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POLITICAL HISTORY & INSTITUTIONS
OF THE
EARLY TURKISH EMPIRE OF DELHI
[1206-1290 A.D.]

This book is substantially the thesis approved for the degree of doctor of philosophy in History and Political Science by the Muslim University, 'Aligarh.

EARLY TURKISH EMPIRE OF DELHI:



Inscription of *Khizr-i-Jahān* Muḥammad-u'd-dīn, *Dastār of Šāhib-i-Qirān*,
Nigam-ul-Mulk in the reign of Bād-šāh-i-Islām Shams-u'd-dīn Iltutmish
 (vide p. 189 ; p. 199 footnote 4 ; pp. 205 and 212).

(The inscription is now preserved in the Lytton Library, Muslim University,
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Frontispiece

POLITICAL HISTORY & INSTITUTIONS
OF THE
Early Turkish Empire of Delhi
[1206-1290 A.D.]

by

MUHAMMAD 'AZİZ AHMAD

M.A., LL.B. (Luck.), Ph.D. (Alig.)

Senior Lecturer in History and Political Science

Muslim University, 'Aligarh (on leave)

*Formerly, Research Officer, Constituent Assembly of Pakistan,
and Asstt. Director of Public Relations, Ministry of Interior,
Information and Broadcasting, Government of Pakistan ;
Department of Political Science, Punjab University, Lahore*

WITH

A FOREWORD BY

Professor MUHAMMAD HABĪB

B.A., Hons. (Oxon.), Bar-at-Law

Chairman, Department of History and Political Science

Muslim University, 'Aligarh

A FRONTISPIECE AND 3 MAPS

MUHAMMAD ASHRAF

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To

The loving memory of
Sir Shāh Muḥammad Sulaimān
and

Dr. Sir Diyā-u'd-dīn Aḥmad
Vice-Chancellors of the Muslim University, 'Alīgarh

FOREWORD

Syed 'Aziz Aḥmad came to us as a research scholar from the Lucknow University, desirous of working on the Muslim Political Institutions. He prosecuted his research work with remarkable assiduity on the Political History and Institutions of the Early Turkish Empire of Delhi (1206-1290 A.D.) and was awarded a Ph.D. degree—the first in History and Political Science in our Department—by the Academic Council of our University on the recommendation of the external examiners—Sir E. Denison Ross, Director of Oriental Studies, London University, and Dr. Tara Chand, M.A., D.Phil. (Oxon.) of the Allahabad University.

There is nothing in the history of India within historic times more important than the coming of the Mussalmans. In almost every aspect of Indian life—philosophy, administration, architecture, languages—their influence has been felt. The literature on the subject is not so extensive as we could wish and manuscripts have still to be discovered. Nevertheless, the existing literature on the subject enables us to see the whole problem of the thirteenth century in a definite form.

The bulk of Dr. 'Aziz's thesis gives a detailed account of the political history and institutions of the period under review. The account is based on the best available sources. The Introduction is devoted to a critical study of the Hindu and Muslim socio-political systems of the time and the facts collected by him are well-authenticated.

I am inclined to give a few extracts from the reports of his examiners, which speak for themselves. Sir E. Denison Ross stated, "Before proceeding to any general criticism I

would like to say that this thesis represents a great deal of most careful research, and a utilization of most of the best authorities available, including many untranslated Persian Texts. The candidate has produced a well-put-together narrative of the events in Upper India during the thirteenth century, which witnessed the reigns of several very remarkable men of Turkish extraction. He has obviously read very widely ; and has formed sound judgments with regard to their policies and their personal character. The work as a whole bears evidence of great thoroughness and scholarly instincts."

Dr. Tara Chand said, " The thesis gives a detailed account of the political history—careers, conquests and achievements of the Sultāns of Delhi. The account of the Turkish Empire opens with a chapter describing the political conditions obtaining in 'Ajam. The third part discusses the origin and theory of kingship ; the basis of the state ; the position and functions of the Sultān or Emperor ; the composition and gradation of the nobility, the constitution of the imperial councils and the list of principal office-bearers and their functions, the organization and ceremonial of the imperial court and the organization of the four Dīwāns and the departments of the state. The thesis shows that the author has carefully studied the literature on the subject and has made good use of the original authorities. Besides the printed texts of Persian chronicles—both contemporary and later, use has been made of a number of manuscripts in Persian. The authorities used have been handled judiciously and critically. The author has produced a work on the early history of the Delhi Sultanate which is fuller and more detailed than any previous work in English. His discussion of the problems of central administration is clear, and, so far as such a difficult subject could be made clear, quite lucid."

Dr. 'Azīz has done a great service to Indian history and

politics by his volume on the "Early Turkish Empire of Delhi." It co-ordinates, as is essential for this period, the march of events in India, Central Asia and Persia. It subjects the originals to a thorough analysis in order to bring out all the implications. It views the whole problem in a scientific light. It breaks a new ground and takes the reader back to the past instead of regaling him with latter-day prejudices. All students of Indian history and politics will find Dr. 'Aziz's work a most welcome addition to the literature of the middle ages.

MUHAMMAD HABIB,

B.A., (HONS.), (OXON.)

Professor of History and Politics,

Muslim University, 'Aligarh.

April 5, 1949.

PREFACE

Political institutions of an age are not intelligible without a thorough study of the political history of the period. The ensuing pages are devoted to an elucidation of facts—social, religious, political and architectural—based on a study of authorities, both contemporary and later. The last two chapters deal with the political organization of the Empire of Delhi (1206-1290 A.D.), opening with a discussion of the nature of Islamic Political Theory and leading to a criticism of the political institutions in vogue in the thirteenth century.

Modern historians have not done full justice to the glorious past of Islām : some have not viewed our institutions in the light of Islām ; others have occasionally tried to identify all the existing institutions with the teachings of Islām. A more scientific attitude should be to separate the great ideals of Islām from the individual acts of the individual rulers, so as to judge the actions and behaviour of the latter according to the specific ethical ideals of Islām. This is how we can retain the nobility and purity of Islām. This is the Ḥabībīan school of thought—the 'Alīgarh school of history and politics to which I have the honour to belong.

Today I deplore the loss of many—my mother, who gave me the first lessons in Islām ; Kanīz Khātūn, my sister, who loved me tenderly ; the two Vice-Chancellors, Sir Shāh Muḥammad Sulaimān and Dr. Sir Ḍiyā-u'd-dīn Aḥmad, who encouraged my research and studies ; Professor F. Gīlānī, who taught me Persian, Dr. 'Abdu'l 'Azīz Purī, my invaluable colleague, and Sir Muḥammad Yā'qūb, my benefactor.

I am indebted to many of my esteemed colleagues for the varying degrees of kindness and sympathy—Mr. 'Aẓmat Elāhī Zubairī, Registrar ; Mr. Ḥamīd-u'd-dīn Khān, Reader in Persian ; Mr. Bashīr-u'd-dīn, Librarian ; Mr. Zubair Aḥmad, Acting Librarian ; Syed Akhtar Ḥusain of the Botany Department ; Mr. S. M. Shafi', Provost S. S. Hall ; Mr. 'Abdu'l Majīd Quraishy, Provost ; Dr. Nafīs Aḥmad Quraishy of the University Hospital ; Dr. Ishtiāq Ḥusain Quraishy of the Delhi University ; Mr. S. Zafar Ḥusain, ex-Director of Archæology, Government of India, and Mr. Nazīr Bakhsh of the Vice-Chancellor's office.

I am grateful to my colleagues of the Department of History and Political Science, who always treated this youngest colleague of theirs with consideration. My special thanks are due to Dr. S. 'Abdu'l Ḥalīm, through whose efforts it was possible to persuade Mr. Amīr-u'd-dīn, of the Āftāb Hall Office to deposit the inscription of the Khawājah Jahān in the Lytton Library of the Muslim University.

My thanks are due to Shaiikh Muḥammad Ashraf for kindly undertaking the publication of this voluminous book, and for printing it so excellently.

I cannot express in words the gratitude that I owe to my noble professor and guide, Muḥammad Ḥabīb, who, in consonance with the true Islamic tradition, regards me as a son and takes a personal interest in my life and welfare.

MUḤAMMAD 'AZĪZ AḤMAD

Dec. 15, 1949.

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The following system of transliteration has been followed :

ا = a	س = s
ب = b	ض = d
پ = p	ط = t
ت = t	ظ = z
ث = <u>th</u>	ع = ' (ay)
ج = j	غ = <u>gh</u>
چ = ch	ف = f
ح = h	ق = q
خ = <u>kh</u>	ك = k
د = d	گ = g
ذ = <u>dh</u>	ل = l
ر = r	م = m
ز = z	ن = n
ژ = <u>zh</u>	و = w
س = s	ه = h
ش = <u>sh</u>	' = ' (ay)
	ی = y

Vowel signs : short vowels = a, i, u.

long vowels = ā, ī, ū.

INTRODUCTION

I

THE EARLY TURKISH EMPIRE OF DELHI lasted from 1206 to 1290 A.D. It is popularly, but inaccurately, called the 'Slave Dynasty'; and is sometimes also known as the 'Pathān' or 'Afghān Dynasty': all these terms are misnomers. Contemporary, as well as the later authorities, do not contain a word with regard to such appellations, for which European writers are alone responsible. The rulers of the Early Turkish Empire of Delhi were styled by contemporary historians as Mu'izzī, Quṭbī, Shamsī and Balbanī kings, after the names of the prominent sovereigns, who placed themselves first on the throne from Sulṭān Shihāb-u'd-dīn of Ghūr to Sulṭān Mu'izz-u'd-dīn Kaiqubād.¹ There is no doubt that they had been, at the outset of their careers, slaves, or slaves of such slaves or sons and daughters of slaves. Nevertheless, 'Slave' and 'King' are contradictory terms; a slave is no longer slave when he is manumitted by his master, and no slave could ascend a throne unless he had obtained a letter of manumission (*khaṭṭ-i-āzādī*) from his master. Sulṭān Quṭb-u'd-dīn Aibak was sent a letter of manumission and a canopy of state by Sulṭān Maḥmūd, the nephew and successor of his master, Sulṭān Shihāb-u'd-dīn of Ghūr.² Quṭb-u'd-dīn's slave and successor, Sulṭān Shams-u'd-dīn Īltutmish got his freedom from his master before the latter's death.³ The

¹ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāsiri*, pp. 135, 157 & 164. In the reverse legend of the *tankah*, Shams-u'd-dīn is entitled as *القطبي* (al-Quṭbī), which refers to his original position as a freed slave of Quṭb-u'd-dīn. (H. N. Wright: *Sultans of Delhi—Their Coins and Metrology*, p. 71.)

² *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāsiri*, p. 140.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 170.

successors of İltutmish were not slaves, but the Sultān's own sons and daughter. The next ruler, Balban, belonged to the 'forty Turkish slaves of İltutmish' better known as '*Chahelgānī*' or 'Forty', and was liberated along with them.¹ Sultān Mu'izz-u'd-dīn Kaiqubād, the last of the Dynasty, was Balban's grandson. It is clear, therefore, that none of these rulers was a slave when they ascended the throne.

Secondly, they were Turks and not Afghāns or 'Pathāns'. Quṭb-u'd-dīn was brought from Turkistān and sold to Qāḍī Fakhr-u'd-dīn 'Abd-u'l-'Azīz Kūfi.² "Even if the Turks have no status, nobility, or position of their own," says the author of the *Nisbat-Nāmah*, "it is a source of pride, for the king of Islam (i.e., Quṭb-u'd-dīn) is a Turk."³ Both İltutmish and Balban belonged to the renowned Ilbarī tribe of Turkistān.⁴

Thirdly, all the Sultans did not belong to one family or dynasty. Quṭb-u'd-dīn had no son to succeed him. Ārām is a solitary figure of no importance. His successors are İltutmish and the latter's sons and daughter. Lastly, it is the house of Balban that rules.

The Turkistān of the medieval historians was an extensive country: it was bounded on the east by China, on the west by Rūm, on the north the walls of 'Yājūj and Mājūj' (Gog and Magog) and on the south by the mountains of Hindūstān;⁵ and was famous for its rare and precious products such as musk, rich cloth, fur, horses and camels. The Turks, as a people, were divisible into two sections—the civilized town-dwellers and the backward migratory tribes, still trekking across the desert or wilderness—between whom there was often a good deal of friction. The development of the Turkish race cannot be discussed here. But the following remarks of Fakhr-u'd-dīn Mubārak Shāh

¹ *Diā Barnī, Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī*, p. 26.

² *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāsirī*, p. 138.

³ *Tārīkh-i-Fakhr-u'd-dīn Mubārak Shāh*, edited by Sir E. D. Ross, p. 37.

⁴ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāsirī*, pp. 166, 281.

⁵ *Tārīkh-i-Fakhr-u'd-dīn Mubārak Shāh*, edited by Sir E. D. Ross, p. 38.

may be noticed in passing. The Turks possessed books and an alphabet of their own, knew logic and astronomy and taught their children how to read and write.¹ "The Turks living in the forest of Lurā (Lawrā) had peculiar customs, and whenever a son was born to them, they used to place a dagger by his side so that when he grew young he might make it a means of his occupation. Some burnt their dead, and others buried them in earth."² He also mentions a quaint totemic survival: "All men lived on one side of the river and all women on the other, and no system of marriage prevailed. However, a night was fixed in the year, *when women crossed the river and went over to the men and returned to their original homes the next morning.* With the exception of that particular night, no man at any time was allowed to visit a woman, and if he did, his teeth and nails were cut off and he was put to death."³

The various tribes of the Mongolian race—Turks, Tartars, Turkomen, Tibetans, Chinese and Mongols extended from Anatolia to the shores of the Pacific Ocean. With the extension of the Muslim frontier to the north and west of Persia, one Turkish tribe after another came under subjection, and attracted the attention of their conquerors by the bravery of their men and beauty of their women. Alone among the unbelievers converted to Islam, the Turks did not hanker after their original homes and relations, and turned out to be orthodox Mussalmans and zealous warriors.⁴ Also unlike other races, the Turks enjoyed no special power or prestige so long as they remained in their homelands, but when they migrated to foreign countries, their status increased and they became *Amīrs* and generals. "Since the dawn of creation up to the present day," says the author of the *Nisbat-Nāmah*, "no slave bought at a price has ever become a king except among the Turks."⁵ Afrāsiyāb, a legendary Turkish king, is once supposed to have remarked, "The Turk is like a pearl in its shell at the bottom

¹ *Tārīkh-i-Fakhr-u'd-dīn Mubārak Shāh*, edited by Sir E. D. Ross, p. 44.

² *Ibid.*, p. 42. ³ *Ibid.*, pp. 40, 41.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 35.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 36.

of the sea, which, when it leaves the sea, becomes valuable and adorns the diadems of kings and the ears of brides."¹

Thus, the period under review is marked by the ascendancy of Turks, who had slowly and steadily replaced the Persians from the ordinary post of royal bodyguard to the highest officers of the state, and, through sheer force of military efficiency, became the absolute masters of the Abbasid Caliphate. It is interesting to recall how Mu'taṣim took the fatal step of introducing the Turkish element in the army. The fact that the Turks were the virtual masters of the Caliphate can be well illustrated by a story related by Ibn Ṭīqtaqā, who says, "The courtiers of Mu'taz summoned the astrologers and asked them how long his Caliphate would endure. A wit present in the gathering said, 'so long as the Turks please', and every one present laughed."²

A despotic form of government cannot exist long without an efficient bureaucratic machinery for its executive work, and it was soon discovered that the young slaves brought from Turkistān and Māwarā-u'n-Nahr formed an excellent material for such a corps. While the bureaucracy owed its classification from the decimal system of the Turks, its origin may, however, be traced to the slaves purchased and trained by the 'minor dynasties' of Persia from the time of the Samanids. Slave trade, thus, became one of the most profitable business ventures of the age. The slave dealers left no stone unturned in the selection and training of Turkish slaves and they were handsomely paid for their investment and labour. The best slaves were purchased by

¹ *Tārīkh-i-Fakhr-u'd-dīn Mubārak Shāh*, edited by Sir E. D. Ross, p. 37:

"مثل ترک همچون دُرّی است - که در صدف و دریا باشد -
هر چند در مسکن خود است - بے قدر و قیمت باشد و چون
از صدف و دریا بیرون افتاد - بها گیرد - و قیمتی گردد - و زینت
تاج بادشاهان و زیور و پیرایه گردن و گوش عروسان شود -"

² *Kitāb-u'l-Fakhrī*, p. 333.

kings and princes and had prospects in life, which were denied to free-born subjects.

The great quality of a Turkish slave was the efficiency of his work. Starting with an education, which was seldom within the reach of middle-class free man, he gradually won his way up the strings of the bureaucratic ladder. In those days of anarchy and confusion, governments were not stable ; provincial governors were too prone to declare independence and their subordinate officers followed their example. A bureaucracy of Turkish slaves was the only remedy possible. Torn away from his tribe and kinsmen and a stranger in a strange land, no consideration interfered with his devotion to his master's person. His whole course of training inculcated loyalty and submission. The slave was the property of his master ; for him there was honour in bondage. Though the Apostle had commanded the slave to be clothed and fed like the master,¹ he, nevertheless, fell legally in his master's power. Every sphere of his life, public or private, was under the personal control of the monarch. He could neither marry nor hold pleasure parties nor even visit his fellow-officers without the master's consent. And curiously enough, when he died, he was inherited not by his sons but

¹ العبد وما في يده لمولا' (the slave and what he possesses is the property of his master).

In Arabic slave is called 'Abd (عبد) or Mamlūk (مملوك). The term used in the Qur'ān for slaves is مملكت ايمانكم (That which your right hand possesses). The commandments of the Qur'ān with regard to slavery are as follows :—

"Honour God and be kind...even to your slaves." (IV, 40.) "And slaves, who crave a writing (i.e., a document of freedom), write it out for them, if ye know any good in them." (XXIV, 33.)

Ṣaḥīḥ-u'l-Bukhārī and *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim* account as follows :—"When a slave of yours has money to redeem his bond, then you must not allow him to come into your presence any more." It is incumbent upon the master of the slaves to find them victuals and clothes. The Prophet strictly enjoined the duty of kindness to slaves. "Feed your Mamlūks," said he, "with food which ye eat, and clothe them with such clothing as ye wear, and command them not to do that which they are unable to do."

by the monarch, who, as a compensation, looked after the children of the deceased slave-officer and very often employed them in his service. Consequently, the progress of a slave depended upon the degree of loyalty he showed to his master. And to be a slave of the king constituted a special title of respect. 'The slave of today is the Sultān of tomorrow' was a time-honoured proverb. Everything depended upon his merit, intellect, sagacity and skill, and should he be found wanting at any stage, his fate was sealed. No favour or partiality was shown; those, who were really competent rose from the humble post of *Khāṣahdār* (king's personal attendant) to positions of power and sovereignty.¹ Merit and not favouritism was the standard; and the slave system in a way, secured the survival of the fittest.

The career of Sultān *Shihāb-u'd-dīn* of *Ghūr* is generally dismissed as a side issue in the general history of Muslim Asia. His defeat at *Andkhud*² spoiled his reputation, and his former conquests presented an insignificant and hollow contrast to the extensive empire established by the Mongols in Asia or Europe. For part of the oblivion that has befallen him *Shihāb-u'd-dīn Ghūrī* is himself to blame. Unlike many other warriors, he was no patron of letters, had no cultured court, no society of educated men. Still he was a man of action, full of life and energy and unfailing resources. His success in life was due to an insatiable ambition backed by a tenacity of purpose, such as few men have ever possessed. His real achievement lay not in his conquests but in the organization of a system, according to which his generals and descendants continued to govern *Hindūstān* for about a century after his death. When during the latter part of *Shihāb-u'd-dīn's* reign, a bold courtier condoled³ him on the lack of male offspring, the Sultān contented himself with saying that he had several sons, namely Turkish slaves, to rule after his death. But for his slaves, there would have

¹ Examples of *Quṭb-u'd-dīn Aibak*, *Shams-u'd-dīn Īltutmish* and *Ghiyāth-u'd-dīn Balban* may be cited in this connection.

² *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 123. ³ *Ibid.*, pp. 131, 132.

been, perhaps, no Turkish rule in India. The example of the gallant Sultān Shihāb-u'd-dīn of Ghūr bred heroic followers, and his slaves Tāj-u'd-dīn Yildiz, Nāṣir-u'd-dīn Qabāchah and Quṭb-u'd-dīn Aibak rose to power and command in the Afghān mountains, on the Indus and at Delhi, respectively.

The Turkish government of the thirteenth century was composed of several elements, borrowed from various countries. The king and his courtiers breathed the atmosphere of Persian paganism;¹ the army was organized after the manners of the Mongols and the Turks, and below the central government was the old Hindu system of local government. The Indian Empire, which the early Turkish Sultans inherited from their master, was a 'flimsy structure.' Unloved by the people and dependent on a Turkish oligarchy, it had neither the material strength nor the moral prestige, requisite of a permanent government. But the emperor-sultans of Delhi knew of no legal limitations to their power. Practical limitations there were—riots, civil wars, palace intrigues, disloyalty of his officers and above all an armed and militant class of the subject races. However, the will of the Emperor was very often, really, supreme over all causes, judicial or administrative.

Medieval kingship was a hybrid institution, non-Muslim and non-Hindu. Maḥmūd of Ghaznah, Shihāb-u'd-dīn of Ghūr and Shams-u'd-dīn Īltutmish were not inspired by the democratic ideals of the early Saracens. The Muslim Caliph was elected by the faithful; his power originated from the people below and not from God above. But the Sassanian Emperors of Persia had claimed 'divinity' and an exclusive right of their family to the throne. The Muslim king, on the other hand, was symbolically the 'shadow of God on earth' (Zillullāh), and not a divine incarnation. Yet the Medieval kingship was essentially a secular institution; its power was based on Persian tradition² and not on Islamic law.

The 'new monarchy', however, fared well for some time. The death of Shihāb-u'd-dīn and the extinction of his dynasty

¹ Diā Barnī, Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhi, p. 26

² *Ibid.*

left his slaves and officers without a master, and the tie of 'salt and sonship' was broken. As a consequence, a triangular duel commenced between Quṭb-u'd-dīn Aibak of Delhi, Nāṣir-u'd-dīn Qabāchah of Sind and Tāj-u'd-dīn Yildiz of Ghāznī,¹ and when the Mongols snatched away the dominion of Tāj-u'd-dīn and Īltutmish overpowered Nāṣir-u'd-dīn, the Turkish slave-aristocrats took to intriguing against each other. Their object as a class was twofold—first, to prevent the crown from becoming too powerful and, secondly, to monopolise the offices of government. As a result of the Mystic Propaganda of the *Chishtis* and the *Suhrwardis*, a large number of Hindus had been converted to Islam by the end of the thirteenth century, and the *shari'at* of Islam gave an equal status to all Mussalmans. But the Turkish aristocracy strictly forbade an equal treatment, and held the new Muslims in scorn and contempt.

The Turkish officers were successful at first, and to a large extent held the crown in check. Quṭb-u'd-dīn died without suppressing his rivals.² Shams-u'd-dīn Īltutmish could with great difficulty, retain his storm-tossed throne, but his sons were set up and pulled down with bewildering rapidity and the heroic Raḍīyyah gave up her life in a vain attempt to subdue the spirit of aristocratic lawlessness.³ The Turkish officers struck both at the crown and the people, and were themselves divided into bitter factions. Every one of them said to the other, "what art thou? and what shalt thou be, that I shall not be?"⁴ Thus, the reigns following the death of Īltutmish were very much disturbed by the rivalry and insubordination of Turkish *Maliks*. All was panic and confusion, and Delhi became the scene of a series of tragedies. To reform the corrupt condition of the kingdom and to infuse a fresh vigour in the government, Balban resolved upon devising more effective schemes. For

¹ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 140.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 140, 141.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 190.

⁴ Diā Barnī, *Tārikh-i-Firūz Shāhī*, p. 28: "تو کیستی کہ من نہ ام۔
و تو کہ باشی کہ من نباشم"

the rebellious *Maliks* and *Amirs*, he thought, the assassin's dagger or poison was the only remedy possible, and got rid of most of the 'Forty' by a liberal use of both, and in order to reduce the remnant to a sense of their inferiority, he made them stand motionless in his presence with folded arms and vexed them with petty rules of etiquette. Frequent executions and even massacres restored the loyalty of the people and their governors, and the state slowly recovered from its ruinous condition.¹

Balban was after all a Turk and desired the subjection, not the annihilation, of the aristocracy. Soon after his death, the Turkish officers again began their factious intrigues. Balban's grandson was a pleasure-loving, mild, cultivated and humane prince. He gave himself up to the pleasures of the senses, indulged in gross vices and never shook off sloth and luxury.² The officers abandoned every pretence of submission to the Sultan's authority, but, nevertheless, maintained that reckless racial vanity which was the medieval birth right of the Turks. The family of Balban was to an extent their rallying point. But circumstances had changed, the *Khalji* opposition was strong and the revolutionary forces, strengthened by an ever-increasing number of converts, were gaining ascendancy. The Turkish *Amirs*, though divided in many groups, were unified by a common hatred of the *Khaljis*. To the proposed insensate persecution of the Turks, the *Khaljis* replied with the assassin's dagger.³ The feeble representation of the once mighty empire of Delhi offered an easy prey to the hardy warriors of the *Khalji* clan and their low-born Indo-Muslim supporters.⁴ One by one the Turkish *Amirs* were assassinated, and Mu'izz-u'd-din

¹ Diā Barnī, *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī*, pp. 26-30.

² *Qirān-u's-Sa'dain*, p. 56.

³ Compare for example a رباعی sent by Bābar to the ruler of Bayānah :

با ترک ستیزه مکن ای میر بیانہ
چالاکى و مردانگى ترک عیان است
اگر زود نیائی و نصیحت نہ کنی گوش
آن را کہ عیان است چه حاجت ز بیان است

⁴ *Badāūnī*, pp. 163, 164; *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī*, pp. 60, 61.

Kaiqubād was murdered in the *Kilū Kherī* palace.¹ With him the 'Early Turkish Empire' came to an end. The revolution was complete. The government had passed from the foreign Turks to the Indian Mussalmans and their Hindu allies. India was henceforth to be governed by administrators sprung from the soil. The new aristocracy had not its origin in slavery, but all the servile conditions were imposed upon servants recruited from a free-born population by the ruthless 'Alā-u'd-dīn *Khaljī* and with the *Khaljī* Revolution, the period, with which we are concerned, comes to a close.

II

The last decade of the twelfth and the first decade of the thirteenth century in India were marked by the clash of two degenerate and decaying social systems—the Turkish and the Rajput. In this clash the former proved itself to be decisively superior; for in war as in peace success depends upon comparative merit. And so it came to pass that the Ghurians were defeated by the Khwarazmians, and the larger part of *Afghānistān* passed into the hands of 'Alā-ū'd-dīn *Khwarazmshāh*. But the weakness of the Khwarazmian Empire was patent to all keen observers long before it was extinguished by Chingiz; lack of morality among the people led to lack of *morale* in the administration and the army, and two good Mongol campaigns were sufficient to expose the hollowness of Turkish power in Central Asia and Persia. And yet this very period of moral and spiritual decay in Muslim Asian lands, the Turkish race, soon to be crushed and humiliated in its own homelands, subdued the whole of northern India. Between the defeat of *Shihāb-u'd-dīn* at the first battle of *Tarāin* in 1191 and the retreat of *Bakhtiyār Khaljī* from the banks of the *Brahmaputra* in 1205, there intervenes the brief period of thirteen or fourteen

¹ *Diā Barnī, Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī*, p. 173. Both *Barnī (Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī*, p. 176) and *Sir Syed (Āthār-u'-ṣ-Ṣanādīd*, Vol. IV, p. 5) call it *کیلوخیری*—*Kailū Kherī*. It is also written as *کلو گھری*—*Kulū Gherī*. *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III, p. 86 has *Kilokhri*.

years. But it sufficed not only for the conquest but also for the consolidation of Turkish rule in the Punjab, Sind, Oudh, Doāb, Bihar, Bengal and a part of Rajputana. The rapidity as well as the permanence of the Turkish conquest stands in sharp contrast with the slow, uphill progress of British rule in India, specially if it is remembered that the Turkish generals as compared with the great British pro-Consuls had no superiority (apart from military organization) against their Rajput opponents; no navy to place their communications beyond the enemies' reach, no artillery-parks, which the enemy could not match and, above all, no home-government with its practically unlimited resources. The Turkish regime was completely annihilated by 'Alā-u'd-dīn Khaljī in the early years of his reign, but the Empire of Delhi, founded with such rapidity, lasted with varying fortunes till the middle of the eighteenth century and was not formally extinguished till after the Mutiny of 1857. And never, if we except the Khaljī Revolution, had the Delhi Empire to face any extensive movement that even belated communalism or patriotism can consider religious or national. The oddest part of the Turkish conquest was its general acceptance by the country—acceptance temporarily of the Turkish bureaucracy and permanently of the centralized government of the Empire of Delhi, which they had inaugurated. It is one of the most puzzling facts in Indian history.

The mules succeeded where the war-horses had floundered. Alexander the Great retired sulkily to his tent by the bank of the Jhelum after leading the most heroic expedition in the history of mankind, because his war-worn veterans refused to follow him further east. Maḥmūd of Ghaznah, in spite of twenty-six years of brilliant campaigning—and for sheer military genius our country has never seen anything like them—never attempted to annex any territory beyond the Rāvi. It was left to Shihāb-u'd-dīn Ghūrī, the hero of three stupendous defeats—*Gujarāt*, *Tarāim* and *Andkhud*—to achieve what the Greeks and the Kushans, the Huns and the Ghaznavids had hardly dared to dream of. The Ghurian conquest of India might have been dismissed as a fable,

were the evidence for it not so absolutely convincing and complete. On the face of it, the thing seems palpably absurd. The Ghurian dynasty lost its prestige in Central Asia; even its homelands were trampled by hostile troops; nevertheless, its Turkish slave-officers succeeded in establishing one of the greatest empires in the Middle Ages. The economic resources of the Ghurian Empire, even at the height of its power, about the year 1202, could hardly have been equal to those of a second rate Indian Raja, whose state covered five or six districts. The territory of Ghūr and Gharjistān, though equal in area to an Indian province, is a bleak desert of rocky mountains swept by the bitterly cold north-wind, where the snow lies thick on the ground for more than half the year; its reputed valleys of a "thousand springs"¹ are only charming to eyes that have seen nothing better. The comparatively fertile regions to the south and east of Ghūr—Bāmiyān, Kābul, Zābulistān, Nim-rūz, Sijistān etc.—annexed by Ghiyāth-u'd-dīn and Shihāb-u'd-dīn in the earlier years of their reign, had been thoroughly ransacked and plundered by the Ghazz Turks. Ghaznīn, shorn of its earlier glories, had become a small city of mud-houses, all traces of which have now been lost. The resources of the Ghurian state in man-power were equally meagre. Counting Turks and non-Turks, men, women, and children, the Ghurian brothers may have ruled at the most over a million souls, possibly less, certainly not more. Unlike Maḥmūd, Shihāb-u'd-dīn could officially enrol no recruits, volunteers or professionals from outside his territory. He was intensely unpopular in Persia, specially in Khurāsān, which he had repeatedly ravaged. Khawārazm (the Trans-Caspian region), Māwarā-u'n-Nahr and Turkistān were in the hands of hostile powers. Nor was meagreness of resources compensated by the extraordinary ability of those in command. Shihāb-u'd-dīn had, undeniably, that sort of genius, which Carlyle defines as 'the infinite capacity of taking pains'. But nothing more. As a general he was

¹ Hence probably the name 'Hazārah' (thousand), by which Ghūr is now known.

industrious but incompetent. A resolute foe could always drive him away from the battle-field ; in the face of a competent strategist, like 'Alā-u'd-dīn Khwārazmshāh or Tānikū Ṭarāz, he completely lost his nerve, and became panicky, confused and muddle-headed. Nor do the recorded achievements of principal generals show any remarkable strategic capacity—apart from that bull-dog tenacity of persistent endeavour in the face of repeated defeats—which might explain their undeniable success. They were brave, but not braver than most men brought up in the profession of arms.

Nor had Ghūr any of those moral or constitutional virtues, which have enabled small states, like Rome, Medina or England, to establish extensive dominions. The hold of the Ghurian monarchy over its subordinate officers was weak, very weak ; in the hour of trial and gloom, most generals of Shihāb-u'd-dīn proved untrue to their master, and after his death they proved even more faithless to his legitimate successor and to each other. The victorious Ghurian state was rotten with intrigues to the core. That is the primary reason for its collapse. Shihāb-u'd-dīn himself had set the example of chicanery and fraud in the realms of diplomacy. He never hesitated to break his plighted word, whenever it suited his plans. Like many of his contemporaries in that demoralized age, he apparently considered the assassination of political opponents a justifiable, if not a commendable, measure of public policy. His generals, needless to add, improved upon his example. Add to it, while the Shansabāniyah Dynasty represented a stock of respectable Turkish hill-chiefs, the officers of the state were Turkish slaves purchased in the market. Whatever the strength of their loyalty to their master so long as he was strong enough to command them, they had no loyalty to the Ghurian Dynasty, and proceeded, as we shall see, to appropriate or misappropriate the dominions of Shihāb-u'd-dīn to the exclusion of Shihāb-u'd-dīn's legitimate heirs.

The Ghurian conquest of northern India, when all factors are kept in mind, can be explained by one fact only—

the caste-system and all that it entails ; the degeneration of the oppressor and the degeneration of the oppressed, priest-craft, king-craft, idol-worship with its degrading cults, the economic and spiritual exploitation of the multitude, the division of the people into small water-tight sub-caste groups, resulting in the total annihilation of any sense of common citizenship or of loyalty to India as a whole.

Indian historians have often deplored the lack of historical material after the death of Harshavardhana. Competent experts may, with the advance of time, be able to piece together a more consecutive narrative than we have at present on the basis of copper-plates and coins. So far as Muslim records are concerned, a flood of light is thrown on the condition of Sind by the *Chāch-Nāmah* (or *Tārīkh-i-Hind wa Sindh*), the Arabic original of which, there is every reason to believe, was compiled on the basis of government records and personal investigation by no less a person than Muḥammad bin Qāsim's *qāḍī* of Multān. The Arab travellers in India have left records of their impressions. Some of their records were translated by Elliot in the first volume of his *History of India* and later scholars have improved upon his work. But the Arab travellers were neither Sanskritists nor trained observers ; their primary business was import and export, and they very often completely misunderstood the significance of what they saw. On the other hand, translations were inaccurate to start with, and after several generations of incompetent copyists, had added to the errors of the translators ; the manuscripts became a sheer jumble of nonsensical figures and diagrams, which no assiduity on the part of a mere Arabic scholar could put into form and order. Lastly, as we can well understand, owing to that innate tendency of human nature to misunderstand and misrepresent one's opponents, the wildest and the most impossible stories about India were current in Muslim lands. Abū Riḥān Alberūnī, the greatest Muslim scholar, whom India has seen, protested against all this and after years of patient investigation produced the *Kitāb-u'l-*

*Hind*¹—‘a simple historic record of facts.’ For us the great importance of the *Kitāb-u’l-Hind* depends upon its methodology—a fine modification of the dialectical system of Socrates, in which Alberūnī had been trained at Khwārazm, to suit the subject-matter of his inquiries. He gives us a unique survey, unsurpassed by anything yet written in its comprehension of general sociological and philosophical principles as well as minute scientific details, of the achievements of Hindu thought in ages gone-by, specially the Gupta period. During his internment in India, he associated extensively with Hindu Pandits, whose habitual contempt for the *mlechcha* changed ultimately to one of deep reverence. It was, apparently, his habit during these discussions to drive his Pandit friends by repeated examination and cross-examination—conducted after the manner of Socrates—to the most consistent statement of the basic doctrines of their faith. Though intimately acquainted with the works of Plato, Alberūnī has (very wisely) not given us a record of his discussions but only brief, lucid and remarkably accurate definitions of the ‘fundamental categories of Hindu thought’—the *Weltanschauung* or world-outlook of the educated upper classes of his day. “The main and most essential point of the Hindu world of thought is that which the Brahmans think and believe, for they are specially trained for preserving and maintaining their religion. And this is what we shall explain, *viz.*, the belief of the Brahmans.”² Critical scholarship, however, necessitated a careful comparison of the faith of the educated classes with the sacred texts on the one hand and with the silly notions of the multitude on the other. A student of comparative religion and philosophy was further bound to put the thought of various peoples side by side; all this comes within the compass of Alberūnī’s work.

A careful examination of *Alberūnī’s India* leaves upon one the impression that the philosophical, religious and

¹ *Alberūnī’s India*, translated and edited with notes by Professor E. S. Sachau.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 39.

scientific ideas of the educated classes were all they could have been; that the mass of the people wallowed in mud and mire, raising the dirtiest, filthiest and crudest fancies of the day to the dignity of religion; that educated Brahmans of the better sort were horrified at this degradation of their beloved faith, but were too weak or too disorganized to make an effective protest; that less scrupulous Brahmans not only earned their livelihood but established their authority by preying upon the weaknesses and the fears of the multitude; and that the Rajas or chiefs, instead of joining the reformers, consciously promoted many vicious institutions for the benefit of their treasury. And, consequently, the governing classes, willy-nilly, were dragged down to the moral and intellectual level of the governed.

First as to the categories of contemporary Brahmanical thought, which Alberūnī regards with such tender reverence:

1. **Idea of God.**—"The Hindus believe with regard to God that he is one, eternal, without beginning and end, acting by freewill, almighty, all-wise, living, giving life, ruling, preserving, one who in his sovereignty is unique, beyond all likeness and unlikeness, and that he does not resemble anything nor does anything resemble him. If we now pass from the ideas of the educated people among the Hindus to those of the common people, we must first state that they present a great variety. Some of them are simply abominable, but similar errors also occur in other religions."¹

2. **Noumenon and Phenomena.**—Hindu ideas on this question are difficult to interpret, but Alberūnī's account may be summarized as follows: "The whole creation is a unity and the totality of 'the twenty-five' elements is called *tattva*. The Hindus are not decided among themselves on the point of the cause of action; they attribute action to different causes like nature, the soul, or time; but the truth is that action belongs to matter, for the latter binds the

¹ *Alberūnī's India*, edited by Sachau, Vol. I, p. 27.

soul, causes it to wander about in different shapes and then sets it free."¹ All Indian systems, except Buddhism, admit the existence of a permanent entity variously called *Atman*, *Purusha* or *Jiva*. As to the exact nature of this soul, there are indeed divergences of views; but all agree in holding that it is pure and unsullied in its nature.

3. Reincarnation.—The distinctive feature of Hinduism or, to be more exact, of all Indian cults is not belief in one God, which is found in all faiths, but the peculiar path of salvation prescribed. Alberūnī's statement of the doctrine of metempsychosis or reincarnation deserves to be carefully considered. "As the word of confession, 'there is no god but God, Muḥammad is His prophet,' is the shibboleth of Islam, the Trinity that of Christianity, and the institute of the Sabbath that of Judaism, so metempsychosis is the shibboleth of the Hindu religion. Therefore, he, who does not believe in it, does not belong to them, and is not reckoned as one of them. For they hold the following belief:—

"The soul, as long as it has not risen to the highest absolute intelligence, does not comprehend the totality of objects at once, or, as it were, in no time. Therefore, it must explore all particular beings and examine all the possibilities of existence; and as their number is, though not unlimited, still an enormous one, the soul wants an enormous space of time in order to finish the contemplation of such a multiplicity of objects . . . The world is not left without some direction, being led, as it were, by a bridle and directed towards a definite scope. Therefore, the imperishable souls wander about in perishable bodies conformably to the difference of their actions, as they prove to be good or bad. The object of the migration through the world of *reward* (i.e., heaven) is to direct the attention of the soul to the good, that it should become desirous of acquiring as much of it as possible. The object of its migration through the world of punishment (i.e., hell) is to direct its attention to the bad

¹ *Alberūnī's India*, Edited by Sachau Vol. I, p. 31.

and abominable, that it should strive to keep as far as possible aloof from it.

"The migration begins from low stages, and rises to higher and better ones, not the contrary, as we state on purpose, since the one is *a priori* as possible as the other . . . This migration lasts until the object aimed at has been completely attained both for the soul and matter; the *lower aim* being the disappearance of the shape of matter, except any such new formation as may appear desirable; the *higher aim* being the ceasing of the desire of the soul to learn what it did not know before, the insight of the soul into the nobility of its own being and its independent existence, its knowing that it can dispense with matter after it has become acquainted with the mean nature of matter and the instability of its shapes, with all that which matter offers to the senses, and with the truth of the tales about its delights. Then the soul turns away from matter; the connecting links are broken, the union is dissolved. Separation and dissolution take place, and the soul returns to its home, carrying with itself as much of the bliss of knowledge as sesame develops grains and blossoms, afterwards never separating from its oil. The intelligent being, intelligence and its object, are united and become one."¹ Abū Sa'id Kharrāz, after careful consideration, defined *Fanā* in terms that make no reference to metempsychosis.² "If a man turns towards Allah and attaches himself to Allah and lives near to Allah and forgets his own self and everything except Allah—then if you ask him, 'Wherefrom are you and what is the object of your desire' there will be no answer for him except 'Allah.'" But opinions differed. "The same doctrine (of metempsychosis)", says Alberūnī, "is professed by those *Ṣūfis*, who teach that this world is a sleeping soul and yonder world a soul awake."³

¹ Alberūnī's *India*, Vol. I, pp. 50, 51.

² *The Tadḥkharat-u'l-Auliya* of Shaiḫ Farīd-u'd-dīn 'Aṭṭār, No. 45, Newal Kishore text, p. 256.

³ Alberūnī's *India*, Vol. I, p. 57.

4. **Moksha.**—Hindu and Muslim mystics have again and again tried to define *Nirwana*, *Fanā* or *Moksha*. The task is difficult, for as Shaikh Sa'dī points out that those who speak do not know and those who know do not speak; and even if the latter spoke, they could not succeed in making themselves intelligible. The real character of *Moksha* can only be explained by a man who has attained it to another man who has been equally fortunate. But in that case no explanation would be necessary. Be this as it may, Alberūnī attempts the following definition of *Moksha* with profuse quotations from the Patanjali and the Gita: "If the soul is free from matter, it is knowing; but as long as it is clad in matter the soul is not-knowing, on account of the turbid nature of matter."¹ And further, "according to the Hindus, liberation is union with God; ... if you wish, say, liberation is the cessation of the functions of *the three forces*, and their returning to that home, whence they had come."² "This doctrine of Patanjali," Alberūnī says, "is akin to that of the *Ṣūfī* regarding being occupied in meditation on *the Truth* (i.e., God)."³ Abū Bakr a'sh-Shiblī says: "Cast off all, and you will attain to us completely. Then you will exist; but you will not report about us to others as long as your doing is like ours."

5. **The Nine Commandments.**—Those who wish to tread the path of liberation must lead a life of renunciation virtue and meditation. Hence the nine commandments thus summarised: "This goal is attained either in a *single shape*, i.e., a single stage of metempsychosis, or in *several shapes*, in this way, that a man perpetually practises virtuous behaviour and accustoms the soul thereto, so that this virtuous behaviour becomes to it a nature and an essential quality."⁴

6. **Human Equality.**—At a time when the caste system was developing with rapidity, the better type of Hindu thinkers continued to believe in the doctrine of human equality defined not from the view-point of citizenship but

¹ Alberūnī's *India*, Vol. I, p. 53.

² *Ibid.*, p. 87.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 81.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 74.

from the view-point of salvation. "Hindus differ among themselves as to which of these castes is capable of attaining to liberation; for, according to some, only the Brahmana and Kshatriya are capable of it, since the others cannot learn the Veda, whilst according to the Hindu philosophers, liberation is common to all castes and to the whole human race, if their intention of obtaining it is perfect."¹

7. **Hindu Science.**—"The religious books of the Hindus and their codes of tradition, the Puranas, contain sentences about the shape of the world which stand in direct opposition to scientific truth as known to their astronomers . . . They show much affection to their astronomers . . . For this the astronomers requite them by accepting their popular notions as truth, by conforming themselves to them, however far from truth most of them may be, and by presenting them with such spiritual stuff as they stand in need of. This is the reason why the two theories, the vulgar and the scientific, have become intermingled in the course of time, why the doctrines of the astronomers have been disturbed and confused, in particular the doctrines of those authors—and they are the majority—who simply copy their predecessors, who take the bases of their science from tradition and do not make them the objects of independent scientific research."²

III

Though the India of the eleventh century had fallen far from the cultural standards of the era of Harsha, not to mention the Golden Age of the Guptas, it may be safely affirmed that it could boast of a finer culture. The researches of Alberūnī prove beyond doubt that Hindu philosophy and science, though not so progressive as in the preceding centuries, were living and vital. Even a solitary scholar, like Alberūnī, could collect the material necessary to reconstruct the metaphysical and ethical achievements of the past. *This glorious heritage, however, was not the heritage of the Indian people but only of a very small section of the*

¹ Alberūnī's *India*, Vol. I, p. 104.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 264, 265.

*bourgeoisie classes. The overwhelming mass of the people were intentionally, purposely, maliciously left to wallow in degrading superstitions by "the preconcerted tricks of the priests."*¹ This can be best illustrated by a review of popular belief concerning those 'categories of thought' which we have already noted.

1. **Polytheism and Idolatry.**—The Vedic gods, if gods they may be called, are merely poetical personifications without images or temples. The origin of idol-making among the Hindus does not concern us here. But it is significant that Alberūnī, who spared neither money nor pains in obtaining instruction from the best Hindu teachers, repeatedly declares that educated Hindus had faith in God alone. "We shall now mention their ludicrous views; but we declare at once that they are held only by the common, uneducated people. For those who march on the path of liberation, or those who study philosophy or theology, and who desire abstract truth, which they call *sara*, are entirely free from worshipping anything but God alone, and would never dream of worshipping an image manufactured to represent him."² And again: "Such idols are erected only for uneducated, low-class people of little understanding; that the Hindus (*i.e.*, the educated Hindus) never made an idol of any supernatural being, much less of God . . . *the crowd is kept in thralldom by all sorts of priestly tricks and deceits.*"³ "When the ignorant crowd get a piece of good luck by accident or something at which they had aimed, and when with this some of the preconcerted tricks of the priests are brought into connection, the darkness in which they live increases vastly, not their intelligence."⁴ Some of the idols were famous and are noticed by our author in detail—the *linga* of Siva at *Sumnath*, the statue of the Sun-god at *Multān*, of Vishnu at *Thaneswar* and of *Sarada* at *Kashmīr*. The India of Alberūnī was predominantly Vaishnavite. Sivaism, at the time, seems to have been more or

¹ *Alberūnī's India*, p. 123.

² *Ibid.*, p. 122.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. I. pp. 112, 113.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 122, 123.

less, a southern creed.

The more famous temples drew crowds of pilgrims and gathered fabulous wealth owing to the devotion of the rich and the poor. The pilgrimages, whether obligatory or not, had undoubtedly the effect of bringing the people of distant parts together and thus creating a common religious spirit.¹ They were also centres of business and industry, and in some cases, particularly Nagarkut, the Brahmans had good reputation as bankers. The fault, however, in this lay with the kings, not with the nation. The kings made them an attraction for their cities, a bait of pleasures for their subjects, for no other but financial reasons. By the revenue which they derived from the business both as fines and taxes, they wanted to recover the expenses which their treasury had to spend on the army.

2. **Reincarnation, Metempsychosis.**—The doctrine of reincarnation, the *sine qua non* of Hinduism, as explained by the best Indian thinkers is essentially a doctrine of human dignity and human freedom. Divested of all needless technicalities, it means that man can only annihilate the phenomenal world (*maya hijāb*), first, by a virtuous life which removes the veil between him and his fellow-men and thus annihilates the individual consciousness by enlarging it into the social consciousness and, secondly, by contemplation (*mushāhidah, dhiyan*) which enables the individual consciousness to be absorbed into the Ultimate Reality which can only be the Supreme Consciousness ('ulūm); for Reality without Consciousness is meaningless and the conscious alone can be considered real.

"We have already said," continues Alberūnī, "that the soul exists in these two places without a body. But this is only the view of the educated among them, who understand by the soul an independent being."² The lower classes took, or were induced to take, a materialistic view of the whole thing. "They cannot imagine the existence of a soul without

¹ Mahatma Gandhi, *Hind Swaraj*.

² Alberūnī's *India*, Vol. I, p. 63.

a body.”¹ Hence the agony of death—a terrible thing for the onlooker—was attributed to the fact that the soul had nowhere to go to and so, willy nilly, had to stick to the decayed and useless body. Prayers were necessary and payments to the Brahman so that a tabernacle may be obtained for the soul of the dying relative. Popular tradition, moreover, postulated that every soul, regardless of its virtue or *karma*, had to put up for a whole year in a hastily prepared body—the *ativahika*—in which it stayed for a year (as a minimum period) “with the greatest pain, no matter whether it has deserved to be rewarded or punished.” The theory made it necessary for the heir of the deceased to perform a series of rites during the year, and enabled the Brahmans to levy ‘Death Duties’ on all who were in a position to pay them, regardless of the virtues and vices of the deceased.

3. **Popular Cosmology.**—A man’s outlook on the problems of practical and even spiritual life is very much conditioned by the conception of the material universe. The belief that matter, and human life so far as it is materially conditioned, is determined by scientific laws has certainly tended to eliminate superstition. While the labours of Brahmagupta and his Indian fellow-workers enabled the people of Khwārazm and Khurāsān and Baghdād to obtain a healthier and saner idea of the physical universe which surrounded them, the popular *weltanschauung* of the Indians was left untouched. In India, the principles of science had to be explained away to suit the fantasies of the masses or for the purpose of exploiting them.

4. **False Sciences.**—This brings us to ‘the false sciences’ which ‘preyed upon the multitude.’ By far the most popular of these sciences was astrology. The average Muslim consciousness throughout the Middle Ages regarded astrology as something dark, forbidden, irreligious; it came into sharp conflict with his faith and reliance in Divine Omnipotence. The world is governed by Allah directly, not by the angels

¹ Alberūnī’s *India*, p. 63.

or the stars. 'And when He intends anything,' says the Qur-ān, 'He says, Be, and it is.' In India, on the other hand, astrology became the basis of *popular* religion; it was the lever by which Brahmanical scholars controlled and exploited the multitude and, incidentally, earned their own livelihood.

Other sciences which 'preyed on the ignorance of the multitude' also deserve a passing mention. Alchemy though known was not so popular as among the Mussalmans. On the other hand *Rasayana*—the art of restoring old men to youth and of prolonging life—was extremely popular. All sorts of herbs and concoctions were tried. Apparently this medieval science of 'rejuvenation' or 'regeneration' led to much evil, owing to the greediness of the Hindu princes. Then, as now, India was reputed abroad for all things strange from the tricks of her jugglers to the God-compelling *mantras* of her priests.

5. **Cults and Sects.**—About Hindu sects of the time two things deserve to be noted. *Firstly*, there was a constant tendency towards degeneration. The spiritual comprehension of the original movement was often lost and vulgar stories did duty for spiritual truths. This was balanced by a constant effort at reform, which in its turn took the form of new cults. The same phenomena are found in other religions but perhaps not to the same marked degree. For Hinduism, unlike Islam and Roman Catholicism, is not a creed at all but a civilization-process; almost every doctrine, good, bad or indifferent, could find a place within its ample folds. *Secondly*, the most remarkable phenomenon about Hindu religious movements is the almost complete absence of religious persecution. This may have been largely due to the *Ahimsa* doctrine, or to a genuine desire for tolerance, or to an impatient understanding among the governing classes that the more subdivided the community, the easier it would be to govern it. Be this as it may, a wide door was left open for the propagation of degrading cults and the construction of degenerate temples. The India of Alberūnī, though fallen

from its former high state, was culturally alive ; its political collapse is to be explained not by the existence of a few degrading cults but to the shortcomings of the best politico-social conceptions of the day.

It is generally believed that the Hindus are divided into two principal sects, the Vaishnavites and the Shivaïtes. This in a sense is true. But these sects have not the remotest likeness to the division of the Shi'as and Sunni's among the Mussalmans or Roman Catholics and Protestants among the Christians. No memories of past persecutions—no martyr's memorials—embittered the relation of the two Hindu sects. Also, since Shiva and Vishnu have so many incarnations, and may, with their differently named wives, be worshipped under any number of forms, it is difficult to get to any concrete sectarian dogma with the seal of permanence upon it. The Hindus have a bad habit, as Alberūnī noted, of praising one god to the skies and then hinting mildly that there is someone greater behind him. And so, whatever god the votary begins to worship, he is brought ultimately to the syllable 'Om'—denoting the Supreme Being and connoting all qualities—or, possibly, none ; for our human minds can never comprehend the real nature of the Absolute Reality.

IV

There were many elements of Hindu thought, the doctrine of *Nirwana*, for example, or the doctrine of non-violence. 'Hindu nationalism'—there can be no other name for it—was aggressive and violent. "All their fanaticism is directed against those who do not belong to them—against all foreigners. They call them *mleccha*, i.e., impure, and forbid having any connection with them, be it by inter-marriage, or any other kind of relationship, or by sitting, eating or drinking with them, because thereby they think they would be polluted."¹ No conversions to Hinduism

¹ *Alberūnī's India*, Vol. I, pp. 19, 20.

were permitted. "They are not allowed to receive anybody who does not belong to them, even if he wished it or was inclined to their religion. This, too, renders any connection with them quite impossible, and constitutes the widest gulf between us and them . . . In all manners and usages they *differ from us to such a degree as to frighten their children with us, with our dress, and our ways and customs, and as to declare us to be devil's breed, and our doings as the very opposite of all that is good and right.*"¹ "The Hindus believe that there is no country but theirs, no nation like theirs, no kings like theirs, no science like theirs. They are haughty, foolishly vain, self-conceited and stolid. They are by nature niggardly in communicating what they know, and take the greatest possible care to withhold it from men of another caste among their own people, still much more, of course, from any foreigner."² As they never went beyond the frontiers of their own country as in earlier days, it was impossible for them to observe the progress made in other lands. "*The Greeks, though impure, must be honoured, since they were trained in sciences and therein excelled others.* What, then, are we to say of a Brahman, if he combines with his purity the height of science."³ From the Mussalmans even this condescending patronage was withheld. No Hindu would acknowledge that they were anything but barbarians. "*Their haughtiness is such that, if you tell them of any science or scholar in Khurāsān or Persis, they will think you both an ignorant and a liar.*"⁴

Now nationalism, whether cultural or political, is not a peculiar feature of the Hindus or the Indians; *but, according to Alberūnī, is common to all nations towards each other.*

There were, however, a number of political and other causes which contributed to increase the Indian's dislike of foreigners. The advent of Islam crushed all Indian cults in northern Afghānistān (Balkh), Māwarā-u'n-Nahr and Turkistan. There were constant frictions on the frontier, which

¹ Alberūnī's *India*, p. 20.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 22, 23.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

ultimately led Muḥammad bin Qāsim's invasion of Sind. He marched to the frontier of Kashmīr and was planning a campaign against Qannauj at the time of his fall. The young general was tolerant in religious matters, and the *Chach Nāmah* and Alberūnī both assure us that 'he left the people to their ancient faith.' But one great Hindu state was pulled down with surprising rapidity, others had been threatened; and at a time when the land-route to India through the north-western desert was extremely difficult, Muslim travellers and missionaries found a foothold in Sind. Later on, Subuktigīn built good roads through the north-western frontiers and they were utilised by Maḥmūd for his invasions. No Muslim was in a better position to estimate the effects of these invasions on the Hindus than Alberūnī. "Maḥmud utterly ruined the prosperity of the country, and performed there wonderful exploits, by which the Hindus became like atoms of dust scattered in all directions, and like a tale of old in the mouth of the people." ¹

V

The Indian social system of the eleventh century, as described by Muslim writers, was based upon three principles, not quite consistent with each other and giving rise to contrary practices—the principle of non-violence or *ahimsa*; the principle of division of labour, caste or *varna*; and the principle of hygiene or *chhut*. We should not, in a developed medieval society, expect these principles in their primitive simplicity; as very often happens in most societies at this stage of development, the fundamental principles of social life, not scientifically or critically apprehended by the multitude, were twisted out of their proper shape and extensively misapplied by the far-fetched explanations or *tāwils* of the theologians. Concerning another feature of Indian Society—the *war-cult of the Rājapūts*—which is so obvious in the Persian

¹ Alberūnī's *India*, Vol. I, p. 22.

annals of the thirteenth century, Muslim writers before the period of Shihāb-u'd-dīn are silent. And this silence is not without significance.

There can be little doubt that an educated Hindu of the eleventh century if asked to formulate the basic doctrine of his creed, would have referred to the principle of metempsychosis. Now metempsychosis or salvation (*Moksha*, *Nirwana*, *Fanā*) through a life of virtue and contemplation (*Akhlāq* and *Mushāhidah*, *Karma*) implies, first, the equality of man, for it places salvation within the reach of all, and, secondly, *ahimsa*, the avoidance of harm to all living creatures (*Jiva hatya*). The doctrine of human equality (as we shall see presently) was eliminated from Indian society owing to the growth of the caste-system. It was otherwise with the doctrine of *ahimsa*. The doctrines of metempsychosis and *ahimsa* were not invented by Gautama Buddha, but the Buddhist revolt is by far the greatest and the most effective protest, the moral feeling of man has yet made against the criminal methods of nature (*himsa*) which require, both among plants and animals, that the substance of the life of one creature should depend upon the destruction of another. The long prevalence of Buddhism in India as well as foreign countries enabled the doctrine to take very deep root; the decline and fall of Buddhism did not eradicate (either in India or elsewhere) the attitude of mind, Buddhism had created. Wherever we turn—from the Hindu avoidance of onion and garlic to the pacifist attitude of the Muslim mystics—we see the visible and profound influence of the *ahimsa* doctrine. So far as Indian society of the eleventh century was concerned, it may be confidently stated that, in spite of notorious exceptions, the acceptance or the non-acceptance of the doctrine of *ahimsa* created a sharp and quite visible dividing line between the civilized and the non-civilized sections of the community. The cult of physical and spiritual cleanliness, a distinct conception in the earlier ages, was in the eleventh century definitely identified in many matters with the *ahimsa* doctrine. Thus meat-

eating permitted to the earlier Aryans was, at the time of Sultān Maḥmud, forbidden to the Brahmans and permitted to the other castes under restrictions and as a matter of necessity. Both doctrines (*ahimsa* and *chhut*) were used by the Brahmans in guiding the affairs of the community as it suited their class-needs or the principles of their religious classes.

The caste-system of India as formulated in the classical literature from which it drew its intellectual sustenance has often been described by medieval and modern writers and exhaustive extracts will be found in Alberūnī.¹ We are here concerned with the system as it actually worked.

VI

Religion had become the exclusive monopoly of the Brahman class. It was not to be expected that all the members of a large hereditary class would be able to perform the extremely onerous duties that traditions required of them. "The Brahmans recite the Veda without understanding its meaning, and in the same way they learn it by heart, the one receiving it from the other."² The exclusion of low-grade intellects from the field of theological disputations is not a matter to be deplored, as, apart from the Brahmans, who dedicated their lives exclusively to religion or acted as *purohīts* for well-to-do families, the rest of the community obtained its livelihood by service in the government departments as tax-collectors and clerks or by helping society in managing its business. There is good reason for believing that its functions in the eleventh century were substantially the same. The highest office in the state—that of the Raja—was still within the reach of the Brahmans, and had not become the exclusive monopoly of the Rājapūts.

Alberūnī's account of the ceremonies appertaining to consecration or the second birth—the investment of the *Yajnopavita* or the sacred cord and the *pavitra* or the

¹ Alberūnī's *India*, Vol. I, p. 125.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 125.

sealring and of bathing, rites of dining, etc., show that the external ceremonies prescribed by the Brahmanical texts were followed. Scrupulous care had to be observed in eating and drinking. Every Brahman was required to have his separate drinking vessels and eating utensils; if another man used them, they were broken. "I have seen," says Alberūnī, "Brahmans who allowed their relatives to eat with them from the same plate but most of them disapprove of this."¹ To a Mussalman two things were the symbol of equality and brotherhood—standing shoulder to shoulder at the congregational prayers before the God who has created us all, and eating promiscuously from the same dishes and at the same table-cloth. Neither of these things were tolerated in India.

The four stages of the life of a Brahman who had dedicated himself to religion have been described by Alberūnī, probably from personal observation, though he refers to *Vishnu-Purana* as giving a different age for the various stages.

1. The first stage, that of the disciple (*Brahma-charya*) extended from the eighth year, the period of consecration, to the twenty-fifth year. "His duty is to practise abstinence, to make the earth his bed, to begin with the learning of the Veda and of its explanation, of the science of theology and law, all this being taught to him by a master, whom he serves day and night."²

The *Miṣbāḥ-u'l-Hidāyat*, the Persian summary of the famous *Awārif-u'l-Ma'ārif* of Shaiḫ Shihāb-u'd-dīn Suhrwardī will give the reader some idea of the relation of the Muslim Shaiḫ (*guru* or *pīr*) and the disciple (or *murid*). "The disciple must have a firm belief in the Shaiḫ as being the best of all preceptors and divines, and must remain firm in his service. Further, he must submit to the Shaiḫ's control over his life and property and be prepared to do as the Shaiḫ orders."³

¹ Alberūnī's *India*, Vol. II, p. 134.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 131, 132.

³ *Miṣbāḥ-u'l-Hidāyat*, Newal Kishore text pp. 167, 168.

2. During the second stage, from the twenty-fifth to the fiftieth year, the Brahman was to live as a householder (*grihastha*). "The master allows him to marry. . . but he is not allowed to marry a woman above twelve years of age. . . He marries, establishes a household, and intends to have descendants."¹ The Chishtī mystics of the thirteenth century while insisting upon the married state as the tradition of the Prophet, only permitted the disciple two means of livelihood—*zamīn-i-aḥyā*, the produce of barren land which the mystic and his family had cultivated and *futūḥ*, gifts and presents which neighbours brought to his house unasked; begging was prohibited; service of the state was considered sinful,² and even private service as a teacher was deprecated. The Brahman of the eleventh century was fettered by rules comparatively lenient "He gains his sustenance *either* by the fee he obtains for teaching Brahmans and Kshatriyas, not as a payment but as a present, or by presents which he receives from someone because he performs for him the sacrifices to the fire, or by asking a gift from the kings and nobles, there being no importunate pressing on his part, and no unwillingness on the part of the giver. There is always a Brahman in the houses of those people (*i.e.*, the rich) who there administers the affairs of religion and the works of piety."³

3. The third period, extending from the fiftieth to the seventy-fifth was once more a period of abstinence. The Brahman "leaves his household and hands it as well as his wife over to his children, if the latter does not prefer to accompany him into the life in the wilderness. He dwells outside civilization, and leads the same life again which he led in the first period."⁴

4. "The fourth period extends till the end of life. He

¹ *Miṣbāḥ-u'l-Hidāyat*, Newal Kishore text, pp. 167, 168.

² The Chishtī mystics, and to a large extent also other *silsilahs* considered government service a sin. Cf. *Manu*, p. 142, Ch. IV, 86: "A king is declared to be equal (in wickedness) to a butcher who keeps a hundred thousand slaughter-houses; to accept presents from him is a terrible (crime)."

³ *Alberūnī's India*, Vol. II, pp. 131, 132.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 132.

wears a red garment . . . he strips the mind of friendship and enmity, and roots out desire and lust and wrath . . . He has no other business but that of caring for the path which leads to salvation, and for reaching *Moksha*, whence there is no return to this world.”¹ The achievements of Indian Brahmans in the field of asceticism, whatever its moral or spiritual worth, could not fail to draw the attention of outsiders. The following extract from Abū Zaid will give an idea of a foreigner's impressions. “In India there are persons who, in accordance with their profession, wander in the woods and mountains, and rarely communicate with the rest of mankind. Sometimes they have nothing to eat but herbs and the fruits of the forest . . . Some of them go about naked. Others stand naked with the face turned to the sun, having nothing on but a panther's skin. In my travels I saw a man in the position I have described ; sixteen years afterwards I returned to that country and found him in the same posture. What astonished me was that he was not melted by the heat of the sun.”² Contemporary Muslim mystics had made travelling a speciality and stern rules were laid down for this peculiar discipline.³ In the four succeed-

¹ *Alberūni's India*, p. 133. “ Let him not desire to die, let him not desire to live ; but wait for his (appointed) time as a servant (waits) for the payment of his wages.” (*Manu*, p. 207, Ch. VI, 49)

² Elliot and Dowson : *History of India*, Vol. I, p. 6.

³ The following extract from the *Miṣbāḥ-u'l-Hidāyat* pp. 119 to 122 will give some idea of the discipline prescribed for Muslim *Khānqāhs* and for Muslim mystics when travelling:—

“The people of the monastery may be divided into residents and sojourners. It is the convention of the *ṣūfis* that they make it a point to arrive at monasteries before afternoon prayer, but if due to some unavoidable circumstances, they may reach there after the specified hour, they usually take their abode in some other quarter or mosque, and visit the monastery at sunrise next day. As soon as they enter it, they offer two *raka'ts* of *Namāz*, then shake hands with those present and make arrangement for board and lodging. Traditionally they do not stay for more than three days to accomplish their mission, and do not leave the monastery without the permission of the managers. In case they wish to stay more, they must perform the duties (that may be allotted to them) ; as a rule, even the non-mystic guests were to be accorded a proper recep-

ing centuries the travelling spirit was still further developed, and the Muslim mystic became, as we shall see, the spearhead of Muslim civilisation and culture in foreign lands.

There was, lastly, the fifth period or rather stage, not within the reach of all—that of the *Mahā-ātmā* or great *Rishī*, who was on the threshold of *Moksha* or had realised it. On such a person the restrictions of caste were not externally binding nor the Puranic rules. Here we have the equivalent of the *Quṭb-u'l-Aqṭāb* of the Muslim mystics. The underlying idea and the verbal definition are the same in both cases.

The *Kshattriyas*—Alberūnī never uses the term 'Rāj-pūt'—could learn the Veda but were not allowed to teach it. Though not entitled to officiate as a priest, he was permitted to perform the Puranic rites. The *Kshattriyas* had apparently ceased to make any contribution to the progress or the preservation of Indian culture. But their political prospects were improving. "Their degree is not much below that of the Brāhmans," Alberūnī tells us, "he (*Kshattriya*) rules the people and defends them for he is created for this task."

"The Hindus relate that originally the affairs of government and war were in the hands of Brāhmans, but the country became disorganised, since they ruled according to the principles of their religious codes," whereupon Brāhman

tion and entertainment.

"The residents of the monastery may be divided into three grades—servants, associates and recluses. A fresher may rise successively from one stage to another.

"In case the monastery is maintained by a charitable endowment provision of food should be made in accordance with the conditions laid down in the *waqf*. If the monastery is not supported by a *waqf*, the presence of an enlightened *Shaikh* is essential to instruct the visitors to beg or to work in order to maintain their livelihood. In the absence of a *Shaikh*, any of the three methods may be adopted. So far as possible there must be concord and friendship between the residents and not discord. All frictions must be removed, and every error forgiven as to represent a wholesome society of well-wishing and well-behaving individuals."

entrusted them exclusively with the functions which they now have, whilst he entrusted the Kshatriyas with the duties of ruling and fighting." We must be grateful for the preservation of this item of popular tradition. The reference is obviously to Brāhmanical ruling families that preceded, and even followed, the Buddhist period. The rise of the Rājapūts is a later phenomenon.

These were the two twice-born castes, exclusive heirs to the spiritual and religious achievements of Hinduism. Between them and the two remaining castes—the Vaiśhyas and the Sūdras—there was a very sharp distinction, while the Sūdras and Vaiśhyas were very near each other. The duty of the Vaiśhya was to devote himself to agriculture, cattle-breeding and business, either on his own behalf or on behalf of a Brāhman. "There are," says Ibn Khurdadhbah, "seven classes of Hindus." "In all these kingdoms of India," says Abū Zaid, "the nobility is considered to form but one family. Power resides in it alone. The princes name their own successors. It is the same with learned men and physicians. ✓ They form a distinct caste, and the profession never goes out of the caste."¹

Now caste-spirit, stern in the extreme, laid down three different principles, two of which were enforced ruthlessly by the power of the state. The caste-system could only have been preserved and strengthened in an atmosphere of ignorance; had the lower orders been allowed access to the sacred books, they would have undoubtedly claimed equality. For we are at a fairly advanced stage in the history of mankind—eleven hundred years after the death of Christ and five hundred years after the advent of the Arabian Apostle. Elsewhere the doctrine of equality and common citizenship had been preached in no uncertain terms. Thrones had been smashed to bits, and hereditary aristocracies and priesthoods completely overthrown. The fall of the Sāsānian Empire must have caused some reverberations in the country. It is inconceivable that the educated upper

¹ Elliot and Dowson : *History of India*, Vol. I, p. 6.

classes of India were ignorant either of the political democracy of the Greeks or the social democracy of the Mussalmans. The latter, at least, had been their neighbours in Sind for at least three hundred years. But they preferred to attempt—and what governing classes would not?—a continuation of their power by further strengthening the bonds of a vicious system. *First*, the doors of knowledge were closed on all persons not belonging to the twice-born castes; and any attempt to cross the barrier was severely punished. “Every action,” Alberūnī tells us, “which is considered the privilege of a Brāhman, such as saying prayers, the recitation of the Veda, and offering sacrifices to the fire is forbidden to him to such a degree that when, *e.g.*, a Sūdra or a Vaishya is proved to have recited the Veda, he is accused by the Brāhman before the ruler, and the latter will order his tongue to be cut off.” A non-caste person committing the same offence would have doubtless met a quicker and severer punishment.¹ So while in the rest of Asia as well as in Europe the educated classes were desperately busy in carrying light and knowledge to the multitude—while elsewhere, under the shadow of the cathedral or the mosque the sons of weavers and farmers and shopkeepers were being collected together, thanks to the munificent endowments of the rich and the more precious benefactions of the poor, to learn whatever store of wisdom that age possessed at the feet of masters no better-born than themselves—the Brāhmans of India could think of no better plan for the preservation of knowledge than preventing the spread of education. Such a policy may, or may not, have been necessary in the period of the Rig Veda. But in the eleventh century—in the generation of Alberūnī, Avicenna and Sulṭān Maḥmūd—it was stupid, mad and suicidal; and the Brāhmans, themselves a rationalistic and highly enlightened group, were destined to pay a terrible price for the most unpardonable of social sins.

Secondly, it was not enough to keep the lower orders in ignorance; it was necessary to divide or subdivide them to

¹ Alberūnī, Vol. II, p. 137: story of King Rāma and the Candala.

prevent their developing a corporate spirit similar to that of the Brāhman and the Kshattriyas. So the Vaishyas and Sūdras were offered amenities denied to the rest.¹ They were offered the status of low, but regular castes. They were allowed to 'meditate on God' whom they had to comprehend not on the basis of the Vedas or other sacred texts but through such wild Puranic texts as filtered down to them by word of mouth. Also the Brāhmins would accept their alms. Finally, they were allowed to live within the city-walls. These favours, however effective they may have been in making an insuperable distinction between the lower caste and the non-caste people, did not, as the subsequent political history of the country was to show, attach them to Brāhmins and the Kshattriyas. They lived inside the city-walls. But they were not citizens, for they were excluded from that 'perfect life' which Aristotle declared to be only possible within the 'city' or the state.

It was difficult then—and it is equally difficult now—to give an account of the non-caste sections of the Indian people. Lacking cultural traditions and uniformity of organisation, they must have varied from district to district. They had only one thing in common—they were not allowed to live within the city-walls and could only enter, presumably after due notice, to carry on that work without which the city could not have existed. According to Alberūnī, whose remarks can only be considered generally correct of that part of the country which he had seen, the non-caste people were broadly divisible into sections—an upper or more fortunate section, called Antyajāya and a lower section without a recognised organisation or status. "These guilds live near the villages and towns of the four castes but outside them. There are *eight classes (guilds)*, who *freely intermarry* with each other, except the fuller, shoe-maker and weaver, for no others would condescend to have anything to do with them.

¹ But there were limits. "A Sūdra, though emancipated by his master, is not released from servitude; since that is innate in him, who can set him free from it?"—*Manū*, Vol. I, p. 326.

These eight guilds are—the fuller, shoe-maker, juggler, the basket and shield-maker, the sailor, fisherman, the hunter of wild animals and of birds, and the weaver.”¹ The lowest people are enumerated as the Hādī, Doma, Candala, and Bhadatau.”² They are occupied with dirty work like the cleansing of villages and other services. They are considered as one sole class, and distinguished only by their occupations. In fact, they are considered like illegitimate children; for according to general opinion they descend from a Sūdra father and a Brāhmani mother as the children of fornication; therefore, they are degraded outcastes . . . All other men except the Candala, as far as they are not Hindus, are called *mlechcha*, i.e., unclean, all those who kill men (i.e., hangmen) and slaughter animals, and eat the flesh of cows.³

Thirdly, the fearful doctrine of *chhūt*—theological contamination, to which we have already referred—was invoked to strengthen the fabric of the caste-system.⁴ Alberūnī is right in declaring that everything that falls into a state of impurity

¹ Alberūnī, Vol. I, p. 101.

² A Candala, a village pig, a cock, a dog, a menstruating woman, and an eunuch must not look at the Brāhmins while they eat. *Manū*, Chap. III, p. 119.

³ Alberūnī's *India*, Vol. II, p. 137.

⁴ The following *slokas* of *Manū* will give some idea of the orthodox view-point about the lower orders and it may be safely assumed that in this matter the tide of public opinion among the ruling classes was running strongly in favour of *Manū*'s ideas:—

(i) The Brāhmana, the Kṣhattriya, and the Vaiśhya castes (*varna*) are the twice-born ones, but the fourth, the Sūdra, has one birth only; there is no fifth (caste).

(ii) In all castes (*varna*) those (children) only which are begotten in the direct order on wedded wives, equal (in caste and married as) virgins, are to be considered as belonging to the same caste (as their fathers).

(iii) Sons, begotten by twice-born men or wives of the next lower castes they declare to be similar (to their fathers, but) blamed on account of the fault (inherent) in their mothers.

(iv) Such is the eternal law concerning (children born of wives one degree lower than their husbands); know (that) the following rule (is applicable) to those born of women two or three degrees lower. *Manū*, Ch. X, pp. 402 and 403.

strives, and quite successfully, to regain its original condition, which was that of purity. The sun cleanses fresh air, and salt in the sea-water prevents it from being corrupted. Had it been otherwise, life on this planet would have been impossible. But the Brāhmanic conception of theological contamination in the thirteenth century was only remotely connected with hygiene, which is necessary for physical health, or with that conception of *tabu* which modern investigators have found so prevalent in primitive races. It was a pseudo-spiritualistic conception, expressed in one thousand and one detailed regulations intended to preserve the separateness and the predominance of the governing classes. The food of a Mussalmān may or may not be considered unclean. That is a matter of opinion. But what about his fire? How can that be unclean? If a Brāhman's house catches fire, it is purified by the flames thereof. But if that fire spreads to a Mussalmān's house, the flames themselves become unclean, and you may not use them to light your hearth. Now the conception of theological impurity or *chhut* is an old idea and persists till to-day. But it seems to have reached its high-water mark in the eleventh century. The food of the *mlechhas*, as well as foreigners and their water as well as their fire, were considered unclean. The lower orders were thus prevented from associating with the twice-born castes, and were driven beyond the city-walls. The life of a caste-Hindu, and specially of the majority, who were probably inclined like the majority of men everywhere to take a mechanistic view of religion, may well have been one long struggle to avoid the physical contamination of their fellow-men. Later ages, from necessity if not from choice, were compelled to adopt artificial means of cleansing (e.g., bathing in the Ganges) from imaginary impurities like the accidental touch of a Mussalmān's water-bucket. But in the thirteenth century this was not allowed. A person or a thing contaminated was damned for all time. "The Hindus never desire that a thing that has once been polluted should be purified and thus recovered."¹ The principle is best explained by an

¹ *Alberūnī's India*, Vol. I, p. 20.

extreme and tragic case, what happened to a Hindu warrior, high or low, who having been captured by the Mussalmāns, of necessity partook of their food and drink, and then returned to his native land. Society, one might imagine, would have received the hero with open arms. No: he had lost caste. Though physically alive, he was legally and theologically dead. To the mother who had nursed him he was now filth and dirt, the son whom he had cherished would succeed to his property and shut the door of his own house on his face; his relations and friends, if he happened to meet them in one of the few streets on which he was allowed to walk, would turn away their faces. Such things indicate, to use Alberūnī's phrase, "an innate perversity of character." "I have (had) been told that when Hindu slaves (i.e., prisoners of war in Muslim countries) escape and return to their country and religion, the Hindus order that they should fast by way of expiation, then they bury them in the dung, stale and milk of cows for a certain number of days till they get into a state of fermentation. Then they drag them out of the dirt and give them similar dirt to eat, and more of the like. I have asked the Brāhmins if this is true, but they deny it and maintain that there is no expiation possible for such an individual, and that he is *never* allowed to return into those conditions of life in which he was before he was carried off as a prisoner. And how should that be possible? If a Brāhman eats in the house of a Sūdra for sundry days, he is expelled from his caste and can never regain it." The captives, as we know for a fact, seldom cared to return to the land of their birth. Since they had ceased to be Hindus owing to their reckless courage on the battle-field, was there any alternative for them but to accept the faith and the social equality offered to them by their conquerors? For while the Brāhmins strove to prevent the mass of the countrymen from taking the road to Heaven, the Mussalmāns were only too anxious to drive the multitude heaven-wards.

VII

It remains to examine the causes that led to the remark-

able success of the Turkish regime in India at a time when it had become the laughing-stock of Muslim Asia for its intrigue, lack of discipline and morale and military inefficiency. First Shihāb-u'd-dīn Ghūrī's army was annihilated by the Qarā Khitāi Turks at Andkhud, and most of his officers deserted him in the hour of misfortune; then 'Alā-u'd-dīn Muḥammad Khawārazm Shāh fell upon his former overlords and friends, and the Qarā Khitāi power disappeared; lastly by a series of brilliant campaigns in 1219 and 1220, Chingīz Khān in his turn crushed the Khawārazmian Empire; and it seemed to Mussalmāns then living that Islamic civilisation itself was doomed and the Day of Judgment near at hand.

'Alā-ud-dīn 'Aṭā Malik Juwaynī writing in the days of Chingīz's grandson, Hulāgū Khān, briefly compares the military organisation of the Chingīzī Mongols and the Khawārazmian Turks¹ :—

"The muster and the marking of the army have been organised in such a way as to dispense with the office of Review and dismiss its officers and deputies. The whole mass of the fighting people has been divided into groups of *tens* and one man out of every ten is appointed *amīr* over the remaining nine (*amīr-i-dāh*). Out of ten such *amīrs*, one is named *Amīr-i-ṣadah*, and all the hundred men are placed under his command. This goes on till the (*amīr* of) thousand (*amīr-i-hazārah*), and over ten thousand men is placed an *amīr* known as *Amīr-i-Tūmān*. If there is a problem to face or men and things required, the matter is referred (by the supreme ruler) to the *Amīr-i-Tūmān*, who informs the *Amīr-i-Hazārah* in his turn till the order ultimately reaches the *amīr-i-dah*. Equity and justice are enforced in case one person is tormented by another, and no consideration is paid to outward status or position. If suddenly a force is required, it is ordered that so many thousands be present at such a time and place, and without a moment's hesitation or delay the order is carried.

¹ Tārīkh-i-Jahān Gushā, Vol. I, pp. 19, 20, and 21 (Teherān).

The spirit of discipline and loyalty exists to such a degree that if an individual, be he the commander of a thousand, commits wrong, and in spite of a distance of east and west between him and the *Khān*, a rider is despatched to carry out the punishment or to cut off his head or to exact gold as ordered. Quite unlike is the position of the ruler (of a Muslim country), who talks with fear with his own purchased slave, if the latter possesses ten horses in his stable, lest some evil should result from it. If an army is placed under his command, and he attains to a position of authority, he simply cannot be commanded. And often it happens that the officer himself rises in revolt (against the king) and whenever the king wishes to attack an enemy or an enemy wishes to attack, they take months and years to put the army in order and treasuries and territories are required for their salaries and pay. On traditional and ceremonious occasions they are present by hundreds and thousands, but at the time of war- and death-struggle the lines are broken and none turns up on the battle-field. There is a parable, which holds particularly true of their organisation. At the time of realising taxes, a revenue officer demanded a number of goats from a farmer. The farmer said, 'wherefrom?' The officer answered, 'in the records.' The farmer continued, 'yes, but there is none in the flock.' "The same is true of Muslim troops. The *amīr* shows that he has such a number of men under him in order to receive more than the legitimate pay, but at the occasion of review they practise deceit so as to make up the total." ¹

How did the *Shansabāniyah* state, so indubitably inferior to the *Khwārazmian* Empire, manage to secure such astounding success in Hindustan. The fact in itself is surprising. Unlike the British, the Turks had no overpowering superiority in the scientific instruments or the technique of warfare; nor a strong home-government to help them in times of need. Alexander inflicted a crushing

¹ *Tārīkh-i-Jahān Gushā*, Vol. I, pp. 20 and 21 (Tehran).

defeat upon Porus only to be driven away from the country; Maḥmūd again and again captured strongholds, subdued the powerful *Rājās*, and demolished their sacred shrines, yet he was careful and circumspect in his marches and counter-marches and never attempted the impossible feat of subjugating northern India, and the world-conquering Chingīz gave up the idea of crossing the Indus, perhaps wisely. What these great masters of men, money, resources and genius failed to achieve, the obviously humdrum Mu'izzī Maliks accomplished and in an incredibly short time—fourteen or fifteen years as compared with the hundred years which separate the battle of Plassey from the Mutiny of 1857. But how? The problem is a perplexing and puzzling one.

Unfortunately for us no reliable record is available after Alberūnī, and the student has to fall back upon his guess-work, conjectures and the indications of undeniable facts. India at the time could not have been an isolated region cut off from the outside world; there were commercial, religious and cultural contacts between the Mussalmāns and the Hindūs long before the Turkish invaders entered upon the scene. Mystics, traders, and travellers from Muslim lands undertook a peaceful penetration of the country, and, as a matter of fact, Muslim colonies were to be found in every large Indian town. "The Muslims who came into India made it their home. They lived surrounded by the Hindu people, and a state of perennial hostility with them was impossible. Mutual intercourse led to mutual understanding. Many who had changed their faith differed little from those whom they had left."¹ This was, in a large part, the result of Mystic propaganda carried on by Khwājah Mu'in-u'd-dīn Chishtī and his predecessors, like Shaikh 'Alī Hajwīrī, who had peacefully made the Mussalmāns a community of the soil long before it was subdued by the ruthless and tenacious efforts of Shihāb-u'd-dīn of Ghūr.

¹ Dr. Tārā Chand : *Influence of Islām on Indian Culture*, p. 137.

The Muslim social system could not have remained a mystery to the leaders of the Hindus, if not to the mass of the people. They had seen with their eyes the temporary subjection of their mother-land, the tottering of their local monarchies, the destruction of their strongholds, the demolition of their places of worship, and the ruin of their cultural and social heritage. They had, undoubtedly, a good knowledge of the disintegration of the 'Abbāsīd power, and the rise of the Turks and the vigour of their forces, whom they met many a time on the field of battle. They witnessed the expansion of Muslim arms first in Afghānistān and later on in the Panjāb right up to the Rāvi. It was a period, they knew, of revolution and anarchy, intrigues, stratagem and military reorganisation. What could be the psychological or religious reaction of the Hindu community to this danger—to this foreign explosive and expensive body, whose outlook, law and social customs were entirely opposed to everything in popular Hinduism, but which none the less left no doubt of its virility and power. It was obvious that the Turks, quite unlike the Hindus, were progressing from success to success without the blessings of the Brāhmins and in spite of their contempt for all idols and images.

Human nature reacts similarly in similar circumstances. There were two courses open to the Hindu community—either the revolutionary step of reforming their society on the lines of their hated adversaries or a return to their sacred *Shāstras* and *Smrities* with the terrible cast-iron system they advocated. Consciously or unconsciously, for good or ill, Hinduism preferred the latter course. An enlightened study of the Muslim movement would have shown them that it brought monotheism, a hatred of superstitions, intensity of contempt for idols of wood and stone and above all its comparative homogeneity of social structure based upon the doctrine of human equality. But it was not to be. The drunkard, unable to face the struggle of life, takes to more drink, the opium-eater to larger doses of opium. Similarly a community, faced by a political

contest in which there was nothing mysterious—nothing beyond the power of human reason to analyse or reform—decided, apparently without much discussion, to hug deeper into its breast the scorpions that were stinging it to death. Paralysed by the inequality of the caste-system, it preferred to depress the valleys and to elevate the mountains. Worshipping false gods—false because they were the peg-points of rotten social fabric—it concluded that the fault was due not to the impotency of the idols but to the insincerity of the worshippers. There can be little doubt that everything which we would to-day consider reactionary and disastrous was strengthened at the expense of all that was fine, strong, vital and life-giving in that civilisation-process which we are wont to call Hinduism. There are sufficient symbolic evidences to prove this fact.

In the time of Maḥmūd the ruling dynasties were recruited from all the four traditional and orthodox castes, and the word ' Rājput ' is never mentioned by the contemporary Persian chronicles. At the time of the Ghūrian invasion, the Rājput held a monopoly of power. The lower castes, it would seem, were completely shouldered out ; hereafter in Hindu society, Brāhmins and Rājputs alone count. The Vaishyas and Sūdras had ceased to be citizens and we are driven to conclude that they had ceased to be patriots. This accounts for a revival of the old Brāhmanic conception of society and the rigidity of the caste-system, about which much has been written in the preceding pages. "Render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's" and the Rājputs were specially commissioned with the sacred duty of ruling and protecting the country. The profession of arms became the glory and exclusive privilege of the Rājputs and henceforth the Rājputs and their Brāhman allies became the actual, though temporary, sovereigns of Hindūstan. Of all the mythologies of later Hinduism, the *Agnikola* myth proved to be the most disastrous.

Inevitably there was another set-back in their policy. The Rājputs evolved a new cult, and laid the foundation of purely military states. They devoted all their energies

to matters of war with a complete disregard and neglect of the functions of civil life. History has often shown that the pure military states, devoid of the resources which civil energies alone can provide, do not succeed even in that war for which they have sacrificed everything against a state which combines in itself functions both political and civil. Defeated in war, they thought war meant everything; the result was a 'murder cult,' internecine civil strife with its paralysing bitternesses. It was not enough, the rigidity of caste-system contributed considerably to the catastrophe. An imaginative reconstruction of the life in the rank and file of the Hindu armies is extremely interesting. The Moghul forces on march have been described as 'moving cities,' but the Indian army overridden by caste-system could not be anything but a display of soul-racking *tabus*. Maybe, a tenth part (or less) of the whole population was in arms, the remaining nine-tenths serving as menials in the fields and sleeping in the distant villages. Fighting along with the lower caste being regarded a disgrace, and association of people of one caste with the other being forbidden, individuals would cook and eat their meals separately according to their own special rites; and none except co-caste persons would join the funeral ceremony of one dead at home or killed in the field. To say nothing of the lower classes and the *Mlechchas*.

The Hindu Rājās were different from their Muslim adversaries, who were bred and brought up in the profession of arms. The chief characteristic of the Rājput army was its feudal character. There were no enlisted forces, and the required number had to be produced at a sudden call for the occasion. The feudal levies having no racial or national unity, and still less the art of marching, deploying and behaving as trained battalions were torn by dissension and internal desertion. Long and hazardous campaigns were out of the question against their adversaries only too familiar and accustomed to prolonged campaigning.

The records leave upon us the impression of brave—but amateurish and purple-born warriors—against men who though perhaps physically inferior in sheer quantity of bone and muscle and hailing from a land of malaria-swept and under-nourished population, were nevertheless professional soldiers, trained officers, seasoned veterans acquainted with all the tricks of state-craft and war that could be learnt from the traditions of the Turks and the military text-books of Rome. The success of the Rājput̃s in pitched battles was highly improbable, and they often retired into their forts without wasting their men. The Ghūrian conquest of Hindustan meant a series of sieges and sieges usually ended in one way. Cut off from the resources of the surrounding country, which came into the enemies' hands and shut up in their fortified walls, the garrison could always be reduced to the last straits. The lower classes and Mlechchas were left outside the fort at the mercy of the invaders to whom they always somnolently submitted. The mass of the people remained indifferent; to them change of masters was a matter immaterial and insignificant. Taxes would not be increased, peace would be better maintained, art, craft and industry would receive greater encouragement. What was there to worry about? To the non-caste, the success of the Turks meant a positive improvement. One oligarchy would succeed another. But the new oligarchy saw no earthly reason for excluding them from the village wells or the public streets. War increased their employment; there must have been a rise in the labourer's wages; and after war, public works—roads, forts, service in the commissariats. The Turks did not give the privileges of free citizens to the out-castes; in fact, they insisted on good birth. There can be little doubt that the Turkish conquest of India raised the non-castes from the status of pigs to the status of bullocks, not necessarily ill-fed. When the Rājput̃ garrison closed itself within the four walls, the country-side seldom rose in its support. The high castes were left to stew in their

own juice. Thus, inevitably, almost every war led to a siege, and almost every siege led to a *Jauhar*.

The opinion of Mr. C. V. Vaidya ¹ regarding the causes which led to the downfall of northern India may be summarised as follows :—

India at the time of Ghūrian invasion lacked neither in armies nor in capable generals nor in kingly families. There was no superiority of physique or valour, nor any remarkable religious fervour on the side of the invaders. Certainly there was no difference in weapons. The foremost cause was that the Rājput̃s were *divided* among themselves and fought against one another. Mutual hatred and jealousies have been the bane of the Rājput̃s. Another cause was the *rigidification of caste*, which took place about this 'time.' "The social sympathy," says Mr. Vaidya, "which existed previously among the various sections of the Hindu people, was gone, and it was replaced by a feeling of aloofness and aversion." It also resulted in the 'vast diminution in the fighting strength of kingdoms,' and consequently there could be no national resistance or unity. Superstition, neglect of the study of the science of war and the Buddhistic sentiment of *Ahimsa* are enumerated as subsidiary causes. "To conclude the disunion among the Rājput̃s, the fighting arm of India, and the rigidity of caste by which nine-tenths of the people were made incapable or unwilling to resist foreign domination were the two main causes which led to the permanent enslavement of Northern India."

The Hindu literature talks of the Turks, (not of Mussalmāns) as racial rulers and conquerors, and regards them as brutish, ruthless and hard-hearted. It may come as a surprise, but the fact is, nevertheless, true that the Turks were equally despised by the ordinary Mussalmān from their own point of view; taking service under a Turk was regarded degrading and a violation of personal self-respect. The Turks themselves lived in an atmosphere of fear and

¹ C. V. Vaidya : *Medieval Hindu India*, Vol. III, pp. 360—372.

mistrust, and built their family graveyards like forts. The Turks in the thirteenth century were not converting missionaries; they simply helped the movement which was carried on with great honesty and devotion by the various Mystic cults. A convert to the Muslim fold was a brother and equal of every other Mussalmān though not of the Turk.

Nevertheless, the other side of the shield should not be ignored. The Turks were a hardy people, they had suffered much from the vicissitudes of fortune in their own land and were fighting with their backs to the wall. Some had come in the conquering armies but most were refugees from Central Asia. No other country was left to them. They were not physically superior to the Rājapūts, nor there was any remarkable difference in their arms; but in detailed equipment the Turks were decidedly advanced. The main feature of the Indian army was the elephant, which being considered equal to 500 footmen, often proved a source of danger to its own army. In the art of swordsmanship the Indians probably surpassed their enemies, but this was of little avail to those confined within the walls of a fort. *Munjaniqs* were used on both sides, but they could cause more harm to the besieged than to the besiegers. Medieval battles were not displays of swordsmanship, but massed cavalry attacks, and the Turks and the Tatars were noted for the latter. The number of troopers did not matter so much as their efficient handling, then always the central feature of the military art was discipline and organisation. Good horses were not available in India, and it seems that country ponies were useless in battle.

The story of Turkish conquest remains incomplete until supplemented by an account of some other factors—social and religious—which contributed immensely to the success of Muslim arms in the thirteenth century. Muslim society, being extraordinarily God-conscious, is permeated by a religious 'control,' which extends to every sphere of human conduct. Allah is everywhere, and a Mussalmān is never permitted to lose sight of his faith. Allah is the real

owner of sovereignty¹ and bestows it upon whom he likes and deprives others accordingly.² The ruler and the ruled are fastened together by means of *bai't*, which literally means *contract* or *submission*. Thus, the political authority in Islam depends upon the will of the Muslim brotherhood, which is free from all restrictions of caste, creed or colour, and that all believers are equal in the sight of God. No other religion (we should exclude short interludes) has so successfully succeeded in crushing and fusing all racial elements; the complete assimilation of the Turkish oligarchy in the Indian Muslim population is a good example. Islam—as Islam—will not under any condition tolerate anything like the cult of 'blood and soil'. "Ye are of one brotherhood", the Prophet said. Men are just men, the possession of will and reason is all that matters. "For the Lord we are and to the Lord we return."³ Language, race and tribe are just vanishing pin-points in the consciousness of the true Mussalmān.

The sovereignty of Allah is manifested in the Congregation. The Congregation is, therefore, supreme and the ruler and the ruled are both subject to its authority. It is the explicit duty of the subjects to obey God, then the Prophet, then those in authority from among them,⁴ and in case of difference of opinion they are required to turn back to Allah and His Apostle—i.e., the basic principles of the faith. The institution of authority, and submission to it is not one-sided; for the *Imām* is responsible for the welfare of the subjects, and has to act according to the dictates of the Qur'-ānic law.

The revolutionary forces responsible for the rise of early Islam were the Qur'-ānic conception of God and the practical brotherhood of Islam. No one will pretend that by the thirteenth century these ideals had declined; to a casual observer they may seem to have vanished. Never-

¹ ملك الملوك — الملك لله. — Qur'ān, 3 : 3.

² Qur'ān, 3 : 3.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Qur'ān. 5 : 8.

theless they remained there—a permanent beacon to all men—rulers and ruled alike. The Turkish slave-aristocracy stood a governing group apart and above all others. But apart from this grievous exception, all Mussalmāns were socially equal. The ranks of the higher bureaucracy and the army were exclusive Turkish privilege ; but in all the other walks of life—in trade, industry and commerce, in literature and public life, apart from government service in the higher sphere and specially in the safest and most lucrative of all mediæval professions, religion—career was really open to the Mussalmān.

The existence of the Turkish bureaucracy should not blind us to the existence of a very real and very vital 'community spirit' among the Mussalmāns. At the beginning of our period it was this 'community spirit'—based on social equality enshrined in the mosque—which enabled the Turkish rulers to crush the caste-ridden, ultra-oligarchic Rājput States of Hindustan and at the end of our period it destroyed the Turks themselves. In the struggle of races it is not the patriotism of the few that counts ; the strength of a people depends upon the element of social justice in its outlook, social laws and institution—and owing to this element of social justice secured to the Islamic peoples a pre-eminent place in the cultural and political affairs of the world for the first thousand years of its existence. The Afghān, Khaljī, Tājik or Indo-Muslim soldier in the armies that marched from Ghaznī to the Brahmaputra in the course of fifteen years—about one-half of a soldier's working life—could not fail to be galled by the restriction he was surrounded. Army life was hard and toilsome ; commissariat arrangements often failed ; what was worse, the officers deprived him of his legitimate share of spoils and an army commission, whatever his record, would be denied on racial grounds. But that was all. When the *takbīr*—Allah-o-Akbar—was uttered, his individuality was lost in a great movement, preordained, irresistible, divine. The movement was all that mattered. He marched forth, reckless of victory or death.

We are they who come faster than fate ; we are
they who ride early or late :

We storm at your ivory gate ; Pale kings of the
sunset beware :

Not on silk nor in *samit* we lie, not in curtained
solemnity die

Among women who chatter and cry and children who
mumble a prayer.

But we sleep by the ropes of the camp, and we rise
with a shout and we tramp.

With the sun or the moon for a lamp, and the spray of
the wind in our hair.

From the lands where the elephants are to the forts of
Merou and Balghār,

Our steel we have brought and our star to shine on the
ruins of Rūm

We have marched from the Indus to Spain, and by God
we will go there again ;

We have stood on the shore of the plain where the
Waters of Destiny boom.

A mart of destruction we made at Yalulā where men
were afraid,

For death was a difficult trade, and the sword was a
broker of doom

And the spear was a Desert Physician, who cured not
a few of ambition,

And drave not a few to perdition with medicine bitter
and strong.

And the shield was a grief to the fool and as bright as
a desolate pool,

And as straight as the rock of Stamboul when their
cavalry thundered along ;

For the coward was drowned with the brave when our
battle sheered up like a wave.

