HISTORY OF THE KHALJIS
BY
K. S. LAL

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ed to grip it with all his might. He held the office of Vakil-i-dar and posing as an attached servant of the state had won the confidence of the king. As time passed, all the duties of the government devolved upon him. He found a very good assistant in Malik ‘Umdat-ul-mulk Qivāmuddin ‘Alā Dabīr. Qivāmuddin had no equal in learning and eloquence of style and held the post of Naib Vakil-i-dar. Nizāmuddīn himself was very industrious, discreet, penetrating and talented, and fared well with the task of administration. But his manoeuvres were soon known to the people at large. Several of the leading nobles—some on account of the fear that no immunity could be expected from Nizāmuddīn if he became too powerful, and some others through sheer ambition—also began to aspire for power for themselves. But Nizāmuddīn was not to be caught napping. He reflected that prince Muḥammad who had a talent for command was dead, and Nāṣiruddin Bughra was wasting away his energies in the insalubrious retreats of Bengal. So the only thorn in his side which could prove a source of trouble later on was Kai Khusrau, now in exile at Multan. He, therefore, instigated Mu‘izzuddin to murder Kai Khusrau, forwarding the plea that if even a few of Balban’s officers fraternised with him it

9 Ferishtah p. 84. According to ‘Isāmī he was appointed Mīr dād (Futūḥ pp. 181, 182, 191) but Ferishtah seems more correct since all the historians say that Qivāmuddin, the Naib Vakil-i-dar, was his assistant.

The principal duty of the Vakil-i-dar was to keep the keys of the palace gates. Also see Tab. Nasī. Raverty vol. I. p. 694.

10 Baranī has قوام العبّاس عائلا طبر. The word ‘Alaqa has no meaning. عائلا may be a mistake of the copyist for تأهة which n mean that Qivāmuddin was an efficient secretary or that he was son of one ‘Alā Dabīr.

11 Baran p. 131.
would not take him a day to push the king aside and usurp the throne. 12 Kai Khusrau also seems to have made an attempt for the crown for which he had a legitimate claim. He had gone as far as Ghazni to seek assistance from the Mongols but they were busy otherwise and could not help him in marching on to Delhi. The chagrined prince had returned to Multan but his moments were communicated to Muizzuddin who ordered his death. 13 In short the prey of Nizamuddin's machinations was summoned from Multan and beheaded at Rohtak on his way to Delhi. 14 Having got rid of one enemy Nizamuddin tried his hands on others. He charged Khwaja Khatir Mu'izzuddin's minister, with some trivial offence and got him paraded through the city seated on an ass. He ordered a wholesale massacre of the Mughal converts, better known as neo-Muslims, on the charge that they had plotted against the monarch, and banished their families to distant fortresses. 15 Next Malik Shahik, feudatory of Multan, and Malik Tuzaki, feudatory of Baran, both trusted barons of Balban, were summoned to the court and killed on one pretext or the other. Nizamuddin even went to the extent of attempting on the king's life. He added poison into his potions and this fact was responsible for the king's early if not immediate death. 16 But in spite of these excesses, Nizam enjoyed unflinching confidence of the king. In fact Mu'izzuddin was, for all practicle purposes, playing into his hands. If anybody insinuated nefarious motives to his designs the sultan would forthwith

13 Futuh pp. 190-92.
Feristah p. 84 repeats the same story, quoting Futuh and the History of Haji Muhammad Qanhari as his authorities.
14 Barani p. 133; Badaoni, Ranking Vol. I p. 222; Ferishtah p. 84.
15 Barani pp. 133-34.
16 Futuh. pp. 192-94.
mention to Nizām: "So and so has told me such and such things about you." The man would then be called and suffer from the implacable revenge of the wily councillor. In this way Nizāmuddin destroyed many useful ministers and officials. Such was his ascendancy that his wife was designed as "the honorary mother of the sultan and the directress of female apartments." Owing to his unchallangeable position and unshakable power "the nobles and officers became completely obsequious and subservient to him . . . and his threshold become the asylum of high and low."\(^{17}\)

The nonagenarian Fakhruddin was aware of the dangerous game his son-in-law was playing. On more than one occasion he had reprimanded him saying: "Give up this idea of sovereignty . . . The imperial purple befits the person of soldiers. You, who dare not strike a green-grocer with an onion stalk, or fling a clod at a jackal, how can you count yourself a man among men and dream of an imperial crown."\(^{18}\) This advice was appreciated more by those who learnt about it, than by the one for whom it was meant. But if Nizāmuddin refused to listen to his father-in-law the foolish sultan at least lent an attentive ear to his father. When the tidings of the ruinous conditions at Delhi reached Bughra Khan in Bengal he hastened to meet his son at Ayodhya, where Muʿizzuddin arrived to receive him. Nizām did his best to create a rift between father and son and even tried to stop an interview between them. But they met and the tears of the two added a pleasant poignancy to the situation.\(^{19}\) Nāṣiruddin gave a hundred pieces of advice to Muʿizzuddin, and at the time of parting, he whispered into his ears: "Be quick and

\(^{17}\) Tab. AKB. Trs. by De p. 122.


\(^{19}\) For a graphic description of the meeting see Qirānus Sādāin Persian text, pp. 130-60. Elliot vol. III pp. 524-96, and Ibn Battūtah, vol. III p. 177.
put Nizāmuddin out of the way. If after this he finds an opportunity, he will not leave you on the throne for a day.”

The advice went home. The first thing Mu‘izzuddin did on his return to Kilughari was to order Nizāmuddin to Multan, ostensibly to take charge of the administration there but in reality to remove him from Delhi. Nizāmuddin at once surmised the cause of his sudden transfer and delayed departure. The courtiers knew that the king wanted to do away with him and secretly obtained his permission to effect Nizām’s death. One of these days some deadly poison was administered into his wine and his crafty career came to a sudden close.

The Ascendancy of the Khaljis.

Nizāmuddin’s death paralysed Mu‘izzuddin’s government. Despite his intriguing nature, he was an able and shrewd administrator. There was no one fitted to take his place. Mu‘izzuddin was as bad as ever. For some time he had complied with his father’s wishes but then “the reins of his heart slipped away from his hands” and once again his concupiscence began to grow boundless. Constant drinking completely wrecked his health, and the little stability that there was in the government was shaken out of it. It was at this juncture that Jalāl-uddin Firoz Khalji, governor (Naib) of Samanah and Sargāndār of the court, was sent for by the king. On his arrival he was given the title of Shayasta Khan, the fief of Baran, and the portfolio of the Minister of War (‘Āriz-i-Mumalik). Malik Aitmar Kachhan and Malik Aitmar Surkhāh, two noblemen of Balban were made Master of Ceremonies (Barbak) and Vakil-i-dar respectively. Thus an interim arrangement was decided upon and an attempt was made to run the tottering administration. Jalāluddin was a born soldier and had for long fought the Mughals on the

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20 Baranī p. 156.
21 Baranī p. 170.
22 Baranī alone, p. 170, has Siyāsat Khan. All other historians give the above title.
north-west frontier. He was a man full of experience and was incapable of any wrong action. Soon the Turkish nobles grew jealous of his position. Suddenly the sultan was attacked with paralysis. His condition gradually deteriorated and there was no hope of his recovery. Factions multiplied and recriminations intensified. The situation, however, was eased for the time being by the prompt action of some influential Balkan nobles, who placed an infant son of Mu'izzuddin on the throne and gave him the title of Shamsuddin. Jalaluddin Shayasta Khan was appointed his deputy (Naib) and important posts and portfolios were distributed among capable officers. In this way kingship "remained in the house of Balban (Turks and did not fall into the hands of some one (of another race)."

"ملك در خاندان سلطان بلبین بماند و بر قومی و اصلی دیگر نیافتند و از اصل تا گان دیود" 25

This saving of the throne for the Turks was nothing but a gesture on the part of the old aristocracy against Jalaluddin Khalji who had outdone them all in efficiency and ability. The nobility at Delhi was hereafter clearly divided into two camps. The Turkish party was headed by the adventurous Aitmar Kachhan and Aitmar Surkhāh and consisted of old Balkan barons. The other was headed by Jalaluddin Khalji, whom public opinion did not consider as belonging to Turkish blood. Aitmar Kachhan and Aitmar Surkhāh together with some Turkish nobles decided that such nobles as were not real Turks should be divested of all power and removed from their positions. They prepared a list of such names and the name of

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23 T.M.S. p. 56.
24 Baranî p. 171 has خوردن سال. Ferishtah p. 87 has طفل سنه ساله for a child of three years. Baranî and Nizamuddin give his name. The author of T.M.S. has Kaikaus while Ismaiî and Ferishtah have Kaimurs.
25 Baranî p. 171.
Jalāluddin headed the list.26 Jalāluddin was informed of this conspiracy by Malik Ahmad Chap the chief Ḥājib of the king.27 Jalāl now felt that it was not safe for him to stay in Delhi any longer and he with his adherents betook themselves to Bahāpur.28 He called some men from his fief of Baran (modern Bulpundshah) and rallied round him a strong party of relatives and friends.

Jalāluddin’s flight created consternation in the Turkish ranks. Their game was out. They decided to strike the first blow and finish Jalāluddin. To disarm him of all suspicion Aitmar Kachhan and Aitmar Surkhah sent him a memorial addressing him as emperor Jalāluddin. Aitmar Kachhan started with a small band of troopers to decoy him from Bahāpur, carry him off to Kilughari and kill him in the presence of the infant king Shamsuddin. Jalāluddin had scented the plot from before and as soon as Kachhan arrived at the former’s mansion he was pulled down from his horse and instantly beheaded by ‘Alāūddin.29 The murder of Kachhan further inflamed feelings of animosity on both sides. Jalāluddin’s brave and gallant sons now rode post haste to Delhi with a company of fifty horse,30 forcibly seized the infant king and carried him off to Bahāpur together with the sons of Malik Fakhruddin.31 Aitmar Surkhāh started in their pursuit and overtook them near Bahāpur. A hand to hand scuffle ensued in which Ikhtiyāruddin, the eldest son of Jalāl, fell from his horse and

26 Ibid. p. 172.
27 Futūḥ. p. 197. T.M.S. p. 56.
28 Barānī has Bahāpur. Ferishtah Bahādurpur, Badaoni Bahāpur and ʿIsānī Bāhol Bāhārī. The place lies on the Jumna some six or seven miles east of old Delhi and south west of Kilughari.
29 Futūḥ. p. 198.
30 Barānī has 50, Tob. A.Ib. and Ferishtah 500.
31 Ferishtah p. 88. The narrative of Badaoni is slightly different.
Surkhah dealt upon him two or three blows with his sword. Luckily none of them proved effective and this gave time to Ikhtiyāruddin, who drew his sword and struck off the head of Aītnar Surkhah.\(^\text{32}\)

The abduction of the young king was too much for the public of Delhi to stand. The citizens rose in a body, poured out of all the thirteen gates\(^\text{33}\) of the city and assembled at the Badaon Gate. They determined to march to Bahārpur and rescue the emperor's son from the clutches of the Khaljīs. A sub-conscious loyalty had developed in their breasts for the Ilbāris who had ruled over them for the last eighty years, and the people abhorred the very idea of being ruled by the Khaljīs. But before they could leave the walls of the city Malikul'umra stood at the Badaon Gate and stopped them from proceeding further. His sons were in the custody of Jalāluddin and in the interest of his own kith and kin he did not want any struggle with the latter. He, therefore, put down the tumult and dispersed the crowd. The majority of the people turned back, but a large number of Turkish Amīrs and Maliks finding both of their leaders killed and their cause lost went over to Jalāluddin. Their forces swelled the ranks of the Khaljīs.\(^\text{34}\)

With the Turkish party crushed, the infant king in his possession, and the paralytic Muʿizzuddin in the throes of death, Jalāluddin was now all powerful. A couple of days after Shamsuddin's abduction Jalāl sent to Kilughari a man

\(^{32}\) T.M.S. p. 59 Firishtah p. 88.

\(^{33}\) Barānī has twelve gates but Amīr Khusrau (Qirānus Sudāin, Elliot vol. III p. 524) has thirteen. Sharafluddin Yazdi, the author of Mulfūzat-i-Tīmūrī, points out that the old Delhi of Muʿizzuddin had ten gates but three others were opened from Siri (Alāuddin's city) to Jahānpanāh (Tughlaq's city). Thus Delhi had thirteen gates and not twelve. Ibn Baṭṭūtah gives the names of several of them.

\(^{34}\) Zafarul Vālī p. 753.
named Tarkesh,\textsuperscript{35} whose father had been killed by Mu‘izzuddin, to avenge his father’s death by finishing the dying sultan. The man entered the palace, wrapped the king’s body in a carpet, delivered a few kicks at it, and flung it into the Jumna. The river bore away the last of the Ilbārī sultans (19th Muḥarram 689, Wednesday, February 1st, 1290).\textsuperscript{36} The crown was almost thrust on Jalāluddin’s head but he hesitated to adorn the diadem all at once. He seated Shamsuddin on the throne at Bahārpur and proposed to Malik Chhajjū, nephew of Balban, to undertake the duties of Regent and the guardianship of the young king. On his behalf, he requested for the districts of Tabarhinda, Deopalpur and Multan.\textsuperscript{37} Malik Chhajjū on the other hand asked for the fief of Karā, yielding Regency and Vazirship to Shayastā Khan. Jalāluddin assented to the proposal and assigned Karā to Chhajjū who immediately left for his fief. For some time Jalāluddin used to bring Shamsuddin into the darbār and place him on the throne, himself discharging the duties of Regent and Vazīr, but everybody knew that such an arrangement was not to continue for long. Friends and foes all hailed the rising star and Jalāluddin left Bahārpur with the puppet king and a large concourse of people. He arrived in Kilughari and crowned himself king. Shamsuddin was thrown into prison where he died after some time.\textsuperscript{38}

The citizens of Delhi, however, looked upon his accession with great resentment. Delhi was full of men of rank and wealth, writes the contemporary chronicler Ziyāuddin, ‘but no voice of congratulation hailed the installation of Jalāl-

\textsuperscript{35} Futūh. p. 200.

\textsuperscript{36} Mu‘izzuddin ruled for three years and some months.
Also see T.M.S. p. 59.

\textsuperscript{37} Badaoni, Ranking, vol. I p. 229.

\textsuperscript{38} Shamsuddin’s reign lasted for three months and some days. T.M.S. p. 61; Ferishtah p. 88; Badaoni, Ranking, vol. I p. 229.
uddin." So apprehensive was the new king of their hostile attitude that for a long time he did not venture to enter the metropolis. The popular feeling was against the Khaljīs whose ascendancy had put an end to the government of the "Turks."

_Origin of the Khaljīs._

The resentment of the public was due to the belief that the Khaljīs were a race different from that of the Turks. But in reality it was not so. Ziyauddin Barānī writes that when Kāqūbād fell seriously ill and there was no hope his recovery, the officers of Balban assembled together and decided to enthrone a young son of Muʿizzuddin, and carry on the administration through a council of regents "lest the sovereignty should be lost to the Turks." The historian also writes that because Jalāluddin "belonged to a different race (اصل)" he did not have any confidence in the Turks, nor did the Turks put their trust in the Khaljīs. After Jalāluddin had left Delhi, established his headquarter at Bahārpur, defeated the Turks under Aitmar Khāchhan and Aitmar Surkhāh and captured the young son of Muʿizzuddin, a large number of Turkish nobles went over to him and the Khaljīs gained numerical superiority. On the day of the death of Muʿizzuddin the government of the country "passed from the family of the Turks (در اصل خلیجیان ترکان) to that of the Khaljīs (در اصل خلیجیان ترکان). Nobles, soldiers and merchants all alike were amazed, and they wondered at the way the Khaljīs had seated themselves on the throne in place of the Turks and the kingship passed from the Turkish race to another race."

The above statements of Baranī bear out two facts. Firstly, that there were two parties at Delhi, one under Aitmar Kachhan and Aitmar Surkhāh, and the other under Jalāluddin Khaljī. Either of them wanted to gain ascendancy at the court, and to rule in the name of the young son of Mu'izuddin, who was lying on his death bed. Naturally, each party distrusted the other, and tried to out-maneuver each other’s plans. Secondly, that the Khaljīs were of a different race from the Turks. Beyond this Baranī does not say anything. He does not point out the race to which the Khaljīs belonged.

But later historians have tried to elucidate the point. Nizāmuddin Aḥmad is perhaps the first among them. According to him the Khaljīs were the descendants of Quliq Khan, a son-in-law of Changiz Khan. Quliq was not on good terms with his wife but dared not break away openly from her father, the Mongol emperor. At last he found a welcome opportunity to overthrow his allegiance to Changiz, when with his family and followers numbering about 30,000 men, he migrated to the dales of Ghaur and Jurjistān. There he remained undisturbed, and his people came to be known as Qaljī from Qalij or Quliq; but later on, on account of constant use, the word changed into Khaljī. When the rulers of Ghaur conquered India, the Khaljīs followed in their train in large numbers and took service under the sultans of Hindustan. Among these Khaljīs were the ancestors of Sultan Jalāluddin of Delhi and Sultan Maḥmūd of Malwa. Nizāmuddin further adds that according to the author of the Saljūq-nāmah the Khaljīs were descended from Turk, son of Japhet, son of Noah.42

But Nizāmuddin’s conclusion is hardly worth credence, because in an earlier context he writes that the Khaljīs fought in the Khvarizm Shahī armies, and, therefore, their existence before Changiz Khan’s times cannot be doubted. The hypo-

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thesis finds support from Ferishtah who says that the Khaljis are often mentioned in the histories of Ghaznā, and it is certain that they existed anterior to the time of Changīz Khan. But, perhaps, to reconcile himself to Nizāmuddin's statement he adds that it is likely that Qalij Khan may himself have been of the tribe of the Khaljis, and Jalāluddin of Delhi and Mahmūd of Malwa may have descended directly from him.43 Badaoni, on the other hand, vehemently criticises the Qalij Khānī ancestry saying that this theory "has no real authority" . . . "and as a matter of fact there is no connection whatever between Qalij and Khalj."44 Both Ferishtah and Badaoni think the second statement of Nizāmuddin, which mentions Turk, son of Japhet, as the progenitor of the Khalji race, as the more reasonable. Ḥājīuddabīr writing about the Khaljis of Malwa says that they were descendants of Qalij Khān, son of Afrāsiyāb, who was son-in-law of Changīz Khān;45 but he does not say anything about the ancestry of Jalāluddin of Delhi.

Barani's indefiniteness on this issue appears inexplicable. His father and uncle had been in the service of Delhi sultans for a considerable time. He himself was an intimate friend of many an influential government servant. Besides this he had consulted many contemporary and earlier works. He was thus in a position to possess accurate information with regard to the origin of the Khaljis. Therefore, he either deliberately avoided to throw light on this point, or thought it to be a matter of little consequence, or was perhaps unable to ascertain the truth. Anyhow the fact is that he was not conversant with ethnological studies, because he displays a similar vagueness about the origin of the Tughlaqs. But his statements do bear out that the Khaljis were not welcomed by a certain section of the nobles, because they came of a race

43 Ferishtah p. 88.
45 Zafarul Vālī p. 197.
different from that of the Turks. Later historians like Nizāmuddin, Badaoni and Fereshtah do not advance the position any further. Their statements are based only on legends and not on any definite conclusions of historical research.

A critical study of the subject, however, conclusively points to the Turkish origin of the Khaljīs. Khalj is the name given to the land lying on either side of river Helmand in Afghanistan, and the inhabitants of that region were known as Khaljīs. Various nomadic tribes had settled in Khalj from very remote times and under such circumstances it is impossible to assert with absolute certainty that the Khaljīs belonged to a particular tribe or race. Ibn Haukal, an Arab geographer of the 10th century A.D. ascribes Turkish origin to the Khaljīs. According to him they were settled from the old in the regions between Hindustan and Sijistan, and that "they are rich in cattle and their habits, customs and dress are like those of the Turks." Many other writers like I斯塔khārī, the author of Ḥudūd-ul-Ālam and Divan-i-Lughatul Turk also think that the Khaljīs were Turks, who from long past resided in Khalj in Afghanistan. Besides these there is the authority of Fakhruddin, the author of Tarikh-i-Fakhruddin Mubarak Shahī who finished his work in 1206 about a century and a half before Barānī's Tarikh was completed. Fakhruddin gives a list of sixty-four Turkish tribes in which he includes Turk, Ghuz, Khalji, Tatar, Ughus, and Qai etc. He gives valuable information on Turkish tribes which shows

46 Ibn Haukal wrote between 902 and 968 A.D.
J. A. S. B. 1852 p. 368.
J. A. S. B. 1853 p. 152.
48 Also see proceedings Indian History Congress 1938, pp. 297-303.
that he had intimate knowledge about them. Minhâj Sirâj, the author of the Tabqât-i-Nâşiri says that the Khaljîs served in the army of the Khâvarîm Shahî emperors of Transoxiana and took part in various wars of Ghaur and Ghazna. According to Raverty also Khaljîs were not a “hypothetical” tribe as Elliot is inclined to think, but were a Turkish tribe who having inhabited in Afghanistan for a very long time had been so much assimilated with the people of the locality that they were considered more as Afghans than as Turks. Barthold, one of the greatest modern authorities on Central Asia, also thinks the Khaljîs to be a Turkish tribe, who, as early as the fourth century A.D., had settled in the southern Afghanistan.

Thus it can safely be concluded that the Khaljîs were Turks, but having been long in residence in Afghanistan had assimilated the habits and customs of that country. Some of them came to India as soldiers in the armies of the conquerors from Ghazna and Ghaur and many more arrived as refugees during Mongol upheaval in Central Asia and Afghanistan. Here they were regarded to be different from the Ilbârî Turks who belonged, so to say, to the blue blood. The sovereignty of Delhi had been the monopoly of the Ilbârî Turks for about a century, and a change of dynasty appeared to the people of Delhi a violent break from the conditions to which they had now adjusted themselves. In other words it is in the conservatism of the populace that we should find an explanation of the surprise at the accession of the Khaljîs, and not in the

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51 Elliot Vol. VIII p. xviii.
53 Encyclopaedia of Islam, p. 875.
racial differences between the Khaljīs and the Ilbāris. Both belonged to the same stock.\textsuperscript{54}

\textit{Importance of the Khaljī Revolution.}

The Khaljī Revolution was fraught with far-reaching consequences. It not only heralded the advent of a new dynasty: it ushered in an era of ceaseless conquests, of unique experiments in statecraft, and of incomparable literary outburst. In the veins of the Khaljīs did not flow the royal blood. They belonged to the proletariat and their accession to power delivered a death-blow to the pseudo-belief that the sovereignty was a monopoly of the privileged. The Khaljī revolt is essentially a revolt of the Indian Muslims against the Turkish hegemony, of those who looked to Delhi, against those who sought inspiration from Ghaur and Ghazna. The revolution resulted in the supercession of a commoner’s government over that of the blue-blood’s and shocked to their marrow many a high-browed Turk to whom other Musalmans, Indian-born or otherwise, were made of a stuff inferior to their own.

A change of dynasty was not a new thing to the Indian people. The frequent and quite unexpected dynastic revolutions had killed in them all sentiments of goodwill for any house or dynasty; and even if they developed loyalty for some particular house they were never reluctant to transfer it to another, if circumstances so required. Thus the supercession of Khaljīs over the Ilbāris was not of much consequence to the people at large.

Neither inheritance, nor election, nor even intrigue had secured the throne to Jalaluddin. It was by a \textit{coup de main} that the throne had passed from the Ilbāris to the Khaljīs, and it was through sheer force that they maintained it. Neither the support of the people, nor of the nobility, nor

\textsuperscript{54} Ferishtah clarifies the position when he says:—

بادشاهی از ترکان که غلامان سلارین غور بودند بسله

خلکهای، انتقال باند—
even of the clergy was sought. Whatever the Khaljīs did or undid for the country, they at least showed to the Muslim world that the state could not only exist but vigorously function without any religious support,—an unprecedented phenomenon indeed.

What is of striking importance during the regime of the Khaljīs (and especially of ‘Alāūddīn) is a continuous series of unprecedented conquests in the annals of Indo-Muslim history. For the first time the Khaljīs carried Muslim arms to the remotest corners of the country. Constitutionally the Khaljīs were empire builders, for they brought to knees independent kings at home and kept an eye on defence against external aggression. Had it not been for ‘Alāūddīn’s prompt and stern measures India would have passed into the hands of the Mughals two centuries earlier than it actually did.

Some of the reforms of ‘Alāūddīn, again, are unique experiments in medieval times. They succeeded quite well what their success was short lived. But the force that was the mainstay of the Khaljīs proved a canker in their body-politic and a contemporary saint was tempted to declare that “the empire of ‘Alāūddīn (the greatest of the Khaljīs) had no stable foundations.”
CHAPTER II

JALĀLUDDIN FIROZ SHAH KHALJĪ (1290—1296)

Jalāluddin ascended the throne on the 3rd of Jamadi-us-Sānī 689 (13th June 1290) and assumed the title of Sultan Jalāluddīn Fīroz Shah Khāljī. As stated above he made Kilughari the seat of the government as he dared not enter

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*T.M.S.* Trs. p. 58 has Rabī’ūl Akhir 689 or April-May 1290. Barānī and Ferishtah have 688 and 687 H. respectively. According to *T.M.S.* Text p. 59 Mu’izzuddīn was murdered in 689 and so also says Badañi Ranking Vol. I p. 228. Again all the known coins of Shamsuddin Kaikaūs are dated 689 H. (N. Wright). The earliest known coins of Jalāluddīn are also of 689 H. (*Catalogue of coins in the Indian Museum*, Calcutta Vol. II no. 175). Thus it is certain that Khusraw’s date which is supported by numismatic evidence is correct and Barānī and Ferishtah are wrong. Also see Thomas: “*Chronicles*” p. 141 note


*Lucknow Museum Catalogue* no. 177.

2 No contemporary historian throws light on the ancestry of Jalāluddīn. Hājiuddabīr describing the Khaljīs of Mandu says that Afrasiyāb, a son-in-law of Changiz Khān, had three sons, the youngest of whom was Tolak Khān. Tolak had two sons Naṣiruddīn and Fīroz, the latter of whom served under Balkan and seized the throne from the son of Kaiqubād. *Zafarul Wālī* p. 197.

This narrative is legendary.

Beale: *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, p. 137 say that Qāem Khān was the father of Jalāluddīn. The actual name of Jalāluddīn’s father is difficult to find. That Jalāl’s father held the title of Yoghresh Khān is attested by a number of historians.

*T.M.S.* p. 57.


*Zafarul Wālī*, p. 755.
Delhi. The palace of Muʿizzuddin was completed and decorated with fine carvings and inscriptions. A peerless garden on the banks of the Jumna was added to enhance the beauty of the buildings. The sultan desired the elite of the town to construct spacious mansions there. Markets were opened and the place looked like a "New City."

A grand darbār was held. The scions of royalty and mirades in arms during the Revolution were meted with royal bounty. Ikhtiyāruddin,⁴ the eldest son of the sultan, obtained the title of Khan-i-Khānān and the districts near about Delhi as fief.⁵ Hisāmuddin,⁶ the second son was made Arkān and the youngest Qadr Khan. Malik Husain, the sultan’s uncle, received the title of Tājulmulik. The two nephews Šāfīuddin and Muʿizzuddin (better known as Almās Bēg) became Amīr-i-Tuzak and Akhūrbeg respectively. Malik Nāmūsh,⁷ gained the title of Yoghresh Khan, and the post of Ḥāriz-i-Mumālīk (Minister of War). The Vazārāt was confined on Khvaja Khāṭīr; he had held this office under Balban and Muʿizzuddin Kaiqubad. The renowned Malikulʿumra too continued to hold his post of the Kotvāl of Delhi. The other blemen who received honours were Malik Aḥmad Chap, who became Naib Barbak, Malik Khurrum, who became Vakil-i-dar and Malik Naṣīruddin Kahrami, who became Ḥājīb-i-ḥās. Malik Fakhruddin Kūchī was made Dādbēg or dispen-

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³ Barānī p. 176. says that Kilughari was given the name Shahr-i-nau but that is wrong. It was already known as Shahr-i-nau and Minhāj Sirāj speaks of it as such. Tab. aṣ. Text pp. 317, 318.
⁴ T.M.S. p. 57 and Ferishtah p. 89 give this name.
⁵ T.M.S. p. 56.
⁶ T.M.S. p. 56 gives this name.
⁷ ʿĪsāmī and Yahya give his name as al-Maṣhūr and al-Maṣḥūr respectively. Jalāluddin had two brothers Shihāb and Nāmūsh. Futūḥ p. 220.
⁸ Zafarul Valī p. 755.
ser of justice; Malik Hiranmehr, Amīr-i-Shikār; and Malik Nasiruddin Ranah, Shahnāh-i-Pil. Malik A‘izzuddin, another nephew of Jalāluddin became Akhurbeg-i-Maimna. Some other prominent men like Tajuddin Kūchī, Malik Kamāluddīn Abdul M‘aālī and Malik Nuṣrat Subah also obtained high posts. As time passed the Khalji government gained strength. The kindness of Jalāluddin won the confidence of the people and visitors from Delhi were very much impressed with the splendour and magnificence of Kilughari. By and by the people of Delhi, willingly or unwillingly, submitted to the new king, and great and small all went out to Kilughari and paid homage to Fīroz Shah.

Character of Jalāluddin.

The new king’s character is clearly reflected in an incident which occurred early in his reign. After Jalāl had been firmly seated on the throne, writes Barani, he rode one day into Delhi and visited the Red Palace of Balban. The old memories of how he had stood before the throne in years gone by filled his eyes with tears. He got down from his horse at the outer gate of the palace and bowed in obeisance. When Malik Ahmad Chap reminded him that the palace now belonged to him and he should not behave in the way he did, Jalāluddin burst into tears and remonstrated: “You know that nobody among my ancestors has been a king, so that the pride and dignity of kingship might have been inherited by me. Sultan Balban sat here on the throne and I served him. The awe and dignity of that monarch has not left my breast........ This palace had been built by Balban during his Khanship and it is his property and that of his sons and relatives...."9

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9 Baranī p. 178. The discussion between Ahmad Chap and Jalāl is interesting in so far as it raises the issue whether a palace built by a sultan was his private property or that of the state. In fact there was no distinction between the private property of the sultan and the royal exchequer in medieval
ld king could not think of sitting on the throne while his colleagues, who, like himself, had served under Balban, remained standing before him. He only took his seat among the nobles and putting his turban to his eyes wept bitterly.\footnote{Barani p. 179.}

The touching scene silenced Ahmad Chap. It also confirmed Jalaluddin’s generosity and kindheartedness. But the strange behaviour of Firoz did not redound to his credit as the master of an empire so recently won in teeth of so great an opposition. On many other occasions, about which mention could be made presently, the sultan behaved most tactlessly. Both his age and his temperament were responsible for his extreme gentleness. The only punishment he could inflict upon robbers was to send them to some distant place. The only way in which he could castigate rebellious nobles was to cry in their presence and drink with them to remove all cause of misunderstanding. The king was incapable of harbournig his ill-will. Two persons, Sirajuddin Savi and Manda Ahir, had given him some cause of resentment during his Khanship. They began to despair of their lives when they heard he had become king. They came to the king, their heads hanging low, their faces all repentence. To the utter surprise of everybody present the sultan not only pardoned them for their misconduct in the past but rewarded them profusely. Sometimes the old king behaved like a child. Once he was tempted to add the title of Almujahid fi Sabilullah (The Fighter in the Way of God) to his name. Any other sultan would have done so without creating any fuss. Jalaluddin, however, asked Malika-i-Jahan to instruct the barons to suggest to him to do so in open court. But when they actually did so Firoz at once confessed to them that he himself was responsible for times. The whole country belonged to him. But here Jalal emphasises the point that the palace was built by Balban when he was a nobleman and not king, and, therefore, it was his private property. The emperor was right in his assertion.
that request and refused to take the title. Such a tactless sovereign was surely a misfit on the throne of Delhi. How Jalāluddīn fell a victim to his nephew’s treachery forms one of the most tragic episodes of medieval history. Never was a man more unsuited to wear the crown than the founder of the Khaljī dynasty. To him kingship was a fraud and its magnificence a few days’ unstable splendour.\(^{11}\) He actually cursed his enemies not so much for plotting against him as for compelling him to strive for the throne.\(^{12}\) Careless of fame, he was content with the status of a nobleman than that of the king, for the former was free from all turmoil.

Failure as a king, Firoz was a perfect gentleman and one of the most pious Musalmans of his times. Fortune as well as merit had raised him to the highest pinnacle of greatness, still his elevation had not made him proud. God-fearing and indulgent, affectionate to his family and affectionate to all, he behaved with his nobles not as a king but as a friend. Jalāl’s span of kingship was short but he had ruled his subjects as a father in a family. He declared himself incapable of tyranny. If his simplicity and his kindness were ridiculed by the worldly people, his age and benevolence were revvred by all.

Refractory element was not slow to take advantage of his leniency. Plots began to be hatched against the crown in and outside the capital, and only a couple of months after Jalāluddīn’s accession Malik Chhajjū rose in open revolt.

_The Revolt of Malik Chhajjū (1290)._ 

It was Sh‘ābān 689 (August-September 1290)\(^{13}\) that Malik Chhajjū Kishli Khan, governor of Kaṣa, unfurled the standard of revolt. Lack of initiative on the part of Jalālud-

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\(^{11}\) _Barānī_ p. 179.

\(^{12}\) _Ibid._ p. 179.

\(^{13}\) _T.M.S._ p. 63.
in as well as the support that had been promised to him, encouraged him to try to wrest the throne of his forefathers. A large number of Rāvats and Paiks had flocked to his standard. Amīr 'Ali Sarjandār, governor of Avadh, had lent him unflinching support and even a number of Jalāli Amīrs like Malik Tajuddin Kūchī, Malik Muḥammad Qutlagh Khan and Malik Nuṣrat Subah were not lacking in sympathy for him. A section of the nobility and populace of Delhi also considered him a rightful claimant to the throne on account of his relationship with the late Ghayāshuddin Balban. Malik Chhajjū therefore declared independence, assumed the title of sultan Mughišuddin, struck coins and got the Khutbāh read in his name. He collected a large force and advanced upon Delhi.

The news of this formidable revolt lashed Jalāluddin into action. He appointed his eldest son Khan-i-Khānān as viceroy at Kīlughari and himself marched out to crush the rebellion. After crossing the Jumna he divided his troops. One portion of the army was sent in advance under the command of Arkali Khan14 and the other proceeded under his own command about ten of twelve kos behind his son's.15

By forced marches Arkali Khan arrived on river Kalaibnagar, Kāli Nahar of the modern maps.16 The enemy had

14 According to Ḥāji uddabīr Arkali was given the command of 12,000 troops Zafarul Vāli p. 755.
15 Ferishtah p. 90.
16 Barani calls it کلاتهکا نگر. Amīr Khusrau, Yahya and Badaoni call it Rahāb. In all probability it is the present Kali Nahar which joins the Ganga near Kanauj. It would have been unwise on the part of Malik Chhajjū to march north of the Ganga from Kara to cross after some distance both the Ganga and the Jumna to strike at Delhi. He surely marched from Kara on a route in between the two rivers. The river on which the battles were fought cannot therefore, be Ramganga, as some writers have suggested. Ḥāji calls this river کلاتهکا kalat means a castle on the top of mountain. Elliot, Vol. III p. 138. (note) gives the meaning of Kalaib nagar as a natural stronghold.
already reached the other bank and had seized the boats lying on the river. In spite of this initial precaution of Chhajjū Arkali Khan managed to cross Kāli Nahar, which was then in spate, and fell upon the enemy. The “rice-eating” Hindustani foot-soldiers, who formed the advance companies of the rebel were taken by surprise and completely routed. Malik Chhajjū fled towards Chupala. 17 The imperial troops plundered his camp for two whole days and then started in his pursuit. Soon they overtook him and Chhajjū was compelled to give battle. During the engagement the centre of the army was commanded by Arkali Khan himself. He was helped by his two cousins ‘Alāūddin and Qutlagh Tīghīn, 18 the latter of whom could “split a spear with an arrow.” The right and left wings were put under the charge of Mīr Mubarak and Malik Muḥammad respectively. 19 Malik Chhajjū rallied his scattered troops and fought a desperate battle which lasted for a whole day and “during which the sword found no rest.” At night when Chhajjū heard that the sultan was himself coming to join Arkali Khan his heart gave way. He fled away “concealing his departure by the beating of drums, as if he was preparing to renew the combat on the morrow.” The remnant of his troops sought refuge in unconditional surrender. They were pardoned.

It was Bāiram Deva Koela, Raja of Koel (Aligarh), who had informed Malik Chhajjū that the army of the sultan was about to join that of the prince and the rebel had escaped unscathed for a second time. Arkali Khan was very much enraged at the behaviour of the Raja. He recrossed the Kali Nahar and attacked Aligarh. Bāiram Deva was killed in a

18 He was younger to Almās Beg. Futūh p. 220.
fight and Arkālī began the pursuit of Chhajjū once again. Last Malik Chhajjū was captured from a fortress in which he had taken refuge. Flushed with victory Arkālī Khan returned to his father.

Sultan Jalāluddīn after sending the vanguard under Arkālī had for some time followed him closely behind. He had then proceeded towards Bhojpur in Farukkhabad district on the western side of the Ganga. After staying there for some time he had crossed the Ganga and ruthlessly punished some Hindus in the land of Kabar (modern Rohilkhand). On his return to Badaon he was joined by Arkālī Khan. The sultan was very much pleased at the brilliant achievements of his son and appointed him governor of Multan. He held a court to deliver judgement on the rebels when he was horrified to see Malik Chhajjū and other great Maliks like Amīr ‘Alī Sarjān-dār, Malik Alghachi, son of Malik Ḥarghi, and Malik Tājward being brought before him in fetters and chains, their heads hanging low, their garments soiled. He ordered the prisoners to be unfettered, bathed, and dressed in clean garments. The ungrateful rebels hung their heads in shame when they pondered how treacherous they had been to such a good king. To the astonishment of the countries, however, Jalāluddīn consoled and cheered them up, saying that they had acted rightly in supporting a prince of the dynasty they had served in the past. He treated them with exemplary kindness and offered them cups of wine as if they were his guests. Ahmad Chap did not fail to remained the king that it was contrary to the principles of good government to treat the rebels with such generosity. Such a treatment would tempt many others to try for the throne and create fresh trouble. The king's reply was

20 Badaonī writes on the authority of Yahya.  
*T*M*S. pp. 63-64.  
21 Barānī pp. 183-84.  
short and simple. "Oh Ahmad, I also know what kings have done to the rebels (in the past). But I am an old Musalman and am not habituated to shedding the blood of the Musalmans. I am now past seventy and have not killed a single Muḥadi (believer in the Oneness of God)." In short the rebels escaped scot free. Malik Chhaji was sent to Multan where every comfort was provided for him. His fief of Kara was given to the charge of 'Alaūddin. The trouble having ended the sultan was back in Kilughari on the last day of Muḥarram 690 (2nd February 1291).  

**Crimes and conspiracies.**

At the capital Jalaluddin engaged himself in internal administration. He was so disinclined to cause pain that many times thieves and Thugs were seized and brought before him but he set them free on promise that they would not commit theft again. On one occasion more than a thousand Thugs were captured. But in place of punishing them severely the king ordered that they should be carried in boats to Lakhnauti and be left there, lest they should continue to harass the countryside (of Delhi).

The treatment meted out to the partisans of Chhaji and the Thugs encouraged some enterprising barons to indulge in loose talk at convivial parties. The sultan even got an inkling of the affair but overlooked it saying that the people who

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25 Barani has عائشة اندثرت تهگ Tab. Ab. has 1,000 and uses the word مقاطع الطبيق. As Hodivālā (p. 266) aptly remarks "This is perhaps the earliest reference in Muslim historical literature to the "Thugs" in the specific sense which the word has now acquired." It is here not used in the general signification of a cheat or swindler but for a peculiar class of highway robbers.

26 Barani pp. 189-90.
planned under the spell of intoxication should not be taken seriously. One of these days a grand drinking party was held at Malik Täjuddin Kûchî's, a nobelman of some consequence. As the cups went round, some one opined that the Khaljîs were a worthless lot with the possible exception of Ahmad Chap.27 At least Jalâluddîn was quite unfit to rule, and the crown would well adorn the head of Malik Täjuddin Kûchî. They all swore allegiance to their host, one promising to kill the sultan with a hunting knife, another with a sword. When the intelligence of the incident reached Jalâluddîn he sent for them and reprimanded them severely. Taking out his sword he threw it before them saying, "If any one of you is man enough he shall take up this sword and come face to face with me." The tension of the situation was relieved by the sweet-tongued Nuṣrat Subâh, the Sardâvâtdâr, who himself had uttered some nonsense at the meeting. He told the sultan that they could never think of plotting against a king who was so dignified, generous and patient, and who treated them almost as his own sons; nor should he think of their destruction as he could not find such faithful and loyal Maliks and Malikzâdâs such as they. The king was silenced, his anger was subsided, and he pardoned them all but for a token punishment to some.28

_Conspiracy of Sîdî Maula (February-March 1291).29_

These tall talks under a fit of drunkenness were nothing compared to the organised conspiracy of some noblemen under the eegis of one Sîdî Maula. Sîdî had first come from Persia to Ajodhan in the service of Shaikh Farîduddîn

27 Ibid. p. 190.
28 Barani p. 192.
29 Jalâluddîn returned after crushing Chhajjû's revolt on 2nd February 1291 and started for Ranthambhor on March 22nd 1291. According to almost all historians the Sîdî Maula episode occurred between these two events.
Shakargunj. According to Ferishtah Sidi was a Darvesh (saint) and had come to Delhi in the beginning of Balban's reign. He recited the Namāz but never visited the Jama Masjid and did not pray in congregation. He practised great austerity, ate frugally and denied himself all the pleasures of the senses. He led the life of celibacy and kept no maidservant or slave. He did not accept anything from the people but spent so lavishly that they suspected him of possessing knowledge of alchemy and natural magic (Kimyā va Simyā). He built a great Khānqāh at Ajod Gate where people flocked from all quarters. He used to pay for what he bought by the queer way of telling the man to take such and such amount from under such and such brick or coverlet, and the tankahs found there looked so bright as if they had been brought from the mint that very moment. So many people dined at Sidi's table every day that if Barānī is to be believed two thousand man of flour (maida), five hundred man of meat and an equal quantity of ghī (rogān), two to three hundred man of sugar and a hundred to two hundred man of vegetables used to be consumed in his kitchen every day. So much money was spent and so many kinds of dishes were served at the monastery as even the greatest nobles could not afford.

This finds corroboration in the fact that the plot was discovered and suppressed after Khan-i-Khanā's death and according to Badaoni he died shortly after Chhajjū's revolt.

31 Ferishtah p. 92.
32 Zafarul Vāli p. 763. Ḥajī-uddabir writes on the authority of Tabqat-i-Bahadur Shāhi of Ḥusām Khan.
33 Baranī p. 209.
34 Baranī p. 209. Badaoni Ranking vol. I p. 234, gives a story according to which Jalāluddin once went in disguise
The activities of Sidi showed beyond doubt that he was not a saint in the real sense. He aspired for name and fame and honour. He freely associated with Amirs and Maliks and flirted with politics. When he was leaving Ajodhan for Delhi, Shikh Farid, cognizant of Sidi's nature, had warned him against seeking name and renown or associating too much with noblemen. During Balban's strict rule it was not possible for him to spend recklessly and openly give "five thousand or ten thousand tankahs to reliable men." With the coming of the weak and licentious Muizzuddin, Sidi's expenses knew no bounds and he began to attract people. During Jalaluddin's reign the congregations began to swell in numbers and great and small, nobles and commoners, began to pay him homage. Even Khan-i-Khanan, the eldest son of the king, become his disciple. The fact appears to be that since Jalaluddin was past seventy and could die any week, his two elder sons had set their hearts on the throne and tried to strengthen their position even while the king was alive. Thus two parties seem to have been formed at the capital,—one under Khan-i-Khanan, who associated himself with Sidi and the other under Arkali, who naturally turned hostile to the saint.35 So openly was Khan-i-Khanan drawn towards Sidi that the latter used to address him as his son,36 and there is every reason to think that Khan-i-Khanan financed the establishment of Sidi Maula. The Turkish Amirs who had not forgotten their enmity with the Khaljis also flocked to Sidi's Khanaqah. Jalaluddin's kindness indirectly encourage the underground activities of these people. Qazi Jalal Kashani, a very influential and intriguing man37 closely attached himself to Sidi's monastery and saw for himself that he expended even more than was reported.

35 Ferishtah p. 93.  
36 Baranî, p. 209.  
37 Ferishtah, p. 93, says

حلال الامام کا شامی کہ مرن فتح문 اسکندر و از اعیان داشتا بود
to Sidi Maula and used to pass days and nights with him. Kotvāl Biranj and Hathiya Pāïk, the latter of whom was a well reputed wrestler and now had fallen on bad days, joined Sidi. Some other nobles who had lost their jagirs and stipends under the Khaljīs also began to frequent the Khanqāh of Sidi. Soon the number of his followers reached the staggering figure of 10,000.\textsuperscript{38}

As time passed people were not slow to understand that the nocturnal meetings of Qāzī Jalāl Qāshānī, Qāzī Urdu,\textsuperscript{39} and many others at Sidi Maula’s mansion one day would surely bring about some trouble. Kotvāl Biranjtan and Hathiya Pāïk even planned an open revolt and decided to assault sultan Jalāluddin on a Friday when he went to Jama’ Masjid for prayers. After finishing Jalāluddin their plan was to declare Sidi as Khalifa and marry him to a daughter of sultan Naṣiruddin. Qāzī Jalāl Qāshānī was to receive the title of Qazi Khan and the jagir of Multan. Jagirs and offices were to be distributed among the sons of the nobility of Balban. As generally happens one of the persons present there turned approver and plainly told the sultan of all that had transpired at Sidi’s place.\textsuperscript{40} All the conspirators were instantly arrested, beaten and fettered, and then dragged to the presence of the king.\textsuperscript{41} The more Jalāluddin asked them to make confessions the more they professed their innocence. It was not the custom in those days to extort confession by torture,\textsuperscript{42} and

\textsuperscript{38} Ibid p. 93.

\textsuperscript{39} Badaoni, Ranking vol. I p. 234.

\textsuperscript{40} It appears that the death of Khan-i-Khanān about this time had weakened the party. Fersishtah, however, leaves the impression that he died after Sidi’s execution. Fersishtah, p. 94.

\textsuperscript{41} Badaoni, Ranking vol. I p. 234.

\textsuperscript{42} Barani p. 211. Here the historian most probably compares the days of ‘Alā‘uddin when torture was commonly practised.
therefore, it was decided to test their veracity by ordeal of fire. A fierce fire was lighted at Bahārpur and the king proceeded there accompanied by his nobles and the accused. All the learned and important men of the city assembled there, and the people of Bahārpur only added to the crowd. The sultan ordered that the accused should be made to sit in the fire and if they were truthful they would escape unscathed. But the ‘Ulamā dissented. Ordeal by fire, argued the jurists, was contrary to reason and forbidden by law. The quality of fire was to burn, and it made no distinction between the guilty and not-guilty. Moreover Sīdī and his henchmen could not be declared guilty since the accusation levelled against them by only one man had not been confirmed by witnesses.\footnote{Barānī p. 211.}

The persistent refusal of the accused to confess anything exasperated the sultan. There was no way of proving their guilt, but to all appearances a conspiracy had been hatched and Jalāluddīn was determined to punish the offenders. Qāżī Jalāl Kāshānī was transferred as Qāżī of Badaon. The sons of nobles understood to be partisans in the clique were exiled to various places and their property was confiscated. Biranjūtan and Hathiya Pāık, who had taken the responsibility of killing the king were severely punished. Sīdī Maula, fettered and chained, was brought before the king. His very presence threw Jalāl into a rage and he addressed Shaikh Abu Bakr Tūsī of the Haidri order, who was present there with his disciples, to avenge him of Sīdī Maula. Bahri, a follower of the order, attacked Sīdī with a razor\footnote{The order of the Haidri Qalandars was founded by Shaikh Najmuddin Tūsī. The Qalandars shave off their head and face and even eye-brows. It is, therefore, customary with them to keep a razor. Consequently Bahri was able to whip out a razor and attack Sīdī.} and hamstinged him. They shaved off his whiskers to the chin and stabbed him in the side with a sack-makers needle. Meanwhile Arkalī Khan
who entertained ideas of hostility towards Sidibeckoned
to an elephant driver who drove the animal over the victim
and crushed him to death.

The death of Sidi Maula was too much for an orthodox
Maulana like Ziyāuddin Barani to stand. He had visited the
Shaikh a number of times and had had the privilege of dining
at his mansion.\footnote{Barani p. 209.} Therefore he associates some unpleasant
happenings to such an unjust execution. According to him on
the day of the Shaikh’s death a black wind-storm covered the
sky and from that day the Jalālī government lost its stability.
Shortly after, the rains stopped. Delhi witnessed one of the
most terrible famines. The price of grains rose to a $\textit{ser. a}$
tankah and the people forgot the taste of bread.\footnote{\textit{Futūh.} p. 212.} Peasants\footnote{Barani has Hindus.}
of Sivalik flocked into Delhi and in batches of twenty or
thirty flung themselves into the Jumna. The sultan and his
nobles tried their utmost to ameliorate the distress but could
do little.\footnote{\textit{Futūh.} p. 212.} Next year so heavy were the rains that people
hardly remembered ever to have witnessed the like of them.
It was only after constant prayers that conditions became
normal in about two years’ time.\footnote{\textit{Futūh.} p. 213.}

The closing remarks of Barani lead one to the inference
that Sidi was unjustly punished and died a martyr’s death.
But that is not so. It is true that the sentence of death was
hastily awarded and a thorough inquiry was not made, but
that a conspiracy was hatched against the sultan in which
Sidi was seriously implicated is clearly attested in the narra-
tive of Barani himself. The revolt of Malik Chhajjū, the
gauntlets thrown at Malik Tājuddin’s, and the open talks
that Jalāluddin was a misfit on the throne, had sufficiently
exasperated the sultan. Following upon these came the blood-curdling conspiracy, in which Jalāluddin was to be killed, Sīdī was to marry a royal princess and become Khalīfā. No other king would have tolerated all that happened at Sīdī’s for months together. The politician-cum-saint would have received the same doom at the hands of any other king. Jalāluddin was quite justified in ordering Sīdī’s execution.⁵⁰

Abortive Expedition to Ranthambhor (1291 A.D.).

Soon after Sīdī’s execution sultan Jalāluddin marched with a large force towards the fortress of Ranthambhor⁵¹ on Thursday 18th Rabiul Avval 690 (22nd March 1291).⁵² Since Ikhtiyāruddin Khan-i-Khanān, the eldest son of the sultan had died, Jalāluddin left his second son Arkali Khan as viceroy (naib) at Kilughari.⁵³ The king left Sīrī for Lohravat⁵⁴ and proceeded to Chandavāl⁵⁵ where he stayed for some time. In

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⁵⁰ According to Yahya, three days after Sīdī’s death a pit 10 yards (gaz) long and three yards wide was dug out and a great fire kindled for the purpose of throwing into it the remaining adherents of the Maula. But Arkali Khan interposed on their behalf and they were released.

T.M.S. p. 67.

It is quite probable. Arkali’s staunch enemy having been executed no useful purpose could have been served by killing his followers.

⁵¹ For the situation of the fortress see chapter viii note 8.

⁵² This is the date of Amīr Khusrau, Elliot, vol. III p. 540. Oriental College Magazine Lahore. Text, November 1936 p. 28. Barānī wrongly has 689.

⁵³ Barānī p. 213.

⁵⁴ Elliot vol. III p. 540 wrongly has Sohrait. Oriental College Magazine Text of Miftāhul Futuh, Nov. 1936, p. 28, correctly has Lohravat. The village then lying to the west of Sīrī is not traceable now. It was here that Nāṣīruddin Khusrau lost the throne to Ghazi Tughlaq in 1320.

⁵⁵ It lay south-west of Delhi on the road to the Deccan.
two more marches they reached Rewari lying about fifty miles south west of Delhi. The march was continued and they arrived at Narnaul a town lying south west of Rewari. They crossed the sandy tracts of Rajputana where "the people had their mouths shut through thirst and a hundred camels were laden with water to satisfy the necessities of the army." After a fortnight's march they arrived on the borders of Ranthambhor. A reconnoitring party was sent in advance to collect information while the soldiers busied themselves in plundering the neighbourhood of Jhain. During these operations the Turks used poisoned arrows and killed many.

It was then decided to attack the city of Jhain itself. A force of 1,000 strong was despatched under officers like Malik Khurram; Malik Qutlagh Tighin; Azam Mubarak, Amir of Narnaul; Ahmād Sarjandār; Maḥmūd Sarjandār; the chief huntsman Ahmād; and Abaji Akhūrbeg. Alarm soon spread in Jhain. The Rai sent one Gurdan Saini with a force of 10,000 Ravats to check the advance of the Turks. Gurdan Saini was a great general and had led several expeditions into the country of Malwa and Gujarat. But after a severe engagement he was killed and the Hindus fled pell-mell. The chieftain of Jhain took shelter in the hills of Ranthambhor and three days after this signal victory Jalāluddin entered Jhain. He greatly admired the beautiful figures, carvings

56 It was the jagir of Malik Naib during the reign of ʿAlāʿuddin.

For the location of Jhain see chapter VIII note 12
59 Ibid. pp. 33-34.
60 "But only one man was killed among the royal troops." Ibid. p. 34.

Here the poet-historian indulges in gross exaggeration.
and exquisite colours on stone and wood in the Raja's palace. He also visited the temples ornamented with elaborate work in gold and silver. But his aesthetic tastes were overshadowed by his iconoclastic fervour. He ordered their destruction and thus "made a hell of paradise."\(^61\) Two large bronze images of Brahma, each weighing "more than a thousand man," were broken into pieces and the fragments were distributed among officers for throwing them at the gates of Jama Masjid at Delhi.\(^62\) A plundering party was despatched under Maḥmūd Sarjandār to sack Malwa also, after crossing the rivers Chambal and Kuwari.\(^63\) The expedition was a success. Temples were destroyed and the royalists returned with plunder and loot.\(^64\)

The Rana of Ranthambhor,\(^65\) says Baranī, together with the Rais and Muqaddams and their families shut themselves up in the fort and prepared to stand a siege. Jalāluddin ordered construction of war engines like Maghrabi, Sabāt and Gargach\(^66\) to encircle the fort. He proceeded to Ranthambhor to reconnoitre the fort personally but returned to Jhain the same day. He plainly told his officers that he would not be able to capture it.\(^67\) A large number of soldiers would be killed even in raising a pashīb and constructing gargach and

\(^{61}\) Elliot vol. III, p. 542.
\(^{63}\) Also Baranī, p. 213.
\(^{64}\) Elliot, vol. III p. 542.
\(^{65}\) Futūh pp. 216-17.
\(^{67}\) Baranī p. 213.

\(^{65}\) He was Hammīra, who ascended in 1283 and was killed fighting 'Alāūddin.

\(^{66}\) For these appliances of war see chapter VIII note 14.

\(^{67}\) Baranī, p. 213.
the sultan was not prepared to waste so many lives nor dared he see face to face the widows and orphans of the dead. The strange argument of the sultan prompted Malik Ahmad Chap to waste some lessons on statecraft. "Whenever a conqueror has determined on some expedition no consideration had deflected him from attaining his object. If Your Majesty returns without taking the citadel, the Raja of this place will become proud and your kingly dignity will be lowered in the breasts of men." But the non-virile sultan had made up his mind to return. Boasting that "he did not value even ten such forts above a single hair of a Musalman," he struck the camp and arrived at the capital on the 3rd of Jamadiul Akhir 690 (June 2, 1291).

**Mongol invasion 1292.**

The disgraceful retreat from Ranthambhor was followed by another disaster. In 691 H. (1291-92 A.D.) 'Abdullah, a grandson of Halaku Khan of Persia, advanced with a force of 150,000 Mughals. On receiving the news sultan Jalal-

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68 Barani, pp. 214, 215.
69 Ibid. p. 213.
Elliot vol. III p. 543.
71 The account of this invasion by 'Isami is misleading. He puts it in the beginning of Jalal's reign and says that Malik Khomosh and not the king commanded the Indian army. Futuh. pp. 203-08.
72 Barani p. 218.
73 Barani has "عبد الله نبه هلال حسن" nabshah means a relation, a grandson. Hallu is surely a mistake for Halaku conqueror of Persia and grandson of Chagiz.
74 Barani, p. 218, has ten to fifteen tumans. Ferishtah p. 94, has ten tumans. A tuman consisted of 10,000 horse.
uddin marched out of the capital to encounter the Mughals.\textsuperscript{75} By forced marches he arrived on the confines of Sannam,\textsuperscript{76} where the Mongol vanguard had already arrived. The river Sindh separated the two armies and preparations to fight a decisive battle were made on both sides.\textsuperscript{77} Meanwhile small skirmishes were desultorily fought between detached parties of the rival forces in which the enemy was worsted.\textsuperscript{78} One day a portion of the Mongol army crossed the river and joined in a fearful battle with the royal vanguard. According to Baranî the enemy was completely defeated and a large number of them were slain. About a thousand Mongol officers, commanders of a hundred horse (Amîrân-i-Sadah), fell into the hands of the Indian army. About this time negotiations for a truce were started and after some formalities a meeting was arranged between 'Abdullah and Jalâluddin. They met on terms of cordiality and presents were exchanged on both sides. 'Abdullah returned to his native land but Alghu, or Ulugh Khan, who was also related to Changiz, together with some high officers remained in this country and accepted Islam. Jalâluddin married one of his daughters to Alghu and he and his 4,000 adherents\textsuperscript{79} came with their families to the capital

\textsuperscript{75} According to 'Isâmî the Indian army consisted of 30,000 horse. \textit{Futûh} p. 206.

\textsuperscript{76} Baranî has بارام, Ferishtah هرام and Hajiuddabîr, following on Baranî has برام. But in all probability it is Sannam on the north west frontier. 'Isâmî also has Bârâm and says that the engagement was fought near river Sindh. \textit{Futûh} p. 205.

Badaoni, has Sanâm. Ranking vol. I p. 236.

\textsuperscript{77} The Indians were always on the defensive. Either on account of fear or for a point of strategy Indians never took to offensive in fighting the Mughals. Even the war-lord 'Alâuddin never attacked the mongols first.

\textsuperscript{78} Baranî, also Ferishtah p. 94.

\textsuperscript{79} Ferishtah p. 94.
city. They were granted facilities and allowances by the king. They fixed their colonies in Ghayāspur, Indarpat, Kilughari and Taluka,\(^{80}\) which were known as Mughalpura.\(^{81}\) They mixed up with the people of the country and came to be known as neo-Muslims.\(^{82}\)

The narrative of Baranī leaves the impression on the reader’s mind that the Mongols lost against the royaltists and were granted a treaty by the king. But the fact is that Jalāluddin had not dared face the 150,000 Mongols in a major encounter and had hurried to make a settlement, giving the Mongols very favourable terms. True, he had defeated the Mongols on many former occasions but in his old age he had lost all vigour and virility and during the seven years of his rule he was an extreme pacifist.

Some minor campaigns of Jalāluddin (1292-95)

The Mongol trouble having concluded, Jalāluddin turned his attention to state affairs. He gave the governorship of Lahore, Multan and Sindh to Arkali Khan\(^{83}\) ostensibly to check the Mongols. About the end of 691 H. (1292 A.D.) he led two minor campaigns and was successful at both. First he advanced on Mandor\(^{84}\) and took it in the very first assault. He pillaged its environs and returned with a large amount of booty. His second attack was directed against Jhain which he had once before raided during his march to Ranthambhor.

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\(^{80}\) All these lay in the suburbs of Delhi and on the west bank of the Jumna. Indarpat was in north, Kilughari in middle and Ghayāspur in south. In Ghayaspur lies the tomb of Nizāmuddin Aulia. Taluka (تالوك) cannot be identified.

\(^{81}\) Mughalpura is still the name of a village near Delhi and is indicated in the map prefixed to Thomas: Chronicles. According to Badaoni Ghayāspur and Mughalpura are synonymous, Ranking vol. I p. 233.

\(^{82}\) Baranī p. 219.

\(^{83}\) Ferishtah p. 94.

\(^{84}\) *Tab. Akb.*, wrongly has Mandu.
These victories of Jalāluddīn were followed by a brilliant feat of ‘Alāūddīn at Bhilsa and then at Devagiri. The last days of Jalāluddīn were eclipsed by the brilliant achievements of ‘Alāūddīn in south India, who henceforward played the chief role in the arena of Indian history.
CHAPTER III

‘ALĀÚDDIN AS PRINCE (1290-1296)

Early Life

‘Alāūddin, also known as ‘Alī or Garshāsp, was a son of Shihābuddin Masʿāud Khaljī, a brother of Jalāluddīn. Shihābuddin had four sons—‘Alī, Almās Bēg, Qutlug Taghīn and Muḥammad. We have some knowledge of the later life of ‘Alī (‘Alāūddin) and Almās Bēg, but hardly any of the other two others. Qutlug Taghīn has only once been mentioned as having fought against Malik Chhajjū. Muḥammad was the father of Sulaimān, otherwise known as Ikat Khan. It appears that Shihābuddin had died quite a long time before Jalāluddin’s accession because he is not even once mentioned in the history of the latter’s reign, and also because his eldest son ‘Alī was brought up under the affectionate care of his uncle Jalāluddin.

The details of ‘Alāūddin’s childhood and youth are buried in obscurity. It is strange indeed that the chroniclers never cared to write about the early life of a prince whose brilliant career marks him out as one of the greatest personalities of Medieval India. No contemporary historian gives the date of ‘Alāūddin’s birth. Only Ḥajiuddabīr (an early seven-

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1 Not much known about him except that he was a brave warrior (Deval Rani p. 54) and that like his brother Jalāl he also had been in the service of Balban.
2 Futūḥ. p. 220.
3 Miftāḥul Futūḥ, Elliot, III, p. 538.
4 ‘Īsāmī and Ferishtah mention both the name and the title. Barani mentions only the title of Ikat Khān.
5 Barani p. 234, Ferishtah p. 89.
teenth century historian) says that 'Alāūddin was thirty four years of age when he marched out to the conquest of Ranthambhor⁶ (1300-1301). If this date be taken to be correct, 'Alāūddin was born about the year 1266-67. As a child he does not appear to have received regular lessons in reading and writing. But in his youth he had been given sufficient training in the use of arms, riding and other sports. His early victories clearly indicate his having received excellent training in swordsmanship and other manly exercises.

'Alāūddin gave a good account of himself during the Khaljī coup d' état.⁷ On Jalāluddin's accession 'Alāūddin, who was nephew as well as son-in-law of the sultan, was appointed Master of Ceremonies (Amīr-i-Tuzuk)⁸ while his younger brother Almas Beg, to whom another daughter of the sultan was married, was made Master of the Horse (Akhūrbeg).⁹ Within a short time of his elevation 'Alāūddin made a singular exhibition of his military talents in the campaign against Malik Chhajjū. The trouble soon put down, but the incident brightened the future prospects of 'Alāūddin. He was appointed governor of Kaš (1291).

'Alāūddin in Kaš (1291-96).

This appointment proved to be a turning point in the prince's career. At Kaš the conditions were far from peaceful. No doubt Malik Chhajjū's revolt had been crushed, but not so the spirit of the disaffected Amīrs. They regarded

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⁶ Zafarul Vālī p. 785.
⁷ Vide Chapter I.
⁸ So has Barani. The author of T. V. S. says that he was appointed Akhūrbeg-i-Maimna. Ferishtah simply says that 'Alāūddin was admitted into the corps of high class nobles.
⁹ Barani does not say when the princesses were married to 'Alāūddin and Almas Beg. Ferishtah (p. 89) says that they were married after Jalāluddin had settled down in Kilughari. 'Īṣāmī (Futūh, p. 231) calls 'Alāūddin the elder son-in-law.
Jalāluddīn as a usurper and a weakling, and one, who with a little organised effort could easily be removed from the throne. They had been at the back of Chhajjū’s revolt, and now suggested to the new governor in the very year of his arrival in Kara, the possibility of recruiting a large army and making a bid for the throne. They also emphasised that money was very essential for that purpose; because the rebellion of Malik Chhajjū had failed for want of sufficient resources in gold and silver.

‘Alāūddīn’s Domestic unhappiness.

This tempting advice did not fall upon deaf ears. ‘Alāūddīn himself thirsted for a diversion from the miseries of an unhappy home. Eversince his marriage with Jalāluddin’s daughter, he had not been happy with her. As a royal princess she tried to dominate over her husband. The sudden rise of her father had made her exceedingly vain. Her impudence greatly distressed ‘Alāūddīn but he was averse to bringing the disobedience of his wife before the sultan. All the same he smarted under a sense of humiliation and used to consult his associates how to end his troubles. Ḥājiuddabīr elucidates the cause of misunderstanding between ‘Alāūddīn and his consort. He says that ‘Alāūddīn had two wives,—one, the daughter of the sultan, and the other Māhrū, a sister of Malik Sanjar, later known as Alp Khan. Intelligence of the fact that ‘Alāūddīn had another wife enraged the king’s daughter and she began to pry into the affairs of her husband. One day when the

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10 Futūḥ p. 221.

11 Zafarul Vālī has ḫār for Māhrū. It is really strange how, if Māhrū was a wedded wife, Jalāluddin’s daughter had no previous knowledge of the fact. Later events, however, clearly show that Māhrū was legally married to ‘Alāūddīn. At his accession she became the chief queen, Malka-i-Jahān, and her son Khizr Khan was declared heir-apparent.
amorous couple were tête-à-tête in a garden, Jalāluddin’s
dughter arrived on the scene and began to belabour Māhrū
with her sandal. ‘Alāūdīn could hardly bear this insult and
in a fit of violence he assaulted his uncle’s daughter with his
sword but luckily she escaped only with a few minor injuries.\(^{12}\)

This incident was duly reported to the Sultan but he took
no notice of it.\(^{13}\) Not only that, the behaviour of his mother-
in-law had made ‘Alāūdīn miserable still. The Malika-i-
Jahan had got scent of his ambitions and kept a close watch
upon him. She warned her old and vacillating husband about
‘Alāūdīn’s alleged intentions of establishing an independent
principality in some remote corner of the country.\(^ {14}\) She even
encouraged her daughter to behave arrogantly towards her
husband. At Kara ‘Alāūdīn breathed a sigh of relief.
Here he was away from the indifference of the Sultan, the
dominance of the Malka-i-Jahan, and the priggishness of his
imperious wife. He began to ponder over his past and to
plan out his future. His one idea was to keep away from the
two shrews. It is difficult, however, to assign to the princess
and her mother the entire blame for ‘Alāūdīn’s domestic un-
happiness, because he himself was not without faults. He
was hard-hearted and uncompromising.

Meanwhile Sultan Jalāluddin’s prestige had suffered a set
back. There had been conspiracies among Turkish Amīrs
against him and he had not been able to subdue the city of
Delhi. He had neither the capacity to punish the rebels nor
the generosity to reward his partisans. His retreat from
Ranthambhor was disgraceful enough; but his conclusion of
a temporary truce with the Mughal invader was worse still.

\(^{12}\) Zafarul Vālī p. 154.

\(^{13}\) According to Ibn Battutah the sultan’s indifference to-
words ‘Alāūdīn’s family troubles very much strained the re-
tions between the king and his nephew.

\(^ {14}\) Ferishtah p. 94.
Particularly his giving his daughter in marriage to Alghū must have produced a very bad impression on the nobility and populace of Delhi. In distant Kāra, the rendezvous of the discontented Amīrs, the stories of the sultan’s disgrace and defeat must have been repeated with added warmth to ‘Alāūddīn who himself must have felt humiliated at the cowardice of his uncle and father-in-law. But he did not give expression to his resentment as Malik Aḥmad Chap so often did. He continued to protest his obedience and loyalty.

‘Alāūddīn’s raid on Bhilsa 1292.

Towards the end of the year 691 A.H. (1292 A.D.) ‘Alāūddīn requested the Sultan’s permission to invade Bhilsa. The latter had just accomplished the conquest of Mandor, capturing it in the very first attack. He had also raided and plundered Jhain for the second time. The request of ‘Alāūddīn at that time was, therefore, quite welcome to him, and he readily gave his consent. ‘Alāūddīn left Kāra and cleared the road to Ujjain on which lay the town of Bhilsa. His sudden arrival there created much consternation in the city. The frightened inhabitants concealed their idols in the bed of the Betwa, to save them from population at the hands of the Musalmans, but the prince had them hauled out of the river. After breaking a number of temples and capturing enormous booty ‘Alāūddīn proceeded to Delhi to pay his respects to the sultan. He carried with him a variety of articles of plunder together with a massive idol, which was loaded

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15 Bhilsa lies on the river Betwa. It is a railway station on the G.I.P. Ry. 34 miles north-east of Bhopal.

16 Mandor lies 4 miles north of Jodhpur. A mosque then built there is still in existence and contains a broken inscription. At the time of this invasion Mandor was in possession of Songra Chouhan Sāmant Singh. (Marvīr kā Itihās Hindi by B. N. Reau. p. 15).

on a cart. Jalāluddīn was immensely pleased at the results of his nephew’s adventure. He ordered the captured idol to be laid at the Badaon Gate to be trampled upon by the faithful and rewarded ‘Alāūdīn with the post of Minister of War (‘Āriz-i-Mumālik) and added Avadh to his iqtā' of Kārā.

At Bhilsa ‘Alāūdīn had heard of the fabulous wealth of Devagiri. He had made up his mind to invade the kingdom once he had assembled an adequate army at Kārā, but he nursed his ambition secretly. Now when he saw the king so kindly-disposed towards him and the revenues of Avadh added to those of Kārā, he begged for another favour from the Sultan. “Chandī and its neighbours” he represented “are free (from payment of revenue) and are ignorant (heedless) of the army of Delhi. If it be your pleasure I shall employ new troops and retainers with the revenues of my fiefs so as to attack these places and bring countless booty... and deposit everything in the Imperial Treasury.” The unsuspecting monarch, who had no idea of the extent of ‘Alāūdīn’s ambitions, nor even of the intensity of his estrangement with his wife and mother-in-law, gave the requisite permission to raise a new army; and tempted by the prospects of a rich booty he remitted the revenues of Kārā and Avadh. ‘Alāūdīn returned to Kārā and began to make preparations to invade Chandī. This was the opportunity for which he had thirsted for so long a time. He had now both men and money. His plans had begun well.

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18 *Tab. Akb.* and Ferishtah have two brass idols.
19 *Baranī* p. 220.
20 The total revenue of a province is known as *mahāsil*, and what is left after defraying the expenses of administration is known as *favāzil*. The latter is sent to the Imperial exchequer, but ‘Alāūdīn was permitted to withhold both. *Baranī*. p. 220.
21 *Baranī*. p. 221.
The Kingdom of Devagiri.

The great Maratha kingdom of Devagiri lay between north India and the Deccan peninsula. To the north of Devagiri stood the mighty Vindhyas and to the north and northwest of it were situated the kingdoms of Malwa and Gujarat. In the east and south were situated the kingdoms of Telangana and the Hoysalas respectively, and in the west were the Western Ghats. Protected by the Vindhyas on the north it remained outside the operational sphere of the foreign invaders who incessantly poured into northern India from the eighth to the thirteenth century, carrying away untold wealth from towns and temples alike and leaving misery and desolation behind. But at the close of the thirteenth century conditions changed, and the piercing eye of the ambitious Alaud-din found a passage and a pretext for its conquest.

At that time the kingdom was ruled by a Yadava king named Ram Chandra. The Yadavas claimed for themselves an ancient pedigree. Their bards spoke of them as descendants of no less a personage than Lord Krishna himself. Formerly Yadava rulers were feudatory chiefs of the Chalukyas, but about the end of the twelfth century Bhillama Yadava was successful in throwing off their yoke, and in seizing the whole country north of the river Krishna. But the credit of raising the minor kingdom to one of the greatest powers of the Deccan goes to Singhana, who ruled in the first half of the thirteenth century. He successfully invaded Malwa and

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22 Devagiri or Deogir of Muslim chronicles is the modern Daulatabad in the Hyderabad state, 19.57N. 75.15E.

23 Bhillama’s reign commenced in 1185 and not in 1187 A.D. as assumed by Dr. Fleet. This fact is revealed by the discovery of two contemporary inscriptions. The earliest record which mentions Devagiri as the capital of the Yadavas belongs to the reign of Jaitpala, a predecessor of Singhana and is dated Saka 1119 (1196 A.D.)

Gujarat, conquered lower Konkan, and snatched away the southern Maratha country from the Hoysala chief. 24 He died after a long and brilliant reign in 1247, and was succeeded by his grandson Krishna II. When he died, in 1260, the crown devolved on his brother Mahädeva, who ruled until 1271, when Ram Chandra, son of Krishna II, succeeded him. And it was this monarch who, in his old age, and after a long and successful reign had to face the unexpected invasion of Aläuddin and to make an abject surrender to a foreign foe. “His early years were prosperous enough. His armies invaded both Malwa and Mysore and he was unquestionably the greatest king in Peninsular India. A hectic splendour, too illuminated his reign. In it flourished the minister Hemadri or Hemadpant. In it also appeared Dyandev, the first of the great Maratha poets of the Pandharpur school.” 25

Thus during the course of the thirteenth century the kingdom of Devagiri had witnessed all round progress under the two capable Yadava kings, Singhana and Ram Chandra. 26

24 It appears that the Yadava Empire in the time of Singhana was as extensive as that ruled by the ablest monarchs of the preceding dynasties. The full titles of a paramount sovereign are given to Singhana in his inscriptions, such as “the supporter of the whole world,” “the love of the earth” (Prithvīvallabha) and “king of kings”. (Bhandarkar: Early History of the Deccan, p. 194.) The early history of the family is to be found partly in epigraphic records, and partly in the introduction to Hemadri’s Vratakhand. The Puranic genealogy is perhaps given most fully by Hemadri. (J. F. Fleet: Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts, Bombay, 1836, p. 511.)


26 Hemadpant was also a great builder. The Hemadpanthi architectural style of south India is named after this Hemadpant, the Brahman counsellor of the Yadava kings, of Devagiri.

"For twenty five years Ram Chandra had ruled prosperously. The valour of his armies guarded his far flung frontier. The wisdom of Hemadpant secured the prosperity of his subjects and filled the treasury of the monarch."

Apartment from territorial acquisitions Devagiri had also been enriched by its booming trade and commerce which are apt to flourish in a country enjoying perpetual peace internally. No foreign raiders had robbed the treasures of the country, and 'Ala‘uddin had learnt at Bhilsa that Ram Chandra had inherited a huge treasure accumulated by his ancestors. The social practices of the times and especially the use of various kinds of gold ornaments by the Hindus had made gold a household commodity, while the treasuries of the kingdom were full of precious metals and precious stones.

Such was the wealth of Devagiri which had fired 'Ala‘uddin's imagination and had whetted his appetite for a conquest unique in the annals of Indo-Muslim history.

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This book assigns only twenty-three years to Ram Chandra's rule, but he had ruled for twenty-five years, from 1271 to 1296, when 'Ala‘uddin invaded Devagiri.
28 Ferishtah p. 95.
CHAPTER IV
‘ALĀŪDDIN’S EXPEDITION TO DEVAGIRI

After making adequate preparations ‘Alāūddin left Kaṭa for Devagiri with 8,000\(^1\) horse on Saturday the 19th of Rabīul-Akkhir 695 (26th February 1296).\(^2\) He kept his real intentions a secret and gave out that he was marching out to the conquest of Chanderi—\(^3\) a Rajput fortress in Central India, about a hundred miles north of the Vindhyā mountains. Malik ‘Alāulmulk, uncle of Ziya Barani, was the prince’s confidant in his project. He was appointed to look after the administration of Kaṭa during the latter’s absence as well as to send fabricated news to the sultan about the movements of the prince. ‘Alāūddin went as far as Chanderi openly, and therefrom his movements became obscure. From Chanderi he dashed on to Bhilsa. He had taken special care to see that no time was wasted on this march and had scoured all the roads in his last expedition to Bhilsa.\(^4\) He tackled the Vindhyā mountains with great assiduity. Marching through irregular hills and crossing swift flowing rivers\(^5\) he arrived at Ellich-

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\(^1\) With his increased revenues he was enabled to recruit 3 to 4 thousand horse and 2 thousand foot. Baranî p. 222, Ferishtah p. 95.

\(^2\) Khzāin. p. 5.

\(^3\) At present Chanderi is only a small village lying about 20 miles west of Lalitpur, Jhansi Division. In 1293-5 the town of Chanderi was situated very close to this spot. It is curious indeed that between 1304 and 1307, in ‘Alāūddin’s own times, Chanderi shifted to its present site.


\(^4\) Baranî p. 222.

\(^5\) Muslim Chroniclers emphasise that ‘Alāūddin selected a short route “through the jungle.” This does not seem to be correct. The points on his march indicate his taking to the then known route to the Decan, which, all the same, lay through numerous jungles.
pur. His plan from the very start was to return from the expedition as soon as possible. Indeed, in those circumstances the time-factor was of great importance. 'Aláūddín could not have stayed in the Deccan longer than warranted by his professed intention of the campaign to Chanderi lest he should have aroused opposition of powerful Hindu kings in the Deccan as well as of the barons at Delhi. He had undertaken the expedition without the king’s permission, and his failure to return to Kara in time would have given a handle to his enemies to misrepresent him. He, therefore, marched straight to Ellichpur without taking rest or disturbing rulers on the way. At Ellichpur, however, he halted for two days to allow the troops to shake off the fatigue of the long and toilsome journey, and to reorganise his forces for now Devagiri was not far. To lull the suspicions of the neighbouring towns 'Aláūddín set a rumour afloat that he was a disaffected nobleman of the court of Jaláluddín, and had come to seek service with the Raja of Rājmundri in Telingāna, a vassal of the Yadava king.

After a forced march 'Aláūddín crossed a pass known as Ghati Lajaura or Lasaura, about twelve miles west of Devagiri. The valley was governed by Kānhañ, a brave Hindu chief who owed allegiance to Ram Chandra. Kānhañ summoned his friends and prepared to fight. In his fief there lived two ladies of high rank well versed in the art of warfare.

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6 Ellichpur lies in Berar. At the time of 'Aláūddín’s invasion it was a northern outpost of the Yadava dominions. Throughout the Medieval times it was a flourishing centre of trade and commerce. Ellichpur became the chief military station of Berar under the Mughals.

Also see Chahār Gulshān, Bankipur Ms. fol. 85.

7 Ferishtah p. 95.

8 Lajaura, Lasaura or Lasur lies s. w. of Devagiri very close to the latter. Also see the map attached to J. N. Sarkar’s A short history of Aurangzeb.
When these chivalrous women heard of the invaders they joined Kānhañ with a large retinue. In the battle that ensued these ‘tigresses’ charged the enemy with such fury that he was compelled to fall back some distance. In the second charge, however, the latter advanced with greater determination and the southerners were defeated. The vanquished army retreated precipitately; its rout was complete and its losses heavy.9

‘Alāūdðin had, no doubt, won the battle, but he had at the same time seen the mettle of the southerners. Before marching forward to his main objective Devagiri he addressed his officers and men and brought home to them the idea of the rough work that lay ahead. “In a country,” said he, “where women do not retreat before us... I do not know what men would do to us on the field of battle.”10 He not only frightened his troops with likely dangers but also tempted them by visualising to them the wealth that they would obtain in plunder and spoliation. The soldiers one and all swore for the second time, to fight and win. This done, ‘Alāūdðin proceeded onward.

So far no Muslim army had ventured into the south. Great consternation overtook the king and the inhabitants of the country. To add to Ram Chandra’s intrepidity his son

9 Futûh. pp. 223-24. ‘Isâmî wrote about eight years before Barânî finished his history, and at many places the former gives better information than the latter. In this expedition particularly ‘Isâmî is more to be trusted because:

(a) He wrote at Devagiri itself.
(b) He wrote after listening to many trustworthy accounts (See Authorities).
(c) His narrative written before Barânî’s is quite corroborative of the latter. ‘Isâmî seems to be a good connoisseur of facts.

