

A NEW HISTORY OF INDO-PAKISTAN

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K. ALLI, M.A. (Cal)

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Formerly Professor and Head of the Department
of History, Daulatpur B.L. College.

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PART II
MEDIEVAL INDO-PAKISTAN
BOOK I

THE MUSLIM CONQUEST AND THE DELHI
SULTANATE

CHAPTER

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- one of the main reasons of MBO success was that the authority in MBO Sindh/sub-continent was not centralized.

CHAPTER I

CONDITION OF INDO-PAKISTAN ON THE EVE OF ARAB CONQUEST OF SIND

Political Condition

The Indo-Pakistan sub-continent presented a chequered picture of warring dynasties and of small kingdoms hostile to one another on the eve of Arab invasion. 'During the first half of the 7th century A.D. when the successors of Prophet Muhammad (sm.) were rapidly subjugating the neighbouring countries, Harsha Vardhan of Qanauj was laying the foundation of a great empire in north-west India.' On the death of Harsha Vardhan, the last great Hindu ruler, his empire had fallen to pieces, followed by a scramble among the petty princes for supremacy in the land. Political confusion of the worst type prevailed in this part of more than 50 years. The remaining part of the country was parcelled out among many independent monarchs of varying degrees of power and prestige. There was no central government in the country. All these states enjoyed complete independence and sovereignty. The important states may be enumerated under the heads: (a) States in Northern India and (b) States in Southern India or the Deccan.

Want of political unity

States in Northern India

Afghanistan had been a part of Indo-Pakistan and remained so till the end of the 9th century A.D. It was then that a Brahman dynasty founded by Lalliya was established and this new dynasty was called by Muslim historians as the Hindushahi kingdom. It is not possible to say who was the ruler of this kingdom in the early years of the 8th century when Sind was invaded by the Arabs. But there is no doubt whatsoever that the Hindushahi kingdom of Afghanistan was an important independent Hindu kingdom at that time.

Afghanistan

Kashmir

Kashmir had become an independent kingdom under Durlabhavardhan of the Korkot dynasty in the 7th century A.D. On the eve of Arab invasion of Sind Chandrapida, the grandson of Durlabhavardhan, was the ruler of this kingdom. But the most powerful king was Muktipida Lalitaditya, brother and successor of Chandrapida. He was a great conqueror and is said to have conquered the Puniab, Qanauj, Dardistan and Kabul. Yasoverman of Qanauj was defeated and killed at his hands.

Nepal and Assam

Nepal and Assam had become independent states after the death of Harsha Vardhan. Because of their remoteness they did not play any important part in the beginning of the 8th century.

Qanauj

Qanauj was the most important kingdom of Indo-Pakistan in the beginning of the 8th century A.D. Yasoverman was the ruler of this kingdom. It was under Yasoverman that Qanauj was restored to its former position of glory and glamour. He was a great ruler and a successful administrator. Under him the kingdom of Qanauj extended from the Himalayas in the north to the Narbada in the south and from Bengal in the east to Thaneshwar in the north-west. Yasoverman was a contemporary of king Dahir of Sind. Later on, he was defeated and killed by Lalitaditya of Kashmir.

Sind

Sind, now a province in West Pakistan, was once a part of Harsha's empire. But after his death it became independent under the Sudras. The best ruler of the Sudra dynasty was Sahsi. Chacha, a Brahman minister of Sind set aside the Sudra rule and established a new dynasty of his own. He was succeeded by his brother Chandra. On the eve of Arab invasion, Dahir, the son of Chacha was ruling over Sind. His kingdom included Daibul, Nirun, Sehwan, Brahmanabad and Alor. Alor was the capital of Sind. Himself a Brahman, Dahir had passed a number of measures against his Buddhist subjects and these measures rendered the king very unpopular among his Buddhist subjects who welcomed and helped the Arabs under Muhammad bin Qasim against their own king.

Bengal

On the death of Sasanka, ruler of Bengal and contemporary to Harsha, there was anarchy in the province. It was sometime in the first half of the 8th century A.D. that the people placed a person named Gopal on the throne of Bengal. The dynasty founded by Gopal is called the Pala dynasty. It was under the Palas that Bengal witnessed peace and prosperity. The Pala dynasty continued to rule up to the 12th century when it was supplanted by the Sen dynasty.

Malwa

Malwa, with its capital at Ujjain was ruled by a Pratihara dynasty of the Rajputs. The sway of the Pratiharas extended also to Marwar, Broach and other neighbouring territories. The Pratiharas under Nagabhata I became so powerful that they could also defeat the Arabs and recover their lost territories when the latter under the leadership of Junayd swept over the western part of the Pratihara dominion. Under Nagabhata I and his successors, Malwa became a very powerful and prosperous state.

States in Southern India

The Pallavas

The kingdom of Pallavas with its headquarters at Kanchi was the most important kingdom in the south. In the 6th century A.D. Sinhavishnu was the powerful king of this kingdom. He is said to have annexed the Chola country and defeated all his southern neighbours, including the king of Ceylon. In the beginning of the 8th century A.D. a serious conflict was going on between the Pallavas and the Chalukyas in which the latter ultimately came out victorious and established their rule in Kanchi. Thus while the Arabs were conquering Sind, the Chalukyas were ousting the Pallavas from the kingdom of Kanchi.

The Chalukyas

In the sixth century the Chalukyas emerged as a power in the Deccan. Pulakesin was the greatest king of the Chalukya dynasty. In 681, Vinayaditya, son of Vikramaditya came to the throne. He was succeeded by Vinayaditya (696-733 A.D.) who conquered Kanchi from the Pallava king. He was ruling on the eve of Arab conquest of Sind.

Pandya,
Chola &
Chera
kingdom

In the Far South, there were three important kingdoms, namely, the Pandya, the Chola and the Chera. These states were often in conflict with one another and their territories were in a state of flux.

It is quite clear from the above discussion that on the eve of Arab conquest there was no paramount authority in the country which could check effectively the Arab conquest of Sind. The lack of political unity favoured the Arabs to conquer this country.

Administrative Condition

(The king was the head of administration and he, to all intents and purposes, was a dictator. He combined all legislative, executive, judicial and military powers in his person. Kingship was generally hereditary, but the example of Gopal of the Pala dynasty of Bengal and Nandi Varman of the Pallava dynasty of Kanchi illustrates that sometimes the king was elected by the notable elements of the country.)

The King

There were ministers to help and advise the king in the discharge of his kingly duties but the king was not bound to accept their advice. The number of ministers depended upon the circumstances and requirements of the situation. The names of the important ministers were *Sandhivigrahas* (Minister in charge of War and Peace), *Askshapataladhikarita* (Minister of Records), *Amatya* (Minister of Finance), *Sumant* (Minister of Foreign Affairs) and *Rajapurohit* (Minister of Religious Affairs).

Ministers

The empire was divided into many provinces. The head of a province was called *Uparika* whose chief duty was to maintain peace and order in the province, to enforce the orders of the king and to lead expeditions when ordered. A province was divided into districts called *Vaisayas*. A *Vaishya* was administered by the district officer called *Vaishyapati*. Village was the lowest unit of administration where the administrative functions were performed by the headman and the *Panchayat*. The chief source of income of the State was land revenue. Tributes from vassal chiefs, duties of excise and merchandise were other sources of income.

Local
administra-
tion

Economic Condition

The economic condition of the people was, on the whole, very sound, for the country was extremely prosperous. People were well-off and free from want. Agriculture formed the main occupation of the people. The country saw the growth of industry. Bengal and Gujarat were famous for manufacture and export of cotton textile goods. But the tillers of the soil had to work hard for their bread, while the upper class people rolled in luxury and pomp.

Good
economic
condition

Religious Condition

There were three religions, namely, Buddhism, Jainism and Hinduism prevalent in the country on the eve of Arab conquest. Jainism was not a popular religion and Buddhism was on the decline. Hinduism was the most important religion of the people in the land. Most of the kings were Hindus and they would take measures for the patronage of Hinduism. The priestly class of Brahmins who occupied a very important position in the society exploited the masses. Regarding their power and position Prof. Habib says, "The Brahmins deliberately kept the people in a state of ignorance. The less scrupulous Brahmins not only earned their livelihood but established their authority by preying upon the weakness and fears of the multitude." The Brahmanical revival and its aggressive measures created animosity among the Buddhists who, in order to avoid the Hindu rulers, welcomed the Arab invaders of Sind.

Buddhism &
Jainism

Hinduism &
its practice

Social Condition

In the beginning of the 8th century A.D. society was divided into four main castes—the Brahmins, the Kshatriyas, Vaishyas and the Sudras. Each caste did not strictly adhere to its own functions. There were Brahmins who were working as warriors and the Kshatriyas working as merchants. Likewise certain Vaishyas and Sudras were acting as rulers. In most cases people married within their castes and inter-caste marriages were very rare. Polygamy was

Four castes

Position of
women

practised in the society, but women were not allowed to marry a second time. Untouchability was in vogue. The practice of *Sati* was becoming popular among the ruling families. Most of the people were vegetarians and they abstained from taking even onions and garlic.

Education

There were schools and colleges all over the country for the education of the people. The universities of Nalanda in Behar and Valabhi in Western India were the most famous educational institutions in the country. There was a Sanskrit college at Dhar in Malwa and another at Ajmer. Besides the Vedas and Shastras, other subjects, such as science, astronomy and medicine were taught in these universities and colleges.

D.K. Hills

hardship
& troubles

Divine Revelation = 69

CHAPTER II

THE ARAB CONQUEST OF SIND

Rise of Islam

The rise of Islam is, perhaps, the most amazing event in the history of the world. Islam came as a beacon light to oppressed humanity and raised the then world, especially Arabia, from the depth of degradation to a place of culture and civilization.

The founder of Islam was Prophet Muhammad (sm.) who completely changed the intellectual outlook of Arabia. Born in 571 A.D. in the noble and respectable Quraish family of Makkah, Muhammad (sm.) lost his parents early in life. He had to pass his early days through hardship and troubles and, due to economic difficulties, could not receive education. From his early life, Muhammad (sm.) was a man of noble character and generous disposition. His honesty of purpose and truthfulness earned for him the title of *al-Amin*, "the trusted one." When he was 25, he married Khadijah, a lady of 40 and this marriage removed his financial embarrassment for the time being. At the age of forty (610 A.D.) he received the divine revelation and began to preach Islam to the misguided people. A storm of opposition came and mountain after mountain of troubles stood in his way. He had to leave the land of his birth and seek shelter at Madinah. But there, too, he was not allowed to live peacefully. He had to fight a series of battles with his enemies and at last he triumphed over them. The teachings of the Prophet brought a mighty change in the lives of the Arabs. Within a span of 23 years, he transformed the barbarous and impious Arabs into a civilised and religious nation. Before his death almost the whole of Arabia came within the fold of Islam.

Achievements of the
Prophet

On the demise of the Prophet, the expansion of Islam was not stopped. His followers and successors

Expansion
of Islam
after the
Prophet

inspired by the doctrines of the new religion carried the banner of Islam to the different parts of the world. They soon became the masters of a vast empire comprising Arabia, Syria, Palestine, Egypt and Persia.

The famous historian Gibbon says, "At the close of the first century of the Hijrat, the Khalifahs were the potent and absolute monarchs of the globe."

Early relation with Indo-Pakistan

After the conquest of Persia, the Muslims turned their attention to the east. Long before the advent of Islam to Arabia, the Arabs used to visit the territories of the eastern coast for trade and commerce. So it was quite natural for the sons of the desert to be attracted to the rich soil of India. During the Khilafat of Umar I, the first attempt was made by the Muslims to come to India, but it ended in failure. In consideration of the dangers and difficulties involved in distant adventures, the Khalifah stopped further expedition. In the time of Uthman, the third Khalifah of Islam, another expedition was sent under Abdullah ibn A'mr who conquered Sistan and then advanced towards Makran (modern Beluchistan). He even conquered a portion of Sind, but he, however, did not consider it worthwhile to annex the arid lands of Sind. During the Khilafat of 'Ali and Mu'awiya, several expeditions were undertaken none of which resulted in a permanent success. The arms of the Muslims remained inactive for the next few years. But with the coming of the Umayyad Khalifah, al-Walid to power, there opened a new chapter in the history of Islam. His famous general, Musa ibn Nusayr subjugated the whole of North Africa while his lieutenant, Tariq, conquered Spain. In the east Qutaibah carried the banner of Islam far into Central Asia. It was at that time that circumstances led the Muslims to the conquest of Sind.

Causes of the invasion of Sind

It has been stated that the Arabs had cast their eyes on the rich soil of India long before they con-

Early attempts by the Muslims to come to India

CSS. Almt 2nd
10 Spain 2. Africa. 3. Sub continent

THE ARAB CONQUEST OF SIND

muslims were super power.
quered it. But in the beginning of the 8th century the Indians compelled them to invade Sind. Of course, there were other factors behind it.

During the Persian expeditions, the ruler of Sind had sent their legions to help the Persians against the Muslims and thereby they incurred the displeasure of the Muslims. The Umayyad Khalifah, al-Walid I appointed Hajjaj bin Yusuf as the governor of the eastern provinces. It was during the governorship of Hajjaj that some of the Arab rebels had crossed the border into Sind and were given shelter by Dahir, the king of Sind. When Hajjaj wanted them back, Dahir refused to return the Arab refugees. The governor of the eastern provinces was an ambitious man. He wanted the expansion of his territory to India. The obstinacy and refusal of Dahir to return the Arab refugees were a good ground to punish the Raja and to conquer Sind. But the immediate cause of this invasion was the plunder of eight ships by the pirates near Daibul, a seaport in Sind. The ships were carrying the orphan daughters of the Arab merchants who had died in Ceylon and many valuable presents sent by the King of Ceylon for the Khalifah and the governor. Hajjaj sent a letter to Dahir, requesting him to punish the culprits and restore the presents and the captives. But Raja Dahir refused to do anything on the ground that the pirates were beyond his control and he was powerless to punish them. This enraged Hajjaj who, on receiving permission from the Khalifah, sent an expedition against Daibul under the command of Ubaidullah but without success. He was soon followed by Budail who also failed to achieve success.

Help to the
Persians
against the
Muslims

Shelter to
Arab
rebels

Ambition of
Hajjaj

Plunder of
ships by the
pirates of
Sind

Expedition under Muhammad bin Qasim

Hajjaj bin Yusuf was deeply mortified at these successive failures and to take revenge on the Sindhis, he fitted out a third expedition under the charge of his cousin and son-in-law, Muhammad bin Qasim. The young general marched by way of Siraj and through Makran towards Sind. On his way he was joined by the governor of Makran who gave him an

The Arabs
reached
Daibul, 712

Inhabitants
of Nirun,
Shewan &
Sisam sub-
mitted to
Bin Qasim

Defeat of
Dahir

Fall of
Multan,
712

- Jats and Meds helped

Rim

Daibul

additional force. Besides the Arab troops, Muhammad bin Qasim had the fortune of enlisting under his banner a good number of Jats and Meds who were displeased with the Hindu government for maltreatment towards them. The Arabs reached Daibul in 712 A.D. The town was well-protected by the Brahmins and the Rajputs. A battle was fought between the Hindus and the Muslims in which the former were defeated and a large booty fell into the hands of the latter.

After Daibul, Muhammad bin Qasim proceeded towards Nirun, near modern Hyderabad, and obtained the submission of its inhabitants. He then marched to Shewan and from Shewan to Sisam. The inhabitants of these places submitted to him without strong resistance. But the Muslims had to face a serious opposition at Rawar where all the Hindus along with their king had posted themselves to meet the enemy. The Hindus fought gallantly, but fate was against them. Dahir fell fighting and with the death of the king, the Hindus fled from the field. Dahir's wife and son took shelter in the fortress of Rawar and defended it to the last; but when the fall of the fortress became imminent, she and her handmaids cast themselves on a funeral pyre to escape possible dishonour at the hands of the Muslims.

Flushed with victory, Muhammad bin Qasim advanced to Brahmanabad where people soon submitted to him. After the capture of Brahmanabad, he organised the administration of Lower Sind and placing governors in the conquered territories he set out for Alor which was defended by a son of Dahir called by the Muslim historians, 'Fufi.' Alor was soon brought under the sway of the Muslims. He then led his army against Multan, the last strong-hold of the Hindus. On his way to Multan, he captured the town of Sika. The Hindus offered battle in an open field at Multan, but they were defeated and routed by the Arabs. With the capture of Multan the whole of Dahir's dominion fell to the Muslims. The banner of Islam was thus hoisted on the soil of Indo-Pakistan in 712 A.D.

Death of Muhammad bin Qasim

Muhammad bin Qasim met his tragic end in the prime of his life in 715 A.D. His death checked the further progress of the Arab arms. There is a difference of opinion about the death of the conqueror of Sind. The version of his final end as given by one group of authors reads like a romantic tale. It is said that the two daughters of Dahir, Surya Devi and Parmal Devi, were sent to the Khalifah as presents. They informed the Khalifah that Qasim had dishonoured them before sending them to him. At this the Khalifah became annoyed and ordered him to be put to death. When the order was carried out, the daughters of Dahir told the Khalifah that they had invented the story in order to take revenge on him, for their father and relatives had been killed in the course of fighting with him. On hearing this tale the Khalifah ordered both the sisters to be tied to the tails of horses and dragged on until they died. After a detailed study of the subject, it is found that there is no truth in the story and it can be safely rejected as a piece of fiction. Other writers ascribe his death to political reasons. The new Khalifah Sulayman was an arch enemy of Hajjaj bin Yusuf and Muhammad bin Qasim being his cousin and son-in-law fell a victim to his wrath. He was arrested and sent to Mesopotamia where he was tortured to death. Thus ended the bright career of the great hero who had laid the foundation of Muslim rule in the sub-continent.

Different
views about
his death

The military and the administrative success of Muhammad bin Qasim forms one of the most brilliant chapters in the history of the Muslim rulers of Indo-Pakistan. He was a born leader and a man of versatile genius. He was a poet, a patriot, a statesman and an accomplished administrator. 'His tender age, impressive figure, his dauntless courage and noble bravery, his brilliant victories in battles and wise method of administration and lastly his sudden and tragic end make the story of his short and illustrious life one of the romances of history'. He was strong against opponents and tender-hearted to his

Character
of Muham-
mad bin
Qasim

friends. According to al-Marzubani, Muhammad bin Qasim was one of the great men of all times.

Causes of Arab Success

There were several causes which contributed to the success of the Arabs in Sind. The disunity among the Indians and the unpopularity of Dahir greatly facilitated the Arab conquest of Sind. There was little sympathy between the ruler and the ruled. The Buddhists and the Jains in Sind had grievances against Dahir and so they did not help him in times of trouble. Moreover, the Jats, the Meds and certain other castes who were looked down upon and subjected to humiliation by the ruler joined with the invaders and thereby strengthened the cause of the latter. By the beginning of the 8th century the Arab army had become the mightiest of the world. Perfect organisation, remarkable discipline and morale, advancement in technique, highly improved machinery of attack and the use of camels gave the Arab army a marked superiority over all the armies of the world. The Arabs had by this time a strong naval power, while Dahir did not have a strong navy. The army of Dahir was inferior in technical skill and his commanders were inferior in generalship. Muhammad bin Qasim, a young man of 17 was an intrepid and skilful general, and the success of the Arabs in Sind was largely due to his able generalship.

Administration of Sind

The men who were sent to accomplish the conquest of Sind were not only great warriors and conquerors, but also good administrators. The administration introduced by Muhammad bin Qasim in Sind leads us to believe that the Arabs possessed experience in the art of administration and were not cruel and fanatic as it is generally supposed by the people. Toleration was shown by the Arab governors of Sind to their subjects irrespective of caste and creed. Some of the temples were no doubt destroyed during the days of war, but that was a tem-

① Disunity among the Indians & unpopularity of Dahir

② Superiority of the Arab army

③ Able generalship of Qasim

Arabs excelled in the art of administration

porary phase, for the destruction of temples was due not to religious bigotry or fanaticism but to the fact that the temples were the repositories of India's age-long accumulated wealth. Once a place was occupied and peace restored or the people submitted to the ruler and sought peace, the conqueror adopted a kind and conciliatory policy towards them. When the people of Brahmanabad, for instance, submitted to the conqueror, they were allowed to rebuild their temples which were destroyed during the time of war. The Brahmins were permitted to perform their rites and ceremonies in the manner prescribed by their religion. Hajjaj bin Yusuf sent a *farman* to Muhammad bin Qasim instructing him to grant the population of Sind rights to life and property in lieu of their submission and willingness to pay taxes to the Muslim administrator. They were also given the right to perform their religious rites as they pleased.

The Arab governors were far-sighted statesmen and great politicians. They did not disturb the existing system of administration in Sind. They placed the entire machinery of internal administration in the hands of the natives. The people who had occupied the key posts in the time of Dahir, were expected to know all about the land. "Reposing full confidence in them, Muhammad bin Qasim entrusted them with high offices and placed all important affairs of the place in their hands." (Chach Nama) Brahmins were appointed to collect revenue. The main sources of revenue under the Arabs were land revenue, customs and transit duties, *khums* (1/5th of the booty), *Jizya* and *Baj* or tribute from dependencies. The revenue was paid in cash or kind. The *jizya* was collected from the non-Muslims who were under the protection of the Muslims and who were exempted from military service. The Muslims had to pay the *zakat*.

The military system of the Arabs which was introduced into Sind, was at first restricted to the recruitment of Muslims only, but afterwards the restrictions placed on outsiders were relaxed and the Khalifah freely recruited their ranks from ex-

① Toleration to the subjects

② Local self-government

③ Hindus appointed in the high offices of the State

④ Sources of revenue

⑤ People without restriction recruited in the army

traneous sources as well. Steps were taken to improve and encourage agriculture and trade. Artisans and merchants were free from molestation.

Justice was administered without fear or favour. The Qazis who were well-versed in Islamic Law and Jurisprudence, filled the seats of judgement. In matters of public and political offence the law made no distinction between Muslims and non-Muslims. Some cases among the Hindus were decided according to Hindu Law by the *Panchayats*.

Effects of the Conquest of Sind

It has been stated by Mr. Stanley Lane Poole that "the Arab conquest of Sind is an episode in the history of India and of Islam, a triumph without result." There is no doubt that the Arab conquest was confined to Sind and Multan only and the major portion of Northern India was not directly affected. Expeditions were sent against the Hindu princes of the north, but the Rajputs, specially the Gurjara-Pratiharas, were too strong to be defeated. The sudden death of Muhammad bin Qasim and the fruitless help of the Khalifah had greatly shaken the stability of the Arab position in Sind. With the decline of the power of the Khalifahs, territories of Sind were divided into independent states. Most of the Arab soldiers settled in Sind for good and some of them married Sindhi women. The Arabs and the Hindus lived side by side in peace and amity for a long time. The Arabs left a legacy behind in the shape of buildings or administrative or cultural institutions that might have exerted influence on India. The Sindhi language shows Arab influence even today. It is wrong to say that the Arab conquest of Sind had absolutely no effect on India.

The establishment of Muslim rule in Sind had profound and far reaching effects in the field of culture and learning of the land. 'The Arabs had brought with them a new religion and a new civilization which they introduced among the conquered people. They brought India into direct contact with the Islamic world and opened immense possibilities of commercial and cultural progress.' The Arabs in

Law and
justice ad-
ministered
without
favour

In political
sphere the
Arab con-
quest of
Sind had
little effect

turn acquired from the Hindus some new knowledge in Indian religion, philosophy, astronomy, medicine and folklore and carried it to their own country as well as to Europe. Many of the Sanskrit works on astronomy and mathematics were translated into Arabic under the patronage of the Abbasid Khalifahs. During the reign of Harun-ar-Rashid, the Bar-makids invited Hindu scholars to Baghdad to translate into Arabic Sanskrit works on medicine, philosophy, astronomy and other subjects. Similarly many Arab savants studied Sanskrit to satisfy their thirst for knowledge of Indian culture. Amir Khusrau mentioned that the Arab astronomer Abu Mashar came to Benares, the seat of Hindu learning, and studied astronomy there for ten years. Thus we find that the exchange of ideas and the cultural contact between the Arabs and the Hindus were possible as a result of the Arab conquest. To the natives, particularly to the lower class, the Muslim rule symbolised prosperity and emancipation. This is why, the Jats and the Meds accorded welcome to the Arabs by blowing conch-shell. So from the cultural point of view, the invasion of Sind cannot be regarded as an isolated military event. Hence the statement that 'the Arab conquest of Sind was a triumph without results' cannot be accepted in toto.

Later History of Sind

After the death of Muhammad bin Qasim, Yazid bin Muhallab was appointed governor of Sind by the Khalifah, Sulayman. Yazid soon died and was succeeded by his brother, Habib who restored to some extent the hegemony of the Muslims in Sind. During the Khilafat of Umar II a good number of Hindus in Sind embraced Islam. Habib was replaced by al-Junayd in the reign of Hisham. Brave, energetic and ambitious al-Junayd suppressed the rebellion of the Hindus and put their leader, Jaishaba to death. But during the rule of the weak successors of al-Junayd, the Muslim power in Sind began to decline rapidly. The progress of the Muslims was thwarted in the south by the Chalukya King, Vikramaditya II and in the east by Pratiharas. With the decline of the

The effects
of the
conquest
upon cul-
ture were
profound
and far-
reaching

Yazid bin
Muhallab
appointed
governor after
Muhammad
bin Qasim

Al-Junayd

Abbasids, Sind became divided into a number of petty states which were practically independent. Towards the close of the 9th century, Sind was cut off from the Khalifah. But a new chapter was opened in the history of Sind when the Ghaznavids turned towards the conquest of Indo-Pakistan by the end of the 10th century.

Causes of the Arab failure in Sind

Entry of
the Arabs
from wrong
direction

Want of
unity among
the Arabs

Negligence
of the
Khalifahs

Strong resis-
tance of the
Rajputs

Weak suc-
cessors

Many factors were responsible for the decline of the Arab power in Sind. In the first place, the Arabs had entered India from a wrong direction. Sind was not a rich province and its resources were very limited. It could not give the Arabs the necessary resources with which the rest of India could be conquered. So, Sind could not serve as a good base for launching a successful invasion of India. Secondly, in the later period there was a lack of unity among the tribes who conquered Sind and so the Muslims could not make combined efforts to push their arms to the distant land. This disunity prevented the Arabs from further progress. Thirdly, the province of Sind was unproductive and hence the Khalifahs found it unprofitable to occupy and maintain such a land. That was why they did not pay much attention to its military strength. Fourthly, there was a good number of powerful independent Rajput kingdoms in Indo-Pakistan. The strong resistance of the Rajputs proved to be an important cause for the failure of the Arabs in Sind. Lastly, the successors of the conqueror of Sind were weak and incapable. In the circumstances, the Hindu chieftains regained their power in the land.

CHAPTER III

THE HOUSE OF GHAZNI

Rise of the Ghaznavids

The progress of conquest was resumed with new zeal and energy in the 10th century by the Turks who came to Indo-Pakistan from beyond the Afghan hills. After the fall of the Umayyad Khalifat the Abbasids came to power. The first few Khalifahs of this dynasty ruled with distinction, but the later Khalifahs proved weak and tactless. By their policy they brought about their own downfall. They appointed the Turks their bodyguards who soon grew too powerful to be controlled. The Khalifahs became mere tools in their hands. As a result of their weakness and maladministration the governors of the distant provinces became independent. Spain and Egypt passed out of their control, while in Iraq, Persia and Turkistan, the growth of a number of minor dynasties paralysed the power of the Khalifahs.

Distant
provinces
became
independ-
ent during
the later
part of the
Abbasids

Alptigin

Of the semi-independent Persian dynasties, that ruled in succession over some of the provinces in Central Asia, the Tahirid, the Saffarid and the Samanid were the prominent. After the fall of the first two dynasties, the Samanids became masters of Khurasan and Transoxiana. Abdul Malek, the fifth prince of the house of Samanid, had a Turkish slave named Alptigin who by dint of devotion and service to his master rose to the position of the governor of Khurasan. Alptigin was a man of courage and character. After the demise of his master and patron, he went to Ghazni, expelled its ruler Abu Bakr La-wik and laid the foundation of an independent state (962). In the 14th year of his independence, he breathed his last and was succeeded by his son, Abu Ishaq. In a few years Abu Ishaq followed his fa-

Alptigin
founded the
Ghaznavid
dynasty in
961 A.D.

ther to the grave and Sabuktigin, the father of the celebrated Sultan Mahmud, ascended the throne in 977 A.D.

Sabuktigin (977-997)

Sabuktigin belonged to the Iranian royal family; but early in life he was sold as a slave to Alptigin. By his service and fidelity, he had endeared himself to his master who not only made him the commander-in-chief of his forces but also gave him his daughter in marriage. He was a man of parts and promise. Immediately on his accession he conquered Qusdar and Bust and then he turned his attention to the conquest of Indo-Pakistan.

The rulers of Indo-Pakistan viewed the rise of Muslim power in the sub-continent with jealousy and apprehension. Jaypal, the Hindu Raja of the Punjab, anticipating an attack of Sabuktigin on his realm, mobilized his forces against the latter. The first clash between the Hindus and the Muslims took place at Lamghan in the Khyber Pass in which the former were badly defeated. Jaypal saved his life by promising to pay ten lakhs of rupees and fifty elephants. But he did not fulfil his promise and the officers who had come to realize the promised tribute were put under arrest. Regarding the invasion of this country by Sabuktigin, Sir W. Haig says, "These expeditions were undertaken rather as measures of reprisal and for the purpose of securing his dominions than with any intention of propagating the faith."

The action of Jaypal soon brought Sabuktigin into the field and within a short time the latter seized a number of forts. Jaypal got alarmed at the success of the Muslims and so he organised a league of Hindu princes in order to drive out the Muslims. Many of the princes of Northern India joined him to oppose the advance of the Muslims; but the combined forces were once again defeated on a plain near Peshawar. The territories between Lamghan and Peshawar were annexed to the Ghaznavid Empire. In this battle the superiority of the Muslims over the Hindus was established and though 'India

Capture of
Qusdar &
Bust

Causes of
attack on
Indo-
Pakistan

Hindu con-
federates
defeated by
Sabuktigin

Importance
of Sabuk-
tigin's
victory

was not yet conquered, the right route to attack her was discovered, for Sabuktigin was the first Muslim ruler to invade India from the North-West Frontier.

In 997 A.D. Sabuktigin died, leaving a large and well-established empire to his successors. He was a kind and generous ruler. He was also steady and patient. Before his death, he appointed his younger son, Ismail as successor. Mahmud, the eldest and the ablest of his four sons, could not agree to this arrangement. He at first tried to come to an amicable settlement with Ismail, but all his efforts ended in failure. At last the two brothers met on the plain of Ghazna and a hot battle was fought in 998 A.D. in which Ismail was defeated. Mahmud placed him 'in nominal confinement and provided him with easy comfort and convenience.' Ismail was soon involved in a plot against his brother who was compelled for the safety of his life and throne to transfer him to a distant fortress (at Juzjanan) 'where he passed the rest of his life in peace.'

Ismail de-
feated by
Mahmud

Sultan Mahmud (998-1030)

Mahmud after defeating and imprisoning his brother, Ismail, ascended the throne in 998 A.D. He spent the first two years of his reign in fighting against the Samanids. The Samanids acknowledged his authority over Balkh, Herat, Tirmiz and Bust, but they refused to accept his authority over Khurasan. Mahmud soon waged war against the Samani king and defeated him in the open field. He then declared himself as an independent ruler and took for the first time the title of Sultan. He secured his position by obtaining the formal recognition of his sovereignty from the Abbasid Khalifah, al-Qadir Billah who also conferred upon him the titles of *Yamin-ud-Dawlah* and *Amin-ul-Millah*. Hence his dynasty is known as the Yamini dynasty.

His acces-
sion in 998
A.D.

Mahmud was a man of ambition and enterprise. On receiving the recognition of his sovereignty from al-Qadir Billah, the Khalifah of Baghdad, "he made it obligatory on himself to undertake every year an expedition to Hind." From 1000 to 1026 A.D. Mahmud led a good many expeditions to Hind. But it

Ambition
of Mahmud

is not possible to ascertain the exact number of expeditions undertaken by him. According to Sir Henry Elliot, Mahmud led as many as seventeen expeditions. Some of the historians give the number as twelve. The view of the former historian appears to be more correct and it is accepted by most of the historians.

Expeditions of Mahmud

(1) The first expedition of Mahmud which was undertaken in 1000 A.D. against the frontier towns of the Khyber Pass was an important one. During this expedition he captured a few forts and towns of the Khyber Pass.

Capture of
frontier
forts

(2) Mahmud led his second expedition (1001 A.D.) against his father's enemy, Jaypal, the king of Hindushahi kingdom at the head of 100,000 horsemen. Jaypal collected all his forces and marched against the invader. A fierce battle was fought at Peshawar in November, 1001 in which the Muslims came out victorious. Jaypal with his sons and grandsons was taken prisoner but was subsequently released on certain terms. Jaypal could not tolerate this insult. He, after appointing his son, Anandapal as the next king, burnt himself to death.

Defeat of
Jaypal of
Hindu-
shahi king-
dom

(3) The third expedition was directed against the ruler of Bhira (Bhatiya) who in spite of his promise failed to help Mahmud. Bijai Rai, the ruler of Bhira offered a strong resistance to the invader but ultimately he fled away from the battle-field. He was pursued and when he felt that he was going to fall into the hands of the enemies he stabbed himself to death.

Defeat of
Bijai Rai
of Bhira

(4) The fourth expedition of Mahmud was led against the Muslim ruler of Multan. Abul Fateh Daud, the ruler of Multan had friendly relation with Anandapal. In 1006, Mahmud marched across the Punjab to Multan. Anandapal, its ruler and son of Jaypal, offered resistance but was defeated and driven to Kashmir hills. Mahmud then invaded Multan. Daud fled, but the garrison of Multan did not submit without resistance. Multan was captured after a siege of seven days and the citizens were

Conquest
of Multan

pardoned on payment of a heavy fine. The charge of Multan was left in the hands of Sukhpal or Nawasa Shah, a grandson of Jaypal, who had been imprisoned by Mahmud after the defeat of Jaypal and had embraced Islam and got the name of Nawasa Shah.

(5) When Mahmud retired to Ghazni after capturing Multan and appointed Sukhpal alias Nawasa Shah as its governor, the latter declared independence and renounced Islam. Mahmud led an invasion (1007) against him and defeated him.

Defeat of
Nawasa
Shah

(6) The sixth expedition of Mahmud was led against Anandapal in 1008 A.D. He organised a confederacy against the Muslims in which the great Rajput Rajas of Ujjain, Gwalior, Kalinjar, Qanauj, Delhi and Ajmer had joined. Mahmud had never met such a vast army organised by the Hindu confederates. It is said that the enthusiasm was so great among the people that the "Hindu women sold their jewels and sent the money from distant parts to be used against the Musalmans." The Khokhars, a tribe of the Punjab, also joined the Rajputs in their struggle against the Muslims. It was a challenge to Mahmud. He met the huge Hindu army near Waihind. The bare-footed and bare-headed Khokhars fought very bravely against the Muslims. It was a critical moment for the Muslims. But fortunately the elephant of Anandapal got frightened and fled away from the battle-field. This caused a great confusion and panic among the Hindu soldiers who also ran away from the battle-field. Mahmud won victory and a large amount of booty fell into his hands.

Battle of
Waihind

Defeat of
Anandapal

(7) Mahmud next marched against Nagarkot in Kangra hills and besieged the fort of Nagarkot (1009). After three days' stubborn resistance the fort fell into the hands of Mahmud. He returned to Ghazni with a vast collection of riches and jewels.

Conquest
of Nagar-
kot

(8) In 1010 A.D. Mahmud led an expedition to Multan and defeated the rebellious chief, Daud.

Defeat of
Daud

(9) Though defeated, Anandapal did not lose his spirits. In fact, his repeated reverses made him all the more determined to resist the enemy to the

bitter end. He shifted his capital to Nandanah, gathered a small army and tried to consolidate his position in the Salt Range region. He died a peaceful death there and was succeeded by his son, Trilochanpal. In 1014 A.D. Mahmud led an expedition against Trilochanpal and captured Nandanah after a brief siege. The new ruler took shelter in Kashmir but Mahmud pursued him and defeated the combined forces of Trilochanpal and his new ally, Tunga of Kashmir. Mahmud did not consider it safe to penetrate into Kashmir. Trilochanpal also did not like to end his days as a refugee in Kashmir. So he returned to the Punjab, his ancestral kingdom and established himself in the Sivalik hills. He entered into an alliance with Vidyadhar, the Chandela ruler of Bundelkhand. In order to break this alliance, Mahmud again came to Indo-Pakistan, and finally defeated Trilochanpal. The result of this expedition "was more enduring than those of others." He annexed the Punjab to his dominions and entrusted a regular Amir with the government of this province.

Trilochanpal was assassinated in 1021-22 A.D. and he was succeeded by his son, Bhimpal. With the death of Bhimpal in 1028 A.D. the Hindushahi dynasty came to an end.

(10) In 1014 A.D. Mahmud marched against Thaneswar. The Hindus fought desperately but they were defeated and Thaneswar was captured.

(11) Mahmud made two attempts between 1015 and 1021 A.D. to conquer Kashmir but on both the occasions he was unsuccessful.

(12) The next important expedition of Mahmud was directed against Qanauj, the imperial capital of Hindustan. In 1018 A.D. Mahmud at the head of a large army, set out from Ghazni. He captured all the forts on the way. The Raja of Baran or Bulandshahar, offered his submission and embraced Islam along with ten thousand men. From there Mahmud marched against Mathura, one of the wealthiest cities and captured it. A huge booty fell into the hands of Mahmud. After Mathura came the turn of Brindaban. Mahmud plundered the forts and tem-

Expedition
against Tri-
lochanpal

Conquest
of the
Punjab

Expedition
against
Thaneswar

Kashmir

Expedition
against
Qanauj

ples of Brindaban and got a huge booty. Mahmud appeared before the gates of Qanauj in January, 1019 A.D. Rajyapal, the Pratihara ruler of Qanauj submitted to Mahmud without any fighting. On his way back to Ghazni, Mahmud captured some small forts.

Submission
of the king
of Qanauj

(13) The submission of Rajyapal, the ruler of Qanauj gave offence to other Rajput rulers, particularly Gonda, the Chandela Raja of Kalinjar. Gonda entered into an alliance with the ruler of Gwalior. The allied forces attacked and killed Rajyapal and placed his son on the vacant throne. Mahmud was compelled from the moral point of view to attack the Chandela king but the latter ran away from the battle-field. The Sultan returned to the capital with victory.

