death of Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh these two brothers had obtained ascendancy over all other amirs at the royal court. They raised Maḥmūd, grandson of Fīroz Shāh to the throne. Mallū Iqbāl the younger brother was at Dehlī and Sārang Khān the elder was at Multān.'[1]

It follows that these Afghān chiefs had seen with their own eyes the holocaust wrought by the Fīroz Shāhī slaves for the past seven years and were instinctively drawn towards the cause for which the youngest son of Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh had fought and died. Hence their desire to make Maḥmūd king

A hint[2] dropped by Firishta regarding the tension among the Fīroz Shāhī slaves and followed up in the light of the available data urges the conclusion that the institution of slaves as founded by Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh had lost its *raison d'etre* and that the slaves, becoming amirs and maliks, brought untold complications into the politics of the day. They were hopelessly divided among themselves and were unable even to voice their demands unanimously.

Hence the dead-lock which followed the death of 'Alāu'ddīn Sikandar Shāh with the result that there was no monarch for two weeks. Khwāja Jahān, a leader of the Fīroz Shāhī slaves, who bore the name of Malik Sarwar at last broke the dead-lock and induced the amirs to accept Maḥmūd as king. This was also the desire of the Lodī chiefs. Consequently Maḥmūd ascended the throne on 23rd March 1394/20th *Jumāda* I, 796 and assumed the title of Sulṭān Nāṣiru'ddīn Maḥmūd Shāh. It appears that Malik Sarwar made a diplomatic move. He violated his ancestral traditions of loyalty by supporting the candidature of Maḥmūd whose father Nāṣiru'ddīn Muḥammad had been an enemy of the Fīroz Shāhī slaves. Thus he tried to bridge the gulf that had been yawning between the two

1 Z. N. S. B. I., p. 14
2 T. Fr. vol. I., pp. 278-79

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racial and political groups of amirs at the royal court of Dehlī namely the Hindū Fīroz Shāhī slaves and the Lodī chiefs. He appointed Malik Sarwar as wazīr with the title of Khwāja Jahān. This was a gesture shown to the Fīroz Shāhī slaves. He appears to have made equally a gesture to the Lodis by appointing Daulat Khān Lodī[1]—son of Maḥmūd Khān and nephew of the murdered Ẓafar Khān Lodi II—kotwal of Dehlī; and perhaps granted him the title of Muqarrab Khān.[2] Sārang Khān son of Ẓafar Khān Lodī II was made governor of Dipālpūr and Mallū Iqbāl Khān, a brother of Sārang Khan was appointed deputy minister (*nāib wazīr*).

With the two hostile groups thus poised disintegration might have been delayed. But Malik Sarwar Khwāja Jahān, a typical member of the class of slaves, showed his true colour. It is said that he was a eunuch and had been presented to Sulṭān Muḥammad bin Tughluq by his uncle *Sipāh Sālār* Rajab. Later he rose to the position of head chamberlain (*Khwāja Sarā*); and after the death of Sulṭān Muḥammad he passed into the service of Fīroz Shāh and his successors. Since a rebellion of the Hindū zamindars of Jaunpūr and Bihār was seen in the offing, Sulṭān Nāṣiru'ddīn Maḥmūd deputed him to ward off the outbreak, granting him at the time of departure in May 1394/*Rajab* 796 the title of *Sulṭānu's-Sharq* (king of the east). The *Tārīkh-i Mubārak Shāhī* says:

> 'Through the turbulence of the base infidels the affairs of the *iqtas* of Hindustān from Kanauj to Bihār were placed in his charge. He chastised the rebels of Etāwah, Koil, and Kanauj *en route*. Then he recovered the lands of Awadh, Kanauj, Sandīla, Dalmau, Bahrāich Bihār and Tirhut from the rebels and repaired the forts which they had destroyed.'[3]

1, 2 Very little information is available in the Indo-Persian chronicles about the antecedents of Daulat Khān *Lodi*. But there is no doubt that he played an important role from the beginning of Sulṭān Maḥmūd's reign. Equally obscure is the history of Muqarrab Khān, also called Muqarrabu'l-Mulk whom the new Sulṭān is said to have made his heir-apparent.

3 T. M. Y. pp. 156-57

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That is, Malik Sarwar Khwāja Jahān intrigued with the rebels and seized a vast territory stretching from the suburbs of Dehlī to the extremities of Bihār. The empire disintegrated. Bihār which had been an integral part of it fell off; and with Bihār went Kanauj, Awadh, Dalmaū, Sandīla and Bahrāich. All these were annexed to Jaunpūr which became a kingdom with Sulṭānu's Sharq *Atābak-i 'āẓam*[1]—for such was the title which Malik Sarwar now adopted—as the king (1394/796). The rulers of Jājnagar and Lakhnautī disregarded Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Dehlī and began to send their tribute to the new king of Jaunpūr.[2]

The title of Sulṭānu's-Sharq that was granted to Malik Sarwar suggests that Sulṭān Maḥmūd had foreseen the disintegration of his empire and took it as a *fait accompli*. He was prepared to see the slicing of it at the hands of the powerful chiefs since he had read the writing on the wall. Followed another case of disintegration. Bīr Singh Deva, the Tomāra zamindar of Dandaroli[3] attacked Gwalior[4] (*Gawāliār*) which was then held by a Saiyed on behalf of Sulṭān Maḥmūd. Bīr Singh Deva occupied it forcibly[5] and founded the Tomāra dynasty of Gwalior.

On hearing of this Sulṭān Maḥmūd set out for Gwalior in company with Sa'ādat Khān, a prominent figure among the Fīroz Shāhī slaves, leaving behind Muqarrab Khān in charge of the city of Dehlī (June 1394/*Sha'bān* 796).

1 *Op. cit.*

2 *Ibid.*

3 Dandroli district lay a few miles north of Gwalior.

4 Lying east of the Chambal in eastern Rajputāna, Gwalior had been conquered by Iltutmish in 1232/631 and continued since as a part of the Dehli empire until the invasion of Timūr. Bīr Singh Deva the zamindar became independent in 1394/796

5 According to information obtained by Cunningham (A. S. R. II, pp. 383-384) the Muslim governor of Gwalior resisted and refused to give possession of it to Bīr Singh Deva, the Tomara zamindar, who had then recourse to treachery. 'Having invited the Saiyed and his principal officers to a feast, at which opium was mixed with the food, he made his guests prisoners and took possession of the fort.'

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Before long a conspiracy was formed against Sa'ādat Khān by the rival slaves, namely Malik 'Alāu'ddīn Dhārwāl, Mubārak Khān, son of Malik Rājū and Mallū Khān, brother of Sārang Khān. Sa'ādat Khān immediately fell upon two of the conspirators and killed them. Mallū Khān fled to Muqarrab Khān, the *kotwāl* of Dehlī. Thereupon Sa'ādat Khān came back to Dehlī along with Sulṭān Maḥmūd, now his *protégé*. The Sulṭān found the gates of Dehlī closed against him. Sa'ādat Khān helped him to besiege Dehlī (November 1394/*Muḥarram* 797). The siege became a civil war of three months' duration between Muqarrab Khān and Sa'ādat Khān; and in the course of it Sulṭān Maḥmūd deserted Sa'ādat Khān and went over to Muqarrab Khān. Seeing this, Sa'ādat Khān withdrew to Fīrozābād and resolved to have a king of his own. He called Nuṣrat Khān, second son of Fatḥ Khān, from Mewāt and installed him as king of Fīrozābād under the title of Sulṭān Nāṣiru'ddīn Nuṣrat Shāḥ (January 1395/*Rabī'* I, 797). But some of his fellow-slaves revolted against him and fell upon him unawares. Sa'ādat Khān fled to Dehlī, taking shelter with Muqarrab Khān who killed him treacherously. The rebel slaves who had betrayed Sa'ādat Khān now confirmed their allegiance to Nuṣrat Shāh. They were pitted in war against the *Lodī* chiefs who were the supporters of Nāṣiru'ddīn Maḥmūd. This was the *fifth*[1] stage of the civil wars. It was devoid of pitched battles and comprised only skirmishes and continued for three years (1392/794-1395/797) over a twelve-mile-long area between old Dehlī[2] and new Dehlī.[3]

1 For the preceding four stages see pp. 444, 445, 447, 450 *supra*

2 *I. e.* Dehli of the Ilbari Turks, Dehli of the Khalji emperors, and of the Tughluq dynasty. See map p. 165 *supra*

3 *I. e.* Firozābād. See the same map.

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(iii) *Ḥukm-i khudāwand-i 'ālam*[1] *az Dehlīst tā Pālam*[2]

(The rule of the Sulṭān of Dehlī is from Dehlī to Pālam)

A commentary on the above saying of Budāūnī's is found in the *Tārīkh-i Mubārak Shāhī*[3] as well as in the *Arabic History of Gujarāt.*[4] The former says that Sulṭān Nāṣiru'ddīn Maḥmūd owned nothing except a few forts; and the latter says that Maḥmūd had nothing under him except Dehlī and its suburbs. Both say that Sulṭān Maḥmūd was set against a rival king called Nāṣiru'ddin Nuṣrat Shāh[5] who owned Firozābād besides some portions of the Doāb, south-east of Dehlī and Sambhal, Pānipat, Jhajhar and Rohtak. In the provinces had arisen independent governments; and in the country at large there was disorder. According to Yaḥyā bin Aḥmad 'everyday there was fighting between Dehlī and Fīrozābād. On both sides the Musalmans shed the blood of each other but no party was able to get the upper hand. The amirs and maliks in different parts of the country posed as kings and levied taxes and tribute which they realized for themselves. This state of things continued for three years. Sometimes the party of Fīrozābād attained victory and besieged the fort of Dehlī and sometimes Fīrozābād was besieged and plundered by Dehlī.'[6] These were the death pangs of the empire as well as of the Tughluq dynasty ; and the pangs of death were intensified by the severe fighting that took place between Sārang Khān Lodī ruler of Dipālpūr and Khiẓr Khān, ruler of Multān in 1395/79[8]. Khiẓr Khān

1 *Khudāwand-i 'ālam* (literally lord of the world) was the title of the Sulṭān of Dehli. This is a doggerel verse given by Budāūnī. M. T. B., vol. I, p. 266

2 Pālam is a village about six miles south-west of modern Delhi.

3 T. M. Y., p. 160

4 A. H. G., III, p. 904

5 Both the kings used the title Nāṣiru'ddīn. Because of this a confusion arose in some modern works. Erroneously applying the title Nāṣiru'ddīn which the *Tārikh-i Mubārak Shāhī* used for Nuṣrat Shāh, Edward Thomas says that 'Mahmūd's districts are specified as some portions of the Doāb, S. E. of Dehlī, Sambhal, Panipat, Jhajhar and Rohtak.' (C. P. K. D., p. 313)

6 T. M. S. Y., p. 160

lost possession of Multān which was seized by Sārang Khān who was supported by his brother Mallū Iqbāl Khān. Thus was created a sore which, among a few others, called for Tīmūr's intervention.[1]

The Indian chronicles do not give a complete picture of the causes leading to Tīmūr's invasion of India but the *Ẓafar Nāma* throws a sidelight[2] on the quarrels and strifes at the royal court of Dehlī whence it may be inferred that reports about Khiẓr Khān's misfortunes and Mallū Iqbāl Khān's misbehaviour reached the ears of Tīmūr. These reports were spread, according to Ḥājī Dabīr, by the Fīroz Shāhī slaves who did not like Mallū Iqbāl Khān's dictatorship. Perhaps they disliked him on racial ground too. Mallū Iqbāl Khān was a *Lodī* Afghān and was aiming at the creation of a sort of union of the Lodis. He blindly supported his brother Sārang Khān *Lodī* in his sins. The latter had not only harassed Khiẓr Khān but also maltreated Shaikhā Khokhar, seizing his territory in the region of Multān. Ḥājī Dabīr tells us that Shaikha Khokhar went to Irān[3] and waited on Tīmūr and persuaded him to capture Dehlī. He acted for him as a guide and took him to India 'by the shortest cut and the easiest path'.[4] At this moment —when Nuṣrat Shāh was wandering aimlessly in the Mewāt-Bayāna region, and so was Khiẓr Khān looking for

1 Among the causes which Tīmūr has given in his autobiography of his invasion of Hindustān—the pro-Hindū policy of the sultans of Dehlī and the revolts and disorders leading to the disintegration of the empire—must also be visualized certain cases of injustice like that of Khiẓr Khān which probably reached his ears.

Khizr Khān who had acted as governor of Multān under Fīroz Shāh was subsequently treated with great injustice. His stronghold of Multān was captured by Sārang Khān; and it is said that Khiẓr Khān was imprisoned in it. Escaping from imprisonment he sought refuge at Bayāna and allied himself with Tīmūr as soon as the latter appeared on the soil of India. Tīmūr who had regard for saiyeds and had some wrongs to avenge against the *Lodī* Afghans enabled Khiẓr Khān to recover his lost estates. C. P. K. D., p. 326.

2 Ẓ. N. S., pp. 15-16

3 Perhaps Shaikhā Khokhar went to Samarqand where Tīmūr at the moment was. It was from Samarqand that he started for India in April 1398/*Rajab*, 800.

4 A. H. G., III, p. 904

help, and Mallū Iqbāl Khān was holding Dehlī and the Tughluq dynasty was gasping life out—burst the avalanche. That is, the vanguard of Tīmūr's army—thirty thousand horse commanded by his grandson Pīr Muḥammad Jahāngīr—who had crossed the Indus in the beginning of November 1397/*Rabi'* I, 800, fell suddenly upon Uch. 'Alī Malik governor of Uch on behalf of Sārang Khān, ruler Dīpālpūr and Multān, held out for a month. Then some reinforcements having arrived under the charge of Tāju'ddīn on behalf of Sārang Khān a battle was fought with Pīr Muḥammad Jahāngīr by bank of the river Beas, 'Alī Malik and Tāju'ddīn were completely defeated and drowned in the river. Multān was seized by Pīr Muḥammad (5th June 1398/19th *Ramaẓān* 800). Then Sārang Khān was defeated and killed. Shortly after, burst the huge army of ninety-two thousand cavalrymen commanded by Tīmūr himself.

(iv) *Tīmūr.*

Fifth in the line of descent from Chingiz Khān Tīmūr[1] (literally iron) was a man of iron. While intending to play the role of *mujāhid* on the soil of India he prolonged the death-rattle of the Tughluq dynasty. On 24th September 1398/*Dhilḥijja* 1, 799 he crossed the Indus and came to Tulamba, an ancient town in Multān district, which surrendered without fighting. Then he joined his army with that of Pīr Muḥammad who had already captured Multān ; and they marched *via* Ajodhan to Bhatner which lay on the Ghaggar river in Rajputāna. When Rāo Dul Chain, the ruler of Bhatner, perceived the danger he sued for peace. Tīmūr ordered a truce on condition that the Rāo would come and surrender the following day. But the Rāo changed his mind and broke his word. Tīmūr says:

> 'I gave the order for again attacking the fort vigorously. The besieged cast down in showers arrows,

1 He was born in 1336/735 in the city of Sabz south of Samarqand in Transoxiana. His father's name was Amir Targhai and his mother was called Takīna Khātūn. Slightly wounded in the leg, during his boyhood, his enemies nicknamed him *Tīmūr-i lang* (limping Tīmūr) and the Europeans corrupted his name into Tamerlane.

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stones and fireworks upon the heads of the assailants. Rāo Dūl Chain and his followers came out on the top of the battlements and begged for mercy. I knew very well their hopeless condition but I remembered the saying that clemency is better that victory. So I granted the prayer of the enemy. In the evening of the same day Rāo Dūl Chain sent his son and his deputy to my tent. I received the youth with kindness and princely distinction, gave him a robe and a sword with a golden scabbard and sent him back to his father.'[1]

Meanwhile a large number of aggressors took shelter into the fortress of Bhatner. These were the Hindū zamindars of Bhatner and the neighbouring territories who combined with the Fīroz Shāhī slaves of Dīpālpūr had put to death its governor Musāfir Kabulī, a *protégé* of Tīmūr. Tīmūr immediately turned these aggressors out of the fortress and ordered 'five hundred men of Dīpālpūr to be brought to punishment and their wives and children to be made slaves, that this might be a warning to other daring men.' Tīmūr says:

'When I had inflicted this chastisment on the malefactors, Kamālu'ddīn brother of Rāo Dūl Chain and the Rāo's son were stricken with dismay. Although Rāo Dūl Chain was in my camp they fled into the fort and closed the gate. As soon as I heard of their proceedings I ordered the Rāo to be placed in confinement and the flames of my wrath blazed high. The Rāo's brother and son again begged for mercy. I spared their lives, and ordered that ransom money be realized from the city. But the Rājpūt chiefs did not act fairly in paying the ransom money. Contention and fighting arose between the collecrors and the evil-minded Rāo. When intelligence of this reached my ears I directed my brave fellows to punish the infidels. The infidels and Musalmans in the fort now found their case desperate. The infidels shut up their wives and children in their houses to which they set fire.

1 M. T. Elliot, III,

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Those who called themselves Musalmans killed their wives and children with the sword and then boldly facing death rushed together into the fight. The sword of Islām was washed in the blood of infidels[1].'

Afterwards, Tīmūr left Bhatner for the town of Sarsuti where again he destroyed those Muslims whom he considered infidels because they kept hogs in their houses and ate the flesh of these animals. Thousands of them were made converts.

From Sarsutī Tīmūr proceeded *via* Sāmāna and Kaithal towards Dehlī. Before reaching Sāmāna and Kaithal he passed through the forts and villages of Fatḥābād, Rajabpūr, Ahrūni, Tohāna, the Khāgar valley and Kotila near Sāmāna. The inhabitants of Fatḥābād and Rajabpūr, who were mixed people—Hindus as well as Musalmans—fled on hearing of Tīmūr's approach. The Muslim Jats of Tohāna met with a worse fate, for Tīmūr sent against them some troops headed by a Hindū commandant Tokal Bahadur son of Karkarra. Tīmūr justified this kind of severity against the Musalmans on the plea that they had become thieves and robbers, saying:

> 'My great object in invading Hindustān had been to wage a religious war against the infidel Hindus; and it now appeared to me that it was necessary for me to put down these Muslim Jats[2].'

He slew about two thousand of them denouncing them as demons. Then he marched into the Khāgar valley; and after halting successively at Kaithal, Sāmāna, Aspandī and Tughluqpūr he reached Pānīpat. The inhabitants of these places were a mixed population of Hindus and Musalmans. Struck with terror they set fire to their houses and fled before Tīmūr towards Dehlī. At Pānīpat and then at the village of Kanhi-gazīn Tīmūr encamped in order to reorganize and equip his army for a final battle in Dehlī. From Kanhi-gazin he sent an expedition against Fīroz

1 *Op. cit.*
2 *Op. cit.*

Shāh's palace of Jahān Numā situated on the ridge in Fīrozabād. The invaders captured the palace and then crossed the river Yamuna. Tīmūr encamped opposite the town of Lonī, seven miles north-west of Dehlī. His camp included a large number of Indian prisoners—mixed Hindū-Muslim soldiers and rebels, collected from different places in the course of his campaigns. It was difficult to carry them further along with the army and it was equally dangerous to leave them behind for they had already opened secret negotiations with Iqbāl Khān, commander of the Dehlī army, now approaching fast to rescue them. So Tīmūr decided as a war measure to kill them all.

Then Tīmūr proceeded towards old Dehlī and encamped above the Ḥauz Khāṣṣ, where he fought a battle with Iqbāl Khān and Sulṭān Nāṣiru'ddīn Maḥmūd II and defeated them both. Both took to flight, the former fleeing to Baran and the latter to Gujarāt. A chronogram gives 8th *Rabi'* II, 801 (7th December 1398) as the date of the capture of Dehlī. Tīmūr proclaimed general amnesty in the city and had the *khuṭba* read in his name in the mosques. A week later some of his soldiers went into the city for making sundry purchases. Incidentally a quarrel arose and a few soldiers were killed by the inhabitants. This led to a general sack which continued for three consecutive days. The Hindus finding no other place safer than the *jāmi'masjid* took shelter in it ; and carrying their arms and provisions into the mosque prepared themselves there for the defence. Again fighting broke out resulting in great plunder and bloodshed. Tīmūr says:

> 'By the will of God—but by no wish of mine—all the three cities of Dehlī (Sirī, Jahāpanāh and old Dehlī)—were plundered. It was my earnest wish that no evil should befall the inhabitants but it was ordained by God that the city be ruined. He therefore inspired the infidel inhabitants with a spirit of resistance so that they brought on themselves the fate that was inevitable[1].'

1 *Op. cit.*

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The booty acquired was immense in rubies, diamonds, garnets, pearls and other things, besides jewels, tankas of gold and silver and brocades and silks of great value and gold and silver ornaments. Then Bahādur Nāhir of Mewāt sent in a message of submission together with a present of two white parrots. Afterwards Tīmūr went to Mewāt and visited its two villages, Mudūla and Katah, where he encamped and was seen by Bahādur Nāhir and his son Kailāsh. Tīmūr received them warmly and honoured them with royal favours. From Mewāt he set out for Mirath passing through the villages of Bhāgpat and Asāṛ where the inhabitants made no resistance and were therefore spared. Fighting and bloodshed attended Tīmūr's arrival at Mirath where the Muslim commandants Ilyās Afghān and Aḥmad Thāneswarī aided by a Hindū chieftain Rāi Safī resisted the invader. Tīmūr besieged the fortress and captured it eventually on 7th January 1399/29th *Rabī'* II, 801.

From Mirath Tīmūr went across the Ganges to encounter a great Hindū opposition near the village of Tughluqpūr. He says:

> 'I was informed that there was a force of Hindus coming down the river in forty-eight boats with the intention of fighting. I mounted my horse; and taking with me one thousand troopers hastened to the side of the river. As soon as my braves saw the boats some of them rode their horses into the river and swam to the vessels; then seizing fast hold of the sides they defeated all the efforts of the Hindus to shake them off.'[1]

Now Tīmūr wended his way to Tughluqpūr where he encamped and was informed that there was in the neighbourhood a Hindū rally under a Muslim chief Mubārak Khān. Tīmūr says:

> 'Confident in their numbers they were ready to fight. I mounted my horse and started off greatly incensed. Before morning broke I passed the Ganges. After proceeding a *kos* the time for morning prayer

1 *Op. cit.*

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arrived; so I alighted from my horse in the plain, said my prayers and mounted again; and in full assurance of the favour of the Almighty God went towards the enemy. Mubārak Khān was completely defeated. When by the favour of God I had secured this victory I got off my horse and prostrated myself on the ground to pay my thanks."[1]

On reaching Hardwār Tīmūr encountered fresh Hindū opposition and experienced also the bitterness of Hindū aggression. But his warlike spirit was again roused; and with a handful of his armed troopers he fought two successive battles with the aggressors and defeated them completely.

On his return journey he again faced the Hindū opposition in the Siwalik hills headed by Bahroz and Rāi Ratan Sen. But he triumphed. He is said to have captured seven forts including Nagarkot fighting twenty battles in thirty-two days. The eighth fort where some of the Musalman collectors of Tīmūr were killed by the Hindus and which belonged to Shaikhā Khokhar was taken about the 10th of February 1399/15th *Jumāda* I, 801. Penetrating through the jungles and rugged hills of Siwālik Tīmūr arrived at Baila—a village in the territory of Jammū—in March 1399/*Jumāda* II, 801. There he fought and won a battle and then directed an attack on the village of Manū, a hilly outpost west of Jammū (17th March, 1399/20th *Jumāda* II, 801). Afterwards the town of Jammū was conquered. The Rāi of Jammū accepted Islām. Then Shaikhā Khokhar of the Lahore region who had been in the beginning a subservient and useful ally and had latterly turned a rebel was defeated and taken prisoner.

This done, Tīmūr set out homeward. And bypassing Kashmīr whose ruler Sikandar Shāh had professed allegiance, he set out in advance of his army towards Samarqand. On 28th March 1399/2nd *Rajab* 801 he reached the Indus which he crossed by means of a bridge constructed and kept in working order for several days under the care of Amīr Allāh-dād Khān.

1 *Op. cit.*

Timūr was the greatest warrior of his age but his invasion of Hindustān cannot be called a *jihād*. It was just like his invasion of Balkh (1370/771) and of Khwārizm (1380/782). It was with the permission of the 'ulamā whom he kept in his company that he indulged in ceaseless warfare and his battles were mostly fought against the Musalmans.[1] He was a soldier par excellence. On hearing of the military skill of the Hindus who had overwhelmed the monarchy of Dehlī, he had resolved to crush their skill. But he failed on the whole for two main reasons: (i) the Muslims of India did not support him and fought him shoulder to shoulder with the Hindus; (ii) so much did the Hindus of Siwalik, Punjab, Sirhind, Dehlī and Hardwār overwhelm Timur through their valour and tenacity that he was compelled occasionally to fight in self-defence. He had no thoughts to bestow on idol-breaking. In the whole of his one-year-long war there is not a single instance of temple demolition or desecration. He had come as a scourge of God principally for the Musalmans. Sārang Khān and 'Ādil Khān were killed on the field of battle; and the Sulṭān of Dehlī and his wazīr fled away leaving their capital in the hands of the conqueror. The Tughluq dynasty was extinguished. Dehlī was no more the capital of the defunct empire.

1 After five years of regular fighting (1380-1385/781-786) he conquered Irān—Khurāsān, Isfahān, Seistān, Mazandrān, Fārs, 'Irāq, Luristān and Āzarbāijān. In July 1392/*Ramaẓān* 795 he set out on a punitive expedition against the heretics of the Caspian region and destroyed the Muẓaffarī dynasty of Fārs (1393/795). Then he invaded Asia Minor and sacked Edessa and Takrīt where he raised a pyramid of skulls. Afterwards he marched upon Kipchak and occupied Moscow. Subsequently he plundered Damuscus and reduced its inhabitants to slavery and obtained from the 'ulamā a *fatwā*, approving his conduct. He also captured Baghdād (10th July 1401/*Dhilqa'da* 803 and wrought there a great massacre to avenge the death of his officers, killed in the siege. In the winter of 1404/*Jumāda* I, 807 he invaded China and had the ambition of his life gratified when his sovereignty was acknowledged. Then he fell ill and died on 19th January 1404/10th *Sha'bān* 807. Two months after his death his body was brought to his capital Samarqand where it was buried.

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(v) *After Tīmūr.*

After the departure of Tīmūr, Dehlī was occupied by Nuṣrat Shāh who was ousted, before long, by Mallū Iqbāl Khān, the erstwhile wazīr of Nāṣiru'ddīn Maḥmūd Shāh II. Nuṣrat Shāh retired to Mirath and Mallū Iqbāl Khān resumed the administration of Dehlī, re-establishing his control over some parts of the Doāb. But the provinces which had become independent during the civil wars still remained cut off from the capital. Gujarāt was ruled by Muẓaffar Khān ; Mālwa by Dilāwar Khān ; Kanauj, Awadh, Kaṛa and Jaunpūr by Khwāja Jahān ; Lahore, Dipālpūr and Multān by Khiẓr Khān[1] ; Sāmāna by Ghālib Khān ; Bayāna by Shams Khān and Kālpī and Mahoba by Maḥmūd Khān.[2] All these chiefs styled themselves as kings. Mallū Iqbāl Khān became a little ambitious. He invited Nāṣiru'ddīn Maḥmūd from Mālwa where he had latterly come and maintained him on the throne as a pensioner king until the latter left in disgust for Kanauj whence he did not return until Mallū Iqbāl had been slain in a battle with Khiẓr Khān in 1405. Then he re-ascended the throne of Dehlī but died an obscure death in 1412/814.

(vi) *Daulat Khān Lodī.*

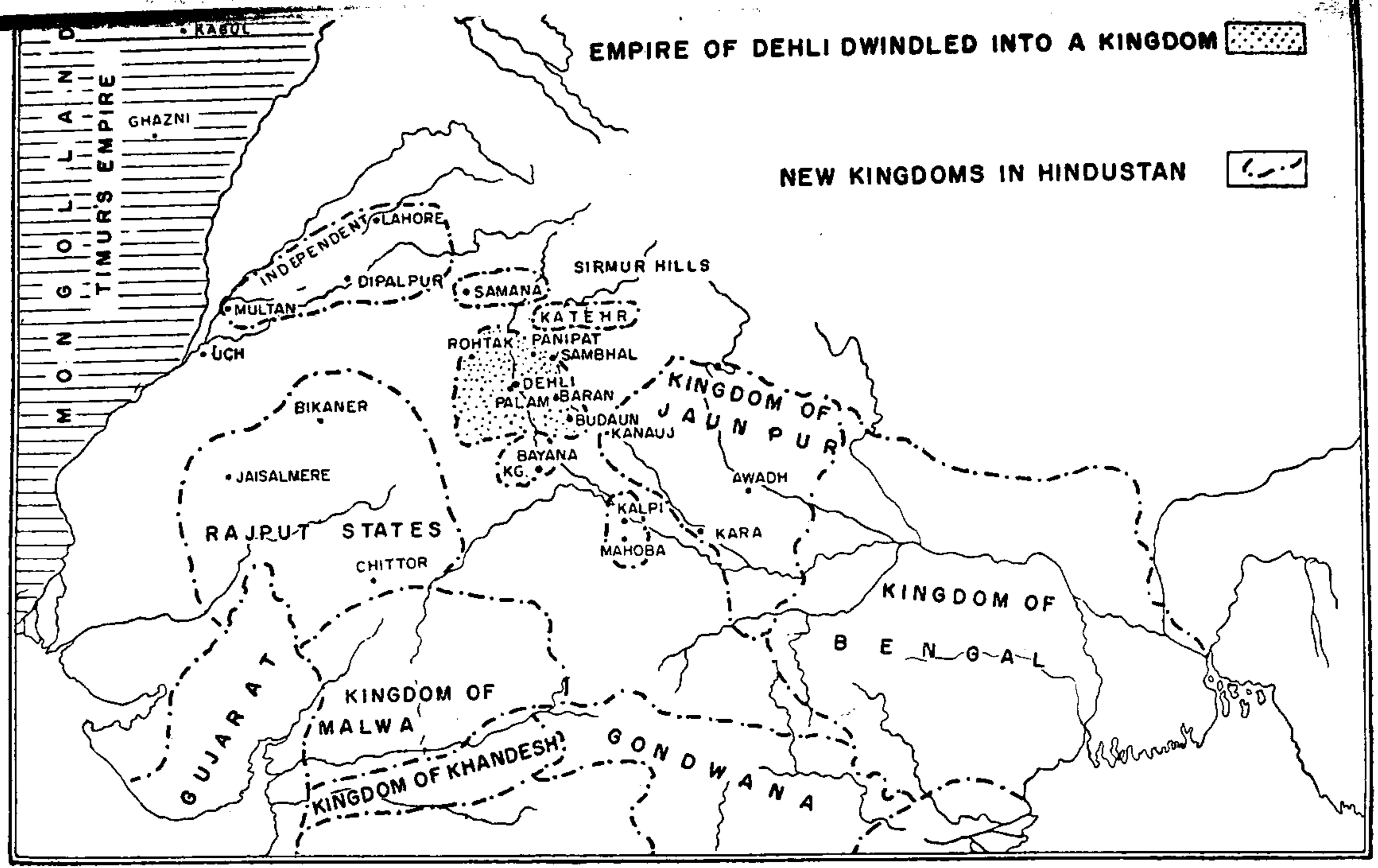
Daulat Khān Lodī, son of Maḥmūd Khān Lodī, was a cousin of Mallū Iqbāl Khān and has been mentioned above.[3] He was from the beginning a supporter of Nāṣiru'ddīn Maḥmūd II and served him for some time as a personal assistant or private secretary. He enjoyed the honorific of *'Azīz-i mumālik*.[4] After the death of Sulṭān Nāṣiru'ddīn Maḥmūd II, the amirs selected him as their chief, and he became a dictator or head of a military oligarchy like the

1 The *Tārikh-i Mubārak Shāhi* (p. 166) says that Tīmūr conferred the government of Dehlī on Khiẓr Khān. It has been stated that Timūr knew Khiẓr Khān as a saiyed, and gave him also the charge of Multān and Dipālpūr to which subsequently Lahore was added.

2 T. M. S. Y., p. 168

3 *Vide* p. 454 *supra*

4 *l. e.* glory of the State



Before and after Timūr, pp. 459-468.

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late Mallū Iqbāl Khān. He assumed no honours of royalty ; nor did he strike coins in his own name. The old coins were allowed to continue ; and the new ones which were struck bore legends in the name of Fīroz Shāh and his successors. Edward Thomas calls them 'posthumous coins of Fīroz Shāh and members of his family struck under the presidency of Daulat Khān Lodī.'[1] Firishta certainly overstated things saying that Daulat Khān Lodī ascended the throne in *Muḥarram* 816 (April 1413) and began his reign by striking coins in his own name.[2] He has taken a correct view of Khiẓr Khān who, he says, reigned in some parts of the Punjab as the chief enemy of Daulat Khān Lodī. He informs us that Daulat Khān Lodī weaned away some of the best supporters of his opponent Khizr Khān, notably Malik Idrīs and Mubāraz Khān.[3]

Daulāt Khān Lodī was no king ; and no attempt was made, neither by himself nor by other amirs to revive kingship. This is a problem which stands self-answered. Monarchy had remained a phantom and a vain show since the death of Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh in 1388. Some might be inclined to put this as late as the death of 'Alāu'ddīn Sikandar Shāh in 1394. But there is cumulative evidence to prove that monarchy was like a body without a soul for a quarter of a century (1388-1412). Reports about this soulless monarchy travelled beyond India and were recorded later in the *Ẓafar Nāma*.[4] Since 1394 Mallū Iqbāl Khān carried on the government. King or no king government must be carried on—this had become in those days a political axiom which impressed the amirs after the death of Maḥmūd Shāh. No more was the institution of the Fīroz Shāhī slaves alive to exploit the situation. It had been given a final burial by Tīmūr. Therefore Daulat Khān Lodī emerged as the chief military leader or dictator. But life having gone out of the body of the empire in 1398, the centre of political gravity had shifted from Dehlī to the

1 C. P. K. D., p. 326
2 T. Fr. vol. I, p. 292
3 *Idem*
4 Z. N. S., vol. I., pp. 14-15-16

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provinces. That is why even Mallū Iqbāl Khān was unable to accomplish anything and Daulat Khān Lodī fared no better. The utmost he was able to do was 'a military promenade through Katehr and Bisaulī.' Then he was compelled to leave the siege of Kālpī. In other words, Daulat Khān Lodī's first public move was to set out from Dehlī towards Katehr where he received the obeisance of Nar Singh Rāi and other Hindū magnates and zamindars. But he could not cope with the situation created by Ibrāhīm Shāh Sharqī of Jaunpūr who fell upon Kālpī and besieged it. Daulat Khān Lodī had not sufficient army to help his own brother Qadr Khān Lodī the commandant of Kālpī whom he left in difficulties and withdrew to Dehlī. Advantage of this was taken by Khiẓr Khān who swooped down on Dehlī in March 1414/816. The fortress of Sīrī wherein Daulat Khān Lodī had sought shelter was besieged ; and after a siege of two months the Lodī dictator surrendered (May 1414/816). He was arrested and thrown as prisoner into the fortress of Hiṣār-Fīrozah where he died, or as the tradition goes he was killed by Qivām Khān Lodī under the orders of Khiẓr Khān. Anyway his dictatorship which was uneventful ended after one year and three months in June 1414.

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CHAPTER XVI

REVIEW AND CONCLUSIONS

It has been stated above[1] that Muḥammad bin Tughluq is the most important of the three great rulers of Tughluq dynasty. He is mighty and most deserving of consideration; and his reign is magnificent, momentous and thought-provoking. But his father stands at the top of all and was the greatest of the nine[2] rulers of Tughluq house for he was also

1 *Vide* p. 61 *supra*

2 (i) Tughluq Shāh (1320-25
Rajab + Naila Bhaṭṭī
(ii) Sulṭān Muḥammad also called Muḥammad III (1325-51)
Bahrām Khān
Mubārak Khān
Mas'ūd Khān
Nuṣrat Khān
Maḥmūd Khān
Khudāwandzādah (+) Khusrau Malik
Daughter + Aḥmad bin Aiyāz
Ghiyāṣu'ddin Maḥmūd (?)
Daughter + Dāvar Malik
(iii) Fīroz Shāh also called Fīroz III (1351-88)
Muḥammad ('Azizu'l-Mulk)
Maudūd
Fatḥ Khān
Ẓafar Khān
(v) Abū Bakr (1388-81)
(vi) Muḥammad Khān or Nāṣiru'ddin Muḥammad (1390-94) also called Muhammad IV
(iv) Ghiyāṣu'ddin Tughluq II (1388)
(ix) Nuṣrat or Nāṣiru'ddīn Nuṣrat Shāh (1395)
(vii) 'Alāu'ddīn Sikandar Shāh 1394
(viii) Maḥmūd Khān or Nāṣiru'ddīn Maḥmūd II (1394-1412)

N.B. (i) The ninth king Nāṣiru'ddīn Nuṣrat Shāh enjoyed partial sovereignty during the reign of Nāṣiru'ddīn Maḥmūd II. He held three years' possession of Fīrozābād and a momentary occupation of old Dehlī after the departure of Tīmūr.

(ii) Firishta (T. Fr. vol. I, p. 260) says, '*Ahmd bin Aiyāz kih nisbat-i kheshī ba Sulṭān Muḥammad bin Tughluq Shāh dāsht* (Aḥmad bin Aiyāz was son-in-law of Sulṭān Muḥammad bin Tughluq Shāh). And 'Afif mentions two grandsons (daughter's sons) of

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a martyr (*shahīd*).[1] Thus he enjoys a spiritual glory which has fallen to the lot of few kings; and he possessed an incalculable amount of material wealth also. In connection with the city of Tughluqābād which he had built Ibn Baṭṭūṭa says that it contained his treasure house and a palace whose bricks were plated with gold. At sunrise they shone with such brightness and lustre that one could not gaze at it ; and he had deposited vast wealth in it. Besides this, he is said to have constructed a tank into which he had poured molten gold to form a solid mass.[2]

Character of Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Tughluq

God-fearing, pious, abstemious, dutiful, generous, unostentatious, liberal and free from prejudice, fanaticism and hatred of all kinds, he was in the words of Baranī, 'truly a king of good intentions and of divine nature'[3]. Some of his excellent qualities which none of his successors possessed were his moral strength, prudence, piercing intellect, temperate habits, moderation and bounteousness mixed with frugality and affection for his children. He was kind and considerate to the Hindus. 'No persecution is recorded of him and we read of no interference with the religion of his non-Muslim subjects. He extended his protection to all', says a modern writer[4]. Undoubtedly he was a man of equity and justice and may be called 'refuge of the world' as his name *Ghiyāṣ* (literally refuge) indicates. Baranī says:

> 'Nobody ascended the throne with such attributes as he ; and the world has since been unable to produce a king like him. He was one of the weighty assets

Muḥammad bin Tughluq (T.F.S.A., p. 419). Hence my conclusion as shown in the genealogical table.

(iii) Dāvar Malik was married to another daughter of Sulṭān Muḥammad. This appears from Letter 96, F. 122a, M.S.M.P.L., M.S.M.

1 The Prophet is reported to have defined martyrs of different kinds, *i.e.* 'Apart from those who die in the battlefield without running away, martyrs are those who die of plague and under *debris* and through drowning as well as women dying in confinement.' *Safinatu'l Biḥār* (Najaf, 1352 Hijra)

2 The *Reḥla* (G. O. S.) p. 55

3 T. F. S. B., p. 429 f.

4 Q. T., p. 53

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of the world whom the world did not assess aright and did not appreciate in a befitting manner.

He helped the needy and was bounteous but not prodigal. That is, in the award of gifts he observed moderation. Neither did he give so much as might lead to dissipation, nor did he give so little as might spell miserliness. He adhered to justice and endeavoured to give to everyone so that the loyalty of the recipients should increase and none should feel disappointed.

He never drank wine and abstained from indulgence in pleasures of the flesh. His moral character was very high and he hated gambling and baiting.

The Almighty God had endowed him with all that was necessary for kingship. He was at once the personification of gallantry, bravery, understanding, perception ; and was noted for his award of justice, regard for Islām, appreciation of the law-abiding, destruction of the recalcitrant, honesty and probity. He had acquired variegated political experience and was a man of great prowess, capable of inspiring terror as well as love in the hearts of his subjects. His orders were executed without ado in all the provinces of the empire from the very first year of his reign. During his reign the lion and the deer drank water together at one and the same fountain. Such was his equity and justice.'[1]

His Achievements

The greatest of his achievements was the empire of Dehlī which he saved from destruction ; and rebuilt. He reorganized its governmental and administrative machinery and watched its functioning closely and ceaselessly. He also improved the material welfare of his subjects and busied himself in excavating canals, making aqueducts, irrigating lands, laying out and enriching big gardens, building military forts, promoting tillage, advancing the interests of

1 T. F. S. B., pp. 441-445

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the common people and peasants (*ri'āyā*), and replenishing waste lands and ruined places. He also looked after the security of roads and made it his personal concern to remove and crush highwaymen and dacoits[1]. Baranī says:

> 'The highwaymen began, inspired by the fear of his sword, to act as sentinels and protectors of roads. Those who were confirmed and hereditary highwaymen now broke their weapons, sold their bows and shields and took to ploughing and agriculture.
>
> And during his reign no thief had the courage to pilfer even a small piece from any barn.'[2]

His Domestic Policy

His domestic policy aimed at making the machinery of government function on the principles of law, deprecating everything that might cause unpleasant reactions and hatred. He wanted that all classes of his subjects should have easy access to him and should speak their minds to him fearlessly and without reserve and that they must not labour under duress and distress, wearing long gloomy faces. He insisted that all of his subjects whether Muslim or Hindū must pursue a trade or craft, agriculture or commerce and that everybody must earn a decent living, free from the pangs of poverty, beggary and destitution. He desired that beggars should give up begging at the doors and that all must keep themselves busy, saving themselves, thus, from misbehaviour and its consequence Baranī says:

> 'Every day, every week and every month the Sulṭān used to call his own family and the dependents of the State officers (*'āwān wa anṣār*) in turn to see that they were doing well and were engaged in some work. On no account would he destroy a man or men whom he himself had brought up. Under no circumstance would he tolerate the infliction of injury or oppression on any one. He tried always to set wrong right ; and distinguished between pretenders and deserving persons and was able to allocate a right share to the right

1 *Op. cit.*, p. 429 f.
2 *Idem*

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person and fix him in the right place. He was like a benevolent father to his subjects whom he protected at all costs. For their sake he suppressed all malcontents and evil-doers as well as treacherous and greedy persons with cruelty and harshness[1].'

In short, Sulṭān Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Tughluq's domestic policy was thoughtful, constructive, benevolent and discriminative with clear and well-defined aims, *i.e.* establishing right in its proper place and distinguishing between deserving and undeserving cases and suppressing all turbulent elements. By pursuing this policy the emperor succeeded in building up a personnel of civil servants who were capable, circumspect and conscientious like himself and who stood like pillars of peace and security and whose claim for service was based on merit, learning and experience and not upon high descent and hoarded wealth. Similarly the emperor granted promotion to higher offices to those who had distinguished themselves for their loyalty, devotion, good character and honesty. By virtue of his own merits and sincerity of purpose, endurance, industry and perseverance, his domestic policy became remarkably successful and impressed Amīr Khusrau who says:

> 'He (Sulṭān Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Tughluq) never set his hands to any task but performed it well through his learning and wisdom. It looked as if he wore a hundred turbans under his cap, possessing the sagacity of a hundred wise men[2].'

His Foreign Policy and Military System

Like his domestic policy his foreign policy was well thought out. It was defensive, not aggressive. The Chingiz Khānī Mongols who ruled the lands west of the Indus were held at bay. In fact they had been beaten hollow while Sulṭān Ghiyāṣu'ddīn was still a Ghāzi Malik and *muqṭī'* of Dīpālpūr. In that capacity he acted as warden of the marches and had stopped the source of Mongol trouble. The brilliant success of his arms which contributed to the building of Khaljī imperialism has been attributed to

1, 2 *Op. cit.*, p. 429 f.

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'Alāu'ddīn Khaljī. But his personal reputation as a warrior travelled beyond India and earned him rightly the epithet of Prince of Khurāsān.

He had fortified all the fortresses leading from Mughlistān to Dehlī and equipped them with war material, and food as well as with the army which was placed under the charge of capable officers and was regularly drilled and exercised; and the soldiers were always kept alert and busy as had been the case under 'Alāu'ddīn Khaljī. The 'Alāī military system—arms accoutrements, grades and salaries and provisions—with which Tughluq had been familiar was maintained. All weapons as well as weapon-holders, horsemen as well as their horses, footmen as well as their uniforms and war apparatus were examined; and the horses were branded. And, on the results of that examination depended the promotion of the army men. Baranī says:

'In the beginning of his reign thousands and thousands of mounted warriors were recruited and equipped and set in good order and readiness for field service. They were well organized under the command of ripe chieftains and commanders. Throughout his reign salaries of the soldiers were paid regularly in cash; and neither a fraction of their allowance nor a farthing of their pay was ever deducted.'[1]

Character of Sulṭān Muḥammad

Baranī's narrative of Tughluq Shāh's character casts many aspersions on Sulṭān Muḥammad; and no reader of Baranīs' text can fail to draw the conclusion that the son was no comparison to the royal father. And Baranī's treatment of the subject in the two cases varies considerably. In the case of Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Tughluq precedence is given in Barani's narrative to his performances, achievements and deeds; and estimation of his character follows as a matter of course while in the case of Sulṭān Muḥmmad, character is taken up *a priori*; and opinions are formed about the events and deeds in the light of an estimate of

1 T. F. S. B., p. 438

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his character. That is, character is considered the chief cause of Sulṭān Muḥammad's misfortunes and of the disintegration of his empire.

Sulṭān Muḥammad's character, according to Baranī[1] had been shaped as a young man by his association with the atheist philosophers. All the executions (*siyāsat*) that he brought about, all the impossible demands he made together with his innumerable orders, his ferocity, his provocative and inflammable temper and his ruthlessness, were due to his pursuit of atheistic philosophy. But for this he would have applied his extraordinary gifts and talents to the pursuit of the Word of God, in compliance with the rulings of the Prophet and the dictates of the 'ulamā. Had it not been for this he would have abstained from the execution of believers, and would have been the greatest monarch who had ever lived. But his heart was atrophied by his devotion to philosophy; there being no corner in it for the sayings of the Prophet and the Word of God, which alone, by inspiring fear of the hereafter, makes one meek and humble. As a result, he acquired a propensity for shedding the blood of the Muslims. So many of the 'ulamā and saints, saiyeds and ṣufīs, mendicants, revenue officers, as well as troopers, were put to death, that, in the exaggerated phraseology of Baranī, their blood poured in torrents almost every day before his[1] palace.

The next defect in Muḥammad bin Tughluq's character, according to Baranī,[2] was his conceit. He would issue orders for whatever he conceived, irrespective of all considerations. Far from realizing that the orders were impracticable, he would ascribe the diffidence on the part of his officials to carry them out to their disobedience, hostility, faithlessness and want of devotion and allegiance. He would inflict punishments indiscriminately. Anxious to improve his own lot, Baranī[3] acknowledges that he encouraged and helped the emperor in acting contrary to the *Sharī'at*; a behaviour which he subsequently regretted.

1 T.F.S.B., pp. 465-466.
2 *Idem.*, p. 466-467.
3 T.F.S.B., p. 466.

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Indignant at Muḥammad bin Tughluq's pursuit of Greek philosophy; chagrined by his aggressive policy towards the 'ulamā, the saints, the saiyeds, the Sunnīs and the sufis; disappointed with his preference for foreigners; deprived of the honours and offices which he considered his due and vexed at the promotion of upstarts at the expense of the Muslim aristocracy of blood and wealth. Barani's position in regard to Sulṭān Muḥammad is peculiar. It is certainly not one of uncritical eulogy as Dowson[1] thinks, nor is it one of astonishment and perplexity, as Moreland,[2] assumes. On the contrary, it is one of antagonism and hostility. His character-sketch of Sulṭān Muḥammad is a kind of satire. He dwells at length upon those events and attainments of the emperor which were too well-known to be ignored. It is his habit to introduce in the midst of a string of eulogy a sentence or two to undo the whole, so that the reader instead of being favourably inclined towards the Sulṭān is left with an impression of his wickedness. Barani's narrative of Muḥammad's character is interspersed with passages too difficult to be adequately translated into English. To the average reader they appear eulogistic descriptions of his character; but, in reality, they are venomous attacks interspersed with sarcastic epithets.