10 Futûh. p. 223.
Singhana Deva\textsuperscript{11} had marched southwards on an expedition with the choicest contingents of the Maratha forces. This was in accordance with the military traditions of the past.\textsuperscript{12} Ferishtah's statement that Singhana was away on a pilgrimage is not plausible, as there was no reason for his taking the best troops of the kingdom with him. Mr. Aiyangar also thinks that when 'Alaūdīn made his plans he had definite information that the main army of Ram Deva had marched towards the Hoysala frontier under his son.\textsuperscript{13} The old king saw no alternative now—when the enemy was already marching into the city—but to throw reinforcements into the citadel and stand a siege. The fortress of Devagiri is situated on an isolated cone-shaped hill 640 feet high. The steepness and height of the rock required a minimum of defences. But walls, bastions, and a moat cut 50 feet deep into solid rock, made up for the little deficiencies left by nature.\textsuperscript{14} But for some time past the Yadavas had felt too powerful to care for their own defence, so that at the time of 'Alaūdīn's invasion the moat was lying dry and unprotected, and the garrison was

\textsuperscript{11}Deval Rani pp. 85, 86, has Singhana Deva. Again both Amir Khusrau and 'Isāmī give the name of the second son so Bhilam, (Futūh, pp. 226, 326). But Sir W. Haig (Camb. Hist. of India, vol. III) and some other writers give the names of the two sons as Shanker Deva and Bhīm Deva. Ferishtah’s Sankhal or Sankhan and Bhīm are wrong. The correct names are Singhana and Bhillama, so common in the royal genealogies of the Yadavas. Also see Hodivala pp. 372-75.


\textsuperscript{13} Aiyangar p. 77.

\textsuperscript{14} The fortress still stands, peerless in beauty and strength, but the capital of the Yadavas is now only a village ten miles from Aurangabad. Also see Gribble: History of the Decan, vol. I, p. 2.
short of provisions. Incidentally, however, a few merchants from fear of the invading army had left some bags, and these had been seized and put into the fort.

Ram Chandra had retreated into the fort but the lower city, especially the part which was later known as Katakah, was left at the mercy of the invader. It was thoroughly sacked and every single house in it was put to plunder. Influential Brahmans and chief merchants of the city were taken prisoner. ‘Ala‘uddin also captured thirty to forty elephants and a thousand horse from the stables of the Maratha king. In the meantime the crafty Turk circulated yet another rumour. He declared that his army was only a vanguard of the twenty thousand Imperial horsemen who were following behind. Ill-equipped with men, weapons and provision, Ram chandra could not have stood a siege for long in any case; now he gave up all hope of success. At last he sent messengers with terms for a treaty, accompanied with a few threats. He remained the reckless adventurer that Singhana might return any time and it was prudent on his part to leave the city before the latter came. He also pointed

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15 Ferishtah p. 95.


16 Futuh. pp. 226, also 357. Katakah was walled and fortified by Muhammad Tughlaq when he shifted his capital to Daulatabad. There he built three concentric lines of defence: Daulatbad, the seat of the sultan and his army; Katakah; and Devagiri fort itself. In Mughal times Daulatabad came to be known as Ambarkot, Katakah as Mahakot, and Devagiri as Balakot.

Ibn Battutah, vol. IV, p. 46.


17 Futuh. pp. 227-23.

18 Barani p. 223; Ferishtah p. 95.
out to 'Alāūddīn that his retreat would lie through many Hindu kingdoms and could certainly be cut off. 'Alāūddīn also thought it prudent to accept whatever was offered and make haste for Kāra. He patched up a truce, levied a war indemnity, and promised to leave the capital within a fortnight after releasing all the prisoners of war. But the terms of the treaty were yet to be fulfilled when events took a different turn.

**The Battle of Devagiri**

When Singhana heard of the catastrophe which had befallen the capital, he hurried back to relieve his father in distress. On his arrival within three kos from the capital, he received a message from Ram Chandra saying that a truce had been concluded with the invader, that the enemy was a very tough fighter and that any further attempt of fighting him would bear no better results. Daring and energetic as he was, the youthful prince turned a deaf ear to his father’s warning, and marshalled his forces to fight 'Alāūddīn. 19 He sent a threatening message to 'Alāūddīn saying that if he wanted to escape from the dangerous ‘whirlpool’ in which he had entangled himself, he must hand over all the wealth he had looted and immediately return to the north. 'Alāūddīn, who had only recently dictated terms of treaty to Ram Chandra flew into a rage at this imprudent and impertinent action of his haughty son, and ordered the messengers of Singhana to be paraded between the ranks of his army with their faces blackened. 20 He then started preparation for the next encounter.

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19 'Isāmī’s statement that Singhana submitted without giving a battle is wrong. *Futūh*, pp. 228-30.

20 Ferishtah p. 96. It was against usage to insult messengers. At a later time when the ambassadors of the Ilkhan sultan Aljaitū of Persia came to India, they also met with insulting treatment at the hands of 'Alāūddīn. Vassāf denoun-
‘Alāūddīn left Nuṣrat Khan with a thousand horse to look after the investment of the fort thus making the junction of the father’s and the son’s forces impossible and himself arrayed the remnant of the army to give battle to Singhana. The Maratha forces outnumbered those of the Muslims and in the battle that ensued they infused terror into the hearts of ‘Alā’ī troops. Finding his master in extreme danger Nuṣrat Khan left the fortress, without any orders from ‘Alāūddīn, and hurried to join the latter. This tactical action on the part of Nuṣrat turned the tide of the victory on the side of the Muslims as his contingent of one thousand was mistaken by the Marathas for the alleged twenty thousand horse about which ‘Alāūddīn had spread a false report. A panic seized the troops of Singhana Deva and they fled pell mell from the field of battle. ‘Alāūddīn renewed the siege of the fortress with still greater vigour. He put to death many merchants and Brahmans he had taken prisoner and paraded some of the near relations and nobles of Ram Deva in front of the fortress. Ram Chandra for whom the calamity was as terrible as it was unprecedented consulted his courtiers about calling the neighbouring Hindu Rajas to his aid, but before they could arrive at any decision they discovered that the two or three thousand bags which they had brought into the fortress during the first siege did not contain grain but salt. This discovery broke the nerve of everybody inside the citadel.

Ram Chandra sued for peace again, but this time ‘Alā-‘uddīn was adamant. He had scented the reason why the Maratha king was so importunate to secure a treaty as quickly as possible and delayed negotiations until the envoys of Ram Chandra confessed that the defenders were almost on the verge of starvation. At last a truce, the terms of which were dictated by the victorious prince, was patched up. ‘Alāūddīn

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cedes the unconstitutional action of the king of Hindustan in strong terms. See Chapter XIII.
was to receive a much larger war indemnity than was agreed to on the previous occasion. According to Ferishtah it consisted of "six hundred man of gold, seven man of pearls, two man of precious stones like rubies, sapphires, diamonds and emeralds, one thousand man of silver and four thousand pieces of silk and sundry articles the details of which are beyond comprehension." The contemporary historian Ziyā Baranī does not give any such list. He only says that ‘Alāūddin brought so much wealth from the Deccan that despite the squandering of it by his successors much of it remained till the time of Fīroz Tughlaq. Amīr Khusrau, another contemporary, describes at length in his exaggerated poetic way, the treasures brought by ‘Alāūddin, but he too does not give any figures. Consequently it is doubtful if Ferishtah derived his exact knowledge of the war indemnity from some reliable source. It may only be a computation of his fertile mind. In short, the exact amount of the wealth cannot be ascertained from the meagre data available.

Besides the huge war indemnity, Ram Chandra promised to send yearly revenues of Ellichpur province to ‘Alāūddin at Kara. He also gave his daughter in marriage to ‘Alāūddin. Although contemporary historians do not mention this fact, yet ‘Iṣāmī, Vassāf, Muḥammad Bihāmad Khan and Ḥajīud-dabīr allude to it. ‘Iṣāmī even gives the name of the princess as Jahatiapali or Jhatiapali, a word which, however, has no meaning. At another place he says that she was the

21 Ferishtah p. 96.
22 Baranī p. 223.
24 Vassāf p. 312: Tārikh-i-Muḥammādī. Allahabad University Ms. fol. 122.
mother of Shihābuddīn ‘Umar Khaljī, whom Khusrau placed on the throne after ‘Alāʿuddīn’s death.

‘Alāʿuddīn on his part released all the prisoners of war and struck tents. He left Devagiri twenty-five days after he had entered it full of hopes and fears. On his way back to Karā he stormed the fort of Asīrgarh which was then held by Chouhan Rajputs. But his main objective had been Devagiri and that kingdom he had been able to reduce to the position of a vassal state, and obtain such an immense treasure as to astound his contemporaries. Brigg’s remark on his brilliant achievement is worth quoting. “In the long volumes of history,” says he, “there is scarcely anything to be compared with this exploit, whether we regard the resolution in forming the plan, the boldness of its execution, or the great good fortune that attended its accomplishment.”

26 Futūḥ. pp. 335, 344.


The fort which is believed to have been mentioned in the Mahābhārata consists of three separate line of fortifications known as Asīrgarh proper, Kamargarh and Malaigarh.

CHAPTER V

MURDER OF JALALUDDIN KHALJI

Early in the year 695 H. (1296 A.D.) Jalâluddîn had marched with his army to Gwalior. No definite dates have been given about Jalâluddîn's march to and stay at Gwalior. Firishtah furnishes some details but his statements contradict themselves.¹ Baranî simply says that Jalâluddîn went on an expedition to Gwalior in 695 H. and stayed there for some time. At Gwalior "rumours" began to reach him that 'Alâûddîn had obtained success at Devagiri and was returning to Kara.² It appears that Jalâluddîn had started for Gwalior about the same time 'Alâûddîn had left for Devagiri. From Kara 'Alâulmulk was constantly transmitting fabricated news to the sultan³ to the effect that the prince was busy reducing refractory kingdoms and would soon send a petition to the king. It is doubtful if 'Alâulmulk himself knew much about the extraordinary exploit of 'Alâûddîn.

In short, it was at Gwalior that Jalâluddîn first learnt that 'Alâûddîn had marched to Devagiri, had sacked it, and was returning to Kara with a rich booty. The sultan was immensely pleased at the news of his nephew's victory and to share his joy with his boon companions he held drink parties. Meanwhile news about the vast treasures 'Alâûddîn was bringing from the Deccan was confirmed by successive reports. It was remoured that the treasures far exceeded

¹ Firishtah pp. 95-97.
² Baranî p. 223.
³ Baranî (222) simply says that the news was sent by 'Alâulmulk to the court. He does not mention Delhi or Gwalior, but it was obviously sent at Gwalior where the sultan was staying.
those possessed by any monarch of Delhi in the past. The very idea of the immensity of the captured wealth made Jalâluddîn a little thoughtful. The prince had acted in an independent manner. He had not obtained the king’s permission to invade Devagiri. Jalâluddîn held secret consultations with his most intimate barons like Malik Ahmad Chap, Malik Fakhruddîn Kûchî, Malik Kamâluddîn Abul Ma‘âli and Malik Naşiruddîn Kuhramî. He asked them to opine on the course of action to be adopted in such circumstances. Should he stay where he was and wait for ‘Alâûddîn to come to him, or march out to meet him on his way to Kara, or should he go back to Delhi?

Sane suggestion was not wanting. Malik Aḥmad,4 the Naib Barbak, and sister’s son of the sultan, who was known for giving the most practical advice said: “Elephants and wealth when held in great abundance are the cause of much strife. Whoever acquires them becomes so intoxicated that he does not know his hands from his feet. ‘Alâûddîn is surrounded by many of the rebels and insurgents who supported Malik Chhajjû. He went into a foreign land, without leave, has fought battles and won treasure. The wise have said, ‘Money and strife; strife and money,’ that is, the two things are inseparable from each other. My opinion is that we should march in all haste towards Chanderi to meet ‘Alâûddîn and intercept his return. When he finds the Sultan’s army in the way, he must necessarily present all his spoils to the throne whether he likes it or not. The Sultan may then take the silver and gold, the jewels and pearls, the elephants and horses, and leave the other booty to him and his soldiers. His territories should be increased and he should be taken in honour to Delhi . . . but if he is permitted to go to Kara with the treasures amounting to those of ten kingdoms, we shall all

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4 According to Ḥâjiuddibîr his full name was Shihābuddîn Aḥmad Chap. Zafarul Vâli p. 754.
be ruined. I also know that for years Malik ‘Aláúddín has been in trouble with his wife and the Malka-i-Jahán. And no loyalty should be expected from one who has been in trouble." 5

Ahmad Chap’s harangue pricked the Sultan “like a thorn.” In fact he had spoken so frankly ‘before any body else had said anything,’ that his sincere utterance was misconstrued. The Sultan chid Ahmad saying he had done no thing against ‘Aláúddín to estrange him and he was falsely accusing his son-in-law. Jaláluddín then addressed other nobles and asked them for advice on the point. Malik Fakhruddin Kuchi did not like to incur the Sultan’s displeasure. He knew that even a word spoken against his nephew was unwelcome to Jaláluddín. He, therefore, began with what he thought would please the sultan, although he knew that what Ahmad Chap had said was all correct. “No responsible person,” began the cunning Fakhruddin, “on whose word full reliance can be placed has come to the court from ‘Aláúddin’s camp. It is not certain whether the rumours are false or true. There is a famous maxim that ‘socks should not be doffed till water be sighted.’ If we march with an army and intercept him on the way, his men would be frightened to hear of the arrival of the Imperial army. One and all would they run away and hide themselves in the jungle and all the treasure that he is bringing would be lost. We should (only) keep a force in readiness, and until we find anybody refractory it is not justified to march against him. But the month of Ramzán is approaching and melons as (sweet as) sugar-candy have arrived in Delhi. It appears right to me that Your Majesty should return to Delhi with your army and pass the month of Ramzán there.” 6

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5 Barani pp. 224–25.

The language of this passage is defective but a literal translation has been given. The last two sentences of Fakhruddin Kuchi specially stand out as a proof of his cunning.
Malık Ahmad Chap who was loyal and sincere to a fault could no longer stand the hypocrisy of Fakhruddin and addressed him in very harsh words. But the Sultan silenced him by saying: “I have brought him (‘Aláúddin) up in my lap, and he is so much indebted to me that even if my sons go against me he cannot.” Nothing could prevent Jaláluddin from adopting a course of action which his love for his nephew dictated. He left Gwalior for Delhi and arrived at Kiliughari soon after.

Meanwhile ‘Aláúddin, after a long but quick march was back in Kaña on the 28th of Rajjab 695 (2nd June 1296).  

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There is some difference in the narratives of contemporary historians about the time which ‘Aláúddin spent on his expedition to Devagiri. Baraní at one place (referring to a letter of apology ‘Aláúddin sent to his uncle) says that the prince wrote that he had been away on the expedition for more than a year. Baraní writing long after the occurrence of the event, probably means a long period of time and not definitely a period of more than one whole year. Following upon Baraní, Ferishtah tries to explain how the alleged period of one year was spent by ‘Aláúddin (Ferishtah pp.96-97). Other contemporary evidence, however, shows that the expedition was so planned as to be completed within a short period of two or three months.

Firstly, ‘Išāmī clearly says that ‘Aláúddin had planned to return within a couple of months Futūh p. 222. As has been discussed above ‘Aláúddin in no case could afford to spend much time in the Deccan.

Secondly, Baraní says (p. 222) that ‘Aláúddin had secured the roads to Devagiri during his raid on Bhilsa. He went by forced marches straight to Devagiri without giving rest to his troops or disturbing petty chieftains on the way.

Thirdly, the rumours which sultan Jaláluddin received at Gwalior in quick succession were to the effect that ‘Aláúddin had arrived in Devagiri, had raided it and was on his way back. It appears, therefore, that ‘Aláúddin did not spend much time in Devagiri. Ferishtah says he stayed there only for 25 days.
Ever since he had left Karā about three and a half months back there had been no correspondence between him and the Sultan. He was naturally afraid that those who knew of his designs would surely have poisoned the ears of the King in his absence. Not a few barons at the court had learnt of his ambitious schemes. Ahmad Chap alone had clearly stated his suspicions and had been rebuked for his frankness. According to Yahya, however, some treachery of 'Alāūddīn had leaked out and had made him very cautious in dealing with the old king. As soon, therefore, as he arrived in Karā he addressed an epistle to his uncle professing therein his love

_Fourthly_, during his return from Devagiri 'Alāūddīn was also in a great hurry, (1) because he had to avoid any skirmishes with the Hindu kingdoms which lay on the way (except that he attacked the fortress of Asīrgarh) and which were probably invited by Ram Deva to help him. (2) Because he was afraid of his enemies conspiring at the court against him. (3) Because the rainy season was fast approaching.

_Fifthly_, when Quṭbuddīn Mubarak Shah invaded Devagiri in 1317-18, he arrived on the borders of the kingdom in two months’ time (Khusrau: Nūh Siyehr Elliot Vol. III, p. 557). It is, therefore, not surprising that 'Alāūddīn’s march to Devagiri took him less than a couple of months.

And _lastly_ we have the authority of the contemporary Amīr Khusrau who gives definite dates of departure from Karā (26th Feb., 1296) and that of arrival back at Karā (2nd June, 1296). From Khusrau’s dates it is evident that 'Alāūddīn started just after the inconvenient winter season was over and returned just before the rains started. No doubt the time for the expedition had been excellently chosen.

The casual remark of Baranī that 'Alāūddīn spent one whole year on the expedition does not seem to be correct and lacks corroboration in other contemporary writings. Discussing the siege of Ranthambhor Baranī again writes that the siege of the fort lasted for one year (p. 279) while Khusrau gives definite dates. Barani’s dates are generally faulty.

8 _T.M.S._ p. 68.
and loyalty and begging pardon for undertaking an expedition without the latter's permission. In this letter the exhibited his fears about the plot of his enemies against him during his absence in a remote country. In the end he promised to make over to the Sultan all the treasures and elephants he had brought from Devagiri if the latter just sent him an assurance, under his own signature, to the effect that he had pardoned his nephew for all his faults. Even while 'Aláūd-dín was writing this treacherous communication, he was planning to fly with all his treasures towards Lakhnautí in case Jalāluddin marched with an army towards Karâ. In anticipation of such an emergency he had despatched Zafar Khan towards the east to arrange for a large flotilla for crossing the Saru (Sarju).

Jalāluddin received 'Aláūd-dín's letter only a few days after his arrival at Kilughârî. Most of the nobles and other prominent men of Delhi had come to know that Aláūd-dín was playing a treacherous game. They had learnt of Aláūd-dín's scheme of establishing himself independently in Bengal, but they were averse to apprising the foolish sultan of the true state of affairs for fear of receiving an unjust treatment at his hands. Jalāluddin wrote a very sweet and comforting reply to his nephew granting pardon for his imperfections and repeating his unbounded love for him. He then entrusted the conveyance of the despatch to two of his most confidential and trusted servants Malik 'Imādulmulk and Malik Ziyāuddin. When these two nobles arrived in the camp of 'Aláūd-dín they were stunned to see how their innocent master was being fooled by his seditious and ungrateful nephew. In vain did they try to send a warning to the Sultan for 'Aláūd-dín had put them under strict guard.

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9 Barâni p. 228. 'Aláūd-dín could move only eastward. On the west was the sultan and in the south were a number of powerful Hindu Rajas.

Meanwhile 'rains began to descend from the heavens.' 'Alāūddīn sent another deceitful letter, this time to his brother Almās Beg who held the post of Akhūrbeg at the court. In that he wrote that he had been disobedient and disloyal to the king and was so mortified at his action that he might put an end to his life any moment. He also said that his fears could only be allayed if the Sultan himself came to Karā alone and fetched him to the court. Almās Beg at once handed over the letter to the Sultan, who was overcome with grief at the unnecessary fears of his nephew and son-in-law.11 Jalālūddīn immediately despatched Almās Beg to Karā to comfort 'Alāūddīn and promised to follow him soon. Almās Beg reached Karā in a week's time and on his arrival 'Alāūddīn ordered drums of joy to be beaten.12

Within a short time of ordering Almas Beg to Karā the king started with some of his trusted nobles and a thousand horsemen to meet his nephew. At Damhai13 he took boats for himself and a few of his companions, while Ahmad Chap was ordered to march at the head of the army by land. At a time when rivers were in spate everywhere, and rain poured in torrents, writes Ziyāuddīn, death was "dragging Jalālūddīn by the hair" and taking him to his assassin.14

It was on the 17th of Ramzān 695 (Friday July 20th 1296) that the boats were sighted at Karā. 'Alāūddīn with his treasures and elephants had left Karā, crossed the Ganga for the other side, and had established his headquarters at Manik-

11 Baranī says that 'Alāūddīn and his associates were doing all this to beguile the Sultan. They knew how simple-minded and greedy he was.

12 See last footnote of the Chapter.

13 Damhai is modern Dubhai lying 60 miles south-east of Delhi. It is now in Anūpshahr tehsil, District Bulandshahr. Imperial Gazetteer Vol. XI, p. 341.

14 Baranī p. 231.
pur. Thus he had avoided that part of the Imperial army which was marching by land, and which could not easily cross the river from Kara to Manikpur. As the canopy of the Sultan came in sight 'Ala'uddin sent his brother Almās Beg to persuade Jalāluddin to leave behind even the small retinue accompanying him. Almās Beg took a boat to meet the Sultan and as they met, he used a thousand delusive arts to disarm him completely. He induced Jalāluddin to order the party to stay behind while he himself was rowed across to the other bank. There were only two boats now, carrying the sultan and some of his selected nobles such as Khurram the Vakil-i-dar, Malik Fakhruddin Kūchī, Malik Amaji Akhūrbeg, Malik Jamāluddin (Baranī has Kamāluddin) Abūl Maʿālī, Malik Nasīruddin Kuhrāmī, Malik Ikhtiyāruddin, the deputy Vakil-i-dar and Turmati the ṭashtdar. The traitor Almās made yet another request: "(Your Majesty) may please order that the few nobles and select followers who are sitting in the boats should take off their arms, lest it should happen that when they reach the bank my brother’s eyes may fall upon them and he may get scared." Even this senseless request did not arouse the suspicions of the foolish Sultan, as his love for his nephew as well as the greed for gold had completely blinded him. He ordered the nobles to lay down their arms and they obeyed. When, however, the boats came near the bank

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15 Baranī says that the Sultan took with him some followers and a thousand soldiers when he marched to Kara. At Damhai the army of one thousand was left under Ahmad Chap to march by land. The Sultan travelled by boat with a few followers only, but Baranī says that when he reached Kara he had, besides some of his nobles a thousand soldiers coming by boat. There is some confusion is Baranī’s Tarikh about the number of troops that went to Kara with Sultan Jalāluddin.

16 This list is given in T.M.S. p. 69.

Baranī does not give the names.

17 Baranī p. 230.
Sultan Jalāluddin and his companions could hardly believe their eyes. They saw the forces of ‘Alāūddin arrayed, armed to the teeth. The elephants and horses were in full harness and formations of soldiers were stationed at various places. Jalaluddin’s party clearly saw that Almās Beg had entrapped the Sultan by his winning and plausible tongue. Malik Khurram, the Vakil-i-dar, however, refused to take things passively and asked Almās Bēg how it was that he had made all of them throw down their arms while the forces of ‘Alāūddin were ‘encased’ in armour and seemed to be ready for battle. To this the traitor replied that his brother wanted to accord a royal reception to the Sultan, and that the gorgeous wealth brought from Devagiri would be laid at his feet in all ceremony. To the various questions that were asked by the frightened and nervous nobles and the over-credulous Sultan, Almās Beg gave evasive replies.

The unsophisticated Sultan bent his head over the Qur’ān and continued his journey “as a father goes to his son’s house without any fear or suspicion in his mind.”18 But the nobles clearly saw danger before them and in utter despondency, began to read the Sūrā-i-Yāsin.19 And so the melancholy party proceeded to meet their doom.

At last the bank was reached. To all appearance ‘Alāūddin was happy to receive his uncle. As the boat touched the bank ‘Alāūddin came forward with his nobles and fell at the feet of the Sultan. Jalāluddin raised him up and addressed him in very affectionate terms, “. . . I have brought you up from infancy” the Sultan reminded ‘Alāūddin, so that now you look grown up. Have I brought you up and raised you from post to post only to assassinate you? You have always been to me dearer than my own sons, and are so

18 Baranī p. 253.
19 Sūrā-i-Yāsin is recited at the time of difficulties, distress and death.
even now. The world may change but not my relationship with you, and my love for you cannot grow less.”

Having addressed his nephew thus, Sultan Jalāluddīn took ‘Alāūddīn’s hand in his own and led him towards his boats. Just then Nuṣrat Khan gave the fatal signal. Mahmūd Sālim of Samanah assaulted the Sultan with his sword, but the blow fell short and cut his own hand. Writhing with pain he struck another blow and wounded the old king. Perplexed and pained at the sudden assault the Sultan ran towards his boat crying. “Oh ‘Alā, what hast thou done.” Ikhtiyāruddīn Ḥūd, another hired assassin ran after the Sultan, threw him on the ground, severed his head from the body and brought it to his ungrateful and treacherous nephew. Needless to say that except Malik Fakhruddīn all those who accompanied the sultan were either drowned or put to the sword.

20 Barānī p. 234.
21 Ibid. p. 236.
22 Ferishtah and Niẓāmuddīn Ahmad say that when the Sultan was on his way to Kara, ‘Alāūddīn went to the hermitage of Hazrat Karak a renowned saint of Kara, and paid his respects to him. The hermit raised his head and replied

هر کس که بانو کله جنگ - تن در کشتی سیدر گنه

i.e. anybody who opposes you in your enterprise will die. The prophecy came true shortly afterwards. Shaikh Karak is buried at Kara and his tomb is still held sacred by Musalmans.

Also see Beale: Oriental Biographical Dictionary p. 364.

23 Fakhruddīn Kūchī was raised to the position of Dād-bāgh-i-Hazrat at the accession of ‘Alāūddīn. Barānī p. 248, Ferishtah p. 102.

There is no reason to accept Badaoni’s statement that “Malik Fakhruddīn Kūchī fell into their hands alive and was murdered.” Ranking Vol. I, p. 243.
This heinous crime was committed on 17th Ramzan 696 (Friday, July 20, 1296).  

24 When did the idea of murdering the sultan enter 'Alauddin's mind? It is certain that after his return from Devagiri he never thought of making an attempt on the king's life, although his instructions to Ram Chandra to send tribute to Kara instead of Delhi hint at a contemplated revolt. But his letters to the sultan do betray his fears from an inmical section of the nobility at court. He had, therefore, made full preparations to fly to Bengal in case men like Ahmad Chap could impress upon the king the need for firm action. But when he saw the Sultan coming to Kara "unattended" he decided to murder him, for he told Almas:

ترك عزم لکھنوتی گھیر ماغنی سلطان حلالالدین از طبع
مال و پمل کورو کر گشته و حوش ... خم اهد امد

(Barani p. 230). The author of Ma‘asir-i-Rahimi (p. 320) puts this idea in clearer terms: He writes:

باز بیحاظر اورساند کہ سلطان حلالالدین بطبع اسپ
و فدل، مال جریدہ بیش ما حم اهد امد - کار اور بسزم و
بملک گمر بردا زهم - حم لام کہ لکھنوتی باد رفت

Thus the resolve of murder was an eleventh hour decision. But once the crime was commitel 'Alauddin never regretted having done it. It may be said to his credit that he never justified his action against his uncle as shamelessly as Aurangzeb did against his father. He simply wanted the people to forget it. Barani openly condemns the act; Khusrau does not dilate upon it.
CHAPTER VI
ACCESSION OF 'ALĀUDDIN

"Blood was still dripping from the severed head of the martyrred Sultan," writes Baranī, "when the Imperial canopy was raised upon the head of 'Alāūddin, and he was proclaimed Sultan." While the proclamation of his accession was made by officers riding on elephants, the head of Jalāūddin, like that of an ordinary criminal, was paraded on a spear in the streets of Kaṣa and Manikpur. It was later on sent to Avadh to be exposed there to the public view.1 At Kaṣa 'Alāūddin began to distribute titles and honours among his partisans. He conferred upon his brother Almās Bēg the title of Ulugh Khān, on Malik Hizabrūddin that of Zafar Khan, on Malik Sanjar that of Alp Khan and on Malik Nūṣrat Jalesrī that of Nūṣrat Khān. Nor did he ignore the less important men, and he raised to higher ranks most of the loyal and faithful Maliks and Amīrs. But the young king could not afford to waste much time on these formal proceedings, as the Capital of the empire was still in the hands of the sons of the late Sultan. Consequently, he started feverish preparations to seize Delhi and influential officers were advanced large amounts to enlist fresh troops. For some time rains as also the fear of Arkali Khan's possible advance from Multan, to avenge the murder of his father, deterred 'Alāūddin from marching on to Delhi immediately. He was considerably afraid of Arkali Khan who was known as the "Rustam of the Age" and whose military talents he had seen during the revolt of Malik Chhajju. But when he heard that Arkali Khan was not coming to Delhi his joy knew no bounds. Fully convinced of the worthlessness of the successor of Jalāūddin and his inability to raise a

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1 Baranī pp. 236-37.
fresh army because of the impoverishment of the Delhi treasury, 'Ala'uddin made up his mind to march towards the Capital in the midst of the rainy season.

**Events at Delhi after Jalâluddin's murder.**

Just after the assassination of Jalâluddin, Malik Ahmad had returned to the capital and astounded everybody with the news of the terrible tragedy. There was no time for Malka-i-Jahân to shed tears over the death of the King, for the loss of even a little of it would have meant the passing of the throne to her husband's murderer. She was a woman of ambition, and therefore, even without consulting the nobles, she proclaimed her youngest son Qadr Khan as king with the title of Sultan Ruknuddin Ibrahim. The Queen mother and her son left Kilughari and took up residence in the Kaushak-i-Sabz (the Green Palace). She began to rule in his name, received petitions and issued orders. At Multan, Arkali Khan felt bitterly against the injustice of his mother for setting his claims aside. He had had some dispute with her even in the life time of Jalâluddin, but now he was so much incensed at

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2 Barani has treated Malka-i-Jahân too severely. He calls her the "silliest of the silly" and attributes her choice of the younger son to her ambition to rule in his name. A little reflection, however, would reveal that the problems at the capital after the murder of Jalâl were very knotty indeed. The government could not be carried on for long without a king. Arkali Khan was far away and his arrival from Multan would have taken some time. Malka-i-Jahân as well as some of her nobles knew it well that 'Ala'uddin would spare no time in marching to Delhi if somebody was not proclaimed king instantly.

Moreover, Qadr Khan was an offspring of old age and had been much loved by Jalâluddin and Malka-i-Jahân.

*Baranî* pp. 176-177.


her action that he stayed back at Multan, and did not even come to Delhi to claim the throne. Arkali was brave no doubt, but he was peevish and harsh by temperament, and was not quite beloved of his parents.\footnote{Badaoni.}

It were these developments which had impelled 'Alāūddin to start for Delhi at once. So heavy were the rains that year that "Ganga and Jumna had become vast rivers and every (paltry) stream looked like a Ganga or Jumna." The roads had become impassable through mud and mire. Yet 'Alāūddin struck the tents. He exhorted his officers and nobles to do their best to raise a large army, and not to be mindful in fixing high salaries. In addition, a small minjīq\footnote{Minjīq is a warlike engine, a catapult or a machine to raise weights.} was constructed and at every halt five man of gold coins were hurled from it.\footnote{Baranī p. 243 has هر روز ببکس اختتربزر} This reckless squandering of wealth had the desired effect and people "military and non-military" flocked to him in large numbers. When 'Alāūddin arrived near Badaon his army had swelled to 56,000 horses and 60,000 foot. Here he detached a contingent from the main force, and placing it under Zafar Khan ordered him to march on to Delhi by way of Kol (modern Aligarh), while he himself marched at the head of the main army through Badaon. He had instructed Zafar Khan to march at a rate corresponding to that of his so that the armies might converge on the Capital at the same time.

Soon after 'Alāūddin reached Baran (modern Bulandshahr) where more troopers were enrolled. Nuṣrat Khan addressed a meeting in the open space of the Masjid of the
town and exhorted all high and low to join their standard. 7 He openly declared that a hundred times of what he was squandering would be realised by him if Delhi fell into their hands; and if, perchance they failed in their attempt, it was better that the wealth obtained from Devagiri was disbursed among the people rather than it fell into the hands of their adversaries. 8 The capture of Delhi, however, was not so difficult as 'Alāūddīn had thought. Even while he was halting at Baran, some influential Jalālī nobles like Tajuddīn Kūchī, Amajī Aḵūrbēg, Amīr 'Alī Divānā, ʿUsmān Amīr Aḵūr, Amīr Kālān, 'Umr Surkhā and Hīranmār, who had been sent out to oppose the advancing hosts had changed sides. For this treacherous and shameless conduct each of them had received 20, 30 and even 50 man of gold from 'Alāūddīn, who as a matter of policy displayed extreme generosity on such occasions. The soldiers who had come with these nobles were also given 100 tankāhs each. The renegade barons used to say publicly: "the people of the City certainly find fault with us and declare that we have been guilty of base ingratitude . . . . , but these inconsiderate persons do not perceive that in reality the kingdom of Jalāluddīn came to an end the day he set out from the palace of Kilughari and of his own free will went in hot haste to Kaḥa, and there put his neck and those of his intimate associates in jeopardy. What can we do but join 'Alāūddīn'? 9 The desertion of the veteran Jalālī nobles caused such an irreparable breach in the Delhi camp that the cause of Sultan Ruknuddīn Ibrāhīm was doomed to failure. Of the nobles at Delhi a section had already ceased to sympathise with the Queen mother on account of her injustice in setting aside the claims of Arkāli Khan, while ano-

7 Baranī p. 224.
8 Ibid. p. 224.
9 Ibid pp. 245-46.
ther wavered between allegiance to the sons of the late king and his nephew.

At such a critical moment, when the Jalālī party had completely collapsed, and Malka-i-Jahān saw no chance of success, she sent for Arkali Khan from Multan. "I was wrong in placing your younger brother on the throne," she wrote to him, "while you are still living, for none of the Maliks and Amīrs stand in any awe of him, and most of them have deserted to Sultan 'Alāūddīn, so that sovereignty is passing out of our hands. Make haste, therefore, if you can . . . and mount the throne . . .","10 Arkali Khan lost no time to understand that the situation had become altogether hopeless. Moreover the rancour in his heart against his mother dissuaded him from going to Delhi and taking up a dying cause. He sent an evasive reply: "As the nobles and their retainers have all gone to the enemy, what would be the good of my coming"?

When the intelligence of the final reply of Arkali Khan reached 'Alāūddīn, he ordered the drums of rejoicings to be beaten. Scattering gold and collecting followers he reached the river Jumna where he won over many more nobles of the late sovereign by filling their palms with gold. For some time, 'Alāūddīn's progress was impeded, the river being in spate. But as soon as the flood subsided he crossed the Jumna at the ford of Baghpat,11 and encamped on its bank.12

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10 Barani p. 245.
11 Baghpat is given in Fuller's Ms. Barani's text has Kath. Baghpat lies in north of Delhi on Jumna. It is in Meerut Distt.
12 Barani p. 246 has جویده - در مکرکا جویده which may be read for جویدن in shikast. It has often been mentioned in Persian histories and is correctly written as Jūn in the Tājul Máāsir. Jūn means river Jumna. The gate of the city opening on the river side was known as the Jūn gate and the plain of Jūn was the tract of land lying between the river and the gate of Jūn.
Ruknuddin had little hope of success, still he arrayed his ranks to give battle to his cousin. But just on the eve of the engagement, the left wing of his rickety forces openly deserted to the enemy and his fate was sealed for ever. Finding his own life in jeopardy he left the capital secretly through the Ghaznī Gate with the queen-mother and some well-wishers like Ahmad Chap and Alghū. The wretched plight of the royal family drew sympathy from all high and low and for a few days the people of Delhi felt very unhappy.

'Alāūddin's accession at Delhi.

'Alāūddin entered the capital in triumph on the 22nd Zilhijjah 695 (20th October, 1296). The great nobles of the city, the justices of the peace, the custodians of the keys of the fort and other dignitaries of consequence, came out to wait upon him, 'whereupon the earth assumed a totally different aspect.' The newly crowned king assumed the title of Abul Muqaffar Sultan 'Alāūd-duniya-va-dīn Muḥammad Shāh Khalji. He took up his residence in the Kaushak-i-Lal or the crimson palace where sultan Ghayāshuddin Balban had formerly resided. According to the time honoured custom the khutbah was read and coins struck in 'Alāūddin's name.


15 This date has been given by Amir Khusrau. Khazāin Allahabad University Ms. p. 7., Habib's Trans. p. 7) Barani does not give the exact date but simply says that 'Alāūddin was crowned towards the end of the year 695 A.H. There were two formal accessions of 'Alāūddin. The first was at Kara just after the murder of Jalāuddin on the 16th (Khusrau) or the 17th (Barani) of Ramzan 695 H. and the second at Delhi after 'Alāūddin had completely overcome all opposition.

16 This was built by Balban about the year 1265 A.D.
To commemorate the auspicious occasion liberal gifts were bestowed upon the people at large, and for some time wine and beauty and music and mirth became the order of the day. Pavilions were erected in the bazars and wine, soft drinks and pān were distributed free. The army was given six months’ salary as a reward, the Shaikh and ‘ulama were awarded gratuities, and all high and low partook of the royal bounty. Such a lavish distribution of wealth and unstinted generosity helped the people to forget the assassination of the late king.¹⁷

Like a far-sighted statesman ‘Alāūdīn gained the support of the Jalālī officers by conferring upon them high offices of the state. A coalition ministry of some notables of the old regime and his own favorites nobles was set up. Khvājā Khāṭīr, the well-known Khvājā Jāhān (Prime minister) of Jalālūdīn, was confirmed in his former office. Qāızī Sadr-i-Jāhān Sadrūddīn ‘Arīf was appointed Qāızī-i-Mumālīk (Chief Justice), Malīk ‘Umdatulmulk was appointed Divān-i-Inshā (Secretary of State); and of his sons Ḥamīduddīn and ‘A’īzuddīn, the former was enrolled among the supervisors of the Court, and the latter was appointed Superintendent Correspondence Department. Saiyyād Ajal was allowed to continue as Shaikhul Islam and Khāṭīb, Nuṣrāt Khan Jalesri was appointed Kotvāl of Delhi, while Malīk Fakhruddīn Kūchī was made Dādbēg-i-Ḥāzrat (Judge of the Capital). Malīk Abājī, a nobleman of Sultan Jalāluddīn, was appointed Superintendent of the Royal Stables (Akhūrbēg), and Malīk Hīranmār was given the post of Junior Chamberlain (Naib Bārbak). Hīzabruddīn Zafār khan,¹⁸ who later proved worthy of his honourable charge, was appointed Minister of War (‘Ariz-i-Mumālīk). Malīk ‘Alāulmulk, the uncle of the historian Ziyāuddīn, was appoint-

¹⁸ Badaonī has Badruddīn. Yahya names him Yūsuf and says that he was a sister’s son of ‘Alāūdīn T.M.S. p. 71.
ed governor of Kara, while his father Muy'udumulk was appointed Mayor of Baran. Malik Jêna continued in his old post of Naib Vakî-i-dar.19

India in 1296.

The city and the court wore a happy aspect but the condition of the country at large gave a cause for anxiety. India was then passing through a crisis. In the north-west the Mughals were sending out harassing expeditions every year. Another restive element were the Gakkhars in the Punjab. Multan and Sindh were held by Arkali Khan, who ruled virtually as an independent king. Towards the south-west of Sindh lay the prosperous kingdom of Gujarat ruled by the Baghela Rajputs. Adjacent to Gujarat were situated the various kingdoms of Rajputana, all independent of one another and of the Sultanate of Delhi. No Muslim ruler had been successful in completely defeating or subjugating any of them. On the other hand the existence of states like Chittor and Ranthambhor was an open challenge to the prowess of Delhi Sultanate. In Central India Malwa, Dhâr, Ujjain and the vast tract of Bundelkhand was still out of the pale of Muslim domination and enjoyed perfect independence. The whole tract now comprising Bihar, Bengal and Orrisa was in the hands of Hindu Rajas or independent Muslim kings. In Bengal Nasiruddin Mahmûd, a son of Balban, and after him his successors, had been ruling independently. In the Doáb, the most fertile part of the country, the entire strip of territory from Meerut to Pilibhit together with the sub-montane region of Kamaon in the north, was in the hands of intractable feudal barons, Hindu and Musalman. In the territories of Avadh, Benares and Gorakhpur, the suzerainty of Delhi was not yet fully established. South of the Vindhya mountains, again, Muslim armies had not yet conquered any kingdom. 'Alâûddin had marched into Devagiri but as soon as he had

returned to the north, the Yadavas had by and by recovered their lost prestige and power. The other mighty kingdoms of Warangal, Dvārsamudra, and those ruled by the Cholas, the Chēras and the Pandyas had never heard of a Muslim invader.

Problems before 'Alāūddin.

Such was the state of the country with its problems of unification, administration and defence that the new king was called upon to tackle. The sons of Jalāluddin were still living and could gather formidable strength any moment. Therefore, the foremost problem confronting 'Alāūddin was of overthrowing the surviving scions of the late king. Then there was the task of reconciling a nobility which had been accustomed to plotting against the crown. No less important was the task of defending the frontiers against the Mughal invaders, who had set their heart on the conquest of Hindustan, and on one or two occasions had penetrated as far as Delhi itself. Again, the sultan had to conquer the independent states if he wanted to consolidate his power and perpetuate Muslim rule in the country. One of the chief characteristics of the sultanate period was that with the advent of a new dynasty, the process of conquest had to be repeated once again. Thus Gujarat, Chittor, Ranthambhor, the Deccan and Bengal, all had to be conquered repeatedly. In fact the subjugation of Rajputana is the test by which every king of Delhi should be judged. At the time of 'Alāūddin’s accession, most of northern India and the whole of the Deccan was beyond the sphere of Muslim domination. Therefore, the conquest of the whole of Hindustan was the greatest problem and the highest ambition of the king. On the top of it all was the problem of placing the administration on an efficient and stable footing. The big landlords were a thriving menace. There being little contact between the local administration
and the Central government, because of lack of responsible officers, the local magnates like Khūts and Muqqadams were left to enjoy a large measure of independence. The sultan had to think out ways and means of bringing them under control, and utilising their services to the best interests of the state.
Northern India at the beginning of the XIV Century
CHAPTER VII

MULTAN GUJARAT BENGAL

After fully establishing himself at Delhi, 'Alāūddīn addressed himself to the task of overthrowing the surviving sons of Jalāluddīn. Ruknuddīn Ibrahim had, after leaving Delhi, joined his elder brother Arkali Khan at Multan. There they lived in a state of independence in a far-off province, and could any day become a source of immeasureable danger by claiming the throne. 'Alāūddīn, therefore, determined to put an end to this peril once for all. As he had been crowned only recently he did not consider it wise to march to Multan in person and deputed his two trusted generals Ulugh Khan and Zafar Khan to conduct the campaign. With a strong force of thirty to forty thousand they proceeded to Multan in Muḥarram 696 (November 1296).1 Arriving there, they invested the town at once. Arkali Khan had had the forebodings of the calamity and had made adequate preparations to encounter it, but the Kotvāl of the town in conjunction with other local patricians, unable to bear the hardships of a protracted siege, deserted to the other side only after about a couple of months' investment. Arkali lost all hope of success and importuned Shaikh Ruknuddin of Multan to intervene on his behalf. The Shaikh arranged terms of a truce between the contending parties. He took the princes to the camp of Ulugh Khan, where they were received with dignity. The news of the victory was despatched to Delhi where great rejoicings were held.

The victorious generals left for the Capital accompanied by the two captive princes, their families and nobles. At

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Abuhār² they were met by Nuṣrat Khan who carried express orders of the king about punishments to the various prisoners. Arkali and Ibrahīm, Malik Ahmad Chap and Malik Alghū, son in-law of Jalāluddin, were mercilessly blinded. Their families were separated from them and their goods and slaves seized. Later on Arkali and Ibrahīm, together with the two sons of the former, were handed over to the kotval of Hansi. He put them to death summarily.³ The Malka-i-Jahān, whom ‘Alāūddin considered to be his arch enemy, Malik Ahmad Chap and Malik Alghū were imprisoned by Nuṣrat Khan in his own mansion at Delhi.⁴

Soon after the conquest of Multan Nuṣrat Khan was appointed the Vazīr (1297). He confiscated the lands and property of the nobles of Jalāluddin, and of those Amīrs and Malik who had been lavishly rewarded by ‘Alāūddin in the early days of his accession. He devised such novel methods of extorting money and seizing property, that in a surprisingly short time he was able to deposit a large amount in the Imperial treasury. About the same time ‘Alāūddin sent for his faithful servant and adviser Malik ‘Alāulmulk, uncle of the historian Ziyā Baranī. Alāulmulk arrived at the Court with a large retinue of nobles and Amīrs, and presented to the king all the elephants and treasures which the latter had left with him at Kaṛa. As he was excessively corpulent and was not

² Abuhār is near Hansi. Hansi is now a tehsil in Hisar district. It was an important military centre during the early Muslim period. A large number of inscriptions of ‘Alāūddin have been found here, showing the importance of the town at that time.

T.M.S. p. 71.

Ferishtah p. 102.
Baranī p. 249 is not quite clear on the point.

⁴ The fate of these wretched prisoners is not recorded in history but can easily be surmised.
fit for active service he was detained at Delhi as its Kotvāl while the sief of Kaṇa was entrusted to Nuṣrat Khan, who had of late become very unpopular at Delhi because of his extortionist devices.

The years 1297, 1298 and 1299 also witnessed two invasions of the Mughals first under Kadar and then under Deva and Saldi. They were successfully repelled. The defeat of the Mughals established the authority and augmented the prestige of the new king still further, and he became more and more ruthless. On the advice of his brother Almās Bēg he punished all those Jalālī Amīrs who just for a handful of silver had deserted the cause of their patron and joined his successor. Many of them were deprived of their eye-sight, while others were thrown into prison and their entire property was confiscated. Only three of them viz. Malik Qutbuddin ‘Alvi, Malik Naṣīruddin and Malik Amīr Jamāl Khaljī, who had not accepted the murderer’s gold or deserted to him, escaped this inquisitional maltreatment. All others were exterminated root and branch. Thus the back bone of the old Turkish aristocracy was broken. The Sultan founded his own order of nobility which was absolutely and unreservedly obedient to him. Incidentally he was able to add a crore of rupees to his hoard of wealth.

Having suppressed the so-called refractory element, ‘Alā-ūddin began to think of subjugating the independent parts of the country. After the expedition to Multan he had not been able to send out any major expedition. In 1299 his armies were free to embark on a career of conquest. The fair and opulent kingdom of Gujarāt attracted his immediate attention.

*The Kingdom of Gujarāt.*

The kingdom of Gujarāt was one of the most fertile regions of India in the Middle Ages. In the production of agricultural wealth it stood perhaps next only to the Doab.
In its towns brisk and lively trade flourished under peaceful conditions. Its chief port of Cambay carried on trade and commerce with northern countries like Arabia and Persia. Long before the Muslim conquerors had penetrated into northern India, Arab traders had settled in this region. About the city of Cambay Vaşşāf writes: "Its air is pure, its water clear and the circumjacent country beautiful and charming both in scenery and buildings."\(^5\) Marco Polo, the adventurous Venetian, who visited the country a century before Vaşşāf also speaks of Cambay as a place possessed of immense wealth and riches;\(^6\) and both these are corroborated by Ibn Battūtab who writes at length about its wealthy merchants.

**Early history of Gujarāt.**

The early history of Gujarāt is shrouded in obscurity. The Mauryas are known to have been its first rulers. The Vallabhis ruled it from the fifth to the eighth century A.D.; then came the Chandava dynasty, which was succeeded by the Chalukyas or Solankis. It was in the reign of Bhīm Deva I (1022–64 A.D.) that Mahmud of Ghazna sacked the celebrated temple of Somnath.\(^7\) The next important ruler of Gujarāt was Bhīm Deva II (1178–1242). He defeated Muḥammad Ghaurī in 1178, but could not effectively resist Quṭbuddin Aibak who invaded the kingdom twice, in 1195 and 1197-98. In the later raid Quṭbuddin plundered Anhilvāra (modern Patan and Nahrvala of Muslim historians), the capital, and returned with a large amount of booty.\(^8\)

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7 See M. S. Commissariat: *A History of Gujarat* Vol. I, pp. lviii-lxxv. For the total destruction of Somnath by Mahmūd of Ghazna and the erection of another edifice of the same name see M. Nāẓim: *Life and Times of Mahmūd of Ghazna*.

8 Ḥasan Niẓāmī: *Tajul Maʿāṣir*, Elliot Vol. II.
The last of the Solanki kings died without a male heir, and the kingdom passed into the hands of the Baghelas who were related to the former through matrimony. The Baghela Rajputs ruled for more than half a century (1242-1299), but were constantly troubled by Muslim invaders. It was during the reign of Rai Karan that 'Alaūddin despatched a large force for the conquest of Gujarat.

*Expedition to Gujarat (1299).*

The command of the expedition was entrusted to the two redoubtable generals Ulugh Khan and Nuşrat Khan. Nuşrat marched from Delhi on the 20th of Jamadiul Avval, 698 (24th February, 1299). Ulugh Khan was ordered to march from Sindh, join the force under Nuşrat and converge on Gujarat. Ulugh attacked Jaisalmer during his march, and joined Nuşrat Khan somewhere near Chittor. The joint force marched through the Chittor country, and after crossing river Banas captured the fort of Radosa. This fact is corroborated by Jina Prabha Sūri who says that the then lord of

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9 Muslim historians differ about the date of this expedition. Baranī puts it in the beginning of the third year of 'Alaūddin's reign, which means the early months of 1299. Āmīr Khusrau (Khazāīn, Habib Trs. p. 35) gives the above date. Jina Prabha, the author of Chandra Prabha, who was an eye witness, also gives Ullu (Ulugh) Khan's invasion in Sam. 1356, A.D. 1299 (Ind. Ant. 1897, pp. 194-5). Vaṣṣāf too, has Zilhijjah 698 (August 1299). It is, therefore, certain that the expedition was sent in 1299. Firishtāh and Ḥajīuddābir, who date it in 1297-98 are wrong.

10 *Tarīḥ-i-Mī'ašūmī* p.44, *Firishtāh* p. 102.

11 *Tarīḥ-i-Mī'ašūmī* p. 44., For details see Chapter VIII.

12 This fact has been mentioned in the poem Kanḥad de Prabandh written by one Padmanabh at Jalor in 1455. The subject matter of the poem is the siege of Jalor by 'Alaūddin. The account seems quite trustworthy as the author wrote in a country which had suffered from the invasion and would have surely possessed many sources of information including the traditions current in that part about the raid. The Ms.
Chittakuda (Chittor), Samarsingh, protected the Mevar country by punishing the invaders, meaning obviously that a portion of the Mevar country was unsuccessfully raided by the generals of 'Alāūddīn on their march towards Gujarat.\footnote{Buhler says that Chittor had to pay a fine (or undergo punishment) while Ojha interprets that “Samar Singh the ruler of Chittakuda protected Mevar by punishing him (the invader)”. The passage doubtless is defective and is liable to both the interpretations but Mr. Ojha seems more reasonable as the country was saved (obviously by defeating and driving out the raiders) and the enemy could not ravage it.}{\textit{Ind. Ant.}} 1897 pp. 194-95.

\footnote{Ojha: \textit{Rajpūtānā kā Itiḥās} (Hindi) Vol. II p. 476.}{\textit{T.M.S.} Text p. 76.}

On his arrival in Gujarāt Ulugh Khan pursued the usual course of loot and plunder. The beautiful and opulent city of Anhilvaḍa was thoroughly sacked. Rāja Karan Baghela,\footnote{According to Yahya, Karan had a standing army of 30,000 horse and 80,000 foot.}{\textit{Gujarat and its Literature} pp. 102-105.}

His women and treasures including his chief queen Kamlā Devi fell into the hands of the enemy.\footnote{Tradition attributes the invasion of Gujarat to the curse of the wife of Mādhava, the Prime Minister of Karan. Mādhava had a beautiful wife Rūp Sundarī. Karan fell in love with her and taking advantage of Mādhava’s absence for some time from the capital forcibly seized her. She cursed Karan that as he had separated her from her husband his queen would also be separated from him. Forbes: \textit{Rāsmālā} p. 278.}{\textit{Khayāts} Vol. I, p. 213.}
by Kumārpāla (1143-74), after the first one of the same name had fallen to the iconoclastic zeal of Maḥmūd of Ghazna in 1026. The wealth of this renowned temple was seized, its idol broken and carried to Delhi where it was thrown to be trampled under the feet of the faithful.\(^{16}\) All the contemporary Persian writings as also the Jain account of Chandra Prabha agree on the point that the sack of Gujarat was thorough. Jina mentions that Ulugh Khan and Nuṣrat Khan destroyed hundreds of towns like Asavalī (Asaval, a village near Ahmadabad), Vanmanthali (Vanthali) and Sūrat, and looted a number of monasteries, palaces and temples in Gujarat.\(^{17}\) Baranī

\(^{16}\) "Somnath, known to the Jains as Chandra Prabha, occupies an elevated site on the north-western corner of the city of Patan, on the western coast of the Gujarāt Peninsula overlooking the sea and close to the walls. In its present mutilated state it may be difficult to convey and very distinct or correct idea of Somnath......the whole of the buildings are most elaborately carved and ornamented with figures single and in groups of various dimensions." J.A.S.B. 1843 p. 73.

The Arab geographer Damishqi gives a description of worship in Somnath. The best account of the temple and its wealth in the time Maḥmūd of Ghazna has been given by Ibn Asīr, the author of Kāmilut Tavārikh. The temple, he says, was a place of pilgrimage for the Hindus who congregated in thousands on occasions of eclipse. The shrine was endowed with more than 10,000 villages. The idol was washed with the water of Ganga which was brought all the distance from the north and in the temple were amassed jewels of the most exquisite quality and incalculable value.


\*Kāmilut Tavārikh. Elliot, II, pp. 468-71.\*

After the destruction of the temple by Ulugh Khan in 1299, Chudasena king of Jūnagarh (1270-1333) again restored the edifice as is evidenced by Khegnan's Gīnār inscription.

\*Ind. Ant. Vol. 54, 1925 Suppl. p. 32.\*

Also see "Somnath as noticed by Arab Geographers". *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress, 1943.*

\(^{17}\) *Ind. Ant. 1897 pp. 194-95.*
confirms the ravaging and looting of Nahrvala and the whole of Gujarāt,\textsuperscript{18} while ‘Īśāmī declares that the soldiers, not satisfied with plundering what they could lay their hands upon, dug out and carried away the treasures hidden underground by the Gujarāt people.\textsuperscript{19}

Nūsrat Khan marched with a contingent to plunder the beautiful and wealthy port of Cambay (Kambāyat of the Muslim chronicles). He exacted an immense booty in bullion, jewels and other valuables from the merchants (Khvajās) and other rich men of the city.\textsuperscript{20} It was here that the slave Kāfūr, who later played a prominent part in the Deccan campaigns, was forcibly snatched away from his master who had bought him for a thousand dīnārs.

After thoroughly devastating and spoiling Gujarāt, and then leaving an army of occupation, the victorious general returned towards Delhi.\textsuperscript{21} The booty comprised of Kamlā Devi, the beautiful queen of Rai Kāran, a large number of prisoners of both sexes,\textsuperscript{22} Kāfūr Hazārdinārī, and a large amount of gold, jewels and other valuable articles. Besides, each soldier had plundered sufficient wealth for himself.

**Mutiny of troops near Jalor.**

In the course of the return journey to Delhi the army halted at Sakarne, 9 kos from Jalor\textsuperscript{23} where the one-fifth

\textsuperscript{18} Baranī p. 251.
\textsuperscript{19} Futūḥ p. 243.
\textsuperscript{20} Baranī pp. 251-52.
\textsuperscript{21} Alp Khan was appointed governor of Gujarāt and reigned there from 1300 to about 1314 A.D. when he was recalled to Delhi and killed through the machinations of Malik Kāfūr. The author of the Mīrāt-i-Ahmādī describes in detail the beauty of the Jama‘ Masjid of Alp Khan at Patna.

Also see Beyley: *Local Muhammadan Dynasties, Gujarāt*, p. 38.

\textsuperscript{22} Vāṣṣāf bk. IV, p. 448.
of the loot (Khums) of each soldier was demaded as the share of the state. Dispute arose regarding the surrender of some articles, and various kinds of brutal punishments were inflicted upon the soldiers regardless of position or rank to extort confession from them with regard to their individual gains. If the author of the Tariḳh-i-Mubarak Shahi is to be believed they were put under bellows and made to drink saline water; the use of rods and fists was also not spared. This inhuman treatment whipped a large section of the army, mostly Neo-Muslims, into open revolt. The leaders of the rebels, according to Iṣāmī were Muḥammad Shah Khalbru,23 Yalhaq and Burrāq, and according to Yahya, Iljak, Kasri, Begi, Tamghān, Muḥammad Shah, Timūr Bughā, Shādī Bughā and Qutluq Bughā.26 Their names also indicate that they were all Mughal converts. They had seized a richly share in the plunder of Gujarāt, and apprehending that a large part of it shall have to be surrendered to the central treasury, they had decided to conceal their possessions. The fiendish cruelty of the royal generals gave them the necessary excuse for rebellion. One morning they murdered Malik Aʿizzuddin, Amīr-i-Ḥajib (Secretary) to Ulugh Khan and brother of Nuṣrat Khan. Next, they attacked the camp of Ulugh Khan, but he had gone out for a wash, and escaped a certain death. The soldiers instead killed a nephew (sister’s son) of the Sultan, mistaking him for their prey. Ulugh Khan escaped to the tent of Nuṣrat Khan and the two generals with their unfailing presence of mind ordered drums to be beaten. Loyal soldiers, who had no share in the mutiny, put on their armour under the impression that some neighbour-

24 T.M.S. p. 76,
23 Probably Gabru of the Hammira-Rasau, in which he is called the brother of Muḥammad Shah. Ḥajiuddabīr says that Muḥammad Shah had 3,000 horse under his command. Zafaral Vālī p. 790.
26 T.M.S. p. 76.
Futūḥ p. 244.
ing Hindu ruler was upon them and assembled in front of the tent of Ḍuṣrat Khan. The Mughals were overtaken by consternation and fled. The sagacity of the imperial commanders had saved the situation and the trouble was over within four days. Muhammad Shah and Kahiru sought shelter with Rana Hammira of Ranthambhor, while Yalhaq and Burraq went to Karan,27 the vanquished king of Gujarat then staying in Nandurbar28 as a guest of Ram Deva of Devagiri. The mutiny of the troops had proved abortive; even so it had terrified the royal generals, and they quietly proceeded towards Delhi29 without demanding on the way any more of the one-fifth for the state.

The chief conspirators in the rebellion had escaped, but a different fate awaited their families at Delhi. The moment Ḍūluddīn heard of the outbreak he ordered the wives and children of the mutineers to be seized and imprisoned. But the heartless Vazir Ḍuṣrat, not satisfied with the punishment the Sultan had already inflicted upon these innocent victims, committed other barbarous acts on his arrival at the capital. To avenge the death of his brother he seized the wives of the murderers of A‘izzuddīn, and delivered them to the embraces of the scavengers of Delhi, while their little children were ordered to be cut to pieces in the very presence of their mothers. The barbarities shocked the sentiments of the contemporary chronicler, who asserts that the seizure of “wives and children for the fault of men dates its commencement from this period” and that such punishments have “never been allowed by any code of religion.”30

27 Futūḥ p. 245.
28 Vide chapter VIII.
29 They seem to have marched via Mathura where Ulugh Khan built a mosque. Epig. Indo-Moslemica, 1938, pp. 59-61.
30 Baranī p. 253.
The Year 1299 A.D.

While Ulugh Khan and Nusrat Khan were busy reducing Gujarat, Sultan ‘Ala‘uddin was confronted with a foreign invasion. Saldi a Mughal chief had invaded the north-west and occupied the fort of Sivistan. Zafar Khan was appointed to lead an army against him. The brave warrior defeated the Mughals and sent many of them as prisoners to Delhi. In the meantime Gujarat was conquered. Thus 1299 proved to be a very fortunate year for the Sultan. Multan had been conquered a couple of years back. Saldi, an adventurous Mughal had been defeated and the prosperous kingdom of Gujarat had been annexed. ‘Ala‘uddin’s undertakings all turned out well, one after another, and despatches announcing victories were pouring in from all quarters. Every year two or three sons were born to him... the whole of his state affairs, in short, were satisfactorily managed agreeably to the utmost wish of his heart. In his magazine he beheld vast treasures, ... numerous elephants and 70,000 horses. He also found two or three vast countries firmly bound under his rule, and the idea of any adversary or rival in the kingdom never crossed his mind.’

The Wild Projects of ‘Ala‘uddin.

Intoxicated with all these incentives to pride ‘Ala‘uddin thought of the most extraordinary and fantastic schemes and began to “conceive of impossibilities and absurdities.” One of his plans was to found a new religion, so that like the Prophet his name also might be carried down to posterity. Prophet Muhammad had, the Sultan would argue with his boon companions, four comrades Abu Bakr, ‘Umar, Usmān and ‘Ali, and so had he, four equally brave and loyal generals —Alp Khan, Nusrat Khan, Ulugh Khan and Zafar Khan. He could, with the force of his arms, and those of his daring and

faithful servants, establish a religion which would continue to flourish long after he had passed away from the land of the living.\textsuperscript{32}

Another plan of ‘Alāūddin was to repeat the role of Alexander, and carry his conquests far and wide. As Edward Gibbon aptly remarks “So long as mankind shall continue to bestow more liberal applause on their destroyers than on their benefactors, the thirst for military glory will ever be the vice of the most exalted characters.”\textsuperscript{33}

The praises of Alexander transmitted by a succession of poets and historians have kindled the imagination of many an ambitious prince, and ‘Alāūddin is only one of them. He used to consult his intimate companions on the plan of leaving a viceroy at Delhi to carry out the administration, and himself marching out and bringing to his feet both east and west as the Greek emperor had done. He even caused himself to be styled Sikandar Sānī (Alexander the Second) in his coins as well as in the public prayers.

Although everybody in and outside the court could see that the Sultan talked about these projects out of sheer arrogance and stupidity, yet being afraid of his bad temper they could not but express their approval. Their hypocrisy led the king to imagine that his schemes were simple and prac-

\textsuperscript{32} It is useless to speculate upon the nature of the religion ‘Alāūddin had in mind. Probably the Sultan himself did not think about it beyond his expressions of a wish to introduce a religion. He wanted to do something which would immortalize his name as the Prophet’s had been. Beyond this wish, however, ‘Alāūddin had neither the determination nor the intuition to found a religion. But the people in general were apprehensive of his inordinate ambition, and knowing that he had repeatedly expressed a wish to found a new religion they believed that that new religion must be quite different from the Muhammadan faith, and that its enforcement would entail slaughter of a large number of Musalmans.

\textit{Baraṇi} pp. 262-64.

\textsuperscript{33} Gibbon: \textit{Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire}. 
ticable. In one of the drinking parties, however, in which the Sultan used to elaborate his awry schemes, Malik 'Alā'ulmulk, 'whose bulky person could not take the trouble of visiting the Sultan more than once a month', also happened to be present. In course of conversation he fearlessly told the Sultan that religion was a matter of revelation from God, and could not be founded on the basis of human intellect or wisdom. He argued that world conquerors like Changiz had tried hard to propagate their creed by shedding the blood of Muslims at large, but they had failed to subvert the faith of Islam. Moreover, argued the Kotvāl, if the people heard that the king was thinking of encroaching upon their religious beliefs, they would, one and all, turn away from his allegiance, and tumult and sedition would arise on every side. As to the plans about world conquest 'Alā'ulmulk expressed his admiration at the idea but added that conditions were not so favourable as they had been in the time of Alexander. The kingdom of Delhi did not have such a stable foundation as the Greece of Alexander. Again the Sultan did not have counsellors and intellectuals such as Aristotle, who would manage the affairs of the state during the absence of the sovereign.

The Sultan listened with rapt attention to the peroration of 'Alā'ulmulk. He promised not to talk in future about founding a religion. "But", asked he, "When so much wealth and elephants and horses have come into my hands, if I make no conquests, and subdue no territories, and content myself with the kingdom of Delhi only, of what use will all these resources be to me, and how shall I acquire a reputation for wonderful achievements?"

In answer to this, 'Alā'ulmulk suggested two alternatives. Firstly, there was a vast field for conquest in Hindustan it-

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34 The whole dialogue between 'Alā'uddīn and 'Alā'ulMulk shows the vague and fantastic notions Baranī had about the history of Greece. Baranī pp. 264-71.
self. The strong and independent kingdoms of Ranthambhor, Chittoṛ, Chanderi, Malwa, Dhar, Ujjain and the provinces of Bihar and Bengal,\textsuperscript{35} were still unsubdued in the north, while to the south of the Vindhyas, the field was open for innumerable enterprizes. Secondly, the Sultan could effectively check the inroads of the Mughals by strengthening the strongholds on the north-west and by appointing trustworthy commandants. And when the whole of Hindustan had been conquered and the Mughal menace ended for ever, the Sultan could, if he so wished, embark upon a policy of extra-territorial aggrandisement and send his armies abroad.

The counsellor also brought home to the king’s mind the necessity of refraining from drinking to excess, and from the constant pursuit of field sport. Excessive drinking, said he, caused delay and interruptions in the smooth working of administration, and it produced a very bad effect on the general public, who were surely induced to revolt if the king was negligent. \textquoteright Alāulmulk also suggested that if he could not altogether give up drinking he should take wine in small quantities, but all alone without holding convivial parties.

This bold and candid piece of advice impressed the Sultan; he could now clearly discern the impracticability of his grandiose schemes. \textquoteleft Alāulmulk was generously rewarded with a \textquoteleft garment wrought in gold with pictures of tigers, a woven belt, half man gold, ten thousand tankahs, two caparisoned horses and two villages\textquoteright, and he was raised head and shoulder above the other nobles of the state.\textsuperscript{36} By the irony of circumstance \textquoteleft Alāūddīn received a yet more practical lesson from the invasion of Qutlugh Khvājā, which occurred about the close of the year 1299. This invasion, which was one of the greatest that occurred in \textquoteleft Alāūddīn’s

\textsuperscript{35} The text has ‘from the east bank of the Saru (Sarjū),’ which means practically the whole of Bihar and Bengal.

\textsuperscript{36} Baranī p. 271.
time, would be treated in detail in another chapter, suffice it here to say that the victory of the Sultan over his enemies was as miraculous as it was glorious, and awakened him from his unpracticable dreams. He now determined to finish independent kingdoms by subjugating them and unify the country by giving it a uniform administration.

Hereafter 'Aláūddin embarked upon an unceasing round of conquests. Mightiest thrones tumbled before his troops, and the most powerful Rajas bowed to his authority. From 1300 to 1310 he waged incessant wars in northern India; the most bloody of them, as can well be expected, were fought in the historic land of Rajputana. He also sent a successful expedition of Malwa. But the most humiliating episode of 'Aláūddin's life occurred in Bengal, wither, in all probability, his army met with a crushing defeat.

The Expedition to Warangal via Bengal (1302-3).

The year which witnessed Chittor campaign,37 also saw the despatch of an army to Warangal under the command of Malik Jūna, son of Ghāzi Malik and Malik Jhūjhū, governor of Kara and nephew of Nuṣrat Khan.Choicest troops were placed at the disposal of the commanders and they were ordered

37 Barani (p. 300) puts the invasion of Chittor, the expedition to Warangal and the invasion of the Mughals under Targhi in one and the same year. He also says that 'Aláūddin received the news of Targhi’s invasion while he was on his way back from Chittor. The situation at the capital, therefore, after the king’s return from Chittor was very serious and he could not have thought of sending an expedition “consisting of the choicest troops” at a time when the Mughals were preparing to attack Delhi. In all probability, therefore, the expedition was sent before ‘Aláūddin marched to Chittor and Ferishtah also writes so. Amir Khusrau gives the date of the march to Chittor as Monday the 8th of Jamadi-ul-Akhir 702 (January 26th., 1303). Thus Malik Jūna must certainly have left Delhi about the beginning of 1303 or in the last months of 1302 A.D.

Khazāīn Allahabad University Ms. fol. 30 b.
to take the eastern route via Bengal and Orissa. The sultan as a prince had himself marched into the Deccan peninsula; but he had then taken the Ellichpur route which was shorter than the one via Bengal and Orissa. "For some obscure reason", writes Col. Woolseley Haig, "this expedition marched on warangal, the capital of the Kâkatiya rajas, by the then unexplored eastern route, through Bengal and Orissa." This "obscure reason" becomes manifest when we cast a glance at the contemporary events in Bengal.

The province was passing through a period of turmoil in the year 702 A.H. (1302—03 A.D.). Sultan Nâşiruddin, son of Balban, had ruled in Bengal almost independently with his own khutbah and coinage when his son Kaiqubâd was the sultan of Delhi. The province was not affected by the Khaljî revolution, nor did Jalâluddin, after his accession in 1290 interfere with the affairs of that distant region. Nâşiruddin Maḥmûd either died before 1291, or his son Ruknuddin Kaikaûs assumed kingship even while his father was alive. Col. Haig, however, thinks that Nâşiruddin Maḥmûd died in the year 1291 and "was succeeded by his next surviving son Ruknuddin Kaikaûs, who, though he used the royal title and coined money in his own name owed allegiance to 'Alâûddîn Khaljî of Delhi." Numismatic evidence shows that Ruknuddîn reigned from 691 to 695 A.H. (1292 to 1296 A.D.) as no coins of his bearing a date later than 695 A.D. have been found to exist. Nothing is known about his life or the year of his death, until

38 Baranî pp. 299-300.

Ferishtah p. 111.


40 Thomas:
The "Initial coinage of Bengal." J.A.S.B. 1867, pp. 1-73.


Thomas: Chronicles pp. 148-49.
we find Shamsuddin Firoz establishing himself at Lakhnauti in the year 701 A.H. (1301—2 A.D.). In fact the history of Bengal of this period is shrouded in obscurity and it is difficult to know whether Ruknuddin died in 701 A.H. or was ousted by his brother Shamsuddin Firoz who established himself in Western Bengal. 42 Not much is known even about Shamsuddin except that his coins which range from the year 701 to 722 A.H. (1302 to 1321 A.D.) indicate his possession of Lakhnauti during that period. His coins minted at Sunargaon establish his possession of the eastern provinces of Bengal also. 43 It is significant, however, that Shamsuddin felt strong enough to style himself as "Sultan" as is clearly manifest from his coins. It is quite probable that the outbreak of the various rebellions of Ikat Khan, Haji Maula and ‘Umar and Mangü, as also Sultan ‘Alā‘uddin’s pre-occupation at Ranthambhor, might have induced Firoz to assume independence. This view is supported by an inscription on the Madrasa of Zafar Khan in Hugli District. 44 It is dated 713 A.H. (1313-14 A.D.) and mentions Shamsuddin Abul Muzaffar as the reigning monarch. ‘Alā‘uddin could never have tolerated Bengal to become independent of the Delhi Sultanate. In fact he had an eye on Bengal even before he

42 Thomas: Chronicles p. 193.

43 Many a veteran numismatist like Thomas (J.A.S.B. 1867 p. 45), Lane poole (Catalogue of Indian coins in the British Museum, Muhamm adan states p. 10) and Nelson wright determine the period of Firoz's reign from 702 to 722 A.H. But in a hoard of coins of Bengal kings recently discovered from Kalna, District Burdwan, there are four silver coins of Shamsuddin Firoz struck at Lakhnauti bearing the date 701 distinctly inscribed round the margin.

See Jour. Num. Soc. of India vol. V, Part I, pp. 65-66,

44 This inscription is copied and translated by Blochmann in his "Notes on the Arabic and Persian inscriptions in the Hoo guli District" J.A.S.B. 1870 pp. 280-88. The title on the inscription confirms that Firoz Shah must have been firmly established in western Bengal.
became king. On his return from Devagiri he had despatched Šafar Khan to make preparations for the occupation of Bengal in case he failed in his plans against Jalāluddīn.45 Again, when Šafar Khan's popularity had excited the envy of the Sultan the latter had thought of giving the former a large force and ordering him to seize and govern Bengal.46 Preoccupation with other affairs had left him no time to prosecute his designs. But when Fīroz's conduct became intolerable, he made up his mind to send an army in 1302-3 A.D. Thus the object of the campaign was two-fold—to punish the recalcitrant Fīroz,47 and, if possible, to effect the conquest of Warangal.

No detailed account of the expedition has been given by Ziyāuddīn or Ferishtah. From their narratives it is not even clear if the army ever reached Warangal. Ferishtah, while describing the second expedition to Warangal under Malik Naib Kāfūr, says that on a previous occasion an expedition had been sent to Warangal through Bengal but since it had come back confused and shattered without accomplishing anything, a second expedition was sent to that country under Malik Kāfūr.48 He does not say where the catastrophe befell the

45 Baranā pp. 228-9.
46 Ibid. p. 254, has

او را چند هزار سوار دهد و طرف لکهنوتی فرستد
تا اقلیم لکهنوتی بگیرد و هما نجا باشد

47 In 1302 A.D. when the expedition was sent, Chittor, Jalore, Sevana, Malwa, Bihar and Bengal and so many kingdoms in north India itself were out of the pale of the Muslim government. Why then did 'Alā‘ūddīn think of the conquest of Telingana all at once while most of north India was yet unconquered? Moreover, 'Alā‘ūddīn conquered the Deccan kingdoms from 1308 A.D. onwards, when he had subjected almost the whole of northern India. Thus the expedition of 1302 meant to accomplish the conquest of Warangal was in fact sent to Bengal as will be clear hereafter.

48 Ferishtah p. 118.
imperial army. Barani, however, says that the army reached Arangal (Warangal) but as rains had set in nothing could be accomplished. Barani's meagre information about this expedition may be due to the reason that the unpleasant affairs of Bengal might have been kept secret by 'Alaūddin. As early as in 700-701 A.H. (1300-02 A.D.) the sultan had to face a number of revolts. He was much upset. While at Ranthambhor, he made a secret of the rebellion of Haji Maula. Under such circumstances and in keeping with his habit he should have kept secret any risings or reverses, and hence the silence of Barani. Moreover, Ziyā Barani was ignorant of the local history of Bengal. He all along thought that Bengal was peaceful under the rule of Nāṣiruddin Maḥmūd, son of Balban, throughout the reigns of 'Alaūddin and his successors, until the time of Ghiyāsuddin Tughlaq, who, on his march towards Bengal found Nāṣiruddin in Tirhut and reinstated him. The historian has clearly confused Nāṣiruddin son of Shamsuddin Firoz with his grandfather of the same name. He would thus have us believe that the same Nāṣiruddin ruled for forty three years. Such a contention is untenable against overwhelming numismatical and epigraphical evidence. Had Barani been a little more informed about the contemporary events in Bengal some further information about the expedition, which was, in fact, directed mainly against Bengal and only incidentally against Warangal, would have been given by him.

In short the enterprise failed altogether and Malik Ḫūna and Malik Ḫhūjhu returned with their shattered forces to join the Sultan at the capital, but were stopped in the vicinity of Badaon as Qutluğ Khyājā was investing Delhi. In Bengal Shamsuddin Firoz remained firmly secure as ever and wielded authority until 722 A.H. (1321 A.D.) while Warangal does not seem to have been affected at all by the expedition.

49 Barani p. 300.
F. 7
CHAPTER VIII
JAISALMER AND RANTHAMBHOR

Speedy success in Gujarat whetted 'Alāūddīn's appetite for further conquest. He turned his attention towards the Rajput states, all of which were independent of the sultanate of Delhi. The Rajputs were the flowers of Indian chivalry. If they could be subdued, the prestige of the Imperial arms would be immeasurably enhanced, and in proportion the prospects of future expansion.

Attack on Jaisalmer.

As early as 1299 Rajputana had tasted of the 'Alāī arms. The bardic lore of Rujputana gives two invasions of Jaisalmer by the Khalijīs, the first one in 1286, in the time of Jalāluddin, and the other in 1295 by Sultan of 'Alāūddīn. The unlearned bards to whom the facts about these invasions were known through tales carried down from generation to generation wrongly assign the first invasion to 'Alāūddīn and the second one to Jalāluddīn. This is simple anachronism and no "wilful perversion" of facts as Col. Haig is prone to think. But only on the ground of this mistake it cannot be said that Jaisalmer was never invaded in the time of 'Alāūddīn. True, contemporary Muslim chronicles make no mention of an invasion of Jaisalmer, yet there is positive mention of one in the bardic literature. The first invasion came off in 1286 in

1 Jaisalmer is everywhere encircled by desert. It is an oasis in which wheat, barley and even rice are produced. Tod, vol. III, pp. 1261-62.
2 Nainsī: Khayat (Hindi) vol. II, pp. 298-305.
4 Ibid. p. 532.
which 3,800 Rajputs died on the battle field and 24,000 women perished in the flames. Jaisalmer was occupied by a Muslim garrison, but its occupation did not last longer than a couple of years.

The second invasion of Jaisalmer came off in the time of its Bhatti chief Dūdā who was elected to occupy the throne because, probably, the royal prince had died fighting the Musalmans or had retired to some secluded place. Dūdā ruled for ten years and even extended his raids to Ajmer and carried off the horses of the Sultān from Anāsāgar (lake) where they used to be watered. This outrage provoked another attack upon Jaisalmer and the same tale of woe and misery was repeated. 16,000 women sacrificed themselves in the fire of Jauhar while Dūdā with Tilak Singh and 700 of his clan fell on the field of battle.

The date of ‘Alāūddin’s invasion of Jaisalmer given by the bards is doubtful as ‘Alāūddin had not even ascended the throne in 1295 A.D. But Tarikh-i-M‘āṣūmī, probably the only Persian history which refers to this invasion, mentions that the army of ‘Alāūddin raided Jaisalmer on its way to Gujarat (1299) and the date of M‘āṣūm is quite acceptable in view of the fact that the Rajput bards were not very keen on citing dates and even where they have done they are liable to be incorrect. Mīr M‘āṣūm says:

ازسلطان علالالدین حکمی رسبید که الح خان به تساخیر گکبرات نامزد شده بانصف لشکر سنده از را جیسیمر عازم گکبرات شود جون الح خان بالسکریان به جیسیمر رسیم، ان تعلیم انتخ دموه گفا بر بسیار نقتل رسامین، و دویست سوار در تلخه جیسیمر گذ اشته بدلیگر لشکر با عنکر (؟) گکبرات منعک شد—

5 Also see Indian Historical Quarterly 1935 pp. 150-52.
6 Khayat has Fīroz Shah which means Jalāluddin but in this case obviously ‘Alāūddin is meant.
7 Tarikh-i-M‘āṣūmī Text p. 44.
Conquest of Ranthambhor (1301).

The attack on Jaisalmer was a mere raid as compared to the invasion of Ranthambhor. In fact Ranthambhor was the first state to be selected for the trial of strength with the Rajputs; firstly, because of its proximity to Delhi; secondly, because of the failure of Jalāluddin to capture it; and thirdly, because of its reputed impregnability. Added to these were a handy excuse and a justification. The Mughal rebel Muhammad Shah and his brother Kehbru, the leaders of the mutiny near Jalor, had been given shelter by the Rana of Ranthambhor. Though no contemporary historian gives this fact as a cause for the invasion but circumstantial evidence supported by later writings unmistakably does strengthen the hypothesis.⁹

At the time of 'Alāūddin's invasion Ranthambhor was ruled by the Chauhan prince Hammīr Deva, a direct descendant of the renowned Prithvi Raj. Muslim invaders had repeatedly tried to establish their authority in Ranthambhor but

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⁸ Ranthambhor now lies in the S. E. corner of Jaipur state. It is situated on a rocky plateau 1578 ft. above sea level. According to Amīr Ḵusrau it was situated at a distance of two weeks' march from Delhi and was surrounded by a massive wall 3 kos in circumference.

See Jour. of Indian Art 1915-16 p. 36 footnote.
Deval Rani p. 65.

⁹ Hammīr Kavyās mention Hammīr's giving shelter to Muhammad Shah as the cause of 'Alāūddin's invasion. This is corroborated by Išāmī.

¹⁰ An important record stone found in Kota state chronologically mentions the Chouhans of Ranthambhor—Prithvi Raj, Vagbhata (Bahada), Jaitra Simha and Hammīr. Hammīr is described as having defeated some Arjuna in battle, wrested Malwa and then built a three storied golden palace named Pushpaka, which, it has been suggested, may be identical with the present state palace of Jaipur at Ranthambhor.

without success. It was attacked by Qutbuddin Aibak in 1209, and was captured by Iltutmish in 1226, but it regained its independence soon after. In 1291 Jalaluddin Khalji marched against it but finding the fortress impermeable gave up the idea of capturing it. But Alaudin was made of a different stuff. He ordered his two generals Ulugh Khan, governor of Bayana and Nasarat Khan, governor of Kasa, to invade Ranthambhor with the forces at their command. The joint armies moved towards the Rajput stronghold and on their way captured and plundered Jhain without encountering any resistance. Before arriving in Ranthambhor Ulugh Khan sent a message to the Chouhan prince that his master bore no grudge against the Rai and if the latter either put the fugitives to death or surrendered them to him, the imperial armies would return to Delhi. He further argued that when his suppliants had not proved faithful and loyal to those who had given them life and honour, how could they be expected to behave otherwise towards their new patron? In the end Hammira was asked to be ready for consequences in case he refused to act in accordance with the instructions contained in the letter.

