THE UNIVERSITY OF THE PANJAB

THE LIFE AND WORKS

OF

SULTAN ALA-UD-DIN KHALJI

THESIS

Presented for the degree of Ph.D.

by

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I hereby declare that this thesis is the result of my personal research.

I should like to take this opportunity to record my appreciation of the advice, guidance and help given by Professor Dilawar Hussain, M.A. (Fb.), M.A. L.L.B. (alig.), D.S. (Cantb), Professor and Head of the Political Science Department, University of the Panjab, Lahore.

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1. This is to declare that this thesis is not being submitted concurrently at any other university for any degree whatsoever.

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(Ghulam Sarwar Khan Niazi)
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army. His administration resulted in the prosperity of his subjects and kept his treasury filled. Literature and learning, art and architecture and public morality reached a new peak.

But it is one of the ironies of time that we do not possess an accurate and detailed historical record of the achievements of such a great ruler. If at all, we find anything mentioned about him in some of the books, unfortunately that is not relevant to the facts. Where facts had been taken into consideration, the description is so brief that a student of history remains insatiated.

Some of the modern scholars have devoted their attention to the digging out of the facts in this connection, but a majority of them had to face only failure, the reason being:

a) The lack of sound knowledge of the Persian language, though there are some definite exceptions.

b) Indifferent understanding of the spirit of the age.

c) Racial and religious differences.

d) Personal likes and dislikes.

Sultan Alaeddin has not been dealt fairly by the historians for one reason or the other. To my mind it appears that he is the victim of most relentless injustice that could be done to a historical personage of his eminence. I consider him a victim of injustice because whatever he did, even when it was of capital good to his country and his subjects,
assigned selfish motives. Therefore it was very necessary to present this great Sultan in his true colours. I have carefully examined the accounts of all known contemporary and early writers and have drawn a picture of the Sultan, based on true and accepted facts, which is quite different from those drawn by other scholars. And the readers of Ishwari Parasad's Medieval India and Sir W. Haig's Cambridge History of India will not be able to recognise the man and the Sultan as presented in this thesis. Because:

a) Sultan Alauddin Khalji was not quite an illiterate man and was a great patron of men of letters.

b) He had a great respect and love for the religion of his forefathers.

c) His rule was a blessing for the Hindu masses and classes.

d) He introduced his famous Price Control System only to eliminate the sufferings of his subjects.

e) He was a great social reformer. He tried his best to remove all the social evils of the society.

f) He was not a head strong dictator but prone to listen to the advice of his advisors.

g) He was severe but not cruel. He used a strong hand against the law breakers, but to the loyal and law abiding subjects he was very kind.

h) He was a man of refined tastes. Literature, music and architecture touched the highest water mark under his benign patronage.

1. Ishwari Parasad: Medieval India, pp 215-54

i) He was very just and very generous.

j) He had a great respect for the Aulia (Saints) and Ulema of his days.

k) His character was exemplary. He never kept his person above the laws of the State.

Among the Muslims, like any other nation, the leadership of the community has been shared by two groups — temporal and spiritual. Leaders of both the groups have their own courts, courtiers, even court historians, and a large number of followers — according to their own status in the society. Sometimes, one group is dominated by the other, and such state of affairs have always proved harmful to the cause of the state and the religion. But whenever, both the rival groups have been on friendly terms, and have shown respect and regard for each other, then Muslims, as a nation, have benefited from such state of affairs.

Therefore, a student of history could not ignore the Malfoozats of these spiritual leaders, compiled by their most devoted disciples with the greatest possible care and honesty. But in the compilation of historical material about the Islamic world and particularly about the Indo-Pak sub-continent, these sources have usually been ignored.

Now, there arises a question, whether, these Malfoozats could be recognised as a standard source of history or not?

The Muslim saints and sufis are known for their piety and their names and deeds are respected even after their death. And their sayings have been recorded with great care by their devoted disciples who themselves were known men of letters of
corroborate with each other, then authenticity of such accounts is confirmed beyond all doubt. Moreover, they tell us about the religious views and policies of their contemporary rulers and their relations with the 'aulia' and 'ulema'. They also tell us about the economic and political conditions of the country, the current religious sects and their philosophies, the contemporary 'ulema' and 'aulia' and their relations with each other and the social and moral conditions of the masses and classes. Therefore, these Malfoozats are very useful and important — rather indispensable historical sources of the Muslim India and could not be ignored or devalued by a serious student of history.

Sultan Alauddin Khalji and Sheikh Nizam-ud-Din Aulia — the temporal and spiritual lords of the Muslim community were contemporary. Sheikh was known for his piety and the people, irrespective of their social status, used to flock to his Dargah from every nook and corner of Hindustan. The celebrities of that age used to pay their homage with great humility at the court of that celebrated saint of Delhi. Amir Khusrau and Amir Hassan Sijzi, both known for their devotion to Sheikh

1,2. Barani, pp. 343-44.

3. Not Sanjari as is often written by mistake. Sijzi means belonging to Sijistan, now called Sistan.
were court poets of Sultan Alaauddin Khalji. The position and popularity they enjoyed at both the courts, shows that the 'Khanqah' and Palace had great regard for each other. It also proves that both were treading the same path, otherwise, there would not have been any compromise, because both the leaders (Sheikh and Sultan) are not expected to sacrifice their principles for the sake of compromise.

Amir Khusrau and Hassan Sijzi, both of them have compiled the sayings of their spiritual guide, separately. Moreover, they have left behind them thousands of couplets, which are full of historical details. They were eye witnesses of Alai period and had every opportunity to see each and everything, which happened in those days, from a very close range. At the same time, these Alai nobles possessed considerable experience and knowledge of civil and military affairs of the state. Their social status, their learning and their piety give their accounts such a fast colour of authenticity that water of doubt and suspicion could not wash it. And in this thesis, their writings have been given their due importance.

There may be certain people to whom Amir Khusrau is no more than a typical courtier of the Middle Ages. His popularity with every contemporary Sultan of Delhi has been taken as his weakest point. But this is not the true appraisal of the whole affair. He was a versatile genius. Being a great poet and a master musician, he was welcomed in every court and patronised

3. Fawaid-ul-Fawad.
by every Sultan. It was for his personal merits that he was respected everywhere. And he deserved that distinctive treatment. Hindustan has failed to produce another Amir Khusrau, so far. He had never been a worldly man. He was out and out a sufí and nothing else. He flatly told Sultan Jalal-ud-Din Khalji that he had greater respect for his Murshid (spiritual guide) than for his Padsha (king) and he cared more for his religion than anything else. Therefore, nobody could doubt the intentions of such a noble soul. Barani and Ferishta are all praise for his learning and piety.

Khazain-ul-Futuh: - This short history of the reign of Sultan Alauddin was completed by Amir Khusrau in 711 A.H. and narrates the events that took place between the year 695 A.H. and 711 A.H. It is divided into small paragraphs; every paragraph has a heading informing the reader what allusions he is going to find in the next few lines. This is the only contemporary history of Sultan Alauddin's reign, its historical importance can hardly be exaggerated, and in it, Amir Khusrau has narrated the facts with admirable accuracy and wealth of detail. His language may be ornate and complicated, but his narrative is consistent and undistorted, and a thorough and comparative study of the work is sure to be amply repaid. The reader, who wishes to discover the true historical facts,

4. Ferishta, p. 121.
has first to analyse Amir Khusrau's literary tricks and critically separate the element of fact from the colouring imparted by Khusrau in order to bring in the allusions.

The Ashiqa or Ishqiyya — a historical 'Masnavi' composed by Amir Khusrau, is another contemporary work of that period. Central theme of this book is the romantic love and the tragic end of Prince Khizr Khan and the beautiful Princess Deval Devi. It was finished by the poet in the month of February 1316 A.D., but later on, in the reign of Ghiasuddin Tughluq (1318 A.D.) another chapter was added to it. Sultan Alauddin died when the last lines of Ashiqa were being written and just one month before its publication.

Dates and incidents described in the Ashiqa have been found correct. In the opinion of Dr. A.L. Srivastava, 'Ashiqa stands the test of historical criticism and is substantially true'. The story also, has been corroborated by Isami in all details.

In all other works of Amir Khusrau, written in the days of Sultan Alauddin, or after him, here and there, many references, about the Sultan, his character and achievements, are available. And according to historical point of view, some of them are very important and very useful.

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1,2,3. Islamic Culture (Jan, 56), pp. 29,30.
Zia-ud-din Barani, another contemporary of Sultan Alauddin Khalji is very prominent among the galaxy of the Muslim historians. The first part of his history is based on the result of his diligent enquiries from the eye witnesses; and during the later period he was an eye witness himself. Barani was well connected with Delhi ruling circles. His father Muayyid-al-Mulk was 'adil to Arkali Khan, son of Sultan Jalal-ud-Din Khalji; his paternal uncle Falik Ala-ul-Mulk was Kotwal of Delhi under Sultan Alauddin Khalji and a prominent royal councillor. He himself remained a Nadim of Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq for seventeen years and three months. Despite his family background there is no evidence in his own work or in Amir Khurd's biographical Siyar-al-Auliya that he held any military or administrative appointment. But in spite of this his significance is that of a recorder of agrarian, administrative and economic information from an official angle of vision. He has recorded the main developments which took place in his time. He was a very pious man and was known for his learning. To him history is the Queen of Sciences, and it is the duty of an historian to state the truth without fear or favour. For what he writes he will be accountable to God on the Day of Judgment. He says, "Whatever I have written I have written truthfully and honestly and this history (Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi)\(^1\) is worthy of credence. " Therefore, he is invaluable because he is the principal if not the only authority or source for this period.

\(^{1}\) 1357 A.D.

Hardy: Historians of Medieval India, p, 20.
Barani has his own religious and political theories and is not prepared to make any compromise on the basis of principles. His likes and dislikes are very strong. To him, Sultan Alauddin Khalji is a wicked man, who does not fit in the frame designed by him for a good Muslim king. His ideal ruler is Sultan Firuz Tughlaq and every student of history knows that Sultan Firuz and Sultan Alauddin stand poles apart in respect of their characters and policies. So he simply hates him, and each and every word written by him about the Sultan depicts the same bitterness. While trying to paint Sultan Alauddin Khalji black, generally his interpretation of facts does not corroborate with the facts already accepted by him, and it makes him self contradictory. But there is another very strong point in his character which neutralize the wrong impressions created by his above mentioned weaknesses. He never conceals the facts and in this respect, his honesty is unquestionable. And this is the greatest creditable merit for any historian worth the name. The facts and his own interpretation of these facts, could easily be distinguished from each other. Therefore, his book is indispensible for the study of this period.

Isani, the author of Fatuh-ua-Salatin is another contemporary of Sultan Alauddin Khalji. He finished his book, about eight years earlier than that of Barani's Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi at Daulatabad. It is very interesting to note that although the two works were written in the same decade, they are

2. 14th May, 1350. Hardy, p. 94. (Historians of Medieval Ind
entirely independent of each other. Perhaps each was unaware of the other's existence; for while Barani lived most of his life in the north (Hindustan), Isami resided for many years in the south (Deccan). Isami was a great poet and his Fatuh-us-Salatin, which is spread over eleven thousand couplets, in the metre of Firdausis' Shahnama, is, by any token a remarkable literary achievement. He was childless, friendless and without relatives. And he desired to leave a souvenir in the form of an epic. Isami, therefore, dedicated the Fatuh-us-Salatin to a reigning Sultan, Alauddin Bahman Shah, in the desire to win his patronage and in the hope of lasting literary fame. His style is simple and his expressions are lucid.

As far as the subject matter is concerned, he says,

"In research into ancient tales, I took great trouble with every word. I sought stories of kings of Hindustan from intelligent friends, I referred everything consonant with first principles and deduction therefrom, I strung each one of these gems on a string in that place I considered most suitable."

I consider the Fatuh-us-Salatin an important source of information of Medieval India up to A.D. 1349. The later Mughal historians, notably Nizam-ud-Din Ahmad of Tabqat-i-Akbari have greatly benefited from this book.

Isami wrote this book in 1349-50, about thirty three years after the death of Sultan Alaoudin Khalji in a far off place. Neither he himself, nor his patron, bore any grudge or ill feeling against Sultan Alaoudin nor they had any special
love or respect for him. Therefore, his account must be accepted as more trustworthy. Though his statements are not always free from exaggeration, yet they could be scrutinized by an intelligent student of history and this defect does not lessen the importance of his Fatuh-us-Salatin as a source of information for the Medieval India.

The Mahfoozats of Shah Nasir-ud-Din Chiragh Dehlvi compiled by his devoted disciples, Raja Hamid Qalandar and Siyar-ul-Aul of Mir Khurd are two other important and dependable sources of information about that period.

The super structure of this thesis has been raised on the foundation laid with the evidence, provided by these contemporary historians. Along with them, all the known secondary sources and modern works have been carefully examined. It is rarely that any second rate authority has been given preference over the contemporary or earlier writers. Only in exceptional cases, and for good reasons, have the statements of contemporary chroniclers been rejected. As far as possible no pre-conceived notions or time honoured opinions have been allowed to interfere with the interpretation of the facts. Where any serious disagreement was found between the views of other scholars and mine, I have tried to indicate briefly my grounds for arriving at a particular conclusion. The nature of the evidence at times, has made difference inevitable but full consideration and weight has been given to the opinions of others scholars.

1,2. 1357. a.d.
Phillips: Historian of India, Pakistan and Ceylon, pp, 136, 137.
before forming my own.

The subject discussed in this thesis has been treated from a fresh point of view.

Note:- Some of the facts have been quoted in this thesis more than once, but it is only to give either a new interpretation or to explain a new point.
CHAPTER II

A. KHALJIS IN THE LIGHT OF THE HISTORY.

The Khaljis are first mentioned in the histories of Sistan in the later half of 3rd century Hijra. That was the period of Yaqoob bin Iais Safar, the ruler of Sijistan. He brought Kabul and the surrounding territories under his control, subjugated the Khalaj tribes of this area and laid the foundation of world famous town of Ghazni. Subkari, one of the Khalji (as the Khalaj are called in Persian) war-prisoners of Yaqoob, rose to power and became Sipah-i-Salar (Commander-in-Chief) of the Safaride army, under the rule of Yaqoobs' successors.

After the Safarides the Ghazni came under the rule of Samanides, but this rule also came to an end with the rise of Alaptigin and after him Subuktigin to power. Subuktigin was the slave and son-in-law of the governor Alaptigin who himself was once the slave of the Samanides. Subuktigin laid the foundation of an independent kingdom of Ghazni in 977 A.D.

1,2. Tarikh-i-Sistan, pp, 215, 246.
Minhaj, p, 236.
3. Fate: Sistan, p, 20.
5. Tarikh-i-Sistan, p, 24.
6. Tarikh-i-Sistan, p, 246.
7. Tarikh-i-Sistan, pp, 257, 58, 73.
As he occupied the throne he was fully determined to end the Hindu rule in the valley of Kabul and Peshawar. Ghaznavide historian Utbi, tells us that he expanded the recruitment of his armies, and there submitted to him the Afghans and the Khalaj; and, when he wished it, he admitted thousands of them to his service—thus they expended their souls and lives in assisting him. With this army Sultan Subuktigin inflicted many defeats on Jaipala of the Hindu Shahi dynasty, and turned him out of the Upper Kabul Valley.

Subuktigin died in 997 A.D. and was succeeded by his son, Ismail to the throne. But after a year Ismail had to vacate the throne for his more able and energetic brother, Mahmud. Mahmud was a king with a determination unparalleled and a faith unshakable. On his accession he made a pledge that he would not only push the Hindu rulers out of the whole Qandhar Valley, but also aim at extending the 'holy war' to the areas lying beyond the great river Sind.

Sultan Mahmud Ghaznavi gathered a people for waging a war against the Hindus. The result was that the Khalaj and the Afghan tribes came to him in large numbers to serve him. In short Sultan Mahmud, created a new zest in the hearts of the people of these tribes and took them to fertile plains of India. The result of this step was that for the following eight centuries thousands of Afghans penetrated deep into the

5. Utbi (Elliot), p, 28.
various parts of India and settled there permanently. The increasing power of the Seljuks struck a blow at the foundation of the Ghaznavide Empire and made it reel.\(^1\) The Shansabani princes of Ghor who were vassals of the rulers of Ghazni, declared their independence in their hilly state.\(^2\) In Pushto the word 'Ghor' means a mountain.\(^3\) Prince Shah Hussain, who was the forefather of all the Chalji tribes belonged to the royal family of these Shansabani princes.\(^4\) Shansabani chief Alauddin ruined Ghazni and earned the title of Jahan Soz.\(^5\) After his son's death, the rulership of the state of Ghor fell to his nephews, Ghias-ud-Din and Shahab-ud-Din.\(^6\) Both brothers took possession of the throne of Ghazni, the elder brother Ghias-ud-Din gave his younger brother Shahab-ud-Din who became famous as Muhammad Ghori, the governorship of Ghazni, while he himself maintained his capital in the mountains of Firuz-i-Koh.\(^7\)

It is from Ghazni that the Muslim power in India was established and Muhammad Ghori was its founder with armies largely if not wholly made up of Khalaj and Afghans.\(^8\) Muhammad Ghori launched his first attack on India in 1190.\(^9\) Almost all

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   *Ismi*, p. 54.
   *Ferishta*, p. 56.
   *Ismi*, pp. 64-68.
   *Ferishta*, pp. 56, 57.
the Rajas and Maharajas of northern India gathered under the 
banner of Prithvi Raj to fight a battle at Tarn. Muhammad 
Ghorı was defeated and wounded seriously in this battle.² He 
was just saved through the timely help of a Khalji³ sawar, 
who happened to watch him as he was falling from his mount. 
but the very year Muhammad Ghorı was again present at Tarain 
to avenge his defeat of the previous year.⁴ The Rajputs fought 
bravely but now their ranks were divided. This division of the 
Rajputs brought defeat and proved the end of Prithvi Raj and 
consequently of Hindu Raj in India. "It is significant that 
the conquest was achieved mainly with the aid of Khalji and 
Afghan mercenaries. Apart from the allusion in the sources, 
the ubiquity of these people right through the Muslim annals 
of the Delhi crown makes it clear that this was so".⁵ 

"We find too that the Khalaj, or Khaljis/frequently 
coupled with Afghans, and that latter form of the word is 
adopted when Persian replaces the older Arabic compilation"⁶. 
A very interesting feature of the increasing power of the 
Ghorı princes was that they made their Turk slaves and Khalji 
mercenaries as the main-stay of their power. After the death

Isami, pp. 63. 
Perishita, pp. 77.

Note: - It is not Tarain as is written by Elliot (Tabqat-i-
Nasiri), p.43 and Jane-Poole, (Medieval India), p.51.


of Muhammad Chori, the kingdom of Delhi fell in the hands of these Turk slaves. These slave kings ruled in India for about a century (1206-1290 A.D.). These Turk slaves were unflinchingly loyal to their master in his life time, but after his death they would be involved in petty quarrels based on jealousy and this indeed was a great demerit of their character. The death of a master would bring to an end the power and influence of slave favourites, because every new Sultan depended more confidently on his own closely associated favourites. The thing did not rest at that only because the new group would seek vengeance on the old group of favourites. This attitude towards one another resulted in putting an end to their power and outing them from the privileged position which they enjoyed.

On the contrary the position of the Khalji and Afghan mercenaries was widely different from that of the Turk slaves, for the fact that they had not been purchased for money. Their loyalty was more due to their own tribes and tribal chiefs than to any other person. The death of a Sultan did not introduce any feeling of rivalry among them and thus their power remained intact. No new Sultan could ignore this fact and thus was willing to offer a price for their support and loyalty and was forced to treat them well. Another important fact was that where the number of the Turk slaves was very small that of the Khalji and the Afghan soldiers was very large.

   Qureshi, p. 263.
Since the time of Muhammad Gohir the power and the influence of the Khaljis in India was ever on the increase. Ikhtiyar-ud-Din Muhammad Bakhtiar Khalji was an officer of the Diwan-i-Ard in Ghazni during his reign. When he migrated from Ghazni to India, he was awarded a Jagir near Oudh and was appointed to conquer the Hindu states of Bihar. He succeeded there so well that his widely spread fame attracted a very large number of Khaljis to him. With this increased strength Bakhtiar Khalji conquered whole of Bihar and northern Bengal. He conquered Nadiya, the capital of Bengal with no more than 18 companions.

In this state of Bengal and Bihar he was almost the absolute ruler with only a very thin bond of allegiance with the Sultanate of Delhi. In this state all the important posts were held by the Khaljis. It was in 1227 that Sultan Iltutmish of Delhi ended the life of this first quasi-independent Khalji state after about twenty five years (1202-1227) of its existence. During these twenty five years of Khalji rule a vast number of Pathans came to these parts of India and settled there.

1. Minhaj, p. 495.

Note: The translation of Diwan-i-Ard into office for petitions by Elliot is not correct.
See Qureshi, p. 85.

2-5. Minhaj, pp. 496, 500, 512.
6. Hardy (Preface), p. V.
8. Minhaj, p. 496.
Since the days of Muhammad Chori, the Turk slaves on one side and Khalji and Afghan mercenaries on the other were two parallel parties which ran side by side. This situation continued during the rule of the slave kings. The wealth and the kingdom amassed with the help of Khalji and Afghan soldiers went mostly to the advantage of this small group of Turk slaves, for all the successors of Muhammad Chori who ascended the throne of Delhi were from among these slaves. The last of the slave kings was Sultan Balban, who wielded a great power. He relied on Khalji and Afghan garrisons, and appointed one Jalal-ud-din Khalji as master - master -General of his forces. Balban died in 1287 and was succeeded by his grandson Kaikubad, an incapable ruler. The serious illness of Sultan Kaikubad created confusion and chaos in the affairs of the country. This led to disorder and the absence of peace and security. There was not a single Turk noble with sufficient ability who could save this empire from disintegration. As there was no hope of Sultan recovery, a very young prince was put on the throne under the title of Sultan Shamsuddin and the key posts were distributed anew. Meanwhile the Turk nobles decided to end completely the influence of those nobles who were not Turks. In the list of these nobles who were to be victimised, the name of Jalal-ud-din Khalji was at the top. This step gathered all the Khaljis around Jalal-ud-din and tied them together in the bond of

1,2. Barani, p. 171
Ferishta, p. 67.

Ferishta, pp. 87-89.
loyalty to the cause of their tribe. The place of their assembly was Baharpur. Seeing their ever increasing power many Turk nobles, joined hands with Jalal-ud-Din. Meanwhile Sultan Kahlubat was murdered while lying on his death bed. After this Jalal-ud-Din entered Kilugarhi with great pomp and show where he was crowned as the Sultan of Delhi. In this way the Khaljis overrode the Turk slaves and this century old struggle for dominance came to an end.

Jalal-ud-Din Khalji took the title of Firuz Shah and reigned only for seven years. After his murder he was succeeded by his nephew and son-in-law, Sultan Alaaddin Khalji — one of the most powerful sovereigns that ever ruled India. The Khalji dynasty was brought to an end in 1320, when Sultan Alaaddin's son and successor, Mubark Khalji, was murdered by his favourite, a converted Hindu named Khusrau Khan.

The Khalji dynasty of Malwa did not arise until 1435, more than a hundred years after the fall of Delhi Khaljis. Life of this dynasty was about ninety-five years, (1435-1531).

WHO ARE KHALJIS

Khaljis have immense importance in the history of Muslim India. According to some historians, the prominent among whom are Utbi and Sir Caroe, the establishment of Muslim rule in India was due to the manpower supplied by the Khaljis. Whether it were the Turks who ruled here or the Pathans or even the Mughals, the mainstay of their power were always these.

All this shows that even one thousand years ago these Khal tribes were the most distinguished in their numbers and strength among all the tribes, who lived around Kabul and Ghazni. They have been performing feats of great importance on the political stage of India for many centuries. If they were not always the kings they were the king-makers. And many times it were they who decided as to who should wear a crown. But it is one of the ironies of the history that to-day we can meet a Khalji very rarely as if they have been almost completely wiped out. Were they overpowered and annihilated through a large scale massacre by some other more powerful tribe? But history does not point to any such blood thirsty attack on them, the instances of which can be traced in the more modern history by looking to the events relating to the wholesale massacre of the Jews. There can be another possibility that this great tribe might have absorbed itself completely in some other tribe or they might have assumed some other identity, under which probably they are still existing. Anyway this thing is certain that to-day

2. Caroe, p, 132.
no tribe bearing the name of Khajji is known either on one side or the other of great river Sind. Before deciding whether this tribe has become extinct or still existing under some other name assumed later on, we should know for certain as to who these Khaljīs really are and whether they belong to the race of the Turks or Pathans?

The appeal of Islam has not been limited to any country or climate. It has attracted all the peoples of the world into its fold. The Arabs, the Turks, the Pathan and the Moughals, all without exception have fallen under its dynamic influence. Islam does not believe in tribal distinction. After entering the fold of Islam a person can be classified only as either a true Muslim or otherwise. But his claim to being a pure Turk, a pure Pathan or even a pure Syed is completely disregarded. Islam as opposed to Brahmanism does not accord sanction to the purity of blood but it induces the spirit of Muslim brotherhood among the faithful, and brings them at par with one another in the social set-up. Islam does not discriminate among the human beings on the basis of colour or tribal superiority and these differences do not stand in the way of marital bonds among the Muslims. It became obvious that with this arrangement aiming at equality of all classes, the boast of purity of blood becomes groundless. So while scrutinizing the pedigree of the Muslim tribes we should not make a vain effort to trace the purity of blood. Instead we should accept the claims made by the various tribes as to their respective races. The important thing is to understand and know the place which they held and the respect they command among the comity of tribes.
So far no written record as to the origin of the Khaljis is available. Had there been any record as was Tuzk-i-Babri left behind by Emperor Babur revealing that he was of Turkish origin and not a Mughal, our task would have become very easy. Now we are left with only one source for ascertaining this fact of the Khalji origin and that is to know in what esteem were they held by the neighbouring tribes and to what extent can we depend on their opinions.

Nizam-ud-Din, The author of Tabqat-i-Akbari says that Jalal-ud-Din Khalji and Mahmud Khalji Mandvi were grandsons of Qalij Khan, the son-in-law of Chingiz Khan, who had settled down in the hilly country of Ghor and Gurjistan after the defeat of Khawarzim Shah by his father-in-law-Qalij become Khalij by a change of letters and by frequency of use became Khalaj.

Ferishta repeats the above account and also says, like Nizam-ud-Din that according to the writer of the history of Saljuks, Turk the son of Yafas had eleven children of whom one was called Khalji and his descendants came to be known as Khaljis. Ferishta says, the latter account is more probable, because the Khaljis are often mentioned in the reigns of Subakti

Let us look to a few more links in this chain. Although all these tunes are similar, yet they have been played by different masters on different instruments.

Editor of Cambridge History of India says, "The repugnance of the populace to Firuz was due to the belief that his tribe, the Khaljis, were Afghans, a people who were regarded as barbarous. They were in fact, a Turkish tribe but they had long been settled in the Garmir, or hot region, of Afghanishtan, where they had probably acquired some Afghan manners and customs, and the Turkish nobles, most of whom must now have belonged to the second generation domiciled in India, refused to acknowledge them as Turks."

S. Lane Poole is of the opinion that the clan of Khaljis, named after the Afghan village of Khalj, though probably of Turkish origin, had become Afghans in character and between them and the Turks there was no love lost.

In the view of Sir O. Caroe, these (Chalji) tribes, who both show in their physical appearance, and set forth in their own tradition, a memory of a Turkish root-stock, are descended from the Khalaj, a branch of White Huns or Ephthalities, who entered the Afghan highlands in the fifth century of our era. By living for centuries next door to the Pushtanah, they adopted the Pathan habits and language, but with a difference which can be seen to the present day.

2. Lane-Poole: Medieval India, p, 91.
Percy Brown describes them as a dynasty of Afghanised Turks from the village of Khalji, near Ghazni.¹

To Dr. Ishwari Prasad it seems probable that Khaljis were the descendants of Turks, who had settled in the Afghan country and had mixed with the people there. They had imbibed the manners and habits of the Afghans.²

Sir Denzil Ibbetson has not directly referred to the Khalj in his book 'the Castes in Panjab', still the account he has given of the Ghilzais makes a very interesting reading.

"The Ghilzais are a race probably of Turkish origin, their name being another form of Khilchi, the Turkish word for 'sowerman' who early settled perhaps as mercenaries rather than as corporate tribe, in the Sia-band range of the Thor mountains where they received a large admixture of the Persian blood."

"The official spelling of the name is still Ghalji at Kabul and Gandhar. They first rose into notice in the time of Mahmud Ghaznavi when they accompanied in his invasion of India."³

The central idea of the different opinions that I have mentioned so far can be summed up as follows:-

a) Khalj and the Khaljis are one and the same.

b) Khaljis are in fact Turks by blood.

c) Khaljis though Turk by origin, settled in an area of Pathan dominance and adopted their customs and rites and thus became absorbed in them.


2. Ishwari Prasad: Medieval India, pp. 208, 209.

3. Sir Denzil Ibbetson: Panjab Castes, p. 64.
d) Ghilzais or Ghaljis and Khaljis are the same, (And this view has been supported by many opinions and a detailed mention of which will be made later on).

Whatever the origin of the Khaljis, there is no doubt about the fact that the Khalaj or Khaljis inhabited in large number in the mountainous area of the Ghazni and Ghor much before the time of Mahmud Ghaznavi, They commanded vast influence and power in this area as is clear from their strength in the armies of Subuktigin, Mahmud Ghaznavi and Muhammad Ghori & Caroe go so far as to say that the military triumphs made by the mentioned rulers depended mostly on the fighting ability and the numbers of these Khaljis.

But Minhaj-us-Siraj, author of the Tabqat-i-Nasiri, does not regard the Khaljis as belonging to the race of Turks. While giving a detailed account of Ikhtiyar-ud-din Muhammad Bakhtiyar Khalji's exploits, he gives the following statement, which clearly explains that the Khaljis and the Turks were two different entities.

"when his 'lashkar' passed over that bridge, he posted there two of his 'amirs', one being a Turk, the other a Khalji, to guard that bridge".

Zia-ud-din Barani corroborates Minhaj in more clear words. Speaking of Jalal-ud-din Firuz he writes that he came of a race different from that of the Turks and consequently had no confidence in the Turks and nor did the Turks own him as belonging

to their tribe. Barani has mentioned this fact at other two places as well:

i) Aitamur-Kachkan and Aitamur Surkha Wakil-i-day conspired
to denounce and remove several nobles of foreign extrac-
tion. They accordingly drew up a list at the head of which
they placed the name of Jalal-ud-din Khalji.

ii) By the death of Sultan Kaikubad, the Turks lost the Empire.

Minhaj-us-Siraj and Zia-ud-din Barani were men of great
learning and scholarship and have been accepted as reliable
historians. They had written their famous books Tabqat-i-Nasiri
and Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi in 658 A.H. and 758 A.H. respectively.
In those days Delhi was the centre of literature and learning
and in this respect it had no other peer in the whole of Islami
world. Had Minhaj and Barani mistrusted the facts about this
period, their contemporaries or the historian of the later time
could have pointed out any falsehood in their records. And
according to Minhaj and Barani Khaljies were not Turks. But
there is a group of historians determined to prove that the
Khaljies were actually Turks. Even if we grant some concession
to this group, we shall have to admit the fact that seven
hundred years ago, even during the rule of the Khaljies, the
people of Delhi did not consider the Khaljies as of Turkish
origin. This fact is so self evident that it does not admit
of any doubt.

4. Qureshi, p, 12 (658/1261).
Elliott (Tabqat-i-Nasiri), p,1. (658/1259).
5. Hardy: Historians of Medieval India, p, 20 (1357).
"These Khalaji are the same as the Khaljies of the dynasties in India there is no doubt. Khalji is merely the persianized form used by the late chroniclers for the Khalj of Al-Khawrezmi and others".¹

Now there is only one possibility left to consider and that is whether or not the Khaljis are Afghans? The early historians deal with the Khaljis and the Afghans as if they were of separate national entity.² But afterwards the history books written in Persian, the words Khalji and Afghan became interchangeable and were taken as describing the same group of people. And during Sultanate period the Khalji were taken as Afghans.

In the light of the rule of grammar if two nouns are used in conjunction they do not necessarily give opposite meanings, but many times they are synonymous. So, it follows that when Khaljis and Afghans are mentioned together, it is not done to represent two separate tribes belonging to different races but probably of the one and the same race.

The thorough study of genealogical tables of the Pathans, is sufficient to prove our contention. It is an interesting feature of the Afghan history that those individual who achieve fame and importance are remembered as their name is given to their successors. Thus this new name of the family distinguishes it from other similar families of the tribe and ultimately this distinction becomes so established that a tribe within the

tribe is formed. For the purpose of historical treatment these sub-tribes are dealt with as quite separate from the parent tribe. This factor leads to some misunderstanding as the historians of posterity do not take the trouble of finding out the link which connects one with the other.

