



indicate his anxiety to avoid war, which must necessarily entail bloodshed and rapine.

"Whereas it has come to our auspicious ear that Ilyas Haji has been committing oppression and high-handedness upon the people of the territory of Lakhnauti and Tirhut, shedding unnecessary blood, even shedding the blood of women, although it is a well-established proposition in every creed and doctrine that no woman, even if she be a Kafir, should be slain: And whereas the said Ilyas Haji has been levying illegal cesses, not sanctioned by the law of Islam, and thus putting the people into trouble; there being no security of life and property, no safety for honour, and chastity. And whereas the territory was conquered by our Masters and has come down to us by inheritance, and also as a gift the Imam ('Abbasid Khalifa of Egypt') it devolves upon our Royal and courageous self to safeguard the people of that State. And as Ilyas

recounts the wrongs and oppressions of Haji Ilyas. The Sultan addresses all classes of men and promises rich rewards to those who would remain unswerving in their allegiance to Delhi. This proclamation is one of the most extraordinary documents in the history of the Sultanate of Delhi, and throws much light upon the mild policy of Firuz.

The document occurs in "*The Insha-i-Mahru*," which contains the letters of Ain-ul-mulk Mahru. It is a contemporary work and therefore of much historical value, as supplementing Zia Barani and Afif.

Maulvi Abdul Wali Khan Sahib has written a detailed explanatory notice of the work in the J.A.S.B., XIX, 1923, No. 7, pp. 253—290. He has given a translation of the original document which was reproduced in the previous edition. On comparing it with the text of the *Insha* I found it defective in several respects. Alterations have been made where necessary to make the rendering conform to the text.

The word *gabr* used in the proclamation is, I think meant, for the Hindus generally. It does not specifically stand for Zoroastrians as the Maulvi Sahib suggests. The authors of the *Malfuzat-i-Timuri* and the *Zafarnama* frequently use the word to denote non-Muslims.

MEDIÆVAL, INDIA

Haji during the lifetime of his late Majesty was obedient, and loyal to the throne; and even during our auspicious Coronation he confessed his submission and fealty, as becomes a subordinate, sending petitions and presents to wait upon us; so if, heretofore, were brought to our august notice an infinitesimal part of the oppression and high-handedness that he had been committing on God's creatures, we might have admonished him, so that he might have desisted therefrom: And whereas he has exceeded the limit, and publicly rebelled against our authority, therefore we have approached with an invincible army for the happiness of the people thereof; desiring thereby to deliver all from his tyranny, to convert the wounds of his oppressions by the slaves of justice and mercy, and that the tree of their existence, withered by the hot pestilential wind of tyranny and oppression, might flourish and fructify by the limpid water of our bounty.

“We have therefore by the exuberance of our mercy commanded that all the people of the territory of Lakhnauti—the *Saadat*, *Ulama*, *Mashayakh*, and others of similar nature; and also the *Khans*, *Maliks*, *Umara*, *Sadrs*, *Akabir*, and *M'aarif*, including their train and suite—those who may prove their sincerity or those whose zeal for Islam may prompt them thereto, may resort to our world-protecting presence, without waiting and delay. We shall give them double of what they get from fiefs, villages, lands, stipends, wages and salaries: And the class of people, called *Zamindars*, as *Muqaddams*, and other respectable men from the river Kasi (Kosi) to the farther limit of the fief of Lakhnauti, that (similarly) may come to our world-protecting presence, we shall remit wholly the produce and duties (revenue in cash and kind) for the current year, and from the next year, we have directed to levy the revenues and duties in accordance with the Regulation promul-

gated during the reign of the Sultan, Shams-ud-din, but in no case more than that should be demanded, and the extra or illegal taxes and duties which may weigh unduly heavily upon the people of that part of the country should entirely be remitted and removed: And such of the hermits, gabrs, etc., who may come in their entire body to our World-protecting presence, we shall allow them double of what they used to receive from their fiefs, villages, lands, wages and stipends, etc., and those who may come in their half number (that is, in two batches on different dates), we shall allow them fifty per cent more and to any one who may come singly, we shall allow what had been fixed before. Furthermore, we shall not remove them from their original places or give them cause for distress; that we have commanded that one and all of this tract may live, and dwell in their homes and hearth, according to his and their heart's desire and may enjoy ever more contentment and freedom from anxieties, Insha' Allah t'aala (if God Almighty may wish)."

When Haji Ilyas heard of his approach, he entrenched himself in the fort of Iqdala.¹¹ To decoy him out of the fortress Firuz had recourse to a clever strategical move; he retraced his steps a few miles backwards in the hope that the enemy would come out of the fort in order to harass the retreating army. The expected happened, and Shams-ud-din followed the royal army at the head of a considerable force consisting of ten thousand horse and 200,000 foot, all eager to do battle with the Dehlwis. The Sultan arranged his troops in battle array according to the time-honoured practice of mediæval warfare in three divisions—the right, left, and centre, and himself took an active part in organising the campaign. The right was commanded by

¹¹ For an account of this fortress, see J.A.S.B., 1874, p. 244.

It was afterwards called Azadpur by Firuz. Elliot, p. 297.

Malik Dilan, the *Mir Shikar*, at the head of 30,000 horse, the left by Malik Hisan Nawa at the head of 30,000 warriors, and the centre was held by Tartar Khan who had under his command a similar force. The elephants were also distributed over the three divisions. At the sight of these overwhelming odds, Shams-ud-din trembled like a willow leaf," but he was too proud to acknowledge the suzerainty of Delhi. A terrible battle ensued in which the protagonists on either side fought with great valour and determination. When Shamsud-din saw the day going against him, he fled from the field of battle and took shelter again in the fort of Iqdala. The royalists followed up their success and invested the fort in full vigour. But the shrieks and wails of women who pathetically demonstrated their grief, moved the compassionate heart of the Sultan, and he forthwith decided to abandon the fruits of a hard-earned victory. This is how the official historian of the reign describes Firuz's incapacity to deal with a difficult situation: 'To storm the fort, put more Musalmans to the sword, and expose honourable women to ignominy, would be a crime for which he could not answer on the day of judgment, and which would leave no difference between him and the Mughals.'¹² Tatar Khan, the imperial commandant, urged the annexation of the province, but with his characteristic weakness Firuz rejected his advice on the plea that Bengal was a land of swamps, and that it was not worthwhile to retain possession of it.

On his return from Bengal the Sultan devoted himself with great energy and vigour to the organisation of his administration. But a second expedition to Bengal became necessary when Zafar Khan, the son-in-law of Fakhr-ud-din, the first independent ruler of Eastern Bengal, complained of the high-handedness of Shams-ud-din and begged the Sultan to intercede on

The second expedition, 1359-60 A.D.

¹² Elliot, III, p. 297.

his behalf. The official historian heard this from his father who was then in attendance on the Sultan. Zafar Khan was well received at court, and his heart was elated with joy when the Sultan ordered the Khan-i-Jahan to make preparations for a second expedition to Bengal. Popular enthusiasm rose to such a high pitch that numerous volunteers enrolled themselves in the army which consisted of 70,000 horse, innumerable foot, 470 elephants and a large flotilla of boats. On his way to Bengal the Sultan founded the city of Jaunpur in honour of the memory of his illustrious cousin Fakhr-ud-din Juna.¹³ Shams-ud-din had been dead for some time, and his son Sikandar had succeeded him. Following the example of his father, he shut himself up in the fort of Iqdala.¹⁴ The fortress was besieged, and the royalists made breaches in its walls, which were soon repaired by the Bengalis, who displayed great courage and vigour, notwithstanding the grim spectre of defeat that stared them in the face. But the patience of both sides was soon exhausted by this interminable siege, and negotiations for peace began. Sikandar's plenipotentiary Haibat Khan conducted the negotiations with great patience, tact and firmness. Sikandar agreed to the restoration of Sonargaon to Zafar Khan and sent 40 elephants and valuable presents to the Sultan to cement their friendship. But Zafar Khan who was the chief cause of all this trouble gave up the idea of retiring to his country and preferred to remain at Delhi. Probably the amenities of

¹³ For an account of Jaunpur, see Chapter XIII.

¹⁴ Firishta says that the Sultan sent from Zafrabad an envoy to Sikandar Shah and in return an envoy came from Bengal bringing with him five elephants and other valuable presents. But despite these overtures, the Sultan continued his advance upon Bengal. Badaoni agrees with Firishta.

Briggs, I, p. 451. Ranking, Al-Badaoni, I, p. 328.

Shams-i-Siraj Afif does not speak of these overtures. But it seems probable that the youthful Sikandar had attempted to avert the coming disaster by arriving at a peaceful settlement.

social life at the capital of the empire captivated the heart of the exiled prince. Once again Firuz's weakness prevented him from asserting his sovereignty over a province which was well nigh within his grasp.

On his return from Bengal, the Sultan halted at Jaunpur, from where he marched against Jajnagar (modern Orissa), which was in a flourishing condition, and where the abundance of fruits and foodstuffs could supply the wants of the royal army.¹⁵ The Rai of Jajnagar,¹⁶ who was a Brahmana, fled at the approach of the royal army and took shelter in an island, whither he was pursued by the Sultan's forces. The temple of Jagannath at Puri was desecrated and the idols were thrown into the sea.¹⁷ At last, dismayed by the heavy odds arrayed against him, he sent his emissaries to negotiate terms of peace. To their utter surprise, the Sultan informed them that he was entirely ignorant of the cause of their master's flight. The Rai explained his conduct and agreed to furnish a fixed number of elephants every year as tribute. The Sultan accepted

¹⁵ Shams-i-Siraj Afif, *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*, Biblioth., Ind., pp. 163-64.

The prices at Jajnagar were very low. Shams-i-Siraj writes that two *jitals* could buy a horse and nobody cared for cattle. Sheep were found in abundance and the royal army had a plentiful supply of them. The inhabitants lived in fine spacious houses and owned gardens and orchards. It appears that the economic conditions in the Jajnagar territory were extremely favourable.

Afif, p. 165.

¹⁶ The Rai is called Adesar by Afif and Saddhan by Firishta.

¹⁷ The author of the *Sirati-Firuz Shahi* who is another contemporary writer, says that the Sultan went towards the temple of Jagannath, which stood to the east of the sea, and demolished it and threw the idol into the sea.

The temple possessed enormous wealth and it is said that 30,00,000 *dinars* of silver were spent on the kitchen establishment alone.