He describes the emperor's *ijtehads* as instances of follies and blunders on his part, and treats his theme with his usual skill, and with his marvellous gift of concealing his innermost feelings.[3]

He observes[4] that the Sulṭān issued a body of new fiscal and military ordinances called *uslūb* and *asālīb*, which though apparently feasible and ameliorative, were in fact impracticable and destructive. He says not a word by way of explaining the *uslūb* or *asālīb*, which evidently constituted an important code of administrative, revenue and military reforms, drawn up assiduously by the emperor himself. Like

1 Moreland: *The Agrarian System of Moslem India*, p. 45.
2 *Ibid.*
3 *Cf.* T.F.S.B., pp. 471-478.
4 Barani (Bib. Ind.), pp. 498-500.

the *uslūb*, which came in the latter part of the reign, Baranī gives short shrift to the administrative measures adopted by the emperor early in the reign to assimilate the land revenue of each province to that of the Dehlī country.[1] Baranī's language betrays confusion of thought and conveys nothing tangible. Sir Wolseley Haig,[2] endeavouring to make the best out of the worst, inferred that Muḥammad bin Tughluq ordered the compilation of a register of the land revenue of the empire on the model of the register already maintained in the districts near the capital—an inference which none of the followers of Baranī cared to draw.

'I have,' says Baranī,[3] 'for seventeen years and three months been a close attendant of Muḥammad bin Tughluq and have been honoured by him with many and various prizes and rewards. Yet I am, I confess, simply amazed at his extremely conflicting habits. I used to hear from him almost the whole of his life, the evils of the mean and the low and his dislike for them; nevertheless, later in his reign he raised to high offices of great responsibility mean fellows of low descent, the musicians; and entrusted to their care the administration of Gujarāt, Multān and Budāūn. Similarly he honoured 'Azīz the vintner and his brother Fīroz, the barber; Munta, the cook; Mas'ūd, the shoe-maker and his son, the gardener, and many other rogues, providing them with high offices; and granted them favour and access to his person and throne. That an emperor mighty like Jamshed, and magnificent like Kaikhusrau; too proud of his high position to bow before the ruler of Bengal or before the Mongols; too fastidious to accept for his service even men like the great Buzrgmihr[4] should condescend to award the low-born menials with the dignified posts of high command is perfectly amazing indeed! If I who stand completely lost

1 The original (p. 468) is '*Bilād-i-Mumālik-i-Dehlī*,' which is practically synonymous with Moreland's (p. 23) *ḥavāli-i-Dehli* or the Dehli country.

2 *J. R. A. S.*, July, 1922.

3 Baranī (Bib. Ind.), p. 504.

4 The famous wazīr of the Sasanian King, Anusherwān. (*Encyclopædia of Islām*, I, p. 809.)

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and bewildered to study his character liken him in his careless way of bestowing precious gifts on the menials, and the deserving and the undeserving alike to God whose one characteristic is to confer high command and supreme authority often on a base-born tyrant, on a wicked person or upon an atheist, the simile, I am afraid, does not stand on all fours, for the emperor, unlike the Almighty Giver is a deep and sincere devotee of God, very regular in the discharge of daily prayers and strict in the observance of even the details of Islamic law.'

Baranī further observes that the Sulṭān's powers of body and mind and his infinite resources were beyond comprehension. 'His extraordinary generosity, combined with his longing to kill the believers and learned saiyeds, and at the same time to offer devotion to God, sounded like breathing hot and cold in the same breath. He was one of the most eccentric of men, with strikingly conflicting habits. He combined in his person the qualifications befitting a master as well as those essentially characteristic of a slave. He regarded with contempt the names of his predecessors, while he professed a deep reverence for the Caliphs, whether alive or dead, and ministered to their messengers and ministers, not to speak of themselves, for they never came to his court, such mean offices as even a slave would be loth to perform to his master. Again, while he continued incessantly striving to get rid of the evil-doers by putting thousands to death on the slightest suspicion, he was blind to the mischief of a body of rogues, whose sole business was to murder the pious Musalmans and the sufis.'

As a result of Baranī's peculiar portraiture[1] of the emperor, it became an article of faith with all and was handed down to succeeding generations as a settled fact of history, that of all the Muslim rulers of India, Muḥammad bin Tughluq was a mixture of[2] opposites; he was at once the wisest and the most foolish, the most courteous and the most discourteous, the most humane and humiliating and the

1 *I.e.* Barani's special gift and skill in the art of portraiture. *cf.* T.F.S.B., pp. 123-125.

2 M.T.B., p. 240.

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most tyrannical and arrogant, the most merciful and lenient and yet the most ruthless and cruel. 'His conduct,' observes Moreland,[1] 'was a mass of inconsistencies.'

A comparative study of Barani's scattered references and of all the available data has led the writer to the following conclusions. A man of more than middle height, his person was endowed with a particular grace or excellence. He possessed a superbly stout body—strong limbs, long arms, broad chest, large and open forehead and dignified and noble countenance. His face, with its remarkably white complexion, thick but skilfully trimmed beard and moustache, wide, square-like eyes, straight and moderate nose, thin and reddish lips, a fleshy and muscular neck, and a large round skull, covered with a closely-set oval cap tapering towards the top, exercised a magnetic charm. He used to wear a sash round his waist and rings on the last two fingers of his left hand. On the whole, he was very beautiful and possessed of great personal charm, which was immensely heightened by his physical, intellectual and moral equipment.

Physically, he was well built, robust and vigorous; he was a brave man, bold-hearted and high-spirited. Like his father, he was a veteran warrior, intrepid on the field of battle.

As regards his morality or the observance on his part of a sound social code, there can be no doubt. Those who regard him a parricide will blame him for his selfishness, which in his juvenile short-sightedness made him the agent of his father's death. But no charge of loose morals, of depravity or of licentiousness can be brought against him. All records testify to his habits of temperance and sobriety. But he did not detest music. He kept one thousand and two hundred musicians[2] in his service, not counting one thousand slave-musicians. It is said that he would kill[3] his

1 Moreland: *The Agrarian System of Moslem India*, pp. 45-46.

2 *Quatremére*: *Notices des Manuscrits*, XIII, p. 185.

3 *Ibid.*

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musicians, if any of them were found to have sung before any other person. His musicians must have possessed a special gift and skill, which he jealously guarded. He himself must have had a special ear for music[1]. Occasionally a nautch[2] was held at the palace. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa[3] mentions one on the occasion of the marriage of the emperor's sister with Amīr Saifu'ddīn Ghaddā.

Intellectually he was far in advance of his age, a great scholar well versed in almost every science, then known to Orientals. In calligraphy he surpassed the most accomplished scribes. The excellence of his handwriting, the ease of his composition, the sublimity of his style and the play of his fancy raised him head and shoulders above the most accomplished teachers and professors. No teacher of composition dared to compete with him. He knew by heart a good deal of Persian poetry and understood it well. Occasionally, he even composed verses in Persian. He was well-acquainted with the *Sikandar Nāma*, the *Abū Muslim*[4] *Nāma* and the *Tārīkh-i Maḥmūdī*. He knew the Qurān as well as the *Hedāya*[5] by heart. No learned or scientific man, scribe, poet, wit, or physician had the presumption to argue with him about his own special pursuit. Besides, he was fond of history, and had so retentive a memory that he recollected almost every event he heard of, and the time it occurred. He also studied medicine, and attended the sick. With regard to the efficacy of his prescriptions, he entered into long discussions with the famous physicians of his age. He was a keen student of philosophy of the Greek schools, and welcomed to his court distinguished philosophers.

1 For music see the *Reḥla* (G. O. S.), pp. 50-51

2 The picture of a nautch party (see photo on the adjoining page) said to have been drawn in 1534, is probably fictitious. But it supplies a sort of legend of Muḥammad bin Tughluq's traditional liking for music and dance.

3 *B.N.*, MS. 909, F. 132-133. the *Reḥla* (G. O. S.), pp. 77-79

4 There is a manuscript of the Turkish novel called *Abū Muslim* in Vienna. (*Encyclopædia of Islam*, Vol. I, p. 102)
Abū Muslim (726-755) was a powerful leader of a religious and political movement in Khurasān.

5 *Quatremére*: *Notices des Manuscrits*, XIII, pp. 190-191

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A copy of the (most) remarkable likeness of the greatest emperor, Ghazī Sulṭān Muḥammad bin Tughluq at Dehli, the capital. May his soul be blessed! A.H. 140 (1533 A.D.)

Facing p. 482 (*Art Gallery Indian Museum Calcutta*)

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Of Arabic he possessed a moderate knowledge. He understood it easily, though he could not speak it fluently. Above all, he possessed an invaluable gift of speech. According to Barani[1], no one tired of listening to his conversation. He was a great mathematician, and was trained in logic, astronomy, medicine, rhetoric and metaphysics.

At an early stage of his career, however, he had come under the influence of the philosophers, as Barani[2] tells us. They engendered in him a spirit of enquiry and he set about studying Islām or religion in general with an open mind. This opened for him a long period of mental unrest, during which his father died suddenly at Afghānpur (1325) and he was called upon to rule. His accession to the throne opened a new vista, and afforded him unique opportunities for carrying on his enquiries and researches, but it saddled him with the most responsible work of government and administration. A modern statesman, placed in a similar position, would have immediately dropped all theological discussions and researches, giving himself entirely to the problems of the State. But in those days the State was, as it is still in Islamic theory, indissolubly connected with the *Shari'at*. Not even Akbar the Great could drop or exclude theological discussions. And Muḥammad bin Tughluq was not endowed with Akbar the Great's prudence, insight and moderation. Nor was it in his nature to let go a thing which he had once seriously undertaken. Accordingly, while in the first decade (1325-35), he was confronting political issues of an extraordinarily formidable nature, was making preparations for the Khurāsān expedition, was endeavouring to make Deogīr into Daulatābād with a view to raising it to the status of the first-class city of the empire, was introducing the token currency, was subduing rebellions, and was directing the Qarāchīl expedition, he was also carrying on his researches into religion[3].

1 Barani (Bib. Ind.), p. 463

2 *Op. cit.* p. 465

3 This follows from a comparative study of the *Memoirs of Muḥammad bin Tughluq*, Barani's *Tārikh-i Firoz Shāhi*, the *Reḥla*, the *Tārikh-i-Mubārak Shāhi* and of the *Muntakhabut-Tavārikh*.

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This was an extremely difficult task with which in his position as emperor of India he was thoroughly unable to cope. At last he despaired. His explanation—"*...one would have*[1] *preferred to become an idolater*"—bespeaks the amount of his despair.

It was during this period of mental unrest that the seeds of the future troubles destined subsequently to overwhelm himself and shatter his empire were sown. It was in this period that distrust arose between him and the 'ulamā, who appear to have influenced the government[2] and, in a way, the army chiefs. In these circumstances every project[3] that he formed failed and brought in its train a series of new troubles. It was a little before Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's arrival in India (1333) that the emperor found himself able to believe in the existence of God, in the validity of the mission of the Prophet, and in the tenets of Islām. He came back to its fold, but his conduct was still hostile to the worldly 'ulamā, because he was still a revolutionary and a *mujtahid*.

It was because of his confidence in his position as a *mujtahid* that he made no attempt whatsoever to announce his repentance for his past 'sins' and doubts. Perhaps he wanted to fight his opponents tooth and nail, and make radical changes. Perhaps, in the course of his researches he had discovered the weaknesses of the 'ulamā ; hence his strong attitude in the matter. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa[4] is in complete accord with Baranī in maintaining that the emperor was most forward in the shedding of blood. His door was never free from an indigent person who was to be enriched,

1 *Memoirs of Muḥammad bin Tughluq*, B.M., Add. 25, 785. Read side by side with the usage of Sanskrit in his reign and his free and unrestrained association with the Hindū ascetics, this might be taken as an evidence of his appreciation of Hinduism.

2 Compare *Futūḥu's-Salāṭin*, MS., F. 231-279

3 *Memoirs of Muḥammad bin Tughluq*, B.M., Add. 25, 785

4 MS. 909, F. 125-126, B. N. G. O. S., p. 56

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and from a living person, who was to be killed. Stories of his generosity, his bravery, his cruelty and violence to culprits obtained great currency among the people. Yet he was the humblest of men, and most devoted to the administration of justice and to the pursuit of truth.

It does not follow from the above that just as a butcher's shop is never free from a goat to be slaughtered, Muḥammad bin Tughluq's court was seldom without a man to be executed. What it really amounts to is that his campaign for the discovery of truth, and his anxiety to stop the evil at its source and administer justice and equity had brought him into conflict with a body of people whose fault was unpardonable in his eyes. This is illustrated by the story of the two jurists of Sind, on whom he had passed a cruel and summary sentence of death, apparently without justification.[1]

It is evident from all reliable sources[2] that Muḥammad bin Tughluq had developed new and revolutionary theories about the *Sharī'at*, the State and the government. No description of these theories can be given, for none is available. But an idea of their reactionary character can be formed from Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's testimony as to the emperor's subsequent actions. Impressed by the strict maintenance of Islamic observances at the royal court, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa[3] affirms that the emperor lays great stress on the performance of prayer. His standing orders were that prayers must be recited in congregation, and severe punishment was meted out to all defaulters. In one single day he once killed nine men, one of whom was a musician, for failing to say the prayers in congregation. He used to send round men appointed for the purpose into the streets to look for the defaulters. Those found loitering about prayer-time were punished. He issued orders that the people were to be taught the principles of ablution, and of prayer, as well as the fundamentals of Islām. And the people were interro-

1 MS. 909, F. 135, B.N. G. O. S., p. 89
2 *Cf. Futūḥu's-Salāṭīn*, MS., F. 231-279
3 MS. 909, F. 134, B.N. G. O. S. p. 83

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gated on these points. Those who could not give satisfactory answers were punished.

This should be read alongside Barani's[1] account, which in the first instance declares the emperor irreligious, and a rank atheist doomed to perdition like Nimrod and Pharaoh ; and in the second instance, as punctilious in observing the ritual and letter of Islāmic law. It follows that Barani's first account represents the earlier stage of the emperor's life when he was in a state of doubt or revolt against Islām and God ; his second account is a picture of the second and new stage in the emperor's life, which was, as corroborated by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, reactionary.

Like Baranī, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa does not accuse the emperor of atheism, nor of devotion to pagan philosophy ; he had seen none of it. That stage of his life was over before Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's arrival in India. It had, of course, left behind repercussions, as a result of which exaggerated accounts and absurd stories of his inhumanity, violence and atrocity had obtained wide currency.' Barani had seen demonstrations of both extremes in the emperor's thoughts and actions—his paganism or philosophy as well as his *ijtehads* or reactionary and aggressive Islamism, and was unable to understand either. Hence his amazement and bewilderment ! In his eyes Muḥammad's conduct was reprehensible on account of his pursuit of philosophy.

It follows that emperor Muḥammad bin Tughluq had pursued a perverted philosophy which clouded his vision and made him obtuse. A true philosophy, pursued on right lines, creates a correct disposition and a right frame of mind ; and promotes right thinking and moderation combined with a healthy psychology, as pointed out by Ḥazrat 'Alī. Queried once by a Jewish scholar, Ḥazrat 'Alī defined philosophy as 'a branch of learning which, pursued diligently, helps to develop a healthy outlook, moderate habits and refined temperament. It also nurses the soul and purifies it and raises man ultimately to perfect humanity. Man, then neutralizes the inherent sting of

1 T. F. S. B, pp. 457-468, pp. 470-472, pp. 496-497

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all the instincts of satanic animality and imbibes an angelic disposition."[1]

Anyway, the emperor was notorious for his 'animal-like anger and bestial ferocity'[2]—qualities which are reprehensible according to all standards of judgment. The *Gīta* condemns it as well as the Quran.[3] The habit of anger is the basic cause of man's downfall as the following verses from the Gita show:

> The habit of anger, when contracted, generates confusion of thought ; confusion of thought generates forgetfulness ; forgetfulness undermines intellect and the weakness of intellect paves the road surely to destruction.[4]

Such was exactly the case with emperor Muhammad bin Tughluq. But his chroniclers failed to diagnose it ; and faltering abominably like the proverbial five men endeavouring to describe an elephant they indulged in hopeless guesses and conjectures. Some attributed the emperor's misfortunes and failure to his association with the philosophers ; others to his fantastic plans and others to the dramatic changes in his outlook and others still to his satanic affectations.

It should be noted that in spite of his *ijtehads* which have been wrongly depicted as aggressive Islamism, Muḥammad bin Tughluq did little or nothing for the propagation of Islām. His endeavours, made early in his reign, for making Deogīr the centre of Muslim culture,[5] cannot but be assigned to political reasons. His zeal for the spread of Muslim culture there can hardly serve as a proof of his zeal

1 Muṣṭafā Jawād—*Philosophy of Islamic History in the 7th century Hijra* (Bombay, 1359 Hijra), p. 9

2 S. A. K, pp. 228, 273

3 Sura III, verse 134

4 क्रोधाद्भवति सम्मोहः सम्मोहात् स्मृतिविभ्रमः ।
स्मृतिभ्रंशाद् बुद्धिनाशो बुद्धिनाशात् प्रणश्यति ॥
Chapter II, verse 63

5 See *supra*, p. 144

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for the propagation of Islām, for at that time his belief in Islām had been shaken. The whole of his life fails to give any instance of unkindness to his non-Muslim subjects on the ground of religion, although the *Masāliku'l-Abṣār*[1] talks magniloquently of his razing the idol-houses. Two incidents alone can be mentioned ; one being related by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa[2] and the other by Baranī[3] of the conversion of some Hindus to Īslām. But neither can be cited as a proof of the existence of state propaganda for the spread of Īslām or as a proof of religious persecution. Even the Shias, whom orthodox Sunnīs bitterly hated,[4] and who were persecuted under Fīroz Shāh,[5] enjoyed freedom. The *Purusa Parīksā*[6] of Vidyāpatī Ṭhākkura makes commendable references to Muḥammad bin Tughluq, who, it cannot be denied, employed Hindus in his army as well as in his government.[7]

That Muḥammad bin Tughluq was considerate to his enemies, and appreciated merit even in rebels, suspects and undesirables, is proved by the instances of his forgiveness extended to (1) Ibn Baṭṭūṭa after he had become a suspect and had been interned ; (2) to the prisoner, 'Ainu'l-Mulk,[8] after his unsuccessful revolt ; (3) to Sayyid Ibrāhīm Khariṭadār, the governor of Ḥānsī and Sirsa, the rebellious son of a rebellious father, Sayyid Aḥsan Shāh, governor and later king of Ma'bar ; (4) to Malik Hoshang, the rebellious governor of Daulatābād ; and (5) to Baranī, whose views, as expressed in the *Tārīkh-i Fīroz Shāhī* and the *Fatāwa-i Jahāndārī*, were diametrically opposite to those of the emperor. But the latter made a correct estimate of Baranī's merits, and far from punishing him for his views, rewarded him frequently, though he gave him neither a title nor a lucrative post.

1 Quatremére : *Notices des Manuscrits*, XIII, p. 203
2 B. N., MS. 909, F. 137
3 Barani (Bib. Ind.), p. 483
4 Ibn Baṭṭūṭa : Def. et Sang., I, p. 320
5 Firoz Shāh : *Futūḥāt-i Firoz Shāhi*, B. M., Or. 2039
6 Vidyapati Thākkura : *Purusa Pariksā*, pp. 20-24, 41-44
7 *Cf. Futūḥu's-Salāṭīn*, MS., F. 239;
8 Appendix M.

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Why an emperor who was so learned and experienced, who claimed to be *'Ādil* (just), and whose coins were inscribed with titles such as—'the earnest in the way[1] of God ; the victorious by the help of God ; the warrior in the cause of God' ; why an emperor, who was the richest and the mightiest of all the rulers of his age, and who received embassies from many[2] courts and countries, should be called a visionary and a madman and cursed as a *khūnī*[3] (bloody) Sulṭān, is an enigma. His reign is said to have been marked by reckless prodigality and attempts to carry out hare-brained schemes, *e.g.* the making of Deogīr, a second capital, the introduction of a debased currency and the wildly ambitious designs for the conquest of Khurāsān and China. As a set-off to these are mentioned his ferocious cruelty, relentless taxation and man-hunting expeditions, which provoked universal rebellions and disorders and shattered his empire.

It should be remembered that the political condition of Central Asia at the accession of Muḥammad bin Tughluq to the throne of Dehlī had led in the first instance to the flight of Tarmashīrīn into India, and in the second instance to the formation of a triple coalition comprising Muḥammad bin Tughluq, Tarmashīrīn and Malik An-Nāṣir of Egypt, for a joint invasion of Khurāsān. This was an important factor, which profoundly affected the character of the subsequent history of the reign.

In view of the favourable conditions which then obtained both in India and abroad, the project of the Khurāsān expedition was neither visionary nor impracticable. There was at that time no fear of rebellion in the Doāb, which had been consolidated under Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Balban and 'Alāu'ddīn Khaljī. Still the emperor enrolled the fighting clans of the Rajputs in the Khurāsān army as

1 Thomas, E.: *The Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Dehli*, pp. 203-253

2 (i) Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, MS. 909, F. 130-132, B. N. *Vide* the *Reḥla* (C. O. S.), p. lii (ii) Baranī (Bib. Ind.), p. 538.

3 (i) Budāūnī: *Muntakhabu't-Tavārīkh* (Bib. Ind.), p. 240 (ii) 'Iṣāmī: *Futūḥu's-Salāṭīn*, F. 279A

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a precaution though he did not foresee the consequences of the disbandment of this huge army of three hundred and seventy thousand men. But he would have been shirking his responsibilities if he had turned his back on the trans-Indus politics and had failed thereby to seize the unique opportunity which then presented itself of crushing the Mongols. This had been the dream of the preceding Sultans of Dehlī ; and Shamsu'ddīn Iltutmish[1] had even set out with the object of conquering Khurāsān (1234).

The so-called transfer of the capital to Deogīr, was in effect only a change in the relative position of Dehlī and Daulatābād. But it awakened the dormant antagonism of the 'ulamā and mashāikh, and went farther than any other measure to make the emperor unpopular. Rebellions broke out in Dehlī as well as in Multān. An investigation into their causes made at Dehlī by the emperor on his return from Multān (1330) revealed the complicity of the 'ulamā and sufis, who were then put to the sword.

The fiasco of the Qarāchīl or Kumaon expedition and token currency followed. A great misunderstanding has been caused by the assumption that the Qarāchīl expedition was sent as late as 1338 on the ground (1) that Budāūnī[2] and Firishta both fix it in 1337-8/738, and (2) that it involved the conquest of Nagarkot which, according to Badr Chāch, took place in that year. But whereas the emperor did not personally take charge of the Qarāchīl expedition, he was present at the conquest of the fort of Nagarkot. This is established by the joint evidence of Badr[3] Chāch, of 'Afīf[4] and of the *Sīrat-i Fīroz Shāhī*.[5]

1 A. H. G. Vol. II, p. 699

2 It should be remembered that the chronology of Muḥammad bin Tughluq's reign as given by Budāūnī, Niẓāmu'ddīn, Firishta and even by Yaḥya bin Aḥmad is seriously misleading. Not a single date given by any of them can be accepted without corroboration.

3 'It was at night that the great emperor (Muḥammad bin Tughluq) arrived at this fort with thousands of glories.....' (*Odes of Badr Chāch*).

4 T. F. S. A., pp. 185-190

5 Bānkipore MS., p. 36

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Baranī has also a reference to this effect, though he[1] does not make the point quite clear. Thus the Qarāchīl expedition was distinct from, and preceded, the fall of Nagarkot. It was over before the arrival of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa. If it be supposed that Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's account of the Qarāchīl expedition as given in the *Reḥla* is an eye-witness or contemporary account, then the question arises, why does it not contain a reference to the conquest of Nagarkot? The conquest of Nagarkot, if it was a part of the Qarāchīl expedition, must have preceded the tragic failure and loss of the Qarāchīl army which Ibn Baṭṭūṭa describes at length. The probability is that Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's account of the Qarāchīl expedition is not a first-hand account but based on hearsay. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa has described the same story with variations in two[2] places, exactly as it was related to him at the time.

Of all the motives ascribed to the introduction of the token currency—the depletion of the treasury according to Baranī,[3] money for the Sulṭān's ambitious schemes of conquest according to Firishta,[4] the great outlay involved in the transfer of the capital according to Budāūnī[5]—the crisis caused by the recruitment and maintenance of large armies for the Khurāsān and Qarāchīl expeditions, as well as the shortage of silver, seems to be the most reasonable and sound. The disbursement of incalculable amounts of silver to the armies had created a problem not unlike that which 'Alāu'ddīn Khaljī had met by fixing the prices of all commodities. Muḥammad bin Tughluq abstained from repeating the Khaljī fiasco. He contracted a loan from his subjects by assigning a nominal face value to the brass or copper[6] tokens. This was also necessary in view of the

1 Barani (Bib. Ind.), p. 483

2 B. N. MS., F. 134 and F. 138. The *Rehla* (G.O.S.) pp. 86, 98

3 Baranī (Bib. Ind.), p. 475

4 Firishta (Bombay), Vol. I, p. 239

5 Budāūnī: *Muntakhabu't-Tavārīkh* (Bib. Ind.), Vol. I, p. 228

6 Baranī and all his followers use the word copper to indicate the metal used for the token currency, while Edward Thomas gives also brass specimen of Muḥammad bin Tughluq's token currency. (*The Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Dehli*, pp. 243, 249-251.

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threatening shortage of silver and the great need for a large coinage in consequence of the unprecedented extension of the empire.

It should be noted that silver in India has always been a rare metal. Its relation to gold in Medieval Europe, according to Yule,[1] was one to twelve ; the ratio, he thinks, was still lower in India. In his opinion, the value of gold much depreciated early in the fourteenth century, on account of vast quantities being put into circulation as a result of the successive invasions of the Deccan. He maintains that under Muḥammad bin Tughluq the relative value of gold and silver should have been ten to one, or even less. Edward Thomas[2] agrees with Yule, who, he observes, suggests a probable fall in the value of gold at Muḥammad bin Tughluq's accession to a proportion of seven to one.[3]

Driven by necessity and encouraged by the success of the paper currency in China, the emperor issued copper or brass tokens with a higher nominal value in place of the small silver coins (1330).

From the remarks made by Baranī, Yaḥya bin Aḥmad, Niẓāmu'ddīn, Budāūnī and Firishta, it has been inferred that the token currency was introduced only in and near the two capital cities of Daulatābād and Dehlī, as well as in the Doāb. Recent research has, however, shown that such coins were also struck at Dhār, Satgāon, Lakhnautī, Tughluqpur *'urf* Tirhut,[4] and Dāru'l-Mulk Sulṭānpur[5] (Wārangal). The coinage continued for a little more than two years, and appears to have failed on account of the ease with which the token coins could be forged, and the emperor's inability to prevent forgery in view of the great profit derived from it by the Hindus and Musalmans jointly.

1 Yule: *Cathay and Way Thither*, p. 442

2 Thomas, E.: *The Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Dehli*, pp. 234-235

3 Edward Thomas's views on the ratio of gold to silver have been revised by Nelson Wright and Mr. Neville (J. A. S. B., 1924)

4 *Indian Museum Catalogue of Coins*, II, pp. 59-60.

5 *Islamic Culture* (Hyderābād). April, 1935, p. 287.

It is surprising how an emperor, a veritable 'Prince[1] of Moneyers,' who had made great improvement in the design of coins, and in the execution of dies, had established new mints, improved the calligraphy, and introduced what Edward Thomas calls the 'decimal in the date,'[2] failed to take precautions to prevent forgery. Baranī, who is the only source of information on this head, says: 'The house of every Hindū was turned into a mint ; and the Hindus of the provinces caused crores and lakhs of coins to be coined.'[2] It should be noted that Baranī uses the causative verb, which suggests that the Hindūs were helped in forging coins. Some colour is given to this view by the *Ṭabaqāt-i Akbarī*.[3] Possibly the Muslim officers of the royal mint entered into a conspiracy with the Hindus. In any case, it was not very difficult for the Hindūs to forge money. Many of them were capable of engraving dies ; and the manufacture of a coin then required no special machinery. Moreover, the temptation for the Hindus to make their brass or copper, of which they possessed abundant supplies, pass for silver was too great.

Further, Muḥammad bin Tughluq's experiment was bound to fail because the people, who had token coins in their possession immediately got rid of them in accordance with Gresham's law ; and in this way the token coins were returned to the imperial treasury. No punishments were inflicted, because in the words of Niẓāmu'ddīn Aḥmad,[4] it was impossible to punish all the people. That is why after the token currency was cancelled, the tokens brought to the treasury were paid for in silver and gold.

Facts militate against Baranī's exaggerated[5] view of the harm done by the token currency. It might have under-

1 Thomas, E.: *The Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Dehli*, p. 206.

2 T. F. S. B., p. 475.

3 T. A. N., vol. I, pp. 202-203.

4 *Op. cit.*, p. 203.

5 T. F. S. B, pp. 475-476.

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mined the treasury, but certainly did no harm to the conspirators and forgers for the whole matter was hushed up. Indeed, so completely had it been forgotten that Ibn Baṭṭūṭa does not even mention it.

By the time of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's arrival (1333) a great milestone in the history of Muḥammad bin Tughluq and his empire had been reached. A financial crisis following the Qarāchīl expedition and the fiasco of the token currency had led to the enhancement of revenue and the initiation of oppressive and repressive legislation in the Doāb. This was followed by the Rājpūt rebellions, the causes of which can be traced in the terms and conditions of the enrolment of the local fighting Rājpūt clans in the Khurāsān army. The perilous situation that ensued necessitated the emperor's formal march, which Baranī describes graphically. His idiomatic use of the term *shikār* (hunt) under peculiar conditions created an impression that the emperor organized man-hunting expeditions on a large scale. The increased troubles in the north, combined with the spread of the rebellious ideas and the escape of the rebels to the south, led to the outbreak of Sayyid Aḥsan Shāh's[1] rebellion in Ma'bar.

The change which had taken place in the emperor's attitude towards Islām a little before Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's arrival, by no means relieved the situation. The emperor came from the Doāb to Dehlī, where he appointed Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's as *qāẓī*, and proceeded on the Ma'bar expedition. On account of the outbreak of an epidemic and his own illness in Telingāna *en route* to Ma'bar he had unfortunately to return, entrusting the task of suppressing the Ma'bar rebellion to Qutlugh Khān, his former tutor, whom he now made wazīr of Daulatābād (1335). From that time Daulatābād ceased to be the capital. Meanwhile, a grievous famine had broken out in Hindustān, and continued to the year 1341. On his return march to the north *via* Dhār and Mālwa, the emperor was aggrieved to notice the disastrous effects of the famine. He endea-

1 M. T., vol. I, p. 231, has confounded Sayyid Aḥsan Shāh with Ḥasan Kānkū.

voured to relieve the famine-stricken areas, and advanced loans to agriculturists. While rebellions were breaking out in different parts, most of which were subdued except that in Bengal, the emperor himself[1] led a punitive expedition against the rebellious Hindus of Sāmāna and Kaithal, whence he proceeded to Nagarkot (1338).

What happened afterwards has already been described. It is, therefore, important to realize that the chief causes of Muḥammad bin Tughluq's downfall were not merely those which Baranī points out, namely, his pursuit of pagan philosophy and the impracticability of his schemes. Other factors were the great extension of the empire, his lack of balance and moderation, and the revolt of the amirān-iṣadah (centurions),—the Mongol and Afghān military chiefs, who had, in addition, the fiscal duties to perform.

Had Muḥammad bin Tughluq inherited a small kingdom like Iltutmish or Balban, his dominions might have escaped disintegration. The means of communication then available could not maintain the authority of a centralized power at Dehlī over so large an area. Consequently, the emperor was led to devise the creation of a second capital. In pursuance of this new device of his he did all that has gone to build up the story of the complete evacuation of Dehlī, and of the transference of the capital. At this time his pursuit of pagan philosophy and his study of religion were in full swing. He was, of necessity, at war with the 'ulamā and saints, whom he sought to curb by exiling them to Daulatābād. Hence arose the story of the popular and universal scorn for Muḥammad bin Tughluq, and of the non-co-operation between him and his subjects, which has been immortalized in the pages of Baranī.[2] The fate of the emperor's subsequent projects and measures of reform was also sealed. But Sulṭān Muḥammad was by nature resourceful and fearless. He still sought to solve the new problems as they arose, despising the opposition which was gathering strength in different parts of his empire.

1 T. F. S. B., p. 483,

2 *Op. cit.* pp. 521-522.

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The Deccan problem was, and remained, decidedly the most formidable of all. Even the preceding rulers—'Alāu'ddīn Khaljī and Mubārak Shāh Khaljī—had failed to tackle it successfully. 'Alāu'ddīn Khaljī's policy of letting the Deccan remain under Hindū rulers had already been abandoned by his son and successor, Mubārak Shāh Khaljī, who had replaced it by the policy of direct administration by means of Muslim officers. It was he who first appointed a wazīr at Deogīr. This was the policy of consolidation which was taken up and elaborated by Ghiyāṣu'ddīn and Muḥammad bin Tughluq. With all the efforts on the part of the latter—and of all the Sultans of Dehlī, he was the most conversant with Deccan politics—his empire became at last like the Assyrian empires of old, a mere congeries of subject kingdoms or provincial governments united by the loosest of ties. On the slightest illness, rumours of his death would spread to the remotest parts of his empire, and the flames of universal opposition would burst forth.

One of the root causes of this was his preference for foreigners over Indians. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa[1] reports that the emperor had a great liking for foreigners, conferred on them great obligations and made them rich presents. He called them by the name of '*Azīz* (venerable) and prohibited their being called 'foreigner.'

Now most of the officers in the court as well as in the army of Muḥammad bin Tughluq were foreigners. Many of the amīrān-iṣadah were also foreigners; some of them were the descendants of the Mongols who had embraced Islām under Jalālu'ddīn and 'Alāu'ddīn Khaljī and had settled in India. These had old wrongs to avenge, the wrongs they had been subjected to under 'Alāu'ddīn Khaljī. With great difficulty they had escaped the sanguinary punishments, then inflicted on them. They had been biding their time to wreak vengeance. The high-handedness of Muḥammad bin Tughluq roused them to fury; and in the emperor's attempt to reorganize the administration of the Deccan they saw a repetition of the policy of 'Alāu'ddīn Khaljī to have them replaced by

1 B. N., MS. 909, F. 129. The *Reḥla* (G. O. S.), p. 67

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'base-born'[1] Indians. Their discontent increased when they learnt of the emperor's hostility to them. The instructions given to one 'Azīz the governor of Mālwa, to get rid of the amīrān-i ṣadah was a conclusive proof of his intention. Troubles in Lahore (*Lāhaur*) that led to the rising of Shāhū Afghān[2] were of a similar nature. Shāhū fled from Lahore to Mālwa, whence he proceeded to Gujarāt,[3] inciting his fellow-Afghans all along the way. Then followed an unbroken succession of rebellions, from Mālwa and the Panjāb to Gujarāt and the Deccan.

Cause of his death

Although his health had been failing for some time, the manner of Muḥammad bin Tughluq's death combined with the active antagonism of a powerful hostile party in the court has created a suspicion that he was poisoned. According to a report recorded by Budāūnī,[4] Shaikh Naṣīr'uddīn Maḥmūd, taking advantage of the emperor's troubles in Gujarāt, had installed Fīroz as king at Dehlī. The emperor heard of this during his stay at Gondal, and ordered that Fīroz and Shaikh Naṣīruddīn should be brought as prisoners. Baranī makes no mention of this, but he[5] acknowledges that some of the 'ulamā and saints were sent for from Dehlī. However, as the prisoners, according to the story, arrived in the suburbs of Tatta, where the royal camp lay, the emperor issued orders for their execution. But shortly after this he died.[6] Mystery shrouds his death, which was brought about by some rapid action on his system. Baranī's use of the term *shahīd*[7] suggests a case of *suppressio veri*.

1 Barani (p. 505) uses the terms base-born and mean for almost all the new officers and officials of Hindū stock.

2 T. F. S. B, pp. 482-483.

3 Barani uses the term 'Afghānistān' in a peculiar sense as has been pointed out above (see p. 283 *supra*). He means Gujarāt, which then loomed as 'home of the Afghans' or Afghānistān. There was at that time no Afghānistān in the modern sense.

4 M. T. B, vol. I, p. 242.

5 T. F. S. B., p. 523.

6 *Vide* p. 389 *supra*.

7 T. F. S. B. p. 525

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This story, which has been dismissed as apocryphal by Sir Wolseley Haig[1] requires consideration. Muḥammad bin Mubārak,[2] author of the *Siyaru'l-Auliyā*, states that while the emperor was engaged in the pursuit of Ṭāghī, near Tatta, he sent for the 'ulamā and saints, and among them for Shaikh Naṣīru'ddīn Maḥmūd. On their arrival he did not show them the respect befitting their position; and his objectionable behaviour was at that time considered a cause of his death.

According to Baranī[3] the summons was issued from Gondal. Why orders were issued during a serious rebellion for the 'ulamā living in Dehlī is a mystery, which none has cared to probe. But there must have been some reason for this order. From the above story of the *Siyaru'l-Auliyā*, it is evident that the emperor had grown suspicious of them; and that is why on their arrival he did not treat them with respect. Now, it is a fact proved by indirect evidence, that Fīroz or Malik Fīroz was a supporter of the 'ulamā, and had journeyed in their company to Tatta. That feelings were estranged between the emperor and Malik Fīroz follows from a remark of Baranī.[4] He affirms that the emperor was reconciled to Malik Fīroz on his death-bed. Presumably the reconciliation when it took place must have been preceded by an estrangement.

Military aid from Transoxiana

From Gondal the emperor also sent a requisition for military aid to Amīr Qarghan,[5] the powerful minister of

1 J. R. A. S., July, 1922.

2 Muḥammad bin Mubārak: *Siyaru'l-Auliyā*, p. 246.

3 T. F. S. B. p. 523.

4 *Op. cit.* p. 532.

5 The Bibliotheca edition of Baranī (p. 524) has 'Amir Farghan; but Budāūnī (p. 240) and Firishta (p. 257) as well as Yaḥya bin Aḥmad (p. 117) distinctly mention Amir Qarghan. It should be noted that while Barani, Nizām-ud-din and Firishta give no whereabouts of Amir Qarghan, Budāūni (p. 240) and Yaḥya bin Aḥmad (p. 117) describe him as the *nāib* (wazir) of the king of Khurāsān. This is the kind of mistake which each of them (p. 227 and p. 101 respectively) like Ḥājī Dabīr (III, p. 865) has com-

Buyan Qulī, one of the successors of Tarmashīrīn in Transoxiana. This he most probably did to checkmate the hostilities of those 'ulamā and saints who, he knew, had undermined the allegiance of his own troops. The Mongol auxiliary forces, a division of five thousand horse, sent by Amīr Qarghan under the command of Altūn Bahādur, reached the royal camp after Muḥammad bin Tughluq had left Gondal and crossed the Indus *en route* to Tatta. Altūn Bahādur joined[1] Amīr Nauroz,[2] the son-in-law of Tarmashīrīn, who was still in the royal army. Disgusted at the faithlessness and disaffection of the Indian officers of the royal army, both Altūn Bahādur and Amīr Nauroz, left[3] India after the death of Muḥammad bin Tughluq. Before their departure, however, they laid severe hands on and plundered the Indian troops. In the midst of the frightful confusion that ensued, one Malīḥ Tūn Tūn,[4] a slave of the wazīr Khwāja Jahān, fled from the royal camp to Dehlī. There he told his master the news of the emperor's death. He also said that the Mongols had set upon and plundered the royal troops, and that consequently many of the chieftains, including Malik Fīroz, had disappeared. They were either killed by the Mongols or had fallen prisoners into their hands.

His burial

Baranī has not a word to say regarding the funeral of Muḥammad bin Tughluq. From the *Siyarū'l-Auliyā*,[5]

mitted regarding Tarmashirīn. Neither Tarmashirīn nor Buyan Quli nor his *nāib*, Amir Qarghan was the ruler of Khurāsān. Khurāsān has been confounded with Transoxiana. Amir Qarghan was the minister of Buyan Quli (1348-58), one of the successors of Tarmāshirīn. (S. Lane-Poole: *The Muhammadan Dynasties*, p. 242.)

1 Baranī (Bib. Ind.), pp. 533-534.

2 *Vide*, pp. 176, 386 *supra*.

3 T. F. S. B., pp. 533-535.

4 *Vide* p. 388 *supra*.

5 Muḥammad bin Mubārak: *Siyaru'l-Auliyā*, p. 246.

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however, it is evident that his corpse was taken to Dehlī. There it was buried in the Tughluqābād mausoleum by the side of his father. A glance at the three[1] graves now lying side by side in the above-mentioned mausoleum, one of which is pointed out as that of Muḥammad bin Tughluq, tends to show the indifference with which his funeral was treated.

On the basis of two epitaphs recently discovered in the Sehwān monastery of Shaikh 'Uṣmān Marandī commonly known as Lāll Shāhbāz Qalandar, it has been contended that Fīroz Shāh had already buried[2] Sulṭān Muḥammad's dead body at Sehwān and that the empty bier was carried to Dehlī and thrown indifferently into the grave at Tughluqābād.[3] But a personal visit to Sehwān combined with a scrutiny of the said epitaphs[4] has

1 See photograph, on the adjoining page

2 O. C. Magazine, February 1935

3 The fact that the bier was carried along with the Sulṭān's corpse is attested by the *Siyaru'l-Auliyā* which says:

'In his old age the emperor (Muḥammad bin Tughluq) marched to Tatta in pursuit of Ṭāghi. There he summoned Shaikh Naṣiru'ddin Maḥmūd as well as other 'ulamā and mashāikh but did not show to them the respect that was due to them. This insult of the said 'ulamā and mashāikh sealed the fate of Sulṭān Muḥammad and brought him down from the throne to the bier which was carried to the city of Dehlī'. [S. A. K. p. 246]

4 First epitaph—

The world is the slayer of man. One must not set one's heart on it because it functions, out of high-handedness, only to oppress its devotees.

جہاں مردم کش است اے دل مباش از جان وفادارش
کہ جز کین وجفا نآمد ز بیدادی دگر کارش

O reader! you should draw a moral from the life of Muḥammad Shāh and consider how this treacherous world robbed him of his royal throne.

تو از حال محمد شاہ برگیر اعتبار از دے
کہ چوں اورنگ شاہی در ربود ایں دور دوارش

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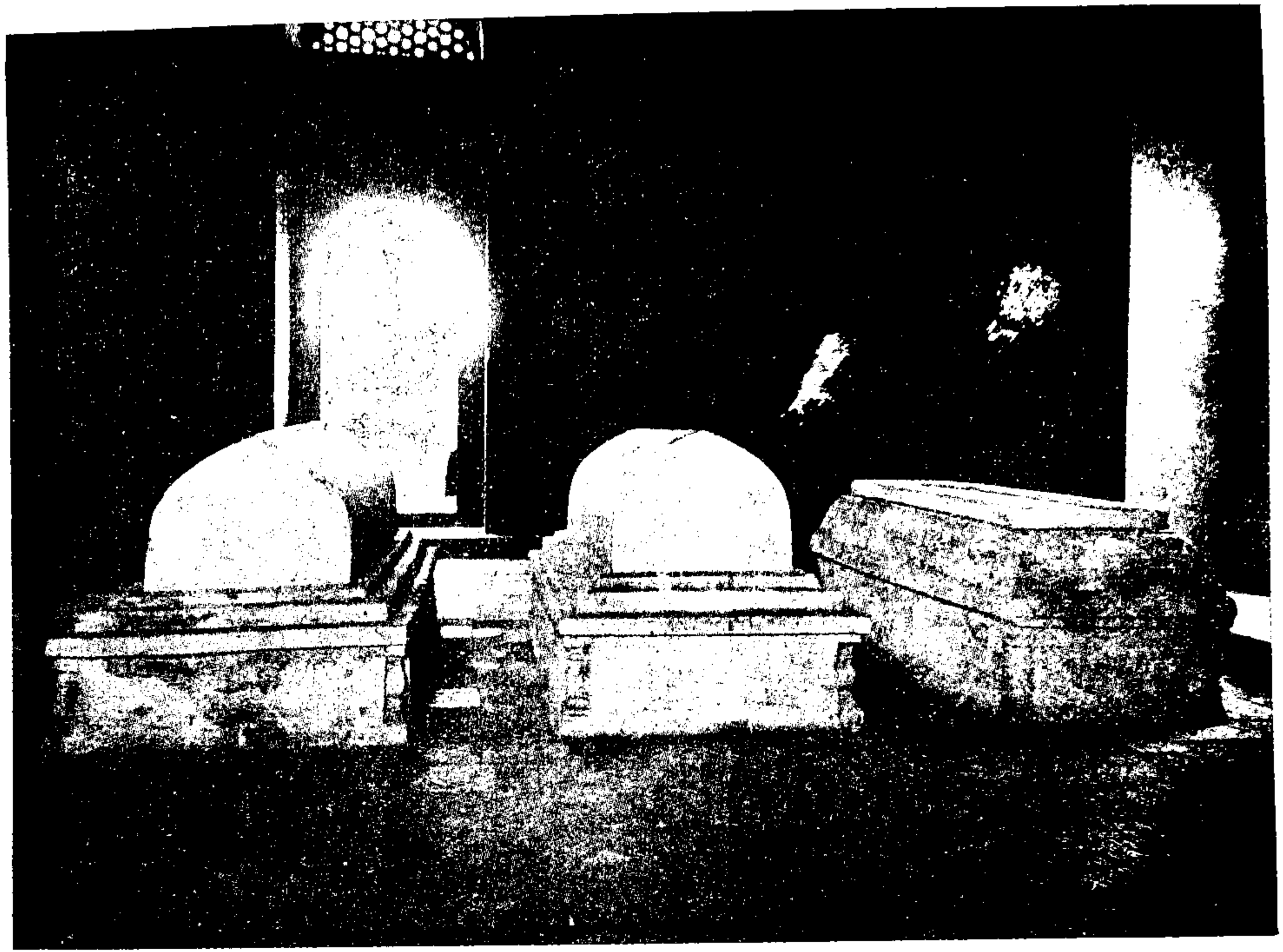

Facing p. 500

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convinced the writer that the corpse of Muḥammad bin Tughluq had been temporarily buried in the above monas-

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Master! here is an emperor buried in the earth. Verily kings attended on him like unto slaves.

شهنشاهیست ایں اے خواجگش بینی بخاک اندر
کہ ہم چوں بندگان بودند شاہان جہاندارش

Although you witnessed his durbar in great splendour a hundred times before this, yet it behoves you now to open your mind's eye and see him once more.

اگرچہ پیش ازیں صد بار دربارش چناں دیدی
کنوں چشم خرد بکشا دریں جا بنگر ایں بارش

By his bravery he conquered the world; and out of his generosity he bestowed favours on all. His deeds outweighed his bestowals.

جہاں بگشاد از مردی و بخشید از جوانمردی
بدہر از کوشش و بخشش فزاوں بود کردارش

On Saturday night, the 21st of *Muḥarram* 752, he departed.

(شد از) ماہ محرم (سبت ویک) کہ در شب شنبہ
گذشتہ ہفصد و پنجاہ و دو شد عزم آں دارش

Second epitaph—

During the reign of Firoz Shāh, emperor of the country (may God protect him and preserve him on the throne!) this dome was erected on the remains of the sovereign who was the Protector of Faith and at whose threshold bowed the vault of the revolving sky.