For the purpose of illustration, we would mention here the case of Niazai and Suri Pathans who actually belong to the main stock of Lodhis. The history of these tribes is not different from that of the Lodhis and yet while some of them call themselves Lodhis to-day, others are known as Niazais and Suris. The fact is that Lodhis and Suris and Niazais, in spite of the different denominations are one and the same.

Niazai tribe has further sub-divided itself into three branches which are known as Isakhel, Mushani, and Sarhangs and all these branches have the same past. But as we read Tuzk-i-Babri we find that Emperor Babar has considered the Niazai and Isakhel tribes as quite separate from each other in the Chapter where he describes the Afghan tribes of Bannu. But the fact is that Isakhel tribe forms a part of the main Niazai tribe. Since Emperor knew only the name of Isakhel tribe and was not fully aware of the details about other Niazai tribes, so he mentioned Isakhel under one heading and dealt with all the other Niazai tribes under the general heading of 'Niazais'. This ignorance on the part of Babur has also proved misleading for the subsequent historians.

Barani and Minhaj are quite authoritative in saying that

2. Yousafi: Afghan or Pathan, p, 204.
3. Tuzk-i-Babri, (Beveridge), Part II, p, 219.
Khaljis were not Turks. In that case they were certainly Afghans. And this is our contention. The contemporary historians knew the name of the Khaljis but did not possess detailed knowledge about the other Afghan tribes and so in their writings, they did not mention the various Afghan tribes under their respective names but only as Afghans. But, at the same time, they did not forget to mention the name Khalji as this was the only tribal name from among the various names which they knew for fame and strength associated with it.

By now we have reached the conclusion that Khaljis are Afghan, but here another question arises and that is as to with what particular Afghan tribe should they be indentified.

Sir W. Haig remarks that the people of Delhi at that time undoubtedly believed Khaljis to akin to Afghans and not Turks, and also that it is hard to say what became of the Khaljis if we are not to regard the Ghaljis as their modern representative.

I think that case for this identification is still stronger than that. The present Ghalji tribe is the largest of all the Afghan tribes, and it could never have been a small sept hidden away in the Sulaiman mountains in the days of Ghaznavides. They still hold the same territories which had been once held by the Khalaj or Khaljis of the Medieval Age.

There is a gap of more than three hundred years between the marriage of Prince Shah Hussain of Ghor with Bibi Matto

who were the ancestors of all the Ghalji and Lodhi tribes and
the accession of Sultan Mahmud Ghaznavi to the throne. In those
days Muslims lived a tribal life and for every man four marriage
were almost a must. The ideas of Birth Control and Family Planni
were totally unknown. Also marriages were arranged with the
nearest cousins and Child-marriages were the common practice. In
addition to all this those who could afford kept a number of
concubines. All this was done with the aim of having the largest
number of children because there lay the secret of the power and
strength of a tribe. This is enough to make it clear that during
these three hundred years the off-springs of Prince Shah Hussain
and those of his father-in-law, Shaikh Baitan, must have multi-
plied numerously. At present there are twenty five main branches
of Bima tribes and fifty-two branches of Matti tribes.

It should be remembered that Khalji or Ghalji tribes
contributed largely towards the forces of Ghaznavid Sultans,
but other Afghan tribes also joined those forces in considerab
number. But all these numbers together did not reach lacs though
they fought successfully against lacs.

Secondly, all the Ghaljis themselves refer to their tribe
by that pronunciation, as do other Pathans. And this fact is
accepted by Sir. Denzil also. Ghalji and Khalji are almost the
same word. The form Ghilzai is a literary Persian production,
probably coined in obedience to the myth of the Chalzai, the

2. Yousaf: Afghan or Pathan, p, 196.
3. Sir Denzil: Panjab Castes, p, 64.
thief's son.  

Such stories were coined under the patronage of the Mughals and resulted from the notorious rivalry and jealousy that existed among the various Afghan tribes are the product of the sixteenth century. They were made current out of jealousy against the distinguished family position of Prince Shah Hussain, who was a member of the royal House of the Ghorides and also for the reason that his descendants performed deeds unparalleled by others. The Ghori Sultans relied upon the Khaljis or Chaljis and enlisted them in large numbers in their armies. After them their Turk slaves, who ultimately came to possess the throne followed the same policy.

Thus it was quite natural for the other Afghans, such as they are, to feel jealous. We know the jealousy is a base passion leading men on to ignoble deeds.

Although the Chaljis had not yet conquered Kabul, Qandhar and Persia yet some branches of this great tribe had not only ruled over Bengal, Bihar, Punjab and Malwa, but also had been the supreme rulers of India for more than a century and a quarter during various periods. When they were no more the kings they became the king-makers and more than once it was their sword that decided as to who should wear the crown in Hindustan.

All this while other Afghan tribes had achieved no

2. Tate: Sfisthan, p, 85.
importance. Durrans of Abdali tribes rose to power in Kabul only in the middle of the eighteenth century. So far as other Afghan tribes are concerned their sole claim to distinction lies in their internal tribal disputes or a few unsuccessful risings against the Mughals or the English.

Finally, and I think conclusively, there is a clear identification of Khalji with Ghalji in a couplet from the Pathan national poet Khushhal Khan Khatak, specifically referring to the accession of Jalal-ud-din Khalji as sovereign of Delhi. In a poem narrating the order and qualities of the Muslim Sultans of Hind, Khushhal writes:

"The Sultan Jalal-ud-din took seat upon the throne, who by race was of the Ghalji country".1 Khushhal at least, writing in 1650, and before these controversies blew up, had no doubt that the Khaljis were Ghaljis.2

There could hardly be a stronger case for the belief that Khalji is nothing but an earlier form of Ghalji. And the Khalji identity with the Ghalji tribes is established.

The modern Pathan writers Muhammad Hosain Khan3 and Mr. Allah Bakhsh Yousafi,4 called the Ghori and Khalji Sultans as Pathans. Syed Amir Ali also corroborates them.5 I would like to reiterate a few things before closing this chapter.

1, 2. Caroe: The Pathans, p, 131.
To whatever race the Khaljis or Chaljis may belong the fact remains, that for more than a thousand years they have been a very important part of the Afghan confederacy. They call themselves Afghans and other Afghans regard them as such and feel proud of their achievements. The pride of later pathans in their achievements comes out in the verses of Khushhal Khan:-

"I hear the story of Baholol and Sher Shah that in days gone Pathans were kings in Hind; for six or seven generations their was the kingdom. And all the world wondered at them."¹

And not only these Afghans or Pathans but even the Hindustanis have also been bracketing them with Pathans.

A thousand years is a very long period, and the fate of the nations and countries may change many times during such a long period. Actually that has been happening very often on the face of this earth.

To-day America is perhaps the richest and the strongest nation in the world, but where was she only about three hundred years ago? Can any one claim to trace her origin for she is a composition based on the inter-mingling of the people of different nationalities, colours and creeds.

So I end my discussion at this point and accept the Khaljis or Chaljis as Afghans and leave them at that. After a passage of more than a thousand years it could only be confusing to try to trace their origin. Moreover, such research lies outside of the scope of this present thesis.

¹ Khushhal Khan Khatak's Poetry (Urdu), pp, 258, 59.
CHAPTER III

A. WAY TO THRONE

Ala-ud-Din Khalji was the son of Shahab-ud-Din Khalji and the nephew of Sultan Jalal-ud-Din Firoz of Delhi. As he grew, Sultan married his daughter to him. When Jalal-ud-Din ascended the throne of Delhi, he made Ala-ud-Din Amir-i-Tuzk and his brother Ulugh Khan, who was also the son-in-law of the Sultan, was made Akhur-Beg.

At the defeat of Malik Chhajju, the jagir of Kara was granted to Ala-ud-Din. When after sometime, Ala-ud-Din had strengthened his position and set the administration of his jagir right, he turned his attention to the troublesome Hindu Rajas in his vicinity. Then, with the permission of the Sultan, he invaded Bhilsan, where he achieved success and came in possession of considerable ghanaims (spoils of war).

Ala-ud-Din presented all this ghanaim to Sultan Jalal-ud-Din Khalji, who was immensely pleased with this gesture and in token thereof, he gave Oudh as well to Ala-ud-Din. During his expedition to Bhilsan, Ala-ud-Din learnt of the vast wealth of Deogir, a state in the south, and he determined to attack this rich state to acquire its wealth and thus add to his name and fame. But he did not make this secret desire known to any body.

1. Isami, p, 220.
2, 3, 4. Barani, p, 177.
Ferishta, p, 89.
5. Isami, p, 221.
Barani, p, 187.
Ferishta, p, 94.
6-9. Isami, p, 222.
Barani, p, 220.
On his visit to Delhi, Ala-ud-Din found the Sultan very kind and pleased with him. Using this opportunity, he sought the Sultan's permission to attack the Hindu state of Chanderi, which was adjacent to his own jagir, but owed allegiance to the Sultan of Delhi. Alauddin argued that this conquest would add not only to the prestige of the throne, but also result in bringing in rich ghanaims. The Sultan was pleased with the suggestion and allowed Ala-ud-Din to execute it by collecting infantry and cavalry through his own resources. It was also decided that the payment of the dues which this jagir owed to the centre should be postponed till the end of this expedition. Ala-ud-Din reached Elichpur without meeting with any resistance, accompanied by five or six thousand soldiers, which he had been able to collect. Of this number three or four thousand were regular horsemen and two thousand were Paiks. Then he marched on the Ghati lajura, which is at a distance of only 12 miles from Deogir. All this while nobody knew anything about his plan. Rather to camouflage his purpose he spread the rumour that he had quarrelled with the Sultan of Delhi and was now going to Rajmundri to serve the Court there.

1, 2. Barani, p, 220.
3-4. Barani, pp, 220-23
Firishta, p, 95.
1sami, p, 222.
Labqat-i-Akbari, pp, 64-65.
5. Firishta: Seven or eight thousand sawars, p, 95.
1sami: Three or four thousand sawars, p, 222.
At this moment Deogir was almost undefended, because Shankar Deo, the son of Raja Ram Deo had gone far off to the south on pilgrimage. And he had taken a major portion of the forces along with him. All that Raja Ram Deo could do was to amass an army of two or three thousand men only which was sent to fight against Ala-ud-Din. This army was defeated and Ala-ud-Din captured the Capital. Meanwhile Ala-ud-Din spread the news that he was only in command of the vanguard of the forces of the Sultan of Delhi and the remaining part of the royal army consisting of about twenty thousand men was coming in his wake to conquer the whole of Deccan. The rumour served the death blow to the hopes of the besieged and Raja Ram Deo begged for truce. Ala-ud-Din knew that wisdom demanded the acceptance of this offer, for Shankar Deo could return to the scene of conflict any moment. However, he was aware of the dangers awaiting him on his way back, which passed through the states of Khandesh, Naiva and Gandwana, for these states, he knew, would not hesitate to offer every opposition they were capable of. So he agreed to go back with fifty 'mans' of gold, a few 'mans' of pearls, 40 elephants, and few thousand horses.

Meanwhile Shankar Deo reached there from the south with all his men. He refused to accept the conditions of this truce and demanded from Ala-ud-Din that he should return all that he

Ferishta, p, 95.

7-8. Ferishta, p, 96. (To Isami, name of the son of Ram Deo was Bhillam, p, 228.)

Note: 1. Name of the Raja is Ram Deo and not Ram Chandra as is given by C.H.I. Vol. III, p, 96 and Ishwari Prasad, p, 215, (Medieval India)
had received from the Raja and the people of Deogir. Although the position of Ala-ud-Din was critical yet his sense of honour urged him to accept the battle which he did. He separated one thousand of his soldiers under the command of Malik Nusrat to besiege the fort while with the remaining of his men he faced the forces of Shankar Deo. As the battle proceeded the Marhattas acquired the upper hand on account of their large numbers and it appeared that they would inflict a severe defeat on Ala-ud-Din. But at that moment that part of the army that was besieging the fort became aware of the situation and found it changing in favour of the Hindus. They gave up the siege and attacked the Marhattas, raising slogans. Thus the possible victory of the Hindus was changed into defeat. This sudden attack had filled the Hindus with fear because they thought it to have been made by the fresh army from Delhi which Ala-ud-Din had told them was following him. The Hindus were forced to take refuge in the fort which was besieged by Ala-ud-Din. In his hurry Raja Ram Deo had carried with him whatever bags of wheat flour he could obtain into the fort. On a closer examination these bags turned out to be filled with ground salt. This broke the Raja completely and once again he begged for truce. This time Ala-ud-Din did not show any softness for now the danger which he wanted to avoid was past. This time the Raja had to offer six hundred 'mans' of gold, seven 'mans' of pearls, two 'mans' of diamonds and jewels, one thousand 'mans' of silver, four thousand 'Thans' of precious silk and many thousand horses.
and elephants in addition to the district of Elichpur. Isami's account is quite different in detail though not in contents. Laden with all this richness Ala-ud-Din reached Kara. In his absence his faithful Naib, Alaul-Hulk, had been ably running the administration of the jagir of Kara and Oudha. He had been regularly sending the news of Ala-ud-Din's health and success in Chanderi. It was only a little before Ala-ud-Din's return to Kara that the news of his expedition to Deogir reached to Sultan of Delhi.

Annals of the world are full of expeditions, wonderful and incredible in their strangeness. But what Ala-ud-Din did at Deogir also remains a unique triumph of a daring heart. It was for the first time that the Muslims had crossed Narbada and it was now that the abundance of wealth possessed by the Hindu Rajas of the south as well as their weakness was discovered. This expedition to Deogir is one of the rare achievements of Ala-ud-Din and it proved his daring and skill as a Commander.

It was at Gawailor where the Sultan had gone that he received the news of his son-in-law, Ala-ud-Din's conquest of Deogir and of his obtaining uncountable spoils of war. The news filled the Sultan with great joy and he consulted his councillors as to how he should receive Ala-ud-Din.

Ahmad Chap, the Naib Barbak was the first to speak. "Elephant and wealth when held in great abundance are the cause of much strife; whoever acquires them becomes so intoxicated that he does not know his hands from his feet.

Ala-ud-Din is surrounded by many of the rebels and insurgents who supported Malik Chajju. He had gone into a foreign land, without leave, had fought battles and won treasures. The wise have said, money and strife, strife and money, that is, the two things are allied to each other. My opinion is that we should march with all haste towards Chanderi to meet Ala-ud-Din and intercept his return. When he finds the Sultan's army in the way he must necessarily present all his spoils to the throne whether he likes it or not.

This piece of advice did not please the Sultan who retorted that it was all unnecessarily done to present the sheep like a wolf. He said that he was the uncle and the father-in-law of Ala-ud-Din and he had always dealt with him fairly and affectionately. Among the councillors of the Sultan were present other such as Malik Fakhr-ud-Din Kuchi, Kamaal-ud-Din Abulmuali and Nasir-ud-Din Kuhram. The Sultan invited their opinions. Malik Fakhr-ud-Din submitted that as yet there was no definite proof of what wealth Ala-ud-Din had brought from his expeditions and it was possible that the news which have reached there might be a concoction. Moreover, if the Sultan went to receive him accompanied by his vast hosts he might be frightened to think that since he had gone on these expeditions without the prior sanction of the Sultan, probably he was to be held answerable for his selfsought adventures. In that case he would turn back and thus let his men scatter in the jungles where they might be eaten by the wild beasts. This would result not only in the

loss of innocent lives but also in that of the spoils which Ala-ud-Din had brought with him. Malik Fakhr-ud-Din further argued that it would be proper to pass the approaching month of Ramzan in the Capital and meanwhile to allow Ala-ud-Din to pass on to Kara in safety. His intentions, whether good, or bad, would become evident on his reaching Kara. If he had any wicked intentions he could neither face the armies of the Sultan nor escape from them, and then he would be presented before the Sultan in Chains.

In the face of this argument Malik Chap struck to his opinion. He did not want to let Ala-ud-Din reach Kara with all his spoils. He opined that if Ala-ud-Din was allowed to rest during the two three rainy months he would go beyond Ab-i-Sard and make for Lakhnauti carrying along with him all his wealth. In that case the Sultan would find himself helpless to do anything about it. But the Sultan told him that he had unjustified fears. After this the Sultan, acting upon the advice of Malik Fakhr-ud-Din returned to Delhi and on his way back encamped at Kilagarhi. While he was still there, he started receiving news which confirmed the information which he had received earlier about the vast wealth that had come into the possession of Ala-ud-Din.

It was either the greed for gold or the love for his nephew which persuaded Sultan to reach Kara to meet Ala-ud-Din and he went there with a thousand of horsemen. According to

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Ferishta, pp, 97,98.
Barani’s lonely journey of the Sultan to meet Ala-ud-Din in the holy month of Ramzan was the result of a well planned intrigue. Almas Beg, the brother of Ala-ud-Din and the second son-in-law of the Sultan, was also an accomplice in this. He told the Sultan that he thought that his brother was very much afraid because of his own unauthorised exploits as well as the enmity of men like Ahmad Chap. He feared that either Ala-ud-Din would go to some unknown destination or he might commit suicide, because he could not be reassured of the Sultan’s good intentions towards him merely through letters. The Sultan was persuaded and decided to go to Kara personally to restore Ala-ud-Din’s confidence.

Reaching Kara the Sultan crossed the river in a boat taking with him only a few councillors and guards and he left the rest of his men on the farther bank of the river. Ala-ud-Din received the Sultan with due deference and accorded him every honour that was expected of him. He kissed the feet of his uncle, the Sultan, who showed extreme effection towards him. The Sultan slapped Ala-ud-Din affectionately on his cheeks and showed his surprise over his fear of him. Then he caught hold of Ala-ud-Din by hand and carried him towards the royal yacht. At this juncture when the uncle and the nephew were going from the military camp of Ala-ud-Din towards the river hand in hand, one of the companions of Ala-ud-Din named

Muhammad Salim attacked the Sultan with his sword from behind. But his blow fell amiss and his own fingers were cut off. At the same instant another man Ikhtair-ud-Din removed the head of the Sultan.

When the news of Sultan's murder reached Delhi, Malika-i-Jahan, announced the accession of his youngest son to the throne under the title of Rukn-ud-Din Ibrahim, taking all the steps she thought necessary. The elder Prince Arkali Khan, who was the accepted heir to the throne was in Multan at that moment.

Zia-ud-Din Barani calls Malika-i-Jahan the fool of all fools. The subsequent historians have also considered this step of Malika-i-Jahan as the most serious blunder that she committed. The fact is that this step of the queen-mother helped Ala-ud-Din a lot to take possession of the Delhi throne. But at the same time we must not ignore another fact and that is that Malika-i-Jahan was helpless to adopt another measure. The most urgent need of the time was to keep the throne occupied. The real blame devolves on Arkali Khan who did not come to the rescue of his mother in the hour of this crisis and remained stagnating at Multan. She faced the whole situation with great courage and confidence, but an empty treasury and disloyal nobility and soldiers forced her to beat a retreat. Moreover, it is incorrect to say that Rukn-ud-Din Ibrahim, who was put on the throne was a mere boy. He was already a grown up man.
After the murder of the Sultan situation had taken such a shape that one of the parties had to be eliminated. It was the rainy season, Ala-ud-Din did not move out of Kara for about five months and kept a close watch from there on the situation.\(^1\) Virtually, Malika-i-Jahan took the control of state affairs in her own hands. At this Arkali Khan, who was a famous general turned against his mother and instead of going to Delhi remained at Multan.\(^2\) This dissention among the members of the Royal family travelled to the nobles at the Court who became divided. When such news reached Ala-ud-Din at Kara, he was immensely satisfied at this. He knew that Rukn-ud-Din Ibrahim was not able enough to exercise proper control over the state affairs.\(^3\) He also knew that the treasury at Delhi was empty and so it would not be possible to raise a formidable army there.\(^4\) This was, indeed, a rare opportunity for him and he had no mind to miss it. He did not consider the rainy season, a serious obstacle in his way.\(^5\) He had brought immense wealth from Deogir and distributing it generously among his followers, he marched on to Delhi. The nearer he reached Delhi, the more was the number of those who pledged their loyalty to him. Thus on reaching Delhi he had with him fifty six thousand horsemen and sixty thousand footmen.\(^6\) Ala-ud-Din showered his wealth liberally on the nobles and the soldiers of Sultan Rukn-ud-Din Ibrahim, and thus bought their

\(^1\) Barani, p. 239.
\(^2\) Barani, p. 238.
\(^3\) Barani, pp, 243,44.
loyalties for himself, most of them deserted their own Sultan and joined hands against him with Ala-ud-Din, Malika-i-Jahan was shaken at this. She invited Arkali Khan to come and occupy the throne of Delhi for, she warned him, if he did not forgive her for her previous mistakes and refused to comply with her imploring, neither he nor the other members of the family would enjoy a moment's peace through the disloyalty of the Jalali nobles. But Arkali Khan was not moved at all this and wrote to his mother that the real opportunity has been missed and it was then of no use to try to save the tottering foundations of their own rule.

Sultan Rukan-ud-Din Ibrahim brought out his armies into the field against Ala-ud-Din. But at the fall of night his left wing deserted him and went over to the side of Ala-ud-Din. This shattered the nerves of Malika-i-Jahan and Rukan-ud-Din, who fled to Multan taking with them whatever royal treasuries they could. They also carried some horses from the royal stable along with them. Malik Ahmad Chap and Malik Qutb-ud-Din Alvi accompanied them during this flight.

When this news spread everybody in the camp of Ala-ud-Din was overjoyed and the nobles and the lords came from the capita to the camp of Ala-ud-Din to pay their homage and respect to the new rising star.

In 695 A.H. Ala-ud-Din entered the fort with great pomp

Isami, p. 240. (694 A.H.)
Ferishta, p. 101 (693 A.H.)
Amir Khusraw: Devan Rani Khizr Khan, p. 55 (695 A.H.)
and show and ascended the throne and made Red Palace his abode. This was the turning point in his life and from now on he was fully established as the supreme monarch at Delhi.

After ascending the throne, the first step that Ala-ud-Din took was to send an army of 30 or 40 thousand under the command of Ulugh Khan and Zafar Khan to Multan to break the power of the sons of Jalal-ud-Din. Multan was besieged and the siege continued for two months. Meanwhile the Kotwal of Multan and other inhabitants there were fed up with the rule of the late Sultan's sons. It was decided to seek mercy through the intervention of Shaikh Rukn-ud-Din Multanī. The sons of Jalal-ud-Din surrendered themselves to the besieging armies along with their wealth, their families and their nobles. As this news reached Ala-ud-Din, he ordered its celebrations and made it known to the other parts of the country. The eyes of the sons of Jalal-ud-Din, his son-in-law Ulghu Khan and his councillor Ahmad Chap were taken out and they were imprisoned in their houses, where their families were also confined.

Treading this path, Ala-ud-Din stepped on to the throne of his uncle and thus the power and influence of his rivals came to an end.

   Isaai, p. 241.
   Ferdowsī, p. 102.
8. A PROCLAIMED MURDER OR A MERE COINCIDENCE

"Barani tells us that Ala-ud-Din's relations with his wife and mother-in-law, were not good, and this had made him extremely unhappy. When he was appointed the governor of Kara, all the rebel accomplices of Malik Chhajju whom Sultan Jalal-ud-Din had pardoned, gathered round him there. They started suggesting to him that as the jagir of Kara is very big and it was possible to build a strong army there, money alone was needed to enable the jagirdar of that place to conquer the throne of Delhi. Malik Chhajju had failed in his venture in this direction for he lacked wealth. As he was already unhappy over the treatment he was accorded by his wife and mother-in-law, he was taken in, by such talk. Now, day and night, his chief thought was as to how he should acquire the money that he needed. When, at Bhilsan, he heard of the great wealth and numerous elephants of Deogir, he became determined to try his luck there."

From the above opinion of the Barani, it appears that Ala-ud-Din attacked Deogir to take possession of the vast wealth of that state so that adding it to his own resources at Kara, he should occupy the throne of Delhi.

History bears witness to this fact that Ala-ud-Din attacked Deogir without seeking permission from Sultan Jalal-ud-Din. This expedition gave him immense wealth. It was with the aid of this wealth that after the murder of Jalal-ud-Din he succeeded in collecting a force of about one lac. It was the gold brought from Deogir that he minted into starts and showered it literally.

1. Barani, pp, 187, 188.
over his army and the common people who greeted him. It was the
temptation to get some share of this wealth which made the
Jalali nobles desert the sons of their master. All this show of
glitter and glamour made all classes of people forget the murder
of their old Sultan. All this may be true but there are facts
which belie Barani’s contention. At least they do not confirm
what Barani had stated above. We shall discuss these facts below.

It is an acknowledged fact that Ala-ud-Din was a man with
wisdom, foresight and possessed knowledge of practical politics.
Keeping this fact in view it is incomprehensive as to how he
could have decided that by possessing the wealth of Deogir, he
would certainly succeed in occupying the throne of Delhi which
was always a secret desire of his heart. In this connection we
should not forget the following points.

His plan to attack Deogir was fraught with unusual
dangers, and offered only a very remote chance of success. In
the first place he was going there without the knowledge of
the Sultan and in time of need there could be no hope of any
succour reaching him from the centre. He had to follow a
course upon which no other Muslim conqueror had ever set his
foot before him.

The obstacles on his way could be many and even fatal.
The new country-side belonged to the enemy and his own forces
were limited. Under the circumstances could he take the risk
unprepared to meet the consequences? No doubt Ala-ud-Din was
a soldier with great courage and rare abilities as a general.
But even then can we justify his mad venture if he looked only
to the bright side and hoped for a brilliant success ignoring
the dark consequences which would accompany his defeat? If it
were so we will have to change our previous opinion that he possessed foresight and wisdom. And he did possess them.

The expedition to Deogir was extremely dangerous and Ala-ud-Din's means were limited. But when we look to the facts stated by the historians that his wife and mother-in-law, had caused him a good deal of misery we appear to feel convinced that he was so tired of life that he would not hesitate to go on such an expedition. Or else only such another would adopt this course who possessed valour without wisdom. We know that none of these two things was true in the case of Ala-ud-Din.

Being the nephew and the son-in-law of the Sultan, he held a post of prestige\(^1\) and a rich jagir\(^2\), which for his age were such things that he could not expect anything more. Thus he was a highly successful man and frustration, certainly, could not form the basis of his expedition to Deogir.

When we look to the circumstances under which he obtained victory, we feel that all that happened there was nothing short of a miracle. Luck favoured Ala-ud-Din in every possible way. When he reached Deogir, he found it unprotected because of the absence of the fighting forces. Later on as the battle was forced on him, his opponents took bags of salt instead of wheat flour into the fort to serve them during the seige and this mistake cost them dearly. As a matter of fact he was lucky from the very beginning for no Raja through whose

1, 2. Barani, pp. 174, 177.
territory he passed cast a suspicion on his intentions, and thus he was allowed to proceed unchallenged. Even the fact that the Sultan remained ignorant of this expedition till the last and when he learnt of it, he did not accept the advice of Ahmad Chap as regards to his treatment of Ala-ud-Din, show that the stars of Ala-ud-Din were on the ascendancy. This expedition was extremely uncertain. It was the result of youthful exuberance and can, at best, be termed a mere gamble. It is evident that to link any secret ambition of Ala-ud-Din to occupy the throne of Delhi with this expedition is a conclusion which can be justified in no way.

Now let us look to another question and that is, whether the wealth acquired from Deogir added to the already existing sources of strength at Kara could enable one to hope for offering any effective opposition to the throne of Delhi. No doubt Deogir surrendered immense wealth but it was so only for the comparatively poor jagirdar of Kara. The power and the wealth of the Sultan of Delhi was such that all this wealth needed no reckoning with. More important than this was the fact that the armed might of Kara has not been mentioned anywhere as more than eight thousands of which three or four thousands only were regular, the remaining half were Paiks. If ever there were an open conflict between the jagirdar of Kara and the Sultan of Delhi, the former, would not have withstood the latters' attack even for a few moments in-spite of all the wealth that he had. Ala-ud-Din was a brave man but Sultan Jalal-ud-Din and his son Arkali Khan were no less so,
It is true that during his march on Delhi, Ala-ud-Din was supported by an army of about one lac strong but this happened because Jalal-ud-Din had already been murdered. While in his lifetime this position would have been totally different. Considering all these facts I believe it is not too much to say that the forces of Kara with Ala-ud-Din at their head and all the wealth of Deogir in his pocket could not have dreamt of throwing a direct challenge to the Sultan of Delhi.

Here we may assert that Ala-ud-Din was fully aware of his weak position and so he decided to match the strength of his rival with cunning. He played a trick on the Sultan and managed to bring him to Kara where he got him murdered. In other words, we may say, that he had only to look to it that Jalal-ud-Din was murdered somehow or other after which his path to the throne became clear. But was it all really so simple? Had Ala-ud-Din killed the Sultan in an open encounter in the battlefield, we could say that he could ascend the throne without any further obstacle. On the other hand the murder of the Sultan at Kara through some intrigue would have beset his path to his destination with serious difficulties. It would be better to forget here, for a while at least, that events continued to favour him. Instead we should remember that opposition at Delhi under the leadership of Ahmad Chap was considerably strong. His mother-in-law Malika-i-Jahan, who enjoyed unusual influence was also opposed to him, Arkali Khan, the heir-apparent to the throne was a man famous for his courage. Being the governor of Multan, he had resources

1. Barani, p, 244.
far more than those of the jagirdar of Kara. ¹ Had the murder been on purpose, Ala-ud-Din should have known that he had to face the collective might of his opponents whose names have been mentioned above. And it was not an easy job. Now if the circumstances went in favour of Ala-ud-Din it was a mere coincidence and not the result of any calculated design. The Sultan ignored the advice of Ahmad Chap and went alone to Kara. Then after his murder Malika-i-Jahan made haste to put her younger son on the throne and thus annoyed her eldest son and sowed the seeds of dissention in her own camp.² At the same time, probably aware of the weak position of their newly crowned monarch, the Jalali nobles turned aside and went to Jijnkala-ud-Din.³ These events point out clearly that whatever happened could not have been foreseen even by the wisest and those possessing the keenest foresight. The old dame fate played her usual tricks and swayed the situation her own way leaving her victims, the mortal players, in this drama of historical importance, guessing all the while. The experienced and the wise are more afraid of the waywardness of the chance and aware of the uncertainty of life. Ala-ud-Din was wise. Could he be so foolish as to feel certain about the success of his plot as some of the historians have credited him with doing?

We may ask now, that if it was not the ambition to ascend the throne of Delhi, what other motives led Ala-ud-Din to murder the Sultan. Was he really so bitter against the Sultan as to seek revenge by murdering him? Was there any dispute between them that could have necessitated such an act

2. Isami, p. 236.
on the part of one of the parties?

History is silent on this point and offers nothing to raise any doubt here. On the contrary the records of history bear witness to the fact that the relations between the Sultan and Ala-ud-Din were extremely cordial. The Sultan did all he could for Ala-ud-Din by marrying him to his own daughter, and granting him a rich jagir and a big title. We also know that the Sultan did not lend his ears to those who like Ahmad Chap wanted to fill him with distrust against Ala-ud-Din. Not only that he even allowed Ala-ud-Din to attack Chanderi just to please him. Even if there was nothing else to show Sultan's affection for Ala-ud-Din this sole fact that he went to Kara ungarded serves as a measure of the trust that he placed in his nephew. At the same time the conduct of Ala-ud-Din had nothing in it that could raise any suspicion about his intentions. He never whispered a word against the Sultan. On his return from his successful expedition of Deogir, which he had undertaken without the permission of the Sultan, he begged for pardon, at the same time expressing his desire to offer all the riches that he had brought from there to the Sultan, just as he had done with the spoils he had brought from Bhilsa.

None of the renowned contemporaries like Barani, Isami, Hasan Silzi, Amir Khusrau, Nasaf, Ibn Battuta and Afif have mentioned anywhere that Ala-ud-Din revolted openly against the

1. Barani, p, 231.
2. Barani, pp, 228,233.
Sultan or expressed any intentions of revolting against him. Also in their mutual correspondence there was not a word which could reveal any bitterness or point to the wicked designs of Ala-ud-Din, if designs there were any.\(^1\)

The spies\(^2\) of the Sultan brought to him the news of Ala-ud-Din's return from Deogir, laden with the immense wealth that he had acquired from there. They certainly would have informed the Sultan about Ala-ud-Din's intention to revolt if there were any such danger. The two trusted servants of Jalal-ud-Din, who went to Kara with a special letter for Ala-ud-Din, were not and could not be the only sources of information for the Sultan about the activities of his nephew.\(^3\) In that case Jalal-ud-Din would never have taken the risk of going to Kara merely to prove that he held Ala-ud-Din in great affection. When Ahmad Chap advised the Sultan to be on his guard against Ala-ud-Din, he was merely generalising. What he meant was that the possession of vast wealth and a strong army could turn the mind of a man and fill him with evil ambitions. He was not holding Ala-ud-Din guilty on any count nor could he find fault with his previous behaviour. His fears were for the future vague, indefinite and born of his own experiences of life but not based on any definite information.