And the dead to the desert we gave, and the glory to
God in our song.¹

¹ James Elroy Flecker's *Hassan*, pp. 104, 105.

And against them—what? The majority of the Indians were asked to defend the temples of gods to which they had been denied entrance for generations. They refused. They were asked to maintain the power and privileges of the Kshatriyas and Brāhmans by which they had been reduced to the condition of beasts. They felt no call to die in defence of such privileges. They were asked to defend a great and sacred literature, literature so sacred that they would be punished with death for acquiring it. Need we feel surprised at their indifference. Here lies the solution of the Turko-Muslim Conquest of India.

CHAPTER I

THE STATE-SYSTEM OF 'AJAM

AFTER the death of the Arabian Apostle, his followers set forth from their desert-homes with the message of Islam to convert the rest of the world to their faith. The two great powers with which they had to tackle, were the Byzantines and the Sasanians. As against the Byzantines, the Arabs achieved only a partial victory, and the Roman Empire ultimately survived the Caliphate by over two hundred years. On the other hand, the kingdom of the Sasanians passed under the sway of Islam as a result of the Arab victory over Yazdajird, the last of the Chosroes. The old administration of Mesopotamia and Persia, however, remained intact specially under the Abbasids, the successors of Umayyads, who changed the seat of government from Syria to Baghdād, the old winter capital of the Sasanians.

Baghdād henceforth became the centre of Muslim Empire in the East. Yet the very accession of the first Abbasid Caliph saw the disintegration of the Empire. Within the short span of a century, the integral parts of the Caliphate were disunited. Spain fell off, and proclaimed an Umayyad Caliph at Cordova ; Egypt was lost and passed under the Fatimid Caliphs ; Syria, for the most part, followed in the footsteps of Egypt and Arabia was the debatable land between the two. Many provinces in the Further East became independent, but luckily for the Abbasids, no rival Caliphate was set up.

Before commencing the political history of 'Ajam, it is worth-while to sketch the vast tracts of land stretching from the desert of Central Asia and the mountains of Afghānistān to the limits of the Byzantine Empire, which remained to the last nominally, if not actually, subject to

the Abbasid Caliphate. The country under review was divided into various provinces, which formed part of the Abbasid Empire.

Asia is the largest continent covering a vast and diversified area, stretching from the Arctic Circle to the Equator, and including one-third land of the globe with half the population of the inhabited world. A continent of 'extremes and contrasts', Asia includes within its borders the hottest and coldest regions; the highest mountains and plateaus, also the deepest depressions; and extremely congested as well as the most sparsely-populated tracts of the world.¹

The great lowland province, the gift of the two great rivers the Euphrates and the Tigris (the latter river in Abbasid time ran in a different channel), was called Mesopotamia by the Greeks. The Arabs divided the country into two provinces—Lower (i.e., ancient Babylonia) Al-'Irāq and the Upper, Al-Jazīrah. To the east of the Upper Mesopotamia was situated the province of Ādherbāijān, the ancient Atropatene, bounded on the north by the Araxes, and on the south by the Safid Rūd, both of which rivers flowed into the Caspian. To the south-east of Ādherbāijān, lay the rich province of Media, called by the Arabs Al-Jibāl (i.e., the Mountains), for its mountains overhang the lowlands of Al-Jazīrah, and stretched eastward to the border of the Great Desert of Central Persia. The western part of this province, under the Kurds, came to be known as Kurdistān. The province of Khuzistān was situated to the south of Media and east of Lower Mesopotamia. Bordering the Gulf and east of Khuzistān, lay the great province of Fars, the ancient Persia and the 'cradle of the Persian monarchy'. Bordering the Great Desert and east of Fars, lay the less fertile province of Kirmān. North of Makrān and to the east of the lake of Zarāh, lay the province of Sijistān or Sistān. The Helmund river along with many other streams flowed into the Great Lake. North-west of

¹ See Introduction to Asia by Dr. Dudley Stamp.

the Zarāh Lake and on the border of the Great Desert, came the hilly province of Kuhistān (land of mountains). The three smaller provinces of Kumis, Ṭabaristān and Jurjān came next. The great eastern province of Persia was Khurāsān, which, unlike the modern times, comprised the north-western part of Afghānistān under the Abbasids. The mediæval Khurāsān was bounded on the east by Badakhshān, and to the north by the Oxus and the desert of Khwārazm. A number of smaller provinces stretched from Badakhshān westwards, and lay to the north on the right bank affluents of the Oxus.¹

The theme of the present chapter on the 'state-system of 'Ajam' on the death of Shihābu'd-dīn of Ghūr comprises the forces working in Central Asia and Persia; they are (1) the disintegration of the Abbasid Caliphate and the Minor Dynasties, (2) the Khwārazmian Empire, (3) Qarā Khiṭāi Turks, (4) Ghūr, (5) Chingiz Khān and (6) Ala'mūt.

From the rise of Islam to the conquest of Muslim Asia by Chingiz Khān, Islamic History may be divided into four parts:

1. The period of Expansion (622-748) resulting in the conquest of Arabia, 'Irāq, Syria, Persia and Northern Africa under the 'Pious Caliphs' and the Umayyads;
2. The period of Abbasid Caliphate or "the period of Turkish Ascendency" (749-900) is notable for its peace and prosperity with practically no conquest to its record;
3. The period of "Minor Dynasties" (900-1000) or the period of "Persian Renaissance" saw the decline of the power of the Caliph and the rise of small principalities instead; and
4. the period of the Turko-Persian Empires (1000-1220) including the reigns of the Ghaznavid, the Saljūq and the Khwārazmian dynasties.

¹ See Introduction to *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate* by Le Strange.

The disintegration of the Abbasid Caliphate

"The Khilāfat¹ . . . is the Vicegerency of the Prophet; it is ordained by Divine Law for the perpetuation of Islam and the continued observance of its laws and rules. For the existence of Islam, therefore, there must always be a Caliph, an actual and direct representative of the Master."²

The Abbasid Caliphs of Baghḍād, the most celebrated dynasty of Islam, descended from the uncle of the Prophet Al-'Abbās. His descendants multiplied under the 'Pious Caliphs and their Umayyad successors.' By degrees they entertained the idea of upsetting the Umayyads, and were backed, in this design, by the descendants of 'Alī. Little by little they threw off their power. Thus Al-Ṣaffāḥ's brother and successor Abū-Ja'far al-Manṣūr made Baghḍād the capital.³ The Abbasid Caliphate reached its zenith in the time of Māmūn, after whom the disintegration of the Empire followed. "The nature of the policy of the Abbasids is well known. The first representatives of the dynasty were the same worldly rulers as the Umayyads, and openly supported Greek Science and, chiefly under Māmūn, the rationalistic creed of the Mu'tazilites. They were distinguished from the Umayyads chiefly by their political aims. The latter were first and foremost representatives of the Arab nation; the Abbasids sought to create a state, in which both those provinces with a Persian and those with an Arab population, should enjoy equal rights."⁴

The "weakening of religious zeal has shown itself in all religions at various stages, and is painfully obvious in the history of Islam from the decline of the Abbasid Caliphate in

¹ Khilāfat literally means succession, and the person who succeeds is called the Khalifa. The word having assumed a religious significance, the Khalifa is looked upon as a person holding a religious office. But he was not Khalifa in the sense in which the Pope is regarded as a successor of St. Peter. The Khalifa in Islam had no power to frame new rules in religion.

² *The Spirit of Islam* by Amīr 'Alī, pp. 124, 125.

³ *Encyclopædia of Islam*, Vol. I, p. 14.

⁴ *Turkestan Down to the Mongol Invasion* by W. Barthold (Translated by the author and H. A. R. Gibb), p. 197.

the ninth century to the Mongol conquest of Muslim Asia and the growth of mysticism in the thirteenth—it was a period of feverish political activity; empires were established and pulled down; cities were founded and destroyed. But it was a period of refinement and culture, of an alluring, materialistic civilization—not of faith.¹

"Historians are agreed that the downfall of the Caliphate was caused by the rivalries of opposing rulers, the growth of anarchical and distinctive sects, the falling away from their allegiance of remote provinces, and the increasing power and ambition of Turkish mercenaries, all of which are easily shown to date from the reigns of Māmūn and Mu'taṣim."²

The various tribes of the Mongolian race—Turks, Tartars, Turkomans, Tibetans, Chinese and Mongols extended from Anāṭulia to the shores of the Pacific Ocean. With the extension of the Muslim frontier to the north and west of Persia, one Turkish tribe after another came under subjection, and attracted the attention of their conquerors by the bravery of their men and beauty of their women. Thus the period is marked by the ascendancy of Turks, who slowly and steadily replaced the Persians from the ordinary post of royal bodyguard to the highest offices, and, through sheer force of ability and warlike prowess, became the absolute masters of the Abbasid Empire.

Mu'taṣim (833-842) took the fatal step of introducing the Turkish element into the army, and he was the first Caliph³ to have Turkish slaves under his employment. The position of the Caliph became all the more precarious by the transference of the seat of government from Baghdād to Samātra (situated on the left bank of the Tigris) in 836 A.D. The tyranny, lawlessness and power of the Turks went on increasing.⁴ The unscrupulous policy of religious persecution

¹ *Maḥmūd of Ghazna* by Prof. Moḥammad Ḥabīb.

² *The Saracens from the Earliest Times to the Fall of Baghdād* by Arthur Gilman, p. 423.

³ *Tārīkh-i-Guzīdah*, p. 318.

⁴ *Ibn Athīr*, VI, p 319.

followed by the Caliph Mutawakkil was responsible for the alienation of the sympathies of the subject races. His own son entered into a conspiracy with the Turks,¹ which ended in the Caliph's murder in 861.² The Caliph Mu'taḍid (892-902) was unable to suppress the power of the Turks. The final decline of the Caliphate set in just after the murder of Muqtadir in 932 A.D. "The Turkish soldiers made and murdered Caliphs at their pleasure."³ The various ambitious Turks fought for the mastery of Baghdād, and one of them, eunuch Munis,⁴ the captain of the guard, held the post of Amīr-u'l-Umarā'. The Amīrs appropriated all the revenue themselves,⁵ and fixed a daily allowance for the Caliph. The temporal power of the Caliph was reduced to insignificance, but they still commanded the respect and good wishes of pious Muslims; and no one could openly defy their orders.

The last ruler of the Tāhirid Dynasty, Muḥammad bin Ṭāhir⁶ (862-872) was a pleasure-seeking monarch.⁷ The Kharijites had long resumed their activities, and a band of volunteers called Mut'āwīa, with Ya'qūb bin Laith as their leader, was formed to protect the people from the Kharijite propaganda. The Saffarid Dynasty was founded by Ya'qūb bin Laith al-Ṣaffār, which originated in Sijistān, and reigned in Persia for thirty-three years. Ya'qūb, a copper-smith by trade, became a brigand and rebelled against Dirham bin Naṣr. In 867 A.D. he was master of the whole of Sīstān. In 867 A.D. he captured Herāt and the government of Kirmān came under his control. In 870 A.D. he captured Balkh, Bāmiyān and Kābul and also Nīshāpūr. He finally settled in Khurāsān.⁸

¹ *Rauḍat-u'ṣ-Ṣafā*, Vol. III, p. 683.

² *Tabarī*, pp. 1456-60.

³ *History of Persia* by P. M. Sykes, Vol. II, p. 83.

⁴ *Encyclopædia of Islam*, Vol. I, p. 15.

⁵ *Ibn Athīr*, VIII, p. 241.

⁶ The ruler of Khurāsān and Sijistān.

⁷ *Gardizi*, p. 10.

⁸ *Encyclopædia of Islam*, Vol. IV, p. 55.

Yā'qūb secured a patent of sovereignty from the Caliph.¹ Both Yā'qūb and his brother proved the champions of the orthodox faith and faithful allies of the Caliphate. They, however, succeeded in sharing for the first time with the Caliph the two emblems of sovereignty. Yā'qūb introduced his name in the *khutbah*² and Amr's name was inscribed on the gold coin, and was not considered under any obligation to pay regular tribute to Baghdād. This marks for the first time a distinct transition from the status of governorship to substantial, though theoretically limited, sovereignty within the Caliphate. The weak rule both at the centre and in the provinces prompted them to contest the political supremacy of the Abbasids, but this should by no means be considered a "Persian revolt against Arab Domination." The Saffarids always fought against other Persian rulers, and several times allied themselves with the Caliph against them.³

The Samanid Dynasty descended from a certain Samakhudat, who traced his family back to the celebrated Bahrām Cubin i.e., to a noble family of Ray. His four grandsons played an important part in the reign of Al-Rashīd. On the accession of al-Māmūn, they were given administrative posts. Ṭāhir bin al-Ḥusain, when he became governor of Khurāsān, confirmed these appointments. The Samanids, thus, were a kind of sub-governors of the Ṭāhirids, after whose downfall they became paramount; and Ismā'il is really the first independent prince.⁴ The Samanids had a direct and independent relationship with the Caliphate from 874 to 944 A.D. and an indirect and dependent relationship from 944 to 999 A.D., during which period the Caliphate remained under the tutelage of the Buwayhids⁵ till their defeat and decline at the hands of

¹ Gardizi, pp. 14, 15.

² *Narshakhi*, p. 79.

³ *Vide Rauḍat-u's-Ṣafā*, Vol. IV, pp. 710, 711.

⁴ *Encyclopædia of Islam*, Vol. IV, pp. 121-23.

⁵ The Caliphs being an abject puppet in their hands, *vide Muhammadian Dynasties* by Stanley Lane-Poole, p. 140.

Ghaznavids in 999 A.D. During the first period of their relationship with the Caliphate, they enjoyed three privileges—the inclusion of their names in the *khutbah* and on the coins along with the names of the Caliph and freedom from the payment of any dues to the Government of Baghdād. The Samanids, being staunch Sunnis, sought recognition from the Caliphate, and applied for a deed of investiture. They were independent in the internal administration of their territories, but remained loyal to the authority of the Caliph,¹ waged holy wars and suppressed the Karmathian heresy.

The founder of the Buwayhid Dynasty was Abu-Shuja Buwih who is said to have been a descendant of the Sasanian king, Bahrām. As a chief of a warlike horde, he played a prominent part in the struggle between the "Alids and the Samanids." The real founders of the dynasty were, however, his three sons 'Alī, Ḥasan and Aḥmad; they preferred to be regarded as *Shi'as*. 'Alī was appointed governor of Karaj, and defeated Caliph Qādir's troops and occupied Iṣfahān. Shīrāz and Kirmān were taken by Aḥmad, who entered Baghdād in 945 A.D.; the Caliph al-Mustakfī had to create him *Amīr-u'l-Umarā'*, and gave him the title of *Mu'izz-u'd-Dawlah*. 'Alī and Ḥasan received the titles of *Imām-u'd-Dawlah* and *Rukn-u'd-Dawlah*, respectively.²

By this time the temporal power of the Caliph had been taken over by the Amīrs. With the capture of Baghdād by the Buwayhids, who were *Shi'as*, and who considered the Abbasids as usurpers,³ still worse was to happen. To meet his political ends, Mu'izz-u'd-Dawlah recognised the institution, chose an Abbasid Caliph Mutī', but caused the name of *Amīr-u'l-Umarā'*, sometimes of his heir-apparent as well, to be conjoined with that of the Caliph in the *khutbah* at Baghdād. In the provinces directly governed by the Buwayhids, the names of other members of the Buwayhid family were sometimes mentioned along with

¹ *Rauḍat-u'sh Šafā*, Vol. IV, pp. 715-16.

² *Encyclopædia of Islam*, Vol. I, p. 809.

³ *Ibn Athīr*, VIII, p. 339.

that of Amīr-u'l-Umarā.¹ The epithet *Amīr-u'l-Mu'minin* after the name of the Caliph was omitted from the *khutbah* and the coinage. In short, everything depended upon the sweet will of the Buwayhid Amīr, without whose consent the Caliph could not issue any patent of sovereignty or grant honours. Formal sanction, however, remained in the Caliph's hands.

With the change of circumstances, the relations between the Caliphate and the Samanids also changed. The latter recognised the Caliph Muṭī', but after two years they ceased to pay homage to him, and again recognised the old Caliph. The deposition of Caliph Ṭā'i' and the elevation of Qādir to the Caliphate brought about the final breach.² The Samanids were, however, unable to rally any national support against either the Qarā-Khiṭāis or Maḥmūd of Ghaznah,³ who put an end to their dynasty.

In his relation with the Caliphate, Maḥmūd was guided both by religious and political motives. He recognised Caliph Qādir, and applied for the Emarat of *Khurāsān* and outlying provinces conquered by him. He was granted a patent of sovereignty, crown and the title of *Yamīn-u'd-Dawlah wa Amīr-u'l-Millah*. He was further allowed to cause his son's name inscribed upon the coinage minted at Nishāpūr. But the Caliph stoutly refused Maḥmūd's demand for Samarqand. Such recognitions of the Abbasid Caliphate by the Ghaznavids re-established the old prestige and authority of the Caliphate in Persia; and it was only due to the whole-hearted support of Maḥmūd that the Fatimids could not secure a footing in Persia. Both Maḥmūd and Mas'ūd entered into a treaty with the Caliph, by which

¹ According to *Tārīkh-i-Guzidah*, this title was conferred upon the elder brother of Mu'izz-u'd-Dawlah, *vide Tārīkh-i-Guzidah*, p. 418.

² *Vide Caliphate and Sultanate* by Dr. Amīr Ḥasan Ṣiddiqī.

³ The dynasty was actually founded by Alptigin, a Turkish slave of the house of Sāmān at Ghaznah, but its political significance began some fourteen years later on the accession of Maḥmūd's father, Subuktigin, the slave of Alptigin, *vide Literary History of Persia*, by Prof. Browne, Vol. II, p. 94.

the latter was not to enter into direct relations with the Qarā-Khiṭāis.¹

On the appearance of the Saljūqs as a political power in Persia, "the empire of the Caliphate vanished."² Their origin is from the Turkish clan of 'qag' according to the *Tārīkh-i-Guzidah*.³ They were a branch of the Ghazz Turks, who ruled over wide territories in Central and Nearer Asia from the eleventh to the thirteenth century. The following three dynasties are distinguished: the great Saljūqs, Saljūqs of 'Irāq, and the Saljūqs of Asia Minor. The ancestor of these rulers was Saljūq bin Duqāq. Political conditions in Transoxiana, where the Samanids and Qarā Khīṭāis were fighting for supremacy, were favourable to the development of the power of the Saljūqs, who took the side of the Samanids. But they went on furthering their own interests. After the death of Saljūq, Arsalān assumed the leadership. Maḥmūd of Ghaznah took him prisoner, but the Ghazz still proved turbulent. Finally there was a war between the Ghaznavids and the Saljūqs, and Mas'ūd himself was routed at Dandanqān.⁴

"The temporal power of the Caliph had been reduced to nullity by the Buwayhids and the Ghaznavids. The Saljūqs were recent converts and orthodox Muslims, and, consequently, had the greatest respect for the institution of the Caliphate. The new power swept away those insignificant and divided dynasties and once again united Islam under a single powerful sway, stretching from Turkistan to the Mediterranean Sea."⁵ After their conquest at Dandanqān (to the south-west of Merv) in 1040 A.D. against Mas'ūd, they sent a letter to the Caliph; and Tughril himself visited Baghdād in 1055 A.D.⁶ He was given a robe of honour and a turban, and was addressed by the

¹ Bayhaqī, p. 559.

² *History of Muhammadan Dynasties* by Stanley Lane-Poole, p. 149.

³ *Tārīkh-i-Guzidah*, p. 434.

⁴ *Encyclopædia of Islam*, Vol. IV, pp. 203-213.

⁵ *History of Persia* by P. M. Sykes, Vol. II, p. 98.

⁶ *Rauḍa't-u'-ṣ-Ṣafā*, Vol. IV, p. 783.

Caliph as 'king of the East and West!' The title of *Rukn-u'd-Dawlah* was also conferred upon him. Thus, the Turks "came to the rescue of a dying State, and revived it."¹ The Caliph's name was mentioned in the *khutbah* in all the territories governed by the Saljūqs. After the defeat of Sulṭān Muḥammad by Sanjar, the latter was acknowledged suzerain at Baghdād. Henceforth Sanjar became the official Sulṭān, and his name was mentioned not only at Baghdād² but in all other countries under his control. On the death of Sulṭān Muḥammad, the Caliph Mustarshid (1118-35) got an opportunity of gaining some power, but peace was concluded on the condition that he would not again assemble forces and would not leave his place.³ Caliph Muktafi assumed a more independent attitude. In the last, "the Saljūq Empire succumbed before the attack of the *Khwarazmian* State, in other places, it was supplanted by dynasties founded by Saljūq officers; but in Rūm it survived until the advent of the 'Uthmānli Turks in 1300."⁴

The Khwārazmian Empire

With regard to the origin of the *Khwārazmian* Empire, the author of the *Tārikh-i-Jahān Kushā'*, on the authority of *Mashārib-u't-Tajārib* and *Jwāmi-u'l-'Ulūm*, says that "Bilkātigīn, the Saljūq commander of *Khurāsān*, appointed his slave Nushtigīn Gharjah,⁵ the governor of *Khwārazm*, and the latter rose to eminence in the time of the Saljūqs."⁶ His son Quṭb-u'd-dīn Muḥammad received his education and training in Merv. Soon after Sulṭān Barqīāruq, son of Malik Shāh, the Amīr of *Khurāsān*,

¹ *Muhammadian Dynasties* by Stanley Lane-Poole, p. 130.

² *Tārikh-i-Guzidah*, p. 437.

³ *Ibn Athīr*, XI. p. 16.

⁴ *Muhammadian Dynasties* by Stanley Lane-Poole, p. 152.

⁵ 'And this is the reason, why he is called *Khwārazm Shāh*,' vide *Nizām-u't-Twārikh* by Qāḍī Nāṣir-u'd-dīn Abu Sa'īd Abd-u'llāh al-Baidāwī, p. 80; (*Tārikh* Press, Hyderabad-Deccan).

⁶ *Ruḍa't-u's-Ṣafā*, Vol IV, p. 810.

appointed Quṭb-u'd-din Muḥammad the governor of Khurā sān in 1098 A.D. with the title of Khwārazm Shāh ; and he served the Empire loyally for thirty years."¹ The author of the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri*, on the authority of Malik Tāj-u'd-dīn Bīnāl-Tigin,² says that " Malik Quṭb-u'd-din Aibak, the Turk, belonged to the tribe of Qipchāq and Qanquli (situated to the north of the river Jaxartes) and came from the side of Suhāri towards Jand and Khwārazm, where he dwelt for a considerable period subject to the Khwārazm Shāhs, Abu Jā'far and Mamūn. As Quṭb-u'd-dīn was 'a spirited, enterprising and high-minded chief', he became the leader of the Maliks of Khwārazm. The ruler of Khwārazm died without leaving any heir but a daughter, who was married to Quṭb-u'd-dīn. The name of sovereign was assigned to that daughter, and the viceroyalty was conferred upon her husband. Having brought the territory of Khwārazm Shāh under his jurisdiction, Quṭb-u'd-dīn guarded the frontiers of the dominion from the infidels of Saqasīn (probably Saghnak), Bulghār and Qipchāq. Quṭb-u'd-dīn was succeeded by his son Malik Tāj-u'd-dīn Muḥammad, and the latter ruled under the subordination of the Saljūq sovereigns."

Tāj-u'd-dīn Muḥammad was succeeded by his son Jalāl-u'd-dīn Atsiz.³ He was "cultured, learned, a poet and a fighter."⁴ He served Sanjar loyally at first and saved him from a conspiracy of his slaves at Bukhārā in 1130 A.D.⁵ Owing to the Sultān's favour his power increased, but the nobles grew jealous of him ; and, consequently, during Sanjar's cam-

¹ *Tārīkh-i-Jahān Kushā'*, Vol. II, pp. 1-3.

² According to Minhaj-i-Sirāj, the author of the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri* Tāj-u'd-dīn Bīnāl-Tigin belonged to the same family as the Maliks of Khwārazm, and was one of the maternal uncles of Sultān Khwārazm Shāh.

³ According to *Tārīkh-i-Jahān Kushā'*, Vol. II, p. 3 and *Rauḍat-u's-Safā*, Vol. IV, p. 810 Atsiz was the son of Quṭb-u'd-dīn, but *Tārīkh-i-Guzidah*, p. 487 has Sultān Atsiz, son of Muḥammad Nuṣhtigin.

⁴ *Tārīkh-i-Jahān Kushā'*, p. 3.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

paigned against Bahrām Shāh of Ghaznī in 1134 A.D., he obtained leave to go to Khwārazm, where he rebelled. In 1138 A.D. Sanjar marched to Khwārazm; Atsiz fled, and his son Atligh was captured and put to death. Atsiz returned and drove away the Sultān's nephew Sulaymān Muḥammad, the Governor of Khwārazm, who sought help from the Qarā Khitāis and promised to pay them 36,000 dinars.¹ In 1141 A.D. Qarā Khitāis proceeded against Sanjar and defeated him before Samarqand. Atsiz, thereby, got an opportunity of plundering Merv; and in 1142 A.D. he removed the name of the Saljūqs from the *khutbah*.² Sultān Sanjar twice laid siege to Khwārazm, but every time Atsiz submitted and on the second occasion himself came out to pay homage to the Sultān, remained on horseback and returned.³ He then treacherously put to death his own ally Kamāl-u'd-dīn, son of Arsalān Khān Muḥammad, ruler of Jand, and assigned that territory to his son Īl-Arsalān. Sultān Sanjar fell into the hands of the Ghazz, and Atsiz, with the assistance rendered by the Sultān's nephew Rukn-ū'd-dīn of Nishāpūr, intended to suppress the Ghazz, but failed to capture Amwiyā or Amūl (on the Oxus). Sultān Sanjar was, however, set free.

Atsiz died in 1156 A.D. and was succeeded by Īl-Arsalān. He did not like to approach the Abbasid Caliphate for the grant of a deed of investiture, but immediately secured it from Sultān Sanjar.⁴ Qaralghān chiefs sought refuge with Īl-Arsalān, and incited him to invade the territory of the Khān of Samarqand, Jalāl-u'd-dīn 'Alī. In 1158 A.D. the Gūr Khān of Qarā Khitāis sent support to the Khān of Samarqand, and Īl-Arsalān was compelled to make peace. Sultān Sanjar was succeeded by Sultān Muḥammad, but Mu'ayyid, an all-powerful noble, blinded and imprisoned him in 1162 A.D. Next year, Īl-Arsalān besieged Mu'ayyid at

¹ *Tārīkh-i-Jahān Kushā*, Vol. II, p. 5.

² *Tārīkh-i-Guzīdah*, p. 487.

³ *Tārīkh-i-Jahān Kushā*, Vol. II, pp. 7-9; *Rauḍat-uṣ-Ṣafā*, Vol. IV, p. 811.

⁴ *Caliphate and Kingship in Medieval Persia*, by Dr. Amīr Ḥasan Siddiqī, p. 152.

Shādbakh (the neighbouring suburb of Naisābur), but peace was concluded. Īl-Arsalān showed reluctance in sending the tribute, which his father had promised to Qarā Khiṭāis.¹ As a consequence, the army of Khiṭā marched against him and defeated him. Īl-Arsalān died in 1163 A.D.²

Sultān Shāh, the younger brother of Īl-Arsalān, ascended the throne, and his mother Malik-i-Ṭurkān took charge of the government.³ 'Imād-u'd-dīn Takash, the elder brother, fled to the Gūr Khān, married his daughter and promised tribute in case of succession to the throne of Khwārazm; and, through the help of the latter, drove away Sultān Shāh and his mother from Khwārazm.⁴ Yūnus bin Takash Khān sat on the throne in 1172 A.D. and, with the help of Sanjar, fought a battle against Takash, but was defeated.⁵ The same year, Takash ascended the throne and defeated Sultān Shāh's ally Mu'ayyid, the governor of Khurāsān, at Suberly or (Saburghān below Andkhūd). Both the governor and Malik-i-Ṭurkān were put to death. In 1173 A.D. Sultān Shāh fled to Ghūr. Takash established his power at Khwārazm, but Khiṭāi ambassadors came to exact tribute; their arrogance being intolerable Takash gave an order for their murder⁶. Sultān Shāh hailed this friction and approached Gūr Khān and, with his support, captured Merv, defeated Ṭughān Khān and established his power at Sarakhs⁷ (situated on the Hirāt river).

During the next ten years, a futile war was carried on between the two brothers. Takash marched to Khwārazm and laid siege to Merv and Shādbakh. Sultān Shāh attacked Subzwārī and proceeded towards Merv, but had to retire against Takash at Shādyākh.⁸ His son,

¹ *Rauḍat-u'ṣ-Ṣafā*, Vol. IV, p. 812.

² *Tārīkh-i-Guzīdah*, p. 490.

³ *Tārīkh-i-Jahān Kushā*, Vol. II, p. 17.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 17.

⁵ *Tārīkh-i-Guzīdah*, p. 492.

⁶ *Tārīkh-i-Jahān Kushā*, Vol. II, p. 19.

⁷ *Rauḍat-u'ṣ-Ṣafā*, Vol. IV, p. 813.

⁸ *Tārīkh-i-Jahān Kushā*, Vol. II, p. 26.

Nāṣir-u'd-dīn Malik Shāh, was appointed governor of Khurāsān in 1187 A.D. Peace was, however, concluded between the two brothers, but friction continued. In 1190 A.D. Qutluḡh Īnānch, a rebel governor, sought help from Takash against Sultān Tugh̃rul Saljūqī.¹ Takash marched to 'Irāq, alighted at Ray (in the Jibāl province), and captured Tabraq (modern Iṣfahān). Next year in 1191 A.D. he defeated Tugh̃rul Saljūqī and, thus, the territory of 'Irāq came under his possession.²

Sultān Shāh, along with some Sanjarī slaves, like Bahā-u'd-dīn Tugh̃rul, went on plundering the outlying districts of Ghūr.³ Ghiyāth-u'd-dīn and Shihāb-u'd-dīn marched with the armies of Bāmiyān and Herāt and encamped at Marvar'-rūd (situated on the river Merv). The Ghūrian army defeated Sultān Shāh, but peace was made.⁴ Soon after Sultān Shāh died, and his governor of Sarakhs, Badr-u'd-dīn Jaghar, handed over the place to Takash. The Sultān refused the Caliph Nāṣir-u'd-dīn-illāh's demand for a part of 'Irāq.⁵ Therefore, the Caliph's Vizier collected 10,000 soldiers, but was signally defeated by the Khwarazmians and, thus, brought disgrace upon the Caliphate.⁶

Iṣfahān was entrusted to Qutluḡh Īnānch, and Ray was placed under the charge of Yūnus Khān with Miyānjq as his 'atālīq'; but Yūnus Khān, owing to some eye-trouble, returned to Khwārazm. At the time, the army of Baghdād attacked 'Irāq, but capitulated after fighting for some days. Malik Quṭb-u'd-dīn was appointed governor of Khurāsān, and he defeated Qarā Buqā at Jand. In 1198 A.D. the Sultān himself marched to 'Irāq and was ultimately exiled to Jand.⁷

In the last years of his reign, the Sultān moved against

¹ *Tārīkh-i-Jahān Kushā'*, Vol. II, p. 28.

² *Tārīkh-i-Guzīdah*, p. 492.

³ *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 73.

⁴ *Tārīkh-i-Guzīdah*, p. 494 gives quite the reverse statement.

⁵ *Tārīkh-i-Jahān Kushā'*, Vol. II, pp. 32, 33.

⁶ *Rauḍat-u's-Ṣafā*, Vol. IV, p. 815.

⁷ *Tārīkh-i-Jahān Kushā'*, Vol. II, pp. 42, 43.

the Assassins and reduced the fort of 'Arsalān Gushā' after a siege of four months, but the Assassin's army was allowed to retreat to Alamūt.¹ The Sultān returned to Khwarāzm, and died at Chāh-i-'Arab in 1200 A.D.

The remaining facts about the Khwarazmian Empire are discussed elsewhere in relation to Ghūr, while the next section is devoted to the Qarā Khītāi Turks, who played an equally important part in the history of 'Ajam'.

Qarā Khītāi Turks

The first irruption of the Turks was that of Qarā Khītā from the land of Khītā or Khītāi,² which consisted of vast tracts of territories in the north-west of China. As regards their early history suffice to say that a person from the Jidān tribe, whom the Mongols call Qarā Khītāi, seized the sovereign of Khītā, and himself assumed the royal authority. His descendants ruled for several generations, and the chief men among them in succession to one another were several persons—Imā Sunqam Arbaz Tūmā and Ṭayankū Ṭarāz, and their ruler is known as Gūr Khān or Khān-i-Khānān.

From their homelands in China, they issued forth into the confines of Qīrqīz, Bāyamīl³ and Bilāsāghūn.⁴ withdrew their allegiance from the sovereign of Ṭamghāch and, on payment of fixed tribute to the Afrāsiyābī Maliks,⁵ made the frontier tracts of these territories their dwelling-places and grazing grounds. At first they were few in number but, in course of time, they multiplied into 40,000

¹ *Rauḍat-u's-Ṣafā*, Vol. IV, p. 817.

² The designation of Khītā differs according to the different races, who speak of them. The Mongols call it Jāqūt, Indians call it Tibbet, and people of Transoxiana term it Khītā or Khītāi.

³ *Tārīkh-i-Jahān Kushā*, Vol. II, p. 87 and *Rauḍat-u's-Ṣafā*, Vol. V, p. 924.

⁴ Bilāsāghūn was the capital of the Khāns of Turkistān during the 10th and 11th centuries. However, its exact site is unknown. It was somewhere near Kāshghar.

⁵ Musalmān sovereigns subject to the Saljūqī Sultāns.

families.¹ The Amīr of Bilāsāghūn, being unable to coerce the tribes of Qīrligh and Qanqūlī,² sought help from the Gūr Khān. Thereupon, the Khitāi Amīr captured the territory of Bilāsāghūn, subdued Kāshghar and Khutan and conquered the territory of Qīrqīz and Bish-Bāligh. The Sultāns of Farghānah and Transoxiana became his tributaries. In order to suppress the rising power of the Qarā Khitāis, Sultān Sanjar marched to coerce them, but the former, under Ṭāyankū Ṭarāz, defeated the Sultān; and as a result of this victory, the pasture-lands of Turkistan and Bilāsāghūn along with other cities and towns were left in the hands of the Qarā Khitāis. With the advent of the Ghāzz tribe of Khāndān, the Sanjari dynasty declined, and the Qarā Khitāis gained vast power and strength.³ The Maliks of Turkistan weakened their power by contesting for supremacy among themselves until the Qarā Khitāis, who played off one against another, became the masters of Transoxiana and Turkistan.⁴

Atsiz, the Sultān of Khwārazm, paid his homage and submitted to the Gūr Khān, and promised to pay an yearly tribute of 30,000 dinars.⁵ His son Īl-Arsalān showed reluctance in paying the tribute, and thus, became subject to the wrath of those formidable infidels. On the death of Īl-Arsalān, a civil-war broke out between his sons Sultān Shāh and Takash for the throne of Khwārazm. In the meantime, Sultān Shāh ascended the throne. The Gūr Khān despatched his Vizier Muḥammad Ṭāl to realise the annual tribute, which had been detained by the Sultān for more than two years. Sultān Shāh, being engaged in the invasion of Qipchāq, left the government of the territory to his mother, Ṭurkān Khātūn. She welcomed the messenger politely and paid the tribute. Muḥammad

¹ *Rauḍat-u'-ṣ-Ṣafā*, Vol. V, p. 924.

² *Tārīkh-i-Jahān Kushā'*, Vol. II, p. 87.

³ *Ṭabaqāt-Nāsirī*, p. 328

⁴ *Rauḍat-u'-ṣ-Ṣafā*, Vol. V, p. 924.

⁵ *Tārīkh-i-Jahān Kushā'*, Vol. II, p. 88.

Ṭāl returned, and said to the Gūr Khān, "The Sultān is ill-disposed towards you and will not pay tribute next time."¹ The Gūr Khān was succeeded by his wife Konāyik and Takash fled to her, and, through her support, defeated Sultān Shāh and sat on the throne of Khwārazm. She demanded more than the stipulated tribute. Takash put her ambassador to death, and thus hostilities arose. Sultān Shāh hailed this friction and went over to the side of Qarā Khiṭāis, who did help him, but the success was only partial. The female Gūr Khān was killed and was succeeded by one of the living brothers of the late Gūr Khān.²

Sultān Shāh sought an alliance with Sultān 'Uṭhmān of Bukhārā against the Gūr Khān. The Amīrs of the latter also rose in open revolt in the East and Kuchluk, a subordinate officer, left the Khān's court on the pretext of collecting forces, and proved rebellious by handing over Samarqand to 'Uṭhmān.³ Thereupon, the Gūr Khān captured Samarqand, but, upon reaching Tarāz, found Tāniko in revolt. Now the forces of Sultān Muḥammad and Sultān 'Uṭhmān of Samarqand completely overthrew the forces of the Gūr Khān under I-lash Bāniko in 1210 A.D.⁴ The Qarā Khiṭāis, on their way, plundered Bilā-āghūn, and marched against Kuchluk, but suffered a crushing defeat at the hands of the latter.⁵

To sum up, then, the armies of Qarā Khiṭāi Turks had several times crossed the river Jāyhūn or Oxus and ravaged Khurāsān, Balkh, Tirmid, Āmul, Ṭālqān, and Gharjistan as far as the frontier of Ghūr. With the exception of the Sultāns of Ghūr and Bāmiyān, all Transoxiana, Farghānah, Khwārazm and some parts of Khurāsān used to send them tribute.⁶ On two or three occasions the Ghurian forces did inflict crushing defeats upon the forces of Khiṭā.

¹ *Tārīkh-i-Jahān Kushā*, Vol. II, p. 90.

² *Ibid.*, p. 89.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 91.

⁴ Their leader Bāniko was wounded and taken prisoner; this shows the decline of the Qarā Khiṭāis.

⁵ *Tārīkh-i-Jahān Kushā*, Vol. II, pp. 92, 93.

⁶ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāsirī*, p. 329.

Gūr Khān died leaving behind him a daughter of an Amīr as heir-apparent. Kuchluk brought her under his subordination. After the death of Sulṭān Shihāb-u'd-dīn of Ghūr, Sulṭān Muḥammad Khwārazm Shāh acquired sway over the territories of Turkistan ; and Ṭayankū Ṭarāz, being defeated, embraced Islam at the hands of the former.¹

Ghūr

The province of Ghūr² was bounded on its northern side by a region of lower hills known as Gharjistan, by the province of Herāt in the west, by the Ghaznavid provinces of Garmsīr (now the province of Fars) and Nīmruz in the south, and by Kabul and Qandhār in the east. The later princes of the dynasty had built the Palace fort of Fīrūz Kuh,³ in the valley of Zū-Mayandish, which has been occasionally, but incorrectly, referred to as Ghūr.

The early history of the dynasty is lost in myth and romance. Qāḍī Minhāj Sirāj,⁴ on the authority of Maulānā Fakhr-u'd-dīn Mubārak Shāh of Marw-a'r-rūd, who has given in verse a description of the Sulṭāns of Ghūr, says, "after the decline of the power of Duḥāk's sons, a person Shansab by name attained great power in the country of Ghūr, and it was with reference to his name that the dynasty was known as the Shansabānian. In all probability, this personage embraced Islam at the hands of 'Alī."⁵ But the extinct volume of Imām Abu'l-Faḍl Bayhaqī's *Tārīkh-i-Āl-i-Subuktigīn*, written some two hundred years before the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* gives no clue to the Ghūrīan prince

¹ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 329.

² The name of Ghūr was borne by the mountain region situated to the east and south-east of Herat and south of Gharjistan and Gurgān ; the dialect of these mountaineers differed materially from that of Khurāsān, vide *Turkistān Down to the Mongol Invasion*, p. 338.

³ It was an immense fortress in the mountains of Gharjistan, the position of which is not known.

⁴ He consulted the book in the sacred harem of the daughter of Sulṭān Ghiyāth-u'd-dīn vide *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 28.

⁵ *Ibid*, pp. 28, 29.

Muḥammad, son of Sūr, in the description of Maḥmūd's invasion of 1010 A.D. against the hill-chiefs of those districts. Again, it was only after the death of Sulṭān Maḥmūd that the inhabitants were gradually converted to Islam.

The fraternity of Ḍuḥāk has been traced up to Nūḥ. First came Tāziunarsad, then his son Zambakā, then the latter's son Arwand-asp, father of Ḍuḥāk. Buṣṭām, one of the descendants of Ḍuḥāk, being driven away by Afrīdūn came into the mountain-tracts of Ghūr, called Hazār-Chashmah (the thousand springs), where he established himself and founded the dynasty.¹

The Sulṭāns of the Shansabānian dynasty have been divided into four separate and distinct groups of the Sulṭāns of Fīruz Kuh or Ghūr, Ghaznīn, Bāmiyan and Hindustan.² The principality of Ghūr was reduced to a position of dependency by Maḥmūd, who is said to have defeated Maḥmūd, son of Sūr, the prince of Ghūr. With the advent of the Saljūqs as a political force in Persia, the Ghūrian prince had to pay homage and tribute to the old as well as the new masters. 'Azīz-u'd-dīn Ḥasan, the ruler of Ghūr and a contemporary of Sulṭān Bahrām Shāh of Ghaznīn died, and left seven sons generally known as the "seven stars."

Malik Fakḥr-u'd-dīn Mas'ūd, the eldest son from a Turkish mother³, was not permitted to ascend the throne. Saif-u'd-dīn, however, occupied the throne, made Āstiāh his capital and divided his father's dominions among his brothers: the territory of Warṣḥād to Malik-u'l-Jibāl Quṭb-u'd-dīn Muḥammad, the founder of the city and fortress of Fīruz Kuh; Mādīn to Malik Naṣīr-u'd-dīn; the district of Sankah to Bahā-u'd-dīn Sūr; the district and castle of Wajīh to 'Alā-u'd-dīn and the territory of Kash (modern Kāshān) to Malik Fakḥr-u'd-dīn.⁴

¹ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāsirī*, pp. 31, 33.

² *Ibid.*

³ This proves, among other reasons, that the Ghūrian princes were not Turks.

⁴ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāsirī*, p. 48. The geography of this immense region is unfortunately a complete blank, for none of those towns and castles

However contention arose between Quṭb-u'd-dīn Muḥammad and his other brothers, and the former being indignant withdrew to Ghaznīn. Now Sulṭān Bahā-u'd-dīn Sūr established himself at Firuz Kuh. Quṭb-u'd-dīn Muḥammad was accused of having cast evil eyes upon the Sulṭān's *harem* and was, therefore, put to death by Bahrām Shāh, the ruler of Ghaznīn. On hearing the sad news of his brother's death, Saif-u'd-dīn Sūr marched with an army to Ghaznīn, captured it and himself occupied the throne. He made over the dominions of Ghūr to his brother Bahā-u'd-dīn Sūrī, father of Ghiyāth-u'd-dīn and Shihāb-u'd-dīn. The Ghūrian forces retired to their country and, on the approach of the winter season, means of communication stopped between Ghūr and Ghaznīn. Taking advantage of the situation, Bahrām Shāh made a night attack and defeated Sulṭān Sūrī. Sulṭān Sūrī and the treacherous Vizier, Sayyad Majd-u'd-dīn Mūsawī, were placed on two camels and paraded through the streets of Ghaznīn and ultimately hung from the bridge.¹

"Alone among the ruling dynasties of the East, the royal line of Ghūr is distinguished by the strength of its family affections and the absence of fratricidal conflicts."² Now Sulṭān Bahā-u'd-dīn Sūrī determined to wreak vengeance upon the inhabitants of Ghaznīn, but on his way fell ill at Qidān and died. He was succeeded by his brother 'Alā-u'd-dīn Jahān-suz, who undertook the expedition and thrice defeated Daulat Shāh, son of Bahrām Shāh. The city was taken by storm and put to fire for seven days and nights. "From the blackness of the smoke," says the contemporary writer, "these seven days continued as black as night, and from the flames of the fire these seven nights remained as bright as day."³ During these days and nights all sorts of cruelties, barbarities and massacre were carried on, and

mentioned in its history are known.

¹ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, pp. 113, 114.

² Professor Muḥammad Ḥabīb's article on Sulṭān Shihāb-u'd-dīn of Ghūr. (*Muslim University Journal*, 1930, p. 10.)

³ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 57.

women and children were made captive. The graves of the Ghaznavids, with the exception of those of Maḥmūd, Mas'ūd and Ibrāhīm, were dug out and burnt; and the tombs of Sultān Sūrī and Quṭb-u'd-dīn were built.¹

On his accession, Sultān 'Alā-u'd-dīn Jahān-suz ordered his nephews Ghiyāth-u'd-dīn and Shihāb-u'd-dīn to be imprisoned and confined in the fortress of Wazīristan.² In course of time, he withdrew his allegiance and tribute to Sultān Sanjar. He was, however, defeated and taken prisoner by Sanjar. But 'Alā-u'd-dīn Jahān-suz was well known for his "wittiness of temperament and quickness of intellect"; and, one day, the Sultān was so pleased by his verse that he set him free.³ He now established his power at Ghūr, married the daughter of Sher Shāh, one of the Maliks of Kharjistān, and, thus, brought the valley of the Murghāb river and its fortresses under his possession. Towards the end of his life, emissaries came from Ala'mūt, and he treated them with reverence.

'Alā-u'd-dīn Jahān-suz was succeeded by Sultān Saif-u'd-dīn, and the latter directed that Ghiyāth-u'd-dīn and Shihāb-u'd-dīn should be released from the fortress. Ghiyāth-u'd-dīn remained at the court of Firuz Kuh, but Shihāb-u'd-dīn went to his uncle Malik Fakhr-u'd-dīn Mas'ūd at Bāmiyān. Ghiyāth-u'd-dīn continued in the service until the Sultān's death. The Ghūrian forces, being defeated by the Ghazz, fled towards Gharjistān, and, when they reached Marawar-rūd, the Amīrs and Maliks gave their allegiance to Ghiyāth-u'd-dīn and placed him on the throne at Firuz Kuh.⁴

On receiving the intelligence of the accession of Ghiyāth-u'd-dīn, Malik Fakhr-u'd-dīn Mas'ūd turned towards Shihāb-u'd-dīn and said, "Your brother has distinguished himself, when will you rise and do the like?"⁵ Shihāb-u'd-dīn hung his head and with his uncle's permission came to Firuz Kuh, where he was appointed *Sar-i-Jāndār*; and the

¹ *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri*, p. 57.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 68.

² *Ibid.*, p. 59.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 114.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 60, 61.

territories of Āstīāh and Kajūrān were entrusted to his charge. The two brothers were successful in putting to death Abu'l 'Abbās, who had murdered their cousin Sulṭān Saif-u'd-dīn. Their uncle, Malik Fakhr-u'd-dīn Mas'ūd, by virtue of his being the eldest of the 'seven stars', aspired for the throne of Fīruz Kuh, and sought help from Malik 'Alā-u'd-dīn Qīmāj, a Sanjari Amīr and ruler of Balkh, and from Malik Tāj-u'd-dīn Yıldız of Herāt.¹ These forces marched towards Fīruz Kuh; and the two brothers also proceeded to Rāgh-i-Raz. Yıldız was defeated, and the army of Herāt took to flight. The following day Qīmāj was also put to death. Having received the news of this disaster, Malik Fakhr-u'd-dīn determined to retire; but the two brothers approached him, apologised most humbly and sent him back to Bāmiyān.²

Girmsīr, Zamīn-i-Dawār and Herāt were liberated. Farār, Fiwār, Bāghshur, Ṭāliqān, Juzerwān and the territories of Qāliyūn³ and Ghazjistān came under his possession. After serving for full one year, Shihāb-u'd-dīn had proceeded to Sijistān, but was called back by his brother and Tiginābād was handed over to him.⁴ At that period, the Ghazz had wrested the territories of Kabul, Zāwul and Ghaznīn from the possession of Khusru Shāh and the latter's successor Khusru Malik had to contend himself with the kingdom of Lahore. Shihāb-u'd-dīn was in the constant habit of making raids upon and harassing the territories of the Ghazz, until the year 1173 A.D. when Ghīyāth-u'd-dīn subdued Ghaznīn and there placed Shihāb-u'd-dīn on the throne.⁵

Shihāb-u'd-dīn brought the territory of Ghaznīn under his sway, acquired Gardaiz, and in 1175 A.D. captured

¹ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 69. Yıldız is written as *یلدز*.

² *Ibid.*, p. 71.

³ Qāliyūn and Fiwār were the strong fortresses ten leagues apart from each other, but their position is not known.

⁴ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 72.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 36; *Nisbat Nāmāh* of Fakhr-u'd-dīn Mubārak Shāh, p. 19.

Multān from the hands of the Karamatians. The same year, the armies of Ghūr and Ghaznīn took possession of Herāt. In 1176 A.D. Shihāb-u'd-dīn marched an army against the Sanqurān tribe and put most of them to the sword.¹

Shihāb-u'd-dīn next proceeded to Uch.² He sent a messenger to the Rajah's wife, "if you render help in conquering the city," he promised, "I will marry you and make you my queen." "I am too old," she replied, "but I have a very beautiful and intelligent daughter . . . I will do away with the Rajah, if the Sultān agrees to marry her (i.e. her daughter)." The Sultān agreed to the proposal. The faithless wife murdered her husband and handed over the city to the Sultān. Shihāb-u'd-dīn fulfilled his promise and returned to Ghaznīn after assigning the territories of Multān and Uch to 'Alī Qirmāj.³

In the following year Shihāb-u'd-dīn marched towards Nahrwālah (Gujarat) by way of Uch and Multān. Kelhana of Naḍol offered resistance in the way and⁴ the young Rae of Nahrwālah, Bhīm Div collected his Rajput veterans, and in 1178 A.D.⁵ defeated the army of Ghaznīn. Dharavarshe, the Parawara ruler of Ābū, was one of the commanders in the Rajput army.⁶

Not at all discouraged by the reverse, Shihāb-u'd-dīn led an army to Furshor (Parshāwar, Peshāwar) and annexed it.⁷

In 1181 A.D. he marched on Lahore. Khusru Malik shut himself up in Lahore, and despatched his son Malik Shāh and one elephant to the Sultān. Thus, peace was concluded at least for the present.⁸

In 1182 A.D. the Sultān led an army towards Dīvāl or

¹ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāsirī*, p. 116.

² *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, p. 36.

³ *Ṭarīkh-i-Firishṭah*, p. 56.

⁴ *Rey Dynastic History of Northern India*, Vol. II, p. 1121.

⁵ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāsirī*, p. 116. has : بهمدیو بهمدیو (بهمدیو). The Hindu authorities mention Bala Mulraja (1178 A.D.) and not his successor Bhima II as stated above—Vaidya—*History of Medieval Hindu India*, Vol. III, p. 207.

⁶ *Vaidya Ibid.*, p. 301.

⁷ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī* p. 37.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 37.

Dipāl, and captured the whole of that territory lying on the sea-coast.¹

In 1185 A.D. he ravaged and pillaged the territory of Lahore, and on his departure gave directions for the restoration of the fort of Siyālkot. Husain, son of Kharmīl, was installed there. Khusru Malik now laid siege to the fort of Siyālkot with the help of the Gakkhars, but had to retire without accomplishing anything.²

Shihāb-u'd-dīn outwardly showed an attitude of friendliness by despatching Malik Shāh to see his father Khusru Malik, but gave orders to his officials to induce him (i.e., Malik Shāh) to drink as much wine as possible in order that he might proceed slowly and stop at several places on the way. Khusru Malik, being rejoiced at the news of his son's return, gave himself up to music and pleasure. Even before the arrival of Malik Shāh, Shihāb-u'd-dīn appeared on the bank of the Rāwī with an army of twenty thousand horsemen. Khusru Malik and his son Bharām Shāh were seized and confined within the castle of Balarwān in Gharjistān and the fortress of Saif-rūd in Ghūr respectively until the year 1191 A.D., when both of them were killed. The Sipāh-Sālār 'Alī-i-Kar Makh was located at Lahore.

In 1191 A.D. Shihāb-u'd-dīn marched with an army to the fortress of Tabarhindah,³ captured it from the officers of the Rae of Ajmer and installed there Malik Ḍiyā-u'd-dīn Tulak with a force of twelve hundred picked horsemen. The Rae Kolah (son of) Pithorā of Ajmer with his brother Khānday Rae, the ruler of Delhi, and a large number of Rajput chiefs arrived near at hand. The battle took place by the bank of the river Saraswati in the village of Tarāin, now known as Patrawarī, at a distance of seven 'Karohs' from Thanesar and forty from Delhi.⁴ The Sultān fled at Khānday Rae⁵

¹ *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, p. 37.

² *Ibid.*, p. 117.

³ Or Sarhindāh according to *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, p. 37, but *Firishṭah*, p. 57 has Bhatindah.

⁴ Cunningham thinks that the exact site was on the banks of the Raukshī river, four miles south of Tirauri and ten miles to the north of Karnāl—see *Vaidya*, Vol. III, p. 333.

⁵ *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, p. 38.

(the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāsirī* calls him Govind Rae of Delhi) and struck him with a lance on his mouth so that two of his teeth fell out. The Rae in return inflicted a severe wound with his javelin on his shoulder, and the Sultān nearly toppled down from his horse that a *Khaljī* footman supported him in his arms and carried him out of the battlefield.¹ According to the *Zain-u'l-Ma'āthir*, it was only at night that a few slaves of the Sultān found him and took him to his camp.²

The Rae Pithorā besieged *Ḍiyā-u'd-dīn Tulak* in *Tabarhindah*, but the latter defended the fortress for over a year. In the following year the Sultān started from *Ghaznīn* with a force of one hundred and twenty thousand horse. On reaching *Peshāwar*, an old man of *Ghūr* asked the Sultān as to where he was going. 'Since my defeat in *Hindūstān*,' the Sultān replied, 'I have not been to my wife nor have I changed my clothes, but passed the whole year in grief and anger. I have placed confidence in God alone and am going to *Hindustan* to seek revenge for my first defeat.'³ The Sultān appealed to the *Amīrs* to be firm in the 'forthcoming holy war.' By this time, the fortress of *Tabarhindah* surrendered on capitulation, and Rae Pithorā had pitched his camp in the neighbourhood of *Tarāin*.⁴ On arriving at *Lahore*, the Sultān despatched his great official *Qawām-u'l-Mulk Rukn-u'd-dīn Ḥamzā* to invite the Rae of *Ajmer* to accept *Islām* and to make his submission.⁵

Rae Pithorā sent back a harsh reply, appealed to all the *Rajas* of *Hindustan* for military support and himself marched with an army of three hundred thousand *Rajput* and *Afghān* horsemen.⁶ *Kolah Rae*, son of the Rae of *Ajmer*, also proceeded with a large army.⁷ The *Rajput* *Rajas* to the number of one hundred and fifty assembled on the battlefield on the banks of *Saraswatī* at *Tarāin*; and they jointly

¹ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāsirī*, p. 119.

² *Firishṭah*, p. 57.

³ *Tāj-u'l-Ma'āthir*, p. 82.

⁴ *Tāj-u'l-Ma'āthir*, p. 86.

⁵ As quoted by *Firishṭah* on p. 57.

⁶ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāsirī*, p. 119.

⁷ *Firishṭah*, p. 58.

sent a letter to the Sultān intimating that if the latter returned to Ghaznīn, they swore by their gods that they would not harass his retreat, otherwise they would crush him down the following day. The Sultān replied, "I am an appointee of my brother, and as such I must get his permission to conclude a treaty with you on the terms that Sarhind, Multān and Sind belong to me and the rest of Hindūstān remain under your sway."¹ The Rajput leaders, being satisfied, went to sleep, but, early the next morning, Shihāb-u'd-dīn fell upon them; and, in the twinkling of an eye, the Rajput army was put to the rout. Khānday Rae and many other Rajas were slain, and the revolting Rae of Ajmer was taken prisoner, but proved hostile on the occupation of Ajmer and was, consequently, put to death.² The son of Rae Pithorā (Rainsi, son of Prithviraj), was appointed to the government of Ajmer. In 1192 A.D. Ajmer and the whole of the Siwālikh territory such as Hānsī, Sarsutī, Sāmānah and other tracts were subjugated.³

The Rae of Dihlī, probably a relation of Khānday Rae, saved his city and fort by means of submission and a handsome tribute. The Sultān returned to Ghaznīn after entrusting the government of Kuhrām and Sāmānah to his slave Malik Quṭb-u'd-dīn.⁴

In 1192 A.D. in compliance with the command of Sultān Ghiyāth-u'd-dīn, Shihāb-u'd-dīn from Ghaznīn, Malik Shams-u'd-dīn from Bāmiyan and Malik Tāj-u'd-dīn Ḥarb from Sijistān, assembled their forces at Rūdbāar of Merv to repel Sultān Shāh, who was in the constant habit of making raids upon the frontier tracts of Ghūr. In the battle that ensued Sultān Shāh was defeated.⁵

During the Sultān's absence from Hindūstān, Malik

¹ *Firištaḥ*, p. 58.

² *Tāj-u'l-Ma'āthir*, pp. 96 to 109. *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 38 has: "Pithora was taken prisoner and put to death." Hindu sources hold that it was Prithvirāja, who was captured and beheaded—*Vaidya*. Vol. III, p. 335.

³ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 120.

⁴ *Tāj-u'l-Ma'āthir*, p. 116.

⁵ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 74.

Quṭb-u'd-dīn occupied Mīrath and Dihlī, and in 1193 A.D. the fort of Koil. In 1194 A.D. Shihāb-u'd-dīn marched from Ghaznīn, advanced towards Qannauj and Benares and overthrew Rae Jai Chand in the vicinity of Chandwāl.¹

The death of Sultān Takash of Khawārazm in 1200 A.D. and the accession of his son 'Alā-u'd-dīn Muḥammad secured a golden opportunity for the two brothers to extend their power and dominion. 'Alā-u'd-dīn did his best to avoid conflict by making a promise to inscribe the name of Shihāb-u'd-dīn on his coin and to give him in marriage his mother Turkān Khatūn.² But Shihāb-u'd-dīn rejected the proposal, and the two Sultāns embarked on a futile and aggressive war. The advance-guard of their army proceeded to Merv, which place was left under the control of Muḥammad Kharang. They reduced and plundered Tūs and Shādyākh, held by Sultān 'Alā-u'd-dīn's brother, 'Alī Shāh.³ The army of Khawārazm was severely treated and sent to Ghūr. Now the territories of Jurjān and Bistām came under the sway of the two brothers, and Malik Ḍiyā-u'd-dīn was appointed to keep Khurāsān under subjection. Ghiyāth-u'd-dīn then returned to Herāt, and Shihāb-u'd-dīn marched against the heretic forts of Kuhistān; but peace was concluded and he, too, returned to Herāt.

In September 1201 Sultān 'Alā-u'd-dīn Muḥammad laid siege to Shādyākh; the Ghūrians fled and sued for peace, and 'Alā-u'd-dīn showed the generosity of granting them honourable terms.⁴ He next marched towards Merv and Sarakhs; the Ghūrian governor, Hindū Khān, who was his own nephew, retired to Ghūr. But the Kotwāl of Sarakhs was captured. In the meantime 'Alā-u'd-dīn returned to Khawārazm by way of Merv.

In August 1202 'Alā-u'd-dīn Khawārazm Shāh alighted at the Marghzārī Radkan, and marched against Herāt. The fortifications were demolished and 'Izz-u'd-dīn Marzaī, the

¹ And ' Iṭāwah ' according to Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī, p. 39.

² Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī, pp. 75, 76.

³ Tārīkh-i-Jahān Kūshā, Vol. II, p. 48.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 49, 50.

Kūtwāl of Herāt, made his submission.¹ Meanwhile the Sultān of Ghūr began ravaging the territory of Khurāsān with a view to prevent Khwārazm Shāh from continuing the siege of Herāt. Thereupon, 'Alā-u'd-dīn marched back by way of Marvar-rūd, while Shihāb-u'd-dīn proceeded by way of Tāliqān. He was followed by the Ghūrian forces, and at Sarakhs negotiations opened between the two parties. He, however, refused the Ghūrians' demand for some districts of Khurāsān and moved on to Khwārazm.² Shihāb-u'd-dīn marched to Tūs and began harassing its inhabitants, when he received the sad news of his brother's death.

Shihāb-u'd-dīn hurried to Bādghis of Herāt to perform the mourning ceremonies of his brother. He made over the city of Bust and the districts of Farāh and Asfizār to his late brother's son Ghiyāth-u'd-dīn Maḥmūd; to Malik Ḍiyā-u'd-dīn the throne of Firūz Kuh and the territory of Dawār and to Malik Nāṣir-u'd-dīn Alp-Ghāzī, his sister's son, the city of Herāt. Muḥammad Kharang, a leading noble and a great champion, was appointed governor of Merv.³

Kharang captured Abūward and marched against Tāj-u'd-dīn Khaljī of Tarq (in the Jibāl Province) and the Amīr of Murgh, both of whom made their submission. The army of Khwārazm now marched to Merv,⁴ and Kharang flew to meet it; but suffered a crushing defeat and fell into the hands of the Khwārazmians.

In 1204 A.D. 'Alā-u'd-dīn Khwārazm Shāh invaded Herāt. Alp-Ghāzī, the governor of Herāt, promised to pay a large ransom, and made peace with the Khwārazmians, but soon after two or three days he died.⁵

The peace concluded by Alp-Ghāzī could not last long. Shihāb-u'd-dīn had been successful in India, but his ravages in the territory of Khurāsān resulted in utter failure, and not an inch of territory was gained. In 1204 A.D. Sultān Shihāb-u'd-dīn marched his forces into the Khwārazmian territory and defeated Sultān Muḥammad, but failed to

¹ *Tārīkh-i-Jahān Kushā*, Vol. II, p. 50.

² *Rauḍat-u'-ṣ-Ṣafā*, Vol. IV, p. 817.

³ *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 121.

⁴ *Rauḍat-u'-ṣ-Ṣafā*, Vol. IV, p. 818.

⁵ *Tārīkh-i-Jahān Kushā*, Vol. II, pp. 53, 54.

capture the city of Khwārazm.¹ Having been placed in an awkward position, Sultān Muḥammad Khwārazm Shāh appealed to his overlord, the Gūr Khān, and to the Sultān-u's-Salāṭīn of Samarqand, for help. On receiving the intelligence of the arrival of the forces of Qarā Khiṭāis under the command of Tāyankū Ṭarāz and of Sultān-u's-Salāṭīn of Samarqand, the Ghurian forces foresaw their defeat and began to decamp.² Khwārazm Shāh pursued Shihāb-u'd-dīn, defeated him at Hazār Asp and, with the booty thus obtained, returned to Khwārazm.³

The Qarā Khiṭāis blocked up the route to Balkh, and attacked the camp of Shihāb-u'd-dīn at Andkhud. The Ghurian advance-guard, led by Ḥasan Kharmil, the governor of Khwārazm, drove them away. The leader requested the Sultān to attack the retreating infidels immediately, but the latter hesitated and Ḥasan Kharmil, being dejected, withdrew from the Sultān's service.⁴ The remaining hundred horsemen and Turkish slaves with a few elephants tried to protect the life of their Sultān against the Qarā Khiṭāis; and finally, a Turkish slave Ayyāh Jūqī by name caught hold of his bridle and urged it to fly to the fort of Andkhud.⁵

The Qarā Khiṭāi Turks surrounded Andkhud, and began to mine the walls. The Sultān-u's-Salāṭīn sent a message to Shihāb-u'd-dīn, "Out of regard for Islam, it is not my wish to see you fallen into the hands of the infidels, who are sure to murder you. I advise you to give up all your men, elephants and horses for the sake of your personal security, and I will intercede for you with the infidels."⁶ The Sultān acted accordingly and secured his freedom. Soon afterwards Khwārazm Shāh sued for peace and Shihāb-u'd-dīn accepted it. Thus, peace was concluded between the two Sultāns.

¹ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri*, pp. 121 and 122.

² *Tārīkh-i-Jahān Kushā*, Vol. II, p. 56.

³ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri*, p. 122.

⁴ *Rauḍat-u's-Ṣafā*, Vol. IV, p. 818.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 56.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 123.

Shihāb-u'd-dīn's defeat at Andkhud was responsible for a general revolt in his dominions. Yildiz, the governor of Ghaznīn, adopted an independent attitude. Aibak, one of the most confidential servants of the Sultān, fled to Multān, assassinated its ruler Amīr Dād Ḥasan and spread the news that the Sultān was dead.¹ He succeeded in convincing the people by producing a forged *firmān* containing an order for the imprisonment of the ruler and his own appointment in his place. The tribes of Gakkhars, under their leaders Bakan and Sarka, rose in open revolt, and caused much sedition and turbulence between the rivers Sodra and Jhelum.² Quṭb-u'd-dīn, the viceroy of Hindustan, however, remained loyal.

To suppress the rebellion of the Gakkhars, the Sultān marched from Ghaznīn to Hindustan and informed Quṭb-u'd-dīn accordingly. The Gakkhars were completely routed and put to the sword, and much booty fell into the hands of the victors.³ The fortress of Jūd was captured. Thus, within a short period of a year and a half, he restored his empire to its former strength and glory. 'I have determined', he wrote to the ruler of Bāmiyān, 'to wage a holy war against the infidels of Turkistan'. Accordingly in February 1206 he started from Lahore, but was not destined to lead the campaign. He stopped on the way and fixed his camp into the borders of Dhāmik (probably Daniyā). While engaged in the evening prayers, he was assassinated by an Ismā'īlī devotee.

It is difficult to find out a political theory for the kingdom of Ghūr on the death of Sultān Ghīyāth-u'd-dīn. "It was neither unitary, nor federal, nor feudal—neither satrapy of the Achemenian nor an empire of the Roman type."⁴ The three kingdoms of Ghūr, Ghaznīn and Bāmiyān were linked together. Both the brothers were Sultāns, there was no superior title to distinguish one from the other and no tribute

¹ *Tāj-u'l-Ma'āthir*, pp. 468, 470.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 472 and 473.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 497.

⁴ Professor Muḥammad Ḥabīb's article on Shihāb-u'd-dīn of Ghūr published in the Muslim University Journal, January 1930, p. 33.

was fixed. In their relations with foreign powers both the Sultāns were regarded as one. Nevertheless, Ghiyāth-u'd-dīn was an autocrat, Shihāb-u'd-dīn did decide most important questions on his own responsibility, but had to bow his head even before the trifling orders issued from Ghūr. The empire of Hindustan was his own creation, his peculium, and as such would go to his descendants or slaves.

The two brothers were indeed remarkable. Ghiyāth-u'd-dīn was a prudent and far-sighted monarch. He was moderate in pleasures of life, but was fond of chase and good company. He had no love for administrative work and hated the toils of long campaigns. Both the brothers were brought up in the Kirāmī faith, but they changed it afterwards. Ghiyāth-u'd-dīn became Shāf'ī and Shihāb-u'd-dīn a Ḥanafī. The younger brother was a man of another stamp. He accomplished, through sheer force and repeated efforts, what Maḥmūd of Ghaznah won by genius and ability. Shihāb-u'd-dīn was a great adventurer, but he undertook tasks, which were beyond his strength to accomplish. "He adorned the world with justice," says Fakhr-u'd-dīn Mubārak Shāh of Marvar-rūd, "and made it flourish by his nobility and strengthened the government with wise enactments. He indulged in holy wars, overthrew the infidels, the evil-doers and the assassins."¹

Chingiz Khān.

In 1206 A.D. the year in which Sultān Shihāb-u'd-dīn died, the Mongols² rose up in the kingdoms of Chīn and

¹ *Tārīkh-i-Fakhr-u'd-dīn Mubārak Shāh*, pp. 19, 20.

² They were Turks and were descended from Yafth bin Nuāh, whom the Mongols themselves call Yafth Abū Lujjal Khān. The family of Yafth bin Nuāh ruled for one thousand years. In the time of Faridūn Basraḡ Tūr fought against them, and massacred them. Only two men Namshān Nikūz and Qiyān, with their women and children, escaped to a cave where they settled and multiplied. They then fought against Tartārs and captured the neighbouring lands. And this tribe is known as Mongols—*Tārīkh-i-Guzidah*, pp. 558 and 559.

The name 'Mongol' first came into use as the name of a dynasty and

Ṭamghāch. The nature of the outburst of the Mongols is best described by D'Ohsson, who asserts that "in its suddenness, its devastating destruction, its appalling ferocity, its passionless and purposeless cruelty, its irresistible, though short-lived, violence, this outburst of savage nomads, hitherto hardly known by name even to their neighbours, resembles rather some brute cataclysm of the blind forces of nature than a phenomenon of human history."¹ The learned author Ibn-u'l-Athīr also asserts that "Islām and the Muslims have been afflicted during this period with calamities, wherewith no people hath been visited."² The following pages describe the destruction of the powers of the Qarā Khitāis, Khwārazm Shāh and Ghūr by Chingiz Khān; while the next section links up the thread up to the fall of the stronghold of Alamūt and the capture of Baghdād by Hūlāgū.

Chingiz Khān, the founder of the Mongol world empire was born in 1155 A.D. on the right bank of the Onon in the district of Dulun-Boldaq, which is now in the Russian territory.³ His father, the Tatār Tamuchin, surnamed Tughrul, belonged to the "black Tatārs," and was the chief of the Mongol tribes. He and another leading Turk were subject to the family of Altan Khān of Ṭamghāch, and were treated with contempt and ruthless cruelty by the latter.⁴ Chingiz Khān remained in the service of the Wang Khān for seven years and served him faithfully and loyally; and his status increased day by day, until he was proclaimed his son.⁵ But when he himself became the chief of his tribe, after his father's death, he collected his forces, defeated the

kingdom under Chingiz Khān, and later came to be used as the name of a people . . . the ruler of which had risen against the then dynasty ruling in North China.—See *Encyclopædia of Islām*, Vol. I, p. 856.

¹ D'Ohsson's *Historiographie des Mongols*, Vol. I, p. 387.

² As quoted by Professor Browne in his *Literary History of Persia*, Second Part, p. 429.

³ *Encyclopædia of Islām*, Vol. I, p. 856.

⁴ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri*, p. 331.

⁵ Chingiz Khān Nāmāh, p. 46.

Wang Khān and brought his territory under his subjection.¹ Sanqūn, son of Wang Khān, fled to the territory of Tayānak Khān, but was assassinated by the latter's Amīrs. Chingiz Khān's next step was to subdue the territories of Tayānak Khān and Tuqtā Beg of Mekriat, which he soon accomplished.² Kūchluk, son of Tayānak Khān, with the assistance of Tuqtā Beg, fled to Auresh, which place Chingiz Khān assaulted. Tuqtā Beg was killed in the battle, and Kūchluk sought refuge with the Gūr Khān.³ The forces of Altan Khān had long been molesting the Mongols, who had forced their way into the pasture-land of Kalrān. The Mongols assailed and acquired dominion over the countries of Taghar Tingit and Ṭamghāch. The city of Ṭamghāch was captured after a constant warfare for four years, and Altan Khān fled. Chingiz Khān now ravaged the territories of Khīṭā and, during two or three years' time, he conquered most of the lands of Khīṭā. He, thus, become the master of Khīṭā, Mughlistān and Turkistan.⁴ In short, "when he marched with his horde, it was over degrees of latitude and longitude instead of miles ; cities in his path were often obliterated, and rivers diverted from their courses ; deserts were peopled with the fleeing and dying, and when he had passed, wolves and ravens often were the sole living things in once populous lands."⁵

"The wealth of China had always attracted the Muslims, and it was natural that, after the victory over the Gūr Khān, the Khwārazm Shāh should begin to dream of the conquest of China. At this period rumours reached him that the Mongol conqueror had forestalled him. His desire to verify the rumours and to receive accurate information on the active forces of the conqueror was, according to Jūzjānī, the reason for the despatch of a Khwārazmian embassy to

¹ *Rauḍat-u's-Ṣafā*, Vol. V, p. 917.

² *Chingiz Khān Nāmah*, pp. 55 onward.

³ *Rauḍat-u's-Ṣafā*, Vol. V, p. 918.

⁴ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Naṣirī*, pp. 332 to 334.

⁵ *Chingiz Khān*, by Harold Lamb, p. 13.

Chingiz Khān."¹ Consequently, an embassy under Sayyad Bahā-u'd-dīn Rāzī was despatched to the Court of Chingiz Khān in Pekin, in 1215 or 1216 A.D. But the authors of *Rauḍat-u'-ṣ-Ṣafā* and *Chingiz Khān Nāmah* assert that it was Chingiz Khān himself, who sent an embassy to Khwārazm Shāh, sought an alliance with him and did not listen to Nāṣir-u'd-dīn Altad, the Caliph of Baghdād, who requested him to invade the territory of Khwārazm Shāh.² Chingiz Khān despatched a number of rarities and offerings to Sulṭān Muḥammad Khwārazm Shāh with the message "I am the sovereign of the east and thou the sovereign of the west."³ But when the ambassador reached Utrār, Qadr Khān, the governor of the place, slaughtered the whole of the emissaries and travellers with the Sulṭān's previous permission.⁴ When Chingiz Khān heard of this disaster, he collected the forces of Turkistan and Ṭamghāch, and resumed his march to the frontier of Utrār. "Although the disaster of the Mongol invasion could not, probably, have been averted, it was undoubtedly facilitated and provoked by the greed, treachery, and irresolution of Alā-u'd-dīn Muḥammad, king of Khwārazm—it needed the gallant deeds of his son Jalāl-u'd-dīn to save from ignominy the memory of the once mighty empire of Khwārazm."⁵

In 1220 A.D. the Mongols emerged on the frontiers of Utrār, massacred its inhabitants, captured the city and fortress of Bukhārā and occupied Samarqand.⁶ The Khwārazm Shāh returned towards Nishāpūr, but was pursued by the Mongol army and had to retire into the mountains of Māzindarān leaving behind Arsiz, the *Hājib*, to repel the Mongols to Damghān (in the province of Kumis) and 'Irāq. Prince Rukn-u'd-dīn Ghūrī-i-Shamsī fell into the hands of

¹ *Turkestan Down to the Mongol Invasion*, p. 393.

² *Rauḍat-u'-ṣ-Ṣafā*, Vol. V, p. 926 and *Chingiz Khān Nāmah*, pp. 100 to 102.

³ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 336.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 337.

⁵ Professor Browne's *Literary History of Persia*, Vol. II, p. 435.

⁶ *Rauḍat-u'-ṣ-Ṣafā*, pp. 928, 931.

the Mongols and was killed. The Shāh made over the different forts of Tirmid Balkh, Bāmiyān, Sankān of Ghūr, Naṣīr Kuh, Gharijstān and the city of Herāt to different Amīrs.¹

Chingiz Khān himself advanced from Samarqand and captured the fortress of Tirmid. Then the Mongol forces marched towards Khurāsān, Ghūr and Ghaznīn, ravaged Garmsīr and entered into an accommodation at Āstiāh; but failed in their attempt to capture the city of Firuz Kuh.² This time Chingiz Khān proceeded towards the fort of Naṣīr Kuh of Tālqān, destroyed the fortress and massacred its inhabitants.

Malik Ikhtiyār-u'd-dīn Muḥammad and Prince Jalāl-u'd-dīn Mangbarnī bravely defended Ghaznīn, and the latter thrice defeated the Mongolian forces under the command of Noyon Figū, son-in-law of Chingiz Khān.³ Thereupon, Chingiz Khān himself marched against the prince, and defeated him on the banks of the river Sind; and the latter escaped by swimming the river.⁴ The fortress of Balkh⁵ and Fiwār of Qadus were also captured.

Chingiz Khān had four sons—Jūchī, Jaghatay, Uguday and Tūluy. Jūchī and Jaghatay were despatched towards Khwārazm, Qipchāq and Turkistan. Tūluy was ordered to proceed towards Khurāsān; while Chingiz Khān and Uguday kept behind. Tūluy succeeded in capturing Merv, Nishāpūr and Herāt. Chingiz Khān despatched Uguday to Ghaznīn, and the latter plundered it and occupied the fortress of Gibārī⁶ and the territory of Kuh-pāyā.⁷

Chingiz Khān now despatched intendants and bodies of troops under the command of Uguday into the territories of Ghūr, Khurāsān and Sīstān. After the capture of the fortress of Herāt, the Mongol army was divided into sec-

¹ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, pp. 342, 343.

² *Ibid.*, p. 345.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 347 to 349.

⁴ *Jām'i-u't-Twārikh of Rashīd-u'd-dīn*, Vol. II, p. 182.

⁵ See—*Rauḍat-u's-Ṣafa*, Vol. V, pp. 935, 936.

⁶ Gibārī—of which no trace remains at the present day.

⁷ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 355.

tions ; one marched into Sīstān and the other attacked the fort of Kalyūn. In 1222 A.D. the stronghold of Kalyūn and the fortress of Fīwār Qadus were captured (the actual position of both these places is unknown).

Having effected his escape from the clutches of Chingiz Khān, Jalāl-u'd-dīn was left to himself. His son aged seven or eight years was taken prisoner and killed by the Mongols ; and his mother, wife and other women were drowned into the river by his own orders to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy.¹ Jalāl-u'd-dīn now collected the remnants of his army to the number of two thousand men and in 1222 A.D. retreated towards Dihlī.² Its ruler Shams-u'd-dīn Īltutmish despatched splendid gifts, and hinted that the climate of Hindustan would not suit his health.³ Jalāl-u'd-dīn, perforce, retraced his steps and invaded Sind, Uch and Multān. Thereupon, Sulṭān Īltutmish marched with an army from Dihlī, and Jalāl-u'd-dīn had to return to Persia.

In the meantime Uguday attacked Fīruz Kuh and captured it. One by one Tūlāq, Ashiyār and other fortresses of Ghārjistān fell into the hands of the Mongols. But in 1223 A.D. the Mongol forces suffered a crushing defeat near the fortress of Safid-rūd.⁴ After the capture of Bibārī, Chingiz Khān despatched envoys to the Court of Sulṭān Īltutmish at Dihlī entertaining the design of conducting his forces through Hindustan and returning to Chīn by way of Lakhnawtī and Kām rūp.⁵ But the territories of Chīn, Tamghāch and Tingit were in a state of open revolt, he had to return by way of Lāb and the country of Tibbet. Chingiz Khān seized and murdered the Khān of Tingit, and after three days, he himself passed away in 1227 A.D.

In 1223 A.D. Jalāl-u'd-dīn returned to Persia, traversed Makrān and reached Kirmān with only four thousand men. Burāq Hājib, formerly an official of the Qarā Khitāis, was

¹ *Turkestan Down to Mongol Invasion*, p. 446.

² Sykes' *History of Persia*, Vol. II, p. 164.

³ *Rauḍat-u'-ṣ-Ṣafā*, Vol. V, p. 828.

⁴ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, pp. 355 and 375.

⁵ *Rauḍat-u'-ṣ-Ṣafā*, Vol. V, p., 829.

besieging the capital. The inhabitants of the city opened its gates upon Jalāl-u'd-dīn, and Burāq Ḥājib yielded. After spending a month at Kirmān, he marched westwards into Fārs and married the daughter of Atābag Sā'd. He now established his power as Shāh of Khwārazm and snatched Khurāsān, Māzindarān and 'Irāq from his younger brother Ghiyāth-u'd-dīn.¹ He then proceeded towards Shīrāz, Iṣfahān and Tabrīz² and attacked the Caliph Nāṣir, an enemy of his father. He gained a decisive victory against the Caliph, but did not attempt to capture Baghdād and moving to the north, occupied Ādharbāijān. In 1226 A.D. he captured Tiflis, and beat a Mongol force at Damghān to the east of Rāy.³ The Mongols then appeared in a greater number and attacked Iṣfahān, the headquarters of the Sulṭān, but they had to retreat with heavy losses.⁴ Jalāl-u'd dīn also defeated the Georgians, and in 1229 A.D. made peace with the Caliph.

Alamūt.⁵

By his will Chingiz Khān divided his immense empire among his four chief sons or their families; and the third son Uguday was nominated Khāqān or 'Supreme Khān'. The line of Uguday ruled the tribe of Zangaria till their extinction by the family of Tūluy. Their successors, the family of Tūluy, formerly rulers of the homeland of Mughalīstān, remained Khāqāns till the Manchu Supremacy. The Persian branch of the family of Tūluy, Hūlāgū and his successors were the Īl-Khāns of Persia. The line of Jūchī ruled the Turkish tribes of the Khanate of Qipchāq and finally became the Khāns of Khivā and Bukhārā. The line of Jaghatay ruled Transoxiana.⁶

On his nomination as Khāqān by the Diet of the nobles,

¹ *Tārīkh-i-Guzdah*, p. 499.

² *Rauḍat-u'ṣ-Ṣafā*, p. 829.

³ Syke's *History of Persia*, Vol. II, 165.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 166.

⁵ It is the name of a mountain-fortress north-west of Kāzwīn, which owes its fame to its having been the seat of the Grand-Master of the Assassins from 1090 to 1256—See *Encyclopædia of Islam*, Vol. I, p. 249.

⁶ Syke's *History of Persia*, Vol. II, pp. 162 and 163.

Uguday fitted out three military expeditions in 1229 A.D. ; the first under Jurmaghūn to attack Jalāl-u'd-dīn, a second to conquer Central and Southern Russia and a third under his own command for the conquest of Northern China.¹

The expedition against Jalāl-u'd-dīn alone concerns Persia directly. The Mongol army under Jurmaghūn found Jalāl-u'd-dīn unprepared, and the latter effected his escape with great difficulty. Since then his rôle was that of a fugitive ; he held Ganja for a time and, after escaping once more from the Mongols, he was ultimately killed by a Turkish tribesman. " Thus ended the brilliant career of the bravest and most enterprising soldier who ever lived."²

The Mongols by this time had captured the fortress and city of Rukn in Sijistān. Uguday despatched an army towards Khurāsān ; 'Irāq, the mountain tracts of Arrān, Ādharbāijān, Gīlān as far as the Caspian gates and Ṭabari-stān or Māzindarān, were conquered. Kābul, Ghaznīn and Zābulistān received Mongol intendants.³ In 1223 A.D. Khurāsān was conquered ; in 1241 A.D. the Mongol forces advanced to Lahore, and plundered and ravaged it.

After the death of Uguday the Mongol tribes drew their swords upon each other several times. Uguday was succeeded by Jaghatay, and the latter by Kyuk, son of Uguday. The Mongolian army was ordered to march into Chīn, Īrān, Hindustan, Khurāsān and 'Irāq.⁴ In 1245 A.D. a Mongol army under the command of Mangūtah invaded Uch and Multān in the reign of Sulṭān 'Alā-u'd-dīn Mas'ūd Shāh of Dihlī. Malik Saif-u'd-dīn Ḥasan the Qarlugh abandoned the fortress and city of Multān and proceeded to Dīpāl and Sindustān, destroyed its environs and retired.⁵

Kyuk was succeeded by Mangū Khān⁶ son of Tūluy, who in 1251 A.D. ascended the throne of Chīn and Upper Turkistān, and exterminated the race of Jaghatay. He fitted out

¹ Syke's *History of Persia*, Vol. II, p. 166.

² *Ibid.*, p. 166.

³ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāsirī*, p. 387.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 399.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 399 and 400.

⁶ Minhāj-Sirāj says that Mangū Khān had embraced Islām but this fact is not mentioned by other writers.

two great expeditions, one under his next brother Kubilay to China and the other under a younger brother Hūlāgū *Khān* to Persia. Hūlāgū was ordered to proceed to Tājyak¹ with instructions to crush the Assassins² and to extinguish the Caliphate. At *Ūsh* he was met by Arghān,³ who was accompanied by the future historian 'Aṭā Malik Juwaynī, the famous author of the *Tārīkh-i-Jahān Kushā*.

Now a word about the Assassins,⁴ their origin, their philosophy of religion and their organisation. The religious differences that exist today in the Muslim world are very old. "To the 'orthodox' Mussalmān 'Alī was only the fourth and last of the four orthodox Caliphs and neither greater nor less than his predecessors, Abū Bakr, 'Umar, and 'Uthmān. But to the *Shi'ā* he was, by virtue alike of his kinship and his marriage connection, the sole rightful successor of the Prophet . . . From a very early time there was a tendency to magnify 'Alī's nature until it assumed a divine character, and even at the present day the 'Alī—*Ilāhīs*', . . . regard 'Alī as neither more nor less than an Incarnation or 'Manifestation' of God."⁵ It was a tendency of some of the Persian converts to read into the new faith the two Persian doctrines of 'the divinity of kinship' and 'incarnation'. They believed in the doctrine that the Divine Being always manifests itself in a human form to guide the

¹ *Jām'i-u't-Twārikh*, Vol. II, p. 318.

² *Jahān Kushā*, Vol. III, p. 39. ³ *Ibid.*, p. 39.

⁴ The great scholar Sylvestre-de-Sacy showed that the word was variously corrupted by the crusaders into Assassini, Assessini, Assissini and Heissessini; but, most accurately, it stood for the Arabic *Hashīshī*—a name given to the sect because of the use, which they made of the drug *Hashīsh*.

Assassins is the name given to those *Ismā'ilīs*, who at the time of the Crusades, occupied fortified hill-fortresses in Syria and other Muhammadan countries, and were wont to rid themselves of their opponents by means of assassination. The *Fidāīs* were selected by the spiritual leaders of the Assassins to carry out any important mission, e.g., an assassination, and, therefore, they were urged to the use of the *Hashīsh* in order that they might, as volunteers, be ready for any deed.—*Encyclopædia of Islām*.

⁵ Professor Browne's *Literary History of Persia*, Part II, p. 194.

people of the world, and, consequently, they regarded the prophets of 'Izrā'il, the Arabian Prophet, Ḥaḍrat 'Alī and the Imāms as divine incarnation.

Ḥaḍrat Jā'far Ṣādiq, the sixth Imām, nominated his younger son, Imam Mūsā Kāẓim as his successor, instead of his eldest son Ismā'il. About the latter, the Imām is said to have said, "Ismā'il is not my son, but an incarnation of Satan."¹ The nomination was assented to by a majority of the Shi'ās;² but the extremists would not accept it, and this caused a definite breach between Aṭhnā Aṣhariyas and the heretic incarnationists, afterwards known as Ismā'ilīs.

The Ismā'ilīs planned their secret propaganda, and kept the Imām veiled.³ Subordinate to the great agent, there was a set of provincial representatives. The higher grade comprised the 'Dā'i-i-Duat' or Grand Master, 'Dā'i-i-Kabīr, or superior propagandists and 'Dā'īs' or ordinary propagandists. The lower grade included the 'Rafīqs'—companions, the 'Laīqs'—adherents and lastly the 'Fidāīs'—volunteers, 'who made kings tremble on their throne.'

It is rather difficult to define the creed of the Ismā'ilīs. "In essence, their inner doctrine was philosophical and elective." It was dominated throughout by the mystic number seven; there were seven Prophetic Periods—those of Ādam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus, Muḥammad and Muḥammad bin Ismā'il, each of whom was succeeded by seven Imāms. The latter were followed by twelve Apostles (Naqīb) each. The sixth of the seven Prophetic cycle, that of the Prophet Muḥammad ended with the seventh Imām, Ismā'il.⁴ According to the Ismā'ilīs, the Imām was a 'divine incarnation' and, as such, could modify and change the shari'at and commandments of the Qur'ān. The final authority in interpretation and adjustment lay with the public opinion of the believers. The Imām not only granted dispensations

¹ *Tārīkh-i-Jahān Kushā*, Vol. III, p. 57.

² *Ibid.*, p. 57.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 58.

⁴ Professor Browne's *Literary History of Persia*, Part II, p. 197.

for past sins, but even ordered their commission.¹

For several centuries after the decline of the Abbasid Caliphate, the Ismā'īlī propaganda was violent and bitter from east to west.² "The political importance of the Ismā'īlīs began in the tenth century with the foundation of the Fatimid dynasty." A certain person Muḥammad 'Ubaid-u'llah claimed descent from 'Alī and Fāṭmah, established his power at Mahdiyyah near Tunis and laid the foundation of the Fatimid Caliphs—the serious rivals of the orthodox Caliphs of Baghdād.

Ḥasan bin Ṣabbāḥ, a resident of Rāy would not allow his followers to record his pedigree saying, "I would rather be the Imām's chosen servant than his unworthy son." In fact he belonged to the *Aṭḥnā Aṣhariyā*³ sect, but his intimate friend Amīr Ḍarāb and Abū Najm Sirāj⁴ initiated him into the mysteries of the Ismā'īlī sect.

Ḥasan paid a visit to Egypt, and was honourably received by Mustanṣir. Suddenly dispute arose over the question of succession; the Amīrs supported Musta'īlī, the younger son of Mustanṣir, but Ḥasan backed up the eldest son Naẓār.⁵ Consequently, he had to fly from Egypt. He brought a female slave from there, and represented to the people saying, "she is pregnant by Mustanṣir of Egypt; I have saved her from her enemies. She is going to beget the Imām-i-Ākhir-i-Zamān (the last Imām)."⁶

Ḥasan captured the impregnable fort of Alamūt⁷ in the Jibāl Province to the north of Kāzwīn. The forts of Gird Kuh and Lambasār were also added to his princi-

¹ Professor Ḥabīb's article on the "Lord of the Assassins" published in the *Muslim Review*, Calcutta, pp. 4-6.

² *Tārīkh-i-Jahān Kūshā*, Vol. III, p. 59.

³ *Rauḍat-u'ṣ-Ṣafā*, Vol. IV, p. 367.

⁴ *Tārīkh-i-Jahān Kūshā*, Vol. III, p. 70.

⁵ *Rauḍat-u'ṣ-Ṣafā*, Vol. IV, p. 766.

⁶ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 413.

⁷ Originally Alūh-amūt, a name correctly explained by Ibn-u'l-Aṭḥir X, p. 110 as 'tā'lim-u'l-'uqāb', the Eagles' teaching. It is very often, but inaccurately, known as the Eagles' Nest.

pality, and Alamūt now became a regular state. In May 1124 A.D. he died, and was succeeded by Kiā Buzurg 'Umid, who ruled for twenty-four years. Kiā Buzurg was succeeded by his son Muḥammad, who ruled for twenty-five years. In 1173 A.D. Muḥammad's son Ḥasan ascended the throne, but was killed and was succeeded by his son Jalāl-u'd-dīn. The new ruler put a stop to all the Ismā'īlī propaganda, and enforced the *shari'at* of the orthodox.¹ After his death, his son 'Alā-u'd-dīn came to the throne at an age of nine.² He was a man of vulgar tastes, and, thus, the affairs of the state fell into disorder. He was, however, murdered by his son Rukn-u'd-dīn Khūr Shāh, who ascended the throne in 1255 A.D.

During the next ten years, or so, Hūlāgū captured the whole of the cities and fortresses of the Assassins, and put them to the sword.³ Misūr-Noyon, the Mongol governor of Hamdān advised Rukn-u'd-dīn Khūr Shāh to dismantle his forts and make his submission before Hūlāgū, but he hesitated. Hūlāgū himself advanced, besieged the fort of Maimūm Dāz and made Khūr Shāh captive. Lastly, the fort of Alamūt was plundered and razed to the ground,⁴ and with the exception of children in the cradle, a general massacre was carried out by the orders of Mangū Khān. "Even at the present day the remnants of this once powerful body are widely, though sparsely, scattered through the east, in Syria, Persia, East Africa, Central Asia and India, where the Āghā Khān, a lineal descendant of Khūr Shāh . . . is still honoured as the titular head of the Ismā'īlīs."⁵

"The extirpation of the Assassins won for Hūlāgū Khān the applause of the orthodox Muḥammadans, but his next procedure was a summons to the Caliph al-Mustā'ṣim-billah to surrender himself and Baghdād, for five centuries the metropolis of Islam, to the Mongols."⁶ From his headquarters

¹ *Tārīkh-i-Jahān Kūshā*, Vol. III, p. 90.

² *Ibid.*, p. 93.

³ *Ibid.* p. 53.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 52.

⁵ Professor Browne's *Literary History of Persia*, Part II, pp. 210, 211.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 460.

at Hamdān, Hūlāgū set out against Baghdād in 1257 A.D. The Caliph Mustā'şim-billah had a Shi'ā heretic Aḥmad Alqamī as his vizier, and the latter intimated to the former that peace was made with Hūlāgū.¹ The vizier then despatched the Kurd troops and forces of 'Irāq in different directions. In the meantime, the Mongol forces took Najf, and defeated the forces of Sulaymān Shāh and Ḥisām-u'd-dīn Khalil.² Now the Maliks informed the Caliph of the arrival of the Mongol forces, but the Caliph still placed confidence in his vizier. Resistance was, however, offered at Takrit, but the Mongols made a night attack and, thus, only a few fugitives escaped to Baghdād. The treacherous vizier advised the Caliph to move out of the city and present himself before Hūlāgū.³ No sooner did the Caliph reach the Mongol camp than he was seized, and killed. "The sack of Baghdād was a more terrible event than that of Merv or Herāt, inasmuch as the city was the centre of the Muslim world; and the irreparable injury to its civilisation by the extinction of the Caliphate more than six centuries after the foundation of Islām, by the destruction of priceless literary and artistic treasures, and by the massacre of all classes, defies description."⁴

¹ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri*, pp. 424, 425.

² *Jām'i-u'l-Tawārikh*, Vol. II, pp. 342 and 343.

³ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri*, p. 428.

⁴ Syke's *History of Persia*, Vol. II, p. 175.

CHAPTER II

THE MU'IZZĪ MALIKS

ON the death of Sultān Shihāb-u'd-dīn of Ghūr, the empire of Ghaznīn and Hindustan devolved upon his slaves, known as the Mu'izzī Malikḥ.¹ It is said that the Sultān was very fond of purchasing and training Turkish slaves. As he had no other issue excepting a daughter, a bold courtier said to him once, "To a sovereign like you, sons are necessary to succeed to your vast empire." "Other kings have only a few sons", the Sultān replied, "but I have several thousand sons, namely my Turkish slaves, who will rule my kingdom in my name after I am dead and gone."² The Sultān's forecast proved true, and his slaves Tāj-u'd-dīn Yildiz, Nāṣir-u'd-dīn Qabāchah and Quṭb-u'd-dīn Aibak rose to power and command in the Afghān mountains, on the Indus and at Delhi respectively.

*Tāj-u'd-dīn Yildiz (1207-1216 A.D.)*³

He was a pious, kind-hearted and benevolent monarch.⁴ He was of a tender age, when Sultān Shihāb-u'd-dīn purchased him. Being endowed with a virtuous disposition and handsome exterior, he was favoured above the other slaves by the Sultān, who soon elevated him to a position of distinction and honour. He was created an *Amīr*,⁵ and

¹ Malikḥ of Sultān Mu'izz-u'd-dīn. Shihāb-u'd-dīn was styled Mu'izz-u'd-dīn after his conquests in Khurāsān. See *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 69.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 131, 132.

³ Yildiz=یلدیز (Turkish), a star, the north wind or quarter of the horizon. On the obverse of his coin is found a horseman to the right, and a *Star*, sometimes crescent or bird below.—*The Sultāns of Delhi—Their Coinage and Metrology*—H. N. Wright, p. 13; also—*Chronicles of the Pathan Kings*—Thomas, p. 31. Yildiz died in 1216 A.D. and the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* on p. 135 says he ruled for nine years. Therefore, his career as a ruler began in 1207.

⁴ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, pp. 131, 132.

⁵ *Firishtah*, p. 63.

the government of the districts of Sanqarān¹ and Kirmān was entrusted to him. Whenever the Sulṭān marched on an expedition against Hindustan, he always stopped at Kirmān on the way; Yildiz entertained the Sulṭān's Amīrs and Maliks, presented them with a thousand 'hoods and gowns' and showered silver and gold upon the whole retinue.²

Yildiz had two daughters, and by the command of Sulṭān Shihāb-u'd-dīn one of them was married to Quṭb-u'd-dīn Aibak and the other to Nāṣir-u'd-dīn Qabāchah. He had, likewise, two sons; one of them was studying under the supervision of a preceptor, who, one day, by way of chastisement and correction, struck the boy with an earthen vessel³ over the head. The boy died instantly from the blow. On receiving the intelligence, Yildiz gave the teacher his travelling expenses and advised him to fly away as quickly as possible, lest the boy's mother, becoming aware of her son's lot, should wreak vengeance upon him. This anecdote fully illustrates the good nature and exemplary faith of Sulṭān Tāj-u'd-dīn Yildiz.

Towards the close of his reign and on his last expedition to Hindustan in 1205 A.D., Sulṭān Shihāb-u'd-dīn halted at Kirmān. Yildiz welcomed the Sulṭān in the usual manner by offering a thousand suits, out of which one was selected by the Sulṭān for himself. The Sulṭān was pleased to grant Yildiz a special robe of honour and a black standard for his troops, thus signifying his wish to make him his heir-apparent to the throne of Ghaznīn.⁴ After the assassination of the Sulṭān, Yildiz aspired for the kingdom of Ghaznīn, but

¹ *Firishṭah*, p. 63 has شیوران while *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, *Firishṭah*'s main source of authority, agrees with *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*. It is, therefore, Sanqarān or Sanqān in Kuhistān.