Defeat of
Chandela
king of
Kalinjar

(14) In 1021-22 A.D. Mahmud led his fourteenth expedition against Gwalior and compelled the Raja of Gwalior to submit.

Gwalior

(15) After accepting the submission of the Raja of Gwalior Mahmud proceeded towards Kalinjar, the famous fortress of Gonda and laid siege to it. According to the Muslim historians, the Chandela Prince saved himself by promising to pay the annual tribute.

Expedition
against
Kalinjar

(16) The most momentous expedition of Sultan Mahmud was indeed the capture of Somnath in Kathiawar. Regarding the cause of this expedition, the famous historian, Ibn-ul-Athir says that, 'when Mahmud of Ghazni was gaining victory after victory in India, the Hindus began to say that the success of Mahmud was due to the displeasure of the Somnath god with the inhabitants of the defeated territories'. At this, Mahmud decided to conquer Somnath in order to prove the futility of their belief. This view is corroborated by Ibn Khaldun, Ferishta and Wolseley Haig. Towards the close of 1025 A.D. he set out from Ghazni and passing through Multan and the desert of Rajputana, he stood before the gates of Somnath on the 9th of January, 1026. The Hindus offered a stubborn resistance, but were defeated. The enormous wealth of the temple now fell into the hands of the Sultan. "The expedition to

Cause of
attack on
Somnath

Somnath" says Dr. M. Nazim, "is one of the greatest feats of military adventure in the history of Islam."

Last expedition

(17) The last expedition (1027) was undertaken against the Jats who had molested the Muslim army on its return journey from Somnath. The Jats were defeated and many of them were put to death.

Nature and Motives of Mahmud's Invasions

Different opinions about the motives of Mahmud

Sultan Mahmud made seventeen expeditions into Indo-Pakistan and conquered a number of places in the sub-continent. But he did not establish his rule over them or annex any part of the conquered territories except the Punjab. What then was the object of his military expeditions? Various opinions have been expressed by the historians about the motives of Sultan Mahmud's invasions. Some say that Mahmud was the greatest champion of Islam whose main motive in invading this country was to preach Islam by breaking the idols and desecrating the temples. There are others who hold that his chief motive was to loot the wealth of Indo-Pakistan. He was a raider-in-chief who, in order to satisfy his thirst for wealth, "came, burnt, killed, plundered, captured and went away." Still there are others who think and maintain that Mahmud was a great military general and conqueror and it was his ambition that brought him to this sub-continent. Thus there are different views about the motives of Mahmud's invasions and these views may briefly be discussed here.

① Religious motive. There are writers who are of opinion that the chief object of Mahmud's Indian invasion was to crush idolatry and spread Islam. According to them, Mahmud had been especially engaged by Khalifah Qadir Billah of Baghdad to undertake the task of spreading Islam in India and Mahmud in his repeated invasions tried to plant Islam in India. He destroyed the great Hindu temples of Nagarkot, Somnath and other places and compelled thousands of Hindus including many Rajas to embrace Islam.

This view of the historians cannot be accepted in the face of facts. The age of Holy War was over

crush idolatry

long ago. The idea of the propagation of Islam had ceased to be considered a part of the duty of the sovereign at the time of Sultan Mahmud. "The non-religious character of his expeditions" will be obvious to the critic who has grasped the salient features of the age. It is impossible to read a religious motive into them."*

The age of Mahmud was non-religious in character

Mahmud was not a preacher, but a great conqueror. He was a pious Muslim but he never forced his religion on others. Islam sanctions neither vandalism nor plundering motives of the invader. "Some Rajas are said to have embraced Islam, but they did so most probably as a political shift to escape the fury of the conqueror and returned to their faith as soon as he had turned his back on them."** It is a different thing if a Hindu Raja and his followers embraced Islam either for fear of defeat or for enjoying privileges under Islam. "His religious policy was based on toleration and though zealous for Islam, he maintained a large body of Hindu troops and there is no reason to believe that conversion was a condition of their services."† The Hindu soldiers fought shoulder to shoulder with the Muslims against the common enemy. Had it been a Holy War, it would not have been possible for them to go against their co-religionists. According to M. Elphinstone, "It is nowhere asserted that he ever put a Hindu to death except in battle or in the storm of a fort." Mahmud massacred a good number of Muslims in Persia and almost all his Central Asian expeditions were against his co-religionists. So, "if he harassed the Hindu Rajas of India, he did not spare the Muslim sovereigns of Iran and Transoxiana."§

Himself a Muslim Mahmud never forced religion on others

His army composed of a large body of Hindu troops

Under his benign government the Hindus enjoyed complete religious freedom. He granted the Hindus separate quarters in Ghazni where they were at liberty to perform their religious rites and cere-

* Prof. M. Habib, *Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni*

** Dr. M. Nazim, *Life and Times of Sultan Mahmud*

† Sir W. Haig, *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III.

§ Dr. M. Nazim *Life and Times of Sultan Mahmud*.

Religious
liberty
granted to
the Hindus

monies. The Hindus were appointed to highly responsible posts and the names of Tilak Rai, Hazari Rai and Sonai stand out prominently in the military history of Ghazni. He also instituted a college and a market at Ghazni for the propagation of Hindu culture and Sanskrit works. If he was a fanatic, how could it be possible for him to do these things?

Destruction
of Hindu
temples was
due to
military
programme

Charge of
invading
India on
religious
ground was
baseless

Mahmud, of course, destroyed some of the temples of the Hindus. This destruction of Hindu temples was a part of his military programme, for the temples were the repositories of accumulated wealth. There are certain writers who blame Mahmud for "wanton destruction of temples." But they have forgotten that it was only during war that the temples were destroyed. He never destroyed any temple in peace time nor any temple suffered desecration at his hands, if he had not been aware of its riches. He was not actuated by a desire to punish the idolators nor to spread the faith of Islam. The famous historian al-Beruni who was an eye-witness says, "The treasures were accumulated in the temples by the bounty of the pious Hindus who had grown rich by selling their surplus produce to foreign merchants." These sacred places were regarded as inviolate and some times even monarchs kept huge wealth in the safe custody at these temples. According to Dr. Iswari Prasad, "The temples of India which Mahmud raided were store-houses of enormous and untold wealth and also some of these were political centres." Hence, the view of the critics that Mahmud invaded India again and again to preach Islam by breaking the idols and desecrating the temples is historically wrong and psychologically untrue.

historians
Political motive. According to some historians Mahmud's motive in invading India was to satisfy his ambition of conquest and to extend his empire to this country. There is no doubt that Mahmud was an ambitious man and it was but natural for him to cherish the idea of extending his empire to the east. This idea arose out of necessity. The North-West Frontier of India occupies a strategic position and its occupation is of vital importance to

desecration

Invasions
of India
arose out
of political
necessity

the kingdom of Kabul and Afghanistan. It may be mentioned here that Jaypal, the king of the Hindu-shahi kingdom of the Punjab, viewed the rise of the Ghaznavid power with great alarm and it was he who first invaded Ghazni during the time of Sabuktigin. Though he drank the cup of humiliation at the hands of Sabuktigin, the issue remained unsettled and when Mahmud ascended the throne, he took up the issue. His motive was to establish a Central Asian empire and for this, he followed a policy of conquest and consolidation in the west. But in the east Mahmud remained satisfied with the annexation of the Punjab and some other places, such as Sind and Multan. These places formed the second line of his defence in the east and south-east. His Indian invasion was one of political rather than religious interest. In addition to the occupation of North-West Frontier in the interest of his kingdom, the violation of the terms of the treaty by the Hindu Rajas, the renouncing of allegiance to the Sultan, the political betrayal in the form of help to his enemies, the molestation of his Indian allies by their hostile neighbours and the rebellion of the Indian vassals compelled Mahmud to invade Indo-Pakistan repeatedly.

*S. M. Jaffer
Prof. Habib*
Economic motive. According to S. M. Jaffer and Prof. Habib, the real motive of Mahmud's invasion of India was economic and not religious. Mahmud was in need of money and the fabulous wealth of India might have attracted him to the fertile plains of Hindustan. Whenever he led an expedition, he went back with enormous money in order to finance his campaigns against his Central Asian enemies and to build Ghazni into a great empire. Hence, it can be concluded that the real motives of Mahmud's Indian invasions were economic-cum-political and not religious.

Economic
necessity

Unlike other Central Asian rulers, Mahmud of Ghazni did not like to live here permanently. So after conquering the land and destroying the power of his enemies he went back to his own country. Hence, his invasions seem to be merely plundering raids and he appears to the historians of India

Was Mahmud a raider?

more as a raider than as a conqueror. But his conquests in the other direction and those in the sub-continent, though the latter had left little permanent result, speak positively of Mahmud as a great conqueror. He fully realised the importance of wealth in attaining political power and when India offered him that chance, he availed himself of it. The money which he took from India was properly spent for the improvement of the capital. But one thing seems to be certain. His frequent raids must have caused hardship to the population of the north-western part of this sub-continent.

Causes of Mahmud's Success

The Hindus were numerically superior to the Muslims, but they could not stand unitedly against the invaders. "Whenever a confederacy was organised, its members often fell out among themselves" and thus failed and paralysed the plans of the leaders. These dissensions and mutual jealousies of the Hindus contributed greatly to the success of the Muslims. Secondly, the Hindus followed the old methods of warfare. Their absolute dependence on unwieldy war elephants, which proved immobile and dangerous to fight against the well-trained cavalry leaders, offered the Muslims a chance to inflict a crushing blow on them in the field. Thirdly, the Muslims had better organisation, discipline and cohesion. The teachings of Islam made them united under their leader against the common enemy. They gave battle to the enemy with courage and energy. Their enthusiasm was further heightened by the prospect of wealth and the love of adventure. Lastly, to those causes must be added the generalship of Sultan Mahmud whose tactics and diplomacy in battles ensured more than anything the success of the Muslims.

Results of Mahmud's Invasions

It has been said that Sultan Mahmud made seventeen expeditions into India and conquered a number of places. Almost the whole of Northern India felt the weight of his arms. But if his Indian expe-

① Dissensions of the Hindus

② Old methods of warfare

③ Unity of the Muslims

④ Generalship of Mahmud

*Tactics
Strategies*

Superiority

ditions are analysed one by one, it will reveal to the readers that the results of his victories were not permanent. The only permanent result of his seventeen expeditions was the conquest of the Punjab. Many places were conquered, but a few were permanently annexed to the empire of Ghazni. After his demise, only a portion of the Punjab, Sind and some parts of the adjoining provinces, such as Multan, acknowledged the Ghaznavid suzerainty. Elsewhere in India the result of his invasions soon wore off. Sultan Mahmud could not establish his rule in the conquered places. The Rajputs, who overran the countries after the Sultan's departure, re-established their rule in Northern India except the Punjab which eventually opened the gates to the Sultan's co-religionists. Thus, the conquest of the Punjab was the net result of his seventeen expeditions and in consideration of this result, he may be called an Indian sovereign in a limited sense.

But the effects of the invasions of Sultan Mahmud in the political, economic and cultural history of India cannot be denied. Politically, the expeditions paved the way for the future conquest of India by the Muslims. The success of Sultan Mahmud exposed the weakness of the Indian political and military systems and established the superiority of the Muslims over the Hindus 'in the art of war, discipline and devotion to duty.' Economically, the invasions caused a heavy drain on India's age-long accumulated wealth. While it made India much poorer, it contributed greatly to the glory and grandeur of Ghazni and enabled the Sultan to finance his schemes of war and peace. Culturally, Sultan Mahmud's invasions brought the civilization of the Hindus and the Muslims into close contact and led to a mutual exchange of ideas and thoughts between the conqueror and the conquered. "In the train of Muslim warriors and warlords came Muslim saints and savants who permeated the rank of Indian society, promulgated Islam in India and won a number of converts." Though conversion to Islam did not form any part of the motives of Sultan Mahmud's conquest, 'his invasion indirectly facilitated the future progress of Islam in India.'

① The conquest of the Punjab was the only result of his seventeen expeditions

Though it caused a heavy drain on India's wealth, it added to the glory of Ghazni

It brought the two great civilizations into contact

His death,
1030

As a result of ceaseless activity, Mahmud fell ill in 1027 and eventually his weakness confined him to bed. He died in 1030 A.D. at Ghazni at the age of sixty.

Estimate of Sultan Mahmud

As a soldier
and general

Sultan Mahmud is one of the greatest personalities in the annals of Indo-Pakistan. His Indian campaigns form a brilliant record of his achievements as a soldier and general. According to Stanley Lane-poole, Mahmud was a "great soldier and a man of infinite courage and indefatigable energy of mind and body." He led seventeen expeditions into India but there was not a single occasion when he suffered a defeat. He had to face the combined forces of the Rajas of India and on every occasion he defeated them all. Mahmud was a very cautious and intrepid military general. According to S. M. Jaffar, "Mahmud was endowed with a genius of war. He was a scientific general, skilful in planning and thorough in execution." He would make fullest preparations and plans before undertaking any invasion. During a reign of 32 years, he "conquered many places and extended his empire over the whole of the country now known as Afghanistan, the greater part of Persia, Transoxiana and the Punjab. It was no small achievement to "develop a small mountain principality of Ghazni into a large and prosperous empire by sheer force of arms." He was a born leader of man and a mighty conqueror. He never shrank from war; rather he took delight in it. His military exploits in the east effaced the glories of Alexander's conquest from the minds of many. His army consisted of heterogeneous elements such as Arabs, Afghanis, Turks and Hindus but he showed wonderful ability in welding together these elements into a powerful and invincible unit. As a conqueror, his purpose was to achieve fame and glory and he had achieved it.

Mahmud was not only a soldier and general, but also a great empire-builder. It has been alleged that he paid no attention to the building up of

his empire. This view of the critics is not correct. His aim was to conquer the entire territory of his enemies and to destroy their power and he was certainly successful in achieving this object. The hostile neighbouring chiefs were duly punished and replaced by others who were friendly and loyal to him. "His rule was so firmly established in the Punjab" that his family was able to take shelter at Lahore after their departure from Ghazni. He found Ghazni a petty kingdom but he turned it into a vast empire. Before him, no Arab and Turkish rulers of Central Asia could conquer further than Herat, Kabul and Ghazni. He was the first of the Muslim rulers to invade India from North-West Frontier which opened the gates of India to his co-religionists.

As an empire
builder

As a ruler, Mahmud was just, firm and generous. We do not know the exact system of his administration, yet there is no doubt that it was "a well-organised and well-conducted government." He divided his empire into provinces, each under a governor. He exercised strict supervision over the administration of the provinces, so that the governors did not oppress the people. Mahmud was particularly famous for his administration of justice. He meted out justice to all irrespective of caste and creed, rank and station. Even his own sons and relatives were not spared from the laws of the *Shariat*, if they committed offence. Utbi, his court historian hails him "as the glorious lord of people who displayed equality between the widow and the wealthy, so that the boasting and oppression was closed."

As a ruler

According to some historians, Sultan Mahmud was not a constructive genius nor a far-sighted statesman. Lane-poole says, "We hear of no laws or institutions or methods of government that sprang from his initiative. Outward order and security was all he attempted to attain in his unwieldy empire, to organise and to consolidate was not in his scheme." Dr. Ishwari Prasad corroborates this view when he says that the empire of Mahmud "was a huge agglomerator of people who could not be held

Criticism of
Mahmud
as a ruler

in check only by Argus-eyed Sultan." That was why his empire crumbled to pieces after his death.

This view of the historians is not correct according to C. V. Vaidya. There are no records to disapprove the statement "that it was a well-organised and well-conducted government." The reason why the empire fell was not the incapability of Mahmud to organise and consolidate. It was rather due to the weakness and incapability of Mahmud's successors who lacked the qualities of generalship and statesmanship.

Patron of
arts and
letters

The chief work that has immortalised Mahmud's name was his patronage of learning and literature. Himself a poet and a scholar he appreciated the works of art and patronised learning. According to Lanepoole, "From the cities of Oxus and the shores of the Caspian, from Persia and Khurasan, he pressed into his service the lights of oriental letters." His lavish generosity drew around him a galaxy of eminent poets and scholars among whom al-Beruni, Firdausi, Unsari and Utbi deserve special mention. Firdausi, "the Homer of the East" was the court poet of Mahmud. He wrote the famous *Shahnamah*, which is one of the best pieces of literature. He invited scholars and collected literary works from all parts of the world. He founded a university at Ghazni and endowed it with a great library and museum. He beautified his capital with noble buildings and mosques.

Mahmud's
place in
history

Sultan Mahmud was kind and just to his subjects and shared in their joys and sorrows. He was the embodiment of toleration. He allowed the Hindus to perform their religious duties with the utmost freedom. He appointed many Hindus to high posts in the State. He was a pious Muslim who observed all the injunctions of Islam in his daily life, but he never forced religion on others. He knew the Quran by heart and possessed sufficient knowledge of the Hadith. A great leader of men, a just ruler, a gifted soldier, a dispenser of justice and a patron of letters, he deserves to be ranked as the greatest king of his age and one of the greatest personalities of the world.

Successors of Sultan Mahmud

The successors of Sultan Mahmud ruled for more than 150 years at Ghazni, but none of them are worthy of special mention. The death of Mahmud was followed by a war of succession between his two sons, Mas'ud and Muhammad. The former gained the upper hand and the latter was blinded and imprisoned. Mas'ud was generous, brave and courteous. He was also famous for his patronage of learning. But he could not cope with the growing pressure of the Saljuq Turks who defeated him in a battle near Merv. His blinded brother, Muhammad, was again placed on the throne by the army. Muhammad entrusted the government to his son, Ahmad, who murdered his uncle, Mas'ud, in prison. Mas'ud's son, Maudood avenged his father's death without any mercy and the whole family of Muhammad was extirpated. Maudood died after a troublesome rule of nine years. After his death, the throne of Ghazni was occupied by a number of weak rulers, who were unable to resist the Saljuqs. The Saljuqs played a very considerable part in the overthrow of the Ghaznavid empire.

Process of
disintegration
began

Internal &
external causes
weakened the
power of
the empire

The long struggle between the Ghaznavids and the Saljuqs gave the chiefs of Ghur an opportunity of reviving their power. The later Ghaznavid rulers entered into a fratricidal war with the Ghuri chiefs. Bahram Shah, one of the descendants of Sultan Mahmud, planted the seed of blood-feud which bore its fruit during the time of his grandson, Khusrau Malik. With the defeat of Khusrau Malik at the hands of Muhammad bin Sam, the House of Ghazni and then the sovereignty of India passed into the hands of the Ghuri chiefs.

Blood-feud
with the
Ghuri
chieftains
was the
immediate
cause

CHAPTER IV

✓ THE HOUSE OF GHUR

Rise of the Ghurids

The principality of Ghur lay in the hills between Ghazni and Herat. It was conquered by Sultan Mahmud in 1010 A.D. Since then it was a tributary province of the Ghaznavid Empire. The Ghurids had faithfully fought and served under the banner of Sultan Mahmud. But during the reigns of his successors, they became indifferent in their allegiance to the Ghaznavid Sultans. The matter took a serious turn when Qutbuddin, one of the chiefs of Ghur, was put to death by Bahram, a descendant of Sultan Mahmud. Saifuddin, a brother of the murdered chief, became furious at this. He marched against Bahram and drove him out of Ghazni. Bahram soon came back, defeated Saifuddin and killed him. When Alauddin heard of the fate of his brother, he vowed to punish the Sultan of Ghazni. He attacked Bahram and put him to flight. He sacked the city and "for seven days the massacre raged in full fury." Many of the splendid buildings of Ghazni were destroyed and most of its inhabitants killed. This act of Alauddin earned for him the title of *Jahansaz* (world-burner). Khusrau Shah, the son and successor of Bahram, made an unsuccessful attempt to recover the prestige of his house. He was succeeded by his son Khusrau Malik, who was defeated and killed in 1191 A.D. by Muhammad bin Sam.

On the death of Alauddin, his son Saifuddin came to power, but he was soon killed in a battle against the Ghuzz Turks. The nobles raised Ghiyasuddin, nephew of Alauddin, to the vacant throne. Ghiyasuddin occupied Ghazni which had fallen into the hands of the Ghuzz Turks during the reign of Khusrau Shah. He appointed his brother, Muhammad bin Sam, to the government of the new pro-

vince and conferred upon him the title, Shihabuddin. "The two brothers maintained perfect cordiality in their political and personal relations." Until his death, Ghiyasuddin enjoyed the devotion and loyalty of his brother and as a mark of affection for Shihabuddin, he allowed him complete freedom of his activities. At the time of accession to the throne, Muhammad assumed the title of Muizzuddin instead of Shihabuddin.

Muhammad bin Sam entrusted with the new province

Condition of India on the eve of Muslim Conquest

The political condition of the sub-continent at the time of Muhammad Ghuri's invasion was in no way better than that which Mahmud of Ghazni found on the eve of his invasion. The whole country was divided into a number of independent States which were in a state of internecine warfare. There was no central controlling authority and this made the condition of India worse confused. Besides the Muslim provinces, there were Rajput kingdoms in other parts of India.

Number of independent States

Muslim States

(i) **The Punjab.** Ever since its annexation by Mahmud the Punjab had been a part under the Ghaznavid rule. At the time of Muhammad Ghuri's invasion Khusrau Malik, a weak and pleasure-loving king, was its ruler and it was under him that the Ghaznavid kingdom had been reduced in size and strength.

(ii) **Multan and Sind.** Sultan Mahmud had conquered Multan and Sind, but they had become independent by the time of Ghuri's invasion. Multan was under Karmithian dynasty and Sind under a local tribe named Sumras.

Rajput Kingdoms

The most powerful Rajput clans which ruled over northern India at the time of Ghuri's invasion were as follows:

(i) **The Chauhan Kingdom of Delhi and Ajmer.** One of the most powerful Rajput kingdoms was

Early history of the Ghurids & their gradual rise to power

the Chauhan kingdom of Delhi and Ajmer. Prithviraj Chauhan was the ruler of this kingdom. He was often in conflict with the neighbouring states.

(ii) The Gaharwars or Rathors of Qanauj. Jai Chand was the ruler of Qanauj, Benares, Allahabad etc. He was an inveterate enemy of Prithviraj Chauhan who had forcibly taken away the former's daughter. As a result, the Rathor ruler of Qanauj did not join Prithviraj Chauhan in his fight against the Ghuri chief.

(iii) The Chalukya kingdom of Gujrat and Anhilwara. Bhim Dev of Chalukya dynasty was the powerful ruler of this important kingdom.

(iv) The Chandel kingdom of Bundelkhand. Parmardi Deva of Chandela dynasty was the ruler of Bundelkhand which included Kalinjar, Jhansi, Ajai Ghar, etc.

(v) The Pala kingdom of Bihar. Due to its weak rulers like Kumar Pala (1126-30) and Madan Pala (1130-50), the Palas were left to rule over only some territories of Bihar.

(vi) The Sena kingdom of Bengal. Lakshman Sena was the ruler of Bengal at the time of Ghuri's invasion.

Indian Campaigns of Muhammad Ghuri

Muizzuddin Muhammad bin Sam, better known in history as Muhammad Ghuri, became the ruler of Ghazni in 1173. He was an ambitious king and fired with the love of conquest and power. Having established himself at Ghazni, he turned his attention to the fertile plains of the sub-continent.

There were several factors which led Muhammad Ghuri to direct his arms towards India. Firstly, the Ghurids wanted to establish an empire but their successive defeats at the hands of the Shah of Khawarizm forced them to give up the idea of founding an empire in Central Asia and they now turned their attention towards India. Secondly, the Ghaznavids who were defeated and ousted from Ghazni took shelter in the Punjab. They be-

Hostility
between
Jai Chand
Prithviraj

Failure in
Central
Asia

Enmity
with the
Ghaznavids

came so strong in the country that their very presence was regarded as a source of future troubles to the Ghurids. Hence the destruction of the Ghaznavid power in the Punjab demanded the immediate attention of the Ghuri king. Lastly, India was divided into many warring States and there was no political unity in the country. Muhammad Ghuri found in the disunited condition of India a brilliant prospect of his success.

The first invasion of Muhammad Ghuri was directed against Multan which was at that time ruled by the Karamathians. He captured the city and appointed his own governor there. From Multan he proceeded to Uch in Sind 'which was captured after sometime by the aid of Allah.' In 1178, Muhammad Ghuri led an expedition against Anhilwara, capital of Gujrat but he was defeated by Bhim II, the Vaghela king of Anhilwara. Finding it impossible to conquer India through Sind and Multan, Muhammad Ghuri thought of conquering the Punjab which was the key to Hindustan. In 1179, he invaded Peshawar and captured it. He then led his expedition to the Punjab and occupied Sialkot which became his base against Khusrau Malik, the last ruler of the Ghaznavid dynasty. After a few years of war, Khusrau Malik was captured and imprisoned in Ghur. The Punjab was then annexed to his empire and the Ghaznavid rule in West Pakistan came to an end.

After the fall of the Ghaznavids, Muhammad Ghuri had to face the opposition of the Rajputs. The rapid success of Muhammad Ghuri alarmed Prithviraj, the Chauhan ruler of Delhi and Ajmer. He gathered a big force which, according to Ferish-ta, included 2,00,000 horses and 300 elephants and marched against the Ghuri chief. In 1191 A.D. both the armies met in the field of Tarain near Thaneswar and a battle was fought in which the Muslims were defeated and routed. But Muhammad Ghuri did not lose heart at this failure.

Having organised a strong army, Muhammad Ghuri invaded India in 1192 A.D. He, with a force of 1,20,000 cavalry, reached a place near Tarain and

Disunited
condition
of India

Conquest
of Multan
and Uch
(1175-76)

Unsuccess-
ful attempt
on Gujrat

Conquest
of the
Punjab

First battle
of Tarain
(1191)

Second battle
of Tarain
(1192)

encamped there. Prithviraj appealed to the Rajput princes to join him against the Muslim invader. It is said that as many as 150 Rajput princes with the exception of the Raja of Qanauj lent him their help and Prithviraj's forces, according to Ferishta, came to 5,00,000 horses and 3,000 elephants. Muhammad Ghuri adopted a new tactics of attacks. He divided his army into four divisions and ordered one division to engage the Rajputs at one time, while the others were resting. The division was further ordered to pretend or feign flight after sometime of fighting. The battle started in the historic field of Tarain and the Rajputs fought bravely but the new tactics of Muhammad Ghuri proved to be too strong for them. Prithviraj tried to run away from the battle field but he was captured and put to death.

Importance
of the second battle
of Tarain

The second battle of Tarain is one of the decisive battles in the history of Indo-Pakistan. It was the decisive victory of the Muslims over the combined forces of the Rajputs. According to V. A. Smith, "The second battle of Tarain in 1192 may be regarded as the decisive contest which assured the ultimate success of the Muhammadan attack on Hindustan." It shattered the supremacy of the Rajputs and established the Muslim empire in Indo-Pakistan. The victory at Tarain really laid the foundation of Muslim rule in the sub-continent.

Conquest
of Meerut,
Koil and
Delhi
(1193-94)

After the second battle of Tarain, Muhammad Ghuri returned to Ghazni and his trusted lieutenant, Qutbuddin Aibak was entrusted with the charge of his conquered territories. Aibak was a man of military ability and political insight. He consolidated and extended the conquests of his master. He soon conquered Meerut, Koil (modern Aligarh) and Delhi. He made Delhi the capital of the empire (1194) thinking that Lahore was too far from his new possessions.

Expedition
against Jai
Chand of
Qanauj

In 1194 A.D. Muhammad Ghuri again came to India in order to subdue Jai Chand of Qanauj, the mortal enemy of Prithviraj. Qutbuddin joined his master with his force. Jai Chand met the combined forces of his enemy and was defeated in a battle at

Chandwar. The victorious army then proceeded to Benares and captured it. According to Prof. S. R. Sharma, "The fall of Jai Chand at Chandwar made Muhammad the master of the political as well as the religious capitals of Hindustan, Qanauj and Benares."

On the departure of Muhammad Ghuri to Ghazni, his able viceroy Qutbuddin Aibak continued the work of conquest. In 1196 A.D. he captured Gwalior and then marched against Bhim Deva of Anhilwara. He conquered Anhilwara in Gujrat (1198) which had successfully resisted the Muslim arms under Muhammad Ghuri in 1178.

Conquest
of Gwalior
& Anhil-
wara

In 1202, Qutbuddin Aibak invaded Kalinjar which was the military capital of Parmardi Deva, the Chandela king of Bundelkhand. The Chandelas offered a strong resistance to the Muslims but ultimately they were defeated and the fort of Kalinjar fell into the hands of the Muslims. Mahoba and Kalpi were next conquered. Thus, all the important places of Northern India were brought under the control of the Muslims by Qutbuddin.

Conquest
of Kalinjar

While Qutbuddin Aibak was bringing Northern India under the sway of his master, Ikhtiyaruddin Muhammad bin Bakhtiyar Khalji, a lieutenant of Qutbuddin, was extending the Turkish supremacy over Eastern India. Muhammad bin Bakhtiyar Khalji was an outstanding figure in the history of Bengal. In his early life, he tried but failed to secure a job both in Ghazni and Delhi. He at last took service under Malik Husamuddin Ughulbak, the commander of the Benares and Oudh divisions and was assigned the villages of Bhagawat and Bhiuli. Here he was able to collect a number of his tribesmen and with their help, Bakhtiyar Khalji captured Udantapuri, the capital of Bihar which was then ruled by the Pala kings. He brought this conquest under the government of Delhi and with the permission of Qutbuddin, he invaded Bengal. He marched towards Nadia, the capital of Bengal, with such rapidity that only 18 horsemen could keep pace with him. He was so bold that he did not hesitate to launch an attack with this small force. On hearing

Conquest of
Bihar and
Bengal by
Bakhtiyar
Khalji

the news of his attack, Lakshman Sen who was taking his meals, fled away by a back-door and took shelter at Vikrampur near Sonargaon. Bengal was captured and the seat of government was transferred to Lakhnauti or Gaur. The successful conquests of Bihar and Bengal emboldened Bakhtiyar Khalji who decided to invade Tibet. In 1206 he undertook his Tibet expedition and marched from Devkot (in Dinajpur) with 10,000 horsemen. But his attempt ultimately ended in failure. On his return journey to Devkot most of his soldiers were lost and he died at Devkot in 1206 A.D.

After the death of his elder brother, Ghiyasuddin, in 1203, Muhammad Ghuri became the undisputed ruler of Ghazni, Ghur and Delhi. But his position was soon endangered by some revolts and insurrections. In 1204, he attacked the Shah of Khawarizm in Central Asia, but was badly defeated. The Sultan with great difficulty escaped. As soon as this disaster was noised abroad, the forces of confusion began to work. The majority of the governors in various provinces revolted and declared themselves independent. The gates of Ghazni and Multan were closed against the Sultan. But the most dangerous of these rebellions was that of the Khokhars who created trouble in the Punjab. Muhammad Ghuri along with his able lieutenant, Qutbud-din marched to India, suppressed the rebellions everywhere, inflicted a crushing defeat on the Khokhars and regained Multan and Ghazni. But he did not live long to enjoy the fruits of his labour. He was treacherously assassinated in 1206 by a fanatic of the Khokhar tribe when he was going to Ghazni from Lahore and stayed at Damik (in Jhelum district).

Causes of Muslim Success

A curious student might well enquire about the causes of Muslim success at the time of Mahmud of Ghazni as well as of Muhammad Ghuri. According to the British writers of Indian history such as Elphinstone, Lanepoole and V. A. Smith, the success of the Muslims was due to the fact that they were

Last years
of Muham-
mad Ghuri
endangered
by revolts

His assassi-
nation, 1206.

Better mili-
tary tech-
nique of the
Muslims

superior to the Indian army in respect of military technique. But the most important cause of Muslim success was the lack of political unity in the country. India, at that time, was a congeries of states. Various parts of the country were ruled by individual rulers who did not combine to put up a united defence against the invaders in moment of national crisis. It is true that the Rajputs were good warriors, but the dissensions among the Rajput chiefs stood in the way of making a common cause with the ruler in danger against the enemy. The army organisation was based on an out-worn conception. The ill-organised and ill-equipped army could not cope with the Turks who were ahead of them in military development. The Hindus did not try to keep themselves in touch with the latest development in military organisation and method of fighting. Regarding the defect of the Rajput military system, Dr. Habibullah says, "One great defect of the Rajput military system was that they staked every thing on the issue of a single battle. They did not make any distinction between a battle and a war." The difference of ideology constituted another factor for the success of the Muslims against the Hindus. The Turks were inspired by religious zeal and military enthusiasm. Islam is a religion of equality and brotherhood. The idea of brotherhood brought unity among the Muslims and they fought shoulder to shoulder against their enemies. The Hindus had no such idea and on the other hand the caste system created obstacles to uniting people of different castes against the foreigners.

Lack of po-
litical unity.

Defect of
military
organisation

Difference
of
ideology

Estimate of Muhammad Ghuri

Muhammad Ghuri was a great politician and a far-sighted statesman. He fully realised the rotten political condition of India and therefore decided to establish a permanent kingdom here. Sultan Mahmud did not aim at permanent conquests in India. He came, conquered and then returned to his own country. His Indian expeditions left no permanent results except in the shape of the conquest of the Punjab. The policy of Muhammad Ghuri in this respect was quite different. He conquered the country

Nature of
Ghuri's
conquest

Aimed at
permanent
conquest
in India

The founder
of the Mus-
lim Empire
in India

Remarkable
figure
in Indo-Pak
history

and consolidated his conquests. His first and foremost aim was to found a permanent Muslim empire in India and he furnished during his life time all the resources required for the maintenance of this empire. He trained under his guidance a number of able administrators who amply justified his confidence and trust. Qutbuddin Aibak was left in charge of the conquest of India after the battle of Tarain and he completed the task with reputation. Though the life of Muhammad Ghuri came to a tragic end, the traditions established by him were continued under his able successors, the Turkish slaves who ruled after him. He lives in history not as a mere conqueror, but as an empire-builder. Muhammad Ghuri is, therefore, justly called the founder of the Muslim Empire in Indo-Pakistan.

Muhammad Ghuri was one of the most remarkable figures in Medieval India. He was a man of courage, enterprise and spirit. He had to fight against the Hindu States incessantly for several years and during this period he showed extraordinary coolness and perseverance. It was no small credit for him that he, with limited resources, was able to establish a large empire 'which extended from Afghanistan to Bengal.' Like other rulers of Indo-Pakistan, he was interested in learning and literature and scholars like Fakhruddin Razi enjoyed his patronage. He was a man of action, full of life and energy and unfailing resources. He was 'a God-fearing and just sovereign' who was well-known for his sympathy and kindness to his subjects.

Comparison between Muhammad Ghuri and Sultan Mahmud

Muhammad Ghuri and Sultan Mahmud are the two important personalities of this sub-continent during the medieval age. Both Muhammad Ghuri and Mahmud were enterprising soldiers and invaded India time and again. A careful and close scrutiny of their respective achievements and character shows that they resembled each other in more than one respect and differed in many respects. Firstly, Mahmud was far more a great general than Muhammad Ghuri and the military career of the former

was far more brilliant than that of the latter. Mahmud led as many as seventeen expeditions to Hind and never suffered a reverse. But Muhammad Ghuri was an ordinary soldier and suffered many defeats in India. He was defeated by Bhim Dev of Anhilwara (Gujrat) in 1178 A.D. In the first battle of Tarain (1191 A.D.) he suffered a miserable defeat at the hands of Prithviraj Chauhan. Such defeats are never heard of during the career of Sultan Mahmud. Moreover, even the victories of Muhammad Ghuri, whatever he had, were mostly due to his lieutenants like Qutbuddin Aibak and Ikhtiyaruddin Muhammad bin Bakhtiyar Khalji. As a military general, Muhammad Ghuri was practically no match for Sultan Mahmud. Secondly, as regards their attitude towards the invasions of this country, Muhammad Ghuri was greater than Mahmud. The former has been called the founder of the Muslim empire in India. Muhammad Ghuri took great care in consolidating his conquests. He clearly saw the political disunity and weakness of Rajput India and wanted to found a Muslim empire there. With this end in view he took a different policy from that of Mahmud. His conquest went hand in hand with the work of consolidation. He rendered a great service to the cause of Islam in the sub-continent. The invasions of Mahmud are also regarded as great services to the cause of Islam. But his role in this respect is not so important as that of Muhammad Ghuri. He invaded India either to collect the wealth of the Hindu temples or to chastise the disaffected Hindu Rajas. With the exception of the Punjab, his invasions did not leave any permanent result. He invaded this country not for the purpose of establishing an empire there, but for the enlargement of his Central Asian empire. Thirdly, both Mahmud and Muhammad Ghuri were great statesmen and they were guided by reason and circumstances. The former realised that it was not possible for him to found an empire both in Central Asia and India and so he did not try to annex his conquered places in the sub-continent to his dominions. He built up the Ghaznavid empire and enriched it with the wealth of India. Muhammad Ghuri also realised the impossibility of building up

As general
and soldiers

As founders
of Muslim
empire

As statesmen

As patrons
of art and
learning

an empire in Central Asia in the face of the Khawarizm opposition. Hence he turned his attention to India with the object of establishing a permanent empire there and the political condition of the country favoured his design and facilitated his task. As statesmen, both were successful in their objects. Lastly, Mahmud was a great patron of art and learning, while Muhammad Ghuri was a mere soldier and politician. The former had gathered a large number of poets and scholars in his court like al-Beruni, Utbi and Ferdausi. He also built "Celestial Bride", the *Jam-i-Masjid* of Ghazni. He had a library, a museum and many buildings in Ghazni. Muhammad Ghuri, on the other hand, showed little interest in art and learning. He might have shown generosity to learned men, as Ferishta says, but he did not evince so keen an interest in art and letters as Mahmud did. It is in this context that Lanepoole considers Muhammad Ghuri an obscure figure when compared to Sultan Mahmud.

1. Turkish Dynasty
1206 - 1296

2. Slave Dynasty

3. Early Sultans of
Delhi were Turks.

Turkic Empire -
- lasted from 1206 - 1296
(Slave Dynasty)

CHAPTER V

THE EARLY TURKISH EMPIRE OF DELHI

(1206—1290)

Introduction

The Early Turkish Empire, which lasted from 1206 to 1290 A.D. is popularly known to the students of history as the 'Slave Dynasty' and it is sometimes known as the Pathan or Afghan dynasty.* It is generally believed that the dynasty derives its name from Qutbuddin who was originally a slave. There is no doubt that some of the rulers of the Early Turkish Empire had been, at the beginning of their careers, slaves. But it is also true that a slave is no longer a slave when he is manumitted by his master and no slave could ascend a throne unless he had obtained a letter of manumission from his master. Qutbuddin Aibak got a letter of freedom from the nephew and successor of his royal master. Iltutmish and Balban were also manumitted by their masters before their accession to the throne. So it is clear that none of these rulers was a slave. When they were slaves, they were not rulers and when they were rulers, they were not slaves. Besides, the successors of Iltutmish were not slaves but the Sultan's own sons and daughter. With the exception of three rulers, almost all the Sultans had royal blood in their veins and hence it will be wrong to include them in the rank of slaves.