Barani who alleges that Ala-ud-Din arranged the murder of the Sultan, has not been able to quote a single word from Ala-ud-Din which could go to prove his alleged intentions.

\(^1\) Barani, pp, 228, 230.

\(^2,3\) Barani, pp, 228-29.
Even when the Sultan was murdered while walking hand in hand with Ala-ud-Din not an unpleasant word escaped the lips of Ala-ud-Din. It is a lesson for those who paint Ala-ud-Din as a villain for it is very difficult to find a villain in the pages of history who could command his feelings of hatred with such calm up to the last.

Barani and the historians of his tribe had ignored another vital fact. They seemed to have passed in haste over the sequence of the Sultan's murder. We know that when the Sultan went to Ala-ud-Din's camp on the other bank of the river, he was unprotected and fully at the mercy of Ala-ud-Din and his men. He was in a position, where it was clear even to him that he could not escape unhurt if Ala-ud-Din had any murderous designs, but even there it was Ala-ud-Din who bent his knees before the Sultan and apologized sincerely for having caused so much trouble to him. So even if we agree with Barani for a moment that all this drama was a prelude to his design of murdering the Sultan, we cannot understand as to why did Ala-ud-Din show so much reverence to the Sultan when the latter was completely in his power. The only sane conclusion would be that all that happened was a coincidence having no link with any calculation.

Those historians who cast suspicion on the intention of Ala-ud-Din may object to the behaviour of Ala-ud-Din saying that after his success at Deogir he should have gone straight

2. Isami, p. 233.
to Delhi instead of remaining at Kara. But we must not forget
that Ala-ud-Din had gone to Deogir secretly and he was afraid
less the Sultan, taking this act as one of insubordination,
should punish him severely. It was only fear that kept him
away from Delhi, not any intention of doing violence on the
person of the Sultan. But personal fear was not only the
cause of his remaining at Kara. There were other important
factors which decided for him this course. He had learnt of
Ahmad Chap's advice to the Sultan as to how he should receive
Ala-ud-Din. Malika-i-Jahan who did not like Ala-ud-Din but
at the same time exercised great influence over the Sultan
was present in the capital to lend force to the words of Ahmad
Chap. The month of Ramzan was near at hand, the rainy season
was about to set in making it difficult to move from one place
to other. The army was tired and needed rest. Under thecircum-
stances had Ala-ud-Din gone to Delhi, he might not have been
able to leave it shortly. In that case all the affairs of his
own jagir which needed his immediate attention would have
remained unattended for quite some time. We should not forget
here that Sultan Jalal-ud-Din reached Kara not long after
Ala-ud-Din's return there. Had Ala-ud-Din postponed his visit
to Delhi for quite sometime there, perhaps, would have been
some ground for suspecting his conduct. But he was allowed no
time to prove that he was still loyal and devoted to the Sultan

Now let us study the character of the ruling Sultan,
Jalal-ud-Din was a brave man but he lacked dignity and generas-
sity. Old age had induced in him many moral and physical

weaknesses. His greed was unlimited while at that time the royal treasury was almost empty. Under the circumstances it was quite natural that he should feel the desire of getting that wealth which Ala-ud-Din had brought from Deogir. Barani says that it was actually this greed which blinded his reason and put him into the hands of Ala-ud-Din, who murdered him.

After having said all this let us examine the how and why of Jalal-ud-Din murder and also look to the role played by Ala-ud-Din in this bloody drama. Actually the news of Jalal-ud-Din's departure for Kara had filled Ala-ud-Din and his companions with apprehensions. They suffered under a sense of guilt for having gone on their expedition without the permission of the Sultan. To add to their fear they had also learnt of the unkind counsel of Ahmad Chak, a relative of the Sultan who was also a responsible official, to the Sultan. So, although they were told that the Sultan was kindly disposed towards them and his visit to Kara was the mark of his approval of their daring deed yet the fears in their hearts were not dispelled. They were very uncertain about their future.

Barani has given an account of the Sultan's meeting with Ala-ud-Din at the place of his murder in the following words:

"The Sultan slapped Ala-ud-Din on his cheeks with love and addressed him as Ali Kamezi and talked with him in great kindness. Then he caught hold of Ala-ud-Din's hand and took him

towards his own personal yacht. Thus going he asked Ala-ud-Din as to why he was afraid of him and told him that it had filled his heart with sorrow. At the moment when Sultan Jalal-ud-Din pulled Ala-ud-Din towards himself by the hand the latter gave a signal to those cruel traitors who had been prepared to commit the murder and the deed was done.¹

Isami has also described the last meeting between the Sultan and Ala-ud-Din with great detail.²

The statements of Isami and Barani corroborate each other in all their details that the murder was committed under the instigation of Ala-ud-Din, and was preplanned.³

Now we have to decide whether to agree with them and doubt the intentions of Ala-ud-Din or to acquit him of the charge of murder by giving him the benefit of doubt. I am of the opinion that the latter course would be the more proper one for it is unfair to pass a verdict against a man when there is nothing that clearly reveals his designs. For an act, however, heinous, may be the result of a momentary impulse. Here, probably, it was overkeenness on the part of the murderers to serve their master faithfully that turned them traitors against the Supreme Ruler, the Sultan.

When the Sultan was leading Ala-ud-Din towards his barge holding him by the hand, these murderers might have felt that their master was being carried to his death. There


Isami, p. 231, 34.
were some grounds for such suspicions and an atmosphere of uncertainty and fear was prevailing in the camp of Ala-ud-Din and nobody knew how the Sultan would treat them for their act of indiscipline in going secretly to Deogir. These murderers could not hear the words of Sultan which he uttered to Ala-ud-Din and from a distance all that they could guess was that their master and after him they too were doomed to destruction. They rushed to the rescue of Ala-ud-Din hoping thus to save their own skins. Self motivated in this manner, they did what they thought was best for all of them. The responsibility of murder lay on them and it would be unjust to shift it to Ala-ud-Din, who, most probably, was not at all prepared for such an extreme act. If, subsequently Ala-ud-Din marched on Delhi that was because he knew that after what had happened he could not rest at peace and nobody would believe in his innocence, then at least he was left with no other choice. The final plunge was actually forced on him by the circumstances that blocked the path of all retreat.

Let us go a bit deeper into the circumstances accompanying the murder of the Sultan. The Sultan had expressed his pleasure at the exploit of Ala-ud-Din. He decided to visit Kara personally to dispel any fears that might have entered the heart of his nephew. This was an opportunity for Ala-ud-Din to win the goodwill of the Sultan. In the circumstances it is common practice for the host to make arrangements worthy of the status of the guest of honour. Sultan Jalal-ud-Din was an aging person and to reach Kara he had to travel far.
At the end of this long journey it was expected that he would examine the spoils in the possession of Ala-ud-Din and then would take rest. Evidently Ala-ud-Din who was the host to the Royal Guest, must have made all arrangements for the comfort and pleasure of the Sultan. But on meeting Ala-ud-Din Sultan uttered a few words of kindness and then turned towards his own barge leading Ala-ud-Din by the hand. This was so unexpected that it might have revived the fears in the hearts of Ala-ud-Din's companions as to the treatment of the Sultan towards them. Why, they might have asked each other, did the Sultan took Ala-ud-Din towards his own barge instead of coming into Ala-ud-Din's camp where arrangements have been made for his stay? Thus filled with suspicions and fear they could not argue better and attacked the Sultan and murdered him.

The statement of Barani is to be rejected on another ground as well. The plan of murder that he describes does not appear convincing. From the details it is evident that the murderers did not know their job well. The man who attacked first cut his own fingers with his stroke. This gave an opportunity to the Sultan to take to his heels. While he ran there was nobody to block his way. Again it was a mere coincidence that another man overtook him from behind before he could reach safety and this time he was killed with a blow that was aimed at him from behind. If the murder had been pre-planned, the method adopted would have been totally different. When two men are walking hand in hand it is foolish to attack one of them from behind because in that case there is a danger of the sword travelling in the wrong direction and hurting the

1,2,3. Barani, p, 234-35.
Another fact that attracts our attention is that all this while Ala-ud-Din remained a passive spectator and did not raise his own sword against the Sultan. He knew that in the case of Sultan's death there the whole guilt will fall on his head. Then why did he not himself join in the act? What considerations could have restrain his hands while the murder was taking place under his very eyes? Had he desired it so, now was no moment for hesitation. Moreover, the number of murderers was insufficient when we keep in view the fact that Jalal-ud-Din was strongly built, skilful swordsman though old. Had he succeeded in reaching his barge when he ran after receiving the blow from the first assailant, the history of India might have been altogether different. All this discussion aims at showing that if at all the murder was preplanned, the plan was not sound enough, even for a man of ordinary intelligence let alone Ala-ud-Din who was a master of planning. If he intended to kill the Sultan he could have made arrangements to tackle the men in the royal barge in face of any miscarrying of the first steps.

All that we can know about the whole drama of this murder is from the books of history written by men who gave their version based on what they had heard and not seen. I do not think there is any just ground for us to give credit to them. When we read Barani, we easily become aware of his prejudices against Ala-ud-Din. He doubted the intentions of Ala-ud-Din and has done his best to vilify him. This partial attitude of Barani renders him incredible for us in this case.
For such a man will draw false conclusion from the simple facts of history just to justify his own prejudices. If we take a balanced view of the whole situation it is as well to cast our suspicions on the intentions of Jalal-ud-Din. For the last seven hundred years the historian have been passing the verdict of 'guilty' against Ala-ud-Din. The verdict can very easily be reversed and Jalal-ud-Din instead of Ala-ud-Din can be held guilty. Cannot it be possible to argue that Sultan Jalal-ud-Din, to show his affection and kindness towards Ala-ud-Din, went alone to his camp only with the aim of putting him off his guard and to overpower him without risking an open clash? We know Jalal-ud-Din had grown old and weak-natured as is clear from his retreat from the very gates of Ranthamhore and the pardon which he granted to Malik Chhajju. Jalal-ud-Din was greedy and his treasury was empty. He was mean as well and could stoop very low to gain his object as is clear from the way he got Sidi Maula murdered\(^1\) at the hands of his courtier.

He wanted to take possession of wealth of Ala-ud-Din but at the same time he did not want to get involved into any bloody conflict, for though he was greedy he was weak as well. There was also the possibility of his losing all this wealth if Ala-ud-Din slipped away to a place where he had no hold and this Ala-ud-Din would certainly have done if he feared any aggression from the Sultan. The danger of open clash cannot be overruled in which case the Sultan might have suffered more.

\(^1\) Barani, p, 212.
than any possible gain. Perhaps all these calculations led the Sultan to hatch a conspiracy with the connivance of Malik Fakhr ud-Din Kuchi and other like minded courtiers. His going all alone to Ala-ud-Din was meant to reassure the latter that he had not lost the confidence of Sultan. It was meant to persuade him to trust the Sultan fully so that he should not hesitate to accompany the Sultan to the Royal Barge. There he could be disposed of without much fuss and consequently his overflowing treasury with all the wealth of Deogir in it, would have fallen into the hands of the Sultan without shedding any drop of blood except that of Ala-ud-Din.

Let us be a little charitable to Sultan Jalal-ud-Din and give him some concession as regards his intention towards Ala-ud-Din. Let us say that he perhaps did not want to murder Ala-ud-Din. But no amount of concession make us think for a moment that he did not cast a greedy eye on gold and elephants in possession of his nephew. He needed all his gold and needed it immediately for his own treasury was empty. His journey to Kara to reassure Ala-ud-Din of his love and affection for him was something pre-planned.

The following facts support our contention and go to prove the Sultan's evil designs.

We know that the Sultan undertook the journey to Kara in the month of Ramzan while he was fasting even in that old age. The rainy season was about to set in. Kara was no near destination and the journey to that place was full of hardship. Knowing all these facts it does not appear convincing that
than any possible gain. Perhaps all these calculations led the Sultan to hatch a conspiracy with the connivance of Malik Fakhr ud-Din Kuchi and other like-minded courtiers. His going all alone to Ala-ud-Din was meant to reassure the latter that he had not lost the confidence of Sultan. It was meant to persuade him to trust the Sultan fully so that he should not hesitate to accompany the Sultan to the Royal Barge. There he could be disposed of without much fuss and consequently his overflowing treasury with all the wealth of Deogir in it, would have fallen into the hands of the Sultan without shedding any drop of blood except that of Ala-ud-Din.

Let us be a little charitable to Sultan Jalal-ud-Din and give him some concession as regards his intention towards Ala-ud-Din. Let us say that he perhaps did not want to murder Ala-ud-Din. But no amount of concession make us think for a moment that he did not cast a greedy eye on gold and elephants in possession of his nephew. He needed all his gold and needed it immediately for his own treasury was empty. His journey to Kara to reassure Ala-ud-Din of his love and affection for him was something pre-planned.

The following facts support our contention and go to prove the Sultan's evil designs.

We know that the Sultan undertook the journey to Kara in the month of Ramazan while he was fasting even in that old age. The rainy season was about to set in. Kara was no near destination and the journey to that place was full of hardship. Knowing all these facts it does not appear convincing that
Sultan should have gone to meet Ala-ud-Din in good faith. We must not forget here that the wife of the Sultan, Malika-i-Jahan and his daughter who was the wife of Ala-ud-Din were not kindly disposed towards Ala-ud-Din. And when we remember another important fact that how Sultan Jalal-ud-Din Khalji was dominated by his wife, we can understand that the trouble he took to go to Kara could not be with the best of intentions. The extent of the influence of his wife over him was immense. In the presence of Malika-i-Jahan, and with her knowledge the Sultan dared not show his affection for Ala-ud-Din by undertaking such a hard journey.

Then the behaviour of the Sultan at Kara was also very strange. Actually he was in no hurry. He should have inspected the forces of Ala-ud-Din and the elephants and the horses and the rest of the spoils and then gone to Ala-ud-Din's palace or his camp where arrangements had been made for his rest. There he should have waited for the time when after breaking his fast he could discuss things with his nephew. But instead of adopting this course Jalal-ud-Din stepping down from his barge gave a slap to Ala-ud-Din which though meant to show his affection, was interpreted as a sign of anger by those who looked only from a distance. Then he led Ala-ud-Din by hand towards his barge where he had his councillors and guards men waiting for him. This also must have appeared as if he was dragging Ala-ud-Din by force towards his own camp. He ignored the latter's submission to him to come into his camp for rest and honour his

1. Isami, pp, 233, 234.
This performance of the Sultan, which was so unique and unusual could have justly filled the minds of Ala-ud-Din’s followers with suspicion.

It is quite pertinent to ask here as to why did Ala-ud-Din go to Deogir and that too without the Sultan’s permission. The answer is that in that age of chivalry this extremely difficult expedition to Deogir would have added a brilliant feather to the cap of one who undertook it successfully. It was considered almost impossible to travel to Deogir and come back triumphant from there. No Muslim general had marched that way uptill then. The path to Deogir was full of unimaginable dangers. Ala-ud-Din was fully aware of this fact and whatever he did was done knowingly. He did not seek the Sultan’s permission for then he would have obtained a sure refusal. In case he went there on his own it was not definite whether he would return alive. If he died there he would die doing a brave deed. If he came back alive and victorious he could have shown his loyalty to Sultan by offering the rich spoils he hoped to possess and thus he would have obtained not only the Sultan’s pardon but also his pleasure, which he needed very much. As his own wife and his mother-in-law, Hulika-i-Jahan, did not like him. This daring deed and the wealth coming in its wake could have changed their opinion in his favour. Previously when he had conquered Bhilsan and taken its wealth to the Sultan he had been rewarded with the Jagir of Oudhas a token of the Sultan’s pleasure and his fame as a general had spread
for and wide. The present expedition to Deogir, being far more difficult could serve his name and fame more surely. Hence his determination to undertake this expedition and to do so secretly can be explained.

The Sultan would have opposed it on another ground as well. And that was that he did not want to get involved in war with the states of Deccan, which could become a source of constant trouble. The most notable feature of Ala-ud-Din's expedition to Deogir is that from that time on till the time he occupied the throne of Delhi, luck favoured him at every step and circumstances always took a turn to his advantage.

I have entered into this lengthy discussion not with the purpose of fixing guilt over the head of one or the other party. The circumstantial evidence fails to point out a clear path in this direction. If earlier historians have arrived at any conclusion they have done so by taking into consideration the intentions of one or the other of them. In the matter of intentions it is usually the personal prejudices that play the major part. No one knows what resides in the secret chamber of heart. It would be erroneous for the weak mortals to sit in judgment over the intentions of others. Let us not make this mistake any more. Let us think on new lines and I am sure that by doing so we shall be nearer the truth than we have been so far.
CHAPTER IV

PART I

ADMINISTRATIVE REFORMS

A. A HERITAGE OF DISORDER AND CORRUPTION

The throne to which Ala-ud-Din Khalji ascended was not of roses. The kingdom which he had to rule was in complete disorder. His uncle, Sultan Jalal-ud-Din was an aged, kindhearted and weak king. He could not stem the tide of deterioration that was demolishing his kingdom during his seven year rule, because of his weak policy. As Jalal-ud-Din was murdered the administration of the country touched the lowest ebb. The crown decorated the head of the nephew of the king, who was also his son-in-law while the crown prince, Arkali Khan was pushed off the throne. This change served the last blow to the prestige and peace of the kingdom of Delhi. Since the Turks had ruled the northern Indian territories for about one century before the advent of the Khaljis, therefore, not only they but the masses, as well, disliked the dynastic change. The masses had got accustomed, gradually, to the rule of the Turks. This was the reason as to why the coronation of Sultan Jalal-ud-Din took place at Kilu-Garhi instead of Delhi where Turkish nobles and the general public considered this as an act of usurpation. Although Sultan Ala-ud-Din won quite a large number of friends, showering his gold freely at them, yet there were still a considerable number of Muslim jagirdars and Hindu zamindars, who were against the ruling monarch for some of their personal interests.

A large part of the country was given as 'jagirs', 'auqafs', 'imlaks' and 'inams'. This not only had reduced the revenue tremendously, but also had added greatly to the power
of the jagirdars and free holders. These people could create danger for the king at any moment. Their loyalty to the new Sultan was definitely doubtful, because they were all Jalali nobles.

As the centre grew weak the Hindu zamindars followed their own path and refused to pay jizya and kharaj. This unbridled conduct of these zamindars robbed the government treasury of its resources and added to the internal disorder.

On the other hand, the Mughals invaded the northern parts of India every year without fail. They slaughtered tens of thousands, and carried away an equal number as slaves to be sold in the markets of Central Asia. They destroyed the crops and burned villages and towns. They drove away the cattle wealth of the country. The whole country appeared a vast ruin as they left it. Every year it looked as if that was going to the last year of the Muslim rule in India.

Their raids also gave a lever to the forces of discontent. In their raids the turbulent elements in the country—the disaffection of the Hindu chiefs, the jealousies of the 'maliks' and 'amirs' and the prevalence of robbery and brigandage—found great stimulus.

As a consequence of all this trade and agriculture we paralysed. These regular raids had totally blocked the trade paths leading to Central Asia. This ruin of the trade and agriculture, the internal disorder, and the weakness of the central government, made the food stuffs and the other necessaries of life almost extinct in the markets and thus

very costly. This led to hoarding and black marketing, which added to the wealth of the rich but made the poor almost pauper.

The moral condition which was quite lax already suffered a further setback. The administrative machinery was extremely inefficient. The provincial governors were semi-independent and showed no respect for the instruction issued from the central authority. Civil administration had totally failed. They could neither collect revenue nor enforce any necessary steps on the people without the aid of the armed forces. In all the government departments and in the revenue department specially corruption and dishonesty was rampant.†

On his ascending the throne, Ala-ud-Din had to face these problems. Each one of these problems was so complicated and difficult of solution that it could disturb the greatest of civil or military administrators. But the Sultan, in spite of young years did not show any fear. He tackled each and every problem in turn and found very efficient solution to it.

Before passing judgment on Ala-ud-Din all the circumstances that produced that poisonous atmosphere should be full reckoned with. Then and then alone can we form an idea of the true greatness that belongs to the Sultan. He became the ruler of such an empire, where nothing was straight or smooth. Internal peace and order was absent, outside invasions were common; the government treasury was empty, the people were hungry, the nobles and jagirdars were disobedient and disloyal, the government officials were inefficient and corrupt and the central authority did not enjoy any power or prestige.
He tried to cure the diseased roots on which the administration rested. But if his prescription did not work smoothly he did not hesitate to make use of the blade.

As his intentions were noble and his prescription apt, he achieved a glorious success.

B. OVERHAULING OF ADMINISTRATIVE MACHINERY

The Sultan Ala-ud-Din Khalji had understood it well that the internal disorder, the invasions of the Mughals, the highhandedness of the jagirdars and zamindars and the suffering prestige of the government all resulted from the weakness of the centre. The power and the perpetuation of a kingdom rests on a strong army and an efficient civil administrative machine. Therefore, he paid his prior attention to this.

As he had been raining gold on his way from Kara to De so he had succeeded in gathering around him 56,000 mounted soldiers (sawars) and 60,000 infantry. But these soldiers were neither well trained nor well disciplined. Moreover their loyce was also doubtful. He took it upon himself to reorganize his might. He constructed new forts and repaired old ones and established new cantonments. He concentrated war material and provi there. He appointed experienced and trusted soldiers as the commanders of these places, equipping them well with the modern weapons of war.

1. Barani, pp, 243, 244.
2, 3, 4, 5. Barani, p, 302.
He changed the recruitment method and method of payment to the army. Previously the nobles were granted jagirs, in return for which they supplied an agreed number of 'sawars' and infantry. This system had inner defect in it, because this army owed its loyalty more to its immediate commander than to the king. Ala-ud-Din discontinued this method once for all. Now the army was recruited in the name of king and was paid in cash from the government treasury. As a result of this system the Sultan became not only the supreme commander but also the paymaster-general of the army as well. And thus he obtained the full loyalty of the army for him. This gave the Sultan a great hold on the army than any one of his predecessors could ever have. Because these soldiers now owed their allegiance directly to him and were bound to their immediate commanding officers only by an official tie and not by one of personal and feudal attachment.

A sufficient salary was fixed for every soldier which amounted to 234 tankahs annually or to nearly twenty tankahs per month plus rations. As this pay was quite considerable keeping in view the abundance of the food grain and other necessaries of life the price of which was regulated under the price control system, profession of a soldier became quite respectable and attractive. Just imagine how much twenty tankahs meant in those glorious days of Ala-ud-Din. One could get two seers of wheat for one jital or one pice and the price of a

2. Barani, p, 303.
   Wasaf, p, 526.
4. Barani, n, 305.
goat was not more than ten pice. Another great advantage to the soldier was that they received their due share from 'ghanais'. and this share many times was so great that according to Isami even the poorest soldiers would become rich over night.

Ala-ud-Din adopted the system of Dagh (branding of the horses) to add to the efficiency of his army and the credit, due to a pioneer, must go to Sultan for having introduced this system of 'Dagh' in Hindustan. This brought to an end every type of fraud and deception. Ala-ud-Din was the first king to put a well equipped army on a regular footing and make it a standing one, because, all others before him, had only their 'body-guards' as a standing army.

He started many ordnance factories for the manufacture of the latest weapons of war. He also made arrangements to keep this army well supplied with horses of the best breed. This step was needed because the supply of good steeds from central Asia had ceased on account of the raids of the Mughals. In fact, when his power was at its zenith, the Sultan had 4,75,000 soldiers in his army and the number of horses in the royal stables near Delhi and its precincts alone was 70,000. Moreover 50,000 personal slaves were always ready to sacrifice their

   Isami, p, 312.
2. Isami, p, 243.
5. Barani, p, 262.
   Wazir, p, 526.
   Afif, p, 272.
lives for the sake of their master. These steps made his army invincible. This army was one of the best in those days and it commanded respect not only in India but also in Central Asia where wild Mughals would tremble in their shoes whenever a reference was made to it.¹

After he had built his army to his satisfaction, the Sultan paid special attention to the reorganisation of Police and intelligence services. In every city and town 'qazis', 'kotwals' and 'muhtasibs' were appointed, and they were helped in their work by a fairly large number of police. It was their responsibility to maintain peace and order in their respective areas and to protect people from thieves, dacoits and thugs. They had to settle the mutual disputes of the people, and also to keep an eye on their religious and moral trends. It was enjoined on them not to discriminate between the rich and the poor in the matter of law and to punish all those who acted against the law. And principle of local responsibility was introduced. Amir Khusrau says that "the very thieves who, before this, set villages on fire, now lit the lamp and guarded the highways; if a traveller lost a piece of thread, the people of the vicinity either found it or paid its price". The result of such measures was that the roads became safe and in the poet's own words, "from the mouth of the Indus to the seashore, no one even heard the name of a thief, a thug or a robber"². The Sultan devoted his maximum attention to hi:

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¹ G.R.I. Vol. III, p, 163.
intelligence system. The agents of this department were present in every corner of the country who kept the Sultan informed of all that went on there. Because of this very efficient system, he knew the activities of his nobles and the government officials and the general public as well. He received timely information as to whatever mischief was about to crop up and this enabled him to nip the evil in the bud. This system bore a rich fruit; for administration became extremely efficient and every man realised his duties and performed them honestly. He did not rest content with the performance of this department alone. He collected information personally through his slaves and servants. This thing kept the spies on the alert and the possibilities of misleading reports reaching him was eliminated.

Thus equipped with these three extremely dependable and useful weapons i.e. a strong army might, efficient civil administrative machinery and very successful espionage system, he struck fiercely at his enemies wherever they were and vanquished them completely.

C. HUMILIATION OF JALALI NOBLES AND HINDU ZAMINDBARS.

At his first opportunity the Sultan gave attention to those forces of disorder which had destroyed the peace of the whole country. The first among them were the Jalali nobles who in the days of their lord and patron Sultan Jalal-ud-Din Firuz Khalji, held positions of high prestige and owned very big jagirs. These nobles administered their jagirs without any interference from the centre and they had armed infantry and cavalry at their disposal.

When Sultan Jalal-ud-Din was murdered at Kara and Ala-ud-Din marched towards Delhi, the capital, in order to occupy the throne then all these Jalali nobles deserted the sons of their deceased king and turned the followers of Ala-ud-Din. There were only a few exceptional cases who did not do this. The cause of the failure of sons of Sultan Jalal-ud-Din and Malika-i-Jahan face of Ala-ud-Din was actually this that their own nobles did not remain faithful to them.

In the beginning Ala-ud-Din won them over to his side by presenting them with large sums of money. He also promoted them in their ranks. But the fact was that on both the sides since was absent and the motives were selfish. Since these nobles had joined Ala-ud-Din's forces for the sake of money and high rank Sultan was not satisfied with their pledge of faithfulness. As a result the moment he found himself secure on his throne he decided to strike at their powerful position. This decision wi:

1, 2, 3. Barani, pp, 244, 251.
based on the demands of statesmanship, Ala-ud-Din had his own followers and friends who had helped him into the position of power. They had to be rewarded for their services and the rewards could be ready money, big jagirs and high ranks. But all this had already been granted to Jalali nobles.

At the same moment the treasury which had been left over by Jalal-ud-Din was almost empty. So in the second year of his accession the Sultan appointed his wazir Musrat Khan to deal with the Jalali nobles. He removed them from the high government offices and turned their jagirs into crown lands. It should be remembered that their jagirs were not their personal property, the gold which they had received from Ala-ud-Din for their treachery towards the sons of their previous master was also taken back from them. It is said that in this way Musrat Khan confiscated property worth about one crore. This brought to an end the influence of the Jalali nobles and strengthened the government treasury. Also the Sultan got a happy riddance from a nobility, whose loyalty was always doubtful. After this he created a new nobility whose distinctive feature was its loyalty and friendship for Ala-ud-Din. This measure of resumption of grants is important as showing that grants were in fact held merely at the king’s pleasure, and were liable to resumption at any time.

A very interesting feature of this story of purge and

2. Barani, p, 250.
punishment is that only three Jalali nobles were spared and they were Malik Qutubuddin Alvi, Nasir-ud-Din Rana, 'Shahnam-e-far', and Malik Amir Jamal Khalji, father of Qadar Khan. These three nobles had remained faithful to the sons of their deceased lord till the last moment. And the glitter of Alai gold had failed to make them traitors. For this display of their faithfulness Sultan Ala-ud-Din spared them and did not let any harm come to their life, their honour and their wealth. And they lived a life of comfort and honour till the end of his period. This clearly shows that Ala-ud-Din attached a very great value to loyalty and faithfulness, even when he found this vir in his enemies.

This weakening of the influence of the jagirdars is one of the most remarkable achievement of Ala-ud-Din. Awe-inspiring Sultan Balban had also tried to do the same but was forced to abandon his efforts and admit defeat.

Then Ala-ud-Din turned to the question of reducing those Hindu landholders who held lands from the state on condition of paying a stipulated amount of revenue. These landholders should be distinguished from semi-independent or independent rajas who did not hold land directly from the state but were allowed to rule over their territories on condition of paying a lump sum to the Delhi Sultan as tribute. These Hindu landholders who acted as a sort of middlemen between the government and the cultivators either as revenue farmers or collectors. They have

1, 2, 3. Barani, p, 251.
4. Tabqat-i-Akbari, p, 74.
been indifferently styled as Muqaddam (headmen) khuts (farmer of revenue) and chaudhris (revenue collector).  

It seems that the Muslim conquest produced but little change in the rural areas, for the country districts at a distance from the metropolis or the provincial capitals remain practically independent under these Hindu chiefs and assignmen were given to them on lands, and they were expected to raise local revenue and pay it to the exchequer.

The Muslim governing class consisting of the Sultan and the Vals (provincial governors) had their sphere of control limited to the towns; it was the Hindu chief who was the link between the provincial governor, usually a Muslim, and the Hindu peasants. These middlemen were responsible for the local administration as well as for the collection of revenue on behalf of the state for which they were given special concessions. Besides getting their dues for the work of collection they were allowed liberal concessions in holding land and pastures for themselves.

But there was no love lost between the Muslim Vals and the Hindu intermediary. Each was suspicious of the other. And while the Muslim master was content to leave the Hindu chiefs and zamindars alone and let them enjoy a larger measure of independence as long as he paid his dues, the latter would avail themselves of every opportunity of collecting money and accumulating the sinews of war. At times they would tyrannize

1. Tripathi, p, 236.
over the peasantry, at others they would become arrogant and politically disaffected. And they were ever ready to form the rank and file of any rebel prince or noble. Such was the case with Malik Chhajju. When he revolted against Sultan Jalal-ud-Din Khalji, he recruited Hindus freely in his army. At the head of an enormous following of Rauats the term Barani employs for the Hindus he marched against the Khalji ruler. Given the slightest opportunity they would assert their complete independence and would refuse to pay his dues to the Muslim Vais (governors).

This is why that Ala-ud-Din adopted repressive measures but he was fully justified because experience had taught that the Hindu peasantry could under no circumstance be neglected and could not be left to be exploited by the Hindu chiefs or intermediaries; and latter could not with impunity be allowed accumulate sinews of war i.e., men and money.

It was too much to hope that these Hindu chiefs, masters of the peasantry and possessed of considerable military force and masters of their domains, enjoying rich legacies, and having a long and unbroken local independence, would always be loyal to their Muslim rulers.

While analysing the causes of rebel lions, Sultan Ala-ud-Din Khalji found the increasing great powers of the Hindu chiefs to be the principal cause; and he set about curtailing them.1

When Ala-ud-Din had not spared the Muslims or hesitate to deprive them of their peculiar privileges, there was no reason why he should have shown any favour to the Hindu offic

Besides the loss of revenue to the state their mutual quarrels were responsible for some political disorder also. Both for political and financial reasons they were to be dealt with. Ala-ud-Din therefore, withdrew all the self-acquired concessions that they had hitherto enjoyed. He abolished all distinction between the different classes of landholders and introduced uniformity. Between muqaddam (headman) and the Bulhar¹ (the village watchman)² he would make no distinction. It was a levelling stroke against the Hindu privileged classes. Neither Muslims nor the Hindu were allowed to enjoy any special privileges in the matter of kharaj.

It is unfair to say that Ala-ud-Din specially aimed at crippling the Hindus as such. The extravagant language used by Barani is indicative of the superficial nature of his observations. It was quite legitimate for strictly speaking, the Khuts and Muqaddams had no right to anything else beyond their share or commission on collection³.

Ala-ud-Din had abolished neither the 'iqta' nor the 'khati' system⁴. His sole object was to abolish privileges that were enjoyed at the expense of the government and contributed to disorder and difficulties in revenue collection. The Khuts continued to live and get their dues (khati)⁵ for their services, but nothing more. They had to pay like others the land, house and grazing taxes⁶.