But Hammir was not to be cowed down. He declined to betray his guests into the hands of those who were determined

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11 According to Hammir Kavya (Bid. Ind. Text English preface p. 29) the imperial forces consisted of 80,000 cavalry and a very large infantry.

12 ‘Isami writes that when Ulugh Khan took Jhain it got a new name of “Shahr-i-Nau.” Badaoni corroborates him and says, “It (Jhain) is known under the name of Nau Shahr.” Neither Jhain nor any site bearing its changed name Nau Shahr is traceable on the maps now. A small place “Naigaon”, however, which exactly means Shahr Nau lies at a short distance east of Ranthambhor. This may probably be indentified with the Jhain of Barani.

Futuh p. 261.

13 Futuh. p. 263.
to kill them. He sent word that he did not want to court the sultan’s enmity, but he was not afraid of it either. To the gallant Chouhān the promise of shelter to the Mughal nobles as well as the ancient glory of his house formed the severest justification for accepting the challenge of the Muslim generals.

No sooner did Ulugh Khan receive Rānā Hammīr’s reply than he ordered his army to march to the destination. The army erected their camps in the neighbourhood of the fortress and ordered construction of entrenchments and batteries (Gargach)\(^{14}\) By this time Hammīr Deva had completed his preparations for defence. Yahya estimates that the Rāi had under his command 12,000 cavalry, famous elephants and innumerable footmen.\(^{15}\) According to Amir Khusrau the Raja had about 10,000 fleet-foot horses.\(^{16}\) The Rajputs unceasingly sent forth missiles and projectiles from the fort.\(^{17}\) By chance Nasrat Khan was struck by a missile and died of his injuries within a short time. The Muslim camp went into a mourning at the loss of such an able commander. Upon this the valiant Rajputs, mistaking the silence in the imperial camp as a sign of its having been overtaken by a sense of defeat, relinquished their defensive position, and sallied forth from the fort and

\(^{14}\) Arrada, gargach, minjniq and pashib frequently occur in the description of warfare in the medieval period. The first three are stone throwing machines, although it is difficult to give their exact points of distinction. Pashib was a raised platform constructed by sand other materials to escald the walls of the fort.

\(^{15}\) T.M.S. p. 77.

\(^{16}\) Deval Rani p. 65.

\(^{17}\) Barani (p. 272) has sang-i-maghrabi. In all probability sang-i-maghrabi, or western stone, was some kind of missile used in warfare in ‘Alaūddin’s days. It is difficult to agree with the view that the sang-i-maghrabi were cannon balls as suggested in the Islam Culture, 1938, pp. 405-18.
attacked the besiegers. Ulugh Khan could not withstand the impact of the onslaught and precipitately fell back on Jhain. That Ḍālūddin had underrated the strength of the Rajputs, was clear to everybody. Ulugh Khan duly reported to the sultan the death of Ṣūrat Khan, and the retreat of the army from Ranthambhor. Ḍālūddin now decided to march in person.¹⁰

¹⁰ A number of Hamīr Rāsas depicting the life-story of Rana Hammīr of Rastambhapura (Ranthambhor) have been written from time to time. The earliest Rasa is by the Jain euridite Nyaya Chandra Sūrī (C. 1450 V.S., 1393 A.D.) written at Gwalior. Almost all Rāsas give the same facts about the life of their hero, with a few minor differences here and there. According to these Mahākavyas Rana Hammīr was the son of Jaitra Singh and his queen Hīrī Devī. After giving the prince excellent advice about the business of the government, the old father retired to jungle to live a life of recluse and conferred the government on Hammīr, in Sam. 1330 (1283 A.D.). Rana Hammīr gave shelter to a fugitive Mahīm Shah who had incurred the displeasure of sultan Ḍālūddin because a queen of the sultan, Chimna Begum by name, had bestowed her affections on the Mughal nobleman. (According to Muslim historians Muhhammad Shah had fled from the Muslim camp after the Jalīr mutiny). Sultan Ḍālūddin demanded the surrender of the fugitive but the Rana refused to surrender him. Consequently the Sultan invaded Ranthambhor. At that time Rāna Hammīr was twenty-eight years old.

According to the Mahākavya of Jodhrāj (composed 1828 A.D.) “the fort is very strong and inaccessible........Five large tanks strengthen the defences of the fort........It is guarded by a body of 600 Nāgās, all veteran soldiers. Its supply of provisions and ammunitions is immense.”

In his defence against the forces of Ḍālūddin Hammīr was helped by Rao Randhir, an uncle, and subordinate of the Rāna. Two princes of Chittor, Kanh and Balansi also came to the help of their uncle Hammīr, but Sārij Sah, a merchant of the Sharoji (Bania) sect of Buddhists, promised Ḍālūddin help in the capture of the fort. Sharoji was inimical to the Rajput prince and he made up his mind to avenge the death of his father at the hands of the Rāna.
Attempt on 'Alāūdān's life

Soon after the sultan left Delhi with a large army for Ranthambhor. He halted at Tilpat for some time during which he used to go out hunting. One day when he had gone in a neighbouring village called Badah, he ordered arrangements to be made for big game shooting (nargah). While such preparations were going on the sultan seated himself on a basket chair (morha). All of a sudden he heard some men shouting "Lion, Lion", and a shower of arrows rained on him. Completely confused, he at once got down from the morha with which he shielded himself. Two arrows, however, struck his arm, and the fell down unconscious. This treacherous and cowardly attack had been planned by his nephew Sulaimān Shah, surnamed Ikat Khan, a son of his younger brother Muhammad. Ikat Khan held the post of Vakīl-i-dar. It occurred to him that just as 'Alāūdān had obtained the throne by murdering his uncle, so also could he kill his uncle and occupy the throne. With this intention he had come to the hunting ground with some followers,—most of whom were neo-Muslims,—and had attacked the king. Fortunately, 'Alāūdān was wearing a thick garment stuffed with cotton and the arrows had not struck any vital part of his

Secretly he threw hides into the provisions stored up in the fortress and thus polluted them. Muslim historians also affirm that the fort capitulated on account of scarcity of provisions. According to the Hammīr Kāvyās Rānā Hammīr was not killed on the field of battle but when he began to despair of victory he severed his head with his own hands and offered it to god Mahadeva.


20 It is a plain about 12 miles east of old Delhi and south of Kilughari.

21 Barani p. 273. Nargah was the name of the sport in which an animal was encircled from all sides and then shot at.
body. He had only became unconscious. Ikat Khan arrived on the spot and tried to severe the head of the king. But some of the loyal retainers had guessed everything, and they hedged 'Alāūddīn round from all sides and began to cry loudly that the Sultan was dead. The foolish and inexperienced Ikat, partly because he was unable to dismount and lay hands on the sultan, and partly because he was in a hurry to seize the throne, readily believed the welcome shouts of the paiks. He dashed off towards Tilpat, entered the royal pavilion and seated himself on 'Alāūddin's throne. He proclaimed to the people that he had slain the king, and they readily believed him for they thought that had he not done so, he would hardly have ventured to mount the throne. "A great tumult and uproar consequently arose thoughout the imperial camp, and everything began to turn topsy turvy. The elephants were caparisoned with hauḍās and brought before the royal pavilion; the household servants came out, and every one stood in waiting at his proper post."

Ikat Khan, after giving an audience to the courtiers and men wished to enter the royal haram, but Malik Dīnār, the chief custodian, together with his men barred his way, and insisted on Ikat's bringing the sultan's head before he could be permitted to enter it.

As Sulaimān was pondering over the strange demand of the Malik, "the head of 'Alāūddīn all too soon appeared, set alertly as ever on its shoulders, as the living sultan showed himself to the army on a neighbouring knoll." It had so happened that when 'Alāūddīn had been wounded by the arrows most of his men had fled helter skelter. Only a few of his loyal bodyguards (paiks) had remained with him. When Sulaimān had gallopped off towards Tilpat, the sultan's attendants dressed his wounds and nursed him. Soon did 'Alāūddīn regain consciousness, but the loss of blood had made him extremely weak and nervous. He thought that some in-

22 Barārī p. 974
fluential barons must have lent their support to the young man, otherwise he could not have dared to make such an audacious assault. Consequently, he decided to abandon his camp, and proceed straight to his brother Ulugh Khan at Jhain and consult him on the future course of action. But Malik Ḥamīd-uddīn, who held the post of Amīr-i-Koh (Director of Agriculture) advised the king to proceed to the royal camp immediately. “No sooner will the insignia of royalty become visible to the people and the courtiers”, argued he, “and the safety of your august person become known to them, than will they repair to your threshold—and in the twinkling of a moment the head of the traitor Ikat Khan will be cut off and fixed on the point of a spear. Should the night, however, elapse without it being made known to the people that your majesty is safe, it is probable that some one may join the wretch, and the insurrection become much more formidable than at present.”23 The suggestion appealed to the sultan and he set out for the camp immediately. On the way whosoever from amongst his men saw the sultan alive, at once joined him, so that, by the time he arrived near the encampment he had a following of five to six hundred horse. ‘Alāʿuddīn ascended an eminence and showed himself to the people. All the courtiers forthwith repaired to the royal presence. Finding that all was over for him, Ikat Khan fled towards Afghānpūr. Malik Aʿizzuddīn and Malik Naṣīruddīn Nūr Khan, two prominent nobles were sent in pursuit and overtaking him in the vicinity of Afghānpūr they chopped off his head. The traitor’s head was fastened to a spear-point and was paraded in the camp. It was later sent to Delhi where also it was paraded throughout the city and then finally it was sent to Ulugh Khan at Jhain. Qutlugh Khan a younger brother of the rebel was also beheaded instantly. The sultan, whose rage knew no bounds, put to death all those who had the least

23 Barani p. 275.
knowledge or connection with the revolt, confiscated their property, and sent their wives and children as prisoners in various forts.

The Fort of Ranthambhor besieged.

The trouble of Ikat Khan having ended, 'Alāūddīn arrived at Ranthambhor by forced marches and pitched his camp on the Ran, a hillock facing the one on which stood the great citadel. With the arrival of the sultan the siege was pushed on with full vigour. Leather bags were distributed to the soldiers to bring sand and stone-ballast and fill up the ravine that separated the two hills. But the Rai kept himself fully informed of the strategy of the royalists and foiled all attempts of the enemy to fill the ditch. Moreover fire was constantly kept up from the fort in reply to the fire of the projectiles hurled by the besiegers and vast numbers were killed on both sides.

The Revolt of 'Umar and Mangu.

While the siege was thus dragging on indecisively intelligence reached the sultan of another revolt. Taking advantage of his absence from the capital his two nephews (sister's sons) 'Umar Khan and Mangu Khan, governors of Badaon and Avadh respectively, started an insurrection in Avadh. The exact motive of this rebellion is not known. Very likely, the cruel nature of the Sultan had spurred the disaffected element in the country to rise against him. Add to this the unsettled procedure of succession in those times. Further, the rebellion of Ikat might have given an incentive to the two princes to try their luck as well. The sultan at once deputed some experienced nobles and the trouble was soon got under. The two raw youths were captured and sent to Ranthambhor, where, in the very presence of the sultan, their eyes were

24 Futūḥ p. 265.
25 Barōnī n 277.
sliced "as pieces of melon". Their families and followers were exterminated.

The Insurrection of Ḥājī Maulā.

Following close upon the abortive revolt of 'Umar and Mangu, intelligence arrived in the imperial camp of a serious outbreak in Delhi. This insurrection was one of the numerous attempts of the Ilbarites to regain the sovereignty. The chief conspirator was one Ḥājī,26 a prominent slave of the former Kotvāl of Delhi, Malik Fakhruddin. Ḥājī Maulā was a man of "the most sanguinary, audacious and depraved disposition." At the time of revolt the Ḥājī was the superintendent of the crown lands at Ratol,27 and Tirmizi was the Kotvāl of Delhi. Tirmizi seems to have been of a very harsh and uncompromising nature, and the people of Delhi were utterly disgusted with him. At that time he was engaged in the repair of the Badaon Gate, and to supervise the construction had taken up his residence in a small house close by. Also in those days temporary huts had been pitched in the plain of Sirī where a new fort was under construction and the Kotval of Sirī ‘Alāūd-dīn Ayāz, was staying there. Thus both the kotvāls were busy, one at the Badaon Gate, and the other at Sirī and the sultan was far away in Ranthambhor. At this very time reports of the distress of the soldiery at Ranthambhor were constantly arriving, and it was rumoured that the troops were ever intent on relinquishing their jobs but for fear of the sultan's severe punishments. Considering the moment opportune and fancying that in their distress the people in the camp and at the capital would lend him their support, Ḥājī Maula rose in open rebellion. In the scorching heat of a noon in

26 Ḥājī Maulā was the chief Shahnah of Delhi in the time of Sultan Jalāluddin. Ferishtah p. 107.

27 Ratol or Rataul lies 15 miles north-east of Delhi and is included in the Baghpat Tehsil of Meerut District.
the month of Ramzan 700 (May 1301), when most of the people were taking a siesta, and very few people were passing to and fro in the streets, Haji Maula accompanied by four armed men went to the residence of Tirmizi and called him to come out. He declared that he had been deputed by the sultan to deliver him a message. The kotvāl without suspecting any danger came out of his house, and was instantly beheaded. Everybody present there was quite bewildered when Ḥājī Maulā produced a forged warrant from under his arms, and told the people that he had killed the kotvāl by the order of the king. He then ordered all gates under the charge of Tirmizi to be shut up. The news of the kotvāl’s murder spread like wild-fire, and the townsfolk were so frightened that “the door of every house throughout the city was kept closed.” After disposing off Tirmizi the Ḥājī attempted to kill ‘Alāuddin Ayāz, the kotval of the new fort, under the same pretence of a royal warrant. But Ayāz had come to know of the Ḥājī’s treachery and when he was called by the Ḥājī to come out and listen to a royal command, he refused. At the same time he had the gates of the new fort strongly secured.

Ḥājī Maulā was now all powerful in Delhi. He released all the prisoners of the state, some of whom joined him. To give strength to his cause and to gain fresh supporters, he ransacked the royal treasury and squandered its money among the populace at large. He distributed arms and horses to his followers and “whosoever became his ally had his lap filled with gold.” Nonetheless Ḥājī Maulā’s position was not safe. He was an imposter, a usurper who had no claim to the throne. He, therefore, hunted out a puppet who could play the nominal king, while he himself could enjoy the real power. The choice fell on a Saiyyad named ‘Alvi, who, according to Baranī, was known as a descendant of Shah Najaf, and on his mother’s side was related to Sultan Shamsuddin Iltutmish. This innocent man was forcibly abducted from his residence by the Ḥājī, and placed on the throne. All the
nobles and great men of the capital were compelled to come and pay him homage. The people in general were terribly afraid because ‘Alāuddin’s revenge was implacable. Owing to the dread of the miscreants, the people of Delhi gave up food and sleep, and passed their days and nights in greatest anxiety. ‘Alāūddin had been apprised of the revolt only three days after its outbreak. He had kept the fact secret from everybody, but as a precautionary measure had sent Malik Ḥamīduddin to Delhi. But when the reports of the insurrection and of the accession of a puppet king at Delhi began to pour in, he sent his brother Ulugh Khan to punish the rebels. But before Ulugh Khan arrived in Delhi, the trouble had almost been got under by Malik Ḥamīduddin. Hamīduddin accompanied by his sons and relatives had forced his way into the Ghazni Gate, and entering the city had marched to the Bhandarkel Gate. A short skirmish had ensued between him and the rebels. Ḥājī Maula was defeated, but his power for mischief was not totally destroyed. By chance some followers of Zafar Khan had arrived at the capital from Amroha to present a petition to the court. They joined the royalists. The Ḥājī’s party was utterly destroyed. The gallant Amīr-i-Koh dragged the Ḥājī down from his horse and sat upon his chest. In spite of the constant shower of arrows he did not stir from there until he had done the Ḥājī to death. He then went to the Red Palace, and struck off the head of the worthless ‘Alvī. It was fixed upon a spear, paraded through the streets of Delhi, and then sent to the sultan at Ranthambhor.

Malik Ḥamīduddin then rounded up all the confederates

28 Hamīduddin was present in the royal camp at the time of Ikat Khan’s revolt. He, therefore, surely accompanied the sultan to Ranthambhor. From Ferishtah’s narrative it appears that the Amīr was present in Delhi when the revolt broke out. It appears that Hamīduddin was sent to Delhi either when the revolt of ‘Umar and Mangu broke out or at the very start of the insurrection of Ḥājī Maulā.
of Hāji Maula, from whom he recovered all the money they had received from the traitor, and restored it to the royal exchequer. While this inquisitorial process was going on Ulugh Khan arrived from Ranthambhor, and put to death all the rebel captives "making a torrent of blood to flow." Determined as he was to extirpate the rebels as also to set an example for the people, he put an end to the line of Malikul Umara Fakhruddin, the former kotwal of Delhi. The descendants of the kotwāl had no concern with the revolt; their only fault was that Hāji Maulā had been their man in days gone by.

The Capitulation of Ranthambhor.

The investment of Ranthambhor had proved to be a long drawn out affair. During this while a general like Nuṣrat Khan had perished, attempts on the sultan's life had been made, and the empire had been convulsed with rebellions; and yet 'Alāūddin's determination to take the fort had not faltered in the least. The army was reduced to extreme distress, but not a single soldier dared to desert the camp for fear of the sultan's imposing a fine of three years' pay upon him. While the open country around had altogether been ruined, a spirit of despair had begun to overtake the Imperial troops. Cut off from the capital, the soldiery was certain in its belief that they were destined to perish under the impregnable walls of Ranthambhor. In secret 'Alāūddin would deliberate with his confidential nobles about the causes of the successive revolts and the seriousness of the situation, but outwardly he showed as if nothing of importance had happened, and pressed the siege with great vigour. The soldiers, finding it impossible to fill the whole ravine, concentrated on filling a small portion of the moat with bags filled with sand and stone and succeeded in reaching the outskirts of the fort. But the Hindus kept throwing fire and missles and succeeded in keeping

29 Barani p. 279.
the enemy away from the battlements for two or three weeks more. At last provisions fell short in the fortress and soon famine raged to such an extent that one “grain” of rice could be purchased only for two “grains” of gold. “Man can bear every affliction but that of a starving stomach,” says Amir Khusrau, and the valiant Rajputs could not bear the pangs of hunger. In the imperial camp, on the other hand, gold was distributed freely among the troops to give them fresh incentive to fight. When nothing remained in the fort except hardship, despair and starvation, the heroic act of Jauhar was performed. A blazing fire was lit and the ladies of the Rai, headed by Ranga Devi, the chief queen of Hammir, perished on the pyre. The remnant of the Rajput soldiery, their nobles and king, donned saffron garments and dashed forth to engage the enemy in a last combat. They fought desperately for there was not the least desire to save a single life. The battle raged fiercely and blood flowed on every side. Muhammad Shah and Kehbru, grateful to the last to the Rajput king for his hospitality and sacrifice, fought side by side with their patron. At last the great Rana Hammir fell, fighting gallantly on the field of battle, as yet in the prime of his life. ‘Išāmī asserts that none of the Rai’s family was captured alive.

The gallant fight and death of Rana Hammir has been attributed by some writers to his persistence (Hammir hath); but it must be admitted that Hammir is one of those gallant

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30 Har Bilās Sarda: Hammir. p. 44.

31 A memorial tablet at Gadhala, District Shivapur, also says that the hero of Hammir Mahākāvya was slain in 1301 A.D.


32 Futūḥ. p. 267.

33 Ten beautiful paintings of 19th century depicting the capture of Ranthambhor as described in the Hammir Kāvyas are contained in the Journal of Indian Art, 1915-16.
sons of Rajputana who died fighting the Muslim invader to save the ever-cherished independence of their motherland. Once he had given shelter to Mughal noblemen, he could never betray them into the hand of their enemy. Hammîr fought with sublime courage, and upheld the noble traditions of the chivalrous race to which he belonged.

Ranthambhor had capitulated on Tuesday the 3rd of Zil-qada 700 (July 11, 1301). Its fall had been accelerated by the defection of Ranmal and Ratanpâl, two ministers of Hammîr. Ranmal, who had gone to 'Alâûddin to settle terms on behalf of the Rajputs, agreed to desert the sultan, and obtained a written undertaking from him granting him complete amnesty. Ranmal showed the document to his Rajput friends and some of them together with Ratanpâl left the beleagured garrison for the royal camp. But after 'Alâûddin had captured the fort he punished the faithless Rajputs, Ranmal and others, saying that when they had not proved true to their old patron how could they be expected to be faithful to him. But just the contrary was the treatment he accorded to Mir Muhammad Shah whose wounds he ordered to be dressed. Even in pangs of death, the valiant soldier spurned any offer of attention. He openly insulted the sultan for which he was trampled under the feet of the elephant. But the sultan could never forget the bravery and loyalty of the Mughal noble and gave him decent burial.

The surrender of Ranthambhor witnessed the usual zeal for iconoclasticism and plunder. A number of temples, chief amongst which was the temple of Yahar Deo (Har Deva) were

34 Khazain. Habib trs. p. 41.
35 Zafarul Wali p. 807.
36 Ferishtah, p. 108.
The defection of the ministers has also been mentioned by Chandra Sen Sûrî in the Hammîr Kârya.
F. 8
razed to the ground. Many "temples and houses in the city were destroyed" and "the centre of Kufr became the abode of Islam." The fortress of Ranthambhor together with the territory of Jhain was entrusted to the care of Ulugh Khan and the Sultan returned to Delhi.

Death of Ulugh Khan.

Almās Bég governed Ranthambhor for about six months after which he started for Delhi. On his way to Delhi he suddenly died. 'Īsāmī attributes the death to poisoning and writes that when Ulugh Khan had heard of the almost fatal injuries to the king, during the revolt of Ikat Khan, he had remarked that if the sultan was dead, his brother was alive to fill the vacant throne. 'Alāūddin learnt about it from one of his confidential servants. He grew suspicious about his brother and ordered that the latter should be poisoned.  Ḥajiuddabīr, on the authority of Ḥusām Khan's Tabqāt-i-Bahādur Shahī, also says that Ulugh Khan was poisoned on his way from Ranthambhor to Delhi. Ziyā Barānī says, "Ulugh Khan for four or five months during the sultan's absence, enlisted a large force, to effect an invasion of Telingana and M'abar, but he fell a victim to cruel fate and was over taken by death about the time of his approach to the capital. They brought him dead to the city and buried him in his mansion. The calamity made the sultan very sad. He gave away many charities for the soul of the dead". Thus Barānī not only does not mention poisoning to be the cause of Ulugh Khan's death; his last sentence goes even to prove the king's innocence. But taking into account the vindictive and unpitying temperament of 'Alāūddin, it is not improbable that he may have been instrumental in his brother's death.

37 Khazāīn Allahabad University, Ms. fol. 27 a & b.
38 Futūḥ pp. 272-73.
39 Zafarul Vālī p. 811.
40 Barānī p. 299.
Measures undertaken to ensure Further Conquests.

After his return from Ranthambhor, 'Alāūdīn spent his time in hunting in the suburbs of Delhi. He did not enter the City, perhaps because he had been very much terrified by the various revolts that had recently occurred in the capital. Though contemporary writers do not refer to the fear complex, and attribute the sultan's reluctance to enter the capital to a sense of displeasure and dis-satisfaction on his part towards the inhabitants who had displayed a disloyal behaviour; yet it is clear that 'Alāūdīn assured himself of the security of his life before entering the City where so many efforts to dethrone him had been made in quick succession. Even his predecessor Jalāluddīn had refrained from entering Delhi in the same circumstances. 'Alāūdīn sentenced many prominent men of Delhi to exile, and punished every conspirator who had escaped the cruel justice of Malik Hamīduddīn and Ulugh Khan. The king then set to stamp out the very root of sedition. He confiscated a large number of siefs, prohibited the sale and use of wine, and even restricted the normal intercourse of barons and influential men. All these measures so varied and so severe in their character will be studied in another chapter, suffice it to say here that the regulations had the desired effect, and in future no serious revolt occurred in Delhi. Secure at home, the sultan could once more think of subjugating the independent kingdoms.

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41 Ibid. p. 283.

Firzath p. 269
CHAPTER IX

CONQUEST OF CHITTOṆ

Success at Ranthambhor was an incentive to fresh conquests in Rajputana. As mentioned above, ‘Alāʿuddīn despatched an army towards Bengal and himself started on the conquest of Chittoṅ—the most renowned citadel in Rajasthān.¹

The fortress of Chittoṅ had been built by the Maurya Raja Chitrāṅg or Chitrāṅgad. From the 8th century onward it was the capital of the Guhilās of Mewār. For a short time it was occupied by the Parmārs, when the Parmār Munja of Malwa snatched it from the Guhilās. Thereafter it had a chequered history in which Gujarāt played a prominent part. Ultimately Chittoṅ again passed into the hands of the Guhilā Rajputs and remained with them for a century and a quarter until the year 1303 A.D.—when the terrific assault of ‘Alāʿuddīn Khaljī put an end to its political independence and peaceful life.

Early Muḥammādān Raids.

Rajputana being quite close to Sindh, Muḥammādān invaders frequently descended upon it. Like other fortresses of Rajasthān, Chittoṅ had also repulsed a few raiders before the

¹ "The fortified hill of Chittoṅ is an isolated mass of rock rising steeply from the plain, three miles and a quarter long and some twelve hundred yards wide in the centre. The circumference at the base is more than eight miles and the height nowhere exceeds four or five hundred feet."

V. A. Smith: Akbār the Great Mogal pp. 82-83.

For a picturesque description of the fortress see Tod, Vol. III, pp. 1812 ff.

Also E. Terry: A Voyage to East-India, p. 77.
year 1303. According to the Chāch Nāmah it was subjected to a siege soon after Chāch had ascended the throne of Sindh in 631 A.D. Later in the time of Jaitra Singh (1213-1233 A.D.) Mewār was invaded by Iltutmish some time between 1222 and 1229. But Persian chroniclers are silent about it, though they refer to Iltutmish’s expeditions against Jaihor, Mandor and Ranthambhor. The reason for this omission may be the sultan’s defeat in the campaign, a fact which is repeatedly mentioned in Rajput inscriptions and bardic literature. After Nagod had been ravaged by Iltutmish, Chitṭor became the permanent capital of Mewār. According to Ferishtah Mewār was next invaded by sultan Nośiruddin Mahmūd of Delhi whose rebellious brother had sought refuge there. For eight months the rebel was ruthlessly pursued in the hilly regions. Again, in 1299 Ulugh Khan while on his way to Gujarat tried to attack the Mewār country, but as stated above, he was repulsed. At length in the year 1303 Chitṭor was subjected to one of the greatest seiges in its history.

The Siege

On Monday the 8th of Jamādius Sani 702 (January 28th, 1303)4 ‘Alāūddin marched at the head of large army to conquer Chitṭor. Amīr Khusrau, historian and poet laureate accompanied the sultan on this expedition. He has left a graphic description of the citadel, its siege and final surrender. On his arrival in Chitṭor the sultan pitched his tents between the two rivers Gambheri and Berach, while the troops encircled the whole town, the right and left wings of the army encamping on either side of the fort. The sultan planted his flag on a hillock, known as Chattravardi or Chitṭori on which he held his court and directed the operations of the siege personally.

2 Mr. Ojha deals with this expedition in detail. 
Rajputana ka Itihās, (Hindi) vol. II, pp. 463-68.
3 Ibid. pp. 470-71.
4 Khazāin, Habib Trs. p. 47.
At the time of 'Alāūddin's invasion Rānā Ratan Singh, son of Rānā Samar Singh and grandson of the valiant Jaitra Singh, was the ruler. He had ascended the throne in C. 1301 A.D.⁵ According to Amir Khusrau the Rana of Chittoṛ was the most exalted of all the Hindu rulers, and all the kings of Hindustan acknowledged his superiority.⁶ Describing the awful grandeur of the fortress the poet says that the citadel, which was cut out of a huge rock, was wonderful, and despite the onslaughts of the minjīq, it was not affected in the least. The brave Rajputs, under their gallant leader Ratan Singh offered a heroic resistance for full eight months, but then they gave way. No trustworthy account, contemporary or even later, of the various siege operations, tough battles and stratagems that would surely have occurred during these eight months, is available to us.⁷ The fact that the siege was a prolonged one emphatically proves that the garrison were bent upon defending their fortress to the last man. It is not known if the neighbouring princes came to the rescue of Ratan; but considering the constant rivalries and callous indifference of the kingdoms of Rajputana towards one another, it can easily be

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⁵ In an inscription dated Sam. 1358 (1301 A.D.) found at Chittoṛ and published in the Rajputana Museum Report 1920-21 the name of the ruling prince is given as Rāval Samar Sinha. Thus Ratan Singh, his son, seems to have ascended the throne some time after 1301 and just before 'Alāūddin attacked the kingdom in the early months of 1303 A.D.


⁷ Baranī the chief authority of the period only drops a line about the surrender of Chittoṛ. He says (p. 299)

سلطنان علاد الدين از شهر باز لشکر کشید و درچیتیور رفت
چیتیور دامکصرف کرد و زودترپ حصار را بکشاد و انجا
باز در شهر آمد

Most of the contemporary and even later historians say very little about it. 'Īsāmī and Yahya say something like Baranī and do not give any details.
surmised that the newly crowned king of Chittor had to fight single handed. An inscription dated Sam. 1517 (1460 A.D.) and preserved in the Udaipur Museum, however, mentions Mahārānā Lakṣmī of Sesodia, one of the vassals of Chittor, to have died with his seven sons fighting the Musalmans (under 'Alāūddīn). This alone shows that the battle before Chittor was terrible, a fact corroborated by Muslim historians.

Before the final surrender of the citadel the Rajput ladies of the fortress lighted the fire of Jauhar in a subterranean cavern which still exists, and perished into the devouring flames to save themselves from enslavement or dishonour. Col. Tod gives a picturesque description of the heart rending scene in which a procession of chivalrous Rajput women, headed by the fair Padmini, queen of Ratan Singh, threw themselves into the fire of Jauhar. "The fair Padmini closed the throng," writes the author of the Annals. "which was augmented by whatever of female beauty or youth could be tainted by Tatar lust. They were conveyed to the cavern and the opening closed upon them, leaving them to find security from dishonour in the devouring element."

The frightful rite of Jauhar having been performed the Rajput warriors fought the Muslim invaders desperately. For long all attempts of the invaders to climb the fort by constructing a pashīb met with a failure. But then Chittor capitulated after an open engagement on Monday the 11th of Muḥarram 703 (August 26th, 1303). The heroic resistance of the Rajputs had exasperated the sultan who (just as Akbar did two and a half centuries later) ordered a general massacre of the population. In a single day, says Amīr Khusrau, some

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10 Khazāīn, Habīb Trs. p. 48.
thirty thousand Hindus were "cut down like dry grass." After this inhuman massacre the callous sultan "remained in Chittor for some days" and "committed every act of barbarity and dilapidation which a bigotted zeal could suggest, overthrowing the temples and other monuments of art." Chittor was rechristened Khizrabad after the name of the king's eldest son Khizr Khan to whom the citadel was assigned. A red canopy, usually bestowed upon heir-apparents, a robe embroidered with gold and two standards one black and the other green were given to the prince. Thereafter 'Alauddin quickly returned to capital probably because he had an inkling of a Mughal invasion.

There is some discrepancy in the accounts of historians about the fate of Ratan Singh. Amir khusrau says that life of the Rana was spared by the sultan, and is corroborated by Isami. But this does not seem probable. When 'Alauddin could order a wholesale slaughter of 30,000 Hindus in a single day he would surely not have spared the life of the Hindu King, were he one of the survivors after the heroic defence. According to Nainsi Ratan Singh died fighting sultan 'Alauddin. Tod also writes that the ruling prince (whose name he incorrectly puts as Bhimsi) was killed on the field of battle. It is doubtful that the Rana outlived the capitulation of Chittor as nothing is known about his later life.

The Legend of Rani Padmini

These are in a nutshell the facts about the invasion of Chittor by 'Alauddin Khalji. But a very interesting legend

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11 Ibid. p. 49.
13 Futuh p. 272. gives the name of the Rai of Chittor as Sonarsia (Samar Singh). Probably Isami did not even know of the unfortunate Ratan who had only ascended to be de-throned by 'Alauddin.
14 Khayat (Hindi) vol. I, p. 21.
has grown in this connection. Malik Muhammad Jaisi, a poet of the sixteenth century wrote an epic "Padmavat" in the year 1540 A.D. in which he attributes the invasion of Chittor to Sultan 'Ala'uddin's desire to obtain possession of Padmini, the beautiful queen of the Raja of Chittor. According to Jaisi, Padmini or Padmavati was a princess of Ceylon and Ratan Singh, king of Chittor, having learnt about her beauty from a parrot went to Ceylon in a mendicant's garb to woo her. As he was passionately in love with her he stayed there for twelve long years. At last Ratan Singh succeeded in winning his love and taking her with him came back to Chittor. A mendicant Raghava by name once had a glimpse of Padmini while she was giving him alms and he swooned at the sight of so superb a beauty. Raghava carried the tale of the extraordinary charms of the queen of Mewar to the sultan of Delhi, and 'Ala'uddin enchanted by the description of Padmini sent a message to Ratan Singh asking him to send Padmini to the royal haram. Ratan Singh was greatly incensed at the behaviour of the sultan of Delhi, who in turn laid siege to the fortress of Chittor. But 'Ala'uddin - could not take the fort even after fighting for full eight years. Finding that the fortress was impregnable and the Rana unbending 'Ala'uddin reduced the demand and promised to return to Delhi if he could only have a look at the reflection of the fair Padmini in a mirror. He then returned from the fort and Ratan Singh as an act of courtesy accompanied the sultan up to the gates of the citadel, although his two brave commanders Gora and Badal had warned him about the Turk's vile intentions. As Ratan Singh was leaving the sultan at the gate he was treacherously imprisoned and forcibly carried away to Delhi. The people of Chittor were all aghast at the shameless treachery of the sultan. Soon after a royal order

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16 This is unbelievable. Ratan who successfully fought the Muslims for eight years could never have consented to satisfy such a humiliating and absurd request of 'Ala'uddin.
reached them saying that Ratan Singh could be released only on the condition that Padmini was sent to the royal haram. The Rani who heard about the tortures Ratan Singh was being subjected to at Delhi at once conferred with Gora and Badal and decided to go to Delhi. In 1,600 covered litters were accommodated Padmini and some of the bravest Rajput warriors, all armed to the teeth, and it was given out that Padmini and her companions and maids were going to the royal palace. When this party arrived at Delhi, Padmini asked for a favour from the sultan and it was to have a last interview with her lord Ratan, from whom she was to part for ever. 'Ala‘uddin, overjoyed at his success, readily granted the interview. The palanquins bearing the brave Rajputs entered the place where Ratan Singh was imprisoned. No time was lost in rescuing him and he and the queen took the road to Chittor. On their flight they were escorted by the brave Rajput warriors under Badal, while Gora gallantly opposed the royal forces which the bewildered sultan had sent to intercept the fugitives. In the battle between the royalists and the Rajputs Gora was killed. The engagement gave ample time to Rana Ratan Singh to reach Chittor safely where great rejoicings were held on his arrival. There he heard about the treachery of Devapala of Bhelmar (Kumbhalgarh), who had tried to seduce Padmini from Chittor in his absence. Ratan Singh invaded the kingdom and killed Devapala but he himself was also wounded in the engagement. Shortly after his return to Chittor Ratan died of the wounds he had received while fighting Devapala, and Padmini and another queen Nāgmati performed the rites of Sati. In the meantime the sultan again arrived in Chittor and the standard of Islam was hoisted on the soil.

This story of Malik Muhammad Jaisi in which romance, adventure and tragedy are all beautifully intermixed, very soon gripped the popular mind and here, there and everywhere the story of Padmini was told and retold. The Persian chroniclers who did not very much care to distinguish between fiction and
fact readily accepted it as true history so that after the time of Malik Muhammad Jaisi the Padmini episode is mentioned as a historical fact in many historical works including those of Ferishtah and Hajiuddabir.

Ferishtah writes the account of Chittor at two places. At one place he says that sultan ‘Alâüddin, after a siege of six months conquered the fort of Chittor, and handed it over to Khîzîr Khan, whom he declared as heir-apparent. He does not even mention the name of the prince then ruling at Chittor. At another place, while describing the events of the year 704 H. (1304 A.D.) he writes that Raja Ratan Singh, who had been in imprisonment since the invasion of Chittor, effected his escape in a strange manner. Among the women (Zanân) of Ratan was one Padmini, whose beauty and skill had tempted the sultan to crave for her possession. He told the Rana that if he wished to be released he should deliver Padmini to the sultan. Ratan Singh agreed to the proposal and sent for Padmini but his relations disapproved of the dishonourable proposal and thought of poisoning Padmini to save her and her race from infamy. But a daughter of Ratan Singh who was known for her intelligence and dexterity struck at such a plan that she rescued her father from the sultan’s imprisonment without his stooping to adopt any dishonourable course. Ferishtah then almost reproduces Jaisi’s story of the brave Rajputs going in palanquins and effecting the escape of the Rana. Later on he says that from the day Ratan Singh was safely back in Chittor he began to raid his country occupied by the Musalmans. At last the sultan thought it useless to retain possession of Chittor and ordered Khîzîr Khan to evacuate it. It was then given over to the nephew (sister’s son) of the Rana.17

17 Ferishtah pp. 111, 115.
Another important historian who writes about Padmini is Hajjuddabir. He was a contemporary of Ferishtah. His narrative of Padmini episode is varied and he gives more than one version of the story. He says that after the conquest of Chittor its Hindu Raja was kept under imprisonment in a hilly retreat of Chittor itself and 'Alāūddîn sent him a message from Delhi guaranteeing him liberty if he delivered his wife, who was possessed of certain qualities, to the sultan. Such women, says Hajjuddabir, are called Padmini in Hindustan. Another version, writes the Arabic historian, is that 'Alāūddîn had demanded the surrender of Padmini before leaving Chittor and had promised the Rana's release in return. Thus says he, it is possible that while the sultan was returning to Delhi the Raja may have accompanied him. He may have requested the Sultan to let him stay in the Mewar country so that he might induce his wife to go to his haram and entrust her to the care of whomsoever the sultan ordered, and then himself come to Delhi under protection of the sultan's guards. 'Alāūddîn in the temptation of the woman left him there and himself went to Delhi. The Raja sent secret instructions to his trusted nobles and servants and they, 2,500 in number, arrived in palanquins, fought, and rescued him. Having heard of this 'Alāūddîn bestowed Chittor upon a niece (sister's daughter) of the Rana who was married to the sultan; but she was soon killed by the Raja's minister, whereupon the Hindu Raja come back to his country and established his power there. This state or affairs continued till 941.

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18 Zafrul Vâlî pp. 786-88.

19 Hajî does not here use Padmini as a proper name but as a title of a woman possessed of certain special qualities

20 He does not mention the name of Ratan Singh.
A.H. when Bahādur bin Muḥaffar of Gujarat conquered Chittor.\textsuperscript{21}

Relying on the local traditions of the Rajputs and their bardic literature (of the eighteenth century), Col. Tod repeats the story of Padmini in glowing words.

It is necessary to make a close study of the various narratives of Padmini to find out the truth about the story. Various absurdities and inaccuracies in the epic of Jaisi clearly show that it is not a historical fact. Firstly, it was not possible for Ratan Singh, who had reigned only for one year when ‘Alāʿuddīn’s invasion of Chittor occurred, to go to Ceylon and stay there for twelve years in quest of Padmini. Then the king in Ceylon contemporary to Ratan Singh was Prakaramabahu IV and neither Govardhan of Jaisi nor Hamir Sank of Col. Tod.\textsuperscript{22} Again Jaisi’s epic mentions that war between ‘Alāʿuddīn and Ratan Singh continued to wage for eight years. This statement lacks corroboration in any writing contemporary or later. Jaisi, moreover, gives Padmini as the cause of the invasion of Chittor but Ferishtah and Hajiddabir, who adopt the story, do not give the acquisition of Padmini as an incentive or pretext for the invasion.

The narrative of Ferishtah, who wrote seventy years after Malik Muḥammad Jaisi is also full of discrepancies. In the description of the capitulation of Chittor he does not even mention the name of the ruler of Chittor, obviously because he depended on the contemporary authority of Amīr Khūsrau, who also misses to mention the name. Later on Ferishtah talks of the escape of Ratan Singh by a stratagem, but he was not certain whether Padmini was a daughter or a wife.

\textsuperscript{21} Zafarul Vāli p. 788.

\textsuperscript{22} Ojha: \textit{Rajputana Ka Itihās} Vol. II. p. 461.

\textit{Ind. Ant.} 1930 p. 236.
of Ratan Singh. His description of later events in Chittor is also not trustworthy for sultan 'Alāūddīn was not the man to tolerate an escaped prisoner ravaging his son’s territories, much less ordering Khizr Khan to evacuate Chittor. Ferishtah describes the evacuation of Chittor by Khizr in his narrative of the events of the year 704 H. (1304 A.D.) and says that it was bestowed by the Sultan on a nephew (sister’s son) of Ratan Singh. This date for the evacuation of Chittor is incorrect as other evidence shows that Khizr left Chittor long after the year 1304. Moreover could Ratan Singh bear his nephew occupy the throne of Mewar when he himself had come back to his country successful and alive?

The next writer Ḥajiuddabīr’s account of Padmini is very confusing. The historian himself was in doubt about what he was writing. He never mentions the name of Ratan Singh and refers to Padmini as a woman possessed of certain qualities and not as a particular person. Then he attributes the stratagem of release to the scheming mind of the Rai and not to Padmini’s intelligence. Again, according to him the Rai was not kept imprisoned at Delhi and the historian is not sure whether the demand for Padmini was made before the capitulation of Chittor or after Ratan Singh had become a prisoner in the hands of the sultan. The most surprising fact...

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23 At one place Ferishtah (p. 115) writes

"بسم بادشاہ رسائیبدال کہ درمیان زنان راحہ چھمنو
زدنی ست پدمنی نام"

Which obviously though not literally means that she was one of the wives of Ratan Singh. At many places after this he writes the word ḍan but later on writes that a daughter of the Rai (whose name he does not give)

"دختر را کہ بفهم ، عقل مشهور خویش و تبيہ خرد بود"

thought of the strange plan of the escape of Ratan, went to Delhi, and rescued her father.

"و همین دولت تدبر دختر خوب سبیت از جنگ عقوبت
بارشاہ نجات یانگه"
about Hajjuddabir’s narrative is that he does not mention the name of Khizr Khan, who according to contemporary writers, was appointed to the charge of Chittor after its capitulation.

Thus the stories of Ferishtah, Hajjuddabir and other later Persian historians and the bards of Rajputana, except in certain minor variations, closely resemble one another and seem to have been drawn upon the Padmavat of Jaisi.24 So that while Jaisi had 16,000, Ferishtah has 700 and Hajjuddabir only 500 litters that went to Delhi. Malik Muhammad Jaisi and Ferishtah say that the Rana was imprisoned at Delhi while Hajjuddabir thinks that he never went to Delhi and was left a prisoner under guard in his own kingdom so as to induce Padmuni to go to ‘Alaüddin. According to Jaisi it was the queen Padmuni, according to Ferishtah it was a daughter of Ratan, and according to Hajjuddabir it was the Rana himself who planned the strange stratagem for his escape. Thus except for a few variations the story of Padmuni in all the bardic and historical books resembles in broad details that of Jaisi’s Padmavat. But it is doubtful whether even Jaisi ever meant to write about the life story of a princess of Chittor, while writing the Padmavat. At the end of his book Malik Muhammad writes, “In this narrative Chittor stands for the body, the Raja (Ratan Singh) for the mind, Singhal-dvip (Ceylon) for the heart, Padmuni for wisdom. . . , and sultan ‘Alaüddin for lust (Mâyā).”25

24 Most of the historians later than Ferishtah mention Padmuni episode in their histories. Bahrulamvāj (Bankipore Library Ms.), a general History of India written in the 18th cent. also mentions it.

25तत्थिकांत, मन राजा कीवा । हिम निधन, बुद्धि पदमिनि कीवा ।

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नामवली यह दुनिया-वंचा । वांचा मोह न एहि चितंबंधा ॥
राष्ट्रव सूत सोई संतानू । माया अखाउद्दी मुख्तानू ॥
प्रेम कथा एहि माँिती विचारादं । वृह नेहु जो जूही पारदु ॥
From this remark of Jaisi it becomes clear that he was writing an allegory and not narrating a true historical event. May be that the selection of this particular theme may have been inspired by the tragic Jauhar of Chittor in Jaisi's own times when Bahadur Shah of Gujarat invaded Chittor in the year 1534. But once Jaisi had written the romantic story the Muhammadan historians of India, who not unfrequently copied verbatim from the Persian histories also, adopted this story in extenso. The Padmavat was completed 224 years after the death of 'Alâûddîn and 237 years after the eventful siege of Chittor, and not a single historian or chronicler, Persian or Rajasthani, ever wrote about Padmini before the Padmavat of Jaisi was completed.

But one fact causes some hesitation in rejecting the story altogether. "The Mewar tradition which accepts the story is a very old one, handed down from generation to generation," and if Padmini episode was a mere "literary concoction," why did it gain so wide a currency in Rajputana? The answer to this, however, is not far to seek. Tradition is not a very authentic source of history and it is not easy to say how old the Mewar tradition is, and whether it is really older than the Padmavat of Jaisi. The bardic chronicles were written long after the completion of the Padmavat and even Ferishtah's Tarîkh, and it cannot be said with certainty whether the bards based their accounts of Padmini on oral tradition, or on the Padmavat itself. It is quite probable that Jaisi may have struck at the plot of Padmavat from the "terrible battle" of Chittor as Dickens struck at the plot of "A Tale of Two Cities" from the extra-ordinary times of the French Revolution. As to the wide currency it gained in Rajputana it may be said that once such stories are in the air they are repeated everywhere with added incidents and suggestions. The

Jaisi Granthâvali, Padmâvat p. 341.

26 Dr. Ishwari Prasad, History of Medieval India p. 226.
romantic story of Padmini got so much currency in India that not only Ferishtah and Ḥajiuddabîr but even the great scandal collector Manucci relates its incidents in connection with Akbar's invasion of Chittor, and says that Padmini was the queen of Raja Jaimal who was rescued from royal imprisonment through the stratagem of litters.  

Against these confused and varied accounts is the testimony of the contemporary historians, poets and travellers, Barani, 'Īṣāmî, Amîr Khusrau, Ibn Bâṭûtah, and the authors of Tarikh-i-Muhammadî and Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi, who never allude to the Padmini affair at all. All these historians and chroniclers cannot be accused of deliberately entering into a conspiracy of silence on the Chittor episode. Amîr Khusrau who accompanied the sultan to Chittor has very fearlessly and even exaggeratedly given the details relating to the siege. How can it be said that such an incident as that of Padmini, if it really happened, escaped mention from his pen? The story of Padmini is to be found in Jaisi's Padmavat, in traditional lore, and in those chronicles the accounts of which have borrowed it from the Padmavat and the traditions. Tradition is no doubt a source of history but it is surely the weakest one, and until it is corroborated by contemporary evidence—literary, historical, epigraphical and numismatical—it cannot be accepted as true history. In the case of Padmini the antiquity of the tradition which furnishes the story is not known, while the story itself is a long one. But it cannot be accepted simply because it was so popular and for so long a time. To say that where so much is alleged something must be true is not the historian's job.

Setting aside the traditional narratives of the story the true facts are that Sultan 'Alâūddîn invaded Chittor in the year 1303 and after a hard fight of about eight months captured it. The brave Rajput warriors died fighting the invaders;

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the brave Rajput women perished in the flames of Jauhar. Among those who perished was perhaps a queen of Ratan Singh whose name was Padmini. Except these bare facts all else is a literary concoction and lacks historical support.

Later History of Chittor.

Khizr Khân ruled over Chittor for some years, but not in peace. The valiant Rajputs could hardly bear a foreigner ruling in their land and constantly harassed the royal troops garrisoned at Chittor. At times they grew so daring as to throw the Musalmans down the battlements of the fortress, and it became impossible for the prince and his deputies to stay there. According to Ferishtah the sultan thought it useless to retain Chittor and ordered Khizr Khan to evacuate it. But it can well be imagined that the sultan would not have given up the fortress in such an easy way. In fact, the gallant Rajputs who put an edge on the tooth of a mighty emperor like Akbar two and a half centuries later, rendered impossible the stay of Khizr Khan in Chittor and ‘Alâúddin ordered Khizr Khan to vacate it. Chittor was handed over to Maldeva, brother of Kânhar Deva Chouhân, the Songara chief of Jalor. Maldeva had saved ‘Alâúddin from a fatal accident during the siege of Jalor and as a token of gratitude the sultan bestowed upon him the governorship of Chittor some time between the years 1313 and 1315. Maldeva remained all his life a tributary to the sultan and sent him pre-

28 Ferishtah p. 115.


30 There is some discrepancy in Ferishtah’s statements about the time of Khizr Khan’s evacuation of Chittor. While describing the events of the year 704 A.H. (1304 A.D.) Ferishtah writes, “At length finding it of no use to retain Chittor the sultan ordered prince Khîzr Khan to evacuate it and to make it over to the nephew of the Raja.” But this date
sents, and always joined the imperial standard in the field with 5,000 horse and 10,000 foot.\textsuperscript{31}

The Rajputs, however, were never willing to submit to a puppet of the sultan and created difficulties in the way of Maldeva. Maldeva’s greatest enemy was Hammîr, Rânâ of Sesoda, whose grandfather Lakshman Singh had died with his seven sons including Arsi Singh, father of Hamûir, fighting in the battle of Chittor. After Ajai Singh, the only uncle of Hammîr who had survived the memorable battle, Hammîr became the Rana of Sesoda estate and constantly waged war to obtain Chittor. Maldeva tried to conciliate him. He married his daughter to Hammîr and ceded certain parts of Chittor to him, but the brave Rânâ was determined to regain the whole of Chittor. At last his efforts were crowned with success and after the death of Maldeva in about 1321 A.D. Hammîr became master of the whole of Mewar, and assumed the title of Mahârânâ. In an inscription of Mahârânâ Kumbhâ’s time, dated 1438 A.D.; Hammîr is said to have killed a large number of Musalmans and earned renown.\textsuperscript{32} Hammîr’s descendants have ruled Mewar to the present day.

\textit{is wrong.} An inscription dated the 10th of Žilhijjah 709 (13th of May 1310) in Chittor mentions ‘Alâûddin as the ruler. It reads:—

\begin{quote}
شهر يار جهان محبت شاه - أفتاب زمان و ظلاله
بومطبر سکندر ثانی - شمق مسلم برو جهانباني
مکشردRolو الحکمے موسم قردان - سال بد هفتصد و نه ازهمپران
تاء بند بعید قبلاً عالم - دان ملك شاه بني آدم
\end{quote}

Thus it is certain that Chittor was not evacuated by the imperialists till the year 1310. Ferishtah himself describing the events of the year 1311-12 says that “the Rajputs at Chittor threw the Muhammedan officers over the walls and asserted their independence”, which clearly means that until that year the imperial garrison was present in Chittor and it had not been handed over to Maldeva till then.

\textsuperscript{31} Ferishtah p. 115.
\textsuperscript{32} \textit{J.B.B.A.S.} Vol. XXXIII, p. 50.
CHAPTER X
MALWA SEVANA JALOR

The conquest of Malwa (1305).\(^1\)

The capitulation of the mighty kingdoms of Ranthambhor and Chittor, maintains Amīr Khusrau, opened the eyes of the Rajputs to the irresistibility of the Turkish arms and they all submitted to ‘Alāūddīn without risking a battle. Rai Mahlak Deva of Malwa, however, “forsook the path of loyalty” and prepared to defend his country against the Muslim aggressor.\(^2\)

Muslim arms had penetrated into Malwa long before ‘Alāūddīn invaded it in 1305 A.D. In 1231-32 A.D. Sham-suddin Iltutmish had marched against it, captured the fort of Bhilsa and sacked Ujjain, in the course of which he broke the famous temple of Mahākālī.\(^3\) But this was merely a plundering raid, and as soon as Iltutmish returned to Delhi Raja Dēvapāla continued to rule there as before. A tiny expedition was also led during Jalāluddīn’s reign, but in the time of ‘Alāūddīn it sustained a terrific assault and the kingdom was annexed to the Delhi Empire.

According to Amīr Khusrau\(^4\) Rai Mahlak Deva of Malwa possessed thirty to forty thousand cavalry and an innumer-

\(^1\) This expedition has not been mentioned by Baranī. Khusrau describes it in Khazāin and refers to it in Deval Rani also.

\(^2\) Khazāin. Habib Trs. p. 43.

\(^3\) For details see Ojha: Rajpūtānā kā Itiḥās (Hindi) vol. I pp. 201-203.

\(^4\) Khazāin. Habib Trs. p. 43.

Deval Rani Text p. 67.
able infantry. Más Mahlak’s foster brother and commander-in-chief of the forces was Koka Pradhāna, an accomplished statesman and a brave warrior. Seeing their recalcitrant attitude ‘Alāuddin appointed a select body of 10,000 troops under the able commander ‘Ainul Mulk Multani6 to march against Malwa. On their arrival the royal forces created consternation in the country. In an engagement Koka was killed on the field of battle where “so far as human eye could see, the ground was muddy with blood.” His head was sent to Delhi to be trampled under the feet of the horses below the palace gates. Koka’s death precipitated the flight of Rai Mahlak Deva to Mandu.

‘Ainul Mulk Multānī administered the country well and peace was soon established. A short time after he marched with his forces against Mandu which, according to Khusrau was “the key to the conquest of Deccan.” A contingent of Mahlak Deva, under the command of his son, encountered the invaders but it sustained a defeat and the prince was slain. The fort of Mandu was beleaguered. Meanwhile a traitor from the town pointed out to the Muslim general a private passage and he entered the fort in the darkness of the night. Mahlak Deva and his garrison were taken aback at the sudden appearance of the enemy inside the fortress and in the confused flight that followed the Rānā was killed and the royal army gained mastery of the city, 5th of Jamādī-ul Avval 705 (November 23rd, 1305).8

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5 Yahya, Ferishtah and Hājiuddabīr all say that the Raja had 40,000 horse and 100,000 foot.
6 ‘Ainul Mulk was a master of pen as well as sword. Deval Rani pp. 67-68.
7 Khazāin. Habib Trs. p. 44.
8 Khazāin Habib Trs. p. 46.

The author of T.M.S. gives the date of the conquest of Malwa as 700 A.H. (1300-01 A.D.) but he is incorrect. The contemporary Khusrau gives the above date.
Soon after the fall of Mandu, the cities of Ujjain, Dhārnagri9 and Chanderi were reduced and their chiefs were forced to recognise the suzerainty of the sultanate. ‘Ainulmulk sent a detailed account of his exploits to Delhi where rejoicings were held for full one week and sweets were offered to the public on all the seven days.10 Both Malwa and Mandu were entrusted to the charge of ‘Ainulmulk Multānī as a reward for the brilliant success he had achieved and the eminent services he had rendered.

Capture of Sevānā (1308).11

After the conquest of Malwa ‘Alāūddīn sent his brilliant generals Malik Naib Kāfūr and Nuṣrat Kān to the south and himself seized an opportunity to attack Sevana. Sevana was then in possession of a Parmār Rajput chief Sītal Deva. Sītal Deva had witnessed the mighty citadels of Ranthambhor and Chittoṛ succumb to the onslaughts of the Khaljī warlord, but still he refused to submit to the Delhi sultan. Sītal Deva was a powerful and energetic ruler. He had defeated many Raīs in battle and a number of Rajput Rāvats acknowledged his suzerainty.

An inscription incised on a soft white stone refers to the construction of a mosque during the reign of Muhammad Shah ‘Alāūddīn in the country of Koka (Koka Desa) in 711 A.H. (1311 A.D.). This inscription which belongs presumably to Chanderi shows that Koka was either very popular or a very powerful minister and the country was known by his name and not by that of its ruler Mahlak Deva.

See Indian Historical Quarterly vol. I 1925 pp. 653-56.

9 A portion of the iron pillar now preserved in the museum at Anand High School, Dhār, is believed originally to have been set up at the principal temple in Mandu (perhaps a Vaishnava one), and was broken by ‘Ainulmulk Multānī in his raid of the city in 1305.


10 Ferishtah p. 115.

11 Sevana is a town situated 50 miles to the S. W. of Jodhpur.
The sultan marched on the 13th of Muḥarram 708 (July 2, 1308) to chastise the ruler of Sevana. On arrival there, he began the investment of the fort. The right wing of the royal army was stationed on two sides, east and west, of the battlements; the left wing on the north; and the centre was entrusted to the command of Malik Kamāluddīn “the wolf.” A constant shower of arrows was kept up from the minjīiq but success was not in sight for a long time. The royal forces resorted to many stratagems, but all in vain. The Hindus defended the fort stubbornly, threw fire and stone from the battlements and for months together “breath was choked by the sounds of the Turkī flutes and Hindi bells.” After great difficulty the imperial forces succeeded in escalding the battlements of the citadel. Sītal Deva tried to fly to Jalor, but ran into an ambush and was done to death (23rd Rabiul Awwal 708; November 10, 1308). According to Khusrau, Sītal Deva possessed an elephantine stature, and when his huge head was presented to the sultan all were astonished to see it. The administration of Sevana was entrusted to Kamaluddīn Gurg and ‘Alāūddīn himself returned to Delhi.

Capitulation of Jalor (1311)

Rai Mahlok Deva’s recalcitrance was imitated by the Chouhan Raja of Jalor, and a similar treatment was meted

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12 Alld. Uni. Ms. fol. 34 gives this date. The Ms. of Elliot also had the same date, but Prof. Habīb’s Ms. has 11th of Muḥarram 710 H (1310 A.D.).

Khazāīn Trs. p. 53.


14 Ferishtah incorrectly says that Sītal Deva sent a golden effigy of himself to the sultan and begged for pardon which was granted. Probably, but mistakingly, Ferishtah attributes the story of Ballāl Deva of Deccan to Sītal Deva, who according to Khusrau, ‘Īsāmī and Yaḥya was killed during the capture of Sevana.

15 In ancient times Jalor was known as Jabalipura. In
out to him. Kanhar Deva of Jalore, also known by names of Saligram, Gokalnath and Krishna III, was the son of Söm Singh a dependent of the Solankī Bhīm Deva of Gujarat. After sultan ‘Alāūddīn had consolidated his authority in Marwar Kanhar Deva’s semi-independent status was construed as contumacy and his country was invaded.

Nainsi describes two sieges of Jalore by ‘Alāūddīn. The first occurred at the time of the royal army’s return from Gujarat in 1299 and the second in 1311. As the sultan himself did not lead the forces to Gujarat, the details given by Nainsi about the siege of 1299 may not be quite accepted, as he always refers to the king’s presence there; but Firishtah also mentions two expeditions to Jalore. While describing the events of the year 704 H. (1304 A.D.) Firishtah writes that as the imperial generals Alaf Khan (Alp Khan) and Nuṣrat Khan were returning from the conquest of Malwa they arrived at Jalore and Nahar Deo (Kanhar Deva) taking lesson from the fate of Kōkā offered his submission to the sultan without even a show of resistance. The other invasion according to Firishtah came off in 1308 and was the outcome of a very curious incident. One day while Kanhar was present in the court he heard ‘Alāūddīn say that there was no one among the Hindu Rajas who could dare challenge the might of his arms. The remark pricked Kanhar’s sense of pride and he picked up the guantlet retorting “If I wage a war and do not come out successful, I may be killed.” This effrontery enraged the sultan and he ordered an invasion of Jalore, while Kanhar had already slipped to Jalore to make preparations for war. Hājī

1210 Iltutmish had captured it but after a short time it regained its independence. The fort which crowns a hillock is about one thousand feet high. It is situated about 50 miles south east of Sevana.

17 Reu: Marwar ka Itihās (Hindi) p. 11.
18 Firishtah p. 118.
uddabir almost repeats the same story. The behaviour of Kanhar Deva, however seems very striking. It is really strange that at one time he flies to Delhi to pay homage to the king of his own accord, professes unflinching obedience for four years and then suddenly adopts such an insolent attitude that he puts himself and his subjects in extreme jeopardy. Neither the reasons given by Nainsi nor by Firishtah and Hajjuddabir are convincing. The real cause of the invasion was in all certainty the determination to put an end to the independence of Jalore as was done with the other states of Rajputana.

In short, the army marched towards Jalore in A.D. 1311. The name of the commander of the expedition is not known but he does not seem to have been a brave general. The Rajputs defeated the royalists in a number of engagements

19 Zafarul Vâli pp. 788-89.

20 An interesting, though uncorroborated, reason has been given by Nainsi. He says that a princess of ‘Alâūddin’s haram fell in love with Vikram, son of Kanhar Deva, who was on attendance at the court in place of his father. The sultan and the ladies of the haram first threaten the girl to change her mind, but finding her adamant ‘Alâūddin insisted on Vikram to marry her. The young Rajput could never think of marrying a “Turk” girl and left for Jalore promising to return with a wedding party (bârât) after some time. The sultan suspected a ruse on the part of Vikram and kept a Rajput prince of the house as hostage. As was expected Vikram never returned to marry the girl and the sultan was so much incensed at his treachery that he invaded Jalore.

21 According to Firishtah (p. 118), Gul Bihisht, a concubine of ‘Alâūddin captained the force. She fought valiantly but all of a sudden died of a short illness. Her son Shahin continued the warfare but was killed in an engagement not long after. It seems ridiculous that a concubine was put in command of an army constituted of brave Turkish officers and men, and they willingly served under her. No contemporary historian gives this fact, and the story which appears to be nothing more than a concoction of Firishtah’s imagination, should be summarily rejected.
and the latter beat hasty retreats. It is certain that the battle of Jalor was terrific, and perhaps a prolonged one. According to the Gujarati epic romance *Kanhad de Prabandh*, the contest continued for some years, and the imperialists met with a number of reverses in their first attempts to take Jalor.

The news of the humiliating retreats put the sultan to his mettle and he sent a strong force under the veteran Malik Kamāluddin Gurg. On his arrival in Jalor, Kamāluddin pressed the siege with unabated vigour. At last Gokalnath, his son Vikram Deva and their followers were killed in a close combat and the fortress fell. Maldeva, a brother of Kanha Deva, survived the massacre that followed the fall of Jalor. Later on, he was able to secure the good will of the sultan, who as shown before, appointed him to take charge of Chittor from Khiẓr Khan.

Nainsi’s date (Sam. 1368, 1311-12 A.D.) of the fall of Jalor is in conflict with that of Ferishtah (708 H., 1308 A.D.). In 1308 the conquest Sevana was undertaken and a large army was sent to the Deccan also. It is, therefore, very probable that Jalor was attacked at a later date. Again Nainsi’s date finds corroboration in the *Tīrtha Kalpa* of Jaina Prabha Sūri who says that in Sam. 1367, 1310 A.D. ‘Alāūddin destroyed the temple of Mahāvīra at Sanchor, a place near Jalor. The desecration of this temple must have been a part of the larger enterprise, namely the invasion of Jalor. Mr. Reu also concludes that Jalor capitulated in 1311 A.D. To commemorate this victory ‘Alāūddin had a mosque erected in the famous fort of Songir at Jalor which is still in existence.

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25 The building now known as Topkānā was originally a mosque said to have been built by ‘Alāūddin.
After some time the Rajputs recovered their sway over Jalar and it continued till nearly the end of the 14th century.

With the capitulation of Jalor almost all the leading states of Rajputana had been subdued one after another. Jaisalmer, Ranthambhor, Chittor, Sevana and Jalor, and the kingdoms adjoining them—Bundī, Mandore and Tonk had all been invaded. Jodhpur (Marwār) also appears to be under the Sultanate. Although there is no specific mention of its capture by 'Alāūddin, yet in an inscription at Pandua (in Jodhpur), dated Sam. 1358 (A.D. 1301), Alavadi ('Alāūddin) of Joginipura (Delhi) is mentioned as the ruling king.

Thus by the end of the first decade of the 13th century, the whole of Rajputana, the glorious land of Indian chivalry, lay bare at the feet of the emperor of Delhi. But complete subjugation of Rajputana was impossible, and 'Alāūddin's success there was of a dubious nature.

The Character of Rajputana Campaigns and the Causes of Rajput defeat.

Ever since the sultan had embarked upon the conquest of Ranthambhor in 1300, till the fall of Jalor in 1311, his armies had constantly fought in Rajasthan. It was below the dignity of the sultan to recall his forces once the siege of a fortress had been begun, and the valour of the Rajputs could not brook the insult of giving way to the enemy. The result was that bloody battles were fought before each and every fortress. To enumerate the various wars in Rajputana, then, is to repeat the horrors of blood and slaughter, of gallant fight, of glorious martyrdom. Sometimes before a single citadel the contest prolonged for years, and ended in a general

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massacre of its population accompanied by the gruesome destruction of the womenfolk in the fire of Jauhar.

Unluckily the Rajputs who spurned life without freedom, possessed valour without the spirit of union. Individual fortresses offered stubborn resistance, but singly none of them was a match against the sultanate of Delhi. Had even two or three Rajput princes combined against the sultan, they would surely have succeeded in defeating him. But secure in their mountain fortresses, each one of them was content to mind his own affairs and exult in his own pride, while 'Alāūddīn raid-ed and subdued one kingdom after another. The case of Sevana and Jalor is a glaring example of the callous indifference of the Rajput chieftains towards one another. While the fall of Sevana was imminent the ruler of Jalor, living only about fifty miles from there, was unmoved, with the result that after a couple of years Jalor was also taken in another assault.

Another reason of the Rajput defeat was their forts. They were generally contracted on the top of some hillock and were designed to protect women, children and cattle when the brave defenders sallied out to encounter a sudden invasion. And although it was difficult for the invaders to ascend step by step the steep cliffs of the hillock, yet the citadel, when subjected to a siege, was always rendered separate and secluded from the plains below. Thus the corns and revenues of outlying districts automatically fell into the hands of the enemy. During investment not all the people of the vicinity escaped in time to seek shelter inside the citadel; a large number of them were left on the plains below. Their distress though made them hate the enemy, did in no way dispose them loyally towards their rulers inside the Citadel.

The conditions inside the fortress, again, were not very satisfactory. During an investment the crowd far exceeded the number of the normal inhabitants, and there were no special arrangements for extra provisions and vegetables.
The enemy lying at the base of the hill on which the fort stood, could easily cut off the convoy, and it was always the dearth of provisions that rendered defence impossible. The mighty fortresses of Ranthambhor, Chittor and Jalor—all surrendered to famine. Again, medieval conditions of sanitation were no preventive against outbreak of epidemics. To add to this, caste considerations and orthodoxy reigned supreme. The enemy was alive to these weaknesses of the Hindus and took full advantage. The instance of Ranthambhor is worth repeating. Through the services of some traitor, hides were thrown inside the grain cellars, provisions were thereby rendered "desecrate" and the fortress surrendered.

The Rajputs were still steeped in their age long traditions of warfare and had little opportunities of developing their military strategy. They had little or no connections with Central Asian countries and were quite ignorant of the revolutionary changes the Mongols had introduced in the art of warfare. Every now and then the sultans of Delhi had to fight the Mongol invaders and were quite conversant with their tactics of ambuscade, camouflage and feigning retreats. They possessed engines of war like arrada, gargasch and minjnîq. The Rajput fought with huge elephants, in open engagements. Their government was based on feudal principles and fixed quotas of soldiers were provided by the various dependencies in times of war. During an investment such reinforcements could not always arrive because of enemy activity and the beleagured had to fight single handed.

Moreover, the resources of a Rajput Raja were limited. His country was barren; there was dearth of crops and of water. His only fortune was the hilly nature of the country. How could the Rajput princes then succeed against the sultans of Delhi who possessed the Punjab and Avadh, the most fertile regions of the country, and who could depend upon an unlimited supply of provisions and reinforcements?
Then, the Rajput only knew how to die. To him death on the field of battle was the greatest bliss, the greatest honour. Chivalry was crammed into his very marrow; he hated trick and treachery. As to the Turk, bravery was his first, trickery his second, nature. To him death was the greatest misfortune. He wanted to live in this world and enjoy the fruits of victory. So victory he must have, whatever the means he adopted to obtain it. Thus, while the Rajput flung himself into the battle, the Turk moved after calculating the enterprise. The Rajput fought desperately, the Muslim diplomatically. Diplomacy with the Rajputs was zero, with the Muslims it was the very secret of their success.

But the success of the Sultan in Rajputana was short lived. The Rajputs who had a country to love and an honour to maintain never gave way to ‘Alāūdīn’s governors. If the day was irrecoverably lost they well knew how to deliver themselves and their families from the insulting invader, and as soon as the deluge of the invasion had ebbed they reclaimed their territories. The result was that ‘Alāūdīn’s hold over Rajputana was precarious. The occupation of Ranthambhor after Ulugh Khan left it not more than six months after its capture, is uncertain. Khizr Khan had to vacate Chittoṛ in ‘Alāūdīn’s life time. Bardic literature enumerates continual struggles between the Muslims and the Rajputs. Obviously Rajputana had not completely submitted, and one or the other kingdom in that land of born warriors was always successfully defying the authority of the Sultanate of Delhi.

Achievements of ‘Alāūdīn in North India.

But the adventurer who had raided Devagiri just for possessing gold and silver and had murdered his uncle to wear the imperial diadem, was something more than a vile robber or murderer. He had shown his true mettle in Rajputana where he had fought in the sandy deserts of Jaisalmer and the rocky land of Chittoṛ and Ranthambhor, not simply to conquer, nor
only to exhibit the prowess of his arms, but to unify the country under his suzerainty. No greed of gain had hunted him there. With the fall of Jalor not only the whole of Rajputana but the whole of north India had passed into the hands of the sultan of Delhi. In the north-west his armies had marched into Ghazni\(^{28}\) and in the north-east his power had been felt in the far-off land of Nepal.\(^ {29}\) From a petty sultan of Delhi ‘Alāūddīn had become the emperor of Hindustan by dint of his merit and the burning zeal of his heart. His far-flung dominions were ruled by provincial governors or muqta‘s appointed by him, and all of them served him loyally and obediently.

Side by side the conquest of north India, ‘Alāūddīn embarked upon the conquest of the southern peninsula. There his armies were constantly engaged from 1308 to 1312. The hero of these campaigns was not the emperor himself but his favourite general Malik Kāfūr, who marched out from Delhi and pulled down all the kingdoms of the south one after another. But before making a study of the campaigns into the south, it is necessary to know in detail about the Mughal invasions to India which have been briefly referred to at many places in the preceding chapters.

\(^{28}\) Vide Chapter XI.
\(^{29}\) Vide Appendix A.
CHAPTER XI

THE MUGHAL INVASIONS

The military enterprises of 'Alā’uddīn were frequently interrupted by the invasions of the Mughal marauders from the north west. From times immemorial a race of barbarians had inhabited the secluded and wild region north of Gobi desert in China. In the 12th century it produced a "scourge of God". And within a couple of centuries after the birth of Changiz Khan\(^1\) the Mughals or Mongols\(^2\) became so irresistible and invincible that their very name inspired terror in the east and the west alike. Like a huge inundation their innumerable hosts spread from their mountain home in central Asia\(^3\) towards Russia, Turkey, Persia, Afghanistan, and India. Gibbon compares their rapid conquest "with primitive convulsions of nature, which have agitated and altered the surface of the globe".\(^4\) Powerful empires or petty states, all ended in smoke before these free-booters. Strong and cultured monarchies as the Khvarizm Shahī of Turkestan and the Caliphate of

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\(^1\) Changiz Khan was born in 1154 A.D. at Dilum Boldak near the river Oman.

\(^2\) The word Mongol is derived from "Mong" meaning brave and courageous. Mughal is used by Muslim historians, while Mongol and Tartar are used by European writers. "It denoted, in the first place a group of tribes or nations who composed the armies of the northern invaders, with little or no reference to their racial origin; and secondly, at the time of Babar, it was regarded as something scarcely better than a term of contempt." (Intro. Tarikh-i-Rashidi Elias and Ross, pp. 88-89.

\(^3\) For a graphic description of Changiz's atrocities in Central Asian towns see Vambery: History of Bokhara pp. 119-139.

\(^4\) Gibbon: Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, Modern Lib. vol. II, p. 1201.
the Abassides were put to an end, the last Caliph Almustāsām Billāh being pounded to death.⁵ "No invasion in historical times can compare in its accumulated horrors or in its far-reaching consequence with that of the Mughals."⁶ They annihilated populations and destroyed civilization.

In the early days of their history the Mughals⁷ lived a miserable nomadic life, breeding cattle and horses, and stood very low in the scale of civilization. The contemporary writings of Ibnul Asīr, Juveni, Rashīduddin as well as Carpini and Rubruquis specify the Mughals as possessed of "yellow skin, high cheek bones, a flat, broad face, black wary hair and slanting eyes......small chin, broad fleshy lips, sparkling eyes......big ears and round skull."⁸ The climate of their country had made their skins sunburnt and yellow.⁹ They were essentially a dirty race, their filthiness being abominable. The men rarely bathed, the women never, and consequently the most common disease among the Mughals was scabies. They ate all kinds of flesh not excepting human.¹⁰ The mongol was a mixture of extraordinary contradictions. He was exceptionally dull when allowed to be so, but could bear excessive hardship when he was

⁵ The gallant resistance of Muhammad of Khvorism and his son Jalāluddin even extracted the admiration of their bitterest enemy Changiz.


⁹ Amīr Khusrau, who once fell a prisoner into their hands, gives a very striking description of the Mongols.

*Cīrānus S'adāīn*, Persian Text, pp. 93-95.


¹⁰ Vincent of Beavois says that the Mughals were accustomed to eat their bitterest enemies, and to suck their blood. (*Yule: Ser Marco Polo*, Vol. I, p. 30).
required to exert. A great glutton when edibles were procurable, he could go on without food for days together.\textsuperscript{11} He was possessed of enormous endurance and could ride for forty hours at a stretch, but otherwise he loved to be inert. The women worked hard and possessed a fairly good position in society.\textsuperscript{12} They performed household duties, went with men for hunting and even took up arms in the field of battle.\textsuperscript{13} The main occupation of the Mughals, which accounted for their vigour and virility were sport, military exercise and actual fighting.

It was Changiz, "the Great" and "the Accursed", who turned the indolent and uncivilized Mughals into a fighting nation. He trained his troops under a discipline of "Draconian severity" and within the span of a century the Mughals ruled both in Asia and in Europe. Besides, Changiz Khan gave the Mughals a code of law known as Yasak and a number of maxims known as Bilik. The Yasak was applied with unflinching severity and within the lifetime of Changiz Khan many of the flagrant evils among the

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Carpini writes that in one of the Mongol sieges in China when the army was without food, one man in ten of their own force was sacrificed to feed the rest (Howorth, Pt. IV, p. 53). He gives a horrid account of the dirty feeding of the Mughals. He says that they ate dogs, wolves, foxes, rats and horses.

\textsuperscript{11} Carpini, who had occasion to live among the Mughals, suffered continuously from pangs of hunger and was amazed at their frugality.


\textsuperscript{12} Female morality among the Mughals was very low. Kidnapping was common. Motherhood, however, was respected and the chief wife carried on the entire management of the household.

\textsuperscript{13} Howorth \textit{History of the Mongols} Pt. IV, p. 44. Indian historians also speak of women and children accompanying the Mughal raiders into India, but they are nowhere mentioned to have taken part in the warfare.
Mughals—murder, robbery and adultery—became quite rare.\(^\text{14}\) In short this great conqueror and law-giver exploited the qualities of valour and perseverance of the quiescent Mughals\(^\text{15}\) and transformed them into the most distinguished warriors of the world.

Thuswise Chingiz Khan made a nation out of dust. He gave the Mughals a huge empire and large armies well disciplined and trained in the art of warfare. In fact he overhauled and organized all spheres of social as well as military life of the Mughals. He divided the inhabitants of a locality by the number of their tents; towns and cities among the early Mughals being unknown. A collection of ten tents was called aouls, that of ten aouls was called ulus or otaks and that of these ten obog or clan. This order in social life was also preserved for military organisation. From one single individual to a division of ten thousand horsemen all were kept under strict control and supervision. The smallest unit of the Mughal army consisting of ten horsemen (or fard) was called urban. Ten urbans made a doh or a division of one hundred. Ten dohs formed a minjan and ten minjans a tuman—a division of 10,000 horses, so often alluded to by Persian historians. On each of these units were appointed officers; a tuman in the early days of Mughal conquest was commanded by a prince of the royal blood.\(^\text{16}\) The Mughal military organization was

\(^{14}\) Prawdin: *The Mongol Empire*, p. 90.

\(^{15}\) Changiz Khan used to say: “Man’s greatest pleasure is to defeat his enemies, to drive them before him, to take from them which they possess, to see those whom they cherished in tears, to ride their horses, to hold their wives and daughters in his arms.” Juveni, Translation in Vladimirov. *The life Changiz Khan*, p. 160.

This betrays the true spirit of nomad war-lord and shows how gladly the nomad barbarians would have listened to such sermons and flocked to his standard.

\(^{16}\) Also see Petis de la Croix: *The History of Changiz Khan the Great*, pp. 81-2.
based essentially on cavalry, the greatest wealth of the Mughal being a horse; and horse stealing among them was considered to be the highest crime punishable by death. The equipment of a Mughal warrior consisted of a javelin; a hook, to pull the enemy from off his horse; bow and arrows; and a sword. The Mughal was a born fighter; the environment as well as tradition made up for his deficiency if there was any. From the very early days of Changiz, brothers and cousins and friends fought side by side, and a defeat even in a sham fight was considered to be a disgrace. The exercises were actual fighting except for the profusion of blood.

Mobility was a great quality of the Mughal army. As the Mughals had hardly anything that did not decay, their armies were not burdensome. Their equipage consisted of bare essentials and they carried no paraphernalia with them. They carried their felt tents—"all grimy and greasy, and ready at any moment to be taken down by the women of the tribe... Of forts, walls, or streets there could have been no sign." A modern authority on Mughal strategy aptly remarks that the Mughals had "grasped the essentials of strategy, while their tactical mechanism was so perfect that a high conception of tactics was unnecessary." Therefore, when Baranī says that the Mughals, who came prepared for big battles sometimes vanished in one night, there is nothing surprising. The mobility of the Mughal army was proverbial. Both in their attack and their retreat they baffled their adversaries more by their movements than by their fighting power. It was dangerous to give them chase for as they fled they shot back over their heads and did much persecution upon their

Thus the Mansabdārī system, developed by the Mughal rulers of India, had its seed in the military organization of Changiz Khan.

17 Michael Prawdin: The Mongol Empire, p. 44.
18 Introduction to the Tarikh-i-Rashidī Pt. III p. 59.
pursuers. "They understood the art of feigning retreat, of enfacement and of surprise, and, as battle after battle was fought against nations employing different methods of warfare, the sum of their experience had made them invincible."²⁰ Marco Polo describes in detail how in their fights the Mughals never got into a regular mêlée, but kept perpetually riding round and shooting at the enemy; and as they did not count it any shame to run away in battle, they would sometimes pretend to do so, killing in stray attacks and then wheeling round and returning to the charge in perfect order and routing their enemy.²¹

And the rapaciousness of the Mughals after a victory was unbounded. The complete destruction of the chief cities of Transoxiana clearly shows the inhuman callousness of these free-booters. "Their uniform plan was to convert cities into desert and to leave no human being that could rise in their rear. By the barbarities of their massacres, in which age, and sex, and conditions were alike disregarded they spread horror and dismay around them".²² On one occasion they put to death a man by dropping molten silver into his ears; and such horrible crimes were committed by them in the sack of Bokhara, Samarkand and Balkh as can hardly be imagined. Juveni relates that in the sack of Tirmiz a captured woman begged for mercy promising the man who was to kill her a pearl of high value which she had swallowed. The cold blooded Mughal ripped open her body and as the pearl was really found in it an order was immediately given to open and examine all the bodies.²³

²¹ Howorth: History of the Mongols Pt. IV, pp. 84-85.
²³ Such barbarous punishments to which the Muslim historians of Central Asia give exaggerated colour, were not uncommon in those days. The treatment accorded to the vanquished Mughals by Alāūddin was in no way better than
Killing a person by breaking his back-bone was a common practice among them. Of the prisoners of war the Mughals derived the greatest utility. The healthy prisoners were used for hard work and as screens to the invading divisions, while the women were captured as prize of war. Such was the horror inspired by their invasions in European countries that till the other day in some of the churches in eastern Europe the litany included "From the fury of the Mughals good lord deliver us".24

In the 13th and 14th centuries the Mongols had established their power from the Black Sea to the China Sea and from Siberia to Indus and Seistan. They used to fight either amongst themselves or to invade foreign lands in the hope of plunder and conquest. The number of these hordes, which, like swarms of "ants and locusts" issued forth for conquest were multiplied by the fears of the invaded and the rhetoric of poets and historians. From the days of Iltutmish to those of Jalāluddin, the rulers of Hindustan had to concentrate all their energies to encounter them. But in vain. It was only 'Alā'uddin who could successfully repulse some of the most terrific Mughal invasions to this country.