• The early Sultans of Delhi were Turks and not Afghans or Pathans. Qutbuddin Alibak was brought from Turkistan and sold to Qazi Fakhruddin of Nishapur. The author of the *Nishat Nama* says, "No slave bought at a price has ever become a king except among the Turks." It is also to be remembered here that all the Sultans did not belong to one

'Slave
Dynasty' is
misnomer

No slave
ascended
the throne
unless he got
manumission
from his
master

Early
Sultans
were Turks
and not
Afghans

* Dr. A. B. Habibullah calls it the 'Mamluke dynasty' in his book, "The Foundation of Muslim Rule in India."

family or dynasty. The accession of Qutbuddin, Iltutmish and Balban to the throne of Delhi, has established this fact that Islam makes no distinction between master and servant. The road to power is open to talent and in this respect Islam has proved that a slave of to-day may be a king of to-morrow provided that he possesses merit, intelligence, sagacity and skill.

Sultan Qutbuddin Aibak (1206-10)

✓ Sultan Muhammad Ghuri had left no male issue and so his empire was divided among his Turkish slaves who were trained up in the art of warfare and administration.

Of all the slaves of Muhammad Ghuri, Qutbuddin Aibak played the most important role in the history of Indo-Pakistan. Qutbuddin was purchased early in life by Qazi Fakhruddin Kufi of Nishapur who gave him the best education and most efficient training. After the death of the Qazi, he was sold to a merchant who brought him to Ghazni where he was bought by Sultan Muhammad Ghuri. By his devotion and service, he soon endeared himself to his master who raised him to the position of *Amir Akhur* (Lord of the stables). He accompanied the Sultan during his Indian expeditions and as a general, he made a deep impression upon the mind of the Sultan. After the second battle of Tarain, Muhammad Ghuri left him in charge of the Indian possessions. Qutbuddin fully justified the confidence placed in him by his master. Within a short time, he extended the territory of the empire by capturing Hans, Meerut, Delhi, Ranthambhar, Koil and Qanauj. He had also due share in the conquest of Benares, Kalinjar and Mahoba. Bengal and Bihar were conquered by his lieutenant, Muhammad bin Bakhtiar Khalji. The credit for this conquest goes to Qutbuddin.

On the assassination of Muizuddin Muhammad bin Sam, his nephew Ghiyasuddin Mahmud, who succeeded him as Sultan of Ghur, bestowed the title of Sultan on Qutbuddin and sent him a canopy of State along with a letter of manumission. Qut-

Early life

As Viceroy
of Muhammad
Ghuri
(1192-1206)

As Sultan
of Delhi

buddin proceeded to Lahore and there ascended the throne in 1206 A.D. After the ceremony was over, the Sultan returned to Delhi. He soon came into conflict with the rival chief Tajuddin Yalduz who with a view to conquering the Punjab, drove its governor and took possession of the city. He defeated Yalduz in a battle and forced him to flee to Kuhistan. Qutbuddin became so powerful that the *Khutba* was read and coins struck in his name. But he could not enjoy the fruits of his labours for long. He suddenly died on November, 1210 A.D. when playing *Chaugan* (polo) and was buried at Lahore.

Defeat of
Tajuddin
Yalduz

Estimate of Qutbuddin Aibak

Qutbuddin was the first independent Sultan who laid the foundation of Muslim rule in Indo-Pakistan. A great warrior, a man of infinite courage and indefatigable energy of mind and body, Qutbuddin stands as a prominent figure among the rulers who rose through sheer merit and efforts to the position of power and glory. The author of the *Turikh-i-Fakhruddin Mubarak Shah* says, "His valour, bravery and enterprise are such that if Rustam were alive, he would have taken pride in having been his *Hajib* (Chamberlain)." During a period of 20 years he overran the whole of Northern India from the Indus to the Ganges and from the Himalayas down to the Vindya range. His conquests in Indo-Pakistan 'were wider, real and far more permanent than any of his predecessors'. On his accession to the throne he took great pains in establishing peace and tranquility throughout his dominions and strengthened his position by matrimonial relation with the royal chiefs who were also slaves like him. He married the sister of Tajuddin Yalduz and gave his sister in marriage to Qubacha and his daughter to Iltutmish.

Qutbuddin was a good administrator. Hasan-un-Nizami, author of *Taj-ul-Ma'athir* says, "The Sultan dispensed even-handed justice to the people and exerted himself to promote the peace and prosperity of the realm." "During his reign of peace and tranquillity," says the same author, "treasury required no guard, the folk needed no shepherd so much

First inde-
pendent
Sultan of
Delhi

He streng-
thened his
position by
matrimonial
relation

Good ad-
ministrator

Generous
and pious

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." Qutbuddin was the second Hatem whose generosity is praised by all historians who style him as *Lokhbakhsa* because "his gifts were bestowed in hundreds of thousands." He was an ardent follower of Islam and took interest in its propagation. But he was never guilty of persecution of the Hindus. "The Hindus were treated with kindness, though the Sultan like a mighty fighter in the way of God captured thousands as slaves during his wars," says Dr. Iswariprasad. Many Hindus were employed in his army and in the revenue administration. The *Ulema* and the learned were held in the highest esteem.

Patron of
letters and
architecture

Sultan Qutbuddin 'was a patron of letters, had a cultured court and a society of educated men.' Two mosques built by him—one at Delhi and the other at Ajmer speak of his devotion to Islam and love of art and architecture. Brave and capable, just and generous, Qutbuddin was one of the great pioneers of Muslim conquest of Indo-Pakistan.

Aram Shah

On the death of Qutbuddin Aibak, the nobles raised Aram Shah, who was neither son nor brother to the Sultan, to the throne of Delhi. But the new Sultan soon proved himself quite inefficient and unpopular. The nobles then invited Iltutmish, the son-in-law of Qutbuddin and the governor of Badaun, to ascend the throne. Iltutmish accepted the invitation and defeated Aram Shah in a battle near Delhi.

✓ Sultan Shamsuddin Iltutmish (1211—36)

Early
career

Iltutmish ascended the throne of Delhi in 1211. He belonged to the renowned Ilbari tribe in Turkistan. His intelligence, sagacity and handsome appearance excited the jealousy of his brothers who sold him into slavery in infancy. Iltutmish received his early education and training in the cultured family of the Chief Justice of Bokhara. He was first purchased by one Jamaluddin who brought him to Ghazni, when Qutbuddin, the Viceroy of Delhi,

bought him at a high price.' The Viceroy was so much pleased with his loyalty and capability that he soon made him the governor of Badaun and gave his own daughter in marriage to him. Iltutmish had helped Sultan Muhammad Ghuri in quelling the rebellion of the turbulent Khokhar tribe of the Punjab and in recognition of his service he was manumitted by his master at the Sultan's order.

On his accession to the throne, Iltutmish found himself confronted with innumerable dangers and difficulties. He had to fight against Tajuddin Yalduz, the ruler of Ghazni, and Nasiruddin Qubacha of Sind, who were asserting their independence. Ali bin Mardan Khalji, the governor of Bengal, had thrown off his allegiance to Delhi after the death of Qutbuddin Aibak. Besides, the Hindu princes and chiefs were seething with discontent at their loss of independence. To add to these troubles, some of the Qutbi amirs expressed their resentment against the rule of Iltutmish. But the Sultan was not the man to fail or falter in the face of these difficulties. He devoted himself to the task of establishing his authority in right earnest and with firm determination.

Difficulties
on his
accession

Iltutmish first took a strong action against those Qutbi nobles who had revolted against him and refused to recognise his sovereignty. He marched against them near Delhi and brought the whole of the principality of Delhi under his control. But the safety of the empire depended upon the suppression of the rival chiefs and he now turned his attention towards them. Tajuddin Yalduz, a slave of Muhammad Ghuri became the ruler of Ghazni after the death of the master. He, being driven from Ghazni by the Shah of Khwarizm in 1224, came to Lahore and occupied the Punjab. He wanted to establish his independent power and even to assert his authority over the Sultan. So Iltutmish was obliged to wage war against him. Yalduz was defeated in the field of Tarain (1216) and was imprisoned in the fort of Badaun where he ultimately breathed his last. After the overthrow of Yalduz, Iltutmish determined to take action against Nasiruddin Qubacha who had

Action
against
Qutbi
nobles

Yalduz de-
feated and
imprisoned

Expedition
against
Qubacha

occupied Lahore, but he was expelled from that city by Iltutmish in 1217. His power was finally crushed in 1228.

In 1221, a new and a most terrible danger threatened the Sultan of Delhi. The Mongols under their leader, Chingiz Khan, came down from their mountain steppes in Central Asia, ravaged and devastated the countries that came in their way. They had no regard for human life and committed atrocities even without any provocation. The first Muslim state which felt the weight of the Mongol attack was that of Khwarizm Shah who was discomfited and took shelter in Astrabad. His eldest son, Jalaluddin Shah fled to Hindusthan, took refuge in Lahore and sent an envoy to Iltutmish to beg for an asylum in his dominions. Iltutmish feared the Mongol hordes and in order to save his empire from their attack refused diplomatically to give him shelter in the dominion saying that the climate of Delhi would not suit him. Thereupon Khwarizm Shah entered into an alliance with the Khokhars and with the help of these new allies he attacked Nasiruddin Qubacha and defeated him. Shortly afterwards he went to Persia where he was eventually murdered by a fanatic. The heat of India became intolerable to the Mongols who after plundering Sind and Western Punjab retired to their own lands. Thus India was saved from the hand of one of the most savage and ferocious raiders known to history.

Freed from the rival chiefs and the Mongol menace, Iltutmish started a series of conquests. He first turned his attention to Bengal where Ghiyasuddin Khalji had declared independence and assumed the royal title. In 1223, Iltutmish led a vast army against him. Ghiyasuddin Khalji offered his submission without fighting, renounced the royal title, acknowledged the authority of the Sultan of Delhi and paid him tributes. But as soon as the Sultan returned to Delhi, Ghiyasuddin re-asserted his independence, attacked Bihar and expelled its governor. Nasiruddin Mahmud, the son of the Sultan and governor of Oudh, invaded Bengal and captured it. Bengal was made over to him.

The Mongol menace

Invasion of Chingiz Khan and its results

Conquest of Bengal and Bihar

In 1228, Iltutmish marched against Nasiruddin Qubacha, the governor of Uch and Multan and defeated him near Bhakkar. But while Qubacha was running away to save his life, he was accidentally drowned in the Indus.

In 1229, Iltutmish received a robe of honour and a patent of investiture from the Khalifah of Baghdad who had recognised him as the Sultan of India.

After consolidating his position at home, Iltutmish turned against the Rajput Rajas who had revolted and recaptured their lost kingdoms during the weak rule of Aram Shah. Meanwhile, Iltutmish had recaptured Ranthambur in 1226 A.D. and a year later it was followed by the capture of Mandawar in the Siwalik hills. In 1231 A.D. he attacked Gwalior, besieged the fort for eleven months and at last defeated its ruler, Mangal Dev. He next marched against Malwa and easily conquered the towns of Bhilsa and Ujjain in 1234 A.D. His last campaign was undertaken against Banian in 1235, but he had to abandon it on account of illness.

Before his death the Sultan was pressed by his courtiers to nominate a successor to the future throne and he mentioned the name of his daughter, Raziya, who was a better candidate for the exalted office than his surviving sons. The Sultan died in April, 1236.

Estimate of Sultan Iltutmish

When Iltutmish ascended the throne, the Turkish nation was sore beset, the country was full of rivals and hostile chiefs, and the rebellious nobles and the vanquished Rajas and Ranas were threatening the existence of the Sultanate of Delhi. The situation was most critical and Iltutmish, by his foresight, energy and military skill, proved himself equal to the situation. With an iron hand he suppressed the rebellious nobles, crushed the power of the rivals like Yalduz and Qubacha and recovered the lost provinces. He secured the Sultanate of Delhi diplomatically from the Mongol invasion by warding off their invasion. Had the rival chiefs and the Rajput princes been successful in their plans and designs, the empire of Hindustan would have been lost and

Fall of Qubacha

Investiture by the Khalifah

Capture of Ranthambur and Mandawar

Conquests of Gwalior and Malwa

Nomination of Raziya as successor

Real founder of the Early Turkish Empire

the Muslim rule in India would not have been possible. To him belongs the credit of having saved the infant Muslim empire in the sub-continent from being nipped in the bud. He not only saved the empire and rescued his people from danger, but also added the provinces of Sind and Malwa to the dominions of his master. In this he had not, as Qutbuddin had, the moral and material support of a great empire. What he accomplished, he accomplished by himself in the face of troubles and dangers. In consideration of his contributions to the growth of Muslim rule in India, Iltutmish may rightly be called the real founder of the Sultanate of Delhi.

Brave and courageous, Iltutmish never hesitated to meet the enemy in the open field. In the suppression of the Gakkhars he displayed a great feat of valour and bravery. His fighting spirit, material vigour, physical strength and dashing courage combined with statesmanlike qualities and diplomatic moves placed him on the peak of glory and renown. He clearly understood his position and decided that his policy must be steady consolidation rather than expansion. He took every step towards the consolidation of his empire. It was he who consolidated the conquest of Muhammad Ghuri and "gave the new born Turkish empire in India a cohesion which it had not found under Qutbuddin."

Iltutmish was a good ruler. He laid the foundation of an organised administrative system. Before him, the administrative machinery of the empire was ill-organised. With the help of Muhammad Junaydi and Fakhru'l Mulk Asmi, departments were set up at the centre and regular records began to be kept. According to I.H. Qureshi, Iltutmish "gave benign and sound administration to the hitherto disorganised and dismembered empire." He also had a great sense of justice and according to Ibn Batuta, he had fixed a chain and bell in his palace so that the aggrieved persons may not have any difficulty in approaching the Sultan for justice. Iltutmish built a college at Delhi. Roads were constructed and jungles were cut down in his time. He was the first Muslim ruler who introduced a purely Arabic coinage. He adopted the silver *tanka*, the ancestor of

Valour and
bravery of
Iltutmish

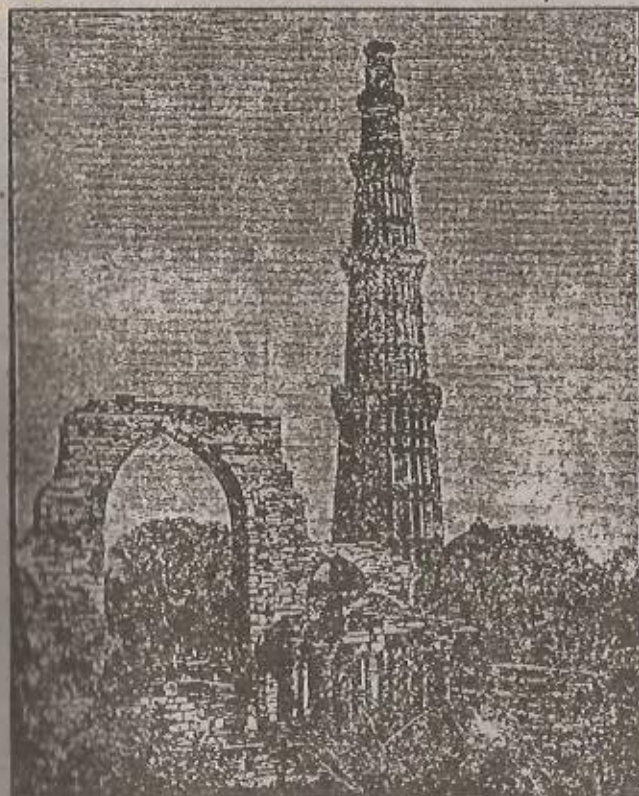
Adminis-
trative sys-
tem of
Iltutmish

Introduc-
tion of
Arabic
coinage

the modern rupee weighing 175 grains as the standard coin. The extraordinary dexterity with which he reorganised the state, administered justice and systematised civil and military departments and, above all, his kingly honour gave him a remarkable place in the history of India.

His place
in history

Sultan Iltutmish surpassed almost all other Sultans of Delhi in his fitness as a king and in excel-



Qutb Minar at Delhi

lence as a man. The contemporary historian, Minhaj-us-Siraj says, "Never was a sovereign so virtuous, kind-hearted and reverent towards the learned and the divines that sat upon the throne of Delhi." Possessed of outstanding abilities, intellect and high

moral character, Iltutmish proved to be a just, generous and sagacious ruler. He was a pious Muslim and spent huge sums of money on charitable purposes. In spite of his military pre-occupation, Iltutmish established schools and colleges in the empire. He was also a great patron of letters. The poets, scholars and divines of foreign countries adorned his court, and made his capital a centre of learning and culture. His reign is marked by great achievements in arts and architecture. He was a great builder and the famous Qutb Minar at Delhi which was completed by him in 1231-32 A.D. stands as an imperishable testimony to his greatness. A magnificent mosque built by him at Ajmer testifies to his love of architecture. The reign of Iltutmish forms the climax of Turkish rule in Indo-Pakistan and he may justly be regarded as the greatest ruler of the Early Turkish Empire of Delhi.

Excelled
all the Sultans of
Delhi as a
king and
a man

Patron of
letters and
architecture

① Ruknuddin Firuz 1236-37

The nobles disregarded the nomination of the late Sultan and raised Ruknuddin Firuz, the eldest son of Iltutmish, to the throne. But the new Sultan soon proved worthless and incapable and was replaced by his able sister Raziya. Ruknuddin and his mother, Shah Turkan, were thrown into prison.

Sultana Raziya (1236-40)

The throne of Delhi was not a bed of roses. On her accession Raziya found herself surrounded with dangers and difficulties. Muhammad Junaydi, the Wazir of the empire, and some of the provincial governors could not reconcile themselves to the rule of a woman and formed a conspiracy against her. But by her courage and superior diplomacy she soon overpowered the enemies and restored order throughout the dominion. "From Lakhnauti to Debal and Damirilah all the maliks and amirs tendered obedience and submission," says Minhaj-us-Siraj. After victory over the rebellious maliks, Raziya restored order in Bengal. The rulers of Bengal and Uch voluntarily offered their submission.

Raziya was not, however, allowed to enjoy a peaceful reign. She ignored the opinion of orthodox

Difficulties
on accession

Restoration
of order in
the country

Muslims by casting off female garments and the seclusion of the 'Zenana.' She wore manly dress and transacted public business in open 'Darbar'. But the main charge brought against her was that she appointed an Abyssinian, named Jalaluddin Yaqut, to a high post.

Charges
against
Raziya

This was not liked by the Turkish nobles and the Forty whom Iltutmish had organised as his personal supporters wanted to remove her from the throne. The Governor of the Punjab was the first to rise in revolt in 1239 but the rebellion was suppressed by Raziya. Next Ikhtiyaruddin Altunia, the Governor of Bhatinda, raised the standard of rebellion against Raziya. She proceeded to punish the rebel but was defeated and put into the custody of Altunia. The Abyssinian chief was murdered and the nobles raised Bahram Shah, the son of Iltutmish, to the throne. Altunia was not pleased with the reward in the office and so he turned towards the captive lady. He released Raziya from prison, married her and then marched towards Delhi. He was defeated along with the Queen by Bahram's troops and both were put to death by some Hindu robbers in 1240.

Revolt of
Altunia

Raziya
defeated

Raziya was the first Muslim lady who sat on the throne of Delhi. With her firm determination, vigorous actions and sagacity she belied the ideas regarding the so-called infirmities of the weaker sex. She marched in person against her enemies, set aside female garments, discarded the 'Pardah' and openly conducted the affairs of the government both in the camp and in the court. The contemporary historian, Minhaj-us-Siraj describes her as a "great sovereign, sagacious, just, beneficent, a patron of the learned, a dispenser of justice, the protector of her subjects and the leader of her armies. She was endowed with all the qualities befitting a king, but she was not born of the right sex and so in the estimation of men all these virtues were worthless."

Character

Sagacious
and capable
ruler

Bahram Shah (1240-42)

The new Sultan, Bahram Shah was a worthless man like Ruknuddin. His reign saw the growing in-

fluence of the nobles who were known as the 'Forty'. During his reign the Mongols invaded the Punjab, sacked Lahore and laid the city waste. The king was too weak to take steps against them. The 'Forty' besieged him in the White Fort at Delhi and put him to death.

Weak ruler

Masud, a grandson of Iltutmish

The nobles then placed Masud, a grand-son of Iltutmish on the throne, but the new king proved to be worse than the previous ruler. The 'Forty' soon dethroned him and raised his uncle Nasiruddin Mahmud to the throne.

Sultan Nasiruddin Mahmud (1246-66)

Sultan Nasiruddin Mahmud was an amiable and pious king who led the life of a saint. He left the affairs of the State in the hands of Ghiyasuddin Balban who was a Turkish slave of Iltutmish. Balban amply justified his choice and proved a capable general and statesman. He was honoured with the title of Ulugh Khan by the Sultan. When the Mongols made their appearance in 1246 on the frontier of India he crossed the Ravi, ravaged the Juh and Jhelum (hills) and suppressed the Khokhars and other tribes of the Salt Range. The turbulent Hindu chiefs of the Doab were also subdued and repressed and the power of the Mewatis was crushed.

Balban as the prime minister of Nasiruddin Mahmud

The victories over the Mongols and the refractory Hindu chiefs enhanced the prestige and influence of Balban and two months later he was raised to the post of lieutenant (Naibul Mulk) of the kingdom. His cousin, Sher Khan was appointed governor of Multan. But when a charge of nepotism was brought against him by Imaduddin Raihan, a Turkish noble, the former was discharged from his post. Raihan's arrogance soon displeased the Turkish nobles and Balban was again brought back to his previous post and position. On his return to power, Balban tried to crush the power of his opponents. Qutlugh Khan who rose in revolt in Oudh was suppressed. Towards the close of this reign an envoy of Halagu Khan, the grandson of Chingiz Khan came to the court of Delhi. He was cordially received that the Mongols were completely overwhelmed.

Balban was discharged but brought back to his post again

Nasiruddin Mahmud died in 1266 after a reign of 20 years. He was just, generous, compassionate, simple and God-fearing. He was a patron of learning and the learned. He had no servant and his wife had to cook with her own hands. It is said that he earned his livelihood by sewing caps and copying the Quran.

Simple and pious

Ghiyasuddin Balban (1266-86) — Slave — 3

In the prime of youth Balban was captured by the Mongols, who sold him as a slave to Khawaja Jamaluddin Basri of Baghdad. Jamaluddin Basri brought him up like his own son. In 1232, he, along with other slaves, brought him to Delhi and Sultan Shamsuddin Iltutmish purchased the whole lot of the Turkish slaves.

Early life

Balban belonged to the famous corps of Turkish slaves of Iltutmish, called "the Forty". He was first appointed as a *Khasdar* (king's personal attendant) by the Sultan. But by dint of merit and ability, he rose by degrees to higher positions and ranks, till he became the Prime Minister of Sultan Nasiruddin Mahmud who married his daughter in 1249 A.D. As a Prime Minister, he played an important role in the history of the Delhi Sultanate. The reign of Nasiruddin Mahmud is, in fact, the history of his activities.

Sultan Nasiruddin Mahmud had no male issue and so he nominated his Prime Minister and father-in-law as his successor. After the death of the Sultan, Balban who was then an old man of sixty, ascended the throne in 1266, with the title of Ghiyasuddin Balban.

Accession of Balban

On his accession Balban was confronted with great difficulties. The whole country at that time was vibrating with an atmosphere of unprecedented stress and storm. There were revolts in different parts of the empire and the lawless elements were creating great troubles. The Mongols were threatening to invade India through the North-West. There were refractory tribes like Mewatis who were a standing menace to the rule of Balban. Above all,

Condition
of the coun-
try at his
accession

people due to the weakness of the successors of Iltutmish had lost all fear of government and authority. In this respect Ziauddin Barani says, "Fear of the governing power, which is the basis of all good government, and the source of the glory and splendour of all states, had departed from the hearts of all men, and the country had fallen into a wretched condition." A strong hand was the need of the hour and Balban rose to the occasion.

Re-organisation of Central Government

Balban, on his accession, embarked upon a policy of reorganising the Central Government and for this purpose several measures were adopted.

Restoration
of royal
authority

The first task of Balban was to restore the authority and prestige of the Sultanate which had been shaken by the weakness of his predecessors. In order to exalt kingly office and inspire awe and reverence amongst the people for the king, he maintained a strict and splendid court after the manner of the old Persian kings and introduced Persian etiquette and ceremonies. Such was his sense of kingly dignity that his court became an austere assembly where jest and laughter were seldom heard. He always appeared in full dress even before his private servants. It was a great achievement for Balban to raise the authority and prestige of the Sultanate.

Re-organisa-
tion of the
army

Balban fully realised that the stability of his government depended upon a strong and efficient army. He reorganised the whole army on a firm basis. Since the time of Qutbuddin Aibak and Iltutmish, Turkish soldiers were granted lands in lieu of their military service. The successors of these soldiers continued to hold these lands though they did not render any service to the State. All the lands held by old men, women and orphans were taken over from them and they were given pensions for their living. But the lands of some of the jagirdars were restored, when Fakhruddin, the *Kotwal* of Delhi appealed to the Sultan to do so on their behalf. Balban increased the military personnel and placed the cavalry and the infantry, both old and new, under the command of experienced and trusted officers. Thus, he built up

a strong and efficient army. It was due to this that Balban was able to suppress the internal rebellions and face the external danger successfully.

Balban had a strong and well-organised spy system. His spies acted as the channels of his despotism. He had placed secret reporters in every department and appointed secret news-writers in every province and district. The spies were made independent of the governors and commanders. The spies even watched the activities of the sons of the Sultan. If the spies failed to report any misconduct of the officers or nobles, they were severely dealt with.

Spy systems

Balban was very strict in the administration of justice. He did not show any partiality even to his own kith and kin. About his justice Dr. Ishwari Prasad remarks, "So great was the dread of Sultan's inexorable justice that no one dared to ill-treat his servants and slaves." When a complaint was made that Malik Barbaq, a big jagirdar of Badaun, killed one of his servants, Balban ordered him to be put to death. The news-writer who failed to report this act of injustice to the Sultan, was also executed at the same time. Similarly Haibat Khan, fief-holder of Oudh who murdered a man in a fit of drunkenness was ordered to be flogged for his faults.

Administra-
tion of
justice

Measures for the suppression of rebels and robbers

Having resorted to the royal authority and organised the internal administration on an efficient basis, Balban applied himself to the task of suppressing the lawlessness of the Hindu robbers, and Muslim governors and Amirs.

The hilly people of Mewat (Alwar), known as the Mewatis whom Balban as Prime Minister had punished, again started creating troubles. They robbed the travellers in broad day-light, ravaged the villages and brought death and destruction upon the innocent. They carried their raids into the vicinity of the capital. According to Dr. Ishwari Prasad, "So great was their audacity that the Western Gate of Metropolis had to be closed at the time of afternoon prayer and even the garb of a mendicant was

Suppression
of the
Mewatis

no protection against their high handedness." Balban with the help of a large army inflicted a crushing defeat upon the Mewatis. The jungles where they used to take shelter after looting were cleaned. Police out-posts were set up at strategic places to prevent further troubles. Thousands of them were pursued and put to death. Thus Balban by his iron hand succeeded in crushing these turbulent hilly tribes.

Next, Balban turned to the turbulent Hindus of the Doab who had rendered the roads and highways between Delhi and Bengal very unsafe. The Sultan proceeded personally to crush the lawless elements and captured their strong-holds in Kampil, Patiali and Bhojpur. Many robbers were arrested and put to death. To check further disturbances he constructed forts in those places. As a result of these strong measures, order and security were restored throughout the region.

While the Sultan was busy in the Doab, the Hindus of the territories of Katehar (Rohilkhand) disturbed the peace of the empire by open rebellion. They were seriously dealt with and henceforth no breach of peace was heard of in the vicinity of Delhi.

Having crushed various rebellions and lawless Hindu elements, Balban turned to the Shamsi slaves who were jealous of his rise to power and were making a conspiracy to overthrow him. Since the time of Iltutmish and his successors, they had enjoyed liberal grants of land and had become very powerful. Balban viewed their activities with great alarm and decided to crush their power. He took several measures against them. He confiscated the jagirs of the nobles who rendered no military services. He also prohibited matrimonial alliances among them and punished the offenders with great severity. Many powerful nobles like Barbaq, Amir Khan were put to death for their offences. Sher Khan, cousin of the Sultan and member of the 'Forty' was poisoned to death for his suspicious conduct. Thus, Balban silenced and subdued all those with a strong hand, who stood or were likely to stand in his way.

Suppression
of the Doab
insurgents

Insurgents
of Katehar
seriously
dealt with

Destruction
of the power
of the Shamsi
nobles or
'Forty'

Balban's Mongol Policy

Though Balban was taking steps to make his government firm and strong, he did not fail to save the North-Western Frontier against the Mongol attacks. The threat of the Mongol attacks at the gates of Delhi was chiefly responsible for moulding the domestic and foreign policy of Balban.

Balban fully realised the gravity of the Mongol invasion and so he, in order to check the advance of the Mongols, abstained from following the policy of expansion in the sub-continent. His foreign policy was moulded by the fear of the Mongol invasion. When some of the influential nobles pointed out to him that the former Sultans, Qutbuddin and Iltutmish, had followed an aggressive policy of expansion of the Muslim empire in Indo-Pakistan, the Sultan replied, "Circumstances have changed considerably. During the time of Qutbuddin and Iltutmish, the Mongol menace was not so sharp and terrible. But now the power of the Mongols has increased tremendously. They have established themselves in Ghazni and Transoxiana and Halagu has subdued Iraq and occupied Baghdad. The Mongols have heard of the wealth of India and they have set their hearts upon conquering and plundering it. They are playing a waiting game and they are waiting for the opportunity of my departure on some distant campaign to enter my territory and ravage the whole Doab." Thus, we find that the fear of the Mongol invasions had a profound effect in shaping the policy of Balban who never left the capital lest Delhi should be exposed to Mongol attacks and might have shared the fate of Baghdad.

Balban defeated the Mongols on many occasions while he was under Bahram Shah and Nasiruddin Mahmud. Now as a king he adopted strong measures for the defence of his empire from the Mongol invasions. His measures were as follows :

(1) The Sultan would not lead any expedition to distant lands for the purpose of conquest. As far as possible he would remain in the capital to keep a vigilant watch over the North-Western Frontier.

Balban's
foreign poli-
cy, moulded
by the fear of
the Mongol
invasion

Balban's
measures
against the
Mongol in-
vasion

(2) The Sultan reorganised the army on an efficient basis. All old officers and soldiers who were unfit for fighting were dismissed. Good weapons and arms were supplied to the soldiers.

(3) All the old forts of the frontier region were reconstructed and many new forts were built at strategic stations.

(4) Samana, Multan and Dipalpur were made into a frontier province and it was placed under able and efficient governors. For a long time, his cousin, Sher Khan who was in charge of the important frontier province of Multan-Dipalpur "had been a great barrier to the inroads of the Mongols." After his death, Balban appointed his able and worthy son, Prince Muhammad, the governor of Multan, who fully justified the confidence of his father by resisting the Mongol invaders. At the same time his second son Bughra Khan was placed in charge of Samana and Sunam.

Balban's measures against the Mongols were very successful. The success of his frontier defence policy was amply illustrated when the Mongols invaded India in 1279. This time they were completely defeated and routed by the combined forces of Prince Muhammad of Multan, Bughra Khan of Samana and Malik Mubarak of Delhi. Thus the Mongol advance was successfully checked for the time being.

Rebellion in Bengal

Balban had to face a most formidable rebellion headed by Tughril Khan, the governor of Bengal (1279). The old age of the Sultan and his occupation with the Mongols on the north-west frontier perhaps encouraged Tughril to raise the standard of revolt. He assumed the title of Mughisuddin, struck coins and caused the *Khuba* to be read in his name. The Sultan sent Amir Khan against Bengal, but he was defeated. Balban became furious at this and put the incompetent general to death. Another army was sent to Bengal under the command of Malik Targhi, but this expedition, too, shared the same fate. The Sultan then took the field in person and his son, Bughra Khan accompanied him in this expedition.

Results of
Balban's
measures

Suppression
of Tughril
Khan's
revolt in
Bengal

On the approach of the Sultan, Tughril fled away to the jungles of Jainagar (East Bengal). The Sultan now determined to stay there till Tughril was arrested and put to death. At last Tughril was captured and beheaded. All his relations and friends were also captured and killed. The Sultan appointed his second son Bughra Khan as a governor of Bengal and returned to Delhi.

In 1285, the Mongols under Tamar again invaded the Punjab and Prince Muhammad had to march against them alone, because Bughra Khan had been transferred to Bengal. The Prince repulsed the invaders but he was suddenly attacked by the Mongols who slew him in an ambush on the Lahore-Dipalpur border. In spite of all this Balban kept the Sultanate of Delhi safe from the Mongol invasion.

The death of Prince Muhammad gave a terrible shock to the old Sultan and it hastened his death. Balban wanted to nominate Bughra Khan as his successor, but the latter's unwillingness to accept the responsibility of kingship compelled him to nominate his grand-son, Kai Khusrau. The Sultan died in 1287 after a reign of about 22 years.

Estimate of Balban

Ghiyasuddin Balban deserves a prominent place in the history of Medieval India. When he ascended the throne, the dignity of the State had withered away and the kingdom was faced with serious dangers due to the arrogance of the nobles, the insubordinations of the Hindu chiefs and the repeated invasions of the Mongols. 'A strong dictator like Ghiyasuddin Balban was the need of the hour.' He boldly faced the situation, crushed the power of rebel subjects and unruly tribes and defended the North-Western Frontier against the Mongols. By a policy of 'blood and iron' he established peace and order on the distracted empire. "Out of chaos and vision of imminent destruction, Balban had evolved order and prosperity and the people welcomed the new regime cheerfully," says Dr. Aziz Ahmed. He inflicted such punishment on the disturbers of peace that none could have the courage to defy his order and the

Death of
Prince
Muhammad

Last days
of Balban

His achieve-
ments

Order was
restored as
a result of
strong
measures

laws of the State, which had been ignored and violated during the past years, were once more enforced in the land.

The Sultan enhanced the dignity of the kingly office and maintained a splendid court where jest and laughter were strictly forbidden. "Ghiyasuddin 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," says Ziauddin Barani. He appointed men of high birth and noble lineage to responsible offices and considered low-birth to be a great disqualification for public office. His sense of kingly dignity was so great that he always appeared in full dress even before his private attendants and avoided the company of his officers and servants.

Balban's reign was one of struggle against internal troubles and external dangers. During a reign of 22 years, he could not extend the territories of his empire on account of the pressure of the Mongol attacks and the problems which were expected to arise out of the new conquests. He devoted his attention towards the organisation of his dominion rather than expansion. Internal consolidation was the key-note of Balban's policy. A man who saved the infant Muslim State in Indo-Pakistan and paved the way for the military and administrative reforms of Alauddin Khalji by establishing social order must be regarded as a great statesman.

Balban considered the sovereign to be the representative of God on earth and believed that the salvation of the sovereign lay in the observance and fulfilment of four duties, namely, (i) to protect religion and to execute the provisions of the Shariat; (ii) to check immoral and sinful actions; (iii) to appoint pious and noble men to offices and (iv) to administer justice and equity. He once declared, "All that I can do is to crush the cruelties of the cruel and to see that all persons are equal before the 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."

Maintenance of splendid court and exclusion of low-born people from high offices

Internal consolidation was the key-note of Balban's policy

Conception of kingship

Balban was gifted with many rare virtues and talents. He was a Sultan who 'gave himself up to worship, fasting and nightly prayers.' Badauni says, "He assiduously attended all congregational prayers and was never without ablutions." He used to visit the tombs of saints and scholars on every Friday. Though cruel and ruthless in his methods of punishments, he was considered the most merciful, enlightened and generous ruler of his time. He was an impartial judge and administered an even-handed justice throughout the length and breadth of his empire. He was also a patron of letters and extended his patronage to the famous poet Amir Khusrau, the "Parrot of India".

In spite of many good qualities of head and heart Balban was partly responsible for the fall of the Early Turkish Empire. Firstly, the Sultan was the fountain-head of administration. He was absolute in all affairs of the State and there was no check on his power. His government was no doubt a highly organised dictatorship in which the power of the nobles was curtailed. So long as the strong personality of Balban was there, they did not dare to defy his authority. But the demise of the Sultan gave them an opportunity to raise their heads as he had left no strong successors to stand to his theory which was mainly based upon force. He failed to realise that the doctrine of force could not survive his death. Secondly, Balban had no idea of administrative re-organisation. There was neither strong local government nor any good method of land revenue upon which depended the prosperity of the empire. So, Balban's lack of administrative ability was no less a factor of the disintegration of the future empire. Lastly, the exclusion of the Indians from the administration of the State was a serious blunder on the part of an Indian emperor. It caused great discontent among the native Muslims and the immediate result of this racialism and narrow policy was the Khalji Revolution which successfully brought the rule of the dynasty to an end.

Cruel to the unruly and kind to the poor

Patron of letters

Criticism

Establishment of dictatorship depended upon the ability of reigning Sultan

Lack of administrative re-organisation

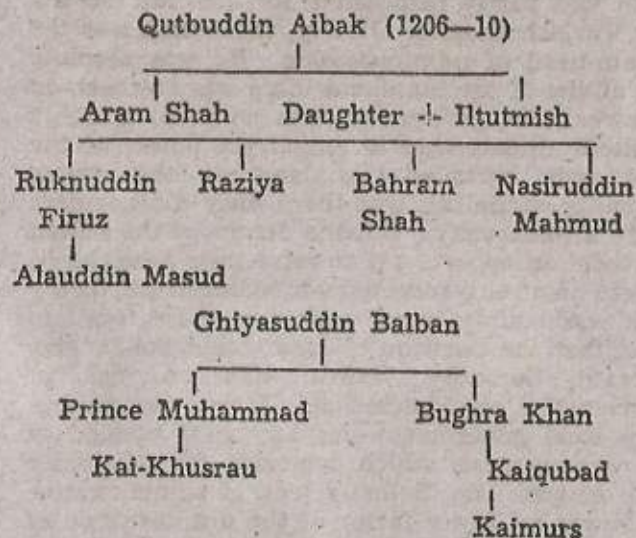
Exclusion of the Indians from offices

Kaiqubad (1287-89)

His accession, 1287

On the death of Prince Muhammad, Balban designated his second son Bughra Khan as his successor. But he refused to accept the great responsibility of the State and went over to his province of Bengal. So, the nobles after the death of Balban raised Kaiqubad, the son of Bughra Khan, to the throne in 1287. Kaiqubad had been brought up

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE TURKISH SULTANS



Kaiqubad's negligence to administration

under stern discipline and his tutors taught him 'the polite arts and manly exercise, and never permitted him to do an improper act.' But after ascending the throne his wisdom and restraint disappeared and he gave himself up to pleasure. He left the entire administration of the State in the hands of his Prime Minister, Nizamuddin. The Sultan's negligence to the State affairs and the arrogance of the minister demoralised the government and created

disorder and confusion throughout the empire. Nizamuddin was an ambitious man who wanted to remove the Sultan from the throne of Delhi. All these things reached the ears of Bughra Khan who came to Delhi to meet his son. An interview was arranged between father and son on the banks of the Gogra in 1288. He advised his son to refrain from dissipation and to remove Nizamuddin from his office. The minister was soon poisoned to death.