2. Tripathi, p, 258.
3. Moreland, p, 225. (Bulhar__ a sweeper).
4, 5. Tripathi, pp, 259, 266.
These measures produced the desired results. Firstly the influence of the Hindu privileged classes came to an end. Secondly the government treasury was enriched. Thirdly the tillers of the land not only became safe from illegal exploitation and 'begar' but also enjoyed real peace for the first time in their existence. Before this they were victimized by the khuts, Muqaddams and Chaudhris during their mutual disputes. Now they had no cause for worry and were able to attend to the problems of their land. This made them safe from the hands of the thieves and the dacoits who enjoyed the protection and support of these zamindars. The prevailing atmosphere of peace and security resulted in giving a touch of abundance to the agricultural products.

In undivided India the greatest danger for a Muslim king was from two sides, firstly from the Muslim nobles and secondly from the Hindu zamindars. In Muslim India, the internal disorder, rebellions, the moral crimes, the court-intrigues in short all the forces of disruption were subservient to the interest of these two groups.

The Sultan, in his own characteristic way, found a solution to these threats. He eliminated the various illegal by which these people used to make wealth and this decrease in their wealth brought to an end their military as well as their political strength. In addition to this the Sultan exercised every type of control on these people; so that they should lose their power to dissent. Then it became possible for the Sultan to lead a life of peace and to remain safe from all disturbab

The independent power of these people fell under the control of the Sultan and he used it towards constructive en
PART II
A CRUDE ECONOMIST

A. LAND REFORMS.

Sultan, then, concentrated his attention on improving the condition of the government treasury. Sultan Jalal-ud-Din had left behind a treasury which was empty for two reasons. In the first place he had inherited an empty treasury from Kaikubad and secondly he himself was such a great spendthrift that whatever he found he spent it.

Although Ala-ud-Din had brought great wealth from Deog and it was really immense for a jagirdar but not so far a king. Moreover, a good deal of it had been spent to purchase the loyalty of the army and the Jalali nobles. Now he had to face many problems and the solution of every one of them needed not but the government treasury was not in a position to meet his each and every demand.

The economy of India has been dependent on land and its land products since time immemorial. The prosperity of the country has always been dependent on the growth and development of land. Sultan Ala-ud-Din also looked towards the mother earth for help in the solution of his problems and it was a very wise step. It has been repeatedly mentioned previously that in Mus India a great part of the cultivated land of the country had distributed as ‘jagirs’ ‘waqfs’ and ‘inams’. Here almost all allottees were Muslim. This jagirdari system brought a big decrease in the income of government treasury, the reason being

1, 2. Barani, pp, 243, 247, 248.
that the revenue from land went to the private coffers of the jagirdars and the nobles instead of going to the central treasury.

The first step that the Sultan took was to resume these lands and to convert them to crown lands. In this way he rooted out the jagirdari system from his kingdom, though even after this he granted jagirs to his faithful followers. But these new jagirdars were not different from the big land holders because they had to pay revenue and other taxes to the treasury. This was a very daring step taken by the Sultan. Before him the powerful Sultan Balban had also tried to enforce this step but had failed to do so. As a matter of fact there was no legal hitch in resuming these lands in the name of the government but the real difficulty lay in the opposition of these jagirdars which could take a dangerous shape. This step not only improved the condition of the treasury but also broke the power of the jagirdars. After this every government official was paid his salary from the royal treasury according to his services in cash.

The other group that held the land and the peasants in its cruel clutches was of the Hindu zamindars, consisting of 'Khuts', 'Muqadams' and 'Chaudhris'. They were draining the blood of the peasants and the government alike like a leech and were fattening on it. The real duty of this group was to collect the revenue from the peasants and to deposit it in the government treasury after deducting the due commission known as 'khut

These people enjoyed certain privileges as well. After the death of Sultan Balban when some weak kings sat on the throne of Delhi, these people became disobedient. They started making an unfair use of their knowledge about land and the peasants. They imposed their own taxes on the peasants. ¹ Not only this but they stopped Jizia and Kharaj to the government.² While at the same time they started spending on their own persons the government revenue.³ The result was obvious. The biggest source of government income was blocked. The Sultan took away the privileges enjoyed by these khuts, muqadams and chaudhris and in the matter of payment of the government taxes no distinction was allowed between these privileged classes and the ordinary peasants. Now these people could only have their commission at nothing else. Tripathi⁴ has mentioned in very clear terms that these Hindu zamindars had no right to anything except their fixed commission and the privileges which they enjoyed created in them a sense of disobedience. So neither the Muslims nor the Hindus were allowed to enjoy any special privileges in the matter of kharaj. The measure of their respective losses was according to the measure of the privileges they had hitherto enjoyed.⁵

These steps taken by the Sultan not only produced a big increase in the income of the treasury but also made it more certain and more regular. The end of these privileges also removed their undue pressure on the peasants and stopped their power to amass wealth in unfair ways.

¹,²,³. Naranj, p, 291. ⁴,⁵. Tripathi: pp, 266,258.
The peasant was now free of his previous worries and he could concentrate his attention on increasing land products which brought prosperity to the country.

Now we shall discuss those taxes which were either newly imposed by the Sultan or raised by him. First of all we shall deal with the increase in the rates of the land revenue. The Sultan raised the rate of the land revenue up to fifty percent of the total produce of the land.\(^1\) Now this is the last limit allowed by the Muslim law.\(^2\) Although the Sultan had to face great financial difficulties yet inspite of that he did not cross the limit fixed by the law. It must be remembered that in the case of Sultan Ala-ud-Din the financial difficulties did not crop up because he spent any money on his own personal pleasures. In fact he had to raise a strong army to prepare himself for meeting effectively the threat of the Mughal invasions.

Besides the land tax the government of Ala-ud-Din realized house tax and grazing fees. But to give a relief to the poor peasants and small zamindars, the Sultan exempted two pairs of oxen, two bufalowes, two cows and ten goats from taxation.\(^3\) Any cattle above these figures if sent for pasture had to pay grazing fee provided they were milk producing.\(^4\) As the tax was on grazing, the cattle that were fed at home were exempted from it. The grazing tax probably was responsible for

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the increase in the price of the meat. Instead of removing the grazing tax, Ala-ud-Din abolished the zakat on the cattles. It has not been mentioned why Sultan preferred to lose the cattle tax rather than the grazing fee, which was much less as compared with the former. Probably his object was to prevent the cultivable land from being enclosed for pastures. This was what the khusus and muqadams most likely did, and this Ala-ud-Din was anxious to stop for numerous reasons, especially for the food production on which the economy of the country depended.

It is very surprising that Afif does not mention chera which Firuz included in the list of taxes which he abolished. Grazing dues had been levied on animals since time immemorial. Sultan Ala-ud-Din Khalji was not the first king to levy this tax, but he only gave orders that the tax should be strictly enforced. Unfortunately Barani does not give details of the imposts, but Abul Fazal has given a description of its nature. It was a tax on land liable to pay kharaj, but left uncultivated and enclosed for pasturage. The rates mentioned are low, and if they had been heavy under the Sultan and had brought a large amount of the money to the exchequer Afif would not have completely ignored it.

Another tax which finds mention with chera is karhi.

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1,2. Ibn Batutah (Persian), p, 444.
3. Tripathi, p, 264.
6. Ain-i-Akbari, Book III., Ain, VI.
which some authors have taken to mean a house tax, but which was more probably identical with cheral. There can be no doubt about the antiquity of these taxes. They can be traced back easily to the days of Kautilya. Muslim rulers found it so difficult to eradicate them because the custom was too deeply ingrained in the traditions of the people.

Sultan Ala-ud-Din realised that the taxes were heavy and were bound to tell seriously on all classes particularly the cultivators. He had no sympathy for the well to do class and did not worry about them. But he was anxious to see that the local revenue farmers and land holders who had been deprived of their privileges did not shelve their burden on the shoulders of the poor, as they usually did. These poor peasant of Tripathi were Hindus and not Muslim. At the same time he was no more prepared to be defrauded or suffer from the venality of the revenue officials. In his attempt to find a solution he led further in his reforms.

The first important step he took was to insist on the actual measurement of land. It was the basis of the actual cultivation that he realized taxes. The Muslim law (shar) ever since the time of Omar, the Great, recognized measurement of land as an important basis for assessment. However, Ala-ud-Din

1. Qureshi, p, 248.
3. Qureshi, p, 131.
appears to be the first ruler of India who laid emphasis on the system of measurement. 1 By adopting the system of measurement on a large scale the government could keep a close eye on the land holder, the cultivator and the revenue collectors. This system eliminated all danger of any injustice and the state as the peasants both were in a happy position.

One of the standing evil in the collection of revenue consisted in defective realisation which usually left large balances to be accounted for. 2 As the revenue system was yet in the making and the machinery for assessment and collection was yet undeveloped, unrealised balances were probably inevitable. There was another trouble also. The Central government was already overworked, while bribery among revenue officials, particularly of the lower grades was rampant. 3 To deal with the balances Ala-ud-Din created the office of the Mustakhraj. 4 The duties of the Mustakhraj were to inquire into the arrears lynx in the name of the collectors or agents, and realised them. He was vested with penal powers.

But for curbing the venality of the lower officials he adopted two measures. With the commonsense that he possessed, Ala-ud-Din realised that low salaries of revenue officials exposed them to temptation. 5 He, therefore, raised their

1, 2, 3. Tripathi, pp, 261, 262.
salaries so as to enable them to live in respectability and comfort without resorting to corruption. The pay of a Clerk was equal to a soldier. But that was not enough to improve their moral tone. Ala-ud-Din, therefore, inflicted drastic punishment whenever a man was charged with bribery or embezzlement. On one charge or the other about ten thousand men were extremely humiliated and severely punished. The figure need not be taken literally. These measures considerably checked corruption and bribery, and also enriched the exchequer.

Another important measure of Ala-ud-Din was the examination of the papers (Bahi) of Patwaris with a view to know the exact figures entered in the name of revenue collectors. It was a step in the right direction. Ala-ud-Din was apparent the first Indian rulers whose hands reached as far as the records of Patwaris, which were the best sources of information on all matters pertaining to the land and its revenue.

As to the system of payment, Ala-ud-Din was not very particular about payment in cash. On the other hand he preferred payments in kind as he was anxious to see that his regulations of prices were well carried out. This system proved helpful for the peasants as well. For he could pay his revenue in kind instead of first changing his produce into cash which involved many difficulties.

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1, 2, 3, 4. Barani, pp, 292, 296.
Ferishta, p, 109.
6, 7, Tripathi, p, 263.
8, 9. Barani, pp, 305.
Ferishta, I, p, 112.
These reforms strengthened the position of the treasury. The conquest of Gujrat made it possible to establish trade with foreign countries. Meanwhile, the conquest of the Deccan and the South had also started which brought immense spoil money and regular payment of kharaj from these newly conquered territories. The result was that the government treasury was filled to the brim. This wealth enabled the Sultan to lay the foundation of a very powerful standing army. He also constructed many forts, palaces, mosques and inns. In this way he took many useful steps for the welfare of his subjects.
8. PRICE CONTROL SYSTEM.

After the restoration of complete peace inside the country the Sultan concentrated his attention on a problem which had all along been considered insoluble. This most difficult problem was to bring down the prices of the various commodities essential for life and especially the grain, to a level, where it should be possible for the poorest man to have his fill. There the Sultan succeeded so well that not only his own subjects but even his worst critics regarded it miraculous.

The Sultan was determined to remove the scarcity and the dearthness of grain. He personally looked for some solution, then consulted his ministers and nobles and ultimately reached the conclusion that the imposition of control on the prices of grain could prove effective in this direction. But this was only the first step and quite a simple one too, for the imposition of control on the prices of the grain was not a correct solution. The real measure would have been to supply the grain regularly in the market.

For this purpose he built huge granaries in the capital and other towns and filled them with grain. People were not allowed to purchase more grain than was needed for their actual consumption, nor were they allowed to store it with them.

After harvesting the peasants kept only that much of grain which was needed for the coming year.


Forishta, p, 112.
them which was sufficient for their personal consumption and sold the rest to the agents appointed by the government. Moreover, the peasants were encouraged to carry their produce to the market and sell it there themselves. The officers in the Doab (the most fertile province of the empire) had to furnish guarantees in writing by which they undertook not to permit anyone to hoard up grain. The names of all the corn carriers were registered with the government and they were settled on the banks of Juana. These corn carriers had to carry the grain from one part of the country to the other. If any one of them was idle or dishonest then the whole community was held responsible collectively for this lapse. In addition to this the government appointed inspectors whose duty it was to keep an eye on the working of this system. In case a person was found deviating from this routine, he was to be punished by these inspectors. The Sultan had introduced very severe punishment for this sort of crimes.

All other measures apart the most effective step taken by the Sultan in this respect was the collection of taxes in kind. The result produced by it was the regular flow of grain into the government granaries and markets. Now the government held total monopoly of grain and was the biggest stockist in this respect. This fully solved the problem of sufficient supply of grain to the consumers.

Ferishta, p, 112.
Khair-ul-Bajalis, pp, 240-41.
Isami, p, 307.
forestalling or regrating of corn was penalised. No merchant was allowed to withhold a single 'MAN' of grain and any attempt to sell at an enhanced price even by so much as 'DANG' or 'DIRHAM' was severely punished. The merchants of all parts of the empire had to get themselves registered in a 'nafir' and were placed in charge of the 'SHAHNA-I-MANDI'.

It must be remembered that while no man was allowed to keep a stock of grain in excess of his need and no shopkeeper was allowed to sell to any man more than actually needed by him. It was made binding on the shopkeepers and the Superintendents of the markets that they supplied the required quantity of grain to all the consumers without any hitch and unnecessary waste of time. The Sultan did not want that the old and the ill, the weak or young should face any difficulty in the procurement of grain. If any such case was reported both the shopkeeper and the official responsible for checking the situation were punished.

Barani remarks on the working of the system that even in times of draught no scarcity of grain was felt. Once or twice in times of draught when the Shahna-i-Mandi petitioned to the Sultan that the price of grain might be enhanced by one or a half 'JITAL', he received 20 blows with the stick.

When the rains were deficient, a quantity of grain sufficient for the maintenance of the people was given to the 'BAQYALS' (cron dealer) of every 'MUHALLA' (parish) from the royal granaries and more than half a 'MAN' was not sold to any.

1, 2, 3. Barani, p, 307
4, 5. Ishwari Prasad: Medieval India, p, 249.
purchaser. Similar the great and esteemed people who had no villages or land were supplied grain from the market.

The market was superintended by two officers—the controller of the Diwan-i-Riyast and the Shahna-i-Mandi. These two officers performed their duties with honesty and regularity.

All these measures resulted in a very satisfactory solution of the problem of food for all his subjects. The grain was very cheap and easily available. In those days no body feared dying of starvation, so much so that the no body feared even hunger. Below are given the rates of grain from where it can be judged how cheap it had become.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grain</th>
<th>Per 'man'</th>
<th>Jitals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wheat</td>
<td>7½</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barley</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rice in husk</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bash</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nakhu pulse</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moth</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>(5)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5. Barani, p, 305.

Note: a) A 'man' was equal to 29½ Lb., i.e., 14 pacca seer
b) The value of a 'jital' comes to be slightly litt more than a pice (1/64 of a rupee) of the preser days.

a,b. Journal of Indian History—Allahabad University, (November, 1921), p, 179.

thomas: Chronicles of the Pathan Kings, p, 164.
prosperity of the agricultural class and the agricultural products. The peasants were the backbone of the economy of the country.

The fixation of low prices of the grain was good for almost all the classes except the peasants and others who depended upon land for their livelihood. These people had to sell the grain at very low prices but had to pay dearly for other necessities of life. When the Sultan learnt of these facts he tackled this problem by bringing down the prices of the other commodities in proportion to the prices of grain. He issued a royal decree that nothing should be stored or sold at high rates. It was a crime to overlook this decree. The rule for fixation of the prices was based on the production cost (nirkh-i-braward) plus the profit of the producer\(^1\). Once again the main difficulty here was to make arrangements for the regular supply of these commodities because most of these things were imported from foreign countries. To ensure this the Sultan gave advances\(^2\) to the sultani traders to import these things. All sorts of concessions and facilities were granted for this purpose.

Another step taken was that consumption of these

\(^1\) Barani, p, 316.
\(^2\) Barani, p, 311.

Afif, p, 294.
Ferishta, p, 113.

(Sultan gave twenty lac tankas as advances).
imported items was also controlled, so that people should not purchase them in large quantity considering them cheap. Such things were supplied only to those who got permits from the Superintendent of the Markets. This device was adopted to prevent merchants from buying articles in the market at cheap rates and then so selling them at higher rates in the country, or smuggle them to the foreign countries.

The cattle market was also controlled, and the price of cattle fell considerably. A milk cow could be had for three or four tankas and a she goat for ten or twelve jital.

One useful reform of the Sultan was the suppression of roguery of the brokers in the market. They were in the habit of taking bribes both from the buyer and the seller and by their disorderly conduct created much trouble and confusion. Their leaders who were dishonest, cunning, lawless and addicted to gambling were expelled from the market and punished severely.

The punishment for the violation of the tariff laws were exceptionally severe. The market people sold their goods according to the established rates, but they cheated the purchasers in the weight, especially ignorant people and children. When the Sultan turned his attention to the subject he discovered that the market people, as usual, were acting dishonestly. He, therefore, used to send for some of the poor ignorant boys, who attended to his pigeon houses, and to give them ten or twenty dirhams to go to the market and buy such things as bread, roasted meat, reori, halwa, yakhni, melons, cucumber and so on, and when they came back, the articles

The Sultan was forced to take this step. In the beginning the punishment for weighing less was cane strokes. But the Hindu 'Bania' who instinctively weighed less and used false weights could not be dissuaded from the practice. They did not consider it a bad bargain to receive a few strokes of the cane in return for some jitalis earned in a dishonest manner. It was this attitude which forced the Sultan to adopt these strict measures for which he has been regarded as inhuman by some of the historians. But history is a witness to this fact that the Hindu 'Bania' corrected his weights and measures for the first and the last time during the reign of Sultan Ala-ud-Din Khalji. The vendors were quite frequently kicked out from their shops for dishonest dealings. The result of all this was that the bazar people became quite submissive and ceased to practice deceit and often gave more than the fixed quantity.

Diwan-i-Riyasat made it compulsory for the shopkeepers to keep the iron weights with official stamp on them.

1,2. Barani, pp. 318, 319.
Now we have to see whether this system was in practice all over the country or only in the capital and its precincts. Had it been confined only to the capital it could never have been successful. If it succeeded the reason was that it was practised in the each and every part of the empire. When we talk of the Alai empire we mean, those areas which were under the direct control of the Sultan excluding those areas whose rulers acknowledged the Sultan as their overlord and paid annual kharaj and jizya but were free to administer their internal affairs and such were the states of Deccan and the South. The effects of this system were felt by Maulana Sham Turk at Jultan, and he praised the Sultan for this achievement. Though in the Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi Barani only describes the economic regulations of Ala-ud-Din Khalji with reference to Delhi, he is silent about the provinces, except for some indirect statements that grain was obtained from there and the 'naiks' had the exclusive privilege or duty of bringing it.

But the following paragraph of Fatawa-i-Jahangardari leaves the impression that the Sultan's economic measures were extended to the cities of the Empire. He says, "The king should also know that every arrangement (naqsh) in the matter of buying and selling and price fixation which he makes for his capital will also appear in all his provinces. The officer

1. Barani, p, 298.
and raiyyat of his country will accept it and follow it. The success of this system is said to be based on various reasons. Some of them were an extremely efficient intelligence system, severe and exemplary punishments, the scarcity of money with the people and the absence of other means of loose living such as the drinking and dancing and big feasts.

I am of the opinion that the success of this system mainly depended upon the fact that it was introduced after giving it a proper consideration from every angle by the Sultan and his ministers and nobles. In the words of Zia-ud-Din Barani every one of these ministers and councillors was another Asaf Burkha or Buzurjmehr. Evidently whatever was recommended by them could have no defect in it. And so this system was also almost perfect. The success of this system is a proof of its soundness. The second important reason which added to the successful running of this system was the person of the Sultan himself. His ability, his love of justice, his courage and his sincerity of purpose influenced all, high or low, and made them cooperate with him in the carrying out of his plans.

2-5. Barani, p. 312.
6, 7. Barani, pp. 275, 304.

Note: a) Asaf Burkha was the wazir of the Prophet Solomon and also the son of his aunt.

b) Buzurjmehr was wazir of Nausherman (531-578 A.D.), the Sasanide.
By now masses were fully convinced that this whole system was for their good and if they had to sell their own articles at cheap rates they were able to purchase the other necessities of life at equally cheap rates. This conviction removed from their hearts the very desire to hoard and to sell it at high rates. Such anti-social steps were of no avail now. This new system of price control was so complete and successful that if a man purchased a thing at a certain price he could sell it exactly at the same price even after a lapse of two or three years. There was no fear of the fluctuation in prices and consequently no greed that is born of this fluctuation. The masses were happy and they happily cooperated with their Sultan.

It is said that the Sultan had honest and efficient officers, who made this system succeed. We know that he did not inherit this trained and efficient staff. We also know that there were no such academies during the periods of Sultan Kaikobad and Sultan Jalal-ud-Din Firuz Khalji, where the government officials were trained. The fact is that the whole staff was of the Sultan received the required training from the Sultan himself. His personal ability, his love of justice, his honesty and efficiency, cost their influence on his officers and made them efficient and hard working.

It is said by some that since money had grown scarce in the country blackmarketting and hoarding were discouraged.

1. Barani, pp. 283, 284, 312.
The common people were mostly without money in their possession and even the nobles were not in a very enviable position in this respect. And this condition of extreme poverty led to the success of this system.

But the facts proved the falsehood of all such theories. There was peace inside the country and there was no fear of outside invaders. The peasants were safe from the greedy hands of the jagadams, Chaudris and Khuts, who previously had been eating up the economic resources of the country like a moth. With the end of their unjust privileges the country was steeped in the light of progress and prosperity. The cultivated area increased. The trade with overseas countries touched a new height after the conquest of places like Gujrat. There was a formidable standing army.

In addition to all this the Public Works Department was busy in constructing an endless number of forts, mosques, palaces, inns, and public dispensaries. These activities brought unemployment in the country almost to an end. Although there was some rise in revenue, yet this increase was not such as would create unnecessary difficulties for the common man. At the same time we must not forget that since the Sultan had managed to bring down the prices of the essential commodities in proportion the common man gained tremendously. There was greater prosperity and security than there ever have been before, which means the purchasing power of the people had increased.

1. Barani, pp, 283, 284, 312.
Now we take up the case of the nobles, who, are, in every period of the history, richer than the rest of the people. The end of Jalali nobles gave rise to a new nobility. The members of this new circle received gold in 'Mans' and ready money in lacs of Tankahs. They were given villages to keep them as their jazirs. These nobles were so rich that they themselves showered lacs on others at their pleasure. There are instances to prove that their generosity did not ride a lean horse. The cases of four friends of Ala-ud-Din who bestowed and those of Qazi Lughis and Kotwal Ala-ul-Mulk, who received are well known examples. This also is a recorded fact that the gold which Malik Kafur, brought from Deccan and South was distributed generously by the Sultan among his faithful followers, the nobles, the scholars and the soldiers.

After knowing all this it would be follish to contend that the success of the new system was due to the lack of money in the hands of the common people. Barani was the author of this unfounded theory which was accepted by some of the modern scholars, but the above facts go a long way to prove the intentions here were not kind.

Barani says that the people of that time considered the success of this price control system as something

miraculous, especially as there were no developed means of communication and transportation and feelings of nationalism were also absent. On the contrary the various groups in the country had no unity among them, and the majority of the subjects were Hindus who were deadly opposed to their Muslim rulers. In these circumstances it was indeed miraculous for the system to embrace success—continuously for a quite a long period.

This was an unusual experiment of its kind, unique for its complete success in the whole range of human history. Neither before nor after Ala-ud-Din's period could such a success be achieved by anybody in this respect. Today in almost every country of the world, price control system has been introduced, but no government, how so ever strong can gaurantee the maintenance of the prices at the same uniform level year after year.

The price control system is so much liked by Barani that he advises every king to consider the low price of the means of people's livlihood to be the basis of their good management of their country and of their administration of justice. Because in the cheapness of the requisites of the army and the people's livlihood there are many religious and worldly advantages conducive to the well-being of both the king and the subjects.²

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He further says:

"kneading and selling at high prices are social sin; they do not belong to the category of sins against the self as their harm effects other. Both by the order and the efforts of the king, they can be suppressed. The Divine reward rendering this service is not concealed from the wise."

The low prices of the essential commodities and the consequent prosperity enjoyed by the people became proverbial afterward, Amir Khusrau, Isami, Afif, Barani, all support this fact. Naja Hamid Qalandar quotes, Hazrat Nasir-ud-Din Shah Chiragh Delhvi as saying that Sultan Ala-ud-Din gave so much peace, security and prosperity that people started regarding all that he said or did as ordained by the Almighty himself. They had learnt to take him as a Holy Saint. After his death people would go to his tomb for getting their wishes fulfilled.

Can there be imagined a better way of judging the success of the various experiments.

If we compare the condition of the present day soldier with the Alai soldier, we will have to admit that the latter one was much better off. He got equivalent of twenty rupees a

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7. Siraj-ul-Najalis, pp, 189-190 (Urdu).
his salary and rations but he got wheat at a rate of less than five annas per mound (forty seers). Today's soldier is paid about forty rupees a month but he has to pay rupees twenty for one mound of wheat flour and Rs. six for one seer of Ghee. We can know from this as to how happy and prosperous must have been the Alai soldier and how dignified his life.

By these methods Ala-ud-Din put to an end the greatest social evil which is hunger among the masses. Hungry masses are never faithful to their rulers. Instead of giving cooperation they became potential danger for the life of the king as well as his kingdom, but Ala-ud-Din had succeeded so well in keeping down the prices that hunger was eliminated and people turned devoted to the Sultan.

The economic regulations of Ala-ud-Din Khalji have not been studied with the care which such a study deserves. As a result of this there has been considerable misunderstanding about the need for the introduction of such measures, the purpose they were intended to serve and the persons or classes of person they were intended to serve and the persons or classes of persons they were intended to benefit.

According to Barani, Sultan Ala-ud-Din was upset by the repeated invasions of the Ilughals which paralysed all constructive work in the country, crippled trade and commerce, kept his people in awe and thwarted his programme of imperial expansion. His councillors whom he consulted in this matter agreed with Ala-ud-Din that the creation of a large standing army was essential if the Ilughals were to be kept off this country and if that army was to be paid in cash the salaries had to be lowered.

The idea of a large and standing army on a low scale of pay which had entered and taken possession of the king's mind can never be realised they asserted, unless the price of the horses and the arms and other equipments of the army, the commodities necessary for men and their women and children be greatly reduced and reduced as cheap as water. Ala-ud-Din thought over it but told his officers that the enforcement of

1,2,3,4. Barani, pp, 303,304.
price control would mean resorting to killing, cruelty, terrorism and unlimited punishments. The officers admitted that strong measures would certainly be necessary but there was no other alternative if the measures were to succeed. Ala-ud-Din thus according to Barani had full official support for his proposed legislation but he was actuated by military urgency and not philanthropist motive.

Before going to the other contemporary historians for their opinion, let us make a final analysis of Barani’s view here. His opinion is that all these reforms were necessitated by the military urgency. This is true that Ala-ud-Din needed a large standing army. For this reason, according to Barani, he could not pay his soldier more than 234 tankahs as their annual salary but was this amount really so small as to be insufficient for a soldier to maintain himself and his family? Secondly did the treasury become empty every year after making this payment? Was the Sultan left devoid of all means to fulfil other military needs, such as the construction of new fort and purchase of other war materials? Was it to overcome this difficulty that the extremely low prices were introduced?

The fact is that 20 tankahs per month, the pay fixed by Ala-ud-Din for his soldier, could not be called a low pay by any standard. A tankah was the equivalent of modern rupee.

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1, 2, 3, 4. Barani, pp. 303, 304.

Ishawari Prasad: Journal of Indian History, Allahabad, November, 1921, pp. 170, 171.
but even before the introduction of Ala-ud-Din's price control system its purchasing power was many times more than our rupee.

If we compare the pay of the Alai soldier with the pay of a soldier seven hundred years after during the World War II we are struck with the disparity and have to admit that the Alai soldier lived a level far higher than is allowed to his counterpart today. The English did not pay their Indian soldier more than sixteen rupees per month and even today a soldier does not get more than forty rupees including all allowances.

All these facts make it clear that Barani was not stating the truth when he said the low price were introduced to feed the soldiers and their families at their low salaries, which otherwise would have been insufficient.

Sultan Ala-ud-Din had a standing army of 4,75,000¹ soldiers at the time of his zenith. Paying an individual 234 tankahs annually he had to provide about 11 crore tankahs for this purpose. Now we can judge for ourselves that this total amount was not so great as to make it essential for the Sultan to impose the price control system.

For this amount a great Sultan like Ala-ud-Din was not in need of bearing all the headache which was necessary to put the system on sound footing since people previously had never heard of any such thing. When Barani says that the Sultan displeased his officials and earned the censure of his subjects, he appears prejudiced and at fault.

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¹ Perishtta, p. 114.
Masaf, p. 52.
It is very obvious from the recorded facts that the aims of this price control system was neither military urgency nor the poor condition of the government treasury but something higher and nobler. Let us see what was the real object before the Sultan that he took this step.

There are two other writers, who take a different view. According to them price control was introduced along with state procurement of articles of use and control of consumption of the same because of the anxiety which Ala-ud-Din felt about the hardships which common man had to face because of non-availability of commodities or of prohibitive prices in the market.

According to Isami the Sultan's attention was drawn to the acute hardships suffered by his subjects because of famine while he enjoyed himself in his palace. The Sultan felt ashamed and immediately decided to renounce wine and ordered that grain should be distributed from the royal granaries, that prices be fixed at the former level and the hoarders be punished.

The above is corroborated by the testimony of Hamid Qalandar the compiler of Khair-ul-Majalis. When Ala-ud-Din had just inaugurated his economic regulations for the reduction of prices, one of his high officers Qazi Hamid Sultan on (whom Barani very unjustly abuses) paid a visit to Oudh.

1. Isami, pp, 312-315.
    Diraj-ul-Majalis, pp, 159-190.
A great dinner was given in his honour and when the mass of the
guest had retired, the Qazi related the following anecdote to
a small circle of friends one of whom was the famous mystic
Shaikh Nasir-ud-Din Shah Chiragh Dehlvi.

"Qazi Hamid Munktani entering the royal chamber one
day found Ala-ud-Din in a state of complete mental collapse.
He was sitting on a low stool supporting his head on one of
his hands; his turban had fallen down, he seemed to be un-
conscious of the things around him and he took no notice of
the visitor. Qazi Hamid got frightened; he came out silently
and informed Malik Jara Beg, another highly trusted officer.
The two then entered the Sultan's room in considerable per-
plexity. Jara Beg addressed Ala-ud-Din in a low voice, Is the
Sultan of Islam not well? Ala-ud-Din opened his eyes like
one awakening from a trance, His statement as reported to us
as ran, as follows:-

'A deep thought has been perplexing me for a long
time and I have found a solution just now. There
are thousands of persons better than me in this
country and yet God in his kindness has been
pleased to put me over the head of all. How can
I prove myself worthy, of this divine favour by
serving all the people of God? If I distribute
my treasures among the needy, the services rendered
will be negligible. If I order all government pros-
perties and land to be distributed to the poor they
will not suffice for the purpose. Just now I have
discovered a plan. There are in my dominion Naiks who have 10,000 or 20,000 beasts of burden. I will arrange with them for the constant flow of corn into the city (Delhi) so that its price is reduced. Then all the people of God will be benefitted.  

Isamī completed his book Fatuh-us-Salatin in 750-51 A.H. and Khair-ul-Rajalis was completed in 755-56 A.H. Barani wrote his book, Tarikh-i-Durrul-Shahi seven or eight years after Isamī. Is Fatuh-us-Salatin, somewhere in 758-59 A.H. like Barani, Isamī andHasid Kalander are also contemporary historians. Sultan Ala-ud-Din died in 716 A.H. All the three books written by the contemporary historians were completed in the same decade about forty years after the death of the Sultan, though they were written by different people residing at different places. It would appear greatly unjust and unreasonable to accept Barani and ignore the other two. The other two books too were written many years after the death of the Sultan, so we can say it for certain that the facts mentioned in these books were not twisted under fear of punishment or the hope of reward. On the contrary Barani is self-contradictory that he cannot be placed higher than the other two for an authentic treatment of facts.