بعہد دولت فیروز شاہ خسرو گیتی
کہ یزداں بر سریر سلطنت نگہدارش

بر آں سلطان دیں پرور برآمد ایں چنیں گنبد
کی آمد پیش پائے گنبد گردوں دوّارش

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tery and that a dome was subsequently raised on the site of the temporary burial in order to commemorate the ceremony of *supurd-i khāk*,[1] thus performed.

Had Muḥammad bin Tughluq made a mausoleum of his own ? If so, why was he not buried in it ? These are questions which no one has answered so far. It was a usual practice with the Muslim rulers to build mausoleums for themselves. Even Khusrau Khān, who was a convert and ruled for a short time in an extremely stormy period, had built one[2] for himself. In all probability, Muḥammad bin Tughluq had also built one in his city of Jahānpanāh. It still stands in its full glory in the midst of the ruins of Jahānpanāh, and is now known as the *Lāll Gumbad*.[3] The name is significant in so far as it is a dome-shaped building of red stone, and was given to it much later for want of a better one.

His household

Whether Muḥammad bin Tughluq left any heirs is another question that requires consideration. While Baranī is silent, 'Iṣāmī definitely asserts that he left none.[4] But 'Afīf[5] mentions that a daughter was born to him during the reign of his father, Ghiyāṣuddīn Tughluq. She was married to Aḥmad bin Aiyāz and bore him two sons.[6] A reference is also made to a son of Sulṭān Muḥammad's who, as mentioned above, was raised to the throne by Khwāja Jahān. From the story given by Budāūnī it appears that

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This dome was raised in 754 Hijra by a mason named Sarmast whose services were accepted at the royal court.

بسال هفصد وپنجاه وچهار از هجرت احمد
قبول بنده درگاه او سرمست نمازش

1 *Supurd-i khāk* is a Persian phrase meaning, 'provisional burial or depositing the corpse temporarily into the earth.'

2 The *Reḥla* (G. O. S.), p. 50

3 See photograph on the adjoining page

4 *Futūḥu's-Salāṭīn*, MS., F. 245a.

5 'Afif (Bib. Ind.), 54.

6 *Vide* p. 471 *supra*.

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Facing p. 502 LALL GUMBAD *Copyright reserved by the Archaeological Survey of India*

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Muḥammad bin Tughluq had another son, an elder one, who had accompanied him on his Sind expedition.[1]

Like the fate of his progeny, the problem of Muḥmmad bin Tughluq's marriage is also shrouded in mystery. From a passing remark in 'Afif,[2] it appears that he had married early in his father's reign ; but neither the name nor the race of his wife is known. Whether he had only one wife or more than one is equally difficult to determine. But the absence of any domestic troubles which in the case of a large family are, according to Balban, likely to arise, combined with the testimony uniformly borne by all, regarding his temperance and purity of character, urges the conclusion that Muḥammad bin Tughluq had only one wife.

Unlike his wife, who finds no mention in any contemporary or non-contemporary records, his sisters are often mentioned, the most prominent being Khudāwandzadah. She had a son, Dāvar Malik[3] who has been reported as 'the son-in-law of Sulṭān Muḥammad'.[4] Other sisters have been mentioned in the *Reḥlā*[5] which bears testimony to the kindness he uniformly showed to them.

Anachronism

To judge Muḥammad bin Tughluq from the standpoint of the twentieth century is to commit an anachronism. There is a great difference between the characteristic features of the fourteenth and twentieth centuries. The criterion of morality, the mode of life, the standard, and above all, the conception of sovereignty differed widely. Two things were then essentially required in a king ; (1) princely expenditure, and generosity, and (2) dignity, awe, majesty and severity. A king who lacked either of these was spurned and despised. Jalālu'ddīn Khaljī (1290-95) was, for instance, rebuked and criticised more than

1 *Vide* p. 389 *supra.*
2 'Afif (Bib. Ind.), p. 100.
3 Barani (Bib. Ind.), p. 527. Also see pp. 34, 386, 387 *supra.*
4 *Vide* p. 471 fn. 3 *supra.* Also see Appendix O.
5 The *Reḥla* (G. O. S.), pp. 78-81.]

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once. He was regarded as too lenient to be a king. Plot after plot was formed to murder him ; and his leniency encouraged the rebels. Muḥammad bin Tughluq had learnt a good lesson from his experience, and his rule was that of a stern despot, the only rule possible at the time. The condition of India in the fourteenth century called for a strong monarch. Moderation would have been construed in those turbulent days as weakness. But occasionally he became mild. Perhaps, the constant failure of his administrative schemes, and the incessant troubles and disorders engineered and nursed by interested parties had embittered his temper.

Divided opinions about him.

Perhaps men will always hold divided opinions about him. Perhaps some will find in him a resemblance to al-Mā'mūn, the 'Abbasid Caliph[1] (786-833). Under him the 'Abbasid Caliphate had reached its zenith; under Muḥammad bin Tughluq the Sultanate attained its *apogée*. And yet under each the seeds of decadence were sown. Al-Māmūn, as well as Muḥammad bin Tughluq, attached great importance to rationalism, and had a passion for philosophy and the exact sciences. Each would criticise the judgments of the jurists, doctors of the law, and each strove to emancipate the human intellect from their shackles. Both extended a warm welcome to foreigners with a view to attract to their courts men of learning and skill. Both regarded philosophers and scientific men as beings chosen by God to perfect human reason, and as the guides of humanity. Both were broad-minded and tolerant and associated freely with the unorthodox metaphysicians and philosophers. Muḥammad bin Tughluq's free association with the Hindū devotees[2] is a case in point. But he was not tactful and forbearing enough like Mā'mūn, who never[3] imposed punishment unless compelled by the exigencies of government.

1 *Encyclopaedia of Islām*, vol. III, pt. I, pp. 221-222.
2 The *Reḥla* (G. O. S.), pp. 164, 266.
3 Ameer 'Alī: A *Short History of the Saracens*, pp. 278-81.

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Others will persist in calling him a fool and a madman, though to hold such a view is to misread the lessons of history. In medieval India, where the principle of the survival of the fittest alone determined the kingship and where weak and lenient rulers lost their throne, as in the case of Arām Shāh (1210), Ruknu'ddīn Fīroz I (1235-6), Raẓiya (1236-39), Mu'izzu'ddīn Bahrām (1239-41), 'Alāu'ddīn Mas'ūd (1241-46), Mu'izzu'ddīn Kaiqubād (1287-90), Jalālu'ddīn Fīroz II (1290-95), Quṭbu'ddīn Mubārak (1316-20), Muḥammad bin Tughluq, had he been a ruler of this type, could never have succeeded in ruling for more than a quarter of a century (1325-51).

Others will delight in calling him a visionary, though his many-sided and vigorous character militates against such a view. Others may call him a born tyrant or a self-seeker, completely disregarding his public-spirited measures. But his reign is full of instances of his administrative reforms, and of his honesty and goodwill manifested (1) in recalling the discredited coinage and buying up all the copper tokens at their nominal value, (2) in richly rewarding the emigrants from Dehlī to Daulatābād and liberally providing for them, and (3) in making strenuous efforts at relieving his subjects irrespective of caste and creed during the unprecedented famine of 1335-41.

As the famine grew in intensity the emperor abolished most of the taxes.[1] At this time he was dogged by misfortunes on all sides—rebellion in Ma'bar, epidemics in Telingāna, his own illness, rumours of his death, the outbreak of a series of new and widespread disorders, the fiasco of the Ma'bar expedition, his unsuccessful return to the north in the midst of the disasters caused by the famine and the rise of the Hindū opposition culminating in the foundation of the kingdom of Vijayānagar. Still he spared no pains to mitigate the sufferings of his famine-stricken people. Few Indian governments, until recent times, have tackled the problem of famine relief in so comprehensive a way. In the country districts wells were dug and loans advanced to the agriculturists. In the capital a careful

1 B. N., MS. 909, F. 114. G. O. S. p. 12

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census of the population was taken and lists were drawn up of the inhabitants of each street. They were divided into convenient groups, each group being assigned to the care of a *qāẓī* and an amīr empowered to advance six months' provisions to each individual or to give a fixed daily[1] allowance. All this was done by the wazīr in accordance with the royal orders, the emperor being still in the Deccan. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa[2] was one of the responsible officials selected by the wazīr to administer poor relief. He had five hundred people to look after. He gave them free board and lodging. He used to distribute food freely every fifth day, sufficient to last for five days.

This solicitude on the part of Muḥammad bin Tughluq to relieve his subjects may well be compared to that of Shāhjahān (1628-58). When in 1630-32 famine broke out in Gujarāt and the Deccan, and destitution reached such a pitch that people, according to Peter Mundy,[3] sold their children for paltry sums, and according to 'Abdul-Ḥamīd Lahāwrī,[4] devoured each other, the emperor was living at Burhānpur. Peter Mundy goes on to describe the most inhuman spectacle of the highways from Surat to Nandurbār in Khāndesh, strewed with the dead people, and with

1 Ibn Baṭṭūṭa mentions this twice, first under a special heading of famine relief (F. 134, MS. 909 G. O. S. pp. 85, 117, 142); and secondly in the midst of an account of magicians (F. 156, MS. 909, Def. et Sang., IV, pp. 36-37).

In the first place he says that six months' provisions at the rate of a daily allowance of one and a half *raṭl* was to be given to every individual. In the second place he stresses the doling out of daily relief at the same rate.

Now, *raṭl* according to Steingass (p. 579) is equal to half a maund, that is, 20 sers. Maulvi Muḥammad Ḥusain (p. 134) errs in regarding it as equivalent to a maund. However, the maund of Muḥammad bin Tughluq's time being equal to 14 sers and 8 chataks (Muḥammad Ḥusain, *Ibn Baṭṭūṭa*, p. 134), the given amount of the daily allowance comes up to ten and a half sers. This amount was probably assigned per house rather than per head.

2 The *Reḥla* (G. O. S.) pp. 84, 142.

3 *Peter Mundy, The Travels of Asia*, Vol. II, pp. 40-44.

4 'Abdu'l Ḥamid Lahāwrī: *Bādshāh Nāma*. (Bib. Ind.), Vol. I, pp. 262-263.

hungry persons, men, women and children, scraping on the dunghills in the hope of finding in the beasts' excrements an undigested piece of grain. Making allowances for possible exaggerations, all of Shāhjahān's efforts with which his court historian credits him to relieve his subjects do not compare favourably with those made by Muḥammad bin Tughluq.

The faultfinders will now say that Muḥammad bin Tughluq was a victim of Nemesis. He was a parricide and had to suffer retribution for the heinous crime with which his reign had opened.

But the verdict of history is that he was neither a parricide nor a visionary; nor impractical, nor unsound; nor were his grandiose schemes beyond the range of human possibility. He was far in advance of his age, and could not, like a modern government, exploit religion, which he should have left to itself, if he wanted to rule successfully. He roused the opposition of the 'ulamā, and in his attempt to reform them he not only paralysed the right arm of the state, but raked up hostilities, before which he succumbed and his imperialism perished. His *ijtehads* made him unpopular and his nebulous project of a Reformation combined with *siyāsat* provoked rebellions which destroyed him.

Fīroz Shāh indebted to Sulṭān Muhammad.

The 'ulamā, mashāikh and amirs who looked forward to the closing of Sulṭān Muhammad's reign found in Fīroz a weak character whom they could hold in their strings although Fīroz had been trained by Sulṭān Muḥammad himself. 'Afīf says:

> 'Sulṭān Muḥammad—who was a king of great dignity and high rank, ability and resources, possessing abundant insight and sagacity and endowed with the gifts of sufficiency, capability and efficiency, intelligence and knowledge benefiting the world—brought up Sulṭān Fīroz under such a discipline and gave him such a teaching and training that the latter developed a ripe intellect and obtained experience in every branch of State affairs and skill in the art of government'. And

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Fīroz Shāh acknowledged the debt he owed to Sulṭān Muḥammad, quoting the following verse:

The affluence, excellence and merits that I obtained in this world, I owe to the care of my father and the training given by my teacher.'[1]

Character of Firoz Shāh

It appears that the position of Fīroz Shāh in respect of Sulṭān Muḥammad was like that of the moon *vis-á-vis* the sun; his was a reflected glory. It would follow that Fīroz Shāh's canals, gardens, buildings and towns—the most commendable part of his work—were due to the said teaching and training.[2] To that effect he had certainly obtained some inspiration from his two predecessors.[3] He built no roads for he had no inspiration on that head.

Like a spoilt child who violates the teaching and precept of his parents, Fīroz Shāh contracted bad habits of indulgence in hunt and drink. Compared to the hunting expeditions of Balban, Tughluq Shāh and Sulṭān Muhammad, the hunting expeditions of Fīroz Shāh were degraded and undignified. And his wine-drinking was incorrigible. Still he was endowed with characteristic physical features of the Turks. As seen by 'Afīf he was white-skinned, possessing a stature of middle height and a body which was neither very fat nor thin but stout and well-built with a broad forehead, raised nose and longish beard.[4] But his successors were neither strong nor so attractive.

Fīroz Shāh has been praised much too highly by his chroniclers. 'Afīf says that he was endowed in part with the courtesy and manners of Prophet Muḥammad (*naṣība az khulq-i Muḥammadī dāsht*).[5] He overlooked the faults

1 T. F. S. A., p. 43

2 *Ibid.*

3 This kind of work was done by Sulṭān Ghiyāṣu'ddin Tughluq *Viae* p. 473 *supra*. It appears that Sulṭān Muḥammad too had planned similar work but was prevented from undertaking it by the rebellions.

4 T. F. S. A., p. 20

5 *Ibid.*

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and crimes of the State functionaries and connived at numerous cases of dishonesty on their part.[1] He enjoyed full confidence of the 'ulamā and mashāikh and was called 'a 'crowned ṣūfī.[2] He was extremely forgiving and did not consider torts as punishable. If he were angry with any person he would reprimand him by forbidding him admission to the court. When after a few days that person reappeared the Sulṭān would enquire into his case and would pardon his crime unless it happened to be a theft or murder, for in both of these crimes the rights of others being involved *siyāsat* was allowed to have its course.[3] 'Afīf says:

> 'If anyone helpless and destitute came to the court of Sulṭān Fīroz he would be pardoned despite hundreds of his atrocities. If it was desired that a certain criminal be imprisoned, the order for imprisonment was not pronounced in his face. After that criminal was taken away from the court, Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh would beckon, signalling with his own hands to the watchmen and guards to imprison him. The Sulṭān would make no utterance to that effect.'[4]

Though a child of the revolutionary age of Muḥammad bin Tughluq, Fīroz Shāh had in no way imbibed its spirit. Muḥammad bin Tughluq was a man of principles and high moral values to which he adhered at all costs and to the last breath of his life. Fīroz Shāh looked to a different kind of values and formulated and pursued quite different principles which he would forsake to suit expediency and his personal convenience. On the whole Sulṭān Muḥammad was more religious than Fīroz Shāh. While the former attached importance to the spirit of Islamic law the latter

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1 *Op. cit.*, p. 25

2 *'Afif* says:

'Many a time Shaikh Quṭbu'ddin Munawwar, the master of this chronicler, observed, 'Sulṭān Fīroz is one of the saints of *Ṭarīqat*; only he has crowned himself as king.' T. F. S. A., pp. 22-23

3 T. F. S. A. p. 25

4 *Op. cit.* p. 26

stuck to the letter, neglecting the spirit. Muḥammad bin Tughluq was hard-working, industrious and possessed a rich imagination and a resourceful mind. He was his own minister although he possessed a highly capable and trustworthy wazir in Aḥmad bin Aiyāz.[1] Fīroz Shāh delegated his authority to his wazīr Khān Jahān. But while Khan Jahān I the father proved loyal, his son Khān Jahān II betrayed the emperor and brought destruction on his head. Thus began the transfer of power into the hands of wazirs and amirs together with a hereditary system of services which debased and degraded the monarchy under his successors.

Sulṭān Muḥammad bin Tughluq was condemned by the orthodox Musalmans for his Hindū proclivities. 'Iṣāmī condemned him for playing *holī* with the Hindus.[2] Ibn Baṭṭūṭa was struck by his practice of kissing publicly his mother's foot.[3] Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh had lost his mother at an early date but he had his Hindū wife and at least one brother-in-law. He performed tonsure while during the period of mourning for the death of his son Fatḥ Khān, he visited the tomb of Sālār Mas'ūd Ghāzī at Bahrāich.[4] (1376/778). He had also learnt the unorthodox belief of deifying the graves which had been fought against by Muḥammad bin Tughluq. During the reign of

1 For an account of Aḥmad bin Aiyāz and the photo of his tomb see the *Reḥla* of Ibn Baṭṭuṭa (G. O. S.) p. 54

2 F. S. I., verse 9754

3 The *Reḥla* (G. O. S.) p. 118. There I stated in footnote 4 that this practice is absolutely in conformity with the Islamic injunctions regarding parental reverance. But I have found no instance of such a practice as was unhesitatingly performed by Muḥammad bin Tughluq in Islamic history.

4 'Afīf (T. F. S. A., p. 371) has not built his narrative of Fīroz Shāh's reign in chronological order. He describes Fīroz Shāh's visit to Bahrāich as an isolated event; and fails, therefore, to see its historical importance. His attempt to read in Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh's tonsure an evidence of his orthodoxy, comparable to the Islamic practice of tonsure as a rite of the *ḥajj* is unreasonable and out of place.

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Fīroz Shāh some Hindī verses were ceremoniously recited from the pulpit in the mosque.[1]

His responsibility for downfall

Called to the throne at a critical moment and to stabilize a truncated empire[2] which had been shaken to its foundations Fīroz Shāh's merit lay in his capacity to read the situation and to move and behave according to the need of the hour. He had lived through a period of *ijtehads* but did not believe in the efficacy of *ijtehads* and considered the items of the Reformation of the preceding reign as highly injurious and ruinous. He not only restored the accepted *Sharī'at* and *Ṭarīqat* in every detail but also yielded to, and in fact, welcomed, the forces of reaction. But in this manner he only put off the day of final reckoning and invited the death and liquidation of his empire and dynasty. He went to the other extreme by dropping completely the *siyāsat*—the *daṇḍa* and the *daṇḍa nītī*. All power passed into the hands of the corrupt maliks, amirs and the Fīroz Shāhī slaves, while the character of the 'ulamā and mashāikh was in no way improved. He depended on them in all affairs of the State and blindly adopted *taqlīd*, accepting

1 These verses were from a *maṣnavī* called *Chandrain*, written in Hindī relating to the love of Linak and Chandra—a lover and his mistress. Makhdūm Shaikh Taqīu'ddīn *wā'iẓ* (a ṣūfī preacher) used to read some verses at the pulpit; and the people used to be strangely influenced by hearing them. When some of the 'ulamā asked the Shaikh the reason, the Shaikh said: 'The whole of it is divine truth and pleasing in subject, worthy of the ecstatic contemplation of devout lovers and conformable to the interpretation of some of the verses of the Quran.'

M. T. B.,—Ranking, vol. i, p. 333

2 For the empire of Muḥammad bin Tughluq in the beginning of his reign see p. 106 *supra*. This empire was truncated before his death, being confined to Hindustān above the Narbada. It had lost the whole of the Deccan, Bengal and Bihār as well as Rajputāna. It is not true that the whole of Rajputāna became independent after the accession of Sulṭān Muḥammad, as has been shown above (p. 112 f.). But it appears from the course of events towards the close of the reign that Rajputāna was lost amidst the disorders caused by the rebellions of the amirān-i ṣadah.

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their guidance without questioning it. His reign was not altogether free from insurrections and bloodshed; and the moral degradation of his amirs was the most reprehensible.

To balance the ship of the State and enable it to rest on its keel Fīroz Shāh declared the Prophet's laws his guide. In so far as he did so, he met with success. But where in his ignorance of the Prophet's laws he played into the hands of the scheming 'ulamā he faltered and came to grief.

He hopelessly weakened all the sources of strength on which the Dehlī empire had been built *viz* (i) the superior military power of the Muslims; (ii) their great unity; (iii) the strength and prestige of personal monarchy; (iv) the influx of fresh hordes from central and western Asia (v) the ceaseless military operations conducted by the sulṭān and annexations made. No credit can be claimed by Fīroz Shāh for keeping the empire free from disintegration for thirty-seven years, since all along this period the germs of a mortal disease were being nourished in the bowels of the body-politic. The kingmakers' role was henceforth to be played by the Hindū children of today—the amirs and maliks of tomorrow. They brought about complete dismemberment of the empire and disestablishment of the Tughluq dynasty. The bumper crops produced under a cycle of favourable seasons deprived the subjects of Fīroz Shāh of their habits of industry and self-sacrifice. The abundant wealth of the Fīroz Shahī slaves and soldiers, who misbehaved, marred all chances of smooth sailing of the ship of the State in unruffled waters. The army became a rabble, thoroughly unable to shoulder its great responsibilities.

The reader will have seen that the untold wealth of India under Fīroz Shāh was also a legacy which among other legacies he had received from Muḥammad bin Tughluq. Such fabulous wealth could not have grown overnight on the trees, nor could it have been produced with dramatic quickness and despatch. Evidently the State treasury in the preceding reign had not been depleted. It was the Fīroz Shāhī slaves who squandered the wealth bequeathed by Sulṭān Muḥammad; and their wars ranging

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over a decade combined with the destruction and plunder entailed by Timūr's invasion depleted the treasury.

In this manner was sounded the knell of the empire and Tughluq dynasty. Fīroz Shāh cannot escape the responsibility for it. Sir Wolseley Haig points out that Fīroz Shāh's system of decentralization would have embarrassed the ablest successors and undoubtedly accelerated the downfall of his dynasty. He gave a vast measure of powers and 'extensive delegation of authority'[1] to his trusted slaves who became amirs, maliks and responsible officers, bearing high-sounding names and titles. Then he did not give the desirable education and training to his own sons which they had deserved. He hastened to saddle them with power, authority and freedom of action. Only seven years after his own coronation he gave to prince Fatḥ Khān all the paraphernalia of sovereignty and permitted him to strike coins. Fatḥ Khān formed a party of his own; so did his brothers. Thus factions arose; and the blazing of the fires of civil wars and with it a complete downfall of the empire became a matter of time.

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1 C. H. I. III, p. 189

PART SIX

MISCELLANEOUS

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CHAPTER XVII

COINAGE

'The coins of Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Tughluq present few peculiar features. There are no billons of high value, and none of a higher denomination than one-eighth of a tanka; no small silver pieces are known and minute billons are conspicuous by their absence. The paucity of small change contrasts remarkably with the abundant issues of his son and still more with the comprehensive coinage of Fīroz Shāh.'[1]

Perhaps the most striking of his coins are those which were minted at Deogīr,[2] announcing it as *Dāru'l-Islām* as distinct from *Ḥaẓrat-i Dehlī*, meaning the capital city of Dehlī. This shows that the title of *Qubbatu'l-Islām* given to Deogīr by Muḥammad bīn Tughluq was only a development from the *Dāru'l-Islām* (home of Islām) of Sulṭān Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Tughluq. In other words the idea of making Deogīr the centre of a new culture was already born before the accession of Sulṭān Muḥammad who only improved upon it.

Himself a master numismat, the coinage of Muḥammad bin Tughluq stands midway between that of Iltutmish,[3] the initiator of a Muslim coinage, and that of Sher Shāh,[4] the originator of the modern rupee. Iltutmish was the first to

1 J.A.S.B., New Series, 1921. NS, zzxv, p 156 f.
2 *Idem*, p. 157. Coin No. 3
3 C.P.K.D., pp. 41-79
4 *Op. cit.*, pp. 403-410.

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strike a silver tanka[1] which became the standard coin, gradually displacing the old *debliwal*, a small coin of mixed silver and copper, which had hitherto formed the chief medium of currency in northern India. To the silver-tanka of Iltutmish a gold tanka was added by Nāṣiru'ddīn Maḥmūd,[2] and both continued right up to the time of Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Tughluq. In his account of the value of money under 'Alāu'ddīn Khaljī, Firishta[3] observes that a tanka was equal to a *tola* in weight, whether of gold or of silver, and a silver tanka was equal to fifty jitals.[4]

'Alāu'ddīn appears to have contemplated[5] a reduction in the silver tanka from 175 grains to 140. But no great reduction was, in fact, carried out until the time of Muhammad bin Tughluq who made numerous and healthy reforms in coinage. His coins are still found in large

1 The origin of the word *tanka* is obscure (C.P.K.D., p. 49 n). Erskine is of opinion that it is a word of Turki origin (Erskine's *Hist. India*, vol. I. p. 546). But the fact that Maḥmūd of Ghazna uses *tanka* in the Sanskrit legend on the reverse of his coins of the year 1027/418 as a corresponding word for the Arabic *dirham* on the obverse (C.P.K.D., p. 48) shows that *tanka* is really an Indian word. *Taka* is still a general term for money in India; perhaps it is derived from *tankah* which meant a stamped coin.

2 Wright, H. H.—*Catalogue of the Coins in the British Museum*, Calcutta, Vol. II, pp. 7,31. J.A.S.B., 1924, N.S. XX.

3 T. Fr. (Bombay), Vol. I., p. 199.

4 Nelson and Neville (J.A.S.B., N.S. XX. 1924) are of opinion that this was the ratio in the Deccan, and that in Dehlī the *jital* was 1/48th of a *tanka*.

5 C.P.K.D., p. 159 and Lane-Poole, S.—*The Coins of the Sultans of Delhi in the British Museum*, p. xx.

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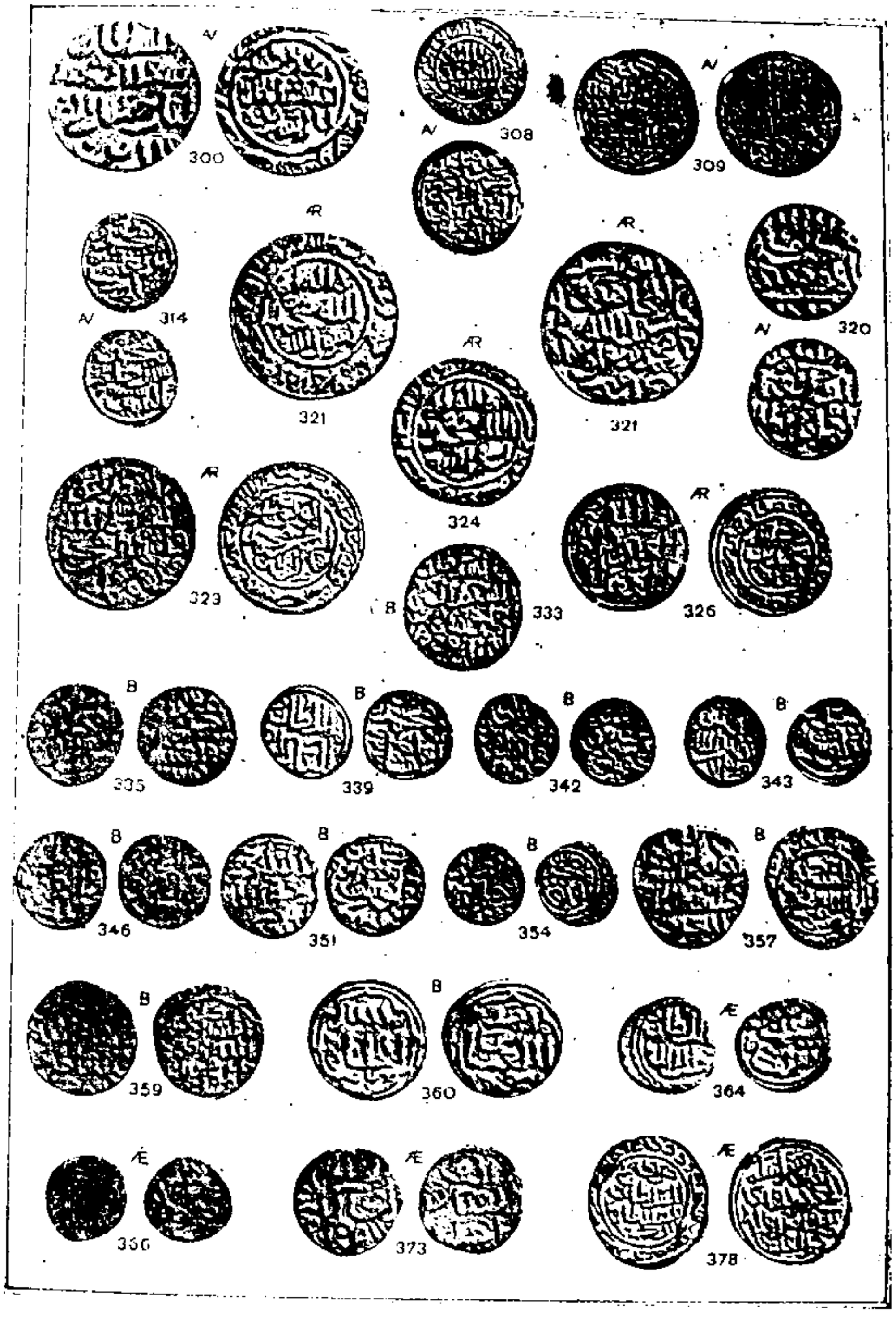
THE COINS



Facing p. 519

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numbers and of various types bearing different legends and titles, as shown below[1]:

Legend	Translation	No.
لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله	There is no god but God and Muhammad is the prophet of God	1
المجاهد فى سبيل الله	The warrior in the path of God	20
ضرب فى زمن العبد الراجى رحمة الله	Struck in the time of the servant, hoping for the mercy of God	31
فى زمن العبد الواثق بنصر الله	In the reign of the slave, sure of God's support.	
اشهد ان لا اله الا الله و اشهد ان محمدا عبده و رسوله	I testify that there is no god but God and that Muḥammad is His servant and prophet	32
الواثق بتائيد الرحمن	The one who depends on the support of the merciful God	33
والله الغنى وانتم الفقرا	God is rich and you are poor	40
محى سنن خاتم النبين	Reviver of the laws of the last of the prophets	49
السعيد الشهيد	The fortunate (king) the martyr	50
سلطان الاعظم زى الفتح والبازل	The great Sulṭān, victorious and generous.	75
العادل	The Just	76
دامت سلطنه	May his dominion continue long	80
الملك والعظمه لله	Dominion and greatness are of God	85
الكريم	The bountiful	93
ظل الله	The shadow of God	106
حسبى ربى	Sufficient for me is my God	107

1 For the numbers and order see J.A.S.B. New series, 1921, pp. 132-152.

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Legend	Translation	No.
الامام	The religious chief	114
فی زمن الامام المستکفی بالله امیر المومنین ابوالربیع سلیمان خلد الله خلافته	In the time of the religious chief al-Mustakfi Billah, the commander of the faithful Abu'r-Rabi' Sulaiman-May God perpetuate his khilāfat	116
الامام الاعظم خلیفة الله فی العالمین	The religious chief, the great khalīfa of God in all the worlds	125
الله الکافی	God the sufficient	132
خلد ملکه	May his kingdom be perpetuated	136
الغازی	Fighter in the way of God	157
انار الله برهانه	May God illumine his testimony[1]	165
ناصر امیر المومنین	Supporter of the commander of the faithful	166
من اطاع السلطان فقد اطاع الرحمن	He who obeys the Sultān obeys the merciful God	
مهرشد تنکه رائج در روزگار بنده امیدوار	This tanka is sealed as current in the reign of the hopeful slave	184
ضرب هذا النصفی	This half piece was struck	188
ضرب الدراهم الشرعی	Minted as a legal dirham	194
ضرب الربعی	Struck as a quarter tanka	197
عدل هشت گانی	One- eighth of a tanka struck during the reign of 'Ādil'	200
دوگانی امانی	The equivalent of 32-part of a tanka	203
اطیعوا الله واطیعوا الرسول واولی الامر منکم	Obey God and obey the prophet and those in authority among you.	207
ولا السلطان لاکل الناس بعضهم بعضا	Had there been no sulṭān, people would have eaten each other	
سکه زد جائز	Coined lawful money[2]	
یگانی امانی	The equivalent of one *gāni*[3]	

1 *Vide* p. 521, f. n. 2 *infra*. 2 *Op. cit.*

3 *Cf.* C.P.K.D., p. 252. see coin No. 207 (*ibid*).

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Up till the time of Muḥammad bin Tughluq the coins as well as the legends had been practically uniform and monotonous. He made a departure in the selection of verses from the Quran and the framing of new titles as well as in the use of Persian phraseology. His predecessors had styled themselves Sultans or Shahs or *al-'Āẕam* (greatest) or *Iskandar* (Alexander); but he neither styled himself as *al-'Āẕam* nor as *Iskandar* and sparingly used the titles sulṭān and shāh. He honoured the memory of his father by striking a posthumous coin in his name, styling him 'the fortunate sulṭān, the martyr, Ghāzī Ghiyāṣu'ddīn'.[1] And he gave it an extraordinary weight of 245 grains and decorated it with superb calligraphy and an excellent die execution. Similar coins, though not of the same weight, were also struck on other occasions, a notable instance being that of No. 158 which bears the following legend :

> The fortunate Sulṭān, the martyr, the ghāzī Ghiyāṣu'ddunyā wa'ddīn Abu'l Muẕaffar Tughluq Shāh. May God illumine his testimony.[2]

Like the coins in the name of his father those struck in the name of the caliph have been misunderstood. Edward Thomas is of opinion that such coins expressed the emperor's doubts and difficulties concerning his title to the throne,[3] but the real objective underlying the use of the caliph's name and investiture has been shown above.[4] In fact, Muḥammad bin Tughluq was following the precedent that had been set already. Iltutmish had struck a coin bearing merely the caliph's name.[5]

Where Muḥammad bin Tughluq really differed from his predecessors was (i) in using for himself various new titles in Persian as well as in Arabic (and he was the first to use a Persian title on the coins), *e. g.*,

(a) the just sulṭān
(b) the slave, hopeful of the grace of God

1 C P.K.D., p. 212.
2 *I.e.* may God glorify his position! For the coin see p. 190 *op. cit.*
3 C.P.K.D., p. 206.
4 *Vide* p. 259 *supra.*
5 C.P.K.D. p. 46

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(c) expectant on the help of God
(d) hopeful for the blessings of the benevolent God
(e) fighter in the way of God
(f) a hopeful slave

(ii) in the making of his coins which are noted for their novelty, for their superb die execution, and for their design. Of all the coins, many of which afford an illustration of one or the other of the points mentioned above, the *sulṭānī*, so called after its royal inventor, is a concrete instance of Muḥammad bin Tughluq's originality. The *sulṭāni* was a small coin, otherwise called *dogānī*, extremely useful, four being equivalent to the *hashtgānī*. A piece which was half of the *sulṭanī* was called *yagānī* and was equivalent to a *jītal*.

Usually made of gold, silver, copper and brass and sometimes of an alloy of silver and copper the coins bear the mark of different mints, (*dāru'ẓ-ẓarb*) *e. g.*, *Haẓrat* Dehlī, *Shahr* Lakhnautī, Satgāon, *Qubbatu'l Islām* Deogīr *Shahr* Sulṭānpūr, *Dāru'l Islām*,[1] *Iqlīm* Tughluqpūr *'urf* Tirhut, Sonārgāon, *Dāru'l-Mulk* Dehlī.[2] Probably many more mints existed. The coins extant reflect the emperor's career and almost every important change in his policy; and represent its five different phases.

I In the first phase (1325-27) the emperor studied the problem of coinage in India and realized how inadequately gold had hitherto been minted by the preceding sultans. He realized how for various reasons the old relations between gold and silver had been disturbed. Edward Thomas[3] puts their relative value as 8: 1, and Col. Yule[4] as 7: 1.

1 *I.e.* Dehli. J.R.A.S., 1900, p. 487

2 Several coins minted at *Hazrat Dehli* (capital city of Dehli) in the years 730 and 732 (bearing Nos. 188, 189, 190 and 191) are reproduced in J.A.S.B. p. 150.

3 Thomas, E.: *The Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Dehli*, p. 235.

4 Nelson Wright and Mr. Neville (J.A.S.B., 1924) have revised Thomas's views on the relations between gold and silver. They maintain that the ratio between silver and gold was 10: 1.

Hence the emperor undertook the reconstruction and remodelling of the coinage. He raised the weight of the gold tanka from 170 to 198 or 200 grains, and introduced[1] a new silver tanka of 140 grains[2] called *'adalī*. The *'adalī* was designed to replace the heavier silver tanka of 175 grains.

II. In the second phase (1327-9) when Deogīr, now Daulatābād, became the first capital of the empire, and large amounts of gold came into the treasury, the emperor reformed the coinage accordingly. He struck a new gold coin called *niṣfī*[3] weighing 99 grains, and issued some new silver coins ranging in weight from 56 to 51 grains.[4]

III. In the third phase (1330-32) increased demands on the treasury led to a fresh instalment of reforms in the currency. This was marked by a reversion to the old form of the gold tanka. But the new specimens weighed slightly differently, *i. e.*, 168, 169 and 171 grains.[5] Moreover, a system of nominal values in the form of copper or brass tokens, which were to pass current for a silver tanka and its lower pieces was introduced. The tokens were made of brass as well as of copper.[6] Barani definitely mentions copper, while both Edward Thomas and Lane-Poole mention brass. It was probably to remove any reluctance on the part of his subjects to accept his brass or copper as equivalent to silver that the emperor quoted on his tokens certain threatening and devotional verses from the Qurān, *e. g.*, 'Obey God, and obey the Prophet, and those

1 Thomas, E. (p. 236), is inclined to ascribe the introduction of this coin on the authority of the *Khazāinul-Futūḥ* to 'Alāu'ddīn Khaljī, but no specimens of this coin of the time of 'Alāu'ddīn exist.

2 *Idem.*, p. 213.

3 Thomas, E.: *The Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Dehlī* p. 211.

4 *Ibid.*, p. 216.

5 Lane-Poole, S.: *The Coins of the Sulṭāns of Dehli in the British Museum*, p. xxi, 68.

6 Five pieces of the token coins, which I have obtained from Lahore are, as far as I can ascertain, of copper.

in authority among you. If there were no Sulṭān one section of the people would certainly devour the other."[1]

Ordinarily each token coin bore an inscription showing for exactly how much it was to be valued, *e.g.*, (1) the token coin which corresponded to the *'adalī* or the white ṭanka bore the following inscription:[2] 'Sealed as a tanka current in the reign of the slave (of God) hopeful (of His grace), Muḥammad bin Tughluq;' (2) that which corresponded to the 50 *gānī* piece read as follows: 'Sealed as a tanka of 50 *gānīs*; (3) the token coins which were to pass current for the *niṣfī*[3] (half), the *rabī'* (quarter) and the 8 *gānī* and 2 *gānī*, respectively, bore corresponding inscriptions. But the corresponding coins of those tokens, which bore no relative inscription were to be found by means of a graduated scale of proportionate weights. For instance, the brass tokens Nos. 197[4] and 198, which bore no relative inscriptions, were each to pass current for 40 *gānī* piece. Similarly, the brass token No. 200,[5] was to pass current for 20 *ganī* piece or for a small silver coin, No. 189, of 56 grains.[6]

IV. In the fourth phase (1333-40) the coins were struck in the emperor's usual style; but the weight of the gold and silver coins was proportionately lowered or adjusted. The gold tanka of 169 grains,[7] as well as the silver coin of 55 grains, which had been in use since 1330, continued in circulation.

1 Reading of coin No. 198 (Thomas's *Chronicles of the Pathan Kings*, p. 250) corrected by Sir Richard Burn. [Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal (1933)]

2 All the five specimens of the token currency which I have obtained bear this inscription on the reverse, though each differs in a way from the others both in breadth and thickness. Almost all of them bear on the margin the expression 'in the capital city of Dehli'.

3 (i) Thomas, E., pp. 247-248. (ii) Lane-Poole. S., xxii.

4 Thomas, E., p. 250.

5 Thomas, E., p. 251.

6 *Ibid.*, p. 216.

7 See Nos. 176, 178, 179 and 194. Thomas, E., pp. 211-216.

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V. In the last phase (1341-51) the emperor supplanted his own name on the coinage by the caliph's name—*al-Mustakfī billāh* from 741 to 744 H[1] and *al-Ḥākim b'amr illāh Abbu'l 'Abbās* from 744 to 751 H.[2] But the scarcity of the precious metals prevented the emperor from raising the weight of the coins. He was forced rather to reduce the weight of gold coins from 170 to 163.5 grains.[3]

A study of the available data shows that under Muḥammad bin Tughluq various kinds of tankas were current, the following being the most important:

(1) the gold tanka or red tanka, which was 198 grains or 200 grains in weight,

(2) the silver ṭanka or white tanka, which was 175 grains in weight, or the *'adalī*, which was 140 grains in weight,

(3) the black tanka of mixed silver and copper, which was 56 grains in weight.

While Ibn Baṭṭūṭa has mentioned the first two, *i,e.*, the gold tanka as *tanka*, the silver tanka as *dīnār*, and the *'adali* as *dirhamī dīnār*, he makes no mention of the black tanka. The existence of the black tanka is established by Firishta[4] and the *Ṭabaqāt-i Akbarī*,[5] as well as by Edward Thomas.[6] On the authority of the *Ṭabaqāt-i Akbarī*, Firishta maintains that the silver tanka of Muḥammad bin Tughluq's time was amalgamated with a good deal of alloy, so that each tankā only exchanged for sixteen copper pice. This is a hypothesis, the authenticity of which is questioned by Edward Thomas;[7] it led Briggs, it is believed, erroneously[8] to evaluate the silver tanka at

1 A.D. 1340-1344. 2 A.D. 1344-1350.

3 See No. 212 and the following (pp. 259-260). Thomas, E.

4 Firishta (Bombay). I, p. 236.

5 Niẓāmu'ddīn Aḥmad: *Ṭabaqāt-i Akbarī* (Bib. Ind.), p. 199.

6 Thomas, E: *The Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Dehli*, pp. 229-30.

7 *Ibid.* 8 *Ibid.*

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4d. instead of 2*s.* Firishta is said to have misread the original which is to the effect that the tanka of Muḥammad bin Tughluq's time was slightly alloyed with copper, so that it was only worth eight black tankas. Edward Thomas[1] is of opinion that the black tanka was equal to a *shashgānī* or six *jītals*.

The information supplied by the *Masāliku'l-Abṣār*[2] enables us to build up the following scheme of the state coinage and its interchangeable rates:

(*a*) 1 red lakh (Laku'l-Aḥmar) = 100,000 gold tankas.
1 white lakh (Laku'l-Abiyaẓ) = 100,000 silver tankas.[3]

1 red tanka (of gold) = (i) 10 new white tankas or adalis. (ii) 8 old silver tankas of 175 grains each.

(*b*) 1 white tanka (of silver)[4] also called *dīnār* of 175 grains or of 140 grs. = 64 ganis. = 32 Do-ganis. = 8 Hashtganis. = 4 Shanzdehganis.

(*c*) The small silver coins, lower than the tanka, were six in number:

(1) Shānzdehgānī or 16 gānī.
(2) Doāzdehgānī or 12 gānī.
(3) Hashtgānī or 8 gānī.
(4) Shashgānī or 6 gānī.
(5) Sulṭānī or 2 gānī.
(6) Yagānī or 1 gānī.

1 Thomas, E., pp. 229-230.

2 (i) Quatremère: *Notices des Manuscrits*, XIII, pp. 211-212, (ii) Thomas, E., p. 219.

3 Thomas, E., pp. 232, 236-237.

4 Nelson Wright and Mr. Neville (J.A.S.B., 1924) are of opinion that under Muḥammad bin Tughluq 'the Dehli *tanka* was subdivided into 48 *jītals*, while the Deccan scale was 50 *jītals* to the *tanka*. See Appendix Q

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(*d*) Their relative rates were: —

1 Shānzdahgānī (or one 16 gānī)	=	2 Hashtgānī (two 8 gānīs).
1 Doāzdehgānī (or one 12 kānī)	=	1½ Hashtgānī.
1 Hashtgānī	=	4 Sulṭanis, or 4 Doganis. 1 Dirham.[1]
1 Sulṭānī	=	⅓ Shashgānī.
1 Gānī or Yagānī	=	1 Jītal.
1 Jītal	=	4 copper Fals.
(*e*) 1 black tanka (or tankah-siyāh)	=	1 Shashgānī.

Fīroz Shāh was not versed in numismatics and left behind no appreciable stock of coins. He was neither an adept in minting the coins, nor in designing their new shapes and legends like his predecessor;[2] nor did he recast the coinage system *quantum sufficit* as 'Afīf apparently conveys in the following passage:

> 'Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh struck several varieties of coins. There was the gold tanka and silver tanka; and besides these the distinct coins called *chihl-o hashtgānī, bist-o panjgānī; bist-o chahārgānī, dwāzdahgānī, dahgānī, hashtgānī, shashgānī,* and the *jītal* which could not be grouped with the rest.'[3]

This is a paean of praise perorating with the much-misunderstood story of Gūjar Sāh[4] the mint-master who was

1 The 'dirham' was not an Indian coin. It was an important coin of contemporary Egypt and Syria and has been frequently mentioned both in the *Regla* and the *Masālikul-Abṣār* as corresponding to a 'Hashtḥānī.

2 Sulṭān Muḥammad knew the art of shaping and weaving a web of legends on the coins. Edward Thomas gives specimens of this kind (pp 214, 215, Nos. 184, 186, 187 and 188. Mr. Bleazby lighted upon a replica of C.P.K.D. Pl. vi, fig. 6, No. 187 and could not withhold his tribute of praise. He says, 'Instead of one of the legends being within a circle, both legends are arranged in square areas. This coin is unique.' J.A.S.B., Pt. I, N.S. 1904, p. 373.

3 T. F. S. A., p. 344.

4 Kajar Shah is a wrong interpretation (Elliot, III, p. 558) of

reported against for allowing one *shashgānī* piece which was slightly deficient in weight to pass as genuine coin. All this being misconstrued the reader is given to understand that the *shashgānī* coin was introduced for the first time during the reign of Fīroz Shāh under the management of Gūjar Sāh and that Fīroz Shāh struck new coins of different kinds including all the *ganis*—the small fractions of a silver tanka. In fact, the *shashgānī* coin was of a piece with the other *ganis* of Muḥammad bin Tughluq's reign and had been introduced by him. Fīroz Shāh inherited the same; and he re-issued the old coins. There was no novelty in his coinage barring the addition of two small coins.[1] 'Afīf really testifies to the continuance of the gold and silver tankas of the previous reign. But the shortage of silver that had led Sulṭān Muḥammad to introduce the forced currency and which still continued[2] did not fall within 'Afif's purview. Edward Thomas's remarks convey that the silver tankas and *adalis* of the previous reign were no longer seen,[3] and gold tankas were issued instead 'on account of the abundance of gold, then in circulation.' With this modification 'Afīf's passage might be taken to mean that Fīroz Shāh introduced a larger and more systematic supply of almost all the coins that had been in circulation under his predecessor. Basing his

Gūjar Sāh, as has been pointed out by Hodivala (S.I.M.H., I., p. 334). I am also of the opinion that Gūjar is the correct reading. Possibly the man belonged to the same Gūjar stock which has been mentioned above (p. 408). *Sāh* was then a term signifying a Hindū merchant (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, G.O.S., p. 170).

1 These were *ādh* and *bīkh*. *Ādh* was one-half *jītal*. *Bīkh* was a quarter *jītal*. Hodivala suggests that *bīkh* was really *paika* from Sanskrit *pā*.

2 For the forced currency see p. 186 *supra* and note that there was a continuous shortage of silver, as is evident from the paucity of silver coins, throughout the period.

3 C. P. K. D., p. 279. Mr. Bleazby (J.A.S.B. pt 1, N.S. 1904, p. 373) gives a silver coin of Fīroz Shāh weighing 93 grains., but it has no trace of a mint, Nor does it bear a date. Mr. Bleazby says, 'This is the only coin of Fīroz in silver, so far as our information goes.'