Removal of Nizamuddin

Khalji Revolution

The court of Delhi was then divided mainly into two parties—the Turkish party and the Khalji party. The Khaljis, under Malik Firuz who held the office of the *Ariz-i-Mamalik* (muster-master) after the murder of Nizamuddin were gaining strength day by day. They won over to their side several Turkish 'maliks' and 'amirs'. The elevation of the Khalji Chief offended most of the Turkish nobles, who finding no hope of the recovery of the Sultan from the attack of paralysis, placed his three-year old son, Kaimurs on the throne of Delhi in 1289. Malik Firuz Khalji was alarmed at this and with the help of the Turkish nobles he entered the capital, seized the person of the infant King and proclaimed himself to be the Sultan of Delhi with the title of Jalaluddin in 1290. Thus the Early Turkish Empire came to an end.

Kaimurs, son of Kaiqubad, placed on the throne

Malik Firuz Khalji proclaimed himself Sultan of Delhi

Review of the Early Turkish Rule

The rule of the Early Turkish Sultans covered a period of 84 years (1206-1290). During this period, eleven Sultans ruled successively in Indo-Pakistan. Of the Sultans, Qutbuddin, Iltutmish and Balban were the prominent and the most successful. The names of Raziya and Nasiruddin may be included in the list of reputed rulers. But the reigns of the rest of the Sultans deserve no mention here.

Some of the Sultans were able and efficient

The first and foremost achievement of the Early Turkish Sultans was the consolidation of Muslim rule in Northern India. The authority of the Sultans was established over the United Provinces of Agra

Achievements of the Sultans

Unification of North-ern India & checking of the Mongol inroads were the main achievements

Patrons of arts and architecture

and Oudh, Bihar, Gwalior, Sind and some parts of Rajputana and Central India. The control of the Punjab was not secure as it was occasionally threatened by the Mongols. The rulers of Bengal were mostly inclined to remain independent of their control and many of them defied the authority of the Sultans. Balban had reduced Bengal to submission. The checking of the Mongols was the next important achievement of the Early Turkish Sultans. The Mongols made inroads into the territory of Indo-Pakistan; but they were successfully driven away by Balban. The Sultan was the supreme authority of the State and though he ruled like a despot, his despotism was limited by the Law of Shariat. The Sultans were liberal and tolerant to their subjects irrespective of caste and creed. Their contribution in the domain of architecture and literature was no less important. Some of the Sultans were liberal patrons of arts and architecture. On the whole, the rule of the Early Turkish Sultans was just and humane.

CHAPTER VI

THE KHALJI DYNASTY

(1290-1320)

The recent researches have established the fact that the Khaljis were one of the numerous tribes of the Turkish race; but Ziauddin Barani and others have erroneously described them as Afghans on account of their long stay in Afghanistan.

Jalaluddin Khalji (1290-1296)

Jalaluddin Khalji at the age of 75 ascended the throne in the palace of Kiloghiri in 1290. The nobles and the people of the city (Delhi) were at first indifferent to the succession of the Khalji and that was why the new Sultan did not go into the capital. "The excellence of his character, his justice, generosity and devotion gradually removed the aversion of the people" and thus all accepted him as their ruler.

Accession to the throne in Kiloghiri

In the second year of his reign Malik Chajju, nephew of Balban and governor of Kara revolted against him. With the help of other nobles, he defeated and captured Malik Chajju. The Sultan pardoned him and treated him with unusual kindness and tenderness. This liberality towards the captive displeased the Khalji nobles who whispered to each other that the Sultan was unfit as a ruler. The military history of Jalaluddin Khalji is not worth mentioning. He made two unsuccessful attempts to recapture the fort of Ranthambor. He turned away from the capture of the fort with the thought that the siege would cost more human lives than that the fort was worth.

Malik Chajju revolted but was defeated

Unsuccessful attempt to capture Ranthambor

Jalaluddin Khalji showed an unusual strictness in the case of Sidi Maula who arrived in Indo-Pakistan during his reign. Sidi Maula was a disciple of Shaikh Fariduddin Ganj-i-Shakar of Pakpattan. He was accused of conspiracy with the Turkish nobles against the Sultan.

Execution of Sidi Maula

1290
1320
180

In 1292, the Mongols under the leadership of Abdullah, a grandson of Halagu, invaded India. The Sultan showed extraordinary courage and bravery on this occasion. He defeated and routed the Mongols. Many of the Mongols departed; but Ulghu Khan, a descendant of Chengiz Khan, with several others and thousands of his followers remained in India and embraced Islam. They mixed and formed alliances with the Musalmans. They were known in the history of India as the 'New Musalmans'. They were allowed to settle in the suburbs of Delhi and their quarters were called Mughulpurah after them.

New
Musalmans

The Sultan was now too old. He, out of love and affection appointed his nephew and son-in-law, Alauddin, the Chief of Kara and Oudh. Alauddin was an ambitious man "whose anxiety to win for himself an independent kingdom had been intensified on account of his unhappy relations with his wife and mother-in-law." With the permission of the Sultan he led an expedition to Bhilsa which he captured successfully. It was at that time that he heard of the rich kingdom of Deogir. He, without the knowledge of the Sultan went to Deogir, defeated its ruler and came back to Kara with immense booty consisting of 600 maunds of gold, 1,000 maunds of silver, 7 maunds of pearls, 2 maunds of precious stones and 4 pieces of silk.

Alauddin's
expedition
to Deogir

When the Sultan was informed of the success of his nephew in the Deccan, he went to congratulate him and in an interview he was murdered (July 1296). Alauddin was led to commit this crime by several considerations. Arkali Khan, the heir-apparent of Sultan Jalaluddin, and the Queen mother, were against him. He also doubted the intention of the Sultan who was much influenced by the inner-court. Besides, the Khalji nobles feared that if Sultan Jalaluddin remained on the throne, power might slip out of their hands because of his leniency and so they induced Alauddin to take this hasty step.

Murder of
Jalaluddin

Alauddin Khalji

THE KHALJI DYNASTY

Alauddin Khalji (1296—1326)

Alauddin Khalji ascended the throne of Delhi in 1296. On his accession he found himself confronted with a difficult situation. The Jalali nobles had not yet forgotten the murder of the old Sultan and they were secretly trying to avenge it. The Queen mother, Malika Jahan placed her younger son, Ruknuddin Ibrahim on the throne in the absence of Arkali Khan who was then at Multan. The nobles, the officers and the populace of Delhi were soon won over to his side by lavish distributions of wealth and promotions to high office. On the arrival of Alauddin Khalji near Delhi, Ibrahim and his mother fled to Multan. He entered the capital with triumph and then sent an army under Ulugh Khan and Nasrat Khan to Multan. Arkali Khan and Ruknuddin Ibrahim were defeated and captured. Thus having secured his position on the throne he turned his attention to the suppression of the Mongols.

His early
difficulties

The Mongol Invasions

Alauddin Khalji like his predecessor was confronted with the danger of the ever-increasing Mongol raids. The Mongol raids formed a source of constant anxiety and alarm to the Delhi Government for a long time. Between the years 1297 and 1307, we hear of as many as seven raids. In the second year of Alauddin's reign, a large horde of the Mongols came under the leadership of Amir Daud; but they were routed by Zafar Khan with great slaughter. This was soon followed by another raid of the Mongols under the command of Saldi who was also defeated by Zafar Khan. But the most dangerous raid of the Mongols occurred in 1309 when Qutluugh Khwaja with 2,00,000 men marched upon Delhi. In this campaign their object was not plunder but conquest of India. Zafar Khan, "the Rustam of the age and the hero of the time attacked them vigorously, but was killed in the thick of the fight." The attack of Zafar Khan had deeply impressed the Mongols who soon retreated. This victory of the Sultan was followed by an interval of four years. In 1303, "the accursed Targhi, at the

Mongols
under Amir
Daud and
Saldi, 1297

Under
Qutluugh
Khwaja,
1299

head of a considerable force reached the neighbourhood of Delhi." Regarding the importance of this raid Ziauddin Barani says, "If Targhi had remained another month upon the Jammu, the panic would have reached such a height that a general flight would have taken place and Delhi would have been lost." Fortunately the Mongols suddenly raised the siege and retreated towards their own country. In 1304, Ali Beg, a descendant of Chengiz and Tartag led a force of the Mongols of 30,40 thousand horses and advanced up to Amroha. The Mongols were again put to death. In 1306, the Mongols under Kabk fell upon Multan and plundered the country. Tughluq Ghazi met and defeated them with great slaughter on the bank of the Indus. The last Mongol invasion took place in 1307-8 when a chieftain named Iqbalmand crossed the Indus. But he was defeated and killed. These successive reverses and the measures adopted by the Sultan frightened the Mongols so much that they did not attack the country so long as Alauddin was on the throne.

Alauddin's measures against Mongol invasions

Alauddin Khalji was not satisfied by merely punishing the Mongols. He, like Balban, took some defensive measures to guard the north-west frontier of his dominion. He ordered all the old forts of Delhi to be repaired and the new ones to be set up on the route of the Mongols. New workshops were also erected to manufacture improved types of weapons to fight against the Mongols. The most capable and trusted officers were placed in charge of the frontier defences. Ghazi Malik was appointed the Governor of the Punjab in 1305 and he was able to check the Mongol invasions. Additional forces were raised and powerful armies were stationed at Dipalpur, Samana and Multan.

Balban and Alauddin Khalji will be remembered in the history of Indo-Pakistan for their wise frontier policy. They saved Delhi from the clutches of one of the most dangerous enemies of human civilisation. The Mongols made incessant and frequent raids on India with their ever-increasing

Under the
accused
Targhi,
1303

Under Ali
Beg and
Tartag,
1304

Erection
of new
forts

Capable
officers
posted

Additional
forces
raised

number of followers and thereby jeopardised the peace and safety of the empire. Had not Balban and Alauddin adopted drastic and defensive measures against the Mongols, the throne of Delhi would have been lost.

Effects of Mongol invasions

Under Alauddin Khalji, the Mongol invasions had far-reaching consequences. Like Balban, he did not stop his policy of conquering other Indian kingdoms in the face of Mongol invasions, but he followed his frontier policy. It was because of constant fear of the Mongols that Alauddin had to keep a standing army and when as a result of his successful frontier policy, the danger from the Mongols disappeared, the same army was utilized and this enabled him to conquer Northern India and distant lands in the South. Secondly, the Mongol invasions profoundly affected the revenue policy of the Sultan. He needed money to raise a strong and efficient army in order to successfully face the Mongol attacks. The main object of his revenue policy was to increase the finance of the State. With this purpose he imposed taxes like house-tax, grazing tax, etc. Thirdly, the Mongol invasions determined the economic measures of Alauddin Khalji. He had raised a large army to meet the Mongol invasions but he found it difficult to meet their expenses. So in order to enable the soldiers to make a good living with meagre salaries, he brought about a scheme of economic reforms. He fixed prices of everything at a cheap rate, controlled supply of grain and enforced his measures very strictly. Fourthly, Alauddin's successes against the Mongols established and strengthened his position and created awe and respect among the people for the Sultan. Lastly, the Mongol invasions determined the nature of his administration. As he had always to keep a big force to check the Mongol invasions and was often occupied in fighting against them, his government became more or less a military despotism.

Army
maintained
to check the
Mongol in-
vasions was
helpful to
the Sultan
for conquest

Revenue
policy
affected by
the Mongol
invasions

Economic
reforms
determined
by the
Mongol
invasion

Position of
the Sultan
strengthened

Nature of
his govt.
determined

Conquest of Northern Indo-Pakistan

The reign of Alauddin Khalji witnessed not only the suppression of the Mongols but also the rapid expansion of the Muslim dominion over different parts of India. According to Wolseley Haig, with his reign began 'the imperial period of the Sultanate of Delhi'. In 1297, the Sultan sent an expedition to Gujrat under his brother Ulugh Khan and his minister Nasrat Khan. Raja Karan of Gujrat was discomfited and his wife Kamala Devi was captured, but she with her daughter Devala Devi fled to Deogarh. An immense booty fell into the hands of the victors. It was in this campaign that Malik Kafur who later played the most important role in the history of Indo-Pakistan was captured. Gujrat was permanently annexed to the empire. Ranthambor was recovered by the Rajputs during the weak successors of Iltutmish and was then held by the Rajput chief Hamir Deva. The Raja incurred the displeasure of Alauddin by giving shelter to some of the discontented "New Musalmans". In 1299, the Sultan sent an army under the command of Ulugh Khan and Nasrat Khan. The latter died of a wound received in a siege operation and Ulugh Khan was forced to fall back upon Jhain. Alauddin personally marched towards Ranthambor and captured it in 1299-1301 with great difficulty. It was during the siege of Ranthambor that the Sultan had to face a series of revolts raised by his sister's sons Umar Khan and Akat Khan, Haji Maula and the "New Musalmans." All these revolts were ruthlessly crushed.

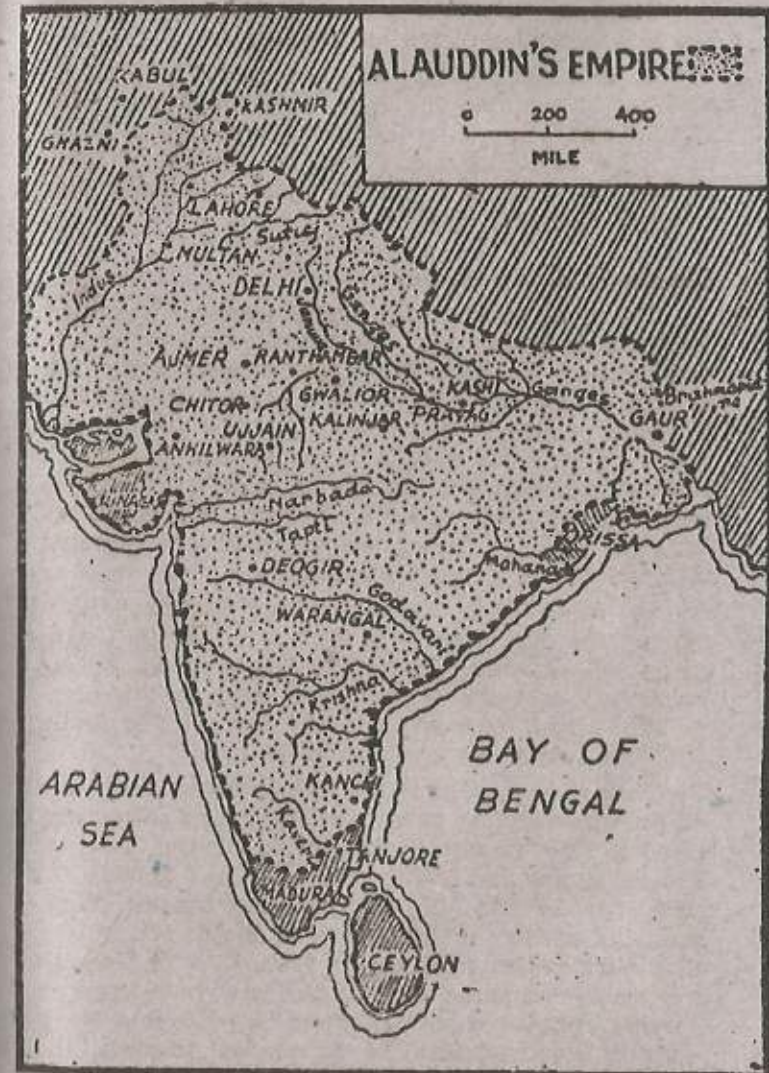
The "New Musalmans" were a source of danger and trouble to the Sultanate. They revolted over the distribution of booty and harassed the army, when it was returning from the conquest of Gujrat. They had also supported Akat Khan in his attempt to take the life of the Sultan. Not once but twice the Sultan pardoned them. But they could not be connived at the third time when the "New Musalmans" hatched a conspiracy to murder the Sultan. The conspiracy was discovered and a general order was issued for their massacre. "The number of deaths" according to Barani, "were twenty to thirty

Conquest
of Gujrat,
1297

Conquest
of Ranthambor,
1299-1301

Alauddin
Khalji and
the 'New
Musalmans'

thousand.' "After these punishments," says the same author, "breaches of peace were never heard of in the city."



"On the capture of Ranthambor, the Sultan marched against Chitor which he captured in a short time. The Government of Chitor was entrusted to Prince

Capture of
Chitor,
1302-1303

Khizr Khan. The story that Alauddin led the expedition to Chitor in order to capture Padmini is not mentioned in the contemporary works and hence it is a late invention of the hostile critics.

In 1305, the Sultan sent an army to Malwa. Malwa was captured and annexed to the empire. The victory was followed by the conquest of Ujjain, Mandur, Dhar and Chandari. Thus by the end of 1305, almost the whole of Northern India came under the sway of Alauddin Khalji.

Other conquests

Conquests in the Deccan

The arms of Alauddin Khalji were not confined to Northern India only. He extended his empire to the Deccan. In 1306, Malik Kafur who was fitted out for the Deccan expeditions marched against Ram Chandra of Deogir who had for the last three years failed to send his tribute to Delhi and had given shelter to Karan, the ex-king of Gujrat. The Raja was defeated and submitted to him. Devala Devi, daughter of Raja Karan, was captured and married to Khizr Khan, son of the Sultan.

Conquest of Deogir, 1306-1307

In 1309, Malik Kafur directed his expedition against the Kakatiya Raja of Warrangal in Telinganga. Raja Pratap Rudra Deva II offered a strong resistance; but after a prolonged siege he was compelled to sue for peace. Kafur returned to Delhi with the laurel of victory in 1310.

Conquest of Warrangal, 1309-1310

This success stimulated his ambition and Alauddin now resolved to extend the limits of his empire to the farthest extremities of the Deccan. Dwarsamudra and Mabhar still remained outside the pale of his empire. He sent his army against Dwarsamudra under the leadership of Malik Kafur who took Vira Balloula III, the Hoysala Raja of Dwarsamudra, by surprise and forced him to surrender. Having conquered and subdued the Hoysala Kingdom of Dwarsamudra he proceeded towards the country of Mabhar. A fratricidal war between the two brothers, Sundra Pandya and Vira Pandya, had weakened the kingdom of Pandyas. Vira Pandya, who had captured the throne of his father and was ruling, fled away from his capital on hearing of the

Capture of Dwarsamudra in, 1310

approach of the Muslims. Malik Kafur entered Madura without any opposition and found it deserted. He returned to Delhi in October, 1311 with immense wealth.

Conquest of Madura

In 1213, Malik Kafur led a punitive expedition against Sankaradeva who had defied the royal authority and ceased to pay the customary tribute. The whole of Maharashtra was ravaged and the Yadava prince was defeated and killed. Thus the whole of Southern India now lay at the feet of Kafur.

Last expedition of Malik Kafur against Sankaradeva

Motives of his Deccan policy

Alauddin Khalji's Deccan policy of conquests was dictated by political as well as economic reasons. Politically, Deccan was then as before divided into a number of kingdoms and there was no unity among the Deccan rulers who were jealous of one another. This political condition inspired the Sultan to push his arms into the South. Moreover, the Deccan was a rich country. The main object of his Deccan campaigns was to exact wealth from the Deccan. Even before his accession he had invaded Deogir and had taken away a huge amount of wealth. So when he became the Sultan, he sent Malik Kafur to invade the Deccan kingdoms with instructions to accept, as term of surrender, jewels and treasures. Thus economic motives of the Sultan played an important part in the Deccan conquest.

His policy dictated by political and economic reasons

Nature of his Deccan Policy

Alauddin Khalji's Deccan policy was quite different from that of the North where he followed a policy of annexation. He conquered almost the whole of Northern India and placed them under efficient governors. He also established his suzerainty in the Deccan, but the kingdoms of the Deccan were not annexed to the empire of Delhi. He allowed the rulers of the Deccan to retain their kingdoms on condition that they would acknowledge the supremacy of the Sultan and pay him a yearly tribute. So his policy of the Deccan was not annexation but subjugation as vassal states of the Delhi Sultanate. He fully realised that it would

be difficult for him to maintain effective control over the distant provinces of the South. This policy of ruling the Deccan through tributary princes speaks of his statesmanship.

Significance of his Deccan policy

The Deccan policy of Alauddin Khalji was very successful and statesmanlike. It not only brought him wealth, power and prestige, but also strengthened his empire. He did not annex the Deccan kingdoms and herein lay his wisdom. Like a realist, he realised that it would be practically impossible for him to control effectively the distant lands of the South. Here is the difference between Alauddin Khalji and Muhammad bin Tughluq whose attempts later on to annex the Deccan States brought great difficulties and troubles to the Sultanate of Delhi.

Administration

Alauddin Khalji was not only a great warrior and conqueror, but also a great administrative genius. According to K. S. Lal, "It is as an administrator than anything else that Alauddin stands head and shoulder above his predecessors. His accomplishments as warrior were dwarfed by his achievements as an organiser. No Muslim ruler before the Mughals had shown so much of interest in organising the affairs of the State. He made a good number of reforms in various spheres of administration.

Administrative policy and reforms. In his conception of sovereignty, Alauddin Khalji departed from his predecessors. It was he who for the first time in the history of the Sultanate of Delhi declared that he would not allow the *Ulema* to interfere in the business of the State. He believed that religion should be excluded from matters of the State. To him, the powers of the Sultan should be unrestricted and absolute. Throughout the 13th century, two powerful groups—the *Ulema* and the nobility had exercised great influence on the Sultan of Delhi. Alauddin's aim was to strengthen the au-

Possession
of wealth
& strength
of his
empire

A great
administra-
tive genius

His con-
ception of
kingship

thority of the Sultan and in achieving this he was not ready to allow the *Ulema*, or the nobles or the Hindus to threaten the power and authority of the king's government. It was best revealed when he said to Qazi Mughisuddin, "To prevent rebellion, in which thousands perish, I issue such order as I conceive to be for the good of the State and the benefit of the people. Men are heedless, disrespectful and disobey my commands; I am then compelled to be severe to bring them into obedience. I do not know whether this is lawful or unlawful, whatever I think to be for the good of the State, or suitable for the emergency, that I decree." Alauddin Khalji worked according to his conviction.

On his accession the Sultan had to face a number of rebellions and he suppressed them effectively. The revolt of Haji Maula, the insurrections of the 'New Musalmans', the treason of Akat Khan and the revolt of his nephews, Umar Khan and Mangu Khan convinced him that there were causes behind them. After consulting his advisers he found that the causes of rebellion were four, namely, (i) the Sultan's disregard of the affairs of the State, (ii) the use of wine, (iii) intimacy, alliances and frequent meetings of the nobles in which they hatched plots and intrigues against the government and (iv) abundance of wealth which encourage them to indulge in plots and revolts. Alauddin not only analysed the causes of rebellion but also turned his attention to the means of preventing them.

The first measure the Sultan took in consonance with the new policy was the confiscation of property possessed by the wealthy classes. He abolished their private ownership. All villages and jagirs, whether possessed as private lands or as gift lands or as religious endowments were confiscated. Similarly, all pensions were stopped. About the result of this measure Barani says, "The people were left without any money, till it came to such a pass that, except maliks, amirs, officials, Multanis and bankers, no one possessed even a trifle in cash. They became so much absorbed in earning bare livelihood that

Causes of
rebellion

Administra-
tive mea-
sures to
stamp out
rebellion

(1)
Abolition
of jagirs &
pensions

the very thought of rebellion would not occur to their mind." Secondly, the Sultan established an efficient body of spies who reported to the king everything that passed in the houses of the nobles or the bazars of the city. The result was that the people could not talk freely even in their houses and private meetings, lest the "walls might hear." Thirdly, the use and sale of wine and other intoxicating drugs were strictly prohibited. The Sultan himself set the example to his people by giving up the habit of drinking and ordered all his wine vessels to be thrown out. Lastly, all social gatherings and family alliances among the nobles without the previous permission of the Sultan were forbidden. Without wine, feasts and marriage parties, the life of the nobles became dull and dreary. The measures of Alauddin Khalji were so strict and drastic that after the promulgation of these ordinances, no disturbances arose. But most of these measures were against the Muslims. The Sultan now turned his attention towards the Hindus.

The Hindus under Alauddin Khalji

With regard to the Hindus Barani says, "The Sultan requested the wise men to supply some rules and regulations for grinding down the Hindus and for depriving them of that wealth and property which fosters disaffection and rebellion." A careful study of Barani's statement shows that the object of these regulations was to bring the Hindus under control so that they could not challenge the authority of the Sultan in future. He was also convinced that unless the Hindus were reduced to poverty they would never be submissive and obedient. The Sultan adopted some measures by which the Hindus were reduced to poverty and misery. Barani tells us that "the Chaudhuries, Khuts and Muqaddams were not able to ride on horse-back, to find weapons, to get fine clothes or to indulge in betel." On its basis a theory has been propounded of the 'anti-Hindu' legislation of Alauddin Khalji. There is no justification whatever for maintaining that under Alauddin Khalji the Hindus were treated with spe-

(2)
strict spy
system

(3)
Prohibition
of wine-
drinking

(4)
Meetings &
marriages
forbidden

Disobedient
Hindus
reduced to
poverty

cial severity and "the policy of the State was that Hindus should not have so much as to enable them to ride on horse-back, wear fine clothes, carry arms and cultivate luxurious habits". Ibn Batuta tells us that the law-abiding Hindus lived on good terms with the Musalmans. Barani tells us in another place that Hindu nobles rubbed shoulders with the Muslim aristocracy. They possessed horses, lived in splendid houses, dressed magnificently and owned slaves. A careful study of the two statements made by the same author leads us to think otherwise. It cannot be said in the words of Prof. S. R. Sharma that "the lot of the Hindus under Alauddin Khalji was that of hewers of wood and drawers of water." According to Dr. A. M. Hussain, "Submissive and law-abiding Hindus enjoyed rights of citizenship as much as the Musalmans." Moreover, if the Hindus were harassed in his reign, the Muslims were not spared.

Law-abiding
Hindus
enjoyed full
citizenship

Revenue reforms of Alauddin Khalji

The revenue policy of Alauddin Khalji was to increase the financial resources of the State by eliminating corrupt practices prevalent in the empire. The economic weight fell upon the Hindus. Most of the landlords and revenue collectors were Hindus and they were known as Khuts, Chaudhuries and Muqaddams. They had also amassed a lot of wealth which encouraged them to revolt. The Sultan ordered them to pay half of the produce of the land to the State. He further imposed upon them new taxes, such as pasturage tax, house-tax, etc. As a result of his policy, the Khuts, Chaudhuries and Muqaddams of the villages were reduced to abject poverty. Barani has given a very pitiable picture of these people. According to him, none of them "could hold up his head, and in their houses no sign of gold, or silver, tankas of jitals, or any superfluity was to be seen. Driven by poverty, the wives of the Khuts and Muqaddams had to seek work in the houses of the Musalmans." It has been mentioned that the Sultan had already confiscated the jagirs, religious endowments and pensions of his Muslim

His revenue
policy was
to increase
the financial
resources
of the
State

subjects. In this way he increased the revenue of the State.

Land
Settlement

Alauddin Khalji was the first ruler of India to introduce the system of land survey and settlement. The assessment of revenue was made on the area cultivated and the revenue was fixed at half of the gross produce of the land. This method of measuring land was later accepted and improved by Sher Shah and Akbar.

Military reforms

Creation of
a standing
army

The constant threats of the Mongols convinced the Sultan of the necessity of a large military force. He could not be satisfied with the occasional supply of troops furnished by the jagirdars (fief-holders). He created a large standing army directly recruited by himself and the soldiers were paid by the State. In order to prevent any cheating, the Sultan introduced the practice of branding the horses, so that the unfit horses might not be brought to the field. He also introduced the *Huliah* system or the preparation of the descriptive rolls of the soldiers so that temporary substitutes might not be shown on the parades. The result of these changes was that the Sultan could not be cheated by clever nobles with regard to the identity of the horses and the soldiers.

System of
branding the
horses and
descriptive
rolls of
the soldiers
introduced

Economic reforms: Price control system

The economic reforms of Alauddin Khalji form the most important feature of his administration. He is perhaps the only ruler in the whole range of Indian history who introduced economic reforms and it is because of these reforms that Lanepoole calls him 'a great political economist.'

Alauddin Khalji fully realised the necessity of maintaining a large army not only to visit the Mongols but also to carry on campaigns of conquest. Besides expenses on the army, the Sultan needed money for administrative purposes. Of course, he had brought huge wealth from the Deccan and was getting tributes from various dependent powers, but still he did not have adequate money to meet his

Causes of
the intro-
duction of
price
control

requirements. So he wanted to provide the soldiers with the necessities of life at fixed prices. With the increase of prices of the necessities of life the moderately paid soldiers could not make the two ends meet. In order to keep the army contented, the Sultan introduced his famous price control system, which regulated the prices of articles and other necessities of life. Price control is essentially a war-time measure. The exigencies of modern war have necessitated price control. Similarly, the frequent invasions of the Mongols and his wars in Rajputana led the Sultan to introduce the institution of price control. 'Plenty of the Deccan gold had poured into the treasury and hence a much larger amount of money came into circulation than before.' The influx of wealth from the South had caused a fall in the value of money and thus augmented the prices of articles. Hence Alauddin Khalji was compelled to take measures to bring down the prices of commodities and especially to cheapen the necessities of life.

Pressure of
the Mongol
raids and
influx of
wealth from
the Deccan
necessitated
price
control

The Sultan issued a number of regulations to control the prices of various articles and necessities of life. The prices of foodgrains were fixed at cheap rates. Wheat was to be sold at the rate of $7\frac{1}{2}$ jitals* per maund; barley 4 jitals a maund; grams 5 jitals a maund; dhan (unhusked rice) 5 jitals a maund; mash 5 jitals a maund; moth 3 jitals a maund; sugar $1\frac{1}{2}$ jitals a seer, gur $\frac{1}{2}$ jital a seer; butter 1 jital per $2\frac{1}{2}$ seers; senamu 3 seers for one jital; and salt $2\frac{1}{2}$ maunds for 5 jitals. The shopkeepers were ordered to sell them at these fixed rates and it was considered a crime to charge higher rates.

(1)
Control of
prices of
foodgrains

Similarly, the prices of all other articles of life such as vegetables, fruits, caps, shoes, cloth, arms, needles, etc. were fixed. Even the prices of horses, cattle, goats and slaves were fixed. A first grade horse was to be sold at 120 tankas; a milch cow for 4 tankas; a milch buffalo for 6 tankas, and so on.

Control of
prices of
all other
articles

* One Jital is equal to six paisa in our present coinage.

(2)
Control of
supplies

Establish-
ment of
royal
granaries

Regular
supply of
grain
ensured

No hoard-
ing of grain
allowed

(3)
Control of
transport

(4)
Rationing
system

Alauddin Khalji realised that mere fixation of prices would be of no use if supplies were not controlled. He also realised that supply of commodities in time was very essential to make his scheme a success. In order to provide the markets with adequate supply of grains in time of need royal granaries were established at different places where foodgrains were stored. The Sultan ordered that land revenue from the *Khalsa* or crown lands in the villages around Delhi was to be realised not in cash but in kind and grain was to be stored in the royal granaries in Delhi. He also issued an order that no one should keep more than ten maunds of grains in stock. Anybody having a surplus beyond the fixed limit was required to sell it at fixed rates. Magistrates and local officers were asked to ensure regular supply of grains from the producers or cultivators. No merchant, farmer or dealer was allowed to hoard grain or to sell it at a high price. All traders and merchants had to register themselves in a State *daftar* and they would bring all goods for sale to the market called *Sarai Adl*, situated inside the Badaun gate. Any violation of the Sultan's regulations brought exemplary punishment.

The Sultan not only controlled the prices and supplies of various articles, he also controlled the transport of goods. Traders, who carried goods from one place to another were registered and every type of facilities was provided to them in the transportation of goods.

In case of draught or famine, the Sultan made a provision for rationing commodities. Grain in such emergencies could not be sold to the people in unlimited quantity. On the other hand, the registered dealers who were supplied with grain from the government granaries, were not allowed to sell more than half a maund to any individual. The system of rationing was a novel idea of Alauddin Khalji and it speaks of his genius as a successful administrator.

Alauddin Khalji organised the system very efficiently. Two market officers, namely, *Shahana-i-Mandi* and *Diwan-i-Riyasat* were appointed. The

Shahana-i-Mandi was the superintendent of grain market, while *Diwan-i-Riyasat* was in charge of cloth and general market. Malik Qabul who acted as *Shahana-i-Mandi* had a large staff of subordinates to help him in the discharge of his duties. His duties were to see that the shop-keepers brought grain regularly to the market, sold it at fixed rates, and there was no black market whatsoever. Yaqub who acted as *Diwan-i-Riyasat* maintained a register or *daftar* in which the names of the merchants were entered, and also the amount of grain merchandise they would bring to the market. Besides these officers, the Sultan appointed a number of spies who sent their reports to him about the market conditions.

Efficient
organisation
of the
system

Appoint-
ment of
market
officers

Results of the price control

The markets were effectively controlled and as a result of this "the people did not feel the pinch of high prices even in times of scarcity". The Sultan was fully successful in tackling the food problem. Barani remarks that the "unvarying price of grain in the markets was looked upon as one of the wonders of the time". The present Governments of Indo-Pakistan and even the British are indebted to Alauddin Khalji, so far as the control system is concerned. The measures he introduced not only helped him to attain his prime object, but also increased the happiness of his people and bound them more closely to his despotic but benign rule.

Price
control
system
achieved
the purpose
of the
Sultan

Causes of success of the system

The price control system of Alauddin Khalji worked very successfully. There were certain factors for this success. Firstly, the system was rigorously enforced and severe punishments were given to those who violated any of the regulations. Secondly, the personal interest and supervision of the Sultan went a long way to make the system a success. The Sultan used to receive regular report about the progress of the system through different sources. Even he would often send his slaves to the

Rigorous
enforcement
of the
system

Personal
interest of
the Sultan

Zeal and honesty of the officers.

Systematic plan & execution

market to purchase certain things in order to see for himself if the merchants were selling them at fixed prices. If they charged high rates or weighed less they were severely dealt with. Thirdly, the market officers of the Sultan discharged their duties honestly and sincerely, because a little deviation from duty or trivial mistake on their part would have made them liable to the severest punishment. The zeal and honesty of the officers contributed to the success of the system. Lastly, the main cause of the success of this system was that it was systematically planned and executed. The Sultan not only controlled the prices but also controlled supplies and transportation and also set up rationing system in case of emergency.

Last days of Alauddin

Last years of the Sultan embittered by Malik Kafur

The closing years of Alauddin Khalji were not happy. His health broke down and he was thoroughly influenced by his favourite minister, Malik Kafur through whose intrigues the family quarrel began. Rebellions broke out in several parts of the empire and Chitor was recaptured by the Rajputs. It was this state of affairs when Alauddin Khalji breathed his last in 1316 after a reign of 20 years with great success and glory.

Achievements and Character of Alauddin Khalji

Of the Turko-Afghan Sultans the name of Alauddin stands out prominently as a great conqueror, a consummate general and an able administrator, who thought of consolidating Muslim supremacy in Indo-Pakistan. He surpassed all his predecessors and many of his successors as regards his achievements and reputation. It was he who first planned the conquest of the Hindu States of the Deccan and it was he who fought against the repeated onslaughts of the Mongols and under whom the power of the Mongols was suppressed and crushed. In many respects he was the fore-runner of Sher Shah and Akbar. Like them he was a good conqueror and statesman. He laid the foundation of an empire based upon a policy of imperialism, secularisa-

tion of State and comprehensive administrative system. His reign marks an epoch in the history of India during the medieval period. It marks (a) the extension of the Muslim rule in all directions, (b) the organisation of the civil and military administration based on elaborate principles and policies, (c) the destruction of the Mongols, (d) the establishment of centralised monarchy, and (e) freedom from the shackles of religious orders.

His reign marks an epoch in the history of medieval India

The reign of Alauddin Khalji was marked by a series of the most glorious exploits in the history of the Sultanate of Delhi. While the Sultan was at war with the Mongol invaders, he fought against and subjugated not only the Hindu princes like the rulers of Ranthambor and Chitor but had overrun Gujrat, Deogir, Dwarsamudra, Madura and the Coromondal coast. The conquest of the Deccan was the chief glory of the exploits. Under him almost the whole of India from the Indus to Cape Comorin was brought under Muslim rule. All these exploits were creditable to a prince of the middle ages and Alauddin had a right to be regarded as a great fighter and conqueror.

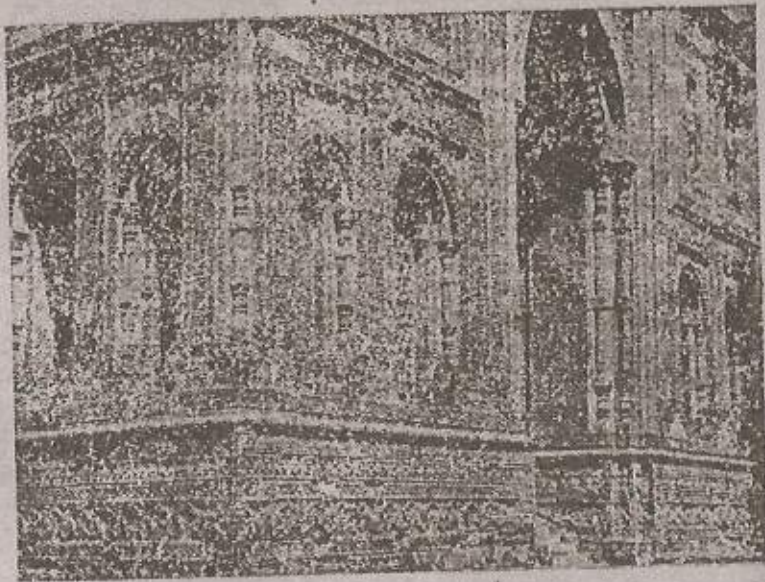
As a conqueror

The Sultan was not a mere warrior. He devoted his attention to the consolidation of the royal authority by putting an end to the turbulence of the Turkish Malikhs who had proved to be a menace to the Sultanate of Delhi. He also tried to save his people from the oppression of the revenue farmers, the Khuts, the Muqaddams and the Choudhuries, who were acting as middle men between the Sultan and his subjects and plundering the latter in all possible ways. With a view to saving his people from the evils of capitalism he further issued his well known regulations which regulated the price of articles and checked undue profiteering. In order to organise the army on a sound basis he introduced cash payment and put an end to the practice of granting lands to soldiers. He was the first Muslim ruler who introduced the measurement of land. 'His introduction of the practice of branding the horses in the service of the State did much to prevent corruption.'