So the conclusion is that all the reforms introduced by Sultan Ala-ud-Din were for the betterment of the lot of his...

2. Hardy: Historians of Medieval India, p, 95.
3. Siraj-ul-Duratalis-Dibach, p
4,5. Hardy, p, 29.
6. Ferishta, p, 123.
people. His only aim in life was to achieve the pleasure of God and he decided that he could succeed therein only by serving the creation of God. We have to acknowledge that his approach was correct and we also know that nothing great can be done by any mortal unless there is a passion behind it, a passion that knows no compromise. His good intentions must have pleased God who granted him an unparalleled success in his mission.

If at all, we agree with Barani that whatever Sultan Ala-ud-Din did was the demand of the military urgency which was created by threat of Mughal invasions, even then this achievement remains great.

The ultimate conclusion is that whatever the motives, the price control system, brought down the prices of the essential commodities so low that no body was left in want. People were prosperous and happy. For this achievement of his Maulana Shams-ud-Din Turk allots him a place in the ranks of the prophets on the day of judgement.

Ala-ud-Din's measures had full support of his subjects is testified to by numerous complementary reference in the Walfurat, of the period. Long after Alauddin's death people look to his reign when articles of daily use were to be had in plenty and at moderate prices. There could be no great testimony to the value of his work and the public

1. Barani, p, 298.
Afif, pp, 293-94.
Ibn-Batuta (Persian) p, 444.
Irami, pp, 312, 314, 315.
appreciation of the same than the fact recorded in the

mufurzat that Ala-ud-Din's tomb became a place of pilgrimage and people in distress went to his tomb and tied threads there and sought his benedictions. The 'tyrant' of Barani lost his terror and people remembered only the good that he had done them during his lifetime.
CHAPTER V

RELIGIOUS POLICY

Every student of the history of the Medieval India is aware of this fact that Zia-ud-Din Barani, the famous historian is self contradictory. He is extreme in his likes and dislikes. Still it is not possible to ignore him while making a search for the facts pertaining to the period of Sultan Ala-ud-Din Khalji. The reason for this is not only his being the contemporary of the Sultan but also the truth that he has nowhere tried to conceal the facts. But at the same time, he has given a very bold expression of his own opinions. In consequence of this the readers of the Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi are lost in the labyrinth of his personal opinions, but it is not impossible to reach at the facts which do not always conform to his opinions.

Barani does not held the Sultan in any measure of esteem for he did not consider him a staunch and a true Muslim. To him the Sultan was not very particular in saying his prayer or in the observance of fasts. He was an illiterate man who did not sit in the company of the learned and the saintly. His vast wealth had influenced the pattern of his thoughts. He did not show due regard to the Quranic injunctions while handling the affairs of his government. This indifference towards the tenet of Islam in his day to day life and while administering the

2. Barani, p, 262.
state affairs was a matter for concern according to Barani who
grew prejudiced against the Sultan and whatever he wrote about
that period bore this colour.

In my opinion before considering the various statement
of Barani in this regard we should study carefully the ideas
and inclinations of Barani himself in the matter of religion.
So long as we do not keep in mind his understanding of religio
his political views and the frustration of his old age along-
with the bitterness which they brought to him we cannot fully
analyse the reasons behind his disparaging comments.

Barani's mind was not free as it was under the influence
of the some social prejudices. He believed in the impor-
tance of nobility of the birth and heritage and he wanted
that the distinction between the high and the mean should be
maintained. On the contrary Sultan Ala-ud-Din had abolished
all these distinctions which rested on ancestral claims. He
valued personal virtues above everything else. Barani could
not reconcile himself to these views which were in complete
opposition to his own social values.

Barani wanted the Sultan to show no soft corner to
the Hindus, he was not willing to accept Hindus as Zimmis,
for he believed that no book had been revealed to the
Hindus nor had they received any divine messenger among
them. He was averse to the idea of granting them religious

   Barani, pp, 97, 105 (Afsar Begum).
freedom and economic prosperity.\textsuperscript{1}

Such differences of opinion were most vital in lending a sharp edge to Barani's hatred for the Sultan. Add to this the bitterness which fell to Barani's share in his old age because of his personal unhappiness and we have obtained the key to open deep into the prejudices of Barani against the Sultan.\textsuperscript{2}

No other contemporary historian except Barani has complaint against the Sultan's indifferent attitude towards religion. Such authentic sources as Amir Khusrau, Amir Hasan, Isami, Wasef, Raja Hamid Qalandar, Amir Khurd and Jamali have all praised the Sultan for his love of religion.\textsuperscript{3}

The fact is that if we study Barani, not piecemeal but as whole and keep in view the composite picture of the Ala period as he has drawn it, we are fully convinced of the baselessness of the popular notions that the Sultan had adopted an erroneous attitude towards religion.

Barani himself has admitted that Sultan Ala-ud-Din Khalji was a very faithful believer in Islam like the rest of the Muslims and he never uttered a word against his faith unlike, those who were irreligious or ill-disposed towards religion.\textsuperscript{4}

In addition to the above facts the dialogue between the Sultan and Qazi Lughis as reported in Tarikh-i-Firoz Shah

\textsuperscript{1} Barani, (F.T), (Afsar Begum), pp, 46-48.
\textsuperscript{2} Barani, p, 339.
states in unmistakable words Sultan's faith in Islam and his pride in being an adherent to this faith. He was fully conscious of his lack of learning but at the same time he hoped to get heavenly mercy for he remained busy, every moment of his life, enforcing measures which were meant for the welfare of his subjects.1

We should remember that he was not totally illiterate. On the contrary according to Ferishta he was quite well versed in Persian, so much so that he could read even Khat-i-Shikasta (broken letters).2 Jamali also conforms too this fact.3

Like Qazi Mughis, Qazi Zia-ud-Din Maulana Zahee Le Maulana Khubrami, Amir Khusrau, Amir Hassan Sijzi formed his company and these contacts had given him a sufficient understanding of the true religious spirit. When Qazi Mughis advised him openly in the court to deal severely with the Hindus, for according to him this was the demand of Islam, the Sultan refused to be persuaded by him.5 Also the events of the rest of his life bear ample witness that he never bowed to any such suggestion as were in contradiction of the genuine teachings of Islam.

It has been alleged against him that he intended to found a new religion and it was his faithful Kotwal Ala-ul-Mu

2. Ferishta, p, 110.
5. Barani, p, 304.
who, with difficulty, succeeded in keeping him away from this step.\footnote{1}

"In this respect one thing needs special mention here and that is that no other contemporary historian has stated that Ala-ul-Din ever wanted to force upon his people a new religion.

Barani is the only one to make this allegation. Now, it is a well known fact that Barani had no access to the private sittings of the Sultan. Barani's uncle Ala-ul-Mulk was a favourite with the Sultan but Barani disliked even him and has not said a good word for him. If, at all, the Sultan had any such intentions of becoming the founder of a new religion, he changed his decision when he was convinced of his erroneous thinking and expressed his regrets over this.\footnote{2} We must give due credit to him for his acceptance of the path of reason. Here, at least, he rises far above Akbar, the Great, who fell a victim to his own conceits and showed his strong headedness. The Sultan, never again, thought of any such plans and remained a firm adherent to his faith that is Islam.

Sultan and Ulema. According to Barani, the Sultan did not possess any religious knowledge. He established no contact with the Ulema and did not care to consult them in the conduct of his state affairs, so that he could make his decisions in the light of 'sharialat' and Traditions.\footnote{3} But if we analyse the facts as stated by Barani, we definitely cannot conform to th

conclusions drawn by him. Rather we find his own statement contradicting his conclusions, which are no more than mere allegations.

The Ulema and the learned were always present in his Court, they even went to his private sittings very often. It is a well known fact that Ala-ul-Nulk and Qazi Mughis dared point out his mistakes in the court. This is more than enough to prove that the Sultan, not only received their counsel but also accepted their suggestions whenever he found them sound.

History offers only rare examples of such autocrats, who could be found fault with in the open court for their doings. Even when the kings were censured for their wrong deeds in the name of religion, they were not tolerant of such outspoken opinions. Sultan Ala-ud-Din Khalji was one of those rare exceptions who bowed before sound advice in matters of religion, confessing openly his mistakes, if any were made. From this we can judge clearly that whereas the Ulema of that time were never afraid to express their honest opinion, without mincing matter the Sultan was also devoted to the faith which he held and never considered himself above the dictates of that faith.

The Sultan sought the advice of Qazi Mughis in settling the rights of the non-Muslim and punishing the criminals. Even in the matter of the allowances granted to the royal family and in the management of Silt-ul-Mal, he wanted to know the limit

1. Barani, pp. 265-67
   Ferishta, p. 105.

2, 3. Barani, pp. 290-96
   Tabaqat-i-Akbari, pp. 76-77.
imposed by 'shariat' and did his best not to transgress these limits. These are by far the most important problems that a Muslim ruler has to deal with. The Sultan evinced a keen interest in knowing that the Law had to say as regards them, so that he could settle them accordingly.

Ulema as a class have been wielding great political influence in Muslim society and this influence was mostly used for upsetting the administration. Students of history are fully aware of the political upheavals that resulted from this influence. The Sultan Ala-ud-Din knew this and decided not to allow any group, be that of the Ulema, the provincial governors, the military generals, the Hindu zamindars or the Muslim sufiis to exercise such an influence on administration. He put an end to the political power of the Ulema, who in the past had been deviating them from the path of their scholarly life.

It was a great achievement of the Sultan, an achievement which should ever remain unforgettable in the annals of Muslim India that he pulled the Ulema out of the mire of dirty politics and put them on the path of a steady pursuit of knowledge and deeds sanctioned by religion. It may be said that what he did to set the Ulema on the way to learning was done with political motives. And he only wanted to break their power. Even if we exceed this point one thing remains clear. The Ulema took to the task of reform and welfare of the general public. What ever the motives this new direction of the activities of the Ulema was no mean achievement.
The result was that the Ulema of Alai period became known for their straight forwardness and the courage which they proved by uttering what they considered to be the truth. The earlier Ulema had lost their spirits to such a deplorable degree that they dared not tell a weak man like Sultan Kaikuabad where he left the path of righteousness and truth. But the Ulema of Alai period were not afraid to criticise a strong and awe-inspiring Sultan like Ala-ud-Din, if he violated the laws of Shariat. Even though that might have been done because of the lack of sufficient knowledge. Their truthful utterances were made so unflinchingly that it became evident that they would not have spared any sacrifice to upheld what was correct. And no opinion, how so ever prejudiced, can deprive the Sultan of his part of this credit. It was a great attribute of the character of the Sultan that he rewarded the Ulema for their fierce criticism of his steps either in his personal or political life, which they considered against the spirit of the Shariat. He praised them for their outspokenness and admired their parents who had inculcated in them this love of truth. The Sultan smashed their political influence, but he enhanced their prestige in the field of religion and scholarship. This treatment of the Ulema changed their way of thinking. "In his time great men like Qazi Mughis and Maulana Sanamí took the place of others such as Minhaj Siraj, Najam-ud-Din Sughra and Hasan Darvesh".

Sultan Aa-ud-Din Khalji had great faith in the sufis and saints. Whenever in trouble he sought their spiritual favours. Here I would like to mention in detail the relations that the Sultan had with the sufis of his times.

Let us see, first of all, the Sultan's relationship with Shaikh Nizam-ud-Din who was the most revered saint of his period. According to Barani, Shaikh Nizam-ud-Din was a worthy heir to the traditions of Shaikh Junaid Baghadi and Shaikh Hayazid Naustani. He was so popular that all and sundry including the nobles and the slaves considered it a privilege to present themselves in his service. It was the height of blessing for a man to owe allegiance to the great saint.

This popularity bred jealously in some, who poisoned the ears of the Sultan against him, telling him that the Shaikh had assumed the leadership of the populace. They whispered to the Sultan that everyone bowed his head in allegiance to the Shaikh and was proud of it. This might lead to some internal disturbances aimed against the Sultan. This happened during the early period of the Sultan's reign. He became suspicious, but he did not take any hasty step against the Shaikh, which would later on prove inappropriate. In order to make an assessment of the Shaikh's political thinking, he sent Prince Khizr Khan with a letter to him. In that letter he had request

2. Barani, p, 343.
the Shaikh to give him advice in administering the affairs of his kingdom for he regarded the Shaikh as the 'Master of the World'. He beseeched his guidance, which should lead to the good of his subjects as well as his own personal good. The Sultan hoped to be able to know as to what extent did the Shaikh's political ambitions stretch themselves. When Khizr Khan presented himself before the Shaikh with that letter, the Shaikh did not read it at all and said, "The Darveshes have nothing to do with the kingly problems and I am a darvesh. I live away from the city in a quiet corner, where I pray for the welfare of the Muslims and their king. If the king makes any further references to me in this regard, I shall shift from here, for this earth of God is very vast."

When the Sultan learnt of this reply, he was fully satisfied and stated that he never thought that the Shaikh could have any political or worldly ambitions. He knew, it were only his enemies who wanted him to quarrel with such a man of God, so that this dispute should lead to the destruction of the country. After this the Sultan sent his heartfelt apologies and also to seek permission for him to present himself and beg forgiveness in person.

In response to this request the Shaikh made it known that he would pray for the welfare of the Sultan even in his absence and there was no need for him to come personally. He

1,2. Siyar-ul-Aulaa, pp, 134-135.
Further said that prayers offered for a person in his absence were always more effective. Even after this assurance the Sultan insisted on seeking a meeting with the Saint. At that the Shaikh sent a word to the Sultan that his house had two doors and if the Sultan entered through one of them he would leave through the other.¹

Barani while discussing this event, has blamed the Sultan for not showing any keenness to meet the Shaikh or to invite him to his own residence.²

He says that others people on the contrary, came from thousands of miles and used all available influences to be able to present themselves personally before the Shaikh.³ This statement of Barani has been accepted by Professor Habib⁴ but in my opinion the facts as stated by Mir Khurd are reliable in every respect, the reason being that Mir Khurd⁵ has been accepted as a trust-worthy scribe. He is not known to have attributed anything to the Shaikh which was not spoken by him. Moreover, the attitude that the Shaikh adopted towards Sultan Ala-ud-Din was the same which he had shown towards the other Sultans.⁶

Although history does not record any meeting between these two monarchs of their respective worlds, one of the temporal and the other of the spiritual, yet it is well known that the Sultan always showed his immense reverence for the

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Shaikh and remained humbly linked with him. When in trouble he sought the spiritual help of the Shaikh. When the Sultan despatched his army to Warangle to conquer that territory and failed to receive any news about that for many days, he looked up to the Shaikh for his blessings. Barani has stated that the request which the Sultan made to the Shaikh was made through Shaikh Qara Beg and Qazi Mughis. The message was, "As I have received no news about the condition in which the forces of Islam are cast, I am very much worried on their account. It is evident that you have far greater love of Islam in your heart. If through your spiritual intuition you have become aware of what is happening to our forces, kindly impart that knowledge to me as well." The reply of the Shaikh was very encouraging. He said that the present triumph was a minor and for he hoped for even bigger triumphs. The Sultan was greatly pleased on hearing this reply because he considered it a prediction of the events to come. He said that whatever was uttered by the Shaikh was significant and it was his faith that all would come true. He felt sure that Warangle had been conquered and he could expect many more triumphs. Then after a while when he received the news of the conquest of Warangle his faith in Shaikh Nizam-ud-Din became more deep rooted.

Barani writes, "The faith of Sultan in the spiritual powers of the Shaikh increased tremendously though they never

1, 2, 3. Barani, p. 331.

Tahqat-i-Abhari, 1, pp. 166-167.
out in person. Throughout his period of rule the Sultan never uttered a word which should annoy the Shaikh. Those who were jealous of the influence which the Shaikh commanded over a large number of the populace, caused false stories against the Shaikh and criticised the way food and gifts were distributed by the Shaikh. They carried such tales to the Sultan which were calculated to do harm to the reputation of the Shaikh but the Sultan turned a deaf ear to such talk which was the outcome of nothing but jealousy and ill intentions. In his last years his attachment with the Shaikh had become extremely deep.\footnote{1}

In the words of Muzam-ud-Din Bakhshi, the Sultan never missed a chance to express his faith in the Shaikh by sending his offerings and making repeated requests for his spiritual blessings.\footnote{2}

Jamali has also written down about the understanding that existed between the two. He says that Sultan had commissioned Zare Beg to note down those verses, during the recitals, which sent the Shaikh into ecstasy and to present them to him. Malik Qara Beg wrote down such verses and brought them to the Sultan who was greatly touched by them. Jamali says that the Sultan recited them again and again and kissed them.\footnote{3} On this, Malik Qara Beg asked the Sultan as to why did he not go personally to the Shaikh when he bore such deep devotion

\begin{itemize}
\item 1. Barani, p. 332.
\item 2. Tabqat-i-akbari, I, p. 167.
\item 3. Jamali, p. 74.
\end{itemize}
towards him. The Sultan replied, "O, Qara Beg", I am a king in this world and being worldly I am steeped in it from head to toe. On account of this pollution I am ashamed of myself and dare not present myself personally before such a holy man. You better take both of my sons Khizr Khan and Shadi Khan and place them at his feet and request him to accept them as his spiritual disciples. At the same time take two lac tankas as offerings to show my gratitude."

Syed Amir Ali in his famous book the Spirit of Islam has called Sultan Ala-ud-Din as the spiritual disciple of Sheikh Nizam-ud-Din Aulia.

In the light of the above facts, we reach the sure conclusion that the Sultan was greatly devoted to the Sheikh who showed every kindness on him and always prayed for his welfare.

Sultan Ala-ud-Din was very well disposed towards other spiritual leaders as well and had amicable relations with the

The Sultan held Sheikh Baha-ud-Din Hultani, the famous divine of the age who was the grand son of Sheikh Baha-ud-Din Zikiri. Hultani, in great esteem.

It is written in Siyar-ul-Arifeen that he twice visited the court at Delhi and the Sultan would go out of his capital to receive him and brought him there displaying great honour and respect towards him. On the day of his arrival he

1. Jamali, (1.5), p, 74.
was presented two lac tankas which he distributed in charity the same day. On the day of his departure he was offered five lac tankas which went the same way.

Sultan Ala-ud-Din showed great respect and reverence to Abu Ali Shah Qalandar of Panipat. It is also said that the Sultan sent some gifts to Abu Ali Shah Qalandar through Amir Khausrau.

The above discussion has been conducted with the view to prove that Sultan Ala-ud-Din Khalji was a true Muslim and very firm in his faith, and had great respect for the Aulia.

Forty years had elapsed since the murder of the last Abbasid Caliph at the hands of the Mughals and his place at Baghdad was still unoccupied. In spite of this fact, in the kingdom of the Sultan, Khutba was read in the name of the Caliph and among the titles of the Sultan were included such as Nasir Amir-ul-Mominin and Yamin-ul-Khilafat etc. Even on his coins were stamped the above two titles. The Sultan himself was an mighty ruler controlling vast territories and commanding a formidable army and holding vast wealth, yet he showed respect for the Caliph at Baghdad who at the moment was non-existant. The reason for this practice could not have been in any way political. It was that deep faith, which had taken a firm root in the Islamic world with the passage of time. This belief was spread among the Muslims that the Abbasid Caliph

Wright, pp, 88-91.
was the successor of the Holy Prophet and he was to be considered the head of the Muslim world.\(^1\) His consent was essential to rule over any part of the world and if the rule was not approved by that August Personag it was unlawful.\(^2\) No person was entitled to hold any part of the Islamic world under his sway unless he acknowledged the Caliph at Baghdad as his overlord and beseeched his consent for conducting the affairs of a kingdom.\(^3\) Looking at the situation prevailing then we realise that Sultan Ala-ud-Din could not gain any worldly advantage by showing this allegiance to the murdered Caliph. It was his devotion to the cause of Islam and his desire to obey what he regarded as the will of the Prophet which bound him to acknowledge the overlordship of the Caliph.

The nobles and the Ulema of Delhi found this way out of this dilemma that the Sultan of Delhi should declare himself the Caliph of the Muslims and Delhi should be made Dar-us-Islam. They argued that the greatest Islamic Kingdom at the moment was the kingdom of Delhi. Moreover, many Muslim princes, Sheikhs, Syeds, Qazis, divines and others had found refuge from the atrocities of the Mughals in this kingdom. But Sultan Ala-ud-Din Khalji did not adopt the title and continued with the titles of Nasir-i-Amir-ul-Mominin (Helper of the Caliph) and Yamin-ul-Khilafat (Right hand of the Caliph). All this while his court poets Amir Khusrau and Hassan Sijzi celebrate

\(^1,2,3\). Arnold: The Caliphate, pp. 31-34, 73, 74, 101, 102.
him as the Caliph of Islam in their poems. It goes to the credit of the Sultan that he did not take such a step, though many political gains could have occurred from it. On the contrary, the weakest ruler of this dynasty Sultan Qutub-ud-Din Mubarak Shah had adopted the title of Caliph and no voice had been raised against him. In the light of these facts what else could have dissuaded Sultan Ala-ud-Din from calling himself the Caliph of the Muslims except his love of Islam.

Sultan Ala-ud-Din Khalji had to fight many battles against the Mughals. He penetrated deep into the south and conquered vast territories there. But he has been discredited for such deeds and it is said that he fought against the Mughals to save his crown and conquered the different states of Deccan with the aim of amassing wealth through plunder. Now this interpretation is based on ignoring the true importance of the measures taken by the Sultan. The reality is that whatever gains fell to him from these expeditions were petty as compared with his achievements in defending Islam and in enhancing its influence and prestige in the sub-continent.

The Mughal invasions were not only a threat to the life and the throne of Sultan Ala-ud-Din but also to the existence of Islam in India. That was the period when the power of the Mughals was at its zenith and they would have vanquished the whole of the Indo-Pak sub-continent if there was no opposition from a mighty king like him. Without such a resistance Islam

   Ḍhanī Khusrau: Khazain-ul-Futuh, pp. 5, 7.
2. Thomas, pp. 179, 182.
   Wright, pp. 96-102.
3. Aiyangar: South India and Her Muhammadan Invaders, p. 91.
might have been banished from this part of the world. No doubt in Central Asia Islam and as a result Islamic kingdoms came into power just after the rise of the Mughals, but in India the situation was totally different. Here was a vast majority of the Hindus, inimical and ill-disposed towards Islam and the Muslim rule and they missed no opportunity to destroy them. Had the Mughals defeated the forces of Ala-ud-Din and conquered India, they would have been absorbed by the Hindu society in due course of time, as had happened to many other invading nations and religions before the Muslims came here. Evidently, not only the Muslim kingdom would have fallen, but even Islam might have been completely wiped out from India. The fight of Ala-ud-Din against the Mughals was not only to save his own throne but also an indirect attempt to save Islam from extinction in this part of the world. Therefore, Sultan Ala-ud-Din rightly deserves the noble title of Saviour of Islam and the Defender of the Faith.

During the southern expeditions a group of war prisoners who could only recite 'Kalima' was presented before the royal commanders. These people knew nothing and practiced nothing else of Islam. These were Moplas, who were just like the Hindus in every respect. Their forefathers had been converted to Islam by the Arab traders but the present generation was totally ignorant of the teachings of Islam. So the orders were issued that who soever of them could recite 'Kalima' should be left free like other Muslims and his life and possessions should find protections with the conquering
armies. Had the Sultan and his generals been greedy and mere plunderers, they could have taken these Moplás to task and not found such a slight pretext to spare them their lives and their belongings.

That the Sultan was truly devoted to Islam becomes clear from his efforts which he made to invite the Hindu rajas to Islam promising them every protection and an equitable treatment. Hindu rajas were not the only ones who received this invitation from the Sultan. The Mughal Chiefs who were to brought to him as war prisoners were offered exactly the same terms. All Beg and Tartak were the two Mughal Chiefs who embraced Islam and they were rehabilitated as nobles at the court of the Sultan receiving regular allowances, titles, slaves and jagirs and such other rewards.

In his days nothing that was against the Islamic practices was allowed to be openly practiced. And every effort was made to put them to an end. It was a crime to brew wine or to sell it. The use of all other intoxicants was prohibited. He closed all gambling dens, ale-houses and brothels. The pattern of these houses of ill fame and those who made efforts to revive these institutions were punished severely by the Government. The sin of adultery was punished

1. Aiyangar, p, 99.
   Aiyangar, p, 93.
3. Isami, p, 298.
   Wasaf, p, 527.
   Fehirsha, p, 109.
   Khusrau, p, 19. (K.F).
5. Barani, p, 284.
as told by Islam. The Abahties were severely punished for their immoral pattern of life. The most prominent part of all this struggle to help prevail this spirit was the fact that the Sultan set his personal conduct as a glorious example. When he prohibited the use of wine and other intoxicants he did not exempt himself from the hold of law. He gave up drinking and destroyed all the accessories of the royal drinking house. In fact the Sultan's period resulted in putting an end to such evils as have mentioned above and the success of the measures taken to banish these sins from the Empire of Ala-ud-Din Khalji was based on the severe punishment accorded to the offender irrespective of the religion their status or their influence.

The modern view is that the Sultan punished the offenders in an inhuman way. Even some of the contemporary Ulema considered the punishments as too severe. The Sultan contended that the 'messengers' of God had ordained it on the people to avoid those sins. Although, if the people had indulged into such sins the Sultan would have suffered no personal loss, yet he wanted to enforce these laws, even if he had to be extremely harsh. He knew the mentality of the common masses fully well and he knew that they never desisted from the path of sin even though the Quran and the Hadith might be taught to them a thousand times. He believed that

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5. Isami, p, 293.  

5, 6, 7. Barani, p, 296.
the fear of punishment alone could check people from leading the path of sins. Another useful outcome of the severe punishment accorded to the offender is that it serves as an eye opener to the rest of the people. In this way what may seem unduly cruel to one man helps the others to curb their desire to pursue these sinful pleasures.

Moreover, these severe punishment given by Ala-ud-Din to the culprits were due to the spirit of age also, Sultan was contemporary of Chengaz and Haluku's successors. The people of middle ages understood only the language of sword and whip. Therefore, this factor should not be ignored while criticising his severity.

Sultan was always busy looking after the welfare of his subjects. Result of his economic reforms was that necessities of life were available very cheap and in abundance throughout the length and breadth of his vast Empire. The purchasing power of the masses had very much improved and the signs of peace and prosperity were visible every where. In the Malfuzat of Shah Chiragh Dehlvi it is written that the main cause of the introduction of all these reforms was Sultan's sincere desire to do something solid for the welfare and betterment of his subjects. This version is also supported by Isami, another contemporary historian.

1. Isami, p, 294, 312.  
Barani, p, 329.  
Isami, pp, 293, 240.  
Khusrau (K.F), p, 21.  
Afif, pp, 293, 294.  
Siraj-ul-Majalis, pp, 189, 190 (Urdu).  
4. Isami, p, 293.
His belief was that he was answerable for the sufferings of his subjects on the day of judgement. And this was the reason that he, himself gave up drinking. Sultan was not a bigot. He was very liberal towards the Zimmis and their lives, honour and property were very dear to him and every possible step was taken for their protection.

They were given religious freedom. The doors of governmental services were opened for them. Trade and Agriculture of a country was under their control. They were patronised by the Sultan very liberally and were even granted loans from the royal treasury to expand their business.

Pages of history are silent to quote even a single instance of forced conversion of the Hindus to Islam. Neither any one of them was put to death nor given any harm on account of religious differences, nor any temple was damaged in peace time.

In the eye of Government and law no discrimination was made between a Hindu and a Muslim. If Sultan introduced any useful reform it was both for the Hindus and the Muslims, and in this respect no exception was made. And it is a fact of history that the famous Price Control System of the Sultan proved more beneficial to the Hindus as a class than to the Muslims because comparatively their economic condition was

1,2. Isaml, p, 306.
Barani, pp, 216, 217.
Afif, pp, 293-94.
very weak. As a result of this liberal policy, the Hindus masses were very happy under his rule.

The contemporary poets and historians have paid glowing tributes to the Sultan. I will give here a brief account of their opinions about the Sultan and his love for Islam.

Sultan Ala-ud-Din Khalji in the eyes of Amir Khusrau.

Amir Khusrau had been a courtier and Nadim, to all the Sultans of Delhi from Balban to Chias-ud-Din Gughlaq. He had praised each of them in his Qasaid without exception. But if we compare all these Qasaid with each other, surely, those which are written in praise of Sultan Ala-ud-Din Khalji surpass the rest in the expression of his personal sentiments.

In his Masnavis, he has given a prominent place to the religious activities of the Sultan. In Matla-ul-Anwar he writes: "Sultan Muhammad with his judgment has strengthened the tene of the code of the Prophet". In the same Masnavi Sultan has been called as 'Imanpanah' (Refuge of the Faith) and at another place we find following line:-

"The base of your administration means the strengthening of the foundations of the Faith".

In Khazain-ul-Futuh, Sultan has been addressed as 'Mueen-ul-Shariat' (Helper of the Shar --- Code of Islam) and at another place under the heading 'Allusions to the Caliphs' he (Amir Khusrau) writes:-

"I shall also narrate some of the noble and significant

events of the temporal rule of this caliph (Sultan Alauddin Khalji) who is Muhammad in name, Abu Bakr in truthfulness and Umar in justice. I shall show how, like Usman, he collected the merciful words of God in the book of existence and how, like Ali, he opened the gates of knowledge in the Medina of Islam, Delhi.

In his Masnavi named Ishqia or Khizr Khan Deval Davi, Amir Khusrau has written a chapter on the history of Islam in Hindustan. In the beginning of this chapter he has given a brief account of religious condition of his period. He seems very proud of the ascendency of Islam right from Ghazni to the shores of the great sea and also that Delhi had become another Bukhara with the presence of a large number of Ulema.

Amir Hassan Sijzi.

Saadi-i-Hind, Hassan Sijzi is a famous poet of Ala'i Court. He was a disciple Sheikh Nizam-ud-Din. His contemporaries held him very high in their esteem. Though he had seen the rule of many Sultans of Delhi but he had been attached only with the court of Sultan Ala-ud-Din. He has paid glowing tributes to the Sultan for his love of Islam and has called him as the Defender of the Faith and Saviour of Islam almost in every one of his Qasida. A few selected couplets of Hassan Sijzi are given below:

"O Sultan! You have always observed the principles of the Faith. You look after the religion and God looks after you."

"The Holy Prophet, revealed the Right Faith in the name of God. But now during the reign of his namesake, this Faith became all the more revealed".1

"Sultan who exalted the Empire and the Faith, and from the loftiness of whose purpose Islam and Shari both made progress by leaps and bounds every day".2

Amir Khusrau and Hassan Sijzi are also known for their piety and truthfulness in the sufi circles, but there are many who doubt their statements because of their attachment with the Alai Court. Though I am not one of them, still I would like to present the view points of other contemporaries who had never been recipient of his favour. And one of them is Isami. He is all praise for Sultan's love for the religion of his forefathers. He was contemporary of Sultan Muhammad Bin Tughlaq. Isami wrote his book in the court of Sultan Bahmani of Deccan. One of his such couplets is given below:-

"This victorious king who had always been the Defender of the Faith and destroyer of the mean".3

At the end of his book, Isami had drawn a comparison between Sultan Ala-ud-Din and Sultan Muhammad Bin Tughlaq. In his opinion Ala-ud-Din was responsible for the rise of Islam in India while the policy of the other resulted in its degradation :-

"Although both has been named as Muhammad. But one is known for his generosity and greatness and the other for his meanne

1,2. Sijzi, pp, 496, 501.
3,4. Isami, pp, 301, 569.
"One spread Islam while during the reign of the other 'Kufr' spread in every nook and corner".

"He started with the code of Islam, but this one deviated from the path of even the basic principles and its offshoots.

Wasaf is another contemporary historian from Central Asia, to whom Ala-ud-Din was a Muf'tahid-i-Dindar. And it was the opinion of Maulana Shms-ud-Din Turk of Egypt that Sultan Ala-ud-Din's place on the Day of Judgment will be among the Prophets because due to his personal efforts Islam was on ascendency in Hindustan and masses were happy and prosperous.

Religious Buildings of Alai Period

In the reign of Sultan Ala-ud-Din Khalji a large number of mosques were constructed and all the existing mosques were repaired by his orders. It was the general policy of Sultan to build first of all a mosque in every newly conquered territory. For example Chitor, Rameshwarm, Mathra and Patan are few of the many places where very beautiful and large mosques were built. These houses of God became the centres of great religious activities and proved very beneficial for the cause of Islam. At the same time these building were a living proof of Muslim dominance in these places.

1, 2. Sijzi, p. 569.
7. Firishta, p. 119.
It is said that designs of the buildings and the subject matter of the inscriptions on them always represent the ideas and ideals of those who are responsible for their construction. The inscriptions on the arches of Alai Darwasa belie all those statements in which he had been described as not a good Muslim. Contrary to this they show that the Sultan had a great respect for the religion and there is no weight in the writings of those who believed otherwise.