² *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, pp. 132, 133.

³ *Firishṭah*, p. 63 has کوزه 'whip'.

⁴ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 133.

ملک تاج دین یلدز آن مرد کار که بود دست پسر خوانده شهر یار

Futūḥ-u's-Salāṭīn edited by Dr. Mehdi Ḥasan, p. 99.

the Turkish Malik and Amīrs sent an invitation to Sultān Maḥmūd, son of Sultān Ghiyāth-u'd-dīn Muḥammad, at the Court of Fīrūz Kuh, representing "the Sultāns of Bāmiyān¹ are making desperate attempts to obtain possession of Ghaznīn. You are the heir to the dominion. Kindly come down from the confines of Garmsīr and occupy your uncle's throne at Ghaznīn. We are prepared to gird up our loins in your service."² Sultān Maḥmūd replied by saying, "To me my father's heritage—the kingdom of Ghūr with its capital at Fīrūz Kuh—is most desirable." He further sent Yildiz a robe of honour with a letter of manumission, and assigned him the throne of Ghaznīn.³ As a matter of fact, the empire of Hindustan was Sultān Shihāb-u'd-dīn's own creation, his peculium, and, as such, its sole inheritors were his own slaves. Sultān Maḥmūd could only succeed to his father's heritage.

By virtue of this mandate, Yildiz hastened to Ghaznīn, subdued the Malik of Bāmiyān and ascended the throne of Ghaznīn; and finally brought the whole territory under his subjection. He, however, twice lost but regained the kingdom of Ghaznīn until after some time, he was defeated by Sultān Quṭb-u'd-dīn Aibak on the confines of the Punjab⁴ in the year 1206 A.D. Sultān Quṭb-u'd-dīn Aibak, then, advanced to Ghaznīn, remained there for a period of forty days and gave himself up to pleasure and revelry. The affairs of government fell into disorder; the Turkish Amīrs awaited their opportunity and secretly summoned Yildiz to Ghaznīn. The news of his arrival so terrified Sultān Quṭb-u'd-dīn Aibak that he fled to Hindustan by way of Sang-i-Surkh.⁵

¹ Here a reference to Bahā-u'd-dīn Sām's sons.

² *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 133.

³ *Futūḥ-u's-Salāṭīn* edited by Dr. Mehdī Ḥasan, p. 99.

⁴ Some copies, according to Major Raverty, have the Punjāb-i-Sind, the five rivers of Sind, which means practically the same thing. *Firishṭah*, p. 64, says that Yildiz himself advanced towards Hindustan with a view to conquer Lahore, which is quite probable.

⁵ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 135.

After having occupied Ghaznīn for the third time, Yildiz despatched armies on several occasions towards Ghūr, Khurāsān and Sijistān under the command of renowned Maliks. On one occasion, he sent a force to help Sultān Maḥmūd against Husain Kharmīl, the Malik of Herāt, who had conspired with and had gone over to the side of Sultān Muḥammad Khwārazm Shāh; and the Malik fled before the armies of Ghūr and Ghaznīn. On another occasion, Yildiz led an expedition into Sijistān, and besieged the city of Sistān, also called Nīmrūz, but retired after concluding a peace treaty with its ruler Malik Tāj-u'd-dīn Ḥarab.¹ On his way back to Ghaznīn, Malik Nāṣir-u'd-dīn Husain, his Amīr-i-Shikār (Chief huntsman) proved hostile towards him, but was defeated in an engagement and driven away towards Khwārazm. After some time Nāṣir-u'd-dīn Husain returned to Ghaznīn, but was put to death along with the Khawājah Mu'ayyid-u'l-Mulk Muḥammad 'Abd-u'llāh Sanjārī, the vizier, in a conspiracy devised by the Maliks and Amīrs of Ghaznīn.²

All of a sudden, Sultān Muḥammad Khwārazm Shāh marched from Ghaznīn, and his troops seized the frontier route leading to Hindustan by way of Gardaiz and the Karāhah-Darrah (pass).³ Yildiz fled by way of Sang-i-Surkh and reached Lahore. His fight with Sultān Shams-u'd-dīn Īltutmish and his catastrophe in the year 1216 A.D. are described elsewhere in Chapter IV.

Nāṣir-u'd-dīn Qabāchah (1206-1228 A.D.)⁴

Nāṣir-u'd-dīn Qabāchah was another Turkish slave of Sultān Shihāb-u'd-dīn of Ghūr. Being endowed with 'great intelligence, sagacity, efficiency, skill, foresight and experience'⁵, he had passed his life in the service of the Sultān in various capacities, and was thereby fully acquainted with

¹ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 134. ² *Ibid.*, p. 135. ³ *Ibid.*, p. 135.

⁴ قباچه = Qabāchah (Turkish) = A small garment. Qabāchah was defeated in 1228 A.D., and the *Ṭabaqāt* says, he ruled for 22 years. Therefore, his career began in 1206.

⁵ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 142.

the intricacies of civil and military affairs.¹ By the elder daughter² of Quṭb-u'd-dīn Aibak, he had a son named Shaiḵh 'Alā-u'd-dīn Bahrām Shāh,³ a prince of excellent disposition and handsome appearance but addicted to pleasure and amusements.

When Malik Nāṣir-u'd-dīn Aitum, the feudatory of Uch and Multān, was slain in an engagement at Andkhud, which took place between Sulṭān Shihāb-u'd-dīn and the forces of Gūr Khān of Khīṭā and Sulṭān 'Uthmān, ruler of Samarqand in 1203 and 1204 A.D., the government of Uch⁴ was assigned to Malik Nāṣir-u'd-dīn Qabāchah. He was, however, placed in a position of subordination to Quṭb-u'd-dīn Aibak by the Sulṭān. Qabāchah always remained on good terms with Quṭb-u'd-dīn Aibak, and on several occasions, visited Delhi to pay his homage to him. After the death of Sulṭān Quṭb-u'd-dīn Aibak in 1210 A.D. Qabāchah proceeded to Uch, captured the city of Multān, Siwistān⁵ and Dīpāl as far as the sea-coast, and occupied all the cities and forts of Sind. He, thus, brought the whole territory under his sway, assumed a canopy of State,⁶ and extended his dominion eastwards as far as Tabarhindah, Kuhrām and Sursutī. Sulṭān Tāj-u'd-dīn Yildiz was anxious to annex a part of Qabāchah's territory, and marched several times against

¹ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, The text runs thus :—

لشکر داری و ملک پروری وقوف تمام یافتہ

Major Raverty wrongly translates it as "and had acquired great influence," which is quite incorrect.

² Badā'ūnī in his *Muntakhab-u't-Twāriḵh*, p. 56 makes a nice blunder—"One daughter was given in marriage to Yildiz and the other, to Quṭb-u'd-dīn Aibak."

³ The *Tāj-ul-Ma'āthir* calls him 'Alā-u'd-dīn Muḥammad.

⁴ The printed text does not, as Major Raverty says, contain 'and Multān' but Badā'ūnī's *Muntakhab-u't-Twāriḵh*, p. 56, has 'Uch and Multān'; it is, in fact, afterwards that Qabāchah conquered Multān.—See *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 142.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 142 and *Elliot's* translation, Vol. II, p. 302 have 'Hindustan'. It is in fact Swistān or Sindustān.

⁶ The text of the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 142 has *وچترپر گرفت* which Major Raverty translates as "assumed two canopies of State." It must be one instead of 'two'.

him from Ghaznīn ; but Qabāchah was always successful and Yildiz had to retire discomfited from the Indus. Qabāchah occupied Lahore several times, but was overthrown by the Khwājah Mu'ayyid-u'l-Mulk Muḥammad 'Abd-u'llah Sanjarī, the vizier of Yildiz in 1215 A.D. and he retired towards Sind.¹

The Court of Qabāchah was adorned by the presence of a number of nobles and great men, who, as a result of the inroads and devastations of the Mongols, had fled from Khurāsān, Ghūr and Ghaznīn ; all of whom were patronised and favoured by Sulṭān Nāṣir-u'd-dīn Qabāchah.² Multān at the time was a great centre of Muslim learning and culture ; and a number of distinguished 'ulema and eminent scholars were to be found there.³ The position of the Sulṭān became all the more precarious by the defeat of Sulṭān Jalāl-u'd-dīn, son of Sulṭān Khwarazm Shāh, at the hands of Chingiz Khān on the banks of the Indus in 1221 A.D.⁴ Sulṭān Jalāl-u'd-dīn entered Sind, and proceeded towards Dīpāl and Mikrān. After the capture of Nandanah⁵ in 1224 A.D.,⁶ the forces of Tūluy,⁷ the Mongol Noyon or prince, invested the strong fortress of Multān for a period of forty days ;⁸ during which contest, Qabāchah showed much gallantry and benevolence, and conferred numerous benefits upon his subjects. It is related in the *Siyar-u'l-*

¹ The *Tāj-u'l-Ma'āthir* places this event in 1215 A.D., which may be probable. According to *Mir'at-i-Jahān-Numā* several engagements were fought for the occupation of Lahore.

² *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 143.

³ *Siyar-u'l-Auliya* (Urdū Translation, p. 67).

⁴ *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 143.

⁵ The name of a district and a fortress in the Sind-Sagar Doāb of the Punjāb.

⁶ According to Badā'unī's *Muntakhab-u't-Twārikh*, p. 56—1214 A.D. which is quite improbable.

⁷ The printed text, p. 143 has قرتی (تولی) قرتی

Major Raverty has Turtī. It is in fact Tūluy.

⁸ The printed text of the *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* has چهل روز forty days ; but Major Raverty converts it into forty-two days.

Auliya that Shaikh Quṭb-u'd-dīn Bakht-yār, Shaikh Bahā-u'd-dīn Dhakariyā and Shaikh Jalāl-u'd-dīn Tabrizī visited Multān at the time. Qabāchah approached them, and sought their assistance in averting the danger. Shaikh Quṭb-u'd-dīn handed over an arrow to Qabāchah to throw at the enemy and, curiously enough, the infidels disappeared the next morning.¹ Qabāchah was a patron of letters, but he was disliked by the mystics. There is a story about Shaikh Bahā-u'd-dīn Dhakariyā and the Qāḍī conspiring against him. Minhāj-Sirāj, like many others, deserted him, because his power had suffered a good deal owing to Mangubirnī and Jaghatay rebellion.

At the beginning of the year 1226 A.D., the Maliks of Ghūr made a common cause with Qabāchah against the Mongols, and at the close of the same year, a body of the tribe of Khalj under Malik Khān,² formerly a part of the Khwārazmian army, acquired supremacy over the districts of Manṣūrah in Siwistān.³ Qabāchah proceeded to repel them, and in an engagement that followed between him and the Khalj forces, the Khalj Malik was slain and Qabāchah returned triumphant to Uch and Multān.⁴

The details regarding the constant contention that went on between Qabāchah and Sulṭān Shams-u'd-dīn Īltutmish and the ultimate defeat and end of the former are given in Chapter IV.

*Malik Bahā-u'd-dīn Tughrul (1195-1200)*⁵.

Malik Bahā-u'd-dīn Tughrul⁶ was an old slave of Sulṭān

¹ *Siyar-u'l-Auliya* (Urdū Translation), pp. 56, 57.

² Probably the commander of the left-wing of Sulṭān Jalāl-u'd-dīn's army in the battle on the Indus.

³ *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri*, p. 143.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 144.

⁵ Bayānah was conquered in 1195, and Gwalior came under possession in 1200 A.D. According to *Tārīkh-i-Fakhr-u'd-dīn Mubārak Shāh*, pp. 23, 24. Bahā-u'd-dīn started his career with the conquest of Bayānah and ended with the final subjection of Gwalior.

⁶ Tughrul with short 'u' before the final 'l' is the name of a bird of prey like falcon, eagle, etc.

Shihāb-u'd-dīn of Ghūr, who had given him a high degree of training and raised him to a position of distinction and honour. He was endowed with many praiseworthy qualities. A Malik of excellent disposition, impartial, generous and a 'patron of the poor and strangers,'¹ Bahā-u'd-dīn Tugh̃rul would have earned a name, had he lived longer.

When Sultān Shihāb-u'd-dīn² and Quṭb-u'd-dīn Aibak captured the fortress of Thankar³, in the territory of Bayānah⁴ (an ancient town in Bharatpūr State, and about 25 miles south-west of Bharatpūr City), as a result of an engagement with its Rae, the place was made over to Bahā-u'd-dīn's charge in 1195 A.D. From different parts of Hindustan and Khurāsān, nobles and merchants flocked to Bahā-u'd-dīn Tugh̃rul, who was kind enough to provide them with dwelling-houses and other necessities of life, so that they settled there. The territory of Bayānah, thus, became flourishing and prosperous through the noble efforts of Malik Bahā-u'd-dīn Tugh̃rul.⁵

After the conquest of Thankar, Sultān Shihāb-u'd-dīn marched towards Gwalior. The Gwalior fort, one of the most famous in India, stands on an isolated sandstone hill, about 300 feet above the old town and measuring 1½ miles long, and 2,800 feet broad. The date of its foundation is uncertain. According to the inscription relating to the fort,

¹ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 144.

² The contemporary historian, Minhāj-Sirāj, says in the reign of Shihāb-u'd-dīn that Quṭb-u'd-dīn Aibak subdued Nahrwālah, Thankar, Gwalior and Badā'ūn. The *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, pp. 38, 39 *Haft Iqlīm* and Badā'ūnī's *Muntakhab-u't-Twārikh*, p. 57 repeat the same. *Mir'at-i-Jahān Numā* does not mention Thankar. But the author of the *Tāj-u'l-Ma'āthir* on p. 368 says, that both Shihāb-u'd-dīn and Quṭb-u'd-dīn captured Thankar, which is quite correct.

³ Badā'ūnī's *Tārikh*, p. 57 has 'Bhanker', which is incorrect.

⁴ *Ibid.* has 'Bhasyānah', which is a mistake for Bayānah. It was Samarjit, son of Parwal, who was ultimately killed by Binae-u'd-dīn (a mistake for Bahā-u'd-dīn Tugh̃rul), who was placed in charge of Bayānah—*Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengāl*; 1881, Part I, pp. 29-31. Dr. Ray is of opinion that it was Trailokya-Varman and not Samarjit—Vol. II, p. 722.

⁵ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 145.

it is called Gopāgiri, Gopādrī and Gopā Chālā. As a result of the overthrow of the Gupta power in the sixth century, Gwalior passed into the hands of the Huna adventurers, Toramana and his son Mihirakula, the first masters of Gwalior. In the ninth century, it belonged to Raja Bhoja of Kanauj. The Kachwaha Rajputs held it from the middle of the tenth century till about 1128 A.D.¹ But Gwalior was too strong to be captured by assault, and the Sultān decided to invest it and starve out the garrison. The Raja, frightened at the Sultān's intention, came out to offer his allegiance with many presents, so much so that he prevailed on him to raise the siege.² Sultān Shihāb-u'd-dīn retired from the fort of Gwalior and said to Malik Bahā-u'd-dīn, "if this stronghold ever falls, it will be yours."³

The fortress of Thankar was not a suitable place of residence for Bahā-u'd-dīn and his troops; he, therefore, rounded, in the territory of Bayānah, the city 'and fort'⁴ of Sultān-Kut. Having established himself there, Bahā-u'd-dīn Tugh̃rul used to make raids upon Gwalior,⁵ but his attempts failed to achieve the desired object. So he constructed another fort at a distance of one league from Gwalior, established himself there with all his troops, and succeeded in reducing the garrison to straits within the period of one year. The Parihars, the defenders of Gwalior, despatched emissaries to Quṭb-u'd-dīn Aibak, and surrendered⁶ the fort to him in 1200 A.D.⁷ The acceptance of surrender by Quṭb-u'd-dīn Aibak caused bitter enmity between him and Bahā-u'd-dīn Tugh̃rul. Both sides prepared for war, but Bahā-u'd-dīn's timely death⁸ brought the struggle to an end

¹ *Imperial Gazetteer*, Vol. XII, p. 440.

² *Firish̃tah*, p. 64.

³ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 145.

⁴ 'And fort' is added by *Firish̃tah*, p. 64.

⁵ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 145.

⁶ The contemporary historian, Minhāj-Sirāj, gives no date of surrender, but, according to Major Raverty, it must have happened just before or immediately after the death of Sultān Shihāb-u'd-dīn.

⁷ *Tārīkh-i-Fakh̃r-u'd-dīn Mubārak Sh̃hāh*, p. 24.

⁸ *Firish̃tah*, p. 64, the *Tazkarat-u'l-Mulūk* says that Bahā u'd-dīn died while the emissaries were being defeated.

without a blow being struck.¹ Both Quṭb-u'd-dīn and Bahā-u'd-dīn were slaves of Sulṭān Shihāb-u'd-dīn, and independent of each other from the very beginning. About this time, the Sulṭān and his brother Ghīyāth-u'd-dīn embarked on a futile and aggressive war against the Khwarazmians and, consequently, the former had no leisure to look after the affairs of Hindustan. The fort of Sulṭān-Kut, however, may be regarded as a monument to the memory of Bahā-u'd-dīn Tughrul.

The old city of Gwalior is now a decaying town—'a desolate-looking collection of half empty, dilapidated, flat-roofed stone houses, deserted mosques and ruined tombs.' The town is entirely Muslim in character. It has a fine main street and a collection of fine buildings.

Muḥammad Bakht-yār Khaljī (1201-1205 A.D.)

The first Muslim invader, who conquered the Eastern Hindustan, was Muḥammad Bakht-yār Khaljī.² He was descended from the Khalj tribe of Ghūr and the territory

¹ *Firishṭah*, p. 64. Minhāj-Sirāj on p. 145 says, "Consequently, there existed some vexation between Bahā-u'd-dīn and Quṭb-u'd-dīn" and further states, 'and he died.'

² Badā'ūnī's *Muntakhab-u't-Twārikh*, p. 57 calls him Muḥammad Bakht-yār Ghūrī. He was never a slave of Sulṭān Shihāb-u'd-dīn.

³ محمد همان سرکش بختیار - که بدست صفدار خلجی قتل -

Futūḥ-u's-Salāṭīn, p. 94.

The Khalj was a Turkish tribe, which 'settled in the Garmsir between Sīstān and Ghaznī'—as is clear from the famous history of *Jāmi'-u't-Twārikh*, Introduction to the *Zafar Nāmāh* and *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*. European writers confound them with the Afghān tribe of Ghazī. In fact, they were a Turkish tribe, which migrated from Turkistān at a period which cannot be precisely ascertained, and settled in Western Afghānistān. What Diyā Baranī means by his phrase—'they came of a race different from that of the Turk'—most probably is that they did not belong to the Ilbarī tribe of Turkistān as was the case with the early Turkish rulers. The contemporary historian, Minhāj-Sirāj, in connection with the conquest of Lakhnauti writes as follows: "A number of Brahmans approached the Rāe, and informed him that in the book of yore it is stated that the country will fall into the hands of the Turks." The conqueror of

of Garmsīr, and was endowed with many laudable qualities. He was, in the words of Qāḍī Minhāj-Sirāj, "impetuous, enterprising, intrepid, brave, generous, sagacious and clever."¹ He came to the Court of Ghaznīn in the time of Sulṭān Shihāb-u'd-dīn, and presented himself before the Minister of the *Dīwān-i-'Arḍ* (Military Department), who rejected him, for his personality was not striking or imposing. From Ghaznīn² he proceeded towards Hindustan and reached the capital Delhi; there, too, he was disqualified for the same reason. At length, he came to Badā'un, and its feudatory Sipāh-sālār Hazbar-u'd-dīn Ḥasan-i-Adīb³ fixed a certain stipend for his maintenance⁴.

After the famous battle of Tarāin (now Tarāwari), 1191 A.D. in which Rae Pithora⁵ was defeated, 'Alī Nāgaūrī, a military officer of Sulṭān Shihāb-u'd-dīn and the feudatory of Nāgaūr (a historic town in Jodhpur State), employed Muḥammad Maḥmūd, the paternal uncle of Muḥammad Bakht-yār, in his service and when he became the feudatory of Kanauj, he assigned him the fief of Kashmandī.⁶ On the death of his uncle, Muḥammad Bakht-yār Khaljī became feudatory in his place.

After some time, Muḥammad Bakht-yār approached Malik Ḥisām-u'd-dīn Aghilbek⁷ the ruler of Oudh, who, having noticed his wonderful activities and gallant deeds, conferred upon him two fiefs between the Ganges and the

Lakhnautī was Bakht-yār, and, therefore, a Turk. Further, Fakhr-u'd-dīn Mubārak Shāh in his *Tārīkh*, p. 37, while enumerating different Turkish clans mentions *Khalj*, which is a definite proof of their being Turk.

¹ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāsirī*, p. 146.

² Badā'unī's *Muntakhab-u't-Twārikh*, p. 57 says that 'his company did not please Sulṭān Quṭb-u'd-dīn at Lahore', which is quite possible.

³ This chief as well as others, who are mentioned afterwards, were quite independent of Quṭb-u'd-dīn's authority.

⁴ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāsirī*, p. 147.

⁵ The printed text of the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāsirī*, p. 145, has 'Kolah', who was the son of Pithorā of Ajmer.

⁶ Or Kashmandī but the printed text p. 146 has 'Kashmandī, which was situated, then, in the territory of Kanauj.

⁷ Aghilbek in Turkish means "Lord of the fold".

Son.¹ Having established himself there, Muḥammad Bakht-yār was constantly engaged in raiding the territory of Bihār and Munīr. As a result of his military operations, all the requisites of power in the shape of horses, arms, men and money came into his hands, and the Khalji² warriors, who had been scattered throughout Hindustan, flocked to him. The fame of his enterprise, bravery and spoils became 'noised abroad', and Quṭb-u'd-dīn Aibak sent him a robe of honour, and 'other insignia of nobility.'³

Thus strengthened and honoured, Muḥammad Bakht-yār carried on his depredations into that territory for a period of one or two years (1201-1202 A.D.), until he suddenly fell upon the fortified city of Bihār with a force of two hundred horsemen in defensive armour. The province of Bihār is well known from very early times. The ancient kingdom of Magadha had its capital at Rājgīr. It was in Magadha, where Buddha and Mahavira developed and propagated their religions. In the fourth century A.D., the Gupta Dynasty rose to power and established their capital at Patna. In the ninth century, the Buddhist Dynasty founded by Gopāl held its sway over Bihār. The last of this line was defeated by Muḥammad Bakht-yār Khalji, who destroyed the capital at Odantapūrī⁴. Bakht-yār's

¹ The printed text of the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 147, has 'Sihlat and Sihlī'—not traceable. *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 47, and Badā'ūnī's *Muntakhab-u'l-Twārikh*, p. 57, have 'Kānpala and Patīālī'. Kānpil is a village in Furukhābād District, U.P. The fiefs of Bhugwat and Bhiwālī, according to Major Raverty, were situated between the Ganges and the Karmāhnaśah to the eastward of Chunārgarh, but this is not Oudh. The fiefs probably lay between the Ganges and the Son.

² The printed text of the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* has 'Ikhhlāj'—plural of 'Khalj'.

³ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 147.

⁴ *Imperial Gazetteer*, Vol. VII, pp. 208, 209. *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III, p. 42 has 1193, which is not probable. Most writers agree that Bihār was conquered in 1197. This date is also too early. Unfortunately *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* is silent on this point. However, another contemporary authority, Ḥasan Nizāmī, writes that Bakht-yār approached Quṭb-u'd-dīn after the conquest of Kālinjar, which occurred in 1202 A.D. (See *Tāj-ul-*

lieutenants, Nizām-u'd-dīn and Shams-u'd-dīn,¹ the two brothers of Farghānah displayed great heroism, captured the fortress² and acquired immense booty. Muḥammad Bakht-yār put a large number of inhabitants, mostly Brahmans with their heads shaven,³ to the sword, and destroyed the library. It was soon discovered that the fortified city of Bihār was a great centre of Hindu learning, and in the language of the east 'Bihār' precisely meant a college.

After this victory, Muḥammad Bakht-yār started for Delhi in the year 1202 A.D. with innumerable presents to pay his homage to Quṭb-u'd-dīn Aibak. He was received with great honour, and the distinction, accorded him, roused the enmity of his rivals. Bakht-yār was a Khaljī, a free man and probably uneducated. How could he be regarded a proper officer? They always ridiculed him in the royal assembly, and, one day, represented to the Sulṭān, that Muḥammad Bakht-yār pretended that he could fight a mad elephant. Quṭb-u'd-dīn was at first reluctant to put Bakht-yār's life in danger, but his associates induced him to join in the intrigue. One day, when a public assembly was held in the white castle, Bakht-yār's enemies brought⁴ an elephant before him. "An elephant strong enough to stand the onslaught of this brute," they said, "is not to be found in

Ma'āthir, p. 461 and *Tārīkh-i-Fakhr-u'd-dīn Mubḍarāḥ Shāh*, p. 24). Consequently, the conquest of Bihār must have taken place sometime about 1202 A.D.

"Mahindrapla is mentioned in the inscriptions as the last king, and is identified with Indradyumna of local tradition, who is said to have been conquered by Bakht-yār Khaljī. (See *Vaidya*, Vol. III, p. 229).

¹ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 147, has 'Shamsām-u'd-dīn' which is rather improbable.

² Minhāj-Sirāj on p. 147 says that he acquired all knowledge regarding the surrender of the fortified city of Bihār from Shams-u'd-dīn, the lieutenant of Muḥammad Bakht-yār in 1243 A.D., many years after the actual conquest of the place.

³ 'With shaven chins and upper lips'—according to *Firishṭah*.

⁴ This anecdote is differently related by the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, p. 47, which says 'that Quṭb-u'd-dīn had a white elephant, which Bakht-yār was made to encounter'. Marshman in his *History of India* makes him fight with a lion.

Hindustan." Qutb-u'd-dīn turned to Bakht-yār and inquired, if he wished to fight the elephant. Bakht-yār was too courageous and exceedingly modest; he, at once, jumped into the arena, and struck his mace¹ so forcibly on the elephant's forehead that it screamed and fled discomfited. The audience was thunder-struck; even his rivals raised their voices in praise. Qutb-u'd-dīn bestowed upon him a robe of honour and other valuable presents,² all of which he gave away to the servants of the court, and set out towards Bihār wearing his robe of honour. Next day, he received a *firmān* assigning him Bihār and Lakhnautī and along with it a red pavilion, a banner and a drum.³ Long before the advent of the Muslims, Lakhnautī, an old name of Gaur, had been the capital of the Pala Dynasty in the ninth and tenth centuries and of the Senas in the twelfth century.

The fame of his intrepidity and valour spread throughout the territories of Lakhnautī⁴, Bihār and Bangah.⁵ The district of Kāmrūp originally formed part of the ancient Hindu kingdom of Kamarupa, which included the whole of the Brāhmaputrā valley. Bakht-yār now strove hard to conquer Lakhnautī and Bengal, which were governed by Rae Lakhmaniah,⁶ or Lakshman Sen, the last of the dynasty,

¹ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāsirī*, p. 148 has چوڑ which means 'mace' and not a battle-axe as in Elliot, Vol. II, p. 306.

² *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāsirī*, p. 148.

³ *Firishtah* and *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, p. 47. But *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāsirī* does not mention this; and, therefore, the above statement is rather incorrect. Such an honour, in those days, meant all the insignia of royalty and Qutb-u'd-dīn could not bestow these honours in *Shihāb-u'd-dīn's* lifetime.

⁴ The correct name is Lakhmanawtī from Lakhmana, the son of Dasarath—Watī means home, country, therefore, Lakhmanāwatī is equal to the 'country of Lakhmana.'

⁵ Ancient name for a tract in Bengal, now a province.

⁶ 'همان لکھمنہ این خبر چوں شنود کہ صفدار آن جملہ اقلیم بود'

Futūḥ-u's-Salāṭīn, p. 95. D. R. Banerji (*Epigraphia Indica*, XIV, p. 159) says that an "era was founded to commemorate the beginning of the reign of Lakshman-Sena."

A curious anecdote is related about the birth of the Rae by the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāsirī* that, at the time of the birth of the Rae, astrologers prophesied that it would be exceedingly unfortunate if the child was born

whose seat of government was the city of Nadiāh. The town of Nadiāh or Nabadwip, meaning 'new island' has a very ancient history. A group of Brahmans and astrologers represented to the Rae, "It is foretold in our ancient books that this kingdom will fall into the hands of the Turks, and the time of its fulfilment has drawn near. The Turks have subdued Bihār, and, next year, they are bound to invade our country. It would be most expedient for the Rae to agree to our suggestion that we should all emigrate from this land to escape the Turkish trouble."¹ "Tell me," asked the Rae, "what are the distinguishing features of the conqueror." They replied, "Certainly, the indication is that when he stands erect with his arms hanging down, the tips of his fingers reach the calves of his legs."² The Rae sent his confidential servants to make investigations, and they discovered that Muḥammad Bakht-yār did possess those particular characteristics. This caused great apprehension, and most of the Brahmans and other inhabitants hurried towards the province of Sankanāt,³ the cities and towns of Bangah and Kām rūp; but the Rae refused to emigrate with the running population.

Next year in 1203 A.D.,⁴ Muḥammad Bakht-yār started from Bihār, and suddenly appeared before the city of Nadiāh with no more than eighteen horsemen; while his regular troops followed after him. Muḥammad Bakht-yār did not molest any one, but pressed on in such a manner that the people thought they were dealers in horses, until

at that hour; but, if born two hours later, it would reign for 80 years. The mother, therefore, commanded that she should be suspended with her head downwards until after two hours, she gave birth to the child, but herself instantly died.

¹ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 150

² *Ibid.*, p. 150.

³ With the exception of two, says Major Raverty, the best and oldest copies have Sankanāt. *Zubdat-u't-Twārikh* also has Sankanāt. *Tazkarat-u'l-Mulk* and *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, p. 48 have Jagnāth (probably Jagannāth). *Firishtah* has Jagnāth and Kamrūd.

⁴ It cannot be 1202 as *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III, p. 46, has, for Bakht-yār had gone to see Quṭb-u'd-din in the year 1202 A.D. (See *Tāj-u'l-Ma'āthir*, p. 461). The 'next year' of *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* would mean 1203 A.D.

he reached the entrance of the palace, drew his sword, and commenced his onslaught. The Rae was at table,¹ and before he could know the cause of the tumult at the gateway, Muḥammad Bakht-yār dashed forward into the palace and put several persons to the sword. The Rae, taken by surprise, fled bare-footed by a postern door² towards Sankanāt and Bangah, where he died of a broken heart soon after. The city of Nadiāh with its treasures, elephants and a vast amount of booty fell into the hands of the victors.³ Muḥammad Bakht-yār razed the city of Nadiāh to the ground, and made Lakhnautī the seat of government. He subjugated the whole territory, and "instituted, in every part, the reading of the 'Khuṭbah' and the coining of money".⁴ A number of mosques, colleges and monasteries were founded, and a large portion of the booty was sent to Qutb-u'd-dīn Aibak.

After some years in about 1205 A.D.,⁵ Muḥammad Bakht-yār entertained the idea of seizing the territories of Turkistan and Tibbet,⁶ and for that purpose organised an army of 10,000 horse. At the same time, he provisionally

¹ Perhaps morning meal or breakfast.

² 'The Rae,' it is said, 'escaped in a boat to Bīkrāmpūr about 8 miles south-east from Dhākah'—Account of Dīla' Dināpūr, Calcutta, 1832, as quoted by Major Raverty.

³ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāsirī*, p. 151. According to Munshī Shiyām Prasād's *Account of Gaur*, Bakht-yār took Nadiāh in 1096 A.D., which is impossible.

⁴ Probably in the name of Sulṭān Shihāb-u'd-dīn, for Qutb-u'd-dīn was yet a slave. Badā'ūnī's *Muntakhab-u't-Twārīkh*, p. 58 and *Firishtah* say that Bakht-yār caused his own name to be read in the Khuṭbah and to be inscribed on the coin. This is rather improbable, as the contemporary authority, the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāsirī* does not mention a word about it.

⁵ Having assumed that Lakhnautī was conquered in 1203 A.D., 'some years after' of the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāsirī* would mean 1205, the year of Bakht-yār's death.

⁶ شنیدم ز لکهنوتی او تا بچین - عیان کرد اسلام آن پاک دین
Futūh-u's-Salātīn, p. 96.

The Arab Geographers were never definite in their description of India. They divided India into Hind and Sind. The land beyond the Indus was little explored by the Arabs in the eighth century, and the position of China was vague. In all probability, Bakht-yār invaded Northern Bengal or Assam, but he actually imagined he was invading Turkistan.

appointed Muḥammad Shirān and Aḥmad Shirān governors of Lakhnautī and Jājnagar. A certain 'Alī, the Mech,¹ who had embraced Islam at the hands of Muḥammad Bakht-yār, agreed to act as a guide, and conducted the latter to a city named Burdhan Kut² founded by the Persian Shāh Gushtāship.³ A vast river Beg-matī,⁴ which falls into the Gandak river flowed by the side of the city, and it took ten days to cross it. They, however, reached a bridge of hewn-stone supported by twenty arches, and after crossing it, Muḥammad Bakht-yār installed a Turkish slave and a Khalji Amīr to guard the bridge until his return. The Rāe of Kāmārūp (or Assam) sent a message to Muḥammad Bakht-yār, representing, "It is not advisable to invade the territory of Tibbet without ample preparations. It is better to postpone the idea until some time later, when I myself will precede you with my troops."⁵ Muḥammad Bakht-yār did not like the suggestion, but continued his march into the territory of Tibbet.⁶

For fifteen days, they travelled among high mountain peaks; on the sixteenth day, they descended to a level plain, and found themselves in a happy and prosperous land. The

¹ Between the territories of Tibbet and Lakhnautī, there dwelt the three races of people—Koch, Mej or Mech and Tihārū (Kachārī) all having countenances like the Turks—See *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāsirī*, p. 152.

² The *Tazkarat-u'l-Mulūk* has Burdhan twice. *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī* has only Burdhan. Badā'ūnī's *Muntakhab-u't-Twārikh*, p. 58 has 'Brahman'. Probably it is Bīrhāmpūr or Dharampūr in Nipāl.

³ The printed text of the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāsirī*, p. 152 has 'Garsaship Shāh'. Badā'ūnī, p. 58 calls him 'Garshasb.'

⁴ The printed text of the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāsirī*, p. 152 has 'Brahmanputra' or 'Brahmkadī', and which, probably Bakht-yār did not reach. Beg-matī is a river, which rises in Nipāl and falls into the Gandak river, but it does not seem to be such a vast river as to cross it in ten days. It is, in all probability, Brahmaputra.

⁵ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāsirī*, p. 153. Gauda-Bengal and Kāmārūpa-Assam. *Early History of the Dekkan*, p. 215 (Bhandarkar).

⁶ Qāḍī Minhāj-Sirāj in his *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāsirī*, p. 153 says that he received the above information regarding the invasion of Tibbet from Mu'tamad-u'd-Daulah, a trusted vassal of Muḥammad Bakht-yār at a place, in the territory of Lakhnautī, between Dīwkut and Bangāun in 1244 A.D. Bangāun has been turned into Bikanwan by Major Raverty.

Muslim army reached a strong fort and began ravaging the countryside.¹ But the people of the fort rushed forth in a body, fought a fierce encounter from morning till sunset, and wounded and disabled most of the invaders. The whole of their defensive arms were made of pieces of spear bamboo ; their cuirasses and body armour, their shields and helmets were all slips of it, crudely fastened and stitched with raw silk.² They were all archers and carried long bows. However at night, a number of prisoners were brought forward and, on investigation, it was found out that at a distance of five leagues from that place, there was a city called Karam Batan,³ where dwelt about fifty thousand valiant Turkish archers,⁴ who had been summoned and were bound to arrive the next morning.

The Muslim army had been worn out by the fatigues of the journey, and had been defeated in the day's battle ; to meet a force like that of Karam Batan was beyond its power. Muḥammad Bakht-yār studied the situation carefully and consulted his Amīrs. They all decided to break the camp and to retreat, in order that they might make ample preparations to invade the country next year. The people of Tibbet had moved off and set fire to the fields on the line of their march, so that not a 'blade of grass nor a stick of firewood' could be found.⁵ Provisions were

¹ *Zubdat-u't-Twārikh* and *Firishṭah* assert that the Musalmans surrounded and attacked the fort. Minhāj-Sirāj in his *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāsiri*, p. 153 simply says that 'they reached a place, where there was a fort'.

² Badā'ūni's *Muntakhab-u't-Twārikh*, p. 59 holds that the people of the place were the descendants of Guṣhtasb, who had founded that fortress. But he gives no authority for the statement.

³ Karam Batan was a city of great size ; its walls were of hewn stones, and its inhabitants were Brahmans and Nunis or Buddhist monks. The people held the pagan-faith, and were governed by their Lord. At day-break, about one thousand five hundred horses were sold, and all the horses that were brought to Lakhnauti came from there—See *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāsiri*, p. 154.

⁴ *Firishṭah* turns them into so many 'horsemen' instead of archers—*Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāsiri*, p. 154 has قری شجاع تیر انداز

⁵ The *Zubdat-u't-Twārikh* states that 'they obstructed and destroyed the roads as well', which is quite probable.

scare ; soldiers killed their horses and ate them, and it was after suffering many hardships that they at last reached the country of Kāmṛūp.

Unfortunately the two Amīrs, who had been deputed to guard the bridge, had quarrelled and departed,¹ and they found to their astonishment that the arches of the bridge had been destroyed by the Hindus of the Kāmṛūp territory. Muḥammad Bakht-yār found no way of crossing the river, and boats were not procurable. They all agreed to halt and to construct boats and floats. In a state of 'excitement and bewilderment' they sought shelter in a strong and lofty temple nearby,² and devised means to obtain wood and rope for the construction of boats and rafts. When the Rāe of Kāmṛūp received the intelligence of Bakht-yār's reverses and helplessness, he was emboldened into issuing a general command to his subjects, who gathered together in large numbers and surrounded the temple.³ They planted, wove and stitched the spiked bamboo and its slips in such a way that it looked like a wall all around.

The Muslim army finding itself in a state of insecurity, represented to Muḥammad Bakht-yār, " If we remain here in this condition, we are sure to fall into the hands of the Hindus. It behoves us to devise means to effect our escape.⁴ All of them decidedly rushed forth, unitedly attacked one point in the wall and succeeded in making a way for them and descended the open plain. The Hindus pursued them, but the Muslim army reached the riverside

¹ The *Zubdat-u't-Twārikh* states that 'the two Amīrs, on account of spite and mutual jealousy, abandoned guarding the bridge, and each went his own way'. Badā'ūnī's *Muntakhab-u't-Twārikh*, p. 59, says that 'they first fought and afterwards abandoned the bridge.'

² 'In which were deposited numerous idols of gold and silver and one great idol weighed about two or three thousand *mithqāl*—See *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 155.

³ *Firishṭah* says not a word about this project of planting the spiked bamboos around the temple, but simply asserts that they were ordered to 'make a united attack and close up the gates of the temple.'

⁴ *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 155.

and encamped there. Everyone, to the best of his ability and effort, sought means to cross the river. Suddenly a soldier urged his horse into the river, and up to the distance of an arrow-flight, found the river fordable.¹ The Muslim army, out of the fear of the enemy's onslaught, jumped into the river, but on reaching the deep water of the mid-stream, they all perished with the exception of Muḥammad Bakht-yār and about a hundred other soldiers.² Through the assistance rendered by 'Alī, the Mech and his kinsmen, Muḥammad Bakht-yār reached Diwkut safely. It was the greatest disaster that had yet befallen the Muslim army in India.

On reaching his own territory, he fell ill on account of excessive grief and disappointment that oppressed his mind.³ He did not ride forth again, for when he rode, men, women and children dishonoured him and reproached him bitterly; and this added to his illness. "Some calamity must have befallen Sultān Shihāb-u'd-dīn", he used to say constantly during that adversity, "that my fortune has turned." In fact, about the same time, Sultān Shihāb-u'd-dīn had been assassinated. These sights further depressed his drooping spirits, and he breathed his last in August 1205 A.D. Some have related on this wise, that 'Alī Mardān Khaljī, the feudatory of Nārānkūi⁴ on hearing

¹ *Firishtah* says that he 'swam to the other side, and the Musalmans thought the river was fordable.' Minhāj-Sirāj in his *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri*, p. 156 says that 'a cry arose in the force that they had found a ford and all of them plunged into the river', which alone can be taken as true.

² Badā'ūnī's *Muntakhab-u't-Twārikh*, p. 59 states that "those who remained on the river bank, were killed by the Hindus, and out of the whole army about 300 or 400 reached Diwkut." Badā'ūnī gives no authority, whatsoever, for his statement, but seems to copy from the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, which he usually does.

³ The *Zubdat-u't-Twārikh* agrees with Qādī Minhāj-Sirāj in these details. The *Rauḍat-u's-Safā*, Vol. IV, p. 889 says "his mind gave way under his misfortunes; and the sense of the disaster, he had suffered, resulted in hopeless melancholy.

⁴ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri*, p. 156 has only 'Konī.' The other manuscripts,

Bakht-yār's discomfiture, hastened to Diwkut (Debkot is the modern district of Dinājpur). In some way or other, he managed to approach Muḥammad Bakht-yār,¹ whom no one had seen for three days, lifted up the sheet from his face and assassinated him with his 'heart-cutting dagger.'²

The Khaljī Malik of Lakhnautī (1205—1227 A.D.)

During his absence on the expedition into the mountains of Kāmrup and Tibbet, Muḥammad Bakht-yār had despatched Muḥammad Shīrān³ and his brother Aḥmad Shīrān with a small contingent towards Lakhnautī⁴ and Jājnagar, in the year 1205 A.D. When the news of the catastrophe of Muḥammad Bakht-yār reached Muḥammad Shīrān, he instantly returned to Diwkut, performed the mourning ceremonies, and proceeded towards Nārānkūi, the fief of 'Alī Mardān. Muḥammad Shīrān seized 'Alī Mardān, and retaliated his cruel deed by taking him prisoner and making him over to the charge of the *kotwāl* named Bābā Kotwāl Iṣfahānī. He then returned to Diwkut,

according to Major Raverty, have

بار کونی - نار کوتی - دیار کونی - تار کوتی - نار نکوٹی

Badā'ūnī's *Muntakhab-u't-Tawārikh*, p. 59 has "Nārānol", which is impossible, for it is in Patiala State. The place is uncertain and untraceable.

¹ He may be regarded as a *quasi* independent sovereign. The conquest of Lakhnautī is rightly accounted among the victories of Sultān Shihāb-u'd-dīn, as Quṭb-u'd-dīn was still a slave, and had not attained sovereign powers.

² *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 156.

³ In fact Muḥammad-i-Shīrān was the son of Muḥammad Shīrān. He was a man of excellent disposition and great intrepidity. At the time of the sack of the city of Nadiāh by Muḥammad Bakht-yār, he remained absent for three days from the army; but returned after seizing some eighteen elephants along with their drivers to the presence of the Sultān—See *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 157. The *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, p. 51 styles him *Sherwān*.

⁴ The printed text of the *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 157 and the Paris copy of the text, according to Major Raverty, have Lakhnautī and Jājnagar. In his translation, he has turned Lakhnautī into Lakhnor—a fief lying in the direction of Jājnagar.

and held an assembly of all the Amīrs, who paid their homage to him as the head of Khaljī Amīrs.

'Alī Mardān¹ entered into a compact with the *kotwāl* and devised means to effect his escape, and went off to the court of Delhi. Sultān Shihab-u'd-dīn had died. The Khaljīs were not his slaves or heirs to his empire, and consequently, his successor, Sultān Quṭb-u'd-dīn was not entitled to Bihar. However, 'Alī Mardān requested Aibak to despatch Qāimāz, the Rūmī, the governor of Oudh, towards the territory of Lakhnautī with his commands to locate the Khaljī Amīrs at some suitable fiefs.² His petition was granted, and Qāimāz was ordered to proceed to Lakhnautī. Malik Ḥisam-u'd-dīn 'Iwaḍ Khaljī, formerly the feudatory of Kankūrī³ in the time of Muḥammad Bakht-yār, welcomed Qāimāz with great honour, and received Diwkut as his fief. Thereupon, Muḥammad Shīrān and other Khaljī Amīrs assembled together and determined to march upon Diwkut. Qāimāz, who was on his way to Oudh, returned again, and broke the confederacy of Khaljī Amīrs by inflicting a crushing defeat upon them. Subsequently, disagreement arose between the Khaljī Amīrs themselves, and in an engagement⁴ that ensued Muḥammad

¹ The *Jahān Ārā* does not mention 'Alī Mardān at all, calls Muḥammad Shīrān cruel and blood-thirsty and, thus, confounds him with 'Alī Mardān.

² *Zubdat-u't-Twārikh* clears up the meaning by saying that Qāimāz was ordered to proceed to Lakhnautī in order that he might locate the Khaljī Amīrs to suitable districts as their fiefs. Further on, the work wrongly asserts that in the battle, which took place between Qāimāz and the Khaljī Amīrs, Muḥammad Shīrān was killed.

³ Out of the four best copies of *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, according to Major Raverty, two have Gangorī or Kankorī; the other two have Gasgūrī and Kaskūrī. The printed text p. 158 has Kanktorī. The *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, p. 52 has 'Kalwāi, which is uncertain. There is a place Kākūrī in Oudh, which is not meant here.

⁴ The *Rauḍat-u's-Safā*, Vol. IV, p. 889 says that 'Muḥammad Shīrān was involved in hostilities with a Hindu ruler and was killed in a conflict, which took place between him and the Raja. It is not a trustworthy account.

Shīrān was slain in the vicinity of Maksidah and Santūs.¹

In the meantime, 'Alī Mardān had accompanied Sultān Quṭb-u'd-dīn Aibak towards Ghaznī in the year 1206 A.D., but had fallen captive² into the hands of Sultān Tāj-u'd-dīn Yildiz. It is said that one day, on a hunting expedition,³ he asked permission from Amīr Sālār Zafar Khaljī to shoot Yildiz with an arrow and to make him sovereign instead. Sālār Zafar got rid of 'Alī Mardān by presenting him with two horses and despatching him towards Hindustan. Sultān Quṭb-u'd-dīn Aibak received him cordially, conferred upon him a robe of honour and assigned him the territory of Lakhnautī. 'Alī Mardān proceeded towards Diwkut and crossed the river Kosī.⁴ Malik Ḥisām-u'd-dīn 'Iwāḍ Khaljī made his submission. In a short time, he brought the whole territory of Lakhnautī under his subjection.

When Sultān Quṭb-u'd-dīn Aibak died in 1210 A.D. 'Alī Mardān (1211-1213 A.D.) assumed a canopy of state, and caused his name to be read in the Khuṭbah and was styled Sultān 'Alā-u'd-dīn.⁵ He was energetic, intrepid and brave, but was, at the same time, hard-hearted, cruel and blood-thirsty.⁶ His own associates and favourites were reduced to extreme poverty through his oppression, tyranny and lawlessness.

¹ According to Major Raverty the four best copies of the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* have Maksidah and Santūs with slight variations. The *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, p. 52 has 'Ṭus' only.

² According to *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, p. 52 and *Zubdat-u't-Twārikh* 'he was taken prisoner by Turks or Turkomans, and was carried off to Kāshghar. However, he managed to reach Hindustan, proceeded to Delhi and presented himself before the court of Sultān Quṭb-u'd-dīn.

³ This account creates doubt as to whether he was at all taken prisoner. It is true that he unexpectedly fell into the hands of Yildiz.

⁴ The printed text of the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* has 'Kos' but Major Raverty turns it into 'Kons'. It is probably Kosī, river of Nipāl and North Bengāl.

⁵ According to the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, p. 53 and Badā'ūnī's *Muntakhab-u't-Twārikh*, p. 60, he also coined in his own name—a statement, which is not supported by the contemporary authority.

⁶ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* see pp. 158 and 160.

He despatched armies in different directions and, in order to suppress the aristocratic lawlessness, put a large number of Khalji Amīrs to the sword. The Raes of adjacent territories, being terrified, regularly paid the tribute, and offered innumerable presents. He became 'haughty, foolishly vain and self-conceited;' he used to talk rubbish and nonsense, and was, in fact, on the verge of madness. He began granting investitures of the different parts of Hindustan, Ghaznīn, Khurāsān and 'Iraq. A curious anecdote is related by Qādī Minhāj-Sirāj¹ in this context. A certain indigent merchant approached 'Alī Mardān, and solicited favour from him. 'Alī Mardān asked him his native place and, on understanding that he was a resident of Iṣfahān,² granted him an investiture of the same place. No one among the courtiers had the courage to say that Iṣfahān was not under his jurisdiction. And if ever a bold courtier brought to his notice that such and such place was not included in his dominion, he would foolishly reply, "I will reduce it." However, on the recommendation of his associates and courtiers, the helpless merchant was granted a large sum of money for his travelling expenses as governor-designate of Iṣfahān.

His haughtiness, oppression and cruelty went on increasing, until at last, a party of the Khalji Amīrs conspired against him, slew 'Alī Mardān and elevated Malik Ḥisām-u'd-dīn 'Iwāḍ to the throne. 'Alī Mardān reigned for about two years³.

Malik Ḥisām-u'd-dīn 'Iwāḍ Khaljī (1214-1226 A.D.)⁴

¹ *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsiri*, pp. 159, 160.

² Ṣafāhān = Iṣfahān, and the latter word is used

مژده کی خوارزمشاه ملک صفاهان گرفت

ملک عراقین را هم پچو خراسان گرفت

³ *Tabaqāt-i-Akbari*, p. 53 says 'two years'; while Badā'ūni p. 60 has 'three or two years'. *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsiri* pp. 159 and 160 says he ascended the throne after the death of Aibak and ruled for two years 'or more or less than that'. In all probability, he reigned for two years and some months after the death of Sulṭān Quṭb-u'd-dīn. Therefore, 'Alī Mardān might have ruled from 1211 to 1213 A.D.

⁴ *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsiri* p. 164 says that Ḥisām-u'd-dīn ruled for *twelve*

belonged to the Khaljī tribe of Ghūr and the territory of Garmsir. He was endowed with many praiseworthy qualities; he was a man of excellent disposition and exemplary piety, exceedingly handsome, munificent, just and merciful.¹ Under his benevolent rule, the army and the subjects enjoyed such happiness and prosperity as they had never experienced before. He founded many mosques and conferred stipends upon the theologians, priests and 'descendants of the Prophet.'

It is related about his early life that once he was conducting a laden ass on the border of the mountain-tract of Ghūr towards the eminence, called Puṣhtah Afrūz² (the Burning Mount), within the limits of the territory of Zabulistān.³ On the way, he met two *darvishes*, who asked him for bread and drink. Ḥisām-u'd-dīn granted their request and served them cheerfully. The *darvishes* in return, blessed him with their prayers and advised him to proceed towards Hindustan. Accordingly, he came to Hindustan, and joined Bakht-yār's service until he rose to a position of power and sovereignty as described previously. He made the city of Lakhnautī⁴ the seat of government, caused his name to be read in the Khuṭbah and to be inscribed on the coin under the title of Suiṭān Ghīyāth-u'd-

years, and on p. 163 states that Lakhnautī was finally conquered by Nāṣir-u'd-dīn in 624 H (end of 1226 or the beginning of 1227 A.D.) 1226—12=1214. Therefore, he ascended the throne of Lakhnautī in about 1214 after the death of 'Alī Mardān, which occurred at the end of 1213 A.D.

¹ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 161.

² One of the oldest and best copies (according to Major Raverty) and the *Zubdat-u't-Twārikh* have 'Puṣht' for 'Puṣhtah.' Puṣht is in the territory of Kuhistān. *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, p. 53 has 'Puṣhtah Fīrūz.' *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* says that Puṣhtah Afrūz was situated within the limits of the territory of Zabulistān.

³ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 160; but Major Raverty turns it into Wālishtān.

⁴ According to *Ā'in-i-Akbarī*, Lakhnautī styled as Gaur is named Jannatābād. According to the *Haft Iqlīm*, Gaur was the capital of Bengālah, and Jannatābād was the name of a district in which Gaur was situated. The *Khulāṣat-u't-Twārikh* states that Lakhnautī or Gaur was a very ancient city and the first capital of the country. The *Tārikh-i-*

dīn and founded the fortress of Ḥasankut.¹ The territories of Tirhut, Kām̄rūp, Bangah² and Jājnagar became his tributaries.

The territory of Lakhnautī extended to both the sides of the river Ganges. On the western side called 'Rār̄h',³ was situated the city of Lakhnūr;⁴ and on the eastern side known as Barbandah⁵ lay the city of Diwkut. Sultān Ghiyāth-u'd-dīn constructed an embankment extending from the vicinity of Lakhnautī on the one side to the city of Diwkut on the other, a distance of ten days' journey. When Sultān Shams-u'd-dīn Īltutmish marched upon the territory, of Lakhnautī to suppress the sedition of Malik Ikh̄tiyār-u'd-dīn Balkā Khalji, in the year 1230 A.D., he was pleased to behold the monuments of Sultān Ghiyāth-u'd-dīn.

The rest of the events of his reign are described in the account of Sultān Shams-u'd-dīn Īltutmish in Chapter IV.

Firūz Shāhi says Lakhnauti acquired the by-name of Balghākpūr—a place of great sedition.

¹ Copies of the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* differ

بسکوت - منکوت - بسکون

It is perhaps 'Ḥasankut' in conformity with the name of its founder.

² Badā'unī's *Muntakhab-u't-Twārikh*, p. 60 has 'Bangālah'.

³ Copies of the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* differ

ازال - دال - راژه

It is in fact Rār̄h, ancient name of a portion of Bengal, west of the Bhagirathī river, corresponding to the modern districts of Burdwan, Bunkurā, west Murshidābād and Hooghly.

⁴ The printed text of the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 162 as followed in Elliot is 'Lakhnautī'—which is totally impossible, since, it lay east, not west of the Ganges. It is 'Lakhnūr.'

⁵ The printed text of the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 162 has بربنده براند. It is in fact Barbandah. Major Raverty calls it 'Barandal'.

CHAPTER III

SULTĀN QUṬB-U'D-DĪN AIBAK

Character

The first Muslim sovereign, who ascended the throne of Delhi and laid the foundation of Muslim rule in India, was Sultān Quṭb-u'd-dīn Aibak¹, a slave of Sultān Shihab-u'd-dīn of Ghūr. He was adorned with many laudable qualities of heart and soul; and surpassed his contemporaries both in the East and West in his liberality, beneficence and gallantry.² "His valour, bravery and enterprise are such", says the author of the *Tārīkh-i-Fakhr-u'd-dīn Mubārak Shāh*, "that if Rustam were alive, he would have taken pride in having been his Hājib (Chamberlain)."³ He was well-acquainted with the principles of civil administration, and an expert in military affairs.⁴ A monarch of lofty courage and pure faith, Quṭb-u'd-dīn was worthy of

¹ It is not Ibak as Major Raverty states, but Aibak. "Ai" in the Turkish language means 'moon' and 'bak' means 'Lord': 'Aibak', therefore, means "moon-Lord." On the gateway of the Quṭb Mosque is clearly given—ای بک—See list of *Mohammadan and Hindu Monuments*—Vol. III, p. 9. But Qādī Minhāj-Sirāj clearly asserts that his little finger was broken, and, therefore, he was styled as 'Aibak-i-Shal.' "Shal" meant 'maimed in the hand'—*Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* p. 138. The statement is supported by *Firishṭah*, p. 60; *Lubb-u't-Twārikh*, p. 8; *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbārī*, p. 41; *Khulāṣat-u't-Twārikh*, p. 188. These later authorities, however, give the impression that Quṭb-u'd-dīn was called 'Aibak-i-Shal', because his little finger was broken. The fact is that شل (disjoined or maimed) is the epithet, and Aibak the name. Therefore, ایبک شل means 'Aibak' of the maimed hand.

² *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 137.

Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāh, p. 13.

”حق تعالیٰ او را شجاعت و کرم بخشیده بود
که در شرق و غرب عالم در عصر او بادشاه را بنود“

³ *Tārīkh-i-Fakhr-u'd-dīn Mubārak Shāh*, p. 49.

⁴ *Firishṭah*, p. 60.

the kingdom and suitable to the throne of sovereignty.¹ Being a zealous Musalman, he bitterly hated idols and idolators; replaced the former by building mosques and schools and destroyed the latter² during his conquests; but the state was never used as a machine for proselytisation. He was, however, a justice-loving monarch, and held the *Ulemā* and the learned in the highest esteem. The news of his personal accomplishments, strength and bounty was spread far and wide, so that his bitterest adversaries were reduced to submission³ *Tārīkh-i-Fakhr-u'd-dīn Mubārak Shāh* expresses the same idea by saying that "Quṭb-u'd-dīn with his liberality, generosity and open-handedness converted a hundred thousand free men into slaves."⁴ His terror of slaughter, fame of intrepidity and the hope of beneficence brought his deadliest enemies⁵ to his side. "The turbulent and rebellious land of Hindustan", poetically describes the contemporary chronicle, "was reddened with the blood of the enemy's hearts."⁶ His bounty and slaughter, however, went hand in hand as the Imām Bahā-u'd-dīn Ushī⁷ observes :

"The Sultān's bounty scattering gifts of lacs,
Has of the mines their precious treasure cleared;
The earth bleeds, envious of his generous hands;
So in her heart the ruby has appeared."

¹ MSS. *Tāj-u'l-Ma'āthīr*, p. 116.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 5 and 119.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 118.

⁴ *Tārīkh-i-Fakhr-u'd-dīn Mubārak Shāh*, p. 21.

⁵ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 138. The following lines of the *Tārīkh-i-Fakhr-u'd-dīn Mubārak Shāh* convey the same idea :

دوستان دلف و تربیت و نواخت فرمانبردار شدند- دشمنان بقیهرو
تیغ بران- و دیاک پران و ناوک جانموز و سنان دلدوز و ناجع تیر بر
وگرز گردن شکن مستخر گشتند-

⁶ MSS. *Tāj-u'l-Ma'āthīr*, p. 4.

⁷ One of the most distinguished poets of Quṭb-u'd-dīn's assembly, who composed the following verses :

ای بخششی تو لک بجای آورده- کزرا کف تو کار بجای آورده
از رشک کف تو خون گرفته دل کان- بسی لعل بهانه در میان آورده

"During his reign of peace and tranquillity", says the author of the *Tāj-u'l-Ma'āthir*, "treasury required no guard; the flock needed no shepherd—so much so that the wolf and sheep drank water side by side out of the same pond. The very mention of thieves and theft was out of question."¹ "He established justice and equity with such strict foundations," says the author of the *Tārikh-i-Fakhr-u'd-dīn Mubārak Shāh*, "that in spite of the large number of troops gathered round his banner—consisting of Turks, Ghūris, Khurasanians, Khaljīs and Hindustanis, no one dared to take by force a blade of grass, or a morsel of bread, a goat from the fold or a bird from the sown or to lodge with a peasant."² In short, he possessed all the excellent qualities and virtues, requisite for a king of those days, but lacked in outward comeliness. His little finger was broken and, therefore, he was styled as 'Aibak-i-Shal'³ which meant 'Aibak of the maimed hand.'

Early Life

In his childhood, he had been brought from Turkistan to Nishāpūr, and was sold to Qādī Fakhr-u'd-dīn 'Abd-u'l 'Azīz Kūfī, a descendant of the great Imām Abū Ḥanīfah and the governor of the province of Nishāpūr⁴ and its dependencies. Fortune favoured him, and along with the Qādī's sons, he learnt to read the Qur'ān, acquired the art of horsemanship, riding and archery, so that 'he became adorned with all the accomplishments of the age.'⁵ In a short time, he became famous for his manly

¹ MSS. *Tāj-u'l-Ma'āthir*, pp. 338, 339

² *Tārikh-i-Fakhr-u'd-dīn Mubārak Shāh*, p. 33.

³ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 138.

"اگرچه همه اوصاف حمیده و آثار گزیده موصوف بود- اما بظاهر
همه نداشت- وانگشت حفضر او از دست شکستگی داشت- بدین
سبب او را ایبک شل گفتندی-

⁴ *Lubb-u't-Twārikh*, p. 7 incorrectly says 'Peshāwar.' See *Tārikh-i-Fakhr-u'd-dīn Mubārak Shāh*, p. 2.

⁵ *Firishṭah*, p. 60.

bearing; and when he became young, certain merchants¹ brought him to Ghaznīn, and sold him to Sultān Shihāb-u'd-dīn of Ghūr.

Sultān Shihāb-u'd-dīn occasionally indulged in convivial assemblies, and one night, in the course of an entertainment, he bestowed gifts upon his slaves.² Quṭb-u'd-dīn Aibak, who had been the object of particular favour distributed his share among the servants of the court. The Sultān was very much pleased with his action, and elevated him to a position of distinction and honour.³ Quṭb-u'd-dīn served the Sultān with loyalty, and his status rapidly increased until he became *Amīr-i-Akhūr* (Lord of the Imperial Stable). At the time when the Sultāns of Ghūr, Ghaznīn and Bāmiyān advanced towards Khurāsān to repel Sultān Shāh,⁴ Quṭb-u'd-dīn, at the head of the escort of the foragers, used to go everyday in quest of fodder.⁵ During one of these excursions, he found himself face to face with the enemy's cavalry.⁶ Quṭb-u'd-dīn displayed great heroism and activity in the battle which ensued, but as his party was small, he was taken prisoner. Later on, when Sultān Shāh was defeated, the victorious officers placed the iron-cage of Quṭb-u'd-dīn on a camel and brought him in that condition to the presence of Sultān Shihāb-u'd-dīn of Ghūr. The Sultān received him with great honour and showered many gifts upon him.

¹ According to the *Lubb-u't-Tawārikh*, p. 8 'he was purchased by a merchant from the Qādī's sons.' The *Rauḍat-u's-Safā*, Vol. IV, p. 888 agrees with the above-mentioned authority. The *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, p. 41 and *Firishṭah*, p. 60 assert that "after his purchase from the Qādī's son, he was offered to Sultān Shihāb-u'd-dīn of Ghūr, who purchased him for a consideration." The fact is that *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī* alone follows the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* very closely.

² *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 138.

³ *Firishṭah*, p. 61 says that first of all 'he was created an Amīr.'

⁴ Not the '*Khwārazm Shāh*' as Dr. Ishwari Pershād (*Medieval India*, p. 164) wrongly states, but his brother Sultān Shāh.

⁵ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 139 also p. 84.

⁶ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, p. 41 and *Firishṭah*, p. 61 say that Quṭb-u'd-dīn pushed up the river-bank of the Murghāb, towards Merv, when 'he unexpectedly fell into the hands of Sultān Shāh'.

Conquests

After reducing the fort of Ajmer, Sultān Shihāb-u'd-dīn of Ghūr marched towards Delhi in the year 1191 A.D. A fierce battle ensued in the neighbourhood of the city: but the Rae, probably a relation of Khānday Rae, out of fear, submitted and promised to pay the tribute in future. The Sultān then returned to Ghaznīn and entrusted the government of Kuhrām¹ and Samānah (now in the Patiala State) to Malik Quṭb-u'd-dīn as his lieutenant in 1192 A.D.² The fort of Kuhrām was strengthened by the establishment of a well-equipped army.³ The hordes of people and chiefs came in, and acknowledged his supremacy, and Quṭb-u'd-dīn received them with great honour, as if there was no distinction between the ruler and the ruled.⁴ The people were freed from undue oppression and tyranny, and a reign of peace and tranquillity began.

In September 1192 A.D.⁵ Jitwān, 'a dependant of the

¹ *Tārīkh-i-Fakhr-u'd-dīn Mubārak Shāh*, p. 22. *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 141 says :

”مدت ملک او از اول فتح دهلی تا بدین وقت بیست سال بود“

Quṭb-u'd-dīn died in 607 H. (*Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 140) hence the date of the first conquest of Delhi is 587 H.=1191 A.D.

چو از سال تاریخ پانصد گزشت - بر آن پانصدافردو هشتاد و هشت
پتھو راو گویند مقهر شد - چشمهائے اسلام منصور شد

Futūḥ-u's-Salātin, edited by Dr. Mehdī Hasan, p. 81.

² MSS. *Tāj-u'l-Ma'āthir*, p. 120. *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III, p. 41 incorrectly calls Kurām as "Guhram".

³ MSS. *Tāj-u'l-Ma'āthir*, p. 120.

⁵ *Firīshṭah*, p. 61 has 1193 A.D. Vaidya in his *History of Medieval Hindu India*, says that "Jitwān is plainly a misreading or miswriting for 'Chauhān' in Persian." But the MSS. *Tāj-u'l-Ma'āthir* on p. 138 has
و کز انزام چتوان و کشتن او در جنگ
the flight of Jitwān and his death in battle. From the text, therefore, it is not possible that 'Jitwān' is a mistake for 'Chauhān'. The authority further states :

چتوان لعین غرور شیطان در دماغ گرفته است-

'the accursed Jatwān having admitted the pride of Satan into his brain'. According to "Major Raverty" another account is (no authority is mentioned) that after being installed at Kuhrām Quṭb-u'd-dīn from there marched against Mīrat and Delhi. These are given later by the *Tāj-u'l-Ma'āthir*.

Rae of Nahrwālah,¹ declared his independence and, with a large army, appeared before the walls of the fort of Hānsi² (modern Hīṣār). Malik Naṣrat-u'd-dīn, the commander of the fort, was obliged to shut himself up within the walls of the fort and sent information to Delhi, Quṭb-u'd-dīn instantly hurried to his assistance.³ The enemy, hearing of his approach, decamped; but was closely pursued on the borders of Baqar⁴ (probably Bukkar, a fortified island in the river Indus) and was completely overthrown. Jitwān was slain⁵ in the battle, and the victorious army received immense booty. Quṭb-u'd-dīn then, marched towards Hānsi, repaired the fort and retired towards Kuhrām⁶. The news of the defeat of the enemy and the victory of his forces was conveyed to Ghaznīn.

Quṭb-u'd-dīn was now free to lead expeditions into the neighbouring parts of Hindustan. He marched from Kuhrām to invade Mīrat,⁷ one of the celebrated forts of Hindustan, having a deep and broad ditch all around. The fort was, however, captured in 1192 A.D.⁸ and a large number of people embraced Islam. The idol temples were converted into mosques. Quṭb-u'd-dīn, thereafter, marched

¹ *Firishṭah*, p. 61 'under the leadership of Jitwān, a dependant of the Rae of Nahrwālah but Raverty, p. 516 converts Jitwān into an 'army of Jats' which is impossible.

² It was the Guhīlah principality of Asika or Hānsi, established by the Cahamana of Sakanbhari—Ray—*Dynastic History of Northern India*, Vol. II, p. 1203.

³ MSS. *Tāj-u'l-Ma'āthir*, p. 139.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 154.

⁵ *Firishṭah*, p. 61 asserts that "the leader retired to Nahrwālah of Gujrat." In fact, he was slain in battle as the contemporary authority narrates.

⁶ MSS. *Tāj-u'l-Ma'āthir*, p. 169.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 169.

⁸ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 139, *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī*, p. 41, has 1193 A. D. which is not probable. Vaidya in his History of 'Hindu Medieval India' gives 1193 A. D., on the authority of the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*. But the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, pp. 139, 140 says 587 H.—a mistake for 588 H.—i.e., 1192 A. D. Professor Vaidya has, therefore, misread the date.

against the fort of Delhi,¹ (the walls of this city may still be traced for a long distance round the Quṭb Mīnār), which was finally captured. Here, too, the idols and idol-worshippers were destroyed and mosques were raised.²

The chief Ṣadar, Qawām-u'l-Mulk Rukn-u'd-dīn Ḥamzā sent information from Ranthambhor³ that Hari Raja,⁴ brother of the late Rae Pithora, had broken out into rebellion; Rainsi, the son of Pithora, styled as Kolah, a tributary of Malik Quṭb-u'd-dīn, was in great danger, and that the rebel was advancing against Ranthambhor itself.⁵

¹ The MSS. *Tāj-u'l-Ma'āthir* does not give any date in this connection; but the *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, pp. 139, 140, says 'In the year 587 H. (1191 A.D.) a mistake for 588 H. (1192 A.D.).' (For it further says the same year i.e., 588 H.), Quṭb-u'd-dīn Aibak captured Mīrat and the same year 588 H. (1192 A.D.) invaded Delhi and captured it, 1191 is not possible, for 1191 is the year of the battle of Tarāin, and Quṭb-u'd-dīn could not capture Mīrat before that time. Further, the *Tārīkh-i-Fakhr-u'd-dīn Mubārak Shāh* of Marwar-rūd, p. 12, another contemporary and reliable authority, clearly states that "Quṭb-u'd-dīn conquered Delhi in 588 H. i.e., 1192 A.D." Under the arch of the eastern entrance to the Quṭb Mosque, an inscription reads as follows, "Quṭb-u'd-dīn Aibak conquered the fort and built the mosque in the year 587 or 9 A. H. (1191 or 1193 A. D.)." General Cunningham (*Archæological Report*, p. 28) reads it as *nine* while Syed Aḥmad Khān and Mr. Thomas take it as *seven*. In view of the statement of Minhāj-Sirāj:

”مدت ملک او از اول فتح دهلی تا بدین وقت بیست سال بود“

Twenty years before the death of Quṭb-u'd-dīn in 607 H. (*Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 140) the date of the first conquest of Delhi is 587 H. i.e. 1191 A. D. The view of Sir Syed Aḥmad is, therefore, correct. The later date i.e. 588 H.=1192 as given by the *Tārīkh-i-Fakhr-u'd-dīn Mubārak Shāh* is the *year of final subjugation of Delhi*.

² MSS. *Tāj-u'l-Ma'āthir*, pp. 174 and 177.

³ Situated on an isolated rock, 1,578 feet above sea level and surrounded by a massive wall strengthened by towers and bastions. The remains of the place, a mosque, tomb of a saint and barracks are still seen within the enclosure.

⁴ Also written Bhirāj, and Bhurāj, who is called Hiraj in some important copies of the *Tāj-u'l-Ma'āthir*. *Firishṭah* calls him Hemrāj, while some name him Hamīr—See Raverty's translation, p. 517. Hiraj of the MSS. *Tāj-u'l-Ma'āthir* is in fact Harī Rāja. *Ray*, Vol. II, p. 1093.

⁵ MSS. *Tāj-u'l-Ma'āthir*, p. 179.

On having received the intelligence of the revolt, Quṭb-u'd-dīn immediately entrusted the affairs of government to Sābiq-u'l-Mulk Naṣr-u'd-dīn, who was created his deputy during his absence from the capital; and himself proceeded to Ranthambhor.¹ Harī Raja, on hearing of his arrival, was so terrified, that he offered no resistance, but 'fled like the wind' with his army.² The son of Rae Pithora was favoured with a robe of honour, and he, in return, presented valuable offerings including three golden melons.³ About this time, when Quṭb-u'd-dīn was away from Delhi, its former Rae⁴ raised a strong army to snatch the capital from the Musalmans. Quṭb-u'd-dīn hurried to Delhi and pursued the Rae. The rebel was, however, taken prisoner, and beheaded.⁵

When the news of his exploits reached Sultān Shihāb-u'd-dīn of Ghūr, he summoned Malik Quṭb-u'd-dīn to Ghaznīn in 1193 A.D., received him with great honour and conferred splendid gifts upon him.⁶ Quṭb-u'd-dīn remained

¹ *Tāj-u'l-Ma'āthir*, p. 180.

² *Ibid.* p. 183.

³ The text of the MSS. *Tāj-u'l-Ma'āthir*, p. 185 is "خريزه زرین" which Major Raverty, p. 517 translates as kettle-drums in the shape of

melons. *Tārīkh-i-Fakhr-u'd-dīn Mubārak Shāh*, p. 22 says "four golden melons weighing 300 maunds."

⁴ Probably a relation of Khānday Rae and not himself, for the latter was killed in the battle of Tarāin.

⁵ MSS. *Tāj-u'l-Ma'āthir*, pp. 185 and 186.

⁶ Minhāj-Sirāj in his *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāsirī*, p. 168 describes this journey in the reign of Sultān Shāms-u'd-dīn Īltutmish—that Quṭb-u'd-dīn, after the conquest of Nahrwālah and Gujarāt went to Ghaznīn along with Malik Naṣir-u'd-dīn Husain. The *Futūḥ-u's-Salātīn*, p. 84 also describes this event at this very stage. *Tārīkh-i-Fakhr-u'd-dīn Mubārak Shāh* p. 25 places this event in 601 H, i.e. 1204 A.D. 1204 is not possible, for the *Tāj-u'l-Ma'āthir* says that Quṭb-u'd-dīn and Īltutmish both invaded Kālinjar in 1202 A.D. Īltutmish was purchased by Quṭb-u'd-dīn after his visit to Ghaznīn, and if it occurred in 1204, how could Īltutmish be present in 1202 A.D.? It is, however, probable that Quṭb-u'd-dīn would have gone to Ghaznīn after the conquest of Nahrwālah (1196 A.D.), for the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāsirī*, p. 168 further states that Īltutmish was created Amīr of Gwalior after the conquest of the fort in 1200 A.D. Further, the visit as described by *Tārīkh-i-Fakhr-u'd-dīn Mubārak Shāh* may be a later one. But *Fakhr-u'd-dīn Mubārak Shāh* mentions only one more visit in 1201 A.D.,

in Ghaznin for some time. Unluckily, at the end of the winter season, he fell dangerously ill, but subsequently recovered and was permitted to return to Hindustan, and the government was again conferred upon him.¹ And when he arrived at Kirmān, Malik Tāj-u'd-dīn Yildiz welcomed him with great honour and gave him his daughter in marriage.² Quṭb-u'd-dīn, then, returned to the capital Delhi, and laid the foundation of Adīnah Mosque or Jumā Masjid in 1193 A.D.³ The material obtained by the destruction of temples was freely used in the building of the mosque, which was covered with inscriptions in *toghṛā*, containing the divine commandments.⁴ The mosque consists of an outer and inner courtyard with eleven magnificent arches; originally a thick coat of plaster concealed the 'profuse idolatrous ornamentations', but it has now fallen away, which reveals the delicate workmanship of the Hindu artists. "The probability seems to be that the entire structure was rearranged in the form we now see it by the Muhammadans".⁵ The Quṭb Mosque is a large quadrangular court 142' by 108' enclosed by colonnades of grey stone pillars; the prayer chamber is 147' by 40' and contains five rows of pillars. The frontage of the prayer chamber is formed by the great arched facade with inscribed *bands* of

when Quṭb-u'd-dīn was ordered to retrace his steps towards Delhi and, therefore, he did not reach Ghaznīn. The probable date is 1193 A.D.

¹ MSS. *Tāj-u'l-Ma'āthir* p. 213.

² *Ibid*, p. 214. *Firishṭah* describes this event in 1195 A.D., which is impossible; for according to the contemporary authority the *Tāj-u'l-Ma'āthir*, Quṭb-u'd-dīn returned to Delhi and from there marched towards Koil in 1194 A.D.

³ Quṭb-u'd-dīn's mosque was commenced, according to the inscription on its entrance gate, immediately after the capture of the city in 1192 A.D. It was completed in 1196 and enlarged during the reign of *İltutmish*.

درو مسجد جامع ساز کرد۔ بر دیش یک حوض آغاز کرد۔
مناره دران مسجد با صفا گرفته چو طوبی بفردوس جاء

Futūḥ-u's-Salāṭīn, p. 110.

⁴ MSS. *Tāj-u'l-Ma'āthir*, pp. 264 and 265.

⁵ Fergusson—*History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, Vol.III, p. 502.

naskh lettering. The mosque was built by Quṭb-u'd-dīn ; but subsequent extensions of the original mosque enclosure and of the great arched screen were made by Īltutmish in 1230 A.D.¹

The Quṭb Mosque (*Masjid Quwwat-u'l-Islām*) is situated immediately to the north-east of the Quṭb Minār. The inscription on the inner lintel of the eastern gateway states : " This fort was conquered and this Jāmi' Masjid was built in the year 587 (1191 A.D.) by the Amīr—the commander of the army Quṭb-u'd-Daulat Waddīn, the Amīr-u'l-Umara Aibak Sulṭānī. The material of twenty-seven temples was used in the construction of this mosque." On the arch tympanum of the eastern gateway is mentioned that the mosque was built by Quṭb-u'd-dīn Aibak.² On the arch tympanum of the north gate it is stated that the building was erected by the order of Sulṭān Mu'izz-u'd-dīn (*Shihāb-u'd-dīn* of *Ghūr*) in 592. On the south pier of the central arch of the great screen the year 594 is mentioned. On the south end pier of the southern arch of Īltutmish's southern extension of the great screen the year 627 is given. On the pillar of one of the arches of Aibak's prayer chamber is given the name of the supervisor Faḍl bin Abil Ma'ālī.³ The Quṭb Minār, another celebrated monument of the early Turkish Sulṭāns, stands in the south-east corner of the outer courtyard of the mosque, 238 ft. high, 47 ft. at the base and 9 ft. at the summit. The building consisted of five storeys, enclosing a spiral stair-case, crowned by a cupola, which fell in the earthquake of 1803. It was completed by Īltutmish, whose tomb along with a heap of splendid ruins including the unfinished *mināret* of 'Alā-u'd-dīn lies around the mosque.

After remaining a short time at Delhi, Quṭb-u'd-dīn marched towards Koil (modern 'Aligarh)⁴ in the year 1194

¹ *Monuments of Delhi*, Vol. III, p. 10.

² قطب الدين ای بک (*Monuments of Delhi*, Vol. III, p. 9).

³ *Monuments of Delhi*, Vol. III, p. 10.

⁴ According to a popular legend Koil owes its origin to one Kosharab, a Kshatriyā of the lunar race, who called the city after his own name and

A.D.¹ After crossing the river Jumnā,² Quṭb-u'd-dīn invested the strong fort of Koil, which fell into his hands after an obstinate resistance on the part of the enemy.³ A large number of the garrison was put to the sword, but the rest were converted to Islam; and the victorious army acquired vast booty including one thousand horses.⁴ It was after the capture of Koil that Delhi was made the seat of government.

About the same time 1194 A.D.⁵ Quṭb-u'd-dīn received intimation that Sultān Shihāb-u'd-dīn of Ghūr was marching on an expedition against Rae Jai Chand of Benares.⁶ He, consequently, proceeded some stages in advance to receive him⁷ and to do him honour, bearing with him rich offerings of hundred horses and an elephant⁸ laden with silver and gold and other valuable presents. Quṭb-u'd-dīn mustered a force of fifty thousand horse, and was ordered to lead the advance guard of the army.⁹ Quṭb-u'd-dīn, along with the Sultān and the *Sipāh-Sālār* (commander of

that its present designation was named by Bālarāma, who subdued the neighbouring regions of the Doab and slew the great demon Kol. According to another tradition the district was held by the Dor Rajputs before the first Muhammadan invasion, and continued occupied by the Raja of Baran until the close of the twelfth century.

¹ *Tārīkh-i-Fakhr-u'd-dīn Mubārak Shāh*, p. 23 has 590 H, i.e. sometimes after December 27. 1193 i.e. 1194 A.D..

² The text of the MSS. *Tāj-u'l-Ma'āthir*, p. 267 has “چون”. It is decidedly چون or Jumnā.

³ MSS. *Tāj-u'l-Ma'āthir*, p. 270.

⁴ *Ibid.* pp. 271, 272.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 273. *Tārīkh-i-Fakhr-u'd-dīn Mubārak Shāh*, p. 23 and *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 140 both have 590 i.e. 1914 A.D.

⁶ The ancient name of the city was Varānasī, deviated from Varāna (Barnā) and Asī the name of the two small streams confining the modern city. It is popularly known as Kāśī.

⁷ *Firishṭah*, p. 61 has the word پیشروانی which means ‘conducting or welcoming a superior’ but Dow and Briggs, translate it into *Peshāwar*; so that Quṭb-u'd-dīn went up to *Peshāwar*.

⁸ *Firishṭah*, p. 61 says that ‘Quṭb-u'd-dīn took with him two elephants, one laden with silver and the other with gold’, which is contrary to Ḥasan Nizāmī's account.

⁹ MSS. *Tāj-u'l-Ma'āthir*, pp. 277, and 279.

troops) 'Izz-u'd-dīn Ḥusain, son of Kḥarmīl, another leader of the van of the army, fell upon the enemy on the confines of Chandwār, defeated and overthrew him.¹ The enemy attempted to block the advance guard, but they were reduced to such an extremity that they withheld from fighting.² At last Rae Jai Chand himself appeared in the battlefield near Chandwār or Chandanwah on the Jumnā river (a place now in the Etāwah District) ; but in the thick of the fight a fatal arrow pierced his eye-ball and he instantly fell down from his elephant.³ The Rajput forces were scattered, and no one knew of the Rae's death till his body was found among the dead, and identified owing to gold-bands, by which on account of old age, his weak teeth had been tied.⁴ His head was cut off and carried on the point of a spear. Having obtained an immense booty including three hundred elephants, the royal army marched towards and took possession of the fort of Asnī⁵ (ruined fort near Jaunpūr), where his treasures were deposited.⁶ The victorious army took possession of precious spoils of all kinds including a hundred elephants,⁷ and then pushed on to Benares, the second capital of Gahadavalas. There a thousand temples were destroyed and mosques were raised instead.⁸ Thus, the whole territory up to the border of Bengal was brought under subjection and its government was entrusted to one of the most trusted officials. Sultān Shihāb-u'd-dīn, after completing his victory, returned to Ghaznīn.⁹

Quṭb-u'd-dīn marched towards Koil, and there installed

¹ *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī*, p. 140.

² MSS. *Tāj-u'l-Ma'āthir*, p. 290.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 304.

⁴ *Firishṭah*, p. 61. Professor Vaidya (Vol. III, p. 343) disagrees with the above statement and holds that Jaichand drowned himself into the river, and further adds, he came to the throne in 1169 A.D. when young and died in 1193 A.D. (1194 A.D.) after 25 years' reign.

⁵ MSS. *Tāj-u'l-Ma'āthir*, p. 317. It is not Asī as *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III, p. 43 has. It is in fact Asnī, the ruined fort near Jaunpūr.

⁶ MSS. *Tāj-u'l-Ma'āthir*, p. 317.

⁷ *Tārīkh-i-Fakhr-u'd-dīn Mubārak Shāh*, p. 23.

⁸ MSS. *Tāj-u'l-Ma'āthir*, p. 318.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 323.

Malik Ḥisām-u'd-dīn Aghulbak,¹ who carried on his depredations into the neighbouring parts of the territory and destroyed a turbulent but very powerful tribe in the vicinity.² Shortly afterwards, Quṭb-u'd-dīn received the intelligence in the year 1194 A.D.³ that Harī Raja had marched on Ajmer from the hills of Alwar,⁴ defeated Kolah, son of Rae Pithora and driven him away from Ajmer to Ranthambhor.⁵ He had, however, despatched his army under the command of his lieutenant Jhet Rae to Delhi, and the latter began ravaging and plundering in the neighbourhood of the city.⁶ Quṭb-u'd-dīn made a firm resolve to face the situation, and having selected a force of 2,000 horse marched to encounter him.⁷ Jhet Rae, hearing his arrival and finding himself too weak to oppose him, fled to Ajmer.⁸ Quṭb-u'd-dīn refused to relax the pursuit and followed him there. Harī Raja had no other alternative but to draw up his forces outside the city of Ajmer. However, a fierce battle ensued, the city fell and Harī Raja, perforce, retired within the walls and there ascending the funeral pyre perished.⁹ Ajmer, the most celebrated fort of India, once more, fell into the hands of Musalmans in 1194 A.D.¹⁰ Quṭb-u'd-dīn left behind a

¹ The text of the *Tāj-u'l-Ma'āthir*, p. 327 has غلبك while *Firishtah*, p. 61 has 'Aghbek' and Raverty converts it into Aghulbek. It is possible that the first letter 'l' has been omitted by mistake by the copyist. غلبك means 'Lord of the fold' in the Turkish language.

² MSS. *Tāj-u'l-Ma'āthir*, p. 327.

³ *Ibid.* p. 341 has 589 H. i.e., 1193, which is impossible. *Tārīkh-i-Fakhr-u'd-dīn Mubārak Shāh* gives 591 H. i.e., 1194. A.D.

⁴ Now Alwar is a State in Rajputana.

⁵ *Firishtah*, p. 61.

⁶ MSS. *Tāj-u'l-Ma'āthir*, p. 341.

⁷ "وجهتر کہ روئے زمرة و پشت سیاه او بود- شتابان بحدود دہلی آمد"

His right-hand man, Jethar or Jhet Rae of *Firishtah*, p. 61 'hastened to Delhi.' Jhet Rae is not Harī Raja as *Vaidya*, p. 341 says, but his lieutenant. It is also wrong to think that Jhet Rae is Jitwān, for the latter was killed in battle long before in 1192 A.D.

⁸ MSS. *Tāj-u'l-Ma'āthir*, p. 342.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 347.

¹⁰ *Firishtah*, p. 62 and MSS. *Tāj-u'l-Ma'āthir*, p. 353.

¹¹ *Tārīkh-i-Fakhr-u'd-dīn Mubārak Shāh*, p. 23.

governor in charge of Ajmer and himself returned to Delhi.

The mosque at Ajmer seems to have been commenced in the year 1200, and completed during the reign of *İltutmish*. Traditionally it was finished in two days and a half; hence it is known as the *Arhāi dīn kā Jhoprā*. The pillars, if they were taken down by Musalmans, have certainly been re-erected exactly as they were originally designed to stand.¹ It is only the west side, with its nine domes, that is now standing, and the cloisters on the other three sides are in ruins. "What remains, however, is sufficient to show that it must originally have been a singularly elegant specimen of its class."² The glory of this mosque is the screen of seven arches with which *İltutmish* adorned the courtyard. The central arch is 22 ft. 3 in. wide; the two on either side 13 ft. 6 in., and the outer one at each end 10 ft. 4 in. In the centre the screen rises to a height of 56 ft. and on it are the ruins of two small *minārets* 10½ ft. in diameter. "It is neither, however, its dimensions nor design that makes this screen one of the most remarkable architectural objects in India, but the *mode* in which it is decorated. Nothing can exceed the taste with which the Cufic and Togra inscriptions are interwoven with the more purely architectural decorations Nothing in Cairo or in Persia is so exquisite in detail and nothing in Spain or Syria can approach them for beauty of surface-decoration."³

Firishtah, at this stage, gives an account of the following event, which is neither supported by the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* nor by the *Tāj-u'l-Ma'āthir*, two of the three contemporary authorities for the period under review. "In the year 1195 A.D. Quṭb-u'd-dīn invaded Nahrwālah; Jitwān, the commander-in-chief of Rae Bhīm Diw, who had encamped in front of Nahrwālah, fled at his approach. But when Quṭb-u'd-dīn followed in pursuit, Jitwān turned back desperately,

¹ Cunningham. *Archæological Reports*, Vol. II, p. 261.

² Fergusson. *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 513.

but was slain in the battle which ensued. On hearing this dreadful news, Rae Bhīm Diw fled to the remoter part of his principality. Having acquired enormous booty, Quṭb-u'd-dīn marched back to Hānsī, repaired the fort and returned to Delhi."¹

In the year 1195 A.D.,² Quṭb-u'd-dīn fitted out an expedition against Thankir,³ now known as Biyānah (an ancient town in Bharatpur State), when intimation reached that Sultān Shihāb-u'd-dīn of Ghūr was marching towards Hindustan.⁴ He went as far as Hānsī to receive his master, who 'presented him with an Arab horse and a robe of honour.'⁵ They marched in concert against Thankir, which was invested and captured. Rae Kunwar Pāl⁶ of Thankir begged for the safety of his life. The Sultān was gracious enough to pardon him, but he lost his kingdom.⁷ The fort of Thankir was assigned to Malik Bahā-u'd-dīn Tughrul,⁸ a Turkish slave of Sultān Shihāb-u'd-dīn of Ghūr.

In the year 1195 A.D., the royal army marched against Gwalior and invested the fort, which, the author of the *Tāj-u'l-Ma'āthir* describes as 'a pearl in the necklace of Indian

¹ *Firishtah*, p. 62. The same event and actually the same details have been given by the *Tāj-u'l-Ma'āthir*, at a very early stage on pp. 139, 154 and 167.

² MSS. *Tāj-u'l-Ma'āthir*, p. 368 gives 1196 A.D.; while *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 140, 1195 A.D.; and *Alfi* gives 1194 A.D. The correct date is 1195 A.D.

³ *Tārīkh-i-Fakh̄r-u'd-dīn Mubārak Shāh*, p. 23 gives the same date, while *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* has a wrong date 591 H. i.e., 1194 A.D. According to the *Ā'in-i-Akbarī* Biyānah was the capital of a province, and possessed the large fort containing many 'buildings and subterranean caverns and a very high tower,' also a tomb of Abū Bakr Qandhārī, who successfully stormed the fort in the eleventh century.

⁴ MSS. *Tāj-u'l-Ma'āthir*, p. 368.

⁵ *Firishtah*, p. 62.

⁶ He was not 'the commander of Bhīm's army' as *Cambridge History of India*, p. 43 says, but the Rajah of Thankir. See also *Vaidya*, Vol. VI. p. 299.

⁷ MSS. *Tāj-u'l-Ma'āthir*, pp. 373-374.

⁸ For his early life and career see Chapter 2.

castles.¹ Alarmed at the strength of Muslim forces, Rae Solankhpala² of Gwalior sued for peace, and while agreeing to pay regular tribute in future made an immediate offering of ten elephants.³ He was, however, left unmolested and was allowed to retain the fort. Sulṭān Shihāb-u'd-dīn then returned to Ghaznīn, and Quṭb-u'd-dīn proceeded towards Delhi. About this time, the Juma' Masjid of Delhi, the foundation of which was laid by Quṭb-u'd-dīn in the year 1193 A.D. was completed.⁴

At the close of the year 1196 A.D.,⁵ when Quṭb-u'd-dīn was at Ajmer, information was brought to him that a party of seditious Mehars⁶ were in a state of open revolt. In fact, all the Rajput princes had combined together with the Rae of Nahrwālah in an attempt to wrest Ajmer from the Musalmans.⁷ They despatched emissaries to Govindarāja, the Rae of Nahrwālah, asking him to join them against the Musalmans, who were few in number.⁸ On becoming aware of their intention, Quṭb-u'd-dīn made a resolve to face them; and although it was the height of the hot season, early one morning he fell upon the rebels,

¹ *Firishtah*, p. 62 calls him Rae 'Silkman' instead of Rae Solankhpala. See *Vaidya*, Vol. III, p. 305. Cunningham identifies him with the Parihār Lohang Deo—*Archæological Survey Report*, Vol. II, pp. 378, 79.

² MSS. *Tāj-u'l-Ma'āthir*, p. 377. *Tārikh-i-Fakhr-u'd-dīn Mubārak Shāh*, p. 23.

³ MSS. *Tāj-u'l-Ma'āthir*, pp. 382, 383.

⁴ *Firishtah*, p. 62.

⁵ *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsiri*, p. 140, gives 1196 A.D. The copy of the MSS. *Tāj-u'l-Ma'āthir*, p. 396 has 1194 A.D. which cannot be correct on account of the date, which it subsequently gives i.e., 1196 on p. 140. A wrong date is given by *Firishtah*, as 592 H. i.e., 1195 A.D. The correct date given by all the contemporary authorities including *Tārikh-i-Fakhr-u'd-dīn Mubārak Shāh*, p. 23 is 593 H. i.e., 1196 A.D.

⁶ The text of the *Tāj-u'l-Ma'āthir*, p. 396 has Bhattrans. *Firishtah*, p. 62 calls them راجهان *Natrān Rajahs*. Major Raverty p. 520 and *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III, p. 44 turn them into Mers or Mairs. It may perhaps be Bhattis, originally Bhattī Rajputs, who held the fort of Bhatner, which was captured by Maḥmūd of Ghaznah about 1004 A.D.

⁷ *Firishtah*, p. 62.

⁸ MSS. *Tāj-u'l-Ma'āthir*, p. 398. Ray. Vol. II, p. 1094.

and kept up a conflict with them the whole day.¹ Next day, the army of Nahrwālah appeared upon the scene and a tough fight ensued. Instantly some of the valiant generals were slain and Quṭb-u'd-dīn's horse was fatally wounded, which brought him down to the ground. The unexpected reverse greatly disheartened his troops, who, with great difficulty, managed to mount him on another horse and carried him off to Ajmer.² Emboldened by the success, the rebel Hindus, along with the troops of Nahrwālah, pursued Quṭb-u'd-dīn and his forces up to Ajmer, took up their position at a short distance from it, and for several months they shut up Quṭb-u'd-dīn within the walls and carried on hostilities.³ A confidential messenger was sent to Ghaznīn to explain the situation. When Sultān Shihāb-u'd-dīn of Ghūr heard of it, he immediately despatched a strong force under the command of several Amīrs⁴—Jahān Pahālwan, Asad-u'd-dīn, Arsalān Qalj,⁵ Naṣīr-u'd-dīn Ḥusain, 'Izz-u'd-dīn, son of Muwaiyid-dīn Balkh, and Sharf-u'd-dīn Muḥammad Jarrah.⁶ But before the reinforcement arrived at Ajmer, the Hindu forces made a retreat. Finding himself thus strengthened, Quṭb-u'd-dīn resolved upon taking vengeance on the Rae of Gujarāt; and in the beginning of January 1196 A.D.,⁷ he began his march towards Nahrwālah.⁸ When he reached the forts of Pati and Nadul,⁹ he found them abandoned and

¹ MSS. *Tāj-u'l-Ma'āthir*, pp. 400 to 402.

² *Ibid.*, p. 407.

³ *Firishṭah*, p. 62.

⁴ *Firishṭah*, p. 62 adds to this list the name of Islām Khān.

⁵ Most probably Khālji as *Firishṭah*, p. 62 states.

⁶ *Elliot*, II, p. 229 has "Jarrah", which seems quite correct, as against 'Jark' of the *Tāj-u'l-Ma'āthir*.

⁷ *Tārīkh-i-Fakhr-u'd-dīn Mubārak Shāh*, p. 23 has 593 H. i.e., 1196 A.D.

⁸ MSS. *Tāj-u'l-Ma'āthir*, p. 411.

⁹ *Firishṭah*, p. 62 has هوتلی بڑول. The *Tāj-u'l-Ma'āthir* has Takl and Nadol and Major Raverty on p. 520 turns them into Pālī and Nadol. *Vaidya*, Vol. III, p. 301 and *Ray*, Vol. II, p. 1121. Nadol was the former capital of the Chauhān Rajputs, now a village in Desūrī district of the Jodhpur State. Parlī fort is situated about 6 miles west of Satārā town, Bombay, and was built by one of the kings of Delhi in the thirteenth century. There is also an old Pattī fort situated in the Kasūr tahsīl of

vacated. The enemy, under their leaders Rai Karan and Dharavarsha,¹ had taken up their position at the foot of the Mount Ābū,² where the Muslim army did not dare to attack them, as it was deemed inauspicious to commence fighting on the same spot, where Sulṭān Shihāb-u'd-dīn had been previously wounded.³ Noticing their hesitation, and misunderstanding it as cowardice on the part of the Muslim army to withhold from fighting, the enemy abandoned the pass and advanced to encounter it in the open field.⁴

The Muslim army faced the enemy for some time, until on February 3, 1196 A.D., a severe battle ensued from dawn to midday, and ended in the complete overthrow of the Hindus.⁵ Rae Bhīm Diw,⁶ however, managed to effect his escape. Nearly fifty thousand captives were put to the sword, and more than twenty thousand slaves, twenty elephants, cattle and arms fell into the hands of the Muslim army.⁷ Nahrwālah (Gujarāt) was surely shaken but was not subjugated till a century later.⁸ Quṭb-u'd-dīn plundered

Lahore district, Punjab. Palī is an old fort in the district of Jodhpur. Ojah expresses the opinion that the conflict at Nadol was not with the Turuskas, but with the Jāvālipura Cahamana Udayasinha—*History of Rajputana*, Vol., II. pp. 461-62.

¹ *Firishtah*, p. 62 calls him Walān Wārisī. *Vaidya*, Vol. III, p. 301, *Ray*, Vol. II, p. 918. Bhandarkar identifies Rāi Karan with Kalhana which is not probable.—*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XI, p. 73.

² *Ibid*, rightly says "the fort of Ābūgarh in the territory of Sirahī". Rajputana.

³ MSS. *Tāj-u'l-Ma'āthir*, p. 413.

⁴ *Firishtah*, p. 62 says that "Quṭb-u'd-dīn entered these defiles and scattered the Rajput ranks."

⁵ MSS. *Tāj-u'l-Ma'āthir*, p. 422.

⁶ *Ibid.*, has راي ده جردان, "Rae Gardān—Rae Dah-wila"—rather obscure. *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 140 has 'Rae Bhīm Diw', which is quite correct. Bhimia II according to Dr. Ray, *Dynastic History of Northern India*, Vol. II, p. 1122.