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information on the coins exclusively a modern numismat says:

> 'Fīroz Shāh reigned for nearly forty years, but so far only three of his rupees[1] and these of a single year and type, have come to light. The earliest dated coin of his is a gold piece of 757 H and apart from this no earlier date is known than 759 H; a fact which supports the theory that Fīroz continued to strike billons in the name of al-Ḥākim Abū'l 'Abbās Aḥmad similar to those of his predecessor, for the first seven years of his reign.'[2]

Besides these there are a few coins bearing the Sulṭān's name without the name of the caliph. But these bear no trace of mint and are dated 785, 786, 787, 788 and 789 Hijra.[3]

As for Fatḥ Khān very few of his coins are traceable; and none of the four coins given by Edward Thomas is of pure silver.[4] Then there is an interesting piece of information to the effect that Fatḥ Khān was appointed viceroy of the eastern portion of the Dehlī empire by Fīroz Shāh. In this manner Fīroz Shāh split up his empire with his own hands. This viceroyalty was, in fact, a separate principality formally called *iqlīmu's-sharq* with its provisional headquarters at Patna.[5] It became the independent kingdom of Jaunpur shortly after the death of Fīroz Shāh.

A modern critic is impressed by the number and variety of Tughluq II's coins in spite of the extremely short span of his reign. 'No silver pieces have come to light and his gold is extremely rare. For the most part they are billon coins.'[6]

It should be noted that his proper name is Tughluq Sulṭānī[7] and not Tughluq *ṣānī* (second) as is generally believed.

1 *I.e.* tankas. The term *rupee* did not come into use until the Sūri-Mughul period.

2 J.A.S.B. New Series, 1921, p. 160.

3 A.D. 1383, 1384, 1385, 1386.

4 C. P. K. D., p. 298.

5 J. A. S. B., New Series, 1921, p. 168

6 *Op. cit.*, p. 171 7 *Ibid*

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Regarding the coins of Ẓafar Khān bin Fīroz Shāh who ruled in Dehlī in 791 H[1] or was associated in kingship with his father, Neville says:

> 'These are varied and numerous. No silver piece has yet been unearthed. These are billon coins or of copper; and some are of gold.'[2]

In his short notice of Abū Bakr bin Ẓafar Khān Edward Thomas says that his reign ended with the loss of Dehlī in 792 H[3]. But Mr. Neville says that the actual surrender to Muḥammed did not take place till *Muḥarram* 793 H[4]. No silver coin of Abū Bakr is known but his billons and coppers exhibit a large variety. Some gold coins were also issued.[5]

Edward Thomas gives nine coins of Nāṣiru'ddīn Muḥammad son of Fīroz Shāh. Only one of these is shown as impure silver and another as mixed copper and silver. The rest are of copper or gold. But the alleged silver coins, according to Mr. Neville, 'were struck posthumously in 817 and 818 H[6], specimens of both years being in the British Museum.[7] On the basis of his coins it is contended that the reign of Nāṣiru'ddīn Muḥammad lasted three years, *i.e.* 792 to 795 H (1389-1392 A. D.).

In his short reign of forty-five days 'Alāu'ddīn Sikandar Shāh struck good many coins. But none was of silver. All were billons and of copper types.[8]

Unlike Edward Thomas who produced no gold coins of Nāṣiru'ddīn Maḥmūd Mr. Neville mentions three distinct types and says:

> 'Since the beginning of the reign billons and copper were struck and continued in spite of the disorders caused by Tīmūr's invasion so that a regular list of coins can be built between 804 and 813 (1401-1410 A. D.); only the coin bearing the year 814 is wanting.'[9]

1 1388 A. D. 2 *Op. cit.*, p. 173 3 1389 A. D.
4 1390 A. D. 5 *Idem*, p. 176 6 1414-1415 A.D.
7 *Idem*, p. 180 8 *Idem*, p. 183
9 J.A.S.B., New Series, vol. xvii, 1921, p. 184

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Proclaimed king in opposition to Maḥmūd in 797 H[1] Nuṣrat Shāh bin Fatḥ Khān maintained his position at Fīrozābād for three years. After the departure of Timūr he returned but was driven out by Iqbāl Khān. Then he disappeared from history (802 H.[2]) The coin dated 807 that is attributed to him is not genuine according to Mr. Neville. He says that no joint coin in the name of the two rival kings was ever issued ; and no silver coin of Nuṣrat Shāh has been found.[3]

1 1394 A, D.
2 1399 A. D.
3 *Op. cit*, p. 187

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CHAPTER XVIII

POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS

Form of Government

The form of government was despotic monarchy[1] and a bureaucracy, based on centralized officialism, having no feudal elements in it; nor was it a purely military autocracy. Theoretically a theocracy, it was, in fact, anti-Islamic inasmuch as it was a hereditary monarchy whereas Islām recognizes no heredity in rulership. In spite of this the kingship as it developed in Islamic countries through the ages has been theoretically headship over a kind of monarchical republic. A monarch who acts contrary to the *Shari'at* can be deposed by the body of believers jointly. All the monarchs of the Tughluq dynasty frequently acted against the *Sharī'at*; but while Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Tughluq and Fīroz Shāh composed with the 'ulamā and dared not flout their wishes, Sulṭān Muḥammad fell out with them and endeavoured with disastrous results to work out a reformation and revolution. The tendency of the rules and principles of Islām is towards democracy with a strong tinge of socialism. But the government of these monarchs was on the whole anti-democratic with little consideration for socialism. With the exception of the selection of Ghāzī Malik Tughluq for sovereignty—and that selection was more aristocratic than democratic in essence—hardly a measure of his government or that of his successors can be called democratic. Even the selection of Malik Fïroz to the throne was the concern of one party and cannot be credited as a democratic achievement. The desire of Ghāzī Malik Tughluq for a democratic election to the throne was essentially Islamic, but how far it was

1 The will of the Sulṭān or emperor, though theoretically subject to the law, was in practice supreme. Law was not in the modern sense an expression of the popular will; it was divine as embodied in the Holy Book and the *aḥādiṣ*.

carried out on democratic lines is open to question. Muḥammad bin 'Alī, a Muslim publicist and author of the *Ādābu's-Sulṭāniya wa'ddawalu'l-Islāmia*, points out that a king must possess the following ten attributes:

(i) reason and wisdom, which is the basis of government;

(ii) justice the proper administration of which promotes peace, prosperity and public weal;

(iii) knowledge which enables the king to acquire perception and exercise discrimination;

(iv) fear of God. When the king fears God all his people can live peacefully and can be free from fear ;

(v) pardon and forgiveness by means of which hearts can be won and goodwill promoted ;

(vi) grandeur and magnificence which inspires awe ;

(vii) right to inflict punishment. This is the root of all statecraft; and upon the right use of it depends the problem of shedding blood and the security of property and the honour of women and the restraining of mischiefmakers ;

(viii) fulfilment of promises;

(ix, x) vigilance and wide information and watchfulness and scrutiny. The king should know all the affairs and modes and circumstances of his people.

The author says that the possession of these ten attributes[1] make the king fit for the high office of monarchy; and if combined with these the king be also selfless he will then be fitted for the dignified office of *imām*. The author further describes the vices which the king must not contract. He must never be wrathful, miserly and cynical.

Of the whole Tughluq dynasty it was the founder Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Tughluq who approximately reached the standard. His son sulṭān Muḥammed abused his right of inflicting punishment (*siyāsat*) and became an accursed *ẓālim*. Fīroz Shāh went to the other extreme.

1 A. S. D. I, M., pp. 14-32.

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In his anxiety to dissociate himself from the ways of the *ẓālim* he betrayed appalling ignorance of the art of administration and statecraft and dug the grave of the glorious empire and dynasty.

Structure of Central Government

The organism and fremework of the central government at the capital city of Dehlī rested on the Sulṭān or emperor who was the pivot of the whole political machinery. He was personally and directly responsible for the conduct of the central government. He was assisted by his chief minister who, in turn, was assisted by four secretaries. Each secretary called *dabīr* had a staff of three hundred clerks. The chief minister acted for the emperor during his absence from the capital. As long as the emperor remained in the capital the chief minister was merely a member of the emperor's advisory council (*arbābu'd-dawal*). He also supervised all the departments (*diwāns*) into which the administration of the central government was divided, namely the *dīwān-i 'arẓ* (military department), the *dīwān-i ishrāf* (audit department), the *diwān-i 'imārat* (public works department), the *dīwān-i inshā* (the secretariat), the *dīwān-i kobī* (the agricultural department), the *dīwān-i wizārat* (revenue department), the *dīwān-i mustakhraj* (the department for the realization of arrears), the *dīwān-i risālat* (correspondance or reception department), the *diwān-i qaẓā* (judicial department); the *diwān-i bandagān* (department of slaves); the *diwān-i vikālat* (department of the Sulṭān's court and royal household) and the *diwān-i siyāsat* (department for the punishment of culprits).

The leading officials of these departments were the *'arẓ-i mumālik* (minister of the army) and his *nāib* or deputy called *nāib'arẓ-i mumālik* ; the *mustaufī* (auditor-general of the imperial finances ; *mushrif-i mumālik* (auditor-general of the empire) ; the *sharfu'l mulk* (minister of finance); the *mīr-'imārat* (minister of public works); the *sardawātdār* (keeper of the royal treasury); the *amīr kobī* (minister of agriculture); the *barīdu'l-mulk* (postal minister), the *qāẓīu'l-quẓāt* (lord chief justice) and the *mīrdād*

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(special officer appointed to bring to the *qaẓī*'s court influential amirs against whom a summons was issued).

The following were the chief officials connected with the *dīwān-i vikālat* (the department of the Sulṭān's court and royal household): the *bārbak* (grand usher), the *nāib bārbak* (deputy grand usher), the *ḥājibu'l-ḥujjāb* (lord chamberlain), the *ḥājib* (chamberlain), the *sarjāmdār* (keeper of the fly-whisk), the *shurbdār* (keeper of royal drinks), the *muhrdār* (keeper of the seals), the *kharīṭadār* (keeper of the royal letter-bag), the *shaḥna-i bārgāh* (superintendent of the royal court), the *chāshnīgīr* (supervisor of the royal food), the *vakīldar* (the officer who performed the secretarial functions of the court) and the *mutaṣaddī* (clerk).

The head of every department lived in the capital and enjoyed close access to the emperor, all being supervized by the chief minister.

There was no distinction between the civil and military departments. The *amīrān-i ṣadah* or centurions, for instance, were at once military officers and collectors of revenue at the centre as well as in the provinces.

'Afīf gives a sketch of the official sitting[1] of the wazīr with his subordinates in the central goverment, as shown below:

Wazīr

attended by *nazirs* and *waqufs*

mustaufi'-i mumālik

nāib wazīr
mushrif-i mumālik
mushrif
barīd-i mumālik

mustaufi

That is, the wazīr sat in an imposing lofty chair; and behind him stood a group of *nazirs* (superintendents) and *waqufs* (inspectors) with a large number of attendants. To his left sat the *naīb wazir* and behind the latter sat the *mushrif-i mumālik* (auditor-general). Behind the

1 T. F. S. A., p. 419

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mushrif-i mumālik stood *mushrif* (auditor) with a staff of assistants. Behind them sat the *barīd-i mumālik* (postal superintendent of the empire). To the right of the wazīr sat the *mastaufi-i mumālik* (chief executive officer) and behind him sat the *mustaufi* (an executive officer with control over the accounts and audit departments) together with his staff.

Structure of Provincial Government

For purposes of administration the empire was divided into provinces, each province (*wilāyat*) being governed by a *wālī* appoined by the emperor. As a general rule, the provincial governments contained departments corresponding to those of the central government, and particulary the *dīwān-i qazā* and the *dīwān-i mustakhraj*.

The head of every provincial government supervised the working of several departments. While he could himself appoint petty officials to each department, incumbents of great and responsible offices were appointed with the approval of the emperor. The *wālī* had charge of the provincial army which he could use in times of emergency to suppress rebellion without waiting for the formal permission of the emperor.

In the technique of administration the *wālī* who was the keystone of the structure was assisted by two officials, namely the *nāib qāẓīu'l-quẓāt* and the *nāib mustakhrij*. The *nāib qāẓīu'l-quẓāt* was a high *qāẓī* who resided in the provincial capital, the *qazis* of the various towns in the province being directly subject to him. To him appeals were made against the *qazis*. But he was, in turn, subject to the *qāẓīu'l-quẓāt*. The *nāib mustakhrij* was a revenue officer who resided in the provincial capital, his chief duty being the realization of arrears from the *amils*. He also supervised the collection of the provincial revenue.

The *wālī* exercised great powers in the province as long as he enjoyed the emperor's goodwill, on which depended the tenure of his office. But his office was not hereditary.

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On the whole, he was subject to transfer and recall after some years.

The *wālī* drew no salary from the imperial exchequer. He drew from the public revenues of his province a certain proportion previously sanctioned as his remuneration. From the gross amount of the provincial revenues, besides his own remuneration, he took money to meet all the necessary expenses and remitted the rest to the central government. The emperor endeavoured to control the provincial governments by making tours of inspection, by transferring the governors from time to time, by appointing them to fresh offices and by sending them seasonal robes.

During the reign of Fīroz Shāh *wilāyat* goes into the background and *iqṭā'* comes to the fore. That is, the chronicles frequently mention *iqṭā'* instead of *wilāyat*; and it has been surmised[1] that some parts of his empire were ruled by *walis* or bureaucratic governors while the rest were administered by the *muqtis*[2] or recipients of *iqtas*. An *iqṭā'* was an assignment of revenue conditional on military service and it was much smaller in size than a *wilāyat* or province. Normally an *iqṭā'*, corresponded to a town or to a tract comprising some villages but it was not identical with

1 'The ordinary reader is forced to conclude that the organization of the kingdom of Delhi was heterogeneous, with some provinces ruled by bureaucratic governors (*wālī*) but most of the country held in portions (*iqṭā*) by persons (*muqṭī*)', says Moreland (p. 216).

2 *Walis* and *muqtis* or *iqtas* and *wilayats* were institutions of the same nature but not synonymous in all respects. 'A *wāli* is the correct Islamic term for a bureaucratic governor, 'says Moreland (p. 222). And he draws a distinction between a *wāli* and *muqṭi'* saying that the former had not to maintain troops while the latter had. But this distinction, if valid at all, had become obsolete 'by the time of Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Tughluq whose orders regarding the troops applied equally to both classes, *i.e.* to the nobles to whom he gave *iqtas* and *wilayats*. (*Ibid*). Perhaps the same distinction revived during the reign of Fīroz Shāh.

the European fief;[1] nor was a *muqṭi*[2] or an *iqṭā'dār*[3] synonymous with a baron of European history.

Judiciary

The judiciary (*dīwān-i qaẓā*) was a very important institution which was not dependent on the executive for its existence. It was an indispensable organ of the political mechanism without which the life of the State was impossible. In theory it was superior to kingship because law stood higher than the king.

Except in the rural areas where the Hindū inhabitants enjoyed a kind of autonomy under the chieftainship of the local Hindū officers, a *qāẓī* was found in every town and city. The administration of the estates—gardens, almshouses and the like—owned by an individual passed on his death,

1 Moreland (p. 218) has carefully examined this point; and he is definitely of the opinion that there was no feudalistic system of European type in the Sultanate of Dehli. This is my finding too.

2 The position of a *muqṭi'* may be described as follows: 'A *muqṭi'* had no territorial position of his own and no claim to any particular region; he was appointed by the king who could remove him or transfer him to another charge at any time'. He was essentially administrator of the charge to which he was posted and was liable to fine or to dismissal if he failed in his duties as governor.

Moreland (p. 219) has illustrated this point from the story of 'Ainu'l-Mulk which is described in this book (*vide* Appendix) Further 'it was the *muqṭi'*s duty to maintain a body of troops available at any time for the king's service. The strength and pay of the *muqṭi'*s troops were fixed by the king who provided the cost; the *muqṭi'* could, if he chose, increase their pay out of his own pocket. Then the *muqṭi'* collected the revenue from his charge; and here his duty resembled that of the *wāli*. Like the *wāli* he defrayed the sanctioned expenditure of his charge and remitted the surplus to the central treasury.

Again the *muqṭi'* was like the *wāli* required to get his receipts and expenditure audited by the *diwān-i wizārat*. A.S.M.I., pp. 218-21.

3 *Iqṭā'dār* was merely the holder of an assignment and had no governing powers like the *muqṭi'*. The *muqṭi'* was the administrator of his charge and had also to maintain the troops. The *iqṭā'dār* had no such concern.

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in the absence of heirs, to the judiciary which was helped by the executive in the performance of its duties.

A large number of *qazis* resided in the capital, partly because of the increased number of judicial courts there, and partly because of their employment in different capacities. The principal work of the *qāẓī* was to apply the law to special cases. The posts of the *qazis*, of the *nāib qāẓīu'l-quẓāt* and of the *qāẓīu'l-quẓāt* were graded. The information given by Ibn Baṭṭuṭa[1] regarding his own salary enables us to infer that salaries were likewise fixed for all the *qazis* and officials, employed in the judicial department. From this it appears that there was an organized judiciary. The very name *qāẓīu'l-quẓāt*, *i.e.* head of the judiciary, suggests this. He was, next to the wazīr, the busiest official in the realm. All sorts of cases were referred to him, and the emperor himself occasionally appealed to him.[2] Being the highest judicial authority the *qāẓīu'l-quẓāt* also listened to the appeals made to his court from the lower courts of the *qazis*, and further decided local disputes and cases. Political cases of grave importance were often referred to him, and he was authorized to exercise the law. In case the law was ambiguous and silent on any particular point the case was referred to the emperor. Such was particularly the case under Muḥammad bin Tughluq. He had constituted himself not only into a supreme judge but also the crown counsel. Four jurists were stationed in the royal palace. When a case was brought up for trial, the emperor discussed it with them, and until an agreement was reached on the matter under consideration no sentence was pronounced. For any life destroyed without sufficient cause and proof the emperor would hold the jurists responsible. He held special courts of appeal twice a week. Every Monday and Thursday he used to sit in a special chamber in front of the *mashwar*. On that occasion no one except the amīr *ḥājib*, the *khāṣṣ ḥājib*, and the *sayyidu'l-ḥujjāb* could attend on him. No aggrieved person was restrained from approaching him. At the four gates of the chamber were appointed four leading

1 *The Reḥla* (C.O.S.), p. 127.

2 R. F. M. p. 230.

amirs, one being Malik Fīroz who later became Fīroz Shāh. They were all commissioned to listen to and record the petitions of the aggrieved. If the first man at the gate recorded the petition, well and good; otherwise the petitioner would go to the second and even to the third and the fourth successively, if need arose. In case none of them attended he would go to the *qāẓīu'l-quẓāt*. If disappointed by the latter he would proceed to the emperor. If it was proved to him that the petitioner had approached the various officers in vain, he would rebuke them. All the petitions recorded in the course of the day were, as a rule, perused and reviewed by the emperor at night.[1] A similar process was pursued by Fīroz Shāh. 'Afīf says:

'Fīroz Shāh attached great importance to the redress of grievances and was anxious to administer ready justice. Even if a petitioner approached him while the Sulṭān was on horseback, his case was immediately attended to. The Sulṭān then said to the petitioner, 'You poor man! I have established so many courts of justice and have provided facilities as had been the case under the previous rulers for the redress of grievances. Why did you not take your petition to them? If the petitioner replied that he did and was given no hearing, the Sulṭān would call the officers concerned to account.'[2]

However, in spite of Fīroz Shāh's personal concern for the administration of justice, the organization of the judiciary under him suffered a set-back. Throughout his reign few *qazis* are mentioned in the chronicles; nor does 'Afīf, the best of chroniclers, give information about the functioning of the *dīwān-i qaẓā* in the capital and the *iqtas*; nor was any personal reference to a *qāẓī* ever made by Fīroz Shāh. He had seen with his own eyes how much the *qazis* were in request during the reign of Sulṭān Muḥammad; and

1 See the *Rehla of Ibn Battuta*, pp. XIX, 271-72.
2 T. F. S. A. pp. 512-13.

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Sulṭān Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Tughluq too had left behind a good name and traditions in this respect. Barani says :

> 'If kingship were judged from the viewpoint of justice and equity then Tughluq Shāh had attained such a high position that under his regime there was no possibility at all for a wolf to look viciously towards a sheep. In fact, during his reign the lion and deer drank water together at one and the same fountain. And with the object of enforcing law effectively the Sulṭān had strengthened the hands of the *qazis*, *muftis*, *dadbaks* and *muhtasibs* of his empire.[1]

Imperial and provincial services

The story of the imperial and provincial services under the first two emperors differs from that under Fīroz Shāh. Under Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Tughluq and his son the *wālī* had authority over all the departments in his province. His office being essentially provincial his jurisdiction was confined to the province whereas certain appointments such as that of the *qāẓīu'l-quẓāt* also called *qāẓīu'l-quẓāt-i Hind* had an imperial or an all-India character.

The incumbents of the provincial posts, for instance, the *qāẓīu'l makẖzan* and the *nāibu'l 'askar* were appointed by the *wālī*, and were paid from the provincial treasury whereas those of the imperial posts were appointed by the emperor and were paid from the imperial treasury. Recruitment to the provincial service was not, however, confined to the province. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's narrative of Chanderī makes it clear that the provincial officers came from different parts of the empire. The *wālī* of Chanderī was an inhabitant of Multān; his councillor Wajihu'ddīn by name was a resident of Bayāna, and the lieutenant of his army named Sa'ādat hailed from Telingāna.

Like the emperor the *wālī* also had in his personal service a body of select nobles. He was expected to consult them as the emperor was expected to consult his advisory council.

1 T. F. S. B., p, 441.

No post was hereditary; and efficiency was the chief test for public employment as a rule until the time of Firoz Shāh. Since there was a dearth of capable men in India Sulṭān Muḥammad bin Tughluq encouraged qualified and talented foreigners to join his service. He appointed them to the highest and most responsible posts in almost every department. These foreigners were from the breed of 'ulamā on the whole and sympathized with the 'ulamā and mashāikh of India with many of whom the emperor had disagreed. They failed him eventually. He then replaced them by upstarts of Hindū origin. As these upstarts were raised to positions of eminence to the exclusion of the Turko-Indian Muslims of high standing some heartburning resulted and the character of the services was lowered.

Fīroz Shāh weakened the services by discarding the principles which had governed them heretofore. He introduced the hereditary element in the imperial and provincial services. His *muqtis*,[1] who in course of time became nobles, followed in his steps. A son usually succeeded the father in almost all the branches of government. Efficiency was sacrificed at the altar of heredity and nepotism. No longer was the principle of the survival of the fittest recognized. The emperor who was a votary of hereditary pursuits damaged and ruined the cause of his government by admitting the nominally converted slaves into the highest circle of aristocrats, and by distributing posts and offices of all kinds amongst them disregardful of their inherited weaknesses, predispositions and prejudices.

Administrative Organization

Every province (*wilāyat*) was divided into a number of districts (*shiqq*) and a district was commonly identified with an *iqṭā'* ; and every *iqṭā'* which was also identifiable with a town had as its dependency a *ṣadī* or a collection of a hundred villages. The governor of a district was called an

1 According to the old custom traceable from the time of Shamsu'ddin Iltutmish, slaves were promoted to the status of *muqtis* and rose to the topmost rung of Fortune's ladder. A.S.M.I., p. 218. The same custom was observed during the reign of Fīroz Shāh.

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'āmil or *nāẓīm* and that of a town a *muqṭi'* and that of a *ṣadī*, amīr-i ṣadah. The amīr-i ṣadah had under him a large staff of lower officials, namely *mutaṣarrif*, *kārkun*, *balāhar*, *khūṭ*, *muqaddam*, *chaudhrī*, *patwārī*, *sarhang* and *piyādah*. Their posts and positions were graded, some being higher than the others. Each had his own special duties to perform; and all helped in their different capacities in the collection of revenue as well as in the maintenance of peace. The administration of the villages was left to the village *panchāyats* or communities of the local Hindus under the charge of the *muqṭi'*. Such was the administrative organization under Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Tughluq and his son. Under Fīroz Shāh the basis and framework remained the same but the *iqṭā'* and *muqṭi'* played a very important role. Their numbers increased beyond computation because of the enormous spread of the assignment system. The *kotwāl*[1] is mentioned as an important officer with magisterial powers in Dehlī. Perhaps in other cities too the *kotwāl* worked in a similar capacity.

Revenue and Fiscal System

For the purpose of assessing and collecting the revenue and, in fact, for dealing with all problems of the fiscal system a separate department worked under the supervision of the wazīr and his assistant *nāib* wazīr. And each of these two officials was personally responsible for the realization of revenue from the *khālṣa* lands at the centre as well as in the provinces. At the same time the *wālī* or provincial governor shared the responsibility; and he had under him a whole staff of graded officials—a kind of administrative machinery which functioned automatically and

1 In the *Rise and Fall of Muhammad bin Tughluq* (p. 225) I stated that the town or city was an administrative unit under the charge of the *kotwāl* who exercised all kinds of powers. He held command of the fortress which in those days was an essential part of a city. He was the governor of the city. This statement, I should modify in the light of an incident related by 'Afīf. His narrative of the misfortunes of the *kotwāl* of Dehlī during the reign of Fīroz Shāh suggests that the *kotwāl* was not the governor of the city though he exercised magisterial powers (T.F.S.A., p. 494).

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irrespective of the changes in the personnel of the central and provincial governments. As a result the wazīr as well as the *wālī* was each in turn able, at specified times, to receive the revenue. The budget at the centre as well as in the provinces was previously sanctioned by the emperor in consultation with the *dīwān-i wizārat* or revenue ministry. After the estimated expenditure was met and the amounts deducted under the supervision of the *dīwān-i wizārat*, the balance was added to the remittances received from the provinces. Ibn Baṭṭuṭa occasionally noticed instances where the remittance of the provincial revenue being neglected, resulted in war and was followed by troubles. When the remittance was duly made, the amount of revenue received at the capital was examined and scrutinized successively by the *dīwān-i ishrāf* (audit department), *dīwān-i naẓr* (inspecting department) and the *dīwān-i wizārat* (revenue ministry). Each department forwarded the amount together with its report till it reached the emperor ; and then under his special orders it was sent to the *dīwān-i khāzin* (the imperial exchequer) which deposited it in the treasury.

This administrative machinery is traceable throughout the Tughluq period. But its parts became loose and its wheels needed oiling under Fīroz Shāh, and were clogged occasionally during the period of civil wars following his death.

Sources of State Income

Besides the land-tax[1] or revenue which was the principal source of State income different taxes which were imposed in different periods and in different parts brought substantial amounts into the State coffers. On entering Multān Ibn Baṭṭuṭa's luggage was searched by the customs

1 Theoretically the king was the sole proprietor of the whole land. But as a matter of fact there were three distinct types of land—the *khālṣa* or crown land, the *majāshīr* or *jāgīr* and the *waqf* or land dedicated to religious purposes. 'Alāu'ddīn Khaljī had attached the *jāgīr* as well as the *waqf* lands. But the effect was temporary. In the Tughluq period no lands were seized by legal authority and the *jāgīr* and *waqf* lands remained free from taxation.

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officers. He tells us that in the year of his arrival a duty of twenty-five per cent was levied on the goods, and a tax of seven dinars *i.e.* seven tankas on each horse[1]. Two years later these duties were abolished but were perhaps reimposed; for, according to the *Reḥla*, all the taxes, except the *zakāt* and *'ushr* were remitted[2] after 1341 Ibn Baṭṭūṭa does not mention their reimposition; and the mere fact that Fīroz Shāh announced on his accession the abolition of a large number of taxes does not prove their reimposition by Muḥammad bin Tughluq. Fīroz Shāh's formal announcement might have been a pledge on his part against their reimposition. But the probability is that Muḥammad bin Tughluq had reimposed some duties[3] in the closing years of his reign when his wars and expeditions had considerably increased the demands on the exchequer.

These were the sources of State income besides the land-tax; and to these may be added the proceeds from the ports,[4] the tribute from the subordinate Hindū states and the presents made by visitors and gifts offered on special occasions by officials.

The State income is said to have been diminished under Fīroz Shāh since he was advised by the 'ulamā[5] to abolish taxes like (i) *dāngāna*[6] which was a tax on certain commo-

1 *The Reḥla* (G.O.S.) p. 12

2 *Ibid*

3 *Vide* p. 380 *supra*

4 *The Reḥla*, p. 10 5 T. F. S. A., p. 378

6 The *dāngāna* sarcastically called *dahangāna* (tax on mouths) was, in fact, a surcharge levied upon all merchandise. 'After paying all the dues, direct (*niṣāb*) and indirect (*ghair niṣāb*), at the *Sarā-i 'adl* (hall of justice) the merchants had to take their goods to the collectorate (*khazina*) where they had them re-weighed and assessed. Then they had to pay to the government a *dāng* (fraction) of each tanka, assessed. In this manner large sums flowed into the treasury. But the process entailed great hardships on the merchants whom the officials (*kārkunān*) used to treat with great cruelty in the hope of exacting from them more money. Sometimes they held up the goods and would not release them, thus causing untold hardships to the traders who were kept waiting indefinitely. T.F.S.A., pp. 375, 379.

dities (ii) *mustaghal*[1] which was a kind of rent from lands, houses and shops and yielded an annual income of one lakh and fifty thousand tankas (iii) *jazzāri*[2] which was a tax of twelve *jitals* per cow slaughtered by the butchers and (iv) *daurī*[3] which was a kind of forced labour entailed on the merchants and was highly resented. All these were cesses and fell, according to 'Afīf, under the category of kharāj.[4] They were abolished in 1375/775 when Qāẓi Naṣrullāh, the military *qāẓī*, mounted an elephant at Dehlī and passed through the streets, announcing loudly to the beat of drum the reason behind the abolition. In this manner the exchequer suffered a loss of thirty lakh tankas annually,[5] but the loss was compensated in part by the levy of *jizya* which followed it. This was the economic cause behind the said levy and tends to explain the reason behind that much talked-about innovation of Fīroz Shāh.[6] He was goaded by the State economics rather than by religion to create a new source of income. Hence his determination to deprive the Brahmins of their centuries-old privilege of exemption from the *jizya*.

Army and Police

The army was recruited from all communities, races and nations irrespective of religion; and Hindus were by no

1 *Mustaghal* or *mustaghallāt* means immovable property. It appears that the land on which private houses and shops were built belonged to the government as it is still the case in some of the oldest Hindū and Muslim states. Those who took the land on lease had to pay rent for the land as well as for the building and structure they raised on it to suit their convenience and need.

2 This is the third of the twenty-six taxes mentioned above; p. 380.

3 Like the *dāngāna* there was another cess called *farmāish dauri* or forced labour. When merchants and traders of different classes and standings, high as well as low, entered Dehli with their mules and packhorses loaded with corn, salt, candy sugar and *gur*, their animals were forcibly seized by the government officials who took them into old Dehli whence they were made to carry building material to Firozābād, free of charge.

4 T. F. S. A., p. 378

5 *Op. cit.* p. 379

6 *Vide* p. 426 *supra*

means excluded.[1] It had three wings—cavalry, elephantry and infantry. The cavalry consisted of two kinds of horsemen, those who supplied their own horses and accoutrements and those whom the State supplied. Their recruitment took place under some rules during the reign of Muḥammad bin Tughluq and has been described by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa.[2] He also witnessed the part which the elephants panoplied in armour then played in war. Although elephantry finds little mention during the reign of Fīroz Shāh, there is reason to believe that elephants continued to be maintained and used in war down to the close of the Tughluq dynasty. Tīmūr encountered them in the course of his military operations and was afraid of them while fighting. Infantry was comparatively of little importance. They were unfit for purposes of rapid movement to long distances and through wild forests and deserts; nor could they fight so effectively and use the methods of warfare, peculiarly fitted for mounted warriors. Neither in pursuing the enemy nor in fighting a pitched battle were the infantry so useful as cavalry and elephantry. As a rule the infantry lived inside the fortress and played only a subordinate part in battle by being mainly employed in working the ballistas (*minjanīq*) or plying the sword or shooting arrows. The infantry also worked like the police as we know it to-day. Stationed in strong fortresses or temporary lodgings, now called cantonments, they played the role of the policeman since there was no distinction in those days between the army and police.[3]

1 The trans-Indus countries being closed to army recruitment on account of the traditional enmity and wars with the Mongols—there being no Afghanistan in those days—the Sultans of Dehli had to recruit their armies from among the warlike tribes of the Hindus. The Khurāsān army of Muḥammad bin Tughluq and the troops collected by Khān Jahān I at short notice for the military expeditions of Firoz Shāh comprised Hindus. Similarly the armies of Dehli and Firozābād after the death of Fīroz Shāh were manned by the Hindus, or by the mixed soldiery of Hindus and Musalmans.

2 *The Reḥla of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa*, pp. xxvi, 14

3 For the postal system and other institutions the reader may refer to the *Reḥla of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa*, pp. xxiv-li.

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CHAPTER XIX

SOURCES

Long is the list of the sources on which this work is based. Some are contemporary, others non-contemporary. Some are in Persian and Arabic, others in Sanskrit and Prakrit. Between the Persian and Arabic sources, let alone their Sanskrit and Prakrit counterparts, if any, there is an appreciable difference. The Persian sources include those chronicles which were compiled by the Turks who were ethnologically one with the Mongol barbarians of Mongolia and Turkistan. These Turks (including Mongols) had embraced Islām—the process beginning in the eleventh century A.D.—mainly with the object of satisfying their ambition for worldly power and for the sake of enjoying the facilities, which Islām was supposed to afford, of indulgence in war. Their aggressive campaigns in India were depicted as sacred Islamic injunctions; and the Turks delighted to brandish a militant Islām not only in their trade as swordsmen but also in the domain of historiography. Their numerous chronicles which are available in their original Persian consequently abound in ideas of bigotry and fanaticism and reflect the destructive ideology of those 'ulamā whom Barani depicts as missionaries, anxious to teach the Muslim king uphold the religion of Islām, extirpate idolatry and humiliate the Hindus; and whom Sulṭān Muhammad bin Tughluq condemns as 'godless and greedy.' A comparative study of these chronicles and the Arabic sources[1] will show that the kings[2] whom they present as slayers of Hindus and idol-breakers were more kind and charitable towards their Hindū subjects and their *dharma* than the Turko-Indian chroniclers themselves.

Contemporary

Topmost in the list of such chroniclers and *first* among the contemporaty authorities on the history of medieval India stands Yamīnu'ddīn Amīr Ḥasan, commonly known

1 (i) P.R.M.I.M. p. 5 (ii) *The Rehla* (G. O. S.)

2 Firoz Shāh being an exception, see pp. 425-428 *supra* and p. 577 *infra.*

as Amīr Khusrau. Born in 1253/651 at Patiālī[1] during the reign of Sulṭān Nāṣiru'ddīn Maḥmūd and bred and brought up in the age of Balban, Amīr Khusrau attained his full stature in the Khaljī period. He witnessed six successive sultans of Dehlī, namely Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Balban, Mu'izzu'ddīn Kaiqubād, Jalālu'ddīn Khaljī, 'Alāu'ddīn Khaljī, Quṭbu'ddīn Mubārak Shāh Khaljī and Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Tughluq.

He was a born poet and began to compose verses from the age of nine and continued doing so until his death in 1325/725. But he was also a soldier, warrior and traveller, being inspired to this effect by his father and maternal grandfather. His father Saifu'ddīn Maḥmūd had been a veteran warrior in the service of Sulṭān Shamsu'ddīn Iltutmish ; and his grandfather 'Imādu'l-Mulk was *rāwat 'arz, i.e.* a military officer, holding the portfolio of diplomatic relations with the neighbouring Hindū states. Playing the combined role of a medieval soldier and warrior Amīr Khusrau travelled great distances., *e.g.* from Sāmāna to Multān in the north and to Deogīr in the south ; in the east he went as far as Lakhnautī ; and in the north-west to the trans-Indus Mughlistān where he was carried a prisoner by the Mongol invaders in 1284/683. On his release he came to Dehlī and joined the retinue of Amīr 'Alī Sarjāndār, a distinguished amīr of the reign of Shamsu'ddīn Iltutmish. In his retenue he went to the Sarjū—the scene of the proposed fight between Bughrā Khān governor of Bengal and his son Mu'izzu'ddīn Kaiqubād, king of Dehlī. There he witnessed the alternate scenes of hostility and love between the father and the son, utilizing the same as material for his *Qirānu's-Sa'dain* which he composed in 1288/688. Sulṭān Jalālu'ddīn Fīroz Khaljī conferred upon him the title of 'Amīr' and sinecure of *muṣḥafbardār* (bearer of the royal copy of the Quran) with an annual salary of 1,000 tankas. Then he accompanied the Sulṭān in his campaign against the rebel malik Ikhtiyāru'ddīn Kashlī Khān Chhajjū in the Ramganga region and witnessed the rebel's capitulation and surrender, followed by the royal pardon and award of the governor-

1 Patiālī lies in Etah district, Uttar Pradesh.

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ship of Multān. Subsequently he attended the Sulṭān in his Jhāīn expedition ; and all the information thus acquired he utilized in composing the *Miftāḥu'l-Futūḥ*. After his return from Jhāīn he stayed at Dehlī until the *coup d'état* of Alī Gāo who became Sulṭān 'Alāu'ddin Khaljī. So much did he adore the rising sun that he forgot the new Sulṭān's crime and forgot also the favours that he[1] had received from the murdered Sulṭān. Then he accompanied the new Sulṭān in his Chittor expedition (1303/702), an account of which he versified in a book entitled *Khazāinu'l-Futūḥ*. The *Khazāinu'l-Futūḥ* also portrays Sulṭān 'Alāu'ddīn Khaljī in his decrepitude under the influence of Malik Kāfūr whom it describes as Mahdī-slayer (*Mahdī kūsh*), Sulṭān 'Alāu'ddīn Khaljī being depicted as *Shāh-i shahīd*, *i.e.* martyr king.

Amīr Khusrau then found a new patron in Quṭbu'ddīn Mubārak Shāh, who took him as a special royal attendant in his Deccan campaign (1317/717). On his return to Dehlī Amīr Khusrau composed for the new emperor a short history of the opening years of his reign (*i.e.* April 1316/*Muḥarram* 716—August 1318/*Jamādīu's-sānī*, 718) entitled *Nuh Sipihr* containing the story of Quṭbu'ddīn Mubārak Shāh's accession and his Deccan campaign. The *Nuh Sipihr* (literally nine spheres) also contains Amīr Khusrau's personal appreciation of Hindustān and its climate, animals, learning and languages. Moreover it gives some admonitions for kings and soldiers as well as for the people. Finally it praises the emperor's skill in playing polo.

Amīr Khusrau, now sixty-seven years of age, was an eye-witness of the war of succession that followed the assassination of Quṭbu'ddīn Mubārak Shāh ; and he versified the same in a book which he named *Tughluq Nāma* after Tughluq Shāh who ascended the throne in 1320/720. He accompanied the latter in his Lakhnautī expedition whence he returned[2] to Dehlī to hear of the death of his spiritual teacher, the Sulṭānu'l-Auliyā Shaikh Niẓāmu'ddīn[3]

1 *I.e.* Amīr Khusrau.

2 Amīr Khusrau returned with Tughluq Shāh in July 1325. *Vide* p. 79, f.n. 1-2 *supra*.

3 *Vide* Appendix K.

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(1325). The same year died Amīr Khusrau, leaving behind numerous works, the most important being his *diwans* and *masnavis*, that is, historical works in metrical form.

Some of the *diwans* are the *Tuḥfatu's Ṣighār*, *Wasṭu'l Ḥayāt*, *Ghurratu'l-Kamāl*, *Baqiya Naqiya* and *Nihāyatu'l-Kamāl*. The *masnavis* are the *Qirānu's- Sa'dain*, *Miftāḥu'l Futūḥ*, *'Āshiqa*, *Nuh Sipihr* and *Tughluq Nāma*. In all these works the poet has chosen historical themes from the time of Balban to that of Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Tughluq. One of the most important is the *Ghurratu'l-Kamāl* composed in 1294. It contains Amīr Khusrau's personal appreciation of Indian culture and stresses the adaptability of the Indians to new surroundings and their ability *par excellence* to learn foreign languages. The *Qirānu's Sa'dain* composed in 1289 is also important. Besides describing the historical meeting between Bughrā Khān the governor of Bengal and his son Mui'zzu'ddīn Kaiqubād, king of Dehlī, the *Qirānu's Sa'dain* throws light on the social life in Dehlī—picturesque social gatherings and activities of the amirs, popular musical instruments, different kinds of boats in royal use and varieties of delicious food. It also contains a reference to the famous buildings of Dehlī. The *Miftāḥu'l-Futūḥ* written in 1291 deals with the military campaigns of Jalālu'ddīn Khaljī, the suppression of the rebellion of Malik Chhajjū, the Sulṭān's advance upon Ranthambhor (1291), the frustrated Mongol invasion of 1292 and the conquest of Jhāīn. The *'Āshiqa*, also called *Dewal Rānī Khiẓr Khān*, composed in 1316, not only gives the emotional love between Dewal Rānī, daughter of Raja Karan of Gujarāt and prince Khiẓr Khān but also an account of the poet's captivity in the Mongol camp together with a narration of the 'Alāī conquest of Gujarāt, Chittor, Mālwa and Sīwāna.[1] It also describes the beauties of Hindustān and of her women and contains an evidence of the poet's bias for the Hindī language. The *Nuh Sipihr* completed in 1318 refers to the military campaigns of the reign of Mubārak Shāh Khaljī

1 Also written as Sevāna lay in the arid part of Rajputāna, north of Jalor and west-north-west of the Banas river and the Chambal.

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and throws light on the magnificence of Dehlī, the pleasant climate of the country, its different seasons, health-giving waters, its fruits and philosophy and the praiseworthy qualities of the Indians—their intelligence and intellectual attainments, customs and manners, religion and language. The *Tughluq Nāma*, composed in 1325, is an epic describing the war between Ghāzī Malik and Nāṣiru'ddīn Khusrau. It ends with the accession of Ghāzī Malik to the throne of Dehlī under the title of Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Tughluq. Like some of his other compositions Amīr Khusrau's *Tughluq Nāma* is noted for the frequent use of Hindī words.

Among the prose works of Amīr Khusrau perhaps the most important and of the greatest historical value is the *Khazāinu'l-Futūḥ*, also called *Tārīkh-i 'Alāī*. As the title suggests it claims to be the history of the reign of 'Alāu'ddīn Khaljī. In fact, it is an official history of the six years of Malik Kāfūr's campaigns in the Deccan (A.D. 1305-11). Since Ẓiyāu'ddīn Barani had skipped over the history of these campaigns the *Khazāinu'l-Futūḥ* has filled a much-needed gap in the 'Alāī annals. Essentially it is an epic and a panegyric which draws a curtain over all the foibles and crimes of 'Alāu'ddīn Khaljī. But it reproduces with the vivid touch of an eye-witness the story of the 'Alāī sieges, military actions, tactics and arms. Its style is highly ornate, surcharged with metaphors and figures of speech, not easily understandable.

Amīr Khusrau is essentially a chronicler of the Khaljī period. But he is indispensable to the Tughluq period. He knew Tughluq Shāh and his son Jauna Khān personally and wrote for them the *Tughluq Nāma*. Then he was a chosen disciple of the Sulṭānu'l-Auliyā Shaikh Niẓāmu'ddīn who constitutes an important link between the Khaljī and Tughluq periods. Moreover, Amīr Khusrau is a typical Turko-Indian who knows no religious tolerance and whose writings abound in ideas of fanaticism and bigotry. In this respect he has much in common with Ḥasan Niẓāmī, author of the *Tāju'l-Maāṣir*[1] and Minhāju's-Sirāj, author

1 The *Tāju'l-Maāṣir*, by Ḥasan Niẓāmī, a contemporary of Quṭbu'ddīn Aibak, was written early in the thirteenth century.

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of the *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāṣirī*[1] on the one hand and with Ẓiyāu'ddin Barani and 'Iṣāmī on the other. All of them stand poles apart from Ibn Baṭṭūṭa who was an Arab.

The *second* authority is Ẓiyāu'ddīn Baranī or Baranī as he is commonly known because of his close association with Baran,[2] the official residence of his father Mu'īdu'l-Mulk, who had been appointed governor of Baran during the reign of 'Alāu'ddīn Khaljī. Baranī's uncle 'Alāu'l-Mulk, a brother of Mu'idu'l Mulk, was a close friend of 'Alī Gurshāsp, governor of Kaṛa who, on capturing the throne of Dehlī appointed him *kotwāl* of Dehlī. Baranī's maternal grandfather Ḥisāmu'ddīn by name was secretary (*vakīldar*) and chamberlain (*ḥājib*) of Malik Bārbak Sulṭānī, an amīr of Balban.

Baranī was a devoted disciple of the Sulṭānu'l 'Auliyā Shaikh Niẓāmu'ddīn. But unlike him he aspired after a rich and successful worldly career. Since he was gifted with certain parts to play the role of a courtier (*nadīmī*),[3] emperor Muḥammad bin Tughluq admitted him into his court in 1333/734; and although neither a specific post, nor a title nor even a designation was granted, Baranī was allowed to continue attending the royal court. Baranī enjoyed this honour as long as the emperor lived. After his death (1351/752) he fell upon evil days and was apparently looked upon as a scapegoat for the crimes of the deceased emperor. Baranī deemed it necessary for self-protection to leave Dehlī for some time; and, as is evident from his language, went into exile at some obscure place in the

It deals chiefly with Quṭbu'ddīn, but also contains an account of Muḥammad of Ghor, and Shamsu'ddīn Iltutmish. The MSS of the *Tāju'l-Maāṣir* (Add. 7623; Add. 24, 951; Add. 7624) in the British Museum have been used.

1 The *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāṣirī*, by Minhāju's-Sirāj, was written in the middle of the thirteenth century. Its Bibliotheca Indica edition, together with its translation (Calcutta, 1897) by H. G. Raverty, has been used.

Both the *Tāju'l-Maāṣir* and the *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāṣirī* are the principal contemporary sources for the history of the Sultanate before the establishment of the Tughluq dynasty.

2 Baran was the old name of modern Bulandshahr.

3 Kirmānī, M—*Siyaru'l Auliyā* (Dehlī, 1302 Hijra), p. 313

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suburbs[1]. There he stayed for a period of five months and wrote a book entitled *Na'ṭ-i Muḥammadī* (eulogium of Muḥammad). On his return to Dehlī he wrote several books[2] including the *Tarīkh-i Fīroz Shāhī* and the *Fatāwa-i Jahāndārī* in the vain hope of recovering his position at the royal court. Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh granted him a modest allowance[3] which did not satisfy Baranī; and he died, disappointed, but not in dire poverty. Towards the close of his life Baranī became unusually charitable. It is said that he gave away even the clothes[4] on his body and left behind no money and no wordly assets in the house beyond the mat on which he lay dying; and the same became part of his winding sheet.[5]

Na'ṭ-i Muḥammadī

This book[6] of 413 pages, each page (10″ long and 6″ wide) containing about 25 lines written in *nasta'liq* style still unpublished opens (1-4 pages) with an initial praise of Prophet Muḥammad and a preface (5-19 pages), an extract from which is translated below:

> 'I—Ẓiyā-i Baranī—am the greatest of all the sinners among the Musalmans. When my age exceeded seventy years and my strength was replaced by weakness and my faculties became feeble and loose, the apprehensions of the approaching death which is a moment of the greatest fright, embarrassed my heart and the dread and horror of meeting the Angel of Death overwhelmed all my external senses. Howevermuch I strained my memory recalling any good thing or a laudable deed that I might have done in the past stages of my life strong enough to save me from the consequences of my sins and the agonies of death I could not remember any. Hardly could I recollect having done during my

1 T. F. S. B., p. 551

2 *I.e. Ṣanā-i Muḥammadī, Ṣalāt-i Kabīr, 'Ināyat Nāma-i Ilāhī, Maāṣir-i Sādāt* and *Tārikh-i Fīroz Shāhī.* (S. A., p. 313)

3 *Ibid.*

4 *Ibid.*

5 *Ibid.*

6 MS. No. 127 Raza Library, Rampur.

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lifetime any good or commendable thing that might stand me in good stead at the time of my death and relying on which I could leave this world for another world in comfort, and depending on which I could pass through all the points of danger and obstacles on the road to salvation and deliverance in the other world. On the contrary, I remembered incessantly and every moment the sins and serious faults that I had committed in the past; and I despaired more and more. Afraid of facing death in my utter helplessness I used to hang down my head, utterly frustrated, dismayed, distracted and confounded.