The following is the text of the inscription on the southern arch of Alai Darwasa:

شانیا تیمور جدیداً رسایستی پر اشکال می‌نماید و همچنین جدیداً رسایست سپرده که با توجه به تمام ماده و محصول و فرماندهی آن از خواص و جهادهای مخصوص پیامبر اسلام خداوند بی‌شمار است.

The writings on the other walls of Darwasa express the same sentiments. If the pen of the court poets and the hands of the Royal Engineers could express his feelings, we are in a position to say it with great confidence that he had great love and respect for his religion.

He was a great administrator and social reformer. Under his rule, peace and prosperity were prevailing everywhere throughout his vast Empire. And people were very happy and content. Though all this was the result of his great administrative skill but to the masses it looked as if it was due to some of his supernatural qualities which he possessed. And these achievements were named as miracles by them. As in the word of Barani:-

"They attributed it to his 'Karamat' (Supernatural power). Whatever regarding the important affairs of the Empire and the victories of the armies was uttered by him, was attributed to his Kashf-o-Karamat".¹

Amir Hassan Sijzi expressed the same sentiments about the Sultan in the following verses:-

"He was one of those who recorded the affairs of the country and was conversant with the secrets of the unknown world (Ramuz-i-Chaib). He was shepherd of the mankind and Sultan of the cities of the universe"²

and

"Yes these miracles of the victories of this Defender of the Faith, can neither be imagined nor understood by the intellectuals".³

This love and respect of masses for Sultan Ala-ud-Din Khalji remained unshakable even after his death. Now-a-days it has become a fashion to talk about Sultan's disrespect for the religion but his contemporaries had quite a different

1. Barani, p, 324.
2,3. Sijzi, pp, 528, 531.
opinion about him. Raja Hamid Qalandar tells us that the Sultan's Mazar was revered by the people as that of a saint and it was a common belief in those days that any prayer asked at his 'mazar' was always accepted by the God Almighty.  

Sujan Rai, the Hindu Historian of Aurangzeb's times has written in his book that Sultan Ala-ud-Din was regarded as angelic by his subjects.

The author of Naasir-i-Rahimi endorses this view in the following words:

"Majority of his deeds were taken as wonders and named as Karamats".

Among the above mentioned Amir Khusrau and Amir Hassan Sijzi are the only two who had been attached with the Alai Court. But rest of them had never been the recipient of his favour. Therefore we cannot ignore their statements. These were not mere bazar gossips. If at all we regard them as such, then again, there must be some basis for them. And the basis was that people had full faith in his sincerity of purpose. They were all praise for his vast conquest and beneficial social and economic reforms. He was a hero after their own hearts. They venerated him and this was that veneration which led them to believe in his supernatural powers and to consider him a saint who performs miracle or an angel who knew 'Ilam-i-Ghaib!  

2. Khulasat-ul-Tawarikh, p, 228.  
In these pages, we have examined his religious policy very critically. We have tried our best to find out as to what extent he had been influenced by the religion in his private life as well as in his political life. After a thorough but very minute study we have come to this conclusion that the current stories in which he had been blamed as having no respect for Islamic law, are totally baseless and are belied by the facts given by the contemporary historian. He had great love and respect for his religion. He was very God fearing and served his subjects with the only motive of pleasing Him. His greatest contribution to the religious cause was that he himself never misused the name of Islam and never allowed anybody to do the same.
CHAPTER VI

A SOCIAL REFORMER

As kaikutbad ascended the throne after the death of Baiban, the country was sawayed to the way of pleasure. Wine, women and singing took the attention of all and pleasure hunting reached its height. Barani and Isami have narrated in detail the ways of Kaikutbad adopted in search of pleasure. The result was obvious. The administration was ruined and at the end of a period of two years Kaikutbad lost both his life and his throne.

Then Sultan Jalal-ud-Din Firuz Khalji ascended the throne. The Sultan was aged and kind hearted, being at the same time a man of pleasure. Although he did not cross the limits like kaikutbad, yet the feasts celebrated privately by him were always very colourful. Drinking was freely indulged into and along with music the dancing of the favourite maids like Nusrat Khatoon and Mehr Afrose were no example to set right the moral condition of the people.

This way of life of the monarchs resulted in destroying the solidarity of the central authority and made the zamindars and the nobles defiant of it. Because of this situation country attracted Mughal invaders. The prestige of the government dropped very low and the moral condition of the people was even at a lower ebb. To add to these ills draught

3. Barani (Elliot), p, 47.
5.  Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi, p, 65.
and famine were accompanied by hoarding and black marketing.

When Sultan Ala-ud-Din captured the throne, he had to face numerous problems which were extremely difficult to solve under the existing conditions. It must be said to the credit of Ala-ud-Din that he tackled them bravely and successfully solved them all. In this direction the first step he took was to reorientate the moral outlook of the people. His wisdom had pointed out to him that it was foolish to accept cooperation from the hungry and the morally poor. He imposed complete prohibition\(^1\) and to drink or to brew wine\(^2\) was made illegal. In practice he himself acted upon the laws of the country and abstained from drinking and destroyed the royal cellars\(^3\). All the wine of the capital flowed so freely in the open plain outside Badaun Gate that it gave rise to a marsh there\(^4\). Elephants were also employed to consume huge quantities of precious vintage that had lain stored in the royal cellars, so that the old historian, Ferishta, says with a sigh "Happy the elephants of those days who thus enjoyed themselves"\(^5\). The nobles were ordered to go around the city and tell people personally that drinking had been prohibited\(^6\).

Barani states that after the law of prohibition some wicked persons started smuggling into the towns unlawfully brewed wine\(^7\). But the administration of the Sultan was so efficient that all such culprits were located and brought to

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1,2,3,4. Barani, pp, 284, 285, 286.  
book. They were beaten and then imprisoned in open cells almost as deep as wells dug outside Badaun Gate and the wine was served to the elephants. Such punishment proved extremely distracting and people totally gave up such efforts.

In the Arthshastara of Kautaliya, some limits pertaining to the need of prohibition are present but nowhere is it mentioned that prohibition was practised in the ancient days. This feather can be added to the cap of Ala-ud-Din alone that he succeeded in imposing a complete ban on drinking and the use of other narcotics. This prohibition automatically removed some of the ills for wine is known as the mother of many ills. It should be clear here that it was not wine alone that was prohibited but all other things that can dupe and intoxicate. According to Barani the Sultan had to forego an immense amount of taxes that were levied on these intoxicants. The Sultan needed money badly and also the cooperation of all his subjects because there were signs of Mughal invasion on the horizon of the country and this threat appeared to destroy its very existence. But in the interest of the moral regeneration of the people the Sultan took this drastic step which left him without that money which he needed so urgently. It also turned against him those who were fond of these intoxicants. The Sultan was aware of these risks but he took them to put the people back on the path of morality.

1,2,3. Barani, pp. 284, 285, 286.
In the opinion of Barani the Sultan affected this prohibition to put a check on the intrigues which were hatched round the drinking pot. A man who is drunk may let out important state secrets or do things against the interest of the ruling monarch. This might be true but we must not forget that all those of the Alai subjects who were addicted to drinking could not be necessarily against the Sultan. But it was natural that after this bold step the Sultan took they should turn against him, now their opposition could be more dangerous for a sober intriguer is more to be feared than a drunkard.

Another point that draws our attention is that in the middle ages it were the intriguing nobles (who used the common people as their instruments) who were a source of threat to the rulers. Ferishta stated that the Sultan imposed a strict prohibition among the poor but was lenient towards the nobles; from here it becomes clear that his aim was to reform his people and not to protect his throne from the hands of the intriguer. The laws made by the Sultan applied equally to the Hindus as well as the Muslims. But Barani says:

"The prevention of drinking being found to be very difficult the Sultan gave orders that if the liquor was distilled privately and drunk privately in peoples' own houses; if drinking parties were not held, and the liquor not sold, then the informers were not to enter the houses or arrest the offender

1,2. Barani, p, 282.
Ferishta, p, 108.
Here, too, the statement of Barani is intended to interpret a fair deal in a foul manner. No other contemporary historian confirms Barani's opinion that the people were allowed to drink under certain conditions. It is possible that some of the nobles might have continued drinking, their high positions helping them in keeping their secret from the Sultan. If at all there were some such nobles they must be very few for the spies of the Sultan were to be found everywhere and no body could take the risk of disobeying his commands.

At the same time the Sultan closed the brothels and the gambling dens. The severe application of these laws freed the society from such foul deeds as adultery. Whenever he learnt of any person committing adultery he punished him according to the laws of 'shariat' saying that he followed the practice of the Prophet. Earlier in the reign of Ilet-mish the position of the prostitutes was discussed. But, then, Syed Nur-ud-Din Nubarak Ghazanavi had agreed that the prostitutes should remain as such because their presence kept many passionate men from violating the honour of the good and the domesticated.

Ala-ud-Din acted differently and forced the street women to settle as wedded wives. Amir Khusrau says that the

1, 2, 3. Barani, p, 296.

4, 5. Barani, p, 43, Hardy(Preface), Historians of Medieval India.

Sultan helped them to settle down and lead a life of piety.\(^1\)

Ferishta has narrated a very interesting story in this connection. He says that one day a companion of the Sultan, finding him happy, pointed out that whereas he had fixed the rates of all things according to their quality, he had left the most important commodity out of his control system. He told the Sultan that he meant the prostitutes. At that the Sultan divided them into three categories and fixed their rates.

But when we consider the statement of Amir Khusrau we find that Ferishta concocted that story and there is no truth in what he says. Barani also corroborates with Amir Khusrau and gives a lie to the statement of Ferishta.\(^2\)

In the reign of the Sultan, there existed a sect whose members paid no heed to the accepted moral values,\(^3\) and they were guilty of incestuous practices.\(^4\) Amir Khusrau writes that when Sultan Ala-ud-Din Khalji, who was determined to enforce the laws of the 'shariat', learnt of the immoral acts of that sect he extirpated it, lest their example should mislead others into such practices.\(^5\) This sect was called the Abahitis.\(^7\) In addition to them there was a group of those who practised witchcraft\(^8\) and who drank human blood\(^9\) and ate the flesh of young children.\(^10\) The Sultan apprehended them all

\(^1\) Amir khusrau: Khazain-ul-Futuh, p, 19.
\(^5,6,7\) Amir Khusrau, p, 21, Isami, p, 301, Barani, p, 336. 8,9,10, Amir Khusrau, Khazain-ul-Futuh, p, 20.
and burying them in the ground up to the neck, got them stoned to death,

The various reforms introduced by Sultan improved the financial condition of the people and gave them a sense of security that filled the atmosphere with peace and prosperity. It is natural that when people are well-off they should seek immoral pleasures, but the Sultan had put an end to all those assemblies and places where people could drink, gamble and indulge into prostitution. Now people were rich but their money did not flow into channels of dubious morality. The result was that the behaviour of the rich and the moneyed carved a pattern of constructive activities and they devoted their energy and wealth to noble causes. It is mentioned in the Malfoozat of Sheikh Nasir-ud-Din Chiragh Dehlvi that in the days of Sultan Ala-ud-Din feasts were very common and groups of people went to the parks and gardens for picnics in such large numbers that these public places were usually over-crowded especially in the 'URS' season and on the day of last 'Chahar Shamba'. People displayed a spirit of unparalleled charity.

The Sultan personally took every aspect of the society into consideration and spared no pains to remove all the defects he could locate.

A great attribute of the Sultan's character was that he tried to dig out the root cause of the evil and then

did his best to root it out completely. He did not believe in applying half measures.

When the Sultan ascended the throne the whole system of government was steeped in corruption and the government officials were inefficient, dishonest and greedy. The Sultan introduced severe punishments for all such crimes. But he did not rest at that. He wanted to know the causes that produced those evils. After studying the situation carefully the Sultan arrived at the conclusion that those evils resulted from the insufficient pay of the officials. As the wages of the government officials were low it was not possible for them to maintain a reasonable standard of living. In a way the officials were compelled to employ unfair means without caring much for the threat of severe punishments. After analysing the situation the Sultan raised the salaries to a level where the officials could live according to their status without the need of having recourse to unfair means. If, anybody was corrupt after this, he could not escape punishment because nobody was beyond the reach of Sultan's spy-dog. It is said that a sepoy and a clerk received the same pay which amounted to rupees twenty a month while wheat was sold at the rate of five annas per maund. The result was that corruption was effectively checked.

There were some foul practices prevailing in the army. To eliminate them the system of branding the horses (Dag was introduced.

We had already referred in an earlier chapter to the steps the Sultan took to end unlawful privileges of the 'Khuts' and 'Hugquids' which brought a great relief to the dejected Hindu peasants.¹

Such malpractices were also prevalent in the business community. The shopkeepers made huge profits by using false measures,² by hoarding,³ by adulteration and by over charging.⁴ These shopkeepers were mostly Hindus and the Sultan provided them with all possible facilities to conduct their trade smoothly. In case they could not crush their greed the Sultan imposed upon the defaulters exemplary punishments with result that then and only then the Hindu 'Bania' had to abstain from hoarding and black marketing and also from the use of false weights and measures.

Now morally speaking all the wicked practices mentioned above were social crimes. But the worst danger to one's moral sense is hunger and poverty. Poverty may and often leads a man on the path of sin. A hungry man forgets all that is respectable and may have no consideration for what is enjoined upon him by his faith and by the society. The Sultan was well aware of this human weakness and he considered himself responsible for the good of his people. He feared that on the day of judgment he should be taken to task for neglecting his duty towards his subjects. To fight out hunger he opened public mess to feed the destitutes.⁶

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5. Isami, p, 306.
In his Nalbouzat, Shah Nasir-ud-Din Dehlvi has stated that nobody was left naked in winter and Kafur, the royal, 'Muhr Dar' distributed shawls and quilts among the needy who got clothes according to their needs. In the same way whenever there was drought and famine government land revenue which was collected from the peasants was remitted to enable them to pass that lean period a little better.

Ibn Batuta has written that once the Sultan received the news that the rates of meat touched a level where they were beyond the reach of a common man. On enquiry the Sultan learnt that the animals who were slaughtered for meat were very costly. He, at once, exempted them from the payment of zakat and other taxes. The Sultan summoned the traders and advanced them loans from the government treasury to purchase goats and cows so that the prices of meat should fall down. The loans were to be returned after the sale of these animals and a reasonable rate of profit was fixed which should go as wages to these traders.

The prices of cloth which was brought from Daulatabad were also cut down and made reasonable in the way which was applied to the purchase and sale of the animals. In fact, every thing was done to keep down the prices of the essential commodities as is clear from the fact that during the scarcity of grain and high prevailing prices the government godowns were opened to the general public thus immediately bringing down the prices.

1,2. Khair-ul-Najalis (Persian), p, 240.
4,5,6,7,8, Ibn Batuta (Persian), pp, 444-45.
The above details are a clear evidence of the fact that the Sultan loved his subjects more than his treasury and he never wanted to fill it by keeping their stomachs empty. Whenever the occasion demanded he exempted the poor from the payment of all sorts of taxes so that the burden should not break them.

But the various steps mentioned above were taken at the spur of the moment and the Sultan wanted to tackle the problem by knowing the causes which gave rise to them. He sought to eliminate the most serious pestilence threatening the society viz. the hunger by introducing many reforms. One of them was famous price control system. To work this new system successfully he made arrangements for the regular supply of grain and other essential commodities, for their storage and for their sale in the government markets. The traders were advanced loans and many taxes under the pretext of which the prices used to soar sky high were removed. These reforms filled the markets with grain and other commodities and consequently brought down the rates.

Generally it is held by the historians that the prosperity of the people resulted from two factors that is the abundance of the commodities and the falling of the rates. But is it really so? Sultan Ala-ud-Din Khalji and his councilors understood well that abundance is meaningless if the

purchasing power is low. He employed this wisdom to a good use. Where he created conditions resulting in abundance and cheap rates he also looked to the purchasing power of the people and raised it so that all could obtain what they needed. Thus this was the most vital step which brought prosperity to his subject.

Sultan Ala-ud-Din had a formidable army of 4,75,000\(^1\) in addition to which he owned thousands of horses and elephants;\(^2\) this numerous host had its needs and those who were entrusted with the job numbered millions and thus found an easy and sure employment. Then there was a department for construction of official buildings.\(^3\) This department employed about 70,000\(^4\) apprentices and about 7000\(^5\) Beldars, Gulkars, Masons and others. Together they could build a fort in two weeks\(^6\) and a palace in three days.\(^7\) It is something very simple to understand that these one lac people who received their pay regularly from the royal treasury could not be left idle. They were made to work and they worked regularly. In the Alai\(^8\) period an unparalleled number of forts, towers, bridges, mosques, palaces, roads, serais, schools, ponds and wells were constructed for the comfort of the common man and to serve the official needs, at the same time giving employment to a vast number.

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2. Harani, p, 262.
   Harani, p, 324.
The existence of a vast regular army and the establishment of a public works department introduced a new element in the economy of the sub-continent and this element was that of large scale production. It is an elementary law of economics that large scale production means the end of unemployment and the spread of general prosperity.

Moreover, the need to enforce the price control system rigidly resulted in the recruitment of a large number of corn-carriers, spies and Market Inspectors.

Moreover, there was a great increase in the production of the country's agricultural wealth which brought prosperity to all the agricultural classes. And this was the direct result of his efficient administration and vigorous rule, which was responsible for the maintenance of peace in every nook and corner of the vast Alai Empire. The Mughal invasions had become a thing of the past. Khuts and Muqaddams were no more in a position to rob the peasants of their due share. These things added to the prosperity of the masses. All these historical facts are being recounted only to prove that the Sultan with his personal efforts solved the problem of unemployment, which improved the purchasing power of his subjects. And increase in the purchasing power of

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1, 2, 3, 4. Isami, p, 293.
Barani (K.B), pp, 99, 100.
the masses is directly responsible for the prosperity of a country and vice versa.

To most of the historians it was his price control system which was responsible for the prosperity of Alai subjects. But the real fact is that the price control system of Ala-ud-Din Khalji owes its success to the improved purchasing power of the masses, which was the direct result of his economic and administrative reforms. And thus Sultan solved the greatest problems of the society, poverty and unemployment. Thus, he, deserves a prominent place among the greatest social reformers of history.

Sultan could not tolerate any violation of the moral values of the society and the offenders were punished severely. These harsh measures were so successful that it forced even Barani, a diehard critic to make this sweeping statement that country was free from all kinds of immorality. This goes to his credit that he himself obeyed his own regulations with as much loyalty and sincerity as was expected from the most humble subjects of the state. The result was that his word was respected throughout the length and breadth of his Empire.

Barani says that in the reign of the Sultan the moral condition of the society was exemplary. Islam was on the ascendency. The people had become pious and God fearing.

1. Ismail, p, 306.
   Barani, p, 285.

True Islamic way of life was followed everywhere. But in the opinion of Barani all credit for this must be given to Khawaja Nizam-ud-Din Aulia and not to Sultan Ala-ud-Din Khalji. To him, it was the influence of the Sheikh's personality that people became pious and religious minded and the Sultan had nothing to his credit in this field.

It is a fact that Khawaja Nizam-ud-Din Aulia was an eminent spiritual leader with a very large following. But there arises a question as to why he was not so successful in improving the moral condition of the people in the days of Sultan Ala-ud-Din's predecessors and successors? And why his personality and teachings did not influence the minds of the masses of those days?

The secret of this success and failure lies in the following couplet of Allama Iqbal, Poet of the East:

"Iqbal has very rightly pointed out that even the efforts of Moses would have borne no fruit, if there had been no 'Rod' (Aasa-i-Kaleemi)."

Society was corrupt. Khawaja Nizam-ud-Din Aulia and Sultan Ala-ud-Din Khalji, both of them wanted to improve the moral condition of the people. Both of them were working for the achievement of the same goal, but on different lines. This cooperation of spiritual and temporal powers achieved a success unheard of and unseen. But it is unjust to minimise

1, 2, 3. Barani, pp, 341, 324, 325.
5. Iqbal: Zarb-i-Kaleem.
the share of the Sultan in this respect. It will not be a very bold statement if we say that he and only he himself was responsible for this greatest of all achievements.

Maulana Shams-ud-Din Turk was all praise for these achievements of the Sultan. He was sure that Sultan for his social reforms (i.e. the cheap bread, piety of the people and complete prohibition) would get a seat among the Prophets on the Day of Judgment. Maulana was a foreigner, an Egyptian who visited India for the propagation of Islam, but due to the opposition of the Ulema, he could not stay here (at Multan for a long time. On his way back to his home country he wrote a letter to the Sultan in which he praised him as mentioned above. In his letter he also criticised the Sultan for certain other reasons and some of his officers. Authenticity of this letter is beyond doubt because at the time of the despatch of the said letter, Maulana had already crossed the Indian border. The letter also testifies that the price control system and other reforms of the Sultan were not restricted to the capital area only because their effects were felt by the Maulana at Multan.

Isami says:

"During his reign the whole empire lived in peace and comfort and nothing had deteriorated except the mischief."

"During the period of that successful ruler 'rosewater' and honey were cheap as drinking water".

"In that period people had no grief except that of religion; during his regime nobody complained of anything".

"So long as he lived he pined for the good of the common man, and thus he snatched the ball of superiority from all the King; since none ever remained hungry during his reign, hence that fort was called siri (the统计ed)

Barani says:-

"Good God what a wonderful period and what an astonishing time that the people had to witness during the last decade of Alai reign. When with full force, stricture, violence and punishment, all the intoxicants and sources of sin and whatever is forbidden by law, were being checked for the welfare and betterment of the subjects . . . . . . . . People in general felt inclined towards obedience and religious prayers ___ some taking it as an article of faith and some following the king's traditions . . . . . . The hearts of the masses and classes felt so much inclined towards everything that was good; and during the last few years of his reign one could hardly hear the name of wine, women, sin, gambling, sodomy, etc etc"

Sultan Ala-ud-Din Khalji's reforms gave indirectly

1, 2, 3, 4. Isami, pp, 293-94.
a very hard blow to the most hated and world condemned social system of the Hindu society i.e., the Caste System. And it is one of the very interesting features of his reforms. This revolution which started from the rural areas was universal as far as Indo-Pak sub-continent is concerned. To give relief to the poor Hindu peasants belonging to the lower classes from the cruel clutches of their co-religionists of upper classes, Sultan abolished their illegal privileges, by which they used to treat the former like their enemies. This freedom coupled with the peace and prosperity—the two gifts of Allāh—gave them (Hindus of lower classes) the self respect and pride, which broke the shackles of inferiority complex and disgrace, in which they had been chained since Age

The activities of the army and the Public Works Department opened many new avenues of employment. These people had a long range of choice before them and were free to adopt any profession which they liked. Thousands of Hindus of lower classes were recruited in the army as soldiers which was a born privilege of the Bāshtrīs according to Hindu beliefs. This freedom of choice in profession is against the basic principles of caste-system. Moreover, roads were safe, trade was flourishing. They had a chance to travel from one place to the other in the Empire as traders and soldiers. This freedom of movement gave them freedom of thought which ultimately proved a severe blow to the caste-system.

According to Bānu's theory of Verna, the Brahmans and Kashtrīs are the chosen creation of God Almighty and
are invincible. And every Hindu believes in this. But when their sacred temples and mighty castles surrendered one by one before the Sultan's army, their belief in their born superiority was shaken.

Sultan Ala-ud-Din Khalji was not a bigot. The Hindus were admitted in the services of the state freely. He had no objection against the caste, creed and colour of his subjects. He only wanted merit and loyalty. The result of this policy was that a large number of Hindus of lower classes rose to the very high ranks in the civil and military departments. And this again was a severe blow to the caste-system. In a system where a junior Hindu official of upper classes had to bow before the orders of his senior Hindu Officer belonging to some lower class, the value of such beliefs that it is birth and not worth, which is responsible for the maintenance of the social status of a man, was shaken to the very foundation.

In the reign of Sultan Ala-ud-Din Khalji, these Hindus of lower classes enjoyed peace, prosperity, freedom of choice in profession, freedom of movement and freedom of thoughts.

In this chapter, a detailed account of the Sultan's social reforms and their results have been given. These all are the recorded facts of history. But in spite of all this grand achievement to his credit, Ala-ud-Din has untill now been denied a place among the social reformers. To most of the scholars he was not a sincere man and had selfish political motives behind all of his reforms. Therefore, they

have not given him any credit for the good done by him for his subjects.

"Let us accept this contention for a while that though his deeds were good, his motives were selfish. I think it is the final shape of the things which counts and not the original thinking. Moreover, the contemporary historians have not doubted his intentions. A piece from the dialogue between the Sultan and Qazi Mughis is given below in the words of Barani to prove our contentions:"

"Haulana Muguhees while praying to God Almighty I always cry 'Oh God Almighty if someone misbehaves with someone else' wife, I as a king stand nothing to lose and if somebody drinks wine he adds nothing to my dignity. If someone commits a theft takes nothing from my ancestral property. Why should I be then moved'."

"As regard these four groups whatever be the commandments of Apostles I abide by"1

And in this context Ferishta adds the following lines:"

"Since my intention is nothing but public social welfare, I do hope the Most Gracious God would forgive my sins, and the door of repentence is too wide open"2 3

4. Isami, p. 296.
5. Amir Khusrau: Tarikh-i-Alai-Habib, p. 11.
for his public works, social reforms and his sincerity of purpose.

Now it has been proved by the historical facts and by the opinions of the contemporary historians that his social and administrative reforms were beneficial to the common man and his motives behind them were sincere. He was a great social reformer, who waged a crusade against every evil in the society. His state was the nearest to a welfare state in the modern sense where peace and prosperity coupled with a high order of public morality was prevailing everywhere.
CHAPTER VII
ALAUDDIN AND THE HINDUS

On first entering India, the Muslims had to decide a tricky question as to what should be the treatment with the Hindus. The Arabs placed them among the Zimmis and granted them all the privileges due to this category of people. They were regarded as similar to the Peoples of the Book. The Sultans of Delhi stuck to this policy. Some religious scholars including Barani were against treating Hindus like the Peoples of the Book, but neither the government nor a majority of Ulema agreed to it, and continued holding the Hindu as Zimmis.

The Muslim Rulers are being criticised for levying Jizia on the non-Muslims and granting them a status pertaining to that position of the Zimmis thus implying that the Non-Muslims were made a victim of a prolonged insult and degradation. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad commenting on this interpretation by the non-Muslims of the Jizia system and the status of the Zimmis says, "Through ignorance and lack of understanding the Hindus have been considering it (Jizia system) as the worst degradation to which they could be put. Actually this is the best treatment ever accorded by the ruling to the ruled."

Before considering the mutual relationship between Sultan Ala-ud-Din Khalji and the Zimmis, let us know what

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2. Barani (F.J), Afsar Begum, pp, 46,47.
treatment does Islam enjoin upon its followers towards the Zimmis and how that tax called Jizia has been defined by Islam. It is only after being clear on this point that we can judge as to what was Sultan Ala-ud-Din's treatment of Hindus in this respect.

According to Hidayah "A Dhimmi is a free non-Muslim subject of a Muslim Government who pays a Poll tax in return for which the Muslims are responsible for his security, personal freedom and religious toleration". As to the status enjoyed by the Zimmis in the Dictionary of Islam "By paying the stipulated tax the Zimmis become free subjects of the conquering power and their condition is but little inferior to that of their Muslim fellow subjects".

The Holy Prophet is reported to have laid great stress on the protection of Zimmis. A number of his sayings (Ahadis) which have come to us from very authentic sources do not leave any doubt as to his attitude towards the Zimmis. For instance whoever torments the Zimmis (tolerated non-Muslim) torments me. "Whoever wrongs a zimmi and imposes on him a burden beyond his strength I shall be his accuser".

All, the fourth Caliph, emphatically asserted "The blood of the zimmi is like the blood of the Muslim".

Now let us take up the question of Jizia. Jizia is another Islamic institution which has not been interpreted.

accordingly. It has been presented in such a way as to appear
effective instrument, a veritable weapon for the propaga-
tion of Islam.

As a tax in its oppressive form it was in vogue long
before the rise of Islam. It was called tributum capites or
capitation tax in Roman Empire. It was universally levied
under the Sasanides in the Persian Empire. It was reintro-
duced by Islam in a reformed shape and it proved a blessing
for the non-Muslims. It was collected from able bodied non-
Muslims in lieu of military service. It was assessed with
due regard to the means of the payer. Aged man, women,
children, disabled and insane persons were totally exemp-
ted from it as they had no responsibility towards the
defence of the state; even if they were Muslims. It was not
levied on priests and heads of religious orders and was
not therefore a tax on the free exercise of religion or
a punishment for unbelief as has been sometimes erroneously
alleged. If it would have been true, there would have
been no exemptions in any case.

The object underlying its imposition was not to
compel non-Muslims to renounce their religion and embrace
Islam, for those who escaped payment of a petty sum by
accepting Islam lost their religion and gained nothing.

Aghnides: Muhammadan Theories of Finance, p, 398.
It was for them a bad bargain because as Muslims they had to pay more in the form of Zakat and which were obligatory on Muslims and from which non-Muslims were exempt. Above all, as Muslims they had to join Jihad and lay down their lives when called upon to do so. Thus it is clear that the Jizia was neither a new nor an obnoxious tax and did not aim at forced conversion. Because Quran says, let there be no compulsion in religion. It was on the other hand, a concession and blessing for the Zimmis.

It should be borne in mind that all Hindu government officials whether in the army or in the civil administration are exempt from the payment of Jizia. Only those able-bodied male Zimmis are asked to pay Jizia who enjoy the full protection of their lives, their liberty, their property and their religion without consenting to serve the government in any form. The rate of Jizia is very low and is not charged on those who are financially so weak that they cannot afford to pay it. In other words it is not allowed to use force in the realisation of Jizia. Those who could pay never considered it a bad bargain. The yearly rate for the rich is forty-eight 'dirhams', i.e. four dirhams per month. And a person who owns 10,000 dirham and upward is called rich.

Still there are some persons who insist that the

5. Aghnides, p, 402.
levying of Jizia in whatever form was unjust. They forget that every government needs money for its effective and beneficial administration. The Muslim had to fight in the battle field as well as to pay Zakat, Ushar. For them one thing was as compulsory as the other and they could exercise no choice. The rich able bodied non-Muslim males who did not want to fight for the defence of the Muslim state were required to pay a small amount in consideration of the protection which they enjoyed at the cost of Muslim lives.

S.M. Jaffar say, "It was, as far as I can understand, to put the Muslims and non-Muslims on par that the Islamic law included Jizia in the scheme of taxation."

It was not an oppressive tax and was never intended to be burden on the Zimmis (non-Muslims).

A poll tax was not unfamiliar to the Hindus. For instance, under the Gohrrwar dynasty of Kanauj, a tax called TURUSHKADANDA was levied to defend the kingdom. Even in Tod's days a poll tax of a rupee per head was levied in some Rajput states.

There is nothing in the chronicles to support a modern view that Ala-ud-Din Khalji neither exacted Jizia

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1. Some Cultural Aspects of Muslim Rule in India, Footnote, p, 62.
3. Rajasthan, p, 1116.
from Hindus nor recognised them as Zimmis, a subject who was neither a Muslim nor a Zimmis could not reside in a Muslim State.

According to Dr. Levy, "Ala-ud-Din refused to levy Jizia from the Hindus because he refused to accord them the status of Zimmis".

Actually Ala-ud-Din Khalji, in his conversation with Qazi Nughis told him that Hindu Zamindars had become so defiant of state's authority that they neither pay 'Jizia' nor 'Khiraj'. And when the Qazi used the word 'Zimmis' for the Hindus, he did not contradict him. Had there been anything like this (non-imposition of Jizia on the Hindus), it surely would have been mentioned by Barani in very clear terms for being a novel experiment in the annals of early Islamic history.

After understanding fully what Jizia is in the light of Quran and the Sunnah and also knowing the actual position of the Hindus as Zimmis in the reign of Sultan Ala-ud-Din, it becomes evident that they enjoyed a life of peace, prosperity, honour and complete religious tolerance. There are no facts to indicate that Ala-ud-Din ever violated this spirit and forced upon Hindus, a treatment that could be criticised on this ground. This background should suffice to vindicate the position of Ala-ud-Din in respect

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1,2. S.M. Ikram: Muslim Civilisation, p, 135.
Tripathi, p, 267.

of his attitude towards the Hindus. But there are passages in the famous book of Zia-ud-Din Barani, named as Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi, which if separated from the context mislead the readers to erroneous conclusions and create wrong impression in their minds to the disadvantage of this great Sultan. The opinions of some historians are actually based on the passages referred to above. It is our duty to provide a proper interpretation of the facts so that the blots, that have been allowed to tarnish the fair name of such a just and wise ruler, may be removed.