⁷ MSS. *Tāj-u'l-Ma'āthir*, p. 424.

⁸ Both *Khusru* and *Ḍiyā Baranī* in connection with the conquests of 'Alā-u'd-dīn *Khaljī*, describe Gujarāt as "an unravished bride, which no Muslim hand had touched." "Ram Chandra (1271-1309) was the last of the independent Hindu sovereigns of the Dekkan. The Musal-

the capital and the neighbouring country and then returned to Delhi by way of Ajmer; and offerings of precious jewels and handsome male and female captives and 'thirty-two elephants'¹ were despatched to Ghaznī. Quṭb-u'd-dīn was overjoyed on his brilliant success; he showered many favours upon his Maliks and Amīrs and increased their ranks.²

It is surprising to note that neither the *Tāj-u'l-Ma'āthir* nor the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* mentions any more operations until the year 1202 A.D.—a period of about six years. But the *Tārīkh-i-Fakhr-u'd-dīn Mubārak Shāh*, another contemporary authority, fills up the gap as follows: In (594 H.) 1197 A.D., Quṭb-u'd-dīn conquered Badā'un, probably from Lakshmanapala³ and destroyed the idol temple of Benares. In (595 H.) 1198 A.D., he subdued Qannauj and took the province of Siruhī. In (596 H.) 1199 A.D. Mālwah and its neighbouring territories were subjugated. In (597 H.) 1200 A.D. Gwalior was finally conquered and next year in 1201 Quṭb-u'd-dīn started to pay his homage to Sultān Shihāb-u'd-dīn⁴ but was instructed to return to Hindustan.

In the year 1202 A.D., Quṭb-u'd-dīn and Shams-u'd-dīn Iltutmish girded up their loins, and undertook an expedition against Kālinjar,⁵ an ancient fort of Bundelkhand.

mans had been firmly established at Delhi for about a century, and *though they had not yet turned their attention to the Dekkan it was not possible that they should refrain from doing so for a long time.*"—*Early History of the Dekkan*, p. 250 (Bhandarkar). This shows that the country was not subjugated till 1294 A.D. the date of the conquest of Devagiri by 'Alā-u'd-dīn.

¹ *Tārīkh-i-Fakhr-u'd-dīn Mubārak Shāh*, p. 23.

² MSS. *Tāj-u'l-Ma'āthir*, p. 429.

³ He belonged to a branch of the Rashtra Kutas, which ruled in Badā'un—*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I, p. 64. Also Vaidya,—*History of Medieval Hindu India*, Vol. III, p. 300.

⁴ *Tārīkh-i-Fakhr-u'd-dīn Mubārak Shāh*, p. 23.

⁵ MSS. *Tāj-u'l-Ma'āthir*, pp. 431-433 and *Tārīkh-i-Fakhr-u'd-dīn Mubārak Shāh*, p. 24. Kālinjar is a hill-fort in the Girwān tahsil of Bāndā district, U.P. 35 miles south of Bāndā town. The fort occupies a hill, which rises abruptly and is separated from the land by a valley about 7 miles across. Its height is 1,203 ft. above the sea level, and the

The Rae of Kālinjar of the Paramalah race¹ named Paramardideva gathered together a large army and offered a desperate resistance in the battlefield; but in the twinkling of an eye, he fled back to the fort to take refuge.² Quṭb-u'd-dīn then laid siege to the fort; but shortly after the Rae agreed to submit to him, and promised to make a regular payment of tribute and an offer of elephants.³ 'While engaged in collecting the tributes,'⁴ the Rae died all of a sudden before fulfilling his obligation. His Mehta or Dīwān by name Ajapala⁵ relying upon an ever-flowing spring, that arose above the fort, determined to resist the Musalmans; but it so happened that the spring dried up within a few days.⁶ On April 4, 1203 A.D., the garrison was compelled to call for quarter; they came out of the fort and surrendered it to Quṭb-u'd-dīn's officers. As a result of this victory, fifty thousand slaves, elephants, cattle and countless arms fell into the hands of the Muslim army.⁷ The idol temples were demolished and converted into mosques.

After completing the conquest of Kālinjar, Quṭb-u'd-dīn marched to the city of Mahoba,⁸ the capital of the ter-

crown of the hill is a plateau. The horizontal strata of sandstone make it difficult to ascend. The existing name is rendered from the local worship of Siwā under the title of Kālinjarā or 'He who causes time to grow old'. According to the local traditions, it was strongly fortified by Chandra Bhīm or Varmma, the legendary founder of the Chandela dynasty. *Imp. Gaz.*, Vol. XIV, p. 311.

¹ The *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III, p. 47 has 'Parmal, the Chandel Rāja of Kālinjar,' but gives a wrong date i.e., 1202. 'Paramandi' according to the stone inscription at Kālinjar—Ray, *Dynastic History of Northern India*, Vol. II, pp. 718, 719.

² *Firishtah*, p. 62.

³ MSS. *Tāj-u'l-Ma'āthir*, p. 450 also *Firishtah*, p. 62.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 451.

⁵ *Firishtah*, p. 62 has "Jadh Deo." Major Raverty, p. 532 and *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III, p. 47 turn, it into Ajah Deo. MSS. *Tāj-u'l-Ma'āthir*, p. 452 has 'Wāj Deo'. It is in fact Ajapala, or Ajai Deo. *Vaidya*, Vol. III, p. 351.

⁶ MSS. *Tāj-u'l-Ma'āthir*, p. 455.

⁷ *Tāj-u'l-Ma'āthir*, p. 459.

⁸ The name is derived from the great sacrifice or Mahorsava, as performed by Chandra Varmma, the traditional founder of the Chandela

ritory of Kālpī (now in Hamirpūr district) subdued it,¹ and conferred it on Hazabr-u'd-dīn Ḥasan Arnī.² Quṭb-u'd-dīn then returned to Delhi by way of Badā'un, which he also occupied³ in 1203 A.D. About this time, Malik Ikhtiyār-u'd-dīn Muḥammad Bakht-yār came to offer his homage at Badā'un, and presented twenty elephants, treasure and priceless jewels⁴ to Malik Quṭb-u'd-dīn, who bestowed upon him a robe of honour, and gave him a *firmān* for the extension of Muslim frontiers to Lakhnautī and Bengāl.⁵ Quṭb-u'd-dīn returned to Delhi shortly afterwards.

In the year 1204 A.D. Quṭb-u'd-dīn went to Ghaznīn to pay his homage to his master at Barshūr, and was received with great honour and then returned to Delhi.⁶ Sultān Shihāb-u'd-dīn's defeat at Andkhūd⁷ in the year 1204 A.D.⁸ was responsible for a general revolt in his dominions. Yildiz, the governor of Ghaznīn adopted an independent attitude. Aibak-bak, one of the most confidential servants of the Sultān and an officer of high rank in the army, fled from the battlefield and hurried to Multān. He interviewed Amīr Dād Ḥasan, the ruler of the place, and deceitfully told him that he had come for the purpose of imparting a royal command in private.⁹

dynasty. Mahoba stands on the banks of the Madansāgar-lake constructed by Madan Varmma, the fifteenth king of the dynasty. Architectural antiquities abound in the neighbourhood; the fort is now almost entirely in ruins but commands a beautiful view over the hills and lakes.

¹ *Firishṭah*, p. 63, Kālpī is still a *tahsil* of the Jalaun district, U.P.

² MSS. *Tāj-u'l-Ma'āthir*, p. 460.

³ According to the local traditions Badā'un owes its origin to one Buddh, an Ahar prince, the founder of the city in the tenth century. At the time of Muslim conquest, it was held by the Rāthor Lakhanapala, eleventh successor of Chandra, the founder of the dynasty. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I, p. 63.

⁴ MSS. *Tāj-u'l-Ma'āthir*, pp. 461, 462.

⁵ See Muḥammad Bakht-yār's account in Chap. II.

⁶ MSS. *Tāj-u'l-Ma'āthir*, p. 467 gives a wrong date 600 H. i.e., 1203.

⁷ Andkhūī in modern maps.

⁸ The *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III, p. 42 has 1193, which is quite incorrect. *Tārīkh-i-Fakhr-u'd-dīn Mubārak Shāh*, p. 25 has 601 H. i.e. 1204 A.D.

⁹ MSS. *Tāj-u'l-Ma'āthir*, p. 468.

The ruler consented to retire into his chamber, where Aibak easily got an opportunity to kill him.¹ He thus occupied the fort of Muḷṭān and spread the news that the governor had been imprisoned by the royal command, but the truth could not remain concealed for a long time. The tribe of Gakkhars,² under their leaders Bakan and Sarka, considering that such things would never have happened had the Sulṭān been alive, rose in open revolt, and caused much sedition and turbulence between the rivers Sodra and Jhelum.³ When their ravages exceeded all bounds, Bahā-u'd-dīn Muḥammad, governor of Sagwān,⁴ (or Sahwān) on the river Indus, along with his brothers and chiefs marched against the rebels and captured most of them and put them to death.⁵ Another general Sulaiymān had to retire before the onslaught of the rebels. At length, the news were conveyed to Sulṭān Shihāb-u'd-dīn, who despatched his confidential servant, the *Amīr-i-Ḥājib* (Lord Chamberlain), Sirāj-u'd-dīn Abū Bakr to inform Malik Quṭb-u'd-dīn of his intention to annihilate the Gakkhars.⁶ Sulṭān Shihāb-u'd-dīn marched into Hindustan in 1205 A.D.⁷ Accordingly Quṭb-ud-dīn marched from Delhi the same year⁸ and joined the royal camp on the bank of the river Jhelum. Shams-u'd-dīn Īltutmish also accompanied

¹ MSS. *Tāj-u'l-Ma'āthir*, p. 470.

² *Tārīkh-i-Fakhr-u'd-dīn Mubārak Shāh*, p. 26. The Janguas (pure Rajputs) and Jāts (their degenerate descendants) along with other tribes holding the Salt Range and northern plateau respectively were, perhaps the earliest inhabitants. The Gakkhars seem to form an early wave of conquest from the west, and they still live in the east of the district. They were the dominant race at the period of Muslim conquest, and had long succeeded in retaining their independence both in the Jhelum and the neighbouring district of Rawalpindi. *Imp. Gaz.*, Vol. XIV, p. 152.

³ MSS. *Tāj-u'l-Ma'āthir*, pp. 472, 473.

⁴ It is probably Sahwān situated on the river Indus near Manchhār Lake.

⁵ MSS. *Tāj u'l-Ma'āthir*, p. 474.

⁶ *Ibid.* pp. 476, 477.

⁷ *Tārīkh-i-Fakhr-u'd-dīn Mubārak Shāh*, p. 27, and *Futūḥ-u's-Salāṭīn*, p. 97.

چو تاریخ در ششصد و یک رسید ز غزنی دگر باره لشکر کشید

⁸ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri* p. 140.

him with the troops of Badā'ūn.¹ As a result of the war, which ensued, the Gakkhars were completely routed and more than 200,000 infidels² were put to the sword; and much booty fell into the hands of victors.³ Shortly afterwards, the fortress of Jūd⁴ was captured.⁵ Qutb-u'd-dīn, accompanied the Sultān up to Lahore and then asked permission to return to Delhi. The Sultān conferred upon Qutb-u'd-dīn the title of Malik and made him heir-apparent of Hindustan.⁶

On his way back to Ghaznīn on February 25, 1206 Sultān Shihāb-u'd-dīn pitched his camp within the borders of a place called Daniya,⁷ a little to the west of the Jhelum river. While the Sultān was engaged in the evening prayer, an Ismā'īlī⁸ heretic attacked him, and inflicted five or six desperate wounds upon him. The Sultān died instantly on March 15, 1206, and his dead body was carried to Ghaznīn.⁹

After the assassination of Sultān Shihāb-u'd-dīn, the situation was vague and confused. His nephew Sultān Maḥmūd was passed over in favour of Ghiyāth-u'd-dīn's son-in-law, Ḍiyā-u'd-dīn. So Maḥmūd would not have a right

¹ *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsiri*, p. 169 and MSS. *Tāj-u'l-Ma'āthir*, p. 493.

² *Tārīkh Fakh̄r-u'd-dīn Mubārak Shāh*, p. 28.

³ MSS. *Tāj-u'l-Ma'āthir*, p. 497.

⁴ The Gakkhars occupied the Jhelum and the neighbouring district of Rawalpindi and as such the hill and fortress of Jūd lay somewhere roundabout Rawalpindi, which is enclosed by a long range of hills from all sides. The exact hill and fortress are not traceable.

⁵ MSS. *Tāj-u'l-Ma'āthir*, p. 499.

⁶ *Tārīkh Fakh̄r-u'd-dīn Mubārak Shāh*, p. 28.

⁷ *وچہاندار ہند را ملک خطاب فرمود - ولی عہد ہندوستان کرد*

⁸ MSS. *Tāj-u'l-Ma'āthir*, has Dhāmik: it is Daniya, a little to the west of the river Jhelum. *Futūḥ-u's-Salāṭīn*, p. 97 has Damyak.

⁹ *یکایک یکے ملکہ دیدریغ - بزد دوسہ شہ گہ بار تیغ*
Futūḥ-u's-Salāṭīn, p. 97.

¹⁰ MSS. *Tāj-u'l-Ma'āthir*, pp. 513, 516 and 520. *Tārīkh-i-Fakh̄r-u'd-dīn Mubārak Shāh* does not give any account as to how the Sultān was murdered.

ز شمشد و دوساے چوں افزوں گشت - کہ از دار فانی سفر باز گشت
Futūḥ-u's-Salāṭīn, p. 98.

to Shihāb-u'd-dīn's inheritance. As the slaves were the real partners as well as inheritors of his empire, Maḥmūd bestowed the title of Sultān on Quṭb-u'd-dīn, sent him a canopy of state and other insignia of royalty along with a letter of manumission.¹ Quṭb-u'd-dīn proceeded to Lahore to receive the royal gifts, and there ascended the throne on 17th March, 1206 A.D.² Sultān Quṭb-u'd-dīn Aibak returned to Delhi shortly after the ceremony was over.

Tāj-u'd-dīn Yildiz now entertained the idea of conquering the Punjab and marched from Ghaznīn to Lahore; drove out the governor, and took possession of the city. Soon after, hostilities arose between him and Sultān Quṭb-u'd-dīn Aibak, who advanced towards Lahore from Delhi. In the year 1206 A.D.,³ Yildiz was defeated in the battle and he fled to Kuhistān.⁴ Sultān Quṭb-u'd-dīn proceeded to Ghaznīn, ascended the throne and then gave himself up to pleasure and amusements⁵ for a period of forty days.⁶ The people of Ghaznīn availed of this opportunity by inviting Sultān Tāj-u'd-dīn Yildiz, who appeared in the neighbourhood of the city. Sultān Quṭb-u'd-dīn was so terrified by his approach that he fled by way of Sang-i-Surkh to Hindustan,⁷ and since then fixed up his residence at Lahore, and made it the capital of Hindustan.⁸

The whole of the country of Hindustan from Peshāwar to the shores of the Ocean, and in other direction from Siwistān to the borders of the hills of Tibbet, came under his domination.⁹ He caused his name to be read in the

¹ *Firishṭah*, p. 63 and *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāsirī*, p. 140.

² *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāsirī*, p. 140. *Tārīkh-i-Fakhr-u'd-dīn Mubārak Shāh*, p. 31.

³ شہیدم چو بگذشت سالہ سہ چار - همان ایام و یلدز شہر یار
کشیدند بایکدگر تیغ کین - شدہ ہر دو باہم خصومت گزین

Futūḥ-u's-Salātīn, p. 100

⁴ *Firishṭah*, p. 63.

⁵ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāsirī*, p. 135.

⁶ *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī*, p. 15 says 'four days'.

⁷ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāsirī*, p. 136.

⁸ MSS. *Tāj-u'l-Ma'āthir*, p. 532.

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 530-31.

*Khuṭbah*¹ and to be inscribed on the coin.² Unfortunately he could not long enjoy the fruits of his labours and one day, while playing *Chaugān*³, he fell down from his horse and the raised pommel of the saddle pierced into his ribs. He died instantly and was buried at Lahore⁴ on November 4, 1210 A.D.

Estimate

Sultān Quṭb-u'd-dīn Aibak is the first Muslim sovereign, who ascended the throne of Delhi and laid the foundation of Muslim rule in India. A typical product of his time, Aibak stands as a prominent figure among his contemporaries, who rose, through sheer dint of merit and strenuous efforts, to positions of power and glory. He lacked in outward comeliness,⁵ but was beneficent, liberal and unrivalled in bravery and enterprise.⁶ A cautious general, born with

¹ *Futūḥ-u's-Salāṭīn*, p. 101.

Ibn Baṭṭūṭah in his list of the Muslim sovereigns of Delhi does not mention the name of Quṭb-u'd-dīn, for the latter ascended the throne at Lahore and not at Delhi.

² MSS. *Tāj-u'l-Ma'āthir*, p. 531.

چو بگذشت از این قصه ساله سه چار - دگر مهرزد سکه روزگار

Thomas (*Chronicles of Pathan Kings*, pp. 37-39) says that Aibak's fellow-Sipāhsālār Bakht-yār seems to have uttered no coin; Yildiz abstained from an independent issue; the assertions of contemporary chroniclers, therefore, came only in the conventional association of the right to coin. Further the change of capital may have had to do with the non-appearance of money.

"Though we are told that Quṭb-u'd-dīn Aibak did coin money in his own name, none but a few little copper pieces of the rayed circle type, which most probably were issued from Kuramān, have come to light"—*The Sultāns of Delhi, — Their Coinage and Metrology*, p. 69.

On the four copper coins Ref. R. (Lahore) pp. 5801. 2, 3, 4, the obverse has a standing bull to left and reverse قطب in rayed circle (*Ibid.* pp. 14, 15).

³ A description of *Chaugān* is given elsewhere in the reign of Mu'izz-u'd-dīn Kaiqubād.

⁴ MSS. *Tāj-u'l-Ma'āthir*, pp. 532, 543 and 544.

⁵ *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri*, p. 138.

⁶ *Tārīkh-i-Fakhri-u'd-dīn Mubārak Shah*, edited by Sir E. Denison. Ross, p. 137 and MSS. *Tāj-u'l-Ma'āthir*, p. 116.

indomitable resolution, he was an example of how to live and labour. He was not a man to shrink from an adventure of any kind; the wilder and more daring it seemed, the better he liked it; and without a moment's hesitation or self-distrust he led many a triumphant though laborious campaign. He accomplished through severity and beneficence—his two great weapons—what others achieved by tact and diplomacy.¹ The terror of his punishment and the hope of his bounty brought his deadliest enemies to his side and largely contributed to the establishment of a strong and stable government.

No fainéant slave of his great Lord, Quṭb-u'd-dīn was held in the highest esteem by Sulṭān Shihāb-u'd-dīn of Ghūr. The *Tārīkh-i-Fakhr-u'd-dīn Mubārak Shāh* repeats about the Sulṭān that "no other sovereign ever had such a slave (like Quṭb-u'd-dīn), nor has anybody seen the like."² His rivals envied his position and his liberality had won him the name of *Lakh Bakhs*.³ He had, however, neither the purity of character nor the semblance of piety.⁴ Like many a great warrior, he was a patron of letters, had a cultured court and a society of educated men.⁵ He had received a good education, knew how to command an army and to lead expeditions. It would be a mistake, however, to measure Quṭb-u'd-dīn by his luxury and revels. He was a justice-loving monarch, a good administrator and an illustrious conqueror.⁶ The most remarkable feature of his career is the loyalty of the man to his master. The defeat of Ghūrī at Andkhud was re-

¹ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāshirī*, p. 138. MSS. *Tāj-u'l-Ma'āthir*, p. 118 and *Tārīkh-i-Fakhr-u'd-dīn Mubārak Shāh*, p. 60.

² *Tārīkh-i-Fakhr-u'd-dīn, Mubārak Shāh*, p. 21.

³ *Ibid.* p. 51.

⁴ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāshirī*, p. 135.

⁵ *Fakhr-u'd-dīn Mubārak Shāh*, the author of *Tārīkh-i-Fakhr-u'd-dīn Mubārak Shāh* and the Sulṭān's own slave Ḥisām-u'd-dīn Aḥmad 'Alī Shāh, a great general of royal forces, were his courtiers. *Tārīkh-i-Fakhr-u'd-dīn Mubārak Shāh*, p. 25.

⁶ MSS. *Tāj-u'l-Ma'āthir*, pp. 116, 219.

sponsible for a general anarchy in the state ; everywhere the tribes and governors¹ rose in open revolt, but Aibak remained loyal to his master. The reason is obvious : Sultān Shihāb-u'd-dīn of Ghūr had no son to succeed to his vast empire, and his slaves were the natural heir to the dominion of Hindustan.

Sultān Quṭb-u'd-dīn Aibak is a great conqueror of the Early Turkish Empire. A stirring and successful outset with Quṭb-u'd-dīn and the strengthening and consolidation of the Empire by his successors are no more legendary than is the history of the thirteenth century. Full of the example of his own master, Aibak was never content with his conquests. During a period of 20 years he expanded his sway over Mīrat, Delhi, Koil, Ranthambhor, Benares, Ajmer, Thankir (Biyānah), Nahrwālah, Badā'un, Qannauj, Mālwa, Gwalior, Kālinjar, Budor and Mahoba, which covered practically the whole of Northern India. No Muslim army had ever before pushed so far east as the forces of Bakht-yār, who subdued Bengal in his time. Quṭb-u'd-dīn could not long enjoy in comparative peace the fruits of his victories, and died before he could accomplish any larger scheme.

The gallant example of Sultān Shihāb-u'd-dīn of Ghūr bred heroic followers. Quṭb-u'd-dīn Aibak not only inherited the Empire of Hindustan from his master, but also the latter's chief characteristics. A great warrior, a man of infinite courage and indefatigable energy of mind and body, Aibak was no constructive or far-seeing statesman. He accomplished through daring adventures and sustained and persevering efforts, what others gained by genius and diplomacy. He, however, kept allied the different dynasties by means of politic marriages, kept in tact the Empire of Hindustan by encouragement and support for his colleagues, patronage of his subordinates and suppression of his rivals. He married the daughter of Yildiz, the Sultān of Ghaznī, and gave his two daughters² in succession to Sultān Nāṣir-

¹ MSS. *Tāj-u'l-Mā'athir*, pp. 472-474.

² *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, see pp. 136, 142.

u'd-dīn Qabāchah. He gave all possible encouragement to Muḥammad Bakht-yār Khaljī in the extension of Muslim domination in Bengal, and granted him a robe of honour and a canopy of state;¹ but he could not tolerate the growing power of his rivals and, consequently, he did not surrender the fort of Gwalior to Malik Bahā-u'd-dīn Tughrul,² although it was promised to him by his master, Sultān Shihāb-u'd-dīn of Ghūr. However, it goes to the credit of his successor Sultān Shams-u'd-dīn İltutmish to free the country from rivals like Tāj-u'd-dīn Yildiz, Nāṣir-u'd-dīn Qabāchah and Sultān Ghiyāth-u'd-dīn 'Iwāḍ of Lakhnauti.

Sultān Quṭb-u'd-dīn Aibak was a soldier of fortune, an architect of empire and the founder of Muslim rule in India. Before him no conqueror dreamt of occupying Hindustan, and even the most decisive victories in the battle-field never implied the subjugation of the country. Quṭb-u'd-dīn aimed at a permanent conquest, and overran the whole of Northern India from the Indus to the Ganges and from the Himalayas down to the Vindya range. His conquests in Hindustan were wider, real and far more permanent than any of his predecessors. The dynasty of Ghūr relapsed into the insignificance of a small kingdom, but the empire founded by Quṭb-u'd-dīn was not lost to Islam. Muḥammad Bakht-yār added the land of Bengal to the long catalogue of kingdoms subdued by Quṭb-u'd-dīn Aibak. Since then up to the Indian Mutiny, the throne of Delhi was invariably occupied by a Muslim king. Quṭb-u'd-dīn cut off India from foreign suzerainty, and established an independent empire free from any outside control. He was recognised as Sultān of Delhi by Maḥmūd, the successor of his master Sultān Shihāb-u'd-dīn, and his position was strengthened by virtue of his conquests and his capacity to enforce obedience from the subjects. He ruled not from an outside capital but in India itself.

¹ See Muḥammad Bakht-yār's history in Chap. II.

² Vide Bahā-u'd-dīn's account in Chap. II.

He was the first to be prayed for from the pulpits and commemorated on the coinage. It is, however, unfortunate for him that he could not long survive to reap the fruits of his labours, but succeeded in leaving a centralised and powerful Muslim state in India ; and the standard of Islam remained for centuries in the land where he had planted it.

CHAPTER IV

SULTĀN SHAMS-U'D-DĪN ĪLTUTMISH

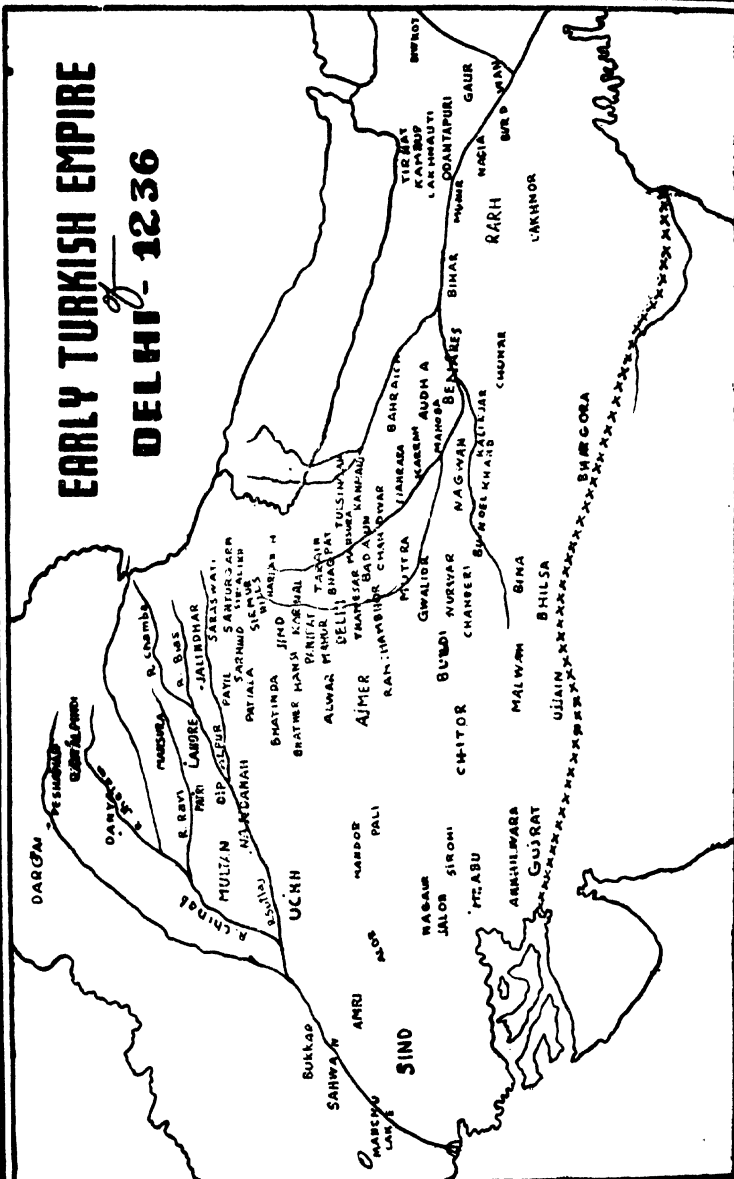
Sultān Ārām Shāh

On the sudden death of Sultān Quṭb-u'd-dīn Aibak at Lahore, the *Amīrs* and *Maliks* elevated Ārām Shāh to the throne of Delhi. The new Sultān was neither son¹ nor brother to Sultān Quṭb-u'd-dīn Aibak who, as Qāḍī Minhāj-Sirāj says, had only three daughters, two of whom were married in succession to Sultān Nāṣir-u'd-dīn Qabāchah and the third to Shams-u'd-dīn Īltutmish.² Sultān Ārām Shāh, therefore, might have been a Turkish Malik, whom his colleagues and friends raised to the throne with a view to retain peace, tranquillity, order and government, as also on account of the fact that the probable heir Shams-u'd-dīn Īltutmish was not available on the spot and the throne could not remain vacant so long as he took to return to Delhi. In fact there were no hard and fast rules governing the devolution of the crown. In spite of the fact that monarchy

¹ The heading of the chapter on Ārām Shāh in *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri*, p. 141, has - آرام شاه بن سلطان قطب الدین—but further the text itself says that Sultān Quṭb-u'd-dīn had only three daughters. *Lubb-u't Twārikh*, p. 9, says that he was Quṭb-u'd-dīn's son. *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbari*, p. 55—'than whom he had no other son'. *Tārikh-i-Ghūrī*, p. 13 'the eldest son of Quṭb-u'd-dīn.' MSS. *Intikhab-u'l-Muntakhab*, p. 170 'after his father's death ascended the throne.' *Khulāṣat-u't-Twārikh*, p. 189 and MSS. *Chahār-Gulshan* rightly assert the so-called son of Quṭb-u'd-dīn. Abu'l Faḍal makes the astonishing remark that he was Quṭb-u'd-dīn's brother. *Tārikh-i-Mubārak Shāhī*, p. 16 also calls him son. *Tārikh-i-Jahān Kushā*, Vol. II, p. 61, gives the most, appropriate expression that 'Quṭb-u'd-dīn had no son, but a slave known as 'Īltutmish' and he became heir-apparent to the throne. *Cambridge History of India*, p. 51, incorrectly asserts—"sometimes described as Aibak's adopted son, but usually believed to have been a son of his body." Ārām Shāh was, in fact, no relation of Quṭb-u'd-dīn. No coins of this sovereign are known or found—see H. N. Wright; *The Sultāns of Delhi—Their Coins and Metrology*, p. 69.

² *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri*, p. 141.

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has had a long and varied existence in the Muslim state, to the *Shari'at*, however, it has always remained a non-legal institution. As there was no place for Sultanate in the Islamic political theory, there was consequently no provision for the devolution of the crown. The result was an interminable wars of succession, and an appeal to arms was the only possible remedy to solve the riddle. Sultān Quṭb-u'd-dīn had no son to succeed him. However, a son was presented to be an heir; but the final choice lay with the Malik and Amīrs. They could choose from among the relations of the ex-king or select a new man altogether. Ārām was selected for his weakness to play the part of a mere puppet. Election by the officers meant that they exacted favours as pre-condition of their support.

On receiving the intelligence of Ārām Shāh's succession to the throne of Delhi, Sultān Nāṣir-u'd-dīn Qabāchah proceeded to Uch¹ (meaning high place, situated 38 miles south-east of Bahāwalpūr State, Rajputana) and Multān² and 'captured Bhakkar and Shewrān.' The Khaljī rulers revolted in Bengal and some independent Rajas on the frontier also rose in hostility.³

In the meantime, Amīr 'Alī-i-Ismā'il,⁴ the *Sipāh Sālār* (Commander of Forces) and *Amīr-i-Dād* (Chief Judge) in concert with other chiefs and officials despatched an invitation to Malik Shams-u'd-dīn Īltutmish at Badā'un to hasten to Delhi and to assume sovereignty. In fact, Quṭb-u'd-dīn had called Īltutmish his son, and had conferred upon him the fief of Badā'un, thus signifying his wish to make him his heir-apparent. Īltutmish⁵ accepted the proposal. He came with

¹ After its capture by Shihāb-u'd-dīn of Ghūr, Uch became the chief city of Upper Sind under Nāṣir-u'd-dīn Qabāchah, and was burnt by Jalāl-u'd-dīn Khwārm Shāh in 1223 A.D. It was, afterwards, taken by Īltutmish. Uch was a great centre of Muslim learning at the time.

² *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 141.

³ *Firishṭah*, p. 64.

⁴ *Ibid.* has امیر داد Badā'ūnī, p. 61 says "Īltutmish came from Hardwār and Badā'un to Delhi."—Where Hardwār where Badā'un!

⁵ *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 141.

all his forces, captured the city and fort of Delhi and subjugated the whole country around. Thereupon, Sultān Ārām Shāh summoned the Qutbī Amīrs and Maliks to his assistance and gathered a strong force from Amroha and other parts of the dominion. Having taken possession of the capital, Īltutmish rushed towards the bank of the river Jumna. The rival forces encountered each other, and after a feeble resistance on the part of Ārām Shāh's troops, his army was put to the rout¹ and 'its leaders Aqsanqar and Farrukh Shāh were slain.'² The contemporary historian says, "the decree of destiny reached Ārām Shāh,"³ but in all probability he was put to death by his rival. Thus ended the short-lived career of Ārām Shāh, which is said to have been terminated within a year.⁴

Īltutmish had long before obtained the government of Badā'un, which he now exchanged in 1210 A.D. for the throne of Delhi. Under his successors Badā'un ranked as a place of great importance; and in 1236 its governor Rukn-u'd-dīn became another emperor of India. The Jumā' Masjid Shamsī built by Rukn-u'd-dīn still adorns the city.⁵ Sultān Shams-u'd-dīn Īltutmish built the Shamsī 'Idgāh during his governorship at Badā'un. It is a massive brick wall 300 feet in length with ornamental lines at the top. The inscription on the *mehrāb* has been plastered over and only a few letters are visible.⁶

The Jāmi' Masjid of Badā'un is one of the largest Muslim buildings in India. The superstructure of the old *masjid* is entirely of brick, but the central dome contains many blocks of *kankar*; the outer face of the entrance

¹ *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 141.

² *Firishṭah*, p. 65.

³ آرام شاه را قضائی اجل در رسید. *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 141.

⁴ مدت دولت آرام شاه به یکسال نمی کشید. *Lubb-u't-Twārikh*, p. 10 and *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, p. 55.

⁵ *Imperial Gazetteer*, Vol. IX., p. 35.

⁶ *The Monumental Antiquities and Inscriptions in the N. W. Provinces and Oudh* by Dr. A. Fuhrer, p. 20.

gateway is built of sandstone. The outer opening, in an inscription of two lines, gives the date of the building in 1223 during the reign of Īltutmish.¹ To the same period belong the *dargāh* of Miranjī with an Arabic inscription of Īltutmish, the *masjid* of Aḥmad Khandān, built by Rukn-u'd-dīn; the house of Būndīwāllā in Mohalla Sorah with an Arabic inscription of Īltutmish; the *dargāh* of Sultānji with an inscription of Nāṣir-u'd-dīn Maḥmūd (A.H. 620 = 1229 A.D.), the tomb of Alham Shāhid with an Arabic inscription of Īltutmish, and the *masjid* of Dādā Ḥamīd built by Nāṣir-u'd-dīn Maḥmūd Shāh in A.H. 648 = 1250 A.D.²

Hindustan now became subdivided into four parts—the territory of Sind, comprising Sind, Multān and Sīwastān, was occupied by Sultān Nāṣir-u'd-dīn Qabāchah; the dominion of Delhi belonged to Sultān Shams-u'd-dīn Īltutmish; the territory of Lakhnautī was appropriated by the Khaljī Malik and Sultāns, and the state of Lahore was to be seized upon sometimes by Qabāchah and sometimes by Īltutmish until the defeat and extinction of the former at the hands of the latter in the year 1227 A.D.³

Character of Sultān Shams-u'd-dīn Īltutmish.

The next sovereign,⁴ who came to the throne of Delhi was Sultān Shams-u'd-dīn Īltutmish,⁵ a slave and son-in-law of Sultān Quṭb-u'd-dīn Aibak. He was decidedly the greatest sovereign of the 'Early Turkish Empire of India,' and almost excelled all the Sultāns of Delhi in his fitness as a king and in his excellence as a man. He was, in the words of Qāḍī Minhāj-Sirāj, 'just, benevolent, impartial, a zealous

¹ *The Monumental Antiquities and Inscriptions in the N. W. Provinces and Oudh* by Dr. A. Fuhrer, p. 20.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 21-22.

³ *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, pp. 141, 142.

⁴ Īltutmish is not the first Muslim sovereign as Dr. Tripāthī (*Some Aspects of Muslim Administration*, p. 24), states.

⁵ It is differently pronounced and written as التمش - ايلتمش and التمش - ايلتمش. *Firishṭah* p. 64, MSS. *Lubb-u't-Twārikh*, p. 10; *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, p. 56, *Khulāṣat-u't Twārikh*, p. 130 and the printed text

warrior and hero, patron of the learned, the dispenser of justice, possessor of pomp like Farīdūn, disposition like Qubād, empire like Alexander and majesty like Bahram.¹ He was further endowed with laudable qualities; he was handsome, intelligent, sagacious and of excellent disposition and manners.² 'Never was a sovereign so virtuous, kind-hearted and reverent towards the learned and the divines', says the author of the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri*, 'sat upon the throne.' Īltutmish was very particular about saying his prayers, and went to the Jumā' Mosque³ every Friday.

of the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri*, p. 165 all have "Altameṣh"—MSS. *Intihāb-ul-Muntakhib*, p. 171, *Raudat-u's-Ṣafā*, Vol. IV, pp. 887, 889 and *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhi*, p. 16, all have ايلتمش. But *Tārīkh-i-Jahān Kūshā*, Vol. II, p. 61, rightly calls him Īltutmish meaning world-grasper. *Badd'ūnī*, p. 62, says that he was called Altamaṣh, because he was born on a night during an eclipse. There is, however, no doubt that it is Īltutmish for Minhāj-Sirāj, the contemporary historian, has at several places written as such. In praise of Sulṭān Bahram Shāh he says :

اگر سلطانی، هنداست ارث دوده شمسی
بجمل الله زفر زندان توئی التتمش ثانی

Again in praise of Sulṭān Nāṣir-u'd-dīn he says :

آن شهنشاھ که حاتم بذل ورستم کوشش است
ناصر دنیا و دین محمود بن التتمش است

It is clear from the composition of the verses and the rules of poetry that it cannot be Altamaṣh but Īltutmish, for the metre requires double t. Further, Delhi inscriptions read as ايلتتمش. The inscription on the second storey of the Qutb Mīnār clearly bears the title of Shams-u'd-dīn as ايلتتمش. On the doorway is also mentioned ايلتتمش القطبی—See *List of Muhammadan and Hindu Monuments*, Calcutta 1919, 1922, Vol. III, p. 5. Again on the third storey is written ايلتتمش السلطان (*Ibid.* p. 6).

"The two 't's' are given clearly in the Nāgrī transliteration on the reverse of coin No. 121.... As regards the first syllable the numismatic evidence is strongly in favour of the long initial 'ī'. *The Sulṭāns of Delhi—Their Coins and Metrology*, by H. N. Wright, p. 70.

These writings, inscriptions and coins, being contemporary, are decisive evidence of Shams-u'd-dīn's title being Īltutmish (ايلتتمش).

¹ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri*, p. 165.

² *Ibid.*, p. 167.

³ *Furūṣṭah*, p. 67 and *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbari*, p. 63 and *Futūḥ-u's-Salāṭīn*, p. 117, narrate the following event, which has been given by the contempo-

Out of the Ilbarī tribe of Turkistan, he was, Joseph-like, sold and delivered over to merchants, until after some time he rose to power and sovereignty by his sheer dint of merit and virtues. His sovereign power was mainly responsible for the propagation and development of Islamic faith in his time. He surpassed his master Sultān Quṭb-u'd-dīn Aibak in munificence, and was, according to the contemporary chronicle, a hundred times more benevolent.¹ His liberality and benefactions were universally showered upon all classes of people from the highest official to the street beggar. The Sultān lavishly spent about ten millions yearly upon eminent doctors of religion and law, venerable Sayyids, nobles and notables. The fame of his unbounded liberality and numerous grants and, above all, the turmoil and calamities caused by the irruption of the 'infidel' Mongols in 'Ajam led the renowned warriors and men of letters to migrate to the capital Delhi,² which came to be regarded as grand and as magnificent as that of Maḥmūd or Sanjar.³ A contemporary of the kings of Egypt, Īltutmish was regarded as an equal among the sovereigns of Egypt, Khurāsān and Khwarāzm.⁴ But praises of people, who were in the Sultān's pay, must be taken with many grains of salt. However, it

rare authority in the reign of Raḍiyah : "The heretics of Delhi, led by one Nūr decided to assassinate the Sultān. One Friday, they drew their swords and slew many people, but, as God willed, Īltutmish escaped."

It is related in the Table Talk of the Khawājah Quṭb-u'd-dīn Bakht-yār Kākī, that Sultān Īltutmish was anxious to construct a tank and in consultation with the Khawājah went about to find a suitable spot. Having been overtaken by night, he went to sleep at a place, where the Ḥaud-i-Shamsī exists today, and dreamt that the Prophet ordered him to construct a tank at a place, where the Prophet's horse struck its foot. He did accordingly. Ḥaud-i-Shamsī (Shamsī tank) is situated opposite the Jharna on the west side of the Gurgāūn Road. The tank was built by Shams-u'd-dīn Īltutmish in 627 (1229-30 A. D.). It is said that it was originally lined with red sandstone, none of which now remains. Except during the rainy season, it seldom contains water. (*Monuments of Delhi*, Vol. III, p. 66).

¹ *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri*, p. 166.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ḍiyā Baranī—Tārīkh-i-Fihūz Shāhī*, p. 27.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 26.

may be concluded that İltutmish is the real founder of the City and Empire of Delhi.

The Sultān was a great friend of the mystics and divines. Shaikh Bahā-u'd-dīn Dhakariyā and Khwājah Quṭb-u'd-dīn Bakht-yār Kākī¹ were his personal friends. It is related in the *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, that Khwājah Quṭb-u'd-dīn once unexpectedly visited the court of the Sultān, who was wonder-struck; for, in spite of his repeated requests, the Khwājah never condescended to come to the court.² The Khwājah became so popular in the city, that the people would not let him go to any other place. Once Khwājah Bakht-yār started for Ajmer with Shaikh Mu'in-u'd-dīn Sanjarī, but the citizens, being grieved, requested the Sultān to intervene for them, and Shaikh Mu'in-u'd-dīn ultimately assented to Khwājah Bakht-yār's stay at Delhi.³

Early life

Shams-u'd-dīn İltutmish belonged to the noble tribe⁴ of Ilbarī in Turkistan. His father, İlam Khan⁵ was famous on account of the large number of dependants, relatives and followers, who were under his employment.⁶ İltutmish was, from his early childhood, remarkable for his beauty, intelligence and sagacity, so much so that his own brothers grew jealous of his attainments, and like Joseph of old enticed him out of the security of their parents' home under

¹ The grave of Khwājah Quṭb-u'd-dīn Bakht-yār Kākī (635 A.H.) is almost in the centre of the Dargāh of Quṭb Sahib. The grave is of earth only and bears no ancient inscription (*Monuments of Delhi*, Vol. III, p. 42).

In the Dargāh of Quṭb Sahib, at the south-east corner of the platform there is a grave measuring 1' 9" by 1' 0" by 10" high. Tradition assigns it to a son of İltutmish who apparently died as a child (1210-1235 A.D.) (*Monuments of Delhi*, Vol. III, p. 42).

² *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, (Urdū translation), p. 60.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 61.

⁴ In variance to the contemporary authority *Firishṭah*, p. 64 and *Lubb-u't-Tawṛikh*, p. 10 say "from Qarā Khiṭāi Turks."

⁵ The printed text of *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri*, p. 166 and *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbari*, p. 56 have "Aylam Khān." ألم 'İlam' is a Turkish word meaning pain suffering, grief, anguish, etc.

⁶ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri*, p. 166.

the pretence of going to see a herd of horses¹ They represented by saying, "Father, why dost thou not entrust Joseph to us, for we are his sincere friends? Send him along with us tomorrow morning, so that he may indulge in amusement and sport in the pasture, and we are responsible for his safety."² When they brought him to the herd of horses, they, and according to another account, his cousins, forcibly sold him to a certain merchant,³ who brought him to Bukhārā and sold him to a relation of the *Ṣadr-i-Jahān* (the Chief Ecclesiastic) of the city. He remained in that family for some time, and received nourishment like a son. ʿĪltutmish himself related⁴ that, on a certain occasion, a member of that illustrious family gave him a piece of money to purchase some grapes. He went to the market, but on the way lost the coin. Being of a tender age and out of fear, he began to weep. Suddenly a Durvish appeared, who took him by the hand, and purchased some grapes for him. The Durvish took promise from him that when he attained to wealth and dominion he would take care of and respect the *faqirs* and divines.⁵

¹ *Firishṭah*, p. 64 has شکار جانورای 'hunting animals', while *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, p. 56 and *Badāʿūnī*, p. 62 say "he was taken by his brothers to some garden, under pretence of going thither for recreation and diversion."

² *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 167.

³ The printed text of *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 167 has بازرگانے 'a merchant' and not merchants as Major Raverty on p. 600 translates. Further not "horse-dealers" as Elliot, Vol. II, p. 320 translates.

⁴ Another story is related by *Firishṭah*, p. 67 and *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, p. 62—"while a slave in Baghdād, his master called a *majlis* of Durvishes for the recitation of mystic songs. With the lamp in his hands, ʿĪltutmish passed the whole night in their service. Thereupon, Qādī Ḥamīd-u'd-dīn, Nāḡūrī, president of the *majlis*, blessed him. When ʿĪltutmish became Sultān, Qādī Nāḡūrī came to Delhi and held *majlises*, Maulvī ʿImād-u'd-dīn and Jamāl-u'd-dīn protested against it. The Qādī replied, "It is permitted to the mystic and forbidden to the orthodox," and reminded the Sultān of his early life and his service during that particular night. The Sultān was much pleased to allow those ceremonies, and himself joined them.

⁵ *Futūḥ-u's-Salāṭīn*, pp. 112-15. The same is related with some variations in the *Akḥbār-u'l-Akhyār*, pp. 33, 37.

After some time, a merchant named Hājī Bukhārā purchased him from that noble and distinguished family.¹ He was next purchased by Jamāl-u'd-dīn Muḥammad, Chust Qabā (of the Tight Tunic), who brought him to Ghaznīn.² As no other Turk so handsome, intelligent and virtuous had for a long time appeared in the market, the news of his arrival was at once conveyed to Sulṭān Shihāb-u'd-dīn of Ghūr. The Sulṭān offered a thousand gold *dīnārs*³ for Īltutmish and another slave named Aibak; but the Khwājah declined to sell them. The Sulṭān, in retaliation, issued an order prohibiting the sale of the two slaves. After staying at Ghaznīn for a period of one year, Khwājah Jamāl-u'd-dīn took the slaves to Bukhārā, where he remained for three years. Later on, he returned to Ghaznīn, and stayed there for another year, but no one, on account of the Sulṭān's orders, could venture to purchase them. When Malik Quṭb-u'd-dīn Aibak⁴ came to Ghaznīn after the conquest of Gujarat, he solicited permission from the Sulṭān to purchase the slaves. "Since I have already prohibited it," the Sulṭān replied, "it will not be proper to purchase them in Ghaznīn. Take them to Delhi, and purchase them there."⁵

Quṭb-u'd-dīn left his Vizier Nizām-u'd-dīn Muḥammad at Ghaznīn for the settlement of certain affairs, and directed

¹ *Badd'ūnī*, pp. 68-69, relate the following story—the Emperor Akbar told a story, which was orally traced to Sulṭān Ghīyāth-u'd-dīn Balban. The curious anecdote is that Īltutmish loved tenderly a Turkish slave girl in his *harem*, but was unable to effect his object. One day, he got his head anointed with oil by the same girl, who noticing something in his head, began to weep. The Sulṭān inquired the girl of the cause. She replied, "my own brother had the same sort of bald-head". On making further inquiries, it was found that the slave girl was his own sister. This story, like many others, also seems to be manufactured.

² *Lubb-u't-Twārikh*, p. 10, gives the reverse statement—"sold by Jamāl-u'd-dīn Chust Qabā to Hājī Jamāl-u'd-dīn, who brought Īltutmish to Ghaznīn." Being contrary to the contemporary account, it is not correct.

³ *Badd'ūnī*, p. 62 says one *lac* of *tankahs*.

⁴ *Firishṭah*, p. 65 says, "along with Nāṣir-u'd-dīn Kharmīl", which is quite probable.

⁵ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 168.

him to bring Chust Qabā along with him to Hindustan. The Vizier did accordingly; and when the slaves reached Delhi, Quṭb-u'd-dīn Aibak purchased them for a hundred thousand *jitals*.¹ Aibak's name was changed to Ṭamghāch, and he was made Amīr of Tabarhind or Bhatindā², but was slain in the battle fought between Tāj-u'd-dīn Yildiz and Quṭb-u'd-dīn. 'The other slave was styled as Īltutmish'.³

Shams-u'd-dīn was created *Sar-i-Jāndār* (Chief of the Royal Bodyguards), and Quṭb-u'd-dīn honoured him by calling him his son. His rank and status went on increasing until he became *Amīr-i-Shikār* (Chief Huntsman).⁴ After the fall of Gwalior, he was made its Amīr. He was next promoted to the governorship of Baran and its dependencies.⁵ Some time later, when he displayed intrepidity and valour, the territory of Badā'un was entrusted to him.

When Sulṭān Shihāb-u'd-dīn of Ghūr returned from Khwārazm, after being defeated at Andkhud at the hands of the Qarā Khitā'is, the Gakkhar⁶ tribes broke out into rebellion, and the Sulṭān marched from Ghaznīn to suppress them. Quṭb-u'd-dīn led the forces of Hindustan, and Shams-u'd-dīn joined him with the army of Badā'un; the two advanced to the Punjab to support the Sulṭān. Īltutmish displayed extraordinary courage in the battle that ensued,

¹ *Lubb-u't-Twārīkh*, p. 10, says "thirty thousand *jitals*." There is a good reason for supposing that the *tankah* represented a *tolā* as *Firishṭah* tells us in connection with the *tankahs* of 'Alā-u'd-dīn. Further an equation of 48 *jitals* to the *tankah* is more probable. *Jital* then be taken as equivalent to two *raties* of silver, a three *jital* piece or sixteenth of a *tankah* is equivalent to the modern anna. Therefore, one lakh *jital* = Rs. 2,083/5/ (modern). Ref. *Sulṭāns of Delhi—Their Coinage and Metrology*—by H. N. Wright, pp. 72 to 75.

² *Firishṭah*, p. 65 has Bhatindah, which is the same as Tabarhindah. Sirhind is often confused with Bhatindā or Tabarhind.

³ *Firishṭah*, p. 65.

⁴ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 169.

⁵ *Badā'unī*, p. 62 and *Lubb-u't-Twārīkh*, p. 10 state that "Baran and its dependencies were added to his fief of Gwalior."

⁶ *Firishṭah*, pp. 59, 60 states long before the occurrence of this event, that the Gakkhars were converted to Islam in the time of Maḥmūd. It is probable that a part of them were converted to Islām.

plunged his horse into the river Jhelum, overcame the resistance of the enemy and put ten or twelve thousand men to the sword.¹ In the height of battle, the Sultān's eye fell upon him and, witnessing his splendid exploit, distinguished him by conferring upon him a special robe of honour. The Sultān further ordered Quṭb-u'd-dīn 'to treat Īltutmish well, for he would distinguish himself by doing great deeds.'² Quṭb-u'd-dīn, on the Sultān's order, manumitted him and 'created him *Amīr-u'l-Umarā*.'

On the sudden death of Sultān Quṭb-u'd-dīn and the accession of Ārām Shāh, the *Sipāh-Sālār* (Commander of Troops) Amīr 'Alī-i-Isma'īl, *Amīr-i-Dād* (Chief Judge) of the capital city,³ in consultation with other *Maliks* and *Amīrs*, despatched an invitation to Īltutmish at Badā'un to hasten to Delhi and to assume sovereignty. Īltutmish accepted the proposal, and he came with his forces and occupied Delhi in the year 1210 A.D.⁴

Rivals and their overthrow

Sultān Shāms-u'd-dīn Īltutmish succeeded in winning over most of the Turks and Quṭbī Amīrs by conferring splendid gifts and high favours upon them; but some of the Turks and Mu'izzī Amīrs 'under *Sar-i-Jāmdār* (Head of the Royal Bodyguards) Turkī'⁵ joined hands against him, left the capital city with a strong force and broke out into rebellion

¹ *Firishtah*, p. 65.

² *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāsirī*, p. 170.

³ *Firishtah*, p. 65, has "Amīr Daūd, the Dilamī" *Lubb-u't-Twārikh*, p. 10 "Mīr 'Alī Isma'īl and Amīr-i-Dād of Delhi." *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, p. 57 "Sipāh-Sālār 'Isma'īl and Amīr-i-Dād of Delhi. And is not correct here, and should be omitted.

⁴ *Khulāṣat-u't-Twārikh*, p. 190, has "the year 1211." *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III, p. 51 also has 1211; but the contemporary authority has 607 H, i.e., 1210 A.D.

Futūḥ-u's-Salātīn, p. 104, agrees with Minhāj-Sirāj.

⁵ *Firishtah*, p. 65, says:

الا سردار جامداران یعنی خاصه خیل که مرد ترک بود

Sardār-i-Jāmdār or *Sar-i-Jāmdār* is not a proper name as in Elliot, Vol II, p. 237, which has "*Sar-i-Jāmdār Turkī*". *Sar-i-Jāmdār* means "the Head of the Royal Robe-bearers" *Sar-i-Jāmdār* is meant here.

in the vicinity.¹ The Sultān was so overwhelmed with terror that he refrained from suppressing the rebellion for several days. At last he gathered together a large army, headed by valiant leaders like 'Izz-u'd-dīn Bakht-yār, Nāṣir-u'd-dīn Mardān Shāh, Hazbar-u'd-dīn Aḥmad Sūr and Iftikhār-u'd-dīn Muḥammad 'Umar, and marched to face the rebels.² The rival forces encountered each other in the plain of Jūd. Īltutmish was victorious, and he put most of the leaders to the sword. *Sar-i-Jāndār* and others fled, while Aqsanqar and Tāj-u'd-dīn Furrukh Shāh, two of the famous Turkish leaders, were slain.³ Some time later Udaisa, the ruler of Jalor,⁴ rebelled, and refused to pay customary tribute. The Sultān marched against Chauhān Udai Singh, the Rae of Jalor (town and fort in Jodhpur State), who, hearing of his arrival, shut himself up within the walls of the fortress and implored for forgiveness. The Sultān pardoned him, and restored the fortress to him. The Rae, in return, presented hundred camels and twenty horses as the tribute due.⁵

It was but a remnant of the large dominion, which Īltutmish inherited from his master as a result of his victory over Ārām Shāh. But the whole of Hindustan was in a state of utter confusion; 'Alī Mardān in Bengal, Qabāchah in Multān and Sind and Yildiz in Ghaznī were all powerful and independent;⁶ and it goes to the credit of Īltutmish,

¹ *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 170.

² *Tāj-u'l-Ma'āthir* : Elliot, Vol. II, p. 237.

³ *Firishṭah*, p. 65. The *Zubdat-u't-Tuṭarīkh* says, "the defeated Amīrs were put to death at different times."

⁴ On a hill to the south of Jalor stands the famous fort 800 by 400 yards built by Paramarah Rajputs. Its walls are composed of huge masses of cut-stone. It was ruled by the Paramarahs till the twelfth century, when Chauhān Rao Kirthī Pāl of Nadol took it, and made it his capital. It was his grandson Udai Singh, who surrendered the fort to Īltutmish. 'Udayasinha'—Dr. Rey—*Dynastic History of Northern India*, Vol. II, p. 1130.

⁵ *Tāj-u'l-Ma'āthir* : Elliot, Vol. II, p. 238 also *Firishṭah*, p. 65.

⁶ See *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III, p. 52.

who consolidated and strengthened the whole empire.

Sultān Tāj-u'd-dīn Yildiz purchased his safety for the time being by entering into a compact with Īltutmish and despatching a canopy of state and a *Dūr-bāsh*¹ (a kind of spear with two horns to keep away the people). This, however, does not mean that Sultān Shams-u'd-dīn Īltutmish acknowledged his supremacy over him². Soon after, Yildiz was defeated by the *Kh*warazmians and he fled to Lahore, where he made an attempt to build up his power as an independent monarch. In the year 1215 A.D. he succeeded in conquering the Punjab up to Thanesar (a town in Karnāl District, Punjab, situated on the banks of the Saraswatī), and sent a message to Īltutmish to acknowledge him as an independent sovereign.³ The Sultān could never tolerate the establishment of Yildiz's power in the Punjab. He marched against his rival, and 'reached Samand (most probably Sāmānah) in the month of January 1216 A.D.⁴ The rival forces met at Tarāin,⁵ and a great battle ensued. Fortune once more favoured Īltutmish; Tāj-u'd-dīn Yildiz was 'wounded by an arrow shot by the *Mu'ayyid-u'l-Mulk*,⁶ and was captured along with many of his chiefs. He was first brought to Delhi and then sent a prisoner to Badā'ūn, where he died and was buried.⁷ Upon several occasions, the *Amirs* and *Maliks* rose in hostilities in different parts of Hindustan, but all of them were put down and defeated⁸

¹ *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 170.

² *Firishtah*, p. 65, states that "Īltutmish accepted a canopy of state and a standard from the Hākīm of Ghaznī to honour the latter."

³ *Firishtah*, p. 65.

⁴ *Tāj-u'l-Ma'āthir*; Elliot, Vol. II, p. 239. It is, in all probability, Sāmānah and not 'Samand'. The event happened in 1216 and not 1215, as Dr. Iṣhwari Prasād (*Medieval History*, p. 170) states.

⁵ *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III, correctly describes it as Tārāwarī. *Badā'ūnī*, p. 63, has also the same. Tārāwarī is modern Tarāin.

⁶ *Tāj-u'l-Ma'āthir*, (Elliot, p. 239).

⁷ Minhāj-Sirāj is silent on this point: *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, p. 58, says that 'he was kept at Badā'ūn until he died. *Tāj-u'l-Ma'āthir* is also silent. In all probability he was killed.

⁸ *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 171.

Sultān Shams-u'd-dīn Īltutmish, thus, brought the different parts of his dominion under subjection like Badā'un, Oudh, Benares and the Siwālik territory, between the Biās and the Ganges.

There was a constant state of warfare going on between Sultāns Īltutmish and Nāṣir-u'd-dīn Qabāchah for the possession of Lahore,¹ Tabarhindah and Kuhrām. *Mu'ayyid-u'l-Mulk* Muḥammad Junaidī, the Vizier, informed the Sultān of the refractory attitude of Qabāchah, who had refused to pay any tribute. In the month of September 1216 A.D., Īltutmish marched with a large army towards Lahore. Sultān Nāṣir-u'd-dīn Qabāchah decamped. On the 24th January, 1217, Īltutmish left Lahore and reached the fortress at the village of Chambā (now capital of Chambā State, Punjab, situated on the right bank of the Rāvi). Qabāchah was frightened to hear of the arrival of the royal forces, and he fled towards Lahore.² Īltutmish did not relax pursuit and, in a short time, reached Lahore. In the year 1217 A.D., the rival forces encountered each other in the vicinity of Maṣūrah by the side of the river Chināb on the frontier tract of Lahore, and Qabāchah suffered a crushing defeat.³

In the year 1218 A.D., Qabāchah defeated in battle the Khaljī Malik of Ghaznī, who were in the habit of plundering the outlying districts of Sind.⁴ The Khaljīs fled for protection to Sultān Shams-u'd-dīn Īltutmish, who marched against Qabāchah, defeated and drove him back to his kingdom.

In the year 1221 A.D.,⁵ Sultān Jalāl-u'd-dīn Khwārazm Shāh, being pursued by Chingīz Khān marched further east

¹ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 143.

² *Tāj-u'l Ma'āthir* (Elliot, Vol. II, p. 240).

³ *Firishṭah*, p. 65. *Badā'unī*, p. 64 and *Tadhkīrat-u'l-Mulūk* both drown him at this stage.

⁴ *Firishṭah*, p. 65.

⁵ *Tārīkh* of Nizām-u'd-dīn Aḥmad Bakḥshī states that the invasion of Sultān Jalāl-u'd-dīn happened after Nāṣir-u'd-dīn Qabāchah was drowned. But this is quite incorrect for Jalāl-u'd-dīn fought many skirmishes with Qabāchah on his way back to Kirmān.

with the intention of crossing the Indus. He was, however, surrounded by the Mongol troops on the bank of the river. He saw the flashing sword before him and the ferocious river behind. Yet with a courage that would have excited the envy of Rustam, he spurred his horse to battle and fought many skirmishes bravely. But, as the situation became desperate, he turned his horse and galloped towards the riverside. He, at length, succeeded in crossing the river with his seven companions, and pitched his canopy on the other side. "A father should have such a son", Chingīz Khān said to his sons, as he saw Jalāl-u'd-dīn sitting in his glory on the opposite bank.

Jalāl-u'd-dīn now mustered a force of one hundred and twenty horsemen and, several times, defeated and routed the local forces. Chingīz Khān, on hearing of these events, sent some of his great *Amīrs* against Jalāl-u'd-dīn. Jalāl-u'd-dīn perforce fled to Lahore¹ and marched towards Delhi. He sent a messenger to Sulṭān Shams-u'd-dīn Īltutmish with the request that if out of friendship he could condescend to help him, he would win back his ancestral kingdom from the enemy. Sulṭān Shams-u'd-dīn Īltutmish could not allow a foreign sovereign to have a footing in his dominion. So he sent him valuable presents with the reply "the climate of this place will not suit such a high-born prince", and himself marched against him with a large army, and Jalāl-u'd-dīn, unable to oppose him, retreated² towards Siwastān and Sind. After fighting some skirmishes with Qabāchah, he reached Kirmān³ by way of Makran.⁴

Conquests

Getting rid of his rival Yildiz and subduing Qabāchah,

¹ *Khulāṣat-u't-Tawārikh*, p. 190, states that Jalāl-u'd-dīn actually invested Lahore for some time, which is not possible.

² *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III, p. 52, states that 'the envoy was killed by Īltutmish', without stating any authority whatsoever. It is in fact *Firishṭah's* version and, therefore, not reliable.

³ *Badā'ūni*, p. 64.

⁴ *Tabaqāt-i-Akbari*, p. 59. *Tārikh-i-Mubārak Shāhi*, p. 18.

Shams-u'd-dīn Īltutmish turned his face towards Lakhnauti. Previously, on several occasions, he had despatched forces to invade the territory, completely subjugated Bihār and installed his own *Amīrs* there.¹ In the year 1225 A.D., however, Īltutmish made a firm resolve to occupy the territory of Lakhnauti.² Accordingly, he marched from Delhi, and Sultān Ghiyāth-u'd-dīn moved his vessels up the river. But a treaty was concluded, and Sultān Ghiyāth-u'd-dīn submitted by presenting thirty-eight elephants³ and eighty lakhs of treasure; and the name of Sultān Shams-u'd-dīn Īltutmish was inscribed on the coin.⁴ Īltutmish then withdrew⁵ from Lakhnauti leaving behind Malik 'Izz-u'd-dīn Jānī and his own son Malik Nāṣir-u'd-dīn Muḥammad as his lieutenants in Bihār.⁶ No sooner had the Sultān retired than Sultān Ghiyāth-u'd-dīn 'Iwaḍ marched into Bihār and occupied it.⁷

In 1226 A.D., the Sultān marched from Delhi and occupied the celebrated strong fort of Ranthambhor, which had been previously attacked in vain by seventy kings but was never subdued.⁸ The famous fort of Ranthambhor lies in the south-east corner of Jaipur State, Rajputana, on an isolated rock 1,578 ft. above sea-level, and surrounded by a massive wall strengthened by towers and bastions. The remains of a mosque, a tomb of a saint and barracks are

¹ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 163.

² *Ibid.*, p. 171.

³ *Badā'uni*, p. 60, has "seventy thousand *tankāhs*". *Firishṭah*, p. 66 and *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, p. 59 have 38 elephants.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 163 and 171. As early as 1217 and 1220 A.D. *tankāhs* "have been struck by the Governor of Bengal in acknowledgment of the claims of Īltutmish to the Sultanate." H. N. Wright—*The Sultāns of Delhi—Their Coins and Metrology*, p. 71.

⁵ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, p. 54, says that "the two Sultāns did encounter each other in battle;" but the contemporary authority, *Minhāj-Sirāj*, does not refer to it at all, and therefore, the statement of *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, is not reliable.

⁶ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 163.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 163.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 172.

found within the enclosure. The place is said to be held by a branch of the Jādon Rājputs until they were expelled by Prithwī Raja in the twelfth century as a result of the Chauhān supremacy. Īltutmish besieged the fort, but held it only for some time.¹ Valanadeva (most probably Vallana, grandson of Prithwī Raja) ruled under the Sulṭān's authority.²

In 1227 A.D., Īltutmish marched against the fort of Mandor³ within the limits of the Siwālik territory (now a declined town in Jodhpūr State), and conquered it from Kirtipala.⁴ The place is of great historical importance, for it had been the capital of the Parihār Rājputs till 1381, and subsequently the seat of government of the Rāthor Rājputs till 1459, when Jodhpūr city was founded. The old fort, built by a Buddhist architect, is now in ruins. About the same time, i.e., the beginning of the year 1227 A.D., Malik Nāṣir-u'd-dīn Muḥammad Shāh, the eldest son of Sulṭān Shams-u'd-dīn Īltutmish, and 'Izz-u'd-dīn Malik Jānī assembled the forces of Hindūstān and marched from Oudh to Lakhnautī.⁵ Luckily Sulṭān Ghiyath-u'd-dīn 'Iwāḍ had led an expedition into the territories of Kāmrap and Bangah

¹ *Imperial Gazetteer*, Vol. XXI, p. 235.

² According to the inscription of Mārwar published in the *Indian Antiquities*, Vol. XLI, p. 87. In one of these raids, Īltutmish must have overrun Mewār as Ojha thinks that 'Milac-Chikāra' of Jayasinha is a Sanskritisation of *Amīr-i-Shikār*, title conferred on Īltutmish by Aibak. *History of Rājputāna*, Vol. II, p. 467. 'Malaya Varma Deva,' according to Thomas—*Chronicles of Pathan Kings*, p. 72.

³ The oldest copies, according to Major Raverty, have Mandor, but others have Mandūd and Mandūr. *Badā'uni*, p. 65 has Mandū. *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, p. 59 has Mandāwar. *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī*, p. 19 has Mandūr and Ajmer. Mandū is in Mālwa, which place Īltutmish never reached. It is, in fact, Mandor, a ruined town in Jodhpur State and not Mandaūr eight miles north of Bijner held by Rahupān Agarwāl Banyā as *Camb ridge History of India*, Vol. III, p. 53 states.

⁴ *Vaidya*, Vol. III, p. 302; *Rev.*; Vol. II, pp. 1130-31 have Udayasinha. The famous poet Amīr Rūḥānī composed the following verse on the victories :

که از بلاد ممالک شهنشاه اسلام - کشاد بار دگر قلعه سپهر آمیز
Firishṭah, p. 66 and the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, pp. 59-60.

⁵ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 163.

and had left Lakhnautī undefended.¹ Malik Nāṣir-u'd-dīn availed of this opportunity by capturing the fortress of Ḥasankut and the city of Lakhnautī.² Sultān Ghiyāth-u'd-dīn 'Iwāḍ, perforce, retired from his expedition, and fought an engagement with the victors, but was defeated and his Khaljī Amīrs were taken prisoners.³ Sultān Ghiyāth-u'd-dīn 'Iwāḍ was immediately put to death after a reign of twelve years. The territory of Lakhnautī now fell into the hands of Malik Nāṣir-u'd-dīn, who proved to be a benevolent, intelligent, energetic and sagacious ruler.⁴

Having extended his sway over Bihār and Lakhnautī, the Sultān, in the year 1227 A.D., invaded Sind with the intention of overthrowing Qabāchah,⁵ who was the only rival now left. Accordingly, he made ample preparations, and Sultān Nāṣir-u'd-dīn Qabāchah also stationed his forces before the gateway of the town of Amrūt⁶ (Amrī) along with his fleet and boats. It was soon discovered that Malik Nāṣir-u'd-dīn Aitum,⁷ the governor of Lahore had appeared before the walls of Multān and ʿĪltutmish himself set out by way of Tabarhindah towards Uch. The intelligence of these news so terrified Qabāchah that he at once retired towards the strong fort of Bhakkar, and directed his Vizier the 'Am-u'l-Mulk Ḥusain-i-Ash'arī to convey all the

¹ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 164.

² *Ibid.*, p. 180.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 164.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 180.

⁵ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, p. 58 and *Badāʿunī*, p. 64 leave out this expedition against Qabāchah and drown him in the year 1217 A.D., about ten years before his actual defeat and death.

⁶ It is variously known as **هراوت - امروت - امروت**. It is perhaps Amrī situated below Sahwān on the river Indus in Sind.

⁷ Aitum was a slave of Malik Bahā-u'd-dīn Tugh̃rūl, from whose heirs ʿĪltutmish purchased him. The fief of Lahore was assigned to him, and subsequently, in return to his services in the acquisition of Multān, the Siwālīk territory along with Ajmer were made over to him. He was, however, drowned into a river in an expedition against the Hindūs of the Būndī (now a native state in the south-east of Rajputana) territory—See *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, pp. 236-37.

treasures from Uch to Bhakkar.¹ Sultān Shams-u'd-dīn İltutmish pushed forward his advance-guard under the command of the *Amīr-i-Ḥājib* (Lord Chamberlain) Malik 'Izz-u'd-dīn Muḥammad Sālārī and Gazlak Khān Sanjar-i-Sultānī,² the Malik of Tabarhindah; and, four days after, himself reached the fort of Uch on the 9th February, 1228 A.D. İltutmish now laid siege to the fort of Uch, and despatched the Vizier Nizām-u'l-Mulk Muḥammad Junaidī³ with other Maliks towards the fort of Bhakkar in pursuit of Qabāchah. For about three months, hostilities went on at the fort of Uch, and the⁴ enemy was reduced to extremities until on June 5, 1228 the fortress surrendered on terms of capitulations.⁵ On becoming aware of the fall of Uch, Qabāchah sent his son 'Alā-u'd-dīn Mas'ūd Shāh along with many presents to Sultān Shams-u'd-dīn İltutmish to sue for peace. He was received with all the outward marks of kindness, but was not permitted to depart.⁶ In consequence, Qabāchah was much alarmed, and before a reply could come, the garrison of Bhakkar was reduced to the last strait. Qabāchah desperately threw himself into the river Sind and got into a boat hoping to find refuge in some island, but in the

¹ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 173; *Firishṭah*, p. 66 has Thankar, which is impossible.

² Gazlak Khān was purchased by Sultān Shams-u'd-dīn from Khawājah 'Alī and brought up under the protection of Prince Nāṣir-u'd-dīn Maḥmūd. Soon after, he was made Lord of the Stable. Subsequently, he became Amīr of Multān, Kuhrām and Tabarhindah one after another. After the defeat of Qabāchah the fort, city and dependencies of Uch were made over to him—*Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, pp. 232-35.

³ کمال حنییدی وزیرے گزین۔ کہ بود است هم عاقل و هم آیین
Futūḥ-u's-Salāṭīn, p. 117.

⁴ *Rauḍat-u's-Ṣafā*, Vol. IV, p. 888 says that 'on the flight of Qabāchah from Uch, İltutmish left his Vizier Nizām-u'l-Mulk Abū-Sa'īd to carry on the investment of Uch. The Vizier, after capturing it marched towards Bhakkar. The account narrated by *Rauḍat-u's-Ṣafā* is against the contemporary authority, and, therefore, unreliable.

⁵ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 173. Not in 1227 A.D. as Dr. *Ishwari Prasād* (*Medieval India*, p. 177) states.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 144.

middle of the stream his boat capsized and he was drowned.¹ Thus ended the chequered career of a warlike monarch after a reign of twenty-two years in the lands of Sind, Uch and Multān. After a few days, the treasures were taken possession of, and the remaining forces of Qabāchah were enlisted into the Royal army. The country of Sind as far as the ocean was acquired, and Malik Shihāb-u'd-dīn Ḥabsh,² the ruler of Dīpālpur³ and Sind presented himself before and paid homage to the Sultān. Being satisfied with the conquest of Sind, the Sultān started for Delhi. 'According to some account', says Qāḍī Minhāj-Sirāj, 'the city and fortress of Multān and its dependencies were conferred upon 'Izz-u'd-dīn Kabīr Khān-i-Ayāz,⁴ and was entitled Kabīr Khān-i-Mangirnī. After some time, he was succeeded by Malik Ikhtiyār-u'd-dīn Qarāqash Khān-i-Aitkin⁵ as governor of Multān.

¹ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, pp. 144 and 173.

فرض چوں قباچه در آن روزگار به تقدیر شد فرق در حوشبار
Futūḥ-u's-Salāṭīn, p. 108.

² The printed text of *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 173 has "Shihāb-u'd-dīn Ḥabsh" while Major Raverty turns it into Chatisar or Jatīsā in conformity with the oldest copies.

³ It cannot be *Dewāl* for it lies in the Bisalpūr tahsīl of Pilibhit District. It must be Dīpālpur, situated on the old bank of Biās, and the decay of the town is to be attributed to the shifting of the river,

⁴ A Rūmī Turk of Nāṣir-u'd-dīn Ḥusain, the Chief Huntsman of Ghaznīn, whose son Sher Khān-i-Surkh sold him to ʾİltutmish. He was given Multān and Palwāl (now in the Gurgaūn District of the Punjab) in his reign. He was a party to the hostile element against Sultān Rukn-u'd-dīn Fīrūz Shāh. Raḍiyah made him the governor of Lahore and its dependencies. Multān was again entrusted to his charge, and he assumed sovereignty on the invasion of Mongols. He died in the year 1241 A.D. *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, pp. 234-35.

⁵ Aitkin belonged to the Qara Khīṭāī Turks and was one of the oldest slaves of ʾİltutmish. First he became *Sāqī-i-Khāṣ* (Personal Cup-bearer) and acquired the fief of Barihūn and Dārāngān (perhaps Dargāī). The two fiefs must have been situated in the north-western region. Subsequently, he became the Superintendent of the Crown-province of Tabarhindah. Then Multān became his fief. He became governor of Lahore and then of Bigānah in the reign of Raḍiyah. He conspired

In the month of August, 1228 A.D. Sultān Shams-u'd-dīn Īltutmish reached the capital city. About this time, the 'Arab messengers reached the frontier of Nāgore with splendid robes from the 'Abbasid Caliph, and on February 18, 1229 A.D. they reached the capital. The Sultān received them with great honour, and respectfully accepted the robes of distinction. There was a great demonstration in the city, which was decorated; and gifts were bestowed upon the royal princes, *Maliks* and *Amirs*.¹ The *Firmān*, in political theory, was the only process, which could legitimise a monarchy not known to the *shari'at*. Sultān Shams-u'd-dīn Īltutmish was, therefore, extremely pleased on his recognition as the Sultān of Hindustan by the 'Abbasid Caliph, but he could not enjoy it long as the sad news of the death² of Prince Nāsir-

against Bahrām Shāh, but afterwards became Amīr-i-Ḥājib. During Sultān Nāsir-u'd-dīn's reign, he was killed within the limits of Kach (Kachch, now a state in Bombay). *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāsirī*, pp. 250-51.

¹ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāsirī*, p. 174. The "three groups of *tankahs* issued by the Sultān have on their obverses the names respectively of the Khalīfāhs Al-Nāsir-u'd-dīn Allāh, Al-Zāhir, and his successor Al-Mustanṣir-billāh." —*Sultāns of Delhi—Their Coinage and Metrology*—by H. N. Wright, p. 71. Group IV contains a rare coin, which records only the name of Khalīfāh. This seems to commemorate the arrival of the Khalīfāh's diploma of investiture in 1228 A.D. Thomas—*Chronicles of the Pathān Kings*, p. 46.

² "A year and a half afterwards he was afflicted with disease and weakness and he died."—*Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāsirī*, p. 181. The tomb of Nāsir-u'd-dīn Maḥmūd Shāh, better known as Sultān Ghārī, the eldest son of Sultān Īltutmish, is situated about one mile to the east of the village Malīkpūr Kohī and four miles west of Mehrauli. It was built in 629 A.H. (1231 A.D.) by the order of Sultān Īltutmish, according to the inscription on the gateway. (*List of Monuments of Delhi*, Vol. IV, p. 55). The tomb lies in the centre of an enclosure, measuring 77'-6" square, stands on a rubble plinth, and is constructed of greystone. On the east is a gateway containing a flight of steps. The outside archway of the gate is enclosed by the inscription quoted above. The enclosure contains an open courtyard, and the tomb chamber, octagonal in plan, is sunk in the centre of the court. A low and narrow door on the south leads to the chamber, which contains four graves. The grave of Nāsir-u'd-dīn probably lies against the west wall.—*List of Monuments*, Vol. IV, p. 56.

u'd-dīn Maḥmūd was conveyed to him. Balkā Malik Khalji, son of Ḥusām-u'd-dīn 'Iwaḍ broke out into rebellion in the territory of Lakhnautī.¹ In the year 1230 A.D. he marched against him with a strong force, quelled the disturbances and captured the rebel. The Sultān conferred the throne of Lakhnautī upon Malik 'Alā-u'd-dīn Jānī,² and himself returned to the capital in the month of February 1231 A.D. Soon after Malik 'Alā-u'd-dīn Jānī was deposed and was succeeded by Malik Saif-u'd-dīn Aibak-i-Yughān Tat as governor of Lakhnautī.³

In the year 1231 A.D., Sultān Shams-u'd-dīn İltutmish marched from Delhi to capture the stronghold of Gwalior, which the Musalmans had lost since the days of Quṭb-u'd-dīn. The Rae Malik Deo⁴, son of Basīl, offered strong resistance and began war. The Sultān continued fighting, and remained under the walls of the fort for a period of eleven months. In the month of March 1231 A.D. Qāḍī Minhāj-Sirāj, the famous author of *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, came to the royal presence from Delhi and obtained audience. He was ordered to deliver discourses ordinarily three times a week, but daily during the holy month of *Ramādān*. The two great prayers of 'İds were said at

¹ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, pp. 163 and 174.

² *Firishṭah*, p. 66, *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, p. 60 and *Badā'ūnī*, p. 67 all have 'Khānī'.

³ Malik Saif-u'd-dīn was a Khitāī Turk and was purchased by İltutmish from the heirs of Ikhṭiyār-u'd-dīn Chust Qabā. He became *Amīr-i-Majlis* (Lord of the Assembly) and then the fief of Sursutī (Saraswatī, a fief lying along the Saraswatī river, which rises in Sirmūr state close to the borders of Ambālā District) was bestowed upon him. The territories of Bihār and Lakhnautī were entrusted to his charge one after another and he died in the year 1233 A.D.—See *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, pp. 238-39.

⁴ The best Petersburg copy, according to Major Raverty, has مملک *Zubdat-u't-Twārikh* has Mangal Diw. *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, p. 60 has مملک دیو بسیل. *Mir'āt-i-Jahān Numā* has دیو مال. *Tadhkirat-u'l-Mulūk* مملک دیو مل. *Firishṭah*, p. 60 has دیو مل. It is in fact Malik Deo son of Basīl.

three different places in the army of Islam and, at one of these places at the front of the Gwalior fort, prayers were conducted by the said Qādī. The fortress was, however, kept under investment until on December, 12, 1232 A.D. it was captured.¹ The garrison was reduced to straits and, in the course of night, its chief, Mangal Diw fled away and evacuated the fort.² Many of the defenders were captured, and about eight hundred³ of them were put to death.

Just after this great victory, the Sultān was pleased to make promotions in the ranks of *Amirs* and *Maliks*. Majd-u'l-Mulk Diyā-u'd-dīn Muḥammad Junaidī was appointed *Amīr-i-Dād* (King's Judicial-Deputy) *Sipāh-Sālār* Rashīd-u'd-dīn 'Alī became *Kutwāl* and Qādī Minhāj-Sirāj was created *Ṣadr-i-Jahan* (Chief Ecclesiastic of the State).

In the year 1232 A.D., Malik 'Izz-u'd-dīn Tugh̃rul-i-Tugh̃hān *Khān*⁴ was made governor of Badā'un; the office of *Amīr-i-Akh̃hūr* (Lord of the Stable) thus vacated was assigned to Malik Qamr-u'd-dīn Tamar *Khān-i-Qīrān*.⁵

¹ *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 175.

² Malik Tāj-u'd-dīn Raizā composed the following verses on the victory.

هر قلعه که سلطان سلاطین بگرفت
از عون خدا و نصرت دین بگرفت
ان قلعه گویبار و حصن و حصین
در ستمانیه ستمه دلشین بگرفت

³ *Firishṭah*, p. 66 has only 'three hundred' سپاست کردن means 'to put to death' and not 'to receive punishment' as in *Elliot*, Vol. II, p. 327.

⁴ Malik Tugh̃rul-i-Tugh̃hān *Khān*, a Qara-*Khitāi* Turk was purchased by Shams-u'd-dīn Īltutmish, who made him his *Sāqī-i-Kh̃ḥḥ* (Personal Cup-bearer) then *Dawāt-Dār* (Keeper of Writing Case), *Chashnigir* (Controller of the Royal Kitchen) and then *Amīr-i-Akh̃hūr* (Lord of the Stable). In the year 1232, he was made governor of Badā'un and in 1233, the feudatory of Lakhnautī. For further details see the reigns of Raḍiyah, Mu'iz-u'd-dīn Bahrām *Shāh* and 'Alā-u'd-dīn Mas'ūd *Shāh*. Ultimately, he was killed in an engagement against Aur *Khān*, the Ruler of Lakhnautī—See *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 242.

⁵ Tamar *Khān-i-Qīrān*, a 'Turk of Qipchāq was purchased by

Hindū Khān, *Mihtar-i-Mubārak*,¹ held the office of *Khāzin* (Treasurer) throughout the reign of Sultān Shams-u'd-dīn Īltutmish. In the month of April 1233 A.D., the Sultān reached the capital.

In the year 1233 A.D., Malik Tughān Tat died, and was succeeded by Malik Tughrul-i-Tughān Khān as governor of Lakhnautī.

In the year 1234 A.D., Sultān Shams-u'd-dīn Īltutmish invaded Mālwa, and captured the fort and city of Bhilsā from the Paramara King Devapala² (1218-36 A.D.). The town still stands on the Betwā river and the existing buildings are entirely Muslim in character. The whole town has 'an air of departed grandeur'. An idol temple to the height of one hundred and five yards and which was constructed in the course of three centuries,³ was razed to the ground by the imperial orders. The Sultān then marched from Mālwa to Ujjain Nagri against Devapala Deva (1216-1240 A.D.), and demolished the famous idol temple of Mahakal-Diw.⁴ Among other things, which fell

Īltutmish on payment of 50 thousand *dīnārs* to Asad-u'd-dīn Mankalī. He was created *Nāib-i-Amīr-i-Akhūr* and then *Amīr-i-Akhūr*. During Raḍiyah's reign, he was a governor of Qannauj and was sent to Gwalior and Mālwa as a leader of forces. The territories of Karnāl (district in the Delhi Division) and Oudh were afterwards entrusted to him. In the year 1244 A.D. he proceeded to Lakhnautī and fought against Malik Tughrul-i-Tughā Khān for two years and then died—See *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, pp. 247-48.

¹ Hindū Khān was a Hindū convert. He joined the service of the Sultān when he was Malik as *Yuzbān* (Keeper of the Hunting leopards) and, subsequently, *Shu'la-Dār* (Keeper of the Torch). On his accession to the throne, Īltutmish made him Treasurer. During Sultān Mu'iz-u'd-dīn Bahram Shāh's reign, he died in the territory of Jalandhar, which was under his charge then.—See *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, pp. 248-49.

² *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 176; *Futūḥ-u's-Salāṭīn*, p. 121. See also Ray, Vol. II p. 907.

³ *Badd'ūnī*, p. 67. gives the astonishing account that the temple was built in the course of 66 years.

⁴ The temple was converted into a mosque, which was again converted into a Hindu temple of Mahakala in the days of Ranoji Scindia.

into the hands of the victors, was a statue of Bikramajita, a sovereign of Ujjain about thirteen centuries back, and from whose reign they date the Hindu era. A tremendous quantity of stones and a number of statues were brought to the capital and buried before the gate of the Jumā' mosque for the people to tread upon.

In the year 1234 A.D., the Sultān entrusted Biyānah and Sultān-Kut to Malik Naṣrat-u'd-dīn Tayāsī.¹ The contingents of Qannauj, Nahir and Mahāun² were placed under his charge to make an inroad into the territories of Kālinjar and Chanderī. The town and fort of Chanderī are picturesquely situated in a great bay of sandstone hills, entered by narrow passes. The old town occupies a considerable area and is full of beautiful mosques, dwelling-houses and other buildings now in a dilapidated condition. The old fort stands 230 ft. above the town; a palace inside is the only building of interest. The same year, the Sultān fell upon Trailokyavarman³, the Rāe of Kālinjar, put his army to the rout, and obtained a vast booty. On his return, the Rana of Ajār,⁴ Chāhar by name, blocked up the road against the Muslim forces. But Tayāsī defeated the Hindu forces and put them to the rout.⁵

The present high pinnacled temple of Mahakala was built by the Shenvī Dīwān of Rānojī Scindia, Ramā Chandra Bābā (1745 A.D.).

¹ A slave of Sultān Shihāb-u'd-dīn cf Ghūr. He was short-sighted but was adorned with many praiseworthy qualities. His career in İltutmish's reign has been described above. Raḍiyah conferred the territory of Oudh on him, but when he advanced from there against Malik 'Alā-u'd-dīn Jānī and Saif-u'd-dīn Kūch, he was taken prisoner and he died of a sickness, which afflicted him.

² Mahāun is in the district of Rohtak and is a place of antiquity. Mahīr is probably Mahet or Set-Mahet, a vast collection of ruins lying partly in the Gonda and partly in the Bahraich district of Oudh, U.P. on the south bank of the Rāptī.

³ Ray—*Dynastic History of Northern India*, p. 727.

⁴ اچارى - اچارى probably Achārj, a Brahman sect in Hissār District, Punjab.

⁵ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, pp. 239-41.

In 1235 A.D. the Sultān led his forces towards Bunyān, a place within the territory of Sind to subdue the rebellion of Gakkhars, but, on account of serious illness he was forced to return to the capital, and on April 30, 1236 A.D. he breathed his last.¹ "At the north-west corner of the Quṭb Mosque is the tomb of Shams-u'd-dīn Īltutmish. It is stated by Fergusson² that it is one of the richest examples of Hindū art applied to Muhammadan purposes that old Delhi affords, and is extremely beautiful" The tomb consists of a chamber internally 29' 6" square "built of red sandstone elaborately carved, and is sparingly relieved with marble." It is now without a dome.³ In the interior on the west there are three *mihrābs*. The entire surface of the interior is fretted with arabesque ornament, and the upper parts of the walls are adorned with diapered design. The tomb has been repaired from time to time.⁴

The same year Khawājah Quṭb-u'd-dīn Bakht-yār Kākī, a fast friend of the Sultān and a great mystic of the age expired.⁵ About this time, Malik Saif-u'd-dīn Aibak, the governor⁶ of Uch, defeated in battle Malik Saif-u'd-dīn Ḥasan Qarlukh, who had come from Bunyān and invested the fort of Uch. The reign of Sultān Īltutmish extended over a period of twenty-six years. In addition to his extension of the Delhi kingdom to Sind in the west and

¹ Towards the close of his reign, Fakhr-u'd-dīn 'Aṣāmī, the Vizier of Baghdād came to Delhi and was appointed Vizier of the kingdom. Another accomplished man of his reign was Nāṣir-u'd-dīn Muḥammad 'Aufī, who dedicated the *Jāmi'-u'l-Ḥikāyat* to the Sultān's Vizier Muḥammad bin Abū Sa'īd Junaidī. See *Firishṭah*, p. 67.

² *History of India and Eastern Architecture*, p. 509.

³ *Monuments of Delhi*, Vol. III p. 20.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 21.

⁵ *Siyar-u'l-Auliya* (Urdū Translation), p. 63.

⁶ Saif-u'd-dīn Ibak was purchased by the Sultān from a certain Jamāl-u'd-dīn. He was entrusted with the charge of Nārnol, Baran and Sunām one after another. On the death of Malik Tāj-u'd-dīn Sanjar-i-Gazlak, the fortress and city of Uch was assigned to him, For the rest of his life see above—*Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri*, pp. 237-38.

Bengal in the east, he is famous as the continuer of his master's Quṭbī mosque and its beautiful tower (Mīnār).

The Quṭb Mīnār is a tapering shaft 234 feet high, the first three storeys of which are built of red and buff sandstone, while the fourth and fifth of marble. It has five storeys, each of which terminates into a decorated balcony inscribed with foliated designs. The basement storey is a polygon of 24 facets; the second storey is decorated with semi-circular fluting, and the shaft of the fourth storey is circular and devoid of fluting. The fifth and last storey is also circular with alternate bands of red sandstone and marble.

According to the inscriptions of the Mīnār, it can be alluded that the lowest storey was begun by Sulṭān Quṭb-u'd-dīn Aibak, the building was completed by Īltutmish, and repairs and alterations to the fifth storey were subsequently made by Firūz Shāh Tughlaq.¹ Fergusson proves that it is the work of the Musalmans, though its earlier storeys were built by Hindu masons. "It was not designed as a place from where the Muizzin should call the prayers, though its lower gallery may have been used for that purpose also, but as a *Tower of Victory*—an emblem of conquest."² The Quṭb Mīnār stands about the centre of the Lāl Kut. The only inscription of historical importance on the basement storey is :³

"The Amīr, the commander of the army, the glorious, the great" apparently refers to Quṭb-u'd-dīn Aibak. On the second band the name of Mu'izz-u'd-dunyā wad-dīn (Shihāb-u'd-dīn of Ghūr) is mentioned.⁴ On the fourth band the name of Ghiyāth-u'd-dunyā wad-dīn (brother of Shihāb-u'd-dīn) is given.

On the entrance doorway the name of *Shams-u'd-dunyā*

¹ *List of Monuments of Delhi*, Vol. III, p. 7. And also General Cunningham (*A. S. I.*, Vol. I, pp. 190-94.)

² Fergusson, p. 506.

³ "الامير الاسفهاال الاحل الكبير"

⁴ *Delhi Monuments*, Vol. III, p. 3.

wad-dīn (Shams-u'd-dīn Īltutmish)¹ is given, and it is stated that during the reign of Sikandar Shāh, son of Bahlul Shāh, the upper storeys of the Mīnār were repaired. The inscription on the second storey clearly bears the title of Shams-u'd-dīn as Īltutmish.²

On the doorway is written "Īltutmish, slave of Quṭb-u'd-dīn".³ On the third storey is mentioned⁴ "Sulṭān Īltutmish" and on one side of the door is given the name of Muḥammad Amīr Kuh, who supervised the completion of the building.

The inscription on the fourth storey clearly mentions that "the erection of this building was ordered during the reign of . . . Sulṭān Īltutmish."

On the doorway to the fifth storey it is written that Sulṭān Fīrūz "built this portion of the edifice."⁵

"Much speculation has been wasted as to the origin of the Quṭb Mīnār, whether it is a purely Muhammadan building, or a Hindu building altered and completed by the conquerors. The latter is undoubtedly the common belief of the people . . .⁶ Mr. Cooper . . . states . . . that it 'remains an open question whether this magnificent pillar was commenced by the Hindus or Muhammadans.' I must confess, however, that I am myself quite satisfied that the building is entirely a Muhammadan one, both as to origin and to design; although, no doubt, many, perhaps all, of the beautiful details of the richly decorated balconies may be Hindu . . ." The arguments are as follows :

(1) Why is there only one Mīnār and not two? The practice of building two Mīnārs goes back to three and a half centuries only, and that at the time under review it was the practice of the early Muhammadans to build a

¹ *Delhi Monuments*, p. 4.

² ايلتتمش

³ ايلتتمش القطبي *Delhi Monuments*, Vol. III, p. 5.

⁴ *Ibid.* ايلتتمش السلطان

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

⁶ *Archæological Survey of India Report*, Vol. I, by Cunningham, p. 189.

single tower such as the *Mīnārs* of *Ghaznīn* and *Koīl*.¹

(2) The slope of the *Mīnār* being singularly greater is attributed to the peculiar characteristic of the architecture of the Pathans.

(3) Syed Aḥmad argues that, if the *Mīnār* had been intended as a *Mazinah* to the great mosque, it would have been erected at one end of it, instead of being at some distance from it. I reply . . . I can point out to the *Koīl Mīnār*, which occupies exactly the same detached position . . . Both of them are placed outside the south-east corner of the respective *masjids*.

(4) 'Muhammadans place the door facing the east', says Sir Syed Aḥmad, but the door faces the north. In the *Koīl Mīnār* the entrance door is to the north, exactly as in the *Qutb Mīnār*.

(5) "It is customary that . . . Muhammadans always erect their buildings upon a raised platform," says Sir Syed. The early Musalmans, however, did not place their buildings on raised terraces as is shown by the mosques in Syria, Persia, *Mīnār* at *Ghaznīn* and the tomb of *Īltutmish*.²

(6) That bells, used in Hindu temples, are found sculptured on the lower part of the basement storey.³ The fact is that, where Muhammadan mosques have been built of the materials . . . of Hindu temples, such portions of architectural ornament as were free from figures . . . were inevitably made use of by the conquerors."⁴

"I may remark, incidentally, with reference to the much-debated question as to the assumed Hindū origin or secondary adaptation by the Muhammadans of the partially prepared *Qutb Mīnār*, that General Cunningham's arguments tending to prove the independent inception of the design by *Qutb-u'd-dīn Aibak* are to my mind conclusive."⁵

¹ *Archæological Survey of India Report*, Vol. I, by Cunningham, p. 190.

² *Ibid.*, p. 191.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 192.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 193.

⁵ Thomas—*Chronicles of the Pathan Kings*, p. 24.

Estimate

There was no peace or stability in the central government under Ārām Shāh. Foreign government is the most ugly of political facts, and the vanquished Rajas and Ranas could no longer lightly bear the galling Turkish yoke. The rest of Hindustan was divided into contending rivals. Such was the time when Sultān Shams-u'd-dīn Īltutmish came to the throne of Delhi, saved the empire from being torn to pieces and by restoring order made the realm happy and prosperous.

Sultān Shams-u'd-dīn Īltutmish is decidedly the greatest sovereign of the Early Turkish Empire, and almost excelled all the Sultāns of Delhi in his fitness as a king and in his excellence as a man. "Never was a sovereign, so virtuous, kind-hearted and reverent towards the learned and the divines," says the author of the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, "sat upon the throne of Delhi." Oriental praise is apt to be somewhat high flown, but making every allowance for the exaggeration of the court chronicle, Īltutmish really deserved the high admiration which has been lavished upon him. His accession was hailed with satisfaction on all sides. His handsome presence, and princely bearing, joined to a singular grace of manners and acknowledged powers of mind, made him generally popular. His career is an interesting example of what pluck, talent and gallantry could accomplish in a Muslim State of those days when the road to power was open to genius, however humble the beginning of a Turk might be. His character was as noble as his presence was commanding. Possessed of surpassing abilities, intelligence and high moral qualities, Īltutmish was a man of sagacity and progressive views. He did many a gracious and beautiful act. He proved to be a just, high-minded and virtuous king. A man of benevolent character and signal piety, his life was also temperate. As an enlightened sovereign, Īltutmish believed in the supreme leadership of the peers.

The combination of a high degree of intellectual

culture with soldierly quality is one of the commonplaces of history. Sultān Shams-u'd-dīn İltutmish excelled most as a patron of letters. His court was as grand and magnificent as that of Maḥmūd or Sanjar. The poets, priests, courtiers and eminent scholars of foreign countries began a peaceful penetration of the country, and made his capital a centre of learning and culture. The Sultān was a man of broad views and perfectly tolerant of philosophical speculation. Religious studies were respected, tolerance was extended to men of secular learning and handsome allowances were granted to poets, who composed verses as nicely as they were paid. His reign is, consequently, marked by great achievements in literature and art.

"Bravery is the heritage of the Turk," says Stanley Lanepoole, and İltutmish was no exception to the general rule. The fighting spirit of the Turk was inherent in his nature, and his rapidity of action had long before earned him the title of İltutmish (world-conqueror). A renowned warrior, no less famous and valiant than his master, İltutmish by and by grew in power and military prestige. Even in the fatal moment of disaster, İltutmish rose fresh, vigorous and invincible, and displayed the signs of valour and generalship in the memorable suppression of the Gakkhars. Once inside the campaign, he refused to come out unsuccessful. But he never threw caution aside, for caution brought success and success brought glory. His martial vigour, physical strength and dashing courage combined with statesman-like qualities and diplomatic moves placed him on the pinnacle of renown. His conquests, however, were not his sole achievements. The Sultān's personal character and no less the policy of his government are matters of interesting speculation. With his reign of peace and prosperity, soiled with no breath of dishonour, and his marvellous mixture of boldness with caution, İltutmish will always be looked upon as a model of a great king.