As an administrator

Such were the achievements of Alauddin Khalji in matters of civil government and these surely stand to his credit. A prince who in the midst of foreign invasions could think of extending his empire in the Far South and of overhauling the system of administration must be regarded as a great ruler.

Though illiterate, the Sultan was a great patron of arts and learning and his reign was remarkable



Alai Darwaza, Delhi

for great literary activities. He erected many noble buildings and mosques. The Alai Darwaza and the great city of Siri were the products of his reign. Many great poets like Amir Khusrau and many saints like Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya flourished in his reign. Courageous and capable, artful and tactful, economical and thoughtful, he was the best king of his time. By his conquest, he was amply justified in calling himself a "Second Alexander".

As a patron of the learned

He was so ambitious that he wanted to be the prophet of a new religion. But when he was convinced of the impossibility of this he gave up the idea. Ferishta says, "If we look upon the policy of Alauddin, a great king rises to our view. If we behold his hands which are red, an inexorable tyrant appears. He began in cruelty and waded through blood to the end.....yet his pomp, wealth and power were never equalled by any prince who sat before him on the throne of Hindusthan."

Although "Alauddin was by nature cruel and implacable, his only care was the welfare of his kingdom and for this, no consideration for religion, no regard for the ties of brotherhood, or filial affection, ever troubled him", says Barani. The Sultan had witnessed the sad consequences and so he was not ready to see them repeated in his case. Under his strict rule, people lived in perfect peace and happiness. Thus relying on the evidence of all these historians, it can be easily said that Alauddin Khalji with many good qualities of head and heart proved to be the greatest Sultan of Delhi and one of the best Sultans known to history.

One of the best Sultans in history

Some critics are of opinion that Alauddin Khalji had nothing of permanence. His government, it is alleged, had no stable foundation and the Khalji dynasty was easily supplanted because of the inherent weakness of his rule. There is no doubt that Alauddin's administrative system had its defects. His government was based upon military force. His price control system brought benefit to the poorer classes but the rich land-lords, merchants and maliks hated it, because it deprived them of wealth and income. The spy system and drastic punishments made people's life irksome. His repressive measures caused dissatisfaction among them. But all this does not hold water when a careful and critical analysis of his achievements is made. He converted a small kingdom into a big empire and for the first time in the history of Delhi Sultanate brought Southern India into submission. He then dealt a death blow to the power of the Mongols who threatened the very existence of

Criticism of the Sultan's achievements

Delhi Sultanate. He also set up a very strong administration and kept the Sultanate safe and secure from internal rebellions. Most of his administrative measures served as models for later monarchs.

Successors of Alauddin Khalji

The incompetence of the sons of Alauddin Khalji and the intrigues of his minister, Malik Kafur led to the fall of his dynasty. Malik Kafur who intrigued to obtain power for himself had unbounded influence over the Sultan. Before the death of Alauddin Khalji he 'prevailed upon him to imprison his two sons, Khizr Khan and Shadi Khan for conspiracy and to nominate an infant son, Shihabuddin as successor'. On his death Malik Kafur became the regent of the infant Sultan. Khizr Khan and Shadi Khan were blinded in the prison and their mother was forcibly married by him. He bestowed the highest offices on his favourites. But he could not continue this nefarious life for a long time. He was soon murdered by a soldier of the palace and Mubarak, the third son of Alauddin, was made regent of Shihabuddin. After a short time, Mubarak blinded and deposed his minor brother and then he ascended the throne in 1316.

Mubarak began his reign with cheap popularity. He repealed most of the laws that his father had enforced. In 1317, he personally led an expedition against Raja Harapala of Deogir who proclaimed his independence, and defeated him. On his return he gave himself up entirely to a life of pleasure and enjoyment and left the charge of administration in the hands of Khusrau Khan, a low-born Hindu convert. Khusrau Khan, Governor of the Deccan, planned to capture the throne of Delhi for himself and carried it out successfully. In 1320, he murdered the Sultan and was crowned king of Delhi. But the usurper soon began to misuse his power. His actions alienated the nobles from his administration and Ghazi Malik, who was one of the famous nobles and the governor of the Punjab, attacked Delhi with a large force. He defeated and

Kafur seized
the royal
power

Mubarak

Khusrau
Khan usur-
ped the
throne

beheaded Khusrau Khan in 1320. He requested the leading nobles to raise some member of the Khalji dynasty to the throne; but as all the members of the Khalji dynasty had been extinguished the nobles placed Ghazi Malik on the throne. With the coming of Ghazi Malik to power, the Khalji dynasty came to an end. "The Khaljis had made two contributions to kingship. They showed that kingship was not a monopoly of any privileged class, but that it was within the reach of those who had the power and ability to hold it....The second contribution made by the Khaljis was that kingship could exist without any special religious support and that the outlook of a king was very different from that of the clergy. This was the greatest contribution of Alauddin."

End of the
Khalji
dynasty

* R. P. Tripathi, *Some Aspects of Muslim Administration*.

CHAPTER VII

THE TUGHLUQ DYNASTY

(1320—1412)

Ghiyasuddin Tughluq (1320—1315)

Ghazi Malik ascended the throne under the title of Ghiyasuddin Tughluq. He was of the stock of Qurauna Turks who lived in the mountainous region between Sind and Turkistan. His father came to India in the time of Balban and married a Jat woman of the Punjab. Thus the new Sultan had in him "the modesty and mildness of the Hindus and the virility and vigour of the Turks." From a humble position, Ghazi Malik had risen to a high rank under the Khaljis by dint of sheer merit. Under Alauddin Khalji, he played an important part in driving out the Mongols and for this reason he was called the 'warden of the marches'. When he came to the throne, the empire of Delhi was in a state of confusion and he, with great firmness and prudence, restored order and discipline in the empire. Within a short time, he amply justified the choice of the nobles making him the ruler of Delhi.

Ghiyasuddin Tughluq started his reign with a number of beneficial measures. He made suitable provisions for the surviving girls of the Khalji family and conciliated all old officials by giving them land and employment.

The Sultan sent an expedition in 1321 under the command of his son, Juna Khan, against Warrangal in the Deccan. The first attempt ended in failure and the Prince led his second expedition in 1323 which resulted in the capture of Bidar and Warrangal.

A civil war in Bengal among the grandsons of Bughra Khan offered the Sultan a chance to intervene in the affairs of that province. The eldest Nasiruddin, being expelled by his younger brother

Ghiyasuddin Bahadur Shah, appealed to Ghiyasuddin Tughluq for help. The Sultan seized the opportunity and proceeded towards Bengal. He met Ghiyasuddin at Tirhut. Ghiyasuddin was defeated, captured and sent to Delhi as prisoner. The Sultan annexed eastern Bengal and put it in charge of Nasiruddin as his vassal. On his way back to Delhi, he reduced the Raja of Tirhut (northern Bihar) to submission.

On his return from Bengal Ghiyasuddin Tughluq died in 1325 from the collapse of a wooden structure which Juna Khan (Ulugh Khan) had built at Afghanpur to receive his father. The death of Ghiyasuddin has become a subject of controversy amongst the historians. According to Ibn Batuta, the death of the Sultan was due to conspiracy of his son who got the pavilion so constructed that it would collapse on being touched by the elephants. Barani exonerates him and ascribes the Sultan's death to a stroke of lightning. A careful study of contemporary and later works shows that the collapse of the building was purely accidental and the Prince was perfectly free from the charge of parricide. The Prince, Juna Khan 'was decidedly the best of all the sons of the Sultan and had long been heir-apparent.' He had no rival claimant for the throne. Over and above, the Prince was a man of character. 'He would not have acted against his conscience even if his life had been at stake.' But there neither his life nor his throne was in danger. Alauddin Khalji killed his royal patron and the Mughal princes—Khusrau, Khurram and Aurangzeb revolted against their respective fathers. The case of these princes was quite different, because they had little or no chance of ascending the throne.

Administration of Ghiyasuddin

Ghiyasuddin Tughluq was a model and benign administrator. His "administration was based upon the principles of justice and moderation and in the enforcement of regulations he was guided by his desire to advance public weal." When he took the reins of government, he found the treasury in a

Expedition
to Bengal,
1324His death,
1325Juna Khan
was free
from the
charge of
parricideAdministra-
tion based
upon prin-
ciples of
justice and
moderationService
under
Alauddin
KhaljiOn his
accession
order
restoredEarly
measuresConquest of
Warrangal,
1321—23

depleted condition. He instituted a searching enquiry and recovered the ill-gotten wealth which Khusrau Khan had distributed among his favourites and supporters. "To prevent corruption and embezzlement he paid his officers well and promoted to high rank only those who gave proof of loyalty and devotion. In the distribution of rewards he was guided by considerations of rank, merit and length of service and avoided all distinctions. He was not a whimsical despot but a sagacious and thoughtful ruler who always consulted his councillors in important matters of the State."

The chief care of Ghiyasuddin Tughluq was the encouragement and extension of agriculture. Canals were 'excavated to irrigate the lands, gardens were planted and forts were built to provide shelter for husbandmen against brigands.' He did not allow the system of farming which had long been in vogue under the feudal conditions of early Muslim rule. He considerably lightened the burden of taxation by reducing the dues of the State to 1/10th of the produce and inflicted severe punishments on those officials who extorted money from the subjects at the time of collection. "Large remissions of revenue were made in times of draught and the defaulters were treated with great generosity." This revenue policy gives Ghiyasuddin the rank of one of the best statesmen in Indo-Pak sub-continent.

The Sultan bestowed his minute attention on all departments of the State. A system of poor-relief was organised and strict discipline was enforced. The departments of justice were reformed and a most efficient postal service was introduced. He built a strong fort called Tughluqabad near Delhi for the defence of the North-Western Frontier against the Mongol attacks.

Ghiyasuddin Tughluq was an able general and a benevolent ruler. He was always anxious for the welfare of his subjects. He patronised literary men and religious institutions. In the course of a few years he proved a just, high-minded and vigorous king. In administrative policy he may be considered the prototype of the later Sher Shah Sur.

Agrarian
system of
Ghiyasuddin
Tughluq

Attention
of the Sul-
tan to
all depart-
ments of
the State

Character

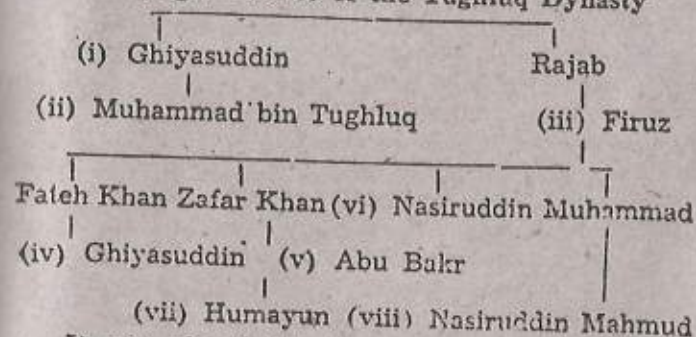
Muhammad bin Tughluq (1325—1351)

Ulugh Khan ascended the throne in 1325 under the title of Muhammad bin Tughluq. He was one of the most remarkable figures in the history of Muslim Asia. The first few years of his reign (1325-35) was a period of comparative peace and prosperity and the second period (1335-51) of his reign witnessed a series of troubles and rebellions in Bengal, Gujrat, Sind and the Deccan.

Early troubles

In the second year of his reign the Sultan had to face the rebellion of his cousin, Bahauddin Gushasp who held the fief of Sagar near Gulbarga in the Deccan. He was defeated, captured and ultimately ordered to be flayed alive. This was followed by the revolt of Bahram Aiba Kishlu Khan, the governor of Multan. Muhammad bin Tughluq marched to Multan at the head of a vast army. The rebel governor was defeated and killed.

Genealogical Table of the Tughluq Dynasty



It was about this time that Tarmashirin, the Chaghtai king of Transoxiana, came to Indo-Pakistan. The defeat inflicted by the king of Khurasan on Tarmashirin forced the latter to come to this country to solicit the favour and support of Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq in a joint invasion of Khurasan. The Sultan cordially received him at his court and as a token of friendship, gave him 5,000 *dinar* as a present. The account of his invasion of Indo-Pakistan and the abject surrender of the Sultan by bringing the Mongols are baseless.

Arrival of
Tarmashirin, a Mon-
gol in India,
1325

Ziauddin Barani mentions five projects of Muhammad bin Tughluq, namely, the increased taxes in the Doab, the making of Deogir into a capital, the token currency, the Khorasan expedition and the Qarachil expedition. But the history of the learned author is not a chronological account of this period. He gives precedence to an event not because it took place first but because it struck his imagination most. By placing the enhancement of the revenue in the Doab at the head of all his projects he does not mean to say that it happened first. Of the disastrous results produced by all the projects, the increased taxes in the Doab topped the list and so he puts it first.

Establishment of Capital in Deogir

Muhammad bin Tughluq was a man of experience and outstanding genius. He fully realised the importance of the Deccan problem while he was in charge of an expedition to Warrangal during the life time of his father. Of all parts of the empire the Deccan was the weakest and most dangerous. So after his accession to the throne he first embarked upon a new policy to solve the Deccan problem. As it was a crucial one, he wanted to establish a second capital in Deogir under the name of Daulatabad by taking it under his personal charge, 'because Deogir was more centrally situated than Delhi and close to the scene of action in the Deccan'. The Sultan held a vast empire and it was too difficult to rule this vast empire from a distant capital. The statement of Ibn Batuta that the Sultan removed his capital to the Deccan in order to punish the people of Delhi, who had written to him abusive and scandalous letters by criticising his policy, is false and has no foundation. Secondly, Alauddin had conquered the Deccan States but he had mostly left their administration in the hands of the local Rajas. Muhammad bin Tughluq wanted to bring the Deccan States under his direct control in order to consolidate the authority of the Central Government. He thought that from Deogir he would be able to establish effective Muslim rule in the Deccan. Third-

Barani's lack of chronological account of this reign

Causes of founding a new capital

Establishment of a central capital

Introduction of Islamic culture in the Deccan

Thirdly, he wanted to introduce the culture of Islam in the Deccan which had a preponderance of Hindu population and to create better feelings between the Muslims and the Hindus there.

With the above objects the Sultan ordered the upper classes as well as the influential nobles and courtiers of Delhi to leave for Daulatabad. Some of the leading theologians and Sufis were also asked to go to the new capital to live there. That the common people (the masses) or the Hindus were not ordered to leave the capital is borne out by two Sanskrit inscriptions of the year 1327 and 1328. The assertion of Ibn Batuta who came to India several years after this event and whose account is based on bazar gossips that 'the city (Delhi) was reduced to a desert' is not confirmed by facts. The Sultan recruited a strong army for his campaign of 1329 against Bahram Aiba Kishlu Khan when the latter rose in revolt in Multan. If Delhi was deserted even by the door-keepers, then how was it possible for the Sultan to recruit his army from a deserted city? Delhi remained the principal capital of the empire even after shifting part of the Muslim population to Daulatabad. The Sultan's project to establish Daulatabad as a second capital was opposed by many interested persons. The rebellion of Kishlu Khan, who refused to obey the orders of the Sultan, was the direct result of this opposition. The statement of Ibn Batuta that a cripple was thrown by means of the *ballista* and a blind man was dragged from Delhi to Daulatabad is not true. Nor the hyperbolic statement of Barani that 'not a cat or dog was left among the buildings of the city, in its palaces or in its suburb' can be literally accepted. A careful examination of the available data leads us to believe that Delhi was never deserted and it never ceased to be the capital.

Delhi never deserted and ceased to be the capital

All sorts of facilities were provided to the people. A road, 700 miles long, was constructed from Delhi to Daulatabad and food and accommodation were freely supplied to the emigrants. Daulatabad remained the capital of the empire for nearly eight years and during that period Muslim rule became

His order
of return
to Delhi

strengthened in the Deccan. But the Sultan faced great difficulties in the new capital. The Mongols began to lead invasions from the North-West and revolts and anarchy began to spread in the North. Besides, many wanted to go back to Delhi as they did not feel at home in their new environment. In the circumstances the Sultan ordered his people to return to the old capital. The return journey became so hard that many people died on the way.

Causes of
his failure

The non-adjustment of the nobles and courtiers in the Deccan atmosphere, the slackening of hold over the North Indian States, the Mongol invasions which necessitated the presence of the Sultan in the North and the hurried execution of his plans were some of the causes of the ultimate failure of the scheme. But the inequality of the Sultan's measures has been exaggerated by some of the historians and a more severe criticism has been levelled against him than is warranted by a careful and candid scrutiny of facts. The change of capital or the establishment of a new capital was not dictated by the mere caprice of a whimsical despot. It was the consideration of safety and better government which alone urged the Sultan to take such a bold step. The Sultan had realised the advantage of making Deogir a second capital. He had felt that from Deogir he would be able to hold the empire efficiently and bring the Deccan also under his sway. Moreover, the attempt of having a new capital was not something very fantastic and foolish. There were many rulers in ancient and medieval times who tried to establish new capitals. It may also be said in favour of the Sultan that as soon as he realised the futility of his scheme, he ordered the people to go back to Delhi. He had also been very sympathetic to the people whom he provided with all facilities on both journeys and abolished many taxes. The Sultan, however, has to be blamed not for his motives but for his method of execution.

Criticism
of his
policy

Khurasan expedition

After the departure of Tarmashirin the Sultan directed his attention towards the Deccan problem

The conquest of
Khurasan
did not
materialise
due to the
change of
political
condition

and the collection of a vast army. The Sultan at the inspiration and encouragement of some Khurasani nobles, who took shelter at his court, wanted to lead an expedition to Khurasan. With this object in view he recruited a large army consisting of 37,000 men. Amir Nauroz, the son-in-law of Tarmashirin and an-Nash, the ruler of Egypt, had come to join the army. But the Khurasan expedition did not materialise and the army remained unused. The idea of undertaking the campaign was abandoned because of the sudden change of the political and diplomatic condition of the country. It probably lay (a) in the restoration of friendly relations between Abu Sa'id of Persia and an-Nasir of Egypt and (b) the deposition of Tarmashirin.

Qarachil expedition

Another expedition was directed against the Qarachil mountain. The Sultan never entertained the idea of conquering China. But some historians have brought a charge against the Sultan for his wild scheme of conquering China. The causes of the Qarachil expedition lay in the need for bringing the refractory hill chieftain under his control. The Muslims were gaining victory at first and this success of the Muslim army made Khusrau Malik, the leader of the expedition overconfident. He then advanced in the direction of Tibet where his army was overtaken by rains and disease. As a result, almost the whole army was destroyed with the exception of the few who survived to tell the story of the terrible disaster of this expedition.

Introduction of Token Currency

Muhammad bin Tughluq has been described by Thomas as a 'Prince of Moneyers'. "It is, indeed in his role as a Prince of Moneyers", says the same author, "that Muhammad bin Tughluq claims our peculiar attention. His mintages are instructive both in the novelty and variety, of their types, admirable

Prince of
Moneyers

in the artistic perfection of their design and execution.....During the early part of his reign he remodelled the coinage and re-adjusted its divisions to the relative values of the precious metals and to originate new and more exact representatives of the subordinate circulation".

Circumstances leading to the introduction of token currency

The introduction of token currency was the most interesting experiment of Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq. There were factors which led him to take this step. The Sultan had studied the history of paper currency in China and Persia and perhaps he got inspiration from there to introduce the token currency. The prevailing scarcity of silver in that period prompted the Sultan to issue token coins of copper. The necessity of providing an adequate substitute for the much needed silver was an important cause of this experiment. Lastly, the Sultan wanted to introduce this currency in order to carry out new projects and reforms. It has been alleged that the Sultan's prodigal generosity, the famine, the expenditure in the transference and retransference of the capital, the cost of rehabilitating Delhi and finally, the price of keeping off the Mongols had depleted the treasury and the Sultan issued token currency to replenish it. It will be a mistake to regard his attempt as the result of bankruptcy. That the treasury was not empty is supported by the fact that the Sultan after the failure of the currency had enough gold to pay in exchange for all the copper tokens.

The house turned into a mint

The Sultan ordered copper tokens instead of silver to be used and made it legal tender just like gold and silver coins. His scheme was sound, scientific and useful. But he was ahead of his age and his scheme ended in failure. The State did not take steps to prevent the circulation of counterfeit coins. As a result "the house of every Hindu was turned into a mint". The Hindus forged coins in lakhs and thousands. They paid their taxes in these coins and purchased their horses and weapons with them. Imports were almost stopped, because foreign merchants refused to accept the token currency.

When the situation was so grave, the Sultan ordered the withdrawal of the copper currency from the market and asked people to take from the State treasury gold and silver instead. The State suffered a heavy loss and the people made enormous profits at the cost of the State treasury.

Causes of the failure of token currency

In spite of good intentions the scheme of Muhammad bin Tughluq was a total failure. The main causes of its failure are—(1) the traditional instability of Muslim rule in India where one dynasty is fast supplanted by another; (2) the abundant coinage of copper which aggravated the situation and the ignorance of the people who thought that the Sultan was going to rob them of every penny; and lastly (3) the copper tokens could be easily minted in private houses. It has already been discussed that the house of every Hindu was turned into a mint. But no proper step was taken by the government to check forgery.

Increased taxation in the Doab

The failure of the Khurasan and Qarachil expeditions and the fiasco of the token currency seriously affected the finances of the State and led the Sultan to increase the tax in the Doab. According to Ferishta, the tax was increased only three or four times. But Barani remarks that it was raised ten or twenty times. The taxes or cesses were collected with such rigour that the ryots were reduced to beggary. When the peasants of distant provinces heard of the fate of the people of the Doab, they withdrew their allegiance and sought shelter in the forest. This economic measure of Muhammad bin Tughluq drove many to rebellion. The distress of the people was further aggravated by a severe famine which visited Delhi, Malwa and the region of the Doab at that time. The Sultan took steps to help the agriculturists by ordering wells to be dug and loans to be advanced to them. But the remedies came too late. The long duration of the famine had exhausted their patience and prevented them from utilising the loans.

Economic measure of the Sultan and severe famine drove many to take shelter in the forest

Criticism
of increased
taxation in
the Doab

Muhammad bin Tughluq became very unpopular for his increase of tax in the Doab and this has been violently criticised by the historians. According to Barani, "it operated to the ruin of the country and decay of the people.....the backs of the ryots were broken. Those who were rich became rebels; the lands were ruined and cultivation was arrested. Grain became dear, the rains were deficient, so famine became general and widespread. It lasted for years and thousands upon thousands of people perished." It appears that Barani who himself belonged to the Doab, has greatly exaggerated the effects of the measure. Moreover, the Sultan had reasons to justify the increase of tax in the Doab. Firstly, Alauddin Khalji had already charged 50% of the gross produce. So if Muhammad bin Tughluq levied almost the same rate of tax, there was nothing wrong in it. Secondly, the Doab was a fertile land and the people there were rich and prosperous. Thirdly, the increase in taxation, according to Brown, was neither oppressive nor excessive. So there was nothing wrong in the experiment. Unfortunately this "measure was carried out at a time when a severe famine was stalking the Doab and the distress of the people was greatly aggravated by its disastrous effects."

Rebellions

Rebellions
in different
provinces

Rebellions broke out in various parts of the empire as a result of the economic measure. The year 1335 is a landmark in the history of its rebellions and disorders. In 1335, Jalaluddin Ahsan Shah of Maabar rose in open revolt and became independent. In 1336, Fakhruddin Mubarak Shah of Bengal threw off the allegiance of the Delhi Sultanate and assumed the role of an independent ruler. As the Sultan was busy elsewhere, he could not go to Bengal to suppress the usurper. In 1340, another important rebellion broke out which was led by 'Ainul Mulk, the governor of Oudh and one of the top ranking nobles of the time. The Sultan issued an order for his transfer to Daulatabad. But 'Ainul Mulk defied the order thinking that the Sultan was

Foundation
of the
Vijaynagar
kingdom

trying to bring about his ruin and he revolted. He was defeated and captured. In consideration of his faithful and meritorious services in the past, the Sultan treated him generously and took him back into service. The Hindus in the Deccan took advantage of the Sultan's troubles and they made a bid for independence. They founded the Vijaynagar kingdom in 1336 under the leadership of Hari Hara and Bukka Rai. Warrangal and Dwarasamudra were also lost to the empire of Delhi.

Foundation
of the Bah-
mani
kingdom

In 1337, the foreign Amirs of Daulatabad revolted against the Sultan and set up one of their leaders named Ismail Mukh Afghani as their king. On hearing this, the Sultan came back from Gujrat, defeated the rebels and captured the fort of Daulatabad. But one of the Amirs, Hasan by name, managed to escape with some of his followers to Gulbarga. When the Sultan left Daulatabad, Hassan attacked and captured it. Ismail Mukh gave up his post in favour of Hasan who declared himself independent and ascended the throne under the title of *Abul Muzaffar Bahman Shah*. Thus the foundation of the Bahmani kingdom was laid.

Recognition
by the
Khalifah

After his return from Saragdwari the Sultan received the recognition of investiture of his title to the throne from the Khalifah of Cairo in 1345. During the last few years of his reign he was mostly occupied with the suppression of the revolts. When he was busy in suppressing the revolt at Thatta (Sind), he passed away from this mundane world (in 1351).

Estimate of Muhammad bin Tughluq

Different
views
regarding
the charac-
ter of the
Sultan

There has been a lot of controversy regarding the character and achievements of Muhammad bin Tughluq among the scholars and historians, both medieval and modern. Historians like Barani and Ibn Batuta have expressed conflicting views about the personality, virtues and faults of the Sultan. Modern writers, following them, have passed diametrically opposite judgements on his character. Elphinstone was of the view that the Sultan was affected by some degree of insanity and writers like

Havell, Edward Thomas and V. A. Smith have agreed with him. Gardner Brown has ignored altogether the dark aspect of the Sultan's life and has exonerated him from the charge of madness. Dr. Ishwari Prasad remarks that Muhammad bin Tughluq "was unquestionably the ablest man among the crowned heads of the middle ages." Still some historians have painted the Sultan in black colours. A careful examination of both contemporary and non-contemporary evidences show that Muhammad bin Tughluq was an accomplished scholar, extremely generous, tolerant in religious matters, a brave soldier, a stern but impartial dispenser of justice, an inventor, and far-sighted statesman but an unsuccessful ruler.

"Of all the kings who sat upon the throne of Delhi since Muslim conquest, he was undoubtedly the most learned and accomplished."* The Sultan was well-versed in almost every science then known to orientals. He was quite at home in logic, astronomy, philosophy, mathematics and physical science. In calligraphy, he surpassed the most accomplished scribes. The excellence of his writing, the ease of his composition, the sublimity of his style and the play of his fancy raised him head and shoulder above the most learned scholars and savants of the day. "No teacher of composition dared to compete with him."§ He knew by heart the Quran and a good deal of Persian. He also studied medicine and sometimes he would write prescriptions for patients. He was an ardent student of Greek philosophy and welcomed to his court distinguished philosophers. Above all, he was a good speaker and no one felt tired of listening to his conversations. According to Barani, "The Sultan was an accomplished poet, quite eloquent and profound, learned scholar, a veritable wonder of creation whose abilities would have taken by surprise such men as Aristotle and Asaf."

Muhammad bin Tughluq was very generous and humble. In point of generosity, he surpassed

* Dr. Aga Mehdi Husain, *Rise and Fall of Muhammad bin Tughluq*.

§ Ishwari Prasad, *History of the Qajjar Turk*.

A most accomplished scholar of his time

all of his contemporaries. It is said that what Hattem Tai and others gave in a year, he gave away at one time. The personal life of the Sultan was marked by a high standard of morality. He was free from the prevailing vices of his age. Ibn Batuta describes him "as the most humble of men and one who is most inclined towards doing what is right and just". Like Alauddin Khalji, he refused to be dictated by the Ulema in matters of administration and exercised his independent judgement. This is why some of the historians have charged him with irreligiousness. He was a true Muslim. Ibn Batuta who is supported by two contemporary historians, namely, Shihabuddin Ahmad and Badr-i-Chach says, "He follows the principles of religion with devoutness and performs the prayers himself and punishes those who neglect them." In spite of his devotion to Islam, he was not intolerant to men of other faiths. According to Ibn Batuta, a good number of Hindus occupied high positions in the State.

The charges of madness and blood-thirstiness which have been brought against him are not true. According to Elphinstone who has been supported by V. A. Smith, Havell and some Indian writers like S. R. Sharma, the Sultan suffered from some degree of insanity. But this view has been rejected by Dr. Ishwari Prasad and Gardner Brown. Dr. Ishwari Prasad opines that the charges of blood-thirstiness and madness are mostly baseless. No contemporary historian has mentioned anything from which it can be concluded that the Sultan was mad. Probably Elphinstone and other European historians were misled by the statement of Ibn Batuta and Barani that there were always some dead bodies lying in front of the Sultan's palace. In fact, the Sultan inflicted the punishment of death for petty offences not because he was mad but because "he had no sense of proportion and also because such was the custom prevailing in Europe and Asia at that time." The charge of blood-thirstiness was levelled against the Sultan by the orthodox writers who were much annoyed by the anti-clerical policy of the Sultan. Mr. Brown has rightly remarked, "That

Very generous

A true Muslim but not a bigot

Charges of madness and blood-thirstiness

he was mad is a view of which contemporaries give no hint; that he was a visionary, his many-sided, practical and vigorous character forbids us to believe. To call him a despot may be true, but no other form of government was conceivable in the Middle Ages."

Mixture of
opposites

According to Barani, the Sultan was a man of many conflicting habits and on the basis of this some historians have described him as "a mixture of opposites." The Sultan disliked low and mean people and yet he raised them to high posts. He was humble and at the same time extremely arrogant. He was very generous and at the same time he was very cruel and ruthless. At times the Sultan would appear as a suppliant in a court of justice and behave like an ordinary citizen, but normally he would inflict severe punishments. He was shrewd, intelligent and learned but he lacked practical common sense. He was very religious and acted according to the tenets of Islam but at the same time he was considered irreligious because he put some Ulema to death.

Muhammad bin Tughluq was neither blood-thirsty nor irreligious nor visionary. He was a "grossly misunderstood sovereign". Dr. Ishwari Prasad remarks that "superficially viewed the Sultan seems to be an amazing compound of contradictions, but he is not really so." According to Dr. A. M. Husain, "if at all there were some contradictory qualities in him these appeared at different periods of his career and there were clear reasons behind them".

As a
general
and con-
queror

Muhammad bin Tughluq was a very ambitious king. He wanted to conquer the whole world. In the early part of his reign, he effected some conquests. He had brought Mabbar, Warrangal and Dwarsamudra under his sway and this extended his empire which consisted of as many as 23 provinces. But during the later part of his reign, many revolts took place in various parts of the empire. As a result many distant provinces in the South, East and West became independent and this weakened the Delhi Sultanate.

Muhammad bin Tughluq was a great administrator but not a successful ruler. Like Akbar, he followed a tolerant policy towards the Hindus. Under him a good number of Hindus occupied high posts in the State. He also tried to suppress the evil of *Sati* prevalent among the Hindus.

As a ruler

Muhammad bin Tughluq did a lot for the peasants. He set up a separate department of agriculture, *Diwan-i-Kohi* which was placed in charge of a special officer called *Amir Kohi*. The main object of this department was to bring uncultivated land under plough and to advance "Taccavi" loans to peasants and to administer relief to the poor in time of famine. He also tried to bring about revenue reforms. He issued an order that regular accounts of revenue and expenditure be kept.

His special
care for
agriculture

Muhammad bin Tughluq was an impartial dispenser of justice. According to Ibn Batuta, "Of all men he most loves justice". He did not even let the Qazis escape justice. He set up a special court for trying the cases of Qazis and nobles. The people were allowed to bring their suits even against the emperor and the Sultan personally submitted himself to the sentence awarded by the Qazi.

Impartial
dispenser
of justice

The Sultan undertook certain administrative experiments like establishment of capital in Daulatabad, introduction of token currency and increase in taxation in the Doab. These measures were not merely visionary projects, they had a logic behind them and had been inspired by cogent reasons and calculated to promote the efficiency of the Government and the well-being of the people in the long run. But unfortunately, all these schemes failed. The cause of their failure was not that they suffered from inherent defects, but because of some extraneous circumstances such as famine in the Doab, the conservative nature of the people and the hasty and hot temperament of the Sultan. Lane-pole says, "To him what seems good must be done at once, and when it proved impossible or unsuccessful his disappointment reached the verge of frenzy and he wreaked his wreath indiscriminately

All his
schemes
failed
because
of some
extraneous
circum-
stances

upon the unhappy offenders who could not keep pace with his imagination. Hence with the best intentions, excellent ideas but no balance or patience, no sense of proportion Muhammad bin Tughluq was a transcendent failure."

Thus Muhammad bin Tughluq failed as a ruler in spite of his high political ideas, his inventive mind and his best intentions to better the lot of the people.

Causes of the Sultan's failure

The failure of Muhammad bin Tughluq as a ruler was largely due to circumstances over which he had no control. Famine played an important part in the failure of the Sultan. Dr. Ishwari Prasad says, "A severe famine which lasted for more than a decade marred the glory of his reign and set his subjects against him. The verdict that declares him a cruel and blood-thirsty tyrant like Nero or Caligula does little justice to his great genius and ignores his conspicuous plan to cope with famine and his efforts to introduce ameliorative reforms." He had a good heart and a sincere intention to uphold the interest of the empire. But he never got the co-operation of the officers who were entrusted with the enforcement of his reforms and projects rather they were opposed to them. He was unable to understand why there should be any opposition to his schemes. He thought that these were the works of the mischief-mongers and he inflicted severe punishments on them without regard to position or birth. Thus his every new scheme brought a series of punishments which ultimately created an impression that the Sultan was an unscrupulous tyrant. He was far in advance of his age and people could not appreciate his high ideas. Besides, the Ulema created no less troubles to his empire in their personal interests. According to Lanepoole, the provincial governors were "hungry adventurers" who could not be relied upon. It was they who revolted against the Sultan and asserted their independence. But the real cause of his failure lay in his obstinacy to carry out his scheme in the face of grim opposition. He failed to understand the social and economic difficulties of

Severe
famine

Non-
co-operation
of the officers

His advanced
ideas and
opposition
of the
Ulema

Disloyalty
of the
governors

those days and made no allowance for the feelings of his nobles and officers. None can deny this fact that a measure, however beneficial it may be, cannot be imposed upon the people against their will and in this respect Muhammad bin Tughluq was a poor judge of human psychology.

His obstinacy

Ibn Batuta

Ibn Batuta, who was born at Tangier in Africa in 1304 A.D. travelled for more than 25 years of his life almost all over the important countries of the Islamic world. He started on his travels in 1325 and during the next eight years explored the whole of Northern Africa, Arabia, Persia, the Levant and Constantinople. He came to Indo-Pakistan in 1333 and was appointed Chief Qazi of Delhi by Muhammad bin Tughluq. He held this office for about eight years. He at last lost the favour of the emperor and was imprisoned. It was after earnest prayers that he was released and sent a few months later as an ambassador to China. But on the way he was shipwrecked and after a sojourn of a few years here and there he returned to his native land in 1349. He recorded his experience in a book called *Safar-namah*.

A famous
Moorish traveller
travelled almost
all over the
Islamic
world

Ibn Batuta has left an account of the reign of Muhammad bin Tughluq. But the account of this famous traveller has to be accepted with great caution. Firstly, though he was restored to favour after imprisonment, he never forgot the punishment inflicted on him by the Sultan and hence the hatred he carried for Muhammad bin Tughluq is clearly reflected in his book. Secondly, he, like most of the travellers, mixed up facts with gossip and gave as much importance to unauthentic hearsays as to things which he personally saw. In spite of this defect Ibn Batuta's account is full of valuable information about this period. He described the Sultan as pious and generous, cruel and ruthless whose gateway was never free from a beggar whom he had made rich and the body of a man whom he had slain.

Firuz Shah Tughluq (1351—1388)

The death of Muhammad bin Tughluq threw the imperial army into great confusion and disorder. For two days the royal camp was plundered and harassed by the rebels of Sind and the Mongol mercenaries who had come to help the Sultan's army against the rebel Taghi. In the midst of these troubles the nobles offered the throne to Firuz, son of Rajab and cousin of Muhammad bin Tughluq. But Firuz was at first reluctant to accept the offer for fear of responsibility to God. He ultimately gave his consent, took up the charge of Government and started for Delhi with the imperial army. With his entry into the capital Khwaja Jahan, the deputy of the late Sultan who had placed a supposed son and successor of Muhammad bin Tughluq on the throne, came to him and was pardoned. While Khwaja Jahan was going back to the fief of Samana, he was killed on the way by an officer, named Sher Khan.

Firuz Shah was a peace-loving man. In his reign no serious battle was fought and no great conquest was made. In 1353, he led an expedition against Haji Ilyas who declared himself independent in Bengal and invaded Tirhut. With the approach of the Sultan of Delhi Haji Ilyas took shelter in the fortress of Ikdala. Firuz Shah could not reduce the fort and was obliged to retreat. In 1359, he again marched towards Bengal. Haji Ilyas was by that time succeeded by his son, Sikandar Shah. Sikandar Shah like his father shut himself up in the fort of Ikdala. The imperial troops besieged the fort and peace was then concluded on favourable terms for Sikandar Shah who agreed to pay a tribute of 40 elephants and to surrender Sonargaon.

On his way back to Delhi from Bengal, Firuz Shah halted for some time at Jaunpur in 1360 and then led an expedition into Jainagar (modern Orissa). The Raja of this place soon offered his submission. The next expedition was directed against the fortress of Nagorkot. After a siege of six months, its Raja submitted to him.