However, before discussing these invasions in detail it would be proper to throw a glance at the contemporary history of Central Asia to examine the causes underlying the so many assaults directed against India. Changīz Khan died in 1226. After his death the empire was divided among his sons. Oqtai became the Great Khan with China and Zungaria, a region that for exact boundaries later became a bone of contention. The descendants of Jūjī, who had died in the life-time of Changīz, obtained the Khanate of Qipchāq and Tūlī was

what the Mughals gave to their enemies. In spite of their inhuman punishments the Mughals were tolerant of other peoples' religions. Religious scruples did not prompt them to commit atrocious crimes.

put in charge of the home clans of Mongolistan. Chaghtai was to rule the kingdom of Transoxiana and Halâgû Khan, son of Tülü and grandson of Changiz, founded the line of Ilkhan rulers in Persia. Tülü’s son Mangu Khan ousted Oqtai’s son Kuyük from the Khanate and himself became the Great Khan in 1244; and fratricidal war broke out between the houses of Oqtai and Tülü. Mangu died in 1259 and was followed upon the throne by the famous Qublai Khan, another son of Tülü. Qublai’s staunchest enemy was Qaidû, grandson of Oqtai’ who never recognized the claims of Tülü’s descendants on his ancestral dominions. Qaidû found a very faithful ally in Dava Khan, ruler of Transoxiana or Mavar-un-Nahr. Dava was a descendant of Chaghtai. Chaghtai had died in 1241 and was succeeded by his grandson Qara Halâgû who ruled until 1265. At his death the great Qublai Khan appointed Mubarak Shah, son of Qara Halâgû to rule Transoxiana, but he was ousted by prince Borak, a great grandson of Chaghtai. He was followed upon the throne by Tuka Timûr, who in his turn was ousted by Dava, son of Borak. Dava in collaboration with Qaïdû fought constant wars against Qublai and his descendants on the east and the Ilkhans on the west, both of whom had descended from Tülü. Now it is with these two houses, the Ilkhans of Persia and the Chaghtais of Transoxiana, that we are most concerned; because whenever they found some respite from their fratricidal warfare in Asia they launched upon invasion of India. Thus we find that all the Mughal expeditions of India were sent either from Persia or from Mavarun-Nahr. Either of the two houses wanted to wrest land from each other’s territories. And Dava Khan of Transoxiana, who was mostly unsuccessful against his adversaries, wanted to try his luck in India as well, and constantly sent out expeditions to this country. ‘Alâüddin’s contem-

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poraries among the Ilkhans of Persia were Ghazān Khan (1294-1304) and his brother sultan Banda Aljaitū (1304-16). In Tranoxiana his contemporaries were Dava Khan (1272-1306) and his sons Kondjuk (Kuyūk), Kubak and Taliku.

Dava was a determined enemy of Hindustan. He was successful in snatching Ghazni from the Ilkhans and made it a base of operations against India. He reigned for thirty six years and all the time he lived, he sent armies to invade India. India had already been subjected to a number of Mughal invasions in 1241, 1245 and 1257. In 1285, Arghūn, the Ilkhan of Persia (1248-1291), had sent his armies to India and this invasion was long remembered in this country as Prince Muhammad, son of sultan Balban, was killed on the field of battle, while Amir Khusrau was taken prisoner. In the time of sultan Jalāluddin the Mughals again attacked India, and as described above, the sultan, unable to defeat them completely, bought a humiliating peace from them. But all these were minor invasions as compared with those that occurred in the time of ‘Alāūddin; and it was the good fortune of India that the most tremendous assaults were delivered to this country when a strong monarch like ‘Alāūddin was the ruler.

*Kadar’s raid of the Punjab (1297-98)*

The first raid of the Mughals occurred only a short while after ‘Alāūddin’s accession. Dava the ruler of Mavar-un-Nahr sent an army of 100,000 strong under the command of Kadar. The raiders poured into the countr’y from the north-west, burnt

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26 Barnī gives the date as 696 A.H. Amir Khusrau says that the two armies engaged on the 22nd of Rabī‘ul ‘Ākhir 697 (9th February 1298). Ferishtah also has 696. It can clearly be inferred from the account of Baranī that this raid occurred some time after the conquest of Multan. Baranī does not give the name of the commander of the expedition. ‘Īsāmī does not mention it at all.

*Baranī* p. 250.

down the villages of the Gakkhrs, descended into the plains of the Punjab, and began to ravage the environs of Lahore. Their advance, as usual, struck terror into the hearts of the people and Ālāūddīn despatched a large army under his generals Ulugh Khan and Zafar Khan. A battle between the royalists and the Mughals was fought near Jullandhar, in which the invaders were worsted. Some 20,000 of them died fighting and quite a large number of their officers were taken prisoner. They were put to death in the most cruel manner. Ulugh Khan sent the report of the victory to the sultan together with the heads of the Mughal soldiers, their women and children who had been captured and executed.

This victory in the very early days of his accession enhanced Ālāūddīn’s prestige and stabilized his position on the throne.

_Saldi expelled from Sivistan (1299)_.

In the year 1299 while Ulugh Khan and Nuṣrat Khan were busy with the reduction of Gujarat the Mughals under the command of Saldi reappeared on the frontiers of Hindustan. This invasion has been described by Barānī, Iṣāmī and Ferishtah; but curiously enough Amir Khusrau does not mention it at all. According to Ziyā Barānī, Saldi and his brother invaded the north west part of the country and took

27 Amīr Khusrau names the site of the battle as Jaran Manjūr; and describes the battle as having been fought near the bank of river Sutlaj., *Deval Rani* p. 60. Barānī definitely says that the battle was fought within the environs of Jullandhar, which lies between rivers Sutlaj and Beas. Ferishtah says it was fought near Lahore, which may also mean Jullandhar. _Deval rani_ p. 60; _Barānī_ p. 250.; _Ferishtah_ p. 102.

28 _Khazain_, Habib Trs. p. 24; _Ferishtah_, p. 102, has 12,000.

29 Ferishtah says that Dava Khan ruler of Mavar-un-Nahr and his brother Chaldi (Saldi) took Sivistān. Barānī does not mention the name of the general but simply says “Saldi and his brother.” But Dava was all along busy in Central Asian politics and would only have sent one or two generals on so
possession of Sivistan. Sultan 'Alāūddin ordered Žafar Khan to march post haste to Sivistan, invest the fortress, and expel the invaders. The Mughals were soon subjected to a close investment, and although they hurled constant shower of arrows on the royalists they were soon overpowered by Žafar Khan, who did not even use minjīq or other heavy engines of war. The valiant general with a large number of prisoners of both sexes returned to Delhi. Saldi and his brother were also among the captured.

The ease with which Žafar Khan had won this victory excited the admiration of the people, and the jealousy of the sultan. 'Alāūddin was simply amazed at the hardihood, valour and resourcefulness of the brave general and began to look upon him with suspicion. His brother Ulugh Khan nursed similar feelings against Žafar Khan, because the latter's achieve-

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minor a campaign as that of Sivistan. Moreover, Dava was not a man to submit without giving a very tough fight, but the struggle before Sivistan was only nominal. Baranî and Ferishtah later say that Saldi and his brother were captured and sent to Delhi chained and fettered. Their fate is not given by any historian but it can easily be surmised when it is borne in mind that these enemies of the state were never spared by 'Alāūddin. But Dava was alive in Transoxiana till 1306. The presumption of Ferishtah that the other general with Saldi was his brother Dava is, therefore, incorrect. Moreover all other historians mention Saldi and his brother and do not mention the name of Dava. Had Dava, the ruler of Transoxiana been with Saldi the former's name should have been more prominent. Ferishtah p. 103; Baranî pp. 253-54. Futâh p. 241.

30 From Sivistan is meant the north west portion of Sindī known as Sehvan.

31 Mîr M‘asūm incorrectly says that Nuṣrat Khan, who had been appointed governor of Sindī after the defeat of Arkali Khan, marched against the Mughals and gave them a crushing defeat. Nuṣrat Khan was then busy in Gujarat. Turikh-i-M‘asūmi Text pp. 43-44.

32 Barani p. 253.
ments had thrown into shade the former’s success in Multan and Gujarat. At that time Zafar held the charge of Samanah, and mostly stayed there, for the Mughals were a source of constant danger. ‘Alāūd-din now thought of either recalling him to court to remain in constant attendance upon him or to send him away to Bengal which he should subdue and govern. The malicious sultan was even prepared to blind or poison Zafar Khan. But new developments in the political situation gained his object with less cruelty, and with a greater ease and naturalness.

Invasion of Qutlugh Khvājā (1299).

Towards the close of the year 1299 Qutlugh Khvājā, son of Dava, left Transoxiana with twenty tumans (or 200,000 Mughals) for the invasion of Hindustan. The humiliating defeat suffered by the Mughals in Sivistan prompted Qutlugh to come with full preparations; and this time they were bent upon the conquest of India. The invading hosts crossed the

33 This statement shows two facts, (i) that ‘Alāūd-din had no authority in Bengal and (ii) that in the sultanate period also Bengal was a punitive province as it was under the Mughals. Baranī p. 254.

34 Baranī (p. 254) has تندلخ خواجہ یسر دولالیم. lain means accursed, but there was no king by the name of Zua or Zuda in Transoxiana in the time of ‘Alāūd-din. The words, therefore, appear to be یسر دولالیم to mean “Qutlugh Khvājā son of Dava the accursed.” Dava was a direct descendant of Changiz Khan. Abul Fazl gives his genealogy like this:—Dava Khan, son of Baraq Khan, son of Bisutava, son of Mavat Khan, son of Chaghtai, son of Changiz.


35 This invasion is not mentioned by Amir Khusrau in Khazain but he makes a passing reference to it in Deval Rani (p. 61). The above number of Mughal invaders is given by Baranī but at another place he gives the strength of the force as one lac. (Baranī 254, 256).
river Sindh, and by forced marches arrived near Delhi, without disturbing the territories they passed on their way, in spite of the fact that they were actually harassed by the commanders of the frontier posts like Multan and Samanah. The imperialists would retire into their strongholds in the day but would emerge at night and hover at the flanks of the invaders. But the latter were unmoved by these tactics, because they wanted to conserve their energy for the final struggle.

At the rapid advance of the Mughals the inhabitants of the capital as also of the adjoining districts became very panicky, more so because Delhi itself was the objective of the enemy this time. Everybody from far and near flocked into the metropolis. Such a large crowd congregated within the city that men could not find room in the streets, the market places and the mosques. To make the matters worse the approach of the caravans and merchants was interrupted by the Mughals who were hovering on the outskirts of the city. The inhabitants of Delhi were reduced to extreme distress as the prices of commodities had become excessively high.

The moment 'Alá‘uddín was informed of the invasion he issued urgent instructions to the provincial governors to send reinforcements to the capital. Without waiting to ponder over the gigantic task that lay ahead of him, he began feverish preparation to encounter the invader. Malik 'Alá‘ulmulk, the Kotval of Delhi, who had full knowledge of the vast equipment of the Mughals and their objective, dissuaded the sultan from any hurried action. "Ancient monarchs", said he, "have invariably abstained from hazardous conflicts in which it is impossible to say as to which side victory is likely to incline. In case of conflicts between equally powerful chiefs, when the kingdom is staked on a single throw of the dice, monarchs have exercised their utmost discretion and have warded off the event

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36 Baraní p. 255.
37 Ibid. p. 255.
as long as they could...Why does Your Majesty then purposely and willfully, and without paying any heed or attention enter a perilous crisis? You may delay in engaging these Mughals....Our army is composed principally of the soldiery of Hindustan, who have spent their lives in warfare with the Hindus only, and have never yet joined in battle with the Mughals, and are consequently ignorant of their cunning system of tactics, their sallies their ambuscades and other strategems". Malik 'Alāulmulk continued his harangue in which he tried to impress upon the mind of the king the benefits of delaying an engagement until the enemy fell short of provisions and then pursuing him when he went about searching for food and fodder. The peroration of the Kotval betrays the seriousness of the situation. Not only had the Mughals come determined to capture Delhi, they had even brought with them fodder and provisions to last for some time, lest they should waste their strength in securing them. Hence, they did not plunder even in the environs of Delhi. Without detaching even a dozen warriors from their main army they stood with their united strength before the capital of Hindustan ready for an encounter.

'Alāūddin had always given heed to the mature advice of the experienced Kôtval but could not agree with him on the present occasion. He called together all the high officers of the army and in their presence addressed 'Alāulmulk. It was meaningless, said he, to assume a menacing attitude towards the Mughals and yet avoid an engagement with them. How could he hold the sovereignty of Delhi if he shuddered to encounter the invaders? What would his contemporaries and those adversaries who had marched two thousand kos to fight him say, when he hid himself "behind a camel's

38 Ibid. p. 255-57.
back”. 39 And what verdict posterity would pronounce on him? How could he dare show his countenance to anybody, or even enter the royal haram if he was guilty of cowardice and endeavoured to repel the Mughals with diplomacy and negotiations? In the end the Sultan exclaimed: “Come what may, I am bent upon marching tomorrow into the plain of Kili where I propose joining in battle with Qutlugh Khvājā. . . . Oh ‘Alā‘ulkulk, to thee have I confided the post of Kotvāl and the charge of my seraglio, and treasures, together with the whole town. Whichever of us two, whether he or I, prove the conqueror, salute the victor with the keys of the gates, and of the treasures, and lay them before him, and become his obedient servant and vassal.” 40

After thus giving vent to his feelings, which indicate the true spirit of a statesman-cum-warrior, ‘Alá‘uddin marched with the royal forces and encamped at Kili 41 where Qutlugh Khvājā had arrayed his men on the opposite.

_Battle with the Mughals._

The army was stationed in a very secure position at Kili. On the one side was the Jumna and on the other side were thorns and bushes and in between these two stood the royal forces. 42 ‘Alá‘uddin drew up his army in the traditional style. Malik Hizabruddin Zafar Khan, the governor of Samanah, the Punjab and Multan was entrusted with the command of the right wing, and with him were attached some Rajas of Hindustan—a group of veteran warriors. Ulugh Khan was

39 This phrase has been used by Baranī at many places during the course of this conversation. Hiding behind a camel’s back or rather hump كرهان شتري simply means avoiding a battle.
40 Baranī p. 258.
42 Futūḥ p. 249.
put in command of the left wing, with orders to reinforce any other wing which showed signs of weakness in the course of the battle. The king with Nuṣrat Khan and 12,000 men commanded the centre.²⁴³ Twenty-two elephants were stationed in front of each division as bulwark against a terrific assault by the enemy. Having thus dispositioned his troops the Sultan personally reviewed the whole army, and ordered that nobody should move from his place without his orders.²⁴⁴

The Mughals also arranged their men in the same manner. Qutlugh Khvājā was in the centre, whereas Hajlak and Tamar Bughā commanded the left and the right wings respectively. Tārgḥī, another Mughal general, commanded a major division. Isakilba, Kījya, Utnā also held ranks in the Mughal army.²⁴⁵

Ẓafar Khan was so restless to fight the enemy that, even before the Mughal army could arrive near Delhi, he had sent a personal challenge to Qutlugh Khvājā to meet him in a duel.²⁴⁶ Having ordered his rank and file to be ready for an assault on the Mughal left, he delivered it. Hajlak and his men were gripped in a hand to hand fight with Ẓafar Khan. Simultaneously Dilēr Khan, son of Ẓafar Khan, made a furious charge on the Mughals and created a consternation among them. Tamar Bughā could not withstand this attack and fell back. The Mughal army, broken and routed, was hotly pur-

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²⁴³ Futūḥ p. 250.
Ferishtah p. 104.

²⁴⁴ According to Ferishtah (p. 103) the royal army consisted of 3,00,000 horses and 2,700 elephants, but the figure seems inflated as the sultan would not have been so much worried about this invasion had he possessed such a large force in readiness.

²⁴⁵ Futūḥ pp. 246-60. ‘Īsāmī gives the most detailed account of the invasion.

²⁴⁶ Futūḥ pp. 247-49.
sued by the royalists while Tamar Bughā's men continued to shower arrows behind their back on their pursuers—a practice in which the Mughals were past masters. An assault by the enemy on the centre of the royal army was met by the Sultan, who repulsed it and killed a large number of them. In this conflict the king rescued a large number of Indian soldiers whom the Mughals had captured as prisoners of war. 'Alāūddin, however, did not pursue the retreating enemy.

\textit{Death of Zafar Khan}.

On the right, however, Zafar Khan was hard pressed by the Mughal veteran Hajlak. He had not received any reinforcement from the king nor had he received any orders of withdrawal; and the enemy all the while was gaining ground. Ulugh Khan, who kept an ill-will against Zafar Khan on account of the latter's popularity, did not move to help him in distress. At last Zafar Khan, left to himself, ordered his men to make a desperate charge upon the enemy. Hajlak could not withstand it and hurriedly retreated. Zafar Khan killed a large number of Mughals while pursuing the flying enemy for eighteen kos. But the pursuit of the vanquished army was imprudent, or at least unfortunate. During their retreat about 10,000 Mughals had fallen in ambush under the leadership of Ťarghi. They now determined to cut down the royal troops on their way back from the pursuit. As soon, therefore, as they saw Zafar Khan returning, they left the ambuscade and stood arrayed for battle. The valiant Zafar found himself at bay, his wits all at an end. He had about a thousand horsemen with him, while the Mughals were ten times more. He held an emergent consultation with some of

\footnote{The sultan offered his soldiers one gold tankah for each Mughal head. \textit{Deval Rani} p. 61.}

\footnote{Zafarul Vāli p. 797.}

\footnote{This distance is not given in the Bib. \textit{Ind. Text of Barani}, but Major Fuller's Ms. has it.}
his officers like 'Usmān, the Akhurbēg, and 'Alī Shah, the Rānā-i-Pil. All of them unanimously decided to give a last desperate battle thinking that even if they escaped alive from the clutches of the Mughals by not giving them a battle, they would surely be punished by the sultan for their cowardice.

The result of the impending battle was foregone conclusion. The Mughals encircled the royal forces and delivered fatal blows on them. Nonetheless, Zafar Khan was successful in breaking the encirclement. He fought here, there, and everywhere, but still no help was forthcoming either from the Sultan or Ulugh Khan. The battle raged fiercely, and if 'Isāmī is to be believed, when 5,000 of the Mughals had been killed Zafar had lost 800 men only. With the remaining 200 horsemen Zafar Khan fought on till the last, and even when his horse had been cut down he fought on foot. The contemporary chronicler gives a graphic description of Zafar's bravery. "His horse died under him", says he, "and that renowned and unmatched warrior began the struggle on foot. Having strewn his shafts on the ground before him he charged with great violence, and every shaft brought one Mughal cavalier down." The gallantry of such an incomparable general, though not valued by his own jealous sovereign, received a just appreciation from Qutlugh Khvājā who sent him a message saying, "Come over to me, so that I may take you to my father who will treat you with higher honour than the emperor of Delhi has done." But Zafar Khan spurned such an offer and fought as valiantly as ever. Finding it impossible to capture Zafar Khan alive the Mughals pressed upon him from all sides and killed him in a close combat. The gallant soldier had fallen victim to an unequal fight excited by his own unbounded zeal. None of the royalists returned alive from that pursuit that day.

Retreat of the Mughals.

The Mughals had killed Zafar Khan but they had seen the mettle of the army of Hindustan. Under the cover of the night they departed to a distance of thirty kos from Delhi. From thence they returned to their country by continuous marches without stopping on the way. The contemporary chronicler mentions with pride that the dread of the attack of Zafar Khan remained in the breasts of the Mughals for years and when their cattle would not drink water they would ask, "What! Have you seen Zafar Khan that you do not drink water"?

After this victory the Sultan returned from Kili. By the irony of circumstance, nobody praised the hero of the battle, Zafar Khan, for his sacrifice and gallantry. On the contrary the Sultan blamed him for fighting recklessly and pursuing the enemy without his orders. In his heart of hearts Alāūddīn was happy at the death of Hizabruddin and considered his death another welcome event, only next in consequence to the defeat of the Mughals.

The Mughal deluge having receded, the Sultan embarked upon the conquest of Rajputna. He sent an army to Ranthambhor in 1300 A.D. and himself went to the scene of action after some time. The Mughals kept quiet for some time,

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51 'Isāmī, however, says that they hovered about Delhi for a few more days without daring to give a battle and then retired.

Futūḥ pp. 258-260.

52 Amir Khusrau writes that Qutlug Khvājah died on his way back to Transoxiana (Deval Rani p. 61). It is quite correct because after Dava’s death in 1306 Kuyük, Kubak and Taliku, ascended the throne of Transoxiana one after another while this warrior son is not mentioned to be living to claim the throne.

53 Barānī p. 261.

54 Futūḥ p. 258.
firstly because they had seen the strength of the Indian soldiers and secondly because they were busy with their internal affairs in Central Asia. All this time ‘Alāūdīn was planning further conquests. Towards the close of the year 1302 A.D. he despatched an army towards the Deccan via Bengal and himself proceeded to the conquest of Chittor in February 1303. While ‘Alāūdīn was at Chittor the Mughals regained strength enough to invade Hindustan again.

The invasion of Ţarghi (1303).

Hardly a month had elapsed since Sultan ‘Alāūdīn’s return from Chittor, when the Mughal general Ţarghi invaded India with 120,000 horsemen. The situation at the capital was very critical indeed. In the siege of Chittor the royal army had suffered terribly, and what little stores and equipment had been saved in the warfare were lost on the return

55 At this time Qaidu and Dava were busy fighting Qublai Khan and his successors. After Qutlugh’s expedition into Hindustan Dava and Qaidu marched to fight the Mughal Khaqān but they were defeated. Qaidū did not outlive his defeat for long and died in 1302. The great Khans contemporary of ‘Alāūdīn were Aljāītu (1294-1307), Kubak (1307-11) and Buyantu (1311-1320). See Lane poole: *Muhammadan Dynasties* p. 215.

56 Barani says (p. 300, دوازده نمن سوار, i.e. 12 tumans or 120,000 horse, but shortly after writes طرغی ملعن باسی چهل هزار سوار گیپرا گیپرا در أمد which means, “Ţarghi the accursed advanced with 30 to 40 thousand horses”. The former figure seems more correct because (1) On this occasion also the conquest of Hindustan was the aim of the Mughals. For such a great undertaking a large force was needed. On a previous occasion like this 2,00,000 horsemen had come. (2) 30 to 40 thousand horses would not have caused so much anxiety to ‘Alāūdīn. The consternation at the capital shows that the calamity was as great as ever. Ferishtah also has 1,20,000 horsemen. *Futūh* (p. 276) has 2,00,000.
march to Delhi,—a march conducted through the dreary desert of Rajputana and at the height of the rainy season. So that when the Mughals were approaching Delhi 'Aláúddín's forces were not fit to be mustered, they had not renewed their kits even. The army which had been sent to the east had not yet returned. Still 'Aláúddín did not lose heart. He sent orders to provincial governors in the east and the west to send reinforcements to the capital and prepared to fight the Mughal invader.

Targhi had determined to see that the disaster sustained by Qutlugh Khvájá's forces was not repeated. He, therefore, had gathered definite information that the Sultan had marched to a distant fortress while another force, under veteran generals, had gone on a distant expedition. By forced marches and without disturbing the territory on his way Targhi arrived on the confines of Delhi. Sultan 'Aláúddín gathered together whatever troops he had in the capital, and arrayed his forces in the plain of Siri. As it was impossible to fight the Mughals in an open engagement with so small an army, 'Aláúddín decided to exhaust the patience of the besiegers by strengthening his defence lines. On the east of Siri lay the river Jumna and on the south-west was the old citadel of Delhi, although by the time of Targhi's invasion it had not been repaired. In the south lay the dense jungle of Old Delhi. The only vulnerable side, therefore, was the north, where the Mughals had pitched their camp. Sultan 'Aláúddín ordered large trenches to be dug up round the encampment and strengthened them by constructing walls of wooden planks around them. In those times when artillery and other modern siege implements had not come in vogue, palisades, trenches and ramparts served best for purposes of defence. In each trench were stationed five huge elephants "incased in armour", one division of cavalrymen and a guard party to keep a constant watch. Those prompt measures of the Sultan prevented the Mughals from forcing an
entrance into the royal camp. While the Mughals used to move about the trenches in search for passage or recess through which they could suddenly fall on the royalists, the Sultan kept his troops ever alert and vigilant and constantly under arms for a combat, although he was determined to avoid an engagement till succour arrived from other quarters. In vain, however, did he hope to receive reinforcements from Multan, Samanah and Deopalpur for the Mughals had completely blockaded all passages of the capital from the east and the west. The army under Malik Jūna and Jhūjhū had returned from Bengal completely shattered and ruined. The passage of even this dilapidated force had been stopped by the Mughals, while the organized armies of some feoffees of the east had failed to join the king at Sirī and had been compelled to stop at Kol and Baran.

Meanwhile the Mughals had begun to raid the environs of Delhi. They had so completely encircled the metropolis that supplies of water, forage, firewood and all other necessaries of life had been stopped from coming into it and an acute scarcity of grain was felt. The Mughals on the other hand used to march in groups to places like the Chabūtras of Sub-hānī, Mori and Hudhī and even up to the Hauz-i-'Alāi and lay hands upon grain and other stores of the market. Sometimes they even raided the city of Delhi itself and looted the royal granaries.

Minor skirmishes were desultorily fought on two or three occasions, but neither party could gain any decisive advantage. The patience of Ṭarghī, who had come prepared only for a victory, had been well-nigh exhausted, and finding the lines of 'Alāūdīn's entrenchment impenetrable he retired after a stay of about a couple of months.58

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57 The position of 'Alāūdīn's entrenchment at Sirī has been discussed in detail in J.A.S.B. 1866 pp. 199-218.
58 Barānī p. 302.
Futūḥ p. 277 has forty days only.
The flight of the Mughals seemed miraculous indeed. Baranî describes the situation in the following words:—“This occasion, on which the army of Islam had received no injury from the Mughal force, and the city of Delhi had escaped unharmed, appeared one of the miracles of the age to all intelligent persons; for the Mughals had arrived in great force early in the season, and had blockaded the roads against the entry of reinforcements or supplies; and the royal army was suffering under the want of proper equipment, while they were in the most flourishing and hearty condition.”

It is not difficult to surmise the cause of so quick a retreat of the Mughals. Although Baranî attributes it to the supplications of the poor and the prayers of Shaikh Nizâmuddîn Auliâ, the venerable saint of the time, yet the real reason of the Mughal retreat lies in something else. It lies, firstly, in the prompt action of the Sultan who would not yield to the enemy on any ground whatsoever, and who undertook such defensive measures as even to baffle the Mughal veteran. Secondly, it lies in the fact that the Mughals on account of their preoccupation in Central Asia, referred to above, could never permit themselves to stay in Hindustan for long. Consequently, if they could not overcome the armies of Hindustan within a short time they would surely and suddenly return to their home land in Central Asia.

Steps taken to prevent further Mughal Inroads.

Targhî had returned, but the Mughal menace was not over for all time. Their successive invasions impressed upon the mind of the Sultan the gravity of the Mughal danger. For some time, therefore, he refrained from any further conquests and concentrated on the problem of defence. The palace of Sîrî having been almost completed, he transferred his headquarters there. Subsequently Sîrî came to be known as

59 Baranî p. 302.
the capital. Old citadels were repaired and new ones constructed on the regions through which the Mughals generally passed into India. A strong wall was also built around the city to check the invaders from entering the town. The army, too, was reorganised and new enlistments were made. Experienced officers and well-equipped soldiers were garrisoned in each of the forts on the north-west frontier. They were to resist the invaders on their march towards the capital city.

The defensive measures effected by 'Alāūddīn by no means stopped the Mughals from pouring into India occasionally, but now the Sultan was ever prepared to receive them. In future whenever the Mughals invaded India they were successfully defeated, their women and children were taken prisoner and they themselves were trampled under the feet of the elephants or struck by the sword.

Invasion of 'Ali Beg, Tartaq and Tārgī (1305).

The Mughals had suffered defeats at the hands of the army of Delhi on many occasions; the insult rankled deep in their hearts. Tārgī could never forget the humiliating retreat of Qutlugh Khvājā. He had got an opportunity to avenge the insult in 1303 but even then he had achieved but little. But all these defeats did not dishearten Tārgī; on the contrary they whetted his thirst for revenge. When, therefore, 'Ali Beg and Tartaq advanced towards Hindustan Tārgī accompanied them. This invasion was in no way less

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60 For details see chapter XVI.

61 'Isāmī mentions another invasion of Tārgī between 1303-1305.

No other historian corroborates him and his version seems to be wrong. Futūh pp. 283-84.

62 Ziyā Barānī and 'Isāmī call him Tartak, Amīr Khusrau Tartāq and Badaonī Taryāq. Ferishtah has Khvājā Tarpāl which Briggs changes into Khvājā Tāsh.
formidable in nature than those of 1299 and 1303. The Mughals, about 50,000 in number, crossed the hilly region lying north-west of the Indus, crossed the Indus itself and by forced marches advanced towards the east. According to Amir Khusrau, Targhi, "who had once or twice fled away from the attacks of the victors...was at last shot by an arrow" and killed in a fray even before the invading army penetrated into the Doab. That probably is the reason why Baranī does not even mention the name of this prominent general among those who led the expedition. ‘Alī Bēg and Tartāq moved on, inflicting barbarous cruelties wherever they passed. Having learnt that the capital was strongly defended, and knowing as they did that the Mughal army had failed in capturing it on many earlier occasions, they decided to by-pass it and march straight on the Doab and Avadh, the most fertile and prosperous tract in the country. "The confounded inhabitants...rushed to the fords of the Ganga", says Amir Khusrau, "and smoke rose from the towns of Hindustan. People fled from their burning houses...and threw themselves into rivers and torrents".

When the report of the enormities of the invaders and the desperation of the people reached the Sultan, he appointed Malik Naik, Master of the Horse (Akhūrbēg-i-Maisrah)

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63 This is the figure of Amir Khusrau (Khazain, Habib Trs. p. 26) Baranī has 30 to 40 thousand. According to Baranī ‘Ali Beg was a descendant of Changiz Khan.

64 Khazāin Habib Trs. p. 26.


66 Khusrau says that Malik Naik was a Hindu. Baranī also names the commander as Malik Naik. ‘Isāmī incorrectly reads Malik Nanak. ‘Alāūddīn had a paik Manik by name who had saved him at the time of Ikat Khan’s assault (Baranī p. 273). But the general who fought the Mughals was surely Malik Naik as mentioned by two contemporary authorities.
with a strong force of thirty to forty thousand to deal with the invaders. The royal army met the Mughals in the vicinity of Amroha and inflicted upon them a crushing defeat on Thursday 12th Jamādus Sānī 705 (December 30, 1305).\(^{67}\) A large portion of the Mughal army was “put to sword, scattered and dispersed”. Twenty thousand horses belonging to the Mughals were seized by the victors and the Mughal corpses lay right and left.\(^{68}\) The two Mughal generals were captured alive and sent to Delhi in chains and fetters. Exulting with joy 'Alā-ud-Dīn ordered a durbar to be held on the Chautrā-i-Sub-hānī, where he sat in all his kingly glory to receive the prisoners of war and decide their fate; his victorious army standing in double rows from the royal seat to Indrapat. Large was the crowd which had assembled to witness the scene. The price of a flask of water rose to twenty jītalās and half a tankāh. The Mughal prisoners of war were led through this mass of humanity and were presented before the royal throne. By the order of the Sultan they were paraded in the city on camels, after which they were beheaded and their heads were used in the construction of towers outside the fort. According to Ferishtah 8,000 heads of Mughal prisoners were used instead of stones and bricks to build the towers of Sīrī, which were then under construction; and his statement is confirmed by Amīr Khusrau who writes: “They (the Mughals) give blood to new buildlings.”

Barānī and Khusrau. Ferishtah says that Malik Naib and Malik Tughlaq were sent.

*Deval Runī* p. 61.
*Futūh* p. 297.
Barānī p. 320.
Ferishtah p. 114.

\(^{67}\) This is the date of Khusrau a contemporary; Ferishtah has 704 A.H.

\(^{68}\) Barānī p. 320.
As to the fate of 'Ali Bég and Tartaq, accounts vary. According to Baranī all Mughal prisoners, together with their chiefs, were crushed under the feet of the elephants.²⁹ Amīr Khusrau, however, says that 'Ali Bég and Tartaq were granted amnesty. He further adds, "In course of time one of them died, without any harm having been done to him, and the other remained alone. The emperor was so successful in sport that he took their lives in one game after another."³⁰ The last sentence of this passage is not very clear, but 'Iṣāmī makes a statement which corroborates it as well as throws fresh light on it. He says that Alāūddin pardoned 'Ali Bég and Tartaq, gave them robes of honour and provided for them all necessaries and amenities of life. After a short time, however, Tartaq, while under a fit of drunkenness, was heard to enquire about his crown, armour and army. When the Sultan came to know of it, he ordered his head to be chopped off immediately. 'Ali Bég also met the same fate after one or two years.³¹

_Invasion of Kubak and Iqbalmand (1306)._  

In the following year the Mughals again reappeared on the frontiers of India, when Dava Khan sent Kubak³² to

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²⁹ Ibid. p. 321.
³⁰ Khazāīn Habīb Trs. p. 28.
³¹ Futāḥ p. 298. Vassāf, a foreign contemporary who wrongly puts the invasion in 708 H. (1303 A.D.), also states that 'Ali Bég accepted Islam and that he was given the rank of a nobleman by Alāūddin.

Vassāf text pp. 526-27.

³² Kubak was also a son of Dava Khan, but as the Kubak who invaded India was captured alive and then killed by the orders of the sultan, he seems to be different from Dava Khan's son, who ascended the throne of Transoxiana in 1307-8. The name has variously been written by Indian historians. Baranī writes him Kunk or Gung, Amīr Khusrau Kapak or Kabak, 'Iṣāmī Kubak and Ferishtah Gung.
avenged the deaths of ‘Ali Bég and Tartāq.\(^{73}\) He crossed Indus with a large army and marched on to Ravi burning, murdering and pillaging. Another contingent of the Mughal force, which was commanded by Iqbalmand moved southwards and arrived near Nagor\(^{74}\) creating havoc in that part of the country. ‘Aláūddin appointed Malik Naib Kāfür to oppose the invaders and crush them out in a battle. To encourage his soldiers ‘Aláūddin ordered that every one of them shall receive one year’s salary as bonus. Experienced generals like Malik Tughlaq, the Shahnāh-i-Bārgāh and the sīef-holder of Deopalpur, and Malik ‘Alām were also sent with Malik Naib Kāfür. On the eve of their departure the Sultan praised and flattered Malik Naib very much to encourage him to give a gallant fight.\(^{75}\) The royal army made for the threatened region making “no distinction between the darkness of the night and the light of the dawn till they had reached their prey”. Malik Tughlaq, who led the vanguard, one day suddenly sighted Mughal scouts, and he immediately informed Malik Kāfür about the location of the Mughal army. Shortly after the rival forces stood face to face on the banks of the river Ravi,\(^{76}\) but

\(^{73}\) Deval Rānī p. 62.

Khazain p. 29.

Ferishtah pp. 115-16.

\(^{74}\) Nagor is 75 miles north-east of Jodhpur, Rajputana.

\(^{75}\) Futūh p. 311.

\(^{76}\) In Khazain Khusrau says that the battle was fought near the river of ‘Ali (Ab-i-‘Ali), but in Deval Rānī he makes it clear and says that the Mughals crossed from Multan and began to ravage the region of Ravi. Baranī calls the place of combat as “Khekar” while Ferishtah has Nilāb. ‘Isāmī has Hind-i-‘Ali.

Khazain p. 30,

Deval Rānī pp. 61-63,

Futūh p. 311,

Ferishtah p. 116.
neither party was willing to open the attack. At last the Mughals advanced blowing conch shells and making immense noise. Kubak delivered the assault on the centre of the royal army, commanded by Malik Naib Kāfūr, and scattered it. But soon Malik Kāfūr rallied his men and fought so gallantly that in a very short time Kubak’s men were completely routed and made to fly. Kubak was taken prisoner just at a moment when he was on the point of being killed by some Delhi soldiers. The prisoners of war, who included women and children, were sent to the Sultan at Delhi.

Malik Tughlaq and Malik Naib now marched to encounter that Mughal force which had successfully advanced as far as Nagor. Intelligence was brought to them that the Mughal army was commanded by two generals Iqbālmand, and Tai-Bū. The royal generals marched on and suddenly fell upon the enemy. The Mughal commanders, probably having heard of the defeat of Kubak and also having their right wing attacked by the Indian army fell back and fled northwards “by the same passage across the Sind (Indus)”.

The work of the imperialists was now rendered easy. They pursued, overtook and completely routed the Mughal force. The victorious army returned to the capital accompanied by a large number of prisoners of war. Ferishtah says that this was a strange event, for out of fifty or sixty thousand Mughals not more than three or four thousand were left alive. Sultan ʿAlāʾuddin, enraged at the persistent audacity of the Mughal invaders who poured into the country year after year, ordered them to be thrown under the feet of elephants and a tower to be constructed of their skulls in front of the Badaon Gate. Their women and children were sold in Delhi and the rest of Hindustan.

This invasion has been differently described by various writers, contemporary and later. Amir Khusrau’s account in Khazainul Futūh, being a mixture of verbosity and
rhetoric, is a little confused. But it can be made out that Kubak, Iqbālmand and Tai Bū were commanders of the different contingents in one and the same campaign.\(^77\) This fact, again, is definitely mentioned in Deval Rānī.\(^78\) ‘Iṣāmī who gives the most detailed description of Mughal invasions, treats it as the last in the time of ‘Alāūddin. ‘Iṣāmī, however, does not refer to any other commander except Kubak.\(^79\)

According to Ziyāuddīn Barānī, however, Kank, another general whose name he does not mention, and Iqbālmand invaded Hindustan on three occasions and in different, if not successive, years. His description of the three Mughal invasions is as follows:\(- In the first invasion under Kank or Gung the Mughals were defeated by the army of Islam at Khekar. Gung and many other Mughals, including women and children, were taken prisoner. Gung was trampled under the feet of an elephant and a tower of heads of the Mughals was raised before the Badaon Gate. On another occasion and in another year some commanders of the Indian army fought the Mughals in the Sivalik hills. They cut the retreat of the Mughals and occupied the territory through which the enemy was to pass. It so happened that the Mughals, who were returning after over-running the Sivaliks, arrived at the river bank (the name of the river is not given) with their “horses and themselves both parched with thirst and disordered. The army of Islam thus gained the most advantageous opportunity, and the Mughals with their fingers in their mouths, begged for water.”\(^80\) They were

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\(^77\) Khazain pp. 29-31.

\(^78\) Deval Rānī pp. 62-63.


\(^80\) The details show that Barānī is clearly referring to the retreat of the Mughals from Nagor who must have passed through regions scarce of water.
attacked. A glorious victory fell to the lot of the imperialists and the Mughals were killed mercilessly. In another year Iqbalmand headed another Mughal expedition to Amir 'Ali\(^{81}\) but he was completely defeated after a light skirmish with the imperial army. Iqbalmand was slain and some thousand Mughals fell a prey to the sword.\(^{82}\)

The above narrative is evidently loose and faulty. It was written long after the actual event and, therefore, there is every probability of discrepancies creeping into it. The author does not give the names of the Indian commanders who fought the Mughals on these three occasions. He does not mention the name of the Mughal commander, who according to him, was in command of the second of these invasions, nor even does he give the dates of the expeditions. These inaccuracies were adopted by Niẓamuddin and Ferishtah. Ferishtah follows his predecessor in broad details; but he gives only two invasions. According to him one of them was encountered on the banks of the Indus; but the place of the other has not been indicated by him. He simply says, "A long while after this (i.e. the invasion of Kubak) a Mughal, named Iqbalmand, came to Hindustan with a huge army and wrought much damage. But Ghazi Malik Tughlaq marched against Iqbalmand and after slaying him sent many Mughals to Delhi to be trodden down by enormous elephants."\(^{83}\)

The narrative of Khusrau, who treats the invasion under Kubak, Iqbalmand and Tai Bu as one and the same is most trustworthy. He wrote in the life-time of 'Alaūddin; whereas Baranī wrote very much long after. Moreover he confirms his statements of Khazainul Fatūh in Deval Ranī, which shows that he was certain of what he was writing in this

\(^{81}\) It may be Āb-i-'Alī of Khusrau.

\(^{82}\) Baranī pp. 321-22.

\(^{83}\) Ferishtah p. 116.
connection. His statements are corroborated by 'Iṣāmi also who does not mention any other invasion of the Mughals after that of Kubak in the time of 'Alāūddin. Many other facts also reveal that Kubak’s was in all probability the last invasion. Dava Khan, the arch enemy of Hindustan, who after his accession to the throne of Transoxiana in 1272, had repeatedly sent expeditions to India, died in the last months of the year 1306. After his death the internal affairs of Transoxiana fell into confusion, and within three years three Khans successively sat upon the throne. Conditions became so unsettled there that Ghāzi Malik, warden of the marches at Deopolpur, every year led expeditions to Kabul and Ghazni and plundered and ravaged those places. In these circumstances it is incredible that after the death of Dava Khan the Mughals would or could have poured into India again.

Thus with Kubak’s expedition the last spark of Mughal aggression died out. The Mughal menace which had made his predecessors tremble on their thrones was put to an end by the mighty resolve of ‘Alāūddin. His reformatory measures, his huge army and above all his consummate generalship relieved the empire of a calamity that was continually haunting the rulers and people of Hindustan. Not only did the Mughals cease their aggression on Hindustan, Ghāzi Tughlaq, who like Sher Khan of former days was appointed at Deopolpur with a strong force under him, every year led expeditions to “Kabul, Ghazni, Qandhar and Garmsir, plundered and ravaged those regions and levied tribute from their inhabitants. The Mughals had not the courage to come and defend their own frontiers against him.”

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84 Baranī pp. 322-23. Ziyāuddin’s remark is very significant. He says:

(‘Iṣāmi Malik) بَا لِشَكْرِ خَاصِ حَدِيث
اور میں بیرون آمدی تو سرحد پر مغل برزنتی - مغل را
Baranī and Ferishtah speak of plundering raids of Malik Tughlaq only. But a letter in the Aijáz-i-Khusravi of Amir Khusrau, and translated and published by Sir H. Elliot shows that the Mughals had successfully been defeated by Tughlaq Malik and that Khutba in the name of Sultan ‘Aláüddín was read in a mosque of Ghazni. The letter which has no date is a part of the ‘Arz-dāsht of one Hajib Badr to the address of Khizr Khan, son of ‘Aláüddín. It would not be out of place to give the full letter as translated by Elliot from Book IV of the Perisian text of Aijáz-i-Khusravi.85

"The servant Badr begs to state, for the information of his highness prince Khizr Khan......that according to royal orders he marched with an army, reached Indus, crossed the river on boats and proceeding onward arrived at Ghazni in winter. The season was exceedingly cold. The Mughals of that place were in great alarm from fear of the Musalmans army. But when the purport of the royal firman was read to them, they became comforted, expressed their obedience and were happy. As the king had ordered that the Khutba of his name should be read in Ghazni all the Muhammadans who had concealed themselves in the mountains and ravines, as well as the elders and the principal Musalmans of Ghazni, who were looking with the eye of expectation towards Delhi, assembled in the Jama Masjid of the city, and on Friday the

جراغ بر کردہ طلب کردن و مغل را سراجیا نامیہ بود کہ بر
سرحد علی خود بر طرفی گشت بیانید –

It is obvious that there was no peace on the north-west frontier during ‘Aláüddín’s rule. Ibn Battutah mentions an Arabic inscription of Gházi Tughlaq on the Jama’ Masjid of Multan, which ran: "I have encountered the Tatars on twenty-nine occasions and defeated them and hence I am known as Malikul Gházi."


Khutaba was read in the name of Sultan 'Alaūddin. The noise of acclamations of joy and congratulations rose high from all quarters. The vest of honour, which was sent by the king, for the reader of the Khutba, was put on his shoulders. One of the walls of the mosque, which was decayed and fallen down, was newly raised.

On the same Friday jewels and gold were showered by Badr which he had brought from Delhi and Musalmans picked them. The Mughals saw this from the top of the walls of the Masjid, and spoke something in their own tongue. In these days some of the infidels have embraced the Muhammadan Faith."

This letter, in spite of the fact that it is of no great historic authenticity, corroborates the idea that 'Alaūddin's arms had penetrated into Ghazni and the Sultan's Khutba was read there.

Causes of the defeat of the Mughals.

Before closing this chapter it would be intersting to study why the Mughals, who once terrorised both the east and the west, and who even in the time of 'Alaūddin waged mighty wars in Central Asia, were always successfully defeated by the armies of Hindustan. The defeats and retreats of the Mughals in India were due to many reasons. Firstly, the idea of world conquest, which had been the driving force of the Mughal empire, was given up on account of the wars among the various descendants of Changīz Khan. The Mughals who invaded India were sent by the Khans of Transoxiana. They had rebelled against the Great Khans of China and were mostly busy with their internal troubles in Central Asia. Dava Khan, the arch-enemy of Hindustan fought some forty battles in Central Asia itself, and consequently could not give all his attention and energy to the conquest of Hindustan. As Prof. H. A. R. Giblin has pointed out the infidels were
Mughals and their own internecine warfare saved the kingdom of Delhi which could not have withstood a united attack of the Mughals.  

Secondly, the numbers that invaded India seem to be exaggerated. Women, children and old men—all accompanied the invaders, and although as such the number of the invaders was inflated, their military efficiency was marred. On many occasions 'Aláūddín took prisoner a large number of women and children and sold them in the market of Delhi or put them to the sword. Thirdly, the qualities of the early Mughals which had given them magnificent successes in the early days of their history were now extinct. The agility, the mobility and the qualities of patience and endurance no longer marked the Mughals who invaded India, and it is strange indeed that on the occasion of the two sieges of Delhi in 1300 and 1303, 'Aláūddín exhausted the patience of the Mughals and they retired without giving tough fights such as were needed for the conquest of an empire.

Fourthly, Dava Khan, who ruled for thirty two years, could send organised expeditions to India in spite of his engagement in Central Asia. His death in 1306 brought about disorder in Transoxiana. Within a period of two or three years three Khans—Kuyuk, Kubak and Taliku, ascended the throne. Even after that the affairs were not set right and Kubak had to abdicate. He was reinstated in 1321. In these circumstances Mughal invasions to India could not be organised and sent at regular intervals. On the contrary Ghazi Tughlaq used to harass the Mughals themselves.

And lastly, the main cause of the Mughal defeat lies in the fact that they had come to fight with a king who himself was a war-lord. The patience, integrity and the military genius of 'Aláūddín as well as his courage and perseverance

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86 Khazain, Habib Trs. p. 25.
are clearly manifested in his talk with Malik 'Alā-ul-mulk who tried to dissuade him from fighting Qutlugh Khvājā. Alā-ūddīn thought it his bounden duty to fight the foreign foe. He effected various reforms, he raised a huge army and through studied determination always repulsed the Mughal inroads until they stopped altogether.
CHAPTER XII

KINGDOMS OF THE DECCAN
DEVAGIRI AND WARANGAL

By the end of the first decade of the 14th century Sultan ʿAlāʾuddīn had accomplished the conquest of almost the whole of north India, had checked the tide of Mughal aggression, and had effected reforms in civil and military spheres. Under his stern administration peace, if not plenty, prevailed. The barons, the traders as well as the peasants were kept under strict control so that all opposition to his despotism was paralysed. A large army consisting of 4,75,000 well-equipped soldiers was regularly paid and well looked after by the state; and relying on its strength the emperor embarked upon the conquest of the Deccan peninsula.

On a previous occasion Devagiri had provided ʿAlāʾuddīn with a large amount of treasure. The greed of gold and the lust for glory—the two incentives of all conquerors—now prompted him to invade all the kingdoms of the Deccan one after the other. Once the plan of conquest of the south had been thought of, a pretext, if a pretext was necessary, was also got at hand. Ram Chandra of Devagiri, who had submitted to ʿAlāʾuddīn in 1296 and had promised to send yearly tribute, had not forwarded anything to Delhi for some time past. Consequently Malik Kafūr was ordered to lead an

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1 According to Baranī ʿAlāʾuddīn sent a fresh army to the Deccan besides the one maintained for controlling the north-west frontier. According to Ferishtah the total strength of the army was 475,000.

Ferishtah p. 114.
Baranī p. 326.
Southern India at the beginning of the XIV Century
Places marked with asterisk were visited by Malik Kātūr

To face page 180
expedition into Devagiri and recover arrears of tribute. But this expedition of 1308 was only a prelude to a number of others like it. It is necessary, therefore, to have a glimpse of the then political condition of the south to understand them in their proper perspective.

**Kingdoms of the Deccan at the dawn of the XIV century.**

At the time of Malik Kāfūr’s invasion the Deccan peninsula was divided into four big and wealthy kingdoms. Devagiri lay south of the Vindhya, and to its south-east was situated the kingdom of Telingana, with capital at Warangal. It was ruled by Kakatiya or Ganapati rulers. To the south of Devagiri and south-west of Telingana was situated the kingdom of Dwarsamudra ruled by the powerful Hoyālas. To the extreme south lay the mighty kingdom of the Pandyas, known to the Muslim chroniclers as the country of M‘abar.

We have already discussed the power and possessions of Devagiri in chapter IV. As to the kingdom of Telingana, it flourished under the able rule of Ganapati who ascended the throne in 1199-1200. Ganapati’s reign was long and he made extensive conquests on the coast from Nellore northward to the frontiers of Orissa. After him his wife Rudrāmā Dēvi, a princess of Devagiri who ascended the throne in 1260-61, ably ruled the kingdom for full three decades. It was during her reign that Marco Polo, the famous Venetian traveller visited Motupille, a famous port of that kingdom, now lying in the Guntur district of the Madras Presidency.² Marco Polo calls queen Rudramba

² Motupille, on the mouth of river Krishna, perhaps separated Telingana from M‘abar. Marco Polo writes: “When you leave Mabar and go in a northerly direction, you come to the kingdom of Mutfili.” It was then a big centre of trade and commerce. It is now only a village in the Krishna District, Madras.

“a lady... of much distinction... a lover of justice, of equity, and of peace.” But for his compliments her's is an empty name in the dynastic list of the Kākatiyas of Warangal. She continued to reign till 1292 when her daughter's son Pratap Rudra Deva attained majority and she abdicated in his favour. It was during the reign of Pratap Rudra Deva (Ladder Deo of Muslim chroniclers) that Telingana was invaded by the armies of Delhi under Malik Naib Kāfūr.

To the west and south-west of Telingana was situated the kingdom of the Hoysalas with its capital at Dwarsamudra (modern Halbeid). Since the decline of the Chola empire the Hoysalas from the north and the Pandyas from the extreme south continuously fought diplomatic as well as military battles at the expense of the Cholas. In a record of the time of Nara Simha II (1224-1234) the Hoysala empire is said to have extended upto Nangili on the east, Kongu (Salem and Coimbatore) on the south, Alvakheda (south Canara) on the west, and Heddore (Krishna) on the north. The Hoysalas continued to carry on conquests and Vikramapura, the southern capital of Someśvara, son of Nara Simha, has been identified with the modern Kannanur, near Trichnopoly. The glory of the kingdom was eclipsed when after Someśvara the two claimants of the throne, Nara

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4 The derivation of the name of Dwarsamudra is not clear. Mr. Rice would connect it with Devarpurī mentioned in a legend which traces the Hoysalas to a mythical person Sālā. Mr. Krishna Shastri believes that the Hoysala capital must have been so named after its founder who was called either Dhara or Đore. The modern name Halbeid (old capital) was perhaps applied to it after the seat of government was transferred thence to Tiruvannamalai by Ballāla III.  

Simha III and Vīra Rāmnath separated, the former ruling the ancestral dominions with capital at Dwarsamudra and the latter the southern portion of the empire. It seems, however, that Nara Simha either ousted or outlived Vīra Rāmnath. In 1292 Nara Simha was succeeded by Ballālā III (Ballal Deo of the Muhammadan historians) and he reunited the whole of the Hoysala empire in 1302.

To the extreme south lay the kingdom of the Pandyas. In the 12th century the Pandyā kingdom had suffered irreparable damage owing to internal strife, and the consequent intervention by the Cholas—Rajadhirāj II and his heir apparent Kulottunga III—from the north, and by the Ceylonese king from the south. But then, in the 13th century, the Pandyas began to assert themselves and under Mārāvarman Sundara Pandyas I and II, who reigned from 1216 to 1239 and 1239 to 1255 respectively, the Pandyas recovered much of their lost prestige. The next Pandya king Jatavarman Sundara Pandya, who ruled up to 1274, was a warrior of great repute and reduced the whole of the Chola empire. He invaded the Malabar country and defeated and killed the Chera king. He also fought with the Hoysala king Somesvara. Jatavarman had two or three brothers who ruled as independent sovereigns in different principalities of the Pandya empire but were subordinate to

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There are a good number of inscriptions to corroborate Rāmnath's aggressive attitude. About the year 1290 he appears to have led a campaign against Dwarsamudra itself but the Pandya Mahāvarman Kulasekhara (1268-1311) did not permit Rāmnath to do much harm to his brother. Ramnath's son Vīshvanath succeeded him in 1293-4 and ruled up to 1302 when the whole of the empire was united under Ballālā III. Arch. Sur. Rep. 1909-10 pp. 157-159.

Also Epig. Carnatica, Inscriptions in the Mysore District, Part I, 1894, Inscription no. 121.
the chief king Jatavarman Sundara. One of them went by the name of Vikram Pandya, another by that of Vira Pandya. Both of them lay claim to conquests. A record of Vira Pandya states that he took Ilam (Ceylon), Kongu and the Solamandalam (the Chola country).

The greatest king among the Pandyas, however, was Maravarmana Kulasekhara (Kales Devar of Muhammadan historians) who ascended in 1263 and ruled almost up to 1311 when the Musalmans invaded the Pandya kingdom. During his long and prosperous rule Marco Polo visited the

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8 Robert Sewell in his article entitled "The chronology of the Pandya Monarchy" entertains doubt as to how more than one prince of equal authority ruled over one country. He says that there is no published inscription nor there is any indication in the writings of Amir Khusrau and Vassaf that the kingdom was divided among a number of brothers. (Ind. Ant. Vol. 44, 1915.)

What Sewell thinks is not incorrect, since the presence of more than one king in a kingdom sounds strange. It is, however, not improbable that two or three Pandya princes, who may have been brothers of the ruling king conquered the neighbouring countries (and inscriptions show that the Pandyas conquered much during the reign of Jat. Sundara I) and settled there as independent rulers. But, of course, they were in no way disobedient or refractory towards the chief king Jat. Sundara Pandya I. Alqal Qashindi, the Arab geographer, quoting Masalikul Absar says that in Durasamand (Dwarsamudra) were "sultan Bilal Deo and five infidel kings." Thus the fact that a number of princes simultaneously ruled in the Deccan was widely known. Alqal Qashindi p. 63.

9 Aiyangar pp. 53-54.
11 Of the Pandya inscriptions one (no. 55 of 1904) confirms Prof. Kiellhorn's calculation of A.D. 1268 as the initial date of the reign of Mara. Kulasekhara I; another (no. 702 of 1904) shows that in A.D. 1264-65 the Pandyas were in possession of Kannanur near Trichnapoly, which was the Hoysala capital of the Chola country. Arch. Sur. Rep. 1904-05 pp. 129.
port of Kayal lying in his dominions. He dwells at length on the wealth and prosperity of the country and calls Kulasekhara by the name of Aciar. Máravarmanas Kulasekhara is also known by the title of Konerinmaikondan, or the king who had no equal, and is recorded to have ruled both over Chola and Pandya countries. He is also described as ruling from Madura, which was formerly a capital of the Hoysalas. This fact shows that the conquests of Kulasekhara were wide and extensive.\(^\text{12}\) It was he who sent an expedition to the island of Ceylon and defeated the Ceylonese king Prakarma Bāhū. There are also references found of diplomatic intercourse between China and M’abar (Ma-pa-rh).\(^\text{13}\)

Máravarmana Kulasekhara had two sons Sundara Pandya III, legitimate, and Vīra Pandya, Illegitimate. According to Muslim historians the king thought Vīra Pandya more fitted to succeed him and actually nominated him as his successor. Thus, while Vīra was associated with

\(^{12}\) One of the inscriptions in the Ramnad Dist. states that Kulasekhara constructed the walls of the temple at Tinnevelly from the booty obtained from the Kerala, Chola and Hoysala kingdoms. *Arch. Sur. Rep.* 1926-27 p. 203.

\(^{13}\) Yule: *Ser Marco Polo*, Vol. II p. 337.

Aiyangar: *Invaders* p. 58.

Abul Feda distinctly names Cape Comorin as the point where Malabar ended. Vāṣṣāf also writes that it extended to Nilavar (Nellor).

Rashīduddīn writing about 1300 A.D. speaks of M’abar, which was apparently another name for the Pandya country, as extending from Kulam (Quilon) to Nellor. This statement had been corroborated several years ago by an inscription of Sundara Pandya found at Nellor. Further confirmation is afforded by a number of Tamil records discovered in the southern portion of the Cuddapah distt.


Also Yule’s note in *Ser Marco Polo*, vol. II, p. 315.
the administration of the government from 1296, his brother had to wait till 1302-3, when he was also permitted to participate in the affairs of the state. As Vira Pandya was openly favoured by Kulasekhara, Sundara naturally grew jealous of him. The climax was reached when by the end of 709 A.H. (May 1310 A.D.) Sundara killed his father and the two brothers began to wage a war for the possession of the throne. In a battle Sundara was worsted and begged the Sultan of Delhi to help him to secure the crown. This, it is alleged, brought about Kāfūr's invasion of the Madura country.

Thus at the time of Malik Kāfūr's invasion south India presented a sorry spectacle of discord and internecine warfare. The boundaries of the four principal states used constantly to change because of the constant conflict between the Yadavās, the Hoysalas, the Kākaṭiyas and the Pandays.

Wealth of the Deccan.

In spite of the frequent warfare among the various kingdoms, no foreign conqueror had robbed the Deccan of its wealth which had been accumulated for centuries. A great many historians and travellers testify to the enormous wealth in the Deccan. Marco Polo describing the treasures of M'abar says, 'When the king dies none of his children dares to touch his treasures. For they—say! 'as our father did gather together all this treasure, so we ought to accumulate as much in our turn.' And in this way it comes to pass that there is an immensity of treasure accumulated in this kingdom.' The Venetian traveller describes at length the jewellery the king wore about his person as well as the ways in which they used to obtain 'very fine and

14 Vaṣṣāf Text p. 531.
15 Yule: Ser Marco Polo, II, p. 323.
great pearls” in M’abar. Nobody was permitted to take outside the kingdom pearls of high value. “This order has been given” says Marco Polo, “because the king desires to reserve all such for himself; and so in fact the quantity he has is something almost incredible.” The fact that an enormous amount of wealth was squandered by the Pandya kings on endowments to temples and in securing horses of foreign breed is attested by contemporary inscriptions and writings of Vassāf and Polo. The latter further adds that the Pandya king “maintains great state and administers his kingdom with great equity, and extends great favour to merchants and foreigners, so that they are very glad to visit his city” (of Cail or Tinnevelley).

Another writer who speaks about the wealth of the south is Shihābuddīn Abūl Abbās Aḥmad, the author of Masālikul Absār. According to him gold had been flowing into India for a number of centuries and had never been exported. Amir Khusrau, Barani and Firishtah are all unanimously of opinion that the gold and treasures ‘Alāūddin and his general Malik Kāfūr brought from the south were enormous. Not only ‘Alāūddin but some years later Muḥammad Tughlaq also obtained immense booty from the Deccan. On one occasion the loot from a single temple amounted to a sum that was carried on 200 elephants and several thousand bullocks. Even after the immense amount of wealth ‘Alāūddin and Muḥammad bin Tughlaq carried away to the north, Bahmani and Vijayanagar kingdoms in the south still possessed vast treasures. The Arab traveller Abdurrazzāq who visited Deccan in the 14th century bears testimony to the power and prosperity of the Vijayanager kingdom. “The

16 Yule: Ser Marco Polo, II, p. 323.
17 Vassāf p. 529
18 Yule: Ser Marco Polo, II, p. 357.
19 Elliot. III, p. 583.
country is for the most part well cultivated and fertile. In the king’s treasury there are chambers with excavations in them, filled with molten gold, forming one mass. All the inhabitants of the country, whether high or low, even down to the artificers of the bazar, wear jewels and ornaments.”

Ferishtah also asserts that even the poor in the Deccan put on gold ornaments and the high class people used to eat in gold and silver plates.

Such was the wealth of the Deccan which tempted the sultans of the north to lead plundering expeditions into this prosperous land. Both Maḥmūd of Ghazna and Muḥammad of Ghaur had an eye on the Deccan. Muḥmūd proceeded to Gujarat and sacked it successfully but Muḥammad was repulsed from there. Anyway neither of these two conquerors could march into the Deccan, but the idea of conquering the south and obtaining its wealth had gained fascination for ambitious conquerors. It was ‘Alāūddīn Khaljī who for the first time had penetrated into the Deccan in 1296.

**Second Expedition to Devagiri.**

It has already been seen how Ram Deva, the Yadava ruler, had submitted to prince ‘Alāūddīn in 1296. Since then he had sent yearly tributes to the court of Delhi, where the raider of Devagiri reigned as an emperor. But for two or three years before 1308 Ram Chandra had stopped sending any tribute. The actual reasons for this behaviour of the Maratha king are not known, but they can well be conjectured. It was a sheer chance that a freebooter had been successful over the Yadava king and even over his valiant son Singhana in 1296, but since then he had never been

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20 *Mutlāus N‘adāín*. Elliot, IV. pp. 106-7

21 *Ferishtah*, p. 120.

22 Barani. p. 326.

Khazāín., Habīb Trs. pp. 69-73.
heard of in the Deccan again. For ten years Ram Deva sent the yearly tribute regularly. Thereafter he took advantage of the long distance between Devagiri and Delhi as also of the preoccupation of 'Alāūdīn with the Mughals and the Rajputs, and withheld the tribute from 1305 or 1306 onwards. According to 'Īṣāmī, Ram Deva's loyalty was unflinching, but his son,23 with the people of the land, tried to assume independence even against his father's wishes. Ram Chandra was so incensed that he appealed to 'Alāūdīn to punish his son.24 But the events of the expedition do not corroborate his statement. The reason of the invasion given by Baranī—that Ram Chandra had withheld the tribute for some years—seems to be most convincing.

Ram Chandra had calculated wrongly. Sultan 'Alāūdīn could not bear to let go the handsome revenue from Devagiri which multiplied his accumulated treasures every year. Consequently in 130825 he deputed Malik Naib Kāfür, the hazārdinārī slave captured in Gujarat in 1299, with a large force to invade Devagiri and realise the arrears of tribute from Ram Deva. Malik Kāfür's 30,000 horses were

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23 'Īṣāmī always makes mention of only one prince, Bhillama; but it was chiefly Singhana who always opposed the Muslims from the north and carried on conquests in the south.

24 Futūḥ. pp. 274-76.

25 According to Fereishtāh this expedition was sent in 1306, according to Amīr Khusrau in March 1307 (Ramzān 706 A.H.) and according to Baranī some time in 1308. Fereishtāh adds that the conquest of Sefvānā was accomplished in the year in which the expedition to Devagiri was sent. Amīr Khusrau also describes the conquest of Sefvānā just after this expedition (Khazāin Habīb Trans., p. 53). Sefvānā was captured in 1308 according to Fereishtāh and in 1310 according to Khusrau. The dates are perplexing. It appears that the contemporary writer Baranī is correct and the year 1308 is most convincing as it falls nearest to the date of the conquest of Sefvānā.
reinforced by the armies of Khvājā Hájī, ‘Ainul Mulk Multani and Alp Khan, the governor of Gujarat. These joint forces were to chastise the delinquent Maratha chief, to realise three years’ tribute from him and to obtain possession of Deval Rani the younger daughter of Rai Karan Baghela, ex-king of Gujarat then a fugitive in Nandurbar.

According to Ferishtah, Kamla Devi, the wife of Raja Karan, who had been forced into the imperial haram after the fall of Gujarat and who had now been reconciled to her lot, requested ‘Alāūddin to secure her daughter Deval Devi from the custody of her father. Kamla Devi had two daughters by her former husband. The elder one had died but the younger one, who was an infant of six months at the time of the invasion of Gujarat, was left with Raja Karan. Kamla’s motherly instinct was roused when she heard of an army being sent to Devagiri, where Karan had taken refuge, and she requested the Sultan to obtain Deval Devi. In this way the ex-queen of Gujarat proved to be the cause of much misery and humiliation to her former husband.

Eversince the kingdom of Gujarat had been overrun by the Muhammadans Rai Karan had taken refuge with the Yadava king of Devagiri—another victim of the invincible arms of ‘Alāūddin. Ram Chandra had treated the fugitive well and had given him Baglana, a portion of his own territory, to rule. Rai Karan established his capital at Nandurbar.

26 For her age see Chapter XVIII note 7

27 This incident has not been mentioned by Ziyā Baranī. Nizamuddin mixes the two expeditions of Gujarat of 1299 and 1308 into one and says that Deval Rani was captured when Karan lost Gujarat. Amir Khusrau describes the capture of Deval Devi under a separate expedition but does not give any date for it. Ferishtah, however, gives this expedition in detail and describes it in the events of the year 706 (1306 A.D.).

28 Ibn Battūtah describes Nadurbar (Nandurbar) as a small town inhabited by the Marathas.
and began to rule there in peace. Singhana Deva, son of Ram Deva, had all this time cherished to obtain the hand of Deval Devi, a Rajput princess, but Rai Karan even in his exile was reluctant to agree to this _mesalliance_ and had constantly refused the offer. Meanwhile, Malik Kāfūr marched southwards and was joined by Alp Khan and ‘Ainul Mulk Multani. After crossing Malwa Kāfūr sent a message to Rai Karan to deliver his daughter or be ready for an encounter with the imperial armies. Karan Beghela spurned the humiliating alternative and prepared for defence. Malik Naib Kāfūr desired Alp Khan to march with his forces through the mountains of Baglana and obtain possession of the peerless princess while he himself proceeded towards Devagiri. For two months Karan stood at bay and baffled all attempts of Alp Khan to force a passage. Singhana Deva finding the Baghela king in pressing circumstances renewed the offer of marriage and sent his younger brother Bhillama to escort the bride to Devagiri. The Rajput king, in his helpless state, sent the princess to Devagiri with a small escort under Bhillama.

But fate had decreed otherwise. As the bride was on the way to her new home, Karan was being hard pressed by Alap Khan and in a severe engagement was totally defeated. Leaving his baggage and tents on the field of battle he also fled towards Devagiri hotly pursued by the enemy. One day while the royalists were pursuing Raja Karan, about three hundred Muslim soldiers after obtaining permission from their commander went out on a visit to the famous caves of Ellora. Suddenly they saw a body of troops advancing towards them and mistaking them for a contingent of the retreating enemy fell upon them and a tough fight ensued. These troops were not a force of Rai Karan but the escort of Deval Rani, the destined bride of Singhana. An arrow pierced her horse and she fell upon the ground. The rowdy soldiers at once surrounded her, but on being told
that she was the much-sought for Deval Devi, they took her to their general. The capture of Deval filled the heart of Alp Khan with joy and the princess was despatched to Delhi to be admitted into the royal haram to live up to a tragic and unfortunate end.  

Deval Rani had been captured and the forces of Alp Khan marched to join Malik Naib in punishing Ram Deva. Malik Kāfūr arrived in Devagiri plundering and ravaging on the way and in the capital itself. It appears that Ram Chandra was not at all prepared for an invasion and stood to resist the invaders only with a feeble army. He was totally defeated in the battle that ensued. His son, unwilling to surrender to the enemy, fled away from the field of action with a few followers. Ram Chandra sued for peace. Malik Kāfūr captured some elephants and treasure and sent Ram Deva, his family and relations to Delhi to make submission to the Sultan personally.  

‘Alāūddīn was overjoyed at the success of his commander. He received Ram Deva kindly and provided for him princely comforts at the capital. After a stay of six months Ram Chandra was permitted to return to his kingdom and was honoured with the title of Rai Rayān and a canopy. Added to these distinctions the Yadava prince was given one hundred thousand gold tankahs and the

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29 The tragedy of her later life is described in chapter XX.

30 Khazain, Habib Trans, pp. 51-2.

31 Hajjūddabīr says that Ram Chandra met Malik Kāfūr because he had confidence in ‘Alāūddīn, but Kāfūr arrested him and seized whatever he had. He took him to Delhi and told the king what he had done. The sultan chid him for misbehaving with a vanquished prince and honoured Ram Deva. Zafarul Vali, p. 155.

This version may not be discredited. ‘Alāūddīn’s instructions to Kāfūr on the occasions of later expeditions clearly show that ‘Alāūddīn apprehended some unbbecoming behaviour on the part of Kāfūr towards the vanquished princes.
district of Navasari was added to his dominions. Ram Chandra was back in Devagiri by the end of the year 1308.

Ram Chandra felt very grateful to ‘Alāūddīn for his considerate behaviour and thenceforward he was ever subservient to the Delhi Sultan, never disobeyed his orders and until he died he sent tributes to the capital regularly. The treatment accorded to Ram Deva was not without ulterior motives. On the contrary this was a great diplomatic move of ‘Alāūddīn. He had now an unflinching ally in the south who would surely help the Sultan in his further plans. As would be seen later Ram Chandra gave invaluable help to Malik Kāfūr during his march further south.

The Campaign of Warangal (1309-10).

The expedition to Devagiri was a grand success indeed, and Sultan ‘Alūūddīn turned his attention to the kingdoms lying farther south. As Dr. Aiyangar aptly remarks "‘Alūūddīn’s object in these various invasions of the Deccan and the farther south appears to have gone no further than making them the milch-cow for the gold that he was often much in need of for the efficient maintenance of his army to keep Hindustan free from internal disturbance and invasion by the Mughals from outside." That this was actually his policy is clear from the instructions he gave to Malik Kāfūr on the eve of the expedition against Warangal


33 Barunī p. 326 has

34 Aiyangar: Invaders p. 87.
According to Amir Khusrau it was on the 25th of Jamādiul Avval 709 (31st October, 1309) that the Sultan ordered Malik Naib Kāfūr “to lead his lucky horses” towards the south and reduce the kingdom of Telingana with its capital at Warangal (Arangal of the Muslim historians). In spite of the fact that Muslim arms had no two previous occasions won brilliant victories in Devagiri, the Sultan quite realised that south India was an alien land. And, therefore, before sending Malik Naib to the south ‘Alāūddīn gave him some very valuable instructions. He told him that he was going to an unfamiliar country and should, therefore, not be very much self-willed and obstinate. He should work in cooperation with Malik Sirājuddīn, the ‘Arīz-i-Mumālik, and other important officers. He should treat the troops leniently and avoid any cause of resentment or revolt. He was advised to connive at minor acts of misconduct and disorderly behaviour of the soldiers. If any soldier wanted a fresh horse or a loan it was to be given to him. In short, he was neither to be so lenient to the commanders, nobles or soldiers as to render them impertinent and disrespectful, nor was he to let his severity turn them into his enemies. As to the treatment to be meted out to the king Warangal, Malik Kāfūr was advised to capture the fort and overthrow the Raja; and if Rai Pratap Rudra Deva (Laddar Deo of Muslim chronicles) consented to surrender his treasures and elephants and also agreed to pay a yearly tribute thereafter, the royal commander was not to insist for more, lest the Rai should be forced into desparate resistance. If he was successful in securing all the treasures and elephants of Warangal, he should not insist that the Rai should come to wait on him and “for the sake of his own name and fame, he should not bring the Rai with him to Delhi.”

Having received these instructions, Malik Kafur left Delhi with the Red canopy and a large force under his command. He first went to Rabri (Rewari), his own fief, and then took the road to the south. He marched on the old route through Chanderi, crossing many fast flowing streams like Chambal, Kuwari, Sindh and Betwa and traversing hilly tracts. On the way many rajas and governors joined the forces of Kafur. The army reached Irijpur, otherwise known as Sultanpur, after fifteen marches. As Malik Naib was already acquainted with the road to Devagiri he marched straight towards that kingdom en route to Warangal. The army arrived at Khandā in the first week of December 1309 (Rajjab 709) where it stayed for a fortnight. In the next march the royal forces reached a place called Nilkanth by Amīr Khusrau, and said to be lying on the borders of Devagiri. From there they marched quietly, for the Vazīr Kafur, "acting according to the emperor’s orders, protected the country from being plunder-

38 Khazain has Jūn (Jumna), Chambal, Kunwari, Binās and Bhoji. Jumna is a mistake, for there was no need to cross it while going south. Chambal and Kunwari (Kuwari of the map) are well known rivers. Banas is an off-shoot of Chambal, but here probably river Sindh is meant which the army must have met after Chambal on its southward march. Bhoji is undoubtedly modern Betwa, which flows near Bhilsa and Chanderi.

37 Irij lies 65 miles south-east of Gwalior. It should not be mistaken for Ellichi pur.
Also Hoḍivala pp. 252-53.

38 Prof. Aiyangar was inclined to identify it with Khandar, somewhere in north of Bidar, but on later thought considered it to be Khandwa. But according to Amīr Khusrau when the army left it after a stay of 14 days, it crossed the Narbada. Khandwa lies in south of Narbada and not to its north, and therefore, Khanda cannot be Khandwa. The place is difficult to identify.

39 This place is difficult to identify. It lay somewhere between Daulatabad and Sirpur.
ed by the troops," because they were passing through the territories of the Rai Rayan Ram Deva, an ally of the Sultanate of Delhi. Ram Chandra on his part looked to all the conveniences of the imperial army while they were marching towards Warangal on a path "narrower than a guitar-string and darker than a beauty's lock." He established markets on the way through which the army passed so that the soldiers might buy the necessaries of life for themselves at rates fixed by the Sultan at Delhi. He even reinforced the Muslim army with some of his Maratha forces, and made adequate arrangements for provisions and other necessaries of the advancing forces. He himself went for some distance with Malik Kāfūr, and then returned to Devagiri.

Amīr Khusrau gives a list of names of places, now difficult to locate, through which the royal army passed. For certain, it passed through Basirgarh (Wairagarh) which was in the doab of the two rivers Yashr (Basihar) and Buji. On emerging from Devagiri and entering the borders of Telingana Malik Kāfūr began to ravage towns and villages on his way. Before marching straight to Warangal, he invested the fort of Sabar (Sirpur) lying northwards in the kingdom of Telingana. The besieged fought

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41 Ferishtah p. 119.
42 Prof. Hodivala says that there can be little doubt that Basirgarh is a misreading for Bairagarh i.e. Wairagarh. The Alld. Uni. Ms. fol. 40(b) has Bairagarh بیراگر. The town is situated very close to the left bank of the Wain Ganga on a tributary of that river called Kobragarhi, about 80 miles S.E. of Nagpur.

The names of the two rivers are obviously corrupt. One of them must be a tributary of Wain Ganga or the river itself.

Also see Hodivala p. 254.
43 It is situated 19.32 N. 79.45 E.
valiantly, but unable to resist the terrific onslaught, preferred for their wives and children the consuming flames to dishonour, and for themselves a glorious death on battlefield to abject surrender. The governor (Muqaddam) of the fort was probably killed in action, and his brother called Ananūr by Khusrau, was left in charge of the fort on promise of obedience in future. By January 1310 (Sh‘abān 709) the army reached in the vicinity of Warangal. A contingent of a thousand horsemen was detached and sent forward as a reconnoitring party. It took possession of the hill of Hanmuakonda (An-Makinda of Khusrau) from where all the buildings and gardens of Warangal could be seen further south.

The fort of Warangal was made of stone, but it was encircled by a thick earthen wall which was perhaps stronger than the stone edifice itself. Its construction had been begun in the time of Ganapatī Deva and was completed by his talented wife, the famous queen Rudramba Devi. It was one of the strongest forts in southern India. Malik Kāfūr twice examined the fortress before he pitched his tents round it, and ordered the commencement of the siege. Amīr Khusrau describes the siege in his usual graphic style. "It was on the 15th of Sh‘abān (January 18th, 1310) that Khvājā Naṣīrulmulk Sirājuddaula personally arranged the troops with a lighted lamp. Every division was sent to its appointed place in order to surround the fort and to protect the besiegers from the fire of the besieged. . . . Every tuman was assigned one thousand two hundred yards of land; the total circumference of the fort, as enclosed by the tents, was twelve thousand five hundred and forty six yards."44

On the other side brave Rayas were appointed to all the towers (kangūrās) of the fort. Stones were collected and those who did not have stones threw down upon the besiegers

44 Khazain, Habib Trs. p. 63.
bricks and small scimitars. As the besiegers were reflecting on the way by which the fort, which was surrounded and secured by a ditch alround, could be stormed, Vinayak Deva (Banik Deo of Khusrau) a governor in the kingdom of Telingana, one night attacked the Muslim army from the rear and created consternation in the royal camp. Many soldiers were killed on both sides but finally the Hindus were worsted and the attack proved abortive. Meanwhile Malik Qara Beg, of the left wing, carried on a raid in the neighbourhood and captured some elephants.

The work of filling the moat round the fort was begun with feverish activity. To guard against a sudden attack from the enemy, orders were given to the soldiers to fell trees and construct a barricade. By throwing mud and stones and other things the ditch was filled at one place and the Muslim army could reach the bastions of the fort. Malik Naib called a council of officers, and all the generals unanimously agreed that the construction of pashib for escaldings the walls of the fort was a hard task. They decided to engage the enemy in a hand to hand fight before constructing a pashib. By the middle of February a breach in the outer walls was effected by the sinewy "diggers." After persistent efforts for a whole week the imperial general got possession of the outer fortress of mud and then began the investment of the inner fort of stone, by crossing another ditch that lay between the two lines of fortification.

At Delhi the Sultan was anxiously following the progress of the expedition to Warangal. The posts which had been establish all along from Delhi to Warangal, and through which 'Ala'uddin used to get intelligence about the royal army, were disorganised obviously owing to enemy activity. Consequently no news about Malik Naib reached the Sultan for more than a month. 'Ala'uddin in his extreme anxiety sent Qazi Mughisuddin of Bayana to Shaikh Nizamuddin Aulia, a venerable saint of the day, to request him
to prophesy about the success of the army. Nizāmuddin gave a very encouraging reply by saying that he not only expected success that time but also hoped for further victories in future. The Sultan was overjoyed at the observation of the Saint, and by a strange coincidence of circumstances, the news of Kāfūr's victory at Warangal reached the capital the same day.\(^{45}\)

When the siege had been sufficiently prolonged and the condition of the people inside the fortress had become very critical, Pratap Rudra Deva made overtures to Malik Kāfūr with terms of a truce. He promised to present treasures, precious stones, elephants, horses, and other valuable articles and also to send yearly tribute of the same value to Delhi. He also sent a golden image of himself with a golden chain round its neck to symbolise his humility and unconditional surrender. Malik Kāfūr, adhering to the advice of 'Alāūddin, demanded of the Rai his entire wealth and threatened a general massacre of the population of the city if he was found keeping anything hidden for himself. Rudra Deva finding himself helpless consented to the terms of the treaty forced upon him, and surrendered all the treasures which had been accumulated during the course of many generations. According to Baranī, Pratap Rudra Deva gave 100 elephants,\(^{46}\) 7000 horses and other precious articles and promised to send an equal amount of tribute in future years.\(^{47}\) Among the precious stones which the Rai surrendered was the famous Koh-i-Nūr, which according to many later writers, including Khāfī Khan, was brought by Malik Kāfūr from the Deccan.\(^{48}\)

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45 Baranī pp. 330-32.
46 Ferishtah p. 119 has 300 elephants.
47 Baranī p. 330. According to Khusrau the money promised by the Rai was 10,000,000,000 rupees; but this is only an imaginary figure.
Now, in spite of the exaggerated accounts of Baranî and Khusrau with regard to the terms of the treaty, the inner fortress never seems to have capitulated to the Muslim invader; nor did Pratap Rudra himself go to make submission to Malik Kãfûr. Only his envoys, who went to settle the terms of the treaty, bowed before the royal canopy.49 ‘İşāmi also says that after the settlement of peace terms a robe of honour embroidered with jewels was sent to Rudra Deva inside the fort.50

By the middle of March, 1310, Malik Kãfûr returned towards the north through Devagiri, Dhar and Jhain. So enormous was the booty captured by him that a thousand camels "groaned under the weight" of the treasures. Before he arrived in Delhi the news of his victory had already reached the Sultan. On receipt of the intelligence of the victory festivities were held and the happy tidings of the success were read from the pulpits of the mosques. The victorious Važîr was received in a decorated darbar under a black pavilion before the Chabutra-Nâširi on 24th Muḥarram 710 (June 23rd, 1310).51 The treasures brought from the Deccan were displayed before the Sultan, who was greatly pleased with his favourite general and rewarded him generously.