'In the course of five months during which period I resided within the limits of the fort of Bhatner I suffered from an extreme mental torture and despair, and kept brooding over my miseries and wondering whether in this condition I would live till the end of the day or through the night. In this state of agony it occurred to me that I should produce a book in praise of Muḥammad, in which I must write in Persian all that I have read and seen in the works on *ḥadīṣ*. And I should make this book my asset at the time of my departure from the world. This idea, which struck my mind on my nearness to death was an excellent one from which I experienced an internal solace.

'I planned to make it so unique that if the *Na't-i Muḥammadī* were read and repeated by genuine believers and true seekers of God—whose search for Islām would outweigh their search for material world—no wonder that it might open in their hearts a fountain-head of the recognition of the Prophet of God; and no wonder that in this manner they get acquainted with certain aspects of the Prophet's life and ways (*sunan*) which are a mine of Faith and the essence of Islām, enriching the paucity of their information about the Prophet and starting their maiden researches in that sphere, since adapting one's conduct to the Prophet's *sunnat* is according to the consensus of the true 'ulamā the basis of the Ḥanafī cult. If through my depicting

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this topic in Persian some aspects of the Prophet's *sunnat* might come into the limelight, thereby opening a door for a true understanding[1] of the Prophet and creating a keen desire for further enlightenment and information about religion it would not be a wonder that the spiritual merit arising from it might result in the repose of my soul and might help me to obtain salvation (*nijāt*) and release (*khalāṣ*).

'It should be noted that the divine 'ulamā ('*ulamā-i ākhirat*) have written—and the same has been strongly affirmed and incorporated in religious books—that the greatest fraud, greatest idiocy and greatest stupidity conceivable is that of a man who is born as a Muslim (Islām being his hereditary religion and the religion of his father and forefathers); who has been brought up uniformly as a Musalman and in a Muslim family until he has become grey-headed; who recites the Islamic creed, day and night; who acts up to the fundamentals of Islām; who does not set his face against the obligations of the *Shari'at*; who announces himself as a true upholder of *tauḥīd* (unity of godhead) and a true believer, nevertheless the whole lot of his learning, sayings and doings bears no trace at all of his appreciation of the personality, attributes and morals and character of Muḥammad Muṣṭafā (peace on him!); nor does he possess correct information about the enlightened guidance that Muḥammad Muṣṭafā (peace on him!) gave. Furthermore he does not possess clear knowledge about the personality of Muṣṭafā—neither knowing who he was; what he was; to which clan he belonged; who were his forefathers and ancestors; how he was brought up; nor knowing the amount and degree of God's bounties on him at every stage of his life; nor knowing, further, what he did and how he lived during the forty years which preceded his mission as Prophet;

1 This contains a sarcastic reference to Sulṭān Muḥammad who was not well up in *Sunan* according to Barani.

nor knowing his achievements, his diet and clothes, nor his married life.

'The 'ulamā of past ages (may God shower on them His mercy !) have said that if Muslims be ignorant of the personal qualities and attributes of Muḥammad Muṣṭafā and possess no real information about his character, sayings (*aḥādīs*) and transactions (*mu'āmilāt*), then their belief in Islām is nothing but an imitation and superficiality. Further if a believer does not know the object of belief and the reality of the personage in whom he claims to have belief, then his belief has no foundation and is null and void.

'If true believers really possessed genuine information about the personality, attributes, humanity and courtesy of Muḥammad Muṣṭafā, and if they knew for certain his ways (*sunan*) they would have in all probability never acted against the Prophet's *sunnat* and would not have spent their lives in the pursuit of serious heterodoxy (*bid'at*).[1] For those who are involved in their greed for this world and for those who, swayed by their personal cravings and dominated by Satan, cannot give up completely all their heterodoxies (*bid'aāt*) there is yet a chance by knowing the *sunnat* of Muṣṭafā to get rid of their reprehensible heterodoxies. God forbid that Muslims—due to their negligence, ignorance and association with the hypocrites and heterodoxies—who display themselves as *ahl-i sunnat*, should consider heterodoxy as *sunnat*. In that case they remain in the slough of their heterodoxy, taking pride in the same ; and their end is utter destruction and they cannot expect a lenient deal on the Day of Resurrection. But am I fortunate enough to find the divine 'ulamā to whom the secrets of Divinity are disclosed and who, realizing my helplessness would come to my rescue and deliverance ? Where can I find such 'ulamā ?

'The Almighty God is my witness that I am so deeply shaken by the fears of the tortures of the grave

1 Such is the picture of Sulṭān Muḥammad in the mind of Barani.

(*maṭla'-i awwal*) and the perils awaiting me beyond the grave that I possess no shelter and no protection other than the *Na't-i Muḥammadī* and I pray to God that He might redeem me through this world and the next by virtue of the same, since all my friends and acquaintances have deserted me, and my enemies and opponents are jubilant over my present condition. But with this *Na't-i Muḥammadī* in my possession I fear nobody and care for nobody. It is such a valuable asset that if any of the great saints, jurists and 'ulamā of the past like Ghazzālī, Rāzī, Sanāī and Shaikh Niẓāmu'ddīn had been alive and able to read this book they would have surely appreciated it ; and as a result of their appreciation the attention of others would have also been drawn towards it and they would have been rewarded by God abundantly; and I being the cause of all this goodness would have been rewarded too. Since that wish of mine is not fulfilled, I expect that through this book—the *N'at-i Muḥammadī*—at least on the Day of Resurrection I would be honoured. Praise to Allah, the maintainer of the worlds, that such an excellent book produced by an ignorant person like myself will remain a monument among the followers of Muḥammad and the same will become the means of my salvation—a poor wretch. Praise to Allah that by writing the *Na't-i Muḥammadī* I have founded a second *Ka'ba* whose adoration and circumambulation will become the means of my redemption and rise among the adorers and devotees of Muḥammad.

'I pray to Allah, the bestower of unique glory and majesty and abundant bounties on Muḥammad to accept this service of mine. I implore Ḥaẓrat Muḥammad in whose name I have raised a second *Ka'ba* with this *verse* :

I have reached the road of glory through thy love and have put on my head the crown of thy grace. Riẓwān—the keeper of paradise—might take my hand and guide me to my high position !

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'Should anyone take heartily and faithfully to reciting this book—the *Na't-i Muhammadī*—specially in old age and read it seventy times with his thoughts drowned in the love of Muḥammad and in devotion to him as Prophet of Allah, no wonder he would be fit enough to have made *ṭawāf* (circumambulation) of the *Ka'ba* and would gain the reward of a successful pilgrimage by virtue of repeating the name of Muḥammad so many times.

'I, the compiler of the *Na't-i Muḥammadī*, have thrown myself under the shelter of the *Na't-i Muḥammadī*. I recite it several times day and night, as if I circumambulate it just as the *Ka'ba* is circumambulated.

Verses:

O Prophet! I have made thy name my shelter and am holding it fast since thy name is dearer to me than my own soul and I am prepared to sacrifice my life for the sake of thy name.'

In spite of all that Baranī says his *Na't-i Muḥammadī* cannot be taken merely as a book of devotional songs. It is certainly a book of confession and repentance written with the distinct object of neutralizing the enmity of those who were bent on killing him. It was also intended to serve as an atonement for *the sin* he had been committing during the reign of Muḥammad bin Tughluq by not telling him the plain truth about the great importance of Prophet Muḥammad and his sayings (*aḥādīṣ*). He had failed during the tenure of his service as a courtier to say out things which, he now thought, must be recorded once for all while life was closing on him.

Tārīkh-i Fīroz Shāhī

From the scheme of this book namely *Tarīkh-i-Fīroz Shāhī* which commences with the accession of Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Balban in 1266/662 and goes up to the sixth year of Fīroz Shāh's reign, Baranī excluded all that had been included in the *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāṣirī*. He named it after Fīroz Shāh, although the history of Fīroz Shāh forms not more than a fifth part of the whole. He deals in fair regular order

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with good many kings.[1] But the eighth king namely Sulṭān Muḥammad, standing poles apart from the others and being disliked in equal proportion, has been singled out. The chapter dealing with him is awkwardly set in the midst of a regular scheme of history. Therefore, that chapter is earmarked by the author as a thesis or essay on the anti-Islamic philosophy and *siyāsat* of that idealist emperor. That essay must not be read in the same breath and with the same amount of faith in the author as the rest of the *Tārikh-i Firoz Shāhī*. In the eyes of a critic that chapter is an irregular account, at once confused and void of any order. There is neither a sequence of events in it nor chronology. In a 25-year-long reign Barani assigns dates to four events only, *i.e.*

(i) his accession, 725 A. H.
(ii) his expedition to Gujarāt, 745 A. H.
(iii) the caliph's investiture
(iv) Sulṭān Muḥammad's death in 752 A. H.

However, this may be overlooked in a writer of advanced age like Baranī. But he claims high appreciation for it, saying:

> 'In this book I have worked magic. The scholars of history who have become scarce know that no historian has for a thousand years been able to write a book like this *Tārīkh-i Fīroz Shāhī* which comprises history as well as the fundamentals of government.'[2]

Although Baranī owed his all to Muḥammad bin Tughluq and fell from grace after his death he did not forgive him for his obnoxious philosophy, ideology and *siyāsat*. He says:

(a) I am to be classified among the ungrateful (to God) since, although I had acquired some knowledge

1 *I e.* nine kings in all—(i) Ghiyāṣu'ddīn, Balban, (ii) Mu'izzu'ddīn Kaiqubād (iii) Jalālu'ddīn Khalji (iv) 'Alāu'ddīn Khaljī (v) Quṭbu'ddīn Mubārak Shāh Khaljī (vi) Nāṣiru'ddīn Khusraū Khān (vii) Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Tughluq (viii) Sulṭān Muḥammad (ix) Fīroz Shāh

2 T. F. S. B. p. 123

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and had acquainted myself with that noble science (*Shari'at* law which should have normally prevented me from throwing myself into hectic acts) yet, due to my greediness and avarice for worldly things I behaved like hypocrites and became a close associate of the king; and whenever there was a case for the infliction of illegal punishment (*siyāsat*) I did not tell the truth to the Sulṭān because I was afraid of losing either my life which was perishable or my position which was a transitory one. The act of not telling the truth to the Sulṭān was comparatively less serious than the act of my encouraging the Sulṭān at the time of his inflicting illegal punishments by narrating unfounded traditions (*riwāyāt*) and thus becoming his accomplice out of my greediness to extract some tankas and *jitals* from him and to make my position with him more firm and solid. I wonder about the condition of others and do not know whether they would meet with the same fate as mine.[1]

(b) 'I do not know how to reconcile certain conflicting traits of Sulṭān Muḥammad's character for he was the most queer of all the men, ever born.[2]

(c) 'It looked as if the Almighty God had blinded and benumbed his faculties of vision. Not a day passed but the Sunnī Musalmans were smashed and crushed like fresh radish and leek and they were beheaded ; and a stream of Muslim blood used to flow before the royal palace.[3]

(d) 'If I describe in full whatever sufferings the treacherous Sky and adverse Fate have inflicted on me I shall have to write two volumes of complaints.[4]

(e) 'Much more serious than the griefs I have described above is the grief now rankling in my heart. It is this. The king of our age and times—may he live a thousand years!—is exceedingly fond of history and possesses profound knowledge of it; but what can I do? My enemies have thrown me away from the

1 T. F. S. B., p. 466
2 *Idem*, p. 504
3 *Idem*. pp. 472, 497
4 *Idem*, p. 69

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royal court and out of the sight of His Majesty. As a result I am not in a position to show him this history which I have named after his royal auspicious name; and I have recorded in it some of his achievements, attainments and good deeds and virtues. If ever fortune helps me to present this book before His Majesty so that he might honour me by looking into it, then I will have no more disappointments and all my grievances against ill-luck would vanish. 'I swear by the All-powerful and Benign Allah that I am utterly broken; and in my utter helplessness I pray to the Beneficent God, saying, 'O God! consider my distress and helplessness and be kind to me so that this History may be placed before His Majesty the emperor Fīroz Shāh, Sulṭān (may his reign and dominions be perpetuated!), thus saving this arduous labour of mine from destruction.'[1]

With such a distressed heart, clouded vision, loaded conscience and apprehensions of a gloomy future, Baranī wrote the *Tārīkh-i Fīroz Shāhī* in the sixth year of Fīroz Shāh's reign when he himself was over seventy.

Baranī does not deny the merits of Muḥammad bin Tughluq, for they were too well-known to be denied. But he takes care at the same time to stress all his weaknesses and faults. Thus he has portrayed him as a mixture of opposites. When sketching his character Baranī makes use of hyperbolical aud satirical expressions. Even when he acknowledges Muḥammad bin Tughluq's good qualities, in the midst of his eulogy he introduces sentences which produce the opposite effect in the mind of the careful reader. By expressing repeatedly and in a peculiar manner his bewilderment at understanding him he endeavours to convince the reader of the Sulṭān's innate badness. He skips off the sequence of events, confounding the details in such a manner that the average reader is bewildered ; and fails to build a sound order and chronology. Baranī acknowledges his own shortcomings and curses himself, using a language

1 *Idem*, p. 125

which suggests that he used to utter lies and fabricate facts in order to pacify the angry emperor. Thus he committed a grave sin in retribution for which he believed that he suffered 'condign punishment by being condemned in old age to an obscure life, solitary, friendless, without a real appreciator or patron'.[1]

By virtue of his position as a courtier he possessed unique opportunities of knowing and ascertaining the truth and was aware of the duties and responsibilities of a historian. But he failed completely as a historian of Sulṭān Muḥammad. He says : 'I took care to sift the matters, and to distinguish between fabrication and reality.' 'To be honest,' he continues, 'in observing incidents and in chronicling them as such is the most essential duty of a historian.' He knew the evils of bigotry and said, 'Many writers from excessive bigotry,' 'have been induced to tell lies.' Nevertheless he suffered from religious bigotry and fanaticism. He was also conscious of the importance of truth. 'I, the compiler of the *Tārīkh-i Fīroz Shāhī*,' says he,[2] 'have in my preface made this pledge that whatever I shall write in this history shall be the whole truth. Of the persons whose history I relate I shall mention both good and bad actions. To publish men's good actions and to conceal their bad is what I shall not do; for if I should carelessly overlook (their bad actions) and recount simply their excellent deeds, and shut my eyes to the evil, then my writings would be lowered in the (auspicious) eyes of my readers; and I myself will stand charged before the tribunal of God.' Baranī has introduced this in the midst of a passage, giving an account of the murder of Jalālu'ddīn Khaljī, in which he has condemned all who had a hand in this foul deed, including his own uncle, 'Alau'l- Mulk, the *kotwāl* of Dehlī, and 'Alāu'ddīn, the emperor.

The Bibleotheca Indica edition of the *Tārīkh-i Fīroz Shāhī* which has been used here was checked by me in London and compared with the MSS Or. 2039 and 211 in the British Museum and the India Office respectively. The

1 *Op. cit*, p. 466
2 T.F.S.B., p. 237

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British Museum MS. occasionally differs from the Bibliotheca Indica edition and leaves gaps. I have also used the Arabic version of the Persian text of the *Tārīkh-i Fīroz Shāhī* in Hājī Dabīr's *Arabic History of Gujarāt* and noticed occasionally slight variation from the said Persian text.

Immediately after finishing the *Tārīkh-i Fīroz Shāhī* (1359/758) Baranī set his hands to writing the next work, namely *Fatāwā-i Jahāndārī* (I. O. 2646) which he completed shortly before his death. It is a supplement to the *Tārīkh-i Fīroz Shāhī* and the political ideas underlying both are the same. What in the *Tārīkh-i Fīroz Shāhī* Baranī had hinted or insinuated he said plainly and extensively in the *Fatāwā i Jahāndārī*. As the title of the book indicates it is an advisory political code for the Muslim kings to follow. In the *Tārīkh-i Fīroz Shāhī* it was hinted that they must not show undue kindness and leniency towards the Hindus. In the *Fatāwā-i Jahāndārī* the author is aggrieved to see that 'Hindū nobles rub shoulders with the Muslim aristocracy and possess horses, live in splendid houses, dress magnificently and own slaves. Throughout the country and even in the capital city of Dehlī the Hindus live in all honour and respect and enjoy the honorifics of *Rāi*, *Thākur*, *Sāhū*, *Mahant* and *Pandit*'[1]. Baranī disapproves all this, and is further aggrieved to see that the Muslim kings placed no restrictions on them in point of dress and equipage as also in regard to the public worship of idols ; nor were the Hindus compelled to wear any distinctive marks like the zimmis (*Dhimmī*) in other countries.

Thus in the *Fatāwā-i Jahāndārī* Baranī depicts an ideal Muslim king of the type of Maḥmūd of Ghaznī and places before him the compendium of a polity and sound statesmanship, saying:

> 'The real administrator and ruler of the world is the Almighty Creator; all others are the temporal rulers and administrators, being the playthings of Destiny. 'O sons of Maḥmūd![2] It behoves you to attach the

1 F. J. B., MS, F. 120.

2 Baranī visualizes the Muslim rulers of Dehlī as descendants of Maḥmūd of *Ghazni*.

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greatest importance to sound statesmanship and not to take it lightly since it is an art the attainment of which can lead to the capture of the entire world and the failure to attain which may result in the destruction and distraction of the world. Should the kings consider the payment of a few tankas by way of *jizya* as sufficient justification for their allowing all possible freedom to the infidels to observe and demonstrate all orders and details of infidelity, to read the misleading literature of their faith and to propagate their teaching, how could the true religion get the upper hand over other religions and how could the emblems of Islām be held high?

'Now the fact is that the (Muslim) kings consider and believe the realization of a few tankas from the infidels and pagans by way of *jizya* as the highest service of theirs to Islām, to doing justice to truth, to bringing honour to the cause of righteousness and to increasing the light of Islām every hour. They do not even dream of extirpating the infidels and pagans. Far from this, they hold the infidels and pagans in the greatest respect and esteem and honour them highly by considering them as *Dhimmī* and *kharājī*, believing that as payers of *jizya* and khatāj they are the protected people. In view of this they concede to the infidels and pagans the insignia —the drums, standards, tight tunics, bejewelled and brocaded and well-equipped horses; they also confer on them responsible offices including governorship of provinces. Further they allow and like to see that in their own capital cities—the loftiness of the emblems of which keeps aloft the emblems of all the cities of Musalmans—the infidels and pagans should raise their palace-like lofty houses, that they should wear robes of brocade, that they should ride steeds equipped with gold and silver saddles, that they should be furnished with complete paraphernalia of greatness and enjoy all luxuries, employing Musalmans as their servants and keeping them in attendance before their horses, that poor Musalmans should come begging at their doors and that the infidels and pagans should in honour and

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respect enjoy the honorifics of *Rāi*, *Thākur*, *Mahant* and *Pandit*.

'Further if the Muslim kings agree that all philosophers of paganism who are really the enemies of Islām and the Prophet, should carry on an unrestrained and open propaganda of their books ; if the Muslim kings concede that Greek philosophy which is antagonistic to the teachings of all the prophets should be called the science of reason and that the literature of the *Sharaī'at* be called the science of tradition, and as a result of all this if such misbelievers establish themselves in the metropolis of the Muslim kings in all honour and dignity and disseminate their teachings, preferring their pagan philosophy[1] to Islamic literature how can Islām get the upper hand and how can truth rise to its legitimate place ?

'O sons of Mahmūd ! Sound statesmanship consists in recognizing and appreciating the truth and in relieving the subjects at the outbreak of famine by reducing the kharāj and the *jizya* and by further advancing loans and by completely abolishing the kharāj and the *jizya* if the famine grows rigorous and by directing the nobility to feed as many of the poor as possible.[2]

Great is the importance of the *Fatāwā-i Jahāndārī* without which Baranī's political thought would not have seen the light of day and his *Tārīkh-i Fīroz Shāhī* would have lacked a supplement and a commentary. It supplies negatively an evidence of the riches, prosperity and welfare of the law-abiding Hindus in the empire and shows that they enjoyed a position higher than that of the *ahl-i kitāb* or zimmis (*Dhimmī*) in general. The State made no distinction between the Hindū zimmis and Musalmans in matters political, social, economic and military. The *jizya*, nominally paid by them, brought no satisfaction to Baranī in the face of all the civil rights that they enjoyed. In the concluding few lines of the MS of the *Fatāwā-i Jahāndārī* Baranī praises his own work stating that the

1 *I. e.* Hindū philosophy.

2 Translated by me from the I.O. Manuscript 2646 and briefly reported on p. 323 *supra*.

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Fatāwā-i Jahāndārī is incomparable as regards 'the order, form and plan' and that it contains a discussion of 'all the commandments of government and state affairs with reference to principles as well as illustrations and example.'

Ranking *third* in the serial order of authorities—but first in significance—is the fragmentary *autobiography* or *memoir of Muḥammad bin Tughluq*. Rieu says: 'It contains an account of the successive usurpers of the Dehlī throne from the time of Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Balban to the defeat and death of Khusrau Khān (A. H. 720). Its anonymous writer appears to be no less a personage than Malik Fakhru'ddīn Jauna, afterwards Sulṭān Muḥammad bin Tughluq for he speaks in the first person of his flight from the degrading yoke of the Hindū's child (*Hindū bachcha*) Khusrau Khān and of the subsequent defeat of the same by the writer's father Ghāzī Malik, afterwards Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Tughluq who is stated to have ruled four years and ten months. These events are related by a contemporary historian Ẓiyāu'ddīn Baranī. In the next leaf, probably another detached fragment of the work, the author dwells on his religious doubts and his long search for the rightful Imām'[1].

Though incomplete, truncated and anonymous with no beginning and ending without the name of the copyist, this *memoir* is a revealing document. Only a fragment of four pages looking like a copy from the original of an autobiography survived the hands of destruction and is seen incorporated in an incomplete manuscript of the *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāṣirī* (Add. 25. 785) belonging to the British Museum. While this fragment contains bitter censures for Sulṭān Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Balban, Sulṭān Jalālu'ddīn Khaljī and Sulṭān 'Alāu'ddīn Khāljī, it abounds in appreciation and commendable references for the author's father, Sulṭān Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Tughluq—a fact which tends to establish the genuine authorship. That is, the author of the *memoir* under review was Muḥammad bin Tughluq who also relates his

1 *Catalogue of the Persian MSS in the British Museum*

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own story in the first person. A further probe into this document yields the following points:

(i) A chequered life and an intelligent but distressed mind, unfolded in it, bespeaking Muḥammad bin Tughluq.

(ii) The unambiguity and boldness of its expressions set off by its strong unfailing personal touch, bespeaking genuineness.

(iii) A conflict of ideas between the anonymous writer (Muḥammad bin Tughluq) and Sulṭān 'Alāu'ddīn Khaljī—a theme brought out by 'Iṣāmī under a distinct heading.[1]

(iv) The contents of *the memoir* being of obnoxious nature—containing some thrilling departures from the path of Sunnī orthodoxy—the royal magnanimity could not have disclosed these to a courtier like Baranī who stood miles apart from the basic thought of *the memoir*.

(v) 'Alāu'ddīn Khaljī is nicknamed *Gāo* (literally cow) which is proverbially timid and cowardly because he had killed his uncle in a cowardly manner.

(vi) The *mutaghallib* of *the memoir* is also the *mutaghallib* of Baranī's *Tārīkh-i Fīroz Shāhī* which says:

'When *Sulṭān Muḥammad* went from Dehlī to Sargadwarī it occurred to him that kingship and rule could not be legitimately enjoyed without the previous orders of the Khalīfa ; and every king who has ruled or rules without securing the investiture of the Abbasid caliph has been a usurper (*mutaghallib*) and will be called a usurper (*mutaghallib*). Then he ordered that the names of only those kings should be mentioned in the *khuṭba* who have been appointed or permitted by the Abbasid caliphs while the names of those who had not been permitted must be deleted from the *khuṭba* ; and he announced them as *mutaghallib*'.[2] This is a

1 F. S. I. verses 11,430-11,452. Also see p. 203 f.n. 1 and p. 267 f.ns. 2-3. *supra.*

2 T. F. S. B, pp. 491-492.

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confirmation of the term *mutaghallib* used in *the memoir* under review.

(vii) The tone of filial devotion in *the memoir* bears the stamp of genuineness and is in consistency with the chronicles.

(viii) The definition of the worldly 'ulamā in *the memoir* finds confirmation in the chronicles.

(ix) *The memoir's* confessions analysed below—
  (a) atheism involving the loss of faith in Allah and Islām and the Prophet ;
  (b) falling under the influence of some Hindū philosophers ;
  (c) recovery of faith in Allah, Islām and the Prophet ;
  (d) complete failure of the successive projects finding confirmation in the chronicles ;

(x) the anonymous writer admits his embarrassment and confusion of thought, which is also noticeable in the narrative of Baranī.

(xi) the *ijtehād* of the anonymous writer and its clash with Muslim orthodoxy.

A synthesis of these points will enable the reader to build a picture of Muḥammad bin Tughluq as drawn in the letters[1] of Sharaf Manerī as well as in the works of Baranī, Ibn Baṭṭuṭa, Muḥammad Kirmānī, and 'Iṣāmī ; and also in the inscriptions left behind by the Jain and Brahmin scholars. It will then follow that the authenticity of this *memoir* is indisputable ; and those who question it appear to plead for a rival ideology.[2] They cannot appreciate the upsurge of new religious ideas in the mind of Muḥammad bin Tughluq who was aiming at a reformation of Indian Islām. This was the nebulous sixth project, described above[3], which mobilized against him the deadly armoury of the penmanship of

1 Appendices I and O.

2 Khaliq Ahmad Nizami—*Studies in Medieval Indian History* (Aligarh, 1956) pp. 77-86.

3 *Vide* p. 381 *supra.* Also see p. 276 f.n. 2 *supra.*

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Muslim chroniclers. Hence Baranī's vendetta, caricaturing him as a weird mixture of opposites and a prodigy ranking with Nimrod and Pharaoh; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's vendetta, burlesquing him as a whimsical despot of the first-water and 'Iṣāmi's vendetta, which runs thus:

> 'While 'Alāu'ddīn had brought the whole of India under his control, Sulṭān Muḥammad lost it during his reign. While the former made Islām conspicuous, Hinduism has overspread the country under the latter. He uprooted the Muslims and installed the Hindus. He killed many saiyids with cruelty. God as well as man became displeased with him. His empire is in disorder from end to end; and the army chiefs have set their faces against him everywhere. He has no strength left to fight. He is like a disabled lion who has become a frog-eater.'[1]

In order to bring him down from the high pedestal of *'Ādil*—an epithet which Budāūnī ackowledged by calling him Muḥammad 'Ādil and which has survived in the name of his city and fortress, *i.e.* 'Ādilābād,—'Iṣāmī set up the rival claim of 'Alāu'ddīn Khaljī. But it was Sulṭān Muḥammad's habit—not of 'Alāu'ddīn Khaljī's—to show respect to the law and to invite complaints against himself. He attended the *qāẓī's* court like an ordinary defendant and submitted to the *qāẓī's* sentence and was seen undergoing punishment. These are the ways of an *'Ādil*. No wonder if such an *'Ādil* undertook to write a defence of his conduct and philosophy in the shape of a memoir the contents of which being of peculiar nature could not be disclosed even to a courtier like Baranī with whom his differences were as many as with the worldly 'ulamā. Perhaps he wrote a complete autobiography. But the invectives used in it against Sulṭān 'Alāu'ddīn Khaljī and the 'ulamā made it an anathema in the eyes of his co-religionists. What followed can be more easily imagined than described. Torn from the body of the book, only four pages[2] which happily contain the essence survived the vandalism of Fate.

1 F. S. I., verses 11.440-11,466.
2 See facsimile *the Memoirs* at the end of this book.

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It will be wrong to condemn this *fragmentary autobiography* as 'a ludicrous tissue of falsehoods[1] from beginning to end' on the plea that it contains an unseemly picture of Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Balban and 'Alāu'ddīn Khaljī or of the conventional Islām and Muslim society of those days. Surely the works of Baranī and 'Iṣamī contain an equally unseemly picture of Sulṭān Muḥammad bin Tughluq who hated the manner in which Balban and 'Alāu'ddīn had seized power and were called 'guides in Islām'. He did not like Amīr Khusrau raising 'Alāu'ddīn Khaljī to the height of Abū Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uṣmān and 'Alī[2].

It is true that Muḥammad bin Tughluq was not a braggart[3] and would not have come down 'to blacken a whole age in order to create a suitable background for his own glorification'.[4] But as the saying goes the circumstances make the man. Baranī repeatedly says that in killing the orthodox Musalmans and Sunnis, Sulṭān Muḥammad had exceeded all limits; and as a result he had come to be universally hated. He was called a *khūnī* sulṭān. Reason demands that such an accursed and *khūnī* sulṭān who ceaselessly called himself *'Ādil* must justify his aggressive and revolutionary philosophy or he must make apologies and abdicate. That he neither apologized nor abdicated in spite of Baranī's advice to that effect is a fact which suggests that Sulṭān Muḥammad wanted to speak for himself, justifying his conduct before the world.

It is idle to raise the question of style[5] since the style of an author is not always uniform and invariable; in fact style varies in varying climates and states of mind. Certainly the emperor's mind was highly distressed and he took up the pen in desperation. Perhaps the introduction and peroration which have not come down to us were of a higher standard. Anyway style is not always the only

1 Khaliq Ahmad Nizāmi—*Studies in Medieval Indian History*, p. 85

2 Kh. F. tr. p. 4

3,4 Khaliq Ahmad Nizami—*Studies in Medieval Indian History*, p. 78

5 *Op. cit.*

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criterion or touchstone; and in the present case the essence and substance of the words, phrases and expressions rather than their 'poverty' should be the decisive factor.

The *fourth* authority is the *Futūḥu's-Salāṭīn* of Khwāja 'Abdu'l-Malik 'Iṣāmī (I. O., 895). It is a poetical history of the sultans of Delhī from the rise of the Ghaznavid dynasty up to the reign of Muḥammad bin Tughluq, the date of composition being A. H. 750 (A.D. 1349).

The author was a contemporary of Muḥammad bin Tughluq, and wrote his book on the lines of the great Firdausī's *Shāh Nāma*. He dedicated it to his patron, 'Alāu'ddīn Ḥasan, the first Bahmanī king of the Deccan, a rebel against Sulṭān Muḥammad.

'Iṣāmī calls the Sulṭān a wretch,[1] and denounces him as insincere. He tells us that Muḥammad, while pretending to mourn the loss of his father, really rejoiced at heart. Under the heading 'delusion[2] practised by Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh bin Tughluq on the inhabitants of India,' the *Futūḥu's-Salāṭīn* informs us that on his accession, Muḥammad bin Tughluq made lavish promises to the people to give them sound and sympathetic administration, and captivated their hearts by profuse largesses. But his character changed almost completely, and he became distrustful and oppressive[3]. It was on account of this that Bahāu'ddīn Gurshāsp, governor of Sāgar,[4] revolted.

Being a spokesman of the aggrieved party in the country, Iṣāmī relates stories which were highly prejudicial to the Sulṭān, stories which found wide currency among the people, and were heard by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa. For example, 'Iṣāmī tells us that Bahāu'ddīn was ultimately skinned alive; that his skin stuffed with straw was paraded round the streets and that his flesh cooked with rice was placed before the elephants[5]. Almost the same is repeated by Ibn

1 F. S. I., verse 9,748
2 *Idem*., verse 8,015f.
3 *Ibid.*
4 *Vide* p. 216 f. n. 2 *supra.*
5 *Op. cit.*, verses 8,190-8,192

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Baṭṭūṭa. Again, 'Iṣāmī gives a highly coloured account of the transfer of Muslims (*khalq*[1]) from Dehlī to Daulatābad; and occasionally introduces short tales of the inhumanity and cruelty of Sulṭān Muḥammad, not unlike those found in the *Reḥla*.

The *Futūḥus-Salāṭin* makes it clear that oppressive measures were adopted by the Sulṭān mainly with a view to destroying the *aṣḥāb-i dīn*[2] (people of religion), the Hindus being exempted. Such was the object of the forced migration[3] from Dehlī to Daulatābād, and of the token[4] currency. Occasionally 'Iṣāmī speaks of universal destruction, but his language is not free from exaggeration. One day, he tells us, 'the Sulṭān rode up to the gardens along the banks of the Yamuna, and found the streets thronged with vendors and customers. He was so annoyed to see the prosperous condition of the town and the affluence of his people that he resolved immediately to destroy it. With this object in view he sent out the Qarāchil expedition. Another measure which he later adopted for the destruction of his people was to order the evacuation of Deogīr. All its inhabitants[5] were consequently sent off to Dehlī.

Finally under a heading 'applause[6] for Sulṭān 'Alāu'd-dīn Khaljī and censures for Muḥammad Shāh bin Tughluq Shāh,' 'Iṣāmī vehemently denounces Sulṭān Muḥammad for his revolt against Islām.

'Iṣāmī's *Futūḥu's-Salāṭīn* has been acknowledged by Niẓāmu'ddīn Aḥmad[7] as one of his authorities. It was also used by Firishta[8], and was known to Budāūnī.[9]

Most important of all the Arab travellers and writers—whose approach to historiography is different from that of

1 *Ibid.*, verse 8,483f.

2 See p. 191, *supra*.

3 *Futūḥu's-Salāṭīn*, verse 8,461f.

4 *Ibid.*, verses 8,715f.

5 *I.e.* orthodox Muslims or 'ulamā and mashāikh who alone counted in the eyes of Iṣāmī.

6 F. S. verses 11,409-11,468.

7 T. A. p. 3.

8 T. Fr. I, p. 234.

9 M. T. B., p. 236.

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the Turks—Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (1304-78) is the *fifth* authority. He started on his travels in 1325, and during the next eight years explored the whole of Northern Africa, Arabia, and Persia, the Levant and Constantinople, whence he came by the overland route to India. He reached Sind on the 12th of September, 1333 (1st *Muḥarram*, 734). We find in Ibn Baṭṭūṭa a quick-witted and observant youth, who acquainted himself with the customs and social habits of the *Indians*, and in all ways fitted himself to give detailed information about India. Muḥammad bin Tughluq appointed him *qāẓi*[1] of Dehli, which office he held about eight years. At last he lost the emperor's favour, and was interned. It was only after earnest prayers and supplications on his part that he was released. Afterwards he was sent as an ambassador to China (1342). Shipwrecked on the way, he feared to return to Dehlī, and proceeded to the Maldive Islands. Here he settled down for a year, and became a judge. About 1345 he set out for Ceylon, whence he repaired to Southern India, and stayed at Madūra. » He then proceeded to Chittagong, where he took a boat for China. Subsequently he performed the Ḥajj at Mecca, whence he returned to Morocco, his African home (1349). After another short journey (1352) in Central Africa he settled in Morocco (1353). Here at the court of Sulṭān Abū 'Inān, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa dictated the experiences of his journey to Abū 'Abdullāh Muḥammad bin Muḥammad, commonly known as Ibn Juzai, who edited them as the *Reḥla* (journey). Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, since, remained in Morocco, where he died at the age of 73 (1377-78).

As regards his qualifications, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa must rank higher than Baranī. He was a doctor of law and theology. Although he did not know Persian well, and possessed no knowledge of Hindī yet he had many opportunities to know the truth of the events. Not only did he enjoy the emperor's favour, but he was also a travelling-student, who had left his home to seek knowledge abroad.

1 The *Reḥla of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa* p. 129 (G. O. S.), Calcutta 1953.

The *sixth* authority is a Persian poet named Badru'd-dīn, a native of Chāch or Tāshkand. He came to India and attracted some notice at the court of Muḥammad bin Tughluq. His *odes* supply us invaluable information by means of chronograms, enabling us thus to fix the dates of certain events. Printed copies of the work are available in India, a famous translation with ample comments being made by 'Uṣmān Khān of Rāmpur. This as well as the India Office MSS. have been used in this work.

The *seventh* authority is the *Majmu'a-i Khānī*, a Persian MS., I. O., 2572. It is a manual of Muslim ecclesiastical law compiled by Kamāl Karīm Nāgaurī, and dedicated to Bahrām Khān. The India Office catalogue gives no account of Bahrām Khān. But Bahrām Khān has been identified with Qutlugh Khān, the tutor of Sulṭān Muḥammad.

The *Majmu'a-i Khānī* consists of a compilation of some passages from older works, the latest of which are (1) the *Naṣafī*, a commentary on the *al-Manẓūma* of Ḥafīẓu'ddīn Abu'l Barakāt Aḥmad bin 'Abdu'llāh an-Naṣafī, who died in 1310; and (2) the *Anfa'* of Burhānu'ddīn Ibrāhīm bin 'Alī al-Tarasūsī, who died in 1356. The *Majmu'a-i Khānī* was written during the reign of Muḥammad bin Tughluq in Daulatābād, the position of which it clearly mentions. It must, however, be regarded as a work of secondary importance.

The *eighth* authority is the *Basātīnu'l Uns*—a Persian manuscript at the British Museum, Add. 7717. It is a Hindū tale compiled by Muḥammad Ṣadr 'Ālā Aḥmad Ḥasan Dabīr, an hereditary servant at the Dehlī court, and a secretary of the royal chancery. The importance of this work lies in the fact that it was composed in the first year of Muḥammad bin Tughluq's reign and gives a detailed account of Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Tughluq's Tirhut expedition. The author was in the emperor's suite and feelingly describes his own sufferings in the course of the return journey to Dehlī. He makes commendable references to Muḥammad bin Tughluq.

The *ninth* authority is the *Masāliku'l-Abṣār* by Shihābu'ddīn Aḥmad 'Abbās (1300-1350) who was a native of Damascus. He never came to India, but

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gathered his information about the country from the travellers of Turkish breed and temperament with whom he came in contact. The value of his work lies in his account of the characteristic features of civilisation under Muḥammad bin Tughluq. An Arabic manuscript of the *Masāliku'l-Abṣār* which has been used by me lies in the *Bibliothéque Nationale* of Paris. A French translation of it is found in Quatremére's *Notices des Manuscrits*, Tome Treizième, which has also been used.

The *tenth* authority the *Siyaru'l-Auliyā*,—by Muḥammad bin Mubārak Kirmānī,—is a life of Shaikh Niẓāmu'ddīn Auliyā, and contains references to Muḥammad bin Tughluq, and to his relations with the saints, particularly with the disciples of Shaikh Niẓāmu'ddīn Auliyā. The author was a contemporary of Muḥammad bin Tughluq. He throws light on certain points connected with sufism.

The British Museum Manuscript (Or. 1746) has been compared with the printed edition (Dehlī Press, 1884).

The *eleventh* authority is the *Munshāt-i Māhrū* of 'Ainu'l-Mulk Multānī. It was written under Fīroz Shāh. It is extremely valuable for the history of Muḥammad bin Tughluq and that of Firoz Shāh since the author had been a servant of both. It is to be regretted that this work is more literary than historical. A manuscript No. 338 of the Asiatic Society has been used.

A fine set of Sanskrit works produced during the first half of the fourteenth century should be considered as the *twelfth* authority. These are the *Vividha Tirtha Kalpa*[1] of Jinaprabha Suri, the *Kathakoṣa*[2] of the Jain saints, the *Prabandhacintamani*[3] of Merutanga, the *Prabandhakoṣa* of Rajasekhara,[4] the *Vatthusarapayaranam*

1 This is edited by Jina Vijaya and published at Santiniketan (1934).

2 Literally 'a treasury of stories'. It has been edited by Pandit Jagdish Lal and published at Lahore, 1942 A.D.

3 It was written about 1304/1361 V.S. and has been translated into English by Tawney, C. H.

4 Rajasekhara was a jeweller and a merchant of the age of Sulṭān Muḥammad bin Tughluq. He wrote the book in 1348-49/1405 V. S.

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and *Vastūsāra* of Feru[1] and the *Aitihasik Jain Kavyasangraha*[2]. The *Vividha Tirtha Kalpa* also called *Kalpa Pradipa* initiates the reader into the story of Sulṭān Muḥammad's visit to the Jain tirthas where he performed religious rites of the Jains. The remaining works are equally informative and create a favourable impression about the sultans' attitude towards non-Islamic peoples and their religions. Never is there an ugly word used about the sultans. It is evident from the said works that no Hindū or Jain saint was ever killed or harassed on account of his religious belief.

The *thirteenth* authority is the *Futūḥāt-i Fīroz Shāhī* literally the victories of Fīroz Shāh. It is a *brochure* from the pen of Fīroz Shāh, giving briefly the exploits of his reign. It tends to exhibit the humanity and generosity of Fīroz Shāh amidst his earnest endeavours to perform his duties as illustrated by some of his sayings, given above. Being a true picture of his mind, ideology and deeds the *Futūḥāt-i- Fīroz Shāhī* helps the reader also to understand his foibles, particularly his distorted view of Islām, resulting in his bigotry, demolition of idol-houses and proscription of Muslim dissenters. But he was swept along the currents of reaction and was exploited by the 'ulamā who headed the reaction.

Fīroz Shāh concludes his *Futūḥāt-i Firoz Shāhī* saying, 'My object in writing this book has been firstly to express my gratitude to the All-bountiful for the many and various blessings He has bestowed on me; secondly that men who desire to be good and prosperous may read this and learn the *proper* course that I have pursued.'[3]

The *fourteenth* authority *is the Tārikh-i Fīroz Shāhī* of Shams Sirāj 'Afīf—so called because it deals exclusively with Fīroz Shāh's reign. It was written in Dehlī some years after the invasion of Tīmur. The actual date of writing is not known, though a study of its contents places it in the first decade of the 15th century.

1 Feru, T. was a jeweller of the age of 'Alāu'ddīn Khaljī. He wrote the books about 1313/1372 V. S.

2 Calcutta, V.S. 1994. 3 F.F. Persian text pp. 2 and 19.

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Shams Siraj Afīf was born in 1350 in a family of Abohar —a town which was in those days a dependency of Dipālpur east of the Rāvī. His great-grandfather Malik Sa'dul Mulk Shihāb 'Afīf was the revenue collector (*'amaldār*) of Abohar during the reign of Sulṭān Alāu'ddīn Khaljī. His grandfather Shihāb 'Afīf was born the same year (1309/709) in which Fīroz Shāh was born. His father Shams 'Afīf was also a contemporary of Fīroz Shāh though his birth and antecedents have not been recorded. But he is reported to have served in different capacities during the reign of Fīroz Shāh, particularly as an inspector of the river banks and as an attendant in the Bengal, Jājnagar and Nagarkot expeditions. On the royal flotilla sailing in the course of the Sind expedition from Bhakkar to Tatta he was put in charge of a division of one thousand boats. For some time he acted as superintendent of the holy tombs and served also in the ministerial department (*diwān-i wizārat*) of Dehlī. He grew to manhood during the reign of Fīroz Shāh and had free access to him. Occasionally he accompanied him in his hunting expeditions and frequently attended the royal court.

Unlike its namesake—the *Tārīkh-i Fīroz Shāhī* of Ẓiyāu'ddīn Baranī—the *Tarīkh-i Fīroz Shāhī* of 'Afīf is written in simple and lucid style and is absolutely free from high figures of speech and rhetoric. It is in the form of a monograph presenting in full the story of Fīroz Shāh's long reign (1351-1388). It also gives some cultural aspects of the reign and may be regarded as a sort of compendium of life in Hindustān in the latter half of the 14th century.

Shams Sirāj 'Afīf also wrote four other books, namely the *Manāqib-i 'Alāi'*, *Manāqib-i Sulṭān Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Tughluq Shāh*, *Manāqib-i* Sulṭān Muḥammad and *Dhikr-i Kharābī-i Dehlī*. The first three were panegyrics of 'Alāu'ddīn Khaljī, Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Tughluq and Muḥammad bin Tughluq respectively while the fourth dealt with the devastation of Dehlī at the hands of Tīmur. But all these are extinct.

'Afīf became a disciple of Shaikh Quṭbu'ddīn Munawwar, a ṣūfī saint of the Chishtiya order and a contemporary

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of Muḥammad bin Tughluq. He wrote the history of Fīroz Shāh from the ṣūfī point of view and identified him with his own order.

The Bibliotheca Indica edition of this work has been compared with another edition called Calcutta Collection.

The *fifteenth* authority is the *Sīrat-i Fīroz Shāhī*. It is an annonymous work written during the reign of Fīroz Shāh and probably at his instance. It gives a trustworthy account of the early part of his reign and may be called a bigger edition of the *Futūḥāt-i Fīroz Shāhī* inasmuch as it is a kind of *chanson de jeste* in prose form, extolling the deeds of Fīroz Shāh and the achievements of his reign. While it throws flashes of light on almost all aspects of the government and administration including the learning and culture of the age it brings into special relief the two Asoka pillars. The first pillar described in Persian as '*munāra-i zarrīn*'—golden pillar, was transplanted from Tobra, a village near Khiẓrābād along the Yamuna into the Firozābād palace ; and the second was taken from Mirath into the hunting place (*koshak-i-shikār*) at Firozābād.

A manuscript of the *Sīrat-i Fīroz Shāhī* is preserved at the Oriental Library, Bankipore. From a verse at the end of this manuscript it appears that this work was originally written in 1370/772. It finds no place in Elliot's monumental work—The *History of India as told by its own historians.*

The *sixteenth* authority is the *Tārīkh-i Mubārak Shāhī* of Yaḥya bin Aḥmad of Sirhind written during the reign of Mubārak Shāh (1421-1434), the second king of the Saiyed dynasty. It is the only available history for a period of forty-six years from 1388 to 1434. It presents a first-hand account of the history of Hindustān for about twenty years covering the period of the first two Saiyed kings (1414-1434). It has been considered an authority on this period by all the later writers including Niẓāmu'ddīn Aḥmad Bakhshī, Budāūnī and Firishta. Yaḥya bin Aḥmad had access to Sulṭān Mubārak Shāh and was favourably placed in government circles to be able to know the events and describe them in detail. His book commences with the reign

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of Muḥammad bin Sām commonly known as Mu'izzu'ddīn Muḥammad of Ghor and ends abruptly in 1424.

The author had lived through part of the reign of Fīroz Shāh; his work may be regarded as a contemporary authority, particularly for the period of Fīroz Shāh's successors. The Bibliotheca Indica edition has been used in this work.

The *seventeenth* authority is the *Malfūẓāt-i Timurī i.e.*, an autobiography of Tīmūr. Originally written in Turkī it was translated early in the 17th century into Persian by Abū Ṭālib Ḥusainī who presented it to Shāhjahān. Shāhjahān considered it a genuine work. Suspicions cast as to its genuineness in the latter part of the 19th century are now completely set aside. It is considered an authentic work written under the personal care of Tīmūr. Its account about India is confirmed by Sharafu'ddīn Yazdī, a contemporary of Tīmūr and author of the famous *Ẓafar Nāmā*. The *Ẓafar Nāmā*, literally a book of victory, was originally written in Persian in A.D. 1424. It is but a partial biography of Tīmūr and does not commence until the 25th year of his life. Muḥammad Afẓal, the preceptor of Shāhjahān, was employed by that emperor in 1047/1637 to revise Abū Ṭālib Husainī's version of the *Malfūẓāt-i Tīmurī* and to bring it into complete accord with the *Ẓafar Nāmā*.

Non-Contemporary

(1) The *Ṭabaqāt-i Akbarī*, a work written by Niẓāmu'ddīn Aḥmad under Akbar the Great, contains an account of Muḥammad bin Tughluq. There is a manuscript of this work, Add. 6543. in the British Museum, which has been used. References are, however, given to the Bibliotheca Indica edition.

(2) The *Muntakhabu't-Tavārikh* of 'Abdul Qādir Budāūnī (1541-1595) is another work written in the time of Akbar the Great. The author throws new light on several aspects of Muḥammad bin Tughluq's reign. There is a manuscript, Add. 6581, in the British Museum which has

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been consulted. But the Bibliotheca Indica edition has been referred to in this work.