What Aibak had been to Ghūrī was the reverse of what İltutmish was to Aibak. Qutb-u'd-dīn had at his

disposal the support of an empire, while Īltutmish inherited but a remnant of his master's vast dominion, a disorganised army and an empty treasury. Quṭb-u'd-dīn, however, succeeded in keeping allied the different dynasties by means of politic marriages, and kept intact the empire of Hindustan by encouragement and support for his colleagues, patronage of his subordinates and suppression of his rivals. Full of the example of his master, Quṭb-u'd-dīn had brought a vigorous mind to bear upon the problems of government, but Īltutmish possessed the ideal of a man of trained intellect and tutored imagination, and was a constructive statesman. To the daring and restlessness of his master, he added diplomacy and tact. In politics, he was a 'realist of the modern type'. It goes to his credit that he consolidated and strengthened the empire by far-sighted statesmanship, and constructed a machinery of imperial administration on permanent and durable foundations.

Before Īltutmish came to the throne of Delhi, the empire of Hindustan was in a state of utter confusion. The territories of Sind, Multān and Swistān were occupied by Nāṣir-u'd-dīn Qabāchah; the dominion of Delhi belonged to Ārām Shāh; the territory of Lakhnautī was appropriated by the Khaljī Malik and the state of Lahore and Ghaznī was ruled by Yildiz. Again there were Hindu Rajas and chieftains, who were trying to regain their lost freedom. Īltutmish recognised his position very well. First of all he conquered Ārām Shāh. His next step was to reorganise the army with a remarkable speed and to engage himself in a deadly struggle with his rivals. One by one all the hostile elements were eventually swallowed up in the empire of Delhi, and Īltutmish rapidly gained the mastery and triumphed over his adversaries. He defeated and captured Yildiz at the battle of Tarāin in 1216 A.D. For a time he was content with repelling his enemies, but soon made up his mind to face the most determined foes of the empire. Consequently, Īltutmish attacked Qabāchah

in the heart of his kingdom, obtained a fatal hold upon his capital and, not satisfied with the humiliations to which his rival had submitted, finally demanded a surrender of his dominion in 1221 A.D. Jalāl-u'd-dīn Khwarazm Shāh flying a helpless fugitive to an inhospitable land of Hindustan received a cold greeting from İltutmish, and he was obliged to retire towards Swistān and Sind. Next followed the conquests of Bihār, Ranchambhor, Māndū, Gwalior, Mālwa and Biyānah. Bengal, which had attained a position of almost entire independence now recognised the sovereignty of Delhi, and formed part of the Turkish empire. İltutmish next invoked the shade of a great name by attaining the sanction of the Abbasid Caliphate to his title as the Sulṭān of Hindustan, and received the mantle and diploma of investiture. Whatever may be said against the degeneracy of the Caliphate, it was still considered to be the fountain-head of all political authority and public sentiment regarded it with deep respect.

The historians with reason hold İltutmish as the real founder of the Early Turkish Empire. At the very outset of his career, İltutmish clearly grasped his position and realised that his policy must be steady consolidation rather than expansion. With no apprehension, he prosecuted his scheme of conquest, exterminated the rivals and substituted his own sway over all the petty dynasties. A clever man with a clear eye to his own profit, İltutmish fought with Hindus and Muslims alike for the consolidation and extension of his empire. His reign was thus a perpetual series of efforts towards the expansion of an originally small territory. The acuteness with which he unravelled a complicated situation and the restless activity with which he maintained the integrity of his dominion and consolidated the empire are the finest achievements of his military genius. İltutmish may rightly be called the greatest statesman of the Early Turkish Empire; there was a 'blessing in his arms and a glory in his crown.' He had a firm will and a stern sense of duty. The reign of

Īltutmish forms the climax of Turkish rule in India ; the next reigns that remain to be described consist of one long decline, relieved of course by a temporary rise of the old war-like spirit of the Turk under the reign of Balban, but nevertheless a steady and inevitable fall of the empire.

CHAPTER V

SUCCESSORS OF SULTĀN SHAMS-U'D-DĪN ĪLTUTMISH

Sultān Rukn-u'd-dīn Firūz Shāh.

On the death of Sultān Shams-u'd-dīn Īltutmish, his son Rukn-u'd-dīn Firūz Shāh was elevated to the throne of Delhi. The new Sultān was a benevolent and handsome sovereign, endowed with gentlemanliness and excellence of disposition. But no other sovereign at any time proved so extravagant and 'open-handed' as Sultān Rukn-u'd-dīn Firūz Shāh. 'The evil spirit of lavishness,' says the contemporary chronicle, 'sprang from his inordinate addiction to sensuality, pleasure and amusement.'¹ He had entirely given himself up to debauchery and dissipation, so that his best gifts went to musicians and buffoons.² Some idea of his excessive waste of money may be gathered by the fact that he, in a state of intoxication, used to drive forth his elephant through the *bāzār* scattering gold coins over the people.³ He was very fond of riding elephants, and all the elephant drivers became the object of special favour and were greatly benefited by his bounty. It was not his nature or disposition to hurt any creature, and this tenderness of heart was mainly responsible for the downfall of his empire.

¹ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 184. *Futūḥ-u's-Salāṭīn*, p. 126.

² *مذمت آں بود* has been incorrectly rendered into 'but his misfortune was' by Major Raverty, p. 636.

³ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 184. "No gold coins of this Sultān are known and but few of his silver *tankas* . . . It will be noticed that both Firūz and Raḍiyah sought to enhance the security of their tenure of the throne by invoking the aid of their father's name on their coins, giving him the higher title *الاعظم* while retaining for themselves the inferior *المعظم*—

H. N. Wright—*Sultāns of Delhi—their Coins and Metrology*, p. 75.

The first charge that the late Sultān confided to him in the year 1288 A.D., was the fief of Badā'un, which was granted to him along with a green canopy as a token of honour.¹ The 'Ain-u'l-Mulk Ḥusain-i-Ash'arī, formerly the Vizier of Sultān Nāṣir-u'd-dīn Qabāchah, now joined his service in the same capacity. After the conquest of Gwalior, his prestige was further enhanced by his appointment as governor of Lahore,² the capital of Khusru Malik, the last of the Ghaznavids. On his return from his last expedition from the Indus and Bunyān,³ Sultān Shams-u'd-dīn Īltutmish brought him to Delhi, for 'the hopes of the people rested with him' as heir-apparent, being the eldest son of the Sultān since the death of Nāṣir-u'd-dīn Maḥmūd.⁴ But it seems rather doubtful, as the author of the *Ṭabaqāt* asserts at another place that the late Sultān had made his daughter Raḍiyah his heir-apparent.⁵ However, on the death of Sultān Shams-u'd-dīn Īltutmish, the *Maliks* and other officers of the state raised Rukn-u'd-dīn to the throne of Delhi on

¹ But it never meant that he was styled as Sultān at this stage as Qaḍī Minhāj-Sirāj states. *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 182. Red and black canopies together were regarded as an insignia of royalty, while green or red canopies were bestowed upon others.

² Though tradition attributes the founding of Lahore or Lohāwarānā to Lāvā, the son of Rām, but it is not probable that it was founded before the 1st century A.D. as the place is not mentioned in connection with the invasion of Alexander. The first historical record has been given by Hieuen Tsiang. Alberūnī speaks of Lahore as a province, whose capital was Mandhukur; while Al-Mas'ūdī makes no mention of Lahore. In 988 A.D., the Brahman Jaipāl was defeated by Sabuktigīn, and again by Maḥmūd in 1001 A.D. Lahore seems to have been the capital of the Punjab for the first time under Anangpāl. The earlier capital was Waihind (Und). At length in 1036, Lahore was made the capital of the Ghaznavids, from whom it was taken by Ghūrī in 1186 A.D. In 1206, it became the capital of Quṭb-u'd-dīn Aibak.

³ *Firishṭah*, p. 67 and the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, p. 64 have Siwistan, which is not meant here.

⁴ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 182. Badā'unī's *Muntakhab-u't-Twārikh* states that he was heir-apparent, which is not correct.

⁵ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 185.

April 30, 1236 A.D.¹ The state officials offered presents to the Sultān and poets recited *qaṣīdahs* and *ghazals* in his praise and were duly rewarded.²

No sooner had the Sultān ascended the throne than he gave himself up to pleasure and dissipation, and never troubled himself about the affairs of the state. Most of the treasure, which Quṭb-u'd-dīn and Shāms-u'd-dīn Īltutmish had left behind, was lavishly spent and exhausted.³ The result was a state of utter confusion and disorder in all the departments of government, and the execution of royal orders became faulty. His mother Shāh Turkān, the chief wife of the late Sultān's *harem*,⁴ now assumed the royal powers and directed the affairs of government on her own responsibility. During her husband's lifetime, she was despised and envied by her colleagues; now that she was all-powerful, gave vent to the jealousy she had harboured for many years and killed some of them. The more influential of the Turkish slave-girls were subjected to ruthless cruelty and unspeakable degradation.⁵ In addition

¹ Two copies of the text, one an old one, according to Major Raverty, have Tuesday the 29th of Shā'ibān or 8th May. *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, p. 64 and *Finsh̄tah*, p. 67 have Saturday 633 H. *Tarīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī*, p. 21 has 22nd Shā'ibān and *Khulḍat-u't-Tawārikh*, p. 131 gives 636 H.

² One of the poets Tāj-ū'd-dīn Raizā composed a long *Qaṣīdah*, some of the verses are :—

مبارکباد ملک حاودانی ملک را خاصہ در عہد حمائی
امین الدولہ رکن الدین کہ آمد درش از یمن چون رکن یمنی

Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī, v. 64, *Finsh̄tah*, p. 67; and *Badā'ūnī*, p. 69.

³ *Finsh̄tah*, p. 67.

⁴ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 181 calls her *مہتر حمائی سلطان* "the chief of the royal *harem*," but on p. 185 Rāḍiyah's mother is described as *بزرگتر حمائی اعلیٰ* "the head of the Sultān's *harem*." The status of both cannot be the same, and consequently Rāḍiyah's mother must have been the chief of the Sultān's *harem*. One was first or earliest wife; the other principal wife, and, consequently, conflict under the circumstances was inevitable.

⁵ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 182.

to these acts of barbarity, prince Quṭb-u'd-dīn,¹ a younger son of Sultān Shams-u'd-dīn Īltutmish was blinded and put to death by her orders. This was the immediate cause of a general and passive disaffection which soon developed into active hostility.

Malik Ghiyāth-u'd-dīn Muḥammad Shāh, a son of the late Sultān and younger than Rukn-u'd-dīn Fīrūz Shāh, commenced hostilities in Oudh by seizing upon the treasure of Lakhnautī, which was being conveyed to the capital, and sacked and plundered several towns of Hindustan. In another direction, Malik 'Izz-u'd-dīn Muḥammad Sālārī,² governor of Badā'un revolted. Next Malik 'Izz-u'd-dīn Kabīr Khān-i-Ayāz,³ governor of Multān; Malik Saif-u'd-dīn Kochī,⁴ governor of Hānsī; and Malik 'Alā-u'd-dīn, governor of Lahore, conspired together and broke out into rebellion. With a view of suppressing the rebels, Sultān Rukn-u'd-dīn marched out⁵ of the capital with a large army; but his Vizier Nizām-u'l-Mulk Muḥammad Junaidī,⁶ being frightened by the strength of the rebels, deserted the Sultān and fled from Kilūkherī⁷ to Koil and joined 'Izz-u'd-dīn Muḥammad Sālārī of Badā'un. These two, afterwards, allied themselves with other conspirators Malik Jānī and Malik Kochī at Lahore. There must have been, therefore, some co-ordination in the movements of the rebels. The plan of all aristocratic rebellions about this period was to

¹ *Lubb-u't-Twārikh*, p. 11 says that he was the 'youngest son of Īltutmish; Ibn Baṭṭūṭah, *Elliot* III, p. 592, names him as Mu'izz-u'd-dīn.

² *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, p. 64 calls him Malik 'Izz-u'd-dīn Kabīr Khān thus confounding him with the governor of Multān.

³ *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī*, p. 22 has 'Izz-u'd-dīn Kabīr Khān and Badā'unī, p. 70, Kabīr Khān-i-Sultānī.

⁴ *Firishṭah*, p. 67 has Kochī. Sālārī is turned into Sālār; 'Alā-u'd-dīn Jānī into Sher Khānī; Kabīr Khān into Kabīr Khānī and 'Izz into A'izz.

⁵ *Firishṭah*, p. 67 rightly asserts that the Sultān marched to Kilūkherī; and it is not a mistake as Major Raverty writes, for it was from Kilūkherī that his Vizier fled. See *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāsiri*, p. 183.

⁶ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāsiri*, p. 183.

⁷ This is the first reference to کیلو گڈھی-کروکڑی, the latter is the corrector form.

paralyse the Sultān by a simultaneous revolt in all directions. If he left Delhi, the city, through a revolt, would fall into their hands.

Sultān Rukn-u'd-dīn Fīrūz Shāh, considering the importance of the revolt in the Punjab, led his forces towards Kuhrām. Unfortunately the Turkish *Amīrs* and other slaves serving as royal body-guard at the centre followed the example¹ of the rebels and, in the vicinity of Maṣūr-pūr and Tarāin, they killed the *Tāj-u'l-Mulk* Maḥmūd, the *Dabir* (Secretary)² and *Mushrif-i-Mumālīk* (the examiner of records); Bahā-u'd-dīn Ḥasan-i-Ash'arī; Karīm-u'd-dīn-i-Zāhid; Diyā-u'l-Mulk, the son of the *Nizām-u'l-Mulk* Muḥammad Junaidī; Nizām-u'd-dīn Sharqānī; the *Khwājah* Rashīd-u'd-dīn Malkānī; Amīr Fakhr-u'd-dīn, the *Dabir*; and a number of other Tāzik³ officials. The Turkish slave families considered themselves the heir of Shihāb-u'd-dīn and later on of Quṭb-u'd-dīn and Īltutmish. Consequently the appointment of non-Turkish officers, e.g., the Tāziks was resented, and they were individually and collectively, the victims of many conspiracies. The ringleaders in this insurrection were Malik Ikhtiyār-u'd-dīn Yūzbak-i-Tughrul Khān⁴ and Malik 'Izz-u'd-dīn Balban-i-Kishlū Khān.⁵

¹ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 183 has شیعہ کردند which means 'yielded' but the fact remains, that they also rose in open revolt.

² The printed text of the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 183 has و and not 'son of' as Major Raverty translates.

³ The text on p. 183 is دیگر چامت کار داران تازی یک را شهید کردند while in *Elliot*, vol. II, p. 331, the Tāzik officials are made the 'killers of the Tāzik.' The *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, p. 65, *Firishtah*, p. 67 and *Badā'ūnī* make a terrible blunder by stating that these persons, who were killed, 'separated themselves from the Sultān's army, went off to Delhi and joined Raḍiyah.' Tāzikī is used for the territory round about Kabul. There is also a Tajikistān Republic in U.S.S.R. Here it means non-Turks and therefore worthy of extermination.

⁴ For his early life see the reign of Mu'izz-u'd-dīn Bahrām Shāh.

⁵ A native of Qipchāq (the desolate region, north of the Caspian inhabited by the Turks), was purchased by Sultān Īltutmish before the fortress of Mandaur in 1226 A.D. At the outset of his career he became

In the meantime, Turkān Khatūn conspired against Raḍīyah, the eldest daughter of the late Sultān, to seize her and to put her to death. In the month of November, 1236 A.D., Raḍīyah embarked on a hostile war with the mother of the Sultān at Delhi. Rukn-u'd-dīn, perforce, retired towards the capital.¹ Raḍīyah was the full sister of the martyred prince Mu'izz-u'd-dīn. One Friday, she ascended the terrace of the Old Palace, called Daulat Khānah², close to the Jumā' mosque, and addressed the people thus, "the Sultān has killed my brother and wants to kill me also."³ The audience was greatly moved and the people of the city attacked the royal palace, seized Turkān Khātūn and imprisoned her. The Turkish *Amīrs* and the centre contingents of the royal body-guards all joined Raḍīyah, and placed her on the throne.⁴ By this time, Sultān Rukn-u'd-dīn had arrived at Kilūkherī, and he found to his astonishment that the rebellion had broken out and his mother was thrown into prison. Raḍīyah sent an army of Turks and body-guards to Kilūkherī to imprison Sultān Rukn-u'n-dīn. The Turkish *Amīrs* and *Malīks* brought him to the presence of Sultān Raḍīyah, who ordered, 'the slayer must be slain'; and on November 29, 1236 he was, in all probability, put to death. His reign extended over a period of six months and twenty-nine days.⁵

'cup-bearer' and then 'Sharābdār' (keeper of drinkables). Afterwards, the fief of Barhāmū and Baran were assigned to him one after another. In the reign of Rukn-u'd-Dīn, he was imprisoned for his misconduct as a rebel, but was afterwards released and treated with honour—*Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāsirī*, p. 268.

¹ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāsirī*, pp. 183-184.

² Daulat Khānah is İltutmish's 'White Palace', قصر سفید or کوشک سفید. Later palaces were built of red sand-stone, brought from some distance. 'White Palace' was probably constructed of the ordinary stone found at Delhi. The site is not known.

³ *Ibn Battūṭah's Travels*—Elliot, III, p. 592.

⁴ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāsirī*, p. 184 and Badā'ūnī's *Muntakhab-u't-Twārikh*, p. 70.

⁵ *Firishtah*, p. 68, says '28 days' and copies from *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, p. 65, MSS. *Intakhāb-u'l-Muntakhab*, has 'seven months.' Badā'ūnī's

Sultān Raḍiyah.

The next sovereign who came to the throne of Delhi and succeeded Sultān Rukn-u'd-dīn Firūz Shāh was Sultān Raḍiyah,¹ the daughter of the late Sultān Shams-u'd-dīn İltutmish. She was decidedly one of the 'great monarchs'

Muntakhab-u't-Twārikh, p. 70, 'six months and some days'. *Tārikh-i-Mubārak Shāhi*, p. 23, 'six months and eight days'. But *Khulāṣat-u't-Twārikh*, p. 192, astonishingly remarks 'one year, 6 months and 8 days.' Major Raverty incorrectly renders it into '28 days'. From April 30 to November 29, there are exactly 6 months and 29 days. Dr. Ishwari Prasād (*Medieval India*, p. 170) says that İltutmish died in 1235 A.D. and on p. 183 states that Sultān Rukn-u'd-dīn died on November 9, 1236 A.D., which means he ruled for about a year. But Dr. Ishwari Prasād astonishingly adds 'after a period of a little less than seven months', which is correct, but does not tally with his previous statements. Near the tomb of Sultān Ghāzi lie the two tombs of Rukn-u'd-dīn Firūz Shāh and Mu'izz-u'd-dīn Bahrām Shāh. One of these which is a domed *chhatri* is in good condition, the other is ruined. The remaining tomb is an octagonal domed *Chhatrī*, with a *Chhajja* and pillars of dressed stone. The plastered dome is the work of Firūz Shāh Khiljī who records that he restored both the tombs. (*List of Delhi Monuments*, vol. IV, p. 57).

¹ Major Raverty converts Raḍiyah into "Raḍiyat", contending that Raḍiyat has a meaning while Raḍiyah has no meaning. But it is not necessary that the proper noun should have a meaning; and in the absence of its having no meaning, it must be converted into something meaningful. Further, no authority, contemporary or later, calls her 'Raḍiyat'. Sultānah would mean king's wife; this phrase is never used—خداوند عالم=His Majesty and مخدومه جهان=Her Majesty. The title of all Sultāns ended in الدین (Al-Dīn): the title was broken up, e.g.,

شمس الدنيا والدين - علام الدنيا والدين - رضية الدنيا والدين -

to show that they were in charge of religion as well as the state. Raḍiyat-u'd-Dunyā wad Dīn was the official designation of the queen. Ordinary citizens were not allowed to extend their names thus; but Shaikhs could do so, or else others did it for them, e.g.,

قطب الملک و الحق والدين -

"No gold coins of Raḍiyah are traceable . . . Her silver *tankahs* are of three types—all very scarce." On one of these Raḍiyah uses her father's name to the exclusion of her own; the other type mentions both the names jointly السلطان الاعظم شمس الدنيا والدين السلطان المعظم - رضية الدنيا والدين -

of the 'Early Turkish Empire of Delhi.' She was endowed with all the laudable qualities befitting a sovereign ; she was "prudent, just, benevolent, benefactor to her kingdom, a dispenser of justice, the protector of her subjects and a great warrior."¹ She was very good at reciting the Qur'ān, and as the court of İltutmish was a centre of culture and learning, she must have been well-educated as *Firishtah* states.² "Of what advantages," says the author of the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri*, "were all these attributes unto her, when she was born a woman?"³ It was during the latter part of her reign⁴ that Sultān Raḍiyah came out of seclusion, set aside the female dress and assumed the male attire : rode an elephant and appeared before the public.⁵

The greatest breach of decorum alleged against her by the authors of the *Futūḥ-u's-Salāṭin* and *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbari* and repeatedly asserted by other later authorities is that she allowed the Abyssinian Yāqūt to lift her on to her horse⁶—a horse, she never rode but an 'elephant'. The contemporary authority, Qāḍī Minhāj Sirāj, gives testimony to the statement that Sultān Raḍiyah rode an 'elephant'. Further, there was no 'master of horse' in those days, and Yāqūt

The third type has also variations.—Sometimes بنت السلطان (daughter of the Sultān) is given along with the name of İltutmish, while on other coins she appears رضيّة الدنيا والدين السلطان اعظم H. N. Wright—*Sultāns of Delhi—their Coins and Metrology*, p. 76.

¹ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri*, p. 185.

² *Firishtah*, p. 68. *Lubb-u't-Twāriḳh*, p. 8.

³ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri*, p. 185.

⁴ According to *Firishtah*, p. 68 'in 1236 A.D.'

⁵ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri*, p. 188.

⁶ *Futūḥ-u's-Salāṭin* edited by Dr. Mehdī Ḥasan, p. 129.

شنیدم غلام ز حدسی حبش بدی در سواری بر مر کبش
گرفتی بیک دست بازو او بدادی سواریش گفت و گو

Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbari, p. 67. *Badā'ūni*, p. 84, MSS. *Intaḥhāb-u'l-Muntaḥhab*, p. 171. *Khulāṣat-u't-Twāriḳh*, p. 192, mention no such incident and *Zubdat-u't-Twāriḳh* makes no reference to the Abyssinian whatsoever.

was the *Amīr-i-Akhūr*¹ (Lord of the Royal Stable). It was customary in those days that the *Amīr-i-Akhūr* assisted the sovereign to mount, but Major Raverty observes that 'what is applicable to male sovereigns may not be applicable to female sovereigns.'²

Rāḍiyah's solitary love-affair is a later invention. It cannot, however, be deduced from the contemporary account that her fondness towards Yāqūt³ was criminal. Qāḍī Minhāj Sirāj gives Yāqūt a good character and at one place remarks that he "acquired favour in attendance upon the Sultān"; and this was resented by the Turkish *Maliks* and *Amirs*,⁴ for he was a non-Turk. *Firishtah*, in this context, observes, "Men of wisdom will not fail to see from what direction blew the storm that withered the flower of her garden. What has an Abyssinian slave⁵ to do with the office of 'premier noble'⁶—a base-born man with the guidance of such a queen?"⁷ This is, however, a later-day rubbish, when the seclusion of sexes had become a part of religion. Persian literature shows that the later-day inten-

¹ On p. 261 of the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* Minhāj Sirāj says that when Sultān Rāḍiyah came to the throne, Malik Ikhtiyār-u'd-dīn Yūzbak-i-Tughrul Khān was made *Amīr-i-Akhūr*. Consequently, Yāqūt must have been raised to that office or deposed and again elevated.

² Raverty—*Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, see pp. 642 and 643.

³ He was not a slave as Dr. Ishwari Prasad (*Medieval India*, p. 186) states. Thomas characterises this invented affair as "wayward fancy pointed in a wrong direction"—*Chronicles of Pathan Kings*, p. 106.

⁴ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 188.

⁵ It cannot be said with authority that he was a slave; for Qāḍī Minhāj Sirāj does not refer to it but calls him *Amīr Jamāl-u'd-dīn Yāqūt*.

⁶ *Firishtah* quotes no authority for the statement that he was made *امیرالامرا* (premier noble).

⁷ *Firishtah*, p. 69 writes as follows :—

"عارفان دور اندیشی دارند که این باد از بار از کدام صحرا برخاست. و گل دولت رضیه را کدامی تذبذب از بیخ برکند. آری غلام حبشی را با امیرالامرای دهلی چه نسبت. و مرد دون چندی را به پیشوائی چنان ملکه تاجدار چه کار"

sity of the *Purdah* system was due to the horror of the Mongol invasion. Laws, really military measures, were passed in Persia to enforce it. But Raḍiyah lived before this period. Maulānā Ghizālī's monograph on *Purdah* shows that in spite of priestly opinion the *Purdah* system was more honoured in the breach than in the observance.¹ Sultān Raḍiyah was obviously a powerful, manly and hafty Tartar woman, and possibly unmarriageable. The fact that, in spite of the universal custom, her father never had her married is very significant. The fiction was that Raḍiyah was a Sultān, 'a man'. Her behaviour as a normal Sultān might have been more than a fiction for the people, who knew that she, unlike Elizabeth, made no pretensions to femininity. Other queens, when entering politics, preferred to intrigue from within the *harem*. Raḍiyah's public appearance was intended to impress upon the people and the Turkish officers that they had not to deal with a pale and delicate beauty. Growing up as a tom-boy, Raḍiyah seems to have been a complete stranger to the normal female reactions in man's society. Her misfortune, however, was the same as that of other Turkish rulers, her predecessors and successors. Like them, she had to face the power and the intrigues of the Turkish bureaucracy, and likewise she tried, though unsuccessfully, to form a non-Turkish group upon whom she might rely.

As regards her early life, suffice to say, that she was the daughter of the late Sultān Shams-u'd-din İltutmish from his most respected and favoured wife, the chief of the royal *harem*, who resided in the Kūshk-i-Firūzī (Firūzī Castle). Even in her father's lifetime, she used to interfere in the affairs of the state, and exercised great authority and in-

¹ Dr. Tripāthī (*Some Aspects of Muslim Administration*, p. 28) says: "They (the Turks) could not easily reconcile themselves with the idea of a woman ruling over them. It was a daring innovation". Probably the learned author forgets that among Turks women held a high status, and one of the Gūr Khāns of the Qarā Khitāis was a woman. Dr. Ishwari Prasād (*Medieval India*, p. 184) says, "The ministers of the Sultān felt scandalized at the elevation of a woman to royal dignity", which may also be criticized on the same ground.

fluence.¹ The late Sulṭān noticed 'in her countenance indications of sovereignty and heroism,'² and admired her wonderful sagacity. On his return from the conquest of Gwalior, the Sulṭān ordered the *Tāj-u'l-Mulk* Maḥmūd, the *Mushrif-i-Mumālīk*³ (Secretary of the State) to draw up a decree appointing her as his heir-apparent. Before the execution of the order, the officers of the Sulṭān represented to him saying, "What is the policy of your Majesty in nominating a daughter, when you have able and grown up sons?"⁴ "My sons," replied the Sulṭān, "are engrossed in the pleasures of youth and none of them has the capacity of conducting the business of the state and, in fact, they will not be able to carry on the government. After my death, it will be found out that none but my daughter shall be worthy of the kingdom. Raḍiyah is far better than her brothers; although in the form of a woman, she is a man in intellect and sagacity."⁵ What the Sulṭān had predicted came to pass.⁶

The most important event,⁷ which happened at the outset of her career, was the revolt of the heretics⁸ under their

¹ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, p. 65. *Khulāṣat-u't-Twārikh*, p. 192 and *Firishtah*, p. 68.

² *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 185.

³ *Mushrif-i-Mumālīk* means an 'Examiner of Records, and not *Vizier*. *Dabīr* means Secretary; and Minhāj Siraj styled him *Tāj-u'l-Mulk* (the crown of the state) Maḥmūd Dabīr.

⁴ The *Tazkarat-u'l-Mulūk* says that the reason why İltutmish nominated his daughter Raḍiyah as heir-apparent was that his son Nāṣir-u'd-din II was young in years, which is not supported by the contemporary authority.

⁵ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, pp. 185, 186.

⁶ 'حال هم برای چندی بود که آن پادشاه سعهبد دانا فرموده بود' has been wrongly rendered into by Elliot II, p. 333, as follows:—"It was afterwards agreed by common consent that the king had judged wisely."

⁷ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, *Bada'ūnī* and *Firishtah* do not refer to this outbreak at all.

⁸ The heretics (Ismā'ilīs) and their doctrines are explained elsewhere in chapter I. The Ismā'ilī groups may be divided into:

(a) Persian Ismā'ilīs—Imāms of Alamūt.

leader Nūr Turk,¹ who collected together his disciples from different parts of Hindustan such as Gujarāt, Sind, the environs of the capital and the banks of the Jumnā and the Ganges.² All of them jointly conspired against Islam, incited the people to defy the Ḥanafī and Shāfī doctrines, and called the Sunnī 'Ulemā Nāṣibī (the enemies of 'Alī) and Murjī³ (procrastinators). On March 4, 1237 A.D., an armed body of heretics and Karmāthians to the number of one thousand men,⁴ entered the Jumā' Masjid from two directions, and attacked and killed a great number of Mussalmans. Thereupon, the warriors of the city such as Nāṣir-u'd-dīn Aiytum, the Bāīaramī and Amīr Imām Nāṣir, the poet and others, all armed with weapons, surrounded the heretics from all sides and put all of them to death.⁵

On her accession to the throne of Delhi, Sultān Raḍiyah followed most of the traditions of her father, and renewed the laws and regulations of the past, which had been neglected in the reign of her predecessor Sultān Rukn-u'd-dīn Fīrūz Shāh. About this time, Malik Tugh̃rul-i-Tugh̃hā Khān,⁶ governor of Lakhnautī, made an inroad into the territory of Tirhat (former district of Bengal, now divided into Muzaffarpūr and Darbhanga) and acquired vast booty, and consequently he was dignified with a canopy of state and a standard.⁷

(b) Arabian—Fāṭimid Caliphate. The Arabian Ismā'ilīs had conquered Multān, but were subdued by Maḥmūd and Shihāb-u'd-dīn. Sultān Maḥmūd used to cut off their hands and feet, while 'Alā-u'd-dīn Khālījī had them sawed into two. Heresy in India came from 'Ajam across the sea via Sind and Gujarāt. The Borahs and Khøjahs are a mixed population partly 'Arab and partly Indian and are still very influential.

¹ *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 69, styles him as Maulānā Nūr 'Alī Turk.

² *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 189.

³ The doctrines of the Ismā'ilīs are explained in Shahrestānī's Kitāb-ul-Milal wal Nahl, an authoritative book written by a contemporary of Shihāb-u'd-dīn.

⁴ *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī*, p. 24, says, "To the number of two thousand men."

⁵ *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 190.

⁶ For his early life see the reign of İltutmish.

⁷ *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 243.

Once more a reign of peace and tranquillity began, but the *Maliks* and *Amīrs* would not let it go smoothly. The *Vizier* of the kingdom, the *Niẓām-u'l-Mulk* Muḥammad Junaidi refused to acknowledge Raḍiyah as sovereign and summoned Malik 'Alā-u'd-dīn Jānī,¹ Malik Saif-u'd-dīn Kūchī², Malik 'Izz-u'd-dīn Kabīr *Khān-i-Ayāz*³ and Malik 'Izz-u'd-dīn Muḥammad Sālārī from different parts of Hindustan, who conspired together against the queen, and commenced hostilities before the gate of the city of Delhi. Malik Naṣrat-u'd-dīn Tayāsī,⁴ the governor of Oudh, on her imperial command, started for Delhi to subdue the insurrection; but the rebel *Maliks* succeeded in capturing him after he had crossed the Ganges; and he died in a short time of an illness which had overtaken him.⁵ Malik 'Izz-u'd-dīn Balban-i-Kiṣhlū *Khān* was also taken prisoner by the hostile *Maliks*, but was soon released and treated with great honour by Sulṭān Raḍiyah. The Sulṭān now had no other alternative but to issue forth from the city and to pitch her tents on the bank of the river Jumnā. Several conflicts took place between the opposite parties, and at last peace was effected.⁶ Raḍiyah's clever and timely policy had sown the seed of discord among the lawless *Maliks* and they had to scatter in different directions.⁷ Malik 'Izz-u'd-dīn

¹ *Firishṭah*, p. 68, incorrectly calls him "Sher *Khānī*."

² *Firishṭah*, p. 68, "Kochī," *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, p. 66, has "Kojī".

³ For his early life see the reigns of *İltutmish* and Rukn-u'd-dīn Firūz *Shāh*.

⁴ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, p. 66, calls him 'Izz-u'd-dīn Hānsī! For his early life see the reign of *İltutmish*. He had been created governor of Oudh by Sulṭān Raḍiyah after the rebellion of *Ghiyāth*-u'd-dīn Muḥammad *Shāh* was quelled.

⁵ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 186.

⁶ It is wrong to say that "she was not strong enough to give or accept battle", *Cambridge History of India*, vol. III, p. 58.

⁷ *Firishṭah*, p. 68 and *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, p. 66. These authorities and also Badā'ūnī's *Muntakhab-u't-Twārikh*, p. 84, assert that it was Sulṭān Raḍiyah who by her tactics and diplomacy succeeded in upsetting and confounding the rebel *Maliks*. It was, in fact, due more to the disunion among the conspirators that Raḍiyah succeeded in bringing the two *Maliks* to her side.

Muḥammad Sālārī and Malik 'Izz-u'd-dīn Kabīr Khān-i-Ayāz secretly went over to the side of the Sultān, and presented themselves before her Majesty on the stipulation that Malik Jānī, Malik Saif-u'd-dīn Kūchī and the *Nizām-u'l-Mulk* Muḥammad Junaidī were to be summoned and imprisoned.¹ On receiving the intelligence of this treacherous act, the other *Maliks* fled from the field, but were pursued by the royal forces. Malik Saif-u'd-dīn Kūchī and his brother Fakhr-u'd-dīr were captured and killed in prison. Malik 'Alā-u'd-dīn Jānī was slain at Nakwān within the limits of Pāyal² (Pāil is now Ṣāhibgarh in Patialā State, Punjab) the *Nizām-u'l-Mulk* Muḥammad Junaidī retired towards the hills of Sirmūr and there died shortly afterwards.³

The position of Sultān Rāḍiyah was now secure, and she had leisure enough to reorganize the affairs of the state. She assigned the *Wizārat* to Khwājah Muhazzab-u'd-dīn⁴ who had formerly acted as deputy to *Nizām-u'l-Mulk* Muḥammad Junaidī, and gave him the title of *Nizām-u'l-Mulk*. The title of Qutluḡh Khān was bestowed upon Malik Saif-u'd-dīn Ibak-i-Bhaq,⁵ who was appointed minister of war. Malik 'Izz-u'd-dīn Kabīr Khān-i-Ayāz, who had submitted to

¹ *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 187.

² *Ibid.*, p. 187, and *Firishṭah*, p. 68, have 'Bābil'. *The Cambridge History of India*, vol. III, p. 58 has Pāel. In fact it is Pāil, the name of a very old place (now Ṣāhibgarh in Patialā State)—as supported by *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Ṣhāhī*, p. 26, and *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, p. 66.

³ The printed text of the *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 187 has 'Kuh Bardār'. There is no Burdār Hill but Burdā hills in Kāthiāwār, Bombay. Sirmūr is now a hill state lying on the west bank of the Jumnā and south of Simla. The southern border of the state runs along the crest of the outer Siwālīks.

⁴ *Elliot*, II, p. 334, translates the proper name Muhazzab-u'd-dīn into "an upright officer," and accordingly *Vizier's* name has been converted into 'virtue', which he little possessed. A unique inscription of Khwājah Jahān has recently been discovered at Aligarh and runs as follows:—

”بنام این بقعه مبارک در عهد سلطان بادشاه اسلام شمس
الدنیاوالدین و ذی الامان لاهل (ایمان) در نوبت ایالت خداوند
خواجہ جہاں دستور صاحب قران نظام الملک ملکوک (الورای)“

⁵ The word is written 'Bhaq'; and Bhattū and seems rather doubtful.

Sultān Raḍiyah, was made governor of Lahore. Throughout her reign Malik Hindū Khān, *Mihtar-i-Mubārak*,¹ held the office of treasurer, and the territory and fortress of Uch was entrusted to his charge. Malik Saif-u'd-dīn Aibak, the Shamsī 'Ajamī² was appointed *Sahm-u'l-Hasham* (Marshal of the Retinue). Once more peace and tranquillity reigned supreme, and all the *Maliks* and *Amīrs* made their submission throughout the territories from Lakhnautī to Diwāl or Dīwalpūr.³

Suddenly Malik Saif-u'd-dīn Aibak Bhaq died, and was succeeded by Malik Quṭb-u'd-dīn Ḥusain,⁴ son of Al-Ghūrī. The new minister of war was appointed to relieve the garrison of Ranthambhor, which was, since the death of Sultān İltutmish, invested by the Hindus. Malik Quṭb-u'd-dīn marched to Ranthambhor with a large army, rescued the Mussalmans, destroyed the fortification and returned to the capital. About this time, Malik Ikhtiyār-u'd-dīn Aitkin was elevated to the post of *Amīr-i-Hājib*.

Malik Jamāl-u'd-dīn Yāqut continued⁵ as *Amīr-i-Akhūr*

¹ For his early life see the reign of İltutmish. With the possible exception of 'Imād-u'd-dīn Raiḥān, Hindū Khān is the only officer of Indian birth mentioned.

² A native of Qipchāq; originally a slave of the renowned merchant, the Khawājah Shams-u'd-dīn the 'Ajamī, who sold him to Sultān İltutmish. He held many important offices in the reign of Sultān Raḍiyah and became the Marshal of the Retinue. He became Chief Judge in the reign of Mu'iz-u'd-dīn Bahrām Shāh, and Sultān Naṣir-u'd-dīn entrusted the fief of Palwāl and Kāmāh (there is Kamālīā, a town in Montgomery district of Punjab) to his charge and then Baran and Kasrak (there is Kasīā, now a subdivision in Gorakhpūr district, U.P.) were given under his charge one after another. The two names of Kamāh and Kasrak are untraceable.

³ *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, p. 66, adds 'Darband' as well. It is, in all probability, Dīpāl-pūr in Montgomery district of Punjab.

⁴ He is styled both as Ḥusain and Ḥasan. *Firishṭah*, p. 68, *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, p. 67, and *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī*, p. 26, all call him 'Ḥasan'.

⁵ It is, therefore, incorrect to say that "she aroused the resentment of the nobles by the appointment of an African named Jamāl-u'd-dīn Yāqut to the post of the 'Master of the horse'. In fact such a post did not exist

(Lord of the Imperial Stable) and Malik İkhṭiyār-u'd-dīn Aitkin was created *Amir-i-Ḥājib* (Lord Chamberlain).¹ This aroused jealousy on the part of other Maliks, but Sulṭān Raḍiyah controlled them with an iron-hand and came out of seclusion and appeared in public.

Shortly afterwards, Sulṭān Raḍiyah ordered her forces to proceed to Gwalior.² Malik Tamar *Khān-i-Qirān*³ and Malik Tāj-u'd-dīn Sanjarī Qutluq,⁴ the feudatories of Qannauj and Baran, respectively, were also directed to join the expedition. Both the Maliks rendered valuable services, and were duly rewarded. On the death of Malik Naṣrat-u'd-dīn Tayāsī, Oudh and its dependencies were made over to the charge of Malik Tamar *Khān-i-Qirān*.⁵ Having established himself in Oudh, he led expeditions into the neighbouring parts of the territory as far as Tirhut, several times plundered the territory of Bhatghurā (now Baghelkhand

at that time. Refer to *Cambridge History of India*, vol. III, p. 59. The text of the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 188, runs as follows

”امیر جمال الدین
یاقوت را کہ امیر اخور بود - بخدمت سلطان قربت افتاد“

Amir Jamāl-u'd-dīn Yāqūt, who was *Amir-i-Akhūr* (Lord of the Royal Stable) acquired great influence at the royal court.

¹ Malik İkhṭiyār-u'd-dīn Aitkin was a Qarā *Khittāi* Turk. Amir İbak Sanāi sold him to Sulṭān Shams-u'd-dīn İltutmish, who elevated him to the position of *Sar-i-Jāndār*, and entrusted to his charge Manṣūrpūr, Kūjah and Nandānah (in the Jhelum district, Punjab) one after another. He became *Amir-i-Ḥājib* in Raḍiyah's reign and the *Naib* of the Sulṭān Mu'izz-u'd-dīn Bahrām Shāh, in whose reign he was assassinated—See *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, pp. 252, 253.

² *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 188.

³ For his early life see the reign of Sulṭān İltutmish.

⁴ A native of Qipchāq, Malik Tāj-u'd-dīn was purchased by Sulṭān İltutmish from the *Khawājah* Jamāl-u'd-dīn Karimān. He started his career as *Jāmadār* (Keeper of the Royal robe) and, subsequently, as *Shāhnah* (Superintendent of the Stable). During the period under review, he became feudatory of Baran and Saraswatī. In the reign of 'Alā-u'd-dīn Mas'ūd Shāh he became governor of Badā'un and in 1242 A.D., he overthrew the independent Hindu tribes of Kather (old name of Rohilkhand). However, a certain party grew jealous of his position and poisoned him—See *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, pp. 256, 257.

⁵ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 247.

in Central India), and extracted tribute from the *Raes* and *Ranas* of that part of the country. Malik Tāj-u'd-dīn Sanjarī Qutluq received the district of Saraswatī as his fief for the excellent service he rendered during the Gwalior expedition.¹ The author of the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, Qāḍī Minhāj, Sirāj, the *Majd-u'l-Umarā* Ḍiyā-u'd-dīn Junaidī, *Amīr-i-dād* (Chief Justice) of Gwalior and other notable persons, in obedience to her royal commands, came out of the fort on March 19, 1238 A.D., and started for Delhi. Soon after Qāḍī Minhāj Sirāj was given the charge of the Nāṣiriah College at the capital along with the Qāḍīship of Gwalior.²

From this time onwards, Sulṭān Raḍiyah was involved in conspiracies and rebellions, which ultimately ended her life. Malik 'Izz-u'd-dīn³ Kabīr *Khān-i-Ayāz*, governor of Lahore, broke out into rebellion, and Sulṭān Raḍiyah marched against him. But 'Izz-u'd-dīn considered a loyal submission more politic, and at last an accommodation took place. The province of Multān, which was held by Malik 'Alā-u'd-dīn Qarāqash⁴ was assigned to Malik 'Izz-u'd-dīn, in addition to his governorship of Lahore.⁵ Sulṭān Raḍiyah then returned to the capital on March 16, 1240 A.D.⁶

About the same time, Malik Ikhtiyār-u'd-dīn Altūniyah,⁷ governor of Tabarhindah,⁸ grew sick of Yāqūt's⁹ pre-eminence, and raised the standard of revolt. Sulṭān Raḍiyah marched against him with a large army on April 4, 1240 A.D.

¹ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 256.

² *Ibid.*, p. 188.

³ *Firishṭah*, p. 68, wrongly styles him as Ā'iz-u'd-dīn.

⁴ For his early life see the reign of Īltutmish.

⁵ *Firishṭah*, p. 68.

⁶ *Elliot*, vol. II, p. 335, turns 'Shahbān' into 'Ramadhān'.

⁷ Malik Ikhtiyār-u'd-dīn Altūniyah was a slave of Sulṭān Shams-u'd-dīn Īltutmish. He was made *Sharbat Dār* (Superintendent of Liquors) and subsequently *Sar-i-Chatr Dār* (Head of the state-canopy bearers). During the period under review, he became feudatory of Baran and of Tabarhindah afterwards. For the latter history of his life see *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 251.

⁸ *Firishṭah*, p. 68, has Bhatindah. *Badā'ūnī*, p. 84, has Tabarhindah in conformity with the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*. Bhatindah and Tabarhindah are the same.

⁹ *Rauḍat-u'sh-Ṣafā*, vol. IV, p. 889, says that 'Yāqūt was *Amīr-i-Laṣṣkar* (Commander of troops)' which is quite incorrect.

But when she reached ¹ the territory of Tabarhindah, the Turkish *Amirs* revolted, put the Abyssinian Yāqut to death and sent Raḍiyah prisoner to the fort of Tabarhindah. While she was in prison, Malik Altūniah espoused her, and brought her out of captivity. Her marriage to Altūniah must have been forced due to the latter's futile ambitions. Though the chief rebels had been cast aside by his fellow-conspirators, such a marriage could have had no place in Raḍiyah's programme as it was sure to alienate the mass of the Turkish officers. Now both of them led a strong force ² to regain possession of Delhi, and were soon joined by Malik 'Izz-u'd-dīn Muḥammad Sālārī and Malik Qarāqash. In the meantime, Sultān Mu'izz-u'd-dīn Bahrām Shāh was elevated to the throne, Malik Ikhtiyār-u'd-dīn Aitkin had been slain and Bahā-u'd-dīn Sanqar-i-Rūmī succeeded him as *Amīr-i-Hājib*. In the month of September 1240 A.D., Sultān Mu'izz-u'd-dīn Bahrām Shāh, son of Sultān Shams-u'd-dīn Īltutmish, led an army ³ against his opponents and defeated and put to the rout the combined forces of Sultān Raḍiyah and Altūniah on Oct. 12, 1240 A.D. ⁴ The remaining forces deserted the flying queen at Kaithal, (town in Karnāl district of the Punjab). Raḍiyah and Malik Altūniah both fell into the hands of Hindus, who put them to death ⁵ on Oct. 13, 1240 A.D. Thus ended the brilliant career of heroic Raḍiyah after a reign of three years, six months and six

¹ And 'not on the way' as in the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, p. 67 and *Firishtah*, p. 68.

² *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, p. 67, and *Firishtah*, p. 68, seem to know better than the contemporary authority, when they assert that "within a short time, she had collected a large army of Jāts and Gakkhars and was joined by most of the local zamindars and some *Amirs*."

³ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, p. 68, and *Firishtah*, p. 68, say that "the Sultān despatched Malik 'Izz-u'd-dīn Balban or Malik Taqīn-i-Khurd, a son-in-law of Īltutmish at the head of a large army against Sultān Raḍiyah."

⁴ *Firishtah*, pp. 68, 69, makes the parties fight twice—one at Bhatindah, where 'Izz-u'd-dīn Balban was successful and then at Kather. *Badā'ūnī*, p. 85; also repeats the same.

⁵ *Ibn Battūṭah*, Elliot, III, pp. 592, 593, makes Nāṣir-u'd-dīn the successor of Sultān Raḍiyah. "Raḍiyah, on account of fatigue and hunger, begged for food, and a cultivator gave her a bit of bread. She then went to sleep on the

days.¹ Her grave is said to be in New Delhi, which was then a wilderness.²

Sultān Mu'izz-u'd-dīn Bahrām Shāh.

Sultān Mu'izz-u'd-dīn Bahrām Shāh was 'a victorious monarch, fearless, intrepid and blood-thirsty'.³ Still he possessed some rare virtues; he was unassuming, straightforward and of excellent disposition and charming manners. His way of life was simple, and he never had a liking for gorgeous attire, jewels or other insignia of royalty.

When Sultān Raḍiyah was imprisoned in the fort of Tabarhindah, Mu'izz-u'd-dīn Bahrām Shāh was elevated to the throne of Delhi by the *Maliks* and *Amīrs* on April 23, 1240 A.D.⁴ The *Maliks* and *Amīrs* and the military officers pledged their allegiance to his sovereignty within the *Daulat Khānah*⁵ (White Palace) on May 6, 1240 A.D.,⁶ on the stipulation that Malik Ikhtiyār-u'd-dīn Aitkin⁷ was to be appointed *Nāib* (Regent)⁸ of the Sultān.

ground. The cultivator caught sight of her tunic studded with gold and pearls. He, consequently, killed her and walked away with the valuables." It is a story and is often repeated about others as well.

¹ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāsirī*, p. 190.

² *Monuments of Delhi*, vol. III, p. 42.

³ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāsirī*, p. 191, "No gold coins of this Sultān have been found and his silver *tankah* of three varieties are scarce...Bahrām's *jīṭals* are of several types" He is usually styled on the coins as

السلطان اعظم معز الدنيا والدين ابوالمظفر بهرام شاه ابن السلطان ناصر امير المؤمنين

H. N. Wright—*Sultāns of Delhi—their Coins and Metrology*, p. 76.

⁴ *Khulāṣat-u't-Twārikh*, p. 193, gives only the year.

⁵ According to *Ḍiyā Baranī*, p. 177, Jalāl-u'd-dīn Khaljī's enthronement took place in the *Daulat Khānah* (White Palace) even after Balban had constructed the larger Red Palace. The term White Palace must have come into use after the Red Palace had been constructed. *Daulat Khānah* is the older name.

⁶ *Tārikh-i-Mubārak Shāhī*, p. 28 gives "17 Shavval" in place of 11 of the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāsirī*, the only contemporary authority.

⁷ For his early life, see the reign of Sultān Raḍiyah. *Firishtah*, p. 69, calls him 'Alptigin.'

⁸ **نائب** Regent—whose duty was to perform the functions of the Sultān on his own authority.

Malik *Ikhtiyār-u'd-dīn* Aitkin, the Regent, in conjunction with the *Vizier*, *Nizām-u'l-Mulk*, the *Khwājah* Muhaz-zab-u'd-dīn 'Iwād, the *Mustaufī* (auditor), assumed the direction of the affairs of the state, and married a widowed sister of the Sultān, formerly the wife of Qādī 'Ikhtiyār-u'd-dīn,¹ son of Qādī Nāṣir-u'd-dīn.² Further, he assumed a triple *naubat* and stationed an elephant before his gate—a set of special privileges, which the sovereigns alone could enjoy in those days. This aroused suspicion on the part of Sultān Mu'izz-u'd-dīn Bahrām Shāh who commissioned two of his confidential Turkish slaves to pretend madness and to assassinate both the Regent and the *Nizām-u'l-Mulk*.³ On July 29, 1240 A.D., the two Turks, like the notorious *Ismā'ili* Assassins, entered the *Qaṣr-i-Sufaid*⁴ (the White Palace) and began to behave like lunatics. Thereupon, Malik *Ikhtiyār-u'd-dīn* scolded them, and ordered them to behave properly. This gave them their opportunity; they drew their daggers, and slew him then and there. Next turning to the *Nizām-u'l-Mulk* they inflicted two wounds on him, but he managed to escape. To keep up discipline the Sultān sent the two Turks to prison, but released them shortly afterwards. On his recovery, the *Nizām-u'l-Mulk* assumed the charge of his duties as usual.⁵

Malik Badr-u'd-dīn Sanqar⁶ succeeded Malik *Ikhtiyār-*

¹ This name is given by *Firishtah*, p. 69, *Lubb-u't-Tawārikh*, p. 13, and *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbari*, p. 68; while the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri*, p. 192, say 'the son of Qādī Nāṣir-u'd-dīn.'

² *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri*, p. 192.

³ The *Tārikh-i-Mubārak Shāhi*, p. 29, says that 'Altūniyah married Rāḍiyah as late as 638 H. or 1240 A.D.' which is quite improbable.

⁴ It is not قصر سفید نام but قصر سفید نام. The former has been translated by *Elliot*, vol. II, p. 338, "the palace of the white roof."

The ground-floor was used as the Court and for office accommodation and the upper floor or floors (بام) was royal residence. This is proved by the oldest of the existing Palaces—that of Muḥammad Tughlaq.

⁵ *Firishtah*, p. 69. *Badā'ūnī*, p. 86, makes both of them killed at this stage.

⁶ Malik Badr-u'd-dīn Sanqar was a Rūmī by birth, and had, by accident, fallen into slavery. He was purchased by Sultān Shams-u'd-dīn İltutmish, who made him بیهل دار (Ewer bearer) دار بیهل (Bearer

u'd-dīn as *Amīr-i-Hājib* (Lord Chamberlain), and carried on the government without consulting the Sultān and sought to dominate over the *Vizier*, the *Nizām-u'l-Mulk*.¹ In a spirit of retaliation, Muḥazzab-u'd-dīn along with other *Amīrs* and mischief-makers managed to alienate Badr-u'd-dīn from the Sultān. Becoming suspicious of the Sultān, Badr-u'd-dīn conspired to set him aside and to elevate one of his brothers to the throne. Consequently, on August 27, 1241 A.D., he convened a meeting of the chiefs and *Ṣadrs* such as the *Qāḍī-i-Mumālīk* Jalāl-u'd-dīn Kāshānī, *Qāḍī Kabīr-u'd-dīn*, *Shāikh* Muḥammad *Shāmī* and others at the residence of the *Ṣadr-u'l-Mulk* (Chief *Ṣadr* or Judge) Syed Tāj-u'd-dīn 'Alī Musavī,² the *Mushrif-i-Mumālīk* (Secretary of the State). In order to draw the *Nizām-u'l-Mulk* into the conspiracy, the *Ṣadr-u'l-Mulk*³ went to call him to the meeting.⁴ The *Vizier* acted tactfully and concealed a royal servant, who happened to be present on the spot, in a corner, wherefrom he could easily overhear their talk. The *Ṣadr-u'l-Mulk* laid down, before the *Vizier*, the proposed scheme of change in the government of the state, to which the latter replied by saying that he would follow him soon.

of the royal purse), Superintendent of *درادخانه* of Badā'un (an office same as that of *Sar-i-Jāndār*) one after another; until he rose to the position of *Nāib-i-Amīr-i-Akhūr* (Deputy to the Lord of the Imperial Stable). During Sultān Rāḍiyah's reign, the fief of Badā'un was entrusted to him, and subsequently he was made *Amīr-i-Hājib*. For the latter history of his life see as above. *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāsirī*, pp. 254, 255.

¹ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāsirī*, pp. 192, 193.

² *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhi*, p. 29 has صدر الملک بنسیر علی موسی *Firishṭah*, p. 69, has موسی (Mūsī). It is in fact Mūsavī as the *Ṭabaqāt* states.

³ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, p. 68; *Firishṭah*, p. 69 and *Lubb-u't-Twārīkh*, p. 14 give quite a different statement. They say, "But *Ṣadr-u'l-Mulk* immediately sent a messenger to the Sultān to enjoin him of the affair and then taking a confidential officer of the Sultān in disguise he went to *Nizām-u'l-Mulk's* house, and placed the officer in a corner, wherefrom he could hear all that passed."—It is therefore doubtful whether *Firishṭah* ever saw Minhāj Sirāj's work, but seems to copy from the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*.

⁴ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāsirī*, p. 193.

The *Vizier* then sent ¹ the information to the Sultān through the confidential officer with the request that the Sultān should immediately hasten to *Ṣadr-u'l-Mulk's* house, and scatter the conspirators. The Sultān acted promptly and reached the spot to the amazement of the disaffected party. From considerations of expediency, Malik Badr-u'd-dīn ² was sent away as governor of Badā'un, and Qādī Jalāl-u'd-dīn Kāshānī was dismissed from his office. Qādī Kabīr-u'd-dīn and *Shāikh* Muḥammad Shāmī ³ were banished from the capital. After a period of four months, Badr-u'd-dīn returned to Delhi, but was ordered to be imprisoned and beheaded along with Syed Tāj-u'd-dīn Alī Mūsavī. Qādī Shams-u'd-dīn, the Qādī of Mahrarā ⁴ (now a town in Etāh district, U.P.) at the instigation of a dervish named Ayyub, was thrown under the elephant's feet. These acts of barbarity and hard-heartedness increased the fear and terror of the *Vizier* and *Maliks*, who now thought of rising against the Sultān. ⁵

While the affairs of the state were in such a perturbed condition, Uguday despatched an army of 'infidel Mongols' from the direction of *Khurāsān* and *Ghaznīn* under Ṭāyir who laid siege to the city of Lahore. ⁶ The governor of the place, Malik Ikhtiyār-u'd-dīn Qarāqash, who was, by nature, warlike, enterprising and brave, offered resistance; but as he was not supported by the people, he left the city

¹ According to the wrong statement of *Firishṭah*, p. 69, and *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, p. 69, the *Ṣadr-u'l-Mulk* sent the information to the Sultān.

² This Malik was the patron of *Ghiyāth-u'd-dīn* Balban, subsequently *Ulugh Khān-i-A'zam*. Through his patronage and kindness, Balban was raised to the position of *Amīr-i-Akḥūr* (Lord of the Imperial Stable).

³ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, p. 69, turns it into Sājī.

⁴ This is a statement taken from *Firishṭah*, p. 86, and *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, p. 69, while the contemporary account *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* is silent on this point. Qādī Shams-u'd-dīn does not seem to have been involved in the conspiracy and consequently it is rather doubtful whether he was killed at this stage. The case of Qādī's death is related elsewhere by the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 195, when it asserts that the Qādī was thrown under the feet of an elephant at the instigation of a dervish named Ayyub.

⁵ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 194.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 194 and 392.

at midnight and started for Delhi. The Mongol army pursued him, but he escaped in safety to the capital, where he, along with Malik *Ikẖtiyār-u'd-dīn* *Yūzbak-i-Ṭuḡhrul Kẖān*¹ rendered valuable services to the Sultān. Aqsanqar, the *Kutwāl* and Muḥammad, the *Amīr-i-Akẖūr* (Lord of the Stable), however, continued fighting with the Mongols and put most of them to the sword. Unluckily the *Kutwāl* was killed in the battle of Lahore,² and Ṭāyir the Mongol general also expired. When the city was left without a ruler, the Mongols occupied it on December 22, 1241 A.D., sacked the city and captured a large number of the citizens.

No sooner had the Sultān received this dreadful news, than he summoned the people in the *Qaṣr-i-Sufaid* (White Palace), and ordered Qāḍī Minhāj Sirāj to deliver discourses in his support. The Sultān, then, nominated Malik Quṭb-u'd-dīn Husain 'Alī Gẖūrī,³ and the *Vizier Niẓām-u'l-Mulk*⁴ at the head of the royal forces against the Mongols.⁵

The Turkish *Maliks* and *Amīrs* had lost all confidence in the Sultān, and were, consequently, slow in obeying his commands in assembling their followers; and the arch-rebel *Kẖwājah* Muhazzab-u'd-dīn, even after the army reached the river Beas, instead of pushing on towards Lahore, was

¹ A native of Qipchāq and a slave of Sultān İltutmish, Malik *Ikẖtiyār-u'd-dīn* acted, during the investment of Gwalior, as *Nā'ib-i-Chashnigir* (Deputy Controller of the royal kitchen). He became *Amīr-i-Ḥājib* (Lord Chamberlain) and subsequently *Shahnah-i-Pil* (Superintendent of elephants) in the time of Sultān Rukn-u'd-dīn Firūz Shāh. He was elevated to the position of *Amīr-i-Akẖūr* (Lord of the Stable) during Sultān Raḍiyah's reign, and sided with Sultān Mu'izz-u'd-dīn Bahrām Shāh against the rebels. Tabarhindah and Lahore were entrusted to his charge by Sultān 'Alā-u'd-dīn Mas'ūd Shāh. Afterwards, he became governor of Qannauj, Oudh and Lakhnautī one after another. See *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, pp. 261 to 265.

² *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, pp. 385, 394.

³ *Firishṭah*, p. 69, calls him *وكيل السلطنة* Chief Minister or Regent is a later term.

⁴ The *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, p. 90, say that the Sultān despatched *Niẓām-u'l-Mulk* along with other *Amīrs* to repel the Mongols.

⁵ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 195.

occupied in awful intrigues against his master. "These Turks and *Amīrs*, a body of traitors, who are sent with us," represented the *Vizier* in writing to the Sultān,¹ "are not likely to become loyal. The best course for your Majesty is to despatch an edict empowering us to kill them."² The Sultān, without any hesitation, sent the required order, which the unfaithful *Vizier* instantly showed to the *Maliks* and *Amīrs*. This caused a general upheaval in the army; and the *Maliks* and *Amīrs* rose in open revolt against the Sultān. On having received the intelligence of the sedition, Sultān Mu'izz-u'd-dīn Bahrām Shāh, with great difficulty, prevailed on the *Shaiikh-u'l-Islām*, Syed Quṭb-u'd-dīn³ to go and pacify the *Amīrs*, but he sided with the rebels and the latter refused to submit. Malik Ikhtiyār-u'd-dīn Qarāqash, however, succeeded in establishing his power at Lahore.⁴

The army returned to the Capital without accomplishing anything, and commenced fighting against the Sultān on the 22nd February, 1242, A.D., and besieged the capital city until the month of May 1242 A.D. The reason of this protracted hostilities was, that a certain *Mihtar-i-Farrāsh*⁵ (Chief of carpet-spreaders) Fakhr-u'd-dīn Mubārak Shāh Farrukhī by name had acquired ascendancy over the Sultān's mind, got an order for the imprisonment of Maliks Yūzbak and Qarāqash,⁶ and persistently refused to yield to any

¹ *Firishṭah*, pp. 69, 70, describes this event in a different manner—"The body of traitors, your Majesty has sent with us, will be able to achieve nothing. The trouble will not be removed unless you come here in person." The Sultān replied, "These people deserve death and will meet their punishment in due time; meanwhile you keep on good terms with them for a few days." *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, p. 70, has the same.

² *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, pp. 195, 196.

³ *Firishṭah*, p. 70 and *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, p. 70, have *Shaiikh-u'l-Islām Khwājah Quṭb-u'd-dīn Bakhtiyār Ushī*, who is not meant here. *Shaiikh-u'l-Islām* was a popular designation and meant the chief mystic.

⁴ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 395.

⁵ *Firishṭah*, *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī* and *Rauḍat-uṣ-Ṣafā* do not at all refer to this 'Farrāsh'.

⁶ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 261.

accommodation. The *Vizier*, on the other hand, offered 300 *Jitals* to a body of loafers to kill Qāḍī Minhāj Sirāj on May 9, 1242 A.D., but the latter narrowly escaped.¹

On May 10, 1242 A.D., the rebels took possession of the city and captured the Sultān. Mubārak Shāh was taken prisoner, and killed. On the night of May 19, 1242 A.D., the Sultān was also assassinated. His reign lasted for two years and one and a half months.

Sultān 'Alā-u'd-dīn Mas'ūd Shāh.

On Bahrām Shāh's death, Malik 'Izz-u'd-dīn Balban-i-Kishlū Khān,² mounted the throne within the *Daulat Khānah* (Royal Residence), and proclaimed his sovereignty throughout the city.³ But the *Maliks* and *Amīrs* would not consent to his accession. They brought all the three princes, Maliks Nāṣir-u'd-dīn and Jalāl-u'd-dīn, sons of Sultān Shams-u'd-dīn Īltutmish, and Malik 'Alā-u'd-dīn Mas'ūd Shāh, son of Sultān Rukn-u'd-dīn Fīrūz Shāh, out of the *Qaṣr-i-Sufaid* (the White Palace), where they had been imprisoned, elevated the latter to the throne of Delhi on May 10, 1242 A.D.⁴

Sultān 'Alā-u'd-dīn Mas'ūd Shāh was endowed with

¹ *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī*, p. 197.

² For his early life see the reign of Sultān Rukn-u'd-dīn Fīrūz Shāh. He was one of the ringleaders in the outbreak against Sultān Mū'izz-u'd-dīn Bahrām Shāh. He is not Ghīyāth-u'd-dīn Balban, afterwards Ulugh Khān, whom the *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, p. 71. and *Firīḡtah*, p. 70, and *Badā'ūnī*, p. 87, calling as Malik 'Izz-u'd-dīn, the elder Balban, confound with Malik 'Izz-u'd-dīn Balban-i-Kishlū Khān. Balban seems a tribal name or surname. *Kishlū Khān* is a title. Malik Chhajjū was also styled as Kishlū Khān.

³ *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī*, p. 197. Only a solitary gold coin of this sovereign is found. Mas'ūd is styled as "السلطان اعظم علاؤ الدين والدین". The gold coin as well as silver coins bear the name of the Khalīfah Al-Mustanṣir-bi'llah. The name of Al-Must'aṣim is mentioned in later coins. H. N. Wright — *Sultāns of Delhi—their Coins and Metrology*, p. 77.

⁴ *Khulāṣat-u't-Twārikh*, p. 134, has 1246 A.D., *Badā'ūnī*, p. 87, has 1243 A.D. and *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī*, p. 33, has 8th Dhiqadh.

many praiseworthy qualities; he was beneficent, kind-hearted and of excellent disposition.¹ But during the latter part of his reign, all his excellent qualities were perverted, and he entirely gave himself up to sensuality, pleasure² and the chase, on account of which the business of the state fell into disorder.³

The new Sultān took a keen interest in the affairs of government, set them in order and pacified the people. Malik Quṭb-u'd-dīn, son of 'Alī Ghūrī, was appointed *Nā'ib-i-Mulk* (Deputy Regent), the *Nizām-u'l-Mulk* Khwājah Muhazzab-u'd-dīn continued as *Vizir*, and Malik Ikhtiyār-u'd-dīn Qarāqash⁴ became *Amir-i-Hājib* (Lord Chamberlain). The different provinces of the Empire were distributed among the various *Amirs* and *Maliks*. Malik 'Izz-u'd-dīn Balban-i-Kishlū Khān received the provinces of Nāgore, Māndor⁵ and Ajmer, and the territory of Badā'un was entrusted to Malik Tāj-u'd-dīn Sanjar-i-Qutluq.⁶ Now that the *Amirs* were victorious, and the arch-rebel Khwājah Muhazzab-u'd-dīn was still in power, Qāḍī Minhāj Sirāj, the author of the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri*, who belonged to the opposition, was forced to resign from his office of Qāḍīship, which was entrusted to Qāḍī 'Imād-u'd-dīn Muḥammad, the *Shaqūrqānī* on June 5, 1242 A.D.⁷ The political career of Qāḍī Minhāj Sirāj deserves a close study. His principle, like all other Qāḍīs, was to join the winning party. He deserted Qabāchah, for his power was waning. Again he joined the rebels against Sultān Raḍiyah. This time he misunderstood the situation and backed up the

¹ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri*, p. 197.

² There is not a word about 'drinking' in the text on p. 201 as Major Raverty has in his 'translation'.

³ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri*, p. 201.

⁴ *Firishṭah*, p. 70, wrongly calls him Ghīyāth-u'd-dīn the younger Balban.

⁵ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbari*, p. 71 and *Firishṭah*, p. 70, have 'Sind' in place of Māndor.

⁶ *Firishṭah*, p. 70, styles him as Malik "Tāj-u'd-dīn Turk."

⁷ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri*, p. 198.

wrong horse. The result was his dismissal from the post of Qāḍī. He was in the pay of the Turkish aristocracy and, consequently, he does not condemn their rebellions.

The Khwājah Muhazzab-u'd-dīn acquired complete control over the government of the country, and appropriated the district of Koil as his appanage. He had, previously, established the *Naubat* and stationed an elephant at the gate of his mansion.¹ Now that he wished to have the supreme power exclusively in his own hands, he deprived the Turkish *Amīrs* of their official functions. The *Amīrs* could not tolerate it, they conspired against him and put him to death in the plain of *Ḥauḍ-i-Rānī* (Rānī's Reservoir) before the capital city on October 28, 1242 A.D.² The ringleaders in the insurrection were Malik Tāj-u'd-dīn Sanjar-i-Kirat Khān³ and Malik Nuṣrat Khān Sanqar, the Ṣūfī,⁴ the latter became *Amīr* of Koil, and subsequently acquired other fiefs.

After the death of Khwājah Muhazzab-u'd-dīn, the *Sadr-u'l-Mulk* Najm-u'd-dīn Abū Bakr became *Vizier*; Ghiyāth-u'd-dīn Balban was appointed *Amīr-i-Ḥājib* (Lord Chamberlain) and Malik Saif-u'd-dīn Ibak, the Shamsī,⁵

¹ These were the exclusive privileges of the Sultāns in those days; and *Maliks* and *Amīrs* could not enjoy them.

² *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 198.

³ A Turk of Qipchāq, of great strength and intrepidity, had no equal in horsemanship, archery and the chase. He became, after the assassination of Khwājah Muhazzab-u'd-dīn, Superintendent of elephants and *Sar-i-Jāndār*. For his latter history see as above. It is strange to note that he is the only Malik among the twenty-five Maliks of Sultān Shams-u'd-dīn İltutmish, who is not a slave.

⁴ A Rūmī by birth and a slave of Sultān İltutmish. He continued in service in different capacities during the reign of his successors. In the reign of Sultān Nāṣir-u'd-dīn, he proceeded with a force from Dīnā (in Sāngor district, Central Provinces) to face Balban-i-Kishlū Khān, in 1258 A.D. Tabarhindah, Sinām, Jhajhar, and Lakhwāl were conferred upon him and his title became Nuṣrat Khān. See *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 274. There is a place Jhajhar in Bengal, but it is not meant here. Lakhwāl is not traceable.

⁵ For his early life see the reign of Sultān Rāḍiyah.

held the office of *Amir-i-Dād*¹ (Chief Justice of the Realm). Malik Sanjar-i-Kirat *Khān* was first appointed *Shahnah-i-Pil* (Superintendent of Elephants) and then *Sar-i-Jāndār* (the Commander of the Royal Body-guards). The territories of Baran and Oudh were entrusted to him one after another; and he undertook many expeditions into the neighbouring parts of the territory, achieved wonderful exploits and reduced many independent Hindu tribes. From Oudh he proceeded into Bihār and plundered that territory, but the enemy struck him with a fatal arrow and he died.²

After completing wonderful exploits in the territory of Karah, Malik 'Izz-u'd-dīn *Ṭughrul-i-Ṭughān Khān* returned to Lakhnautī and deputed the *Sharf-u'l-Mulk Aṣḥ'arī*³ to convey the news to the Sultān at Delhi. Sultān 'Alā-u'd-dīn Mas'ud *Shāh* was pleased to despatch a red canopy and a robe of honour through Qāḍī Jalāl-u'd-dīn Kāshānī, the Qāḍī⁴ of Oudh, who, on reaching Lakhnautī on September 28, 1243 A.D., bestowed the royal gifts upon Malik *Ṭughrul-i-Ṭughān Khān*.⁵

One of the noblest acts, which the Sultān did about this time was to release his two uncles, Maliks Jalāl-u'd-dīn and Nāṣir-u'd-dīn, who received the territories of Qannauj and Bahraich, respectively, and both of them ruled wisely and well the places assigned to their charge.⁶

In the month of March 1244 A.D., Malik *Ṭughrul-i-Ṭughān Khān* invaded the territory of Jājnagar. On April 17, 1244 A.D., an engagement took place at Biktāsīn (on the north bank of the Mahānadi). The Muslim army succeeded in crossing over the first two ditches, and put the

¹ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 276.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 258, 259.

³ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, p. 71, gives the name correctly but *Firishṭah*, p. 70, turns it into 'Sankurī'.

⁴ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, p. 71, call him "Hākīm" (ruler) instead of Qāḍī'.

⁵ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 199.

⁶ Nāṣir-u'd-dīn was born about 1228 A.D. He was at this stage hardly sixteen and, therefore, not old enough to rule wisely and well.

enemy to the rout. The Mussalmans could not long enjoy their victory, when, at midday meal, they were caught unawares by the enemy, who attacked them and defeated them. Malik Ṭugh̃rul-i-Ṭugh̃hān Kh̃hān, however, managed to escape to Lakhnautī, and sent *Sharf-u'l-Mulk Ash'arī* to the capital for assistance. The Sulṭān ordered Qāḍī Jalāl-u'd-dīn Kāshānī to proceed to Jājnagar.¹ It was, however, left for Malik Ikhtiyār-u'd-dīn Yūzbak-i-Ṭugh̃rul Kh̃hān² to inflict a severe defeat upon the Rae of Jājnagar.³

In a spirit of retaliation, the army of Jājnagar⁴ invaded the territory of Lakhnautī in the year 1245 A.D. The enemy first occupied Lakhnor, and killed its ruler *Fakhr-u'l-Mulk*, Karīm-u'd-dīn Lāghrī and his dependents. But on hearing the arrival of the Muslim army, the Hindu forces began their retreat.⁵ On the 30th March, 1245 A.D., Malik Tamar Kh̃hān-i-Qīrān⁶ arrived at Lakhnautī with a large army, and put the enemy to the rout. But no sooner had the army of Jājnagar withdrawn than Maiiks Tamar Kh̃hān-i-Qīrān and Ṭugh̃rul-i-Ṭugh̃hān Kh̃hān fell to quarrelling. However, on the 5th April, 1245 A.D., an accommodation took place.⁷ Malik Qīrān occupied Lakhnautī, and Malik Ṭugh̃rul-i-Ṭugh̃hān Kh̃hān, along with Malik Qarāqash Kh̃hān, Tāj-u'd-

¹ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 244.

² For his early life see the reign of Mu'izz-u'd-dīn Bahrām Shāh.

³ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 262.

⁴ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, p. 72, and *Firishṭah*, p. 70, also *Badā'unī*, p. 88, assert that the Mongol armies invaded Lakhnautī, apparently advancing from the same route, by which Muḥammad Bakht-yār Khālī had invaded Tibbet and Khīṭā. The MSS. *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, according to Major Raverty, is clear on the point کفار حاجنکر بدر لکھنوتی آمدند. The printed text of the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 199, has کفار چنگیز خان which is quite improbable as Chingiz Kh̃hān died eighteen years before this invasion. Thomas places Jājnagar in Tipperah—*Chronicles of Pathan Kings*, p. 121.

⁵ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 245.

⁶ *Badā'unī*, p. 88, has Qara Beg. The *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, p. 72, turn him into 'Izz-u'd-dīn Ṭugh̃hān Kh̃hān, and make him quarrel under the title of Malik Qīrān.

⁷ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 200.

dīn Sanjar and others returned to Delhi. In the month of Nov. 1245 A.D., the territory of Oudh was assigned to Malik Ṭughrul-i-Ṭughān Khān.¹

Through the patronage of Ghiyāth-u'd-dīn Balban, the *Amīr-i-Akhūr* (Lord of the Stable), Qādī Minhāj Sirāj was again received with favour, and was given the charge of the Nāṣiriya College, the Qāḍiship of Gwalior and the lecturer-ship of the Jāmi' Masjid.

In the month of March, 1246 A.D.,² the Mongol forces under the leadership of Mangūtah, a prince of Turkistān, marched from Ṭāḷqān and Qindūz and laid siege to the fort of Uch. On the death of Uguday, the Mongolian Empire had broken into two groups, the Khāns and the Anti-Khāns. It is the latter group, which is constantly invading India hereafter. The Sultān marched rapidly against them in person, and was joined by Malik Balban-i-Kishlū Khān from Nāgore.³ Malik Saif-u'd-dīn Bat Khān-i-Aibak, the Khitāi,⁴ was appointed to march in advance at the head of a large army to take possession of the territories of Uch and Multān.⁵ But when the Sultān reached the river Beas the Mongols raised the siege of Uch and returned towards Khurāsān.⁶ The Sultān returned triumphant to Delhi and ordered Malik Ghiyāth-u'd-dīn Balban to march to the banks of the river Sudrah *en route* to the capital to display the valour of the

¹ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri*, p. 246.

² Not 1245 A.D., as Dr. Ishwari Prasad (*Medieval India*, p. 190) observes.

³ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri*, p. 269.

⁴ A slave of Sultān Shams-u'd-dīn Īltutmish, in whose reign he acted as *Sar-i-Jamādār* (Head keeper of the Royal Robe). In the reign of Sultān 'Ala-u'd-dīn Mas'ūd Shāh, he became *Sar-i-Jāndār* and Kuhrām and Sāmānān were assigned to him. Afterwards, he obtained the title of Baran. In the next reign, he became *Vakil-i-Dar*, but in the Santūr expedition he suddenly sustained a fall from his horse and was killed—See *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri*, p. 289.

⁵ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri*, p. 259.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 200. Khurāsān was used in a very indefinite sense, i.e., all territories north-west of the Persian desert. Thus, northern Afghānistān and even Māwara-un-Nahr are, at times, reckoned as part of Khurāsān.

Muslim army in order to frighten away the enemy.

About this time, a party of vulgar people gained access to the Sultān and, as a result of their society, Sultān 'Alā-u'd-dīn Mas'ūd Shāh became avaricious and cruel; and killed most of the Turkish *Maliks* and *Amirs*. The *Maliks* and *Amirs* could not tolerate such a regime and, consequently, they despatched a secret letter to Malik Nāṣir-u'd-dīn inviting him to assume sovereignty. On the 10th June, 1246 A.D., Sultān 'Alā-u'd-dīn Mas'ūd Shāh was taken prisoner and killed. He reigned for a period of four years, one month and a day.¹

Estimate.

The vigorous and martial achievements of Quṭb-u'd-dīn and the genius and skilful administration of Īltutmish had brought the Empire to the height of renown. The very nature of government demanded energy and wisdom to ensure its continuance. A power founded upon military predominance requires for its existence competent rulers and an efficient army. But the line of weak and vicious Sultāns, which succeeded to the vast dominion, presented the reverse of the glittering shield. The army deprived of their valiant patrons lost all respect for the new rulers, who preferred the ignoble luxury of the *harem* to the fierce joys of war. When a strong repressive force is withdrawn, the consequence is always anarchy and civil war. The death of Sultān Shams-u'd-dīn Īltutmish was interpreted by the *Maliks* as the signal for a holiday of lawlessness and relief. Relieved from the powerful regimes, the 'Forty' rapidly pushed their way to the front through their capacity for intrigue and war. Delhi remained a scene of a series of tragedies, and it was noticed with sadness that inch by inch the Turks were losing ground. The civil wars reduced the empire to a mere shadow of its former extent. The prestige of the emperor of Delhi vanished for some time to come. And monarchy was new; it was elective. The

¹ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 201. *Badd'ūnī*, p. 89, has "four years and one month only."

'divinity that hedges a king' was still in the process of growth. Though the term 'Delhi Sultānate' is not used; yet the terminology of empire (*Bādshāhat*) is that of a city-state of Rome.

The weakling of the Sultān is a vice, which the *Maliks* and people together abhorred, and they regarded a most powerful sovereign as a solution of their political and administrative problems. And internally, the political and racial unity of the Turks was being gradually undermined by the forces of disintegration.

The effeminate Sultāns, incompetent officers and corrupt administrators marked the gradual dwindling of the Turkish Empire into its narrow limits. The period is innocent of administrative achievement. Neither laws were formulated nor attempts were made at legislation. Sultān Rukn-u'd-dīn Fīrūz Shāh was extravagant, and exhausted the treasury in his pursuit of amusement and revelry. His selfish pleasure-loving disposition ruined the empire. Alone among the successors of Sultān Shams-u'd-dīn İltutmish, Raḍiyah stands as a great monarch endowed with prudence, justice, benevolence, patronage and gallantry. However, her innocent fondness of Yāqūt, a non-Turk, incited the self-seeking conservative *Maliks* to rise against her. It is rightly asserted that "the task which lay before the queen would have taxed even her father's powers."¹ Raḍiyah met their opposition with strength and courage, and checked for a while the disastrous tendencies of the empire. In the hope of restoration, she lost no opportunity of exciting the jealousy and irritability of the rival *Maliks*, and sowed disaffection among their rank. Wrapped in political intrigues, her art still lulled to rest the watchful suspicions of the rebel Altūniah, whom she married at the critical juncture. It was, however, a pitiful cowardice on the part of the *Maliks* to crush the dauntless queen; but nothing could exceed the heroic determination of the defeated Raḍiyah, routed again and again, she rose with fresh heart from the disaster. The

¹ *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III, p. 58.

successors of İltutmish were, one by one, pulled down with bewildering rapidity, and the heroic Raḍiyah gave up her life in a vain attempt to subdue the 'spirit of aristocratic lawlessness.' Her successor Sultān Mu'izz-u'd-dīn Bahrām Shāh was a monarch of simple tastes, fearless, intrepid, but vicious and blood-thirsty. During the latter part of his reign, Sultān 'Alā-u'd-dīn Mas'ūd Shāh turned his excellent qualities into debauchery and dissipation, for which he lost his head.

With the exception of Raḍiyah every other sovereign left the care or neglect of the empire to his *Nā'ib* or Regent. Shāh Turkān, the mother of Sultān Rukn-u'd-dīn Fīrūz Shāh held undisputed sovereignty of the empire. Malik Ikhtiyār-u'd-dīn Aitkin and Malik Quṭb-u'd-dīn, son of Alī Ghūrī, the Regent of Sultān Mu'izz-u'd-dīn Bahrām Shāh and Sultān 'Alā-u'd-dīn Mas'ūd Shāh enjoyed undisputed sway. Unmindful of their great responsibilities, Turkān Shāh with her ruthless and brutal policy of assassination, the ambitious designs of Malik Ikhtiyār-u'd-dīn Aitkin and the humble submission of Quṭb-u'd-dīn 'Alī Ghūrī to the will of *Vizier* Muhazzab-u'd-dīn often changed the government to anarchy; and an approach to a strong and stable administration was out of the question. The throne could not remain safe by kind words and mild measures. None of the Sultāns was equal to the task of preserving his dominion, and his power was almost constantly defiled by rebellious governors and insubordinate officials.

The impotency of the Sultān and mismanagement of the Regent excited formidable rebellions. There was no supreme or sovereign power to suppress the ambitions of the Turkish *Maliks*. The shift and unprincipled *Amirs*, involved in their favourite jealousies, plunged into persistent and perfidious intrigues. In a society so demoralized, there was no element of opposition to a resolute rebel. There was a general revolt of *Maliks* against the mismanagement of Shāh Turkān in the reign of Sultān Rukn-u'd-dīn Fīrūz

Shāh. Raḍiyah with great difficulty subdued the confederacy of the *Nizām-u'l-Mulk* Muḥammad Junaidī. Again Altūniah grew sick of Yāqūt's pre-eminence and raised the standard of revolt. Malik Badr-u'd-dīn Sanqar sought to dominate over the *Vizier* Muhazzab-u'd-dīn in the reign of Sultān Mu'izz-u'd-dīn Bahrām Shāh. Party spirit ran high ; irritation and friction were certain and the state became a prey to the feuds between various *Maliks* and *Amirs*. They wasted their strength in ruinous struggles, and each revolution brought fresh crop of horrors.

There was no class of people upon whom the crown could rely. Non-Turkish officers appointed to support the Sultān were quickly suppressed. Thanks to the military spirit of the Turk, there ensued an era of futile and purposeless intrigues. 'Fighting capacity was considered a great blessing, not a painful process for the attainment of peace.' The extraordinary ascendancy of Muhazzab-u'd-dīn was painful to other *Maliks*, who killed him in the plain of Ḥaḍ-i-Rānī. Yāqūt met the same fate. Malik Ikhtiyār-u'd-dīn Aitkin was murdered by the Sultān's order. Yet the significant fact of the history of the period is that sovereigns were selected only out of the family of İltutmish. Nevertheless, till the time of Akbar, the royal dynasty, in spite of many efforts, did not succeed in obtaining a status, which was unquestioned.

Headed with a strong desire for political change, the disaffected *Maliks* set up and deposed Sultāns at their pleasure. The waging of civil war left small leisure for attending to anything but the attacks of the *Maliks* and *Amirs*. Each time acute differences arose on the question of succession with an intensity hardly conceivable. The throne depended upon the allegiance of an 'aristocracy of rapacious and turbulent *Maliks*.' Incompetent sovereigns played their sorry part, and their luxurious profligacy left a shattered empire and a rebellious people. The revolutions, however, were not serious enough to shake off the stability of Muslim rule or the burden of the Turkish yoke. On the

other hand, the Indian Mussalmān was considered low and contemptible. He and his leaders had no place in the framework of the state. It was not till the Khaljī Revolution that they obtained a share of political power.

CHAPTER VI

SULTĀN NĀṢIR-U'D-DĪN MAḤMŪD SHĀH

Early life and character.

Sultān Nāṣir-u'd-dīn Maḥmūd Shāh¹ was born at the capital Delhi after the death of Malik Nāṣir-u'd-dīn Maḥmūd Shāh I,² the eldest son of Sultān Shams-u'd-dīn İltutmish. Out of affection for the deceased, the Sultān distinguished the young prince by conferring upon him the same title and name. He was sent along with his mother to the royal castle at the town of Lūnī, a few miles north of Delhi.³ He was educated under the fostering care of his mother, and became endowed with many laudable qualities.⁴ He also secured training in the art of government and politics. But in spite of this high training and education, he

¹ His title is *Qasim-i-Amir-u'l-Muminin*, but the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri*, p. 206, and at other places, gives a different title, i.e., *Yamin-i-Khalif-u'llah Nāṣir-i-Amir-u'l-Muminin*. He is, however, styled on the coinage as السلطان الاعظم ناصرالدنيا والدين ابوالمظفر محمد شاه بن سلطان -

H. N. Wright—*Sultāns of Delhi, their Coins and Metrology*, p. 53. Elphinstone makes him grandson of Sultān İltutmish, while *Firishtah*, p. 70, asserts that he was the youngest son of Sultān İltutmish. In fact, the child Quṭb-u'd-dīn, who was put to death by Shāh Turkān, mother of Sultān Rukn-u'd-dīn Fīrūz Shāh was the youngest of all sons.

² Malik Nāṣir-u'd-dīn Maḥmūd Shāh was the eldest son of Sultān Shams-u'd-dīn İltutmish, and was endowed with many praiseworthy qualities. In 1226 A.D., the territory of Oudh was conferred upon him, and from there he attacked Lakhnawtī and conquered it from Sultān Ghiyāth-u'd-dīn in 1227 A.D. A year and a half afterwards he became afflicted with a disease and died in about 1229 A.D.

³ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri*, p. 201. Lūnī is also mentioned by the *Ā'in-i-Akbarī* in the Sirkār of Delhi.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 202.

was a king in name only,¹ and remained under the tutelage of his Regent Ulugh Khān-i-Āzam, who wielded supreme power during the twenty years of Sulṭān Nāṣir-u'd-dīn's reign.

The contemporary historian, Qāḍi Minhāj Sirāj, gives him all the attributes befitting saints, prophets and rulers; according to him, the Sulṭān possessed "humility, purity, gentleness, piety, faith, abstinence, clemency, beneficence, impartiality, forbearance, vigour, manliness, and regard for the ecclesiastics and men of letters."² Minhāj-Sirāj assumes that the Sulṭān was a great ruler and actually describes him as such, though the facts related by him prove otherwise. Even later-day authorities, including Ḍiḡa Baranī, the author of the famous *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhi*, bears testimony to his accomplishments, at the same time deploring his weakness as a ruler. He was 'a gentle, kind-hearted and pious king.' He was very particular about fasting, prayer and the perusal of the Holy Qur'ān and earned most of his living by the transcription of the same.³ The author of the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī* says that he completed two copies of the Qur'ān⁴ in each year, and the proceeds of their sale were his only means of subsistence.⁵ It is said that the Sulṭān had only

¹ *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhi* by Ḍiḡa Baranī, p. 26. "او (بلبن) سلطان"

ناصرالدین را نمونه می داشت - و بادشاهی خود می راند

² *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 207. "حق تعالی از اوصاف اولیاء و اخلاق"

انبیا در ذات معظم بادشاه و بادشاهزاده ودیعت نهاده است -

³ *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhi* by Ḍiḡa Baranī, p. 26. "بادشاه حلیم و کریم"

و معتبد بود - و بیشتر نفقه خود از وجه کتابت مصحف ساختی

ناصر حق شاه فرشته سرشت - خودی خوش نسجه باغ بهشت

Qur'ān-u's-Sa'dain.

⁴ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, p. 77, and the *Lubb-u't-Twārīkh*, p. 16.

⁵ *Ibn Baṭṭūṭah* says that he was shown a copy of the Qur'ān written by Sulṭān Nāṣir-u'd-dīn by Qāḍi Kamāl-u'd-dīn. It is a clear proof that the Sulṭān did copy the Qur'ān and sold them for his subsistence. *Elliot III*, p. 593. Although the *Ṭabaqāt* does not mention it, Minhāj-Sirāj must have omitted or added certain things in order to represent a flattering account of the reign for Nāṣir-u'd-dīn's own perusal. Whatever success

one wife, who, one day, implored him, 'My Lord, it is a pity that my hands get burnt in baking the bread. It will be very kind of you, if you could manage to purchase a slave-girl to do the work.' 'The *Bait-u'l Māl* (the Public Treasury) belongs to the people of God,' replied the Sultān, 'I have no money to purchase a slave-girl. Be patient and God will reward you for your sufferings on the Day of Judgment.'¹

In personal character, the king was admittedly superior to his immediate predecessors, but as a king he did not rise above their level. Like them, he lacked strength to control the Turkish aristocrats, who were the real governors of the country; and this accounts for the failure of all his undertakings and enterprises. His reign may be judged by the perusal of the following pages, which are nothing more than a dull description of the ever-recurring risings of the noble men, insurrections of the *Rais*, and the inroads of the Mongols, and the partial loss of the territories of Sind, Multān and Lāhore.

During his early life, his predecessor and nephew Sultān 'Alā-u'd-dīn Mas'ūd Shāh had released him from the prison,² and assigned him the territory of Bahrāich.³ There he led

attended the reign of Sultān Nāṣir-u'd-dīn was due to the ability of Balban, and Qādī Minhāj attributes that success to the king. He naturally praises the king as he was more or less a courtier and in his service. Diyā Baranī rightly dismisses Nāṣir-u'd-dīn as a nominal king (بلبن اورا همچو نمونه داشت -) and his remark is very significant. According to him, the weakness of the Sultān's empire was due to "his own humility and impotence."

¹ *Badā'ūnī*, p. 90; *Khulāṣat-u't Twārikh*, p. 196, and *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, p. 77. *Firishṭah*, p. 74, says that "Once a man came to see the Sultān and asked him to correct a word of the Qur'ān. The Sultān drew a circle round it but when the visitor went away, he erased the circle with a pen-knife. A bold slave asked the reason. The Sultān replied, 'It is easier to erase a circle on paper than to remove the effects of a disappointed heart.'"

² Vide the previous Chapter on the 'Successors of Sultān Shams-u'd-dīn Īltutmish,' particularly the reign of Sultān 'Alā-u'd-dīn Mas'ūd Shāh.

³ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 208.

many successful expeditions and the fame of his government and the flourishing condition of the province led the *Maliks* and *Amirs*, who were disgusted with the rule of Sultān 'Alā-u'd-dīn Mas'ūd *Shāh*, to despatch a written petition to him to assume sovereignty at Delhi. In fact, he was selected because he was weak and that he would remain in the hands of the intriguers, who could place him on the throne. His mother, Malikah-i-Jahān, a very tactful and clever woman, placed the young prince in a litter and represented to the people that her son was going to the capital for treatment.¹ The party reached the capital secretly and confidentially, and on the 10th June, 1246 A.D., he ascended the throne within the *Qaṣr-i-Sabz*² (the green castle). The *Maliks*, *Amirs*, *Ṣadrs*, '*Ulemā* and grandees all acknowledged his supremacy and paid homage to the new sovereign. On the 12th June, 1246 A.D., the Sultān held a public assembly in the *Daulat Khānah* or the audience hall of *Kushk-i-Firūzī*³ (the Firūzī castle), and all the people publicly pledged their

¹ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 209.

² *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī*, p. 35, has '*Qaṣr-i-Sufaid*' or the white castle. *Qaṣr-i-Sabz* or *Kushk-i-Sabz* (the Green Palace) was probably built soon after the *Kushk-i-Firūzī* (the Firūzī castle). *Qaṣr-i-Sabz* is for the first time mentioned here in the reign of Sultān Nāṣir-u'd-dīn. Later, the ambassadors of Hūlāgū were also received at this place. *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 319. *Firishṭah* incorrectly places these occurrences in the *Qaṣr-i-Sufaid*. About half a century later, Prince Rukn-u'd-dīn Ibrāhīm, the youngest son of Sultān Jalāl-u'd-dīn *Khaljī*, was raised to the throne in the *Kushk-i-Sabz* after his father's assassination by 'Alā-u'd-dīn *Khaljī*. It, however, continued as a public place for the reception of *Amirs* and messengers, and when Zafar *Khān* visited *Khān-i-Jahān* in the reign of Sultān Firūz *Shāh* Tughlaq, he was entertained in this very palace.

³ *Kushk-i-Firūzī* was evidently built by Sultān *Shams-u'd-dīn* *İltutmish* and is described as *Daulat Khānah*, or the Royal Residence. As stated before, Sultān *Khātūn*, Sultān *Rāḍiyah's* mother, resided in the *Firūzī Castle*, and 'Alā-u'd-dīn Mas'ūd *Shāh* was brought here from the *Qaṣr-i-Sufaid* (the white castle) and enthroned. Sultān-Nāṣir-u'd-dīn, as stated above, held his first court in this castle. Its situation, however, is not known. Mr. Baglar's excavation at the back of the *Quṭbī Mosque* yielded a large quantity of green enamelled tiles, and these ruins may be identified with those of the *Kushk-i-Firūzī*.

allegiance to him.¹

The Mongol Invasion.

Soon after his accession, the Sultān received the intimation of a Mongol invasion on the frontier tract of Hindustan. There is no reference to the invasion in the Persian history of the Mongols. The *Ṭabaqāt* says, 'the Mongols came from Turkistan.' On the death of Uguday, the Mongol Empire was being divided up. The Jaghatay and Uguday lines, who ruled in Māwara-u'n-Nahr and Turkistan are ignored by the Persian historians, as they were the enemies of the Khān or Khāqān. These invasions were due to them. In the month of December 1246 A.D., the Sultān accompanied by Ulugh Khān, marched with his army towards the bank of the river Indus and Multān² to repel the Mongol forces.³ No encounter, however, took place with the Mongols, who, after having extorted large sums of money from Multān and Lāhore and captured some hundred captives, retreated. On the 10th March, 1247 A.D., the Sultān crossed the river Rāwī, and ordered Ulugh Khān to lead an expedition to the Jūd hills and around 'Nandānah' to wreak vengeance on the Rana of these hills, who had acted as a guide to the Mongol army.⁴ The Sultān himself halted at the bank of the river Sodrā and Ulugh Khān, after ravaging the Jūd hills, the Jhelum and the Indus and subduing the Khokhars,⁵ along with other tribes joined the Royal

¹ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 208.

² The printed text of the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 209, and *Firishṭah*, p. 71, have 'Multān,' while Major Raverty converts it into 'Banyān.' Multān is right, if the Mongols came by the Bolan Pass, which is not stated in the text.

³ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 209.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 290, see Ulugh Khān's account. The Jūd hills were, therefore, situated between Jhelum and Indus rivers. The Jūd hills are the Salt Range in the Punjab. Nandānah was "situated at the junction of the two spurs of the Salt Range." *Imperial Gazetteer*, Vol. I, XVIII, p. 349, and *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, pp. 334-9.

⁵ And still *Firishṭah*, pp. 59 and 60, in his account of Sultān-Shihab-u'd-dīn of Ghūr says that the tribe of Khokhars were converted to Islam

camp on the 3rd April, 1247 A.D. The Royal troops then set out towards Delhi. During this expedition, a number of old *Amirs*, who had held *jāgirs*¹ in the provinces of Lāhore and Multān since the days of Sulṭān Quṭb-u'd-dīn, failed to perform their duty and did not join the Sulṭān's army. The Sulṭān, acting on Ulugh Khān's advice, dismissed them all and transferred their *jāgirs* to their sons and younger relations. This step made the political and revenue arrangements of the Punjāb more regular, and in a measure strengthened the power of the Sulṭān as well.²

In the month of October 1247 A.D., the Royal army at that early stage. It is probable that a part of the tribe would have been converted to Islam, as even now the Khokhars are divided between the two religions. The Khokhars consider them to be a Rājput tribe. Most of them in Central Districts of the Punjāb have so returned themselves; many of them in the western and frontier districts have been returned as Jārs; while in the Rāwalpindī and Multān divisions they are exactly known as the Khokhars. In the eastern Punjāb, the Khokhars appear to be admittedly of Rājput origin, but in the west, they claim to have descended from Maḥmūd, the eldest son of Quṭb Shāh of Ghaznīn. The Khokhars, are however, very widely spread and have been at one time or another very powerful. They are most numerous along the valleys of Jhelum and Chināb, and specially in Jhang and Shahpūr districts. *Report on the Census of the Punjāb*, pp. 257 and 258.

¹The word *jāgir* does not signify any official designation but the transfer of landlord rights. Persian 'Jā'-place; and 'Gīr' occupying. *Jāgir* was a common tenure under the Muslim rule. It meant that the public revenues of a given tract of land were made over to a servant of the state, together with some requisite powers enabling him to collect and appropriate such revenue and administer the general government of the district. The assignment was either conditional or unconditional; in the former case some public service such as maintenance of troops or other specified duty was engaged for, the latter was entirely left to the disposal of the grantee. The assignment was either for a specified period or more usually for the lifetime of the holder, lapsing on his death to the state. It was sometimes converted into a perpetual and transferable estate. A *jāgir* was also liable to forfeiture on failure of performance of the stipulated conditions or incurring the displeasure of the Emperor. Sometimes a *jāgir* was held by military chiefs on condition of service—See Wilson's *Glossary of Indian Terms*, p. 224.