Sirat-i-Firuz Shahi, Allahabad University MS., p. 64.



these terms, and having obtained the submission of several other Hindu chieftains and Zamindars on his way, he returned to the capital.¹⁸

The fortress of Nagarkot had been conquered by Muhammad Tughluq in 1337 A.D.;¹⁹ but during

Conquest of
Nagarkot,
1360-6 A.D.

the latter part of his reign its Rai had established himself as an independent ruler. The temple of Jawala-

mukhi in Nagarkot was an old and venerated shrine which was visited by thousands of Hindu pilgrims who made rich offerings to the idol. Its sanctity was an additional reason which led the bigoted Firuz to undertake this expedition, and the contemporary chronicler writes that when the Sultan paid a visit to the temple, he addressed the assembled Rais, Ranas and Zamindars in these words: "Of what avail is the worship of this stone? What desire of yours will be fulfilled by praying to it? It is declared in our Holy Law that those who act contrary to it will go to hell."²⁰

¹⁸ Firishta says that the daughter of the Rai of Jajnagar fell into the hands of the king, who brought her up as his own child. The king received the submission of the Raja of Birbhum, who presented him with 37 elephants and other valuable articles. The Sultan then hunted in the forests of Padmavati, where he captured 33 elephants. Firishta does not speak of the terms of peace referred to by Afif.

Ranking, *Al-Badaoni*, I, p. 329.

Firishta, Lucknow text, p. 147. Briggs, I, p. 452.

¹⁹ Qasaid Badr-i-Chach, Elliot, III, p. 570.

²⁰ Afif, pp. 186-87.

Elliot, III, p. 318.

Firishta says that Firuz found in this temple a library of 1,300 volumes. He caused one of these books which treated of philosophy and astronomy to be translated into Persian by a court poet Aziz-ud-din, Khalid Khani, and called it *Dalayah-i-Firuz Shahi* Firishta, Lucknow text, p. 148.

The same authority asserts that it is said that the fragments of the idol of Nagarkot mixed with pieces of cow's flesh were filled in bags and tied round the necks of Brahmanas, who

The fort of Nagarkot was besieged, and *Manjniqs* and *arradas* were placed on all sides. After a protracted siege of six months, which well nigh exhausted the patience of the combatants on both sides, Firuz offered pardon to the Rai, who, "came down from his fort, apologised, and threw himself at the feet of the Sultan, who placed his hand on his back, bestowed upon him rich robes of honour and sent him back to his fort."

The Thatta expedition is one of the most interesting episodes in the reign of Firuz Tughluq. It is a

The conquest of
Thatta, 1362-3
A.D.

singular instance of the Sultan's fatuity and lack of strategical skill. Not a gifted general, he could never risk a *war a outrance* like his great predecessors, Alauddin Khilji and Muhammad Tughluq, and his irresolution and piety always presented the most serious obstacle to the achievement of brilliant victory. The expedition originated in a desire to avenge the wrongs done by the people of Thatta to the late Sultan. Preparations for the campaign were made, and volunteers were enrolled in the army which consisted of 90,000 cavalry, numerous infantry and 480 elephants. A large flotilla of five thousand boats was also constructed and placed under experienced admirals. Jam Babiniya,²¹ the

were thus paraded through the camp. But it is not corroborated by any contemporary writer.

Badaoni says, he read the *Dalayah-i-Firuz Shahi* at Lahore in the year 1591-92 A.D. from beginning to end.

He says that he read other works also translated in the time of Firuz. The author of the *Sirat* supports this view.

Ranking, *Al-Badaoni*, I. p. 332.

²¹ Shams-i-Siraj Afif in his *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*, Biblioth. Ind., p. 201, writes Jam and Babiniya. The correct name, however, would be Jam Babiniya for Jam is a title and not a proper name. Mir Masum also writes (Elliot, I, p. 226) Jam Babiniya. Firishta writes Jam Bani (Briggs, IV, p. 42) which is probably a short form of Jam Babiniya. The author of the *Tuhfat-ut-kiram*, a later authority than Mir Masum, incorrectly says that in 1370 Firuz marched against Thatta



Chieftain of Sindh, arranged in battle array his forces which numbered 20,000 horse and 400,000 foot, and prepared for action. Meanwhile in the Sultan's camp provisions became scarce owing to famine and pestilence, which decimated the troops and swept away nearly one-fourth of the cavalry.

Reduced to sore straits the troops lost heart, but when the whole army, despite its ebbing strength, made an assault, it drove the enemy into their fort. The Sultan, unwilling to risk another engagement, retired to Gujarat in order to obtain fresh reinforcements. But through the treachery of the guides the whole army lost its way and fell into the Ran of Kutch.²² He lost his way and for six months no news of the army reached Delhi. A dire famine prevailed, the prices of grain rose exorbitantly high, and the hunger-stricken men gave up the ghost in despair. The price of grain rose to one *tanka* and two *tankas* per *sir* and it was not obtainable even at that high price. As no corn was available, carrion and raw hides were eaten. Some men, driven by hunger, boiled old hides and ate them. A sickness spread among the horses which destroyed a large number of them. The want of good water and the dreariness of the desert filled them with gloom and despondency. With great difficulty the royal army reached Gujarat, where the Sultan busily engaged himself in enlisting fresh levies of men, and spent about two crores in procuring the sinews of war. Malik Imad-ul-mulk complained to the Sultan that the condition of the *regulars* (*wajhdars*) in the royal army was unsatisfactory in spite of their

whose chief Jam Khair-ud-din submitted. Elliot, I, p. 342.

The Muslim historians have made much confusion about the names of these Jams. See Raverty's note in J.A.S.B., 1892, I, pp. 329-30.

²² For a detailed account of the *Ran*, see Bombay Gazetteer, V, pp. 11-16, and Kathiawad Gazetteer, III, p. 69.

services to the state. While the irregulars were mounted, they had to go on foot and were put to great hardships. The Sultan ordered that advances should be made to them to provide the necessary equipments. In accordance with this order every man obtained an advance, some of a hundred, some of seven hundred, and some of a thousand *tankas*. Instructions were sent to Khan-i-Jahan at Delhi to enjoin upon officers of government the necessity of treating the villages of the regulars well so that their families might not be put to any inconvenience. The Sultan was informed that many of his soldiers, wearied by the hardships of the last campaign, had left for their homes with their outfit and equipment. Steps were taken to prevent such desertions, and sentinels were posted to perform this duty. The Khan-i-Jahan at Delhi was asked to arrest those deserters who were regular soldiers and who were given an advance by the state and to inflict upon them the *Tadaruk-i-Ma'nawi*, a kind of moral remedy which consists in exposing a man to the shafts of public reproach. They were not to be dealt with according to the principle of *Tadaruk-i-Khusrawi* or imperial remedy which means execution, banishment or heavy fine. Khan-i-Jahan diligently carried out the orders of the Sultan. He arrested all the deserters from the army, and if a man turned out to be a regular soldier, he was punished according to the instructions of the Sultan. The chronicler writes that some well-known offenders were exposed in the bazars for a day or two to the gaze of every passer-by and were then let off, but their lands and allowances were not touched. Having accomplished the work of reorganisation, the entire force moved towards Thatta and encamped on the either side of the Indus. But when the imperial commandants Imad-ul-mulk and Zafar Khan attempted to cross the river, their way was blocked by the Sindhians. It was then decided to go higher up the river in order to effect a passage below Bhakkar. This was done, and on the opposite side of the river a fierce battle was fought, but Firuz's weakness once more stood in the way of victory.



Anxious, lest the lives of the innocent Muslims be destroyed, he recalled his generals, heedless of the inconveniences which they had borne in forcing a passage across the river. As the Sindhians offered stubborn resistance, the war council decided to send Imad-ul-mulk to Delhi to bring fresh reinforcements. The worthy minister Khan-i-Jahan received him well and called volunteers from Badaon, Kanauj, Sandila, Jaunpur, Bihar, Tirhut, Chanderi, Dhar and other dependencies of the empire. The arrival of these troops, considerably increased the strength of the royal army, and when the Sindhians saw the overwhelming odds arrayed against them, they judged discretion to be the better part of valour and expressed their willingness to surrender. This attitude rendered all further fighting superfluous, and a peace was at once concluded between the contending parties. The Jam offered submission, he was taken to Delhi where a liberal pension was settled on him, and his brother was reinstated in the Jamship.²³ Whatever success attended this campaign was due to the boldness and vigour of the imperial generals and the timely assistance rendered by Firuz's capable and loyal minister Khan-i-Jahan Maqbul.

Shams-i-Siraj Afif who has no clear idea of the

²³ Shams-i-Siraj Afif says that the son of the Jam and Tamachi, brother of Babiniya, were placed over Thatta and titles were conferred upon them. The Sultan, then marched to Delhi taking the Jam and Babiniya with him. It appears that Shams-i-Siraj has made Babiniya into two persons.

Mir Masum, the author of the *Tarikh-i-Masuni*, that Jam Babiniya was carried off in the retinue of the Sultan, and after remaining for some time in attendance, he was restored to the government of Sindh. Khudabaksha MS., p. 35.

Firishta agrees with Mir Masum and says that Jam Bani was afterwards restored to his kingdom.

The author of the *Chachnama* also says that Jam Babinar was restored to his kingdom, where he ruled for 15 years.



geography of the Deccan gives a brief and confused account of that country. The Bahmani kingdom had been established during Muhammad's lifetime and Vijayanagar had fully risen to fame. Firuz's officers asked his permission to march towards Daulatabad to reassert the supremacy of Delhi, but the Sultan 'looked distressed and his eyes suffused with tears and observed that he had resolved never more to make war upon men of Muslim faith.' Such was the bravery and courage of this monarch which is frequently applauded by the court historian. The empire of Delhi, shrivelled in extent and shorn of its splendour, was confined to the region north of the Vindhyas.

Firuz was essentially a man of peace. His achievements in the fields of civil administration entitle him to our admiration, though even some of these partially contributed to the disintegration of the empire. Under him the Muslim government in India assumed a predominantly theocratic character,²⁴ and pronounced its ban upon Hindu infidels and Muslim heretics alike. The intolerance of the Sultan was reflected in the administration which imposed serious disabilities upon the dissenters. The experience which Firuz had acquired under Muhammad had given him an insight into the needs of the country and impressed upon him the value of reform. This led him to devise comprehensive measures for the happiness and prosperity of his subjects. The welfare of the people, though it was often restricted to a small minority, became the watchword of the new administration, and the Hindus and Muslims both were benefitted by its activity. But the comparison between Akbar and Firuz instituted by

²⁴ Amils were appointed to teach the principles of the faith to the Hindu converts so that they may know the truth.

Sirat-i-Firuz Shahi, Allahabad University MS., p. 160.



Sir Henry Elliot²⁵ is unnecessary as well as unjust; Firuz had not even a hundredth part of the genius of that great-hearted and broad-minded monarch, who preached from the high platform of public interest the gospel of peace, good-will and toleration towards all sects and creeds. The reforms of Firuz lacked permanence; they failed to strengthen the Muslim polity and to gain the confidence of the Hindus whose feelings were embittered by his religious intolerance. Altogether they produced a reaction which proved fatal to the interest of the dynasty of which he was by no means an unworthy representative.