(3) The *Tārīkh-i Firishta*, written by Muḥammad Qāsim Hindū Shāh Astraābādhī[1] about 1606, contains a detailed and useful account of the period under review. But the author gives neither accurate dates nor makes always very authentic statements. The Bombay edition (1831) largely used in this work has been compared with the Lucknow edition (1864).

(4) *Ḥājjīu'ddabīr* or Ḥāji Dabīr, the famous author of the *Arabic History of Gujarāt*, was a contemporary of Firishta. He borrows his information not only from Barani, but also from Ḥusām Khān's *Tārīkh-i Bahādur Shāhī*. The latter appears to have used sources of which we possess no knowledge. The manuscript of this history was discovered and edited by Sir E. Denison Ross, who also discovered that Ḥājī Dabīr was the first to make use of Ḥusām Khān's *Tārīkh-i Bahādur Shāhī*.

(5) The *Burhān-i Ma'āṣir* (B M., Add. 9996 9998), by 'Alī bin 'Azīz Ullāh Ṭabāṭabāī, is a history of the Niẓām Shāhī dynasty of Aḥmadnagar. It was finished about 1595. It gives an account of 'Ālāu'ddīn Ḥasan Shāh Bahmanī, founder of the Bahmanī dynasty, and a servant of, and rebel against, Muḥammad bin Tughluq. An abridged translation of this work by King, J. S. (B. M., 09057), with the parts published in the Indian Antiquary, has also been consulted.

(6) The *Khulāṣatu't Tavārīkh* of Sujān Rāi (B.M., 55, 59), the Hindū historian of Aurangzeb's reign, written in 1695-96, supplies useful information regarding the origin of Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Tughluq and the Panjāb flood. A manuscript of this work, which lies in the library of the School of Oriental Studies, London, has been used.

(7) The *Maṭlūbu'ṭ-Ṭālibīn*, written in 1111/1699 by Muḥammad Bulāq, is a biography of Shaikh Niẓāmu'ddīn Auliyā. It supplies useful information regarding the Afghān-

1 Astrabādh is a Persian town, near the south-eastern corner of the Caspean Sea.

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pūr tragedy. The manuscript of this work in the India Office library (No. 653) has been used.

(8) The *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* of Muḥammad Ḥaidar Dughlat, written towards the middle of the sixteenth century and translated into English by Ney Elias and Sir Edward Denison Ross (London, 1895), contains a useful reference to the Qaraunas.

Central Asian Histories

(1) The *Shajaratu'l-Atrāk* or *Ulūs-i Arba'ah Chingīzī* was written about the middle of the fifteenth century. It is based on a similarly entitled work of Sulṭān Ulugh Beg Mirza. It contains a detailed account of the successors of Chingīz Khān and makes a reference to Tarmashīrīn. Its manuscript (Add. 26,190) in the British Museum together with its abridged translation by Col. Wm. Miles (London, 1838) has been used.

(2) The *Maṭla'us'-Sa'dain* or *Majma'-i Baḥrain* by 'Abdur Razzāq of Samarqand, is a history of trans-Indus countries from 1335 to 1468. It throws light on the story of Tarmashīrīn. Manuscripts of this (Add. 17,928 and 192) lie in the British Museum and the India Office; and have been used.

(3) The *Rauẓatu's-Ṣafā*, by Muḥammad ibn Khāvand Shāh, called Mīr Khvānd, is a general history of the world from the earliest times down to 1497, in seven volumes. The fifth volume contains useful information about the Chaghatais. It also throws light upon the history of the Qaraunas. The printed edition of this work (Bombay, 1854) has been used.

(4) The *Ḥabibu's-Siyar*, a general history of the world, was written by Ghiyāṣu'ddīn bin Ḥumamu'ddīn, otherwise known as Khondāmīr, in 1523. It is extremely useful for the history of the Mongols, and contains important references to Tarmashīrīn. The printed edition (Teheran, 1855) has been used in this book. There is also a manuscript of it, Add. 23,508, in the British Museum.

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Provincial Histories

Sind.

(1) The *Tārikh i Ma'ṣūmī* or *Tārīkh-i Sind* makes references to the Sumeras, and to the history of Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Tughluq, Muḥammad bin Tughluq and Firoz Shāh and his successors. The British Museum manuscript (Add. 24,091) as well as the edition published by Sind the Adabi Board, Karachi has been used.

(2) The *Tuḥfatu'l-Kirām*, written by Mīr 'Alī Shir Qānī of Tatta about 1766, has been drawn upon in connection with the Sumeras. The British Museum manuscript (Add. 21,589) has been used.

Bengal.

The *Riyāẓu's-Salāṭīn*, written in 1788 by Ghulām Husain, is not accurate enough. It has been supplemented by a study of the numismatic records, the *Reḥla*, and the *Tārīkh-i Firishta*. Charles *Stewart's History of Bengal* (London, 1813) has also been used.

Gujarāt.

The *Mirāt-i Aḥmadī*, written about 1762, by 'Alī Muḥammad Khān, supplies useful information about the history of Gujarāt from the beginning of Muslim rule. The Gaekwad's Oriental series edition (Baroda, 1927-8), together with its supplement, translated by Syed Nawāb 'Alī and Mr. C. N. Seddon (Baroda, 1924), has been used. There is also a manuscript (Add. 6580) in the British Museum, which has been consulted. The *Mir'at-i Sikendarī* of Sikandar (Bombay and Baroda editions) has also been used.

Modern Works

(1) *Histoire des Mongols* par D'Ohosson, in four volumes (Amsterdam, 1835), helps us to study the history of the Mongols, particularly of the Il-Khāns of Persia.

(2) *History of the Mongols* by Howorth, H. H., in four parts (London, 1876), is equally useful.

(3) *History of Rājpūtāna*, in two volumes, and the *History of Udaipur*, written in Hindī, by Gaurī

Shankar Ojha (Ajmer), are extremely valuable. The author has made use of the Rājpūt traditions and stories, and has particularly used Muhnot Nainsi's *Khyata*, completed in the middle of the seventeenth century. The references made by Nainsi, as well as by Gaurī Shankar Ojha, to the history of Muḥammad bin Tughluq's reign have been carefully studied.

(4) *Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion*, by Barthold, (W. London, 1928), is an important work, and has been used as far as it was necessary.

Many other works in Arabic as well as in English like the *Tārīkh-i Abu al-Fidā—Al-Mukhtaṣar fi Akhbār il-Bashar* —(Constantinople, 1297), the *Tārīkhu'l-Khulafā* of Jalālu'd-dīn As-Suyūṭī (Egypt, 1887); Yule's *Marco Polo* (London, 1926) and *Tod's Rajasthan* (edited by Crooke, W., London, 1920) have been used; and others still are referred to in footnotes in the course of this book. The *Epigraphia Indica, Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica, Archaeological Survey Reports, Imperial and District Gazetteers, numismatic and epigraphic records, census reports*, and various historical journals, for instance, the *Journal of Royal Asiatic Society*, the *Indian Antiquary and Islamic Culture* have also been consulted.

The numismatic and epigraphic sources of the history of Tughluq dynasty are described in a chapter[1] on coinage and in an appendix[2] on inscriptions. Here the reader's attention is invited to the following extracts:

> Ibn Baṭṭūṭa gives an inscription of the principal mosque at Multān, saying: I saw an inscription on the *sanctum sanctorum* of the *jāmi' masjid* at Multān which had been constructed by Tughluq. The inscription ran as follows:
>
> 'I have fought twenty-nine battles with the Tartars and have defeated them. Hence I have been named Maliku'l-Ghāzī.'[3]

1 Chapter xvii 2 Appendix B

3 *The Rehla of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa* p. 48

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Ẓiyāu'ddīn Baranī explains the term *Maliku'l-Ghāzi* as *Ghāzī Malik* who had defeated the Mongols completely in twenty battles[1].

There is also an inscription of Sulṭān Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Tughluq's reign, now placed at the Udaipur museum. It belonged to the Chittor Fort and was found lying loose there. The text is in Persian which throws some light on the history of Chittor in that age. It mentions Asadu'ddīn Arsalān, a nephew of the Sulṭān, as builder of some construction. The impression of the date is obliterated from the slab, but the probability is that it was prepared in the year of Sulṭān Ghiyāṣu'ddīn's accession.[2]

There are also some buildings which bear no inscription but are highly suggestive and tell their own tale. They must be included in the list of sources. These are:

(i) the stupendous fort of Tughluqābād which is built of enormous blocks of sandstone, cut from the surrounding hills;

(ii) the citadel which is connected with the fort by means of a viaduct of twenty-seven arches;

(iii) the solid mausoleum of Sulṭān Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Tughluq. Its massive structure bespeaks the kind of man buried in it.

Then there are some silver and copper coins of Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Tughluq said to have been struck on the eve of his Bengal campaign, reproducing his name in Nagri script.[3] This is an index of his liberalism and a pointer to his religious tolerance.

Similarly Sulṭān Muḥammad bin Tughluq Shāh's name inscribed in Sanskrit verse on a slab in the Chunār fort[4] and in Devanagari characters on the third storey of the Quṭb mīnār[5] is an index. His public works at Dehlī

1 T. F. S. B., p. 416

2 *Epigraphia Indica* Arabic and Persian supplement, 1955-56, p. 67.

3 C. P. K. D., p. 191.

4 C. P. K. D., p. 261 5 *Ibid.*

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which may also be considered as a source of his history are:

(i) the city and fort of 'Ādilābād at the south-east corner of Tughluqābād. The fort still stands though the city has disappeared completely.

(ii) the *satpulah* or seven-arched dyke between Chirāgh Dehlī and Khirkī

(iii) the city of Jahānpanāh comprising 'a complete fortification of the suburbs of Dehlī from the Quṭb mīnār to the present village of Shāhpūr, formerly an extreme projection of Sīrī.'[1]

Edward Thomas gives three Persian inscriptions of Fīroz Shāh. These are reproduced below:

(i) Inscription on the fifth storey of the Quṭb mināŗ, dated A. H. 770/A. D. 1371. It gives a clear evidence of the fact that the Quṭb mīnār 'was commenced under the auspices of Mu'izzu'ddīn Muḥammad bin Sām and removes the misunderstanding that Fīroz Shāh 'had actually built the two upper storeys of the mīnār.'[2]

(ii) Inscription in Chirāgh Dehlī,[3] dated A. H. 775/A. D. 1376. It announces the construction of a dome or domed gateway by Fīroz Shāh at the entrance of Shaikh Naṣīru'ddīn Chirāgh Dehlī's[4] mausoleum. The Shaikh had died in 757/1358.

(iii) Inscription in Banaras, dated A. H. 777/A.D. 1378. It says that a certain Ẓiyā Aḥmad built a mosque with all the necessary parts at the *khānqāh* (*maqām-i mutabarrika*) of a saint named Saiyed Fakhru'ddin 'Alawī the martyr during the reign of Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh.

1 *Op. cit*

2 C.P.K.D.E., pp. 284-288

3 *Idem.*

4 Chirāgh Dehlī was the name given in honour of the saint Shaikh Naṣīru'ddin *Chirāgh Dehlī* (*vide* pp. 373, 378, 389 *supra*) to the environs of Dehli, near Shāhpūr and Khirki within the enclosure of Jahānpanāh. In this particular area lived the aforesaid saint, now known by his surname. After his death (757/1338) he was buried in or near his residence.

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Edward Thomas considers this inscription important because 'it affords a fresh example of the avowed Muslim policy of appropriating idol temples.' But there is absolutely no trace, not even an insinuation, that the said mosque was built with the materials of any temple.[1]

As is evident from many of his coins with the names of the Egyptian caliphs[2] Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh never discontinued his own name from the coinage.[3] Unlike his predecessor he gave himself titles of *nāib*[4] and *khalīfa*[5] of the *amīru'l-momenīn*.[6] While the legend on one of the coins has *Fīroz Shāh Sulṭānī*[7] no coin of his bears the word 'Tughluq', not even as a suffix. This tends to show the legitimate place of coins in the study of sources.

An inscription of Nāṣiru'ddīn Muḥammad on his father's tomb at the Ḥauẓ-i Khāṣṣ bears evidence to the prince's filial devotion.[8] None of his numerous slaves thought of doing to Fīroz Shāh the service which, after all, his much-neglected and afflicted son performed amidst indescribable difficulties.

Further, the coins of Nāṣiru'ddin Muḥammad bear, as had been the custom, the title of the Abbasid and Egyptian caliph, thus showing the fact that regard for the caliphate, which had become a dead institution, was still a religio-political tenet with the sultans of Dehlī. And this formality was ceaselessly observed till the end of the Tughluq dynasty.

1 Surely there is no Islamic injunction that mosques or Muslim shrines should be built with the material of Hindū temples. Misguided by some such notion Edward Thomas (pp. 286-288) endeavours to build his thesis. But he regrets the want of information about the saint Saiyid Fakhru'ddin 'Alawī

2 *E.g.* Abu'l Abbās, al-Mu'taẓid, Abu'l Fatḥ and Abū 'Abdullāh. C.P.K.D.E., pp. 274-277

3 Sulṭān Muḥammad had discontinued his own name and struck coins giving the Caliphs' names only. See coins of the years 741, 742 and 743. C.P.K D.E. p. 259

4, 5 *Op. cit.* pp. 275-276

6 Literally commander of the faithful was the title of the caliph

7 *Op. cit.* p. 276

8 C. P. K. D. E., p. 310.

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APPENDIX A

Two Capitals

The *Subḥu'l 'Āshā*[1], an Arabic work of 8th century Hijra (14th century A.D.) gives two capitals of the empire of Sulṭān Muḥammad bin Tughluq under distinct headings:

First Capital

'It is a big city situated in plain earth and its soil is a mixture of stone and sands. There is a wall round the city made of baked bricks; and it is bigger than the wall of Ḥamāt[2].

'The city is far away from the sea; and at a distance of about three miles from it runs a big river which is smaller than the Euphrates. And the city has a few gardens but there are no grapes. Rains come in the summer season. The principal mosque of the city has a tower the like of which the world does not know. It is built of red stone and has about 300 stairs, and possesses big sides and great height and a vast base. Its height amounts to 600 cubits.

'It is narrated in the *Masāliku'l Abṣār* on the authority of Shaikh Mubārak Ambātī that Dehlī is a collection of several cities each of which has a name of its own, Dehlī being one of these. Says Shaikh Abū Bakr bin Khallāl: 'The area indicated by the name of Dehlī at present comprises twenty-one cities.'

1 The author Aḥmad Abu'l 'Abbās al-Qalqashandī wrote in 791 Hijra (1389 A.D.) It was printed and published in Cairo in 1331 H./A.D. 1913. It runs into 15 big volumes containing detailed information of the then Muslim world. The account of India with Dehli and Deogir (Daulatābād) as its *two distinct capitals* is given in the 5th volume, pp. 68-70.

2 Hamāt was a magnificent city of great magnitude near Aleppo.

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'Dehlī is taken as the all-India capital and as the residence of the Sulṭān. It contains his palaces and buildings specially meant for his abodes and the abode of his wives and the dwellings of his slave and favourite girls besides those intended for the houses of his servants and slaves. None of the khans and amirs live with him, and none of them stays there except when one presents oneself on duty. After the duty hours everyone of the khans and maliks goes back to his own house.

'There are gardens on three sides of the city—east, south and north—running in a straight line twelve miles long in each case. Only the western side remains without any gardens since it borders on a series of hills, behind which are many cities and provinces'.

Second capital—Deogīr

'The city of Deogīr is a vast area. It is related in the *Masāliku'l-Abṣār* on the authority of Shaikh Mubārak Ambātī that it was an ancient town, which was renovated by Muḥammad bin Tughluq Shāh who named it Qubbatu'l Islām (centre of Islām). It is said that he left[1] it before it was completed. The Sulṭān had planned it to be built and had divided it into several parts in such a manner that for every group of people there was a special quarter—a quarter for the army; a quarter for wazirs; a quarter for the secretaries; a quarter for the 'ulamā and qazis and a quarter for the sufis and derwishes. And in each quarter were provided all the necessaries—mosques, markets, public bathing places, grinding mills and ovens—and a quarter for merchants and craftsmen of every trade—goldsmiths, dyers and tanners so that the residents of one quarter did not stand in need of the residents of other quarters in the matter of buying and selling and in all other transactions so much so that every quarter looked like a substantive city.'[2]

1 The emperor left Daulatābād for Dehlī in 1328 (*vide* pp. 218-222 *supra*). He did not go southward until 1334. About 1337 he revised his policy of making Daulatābād a second capital. Probably the *Subḥu'l-'Āshā* refers to the year 1328 when the emperor left Daulatābād, the projected constructions being in progress. *cf.* p. 166 f.n. 1, *supra*,

2 Same as foot-note 1, p. 591

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APPENDIX B

Inscriptions

With reference to the above remark[1] that the term Tughluq was neither used as cognomen nor as nomenclature—nor was it used as a dynastic name—and that the numismatic evidence is borne out by inscriptional evidence the reader's attention is hereby invited to the following inscriptions:

(i) *Rajahmahendry Inscription.*

This records the erection of a mosque by Sālār 'Alawī in 1324/724. The inscription was made after Ulugh Khān's conquest of Telingāna, and apparently after his occupation of Rajahmahendrī. It runs as follows:—

'It is the abode of God.

During the reign of the great Sulṭān Ghiyāṣu'ddūnya (waddīn)...Abu' (l-Muẓaffar) Tughluq Shāh, the Sulṭān (May God perpetuate his kingdom and sovereignty, and elevate his authority and dignity !), and during the ever-increasing prosperity (*i.e.*, prosperous regime) of the khān of the world, Ulugh Khān, the humble servant soliciting the mercy of God....Sālār (?) 'Alawī built this mosque on the 20th of the auspicious month of *Ramaẓān* (may its blessings be universal !), 724 (Monday, 10th September, A.D. 1324.)'[2]

(ii) *Chittor Inscription*

An inscription in Persian verse on a slab is built up into a wall of the tomb of Ghaibī Pīr near the Dehlī gate

1 *Vide* p. 55 *supra*.

2 E. I. M. 1923-24, p. 13.

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of Chittor. The third and fourth verses mentioning the name of Sulṭān Muḥammad run as follows:

کہ بعہد خدائگان جہاں　　بادشاہ ہمہ زمین و زماں
نام شاہ محمد شاہ　　شہریار زمانہ ملک پناہ

(The master of the world, the king of the earth, his name is Muḥammad Shāh. He is the emperor of this age and refuge of the country.[1])

(iii a) *Naraina and Sarban Inscriptions*

The Sanskrit inscriptions of Naraina and Sarban completely ignore 'Tughluq' and give the name of the regnant king as Muḥammad Shāh (*Mahammada Sāhī*).[2]

(iii b) *Cambay, Hindaun, Petlad, Veraval, Kāghzipura and Dholka inscriptions*[3]

All these inscriptions show that 'Tughluq' was then used to indicate the name of the father of Sulṭān Muḥammad. The Cambay inscription has further entailed a discussion about the period of Sulṭān Tughluq Shāh's reign and the date of Sulṭān Muḥammad's accession. A summary of the said discussion which was published elsewhere,[4] is reproduced below for the reader's convenience.

The text of the Cambay inscription announces the construction of a *jāmi'masjid* by one Daulat Shāh Muḥammad al-Būtahārī on 18th *Muḥarram* (4th January, 1325 A D.) during the reign of Muḥammad bin Tughluq. Malik Daulat Shāh was an important amīr of the court of Muḥammad bin Tughluq, but he was not known at all as a

1 *Epigraphia Indica* (Arabic and Persian Supplement) 1955-56, pp. 67-70

2 *Vide* pp. 325, 329 *supra*.

3 Husain, A. M.—*Six Inscriptions of Sulṭān Muḥammad bin Tughluq Shāh*, edited and translated with full commentary. See *Epigrahia Indica*, 1957-58.

4 *Journal of Archaeological Department*, Government of India. 1957-1958.

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builder of mosques and was not associated with Cambay. Even if he be the same man who according to the epigraphic report founded the Cambay mosque his narration of the Cambay mosque is reticent, cryptic and truncated. The 18th of *Muḥarram* 725 (4th January 1325) must be taken as the date of commencement of the mosque; then leaving it in the process of construction Malik Daulat Shāh left Cambay and joined the Lakhnautī expedition of Tughluq Shāh. On Tughluq Shāh's return from Lakhnautī by *Sha'bān* 725 (July 1325), Malik Daulat Shāh too came back but the unforeseen tragedy of Afghānpūr occurring on the first of *Sha'bān* 725 (13th July 1325) brought about the death of Tughluq Shāh and the accession of his son Ulugh Khān (now Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh), during whose reign the construction of the Cambay mosque which had been in progress since the 18th of *Muḥarram* 725 was completed. If it be contended that Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh bin Tughluq Shāh had ascended the throne a few days before the 18th of *Muḥarram* 725 when the mosque was completed, the contention will immediately fall to the ground for no sizable building, let alone the *jāmi' masjid* or cathedral mosque of Cambay, could be constructed in the short span of a few days or a fortnight. It must also be noted that the process of the construction of buildings was then much slower than in these days of mechanics and technical engineering.

Each of the five authorities—'Iṣāmī, Baranī, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, Sulṭān Muḥammad and Yaḥyā bin Aḥmad—conveys almost the same information regarding the period and dates of Tughluq Shāh's reign; and their manner of expression testifies to the independence of outlook and freedom from exaggeration. Baranī mentions the period twice over—in the first instance 'four years and a few months' and in the second instance 'four to five years.' Now Baranī's 'four to five years' corroborate the 'four years and ten months' given by Sulṭān Muḥammad who says, 'And my father ruled with everybody's support for four years and ten months.' Computing from the 1st of *Sha'bān* 720 Hijra (6th September 1320 A. D.) the date of Tughluq Shāh's enthronement —the period of four years and ten months will extend to

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Jumāda II, A H 725 (May 1325 A. D.) and the date of his death will fall in May. But 'Iṣāmī takes it further on. His narrative gives July instead of May; and, in fact, fixes the first of *Sha'bān* 725 (13th July 1325) as the date of Tughluq Shāh's death. Thus he gives full five years as the period of Tughluq Shāh's reign. But he contradicts himself by giving 724 as the year of Sulṭān Muḥammad's accession. The year 724 is not seen on any of the coins of Sulṭān Muḥammad.

To revert: The Hindaun and Petlad inscriptions resemble the above-mentioned Sanskrit inscriptions in more than one respect. They call Muḥammad bin Tughluq 'lord of the sultans, lord of the rulers of the earth and emperor'; so do the Sanskrit inscriptions.[1] The Petlad epigraph, further elucidates the practice—brought out for the first time by the Sanskrit inscr¹ptions of the construction of wells for public use and for quenching the thirst of the thirsty wayfarers.

The Veraval, Kāghzīpūra and Dholka inscriptions follow suit. All the three describe Muḥammad bin Tughluq as lord of the earth and chief of the rulers of the world and as caliph of the age. And the Dholka inscription bears silent testimony to the fact that the Hindū and Muslim places of worship and sanctity then stood and flourished within remarkable proximity of each other without being an eyesore to the orthodox on either side. Such was the case with Qāẓī Buhlul mosque at Dholka, which was a place of great sanctity to the Hindūs and Jains and abounded in temples and idol-houses.

(iv) Over sixty inscriptions, belonging to the reign of Fīroz Shāh, give his name as Fīroz Shāh without the suffix Tughluq. Those which are in Sanskrit or in Sanskrit-Persian and throw light on the life and prosperity of the Hindus are listed below in the footnotes.[2]

1 *Vide* pp. 324-332 *supra*.

2 Found at Amber, Rajasthan, recording in Sanskrit as well as in Persian, the construction of a step-well during the governorship of Malik Khurram through the best efforts of Ram Deva. It announces the allotment of some quantity of salt for its maintenance.

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(v) Further, all the inscriptions of the successors of Fīroz Shāh bear out the above remark[1] and show that

The Hijra year given in the Persian version is 765. *Ep. Ind.* 1955-1956, pp. 357-58.

Found at Amber, Jaipur, Rajasthan, an inscription in Sanskrit recording the construction of a well by Ram Deva. V. S. 1420, Saka 1286 (A.D. 1363). *Ep. Ind.* 1955-56, p. 58.

Found at Rājgir, Patna district, a slab, in a Jain temple on Vipula Hill dated V.S. 1412 Ashadha 6 (A.D. 1355. June 11) bearing an inscription in Sanskrit-Nagari. The contents refer to the construction of a temple of Parsvanatha on the hill and give many names of the Svetambara pontiffs of the Kharataragachcha cult beginning with Udyotana-Sūri and ending with Jina Chandra Sūri. *Vide* JBORS, vol. V, pp. 334 ff.; also ARIE, 1956-57, No. 79 of. App. B. Bhandarkar, App. to *Ep. Ind.* vols, xix to xxiii, p. 100, No. 708.

Found at the Suryanarayana temple of Gaya district Bihar an inscription dated V. S. 1429 (1373 A.D.) and mentioning *Piyaroja Saha* (Fīroz Shāh) as the regnant king. The contents refer to the renovation of the temple of Dakshinarka at Gaya by Thakura Kulla Chanda, governor (*adhikarin*) of Gaya. *Vide Ind. Ant.* vol. xx, pp. 312 ff.; Bhandarkar's List, No. 718. ARIE, 1957-58, No. 137 of App. B.

Found at Dhigwara (Alwar State, Rajputāna) an inscription dated Samvat 1421 (A.D. 1364) mentioning *Peroja Sāhi* (Firoz Shāh) as the regnant king. The contents point out that a baori (*bāwri*) was repaired by Amerswara son of Gogadeva. *Vide* Ojha—*An. Rep. Rajputana Museum*, Ajmer 1918-19, p. 2 and Bhandarkar—*A List of The Inscriptions*, App. to *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XIX to XXIII. p. 100, No. 712

Found at Gaya (Bihar) an inscription in Sanskrit-Nagari dated V.S. 1429 (A.D. 1373) mentioning *Piyaroja Sābā* (Fīroz Shāh). The contents refer to a grant made by Thakura Kulachandra governor of Gaya, son of Khaku Hemraja and son's son of Thakura Dala of the family of a prince Vyaghra (Vyaghraraja). This inscription was edited by Kielhorn, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xx, pp. 314 f.

Found at Macheri (Alwar State, Rajputana) an inscription dated V. 1439 (A.D. 1382) mentioning *Paroja Sāhī* as the regnant king. It contains some references to Gogadeva son of Asaladeva of the Vadagujara family. This inscription was noticed by Carlleyle, ASIR, vol vi, pp. 79 f. *Vide* Ojha—*A. Rep. Rajputana Mus. Ajmer*, 1918-19, pp. 2 ff; I, A. vol xix, p. 31, No. 43. Also see Bhandarkar, *Op. cit*, p. 102, No. 723.

1 *Vide* p. 593 *supra*.

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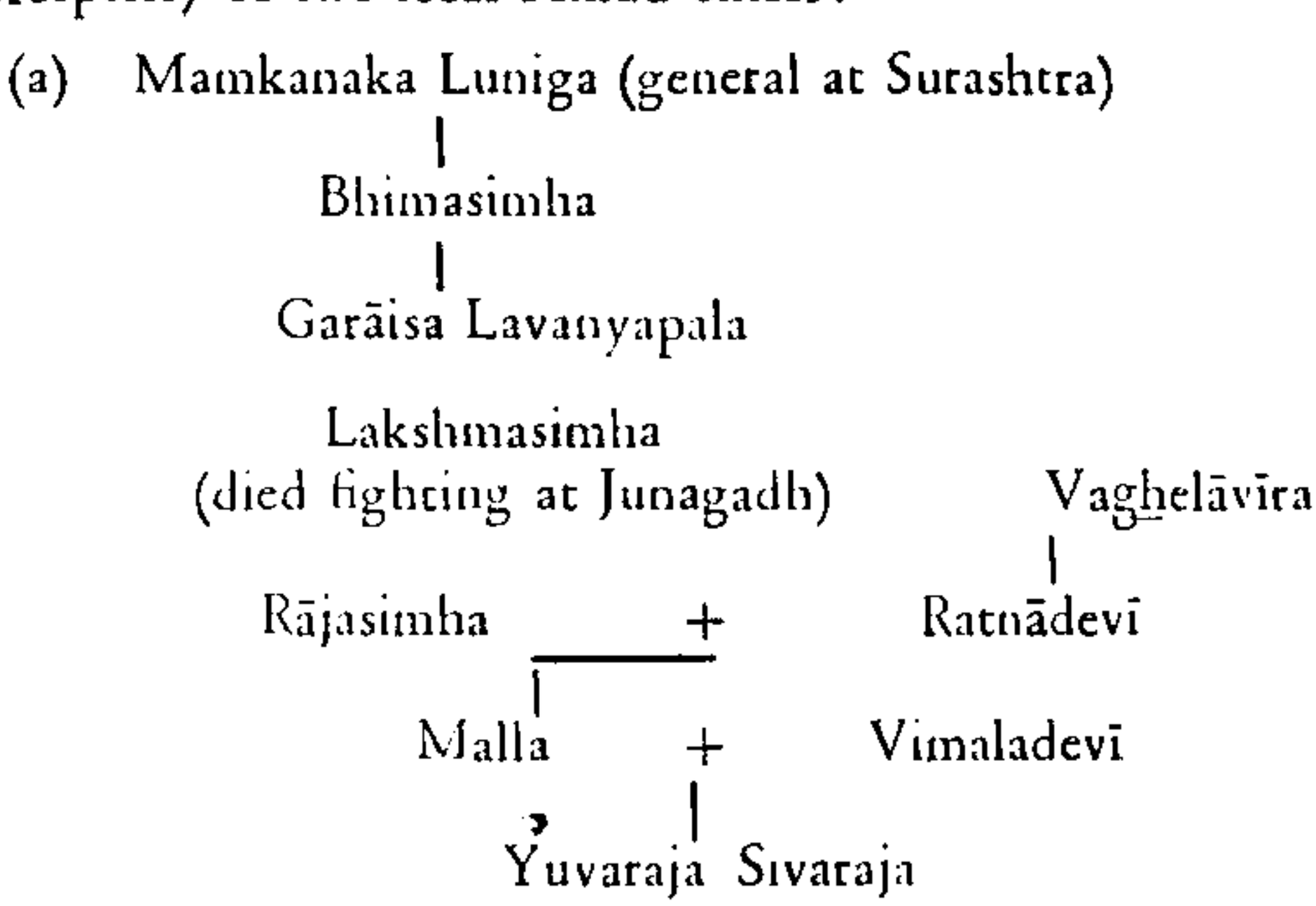
in no case was 'Tughluq' adopted as a suffix. One of the six inscriptions of the reign of Nāṣiru'ddīn Muḥammad Shāh son of Fīroz Shāh—found at Chorwad temple[1] of Junāgarh district, Gujarāt and dated V.S. 1445 (A.D. 1390)—throws light on the lineage and prosperity of two local Hindū chiefs:



(vi) Of the few available inscriptions of Nāṣiru'ddīn Maḥmūd's reign *one inscription* records the event of *satī* performed by a certain chamār (*chamārī*) at Kadwaha, district Guna, Madhya Pradesh. The inscription is dated V. S. 1451 (A.D. 1395) and is worded in Sanskrit.[3] This

1 Bhandarkar—*A List of the Inscriptions*. App. Ep. Ind. p. 103, No. 731.

2 It appears that Vira had revolted against the Sulṭān who is mentioned as *Patasāhi Mahammada*.

3 Gwalior Arch. Rep., S. 1975. No. 116.

being the only case of *satī* noticeable since the time of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa it would appear that the *satī* cases had diminished in number, Sulṭān Muḥammad bin Tughluq having created some difficulties in the way of its performance.[1]

(vii) Of the *three notable inscriptions* attributed to the reign of Nāṣiru'ddīn Nuṣrat Shāh the scene is laid in Gujarāt—the province which was under the rule of his (Hindū) cousin Ẓafar Khān son of Sahāran.[2] The first[3] which is dated 14 *Rajab* 797 (May 5, 1395) records in Sanskrit as well as in Persian the date of the completion of a fort, constructed at Mānglor[4] with gratings under the auspices of Ẓafar Khān, the governor. The second[5] inscription dated 803 Hijra (A.D. 1400) describes in Persian the construction of a fort at Mānglor by Malik Shaikh son of Tāj at the instance of Malik Badr son of Baijhal, the Hindū official (*nāib*) in Sorath, working under Ẓafar Khān, the governor.

The third[6] inscription is in Sanskrit as well as in Persian and is dated V.S. 1452 (A.D. 1396). The contents refer to the construction and setting up of a pillar (*phalīka*) of the Sambhavan—a sect of the Jains—in commemoration of the merits and achievements of a Jain scholar named Sadharna at Mānglor, district Junagarh.

1 *The Rehla*, G. O. S., p. 21

2 *Vide* (i) p. 451 *supra*.

(ii) Ep. Ind. *Op. cit.*, E.I.M. 1909-10, Pl. XI a

3 *Ibid.* Pl. XI b

4 Mānglor is a seaport of Kathiawar.

5 Ep. Ind. Arabic and Persian Supplement 1951-52. Pl. Xb

6 PRAS. W.c, 1905-06, p. 62. No. 2236. Also ARIE, 1954-55, No. 513 of App. B.

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APPENDIX C

Ma'bar and its kingdom

Ma'bar—literally a crossing-place—was the name given by the Arabs to the Pandya-Chola country including a part of the Mālābār coast from Quilon to Cape Comorin. It was so called because it enabled the traveller from Mālābār to cross over to Ceylon in the south and to the mainland of India in the north; as such it was considered the key of India (*miftāḥu'l-Hind*).

Ma'bar had been overrun[1] by Malik Kāfūr and Khusrau Khān in 1310 and 1318 respectively. But it was conquered subsequently[2] by Sulṭān Muḥammad. Working on the Tamil sources, Taylor credits Muḥammad bin Tughluq with complete subjugation of the extreme south and says that he 'reduced the Carnatic to the extemities of the Deccan and from sea to sea, obliging all the rajas to pay him tribute.'[3] Taylor's Carnatic is identifiable with Ma'bar; and his narration of Muḥammad bin Tughluq's conquests becomes intelligible on recalling the story of Bahāu'ddīn Gurshāsp's rebellion and the war that it entailed with the Hindū states of Kampila Anegundi and Dvārasamudra. All this took place in 1327 before the making of Deogīr into a second capital. The loose statements of Yaḥya[4] and

1 It is agreed that Malik Kāfūr was sent out in 1310 by 'Alāu'ddīn Khaljī to conquer Ma'bar. Two years before this invasion Kales Dewar, the powerful Hindū king of Ma'bar who had been ruling there for over forty years (1268-1308) was murdered by his elder son Sundar Pandya. The latter was then overthrown and expelled by his younger brother, Vira Pandya. Sundar Pandya went to Dehlī and entreated Sulṭān 'Alāu'ddīn Khaljī for help. The Sulṭān sent Malik Kāfūr at the head of an army to help Sundar Pandya. As a result the whole of Ma'bar was overrun and subdued. J.R.A.S. 1909, p. 669. Elliot, III, pp. 49-50, 204, 550.

2 *Vide* p. 209, f.n. 2 *supra*.

3 (a) the *Pandyan Chronicle* (b) *Kolyilolugu*
Taylor, W.—C.H.S. Mss., I, p. 203.

4 T.M.Y., p. 93.

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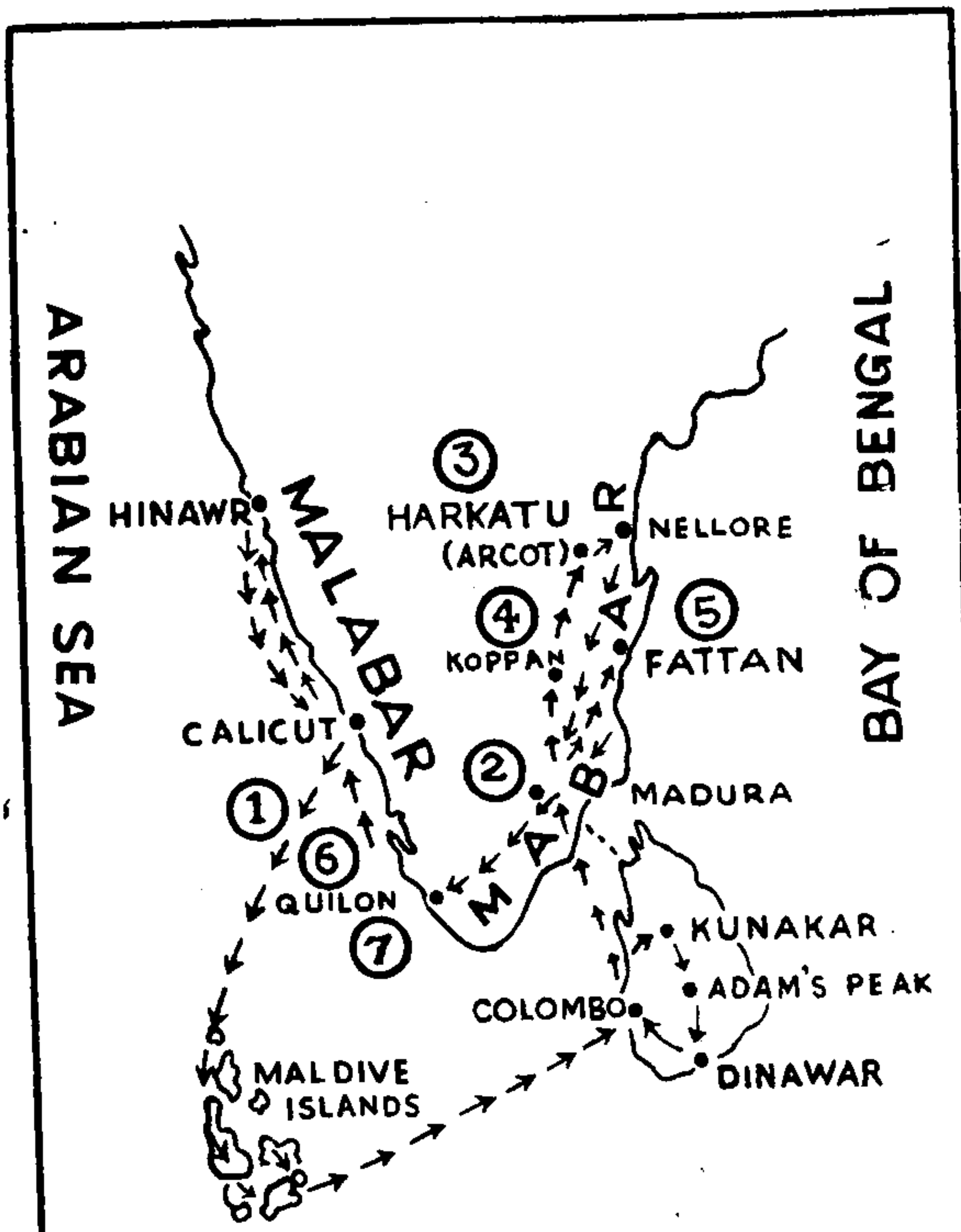
MA'BAR, THE NUMERICAL FIGURES SHOWING IBN BAṬṬŪṬA'S VISITS TO THE PLACES THUS MARKED



1 Arrival on 7th April 1343
2 Arrival on 11th December 1345
3 Arrival in December-January, 1345-1346
4 Arrival on 11th January 1346
5 Arrival on 11th January 1346
6 Arrival on 20th January 1346
7 Arrival in January 1347

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others[1] led some modern scholars to put the conquest of Ma'bar earlier.[2]

The information given by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa[3] tends to remove the above error. He was in Ma'bar[4] from 1343 to 1347. He travelled[5] along the coast and through the country of Ma'bar and halted at Harkātū, Koppam, Madūra, Pattan (Fattan) and Quilon, his halt varying in duration in each case. He found the Ma'bar kingdom locked in a deadly war with the neighbouring Hindū kingdom[6] and chiefdoms. This war which was a part of the Hindū imperialist movement culminating in the foundation of Vijayanagar had commenced during the five-year-long reign of the first king of Madurā, Jalālu'ddīn Aḥsan Shāh and continued through four successive reigns. It re-opened after the accession of the second king 'Alāu'd-dīn Udaijī[7]. Two battles were fought consecutively in both of which Vira Ballala III, raja of Dvārasamudra, was defeated. But the victor 'Alāu'ddīn Udaijī was killed on the field by a chance arrow (1341/740). His son-in-law Quṭbu'ddīn Fīroz Shāh who was then raised to the throne was killed after five weeks by the amirs. The next king Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Dāmghānī, who had been an amīr of Jalālu'd-dīn Aḥsan Shāh, resumed the fight. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa was married to the sister of his wife and was received by him warmly although he (Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Dāmghānī) was engaged

1 F.S.I., verse 589.

2 *History of the Pandya Country*, Madras, 1962, p. 74.

3 *Vide* p. 207f *supra*.

4 Ibn Baṭṭūṭa arrived at Quilon on 7th April 1343 and at Madura on 11th December 1345. He came to Pattan (*Fattan*) on 11th January 1346 and visited Quilon again on 20th January, 1346. There he halted for three months. On his return from China he visited Quilon a third time in January 1347.

5 See map on the adjoining page.

6 For the Ma'bar kingdom or Maḍūra Sultanate see p. 245 *supra*.

7 'Udaiji' according to the *Reḥla* and 'Auji' according to the coins. *Cf.* M.J.L.Sc., 1888-9, p. 51.

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at the moment in a campaign near the fort of Harkātū against Vira Ballala III of Dvārasamudra. Vira had pitched his camp outside the city of Koppam[2] (*Kubbam*) which Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Dāmghānī besieged. The siege continued for ten months during which period the garrison ran short of provisions. Then a truce was made for a fortnight. Vira Ballala stipulated for the safe conduct of the garrison provided they vacated the fortress of Koppam. The stipulation was referred to Sulṭān Ghiyāṣu'ddīn at Maḍūra and announced subsequently in a mosque to the Friday congregation who resolved to make all possible sacrifices in order to save Koppam. Accordingly the Ma'bar army marched to the battlefield bare-headed with their turbans which were to be used as their winding-sheets hanging round the necks of their horses. They fell upon the enemy's ranks and routed them. Vira Ballala was captured and killed and skinned. His skin filled with straw was hung up on the wall of Maḍūra and seen by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa[3].

Lying in the midst of the hostile, aggressive and powerful states of Kampīlī, Wārangal, Hoysala and Pandya, the infant kingdom of Maḍūra had to fight for its very existence. But the fighting entailed no genocide and created no racial hatred. In the army of Vira Ballala of Dvārasamudra there were twenty-thousand Muslim soldiers[4], and even the Maḍūra army was not without a certain proportion of the Hindus. The cause of war lay in the political ambitions and rival claims. While the sultans of Maḍūra actually held possession of Maḍūra and the Pandya country around it including the valleys of the Kaveri and the Pennar, they claimed authority over the whole Tamil country from Quilon to Nellore, that is Ma'bar. This became a perennial source of trouble.

1 Derived from the Tamil word *aru-kadu* (six forests), Harekatū was the name of a temporary military fort north of modern Arcot lying in the midst of thick forests.

2 *I.e.* Kannanur-Koppam, near Srirangam.

3 The *Reḥla of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa*, p. 229.

4 *Idem* pp. 228-230

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Sulṭān Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Dāmghānī was succeeded by his nephew Nāṣiru'ddīn who gave Ibn Baṭṭūṭa three hundred gold coins and a robe of honour. He also delivered to him charge of the ships which had been specified for the Maldive expedition by the late sulṭān. But Ibn Baṭṭūṭa fell ill; and, on recovery, he went to Pattan (*Fattan*) instead of proceeding with the Maldive expedition.

That Ibn Baṭṭūṭa has thrown much light on the history of Ma'bar and Maḍūra is accepted at all hands. The numismats like Hultzsch, Rodgers, Tuffel and Fletcher have fully utilized the information given by him. With his help they have identified and established the names and reigns of the first five sultans of Ma'bar out of the total number of ten.[1] The remaining five which find no mention in the *Reḥla of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa*—for Ibn Baṭṭūṭa had left Ma'bar during the reign of the fifth king—have remained obscure in spite of the numismatic researches.[a]

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1 Sultans of Ma'bar

(i) Jalālu'ddīn Aḥsan Shāh (1335-40/735-40) formerly governor of Ma'bar

- Sharīf Ibrāhīm governor of Hānsī
- daughter + Ibn Battuta
- daughter + (iv) Ghiyāsu'ddīn Dāmghānī (1342-44/741-44) amīr of Jalālu'ddīn Aḥsan Shāh

(ii) Alau'ddīn Udaiji (1340-41/740 formerly amīr of Ma'bar

daughter + (iii) Qutbu'ddīn Fīroz Shāh (1341-42/740-41)

(v) Nāṣiru'ddin (nephew) (1344/745)

- (vi) 'Alāu'ddīn (Nuṣratu'ddīn)
- (vii) Shamsu'ddīn (1344-56)
- (viii) 'Ādil Shāh (1356-59/757-61)
- (ix) Fakhru'ddin Mubārak Shāh (1359-68/761-70)
- (x) 'Alāu'ddīn Sikandar Shāh (1368-77/774-79)

N-B. The first five sultans are given by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa. The remaining five are tentatively mentioned on the basis of numismatic research.

2 (a) M.J.L. Sc, 1888-89 (b) J.R.A.S. 1909, p. 667.

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The clouds of darkness thickened by the exit of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa are removed in part by Shams Sirāj 'Afīf. He refers to the destruction of the Muslim kingdom of Ma'bar which was finally conquered by Bukka and annexed to Vijayanagar. Bukka had worked conjointly with his brother Hari Hara, (1340-53) for the foundation of Vijayanagar. After the death of Hari Hara Bukka completed the constructions of Vijayanagar and enlarged its area as is suggested by his magniloquent title—*master of the eastern, western and southern oceans*. He waged war not only with the neighbouring Bahmanī kingdom as is frequently mentioned but also with the kingdom of Ma'bar. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's account of the war which he found raging between the kingdom of Ma'bar and the neighbouring Hindū states bears this out. It appears that the weakness of the later kings of Ma'bar—'Ādil Shāh (1356-59), Fakhru'ddīn Mubārak Shāh (1359-68) and 'Alāu'ddīn Sikandar Shāh (1372-77)—tempted the powerful rulers of Vijayanagar to conquer and annex the dominion of Ma'bar. 'Afīf says :

> 'When after the death of Muḥammad bin Tughluq, Fīroz Shāh ascended the throne of Dehlī his firmans were sent to Ma'bar. But the army (*khalq*) of Ma'bar joined hands in revolt. They came over to Daulatābād and selected a son-in-law[1] of Ḥasan Gangū as their chief. Then under his leadership they went back to Ma'bar where they made him king. Thus they withdrew from the allegiance of Sulṭān Fīroz. But the son-in-law of Ḥasan Gangū who had become the king of Ma'bar plunged himself recklessly into pleasures. At last the army (*khalq*) of Ma'bar became disgusted and lost patience with him on account of his misdeeds. At that time the neighbouring chief, Bukka (*Bakkan*) a traitor, fell upon Ma'bar with huge armies and elephants, equipped for war. He took the king of Ma'bar, the said relation[2] of Hasan Gangū, prisoner and subsequently executed him. Then he devastated and

1,2 *I.e.* Bahrām khān Mazandarāni whom 'Afif (p. 224) describes as *qurbat* meaning son-in-law. He says that there was a rivalry between the son-in-law and son of Ḥasan Gangū.