Accession
of Firuz
Shah, 1351

Expeditions
to Bengal,
1353-54 &
1359-60

Recognition
of the inde-
pendence of
Bengal

Expedition
to Jainagar

In 1361-62, the Sultan turned his attention towards Sind in order to punish the people of Thatta, the capital of Sind, for their disloyalty to Muhammad bin Tughluq. He marched against Thatta at the head of a large army. His first attempt ended in failure and he retreated to Gujrat with a view to reinforcing his army. When the imperial army was strengthened by the reinforcement sent from Delhi by his minister, Khan-i-Jahan Maqbul, the Sultan again attacked the Sindhis and forced the *Jam* (ruler) of Thatta to surrender. The *Jam* was granted a pension and his brother was allowed to govern Sind.

Firuz Shah did not make any attempt to bring the Deccan under his control. Since his failure in the Bengal expedition, he took an oath not to go to war except for suppressing rebellions. On his return to Delhi he was called upon to suppress a few rebellions. In 1377, the Governor of Gujrat rose in revolt but was defeated and killed. This was followed by the rebellion in Katehar. The Sultan not only suppressed the rebellion but ordered a general massacre of the suspected criminals in Katehar.

Administration of Firuz Shah

Firuz Shah deserves to be known as one of the best rulers of Delhi. He was not a good warrior and his military enterprises were mostly unsuccessful. But he was a just and benevolent administrator. His long reign of 37 years was a period of prosperity and happiness. On his accession he wrote off the loans which had been advanced to the people by the late Sultan during the days of famine. Firuz re-introduced the *jagir* system (grant of land to the military officers in lieu of cash salaries) which had been abolished by Alauddin Khalji. He tried his utmost to eradicate the bad effects of his predecessors' reign. He reduced taxation to a limit prescribed by the Quranic Law. He abolished many unjust and vexatious taxes which had been levied upon the people during the previous reigns. According to *Futuh-i-Firuz Shah*, the Sultan abolished 23 such cesses, for they were not sanctioned by the

Conquest
of Sind

Suppression
of
rebellions

Abolition
of many
unjust
taxes

Relief of
merchants
from irregular
dues

Encourage-
ment of
agriculture

Abolition
of inhuman
torture

Marriage
bureau and
employment
bureau

laws of Islam. He levied four kinds of taxes sanctioned by the Quranic Law, namely, kharaj, zakat, jizya and khums or 1/5 of the spoils. The merchants were exempted from the payment of irregular and oppressive duties. The officers were warned against demanding anything more than the prescribed dues and if they did otherwise, they were seriously dealt with. The new system of taxation was beneficial to the development of trade and agriculture. Shams-i-Siraj Afif, a contemporary historian says, "As a result of these regulations the ryots grew rich and they were satisfied." The Sultan encouraged agriculture and constructed 150 wells and 4 canals which irrigated large areas of land. Another beneficial measure taken by him was the reclamation of waste land, the income of which was spent for religious and educational purposes. Firuz Shah had the credit of issuing coins of small denominations—half and a quarter 'jital', known as *adha* and *bikh* respectively.

Justice was rigorously administered in the empire. The *Muftis* and the *Qazis* tried the cases. The former expounded the law and the latter delivered the judgement. The Sultan put an end to oppression and the inhuman method of punishments.

Firuz Shah took special care for the welfare of his subjects and for this he brought about certain reforms. In the first instance, he instituted a special department of charity known as *Diwan-i-Khairat*. It had two sections—(a) the marriage bureau and (b) the 'employment bureau.' He took upon himself the task of seeing that no Muslim girl of marriageable age remained unmarried for want of dowry. Widows and orphans were also given pecuniary help. The employment agency was chiefly concerned with those who wanted clerical and administrative employment. The construction of public works and extension of cultivation provided ample employment for labourers and handicraftsmen. It was the duty of the *Kotwal* of Delhi to find out those who were without employment and to produce them before the Sultan. The Sultan personally made inquiries into the cir-

cumstances and qualifications and after due consultation he provided them with employment. Secondly, the Sultan established a free big hospital called *Dar-us-Shafa* in Delhi where good physicians were appointed to look after the patients and medicine and diet were distributed among the sick and the needy at the expense of the State.

Firuz Shah organised the army on a feudal basis. The regular soldiers received grants of land and the irregulars were paid from the royal treasury and those who received neither salary nor grants of land were given assignments upon the revenue. He, out of kindness, passed a new regulation to the effect that when a soldier grew old and incapable his son should succeed him as his deputy, if he had no son, his son-in-law and failing any son-in-law, his slave shall represent him. The Sultan took special care to maintain the slaves for the utilization of their services in the State and organised the institution of slavery into a system.

Firuz Shah was a great builder of cities and mosques. He established a new capital at Delhi and named it Firuzabad. He also founded the cities like Hisar-Firuzah, Fatehabad, Jaunpur and others. The Sultan built a number of mosques, palaces, sarais, reservoirs, hospitals, tombs, bath, monumental pillars and bridges. He constructed a double system of canals from the Jumna and the Sutlej in order to supply water to the new city, Hisar-Firuzah. He also took interest in the preservation of ancient monuments and caused two monoliths of Asoka to be removed to Delhi. He laid out 1,200 new gardens in the vicinity of Delhi and restored 30 old gardens of Alauddin Khalji.

The benevolent and humanitarian measures like the abolition of illegal taxes and inhuman punishments, the improvements of agriculture, the administration of poor relief, and the encouragement of numerous public works made the life of all sections of people happy and prosperous. But some of his acts, though benevolent, proved detrimental to the interests of the Sultanate of Delhi and ultimately

Free distribution of
medicine and
diet

Organisation
of army and
slave system

Works of
public
welfare

Criticism
of some of
his reforms

ly contributed to its fall. One of the disastrous measures introduced by the Sultan was the revival of Jagir system. The nobles became all-powerful in their areas and as a result, the control of the Central Government over local administration gradually relaxed. Secondly, he allowed the sons and slaves of old and infirm soldiers to succeed them in their office. In most of the cases, the successors did not inherit the qualifications of their predecessors and possess the fitness for the post. This practice of hereditary succession in office weakened the military organisation of the Delhi Sultanate. Thirdly, the Sultan had a large number of slaves which at one time reached the high figure of 18,000. For their proper management he had to establish a separate department with a regular staff of officers. The maintenance of a huge number of slaves not only caused a heavy drain upon the treasury but these slaves, later on, proved a source of constant danger to the empire and became one of the causes of its downfall.

His Religious Policy

Firuz Shah was a staunch follower of Islam who governed the country according to the laws of the *Shariat*. He inflicted punishments on the Brahmins for their misconduct and the imposition of *jizya* on them was a State policy. It should be remembered that the able Muslims were not exempted from the payment of *zakat* which was far heavier a tax than the *jizya*. The Shias were also severely dealt with. But one should not forget the age and circumstances in which he lived. This was an age of cruelty and intolerance and Firuz Shah was not in advance of his age. But he was not worse than his contemporary rulers both Asiatic and European. Hence to call him a bigot is perhaps unfair.

The last days of Firuz Shah were not peaceful. His minister, Khan-i-Jahan Maqbul became very powerful in the State and his arrogant behaviour Muhammad Khan into rebellion. In the midst

The Sultan was not in advance of his age

His death, 1388

of these troubles he breathed his last in 1388. "The death of Firuz," as Moreland observes, "marks the end of an epoch."

Estimate of Firuz Shah

Firuz Shah was one of the best Sultans of Delhi. He was a God-fearing, just and generous ruler. His rule was enlightened and humane. He had to his credit a record of beneficial works which ensured the peace and prosperity of the empire. The abolition of many unjust taxes and inhuman torture, the improvement of agriculture, the encouragement of trade, the introduction of grand-motherly legislation and patronage of buildings testify to his genius as a benevolent administrator. He was a friend of the poor and the needy. Under his benign rule, people lived in peace and happiness.

Firuz Shah was not a good general. He did not make any serious attempts to recover the lost provinces of the empire. His military expeditions to Bengal were of the lowest order. He also lacked the essential qualities of a statesman. His revival of the *jagir* system, his misplaced generosity to the soldiers and the abnormal development of the slave system proved fatal to the empire.

Though not a great general and statesman, Firuz Shah was a patron of learning and piety. Many learned divines and scholars enjoyed his patronage. The works of Ziya-uddin Barani and Shams-i-Shiraj Afif were written under his patronage. On the conquest of Nagarkot, some Sanskrit works fell into his hands and these were translated into Persian under his care. Besides the patronage of individuals, he established a large number of schools and colleges for the education of his subjects.

Successors of Firuz Shah

On the demise of Firuz Shah the throne of Delhi became the bone of contention among his sons and grandsons. At last his grandson, Ghiyas-uddin Tughluq II occupied the throne. He was weak and worthless and gave himself up to pleasure and indolence. He was soon murdered by his cousin Abu Bakr who

Benevolent administrator

Not a good general & statesman

Weak successors of Firuz Shah

became king in February, 1388. But Nasiruddin Muhammad, the Governor of Nagarkot, snatched the throne from him. After his death his son, Humayun ascended the throne. He died very soon and was succeeded by his younger brother, Nasiruddin Muhammad Tughluq. He was the last representative of the House of the Tughluqs.

Invasion of Timur (1398-99)

When the successors of Firuz Shah were at feud and brought the empire to the brink of destruction and dissolution by their policy and deeds, the king of Samarkand, Amir Timur invaded Indo-Pakistan with a large Turkish force. He became the leader of the Chaghtai Turks at the age of 33. He then conceived the idea of world conquest. After the conquest of Persia, Afghanistan and Mesopotamia, he turned towards Indo-Pakistan. The wealth of this country and the toleration of idolatry by the Sultans of Delhi drew his attention and he determined to invade Indo-Pakistan. The distracted and chaotic condition of the Sub-continent also favoured him in his project. Early in 1398, he sent his grandson, Pir Muhammad who proceeded with an army of 30,000 horse. He crossed the Indus and captured Uchh and Multan after a few months. He overran the territories of Dipalpur and Pakpattan. He reached as far as the Sutlej and began to wait there for Timur. In August 1398, Timur himself marched towards Indo-Pakistan with a big force of 92,000, cavalry. He crossed the Indus in September 1398 and met Pir Muhammad who had been waiting for him on the bank of the Sutlej. The combined forces marched towards Delhi. In December 1398 Timur's forces reached Delhi. Mahmud Shah, the last ruler of the House of Tughluq, was the Sultan of Delhi. He and his minister Mallu Iqbal collected a large army to oppose him but they were defeated and took to flight. Timur entered the city of Delhi in 1399 as a conqueror. He agreed to spare the lives of citizens on condition of payment of a heavy ransom. But the conduct of the soldiers in collecting provi-

The wealth of India and the toleration of idolatry by the Sultans were the causes of invasion

THE TUGHLUQ DYNASTY

sions led the Hindus to resist and Timur then ordered a general massacre and converted Delhi into shambles. Sack of Delhi by Timur's soldiers is one of the most tragic events in the blood-stained annals of that ill-fated city.

Sack of Delhi and massacre of inhabitants

Timur had no desire to stay in this country. He left Delhi after a stay of 15 days with a large number of slaves and laden with enormous booty. On his way he stormed Meerut, captured Kangra, and sacked Jammu. He appointed Khizr Khan who joined him in Delhi, to the governorship of Multan, Lahore and Dipalpur as his viceroy in Indo-Pakistan. Thus he left Indo-Pakistan "leaving behind him the tales of horror and destruction as well as famine and pestilence."

Khizr Khan appointed his Viceroy in India

After the departure of Timur, the whole of Northern India was in disorder and confusion. As a result of the whole destruction of stores of grain and standing crops, famine and pestilence swooped down upon the land, and it took Delhi more than half a century to recover from the appalling devastation wrought by him. Thousands of innocent people had been ruthlessly killed, many cities and large villages had been reduced to ashes, large tracts of field had been laid waste and the administration of the provinces, through which he had passed had been completely thrown out of gear. "Delhi was utterly ruined and those of its people who were left while for two whole months not a bird moved wing in the city," says Badauni. Timur completed the dissolution of the Tughluq empire and the anarchy that followed his departure enabled many provinces to assert their independence.

Famine and pestilence followed as a result of whole-sale destruction of Delhi by Timur

The history of the Sultanate of Delhi after Timur's departure is the history of devastated Indo-Pakistan. Mahmud who had fled to Gujrat after the defeat of the Indian army returned to his capital. Being a weak king he could not make proper use of his restored position. He died in 1413 after a reign of 20 years and with him the Tughluq dynasty ended.

Causes of the Fall of the Tughluq Dynasty

There were many causes of the fall of the Tughluq dynasty. Firstly, Muhammad bin Tughluq was partly responsible for the disintegration of his house. His establishment of the second capital at Daulat-abad, his introduction of token currency and the increased taxation of the Doab created a lot of troubles for his people and thus he unconsciously sowed the seed of its downfall. As a result of his policy, there were revolts in many parts of the empire and several independent kingdoms came into being. Secondly, although Firuz Tughluq tried to heal the wounds inflicted by his predecessor, his revival of the *Jagir* system, the hereditary succession in office and the slave system weakened the administration and were responsible for the fall of the empire. Thirdly, the Hindus, though subjected to foreign rule for a long time, had not given up their attempt to become free and independent. They always continued to revolt and the control of the Delhi Sultanate was nominal. Their opposition constituted a factor in the fall of the empire. Fourthly, the weak successors of Firuz Tughluq were mainly responsible for the fall of the Tughluq dynasty. They were too weak to recover those parts of the empire which had become independent during the reign of Muhammad bin Tughluq. They contented themselves with their personal pleasures and spent their time in mutual fights. Fifthly, the Sultanate of Delhi under Muhammad bin Tughluq extended not only to Northern India but also to Southern India. It was practically impossible to control and rule over such a vast empire in those days when means of communications were under-developed. Lastly, when the empire was tottering under the weak successors of Firuz Tughluq, the invasion of Timur-lane gave a death blow to the Tughluq dynasty.

Policy of
Muhammad
bin Tughluq

Revival of
Jagir system,
hereditary
succession
and slave
system
weakened
the empire

Opposition
of the Hin-
dus

Weak suc-
cessors of
Firuz

Extent of
empire

Invasion of
Timurlane

CHAPTER. VIII

THE SAYYID AND LODI DYNASTIES

On the death of Mahmud Tughluq, the throne of Delhi was occupied by Daulat Khan Lodi who governed the country for about two years. In 1414, he was defeated by Khizr Khan, the ruler of Multan. After the defeat of Daulat Khan, Khizr Khan was crowned as king of Delhi. He claimed to be a descendant of the Prophet and the dynasty founded by him is known in history as the Sayyid dynasty.

Khizr
Khan,
1414-21

Khizr Khan's claim to be a Sayyid is very doubtful. 'It does not rest on any family claim but on the guess of a holy man.' Secondly, Khizr Khan was good natured, generous, pious, clement and truthful. These are the excellences of the Prophet's character and as these were found in him, he could not but be a Sayyid. Khizr Khan did not assume the royal title but professed to govern as the viceroy of Timur's son and successor, Shah Rukh and occasionally sent him tribute.

Generous
and pious
man

Khizr Khan was a brave and resourceful man. He never hesitated to undertake a distant and difficult campaign, when an occasion arose. His grants in cash and kind and remission of revenue after the rapine of Timur had resulted in the return of confidence and rehabilitation of Delhi. He was able to revive the Sultanate in the Punjab, Rohilkhand and the Doab. He not only revived the last prestige of the Sultanate, but also contributed to the increase of its life-span. 'From Multan in the west, upto the frontiers of Jaunpur a little beyond Etwa and from the foot-hills of the Himalayas, upto the boundary of Malwa—all these tracts were brought by him once more under the rule of the Delhi Kingdom.'

Revival of
the Sultan-
ate of
Delhi

Khizr Khan died in 1421. "People," says Ferishta, "were happy and contented under his rule and for this reason, old and young, the slave and the free lamented his death by wearing black garment."

His death

Later Sayyids (1421-51)

Mubarak
Shah

After the death of Khizr Khan, his son Mubarak Shah ascended the throne of Delhi. He was a very good king but was murdered in 1434 by a noble named Sardarul Mulk. Muhammad Shah, a nephew of Mubarak Shah, was placed on the throne. The new king soon avenged the murder of his uncle and got Sardarul Mulk assassinated by his soldiers. He ruled for about 12 years.

Muhammad
Shah

Alam Shah,
1444-1451

Muhammad Shah was succeeded by his son, Ala-uddin Alam Shah, who was the last and the weakest king of this dynasty. He voluntarily abdicated in 1451 in favour of Bahlol Lodi, an Afghan noble who by a friendly agreement allowed the last king of the so-called Sayyid dynasty to live in peace at Badaun till his death in 1478.

The Lodi Dynasty (1451-1526)

Bahlol Lodi,
1451-88

The Lodi Sultans were the only real Pathan kings of Delhi. The other Sultans of Delhi were Turks, either pure or mixed. Bahlol Lodi, who ascended the throne in 1451 was a very pious, wise, generous and capable king. The conquest of Jaunpur was the chief event of his reign. His son Barbak Shah was appointed governor of Jaunpur. He also suppressed the rebellious chief in Mewat and the Doab. He reigned for 38 years and died in 1489.

Conquest of
Jaunpur

Sikandar Lodi (1489-1517)

Subjugation
of Jaunpur
and conquest
of Bihar

Nizam Khan, the second son of Bahlol Lodi, succeeded him under the title of Sikandar Lodi. He was an able administrator who to some extent restored the lost prestige of the Delhi Sultanate. His brother Barbak Shah, governor of Jaunpur who defied the central authority, was forced to submit to him. Sikandar Lodi conquered Bihar and reduced Gwalior to subjection. He changed his capital from Delhi to Agra with the object of subjugating the chiefs of Central India. Sikandar Lodi died in 1517 after a successful reign of 28 years.

Sikandar Lodi was the ablest and greatest king of the Lodi dynasty. He extended the dominion of

his father in all directions. The Sultan crushed the power of the haughty Afghan nobles and re-established his authority over the chiefs and zamindars in the eastern provinces. He was an administrator of no mean merit. He re-organised the administration on a sound basis. He abolished corn duties and patronised trade and commerce. He was a pious man and tried to live according to the law of Islam. He was kind and generous to the poor and the needy. He was a poet of repute. He composed under the pen-name of *Gulruk*. He was also a patron of learning and ordered a Sanskrit work in medicine to be translated into Persian.

Greatest
king of the
Lodi
dynasty

Ibrahim Lodi (1517-26)

On the death of Sikandar Lodi, his son Ibrahim Lodi was raised to the throne. But a faction of the nobility advocated a partition of kingdom and placed Jalal Khan, younger brother of Ibrahim, on the throne. But the attempt of the nobles was frustrated by the Sultan. Rana Sanga of Mewar took advantage of the civil war between Ibrahim Lodi and his brother and made encroachments upon the dominion of the Sultan. The Sultan, in order to give him a good lesson, attacked the Rana and inflicted a crushing defeat on him.

Defeat of
Rana Sanga

The rebellion of his brother and the subsequent activities of the Afghan nobles made the Sultan suspicious of their movement. So he became cautious and took stern measures against them. Some of the nobles were dismissed and some of them were put to prison. The Sultan's behaviour and his drastic measures soon alienated the sympathy of the Afghan nobles. As a result rebellions broke out in many parts of the empire. After the death of Darya Khan, his brother Bahadur Shah declared independence in Bihar. Daulat Khan Lodi, Governor of the Punjab became dissatisfied with the Sultan. He sent his son Dilawar Khan to Kabul in order to invite Babur, the ruler of Afghanistan to come to Indo-Pakistan and to crush the power of the Lodies. Alam Khan, uncle of Daulat Khan extended his help to the Afghan nobles.

Discontent
of the
nobles

Babur's
expedition to
Indo-Pakistan

Babur who had been cherishing the idea of conquering Indo-Pakistan welcomed the invitation. In 1524 he led an expedition to this country and occupied Lahore after defeating the army of Ibrahim Lodi. But Daulat Khan Lodi went against Babur as the latter instead of leaving Lahore to him appointed his own administrators there. Babur, then entered into an agreement with Alam Khan on condition that he would be placed on the throne of Delhi only to retain the Punjab for himself. Daulat Khan joined Alam Khan and both of them made a common cause against the common enemy. They proceeded towards Delhi with an army of 80,000 to 40,000 Afghans and attacked it but they were defeated by the Sultan.

Ibrahim's
defeat at
Panipat,
1526

Babur now realised his position and thought that his success in this country would entirely depend on his own resources. He prepared himself for this campaign and started from Kabul in 1525 with an army of 12,000 strong. In April, 1526 he met Ibrahim Lodi in the historic field of Panipat where a battle was fought in which Ibrahim Lodi was defeated and killed and the government of Indo-Pakistan passed from the hands of the Pathan Sultans of Delhi into those of the Mughals.

Frontier Policy of the Turkish Sultans of Delhi

Origin of
the problem

Ever since the dawn of human history the destiny of the Indo-Pak sub-continent has been moulded by its North-West Frontier. The problem is as old as anything in history. The root cause of the invasions into this land has been the political upheavals in the Central and Western Asiatic regions and the temptation which "the wealth of Hind" has offered to the outsiders. When the Turks stepped into the position of the early Hindu rulers of Northern India they profitted by the lessons of the past. Their own success exhibited that their Hindu predecessors did not possess anything like a scientific and systematic frontier defence. They, therefore, became quite alert to the gravity of the problem.

But the problem was no less formidable. The Sultans of Delhi had to deal with the unceasing in-

undation of the Mongol hordes. They overran the country and swept away all that came in their way. Equally important was the problem created by the Khokhars who had established themselves in the region between Lahore and Ghazni on the southern border of Kashmir. They joined the confederacy of the Hindu chiefs, who opposed Sultan Mahmud on the invitation of Anandapal, the ruler of Lahore and they had done tremendous havoc in Mahmud's army. They were equally opposed to the Ghurians. Hostility of the Khokhars to the Ghurian Turks seems to have been so deep in their minds that throughout the Sultanate period they continued to trouble the Delhi Sultans by constant incursions in their territory. According to Ferishta, Sultan Muhammad Ghuri was murdered by some Khokhars.

Two aspects
of the
problem

The Mongol cataclysm created the most formidable frontier problem for Sultan Iluttmish. Jalaluddin Khawarizm Shah fled from Ghazni from the invasions of the Mongols and took shelter in the Doab between the Indus and the Jhelum. He sent envoys to Iluttmish requesting him to grant him asylum in his dominions against the Mongols. But Iluttmish sent a diplomatic refusal to the Khawarizm prince on the plea of the country's uncongenial climate and thus saved the Sultanate from the odium of the terrible Chengiz Khan. After this, the frontier region enjoyed uninterrupted peace from the Mongol invasion till December, 1241 when Prince Bahram was on the throne. Sultan Nasiruddin, who was a willing puppet in the hands of Balban, took up the question of the frontier defence with earnestness. His first expedition was to march out with his forces towards Multan and Sind along with tried generals of the realm with the object of destroying the Mongols and dealing effectively with the Khokhars. He sent Balban to the Jud Hills and Salt Range to punish the Khokhars for their continued incursions. Balban inflicted a terrible chastisement on them. Towards the close of 1257, the Mongols, who were becoming a growing menace invaded Sind but seeing Balban ready to receive them, retired.

North-West
Frontier
problem
under
Iluttmish

Under Bah-
ram Shah

Under Sultan
Nasiruddin

Under
Balban

When Balban became *de jure* Sultan, the Mongol menace assumed a very threatening proportion and their raids became more frequent than ever. But Balban was not the man to rest on oars. For this he organised and disciplined his army to the highest point of efficiency. He stayed near the capital and never led campaigns to distant lands. He led an attack upon the Salt Range and severely chastised the Khokhars. His other measures for the defence of the frontier consisted of (1) maintaining the forts on the routes of the invaders in perfect preparedness, (2) building new forts wherever necessary, (3) keeping a vigilant watch on the routes and (4) appointing, as wardens of the marches, tried and experienced military hands, such as his cousin Sher Khan.

Under Kai-
qubad

During the reign of Kaiqubad (1289-90), there was another invasion under Tamar Khan of Ghazni. But the well-organised defensive measures set up by the late Sultan were strong enough and the Mongols were once more vanquished.

Under
Jalauddin
Khalji

On June 13, 1290 Jalaluddin Khalji was enthroned as Sultan. He had for long occupied the post of the warden of the Frontier. He had fought and driven back the incessant waves of the Mongol raids. But after he became the Sultan, there was only one invasion in 1292. An enormous horde of 150,000 Mongols is said to have invaded the country. He met the invaders, crushed their advance guard and compelled them to sue for peace. Ulugh Khan, a descendant of Chengiz Khan accepted Islam with thousands of other Mongol officers and they settled in a colony outside the capital. Jalauddin did not take any positive step to put a stop to the Mongol incursions.

Under
Alauddin
Khalji

Under Alauddin Khalji, the frontier policy entered a new phase. Within a few months of his accession to the throne a huge force of the Mongols poured down into the kingdom and put the Sultan into a difficult situation. During this reign, there were as many as seven Mongol raids under different leaders and every time they were repulsed with

heavy loss. At first, Alauddin Khalji neglected the frontier defence. Unlike Balban he went twice on distant expeditions as far as Ranthambor and Chitor leaving the capital to its fate and remained away for over a whole year. But the havoc caused by the siege of Delhi by Targhi roused him from his dream of distant expeditions. This led him to organise a large well-equipped force and to repair the old forts. Two more invasions of the Mongols during the later period of his reign compelled him to resume the frontier policy of Balban. Besides repairing the old forts, he built new ones and placed efficient commanders in charge of them. He considerably increased his army and to maintain such a huge army he had to introduce an economic reform generally known in history as 'the price control system'. Thus Alauddin Khalji compelled by the logic of circumstances, took all possible steps to guard his dominion against the onslaught of the Mongols.

During the last ten years of Alauddin's reign, the Mongols did not dare to renew their raids. On his death they renewed their attempts but found Ghiyasuddin Tughluq a tough enemy who successfully beat them back. His son and successor, Muhammad bin Tughluq had to face them but they did not prove to be serious during this reign.

Under
Ghiyasuddin
Tughluq

The Mongol invasions gave a serious check to the prosperity and onward progress of Islam. Mr. Sykes says, "The awful nature of cataclysm which set back the hands of the clock of progress among the Muslim States and thereby indirectly throughout the world is difficult to realise and impossible to exaggerate." The occupation of a portion of the Punjab by the Mongols constituted an ever-present menace to the Sultanate of Delhi. The Mongols stood as the greatest bar to the expansion of the Indian empire. The Sultan could not leave the capital for distant campaigns lest it was exposed to the Mongol attacks. Thus the internal policy of the Delhi Sultans was greatly moulded by the Mongol invasions.

Results of
the Mongol
invasions
upon the
policy of
the Sultans

Causes of the fall of the Sultanate of Delhi

Inherent
weakness
of the
Government

The Empire of the Delhi Sultans mainly depended upon the ability and personality of the presiding sovereign. If the hand that rules the world be weak, it loses its hold upon the powerful elements but if it be strong it controls all. Sultan Shamsuddin restored peace and order in the country. After him, weak successors—Ruknuddin Firuz, Raziya, Muizuddin Bahram and Alauddin Masud ascended the throne one after another. Under them chaos and confusion were the order of the day. With the accession of Balban, peace was once more established but he left no worthy successors behind. In the Khalji period, Alauddin Khalji was the only capable and successful ruler under whom people lived in peace and tranquility. Thus with the exception of a few rulers, the Sultanate of Delhi present very few able kings. Under the weak rulers the throne of Delhi became the scene of rebellions and insurrections, disorder and discord.

Absence of
of definite
law of
succession

The absence of a definite law of succession created much trouble in the Sultanate period. "During the 13th and 14th centuries there was no recognised procedure to which recourse might be had in case of disputes." The nobility played a very prominent part in the succession question in the Delhi Sultanate. 'Might is right' was sometimes the best qualifications of a candidate for a king. As a result, there was constant contest for the throne.

Effects of
Muhammad
bin Tugh-
luq's mea-
sures and
the policy
of Firuz
Shah

Though under Muhammad bin Tughluq, the Tughluq power reached its zenith, yet some of his measures caused untold sufferings to the people and unconsciously he sowed the seed of future trouble. It was in the Deccan that the trouble first began and its example was followed by others. Before the death of the Sultan, Bengal and the Deccan declared independence and were lost to the Sultanate of Delhi. Under his successor, Firuz Shah, the process of disintegration began to work rapidly. Besides his weak and worthless successors, the revival of the *Jagir* system, the hereditary succession in office and the slave system were responsible for the fall of the Empire.

Decentra-
lisation and
provincia-
lisation

The relation between the Central and Provincial Governments was not cordial. Since the governors were all-powerful in the provinces, they were always on the look-out for rebellion and tried to assert their independence. The Early Turkish Empire and the Khalji and Tughluq dynasties were always busy with the suppression of the provincial governors who proved a constant source of troubles to the Delhi Sultanate. Thus the centrifugal tendencies may be regarded as one of the factors for the overthrow of the Sultans of Delhi.

Strength
of the
Hindu
opposition

The Hindu opposition was another cause for the downfall of the Sultanate of Delhi. The bulk of the people in India were Hindus and as such, though they were defeated in the field, their co-operation was necessary for the establishment of good government. Some of the Sultans of Delhi might have done a little injustice to them on political ground but many of the capable Hindus were raised to high posts and positions. In spite of the privileges accorded to them, the rulers failed to win the hearts of Hindu chiefs and peasantry who induced rebellions and created disturbance in the empire. This is why Balban, Alauddin Khalji and Ghiyasuddin Tughluq had to adopt repressive measures against them.

Deterio-
ration of
the ruling
house

The deterioration of the ruling house may also account for the fall of the Sultanate of Delhi. Many of the Sultans led a pompous and luxurious life and cared little for the State. Moreover, the policy of Indianization did not prove beneficial to the State. Alauddin's "wooing of Hindu princes and his infatuation for Malik Kafur did more than anything else to undermine his prestige and to degrade the monarchy", says Dr. A. M. Husain. The union of Hindu-Muslim marriage could not always produce a man of strong character and hence the bulk of the Sultans of Delhi lost vigour and energy, courage and capacity to hold the sceptre.

To these causes we may add the foreign invasions. In the period of the Early Turkish Empire, the Khalji and the Tughluq, the Mongols always

Results of
foreign in-
vasions

entered into the frontiers of India. Their attacks were so sudden and terrible that many of the Sultans could not lead expeditions to a distant land for their fear. It was during the time of the later Tughluqs that the Delhi Empire received a great blow at the hands of Timur. His attack was soon followed by anarchy and many of the provinces declared their independence of the Delhi Sultanate. In 1526, Babur attacked India and gave a final blow to the tottering empire of Delhi in the historic field of Panipat. Thus the Sultanate of Delhi came to an end.

CHAPTER IX

INDEPENDENT KINGDOMS OF THE NORTHERN AND SOUTHERN INDIA

The fall of the Delhi Sultanate resulted in the establishment of a number of independent States in many parts of Indo-Pakistan. Bengal was one of the earliest provinces which declared its independence in 1338 A.D. "Its distance from the capital and its immense wealth had often tempted its governors to rise in revolt against the central authority."

In 1201, Ikhtiyaruddin Muhammad bin Bakhtiyar Khalji carried the victorious banner of Islam in the East and captured Nadia, the capital of the Sen kings of Bengal. Bengal was made a province of the Sultanate of Delhi and Ikhtiyaruddin Muhammad bin Bakhtiyar Khalji was appointed its governor. Thenceforth Bengal owed its allegiance to the Sultans of Delhi. But under Balban, Bengal revolted under the leadership of Tughril Khan who had assumed the royal title and struck coins in his own name. The Sultan punished him and appointed his son, Bughra Khan, governor of Bengal. In the time of Ghiyasuddin Tughluq, a civil war which broke out between two brothers for the vice-regal throne of Bengal, invited the interference of the Sultan. He was soon able to enforce his authority over there.

Relation of
Bengal with
the early
Sultans of
Delhi

Kingdom of Bengal

Bengal came to be recognised as an independent kingdom of the Delhi Sultanate, when Fakhruddin revolted against Muhammad bin Tughluq and proclaimed himself ruler of Sonargoan (Eastern Bengal) under the title of Fakhruddin Mubarak Shah. About the same time Alauddin Ali Shah made himself independent in Western Bengal and removed his capital from Lakhnauti to Pandua. Thus the kingdom of Bengal was divided into two parts, each of which was governed by an independent king.

Bengal declared independence during Muhammad bin Tughluq

Ilyas Shahi dynasty of Bengal (1342-1414)

Achievements of
Ilyas Shah

Ilyas, an officer of Alauddin Ali, murdered his patron and ascended the throne of West Bengal in 1343 A.D./743 A.H. By conquering East Bengal in 1353 A.D., he united the two halves of Bengal and thus he became the first independent ruler of the entire province under the title of Shamsuddin Ilyas Shah. With the accession of Ilyas Shah, a new chapter was opened in the history of Bengal. On his accession he extended his power into different directions. 'He exacted tribute from the kingdoms of Orissa and Tirhut.' He extended his dominions as far as Benares. Firuz Shah Tughluq got alarmed at the activities of Ilyas Shah and sent an expedition against him. But the attempts of the Sultan ended in failure. The reign of Ilyas Shah was marked by peace and prosperity. He died at Pandua in 1358 and was succeeded by his son, Sikandar Shah, who was an equally strong and capable monarch.

Sikandar
Shah, 1358

The Sultan made a second attempt to recover Bengal but Sikandar Shah like his father took shelter in the fort of Ikdala and frustrated the effort of Firuz Shah, who had to recognise him as the independent ruler of Bengal. We have got a large number of coins of various designs of his reign and these coins speak of a prosperous reign of Sinkandar Shah. He built a magnificent mosque at Adina (near Pandua). But his family life was not happy. He was killed in a fight with his son Ghiyasuddin Azam who revolted against him.

Ghiyasud-
din Azam

Ghiyasuddin Azam ascended the throne of Bengal in 1393. He had a profound regard for law. He received an embassy from China in 1408 and himself sent one to China in 1409. He died (1410) after a reign of 17 years. Ghiyasuddin Azam was succeeded by his son Saifuddin Hamza Shah. Under him a Hindu zamindar named Ganesh rose to power and seized the throne in 1411.

Saifuddin
Hamza
Shah

According to the Muslim historians Raja Ganesh, a Hindu zamindar of Dinajpur ruled Bengal as an independent king and abdicated the throne in favour of his son Jadu who later on became a Muslim and

assumed the title of Jalaluddin Muhammad Shah (1414). As no coin of Raja Ganesh has been found, it has been suggested by some scholars that he was never an independent king but ruled the country in the name of some descendants of Ilyas Shah. He persecuted Muslims and tried to re-establish Hindu supremacy in Bengal. However, the rule of his dynasty did not last long. Jalaluddin Muhammad Shah died in 1431. He was a pious Muslim and tried his

Raja Ganesh
and his
successors
(1414-42)



Adina Masjid, Pandua

best to spread Islam in the country. He transferred his capital from Pandua to Gaur. During his reign there was peace and prosperity in the country. Jalaluddin Muhammad Shah was succeeded by his son Shamsuddin Ahmed who reigned from 1413 to 1442. He was extremely unpopular on account of his tyranny and was murdered in 1442. With the death of this man, the dynasty of Raja Ganesh came to an end and the old dynasty of Ilyas Shah was restored.

Achievements of
Jalaluddin
Muhammad
Shah

Restoration of
Ilyas Shahi
dynasty
(1442-86)

On the death of Shamsuddin Ahmed the nobles placed Nasiruddin Mahmud, a grandson of Ilyas, on the throne. He built a few buildings at Gaur and a mosque at Satgaon. It is said that 'Muslim rule was extended over parts of Jessore and Khulna districts during his reign'. He was succeeded by his son Ruknuddin Barbak Shah who was the first ruler in Bengal to maintain a large number of Abyssinian slaves. He patronised Bengali literature and the poet Maladhar Basu 'who received his patronage was honoured by the title, Gunaraj Khan'. He died in 1474. Shamsuddin Yusuf Shah succeeded to the throne after the death of his father Ruknuddin Barbak Shah. He ruled Bengal from 1474 to 1481. It was during his reign that Sylhet was conquered by the Muslims. He was succeeded by Sikandar II. But the new ruler was soon deposed and Jalaluddin Fateh Shah, a son of Nasiruddin Mahmud was placed on the throne. The Abyssinian slaves became very powerful during his time. Fateh Shah realised the growing power of the Abyssinians and tried to check the same but he was murdered in 1486 by one of the slaves named Barbak.

Jalaluddin
Fateh Shah

Habshi
kings
(1486-93)

In 1486 A.D. Barbak Shah ascended the throne under the title of Sultan Shahzada. But he was murdered within a few months by Idil Khan. Idil Khan became the ruler of Bengal and assumed the title of Saifuddin Firuz. He died in 1489 and was succeeded by Nasiruddin Mahmud Shah II. During this time intrigues and assassinations pervaded the country and chaos and confusion reigned supreme in the land. Nasiruddin Mahmud Shah II was ousted in 1490 by Sidi Badr who took up the title of Shamsuddin Abu Nasir Muzaffar Shah. He ruled Bengal from 1490 to 1493. The oppression and tyranny of Muzaffar Shah created much discontent in the country and resulted in the rebellion. Alaaddin Husain, an Arab Sayyid by descent and the minister of the king took the lead of this rebellion. The king was besieged in Gaur for four months in course of which Muzaffar Shah died. The nobles then put Alaaddin Husain, another foreigner, on the throne of Bengal.

Nasiruddin
Mahmud
Shah

Muzaffar
Shah

Rebellion
under
Alaaddin
Shah

Husain Shahi Dynasty (1493-1538)

With the accession of Alaaddin Husain, there opened a new chapter in the history of Bengal. It makes not only the beginning of a new dynasty but also a new era of peace and prosperity. The first act of Alaaddin Husain Shah was to crush the influence of the palace guards composed of the force of the 'Paiks' who had become too powerful. A great part of the force of the 'Paiks' was disbanded and dispersed. He finally expelled the Abyssinians from Bengal as their presence had become a menace. He recalled the old Muslim and Hindu nobles to high offices. These measures of Husain Shah restored order and stability in the kingdom. He gave shelter to Husain Shah Shariq of Jaunpur in Bengal when he was driven from his kingdom by Sikander Lodi of Delhi. He tried to recover those parts of the kingdom that had been lost during the confusion of the previous reign. He extended the limits of his kingdom up to the borders of Orissa in the south. He recovered Magadha from the king of Jaunpur, invaded Assam and captured Kamatapur in Koch-Bihar (1499). According to Dr. A. B. M. Habibullah, "With the exception of the Assam campaign all the military projects of Husain were crowned with success." "The territory of Muslim Bengal expanded on all sides during his time."