The jagir system which had been discontinued by Alauddin was revived by Firuz, and the whole empire was divided into fiefs, and the fiefs into districts held by his officers, who corresponded to the fief-holders of mediæval Europe. In addition to these grants of land, the functionaries of the state were given suitable allowances which enabled them to accumulate large fortunes. The revenue was assessed after a proper ascertainment of the condition of land. An enquiry was held into titles and tenures, and those who had been deprived of their lands were asked to make good their claims in courts of law. Khwaja Hisamuddin Junaid was appointed assessor of the revenue; he toured throughout the kingdom and submitted a report which contained suggestions for the improvement of the revenue system. The state demand was reduced and the cultivator's burden was further lightened by abolishing the payments which provincial governors had to make both annually and at the time of their appointment. The abuses in the collection of revenue

The civil administration.

²⁵ Elliot, III, pp. 269-70.

See prefatory note to Shams-i-Siraj Afif's *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*.

Vincent Smith also comments upon the absurdity of Sir Henry Elliot's calling Firuz Shah the Akbar of his time, *Oxford History*, p. 249.

were put down with a high hand. The facilities of irrigation provided by the state greatly improved agriculture, and the revenue of the Doab amounted to eighty lakhs of *tankas* and of the territories of Delhi to six crores and eighty-five lakhs of *tankas*. The area of cultivation enormously increased and the chronicler writes that in the vicinity of Delhi alone there were 1200 villages possessing orchards which paid every year to the treasury 180,000 *tankas*. The fear of famine no longer haunted the minds of the people, and the agriculturist became happy and prosperous.

Besides the land revenue the Sultan had other sources of income. The whole system of taxation was reorganised and made to conform to the spirit of the Holy Law. All

Taxation.

vexatious and unlawful imposts that had been levied in former reigns were abolished and Firuz in his *Fatuhāt-i-Firuz Shahi* takes credit for abolishing twenty-three of such cesses.²⁶ The guiding maxim of the Sultan was, "Better a people's weal than treasures vast." The state levied only four taxes which are prescribed in the Quran, namely, the *Khiraj*, the *Zakat*, the *Jesiya*, and the *Khams*. The spoils of war and conquest won by the arms of the faithful were to be shared by the army and the state in the proportion laid down in the sacred law. One-fifth was taken by the state and the remainder by the captors. Besides these taxes, the state levied an irrigation cess, which amounted to ten per cent of the produce of fields.²⁷ The new taxation

²⁶ *Fatuhāt-i-Firuz Shahi*, Elliot, III, p. 377.

The author of the *Sirat-i-Firuz Shahi*, a contemporary writer, gives a long list of 26 taxes which Firuz abolished. The list agrees with slight variations with that given by Elliot in his translation of the *Fatuhāt-i-Firuz Shahi*.

Allahabad University MS., pp. 117-18.

²⁷ Firuz consulted the canonists on the subject, who un-animously declared that the king was entitled to the right of *Sharb*, and it was after this decision that the irrigation cess was included in the rent-roll. Elliot, III, p. 361.

policy had a salutary effect on the development of trade and agriculture. Prices were low and no scarcity of the necessities of life was ever felt.²⁸ The state never experienced a deficit, and every year the Sultan spent large sums on charitable endowments and works of public utility.

After the foundation of the town of Firuzabad in the neighbourhood of Delhi the Sultan felt a great

The Canals of
Firuz.

scarcity of water. The contemporary chronicler writes that water was so scarce in the locality that travellers from Iraq and Khorasan had to pay as much as four *Jitals* for a pitcherful of it. It would be unfair to say that the Sultan was actuated entirely by commercial motives in building his canals, and this view is borne out by the fact that he levied the irrigation cess with the approval of the doctors of the law. Shams-i-Siraj makes mention of two streams one from the Jumna and the other from the Sutlej. The former was called the Rajwab and the other *Ulughkani*. Both passed through the vicinity of Karnal and after flowing for nearly 160 miles united and discharged their waters into Hisar Firuza. The author of the *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi*, who wrote in the fifteenth century and whose account is corroborated by Firishta and other later writers, speaks of four streams, and it appears probable that Firuz's canal system was more comprehensive

²⁸ The schedule of prices given by Shams-i-Siraj Afif is as follows:—

Wheat	..	..	8 <i>jitals</i>	..	1 <i>man</i> .
Barley	..	..	4 "	..	"
Grain	..	..	4 "	..	"
Dal	..	..	1 "	..	10 <i>sirs</i> .
Ghi	..	..	2½ "	..	1 <i>sir</i> .
Sugar	..	..	3-3½ "	..	1 <i>sir</i> .

The contemporary chronicler writes with a touch of exaggeration that not a span of land remained uncultivated and the fifty-two parganas of the Doab were highly prosperous.

Shams-i-Siraj Afif, *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*, Biblioth. Ind., p. 290.

than that mentioned by Afif.²⁹ The four canals mentioned by the author of the *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* are:—(1) A canal from the Sutlej to the Ghaghar which was at a distance of 48 *kos* corresponding roughly to 96 miles; (2) another from the neighbourhood of Mandavi and Sirmur hills which, after taking the waters of seven other streams, was carried to Hansi, whence it was carried to Arasani (Absin of Firishta) where the fort of Hisar Firuz was built by the Sultan, (3) a third canal from the Ghaghar which, passing by the city of Sirsuti, followed to the village of Hirani-khera or Bharni-khera near which a town was built and named Firuzabad; (4) a fourth stream was drawn from the Jumna which flowed to Firuzabad and then its waters were carried further after filling a tank near the town. Firishta writes that in the year 1360 A.D.

²⁹ Shams-i-Siraj Afif, *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*, Biblioth. Ind., p. 127.

The account given by the author of the *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* is substantially corroborated by Firishta who is a later authority. Firishta probably borrowed his account from Yahya. Lucknow text, p. 146.

The *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* was rare when I wrote this chapter. The translation of passages from it in Elliot's History of India (Vol. IV) is very meagre. No copies of the work were to be found in any library in India and in England the only copy was in the Bodlerian library. Sir J. N. Sarkar was good enough to lend me his Ms which I utilised in writing this chapter. The *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* has now been published along with an English translation in the Gaekwad oriental series.

It is very difficult to trace the course of these canals on a modern map. For further information see the following:

J.A.S.B., 1846, p. 213.

J.A.S.B., 1833, pp. 105—9.

J.A.S.B., 1912, p. 279.

J.A.S.B., 1840, p. 688.

J.A.S.B., II, p. 111.

Rennell's Map of a Memoir, pp. 72—74.



the Sultan caused a huge mound between the Sirsuti and the Salima rivers to be excavated. He was told that if the mound were cut through the waters of the Sirsuti would fall into the Salima and would come to Sunnam, passing through Sarhind and Mansurpur. According the excavation of the mound was undertaken and fifty thousand labourers were employed to work at it. Sarhind which was originally a part of the fief of Samana was separated and constituted into a district by itself.

The military organisation of the empire rested on a feudal basis. Grants of land were made to the

The army.

soldiers of the army for their maintenance while the irregulars (*ghair-wajah*) were paid from the royal treasury, and those who received neither salary nor grants of land were given assignments upon the revenue. The royal army consisted of 80 or 90 thousand cavalry in addition to the retainers of the feudal barons and grandees of the state, who numbered a little less than two hundred thousand. Horsemen were required to bring the right kind of animals to the registration office, and the corrupt practices that had formerly attended this business were put an end by the vigilant Malik Razi, the *Naib Arz-i-mumalik* (deputy muster-master). The soldiers were treated kindly and were provided with all sorts of comforts. But the Sultan's misplaced generosity seriously impaired the efficiency of the army by allowing aged and infirm persons, no longer fit for active service, to remain in it. A new regulation laid down that when a soldier became unfit on account of old age, his son or son-in-law, or slaves should succeed him, and in this way "the veterans were to remain at home in ease, and young were to ride forth in their strength."³⁰ Thus military efficiency was subordinated to the dictates of magnanimity by the

³⁰ Shams-i-Siraj Afif, *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*, Biblioth. Ind., p. 303.

Elliot, III, p. 349.

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weak-minded Sultan, despite the remonstrances of his generals.

Firuz's conception of law and justice was that of an orthodox Muslim. He was stern in repressing crime and administered justice according to the dictates of the Quran. The mufti expounded the law and the Qazi delivered judgment. If a traveller died on the road the feudal chiefs and *muqaddams* call-

Law, justice,
and other humani-
tarian measures.

ing together the Qazi and other Muslims examined the body of the deceased and drew up a report certifying under the seal of the Qazi that no wound was discernible on the body and then they buried it. The legal system of Hindustan was harsh and inhuman like the systems that prevailed in mediæval Europe. Torture was looked upon as the surest means of discovering truth, and punishment was often inflicted to wreak vengeance and not to reform the culprit. Firuz abolished torture and all other revolting forms of punishment, but clemency was shown to such an extent that many a miscreant who deserved punishment escaped scotfree.

The Sultan's administration of poor relief deserves high praise. His solicitude for public welfare led him to issue instructions to the Kotwals to ascertain the number of the unemployed. These men were asked to apply to the Diwan, and, occupation was provided for them according to their capacity. Those who could read and write were employed in the royal household and those who showed aptitude for some sort of practical work were attached to the royal establishments, while those who wished to become slaves of some noble or grandee were favoured with letters of recommendation. To enable poor Muslims to marry their daughters, the Sultan established a regular charity office (*Diwan-i-khairat*), which considered each case on its merits, and then recommended for a grant of marriage allowance. The applicants of the first class were given fifty *tankas*, while those of the second and third were allowed thirty and twenty-five



Tankas respectively. A long-felt need was satisfied, and men came from far and wide to avail of the benefactions of the Sultan.

Firuz wished to make atonement for the sins of his cousin. He ordered the heirs of those who had been executed during Muhammad's reign and those who had been deprived of a limb, nose, eye, hand or foot to be appeased with gifts and reconciled to the late king. This was done by giving declarations in writing which were duly attested by witness. These were placed in a chest which was placed in the *Daru-l-Aman* at the head of the tomb of the late Sultan. All those who had been deprived of their villages, lands, and ancient patrimonies during former reigns, were restored to their rights. Their claims were fully examined in courts of law and when they had been proved their property was given back to them.

Himself acquainted with the science of medicine, the Sultan established a hospital (*Dar-ul-shafa*) at Delhi, where medicines were distributed to the sick free of charge. Competent physicians looked after the patients who were also supplied with food at the expense of the state. For the benefit of the pilgrims who came from distant lands to visit the mausoleums of great kings and holy men, he made liberal endowments. In the midst of his many engagements, the Sultan did not forget to extend his sympathy to the sufferers of the previous regime, whom he recompensed for their losses and obtained from them "deeds of satisfaction" for the good of the soul of Sultan Muhammad.³¹ This was obviously done to please the clericalists whom Muhammad had so deeply offended.