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destroyed the whole of Ma'bar, a principality of the Muslims. Muslim women were outraged and fell into the hands of the Hindus. Bukka occupied the country of Ma'bar.'[1]

Shams Sirāj 'Afīf states that a representation of the Muslims of Ma'bar waited on Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh at Dehlī and related to him all that they had suffered at the hands of the said Bukka and petitioned for help and assistance. The Sulṭān flew into a rage. He reprimanded them for having revolted against Sulṭān Muḥammad in the beginning and even against himself when on ascending the throne he had sent his firmans to Ma'bar. He told them that they were under the scourge of God and had received condign punishment for their misdeeds. Finally the Sulṭān refused to help them on the plea that his armies had become dead tired on account of the prolonged military operations in Sind.[2]

The local traditions[3] and inscriptions[4] give out the name of Kampana Udaiyar as slayer and destroyer of the Musalmans who were driven out of Maḍūra by him. He then set up there 'a dynasty of his own, subordinate to the court of Vijayanagar'.[5] It should be noted that Kampana Udaiyar was no other than a son of Bukka described in the Tiruppukkuli inscription[6] of 1365 A.D. The inscription states that 'Kampana II, a son of Bukka of Vijayanagar took possession of the kingdom of Rajagambhira *i.e.* of the Pandya country. Similar information is furnished by the inscriptions of Tiruppullani[7] dated 1371 and 1374 which announce the said Kampana as ruler of a portion of the Ramnad Zamindari and as slayer of the *Tulukkan-Tullshka*.[8] On the ruins of the kingdom of Ma'bar which was repeatedly invaded and finally destroyed during the reign of the last king 'Alāu'ddīn Sikandar Shāh he 'establi-

1 T.F.S.A , pp. 261-264.
2 *Op. cit.*
3,4 M. D. G—Madura, p. 38
5,6,7 Aiyangar, K.S.—S. I. M. I., p. 182
8 I.e. Musalmans.

shed a stable administration throughout the county and appointed many chiefs (*nayakkanmar*) for inspection and supervision in order that the worship in all temples might be revived as of old'.[1] The reported date of this inscription is 1358 A.D. It suggests that Kampana Udaiyar had repeatedly invaded Maḍūra prior to the final blow of 1377-78. The achievement of the son was credited to the father. As a result Bukka is said to have achieved a victory which enabled his successor Harihara II (1379-1406), to announce himself formally to the world as the '*Mahārājdhīrāj*'.

1 *Ibid*, p. 183

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APPENDIX D

Site of Muḥammad bin Tughluq's death and burial

Baranī's statement that Sulṭān Muḥammad died[1] about fourteen *krob* (twenty miles) from Tatta on the Indus is vague. It may be recalled that five years before his death (1351/752) the emperor had left Dehlī with the object of crushing the rebellious amirān-i ṣadah of Gujarāt as is illustrated by a map entitled *Emperor's Route in Gujarat and Sind*[2]. Proceeding through the region of modern Gurgaon (Sulṭānpur), Patan (Nahrwala) and Mt. Abu he went campaigning against the rebels to Broach and Daulatābād where he heard of the outbreak of a new rebellion in Gujarāt, headed by his slave Ṭāghī. The emperor proceeded to Broach and then to Cambay and Asāwal successively; and, bypassing the fortress of Kadi, arrived at Patan, where he heard that Ṭāghī had escaped to Girnār. He rushed to Girnār only to hear that Ṭāghī had sped along the marshy stretch of land (identifiable with modern Jati or Mughal Bhīn) and had taken shelter across the Indus with Pir Patho.[3] The emperor advanced immediately in that direction, marching with his army in a straight line *via* Gondal, Nakni, Mithi, Diplo, Damrila, Dighi, Thari and Mulan Katiar till he touched the Indus at Jhirruck near Jhimpir whence in spite of his indisposition he sailed for two days covering a distance of twenty miles down the river Indus. Afterwards he entered a vast stretch of uneven land more than a mile in length and quarter of a mile in breadth. Here he encamped, and after a little over a week died. This was the site of his death.

1 T.F.S.B., p. 525
2 *Vide* p. 297 *supra*.
3 *Vide* p. 221 *supra*.

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This site was subsequently transformed into the town of Sonda.[1] It is now reduced to a village, lying in Pakistan, and presents the sight of a vast stretch of hilly land, a part of which is combed with graves. Their slabs and stone pillars bear effigies of horsemen and mounted warriors, armed with weapons and engaged in fighting the enemy. This is a graveyard of the Samma Rajputs according to the local tradition ; and the said effigies on the graves are mementoes of their warlike spirit.

From Sonda where the emperor breathed his last his dead body was taken by Fīroz Shāh to Sehwān, an old city of recognized sanctity in the Larkana district of Sind containing the mausoleum of a local saint, the famous Shāhbāz Qalandar, also known as Shaikh 'Uṣmān Marwandī. Behind the enclosure of his mausoleum is an unroofed apartment in which there are two slabs, each bearing an inscription.[2] One slab which is about 29″ long and 19″ wide is fixed on the western wall and another which is 28″ long and 18″ wide is cemented into the southern niche of a small enclosure. Both the slabs bear an inscription which describes the death scene of Muḥammad bin Tughluq. On the basis of this inscription it has been contended that Muḥammad bin Tughluq was buried[3] at Sehwān but the contention falls to the ground in view of the declaration of Fīroz Shāh.[4]

1 On the site of the emperor's death was subsequently founded by Jām Tamāchī of Sind a town which he called Sonda after Sondha. a local Rajput tribe. Elliot spels this name as Soda and says, 'The Soda or Sodha tribe is an offshoot of the Pramara Rajputs and has been for many centuries an occupant of the desert tracts of Western India into which they receded when driven forward by more powerful neighbours from the banks of the Indus' Elliot, III, p. 531.

I visited the site of Sonda in 1960 in the company of Janab Muhammad Isma'īl Noon, Deputy Commissioner of Tatta and identified it on the spot.

2 For the inscription on each slab see pp. 500-501 *supra*.

3 Dr. Nabi Bakhsh of Sind University points out that this was a *supurd*-i *khāk* and no burial. *Islamic Culture*, January 1948. Also see p. 502 *supra*.

4 *Futūḥāt-i Firoz Shāhi* (i) Persian text, p. 16.
(ii) Elliot, III, pp. 385-386.

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APPENDIX E

Muḥammad bin Tughluq in the eyes of Asqalānī[1]

'Abu'l Mujāhid[2] Muḥammad bin Tughluq of India succeeded his father on the throne. His father was a Turk —a Turkish slave of a previous ruler of India.[3] He passed through different stages till he attained kingship and his dominion expanded considerably; and he had under his rule Sind, Makrān[4] and Ma'bar.[5] His name was acknow-

1 Asqalāni, S.A—*Ad-duraru'l Kāmina* (Hyderabad, Deccan) 1349 Hijra vol. III, p. 460.

'*Asqalān* is described as a city on the shore of the Mediterranean and a suburb of Palestine.

Shihābu'ddīn Aḥmad bin 'Alī 'Asqalāni was an Arab scholar of 9th century Hijra. He belonged to the Shāfa'ī cult and enjoyed the epithet of *Shaikhu'l Islām*. He died in 852 Hijra (A.D. 1448). His book entited *ad-Duraru'l Kāmina* (literally hidden pearls) written in chaste Arabic and containing an *épitomé* of Muslim history was published at Cairo, and its three volumes were subsequently published at Hyderabad (Deccan), 1349 A.H.

2 'Asqalāni points out that Muḥammad bin Tughluq assumed the surname of Abu'l Mujāhid (literally Faith's Warrior). In fact, his full surname was Abu'l Mujāhid Abu'l Fatḥ, meaning Faith's Warrior and Embodiment of Victory.'

3 This is a confirmation of the information given by Firishta. See p. 18 *supra*.

4 Makrān (derived from the Persian *māhīkhurān*, fish-eaters) is the Gedrosia of the Greeks identifiable with the coastal region of Baluchistān. After the retreat of Alexander who marched through it on his way back from India (325 B.C.) Makrān was absorbed into the Hindū kingdom of Sind. Then it passed into the hands of the Arabs (712 A.D.). Subsequently it became part of the Iranian province of Kirmān. Through the military ascendancy enjoyed by Muḥammad bin Tughluq and his father who was called 'prince of Khurāsān', the *khuṭba* might have been read there. Cf. E.I. vol. iii, p. 174 and the *Futūḥu'l-Buldān*, Lugduni-Batavorun 1866, p. 436.

5 See Appendix C.

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ledged in the *khuṭba* at Makdishū,[1] and Sarandip[2] and in all the other Muslim countries.

'He made numerous conquests which are said to have included nine thousand towns;[3] and he possessed an immeasurable quantity of gold. He was generous and humble as well as learned, knowing the *Hidāya*[4] in Ḥanafī jurisprudence by heart. He was participating in philosophical discussions. Once an Iranian presented him a copy of Ibn Sinā's[5] manuscript *ash-Shifā* in one volume, written in Yā'qūt's[6] handwriting. He rewarded him with riches amounting to one hundred thousand *misqals*[7] or more.

'Once he sent a letter under a golden cover set with jewels, weighing two thousand *misqals* and valued at three

1 Makdishū—a town in East Africa and capital of Italian Somaliland—arose in the 10th century A.D. as a colony of Arab merchants with a smattering of Iranians from Shirāz and Nishapūr. Later a hereditary Sultanate was established there. A leading sulṭān Shaikh Abū Bakr bin 'Umar was the contemporary of Muḥammad bin Tughluq.

2 Sarandip (derived from the Sanskrit *sinhaldvipa*) is considered as the Islamic name of Ceylon, denoting, in fact, only that part in which lay Adam's Peak. See the *Rehla of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa*, p. 189.

3 Literally villages. But no war was waged in villages; and Muslim conquest of India was definitely an urban conquest.

4 *Hidāyā*—a well-known work on Ḥanafī jurisprudence was compiled by Shaikh Burhānu'ddin 'Alī commonly known as al-Marghināni because he was born and died at Marghinān in Farghāna, the dates of his birth and death being 1152/530 and 1197/593 respectively. See the *Rehla*, G.O.S., p. 260.

5 Abū 'Ali al-Husain ibn Sinā (known to Europe as Avicenna) was the greatest Arabian philosopher and physician of 4th century Hijra. Born in 370 (A.D. 979), he died in 428 (A.D. 1037). Among his numerous works the *kitābu's-Shifā* (book of cure) and the *Qānūn fi't-Ṭib* (canon of medicine) are the most important.

6 Yāqūt bin 'Abdullāh (d. 622 H.) was a famous calligraphist. His handwriting was extremely beautiful and chaste; and is said to have been unique. Yāqūt—*Dictionary of Learned Men* (London 1926) vol. vii p. 268.

7 *I.e.* 50,000 *tola*, one *miṣqāl* being equal to six *mashas* roughly. C.P.K.D. p. 222.

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thousand *dinars*[1] to an-Nāṣir.[2] On another occasion he despatched to the Sulṭān (an-Nāṣir) a shipload of excellent Indian cloths along with fourteen pots filled with diamonds and other gems. It happened that the bearers of this (royal) present quarrelled among themselves, and some of them killed others. When the news reached the ruler of Yemen he killed the surviving bearers as reprisal for their committing the murder of their comrades and seized the presents. Subsequently when an-Nāṣir came to know of this he took up the matter seriously and called for an explanation from the ruler of Yemen with consequences which are very lengthy to narrate.

'In spite of the vast country under him Sulṭān Muḥammad bin Tughluq was impotent because he had been cauterized in the spine while he was young as a treatment for some disease.[3]

1 *Dinār* was a term for a gold coin. Here it stands for a gold tanka.

2 Nāṣiru'ddīn Muḥammad bin Qalāūn commonly known as an-Nāṣir was the ninth sulṭān of the Mamlūk dynasty of Egypt and a contemporary of Muḥammad bin Tughluq.

He ascended the throne thrice—first at the age of nine in 1293/693 ; secondly at the age of fourteen in 1298/669 and the third time in 1309/709. He died in 1340/741. He was very ambitious and had established a large dominion extending, beyond Egypt, from 'Irāq to north Africa or from Baghdād to Tunis. His alliance was courted by the potentates of the world ; and embassies arrived at his court from Abū Sa'id the Mongol ruler of Khurāsān and 'Irāq, as well as from Yemen, Abyssinia, Tunis and Constantinople. Sulṭān Muḥammad bin Tughluq is known to have established friendly relations with him. In this connection 'Asqalānī tells us that the Sulṭān sent letters twice over to an-Nāṣir.

Abu'l Fidā (*Tārikh-i Abu'l Fida*, Ārabic text, pp. 100-102) gives an eye-witness account of the arrival of Iraqian and Iranian embassy at the court of an-Nāṣir in *Muḥarram* 728 (November, 1327 A.D.). This friendly alliance which was, in fact, a *rapprochement* between Khurāsān and Egypt had a serious reaction on the foreign policy of Muḥammad bin Tughluq and sealed the fate of his projected Khurāsān expedition. *Vide* p. 177 *supra*.

3 This is not confirmed. On the contrary it appears that Sulṭān Muḥammad had at least two daughters. According to Firishta (T. Fr. vol. I., p. 260) one was married to Khwāja Jahān

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'It is said that his army numbered six lakh warrio
He had one thousand and seven hundred elephants in h
stable. And the physicians, philosophers, companion
'ulamā and singers in his service were so many that a
equal number had never collected at any other court. Fro
the pulpits of the mosques in his country he was announce
in the course of the *khuṭba* as emperor of the worl
Alexander of the age and *khalīfa* of God on earth. H
death occurred about 752 Hijra.'

the wazir. For the other daughter who was married to Dāvar Malik
see the *Maktūbat of Shaikh Maneri*, Letter 96, F. 122a, POL.
Regarding his son or sons see pp. 388-389 *supra*.

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APPENDIX F

Monuments and Architecture

The monuments and architecture of the Tughluq dynasty belie the belief that the Muslim rulers built mosques, palaces and strongholds out of the material of Hindū temples. Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Tughluq destroyed no temples; nor did his son. Fīroz Shāh did, but was not seen transforming the temples into mosques.

Tughluqābād which was a city equal in size to, if not greater than, London of those days is said to have brought about in the course of building a clash of interests between the founder Sulṭān Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Tughluq and Shaikh Niẓāmu'ddīn Auliyā.[1] But it violated neither the interests nor the sentiments of the Hindus. It held out the promise of peace and security for all the people of the empire in general and for the inhabitants of the adjacent areas in particular. It became the nucleus of a group of fortifications—a walled city, the walls rising to a height of about fifty feet, with several bastions and gates, the royal mausoleum and a few dams and waterworks, besides a citadel, which is now described under different names, *viz.* Barber's fort and Washerman's fort. Lying to the east of the principal constructions of Tughluqābād, the citadel is looked upon as the earliest piece of building or as 'a kind of outhouse where the royal father and his son Jauna lived while Tughluqābād was in the course of building.'[2]

No excavations of Tughluqābād have been made as yet.[3]

1 See Appendix K.

2 *Ancient India* 1946, pp. 60-76.

3 In the course of his incomplete excavations Mr. Waddington discovered that 'inside each gate of the Tughluqābād city there is a group of four, six or eight circular chambers about twenty-five feet in diameter and thirty feet deep.' *Op. cit.* Mr. Waddington has mistaken these for the 'grain silos' described by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (*Reḥla*, p. 26) in connection with the Dehlī gates in the time of Balban.

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Only the *Hazār Sutūn Palace*[1] of Sulṭān Muḥammad has been excavated in part. The bases of the wooden pillars which supported the one-thousand-pillared palace (*bazār-sutūn*) have been uncovered.[2] But what was really a palace with a large number of gates—the third gate leading into a spacious council-hall (*mashwar*[3]) called *Badī'Manzil* in which the emperor used to sit for public audience or *darbār-i 'ām* —has been reported as a hall of two storeys two hundred and ten feet in width and three hundred feet in length. That is, the palace of one thousand pillars has been confounded with the *Badī'Manzil* or *Bijai Mandal* which was really a part of it. Long before this, Sir Sayyid Aḥmad had drawn to it the attention of archaeologists by declaring the *Badī'Manzil* (literally a wonderful mansion) as a tower of the *Hazār Sutūn Palace* of Jahānpanāh. But it is more than an equilateral and circular structure of a tower as is evident from its ruins which bespeak a self-contained city with a fort and a palace as well as rooms and a summer pavilion of unsurpassable beauty and elegance. All these are still to be unearthed. In fact the *Badī'Manzil* is identical with the *mashwar*, frequently mentioned in the *Reḥla of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa*. It was used as a sort of control room with nerve-centres in the *dīwān-i 'arz*,[4] *dīwān-i qaẓā*[5] *and dīwān-i khāṣṣ*[6]. Underneath its floor have been discovered two pits which

1 For an account and photo of this palace see the *Reḥla of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa* p. 57. Also see the photograph on the adjoining page.

2 *Times*, London, 28th December, 1934.

3 See the *Reḥla*, p. 57. Also see the photograph on the adjoining page.

4 Sir Sayyid Ahmad holds the view that the *Badi' Manzil* was a tower used by the emperor for inspecting the army below. *Cf.* R.F.M. p. 241.

5 The emperor used to sit for *'an-naẓar fil maẓālim* every Monday and Thursday on the large open lawn before the *mashwar'*. The *Reḥla of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa*, p. 84.

Again, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa says, 'Every day hundreds of people in chains with their hands fastened to their necks and their feet tightened were brought into the *mashwar*.' *Op. cit.*, p. 85.

6 It is evident from the above that the *mashwar* was not only used as a tribunal or a high court of justice but also as a *durbār-i khāṣṣ*.

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served as treasure houses like the tank of the Tughluqābād fortress, seen by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa also saw a broad terrace which connected the *Hazār Sutūn* palace with the *mashwar*, and using which the emperor walked from one place to the other.

To the three cities of Dehlī—Indraprastha which had been conquered in 1191/587, Sīrī of 'Alāu'ddīn Khaljī and Tughluqābād—each protected by a rampart and a stronghold—Sulṭān Muḥammad added a fourth which he named Jahānpanāh (refuge of the world). It joined the old Dehlī or the castle of Rai Pithaura with the 'Alāī fortress of Sīrī (*koshak-i Sīrī*) and Tughluqābād by a double enclosure of ramparts. Thus arose a large and magnificent city with thirty gates, Jahānpanāh having thirteen, seven in its south-easterly direction and six to the north-east. Sīrī had seven gates, four of which opened outside and three inside the city of Jahānpanāh. Old Dehlī or the fortress of Rai Pithaura had ten gates, some of which opened outside and others inside the city of Jahānpanāh. In this city was built a befitting mosque called *Begumpurī masjid* which has been, according to fashion[1], attributed to Fīroz Shāh. It is an imposing mosque of great size and appears to have been designed as the cathedral mosque of the four great cities of Dehlī including Jahānpanāh. Still another mosque has been attributed to Fīroz Shāh; that is, the *Jamā'atkhāna* mosque, at the shrine of Shaikh Niẓāmu'ddīn Auliyā. It was built by Sulṭān Muḥāmmad like his own mausoleum—a dome-like structure of red stone called *Lāll Gumbad*[2]—which

1 The researches made in this book have unearthed, among other points, the fact that the Muslim chroniclers through the ages have been loath to give Sulṭān Muḥammad his due. Many or all the conceivably noble things and deeds have been credited to Fīroz Shāh whose intellectual calibre was decidedly low, compared to that of Muḥammad bin Tughluq. Since Baranī vowed not to write the story of his achievements and since the *Manāqib*—the story of Sulṭān Muḥammad's achievements—written by Shams Sirāj 'Afīf was completely lost and since Fīroz Shāh was held up as an angel of light and virtue many things and projects which had been the dream of Sulṭān Muḥammad and which most probably he had taught to Fīroz were subsequently credited to the latter.

2 *Vide* photo of Lall Gumbad, adjoining page 502 *supra*.

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subsequently became known as the tomb of Kabīru'ddīn Auliyā. However, Sulṭān Muḥammad is recognized as the builder of a *satpulah* or sluice two hundred feet long in the southern line of Jahānpanāh, intended to regulate the flow of water on the stream which crossed the city of Jahānpanāh and fell eventually into the river Yamuna. But of all his buildings 'Adilābād has roused greatest interest. Recently it has impressed itself on the minds of the archaeologists of Ancient India. They have discovered in it some pottery beds[1]. Perhaps the emperor had transformed a part of it into an emporium of earthenwares or had laid in it foundations for building another Hazār Sutūn palace.

The tomb of Sulṭān Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Tughluq which lies near the Tughluqābād fortress was founded by that sulṭān himself. But it was constructed and given final touches by his son Sulṭān Muhāmmad. Sulṭān Tughluq Shāh was buried in the principal grave which occupies the central position on the floor. The graves of the Makhdūma-i Jahān[2] and Sulṭān Muḥammad were made in it subsequently.[3]

It should be remembered that in the course of his Ma'bar expedition (1335-37) the emperor had fallen ill; he had then repaired to Daulatābād. On his way there at a village called Bīr he was afflicted with a violent toothache and lost one of his teeth, which he ordered to be buried there. A magnificent tomb was reared over it, which still stands, and is known as 'the dome of the tooth of Sulṭān Tughluq'. It is generally regarded as a monument of his vanity, but a student of Muslim sociology and culture knows that Muḥammad bin Tughluq's action was fair and consistent with the *Shari'at*. A believer is expected to bury a disjointed tooth instead of throwing it away.

Like the monuments of his two predecessors, those of Fīroz Shāh are apparently strong, simple and free from picturesqueness and ornamentations barring the departures

1 *Ancient India*, 1946, pp. 60-76.

2 Such was the title of Sulṭān Muḥammad's mother. See the *Reḥla of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa*, pp. 14, 24. 118, 119, 121, 122.

3 See the photo of the graves on the adjoining page.

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made by him in certain parts of his Hiṣār palace. They show traces of more Hindū influence. The masons of his reign, in the opinion of Sir John Marshall, resumed working on the forms and motifs of Hindū origin. Hence 'the flat lintel frequently usurped the place of the pointed arch, and the pillars, brackets, balconied windows, eaves and railings, besides a score of other features of Hindū origin took their place naturally in an otherwise Muḥammadan setting. Thus, much of the mentality underlying and controlling the design was fundamentally Hindū[1]'. This is certainly true of the *bhūlbhullaiyān*[2] in the Hiṣār palace; and in varying degrees of his other buildings enclosed by the Kotla[3]-Fīrozabad, the Fīrozī *madrasa*, Fīroz Shāh's tomb[4] and the tomb of Fatḥ Khān[5]. The Telingānī tomb[6] and the Kāli *masjid*[7] which were made by his wazīr Khān Jahān II also partake of the above characteristics.

Unlike the architecture of the Ilbarī and Khaljī Turks which was marked by quasi-Hinduism, the Tughluq style is said to have been reactionary. It wore the look of stern simplicity and became notable for its sloping walls, bold massive towers and vaulting as well as for the horse-shoe arches. Some of the buildings of the Tughluq period were not as durable and strong as they looked. They could not brave the storms and cyclones and have fallen victim to the ravages of time, as is evidenced by the ruins

1 C.H I., III, p. 589.

2 *Vide* p. 409 *supra*.

3 The Kotla which is the Hindi term for the remains of Firozābād contained a mosque, on the walls of which were inscribed the institutes, now forming the subject-matter of the *Futūḥāt-i Firoz Shāhi*. It has completely disappeared.

4 *Vide* p. 442 *supra*.

5 Fatḥ Khan's tomb was built in 776 Hijra (A.D. 1374) and is known as Qadam Sharif in old Dehli. J. A. S. B. 1947, pp. 577, 979.

6 *I.e.* the tomb of Khān Jahān I that was built two years after his death by his son Khān Jahān II.

7 *I.e. kalān masjid* or great mosque built by Khān Jahān II in 789 Hijra. It stands intact till today near the Toorkmān gate of Shahjahānābād or old Dehli.

of the innermost constructions in the above-mentioned cities and fortresses. Similar has been the fate of Nāṣiru'd-dīn Muḥammad's capital city and fortress of Jalesar. Their common weakness was that the walls with few exceptions were made of rubble and pieces of undressed stones.

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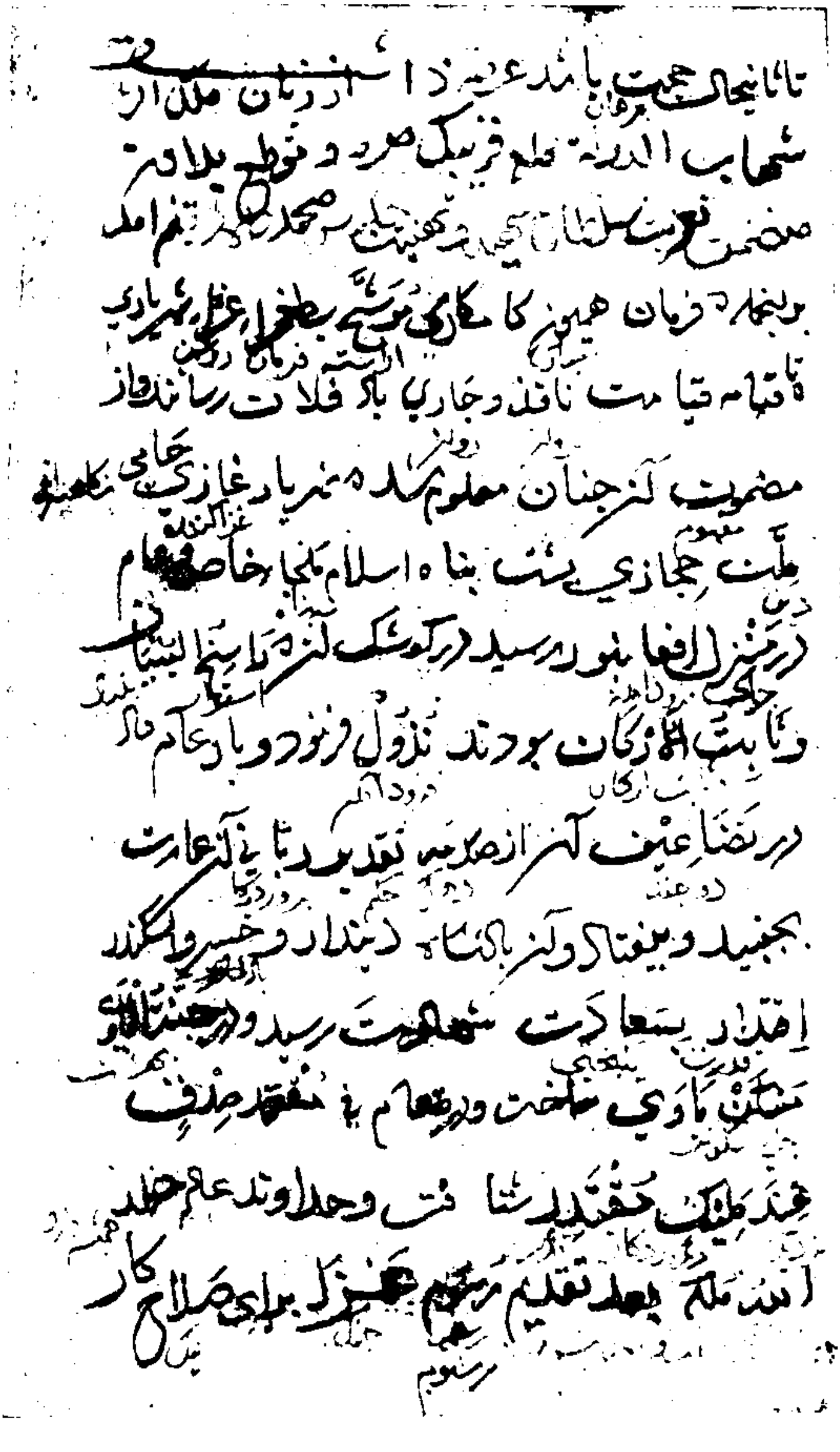
(*by courtesy of A.S.B.*)



Facsimile of the Letter, from Shiābu'ddaula
Facing p. 619

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APPENDIX G

Letter from Shihābu'd daula, Muqṭī' of Badāun[1]

Written in Persian *naskh-ta'līq* style. (A.S.B—MS. No. 338. Letter No. XIII.)

'A letter from Maliku'z-Zamān Shihābu'ddaula Malik Qar Baig, *muqṭi'* of Budāūn to the royal court of Dehlī containing condolences about the martyred Sulṭān[2] and congratulations on the accession of Muḥammad Shāh.

'Since the auspicious royal firman adorned with the effulgent imperial *ṭughrā*[3]—may it have the power of execution till the Day of Judgment—has been brought, it appears from the contents that the late warrior, protector of the *Ḥijazī* faith and refuge of Islām and asylum of the high and low, reached Afghānpūr and took his abode there in the palace which had strong foundations and sound pillars. He held a public durbar in the course of which the building trembled and came down under divine decree. That religious-minded king and emperor possessing Alexander-like glory attained the grace of martyrdom and took his abode and home in paradise and was placed on the lofty throne close to the Almighty God. And His Majesty (*khudāwand-i 'ālam*)—may his rule be perpetuated—proceeded, after performing the mourning ceremonies, to improve the administrative machinery for the betterment of the world.

1 See p. 81 f.n, 1 *supra*.

2 Sulṭān Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Tughluq.

3 For an illustration of the imperial *ṭughrā* see p. 363 *supra*.

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APPENDIX H

Kinship that should be established between a king and his wazir

(From a contemporary manuscript[1] in the Raza Library, Rampur, written in Persian, *naskh* and *nasta'līq* style.)

'The post of chief minister (*manṣab-i wizārat-i 'āẓam*) must not be assigned to anyone other than the said class of people since the administration of the State never functions smoothly without a wazīr.[2] The order of the wazīr is like the firman of the king because the relation between the king and the wazir is like the allegiance of a son and brother. Should this post go to anyone other than a son and a brother and relatives it must in that case be conferred on a very sincere person whose genuine and faithful devotion has been proved before the king's accession and who must have been looking forward to the accession of this king like one's expectation for the rising sun. Hence he should be regarded as the most appropriate person for the post. That is why his excellency (Aḥmad bin Aiyāz[3])—the most truthful and righteous man, lord of the dignified maliks and wazirs, the counterpart of Āṣaf-i Sulaimān, and possessing the gravity of Barzaway and the

1 *Dastūru'l-Albāb Fī 'Ilm-ī'l Ḥisāb* of Ḥāji Abdu'l Ḥamīd *Muḥarrir* was written in 734 Hijra (A.D. 1333) by the father Ḥāji Abdu'l Ḥamīd for the sake of his son Ruknu'ddin Aḥmad. Intended as a treatise on Arithmetic it also gives useful information on the taxes which are permitted by the *Shari'at* besides those which could be levied according to custom. The author also dwells on the requisite qualifications and duties of different officials in a Muslim State, and makes a special reference to the position of wazīr.

2 *I.e.* of the right type.

3 Aḥmad bin Aiyāz was son-in-law of Muḥammad bin Tughluq according to Firishta who says: *Aḥmad bin Aiyāz al-mukẖāṭab ba Kẖwāja Jahān kih nisbat-i kẖeshī ba Sulṭān Muḥammad bin Tughluq Shāh dāsht* (T. Fr. I, p. 260). 'Afif (p. 419) mentions two grandsons of the Sulṭān, *i.e.* sons of his daughter. See p. 471 *supra*, f.n. 2. Probably these two princes, Muḥāmmad and Maudūd by name, were the fruit of the marriage between Aḥmad bin Aiyāz and the daughter of Sulṭān Muḥammad.

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The Relevant Page From
Dastūr-Albāb Fi 'Ilmi'l-hisāb, showing the position of wazir
Facing p. 621

equity of Nushīrwān—became a favourite of Muḥammad-i Tughluq as was Aiyāz the favourite of Mahmūd. This minister has proved to his gracious Majesty his abundant devotion and sincerity and has received many favours and special bounties in appreciation of his devotion. He stands head and shoulders above all his compeers and comrades by virtue of his services to the State, and has proved himself a competent wazir, doing full justice to his work in all branches of the government.'

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APPENDIX I

Sharaf Manerī's letter to Sulṭān Muḥammad the Great

Topic—Reliance on God and keeping aside one's own learning.

To

Sulṭān Muḥammad the Great—a dear Brother—lover of the poor and destitute!

The writer Sharaf Manerī[1] presents his complements to Muḥammad Shāh. May God set right all his worldly and religious affairs! And may He take him as one of His adorers!

On reading this the king should know that the proclamation of the Almighty God is this:

> It may happen that ye hate a thing which is good for you and it may happen that ye love a thing which is bad for you. Allah knoweth; ye know not[2].

1 Shaikh Sharafu'ddīn Aḥmad bin Yaḥyā Maneri (*vide* p. 37 *supra*) was a disciple of Khwāja Najību'ddīn of the Firdausiya order. He was a renowned saint of Bihar. Born in 1263/661 at Maner, a village in Bihār, where his father had lived, he died there in 1380/782. In the beginning of 725 Hijra (close of 1325 A.D.) he set out on a journey to Dehlī in order to see Shaikh Niẓāmu'ddīn Auliyā but could not see him for the Shaikh had expired (18 *Rabi'* 'II 725/27 February 1325) before his arrival. He then went into jungles where he spent several years in 'nature study and meditation'. He is noted for his *Maktūbāt* or letters which deal with Sufism and were collected in 1346/747 by Zain Badr 'Arabī, his disciple. A manuscript of these letters (*Maktūbāt-i Shaikh Sharafu'ddīn Aḥmad* Bihārī No. 1454) is deposited at the Patna University Library. Letter No. 207 which was addressed by the Shaikh to Sulṭān Muḥammad bin Tughluq in reply to a letter from him forms the subject matter of this appendix.

2 Quran, *sura* II, verse 216.

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An evidence of this could be found in the story of Ṣ'alaba[1], one of the companions of the Prophet. He was such a devotee that he was taken as a pigeon attached to the mosque. One day he came to the Prophet and narrated his misfortunes and sufferings. The Prophet advised him to pray to Allah for redemption. Ṣ'alaba was not satisfied with this and implored him. The Prophet prayed for him; and there was a response. Better days came and things shaped themselves according as Ṣ'alaba had wished. In no time he owned many herds of camels and sheep and the like. Now the said pigeon of the mosque became so engrossed with his wealth that hardly could he find time to attend a congregational prayer in the mosque. Eventually he neglected the fundamental principles of Islām and became an apostate. May Allah save us from such a fate!, Then, Korah who was a monk of the Israelites was religious-minded as long as he was destitute. When he became wealthy he gave up faith (Islām)[2] and became an apostate. My God save us from such a fate!' Next is the instance of Pharaoh who advanced no claims to godhead as long as he was not prosperous. But, as soon as he became prosperous he set up as god, saying: 'I am your glorious god'.

1 Ṣ'alaba bin Ḥāṭib-il anṣāri was a companion of the Prophet who was extremely poor but became very rich after the Prophet had prayed for him. 'His sheep increased in number and grew like worms to such an extent that Medina became too small for them. He had to take his sheep out of Medina and began to live in one of the valleys of Medina. They still grew, and he had to move further still with the result that he could not attend the Friday and congregational prayers. The Prophet sent his collector to collect from him the *zakāt*. But he refused to pay on the plea that *zakāt* was like the *jizya*. The Prophet said, 'Woe upon Ṣ'alaba, and immediately there was revelation of the following verse: And of them is he who made a covenant with Allah saying, if he gives us of His bounty we will give alms and become of the righteous. Yet when he gave them of His bounty they hoarded it and turned away, averse.' Quran *sura* ix, v. 76. *Safinatu'l Biḥār* (Najaf, 1352 Hijra) p. 131.

2 According to the Quran all the Prophets and apostles since the beginning of the world preached Islām and were Muslims. So were notably Abraham, Moses and Jesus Christ. Islām did not begin with Muḥammad; it culminated through him.

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Similarly there are instances of Nimrod, Shaddād and ʿĀd. As long as they were unimportant, they did not advance claims to godhead. But immediately after gaining power and position each pretended to be a god. Similarly many instances could be quoted. It follows that it is better and more advantageous to implore God to bestow (on you) what He considers the best for you ; and only in this way can one preserve one's faith.

As requested by you, dear Brother! I have prayed to God to set right all your worldly and religious affairs; *amin*! And it is expected that the signs of response would be seen by you before long and you would become an adorer (of God) whereby the bounties would increase and never decrease; and your end by the grace of God and His benevolence would be safe.

'Further, you, O Brother !, have requested me to write specially for you something about ṣufī science. This should be known to you, O Brother !, that the ṣufī science is very profound and magnificent. As much of it as could be given the shape of words, I have already written and you have acknowledged receipt of two volumes. But who in this world has ever written that part which words cannot contain, and how can I attempt it? The only answer that I can give to you is that he who has not been promoted in the way of Path would not know the Reality[1] and he who is deprived of the real mystical norm will never know anything. Nothing further[2].

1 Literally 'he who does not exert himself does not understand. Unless one is absorbed in mysticism one knows nothing'.

2 Translated by me from the Persian text of the *Maktūbāt-i Sharafu'ddīn Aḥmad Manerī*, at Khuda Bakhsh Library, Patna. Letter No. 207. Ms. No. 1394; F. 216a, 217.

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APPENDIX J

Peacock Feathers—Emblem of Tughluq Dynasty

According to Amīr Khusrau[1] the peacock feathers were the emblem of Ghāzī Malik Tughluq's banners for war and peace. They were carried as ensigns on two poles and displayed as part of his military demonstrations during his wars against the Mongols. The peacock feathers served equally as an emblem of goodwill, formed part of the court decorations and were looked upon as auspicious.

From the references made by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa and 'Afīf it appears that the peacock feathers were subsequently considered as a sort of dynastic emblem. On visiting the Jahānpanāh palace of Sulṭān Muḥammad the Moorish traveller noticed the peacock feathers, used as a mark of dignity and discrimination. He says:

> 'And between the second and third gates of the royal palace there is a big platform on which sits the chief palace officer who holds in his hand a gold club and wears a gold cap, studded with jewels and surmounted with Peacock Feathers.'[2]

A similar practice continued during the reign of Fīroz Shāh and was noticed by 'Afīf[3] as constituting a conspicuous feature of the royal paraphernalia, equipage and processions. He says:

> 'When Fīroz Shāh set out on a hunting expedition, forty-five insignia of hunting moved along with the royal cavalcade. A group of royal servants with a temporary durbar camp marched together with one sleeping suite and a very large and wide dome which

1 *Vide* p. 45 *supra*, footnote 3.
2 The *Reḥla*, p. 57.
3 T. F. S. A., p. 317

was usually carried amidst royal equipage whenever that benevolent emperor set out on a journey. As the expedition proceeded, the emperor advanced ahead of the insignia and was followed by the royal guards, with whom marched all the khans, maliks and princes, abreast of the army. And to the right and left of the royal guards were carried two spears[1], crowned with Peacock Feathers—a special emblem which had been introduced by Sulṭān Tughluq Shāh. Behind the spears (and the peacock feathers) moved the hunting animals, forming part of the right flank of the army; and in the left flank were taken the game birds[2].'

It should be noted that peacock is a sacred bird associated through the ages with Lord Krishna who had raised it high among his favourite and chosen birds. Although it is found in all parts of India it has made a special abode in Mathura—the land of Krishna's birth—to which it has given the name of Peacock city. In Indian mythology it is associated with Saraswati, the goddess of learning; and on this ground is said to possess immense grandeur and individuality. It is essentially an Indian bird. On these considerations it has been chosen and recently declared the national bird of India. There is a ban on shooting it[3].

Now, the usage of peacock feathers in the royal palaces and armies of the Tughluq Dynasty bespeaks a sort of Hindū-Muslim cultural synthesis, which must have taken place first in the mind of Sulṭān Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Tughluq. Born of a Jāṭ mother[4] he had in his veins the Indian-Rajput

1 *I.e.* spear-like long shafts of wood.

2 *Op. cit.*

3 *Statesman*, February 7, 1961 and November 8, 1961.

4 It has been stated on the authority of Firishta (p. 18 *supra*) that Malik Tughluq, father of Sulṭān Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Tughluq, was one of the Turkish slaves of Balban. He married a Jāṭ woman of the Panjab and the fruit of that marriage was Ghāzī Malik Tughluq. Such was his humble origin which his son Sulṭān Muḥammad did not mention in his *Memoirs* (pp. 271 and 23 *supra*) since there was nothing glorious about it. But the truth trickles out from his language when he subsequently affirms like Firishta the obscurity

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blood which he cherished through a series of matrimonial alliances. He was himself married into a Hindū family—Jat or Rajput; and the fruit of that marriage was Jauna who later became Sulṭān Muḥammad. Then he arranged a marriage of his younger brother Rajab into the Hindū-Rajput family of Abohar[1].

Perhaps Sulṭān Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Tughluq had imbibed from his Jāṭ mother and relations a bias for Hindū mythology.

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of Tughluq's antecedents; and the fact remains that Tughluq had some predilections, inherited from his mother, for the Jats and Bhattis. Similar was the case with his dear and chosen nephew Firoz who, on coming of age, felt drawn towards the Gujars and married into a Gūjar family (*vide* p. 408 *supra*). Also compare •Asqalānī's remark in Appendix E, p. 609 f.n. 3 *supra*.

1 *Vide* p. 19 *supra*.

APPENDIX K

Dehlī hanoz dūr ast[1]

This mystical utterance of the Sulṭānu'l-auliyā[2] Shaikh Niẓāmu'ddīn of Dehlī—now a proverb—has been mischievously interpreted as an evidence of his participation in the alleged plot to murder Sulṭān Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Tughluq. Devoid of figure the utterance means this:

> 'I am unable to comply with Your Majesty's orders to attend the court, leaving Dehlī, before the completion of Your Majesty's journey from Lakhnautī[3] to Dehlī because I shall die before you arrive.'

It may be noted that relations between Sulṭān Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Tughluq and the Sulṭānu'l-Auliyā[4] were strained[5] in

1 Dehlī is still distant.

2 See the *Rehla of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa* (G. O. S.) pp. 51-53.

3 *Vide* p. 74 f. *supra*.

4 *I.e.* Shaikh Niẓāmu'ddīn Auliyā.

5 It is said that while Tughluqābād was building, the Sulṭānu'l-auliyā Shaikh Niẓāmu'ddīn also was doing some building at his *dargāh* of Ghiyāṣpūr. The emperor employed all the workmen at his new constructions of the fortress and city of Tughluqābād with the result that the saint felt the dearth of labour. But he managed to obtain some labourers and made them work at night under oil light. The emperor prohibited the sale of oil, but the saint transformed the water of the tank at Ghiyāṣpūr into oil and carried on his work of building the *dargāh* at night. The emperor then cursed the water of the tank and it became bitter. The saint retaliated by cursing Tughluqābād city and fortress. He said: *Yā basey Gūjar, Yā rahey Gūjar* (Be it the home of the Gūjar or rest it deserted)'.

Fanshawe H. C. (*Delhi, Past and Present* London, 1902, pp. 236, 238) who has given the above tale believes that the saint shared the responsibility for Sulṭān Tughluq Shāh's murder which had been plotted by his son. But he has failed to notice the fact that the saint himself died two months before the Afghānpūr tragedy. Much importance cannot be attached to the Gūjar

the beginning of the reign. But a reconciliation took place before long, the emperor having apologized. Since then he cherished great regard for the saint and wanted to keep himself in close touch with him. 'On his return journey from Lakhnautī', says Ḥusām Khān 'the emperor sent some one to the Sulṭānu'l-Auliyā requesting him to present himself at the royal court. Then he repeated his request, asking the Sulṭānu'l-Auliyā to come, his last communication being, "I have reached Dehlī". His Holiness answered, *Dehlī hanoz dūr ast*'.[1] Two months before the emperor's arrival

villages springing up in Tughluqābād region because Tughluq Shāh's nephew Fīroz Shāh subsequently married in the Gūjar family. Perhaps the saint made a reference, if the tale be credited at all, to Firoz Shah's liking for the Gujars.

1 On the basis of the *Siyaru'l 'Ārifīn* (a history of the ṣūfī saints) compiled by Ḥamīd Fazlu'llāh Darwesh Jamālī during the reign of the Mughul emperor Humāyūn, Hāji Dabīr says:

'In those days there was a large number of the 'ulamā who denounced Shaikh Niẓāmu'ddīn Auliyā for participating in the *simā'* (ṣūfī music). They considered it a heresy and urged the Sulṭān to remove it. 'Your Majesty' they said, 'should hold a meeting of the 'ulamā and sufis and lend your support to the *Shari'at*, otherwise we the 'ulamā shall bear no responsibility and Your Majesty will be answerable to God tomorrow.' Thereupon the Sulṭān held a meeting at Tughluqābād in which everyone of the 'ulamā capable of issuing a *fatwā* was present. Thus there were *muftis*, two hundred fifty-three in number, let alone others. Then the Sulṭān sent for Shaikh Niẓāmu'ddīn who arrived with his chosen disciples. One of these was Fakhru'ddīn Zarrādī—a ṣūfī who had been experiencing ecstacy and had attained the height of *ijtehād*.

'The chief *qā'ẓi* enquired of Shaikh Niẓāmu'ddīn Auliyā his opinion about the *simā'* and his association with the *simā'* service. The Shaikh explained his position in respect to *simā'*, quoting many *hadises* confirming the *simā'* and its legitimacy. The *qāẓi* rejoined, 'I am not a *mujtahid*. You have to answer me with quotations from Abū Ḥanīfa.' The saint retorted, 'I am quoting from the Prophet (peace and salutation on him!) and you demand that I should quote Abū Ḥanīfa. If this haughtiness of yours is due to your government post you are hereby dismissed from it. If it is due to your daring against God and those whom He loves and who love Him, then you have been deprived of your own belief'.

At this moment entered Maulānā 'Alamu'ddīn, the most virtuous and perfect ṣūfi, grandson of Shaikh Bahāu'ddīn Zakariyā.

at Afghānpūr and his death in July 1325/ *Sha'bān* 725 took place the death of the Sulṭānu'l-Auliyā, on 3rd April 1325/18th *Rabī'* II, 725.

Obviously the Sulṭānu'l-Auliyā possessed an exceptional insight, having attained clairvoyance. By means of the above mystical phrase which he uttered offhand—and there are many phrases[1] extant, foretelling a future which he is known to have uttered—he conveyed to the emperor that there would be no further meeting between the two and that he, Muḥammad Niẓāmu'ddīn, would leave the world before the emperor reached his destination[2]. The emperor was certainly wrong and much too hasty in announcing that he had reached Dehlī and in communicating the same to the Sulṭānu'l-Auliyā while actually he was yet far away

Seeing him enter the Sulṭān rose from his seat and advanced a few steps in order to welcome him, and he stretched his hands towards him. But Shaikh 'Alamu'ddīn turned to Niẓāmu'ddīn Auliyā and saluted him first. Then he looked to the Sulṭān, and, after saluting him, asked him why he had troubled the pious Shaikh Niẓāmu'ddīn Auliyā. The Sulṭān said in reply, 'The 'ulamā ordered me to hold this meeting in order to discuss the permissibility of *simā'*. Good job! you came. We shall be benefited by your advice and the truth will be demonstrated.'

'Maulānā 'Alamu'ddīn said, 'I have travelled to Mecca, Medina, Egypt and Syria and have gone round those areas where people are well-known for their adherence to the *Shari'at*. There I saw that the exalted ṣūfī mashāikh were holding *simā'* parties with the full knowledge of the famous jurists of the *Sharī'at* and *qazis* of Islām, Neither the 'ulamā nor the rulers put any obstacle in their way. Therefore there is no doubt whatever about the permissibility of the *simā'* in the eyes of those who are fit for it; and Shaikh Niẓāmu'ddīn and his companions are fit for the *simā'*. They are endowed with piety and sanctity. Verily it has been confirmed in history that the Prophet attended *simā'* and experienced ecstacy, and truth must needs be followed'.

'When the Sulṭān heard this he was struck with remorse for having troubled Shaikh Niẓāmu'ddīn Auliyā. Then he rose and advanced towards him and kissed his hands with great courtesy and humiliation. Then he sent him back, bidding him farewell amidst profound apologies'. A.H.G., III, pp. 855-56.

1 *Vide* p. 386 f.n. 3,4, *supra.*

2 *Vide* p. 84 *supra*

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from Dehlī. Certainly the Sulṭānu'l-Auliyā or any other saint of insight in his place could appreciate this much.

Hanoz Dehlī dūr ast has since become a proverb; and is commonly used by all the people in Hindustān to express the non-feasibility of any undertaking. Sometimes the word *hanoz* is dropped and *Dehlī dūr ast* is used as an equivalent of the English saying—it is a far cry to Lucknow[1].