²See Firūzshāh, p. 71. These facts are not verified by the contemporary historian, Minhāj Sirāj.

reached Pānīpat,¹ but disturbances in the East forced him to return to Delhi and to march towards the Doāb. There was a strong fort of Talsandah² within the limits of the district of Qannauj, which had become a place of refuge for the Hindus. For two days³ the conflict went on, until the rebels were captured and put to death. On the 21st February, 1248, the fort was captured. The Royal army then marched towards Karrah, which they reached on the 10th March, 1248 A.D. Some time before⁴ Ulugh Khān was sent on an expedition into the neighbouring mountain-tracts, the Ranas of which places Dalkī and Malkī⁵ were strong

¹ *Badā'ūnī*, p. 90, says that 'Miwāt' was occupied, but Miwāt is not there.

² *Firishṭah*, p. 71, has 'Baztah'; while *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhi*, p. 35, has 'Balsindah.' The printed text of the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 210, has 'Talindah' or Nandanah, which is in the Punjāb. There is Tilsurah about 12 miles S.S.W. of Qannauj and Thuttea and Tirsuā about 8 and 10 miles south-west, respectively. The first mentioned name may, however, be identified with Talsandah. According to Major Raverty, all the copies have Talsandah excepting two, where it is Talandah and Talbandah.

³ Major Raverty incorrectly translates two into "ten" misreading 'دو' for 'دس'.

⁴ The printed text of the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 211, has 'three days before this,' while some copies, according to Major Raverty, have "thirty days."

⁵ The text of *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, on p. 211, has دلی ملکی *Firishṭah*, p. 71, also has the same. But all other copies of the text, according to Major Raverty, have و between the words. Minhāj Sirāj in his account of Ulugh Khān does not mention و but writes دلی ملکی only. *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhi*, p. 35, has رائج دلی ملکی and *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, p. 74, has مواضع دلی و ملکی. Supposing there is no و it would be read Dalkī of Malkī—Rae Dalki of the land or country Malki, or Mahalkī (*Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III, p. 67). During the first half of the twelfth century the Bhars had risen in southern Oudh on the fall of Qannauj and their chiefs Dalkī and Malkī or Dal and Bal were crushed in 1247 by Ulugh Khān. It is clear, therefore, that Malkī or Mahalkī is not the name of any place but of the Rana—*Imperial Gazetteer*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 150, 151. Cunningham identifies it with Trailokyavaman and reads the name as Tilakī Wama Deo—*Archaeological Survey Report*, Vol. I, p. 457. *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 211.

monarchs and possessed a vast and well equipped army and strong fortresses. It seems that the status of the Ranas is needlessly magnified by the contemporary historian in order to make a noise about the conquest. Ulugh Khān devastated their territory and captured the Rais. The extent of booty obtained by the victors may be judged by the fact that about one thousand and fifteen hundred horses of one description fell into the hands of Ulugh Khān. After this exploit, Ulugh Khān joined the Royal camp at Karrah, and on the 12th March, 1248 A.D.,¹ the Sultān started for Delhi. On the way, Malik Jalāl-u'd-dīn Mas'ūd Shāh, the governor of Qannauj, presented himself before the Sultān and performed the ceremony of kissing the sublime hand.²

The Sultān reached Delhi on May 19, 1248 A.D. At the beginning of the year Malik Jalāl-u'd-dīn Mas'ūd Shāh was appointed the governor of Sambhal and Badā'ūn, but out of the fear of Ulugh Khān, he proceeded towards Lāhore by way³ of Sirmūr Hills.⁴ The prince, like Sultān Nāṣir-u'd-dīn, was the son of the late Sultān Shams-u'd-dīn Īltutmish and a possible candidate for the throne of Delhi. An ambitious and self-seeking man like Ulugh Khān could not have done anything but remove the obstacles in his way by appointing the prince the governor of Sambhal and Badā'ūn. Malik Jalāl-u'd-dīn Mas'ūd Shāh, on his part, had no other alternative but to fly for life towards Lāhore and join the Mongols. The Sultān delayed the pursuit and remained at the capital

¹ It cannot be 9th March or 11 Dhīqadh, for on the previous page it is 10th March, when the Sultān reached Karrah.

² *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 212.

³ *Firishṭah*, p. 72, says that Malik Jalāl-u'd-dīn fled to Chitor. But it is said that he joined the Mongols.

⁴ The printed text of the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 212, has "بگضرت" "پیوست" 'returned to the capital.' But Major Raverty says that the best copies contain one line more—as translated above. There was no cause of alarm about the districts of Sambhal and Badā'ūn as Elliot translates. In fact, the *Malik* fled from his assigned province out of the fear of the growing power of Balban and proceeded towards Lāhore. This is the reason why the royal army followed him.

for about seven months. It was too late to follow the rebel-prince in the month of November 1248 A.D., when the royal troops moved out of the capital and proceeded to the banks of the river Beas. The Sultān found himself quite unable to accomplish anything and returned to the capital after nominating his *Amirs* to lead expeditions into the different parts of the territory. The Sultān reached the capital on the 23rd February, 1249. Nevertheless, the royal army continued its march to the mountain tracts of Ranthambhor.¹ During the seige of the fort and the Sultān's stay at the capital, two important events happened. On the 24th March, 1249, Qāḍī Jamāl-u'd-dīn Shafūrqānī was dismissed from his office and on the 27th March, 1249, was killed by² 'Imād-u'd-dīn Raiḥān. On 26th March, 1249 A.D., Malik Bahā-u'd-dīn Aibak was slain by the enemy near the fort of Ranthambhor,³ the Rajah of which place was Bāhada-deva.⁴ This shows that the Cahamanas, being aided by the weak rule of the successors of Īltutmish, had again consolidated their power at Ranthambhor.

On the 18th May, 1249 A.D., Ulugh Khān-i-Ā'zam returned triumphant to the capital and on the 2nd August, 1249, his daughter⁵ was married to the Sultān with the concurrence of the *Maliks* and *Amirs* of the realm. On the 20th September, 1249, A.D., Qāḍī Jalāl-u'd-dīn Kāshānī returned to the capital from Oudh and was appointed Qāḍī of the State.⁶ The Sultān now had leisure enough to make fresh appointments.

¹ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 212.

² The *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, p. 74, has "Qāḍī 'Imād-u'd-dīn Shafūrkhānī."

³ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 213.

⁴ باهر دیو *Ibid*, p. 292. Ray (*Dynastic History of Northern India*, Vol. II, p. 1096) identifies him with Bāhada-deva.

⁵ Qāḍī Minhāj-Sirāj says that his daughter became the Malikah-i-Jahān (Queen of the Universe). He simply means that the daughter of Ulugh Khān was married to the Sultān. The *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, p. 74, clearly mentions as follows:

‘سلطان دختر الغ خان را در حباله نکاح در آورد’

⁶ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 213.

Nā'ib-u'l-Mulk Ulugh Khān-i-A'zam.

On October 12, 1249 A.D., Sulṭān Nāṣir-u'd-dīn Maḥmūd appointed Malik Ghiyāth-u'd-dīn Balban,¹ a slave of Sulṭān Shams-u'd-dīn Īltutmish as the Nā'ib² which meant that Nāṣir-u'd-dīn was even formally deprived of power. The title of Ulugh Khān-i-Ā'zam was also conferred upon him and was given a canopy and baton.³ "I have appointed you my Regent," Nāṣir-u'd-dīn is said to have said to Ghiyāth-u'd-dīn Balban, when investing him with this high office, "I am entrusting the direction of government to your charge; take care not to do anything for which you may have to feel ashamed before God, the Almighty."⁴ Ulugh Khān performed his duties so tactfully that he acquired the supreme power in the state, and none else had the courage to meddle with him. His cousin Sher Khān was created Khān-i-Mu'azzam, and was appointed the governor of the Punjāb and Multān to keep a watch over the activities of the Mongol armies, encamped at Ghaznīn, Kabūl, Qandhār, Balkh and Herāt.⁵ On the 15th October, 1249 A.D., his brother Malik Saif-u'd-dīn Ibak-i-Kishlū Khān⁶ became Amir-i-Hājib (Lord

¹ *Badā'ūnī*, p. 89, and *Firishtah*, p. 71, incorrectly call him the younger Balban بلبن خوردد; *Lubb-u'l-Tawārikh*, p. 16, has بلبن بزرگ the elder Balban; *Rauḍat-u's-Ṣafā*, Vol. IV, p. 890, has "Ulugh, Khān-i-Tigīn". Not in the beginning of the reign as *Firishtah* asserts but at this stage, i.e., in 647 H. (See *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 293), Balban was entitled Ulugh Khān.]

² *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 294. Nā'ib-i-Mulk or Malik Nā'ib is not 'Deputy' as some writers think but Regent. The Nā'ib-i-Mulk had royal insignia—canopy and baton—and could give orders for the king. The position of the Nā'ib corresponded with that of the Vizier with unlimited powers under the 'Abbasids. The grand Vizier under the 'Abbasids practically exercised the powers and prerogatives of the sovereign...He could make any arrangement he considered necessary, without preliminary sanction—See "Orient under the Caliphs" by S. Khudā Bakhsh, pp. 221, 222.

³ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, p. 73.

⁴ *Badā'ūnī*, p. 89, and *Firishtah*, p. 71.

⁵ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, p. 73, and *Firishtah*, p. 71.

⁶ Malik Saif-u'd-dīn Ibak-i-Kishlū Khan belonged to the Khāns of Ilbarī, who had to decamp before the onslaught of the Mongol forces on

Chamberlain) and Malik Tāj-u'd-dīn Sanjar-i-Tez-Khān was appointed *Nā'ib-Amīr-i-Ḥājib* (Deputy to the Lord Chamberlain). Malik Ikhtiyār-u'd-dīn Aitkin, the long-haired, became *Amīr-i-Akhūr* (Lord of the Imperial Stables) in place of Malik Saif-u'd-dīn Aibak-i-Kishlū Khān, and the *Malik-u'l-Ḥujjāb* (Head of the Chamberlains) 'Alā-u'd-dīn Ayāz, the Juzjānī¹ was created *Nā'ib-i-Wakīl-i-dar* (Deputy Representative of the Royal Court).²

On the 30th November, 1249 A.D., the royal forces marched out of the capital, and on 10th January, 1250 A.D., crossed the river Jumna with a view to lead expeditions against the rebellious Hindu chiefs of these tracts. The result of these expeditions is not mentioned by the contemporary historian who simply asserts that the Sultān returned to the capital on the 30th March, 1250 A.D.³ On receiving letters from the sister of Qādī Minhāj Sirāj, the famous author of the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, the Sultān was pleased to confer upon her an honorary robe, forty captives as slaves and hundred mules loaded with royal gifts, which the Qādī was ordered to convey to his sister in Khurāsān.⁴ On the 4th April, 1250 A.D., the Qādī proceeded to Multān enroute to Khurāsān. On the 15th May, 1250 A.D. he interviewed Malik Sher Khān on the bank of the river Beas, and on the 8th June, 1250 A.D., arrived at Multān. On the same day, Malik 'Izz-u'd-dīn Balban-i-Kishlū Khān⁵ came from Uch to

their invasion of the territory of Turkistān and Qipchāq and, therefore, Kishlū Khān fell into the hands of the victors. Fortunately for him, a merchant purchased him and was ultimately sold to Sultān İltutmish. He became Deputy *Sar-i-Jāndār* (commander of the royal body-guard) in the reign of Sultān Rāḍiyah and *Sar-i-Jāndār* during the reign of Sultān Mu'izz-u'd-dīn Bahrām Shāh. He became *Amīr-i-Akhūr* (Lord of the Royal Stable) in the reign of Sultān 'Alā-u'd-dīn Mas'ūd Shāh; later he became *Amīr-i-Ḥājib* (Lord Chamberlain). *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, pp. 278, 279.

¹ The son of Qādī Minhāj Sirāj Juzjānī, the author of the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*. ² *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 293.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 213.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 214.

⁵ Elliot, Vol. II, p. 350, calls him "Lashkar Khān," which is quite wrong. For his early life see the reign of Sultān Rukn-u'd-dīn Firūz Shāh

recapture Multān from Malik Saif-u'd-dīn Ḥasan Qurluḡh, who had previously captured the place and the Qāḍī sought an interview with him also. The Malik failed to conquer Multān and had to retire towards Uch.¹ In the month of January 1251 A.D., Malik Ikhtiyār-u'd-dīn Gurez² captured a large number of the 'infidel Mongols,' and sent them to Delhi. The last event of the Hijrī year was the death of Qāḍī Jalāl-u'd-dīn Kāshānī on the 10th February, 1251, A.D.

Malik 'Izz-u'd-dīn Balban-i-Kishlū Khān was ambitious and afraid of the power of Ulugh Khān. He rebelled again and again, but was too strong to be punished. In the year 1251 A.D., he rebelled in the territory of Nāgore, but on the approach of the royal forces he made his submission and the same territory was again entrusted to his charge. The Sultān then returned to the capital. Soon after, Malik Sher Khān³ marched from Multān to invade Uch. Thereupon, Malik 'Izz-u'd-dīn Balban-i-Kishlū Khān pressed on from Nāgore towards Uch, but was taken prisoner and detained.⁴ He, however, purchased his safety by surrendering the fort of Uch to Sher Khān, and himself retired towards the capital, where he reached on the 10th July, 1251 A.D. The Sultān was gracious enough to pardon him and assigned him the territory of Badā'un. Qāḍī Minhāj Sirāj did not go

¹ *Firishtah*, p. 72, described the above details in the following manner— "The Sultān marched towards Multān. Sher Khān, the governor of Multān and Lāhore, joined him with twenty thousand men on the bank of the Beas. After staying a few days at Multān, the Sultān permitted Malik 'Izz-u'd-dīn, the elder Balban, governor of Nāgore and Uch, to go back to his territory, while the Sultān himself returned to Delhi"—an unauthorized version.

² Perhaps بکروز or بُکدُز Būkdūz, a sub-tribe of Oghuz—*Tārīkh-i-Fakhr-u'd-dīn Mubārak Shāh*, p. XV.

³ *Firishtah*, p. 72, adds to the account by saying that Sher Khān took Ghaznīn from the Mongols, read the *Khuṭbah* and coined money in the name of Sultān Nāṣir-u'd-dīn.

⁴ The text on p. 215 'دبشیر خان پیوست و ماخوذ شد' has been incorrectly rendered by Elliot, Vol. II, p. 351, into "but he was captured in his encounter with Sher Khān and quickly surrendered the fort." The fact is that no encounter took place as the contemporary authority states.

beyond Multān and returned to the capital. On the 1st August, 1251 A.D., he was appointed the chief Qādī of the State.

On the 13th November, 1251 A.D., the Sultān led an expedition against the territories of Gwālior, Chandirī, Narwar¹ (the historic fort of Gwālior State) and Mālwah. He advanced as far as Mālwah, and defeated the most powerful Rana of the place, Chahada Diva² by name, who had under his command a well-equipped army of five thousand cavalry and two hundred thousand infantry. Ulugh Khān alone displayed great gallantry and heroism in the expedition and conquered the fort of Balwar and Narwar.³

On the 3rd June, 1251 A.D., the Sultān reached the capital, and remained there for a period of seven months. On the 26th December, 1252 A.D., he marched⁴ towards Uch and Multān⁵ with the intention of subduing Sher Khān, who

¹ The text of the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāsirī*, p. 215, has ناروال. There is no doubt that it is Narwar. The *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, p. 74, has نارور and *Firishṭah*, p. 72, has نارو; *Badā'ūnī*, p. 91, has also نارور. Narwal is a Tehsil in Cawnpore district, U.P., while Narwar is a historic town and fort in Gwālior State. Jalāl Khwājah was appointed governor of this part of the country by Hīṣām-u'd-dīn, the Commander of royal force under Sultān Maḥmūd, who subdued Bundelkhand. *Epigraphica Indica*, Vol. XII, pp. 44-47.

² The printed text of the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāsirī*, p. 296, has چاهر, the Rae of Ajāri, *Firishṭah*, p. 72, has Jāhir Div and *Badā'ūnī*, p. 91, and the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, p. 74, also have the same. In fact Chahada Diva, the Rajah of Chanderī and Narwar (*Archaeological Survey Report*, Vol. II, pp. 314-16, also *Epigraphica Indica*, Vol. XII, pp. 221-24.) was the most powerful Hindū chieftain in Mālwah. See also Ray—*Dynastic History of Northern India*, Vol. II, p. 834, foot note 1.

³ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāsirī*, p. 297, *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhi*, p. 36, has چاهر دیو which is quite correct. Balwar is not traceable.

⁴ "In the vicinity of Kathel, the Sultān bestowed upon Qādī Minhāj Sirāj a special robe of honour and a horse at the time of bidding farewell," See *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāsirī*, p. 216.

⁵ Elliot, Vol. II, p. 352—proceeded towards Lahore and Ghaznīn on the way to Uch and Multān—which is absurd. Where Lahore and where Ghaznīn and where Multān? Perhaps the word غزیمت has been turned into Ghaznīn.

had captured the fort of Uch and had driven away its ruler Malik 'Izz-u'd-dīn Balban-i-Kishlū Khān towards the capital. In all probability, Sher Khān rebelled to support Ulugh Khān, whose differences with the Sultān must have been growing for some time. As a matter of fact, the growing power of Ulugh Khān was a source of danger both to the Sultān and his *Maliks* and *Amirs*. Malik Qutluq Khān and 'Izz-u'd-dīn Balban-i-Kishlū Khān were no friends of Ulugh Khān, whose power as *Malik Nā'ib* might have been deeply resented by the Turkish aristocracy. All the *Khāns*, *Maliks* and *Amirs* joined the royal army in the expedition and Kutluq Khān from Biyānah¹ and Malik 'Izz-u'd-dīn Balban-i-Kishlū Khān from Badā'un accompanied the Sultān with their forces upto the river Beas. At this juncture, 'Imād-u'd-dīn Raihān² grew jealous of Ulugh Khān's supremacy and wanted to pull him down. He along with other *Amirs* sowed 'the seed of discord' between Ulugh Khān and the Sultān, which yielded the desired effect.³ The Sultān finding himself helpless, tried to reassert his power, but he was too weak to accomplish anything. He could not rely on the Turkish aristocracy, and like his predecessors vainly sought to create a non-Turkish group. He, however, found in Raihān a fit person to lead the opposition.

Wakil-i-dar 'Imād-u'd-dīn Raihān.

On the 3rd March, 1253 A.D., the Sultān issued an order to Ulugh Khān to retire to his fiefs of Siwālik and Hānsī, and the latter obeyed the royal command and reached Hānsī by way of Rohtak.⁴ The Sultān then returned to the capital, and directed his attention towards the reorganiza-

¹ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, p. 75, has سهسان and *Firishtah*, p. 72, has سهوان which is not meant here.

² *Firishtah*, p. 72, incorrectly calls him عمادالدين ريحاني.

³ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāsirī*, p. 216.

⁴ The printed text of the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāsirī*, p. 217, has رهتک; while the different copies, according to Major Raverty, have:

میسره - ابٹک - بسہینوہ - نیزد - لیتر - ہرہ -

tion of the affairs of the state. 'Imād-u'd-dīn Raiḥān made use of this opportunity to remove all the officials connected with Ulugh Khān, and prevailed on the Sultān to make drastic changes in the machinery of the state. In July 1253, A.D., the '*Ain-u'l-Mulk*¹ *Nizām-u'l-Mulk* Junaidī became *Vizier*, and 'Imād-u'd-dīn Raiḥān was appointed *Wakil-i-dar* (Superintendent of the Court and Palace).² Ulugh Mubārak-i-Barbak, brother of Ulugh Khān, was deprived of his office of *Amīr-i-Hājib* (Lord Chamberlain) and was ordered to proceed to the territory of Karrah.³ On the 22nd September, 1253 A.D., Qādī Shams-u'd-dīn of Bahrāich succeeded Qādī Minhāj Sirāj as the Chief Qādī of the State.⁴

Not yet satisfied with the change of government he had brought about, 'Imād-u'd-dīn Raiḥān induced the Sultān to march against Ulugh Khān, and to deprive him of his fiefs. On becoming aware of the Sultān's intention, Ulugh Khān left Hānsī, retired towards Nāgore and 'led his troops towards the territories of Ranthambhor, Bundī and Chitor.'⁵ During this expedition, he was, however, successful in overthrowing the Rae of Ranthambhor, Bahada Diva⁶ by name. The Sultān, being frustrated in his designs, conferred the territory of Hānsī together with the office of *Amīr-i-Hājib*

¹ Meaning the 'eye of the state'—may be taken as a title.

² A *wakil* is a person, who is authorized to act in place of another—a substitute—therefore, a representative in Durbar. *Wakil-i-dar* variously designated as *Rasūl-i-dar* or *Hājib-u'l Irsāl* was appointed to perform the secretarial functions of the Court 'اعظم اشغال درگاه' Baranī—*Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhi*, p. 576. In addition to his secretarial work, he was also incharge of the keys of the Palace and superintended the closing of the gates (Diyā Baranī—*Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhi*, p. 405). *Wakil-i-dar* was a confidential assistant or *Hājib* of the Wālī (Governor) under the Minor Dynasties of Persia—Levy—*Sociology of Islam*, Vol. II, p. 224.

³ *Firishṭah*, p. 72, adds 'and Manakpūr,' which is quite possible.

⁴ *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 217.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 299—see Early life of Balban. It is not Chitror but Chitor, former capital of Mewār. Its old name was Chitrakut.

⁶ Ray—*Dynastic History of Northern India*, Vol. II, p. 1096.

(Lord Chamberlain) upon Prince Rukn-u'd-dīn Firūz Shāh¹ and the 'post of *Nā'ib-i-Amīr-i-Hājib* (Deputy to Lord Chamberlain) upon Malik 'Izz-u'd-dīn Balban-i-Kishlū Khān² and himself returned to the capital in the month of October.

Early in December 1253 A.D., the Sultān again set out from Delhi to subdue Uch, Multān and Tabarhindah. On reaching the river Beas, he despatched a force towards Tabarhindah. Previous to this, Malik Sher Khān³ had withdrawn from an engagement with the Mongols and retired towards Turkistān.⁴ On the 16th February, 1254 A.D., the territories of Uch, Multān and Tabarhindah were wrested out of the hands of Sher Khān's dependents, and placed under the charge of Arsalān Khān Sanjar-i-Chast.⁵ The

¹ One of the Sultān's offsprings as given by the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri*, p. 206. He was not a son from the daughter of Ulugh Khān; for as yet she had borne him no offspring. See *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri*, p. 227.

² *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri*, p. 299.

³ Malik Sher Khān was the cousin of Ulugh Khān. In the reign of Sultān 'Alā-u'd-dīn Mas'ūd Shāh, the fortress of Tabarhindah and the whole of its dependencies were entrusted to his charge. He fought several battles with Malik 'Izz-u'd-dīn Balban-i-Kishlū Khān. He made a common cause with Malik Jalāl-u'd-dīn Mas'ūd Shāh, son of Sultān Īltutmish, but the latter retired disappointed. At the time of the history under review, he returned from Turkistān, but failed to capture Tabarhindah and presented himself at the court. Tabarhindah was, however, entrusted to his charge, but was again ordered to proceed to the capital. Later the different territories of Koil, Bayānah, Bālārām in Oudh, Jalesar (now a town in Etāh district, U.P.), Gwālior and others were placed under his charge one after another—See *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri*, pp. 276—278.

⁴ The best Paris Mss. and a few modern copies, according to Major Raverty, have *کنار سندھ* evidently a mistake for *کنار سندھ*.

⁵ A slave of Sultān Shams-u'd-dīn Īltutmish, in whose reign he became Jāmā-Dār, (keeper of the Royal Robe). In the reign of Sultān Raḍiyah he became *Chāshni-gir* (controller of the Royal kitchen) and, after some time, obtained the fief of Bālārām in Oudh. In the reign of Sultān Nāṣir-u'd-dīn Bahrām Shāh, Biyānah and Tabarhindah were made over to his charge one after another. For further details see above. *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri*, pp. 265—268.

Sultān then retired from the banks of the river Beas.

In February 1254 A.D., the Sultān crossed the river Jumna, gained many victories and obtained immense booty in the vicinity of the mountain tracts of Bardār and Bijnore.¹ On March 9, 1254 A.D., the royal army crossed the river Ganges in front of Miyāpūr, and continued its march as far as the banks of the river Rāhab (modern Rām Gangā). During these expeditions, Malik *Raḍi-u'l-Mulk* 'Izz-u'd-dīn Durmaṣhī² was killed³ at Tilka Bānī⁴ on the 6th April, 1254 A.D. Next day, the Sultan inflicted an exemplary punishment upon the 'infidels of Kather,'⁵ and then departed towards Badā'ūn. On the 26th April, the Sultān was pleased to appoint for the second time the *Ṣadr-u'l-Mulk* Najm-u'd-dīn Abū Bakr the *Vizier* of the State, and on May 10, 1254 A.D. Qāḍī, Minhāj-u'd-dīn was honoured with the title of *Ṣadr-i-Jahān*.⁶

The Sultān reached the capital on May 16, 1254 A.D., and remained there for a period of five months. Learning that a number of *Maliks* and *Amīrs* along with Malik Jalāl-u'd-dīn Mas'ūd Shāh, the Sultān's brother, had formed a confederacy and had broken out into rebellion; he marched towards Sunām and Tabarhindah in the month of October.⁷ The Turkish aristocracy had already been disgusted with the ascendancy of Ulugh Khān; they could much less bear

¹ *Badā'ūnī*, p. 91, has جوالا پور Bardār is not traceable, but may be Hardwār.

² A native of Durmaṣh. The *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, p. 75, and *Firishtah*, p. 72, wrongly write as درمستی (in intoxication).

³ The *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, p. 75, and *Firishtah*, p. 72, say that he was "killed by the Zamindārs of Kaithal and Kuhrām."

⁴ The printed text of the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāsirī*, p. 218, has تنکده بانی. The *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, p. 75, has هلكه مانی. The place is rather uncertain. Major Raverty's conclusion is that it is Tigree-Barchnee in the territory of Kather.

⁵ The *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, p. 75, adds 'and Kuhrām,' which is not meant here at all.

⁶ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāsirī*, p. 218.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 219.

the burden of a non-Turkish yoke. Raiḥān¹ was an Indian Mussalman, and belonged to a Hindu family previously converted to Islam. The fact that all the *Maliks* and *Amirs* were Turks and Raiḥān was an Indian gave rise to jealousy. Now the *Amirs* of different districts appealed to Ulugh Khān to destroy the tyranny of 'Imād-u'd-dīn Raiḥān and to undertake the management of affairs as before.² There were two *coup d'états* working. Ulugh Khān had fallen from power, but a pretender was available for his party in the person of Malik Mas'ūd Shāh, who was put forward by him. He, therefore, acceded to the applicants' wishes, and along with Malik Tāj-u'd-dīn Arsalān Khān Sanjar-i-Chast of Tabarhindah, Malik Saif-u'd-dīn Bat Khān-i-Aibak, the Kḥiṭāi and Malik Jalāl-u'd-dīn Mas'ūd Shāh assembled his forces in the vicinity of Tabarhindah. Hence the second *coup d'état*, which accounted for Ulugh Khān's return to power. The Sulṭān advanced from Sunām to Hānsī, and the rebel *Maliks* retired to Kuhrām and Kaithal.³ The Royal army pursued them there. A number of *Amirs* now interposed between the opposite parties; Ḥusām-u'd-dīn Qutluq Shāh represented the Sulṭān's side, the *Sipāh-sālār* (Commander of the *Sarkhīls* : a *Sarkhīl*—Commander of 10 horsemen or footmen) Qarah-Jamāq was on the other side, while Malik Quṭb-u'd-dīn son of 'Alī the Ghūrī became a mediator between the two. However, an accommodation took place on the explicit condition that Malik 'Imād-u'd-dīn Raiḥān was to be dismissed from his office.⁴ Consequently, on December 5, 1254 A.D., 'Imād-u'd-dīn was removed from his office of *Wakil-i-dar* (Representative in Court),

¹ *Firishtah* styles him Raiḥānī. Raiḥān is a popular name among the Mussalmāns of Egypt, but Raiḥānī, according to Major Raverty, means a Seller of Flowers, and perhaps Raiḥānī's father followed such an occupation.

² *Firishtah*, p. 72.

³ The *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, p. 76, has confused Kaithal for Kather. *Bada'ūnī*, p. 92, has Kather. See *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 219, Kather is the modern form of Rohilkhand, which is not meant here.

⁴ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 301.

and he hatched a conspiracy to kill *Maliks* Bat *Khān-i-Aibak* and 'Izz-u'd-dīn Balban-i-Yūzbakī, who had reached the royal camp for reconciliation, but failed to accomplish¹ anything. Shortly after, 'Imād-u'd-dīn Raiḥān was ordered to proceed to Badā'un, which was entrusted to his charge. Malik Jalāl-u'd-dīn Mas'ūd *Shāh* was made governor of Lāhore,² and *Sher Khān* obtained the territories of the Bhattī Rajputs of Dipālpūr, Multān, Bhatnair (a town and fort, now known as Hanumāngarh) and Bhatindah.³ Henceforth the Sultān is absolutely powerless, and *Ulugh Khān's* clique finally triumphs.

Change of Government and Ulugh Khān's Regency.

In the year 1255, A.D., the Malikah-i-Jahān married Qutlugh *Khān*, which alienated the sympathies of the Sultān from his mother. On the 16th February, 1255 A.D., the Sultān ordered them to proceed to Oudh,⁴ which was

¹ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 302.

² *Ibid.*, p. 219.

³ *Firishṭah*, p. 72, brings Malik *Sher Khān* upon the scene here, but he seems to have nothing to do with this matter.

⁴ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 303, *Badā'unī*, p. 76, says 'to Bahraich', which is not possible. In the high ground of the Bālā Qilā at Koil stood formerly the great *minār* (so called) of Ghīyāth-u'd-dīn Balban. It was pulled down by the orders of Mr. G. Edmonstone, Lt: Governor in 1862. (*The Monumental Antiquities and Inscriptions in the N. W. Provinces and Oudh* by Dr. A. Fuhrer, p. 2). The inscription is now preserved in the Nizām-Museum, Muslim University, Aligarh, and runs as follows:

هذا العمارة في عهد مملكة السلطان الاعظم مالك رقاب الامم
ناصرالدنيا والدين سلطان الاسلاطين ولى الامان لاهل الايمان
وارث ملك سليمان صاحب الخاتم في ملك العالم ابي المظفر محمود
بن السلطان خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه الملك العالم الكبير المعظم
فتلخخان بها الحق والدين ملك ملوك الشرق والصين بلبن
الشمسى في ايام ايلة بامر مذلة العاشر من رجب سنة اثنى
خمس مائة وسبع مائة -

It is clear from the inscription that it belongs to Bahā-u'd-dīn Qutlugh and not to Balban. Vide our article on the so-called "Balban Inscription of Koil" published in the *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, Lāhore, 1940.

assigned to them as their fief. Qutlugh Khān still proved hostile to the Sultān and several times disobeyed the royal mandates.¹ The significance of the marriage is difficult to ascertain, but this much seems certain that Qutlugh was setting himself up as a rival of Ulugh Khān. And the same seems to be the object of his repeated rebellions. When the king is weak, the Regent is strong. A change in the government saw a corresponding alteration of its personnel. Ulugh Khān returned to power with his own party of favourites.

On May 2nd, 1255 A.D., Qādī Minhāj-Sirāj was again elevated to the post of the chief Qādī of the state. On May 31 Malik Quṭb-ud-dīn Ḥusain² was arrested and killed for high treason against the Sultān. On July 14, the province of Mīrath was assigned to Ulugh Khān's brother Malik Kishlā Khān Ulugh 'Āzam-Bārbak-i-Sultānī,³ and on August 18, the office of *Shaiḫ-u'l-Islām* was conferred upon Jamāl-u'd-dīn the Bustāmī. In the same month, Malik Tāj-u'd-dīn Sanjar,⁴ who was detained and imprisoned by Malik Qutlugh Khān, managed to escape from Oudh and ousted 'Imād-u'd-dīn Raiḥān from Bahrāich, but soon died there. The Sultān issued an order to Malik Qutlugh Khān to leave the province of Oudh and to proceed to the territory of Bahrāich, but the latter did not obey the order. The Sultān was very much displeased with his action and despatched a force under the command of Maliks Baktamūr Ruknī and Tāj-u'd-dīn Sanjar-i-Tez Khān to expel him from Oudh.⁵ The rival forces met within the limits of

¹ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri*, p. 304.

² Perhaps Quṭb-ud-dīn Ḥusain acted as *Nā'ib* or Regent of the Sultān, when Ulugh Khān was sent to Nāgore.

³ Malik Kishlā Khān was Ulugh Khān's brother and his titles were continued to his son - "شاه علاء الدین الخ قتلغ معظم بار بک"

⁴ *Firishṭah*, p. 73, turns him into Tāj-u'd-dīn the Turk. The *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri*, p. 304, styles him as Sanjar-i-Māsh-i-Peshānī (of the moon-like brow.)

⁵ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri*, p. 221.

Sihramū¹ (or Serā-Mow, a place west of the Goghrā river) in the vicinity of Badā'un. Malik Baktamūr Ruknī was killed in the battle that ensued, and Tāj-u'd-dīn Sanjar-i-Tez Khān,² perforce 'retired to the capital and the province of Oudh was assigned to him !'³

On Dec. 1, 1255 A. D., the Sultān marched with his army from the capital, and pitched his tents at Tilpat.⁴ As the contingent-forces from his own fief delayed in approaching the royal army, Ulugh Khān set out from Hānsī on Dec. 18 to superintend the military organizations of Siwālik, Sursutī, Jind, Barwālah⁵ and Mewāt (an undefined territory to the south of Delhi) territories. After completing his preparations, he reached the capital along with his forces and on January 19 joined the royal camp.⁶ In February 1256 A.D. the royal forces reached the frontier of Oudh. On receiving intelligence of the Sultān's arrival, Malik Qutlugh Khān retired towards Kālāir.⁷ Ulugh Khān

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 260. Sihramū or Serā Mow of the Indian Atlas in Lat. 28° 19', Long. 80° 24'.

² Malik Tāj-u'd-dīn Sanjar-i-Tez Khān was a slave of Sultān Shams-u'd-dīn Īltutmish. In the reign of Sultān Mu'izz-u'd-dīn Bahram Shāh, he became *Amīr-i-Akhūr* (Lord of the Royal Stable). In the reign of Sultān Nāṣir-u'd-dīn Maḥmūd Shāh, he was made *Nā'ib Amīr-i-Hajib*, (Deputy to Lord Chamberlain). He became feudatory of Jhanjhanat, Kasmandī, Mandiānah and Baram one after another. For later history see as above—see *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 250.

³ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 260.

⁴ About 13 miles SSE of the modern city of Delhi. It is a place of great antiquity, and is included in the southern Parganah of Delhi.

⁵ The Barwālah of the Indian Atlas in Lat. 75° 59', Long. 28° 22'. The *Ā'in-i-Akbarī*, while enumerating the different Sarkārs, mentions in the Sarkār of Hissār Firūzah. The same is meant here ; for Jind is near to Hissār.

⁶ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 305.

⁷ *Ibid.* According to Major Raverty the most trustworthy copies of the text have كالير. The printed text of the *Ṭabaqāt* has Kālīnjar, which is too far. It cannot be Gwalior for the same reason. There is, however, a place Kaliyar (کلیار), a few miles north-east of Rurkee, and is the remains of an ancient city. It is probable, though not certain, that the place referred to here is Kaliyar.

was ordered to pursue the rebel Malik, but failed to capture him and rejoined the royal camp on May 1, 1256 A.D., when the Sultān reached the capital.¹

In the year 1256 A.D., Malik Tāj-u'd-dīn Sanjar-i-Tez Khān was appointed *Wakil-i-dar* (Superintendent of the Court and Palace) and the territory of Badā'un was placed under his charge. Malik Qutlugh Khān made encroachment² upon the territories of Karah and Mānakpūr but was defeated by Arsalān Khān Sanjar-i-Chast, and being frustrated in his designs, fled in the direction of Santūr³ to 'take refuge⁴ with Rāna Rāmpāl.'⁵ On January 9, 1257 A.D., the Sultān marched towards Santūr (or Santūrgarh) to quell the sedition. The Hindū forces of the mountain accompanied by Malik Qutlugh Khān and several other *Amīrs*⁶ failed to withstand the onslaught of the royal army and fled in despair. Ulugh Khān completely devastated that hill tract and pushed on through passes and defiles to Sirmūr, and put a large number of the rebels to the sword.⁷

On March 24, 1257 A.D., Malik Saif-u'd-dīn Bat Khān-i-Aibak, the Khīṭāi⁸ died of a fall from his horse, and on May 13,⁹ the Sultān reached the capital. About this time,

¹ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 221.

² The text on p. 221 is "تعلق کردن گرفت". While Major Raverty translates it as "began to appropriate," it must be translated as 'made encroachments upon.'

³ Or Santūrgarh below Mussoorī.

⁴ The word *مماس* meaning fellowship or rest or neighbourhood is turned into the 'high lands' in *Elliot*, Vol. II, p. 355. The *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, p. 76, has *مماس سنڌور* which means the neighbouring tracts of Santūr. It is in fact Sirmūr.

⁵ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 306, has *رانه رام پال* but *Firishṭah*, p. 73, has *راحمه حيتور دپال*.

⁶ The text on p. 222 has *از امرای اسلاام جمعی که خائف بودند* while *Elliot*, Vol. II, p. 356, translates as "a party of nobles in the royal army."

⁷ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 222.

⁸ For his early career see the reign of 'Alā-u'd-dīn Mas'ūd Shāh.

⁹ May 12, in the account of Ulugh Khān.

Malik 'Izz-u'd-Dīn Balban-i-Kishlū Khān advanced as far as the banks of the river Beas with the armies of Uch and Multān and Malik Qutluḡ Khān joined the new rebel in the vicinity of Maṣūrpūr (below Tarāin) and Sāmānah¹ Maliks Qutluḡ and 'Izz-u'd-dīn Balban-i-Kishlū Khān both were desperately ambitious, and the latter had even proclaimed himself king. They were arch-rebels against Ulugh Khān's power, but could not join Raiḥān, for he was a non-Turk. The two adventurers obviously represented the extreme aristocratic parties, and their success meant the paralysis of the already weak central power. They were, however, supported by a Hindū Rāja, who like his other contemporaries was ready to help the rebels.

On May 31, the Sultān appointed Ulugh Khān at the head² of the royal army to advance against the rebels. But when the two armies came face to face, a seditious party of the *Shaiḡh-u'l-Islām* Jamāl-u'd-dīn Buṣṭāmī, Syed Quṭb-u'd-dīn and Qādī Shams-u'd-dīn of Bahrāich sent secret letters from the capital to Malik Qutluḡ Khān and Balban-i-Kishlū Khān urging them to come and to capture the city;³ they further assured them that on their arrival, they would throw open the gates and incite the people to pledge their allegiance to the movement. Certain loyalists informed Ulugh Khān of the conspiracy,⁴ and the latter imparted the news to the Sultān requesting him to issue a mandate to the partisans of Qutluḡ Khān to betake themselves to their respective fiefs. Accordingly, on June 17, the mandate was issued to the *Shaiḡh-u'l-Islām* Quṭb-u'd-dīn and Qādī Shams-u'd-dīn of Bahrāich to proceed to their assigned territories.

¹ The text on p. 222 has منصوره سامانه. Sāmānah is in Patiāla. Maṣūrah is in Sind and is, therefore, unlikely. It is Maṣūrpūr below Tarāin.

² *Firishṭah*, p. 73.

³ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nasiri*, p. 223.

⁴ According to the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbari*, p. 76, Ulugh Khān also 'went to Delhi from Sāmānah,' which is not supported by the contemporary account.

Being ignorant of this misfortune, Malik Qutlugh Khān and Balban-i-Kishlū Khān pushed on towards Delhi, and on June 21, 1257 A.D., they alighted at Bāgh-i-Jūd¹ (the gardens on the bank of the river Jumnā). Early the next morning, they made a circuit of the walls, and at night pitched their camp in the vicinity of Delhi between the Bāgh-i-Jūd, Kilukhri and the city.² But they soon discovered to their disappointment that the disaffected party had been exiled from the city, and consequently the fulfilment of their promises was out of the question. Besides, the gates of the city were closed by the royal orders and as the army was absent from Delhi, the Sultān commanded the Amīr-u'l-Hujjāb, (Head of the Chamberlains)³ 'Alā-u'd-Dīn Ayāz Juzjānī, the Na'ib Amīr-i-Hājib, the Ulugh Kutwāl Bek⁴ (the superintendent of police) Jamāl-u'd-dīn Nishāpurī and the Diwān-i-'Arḍ-i-Mumālīk (the Ministry of War) to organize the remaining forces and to defend the capital. On June 22, 1257 A.D., the rebel Malik and the Sultān's mother Malikah-i-Jahān all made up their mind to retreat and they dispersed in various directions. The greater part of their forces, however, remained encamped near the city, tendered their submission to the Sultān and ultimately joined the royal service.⁵

In the meantime, Ulugh Khān with his forces pressed on towards the capital, but on reaching the city on June 25,

¹ Bāgh-i-Jūd has been translated by Elliot, Vol. II, p. 357, as the 'gardens on the Jumnā' and 'gardens (outside the city).' The former is correct.

² *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 224.

³ Major Raverty is wrong in thinking that 'Alā-u'd-dīn Ayāz had succeeded Malik Saif-u'd-dīn Aibak-i-Kishlī Khān, for, in the first place, the two offices of Amīr-i-Hājib and Amīr-u'l-Hujjāb or Malik-u'l-Hujjāb are quite different; the first being all powerful, the other quite subordinate. In the second place, Ayāz was not newly created Amīr-u'l-Hujjāb but he was appointed as such along with Malik Saif-u'd-dīn Aibak-i-Kishlī Khān, who was appointed Amīr-i-Hājib—See *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 293.

⁴ بك (Bek) = Beg = Bay. The Turks do not seem to pronounce the ك. Also in those days ك and ب were written in the same way. Bek is safer.

⁵ *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 224.

1257 A.D. found the rising quelled.¹ On September 19, 1257 A.D., *Ḍiyā-u'l-Mulk* Tāj-u'd-dīn was appointed *Vizier* of the Kingdom, and the title of *Nizām-u'l-Mulk* was bestowed upon him.

The Mongol Invasion of 1258 and after.

At the end of the year, an army of Mongols marched from *Khurāsān* and reached the territory of *Uch* and *Multān*.² Malik 'Izz-u'd-dīn Balban-i-Kishlū *Khān* entered into a compact with their leader the *Noyon Salīn*,³ and accepted the Mongol intendant in his territory. The Mongol forces, however, continued their march and dismantled the defences of the citadel of *Multān*.⁴

On January 13, 1258 A.D.,⁵ the Sultān marched with his army to repel the Mongol forces, and appointed the *Maliks* and *Amirs* to the command of the army stationed at different parts of the territory. But Malik Tāj-u'd-dīn Arsalān *Khān*-i-Sanjār in *Oudh* and Qutlugh *Khān* Mas'ūd Jānī⁶ from *Lakhnawtī* rebelled and delayed in joining

¹ *Firishtah*, p. 73, adds, "Through the recommendation of Ulugh *Khān*, *Kishlū Khān* was again entrusted with the charge of *Sind*, and Qutlugh *Khān* is heard no more."

² *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 225.

³ The *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, p. 77, describes the invasion in a few words—"At the end of the year an army of Mongols invaded the territories of *Uch* and *Multān*. The Sultān marched to repel them; but both the parties retired without fighting." *Firishtah*, p. 73, confuses the name of the leader with the name of a place and says the Mongol forces came to *Sārī*. لشکر مغل بساری و نواحی اوچه و ملتان آمد۔ *Salīn* would be the name *زویان*—chief or *Malik*: it was equal to marshal in the modern sense.

⁴ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 310.

⁵ On January 16, 1258 A.D., the caliph *Musta'ṣim-bi'llah* obtained a temporary success over the Mongol forces. *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 225, and *Badd'ūnī*, p. 93, place the event of Sultān's march a year earlier, i.e., 1257 A.D.

⁶ In some of the best copies of the text, according to Major Raverty, he is styled as *Shāh*. In the text of the *Nāṣirī Maliks* he is called *Jalāl-u'd-dīn Kulich Khān*, son of the late Malik 'Alāu'd-dīn Jānī, who is certainly styled *Shāh-zādah* of *Turkistān*. At other places, however, he is called Malik Qutlugh Mas'ūd, son of Jānī, and also *Kulich Mas'ūd*, son of Jānī.

the royal camp.¹ Thereupon, Ulugh Khān marched against them, but they made their submission and were pardoned, and the territories of Lakhnawtī and Karah were entrusted to the charge of Qutlugh Khān Mas'ūd Jānī and Arsalān Khān-i-Sanjar, respectively.² On September 1, 1258 A.D., the centre contingents of the royal army returned to the capital, where they remained for a period of four months.³

On January 10, 1259 A.D., the Sultān made another attempt to march against the Mongols. On February 17, the territories of Biyānah, Koil, Bālārām, and Gwalior were placed under the charge of Malik Sher Khān-i-Sunqar,⁴ and the *Malik-u'n-Nawāb* Aibak was ordered to proceed against the fort of Ranthambhor and the Sultān returned safely to the capital without accomplishing anything.

On May 29, 1259 A.D., Malik 'Izz-u'd-dīn Balban-i-Yūzbakī despatched two elephants and some treasure to the capital, and, in consequence, the territory of Lakhnawtī was bestowed upon him.⁵ It is very unlikely that the Sultān's power was so strong as to permit a rapid change of governors in his own discretion. Malik Yūzbakī must have ousted Qutlugh Khān Mas'ūd Jānī from Lakhnawtī, and the Sultān merely sanctioned revolution in that country. During the next few months, a series of deaths occurred. On May 31, the *Shaiḫ*-u'l-Islām Jamāl-u'd-dīn Buṣṭāmī died, and on June 18, Qādī Kabir-u'd-dīn

¹ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 311.

² *Ibid.*, p. 312.

³ *Furish'ah*, p. 73, gives the following account— 'The Punjāb was entrusted to Sher Khān, and Biyānah, Koil, Jalesar (perhaps being interchangeable with Bālārām near Koil) and Gwalior to Malik Kishlū Khān.' The Sultān did not possess Punjāb, for the Mongols had over-run it.

⁴ For his early life see the reign of Sultān 'Alā-u'd-dīn Mas'ūd Shah.

⁵ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 313. On one of the coins of their reign "the word *یوزبک* is decipherable" after the Sultān's name, which shows the Yūzbak, the governor of Bengal, when mediating independence, struck his name in addition to that of the Sultān. H. N. Wright—*Sultāns of Delhi, Their Coins and Metrology*, p. 78.

also breathed his last; their offices were transferred to their sons. In the month of July, Malik Saif-u'd-dīn Aibak-i-Khishlū Khān expired, and the office of *Amir-i-Hajib* (Lord Chamberlain) was assigned to his son Malik 'Alā-u'd-dīn Muḥammad. On August 22, the Imām Ḥamīd-u'd-dīn of Marigālah¹ (in the Punjāb) departed, and the royal grants devolved upon his sons.² On September 19, however, a son was born to the Sultān from the daughter of Ulugh Khān, but did not survive.

In obedience to the royal commands, Malik Tāj-u'd-dīn Sanjar-i-Tez Khān reached the capital with an organized force in the middle of October, 1259 A.D.³ On January 29, 1260 A.D., Ulugh Khān marched with a large army of 10,000 horse to put down the rebel inhabitants of Mewāt, who, under their leader Malkā, robbed and plundered the property of Mussalmans and devastated the district of Hariānah (in the eastern half of Ḥiṣṣār district, Punjāb) and the territories of the Siwālik and Biyānah.⁴ On account of the ever-growing apprehension from the side of the Mongols, who went on harassing the frontier tracts of Hindustān, some delay was caused in the chastisement of the rebels. In the meantime, the emissaries of Hūlāgu proceeded from Khurāsān to Hindustān, but they were not allowed to march any further, and were detained at Barūtah⁵ so that a proper reception might be made. Ulugh Khān suddenly resolved upon an advance into the mountain-tracts of Mewāt,⁶ plundered and devastated the

¹ Of Margālah in the Punjāb.

² *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāsirī*, p. 226.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 227.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 313.

⁵ Styled as *بروتاه* about 4 miles to the south-east of Jagdishpur on the way to Sunīpat from Delhi.

⁶ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāsirī*, p. 314. The Mewātīs occupy the hilly country of Alwar, Gurgāon and Bharatpur, known as Mewāt. They are now all Mussalmans. In Alwar alone they are divided into 52 clans. During the Muslim period, they were very powerful and notorious for their turbulence. They claim a descent from the Rājputs, though many of them

whole territory and put a large number of the inhabitants to the sword.¹ As a result of this expedition, immense booty fell into the hands of the victors; 250 persons were taken prisoners, about 142 horses were captured and sixty *bardahs* (bags) of 35,000 *tankahs* each (all amounting to about 21 lakhs of rupees) were extorted from the Rānās and Raes of that territory.² Having accomplished this wonderful exploit, Ulugh Khān returned triumphant on February 18, 1260 A.D., the Sultān held a public assembly at the Jūd-gardens, and the captives were put on gibbets over the gateways of the city.³ In short, an example of punishment was set up at the plain of Haud-i-Rānī⁴ (Rānī's Reservoir).

On March 24, 1260 A.D., the retinue of the Sultān moved to the *Kushk-i-Firūzī* (the Firūzī Castle) and Ulugh Khān-i-Āzam ordered *Shāhib-i-Diwān-i-'Arḍ-i-Mumālīk* (Minister of War) to station a well-equipped army of 200,000 footmen and 50,000 horse from the 'new city of Kilūkhīrī to the Royal Palace in order to display the strength of the kingdom to the Mongol ambassadors, who had arrived at the capital.⁵ On both sides of the road, twenty lines of spectators and officials stood in their order of status and rank; and the sounds of drums and trumpets, the roaring of elephants, the neighing of horses and the flashing of arms created an

sprang from the same stock as the Mīnās. As agriculturists they are inferior to their Hindū neighbours. Their women do not observe *purdah* (veil) and are very industrious—(*Report on the Census of the Punjab*, p. 261). The Hindū Meos or Mīnās claim to be Rājapūts, while the Muslim Meos call themselves Mewātīs.

¹ *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 227.

² *Ibid.*, p. 315. The text runs "36 *bardahs* of 35,000 *tankahs*," which means a very small sum. The probability is that each bag contained 35,000 *tankahs*. The total amount then would rise to about 21 lakhs—not a very large sum to be extorted from several Raes.

³ *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 316.

⁴ Haud-i-Rānī was situated in the suburb of Qil'ah Rae Pithorā, below and outside the Jahān-panāh (a fortified city near the old fort) of Muḥammad Shāh Tughlaq. A postern gate leading to the Old Fort was named Haud-i-Rānī Gate.

⁵ *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 317.

inspiring scene.¹ The Mongol emissaries were then conducted to the Royal Palace, which was decorated with an infinite variety of carpets, cushions and articles of silver and gold. The Royal throne and round about it two canopies—one red, and the other black—were adorned with priceless jewels, and the *Maliks*, *Amīrs*, officials and eminent personages all stood with folded hands before the throne.²

The arrival of these emissaries requires some explanation.³ Malik Ḥasan, the Qurlukh, the ruler of southern Sind,⁴ contemplated a matrimonial alliance with Ulugh Khān by giving his daughter in marriage to the latter's son, and consequently he sent a *Khājī*, styled the *Hājib-Ajāl* (most worthy Chamberlain), Jamāl-u'd-dīn 'Alī to the presence of Ulugh Khān.⁵ But when he reached Uch, Malik 'Izz-u'd-dīn Balban-i-Kishlu Khān detained him and did not allow to proceed any further. Thereupon, the tactful Hājib 'Alī declared before the Mongol Commissioner that he was an ambassador from Delhi, and was going on a mission to the Mongol Court. He was then released, and approached his patron, who dictated letters on behalf of Ulugh Khān and despatched him towards 'Irāq and Ādharbāijān.⁶ Hūlāgu received him with great honour and conveyed his orders through the Commissioner of Bamiyān, the son of Amīr Yaghrash,⁷ to the Mongol forces under the command of Sārī, the Noyon, saying, "If the hoof of your horse enters the dominion of Sultān Nāṣir-u'd-dīn, all the four legs of the horse shall be cut off."⁸ These were the emissaries sent by Hūlāgu to the court of Delhi.

¹ *Firishṭah*, p. 73.

² *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 318.

³ *The Cambridge History of India* and Dr. Ishwari Prasad's *Medieval India* do not explain the arrival of the emissaries.

⁴ Sind in those days consisted of two parts: (1) the territory of Thattā, Brāhmanābād and Maṇṣūrah—southern Sind, (2) Multān and Uch—northern Sind, which is now part of the Punjab. In old books Sind includes Multān and Uch.

⁵ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 320.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 321.

⁷ The intendant seems to be a 'Mussalman.'

⁸ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 322.

On July 6, 1260 A.D. Ulugh Khān, for the second time, started against the rebel inhabitants of the mountain-tracts of Mewāt, who again rose in revolt, infested roads and 'shed the blood of the Mussalmāns.' Ulugh Khān succeeded in capturing their strong-hold and in massacring 12,000 persons, and then returned to the capital.¹

Sulṭān Nāṣir-u'd-dīn fell ill in the year 1264 A.D. and died on February 18, 1266.² All the contemporary and later³ authorities suddenly stop at the year 1260 A.D. and since then upto his death in 1266—a period of six years—no event is narrated. The author of the *Tabqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, who died in the next reign mentions not a word after the year 1260, and his significant silence leads the later historians to suspect that either the Sulṭān was poisoned by Ulugh Khān or the inroads of the Mongols were so furious that the writer of the famous chronicle had no victory to relate. But the facts were otherwise. Minhāj Sirāj had come to India about 1222 A.D. He was an old man by 1260—too old, probably, to continue his history, and Ḍiyā Baranī was too young. Later writers, therefore, had no means of filling up the gap. Even if the Sulṭān was poisoned, Minhāj would have overlooked the fact. On the other hand, the Mongol invasions, if any, did not result in conquests and no after-effects are to be seen.

Estimate

Book-worms seldom make good rulers, they care more for manuscripts than for campaigns. The invincible clemency

¹ *Tabqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 323.

² *Firishṭah*, p. 74. Most writers agree with *Firishṭah*. The *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī*, p. 39, *Zubdat-u't-Twārikh* and *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, p. 77, make the reign one year less, i.e., 19 years and some months which is incorrect.

³ The *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, p. 77, relates no event after the year 657 H., i.e., 1259 A.D. *Badā'ūnī* goes as far as Qāḍī Minhāj Sirāj does. *Firishṭah*, p. 74, manages to spin out his tale to the same date. Even Ḍiyā Baranī, who says he began his history from the period Qāḍī Minhāj Sirāj left, gives no account of these six years.

and humility of the Sultān forms no ideal of kingship for an eastern world. They resented his simplicity of life ; what they wanted was a gallant sovereign, equitable in his judgments and unsurpassable in his pomp. Sultān Nāṣir-u'd-dīn Maḥmūd Shāh, on the other hand, was the mildest king that history knows of. He reigned for a pretty long period, but could not rise above the level of the successors of Sultān Shams-u'd-dīn Īltutmish. A model of all virtues, he was endowed with a supreme gift of sympathy and tenderness and renowned for justice and clemency. A noble king with his boundless store of reading, pre-occupied with preparations for the next world, and possessing not even a particle of cruelty, could never have the personal charm of individual acts of heroism. Religion induced him to abjure the pleasures of the senses ; he copied the Qur'ān twice every year in his fine calligraphy and the proceeds of their sale were his only means of subsistence. His mystical exaltation, devout piety and exemplary life gave him the aspect of a saint. His character, in short, attracts but never dominates the imagination of the reader.

It was not possible for Sultān Nāṣir-u'd-dīn Maḥmūd Shāh to rest upon his father's laurels, and to enjoy his studious tranquillity. Fortunately for him he had a capable Regent in Ghiyāth-u'd-dīn Balban entitled as Ulugh Khān to carry on the affairs of government. The first in rank and status was Ulugh Khān, whose majestic bearing bespoke the soldier-king. In him vested the supreme power, and the Sultān was a mere puppet in his hands. The internal prosperity of the kingdom increased under his wise guidance, and the empire endured for an unexpected but considerable length of time. Sultān Nāṣir-u'd-dīn Maḥmūd, on his part, was, no doubt, enterprising and alert, but lacked diplomacy and far-sighted statesmanship. His reign was one long series of revolts ; while one insurrection was being crushed, another sprang up at the end of his dominion.

Overflowing with an extreme degree of human kindness, it was characteristic of the merciful and pious disposition of the Sultān to lead a peaceful life and to abhor the glories of

conquest. He seldom led expeditions, but always commissioned Ulugh Khān or other *Maliks* to carry on war operations, and himself halted somewhere on the way or returned to the capital. Qādī Minhāj Sirāj, who sang his glory and chronicled his reign, makes use of obscure phrases such as 'returned triumphant' or simply 'returned.' Further he 'revelled at the table, when he ought to have been in the saddle.' He delayed the pursuit of the Mongol army in the year 1259 A.D. for about seven months and remained at the capital.

The policy of Sultān Nāṣir-u'd-dīn Maḥmūd was shifty and temporizing; he alternately tried the effects of force and conciliation with the usual consequence that both the policies failed. He was apt to act according to the wishes of new favourites, and in 1253 A.D., he dismissed Ulugh Khān on the instigation of Malik 'Imād-u'd-dīn Raiḥān. The affairs of the state fell into disorder, and he found himself unable to restore the prosperity of the devastated realm. His attempt to assert his power by the dismissal of Balban, failed. The Turkish officers would have compelled him to share the fate of his brothers. Ulugh Khān was, however, pardoned and came to power for a second time. The rebellions were really contests between Balban and the opposite faction to control the king. The Sultān's conciliatory disposition and his peaceful but aimless policy incited the *Maliks* to rise in revolt against him, but they were often forgiven by their too-forgiving sovereign. Malik 'Izz-u'd-dīn Balban-i-Kishlū ungratefully seized an opportunity to act in a refractory manner at Nāgore in the year 1251 A.D., but the Sultān, naturally kind, forgave him when he should have punished. Again the Sultān was incapable of dealing with the numerous sources of danger, which then menaced the kingdom. The lawless character of the *Maliks* was mainly responsible for creating a perpetual state of warfare. The Sultān unable to oust the rebel *Maliks*, reaffirmed their possessions; those rising at the centre were granted distant provinces only to revolt in comfortable ease at the remote corners of the empire. In the year 1257 A.D. the Sultān's

own mother, Malikah-i-Jahān in concert with Qutluḡh Khān rebelled in Oudh, but the Sultān, on account of personal attachment and the tender tie of relationship, took half-hearted measures. Never was forbearance, perhaps, more cruelly tried. Such was the Sultān, who ascended the throne of Delhi in 1246 and died in 1266 A.D. Sultān Nāṣir-u'd-dīn was a king in name only, and remained under the tutelage of his Regent.

The problem, in fact, may be stated thus. To whom did the Empire of Shihāb-u'd-dīn Ghūrī belong? Shihāb-u'd-dīn had no son, and his nephew Sultān Maḥmūd had given up his rights. Shihāb-u'd-dīn Ghūrī fortunately had a number of capable slaves, and was naturally succeeded by them. They, the 'Chahelgānī' Turks, were joint inheritors, i.e., partners of the king. The Sultān could formally be regarded as the head of the state, but the institution of kingship was new in India. The dynasty was a hybrid growth and not enshrined in the hearts of the people. It was foreign and consequently unpopular. In short, the power of the monarch was really in permanent commission.

Chapter VII

SULTĀN GHIYĀTH-U'D-DĪN BALBAN

Early Life

Sultān Ghiyāth-u'd-dīn Balban¹ was one of the forty Turkish slaves of Sultān Shams-u'd-dīn İltutmish, better known as *Chahelgānī* or the 'Forty.'² He claimed descent from the illustrious line of Afrāsiyāb;³ his great grandfather⁴ Abar Khān belonged to the renowned Ilbari tribe of Turkistan and was the chief of a clan of ten thousand families. In the prime of youth,⁵ Balban was brought captive to Baghdād by the Mongols, who had conquered the Qarā-Khitāis, and dominated the whole of central Asia and Persia. The Khwājah Jamāl-u'd-dīn of Baṣrah, a man celebrated for his honesty and fair-dealing, purchased him from the Mongols, fostered him like his own son and along with other slaves brought him to the capital city of Delhi in

¹ Balban in the Turkish language means a 'lion.' The word Balban occurs very often. It must have been a totemic pastoral symbol, for most Turkish tribes were named after animals. Balban is styled on his gold coin as—السلطان الاعظم غياث الدنيا والدين ابوالمظفر بلبن السلطان H. N. Wright—*Sultāns of Delhi, Their Coins and Metrology*, p. 58.

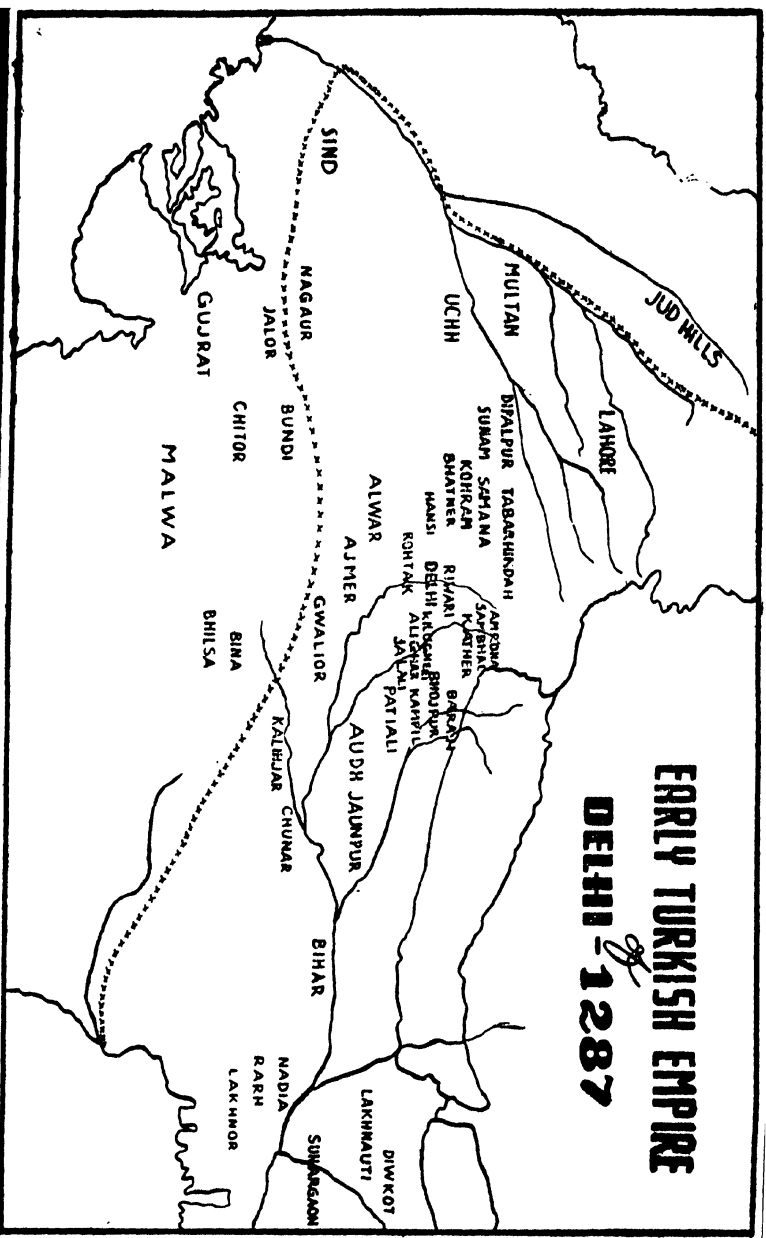
² *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī* of Dīyā Baranī, p. 26, and *Firishṭah*, p. 75. The number 'Forty' is supposititious—they were really the highest official Turkish families.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 37. Balban's emphasis on his good birth leads one to suspect it, and as a matter of fact, his claim to high birth rested on shaky foundation.

⁴ *Firishṭah*, p. 75, incorrectly says his 'father.' Qādī Minhāj Sirāj on p. 281 says "the father of Balban and Malik Naṣrat-u'd-dīn Sher Khān were the descendants of Abar Khān." Some copies of the text have ایه, آیه and ایتیه Khān.

⁵ The author of the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* learnt all these details regarding the early life of Balban from Malik Kureṭ Khān-i-Sanjar.

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the year 1232 A.D.¹ Sultān Shams-u'd-dīn İltutmish purchased the whole lot of Turkish slaves, and appointed them to different posts.² Balban started his career as a Khāṣṣahdār³ (King's Personal Attendant), and later on his position was strengthened by the appointment of his brother Kashī Khān as Amīr-i-Ḥājib (Lord Chamberlain). However, as a later addition to the official circle, Balban would not have the same claim as the families, who had helped Shihāb-u'd-dīn to conquer India.

Balban's early career is that of a restless, unprincipled intriguer, who might terrorize but could not win the respect of his contemporaries. Indiscipline and factiousness for personal gain seem to have been his main motives. In the reign of Sultān Rukn-u'd-dīn Fīrūz Shāh, he joined the conspirators against the Sultān; but on the accession of Sultān Raḍīyah, their alliance broke up, and they dispersed in different directions; Balban himself being captured and thrown into prison.⁴ He was, however, released and continued as Khāṣṣahdār (King's Personal Attendant) until he became Amīr-i-Shikār (Head of the Royal Huntsmen).

In the time of Sultān Mu'izz-u'd-dīn Bahrām Shāh, the

¹ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 282.

² The text of the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 282, runs as follows :

”جمله آن ترکان در بیع آمدند -
و بندگی پیش تخت مخصوص گشتند“

which has been wrongly translated by Major Raverty as “the whole of these Turks were disposed of, and he (i.e., Balban) was honoured with an office before the throne.” Ibn-Baṭṭūṭah confuses the anecdote regarding İltutmish and attributes it to Balban, that the latter entreated the former to purchase him for the sake of God.

³ *Ibn-Baṭṭūṭah's Travels*, *Elliot III*, pp. 594, 595, says that Balban started his career as a water-carrier. One day, an astrologer prophesied to the Sultān that one of his water-carriers would succeed him as Sultān of Delhi. The Sultān wanted to identify him, but at the fixed time of interview Balban was absent and thus he was saved. It is not likely that İltutmish believed in astrologers and consequently, the story is not reliable.

⁴ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 282.

office of *Amīr-i-Aḥḥūr* (Lord of the Imperial Stables) was assigned to him. Fortune favoured him, and Malik Badr-u'd-dīn Sunqar the Ṣūfī, the *Amīr-i-Hājib* (Lord Chamberlain) raised him to a still higher position. The fief of Riwārī,¹ (now a Tehsil in Gurgāon District, Punjāb) was entrusted to his charge, where he chastised and subdued the rebellious tribes of the Kūh Pāyah or the foot of² the Himalayas (i.e., the Tarāī), and established his reputation for leadership and enterprise.³ He, along with other Malikis, rebelled against the Sultān and, after the capture of the city of Delhi by them, the fief of Hānsī was made over to his charge. Day by day his power increased until the year 1244 A.D. he became the *Amīr-i-Hājib* (Lord Chamberlain) of Sultān 'Alā-u'd-dīn Mas'ūd Shāh. Accompanied by the Sultān, Balban marched on an expedition into the *Doāb* of the Ganges and the Jumnā, where the rebels of Jalālī and Chatrolī⁴ were pursued and severely punished. The same year, the Mongol leader Māngūtah led an army from the borders of Ṭālqān and Qunduz into the territory of Sind and invested the fortress of Uch.⁵ When the intimation of the Mongol irruption reached the capital, the royal army advanced towards the river Beas, and after crossing it reached the river Rāwī of Lāhore. Balban⁶ sent forward messengers bearing letters from the Sultān to the garrison of Uch intimating the approach of the royal forces. Some of these letters fell into the hands of the Mongols, who were

¹ *Firishṭah*, p. 74, incorrectly adds هانسی also, which Balban received hereafter.

² *Firishṭah*, p. 74, has كغار ميوات 'the infidels of Mewāt.' It is in fact 'Meos' or the Mewān of the Text.

³ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, pp. 285, 286.

⁴ The different copies of the text according to Major Raverty have جلالی. چاترولی. جلالی. چاترولی. Jalālī and Chatrolī were old places near 'Alīgarh in the *Doāb* of the Ganges and the Jumnā.

⁵ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 297.

⁶ He did not as yet receive the title of Ulugh Khān, but at this stage he was Malik Ghiyāth-u'd-dīn Balban only. Consequently, Minhāj Siraj is wrong to entitle him Ulugh Khān so early.

so terrified that they raised the siege and retreated.¹

On June 10, 1246 A.D., Sultān Nāṣir-u'd-dīn ascended the throne of Delhi; but he was a king in name only and remained under the tutelage of his Regent Ghiyāth-u'd-dīn Balban, in whom resided the supreme power during the next twenty years of his reign. As a matter of fact, the events of Sultān Nāṣir-u'd-dīn's reign constitute the details of the early career of Ghiyāth-u'd-dīn Balban as *Nā'ib* of the Sultān, which have been discussed at length in the previous chapter. They are, however, summarized as follows:—

In the year 1246 A.D., Ghiyāth-u'd-dīn Balban led an expedition into the Jūd hills and wreaked vengeance upon the Rāna of the territory.² In 1247 A.D., he captured the fort of Talsandah³ in the *Doāb*, and then subdued the Rānahs Dalkī and Malkī in the year 1248 A.D. In the following year he proceeded towards Ranthambhor,⁴ and ravaged the Kuh-pāyah (skirts of the hill) of Mewāt and the territory of Nahr Diw. On August 2, 1249 A.D., Balban's daughter was married to the Sultān, and on October 12, the Sultān assigned to him the posts of *Nā'ib-u'l-Mulk* (Regent) and the commander of royal forces with the title of Ulugh Khān-i-Ā'zam.⁵ In 1251 A.D., Ulugh Khān overthrew Jāhir, the Rāe of Ajārī, and captured the fort of Narwat.

In 1252 A.D., 'Imād-u'd-dīn Raiḥān grew jealous of Ulugh Khān's power and achievements, and on instigation the Sultān ordered the latter to proceed to his fiefs of Siwālik and Hānsī.⁶ Having reached there, Ulugh Khān retired towards Nāgore, and invaded the territories of Ranthambhor, Būndī and Chitor. In 1253 A.D., the *Maliks*

¹ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, pp. 288, 289.

² *Ibid.*, p. 290.

³ The text on p. 291 has 'تلسندہ' 'تلسندہ'. Nandānah is in the Punjāb, and Talsandah is the correct name.

⁴ Ranthambhor was conquered by Sultān Shams-u'd-dīn Īltutmīsh in the year 1226 A.D., but after his death, the Hindūs had captured it, and during Sultān Rāḍiyah's reign the garrison was withdrawn and the fort was destroyed.

⁵ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 294.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 298.

and *Amirs* revolted against 'Imād-u'd-dīn Raiḥān,¹ and as a result of it Ulugh Khān again came to power in the year 1254 A.D. He was then ordered to pursue the rebel Malik Qutlugh Khān, who had fled to Santūr, which place Ulugh Khān devastated and put a large number of the inhabitants to the sword.²

In 1257 A.D., Malik Qutlugh Khān joined hands with Malik 'Izz-u'd-dīn Balban-i-Kishlū Khān, and a party of Turkish *Amirs* also conspired against the Sultān at Delhi.³ On June 17, 1257 A.D., the disaffected *Maliks* were exiled from the capital, and were ordered to proceed to their respective fiefs. In 1258 A.D., Ulugh Khān marched against Malik Tāj-u'd-dīn Arsalān Khān Sanjar and Qutlugh Khān Mas'ūd Jānī, but the latter made their submission.⁴

On September 19, 1259 A.D., a son was born to the Sultān from the daughter of Ulugh Khān, but did not survive. Shortly after, Ulugh Khān resolved upon an advance into the hilly tracts of Mewāt, and plundered and devastated the whole territory. The Sultān was pleased on his wonderful exploit, and held a public assembly at Jūd-gardens, where the captives were put on gibbets.⁵

In 1260 A.D., the Mongol emissaries arrived at the capital, and were received with great honour. The reason being that Malik Nāṣir-u'd-dīn Muḥammad,⁶ son of Malik Ḥasan the Qurlukh, the ruler of Sind, had contemplated the betrothal of his daughter with Ulugh Khān's son, and consequently he despatched the *Hājib* Jamāl-u'd-dīn 'Alī to the capital Delhi. But when the messenger reached Uch, he was detained by Malik 'Izz-u'd-dīn Balban-i-Kishlū Khān, but was soon released on the pretext that he

¹ Who had been created *Wakīl-i-dar*, an important household officer, who was in charge of the Palace-gates, and also performed secretarial functions at the Court.

² *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri*. pp. 222 and 307.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 308 and 309.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 311.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 311.

⁶ He seems to have succeeded to the dominion of his father.

was an emissary from Delhi and was going on a mission to the Mongol Court. *Hājib* 'Alī then approached Hūlāgu with forged letters from his patron Malik Nāṣir-ud-dīn Muḥammad.¹ These were the emissaries sent by Hūlāgu to the court of Delhi. In the same year Ulugh Khān, for the second time, started against the rebel inhabitants of Mewāt, captured their strongholds and massacred about 12,000 persons.²

The contemporary as well as later authorities suddenly stop at the year 1260 and do not mention any event upto 1266, when Sultān Nāṣir-u'd-dīn died. With him extinguished the family of Sultān Shams-u'd-dīn Īltutmish, and the *Khāns*, *Maliks* and *Amīrs* unanimously elevated Ghiyāth-u'd-dīn Balban to the throne of Delhi.³

Character.

Sultān Ghiyāth-u'd-dīn Balban was a wise and sagacious ruler, endowed with many rare virtues and talents. He was an experienced hand in the art of government, and directed the affairs of the state with discrimination and judgment. It goes to his credit that he passed through all the stages of authority, those of *Amīr*, *Malik* and *Khān* and ultimately attained sovereignty and kingship.⁴ While yet a *Khān*, Balban was notorious for his convivial assemblies and drinking, but after his accession to the throne, he never indulged in these vices, and made it a point to dine with the '*Ulemā*.⁵ He gave himself up to worship, fasting and nightly prayers whether at home or abroad, and kept awake at places of pilgrimage.⁶ He assiduously attended all con-

¹ *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 321.

² *Ibid.*, p. 323.

³ MSS. *Intikhab-u'l-Muntakhab* of 'Abd-u'l-Shukūr, p. 171; *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, p. 78, and *Badd'ūnī*, p. 127, give one year earlier, i.e., 1265, and *Khulāṣat-u't-Tawārīkh*, p. 197, a year after, i.e., 1267—all of which are wrong.

⁴ He was a king having an experience of forty years at the time of his death—*Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī* of Dīyā Baranī, p. 58.

⁵ *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī* of Dīyā Baranī, pp. 45 and 46.

⁶ The above and the following account regarding Balban has been narrated and learnt by Dīyā Baranī from his forefathers, who held important posts in the reign of that great sovereign.

gregational prayers and was never without his ablutions.¹ After attending to Friday prayers, he used to visit the tombs of saints and took a round to see mystics and scholars like Shāikh Burhān-u'd-dīn Balkhī, Maulānā Sirāj-u'd-dīn Sanjarī, Qādī Sharf-u'd-dīn Valvajī and Maulānā Najm-u'd-dīn Damashqī, whom he held in the highest esteem. He always attended the funeral ceremonies of ecclesiastics and distinguished personages and, with a profusion of tears in his eyes, presented robes of honour to the sons and relations of the deceased and bestowed stipends for their maintenance.² With all his kingly dignity and magnificence, he used to alight from his horse, when he saw or heard people saying their prayers, sat amidst his subjects and listened to religious sermons.³ All this was more for show as Ḍiyā Baranī half implies. It did not sanctify Balban's character.

Sultān Ghiyath-u'd-dīn Balban decorated the court and palace after the manner of the kings of Persia, and attached much importance to the pomp and dignity of the court and of the riding procession.⁴ The sight dazzled the spectators, and rebels of distant lands became submissive and loyal. He maintained the royal dignity by issuing strict orders for the observance of etiquette, and himself followed the essential traditions of kingship. In thus reinstituting the forms of pagan Persia, Balban's object was to raise the status of the king above the nobles, to hide the defects of his physical personality and of his low origin and to maintain the authority of the central government. He took the greatest possible care regarding his behaviour in public and in private as to how he ate, drank, sat, stood and rode. His private servants never saw him without being properly clad in the palace. He himself never laughed, nor allowed anybody else to laugh before him.⁵ All this was a symbol of inferiority complex, for true leadership does not require such pretences.

¹ Badā'ūnī's *Muntakhab-u't-Tawārikh*, p. 128.

² *Tārīkh-i-Fī'ūz Shāhī* of Ḍiyā Baranī, p. 46, and *Firishtah*, p. 76

³ *Ibid.*, p. 47.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 26.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 83.

Balban was equally stern and persevering in the enforcement of justice. He was quite different from other kings 'in anger, kindness, indignation, mildness, excitement and affection.'¹ Even in delicate situations he inflicted severe punishments upon the fearless and disobedient persons, while he was always kind and sympathetic in the case of obedient, submissive and fearful people. In matters of justice he showed no favour or partiality towards relatives, confidants and trustworthy persons. Balban was relentless in his punishments of all rebels and disturbers of public peace, Muslim or non-Muslim. He never stopped to consider whether his actions were sanctioned or prohibited by the *Shari'at*,² but ruthlessly killed, flogged and imprisoned people for what he considered to be the welfare of the kingdom.³ Many descendants of Sultān Shams-u'd-dīn Īltutmish were publicly beheaded. He gave an order of the execution of Malik Baqbaq,⁴ *Sar-i-Jāndār* (Commander of the Royal troops at the centre), who had killed his personal servant in a fit of intoxication; and his corpse was hung on the gate of Badā'un.⁵ On another occasion, he inflicted five hundred lashes upon Malik Haibat Khān,⁶ the governor

¹ *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhi* of Dīyā Baranī, p. 39. *Ibn Battūṭah*—Elliot, III, pp. 593-94, says that Balban had built a house named the 'Abode of Security'—all debtors, who entered it had their debts discharged, and if a murderer fled there for refuge, the friends and relations of the deceased were offered handsome presents and money to forego their claims.

² The *Shari'at* does not really recognize rebellion as a crime. Its rules of evidence make proof impossible, and the punishments prescribed are alternately too lax or too severe.

³ *Firishtah*, p. 76.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 76, has 'ملک نعیق پسر حاندار', which would mean son of *Jāndār*, and as such it is incorrect.

⁵ *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhi* of Dīyā Baranī, p. 40.

⁶ 'Father of Malik Qīrān-i-Alamī, an associate of Balban'—*Tabaqāt-i-Akbari*, p. 79; Dīyā Baranī *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhi*, p. 40, has Malik Qarā Bek "ملک بق بق پدر ملک قیرا بیگ که بنده سلطان بلبن و سر حانداران" *Sar-i-Jāndār* was the head of the Royal bodyguards. Many *Sar-i-Jāndārs* acted as governors, which could only be possible, if they performed this office through a deputy.

of Oudh, for having beaten a person to death. With apologies and tears, the *Malik* purchased his safety by offering one thousand *tankahs* to the widow of the deceased. The desire to maintain the public peace often led Balban to destroy a whole army or sack an innocent town in retaliation for the treason of a single individual.¹ Consequently, no one could have the courage to defy his orders, and the laws of the state, which had been ignored and violated during the past years, were once more enforced to the hilt.

Balban employed in his service only such persons as were of high birth and noble lineage, and never allowed the low-class people to meddle with it.² He was extremely particular about the social status and descent of his officers, and inquired about it very diligently; if, even after appointment, any of them was found wanting in character or birth, he was immediately dismissed. Among Mussalmans high birth, generally, is defined not with reference to wealth but with reference to a particular group—in this case, the Turkish aristocracy. This high-birth doctrine meant the exclusion of the Indian Mussalmans from the high offices till the *Khaljī* Revolution, when the wheel turned full circle. A certain Kamāl Mahyā³ was recommended to him for the post of governor of Amrohā, but on investigation it was found out that he was a convert and that Mahyā was his father's name. Thereupon, the Sultān strictly forbade such appointments, and at the same time dismissed a number of other officials for the same reason.⁴ During his twenty-two years' reign Balban never condescended to talk to any ordinary or low-born person, and never admitted any buffoon to his assembly.⁵ An officer named Fakhr-i-

¹ *Firīshṭah*, p. 76, and *Khulāṣat-u't-Tawārīkh*, p. 199.

² *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī* of Dīyā Baranī, p. 29.

³ He was recommended by Malik 'Alā-u'd-dīn Kashlī Khān and Malik Nizām-u'd-dīn Buzghālah.

⁴ *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī* of Dīyā Baranī, pp. 36 and 37.

⁵ *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, p. 78.

Bāūnī,¹ who had been in the service of the state for years, asked a noble of the court for an interview with the Sultān, and promised a substantial present. But the Sultān refused. "He is an officer of the Market (*Amīr-i-Bāzāriyān*)," Balban replied, "granting him an interview would reduce the status of the king in the eyes of the common people and diminish the prestige of the thorne."²

Ghiyāth-u'd-dīn Balban took great pleasure in hunting campaigns;³ the 'royal huntsmen,' therefore, attained to great dignity during his reign. In spite of pressure of work, he often spent whole days in hunting; he welcomed the winter season and anxiously awaited its return.⁴ Game was preserved in the land twenty *Krohs* round Delhi, and Balban came out of the *Qaṣr-i-Lāl* (Ruby Palace)⁵ in the early hours of the morning and proceeded towards Riwāri, and did not return till late at night. A thousand horsemen and a thousand archers on foot started with him at the beating of the kettle-drum; their food and drink being provided by the government.⁶ Hūlāgū Khān at Baghdād commended Balban's devotion to hunting. "Balban is a wise and experienced ruler," he remarked, "it might appear that he is merely enjoying a game, but Balban's real object is to exercise his horsemen and to keep his troops in order." Balban made ample preparations before fitting out an expedition, and informed the Revenue and Military depart-

¹ *Khulāṣat-u't-Twārikh*, p. 197, has *فخر نامی*; *Badā'ūnī*, p. 127, *فخر نام* and *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, p. 78, has *فخر امانی*. A real Hindū equivalent of this name is difficult to find.

² *Tārikh-i-Firūz Shāhī* of Dīyā Baranī, p. 33.

³ The hunting excursion was an old custom, and was very popular among the Turks. It was really equivalent to modern manœuvres. Balban's hunting was on a small scale as compared to the hunting expeditions described by *Jahān-Kushā* and *Rauḍat-u's-Ṣafā*.

⁴ *Tārikh-i-Firūz Shāhī* of Dīyā Baranī, p. 33.

⁵ Balban had replaced the *Qaṣr-i-Sufaid* (White Palace) by the *Qaṣr-i-Lāl* (Ruby Palace). But the former was still used for the coronation ceremony.

⁶ *Khulāṣat-u't-Twārikh*, p. 201, and *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, p. 83.

ments accordingly.¹ But he kept matters confidential and until a few hours before his actual departure nobody, not even the *Amīr-i-Hājib* (Lord Chamberlain) had any knowledge as to which part of the territory the Sultān was going to invade.²

Balban's Court.

"It was a sufficient glory for Balban," says the *Mulḥiqāt-i-Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* written by Shaiḵh 'Ain-u'd-dīn of Bijāpūr, "that apart from the kings and princes, who had sought refuge in India during the reigns of his predecessors, no less than fifteen princes of Turkistan, Māwarā-u'n-Nahr, Khurāsān, 'Irāq, Ādharbaijān, Fārs, Rūm and Syria, whose power had been shattered by the Mongols, fled for safety to Balban's court at Delhi. They were appointed to offices of dignity and power, and stood with folded hands before his throne; only two of them were granted the privilege of sitting at the foot of the throne, because they belonged to the 'Abbasid dynasty."³ Balban allotted a separate portion (*moḥalla*) of the city to each of them, and fifteen such quarters grew up in Delhi, viz., the 'Abbāsī, Sanjarī, Khwārazm Shāhī, Dilamī, 'Alivī, Atābakī, Ghūrī, Chingizī, Rūmī, Sunqarī, Yeminī, Mosulī, Samarqandī, Kāshgharī and Khīṭāī.⁴ As all the leading men of the pen and the sword, musicians and singers and artisans collected together at Balban's Court from every quarter of the globe, it was naturally ranked above the Courts of Maḥmūd and Sanjar. Mystics and scholars, it is said, congregated at the palace of the Sultān's elder son known as the Khān-i-Shahīd, while musicians, wits, story-tellers and buffoons found an asylum with the younger son Bughrā Khān.⁵

The Court of Balban was 'adorned by the presence of a

¹ *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī* of Dīyā Baranī, p. 60.

² *Ibid.*, p. 61.

³ As quoted by *Firīshṭah*, p. 75.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 75.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 75.

large number of eminent nobles and notables!¹ From the family of Syeds, the Shaiḥ-u'l-Islām-i-Shahr Quṭb-u'd-dīn, Syed Muntakḥib-u'd-dīn, Syed Jalāl-u'd-dīn, son of Syed Mubārak, Syed 'Azīz, Syed Mu'in-u'd-dīn of Sāmānab, Syeds of Kardaz, Kathel, Biyānab and Badā'un; professors like Maulānā Burhān-u'd-dīn Malkh, Maulānā Najm-u'd-dīn, Qādī Rafī-u'd-dīn and Qādī Shams-u'd-dīn and others; saints and mystics such as Shaiḥ Sheukh-u'l-Ālam Farīd-u'd-dīn Mas'ūd Quṭb-i-Ālam Shaiḥ Ṣadr-u'd-dīn, son of Shaiḥ-u'l-Islām Bahā-u'd-dīn Dhakariya, Shaiḥ Badr-u'd-dīn Ghaznavī, Khalīfā Shaiḥ Quṭb-u'd-dīn Bakhtyār, Shaiḥ Malkiyār Pārān, Daibī Sām, Saidī-Maulā, and others; and rare physicians and philosophers like Maulānā Ḥamīd-u'd-dīn Muṭraz, Maulānā Badr-u'd-dīn Damashqī and Maulānā Ḥisām-u'd-dīn Bazghālah.²

Among the great officials and servants of the court was 'Alā-u'd-dīn Kashlī Khān, the Sultān's cousin, who was famous for his generosity and munificence and was unrivalled in archery, spearmanship and hunting.³ Hearing of his liberality, scholars and poets came in expectation of his favours from the remoter parts of the world and went back with a happy and contented heart. Sultān Balban confirmed him on his father's post as *bārbak* (or *Amīr-i-Ḥājib*) and the governorship of Koil was also conferred upon him. The Khawājah Shams-u'd-dīn Mu'in composed a number of verses in his praise, and was duly rewarded.⁴

¹ Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī of Diyā Baranī gives this list of names on pp. 111 and 112.

² Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī of Diyā Baranī, p. 112.

³ It is related by Diyā Baranī on p. 114 that Hūlāgū sent a dagger as a present to Malik 'Alā-u'd-dīn for his excellence in archery, spearmanship and hunting and called him to his presence with the promise that he would make him governor of Irāq. The message did not please the Sultān.

⁴ Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī by Diyā Baranī, p. 113. Some *qaṣīdahs* in praise of Kishlū Khān, generally known as Malik Chhajjū, are found in Khusrū's printed Dīwān :—

”چرخ را گفتم کہ خورشیدت کجا است
آسمان روئے ملک چہ بجو نمود“

The other famous Malik '*Imād-u'l-Mulk Rāwat-i-'Ard* (the Minister of War), formerly a slave of Sulṭān *Shams-u'd-dīn İltutmish*, was an intimate friend of Sulṭān *Ghiyāth-u'd-dīn Balban*. He was a pious and kind-hearted Malik, and never accepted any bribes.¹ He organized the affairs of the army with tact and energy, and had parental affection for his subordinate officials; at times he used to invite the whole retinue to dine with him and conferred robes upon *Khāns*, *Maliks* and *Amīrs*.²

The other Malik worthy of mention is *Malik-u'l Umarā Fakhr-u'd-dīn Kūtūwāl* (Superintendent of Police). His father and grand-father were also *Kūtūwāls* of Delhi. Not only that he rendered valuable services in his official capacity, but his private life was also remarkable. He had under his employment twelve thousand reciters of the Qur'ān, one thousand of whom were ever engaged at every hour of the day. He wore new clothes and used fresh bed-steads and carpets every day, all of which was given in charity the next day.³ He further made provision for the marriage of about a thousand poor girls every year. All this was done from his personal pocket.

Another Malik of renown was Malik Amīr '*Alī Sar-i-Jāndār* (Commander of the Royal body-guards at the centre), son of the Sulṭān's preceptor. He was entitled *Hātim Khān* by the Sulṭān and Amīr *Khusrū* composed *Āsp-nāmah* in his praise, for he was a very liberal man.⁴ "I hear, you are bounteous while in a fit of intoxication," said the Sulṭān one day, "be liberal at a time, when you are sober." The Malik was greatly touched and since then he abandoned wine and proved all the more beneficent. He was later on appointed governor of Oudh.

The *Sipāh sālār* (commander of troops) *Ḥisām-u'd-dīn Wakīl-i-dar* was another illustrious Malik of Sulṭān Balban's Court. He was a maternal uncle of *Ḍiyā Baranī*, the

¹ *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī* of *Ḍiyā Baranī*, p. 116.

² *Ibid.*, p. 115.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 117.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 118.

famous author of the noted *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhi*.¹ He too did not lag far behind the time; for it was a period when the *Maliks* and *Amirs* tried to supersede one another in matters of liberality, generosity and munificence, and had consequently run into debts.

Balban's theory of kingship and government

'Excluding the functions of a prophet,' it is solemnly declared, there is no work as great and noble as the task of government.'² Balban's theory of kingship or his political ideas regarding the institution of kingship had their origin in Persian paganism and may be described as follows. Kingship is a great blessing and the highest office of the world. Kingly office is the creation of God and is received from Him alone. A king is a representative of God on earth, and the heart of king reflects the glory of God.³ The Creator inspires him with His commandments for the created. A king, therefore, must feel the importance and significance of the glory and grandeur thus conferred upon him, and must be grateful to God for this great honour. An ungrateful king soon loses his position; incompetent and worthless persons take charge of his government and this ends his political career. A grateful king is sheltered under 'the canopy of God's protection.'⁴ A king, therefore, must seek God's pleasure by doing the approved and virtuous deeds, which is really a means of salvation.⁵

A king must be brave, enterprising, just and benevolent. He should be neither sweet-speaking nor very harsh. To retain kingship he must maintain his prestige. Kingship has got a dignity, glory and grandeur of its own, and when these disappear on account of friendship and familiarity, there remains no distinction between the ruler and the ruled; subjects become impious and rebellious and the result is

¹ *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhi* of Dīyā Baranī, p. 119.

² *Ibid.*, p. 27.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 70.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 71.

⁵ Scholars hold that for a king salvation is difficult, if not impossible. The King's claim to 'ilham' can only be a non-Muslim idea.

vice, immorality, and sinning throughout his dominion,¹ and the execution of orders becomes faulty. Only those kings can command respect and dignity who have been descendants of the noble line of illustrious sovereigns. It is necessary, therefore, for a king to abstain from such undertakings either by words or deeds as may cause injury to his prestige.² Mere mildness, indignation, harshness and anger cause a general condemnation of the king's activities,³ but kingly dignity and terror of authority contribute more than mere chastisement to the establishment of a good and stable government. His society should be composed of the virtuous, faithful, wise, skilled and sagacious people, but he should not grant audience or give posts to the worthless, humble or low-born persons.⁴ A king should not degrade his dignity by mean and undeserving actions or by admitting the mean or unworthy people into partnership.

The primary duty of a king is to maintain peace and order in his dominion. He must protect and patronize the faith, and if he himself is weak and powerless, other religions flourish at the expense of Islām. He must minimize vice, immorality and crimes by means of penal restrictions.⁵ His rule must facilitate his subjects in leading a happy and virtuous life. The execution of the orders of the *Shari'at* should be entrusted to the learned, pious and God-fearing officers. Not only he but his officials, judges and generals must⁶ administer absolute justice and equity. A king must pitch his ambitions high, for kingship and aspirations go hand in hand. He should never grant interviews to spies and revenue officers, for their familiarity and frankness will terrify the obedient and trustworthy servants.⁷ He must keep himself well-informed of the conditions of his provinces and the doings of his governors, and to incite them to noble and virtuous actions. Before organizing

¹ *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī* of Dīyā Baranī, p. 34.

² *Ibid.*, p. 71.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 79.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 29.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 42.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 43.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 78.

an expedition he should consider its consequences and make ample preparations. He should not proclaim his motives, but at the same time must not indulge in any war without seeking advice from his courtiers and confidants.¹ A king should not allow negligence in looking after his relations ; but he must be more cautious about his personal security and keep his generals, guards and police officers satisfied. There should be no hesitation in suppressing the power of the nobles and chiefs, for their degradation and dishonour strengthens his own position and gives a new vigour to his government.² Balban's theory was to be moderate in matters of chastisement, but he was fearless in slaying rebels. At the same time, he never exercised meaningless cruelty or oppression. Balban tried neither to please nor to displease his subjects and was always moderate in levying taxes.

The three essentials of kingship are the army, treasury and nobles. The means of success are justice, beneficence, pomp and show.³ The stability and permanence of the government rest upon the establishment and maintenance of a well-disciplined and a well-equipped army. The ruler should not hesitate to allot a larger portion of the revenue for the upkeep of the army, he may appropriate half of it, but the other half must go to the treasury.⁴ If the king observes negligence and carelessness in this respect, there is anarchy and confusion in the state, and the army loses its strength and stability ; re-establishment and reconstruction after dissension and disorganization are not possible.⁵ A king must have under his command ten *Khāns*, each *Khān* having ten *Maliks* under him, each *Malik* ten *Amīrs*, each *Amīr* ten *Sipāh Sālārs* (commanders of troops), each *Sipāh Sālār* ten *Sar-khīl* (Generals) and each *Sar-Khīl* ten

¹ *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī* of Dīyā Baranī, p. 97.

² *Ibid.*, p. 78.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 77.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 79. According to the *shari'at*, the share of the *Ul-u'l-amr* (chief of the Muslim State) was the same as that of a soldier.

⁵ *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī* of Dīyā Baranī, p. 97.

horsemen or footmen.¹

Since the beginning of his reign, Sulṭān Ghiyāth-u'd-dīn Balban decorated the court and palace after the manner of the kings of Persia, and attached much importance to the pomp and glory of the court and of the riding procession.² The Sulṭān with his bright face and white beard sat upon the throne with an air of dignity and authority. Behind the throne stood the *Maliks*, *Amīrs*, Chamberlains, Police-Officers, Head Executioner, Commanders of forces, sergeants, Head-swordsmen, proclaimers, wrestlers and horses and elephants glorifying the right and left wings of the army.³ The *Raes*, *Ranas*, princes, messengers, and *Muqaddams* (Head village-men) came to perform the kissing ceremony at the threshold of the Court. The brightness of the Sulṭān's face, the glittering of the swords and the noise produced by the commands of generals, sergeants and proclaimers kept the spectators spell-bound, and the rebels of distant lands became submissive and loyal.⁴ The dignity of the carriage was enhanced by the presence of a large number of Sīstānī wrestlers, who accompanied the Sulṭān with open swords. For miles on both sides of the road stood eager spectators to witness the glory of the riding procession. On occasions of festivals, grand assemblies were held in the royal palace, which was decorated and furnished with embroidered carpets, variegated dresses and cloth, gold and silver vessels, brocade curtains, gardening of various kinds, divergent fruits, food, drink and betel-leaf. The

¹ This organization of the army comes to 1,000,000, which is not possible, considering the fact that *Khān* is often called *Amīr-i-Tūmān* (10,000). If it is presumed that a *Khān* was the commander of 10,000, the whole army must come to 100,000, which is alone possible, if the *Sipāh Sālār* is eliminated. It seems that *Sipāh Sālār* is a high title along with *Malik*. It was the title of Quṭb-u'd-dīn, who was *Malik* as well.

² *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī* of Dīyā Baranī, p. 26.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 30. There was generally a high wall behind the Moghul throne. In pre-Moghul days horses, elephants and officers stood behind the throne and the space was left unpaved as for example Muḥammad Tughlaq's palace at Vijaya Mandal.

⁴ *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī* of Dīyā Baranī, p. 31.