One of the principal features of the reign of Firuz was the unusual growth of the slave system. From the various parts of the empire slaves were sent by viceroys and were granted

The slave system.

³¹ *Fatuhāt-i-Firuz Shāhi*, Elliot, III, p. 385.

Sirat-i-Firuz Shāhi, Allahabad University MS., p. 149.

Firishta, Lucknow text, p. 151.



allowances by the state. Those who had received a liberal education devoted themselves to the study of religion and literature, while those who had received merely technical instruction became artisans and craftsmen. Owing to the Sultan's favour the number of slaves rapidly multiplied, so that in a few years in the metropolis and the provinces of the empire their total number reached the high figure of 180,000. In the Sultan's palace alone there were 40,000 slaves. For the proper management of this army of slaves, a separate department with a regular staff of officers was established, which must have caused a heavy drain upon the treasury. The slaves had a separate muster-master, a separate treasury, a separate Jao-Shughuri and deputy Jao-Shughuri and a separate *Diwan*. That the institution had grown to dangerous dimensions cannot be denied; ultimately it operated as one of the causes of the disintegration of the empire.

The contemporary chronicler ascribes several new coins to Firuz, but a close examination shows that they all existed in the time of Muhammad Tughluq. Even the *Shashgani* (six-jital piece) which is attributed to him was not a novelty, for Ibn Batuta makes frequent references to it. The management of the mint was far from efficient and frauds often went undetected.³² But the Sultan never neglected the interests of his subjects; to facilitate the transactions of the poor people, he introduced half and quarter *jitals* called *adha* (half) and *bikh* respectively. These pieces of mixed copper and silver added to the weight of the coins and gave them a real metallic value—an extremely important matter in a country like India, where the people “rigorously exact full metallic values.”³³

No other king of Delhi was such an enthusiastic

³² Shams-i-Siraj Afif, *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*, Biblioth. Ind., pp. 344-45.

³³ Thomas, *The Chronicles of Pathan Kings*, p. 281.

builder. The early Muslim rulers were too busy in fighting the hostile races of Hindustan, and the pressure of perpetual war left them hardly any time to turn their attention to works of public utility. Firuz was the first Muslim king who enjoyed a comparatively longer period of peace; and the complete absence of wars on a large scale made it possible for him to apply himself to such beneficent undertakings. He founded the towns of Firuzabad, Fatehabad, Jaunpur and several others; built mosques, palaces, monasteries and inns for the convenience of travellers, and repaired numerous buildings which had suffered from the ravages of time.³⁴ Numerous artisans were employed by the state and a qualified superintendent was appointed to supervise the work of each class of artisans. The principal architect of the state was Malik Ghazi Shahna who was assisted by one Abdul Haq, who was also known as Jahir Sundhar. The plan of every new building was examined in the finance office (*Diwan-i-Wizarat*) and then money was sanctioned for its construction.³⁵

The Sultan was a great gardener. He resuscitated 30 old gardens of Alauddin and laid out 1,200 new ones in the vicinity of Delhi. Numerous gardens and orchards were laid out, which yielded to the state a

³⁴ Firishta, Lucknow text, p. 151. Elliot, III, pp. 383-84.

³⁵ Shams-i-Siraj Afif, *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*, Biblioth. Ind., p. 333.

Firishta enumerates 845 public buildings erected during Firuz's reign. Firuz himself mentions some of them in his *Fatuhah-i-Firuz Shahi*.

Shams-i-Siraj Afif, *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*, Biblioth. Ind., pp. 329-33.

The works of public utility repaired and built by Firuz have been enumerated by Thomas in his *Chronicles of the Pathan Kings*. See pp. 290-91.

They are also mentioned in the *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi* of Afif and also in the *Fatuhah-i-Firuz Shahi*, a short autobiographical memoir written by Firuz himself. Elliot, III, pp. 354, 355, 383-85.

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large revenue. Much waste land was reclaimed, and though the extent of the empire was reduced, its revenue increased by several millions.

Firuz took interest in the preservation of ancient monuments, and caused two monoliths of Asoka to be removed to his new city. One known as the Minar-i-Zarin or golden pillar was removed from a village near Khizrabad on the upper Jumna to Delhi where it was re-erected near the great mosque at Firuzabad and the other was brought from Meerut and set up on a hillock near the *Kushk-i-Shikar* in the vicinity of modern Delhi. Shams-i-Siraj Afif gives an elaborate account of the manner in which the monoliths were brought to Delhi and re-erected. Learned Brahmanas were called to decipher the inscriptions on the pillars, but they failed to make out the script which was totally different from the language with which they were familiar. Some of them tried to please the Sultan by saying that it was recorded in the inscriptions that no one would be able to remove the monoliths until the advent of Firuz.³⁶

As a pious and benevolent ruler the Sultan was interested in the promotion of learning. He extended his patronage to Shaikhs and learned men and accorded to them a most hearty reception in his Palace of Grapes.

Promotion of
learning.

³⁶ One of these was a stone pillar 42 feet 7 inches high of which 35 feet in the upper part was polished and the rest rough. The other was an iron pillar smaller in size than the stone pillar. Both pillars originally stood in the neighbourhood of Meerut and their removal was effected with considerable difficulty.

Carr Stephen, *Archæology of Delhi*, pp. 130, 142, 143.

The Pandits, whom the Sultan consulted, must have been, in the words of Edward Thomas, more than ordinarily obtuse or intentionally reticent for they ought to have been able to read the inscription of Bisala Deva, King of Sakambhari, dated 1163 A.D., which is in the Devanagiri character in Sanskrit. It records the victories of Bisala Deva, the famous Chauhan prince, who ruled over the country between the Himalayas and the Vindhya.

Carr Stephen, *Archæology of Delhi*, pp. 137-38.

See Chapter I of this book.

He granted pensions and gratuities to them and made it a part of his state policy to encourage learned men in all parts of the empire. He was fond of history, and the works of Zia Barani and Shams-i-Siraj Afif, besides other works on law and theology, were written during his reign.³⁷ Numerous colleges and monasteries were established, where men devoted themselves to study and mediation, and to each college was attached a mosque for worship. Of the professors of these colleges, two were widely known and highly esteemed. One was Maulana Jalal-ud-din Rumi who lectured on theology and Islamic jurisprudence and the other a famous preacher from Samargand. Like Bishop Lanfranc and his pupils in the lecture halls at Avranches and the cloister schools of Bec and Caen, these Muslim scholars devoted themselves to theological studies, and with their outlook narrowed and vision cramped, they became the most uncompromising champions of the orthodox position.

³⁷ The Sultan was a patron of learning. When after the conquest of Nagarkot a large library fell into his hands, he caused some Sanskrit works to be translated into Persian. One of these was the *Dalayat-i-Firuz Shahi*, which has already been mentioned. Barani wrote his history during his reign and dedicated his translation of the "*Akhbar Barmakiyan*" from Arabic into Persian to Firuz Shah. Other works of note written during the reign are the *Fatwa-i-Johanari* by Zia Barani and *Fiqh-i-Firuz Shahi*, whose author's name is not known. Both are mentioned in the India Office Catalogue of Persian MSS., p. 1377. The *Sirat-i-Firuz Shahi* was also composed during this reign.

Firuz built many colleges. The *Maasir-i-Rahimi* by Abdul Baqi (MS. in the Asiatic Society of Bengal, leaf 107) states that he built 50 *Madrasas*. Nizam-ud-din and Firishta estimate the number to be 30, which is corroborated by Sujan Rai Khatri, the author of the *Khulasat-ut-tawarikh*, who copied both. Firuz speaks of these institutions in his *Fatuhāt*. The Firuz Shahi Madrasa at Firuzabad was liberally endowed and far surpassed the other *Madrasas* of the time. The *Mutwalli* of the Madrasa was Yusuf bin Jamal, who died in 1388 A.D., and was buried in the court of the college.

For a description of the Firuz Shahi Madrasa, see Barani's *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*, Biblioth. Ind., pp. 562-66.

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Besides the institutions that have been described above, there were numerous other establishments in the

The court and
the royal house-
hold.

state, of which a bare mention will suffice in this place. Although the Sultan's piety and orthodoxy led him to despise all gorgeous display of royal splendour, he had to maintain the traditional magnificence of his court. Doubtless his court could not rival that of his predecessor in pomp and grandeur, nor was it resorted to by men from all parts of the Muslim world. But Shams-i-Siraj Afif who was a frequent visitor at the court gives a glowing description of the Darbar on the occasion of the Id and the Shabrat, when the palace of Firuzabad was artistically decorated and the courtiers, decked with jewels and attired in gorgeous costumes, enjoyed the numerous entertainments provided by the Sultan's bounty. Men of all classes, high and low, Muslims and Hindus, came from far and wide to take part in these festivities.

The royal household-establishments, known as the *karkhanas*, had their separate offices and a regular staff of officers to superintend their business. Each *Karkhana* had a separate financial department where accounts were kept, and these were finally submitted to the *Diwan-i-Wizarat*, the royal exchequer. The accounts of the fiefs assigned to these establishments were carefully audited, and their stewards, were required to present a balance-sheet to the exchequer every year.

To all appearance the administrative machinery worked well. No serious revolts or famines marred the success of the reforms which Firuz introduced. But his habitual clemency and mildness which formed the key-note of his policy contributed not a little to the inefficiency of government. The *morale* of the Muslim community was lowered; its fitness for the arduous duties of war was seriously impaired with the result that many of the descendants of the Khans and Malikis of old at the court ceased to aspire to become renowned warriors and generals, and bereft of ambition and opportunity they degenerated into mean office-seekers.

FIRUZ TUGHLUQ

No account of Firuz's reign would be complete without a mention of his able and energetic minister

Khan-i-Jahan
 Maqbul.

Khan-i-Jahan Maqbul. He was originally a Hindu of Telingana, but had latterly embraced Islam. He served

under Muhammad Tughluq, who, being impressed by his talents and sturdy common sense, entrusted to him the fief of Multan. When Firuz ascended the throne, Maqbul was elevated to the position of the first man in the empire after the fall of Ahmad bin Ayaz. When he went on distant expeditions, he left the minister in charge of the capital, and the latter managed the affairs of the state with such ability and vigour that the long absence of the Sultan had no effect upon the administration. Though a great statesman, devoted to the interests of the state, the minister was like most men of rank in his age addicted to the pleasures of the *haram*. It is said, he had two thousand women of different nationalities in his seraglio and a large number of children, who were all liberally provided for by the state. The Khan-i-Jahan lived to a ripe old age. When he died in 1370, his son Juna Shah, who was born at Multan during the reign of Muhammad Tughluq, was confirmed in his office and the title which his father had so long enjoyed was bestowed upon him.³⁸

³⁸ *Shams-i-Siraj Afif* says that Khan-i-Jahan died in 770 A.H. (1368 A.D.), and was succeeded by his son, but in another place he says that he was alive in 772 A.H. (1370 A.D.). The latter date is correct. It is supported by an inscription on the 'Black Mosque' near the tomb of Shaikh Nizam-ud-din Aulia, in which the date of the son's entry into office is given as 772 A.H.