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49 Khazain., Habib Trs. pp. 74-75.
50 Futûh p. 283.
51 Allahabad University Ms. (fol. 56) has Zilq’ada 710 A.H., which is equivalent to March-April 1310. The date given above from Prof. Habib’s translation of the Khazain seems more correct as Kãfûr must have taken one or two months to reach Delhi.
CHAPTER XIII
THE FAR SOUTH
DWARSAMUDRA AND M’ABAR

On return from Warangal Malik Kāfūr had many a thing to tell about the Deccan. He had been well acquainted with the peninsular India and apprised the Sultan of the rich kingdoms lying farther south—the kingdoms of Dwarsamudra and M’abar. He told ʿAlāʾuddīn that while he was in Warangal he had heard that the king of M’abar possessed 500 large elephants, and expressed a keen desire to lead an expedition into that far off kingdom. ʿAlāʾuddīn was more eager than his Vāzīr to see his banner unfurled in the remotest corners of India, and had already determined to send Malik Naib at the head of another expedition. The motive of the despatch of the expedition appears to be the same as that of the two previous ones, namely, the possession of treasures and elephants; but Amīr Khusrau says that “now with a sincere motive” the emperor thought of sending an expedition to the south “so that the light of the shari‘at may reach there.”

On the 24th of Jamadiul-Ākhīr 710 (20th November 1310) Malik ʿIzzuddaulah Naib-Barbak Kāfūr started with a large army towards M’abar, which lay on the sea and which was “so far from Delhi that a man travelling with an expedition can only reach it after a journey of twelve

1 Khizain. Habīb Trs. p. 80.
2 Habīb’s Trs. of Khizain has 26th of Jamadul Ākhīr Elliot’s and All. Uni.’s Mss. have 24th. Barani simply says “by the end of the year 710 A.H.

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months.” The army marched southwards by the bank of Jumna and halted at Tankal or Natgal, a village on the river. They halted there for a fortnight and when all the soldiers had arrived and got enrolled they resumed their march southwards. They traversed difficult roads and arrived at a place named Kaithun after which they crossed Narbada and two other rivers smaller than that. At the end of this march the imperial commander received envoys of Pratap Rudra Deva, who had sent twenty three elephants as a present for the Sultan. The army halted at Gurgam (Khargon) where a muster of troops was held and the elephants of the king of Telingana were sent to Delhi. The river Tavi (Tapti) was crossed and Devagiri was reached on the 13th of Ramzan 710 (February 4th, 1311). Here Malik Kafur halted for some days to obtain spears and arrows and other weapons of war “for overthrowing Bilal Deo and other deos (demons).”

According to Barani when Malik Naib reached Devagiri Ram Deva had died. Ferishtah follows Barani in this statement. But the statements of Amir Khusrau and

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3 The village is not traceable on the maps now available. Barani, however, suggests the same route as selected on previous occasion and says that Malik Naib first marched to Rewari and then went straight to Devagiri.

4 Kaithun or Kanhur has been identified by Prof. Aiyangar with Kanhun in Rajputana, “a little aside of the road from Ujjain to Delhi”. Invaders, p. 101.

5 Prof. Aiyangar first identified Gurgam with Kharegam of the maps a little way S.W. of Indore (Invaders, p. 101) and then was inclined to place it somewhere between Burhanpur and Tapti and left the exact situation undecided. (Introduction to the Trs. of Khazain p. xxx.). Prof. Hodivala thinks it to be Khargon which lies on the Kundi river, a tributary of Narbada in 21.50 N 75.37 E. He gives the names of numerous writers of medieval period who have referred to this town. Hodivala, p. 256.

6 Barani p. 333.
'Isāmī point to the fact that Ram Deva was living when Kāfür passed Devagiri en route to Dwarsamudra. Khusrau describes in detail the help rendered by the Yadava king to the Imperial general. 'Isāmī also says that Ram Chandra was invited to Delhi by 'Alāūddīn in prince Khizr Khan's marriage with the daughter of Alp Khan, and the latter attended it. This marriage was performed on the 23rd of Ramzan 711 A.H. (February 4th, 1312). It is obvious, therefore, that Ram Deva died some time after this event. Moreover at another place Ferishtah himself says that Malik Naib was sent to the Deccan again in 712 A.H. (1312 A.D.) because Singhana Deva had assumed independence in the life-time of his father. It is clear, therefore, that Ram Deva was alive at the time of the expedition to Dwarsamudra and died some time in 1312 A.D.

Rai Rayan Ram Deva helped the Muslim general in every possible way. He ordered that everything needed by the imperial army should be placed in the market, a thing he had done at the time of the invasion of Warangal. Amir Khusrau says that the Hindus did not quarrel with the Muslim soldiers, nor did the latter create any trouble, and the transactions in the market were carried on peacefully. Ram Deva deputed Parasuram Deva (Paras Deo Delvi), his commander-in-chief on the southern frontier, to help the Muslim army on its southward march. Parasuram rendered all help and assistance in the conquest of "Bir and Dhur Samandar." Malik Kāfür left the Amanabad of Devagiri for the Kharabad of Paras Deva. They travelled on hills and in dales and crossed streams "some roaring, others softly melodious." In five stages they reached the bor-

7 Futāḥ p. 316.

8 Khazain. The Allahabad University Ms. fol. 61(b).
ders of the Hoysalas after crossing rivers Godavari, Sini and Bhīma.

While Kāfūr was marching into the capital of the Hoysalas, king Ballāla III had gone father south with his force. It has been mentioned before that Mārāvarman Kulasekhara had two sons Sundara Pandya and Vīrā Pandya. Vīrā was very much liked by the king and was nominated as his successor. Sundara Pandya could not tolerate such open favouritism. In a paroxym of rage he killed his father and crowned himself at Mardi (Madura). This unflial act resulted in a bloody warfare between the two brothers. With the help of his cousin, Virā Pandya defeated Sundara, who fled northwards and begged assistance form Alāūddin at Delhi or from his general Kāfūr who was then present in the Deccan. It was this unsettled condition which had prompted Vīrā Ballāla III to march with an army and gain by the disaffection of the two brothers. Just then the news of the invasion of his own territories by the Muhammadans fell upon his ears like a thunderbolt. He hastened to protect his own country not to speak of invading another’s. Kāfūr had learnt at Bandri about everything that was happening in the southern kingdoms of the Hoysalas and the Pandyas. He held a council of war and working according to its deliberations started with 10,000 chosen horses on 23rd Ramzan (February 14th, 1311) and crossing hills and torrents appeared before the citadel of Dwarsamudra (Dhur

9 The position in the text is transposed. Therein the rivers are given: "Sini, Godavari and Bhinur (Bhima)".

10 Aiyangar, p. 97.
11 'Assāf, p. 531.
12 Prof. Aiyangar identifies Bandri with Pandharpur and adds that it seems to have been then a frontier station between the Yadava and Hoysala dominions. (Invaders, p. 102.)
Samandar of Khusrau) on Thursday, 5th Shavval, 710 (February 25th, 1311). Vira Ballāla, who had returned to the capital in time, sought the advice of his commanders and ministers at a time of such dire distress. They unanimously exhorted him to fight rather than to submit. It would be impossible to re-establish the prestige of the kingdom, they argued, after the shock of a humiliating peace. Seeing the Hoysala prince in distress Vīra Pandya also sent an army to reinforce Ballāla's forces, but the latter was pessimistic from the very beginning. He fought short skirmishes but refrained from giving a final engagement to the invaders. In the meantime he sent one Gaisu Mal to "find out the strength and the circumstances of the Muslim army." Having come to know that the enemy was a tough fighter and rulers like Ram Chandra and Pratap Rudra had submitted to him, he sued for peace. According to Amīr Khusrau one Balak Deva Nayak accompanied by plenipotentiaries visited the camp of Malik Naib and offered submission to Kāfūr. Malik Kāfūr's terms were clear. "The order of the Caliph (i.e. 'Alāūddin) concerning Bilal Deo and all other Rais is this: First I am to place before them the two negatives of the oath of affirmation. May be, their hearts may be illuminated. But if...they fail to see the light, I am to offer them the alternative of having the yoke of tribute (Zimma) put on their necks. If they reject this also and refuse to pay tribute, then I will simply relieve their necks of the burden of their head.'"14 Ballāl Deva accepted the second alternative and promised to send an yearly tribute. Much treasure, which was taken out from the cells for a whole night, and a number of large elephants were presented to the imperial commander.15 Vīra Ballāla came in person to Malik Kāfūr and made his submission.

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14 Khazain. Habib Trs. p. 91.
15 Barani says that Malik Kāfūr captured 36 elephants and all the treasures of Dwarsamudra.
After the settlement of the peace terms Malik Naib stayed at Dwarsamudra for a week after which he asked Ballāla Deva to lead him on the way towards M’abar, a way with which the royal commander was completely unacquainted. The defeated Hoysala chief had but to agree to what the victorious general said, and prepared to lead Malik Kāfūr towards the destruction of a sister state.16

Embassy from Persia (1310-11).

At the time when Malik Kāfūr was carrying fire and sword into the south, an embassy from the Ilkhan Sultan Aljaitu Khuda Banda of Persia reached the court of ‘Alāūddin. The message they brought from their suzerain was that the sultans of Delhi had always been on good terms with the Mughal Khaqans, Chaghtai and Oqtai. But it appeared strange that since the accession of Aljaitu Sultan ‘Alāūddin had neither sent any congratulatory message nor any communication to cement old relations of friendship. It was time that the old friendship should be revived.17

In that message Aljaitu also suggested, in very sweet words, that a daughter of the sultan of India may be given in marriage to the ruling Ilkhan of Persia. ‘Alāūddin, who by now possessed vast treasures and who had made unprecedented conquests in north and south, considered the marriage proposal of Aljaitu as a deliberate insult to his dignity and imprisoned all the eighteen persons that comprised the embassy. His temper was not soothed simply by imprisoning these people; he later on ordered them to be crushed under the feet of the elephants. By such flagrantly undiplo-

16 Futūḥ p. 287.
17 Relations of amity existed between ‘Alāūddin and Aljaitu’s predecessor Ghāzān Khan (1295-1304). In the October probably of 1303 Ghazan Khan left Tebriz on an elephant, which had been sent as a present by the sultan of Delhi. The sight was a new one to the people of Tebriz. Howorth: History of the Mongols, Vol. III p. 479.
matic act, says Vassāf, he threw "the pearl of his good name into the river of Nile."\textsuperscript{18}

\textit{March towards M’abar (1311).}

From Dwarsamudra Kāfür started for M’abar\textsuperscript{19} on the 18th Shavvāl 710 (10th March, 1311). According to the author of \textit{Futuḥus Salātin} the vanquished Hoysala now accompanied Malik Kāfür on his expedition into the far south, and guided the path of the imperial general in an unknown country. The land through which the royal army marched was very unpropitious and hilly so much so that "the pointed stones tore the horse's hoofs;" and every night the soldiers slept on ground "more uneven than a camel’s back." After five laborious marches they reached the frontier of M’abar. According to 'Īṣāmi a reconnaissance party consisting of great generals like Bahram Kara, Katla Nihang, Maḥmūd Sartiha and Abaji Mughal was attached with the royal forces. Every day one of these five commanders used to go in advance with a few persons who knew the language of that country, and used to bring news to the imperial commander about the affairs in the enemy territory. Suddenly Abaji Mughal thought of deserting the royal army and taking service under the Rai of M’abar. He even thought of killing Malik Kāfür. He settled with some people that they would take him to the Rai of M’abar and secure for him an

\textsuperscript{18} This incident has only been mentioned in \textit{Vassāf} (p. 528). No Indian historian refers to it. But since it concerns the affairs of Persia, Vassāf should be relied upon. Indian historians may have overlooked such a petty incident while describing the brilliant victories of Malik Kāfür in the Deccan.

\textsuperscript{19} Pandya country was known to the Muhammadans by the name of M’abar. It extended from Quilon to Nellor, nearly 300 farsangs along the sea coast.
honourable job there. But as he was marching ahead of the main army his troops came in conflict with a detachment of the M'abar army. Abaji confused and perplexed, hurriedly retreated and joined Kəfər. When the imperial general came to know of these developments he put Abaji in chains and continued to proceed onward.20

The army marched on, and on crossing the two passes Tarmali21 and Tabar (Toppur) they arrived in the city of Mardi, the inhabitants of which place were massacred. Then starting from the river Kanobari they advanced to Birdhul.22 At the approach of the Muslim army the Rai of the place, Vira Pandya, fled towards Kandur (identified with Kannanur).23 But he did not feel secure and fled even from there towards the jungles. Malik Kəfər was all the time chasing the Rai wherever he went. About 20,000 Musalmans of south India, who had fought on the side of the Hindus, now deserted to the imperialists and were

20 When Kəfər returned to Delhi after his victory in M'abar Abaji Mughal was beheaded by the orders of the king. Futūḥ, pp. 288-91.

21 Elliot has Sarmali; the Allahabad University Ms. has Talmali. It is difficult to identify it now.

22 Prof. Aiyangar thinks it to be the headquarters of Vira (Bir) Pandya. Yule (Ser Marco Polo, II, p. 319) on the authority of A. Burnell suggests that it is Virdachellam of the maps, which is in south Arcot and about fifty miles north of Tanjore. Abul Feda in Таqrimul Buldān also calls Bīrdaival as the capital of the country of M'abar (Alqal Qəshindi pp. 38-9). There are old and well known temples there, and relics of fortifications. It is a rather famous place of pilgrimage. But place names like Birdhul, Jalkota, Sarmali and Kham are corrupt and difficult to identify.

23 Kannanur lies about 8 miles north of Trichnopoly town and was the Hoysala capital in the Chola country. For a detailed discussion about its identification see Aiyangar: Invaders p. 72 and Hodivala p. 257.
With the help of these people the army tried to know the whereabouts of the flying king, but severe rains compelled them to fall back upon Birdhul. The chase of the fugitive, however, was not given up and the army restarted from Birdhul in his pursuit. "Torrents of rain fell from above and the army passed through places completely covered with water." Intelligence was brought that the Rai had fled to the city of Kandur. The imperial army dashed towards the town but Vira Pandya had fled even from there. Malik Kafur laid hand upon 120 elephants on which he found some treasure also. In fact the real aim of Malik Kafur was to destroy his enemy Vira Pandya than to help his friend Sundara. In vain, however, did he massacre the people of Kandur for the Rai had long before fled from that place. It was thought that he had fled towards Jat Kuta. Malik Naib marched in that direction but thorny forests forbade any persistent pursuit, and he again returned to Kandur where he searched for more elephants and treasure. Meanwhile they had learnt much about the temples and treasures of the places lying in the vicinity of Kandur. They came to know that at Barmatpuri (Brahmapuri) there

\[\text{حَلَقُ دِيُوَّنِر وَقْتُهُ إِزْوَاتُ وَإِزَمَانُ مَاضٍ خَبِرُ إِسْلَامُ}\\\text{نَشْنِيِّه وَهَيْبَةُ ْمِزْمِيمَ مُرَهِّبٌ رَأْ لَشْكَرُ نَمَآ لِدُهُ}\\\]

But this is incorrect. The fact that Kafur was joined by some Muslim subjects of the Hindu king clearly shows that at Kannanur near Srirangam there was a settlement of Muhammadans. Muhammadans had come to south India as peaceful traders long before they had penetrated into north India as invaders.

\[\text{جُلُودُ وَمَهْمُ حُزَينَ مَهْمُ مُهْمَّحُ رَأْ لَشْكَرُ نَمَآ لِدُهُ}\\\]

\[\text{حَلُّدَة وَهَيْبَةُ ْمِزْمِيمَ مُرَهِّبٌ رَأْ لَشْكَرُ نَمَآ لِدُهُ}\\\]

\[\text{حَلَقُ دِيُوَّنِر وَقْتُهُ إِزْوَاتُ وَإِزَمَانُ مَاضٍ خَبِرُ إِسْلَامُ}\\\text{نَشْنِيِّه وَهَيْبَةُ ْمِزْمِيمَ مُرَهِّبٌ رَأْ لَشْكَرُ نَمَآ لِدُهُ}\\\]

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\[\text{حَلُّدَة وَهَيْبَةُ ْمِزْمِيمَ مُرَهِّبٌ رَأْ لَشْكَرُ نَمَآ لِدُهُ}\\\]

\[\text{حَلَقُ دِيُوَّنِر وَقْتُهُ إِزْوَاتُ وَإِزَمَانُ مَاضٍ خَبِرُ إِسْلَامُ}\\\text{نَشْنِيِّه وَهَيْبَةُ ْمِزْمِيمَ مُرَهِّبٌ رَأْ لَشْكَرُ نَمَآ لِدُهُ}\\\]

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\[\text{حَلَقُ دِيُوَّنِر وَقْتُهُ إِزْوَاتُ وَإِزَمَانُ مَاضٍ خَبِرُ إِسْلَامُ}\\\text{نَشْنِيِّه وَهَيْبَةُ ْمِزْمِيمَ مُرَهِّبٌ رَأْ لَشْكَرُ نَمَآ لِدُهُ}\\\]

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\[\text{جُلُودُ وَمَهْمُ حُزَينَ مَهْمُ مُهْمَّحُ رَأْ لَشْكَرُ نَمَآ لِدُهُ}\\\]
was a golden temple and that the elephants of the Rai had collected there. The temple was raided and 250 elephants were captured. The temple, like “the paradise of Shaddād, which after being lost, those ‘hellites’ had found” or the “Golden Lanka of Ram”, was assaulted and its idol Ling-i-Mahadeva was broken. The foundations of this golden temple, which for centuries had been the object of worship of the Hindus were dug up. “The swords flashed where jewels had once been sparkling.....and the heads of the Brahmans and idol-worshippers came dancing from their necks to their feet at the flashes of the sword”\textsuperscript{27}

Such is the poetic description of the destruction of the golden temple of Brahmastpuri (Chidambaram). The temple of Srirangam was also sacked, since all the temples near Kannanur (Kandur) were sacked, and this presumption is confirmed in a work called Koyiloluhu. The book is a record of gifts made, and repairs effected, to the temple of Sriranganatha in Srirangam. It is written in Tamil prose and gives almost a continuous thread of south Indian chronology from the 13th to the 16th century A.D. Its evidence is based on inscriptions on copper and stone and it forms a great source of historical value.\textsuperscript{28} This book mentions that at the time of the sack of Srirangam, obviously under Malik Naib, it was under the charge of Arya Bhattas or northern Brahmans. They were overpowered and all the wealth of the temple including the idol of the god was taken away by the Muḥammadans. There was a woman who did not take her food without having darshan of the idol everyday. She followed on the skirt of the retreating army in guise of a mendicant and ultimately reached Delhi. There the idol of Ranganatha was given to a princess of the royal

\textsuperscript{27} Khazain. Habib Trs. pp. 103-05.
\textsuperscript{28} Ind. Ant. 1911 pp. 131-44. Article on Koyiloluhu by K. V. Subrahmanya.
household because she had taken a fancy for it. The woman finding the idol in safe custody returned to Srirangam. From there some people, under the guidance of the woman, went to Delhi, pleased the Sultan with their music, and brought the idol back. But the princess was not prepared to part with it; and the idol had been returned to the southerners only without her knowledge. She marched to the Deccan under an escort to seize the idol. It was at Tirupati that the people bearing the idol heard that the princess and her escort were following them. Not feeling safe the party broke up, leaving the idol in charge of three men, a father, his son, and the latter’s maternal uncle. The fear of Muslim army made the three Hindus hide in a glen under an unfrequented hill. The princess, however, marched straight on to Srirangam and finding the temple deserted died of a broken heart. Sixty years passed. The father and the uncle died and the son grew up to be an old man of eighty. Feeling his end drawing near he showed himself to some hill-folk and told them the long story of how he was there. By then the power of the Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagar had been sufficiently established and the idol was re-installed in the temple of Srirangam in 1370-71.29

This romantic story is described about one single temple, but a very large number of them were destroyed and their wealth looted by Kāfūr. The temples of Birdhul to which the army marched from Brahmastpuri were also thoroughly sacked. The destruction wrought by Malik Kāfūr can well be imagined from the fact that in search of Vira Pandya the Muslim army went from place to place, and to some places many times over, and in their disappointment and rage at not finding the fugitive wherever they went, they destroyed edifices and killed people mercilessly.30

29 Aiyangar, pp. 113-16.
30 In Devāl Rāni also Khusrau dwells at length upon the destruction of various temples in M’abar. (Devāl Rāni
The royal army marched on. On the 15th of Zilq'ada (April 16th, 1311) they arrived in the city of Kum (Elliot: Kham), and after some days they reached Madura, where Vira was supposed to live. The Rai along with his family and treasures had fled away from there again and only two or three elephants were left in the temple of Jagnar (rather Sokkanatha). Kafür's disappointment was terrible and in his impotent rage he set fire to it. By now his patience had been exhausted. He had relentlessly searched the Rai for weeks and months; in towns, in jungles and in hills, but everywhere in vain; and now finding that he had become master of so much wealth and had captured so many elephants, he decided to march back. Before marching homewards he ordered all the spoils to be arranged and classified. His gains consisted of 512 elephants (Barani has 612), 5000 horses of...

pp. 70-73). The temples were reservoirs of effluence and wealth. Hindu Rajas and other rich people presented them with gold and jewels and endowed villages for the maintenance of their establishments. Thus wealth multiplied in a temple without being spent on a large scale. The result was that whenever the Muslims attacked a place they sacked its temples in particular for despoiling them of their wealth. But in the rage of warfare fanaticism was naturally fanned and besides looting the wealth of the temple the invaders destroyed the very edifices and often threw their stones and idols at such places as could be trampled under the feet of the Musalmans.

31 Probably Kadamvavanam, a city now in ruins but remains of old fortifications exist. The particular locality now a days is called Kadambar Malai and lies about 11 miles from Pudukotta along the Trichnopoly road.

32 Aiyangar (p. 100) contends the interpretation of Elliot that Jagnath is Jagannath or it was a temple dedicated to Jagannath or Vishnu. He says that Jagnar is a corruption of Sokkannath, which is an alternative name of Shiva or Sundesh, the patron deity of the town of Madura. The great temple of Sundeshwara is still a beautiful edifice in the town. See Khazain. Trans. Intol. p. xxxii.

Hodivala p. 257.

various breeds like 'Arabî, Yamanî and Syrian\textsuperscript{33} (Barani has 20,000 horses, 96,000 \textit{mans} of gold), and 500 \textit{mans} of jewellery of every description\textsuperscript{34}. With these rewards of his enterprise he broke his camp on Sunday the 4th Zilhijja (April 25th, 1311) to the extreme joy of everybody. They marched towards Delhi on the same rough paths on which they had marched down to the conquest of the south. They arrived in Delhi after an arduous journey of six months. Sultan 'Alâüddîn accorded a deserving reception to his victorious general and his troops. He held a Durbar in the palace of Hazâr Situn in Sirî on the 4th of Jamadus šani 711 A.H. (Monday, October 18th, 1311 A.D.)\textsuperscript{35}, where Malik Kâfûr presented before the Sultan all he had brought from the Deccan. Such was the wealth captured in south, says Baranî, that since the capture of Delhi by the Muḥammadans at no time had so much treasure been seized. On such occasions 'Alâüddîn did not fail to exhibit his generosity. He gave four, two, one and half a \textit{man} gold to his nobles and Amîrs.

\textsuperscript{33} \textit{Khazain}. p. 106. Khusrau does not exaggerate. Both Vassaf and Marco Polo bear testimony to the fact that from places like Qatif, Lahsa, Bahrain and Hormuz, a very large number of horses were imported into M'abar. Since the southerners did not give them proper diet, but dressed gram and milk, they died soon, and new ones were imported (\textit{Vassaf} p. 302). Marco says about M'abar: “Here are no horses bred; and thus a great part of the wealth of the country is wasted in purchasing horses......merchants of Kis and Hormuz......and Aden collect great number of destriers and other horses” and bring them to M'abar (Yule: \textit{Ser Marco Polo}, II, p. 324).

The Hindus did not know cross-breeding which had been a secret art of the Arabs. That is why they had always to import good-breed horses.

\textsuperscript{34} \textit{Khazain}. Habib Trs. pp. 105-7.

\textsuperscript{35} \textit{Khazain}, Trs. p. 180 has 14th of Jamadius Sani, which is a slip because 14th was not Monday but Thursday. Elliot’s and the Allahabad University Mss. have 4th of Jamad, which is correct.
Ballāla Deva had accompanied Malik Kāfūr to Delhi. The Hoysala prince, after escorting Kāfūr on his march to M'abar and helping in its speedy destruction, had accompanied Kāfūr to Delhi. The sultan was very much pleased with Ballāla’s assistance and loyalty. He gave him a special robe of honour, a crown and chattr and also presented him with a purse of ten lac of tankahs. The Hoysala chief stayed at Delhi for some time and then came back to Dwarsamudra, his territories having been restored by the Sultan.

It is strange indeed that Amir Khusrau and Barani, while describing the scence of the special reception arranged for Malik Naib Kāfūr, do not make mention of Ballāla Deva, who must have been an important figure there. But Isāmī describes how Ballāla was received by ‘Alāūddīn. That this prince also visited Delhi, as the Yadava Ram Chandra had done a couple of years back, is corroborated by an inscription, the translation of which reads: "When the Pratapa—Chakravartti Hoyisana Vira—Ballāla Devarasa was ruling a peaceful kingdom"...the Turkish invasion occurred, Ballāla went to Delhi, and on the occasion of his coming back from there (date specified May 6, 1313) "he released the taxes old and new......etc."37

The Third Expedition to Devagiri (1313).

Next year (712-13 A.H.; 1312-13 A.D.) Malik Kāfūr was once more appointed to march into the Deccan. Ram Deva, the oldest and most faithful ally of Sultan ‘Alāūddīn, had died some time in the year 1312 and was succeeded by his son. Ever since the Muslims had penetrated into the Deccan Singhana had been their avowed enemy. After the humiliating submission of his father in 1296 came another catastrophe, and Deval

36 Futūḥ p. 290.
Rani, his betrothed, was snatched away from him. This latter event rekindled the flame of animosity in Singhana's heart. So great was his resentment that, if 'Iqāmi is to be believed, even Ram Chandra was compelled to request 'Alāūddin to help him in controlling Singhana against assuming open hostility to the Delhi government. In 1312 or 1313 Singhana succeeded to the throne after the death of his father, and as could well be expected he stopped all connections with the sultanate and began to rule independently.

Mean while Raja Pratap Rudra of Telingana, who had either been too much frightened or was unflinchingly true to his plighted troth, sent a score of elephants and a letter to 'Alāūddin stating therein that he was prepared to pay the yearly tribute he had promised to whomsoever the emperor appointed for the purpose. Malik Naib Kāfūr, who according to Ferishtah, was afraid of, and inimical to, the Malka-i-Jahān and her son Khizr Khan, requested the Sultan to send him to the Deccan to receive the tribute. He also promised to punish the refractory Singhana and clear the Deccan of disaffected elements. 'Alāūddin consented to the proposal of Malik Naib and appointed him to govern Devagiri after crushing the insolent Yadava prince.

Once again did Malik Kāfūr march into the Deccan crushing right and left any prince who raised his head. First of all he marched to Devagiri and engaged Singhana in a terrible battle. The valiant Maratha, who all his life was opposed to acknowledging the suzerainty of Delhi, could not

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38 Futūḥ p. 274.
39 Ferishtah p. 122. Also Baranī (p. 334). Khusrav does not mention anything about it because Khazainul Futūḥ had been completed in 711 and this event came off later.
40 Ferishtah p. 122.
41 Futūḥ p. 326.
stand the tempo of the attack and was killed in action. ‘Isāmī’s statement that the prince evacuated Devagiri without giving a battle lends itself to great doubt because Singhana was never heard of again so long as Malik Naib remained in the Deccan. Even after Kāfūr’s return to Delhi, Harpal Deva, son-in-law of Ram Deva, and not Singhana is mentioned as the ruler of Devagiri.

Having retaken the Yadava territories Malik Naib attacked a few other cities far and near in the territories of Telingana and Hoysala, and inspired such terror into the hearts of the Deccanies that even the last remnants of opposition to the Delhi government were wiped out. When everybody had submitted Malik Kāfūr returned to Devagiri and fixed his headquarters there, and it was on account of his integrity and strength that the prestige and power of the sultanate were ever felt in Deccan until the death of the Sultan. 42 Malik Naib sent some years’ tribute from Telingana and Carnatic kingdoms to the capital. He remained in the Deccan until about 1315 when ‘Alāūddīn, who had fallen seriously ill, called him back to Delhi. 43

42 An inscription of ‘Alāūddīn Khalji has been found in a village called Nalatward in the Muddebihal Taluka of the Bijapur district. It is dated 715 A.H. (1315-16 A.D.) and its language and epithets used for the king are the same as those used at Delhi in contemporary inscriptions. (Arch. Sur Rep. 1929-30 p. 190). The inscription is published and translated in the Epig. Indo-Moslemica 1927-28 pp. 16-17.

43 Baranī does not mention this expedition to the south, but while describing the events of last days of ‘Alāūddīn he says that when the emperor fell seriously ill he called Malik Naib from the Deccan and Alp Khan from Gujarat (p. 368). This proves that in 1314-15 Malik Kāfūr was in the Deccan and must have gone there some time before. ‘Isāmī, however, writes about the death of Ram Deva, about Singhana’s (whom he always calls Bhilam) recalcitrance, and about Malik Naib’s going to the Deccan and curbing all the refractory element there including the newly crowned king of Devagiri. (Futūḥ
Causes of the success of 'Alā'ī Expeditions.

The various invasions of Malik Kāfūr, for the time being, destroyed peaceful conditions in the Deccan peninsula. All the prominent kingdoms of the south—the Yadava, the Kākātiya, the Hoysala and the Pandya—succumbed to his terrible onsloughts. Incalculable wealth was carried off to the north and places and shrines venerated by the Hindus for centuries were desecrated, looted and razed to the ground. Perhaps nowhere during his march did Kāfūr meet a really tough resistance.

The causes of the success of the royal army in the Deccan are not far to seek. The southern kingdoms of Devagiri, Telingana, Hoysala and the Pandya, like the Rajput states of the north, were constantly fighting against one another.\(^{44}\) When 'Alā'ūddin had marched to Devagiri in 1296, Singhana Deva had gone towards the Hoysala frontiers with his forces; when Kāfūr marched against the Hoysala country, its king Ballāla Deva was absent in farther south trying to snatch a portion of the Pandya country; and the two princes Sundra Pandya and Vira Pandya were constantly fighting with each other. Not only that, in place of uniting and helping one another in face of a foreign foe they assisted the invaders against their own neighbours. Thus Ram Chandra helped Malik Kāfūr in the conquest of Telingana and Vira Ballāla escorted the imperial army farther south in M'abar. Sundara Pandya even begged Malik

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pp. 325-28). He also says that the sultan called his favourite general back to Delhi in connection with prince Shadi Khan's marriage with the daughter of Alp Khan, an event of the last days of 'Alā'ūddin's reign.

\(^{44}\) See also A'ījāz-i-Khusrawi Vol. I p. 18, and Vol. II p. 175.
Kāfūr’s assistance against his step-brother and proved to be a source of untold misery to his own countrymen. The defeat of the southern princes was not wholly due to their disunity. The army of ‘Alā’uddin, on account of his various military reforms, was efficient, well-equipped and organised. The sultan, moreover, had particularly instructed Malik Naib to be generous and considerate to his men in a far off and unfamiliar land. The Turk was a tough fighter and in him were combined zeal for religion and greed for plunder. In discipline, strategy, and tactics the northerners were far superior to the southern armies. Even in physical prowess the soldiers of the south could not be a match to those of the north. Marco Polo bears testimony to the poor quality of the soldiers of south India in the 12th and 13th centuries. “The people of the country”, says he “go to the battle all naked, with only a lance and a shield, and are most wretched soldiers . . . .”. The traveller continues to say that they were mostly vegetarians, ate rice and were very orthodox people. They were more particular about regular baths and untouchability than about fighting. This may be said to be a very harsh estimate of the soldiers of the south, yet there is no doubt that they could not successfully fight the armies who used to put the Mongols to flight. Moreover ‘Alā’uddin never meant to annex the far-off land beyond the Vindhayas. For him his southern expeditions were financial ventures. His mobile forces swooped down upon the southern kingdoms, denuded them of their wealth and then came back triumphant.

45 There is one happy instance in this dark picture where the Pandya prince Vira sent a detachment to reinforce the army of Ballāla Deva, when the latter was fighting Malik Kāfūr.


47 *Futūḥ* p. 275.
Nature of Deccan Conquest.

By an irony of circumstance Deccan has proved an effective stepping stone for many a general and prince. ’Alā-ūdīn, Mahābat Khan, Shahjahān and Aurangzeb all began their careers in the Deccan. Similarly Kāfūr’s campaigns in the south have immortalized his name in the history of the Sultanate period. Vassāf does not exaggerate when he says that the brilliant achievements of Kāfūr in the Deccan eclipsed the victories of Maḥmūd of Ghazna in Hindustan.48 Really speaking the motives behind the campaigns of Kāfūr in the south were the same as those of Maḥmūd in the north. It was the fabulous wealth of the Deccan, above everything else, that prompted him to invade the kingdoms beyond the Vindhyas; and in securing the treasures of Warangal Malik Naib took possession of all possible wealth —“Everything that the Rai’s country possessed...... even the last nail in the fort”.

When all the wealth which could possibly be obtained in the Deccan was captured, there was no use annexing the kingdoms to, and inviting fresh troubles for, the Sultanate of Delhi. The constant and repeated wars in Rajputana had brought home to ’Alāūdīn the disadvantages of an annexationist policy. He was not prepared to repeat his mistakes of Rajputana in the Deccan. Moreover, the conquest of the south was never complete. No doubt the wealth of Devagiri, Warangal, Dwarsamudra and M’abar was looted or obtained through terms of treaties, yet neither Singhana, nor Pratap Rudra Deva accepted complete defeat. Singhana made constant efforts to regain independence and there is great doubt if the fort of Warangal ever capitulated. The Hoy-sala prince no doubt was completely defeated and he surrendered all wealth to save his sacred thread (zunnār), but Vira Pandya ever avoided a pitched battle with Kāfūr, who only

48 Vassāf p. 527.
ravaged Pandya country without being able to defeat its king. In these circumstances the annexation of these kingdoms would have proved a liability to the Delhi sultanate. Moreover the difficulties of Muḥammad Tughlaq clearly show that it was not at all safe to annex the Deccan. But even without annexation 'Alāūddīn’s ambition was fulfilled. Great kings like Ram Chandra and Ballāla Deva came to Delhi, they paid their respects personally to the sovereign, their treasures were taken away. The glory of the empire was enhanced and the treasury of the state was filled with the wealth of the Deccan.

Malik Kāfūr’s success in the Deccan was short lived. The third invasion of the Yadava kingdom by Malik Naib, his raids into many towns of other kingdoms like Telingana and Carnatic, and his fixing his headquarters at Devagiri clearly show that as soon as the victorious armies of the north used to turn their backs upon the vanquished kingdoms of the south, the latter used to assume an attitude of indifference if not of open hostility towards the sultanate of Delhi. The result was that when Malik Kāfūr was called to Delhi towards the close of 'Alāūddīn’s reign, Deccan was again seething with disaffection and it was left to Mubarak Khalji and Muḥammad Tughlaq to reconquer south India once again.

Extent of ‘Alāūddīn’s Empire.

It would be proper to conclude this chapter with a survey of ‘Alāūddīn’s empire. On the north-west, river Indus may roughly be taken as the boundary line of the Indian empire. Beyond the Indus the land was constantly disputed between the Mongols and the Indians.49 Deopalpur was in the charge of Ghazi Malik, Multan and Sivistan were first under Zafar Khan and later under Malik Kāfūr. In northern India the whole tract of land now comprised of the Punjab, Sindh and the United Provinces was under the direct control of the Central government. The various states of Rajputana could

49 Vide Chapter XI.
never be completely conquered and may conveniently be classified under tributary kingdoms. On the east Turkish empire does not seem to have extended beyond Benares and Jaunpur (Sarju). Bihar and Bengal were ruled by Harasimha and Shamsuddin Firoz respectively, both independent of the Sultanate of Delhi. The portions now comprising of Orissa and the Eastern States Agency were not visited by any Muslim army of 'Ala'uddin or of his predecessors. Most of central India with important places like Chandeli, Ellichpur, Dharnagri, Ujjain and Mandu were under direct control of governors appointed by the central government. Gujarat was a province of the empire and was ably governed by Alp Khan till the last years of 'Ala'uddin. Yadava, Hoysala, and Kâkatiya kingdoms were tributaries. They were not occupied by Muslim governors, with the partial exception of Devagiri where Kâfûr established his headquarters for some time. Beyond Dwarsamudra Malik Kâfûr carried on predatory raids but the Pandya princes never acknowledged Muslim suzerainty and never paid any tribute.

50 Vide Chapter X. Barani (p. 323) says that some provinces like Ranthambhor, Chittor, Mandalkher (Mandalgargh in Chittor) and Jalor came under the control of provincial governors and igtâdârs (obviously both Hindu and Muslim).

51 Vide Chapter VII.

52 Vide Chapter XVIII.

53 Vide Chapter XIII.
CHAPTER XIV
ADMINISTRATION

In the Sultanate of Delhi the Sultan was the apex of the administrative machinery. He was the commander-in-chief of royal forces and was the supreme judicial and executive authority. He was the leader of his co-religionists (Amīrul Mauminīn). The character of government was autocratic.

According to most of the jurists and historians the Imām or Khalīfā was the head of the Muslims. He was the defender and maintainer of the faith, "the protector of the territory of Islam, the supreme judge of the state, and the chief organiser and administrator of the commonwealth". ¹ Since the Caliph was the head of the Muslim state his authority was acknowledged in far-off lands ruled by Muslim monarchs. The early Sultans of Delhi, like Ḫītuṭmīsh, professed to derive their position, privileges, and status from him. Such was the awe and reverence associated with the name of Khalīfā that the name of Al Musta’sim Billāh continued to be inscribed on the coins of Jalāḥuddin Khalījī till the year 1296, although the above named Khalīfā had been murdered by the Mughals in 1258.²

The sultan of Delhi, working upon the model of the Abbaсид Caliphs, attempted to propagate and protect the true

¹ Aḥkāmus Sultaniyyāh, pp. 3 and 16. Cited in Qureshi: The Administration of the Sultanate of Delhi, p. 23.

Encyclopaedia of Islam, Vol. IV p. 543-44.

² Khalīl bin Shahin uz Zahīrī, a writer of the 15th century, says that no king of the east or the west can hold the title of sultan unless there be a covenant between him and the Khalīfā. Arnold: Caliphate p. 101-102.
religion by conquest, by an efficient system of administration, and by extension of justice to high and low. Thus in theory, the powers of the sultan of Delhi were very extensive indeed. For his actions he was responsible only to God, whose viceregent on earth he supposed himself to be. The duty of his subjects was to obey him, and to suffer, if need be, without remonstrance. "Under such circumstances, the sultan of Delhi was in theory an unlimited despot, bound by no law, subject to no material check, and guided by no will except his own. The people had no rights only obligations; they only lived to carry out his commands."3

In practice, however, the position of the Muslim sultan of Delhi was full of difficulties. He had to rule over an alien people different from his co-religionists in faith as well as social and political outlooks. Consequently in his desire to propagate Islam he could not altogether ignore the beliefs and sentiments of non-Muslims, if he aimed at the establishment of a stable government. An incessant Jihād against the non-believers was not possible in this country. It is true that during the process of conquest atrocities were committed, but in times of war suffering is inevitable. With the establishment of peace and order no organised persecution of Hindus was possible. As early as Muḥammad bin Qāsim’s campaign in Sindh it was thought politic by the leader of a few thousand Arabs to refrain from persecuting the Hindus in the name of a holy war and thus arousing swarms of them against him.4 Political exigencies demanded religious toleration. Internal revolts, the indefinite law of succession, the existence of various independent kingdoms all over the country, and the recurring Mughal invasions from the north-west, demanded the presence of a practi-

3 Ashraf: Life and Conditions of the People of Hindustan p. 129. Also see Bashir Ahmad: Administration of Justice in Medieval India.

cal king rather than a vacillating or bigoted monarch. It is because of these considerations that strong rulers like Iltutmish, Balban, ‘Alāūddin and Muhammad bin Tughlaq never put religion above politics. Moreover, the ‘Ulamā’ also acted according to the wishes of the reigning king. If the throne was occupied by a bigot they advocated intolerance, otherwise they meekly subordinated their opinions to those of the strong monarchs like ‘Alāūddin and Muhammad bin Tughlaq.

Contemporary opinion also spoke in favour of the autocratic position of a medieval monarch in general and of ‘Alāūddin in particular. Amīr Khusrau and Ziyāuddin Baranī considered the sultan as the naib or the Khalīfā of God. He was Zilillāh or the shadow of God on earth. In Khaz-āinul Futūh Amīr Khusrau gives the sultan titles like “the sultan of the world”, “the sultan of the monarchs of the earth”, “the conqueror of the age” and the “shepherd of the people”. These phrases, in spite of their being exaggerated epithets allude to the prevalent conception that the king was the state and that it was an age of royal absolutism. ‘Alāūddin like Louis XIV of France regarded himself to be all in all in the state, L’état c’est moi. According to Ziyāuddin Baranī a king was to be severe or kind as the emer- gency required. He was to establish the true religion, distribute impartial justice and see that not a single person in his kingdom remained unfed and unclothed. ‘Alāūddin struck a new note in the conception of medieval kingship. Under him the temporal power eclipsed the ecclesiastical. His discussions with Qāżī Mughīs on the one hand clearly show the impracticability of following the advice

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6 Baranî pp. 35, 168.
7 Ibid. p. 147.
of the bigoted Ulama in matters of state politics, and on the other the attitude of a medieval despot. "I know not". emphasised the king, "whether these laws are sanctioned by our faith or not, but whatever I conceive to be for the good of the state, that I decree". 8 Ala’uddin thought that religion had nothing to do with politics. The business of the king was to administer the state while Shara' was the concern of the Qazis and Muftis. 9 In direct contrast to his predecessor Jalaluddin and his successor Qutbuddin, Ala’uddin possessed all the qualities that go to make a successful despot. He possessed an iron will to enforce his commands; he made the nobility and the clergy submit to his wishes, and refused to tolerate laxity in matters of administration. He concentrated all authority in his hands and personally supervised every department of the government. He was the Commander-in-Chief of his army and personally led expeditions to kingdoms far and near, although he also sent expeditions under his able generals. He was the highest court of appeal, and through his judiciary and espionage, tried his best to administer impartial justice.

The Nobility.

The nobility were the props on which the king's authority rested. The nobles were drawn from many races—Turks, Pathans, Indians and Persians. Some of them like Aibak, Iltutmish and Balban rose from the lowest rung. They started as slaves and achieved to eminence and even secured the throne, just through personal merit. Thus, theoretically, there was no limit to the acquisition of the highest position by a nobleman. Consequently all through the Turkish period a struggle for possession of real power continued to rage be-

8 Ibid. pp. 295-96.
9 Barani p. 289.
F. 15
tween the king and his barons. In fact the sultans of India could not evolve a governmental machinery to which the nobles could adapt themselves or under which they could feel secure. If the sultans were suspicious of the nobles’ strength, the nobility were also in constant dread of the sultans, on whose goodwill depended their prestige, their honour and even their life. Under weak rulers like Jalāluddin and Quṭbuddin Khaljī the nobles dominated the government while under strong monarchs like Balban and 'Alāūddin they were dominated by the king. Under strong rulers the nobles were a source of strength to the king, but during the reign of weaklings they became a real danger to the sovereign and the state.

Under Ilḫutmish the nobles had acquired great strength. His “Corps of Forty” (Chahalgāni) counted for much in state affairs. In fact the Turkish aristocracy had even put the crown into commission and Balban became apprehensive of their strength. He tried to crush them, but his success was only partial. With Jalāluddin’s advent to power the nobles regained their slightly impaired power, firstly, because Jalāluddin tried to win their support during the Khaljī revolution, and secondly, because the king was by nature extremely kind. Even so, he indicted his nobles very severely. “Except holding drink parties, seeking pleasure in women and wine, except gambling and dicing, and except plotting against the king,” said the disgusted sultan, “the nobles had no other business.”

But 'Alāūddin’s approach to the problem of nobility was different from that of his uncle’s. The mutiny of troops near Jalor in 1299 and the revolts of Ikat Khan, ‘Umar Khan and Mangu Khan, and the insurrection of Ḥaji Maula at Delhi in 1300 and 1201, coming one after another as they did in quick succession, very much alarmed the sultan. Even while his

10 Baranī pp. 191-93.
attention was wholly engrossed with the siege of Ranthambhor, he discussed with his trustworthy nobles like Malik Ḥamīduddīn, Malik A’izzuddīn, son of ‘Alā’ Dabīr, Malik ‘Ainul Mulk Mūltānī and other wise and experienced ones the causes of the political upheavals. After several days’ deliberations it was unanimously concluded that there were four basic causes for the unhappy state of affairs. Firstly, the sultan neglected his people, and did not care to know whether they were prosperous or otherwise. Secondly, the unrestricted use of wine encouraged people to hold drink-parties in which they invited their boon companions. It was at such entertainment that conspiracies against the state were hatched. Thirdly, free intercourse and association of barons, their matrimonial and other connections brought them so close to one another that if any one of them was in difficulty, “a hundred others on account of their connection, relationship and attachment to him became his confederates.” And lastly, wealth made people contumacious and disloyal, haughty and proud.

On his return from Ranthambhor in 1301 not only did ‘Alāūddīn put down the rebels, he made up his mind to destroy the very bases of such revolts. Ilbarīs had interested themselves in Haji Maula’s insurrection, the Mongol nobility had never reconciled to the Khaljī government. The sultan decided that the best way to clip the wings of the refractory element was to impoverish it. The reclamation of crown lands, the enhancement of revenue, and other fiscal measures, which will be described shortly, affected the nobility to a very large extent. The barons were ordered to

11 Ibid. p. 282.

The sultan until then had been intent on wars and conquests and had hardly turned his attention towards improving administration.
refrain from visiting one another or holding convivial parties. Further, they were prohibited from contracting matrimonial alliances without the previous permission of the crown. These orders were strictly enforced. In fact ‘Alāūddīn reduced the noblemen to the status of slaves and imposed upon them all the three conditions of slavery, viz., the sultan was to inherit the noble, no marriage could be arranged without the sultan’s permission, and the sons of noblemen became slaves of the king in their turn. The Malikis and Amīrs, on account of the fear of the intelligence service, behaved most cautiously and carefully. Even when they congregated in the royal palace they dared not speak to one another, and expressed themselves through gestures.

The narrative of the contemporary chronicler may be exaggerated. Even so there is no doubt that the noblemen in the time of ‘Alāūddīn were not allowed to raise their head. Their suppression facilitated the work of administration. So long as ‘Alāūddīn enjoyed sound health, his argus eye and iron hand steered the course of the state well. But the moment his health began to decline trouble brewed up on all sides. A weakened order of nobility could neither check the atrocities of Kāfūr, nor could it impart dignity nor stamina to administration, and a tragic collapse began to loom large on the political horizon.

**Officers of the State**

After the sultan the head of the administration was the Vazīr. On the civil side the Vazīr was responsible to the king about the administration of the provincial governments. He was directly incharge of the Finance department. He appointed ‘āmils for the different parts of the empire to collect revenue and deposit it into the royal exchequer. On the military side the Vazīr commanded the imperial forces and led expeditions into different kingdoms.
On his accession "Aláúddin appointed Khvájá Khatîr to the office of Vazîr. Khvájá Khatîr was a man of experience and wisdom and had served under Balban and Jalâl-uddîn. A great civil administrator, he was, however, not a militarist. Failing to come up to the expectations of his master, who was building a military state, he was superseded by Nuṣrat Khân in 1297. Nuṣrat was a great military leader. He led successful expedition to Gujarât and died fighting at Ranthambhor. He was also well known for his monetary extortions from the people. Another Vazîr mentioned by Firishtah is Saiyyad Khân, "the notorious," about whom not much is known. It is difficult to say as to when Malik Tajuddîn Kâfur Hazârdînârî was appointed naib of the sultan. He was more a Vazîr of the king than of the state.12 His only qualifications were that he was a great military leader as also a favourite of the sultan. Thus in "Aláúddin's time Vizarat was conferred on military leaders and this is not surprising because "Aláúddin had to fight the Mughals and at the same time conquer new lands.

Besides the Vazîr the other principal officers of the state were Qâzî-ul Quzât or Lord chief justice, Mir 'Arz or Lord of petitions and the Mir Dâd, an officer whose duty was to present before the Qâzî any big officer or noble against whom a complaint had been instituted. On the financial side, next to the Vazîr were the Divân-i Ashraf or the Accountant General, and the Mustafî or the Auditor General of imperial Finances. They were responsible to the Vazîr for state finances and kept an account of all the items of income and expenditure. The chief officers on the military side were the 'Ariz-i Mumâlik or Minister of war and the Bakhshi-i-Fauj or paymaster of the forces. The Amir-i Kohi was the Director of Agriculture, and Malik Hamîduddîn

held this office under ‘Alāūddīn. But there was no line of demarcation between the civil and military services and an officer of the civil side was given charge of military expeditions and vice versa. ¹³

**Provincial Administration.**

Before making a study of the system of administration at the centre it may be mentioned that the administration in the various provinces was a replica of that of the central government. The empire was parcelled out into a number of provinces each of which was put under the charge of a governor. According to Ziya Baranî there were eleven provinces besides the territories of the central government.

2. Multān and Sivistan (Sehvān) under Tājul Mulk Kāfūr.
3. Deopalpur under Ghazī Tughlaq.
4. Samanah and Sunnam under Akhurbeg Tātak.
8. Chanderi and Iraj under Malik Tamar.
10. Avadh under Malik Buktan (?)
11. Kaṟa under Malik Naṣīruddin Sautelah. ¹⁴

We have already discussed the extent of the authority of the central government over these provinces. The governor of a province was a sort of a king in miniature. As was the king at Delhi, the provincial governor was the chief executive and judicial head of the province. Each

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¹³ For a detailed list of junior and senior officials in revenue and other departments see Qarauna Turks Vol. I p. 260-66.
¹⁴ Baranî p. 323.
governor had his own provincial force and was required to send a fixed quota of troops whenever required to do so.\textsuperscript{15} The governor held court, administered justice, and looked after other spheres of administration. He collected the land revenue of the province and after deducting the amount assigned to him, he sent the surplus to the imperial exchequer. Under weak kings the provincial governors behaved almost as independent rulers but under strong monarchs like Balban and 'Alāūddin they dared not assume a contumacious attitude with impunity. That veteran generals like Ghazi Malik, Malik Kāfūr and Alp Khan loyally served the government for so long, is a proof of the strength and vigilance of 'Alāūddin. It was only when the emperor was dying and the grip of the central government was becoming lax that trouble arose in some provinces of the empire.

\textit{Administration of Justice.}

"According to the ancient political ideal, which both the Hindus and the Muhammadans accepted, the Sovereign is the fountain of justice, and it is his duty to try cases personally in open court."\textsuperscript{16} The sultans of India like Iltutmish, Balban, 'Alāūddin and Muḥammad Tughlaq followed this ideal and personally administered justice in open court. The sultan himself constituted the chief court of appeal and everybody had access to him to demand and obtain justice. Iltutmish is said to have hung a chain of justice\textsuperscript{17} for people who sought redress and his reign was noted for jurists well

\textsuperscript{15} E.g. in 1299 during the conquest of Gujarat Ulugh Khan was ordered to join in the conquest of Jaisalmer. During the invasion of Targhī provincial governors were called to defend the imperial capital. Alp Khan was ordered to march to assist Naib Kāfūr in the latter's expedition to Devagiri in 1308.

\textsuperscript{16} J. N. Sarkar: \textit{The Mughal Administration}, p. 106.

\textsuperscript{17} Ibn Batūtah. Lee, p. 112 Cf. Elliot, III p. 591.
versed in law. Žiyāuddin Baranī praises sultan Ghayāsuddin Balban for his love of justice and says that he never showed any partiality towards any of his subjects even if they were his own kith and kin. 'Aláüddin was as relentless and unflinching in administering justice as Balban. Unfortunately no traveller like Ibn Battûtah visited his court, and the contemporary historians do not describe the manner in which the sultan administered justice in open court.

Next to the sultan, the head of the judicial department was Sadr-i-Jahān Qāzīul Quzāt or the Lord Chief Justice of the empire. Under the Qāzīul Quzāt served naib Qāzīs or 'Adls and they were assisted by Muftis who expounded the law and gave opinion on complicated cases. There was another officer Dādebeg-i-Haźrat19 whose office corresponded to the office of Mīr 'Adl of the Mughals. He was a judge of the capital (Haźrat) as distinct from judge of the camp (Qaẓī-i-Lashkar).20 There was also Mīr Dād whose duty it was to produce before the court any influential person against whom a suit had been filed, but who was too powerful to be controlled by the Qāzī.21 A similar system of gradations of judicial officers obtained in the provinces where the governor, the Qāzīs and other junior officers administered justice. In smaller towns and villages, however, the headmen and the panchayats used to settle disputes and decide cases.

Besides these judicial officials, princes, Vazīrs, commanders of armies and other high officers of the state decided cases which did not involve expert knowledge of the

18 Baranī p. 111. See also Wahed Husain: Administra
tion of Justice during the Muslim Rule in India. p. 22.

19 Malik Fakhruddin Kūchī was appointed to this office in the first year of 'Aláüddin’s reign. Baranī p. 248.


21 History of Qarauna Turks, I, p. 269.
law. Thus cases regarding land revenue were heard by the governor or his Finance minister, the Divān, and such cases did not fall under the jurisdiction of the Qāzīs. Justice was administered quickly and promptly without any circumlocutory proceedings. There were no pleaders or lawyers in those days and the judges mostly worked upon the doctrine of Qayāṣ or private judgement after considering the statements of the witnesses.

In the early years of Sultan Ṣulṭan 'Alāūd-dīn's reign Sadr Jāhān Šadruddīn was appointed the Qāzī-i-Mumālik or the Chief Justice. Although he was not very much renowned for his learning, his experience was so wide and his judgement so keen that none dared to resort to cunning or falsehood in his presence. After him Qāzī Jalāluddīn Balvachi was appointed naib Qāzī, while Maulana Ziyāuddīn of Bayana, who was the Qāzī-i-Lashkar, was appointed to the office of Sadr Jāhān. Qāzī Ziyāuddīn, in spite of his erudition, did not possess the dignity required of the chief judge of the capital. But the last Qāzī, Maulana Ḥamīduddīn Multānī, whom 'Alāūd-dīn appointed in the closing days of his reign, was altogether worthless. Baraṇi remarks that the judgeship of Delhi, the capital city, which was a very responsible office to be entrusted only to a learned and capable person, was given to a "servant" of the sultan's household. The king appointed Ḥamīduddīn in consideration of his past services, unmindful of the fact that such a post should be given only to a man who was incorruptible, and who possessed qualities of simplicity and renunciation. Naturally with Ḥamīduddīn at its head the judiciary lost its lustre and prestige. Prominent among the provincial

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22 Bashir Ahmad: Administration of Justice in Medieval India p. 117.
23 Baraṇi p. 351.
24 Ibid. p. 352.
Qāzīs were Saiyyad Tājuddīn of Badaon and his nephew Saiyyad Ruknuddīn of Kara. Baranī, who knew both of them personally, praises them for their inspiring personality, their dignified bearing and their other excellent qualities.

The Qāzīs were treated with great respect and consideration, and they could punish even the most powerful officers of the empire. Baranī lays great emphasis on the purity of character as an indispensable qualification for a judge. Not only learning but fear of God and abstinence from all evil things were essential qualities in a Qāzī. Sultan 'Alāūddīn was very particular about seeing his high judicial officers behave well even in their private life. He did not hesitate to sentence to death a Qāzī who had taken to drinking. The police and intelligence service were so efficient that offending judicial officials could not escape punishment. It may be noted in this connection that in spite of the great respect in which the Qāzīs were held, theologians in general did not wield too much power. They were allowed to decide judicial cases only and arbitrate purely on religious matters, while the real power in all other matters was vested in the sultan. The Qāzīs themselves did not maintain a very high standard of character and efficiency. Amīr Khusrau and Ziyāuddīn Baranī, both have to say much against them. In Mutla-i-Anrār Khusrau observes that the Qāzīs were quite ignorant of the principles of law, while Ziyāuddīn, repentent in his old age, confesses that theologians, a class to which he himself belonged, used to stretch the meaning of the Quranic texts to carry out the wishes of the sultans. Even so, the testimony of Maulana Shamsuddin Turk, a theologian who hailed from Egypt, seems to be too harsh an indictment on the theologians of the day. The Maulana learnt that ‘ill-

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25 Ibid. p. 352.
26 Badaoni, Ranking, I, p. 187.
27 Baranī p. 446.
fated wiseacres of black faces' sat in mosques with abominable law books and made money by cheating both the accuser and the accused, and the Qāzīs of the capital did not bring all these facts to the notice of the king.’’

It appears that the Maulana wrote all this to ‘Alāūddīn only to cast aspersions on the character of Qāzī Ḥamīduddīn of Multān to whom he was deadly opposed and about whom Barānī also holds a very low opinion. But as the Sultan was not negligent in administering justice to people, it is obvious that the judiciary was in a fairly good condition.

**Punishments.**

The punishments inflicted by ‘Alāūddīn as also by other sultans of the age were barbarous. Neither the dignity of high office nor piety nor wealth could save a man from the clutches of law. Even a shahnāh of the position of Malik Qabūl Ulugh Khānī, who possessed lands and cavalry, once received twenty stripes for suggesting to the sultan to raise the price of grain by half a jītal. Flogging was very common, and on one occasion a man received one thousand stripes. Decapitation, mutilation of limbs and putting an offender into fetters, were common forms of punishment. Ferishtah gives a graphic picture of the horrible punishments of the times of Fīroz Tughlaq. ‘‘It has been usual,’’ says he ‘‘...to spill Muhammadan blood on trivial occasions, and for small crimes, to mutilate and torture them by cutting off the hands and feet, and noses and ears, by putting out eyes, by pulverising the bones of the living criminals.

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28 Ibid. p. 299.

29 From the fact that Maulana Shamsuddīn Turk mentions the name of Qāzī Ḥamīduddīn it follows that the former came to India in the later part of ‘Alāūddīn’s reign, because according to Barānī Ḥamīduddīn was appointed Qāzī of the realm in the last years of ‘Alāūddīn.

30 Fūrāidul Fūrād Iko. Text pp. 53-4.
with mallets, by burning the body with fire, by crucifixion and by nailing the hands and feet, by flaying alive, by the operation of ham-strings, and by cutting human beings to pieces.” Tortures were inflicted for extorting confession. 'Alaūd din was extremely severe in punishing the guilty; and for offences like smuggling wine into the city or drinking in public the offenders were imprisoned in abominable “wells” dug for that purpose. So horrible were these prisons that many people died in them and those who escaped alive were completely shattered in health. There were no regular jails and prisoners were incarcerated in some old forts. Brokers in horse trade, found guilty of contravening the sultan’s orders, were banished to distant fortresses. Amīr Khur d, the author of Sairul Auliā, describes the abominable conditions prevailing in such jails. He says that once his father Saiyyad Kamāl was imprisoned by sultan Muham mad bin Tughlaq in Bhaksi jail, near Devagiri. It was reported about that place, says he, that no prisoner used to come out alive from it as it was full of rats and snakes. The fraudulent shopkeepers who were found guilty of giving short weight were forced to make up the deficiency from flesh chopped from their bodies. Stoning to death for adultery, hanging of the body of the dead for days together on spear head, and parading it into the city were of common occurrence.

Police and Secret Intelligence.

An efficient police and intelligence system is the inevitable concomitant of effective administration. The sultan organised the police department on a very efficient basis. The kotvāl was the most important officer of the police. His powers were extensive and his post very res-

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32 Barānī p. 313.
33 Sairul Auliā, Trans. p. 190.
ponsible. He was justice of peace and custodian of law and order. He advised the sultan on important issues, and was entrusted with the protection of the haram in the absence of the sultan from the capital. Under Balban and 'Alāūddin the kotvāls wielded great influence with the king. Malik Fakhruddin, the veteran kotvāl of Delhi, used to tender advise to Balban on important matters. Nuṣrat Khan the first Kotvāl of 'Alāūddin was very much feared by the people. After him Malik 'Alāulmulk was given the post of kotvāl. 'Alāulmulk's candid talks with the king clearly indicate that the status of the kotvāl was very high.

'Alāūddin reformed the police department, created some new posts, and appointed efficient men to them. The post of Divān-i-Riyāsat was created to maintain strict control over the trades-people. The Shahnāh or the magistrate of the Market was also an officer of the same sort. Another officer, Muḥtasib, has been mentioned by most of the contemporary writers. He was the chief custodian of public morals and he enquired into the conduct of the people. Besides this he also controlled the market and examined weights and measures. Thus the control of the police was comprehensive and complete.

But if the police made the people correct in their behaviour the rigorous spy system scared them immensely. The appointment of secret agent was not a novel step, firstly, because a secret service is the very basis of despotic government, and secondly, because the predecessors of 'Alāūddin had all resorted to espionage. Maḥmūd of Ghaznā had a very efficient intelligence service in the Divān-i-Shughl-i-Ishrāf-i-Mamlukāt, in which persons of both sexes served as spies.\[35\] Ghayās-

\[34\] As 'Alāulmulk was given the charge of the haram at the time of Qutlugh Khvājā’s invasion.

\[35\] Nazim: Sultan Maḥmūd of Ghazna p. 144.
uddin Balban also had a very efficient intelligence department so that even the movements of his own son, Bughra Khan, were regularly communicated to him. ‘Alāūddin, however, seems to have organised espionage to great perfection. He appointed a number of informers known in the official language as munhīs. They were of different grades and kept the Sultan informed about the most trivial matters relating to persons high and low. The munhīs could even enter the houses of the people and trouble them for slight offences.36 Ziyā-uddin Barānī bears witness to the rigour with which the intelligence department worked. "No one could stir without his (‘Alāūddin's) knowledge, and whatever happened in the houses of the Malik and Amīrs, officers and great men, was communicated to the Sultan in course of time. . . . The fear of spies led barons to cease speaking anything aloud in the Hazār Sitūn, and if they had to say anything they said through gestures. Day and night did they tremble in their own houses on account of the activity of the patrol. Nor did they do anything nor utter a single word which could subject them to reproof or punishment."37

Thus the Secret service department became a terror to the people and the activities of the munhīs aroused feeling of fear and hatred. The nobles, the traders and the common people, all stood in dread of the king's reporters. ‘Alāūddin's market control was successful because of the strict vigilance of this department.

Postal System.

The administration of the Sultanate was greatly facilitated by an efficient postal service which connected different parts of the empire. A detailed account of the postal system prevailing in the time of Muḥammad bin Tughlaq has been given by Ibn Batūtah and the author of Masālikul Absār.

36 E.g. Barānī p. 286.
37 Ibid. p. 284
Yahya, the author of *Tarīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī*, also refers to it. From the writings of Bāṭtūţah and Barānī it appears that the postal organization had much improved in the reign of Muḥammad Tughlaq as compared with that of ‘Alā’ūddin. Ziyāūddin writes that whenever the king sent an expedition to some place he established posts between the capital and the destination of the army. From Tilpat which was the first stage from Delhi, horsemen were stationed at a distance of half or three-quarters of a *kōs* and at every post officers and clerks were appointed. These officials sent reports to the king every day or every third day as they received news from the marching or besieging army. At times, due to varying circumstances, the postal service was greatly disturbed and once when Malik Naib Kafūr was engaged in reducing the fort of Warangal, ‘Alā’ūddin could not received any news about the army for more than forty days.

Barānī does not make mention of *dava* or *dhava* (footmen) and *aulāq* (horsemen) appointed on various posts, about whom Bāṭtūţah speaks in detail, but his silence does not mean that such postmen did not exist in ‘Alā’ūddin’s days. Describing the regulations about prohibition of drinking, Barānī states that spies as well as *barīds*, posted at the gates of the city and near about, kept a strict watch over smugglers. It was on account of the efficient working of the posts that ‘Alā’ūddin could be informed of Ḥājī Maulā’s revolt just on the third day of its occurrence. Another reference

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38 The postal service of Muḥammad bin Tughlaq is too well known to be repeated here. For its details see *Ibn Battutah*, Vol. III, pp. 95-6., *Masālikul Absār*, Elliot, III, p. 581.

39 *Barīd* is an Arabic word and means messenger or runner.

40 Barānī, p. 285.

to the efficiency of the postal service is found in the fact that Khusrau Khan was carried from Devagiri to Delhi in a week's time by orders of sultan Quṭbuddīn.\textsuperscript{42} These facts as well as the story references of Baranī clearly show that postal service in the days of 'Alāūddīn was quite efficient and must have been of great help to the Sultan in enforcing his various regulations.

\textsuperscript{42} Ibid. p. 400.
CHAPTER XV

FISCAL AND REVENUE REFORMS

'Alāūddin was perhaps the first sovereign of the Turkish line to have taken a keen interest in fiscal and revenue reforms. His predecessors from Quṭbuddin Aibak to Jalāluddin Khalji either did not get the time, or did not possess the initiative to delve into this complicated branch of administration. They had utilized the existing machinery. At least such is the conclusion to which the silence of Minhājus Sirāj and Žiyāuddin points. Of these two writers the latter was certainly interested in agrarian problems even though superficially.

No doubt 'Alāūddin’s revenue reforms were as distasteful to the nobility and landowners as those others in other spheres of administration, but they were in consonance with the general spirit of administration. The reasons which prompted the sultan to take drastic measures to realise the largest amount of revenue from land and other sources of income are quite obvious. The number and intensity of Mughal invasions in his reign, and the internal menace of the refractory nobles and princes made him into “an absolutely ruthless ruler.” Therefore, whatever measures he undertook, either in the civil or revenue administration, or for social welfare, his one object was to bring about security against internal as well as external troubles. The first step towards resumption of royal grants and other landed property was undertaken to clip the wings of a contumacious nobility, for, according to the political philosophy of the Sultan it

1 Also see Moreland: Agrarian System of Moslem India pp. 26-7 and Qureshi: Administration of the Sultanate of Delhi, p. 103.
was "wealth" that bred disobedience and vanity. His other measures, concerning the measurement of land, fixation of the rate of land-revenue and its realisation were undertaken to ensure subsistence for a huge army which he had recruited to repulse the Mughal invasions on the one hand and extend his dominions on the other.

Abolition of Land-Grants

'Aláūddin ordered resumption of all landed grants which the nobility, government officials and other rich individuals held as gifts, grants or rewards from the state. It was an old custom to reward nobles, learned men and theologians with grants of land. The grants were not hereditary, but ordinarily the descendants were left unmolested with their possession. These land-holders in course of time became lazy and proud as they had a certain income to fall back upon. Sultan Balban had determined to take harsh measures against the nobility who possessed such lands, but the appeal of Malik Fakhruddin restrained him from proceeding to extremes. Thus Khans and Maliks were saved from being shorn of all their property. Nevertheless they lost much of their former prestige and power and meekly submitted to that strong sovereign.

At the time of his accession 'Aláūddin had to bestow gold and lands upon barons and influential people to secure their sympathy and support. But the moment he found himself firmly seated in the regal saddle, he punished all such turncoats on the charge of their being disloyal to their former king Jaláluddin. Besides other punishments which included blinding and execution, they were deprived of all the wealth that they had received from 'Aláūddin. Even their household goods and private properties did not escape confiscation. Their houses were appropriated for the royal use and their estates were annexed to the crown lands. In 1297 these steps were confined only to a certain section of
Maliks and Amirs; but on the king’s return from Ranthambhor the scope of their application was considerably widened. They were now directed against all the rich people of the state, nobles, traders and even petty zamindārs, in short whosoever possessed any property. The king ordered that all the estates, villages and other lands which the people held as milk (property), in‘ām (remuneration or reward) and vaqf (gift), should forthwith be resumed and turned into the khālsā or crown lands. It is probable that all assignments were not confiscated, but their management was taken over by the government. The state officials were asked to treat the people as tyrannically as possible, and try to extort money from them on any and every pretext, so that nobody should be left in possession of much wealth. These instructions were literally carried out and people were compelled to surrender their property. After a short time, says the contemporary chronicler, matters had gone so far that in the houses of the nobility and the Multānī (merchants) not much money remained. All pensions, grants of land and endowments were confiscated, and the people had to earn their livelihood by the sweat of their brow. In such circumstances ‘no one even had time to pronounce the word ‘rebellion’.’

The orders regarding the resumption of crown lands, which were meant to impoverish the nobility, were followed by others which affected the chief-men (Muqaddams), petty

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2 Barānī pp. 250-51. The system of granting lands, however, was never given up in the time of ‘Alāʾuddīn. Malik Qabūl Ulugh Khānī got an estate after his appointment as shahsnah of grain market (Barānī p. 305). Barānī also mentions that the nobles who had no landed property got rationed grain (p. 309) in times of scarcity which clearly indicates that there were nobles who had landed property. But the sultan preferred paying in cash, e.g. Amīr Khusrāw got a fixed salary. Also see Qureshi: Administration p. 119.

3 Barānī p. 283-84. The language of this passage is awfully defective but the sense is quite clear.
zamindārs (Khūṭs) and even ordinary peasants (balāhar). The sultan asked his councillors to suggest ways and means for suppressing the Hindus, whose wealth was as much a "source of rebellion and dis-affection" as that of the nobility. The complaints of ‘Alāūddin about Khūṭs and Muqaddams were not that they put on white garments and rode horses. They evaded to pay any of the prevalent taxes like Kharāj, Jaziyah, Kari and Charai. Not only that, they even charged extra share as their collection labour (Khūti) and whether called or not they never came to the Divān and paid no heed to revenue officials. The king’s advisers suggested to him to rescind all the privileges of the landlords (Khūṭs and Muqaddams) and to enforce one law regarding the payment of revenue for both landlords and tenants, and not to leave anything as collection charges (حقوق خوطی) so that "the revenue due from the strong might not fall upon the weak." As to the Hindus, much wealth should not be left with them so as to enable them to ride horses, wear fine clothes and indulge in sumptuous and luxurious habits. It follows from his statement that formerly the revenue due from the

4 Khūṭ and balahar appear to be vernacular vocables which Barañı so frequently uses in his Persian. From the trend of the text it appears that a Khūṭ was a sort of zamindār or revenue collector and balahar was peasant, so that the latter paid revenue to the former. Barañı’s text has (p. 287) درین دادن خوطان (را) بابلا هران The is given in the British Museum Ms. but not in the Bib. Ind. text. Thus a balahar gave the revenue to a Khūṭ who deposited it into the royal exchequer. Prof. Hodivala’s interpretation (pp.277-78) is quite convincing when he says that Khūṭ appears a decapitated form of Sanskrit Gramkūta or village headman. Barañı also uses it in the same sense.

5 Barañı p. 291.

6 Ibid. pp. 287-88. Land revenue is known as Kharāj.
strong used to fall upon the weak. In other words the land holders used to exact as much as possible from the peasant and give only the due share of the revenue to the state. Consequently they appropriated to themselves much more than their own share. This surplus income naturally made them rich and even overbearing. As Mr. Moreland aptly remarks, it appears on the study of Baranī that the population consisted not “of two elements but of three—Moslems, Hindus, and the ‘herds’ or peasants... the question really at issue was how to break the power of the rural leaders, the chiefs and the headmen of parganas and villages...” That the Hindu chiefs with constant desire for independence were very domineering in their behaviour is quite clear from the complaint of Jalāluddin against them. They chewd pān unmindful of anything, dressed in white and moved among the Musalmans with comfort and ease. Although Baranī lends communal colour to it and says that Sultan Jalāluddin could not tolerate such behaviour on the part of the Hindus as they were the arch enemies of the religion of Muṣṭafā, yet it is clear that the Hindu middle class was economically well-off and in no way inclined to show an attitude of servility. ‘Alāūddin, who had crushed the nobility ruthlessly, was not expected to leave other “refractory” elements unsubdued, and he took measures to see that nobody in his dominions continued to be so rich or powerful as to be a source of danger to the state. But the statement of Ziyāuddin Baranī that the sultan undertook a series of measures to crush the Hindus expresses the sentiments of the orthodox historian, rather than those of the matter of fact sultan.

By another ordinance the emperor fixed the government share at fifty per cent of the produce and laid down the method of assessment. ‘Alāūddin was the first Muslim king in India

7 Moreland: Agrarian System p. 32 footnote.
8 Baranī pp. 216-17.
who fixed the revenue on the actual measurement of land. The system of measurement was known to the Hindu kings and was in practice in the south, but it seems to have fallen into disuse in the north. It was now revived. Not being as good a historian as Abul Fazl, Barani does not give the details with regard to the method and instruments of measurement. He, however, speaks of revenue collection according to "bisvah" which is known even to this day. From this may be inferred that a uniform system of measurement was introduced. Under this system all the land occupied by the rich and the poor was brought under assessment at the uniform rate of fifty per cent. This measure automatically reduced the chiefs practically to the position of peasants. Their surplus income, which they were suspected of levying stopped, half of the produce was sent to the imperial treasury, and from the remaining half grazing and other sundry taxes were paid, leaving a bare minimum to them. Thus it is certain that the chiefs who had been accustomed to live a life of ease and comfort were reduced to a deplorable position; and if Barani does not exaggerate, the Hindus, who had the monopoly of agriculture, were improverished to such an extent that there was no sign of gold or silver left in their homes, and the wives of Khâits and Muqaddâms used to seek jobs in the houses of the Musalmans, work there, and receive wages.

The demand of fifty per cent of the gross produce was a very harsh measure indeed. Under Hindu sovereigns the state demand was one-fourth to one-sixth. The revenue rose to one-third or fell as low as one-sixth of the produce as the emergency required. Under Muslim sovereigns like Iltutmish and Balbon also the rate does not seem to have risen above one-

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9 Barani p. 288.
third. The demand of 'Alāūddin for one-half, therefore, could not have been welcome either to the landlords or the peasantry. But this demand was not unlawful as Muslim Jurists permit fifty per cent. as the maximum revenue. Moreover, the Sultan's orders about prohibition and closing of gambling dens meant a considerable loss to the royal exchequer. 'Alāūddin made up the deficiency by raising land revenue to the permissible maximum. The revenue was accepted in cash as well as in kind, but since the Sultan accumulated grain in state granaries he preferred to take the revenue in kind from certain fertile regions near the capital.

After the realisation of land revenue and other taxes which will be described hereafter, the peasants were compelled to sell their surplus grain to the travelling merchants (caravaniōns), who were assisted by government officials in obtaining it. In short, if the revenue regulations of 'Alāūddin were meant to crush high landlords, they were in no way less prejudicial to the interests of the peasantry.

Beside the land revenue 'Alāūddin levied house tax and grazing tax. According to Ziyāuddin all milk producing

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12 Aghanides, p. 378.
13 Barani p. 284.
14 The text of Barani reads p. 287.

The words clearly mean that a tax was levied on pasturable animals, and besides that from every house (عبر خانه) a residence tax (سکونت گری) was taken. Dr. Qureshi (Administration pp. 232-33) thinks that "گری " "is obviously a mistake; گری sounds more convincing". He does not give any reasons for reading گری for گری. It may be pointed out
animals like cows and goats were to be taxed. Barani neither mentions limitations of, nor exemptions from, the grazing tax. But according to Ferishtah, animals up to two pairs of oxen, two buffaloes, two cows and ten goats were free from taxation.\textsuperscript{15} The taxable minimum (\textit{nişāb}) in Muslim law is thirty heads for cows and buffalos and forty for goat and sheep.\textsuperscript{16} Considering this \textit{nişāb}, the figure of Ferishtah is quite normal: but since neither Ferishtah’s source of information is known nor does Barani talk of any exemption, Ferishtah’s figures cannot be literally accepted. It seems probable that 'Alāūddin exempted only such animals as were indispensable for cultivation, but not cows, buffalos and goats to the number of a dozen as they gave milk, went for pasture and were a source of income to their possessor.\textsuperscript{17}

Another tax realised was \textit{kari} (कर) or \textit{Karhi} (करही). Nothing definite is known about this tax. It appears that the word is a derivative from the Sanskrit word \textit{kar} (कर) which means tax. Barani does not give any details about it and it can safely be presumed that \textit{kari} was one of the various minor taxes which from time to time have been realised in Hindu and Muslim periods of Indian history.

\textit{Jaziyyah} was levied from non-Muslims as the cash equivalent to “the assistance which they would be liable to give if they had not persisted in their unbelief, because living as

\begin{itemize}
  \item that \textit{kari} or \textit{karhi}, which is altogether a different tax from house tax (سکونت گری) has been mentioned by Barani on pp. 288 and 289 and should not be confused with the latter. For implications about house tax in Muslim law see Aghnides, p. 288.

\end{itemize}

\textsuperscript{15} Ferishtah, p. 109.

\textsuperscript{16} Aghnides, pp. 251-52, 253-54.

\textsuperscript{17} See \textit{Zakāt} taxes.
they do in a Muslim state, they must be ready to defend it. Moreover, the main object in levying the tax is the subjection of the infidels to humiliations and during the process of payment, the žimmî is seized by the collar and vigorously shaken and pulled about in order to show him his degradation.

As time passed Jaziyah could not be levied in such spirit and became a tax, pure and simple. Jaziyah was not imposed upon women and children, the insane and the imbecile.

The Sultans of Delhi charged ten, twenty and forty tankahs as Jaziyah from the poor, the middle class and the rich respectively.  

‘Alâûddin realized Jaziyah from his Hindu subjects, but he does not seem to have imposed it in the spirit of orthodox jurists cited above. Complaining about the contumacy of Khûts and Muqaddms the Sultan said, “they themselves did not pay any of the taxes—Kharōj, Jaziya, Kari and Charai.”

This clearly shows that Jaziyah was one of the major taxes prevalent. The vanquished Deccan princes sent annual tribute to the imperial capital. What they sent may be termed as Jaziyah, but it was more of a political tribute rather than a tax levied from non-Muslims. Of the same nature were the tributes from the Rajput states.

Contemporary chroniclers do not give the figures of the revenue collected from Jaziyah, but they do not give figures

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18 Aghnides p. 399.
19 See Yûsuf in Aghnides pp. 406-7, 530. Compare in this connection Qazi Mughî’s inveighing to Sultan ‘Alâûddin about the status of the žimmî. So far as the status of the žimmî in Muslim law was concerned the information of the Qazi was correct.
21 Baranî p. 291.
for kharīj and other taxes either. It is, however, reasonable to think that the income from Jaziyah was considerable since it was levied from so vast a population of non-believers.²² Jaziyah was realised only from non-Muslims and was naturally cancelled by conversion to Islam. Thus, though conversion to Islam meant glorification of the faith it also meant loss of income to the state. Consequently the Sultans who were more intent on acquiring money, and not very much religiously inclined, must have disfavoured conversion. It is obvious that such kings cannot receive so favourable a treat at the hands of the orthodox 'ulama as sultans like Firōz Tughlaq, who, strangely enough, was enthusiastic both about Jaziyah and conversion at the same time. To astute administrators like Balban, ‘Alā’uddīn and Muḥammad Tughlaq replenishment of the royal exchequer was of greater importance than conversion of infidels. They suffered the non-Muslims not necessarily because they were broad-minded or cosmopolitan in outlook but also because they gained by non-Muslims remaining non-Muslims. ‘Alā’uddīn succeeded as king, what if he invited the anathema of the priestly class.