Sultān remained seated in the middle, and the *Khāns*, *Maliks* and *Amīrs* passed before him and offered valuable presents and poets recited *Qaṣīdahs* in his praise.¹

According to Sultān Ghiyāth-u'd-dīn Balban, the salvation of a king lay in the observance and fulfilment of the following four duties—firstly, to protect religion and to execute the provisions of the *shari'at*; secondly, to crush or to minimize vice, immorality, sinning and crimes; thirdly, to appoint pious, God-fearing and noble officers and, fourthly, to administer justice and equity.² As to how far the Sultān himself followed these rules and theories can be best illustrated by his own statement—"All that I can do is to crush the cruelties of the cruel and to see that all persons are equal before law. The glory of the state rests upon a rule which makes its subjects loyal and disciplined, but does not make the rich prosperous or the indigent happy—a cause of sedition and rebellion."³ 'Justice and impartiality secure the permanence of the throne; a tyrannical king is like an open light in a high wind.' "

Condition of the State and Balban's Reforms

Sultān Shams-u'd-dīn *İltutmish* had forty Turkish slaves, who held positions of responsibility and command during his reign, and were generally known as the '*Chahelgānī*' or the 'Forty.'⁴ The dignity of the state had withered away during the thirty years' government of the successors of *İltutmish* due to their addiction to pleasure, weak rule and mal-administration.⁵ There was no money in the royal

¹ *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhi* of Dīyā Baranī, p. 32.

² *Ibid.*, p. 43.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 100.

⁴ *Firishṭah*, p. 75, calls them ترکان خواجہ تاش (Turkish fellow-servants). All of them made a common cause, and on principles of cooperation and good-will, they called themselves Turkish-fellow-servants. However, no evidence of any such union exists. They fought third parties and outsiders and also one another. They could only be excluding non-Turks. Consequently, *Firishṭah's* account is erroneous.

⁵ *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhi* of Dīyā Baranī, p. 26.

treasury and no horse in the imperial stable. The 'forty' had set aside the old *Khāns* and *Maliks*, themselves took their places and, dividing the sources of income, each held a separate court with great pomp and dignity.¹ Nevertheless, they soon fell out; none would obey the other and each of them aspired to be the sole master. In their 'proud vaunts and boasts' every one said to the other, '*what art thou that I am not; and what wilt thou be that I shall not be.*'² Thus, the period under review is marked by the ascendancy of Turkish slaves, who had become the virtual masters of Hindustān.

Ghiyāth-u'd-dīn Balban was one of the 'forty.' The Assassin's dagger, he thought, was the only remedy to restore peace and order. Soon after his accession, he overthrew his principal colleagues, whose existence was dangerous to the continuance of his power; and had his own uncle's son,³ Sher Khān, the greatest of them, poisoned⁴ during his illness. Thus he cleared Hindustān of all rivals, and the surviving Turkish slaves were obliged to make their submission. Now he became the sole master of Hindustān and was revered as a great king.

Sulṭān Ghiyāth-u'd-dīn Balban decorated the court and palace after the manner of the kings of Persia and himself followed the essential traditions of past kings.⁵ He reorganized the affairs of the state, and strengthened the various departments of government. He took drastic measures to restore peace and order, and brought the high and low under his subordination by means of strict rules and penal restrictions.⁶ The dignity of the court, the magnificence of the riding procession, and above all his indignation, impartiality and justice contributed to the establishment of a

¹ *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī* of Diyā Baranī, p. 27.

² *Ibid.*, p. 28

"تو کیستی کہ من نہ ام و تو کہ باشی کہ من نہ باشم"

³ If Sher Khān was Balban's uncle's son, his family must have been one of the minor families of Shansabāniyah slaves.

⁴ *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī* of Diyā Baranī, p. 65.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 26.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 28.

strong and stable government.¹

At the very outset of his career, Balban directed his attention towards the reorganization of the army. The cavalry and infantry, both old and new, were placed under the charge of experienced officers, who were granted different fiefs for his maintenance.² Balban's next measure was to exact treasure, elephants and horses, the sources and strength of the state, from the different parts of Hindustān.

Pacification of Hindustān

In the first year of the reign 1266 A.D.,³ Tatār Khān, son of Arsalān Khān, despatched sixty-three elephants⁴ to Sultān Ghiyāth-u'd-dīn Balban from Lakhnawtī. The Sultān interpreted this act of Tatār Khān as a token of submission and loyalty and, in its honour, held a public court on the Nāṣirī platform outside the Badā'un-Gate. The *Maliks* and *Amirs* offered valuable presents and were duly rewarded by the Sultān. The Capital-city was decorated, and there was a general rejoicing among the people.⁵

Towards the close of the year 1266 A.D., the Sultān was engaged in harrying the dense jungle in the vicinity of Delhi and in routing out the Meos,⁶ who had embarked on a career of loot and plunder.⁷ They waylaid the travellers,

¹ The *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, p. 79, says that 'on account of his terror and chastisement, no body had the courage to defy his orders.'

² *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī* of Diyā Baranī, p. 29.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 53, gives 1263 A.D., which is quite impossible, considering the fact that Sultān Nāṣir-u'd-dīn died in 1266 A.D., and Balban, therefore, could not ascend the throne before that time. Baranī's dates are seldom accurate. He might have put them in when compiling his book from earlier notes. Curiously enough, *Firishṭah*, p. 77, gives 1265 A.D., which is also impossible.

⁴ *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī* of Diyā Baranī, p. 53.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 54. *Firishṭah* says 'Mewātis.'

⁶ Meos inhabited an ill-defined territory lying south of Delhi and including parts of the districts of Muttrā and Gurgāon and most of Alwar and a little of Bharatpur State. It derived its name from the Meos, the same as the Minās of Rajputana. The Hindu Meos and Minās claim to be Rajputs, while the Muslim Meos call themselves Mewātis.

⁷ *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī* of Diyā Baranī, p. 55.

broke into the houses and repeatedly sacked the suburbs of the city. The exit and entrance of traders was barred, and the gates of the city were closed at the time of the evening prayer. Considering the suppression of the Meos as his first duty, the Sultān marched¹ against them, and put a large number of them to the sword. It took full one year to clear off the jungles. Balban took the precautionary measures by building a fort at Gopālgīr² and by establishing several posts in the neighbourhood of the city under the charge of responsible officers.

Next year, 1267 A.D., Balban undertook the suppression of the insurrectionaries of the Doāb, who had laid waste the territory and caused much tumult and sedition. The province was assigned to powerful officers, who were directed to slay the rebels, to crush all risings and to suppress all lawlessness. The Sultān himself twice rode to Kampil (in Farrukhābād district) and Patiālī,³ (in the Etāh district) the head-quarters of the rebels; there he remained for about five or six months and put several thousands of them to death, while great spoils and captives were brought to the capital. Thus the way from Hindustān to Jaunpūr, Bihār and Bengāl⁴ was cleared. The Sultān built strong forts and magnificent mosques at Kampil, Patiālī and Bhojpūr (in Farrukhābād district) repaired the fort of Jalālī and garrisoned them with Afghān regiments.

Soon after, the rebels of Kather⁵ acted in a refractory manner, and ravaged and plundered the districts of Badā'ūn

¹ The *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhi*, p. 40, says, he proceeded towards Koyaldikār and after suppressing the revolt marched to the Kuhpāyah of Santūr.

² *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, p. 84, has Kawalkār and *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhi*, p. 40, has Makar Kajūrī. It is perhaps Gopālgīr, somewhere roundabout Jaipūr.

³ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, p. 84, has Kathel and Patiālī. *Firishtah*, p. 77, while agreeing with the contemporary authority adds Bhojpūr also. So does *Badā'ūnī*, pp. 128, 129.

⁴ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, p. 85.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 85, and *Badā'ūnī*, p. 129, have Kather, modern Rohilkhand.

and Amrohā, the governors¹ of which places conveyed the news to the Sultān. Balban immediately retired to the capital, and marched with a strong army to subdue the rebels. On reaching the spot, the Sultān ordered a wholesale massacre of the inhabitants of Kather excluding women and children.² The extensive forests were cleared, and the territories of Badā'un, Amrohā, Sambhal and Gannaur³ were purged of robbers and continued safe from their violence and assaults.⁴

After staying a few days at the capital, the victorious Sultān marched to the foot of the Jūd-hills, (now the Salt Range) and devoted the following years, 1268 and 1269, in the annihilation and suppression of the rebels.⁵

Two years after the Jūd expedition, the Sultān marched to Lāhore in the year 1271 A.D., and ordered the reconstruction of the fort, which had been destroyed by the Mongols during the reign of his predecessors.⁶ On his return to the capital, the Sultān was informed that a large number of soldiers, who were granted lands by Sultān Shams-u'd-dīn Īltutmish, still continued on the rolls, and on account of their old age failed to perform their military duties; they gave large sums of money in bribes to the Ministry of War, and obtained exemption from attendance and service. Balban at once ordered the confiscation of lands, and assigned 20 to 30 *Tankahs*' pensions for the infirm or old officials, while the young soldiers were allotted fixed allowances. The measure caused a great upheaval⁷ in the army. Some of the leaders went to the house of Malik Fakhr-u'd-dīn the

¹ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, p. 85, names the governor as Zubūnī.

² *Ibid.*, p. 85, says that every child attaining the age of 8 was also killed.

³ The text has 'Kanwārī.' In all probability it is Gunnaur as the *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III, p. 77, has.

⁴ *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī* of Ḍiyā Baranī, p. 60.

⁵ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, p. 85, says that the number of horses captured by the Sultān during the expedition was so great that the price of a horse lowered down from 40 to 30 *Tankahs*.

⁶ *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī* of Ḍiyā Baranī, p. 61.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 61.

Kūtwal, with presents and requested him to plead for them. *Fakhr-u'd-dīn* would not accept their presents. "My words," he explained, "will carry no weight if I accept any bribe from you." But he went to the *Diwān*, and stood at his usual place with a sad and melancholy face. The *Sultān* naturally asked him the reason of it. "I have heard," he replied "that old men are being dismissed by the Ministry of War. It makes me gloomy to think of my own fate, if on the Day of Judgment old men were to be expelled from the favour of the Almighty God." The *Sultān* understood *Fakhr-u'l-Mulk's* hint, revised his order and reconfirmed lands to the appli-

The Frontier and the Mongols

It is said that when Balban's government had become firm and stable, his generals 'Adīl *Khān* and Timar *Khān* and several other *Amīrs* represented to the *Sultān*, "Your Majesty's power is at its height. It will be most expedient for the *Sultān* to agree to our suggestion that we should now establish our authority over Gujarāt, Mālwah and other provinces of Hindustān, which were under the sway of Aibak and *İltutmish*,"¹ "It will not be an act of wisdom," Balban replied, "to leave Delhi and to go on distant campaigns in these days of turmoil and insecurity, when the Mongols have occupied all the lands of Islām, devastated Lāhore, and made it a point to invade our country once every year."² The *Sultān* further added, "If I move out of the capital, the Mongols are sure to avail of this opportunity by sacking Delhi and ravaging the *Doāb*."⁴ Maintaining peace and consolidating our power in our own kingdom is far better than invading foreign territories, while our own dominion is insecure. Further, the newly conquered areas require competent officers and well-equipped armies, which

¹ *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhi* of Diyā Baranī, pp. 63 and 64.

² *Ibid.*, p. 50.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 50.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 51.

I am unable to spare at the present juncture.¹ I have, therefore, made up my mind to face the Mongols with strong and organized forces; but if I get an opportunity I shall undoubtedly subdue the rest of Hindustān and extend the frontiers of my kingdom."

Two years after the Jūd-expedition, the Sultān marched to Lāhore in the year 1270 A.D., and ordered the reconstruction of the fort, which had been destroyed by the Mongols during the reigns of his predecessors.² About this time, the Sultān's cousin³ Sher Khān, a distinguished Khān and a great barrier to the Mongol inroads, was poisoned by Balban, and the territories of Sāmānah and Sunām were made over to the charge of Timar Khān,⁴ the most respected of the 'forty.' The other territories were assigned to various Amirs. But the Mongols, who were held in check by Sher Khān, now began ravaging the frontiers once more. Finding himself helpless, Balban appointed⁵ his elder son Muḥammad Sultān, who bore the title of Qān-u'l-Mulk and is popularly known as Khān-Shahīd (the Martyr Prince),⁶ the governor of Multān, Sind, Dipālpūr and

¹ *Tarikh-i-Firūz Shahī* of Ḍiyā Baranī, pp. 51 and 52.

² *Ibid.*, p. 61.

³ Sher Khān founded the city and fort of Bhatner and erected a high tower there. Since the days of Sultān Nāṣir-u'd-dīn, he held the districts of Sunām, Lāhore, Dipālpūr, and other territories, and had successfully withheld the Mongols from invading Hindustān. See Ḍiyā Baranī, p. 65.

⁴ *Firishtah*, p. 78, has 'تیمور خان'

⁵ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, p. 87, *Firishtah*, p. 78, and *Badā'uni*, p. 130, all wrongly assert that at the very outset he was made heir-apparent; while Ḍiyā Baranī says that on his last visit, Khān Shahīd was formally proclaimed heir-apparent.

⁶ During the early part of the reign, the prince held the territory of Koil. He was regarded dearer than other children by the Sultān, and was adorned with many rare virtues and talents. His court was graced by scholars of the greatest eminence and poets of the highest order like Amīr Khusrū and Khawājah Ḥasan. At Multān, a great mystic of the age 'Uṭhmān Tirmizī visited the Prince, but refused to stay at the court any longer. Among other saints, Shaiikh Ṣadr-u'd-dīn Qadoh, son of Shaiikh Bahā-u'd-dīn Dhakariyā, attended the court. Ḍiyā Baranī, pp. 67, 68.

Lāhore, and sent him to Multān with all the requisites of war and a body of experienced counsellors. After establishing his power in his territories, the Prince came to see his father every year with treasure and valuable presents. On his last visit, Balban proclaimed him his heir-apparent and gave many counsels.¹ The Sultān despatched his younger son Bughrā Khān, entitled Nāṣir-u'd-dīn, to the territories of Sāmānah and Sunām and advised him to make fresh recruitment in the army as a precautionary measure against the Mongol invasions.² The Sultān further forbade the use of wine to Bughrā Khān, and appointed spies to look after him and to report regarding his behaviour.³

Soon after in 1279 A.D., the Mongol troops crossed the river Beas, and Balban despatched against them Khān-Shahīd from Multān, Bughrā Khān from Sāmānah and Malik Mubārak Bektars from Delhi. The combined forces marched to the Beas, repulsed the Mongols and obtained several victories over them ; and since then the Mongols dared not to cross the river and invade Hindustān.⁴

The Rebellion of Tughrul

At length news was brought that Tughrul,⁵ the governor of Lakhnawtī, and one of the Sultān's Turkish slaves, had broken out into rebellion in the year 1279 A.D.⁶ The Sultān had long before appointed him governor of Lakhnawtī and Bengālah. The rebel had a reputation for generosity, courage and cleverness, and led his army from Lakhnawtī to Jājnagar, and obtained many elephants and vast treasures by defeating the Rae of that place. Balban was old ; his sons

¹ *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī* of Dīyā Baranī, p. 69.

² *Ibid.*, p. 80.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 81.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 81.

⁵ *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī*, p. 40, makes a nice blunder here. The author asserts that "after the death of Sher Khān, Amīn Khān became governor of Lakhnawtī and Tughrul became his deputy." The same historian, p. 41, and *Badā'uni* on page 129 further state that "Tughrul fought with Amīn Khān and came out successful." Dr. Ishwari Prasād (*Medieval India*, p. 208) wrongly styles him as 'Abtigin.'

⁶ *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī* of Dīyā Baranī, p. 81.

were engaged in a fierce struggle with the Mongols, and Ṭughrul, who wished to make himself king of Lakhnawtī, refrained from sending the spoils of Jānagar.¹ Ṭughrul ventured too far; he assumed a canopy of state, caused his name to be read in the *khutbah* and to be inscribed on the coinage, and proclaimed himself king of Lakhnawtī with the title of Sultān Mughīth-u'd-dīn.²

When the Sultān was informed of the persistent rebellious character of his most cherished slave Ṭughrul, he despatched Malik Alptigīn *Mū-i-darāz* (long-haired) entitled Amīn Khān at the head of a large army towards Lakhnawtī along with a number of other officers such as Timar Khān Shamsī, Malik Tāj-u'd-dīn, son of Qutlugh Khān Shamsī³ and 'Jamal-u'd-dīn Qandhārī.'⁴ Amīn Khān crossed the river Sarāyū or Sarjū (modern Gogrā)⁵ with his army, and Ṭughrul came forward to face him; but when the two forces were face to face, many Amīrs and soldiers of Amīn Khān deserted to Ṭughrul owing to his lavish gifts, and the former was defeated in battle. The army of Amīn Khān was put to the rout, and during their flight they were severely dealt with by the Hindū tribes. Having heard of the defeat, which his army had sustained, Balban ordered Amīn Khān to be hanged by his neck to the gate of Oudh.⁶ Next year in 1280 A.D., another army was fitted out under 'Malik Tarmatī, the Turk.'⁷ but Ṭughrul inflicted a crushing

¹ *Tārīkh-i-Fitūz Shāhi* of Diyā Baranī, p. 82.

² *Ibid.*, p. 83.

³ *Tabāqāt-i-Akbarī*, p. 92, has 'son of 'Alī Khān Shamsī.'

⁴ This name is added by *Firishtah*, p. 79, and *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhi*, p. 41, makes a whole sweep of affairs—according to it the generals were Amīn Khān, Ṭughrul, Jamāl-u'd-dīn Qandzī and Abtigīn Mūsī.

⁵ The Sarjū formerly joined the Gogrā in Gondā; but early in the 19th century it diverted its course into an old bed.

⁶ *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhi*, p. 41, asserts that 'Ṭughrul now went towards Bihār and imprisoned Aitkīn, Jamāl-u'd-dīn Qandzī and Amīn Khān at Narkelā.

⁷ The name of the general is given by *Firishtah*, p. 80; *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhi*, p. 41, calls him Malik Tarmatī. The *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III, p. 79, wrongly styles him as Targhī.

defeat upon him as well. *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī* says that "Ṭughrul attacked Tarmatī unawares; the latter being defeated fled to Oudh." The Sultān then ordered Malik Shihāb-u'd-dīn of Oudh to lead the campaign and to hang Malik Tarmatī on the gibbet. He acted accordingly, but was defeated by Ṭughrul."¹

Balban was perplexed and worried at this turn of affairs, and determined to march in person. He ordered the construction of a large number of boats on the Jumnā and the Ganges, while he himself went on a hunting expedition to Sunām and Sāmānah.² The governorship of Sāmānah was transferred to Malik Sirāj,³ *Sar-i-Jāndār*⁴ (Commander of the Royal body-guards at the centre), and Bughrā Khān was directed to accompany the Sultān with his troops. Balban marched from there to the *Doāb* and appointed *Malik-u'l-Umarā Fakh-r-u'd-dīn Kūtwāl* to act as his Regent at Delhi during his absence: and, regardless of the rainy season, he crossed the Ganges and moved towards Lakhnawtī by continued marches. While his movements were inevitably delayed by the difficulties of the season, Ṭughrul gathered together his forces and intended to move with his elephants, treasures and army to Jājnagar⁵ to conquer it. So long as Balban was at Lakhnawtī, Ṭughrul proposed to remain at Jājnagar, when the Sultān returned to Delhi, he would occupy Lakhnawtī once more. He was frustrated in his designs, for, when Balban reached Lakhnawtī, he entrusted it to the charge of *Sipāh Sālār* (Commander of troops) Hīsam-u'd-dīn, *Wakil-i-dār*, *Malik-i-Bār-bak*⁶ (the officer in charge of the court), grand-father of the author of the

¹ *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī*, pp. 41 and 42.

² *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī* of Diyā Baranī, p. 85.

³ *Ibid.*, has ملك سونج *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, p. 93, calls him ملك سونج while *Firishtah*, p. 80, names him as Sirāj, which is most probable.

⁴ *Firishtah*, p. 80, has پسر حامدار which is quite incorrect.

⁵ *Ibid.*, has Jājnagar; but *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī* of Diyā Baranī, p. 86, has Hājī Nagar. Here *Firishtah* is right.

⁶ وكيل در is an office; ملك باریک is a title conferred on the *Amir-i-Hajib*.

Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī and himself advanced towards Jājnagar in pursuit of Ṭugh̃rul.¹ Bhoj Rae,² the Rae of Sunārgāon³ (near Dacca) came to offer his homage, and promised to bar the rebel's passage in case he tried to fly to the sea.⁴

The Sultān moved forward restlessly, but no information regarding the whereabouts of Ṭugh̃rul could be obtained from anyone. Balban refused to relax the pursuit, and ordered Malik Bārbak Bek Barlās⁵ at the head of seventy or eighty horses to march ten or twelve *kos* in advance of the main army, but his most vigilant search revealed no trace of Ṭugh̃rul.⁶

At length one day, Malik Muḥammad Sher-Andāz⁷ and his brother Malik Muqaddar and a person later on known as Ṭugh̃rul Kuṣh (slayer of Ṭugh̃rul) were appointed to march ahead with thirty horsemen. They suddenly came

¹ *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī* of Diyā Baranī, p. 87. Thomas places Jājnagar in Tipperah, east of Dacca, *Chronicles of Pathān Kings*, p. 121.

² *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, p. 93, has هوحراى *Firishṭah*, p. 80, has هوحراى *Badā'ūnī*, p. 129, راجه دهنوج; *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī* p. 42, has راجه دهنوج. It is in fact Rae Bhoj; the possibility of discovering anything about him is remote.

³ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, p. 93, and *Badā'ūnī*, p. 129, have سنار نام while *Firishṭah*, p. 80 has, راجه سنار Sunārgāon is near Dacca.

⁴ *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī*, p. 42, gives an interesting account—"on the advice of *Bektars*, the Sultān sat upon the throne, and the Rae prostrated before him."

⁵ Diyā Baranī's printed *Tārīkh* has ملك باربك بيمكترمس سلطانى. *Firishṭah*, p. 80, has ملك باربيك برلاس. *Badā'ūnī*, p. 129—Malik Ikhtiyār-u'd-dīn Bek Barlas. Barlās is a well-known Turkish surname as for example Junaid Barlās, Bāber's governor of Jaunpūr.

⁶ *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī* of Diyā Baranī, p. 88.

⁷ "ملك محمد شير انداز مقتطع كول- و برادر زاده ملك مقدر و طغرل كشي"

⁸ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, p. 94, has تيمر انداز and governor of Koil. The *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III, p. 80, wrongly styles Muqaddar as Ṭugh̃rul Kuṣh following the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī* and *Firishṭah*. Dr. Ishwari Prasād (*Medieval India*, p. 210) also has 'the chief of Koil and his brother Malik Muqaddar,' but does not mention Ṭugh̃rul Kuṣh.

across a group of corn¹ dealers, and tried to frighten them to find if they knew anything about Ṭughrul. They professed ignorance, but when the heads of two of them were chopped off by Malik Sher Andāz, the rest cried with one voice, "We are prepared to tell you his whereabouts, but spare our lives." "We carried our corn to Ṭughrul's camp, and are just returning from there," added the corn-dealers. "His camp is only half-a-farsang (about a mile) from near a stone-built reservoir."²

Malik Muḥammad Sher-Andāz sent the corn-dealers to Malik Bārbak Bektars, and requested him to come immediately, lest Ṭughrul should march off to Jājnagar and disappear in the neighbouring forests. He then went on an eminence and caught a sight of the rebel's camp—Ṭughrul's pavilion had been pitched, his army was resting with a sense of security; the horses and elephants were feeding. It was a unique opportunity and Sher Andāz determined to avail himself of it. On reaching the rebel's camp, they shouted the name of Ṭughrul, drew their swords and dashed into the pavilion. Ṭughrul slipped out of his bath-room, jumped on an unsaddled horse and flew to a river nearby. Malik Muqaddar pursued him and Ṭughrul Kush shot an arrow, which struck him in his side and brought him down from his horse. The *Malik* instantly alighted from his horse, and cut off Ṭughrul's head, and cast his body into the river.³ But as Ṭughrul's men were wandering everywhere in search of their master, Muqaddar buried the head in the soft earth by the river-side, then he took off his clothes, and was busy washing them. A little later, Malik Bārbak Bektars arrived, and he despatched Ṭughrul's head with a message of victory

¹ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī* p. 94, has چند نفر از لشکر طغرل 'some soldiers from Ṭughrul's army,' which is contrary to *Ḍiyā Baranī*'s account.

² *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī* of *Ḍiyā Baranī*, p. 89, فرسنگ and فرسخ are equivalent, and mean a league. In modern Persia, however, *Farsakh* is a space travelled by a donkey in one hour, that is to say, four miles. *Ibn Baṭṭūṭah's Travels* (Urdu Translation by Muḥammad Ḥusain) on p. 398 has "700 farsangs=2,400 miles" i.e., 1 farsang=about 3½ miles.

³ *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī* of *Ḍiyā Baranī*, pp. 90 and 91.

to the Sultān. Next day, he himself reached the royal camp, and gave a verbal account of what had happened. The Sultān felt angry at the rashness displayed by Sher-Andāz and his brother; but ultimately promoted their ranks and bestowed special favours upon them. The man, who shot the arrow, was given the title of Ṭughrul-Kush,¹ and Malik Muqaddar who cut off his head was awarded a robe of honour.²

On Balban's return to Lakhnawtī, a regime of terror and chastisement began. He ordered a row of gibbets to be erected on each side of the market for more than two miles in length, and all the friends, supporters and relations of Ṭughrul were impaled upon them. Among the captives, who were executed, was one Qalandar Shāh, whom Ṭughrul held in high esteem and had given him three *mans* of gold. The remaining soldiers of the rebel's army, who formerly belonged to the environs of the capital, were reserved for punishment at Delhi.

The Sultān assigned the territory of Lakhnawtī to his younger son Bughrā Khān, and granted him a canopy of state and other insignia of royalty.³ Bughrā Khān took up his residence in the royal mansion near the great Bāzaar. One day, the Sultān asked him, "Maḥmūd: didst thou see?" The prince was thunderstruck and was quiet. The Sultān repeated a second time, but received no reply. Balban said a third time, "Didst thou see my chastisements in the Bāzaar?" "I saw," replied Bughrā Khān, and bowed low. The Sultān continued, "If ever designing and ingenious persons induce you to break away from Delhi and throw off its authority, remember the vengeance and chastisement

¹ *Firishṭah*, p. 81, asserts that the Sultān ordered that "Ṭughrul may henceforth be called 'Ṭughrul-i-Namak-Harām.'"

² *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī* of *Ḍiyā Baranī*, p. 91.

³ *Firishṭah*, p. 81, adds that 'he was permitted to strike the coin, and have the *khutbah* read in his name'; but *Ḍiyā Baranī*, who is a better authority than *Firishṭah* does not mention it. Further, the Sultān definitely asserted that Bughrā Khān's position was inferior to that of the sovereign of Delhi.

inflicted by me on Ṭugḥhrul and his companions."¹ He further forbade the use of wine to Bugḥrā Khān, and advised him to observe moderation in levying taxes, to decide political affairs in consultation with his sincere and genuine counsellors, and to be very particular about prayers and fasting.² The Sulṭān strictly told him that he should remain obedient and loyal to the Sulṭān of Delhi, and must despatch reliable messengers and a number of elephants every year to the capital. And if the Sulṭān of Delhi invaded Lakhnawtī, he should never face him but fly to a distant land³—a lesson Balban learnt from Ṭugḥhrul. After completing his counsels, the Sulṭān bade farewell to Bugḥrā Khān, and continued his march towards Delhi.

After crossing the river Sarāyū, Balban reached the capital after three years, and the people welcomed their sovereign with congratulations and offerings.⁴ Balban showered many favours on Malik-u'l Umarā Fakhr-u'd-dīn Kūtwāl, who had performed distinguished services during his absence, presented him with the cloak he was wearing and gave him the title of 'brother.'⁵ Charities were distributed to the poor and the needy. The Sulṭān went to visit the tombs of saints, interviewed the leading scholars and mystics of the day, and set a large number of prisoners free. Balban then ordered the erection of stakes in the market of the city, so that the captives of Ṭugḥhrul's army, who had fled from Delhi and joined the rebel at Lakhnawtī, may be impaled on them. Many of the prisoners were relations of the citizens, and sounds of wailing and weeping arose from them. The Qāḍī of the army, one of the most pious men living, went to the Sulṭān and softened his heart with touching words. Balban granted his appeal for mercy, and

¹ *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhi* of Ḍiyā Baranī, pp. 92, 93.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 97 to 102.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 95 and 96.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 106 and 107.

⁵ *Firīshṭah*, p. 81 ثانی اثنین خود گردانید i.e. 'made him the second man in the kingdom.'

forgave them all.¹

The death of Sultān Muḥammad and last days of Sultān Balban

At this juncture, Prince Muḥammad arrived with many presents and horses from Multān, and the Sultān was delighted to receive him. Before his departure, Balban called him to a private interview and gave a number of counsels to him.² The Prince then retired to Multān.

During his stay at Multān, Muḥammad had cleared his territories of the Mongols, and put a large number of them to death. In a spirit of retaliation, Timar Khān, a great Chingizī noble and governor of Herāt and who belonged to the Anti-Khān of Māwarā-u'n-Nehr, invaded Sind with an army of twenty thousand men. At length the catastrophe approached. In the year 1285 A.D., Muḥammad proceeded to Multān and Dipālpūr to repel the Mongols.³ One morning, Sultān Muḥammad, hearing that the enemy was quite near, arranged his forces on the borders of Sarīr-gardens on the bank of the river Rāwī, which then used to flow to Multān, at a place named Mandī Kilapī.⁴ The place was safe and secure; but Timar Khān, who had encamped on the other side, unexpectedly crossed the river at mid-day and began fighting. In the fierce battle that ensued many Mongol officers were killed and Timar Khān was defeated. Muḥammad, who had not said his *ḡuhur* (mid-day) prayers, alighted by the side of a large pond near-

¹ *Ḍiyā Baranī*, p. 108. An inscription of Balban is discovered engraved in the walls of the Jāmi' Masjid at Gurmuktisar (Meerut District):

مبنى هذه العمارة في عهد السلطنة السلطان الاعظم شاهنشاه المعظم
فيماث الدنبا والدين ابو المظفر بلبن السلطان ناصر امير المومنين
... سنة اثنى وثمانين وستمائة ٦٨٢

Thomas—*Chronicles of Pathān Kings*, p. 136.

² These counsels have been summarized in a previous section of the chapter—'Balban's theory of kingship and government.'

³ *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī*, of *Ḍiyā Baranī*, p. 109.

⁴ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, p. 98, and *Badā'unī*, p. 132. The place is rather uncertain.

by and with a small contingent began to pray.¹ Meanwhile a Mongol officer, who had been lying in ambush, arrived at the spot and considered it a good opportunity for attacking Muḥammad's party. The Mongols succeeded in breaking the lines; but Muḥammad courageously mounted with his friends, and rashly pushed forward to check the onslaught of the enemy. In the thick of battle, a fatal arrow struck Muḥammad, and the heroic prince instantly breathed his last. The Turkish army fled with full speed.² Amīr Khusrū, a celebrated poet of Muḥammad's court,³ was captured by the Mongols along with other soldiers and *Amirs*, but he soon effected his escape.

The martyrdom of Muḥammad was a severe blow to Sulṭān Balban, who dressed himself in mourning clothes and lamented the irreparable loss of his son for several days.⁴ Kai-Khusrū, the son of the Martyr Prince, was appointed governor of Multān with a canopy of state and other insignia of royalty. Balban, an old man of eighty, 'his heart broken and his back bowed,' kept up an unperturbed appearance throughout the day, but at night, and when he was alone, he lost his self-control and wept bitterly. Sadness and despair overpowered him and he fell dangerously ill. He summoned Bughrā Khān from Lakhnawtī, and said to him, "The loss

¹ *Badā'ūnī*, pp. 133 and 134.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 135 and 136.

³ Both Amīr Ḥasan and Amīr Khusrū composed *Marthiyahs* on the death of Muḥammad. The *Marthiyah* of Amīr Ḥasan is given by *Badā'ūnī* in his *Muntakhab-u't-Twārikh*. Amīr Khusrū's famous verses are :—

تا چه سامت دد که شاه از مولتان لشکر کشید
تیغ کافر کشی برائے کشتن کافر کشید
آنچه حاضر بود لشکر لشکری دیگر زنجست
زانکه رستم را نشاید مدت لشکر کشید
شاه لشکر به ترتیب صف و آیین حدک
می دوانید اشهب اقبال را تا می دويد
روز چون ساقی نبود آن افتاب بخت را
روز باقی بود چیمزے کافتاب افتاده بود

⁴ *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhi* of Dīyā Baranī, p. 120.

of your brother has ruined me. I see, my death is near, you are my only heir, and it is not advisable for you to leave me at such a stage. Your son Kaiqubād and your nephew Kai-Khusrū are young and inexperienced and are not capable of government."¹ Bughrā Khān was a heedless prince. He remained at the capital for about two months, but soon found a pretext to leave for Lakhnawtī.

No sooner had Bughrā Khān left Balban, than he sank under sorrow. He fell dangerously ill, and three days before his death, he summoned the *Malik-u'l Umarā*, Haḍrat Khwājah Ḥasan Baṣrī, the *Vizier*, and a few other officials to his presence, and said,² "Bughrā Khān has left for Lakhnawtī, and the throne cannot remain vacant. My death is near, and I, therefore, appoint Kai-Khusrū as my heir-apparent." Balban died³ at the close of the year 1287 A.D. after a reign of 22 years. The *Malik-u'l Umarā* was not on good terms with Khān Shahīd. He, therefore, sent Kai-Khusrū to Multān, and placed Kaiqubād on the throne with the title of Sultān Mu'izz-u'd-Dīn.⁴

¹ *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhi* of Ḍiyā Baranī, p. 120.

² *Ibid.*, p. 121.

³ The *Khulāṣat-u't-Twārikh*, p. 142, says 'Balban ruled for twenty years and three months'—a wrong version. *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhi* and the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, p. 103, 22 years and some months. *Firishṭah*, p. 83, correctly says 22 years. From 1266 to 1287, it is a period of about 22 years. The tomb of Balban is situated some three hundred yards to the east of the mosque of Jamālī. It measures 38' square and is built of rubble. It has an arched opening in each of its four sides, but the dome has disappeared. Adjoining it on the east is a ruined compartment 24' 6" by 19' 8", where the Khān Shahīd, Balban's son, is buried (*Monuments of Delhi*, Vol. III, p. 94.)

⁴ *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhi* of Ḍiyā Baranī, p. 122. *Ibn Baṭṭūṭah* states, The *Malik-u'l-Umarā* drew up a document and forged the signatures of the Chief *Amirs*, attesting that they had taken the oath of allegiance to Mu'izz-u'd-dīn. He showed it to Kai-Khusrū and advised him to fly to Sind. He opened the gates of the city and Kai-Khusrū left the capital." *Elliot*, Vol. III, pp. 595, 596. Ḍiyā Baranī, p. 122, says that the *Malik-u'l-Umarā* and Khān Shahīd had quarrelled about women. It may, therefore, be inferred that the character of the Prince was not so excellent as depicted by historians in respect for his martyrdom.

Estimate

A kingdom is held to be one and indivisible; chance, intrigue, the will of the deceased monarch or the accidents of civil war may take it to anyone. The successors of Sultān Shams-u'd-dīn Īltutmish, were, one by one, set up and pulled down with bewildering rapidity by the all-powerful *Maliks* and *Amirs*. The dignity of the state withered away during the thirty years' government due to their addiction to pleasure, weak rule and mal-administration. There was no money in the royal treasury and no horse in the imperial stable. The revenues of the state were divided among the '*Chahelgānī*' Turkish slaves of Sultān Shams-u'd-dīn Īltutmish, who sought equality in every respect and in their proud vaunts said to one another, 'what art thou that I am not, and what wilt thou be that I shall not be.' Thus the previous reigns were very much disturbed by the rivalries and insubordination of the *Maliks* and *Amirs*. War was a prevailing madness; all was blood, horror and confusion. Such was the chaotic condition of the kingdom of Delhi, when Balban ascended the throne. Apparently the Turkish rule had been shattered beyond the possibility of reconstruction. The power was considered to have fallen for ever, and its doom had been pronounced, but still it survived. The position of Balban was insecure from rivals, revolts and the hostility of his own family, but he knew how anarchy was to be averted with severe measures of repression. To reform the corrupt condition of the kingdom and to infuse fresh vigour in the crown, Balban resolved upon devising more effective schemes. Only strong measures could restore tranquillity to the distracted empire. Balban decorated the court and palace after the manner of the kings of Persia, set in order the affairs of the state and re-organized the army. For the rebellious *Maliks* and *Amirs*, he thought, the Assassin's dagger was the only remedy possible. He got rid of most of the 'forty' by poison or murder, and in order to reduce the rest to a sense of their inferiority, he made them stand motionless in his presence with folded arms and vexed them with petty rules of etiquette. Frequent executions and even

massacres restored the loyalty of the people and their governors. The rebels were punished with unsparing severity. The result was that the state slowly recovered from its ruinous condition. Balban's inflexible yet just severity restored order in all parts of the Empire, and the Turkish rule once more rose stronger and vigorous. Surrounded by all the pomp and magnificence that oriental imagination could devise, Balban was admired and cherished by his courtiers and subjects with a feeling of horror and bewilderment. At length peace, prosperity and a profound tranquillity reigned. Never was a strong will better obeyed than during this epoch, and never was the state so triumphant over disorder, or the power of law widely felt and respected. The restoration of Delhi from the hopeless depth of misery to the height of power had been effected by the intellect and will alone of Balban. Few, in fact, have realised the high ideal of kingly greatness. Out of chaos and vision of imminent destruction, Balban had evolved order and prosperity, and the people welcomed the new regime cheerfully.

Sultān Ghiyāth-u'd-dīn Balban was an experienced hand in the art of government. He had experienced too horribly the ups and downs of the state, and had tasted enough of the joys and sorrows of empire. At the time of his accession he was 'forty' but full of hope and ambition, and had already inaugurated the sway of his sword in the days of his youth. The old soldier did not belie his reputation and turned out to be a just, high-minded and vigorous king. His martial powers were considerable, and to these he added the advantage of great physical energy and courage. Gifted with administrative as well as military talents, Balban's ability and wisdom are unquestioned. Endowed with a gift of strong will, dignified bearing and unbending resolution, Balban commanded the respect of his Malikis, subordinates and the people, all of whom were terrified by his achievements and held their breath in fear. His private life was simple and austere. The rites of religion found full observance with him, and he was very strict in matters of worship,

fasting and nightly prayer. He never failed to pay a visit to saints of renown and 'Ālims of eminence on every Friday. He was, in short, the most accessible though the most stately of monarchs. Prompt and decisive in action, troubled by few scruples, terribly severe and perfidiously diplomat, Balban possessed an ambition of greatness and ruthless sway. He was terrible in anger and intolerant of opposition, and the series of tortures and executions as adopted by Balban makes one's blood run cold. He, however, administered an even-handed justice throughout the length and breadth of his vast dominion, and even his relations could not escape his ferocity. He was stern and uncompromising, but his authority was just, enlightened and tolerant. In the hour of dismay as well as in the moment of triumph, Balban was master of the situation. It goes to his discredit that he poisoned Sher Khān—a sign of weakness—and this really deprives him of the title of the hero to which many of his brilliant qualities almost attain.

Sultān Ghiyāth-u'd-dīn Balban ruled for a period of 22 years, but could not broaden the borders of his kingdom on account of the swift and irresistible inroads of the Mongols. His *Amīrs* dreamt of world-wide conquests, but he was content with the occupation and good government of his own dominion. Ambition brings its own dangers, and the newly conquered territories required a fresh army and a large number of officials and attendants, which Balban was unable to spare at the time of crisis and confusion. His aim was not further conquest, but organization and consolidation of his dominion, and consequently he directed his attention towards the affairs of the state. He believed in the 'divine Right of Kings,' and attached much importance to the pomp and dignity of the court and palace and of the riding procession. The sight dazzled the spectators and rebels of distant lands became submissive and loyal. Kingly dignity and terror of authority, he rightly thought, contribute more than mere chastisement to the establishment of a strong and stable government. Strict in etiquette, brutal in massacres, and fearless in punishment, Balban took delight in diminish-

ing the failing power of the Maliks, and employed in his service only such persons as were of high birth and noble lineage. He kept the Turkish nobility in severe repression, and his attitude even to his most trustworthy allies was one of distant respect. As regards his subjects, Balban thought they would never become submissive until they were reduced to poverty. He, however, did not believe in the time-honoured theories, and his memorable remark may be cited to give an insight into his policy—"All that I can do is to crush the cruelties of the cruel, and to see that every one is equal before law. The glory of the state rests upon a rule, which makes its subjects submissive and loyal, but does not make the rich prosperous or the indigent happy—a cause of sedition and rebellion."

Balban's government enjoyed a profound tranquillity, broken by one rebellion of political importance. His most cherished slave, Ṭughrul, became infected with the spirit of rebellion, and raised the banner of revolt in Bengal. The ambition of powerful governors to make their own dynasties independent of the central authority is a well known feature of Oriental History. Ṭughrul received powerful support from the sentiment of local patriotism, and, strengthened thus, manifested great fierceness and defiance. The duty of revenging a wrong did not sit lightly upon Balban's conscience, and it was only a matter of time for his arms to penetrate into Bengal. The two repeated invasions had made his life uncomfortable, and he now resolved to drive matters to a final issue. His indignation knew no bounds, and it was a striking picture of the vigorous old age that he became filled with a burning desire to subdue the rebel. Ṭughrul proved a menace to Bengal, surprised and carried away the entire population towards Jājnagar, but his ill-considered plan failed miserably. Balban converted the insurrection into a wholesale massacre, the horrible memory of which never faded from the imagination of the people. Balban gazed with satisfaction at the gibbets, and emerged stronger and more triumphant than ever.

The Muslim realm was often menaced by greater dangers than those of internal anarchy. The Mongols were a standing danger, and a repetition of their horrible raids brought desolation and tyranny in their wake. The physical strength of the invaders and their unrivalled brutality carried fire and sword through the land wherever they went. Balban took the fatal step of murdering Malik Sher Khān, who had successfully checked the progress of the 'infidel Mongols' for a long time. It was no easy job to resist their unprovoked invasions, and, in order to ward off their attacks of his territory, Balban had to appoint his own dear son, prince Muḥammad. However, the Mongols broke loose from time to time, but the Prince checked their advance, and kept a vigilant watch on the frontier. It was an evil day for the Prince, when he was hard beset near Multān by the Mongols, rapidly gained the mastery, but suddenly the fortune of the day was reversed. The battle ended with an irreparable loss of Muḥammad. The Sultān was shocked to hear of his son's death, and mortal illness seized him. Though invincible by man, Balban was no proof against death. The strain of sorrow and anxiety was too much for him, and he could not brook disappointment. The world seemed comfortless and gloomy to him, and, left in mournful solitude, the gallant old Sultān met his death with the courage of despair. Balban was one of those unfortunate people who leave no competent successor. On his part he left almost undisturbed possession, but no fit heir to carry on the government. The larger part of his reign he spent in the saddle in the vain attempt to found his own dynasty, but the effort was foredoomed to failure. It was, however, under Balban that the Turkish domination was destined to revive, but a rapid decline set in just after his death. Revolution and anarchy succeeded him, but his commanding influence was felt sometimes after his death.

It was a transient dictatorship depending upon the ability and ferocity of one man. The Turkish officers merely bowed their heads and waited for their chance.

Balban aimed at the suppression of the military and official oligarchy, and tried to derive his power from the inherent vitality of the Crown. According to him, sovereignty was mainly based upon force. The doctrine of might, combined with 'sound and fury signifying nothing,' could not survive any longer. He had no idea of administrative reorganization. Balban, as a statesman, lacked both ability and vision. His precepts are common-place, and if 'Alā-u'd-dīn is to be believed, there was neither a proper system of local government nor of land-revenue. The exclusion of non-Turkish elements from the state continued. The Khalji Revolution was the outcome of the hollowness of Balban's policy—to his incapacity to bring the state into touch with the people by the elimination of the '*muqaddams*' and the establishment of a '*ryotwārī*' system. India had still to be conquered and reorganized.

CHAPTER VIII

SULTĀN MU'ĪZZ-U'D-DĪN KAIQUBĀD

Character.

On the death of Sultān Ghiyāth-u'd-dīn Balban, Kaiqubād, son of Nāṣir-ū'd-dīn Bughrā Khān,¹ ascended the throne of Delhi with the title of Sultān Mu'izz-u'd-dīn in the year 1287 A.D.² He was king by virtue of three descents—Ghiyāth-u'd-dīn Balban was his paternal grand-father, his mother was the daughter of Sultān Nāṣir-ū'd-dīn Maḥmūd ; while his father Bughra Khān had a daughter of Sultān Shams-u'd-dīn for his mother.³ A young man of seventeen

¹ Dīyā Baranī, the author of the *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhi*, was a child in the reign of Sultān Mu'izz-u'd-dīn Kaiqubād, and whatever he has recorded about the events of this reign, he has learnt from his father *Muyyid-u'l-Mulk* and his preceptors, who were men of letters, in his reign. Not men of note as in *Elliot*, Vol. III, p. 124, for the text is “*هلامه روزگار*”; Dīyā Baranī, *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhi*, p. 127.

² *Ibid.*, incorrectly has 1286 A.D., while *Qir'ān-u's-Sa'dain*, p. 35, a contemporary and, therefore, more reliable, authority, says 1287 A.D., 686 H.

کرد چودر شمسد و هشتاد و شش بر سر خود تاج جد خویش خوش

He is styled on the coinage as :—

السلطان الاعظم معز الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر كيقباد السلطان

The Delhi coin of this sovereign bears the same date, i.e., 686 H.=1287 A.D. H.N. Wright, *Sultāns of Delhi, their Coins and Metrology*, p. 63.

The same date is given by the *Khulāṣat-u'l-Tawārīkh*, p. 206.

³ *Qir'ān-u's-Sa'dain*, p. 22, refers to this fact as follows :—

شمس جهانگیر جد با فرش اظهر من الشمس حد دیگرش
ناصر حق - شاه فرشته صفت خود خوشش نساخه باغ بهشت
جد سوئم شاه فیثام امم حاکم فرمان عرب تا هجم

or eighteen,¹ Kaiqubād possessed a handsome exterior, a cultured mind and a benevolent disposition.² Since his early childhood till the day of his accession, he had been brought up and educated under the severe supervision of his grandfather. The strict guardian and tutors, in whose hands he had been placed, never allowed him to satisfy a youthful desire or to entertain the idea of indulging in any pleasure. Out of the fear of the Sultān, his preceptors never permitted him any opportunity "to cast his eyes on any fair damsel or to taste a cup of wine." His tutors instructed him in calligraphy, science, literature, archery, the game of *Chaugān*³ and spearmanship; while his austere guardians delivered lessons in refinement and culture, and spared no pains in the teaching of good manners and virtuous acts.⁴ And when suddenly, and without making any effort whatsoever, the unexpected favour of fortune placed him on the throne, he immediately forgot the lessons of wisdom and self-restraint, and yielding to the hitherto suppressed desires of his

¹ *Diya Baranī, Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī*, p. 127, says 'seventeen or eighteen,' while the *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, p. 103, and *Firīshah*, p. 83, have eighteen.

² *Diya Baranī, Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī*, p. 127.

³ The word is "گویی باختی"—which means the game of *Chaugān*. *Ā'in-i-Akbarī*, pp. 173, 174, describes the game as follows: "Chaugān was an excellent method of training both the man and his horse. When Akbar entered the ground, he took a stout man to be his adversary, and ten others were selected and then divided into pairs by the cast of the die. Each couple played for twenty-five minutes. The game was, however, played after several manners. Firstly, one of the parties placed the ball in the hollow of his bat and trundled it slowly towards the *Jāl* or pit, which is called *Rowl*. Then the adversary skilfully caught hold of the ball into his bat, and flung it away forcibly before the other could approach him. This process is called *Beylah*, which is performed in several ways either by throwing the ball towards the right or to the left, and the other person frequently snatched it from between his horse's leg and from under his body; and when the ball came to the front, he caught it upon the pit, a kettle-drum was beaten, signifying the end of the game; and the victory of the person, who threw the ball into the pit. Balls of *Pallās* were used to play the game at night."

⁴ *Diya Baranī, Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī*, p. 128.

youth, gave himself up to debauchery and dissipation of every kind.¹

When the terror of cruel chastisement, glory of the state and, above all, the high-handedness of Sultān Balban disappeared, and a pleasure-seeking monarch, handsome, mild and of excellent disposition sat upon the throne, the business of story-tellers, jesters, jokers, musicians, organizers of convivial meetings, sweet-hearts and buffoons became brisk, and they flocked to the capital to find their fortune. "A beauty appeared under the shadow of every wall," says Ḍiyā Baranī, "a good looking face peeped from the upper storey, and musicians and reciters of *Ghazals* could be seen in every lane."² His ministers, likewise, the *Maliks* and *Amirs* of his court also took to pleasure and dissipation; and the various classes of people, high or low, acquired a taste for wine, music and amusements.³

Vanity constrained the pleasure-loving Sultān to change his abode. He gave up residing at the *Kushk-i-Lāl*⁴ (the

¹ *Ibn Baṭṭūṭah* says "I have heard a person, who lived at this period, describe the happiness, the cheapness of provisions and the liberality and munificence of Mu'izz-u'd-dīn. It was he who built the *minaret* of the great Mosque at Delhi...An inhabitant of India informed me that Mu'izz-u'd-dīn was much given to the society of women and to drinking ..."—*Elliot*, Vol III, p. 597. It is an amusing misstatement of *Ibn Baṭṭūṭah* that "Kaiqubād built the *Quṭb Mīnār* of Delhi, and that the passage leading to the top was wide enough to admit an elephant." In fact, Quṭb-u'd-dīn Aibak was the founder of the basement storey, and it was Īltutmish, who completed the Mīnār. Vide *Āṭḥār-u's-Ṣanādīd*, p. 55. For further details consult the reign of Sultān Quṭb-u'd-dīn Aibak. *Ibn Baṭṭūṭah* seems to confound Mu'izz-u'd-dīn Sām with Mu'izz-u'd-dīn Kaiqubād.

² Ḍiyā Baranī, *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī*, p. 84. ³ *Ibid.*, p. 129.

⁴ The *Red-Palace* was built by Ghiyāth-u'd-dīn Balban in the year 1255 A.D., and its mention is made by Ḍiyā Baranī in his *Tārīkh-i-Firūz-Shāhī*, on p. 54. But the *Āṭḥār-u's-Ṣanādīd*, (Vol. I, p. 45) incorrectly states that the building was erected by the *Khaljīs*. However, very little of the history of this place is known. Firūz Shāh Khaljī is said to have visited it after his coronation at the *White Palace*. Sir Syed is again wrong to think that the palace was built near the tomb of Ḥadrat Niẓām-u'd-dīn Auliya, and that the ruins of *Lāl-Mahal* make its side.

Red Palace) at the capital and began constructing a splendid palace¹ and the laying out of a fine garden on the bank of the river Jumnā at Kilūkhri.² The new capital, however, could not save the Sultān from the prying eyes of the public or the galling yoke of the Turkish aristocracy. The *Maliks*, *Amirs*, officials and attendants of the court followed the Sultān, and began building palaces and dwelling houses there. The news of the Sultān's revelry and amusements reached every quarter of the Empire, and filled his *Majlis* (Assembly) with beautiful girls and witty courtiers. And the Sultān continued devoting his days and nights to luxury and enjoyment, and showered gifts right and left. The famous clowns and sweet-speakers like Diyā Jhajji and Ḥisām Durviṣh and renowned musicians became the object of Sultān's special favour, and were regarded as his confidants and friends.³ "Vice and immorality prevailed everywhere,"

Baranī, as above, says, "Kaiqubād gave up residing in the city and left the Red Palace." By city is meant Old Delhi, for, when Balban provisioned the fort of Rae Pithorā, it is unlikely that he would have built his own residence outside the defences of the fort. See Stephen Carr's *Archæological Remains of Delhi*, p. 79. Again, references to the *Red Palace* of Old Delhi are of constant occurrence in the texts.

¹ Diyā Baranī (*Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhi*, p. 176) says that Sultān Jalāl-u'd-dīn ordered the completion of the Kilūkhri Palace, of which the foundation was laid by Kaiqubād. Kilūkhri کیلوخیری or Kulūgharī کلوگهاری was a place of importance even before the time of Kaiqubād. Qādī Minhāj Sirāj, in the reign of Sultān Nāṣir-u'd-dīn, relates that a well-equipped army was stationed from the new city of Kilūkhri upto the Royal Palace to receive the Mongol emissaries. (*Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri*, p. 317). On the one side of the Palace was the river and on the other a beautiful garden (قیرآن-و-س-داین—Qir'ān-u's-Sā'dain, p. 56). The palace must, therefore, have overlooked the river; for the Sultān's body was overthrown into the river from the halls of mirrors. Very shortly it came to be known as *Nayā Shehr*, and *Qila'h-i-Rae Pithorā* was called Old Delhi. At present no traces of the Kilūkhri-palace are visible; yet at the same spot, where the tomb of Humāyūn stands, the town of Kilūkhri still exists—see *Āthār-u's-Ṣanādīd*, Vol. IV, p. 5. *List of Monuments*, Vol. IV, p. 13.

² Diyā Baranī, *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhi*, p. 131.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 130.

says *Ḍiyā Baranī*, "mosques were empty of worshippers and the wine-shops flourished."¹ *Baranī*'s accounts must be taken with many grains of salt. The habits of a life-time could not be overthrown so easily, and it was not possible for every one to fall into dissipation all of a sudden. There seems to have been quite enough of immorality in *Balban*'s days, and the slackness of government could have only increased immorality or rather its public manifestation in a part of the public. On account of the luxury prevailing at the court, immorality was more open and less restrained. In short, *Kaiqubād* was an easy-tempered and an easy-going monarch, and possessed no kingly dignity or authority, which was an essential of sovereignty in those days.

The Nā'ib-u'l-Mulk Malik Nizām-u'd-dīn.

Malik Nizām-u'd-dīn, nephew and son-in-law of *Malik-u'l-Umarā Fakhr-u'd-dīn Kūtawāl*, was legally created *Dād-Bak*² (Judicial Secretary, whose duty was to enforce the

¹ *Ḍiyā Baranī, Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī*, p. 167. *Amīr Khusrū*, in his *Qir'ān-u's-Sa'dain*, p. 26, vainly attempts to prove his (*Sulṭān*'s) sense of justice and terror of chastisement by saying :—

عدل تو بر بست به ذیروٹے خویشی گردن ده گریک نیمک موٹے خویشی
(Your system of justice has bound the heads of ten wolves with one hair of sheep).

هیبت تو تیغ سیاست بدست حربہ زد اندر دل شیران مست
(Your terror accompanied by a sword of chastisement has attacked the very hearts of fierce lions).

² The duties of *Dād-Bak*, *Bārbak* and *Wakīl-i-dar* are confusing, and require explanation. *Ḍiyā Baranī (Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī*, p. 131) calls *Nizām-u'd-dīn*, *Dād-Bak*, and further, on p. 148, styles him as *Mīr-i-dād*. Consequently, *Dād-Bak* is the same as *Mīr-i-dād*. *Bārbak* is described by *Amīr Khusrū* as the "tongue of the *Sulṭān*"

باریک کہ لسان السلاطین است

A'ijāz-i-Khusravī, Vol. I, p. 125. His duty was to convey the petitions of the people before the royal throne, when the *Sulṭān* held his court :

ملک نائب باریک از وفور مرحمت خدائی در هر محلے کہ پیشی
تخت اعلیٰ میرسد حاجات حاجتمندان بسمع اشرف اعلیٰ

attendance of high-placed offenders) but in reality¹ acted as *Nā'ib-i-Mulk* (Regent or Chancellor in the German sense) and directed the affairs of government on his own responsibility. Malik² Qawām-u'd-dīn, the '*Ilāqah-Dabir* (Chief Secretary), a very competent and accomplished man, was appointed *Nā'ib-i-Wakil-i-dar* (Deputy Superintendent of the Court and Palace),³ and the title of '*Umdat-u'l-Mulk* was bestowed upon him. Malik *Shāhik* was created *Amir-i-Ḥājib*

میرساند۔ و ملتزمات بندگان خدائی از بندگی حضرت حکم می ستانند -

Ḍiyā Baranī, *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī*, p. 578.

According to *Ibn Baṭṭūṭah*, *Mir-i-dād* was a judicial officer, whose duty was to enforce the attendance of high-placed offenders; he sat by the side of the Qāḍī ('*Ajā'ib u'l-Asfār*—Translation by Muḥammad Ḥusain, Vol. I, p. 217).

Wakil-i-dar, variously designated as *Rasul-i-dar* or *Ḥājib u'l-Irsāl*, was appointed to perform the secretarial functions of the court.

شغل معظم و کیلدری که اعظم الاشغال درگاه است
(Ḍiyā Baranī, *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī*, p. 576). The same author on p. 405 says that Qāḍī Ḍiyā-u'd-dīn was in charge of the keys of the Palace and superintended the closing of the gates کلیدهای درهای کوشک بدست
(*Ibn Baṭṭūṭah*, p. 80) styles him کلیددار (keeper of royal keys). The following is therefore the conclusion :

The *Ḥājib* introduced the visitor to the hall of audience, and handed over his petition to the *Bārbak* (a title conferred upon a person who held the office of *Amir-i-Ḥājib*), who took it to the throne. After the Sultān retired from the court, the *Ḥājib* handed over the papers to the *Wakil-i-dar*, who disposed of them according to the Sultān's order.

¹ *Elliot*, Vol. III, p. 126, has not translated but omitted the words در ظاهر and در باطن but simply says "He became *Dād-Bak* and *Nā'ib-i-Mulk*." The correct translation is as above.

² *Malik* does not mean 'noble' as in *Elliot*, Vol. III, p. 126. The position was higher than *Amir* and subordinate to a *Khān*. Each *Malik* had ten *Amirs* under him, and each *Khān* ten *Maliks*. Malik Qawām-u'd-dīn had also served Balban, and had versified the details of the conquest of Bengal and the assassination of *Tughrul* in a book known as '*Fateḥ-nāmah*' or 'A Book of Victory'—Baranī's *Tārīkh*, p. 91.

³ *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī* of Ḍiyā Baranī, p. 131. *Bad'ūnī* calls him *Qayām-u'l-Mulk*. *Lubbu't-Tuḥrikh*, p. 22, and *Firishtah*, p. 84, have نائب وکیلدر

(Lord Chamberlain), and was entitled Wazīr Khān¹; Malī Jāvarjī was made *Sar-i-Jāndār*² (Commander of the royal body-guards); and Khwājah Khaṭīr-u'd-dīn received the title of *Khwājah-i-Jahān*. The territory of Sāmānah was entrusted to the charge of Malik Chhajjū, the governor of Karrah and Mānakpur; and Sulṭān Mu'izz-u'd-dīn Kaiqubād married his daughter.³

Malik Nizām-u'd-dīn was very clever, exceedingly cunning and crafty. When he saw that the Sulṭān's devotion to his pleasure passed all limits, he began to aspire for the throne.⁴ His ambitious designs greatly offended the Balbanī *Maliks* and *Amīrs* who, however, out of expediency, remained submissive to him. Nizām-u'd-dīn imagined that their obedience was the result of sincere devotion to him; but they soon grew dissatisfied with his attitude, and divided themselves into opposing schools and contending parties. Nizām-u'd-dīn now had a full control over the Palace; but he could not, all of a sudden, make an attempt on the king's life, unless all the impediments in his way were removed. Any officer in charge of the government would find, like Balban, that the Turkish officers were an obstacle in his path, for they defied the central authority. In crushing the Turkish aristocracy, Nizām-u'd-dīn was also continuing the work, which Balban began and 'Alā-u'd-dīn completed. Association and conservatism induced Baranī to sympathize with the Turkish aristocracy and to paint Nizām-u'd-dīn too dark. Sulṭān Ghiyāth-u'd-dīn Balban, Nizām-u'd-dīn said to himself, an experienced⁵ and warlike monarch was no more, his most capable son Khān Shahīd died in his life-time. Nāṣir-u'd-dīn Bughrā Khān was contented with Lakhnawī, and Kaiqubād was lost in dissipation. Now Kai-Khusrū was

¹ *Badā'ūnī*, p. 157.

² *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī*, p. 53.

³ *Badā'ūnī*, p. 158.

⁴ *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, p. 104, and *Lubbu't-Twārikh*, p. 22.

⁵ Balban kept down the people of the kingdom in various ways "بطرق متنوع" which *Elliot*, Vol. III, p. 127, incorrectly renders into "with a firm grasp."

the only obstacle. If he got rid of him, and succeeded in winning over some of the old *Maliks*, the realm of Delhi would easily fall into his hands.¹ With such cruel designs in his mind, Nizām-u'd-dīn approached the Sultān and represented by saying, "Kai-Khusru is a claimant to the throne. He is endowed with many rare virtues and excellent qualities ; the *Maliks* are bent towards him, and regard him as heir-apparent of Sultān Balban. If no steps are taken in this connection, the *Maliks* are bound to get you aside and raise him to the throne. The best procedure, therefore, would be to summon him from Multān and get rid of him on the way."²

The treacherous suggestion was approved by the drunken Sultān, and messengers were despatched for Kai-Khusru. It is stated in several histories³ and *Firishṭah*⁴ himself quotes from the *Tārīkh* of Hājī Muḥammad Qandhārī and the *Futūḥ-u's-Salāṭīn*⁵ that on receiving the intelligence of this design, Kai-Khusru sought an alliance with the Mongol Timar Khān, who was at Ghaznīn, for help to conquer Hindustān ; but was disappointed in his expectations. The unfortunate prince sent a message to Kaiqubād intimating, "I feel confident, that you personally have a great affection and kind regard for me. But there are selfish intriguers who wish to create mischief and are constantly occupied in alienating your mind from me and are bent upon snatching Multān, the only heritage of my father, from me. It shall be an act of kindness, if you reckon me among the well-wishers of the Crown." "The past is over," replied

¹ *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhi* of Diyā Baranī, p. 132. Amīr Khusru (*Qir'ān-u's-Sa'dain*, p. 204) also suggests that Nizām-u'd-dīn was an ambitious man :

گرچه جهان چلدهوا خواه تست هم بکن آن خار که در راه تست

² *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhi* of Diyā Baranī, pp. 132, 133.

³ *Lubbu't-Twārīkh*, p. 23, *Khulāṣat-u't-Twārīkh*, p. 145, and *Firishṭah* p. 84.

⁴ *Firishṭah*, p. 84.

⁵ In which a poet, named 'Aṣāmī, has versified the history of the Sultāns of Delhi.

Kaiqubād, "do not let any suspicions crowd your mind. I have a strong desire to see you, and promise to send you back in all honour to Multān."¹ The innocent prince started for Delhi, but as fate had destined, he was murdered by an appointee of Nizām-u'd-dīn in the district of Rohtak.²

The cruel deed of Kai-Khusru's murder excited great horror in the minds of the *Maliks*, whose power had been shattered and reduced to nullity. Nizām-u'd-dīn's next step was to bring a charge against the *Vizier-i-Mulk* (The Vizier of the kingdom) Khwājah Khaṭir,³ and ordered him to be placed on an ass and paraded through the streets. He further arrested several *Maliks*, and confined them in distant forts.⁴ Such punishments increased the fear and misapprehensions of the officers. After a period of six months from his accession, the Sulṭān held a public assembly at Kilukhrī, and Nizām-u'd-dīn deceitfully forged a document in the name of the governor of Multān intimating the triumph of the Sulṭān's forces over the Mongols and summoned all the *Maliks* and *Amirs* to offer their congratulations on the occasion. When they presented themselves at the court, Malik Bak Sāriq, *Amir-i-Hājib* (Lord Chamberlain); Malik Ghazī, *Wakil-i-dar* (Secretary of the Court); Malik Karīm-u'd-dīn, *Nā'ib-i-Bārbak*; and Malik Bahrām, *Akhūr Bak*, (Lord of the Stable); were all seized and killed. While Malik Jāvarjī, (probably Abājī of Balban's reign) *Sar-i-Jāndār*, (Commander of the Royal body-

¹ *Firishtah*, p. 84.

² *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhi* of Dīyā Baranī, p. 133.

³ ملک نظام الدین مستولی ترشد - و بر خواجه خطیر کہ وزیر ملک معز الدین بود - چیزے بہانہ در میان آوردہ او را فرمود تا بر خر نشانده...

Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhi of Dīyā Baranī, p. 133. Thus, the reason of Khwājah's disgrace is not known. Whatever his influence, the official position of Nizām-u'd-dīn was lower than that of the Khwājah. Khwājah Khaṭir was the *Nā'ib-i-Wizier* (Deputy Vizier of the Empire) in the reign of Sulṭān Ghiyāth-u'd-dīn Balban.

⁴ *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhi* of Dīyā Baranī, pp. 133, 134.

guards), and Malik Mughlatī, *Muṣṣallidār* were exiled. Fresh appointments were made; Malik 'Alā-u'd-dīn *Shāhik*,¹ the *Amīr* of Multān, and a renowned *Malik* of Balban's reign became *Amīr-i-Ḥājib* (Lord Chamberlain), and was given the title of Hazbar *Khān*.² *Amīr* 'Alī, who was *Sar-i-Jāndār* (Commander of the Royal body-guards) of Sultān Balban, was reinstalled to the same post; Aḥmad Fakhr, probably Fakhr-u'd-dīn, *Vizier* of Balban, the *Wakil-i-dar*; Malik Tamāchī, *Nā'ib-i-Amīr-i-Ḥājib* (Deputy Chamberlain); Malik Turghī, 'Ārid (Minister of war); 'Alī *Shāh*, *Kūh-i-Jūdī*, and his brother *Khusrū* became Sultān's favourite; and Malik *Shābān Sabliq*, *Shahnah-i-Bārgāh*, (Superintendent of the Court).³

The Mongol Invasion and after.

About this time, the news⁴ arrived that a large army of Mongols under the command of Timur *Khān* had invaded the frontier tracts of Hindustān, and had swept all over the country from Lāhore⁵ to Multān. The Sultān, in his proud vaunts, foolishly remarked, "I am the sovereign of Hindustān and extract tribute from the dependent Raes and Ranas. I receive gold from Gujarāt and Deogīr, swift horses from Talingānah and vigorous elephants from Bengal. My treasures are deposited in Mālwah and Jājnagar. How can a foreigner dare to attack my kingdom?"⁶ These facts are

¹ *Diya Baranī*, v. 134, and *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, p. 105, have Malik *Shāhik*; but *Firishtah*, p. 85, has Malik Nizām Bak.

² *Tārīkh-i-Mubdrak Shāhī*, p. 53.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 54.

⁴ شہ باچنین فصل بر ہی گونہ شاد۔ کہ مغل آواز بعالم افتاد۔

(The king was thus enjoying the pleasant season when the report of a Mongol invasion fell upon the earth)—*Qir'ān-u's-Sa'dain*, p. 62.

قوت اس سیل کز ایشان رسید۔ آب زہاپور بہ ملتان رسید۔

⁵ It cannot be Hāpūr, for the place is so near Delhi, and the Mongols did not reach the capital. It is in all probability Lāhore. The Rāvī then flowed from Lāhore to Multān, and the Mongols were in possession of the western branch of the river.

⁶ *Qir'ān-u's-Sa'dain*, p. 63.

quite incorrect. No tribute or gold came from such parts of Hindustān. The *Qir'ān-u's-Sa'dain* is a book of official *qaṣīdahs*, and as such is to be interpreted with care. Very often, the conversations, contained in *Khusru's* work, are also fictitious. After he had finished his speech, the Minister of war summoned the royal troops, and appointed *Khān-i-Jahān*¹ the *Bārbak* to lead the expedition against the Mongols.

No sooner had the enemy learnt the news of the arrival of Muslim forces than they fled² 'swifter than an arrow from a bow.' Their leaders, Timur, Sarmak, Kili, Khajlak and Baidū all turned their backs and retreated. *Khān-i-Jahān* pursued the flying Mongols, put most of them to the sword, and captured the rest.³ The vast amount of booty, which fell into the hands of the victors, was presented before the Sultān⁴; and the captives were put to the slaughter.⁵ Amīr *Khusru's* description of the Mongols is rather interesting. According to him, the Mongols were clad in cotton, and wore on their shorn heads caps of sheep-skin. Their body was steel-like, their faces like fire with narrow and piercing eyes, flat noses, broad nostrils, long mouths, sullen cheeks, overgrown moustaches and scanty beards about their chins. Their bodies were covered with lice, their skin was as rough

بر سر شان باریک تیغ زن خان جهان شاهک لشکر شکن¹

(At the head of the army was appointed the swordsman *Khān-i-Jahān*, the *Bārbak*, the destroyer of armies)—*Qir'ān-u's-Sa'dain*, p. 64.

Dr. Ishwari Prasād (*Medieval India*, p. 280) makes "Prince *Khiḍr Khān*, the amorous hero of Amīr *Khusru's* famous poem, the *Qir'ān-u's-Sa'dain*." The learned author does not seem to have ever consulted the book, and, therefore, he confuses "*Diwal Rānī Khiḍr Khān*" with the *Qir'ān-u's-Sa'dain*, which describes the details of the meeting of father and son—Sultān Nāṣir-u'd-dīn Bughrā *Khān* and Mu'izz-u'd-dīn Kaiqubād.

² *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī* p. 105, and *Firishtah*, pp. 84, 85, state that a 'great battle was actually fought in the vicinity of Lāhore, in which the Mongols were defeated.' But the *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī*, p. 54, agrees with the contemporary chronicle *Qir'ān-u's-Sa'dain* in stating that the Mongols 'fled without any battle.'

³ *Qir'ān-u's-Sa'dain*, p. 65.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 90.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 95.

as leather, and they devoured dogs and pigs with their nasty teeth.¹

Nizām-u'd-dīn once more resorted to deceitful measures and said to the Sultān, "The Mongol *Amīrs*, who embraced Islam in the time of Sultān Balban and had joined his service, form a united community. They have large troops, attendants and relations and intend to rise in revolt against you." With such crafty words, Nizām-u'd-dīn gained favour of the Sultān, who, in a state of intoxication, issued an order to slay the Mongol *Amīrs*.² The 'new Muslims' or Mongol converts were persecuted both by Nizām-u'd-dīn and 'Alā-u'd-dīn *Khaljī*. They had been taken into service at the choice of the Sultān himself, but they were more or less like mercenaries and might be compared to the Turkish guards of the 'Abbasids. They could not, however, be depended upon, and there was a danger that they might join their blood-brothers, who were constantly in the habit of invading Hindustān. Their persecution by Nizām-u'd-dīn is a part of the general drive against the non-Turkish element in the State. Some of the Balbanī *Mulks*, who were their friends and associates were to meet the same lot.

Soon after Malik 'Alā-u'd-dīn *Shāhik* and Malik Nāsir-u'd-dīn Tuzkī, the governor of Baran,³ the two important personages of Balban's reign, were both put to death through Nizām-u'd-dīn's stratagem. He had obtained such an ascendancy over the Sultān's mind that if any one, through sincere loyalty and devotion ventured to speak of his designs, the Sultān immediately informed him, arrested the person and handed him over to Nizām-u'd-dīn. His wife, the daughter of *Malik-u'l-Umarā Fakhr*-u'd-dīn *Kūtwāl*, an equally influential person, was the directress of the Royal *Harem* and the Sultān addressed her as 'mother'. Being

¹ *Qir'ān-u's-Sa'dain*, pp. 93, 94.

² *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī* of *Diya Baranī*, p. 133.

³ *Diya Baranī*, p. 134, and *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, p. 105, both have Malik Yūzkī; while *Firīshṭah*, p. 85, and *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī*, p. 54, have Malik Turkī.

over-awed with his power, the *Maliks* and *Amīrs* placed themselves under his protection and sought to be reckoned among his adherents.¹

When Malik Fakhr-u'd-dīn, an old man of ninety, came to know of Nizām-u'd-dīn's arrogant pride and futile ambitions, he called him to a private interview and vainly sought to convince him of his folly by wise and intelligent arguments. *Ḍiḡa Baranī*, here, seems to compose discourses after the manner of Livy, the famous Roman Historian ; yet they contain a core of truth in them. Fakhr-u'd-dīn said, "Nizām-u'd-dīn : I have brought you up and educated, and you are my son. My father started his career as a king's personal attendant,² and rose to the position of *Kūtḡāl*, which we have held for about eighty years. It is our highest achievement ; the success being due to the fact that we never meddled with the affairs of the state. Kindly banish the vision of royalty from your mind, for royalty has no relation with us. Kingship befits those who are endowed with rare virtues and excellent qualities by God, the Almighty and we possess none of them.³ You have not the courage to throw a stone at a jackal or thrash a grocer with an onion leaf. Supposing you succeeded in killing the drunken Sultān by some villainous contrivance, the infamy of this barbarous act will remain fresh till the Day of Judgment. And take it for granted, you made your way in mounting the throne of Delhi, you would but ruin the kingdom, for you do not possess any of the essentials of sovereignty.⁴ You have but handsome buffoons and worthless persons to regard them as your confidants and well-wishers. Sultān Shams-u'd-dīn Īltutmish had such accomplished and illustrious *Maliks* that he, very often remarked that they were

¹ *Ḍiḡa Baranī*, p. 134.

² 1288—80=1208—then Shihāb-u'd-dīn is the king intended. Nizām-u'd-dīn's family, consequently, would by right be one of the senior families.

³ *Ḍiḡa Baranī*, *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī*, p. 135.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 136.

thousand times better than himself.¹ Sultān Balban, during his forty years' career as a *Malik* and *Khān*, had gathered together a large number of trustworthy friends and associates, upon whom really depended the strength of the Empire. For God's sake, give up the idea of royalty and do your work."

The old *Kūtawāl* did not believe that the throne of Delhi was the monopoly of Balban's family; nor he objected to Nizām-u'd-dīn's birth but to his personal qualities. The uncle never regarded the nephew as a fit candidate for the throne. He, therefore, pointed out that the party, on which Nizām-u'd-dīn was relying, was a broken reed and that security and prosperity could alone be contrived by remaining in administration but out of politics. Both the uncle and nephew misapprehended the situation. A revolution in the state was ripe, and they misunderstood its purport, its significance and its direction. The Sultān was engrossed in dissipation, the *Khaljī* power was in progress, and the Turkish aristocracy was being crushed by Nizām-u'd-dīn. The *Nā'ib's* adherents were few and weak, and their loyalty rested upon fear and awe. Nizām-u'd-dīn committed a blunder in suppressing the one party without seeking alliance with the other; he could not, as an administrator, keep himself aloof from politics, but at the same time it was unwise for him to aspire for the throne.

The short-sighted politician would not take the warning to heart. "What you have said is perfectly true," Nizām-u'd-dīn replied, "but I have made the people my enemy. They have discovered what I am after, and if I now refrain from prosecuting my scheme, they will strike at me." Malik Fakhr-u'd-dīn was disgusted and said, "Then consider ourselves, our families and children dead and destroyed." The nobles, however, praised the *Kūtawāl* for his advice and greatly appreciated his desire for peace. Nizām-u'd-dīn profited nothing by the counsels, but continued removing the *Khaljī Malik*s, whom he thought impediments in his

¹ *Diya Baranī, Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhi*, p. 137.

way of attaining sovereignty.¹ He had already made an attempt to destroy the Turkish Malik; now he turned towards the Khaljīs, whose greater number and the permanent position, as occupied by their leader Jalāl-u'd-dīn, offered an opportunity for Nizām-u'd-dīn to strike them. Even the Sulṭān became aware that Nizām-u'd-dīn wanted to get rid of him.²

Sulṭān Nāṣir-u'd-dīn's advance from Lakhnawtī.

On receiving the intelligence of Kaiqubād's succession to the throne of Delhi, his father Bughrā Khān assumed the title of Sulṭān Nāṣir-u'd-dīn, and caused his name to be read in the Khuṭbah and to be inscribed on the coinage at Lakhnawtī. And when he heard of his son's devotion to pleasure and of Nizām-u'd-dīn's designs for the acquisition of royalty, he repeatedly sent a number of letters full of paternal advice to Kaiqubād and hinted at the danger of his deceitful enemy.³ Mu'izz-u'd-dīn paid no heed to his father's letters and counsels which deeply aggrieved Sulṭān Nāṣir-u'd-dīn. Baranī and Khusru are at variance about Bughrā Khān's designs. According to the *Qir'ān-u's-Sa'dain*, Nāṣir-u'd-dīn marched from Lakhnawtī to conquer Delhi.⁴ When Kaiqubād heard that his father had reached

¹ Diyā Baranī, *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī*, p. 138.

² The text is

"فلک بر ریشی وسمیت نظام الدین خام طمع خندیدها می زد.
وخلجیان را مبارکباد بادشاهی می گفت"

which has been incorrectly rendered by Elliot, Vol. III, p. 129 into "Fate, however, divided these crude designs and smiled upon the Khaljīs." The correct translation is as follows: "Fate, however, smiled upon the success of the crude designs of Nizām-u'd-dīn, and offered congratulation to the Khaljīs."

Diyā Baranī, *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī*, p. 139, and *Firishtah*, p. 85.

Ibid., p. 141, states that Kaiqubād first of all marched with an army to see his father; and when Nāṣir-u'd-dīn heard of his arrival, he, too started with a large army from Lakhnawtī. The facts are otherwise stated by the contemporary authority *Qir'ān-u's-Sa'dain*, p. 100, onwards; *Ibn Battūtāh*—Elliot, Vol. III, pp. 596, 597, *Lubb-u't-Twārīkh*, p. 24; *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, p. 107, and *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī*, p. 54.

Bihār, he also collected his army, placed it under the charge of two hundred *Amirs* and the *Bārbak*, and marched eastwards. Malik Chhajjū with several thousand horses from Karnāl and *Khān-i-Iwāḍ* from Oudh joined the imperial army on the banks of the river Sarāyū (Gogrā).¹ Baranī, however, asserts that Kaiqubād took the initiative and started with a large army to see his father. *Khusru's* work is contemporary and official and has to adopt the view-point of the king and his ministers. Baranī's account on the other hand, is later, and had, therefore, no one to please but himself.

Having reached so near to his son, Bughrā *Khān* gave up all pretensions of conquering Delhi, and simply asked for peace and meeting. He sent *Shams-u'd-dīn*, the *Dabīr* (Secretary) with the message "The kingdom of Delhi is mine, but if it has passed to my son, he should not contend with his father. For me, the kingdom of Lakhnawtī, the heritage of my father is most desirable."² Kaiqubād replied by saying that he only preserved the throne for his father from its occupation by the Mongols.³ The next day, Nāṣir-u'd-dīn sent his chamberlain to deliver a message to his son, but when his boat reached the middle of the river,⁴ Kaiqubād hit an arrow at it, and the messenger was obliged to return to his master.⁵ Thereupon, Nāṣir-u'd-dīn conveyed another message, "My son : banish the idea of revolt from your mind. I am the heir to the throne, and you can only obtain it through me, you are inexperienced and unlesioned. Do not try to make encroachments upon my kingdom."⁶ Kaiqubād was irritated and replied "Do not be proud of your ancestry, for none inherits kingdom unless he fights for it. I can better claim the throne by virtue of three descents—*Īltutmish*, Nāṣir-u'd-dīn and Balban."⁷ Sultān Nāṣir-u'd-dīn felt grieved at the words and advised his son not to appeal to arms for he had vigorous elephants and a well organized

¹ *Qir'ān-u's-Sa'dain*, p. 101.

² *Ibid.*, p. 102.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 112.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 116.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 104.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 113, 114.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 118.

army. The son replied, "I, too, have some elephants and horses beyond number. If you resort to peace, I agree ; but kindly do not frighten me with proud vaunts."¹

At length, Nāṣir-u'd-dīn wrote an affectionate letter in his own hand. " My son : I have a great longing to see you. My patience is giving way and I cannot bear separation any more. It will interfere neither with your royal pretensions nor your round of pleasures, if you will permit your loving father, whose eyes have been afflicted like Jacob's, to have a sight of your handsome face. Though paradise be a fine place, there is no joy seeing one's beloved."² The request of interview was granted by Kaiqubād. The 'king of the East' sent his youngest son Kaikā'ūs to Kaiqubād with a present of jewels and elephants, while the latter sent his own son, Kayūmarth to his father's presence.³

The Meeting of father and son.

Kaiqubād was deeply touched ; he gave up all warlike intentions, and wished to go all alone⁴ to meet his father. But Nizām-u'd-dīn prevented him, and prevailed on him to stay with royal pomp and dignity. The Sultān accepted the *Malik's* advice and directed the army to be ready and equipped. However, it was arranged that in order to preserve the dignity of the king of Delhi, Bughrā *Khān* would cross the river Sarāyū, and attend his court by kissing the hand of the Sultān. Bughrā *Khān*, accordingly, crossed⁵ the river and proceeded towards Kaiqubād's camp. At the

¹ *Qir'ān-u's-Sa'dain*, pp. 123, 124.

² گرچه فردوس مقام خوش است هیچ به از نعمت دیدار نیست
 Diyā Baranī, *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī*, p. 140.

بهر خدا صورت خودیشم بنمائے روئے مگرداں و بترسم از خدا
 (For God's sake show your face. Fear God and do not turn away your face).—*Qir'ān-u's-Sa'dain*, p. 128.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 131-142.

⁴ Diyā Baranī, p. 141, has در حریدگی which means 'all alone' and not with haste as in *Elliot*, Vol. III, p. 597.

⁵ *Ibn Battūṭah* says, "Each of them entered a boat and met in the middle of the river"—*Elliot*, Vol. III, p. 597, which is not reliable.

door of the royal pavilion he alighted and performed the ceremony of kissing the ground three times. When he approached nearer, Kaiqubād found the situation unbearable ; he descended from the throne and fell at his father's feet. They embraced each other and shed tears, the eyes of the audience were also full of tears at the touching sight. Each invited the other to ascend the throne,¹ and for a long time neither complied. At length Bughrā Khān took his son's hand, and after seating him on the throne stood before him with folded hands. The father said, "My one desire is now fulfilled that I have seated my son on the throne during my life-time."² My father has instructed me to remain loyal and faithful to the Sultān of Delhi. I will, therefore, fulfil all the requirements of etiquette."³ Kaiqubād shortly after descended from the throne and approached his father. The officers of the state scattered jewels upon them, and at length the astrologers fixed up an auspicious hour for interview.⁴ Bughrā Khān rose, and crossed the river to his own camp. Both parties began sending costly presents to each other,⁵ and it was settled that they would meet again the next evening.⁶

A large number of festivities occurred ; Bughrā Khān presented a jewelled crown, a throne covered with gold plate and an elephant to his son.⁷ Kaiqubād put on the crown, and both of them sat upon the throne. Nāṣir-u'd-dīn then returned to his camp as usual, and the next morning Kaiqubād despatched the white canopy and the black hat⁸ of Sultān Ghiyath-u'd-dīn Balban as a present to his father.⁹

In the evening Bughrā Khān again embarked on a boat to interview his son. During the conversation that followed,

¹ *Qir'ān-u's-Sa'dain*, p. 149.

² *Ibid.*, p. 150.

³ *Diya Baranī, Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī*, p. 142.

⁴ *Qir'ān-u's-Sa'dain*, p. 151.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 153.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 157.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 189-190.

⁸ The head-dress of the period under review was **كلاه** (*Kulāh*), which means hat. Formerly, it had a brim, which seems to have disappeared with conversion to Islam.

⁹ *Qir'ān-u's-Sa'dain*, pp. 193-195.

Sultān Nāṣir-u'd-dīn referred to his own education and training, which he received under the patronage of his father, Sultān Balban.¹ He studied books like *Ādāb-u's-Salāṭīn*, *Ma'āthir-u's-Salāṭīn*, and other works on the history and accounts of saints from *Khawājah Tāj-u'd-dīn Bukhārī*. He quoted from the *Ādāb-u's-Salāṭīn* that Jamshēd said to his sons, "A king must have under his command ten *Khāns*, each *Khān* having ten *Maliks*, each *Malik* ten *Amīrs*, each *Amīr* ten *Sipah-Sālārs* (commander of troops), each *Sipah-Sāīār* ten *Sar-Khīl*, each *Sar-Khīl* (general) ten horsemen or footmen."² A ruler, who has not enough wealth in his treasury to come to the rescue of his subjects at the time of famine and to protect him from his enemy, has no right to be called a king. He is not a king whose subjects and soldiers starve in time of crisis and famine. He is alone a king, under whose dominion not a single individual sleeps hungry or naked."³ "Tell me," asked Bughrā *Khān*, "how long will you remain addicted to pleasure and dissipation and disregard the sayings of prudent and sagacious sovereigns of the world?"⁴ And as the time of departure approached, Kaiqubād requested his father to advise him on matters of good government and administration. "My sole object in coming over all the distance," said Nāṣir-u'd-dīn, "has precisely been the same."⁵

However, the day of departure approached; early that morning Bughrā *Khān* held a private assembly and summoned *Maliks Nizām-u'd-dīn* and *Qawām-u'd-dīn* to listen to his counsels. First he wept bitterly and then said, "I was delighted, my son, when I heard that you had ascended the throne of Delhi; it was as good as my own accession. But for the last two years, I have been shocked to learn that you are absorbed in luxury and pleasure, and have been neglecting the affairs of the state."⁶ I have been mourning for you

¹ *Ḍiyā Baranī, Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī*, p. 144.

² *Ibid.*, p. 145.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 147.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 146.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 148.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 149.

as well as for myself, and wonder how you remained safe on the throne till now.¹ The end of the kingdom of Delhi and Lakhnawtī seems to me very near, specially from the day I heard that you slew so many loyal *Maliks* and *Amirs*.² Their fate has shattered the confidence of others. You perhaps do not know that the sweetest thing created by God in the Universe is this pretty world, and the loveliest of the lovely kind is kingship or sovereignty. The unexpected favour of fortune has placed you on the easy throne, and, therefore, you attach no value to it. My elder brother Muḥammad was the heir-apparent, but he died in the lifetime of my father ; and his son, who equally deserved the throne, you have killed at the instigation of traitors.³ And if they set you aside as well, the empire of Delhi will fall into the hands of some ignoble family who will leave no trace of us on the earth and God above knows what may happen to our families, children and attendants.⁴ Beware that the terror and dignity of Sultān Balban has left too crushing an impression upon your opponents to think of any serious retaliation. My father said, 'The five essentials of kingship are justice and benevolence ; the establishment of army and the protection of subjects ; a full treasury ; trustworthy associates and faithful allies ; and lastly a capacity to distinguish between friends and foes.'"⁵ Bughrā Khān seemed fond of reciting what he remembered from text-books. The advice that he gave was not practical or practicable, for Kai-Khusru was certainly a rival to the throne, and the Turkish aristocracy was undoubtedly a paralysing force.

"My first advice to you, therefore," Bughrā Khān continued, "is this. Consider empire as dear but your own life dearer ; for if life is in danger, what is the use of this world. The possible remedy is to refrain from indulging in excessive dissipation.⁶ Secondly, hesitate in killing your *Maliks* and

¹ *Firishtah*, p. 86.² *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, p. 110.³ *Diya Baranī, Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī*, p. 150.⁴ *Ibid.* p. 150.⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 151.⁶ *Qir'ān-u's-Sa'dain*, p. 206.

Amirs,¹ but convert your enemies into friends by means of liberality, sagacity and kindness. These two, Malik Niẓām-u'd-dīn and Qawām-u'd-dīn, are men of ripe experience; associate with these two other capable persons from among your *Amirs* and strengthen the 'castle of sovereignty' by these four 'pillars of the state.' Each of them should be placed at the head of a separate department such as Revenue (*Diwān-i-Wizārat*), War (*Diwān-i-'Arḍ*), Local government (*Diwān-i-Inshā*) and Appeals (*Diwān-i-Risālat*).² The rank of the *vizier* is superior to others, but you should not allow any of them to predominate over the other. Thirdly, whenever you have to reveal a secret of the state, do so in the presence of all the four, do not take one of them exclusively in your confidence to the extent of alienating the others.³ Equip yourself with all the possible information regarding the behaviour of your officials and servants, and act upon the principles adopted by your grand-father in the administration of the country. Justice and equity are the basis of peace and tranquillity.⁴ But remember you cannot accomplish anything unless you abandon excessive drinking.⁵ Fourthly, say your prayers, and keep your *Ramāḍān* fast, so that you may not be disgraced in either world, and lay faith in such scholars as are not the slaves of worldly ambition and have abandoned the love of this world for the next."⁶ After finishing these counsels, Bughrā Khān wept with loud sobs, and pressed his son to his bosom to bid him farewell, and while doing so, he whispered⁷ into his ears, "Get rid of

¹ *Qir'ān-u's-Sa'dam*, p. 204, and *Ḍiyā Baranī*, p. 152.

² *Ḍiyā Baranī*, *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhi*, p. 153.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 153.

⁴ *Qir'ān-u's-Sa'dam*, p. 205.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 206.

⁶ *Ḍiyā Baranī*, p. 154. This would mean the '*Ulemā-i-Rabbānī*' as distinguished from the '*Ulemā-i-dunyavī*'. Since the former refused to have anything to do with the secular state, the king had perforce to depend upon the latter among whom were the Qādis.

⁷ *Qir'ān-u's-Sa'dam*, pp. 212, 213.

Malik Nizām-u'd-dīn as soon as you can."¹ He then returned weeping to his camp, and said to his friends, "I have bid my last adieu to my son and the kingdom of Delhi."²

The last days of Kaiqubād.

After parting with his father, Kaiqubād marched through the territory of Oudh for Delhi. Malik Shāhik, Khān-i-Jahān, was appointed governor of Oudh, and was directed to remain there.³ Out of regard for his father's advice, Kaiqubād refrained from indulging in his sensual engagement. But a number of lovely girls and sweet-hearts appeared before him on the way, and addressed lines of poetry.⁴ The Sultān was fascinated by their charms, but checked his passions, till one day an exceedingly handsome girl,⁵ well dressed and mounted on a green horse, with amorous playfulness, a thousand blandishment and graces, met the Sultān on the road, and dismounting from her horse, addressed the following verse:

"If you wish to put your feet upon my eyes, I will take out my eyeballs to place them before you to tread upon."⁶

The Sultān, who was deeply addicted to such a company in his love for her, could not resist and asked her to recite on.

"You go to the wilderness (with the gracefulness of a

¹ *Qir'ān-u's-Sa'dain*, p. 204.

گرچه جهان چله هوا خواه تست هم بکن آن خار که در راه تست
(Although the whole world is in your favour, but you should put out that thorn, which is an impediment in your way).

² *Ḍiyā Baranī, Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī*, p. 156.

³ *Qir'ān-u's-Sa'dain*, p. 221.

⁴ *Ḍiyā Baranī, Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī*, p. 157.

⁵ A section of the capitalists had invested money in the education and training of dancing girls, an old and highly specialized profession—*Ḍiyā Baranī*, p. 157. If the demand for them at the central and provincial courts decreased, the money spent upon them would yield no return.

⁶ *Ḍiyā Baranī, Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī*, p. 159.

گر قدم برچشم ما خواهی نهاد دیده در ره می نهیم تا می روی

cypress and a *shamshād*," she continued her singing :

"But good promise-breaker, you go without me."¹

The Sultān was lost in her alluring beauty and her movements of infinite grace, and forgetting his father's advice, once more indulged in his usual convivial assemblies,² drank to the satisfaction of his heart and bestowed enormous gifts upon the lovely girls and buffoons. Thus, the whole journey from Oudh to Delhi was one round of dissipation and pleasure.³ At length, he alighted at the Kilūkhri Palace, and entered the capital to witness the public rejoicing celebrated in his honour, but soon returned to enjoy his pleasures.⁴

The Sultān was unable to give up the vicious habits of his youth, and was so engrossed in debauchery and dissipation that his rule would not have endured for a single week but for the skilful management of the government by *Maliks* Nizām-u'd-dīn and Qawām-u'd-dīn, the old and renowned *Maliks* of Sultān Balban.⁵ "It was a matter of a thousand pities," says Diyā Baranī, "that the excellent qualities of Nizām-u'd-dīn were spoiled by his ever-increasing ambition for royalty."⁶ The people followed their king ; they became heedless, drank openly and held convivial meetings. 'Sadness, and sorrow disappeared from their hearts,' records *Firishtah*, 'for thoughtfulness had overcome discretion.'⁷ After some-time had passed in this way, Sultān Mu'izz-u'd-dīn Kaiqubād, who had grown feeble and pale, suddenly fell ill, and be-thought himself of his father's advice about Nizām-u'd-dīn. But as he was incapable of any diplomatic move, he haughtily ordered Nizām-u'd-dīn to go to Multān to 'settle the affairs of that place.'⁸ The *Malik* discovered that the Sultān wanted to get rid of him, and therefore, delayed his departure on various pretexts. The Sultān's officers heartily

¹ Diyā Baranī, *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī*, p. 159.

سرو و سمینا بصکرا می روی نیک بد مہدی کہ بے مای می روی

² *Ibid.*, p. 160.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 160, 162 and 163.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 164, 165.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 168.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 169.

⁷ *Firishtah*, p. 8

⁸ Diyā Baranī, p. 170.

welcomed the unexpected change in the attitude of the Sultān, and poisoned Nizām-u'd-dīn. Immediately after his murder, people fell out of employment, and flocked to the gate of the Palace for peace and security.¹

The Sultān summoned Malik Jalāl-u'd-dīn, the governor of Sāmānah and *Sar-i-Jāndār* (Commander of the Royal body-guards) and appointed him Minister of war and governor of Baran with the title of *Shā'istah Khān*. Malik Aitmar Kachchan was made *Bārbak* or *Amir-i-Hājib* and Malik Aitmar Sarkhā obtained the office of *Wakil-i-dar* (Superintendent of the Royal Court); both of them were led away by ambitious designs and struggled for supremacy in the affairs of the state. The Sultān was down with paralysis and was confined to his couch; the leading *Maliks* aspired for the throne, and a worse chaotic state of affairs was never witnessed before.

The *Maliks* and *Amirs* were now divided into opposite camps. The *Khaljis* were united under the leadership of Malik Jalāl-u'd-dīn *Shā'istah Khān* at Bharpūr,² while Malik Aitmar Sarkhā led the party of Turkish *Amirs*. In order to preserve the family of Balban and to safeguard the interests of Turkish domination, *Maliks* Kachchan and Sarkhā elevated Kaiqubād's son, Kayūmarth, a prince of tender age, to the throne of Delhi at the Nāṣirī platform (*Chabūtrah-i-Nāṣirī*) with the title of Sultān *Shams-u'd-dīn* the Second.³

Sultān Mu'izz-u'd-dīn Kaiqubād was lying sick and powerless at the Kilūkhri Palace, Malik Jalāl-u'd-dīn *Shā'istah Khān*, '*Ārid-i-Mumalik* (Minister of War), was busy inspecting the royal forces at Bharpūr. He came of a race different from that of the Turks, so that neither laid confidence in the other. It was natural for disturbances to

¹ The *Maliks* Azbar *Khān*, Ṣalāh-u'd-dīn and Daulat *Shāh Hashanq* all fled towards *Kuh-pāyah*. After some time Malik Azbar *Khān* returned, but he was taken prisoner and killed. Malik Turkī met the same lot soon after—*Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhi*, p. 56

² *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, p. 115, had بهادر Bahāpūr.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 115, and *Firishtah*, p. 87.

arise; the Turkish Malikis devised a conspiracy to get rid of all the Khaljis,¹ and drew up a long list of them, at the head of which was the name of Malik Jalāl-u'd-dīn Shā'istah Khān.² On being informed of the plot by Malik Aḥmad Chap, the *Nā'ib-i-Amīr-i-Hājib* (Deputy Chamberlain), Malik Jalāl-u'd-dīn strengthened his heart, collected his Khalji Amirs together and succeeded 'in winning over many other Malikis to his party. He further wrote to his uncle Malik Ḥusain to be ready with his forces at Ghiyathpūr to repel the Mongols, who had come down to Sāmānah; and summoned his brother Malik Khāmush and cousin Malik 'Izz-u'd-dīn to stay with him.³ One morning Malik Aitmar Kachchan repeatedly despatched a number of messengers to invite Malik Jalāl-u'd-dīn to the Court, but the latter refused to comply with his request. At length Malik Kachchan himself mounted and approached Jalāl-u'd-dīn, but as soon as he alighted from his horse, he was seized and killed.⁴ Jalāl-u'd-dīn's sons were equally reputed for their bravery and enterprise; they made a sudden attack on the Turkish camp with only a force of fifty horse,⁵ and succeeded in capturing Kayūmarth and bringing him to Bharpūr along with the sons of *Malik-u'l-Umarā* Fakhr-u'd-dīn Kūtwal. Malik Aitmar Sarkhā, who tried to pursue the Khaljis, was defeated and slain.