Khan-i-Jahan was one of the favourites of the Rai of Telingana. The Rai dying on the way to Delhi, Khan-i-Jahan, who was called Kuttu or Kunnu, embraced Islam in the presence of Sultan Muhammad Tughluq under the name of Maqbul. In his letters and signatures he used to call himself "Maqbul, slave of Muhammad Tughluq." Although illiterate, he was a very wise man. He took a prominent part in political affairs in Sultan Muhammad's time. In Firuz's reign he became virtually the Sultan's *alter ego* and managed the affairs of the state with consummate ability.

The last days of Firuz were clouded by sorrow and anxiety, and the even tenor of his life was disturbed by the dissensions of parties and factions.

The last days of Firuz.

The infirmities of age had compelled him to delegate his authority to the minister *Khan-i-Jahan*, but the latter's overweening pride and insolence filled the old nobility with disgust. In order to put Prince Muhammad out of his way, the minister informed the Sultan that the Prince had entered into a confederacy with certain disaffected nobles and intended to take his life. So skilfully did the wily minister play upon the fears of the weak-minded Firuz that he readily granted him permission to arrest the conspirators. But the prince proved too clever for him, and by a dexterous move he took the wind out of the sails of his arch-enemy. Having secured permission for his ladies to visit the royal seraglio, he buckled on his armour and got into one of the palanquins. His unexpected presence in this strange costume alarmed the ladies, but before any harm could be done to him, he threw himself at the feet of his father and implored forgiveness, protesting that the alleged conspiracy was a concoction of the ambitious minister. He succeeded in obtaining from the Sultan a *carte blanche* for the dismissal and arrest of the minister, who having learnt of these proceedings fled towards Mewat. The Prince was admitted into royal favour and the Sultan was pleased to declare him his heir-apparent. Secure in his position, the Prince immersed himself in the pleasures of the senses, and despite the warnings of the trusted officers of the Crown, he continued to pursue his evil ways and pitchforked his own lackeys and panders in the place of tried veterans. Opposition to the Prince grew apace, and the protagonists of rival parties engaged themselves in battle with savage fury, and the worst horrors of civil war were perpetrated. The nobles sought the protection of the old Sultan, and his appearance had a magical effect on the hostile troops. The Prince fled towards the Sirmur hills, and order was quickly



restored. Firuz once more assumed sovereignty, but advancing age rendered him unfit for the proper discharge of kingly duties. The last public act of his life was the conferment of the royal insignia upon his grandson, Tughlūq Shah bin Fatah Khan, to whom he delegated his authority. Not long afterwards the old Sultan died at the age of eighty in the month of Ramzan, 790 A.H. (October, 1388). His death was followed by the scramble of rival princes and parties for power which will be described in the next chapter.

According to Muslim standards Firuz Tughluq was an ideal king. Orthodox and humane, he was

Estimate of Firuz. deeply solicitous of the welfare of his subjects and his benevolence extended in a special measure to his co-religion-

ists. He possessed far less ability than his predecessor, and although he has many useful reforms to his credit, there is not much in his policy to show that he was more than a mediocrity. At the time of his accession the empire was in ruins; the disorders of Muhammad's reign had broken it into fragments, and in the various provinces the amirs and chiefs had set up as independent despots. Firuz did nothing to win back the allegiance of disloyal governors and to restore the sway of Delhi to its former extent. He was neither a capable general nor a stern and far-sighted administrator. His campaigns were ill-conducted and but for the ability of Khan-i-Jahan Maqbul, they would have ended in disaster to the Sultan. Before the fort of Iqdala more than once Firuz shrank from completing his victory for fear of shedding Muslim blood, and in his Thatta campaign his lack of knowledge and strategical acumen inflicted great misery and privations upon the army. He lost his way in the Ran of Kutch and, to the amazement of the whole kingdom, no news was received of him for six months. The astute Khan-i-Jahan had to pretend that he had received royal despatches in order to allay public excitement. The military organisation was defective and inefficient. More humanitarian than statesmanlike, the Sultan spoiled the effects of his

reforms by his clemency and indiscriminate generosity. He was indulgent to all officers, corrupt as well as honest, and allowed them to furnish substitutes when they happened to be absent. All kinds of excuses were permitted in the case of incompetent soldiers and the regulations were evaded by the Sultan's own connivance. The principle of hereditary appointment was enforced without regard to efficiency and the Sultan comforted himself with the observation: "The almighty does not take away his servants' sustenance because they are old, how can I, his creature, dismiss my aged servants?" The Sultan once overheard a soldier saying that he was unable to produce his horse at the muster. He asked him to go and arrange matters with the clerk of the office by paying him a bribe, but the man pleaded his poverty. The Sultan himself gave him a gold *tanka* to be paid to the clerk and thus helped him to obtain the necessary certificate. Nothing could be more reprehensible than the attempt by the king himself to encourage corruption and inefficiency in the administration. When the Sultan introduced the *Shashgani* for the benefit of the poorer classes, the officers of the mint practised deception and debased the coinage. It was reported that the new coin was deficient of silver by one grain. Kajar Shah, the Superintendent of the mint, was charged with encouraging the fraud. He colluded with the goldsmiths who were brought before the Sultan to test the purity of the coins, and when the *Shashgani* was put into the crucible, they put in a little more silver stealthily in order to make up the deficiency. The goldsmiths were required to strip off their clothes to show that they had no metal on their person, but silver was clandestinely put into the pieces of charcoal with the knowledge of Kajar Shah. The standard purity of the coin was established by this device, and Kajar Shah, notwithstanding the fraud to which he was a party, was granted a robe and then mounted on an elephant and paraded round the city as a mark of honour, and his accusers were sent into exile. These corrupt practices do not seem to have shocked the moral sense

of Firuz's contemporaries and Shams-i-Siraj Afif does not say a word in condemnation of the manner in which the administration functioned to the detriment of the permanent interests of the empire. The paternal legislation which became a special feature of the reign undermined initiative and enterprise to such an extent that most of the men who held high offices in the state possessed neither integrity nor talent.

The government of Firuz was a theocracy. At no time in Indian History before the advent of Aurangzeb excepting the reign of Sikandar Lodi, we find the policy of the state so completely influenced by religious considerations. The manner in which the Sultan lived and regulated his policy leaves no doubt in our mind that he was a theocratic monarch. He followed the sacred law in everything, paid visits to the shrines of saints, took a *fal* of the Quran before embarking upon any enterprise, and towards the end of his reign he became a shaveling. In financial, religious and even his military policy he reverted to the orthodox standard and sought conformity with it, regardless of the interests of the state. For the first time the *Jeziya* was levied upon the Brahmanas who were described as 'the very keys of the chamber of idolatry' and their protests were unheeded by the Sultan. Those who had to pay the *Jeziya* were divided into three classes—the first class had to pay 40 *tankas*, the second 20, and the third 10. The Brahmanas represented to the Sultan that the assessment weighed heavily upon them. He agreed to lower the rate and allowed 50 *Kanis* to be paid instead of ten *tankas*.³⁹

Firuz was an orthodox Sunni. In his *Fatuhāt* he takes credit for extirpating dissent and idolatry. He pulled down Hindu temples and 'killed the leaders of infidelity who seduced others into error,' and built mosques in their places.⁴⁰ Several instances of

³⁹ Afif, Elliot, III, p. 366. Elliot's translation is correct. The text has, 50 *kanis* were to be paid instead of 10 *tankas*.

⁴⁰ Ibid, p. 381.

interference with religion are recorded and in referring to the Hindus who assembled for worship in the new temple at Kohana the Sultan writes:

"The people were seized and brought before me. I ordered that the perverse conduct of the leaders of this wickedness should be publicly proclaimed, and that should be put to death before the gate of the palace. I also ordered that the infidel books, the idols, and the vessels used in their worship, which had been taken with them, should all be publicly burnt. The others were restricted by threats and punishments, as warning to all men, that no *Zimmi* could follow such wicked practices in a Musulman country".⁴¹

His wrath fell also upon Muslim women who used to pay visit to tombs and shrines. He issued a decree forbidding such pilgrimages on pain of exemplary punishment.⁴² In the suppression of heresy Firuz showed a great zeal. The *Fatuhāt* speaks of a number of sects which were suppressed with a high hand. One should read the King's own observations in order to appreciate the spirit of his measures. The Shias (also called *Rafizis*) were punished and convinced of their error, and their books were publicly burnt. The *Mulhid* and the *Abahitiyan* whose worship, according to Firuz, was accompanied by the most disgraceful orgies, were imprisoned and banished, and their 'abominable practices' were put an end to. The *Mehdwis* were punished and their leader Ruknuddin was convicted of heresy and expeditiously disposed off. They killed him with some of his supporters and disciples and the people rushing in tore him to pieces and broke his bones into fragments, writes Firuz, and expresses satisfaction at the thought that God had made him the instrument of putting down such

⁴¹ Afif, Elliot, III, p. 381.

⁴² Ibid, p. 380.



wickedness.⁴³ A similar treatment was accorded to the *sufis*.

This was not all. The state under Firuz became a proselytiser. It offered temptations to induce people to embrace Islam. The words of the Sultan clearly reveal his intentions:

"I encouraged my infidel subjects to embrace the religion of the Prophet, and I proclaimed that every one who repeated the creed and became a Musalman should be exempt from the *Jeziya*, a poll-tax. Information of this came to the ears of the people at large, and great numbers of Hindus presented themselves and were admitted to the honour of Islam."⁴⁴

The policy of Firuz is a curious blending of good and evil. There is much in it that deserves to be applauded; his measures to succour the poor and the unemployed, his plans to improve agriculture, his desire to raise works of public utility—these are achievements which will ever be mentioned to his credit, but no impartial historian can lend his approval to his religious bigotry which often manifested itself in an aggressive form, his condonation of offences, his deliberate disregard of efficiency, his indiscriminate benevolence, which by their combined operation, destroyed the prestige and vigour of the administration. If the soundness of a policy is to be judged by its results, we must declare that Firuz failed to ensure that stability to government which could have been achieved in the fourteenth century only by a combination of wise statesmanship and military talent of the highest order.

⁴³ Afif, Elliot III, p. 379.

⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 386.