One of the grave allegations levelled against Ala-ud-Din is that he was harsh and crude to the Hindus. He imposed on them heavy taxes for he wanted to crush them financially so that he could rule upon them in peace by ending their prosperity. In this pre-calculated design he succeeded well and broke the financial and political power of the upper class Hindus by ruining them. As a result of this policy the influence of the upper class Hindus dwindled to such a low ebb that their women folk had to work as the maid-servants in the houses of the Muslims. The Khuts, the Muqaddams and the Balhars ceased to be what they previously have been.

Before offering any other explanation to vindicate the position of the Sultan, I want to make it clear once again that in the reign of Sultan Ala-ud-Din the non-Muslims

2. Barani, p, 288.
   Ferishta, p, 109.
enjoyed the status of Zimmis with all the various privileges attached with their status, and there was no question of their being treated in any unjust manner. Had he violated the Islamic rules relating to the Zimmis he would have earned the opposition of the common Muslims, the Ulama and the holy men—a threat to his throne which a wise man like him would never have risked. The demand of the practical politics and the threat of Mughal Invasions also demanded that he should not do anything to turn the Hindu majority against his rule.

We should not ignore another interesting fact that there were some Ulama who counselled him to take extreme step against the Hindus. For example, there was Qazi Mughis, a very learned man who wanted the Sultan to ask the Hindus to embrace Islam, and in case they refused, to murder them and to plunder all their belongings.1

If none of the above courses was adopted there was a third alternative offered by the Fiqh of Imam Abu Hanifa that they should be asked to pay Jizia and treated as Zimmis. According to Qazi Mughis this life of the Zimmis was the life of perpetual degradation and resulted in establishing the supremacy of Islam.2

But it is a well known fact of history that the Sultan rejected this advice once and for all and never adopted it as a matter of policy even in the future. It is

2. Barani, p, 291.
strange that Barani being himself a learned man and a reputed religious scholar has not opposed this suggestion of Qazi Mughis anywhere in his book and for well known reasons too. He himself held the same views on this problem. It appears that Ulema as a group were united in their opinion as to the treatment which was to be accorded to the Zimmis and it was not different from the one advanced by Qazi Mughis.

With this powerful opposition in view we are convinced of the extreme daring that the Sultan displayed in facing it to the great benefit of the Hindus. Later on when the Sultan introduced his social, political and moral reforms they covered every individual irrespective of his religion, social status and his financial position. In fact no body could claim any exception to them.

The Sultan raised the taxes for he had to prepare a strong army to face the threats of Mughal invasion but the taxes were levied alike on the Hindus as well as the Muslims and preferential treatment was not accorded to any. If the raising of the taxes was a harsh step all alike were its victims and there was no question of the Hindus suffering more. Moreover, the people of that period irrespective of their cast or creed were afraid of the Mughals and looked with appreciation at whatever steps the Sultan took towards off the evil consequences of their invasions. They were fully convinced of the sincerity of the purpose of the Sultan and

2. Isami, pp., 293, 306.
and they cooperated with him whole heartedly, the proof where-
of lies in the fact that nobody protested against these taxes nor was there any revolt. When we look to the period of Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq when taxes were raised similarly we come to know of the difference in the attitude of the people. Then the Hindus of Doab took arms against the Sultan and when they could fight no more they took refuge in the jungles and thus acted upon the later policy of non-coopera-
tion introduced by Mahatma Gandhi. But in the reign of Sultan Ala-ud-Din Khalji no such incident took place. In addition to this we should not ignore another factor that if the taxes were raised such economic reforms were introduced which gave a greater relief to the people for which was their new burden and so that they did not fell even a tinge of it.

The case of the khuts, muqaddams and balhars was different. They suffered and only because in any just govern-
ment they would have suffered. All their importance was the result of the weakness of the previous governments as a result of which these people had become a power to be reckoned with. Their financial and political influence was the result of their misuse of their official position. So after breaking the power of the Muslim nobles, the Sultan turned his attention to check the illegal activities of this Hindu upper middle class. The fact is that these two groups

were responsible for the weakness of the central government and the internal disorder of the country and it was very essential to break their power so that the danger of Mughal invasion could be effectively dealt with. The Sultan took away the jagirs as well as the other privileges of those Muslims nobles and Ulema whose loyalties to the Sultan were doubtful. In the case of the Hindus they were deprived of only of their illegal and self acquired privileges but their lawful concessions such as Khati were left untouched. This treatment was definitely better than the one meted out to the Muslim nobility. Here too, a number of those who suffered were Muslims for Khuts, Muqaddams, Chaudhirs and Balhars included among them though in smaller numbers, Muslims as well. Dr. Tripathi has openly condemned the Khuts, muqaddams etc. He says that the Sultan was perfectly justified in taking away from them those privileges and concessions which they had acquired through unlawful means and over which they had no right.

When we look to the statement of Barani that due to the deterioration of their financial condition their women folk were left with no choice but to work as maid servants in the Muslim houses, we are surprised. History bears witness to the fact that in Alai period no body was

1. Tripathi, p, 259.
3. Tripathi, p, 259.
so hard put financially as this and to make both ends meet no family had to put all its members to labour. Also these people had such fair sources of income as not to force upon them the need of any such labour. Ala-ud-Din looked to it that all his officials received reasonable salaries to enable them to resist any income from disreputable means.

If at all there were a few who really suffered it was not because they were opposed to the religion of the Sultan but because they deserved this punishment on account of their previous sins. Doctor Tripathi is very sound when he says that it was a mere chance that the members of this class were Hindus. Otherwise whoever was in this position and committed such crimes would have suffered the same fate.

This punishment had fallen over their head for misappropriation of the government revenues, for unjustly robbing the peasants and forcing them to pay illegal gratifications and for ignoring the orders of the government. Actually these people were ready to grant protection to the thieves and dacoits and they were ever willing to destroy the peace of the country by playing in the hands of all sorts of rebels. Their religion was never a cause of their suffering.

Moreover if the Hindu women served in the houses of the Muslims it was no accident of any historical importance.

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1. Isami, p, 312. Note:- Such was the case with Malik Chhajju, when he revolted against Sultan Jalal-ud-Din he recruited Hindus freely in his army.
2. Barani, p, 292.
3. Tripathi, p, 266.
4. Mehdì Hassan Agha, p, 12.
The Muslims were the rulers of the country and their financial and political status was higher than that of the Hindus. In that case if the Hindu women worked in their houses it was not the result of any cruel treatment given to them.

There is another point which needs our attention. In Muslim India all the Hindus were not Khuts or Muqaddams. In every village there was one lambardar, and if these few people were deprived of their sources of illegal income it would be wrong to draw the conclusion that Hindus as a class were made to suffer. At the same time it would be foolish to presume that all the Khuts, Muqaddams and Chaudhri were dishonest, corrupt and disobedient and those who were, they alone had to suffer whether they were Hindus or Muslims.

It is a grave distortion of the facts to suppose that this middle class of the Hindus was completely ruined through the harsh treatment of the Sultan while actually those few who were corrupt, disloyal and dishonest had to suffer. Afterwards their places were filled by those of their relatives and co-religionists whose loyalty to the government and whose fairness of the conduct had been confirmed. The system prevailed and to work it efficiently better men were brought in, a majority of which, once again, consisted of Hindus. It is evident that this replacement did not eliminate the Hindu middle class. It only added

1. Village Headman.
new members to the fold and the trade and the agriculture of the country remained in their hands as before.¹

In the same context I would like to point out that it would be improper on our part to lend ear to the stories which show Ala-ud-Din in the role of a monster. It is historical fact that Hindus held extremely important posts in the civil as well as military departments. Then could it be credible to think that the Sultan did not let the Hindus wear silken clothes nor did he allow them to ride a horse or hunt with the Persian bow and arrows?

In the reign of the Sultan the Hindus were treated as Zimmis and they enjoyed full religious freedom. In the capital where the Sultan lived they celebrated their festivals such as Dushara and Diwali with due pomp and show.² They were allowed even to preach their religions.³ When their life was so pleasant in the capital, it would be wrong to think that there were any restrictions on them anywhere.

Thakur Pheru wrote a book named Wastusara and it has been published by Pandit Bhagwan Dass Jain at Jaipur. In that book the various designs of the temples constructed in the contemporary period have been discussed. And twenty five different designs have been mentioned there. Thakur Pheru was a contemporary of Ala-ud-Din and he has not even hinted at any difficulty that the Hindu had to face in the construction of their temples.⁴

¹. Tripathi, p, 259.
²,³, Barani (F.J.), p, 48., Barani, pp, 216-17;
The simple fact that such books were produced in the Alai period is a sufficient proof of the freedom of the religion that the Hindus enjoyed then. Moreover, it shows clearly the financial prosperity of the Hindus; for the poor and oppressed people cannot afford to bear the burden of such massive and costly constructions.

When such conditions prevailed in the Alai period why is it that Barani was determined to paint the Sultan so black? The only reason for this was that Hindus were prosperous and happy and received due honour in the court life. They were free in the worship of their gods and they enjoyed a position of equality with the Muslims in the society. For Barani all this was unislamic. Expressing his anger at the situation he says:

"The Muslim kings possess power and grandeur. But they tolerate all the rights of 'kufr' in their capital as well as in other towns. Idols are worshipped openly and these conditions are tolerated. They can practice without any fear of opposition the rights of their false religion. Their groups move in processions dancing and beating the drums. They pay only a few tankas of Jizia and in return spread fearlessly their religion. When all this is allowed the true religion shall not succeed in rooting out the falsehood from this world." 1

In Alai period the Hindus were admitted generously

to all government departments and in the revenue department particularly they had a monopoly.¹ Unlike Sher Shah and Kurangzeb, Ala-ud-Din did not place any Muslim as a check over a Hindu official. When Ala-ud-Din went to Deogir, he had Hindu Paiks in his army whose number was almost half of the total strength. ² Afterwards, too, Hindus were recruited to the army in sufficiently large number and many Hindus were present in the Royal Guard when Ala-ud-Din became Sultan. Ala-ud-Din valued merit and loyalty above everything else and he rewarded those Hindus properly who possessed those qualities. Loyalty was the virtue that the rulers of old needed in their men and they had an eye for it whenever they found it. The Hindus Paiks were devoted to the Sultan and it were they who saved his life from the Mughals who attacked him under the command of Prince Akat Khan near Tilpat as he was marching towards Kanthambore to the aid of his brother who had besieged that fort. ³

These Hindus were not mere fighting men in the army but they were also promoted to the high ranks according to their merits.⁵ Malik Naik, Akhur Beg who was a distinguished 'Malik' was the commander of right wing of Ala-ud-Din's forces. The Sultan put thirty thousand horsemen under him and sent him to fight against the Mughals.⁶ He was a Hindu.

¹, Journal of Indian History (August), 1936, p, 183.
³, Barani, p, 222, 273, 274.
⁵, Barani, p, 320,
⁶, Ferishta, p, 114.
Isami, p, 295.
Raja of Chitore many times joined the forces of the Sultan alongwith his 5000 horseman and 10,000 foot soldiers. Raja Deogir was made the Rai Rajyan (Raja of Rajas). Raja Balala was given a chattar, khilat and 10 lac tankas in cash. An inscription of 1316 found at Ladna (Jodhpur) states that Ala-ud-Din had appointed a Hindu named Sudharna as his treasurer. These are only few names from among those of the Hindus who were appointed to various offices of responsibility. Could members of a community not allowed to ride horses and wear arms have occupied these positions?

Sultan Ala-ud-Din treated the conquered Hindu Rajas in a way to which history offers no parallel. The Sultan was so strong that no other ruler in the whole of the sub-continent could stand in opposition to him. Even the maids in the palace of the Sultan had courage and skill in fighting to humble the famous Rajput Rajas. Such an event concerning the royal maid Gul-i-Bahisht and Raja Kaner Deo has been described fully by Ferishta. But inspite of the fact that the Sultan was conscious of his own strength and also knew the weakness of the Hindu Rajas and yet his treatment of them was very generous. Before attacking any state the Sultan would offer three conditions to the ruling raja and they were that either he should embrace Islam or pay Jizia. In case the

1. Ferishta, p, 114.
2. Ferishta, p, 118.
4. Ferishta, p, 118.
first two conditions were rejected then alone the fight was given. This meant that he did not want to force his opponents to a fight nor did he like bloodshed. He wanted peace and offered peace to all. That is why all the Hindu rajas in the south agreed to pay Jizia. After that the Sultan let them remain on their thrones and even gave them rich rewards and honoured them duly. In this way not only the Hindu states remained intact but Hindu culture and religion were saved from any decline.

Sultan Ala-ud-Din had established new markets and he called them Serai-i-Adl. The extent of Hindu domination of the trade and agriculture of the country is clear from the fact that here too they were the monopolists. They enjoyed all sorts of concessions and the Hindu traders of Multan received advances from the royal treasury to import the necessities of life from the foreign countries. Sultan Ala-ud-Din imposed 'chari tax' but even this was not indiscriminate. He exempted a fixed number of animals from this tax so that the poor Hindu peasants and small zamindars should not suffer any hardship. He was extremely kind to his subjects and was always thoughtful of their welfare. He did not hesitate to crush the disloyal elements but for the poor

2. Aiyangar, p. 93.
he was a blessing. It was for the good of the poor Hindu peasants that the Sultan was severe on their co-religionists, the Khuts, Muqaddams, Balhars and Chaudhriś. He took away their undue privileges which they enjoyed at the cost of the poor country folk. For the poor Hindu peasants this period of Ala-ud-Din was a real blessing. On the one hand they were safe from the destructive Mughal invasion and on the other hand, they were no more tortured by the petty government officials. Life became happy for them. The fruit of their labour was their own and they had not to share it with any 'Khut' or 'Chaudhri'. In the event of their crops being ruined due to some unforeseen calamities such as drought etc they had to pay no revenue. Khusrau says that many times he remitted the kharaj of his subjects.

Whenever talking of the traders and agriculturists I have been referring to them as Hindus. The reason for this is that Muslims were in minority at that time and also because as they belonged to the ruling class they were mostly in the army. Some of the Muslims were traders but agriculture was almost completely in the hands of the Hindus.

In Muslim India the Hindu peasants were in a very weak financial condition, at the same time being in majority. Whenever the crops failed they were hit hard and died in large numbers, but the economic reforms of the Sultan filled

2. Isami, p, 294.
4. Tripathi, p, 296.
5. Medieval not Muslim.
the markets with very cheap foodgrain and other necessities of life and the lot of this class of people became happy. The unemployment ended with the methods used for large scale production and purchasing power of the people increased. Consequently for the first time in the history this class was in no fear of starvation. This rare economic security was provided to them by Ala-ud-Din, against whom charges have been levelled that he wanted to ruin them economically. But the facts speak for themselves. His economic reforms and his generous treatment of the Hindus brought to them a prosperity which they had tasted for long.

The following passages from Barani's *Fatawa-i-Jahandari* supports our contention.

"These infidels and ploytheists are regarded as Zimmis and, therefore, they are advanced to great positions and are honoured, they are rewarded with drums, banners and standards inset with jewels, dresses of gold brocade and saddled horses are presented to them; and they are appointed to governorships, high offices and important posts."2

Referring to the position of the Hindus in the capital the same authority says that even "they build houses like palaces; they wear dresses of gold brocade and ride Arab horses with a hundred thousand insignia of greatness; they indulge in luxurious comfort; they employ Muslims as their servants who run in front of their horses and the poor among

1. *Isami*, p, 294.
the Muslims beg alms from them and at their palace gates. Inside the very capital of the Sultanate, on the loftiness of which depends the grandeur of the edifice of Islam they are called (by the proud titles of) Rais (great rulers), Ranas, (minor rulers), Thakurs (warriors), Shahas (bankers), Mehtas (clerks) and Pandits (priests). The last sentence is significant in that it shows the extent of political influence and authority enjoyed by all classes of Hindu.

Isami supports Barani by saying that the peasants who found their life comfortable through the love of justice of the Sultan were Hindus. The Sultan had done so much for them that no beggars, who chiefly were Hindus, were left anywhere.

Previously the Hindus were the victims of the Mughal invasions as a result of which their lives were lost, their trade was ruined and they were carried as slaves to the markets of Samarqand and Bukhara. To protect them from this white scourge came into the field these so called untouchable Muslims and not the Rajput Rajas or the god-like Brahmans. It does not mean that Muslim were immune from the tyrannoy of these barbarous invaders, but my contention is that these Hindus were in majority and at the same time being traders and the tillers of the soil suffered heavily.

One of the best tributes that can be paid to Sultan Ala-ud-Din is that he was so tolerant that he never tried to

1. Isami, p, 240.
2. Tripathi, pp, 266-267.
convert Hindus to Islam by force. He never murdered any Hindu for being a Hindu, nor did he ever damage any temple or any other place of worship in peace time. He hated idolatory and yet his Hindu subjects, who were in majority, enjoyed full religious liberty and worshipped their idols openly.

There is a very interesting story which shows the consideration the Sultan gave to the religious sentiments of the Hindus. Once a beautiful little golden idol was brought from the south along with other spoils. A young royal princess liked it so much that she begged it of the Sultan and took it to the royal palace. Meanwhile the worshippers of that idol came all the way from the south to get it back from the Sultan. On enquiring from the treasury officer it was discovered that the idol was in the palace with the little prince. It was taken from her and returned to those who had come for it. The princess was so unhappy afterwards that she died of grief for she had developed a strong love for that idol and could not tolerate its loss. This story has been narrated by Iyanger and shows clearly that the Sultan did not mind breaking the heart of a member of the royal family but he granted the request of his Hindu subjects.

In this respect the Sultan had no prejudices and he was extremely generous towards the followers of the other faiths unlike Akbar he never interfered in the religious affairs of the Hindus, not even in the name of any reform.


Justice was administered to the Hindus in the light of their personal law. His tolerance went so far that he even allowed inscriptions in Sanskrit on his coins.\(^1\)

Once it was brought to the notice of the Sultan that the Muslim nobles borrowed money from the Hindu traders and then did not return it. And these money lenders kept quiet out of fear. The Sultan investigated the matter and when the charge was proved he himself stood as a surety for the Muslim nobles, and arranged the return of the money that had been borrowed. For the future he instituted severe punishment for the dishonest.\(^2\) And all this was done to safeguard the interests of the Hindus of various classes.

The Sultan valued merit even in his enemy let alone his subject. He was told that in the Deccan lived a famous Hindu musician named Gopal Naik.\(^3\) The Sultan invited him to his court and offered him a handsome salary in addition to the other honours which he bestowed upon him. But this musician was no comparison with the versatile genius at the court, Amir Khusrau so he became a pupil of the latter. The Hindu astrologers were respected at the court and on the occasion of the festivals both Hindus and the Muslims were invited to the palace.\(^5\)

Knowing all that has been mentioned above that the Sultan's treatment of the Hindus was very generous and they

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1. Thomas: Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi, p. 172.
2. Ibn Batutah, p. 84. (Vol. II).
5. Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi, p. 79.
enjoyed peace and prosperity under him.

The Hindus regard the Muslims as untouchables. They refused to mix with them in any form, nay, they do not let a Muslim touch even their clothes for that would make it essential for them to wash them before using it again. If any utensil is touched by a Muslim that must be put in the fire to consecrate it. According to the Muslim Law unfaithful are made Zimmis and then accorded an equal treatment with the faithful but their this caste system is so intolerant of others that no body even after his conversion can become a Hindu of the high caste. In those days they were a fighting nation and were ever ready to join hands with the rebels to pack up the Muslim rule in India or at least to weaken it. It was these Hindus that the Sultan treated with kindness, in affection and in generosity. This noble treatment of the Hindus forced them to change their thinking and to offer their whole hearted cooperation to the Sultan. History bears out ample witness to the fact that Sultan Ala-ud-Din Khalji was a just, a large hearted and a tolerant ruler.
CHAPTER VIII

LITERATURE AND ARTS

Sultan Ala-ud-Din Khalji— the so called unlettered man was a great patron of the men of letters and gave a considerable impetus to the development of different branches of Fine Arts. We are told by Barani that the most wonderful thing which people saw in Sultan Ala-ud-Din's reign was the multitude of great men of all nationalities, masters of every science and experts in every art gathered round the Sultan. The capital of Delhi, by the presence of these unrivalled men of great talents, had become the envy of Baghdad, the rival of Cairo and the equal of Constantinople— the centres of the then civilised world.

Dunshi Ghulam Hussain of Siyar-ul-Murakhbirin corroborates Barani's account in the following words:

The Sultan extended his patronage to the scholars who flocked to his court from other parts of Asia under the pressure of Mughal inroads. The political and military activities of the Sultan did not hamper the progress of art and literature. Starting his career as an illiterate prince he so improved himself that he came to possess the soundest judgement in matters of art and literature.

The military conquests of Ala-ud-Din Khalji are well known. His ability as an administrator is recognised by all. But as a patron of Fine Arts, he is known to the very few. His was a very important period in the cultural life of Medieval India, almost comparable to that of Akbar during the Mughal period. Indeed it may be said that if consolidation of Muslim rule was the work of Balban, Muslim India attained cultural maturity in the days of Sultan Ala-ud-Din Khalji.

Under Ala-ud-Din the Muslims first crossed the Narbada and brought Southern India under their sway. This was a development of far reaching importance, which exerted wholesome influence in all fields of national life. For one thing, it greatly augmented the financial sources of Delhi Government, and not only facilitated the maintenance of a large army and a successful solution of the Mughal problem, but it also enabled the ruler and other beneficiaries to undertake cultural activities on a lavish scale.

He was a great patron of men of letters. Judging from the number of eminent men of letters his reign seems to surpass the rest. Harani devotes several pages to an account of cultural activities of that periods and give a long list of scholars, poets, preachers, philosophers, physicians, astronomers and historians who excelled, according to that historian, any man in Turkistan, Persia, Turkey or Egypt. Foreigners of distinction in their own lands discovered that they had yet to learn a great deal at Delhi.
Some of them were:  

1. Qazi Fakhr-ud-Din Naqila.  
2. Qazi Sharaf-ud-Din Sarbahi.  
3. Maulana Nasir-ud-Din Ghani.  
4. Maulana Taj-ud-Din Mughadam.  
5. Maulana Ziaeer-ud-Din Langi.  
6. Qazi Ghias-ud-Din Bina.  
8. Maulana Taj-ud-Din Kulihi.  
10. Qazi Mohi-ud-Din Kashani.  
11. Maulana Kamal-ud-Din Koli.  
12. Maulana Wajih-ud-Din Pally.  
13. Maulana Sinhaj-ud-Din.  
15. Maulana Nasir-ud-Din.  
17. Maulana Ala-ud-Din Tajir.  
20. Maulana Hameed-ud-Din Mukhliis.  
22. Maulana Iftikhar-ud-Din Barani.  
23. Maulana Hisam-ud-Din Surkh.  
24. Maulana Wajih-ud-Din Malhu.  
25. Maulana Ala-ud-Din Karak.  
27. Maulana Hameed-ud-Din Banian.  
29. Maulana Fakhr-ud-Din Hansvi.  
32. Qazi Zain-ud-Din Naqila.  
33. Maulana Wajih-ud-Din Razi.  
34. Maulana Ala-ud-Din Sadr-ul-Sharifata.  
35. Maulana Miran Barikala.  
37. Maulana Shams-ud-Din Tum.  
38. Maulana Sadr-ud-Din Gandhak.  
40. Maulana Shams-ud-Din Yahya.  
41. Qazi Shams-ud-Din Gazroni.  
42. Maulana Sani-ud-Din Tavi.  
43. Maulana Muqeen-ud-Din Loni.  
44. Maulana Iftikhar-ud-Din Razi.  
45. Maulana Muiz-ud-Din.  
46. Maulana Najm-ud-Din Intesar.

Barani, pp. 353-354.
Barani says:

"If I write a regular book on their perfection in Arts and Sciences even then I would not have done full justice to their perfection".¹

As the works of most of the persons named by Barani have perished, it is impossible to assess their quality, but if the surviving poetry of Amir Khusrau and Hassan Sijzi, the historical works of Barani, and the table talk of Sheikh Nizam-ud-Din Aulla, are any indication of the cultural vitality and richness of the age, one can well understand why Khusrau and others felt that Delhi was the metropolis of the Muslim East and were loud and eloquent in its praise.

Poets.

A number of famous poets produced works of merit under the patronage of Sultan Ala-ud-Din. Amir Khusrau, Hassan Sijzi, Sadr-ud-Din Aall, Fakhr-ud-Din Qawas, Hameed-ud-Din Kaja, Maulana Arif, Ubaid Hakim and Shahab Ansari were the poets of the court.²

Barani says:

"Every one of them has got a particular style and had got a 'Diwan' of his own. They were well-versed in prose as well as in poetry and their poetry speaks volumes for itself".³

The most famous among them was Amir Khusrau. He was

¹,²,³ Barani, pp. 354, 360, 361.
a prolific writer, whose genius unfolded itself in poetry, prose and music, and whom destiny granted a long tenure of life. It is impossible here to attempt a detailed criticism of his works which will require a volume by itself. His flights of fancy, command over the instrument of language, the variety of subjects, and the marvellous ease and grace with which he describes human passions and emotions and the scenes of love and war place him among the greatest poets of all time. He is the most illustrious figure in the literary history of the period. This sub-continent has not produced during these six hundred years, any person possessing such perfection in the art of poetry. What makes him more important in the eyes of the students of history is the fact that he has left a number of historical works in prose and poetry. Apart from Lyrics, Qasidas, five books written in reply to Nizami’s Khamsa (1293-1301), he wrote poems relating to contemporary events. In Ashiqqa (1315), Khusrau gave an account of the romance of the Gujarati Princess Deval Devi and Prince Khizr Khan, son of Sultan Ala-ud-Din Khalji. The latter’s conquests are the subject matter of Khazain-ul-Futuh (1311), written in poetical prose. These books provide us with valuable informations about the history and social condition of Alai period.

Amir Khusrau was also among the earlier writers of Hindi poetry. He himself has referred to his Hindi verses in the introduction of his third Diwan, Ghurat-ul-Kamal.

"I have scattered among my friends a few chapters
of Hindi poetry also, but I would be content herewith a mere mention of this fact.\(^1\)

At the demise of his spiritual guide, Sheikh Mizam-ud-Din Aulia, his grief found expression in Hindi verse. The most pathetic couplet is:-

"The fair one lies on the couch with her black tresses scattered on her face: O Khusrau, come home now, for night has fallen all over the world.\(^2\)

"Moreover, he gives a few specimen of verses capable of being interpreted both in Persian and Hindi.\(^3\)

He was a son of the soil, and represented an era which not only saw the consolidation of Muslim rule under Salban but its large scale expansion under Ala-ud-Din and complete beating back of the Mughals. Naturally his works breath a spirit of exultation, self confidence and local pride. His liberal sufi outlook (and probable Indian origin on the maternal side) enabled him to admire and imbibe the praise worthy elements of the old Indian tradition. He wrote long poems on local themes. His poetry is full of pride not only in his native land, its history, its people, the 'pan', and the mango, but also it held that Persian, as spoken and written in India was purer than the language used in Khurasan, Siestan and Azarbaijan.

But the greatest achievement of Amir Khusrau is that

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1. Amir Khusrau: Churrat-ul-Kamal (Dibacha).
3. Haheed Mirza, p, 228.
   Lai-i-Uman, By Maulana Rashid Ahmad Salim, Aligarh, 1918. (p,8).
he had the vision to assist in the evolution of a new pattern of culture, humanistic, artistically rich and in harmony with the environment. Until his time Indo-Muslim culture was a projection of the cultural tradition of Ghazni. New Muslim India discovered its soul and evolved its own pattern of culture.

Hassan Bijnji, a friend and companion of Amir Khusrau and Barani, is another important poet, whose work has attracted attention outside India. Jami praised him in his Baharistan. He has been described as extremely musical and most pleasing. His fame rests mainly on his excellent ghazals, but his prose work, Fawaid-ul-Fawad, a record of the table talk of his spiritual guide, Sheikh Nizam-ud-Din Aulia, is a literary classic of the period. It can be studied with profit for the social and cultural history of those days. He is called by his admirers, Saadi-i-Hind, for his poetic skill.

Ubaid Hakim was a man of liberal ideas and according to Barani, it was under his influence that scholarly Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq became a liberal and began to weigh each and every thing in the scale of reason. Ubaid was also a great poet and was a match to the great Khusrau. When Amir Khusrau completed his Khumsa written in imitation of Nizami, Ubaid wrote satirically:

"A stew cooked in Nizami's pot and a foolish self-conceit."

Amir Khusrau also replied in the same tune.

Historians:—

Kabir-ud-Din son of Taj-ud-Din Iraqi and Amir Arsalon Kohi were the court historian of Sultan Ala-ud-Din Khalji:—
Barani says that Kabir:—

In the art of composition, eloquence and advice, (kabir) exceeded his own contemporaries, and became the Amir-i-Usd-i-Lashkar in place of his revered father. He was held in great honour by Ala-ud-Din. He has displayed wonders in Arabic and Persian prose. In Fateh-i-Nama (Book of Victory) which consists of several volumes, he does honour to the traditions of prose and seems to surpass all writers, ancient and modern. But of all the events of Ala-ud-Din’s reign, he has confined himself to narration of the Sultan’s conquests; these he has praised with exaggeration and adorned with figures of speech.

His book is mentioned as Tarikh-i-Jahangiri in Tarikh-i-Ganjáni. It is a great tragedy that all of his works have been lost. To Prof. Habib its manuscripts may have been intentionally destroyed during the Taimur’s invasions or under the early Mughal Emperors, for it must have been full of contempt and hatred for the Mughal barbarians. The same fact has overtaken other medieval histories, for example the first volumes of Balhaqi, the Autobiography of Muhammad bin Tughlaq and the last chapter of Afif’s Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi, which was violent attack on Taimur and is found torn or missing in most volumes.

Ferishta and later historians do not refer to it, and its great length, in any case, have made its preservation difficult. Both Barani and Khusrau had the Fateh-i-Nama before them and accommodated their histories to it.

Another court historian was Amir Arsalan Kohi. History of the past kings was at his finger's tips. Whatever historical events Sultan Ala-ud-Din asked him, he narrated them orally and never stood in need of referring to the history books. He was a past master in this branch and was the greatest scholar in the capital.

Barani, himself was the product of that age, though he had never been an Alai courtier.

We can add to this list of scholars, the names of Maulana Latif and his son Maulana Sanami, Jamal-ud-Din Shatbi, Ala-ud-Din Naqri, Khawja Zaki, Maulana Ahmad-ul-Hasan, Maulana Shahab-ud-Din Khabit, Maulana Hamid, Syed Rukn-ud-Din and brothers of Qazi Mughals.

There were saints like Sheikh Nizam-ud-Din Aulia, Sheikh Rukn-ud-Din, Sheikh Sadr-ud-Din Arif, Sheikh Ala-ud-Din, Sheikh Usman, Makhdom Siraj-ud-Din, who shed luster on Alai reign. They were the spiritual guides of the millions. Their teaching and preaching was responsible for the high moral standard of the Alai subjects.

Physicians:

Barani also gives details about the prominent physicians of the reign of Sultan Ala-ud-Din. Foremost among them were

Maulana Badr-ud-Din and Maulana Hameed Mutri both from Damascus. They were not only practicing physicians, but were also good teachers and taught the standard works on medicine to aspiring students. Of these physicians Maulana Badr-ud-Din of Syria was the most renowned one. He was so well versed that if the urine of some animals was presented before him he could instantly discriminate. Maulana Hameed was, in particular, an effective teacher, and specialised in the teaching of Avicenna's Qanun and its abridgement, Qanuncha and other works on medicine. He was a practising Sufi also.

Barani mentions a few other names, including the Hindu physician Man Chandra, Raja Jarrah (Surgeon) and Ilam-ud-Din Kahhal (eye-specialist), but it appears that physicians from Syria, which was an important centre of Greek sciences, were dominant.

Sultan was also a great patron of Munajams, Ramals and Kimdagar. Maulana Shams-ud-Din Munajam, Maulana Sadr-ud-Din Ramal and Muqeem-ul-Mulk Ramal were the recipients of royal favours.

Barani says that being an unlettered man, Sultan Ala-ud-Din Khalji, had no respect for the men of letters, shunned their company and was not very generous towards them. He was particularly ungenerous to the Prince of Poets, Amir Khusrau.

1. Firishta, p, 122.
2. Barani, pp, 363-64.
whom he used to pay only one thousand tankas. But all this accusation is against the facts. Not only his contemporaries but even he himself contradicts this allegation.

Wahid Mirza says, "According to Barani, Ala-ud-Din did not add anything to the annuity of one thousand tankas that Khusrau used to receive before his reign. But it is apparent from Khusrau poems that the king's favours to the poet were frequent and abundant and that he had given him a village in reward for a poem." He further says, "_______ Ala-ud-Din seems to have confirmed Khusrau in the office of 'Mushafdar' conferred upon him by Firuz Khalji."