Khums, as the word signifies, was one-fifth share of the state in the spoils (ghanāim) of war. The four-fifths share was distributed among the soldiers. Sultan ‘Alā’uddīn, who was always much in need of money and also disliked people to grow opulent, disregarded the law and appropriated four-fifths to the state treasury. This scale continued to obtain till Firōz Tughlaq reverted to the old practice of appropriating one-fifth of the booty to the exchequer.

Ẓakāt is a religious tax levied only from the Muslims. By paying Ẓakāt and thereby sharing his property with the needy, a Muslim purifies himself of avarice. Thus the pay-

²² In the time of Aurangzeb Jaziyah from Gujarat alone brought a very large amount of revenue. See Elliot relevant vols.
-it of zakāt is an obligation between God and man and it cannot be collected by force. 23 But since it is an act of piety to pay zakāt and since it is based on a clear injunction of the Qurān it must be realised by the Imām. Zakāt is not levied on primary necessaries of life like dwelling houses, clothes, utensils, slaves and animals used for ploughing or riding. 24 It is charged only on "apparent property" such as gold and silver, herds and merchandise, and only when such property exceeds a certain taxable minimum (nisāb). The Muslim jurists have been very liberal in fixing the nisāb. On non-apparent property the owner has an option to pay whatever he likes without being coerced in anyway. Generally speaking zakāt amounted to 1/40th of the property.

In India zakāt ceased to be a religious tax imposed only on the Muslims, though an orthodox sovereign like Firoz Shah included it in the list of state taxes. Here zakāt was levied in the shape of import duties, and grazing fee on all milk producing animals or those which went for pasture and was realised both from Muslims and non-Muslims. 25 Accord-

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23 Aghnides p. 297.


25 Dr. Qureshi (Administration, p. 93) states that "zakāt was levied by the sultans of Delhi, though the chronicles do not expressly mention this fact. The reason for this silence seems to be that they were writing for Muslim readers, to whom the levy of zakāt by an Islamic administration would be too obvious a fact to be mentioned". The argument is not convincing. Zakāt tax was perhaps the most difficult to assess and still more difficult to realise. It was levied on "apparent property". Now, we know that in medieval times people used to hide their possessions lest the sultan should come to know of their wealth. It was so especially in 'Alā-'uddin's times. Thus no zakāt could be realised on property carefully enclosed in the four-walls of a house or buried underground. Moreover it is human nature to avoid payment of a tax until it is almost forcibly realised by the state, and
ing to the Islamic law import duties for Muslims were 5 per cent and for non-Muslims 10 per cent of the commodity. 26

Revenue Officials.

A large number of graded officilas were appointed to carry on the revenue administration. The credit of the success with which the orders of the Sulatn were enforced, and full share of the revenue realise, goes to the deputy vazir (Naib vazir) Sharf Qayini. 27 For several years this officer made strenuous efforts to apply the ordinances of the sultan to most parts of northern India. He was successful in introducing the system of measurement in the district about Delhi like Pālam, Revarī, Afghānpūr, Amroha, Badaon and koel, as also in the divisions of Deopalpūr, Lahore, Samanah and Sunam in the west, upto Katehar (Rohilkhan) in the east and portions of Malwa and Rajputana (e.g. Bayana and Jhain) in the south, but not in Gujarat, Malwa and Avadh. Thus it is clear that the system of measurement, 50 per cent revenue, and grazing tax, were enforced in the central part of the country and some other provinces in north and west but not in the whole of the empire. Nevertheless

if a man can avoid payment with impunity he would never like to pay. Zakāt could not be realised forcibly since “compulsion vitiates its character”. Again it could only be applied to a property held in possession of the owner for at least one year. If a person, just to avoid zakāt, transferred his taxable property to somebody else even a day before the date of payment, he escaped from making payment (Aghnides pp. 530-33). Lastly, the collectors of zakāt are not subject to audit. There was no check to a collector’s realising a certain sum of money in zakāt and depositing a lesser amount in the exchequer. Such a vague tax had no place in ‘Alā’ūddin’s system of revenue administration.

26 Aghnides p. 318.

27 The Calcutta text of Baranī has (p. 288) شرف قاینی but Major Fuller’s Ms. has شرف قاینی. The latter is the correct form and is well known in Persia.
even this was a great achievement for 'Alāūdīn and his deputy minister Sharf Qayinī, to whose accomplishments and efficiency Baranī pays a well deserved tribute.

Sharf Qayinī took drastic steps to remove the maladministration in the revenue department. The conversion of large areas into crown lands, and their direct relations with the state necessitated steps for realisation of revenue in full. "One of the standing evils in the revenue collection consisted in defective realisation which usually left large balances to be accounted for. As the revenue system was yet in the making and the machinery for assessment and collection was yet undeveloped, unrealised balances were probably inevitable."\(^{28}\) Moreover, the lower revenue officials, whose number must necessarily have been increased with the increase in the area of crown lands, were corrupt and extortionate. 'Alāūdīn determined to do away with these evils. He created a department known as the Divān-i-Mustakhraj. The Mustakhraj was entrusted with the duties of inquiring into the arrears lying in the name of collectors, and of realising them\(^{29}\). He freely punished the āmils and kūrkuns to realise the balances in full. Equally drastic measures were taken to stop corruption among patrāris and other lower officials of the revenue department. Realising that the low salaries of the officials tempted them to accept and even extort bribes, the Sultan increased their salaries so that they could live in comfort and respectability. But this did not improve matters and corruption among the lower officials continued. The Sultan ruthlessly punished all those found guilty of corruption. The punishments seem to have been severe indeed, for 'Alāūdīn told Qāzī Mughīs that he had brought to book thousands\(^{30}\) of clerks and collectors.

\(^{28}\) Tripathi, *Some Aspects of Muslim Admini.* p. 262.

\(^{29}\) Baranī pp. 288-89, 292.

\(^{30}\) Ibid. p. 296, has 10,000, but the figure may not be accepted literally.
had reduced them to beggary and had made their flesh sore. The strict vigilance of ‘Aláúdîn over the conduct of the putvaris and amils, the inspection of their revenue books by superior officers and the sultan himself, and the ruthless punishments with which they were visited for accepting bribes and falsifying accounts, brought the lower offices of the revenue department into disrepute. The revenue officials regarded their office worse than “plague”, as for five hundred or one thousand tankahs they were kept in jail for many years. Baranî hyperbolically says that one would not give his daughter in marriage to a revenue official, while the office of the superintendent was only accepted by one who had no regard for his life, for these officials passed most of their days in jail frequently receiving blows and kicks. At last the stern punishments of ‘Aláúdîn had their effect. Ziyâuddîn affirms that it was no longer possible for any one to take even a tankah from either a Hindu or a Musalman by way of bribe or extortion.

Before closing the discussion on revenue administration it may be pointed out that ‘Aláúdîn neither abolished the iqta’ nor the Khutî system. He only abrogated the privileges of the landlord class, crushed their contumacy and compelled them to lead a life of frugality if not of destitution. By his excessive demands he in no way benefited the peasantry for which Ziyâuddîn bitterly criticises the monarch. It is certain that ‘Aláúdîn’s regulations were an outcome of political exigencies yet it was not impossible for him to be less tyrannical to the tillers of the soil, to the merchants and to his own revenue officials whose flesh he made “sore”. Everything in ‘Aláúdîn’s administration smacked of force; and if Shaikh Bashîr pointed out that ‘Aláúdîn’s govern-

31 Ibid. p. 289.
32 Ibid. p. 289.
ment had very shallow foundations, he was not incorrect. Economic prosperity and not force is the foundation of a stable government. But ‘Alā’uddin wanted to impoverish his countrymen so that the word “rebellion” should not pass their lips.

But Barani’s invectives that ‘Alā’uddin’s measures were meant to crush the Hindus as such are quite baseless. Noblemen, traders, cultivators all bore the burnt of ‘Alā’uddin’s regulations, but since agriculture was confined mainly to the Hindus they suffered most. Land was the main source of state revenues then, as it is now, and the sultan increased it to the maximum possible. The result was the grinding down of the peasant class, while the Khuṭs and muqaddams were reduced to the status of low peasantry, shorn of their time-honoured privileges.
CHAPTER XVI

SOCIAL AND MILITARY REFORMS

The main aims of the Sultans of Delhi in general and of ‘Alâúddin in particular were the conquest of independent kingdoms of India and of repulsing the Mughal invasions. The number of Mughal invasions in the time of ‘Alâúddin was the largest compared with the times of his predecessors and successors. So formidible were the onslaughts of the Mughals that on more than one occasion it appeared as if the empire would be lost to them. In such circumstances the reorganization of the state army was a great necessity and ‘Alâúddin took various measures to improve the strength, administration and morale of the army.

The sufferings of the Muslim army at Ranthambhor and Chittor, which were reduced with the utmost difficulty, the unsuccessful expedition of Malik Jûna in the east and about the same time the appearance of Mughals under Târghî in Delhi itself, brought to the mind of the sultan the dire necessity of putting the armed forces on an efficient footing. In consultation with his trusted nobles he decided that the then existing fortifications should be repaired, that new ones should be built at strategic points, and that all of them should be strongly garrisoned. It was also decided to order fresh recruitment and raise a large army to fight external and internal foes.

The army consisted chiefly of cavalry and infantry; elephants were also used in times of war. The Divân-i-‘Arz (Muster Master) kept a descriptive roll of every soldier. ‘Alâúddin introduced the system of branding horses, so that at the time of review no horse could be presented twice or replaced by a worse one. A strict review of the army of

1 Baranî.
the state was occasionally made and the horses and arms of the soldiers were examined. 'Alā'ūddin maintained a large standing army on a permanent basis, and did not disband his troops as soon as a conquest was accomplished or a foreign invasion repulsed. According to Ferishtah the Sultan maintained a standing army of 4,75,000 horsemen well equipped and accoutred. The salary of a soldier was fixed at 234 tankhas per year or 19½ tankhas per month, and if the soldier had two horses he was given an additional allowance of 78 tankhas per year or 6½ tankhas per month for the maintenance of the additional horse.

The passage in Barani² relating to the salary of a soldier is defective and has aroused much controversy. In the passage quoted below 'Alā'ūddin says:—

Martab means a beast of burden, murattab means one who gives or arranges and martab may also be a derivation from which means position or dignity. Therefore, it is difficult to fix the meaning of the word martab. In the above passage, however, martab or murattab stands for a soldier whose salary was fixed by the sultan at 234 tankahs. In those times raw men were not recruited and given training by the state. Only professional soldiers were enrolled. It stands to reason, therefore, that a soldier possessed (at least) one horse. But if he possessed two horses he was given an extra allowance of 78 tankahs for the additional horse. Thus a man with two horses, who was technically known as do as-pah got 234 tankahs as his personal salary as a soldier posses-

² Barani p. 303.
sing one horse and 78 tankahs for maintaining the second horse. Since he received allowance for an extra horse the sultan insisted upon his maintaining the additional horse. Ordinarily a soldier getting 234 tankahs was required to keep only one horse, and was technically known as yak aspah. It is obvious that no extra allowance was paid to a yak aspah or to one who had more than two horses.

So the above passage of Barani may be translated as follows:

"I give 234 tankahs to a martab (murattab) or soldier, and give 78 tankahs (more) to a do aspah (or two-horse soldier.) I expect the do aspah to maintain two horses and their corresponding equipment. (But if he is not a do aspah and an ordinary soldier) I expect him to maintain one horse and its corresponding equipment."

This idea is repeated in another passage of Barani where he says that the salary of a soldier and the extra allowance of a do aspah were quite sufficient for them.

The idea again finds confirmation in the following passage in which Qazi Mughisuddin enjoins upon the king to live the life of an ordinary soldier, and spend only 234 tankahs on himself and his family.

The passages of the contemporary chronicler cited above leave no doubt that the salary of an ordinary trooper (ahl-i-

3 Ibid. p. 319.
jihād) was 234 tankahs, while the one who possessed two horses got an extra allowance of 78 tankahs. Dr. I. H.-Qureshi,\(^5\) however, is inclined to agree with Ferishtah that there were three grades of soldiers getting 234, 156 and 78 tankahs respectively. The passage in the Lucknow text of Ferishtah reads:—

"مواجب سالبانة سباهة را بربی فرم ذی مقرر ساخصت لاولا دویست وسی و جهار تنکه دوم بیک صدو پنجم و بش تنکه سوم هفتان و هشت تنکه و چوں عمال بدنس دستور عمل نمودند جهار لک و هفتان و پنج هزار سوار بقلم در آمد";

Dr. Qureshi thinks that the three grades of cavalrymen were murattab, savār and do aspah and got 234, 156 and 78 tankahs respectively. He quotes a passage from Barani\(^7\) to show that savār was superior to do aspah, since while the former drove away a hundred Mughals before him the latter imprisoned only ten.

"لشکر اسلام بر لشکر مغل چنان قهرہ گشت که یکدو اسیہ دے مغل زا رشته در گردان انداخته می اورد ایک سوار مسلمان صد سوار مغل را پیش کرده می در ایند";

Now, to begin with, as has already been pointed out, the meaning of the word martab or murattab is very doubtful. There is nothing to show that he was a superior officer in the army. Had he been one, Barani would have given his rank or at least would have said so. On the contrary a martab is nothing more than an ordinary soldier (ahl-e-jihād) as both got 234 tankahs. Barani nowhere mentions a savār as a second grade officer or that the lowest grade soldier was known as do aspah. In the above passage Barani simply uses the word savār in the sense of a horse-

\(^5\) *Administration of the Sultanate of Delhi*, pp. 234-35.
\(^6\) *Ferishtah* p. 114.
\(^7\) *Barani* p. 320.
man. He does not specifically mention that a savār was in any way superior to a do aspah. He simply means to say that the Indian soldiers became so dominant that a do aspah could bring ten prisoners of war and a soldier or cavalryman could drive before him a hundred Mughals. It is more difficult to arrest ten than to drive away a hundred men, and the passage quoted above does not prove the superiority of savār to do aspah. It is only a hyperbolical way of asserting the supremacy of Indian soldiers and the passage should not be taken literally.

To conclude. The salary fixed for a soldier by 'Alāūddīn was 234 tankahs a year or 19½ tankahs a month. For maintaining an extra horse he got 6½ tankahs more. There were, however, no gradations of soldiers on the lines suggested by Ferishtah.

The salary of the trooper was pretty meagre, but 'Alāūddīn seems to have been very particular in keeping his soldiers contented. His instructions to Malik Tājuddīn Kāfūr while the latter was marching on an expedition to Warangal clearly show the keen interest 'Alāūddīn took in the welfare of his soldiers. He used to lavish largesses on his generals and troops whenever they returned from the Deccan. But the king could not give his soldiers a high salary. He was also opposed to assigning them lands for their maintenance. Consequently he cheapened the necessaries of life, controlled the market, and undertook other economic measures which will be studied in the next chapter. These reforms were undertaken primarily for the benefit of the soldiery, and indicate the interest the sultan took in the well-being of the army on which depended the fulfilment of his ambitions and the defence of the state.

Social Reforms.

Curiously enough some of the social reforms of 'Alāūddīn were also an outcome of political exigencies and not of any phi-
lanthropic motives. One of the notable steps was the prohibition of sale and use of intoxicants. He enforced prohibition not because drinking was harmful to the people at large but because its use made people assemble in gatherings, lose themselves and think of revolt. It was with the intention of putting an end to any incentives to rebellion that the Sultan ordered prohibition.  

Wine is prohibited in Islam. Nevertheless wine drinking was perhaps the greatest vice of Muslim sultans and nobles in medieval times. ‘Alāūddīn himself drank hard, and was advised by Malik ‘Alāulmulk to stop drinking to excess and holding convivial parties if he wanted to be a successful monarch. It is not known as to what extent ‘Alāūddīn followed the advice of his sagacious courtier, but with the successive outbreaks in his kingdom he determined to put a stop to the use of wine and other intoxicants. First he only ordered prohibition of the sale and purchase of wine, but afterwards prohibited the use of hemp, toddy (bagni) and other intoxicants as well. Gambling and dicing were also prohibited.  

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8 ‘Iṣāmī gives an interesting story in connection with the prohibition. He says that one day when the Sultan was sitting with his boon companions like Malik Qīra Beg, Malik Qīrān and others, one of the nobles present there obediently told him how the people were suffering on account of the famine that year, while the king was making merry. The Sultan was greatly moved with this remark and from that day he gave up wine, prohibited it among other people and undertook various reforms. (Futūḥ pp. 305-7). The story seems to be nothing more than hearsay.

9 Barani pp. 270-71.

10 Barani p. 284 has بَگِنی a Buggni is described in Persian dictionaries as a kind of light and intoxicating beverage, which can be classed with nābiz or a lawful drink. Steingass says that Bagni is malt liquor or beer. ‘‘‘Alāūddīn, inspired by a recent convert’s burning zeal for total prohibition appears to have classed Bagni with the unlawful and intoxicating drinks and gone further than the theologians.’’ (Hodivala pp. 276-77).
prohibited. In short ‘Alāūddin prohibited all those things which encouraged convivial assemblies and in which people expressed themselves freely. There is no doubt that it was in such congregations that “evil politics” was discussed and conspiracies against king and government were hatched.\textsuperscript{11}

‘Alāūddin began by excommunicating from the capital vintners, drunkards, gamblers and vendors of toddy and hemp. High officials were ordered to mount on elephants and proclaim aloud in every market and street of Delhi, and at all the gates on the outskirts of the city that the use and sale of wine were strictly prohibited. As an act of goodwill the king himself gave up drinking wine. All the beautiful glass and porcelain vessels of the king’s place were smashed and piled in heaps before the Badaon Gate. Gold and silver vessels were melted and coined into money.\textsuperscript{12} Large quantities of wine, which were stored in the palace cellars, were poured out into the streets. The people were also ordered to throw away any wine they possessed so that the streets of Delhi were “filled with mud and mire as in the rainy season.”

As soon as the orders were enforced the respectable people at once gave up drinking, but the habitual drinkers as also those whose livelihood depended upon the sale of wine resorted to illegal means to continue the sale and use of wine. They erected small stills or pans (bhatthī) and distilled wine from sugar. The product was sold in the black-market and drunk in secrecy. Not only was liquor fermented in the capital city by such illegal means, it was also smuggled into Delhi in leather bags, hidden under bundles of grass or fuel and by many other devices. But ‘Alāūddin’s orders were never

\textsuperscript{11} The conspiracy at Malik Tājuddin Kūchī’s residence against Jalāl may be cited as an instance, Barani pp. 190-91.

\textsuperscript{12} Ferishtah, p. 109.
enforced partially. As soon as he came to know that wine was secretly sold he ordered the offenders to be severely punished. Their wine was seized and given to elephants of the royal stables, and the culprits were beaten with sticks, fettered and thrown into wells specially dug for the purpose in front of the Badaon Gate. In these monstrous holes many offenders rotted and died while those who got released after some time were so much shattered in health that they were almost half dead and took much time to regain their lost strength.

The intelligence department (barūds and munhiyāns) strictly supervised over everything that happened inside the capital and their very existence made the people renounce wine. Those who could not give up liquor in any case used to go into villages ten or twelve kos from Delhi and drink there, but inside the capital city or its environs like Ghayāspūr, Indarpat and Kilughari or even in villages four or five kos from it, the sale and purchase of wine was not at all feasible.

The orders of the sultan had been carried to such an extreme to which perhaps even he himself did not want. He simply wanted that country wine, which is very intoxicating should not be drunk freely, openly or in large assemblies. As soon, therefore, as he came to know that wine drinking had been given up by the nobility and the respectable people of the city, and that the incorrigible must drink in spite of the severe punishments accorded to them, he relaxed his orders to some extent. He permitted private distillation and drinking in secret. In short, people were required to carry their wine like gentlemen and not to hold drink-parties. Nonetheless no public selling or use of wine was permitted.

According to Baranī, 'Alāūddīn’s orders about prohibition had the desired effect, and “from the day that the use of wine was interdicted in the City, treachery and rebellion (کنکا جهالتی بلغائک) began to diminish and thought of rebellion left the minds of the people.”’
Prohibition of Incest and Adultery.

It was discovered that certain Shia sects like the Carmathians and Ismailias\(^\text{13}\) indulged in free licence and incest. According to Ferishtah such sects were found in some countries like Sham (Syria) but were never known to have existed in India. As soon as ‘Ala’uddin came to know of these shameless people he ordered them to be severely punished. The “saw” of punishment cut them down after searching them in towns and cities, so that incestuous tribes were altogether extirpated.\(^\text{14}\)

Prostitution was also stopped and all professional women of the city were compelled to marry within a prescribed period of time.\(^\text{15}\) This stopping of the immoral trade was one of the most important steps of Sultan ‘Ala’uddin, as it preserved public morals. Similarly the sultan also put down adultery by enforcing a regulation according to which the adulteress was stoned to death and the adulterer was castrated.\(^\text{16}\)

Charlatanism was discouraged and punished. “Blood sucking magicians,” says Amir Khusrau, were severely punished by being stoned to death.\(^\text{17}\) Although Barani does not make mention of any steps against sorcerers and magicians, 

\(^{13}\) Barani (p. 336) calls them Ibahityan and Bodhkan and ascribes the event of their punishment to the closing years of ‘Ala’uddin.


\(^{15}\) Khazain. Allahabad University Ms. fol. 10(a). Habib Trs. p. 11. Barani does not mention compulsory marriage for prostitutes. Ferishtah’s statement based on the Muhli-kâts of ‘Ainuddin Bijapuri that the king classified prostitutes under three grades and fixed their fees, should be rejected as Khusrau, a contemporary, definitely states that ‘Ala’uddin discouraged prostitution.

\(^{16}\) Barani p. 296.

\(^{17}\) Khazain. Habib Trs. p. 12.
yet his assertion, that in ‘Aláúddín’s time nobody had the
courage to profess knowledge of “alchemy or magic” from
fear of the Sultan, is significant. It is quite probable that
in those days of superstition and universal belief in
witchcraft, people may have been terrorised by certain magi-
cians and quacks and ‘Aláúddín put an end to their nefarious
trade.

Except for prohibition of wine, which probably was un-
dertaken with a political motive, the other reforms of ‘Aláúd-
dín were surely meant for the benefit of the public at large
and the tranquillity of the country. That the sultan realised
the evils of adultery, prostitution and sorcery and took
steps to stop them shows that he was not only a military ruler
but also a social reformer.
CHAPTER XVII

ECONOMIC MEASURES

‘Alāūddin’s passion for incessant conquest and constant invasions of the Mughal free-booters from the north-west had rendered maintenance of a large army unavoidable. Besides the army, the expenses on a large staff of state officials, civil and military administration, and on slaves\(^1\) involved heavy liabilities on the royal exchequer. The wealth accumulated in the time of Sultan Jalāluddin,\(^2\) the treasures secured from the raid on Devagiri in 1296 and the yearly tributes collected from the various provinces and dependencies of the empire were insufficient to meet the financial burden. Even the raising of the revenue to fifty per cent. of the produce, the levying of different kinds of cesses, and the conversion of the drinking vessels of gold and silver into coins\(^3\) failed to meet the requirements of the state. It was calculated that if the king recruited a large number of troops on a moderate salary, the entire state treasure would be exhausted within five or six years.\(^4\) Moreover, from 1303 onwards a large number of buildings were constructed. ‘Alāūddin, therefore, decided to cut down the salary of soldiers; but to prevent their falling a victim to economic distress\(^5\) he decided to reduce the prices

\(^1\) According to Ferishtah ‘Alāūddin had 50,000 slaves.

\(^2\) Jalāluddin was not an extravagant monarch. He did not waste money to maintain a magnificent court nor did he undertake any grand conquests which might have entailed a large expense. According to Tarikh-i-Haqqī (Bankipore Ms. Fol. 200) he was not liberal.

\(^3\) Ferishtah p. 109.

\(^4\) Barani p. 303.

\(^5\) Ibid. p. 304.
of commodities of daily use. With this end in view, he instituted various regulations and promulgated orders which brought down the cost of living. These regulations, which may be termed as Economic Reforms of 'Alāūddin Khaljī, form a conspicuous feature of his administration.

Shaikh Naṣīruddin, the author of Khairulmajālis (written in 1352-53 A.D.), has given a very interesting anecdote in connection with these regulations. He writes that once Qazi Ḥamīduddin held a grand feast and invited him (the saint) to dinner. When all the other guests had left and the Shaikh was the only person left with Ḥamīd, the latter related an incident of the days of 'Alāūddin. He said that once he found sultan 'Alāūddin sitting close and pensive, his head bare, his mind perturbed. Malik Qira Beg asked the sultan to unfold the reason of his quiet contemplation and oppressing silence. The sultan replied: "Listen! It has often crossed my mind....that in this world of God, where so many men reside, I have been chosen to rule (over them). It behoves me, therefore, that I should do something the benefit of which may be enjoyed by everybody (بهمقا خلق). I know that whether I distribute all the treasures that I possess or give away all the lands and villages to the people, I would not be able to benefit the whole section of them. Just now, however, an idea has struck my mind and I shall talk it over to you. I have planned to cheapen the foodstuffs and the benefit (of this step) will reach everybody. Grain would be made cheap in this way. I will send for all the naigān (roving merchants) who bring grain into the City. I shall give them money from the treasury to buy and bring grain (into the City). (In lieu thereof) I shall give the traders apparel and money to support their families." Orders were accordingly given and grain began to arrive from all sides...

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6 See the chapter on Administration.
The saint then comments "such was sultan 'Alāūddin that people used to pay homage to his tomb, put sacred thread on his grave, beg for boons and their wishes were fulfilled." This may be called Sūfīc interpretation of 'Alāūddin's Market Control. The incident has not been mentioned by any historian contemporary or later. It is recorded in a book on saints written about fifty years after the enforcement of market regulations. Even if it be accepted as true, since the Qaẓī's conversation with Sultan took place at a private interview, the philanthropic motive of the Sultan as depicted by the author of Khairulmajālis, may have been only a passing whim of his mind. Baranī, the contemporary historian, definitely states that 'Alāūddin introduced market regulations for the benefit of the imperial troops. The army was only a portion of the humanity (Khalq-i-Khuda) whom the king was trying to make happy. Moreover, the prices were controlled in Delhi alone, and nothing was done for the benefit of the people elsewhere. Again, the peasants and the traders were also as good Khalq-i-Khuda as the soldiers, but the regulations of 'Alāūddin, as would appear from the following pages, proved to be highly injurious to their interests. Even to the soldiery the benefit of the cheapness of the prices did not amount to much. If the prices for the necessaries of life were lowered the salaries of the soldiers were also curtailed, and it is difficult to conclude that the troops really gained from the new arrangement. Zīyāuddin's humorous expression that a rumour got afloat in Delhi that "a camel could be had for a dang, but wherefrom the dang" clearly explains the position. The revenue regulations of the sultan impoverished the agriculturists. His reduction of salaries of soldiers did not improve the lot of government servants. In these circumstances the control of price was the outcome of an imperative necessity rather than of a philanthropic motive. Moreover, the harshness and

7 Khairulmajālis Prof. Habib's Ms. fols. 290-92.
violence with which the market regulations were enforced, tell a story very different from that related by Shaikh Naṣiruddin.

In fact high prices mean a high standard of living. ‘Alaūddin did not want to pay high salaries. He did not want people to be rich lest they should be refractory and turbulent. Naturally, if he wanted to pay lower salaries he had to lower the prices of commodities. ‘Alaūddin may not have known such principles of Political Economy, but one thing is certain that his reduction of salaries and his revenue regulations directly, and his market control indirectly, impoverished his subjects. [Ziyāuddin Baranī is quite correct when he says that the sultan lowered the prices of commodities, firstly, because he wanted to reduce the salaries of the soldiers to relieve pressure on the imperial exchequer, and secondly, because he wanted to keep them contented with their meagre pay.]

The reign of ‘Alaūddin was full of bloody warfare, a state which tended to increase the prices of commodities. Moreover, war involves dislocation of traffic, and the almost primitive means of transport of the 13th and 14th centuries must have been surely affected by the then conditions. A glaring instance of it is to be found during the invasion of Targhī (1303 A.D.) when the Mughal invader stopped all caravans from entering Delhi by capturing the roads around it as well as the fords of Jumna. Such a situation would have created intense scarcity of food grain in the capital and would have raised the prices of things exorbitantly. ‘Alaūddin tried to overcome the difficulties of transport and of high prices by accumulating food stuffs in the capital on the one hand, and by fixing their prices on the other. For this, the sultan undertook certain measures which are interesting to study as they show that as far back as the 14th century the principles of enhancement of taxes, of price control, and of rationing during a state of war, were as much comprehensible as they are to-day.
Food Control.

The prime necessity of man is food to which the sultan gave his first and fullest attention. To begin with, he regulated the prices of food-grains and fixed them at very low rates. The prices fixed were as follows:—

- Wheat ............... $7\frac{1}{2}$ jital per man.
- Barley ............... 4 jital ,, ,, 
- Gram .................. 5 jital ,, ,, 
- Rice ..................... 5 jital ,, ,, 
- Mash (Urad) .......... 7 jital ,, ,, 
- Moth ..................... 3 jital ,, ,, 

It is extremely difficult to calculate these prices in terms of modern currency and weights since the data necessary to determine the proportion of the coins and weights of those times with the modern ones are not available. The purchasing power of money since the 14th century has considerably changed. Consequently, it is not easy to determine exactly as to what extent man in the 14th century was better or worse off than he is to-day.

Ferishtah, however, states that in ‘Aláüddín’s times a tankah, whether of gold or silver, was equal to one tola in weight, and that a tankah of silver was equal to fifty jítals. The weight of jital, a small copper coin which continued to be current in Ferishtah’s time also, weighed according to some one tola and according to some others 1$\frac{1}{4}$ tolas. The tankah of ‘Aláüddín, adds Ferishtah, was equal to one tola consisting of 96 rattis, and so also it was later found by Babur. Therefore, the tankah of ‘Aláüddín was exactly equal in weight to the present day rupee. So far as the jital is concerned, Mr. Nelson Wright thinks that “an equation of 48

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8 This list does not exhaust the names of all food-grains. Obviously the prices of other cereals like pulses and peas would also have been controlled in the same way.

9 Nelson Wright p. 72.
jitals to the tankah would be more in keeping with probability than one of 50 jitals' which ratio is given by Ferishtah. Mr. Wright further adds "the fractional silver issues of 7th century point emphatically to a tankah of 48 jitals. To that extent Ferishtah's statement which after all was made some centuries later must be regarded as indirectly corroborative rather than implicitly correct. The jital then may be taken as equivalent to two ratties of silver."\textsuperscript{10} Thus if we take a tankah equal to a rupee, a jital could be equal to $\frac{1}{4}$ of our modern pice.

$7\frac{1}{2}$ jitals, says Baranî, bought one man of wheat. The man of Firûz Tughlaq's time was of 40 sers and a ser is stated to have been of 70 miṣqâls. Taking the weight of miṣqâl at the even average of 72 grains, the ser would range at 5040 grains and a man would amount to 201, 600 grains, 35 lbs. troy and 28.8 lbs. avoirdupois. Ferishtah, however, says that the man of 'Alâuddîn's time consisted of 40 sers, the weight of a ser being 24 tolas. Thus according to Ferishtah, a man of 'Alâuddîn's times was equal to 12 sers and according to Thoms' calculations it was equal to 14 sers of today. Thus if $7\frac{1}{2}$ jitals bought one man of wheat, one jital would buy $5\frac{3}{4}$ sers (of 24 tolas each). Calculated in modern money one pice ($\frac{4}{7}$ jital) would buy $1\frac{1}{2}$ ser of 80 tolas each. Thus a present day rupee would buy about two present day maunds of wheat in 'Alâuddîn's time. All other prices may be calculated on this basis.

Now, though the prices fixed by 'Alâuddîn were quite low yet it is difficult to agree with Baranî that they were the lowest compared with those that were prevalent in the reigns of his predecessors and successors. In the time of Balban, baked bread used to sell at two sers a jital;\textsuperscript{12} and, therefore, wheat.

\textsuperscript{10} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{11} Thomas: Chronicles. pp. 163-63. Thomas calculates on the authority of Yule: Cathay and the Way Thither.
\textsuperscript{12} Habib: Ḥaẓrat Amir  Khánum p. 30.
would have been cheaper still. Price level on the whole went up in the time of Muḥammad bin Tughlaq, but it again dropped to the previous level of ‘Alāūddin under Fīrūz Tughlaq. The following table would illustrate this point:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Commodity</th>
<th>Price under Alāūddin</th>
<th>Under Fīrūz</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wheat</td>
<td>per man</td>
<td>7½ jītal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barley</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paddy and pulses</td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sugar</td>
<td></td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is possible that ‘Affīf exaggerated when giving the prices of the time of Fīrūz, because Shaikh Naṣiruddīn Chirāḡ says in Khairulmajālis, which he wrote in Fīrūz’s reign, that ‘Alāūddin’s days were cheaper. Yet we find that prices were still cheaper in the time of the Lūdīs. The author of Tarikh-i-Dāūdī mentions that in the reign of sultan Ibrahim Lūdī the prices of commodities were cheaper than those obtained in the reign of any other sultan except in ‘Alāūddin’s last days. He further adds that whereas in ‘Alāūddin’s time the cheapness of price was maintained by resorting to coercion and force, in Ibrahim’s reign prices remained low without anything like that. Thus what is really of importance in ‘Alāūddin’s reign is not so much the cheapness of the prices, as “the establishment of a fixed price in the market, which was considered one of the wonders of the age.”

The Grain Market.

Having fixed the prices of food grain, the sultan established a grain market and government grain stores wherefrom

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13 يكي ازنهو دعبيد سلطان إبراهيم آن بوهد كله جامه و ساراجناس قنان ازنان شد كه در هيم عصر نبوده مكر درا آخر عهد سلطان علاءالدين خلنجي شده باشد - و ازنان عهد علاءالدين بصد هرار تكليف سياست و اكراه بود ازنان عهد إبراهيم أسماني بوه - Tarikh-i-Dāūdī, Bankipore Ms. fols. 223-24.
the people and the merchants could obtain foodstuffs. The grain market was run by two types of merchants. Firstly, those who had their permanent shops in Delhi and may be called retailers or distributors, and secondly, the *cara-vaniāns* or travelling-merchants who brought grain into the city and sold it to the shopkeepers as well as to the people. Before the enforcement of market regulations the shopkeepers as well as the *caravaniāns* made as much profit as they liked. But with the promulgation of the new orders fixing the prices of food grains at a lower level and for all time—irrespective of the vagaries of weather—the merchants were left with very little marginal profit. The result was that while the shopkeepers in Delhi looked with disgust at the new regulations, the *caravaniāns* stopped coming into the City. But ‘Alāūddin was determined to see his scheme carried out to a successful end. He ordered that the travelling-merchants should get themselves registered with the *Shahnah* of the market. Malik Qabūl, the superintendent of the Grain Market, apprehended the leaders of the travelling-merchants and kept them under surveillance until they agreed to bring grain regularly to the market from places outside Delhi and sell it at scheduled rates. They were asked to take up residence with their women and children in villages on the Jumna within the direct jurisdiction of the superintendent. They had no other alternative but to obey. They signed agreements, collectively and individually, to maintain a regular supply of grain to the market. Thus the danger of supplies falling short in the grain market was eliminated. To obviate the difficulties of *caravaniāns* in obtaining grain at prices which would ensure them a margin of profit ‘Alāūddin issued a royal rescript to all the magistrates and collectors (*shahnągān* and *mutṣarrifān*) of the country lying in the doāb and other regions near the capital city, requiring them to give written undertakings to the crown to the effect that they would try to obtain as much grain from the culti-
vators as possible. They were ordered to realise 50% of the produce as land tax from the agriculturists with the utmost rigour. They were also asked to compel the latter to sell their surplus stocks to the travelling merchants on the fields, at a rate fixed by the king. It was the duty of the revenue officials to prevent regrating of corn by husbandmen and to see that they were left only with bare sustenance.\footnote{Barani says that a peasant could not even lay aside ten man of grain (p. 305). The following two statements of Barani testify to the severe orders of the sultan:} For breach of this regulation the officers were held responsible and were called to account. Thus all the available grain flowed into the market which remained well stocked. Black-marketing did not and could not exist, and profits were wiped off.

\textit{The Grain Stores.}

Besides the husbandman and the roving merchant there was yet another factor from which interruption in supply could be apprehended. This was weather on which depended crops.\footnote{Cf. the famine in Jalāluddin's time when price of grain rose very high.} As a counterblast against its vagaries, the sultan

\begin{quote}
(1) خراج میان دوآب و ولایت صد کبوهی برهمگی
کننده که رعايا نتوانند که ده میں غله ذخیره کنند-ر
جنان بشدت طلبند (نطلبند) که ریت
غلته برسکشت بدست کاروانیان بغروشد (305)
(2) سلطان نورمان داداود تاز دیوان اعلی ازشکنگان
و متصنفل ولایت میان دو آب که به شهر نزدیک است خط
ستانند تا ایشان از رعايا خراج جنان بشدت طلب نمانند
که ایشان را غله ازکشت درخانها آوردند و احتکار کردند
میکن نبرد وهم برسکشت بنرخ ارزان غله بدست کاروانیان
بغروشد (307).
\end{quote}
established government grain stores. These granaries were kept well stocked. There was scarcely a mohalla, says Barani, where two or three royal stores filled with foodstuffs did not exist. These were different from grain shops. They were godowns where grain was stored in reserve to be released in times of emergency. If the crops were spoilt due to scarcity or irregularity of rainfall, or if the primitive agencies of transport were not able to bring sufficient grain into the capital the accumulated grain was taken out, handed over to the travelling merchants, who carried it to the grain market, where it was sold to the public at the regulated prices and in quantities fixed for individual purchasers.

Rationing.

In favourable seasons the people could buy as much grain as they liked. But conditions were not the same in seasons of drought and famine. In seasons of drought, grain could not be sold to the people of Delhi in indefinite quantities, the more so because the people of the vicinity also flocked into the capital city. Consequently it was rationed. In seasons of scarcity each household was given half a man of grain per day. Ferishtah's statement is a little different. He says that in times of drought every purchaser was required to buy just the quantity he needed, and if somebody bought even half a man more than his needs, he was severely punished.\(^{16}\) Barani's statement is more acceptable on the ground that half a man\(^{17}\) (approximately 6 or 7 sers) per day was a reasonable quantity in those days for a normal family with one or two servants. Rich persons of the town who had no villages or fields to fall back upon in unfavourable seasons were also given a fixed quantity of grain for their requirements.

\(^{16}\) Ferishtah p. 112.

\(^{17}\) Barani clearly says (p. 309)
But in those days there were no ration cards nor were people numbered or counted for obtaining grain in fixed quantities. It seems that whosoever went to the bazār was given a reasonable quantity of grain. Barani says that during the seasons of drought poor and helpless people crowded in the bazārs and sometimes got crushed to death. In such cases, where the officers were found derelict in discharging their duty, they, as well as the superintendent of the market, were taken to task by the king.\textsuperscript{18} The chronicler does not say much about the poor people or if there was any provision for the free distribution of grain in times of scarcity. It appears, however, that no such concessions were given to anybody as the prices of food grains were already sufficiently cheap. The system of rationing was a novel idea of ‘Alāūddīn\textsuperscript{19}, and Barani asserts that on account of the various regulations of ‘Alāūddīn no famine occurred in Delhi even when there was drought and people thought famine to be unavoidable. At least in Delhi the people lived a life of contentment, undisturbed by any fear of scarcity.

Ferishtah’s statement that the prices fixed for Delhi were obtained in other parts of the country as well,\textsuperscript{20} is very doubtful. Firstly, it was very difficult in those days to fix a uniform price of food grains and other articles all over the empire. Even in the 20th century, with all the elaborate system of transport and communications, a uniform system of price control has not been possible in India. In the 14th century conditions were still more unfavourable. Secondly, Barani always talks only of the capital city while describing

\textsuperscript{18} Ibid. p. 309.

\textsuperscript{19} According to Dr. Moti Chand rationing was resorted to ameliorate conditions of famine in ancient India. (Journal of the U.P. Historical Society, vol. XIX December, 1945). That may be so, but ‘Alāūddīn’s scheme was quite novel so far as Muslim rule in India is concerned.

\textsuperscript{20} Ferishtah p. 112.
rationing and price control, and his statements are more trustworthy than Ferishtah's. Baranî was living in 'Alâūdîns days, Ferishtah was not.

The Market Officials.

Such an elaborate system of market control under which prices of articles were fixed, the merchants registered, and profiteering and speculation strictly forbidden, could not be worked without a large and efficient staff of officials. 'Alâūdîn appointed Malik Qabûl, who was a trustworthy servant of Ulugh Khan and whom Baranî credits with wisdom, discretion, and trustworthiness, as shâhnâh or superintendent of the market. He was granted a large estate and was given a large body of cavalry and infantry to help him in the discharge of his duties. His powers were extensive and he was put in charge of all the travelling-marchants of the city. He saw to it that they regularly brought grain to the grain market, sold it at rates fixed by the crown, and that nothing was hoarded or sold in the black-market. He used to report to the Sultan about prices prevailing in the market and also about the general condition of the bazâr. His reports were verified through other sources which would be mentioned below; and if there was even a little difference between the reports of the superintendent and other officials of the bazâr, a thorough enquiry was conducted to find out the cause of discrepancy and the defaulters were severely punished. The shâhnâh, who held a high position and big estates, was in constant dread of the sultan, and was liable to be taken to task for any delinquency. He tried his utmost to see that nothing happened in the market against the orders or wishes of the sultan lest the wrath of the king should fall on him. In spite of his high authority in the market, Malik Qabûl could not suggest a single amendment or change in the king's orders. When once or twice in seasons of drought he requested the sultan to raise a little the price of grain, he was
awarded twenty cuts. Consequently the superintendent could not afford to be anything but an extremely harsh and strict officer. He moved about in the grain market whipping the fraudulent merchants publicly. The strictness of the shahnah compelled the market people to be honest in their dealings.

Other officials of the grain market were the barid-i-mandi, who reported the quality of the wares, and the munhiyāns who may be compared to the secret service police of to-day. These officials were inferior to the shahnah-i-mandi in status, but they submitted their reports separately and directly to the sultan and not through the shahnah. Thus the shrewd monarch received reports of the market from three different sources and scrutinized them carefully. This compelled the market officials to be correct in their accounts and honest in their dealings. The traders also could not deviate from the market regulations, since they would not receive any favour from a single officer.

**The Cloth Market.**

Next to food, the other important item of price control was cloth. In fact the sultan established separate markets for all the commodities needed by the soldier. There was a horse market, a slave market, markets for cattle and for sweets, spices, fruits, weapons, shoes etc. Ziyāuddin Barānī describes in detail the condition of the Cloth Market, the administration of which was regulated on the lines of the Grain Market. Just as Malik Qabūl was appointed shahnah of the Grain Market, one Yaqūb was appointed as Divān-i-Riyāsat to control the Cloth Market, but his jurisdiction extended to other markets also. The Sultan had given him the post of Divān-i-Riyāsat in addition to his duties as Nāzir (Superintendent Dārōgha) and Muḥtāsib (Censor of Public Morals) of the empire.²¹

²¹ Barānī p. 317.
Thus his powers were very extensive indeed, and although Malik Qabul was all in all in the Grain Market, he was in reality subordinate to Yaqub in rank, since Barani at one place says that Yaqub appointed shahnahs for each of the various market in the town.\textsuperscript{22} The Divan-i-Riyasat was "not only trustworthy and upright but also ill-tempered, hard, close, cruel and coarse." The respect and obedience he commanded on account of his position as well as temper, and the severe punishments he freely inflicted upon the bazar people, improved the tone of transactions in the markets.

(The Cloth Market was located in the building known as the Sarai ‘Adl. It was established "inside the Badaon gate in the direction of Kaushak-i-Sabz, which for years had not been used." The Sarai ‘Adl was open from early morning till late in the night, the hour of the last prayer. The public, therefore, could buy wares any time during the day. It was the only market in the town which dealt in cloth, since no trader was permitted to sell his goods secretly or at prices higher than those fixed by the sultan. Those who dared to contravene this regulation were severely punished and their goods lapsed to the crown.\textsuperscript{2} Ziyauddin gives a long list of silk and cotton cloths, the prices of which were fixed by the crown.) It is difficult to ascertain the prices of cloths now because the measure and currency of those days cannot be calculated in modern money, and also because in many cases the contemporary chronicler does not give measure of the cloth whose price he mentions. He simply mentions the name of the stuff and its price without mentioning any specific measure. But it is well-nigh certain that cloth was not cheap in those days. While wheat was sold at 7½ jitals per man; a chadar, obviously of ordinary size, was sold at 10 jitals. Long-cloth of good quality, twenty

\textsuperscript{22} Ibid. p. 318.
yards in length, was sold for one tankah. It is the only thing for which Baranī gives a measure. Shaikh Naṣiruddin Chirāgh, writing in Khairulmajālis says that in the time of 'Alāūddin a quilt (lihāf) could be made in one or two tankahs. He gives the details of various stuffs needed in its preparation. The upper piece (jard) could be had for 20 jītāls, border of ordinary quality for 30 jītāls, cotton and lower piece (astar) for 12 jītāls. Carding and sewing meant a further cost of 4 to 6 jītāls. Compared with to-day cotton cloth was fairly cheap. But at another place the Shaikh writes that in those days a whole feast could be arranged in one tankah. Compared with food, therefore, cloth of even ordinary quality was not cheap in those times.

The prices of silk cloths were very high indeed. Delhi Khazz was sold for 16 tankahs, almost a whole month’s pay of a soldier; Silahti, an ordinary cotton cloth, which is known to this day and which was cheap in the time of Akbar, was sold at 6 tankahs. The fact that ‘Alāūddin controlled the price of cloth and gave advance to merchants to import goods into Delhi, shows that cloth was still dearer before the Sultan issued the regulations. Baranī relates that a regulation was introduced whereby people were stopped from buying silk stuffs at cheap rates in Delhi and selling them at prices four or five times higher outside Delhi. This clearly means that outside the metropolis the price of cloth was still higher. The following cloths and their controlled prices have been given by Baranī:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Delhi Khazz silk</th>
<th>16 tankahs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Orange colour raw silk</td>
<td>6 &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Half Silks, mixed with hair</td>
<td>3 &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shirīn Bāft fine</td>
<td>5 &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; &quot; middling</td>
<td>3 &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; &quot; coarse</td>
<td>2 &quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

23 Blochmann: Aīn-i-Akbarī, p. 95.
Silāhtī fine.......................... 6 tankahs.
,, ,, middling...................... 4 ,, 
,, ,, coarse........................... 2 ,, 
Red striped stuffs.................. 6 ājitals.
Common stuffs...................... 3½ ,, 
Red lining of Nagor................. 24 ,, 
Coarse lining........................ 12 ,, 
Long-cloth fine........................ 1 tankah for 20 yards.
,, ,, coarse............................ 1 tankah for 40 yards.
Chādar.............................. 10 ājitals.

The control of prices of cloth brought to the forefront the same problems which had cropped up in the case of food grains. The merchants were reluctant to sell their goods in Delhi, since they were not allowed as much profit as they were accustomed to. Moreover, they bought their goods in far off places at prices which surely were not controlled, they incurred expenses in transporting them to Delhi, and then they were expected to sell their articles in the capital at prices fixed by the Sultan. In the case of agricultural produce ('Alāūddīn) could compel the cultivators in the doāb and other regions to sell grain to the travelling-merchants at regulated rates, but he could not compel manufacturers of far off places like Devagiri and Multan, and places beyond Multan in the north west, to sell to merchants goods at fixed rates. Consequently the Sultan provided more facilities to cloth merchants than to those who imported grain into Delhi. So far as the registration was concerned every merchant whether Hindu or Musalmān who traded in Delhi was ordered to get his name registered with the Divān-i-Riyāsāt. He was also required

24 E.g. Devagiri silks, horses, swords and other sundry articles were brought from far off places.
25 Barānī says ‘merchants of the empire’ but this seems to be an exaggeration. ‘Alāūddīn was only concerned with Delhi where the prices were controlled.
to sign an agreement stipulating that he would bring a fixed quantity of goods in the city and sell them at controlled rates. The Sultan advanced money from the state treasury to the Multāni merchants to enable them to purchase commodities elsewhere and to sell them in the Sarai 'Adl at the controlled rates. The money advanced by the sultan amounted to about 2,000,000 tankahs. Ziyāuddin does not say if the merchants were expected to return the same to the public exchequer. It would appear that as the money was advanced for buying commodities at higher rates outside, and selling them at cheaper and controlled rates in Delhi, the merchants could not be expected to return it. But the observation of Barānī that the king determined the prices of various goods leaving a fair margin of profit to the merchant\(^{28}\) leads one to infer that the government money was returned by the merchant after his goods had been sold out. Ibn Baṭṭūṭah's statement makes the point clear. He says that the sultan abolished all taxes on merchandise, advanced money to merchants and told them: "with this money buy bullock and sheep, and sell them; the price that they will fetch must be paid to the treasury, and you shall receive allowance for selling them."\(^{27}\) Thus it would appear that the Multāni merchants and other traders who were induced to trade in Delhi were not traders in the true sense of the term, selling goods at profitable rates; but they were virtually agents of the government. They were advanced money to buy goods abroad and sell them in Delhi, and they received remuneration for this service. It may be surmised that such transactions must have caused an immense loss to the state.

To put a stop to black-marketeering, restriction were imposed on the sale and purchase of high class fabrics. Silks were sold at high prices outside Delhi and there was danger of people's buying costly stuffs in the capital at controlled

\(^{28}\) Barānī p. 316.
\(^{27}\) Elliot, vol. III, p. 599.
rates and selling them at prices four or five times higher outside. Thus the evil of profiteering at the cost of the state loomed large. Some cases of profiteering on the part of public men were brought to the notice of the sultan, who was not slow to issue orders to counteract it. (Accordingly nobody was allowed to buy costly stuffs as *tasbih* and *Tabrezî*, Delhi foiselle silks (*khazz*), *kamkhab*, *shashtari*, *hariri*, Chinese, *Bhîram* and Devagiri silks, cloths embroidered with gold threads\(^{28}\) and other similar articles without first obtaining a permit from the *Divân-i-Riyāsat*. The *Divân* issued permits to Maliks and Amirs and other well-known persons with whose credentials he was satisfied. The purchaser had to give a written receipt in acknowledgement of the article bought by him and in this way any possibility of profiteering in the black market was eliminated.)

**Horse Market.**

(Rules were also framed to regulate the sale of horses, cattle and slaves. In medieval times cavalry was the most important branch of the army and horses were much valued. In Central Asia, among the Mughals, horse stealing was punished with death. In South India large amount of money was spent by Hindu Rajas to procure horses from countries like Arabia and Qipchâq. In North India horses of good breed were mostly imported from Arabia, Persia and Afghanistan, but the Mughal activities interrupted the course of trade and the price of horses rose high. But ‘Alâûddin could not allow a high price for any commodity needed by a soldier, and the price of horses was also regulated.) Horses considered fit for military service\(^{29}\) were divided into three grades according to their quality and breed. The price of the best

\(^{28}\) Barâni p. 311.

\(^{29}\) Barâni p. 313, has insert Persian quotation from note 28. By *Divân* here is meant *Divân-i-‘Arz* is meaningless. It is in all probability
quality horse ranged from 100 to 120 tankahs, that of the second from 80 to 90 tankahs, and of the third from 65 to 70 tankahs. The horses which were not passed as fit for military service by the Divān, and which were known as tatbūs (ponies) were priced from 10 to 25 tankahs. To maintain these low prices 'Alāūd-dīn had to treat the horse brokers and middlemen very severely. He ordered that no dealer or his agent should be permitted to frequent the market with the intention of buying a horse for reselling it at a higher price. But it was not very easy to bring them under control. Dallāls or middlemen are even to-day one of the most cunning and unmanageable section of the mandī people. In those days, declares Ziyāuddin, ‘brokers and middlemen were a most arrogant, rebellious and audacious class of people.’ They were wont to take commission both from the purchaser and the seller in every transaction, and had so complicated the business that no transaction could be effected without their mediation. Virtually, they were the ‘Kings of the market.’ Consequently it was with some difficulty that the sultan could bring the brokers to book. He instituted very harsh measures to put an end to the nefarious dallāls, who for years had earned their livelihood on high bidding and speculation. Those who still persisted in their old ways were incarcerated with life long imprisonment. It was no longer possible for the merchants and brokers to prevaricate or speak lies, and the price of horses fixed by the sultan began to obtain in the city.

'Alāūd-dīn used to send for inspection after every six weeks or two months horses of every variety to ascertain that each variety was sold at the price specified for it. If any variation was detected the brokers had to suffer penalties and punishments. Fear kept the brokers vigilant and prevented them from trading upon the simplicity of customers. In this way the king was successful in establishing fixed prices for horses of every variety.
On lines similar to these were fixed the prices of slaves and cattle. In medieval times slaves of both sexes, like any other commodity, were sold in the market and the sultan fixed prices for them also. The standard price of a working girl was fixed at from 5 to 12 tankahs, and that of a good-looking girl from 20 to 30 and even to 40 tankahs. If a very beautiful slave girl of a very high price, say of 100 or 200 tankahs, was offered for sale in the market, nobody dared to buy her for fear of the munhrayıns (secret police), lest the king should be informed that a particular person was rich enough to pay so high a price for a slave girl. The prices of boys were fixed from 20 to 30 tankahs. The slave-boys were classified according to their looks and working capacity. As was the case with the horse market, in the slave market also it was not possible for the dealers and monied men to go about showing or seeing slave boys or girls or tampering with their prices. The punishments inflicted on brokers for contravening the orders of the king were very severe and Barani exaggeratingly, though not untruthfully, says that such penalties were inflicted on the brokers that even life became distasteful to them, and they longed for death.

Similar regulations were introduced in the cattle market also. A good beast of burden which was sold for 40 tankahs in the reign of Muḥammad Tughlaq or of Fīrōz, used to be sold for 4 or at the most 5 tankahs in the time of ʿAlāūddīn. A cow for slaughtering was sold at a tankah and a half while a milk cow was sold at 3 to 4 tankahs. The price of a cow or buffalo in milk averaged from 10 to 12 tankahs.

So much about the large markets. It has been pointed out before that ʿAlāūddīn fixed the price of each and every commodity however trifling. It was a matter of policy also. It was useless to control the price of foodstuffs if sweets or things prepared from them were not controlled. The prices of different commodities are interconnected. For example, if the prices of wheat, ghī and sugar are controlled, and the price
of sweets is left uncontrolled, the control is not complete.
Thus the prices for harīsah, reori, sugar-candy, puddings,
vegetables, bread, combs, slippers, shoes, cups, pitchers,
goblets, needle, betelnuts and even betel were fixed.

Means of enforcing orders.

It was not easy to force all these regulations down the
throats of tradesmen wholesale dealers as well as retailers,
who for long had been enjoying liberal profits. But the
state exigency forced the king to see that his orders were
faithfully carried out. Upon effective enforcement of his
orders depended the efficiency and happiness of his armed
forces, the safety of the state against foreign aggressors
and the glory of the crown through conquests.

A schedule of the prices of different commodities was
prepared and a reasonable profit was allowed to the seller.\(^{30}\)
Since this margin was determined according to the wishes of
the king without any consultation with the merchants, it
may safely be surmised that it was not very high. The
schedule was forwarded to the Diwan-i-Riyāsat, whose duty
it was to enforce it in the market. Malik Yaqūb; the Divān-
i-Riyāsat, or the Inspector General of all the markets in Delhi,
appointed shahnāhs or magistrates for various markets dealing
with various commodities. The shahnāhs had full
jurisdiction over their markets and were directly responsible
to the king. The status of a shahnāh was high as can well be
imagined from the instance of Malik Qabūl. Each shah-
naḥ received a copy of the schedule of rates for his market.
The superintendents were instructed to enquire from the
purchasers what they had paid for a particular ware, and
were to note down their statements to verify if the prices
charged were not in contravention of the scheduled ones. If
the market people were found to be selling things at higher

\(^{30}\) Barānī p. 316.
prices they were at once taken to task. The appointment of a shahnah for each market was extremely conducive to keeping prices low.

(The powers vested in the market officials were very extensive. They coerced, whipped and tyrannized over the traders in every way.) But in most cases bazār people were themselves responsible for the harsh treatment meted out to them. Even in the 20th century the traders in corn and vegetable mandīs are sometimes so contumacious and refractory that it becomes difficult to control them. They treat the simple villagers harshly, and not unusually force them to sell corn and vegetables at cheap rates. The ignorant village people, who come to large towns in the hope of making some profit, fall an easy prey to the tall-talks of the non-chalant brokers, whose advice is sometimes conveyed through sweet words, at others in threatening gestures. Even the educated shop-keepers of to-day do not refrain from charging a higher price than the one fixed by the government, and it is the fear of huge fines and rigorous imprisonment that deters them from illegal profiteering. In short, the town-traders exploit the ignorance of both the village and town people to their best advantage. As pointed out above the conditions in the 14th century were far worse. Ziyāuddīn calls the businessmen of his day as being shameless and cunning. They tried to defraud people by whatever means they could. He declares that they were the greatest liars among the seventy two sections of the people (living in the world).31 Describing the dallāls of his day he says that prior to enforcement of government regulations they determined prices and defrauded both the buyer and the seller. It was a saying of the kings of old, continues the chronicler, that it was easier to clear a jungle or to subjugate distant lands than to bring under control the refractory bazār people. Selling at high prices and giving

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31 Barani p. 343.
short weights were their common habits, and they did all this in spite of the barbarous punishments inflicted upon them for the slightest offence.

(Alāūddīn ordered most severe punishments for contravention of his orders regarding price-control). Even in these days a fine of a few thousand rupees is levied or rigorous imprisonment for some months is awarded to a shopkeeper who is found to have sold an article for even a few annas above the controlled rate. Six centuries back the traders were perhaps as persistent in their cunning, while the punishments more severe. It was ordered that the Nāgīr Yāqūb should ill-treat and administer lashes to guilty traders. In cases of short-weight he used to cut off flesh from the haunches of traders, equal to the deficiency in weight. The harshness of Yāqūb was talked about everywhere among the young and the old. Every day the Nāgīr used to inquire about the transactions of the bazārs several times, and on the discovery of the slightest discrepancy he whipped the traders mercilessly.32 Notwithstanding his harshness the merchants continued to cheat the customers, and it was found that short-weight trick was commonly practised when little boys came to purchase things in the market. To detect the mischief the sultan used to call young slave-boys from his pigeon houses, give them some jitals33 and send them to the market place, asking one to bring bread, another to bring halvā, a third yakhni, a fourth reori a fifth melon, a sixth cucumber and so on, and when these boys returned after their purchases the sultan sent for the Divān-i-Riyāsat and had the articles brought by the boys weighed in his presence. If any thing was found to be deficient in weight it was given to the Divān-i-Riyāsat, who at once proceeded to the shop from where the articles had

32 Barānī p. 318.
33 Ibid. p. 318 wrongly has diram which coin probably then did not exist.
been brought. A quantity of flesh equal to the deficiency in weight was cut from the haunches of the fraudulent seller, and he was kicked out of his shop. Such drastic punishments seem to have been meted out only to habitual offenders. The horrible punishments introduced by 'Alāūdīn continued to be awarded for some time, says the historian, till at last the tradesmen became quite submissive and discontinued giving short weights. Not only that, they were so much terrified with these drastic measures that sometimes they gave much more than the actual weight.

Now, this was the other extreme. If profiteering and selling short weight and cheating the purchasers in various ways deserved discouragement, the extremely severe punishments which led the shopkeepers to weigh more than the actual quantity indicates a lack of far-sightedness on the part of the king. How long could trade flourish under conditions in which the shopkeepers worked without getting sufficient profits. The market regulations of 'Alāūdīn did not permit enough profit to the tradespeople and consequently lent no encouragement to trade and commerce. The king did not permit even the least flexibility in prices and if hope of gain is lacking there can be no incentive to trade. Moreover, the regulations which hardly benefitted the traders were forced down their throats.) Even after giving due consideration to the exaggeration in which Barani is prone to indulge, the facts that such severe penalties were inflicted on brokers in horse, cattle and slave markets, that even life became so distasteful to them and they longed for death, and deficiency in weights was made up by slicing off an equivalent quantity of flesh from the person of shopkeepers, clearly show that the market people must have been disgusted. That there was no encouragement to trade is clearly borne out by the fact that the merchants carrying on trade in food stuffs as well as other commodities were compelled to take up their abodes in Delhi. They had to sign agreements making them individually and collectively

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responsible for one another's good conduct, and the authority of state officials extended even over their wives and children. It can well be surmised how the merchants would have chafed under the rigorous regulations of the monarch and how they would have rejoiced to see such a state of affairs come to an end.

Not only trade and commerce but agriculture was also affected. It has been pointed out at length in the preceding chapter how the revenue regulations of the king as well as his economic measures were harmful to agriculturists. Here it may be pointed out once again that these regulations rendered the condition of peasantry almost hopeless. Mr. Moreland thinks that the revenue regulations of the sultan were meant to crush the rich middlemen and not the poor peasants or the "herds" as such, but one fails to understand how the poor peasantry could be happy under the market regulations. It is conceivable that the realization of 50 per cent. of the land produce in kind was not meant to oppress the peasants but to store grain in the capital city. Yet when a husbandman paid half of his hard earned produce in land tax, some portion of the remaining in other sundry duties, and then was compelled to sell his grain at cheap rates to travelling merchants, who on their part were helped by government officials in obtaining their stocks, it does not speak well of the general condition of the peasantry of those days. There is no doubt that the cultivators were relieved of the drudgery of taking their grain into grain markets of big cities lying in the vicinity of their fields, and were saved from falling a victim to the seductions of the profiteering middlemen and speculators, still they could never be happy in selling their grain at a cheap price fixed by the government without having the choice of selecting a market for themselves and trying

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34 Barani pp. 306-7, 310-11.
for a profit. The temptation of making profit, which is the greatest incentive to production, was completely checked by 'Alaūddīn’s market regulations and the peasants seem to have lived a life of monotony and low standard, if not of squalor. The motive of the sultan may not have been to crush the poor peasants against whom he could possibly have no grudge, but the exigencies of the state required him to take such steps under which the interests of commerce and cultivation were sacrificed to those of the army. A peasant is not always a hoarder; he will not hoard if he is given a fair price for his produce. Just for the sake of safety he stores up some grain as security against bad seasons, but even that was denied to him, and every man of available grain was transferred to the Grain Market of Delhi. The stores of the sultan continued to increase so that Ibn Battūṭah ate the rice which had been stored by sultan 'Alaūddīn. The rice had become dark in colour but had preserved its taste. This fact alone shows that the government had hoarded a large quantity of grain, much above the needs of the state, so much so that it was available even three decades after the death of the king.

It is obvious that neither agriculture nor trade and commerce could flourish under the regulations of 'Alaūddīn. But the fostering of agriculture and trade were not his motives either. To him the prime necessity of the state was the maintenance of a huge army, sufficient to repel Mongol invasions as well as to subdue independent chiefs of India. There is no doubt that the benefits of market regulations were enjoyed by the civil as well as the military population of Delhi,—a fact about which Barānī does not forget to make a special mention,35 still the agriculturists of the doāb and of tracts in the vicinity of Delhi, of Jhain and of Bayana, suffered

35 Barānī p. 304.
privations for the benefit of the people at the capital. The tradesmen also did not gain much and worked under compulsion. But 'Alā‘ūddin was not learned enough to philosophise on the benefits of a far distant future and to foster trade, commerce and agriculture. He thought he was called upon to act and he acted vigorously. He invariably sacrificed civil interests to those of military. In the reign of no other king were the Mughal invasions so persistent as in the time of 'Alā‘ūddin. In the reign of no other king of the sultanate period were conquests made on such a large scale. Under these circumstances if all his reforms and regulations were directed towards the benefit of the army, it is not at all surprising. And how many renowned Turkish kings of India could afford to keep the happiness and prosperity of the peasants and traders above those of the army? Necessity, religious zeal and personal ambition, rendered the glory of conquest much more appealing to them than the glory of making such laws as would make the peasants rich and traders richer. 'Alā‘ūddin was no exception. It is, therefore, not surprising that he put military necessities above civil ones and raised such a strong and contended army, that, whether at home or in foreign kingdoms, it always defeated its adversaries.

The most remarkable feature of the economic regulations is the success with which they were carried out. Appointment of shah'nahs for the various markets, appointment of barīds, and the secret and efficient service of the munhiyans, all independent of one another and all responsible to the king, improved the tone of administration. No officer, however highly placed, could neglect his duties or play false, because the sultan was constantly informed about everything through his secret service agents. The Divān-i-Riyāsat, inflicted drastic punishments on the bazār people and did not permit any breach of the orders of the government. Coercion, compulsion and terrorization were the methods adopted by the officers with regard to market administration. But
the character and conduct of the market people, as described by Barani, justified to a considerable extent the harsh means the sultan resorted to. If the chronicler is to be believed, ‘Ala‘uddin had undertaken the economic measures after consulting his trusty and experienced councillors and ministers. He had asked their opinion as to what he should do in order that the means of livelihood might be made exceedingly cheap "without introducing capital punishment, torture and severe coercion." But he had to banish brokers and torture tradespeople to see that his orders were carried out once they had been issued. Had the traders been more honest and the king less severe, perhaps the tortures inflicted on the bazār people would have been avoided.

Except for the traders themselves, the people of Delhi at least benefitted by these regulations. Prices were rendered cheap and stable. In times of scarcity there was no danger of famine in the capital city. The terrible famines of the time of Sultan Jalāluddin and Muḥammad Tughlāq are not heard of in the reign of ‘Ala‘uddin, because the capital at least was never short of food; and if famine occurred in some isolated or distant part of the country it surely escaped the notice of the contemporary chronicler.

‘Ala‘uddin’s market regulations died with him. "The rules, the inquiries, the strictness with which the orders were carried out, and the punishments inflicted on the market people came to an end with the death of ‘Ala‘uddin, and his son Quṭbuddin could not enforce all the thousand regulations of the ‘Alāi' reign." This was but expected. After the death of ‘Ala‘uddin there was neither the will of the successor nor was there any necessity of enforcing them. Quṭbuddin was not so fond of conquests as of concubines, and the military tradition of ‘Ala‘uddin lost their lustre at the hands of

36 Barani p. 319.
his successor. Moreover, the Mughal storm had subsided, and there was no need of maintaining a large force to encounter their incursions. Consequently, there was no need of controlling prices for recruiting a large army on small salary. Market Control was a temporary measure, resorted to in a state of exigency. When that exigency was over the regulations were also permitted to fall in disuse.
CHAPTER XVIII

LAST DAYS OF 'ALA'UDDIN

Notwithstanding the various measures the sultan had undertaken for strengthening his state and notwithstanding the brilliant victories Malik Kāfūr was achieving in the south as late as the year 1313, the government of 'Alā'uddīn was gradually losing in strength and stability. As the health of the king was deteriorating with advancing age, his passion for centralization of power in his own hands was increasing. Like Aurangzēb in his old age, 'Alā'uddīn also would listen to no advice, would tolerate no opposition. In contrast to his early years when he had able counsellors like 'Alā'ulmulk, Nuṣrat Khan and Ulugh Khan, he had only favourites and flatterers now at the close of his reign. In addition to this he had become extremely peevish and suspicious. It is, therefore, not surprising that it was during his last days that the appalling massacre of the neo-Muslims took place. Conversion of jagirs into crown-lands had already rendered many a Mughal destitute. Some of the ex-service-men had obtained employment under high officials and barons, but most of them had been left unemployed. These disgruntled souls accused the Sultan of tyrannising over the people, of forcibly seizing money, of imposing prohibition and instituting various kinds of heavy taxes. They had also shown resentment at the execution of Abaji Mughal during Kāfūr's expedition to M'abar. Confident of the support of the neo-Muslims in the army and the approval of the people in general, who would obtain deliverance from the tyranny of the Sultan, they plotted to assassinate the

1 Futūḥ, p. 291.
2 Barani, p. 365.
king. The plot was discovered and the rage of the Sultan flared up. It was ordered that on an appointed day all the Mughals should be killed wherever they were found, and "their wives and children should be handed over to their assassins."3 The orders were carried out to the very letter and some twenty to thirty thousand Mughals, most of whom had no knowledge of the plot, were ruthlessly massacred. Although not without reason, still, the neo-Muslims were extirpated with horrible barbarity and nothing can justify the inhuman way in which the whole section of them—innocent or guilty—were exterminated.

Such tyranny on the one hand and the disgraceful attachment to his favourites on the other, had affected the Sultan’s prestige. His infatuation for the eunuch Kāför had made the latter the most powerful man in the country; and as the king’s health rapidly declined this mean and ungrateful wretch committed innumerable crimes to serve his own selfish ends. With the removal from office of Malikš Hamiduddin and A‘izzuddin and with the assassination of Sharf Qayīnī, the departments of Revenue (Dīvān-i-Vuzrā), Finance (Dīvān-i-Risālat) and Correspondence (Dīvān-i-Inshā) were altogether ruined. Talented officers were removed from service and in their stead unworthy clerks and despicable sycophants disgraced the honourable offices allotted to them.5 A nincompoop like Bahāuddin Dabīr was made ‘Umdatul Mulk.6 If one or two able men like Malik Qirān, the Amīr-i-Shikār, and Malik Qirā Bég commanded some respect, they neither held a high office nor power at the court. Thus, while the king had concentrated all power in his own hands, no wise person was left to offer opinion on knotty problems.

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3 Ibid. pp. 235-36.
4 This is Barani’s figure. Ferishtah has 14 to 15 thousand. Ferishtah, p. 120.
5 Barani pp. 334, 337.
6 Ibid. p. 337.
Weddings of Khizr Khan and Shadi Khan.

The decline of the government became rapid after the marriages of the royal princes. In 1312 Shamsul Ḥaqq, surnamed Khizr Khan, the eldest son of the king, was married to the daughter of Alp Khan, governor of Gujarat and brother of the Malka-i-Jahān. But Khizr Khan was never happy with this marriage. He had fallen in love with Deval Rani, daughter of Rai Kanan of Gujarat. The strange circumstances under which she had been captured in the south have been related before. Since then she had lived with her mother Kamla Devi in the royal palace where Khizr Khan fell in love with her. This fact was soon discovered; but since Mährū, the darling of Alāūddin’s younger days, was keen on marrying her son to the daughter of her brother, it was decided to separate the two. Deval Devi was sent to the Qasr-i-Lal with her friends. Tongue-tied with bashfulness, Khizr Khan did not say a word in protest, and Malka-i-Jahān after making elaborate preparations and inviting Rajas and governors from distant parts of the empire married her eldest son to the daughter of Alp Khan on 23rd of Ramzān 711 (February 4th, 1312).

Khizr Khan, however, could not forget his object of love. He kept away from his wife and used to meet Deval secretly. His health began to deteriorate and Mährū grew anxious about her son. Thinking it advisable not to risk the life of her son for the sake of her brother’s daughter, Malka-i-

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7 According to Khusrau Deval Rani was only six months old at the time of the first invasion of Gujarat, 1299. (Deval Rani p. 82). He confirms this statement by saying at another place that she was eight years when captured (p. 93). According to Ferishtah she was four years when she was separated from her mother in 1299 (Ferishtah pp. 116-17). There is no reason to accept Ferishtah’s statement against that of the contemporary Khusrau.

8 According to 'Īsami Ram Deva of Devagiri was invited to this function. Futūḥ. p. 316.
Jahān obtained ‘Alāūddin’s permission to marry Khizr Khan to Deval Devi.

About this time Ram Deva of Devagiri died and his son assumed an attitude of hostility. Malik Naib Kāfūr was despatched to crush the rebel. During his absence in the Deccan Alp Khan and Malka-i-Jahān gained ascendency at the court. Māhrū began to make preparations for the marriage of her second son Shadi Khan with the second daughter of her brother. The king was keeping indifferent health, but Malka-i-Jahān was bent upon celebrating the nuptials. She sent out invitations to governors and nobles in far off provinces. Malik Kāfūr also came to the capital, where prince Shadi was married to the daughter of Alp Khan with great eclat. On this occasion Deval Devi was also given in marriage to Khizr Khan, whose days of torturous separation were over. These marriages took place some time during the years 1313 and 1314.

Meanwhile the health of the Sultan began to take a turn for the worse. The last three years of his life were full of bitterness and anguish. His inordinate ambition and his passion for glory had entailed hard and strenuous work. Added to this were his irregular habits and his extreme sensuousness. All this had severely told upon his bodily vigour. Naturally his hand began to lose control of administration. His favourites on the one hand and able and worthy men on the other began to entertain ideas of enimosity. Alp Khan and Kāfūr were ranged in opposition. To all outward appearances the former was gaining strength. He had given proof of his talents on various occasions. He had administered the province of Gujarat for the past fifteen years and was very popular with the people there. He was the real brother of the chief queen of the realm and was also in the good books of the sultan. He had two royal princes as his sons-in-law,

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9 Firishtah p. 122.
the elder of whom had been declared heirapparent to the throne by the Sultan, who to ensure Khizr Khan's accession after his own death had obtained written promises from all the barons of the state. Thus the position of Alp Khan at the capital was quite strong. Naturally, Malik Naib Kafur, who wielded great influence with the king, felt alarmed at this state of affairs. Captured in the sack of Gujarat in 1299, he had all along enjoyed the affections of the Sultan and had risen from post to post until he became the Vazir. He was commander of the forces that went to the Deccan several times between 1308 and 1313. So brilliant were his achievements that 'Ala’uddin, highly impressed with his capabilities, appointed him viceroy of the Deccan, with headquarters at Devagiri. It was on the occasion of the marriage of the royal princes that he was called to Delhi, where he found the royal consort, her brother Alp Khan and prince Khizr Khan in great ascendency. An ambitious general like Kafur, who of late had been the only guiding spirit of the king, could now know well that he was lost if he did not stir betimes.

Murder of Alp Khan.

The malady of the king was getting more and more serious. He was suffering from dropsy and other physical disorders. On account of his disease and other mental in-

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10 Barani pp. 367-68.


11 Vide chapter XII.

12 According to Barani, 'Ala’uddin was suffering from dropsy (استسقا) and according to Khusraw from fever. Ferishtah, however, writes that the sultan had developed a very dangerous disease on account of excessive sexual indulgence (p. 122). It is probable that he was suffering from dropsy for a long time and when he was about to die had developed fever also, which is very natural.
firmities that follow in the train of advancing years, he had become weak and peevish. When Malik Naib returned from the Deccan the sultan related to him the tale of his woes—how he had been neglected by Malka-i-Jahān and Khizr Khan. Māhrū, complained the ailing king, was ever busy with marriages and other ceremonies in the haram, while Khizr Khan, having obtained his most cherished Deval was ever immersed in music and mirth and cared little about the king or the court. Here was a golden opportunity for Malik Kāfūr, who was as mean as he was talented, to poison the ears of the Sultan against all those whom he considered his arch enemies. One day when Kāfūr was in a private audience with ‘Alāūddin he bitterly complained against his alleged enemies and said that they wanted to put an end to his life simply because he was favoured by the king. They only waited for the sultan’s death when they would assassinate him. As ‘Alāūddin gave Kāfūr a patient hearing, the latter continued his plaintive rhetoric and accused Alp Khan of being the source of all the trouble. He said that Alp Khan had influence with the queen and the royal princes and that was the reason why he was reluctant to go back to his iqṭā’ in Gujarat. He was simply waiting to usurp all power as soon as the sultan’s eyes were closed for ever. If Alp Khan could be killed, concluded Kāfūr, there would be no fear for him from the princes.13 Despite ‘Alāūddin’s kindness to Kāfūr, says ‘Īşāmī, he refused to listen to the false accusations levelled against the faithful governor, and said that he did not suspect anything from him.14 But Malik Kāfūr knew how to do away with Alp Khan since the king was bedridden and was unable even to move. One day when Alp Khan was entering the royal apartments Malik Naib and

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14 Ibid. p. 330.
Malik Kamāluddin seized him and murdered him in cold blood.\(^{15}\)

Alp Khan’s death cleared the way for Malik Naib’s unchallenged ascendancy—his position had been unassailable even before. The king was now seriously ill and Naib Kāfūr himself transacted all business of the state in the king’s name. Prince Khizr Khan was the next victim of Malik Kāfūr’s maliciousness. The critical condition of the king had alarmed everybody in the palace. In spite of proper and regular treatment he was not showing any signs of improvement. Fervent prayers were offered for his recovery and his loving son Khizr Khan took a vow to go on foot on pilgrimage to the shrines of the saints at Hastinapur when his father recovered from his malady. Curiously enough ‘Alāūdūdīn showed some signs of recovery and the prince in fulfilment of his promise went on foot to Hastinapur. In his great joy he went to the place of pilgrimage accompanied by a troupe of musicians and dancers. Malik Kāfūr, who was in the look out for a pretext, cunningly misrepresented the intentions of the prince and told the king that while he was lying ill Khizr Khan was going on pleasure trips.\(^{16}\) He forthwith wrote a royal firman in the name of the king saying therein that since Khizr Khan would surely have been troubled at the death of his maternal uncle and father-in-law, it would be better for him to go out for sport in place of returning to the capital. It was, therefore, ordered that Khizr Khan should proceed to Amroha and should not return to Delhi until he was asked to do so. In the mean time he should send without any objection all the insignia of royalty,

\(^{15}\) *Futāḥ* p. 331. *T.M.S.* p. 80.

Malik Naib also sent Malik Kamāluddin Gurg to Jalor to finish Alp Khan’s brother Malik Nizāmuddin Ulugh Khan who was the governor of that place (*Ferishtah* p. 123).

\(^{16}\) *Deval Rani* pp. 236-37.
the chatr and durbash, which would be returned to him on his return.\textsuperscript{17}

When the royal order reached Khizr Khan he was taken aback. With a sad heart he surrendered all the insignia of royalty to Malik Hisâmuddîn and himself proceeded to Amroha. There was no peace of mind for him now. He could not make out why his father was so much incensed with him. Suddenly he decided to go back to Delhi and beg pardon for all his faults from the king. Day and night did he travel to reach the capital, writes the poet-historian Khusrau, and on his arrival there apologized to his father. Alâûddin was extremely delighted to see his son beside him. He embraced him and pardoned him for all his shortcomings. Shamsul Haqq went to the royal haram, met his relations, and forgot his past privations.

Khizr Khan had been brought up in the school of love and not of adversity. Born with a silver spoon in his mouth he displayed the indolent security of hereditary princes. Naturally he could not understand the machinations of Malik Kafrî. Malik Naib on his part was bent upon clearing his path of all possible rivals for real power. Once more he began to poison the ears of the sultan against the royal prince. He said that while the sultan was seriously ill the prince had come back from Amroha without receiving any orders and was planning with Malka-i-Jahân to seize the throne. Alâûddin, who had seldom permitted anybody to tutor him with impunity, had, owing to infirmity of age and disease, become a tool in the hands of his favourite Vazîr Hazârdînârî. He

\textsuperscript{17} Deval Rani p. 236. To Amir Khusrau, a devout disciple of Shaikh Nizâmuddîn Aulia, all this calamity befell Khizr Khan because he had failed to pay his respects to the shaikh while going to Hastanapur. According to Ibn Battûtah Khizr Khan showed open resentment at the execution of Alp Khan which was done by the orders of the King. Alâûddin did not like this attitude of Khizr Khan and sent him to Gwalior. Ibn Battûtah vol III p. 188.
was led to believe that the prince was wasting all his time in the haram and did not care to nurse his ailing father. On this charge he was sent to be imprisoned in the Gwalior fort. If Amir Khusrau is to be believed, the king wept bitterly when he bade farewell to his son, and said that fate and not the king was punishing him.\(^{18}\) It is pitiable to think how this man of action had become a fatalist in his old age and how his implacable justice had given way to things which to all appearances were wrong. Having obtained repeated assurances from Kāfūr that no harm would be done to the prince, ‘Alāūddin bade good bye to his son.\(^{19}\) Khizr Khan was sent as a state prisoner to Gwalior where his beloved Deval joined him to share his distress.\(^{20}\) Khizr Khan’s mother, the Malka-i-Jahān, the well-beloved Māhrū of ‘Alāūddin’s days of youth, also could not escape the rapacity of the cruel eunuch and was kept a state prisoner in the Red Fort of Delhi.

While Kāfūr had gained unrivalled ascendancy at the capital, while he was killing generals like Alp Khan and imprisoning princes like Khizr Khan, in short, while he was playing almost the king, the affairs of the empire were drifting towards a chaos. The last phase of ‘Alāūddin’s reign is characterized by a succession of revolts in the various provinces. Upon receiving the news of the murder of their favourite governor Alp Khan, the army of Gujarāt unfurled the standard of revolt. Under the command of their leaders Haider and Vazirak they resolved not to submit to any im-

\(^{18}\) Deval Rani p. 250.