CHAPTER XII

THE LATER TUGHLUQS AND TIMUR'S INVASION

AFTER the death of Firuz Tughluq the empire of Delhi which had shrunk to the dimensions of a small principality rapidly declined in importance. It had been greatly disturbed by the convulsions of Muhammad's reign, and Firuz had done nothing, indeed, he had neither the will nor the capacity, to recover the lost provinces. As a result of his policy the centrifugal tendencies, so common in Indian history, began to work, and province after province separated itself from the empire. Ambitious chiefs and disloyal governors hoisted the flag of revolt, and defied the authority of the central power, which had become incapable of asserting itself. The basic principle of the Muslim state in the fourteenth century was force; but the awe and fear in which the ruling class was held had disappeared owing to the relaxation of authority, and Firuz was loved and not feared by his subjects. The theocratic character of the state adversely effected its efficiency, and the influence of the *mullahs* and *muftis* proved disastrous in the long run. The Muslims, accustomed to a life of ease at court, lost their old grit and manliness and behaved like a disorderly rabble in the midst of a campaign, a fact which accounts for the lack of generalship, discipline and strategical acumen of which ample evidence is furnished by Firuz's military policy. The Jagir system led to great abuses and more often than not the grantee attempted to set up an independent principality for himself. A feudal aristocracy, deriving its power from land, tends to become turbulent, and the danger is intensified when the central power is unable to control such unruly elements. The slaves of Firuz whose number had exceeded all reasonable limits were a fresh source of trouble. The whole



institution had undergone a radical change, and the slaves, no longer capable and loyal like their forbears in the time of Balban and Alauddin, embroiled themselves in disgraceful intrigues and added to the disorders of the time. The incompetence of the later Tughluqs led to a recrudescence of Hindu revolts particularly in the Doab, where *Zamindars* and *Khuts* withheld tribute and began to play the role of petty despots. The revenue was not realised, and the whole administration fell into a state of chaos. A kingdom whose main support was military strength was bound to be pulled to pieces like a child's map, when its destinies were controlled by men, who were neither warriors nor statesmen, and who could be utilised by self-seeking adventures for their own aggrandizement. By their incompetence, the successors of Firuz accelerated the process of disintegration, the seeds of which had been sown during his reign.¹

The successor of Firuz was his grandson Tughluq Shah, son of Prince Fatah Khan, who assumed the title of Ghiyas-ud-din Tughluq II. This young and inexperienced ruler had no idea of the magnitude of the difficulties that surrounded him and the dangers that threatened the empire of Delhi. He gave himself up to debauch and pleasure and neglected the affairs of the state. His conduct alienated the sympathies of the great official and Amirs, and when he threw

¹ Stanley Lane-Poole mentions inter-marriage with the Hindus as one of the causes of disintegration. This is hardly correct. Firuz himself, who was born of a Hindu mother, never showed any Hindu proclivities. On the contrary, he was a bigot, who always deemed it an act of merit to persecute the "infidels." Besides, Lane-Poole's statement is not borne out by subsequent history. The great Mughal Emperor Akbar adopted the policy of matrimonial alliances with a view to strengthen the empire, and this policy succeeded remarkably well. The empire continued as vigorous as before under his two successors, and it broke up only when Aurangzeb abandoned the policy of religious toleration which his great-grandfather had inaugurated.

into a dungeon Abu Bakr, son of Zafar Khan, they formed a conspiracy to overthrow him. The conspirators entered the palace, and the Sultan who knew that they had designs on him escaped with the Wazir towards the river. But he was pursued and overtaken by one of the conspirators just when he was about to cross the river, and was beheaded on the spot on February 19, 1389 A.D. Abu Bakr succeeded him; gradually he established his hold over Delhi, and his influence and authority began to wax from day to day. But the peace of the realm was disturbed by the news of the murder of Malik Sultan Shah Khushdil, the Amir of Samana, who had been sent against Prince Muhammad, the young son of Sultan Firuz Shah. The latter readily grasped at this opportunity and forthwith proceeded to Samana, where he proclaimed himself emperor. Encouraged by the offers of help from some of the Amirs and nobles at the capital, he marched towards Delhi and encamped in its neighbourhood. A terrible civil war became imminent, and ambitious chiefs and slaves like the Prætorian guards of the Roman emperors of later days began to sway the scale on one side or the other. Bahadur Nahir of Mewat joined Abu Bakr, and with his help the armies of Delhi succeeded in inflicting a defeat upon Prince Muhammad in the battle of Firuzabad. The vanquished prince went into the Doab and began to make efforts to obtain fresh allies. His troops, mortified by their defeat, ravaged the lands of the Doab and plundered the estates of the nobles and Amirs of Delhi. Sharp skirmishes with the Zamindars and petty chieftains followed and the *lex talionis* was freely resorted to. Abu Bakr's indifference to these depredations turned his nobles against him, and many of them went over to the side of the enemy. Having organised his forces, Muhammad returned to Jalesar, where he encamped and busied himself in making preparations for battle. A battle was fought near Panipat, but fortune again favoured Abu Bakr, and Prince Humayun, Muhammad's son, suffered a severe defeat. Muhammad, who was

assisted by a faction at Delhi, did not lose heart, and when Abu Bakr left for Mewat to seek the help of Bahadur Nahir, the disaffected nobles invited him to come to the capital. In response to this invitation Muhammad marched towards Delhi, where he was cordially received by his partisans. Having effected a safe entry into the capital, Prince Muhammad took his abode in the palace and ascended the throne at Firuzabad under the title of Nasir-ud-din Muhammad in August, 1390 A.D. In order to consolidate his power, the new Sultan deprived the old Firuz Shahi slaves, who were partisans of Abu Bakr, of the custody of elephants. They protested against this step but in vain, and one night they fled with their wives and children to join Abu Bakr. The Sultan sent Prince Humayun and Islam Khan against his rival and the slaves of the old regime. Islam Khan's intrepid action overpowered Abu Bakar, and when the latter saw that his cause was lost he made his submission. The Sultan pardoned Bahadur Nahir and imprisoned Abu Bakr in the fort of Meerut where he died afterwards.

The Sultan returned to Delhi, but the good effects of his victory were marred by the rebellion of the Zamindars of the Doab. The revolt of Narasingh, Zamindar of Etawah, was successfully put down, but Islam Khan's treasonable conduct caused the Sultan much anxiety. On the evidence of a kinsman of his own, Islam was condemned to death without a trial. But more formidable in magnitude than all these was the rebellion of Bahadur Nahir of Mewat, who began to make inroads into the environs of Delhi. The Sultan, although in a state of feeble health, proceeded against him and compelled him to seek refuge in his own fortress. His health declined rapidly, and he died on January 15, 1394. He was succeeded by his son Humayun, but his life was cut short by a "violent disorder," and he died after a few days.

The vacant throne now fell to the lot of Prince Mahmud, the youngest son of Muhammad, who assumed the sceptre under the title of Nasir-ud-din Mahmud

Tughluq. The problems which confronted the new government were difficult and multifarious. At the capital the scramble of parties and factions made the establishment of a strong administration well nigh impossible; abroad, the Hindu chiefs and Muslim governors openly disregarded the authority of the central government. The whole country from Kanauij to Bihar and Bengal was in a state of turmoil, and many of the chiefs and Zamindars had begun to exercise *de facto* sovereignty within their territorial limits. Khwaja Jahan who had been created *Malik-us-Sharq* (Lord of the East) became independent at Jaunpur; the Khokhars revolted in the north; Gujarat declared its independence and Malwa and Khandesh followed suit. The government found it impossible to arrest the forces of disorder, which was aggravated by the acrimonious disputes of contending parties at Delhi. Some of the nobles put forward Nusrat Khan, a grandson of Firuz Tughluq, as a rival claimant to the throne. The Amirs and Maliks at Firuzabad together with the slaves of the old régime espoused the cause of Nusrat, while those at Delhi gave their support to Mahmud Tughluq. Thus, there were two Sultans arrayed in hostile camps, and the imperial crown was tossed to and fro like a shuttlecock between the contending factions. A large number of party leaders arose, but the most distinguished among them were Bahadur-Nahir, Mallu Iqbal and Muqarrab Khan. Fighting went on ceaselessly, and the protagonists on either side keenly contested for supremacy without any appreciable result. The provincial governors took no part in these civil wars, but they vigilantly watched the fluctuations in the fortunes of rival parties. Towards the close of the year 1397, came the news that the army of Timur had crossed the Indus and laid siege to Uchha. The effect of the advent of a foreign army was soon felt at the capital, where the parties began to shift their positions with astonishing rapidity. Mallu Iqbal went over to the side of Nusrat Khan, and the new allies swore fealty to each other, but the compact

was too hastily formed to last long. Sultan Mahmud and his powerful allies, Muqarrab Khan and Bahadur Nahir, occupied old Delhi. Mallu Iqbal treacherously attacked Nusrat, but the prince having got scent of his treasonable designs escaped to Tatar Khan at Panipat. Mallu Iqbal now turned against his irreconcilable foe, Muqarrab, and determined to drive him out of the capital. A fierce fight raged between them, and it was after two months that a peace was patched up through the intervention of some noblemen. But Mallu was not the man to abide by his plighted word; he attacked Muqarrab at his residence and had him ruthlessly put to death. Muqarrab's death broke, as it were, the right arm of Sultan Mahmud, who, deprived of all royal authority, became a tool in the hands of Mallu Iqbal.² He made efforts to reorganise the administration, but the grim spectre of a foreign invasion stared him in the face. The whole country was soon to be convulsed to its depths by a storm, which swept away all parties, effaced all landmarks and inflicted a misery upon the people which beggars all description. The ominous news flashed forth that Amir Timur was advancing upon Hindustan with his myriad hosts.

Timur was born in 1336 A.D. at Kech in Transoxiana, fifty miles south of Samargand. He was the son of Amir Turghay, chief of the Gurkan branch of the Barlas, a noble Turkish tribe, and a nephew of Haji Barlas. At the age of 33 he became the head of the Chagtai Turks and constantly waged war against Persia and the adjoining lands. The condition of Persia was at this time deplorable under the successors of Muhammad Muzaffar owing to civil wars and internecine strife; and Sharf-ud-din writes that "the poor people bore the burden of these disorders and were, in a manner,

Timur's invasion, 1398 A.D.

² It should be borne in mind that Mallu Iqbal's sway hardly extended beyond the bounds of Delhi. The provinces of the empire had all become independent by this time, and in the Doab there was widespread anarchy.