1 C.P,K.D., p. 205

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APPENDIX L

Revenue Problems and Dīwān-i wizārat nnder Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Tughluq Shāh Ghāzī

Barani gives a detailed account of Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Tughluq's hold on the administrative machinery of the empire, particularly in respect of the revenue and the *Dīwān-i wizārat*. The assessment of revenue by measurement (*kharāj-i waẓīfa*) which had obtained under 'Alāu'ddīn Khaljī, enabling the State to impose a fixed charge on the land per unit area was abandoned in favour of Sharing (*kharāj-i· muqāsama*)—demand for a definite proportion of the produce of the land. In this manner the emperor relieved the peasant from the 'innovations and apportionments' of crop failure to which assessment by Measurment had rendered him liable. Measurement had also involved 'a large amount of extortion and corruption'. While fixing the State's share through *masāḥat* or measurement of the land improper forecasts were made by interested persons and estimators, and they made fantastic estimates under corrupt influence also about the allowances that the State made to the peasant to save him from the chance contingencies of crop failure and uncertain results of the area sown. Barani says :

> 'In consistency with his divinely gifted disposition he fixed the revenue of the country on the basis of the actual crop and abolished the practice of improper forecasts and fantastic estimates on crop failures, thus relieving the peasants from great hardships. He paid no heed to the reports of the fabricators, bidders, contractors and unjust estimators, about the revenue of the *iqtas* and provinces. He ordered that the class of fabricators, bidders, contractors and unjust estimators must have no connection with the *Dīwān-i wizārat*. Further he ordered the *Diwān-i wizārat* that they must not levy revenue demand on the basis of the reports of the fantastic estimators and they must not raise their

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demand to more than one-tenth of the previous assessment. And they should endeavour to increase the fertility of the soil so that the revenue may increase gradually and the country may not be ruined suddenly under the heavy strain of excessive taxes; and all ways of making unjust and high demands on the peasants must be closed.'

Collection of revenue

'On many occasions Sulṭān Tughluq Shāh enjoined that the revenue of the country must be collected in such a manner as might assure the peasants not only their existing position but also enable them to promote and increase their cultivation every year. The collectors should refrain from demanding too much at a time, depriving thereby the peasants of their property and assests and killing all hope of their future maintenance. He explained that the principal cause of a country's ruin lay in the body of corrupt *muqtis* and unjust collectors. Therefore the Sulṭān advised all the *muqtis* and *walis* of the provinces in the empire that in the matter of revenue collection from the peasants they must be considerate towards the Hindus, seeing that the Hindus should not lose their heads due to overflowing wealth and at the same time they must not be squeezed through poverty and destitution into giving up tillage and cultivation altogether. The Sulṭān commanded that the above-mentioned precepts must be observed by the ministers and high officers of the State in their dealings with the Hindus and in the matter of collecting revenue; and that fair dealing with the Hindus in the light of the above-mentioned principles must form the basis of his government.'

Expert in revenue matters

'Sulṭān Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Tughluq who was an expert in matters of revenue collection and possessed great prudence is reported to have enjoined that at the time of the collection of revenue the *muqtis* and *walis* should make thorough and

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exhaustive investigations and see that the *khuts* and *muqaddams* must not impose upon the peasants any demand over and above the actual revenue. In case the *khuts* and *muqaddams* prefer in lieu of their services to pay no farming and pasturage tax for their own lands, this much may be conceded because they have to perform many duties; and if they pay taxes for their own lands like ordinary peasants, no difference would remain between the peasants and the *khuts* or *muqaddams*.'

Consideration for muqtis and walis

'Whoever from among the amirs and maliks was promoted to high rank by Sulṭān Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Tughluq and assigned *iqṭā'* or province was given the privilege of not having to be summoned before the Ministry (*Dīwān*) like the collectors (*'ummāl*); and no demand could be made against him with cruelty and impoliteness. Then the Sulṭān advised the amīr or malik in question, that in case he did not want to be treated by the *Dīwān-i wizārat* with humility and if he did not like to be subjected in matters of revenue demand to exceeding rigour and impoliteness and to be thrown into the depths of humiliation and disgrace, thus losing the dignity and honour of his position as amīr or *malik*, then he must be content with small perquisites from his own *iqṭā'*, give a portion of his emoluments to his own staff of workers and must not have an eye on their salaries.

'Further the Sulṭān told the amirs and maliks that it was left to their own discretion to give anything out of their perquisites to their own staff. 'But whatever was fixed as allowance in the name of their staff must be paid to them, for, should they be greedy to extract a bit out of that, they would no longer remain fit to be counted as amīr and *malik*. It is far better for an amīr to eat dust than to take anything out of the allowance of his subordinates. Should the *maliks* and amirs take away an amount equal to half of one-tenth or one-eleventh or one-tenth or one-fifteenth of the revenue of their *iqṭā'* and province, and should they discharge at the same time their duties properly

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in respect of the administration of their *iqtas* and provinces, such a petty sum may be permitted; and it will not be proper to make on them strong demands for such a petty percentage of the revenue. Similarly if the revenue officers (*mutaṣarrif*) and their staff in the provinces and *iqtas* misappropriate, apart from their salaries, an extra amount ranging between five thousand and ten thousand *jitals* they should not be disgraced for that amount, and no torture—beating, imprisonment and enchaining—be inflicted on them for the recovery of the said amount. But if they embezzle huge sums, making no entry of the same in the revenue registers and if they pocketed an enormous sum by way of partnership in the revenue of the *iqtas* and provinces, they must not be spared. Such treacherous persons and robbers must be tortured, fettered and disgraced and dishonoured publicly; and whatever has been taken away by them must be refunded.'

Diwān-i wizārat

Sulṭān Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Tughluq exalted the *Dīwān-i wizārat*, relieving it from its indignified task of tyranny and exploitation that it had been performing in the Khaljī period. That is, 'Alaū'ddīn Khaljī had made it an instrument of his despotism; and as a result the *Dīwān-i wizārat* came to be detested and feared by all respectable persons and personalities in the empire. Sulṭān Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Tughluq weeded it; and then entrusted it, according to Baranī, to officers and functionaries of repute and experience, enabling it thus to retrieve its prestige and popularity. Baranī says:

> 'And in all those matters of the State which lay within the jurisdiction of this department—supreme over all other administrative departments—no severe punishments were inflicted. No harshness, no cruel demands, no detention, no disgracing and no enchaining were resorted to, barring a year-long-campaign of violence and exaction that was launched with the object of recovering those amounts which had been given away from the public treasury by Khusrau Khān as well as those sums which had been plundered during the war

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from the military fund, belonging to the army. In this connection door to door searches and investigations were organized by the *Dīwān-i wizārat*; and three kinds of defaulters were caught. First, those who were pious and godly. They refunded the money readily. Secondly those who endeavoured to keep the money for themselves, evading the State demand which they wanted to drown and neutralize by means of bribes and flattery. But the *Dīwān-i wizārat* would accept no plea and exacted the money from them with cruelty and severity. Thirdly those confirmed grabbers who were, like thieves, greedy and covetous. They had long been intent on taking away the State money and had been biding their time. They would not part with the money at any cost. Whenever demand was made on them they cried and complained and went away to places of pilgrimages, imploring the help of friends and foes alike. But the *Dīwān-i wizārat*, working under strict orders from the Sulṭān, put them to all kinds of tortures—chains, fetters and even burning. As a result, before the year had run out, the amounts that had been taken away came back and the royal treasuries were filled again as much as they had been under 'Alāu'ddīn Khaljī.'[1]

1 T. F. S. B, pp. 429-31

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APPENDIX M

That pearl is our lord 'Ainu'l-Mulk'[1]

(Muḥammad bin Tughluq)

'In order to enable 'Ainu'l-Mulk commonly known as 'Ain-i Māhrū to retrieve his honour—for he had been captured and disgraced after his rebellion and war—emperor Muḥammad bin Tughluq held a special meeting of his courtiers and queried them, saying:

> 'A certain person possessed an extremely precious and rare pearl which he lost accidentally. Then he saw it lying amidst excrement. Must he take it back from that undesirable place or leave it ?'

'The courtiers voiced unanimously, saying that the pearl should be taken back. Thereupon the emperor observed, pointing to 'Ainu'l-Mulk:

> 'That pearl is our lord 'Ainu'l-Mulk. Deluded by his brothers he fell into excrement and refuse and was lost to us. But we have taken back our lost pearl.'

Simultaneously the emperor ordered that 'Ainu'l-Mulk be helped to a prominent seat[2] in the durbar.

During the reign of Fīroz Shāh, 'Ainu'l-Mulk became auditor-general of the empire (*mushrif-i mumālik*) with his headquarters at Dehlī. He also became an ex-officio member of the *Dīwān-i wizārat*. There he fell out for some unknown reasons with Khān Jahān, the first wazīr. One day both of them went out of Dehlī in the train of a royal expedition. When a halt was made on the way the wazīr's tent was fixed by the side of the royal camp. Riding out one afternoon, 'Ainu'l-Mulk came up the door of Khān Jahān's

1 *Ān gauhar Khwāja 'Ainu'l-Mulk-i mā-st* T.F.S.A. p. 407.

2 The text has *zailūcha* (literally carpet). *Ibid.*

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tent. There he alighted and walked slowly into it. Then he was told that the tent he had entered belonged to Khan Jahān. 'Ainu'l-Mulk immediately returned without seeing Khān Jahān and went straight into the royal camp ; and related the incident to his Majesty, thus :

> 'I had intended to enter the royal camp. But, unable to distinguish it from that of the wazīr, for both are red and possess equal equipments, I alighted erroneously before the wazīr's camp. I was disillusioned as soon as I stepped into it. I was told that it was Khān Jahān's camp. I returned immediately.'[1]

After a few days there took place an exchange of hot words between 'Ainu'l-Mulk and Khān Jahān ; and while each was abusing the other, 'Ainu'l-Mulk called Khān Jahān 'bastard and miscreant'. Thereupon Khān Jahān rushed to Fīroz Shāh and complained. 'You are supreme and can dismiss whomsoever you please', replied Fīroz Shāh.'

'Khān Jahān lost no time in issuing an order of dismissal. 'Ainu'l-Mulk was dismissed from his office of *mushrif-i mumālik*. He retired to his house and did not leave it for three days. On the fourth day he went to see the emperor who ordered him to take charge of the *iqtas* of Multān, Bhakkar and Sivistān. He was allowed at the same time to stay away from the meetings of the *Dīwān-i wizarāt* at Dehlī and to send his accounts from Multān directly to the emperor.[2] But his dismissal and departure from Dehlī provoked a general resentment ; and many of

1 'Ainu'l-Mulk said this in order to bring Khān Jahān into bad odour with the emperor. Khān Jahān understood the implications of 'Ainu'l-Mulk's remarks and threatened to resign. *Op. cit.*, pp. 411-416.

2 Moreland has utilized this story to establish the position and functions of a *muqṭi'*. He draws the reader's attention to the fact that Firoz Shāh excluded the affairs of Multān at the request of its new *muqṭi'* from the jurisdiction of the *Dīwān-i wizārat*; and says: 'The language of the passage shows the position of a *muqṭi'* as purely administrative'. The Persian phrase referred to by Moreland is *kārhā wa kirdārhā* which is a loose expression for administrative work. A. S. M. I., p. 219 and T. F. S. A., p. 414.

the courtiers pressed on Fīroz Shāh the advisability of dismissing Khān Jahān. Fīroz Shāh was more than half inclined to do so. But he deemed it wise to consult 'Ainu'l-Mulk in the matter. 'Ainu'l-Mulk who had already commenced his journey towards Multān was called back to Dehlī. He disapproved the idea of Khān Jahān's dismissal and said:

> 'Khān Jahān is a wise and talented wazīr. It may not be possible to dismiss him without shaking the foundations of the State and throwing the administrative machinery out of gear.'

He advised the emperor to call Khān Jahān to the spot and acquaint him with the royal decision to let him continue in office so that he should have no fears of any kind. When these favourable remarks of 'Ainu'l-Mulk's were conveyed to Khān Jahān he was astonished. He rose with a spring and embraced 'Ainu'l-Mulk, saying:

> 'I did not know that you loved me so ardently after all. I was mistaken and have erred seriously in quarrelling with you.'

But 'Ainu'l-Mulk was not reconciled and discouraged Khān Jahān, saying:

> 'You must not think that my favourable remarks about you have been made out of love for you. The reason behind my favourable remarks lies in the fact that I consider the continuance of your *wizārat* necessary for the safety of the empire and the emperor[1].'

All the efforts that Khān Jahān since made to induce 'Ainu'l-Mulk to cleanse his heart, to forget the quarrel and to accompany him to his house and mix with him failed. And 'Ainu'l-Mulk resumed his journey towards Multān. There he appears to have remained till his death; and that is why he became known subsequently as 'Ainu'l-Mulk Multānī. He was the author of the famous *Munshāt-i Māhrū* which has been discussed above.[2]

1 T.F.S.A., pp. 406-417

2 *Vide* p. 576 *supra*; also see J. A. S. B. 1923

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APPENDIX N

Ibn Taimiya

Taqīu'ddīn Abu'l 'Abbās Aḥmad bin Abu'l Ḥalīm commonly known as Ibn Taimiya (1263/661—1328/728) was born near Damascus in the middle of the 7th century Hijra. He was educated and trained as a faithful follower of *imām* Aḥmad bin Ḥanbal (780/164—855/241) and began his public career as a teacher of the Ḥanbalī tenets. But he developed an independent outlook on religion; and side by side with his work as a teacher did some researches in Islām and attained *ijtehād*. Then he delivered public lectures on his *ijtehads* and began to issue *fatwas*. Thus he departed from the path of Aḥmad bin Ḥanbal and renounced *taqlīd*.[1] Then he set his hands to uprooting the unhealthy practices of the adoration of ṣufī saints, alive or dead, and of the sites, trees and garments as well as of the seasonal day like *nauroz* and of *karāmāt*—the divinely inspired religious deeds. All these were unadjustable in his eyes with the spirit of the Quran and *ḥadīṣ*. In those days the Musalman masses were addicted to *taqlīd* and were seen idolizing any holy man, however spurious. They approached him, saying:

> 'This is a holy man—a *walī*—who can work miracles; we must fear him and serve him.'

Ibn Taimiya denounced this kind of imitation and exposed the spurious *walis* and unmasked their doctrines of unity (*itteḥād*) and *waḥdat-i wujūd*. He resolved to bring them back to the Quranic teaching and the life as it had been lived under the Prophet. Pursuing his *ijtehads* further he evolved the doctrine of anthropomorphism and 'smote down with proud words' the earliest of the caliphs, 'Umar and 'Alī. He also denounced the teachings of Ibn

1 For the meaning of *taqlid* see p. 375 *supra*.

'Arabī,[1] the famous ṣufī theologian of 6th century Hijra. One day, he heard that a certain an-Nāṣir al-Manbiji, a follower of Ibn 'Arabī, had reached a position of influence in Cairo. He immediately addressed him a remonstrance with the object of deterring him from his heresies. Al-Manbiji retorted with 'countercharges of heresy; and as he had behind him all the sufis of Egypt, Ibn Taimiya had to pay for his eagerness for a fight with long and painful imprisonment at Cairo, Alexandria and Damascus.'

In this manner Ibn Taimiya's *ijtehads* made him unpopular; and he ceased to be the people's idol. Being fearless and resourceful, however, he asserted himself again as a *mujtahid* and issued a *fatwā* (1327/726) which 'ran still straighter in the teeth of the beliefs of the people and which sent him to a prison which he never left alive.' This *fatwā* which banned the time-honoured pilgrimages to the graves of saints including the pilgrimage to the holy tomb of the Prophet at Medina, proved ruinous and dug the grave of the *ijtehads* as well as of the *mujtahid*.

The pilgrimages which Ibn Taimiya had banned were never stopped and have continued till the present day. But his monotheism left an abiding impression and was revived late in the eighteenth century A.D. by Muḥammad bin 'Abdu'l-Wahhāb of Najd; and the same flourishes till to-day in Saudi Arabia. It permeated India too in the nineteenth century.

1 Abū Bakr bin 'Alī Muḥiu'ddīn—a descendant of the famous Ḥatim Ṭāī of Arabia—was a renowned ṣufī pantheist of medieval Spain, known to the Muslim world by his different titles, *i.e.*, Shaikhu'l Akbar, Ibn Surāqa and Ibn 'Arabī. He was a strong believer in *waḥdat-i wujūd*; and affirmed that all Being is essentially one and that everything under the sun was a manifestation of divine substance. He believed that there was truth in all religions and all were equally good. E.I. vol. II, pt. 2, p. 362.

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APPENDIX O

Khusrau Malik and Dāvar Malik

'Iṣāmī sets forth Khusrau Malik as a nephew (sister's son) of Sulṭān Muḥammad bin Tughluq, saying:

> 'The emperor desired Khusrau Malik, son of his sister, to take charge of the troops and to rush them from Dehlī to the Qarachil mountain.'[1]

But Shams Sirāj 'Afīf introduces Khusrau Malik as the husband of Khudāwandzādah, sister of Sulṭān Muḥammad and tells us that she (Khudāwandzādah, daughter of Sulṭān Tughluq Shāh) and her husband Khusrau Malik lived together in the inner parts of the residential palace of the late Sulṭān Muhammad during the reign of Fīroz Shāh.[2]

Obviously 'Iṣāmī confounded Dāvar Malik with Khusrau Malik; and Dāvar Malik was also confounded with Dāwaru'l-Mulk[3] by others. It may be recalled that rumours about the impotency[4] of Sulṭān Muḥammad had been set afloat and he was consequently depicted as childless[5] or having, at best, an isolated daughter[6] but no progeny. But the reverse is true. It is 'Afīf who mentions two grandsons (daughter's sons)[7] of Sulṭān Muḥammad; Firishta who notices the existence of his son-in-law[8] and the saint Sharaf Manerī who describes Dāvar Malik as *dāmād*[9] of Sulṭān Muḥammad.

1 F. S., verses 8, 841-8, 853.

2 T. F. S. A., 100.

3 Maulānā Yusuf was awarded the title of Dāwaru'l-Mulk which has been confounded with Dāvar Malik. *Vide* p. 104 *supra*.

4 *Vide* Appendix E *supra*.

5 'Verily a king who has had no issue desires to make the world barren like himself'. (Iṣāmi) F. S., verse 8, 542.

6 T. F. S. A., p. 54.

7 *Idem*, p. 419.

8 T. Fr. vol. I, p. 260.

9 *I.e.* son-in-law.

Dāvar Malik had addressed to the saint a communication and the latter sent in reply a letter[1] which is translated as follows:

To

Dāvar Malik, son-in-law of Sulṭān Muḥammad.

Topic—high modesty and goodwill.

'I beg to offer many thanks to your excellency; and I am grateful to you for the high compliments you have extended to me. But to tell you the truth I am an humble servant of the 'ulamā and do not consider myself fit for the glorious titles of *Maliku'l-Mashāikh* (king of the ṣūfī shaikhs) and *Quṭbu'l-Auliyā* (the pole of the ṣūfī saints) that you have conferred on me. Further you have subscribed yourself as a disciple of mine—a fact which amounts to high praise. Alas! I have been suffering at the hands of some accursed oppressors and have fallen lower in estimation than the idolaters and *zunnardars*.[2] As a result people look upon me with mistrust.

'Your excellency is aware that Islām does not reveal itself to every sinful and ugly person. While you have favoured many of the pagans (*wa mā yumin-o akṣar-ohūm bi'llāh-i illā wa hūm mushrikūn*),[3] you have driven away many of the believers in one God ('*ālam-e az haẓrat-i tauḥīd*).[4]

'Islām is not so easy as it is assumed generally. If today Islām is identified with one's own habits and customs, that amounts to a delusion which death alone will remove. Then will it be realized that by masquerading as a Muslim one only intended to conceal one's devotion to *zunnār*.[5] Then will come to light

1 Sharaf Maneri—*Maktūbāt-i Seh Ṣadī*, part II, p. 496, Letter No. 96.

2 *I.e.* Hindus

3 Literally many of them do not believe in Allah and have faith in plurality of gods; that is, Hindus.

4 Literally many of the unitarians, that is, orthodox Muslims.

5 *I.e.* Hinduism.

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the truth about the charge of *munāfiqat* (hopocrisy). Then will also be known whether the sufis were hypoctites (*munafiqs*) or the idolaters deserved this epithet. When the curtain of darkness will be lifted, then will it be realized whether one had been riding a horse or a donkey.'

Historical value of the letter

This letter suggets the following points:

(i) Sulṭān Muḥammad had two daughters. The elder being married to Aḥmad bin Aiyāz,[1] the younger was given in marriage to Dāvar Malik.

(ii) Dāvar Malik considered Sharaf Manerī as a ṣūfī saint of great importance and wanted to follow his path.

(iii) Sharaf Manerī had great regard for those 'ulamā with whom Sulṭān Muhammad had disagreed.

(iv) Sharaf Manerī did not approve the State's policy and attitude towards sufism and would exonerate the sufis from the charge of *munāfiqat*.

(v) Sharaf Manerī confirms that Sulṭān Muḥammad was *patronizing* the Hindus.

(vi) Sharaf Manerī complains that the sufis were being oppressed by the Government who held them as hypocrites (*munāfiq*).

(vii) Like his previous letter (Appendix I) this letter of Hazrat Sharaf Maneri's refers pointedly to Muḥammad bin Tughluq's troubles as narrated in the latter's *Memoirs*, thus envisaging the annonymous writer of the *Memoirs*.

1 *Cf.* T. Fr. vol. I, p. 260.

APPENDIX P

(a) *Ḍhilli or Dilli*

(b) *Dehli* or *Delhi*

(a) In my edition of the *Reḥla of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa*[1] I pointed out[2] that Ḍhilli (ढल्ली) is the Sanskrit name of the city, given in the local Sanskrit inscriptions from the 11th to the 14th century A.D. The same is the case with the Sanskrit inscriptions drawn upon in this book[3]. But I have read it as Dillī instead of Ḍhillī. I think ḍh (ढ) is a scribal mistake which is quite likely to occur in the case of *écriture* on the stone, since in Devanagri character there is very little difference between ढ and द. The orthography of both the letters is very nearly the same. The initial mistake once made through indifferent reading on the stone, has since persisted. It should be noted that the name of the city as mouthed by the inhabitants of the city and, in fact, all over the sub-continent of India is Dilli (दिल्ली), not Dhilli (ढिल्ली). Even now in modern Sanskrit the name of the city in question is Deoholi (देहली) and not Ḍheoli (ढेहली)

(b) Regarding Dehlī I confirm that it was neither a new term nor a new orthography introduced by the early Turkish conquerors of this city. The orthography was already noticeable in the term *Dehliwāl* and is certainly traced in *Dihali*[4] of Anang Pal II's inscription on the Iron Pillar. Now, Dehli—the orthography which is uniformly used in the Persian, Indo-Persian and Perso-Arab chronicles through the ages—is identical with *Dihali*. On similar grounds Rennell advised that it should properly be written

1 The *Reḥla of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa* (G. O. S.) 1953

2 See Appendix R, *Op. cit.*, and also p. 169 f.n. 7, *supra*.

3 *Vide* pp. 320, 325, 329 *supra*.

4 *Op. cit.*

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as 'Dehly'[1]. With the establishment of the East India Company's rule in India Delhi—the result of a corrupt[2] spelling—came to be regarded as the official spelling, although Hunter in his '*revised orthography of the Indian towns and villages*' suggested Dehli[3] as the correct spelling to be adopted by the British Government.

1 *Memoir of a Map of Hindoostan* (1788), p. 66.

2 Cunningham—A.S,I.R., I, p. 161

3 Hunter, W.W.,—*Guide to the Orthography of Indian Proper Names with a list showing the true spelling of Post Towns and Villages in India.* Calcutta, 1871; p. 32.

APPENDIX Q

Dehlī and Daulatābād tankas

On the basis of the information given by Shaikh Mubārak[1] that the silver tanka had eight *bashtgānī dirhams*, Edward Thomas worked out the interchangeable rates of a tanka of Muḥammad bin Tughluq's reign and concluded that a tanka of 175 grains of pure silver was divisible into 64 *ganis* or jitals.[2] But Nelson Wright and Mr. Neville consider it erroneous. They contend that *bashtgānī* in the above information given by Shaikh Mubārak should be read as *shashgānī*. They maintain that *shashgānī* was a popular coin in Muḥammad bin Tughluq's reign as well as in the reign of Fīroz Shāh, for the *Masāliku'l-Abṣār* says:

> 'In these days the silver coins current in India are six, namely *shānzdagānī*, *duāzdahgānī*, *basbtgānī*, *shashgānī*, *sulṭānī* and *yagānī*; and the last three—*shashgānī*, *sulṭānī* and *yagānī* are universally in circulation.'[3]

1 Shihābu'ddin Ahmād 'Abbās, compiler of the *Mashāliku'l-Abṣār* says, 'Shaikh Mubārak related to me : 'the white tanka, namely the silver tanka has eight *bashtgānī*-dirhams.' *Masāliku'l-Abṣār*, M. U. J. 1943, p. 56

2 One tanka to 64 *jitals* is worked out below :

1	*gānī*—1 *jītal*	
2	*gānī*—do-	*gānī* or *sulṭānī*
6	*gānī*	*shashgānī*
8	*gānī*	*bashtgānī*
16	*gānī*	*shānzdāhgānī*
64	*gānī*	1 tanka
64	*ganis*	1 tanka of 175 grains of pure silver
32	*dogānī*	1 tanka of 175 grs.
8	*bashtgānī*	1 tanka
4	*shanzdahgānī*	1 tanka

C. P. K. D., p. 219

3 *Masāliku'l.Abṣār Op. cit.*

To this may be added the fact that 'Afīf mentions a tanka of 48-ganis.[1] In view of this—for eight *shashganis* would make a tanka of forty-eight *ganis*—the above conclusion of Edward Thomas that a silver tanka comprised 64 jitals is declared baseless. Nelson Wright and Mr. Neville say:

'On the assumption of a 64-gani tanka a piece of 48-gani would be almost meaningless. It is natural enough to suppose that the first division of the tanka would be into two halves, and it is significant that while we have the 25-gani (Southern) and 24-gani (Northern), there is no mention at all of a 32-gani piece.' Firishta says, in writing of 'Alāuddīn Muhammad's reign, that the tanka comprised 50 jitals. We get a remarkable corroboration of this in Muhammad bin Tughluq's token coin (No. 196 of Edward Thomas) which is described as a *tanka panjahgani, i. e.* tanka of 50 jitals. These coins all hail from the mint of Daulatābād. Similarly the *nisfī*—the halt piece (No. 204 of Edward Thomas) which would correspond to 'Afīf's 25-*gani* piece—was also struck at Daulatābād. Was then the tanka differently subdivided in Daulatābād and Dehli? We think that the evidence is clear that it was. Leaving aside the 48-*gani* piece, 'Afīf gives the following coins as current in Fīroz Shāh's reign—25 *ganis*, 24-*ganis*, 12-*ganis*, 10-*ganis*, 8-*ganis*, 6-*ganis* and one jital. They will not all work into one scale of 50-jital, to a tanka. We cannot contemplate a currency with subdivisions of 24/50th, 12/50th, 8/50th or 6/50ths. The 25-*gani* and 10-*gani* on the other hand clearly fit in with the 50-jital scale whereas they are highly inconvenient subdivisions of either 64 or a 48 jital tanka.[2]

Hence the conclusion is that there were two different scales in force in Dehlī and Daulatābād. While the Dehlī tanka was of 48 jitals the Daulatābād tanka was divisible

1 J. A. S. B., 1924. N. S. p. 32

2 *Op. cit.*

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into 50 jitals. This conclusion is borne out by the *Masāliku'l-Abṣār* which says (presumably with reference to the Dehlī scale of currency) that the tanka consisted of six dirhams, that is six, *hashtgānis*. Obviously thus six *hasht-ganis* would make a tanka of 48 jitals. Finally it is affirmed that the Dehlī jital in the reign of Muḥammad bin Tughluq and possibly under 'Alau'ddīn Khaljī also was one-forty-eighth part of a tanka while it required fifty Deccani jitals (jitals minted at Daulatābād) to make a tanka'[1].

1 J. A. S. B., 1924, N. S. xxxviii, pp. 25-38.

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APPENDIX R

Fīroz Shāh's durbar

Unlike his predecessor who held the durbar regularly in the afternoon[1] Fīroz Shāh held his durbar in the forenoon at Firozābād but not regularly[2]. Usually the duration of the durbar was for four hours; but occasionally in the midst of it the emperor rose to relax himself by watching the flight of birds and horse-race[3].

The durbar was held in one of the three palaces, each of which bore a distinct name—Vine palace (*maḥl-i gulīn*[4] *wa dāka*[5]), Public audience palace (*maḥl-i bār 'ām*) and the Nightingale-wood palace (*chabcha-i chobīn*).[6] When the durbar was held in the Vine palace, then the khans, maliks, amirs, grandees and some of the secretaries wearing a special head-gear (*kulāh*) were presented. In the Public audience palace which was really intended for the performance of

1 *Vide* the *Reḥla of Ibn Baṭṭuṭa*, p. 58

2 Firoz Shāh held the durbar twice or thrice a week only—*bā'd dowsibroz*. T. F. S. A., p. 278.

3 T. F. S. A,, p. 280.

4 *Maḥl-i ṣaḥn-i gulīn* of the original Persian text (T. F. S. A.. p. 277) has been rendered in Elliot (III, p. 343) as a palace of clayey quadrangle. The correct form should be palace of floral quadrangle, probably of the same type as is seen in the Agra Fort palace which goes by the name of Angūri Mahal.

5 *Dāka* of the Persian text (T. F. S. A., p. 277) should be read as *dākha* which has been mentioned by Malik Muhammad Jāisi, author of *Padmavat* in his list of the names of flowering plants. In the said list *dakha* signifies grape vine. *Dākha* is the Hindi name of *kisimisa* corresponding to *vitis vinifera* in Latin. J. A. S. B. No. LXII, 1893, p. 208

6 *Chabcha-i chobīn* of the Persian text (T. F. S. A., p. 277) is rendered in Elliot (III, p. 343) as palace of the wooden gallery. To my mind *Chabcha*—and not *chhaja* as Elliot read it—being a kind of wood which the nightingale likes to sit on while singing, the palace in question should be described as nightingale-wood palace. It contained wood which went by the name of *Chabcha*. *Ghiyāṣu'l-Lughāt*.

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State functions and the celebration of festivals like the *Shab-i Barāt*[1], *'Īd*[2] and *Nauroz*[3] the army men were presented. And in the Nightingale-wood palace were presented princes and favourite courtiers.

Usually after the performance of morning prayers and ceremonial recitation of the Quran, emperor Fīroz Shāh specified the palace in which he would hold the durbar; and the same palace was set off for the purpose. Then he walked into it using the private door which was exclusively meant for him and took his seat on the exalted throne overhanging the palace. Immediately the grand ushers stepped in; and bowing reverentially solicited royal permission to present the visitors. When the emperor gave permission the ushers conducted into the royal presence the chamberlains, taking them to the salutation centre near the throne. Then a select body of sword-bearers from among the slaves —each carrying a gold and a silver shield—stepped in and were succeeded by officers of the reception department (*dīwān-i irsāl*); and along with them went some judicial officers (*dīwān-i qaẓā*). Then entered the revenue officers (*dīwān-i wizārat*) and each took his stand to the right of the throne. Then advanced militay officers (*dīwān-i 'arẓ*), marching shoulder to shoulder with the *kotwals*; and all of them stood in a row to the left of the throne[4].

If the durbar was held in the Vine palace then the khans, maliks, amirs, grandees and secretaries who had already assembled there were announced; and each was taken to the

1,2,3 The festivals that were observed under Muḥammad bin Tughluq were *Shab-i Barāt* and the two *Ids* (*Vide* the *Reḥla of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa* p. 143 f.n. 3 and p. 124 f.n. 1). *Nauroz* is mentioned as a festival observed under Fīroz Shāh. Literally *Nauroz* is the new year's day when the sun enters Aries. As a spring festival it corresponds to Hindū Basant and bespeaks Hindū rather than Irani influence on the sultans for Nauroz was also celebrated under the preceding sultans of Dehlī as is evident from certain verses of Amir Khusrau, (Ashraf K.M.—S.E.C.P. p. 300). It was later taken up by the Mughul emperors, and its celebration was abolished by Aurangzeb. It is still celebrated by the Iranians who are but another type of Aryans akin to the Hindus of India.

4 T. F. S. A., p. 279

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salutation centre where he bowed, the wazīr's bow amounting to *sijda*. His head touched the ground three times[1]. If the durbar was held in the Nightingale-wood palace the same process was repeated; and the princes and favourite courtiers awaiting summons proceeded, on being announced, to the salutation centre. After performing the bow, each took his stand respectfully behind the throne, and all were clad in their special robes. In case the durbar was held in the Public audience palace, the army men[2] and some non-army men were presented before the emperor in the usual manner.

Great importance was attached to the wearing of uniforms—socks, hair-ribbons, woollen caps and robes—without which no one from among the grandees was entertained at the gate. The uniforms, according to 'Afīf, also included brocade robes, white sashes, golden belts and caps[3] of refined wool. This costume became so fashionable that everyone attending the durbar put it on gladly, giving up the front-open *qabā*[4] which had been liked heretofore.

1 '*Duwum karrat sar bar zamīn āwurdey. Bāz dastūr karrat-i seyūm sar bar zāmīn nihādey* (T. F. S. A., p. 282).

In these words which signify nothing short of *sijda*, 'Afīf describes the *salām* or *khidmat* performed, particularly by the wazīr, before Fīroz Shāh. This bespeaks Hindū influence on Fīroz Shāh or the true character of his Hindū wazīr. This kind of salām is absolutely un-Islamic; and although later adopted by the Mughul emperors, it was abolished by Shāhjahān.

2 The '*umūm i khalāiq*' used in the Persian text (T. F. S. A., p. 278) must not be taken to mean people of the bazaar. The term *khalq* and sometimes *khalāiq* was then used for the army.

3 'Afīf (p. 280) has mentioned two kinds of caps—(i) *kulāh-i yazak* which should be read as *barak* and (ii) *kulāh-i bārbakī*, which should be read as *tatari*. Both were, in fact, caps of wool, the only difference being that the latter was more refined and costly. Shaikh Sa'dī's verse—

Ḥājit ba kulāh-i barakī dashtanat nīst
Darwesh ṣifat bāsh wa kulāh-i tatarī posh

(There is no need for you to put on woollen cap (as a sign of modesty and self-denial). Develop the true qualities of a darwesh and you can wear the costly cap made of lamb's fine skin (*kulāh-i tatari*)—makes the point clear.

4 Qabā—bottomless loose cloak resembling the *khirqa* (*vide* p. 376 *supra*)—had been the popular garment of the *sufis*. Muḥammad bin Tughluq had set his face against it. He had ban-

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The order of seats and stands round the throne was this. Near the throne on the right side sat the wazīr Khān Jahān. Behind him sat the *naib*-wazīr. In the right-wing corner near the throne behind the Khān Jahān and on a folded carpet sat Qāẓī Ṣadr Jahān; and next to him sat some distinguished chiefs. To the left of the throne in a similar fashion some distinguished amirs took their respective seats. Behind these sat a few Hindū rajas—Rai Balar Deva, Rai Sabir and Rāwat Adheran[1].

After the emperor left the durbar palace he descended into a private apartment of it where, sitting over a quilt, (*nīhālcha*) he held private conversation with the *Shaikhu'l-Islām*[2]; and he did or ordered to be done whatever the latter desired. Unlike his predecessor whose durbar was attended by the 'ulamā and mashāikh[3], Fīroz Shāh exempted them from the obligation of attending the durbar and performing the bow. Only the *Shaikhu'l--Islām* came as a representative of their order but he came by appointment after the durbar hours.

On Fridays Fīroz Shāh walked from the durbar palace into the mosque where he attended the congregational prayers. On coming back from the mosque he heard the musicians who played music in an informal gathering at the Nightingale-wood palace. They were rewarded handsomely and withdrew. They were succeeded by wrestlers who displayed some wrestling feats and contests. The emperor enjoyed the sight; and then, after rewarding them handsomely, he turned to members of his secretariate (*adwatiyān*) and heard their news and reports[4].

ned it. During the regime of Firoz Shāh new kinds of robes being conferred the *qabā* ceased to be the popular and fashionable wear. *Darān aiyām qabā-i jāmah poshīdan miyān-i buzurgān 'aib būd*, says 'Afif p. 280.

1 T. F. S. A,, p. 281

2 *Shaikhu'l-Islām* was an assistant to the Ṣadr Jahān. For the respect shown by Fīroz Shāh to the *Shaikhu'l-Islām* see 'Afīf p. 287.

3 *The Reḥla of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa*, p. 58

4 T. F. S. A., p. 367.

APPENDIX S

Verses from the Maṭla'u'l-Anwār
translated above, see p. 370, f.n. 1, *supra*.

عمامہ داران زیرکلاہ کہ از برائے بطانۂ منعم کلاہ اندازند

دپردہ داران زیرجُبّہ کہ دستار نعمان را

پائتابہ نظام سازند

خامہ مزن سوختن عامہ را — آلتِ تزویر مکن جامہ را
زرق تہ رخصت نعمان مدہ — زیر ملک بیضہ شیطان منہ
شرم نداری کہ چو فرماں دہی — تیغ نبی در کفِ شیطاں نہی
عالم یزداں بود از حیلہ دور — ہیچ کسے سایہ نہ بیند ز نور
حیلۂ تزویر بجُز سوءِ اب — بوقلمونی ست برامّ الکتاب
ایں ہمہ تشنیع بر آگہ رود — زانکہ بداند و بیرہ رود
کس جہلا را نکند جرح کار — حک نبود بر ورق بے نگار
علم ہماں است تحقیق بس — گر رہ تحقیق برآری نفس
ہرچہ کنی گرچہ صواب ست پاک — ہم بوئی از خشم خدا ترسناک
چوں تو نداری ز خطا تیز بیم — علم تو در دین خللے شد عظیم
اے کہ از پئے فتنہ میاں کروہ چست — وز پئے تحقیق پائے سُست
علم کز اعمال نشانیش نیست — کالبدے دارد و جانیش نیست
از پئے میر ستم کیش را — محو کند صدحقِّ درویش را
حیلہ گرانے کہ مظالم کنند — شرع نبی را سخرۂ ظالم کنند
ہرزۂ شہ را دمِ نعماں دہند — کفرِ ملک را لقبِ ایماں دہند
وآنچہ کہ شہ کارِ پریشاں کند — آنہمہ از رخصتِ ایشاں کند
او فگند مال کساں در مغاک — شاں گویند حلال ست پاک
در فنِ بوحیل کنند اتفاق — عدلِ عمر نام نہند ز نفاق
جاہِ فقیہہ از امرائے سفیہہ — سودِ امیر است زیانِ فقیہہ
در تو بمیراثِ آبائے خویش — از ہمہ برتر طلبی جائے خویش
آنکہ بود وارثِ پیغمبراں — جاش کدام ست چہ گوئی دراں
چوں طلبد از اہلِ تکلّف قیام — آنکہ بود مقعدِ صدقش مقام
عالمِ غافل ز سوال و جواب — ہست بیانش چو لبیدن بخواب

Verses from the Maṭla'u'l-Anwār
translated above, see p. 370, f.n. 1, *supra*.

سوزنِ بے رشتہ ندوزد اگر — صدر بسر زیر کند یا زبر
علم چناں خواں کہ زبس زندگی — خواب باشد شرفِ بندگی
چوں توئی از شاہد و مے حیلہ جوی — علم مگو خواب پریشانیش گوی
چند تواں ساغرِ پنہاں زدن — پس نفسِ از رخصتِ قرآں زدن
زشت بود زہر بلوزینہ در — بادہ و قرآں بیکے سینہ در
حافظِ قرآں چو خورد بادہ ہے — کفر بود شستنِ قرآں بمے
آنکہ سبق خواند و سیہ نامہ گشت — خط کشش از خود ہمہ علامہ گشت
عالمِ بے کار نیابد برے — گرچہ بصد حیلہ برآرد سرے
کارشناسے کہ رخ از کار تافت — داغِ جبیں بحملِ اسفار یافت
جامہ پئے صرفۂ خلق کردہ اند — از پئے پوشیدنِ حق کردہ اند
دوزخیانے زِ ملوک آبجوے — روئے در آتش از پئے آبروئے
علم نہ علم است بر ارباب جاہ — جادوے ست از پئے تسخیر شاہ
خواجہ بتکرار بسے زاں دوز — ناشودش خو کہ بسلطاں رود
ایں چہ زماں است کہ در ہر طرف — ہست بفسق اہلِ جہاں را شرف
آنکہ بفرضے نہ کند کاہلی — متقیش نام کنند و ولی
بسکہ شد از کفر جہاں پُر ز دود — ہر کہ شرارے ست چراغ نمود
واے نہ یکبار کہ صد بار واے — زیں ہمہ گبراں مسلماں نماے
دعوئ دیں و دلِ بے ترسناک — خندہ مزن بیہدہ بر دینِ پاک
اے ہمہ بر نسبتِ گبرانت زیست — نام مسلمانیت از بہر چیست
آنکہ تگ از شرع فراتر زدہ ست — اللہ و یارب کہ زند عربدہ است
ہست بسے صوفی پشمینہ پوش — کش نرسد بانگ مؤذن بگوش
چوں زمیش دور بسلطاں شود — تند بمحراب خراماں شود
سرتہ دامانِ کسے در مبر — کو کندت غرفہ ز دامانِ تر
قبلہ مکن پیرِ خرابات را — تا بخرابی نبرد ذات را
در پئے آں پیر چہ پوئی چو برق — کو بد خود نیک نماید بزرق
ایں ہمہ شیخاں خزاین پرست — برہمناں بتِ زریں بدست

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CHRONOLOGY

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ایند و خسرو خان خطاب کرد آن هندو بچه بجهت عذر و تعب ... در ...
مالوف و عادتی معروف شده بود سبب ترقی بر درجه سلطنت کمال بود
ت خود عذر اندیشید و قرصی طلبید و سلطان قطب الدین درون خانه ایک
دیگر ابنا سلطان مستولی هیچکس را زنده نگذاشت و مملکت از سلطان مظفر البدل
ب بدین شناعت فرود گرفت و این فتنه چهار ماه قایم ماند و بنده از طاعت آن هندو
را مخوار استنکاف نمود و تجنب و تحاشی واجب دید و درین حال بدر بنده
امراء علاء الدین متغلب مذکور بود بر سر اقطاعی بزرگ بنده از دهلی نفرت گرفته
ه پیوسته را محاربت و مخالفت این هندو بچه مدد و سبب که در دل افتاد یکی از
ت انتقام طبیعت انسانی که بر ورش ولی نعمت اگرچه حقیقی نبود الفت یافت
د دوم بسبب خوف جان چه عادت هر متغلبی چنان مستمر شده بود که از امرا متغلب
شته و مقربان او کسی باقی نگذاشتی بدین دو سبب عزیمت قلع آن کافر نعمت مصمم
شت و باتفاق جمعی که ترتیب ایشان دست داد از سر جان خاسته روی بدهلی
رده شد و آن هندو زاده چون بر تمام امرا و لشکرهاء دهلی استیلا یافت بود با هم
کرها و استعدادات سلطنت تحریر پیش آمد باری تعالی بدر بنده را در آن مقام ثبات
م ارزانی داشت و ظفر بخشید با آن هندو زاده خسیس دنی و هر که با او در قتل
لطان قطب الدین و برادران او متفق بودند غلاف تیغ گشتند و خلق از نیک فرمان
هی و کامرانی متعابعان او خلاص یافتند و بعد ازین قصه اهلی این دیار مردم دهلی جمع
اند و بدر بنده را بر کار فرمائی این دیار اختیار کردند و او باتفاق همگنان مدت چهار
ال و ده ماه برین کار قیام و چون بعد از تغلب و استیلا سلطان غیاث الدین بلبن و

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رایت کفار تبار درین دیار سر آمده بود در تغلبها متغلبان حاصل
نبود کرد تغلب باطل و کفران نعمت کسی بر دامن روزگار او ننشست لیکن
بسبب موانع روزگار بر کسب علوم دینی دست نیافته بود و تشریف تتبع کشف
مشرف نگشته این بنده او نیز بسبب عدم اجتهاد در طلب امام می دانست و کا
بر آنکه باذن امام برحق علیه و علی آبائه السلام ملحق بود برحق نمی شمرد بعد از آن تنصیص
بنده که در ایام حیات کرده بوده بنوعی که موجب تالف و متداول آن فرقه باطل بود
توجه کمترین بندگان کردند و بنده چون ازین امر اعظم چیزی نداشت بر رسوم متغلبه
وسیله بالفاظی که اطلاق آن جز موافقت مقدمه عباسیه را نشاید روزگار خود را داغ
میکرد و گوش بدان خرافات میداشت و بدین سبب خود را در زاویه و هاویه دو
می انداخت و علما روزگار بحکم الضرورات تبیح المحظورات بعضی زبان از گفتن حق
بودند و از غایت حرص دست شر از آستین بی دینی کشیده و بطمع مناصب باطل
گروه هم داستان گشته و از سبب رونق علوم دین از میان امت برخاسته اما چون
بالطبع طالب علم اند نفس بی طلب علم قرار نمی یافت اتفاقا با طائفه از متفلسفه بر
آنک محق اند محافظت افتاد و از گفتار ایشان مقدماتی در دل جای گرفت چون مبدا
مغالطات بسیار گشت تا بحدی که در وجود صانع شکوک و شبهات مزاحم و معارض شد
و آن نیز مصاف بشوم متغلبه است که در زمان ایشان علماء را امکان اظهار حق نبود
و چون داود بن که مبنا ملوک است بدین درجه امید کار این بند چنان شد که دست در
که مزد انجاران بتمام نمی پیوست بلکه مصالح ملک و ملت و دین و دولت روی باختلال
و اختلال آورد و حیرت و صحت چنان مستولی گشت که زنان بستن بدان راجح یافت اما

ت مردم بالطبع در زمرهٔ انسانی داخل اند البته توازن حادث ...
فرت در کار بود بضرورت طبع بجلب منفعت که از خاصهٔ ایشان اما
نود اندیشید تا سرانجام بنده و امتثال بنده که خود را در یار سامانی می بدر
لهد بهر دو مال کار به خواهد شد تا انگاه در غم اینچنین اند متنا جان کوای غم
بای از سلب الطاف ربانی نسیم سعادت نور پرواز مطالع اعطاف یزدانی صبح
ایتی بر سید چیزی از مطالع گشت سعادت نور پرواز مطالع اعطاف یزدانی
صول دین دست دادن گرفت و پیراهن عقلی و شواهد نقلی و خود صانع و
ات و نزاهت صفات باری جل ذکره روشن گشت و چون دل بر وحدت
وجود قرار گشت و تصدیق نبوت که واسطه وصول بندگان است الی الله تعالی
تم رشد و از اینجا اتباع امام بحق که خلیفه نبی و قائم تا در سینه
شرطی کنی و لازم است واجب دید و مانند حجام طلب کعبه لبیک
سرایان می ستانند و اصحاب علم و عقل و فروضه نیافت چه هر دولتی
که مقضی بحق نبود همه کفران ن و وبال باشد و چون متابعت امام عهد
ار بود بعد مسافت اگرچه از شرق تا غرب باشد چنانکه بر بندگان که در آخر صف
پیلمانی افتاده ایم هستی شد و از این جهت بنده از جهت و عبد من لم یعرف امام زمانه
هدایات بینه جاهلیه در لجی بحر حیرت و غمرات غرقاب صخرت و بندانیه ضلالت
دهنا مهامه جهالت و ظلمات عمارت و غوایت و شبهات عباد و موادت کانه
علی ما شفا حرف هار من النار اضطراری و اضطرابی تا در خود مشاهده نه مرشد
بدید که ادب درکات هایل برهاند و نه دلیل و قایدی که از مدهف و اصلی

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BY THE SAME AUTHOR

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