\(^{19}\) According to Barani (p. 372) Malik Kāfūr had obtained from the king a firman setting aside the claims of Khizr Khan to the throne and giving it to his younger son Shihābuddin. With this deed under his arms Kāfūr reigned after ‘Alāūddin’s death in the name of Shihābuddin, a boy of five or six years. For details see chapter XX.

\(^{20}\) For the last days and death of Khizr Khan see chapter XX.
perial firman.\textsuperscript{21} Malik Kamāluddin Gurg was sent to Gujarat to quell the insurrection, but instead of being able to suppress the infuriated soldiery, he himself was ruthlessly killed. The affairs in Gujarat continued to be chaotic until the death of 'Alāūddīn. Insurrections broke out in Chittoṛ also where Maldeva, the puppet of 'Alāūddīn, was constantly harassed by Hammīr, the ruler of Sesoda. In the Deccan Harpal Deva, son-in-law of Ram Deva, assumed independence at Devagiri and destroyed many royal outposts. The intelligence of these insurrections used to set the dying king's body aflame with rage. All his life-work seemed to be undone. Whatever he had conquered seemed to be lost. His eldest son was far away at Gwalior, his beloved wife was kept away from him and he was leaving the country more disturbed than he had found it. He had lived an extremely busy and tiresome life and from the disorders of dropsy and also perhaps from the fatal effects of the poison administered by Malik Kāfür,\textsuperscript{22} 'Alāūddīn found refuge in a silent death on the 7th of Shavvāl 715 (January 6th., 1316).\textsuperscript{23}

\textsuperscript{21} Futūḥ pp. 332-33.
\textsuperscript{22} Baranī p. 369.
\textsuperscript{23} This is the date of Amīr Khusrau (Deval Rani p. 259) 'Isami has 11th Shavvāl (Futūḥ p. 336) Ḥajuddabīr has 6th (Zafarul Vali p. 828) but makes confusion with the year which he says to be 711 A.H. Baranī (p. 369) has 6th Shavvāl but does not give the year. Vassāf (p. 647) gives 716 A.H. as the year of 'Alāūddīn's death.
CHAPTER XIX

AN ESTIMATE OF 'ALÀÌDÎN

Before closing the study of 'Alàìdîn's reign, it would be proper to review his career as a man, and his achievements as an emperor. Ascending the throne at the age of thirty he had reached the apogee of power at forty-five through unrivalled skill, studied tact, and phenomenal energy. From nothingness he rose to be one of the greatest rulers of medieval times. With the help of a strong and disciplined army he pulled down native princes and stamped out sedition from the land. By a systematic tariff policy he controlled the fluctuating market, and with an efficient administrative machinery effectively governed the country for two decades.

Contemporary historians speak little about the king's personal features, but they throw sufficient light on his character and qualities. The sultan was almost without any literary education, though like Akbar and Ranjit Singh after him, he confirmed by example the Tennysonian dictum "that only those who cannot read can rule." But though unlettered, 'Alàìdîn possessed sufficient commonsense, experience and wisdom which multiplied with age. Learned historians like Amir Arslân Kulâhî, sincere nobles like 'Alàülmulk, and orthodox 'ulamas like Qâzî Mughîshüddîn were always ready to tender advice to him on important matters. 'Alàüdîn's early association with the veteran Malik 'Alàülmulk, who guided his feet to the throne, must also have con-

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1 Ziyàüddîn states that the sultan was utterly devoid of any education and could neither read nor write (Barani p. 262). Perishtah’s assertion that in his later years he himself used to read the reports of the secret agents, is open to doubt, for the sultan could have got them read out by some one instead of personally perusing them.

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tributed to his store of worldly wisdom, which he possessed in a considerable degree. 'Alāūddin took pride in his counsel-
lor-generals Alp Khan, Nuṣrat Khan, Ulugh Khan and Zafar Khan. In his later years he was influenced by the evil genius of Kāfūr. There is, however, no reason to think that the sultan was under the influence of any one of these. The life-story of 'Alāūddin shows that he was a self-willed man, and did not listen to anybody's advice when he was determined on something; still, it is also true that he con-
sulted his noblemen on perplexing problems and listened to their suggestions patiently.  

The lack of love of learning, which imparts to a man elements of humanity and kindness, may be responsible for the callousness and cruelty inherent in 'Alāūddin's nature. Every sentiment of kindness and clemency became extinct in the emperor's heart when anything harmful for the state was done. His punishments of the families of the mutineers at Jalor filled the heart of even a medieval chronicler like Barani with shame and disgust. He writes that owing to his inherent cruelty, arrogance and harsh temperament, the sultan inflicted tyrannical punishments after the fashion of the notorious pharaoh, and neither tie of blood nor attachments of near relationship detered him from inflicting severest penalties. 2 His barbarous punishments of tradesmen, the atrocities of Nuṣrat Khan on the people of Delhi, and the callousness of the sultan in killing his kith and kin, are simply appalling. The assassinations of Jalāluddin, Ikat Khan, 'Umar Khan and Mangu Khan and the secret poisoning of Ulugh Khan, testify to the almost inhuman nature of the king. It is true that the recurring rebellions of the rich and the wickedness of the government officials gave him sufficient justification to be stern but at the same time it cannot be denied that his punishments bordered on barbarism.

2 Barani pp. 335-36.
The sultan possessed a vindictive nature. If once he became prejudiced against anybody, he spared no efforts to destroy him. If once he incarcerated somebody, he never thought of releasing him, and a large number of innocent men used to be punished simply because the king thought them to be guilty. Nothing can be more disconcerting than the punishments of the Jalālī nobles who had, after the murder of their patron, sought protection under the banner of the rising star. So long as ‘Alāūddin needed their support he humoured them into submission, honoured them and distributed among them offices and wealth; but once he was secure on the throne he confiscated their lands, imprisoned some and killed others. The grossness of his nature impelled him to commit such heinous deeds without the slightest qualms of conscience.

Such a man needs must be free from all sentiments of conjugal love. His life story clearly bears out the fact that he was not romantic. Although he had a number of wives like Jalāluddin’s daughter, a sister of Alp Khan, Badshah Begam, a daughter of Mu‘izzuddin Ka‘iqubād also known as Malka Māhik and mother of Qutbuddin Mubarak Shah, Kamla Devi and the daughter of Ram Deva, yet he does not seem to have been at any time under feminine influence as such. ‘Alāūddin could not pull on with Jalāluddin’s daughter, and Māhrū, for whom he is said to have forsaken his uncle’s daughter, passed her last days in painful isolation and imprisonment. All other consorts of the sultan are names not even worth mentioning in the king’s biography. In medieval times when woman, wine and song were the order of the day, ‘Alāūddin led a life free from unbridled debauchery. Although during the narrative of his reign we do hear of wine parties in the royal palace as also of the infatuation of the sultan for Kātūr Hazārdināri, yet the indulgence of the

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3 Barani p. 338.
sultan vanishes into nothingness in comparison with that of Mu'izzuddin Kaiqubād, Quṭbuddin Mubarak and even Jalāluddin Khaljī. 'Alāūddin took some wine in his early days, but later on he not only renounced it himself but prohibited its use among the people. 'Alāūddin's orders against wine drinking, adultery and prostitution clearly indicate the emperor's bent of mind.

A casual study of Barani's Tarikh would leave on the reader's mind the impression that 'Alāūddin was, if not irreligious, at least unreligious. But that is not true. Although he had not read the Qurān since he was not educated, and although it is also true that he was not punctilious about observing the fast of Ramāzan or saying the daily prayers, and was probably the only sultan of Delhi who never went to the Friday prayers and did not permit religious considerations to interfere in state administration, yet he was a true Musalman. He had great faith in his religion and never permitted any irreligious thing to be said or heard.4

'Alāūddin had great respect for contemporary saints. Although he did not personally meet Nizāmuddin Aulia, he reposed great confidence in the Shaikh's supernatural powers and craved for his blessings through his nobles. During his last days he had become greatly devoted towards Shaikh Nizāmuddin. Almost all the members of the royal household were disciples of the Shaikh. When 'Alāūddin came to know of the departure of Maulana Shamsuddin Turk without meeting him, he was sorely disappointed.5 According to Ziyāuddin the sultan offered a large amount of money in charity after the death of Ulugh Khan. This may have been mere hypocrisy since, as shown above, Ulugh Khan had fallen a victim to the sultan's suspicions. Be it as it may, the above facts clearly show that the king behaved like

4 Barani p. 339.
5 Barani p. 299.
a good Musalman in his private life. The orthodox and
the almost bigoted historian Ziyauddin Barani's standard
for a Musalman was almost impossible. If 'Ala'uddin could
not come up to that standard it was not his fault. If he
divorced religion from politics he had sufficient reasons for
doing so. Most of the successful Muslim rulers of India
divorced religion from politics. To Amr Khusrav, 'Isami,
and foreigners like Shamsuddin Turk and Vassaf, 'Ala'uddin
was a true Musalman. 'Isami goes as far as to assert
that the sultan worked on the principles of the shari'at,
and exhibited Islam in his actions. Comparing 'Ala'uddin
with Muhammad bin Tughlaq, 'Isami says that in the
time of 'Ala'uddin the empire became intact on account of
his justice the people were obedient to the king, and there
was prosperity in the kingdom,—conditions lacking during
Muhammad's rule.

Reference may here be made to the charge of bigotry
levelled against 'Ala'uddin. A thorough study of the sultan's
caracter clearly shows that religious considerations did not
prompt him to oppress the Hindus in any way. Under his
vigorous administration intriguing nobility, profiteering
merchants and contumacious landholders suffered terribly,
while the middle class traders and poor peasants also could
not escape the privations that followed in the train of his
rigorous laws. If the bulk of the population of the country
as well as most of the landholders and cultivators were Hindus,
it was but natural that the Hindus would suffer most from his
tariff and revenue regulations. If the kingdoms 'Ala'uddin
attacked belonged to the Hindu Rajas, if at the time of war-
fare their Hindu subjects suffered, and if the war indemnity,
taken from the vanquished Hindu princes was called jaziyah in
official terminology, it was not at all due to the fact that

6 Futuh p. 569.
7 Ibid. pp. 569-70.
'Aláúddín was a bigot. There is no instance to prove that 'Aláúddín oppressed some people simply because they were Hindus and favoured some because they were Musalmans. If traders suffered, it was not that only Hindu traders suffered, if the revenue regulations were oppressive to the people, they were not enforced against the Hindus only, and if the nobility were suppressed it was not that only the Hindu nobles were suppressed. In fact 'Aláúddín’s treatment of the nobility was perhaps the most severe and there were very few, if any, Hindu noblemen in 'Aláúddín’s days. It must, however, be remembered that in the early days of Muslim rule in India the sultans had to establish their power and rule on a race different from theirs in religion, society and culture. Naturally they could not trust them with high administrative jobs. Moreover, the sultans themselves occasionally sought advice from learned men—maulvis and mullas—who were generally orthodox and not infrequently bigoted. Constant wars, of course of a military and political character, were fought with Hindu Rajas and a subconscious feeling of animosity existed between the Turkish ruling class, consisting of the sultan and his bureaucracy, and the conquered people. Under such circumstances it is too much to expect from early Turkish sultans like Iltutmish, Balban and 'Aláúddín to be very liberal towards the native population and throw open posts to the people of all religions. That is why we hardly find many, if any, talented Hindu officers being appointed to high administrative posts in 'Aláúddín’s time. In the Mughal period things were different. Under Akbar and his successors almost the whole of India had come under Muslim domination and the Hindus could safely be trusted with high posts and treated equally with the Muslims. Thus if Balban and 'Aláúddín were not inclined to give equal opportunities to the Hindus it was but natural. Besides this, there is no proof that 'Aláúddín oppressed the Hindus because of their religion.
AN ESTIMATE OF ALA'UDDIN

The ruling passion of the sultan was ambition. He thirsted for immortality. To transcend the victories of Alexander and to found a religion which would not let die his name in the annals of mankind, were the two burning desires of his soul. His unpractical notions were aggravated by the stimulation of wine, flattery of friends, and the great good fortune that attended all his enterprises. But luckily 'Alā'ūddin always lent a ready ear to sincere advice, and his almost mad schemes were toned down by the faithful counsellor Malik 'Alā'ulmulk. After the nobleman's remonstrances the king gave his whole attention to defeating the Mongols and conquering independent kingdoms of India. But one thing is certain. Be it 'Alā'ūddin's conquests, his architectural enterprises or his economic reforms—in every act of his is exhibited the Sultan's unbounded ambition, a desire to do something superb and leave an immortal name.

Nature, however, had crammed 'Alā'ūddin with a sense of practicality. Without blinding him to reality, his ambition had made him an astute diplomat. He made full preparations before embarking upon any enterprise. The precautions he took to see that the news of his raid into Devagiri did not reach the imperial court, compel admiration. Whether he was fighting the native prices, or encountering the Mongol invaders, the Sultan always exhibited a patient caution. 'Alā'ūddin had built up an empire, he had not inherited one and all his life he had to taste both the "bitter and sweet" of life. Experience had taught him to do everything after cool and calculated deliberation.

His caution, however, was not the result of any fears. In fact 'Alā'ūddin possessed the strength and the will to carry his way once he had determined on a certain course of action. He had waded through blood to the throne but the circumstances which encouraged him to secure it confirm beyond doubt

8 See Appendix C.
that he was a promising general. It is alleged that ‘Alāūddīn himself was not a great general and his victories were due to his able commanders like Alp Khan and Naib Kāfūr. But this view is wholly incorrect. While yet an unknown figure, ‘Alāūddīn had distinguished himself in the fighting against Malik Chhajjū (1292) and in raiding Bhilsa (1292). Thereafter his astounding success against the powerful Maratha army of Devagiri established his reputation as a military commander. Just after his occupation of the throne ‘Alāūddīn himself could not safely leave the capital and therefore sent Ulugh Khan and Nusrat Khan to occupy Multan and conquer Gujarāt. But in 1299 ‘Alāūddīn successfully defeated Qutlugh Khvājā and in 1303 repulsed perhaps the most formidable Mughal invasion under Targhī. The way in which he argued with Malik ‘Ala‘ulmulk before marching against the Mongols, clearly shows the spirit of gallantry and sportsmanship the king possessed. The entrenchment ‘Alāūddīn prepared to defend himself against the Mughals during Targhī’s invasion shows his ingenuity as a strategist. The most formidable battles, as can well be expected, were fought either against the Mughals or in Rajputana and in most of them the sultan showed his organizing capacity, his diplomacy and his military skill. When Ulugh Khan was compelled to retreat during his siege of Ranthambhor, ‘Alāūddīn himself marched against it and reduced it simply through his persistent exertions and superior military genius. In 1303 ‘Alāūddīn was successful in reducing Chittor, which had not been taken by any previous sultan and which put an edge on the teeth of even a strong emperor like Akbar. The victory at Chittor was followed by a death-grip grappling struggle with the Mughals in which also the king gained an astounding success. From 1303 onwards ‘Alāūddīn effected certain administrative reforms and could not move out of the capital but the work of conquest was carried on by his generals like ‘Ainul Mulk Multānī and Naib Kāfūr. In 1308 Kāfūr marched
to the south and 'Alāūdīn himself marched to Sevana. Thus from 1290 to 1308 'Alāūdīn was constantly fighting, always to court victory. When Kāfūr began his meteoric career in the south, the sultan found ample opportunity to take rest from camp life and construct buildings of beauty, grace and grandeur. 'Alāūdīn’s military genius is exhibited in so far as he made his commanders obediently carry out his orders and conquer for him. In an age when strife and disaffection were rife and a military leader almost invariably aspired for the throne, brilliant generals like Ulugh Khan, Nuṣrat Khan, Malik Kāfūr and Ghazi Malik showed unflinching obedience towards the king. To make such people undertake conquests in his name shows the superiority of 'Alāūdīn’s military talents, his born military leadership and the fact that he was a general of generals.

'Alāūdīn’s hardships of military life were relieved by his constant pursuit of field sports. The king was very fond of big game shooting. His absorbing interest in field sports as well as pigeon-flying and hawking was so well known that some of the plots against his life aimed at killing him while he was busy in sports. The emperor was very fond of flying hawks and a large number of these birds and some slave boys, who used to fly them, were maintained by the state. The sultan also spent his leisure hours in the company of boon companions. In his early days he used to drink hard, but the stern realities of the political situation as well as the sincere admonitions of Malik 'Alāūlmulk put a check upon his excesses. The royal cellars were emptied and drinking vessels were broken to pieces. Nevertheless, the king could not give up drinking completely. But as time passed he bent towards sobriety; he drank little and never gave himself up to the devil. In spite of his harsh disposition 'Alāūdīn had a soft corner for his companions like Tājuddīn 'Irāqī, Khudāvand Zādā Chashnīgīr, Ruknuddin Dabīr, A‘izzuddīn Yaghān and Nūr Khan. He never used to get tired of their
repartees and witticism. In matters of women, wine and song 'Alāūdānī was neither an uncompromising moralist nor a slave of the senses.

The sultan's pursuit of innocent pleasures did not relax his vigilance over matters of state. All important papers were placed before him and his argus eye kept a close watch upon the various branches of the government administration. It is as an administrator than anything else that 'Alāūdānī stands head and shoulder above his predecessors. His accomplishments as a warrior were dwarfed by his achievement as an organiser. His administrative genius is best exhibited in the various novel methods and schemes he formulated to govern the country as he desired. Direct recruitment of soldiers, the systems of branding and cash payment, the control of the market, rationing and issue of permits, the enrolment of merchants and the dozen other measures prove beyond doubt the ingenuity of the king's mind. 'Alāūdānī was an administrative entrepreneur; he conceived novel ideas and struck on new grounds. As pointed out before, all his counsellors like Žafar Khan, Nuṣrat Khan, Ulugh Khan and also probably 'Alāulmulk had all died before 1302, while Alp Khan was staying far off in Gujarat until about 1314, and it was surely the inventive genius of 'Alāūdānī which struck at the idea of the so many measures cited above. 'Alāūdānī, for the first time, introduced measurement of land, local government, and laws about collection of revenue. These did not exist before. Although himself unlettered 'Alāūdānī obtained reports about the market from a number of sources and punished the culprits and delinquents. His ingenuity for superb administrative talent is exhibited in his sending small boys, who easily eluded suspicion of shopkeepers, to the market-place to test the honesty and veracity of the merchants.

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9 Baranī 357-58.
Not only in matters of civil administration but also in military sphere 'Alaūddin worked more with his mind than with an unreserved bravery. The accounts of his various wars with the Mughals clearly show the sultan's capacity for organizing defence; not a few times by deluding the enemy or exhausting his patience. 'Alaūddin's grasp of the art of war compensated for the alleged lack of personal bravery.

'Alaūddin was an imperialist through and through, but notwithstanding his desire for incessant conquest and expansion of his dominions, he was well aware of the dangers of adopting an uncompromising annexationist policy. The annexation of Ranthambhor, Chittoṛ and Sevana had brought innumerable difficulties in their train, and 'Alaūddin was shrewd enough not to repeat his follies in the Deccan. He defeated the Deccan princes, levied rich tributes upon them, but at the same time left them with their possessions. By this policy he made friends of foes. The cordial way in which he received the rulers of Devagiri and Dwarsamudra and gave them honour and titles and left them in possession of their territories, goes to prove 'Alaūddin's grasp of the existing political condition of India.' The annexation of the south by Muḥammad bīn Tughlaq was followed by insurmountable difficulties. 'Alaūddin's policy shows the superiority of his political acumen. He clearly saw that there was no use in annexing what could not be consolidated.' 'Alaūddin's Deccan policy left a number of faithful allies in the south who not only remained loyal and obedient to him but helped him in some of his military enterprises. In the north, however, places like Malwa, Ujjain, Dharanagri and Gujarat, where Muslim influence had penetrated even before 'Alaūddin's conquest, the sultan did not hesitate to annex and carry out his imperialistic ambitions to the very end.

In his conquests, in befriending enemies and in administrative reforms 'Alaūddin can be compared to one of the great-
est emperors of India, Akbar: (So far as the policy of territorial aggrandizement is concerned) both (Alāūddin) and Akbar believed in the principal that might is right. Like Akbar after him (`Alāūddin also firmly believed that "a monarch should ever be intent on conquest otherwise his neighbours rise in arms against him." 10 Again like a shrewd diplomat `Alāūddin followed the policy of befriending his enemies as Akbar adopted in case of the Rajputs. Some of the Rajput states which had always fought the Muslim rulers in India became Akbar's best supporters. In the same way some of the Deccan kings, in whose country `Alāūddin's generals had carried fire and sword became his loyal supporters. `Alāūddin was perhaps the first Muslim ruler who left Hindu kings in their positions provided they paid tribute. In certain spheres `Alāūddin showed great originality, and some of his military and revenue reforms were adopted by prominent kings long after. Sher Shah adopted most of `Alāūddin's military reforms, such as direct recruitment, branding of horses and cash payment. Measurement of land and assessment of land revenue on the basis done by `Alāūddin are also found in Todarmal's system, in the time of Sher Shah and Akbar. (The only objectionable thing in `Alāūddin's administration is that it was based exclusively on force. While the various revenue, administrative and economic reforms of Sher Shah and Akbar were only done to benefit the people, `Alāūddin took harshest steps just in the name of defence of the country and even for his own glory. 4) By the irony of circumstance `Alāūddin also contemplated to found a new religion as Akbar actually did two centuries later. But `Alāūddin was not so cultured as Akbar was. His ruling passion was ambition and he thought of founding a religion which would immiortalise him, and not for

10 Aīn-i-Akbarī p. 399.
uniting the various diverse classes, castes and creeds under one banner. Akbar’s motives in founding the Din-i-Ilahi were humane and honourable, whereas ‘Ala’uddin’s were only selfish and egoistic.

What could this monarch achieve for the Turkish Sultanate in India during his rule of a score years? It is generally believed that ‘Ala’uddin left nothing of permanence. According to the contemporary Shaikh Bashir Dīvānā, ‘Ala’uddin’s government had no stable foundation and the Khalji dynasty was easily supplanted because of the inherent weaknesses of the ‘Alai rule. There is no doubt that ‘Ala’uddin’s administrative system had its defects. His government was one man’s rule, and as Sir Jadunath aptly remarks “a government of personal discretion is, by its very nature, uncertain.”

‘Ala’uddin’s rule was based on force, not on will of the people. The king was only feared and obeyed but not loved or respected. The sultan neglected the economic prosperity of the state and just to benefit his military (and as a concomitant non-military) population, he killed every incentive to trade and commerce. Under his regulations the traders had neither freedom of movement nor hope of profit. He put the peasantry to utmost exertions. His vigorous spy system made people’s life distasteful, and the suppression of baronage left the government in a paralytic state when the emperor’s eyes were closed. But all these accusations do not seem to hold water when a careful and critical analysis of his solid achievements is made. ‘Ala’uddin had achieved much. His imperialistic policy had turned a small kingdom, as the sultanate of Delhi was, into an empire comprising of the major portion of India. He was the first ruler whose political hegemony extended over a major portion of the Deccan peninsula. He dealt a death blow to the Mughal aggrandisement which not only stood in the way of the expansion of the Turkish arms,

but threatened the very existence of Muslim rule in this country. If some of the kingdoms 'Alâûddîn conquered became independent about the time of his death it did not mean that 'Alâûddîn's achievements were mean. He had curbed the power of the Hindu Rajas in the far off south, and had it not been for his success in that region, a debauch like Quṭbud-dîn could never have marched to Devagiri and flayed alive Harpal Deva. 'Alâûddîn's work at least had permanent results if his conquests were not permanent. It was 'Alâûddîn who had exhibited to his successors the vulnerability of the states beyond the Vindhya. His system of administration had enabled him successfully to rule the country for two decades, and its value is judged by the fact that most of his administrative measures served as models for later monarchs. Jâranî aptly enumerates the glorious features particular to 'Alâûddîn's regime, which are not to be found in the rule of any other king. (The first special feature of 'Alâûddîn's times is the cheapness of the necessaries of life and fixed rates of grains in seasons of plenty and scarcity; the second is the unbroken chain of victories which the king and his commanders obtained, and it appeared as if victory preceded a military enterprise; the third is the crushing of the Mongols; the fourth is that a large force remained calm and contended on a small salary; the fifth is that contumacious landholders were suppressed; the sixth is that roads and highways became safe, and those who used to rob were made to guard them; seventh, that the traders were compelled to be honest; eighth is the abundance of strong buildings; ninth, that Hindus were compelled into obedience and Muslims had become true, abstemious and just; and the tenth is the congregation of artists and learned men such as had not been found to exist in any other reign.)
CHAPTER XX

QUṬBUDDIN MUBARAK SHAH (1316-1320)

The Interregnum

The death of 'Alaūddin left Kāfūr the master of the situation. After shedding a few crocodile tears,¹ he buried the emperor’s dead body in a mausoleum built by the sultan himself in front of the Jamā Masjid (Quvvatul Islam mosque).² Next morning he sent for the nobles and officers of the state and showed them the will of 'Alaūddin nominating Shihābuddin 'Umar for the throne. 'Iṣāmī writes that as the condition of 'Alaūddin became very critical Malik Naib suggested to him to set aside the claims of Khizr Khan and nominate 'Umar Khan for succession. On account of extreme weakness and insensibility the sultan could not give any reply, and as generally happens, his silence was interpreted as his consent, and prince 'Umar Khan was declared heir-apparent.³ The nobles submitted to the dictates of the document bearing the king’s seal and 'Umar Khan, a child of about six years, was raised to the throne as sultan Shihābuddin 'Umar Khalji.⁴

Shihābuddin was the most agreeable puppet Kāfūr could ever find. Despite his being a eunuch, the Naib married the infant king’s mother, who was a daughter of Ramdeva,⁵ and began to rule in Shihāb’s name. Malik Naib’s excellent martial qualities had marked him for a great conqueror, but

¹ Futūh p. 341.
² Baranī, p. 369. For the location of the tomb see Appendix C.
³ Futūh pp. 335-36.
surely he was lacking in statecraft. Without first strengthening his position he began to rule with all the excesses of a king. He was under the presumption that all the nobles of 'Alāūddīn were with him and in place of tactfully befriending them, he alienated them by his atrocious and unbecoming acts.

On the very first day of his accession to power, Kāfūr sent Sumbal to blind Khizr Khan at Gwalior. He gave him 'Alāūddīn's ring, which he had removed from the dead king's person, to facilitate his work. He promised the Barbēgī of the court as a reward for the heinous crime. Sumbal reached Gwalior in no time. Because of the royal insignia he was enabled to reach his prey without difficulty. Poignant were the tears that rolled down the prince's cheeks as he sat down to lose his sight. "The eyes that could not bear the touch of antimony", says Amīr Khusrau, "now bore the tortures of a blinding needle."

On the day Sumbal was despatched to Gwalior, Shādī Khan, a brother of Khizr Khan, was blinded in the Kaushak-i-Siri. His eyes were sliced from their sockets "like pieces of melon." Khizr Khan's mother was also sent as a prisoner to Gwalior and was deprived of her ornaments and valuables. Shortly after Mubarak Khan, another son of 'Alāūddīn, was imprisoned at Delhi. All the other sons of the deceased monarch, viz. Farid Khan, 'Usman Khan, Muḥammad Khan and Abu Bakr Khan also fell into the hands of the Regent.

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7 Futūḥ p. 341.
8 Barani p. 373.
9 Futūḥ p. 338.
10 Deval Rani p. 263.
11 She was already under detention when 'Alāūddīn's eyes closed. Now she was sent to Gwalior. This is confirmed by the fact that she was at Gwalior with her son Khizr Khan when he was murdered in 1318.
12 Futūḥ. pp. 341-42.
Feeling secure at the score of the royal princes, whom he had either imprisoned or blinded, Kāfūr began to rule with a sense of security. He used to seat the child-king on the throne on the terrace of the Hazār Sitūn for a showboy, and address nobles and officers after the fashion of 'Alāūddīn, making the high officials and barons stand in his presence. In the day he carried on the business of the government and at night used to gamble and dice in the company of his friends. When closeted with confidential associates he used to discuss ways and means of removing 'Alāūddīn's scions and officers. Little did he know that his movements were spied by those whose destruction he was planning.

The situation came to a crisis when the Regent attempted to blind Mubarak Khan whom he had already imprisoned. He had hired some footsoldiers (paiks) to blind the prince, but when they approached Mubarak, he took out a jewelled necklace from round his neck and throwing it before them reminded them of the duty they owed to the sons of the late king. Impressed by Mubarak's harangue they not only left him untouched but determined to finish the traitor. In the execution of this act they had the connivance of high military officers who used to see the Regent waking up all the night in bolted chambers discussing in secrecy. Four paiks whose names are given as Mubshar, Bashīr, Saleh and Munīr, one day went

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13 In a parallel passage Nizāmuddīn Ahmad and Ferishtah suggest that he played Chaupar. Prof. Hodivala (pp. 283-84) says that it may be Pachisi, firstly because Pachisi is a very popular and antiquated game, and secondly because kaori is not made use of in Chaupar while its use is necessary in the latter game. But from Kaori bākhtan may be meant dicing and gambling for which the term is very commonly used in India.

14 Ferishtah p. 124.

15 Futūḥ pp. 342-43. Ferishtah also gives the name of two, Mubshar and Babhīr.
to the chambers of Kāfür and murdered him, only thirty five days after his usurpation of power.\textsuperscript{16}

After the assassination of Malik Naib, Mubarak Khan was brought out of confinement and appointed Regent to Shihābuddin. By his devotion to duty and attention to the affairs of the state, Mubarak won the barons over to his side. No sooner than his position was made secure he blinded Shihābuddin and sent him to Gwalior two months after his assumption of regency.\textsuperscript{17} He also crushed the power of the paiks who had slain Malik Naib and on that account had become arrogant and proud. They openly boasted of having brought about the death of Malik Kāfür and the accession of Quţbuḍdin. As such they expected preferential treatment from the Regent and the nobles. Soon after Quţbuḍdin ascended the throne he ordered the execution of Mubshar and Bashīr. The other contumacious paiks were also taken to different places and beheaded.

Accession of Quţbuḍdin Mubarak Shah (1316)

Mubarak Khan ascended the throne at the young age of seventeen or eighteen on the 20th Muḥarram 716 (14th April, 1316).\textsuperscript{18} As was the custom, his accession was followed by great rejoicings, and titles and honours were conferred on the dignitaries of the state. The title of Zafar Khan was

\textsuperscript{16} Barani and ‘Iṣāmi have 35 days. Ferishtah only 25. As ‘Alāuddin died on 7th Shavvāl (January 6th, 1316) and Kāfür was killed 35 days after the former’s death, he must have been murdered on or about the 12th of Zil qada 715 (February 11th, 1316).

\textsuperscript{17} Barani p. 377.

\textsuperscript{18} This is the date given in T.M.S. Khusrau has 716, Nāh Sipehr Elliot vol. III. ‘Iṣāmi also has 716. Barani wrongly writes 717 and the mistake is repeated by Nizāmuddin, Badaoni and Ferishtah. Numismatical evidence confirms the year 716 as correct, as the earliest coins of Quţbuḍdin were struck in 716.
conferred upon Malik Dinār, the Shāhnah-i-Pil (Keeper of Elephants). Muḥammad, an uncle of the sultan, became Ṣher Khan. Malik Fakhruddīn Jūnā, son of Ghāzi Malik, was made Amīr Akhūr (Master of Horse). Maulana Ziyāuddīn, son of Maulana Bahāuddīn19 Khattāt, who was Mūbarak Shah’s teacher in calligraphy, was given the post of Sadr Jahān and the title of Qaẓī Khan, and a dagger worked in gold and jewels was presented to him. Malik Qīra Beg was entrusted with a number of responsible offices.20 The king also raised to high positions his favourites and slaves and conferred upon them big jāgīrs. But the most surprising elevation was of Ḥasan, an obscure slave of Gujarat, on whom the king bestowed special honours. He was given the title of Khusrau Khan, and the emoluments and jāgīrs of Malik Naib were bestowed upon him; and after some time, in the very first year of his reign, Qutbuddin raised him to the position of Vazīr.

An Era of Reaction.

With the passing of time a stable government gradually dispelled the anarchic conditions that had followed Alāūddīn’s death. Repose and contentment began to appear among men. Whereas the new king was ease loving and generous by nature, his confinement and early privations had made him still more kind-hearted. The beginning of his reign, therefore, heralded the birth of a liberal era. On the day of his accession he had ordered the release of all prisoners. Men exiled for various offences were ordered to be returned home. This wise about seventeen or eighteen thousand prisoners were set free. He also granted a reward equal to six months’ salary to the army and increased the stipends and allowances of the officers and the learned, and “the people

19 Ferishtah has Shihābuddīn.

20 Barānī p. 381. Later on the historian says that Qīra Beg held fourteen important appointments, p. 396.
had tankahs and jitals ringing in their pockets once again."²¹

A large number of jagirs, which had been reclaimed into the Khalsa by 'Ala'uddin, were returned. Heavy fines and taxes were abolished and extortionist devices like flogging and incarceration were prohibited in the Revenue Department. The sultan ordered that applications of the suppliants should be submitted to him,—a practice which had become obselete for some time. He personally perused the petitions and wrote orders on them.²²

In short, the new king inaugurated an era of reaction. Most of the regulations of 'Ala'uddin fell into disuse. The strict vigilance of the conduct of the people was given up. They could now afford to be effluent with impunity, and naturally, began to amass wealth. Market regulations ceased to be enforced. The constant dread of the spies, the impossibility of obtaining favour or mercy and the fear of barbarous punishment no longer haunted the minds of the people. The dread of the king's authority left the breasts of the people and they ran after pleasures, unbridled. Since the youthful monarch was always drowned in pleasure and dissipation, the people in general also followed in his footsteps. The demand for beautiful girls and beardless boys, says Barani, made them a scarce commodity, and their prices rose to 500 and sometimes even to 2,000 tankahs.²³ In spite of the fact that Quutbuddin did not rescind the restriction on drinks, wine was fearlessly smuggled, secretly distilled and freely drunk. Prices of grain and cloth rose high and the Multani merchants rejoiced at the death of 'Ala'uddin.²⁴ They now sold articles at rates highly profitable to them, and cheated the public in every way.²⁵ Bribery and corruption

²¹ Barani p. 382.
²² Ibid.
²³ Barani p. 384.
²⁴ Ibid p. 385.
²⁵ Ibid. p. 385.
were openly indulged in, and it was a red letter day for clerks and Munshis while the wages of labour increased fourfold.\textsuperscript{26} With the reduction in the rate of land tax the lot of the zamindars and peasants was automatically improved. In contrast to the days of ‘Alaūddin, now they ate better food and wore better clothes.\textsuperscript{27} To sum up, the kindness and liberality of the king as well as his own easy habits made the people happy and the agony of the days of ‘Alaūddin began to be dispelled from their minds.

\textit{Conquest of Gujarat 1316.}

We have seen how the assassination of Alp Khan had incited the people of Gujarat into rebellion. Under their leaders Haider and Vazirak the Gujaratis had killed the royal commander Kamāluddin Gurg, and thenceforward the province had ceased to recognise the imperial authority. According to the author of \textit{Futūh us Salātīn}, Malik Naib, during his regency, had contemplated to reestablish the royal authority in Gujarat. He had summoned ‘Ainulmulk Multanī from Devagiri to attack Gujarat, but while the latter was marching northwards he heard about the death of the Regent and stopped in Rajputana.\textsuperscript{28} Consequently, it was left to Quṭbuddin to reconquer the province.

In the very year of his accession, therefore, Mubarak Shah sent a large force under Malik Tughlaq to join the forces of

\textsuperscript{26} Baranī p. 385.

\textsuperscript{27} Baranī has Hindus for agriculturists. Their well-being was unbearable to the orthodox Maulana and he feels pain ed to write that “the Hindus who had become destitutes of food and cloth in ‘Alaūddin’s days now dressed in fine linen and rode on horses”. Baranī p. 385.

\textsuperscript{28} \textit{Futūh} pp. 339-40 ‘Isāmī says that ‘Ainulmulk received the news of the Naib’s death at Chittor and stayed there.
‘Ainulmulk Multānī near Chittor, and attack Gujarat. The royal forces arrived in Gujarat, but the rebel leaders were not daunted by the arrival of the imperialists, and marshalled their forces outside the city (of Neharvala). Ainulmulk was not only an experienced general, he was a great diplomat too. He wrote secret letters to junior officers of the rebel army asking them to kill their two generals Ḥaider and Vazirak, and submit to the sultan. There was no sense, wrote ‘Ainulmulk, in the fighting of the two forces professing the same religion. At the end it was emphatically pointed out that ultimately the rebel leaders must be killed, but if the Gujarat forces deserted them many an innocent life would be saved from destruction. The ruse worked well, and as the belligerant forces encountered each other, many Gujarati officers deserted to the side of the imperialists. Ḥaider and Vazirak fought valiantly but the desertions of the treacherous officers very much impaired their strength. Not being able to bear the brunt of the onslaughts of the royal army, they fled from the field of battle. They were relentlessly pursued but they succeeded in effecting their escape and seeking shelter with some Hindu chiefs and Zamindars in far off provinces.

After conquering Gujarat ‘Ainulmulk returned to Delhi and was profusely rewarded. Malik Dinār, who had been given the title of Zafar Khan, and whose daughter had been married to the sultan, was appointed governor of Gujarat. Through the sincere efforts of his able and sagacious noble the whole of the province was brought under complete control. He administered the country so well that within three

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29 Futūḥ. p. 349.
30 Ibid. 350.
31 Futūḥ. p. 350.
32 Ibid. p. 351.
33 Baranī p. 388.
34 Futūḥ p. 352.
or four months of his arrival people forgot the good old days of Alp Khan. Zafar Khan realised a large amount of money from neighbouring chiefs and zamindars and sent it to Delhi.\textsuperscript{35}

Gujarat, however, was not destined to enjoy a long tenure of peace. A plot against the sultan's life while he was on a march to the Deccan shook him to his very being and after his return from there Quṭbuddin became extremely cruel and reckless. He openly executed Zafar Khan, his father-in-law and governor of Gujarat, without any rhyme or reason. Zafar's death was enough to sap the imperial hegemony in Gujarat. Ḥisāmuddin, a brother of Khusraw Khan,\textsuperscript{36} was next given the charge of the province. The mere fact that the sultan looked upon him with some favour, turned his head, and this ungrateful wretch began to hatch evil designs. He collected his cousins, relatives and supporters, who were quite prominent in Gujarat, and raised the standard of revolt. The powerful barons and officers of Gujarat, however, caught him and sent him to Delhi. In place of taking any severe steps against Ḥisāmuddin, Quṭbuddin only gave him a place near him at the court. This attitude of the king frightened the noblemen of Gujarat and created bitterness and hatred in their hearts for so licentious a sovereign. After Ḥisāmuddin, the governorship of Gujarat fell to the

\textsuperscript{35} \textit{Tab. Akb.} p. 177, \textit{Ferishtah.} p. 125.

\textsuperscript{36} Barānī p. 369 has درادر مادر حضرت خان. Later on he says اب درادر حضرت خان. \textit{Tab. Akb.} at one place styles him as brother of Khusraw Khan and at another as brother on the mother's side. \textit{Ferishtah} also has دادر مادر. It is therefore certain that Hisāmuddin was a cousin or step-brother of Khusraw. He does not seem to have been his real brother but most certainly not his maternal uncle as Elliot has suggested. \textit{Elliot} vol. III, p. 218. Amīr Khusraw also calls him as brother of Khusraw Khan at many places.
lot of Malik Vaḥīduddīn Qureshi, who was given the title of Sadrul Mulk. Vaḥīduddīn belonged to a highly respectable family and was one of the invaluable and rare nobles of the realm. Ṣadrulmulk arrived in Gujarat and on account of his great qualities dispelled the vicious atmosphere created by the machinations of Ḥīsāmuddīn. Qūṭbuddīn was very much impressed by the administrative talents of Vaḥīd Qureshi, and after the suppression of Malik Yaklakhi’s revolt at Devagiri he called Vaḥīduddīn to Delhi, gave him the title of Tājulmulk and entrusted him with the offices of the Naib-i-Vuzrāt and Divān-i-Vuzrāt.

*Expedition to Devagiri 1318.*

After the death of Malik Naib Devagiri was lost to the sultanate of Delhi, and Harpal Deva, son-in-law of Ram Deva, had assumed perfect independence. According to Yahya, Qūṭbuddīn had made up his mind to proceed against Devagiri in 1316 but his nobles dissuaded him from going into so far off a country immediately after his accession. In 1318, however, the sultan marched towards the Deccan with a large number of officers and men. He had determined firstly to conquer the lost kingdom of Devagiri and secondly to secure treasures from the Rai of Telingana and other Deccan princes. In utter disregard of the fact that the emergency needed an experienced and strong man at the capital, the sultan gave the title of Vafā Malik to Shāhīn, an obscure mediocrity and a

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37 Baranī p. 397.

38 An inscription of Mubarak Khaljī from Jalor, Jodhpur State, engraved in Tughra style and perhaps inscribed on a mosque mentions the name of Tājulmulk, the governor of Gujarat. The date on the inscription is 5th Muharram 718 (Thursday, March 9th, 1318). *Epigr. Indo-Moslemica* 1937-38 pp. 49-50.

39 *T.M.S.* p. 83.

40 *Futūḥ.* pp. 352-53.
father in-law of the king, and appointed him viceroy at Delhi during his absence.

The southward march was confronted with little difficulties. Many an expedition had been led before and the way to Devagiri was very well known. The first halt was made at Tilpat where many more troops joined the sultan. From there Qutbuddin marched in all pomp and splendour and by forced marches arrived near Devagiri in about a couple of months' time.\footnote{Futūḥ. p. 353.}

When the imperial army arrived on the borders of his kingdom, Harpal Deva and Raghava, minister of the late king Ram Deva, fled to the hills. There Raghava collected an army of 10,000 strong. Qutbuddin marched straight into Devagiri and occupied it without encountering any opposition. Khusrau Khan was sent with a powerful contingent to pursue the fugitive king and minister. Qutlugh, an officer of Khusrau's forces, was successful in seizing some of Raghava's adherents, from whom they were enabled to ascertain the strength of Raghava's army as well as its location. Khusrau Khan attacked the Maratha minister in a defile and completely routed his forces. "The Hindus, who had pretended to independence, were either slain, captured or put to flight."\footnote{Nūh Sipehr, Elliot vol. III. pp. 558-59.} Raghava himself was most severely wounded but escaped capture. After this signal victory Khusrau Khan returned in all haste to Devagiri as the king had summoned him urgently. On his way back the Vazir received intelligence that Rana Harpal Deva had not submitted until then and had taken up a position in the hills at the head of a powerful army. The Khan went in his pursuit but was two or three times vigorously attacked by the Hindu Raja. At last Harpal Deva was severely wounded in a stiff engagement and was taken captive. Qutbuddin was overjoyed at this victory of
his favourite general and received him "with a hundred flattering distinctions." The rebels were severely punished. Harpal Deva was inhumanly flayed alive and his body was hung on the gates of Devagiri.\(^{43}\)

Rains detained the sultan at Devagiri for some time during which he brought the whole of the Maratha country under his sway.\(^{44}\) The sultan established outposts in "Gulbarga, Sagar and Dharsamudra and other places;"\(^ {45}\), and appointed suitable officers to them. Malik Yalakhi, who had served for a long time as Naib-i-Barid-i-Mumālik under ‘Alāūddin, was made the Governor of Devagiri.

**Asaduddin’s Revolt 1318.**

By the beginning of Rajab 718 (September 1318) the rainy season was at an end, and Khusrau Khan was ordered to lead an expedition into the kingdom of Telingana.\(^ {46}\) The sultan himself turned towards Delhi. His haram was with him, and as was his disposition, he was always immersed in music and mirth. The king had, moreover, recently given posts of distinction to his favourites to the resentment of the senior nobility. A plot was hatched to put an end to the Sultan’s life. Asaduddin, a son of Malik Khāmosh Yoghresh Khan and cousin of ‘Alāūddin, was the originator of this conspiracy. Asad was a man brave, cliquish and influential.\(^ {47}\) He won over to his side some enterprising desperadoes, and they decided to kill the king when he was about to cross the Ghati of Sākūn and to place Asaduddin on the throne.

\(^{43}\) Baranī p. 390.

\(^{44}\) Qutbuddīn built a mosque at Devagiri which was still in existence in Ferishta’s days. Ferishtah p. 125.

\(^{45}\) Ferishtah p. 125.

\(^{46}\) Baranī p. 390.

\(^{47}\) Baranī p. 393.
Luckily for Qutbuddin, when he was coming down the valley of Sakun, Arām Shah, son of Khurram Khajūrī, the Vakil-idar of Jalāluddīn’s days, apprised the king about the plot.\(^{48}\) Qutbuddin at once stopped where he had arrived and ordered the arrests of Asaduddin, his relatives and all other conspirators. An inquiry was held; the arrested were found guilty and instantly executed. After the fashion of his father, Qutbuddin sent orders to Delhi to kill all the children of Yoghresh’s family, about twentynine in number, all of whom could possibly have no knowledge of the plot, some being mere infants. The wealth and emoluments of Yoghresh were confiscated to the state and the ladies and young daughters of his house were turned out into the streets to beg their living.\(^{49}\) Qutbuddin’s suspicions were not alleviated even with this cold blooded massacre. He determined to extirpate root and branch all those who had any connection with the royal house. When he arrived near Jhain he despatched Shadi Khatta to Gwalior to assassinate Khizr Khan and other princes who were imprisoned there. Later on, soon after his return to the capital, he ordered the execution of Zafar Khan, his father-in-law and governor of Gujarat. The next victim of Qutbuddin’s implacable revenge was Vafā Malik Shāhīn, who had been left as viceroy at Delhi during the king’s absence in the Deccan.

Although the punishments inflicted were severe and indiscriminate, yet the discovery of a couple of billion coins struck in 718 H in the name of one Shamsuddin Mahmūd Shah\(^{50}\) clearly shows that the conspiracy was of a really very

\(^{48}\) *T.M.S.* p. 84.

\(^{49}\) Baranī p. 393.

\(^{50}\) *J. A. S. B.* 1910 pp.566-67  
serious character. Not only Asaduddin at Devagiri but people at Delhi were also implicated in it. The coins clearly indicate the presence of a pretender at Delhi in whose name they were struck. And who was this pretender? Asaduddin, Shāhin, or a son of Khizr Khan, "whose elevation to the throne was, according to Ibn Battūtah, the object of the conspiracy?" Describing this revolt Ibn Battūtah writes that some nobles (he does not make mention of Asaduddin's name) tried to rise in revolt against sultan Quṭbuddin, and place on the throne a ten year old son of Khizr Khan. The fact that Khizr Khan had a son by Deval Rani is attested by Ḥajiuddabīr, but not by any contemporary historian. According to Baranī, Khizr Khan was about the same age as Mubarak Khalji. Again, he had married Deval Rani in 1313 or 1314. By no stretch of imagination, therefore, could Khizr Khan have had a son of ten years in 1318. Moreover, Khizr Khan had been deprived of his sight and was living a secluded life in a dungeon of Gwalior Fort "getting only food and clothing." Under these circumstances it is certain that Khizr Khan or his son, if there was any, had no share in the plot. The statements of Amīr Khusrau in his immortal mašnavi also lead to the same inference. Therefore, the title on the coin referred to above must either have been of Asaduddin or of Vāfā Beg. Asad was all along with Quṭbuddin in the Deccan and was executed there. Since the coin was struck at Delhi it must have been in the name of Malik Shāhin, who was at Delhi and was executed by the king soon after his arrival there.

51 Camb. Hist. of India vol. III p. 121.
53 Zafarul Vāli p. 841.
54 Baranī p. 373.
55 Ibid. p. 393.
Assassination of Khizr Khan 1318.

Shadi Khatta, the Sar-i-Silahdär, arrived at Gwalior from Jhain. He was deputed to assassinate Khizr Khan, Shadi Khan and Shihābuddin, the three sons of 'Alāūddin, and to bring their families to Delhi. These princes had already been blinded and were permitted only bare sustenance. According to Amir Khusrau, who does not say anything about Asaduddin’s revolt, the Sultan sent a message to Khizr Khan beginning with a sympathetic introduction but ending with a preposterous request. “You have lost sight of the eye and health of the body”, wrote Qutbuddin. “You know I have not been instrumental in all this...but now the oppressor (Malik Naib) is dead. If you were thrown into imprisonment, time for your release has arrived. I will make you governor of a province, an honour you amply deserve. You should, however, not burn in the fire of love for Deval Rani who is after all your slave. I hear that she has attained to such an elevation that you lay your head at her feet. Even if she was as beautiful as the Moon, she was not worthy of your worship. We wish that she may not be left with you. As she has been given to you by the Royalty, it is desired that she may be sent back to us. When your infatuation (lunacy) for her is a little abated she would be sent back to you to serve you as a slave.”

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56 Barani p. 393. Deval Rani p. 275. At another place Khusrau (Deval Rani p. 278) says that he was a low-born Hindu. Ferishtah p. 125.
57 Barani p. 393.
58 Deval Rani pp. 273-75.

On the authority of Husam Khan, Hajiuddabir writes that when a princess born to Deval Rani Khizr Khan was asked to divorce her, because it was a custom that when a princess got a child she was divorced from her husband, Khizr Khan loved Deval Rani passionately and refused to separate her. This reason for Qutbuddin’s demand for Deval Rani has not been given by any other historian and seems absurd.

Zafarul Vali pp. 841-43.
The demand filled the helpless prince's eyes with tears and heart with rage. He remonstrated saying that since he had lost everything in the world except his beloved, it behoved the king to leave at least Deval to him. In the end Khizr Khan declared that he would prefer death to her separation. In short the king who sought a pretence to kill his step brother ordered the death of Khizr Khan. Consternation and then despondency spread in Gwalior Fort as the arrival of Shadi Khatța was made known. Khizr Khan took a touching farewell from his companion and prepared to die. Amir Khusrau and Ibn Battutah give a graphic account of the execution of the princes. The Egyptian traveller learnt all about it at Macca from Qâzi Zainuddin Mubarak of Gwalior who happened to be an eye witness to the execution. According to the Qâzi, Khizr Khan's mother, who was present in the fortress, was locked up in a room. Khizr Khan's spirits quailed at the sight of the sword and he started wailing aloud. But soon the fatal blow silenced him for ever. Shadi Khan was all fire at the cruel doom decided for the innocent victims. In his rage he leapt upon the executioner and threw him on the ground. But all in vain. Very soon he and Shihâb "drank of the same cup", each being killed by turns. The wails and cries of the royal ladies added to the poignancy of the situation. In a turret of the fort known as the Vijaya Mandir were buried the dead "just as gems are hidden in stones."

A word about the unlucky Deval. Her life after the death of her husband is tantalizingly obscure. Baranî only says that all the ladies staying at Gwalior were brought

59 Deval Rani p. 275.
60 Ibn Battûtah vol. 111. pp. 192-93.
61 Deval Rani pp. 284-85.
62 Ibid. p. 287.

to Delhi.\textsuperscript{63} He does not say what happened to Deval Devi, nor does Khusrau. Ḥajiuddabīr, however, says that Qutbuddin married her against her will and everybody condemned this action.\textsuperscript{64} Ferishtah also says that Qutbuddin took into his haram Deval Devi, the wedded wife of Khizr Khan.\textsuperscript{65} This may not be improbable. Qutbuddin had little moral scruples and the taking possession of the wives of a dead prince by the ruling monarch was a common practice in those days. With the murder of Qutbuddin at the hands of Khusrau Khan the affairs at Delhi became chaotic. According to Baranī, Khusrau Khan married the wife of Qutbuddin.\textsuperscript{66} He does not say that she was Deval Devi. Obviously she must have been the chief wife of Mubarak Shah. Some later Persian writers and a few modern historians, however, suggest that she was the ill-starred Deval Devi, perhaps because of the tragedy associated with her name. But their surmise is not supported by any contemporary evidence. In fact nothing is known of the end of this princess to whom the fates seemed to be deliberately inimical.

\emph{Qutbuddin and Niẓāmuddin Aulia.}

So vindictive was the sultan’s nature that since Niẓāmuddin Aulia was a pir of Khizr Khan, Qutbuddin began to entertain a feeling of animosity towards him.\textsuperscript{67} He even abused the Shaikh openly and ordered his nobles to refrain from visiting him. Through sheer discourtesy he declared a reward of a thousand tankahs for one who would cut the saints’ head.\textsuperscript{68} He even did not acknowledge the salutations of Niẓāmuddin when they once chanced to meet at the tomb of

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{63}Baranī pp. 393-94.
  \item \textsuperscript{64}Zafarul Vāli pp. 841-44.
  \item \textsuperscript{65}Ferishtah p. 125.
  \item \textsuperscript{66}Baranī pp. 410-11.
  \item \textsuperscript{67}Ibid. p. 394.
  \item \textsuperscript{68}Ibid. p. 396.
\end{itemize}
Shaikh Ziyāuddin Rūmī. He began to patronize Shaikhzādā Jām, who had for long been an opponent of Nizāmuddin, and even called Shaikhul Islam Ruknuddin from Multan. 69

Thus, after the Devagiri expedition, all the qualities of generosity and large-heartedness which were characteristic of Quṭbuddin at the beginning of his reign, disappeared, while his grosser nature gained an upper hand of his self. Gujarat and the Deccan had been brought under control and there was no independent chief or king in the country strong enough to challenge his authority. While this security, external and internal, had made Quṭbuddin proud, Asad’s abortive conspiracy had made him ruthlessly cruel. Now he would not listen to any advice, nor would he trust anybody. There is no doubt that the plot was responsible for making him ruthless and unscrupulous, but his disgraceful habits were themselves responsible for the conspiracy. And though he extirpated the guilty as well as the not-guilty, he did not improve his own conduct. On the contrary his debauchery increased with time. Like the profligate Elagabalus of Rome (3rd century A.D.) the passions of the sultan could not be satisfied with “a long train of concubines” or a number of beardless boys. He preferred to dress himself in female attire and ornaments embroidered with laces and adorned with gems, 70 and occasionally went about dancing in the houses of the nobility. The king used to enjoy the sight of young eunuchs and ribald and dissolute women come stark naked to the court and cut indecent jokes with high officials like ‘Ainulmulk Multānī and Qira Beg. Toubah, a clown— from Gujarat, openly used to abuse the noblemen and insult them with obscene pleasantries. 71 In short, the court of Quṭbuddin presented licence and obscenity in its utter nakedness. It was his sheer luck

69 Baranī p. 396.
70 Gibbon: Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, vol. I, p. 128.
71 Baranī p. 396.
that the Mongols did not knock at the gates of India and the revolts against the sultanate were quickly suppressed.

**Revolt of Malik Yaklakhā at Devagiri.**

About the time that Qutbuddin sent Malik Vahīduddin Qureshī as governor of Gujarāt, intelligence arrived that Malik Yaklakhā had risen in revolt at Devagiri and had assumed the paraphernalia of royalty. The sultan was all rage and at once ordered some prominent nobles to march to Devagiri, imprison Yaklakhā and send him alive to Delhi. A large force with a number of officers like Malik Talbaghā Yaghdā, Shādī Satilā, Qutlugh the Amīr-i-Shikār, Malik Tājulmulk and Khvājā Ḥājī marched southwards to quell the insurrection.

After about two months the royal army reached the destination. Malik Yaklakhā was exceedingly proud and neglected to strengthen his position. He little knew that his army was not loyal to him and the officers and men whom he had imprisoned during his revolt were definitely inimical to him. Thus when the actual warfare started many of his officers and men deserted to the royal camp. To crown it all Talbaghā of Nāgor, Nasīruddin and Shams, who Yaklakhā trusted as his supporters, one day arrested him and his followers when they were dead drunk. Then they sent Yaklakhā and his companions in chains to Delhi where his ears and nose were chopped off and his partisans severely punished. The

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72 *T.M.S.* p. 84.

73 According to 'Īsāmī and *T.M.S.* Khusrau Khan was sent to suppress the revolt of Yaklakhā, but that is wrong. Both Barani and Ferishtah only say that some prominent officers were sent. Khusrau Khan was already present in farther south, reducing Warangal and raiding cities in M'abar. *Futūḥ.* pp. 353-54.

Barani p. 398.

74 *Futūḥ.* p. 356.

75 Ibid. pp. 357-58.

76 Barani p. 397.

F. 22
governorship of Devagiri was conferred on Malik ‘Ainulmulk Multānī, and the deputy governorship on Malik Mujiruddin Abu Rijā. 77 Malik Tājulmulk, son of Khvāja ‘Alā Dabīr, was appointed as the latter’s secretary. In a short time they brought the country under perfect control. 78

Khusrau Khan in Farther South.

It has been said before that when Quṭbuddin had left Devagiri after crushing Harpal Deva he had nominated Khusrau Khan to lead an expedition into farther south. Khusrau Khan accordingly marched into Telingana and on his arrival there the Raja and officers of the country fled away. The invader obtained some loot, and about one hundred elephants fell into his hands. 79 Baranī, always deficient in the description of battles is altogether silent about the engagements which Khusrau Khan fought in the Kākatiya country. But Amīr Khusrau gives a graphic, and at places, an exaggerated account of the exploits of Khusrau Khan. The advance of the imperial army was marked by ravages committed equally by the Hindu and the Turkish soldiers. Every inhabited part on the route was made desolate. When the army arrived in Warangal the Hindu inhabitants fled confused. The royal forces encamped “three bow-shots” from the city. Khusrau Khan ascended an eminence from where he reconnoitred the fort. The Hindu horsemen of the Rai numbered more than 10,000 whereas the foot-soldiers were beyond computation. Despite their numerical superiority the souther-

77 Baranī p. 398 has مکییرالدین ابوجا مکییر has no meaning while Mujir means protector against oppression. Häjīuddabīr, Zafarul Vāli p. 157, gives the correct name Mujiruddin, writing on Baranī’s own authority. Obviously his Ms. of Baranī had the correct spelling of the name which is Mujiruddin Abu Rija.

78 Baranī p. 398.

79 Ibid. p. 398.
ners were overwhelmed in the battle by the small Muslim cavalry.\textsuperscript{80} Some booty of gold and jewels fell into the hands of the imperial army which pursued its enemy to the gates of the citadel and burnt down all the gardens and groves so that the "paradise of idol-worshippers became like hell." Next morning Khusrau Khan attacked the outer walls of the fortress which were breached. A large number of Hindus were slain and many others taken prisoner. Anil Mehta, the principal commandant of the fort fell in this engagement. After taking the outer walls Khusrau began the investment of the inner fortress. He ordered Khvâjâ Ťâjî, the 'Ariz, "to distribute the army to the proper posts, to dig the trenches, and spring a mine." These preparations alarmed Pratap Rudra Deva and he sent messengers to sue for peace. He agreed to surrender five districts and promised to pay a large tribute including more than 100 elephants, 12,000 horses, gold, jewels and gems beyond compute. Flushed with victory the imperial general subjected the Rai to many indignities before accepting the truce, but in the end he relinquished most of the ceded and conquered territory except the fortress of Badrkat "which the Khan had object in demanding."

After defeating the Raja of Warangal, Khusrau Khan marched towards M‘abar. According to both Barani and Işâmî he attacked Masulpam (Patan of the Muslim historians, lying near Motupille on the mouth of Krishna) and there robbed a wealthy merchant Khvâjâ Taqi by name.\textsuperscript{81} Siraj Taqi was a very rich man and having learnt that a Muslim army was coming on, had not fled. Khusrau robbed him of his jewels and wealth and killed him. 'Işâmî's version that Khusrau Khan asked Siraj Taqi to surrender his daughter

\textsuperscript{80} Nūh Sipehr, Elliot vol. III p. 560 gives the number of Muslim cavalry at 300. So vast a difference between the strength of the two forces is incredible.

\textsuperscript{81} Barani pp. 398-99.

\textit{Futûh}. pp. 459-60.
to his embraces,\textsuperscript{82} and the old Musalman preferring death to such a humiliation committed suicide, does not seem to be improbable.

Khusraw Khan marched on (up to the mouth of the river Krishna) and attacked Maithli (Motupille).\textsuperscript{83} Twenty elephants and a diamond weighing six dirhams fell into his hands. Having captured this booty he entered the country of M'abar.\textsuperscript{84} Heavy rains detained Khusrau Khan in M'abar. He had quite a large army and some captured booty. On his way to M'abar he had entertained evil designs against his master. He was an upstart and possessed an evil disposition. As in the case of 'Aláūddin, the wealth of the Deccan had aggravated his ambitions. It has been said before that when he was settling terms of treaty with the Kakatiya Raja, Khusrau Khan had insisted on the occupation of "Badrkot, a fort as high as heaven, which the Khan had an object in demanding."\textsuperscript{85} He had planned to kill those nobles whose confidence he did not enjoy and to rule over M'abar with the support of his forces. But Khusrau's designs were soon known to many a well-wisher of the state and Malik Tamar, sief holder of Chanderi, Malik Mal Afzāhān, Malik Talbagha Yaghda of Kara, Malik Tigin and Malik Ṭā jaki, the Naib-i-Āriz, one day openly asked Khusrau to return to Delhi before his foolish plans were known to the king. As these nobles had large contingents under their command, Khusrau Khan dared not oppose them and prepared to return. But the nobles who apprised the king of Khusrau's evil designs did not even receive the attention they deserved. The sultan only ordered that Khusrau Khan should at once be sent back to Delhi. From Devagiri Khusrau was taken in a palanquin post

\textsuperscript{82} Futūḥ. p. 359.
\textsuperscript{83} T.M.S. p. 85.
\textsuperscript{85} Nūh Sipehr. Elliot vol. III p. 560.
haste to Delhi where he arrived in a week's time. For the time being his grandiose schemes were shattered to pieces.

At Delhi the sultan was extremely delighted to see him, and regarded the loot of some gold and jewels and the hundred elephants as quite large a booty. The disappointed Vazir finding the sultan so joyous at his exploits began to whimper and complain against Maliks Tamar and Talbagha, who had stood in the way of fulfilment of his designs in the Deccan. The sultan, blinded by the infatuation he had for Khusrau, severely punished these well-wishers of the state without even letting them have their say. Malik Tamar was thrown into prison and his Jagirs were given to Khusrau. Malik Talbagha, who had exposed the Vazir a little too openly was publicly insulted, his fief was seized and he was imprisoned. These acts of flagrant injustice disgusted the courtiers and many of them resigned their honours and jobs on one pretext or another. The outcome of it all was that no one dared in future to apprise the king of Khusrau's machinations for fear of similar punishments.

Death of Qutbuddin.

After such a quick fall of his enemies the work of the Vazir became easy. The cruel treatment meted out to Maliks Tamar and Talbagha and the ascendancy of Khusrau had induced many a selfish noble to side with him. Many other victims of the Sultan's licence or wrath also clung to him Bahauddin Dahir, who had been ordered to send his wife to the royal haram sought the protection of Khusrau and became one of his best supporters. One day Khusrau pleaded to the king that while he was so kind to him as to send him on distant expeditions, the officers accompanying him did not obey him. They had large forces at their command and since he

86 Barani p. 401.
87 Perishtah pp. 126-27.
Zafarul Vâli p. 345.
had none of his people with him they could overlook his orders with impunity. If, therefore, he could call some relations and friends from Gujarati, he could be very successful in future campaigns. The request was granted and a large number of Khusrau's friends and relatives arrived in Delhi. On their arrival he took them into his confidence and gave them horses and robes and wealth. Thus, according to Ferishtah, he was enabled to marshal a corps of 40,000 Barvanis, all his loyal supporters. He used to consult the leaders of these Barvanis and some other trusted adherents such as Yusuf Şüfi and the sons of Qiraţ Qimar about his intended revolt. About this time the sultan went to Sarsava and the Barvanis decided to kill him while he was busy in sport. But Yusuf Şüfi and some others warned Khusrau that if they attacked the king so openly, the royal army would fall upon them and cut them down. On the contrary if the king was killed in his own palace, and the antagonistic nobles imprisoned, the way to the throne would be rendered very easy. At last it was unanimously decided to finish the king in the palace of Hazār Sitūn. In the meantime the sultan returned from Sarsava and the crafty Vazīr begged for another favour from him. He left the palace so very late every night, said he, that he was deprived of the company of his relations who had left their native place only for his sake. If, therefore, they could be allowed to enter the palace at night they could come and see him.

88 Barani has, p. 402.

Behalvāl may be either be Naharvala, capital of Gujarati, or Bhilmal about 50 miles west of Abu. Since Baranī always spells Naharvala correctly it is probably Bhilmal, then ruled by Parmar Rajputs. It may be recalled that Khusrau's brother Hisamuddīn had collected followers at Patan to rebel against Delhi sultanate. So the ground for Khusrau's rebellion had been in preparation for some time past.

89 Ferishtah p. 127.

90 It is a small town in the Saharanpur district of the United Provinces.

91 Barani pp. 402-3.
there. Quṭbuddin ordered that the keys of the palace gates should be left with Khusrau’s men so that they could enter the palace any time they liked. This is Baranī’s version. Ibn Baṭṭūṭah, however, says that it was customary in those days that when a Hindu accepted Islam, the sultan used to present him with a robe of honour and a gold ornament. According to his narrative Khusrau Khan informed the sultan that some of his relations wanted to embrace Islam but felt shy in waiting upon him in the day time. The king allowed them to come and pay respects at night. Whatever the pretence, Khusrau was successful in securing entrance for his men into the palace at night.

In delivering the keys of the palace gates the sultan handed over his own death warrant to the Barvaris. Every night, after it was quite quiet, about three hundred well armed Barvari’s used to enter the palace and move about here and there. The people saw these armed ruffians freely enter the palace at dead of night, but they dared not inform the sultan of their movements for fear of his wrath. But intelligent people understood everything and whispers of the intended revolt of Khusrau went round the palace. Qāzī Ziyāuddīn, the Vakil-i-dar, however, could not bear to see such a state of affairs. He had been tutor to the king in calligraphy and so could speak to him pretty plainly. One day he openly told the sultan of what was going on in the palace. “I rely on the mercy of Your Majesty,” began the veteran officer, “and will say what I see every day. The Barvaris enter the palace every night and everybody knows that their intentions are wicked. The life of Your Majesty is in danger. During the regime of the late sultan ‘Alāūddīn if somebody drank water more than usual, the sultan was at once informed of it. It is strange indeed that while such a great noise is being made in the palace and your life itself is in jeopardy, Your Majesty is

92 Ibn Baṭṭūṭah. vol. III pp. 197-98.
quite neglectful. I request you to inquire into the matter. If there is something fishy, you may take steps to punish the miscreants. If you find the allegations unfounded, your love for Khusrau will only be increased.”

The sultan at once lost his temper and scolded the Qazi in unbecoming terms. In place of holding an inquiry, he repeated to his favourite all that the Qazi had said. Khusrau at once began to shed crocodile tears. “Since Your Majesty bestows upon me your favours”, said Khusrau, “the great nobles are anxiously trying to bring about my death.” Quṭbuddin consoled the cunning Vazir saying that he was the only person in whom the sultan reposed his implicit trust.

Late on the same night as Qazi Ziyāuddin, the superintendent of the night guard was taking his rounds, and very few persons had remained in the palace, Randhol, a relation of Khusrau Khan, entered the palace with a few Barvaris and accosted him. He offered the Qazi a pān and while they were talking, Jahariya, another Barvari, shot an arrow at the Qazi and killed him on the spot. This cold blooded murder created consternation in the Hazār Sitūn, which was now filled with Barvaris. Quṭbuddin heard the noise from his chamber and asked Khusrau Khan to go out and see what the matter was. The clever intriguer came out on the terrace, shouted a few words to show that he was scolding somebody, and then returned to the king’s presence saying that some horses had been let loose and people were trying to catch them. Just then Jahariya dashed towards the king’s private apartments and killed its chief guards Ibrahim and Is-hāq. Then alone did Quṭbuddin realise the situation and he tried to escape into the haram. But Khusrau was too

93 Baranī p. 405.
94 Baranī p. 406 has دیلے خسرو خان. Niya means grandfather as well as maternal uncle.
95 Baranī pp. 406-07
cunning to lose him at that stage and caught him by the hair. The king had drunk hard that night and due to his intoxications and physical strength he easily threw the traitor on the ground and sat tight upon him. Jahariya reached the spot, which was indicated to him by the shouts of Khusrau pinned under the weight of the sultan. He struck off the head of Quṭbuddin and threw it down the battlements of the palace. A few servants of the king, who had been left on the upper storey, also fell to the daggers of the Hindus. According to the author of the Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi Quṭbuddin was murdered on the night of the 5th of Rabiul Avval 720 (April 26th, 1320).

An Estimate of Mubarak Shah.

The way in which Quṭbuddin met his death goes to show how depraved and foolish he was. The qualities of generosity and kindheartedness with which he was rewarded by his early hardships disappeared on his attaining to unlimited power. He had received little education and from whatever little experience of life he had, he had refused to learn that unbridled debauchery led to disaster. The grosser appetites of man dominated his self and he practised every vice that goes to debase human nature. It need hardly be mentioned that the king did not say the daily prayers and did not observe the fast of Ramzān.

Quṭbuddin’s arrogance knew no bounds. In his pride he ordered barbaric punishments, and the tortures inflicted

98 Amīr Khusrau gives the date to be Jamadi-us Sani 720 (July 1320). The text of T.M.S. p. 86, wrongly has 721 H. but the translator’s Ms. had the correct year 720 H. (T.M.S. Trs. p. 86). Ferishtah also wrongly has 721. Tab. Akb. and Badaoni have 720. Later events lead us to the conclusion that the date of T.M.S. is preferable to that of Khusrau’s Nūḥ Sipehr. Also see the last footnote in the next chapter.
upon Harpal Deva and the relations of Yoghresh bear witness to his perverted mentality. So haughty and malicious was he that he refused to acknowledge the salutations of a pious man like Shaikh Niżāmuddin Aulia; and while great monarchs like 'Alāúddin addressed themselves only as "Yaminul Khilāfat" (Right hand of the Khalīfā) or "Nāsir-i-Amīrul Mauminīn" (Defender of the faithful),99 Quṭbuddin took the title of Khalīfā to himself. He declared himself "Al Ímām-ul-Āzam, Khalīfā-i-Rabbul 'Almīn", "Khilāfat-ul-Lah", and "Amīrul Mauminīn".100 Not only was he keen on adopting pompous titles, he had in fact a passion for the novel, the beautiful. His coins and inscriptions stand out for their boldness of execution and variety of inscriptions. His coins are round and square, of gold, silver, billon and copper. The square coin was for the first time introduced by him in 718 H.101 The engravings on his inscriptions are "typically ornamental naqsh", in *sulus* and in *tughra" of intricate type".102 He patronized scholarship, was fond of music and composed verses too.103 But the fact that the fear of royalty vanished completely, and the prestige of the Delhi sultanate lost its lustre during his regime, prove-

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100 Nelson Wright pp. 107-109.
"Chronicles" pp. 179-81.


103 Barani p. 382.
*Tab. Akb.* p. 76.
that he was a worthless king. It was his good luck that so long as he ruled no Mongol invasion threatened the peace of the country, no famine devastated the land, military enterprises were successful and rebellions were quickly suppressed; yet his ways disgusted the nobility and encouraged rebellions. Qutbuddin well deserved the doom meted out to him.
CHAPTER XXI

NAŠIRUDDIN KHSURAU SHAH (1320)

Quṭbuddin’s murder saw the accession of Khusrau Khan to the throne. Khusrau was not a Khalji. He belonged to the Barvārī or Parvārī1 caste of Gujarat. Ziyāuddin, indignant at the very idea of a convert’s accession, hurls every sort of abuse on the king and his tribe. And since his short reign was not popular, the invectives of the historian become relentless. Thus he declares Khusrau to be “faithless and cunning, dishabille and of low origin (بداصل).”2 “A low born menial” and abuses of this kind are repeatedly inserted in Barañi’s narrative.3 But these are merely personal aspersions on Khusrau and do not throw any light on the tribe or caste to which he belonged. Depending on Barañi, “Išāmī, Yaḥya, Nizāmuddin and other later Persian chroniclers aver that Khusrau Khan belonged to a low caste of Gujarat. Following on their narratives European scholars like Briggs and Thomas think the Parwāris to be worse than scavengers. Briggs declares that “the Parwari is a Hindoo outcaste, who eats flesh of all kinds, and is deemed so unclean as not to be admitted to build a house within the town.”4 Since Briggs had thought that Parvār must be the same as Parvārī, and

1 The word is variously spelt by medieval historians. Barañi writes Barvār (باروار ) and Barvārān (بارواران ). Badaoni also has Barvār. Khusrau has Barado (بارادو ), Išāmī Parāo (پراؤ ) and Yaḥya Barāo. Nizāmuddin and Ferishtah have Parvār (پروار ). Ḥājiuddabīr spells it Rao.

2 Barañi p. 390.
3 Ibid. p. 391.
Molesworth defined Parvārī as an individual of low caste, chiefly employed as village watchmen, gatekeepers, porters and said to be synonymous with Dhed and Mahār. Thomas was not slow to conform to Briggs' opinion. W. Haig also did not choose to differ from his predecessors and writes that the corps of 40,000 Barvārs organised by Khusrau Khan about which Fīrishtah makes a mention "was largely composed of and exclusively commanded by members of his own despised tribe."

On the contrary some other European scholars have declared Khusrau Khan as belonging to the high caste of Rajputs. Thus James Bird and Bayley think that Barvār or Parvār is nothing else than Parmār (Rajputs) and confound Parvār with Parmār.

Now, neither of the conclusions arrived at by the European writers is convincing. No contemporary historian has specifically stated the real caste or tribe of Khusrau Khan. Barani, and following upon him some later historians repeatedly abuse Khusrau and in the course of their personal aspersions add one of low origin. On the contrary there are facts which go to prove that the Barvaris were a people of strong mettle and independent disposition. Amīr Khusrau, a contemporary authority, praises the Barvaris for their gallantry and sacrifice. He says that they were men brave and courageous, and were employed by the Rajas of Hindustan for whom they were al-

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Steingass: *Persian-English Dictionary*. p. 169 gives the meaning of Baraan as a sweeper of the streets, a dustman.


7 *Camb. Hist. of India* vol. III p. 123.


9 *Local Muhammedan Du ists*, *Gujarat* p. 41 footnote.
ways prepared to lay down their lives. Baranī also testifies to their readiness to lay down their lives while describing Targhī’s insurrection in Gujarat in the time of Muḥammad Tughlaq. He says that in the battle near Kadi Pattan about one hundred rebels attacked the sultan’s body guard like the brave Baravān-i-Fidā‘iyān, who carried their lives on the palm of their hands”. Hisāmuddīn, according to Baranī, planned a revolt against Quṭbdūdīn Mubarak with the help of all the renowned Barvārs of Gujarat. “The renowned Barvārs” cannot belong to a low caste because a low caste cannot be renowned in Hindu society. Ferishtah at one place clearly says that Khusrau Khan belonged to the Pahalvāns of Gujarat. Ibn Battūtah also praises the Barvārs and says that “Khusrau Khan gathered a troop of Indians chosen from among the bravest and greatest, his brother the Khan-i-Khanān was among them”. In these circumstances it is impossible to believe that they belonged to the low caste of Dheḍ and Mahār. The victories of Khusrau Khan in south India and the gallant fight he and his relations put against Ghāzī Tughlaq clearly show that he did not belong to a low caste.

But if the above inference is correct it can also not be said that the Barvār was so high a caste as the Parmār.

10 Tughlaqnamaḥ Aurangabad text p. 19 verses 338-39:

11 Baranī p. 519 has

12 Baranī p. 397 has

13 Ferishtah p. 124 has

No historian, contemporary or later, says so. Ḥajiuddabîr who wrote in Gujarat and had a special knowledge of the history of that part of the country joins Baranî in giving a low origin to Khusrau Khan. Professor Hodivala rightly observes that “The real name of the tribe or caste to which Khusrau Khan belonged cannot be ascertained.”

All that is known is that he and his Barvâri associates were brave and courageous, clever and unscrupulous.

_Early Life._

Khusrau Khan seems to have been converted to Muhammedanism in early childhood and given the name Hasan. When ‘Ainulmulk Multânî sacked Malwa in 1305 Hasan and his brother fell into his hands. At the imperial court Hasan was chosen for the body of the personal slaves of sultan ʿAlâûddîn and assigned to Malik Shâdî, a nobleman, under whose care he grew up. When Qutbuddîn Mubarak Shah ascended the throne he became highly enamoured of the youthful Hasan and in the very first year of his reign he bestowed upon him the title of Khusrau Khan, the office of Vazarat and all the dignities and jagîrs of Malik Kâfûr. In elevating Khusrau Khan Qutbuddîn had refused to gain from the experience of ʿAlâûddîn who had conferred extraordinary distinctions upon

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15 Hodivala p. 369.

16 For discussion on the caste of the Barvâris see Hodivala pp. 369-71.

Ishwari Prasad: _History of Qarauna Turks_ vol. I pp. 8-9 footnote.

17 Baranî p. 381.

18 The author of _Tarikh-i-Muhammadî_ (completed 842 H.) writes that Khusrau Khan was brought up by Malik Shâdî of the court of ʿAlâûddîn. _Tarikh-i-Muhammadî_ Allahabad University Ms. fol. 126
his favourite Malik Kāfūr. As seen above Khusrau Khan proved as much an anathema for the Quṭbi as Malik Kāfūr had been for the ‘Alai’ regime.

After the gruesome murder of Quṭbuddin, Khusrau Khan sent for all the high officials of the ‘state like Malik ‘Ainulmulk Multānī, who had then arrived from Devagiri, Malik Vaḥīduddin Qureshi, Malik Fakhruddin Jūnā, M. Bahāuddin Dabīr and the sons of Qara Beg. He kept them under semi-imprisonment that night and compelled them to promise allegiance to him. While the usurper was busy in establishing his power. Randhol, Ḥisāmuddin, Jahariya and many other partisans of Khusrau entered the royal haram and began to perpetrate horrible crimes. At the outset they finished all the possible claimants to the throne one after another after effecting a thorough search with the help of torches.²⁰ Farīd Khan Abu Bakr Khan and three other young sons of ‘Alāūddin namely ‘Alī, Bahā and ‘Uṣmān were murdered in cold blood.²¹ The mothers of Quṭbuddin and Shīhābuddin were also killed and many an inmate of the haram was ravished. Such ghastly punishments were inflicted upon the innocent, says Ziyā Barānī. “as no infidel could perpetrate even in the land of infidelity” ²²

Not being confronted with any opposition whatsoever, the regicide ascended the throne and styled himself as Sultan Nāṣiruddin Khusrau Shah. He conferred titles and honours on the people, raising to high positions many of his favourites and those who had helped him in securing the throne. Besides, he ordered the execution of some of the nobles risen to eminence during Quṭbuddin’s reign. Randhol was given the title of Rai Rayān and the house and property of Qāzī

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²¹ Ibidd pp. 23-32.
²² Barānī p. 408.
Khan. The wife and children of the Qâzî saved themselves by effecting their escape on the previous night. Hîsamud-din, the sultan's brother, was married to a daughter of 'Alâ'uddîn and the title of Khan-i-Khanân was bestowed upon him. Bahâuddîn Dabîr received the title of Azamul Mulk and the son of Qirat Qimâr was made Shayastâ Khan. Among others who obtained titles were Yûsuf Sûfî who became Sûfî Khan, Iktîyâruddîn Sumbal who became Hâtim Khan and Malik Kamâluddîn Sûfî who was made the Vakîl-i-dar. Khusraw did not forget to keep in good humour all those who hated him. Thus 'Ainulmulk Murtâni was made 'Alîm Khan and Malik Fakhruddîn Jûnâ was appointed Akhûrbeg. The Vâzârat was entrusted to Tajulmulk and Vaîduddîn Qureshi, and the offices of Malik Qarâ Beg were entrusted to his sons. Everybody, willingly or unwillingly, submitted to the new regime and the new king was proclaimed from the pulpits of the mosques as the Leader of the Musalmans (Amîrul Maumînîn).

According to Maulana Ziyâuddîn, however, the accession of Khusraw ushered in a reign of untold misery for the true believers. On the fifth day of his accession, says he, idol worship was begun inside the palace. Khusraw Khan usurped the (chief) wife of Quṭbuddîn and the Barvâris took possession of Muslim girls. Copies of the Quran were torn to pieces and used as seats for idols which were placed in the niches (mehrâbs) of the mosques. In short infidelity was in the ascendant and the followers of the true faith were subjected to humiliations unprecedented in the history of the sultanate. The sultan thought of enhancing the power and dignity of the Hindus and a large number of them gathered round him. Treasures were thrown open and money was freely distributed to them. All this the chronicler writes

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23 Subâh Sâdiq. Bankipore Ms. fol. 1673.
24 Barani p. 411.