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the tennis ball of misfortune and misery, and groaned under the weight of tyranny and oppression.”³ Timur who was fired by the lust of dominion put the race of Muzaffar to death and established his sway over Persia and its dependencies. But this was not enough to satiate his devouring ambition. He embarked upon a career of ceaseless conquests, carrying death and destruction in his train wherever he went. When he received the news of the anarchical condition of Hindustan, he determined to lead an expedition for the extirpation of infidelity. It is clearly stated in the *Malfuzat-i-Timuri* and the *Zafarnama* that the principal object of the expedition was not conquest or plunder but the destruction of the unbelievers.⁴ Timur summoned a council of the warriors and the *Ulama* in order to ask their advice regarding the projected expedition. Shah Rukh dwelt upon the large extent of the country and the manifold advantages that its conquest was sure to bring in its train. Prince Muhammad pointed to the resources of India, her enormous wealth in precious metals, jewels and pearls, and emphasised the religious aspect of the matter. But some of the nobles sounded a note of alarm and suggested that if they settled permanently in India, they would degenerate in character and in a few generations the strength and valour of their race would disappear. Having heard these counsels, Timur addressed his audience thus: “My object in the invasion of Hindustan is to lead an expedition against the infidels, that, according to the law of Muhammad, we may convert to the true faith the people of that country, and purify the land itself from the filth of infidelity and polytheism; and that we may overthrow their temples and idols and become

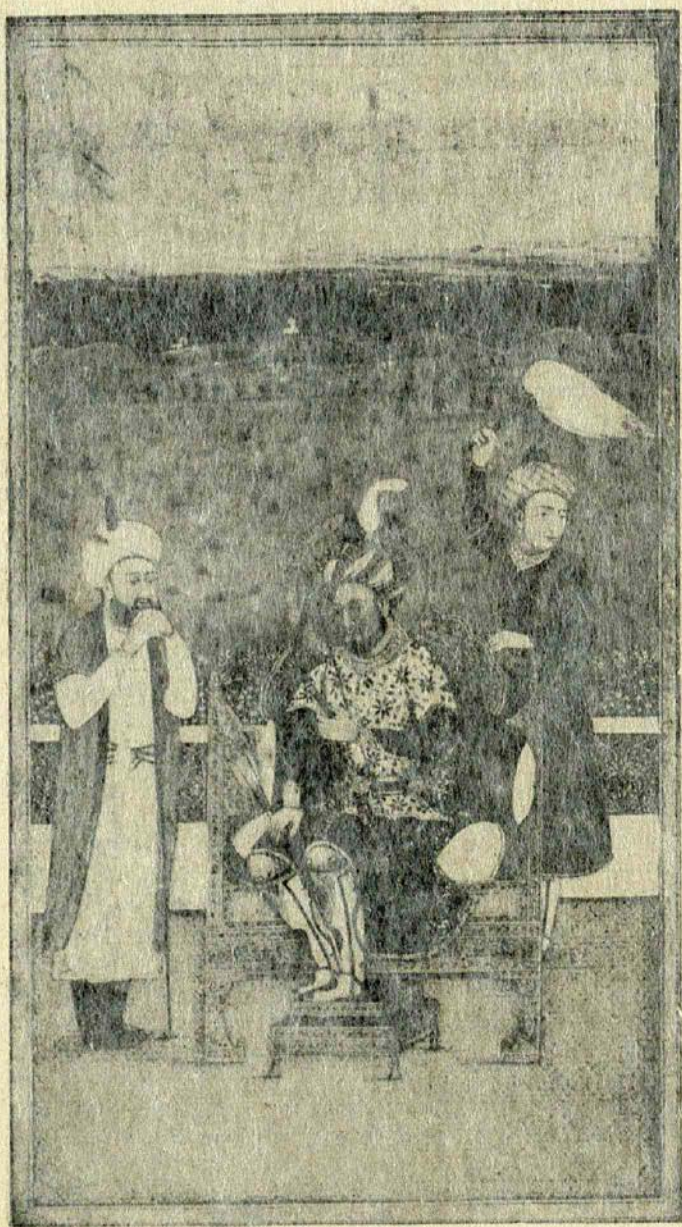
³ Petis de la Croix, II, p. 421.

⁴ *Malfuzat-i-Timuri*, Elliot, III, p. 397.

Zafarnama, Elliot, III, p. 480.

Matla-us-Sadain, Khudabakhsha, MS., f. 240.

Davy, *Institutes of Timur*, p. 133.



Timur in Durbar



Ghazis and Mujahids before God". His view was endorsed by the learned in the law, who declared that it was their duty to destroy the enemies of the faith in order to preserve their religion and strengthen the sacred law.

The advance guard of Timur's army under Pir Muhammad soon reached India, crossed the Indus, captured Uchha, and then advanced upon Multan, which also capitulated after a protracted siege of six months. Having collected a large army from all parts of his wide dominions, Timur marched across the Hindukush and crossed the river Indus on September 24, 1398. The first Indian ruler to be defeated by Timur was Shihab-ud-din, an island prince, who had paid homage to Pir Muhammad, but had afterwards raised the standard of revolt. After this victory Timur crossed the Chenab and reached the town of Tulamba,⁵ where a ransom of two *lakhs* was demanded from the inhabitants as the price of their safety, an exception being made in the case of the *'Ulama* and the *Shaikhs*. The scanty provisions were increased by means of plunder, and a general order was given to seize grain wherever it was found. When he reached the neighbourhood of Dipalpur, the people who had murdered Musafir Qabuli whom Pir Muhammad had appointed governor of their city, fled out of fear and took refuge in the fort of Bhatnir, which was one of the most renowned fortresses in Hindustan. The generals of Timur attacked the fort on the right and the left, while the Amir himself commanded the centre near the gate. Rai Dul Chand at the head of an army of gallant Rajputs barred the entrance of the besiegers to the fort, but he was defeated by the soldiers of Timur, who "swarmed round the fort like ants and locusts." When the Rai saw that his destruction was certain, he begged for mercy. But he delayed his submission; Timur's

⁵ Tulamba is about 70 miles from Multan. It is shown in Rennell's Map at the junction of the Jhelam and the Chenab. Hunter, *Imp. Gaz.*, XIII, p. 163, Elliot, III, p. 413.

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army again began the attack and hemmed in the enemy on all sides with such ferocity that the Rai lost heart and offered to pay homage. His life was spared, and the Amir bestowed upon him as a mark of favour a robe of gold brocade, a cap and a girdle of gold work and a gold-belted sword. The Zamindars and chiefs of the neighbouring country were subdued, and all the strangers found in the town, particularly the refugees from Dipalpur, were captured and their goods were confiscated. The punishments inflicted upon these men alarmed the brother and son of the Rai, who, again, had recourse to fighting and entrenched themselves in the fort. Timur's anger blazed high, and forthwith he ordered an assault, which compelled the besieged to appeal for quarter. A heavy ransom was exacted from the Hindu townsmen, but they did not yield without a desperate fight. "The sword of Islam was washed in the blood of the infidels, and all the goods and effects, the treasure and the grain, which for many a long year had been stored in the fort, became the spoil of my soldiers. They set fire to the houses and reduced them to ashes and they razed the buildings and the fort to the ground".⁶

From Bhatnir Timur marched to Sirsuti,⁷ which was easily conquered and when he reached Kaithal which is at a distance of 34 miles from Samana, he began to make preparations for an attack upon Delhi. As the army progressed in its journey, the inhabitants of the towns through which it passed fled in panic, leaving their houses and goods at the disposal of the invaders. Town after town surrendered, and in a short time Timur reached Jahanuma, a fine palace built by Firuz Shah at a distance of six miles from Delhi. The neighbouring country was ravaged, and the soldiers

⁶ Malfuzat-i-Timuri, Elliot, III, p. 427.

⁷ Sirsuti on the bank of the confluent rivers is equidistant from Hisar and Bhatnir.

Rennell, Memoir of a Map, p. 76.

were permitted to obtain food and fodder for themselves and their cattle by means of plunder. When Timur reached near Delhi, he held a council of war, which urged upon him the necessity of obtaining an abundant supply of provisions and securing them in the fort of Loni,⁸ which had been captured by his soldiers. The nobles and generals, who had fought bravely under his leadership, were asked by him to take their proper positions "not to be too forward nor too backward, but to act with the utmost prudence and caution in their operation." It was on this occasion that Amirs Jahan Shah and Sulaiman Shah and others made to Timur the suggestion that the 100,000 Hindus, who had been made prisoners during the Indian campaigns should be put to death, for it was possible that on the great day of battle they might "break their bonds, plunder our tents, and join the enemy." Timur accepted this inhuman advice and proclaimed throughout the camp that every man who had infidel prisoners should put them to death. Any one who disobeyed the order was to be executed and his goods were to be confiscated by the state. The champions of the faith, who had no love for the infidels drew their swords, and slew the prisoners with fiendish brutality. The author of the *Malfuzat-i-Timuri* writes that the order was so rigorously carried out that even a man of piety and learning like Maulana Nasir-ud-din Umar, who had never killed a sparrow in his life, was obliged to kill 15 idolatrous Hindus, who happened to be his prisoners.⁹ Having

⁸ Loni is 2 miles N.N.-W. of Delhi. Tieff. I, p. 136.

⁹ Malfuzat, Elliot, III, p. 436.

The Khudabakhsha MS. of the *Matla-us-Sadain*, F. 251, says that all these men were killed by the sword of the *Jihad*, and the Maulana who had never killed a sheep in his life put to death 15 Hindus in his train. The same author says that Timur gave an order that any one who refused to carry out his command regarding the execution of prisoners should be killed and his effects should be handed over to the informant who reported his "dereliction of duty."



scatter a flock of sheep and killed 600 of them in this one charge." Prince Pir Muhammad, the commander of the right wing, smashed the left wing of the enemy and compelled it to flee from the field of battle. Sultan Mahmud and Mallu Khan delivered an attack upon the central wing, and the soldiers of Delhi, according to the authors of the *Malfuzat-i-Timuri* and the *Zafarnama*, fought with commendable courage, but "the frail insect cannot contend with the raging wind, nor the feeble deer against the fierce lion, so they were compelled to take to flight." Mahmud and Mallu Iqbal fled from the field of battle, and on the 8th of Rabi-ul-akhir Timur hoisted his flag on the ramparts of Delhi. The Saiyyads, the Qazis, the Ulama and the Shaikhs of the town waited upon the conqueror and made their obeisance. In response to their request, Timur granted quarter to the people of Delhi and engaged himself in celebrating his hard-won victory.

The sack of Delhi. The sack of Delhi by Timur's soldiery is one of the most tragic events in the blood-stained annals of that ill-fated city. The causes of this indiscriminate massacre and plunder are mentioned in detail both in the *Malfuzat-i-Timuri* and the *Zafarnama*,¹⁰ Sharf-ud-din writes

¹⁰ *Zafarnama*, Calcutta text, pp. 121—23.

Elliot's translation does not agree with the Calcutta text of the *Zafarnama*.

The learned translator has made some confusion in giving the dates.