A new era
in the his-
tory of
Bengal

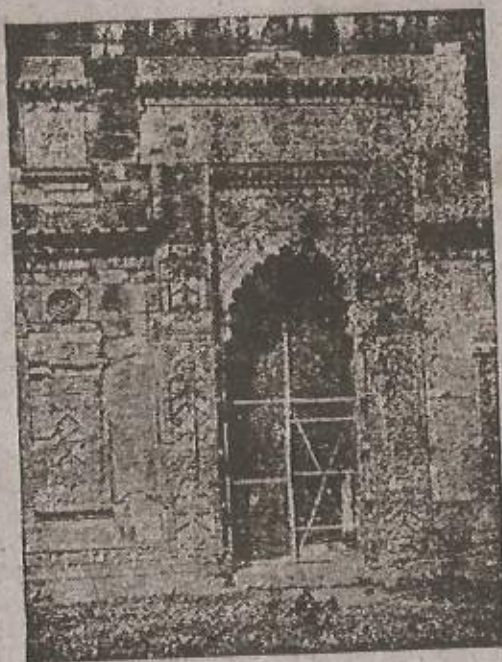
Achieve-
ments of
Alaaddin
Husain
Shah

Husain Shah was undoubtedly the greatest of his dynasty. No rebellion disturbed the peace of his prosperous reign. He was very particular about the welfare of his subjects. He was tolerant to the Hindus and appointed many talented Hindus to the important posts in the State. It was during his reign that the Vishnava saint Sri Chaitanya preached the doctrine of the Bhakti Cult. Husain Shah was a great patron of learning and his reign was famous for the development of Bengali language and literature. Maladhar Basu, Bijay Gupta, Bipradas—all these Bengali poets received liberal patronage at the hands of Husain Shah. During his reign Vijay Gupta of Barisal translated the *Padma-puran* into Bengali. Kavindra Parameshwar of Chittagong was a great poet who, under the patro-

Tolerant
policy to-
wards the
Hindus

Patronage of
literature

nage of Paragal Khan, General of Husain Shah, translated the *Mahabharata* for the first time into Bengali. The period of Husain Shah may be regarded as the golden age of Medieval Bengali literature. Alauddin Husain Shah built a large number of mosques and aims houses in different parts of his kingdom. The *Choto Sona Masjid* built by him at Gaur speaks of his love of architecture. He died at Gaur in 1518 A.D. "having enjoyed a peaceful and happy reign, beloved by his subjects and respected by his neighbours."



Choto Sona Masjid, Gaur

Nasrat Shah was a patron of architecture and literature

Alauddin Husain Shah was succeeded in 1518 by his son Nasrat Shah. He was a man of amiable disposition. Nasrat Shah inherited the good qualities of his father. He has been described by Babur in his autobiography as one of the leading rulers of India. Early in his reign he annexed Tirhut. He gave shelter to many Afghan nobles who had fled from Delhi after the battle of Panipat and thereby

incurred the displeasure of Babur. After the battle of Gogra, he was compelled to make peace with the Mughal emperor. During his reign the Portuguese made their appearance in Bengal but their arrogance and misconduct soon called his attention. Their property was confiscated and their leaders were sent to Gaur as prisoners. Nasrat Shah was a patron of art, architecture and literature. He constructed two famous mosques—the *Bara Sona Masjid* (Great Golden Mosque) and *Qadam Rasul* at Gaur. He patronised Bengali literature and is said to have ordered a Bengali translation of the *Mahabharata*. He treated his brothers with greatest affection and doubled their inheritance. He was assassinated by his palace eunuchs in 1532.

Alauddin Firuz Shah ascended the throne after the death of his father Nasrat Shah. He ruled for about three months and was overthrown by his uncle, Ghiyasuddin Mahmud Shah who was the last ruler of the Husain Shahi dynasty. He was expelled from Bengal by Sher Shah who occupied Gaur in 1538.

Mahmud Shah

Thus Bengal became a part of the empire of Sher Shah. On the death of Sher Shah Bengal resumed its independence under the leadership of Sulayman Karrani who established a new Afghan dynasty. The authority of the Afghan family was overthrown by Akbar the Great and Bengal was annexed to the Mughal empire in 1576.

Islam in Bengal

The Muslim rule in Bengal brought about a great change in the cultural and social life of the people. In the train of warriors and administrators came Muslim saints and savants who preached Islam in the land. The *sufis* established *darghas* and *Khanqahs* and carried on their mission to the distant part of the country. Their piety and way of life attracted thousands of converts from the down-trodden Hindu masses.

Spread of Islam in Bengal

Of the *sufis* and saints, the name of Shah Jalal of Sylhet, Makhdum-ul-Mulk Sharfuddin Yahya Maneri, Shaikh Akhi Siraj-ud-din, Shaikh Alaul Haq

Sufis and
saints in
Bengal

and Shaikh Nur Qutb may be specially mentioned here. Shah Jalal did much for the spread of Islam in Sylhet. He died in Sylhet and his *dargah* there is still visited by large number of people. Shaikh Akhi Sirajuddin preached Islam in Gaur and Pandua. Shaikh Alaul Haq and Shaikh Nur Qutb whose tombs are in Choti Dargah in Pandua took up the cause of Islam in this region. The popularity of Shaikh Alaul Haq aroused the jealousy of Sultan Sikdar Shah who exiled him to Sonargaon. But the Sultan had a great regard for Shaikh Qutb Nur whose tomb he used to visit every year. Shah Ismail lived at Lakhnauti during the reign of Sultan Rukn-ud-din Barbak Shah who put him to death on charges of disloyalty. These and many other unnamed *sufis* and saints established *khanqahs* "to which the rural masses flocked from time to time to find solace and comfort in their wordly difficulties and seek salvation and guidance in their spiritual yearning". In view of the tolerant policy and good treatment of the Muslims the Buddhists who had been ill-treated by the Hindus embraced Islam.

Influence of
Islam on
Hindu
society

The influence of Islam on the Hindu society 'led to the rise of several religious and social reformers who made serious efforts at reforming society from within'. The Vaishnava saint Sri Chaitanya who preached his mission on monotheism and equality of man was indebted to Islam. The Sultans of Bengal gave various opportunities to the Hindus in the field of religion and culture.

Kingdom of Jaunpur

During the
reign of
Mahmud
Tughluq,
Khwaja
Jahan declar-
ed independ-
ence

The city of Jaunpur was founded by Firuz Shah Tughluq in 1360 to commemorate the name of his cousin and patron, Muhammad Jauna. During the reign of the last Sultan of the Tughluq dynasty, Khwaja Jahan, a eunuch whose real name was Sarwar, threw off his allegiance to Delhi Sultanate and founded a dynasty of independent rulers at Jaunpur, known as the Sharqi dynasty after his title 'Malikush-Sharq' (lord of the East). He suppressed the rebellions in Etawah, Koll and Qanauj and brought under

Ibrahim was
most
of the
of a
ur

his subjugation the chiefs of Kara, Sandila Bahraich, Dalman and Bihar. Khwaja Jahan compelled the neighbouring chiefs and zamindars to acknowledge his authority. He was succeeded in 1399 by his adopted son, Mubarak Shah who died in 1400.

The next ruler Ibrahim Shah Sharqi, younger brother of the late Sultan, was the ablest and most remarkable ruler of this dynasty. On the death of Iqbal Khan, Mahmud Tughluq returned to Delhi and in the meantime Ibrahim Shah captured Qanauj. This success emboldened him to carry his arms into Delhi but the news of the advance of Muzaffar Shah of Gujrat forced him to abandon the conquered districts of Sambol and Baran. He invaded Bengal to punish Raja Ganesh who was persecuting the Muslims. Raja Ganesh promised to desist and allowed his son to embrace Islam. Himself a man of culture, Ibrahim Shah patronised art and literature. Under him Jaunpur became a celebrated centre of Muslim art and learning. The city was adorned with the construction of beautiful buildings. The *Atala Masjid* built by him "stands as a brilliant specimen of Jaunpur style of architecture."

Under Ibrahim
him Jaunpur
became a cen-
tre of learn-
ing

Ibrahim Shah died in 1440 and was succeeded by his son, Mahmud Shah. He annexed the great part of the district of Chunar but his attempt at capturing Kalpi ended in failure. The *Lal Darwaja* was built by him. Husain Shah was the last independent ruler of Jaunpur. He built a magnificent *Jami Masjid*. In 1467, he was expelled by Bahlol Lodi who appointed his son, Barbak as governor of Jaunpur with full sovereign powers. Thus the independence of Jaunpur was brought to an end. The period of Sharqi rule in Jaunpur which lasted for more than 80 years was marked by prosperity and development of Indian art and literature.

Bahlol Lodi
expelled the
last indepen-
dent ruler
of Jaunpur

'Jaunpur was the first Muhammadan stronghold planted in the very midst of the most Hindu part of Northern India.' It became an important centre of Muslim culture and learning under the Sharqi kings and produced a number of scholars who led men and movements. The cultural eminence of Jaunpur earned for it the title, "the Shiraz of India".

Importance
of Jaunpur

Kingdom of Malwa

Malwa was conquered in 1310 by Alauddin Khalji and from that time it was ruled by provincial governors till 1401 when Delwar Khan, a descendant of Muhammad Ghuri and the then governor, proclaimed independence. Delwar Khan was succeeded by his son, Hushang Shah who transferred his capital to Mandu. He was defeated and carried off as a prisoner by Muzaffar Shah of Gujrat. He was soon restored to his kingdom. His worthless son, Muhammad Shah, succeeded him but was murdered by his minister, Mahmud Khan, a Khalji Turk, who usurped the throne in 1436.

Mahmud Khan was a great warrior and general. He fought against the ruler of Gujrat and Rana Kumbha of Mewar. He also led an expedition against the Bahmani kingdom. His fame was so spread outside India that the Khalifah of Egypt recognised his position. He was the greatest of the Muslim kings of Malwa. The kingdom of Malwa reached its zenith under him. He was a just and generous administrator. Hindus and Muslims lived side by side in peace and happiness.

The next Sultan, Ghiyasuddin, was a lover of peace but was soon poisoned to death by his son, Nasiruddin who ascended the throne in 1500. The last ruler of this dynasty was Mahmud II, under whom the Rajput influence became prominent in Malwa. He appointed Madini Rai, a Rajput Chief-tain as his minister who soon became all powerful in the empire. The Muslim nobles in order to get rid of his minister invited Muzaffar Shah II of Gujrat to their help. But Madini Rai, with the help of Rana Sanga of Chitor, defeated Muzaffar Shah and captured him. The vanquished ruler was restored to his kingdom. But he soon incurred the wrath of the Rana by invading his territory.

The Rana's ally Bahadur Shah of Gujrat attacked Mahmud Shah II, and captured Mandu in 1531 and annexed Malwa to Gujrat. Thus the independence of Malwa came to an end.

The Mughal Emperor Humayun captured Malwa in 1535 from Bahadur Shah of Gujrat, Sher Shah

The Ghuri
kings of
Malwa

Hushang
Shah

Achieve-
ments of
Mahmud
Khan

Mahmud
II was the
last inde-
pendent
ruler of
Malwa

KINGDOM OF KASHMIR

captured it in 1542 and Akbar finally conquered it in 1561.

Kingdom of Gujrat

Gujrat was first conquered and annexed to Delhi by Alauddin Khalji in 1297 A.D. Since then it was ruled by Muslim governors. In 1401, Zafar Khan, the son of a Rajput convert who was appointed governor there, proclaimed his independence and assumed the title of Sultan Muzaffar Shah. Muzaffar Shah waged a successful war against the ruler of Malwa and captured Dhar. He was succeeded by his grandson, Ahmad Shah, who has been regarded as the real founder of independent Gujrat. He was a good warrior and led successful campaigns against the ruler of Malwa and the neighbouring Rajput chiefs. He was a good administrator and an impartial judge. He devoted his attention to the civil administration of his empire. In the first year of his reign he founded the city of Ahmadabad and made it his capital.

Mahmud Bigarah, a grandson of Ahmad Shah was the next important ruler who fought against the ruler of Malwa and conquered Girnar and Champaner. During his reign the Portuguese made their first appearance in India. He, in order to drive them out, invited the Mamluk Sultan of Egypt to his help and the combined fleet defeated the Portuguese in the harbour of Caul in 1508. But the Portuguese inflicted a crushing defeat on the combined fleet near Diu in 1509 and forced Mahmud to grant them a site for a factory at Diu. Mahmud Bigarah died in 1511. "He added glory and lustre to the kingdom of Gujrat and was the best of all the kings, including all who preceded and all who succeeded him," says a famous Muslim historian. Under him the kingdom of Gujrat reached its extreme limits. After him, his son Muzaffar II ascended the throne. He waged successful wars against Rana Sangram Singh of Mewar.

Bahadur Shah, a grandson of Mahmud Bigarah, was another famous ruler in the history of Gujrat. His main achievements were the conquest of Malwa and the capture of Chitor. But he was defeated by

Gujrat first
conquered
by Alauddin
Khalji, 1297

Ahmad
Shah, the
real founder
of indepen-
dent Gujrat

Mahmud
Bigarah was
the most
important
ruler of
Gujrat

Bahadur
Shah, the
last great
ruler of
Gujarat

Humayun in 1535 and lost the greater part of his kingdom. With the withdrawal of the Delhi troops, Bahadur Shah regained his kingdom. In 1537, he was treacherously put to death by the Portuguese. Under his weak successors, Gujrat became the scene of disorder and confusion. In 1572, it was finally annexed to the Mughal empire by Akbar the Great.

Kashmir

Shamsuddin
Shah, the
first ruler
on Kashmir

Kashmir was mainly inhabited by the Muslims, but was ruled by the Hindu princes till 1349 when Shah Mirza, after the death of his royal patron, ascended the throne under the title of Samsuddin Shah. He had several sons who reigned successively for about 45 years.

Zainul Abidin, the
Akbar of
Kashmir
was a liberal
ruler and
a patron
of education

Of the rulers of Kashmir, Zainul Abedin was the best and the most liberal under whom people enjoyed a peaceful and prosperous reign. He tried his level best to do good to the people. "He regulated the prices of commodities, lightened the burden of taxation on the people, and rehabilitated the currency which had been greatly debased during the reign of his predecessors." He was a man of liberal views and broader ideas. He was remarkably tolerant to other religions. He recalled the Hindus who had left the kingdom during the reign of Sikandar and granted them all sorts of privileges in his kingdom. He abolished the Jizya and allowed the Hindus to rebuild their temples, which had been destroyed during the previous reign. A scholar in Persian, Hindi and Tibetan, Zainul Abedin patronised learning and literature. He caused the *Mahabharata* and the *Rajtarangini* to be translated into Persian and "several Arabic-Persian books were translated into the Hindi language." Considering all these qualities he may be called "the Akbar of Kashmir."

Under the weak successors of Zainul Abedin, anarchy reigned supreme in Kashmir. Towards the end of 1540, Haider Mirza, a relative of Humayun, occupied it. But the Mirza dynasty was overthrown by the Chakk dynasty in 1561. Akbar conquered and annexed it to his empire in 1586.

The Bahmani Kingdom

Among the independent States that arose on the ruins of the Sultanate of Delhi the Bahmani kingdom was the most prominent and powerful. During the reign of Muhammad bin Tughluq, the nobles of the Deccan rose in revolt as a protest against the tyranny and oppression of the Sultan and sieged the fort of Daulatabad under the leadership of Ismail Mukh who soon resigned from his post in favour of Hasan. He proclaimed his independence and assumed the title of Hasan Abul Muzaffar Ala-uddin Bahman Shah. The dynasty founded by him is known as the Bahmani dynasty. The story, that Hasan was originally a servant of a Brahman astrologer named Gangu and that he named his dynasty after his master and patron, is not supported by the later historians and the evidences of coins and inscriptions. Hasan claimed his descent from the famous Persian hero, Bahman bin Isfandiyar. On his accession Ala-uddin Shah established his capital at Gulbarga. He soon launched upon a brilliant career of conquest. His territories were extended from the Waingana river in the north to the Krishna river in the south and from Daulatabad in the west to Bhongir (in the Nizam's dominions) in the east. He divided the empire into four *tarafs* or provinces each under a governor. The author of *Burhan-i-Masir* says, "Sultan Ala-uddin-I was a just king and the cherisher of his people and pious. During his reign his subjects and the army used to pass their time in perfect ease and content and he did much towards propagating the true faith."

The
Bahmani
dynasty
was founded
by Ala-uddin
Bahman
Shah

Ala-uddin Shah was succeeded in 1338 by his son, Muhammad Shah I who re-organised the administration on a sound basis. But his reign was mostly occupied in waging wars against the rulers of Warrangal and Vijayanagar. These rulers gave a strong resistance but were defeated and forced to conclude peace on humiliating terms. The struggle between Bahmani kingdom and Vijayanagar was continued by his successor, Mujahid, who made an unsuccessful attempt to capture it. The next ruler,

Muhammad
Shah I,
1358-73

Muhammad
Shah II

Muhammad Shah II was a peace-loving man who devoted his time to learning and architecture. The eighth Sultan, Firuz Shah (1397-1422) was a mighty ruler. He followed the traditional policy of his dynasty in waging wars against the ruler of Vijayanagar and some other Hindu kings of the Deccan. But towards the close of his reign he was defeated by the Vijayanagar troops at Pangul. After this event he left the administration in the hands of his brother Ahmad. Firuz Shah was a generous and cultured prince at the beginning of his reign, but later on he became degenerated. He beautified the capital with many buildings.

Firuz Shah,
1397-1422.

Ahmad
Shah

On his accession, Ahmad Shah carried on the struggle against Vijayanagar to avenge the defeat of his brother at Pangul. A battle was fought on the bank of Tungabhadra in which the Raja was defeated and forced to purchase peace by paying the arrears of tribute and sending valuable presents. In 1424, he attacked Warrangal and captured it. Next he waged wars against the Muslim rulers of Malwa and Gujrat. He transferred his capital from Gulbarga to Bidar. After his death his son Alauddin II became the ruler of the Bahmani kingdom. Soon after his accession he had to suppress a rebellion headed by his own brother. In 1436, he reduced the Hindu chiefs of Konkan to submission and in 1443, he waged war against Vijayanagar and compelled the Raja to buy peace by promising regular payment of tribute. Alauddin II was a 'stern ruler, a great builder and a patron of learning.'

Conquest
of Warran-
gal and the
removal of
capital to
Bidar

Alauddin
II

After the death of Alauddin Shah, his son Humayun ascended the throne in 1457. He was a cruel despot who showed no mercy in shedding human blood. But he was fortunate enough to secure the services of Mahmud Gawan who loyally served the State to the last day of his life. He died in 1461 and was succeeded by his minor son, Nizam Shah. During his minority, the administration of the empire was conducted by the Queen mother, Makhdoomah-i-Jahan, with the help of Khwaja Jahan and Mahmud Gawan. It was at that time that the rulers of Orissa and Telingana invaded his kingdom, but they

Humayun,
1457-61

Nizam
Shah

were driven back by Mahmud Gawan. Next Mahmud Khalji of Malwa invaded the territory of the minor king and occupied Bidar. The attack was repulsed only when the ruler of Gujrat sent his army for help. On the death of Nazim Shah the nobles raised his brother, Muhammad III, a boy of nine to the throne in 1463. The new king put the old minister, Khwaja Jahan to death for the embezzlement of public funds and Mahmud Gawan became the chief minister in the State. The military record of Mahmud Gawan was one of triumph. He fought against and subjugated the Hindu States of the Deccan and "increased the Bahmani dominions to an extent never reached before." In 1472, he invaded the chiefs of the Konkan and captured Goa. He led successful expeditions against the Andhra country and Orissa. In the course of a campaign against Narasingha of Vijayanagar the city of Kanchi was plundered and captured. But this 'unrivalled minister' could not save himself from the Deccani faction. The Deccanees became jealous of his power and influence. To get rid of him they, by means of a forged letter, convinced the Sultan of his treasonable intention and one fine morning Mahmud Shah ordered him to be executed. "With him," says Meadows Taylor, "departed all the cohesion and power of the Bahmani kingdom."

Muhammad
III

Military
operations
of Mahmud
Gawan

Execution
of Mahmud
Gawan

Mahmud Gawan was one of the foremost figures in the political history of Indo-Pakistan and was the greatest statesman of southern India. He served the Bahmani kingdom under Alauddin Humayun Shah and his son Muhammad Shah III with conspicuous ability and integrity. He was a great general and conqueror as well as a remarkable administrator. He reformed the system of revenue based upon survey and assessment. The agriculturists were allowed the option of paying the revenue of the State either in cash or in kind. He also reformed the army and improved the administration of justice. It was under him that the big provinces were divided into two and the administration of these were entrusted to officers directly appointed and paid by the Sultan. These administrative measures curtailed the

Estimate
of Mahmud
Gawan

Great general and administrator

Patron of learning

Fall of the Bahmani Kingdom

Internal disorder was mainly responsible for its fall

Many of the Sultans were good administrators and patrons of learning

powers of the governors. A lover of justice, a man of spotless integrity, magnanimous and chivalrous, Mahmud Gawan was a munificent patron of learning and built at Bidar a magnificent college. He was simple in his habits and pious in the observance of his faith. The only property which he left at his death was his splendid library at Bidar which contained 3,000 books.

Muhammad Shah breathed his last in 1482 and was succeeded by his minor son, Mahmud Shah. During the reign of the minor king, disorder and confusion increased on all sides and taking this advantage the provincial governors began to declare their independence. The faction between the Deccanees and the foreigners continued as before, but the rulers had not the courage and ability to stop it. Mahmud Gawan was a dominating personality and a capable administrator of the Bahmani kingdom. His death was a fatal blow to the kingdom. Besides the removal of this strong and able minister, the demoralization of the later Sultans and the division into provincial governments proved detrimental and ultimately hastened the fall of the empire.

Of the eighteen kings of this dynasty, some of them were weak and worthless and some of them were able and efficient administrators. The history of this dynasty is mainly a history of warfare waged against the Hindu States, especially against Vijayanagar. Some of the rulers of Vijayanagar had to drink the cup of humiliation at their hands. One of their rulers gave his daughter in marriage to Firuz Shah. Most of the rulers of the Bahmani kingdom championed the cause of Islam in the South where it was in danger. Considering the history of Europe in the 15th and 18th centuries, they cannot be blamed for religious persecution. In the midst of warfare and internal troubles, Bahmani Sultans took steps for the betterment of the subjects. Many of them were great patrons of arts and architecture, learning and education. Regarding the condition of the empire, a Russian traveller named Athanasius Nikitin, who visited the Bahmani kingdom during the reign of Muhammad Shah III, says, "The country

was populous, the lands well-cultivated, the roads safe from robbers. The capital of the kingdom was a magnificent city with parks and promenades. The nobles lived in great magnificence, but the lot of the people in the country was hard and miserable."

On the break-up of the Bahmani kingdom, five independent states arose, one after another in the Deccan. The dynasties derived their names from the title of the founders. The Imad Shahi dynasty of Berar was founded by Fathullah Imad Shah in 1490. This dynasty lasted up to 1574 when it was annexed by Ahmadnagar. Ahmad Nizam Shah founded the Nizam Shahi dynasty at Ahmadnagar (1490-1637). It was finally annexed by Shah Jahan to the Mughal Empire. Yusuf Adil Shah founded the Adil Shahi dynasty at Bijapur in 1490. Quli Qutub Shah founded the Qutb Shahi dynasty at Golkunda in 1512. Bijapur and Golkunda were finally annexed by Aurangzeb to the Mughul Empire in 1686 and 1687 respectively.

The Barid Shahi dynasty of Bidar was established by Amir Barid in 1526. It was annexed by the Adil Shahis of Bijapur to their empire in 1618-19 A.D.

Kingdom of Khandesh

Khandesh was situated in the valley of the Tafti river. The territory was known as Khandesh (land of the Khan) from the title of Khan adopted by its founder.

It was a province of Muhammad bin Tughluq's empire. Firuz Shah Tughluq entrusted its government to Malik Raja, one of his personal attendants in 1370. After the death of Firuz Shah, Malik Raja declared his independence of the Delhi Sultanate. He was a man of peaceful disposition and treated his subjects—both Muslims and Hindus with kindness and consideration. He was succeeded in 1399 by his son, Malik Nasir who captured the fortress of Asirgarh from a powerful chieftain. But he was defeated by Ahmad Shah, the Sultan of Gujrat. During the reign of his successors who possessed no ability to run the administration, the fortunes of

Offshoots of the Bahmani Kingdom

Capture of Asirgarh by Malik Nasir

Khandesh rapidly declined. Adil Khan II, one of the grandsons of Malik Nasir, was an able ruler who tried hard to restore administrative order in the kingdom. But he was followed by a series of weak rulers who could not resist the encroachment of foreign powers. The fortress of Asirgarh fell into the hands of the Mughul emperor, Akbar in 1601 and Khandesh was subsequently annexed to his empire.

Kingdom of Vijayanagar

There is a great deal of controversy about the origin of the Vijayanagar kingdom. It was generally believed that the city of Vijayanagar was established by the five sons of Sangama on the southern bank of the Tungabhadra facing the fortress of Anagondi on the northern bank. This traditional account has been accepted by Sewell, the renowned historian of Vijayanagar Empire. According to some historians, Harihara and Bukka were in the service of the Raja of Warrangal. They fled from the country in 1324 when it was captured by the Muslims. They took shelter with the Raja of Anagondi in the Raichur district; but when that city too fell into the hands of the Muslims, they were taken to Delhi. After sometime the Sultan released them and allowed them to go to Anagondi and live there as vassals of Delhi. The five brothers got inspiration for their enterprise from the famous saint and scholar Madhava Vidyaratna and his brother Sayana. At their suggestion they founded the kingdom of Vijayanagar in 1336 A.D. as a place of refuge for the Hindus against the aggression of the Muslim invaders.

The significance of the Vijayanagar kingdom in the history of India is that for three centuries it stood as the bulwork of Hinduism and saved the Hindu culture and religion from being engulfed by the rush of Muslim culture. Secondly, the continual struggle between the kingdom of Vijayanagar and the Bahmani kingdom kept the Deccan Sultans busy and it thus indirectly prevented the extension of the Muslim empire in the North where the power of the Delhi Sultanate was on the road to decay and decline.

Harihara and Bukka who were mainly responsible for the foundation of the Vijayanagar empire did not assume the royal title. Bukka sent an embassy to the court of Chinese emperor in 1374. He was succeeded by his son, Harihara II, who was the first independent ruler of Vijayanagar. He consolidated his authority over a large part of Southern India and assumed all the royal titles. His reign was a period of 'unbroken peace.' Next Deva Raya I became the king. His reign was a struggle with the Bahmani king, Firuz Shah. He was defeated and forced to purchase a peace by giving his daughter in marriage to the Sultan. The greatest ruler of the line of Bukka was Deva Raya II under whom the authority of Vijayanagar empire was established over the whole of southern India. He met with some reverses in his wars with the Bahmani kings, Ahmad Shah and Alauddin. During this reign the two distinguished travellers Nicolo Conti and Abdur Razzaq visited Vijayanagar and have left valuable accounts of the country. Under his successors, confusion reigned supreme in the empire and Narasinga Saluva, the governor of Chandragiri took this opportunity and usurped the throne in 1486. This is known as the First Usurpation. Narasinga was a capable ruler who conquered the Tamil country to the south. He was always at war with the Sultan of the Bahmani kingdom. He was succeeded by his son, Immadi Narista who was murdered by his general Narsa Nayaka. This is known as the Second Usurpation. The dynasty founded by Narsa Nayaka is known as the Tuluva dynasty.

Krishna Raya was the greatest ruler of the new dynasty and one of the best rulers in the history of India. He was a gallant warrior and a successful administrator. He led a campaign against the Raja of Orissa and captured the fortress of Udayagiri in the Nellore district. The greatest of his military achievements was the recovery of the Raichur Doab from Ismail Adil Shah of Bijapur. He temporarily occupied Bijapur and destroyed the fortress of Gulbarga, the early capital of the Bahmani kingdom. But the cruel and inhuman behaviour of his officers gave offence to the Muslim states. Krishna Raya was

Bukka

Saluva
dynasty
founded
by Narasinga
Saluva, 1486

Tuluva
dynasty
founded
by Nayaka

Krishna
Raya, the
greatest
king of
the Tuluva
dynasty

Conquest
of Raichur

Origin of
the Vijaya-
nagar
Empire

The signifi-
cance of
the Vijaya-
nagar em-
pire is to
save Hindu
culture and
religion in
the south

famous for his religious zeal, tolerance and hospitality to the foreigners. He maintained friendly relations with the Portuguese and granted them some concessions. In 1510, Albuquerque, the Portuguese Governor conquered Goa from the Muslims and obtained permission to build a fort at Bhatkhal by sending a mission to the ruler of Vijayanagar. The Portuguese traveller, Paes who visited Vijayanagar during this time praised Krishna Raya in eloquent terms and has left a vivid account of his personal appearance and character. Himself an accomplished scholar, the Raya was a generous patron of learning. Under him the Vijayanagar empire rose to the zenith of its glory and prosperity.

Krishna Raya was succeeded by his weak and incapable successor Achyuta Raya. After his death his nephew Sadasiva Raya succeeded him. But the real power was in the hands of his minister, Rama Raja who took an important part in the politics of the Deccan. He played one against the other accordingly as it suited his own purpose. In 1543, he made an alliance with Ahmadnagar and Golkunda against Bijapur. But his object was frustrated by the diplomacy of Asad Khan, the able minister of Bijapur. In 1558, he joined Bijapur and Golkunda against Ahmadnagar and ravaged the latter's territory so much that all the Deccan Sultans except that of Berar were compelled to stand up against the common enemy. In 1565, the combined armies of Bijapur, Ahmadnagar, Golkunda and Bidar fought against Vijayanagar and inflicted a crushing defeat on it in the battle of Talikota. The battle of Talikota was one of the decisive battles in the history of India. It shattered all hopes of the revival of Hindu supremacy in the South.

Rama Raja's brother, Trimala usurped the throne in 1570 by deposing Sadasiva and thereby laid the foundation of a new dynasty known as the Aravidu dynasty. The most remarkable ruler of this dynasty was Venkata who transferred his capital to Chandragiri. He was an able ruler and extended his patronage to poets and scholars. His

His relation
with the
Portuguese

Patron of
arts and
letters.

Rama Raja

Importance
of the battle
of Talikota

Aravidu
dynasty

weak and inefficient successors could not check the consequent rise of disintegrating forces. Ranga III was the last noble king who failed to resist the aggression of the Sultans of Bijapur and Golkunda. The insane pride, blind selfishness, disloyalty and mutual dissensions of the Vijayanagar kings largely facilitated the conquest by the Muslims states of the Deccan.

The government of Vijayanagar was highly centralised and the king, though assisted by a council of ministers, officers, scholars and priests was a perfect autocrat. He was the supreme authority in civil, military as well as judicial affairs and sometimes intervened to settle social disputes. His power was unlimited; but yet he was conscious of his responsibility. Krishna Raya says, "A crowned king should always rule with an eye towards Dharma." The empire was divided into several provinces each under a governor who enjoyed immense power and maintained his own court and army. Punishments for crimes were very severe and prostitution was considered as a source of income. On the whole the country was well-administered and the people lived in peace and prosperity.

Some of the rulers of Vijayanagar were patrons of literature and made immense contribution to the culture of southern India. Many beautiful and splendid buildings were built in the empire. The art of painting and sculpture attained a high level of excellence. Sapanas, the famous commentator on the Vedas and his brother Madhava, who flourished during the early part of the Vijayanagar rule, shed lustre on the court of Vijayanagar. Krishna Raya, Rama Raja and his brothers were all accomplished scholars. The former was a musician, poet and liberal patron of Telugu authors.

Vijayanagar was visited by a number of foreign travellers who have left glowing accounts of the empire. The Italian traveller Nicolo Conti who came to India during the reign of Deva Raya II estimated the circumference of the city to be 60 miles and was much impressed by the strength of

Admini-
stration

The kings
were despots
but benevo-
lent

Patronage
of arts and
literature

Foreign
travellers

Nicolo
Conti

Abdur
Razzaq

Paes and
Nunity

the fortifications. He considered the king to be more powerful than any other king in India. He refers to the practice of *Sati* prevalent in the empire at that time. Abdur Razzaq who visited Vijayanagar in 1443 gives a vivid description of its wealth and grandeur. He also says that the kingdom was well populated. The Portuguese travellers, Paes and Nunity visited the city of Vijayanagar in 1522 and 1535 respectively. Both of them speak of the magnificance of the court and the numerical strength of the army. Paes considered the kingdom of Vijayanagar as the best provided city in the world.

CHAPTER X

ADMINISTRATION, SOCIETY AND CULTURE UNDER THE DELHI SULTANATE

Nature of the Government

There was no recognised law of succession in the Sultanate period. Often the rulers were elected, and sometimes the ruling prince nominated his own successor. But though the priority of birth, the question of efficiency and the nomination of the dead king received some consideration, the choice of the nobles, who usually preferred personal convenience to the interest of the State, played a very important part in deciding the question of succession in the 13th and 14th centuries.

The Shar,
of a ruler
largely de-
pended upon
the nobility

The learned jurists of Islam believe in the supremacy of the *Shar* (the civil canonical law of Islam) and hold that it is eternal and unchangeable in its essence. The *Shar* is based on the Quran which was revealed to the Prophet who could not change but only explain and interpret the revelation. The structure of Muslim law is built on the Quran and the Hadith (tradition of the Prophet). "This law was the sovereign in Muslim lands and all were ruled by it."

The Shar,
the real
sovereign

The ruler appointed and accepted by the Muslims was the Khalifa who was the supreme judge and chief executive in the world of Islam. His representative in Delhi was the Sultan to whom he delegated his powers. But in course of time the Sultan became so powerful and was at such a distance that it would not have been possible for the Khalifa to meddle with his affairs. Hence the Sultan was the main human agency for enforcing and interpreting the law in the Empire.

The Sultan

The Sultan was the supreme interpreter of the law; but in practice he could not go against the recognised interpretation. He was only free to take an independent decision where the jurists disag-

reed. He had the power to make all civil and political regulations for public benefit; but he could not contravene the *Shar* 'in legislating on these occasions'. The supremacy of the *Shar* has misled many to think that the Muslim State of Indo-Pakistan was a theocracy. In the opinion of the Pakistan History Board, 'the essential feature of a theocracy (the rule of an ordained priest-hood) is missing in the organisation of the Muslim state, the jurists are all laymen who claim no immunity from error and wield no special power.'

The concentration of power in the hands of one man has led many historians to say that Muslim rule in Indo-Pakistan was the perfect example of despotism. According to them, the power of the Sultan was unlimited. But in practice all political power has certain limitations and depends for its very existence on the co-operation of strong elements in the State. The Sultan had very little legislative power and could not interfere with the personal and religious law of his subjects. He could command the support and loyalty of the faithful only so long as he ruled in accordance with the law. Some of the Sultans violated the laws of the *Shariat* and behaved like despots. But they were few and far between. The Sultan was not Caesar and the Pope in one as it is suggested by Dr. Iswari Prasad in his book, 'A Short History of Muslim Rule in India.'

The rulers of Indo-Pakistan had to depend on the active support of the nobles. They had also to secure the co-operation of the Ulema (the learned theologians) and the lawyers on account of their influence with the Muslim populace. The cultivators of the soil, the Hindu peasants and their representatives, the village headmen, the local chiefs and tribal heads were not to be ignored. Besides, there were many officers in various branches of the administration whose co-operation and support in the State services were essentially necessary. No ruler was successful in his projects without the support of any of these elements. Muhammad bin Tughluq was not successful, because he did not get the co-

operation of the officers and his execution had created widespread discontent throughout the empire. Alauddin Khalji's measures were successful in spite of many difficulties, for he had a very good technical staff at his disposal 'who efficiently co-operated with him.'

The Sultan had a council of friends and trusted officers whom he consulted in case of the important matters relating to the State. But the opinion of the councillors were not binding on him. He might accept it or refuse it. The Sultans like Iltutmish, Balban and Jalaluddin Khalji generally took the advice of the council before taking important step in any direction.

The Central Government

The highest officer in the Central Government was the *Wazir* and his department was called the *Diwan-i-Wazirat*. The *Diwan-i-Wazirat* was a very well-organised department under the Sultanate of Delhi. The central finance office was the immediate concern of the *Wazir*; but he was also responsible for the other offices at headquarters. The *Wazir* had an assistant called *Naib-Wazir*. He had two other important officers named *Mushrif-i-Mumalik* or Accountant-General and *Mustaufi-i-Mumalik* or Auditor-General. Both of them enjoyed ministerial rank and had direct access to the Sultan.

There were three other main departments, such as the *Diwan-i-Risalat*, the *Diwan-i-Arz*, the *Diwan-i-Insha*. The *Diwan-i-Risalat* dealt with religious matters, pious foundations, stipends to deserving scholars and men of piety, and the *Diwan-i-Arz* with the military department. The *Diwan-i-Insha* dealt with royal correspondence. Besides these, there were other departments. Each department had its own establishment consisting of secretaries helped by a number of clerks and subordinate officers.

The Sultans considered maintenance of justice their primary duty. Justice was usually administered by the Chief Qazi (*Qaziul-Qizat*) who was helped by *Mufsis* to expound the law. All important

The Muslim State in Indo-Pakistan was not a theocracy

Limitation on the Sultan's power

Necessity of co-operation

The Council

The Wazir was the highest officer

Other departments

Justice

Kotwal and
Muhtasib

towns had a Qazi for the administration of justice. The cases in which only the Hindus were concerned were decided by the *Panchayat*. The *Kotwal* was the custodian of peace and order. Another municipal officer called *Muhtasib* was 'to watch over the conduct of the people, to control the markets and to regulate weights and measures.' The Sultan kept himself informed of all the activities of his people through spies. Punishment was very severe for criminal cases. Firuz Shah Tughluq abolished some of the cruel forms of punishment.

Spy
system

Sources of
revenue

The sources of revenue were mainly derived from the land-tax called *Kharaj*, *Zakat*, *Jiziya* spoils of war, mines, custom duties and heirless property. Besides these, there were other taxes like house-tax, grazing-tax, water tax, etc. Taxes were paid both in cash and kind.

Provincial Administration

Division of
the empire
into pro-
vinces

The Empire was divided into a number of provinces, each of which was governed by a governor or *Wali*. According to Ziauddin Barani, there were 12 provinces at the beginning of the reign of Muhammad bin Tughluq. But afterwards the Sultan increased the number of provinces for the better administration of the empire. So the number of provinces varied from twenty to twenty-five. The governor was in charge of the civil as well as the military administration of the province. He maintained a local militia and had to render military help, if necessary, to the Sultan. But his office was not hereditary. His appointment, dismissal and transfer depended upon the will of the Sultan. He was paid from the revenue of the province and after meeting the expenses of his administration he had to remit the surplus to the Imperial Treasury.