¹ The references to the Khaljis in earlier works show them to be living round the lower part of the Helمند—south of Ghūr, East of Sīstān—in the part where the Ghilzāis live now. In the time of Bābar (see his *Memoirs*) Khaljī and Ghilzī are equivalent terms. This would mean that they belonged to the southern Afghān block. Nevertheless, they represented the mass of the Indian Musalmans. The Khaljī Empire unlike the kingdom of the Lodīs and Sūris was not based upon the exclusive predominance of a group of Afghān tribes. It incorporated the imperial not the tribal principles. The great officers of the Khaljī Empire were men of Indian birth.

² Ḍiyā Baranī, *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī*, p. 172.

³ *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī*, p. 56.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 56.

⁵ And not '500' as in *Elliot*, III, p. 134. The text of Ḍiyā Baranī's, *Tārīkh* p. 172, has '٥٠٠'.

To the people of Delhi, however, the ascendancy of the Khaljīs appeared intolerable ; they came out of the city and gathered together before the Badā'un Gate with the intention of marching against Jalāl-u'd-dīn and rescuing Kayūmarth from his clutches. But Malik Fakhr-u'd-dīn fearing for his sons, who were confined in the opposite camp, induced the people to return to city, and they accordingly withdrew.¹

Shams-u'd-dīn Kayūmarth was nominally proclaimed Sultān at Bharpūr, but Jalāl-u'd-dīn acted as his Nā'ib (Regent), and himself directed the affairs of the state.² He appointed his uncle Malik Husain the governor of Tabarhindah, Dipālpūr and Multān, and the latter proceeded towards those territories. Malik Chhajju, the nephew of Sultān Balban and a claimant to the throne was pacified by entrusting the territory of Karnāl to his charge.³ The *Miftāḥ-u'l-Futūḥ* of Amīr Khusru records the rebellion of the *Malik* and his ultimate defeat by Jalāl-u'd-dīn.⁴

After a short period of a month or two, Malik Jalāl-u'd-dīn imprisoned the young prince, and put him to death. Now tables were turned ; many of the Turkish *Maliks* and *Amīrs* went over to the side of Malik Jalāl-u'd-dīn and vowed allegiance to him. Two days later, Jalāl-u'd-dīn sent a *Malik*, whose father had been killed by Kaiqubād, to seize the Sultān in the Kilūkhri Palace and to finish him there and then. The *Malik* wrapped the dying Sultān in a blanket, gave him⁵ a few kicks and threw him into the Jumnā. Mu'izz-u'd-dīn reigned for a little more than three

¹ According to *Firishtah*, p. 88, this event happened in the year 1288 A.D., while *Badā'unī*, p. 164, has 1289 A.D. It cannot be 1288 or 1289, but 1290 is the last year of Mu'izz-u'd-dīn's reign. Kaiqubād ascended the throne in 1287 and died in 1290 A.D.

² *Badā'unī*, p. 159. He is styled on the coinage as

السلطان الاعظم شمس الدنيا و الدين ابوالمظفر كيومرث السلطان

³ *Badā'unī*, p. 166 ; MSS. *Miftāḥ-u'l-Futūḥ*, p. 14.

همه کردند بهر بندگی جهد گر میر کوه چهاچه بی بد عهد

⁴ MSS. *Miftāḥ-u'l-Futūḥ*, pp. 22, 25, 26, 30 and 37.

⁵ *Diya Baranī*, *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhi*, p. 173.

years.¹

Malik Jalāl-u'd-dīn now assumed the title of Sulṭān Jalāl-u'd-dīn, sat upon the throne at Kilūkhri and fixed his residence there. The people of Delhi were opposed to him, and through fear of the populace, Jalāl-u'd-dīn for a long time could not venture to take his seat upon the old throne.

By the death of Sulṭān Mu'izz-u'd-dīn Kaiqubād and his son Shams-u'd-dīn Kayūmarth, the Early Turkish Empire of Delhi came to an end in the year 1290 A.D. "Thus kingship," concludes Firishṭah, "was transferred from the Turks, who had been the successors of Sulṭān Shihāb-u'd-dīn of Ghūr, to the Khaljīs."²

Estimate.

The powerful rule of Quṭb-u'd-dīn, the enlightened and glorious reign of Īltutmish and the iron-hand of Balban all had vanished. The Early Turkish Empire, developed with marvellous rapidity, began to decline with the same degree of suddenness. The easy-going and pleasure-loving Kaiqubād followed in the brilliant foot-steps of his grand-father, and received a comparatively tranquil inheritance. The healthy and vigorous attempt of Balban to found his own dynasty was doomed to failure. The danger of a sudden collapse was more imminent than ever, and signs of decay were visible everywhere. The new reign was the beginning of many catastrophies; the overwhelming power of the Empire was waning and separate states were springing. The sudden decline of the Turkish Empire after Balban is the most unhappy feature of the Early Medieval History. Yet so overwhelming was the awe, the late Sulṭān had inspired, so universal the sentiment of his crushing power, that the *Maliks* could no longer venture to assume the role of king-makers.

¹ *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhi*, p. 59, *Badā'unī*, p. 164, *Firishṭah*, p. 88, and *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, p. 116, all agree in stating that 'Kaiqubād reigned for a little more than three years'; while MSS. *Intikhab-u'l-Muntakhab*, p. 172, says 'three and a half years,' which is quite incorrect.

² *Firishṭah*, p. 88.

Sultān Mu'izz-u'd-dīn Kaiqubād was a pleasure-loving, mild, cultivated and humane prince. He gave himself up to the pleasures of the senses, indulged in gross vices and never shook off sloth and luxury. He possessed none of the energy and ambition of Balban, and was in fact unequal to the task of ruling an empire. The burden of the state interfered with his enjoyment, and his vices represented a strange contrast to the virtues of his predecessor. Deprived of any chance of real power, deluded by the exaggeration of poets and the servile flatteries of his courtiers, Kaiqubād set in ignominy and shame. With the unfortunate lack of scruples on his part and acting under the influence of the grossest provocation, Mu'izz-u'd-dīn committed the heinous crime of murdering his cousin Kai-Khusru.

His regent Malik Nizām-u'd-dīn made enough profit out of the unlucky prince, and enjoyed a comfortable plurality of posts. By and by he succeeded in usurping the supreme control of affairs, but carried on the work of government with sagacity and skill. What Balban was to Sultān Nāṣir-u'd-dīn, Nizām-u'd-dīn was to Sultān Mu'izz-u'd-dīn Kaiqubād. A new influence, however, appeared upon the scene of Nizām-u'd-dīn's activity; he vainly sought to reap an advantage from the Sultān's state of drunken revelry by aspiring for the throne of Delhi. Nizām-u'd-dīn, henceforward, became an exceedingly dangerous factor in politics; and in the pursuit of his evil design, he proposed to raise his adherents. The reign was marked by violence and treachery, and the tyranny of government merely served to increase the resentment of the oppressed. The Sultān, under a false sense of security, showed no symptoms of rebelling against the tutelage to which he was subjected by his deputy and, as a matter of fact, he did not know how to cope with the latter's aggressions. Malik-u'l-Umarā Fakhr-u'd-dīn Kūtubāl tried to restrain his son-in-law Nizām-u'd-dīn in the vulgar strife of politics. On the other hand, Sultān Nāṣir-u'd-dīn Bughrā Khān condoled with Kaiqubād on his unhappy fate and drew him the sad picture of his future. But both the parties failed to achieve their aims;

neither did Nizām-u'd-dīn abandon his dream of sovereignty, nor Kaiqubād restrained himself from his passionate addiction to wine and women. The only counsel which Kaiqubād translated into action was the murder of Malik Nizām-u'd-dīn. 'It was but the last gleam before the final setting of the sun,' and the rest was a state of anarchy and confusion.

The Turkish power rapidly declined and the last glimpse of the empire conveyed but a faint impression of its once magnificent extent. The *Maliks* had abandoned any pretence of submission to the Sultān's authority, and the Turks yielded to none in their national vanity. However, a number of loyal officers, anxious to preserve Delhi for the lawful sovereign, called in the help of their friends and colleagues. An irresistible sympathy drew the loyalty of the Turks to the family of Balban. The Turk's devotion to his clan was boundless, and he was prepared for any worse—a fact to which the history of mankind supplies very few parallels. The Turkish *Amirs*, though divided in many groups were unified by a common hatred of the *Khaljis*, whose racial distinction rather than heroic character excited the frantic intolerance of their adversaries. To the proposed insensate persecution of the Turks, the *Khaljis* replied with the Assassin's dagger—a weapon which is always found in the hands of a determined minority. They openly challenged to destroy the Turkish rule. The feeble representation of once mighty empire of Delhi offered an easy prey to the hardy warriors of the *Khaljī* clan. One by one the Turkish *Maliks* were assassinated, and Sultān Mu'izz-u'd-dīn Kaiqubād, down with paralysis, 'wrapped in gloomy thoughts and distracted by bloody memoirs, was murdered in the *Kilukhrī* Palace. With him the Dynasty came to an end. The Early Turkish Empire built up with so much skill and bravery crumbled to dust before the *Khaljis*. *Firishṭah* pathetically concludes by saying 'and the kingdom of God is alone eternal.'

CHAPTER IX

CENTRAL ORGANIZATION OF THE EMPIRE OF DELHI (1206—1290) I

Origin and Theory of Kingship.

In spite of the fact that monarchy has had a long and varied existence in the Muslim State ; to the *Shari'at*, however, it has always remained a non-legal institution. In theory Islam knows no kingship ; the word *Amir* or *Ul-u'l-amr* (meaning one, i.e., a chief or lord to whom an order is given) is often found in the Qur'an.¹

The Muslim State in Medieval India has been popularly but inaccurately described as a theocracy. Nothing can be more misleading ; the blunder arises from a misconception of the meaning of 'theocracy' and an utter ignorance of the true character of the Empire of Delhi. In order to explain the degeneration from the theocratic '*Khilāfat*' to the autocratic rule of the Muslim sovereigns, a reference is to be made to the Islamic political theory and ideal.

The Muslim State, being extraordinarily God-conscious, is permeated by a religious control, which extends to every sphere of human conduct. Allah is everywhere, and a Muslim is never permitted to lose sight of his faith. He is the *real* owner of sovereignty. He bestows it upon whom He likes, and deprives others likewise.² The idea of sovereignty in Islam is one of the most prominent factors of Islamic Political Theory. According to the Muslim theology, political authority rests with the Muslim brotherhood, which may confer supreme power upon any *bona fide* Muslim. The ruler and the ruled are fastened together by means of *bai't*, which literally means 'contract' or 'submission.' It signi-

¹ Qur'an, 5 : 8.

² ملك الملك Qur'an, 3 : 3.

fies an offer of fidelity and allegiance on the part of the subjects, and its acceptance by the ruler.¹ The bond of Muslim society, therefore, rests on implied contract or consent, without which none has any right to exercise authority. Thus, the political authority in Islam depends upon the *will* of the Muslim brotherhood, which is free from any restriction of caste, creed, race or colour, and that 'all believers are equal in the sight of God'.

The *Shari'at*, i.e., the path of virtue or the divine code of ethical and social laws, is supreme; and politically the *Amīr*, the Caliph, and even the Prophet—being members of the Muslim community and subject to the same laws—were never regarded immune or absolute. Thus, the supremacy of the law is one of the fundamental tenets of Islamic politics, and the ruler as well as the ruled have to submit to the *Shari'at* for their guidance considering it as the will and command of Allah.

The Muslim law imposes upon the individual the duty of obedience to the *Imām*. "Obey God, the Apostle, and those in authority from among you;"² and in case of difference of opinion, to turn back to Allah and his Apostle—the basic principle of the faith. The one-sided emphasis on the duty of the individual without any corresponding obligation on the part of the *Amīr* would be meaningless. It has been, therefore, expressly provided that the person in authority is accountable and responsible to God for the welfare of the subjects.³ The interests of the state are prior to the interests of the individual⁴ and that it is the duty of

¹ *Qur'ān*, 26 : 2. Also 26 : 3.

² "Surely those, who swear allegiance to you (i.e., Prophet) do but swear allegiance to Allah."

³ *Qur'ān*, 5 : 8.

⁴ The Apostle is ordered thus : "Go on inviting...and say, 'I believe in what Allah has revealed of the Book, and I am commanded to do justice between you; Allah is our Lord and your Lord; we shall have our deeds, and you shall have your deeds: No plea need there be between us and you. Allah will gather us together and to Him is the return.'"—*Qur'ān*, 25 : 2.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 9 : 3—"and know that your property and your children are a temptation, and that with Allah is the immense reward."

the ruler not to betray his trust.¹

The Muslim nation is a politico-religious unity (*Millat*). The Islamic conception of nationalism or patriotism is not based on geographical or racial considerations. Islamic polity has borrowed the terms *Ummah* and *Millah* as also *Khalifah* and *Imām* from the *Qur'ān*.² It goes without saying that Islam makes no distinction on account of place, birth or lineage, but teaches a practical brotherhood unparalleled in the history of mankind. The Holy *Qur'ān* says, "the believers are naught else but brothers."³ Islam lays down the basis of a vast brotherhood in which all men and women, of whatever tribe or nation, have equal rights as if members of the same family. The slave is to be clothed with the clothing and fed with the food of his master, and is not to be treated harshly. "Your wives," says the *Qur'ān*, "have rights against you, as you have rights against them."⁴

The ruler is to conduct the affairs of the state in consultation with counsellors; and according to the injunction of the *Qur'ān*, "and consult with them upon the conduct of affairs; and when thou art resolved, then put thy trust in God."⁵ The political ideal of Islam is to make human beings capable of acting together in the service of God as well as of one another, and to build up institutions by consent and consultation so as to encourage right conduct and justice. "So that it (wealth) may not circulate (only) among the rich," is the key-note of the Islamic policy regarding the national wealth. Hence the distribution of wealth among all classes has been emphasized by the institution of

¹ *Qur'ān*, 9 : 4—"Oh believers : be not unfaithful to Allah and the Apostle nor be unfaithful to your trusts, while you know."

² *Qur'ān*, 25 : 1. ولو شاء الله لجعلكم امته واحده

Ibid., 23 : 2 انا جعلناكم خليفه في الارض

Ibid., 1 : 15 قال اني جاعلكم للناس اماما

³ *Ibid.*, 26 : 1.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 2 : 28.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 4 : 17.

a property tax (*zakāt*),¹ restrictions on the power of testamentary disposition, laws of inheritance and the prohibition of usury.

Islam did not provide as to who would succeed the Prophet when he died. A successor to the Apostle was soon considered to be an unavoidable necessity; such a leader or chief (*Imām*) must be absolutely just, selfless, wise, and virtuous. After the Prophet, there sprang up Caliphate, which was based upon election; but as the empire expanded, the system was changed to a mere ceremony of *bai't* or submission. The circle of electors was reduced gradually from the leading men of the town to eleven, five, and even one, so much so that the sovereign could appoint his own successor. In order to reconcile the theory with practice, *Māwardī* tried to justify this conclusion, and the relaxation in the principle of election led to the recognition of the right of the sovereign to inherit. However, the idea of the ultimate sovereignty of the Muslim people did survive.

The first rulers were divine kings such as the Sasanians, who were regarded as 'God among men.' A full fledged *Sultanate*, however, began with the Khwarazmian Empire, and Maḥmūd of Ghaznah was, perhaps, the first to assume the title of Sulṭān.² The non-recognition of the institution of monarchy bred curious but natural results. In the first place all distinction between the king *de facto* and the king *de jure* was lost. Secondly, as there was no place for *Sultanate* in the Islamic political theory, there was, consequently, no provision for the devolution of the crown. The state could not be regarded as the property of the Sulṭān. The result was the interminable wars of succession, and an appeal to arms was the only possible remedy to solve the riddle. It was customary for the Sulṭān to nominate his heir either in his lifetime or on his death-bed; but the king's

¹ "And give away wealth out of love for Him to the near kin, the orphan, and the needy, the wayfarer and the beggar, captives and keep up prayers and pay *Zakāt*" (*Qur'ān*, 2 : 22).

² *Siyāsat-Nāmah* of Niẓām-u'l-Mulk Ṭūsī, p. 108.

nominee was almost always rejected.¹ A strong hand, of course, could, with little difficulty, find his way to the throne, and the *Khāns*, *Maliks* and *Amīrs* perforce made their submission, while the weak successors fell a prey into the hands of the so-called electors only to be set up and pulled down with the inevitable result of losing their necks. A formal ceremony of *bai't* was, however, followed in each case.

The division of the state between *Ghiyāth-u'd-dīn* and his brother *Shihāb-u'd-dīn* was neither sanctioned by the Islamic law nor supported by any precedent. However, it evolved a principle that the state was a private property of the ruler. *Mu'izz-u'd-dīn* died without leaving any son to rule over his empire, and his Turkish slaves were the only heirs. On the other hand, the ruler of *Fīrūz Kūh* found himself unable to impose his sovereignty over the powerful Turkish *Maliks*. The death of *Shihāb-u'd-dīn* left the puzzle unsolved. The sovereigns were required to form new theories or to reaffirm the time-honoured ideas regarding the institution of kingship.

The ruler was looked upon with awe and reverence, and kingship as an indispensable institution. There was a choice between monarchy and anarchy, and the people wisely chose the former. The Muslim society had undergone a great change, and it was a period of an 'alluring materialistic civilization and not of faith.' The Muslim law or *Shari'at* came to be regarded as impracticable. With the fall of *Mādain*, and the transfer of the seat of government to *Baghdād*, Persian ideas began to flow in, and in course of time completely changed the face of Islam. The conquerors fell an easy prey to the culture of the conquered, and the old doctrine of Persian Imperialism crept in the body-politic. Persian ideas and institutions were adopted wholesale ;

¹ *Qutb-u'd-dīn* Aibak nominated *Īltutmish* to the throne of Delhi ; but the *Maliks* elevated *Ārām Shāh*. *Sultān Īltutmish* made *Raḍiyah* his heir-apparent, but the *Maliks* raised *Rukn-u'd-dīn Fīrūz Shāh* to the throne of Delhi. Again Balban nominated *Kai-Khusru*, but *Kaiqubād* succeeded him at the instigation of the *Maliks*.

the government of the empire, the administration of the various departments, the personality of the ruler, the state ceremonials, the dress and the royal symbol were modelled upon Persian lines. These ideas spread from Baghdād to Ghaznī and other parts of the Muslim world, and likewise made their way into the Indian plains. Of all these ideas, the most significant was the theory of the Divine Right of the Persian Kings. The virtue of divinity¹ was associated with the office rather than with the person of the Sultān. "Excluding the functions of a prophet," it was repeatedly asserted that "there is no work as great and noble as the task of government."² Kingship, a great blessing and the highest office, is the creation of God, and is received from Him alone. A king is a representative of God on earth,³ and the heart of the king reflects the glory of God. "The Creator displays his inner richness by raising at every stage a person from among the created, endows him with all the accomplishments befitting sovereigns and entrusts him with the task of government, so that the people may lead a happy and prosperous life under his just and equitable regime."⁴ A king must, therefore, feel the importance and significance of the glory and grandeur thus conferred upon him and must be grateful to God for this great honour.⁵ "He must seek God's pleasure by doing the virtuous acts, which consist in administering absolute justice to the people—a means of the strengthening of the

¹ It is related about Humāyūn that on the occasion of public assembly, a curtain was hung between him and the audience; and when it was drawn, the gathering exclaimed with one voice, "Behold the illumination of the Divine Being." Abū-'l Faḍl made Akbar "*Insān-i-Kāmil*"—perfect man.

² *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī* of Dīyā Baranī, p. 27.

³ چون تو شدی سایه یزدان پاکو
سایه فشان نامی برین مشیت خدای

Amir Khusru in his *Qir'ān-u's-Sa'dain*, p. 205, addresses the Sultān as 'Shadow of God.'

⁴ *Siyāsat-Nāmah*, p. 6.

⁵ *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī* of Dīyā Baranī, pp. 70, 71.

empire and a way for his own salvation."¹

A king must be brave, enterprising, just and benevolent. He should be true to his army, benevolent to the subjects, kind to the oppressed, courteous to the virtuous and an abstainer from the evil-doers.² He should be neither sweet-speaking nor very harsh. To retain his kingship he must maintain his prestige. Kingly dignity disappears on account of friendship and familiarity; and the result is vice, immorality and sinning throughout his kingdom.³ Kingly glory and terror of authority contribute more than mere chastisement to the establishment of a strong and stable government. His society should be composed of the virtuous, faithful, wise and sagacious people. He should never grant audience or give posts to the humble or low-born people.⁴ The primary duty of a king is to maintain peace and order in his dominion and to protect and patronize the faith.⁵

He must keep himself well-informed of the condition of his provinces and the doings of his governors.⁶ But he should be all the more particular about his personal security, and keep his guards and servants satisfied. 'My first advice to you,' said Bughrā Khān to his son, 'is this : Consider Empire as dear but your own life as dearer ; for, if life is in danger, what is the use of this world.'⁷ Secondly, hesitate in killing *Maliks* and *Amīrs*, but convert your enemies into friends by means of liberality, sagacity and kindness.'⁸

The three essentials of kingship are the army, treasury and nobles,⁹ the means of success are justice, beneficence,

¹ *Siyāsat-Nāmah*, p. 8.

² MSS. *Ādāb-u'l-Harb*, p. 50a.

³ *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhi* of Dīyā Baranī, p. 34.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 29.

⁵ دولت دنیا چو مسلم ترا است
حائب دین کوشش که او هم ترا است

Qir'ān-u's-Sa'dain, p. 206.

⁶ Dīyā Baranī, *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhi*, p. 97, and *Qir'ān-u's-Sa'dain*, p. 205.

⁷ Dīyā Baranī, p. 152.

⁸ *Qir'ān-u's-Sa'dain*, p. 204.

⁹ باز طلب صحبت یزدان پاک - صحبت الوده رها کن بظاک
Qir'ān-u's-Sa'dain, p. 208.

pomp and show. A king must have under his command ten *Khāns*, each *Khān* ten *Maliks*, each *Malik* ten *Amīrs*, each *Amīr* ten *Sipah-Sālārs*, each *Sipah-Sālār* ten *Sar-khīls* (generals)¹ and each *Sar-khīl* ten horsemen or footmen. The assumption of a canopy of state, and to cause one's name to be read in the *Khuṭbah* and to be inscribed on the coinage were regarded as the insignia of royalty.² 'The army should, in no case, be allowed to molest the subjects, and the latter must not encroach upon the rights of the former.'³

Such was the theory and practice during the Medieval Period. The position was not acceptable to a number of true followers of Islam such as theologians and *ṣūfis*, who broke away from the monarchy and disassociated themselves with the corrupt condition of the Muslim society. The *Sulṭān* of Delhi was an autocrat, bound by no laws and subject to no control; the subjects had no rights but obligations. The Hindū theories of *Dharma* and *Karma*, teaching contentment and the rule of the upper classes over the lower, in a way, strengthened rather than weakened these ideals; and, as a matter of fact, the Hindū political system gave way at the first approach of the Muslim arms.

The state was based on force; the sovereign upheld his power in the face of grave dangers; all land belonged to the crown; and the imperial treasury was the personal property of the *Sulṭān*. Formally the ruler showed respect for religion, and employed under his service some theologians (*Dastār-bandān*) as *Qāḍīs* and *Shaiḫh-u'l-Islām*. Institutions such as *Bai't*, *Khuṭbah*, *Waqf* (endowment) and *Khairāt* (charities) marked outward shows; mosques were built and *Jihāds* were waged. Yet the unfailing power of the *Maliks*, the force of local customs and traditions and above all the

¹ *Diya Barani, Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī*, p. 145. There is obviously some mistake as explained before. An army of 100,000 is possible only if *Sipah-Sālār* is eliminated. *Sipah-Sālār* was a high title conferred upon *Amīrs*.

² *Ibid.*, p. 83.

³ *MSS. Ādāb-u'l-Ḥarb*, p. 50b.

powerful influence of mystics and divines kept the sovereign in alarm. The ambitions of the Sultāns of Delhi, like the Sasanian monarchs of Persia, were to build lofty and magnificent palaces, to hold grand assemblies, to conquer the world, to accumulate vast hordes of treasure, to bestow gifts over their favourites, to carry on war to uphold their supremacy and to maintain a large establishment of attendants and *harem*. The position of the Sultān was so secure that 'Alā-u'd-dīn and Muḥammad Tughlaq contemplated founding a religion, and Akbar actually created a new faith. Acts of cruelty, tortures and even massacres were practised by dictates of policy, extravagant and wasteful expenditure became the rule, the *Shari'at* was neglected, and the will of the sovereign became the law of the state. Such was the un-Islamic nature of the Empire of Delhi.

The Emperor.

The safety of the Empire rested upon an efficient management of the central government. The working of an autocracy mainly depended upon the personality of the autocrat. The personal character of the sovereign largely contributed to the success or failure not only of the administrative system but to the stability of the empire as a whole. He ruled only so long as he succeeded; one little disaster, a chance-defeat, an unexpected disloyalty on the part of his *Amīrs*, and the whole fabric of the state broke down. The royal throne was no bed of roses; the iron-hand alone could maintain its hold; while the weak rulers were set up and pulled down with the inevitable result of losing their necks. Such was the case with the successors of Sultān *Shams-u'd-dīn Īltutmish*. Sultān Rukn-u'd-dīn Fīrūz *Shāh* gave himself up to debauchery and dissipation, and was ultimately assassinated by the *Maliks*.¹ The next successor Sultān Raḍiyah though endowed with many laudable qualities had to meet the same lot.² Sultān Mu'izz-u'd-dīn Bahram *Shāh* proved to be an unassuming,

¹ *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 184.

² *Ibid.*, p. 185.

straightforward but blood-thirsty sovereign, for which he lost his head. Sultān 'Alā'-u'd-dīn Mas'ūd Shāh was beneficent and kind-hearted but addicted to sensuality, pleasure and chase; the consequence, however, could not be otherwise. The imperial throne was insecure. Dangers beset it on every side, and the Sultān had to 'live in an atmosphere of perpetual suspicion and distrust.' The Assassin's dagger, palace intrigues and the disloyalty of his officers and close relatives kept the king alarmed. The heretic leader Nūr Turk conspired against Islam in the reign of Sultān Raḍiyah.¹ The *Nā'ib-i-Mulk* Malik Ikẖtiyār-u'd-dīn aspired for the throne, and was consequently put to death by Sultān Mu'izz-u'd-dīn Bahrām Shāh.² The same sovereign had to face another conspiracy of state officials, and an attempt to subdue it resulted in the making of an open revolt against the Sultān.³ The *Vizier* Muhaz-zub-u'd-dīn also entertained high ambitions by establishing the *naubat* and stationing an elephant at the gate of his mansion, but his designs were foredoomed to failure.⁴

The position of a strong ruler, was, nevertheless, impregnable. An autocrat of unbounded energies, born with indomitable resolution, could successfully hold in check the forces of anarchy and confusion. "The one great virtue the subjects admired in their ruler was strength; the one fault, they could never forgive him was weakness."⁵ The great and powerful monarchs of the 'Early Turkish Empire' were Quṭb-u'd-dīn Aibak, Shams-u'd-dīn İltutmish and Ghiyath-u'd-dīn Balban, each of whose reign was marked by achievements of far-reaching importance as regards the founding, consolidating and the strengthening of the Empire.

Immediately below the sovereign came his *Maliks* and *Amirs*. They usually supported the Sultān in case he was powerful, but usurped his functions when he was weak, and played the rôle of 'king-makers.' A noble usually started

¹ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 190.

² *Ibid.*, p. 193.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 194.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 198.

⁵ Professor Muḥammad Ḥabīb (*The Third Oriental Conference*, Madras, 1924, p. 311).

his career as a slave of the Sultān or of any other noble, and on a graduated scale of promotion rose to the position of *Amīr*. His life, titles and royal grants were at the mercy of the reigning monarch. The official status of a noble was determined by his *shughl* (office), *khitāb* (title), *Aqṭā'* (land) or *Marātib* (privileges at the Court). The state could not tolerate his independence; he could either remain as an ally of the Crown or else a rebel. The Turkish aristocracy helped a great deal in upholding the Turkish domination, yet when the sovereign was weak, they played off one against the other.

The Emperor¹ was the fountain of all authority. The theory of the 'Divine Right of Kings' was still in the making. He was regarded as the 'shadow of God' on earth (*Zil-il-lah*)² or Lord's Deputy (*Nā'ib-i-aizad*)³ and was ascribed to possess divine qualities and an 'inspired mind.'⁴ The emperor was, in actual practice, the supreme ruler of the state, the highest court of appeal, the supreme legislator, and the commander-in-chief of the royal forces. There was a wide gap between theory and practice; the *Shari'at* was to be his guide, but actually his word was law. The Sultān may not have been a believing Musalman, yet in his public life he had to maintain at least an outward show of respect for the fundamentals of Islam. Balban impressed upon his subjects to be a 'pious Musalman,' which enhanced his prestige as a ruler.

The rulers of the 'Early Turkish Empire' could not, as a matter of fact, depend upon a prestige of an imperial family,

¹ *Diya Baranī, Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhi*, p. 70. Mu'izz-u'd-dīn Bahrām Shāh was styled ناصر امير المومنين 'An ally of the lord of the faithful.' *Īltutmish*: يمين خليفه الله ناصر امير المومنين 'The right hand of the caliph of Allah and an ally of the lord of the faithful.' Nāṣir-u'd-dīn : قسيم امير المومنين يمين خليفه الله ناصر امير المومنين 'The sider of the lord of the faithful.'

² *Tughlaq Nāmah* of Amīr *Khusru*, p. 79.

³ علائق دین و دنیا شاه والا - بقدرت نائب ایزد تعالی

Khidr Khān Diwal Rānī of Amīr *Khusru*, p. 17.

⁴ Amīr *Khusru*, *Khazā'in-u'l-Futūḥ*, p. 186.

high birth or noble lineage. They had sprung from the people, all of them were men of humble origin, and detached from their families in their tender ages were even ignorant of their parentage. They rose to positions of power and sovereignty through sheer force of merit, strenuous efforts or through the slow gradations of office; and their sole claim to the throne lay in their power to hold it in the face of clever rivals. To strengthen their position, attempts were made to secure patents of sovereignty from the 'Abbasid Caliphs. The principle that the crown should be confined to the members of the royal family was applied to the Persian House of Sāsān, but the case was different in Medieval India. Sultān İltutmish and Balban,¹ however, made attempts to monopolize the imperial throne for their respective families; nevertheless, kingship remained a competitive and elective office. Ambitious and enterprising persons did aspire for the throne at the cost of their lives, if they failed to achieve their ends. And history provides numerous instances of this kind.

The people, however, regarded monarchy as a necessary and desirable institution for the solution of their social and political problems. Medieval India knew no rules of succession. It was customary for the Sultān to appoint his successor, but his nominee was almost always rejected by the *Maliks* and *Amirs*, who chose the new sovereign by means of a direct or indirect election or by an appeal to arms. The ceremony of vowing allegiance (*bai't*) had survived from the Umayyad Caliphs, and the people played an important part at the time of succession. They approved the candidature and paid submission to the new ruler. They even used their collective power in case of need, and when Rāḍiyah appealed to them for assistance against Sultān Rukn-u'd-dīn, the people responded to her call by capturing the *Daulat Khānah* and killing Shāh-Turkān, the Regent of the Sultān.² Again the *Maliks*, *Amirs*, *Sardārs*,

¹ See Ḍiyā Baranī, *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī*, pp. 120-123.

² *Ibn Battūṭah's Travels*, *Elliot*, III, p. 592.

'*Ulemā*' and grandees had all acknowledged Nāṣir-u'd-dīn as their sovereign, yet the people publicly pledged their allegiance in a public assembly held at *Kushk-i-Fīrūzī* (the Fīrūzī castle).¹ The foundation of Muslim kingship in India and the principle of election along with a unanimous recognition of one house to rule are perhaps the greatest heritage of the Early Turkish Empire of Delhi. However, it is certain that they failed to evolve a definite principle of succession; yet succeeded in establishing the idea that the Turk was a legitimate ruler of men and 'sovereignty was his monopoly.'

Administrative duties of the Emperor.

The Emperor was the centre of all authority; in him resided the supreme powers of the state, and consequently his administrative duties were multifarious. He was the supreme legislator, the highest court of appeal and the leader of his forces. It was physically impossible for the Sulṭān to look after the business of government all by himself, and the burden of the state could only be lessened by delegating to his subordinate officers such powers as might conveniently be exercised by them on his behalf. The Sulṭān, however, kept a vigilant watch over the affairs of the state, so much so that no important work could be done without his approval or knowledge. Out of necessity, he established an efficient system of spies to equip himself with all the information regarding the behaviour of his subjects, governors, *Maliks*, *Amīrs* and officials. It is interesting to recall how a slave of the Sulṭān served under every *Amīr* to watch his activities and to inform his master accordingly.² "Curious as it may seem, the fact is, nevertheless true, that medieval governments interfered more with the life of the people, than any government is likely to do today."³

¹ *Ṭabaqāt Nāṣirī*, p. 208.

² *Ibn Baṭṭūṭah* (Urdū Translation, Muḥammad Ḥusain), pp. 179 and 241.

³ Professor Muḥammad Ḥabīb, (*The Third Oriental Conference*, Madras, 1924, p. 312).

The Sultān was expected to be munificent, liberal and enterprising, well-versed in horsemanship and archery ; and also noted for his commanding presence and manly bearing. He was further supposed to be the patron of letters and a benefactor of his subjects. He conferred upon his *Maliks* and officials titles such as *Fakhr-u'l-Mulk*, *Sharf-u'l-Mulk*, and *Qaān-ul-Mulk*.¹ The highest title was *Khān*. Next came the titles of *Malik*, and lastly *Amir*. Below them were the military ranks of *Sipah-Sālār* and *Sar-Khil*. The poets recited *Qaṣidahs* in his praise² and received handsome rewards ; and foreign travellers expected a hearty reception at his court. The Sultān gave all possible assistance to the people in times of famine.

A strong and efficient Sultān was certainly an absolute despot. But the reigns of weak successors were marked by the rivalry of opposing *Maliks*, who desperately quarrelled for power and predominance, and held a regime of blood and terror. The annals of Early Medieval India are discoloured by a state of constant contention and strife between the Turks and non-Turks. The pre-eminence of Yāqūt, a non-Turk, aroused jealousy on the part of other *Maliks* in the reign of Sultān Raḍīya. Again her own Turkish *Maliks* rose in open revolt in her invasion against Altūniyah.³

The Imperial Council (Majlis-i-Khāṣ).

A strong family likeness marks the administrative organization of all the autocratic states. The central government of India in those days was modelled on the lines of the 'monarchies of Persia,'⁴ which were, in their turn, deeply influenced by the Roman conceptions of government and law. Many resemblances are, therefore, noticed between the governments of the Roman emperors and Sultāns of Delhi.

¹ 'Qaān'—a title of the Emperor of China—vide *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāh* of Dīyā Baranī, p. 66.

² See *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, p. 64 ; *Firīṣṭah*, p. 67, and *Badā'unī*, p. 69.

³ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 188.

⁴ Dīyā Baranī, *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī*, p. 26.

The Sultān was the final executive authority for all state-affairs. Yet, in obedience to the time-honoured custom, he summoned a council of the highest officers and allies¹ (*Majlis-i-Khāṣ*) to discuss the more important problems such as executive, legislative and financial. The Council had no constitutional or legal powers, but was merely a consultative body² and its meetings were held in secret. Nobody could attend it as a matter of right, the Emperor summoned whomsoever he liked. Nevertheless, it was a thing of reality, and indirectly held in check the great powers of the autocrat. The Sultān was bound to act according to its unanimous verdict on a certain question, and its joint advice went a great way in moulding the policy of the Emperor. A monarch, who kept matters confidentially, was naturally looked upon with an eye of suspicion.

Side by side, there was another Council called *Majlis-i-Khilwat*³ (Privy Council) to which only the most trusted officials and servants were invited.⁴ The four ministers generally attended and informed the Sultān about the affairs of their respective departments. The Sultān took a keen interest in such matters as affected the welfare of the subjects and prosperity of the empire.

The Sultān frequently held *Majlis-i-'Aish* (Convivial Assembly), to which persons of his taste were alone invited. The class of courtiers or *Nadims* consisted of refined and cultivated persons. Their principal occupation was to

¹ "وزیر صاحب تدبیر ملوک رائے زن را برائے زن رائے حاضر"
Khazā'in-u'l-Futūh, p. 99.

² "پرش کار از همه کس کن و لیک
ز آن همه کن که صوابست و نیک"

Amīr Khusrū's *Nūh Sipihr*, p. 165.

³ It is different from the *Majlis-i-Khāṣ* as described above. *Journal of Indian History*, Madras, April 1935, p. 97, confuses the *Majlis-i-Khilwat* with *Majlis-i-Khāṣ*.

⁴ "سلطان جلال الدین فرمود تا مجلس خلوت سازند و در آن
مجلس چند رائے زنان ملکی و چند مکرمان اسرار ملکی را طلب
شد" Baranī, *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī*, p. 224.

entertain the Sultān in his leisure hours and to add to his pleasure and sport. As a rule, they did not hold any official position within the state. Here the Sultān indulged in luxury and amusements, and witnessed games such as elephant-fight, flying and wrestling matches. Such royal festivities were arranged and supervised by the *Bārbak* (Master of Ceremonies) or *Amīr-i-Majlis*¹ (Lord of Assembly). The minor officers and servants attached to the assembly were as follows :

*Khāṣṣah-dār*² (personal attendant) ; *Sāqī-i-Khāṣṣ*³ (personal cup-bearer) ; *Taṣht-dār*⁴ (keeper of royal basin) ; *Sharāb-dār*⁵ (keeper of drinkables) ; *Jāmah-dār*⁶ (keeper of the royal robe) ; *Dawāt-dār*⁷ (keeper of writing case) ; *Chāshnīgīr*⁸ (Controller of the royal kitchen) ; *Nā'ib-i-Chāshnīgīr*⁹ (Assistant controller) ; *Shu'lahdār*¹⁰ (keeper of the torch : he supervised the lighting arrangement of the Palace) ; *Yūzbān*¹¹ (keeper of the hunting leopards) ; *Bāzdār*¹² (Falconer) ; *Sar-i-Chatr-dār*¹³ (Head of the state canopy-bearers) ; *Bahlah-dār*¹⁴ (bearer of the royal purse) ; *Mehtar-i-Farrāsh*¹⁵ (chief of carpet spreaders) ; *Muṣṣallidār* (keeper of the royal carpet for saying prayers) and *Muhr-dār*¹⁶ (keeper of the royal seal : he fixed seals upon food and drink).

The Imperial Court (Majlis-i-'Ām or Bār-i-'Ām).

The custom of holding courts or *durbārs* is very ancient among the royal traditions of Persia, and it came to be established with the advent of Muslim rule in India. *Majlis-i-'Ām*¹⁷ was radically different from the Imperial Council. It

¹ *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, pp. 238, 239.

² *Ibid.*, p. 282.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 254.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 256, 257.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 242.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹² *Ibid.*

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 254, 255.

¹⁶ *Ibn-Battūṭah* (Urūḡ translation by Muḥammad Ḥusain, p. 163).

¹⁷ *Ḍiyā Baranī. Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī*, p. 30.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 250, 251.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 268.

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 261.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 248, 249

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 251.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

was a public Court and not a consultative or private assembly. It was the highest administrative organ, where the Sultān transacted all the business of the state. The Emperor sat upon the throne with an air of dignity and authority. *Chatr* (royal parasol) and *Dūrbāsh*¹ (royal baton) were regarded as symbols of royal power. Red and black canopies were together regarded² as an insignia of royalty and 'elephants' and *naubat*³ (beating of drums)⁴ were the exclusive privileges of the Emperor. The name of the sovereign was read in the *Khutbah* and inscribed on the coinage. Green or Red canopies and robes of honour⁵ were bestowed upon the *Maliks* and *Amirs* as a token of personal distinction. When Firūz Shāh returned after the

¹ The Indian *dūrbāsh*, like its Persian predecessor, was a wooden staff branching at the top and plated with gold. It was used to keep people at a distance.

² Sultān Nāsir-u'd-dīn had two canopies—one black and the other red. See *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāsirī*, p. 318. The standards of Īltutmish were black and red. *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāsirī*, p. 179. 'Alā-u'd-dīn also had a black canopy.

دیر آنست که اینجا کند تختگاه - شود سایه گستر ز چتر سیاه

MSS. *Nūh Sipihr* of Amīr *Khusru*, p. 49 :

”جو باچتر سیاه دیدش فلک حفت - علیکم بالسواد الاعظمش گفت“

Miftāḥ-u'l-Futūḥ, p. 21.

³ 'Naubat' does not mean 'music' (see *Journal of Indian History*, April 1935, p. 99).

روان کن سونے حضرت بے کم و کاست
علامتہائے سلطانی کہ اینجا است
چتر و دور باش و پیل و رایت
کہ حکم مابراں داد ولایت

'Alā-u'd-dīn, displeased with his son *Khidr Khān*, demanded the return of all the insignia of royalty—canopy, *dūrbāsh*, elephants and standards. *Khidr Khān Diwal Rāni* of Amīr *Khusru*, p. 239.

⁵ Rukn-u'd-dīn Firūz Shāh was granted the fief of Badā'ūn along with a green canopy. Malik *Tugh̃rul-i-Tugh̃hān Khān* was dignified with a canopy of state and a standard in the reign of Sultān Raḍiyah. See *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāsirī*, pp. 182 and 243. Sultān 'Alā-u'd-dīn Mas'ūd Shāh despatched a red canopy and a robe of honour to Malik *Tugh̃rul-i-Tugh̃hān Khān*. See *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāsirī*, p. 199.

capture of Lakhnawtī, *Khān-i-Jahān* Maqbūl welcomed him with numerous flags (*abraaq*), which practice did not exist in the previous reigns.

The Sultān sat upon the throne on a high-raised platform. Behind him stood a body-guard of slaves with drawn swords, police-officer, head-executioner, royal purse-bearer, commander of forces, sergeants, head-swordsmen, wrestlers, and lastly horses and elephants glorifying the right and left wings of the army.¹ In front of the throne stood the *Amīr-i-Ḥājib* (Lord Chamberlain), who maintained law and order in the court. The *Amīr-i-Ḥājib* was assisted by *Nā'ib-i-Amīr-i-Ḥājib*² (Deputy to Lord Chamberlain) and an army³ of Chamberlains called *Hujjāb*, *Malik-u'l-Hujjāb* or *Amīr-u'l-Hujjāb* (Head of the Chamberlains),⁴ *Ḥājib-u'l-Hujjāb* (Chief of the Chamberlains), and *Ulugh-i-Khāṣ-i-Ḥājib* (the Chief Royal Chamberlain).⁵ Sultān Muḥammad Tughlaq held a special court twice a week to decide cases. On these occasions only four servants were present—*Amīr-i-Ḥājib*, *Khāṣ-Ḥājib*, *Syed-u'l-Hujjāb* and *Sharf-u'l-Hujjāb*—who were stationed at different gates to take down the complaints of the people.

The ceremonies of the court were 'humiliating and servile.' *Sijdah* (prostration) and *Nadhār* (an offer to the Sultān) were regarded as essentials of etiquette. *Nithār* was, however, a different ceremony; it consisted in taking platefuls of gold or silver coins or other precious jewels, and after being passed over the head of the sovereign a number

¹ *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī* of Dīyā Baranī, p. 30.

² Malik Taj-u'd-dīn Sanjar-i-Tez *Khān* was *Amīr-i-Ḥājib* in the reign of Sultān Nāṣir-u'd-dīn. See *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 260.

³ صفیائے حاجبان کہ چو مژگای کشیده اند
هر صف هزار اختر خورشید افسر است

Qaṣā'id of Badr-i-Chāch, p. 52.

⁴ 'Alā-u'd-dīn Ayāz Guzjānī was appointed *Malik-u'l-Hujjāb* or *Amīr-u'l-Hujjāb*. See *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 293.

⁵ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 302.

of times, was scattered over the indigent and needy crowds. Access to the Sultān was generally granted and every one was allowed to lay his application in person before the Sultān through the *Amīr-i-Ḥājib* or *Ḥājib-i-Khāṣ*, one of the greatest administrative officers.¹ When officers and fief-holders came to pay their homage to the Sultān, they brought with them beautiful slaves, dressed and ornamented in the most splendid style, priceless horses, fine elephants, valuable garments, vessels of gold and silver, arms, camels and mules.² Foreign travellers when seeking an interview with the Sultān offered presents, and generally received three-fold from the court.³ A special officer (*Shahnah-i-Bārgāh*) was appointed to see that provisions of behaviour and forms of presentation were scrupulously observed. The programme of the day was drawn up beforehand, yet the sittings of the court were long and tiresome. The Sultān sat as a chief judge, decided cases and reviewed appeals from the Qāḍī's Court. He further received envoys, granted interviews to governors, *Raes*, *Ranas*, princes, *Muqaddams*⁴ (head village-men) and other officials, and transacted other business of the state. *Amīr-i-Ḥājib* read out the application to the Sultān for his verdict, and then the *Muhr-dār* (keeper of the Royal Seal) fixed the seal on the royal orders. The applications were ultimately handed over to the different *Dabīrs* (Secretaries) such as *Dabīr-i-Khāṣ* (general secretary)⁵ for their final disposal. In criminal cases, the judgment was enforced there and then by a number of *Jallāds* (executioners). Provincial administration was, however, separately dealt by the various ministries.

¹ *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī* of Dīyā Baranī, p. 202.

² *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī* of 'Afīf, p. 268.

³ *Ibn-Battūṭah* (Urdū translation by Muḥammad Ḥusain, p. 4).

⁴ *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī* of Dīyā Baranī, p. 31.

⁵ *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī* of 'Afīf, p. 224.

The Regent.

An extraordinary office of *Nā'ib-u'l-Mulk*¹ or *Malik Nā'ib*² (Regent) was created on special occasions either on account of the minority of the monarch or his weakness. The Regent stood in the Sultān's place, and carried on the government on behalf of the Sultān. When Sultān Muḥammad invaded Thatta, Malik Kabīr acted as his *Nā'ib*. He summoned Malik Mujīr, a feudatory, who came but paid no homage to the *Nā'ib*. Malik Kabīr got angry and said, "I am in command of affairs for Sultān Muḥammad, and am empowered to issue orders in the royal absence."³ The *Nā'ib* was sometimes ordered to lead expeditions.⁴ Sultān 'Alā-u'd-dīn's *Nā'ib* acted as commander-in-chief of the imperial forces. He was, in fact, above the ministers, and his position was greater than that of any other servant of the crown. Being a representative of the Sultān, he stood for his royalty; while the highest civil officer was the *Vizier*. Several *Nā'ibs* were appointed in different provinces.⁵ The office of Regent, however, proved a great menace to the personal security of its holder as well as to the integrity of the empire. The high position of the *Nā'ib*, on the one hand, provoked bitter enmity on the part of other officers, while, on the other hand, it incited the Regent to aspire for the throne.

The Regent always struggled for political supremacy, and his mismanagement and cruel administration was often

- دین هم از آنها است که در حادثات
گشت چونائب ملک ایمن بذات

Nūh Sipihr of Amīr Khusrū, p. 70.

² *Diya Baranī, Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhi*, p. 241, and *Khazā'in-u'l-Futūḥ*, p. 70.

- از جهت سلطان محمود در مقام حکومت داشم
نیايت غيبت امر مطلق من دارم

³ *'Afīf, Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhi*, p. 453.

⁴ *Baranī, Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhi*, p. 326.

⁵ *'Afīf, Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhi*, pp. 454, 455.

responsible for the spread of a general revolt in the empire. Shāh-Turkān, the mother of Sulṭān Rukn-u'd-dīn acted as his Regent, and assumed the charge of government. She was, however, put to death for her acts of barbarity.¹ The *Maliks* elected Mu'izz-u'd-dīn Bahrām Shāh on the condition that Malik Ikẖtiyār-u'd-dīn Aitkin would act as his Regent. He assumed triple *naubat*, and stationed an elephant before his gate—a set of special privileges, which the sovereign alone could enjoy in those days—for which he lost his neck.² Quṭb-u'd-dīn, son of 'Alī Ghūrī was appointed *Nā'ib-i-Muḻk* to Sulṭān 'Alā-u'd-dīn Mas'ūd Shāh.³ Again Sulṭān Nāṣir-u'd-dīn found himself unequal to the task of government; he, therefore, made Balban his *Nā'ib*.⁴ Malik Nizām-u'd-dīn was the Regent of Sulṭān Mu'izz-u'd-dīn Kaiqubād,⁵ and he aspired for the throne at the cost of his neck. Shams-u'd-dīn Kaikā'ūs had Shāistah Khān as his *Nā'ib*.⁶ It is obvious from the above that only weak rulers had Regents to carry on the government, while the strong sovereigns like Quṭb-u'd-dīn Īltutmish, Raḍiya and Balban kept no such office under their charge. A strong monarch like 'Alā-u'd-dīn employed his *Nā'ib* as the commander of his forces.

¹ *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 182.

² *Ibid.*, p. 192.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 198.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 294.

⁵ *Tārīkh i-Firūz Shāhī* of Ḍiyā Baranī, p. 131.

⁶ *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī*, p. 166.

CHAPTER X

CENTRAL ORGANIZATION OF THE EMPIRE OF DELHI (1206—1290) II

The four Ministries.

In accordance with a well established principle as borrowed from Persia, the Sulṭān was assisted in his executive work by a cabinet of four ministers. There were five principal departments under Maḥmūd of Ghaznah—*Dīwān-i-Wizārat* (Finance Department) ; *Dīwān-i-'Arḍ* (Military); *Dīwān-i-Risālat* (Correspondence) ; *Dīwān-i-Vikālat* or *Waklālat* (House-hold Department)¹ and *Dīwān-i-Shughl-i-Ishrāf-i-Mamlukāt* (Secret Service Department). The central government of India was divided into several departments, the heads of four of which enjoyed the status of ministers. Under the direct supervision of the Emperor, the business of the state was carried on by the four traditional ministries—*Dīwān-i-Wizārat* (Revenue or Finance) ; *Dīwān-i-'Arḍ* (Military) ; *Dīwān-i-Inshā'*² (Local Government) and *Dīwān-i-Risālat*³ (Ministry of Appeals). Bughrā Khān, while advising his son said, "Do not fail to form a cabinet of four ministers, 'the pillars of the state,' and discuss all the confidential secrets of the state in the presence of all the four. Though the rank of the *Vizier* is higher, but you should not allow any of them to predominate over the other." Each ministry was under the charge

¹ 'Maḥmūd of Ghaznah' by Dr. Nāẓim, p. 130.

² Not the 'Department of Correspondence' as in the *Journal of Indian History*, Madras, April 1935, p. 101.

³ Not '*Dīwān-i-Riyāsat*,' which does not seem to possess a high status and as such should not be reckoned among the four ministries—see '*Third Oriental Conference*, Madras,' 1924, p. 313. Even in the reign of Sulṭān 'Alā-u'd-dīn Khālījī, *Dīwān-i-Riyāsat* (Ministry of Markets) is not mentioned among the four ministries. See *Baranī*, pp. 153, 337 and 374.

of a minister (*Ṣāhib-i-Diwān*)¹ or a deputy minister (*Nā'ib-i-Diwān*)² or both. The powers and functions of these ministers widely differed at different times. The procedure of work also changed, and, along with it, their duties were also transferred from one to another. However, much depended upon the personality of the Emperor and the character of ministers. A confidant of the Sultān like Nizām-u'd-dīn the *dādbak* could easily be entrusted with the powers of a Regent, while an active and powerful sovereign like Balban regarded the ministers as mere executive officers to carry out his orders.

Diwān-i-Wizārat (Ministry of Revenue).

The 'Abbasid Vizier was the Prime Minister and received the title of *al-Ṣadr-u'l-A'zam* or *al-Vizier-u'l-A'zam*.³ The Vizier of Delhi was not the chief minister and was styled as *Muayyid-u'l-Mulk* (Helper of Realm); *'Ain-u'l-Mulk*⁴ (the eye of the state); *Nizām-u'l-Mulk*⁵ (administrator of the realm); *Fakhr-u'l-Mulk* (pride of the land); *Ṣadr-u'l-Mulk* (chief of the kingdom); *Ḍiyā-u'l-Mulk*, (light of the empire); *Wazīr-i-Mulk*⁶ (Vizier of the kingdom); *Qawām-u'l-Mulk*;⁷ *Khwājah Jahān*;⁸ *Tāj-u'l-Mulk*⁹ and *Khān-i-Jahān*.¹⁰

¹ *Seirat-i-Firūz Shāhi*, Bānkipore MSS., p. 72.

² It is incorrect to say that a ministry was under the minister (*Diwān* or *Nā'ib-i-Diwān*) and that there was no deputy minister. Sultān Ghiyāth-u'd-dīn Tughlaq appointed Bahā-u'd-dīn as 'Arid and Malik Tāj-u'd-dīn as *Nā'ib-i-'Arid*. See Baranī's *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhi*, p. 423. Again, when Khusru Khān was the vizier of Mubārak Khālji, Fadl-u'llah and Mughith-u'd-dīn acted as his *Nā'ib-i-Viziers*. (Baranī, *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhi*, p. 379). In some reigns such as that of 'Alā-u'd-dīn, the ministries were entrusted with the charge of *Nā'ib-i-Wakil-i-dar*, *Dabir-i-Mumālīk*, *Nā'ib-i-Vizier*, and *Nā'ib-i-'Arid*. The old system was, however, revived by Firūz Shāh. See Baranī, p. 237. It may be concluded that ministries were either under the charge of *Diwān* (*Ṣāhib*) or *Nā'ib-i-Diwān*, and sometimes both.

³ 'A Short History of Saracens by Amīr 'Alī,' p. 412.

⁴ *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsiri*, pp. 135, 173.

⁵ *Firishtah*, p. 67.

⁶ *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsiri*, p. 183.

⁷ 'Afif, *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhi*, p. 395.

⁸ *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhi*, p. 142.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 147.

¹⁰ The title of *Khān-i-Jahān* was, for the first time, bestowed upon the Vizier—MSS. *Seirat-i-Firūz Shāhi*, p. 17.

The *Vizier* or *Dastūr*¹ was the minister of revenue, and enjoyed precedence over his colleagues, but the latter were not his subordinates in any way. The principle of joint responsibility did not exist in those days, and each minister was directly responsible to the Sultān. The Ministers were not his courtiers; they were the officers of the state, and as such their personal relation with the emperor was not very intimate.

'The *Vizier* occupied the highest office² that a man of letters (*Ahl-i-Qalam*) could hold,'³ and held the supreme status that a civilian could enjoy. The *Vizier Khān-i-Jahān* Maqbūl of Sultān Firūz Tughlaq was illiterate,⁴ while Qutlugh Khān, *Vizier* of Sultān Husain, was the most learned man of the time.⁵ The *Vizier* was the chief adviser of the Sultān, who often held secret consultations with him. The *Ādāb-u'l-Ḥarb* of Fakhr-u'd-dīn Mubārak Shāh regards the *Vizier* as an ideal man well-versed in the art of government and notes a number of qualifications befitting a *Vizier*. Accordingly he must be 'learned, experienced, God-fearing, bold, social, prudent, and well read in Shari'at.'⁶ According to *Nizām-u'l-Mulk* Ṭūsī, the *Vizier* should in addition be 'the protector of subjects and strong-handed.'⁷ So long as the *Vizier* was able to crush rebellions of a serious nature, his position was impregnable.

The *Vizier* was the head of the Revenue Department. He collected revenue, checked the accounts of provincial

¹ *Khazā'in-u'l-Futūḥ* of Amīr Khusru, p. 84.

² 'وزیر دوم بادشاه است و کار او دشوار تر بود'
Zafar Nāmah, edited by Ch-Schefer—Paris 1883.

³ MSS. *Ādāb-u'l-Ḥarb*, 60b, Asiatic Society of Bengal Manuscript.

وزارت را قلم برکارش آسود
وزیر چوں حسن شد پیش محمود

Tughlaq Nāmah, p. 18.

⁴ Afīf, *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī*, p. 395.

⁵ *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, p. 157.

⁶ MSS. *Ādāb-u'l-Ḥarb*, p. 60b, Asiatic Society of Bengal Manuscript, pp. 55, a, b; 56b; 57a.

⁷ *Siyāsat Nāmah*, p. 21.

governors and realized balances. The accounts of all the departments were audited by the Ministry,¹ and the *Vizier* himself examined all the schedules of receipts and disbursements every day.² He exercised a considerable jurisdiction over the Military Department. The early Muslim rulers made no distinction between the civil and military duties, and the *Viziers* of *İltutmish* and 'Alā-u'd-dīn conducted military campaigns as well.³ The *Vizier* of Muḥammad *Shāh* acted as *Nā'ib* during the Sulṭān's absence from the capital.⁴ When the Sulṭān is weak, the *Vizier* must necessarily be strong, otherwise the affairs of the state are bound to fall into disaster. The fall of the *Vizier* meant the domination of military leaders. However, in the struggle for supremacy between the king and the *Vizier*, public opinion generally supported the former. The weakness of the *Vizier*, on the other hand, resulted in the predominance of the military leaders, which exactly is the case during the latter part of the Early Turkish Rule. *Ulugh Khān* and his brother were the actual rulers, the Sulṭān and the *Vizier* simply reigned.

The *Vizier* paid the army and all the other servants of the state, and granted allowances to holy persons, widows and orphans.⁵ The mint;⁶ the building department;⁷ the horse; camel and stables;⁸ intelligence and post departments;⁹ agriculture, charitable institutions,¹⁰ and *Kārkhānahs* (factories) were all under the charge of the *Vizier*. The *Nā'ib-i-Vizier-i-Mumālīk* (the Deputy *Vizier*) did not enjoy a high status, and, unlike the *Vizier*, was not allowed to sit in the Sulṭān's court.

The *Vizier* was assisted by a number of high officials—*Mushrif-i-Mumālīk*¹¹ (Accountant-general of income),

¹ 'Afif, *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī*, p. 339.

² *Ibid.*, p. 397.

³ Baranī, *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī*, p. 252.

⁴ *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī*, p. 152.

⁵ MSS. *Ādāb-u'l-Ḥarb*, p. 56a.

⁶ 'Afif, *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī*, pp. 346, 347.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 333.

⁸ MSS. *Ādāb-u'l-Ḥarb*, p. 56a.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 55b.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 56b.

¹¹ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, pp. 183, 193.

*Mustaufi*¹ (Auditor-general of expenditure)² and Majmū'ah-dār³ (who kept the record of balances). The controversy that arose between *Khān-i-Jahān Vizier* and 'Ain-u'l-Mulk *Mushrif-i-Mumālīk* at the time of Sulṭān Firūz Tughlaq explains the duties of the three great officers. The *Vizier* contended that the *Mushrif* had nothing to do with the detailed account of expenditure, for he was an examiner of items of income, and the duty of the *Mustaufi* was to check the details of expenditure. 'Ain-u'l-Mulk differed from this view, and referred the matter to Sulṭān Firūz, who finally decided the matter thus, "a detailed account of income and total expenditure was to be given to the *Diwān-i-Ashraf*, and a detailed account of expenditure plus total income to the *Diwān-i-Istifā*, and a detailed account of both the income and expenditure to the *Diwān-i-Wizārat*."⁴ Thus, the three branches of accounts, i.e., income (*Jama'*), expenditure (*Kharj*) and balance (*Bāqī*), were under the charge of three responsible officers. The Treasurer was called the *Khāzin*.⁵ Apart from these officers there was an army of clerks and minor officials attached to the Department. The *Vizier* occupied the ministerial chair, the *Nā'ib-i-Vizier* sat on his left; below him sat the *Mushrif-i-Mumālīk* (Accountant-general of income), who checked the income of the empire, examined the records, and saw that the public money was not misappropriated. The *Mushrif* also drew decrees appointing the heir-apparent.⁶ Next came the *Barīd-i-Mumālīk* (Commissioner of Intelli-

¹ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 192. 'Afīf, *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī*, p. 308.

² "وظیفہ مستوفی چیست تادر خرجهای مملکت...
احتیاط کند با قسم جمع و باقی کار ندارد"

'Afīf, *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī*, p. 458.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 92.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 409.

⁵ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 248. Hindū *Khān*, the Treasurer.

هندو خان مبارک الخازن السلطانی

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 185.

gence), *Mustaufi* (incharge of expenditure), and *Wuqūf*¹ (who verified items of expenditure) and *Nā'ib-i-Wuqūf*. The *Mushrif-i-Mumālik* was assisted in his work by the *Nā'ib-i-Mushrif* (Deputy to the Accountant-general), the *Nāzir* or the examiner of receipts² and the *Nā'ib-i-Nāzir*.

In addition to his duties as the Emperor's chief adviser, the *Vizier*, as related above, supervised the working of the *Diwān-i-Wizārat* (Revenue Department). The *Vizier* of Muḥammad Tughlaq was assisted by four Deputies called *Shah*, who received from 20,000 to 40,000 *tankahs* per annum; four *Dabirs* (secretaries), each of whom received the revenue of a large town; and each *Dabir* had under him 300 clerks, the lowest salary of a clerk being 10,000 *tankahs*.³ The *Vizier* was the head of the Department, and could recommend to the king for appointment or dismissal of any officer.⁴ The Sultān's orders were sent to the *Vizier* for execution, and *Qāḍi-i-Shahr* and *Khaṭīb* accordingly inflicted punishments upon the criminals.⁵ 'Oriental Empires,' Sir Henry Maine rightly observes, 'were tax-paying institutions.' Yet the task was most delicate and most baffling. Everything depended upon an efficient working of the *Diwān*; good government, stability of the Empire, peace and tranquillity could only be possible in case the treasury was full. It was the duty of the *Vizier* to provide money for the expenses of the administration; he, therefore, had to keep a vigilant watch over the local governors and their accounts. The land-tax was the principal source of revenue. Land revenue assessed from the *Khālṣah Iqtā'*, and other classes of lands, *Khirāj* from subordinate Hindū chiefs, *Khams* or one-fifth of the war booty, and other revenue derived from *Zakāt* and *abvāb* were the chief sources of revenue.

¹ Afif, *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī*, p. 419.

² *Ibid.*, p. 320

“ناظر در جمع نظر کند - وقوف در خرچہائی مملکت واقف گردد”

³ *Masālik-u'l-Abṣār* (Elliot, Vol. III, p. 578).

⁴ Afif, *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī*, p. 414.

⁵ *Ibn Battūṭah* (Urdu translation by Muḥammad Husain, p. 166).

Quṭb-u'd-dīn abolished all taxes except those of the *Sharī'at*, which meant one-tenth or one-fifth,¹ i.e., the tithe land and the *Ṣadaqah*. However, the system prevailing in the country and most akin to the Muslim Law must have been adopted. *İltutmish* made no changes, and Balban, too, could affect no change in the *Iqṭā'* system. The 'Early Turkish Empire' was too weak to establish anything like a regular and systematic organization for the assessment of revenue. The achievements in financial matters were practically nill, and the Early Turkish rulers followed the Muslim theories of finance and the policy of the Ghaznavids. Under the Ghaznavids, the *Ṣāhib-i-Diwān* (or provincial revenue minister), the *Āmil* or a collector, and the *Rais* were all appointed by the Sultān. The provincial officers were bound to deposit the revenue into the royal treasury, and in case of delay an agent or *Rasūl* was appointed by the central government to exact payment. It all depended upon the strength of the central government. With the establishment of an independent Muslim State in India, the state of affairs naturally changed. Sultān Mu'izz-u'd-dīn entrusted the charge of different territories to his slaves, while his successors distributed tracts of land (*Iqṭā's*) to their own trustworthy and loyal officials known as *muqṭā's*. But the system had no permanent basis, nor the *muqṭā's* possessed hereditary rights of succession. The *Iqṭā'* holder collected the revenue and deducted from it the amount granted to him; and the balance went to the central government. Besides the *Iqṭā'*, there existed other grants known as *Khālṣah* or *Mumlatat*, which were the property of the state, and were probably managed through the agency of *Āmils*. Another class of land was that which was entirely left into the hands of the original owners on condition of payment of revenue. The revenue officers, perforce, entered into contracts with the *Rajas*, *Rawats*,² *Chaudhries* and

¹ *Tārīkh-i-Fakhr-u'd-dīn Mubārak Shāh* edited by Sir Denison Ross, pp. 33, 34.

² *Miftāḥ-u'l-Futūḥ*, p. 59.

*Muqaddams*¹ or any other pre-existing authority, who were permitted to collect the land-tax on behalf of the state on submitting a deed called the *Khūṭ* to the local officers. Free lands, *Milk* or *In'ām* also existed. The plan proved an utter failure. Although the intermediate officers were paid due allowances, yet they kept armed retainers and considered themselves to be absolute masters of the soil. Thus 'non-payment of tax became a general rule.'² However, it goes to the credit of Sulṭān 'Alā-u'd-dīn *Khaljī* to reorganize the affairs of revenue assessment.

*Dīwān-i-'Ārid-i-Mumālīk*³ (the Ministry of War).

The *Ṣāhib-i-Dīwān-i-'Ārid-i-Mumālīk*⁴ (the minister of war) styled as '*Imād-u'l-Mulk*⁵ (the pillar of the state) was the head of the Military Department. Sulṭān Raḍiyah had bestowed the title of *Kutlugh Khān* upon Malik Saif-u'd-dīn, the minister of war.⁶ In Balban's time, the '*Ārid* was known as *Rāwat-i-'Ārid*.⁷ There was another important officer called *Sahm-u'l-Hasham* (Marshal of the Retinue)⁸ to assist the Minister in the management of the Department. The '*Ārid* had nothing to do with the direction of war-operation and policy, which were exclusively dealt with by the Sulṭān himself. In some reigns, however, the '*Ārid* was called upon to lead expeditions.⁹ There was no commander-in-chief in those days, for such an office would have been too dangerous for the monarchy. As a matter of practice, the com-

¹ *Khazā'in-u'l-Futūḥ* of Amīr *Khusru*, p. 88.

² "هر چند تنگ که بر طریق صدقه از ایشان بستانیم - راضی شود." Baranī, *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhi*, p. 217.

³ *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 224; *Khazā'in-u'l-Futūḥ*, p. 127.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 317, and *Seirat-i-Firūz Shāhi* (MSS.), p. 72.

⁵ *Diya Baranī, Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhi*, p. 153. 'Afif, *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhi*, p. 302.

⁶ *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 187.

⁷ *Diya Baranī, Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhi*, p. 153.

⁸ *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 276.

⁹ *Khazā'in-u'l-Futūḥ*, p. 50; MSS. *Miftāḥ-u'l-Futūḥ*, p. 56; and MSS. *Nūh Sipīhr*, p. 58.

mander '*Sar-i-Lashkar*'¹ of every campaign was appointed for the occasion, and the governors of different provinces were ordered to despatch their troops to join the imperial forces at the appointed places.² The Sultān personally led all military operations; or else he directed them from the capital; but the commander (*Sar-i-Lashkar*) alone conducted all negotiations with the enemy. It is, however, noteworthy that Malik Husain Al-Ghūrī, the Minister of war, was appointed to relieve the garrison of Ranthambhor in the reign of Sultān Raḍiyah,³ while Sultān Balban had appointed Malik Bārbak *Bektars-i-Sultānī* (the Sultān's A.D.C.) at the head of a small contingent of horsemen to march in advance in search of Tughrul.⁴

The '*Arid*' was a distinguished officer of the state, and was responsible for the administration of the army. He was the most influential member of the war-council, which advised the commander in matters of military operations.⁵ What was expected from him was a general organizing capacity and a fair knowledge of military affairs. He held reviews⁶ once a year, recruited men for the army,⁷ and examined soldiers, horses and arms. The highest qualifications for a soldier were to possess a good physique,⁸ to be a good archer and an excellent rider. An efficient horseman had two horses, the price of whom along with that of arms was paid by the government. Those who fled from the

¹ Diyā Baranī, *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī*, p. 231.

² *Ibid.*, p. 489.

³ *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 187.

⁴ Diyā Baranī, *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī*, p. 88.

⁵ *Khazā'in-u'l-Futūḥ*, pp. 118-120.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 120.

⁷ *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 146. Baranī, *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī*, p. 326.

”خواجہ حاجی ناٹب عرض ممالک را براے کار فرمائے حشم و گرد
آوردن اموال و پیملاں و غنائم... رواں کردند“

⁸ It is interesting to note how Bakhtyār Khaljī, the conqueror of eastern Bengal, was refused military employment for the simple reason that his personality was not striking and imposing. *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 146.

field were killed by the Sultān's order.¹ The 'Ārid formally did not enjoy the power of dismissing or promoting his subordinate officers; but, in fact, he made recommendations to the Sultān. Balban had, however, expressly conferred all powers upon his 'Ārid.² The whole army, whether stationed at the capital or in the provinces, was under the direct control of the central government, and was paid in cash; revenues and lands were rarely assigned for military services till the reign of Sultān Firūz Shāh.³ In times of war, the 'Ārid had to fulfil some extra duties, i.e., the organization of the commissariat and the collection of spoils.⁴ The *shari'at* had allotted four-fifths of the spoils to the army and one-fifth to the state, but the rule was intentionally broken, for the army received regular salaries. The Ministry, as a rule, fixed the price of food-stuff and other necessities, and the *Mahājans* and *Sāhūkārs* were directed to provide all requisites on the line of the army's march.⁵

Medieval India was not feudal as it is generally believed.⁶ The blunder arises from a misconception of the word 'feudalism' and an ignorance of the true character of the government under the 'Early Turkish Empire.' Pastoral tribes, when they settle down, normally organize themselves on a feudal plan. The great leader of the horde becomes their king; the chiefs become his feudatories and the heads of the families become landlords, from whom the tenant or the farmer gets the land. A distinguished feature of such a society is its divided allegiance; there is a gulf of separation between the ruler and the tiller of the soil, connected, of course, through a series of intermediate officers. Military service becomes an incident of land tenure. All offices are hereditary, and every one is succeeded by the eldest

¹ *Ibn Battūṭah*, (Urdū translation by Muḥammad Ḥusain), p. 145.

² *Ḍiyā Baranī, Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī*, p. 115.

³ *Afīf, Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī*, p. 300.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 298.

⁵ *Ḍiyā Baranī, Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī*, p. 89.

⁶ See *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III, p. 45, which describes the organization of central government as feudal.

son. Thus 'status, not contract, is the basis of society.' But the Empire of Delhi was a territorial state of modern type; the sovereign was supreme over all causes—military, administrative and judicial. All land was the property of the state. The country was divided into provinces, capitals and cities, the governors of which were known as *Hākīm*, *Amīr-u'l-Umarā* and *Amīr*, respectively. The rural areas were entrusted to the charge of Muslim officers, who worked under the '*Āmils*.'¹ The governors were not feudatories, but servants of the crown, appointed and dismissed at its pleasure, and their offices, too, were *never* hereditary. Sulṭān Fīrūz Tughlaq, for the first time, ordered that when a servant grew old, he was to be succeeded by his son, son-in-law and slave in the order of preference.² In 1247 A.D., Sulṭān Nāṣir-u'd-dīn, on the advice of Ulugh Khān, dismissed the *Jāgīr-dārs* of Lāhore and Multān, for the latter did not join the Sulṭān's army against the Mongol Invasion.³ The army, too, was not feudalized; the soldiers were directly recruited and enrolled in the registers of the State by the '*Āriḍ*' or by governors on behalf of the Sulṭān, and paid out of the royal treasury.⁴ The *Hākīm* (governor) of Multān was also *Bakhshī* (paymaster) of the army.⁵ The Regents (*Nā'ibs*), *Wālis* (governors), revenue officers (*Mutaṣarrif*) and assistants (*Kārkunān*) had to submit a statement of income and expenditure to the *Diwān-i-Wizārat* regularly.⁶ It is interesting to recall how Quṭb-u'd-dīn after the conquest of Thangir (Biyānah) divided the people into *Mussalmans*, *Harbīs* (soldiers) and *Dhimmīs* (tributaries).⁷

The court and palace of the Sulṭān were modelled on Persian lines, while the administration of the army followed the

¹ *Ibn-Battūṭah* (Urdū translation by Muḥammad Ḥusain), p. 33.

² 'Afīf, *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī*, p. 303.

³ *Firīshṭah*, p. 71.

⁴ *Masālik-u'l-Abṣār*, (Elliot, Vol. III), pp. 576 and 577.

⁵ *Ibn Battūṭah* (Urdū translation by Muḥammad Ḥusain), p. 1.

⁶ Ḍiyā Baranī, *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī*, p. 468.

⁷ MSS. *Tāj-u'l-Ma'āthir*, p. 375.

Turkish system of military classification. Bureaucratic grades were based upon the decimal system. Ten soldiers, footmen or horsemen, were placed under the charge of a *Sar-i-Lashkar* or *Sar Khil*; ten *Sar Khil* were commanded by one *Amir*, ten *Amirs* by one *Malik*, ten *Maliks* by one *Khān*, and it was expedient to have ten *Khāns* in the kingdom.¹ Thus, a *Khān* or *Amir-i-tūmān* was the commander of a body of 10,000; a *Malik* or *Amir-i-Hazārah*,² commander of 1,000; an *Amir* or *Amir-i-Ṣadah*,³ commander of 100; *Amir-i-Punjāh*, commander of 50;⁴ and a *Sar Khil* or *Amir-i-dah*, commander of ten. With the conquest of Northern India in the thirteenth century, military officers were burdened with civil duties, so much so that administrative work became a moral duty of most of the military officers. *Sipāh-sālār* (commander of troops) held an important position in the army; he was often the leader of the van of the army,⁵ and sometimes acted as governor of some province⁶ or chief justice of the Empire⁷ in addition to his military services. Very often the Sultān himself led expeditions, and supervised the organization of the army, which was divided into right and left wings (*maimanah* and *maisarah*), and centre (*qalb*).⁸ Each portion of the army was under a separate commander known as *Sar-i-Fauj*. In front of the divisions of the army stood elephants.⁹

Most titles like *Sultān*, *Khān*, *Malik* and *Amir* illustrate an unfortunate process of a slow and gradual degradation. *Amir* in Arabic means a ruler, commander or a supreme

¹ Diyā Baranī, *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī*, p. 83.

² *Ibid.*, p. 219.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 219 "یکدو امیران هزاره و چند امیر صدہ"

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 376.

⁵ *Sipāh-sālār* 'Izz-u'd-dīn Husain, son of *Kharmīl*, was the leader of the van of the army (*Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 140).

⁶ See *Ibid.*, p. 146.

⁷ *Amir* 'Alī-i-Ismā'īl, the *Sipāh-sālār* was also *Āmir-i-dād* of the capital city of Delhi. See *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 170.

⁸ Diyā Baranī, *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī*, p. 260.

⁹ Afīf, *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī*, p. 201.

ruler, and consequently the second Caliph was styled as *Amīr-u'l-Muminīn* (commander of the faithful). After the decline of the 'Abbasid Caliphate, the kings of 'Ajam assumed the title of *Amīr*; but with the invention of the title of *Sultān* by Maḥmūd of Ghaznah, *Amīr* came to be meant only an important officer. '*Malik*' originally meant chief, ruler or king. The pre-Muslim emperors of Persia styled themselves as *Malik-u'l-Mulūk* (king of kings). The term *Malik*, however, was not abused and continued maintaining a high dignity. Again *Khān* or *Qān*, a Turko-Chinese word, meant the great over-lord of all the Turkish tribes; and was the title of Chingiz *Khān* and his successors. The semi-independent princes of Turkistān were known as *Khān-i-Khānān* in the ninth and tenth centuries, but after the conquest of Turkistan by the Mussalmans, the title of *Khān* was given to the highest officers of the state. The premier *Khān* was styled *Ulugh* or *Alf* (first Khan), a title given to Balban by Sultān Nāṣir-u'd-dīn;¹ while the premier *Amīr* was called *Amīr-u'l-Umarā*.

Dīwān-i-Inshā ² (Ministry of Local Government).

The *Ṣāhib-i-Dīwān-i-Inshā* was the Minister of Local Government, variously called as *Dabīr-i-Mamālīk*,³ *Dabīr Khān* or *Sar-i-Dabīr* (all meaning chief secretary of the state) and styled as '*Umdat-u'l-Mulk* (pillar of the state) or *Tāj-u'l-Mulk*'⁴ (crown of the state). The Minister was the proper channel of correspondence between the central and local governments, in other words, between the king and provincial governors,⁵ and as such he was expected to be a 'man of letters.' Sultān Ghiyāth-u'd-dīn Tughlaq called for the *Dabīr-i-Khāṣ*,⁶ and dictated messages to the gover-

¹ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 289.

² Baranī, *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī*, p. 247.

³ Malik 'Izz-u'd-dīn was appointed *Dabīr-i-Mamālīk* in the reign of Sultān 'Alā-u'd-dīn, and held the charge of *Dīwān-i-Inshā*.

⁴ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 183.

⁵ *Ḍiya Baranī, Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī*, p. 153.

⁶ دبیر خاص خسرو را از واهب این خطاب آمد. کہ ذلف عارض مد. باد تضریرات ارقامش. *Qaṣā'id of Badr-i-Chāch*, p. 14.

nors of various provinces intimating the murder of Sulṭān Mubārak Shāh.¹ It was his duty to lay before the Sulṭān the petitions of governors and local officers for his orders, and to convey the same to the applicants. Matters, which directly concerned the particular ministries, were referred to them for opinion and disposal. The Minister himself drafted all *firmāns* in a 'pliable and courtly style,' and observed all legal forms. The various records and documents were carefully kept for future reference by his subordinate officers in office. He was assisted in his work by a large staff of *Dabīrs*² or Secretaries.

Diwān-i-Risālat (the Ministry of Appeals).

Diwān-i-Risālat was the highest court of appeal. It was like the *Diwān-u'l-Mazālim* of the 'Abbasids (Board for the Redress of Grievances). The Ministry received complaints from the subjects, and either granted redress in the capacity of the king's agent (*Rasūl*)³ or else submitted to the Sulṭān for his final orders. 'Every day,' says Shams-i-Sirāj 'Afif, 'a number of applications were submitted to the *Diwān-i-Risālat*, asking for money, allowances and stipends.'⁴ The *Shāhib-i-Diwān* entitled *Wakīl-i-dar*⁵ and *Bahā-u'l-Mulk*⁶ entertained all complaints against governors, ministers, government officials and even members of the royal family, and decided such cases as fell within his jurisdiction. An appeal from the *Qāḍī's* Court lay to the Sulṭān, who presided over the Ministry.

Ḍiyā Baranī describes the four Ministries as follows : Malik Ḥamīd-u'd-dīn *Nā'ib-i-Wakīl-i-dar*, Malik 'Izz-u'd-

¹ Baranī, *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī*, p. 337.

² Malik Qawām-u'd-dīn was 'Ilāqah-Dabīr in Kaiqubād's time. See Ḍiya Baranī, p. 131. Shams-u'd-dīn, the *Dabīr*, was sent to Sulṭān Mu'izz-u'd-dīn Kaiqubād by Sulṭān Nāṣir-u'd-dīn with a letter of message. See *Qir'ān-u's-Sa'dain*, p. 102.

³ 'Afif, *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī*, pp. 512-13.

⁴ Baranī, *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī*, p. 558.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 337.

⁶ *Ibn-Battūṭah* (Urdū translation by Muḥammad Ḥusain), p. 218.

dīn *Dabīr-i-Mamālik*, Malik Ashraf Qāninī *Nā'ib-i-Vizier* and *Khawājah Hājī Nā'ib-i-'Arḍ* were each incharge of one department during the reign of Sulṭān 'Alā-u'd-dīn. The four traditional Ministries were *Diwān-i-Wizārat*, *Diwān-i-'Arḍ-i-Mumālik*, *Diwān-i-Inshā* and *Diwān-i-Risālat*. Baranī further notes that by the removal of Malik Ḥamīd-u'd-dīn and 'Izz-u'd-dīn and the murder of Sharf Qāninī, the glory of *Diwān-i-Risālat*, *Diwān-i-Inshā* and *Diwān-i-Wizārat* withered away.¹ It is clear therefore, that the *Wakīl-i-dar* was incharge of the department of appeals (*Diwān-i-Risālat*).

Wakīl-i-dar variously designated as *Rasūl-i-dar* or *Hājib-u'l-Irsāl*² was appointed to perform the secretarial functions of the court,³ and was incharge of the *Diwān-i-Risālat*. He received a pay of 24,000 *dīnārs* or a *Jāgīr* yielding an equivalent income.⁴ The practice was like this: the *Hājib* introduced the visitor to the Hall of audience and handed over his petition to the *Bārbak* (a title, conferred upon the *Amīr-i-Hājib*), who took it to the throne. After the Sulṭān retired from the court, the *Hājib* handed over the papers to the *Wakīl-i-dar*, who disposed of them according to the Sulṭān's orders.

Departments of the State.

Besides the Ministries, there were certain other departments (*Masnads* or *Imārats*), which, however, occupied a lower status. The most important of these was the Department of Justice (*Diwān-i-Quḍā-i-Mumālik* or *Diwān-i-Shara*⁵ or *Diwān-i-Quḍā*).⁶ The Department has been defined by Qādī Minhāj Sirāj in his Introduction to the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* as *Diwān-i-Mazāhir wa muqām-i-Faṣl-i-Khuṣūmāt wa Qaṭ'ī-i-Dā'wāi*⁷ (Board for the redress of the oppressed,

¹ Baranī, *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī*, p. 337.

² *Ibn-Battūṭah* (Urdū translation by Muḥammad Ḥusain), p. 218.

³ Baranī, *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī*, p. 576.

⁴ *Ibn-Battūṭah* (Urdū translation by Muḥammad Ḥusain), p. 218.

⁵ *Seirāt-i-Firūz Shāhī*, Bankipore MSS., p. 123.

⁶ *Khazā'in-u'l-Futūḥ*, p. 7.

⁷ Introduction—*Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 3.

decision of disputes and settlement of claims). It was presided over by the Chief Qāḍī variously known as the *Qāḍī-i-Mumālīk*¹ (Chief Justice of the State) or *Qāḍī-u'l-Quddāi*² (Judge of judges) and styled as *Ṣadr-u'l-Mulk*³ (Chief Ṣadr or judge), *Ṣadr-u'ṣ-Ṣudūr*⁴ (Judge of the judges), *Ṣadr-i-Jahān*⁵ (Judge of the realm), *Ṣadr-u'ṣ-Ṣudūr-i-Islām*⁶ (Chief Ṣadr of Islām), *Ṣadr-u'ṣ-Ṣudūr-i-Jahān* (Judge of the judges of the world)⁷ and *Qāḍī-i-Ṣadr-i-Jahān*⁸ (Chief judge of the realm). He was expected to be a man of learning and piety. He was the highest judicial authority below the king and exercised both civil and criminal jurisdiction. The *Qāḍī-i-Mumālīk* was the Chief Justice of the realm and sometimes also acted as the city Magistrate of Delhi.⁹ He decided cases of murder and injury.¹⁰ The Qāḍī of Quṭb-u'd-dīn Mubārak Shāh was also *Kalid-dār*, (incharge of the keys of the Palace gates). The *Kalid-dār* had about a thousand persons under his command; about 500 of these guarded the Palace, and stood armed in two rows from the outer door to the inner door. Their officers and *Munshīs* patrolled and took attendance.¹¹ The Chief Qāḍī conducted the *Nikāḥ* ceremony of the Sultān's relatives and high officials of the state.¹² He was assisted in his judicial work by the *Na'ib-i-Qāḍī-i-Mumālīk* and a number of Qāḍīs. Every city and almost all the bigger towns had their separate *Amīr-i-dād*¹³ (Judges) entitled as *Majd-u'l-umarā* (most glorious *Amīr*¹⁴ while special Qāḍīs were

¹ *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri*, p. 193.

² *Ibn-Battūṭah* (Urdū translation by Muḥammad Ḥusain), p. 40, and *Masālik-u'l-Aḥṣār* (Elliot, Vol. III), p. 578.

³ *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri*, p. 193.

⁴ MSS. *Tāj-u'l-Ma'āthir*, p. 178.

⁵ *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri*, pp. 167 and 218.

⁶ *Masālik-u'l-Aḥṣār* (Elliot and Dowson), p. 578.

⁷ Baranī, *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhi*, pp. 247, 248.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 24 and 126.

⁹ *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri*, p. 215.

¹⁰ MSS. *Seirat-i-Firūz Shāhi*, p. 123.

¹¹ *Ibn-Battūṭah* (Urdū translation by Muḥammad Ḥusain), p. 80.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 137.

¹³ *Ḍiyā-u'd-dīn Junaidī* was the *Amīr-i-dād* of Gwalior. See *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri*, p. 188.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 188.

appointed for the army under the direct control of the *Qāḍī-i-Lashkar* (the Qāḍī of the Army). Unlike other officers, Qāḍīs were generally appointed for life.

Criminal law in the Middle Ages was very strict, and punishments were severe. The aggrieved party reported the matter to the Qāḍī, who heard and decided the case. The murderer was handed over to the relatives of the murdered, by whom he was put to death. If a person committed an offence of entering the Royal Palace by force, he received the capital punishment.¹ In case a Mussalman drank wine, eighty whips were inflicted upon him, and was further detained in a cave for three days.² It is related in the *Futūḥāt-i-Firūz Shāhī* that in former reigns the Sultāns shed the blood of Mussalmans, and employed an infinite variety of tortures such as cutting off hands and feet, ears and nose, putting out the eyes, pouring molten lead into the throat, crushing the bones of hands and feet, burning the body with fire, piercing iron bars into hands, feet and chest, to draw skin of the body, to inflict lashes with iron nails and sawing the criminal into two.³

During the reign of Balban and Kaiqubād, the *Amīr-i-dād*⁴ or *Dādbak*⁵ (Superintendent of the Qāḍī's Court) was attached to the Chief Qāḍī's Court, and his duty was to enforce the attendance of high officials and to enforce the decisions of the court.⁶ He received a salary of 50,000 rupees per annum, or held a *Jāgīr* yielding an equivalent income.⁷ There was a *Nā'ib-i-Dādbak* as well to assist the *Dādbak* in his work.

¹ *Ibn-Baṭṭūṭah* (Urdū translation by Muḥammad Ḥusain), p. 135.

² *Ibid.*, p. 278.

³ *Futūḥāt-i-Firūz Shāhī*, p. 3.

⁴ *Ḍiyā Baranī, Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī*, p. 148, has Malik Niẓām-u'd-dīn *Amīr-i-dād*.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 131. Malik Niẓām-u'd-dīn was apparently *Dādbak* but in reality Deputy of the State; which shows that *Amīr-i-dād* and *Dādbak* meant the same office.

⁶ *Ibn-Baṭṭūṭah* (Urdū translation by Muḥammad Ḥusain), p. 217.

⁷ *Ibid.*

The *Qāḍīs* acted as Justices of the peace, and their primary duty was to settle disputes according to the rules of the *shari'at*. Appeals were allowed from the Court of the local *Qāḍī* to that of the Chief Judge, and from him to the *Diwān-i-Risālat* (Ministry of Appeals) and the Sultān. Appeals were, however, allowed in very special cases, which obviously involved a breach of law or miscarriage of justice. There were no advocates to plead cases in those days, and the *Qāḍī* after hearing the parties and their witnesses, declared his judgment there and then.

The Sultān was assisted in the discharge of his judicial duties by a board of divines '*Ālīms*, *Shaikhs* and *Muftīs*. The *Qāḍīs* tried to uphold their independence in the interpretation of the *shari'at* in the face of government and, consequently, contentions were bound to arise as regards the administration of law. Unlike modern states, Medieval governments were not law-making bodies, and Muslim law, too, was regarded as 'unchanging and unchangeable.' There was, in short, no such thing as case-law. The *Qāḍīs* were free to decide cases, which involved private rights only, but were subdued in cases, where they interfered with the administration of the country. Muslim law, like the Roman law, was undeveloped on the criminal side, and the deficiency was made up by promulgating such law as was provided by the state. The Sultān, in such cases, did override the decisions of the *Qāḍīs*. Criminal law was common to all the communities, but purely Hindū law was in all probability administered by the village *Panchāyats*, which still retained their judicial jurisdiction. An appeal from their decision lay to the provincial governors, and from there to the Emperor, the final court of appeal for all persons and all communities.

The government of the capital, *Hadrat-i-Dehli*, was entrusted to the charge of the *Kūtwāl-i-Mumālīk*¹ (Superintendent of the Metropolitan Police) and his staff. The *Kūtwāl* of Delhi was like the *Ṣāhib-u'sh-Shurṭā* of the

¹ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 194.

'Abbasids.¹ His rank was a little inferior to that of a minister, but he was regarded as one of the highest officials of the realm. He was entitled as *Malik-u'l-Umarā* or '*Alā-u'l-Mulk*'.² When Balban invaded the territory of Lakhnawtī, he appointed *Malik-u'l-Umarā Fakhr-u'd-dīn Kūtawl* as his Regent in preference to the *Vizier*.³ The *Kūtawl* was incharge of the Royal *Harem*, Treasury and the Capital city; and kept keys of the city gates, Royal Palaces and Treasury. When the Rae of Nagarkut came to offer his homage to Sultān Fīrūz Shāh, the Sultān was accompanied by the *Kūtawl*, who bore with him the keys of the fort.⁴ The duty of the *Kūtawl* was to maintain peace and order in the city, and to apprehend thieves. The culprits were detained in the *Kūtawlī* (Police Station), and later on produced before the *Qāḍī* or the king, and in the absence of both before the *Vizier*.⁵ The task of parading the prisoner was also entrusted to the city-*Kūtawl*.⁶

The *Barīd-i-Mumālīk* or the Commissioner of Intelligence and Posts and his deputy the *Nā'ib-i-Barīd-i-Mumālīk* supplied the Sultān with all the necessary information regarding the current events of the realm. The capital was connected with the distant parts of the Empire with numerous chains of post offices, where carriers, both horsemen (*Aulāq*) and footmen (*Piyādah*), were stationed to carry on the messages and letters. To communicate the events that happened in distant provinces, post relays were established between the capital and the chief towns of the country.⁷ Horsemen or footmen were employed to carry post from place to place. There were three stations called *Dāvah*, each near a village, where footmen sat 'with their

¹ *Tārīkh-u'l-Tamaddun-u'l-Islāmī* of Jurjī Zaydān, Vol. I, Muḥammad Husain's Urdū translation, p. 258.

² Baranī, *Tārīkh-i-Fīrūz Shāhī*, p. 269.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 85.

⁴ MSS. *Seirat-i-Fīrūz Shāhī*, p. 84.

⁵ Afīf, *Tārīkh-i-Fīrūz Shāhī*, p. 494.

⁶ *Miftāh-u'l-Futūḥ*, p. 45.

⁷ *Masālik-u'l-Aḥṣār* (Elliot, Vol. III), p. 581.

waists tied.' The carrier had a long stick with ring-bells at the end. As soon as *Dāk* started from the city, the carrier, with the mail bag in one hand and the stick in the other, ran with all his might. The carrier stationed at the next post heard the sound of ring-bells, and hurriedly caught the bag and ran forcibly. Sometimes fruits for the Sultān were also conveyed in the like manner, and a high-placed offender was placed on a bed-stead and carried from place to place similarly.¹ *Barīds* or official reporters (*Akhbār Navīs*) and secret service officials were posted everywhere in markets and towns to inform the Sultān of the behaviour of state-servants, transactions in markets and all other events. When the *Barīds* of Badā'un failed to inform Balban² of the murder of an attendant by the governor, they were hanged on the city gates by the royal orders. Sultān Muḥammad Tughlaq had innumerable intelligencers, who were divided into several classes.³

Amīr-i-Akhūr or *Akhūr Bak*⁴ was the lord of the Imperial Stable; the *Shāhnaḥ-i-pīl* of the elephant Stable; and *Shāhnaḥ-i-naḥār* of the camel stable. *Amīr-i-Akhūr* was one of the most important officers of the Empire. Quṭb-u'd-dīn, like many other contemporaries, first attained this position, and then he was appointed governor of Kuhrām and Sāmānah.⁵ The duty of the *Amīr-i-Akhūr* was to make excursions in quest of fodder and to manage the affairs of the stable. It was not necessary for him to remain at the capital⁶ and the work was carried on by his *Nā'ib*.

Sar-i-Jāndār (Chief of the Royal body-guards) was another important officer. Balban had several *Sar-i-Jāndārs*.⁷ It was not essential for the *Sar-i-Jāndār* to remain

¹ *Ibn-Battūṭah* (Urdū translation by Muḥammad Ḥusain), pp. 2 & 3.

² Dīyā Baranī, *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī*, p. 40.

³ *Masālik-u'l-Absār* (Elliot, Vol. III), p. 581.

⁴ *Miftāḥ u'l-Futūḥ*, p. 28.

⁵ *Tabaqāt-i-Nasiri*, p. 139.

⁶ Baranī, *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī*, p. 323.

⁷ *Ibid*, p. 24.

at the capital,¹ for he was assisted in his work by his deputy, *Nā'ib-i-Sar-i-Jāndār*,² and *Shāhnaḥ-i-Zarrād Khānah*³ (Superintendent of the armoury). He was often made commander of the right or left wing of the army.⁴ The Imperial throne was insecure, dangers beset it on every side and the Sulṭān had to 'live in an atmosphere of perpetual suspicion and distrust.' The disloyalty of his officers kept the king alarmed. The Central contingents of the royal body-guards, therefore, looked after the personal security of the sovereign. The *Amir-i-Shikār*⁵ (Chief huntsman) organized the hunting campaigns. There was another officer known as *Sar-i-Silahdār* (head of the Imperial armour-bearers), who secured the personal safety of the Sulṭān.

The religious dignitaries attached to the court were the *Shāikh-u'l-Islām*, (Chief ecclesiastic of the state), like the *Shāikh-u'sh-Shuyūkh* of Egypt, *Syed-i-Ajjal* or *Syed-i-Dargāh* (head of the Syeds of the Empire) and the *Khaṭīb*,⁶ who preached the sermons and led the prayers. The office of *Shāikh-u'l-Islām*⁷ was conferred upon Jamāl-u'd-dīn Bustāmī during the reign of Sulṭān Nāṣir-u'd-dīn. There was a government University at the Capital known as *Nāṣiriyyah College*,⁸ where professors of eminence and renown delivered lectures to students. *Diwān-i-Istihqāq* (the Department of Pensions) granted allowances and pensions to 'Alims and *Hāfīzes*. The head of the Department was probably subordinate to the *Qāḍī-i-Mumālīk* (Chief Qāḍī of the state). The other department of charities or *Diwān-i-Khairāt*⁹ came in vogue only in the reign of Sulṭān Firūz Shāh.

¹ The governorship of Sāmānah was transferred to Malik Sirāj, the *Sar-i-Jāndār*. Diyā Baranī, *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī*, p. 85.

² Malik Saif-u'd-dīn Ibak-i-Kishlū Khān was *Nā'ib-i-Sar-i-Jāndār* in the reign of Sulṭān Nāṣir-u'd-dīn. *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, pp. 278, 279.

³ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, pp. 254, 255.

⁴ *Miftāḥ-u'l-Futūḥ*, p. 57.

⁵ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 169.

⁶ *Ibn Battūṭah*, Vol. II (Urdū translation by Muḥammad Husain), pp. 212, 213.

⁷ Baranī, *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī*, p. 247, and MSS. *Seirat-i-Firūz Shāhī*, p. 34.

⁸ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 200.

⁹ 'Atīf, *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī*, p. 351.

The *Mīr-i-'Imāra*¹ (Controller of constructions), the head of the '*Imārat Khānah* (the Building Department) was assisted in his work by several *Shahnaḥs* or Superintendents of various departments under his charge.² The two smaller departments of Admiralty and Agriculture were placed under the charge of *Amīr-u'l-Behr* and *Amīr-i-kuh* respectively. The first officer was incharge of the numerous flotillas³ maintained on the Jumnā, Ganges and other rivers for the use of travellers and armies. *Malik-u'l-Umrā Iftikhār-u'd-dīn*⁴ was *Amīr-i-kuh* of Sulṭān *Shams-u'd-dīn Īltutmish*. The other department looked after the improvement of agriculture, reclaimed waste lands and devised means for the welfare of cultivators. The *Amīr-i-kuh* supervised the construction of canals, the distribution of water and the clearing of jungles.

THE END

¹ 'Afīf, *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī*, p. 331.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibn-Battūṭah* (Urdū translation by Muḥammad Ḥusain), p. 17.

⁴ *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 177.

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'The discovery of Balban-Nāmah,' which has caused such a tremendous misunderstanding, was written as a short story, *altogether fictitious*, but it appears with too much of an air of realism about it. I had planned to write Balban's history in biographical form and actually published two chapters of it. I had intended to keep the whole thing in literary secret till the book was actually in the hands of the public. But since it has caused a wide interest and actually 'duped' a number of the best scholars, I write this to you to dispel it."

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