F. 23
with the passion of a staunch Muslim who could not tolerate a convert ascending the throne; particularly one whose accession was accompanied by cruel punishments inflicted on Muslim women and children. But the narrative of Baranī suffers from gross exaggerations. It is not surprising that some Barvāris worshipped idols inside the palace and tore up copies of the Quran since they had known the Muslim conquerors breaking temples and burning religious books of the Hindus. In a spirit of revenge the Barvāris did all this, and the sultan on account of his obligation to them for securing him the throne did not interfere with what they did. Yahya is quite correct when he says, "The Hindus (rather Barvāris) confident of their position as the relations of Nāsiruddin Khusrau Khan, subjected the Muslims to cruelty..." But the assertion of Baranī that Khusrau Shah tried to establish Hindu Raj is wholly incorrect. Khusrau had been converted when he was a mere boy, so that even his Hindu name has not come down to us. In the wars that he fought in the Deccan he was as cruel to the Hindu kings and inhabitants as any other Muslim conqueror. There he broke Hindu temples, and Amīr Khusrau graphically describes the humiliations to which the king of Telingana was subjected by him. Not only Khusrau, but his brother and a number of other relatives also had accepted Islam. These facts clearly show that Khusrau always regarded himself as a Muslim and there is not a single instance to prove that his behaviour or inclination was anti-Islamic. Baranī nowhere says that

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25 T.M.S. p. 87. The so-called cruelties of Nāsiruddin were multiplied by later writers. Thus Ibn Battūtat writes that he prohibited cow-slaughter and ordered the Musalmans to paste the walls of their houses with cow dung,—a Hindu practice. Nizāmuddin Ahmad goes a step further and says that Khusrau ordered destruction of mosques Tab. Akb. p. 187). It is really strange how these atrocities escaped the notice of Baranī, 'Isāmī and Amīr Khusrau. In all probability Battūtah and Nizāmuddin indulge in gross exaggerations.
Nāṣiruddin persecuted Muslims simply because they were Muslims. On the other hand he admits that so long as Nāṣiruddin reigned his khutbah was read from the pulpits of the mosques and the title of Amīrul Maumīnīn was struck on his coins.26

A glance at the list of the newly appointed officers, again, would clearly show that almost all of them had held various offices in the reign of his predecessor. There is scarcely any doubt that some of them were raised for being Khusrau’s allies, but one thing is evident that except Randhol and one or two others, all the Barvārīs dropped into the back-ground after Nāṣiruddin’s accession. The new king relied on the trusted nobles of Delhi; and he was so anxious about their good-will and co-operation that he even resorted to a coup d’ état to secure their support. At the capital he had not done anything prejudicial to the interests of the Musalmans. In the provinces also he left the Muslim governors undisturbed, and as later events show, most of them were quite satisfied with the revolution that had come about at Delhi. It is impossible that the governors of Multan, Samanah and Ajmer would have helped Khusrau Shah in the establishment of a Hindu Raj against Ghazi Tughlaq who had proclaimed himself as the champion of Islam. Moreover, the army of Delhi, which consisted mostly of Muslim soldiers, could never have fought on the side of Khusrau Shah against Ghazi Malik had they in the least considered Khusrau to be inimical to Musalmans. If at the time of actual warfare a portion of the royal army deserted to the Tughlaqs it was simply because Nāṣiruddin’s cause was fore-doomed to failure and not because they had deserted a champion of Hinduism and gone over to a champion of Islam.27 It is, therefore,

26 Nelson Wright: p. 104.
27 Cf. in this connection the desertion of Delhi noble to ‘Alāūddin’s camp a quarter of a century back. They had left the sons of Jalāluddin not because they were worse Musalmans than ‘Alāūddin but because their cause was sure to fail.
evident that Naṣiruddin was in no way prejudiced against the Muslims, and the accusation of Baranī that under his regime neither the honour nor the religion of Muslims was safe, is quite wrong.

Naṣiruddin had obtained the throne by murdering Qutbuddin and assassinating all the royal princes. Naturally his conduct had made him unpopular among his subjects. Although the majority of the people at Delhi had reconciled themselves to the new government, a certain section of the nobility was bitterly opposed to the rule of the regicide. Day and night did they plan to overthrow the usurper. Prominent among these nobles was Malik Fakhruddin Jūnā, who was ever in search of an opportunity to fly away from Delhi and join his father Ghāzi Tughlaq, Warden of the Marches at Deopalpur. The veteran warrior was very indignant at the wrongs that had been done to the family of sultan ‘Alā‘uddin and "writhed like a snake" to wreak vengeance upon Khusrau Shah. But he could not rise in open revolt against him so long as "the light of his eyes", Malik Jūnā, was there at the capital.28 Fakhruddin used to write to his father about the state of affairs at Delhi and messages between the two were constantly exchanged through the services of one ‘Ali Yaghdi. Ghazi Tughlaq exhorted his son to reach Deopalpur from where they could organize opposition against the king and Malik Jūnā one day astounded the court by riding off with a few followers to Deopalpur.29 He was careful to take the son of Behram Aiba with him on his flight. Khusrau Shah at once sent a force under the

28 Tughlaqnama pp. 62-64.
29 Amir Khusrau says that Malik Jūnā had received many favours from Naṣiruddin but on one occasion he became dissatisfied for some reason and finding an opportunity fled away. He is supported by Yahya in this statement. Tughlaqnama p. 40
T.M.S. p. 88.
son of Qirat Qimār in pursuit of the fugitive, but the latter eluded the pursuers and safely reached Sirsuti (modern Sarwa). On his arrival there he found that his father had already garrisoned its fort by sending Malik Sarbata there.

Relieved of the anxiety about his son, Ghayāṣuddīn set to work for the overthrow of his avowed enemy. He sent letters to governors of various provinces requesting them to assist him in overthrowing Khusrau who was guilty of being an infidel and faithless to his patron. It was an appeal made to the Muslims because to the Tughlaqs the cause of Islam seemed to be in danger. "The slogan of revenge for religion, so common yet so effective in the history of the Muslims, was now started." [30] ‘Alī Alkaūs, the Amīr of Deopalpur and Behram Aība, governor of Uchch joined Ghāzī Malik, but Malik Maghlatī governor of Multan refused to side with him. The diplomat Ghāzī instigated the people of Multan to rebel against their governor and Maghlatī was killed by his own men. [31] Muḥammad Shah, the Amir of Sivistān, had been imprisoned by his own nobles but a letter from Ghāzī became a "talisman of his release." The people set him free and he set to work for the cause of the Tughlaqs. [32] Malik Hoshang, sīfī holder of Ajmer showed signs of genuine support but in reality his "feet of determination was lax." ‘Ainulmulk, the governor of Malwa, Dhar and Ujjain at first hesitated but then promised to help the Ghāzī. [33] But Malik Yaklakhi was not content with sending a curt refusal to the Tughlaqs. He marched out to fight the Ghāzī but was killed by his own men. [34]

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[31] Tughlaqnama, p. 63.
[32] Ibid. p. 64.
[33] Ibid. p. 67.
[34] Tughlaqnama, pp. 68-70.
cording to 'Isāmī, Gul Chandar and Sahaj Rai, the Khokhar chiefs, also joined the banner of the Tughlaqs. 35

Thus did Ghazi Malik, after welcoming his supporters and setting aside his enemies, prepare for a final struggle for the throne. It is not possible, on the study of Baranī, to impute motives to Ghāzī Malik’s sincere efforts to overthrow Nāṣiruddīn, but undoubtedly he had given the war a religious colour. To his fervent appeals for help in the holy cause the Muslim governors of Multan, Sīvistān and Samanah, and many other nobles of Delhi had sent a b’unt refusal. Their action clearly shows that they did not trust Ghāzī Malik’s high-toned appeals. Moreover, the Ghāzī had sent the circular letter to the governors of the provinces on the western frontier only. Had he sent the appeal to the governors of all the Indian provinces, perhaps his disappointment would have been greater. It was only Behram Aība who had wholeheartedly supported the Ghāzī, and his motives in taking the decision are not far to seek when it is remembered that Malik Jūnā had taken Aība’s son with him when he had escaped from Delhi. How could Ghayāṣuddīn have been a saviour of Islam when most of the governors and people of northern India and the greatest Musalmans of the day Shaikh Nizāmuddīn Aulia never recognised him as one? The truth appears to be that in spite of his emphatic professions the motives of Malik Tughlaq in fighting for the throne were quite secular and he had risen against Nāṣiruddīn only after his son had sent him full information about the conditions at Delhi and had joined him at Deopalpur.

Events at Delhi also had taken a new turn. From the very beginning Khusrau had great apprehensions from Ghayāṣuddīn, and it was on account of him that he had given particular attention to Malik Jūnā and had appointed him

to the high office of Akhūrbeg. Ever since Malik Jūnā had fled from the court the real intentions of the Tughlaqs had become all the more manifest. Naṣiruddin set to organise his forces for future emergency. Intelligence of the happenings in the various provinces caused by the diplomacy of Ghāzī Malik had reached his ears and the deaths of Maliks Maghlati and Yaklakhi had sufficiently alarmed him. Although Khusrau had fought many battles in the Deccan yet he was no match for the veteran warrior Ghāzī, who had struck terror into the hearts of the Mongol invaders. Khusrau Shah gave the command of his forces to Sūfī Khan. With the troops he already had, and some others whom gold had secured for him, he prepared to fight the Tughlaq adventurer. A portion of his army, some 40,000 strong, marched under the command of Khan-i-Khanān, the king’s brother, to check the advance of Ghāzī Malik from the very start. They marched to Sirsuti but failed to capture it. Then they proceeded onward to Deopalpur to give battle to Ghayāsuddin there. The rival forces met in an open field somewhere near Dabhali or Dalili, then a village between Sirsuti and Deopalpur. After a short skirmish the royal forces were utterly routed and they fled pell-mell. Their youthful commander fled from the field of battle leaving behind elephants and horses and treasures to be seized by the victors. A large number of the vanquished were taken prisoners. The intelligence of this terrible disaster was conveyed to the king. It broke his spirits and frightened his partisans.

After the conclusion of this battle Ghāzī Tughlaq re-organised his forces for the final encounter. By now his financial resources had become quite satisfactory. While at Deopalpur, he had come to know of a caravan of horses and goods meant for the sultan of Delhi and had waylaid

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36 Zafarul Vāli p. 848.
Again in the battle fought near Sirsuti he had obtained much loot. So far as his fighting force was concerned, it consisted of the brave warriors of the northwest who had served him for several years in the past and on whose fidelity he could put implicit trust. The right wing of his forces was commanded by Bahāuddīn, his sister’s son, and in support of this young general was deputed Bahram Aība of Uchch. The left wing was commanded by Malik Jūnā and with him were deputed Shihāb Ghaurī and Mir Shādī, two other veteran warriors of repute. The centre was commanded by the brave Tughlaq himself. With his forces thus marshalled Ghāzī Tughlaq arrived by forced marches near Delhi and encamped in the vicinity of Raziya’s tomb in Indrapat.

Khusrau Shah on his part also prepared to fight a last desperate battle. He brought out all the treasures from Kilughari and Delhi, gave his soldiers two and a half months’ salary in advance, and tried all means to prevent any sort of disaffection from spreading among his troops. But so confident had the people become of Ghāzī’s victory that many a soldier who had accepted Khusrau’s gold gave up all idea of fighting and went home. Indeed the demoralised army of Delhi was no match to the sturdy soldiers who followed in the wake of Ghāzī Malik “and to whom the present war seemed to be nothing short of a Jihād.” In his extreme despondency and nervousness Nāsiruddin burnt all records and account books of the imperial treasury. He held a council of war and consulted his supporters regarding the course of action to be adopted. It was decided to fight to a finish. The sultan marched out of Sirī with his nobles and followers and encamped near the Hauz-i-‘Alāi. ‘Iṣāmī details the marshalling of Khusrau’s army. The sultan, the Khan-i-Khanān

37 Tughlaqnāmah, p. 77.
and Maldeva,\textsuperscript{39} Raja of Chittor, took up positions in the centre. Sumbal, who had received the title of Ḥātim Khan and the post of Amīr-i-Ḥājib, commanded the right wing with Sūfī Khan as second in command. The left was in the charge of Shayasta Khan, Talbagha Nagori and Randhol.\textsuperscript{40} Having thus organised his forces Nāṣiruddin took up a position of great advantage, not far from Indrapat where the Ghāzī had pitched his tents. Behind him stood the gigantic fort of Delhi on which he could rely for provisions in case of emergency, and in front of him were a large number of groves and gardens to save him from terrific assaults. But the advantage of his position was marred by the betrayal of Ṭīnulmulk, who took the road to Dhar and Ujjain on the eve of the day of battle. His desertion broke the heart of Khusrau Shah who saw around him naught but despondency.

It was on a Friday that the belligerent armies came in conflict on the plain of Lohravat, a village now untraceable but then surely situated between Delhi and the Hauz-i-Khāṣ. Khusrau Shah himself commanded his troops. According to Yaḥya a short but stiff engagement was fought in which the royalists hurled back the forces of Ghāzī Malik.\textsuperscript{41} But in this battle Malik Talbagha Nagori, one of the staunchest supporters of Nāṣiruddin, was killed; and Shayasta Khan, son of Qirat Qimār, fled away from the field of battle, although he did not forget to plunder the camp of Ghāzī during his flight. In spite of these losses Khusrau Khan held on till the evening, fighting gallantly and desperately all the time. His stubborn resistance moved Ghāzī Malik to a quick and determined action. He collected his troops and exhorted

\textsuperscript{39} Ḥāsūmī does not say who he was, but in all probability he was king of Chittor whom Ṭālūddin had installed there after Khizr Khan's evacuation. Maldeva died in 1321.
\textsuperscript{40} Futūḥ pp. 374-75.
\textsuperscript{41} T. M. S. p. 91.
them to fight with all the might they could muster. His stirring appeal had the desired effect and about three hundred of his loyal and chosen horses fell fiercely upon their adversaries. The force of this charge made an irreparable breach in the ranks of Nasiruddin. The Delhi army sustained a crushing defeat and fled in confusion.

Khusrau Khan had lost the battle. Realising that all was over for him now, he left the battle field and escaped towards Tilpat. A whole day’s battle had exhausted him completely and he craved for some rest. As night came on he concealed himself in the garden of Malik Shādī, his patron of yore. All night long he stayed there but the next day they seized him and struck off his head. This is Barani’s version. Amir Khusrau also gives a similar account while Ibn Battuta gives a little different and more detailed account. He says that Khusrau successfully concealed himself in the garden of Malik Shādī but when he could not bear the pangs of hunger he gave his ring to the gardener to fetch him some food. The ring was detected and its owner caught. Ghazi Malik first treated Khusrau kindly but later on ordered him to be beheaded at the same spot where he had got Qutbuddin murdered, and his corpse to be thrown down the palace from where he had thrown the deadbody of Mubarak Shah. According to Amir Khusrau Nasiruddin was killed on Saturday, 1st Sh’abān 720 (September 6th 1320).

The date given by Amir Khusrau appears to be quite correct. Numismatical evidence shows that Ghayāsuddin Tughlaq ascended in 720 and not in 721 H. as Yahya and Ferishtah say. Nelson Wright, pp. 112-15.


According to Barani Nasiruddin reigned for four and a half months. He, therefore, ascended the throne some time in Rabī’ul Awwal as to complete four and a half months in the beginning of Sh’abān. It is, therefore, evident that Yahya’s date of Nasiruddin’s accession (5th Rabī’ul Awwal 720, April 20, 1320) and Amir Khusrau’s date of his death (1st Sh’abān 720, September 6th, 1320) are the most probable.
Thus died Nāṣiruddin Khusrau after a restless reign of four months and some days. He had lived a life of great vicissitudes. Captured in the sack of Malwa, he began his life as a slave. From that low position he rose from post to post and ultimately attained to the highest dignity of sove-reign through favouritism, through cunning and through his own merit. The orthodox Baranī, to whom this low born infidel was nothing short of a devil upon earth, hurled every short of abuse upon Khusrau Shah. But other historians like Amīr Khusrau, Yahya and even the orthodox Badaoni give him just praise. He secured the throne by such crafty yet admirable means that he deserves our praise for his planning intellect and dexterity. Once he had gained possession of the crown he tried to preserve it with all the might he could command. It was not his fault that his reign was so short. His only fault was that he had trusted too much to a nobility and a soldiery who were accustomed to worship the rising sun and desert a weak cause. Deceived by his followers and deserted by his troops, he stood on the field of battle till the last hour of the fight, and directed the remnant of his army with perseverance that deserves our applause. The last days of Khusrau call forth for a pardon of his early life. He had lived a life of scandal but died the death of a soldier.
APPENDIX A

'ALĀŪDDIN AND NEPAL

B. Durga Prasad has published a silver coin\(^1\) struck in Nepal in the time of 'Alāūddīn Khaljī. He obtained it in Benares along with another copper coin of Nepal of the Lachchhāvi dynasty of the 1st century A.D.

The coin weighs 151 grains, about six grains less than the weight of a silver tankah of the time of 'Alāūddīn. It is 1.25 inches in size. On the obverse the legend in Arabic reads on the margin "Sikandar us Šāhi Nāṣirul Amīrul Mauminin Yāminul Khilāfat" and in the middle within a small Ashtakoṇ or double square there is a small winged lion of the Nepal type. On the reverse within a triple circle the Arabic legend reads "Al Āzam Assulaṭān Abul Muzaffar Muḥammad Shah Alāūd Dunya va Din", with a small conch in the margin. In the middle, within a small circle, the words "Sri Sri"—with two crescents and stars above each and a floral design below, are inscribed in Nagri characters of the 13th century. The Arabic characters of the legend are rather crude, and it appears that although the die-cutter copied the legend from an original coin of the sultan yet he did not know Arabic and has committed several mistakes in engraving the Arabic characters.

The title Sri Sri and the two crescents with small dots representing the triplicate, the Shankhu (Chonch) and the circle of the beads are exactly in the later silver coins of Prithvī Nārāyan Sāh Deva and Shri Gurvan Yadha Vikram Sāh Deva of Nepal. B. Durga Prasad further adds that the tantrik Ashtakoṇ and the winged lion with raised tail are

The unique coin of 'Alāūddin Khaljī struck in Nepal

To face page 364
peculiar to the Nepal coinage and establish the mintage of this coin in Nepal.

The coin is interesting in so far that it is the only evidence which alludes to 'Alāūddīn's connection with Nepal. In the contemporary Persian chronicles there is no mention of the sultan's conquest of that country. Contemporary Hindu accounts, however, allude to the conquest of Nepal by Harasimha Deva of Karnatakula dynasty, the Hindu Raja of Mithila in the time of 'Alāūddīn Khalji. Mithila, comprising of about the north and north-west of present Bihar, was not affected by the Muhammadan invaders of the 12th and 13th centuries, who marched into Bengal via south Bihar leaving the territory north of the Ganges undisturbed. Harasimha Deva, the king contemporary of 'Alāūddīn, had a fairly long reign, and under him had served able ministers like Devaditya, his son Virēshvar Thakur and his grandson Chandrēshvar Thakur. Chandrēshvar was an erudite scholar and wrote many treatises in Sanskrit. His main works are Kritya Ratnākar, Dāna Ratnākar, Vivād Ratnākar, Sudh Ratnākar, Grahast Ratnākar, and Pūja Ratnākar. In Kritya, Dāna and Vivād Ratnākars Chandrēshvar claims to have conquered Nepal for his king Harasimha. In Vivād Ratnākar he describes how after his great victory he performed the ceremony of Tula Puruṣa or religious gift of gold of the donor's weight to Brahmans etc. in Saka 1236 (A.D. 1314).

रस्युशुज़्ज चन्द्रे: सम्मते शाक्वेषः
शहसि धवल पश्चे नवमती चिन्नुलीरे ।
श्रेष्ठ तुलितमुण्डेयात्मना स्वर्यंर्थिं
निघर खिलणुणामुसर: सोमनाथः ||

(Translation: In the moon fortnight of the month of Pūsa 1236 Saka, Somnath, who was an ocean filled with all good

qualities, offered in charity gold equivalent to his weight on the banks of the river Vāgmati).

The conquest referred to above was, therefore, undertaken some time before 1314 when the ceremony of Tula Puruṣ was performed. The capital of Harasimha was at Simrampur (modern Simraon) on the borders of Nepal. It is not improbable that Chandrēshvar who was the minister of peace and war (कान्थि वियम्हक) may have carried a successful expedition into the Nepal territory and may have snatched some portion of Nepal. But Sanskrit writers depict their slightest success with as much exaggeration as Persian chroniclers, and it is just possible that the conquest of Nepal by Chandrēshvar may have only been an ordinary raid into that country.⁴ Thus it is clear that in the time of Ālāūddīn an Indian army had marched into the Nepal territory.

Dāna Ratnākar describes Chandrēshvar to having rescued the earth flooded by the Malecchas, but the date when Mithila was attacked by the Muslims in the first decade of the 14th century is not known.⁵ It is however certain that when Ghayāsuddīn Tughlaq marched to Bengal in 724 H. (1324 A.D.) he went through Tirhut and by that time Muslims had gained strength in Mithila. But there is no reason to believe that Mithila had been attacked by Ālāūddīn and its king had acknowledge the sultan’s suzerainty and struck coins in his name, so that when the Raja conquered Nepal coins were struck there in his name as well as in the name of the sultan of Delhi.

The discovery of a single coin of the type mentioned above cannot lead us to surmise that Ālāūddīn sent an army to the far off country of Nepal and compelled the ruling

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⁴ J.A.S.B. 1915 pp. 405-33.
Raja to acknowledge his suzerainty and strike coins in his name. Nor is there any mention of commercial relations existing between the kingdoms of Delhi and Nepal, so as to indicate that the coin may be one of the so many used for exchange purposes. The discovery of such a coin is full of interest indeed, but until some further information is available not much can be said on this perplexing point.
APPENDIX B

DID MALIK KAFUR RAID RAMESHVARAM?

According to Amīr Khusrau Kāfūr raided the temple of Barmatpuri. This has been identified by Prof. Aiyangar with chidambaram, firstly because chidambaram has a golden ceiling and secondly because it is known as Brahmapuri. Prof. Aiyangar, however, also says that it can be identified with Rameshvaram since Amīr Khusrau in Deval Rānī (speaking about this particular campaign) says that the army proceeded towards M'abar and “to the shores of the sea of Lanka, against the ruler whom he called Pandya Guru.”¹ My reading of the text of Deval Rānī confirms the first assumption of Prof. Aiyangar; firstly because the place raided is called Marhatpuri by Khusrau and secondly because there was no king by the name of Pandya Guru. Moreover, Khusrau talks of the army having marched on the banks of many rivers but never to have actually crossed the sea. The text of Deval Rānī (p. 72) reads:—

Now, what is मरहेत पुरी? A footnote in the Aligarh text of Deval Rānī (p. 72) says that the Aligarh University

¹ Introduction to Habib's Trans. of Khazainul Futuh p. xxxiii.
Ms. has برمت بوری. The Allahabad University Ms. also has برمت بوری (fol. 77b). Thus Marhatpuri is nothing but Barmatpuri or Bramhastpuri, which was another name of Chidambaram. Thus, so far as Khusrau is concerned, he does not make mention of any raid on Rameshwaram. We know, however, that Kāfūr made dashing raids in search of Vīra Pandya. A glance at the map will show that from Srirangam, a place which Kāfūr raided, river Kaveri and one or two tributaries flow towards Chidambaram where they fall into the sea. Naturally when Kāfūr marched from Srirangam he marched on river banks لب دریا to reach Chidambaram which lies very near the sea if not on the sea coast itself. On the sea coast also lie Patans like Kaveri pattanam and Negapatan referred to by Khusrau. Thus so far as Khusrau’s version in Khażain and Deval Rani is concerned there is not the slightest mention of a raid on Rameshwaram.

Ferishtah, writing in the 17th century, however, makes a very significant statement. He says that a ‘Masjid-i-‘Alā’ī” existed in Rameshwaram when he was writing his book.2

Ferishtah’s statement clearly shows that the mosque built by Kāfūr after the destruction of the temple was situated at some place near (درنواحی) Rameshwaram. Khusrau and Barani do not mention construction of any mosque at Rameshwaram in the time of ‘Alaūddin. Khusrau’s description of the sack of the temple at Marhatpuri shows that the temple was dismantled and dug up from its very foundation. Now, the well-known temple of Rameshwaram still

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2 Ferishtah pp. 119-20.
exists in all its architectural splendour, the beauty and dimensions of which are given in the *Imperial Gazeteer*.

Not only Ferishtah but Ḥājiuddabīr also has to say something interesting about this raid. He says that from Dwarsamudra Kāfūr marched to Sarandīp (Ceylon) and broke the Ling-i-Mahādeva there. These versions simply show that Kāfūr’s raid to a Shivite temple in south India was considered a venture unique in its kind; and later historians, ignorant of the topography of the Deccan but anxious to say something about this military feat, fell into the temptation of identifying it with Rameshvaram and even with Ceylon. To sum up, the temple raided was Chidambaram and not Rameshvaram because:

1. No contemporary writer mentions the name of Rameshvaram. Khusrau talks of Mahatpuri which, as shown above, is another name for Chidambaram.

2. Rameshvaram lies far from Madura which seems a limit of Kāfūr’s penetration into the south and all the places mentioned by Khusrau to having been visited by Kāfūr lie near about it.

3. Rameshvaram is an island. Amīr Khusrau, who gives the minutest details about this campaign, does not talk of crossing the sea on boats etc.

4. Even Ferishtah who talks about ‘Alāūddin’s Masjid locates it somewhere near Rameshvaram but certainly not in the city itself. Again, the mosque to which Ferishtah refers may not have been actually built by ‘Alāūddin and may have been only named after him, or some other ‘Alāūddin.

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3 *Index Volume* pp. 818-19.

4 *Zafarul Vāli* p. 156.
 Moreover, some modern writers\(^5\) have expressed doubt about Kāfūr's penetration even as far as Madura, not to speak of Rameshvaram. They base their arguments on the evidence of Koyiloluhu, according to which Muhammadans penetrated as far south as Madura not before 1324. On the basis of above arguments I venture to suggest that Malik Kāfūr did not raid the renowned temple of Rameshvaram.

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\(^5\) *Ind. Ant.* 1911 pp. 131-44.

\(^6\) *Ind. Ant.* 1914 pp. 1-17.
APPENDIX C

BUILDINGS OF 'ALAUDDIN KHALJI

The advent of Islām introduced a new stratum into the Indian culture. After the military clash was over, exigencies political and social ushered in an atmosphere of friendliness. Gradually a new synthesis developed, which gave birth to Indo-Islāmic culture. In every sphere of social and intellectual life, in manners and customs, in art and literature, the conquerors and the conquered inevitably impressed themselves on each other. And by the end of the 13th and the beginning of the 14th century, India began to witness a change in its cultural outlook.

Against their bloody wars and their ruthless destruction of Hindu and Jain temples, is the constructive will of the Turkish invaders, which manifested itself pre-eminently in the huge edifices they erected. In the beginning they obtained their material from Hindu temples, reducing them to mere debris; but later, when Muslim hegemony was firmly established, they planned and constructed independently. In India itself, architecture had greatly developed, and Alberūnī, who had seen the architectural splendour of Bāghdad, was greatly amazed at the excellence of Indian craftsmanship. About the temples and buildings of India he says that his people “are unable to describe them, much less to construct anything like them.” Obviously there was no dearth of skilled architects and masons in this country. The early Muslim Sultāns employed them freely, and the buildings constructed by them to suit the taste of their Muslim patrons bear an impress of both Hindu and Muslim styles of architecture—“sometimes uncouthly mingled, at others beautifully,
blended.” Scholars like Havell think that Indo-Islamic architecture is nothing but a modified form of Hindu architecture. Fergusson and G. A. Page, on the other hand, are inclined to discover in it a larger share of Islamic influence.

The history of Hindu-Muslim architecture begins with the accession of Qutbuddin Aibak. Qutbuddin had to establish Muslim power in India, and to raise buildings “as quickly as possible, so that no time might be lost in making an impression on their newly-conquered subjects.”

The Quwwatul Islam mosque was built from the material obtained from the destruction of twenty-seven temples, some of the carved columns and shafts being utilized unaltered. Again, the builders were mostly Hindu craftsmen. Consequently, the generous use of columns, pillars, and shafts carved in Hindu design lend to the mosque a beauty and a grandeur peculiar to the Hindu style.

In the extensions of the Quwwatul Islam Mosque by Iltutmish, according to Marshall, there is much more Saracenic influence traceable. Shafts, capitals and architraves of Hindu pattern are still used; but in the screen very little Indian influence is visible. The culmination of the building art of the reign of Iltutmish, however, is reached in his mausoleum, built some time before 1235. The building is a square structure, with sides of 42 ft., and is situated in the north-west of

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1 An inscription on a yellowish stone on the Qutb Minar (8th course, 3rd balcony) reads that on Thursday, the 15th day of the dark fortnight of Phalguna in Sam. 1425 (A.D. 1369), lightning fell. The monument was then repaired. The architects were Naha, Lola, and Lashmana. (“A Historical Memoir of the Qutb”, G.A. page., Arch. Sur. Memoirs., No. 22, page 42).


his extensions of the Masjid. The interior hall, with 30 ft. sides, is elaborately sculptured so as to rival some of the Hindu temples in richness of decoration, and is entered through doorways containing pointed arches, a feature particular to Hindu design. Of great interest in this building is the principle employed in the construction of its roof, which was probably some form of shallow dome. The form of the dome employed in Iltutmish's Mosque was of an improved form known as squinch.

After the death of Iltutmish, little work in architecture was done, or at least has survived. About 1280 Balban built a palace on the south-east of the Qilā of Rai Pithaurā, of which only a few traces are now left. He seems to have been too busy fighting his internal and external foes to erect memorable buildings; but even the remains of the palace mark a notable step in the development of the style. In this building we come across, for the first time, the true arch, produced by means of radiating voussoirs and not by corbels. With the accession of 'Alāūddin, construction was resumed with feverish activity. It is not only as a conqueror or an administrator, but also as a great builder, that 'Alāūddin stands prominent in the history of medieval India. His buildings indicate a marked improvement upon those of his predecessors, the so-called "Slave Kings" and are more magnificent than those of his successors, the Tughlaqs,—who struck upon an orthodox and austere style. Alāūddin built from the time of his accession to the day of his death. He extended the Quwwatul Islām Mosque, built a magnificent Gate to its entrance, constructed cisterns, palaces, and mesques, and founded a new city.

4 Percy Brown: Indian Architecture (Islamic Period), p. 12. Fergusson doubts that there was a roof to this tomb, but Cunningham, Carr Stephen, and Percy Brown have good reasons to believe that there was one. (Carr Stephen: 'Archaeology and Monumental Remains of Delhi, pp. 74-75).

The first monument constructed by ‘Aláüddín in the year of his accession (1296) was Hauz-i-Khâş or Hauz-i-‘Alâi. This magnificent tank covered an area of over 70 acres of land, and was surrounded by a stone and masonry wall. It was filled with mud by Fîroz Tughlaq’s time who cleaned it about 1374, and built a college near it. Timûr makes mention of this tank in his Memoirs, and says that it supplied water to the City throughout the year.6

In 711 A.H. (1311 A.D.) ‘Aláüddín repaired Hauz-i-Shamasî, a tank excavated by Shamsuddîn iltutmîsh in 1229. The tank, which covered a hundred acres of land, used to dry up occasionally till it was cleared by ‘Aláüddín who also built a dome in its centre.7

It was customary with the Sultans of Delhi to build new cities and palaces of their own. Mu’izzuddîn Kaiqubâd founded the city of Kilughari; Jalâluddîn constructed Kau-shak-i-Lâl, and named it Shahr-i-Nau; ‘Aláüddîn similarly founded Sîrî; and his successor, Tughlaq Shâh, founded Tughluqabâd (1321)

Sîrî was built in 1303 on a village of the same name. It was situated about three miles to the north-east of the Quţb Minâr, and, according to Marshall, it was built in order to protect the over-growing population of the suburbs.8 The walls surrounding the City were constructed of rubble in mud but there are traces of ashlar masonry in lime and of lime plaster.9 The fort was not yet finished when the Mongols invaded India. They were completely defeated, and the heads of some 8,000 of them were used as bricks in the

   Carr Stephen, 68-69.
construction of its walls. Timūr has described Siri in
detail, and says that it had seven gates. In 1548 A.D. Sher
Shah destroyed this City of ‘Alāūddin; and nothing is left
of Siri except some portions of the encircling walls which
are decaying. While going to the Qūṭb some dilapidated re-
 mains of Siri are seen on the left hand side of the road.
There has been some controversy about the actual site of
the city. General Cunningham identifies it with the pre-
sent village of Shapur, and Carr Stephen agreeing with
him observes: “If the village of Shahpur does not mark
the site of ancient Siri, we must give up all attempts to
identify its locality.”¹⁰

In 1303 ‘Alāūddin encamped outside Delhi to give battle
to the Mongol invader 'Ṭarghī. After his success the
Sultan built, on the site of his camp, an imperial palace
known as the Qasr-i-Hazār Sitūn. This name was given
to it because of the large number of pillars utilized in its
construction. It is said that while the palace was under
construction, a large number of Mongol prisoners of war
who had come in the train of Gang, were sent to Delhi by
imperial officers. They were trampled to death under the
feet of elephants and a tower of their skulls was raised in
front of this palace. The Qasr must have been as magnifi-
cent and beautiful as the other buildings of ‘Alāūddin; but
unfortunately its complete destruction renders it difficult
even to locate its site with any amount of certainty.¹¹

Lāl Mahal, which stands about 50 yards to the north
of the Chausath Khambha, was built, according to Sir Saiy-
yad, by Balban, and according to Mr. Campbell, by ‘Alāūd-
din. Carr Stephen, agreeing with the latter, says that

¹⁰ Carr Stephen pp. 84-85.

¹¹ Siri, A city founded by ‘Alāūddin Khalji by Maulvi
142-43.
'Alai Darvaza
Showing the pannelled treatment
in marble and red sandstone

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"the style of ornamentation, of the battlements, and of the moulding resembles so strongly that in 'Alāī Darvāzā' that the two buildings appear to have been designed and built at the same time; "and we have thus ample warrant for describing Lāl Mahal as the work of 'Alāūddin.'"\textsuperscript{12} The neglected building has suffered at the hands of plundering villagers who have removed the red stone and rendered it ugly in appearance.

'Alāī Darvāzā is perhaps the most magnificent building of 'Alāūddin. It was the southern gate-way leading to the Quvvatul Islam Mosque, and was completed in 1311.\textsuperscript{13}

The building of the gate consists of a square hall, 34'6" inside, 56'6" outside. The walls are 11' thick and from the inner floor to the domed ceiling, about 47' high. On each side of the gateway there is a lofty door. The three outer facades are very much alike and are constructed in accordance with Islāmic architectural ideals; but the inner one has a much more indigenous character, since its arch is semi-circular and not of the pointed type. The outer doorways contain pointed arches of the horse-shoe type. On the southern side there is a plinth nearly 10' high, with a flight of seven steps which lead to the higher floor of the interior. The vertical sides of the plinth are beautifully carved in varied bands, while the surface of the wall above is profusely decorated with arabesques and inscriptions, with marble sparingly interspersed with the red sandstone of the building. On each side of the doorway there are two windows, about a third of its size, and containing perforated lattice work. Both the doors and the windows, as well as the outer walls, are elaborately ornamented.

\textsuperscript{12} Carr Stephen, p. 215.

\textsuperscript{13} An inscription on the edifice gives the date of its construction as the 15th of Shavvāl, 710 A.H. (March 7, 1311 A.D.)
The interior is equally beautiful. The mode in which the circular dome has been supported by an octagon, which in its turn has been supported by a square, and so the load of the dome is gradually but completely conveyed to the ground, is both elegant and appropriate. The squinch arch, as well as the method of radiating voussoirs in the construction of the arches is a feature in all parts of the building. The key-note of the whole monument is its perfect symmetry.

'Alâî Darvâzâ is not only beautiful, it is unique. It is not only the exquisitely flowing verses of the Qurân or the lace-like carvings, so common in other Indo-Muslim buildings, that make it “one of the most treasured gems of Islamic architecture”; but the horse-shoe or “keel” type of arch, which is not found in any of the buildings after those of the Khaljîs,\(^{14}\) the projecting bosses which once filled the sockets now existing in the spandrels, and the radiating voussoirs of the arches, render it peerless. “Nothing so complete,” says Fergusson, “had been done before, nothing so ornate was done by them afterwards.” The edifice undoubtedly marks the culminating point in the development of Saracenic ornament under the Khaljîs.

Percy Brown discerns the assistance of some experts in the building art of Anatolia (the capital of the Seljûqs of Rûm) in the erection of this edifice. The method of stone masonry and the unusual and determinative character of the building are animated by the same spirit as that of the Selju-kide architecture.\(^{15}\) He says that the Mongol invasions put an end to the Seljûq Empire, causing its people to seek refuge in other countries. Some of them found shelter at the court of Delhi. With these refugees crept into India the Seljukian style of architecture, some salient features of

\(^{14}\) Percy Brown, p. 15.

\(^{15}\) Ibid pp. 13-15.
‘Alāī Darvāza
Showing combination of Saracenic
and Hindu elements in decoration

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which are visible in the ‘Alāī Gate. No contemporary chronicles mention immigrations on a considerable scale from any foreign country, but writers like Amir Khusrau refer to scholars who came from Turkistān and other countries. It is probable that some Seljukian architects helped in the construction of the ‘Alāī Darvāzā, but, as Percy Brown himself admits, the edifice embodies many “purely indigenous features” despite its exotic nature. Throughout its fabric, “there runs the Indian manner”, and it is the blending of the two systems, foreign and Indian, that makes this building an excellent piece of art.

‘Alāī’ Dravāzā is in a state of preservation far from satisfactory. Although it has not fallen into ruins like the walls of Sīrī, or the Kaushak-i-Hāzār Sitūn, many stones bearing inscriptions have fallen off, and some others have been boiled by nitre. In spite of these ravages of time, the beauty of the building remains and “its excellent proportions and simple composition…….must be seen at dusk, silhouetted against an evening after-glow, to be rightly appreciated.”

After the construction of ‘Alāī’ Darvāzā, says Amir Khusrau, ‘Alāūddin commenced further extensions of the Fvat-ul-Islām Mosque, built by Quṭbuddin Aibak. Iltut had extended the western wall of the mosque by about 5 feet on either side, thus making the whole length of the all 380 feet. Of the building extensions of ‘Alāūddin, passing from the Alāī Gate, the pillars which formed the colonnade in front of its inner door have disappeared for about 1 feet. At the eastern end of this gap, the colonnade again begins, and extends for about 120 feet. The walls of the colonnade are pierced by four doors and three lofty windows. The latter are covered with red sand-stone screens of lattice work. ‘Alāūddin’s additions to the mosque extended beyond

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the northern extensions of Iltutmish, and included his unfinished Minār. The extension was 700 ft. long and 400 ft. wide, and had nine gates. Thus ‘Alāūddīn nearly doubled the size of the mosque after Iltutmish’s extensions. In 1311 the building was under construction, but it remained unfinished. 17

The architectural arrangements of the extensions clearly indicate that the prayer chambers of Iltutmish furnish models for those of ‘Alāūddīn; still there are some features which mark the development of the style reached under the Khaljīs. The windows in Iltutmish’s extensions are covered with lintels resting on corbels, while those in the latter have regular arches with vousoirs running through the whole thickness of the wall. This difference also clearly shows that, while Quṭbuddīn and Iltutmish had to rely for details of construction on Hindu craftsmen, ‘Alāūddīn was independent of them; and it was in his reign that the school of Muhammadan architecture acquired a more national type. 18

The king thought of completely dwarfing the architectural achievements of his predecessors by building a Minār of double the size of the Quṭb. It was commenced in 1311 at a distance of 470 feet to the north-west of the Quṭb Minār. Its circumference is 254 ft. and the diameter of the central column 26’. It was carried to the height of 75’ above the plinth of about 4½; but then the construction was abandoned, probably on account of the Sultan’s death. The Minār is divided into 32 faces of 8’ each, and the curious feature of angular flutings is very marked, as also the treatment of the shallow curved recesses, so that the whole column has aptly been described by General Cunningham as “being exactly like a gigantic cog-wheel.” The relative heights of the

17 Asarūs Sānadī, Bk. III, p. 21.
'Alāūdīn's Madrasā
View of the buildings on the west side of the quadrangle.

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encircling windows which pierce the walls at every quadrant indicate that the means of ascent inside the Mínár was to be a very gradual ramp, and not a stair as that in the Quṭb. The outer stones of the Mínár have disappeared, and only a stump of bricks and mortar now stands there as a monument of ‘Aláúddín unfulfilled ambition.

The date of the construction of the building known as the Madrasā of ‘Aláúddín is not definitely known. It is even said to have been built by Iltutmish, but the high drummed domes and the advanced corbelled pendentives, show that it was constructed by ‘Aláúddín. The College lies immediately to the south-west of the Quvvat-ul-Islâm Mosque, and is built around a quadrangular court-yard.

On the southern side of this court is located a large structure, 400 ft. long and 200 ft. wide covered originally by a dome, now fallen. It is said to be the tomb of ‘Aláúddín. It is entered from all sides and the western entrance is a Pathān-gateway of stone and masonry, with an arch 14 ft. high and 11 ft. wide. The tomb itself is about 50 ft. long and 32 ft. wide. On either side of it there is a passage which divides it from the side rooms which are domeless. The noteworthy feature of this building is the use of corbelled pendentives. It is the earliest instance of corbelled treatment of a pendentive in India, and is a happy solution of the constructional problem. The whole building is now in a dilapidated state.

‘Aláúddín died in 1316, but his tomb seems to have been constructed after a year or two by his son Quṭbuddín Mubārak Shāh. Firoz Tughlaq repaired it, and put up a sandal

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19 J. A. Page, p. 16.
20 Ibid, p. 17.
21 Carr Stephen, pp. 88-89.
wood screen, no longer extant. Even the grave has altogether fallen, and only a mound of lime and mortar remains.\textsuperscript{22}

Another important building of the period is the Jama’at Khānā Mosque at the Dargāh of Niẓāmuddin Aulia. It lies in the village of Niẓāmuddin, situated within five miles of New Delhi. The building is entered through a low gate-way which leads into a stone-paved enclosure, about 60 feet square. On the west side of this is a room now used as a school and on the right is the tomb of Amir Khursrau. To the north of this court is another enclosure which contains the tomb of the renowned saint. The mausoleum is about 48\(\frac{1}{2}\) yards long, and 19\(\frac{1}{2}\) yards broad; and within its walls are the graves of Jahānārā Begum, Muḥammad Shāh, and Mirzā Jahāngir, and the Jama’at Khāna Masjid. The tomb of Niẓāmuddin is about 30 ft. square, with five arched openings, supported by 20 marble pillars. It is surrounded by a white marble dome, ornamented with vertical stripes of black marble.

The Mosque is about 94 feet long, 64 feet wide, and 481 feet high and it is built of red sandstone throughout. The body of the mosque consists of three rooms, the centre one 54 feet by 46 feet, and the two side ones 54 feet by 20 feet. The centre room is covered by a dome, 54 feet in diameter; and the side rooms by two domes each. The domes are built of red sandstone and masonry. The centre room is entered through an arched gate-way about 15 feet high, and the bands round the arches are ornamented with inscriptions from the Qurān. The walls contain red sandstone lattice work.\textsuperscript{23}

The conflicting statements of various historians render it difficult to determine the builder of this edifice. According to Ferishtah it was constructed by Khizr Khān, the eldest son of

\textsuperscript{22} Also see Asarūs Sanā`īd, Bk. II, pp. 27-28.

\textsuperscript{23} For exhaustive details about the dimensions of these buildings see Carr Stephen, pp. 104-105, 111-113.
Jama'at Khānā Masjid
The interior view showing pendentives

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'Ala'uddin and a disciple of the Shaikh. Sir Saiyyad Ahmadr thinks that it was only the central apartment that was built by the prince, and the two other sides were added by Muhammad Shāh Tughlaq. Fīroz Tughlaq claims in the Ḍatāḥāt-i-Fīroz Shāhī that he constructed the building, while the author of the Samarātul Quds writes that the saint himself built the mosque.\(^{24}\)

Whoever may have built the mosque, it is a fine specimen of the "severe" style of Pathan architecture, and is the earliest example of a mosque constructed wholly in accordance with Islamic ideas, and with materials specially quarried for this purpose. Like 'Alāi Darvāzā it is built of red sandstone, and is constructed on the same principles. In one respect it marks an advance on the Darvāzā as an intervening storey or triforium has been imposed between the walls of the hall and the base of the dome. In another respect it shows more traces of indigenous handling. In the arch the horse-shoe character is less prominent, while the ogee of the crown, a sign of indigenous influence, is more pronounced. Lace-like bands of Qurānic inscriptions are engraved here and there throughout the building. The inscriptions are excellently done, and are described by Mr. Beglar as "the most beautiful in Delhi."

Of the buildings of 'Ala'uddin outside the capital, mention may be made of his mosque at Muttra,\(^{25}\) and the tomb of Shaikh Farīd (built Cir. 1300) which was probably a converted Hindu or Jain temple. There is another masjid built about the same time at Broach. It is also a converted Jain temple. In 1300 Alp Khān Sanjārī, brother-in-law of 'Ala'uddin, built the Adinah Mosque at Patan. The size of the enclosure of this mosque is 400 feet by 330 feet and it contains 1050 pillars.\(^{26}\)


\(^{26}\) Percy Brown, p. 52.
‘Ali Muhammad Khān has described the beauty of this mosque in the Mīrāt-i-Sikandārī. It was built of white marble, and it was related “that it was once an idol temple converted to a mosque. But it is..........a wonderful and noble building.” The Adinah mosque no longer exists.

After conquest of Chittor in 1303, ‘Alāūddin constructed a bridge over River Gamberi. Its chief architectural features, the gateways and towers, have disappeared, but the massive arches of grey limestone still indicate the hand of the competent engineers who constructed it.27 Another example of the architecture of the period may be seen in the Ukha Mosque at Bayānā (now in the Bharatpur state). It was built by Quṭbuddin Mubārak Shāh, and appears to be a provincialised version of the Delhi style.

How could ‘Alāūddin build so extensively, and beautify what he built? The answer is not far to seek. Architectural enterprises require large sums of money, and the Southern expeditions of the Sultan, as well as his revenue regulations, brought him immense wealth. Moreover, ‘Alāūddin put an end to the Mughal menace which had threatened the very existence of the Sultanate. His best architectural works were accomplished after 1311, by which time the Mongols had been completely hurled back behind the North-West frontier and immense wealth had been brought from the Deccan. Some of the master craftsmen were foreigners who flocked to his capital from outside, and gave an exotic touch to his buildings, but, as their execution was largely in the hands of the indigenous supervisors and architects, they left an unmistakable impress of the land of their origin.

27 Ibid. p. 16.
APPENDIX D

GENELOGICAL TABLE OF THE KHALJI DYNASTY

Yoghresh Khan

Jalāluddīn Khalji (120-1296)

Malik Khamsosh

Asaduddīn

Shihābuddīn Masaʿūd Khalji

Ikhtiyāruddīn Khan (Khan-i-Kanān)

Arkālī Khan (1296)

Qadr Khan

'Alāʾuddīn Khalji (1296-1316)

Almās Beg (Ulugh Khan) Tīghīn

Muḥammad Ikat Khan

Kbir Khan

Mubarak Khan (1316-1320)

Shihābuddīn 'Usmān Khan

Farīd Khan
APPENDIX E

AUTHORITIES

The history of the Khalji sultans suffers from want of contemporary historians. It is said that Kabiruddin, son of Tajuddin Irāqi, was the court historian of 'Alauddin and wrote a history of the latter's reign in several volumes. His work, the Fatehnāmah, is not traceable now, and consequently a very useful account of 'Alauddin's reign has been lost. The works of Baranī and Amīr Khusrau, as well as those of other contemporary and later historians, however, lend sufficient information about the Khaljis. In the following pages a study of the historical value of the various works, mostly in Persian, available to us on the subject would be made. The bibliography gives a list of most of the works utilized in the preparation of this book.

Contemporary Sources.

Ziyāuddin Baranī:—Of the contemporary historical works of our period the greatest value is attached to Maulānā Ziyāuddin Baranī's Tarikh-i-Firoz Shāhī. It was completed in 1359, about forty years after the death of Mubarak Khalji. Born in 1285 Baranī was about five years when Jalāluddin ascended the throne and thirty-five when Mubarak Khalji died. Thus he was an eye witness to the events of the reigns of all the Khalji sultans, especially of 'Alauddin and Mubarak in whose time he had quite passed the age of adolescence. Baranī received his education at Delhi where great scholars and teachers flocked from all parts of Asia, and his Tarikh bears the imprint of his great scholarship. In a lengthy introduction to his book Ziyāuddin dilates upon the uses of history, its method of writing, its place in man's education. He considers the study of history in no way less important than the study of Ḥadīṣ,
Fiqh and hagiological literature.¹ Like Bacon he thought history made men wise and they learnt from the experience of the past. A historian, says he, should be truthful, honest and fearless. If for one reason or another he was unable to write the facts openly, he should try to convey his ideas through implications and suggestions.² On more than one occasion he asserts that whatever he wrote was all true,³ but that is exaggerated self-estimation. Ziyāuddīn died at a ripe age after experiencing both the “bitter and sweet” of life. Born and brought up in rich surroundings and patronised by sultan Muḥammad bin Tughlāq, Baranī’s last days were miserable; he died poverty-stricken and destitute.

Ziyāuddīn catches the thread of narrative dropped by Minḥāj Sirāj. The Tarikh-i-Fīroz Shāhī begins with the history of the reign of Balban and ends with the first six years of Fīroz Tughlaq’s reign. Comparatively studied, the reign of the Khaljis is more systematically treated than that of the Tughlaqs. In the narrative of the Khaljīs chronological sequence of the events is maintained fairly accurately although the chronology is far from satisfactory.

His father M‘uyīdulmulk’s and his uncle ‘Alā‘ulmulk’s official positions under the Khaljīs, as also his associations with Amīr Khusrau, ‘Alā‘ Ḥasan Sajzi and other state officials, had given Baranī ample opportunities to collect and ascertain historical facts. He very often refers to his sources of information, naming Khvāja Žaki, nephew of Ḥasan Baṣrī and a Vazir of Balban, Malik Qīra Beg, Amīr Khusrau and Amīr Ḥasan.⁴ He also studied the Divāns of Khusrau whom he quotes at various places.⁵ But surely he wrote his history

¹ Baranī p. 9.
² Baranī pp. 13-16.
³ Eg. p. 237.
⁴ Baranī pp. 67, 114, 299.
⁵ Ibid. pp. 118, 370.
from time to time and not all at once, and he did not fully utilize the contemporary works in the preparation of his *Tarikh*. Had he improved upon the drafts of his book after consulting Khusrau’s *Miftahul Futuh*, *Khazainul Futuh* and *Deval Ranī*, and Kabiruddin’s *Fatehnāmah*, he would surely have given more information about ‘Alāuddin’s wars in Chittor, Ranthambhor, Malwa and the Deccan. He does not refer to the Deval Ranī episode at all and his account of the Deccan campaigns of Malik Kāfūr is extremely poor. Moreover, once he starts writing about the Deccan, he neglects the north altogether. For example, he furnishes little information about events in northern India from 1308 to 1313 particularly about the wars in Jalor and Sevena. It must, however, be observed that Ziyā finished his work at the advanced age of seventy-four when he was in a miserable plight. His pecuniary embarrassments had made him bitter and disappointed. And so he was more prone to pour forth the agonies of his soul, than to sit and improve upon his notes after comparing them with the works of Amīr Khusrau and other contemporary writers. Hence the *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shāhī* at times betrays symptoms of a number of jottings carelessly pieced together.

Except in the preface, which is written in a highly florid language, the historian adheres to a simple, clear and lucid style. His narrative, far from exhibiting the highly ornamental style then in fashion, seems to be a painful translation from the spoken Hindustani into Persian. Ziyāuddin uses Hindi words like *badla*, *bhatti*, *chākar*, *charai*, *chautra*, *chouki*, *chappar*, *dholak*, *mandi*, *morha*, *mathāha* (earthen jugs), *pondā* (sugar cane), *palak* (eye lids) etc., frequently in the course of his narrative. At places his language is so broken as to make out little sense. Moreover, he is prone to making contradictory statements. Being a chronicler of contemporary events he saw the various aspects of a certain thing and mentions them all unsynthetically. At some some places
he extols 'Alāūdīn, at others dubs him a Pharaoh, and on a study of his Tarikh it is difficult to say whether 'Alāūdīn was a benefactor or a tyrant. Anyway, the historian possessed a facile pen and writes in a clear and unostentatious way.

Baranī has his own peculiar way of describing events and he takes pains to make them credible. This is shown in 'Alāūdīn’s conversation with Qāzī Mughīsuddīn of Bayana, and Qutbuddīn’s attachment to his favourite Vazir Khusrau Khan. On the occasion of Qāzī Mughīs’s talk with 'Alāūdīn there was no third person present, but the historian writes every word that passed between the Qāzī and the sultan. In such cases Baranī finds a welcome opportunity to put his own ideas in the mouth of others. At another place he so graphically describes the eventful night of Qutbuddīn’s murder; that it gives the impression that he was peeping through a crevice into the apartment where Qutbuddīn and his favourite Vazir Khusrau Khan were sleeping together.6 These vivid descriptions do grip popular imagination but cannot satisfy a craving for historical veracity.

Ziyāuddīn’s sarcasm is incisive. Occasionally his sardonic humour helps him to sum up his ideas in a few words. His remark that in 'Alāūdīn’s days "a camel could be had for a dang, but whereform a dang",7 shows at once how the reforms of 'Alāūdīn had made articles cheap and people poor. Again, the stern attitude of 'Alāūdīn towards the revenue officials, according to our historian, made them so unpopular that service in the revenue department was considered worse than "plague", that nobody "gave his daughter in marriage to a revenue clerk" and that "the office of superintendent was accepted by one who had no regard for life."8 The sad plight of the agriculturists had reached such dimensions that the

6 Baranī pp. 405-6.
7 Ibid. p. 312.
8 Ibid. p. 289.
peasants “sold their wives and children” to remit the land revenue⁹ while the wives of rich zamindārs (Khūţs and Muqaddams) worked in the houses of Musalmans and received wages. And the bazar people, to our historian, are the worst of all the “seventy-two” classes of people (that inhabit the globe).¹⁰

Like all human beings, Baranî has his likes and dislikes. He does not feel interested in the description of battles, tactics used in a particular engagement, and such other points of military strategy. Whenever he has to give such a description he invariably has recourse to brevity. He does, however, pause to praise an act, a character or a motive. When he praises somebody he extols him to heaven, when he condemns, he writes with his pen dipped in acid. Nonetheless his character sketches are excellently done. He is a philosopher-cum-historian and not an accurate historian always. His memory is prodigious.

Tarīkh-i-Fīroz Shahi has greatly suffered at the hands of its transcribers. Certain passages of the book are altogether incomprehensible. It is possible that at some places Baranî could not dare write true facts with impunity just as in the passage about the death of Ghayāsuddīn Tughlaq, but at other places where he could never be suspected of suppressing truth, as for example in the description of the salary of soldiers in the time of ‘Alā’uddīn,¹¹ or the increase of land revenue by Muhammad Tughlaq, the fault probably lay with later copyists.

But a few shortcomings cannot mar the extra-ordinary value of Barani’s Tarīkh. He does not only write about courts or campaigns as most of the medieval chroniclers do, but also gives social and economic reforms of rulers, their

⁹ Baranî p. 340.
¹⁰ Ibid. p. 343.
¹¹ Ibid. p. 303.
administrative measures and their system of meeting out justice. He gives a long list of contemporary saints, philosophers, historians, poets, medical men and astronomers. His references to clothes, fruits and sweets and other sundry articles of those days throw a flood of light on the socio-economic conditions of the 14th century. Barani’s descriptions of the Market Control of ‘Alāuddin and the sultan’s revenue regulations, clearly show that he is not a mere chronicler but a historian in the true sense of the word. Barani knew the shortcomings of his contemporaries and says that Kabiruddin and other historians confine their narrative to kings, courts and conquests. He begins his book with a long discourse on historiography and the uses of historical study. He talks at length about the duties of a king. As a historian he tries to analyse critically the causes which brought about the end of Jalaluddin, of ‘Ala’uddin and of the Khalji regime as a whole. Ziyauddin was cognizant of his contribution to historical literature and declares, without diffidence, that for the past thousand years a book like the Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi had not been produced.

Barani’s work is undoubtedly very valuable. Later historians have greatly depended upon him for information as well as inspiration. Nizamuddin Ahmad, Badaoni, Ferishtah, Hajjuddabir—almost all important historians of the 16th and 17th centuries have depended upon Barani for their account of the history of the period covered by him. Nizamuddin especially quotes him very often; at some places he almost copies out Barani and at others tries to solve the knotty problems left by him. Thus he tries to explain the origin of the Khaljis about which Barani says nothing except that they were not “Turks.” Ferishtah also tries to analyse the passage in

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12 Barani pp. 10-12.
13 Ibid. pp. 41-44.
which Baranī describes the salaries of soldiers fixed by 'Alāūddin. Ḥājīuddabīr throws fresh light on some vexed questions not properly explained by Baranī, such as the age of 'Alāūddin and the causes underlying the constant quarrels between 'Alāūddin and Jalāluddin’s family. Abdul Haqq Dehlvi, the author of Akhbarul Akhyār, almost entirely depends upon Baranī for the biographical sketches of Niẓāmud-dīn Aulia and other saints of the period.

Besides the Tarikh, Ziyāuddin is accredited with the authorship of many other works like Salvāt-i-Kabīr, Sanā-i-Muḥammadī, Hasratnāmah, Inayatnāmah, Ma‘āsir-i-Sādāt and a history of the Barmaakides. Another work of his known as the Fatvā-i-Jahāndarī seems to be nothing more than a supplement to the Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahī and contains a sort of moral code the clerical historian would like a Muslim monarch to follow. The most important book of Baranī, however, remains his Tarikh which is an everlasting epitome of his erudition and scholarship.

Amīr Khusrāu.

Abul Ḥasan, popularly known by his pseudonym of Amīr Khusrāu, is another contemporary authority of our period. Born in 651 H. (1252 A.D.) he witnessed the reigns of Balban, Jalāluddin, 'Alāūddin, and Muḥammad bin Tughlaq. Most of his works were written in the time of 'Alāūddin and the latter’s son Mubarak Khaljī. His great merit as a poet and philosopher cannot here be studied in detail for lack of space. Qirānus Sīdānīn, Miftāḥul Futūh, Ashiqā, Nūh Sīpehr and Tughlaqnāmah are his historical masnavīs. Qirānus Sīdānīn deals with the memorable meeting between Bughra Khan and his son Kaiqubad. In the course of this work Khusrāu malignantly portrays the features of the Mongols in whose galling captivity he once fell. Miftāḥul Futūh which comprises a part of the Divān Ghurattul Kamal (C. 690 H.) enumerates the victories of Jalāluddin Khaljī. Some portions of this book
have been translated by Elliot in volume III of his history. Ashiga or Ishqia was completed by the poet in 715 H. and it deals with the love adventures and marriage of Khizr Khan and Deval Rani. Khusrau begins the mašnawi with a short history of the military exploits of 'Alaüddin and his predecessors and gives a glimpse into the uncertain times which preceded and followed 'Alaüddin’s death. The poem ends with the description of Khizr Khan’s numerous hardships and his sad death. Nuh Sipehr or the “Nine Spheres” was completed in Jamadiul Awal 718 H. when the poet reached a ripe age of sixty seven. The mašnawi deals with the victories of Mubarak Shah, but in the third sphere the author gives detailed references about Indian climate, fruits, languages, philosophy, witchcraft etc. Consequently he gives a very interesting as well as authentic sketch of the social conditions of those times. The last mašnawi—the Tughlaqnama—was written about the last years of Khusrau. It deals with Ghayasuddin Tughlaq’s victory over Khusrau Shah, and a few other events about the early years of Tughlaq’s reign. It also describes at length the sad plight of the various sons and descendants of ‘Alaüddin who were mercilessly massacred by Khusrau Shah.

Khazainul Futuh, or the “Treasure of Victories”, comprises a detailed account of the victories of sultan ‘Alaüddin in the Deccan. It is a prose work and is written in an inflated and verbose style. Since Khusrau wrote it for the reigning emperor, it forms almost an official account of the exploits of Malik Kafur in the south. It describes events from ‘Alaüddin’s accession in 695 upto the date of its composition (711 H). The historical importance of this work can hardly be exaggerated as technically it is the only contemporary history of ‘Alaüddin’s reign, for even Barani wrote long after the death of the king. Besides the Deccan campaigns which are dealt exhaustively, Khusrau also describes in this work the buildings constructed by ‘Alaüddin, his conquests
of Gujarat, Chittor, Malwa and Sevana as well as his administrative measures. From its numerous topographical details, it appears that the author was an eye-witness to at least some of the scenes described in the course of the Deccan campaigns. According to Badaoni he had accompanied Kafur to the South. The Allahabad University Library has a manuscript copy of the Khazainul Futuwh. The work has been translated by Professor Habib who supplements it with learned notes.

Mention may also be made of Khusrau’s A’ijaz-i-Khusrawi, Afzalul Fawaid and Ruhatul Muhabbin, all being works of his later years. A’ijaz-i-Khusrawi is a voluminous work on epistography and deals with various subjects of common interest; and the last two books are collections of the author’s conversations with his pir Shaikh Ni‘amuddin Aulia. All these books throw a flood of light on the social history of the period. The other masnavis of Khusrau like the Mutlai Anvar also supply information on social and cultural conditions of those days.

Khusrau’s works are of great historical authenticity. He was a government officer and courtier and, therefore, had access to government records and such persons from whom he could gather correct information about affairs of the state. ‘Ala Hasan Sajzi and Ziyauddin Barani were his intimate acquaintances and his association with them formed another authentic source of ascertaining facts of his own days. The one great merit in Khusrau’s works is the abundance of dates which are on the whole reliable; and in matters of chronological details he is more to be trusted than Barani. Khusrau’s tastes as well as his activities covered various channels, and, therefore, he was not as good a historian as Barani was, but generally he wrote truthfully and honestly. In Miftahul Futuwh he writes that some times he was tempted to add falsehoods, but he always adhered to truth for “truth is an admir-
able thing". Indeed Khusrau's works shorn of their grandiloquence, verbosity and poetical exaggerations give a true picture of political and social history of the times in which he lived.

Sources almost Contemporary.

'Iṣāmī':—Of the sources nearly contemporary, the most valuable work is the Futūḥus Salātīn. It was the outcome of the broken heart of an unknown poet Khvājah 'Abdulla Malik 'Iṣāmī. 'Iṣāmī was born in about 1311 A.D.; his ancestor Fakhr Malik 'Iṣāmī had come to India from Baghdad in the time of Iltutmish. Since then his family had served under the various sultans of Delhi, so that 'Iṣāmī's grandfather A'izzuddin was the Chief Huntsman (Sār-i-Lashkar) of Balban. In 1327 when the author was sixteen years of age he was compelled to go to Daulatabad where the capital of the empire had been shifted by Muhammad bin Tughlaq. He lived there till he was forty but he could never reconcile himself to the change. He determined to leave Hindustan for Mecca, but "the last infirmity of the noble mind" impelled him to leave something permanent behind. He was unmarried and childless, and thought that the best thing he could leave was a poetical composition of historical interest. Consequently he wrote the Futūḥus Salātīn, or the Victories of the Kings (of India). It was begun on the 10th December 1349 and finished on the 14th May 1350 after an incessant labour of a little less than six months.

This book written seven or eight years before Barani's Tarikh-i-Firoz Shāhī comprises an account of the events from the times of Mahmud of Ghazna to those of Muhammad bin Tughlaq. Although the author wrote in a hurry, his work suffers neither from historical inaccuracies nor in poetical merit. His style is simple and lucid, and the epic is written

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in a short and swift verse. 'Īsāmī neither indulges in the rhetoric of Khusrau nor in the abstruseness of Badr Chach. According to the editor of the work 'Īsāmī may be called the best epic writer of the age.\(^\text{16}\) The poet does not cite his authorities, but his narrative clearly shows that he surely used works of historical authenticity and wrote with admirable discretion. So far as the reign of Alāūddin is concerned he seems to have consulted people who had been eye witnesses to his reign. At more than one place he says that he listened to the accounts of various old and experienced persons whose names he does not mention.\(^\text{17}\) Besides this he also consulted many authoritative documents. His account of Alāūddin's Deccan expedition of 1296, gives the most detailed information about that event. Since his book was written at Devagiri itself where eye witnesses to the raid must be living at that time, 'Īsāmī was in a better position to know about the details of that particular event than even Barani and Khusrau. In the descriptions of the loves of Deval Rani and Khizr Khan 'Īsāmī seems to have depended entirely on the 'Ashiqā of Amir Khusrau. 'Īsāmī's account of their love-adventures is only an abridgement of Khusrau's description. Futūh us Salātīn is tolerably correct in chronology, and the poet has very carefully preserved the sequence of events. 'Īsāmī supports and supplements Barani at many places. With regard to Mughal invasions especially, he gives many new facts and his account of those invasions is perhaps the most detailed. As the title denotes, the subject matter of 'Īsāmī's work does not deal with any other aspect of government except wars and

\(^{16}\) Futūh, English preface p. 4.

\(^{17}\) E.g. he says, p. 340,
victories. The administrative and economic reforms of 'Alā-ūddīn, given in so prominent details by Barānī, have not been touched upon by 'Isāmī, who at places makes only a casual reference to them. But his vivid description of battles and sieges makes his book a source of great historical value. 'Isāmī describes at length 'Alāūddīn's siege of Ranthambhor and throws fresh light on the emperor's various engagements with the Mughals.

'Isāmī, however, could not rise above the prejudices of his age. His book is at places full of exaggerations and is marred by personal malice. Since he had to suffer great hardships on account of Muḥammad bin Tughlaq's transfer of the capital, he denounces that king mercilessly. He compares Muḥammad bin Tughlaq with 'Alāūddīn and while extolling and crediting 'Alāūddīn with great qualities he severely disparages Muḥammad.

Although they were contemporaries, yet, perhaps 'Isāmī never met Barānī, and both were ignorant of each other. Barānī does not mention 'Isāmī anywhere in his narrative, but that is not surprising since Barānī seldom cites anybody's authority. Nizāmuddīn Ahmad and Ferishtah make mention of Futūḥus Salātīn; and as has been shown above, the book possesses great historical value, and cannot be dubbed as an unimportant book of historical romances as Briggs is prone to do.18

The itinerary of Ibn Baṭṭūṭah (1304—1378) also is of great historical importance for the history of our period. Abu 'Abdullāh surnamed Muḥammad Ibn Baṭṭūṭah was a native of Tangiers, Egypt. Since early childhood he had a passion for voyage and from 1325 to 1349, for full twenty-five years, he travelled in north Africa, Arabia, Persia and India and is said to have gone as far east as China itself. Ibn Baṭṭūṭah arrived in India in 1333 A.D. and for his learning and foreign lineage he was appointed Qaẓī of Delhi by the reigning

monarch Muhammad bin Tughlaq. Ibn Battūtah was known as Maulana Badruddin in India and received every consideration at the hands of the sultan, but after remaining in his office for about eight years he was removed from it as he had incurred the displeasure of the sovereign. He was imprisoned, but later on released and sent as an ambassador to China. On his way to that country he was shipwrecked, and fearing the wrath of the sultan, stayed in the Maldives Islands. After a year he came back to southern India, and not long after he went to Chittagong from where he took boat for China. It is not known for certain if he ever reached there. The indefatigable traveller performed Hajj at Mecca and then returned to Morocco where he settled down permanently.

This widely travelled man possessed an observing eye and a keen intellect. His interest in men and things was so great that he jotted down everything that interested him during his travels. Unfortunatelally his original notes were lost on one of his journeys and the account of his travels which is available to us is only an abridgement of the dictation of his experiences to Ibn Juzzi who edited them in form of a book. The work is known as Tuhfatul Nazzār fi Gharbaḥbul Amṣār va 'Ajāībul Aṣfār.

Ibn Battūtah arrived in India seventeen years after 'Alāūddin's death, when many people of the latter's reign would surely be living. His account of 'Alāūddin, therefore, was probably based on information derived from eye witnesses of the period. Battūtah gives a short history of the sultans of Delhi prior to Muhammad bin Tughlaq; and his narrative when compared to those of contemporary writers leaves no doubt that he was truthful. His account is a valuable store-house of information on political and social institutions of those days. He gives a faithful account of sultan Muhammad's court and of the manners, customs, habits and institutions of the people at large. Battūtah is an independent writer and is more reliable than the historians who cared for the favour or
frown of the emperors. The traveller corroborates Baranî at some places and at others he supplements him. But his narrative has its shortcomings also. He was a foreigner. He did not know Persian well and he was altogether ignorant of Hindi. Not unoften he lent a credulous ear to rumour and gossip and frequently mixes up fiction with fact. He cares little about the chronological sequence of events and so also about topographical accuracy. In spite of these defects Ibn Baţţūṭah’s Risala forms an invaluable source of Indian history of the 14th century.

I have used the French Edition of Ibn Baţţūṭah’s voyages by C. Defrémy and B. R. Sanguinetti. The portions dealing with India have also been translated by Khan Saheb Maulvi Muḥammad Husain, who supplements his translation with valuable footnotes.

Equal in importance to Ibn Baţţūṭah is the Venetian traveller Marco Polo, who visited south India about the end of the thirteenth century. It is really unfortunate that Marco did not visit north India, and his account deals only with the Deccan. He speaks very highly of queen Rudramba of Warangal and gives interesting details about the kings of M‘abar. His account of horse trade in south India tallies with that of Vassāf even to details. Marco Polo visited almost all the then existing ports of India and talks about the brisk maritime activity in the south. He describes in detail the manners and habits of the people of the Deccan and forms a very valuable source of social history. Col. Yule has edited the “Travels of Marco Polo” supplementing them with learned footnotes.

Masālikul Abşār fi Mumālikul Amsār is another work like the two cited above. Its only shortcoming is that its author Shihābuddin Aḥmad also known as Al Marashi (1267—1348), a native of Damascus, did not himself visit India. His account of this country is based only on what he heard from trustworthy persons like Shaikh Mubarak and
Khojandi. But on the whole his information is quite trustworthy and is corroborated by other contemporary writers. The *Masālik* throws much light on the social and economic life of the country as well as on the machinery of government of Hindustan. It has been published in the Aligarh University Magazine. Translations of relevant portions of the book have also been given in Elliot Vol. III. There is also a rotograph copy of a Ms. of the work in the Allahabad University Library.

On the basis of the *Masālik* an Arab geographer Alqal Qāshindī has written an account of the social conditions of India in his work *Subḥ-ul-ʿAṣḥa*. Dr. Otto Spies has translated into English the portions of the book dealing with India. Alqal Qāshindī has nothing new to say and copiously copies from the *Masālik*, at times verbatim.

Besides these works which are very valuable for giving information on social and economic life of the country, there are books on political history written a few years before and after the Khalji period. Minhaj Siraj’s *Tabqāt-i-Nasirī* deals with the period between the Muslim conquest of India and the reign of Balban. The most important portions of this book for our period are those dealing with the Mughals. Major Raverty, who has translated the work, has given very copious and learned footnotes. The book forms an authentic and indispensable history for pre-Khalji period.

Shams Siraj ‘Afif’s *Tarikh-i-Firōz Shalhī* is a continuation of Barani’s *Tarikh* and is carried down to 1388 A.D. It occasionally refers to ‘Alāūddīn’s reign which was of great significance in the 14th century. ‘Afif was born in 1350 A.D. and served under Firoz Tughlaq.

*Non-Indian Contemporary Sources.*

Among the non-Indian contemporary sources the most important is the *Tarikh-i-Vassāf*. It was finished in 1312 A.D. by ‘Abdullah bin Fazlullah Vaṣṣāf, who subsequently
resumed writing and brought down the work to 1328. Vaṣṣāf’s *Tarikh* is written in Persian transpersed with Arabic at places, and his style is extremely ornamented and verbose. It is a history of the Monguls of Persia, but the author refers to happenings in India as he heard from travellers and other informed men. He refers to the climate of Gujarat and the political and commercial conditions of the Deccan. He makes mention about the Mongol raids on India in the time of ‘Alā-ūddin and gives a graphic account of the closing years of that monarch. No other historian except Vaṣṣāf says anything about the Persian embassy to ‘Alāūddin’s court. The Bombay edition of the text has been used.

*Juma’-ut-Tavārikh* of Rashīduddin is another non-Indian contemporary work. The book which was completed in 1310 A.D. gives a reliable account of the Mongols of the 13th century. Rashīd also lends information about Indian geography. I have consulted Gibb Memorial and the Tehran texts.

The *Tarikh-i-Guzīdah* completed in 1329 A.D. by Ḥamdul-lah Mustaufi is a valuable work and deals with the Mongols of Persia and Transoxiana. Mustaufi’s *Nuzhatul Qulūb* written in 1339 deals with the history of Persia. *Tarikh-i-Guzīdah* has been published in the Gibb Memorial Text Series.

*Contemporary Literature.*

Besides the contemporary historical works, Indian and foreign, there is a lot of contemporary literature to throw light on the social and cultural aspect of the period. Some of the works of Khusrau and Barani and of those who are mentioned to be great erudites in ‘Alāūddin’s reign have been lost, but whatever is left, lends useful information on this point. Reference has been made above to Khusrau’s *Aijāz-i-Khusarvi* also known as *Rasāil-ul-A‘ijaz* and his *masnavis* as sources of social history. But equally important are the contemporary hagiological books like the *Rāḥatul Qulūb* by Niẓāmuddin Aulia, *Farāidul Favād* by ‘Alā Hasan Sajzī, *Afzalul Favād*
and Rāḥtul Muḥabbīn by Khusrau, Sairul Aulia by Āmir Khurd, Miṭṭahul Ḩashīn and Ḩairul Majālis by Nasiruddin Chirāgh Delhi. These books comprise mostly of the talks between the sūfī saints of our time and their disciples who were derived from all strata of society. Consequently much useful information about food and drink, customs and manners, and society and culture of those days can be culled from them. Since the books are of a religious nature, most of them have been translated into Urdu. The translations are done fairly well.

Kritya Ratnakar and Vivād Ratnakar two contemporary Sanskrit works of Chandreśvar Thakur refer to the raid on Nepal territory by a Hindu Raja of Mithila in the time of ‘Alāūddīn.

Secondary Sources.

In the course of writing this book a large number of non-contemporary Persian and Arabic texts and manuscripts have been consulted and a few of these need special attention. The Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahī of Yahya bin Aḥmad, written about the middle of the 15th century (837 H.), supplements Barani at many places though it is in itself a very brief narrative. Its value lies in the fact that it gives dates of events frequently and is written in a simple style. I have used the Bib. Ind. Text and a Ms. copy possessed by the Allahabad University Library.

Tarikh-i-Muḥammadi was completed in 842 H. by Muḥammad Bihāmad Khan who was a contemporary of Yahya. The author’s father was in the service of Tughlaq Shah and Muḥammad Tughlaq, the son of Fīroz Tughlaq. The Allahabad University Ms. is a copy of the Ms. of the British Museum.

Tabqat-i-Akbarī of Nizāmuddīn Aḥmad written in 1593 A.D. in the time of Akbar also contains an exhaustive account of the Khaljīs. Nizāmuddīn Aḥmad has borrowed
much from Baranî and tries to explain the origin of the Khaljîs. He mentions twenty seven works which he utilized in the preparation of his book. I have utilized Bid. Ind. Text.

Amin Aḥmad Rażī, the author of Haft Aqţîm, was a contemporary of Nizâmuddîn. He is an independent writer and gives valuable information about certain points e.g. about the origin of the Bahmani dynasty. Haft Aqţîm is a sort of encyclopaedia and deals with political history, geography and lives of saints. The Ms. copy of the Bankipur Library has been utilized.

Abdul Qâdir Badaonî’s Muntakhabut Tavârikh was finished in 1596. He relies more on Yaḥya than on Baranî or Nizâmuddîn, and follows him in method of writing also. The Bib. Ind. Text and Ranking’s Translation have been utilized.

More important than Badaonî is Muḥammad Qâsim Ferishtâh, whose work Gulshan-i-Ibrahîmî, popularly known as Tarîkh-i-Ferishtah was completed in 1612. It contains a detailed account of the Khaljîs and of the lives of saints contemporaneous to them. As the book was written in the Deccan Ferishtâh possessed sources from which he gives a more detailed account of the Deccan campaigns of ‘Alâûddîn than Baranî or even ‘Iṣâmî. Ferishtâh gives a detailed list of the wealth captured by ‘Alâûddîn in his various Deccan campaigns and especially in the raid of Devagirî in 1296, but his data are open to doubts since they are not corroborated by any other historian. He cites no less than thirty-five works he utilized in the preparation of his book, but even then his chronology is not free from faults. Moreover, he does not make definite statements on controversial points. The Lucknow text has been utilized.

As Ferishtâh was writing in the Deccan, his contemporary Ḥâjîuddâbîr was busy with his history in Gujarat. The real title of the book is Zafarul Vâlî bi Muzaffar Valiâh and the full name of its author ‘Abbâdh Mûhammad bin Siţ-ind.
din 'Umar al Makki surnamed Ḥājiuddabīr. He began writing in 1605 and was still engaged in 1611 on his work. Ḥāji makes use of a valuable work which so far has not been found to exist. It is the Tabqāt-i-Bahādur Shahi by Husām Khan from which he quotes extensively. Ḥājiuddabīr lends information on many abstruse points and on the whole his statements are quite trustworthy. He is the only historian who gives 'Alāūddīn’s age and relates interesting incidents about his family life, perhaps because he utilized sources now lost. He gives various versions of Padmini episode, and at many places in his narrative he gives original information. The work has been edited by Sir Denison Ross with a learned introduction and a very exhaustive and informative index.

Provincial Histories.

Tarīkh-i-Māṣūmī, written in 1008 H. (1599 A.D.), is a history of Sindīr from the time of Muḥammedan conquest to its annexation by Akbar. Mīr Māṣūm’s work throws sufficient light on 'Alāūddīn’s conquest of Jaisalmer, which has not even been mentioned by any other Persian historian and has only been given by Rajput bards in a very defective manner. The text has been published.

Tarīkh-i-Ṭahīrī of Tahir Muḥammad is also a history of Sindh completed in 1018 A.H. (1609 A.D.). Tarīkh-i-Ṭahīrī and Tuhfatul Kirām of Mīr 'Ali Qānl of Tattha (C. 1766), another history of Sindh, have been copiously translated by Elliot. I have used the Bankipore Ms. of Tarīkh-i-Ṭahīrī.

Beg Larnāmah, another history of Sindh was completed in 1017 H. (1608 A.D.). It deals with rulers of Sindh in the time of Akbar but also gives a retrospective sketch of the history of the province. The Allahabad ‘Varsity Ms. is a transcript copy of the Ms. in the British Museum Library.

Of the histories of Gujarat Mirāt-i-Sikandari and Mirāt-i-Ahmadi are the most important. The former, written by Sikandar bin Muḥammad, was finished in 1020 H. (1611 A.D.);
the latter, written by 'Ali Muḥammad Khan, was finished in 1174 H. (1760 A.D.). Though written at a later date Mirāt-i-Āḥmad supplies more information about 'Alāūddīn than the former. Ḥājiuddabīr also supplies useful information about the history of Gujarat.

Riāzus Salātīn, the only connected history of Bengal, was completed by Ghulām Ḥusain Yazdpuri in 1202 H. (1788 A.D.). It deals with the history of Bengal from the earliest times to the date of writing. The book is full of "inaccuracies and mis-statements" and therefore is not very reliable, but a comparative study of the book with coins and inscriptions helps in ascertaining true facts about the history of Bengal.

Besides some of the important works mentioned above, many other Persian and Arabic texts and Mss. have been utilized in the preparation of this work. A large number of books in Hindi, Urdu and English have been consulted and a list of their names given in the Bibliography. Mention may here be made of Naiṉī's Khayat which is of special value for the study of Rajput history. Compiled in 1650-66 A.D., it is not a historical work in the real sense of the term, but it throws much light on Rajput history of many centuries and presents us with a "Hindu" version of various events. It is written in Marwari interspersed with Dingal at places and covers the period from the 12th to the 17th century.

For archaeological evidence the Reports and Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, the Epigraphica Indo-Moslemica, and the Epigraphica Carnatica have been consulted. A list of the journals and periodicals utilized has been given at the end of the Bibliography.
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