Functions
of the
governor

The Army

In those stormy days the Sultan had to maintain a large army consisting of three parts—the cavalry, the infantry and the elephant corps. The provincial governors were ambitious, rebellion was rife and the mode of communication extremely difficult and in such a state of affairs, the only means to restrain the works of the provincial governors

and check their disruptive tendencies was the formation of a well disciplined standing army. In those days the rulers generally depended upon the provincial governors and fief-holders for the supply of troops in times of necessity. But this was an extremely irksome process. The provincial governors and the fief-holders sometimes put the Central Government in a difficult position by wilful negligence of the royal mandate.

Defects of
the standing
army

Alauddin Khalji was the first who conceived the idea of organising the Indian army on a solid and sound basis. He fixed the pay of the soldiers who were then paid by the Central Government in cash. He introduced the system of branding horses and thereby checked the corruption of the army. On his death, the efficiency of the army was greatly impaired and abuses slowly crept into the military organisation. The cavalry formed the backbone of the army. During the reign of Muhammad bin Tughluq the number of cavalry rose to 37,000 and in the reign of Firuz Shah 'there was an army of 80,000 and sometimes 90,000 horses exclusive of slaves.' The Arz-i-Mumalik administered the business of the army. But Firuz Shah Tughluq sowed the seeds for the future dissolution of the Delhi empire by increasing the power of the nobles at the expense of the State.

After Ala-
uddin
Khalji, the
efficiency
of the
army im-
paired

Social Condition

Islam has taught the world the idea of universal brotherhood. In Islam, a slave of to-day can be a king of to-morrow provided he has got requisite qualifications. During the Sultanate of Delhi no distinction was made in appointment to the services. Many a humble person rose to the highest position in the State by dint of his merit. Muslim society was not divided into water-tight compartments, though there were people of different professions. There were economic distinctions, no doubt, but that did not isolate the individual from the rest of his people. Some sections of the populace, namely the highly paid Government officers and the great trad-

ers were in affluent circumstances. A large number of the populace 'belonged to the middle class and some belonged to the humbler strata of society.'

The Muslim nobility during the Sultanate of Delhi occupied a prominent place in society. They exercised a great influence upon the activity of the Sultans. They enjoyed the key-posts in the State. The nobles played a very important role in deciding the question of succession. They became so powerful during the reign of the weak successors of Iltutmish that Ghiyasuddin Balban and Alauddin Khalji had to take steps to curb their power. During the reigns of the Lodi Sultans they became very proud and powerful. Ibrahim Lodi had lost his throne and life in going to curb their power. The nobles were generally graded as Khans, Maliks and Amirs. But the nobles in the 13th century did not act as a homogeneous and well-organised body like the nobles of France and England. The nobles sprang from men of various nationalities, such as Turks, Arabs, Afghans, Abyssinians, Egyptians, people of Java and Indians. Such a heterogeneous class could not work together to check the arbitrary actions of the Sultans. On the contrary they proved a source of trouble and danger to the empire. Most of these nobles started their careers as slaves.

The Ulema were held in high respect and they exercised a great influence in society. The power of the Ulema was curtailed by Alauddin Khalji; but after him no attempt was made to curb the influence of the Ulema. Muhammad bin Tughluq inflicted punishment on individuals and had nothing to do with the class of the Ulema and the Shaikh. The Sufis also played an important part in the social history of the Sultanate period. Besides the Ulema and the Shaikh, the Sayyids were respected by all classes of people.

Dependence of women on their husbands was a special feature of social life among the Hindus and the Muslims in Indo-Pakistan. They enjoyed a respectable position in the society. "The culture of the women varied according to the classes to which they belonged." Some of the upper class ladies evinced a keen interest in arts and sciences; but the ordi-

nary village women were absorbed in their domestic duties. The *Purda* system was prevalent both among the Hindus and the Muslims except in some coastal towns. Early marriage and the practice of *Sati* were in vogue among the Hindus. The Sultans maintained a large number of slaves. "Alauddin Khalji had 50,000 slaves and their number rose to 100,000 under Firuz Shah Tughluq." Some of the slaves rose to the highest position by dint of merit and ability. At first the slaves were beneficial to the State; but later they became a menace to the empire and brought about its downfall.

Some of the Sultans were generous and pious and nothing was reported against their conduct; but some of them led pompous and immoral life. Drinking and gambling seem to have been the common vices in the 12th and 13th centuries. Musicians, athletes and story-tellers were patronised in the royal palace.

Hindu society was broken into several watertight compartments. The caste system had become even more rigid and the tyranny of the Brahmins over the Sudras and the untouchables had grown to intolerable extents. In the circumstances the light of Islam appeared on the horizon of Indo-Pakistan. The spirit of equality, toleration and social justice began to attract a large number of oppressed Hindu masses under the fold of Islam.

Condition of the Hindus under the Sultanate

It has been said by the hostile critics that the lot of the Hindus under the Muslims was miserable. It is clear from the records and evidences that the Hindus were not only treated justly but even generously. They were given the status of *dhimmis*—an allied people which entitled them to consideration and protection. Though some of the temples were broken in course of military operations and various measures were taken against the Hindus to bring them to obedience and submission, they were allowed complete freedom of religion and ceremonies during the Sultanate of Delhi. Mr. Elphinstone

The slave system

Hindu society

Complete freedom of religion granted to the Hindus

'thousands of converts from the down-trodden Hindu masses'. The saints and Sufis of this country had dedicated their lives to the cause of Islam. The evils of the caste system and their simple way of life contributed a great deal to the success of the Sufis for the spread of Islam in the sub-continent.

Sufism was a great spiritual movement in Islam 'which sought mystic realisation of the Almighty Allah'. 'It is not so much a set of doctrines as it is a mode of thinking and feeling in the religious domain. Muslim mysticism represents a reaction against the intellectualism of Islam and the Quran and the formalism which developed as a consequence. Psychologically its basis should be sought in the human aspiration to a personal, direct approach to, and a more intense experience of the deity as a religious truth. Like other Islamic movements Sufism traces its origin to the Quran and the Hadith'. In order to keep Sufism within the discipline of Islam the Sufis organised themselves into *Silsilas* or orders and established *Khanqahs* (hostels). There were many *Silsilas* or *sub-silsilas* of which the *Qadriyah* founded by Shaikh Abdul Qader Gilani (1077-1166), the *Naqshbandiyah* called after Khwajah Bahauddin Naqshband, the *Chishtiyah* founded by Khwaja Abu Ishaq Shami and the *Suhrawardiyah* founded by Shaikh Bahauddin Zakariya were the most important.

In the train of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni many Muslim saints along with the warriors and warlords came to Indo-Pakistan. These saints permeated the rank of Indo-Pakistan society and preached Islam in the sub-continent. Shaikh Ali Hujwari popularly known as Data Ganj Baksh came from Ghazni to Lahore a few years after the death of Sultan Mahmud. He was the first Muslim mystic in the history of this country. He was mainly responsible for the propagation of Islam in the Punjab.

The *Chistiyah* order was brought to Indo-Pakistan by Khwaja Muinuddin Ajmeri who belonged to this order. He made a tour to many parts of the Muslim world. Ajmer where he died in 1236 A.D. was chosen as the centre of his activity. He was

Meaning
of Sufism

Silsilas
or orders
established
by the
Sufis

Data
Ganj Baksh

Calicut where merchants from all parts of the world came to buy goods. Gujrat is described by Wassaf as a rich and populous country and Bengal by Ibn Batuta as a rich and fertile province. Though agriculture formed the main occupation of the bulk of the people in the rural areas, there were the textile industry, including the manufacture of cotton cloth, woollen cloth and silks, the dyeing industry and calico-printing, the sugar industry, metal work, stone and brick work and the paper industry. Marco Polo says, "The inhabitants are good and live by their trade and manufacture."

The chief imports were articles of luxury as well as horses and mules for the wealthier classes and the principal exports consisted of varieties of agricultural goods and textile manufacture. Gujrat and Bengal were specially famous for the exports of textile goods. Bengal is considered by Barthema to be "the richest country in the world for cotton, ginger, sugar, grain and flesh of every kind." The prices of goods were cheap in times of peaceful condition; but in times of famine and scarcity it rose abnormally high. During the reign of Firuz Shah Tughluq and Ibrahim Lodi, the price of grain was very low. In the time of Muhammad bin Tughluq when the country was visited by severe famine, it rose from 16 to 17 *jitals* per seer. Ibn Batuta says that he had never seen "country where commodities sell cheaper" than in Bengal. Eight dirhams were sufficient 'for the annual expenses of a family of three.' On the whole the prices of goods and other articles were cheap during this period. But the standard of living of the peasantry was not high, while the ruling and the official classes rolled in luxury and wealth. The economic depression began towards the close of the 14th century. The invasion of Timur upset the life of the country and "shook the very foundation of society".

The Impact of Islam on Indo-Pakistan

The advent of Islam and the permanent establishment of Muslim rule in Indo-Pakistan proved to be of great importance in the political, social, cultural and religious history of the country.

Trade and
industry

Chief im-
ports and
exports of
the country

Prices of
goods and
other
articles
were cheap

Establishment of a new system of Government

Politically, the Turko-Afghan conquests brought about a unification of the sub-continent to an extent that had never been achieved in the pre-Muslim period. Before the Muslim conquest, no Hindu ruler was successful to forge his sword over the divided and disunited provinces of India. Secondly, the establishment of a vast empire with centralised government under the hegemony of the Muslims enhanced the power and prestige of the Far East. Besides this, the fusion of political ideas between the Hindus and the Muslims culminated in the establishment of a new system of Government which was partly Indian and partly Islamic.

Strengthening of caste system and the growth of 'Purda' system

Socially, the Muslim conquest of India left immense results on Hindu society. Islam has proved and shown to the world from the Early Turkish Empire that a slave of today may be a king of tomorrow provided he possesses requisite qualifications of a king. This universal equality and brotherhood of Islam dealt a death blow to the Brahmins and the privileged classes who, out of fear for their privileged position, tightened the caste system as a sort of passive resistance against the force of Islam. Secondly, it encouraged the 'Purda' system which was strictly maintained in society. The threat of attacks by foreigners on the female members and the example set by the ruling class compelled the conquered to introduce and maintain the 'Purda' system. Thirdly, there were exchanges of social customs and manners between the conquerors and the conquered. Some of the customs of the conquered (Hindus) were adopted by the conquerors and similarly the conquered adopted many manners and practices of the conquerors.

Change of customs and manners between the two communities

Necessity of a common language led to the growth of Urdu

The greatest change was brought in the field of culture and civilization. The free mixing of the Muslims with the Hindus resulted in absorption and assimilation of Muslim culture by the Hindus. The first step in the direction was the study of Arabic and Persian by the Hindus who wanted to know Muslim arts and sciences. As a result of close association between the two communities there grew up the Indo-Islamic styles in art and architecture and

music and painting. It also led to the evolution of a common language. The conquerors spoke either Turki or Persian while the inhabitants of northern India spoke Hindi. So a common language was necessary for the mutual understanding of the conquerors and the conquered and out of this necessity grew up Urdu which is a common vehicle between Hindi and Persian.

Religiously, the impact of Islam on Hinduism produced an important change in the history of Indo-Pakistan. Islam became supreme in the land, while Hinduism was seriously affected. The first result of the religious impact of Islam was the disappearance of Buddhism from Bihar and Bengal. Secondly, it spread Islam in Indo-Pakistan. The equality of Islam, the position and honour in society and the economic privileges enjoyed by the Muslims won over many to the religion of their rulers. Lastly, the most important religious result of the Muslim conquest was the rise of new religious sects which aimed at establishing unity and amity between the Hindus and the Muslims. The Oneness of God and the simplicity of Islam left a profound impression on the minds of the Indian thinkers who all preached the unity of Godhead and the equality of all religions. To them, true religion did not consist in empty forms but in *Bhakti* or true devotion to God.

Disappearance of Buddhism

Spread of Islam in India and the rise of religious movement

Bhakti Movement

During the Sultanate of Delhi, a series of Hindu religious thinkers and reformers led a movement for religious reform which emphasised the cult of *Bhakti* (devotion) and was known as *Bhakti* movement. This movement took its birth in Southern India but by and by it spread to the whole of the sub-continent.

The pioneer of the *Bhakti* movement of Indo-Pakistan was Shankaracharya. He was born in a Brahmin family at Kaldi (Malabar) in 788 A.D. From his childhood Shankaracharya possessed wonderful talent and spiritual leanings. As he grew up, he

Shankaracharya, the pioneer

became a great advocate of monastic philosophy. He preached the unity of Godhead and thus brought a revolution in Hinduism and became a great forerunner of the *Bhakti* cult. He died at the age of thirty-two in 820 A.D.

According to Dr. Ishwari Prasad, the first great exponent of the *Bhakti* cult was Ramanuja who flourished in the early years of the 12th century. He did his best to popularise the cult of devotion and preached that salvation could be had by this means alone.

Ramanuja

The next reformer was Ramanand who lived in the 14th century and raised his voice for the first time against the caste system. Ramanand was the bridge between the *Bhakti* movement of the North and the South. He preached his mission during the reigns of the Khalji and Tughluq Sultans. During this period the famous Sufi saint, Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya propagated the teachings of love and humanity and his followers reached every part of Indo-Pakistan to reform the lives of the lower class people. Historians are of opinion that Ramanand was much influenced by the Sufi saints. He travelled over different parts of the country and after studying the religious and social condition he came to the conclusion that unless fundamental changes were made in the belief of the Hindu faith, reform was impossible. He asked his disciples to help him in the matter. He emphatically rejected caste rules enjoined in the Brahmanical systems and established the worship of *Ramu* instead of *Vishnu*. He exhorted his disciples to help men of all castes and was the first reformer to preach in the vernacular.

Ramanand flourished in the 14th century

Influence of Sufi saints on the movement

Among his disciples Kabir, a Muslim weaver of Benares was the most famous. Kabir was the greatest standard-bearer of love and humanity in the history of Indo-Pakistan. He addressed the common people in their own language and conveyed his teachings of *Bhakti* to them through his *dohas*. He was the first of medieval reformation to take an effort for Hindu-Muslim unity in the sphere of religion. He strongly condemned the worship of idols and the caste system.

Kabir

The greatest saint of the *Bhakti* movement was Chaitanya who was born in a Brahmin family of Nadia in Bengal in 1485. He renounced this world at the age of 25 and became a *sannyasi*. Love is the watch-word of the cult of Chaitanya. He raised his voice against the caste system and proclaimed the universal brotherhood of man. He is worshipped by millions of people as incarnation of Sri Krishna and his name had become a household word in Bengal. He admitted to his religious fraternity all sorts of people—irrespective of caste and creed.

Chaitanya

Guru Nanak, the founder of the Sikh religion, was another famous reformer of this period. Like Kabir he condemned idolatry and the caste system and preached the unity of God.

Guru Nanak

Nanak was deeply influenced by Islam and he tried to reconcile Islam and Hinduism. He emphasized good actions and purity of life. He had both Hindu and Muslim disciples.

The *Bhakti* movement had far-reaching consequences in the history of Indo-Pakistan. The impact of Islam liberalised the outlook of Hinduism in Indo-Pakistan. This new outlook brought to the submerged classes the understanding that if they were despised by men they would be loved by God provided they could worship Him with *Bhakti*. The religious reformers made attempts to bridge the gulf between the Hindus and the Muslims and though they were not successful in their efforts, they paved the way for the liberal policy of Akbar the Great. But the most important result of this movement was the growth of vernacular literature which received a great impetus in the hands of the reformers who used it as a vehicle of their teaching.

Results of the reformation movement

Sufism and its influence

The Sufis who came to Indo-Pakistan in large number in the train of Muslim conquerors played a most important part in the spread of Islam in the sub-continent. They worked not only for preserving the inner spirit of Islam but also for attracting

says, "The Hindus were not molested in the exercise of their religion." The Hindus had the right to preach their doctrines in Indo-Pakistan during Muslim rule and it is clearly shown from the development of the *Bhakti* cult. The Hindu rulers were allowed to retain their power if they acknowledged suzerainty of the Muslims. Many of the Hindus secured high appointments such as governorships or commands in the army. "One of the Sultans of Bengal," says Ferishta, "enlisted 5,000 Hindu footmen as his bodyguards." Alauddin Khalji and Muhammad bin Tughluq employed a number of Hindus in the service of the State. The *jizya* was imposed on the Hindus in lieu of military service; but those who volunteered their service in the army were exempted from it. "It was really as political malcontents and not as 'dissenters' or 'recusants' that the Hindus were harassed, if at all and as such even Musalmans were not spared," says Dr. A. M. Hosain. Many leading Muslims were either killed or banished from the empire for their misconduct by Alauddin Khalji and Muhammad bin Tughluq. Many of the Sultans were sincere in the observance of their religious rites and ceremonies; but they never forced their religion on others. The local administration was entirely in the hands of the Hindus. The burden of taxes on the Hindus was much lighter than that under Hindu rulers. The Hindus had large shares in the trade, commerce and agriculture. Money-lending and banking were entirely in their hands. In culture, the same spirit of toleration was shown towards the Hindus. The art and architecture, language and literature, music and painting and tradition and philosophy of the Hindus were allowed to develop side by side with those of the Muslims.

Economic Condition

That the economic condition of the country was on the whole prosperous is attested by the foreign travellers who visited India during this period. Most of them are of opinion that the State gave liberal encouragement to trade and industry. Marco Polo and Ibn Batuta both speak highly of Broach and

Appoint-
ment of
Hindus in
the state
service

Jizya im-
posed in lieu
of military
service

very popular with the people of the sub-continent who called him out of affection *Khwaja Gharib Nawaj* (Saint of the poor people). Shaikh Qutbuddin Bakhtiyar Kaki and Shaikh Fariduddin Ganj Shakar who popularised the Chishtiyah order in many cities of Indo-Pakistan were the two important successors of Khwaja Muinuddin Chishti. The Chishtiyah was the most popular and powerful order during the Sultanate period. The Sufis of the Chishtiyah order played a great role in the history of the sub-continent. They were mainly responsible for the spread of Islam in the North, the Deccan and Bengal.

Shaikh Farid appointed Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya (1238-1325) as his Khalifah. He was perhaps the greatest Sufi saint in the history of the sub-continent after Khwaja Muinuddin. It was Nizamuddin Auliya who trained up a band of Sufis for the propagation of Islam in Gujrat, the Deccan and Bengal. His tomb at Ghyaspur outside Delhi attracts a large number of visitors throughout the year.

Shaikh Bahauddin Zakariya of Multan was the founder of the Suhrawardiyah order in the sub-continent. He travelled in many parts of Muslim countries and while he was at Baghdad, he became a disciple of Shaikh Shihabuddin Suhrawardi. After his return to Multan he established a Suhrawardi *Khanqah* there and brought this order into prominence. Many Hindus from Sind, Multan and Lahore accepted Islam at his hands. His disciple Sayyid Jalaluddin Bukhari, popularly known as Mukhдум Jahanian Jahangasht was one of the important saints of the Suhrawardiyah order. He founded a strong Suhrawardi centre at Uchh and played an important part in the propagation of Islam in Sind. The Suhrawardiyah order contributed largely to the spread of Islam in West Pakistan and Gujrat.

Shah Jalal who came from Turkey was a great saint of Bengal. He was the disciple of Shaikh Shihabuddin Suhrawardi and came to this sub-continent in the reign of Iltutmish. After a brief sojourn at Delhi, he reached Bengal where he passed the rest

Khwaja
Muinuddin
of Ajmer

Shaikh
Nizamuddin
Auliya

Shaikh
Bahauddin
Zakariya
of Multan

Shah Jalal
of Sylhet

of his life. Shah Jalal helped Shamsuddin Shah, the Sultan of Bengal and took part with him in a war against Gaur Govinda, a Hindu ruler of Sylhet for his ill-treatment towards the Muslims. After the conquest of Sylhet he settled there and preached Islam in the land. It was due to his missionary activities that Islam gained a good ground in Sylhet. In 1347, Shah Jalal died in Sylhet and was buried there.

There were many sufis and saints in Bengal who came either directly from Western and Central Asia or from different parts of Indo-Pakistan. They contributed much to the spread of Islam in this part of the sub-continent. Shaikh Ala-ul-Huq of Pandua and his son Nur Qutb Alam established new orders and these orders were named after their names. Some saints in Bengal played the role of fighters in the cause of Islam and later they 'came to be regarded as saints by the people of the localities.' The names of Zakar Khan Ghazi of Tribeni (Hughli), Khan Jahan Ali of Bagerhat (Khulna) and Shah Ismail Ghazi may be specially mentioned in this connection.

Art and Architecture

The political and military activities of the Muslim rulers in Indo-Pakistan did not hamper their progress in the field of architecture and literature. The Sultans of Delhi extended their patronage to architecture which has been regarded as the best index of human progress. Some of the builders were emperors of Delhi and others were kings or nobles of Bengal, Gujrat, Malwa and the Deccan. Among the classes of buildings erected by the Sultans were the royal palaces, forts, mosques, mausoleums, tombs of great men and shelters for the poor. Muslim architecture in Indo-Pakistan is, in its design, a mixture of the Syrian, Byzantine, Egyptian and Iranian styles, while in its detail is Hindu, Jain or Buddhist. Sir John Marshall says, "Indo-Islamic art is not merely a local variety of Islamic art." Likewise, it is not merely "a modified form of Hindu art." Broadly speaking, Indo-Islamic architecture derives its character from both sources,

Other
Sufis
in Bengal

Patrons
of art and
architec-
ture

Mixture
of styles

though not always in an equal degree." There is a contest between the Indian and Islamic styles. The Hindu monuments were generally ornamented with figures of deities and Muslim conception of decoration found expression in calligraphy, geometrical pattern and floral designs."

The contact of Islam with the Hindus, resulted in the evolution of a style which has sometimes been called the Indo-Muslim school of architecture. This amalgamation of indigenous architectural styles was possible due to the appointments of the local artisans who consciously or unconsciously have left clear signs of their own traditions in the buildings of the early period of the Sultanate. The so-called Indo-Muslim architecture was nothing but Muslim architecture possessing in detail certain features of the Hindu art of building.* In course of time Muslim artisans and craftsmen began to pour into this land in large number and the gradual decrease of Hindu characteristics from the buildings of the later period was distinctly noticed.

Indo-Muslim
archi-
tecture was
possible
due to
certain
factors

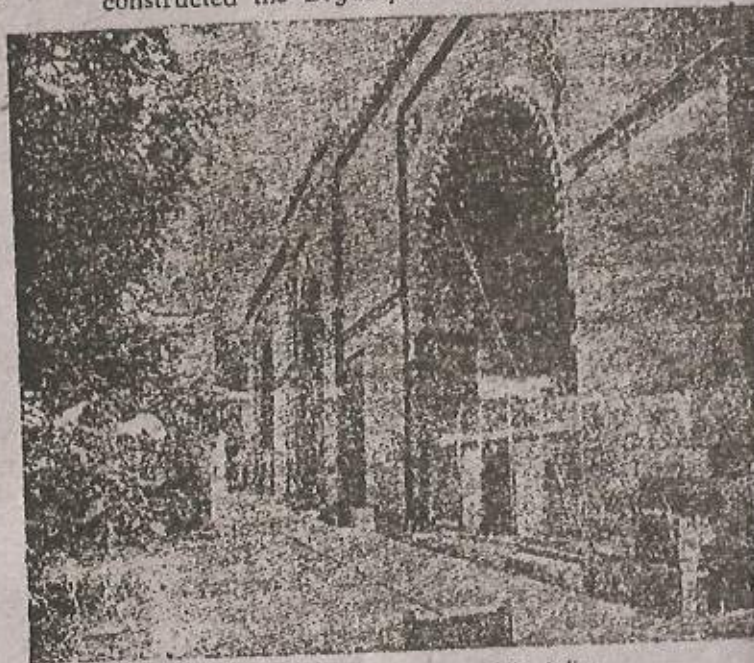
The Qubbat-ul-Islam mosque which was founded by Qutbuddin Aibak to commemorate the capture of Delhi and the Qutb Minar are the best specimens of Delhi styles. The Qutb Minar was originally a tower from which the *muazzin* could summon the people to prayer. It was begun by Qutbuddin, but was completed and enlarged by Iltutmish. The Arhaidin-ka-Jhonpra was another famous mosque which was built at Ajmer at the beginning of Muslim rule in Indo-Pakistan. It closely resembles the Qubbat-ul-Islam mosque of Delhi in style and construction. The *Jam-i-Masjid* was built by Iltutmish in 1223 A.D. His successors had left but a few architectural monuments among which the tomb of Balban may be mentioned here. The Muslim character of construction is best noticed in the buildings of the Khalji period. The most prominent of these monuments are the *Jamaat Khanah Masjid* at the Dargah of Nizamuddin Auliya and the *Alai Darwaja* at the Qutb Minar. The latter one is 'one of the most

The Delhi
style

*Pakistan History Board, *A Short History of Hind-Pakistan*.

Simplicity
in style is
the main
feature of
Tughluq
buildings

treasured gems of Islamic literature.' The other monuments of this period are the city of Siri and the *Hauz-i-Alai* or the *Hauz-i-Khas*. The ruins of Siri throw some light on the military architecture of the period. The Tughluq kings adopted a simple but massive style in their buildings of which the tomb of Ghiyasuddin is a good specimen of its kind. This simplicity and sobriety was due to the religious idea of the Tughluqs. Muhammad bin Tughluq constructed the *Begumpuri Masjid* as the principal



Masjid at the Dargah of Nizamuddin Auliya

mosque of his new capital. Firuz Shah, the third ruler of this dynasty, was a great builder who excelled all the Sultans in his love for buildings. He himself used to say, "Among the many gifts which God bestowed upon me was a desire to erect public buildings." He employed several architects for building purposes. The chief architect was Malik Ghatas Shahna who was assisted by one Abdul Haq. The Sultan is said to have built as many as 300 cities.

may be an exaggeration but it cannot be denied that he founded cities like Firuzabad, Fatehabad, Jaunpur, Hisar Firuz and others. Besides, he built a good number of mosques, palaces, sarais, reservoirs, tombs, baths, monumental tombs and bridges.

After the fall of the Tughluq dynasty, the Sayyid and Lodi Sultans built a number of mosques and tombs.

Some of the provincial rulers were great builders of palaces, mosques and tombs. The buildings erected by the provincial rulers bear ample testimony to their architectural tastes. The buildings of the Sharqi dynasty of Jaunpur are noted for their "massive slopping walls, square pillars, small galleries and cloisters." One of the brilliant specimens of the Sharqi style is the *Atala Masjid* which was begun in 1377 and completed in 1408. The next is the *Jam-i-Masjid* which was built by Husain Shah. The third is the *Lal Darwaza Mosque*. The other important buildings are the broken facade of the *Jhanjheeri* and the *Khalis Mukhlis*.

Atala Masjid,
Jam-i-Masjid
and Lal Dar-
waza Mosque
of Jaunpur

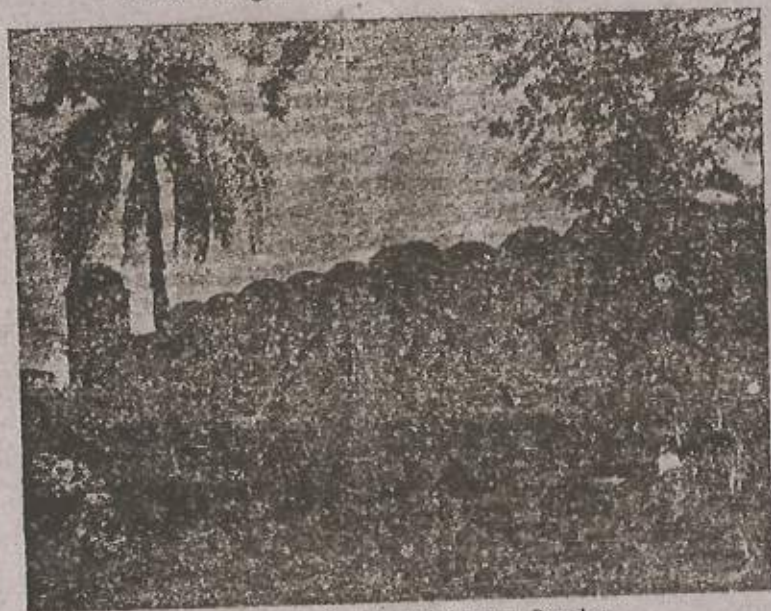
The independent rulers of Bengal were also interested in architecture. The earliest specimens of the Bengal style of architecture are the tomb and mosque of Zafar Khan Ghazi. The well-known *Adina Masjid* at Pandua was built by Sikandar Shah in the second half of the fourteenth century. It was a very huge and ambitious structure. The *Sat Gumbaj Mosque* and the tomb of Khan Jahan Ali at Bagerhat (Khulna) are the famous architectural monuments in this part of Pakistan. The *Sat Gumbaj*, as its name shows, is covered by sixty domes, but it has actually seventy-seven domes. Another beautiful building is the tomb of Jalal Uddin Muhammad Shah, which is considered to be one of the finest tombs in Bengal. The *Dakhil Darwaza* at Gaur is "as perfect an example of brick structure as can be found anywhere in the world." The other well-known structures at Gaur are the *Lotan Masjid*, the *Bara Sona Masjid*, the *Chhota Sona Masjid* and the *Qadam Rasul Mosque*. Of these the *Bara Sona Masjid* "has the merit of greater simplicity and impressiveness."

Adina Masjid

Sat Gumbaj
Mosque

Bara Sona
Masjid and
Chhota Sona
Masjid

In Bengal there grew up a mixed type of architecture. In Gujrat Muslim architecture has developed along its own line. Its rich ornamentation, delicacy of style and floral designs provide a contrast to the simplicity of style prevailing in Bengal. Hindu architecture was well-developed here long before the Muslim conquest of Indo-Pakistan. When the Muslims conquered this country, they adopted Hindu and Jaina designs with necessary modifications accord-



Sat Gumbaj Mosque, Bagerhat

Jam-i-Masjid
at Ahmadabad

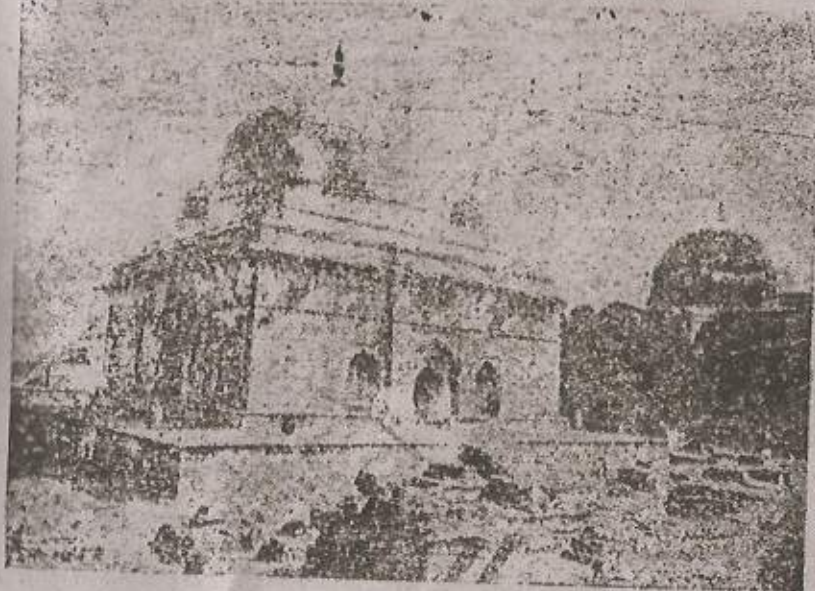
ing to their requirements. One of the best examples of the Gujrat style is the well-known Jam-i-Masjid at Ahmadabad erected by Ahmad Shah in 1311. It has fifteen domes which are supported on two hundred pillars. Another equally beautiful building is the tomb of Ahmad Shah. The city of Champaner also contains remarkable buildings including a grand mosque built by Mahmud Begraha and the palaces in the fort. Dr. Burges lavishes praise on the Gujrat style and says that it contains

"all the beauty and finish of the native art with a certain magnificence which is deficient in their own works."

The province of Malwa evolved a style of its own. The buildings of Mandu, capital of Malwa are Muslim in design and execution and bear a close resemblance to those of Delhi. The most notable buildings of Mandu are the Jam-i-Masjid, the Hindola Mahal, the Jahaz Mahal, Hushang Shah's tomb and palaces of Baz Bahadur and Rupmati. The Jam-i-Masjid was planned and started by Hushang Shah, but it was completed by Mahmud Khalji. The Darbar Hall, which is popularly known as Hindola Mahal, was probably erected by Hushang Shah. Hushang Shah's tomb is the first great tomb in the

Jam-i-Masjid

Hushang
Shah's tomb



Tomb of Hushang Shah

country built wholly of white marble. The Jahaz Mahal, with its arched walls, roofed pavilions and beautiful reservoirs, is one of the most conspicuous buildings in Mandu. The palaces of Baz Bahadur

and Rupmati are built high up on the plateau overlooking the Narmada. In short, Mandu "is, of all fortress cities of Indo-Pakistan, the most magnificent."

The Bahmani Sultans of the Deccan were great patrons of art and architecture. They brought into existence a peculiar style of architecture which was a mixture of a number of elements, such as, Indo-Pakistani, Turkish, Egyptian and Persian. The mosques at Gulbarga and Bidar are beautiful specimens of this art; but the most beautiful Deccan architecture is found at Bijapur. The magnificent mausoleum of Muhammad Adil Shah, popularly known as Gol Gumbaz, is built after a peculiar style. There are other equally celebrated buildings, such as, the *Jam-i-Masjid* at Gulbarga, the *Chand Minar* at Daulatabad and the College of Mahmud Gawan at Bidar.

During the Sultanate period the Muslims developed decorative arts such as calligraphy and arabesque. They invented and improved floral designs and geometrical patterns "which enhanced the beauty of their buildings and illumination of their books." The Arabic script became a great art in Muslim lands. The art of painting was also practised by the Muslims and "there is evidence that moral paintings were widely in use for decorative purposes in royal palaces." Music, though disliked by the orthodox Muslims had such irresistible appeal that it could not be banished. The Muslims made contributions to the native music. There were some reputed musicians during this period among whom, the great poet Amir Khusrau occupied the first place. He set some of his poems to the Indian tunes and is said to have improved some of the most popular instruments such as *Sitar*.

Literature

Many of the Sultans and Amirs of Delhi and the Muslim rulers and nobles in the provinces freely patronised learning and the learned. Persian was the court-language of the Delhi Sultans and its literature received a great impetus at their hands.

There were Persian writers and poets at the court of almost every Sultan from Qutbuddin Aibak down to Sikandar Lodi. The most distinguished figure of this period was Amir Khusrau (1253-1325). His original name was Muhammad Hasan and he was born at Patiala in 1253 A.D. Amir Khusrau took up service as a court-poet under Prince Muhammad Khan, the eldest son of Balban. He had the fortune to serve under six successive Sultans of Delhi from Balban to Ghyasuddin Tughluq. He was a prolific writer and is said to have written more than four lakhs of couplets. He was unquestionably the greatest of the Indo-Pakistan poets writing in Persian. Maulana Shibli says, "India has not produced during these six hundred years a person with such universal perfection in the art of poetry." Some of his *masnawis* 'provide us with valuable information about the history and social conditions of the times'. He has also written a number of prose books. The most well-known books of this category are the *Khazainul Futuh*, *Tughluqnama* and the *Tarikh-i-Alai*. Amir Khusrau was the first Muslim writer to make use of Hindi words. He was not only a poet and historian, but also an excellent singer. He played an important part in the development of Indo-Pakistani music. He is generally described as *Tuti-i-Hind* or 'Parrot of India'. Amir Khusrau's friend, Amir Hasan Dihlvi, whose full name was Najmuddin Hasan was a Persian poet of great ability and genius. He enjoyed the patronage of Muhammad bin Tughluq. He migrated to Daulatabad where he died in 1333. At the provincial courts, too, there were poets and scholars who produced a crop of literature in Persian.

The Muslims made great contributions in the field of history. It was the Muslims who introduced the art of historiography in the sub-continent. We have several well-written histories during this period. Among the distinguished historians who shed lustre on the Delhi court, the names of Qazi Minhajuddin Siraj, Ziauddin Barani, Shams Shiraj Afif and Yahya bin Ahmad stand out prominently in the historical literary activities of medieval Indo-Pakistan.

The Deccan art

Calligraphy and painting

Music

Persian Literature

Amir Khusrau

Amir Hasan Dihlvi

Historical literature

Qazi Minhajuddin Siraj was one of the distinguished historians of the earliest period of Muslim India. His book, *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* is named after his patron, Nasiruddin Mahmud. Zauddin Barani, the author of *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi* was the most remarkable historian of this period. He was the author of several works of which *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi* is the most authentic history for the Khalji and Tughluq periods. Shams Shiraj Afif, the author of *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi* and Yahya bin Ahmad, the author of *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi*, are the two famous historians of the Tughluq period. Side by side with Persian Sanskrit, the classical language of the Hindus also received a great impetus at the hands of the Muslims. Some of the Sanskrit works were translated into Persian. Al-Beruni who came to Indo-Pakistan during the 10th century was a great Sanskrit scholar who translated several works on different subjects from Sanskrit into Arabic. Under Sultan Sikandar, the second ruler of the Lodi dynasty, medical treatises were translated from Sanskrit into Persian. Most of the rulers of the Bahmani Kingdom and other independent States like those of Bengal, Jaunpur, Bijapur, Golkunda, Ahmadnagar, Malwa and Vijayanagar were patrons of arts and literature. In Sanskrit and Hindi many excellent books were written on religion and philosophy by the Hindu scholars. Of the Hindi poets, Chandbardi, the author of *Prithviraj Rasan* was the prominent. But the Hindu writers failed to display any aptitude for writing histories. The only historical treatise, Kalan's *Rajatarangini* or 'River of Kings' which was composed in the 12th century.

Some of the Sultans of Bengal were also patrons of Bengali literature. They appointed scholars to translate the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata* from Sanskrit into Bengali. Under the patronage of Paragal Khan, Husain Shah's governor of Chittagong, Kabindra Parameshwar translated the *Mahabharata* for the first time into Bengali. Urdu literature also received considerable encouragement at the hands of Delhi Sultans as well as the Bahmani Sultans of the Deccan.

Sanskrit
works
translated
into
Persian

Sanskrit and
Hindi litera-
ture

Hindu
scholars
had no
aptitude for
writing
history

Bengali

Urdu



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