The order of these dates in the text is as follows:—

On Thursday the 16th the soldiers collected in the city and harassed the people. Timur ordered his Amirs to ask the soldiers not to do so. On Friday night there were 15,000 men in the city who plundered it from evening till morning. On Saturday the 18th plundering continued and each soldier captured at least fifty or hundred men, women, and children. On Sunday the 19th old Delhi was thought of, for many Hindus had fled there. Amir Khan Malik and Ali Sultan Tawachi, with 500 well accoutred (not trusty as Elliot says) men, marched against them and slew them with their swords. *Zafarnama*, Calcutta text II, pp. 121—23.

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that thousands of soldiers had gone into the city to collect grain and sugar, but they carried out the orders of the Amir with such violence that the Hindus and *gabrs* in the cities of Delhi, Siri, Jahanpanah, and old Delhi took up arms in self-defence and attacked them. The Hindus, driven to desperation, set fire to their goods, threw their wives and children into the flames, and rushed fearlessly to fight the invaders. Stimulated by their resistance, the Muslim soldiery, already eager for plunder, gave a free reign to its ferocity, and from the 16th Rabi-us-sani till the 18th, they plundered the city and massacred its inhabitants.¹¹ The four cities of Delhi, Siri, Jahanpanah and old Delhi were all plundered and the most atrocious cruelty was shown to the inhabitants. No such calamity had ever before befallen the helpless people of Delhi. Sharaf-ud-din's narrative vividly describes the horrors of the time:—

“But on that Friday night there were about 15,000 men in the city who were engaged from early eve till morning in plundering and burning the houses. In many places the impure infidel *gabrs* made resistance. In the morning the soldiers who were outside, being unable to control themselves, went to the city and raised a great disturbance. On that Sunday, the 17th of the month, the whole place was pillaged and several palaces in Jahanpanah and Siri were destroyed. On the 18th the like plundering went on. Every soldier obtained more than twenty persons as slaves, and

Firishta says that when certain nobles and rich merchants refused to pay the ransom, he sent troops into the city at the instance of the magistrates to enforce their authority. This was a step which produced fatal consequences.

¹¹ According to the *Malfuzat* the plunder began on Thursday and lasted till Saturday the 17th. Elliot, III, p. 446.

The *Zafarnama* says that on the 17th the whole place was pillaged and also on the 18th. On the 19th old Delhi was plundered.



some brought as many as fifty or a hundred men, women and children as slaves out of the city. The other plunder and spoils were immense; gems and jewels of all sorts, rubies, diamonds, stuffs and fabrics of all kinds, vases and vessels of gold and silver, sums of money in *Alai tankas*, and other coins beyond all computation. Most of the women who were made prisoners wore bracelets of gold or silver on their wrists and valuable rings upon their toes. Medicines and perfumes and unguents, and the like, of these no one took any notice. On the 19th of the month old Delhi was thought of, for many infidel Hindus had fled thither and taken refuge in the great mosque, where they prepared to defend themselves. Amir Shah Malik and Ali Sultan Tawachi, with 500 trusty men, proceeded against them, and falling upon them with the sword, despatched them to hell. High towers were built with the heads of the Hindus, and their bodies became the food of ravenous beasts and birds. On the same day old Delhi was plundered. Such of the inhabitants as had escaped alive were made prisoners. For several days in succession, the prisoners were brought out of the city, and every *Amir* of a *tuman* or *kushun* took a party of them under his command. Several thousand craftsmen and mechanics were brought out of the city, and under the command of Timur, some were divided among the princes, Amirs, and Aghas who had assisted in the conquest; and some were reserved for those who were maintaining the royal authority in other parts. Timur had formed the design of building a *Masjid-i-Jami* in Samarqand, his capital, and he now gave orders that all the stone masons should be reserved for that pious work".¹²

¹² Zafarnama, Elliot, III, pp. 503-04.

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Timur halted at Delhi for a fortnight, which he spent in pleasure and enjoyment. But it occurred to

Timur leaves
Delhi.

him that he had come to India to wage war against infidelity and that vow he must execute to the best of his powers.

He moved towards Firuzabad and thence to the fortress of Mirat (Meerut) at the head of 10,000 men, but the place was bravely defended by Ilyas Afghan, his son, Maulana Ahmad Thanesari and Safi. Timur's soldiers razed the fortifications to the ground, put the people to death and plundered all their property. As if that was not enough, the conqueror in order to signalise his victory ordered that all the towers and walls should be levelled to the earth, and the houses of the Hindus should be set on fire. The adjoining country was ravaged, and in the valley of Hardwar,¹³ again a fierce fight raged between the Hindus and the Muslims. Timur who was reinforced by Pir Muhammad conducted the campaign in person, which resulted in victory to the arms of Islam. This was followed by a successful raid in the Siwalik hills, where Rai Bahruz had collected a large force to resist him. The Rai was overpowered, and vast booty fell into the hands of the victors. After the defeat of Bahruz, Timur crossed the Jumna and proceeded against Ratan, a Hindu chief of influence in the Siwalik hills. The Hindus had posted themselves on lofty mounds which were all covered with an impenetrable forest. "The hills were so high that no eye could see from the bottom to the top, and the trees were so dense that the rays of the sun and moon could not reach the ground." But Timur was not the man to shrink from difficulties; he ordered an advance under torch light, and when the Hindus heard of the approach of his army, they fled without making even a show of resistance. A great many of them were put to the sword, and their property was seized by the invaders.

Having completed his conquest of the Siwalik territory, Timur marched towards Jammu, the Raja of

¹³ Hardwar is a town on the bank of the Ganges in the Saharanpur district in the United Provinces.

which place was defeated and made prisoner by Daulat Timur Tawachi and Husain Malik Kuchin. Sharf-uddin writes: "By hopes, fears, and threats, he was brought to see the beauty of Islam. He repeated the creed, and ate the flesh of the cow, which is an abomination among his compatriots. This obtained him great honour, and he was taken under the protection of the emperor." Just before the defeat of the Raja of Jammu, a message had been received from Sikandar Shah of Kashmir offering submission to the conqueror,

Shaikha Khokhar had not fulfilled his pledges; he had paid no regard to Timur's officers who had gone towards Lahore.¹⁴ His country was ravaged and he was taken prisoner. Having placed Khizr Khan in command of the fiefs of Lahore, Multan and Dipalpur, Timur left for Samarqand.

Timur's invasion caused widespread anarchy in Hindustan. The government at Delhi was completely paralysed, and in the vicinity of the capital as well as in the provinces of the empire, the greatest confusion prevailed. The people of Delhi had passed through terrible ordeals; they had been subjected to an oppressive black-mail, and were deprived of their goods and effects. The horrible disasters of the sack are impossible to describe. To the sufferings consequent upon a war conducted by heartless ruffians, fired by a fanatical thirst for bloodshed and plunder, were added the horrors of famine and pestilence, which destroyed men

After Timur's
invasion.

¹⁴ It is stated in the *Zafarnama* (Calcutta text, p. 170) that Shaikha Khokhar had entered the service of Timur in the beginning of his Indian Campaign and his prestige had risen very high owing to royal favour. So great was Timur's kindness towards him that wherever the people said that they were the Khokhar chief's men, they were left unmolested by the Mughals. But it was Shaikha's impudence that drew down upon him the wrath of Timur. The head and front of his offence was that he had been wanting in courtesy to Maulana Abdulla Sadur and Hindu Shah Khalyani, two distinguished officers of the conqueror, when they went towards Lahore. Calcutta text, p. 171.

and decimated cattle, and caused a suspension of the agricultural industry. The dislocation of the entire social system, coupled with the abeyance of political authority, capable of enforcing peace and order, favoured the plans of the military adventurers, who harried the land and harassed the people for their own aggrandizement. The small military cliques working for their own selfish ends became the chief curse of the time. In March, 1399, Sultan Nusrat Shah, who had fled into the Doab, recovered possession of Delhi, but it soon passed into the hands of Iqbal Khan, whose sway extended over a few districts in the Doab and the fiefs in the neighbourhood of the capital.¹⁵ Iqbal gradually asserted his authority, and in 1401 he was joined by Sultan Mahmud, whom he formally received in the capital. But as real power was in the hands of Iqbal, Sultan Mahmud chafed against the restraint imposed upon him, and sought in vain the help of Ibrahim Shah Sharqi. Thus foiled in his efforts to effect a coalition against Iqbal, the Sultan settled at Kanauj, where the disbanded troops and retainers rallied round his banner. Iqbal marched towards Gwalior to chastise the local

¹⁵ The rest of the empire was parcelled out into fiefs which were independent.

Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi, Elliot, IV, p. 37.

The following were the principal fiefs of the empire:—

Delhi and the Doab	..	..	Iqbal Khan.
Gujarat with all its districts and dependencies	..	..	Zafar Khan Wajih-ul-Mulk.
Multan, Dipalpur and parts of Sindh	..	..	Khizr Khan.
Mahoba and Kalpi	..	..	Mahmud Khan.
Kanauj, Oudh, Kara, Dalmau, Sandila, Bahraich, Bihar and Jaunpur	..	..	Khwaja Jahan.
Dhar	..	..	Dilwar Khan.
Samana	..	..	Ghalib Khan.
Biyana	..	..	Shams Khan.



ruler Bhima Deva, but he was obliged to raise the siege and return to Delhi. His expedition against the Hindu chiefs of Etawah was more successful; but when he marched towards Multan, Khizr Khan, the governor, opposed him, and in a battle that ensued Iqbal was slain in 808 A.H. (1405 A.D.) The death of Iqbal removed from the path of Mahmud a formidable opponent, and on being invited by Daulat Khan and other nobles, he proceeded to Delhi, but the imbecility of his character soon made him unpopular with the army, and prevented him from making a proper use of his restored rights. The author of the *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi*, who has carefully chronicled the events of this troubled period, writes: "The whole business was fallen into the greatest disorder. The Sultan gave no heed to the duties of his station, and had no care for the permanency of the throne; his whole time was devoted to pleasure and debauchery."¹⁶

Sultan Mahmud died in 815 A.H. (1412 A.D.), and with him, as Firishta writes, fell the kingdom of Delhi from the race of the Turks, who had mightily swayed the sceptre for more than two centuries. After his death the Amirs and Maliks chose Daulat Khan as their leader and gave him their adhesion. Daulat Khan received no honours of royalty; he occupied only the position of the head of a military oligarchy which was trying to save itself from a difficult situation. His position was strengthened when two military leaders, Mubariz Khan and Malik Idris, went over to his side. Shortly after his assumption of this quasi-royal office, Daulat Khan led an expedition to Katehar and received the submission of the Hindu chiefs. At this time came the disquieting news that Ibrahim Sharqi was besieging Qadr Khan in his fortress at Kalpi, but Daulat Khan had no forces at his command to march to his relief. Meanwhile, Khizr Khan, the governor of Multan and Timur's deputy in Hindustan, who had

¹⁶ *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi*, Elliot, IV, pp. 43—44.