It is a fact of history that the Sultan was not altogether illiterate. He possessed a very refined taste. Starting his career as an illiterate prince, he so improved himself that he came to possess the soundest judgement in matters of art and literature. Moreover, he was not a niggard and his treasury, full to the brim, was opened freely to the scholars of merit and worth.

The following statement of Amir Khusrau supports our contention and contradicts Barani:-

O king! I know that there never was a wiser king for you are a thorough connoisseur of skill, a good critic of verses and a friend of poetry . . . . . . . . . .

If I do not prosper in your times, how can I ever do after you?

Besides, Amir Khusrau and Hassan Sijzi, a large number of scholars including poets used to attend royal court and were paid by the Divan-i-Az, just like other officials of the state, regularly. Though in the eyes of Barani a sum of one thousand tankas seems a very meager salary but actually it was not so. The Alai period is proverbial for its cheapness and abundance.

If we take an Alai tanka equal to one Pakistani or Indian rupee, a 'Jital' equal to one pice and a 'Man' equal to 14 seers, then one could buy with one thousand tankas about 1200 maunds of wheat or 1400 maunds of ghee or 2250 maunds of mutton or 6000 she-goats in the days of Sultan Ala-ud-din Khalji. These things are worth Rupees 51,200 or Rupees 3,36,000 or Rupees 1,57,500 or Rupees 6,00,000 respectively in Pakistani currency. Therefore it was not a small amount. Moreover, they used to receive valuable gifts from the Sultan and his courtiers, off and on.

Amir Khusrau says: 2

The Khan-i-Khanan (Ulugh Khan, Almas Beg, Ala-ud-Din's brother) was very kind to me on hearing that letter of victory and gave me a special robe of honour and five hundred tankas, and the memory of that gift is still fresh in my mind.

He further says: 3 "Money, which is Elixir of desires and the most cherished of objects, has become so cheap on account of his (Ala-ud-Din) heavy gifts and abundant charities

that no one feels the strain of the high price of a stuff, so that prosperity and comfort prevails all over his dominions.  

Therefore, these people used to live very comfortably. They possessed their own mansions, slaves and all other paraphernalias of ease and luxury. They were so well off that even their personal khidmatgars (attendant or servant) possessed their own slave girls.  

The word Amir is not a part of the names of Amir Khusrau and Amir Hassan Sijzi. This was their official rank and they belonged to the third grade of the nobles. First grade was that of the Khans and the second was of the Malikas. An Amir was a commander of one thousand's sawars.

Amir Khusrau and Amir Hassan Sijzi were quite satisfied with their position in the Ala'i court and they have praised the Sultan for his generosity and love of Islam, with great sincerity and fervence. Amir Khusrau says:-

Amir Hassan Sijzi says:-

Sultan was a great patron of the learned and enjoyed their society. Though he was a very busy man, still he managed to find a few hours to spend in the company of men like Amir Khusrau, Amir Hassan Bija'i, Maulana Zaheer Lang, Maulana Shahed Rahmani and Qazi Mujhis.1

Ulema (scholars of every art and science including religion) as a class were patronised by him. When Chanains from Bhar Smundra were presented before him by Malik Kafur, he ordered the distribution of Deccan gold among the celebrities of his empire and Ulema were not excluded. They were given from half a 'man' (seven seers) gold to one 'man' (fourteen seers) gold according to their maratibs (gradings).2

He was a very exacting master. He expected from those, who were paid out of Sultan's treasury, work—hard work—honest work and nothing else. These men of letters were the only exception from whom the state did not get any material return, and this is the greatest proof of his love and patronage of letters and men of letters. We have already quoted a long list of scholars, poets, preachers, philosophers, physicians, astronomers and historians who thronged in Delhi in the days of Sultan's favour. He (Sultan) himself took pride in the brilliance of his court and the enlightened outlook of his people.3

Architectural

Sultan Ala-ud-Din evinced a great interest in

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1. Jarani, pp. 352, 368.
3. Ferishta, p. 120.
architecture. Though his time was largely spent in wars, he ordered the construction of several forts, mosques, tanks, madrasahs and palaces. He had a full fledged Construction Department with a permanent strength of seventy thousand apprentices and seven thousand expert masons and gulkars. They were regularly paid by the Sultan. It is said that they could build a palace within two or three days and a fort in fourteen days. One can imagine that how many buildings would have been constructed by these one lac men during the twenty years' rule of the Sultan.

Ferishta rightly says:-

"The buildings and structures such as mosques, monasteries, tanks and minarets that were constructed during his reign were never built before."

Due to the long span of time and the rigours of Indian weather, a large number of Alai buildings have crumbled to the dust, but still there are a few survivals, which give an ample proof of their own strength and beauty, the high class workmanship of their architects and Sultan's taste and love for such works.

Alai buildings and their style:-

For by the time the Khalji's came upon the scene, Islamic building traditions had already become firmly established on Indian soil with the result that not only had

1. Ferishta, p, 123.
3. Ferishta, p, 120.
methods of construction been revolutionised but ornamentation had come to be treated more as an integral factor and less as a quasi independent accessory of architecture.

The effect of these developments upon the style of the Khalji period is clearly evidenced in the two principal monuments of Sultan Ala-ud-Din's reign, the Jamat Khana Masjid at the Dargah of Sheikh Nizam-ud-Din Aulia, and the Alai Darwaza at the Qutb.

The Jamat Khana Masjid is the earliest example in India of a mosque built wholly in accordance with Islamic ideas and with materials especially quarried for the purpose. It is of red sandstone and consists of three chambers a square one in the centre and the ablong ones on either sides each entered through a broad archway in the facade. All three entrances, as well as two smaller ones between them, are framed in the bands of Quranic inscriptions and embellished with locus cuspidings. The central chamber is covered by a single dome (38 inches diameter) supported at the corners on fourfold squinch a arches. Around the base of the dome, internally, are eight arched niches, four closed and four pierced through the thickness of the masonry. The side chambers, which are divided at their middle by a double arch and roofed by the two small domes, differ from the central one in that their walls are of plastered marble instead of sandstone, while their domes are supported on triangular pendentives instead of squinches.

Originally it is said, that building was intended by its author, Prince Khizr Khan, son of Sultan Ala-ud-Din
not as a mosque but as a tomb for Sheikh Nizam-ud-Din Aulia and consisted of the central chamber only, the side wings being added in the early Tughlaq period when it was converted into a mosque. But that the side wings were a later addition is more than questionable; the design of the whole facade is so homogeneeans and so nobly planned, that it is well nigh incredible that it could have been the creation of two different epochs or that the new work should have been so cleverly dovetailed into the old and the new carvings imitated so skilfully as to defy detection.  

Alai Darwaza.

Alai Darwaza, built in 1311, was the southern gateway leading into Sultan Ala-ud-Din's extension of the Qutb-ud-Din mosque, though the only one of the buildings at Qutb which has not fallen to ruin, is in a state of preservation far from perfect, a pillar portico which once veiled its walls being sadly damaged and incorrectly restored.

The Alai Darwaza is one of the most treasured gems of Islamic architecture. Like the tomb of Iletmish, it consists of a square hall roofed by a single dome, with arched entrances piercing each of its floor walls; and like that tomb, else, it is of red sandstone relieved by white marble and freely adorned with bands of Quranic texts of formal arabesques. But there the likeness ends. In every feature whether structural or decorative, the Alai Darwaza is incomparably the finer of the two monuments. Seen at a distance its well proportioned lineaments are accentuated.

by the alternating red and white colours of its walls; and added dignity is given by the high plinth on which its stands. At close range, the harmony of form and colour is enhanced by the wealth of lace like decorations graven on every square foot of its exterior walls. Then, as one passes into the hall, this effect of warm sumptuous beauty gives place to one of quite solemnity, to which every feature of the interior seems to contribute the subdued red of the sandstone, the state-lines of the portals, the plain expanse of dome, the shapely horse shoe arches that support it, and the bold geometric patterning of walls and window screens. The key notes of this building are its perfect symmetry and the structural propriety of all its parts.

Whoever the architect may have been, he was a man of irreproachable taste, who was not satisfied merely with repeating traditional ideas, but who set himself to think out and perfect every detail of his creation.\(^1\)

Among other monuments of Sultan Ala-ud-Din at Delhi, two that merit notice are the City of Siri—the second of the seven cities of Delhi—and the Hauz-i-Alai or Hauz-i-Khas tank.

The city of Siri was built by the Sultan about 1303 in order to protect the ever growing population of suburbs.

When in A.H. 703, the Emperor marched against Chittor in person and at the same time sent a large force against

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Warangal in Telengana, Turghi and the Mughals came and laid siege to Delhi, expecting to find it empty. But after many battles the Emperor was victorians. Afterwards he built this fort. A village called Siri, existed here at that time; consequently the fort was known as the fort of Siri. But Isami says that since no one went hungry in the reign of Sultan Ala-ud-Din, therefore, that fort was called Siri (the saliated). In Sher Shah's time it was called the Kaushak-i-Siri. The fort as built by Ala-ud-Din was circular, with strongly built walls of stone, bricks and lime, and had seven gates. Before the fort was completed, another battle with the Mughals took place, and eight thousand Mughal heads were used in place of stones in building the walls of the fort.

Sultan after having constructed a fortress in Siri, laid the foundation of another new city. The old city of Delhi and Siri, both circular in shape and surrounded ramparts, were enclosed by two walls that joined them and had numerous gates outside and inside these walls. The space between the two cities became later known as Jahanpanah and the whole formed a big continuous city.

Nothing is now left of this city except some fragments of the encircling walls, but even these remnants, with their round and tapering bastions, their lines of loopholes, their flame shaped battlements inscribed with the Kalima, and their inner barn supported on an orched gallery, are of

1. Barani, p, 303.
2. Pathan Kings of Delhi (Thomas), p, 313.
value and interest for the light they throw on the military architecture of the period.

**Hauz-i-Alai.**

The Hauz was built by Sultan Shams-ud-Din sometime about A.H. 627 (A.D. 1229) in the neighbourhood of Qutb Sahib. According to the Malfuzat of Khawaja Bakhtiar Kaid, the site of the tank was pointed out to Ilemtish by the Prophet in a dream. It is said that the tank was constructed of red stone.

As the tank dried up and the water of tank evaporated so thoroughly that its bottom cracked and broke into pieces, in A.H. 711 Sultan Ala-ud-Din ordered that sand and mud to be removed from the bottom of the tank; and exactly in its centre he constructed a platform over which he built a very beautiful dome (burj). This dome exists till to-day.

Amir Khusrau has written the following lines in praise of the tank and its dome:

"The dome in the centre of the tank is like a bubble on the surface of the sea. If you see the dome and the tank rightly, you will say that former is like an ostrich egg, half in water and half out of it."

The tank according to Ibn-i-Batutah was two mile by one mile and had pavilions on its four sides for sightseers and excursionists.

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2. *Asar-us-Sanadid*; Sir Syed Ahmad, Translation by Prof. Habib.
But now the tank is quite broken and only a lake is left. This lake is 276 pukhta bighas\(^1\) in area.

The palace of Hazar-Situn (thousand pillars) was built by the Sultan, and Barani writes that the heads of thousands of Mughals were buried in the foundation and the walls of this magnificent building, where the Sultan displayed the abundant wealth which Malik Kafur had brought from Deccan,\(^2\)

Along with many other buildings a great Madrasa-i-Alai was also built. The last of the Delhi Sultan to enlarge the Quwwat-ul-Islam mosque was Ala-ud-Din Khalji.

The Court of the Qutb Mosque:

"After the gate was finished, the Emperor ordered a fourth court (darja) to be added to the mosque with lofty pillars to be added to the existing three courts. Verses from Holy Quran were engraved on stones."

The Court in the centre had been constructed by Sultan Muiz-ud-Din and the two courts on either side of it by Sultan Shams-ud-Din.

Sultan Ala-ud-Din's court was 115 yards long, counting three feet to the yard. In A.H. 711 (A.D. 1311) the court was being built, but unfortunately the Emperor died in A.H. 715 (A.D. 1315) and the mosque was left incomplete. If the edifice had been completed, the whole mosque would have been 241 yards in length from East to West and 132 yards in breadth from North to South.

\(^1\), \(^2\). Amir Khusrau: Khazain-ul-Futuh, p, 15. Asar-us-Sanadid, Sir Syed Ahmad Khan.
On the northern side the Emperor began the construction of a door, but that too was left unfinished. There was fine mosaic work on all these incomplete buildings, and 'text' traditions had been inscribed.

The incomplete Minar.

The Emperor Ala-ud-Din was very desirous of fame. Consequently he ordered the extension of the (Qutb) mosque in A.H. 711 (A.D. 1311), he also commanded a new Minar (towar) to be built in the court yard of the mosque, twice the size of the old (Qutb) Minar. The new had a circumference of one hundred yards and its foundations were laid in the Muslim fashion i.e., with a platform and its first door opening on the western side. It was proposed to built the new Minar 200 yards high. But though the Emperor had laid its foundations firmly, his own life was less secure; even the first storey had not been finished when he died and the wonderful structure was left incomplete. Some parts of the incomplete Minar have fallen down; only a mass of stones and lime is left.

Had these vast structures been completed, one may well believe that they would have transcended the other monuments of Delhi as much in beauty as in size, but, unfortunately, the death of the Sultan put an end to his grandios schemes.


2. Extracts from Asar-us-Sanadid of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan. Quoted by Prof. Habib on p, 15 of Khazain-ul-Futuh of Amir Khusrau.
Chittor Buildings:

After his capture of the Rajput stronghold of Chittor in 1303, he caused to be constructed a bridge over the Gamberi river, below the famous fortress. Unfortunately its chief architectural features, the gateways and towers raised over the abutments at each end have disappeared, but ten massive arches of grey limestone still exist to show that competent engineers as well as accomplished architects were engaged to carry out such projects.¹

We could not agree with Havell when he observes that the oft quoted phrase that the Pathans built like Titans and finished like goldsmiths conveys a historical fallacy.² It is not an historical fallacy but rather a historical truth and the Alai buildings are a living proof of it.

The Alai era which is known for its peace and prosperity, saw the erection of a large number of buildings built by the Hindu — particularly the temples. Thakur Pheru, author of Wastu Sara, a contemporary writer, has given a full detail of twenty five different styles adopted by the Hindus in those days in the construction of their temples.³

These large scale activities of Alai public Works Department were responsible for the construction of countless buildings of governmental and public utility. This

resulted in the establishment of a large number of large-scale industries supported by so many other subsidiary industries. They opened the door of employment for the millions and at the same time produced skilled labour on a large scale, a great asset for any country.

Music.

Sultan Ala-ud-Din Khalji was a great lover of music.¹ The master musicians of his court were Amir Khusrau, Nazir Khan Bahroz, Changi and Gopal Naik.² Under the benign patronage of the Sultan, the two streams of Perso-Arabic and Indian music mingled more closely with each other, and a new school of music arose, which is today for all practical purposes, the national music of Indo-Pak sub-continent. Dr. Halim say, "The time of Sultan Ala-ud-Din Khalji may rightly be considered as the period of assimilation of the Indian system by the Muslims and even imparting a certain individuality of their own to the Indian system"³.

Amir Khusrau started the process of synthesis and raised the prestige of the art in the eyes of the local Muslims. He is reputed to have invented the Qawwali mode of singing—a judicious mixture of Indo-Persian models, which later on gained a great popularity among Indian Muslims.⁴ He introduced into Indian music nearly a dozen Perso-Arabic airs

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2. K.T. Shah. Splendour That was India, p, 115.
like Aiman, Ghora, Sanam, Chanam, Sazgari, Firudast, Zilf, Pribu, Ushad, Shaq, Nnowofiq sarpara, etc.¹

Amir Khusrau was at home in instrumental music as well. He introduced the Sitar (more correctly sehtar or three wires), which was an improvement on the Wina² and invented Dholak in place of Pakhawaj.³

Amir Khusrau himself claims in his Ghurat-ul-Kamal that his musical compositions, if they could be written, would be as voluminos as his verses.⁴

The Hindu for the first time, conceded to the Muslim Amir Khusrau, the coveted title of Nayak (one proficient in theory and practice of the music of the past and the present), a title which was denied to famous Tan San, the court singer of Akbar, who was only a Gandharb (one proficient in the practice of music).⁵ It would be very interesting to know that in Indo-Pak sub-continent, there are five ranks for the master musicians. They are :

Pandit, Guni, Gandharb, Gaain and Nayak.⁶

Hindo-o-Pakistan has produced so far seven Nayaks, namely, Amir Khusrau, Sultan Hassan Sharqi, Cushchil Sen, Baz Bahdur of Milva, Suraj Khan Qawwal, Chand Khan Kabir and Chulam Rasul Lucknwi. Among them six are Muslims,⁷ and

6,7. Salik, Abdul Majid: Muslim Saqafat Hindustan Men, p, 415.
two of them wore crowns on their heads and sat on the royal thrones.

Gopal Nayak, the renowned Hindu musician of Viganganagar, visited the court at the invitation of Sultan Ala-ud-Din Khalji. It is said that Hassan Sijzi was also a good musician.¹

**Coinage.**

The coinage of Sultan Ala-ud-Din Khalji stands midway between that of Ileimish,² the initiator of a purely Muslim coinage, and that of Sher Shah,³ the originator of the modern rupee. Ileimish was the first to strike a silver tanka, which became the standard coin, gradually displacing the old Delhiwals, a small coin of mixed silver and copper, which had hitherto formed the chief medium of currency in northern India.

The origin of word Tanka is absecure.⁴ Ershine is of the opinion that it is a word of Turkish origin.⁵ But the fact that Muhmud of Ghazni uses tanka in the Sanshirt legend on the reverse of his coins of the year 1027/418 as a corresponding word for the Arabic 'dirham' on the obverse shows that tanka is really an Indian word.⁶ Taka, is still a general term for money in Indo-Pak sub-continent; perhaps it is derived from tankah, which meant a stamped coin.

1. Qureshi: The Administration of the Sultan of Delhi, p, 187
2. Edward Thomas, pp, 41-79.
4. Edward Thomas, p, 49.
In this account of the value of money under Sultan Ala-ud-Din Khalji, Ferishta observes that a tanka was equal to a tola in weight, whether of gold or silver, and a silver tanka was equal to 50 jitals.\(^1\)

Nelson Wright and Mr. Neville are of the opinion that this was the ratio in Deccan, and that in Delhi the jital was 1/48th of a tanka.\(^2\) And a gold tanka was equal to ten silver tankas.

Sultan Ala-ud-Din appears to have contemplated a reduction in the silver tanka from 175 grains to 140.\(^3\)

The gold and silver tankas of Sultan Ala-ud-Din, which follows the standardized types are common in the whole series. They reflect clearly the enormous quantity of gold and silver brought back by Sultan Ala-ud-Din and his general, Malik Naib, Kafur from Dakhan. Nearly a hundred years later Taimur, when he plundered Delhi, found vessels of gold and silver and money without count, on which were the impression of Sultan Ala-ud-Din Khalji.\(^4\)

Alai coins bear the marks of mints of Hazrat Delhi, Dar-ul-Islam and Qila-i-Deogir.\(^5\) It has been suggested by Mr. Neville that the Sultan gave the college known as Dar-ul-Islam in old Delhi the right to strike coins, while the 'Hazrat Delhi' coins were minted at Siri.\(^6\) Siri, was the new

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2. Wright, N : The Coinage and Metrology of the Sultans of Delhi, p, 397.
4. Wright, p, 399.
5. Thomas, p, 159., Lane Poole: The Coins of the Sultans of Delhi in the British Museum, p, XX.
6. Thomas, p, 171.
7. Sarted in 702 A.H. (Wright, p, 106).
8. Neville (J.A.S.B.N.S.35, art. 219) quoted by Wright, p, 106.
Delhi, built by the Sultan, some miles north of Delhi, and the
date of removal is recorded as A.D. 1303 (D.H. 703).\footnote{1}

It is however, seems strange that the most jealously
Guardian of striking currency should be given away
to an educational institution. It seems, more likely that it
was the capital, which was called Dar-ul-Islam, implying that
it was the centre of the Muslim Empire, the seat of its
supreme ruler.

The Sultan Ala-ud-Din was the first to experiment with
square coins; a shape which was adopted largely by Qutub-ud-
Din Mubarak and later by Akbar and Jahangir. A square coin is
an object of special regard in India and is put to uses other
than the legitimate one of currency—which explains the
large resort to fabrication of them.\footnote{2}

The absence of any pieces that can be identified with
a Jital is somewhat remarkable,\footnote{3} especially when Barani speaks
in his Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi of bags of tankas and Jitais
being distributed by Sultan Ala-ud-Din Khalji.\footnote{4}

It is a little surprising that no silver coins of
small dimension are to be recorded in this reign, but a
possible reason for this disappearance of the silver 'masha'
is the issue of a more convenient bullion equivalent.\footnote{5}

\footnotesize{\begin{align*}
1. & Wright, p. 106. \\
2. & Wright, p. 106. \\
3. & Wright, p. 107. \\
5. & Wright, p. 106. 
\end{align*}}
Sultan Ala-ud-Din issue bilingual coins, also.

On the obverse of the Alai Coins, there is written:

\[\text{سلطان الاعظم} \quad 
\text{الدین والدین} \quad 
\text{ابن الملک سلطان} \]

and on the reverse:

\[\text{کریم شاہ بن} \quad 
\text{السلطان} \quad 
\text{صدر الامیر المحمدین} \]

The facts and figures given in the chapter clearly show that Sultan Ala-ud-Din Khalji was a great ruler and a great patron of art and architecture. Politically, economically and culturally, the Alai India was at the pinnacle of her greatness. Therefore, it could be rightly observed, that his reign was the Golden Age of Muslim rule in Indo-Pakistan sub-continent.

2. Wright, p, 396.
CHAPTER IX

THE MASSACRE OF NEW MUSLIM MUGHALS

In the middle ages, the Mughals, of central Asia were a savage, blood thirsty and pagan race. Chingiz Khan and his successors organised them and changed them into an invincible fighting force. They turned their attention towards the destruction of the then civilized world. The caliphate of Baghdad and the kingdom of the Khurzam Shahs the two mighty empires of that age were washed away from the face of the earth by these savage herds in a ruthless fashion. They destroyed each and every thing which was worth a name. Cities and villages were burnt, crops were destroyed and animals were slaughtered. Millions of human beings were put to sword and the remaining ones were made slaves to be sold in the markets far off, to lead a miserable life. These uncultured people destroyed the precious cultural gems of that age and it was an irreparable loss to mankind.

In the middle ages the Islamic world was the only known civilized part of this vast universe, because Europe was still living in her 'Dark' days. These Mughals became the arch enemy of the Muslim nations for the following reasons:-

1. The Muslims were their immediate neighbours and
2. their countries were known for the material prosperity and riches throughout the world.

1. Amir Khusraw, Barani and Isami call them Mughals and not Mongols, as they are called by some of the modern scholars.
A life and death struggle started between these savage Mughals and the Muslim nations which resulted at the end with the absorption of these irreligious peoples in the folds of the vast sea of Islamic brotherhood. This change in faith made them a civilized nation and they adopted constructive activities and became great exponent of art and architecture in Asia. But it was a very slow process.

After destroying each and every Muslim kingdom in central Asia they turned their attention towards Hindustan (Indo-Pak sub-continent), which was one of the few Muslim independent states at that time. A large number of Muslim Princes, scholars and artists from central Asia had taken refuge in India. Lakhs of Mughals used to attack northern India every year without fail and the fate of Delhi Sultanate was always hanging in the balance. The first Mughal attack was made on India in the reign of Sultan Iletmish and this process continued for more than two hundred years.

Sultan Ghias-ud-Din Balban was a very powerful ruler but even he could not dare to leave this capital except once, because Mughal danger was always lurking there on his northern frontier. Inspite of having large number of forces he never thought of the expansion of his kingdom. He was very much fond of hunting, but he never stayed there in the sikargarh for the night and always returned to the capital on the same day due to the danger of Mughal invasion.


* Shikargah
Khan named Prince Alghu Khan embraced Islam along with his thousand of Mughal followers and settled at Mughalpura near Delhi. He was married to the Sultan's daughter. His followers were given big jagirs and high ranks. These Mughals are known in the history as new Muslims.

After the murder of Sultan Jalal-ud-Din Firuz, his nephew Ala-ud-Din became the master of the Delhi. He defeated the royal forces and Malika Jahan (wife of the deceased Sultan), Sultan Kukn-ud-Din Ibrahim, and Prince Alghu Khan along with their trusted followers fled away from the capital and took refuge at Sultan with Prince Arkali Khan. But they were hotly pursued and were defeated. Alghu Khan and other princes were deprived of their eye sight and were confined within their own houses.

This change on the throne of Delhi was felt by these new Muslims very much. They were loyal to their chief Alghu Khan and through him their sympathies were for Sultan Jalal-ud-Din and his sons. But now there was none of them to protect and favour them. Some of their defenders were put to death while others were made blind and were helpless to do anything.

4. Barani, p, 249.
ala-ud-Din, on his accession to the throne, dismissed all of them from his service and withdrew all the concession and privileges which were granted to them by the late Jalal-ud-Din Khalji. The reason for this wholesale dismissal was that he doubted their loyalty towards himself. Because he had treated their chief Alghu Khan and his Khalji relatives with great severity, therefore, they could not be loyal to his cause. So it was the demand of the practical politics that they should not be trusted. But in spite of this he allowed them to stay in the country and they were free to join the services of Alai nobles. And in this way a large number of them got employment, but still there were many who did not try to find any job. Sir W. Haigh is of the opinion that it was due to their false pride. They (New Muslim Jughals) were once royal servants and now they were not going to seek employment with the nobles because to them it was very insulting and degrading. The result was that a large number of them remained without any job and it increased their dissatisfaction. They had adopted the country and faith of the Muslim and for this they always expected special favours and concession. But now the new Sultan had dismissed them from his services. This was a hard blow to them and they were very disgusted. The very interesting part of this drama was that they were not going to realize

1, 2, 3. C.S.I. Vol. III, p, 117.
one of them, but as it is clear from the coming events they were never satisfied and whenever they got opportunity they hit him in the back. They took active part in each and every rebellion against the Sultan and never hesitated to apply deception and treachery thus proving their disloyalty. There were a few other causes as well responsible for their dissatisfaction and unhappiness.

1) They belonged to regions of cold climate and hot climate of Hindustan was not suitable for them. These sons of wilderness were never happy in the congested cities.

2) They were free born people and could not tolerate any kind of discipline in their personal lives.

3) Physically and morally they were dirty. Though there is much exaggeration in Amir Khusrau's account of their persons and characters, still there is a lot of truth also in it. Obviously they were not liked by any class of the society.

4) Moreover, they were savages, blood thirsty and were always ready to shed blood and anybody could excite them to do mischief.

5) Each and every one of them was a soldier. They knew no craft or art except that of fighting. Therefore, they could

not become a useful part of the society.

6) They had embraced Islam but they neither fully adopted the principles of their new religion, nor did they totally forgotten the rites and rituals of their old faith. Their sincerity towards Islam was always doubted by the Muslim who thought it was pure politics which had brought them into the fold of Islam.

7) For these reasons, general public never considered them as full fledged members of their society and matrimonial alliances with them were not liked by anybody. The result was that they were dissatisfied and unhappy with their present life. But the real causes of their discontentment in the reign of Sultan Ala-ud-Din Khalji was that they were not given a special treatment as it was done in the days of Sultan Jalal-ud-Din Khalji.

The anti-state activities of these New Muslims Mughals came to the notice of Sultan for the first time when they rose against Ulugh Khan in Gujrat. In this expedition a large number of Ghulamis came into the hands of the royal army. There were about two to three thousands Mughal soldiers in the Lashkar. Yalali, Baji, Jamizi Muhammad Shah and Kabbro were their leaders in the army. They hatched a conspiracy to acquire all the Ghulams and attacked the camp of Ulugh Khan and killed Malik Izzuddin who was a brother of Nusrat Khan and Amir-i-Hajib to Ulugh Khan. After this they surrounded

1,2,3. Barani, pp, 252-253.
Isami, pp, 244-245.

* Ghulams (spoils of war).
son and was sleeping there. But it was a very dangerous turn and it was with great difficulty that they were crushed and it was all due to the personal courage and presence of mind of Ulugh Khan, and Nusrat Khan. All the four leaders of the rising fled away to save their own lives. Among them Yalhaq and Baraq took refuge with Raja Kiran Rai of Gujrat and Qamizi Muhammad Shah and Kabbra joined the service of Raja of Ranthambhar. After the conquest of Gujrat and Ranthambhar, these four were put to death one by one. It is said that the immediate cause of Sultan's attack on Ranthambhar was that the Raja of that place gave shelter to the Sultani rebels. Others were also severely dealt with. After this there was a chain of such events in which they proved themselves to be an untrustworthy faction. I will relate a few of the well known events of this kind.

When Sultan was marching towards Ranthambhar on the head of a large army to reinforce the Sultani forces besieging the fort under the command of Ulugh Khan. On the way, he encamped near Tilpat and was enjoying himself with hunting. He was suddenly attacked by his nephew Akat Khan and his followers and was severely wounded. Sultan fell on the ground.

1,2. Isami, p, 245.
and his assailants left the place taking him as dead. These followers of Akat Khan were these New Muslim Mughals.¹

Malik Kafur in the expedition against the country of Mabar, had with him a New Muslim Mughal named Abaji, as one of his commanders.² This man betrayed him there.³ His scheme was to approach Raja of Mabarand to give him information about the weak points of Sultani Lashkar, so that Raja could easily destroy them. But his conspiracy failed, he was captured and put to death.⁴ Sultan was very much heart broken when he came to know about Abaji's betrayal, as he was one of Sultan's favorites.⁵

The New Muslim Mughal felt deeply the murder of Abaji one of their leader. They hatched a conspiracy to take revenge and murder the Sultan. Their number in the Sultani army was at that time about ten thousand soldiers.⁶ They planned to kill the Sultan in his shikargah and then instal one of them on the throne of Delhi.⁷ But this conspiracy was also exposed.⁸ It proved the proverbial last straw on camel's back and the Sultan could not tolerate their anti-state and anti-Sultan activities for a long time. So he decided to take the final step. It is a fact that Sultan had given them a long rope. He always pardoned them and

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¹ Isami, p, 271.
Barani, pp, 273-75.
²³⁴ Isami, pp, 288-89-90.
⁶ Isami, p, 291.
⁷ Isami, p, 291.
the Mughals in his own service and very high position.

In those days Sultan was also worried about the activities of the Mughals in the north western parts of his empire. He offered his hand of friendship towards them like his uncle.

When Khawaja Rashid-ud-Din Fazal-Ullah, an envoy of Ghazan Khan Ilkhan of Persia (1295-1304), visited his court, Sultan treated him with great honour and respect. He bestowed upon the khawaja four villages and issued instructions to the revenue officers to remit through trusted merchants, their revenues to the khawaja in his homeland. This grant was permanent and was to continue to his family.

1. One of the greatest historians of Persia (1247-1348).

2. a) Halaku's descendants are known as Ilkhan while acknowledging the formal superiority of the 'Khagan' continued to govern Persia in practical independence during the thirteenth century.

   b) Ghazan Khan son of Arghun Khan son of Abaka Khan son of Halaku Khan.


Even the captured Mughal chiefs named Tartak and Ali Beg were pardoned and were given slaves, precious gifts and handsome salaries.

These Mughals, whether they were New Muslims or non-Muslims, proved a headache for the Sultan. This policy of friendship and appeasement failed to make them loyal to the cause of Sultan Ala-ud-Din. There was always a danger of their making common cause with each other against the Sultan and this was the reason that Sultan never offended them (New Muslim). When he came to know about their conspiracy, his patience gave way and he ordered that every one of them shall be put to death.

To Barani, this wholesale massacre was the greatest injustice but Isami justifies this murder. He says that never trust a snake and never ignore your enemies even if they are insignificant like ants. In this respect it will be very interesting to note the personal opinion of Barani about the Mughal slaves:

"As to the Mughals, even if favours are shown to them for years, no thoughts came to their minds apart from plans for domination, revolt and beastliness."  

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1. Isami, pp, 297, 298.
3. Isami, p, 291.
4. Isami, p, 291.
5. Isami, p, 291.
Whatever the political justification of this wholesale massacre may be, we could not call it a praiseworthy act. It is a fact that conspiracy there was and they had evil designs against the Sultan and the Sultanate, but we could not blame each and every New Muslim Mughal for taking part in the alleged conspiracy.
CHAPTER X

CHARACTER AND ACHIEVEMENTS

Sultan Ala-ud-Din Khalji was one of the greatest ruler of his age. From Ghazni\textsuperscript{1} in the North to Rameshwarm\textsuperscript{2} in the South, and from Gujarat Kathiawar\textsuperscript{3} in the West to Bengal\textsuperscript{4} in the East, the whole of Hindustan obeyed one sceptre. In the history of Indo-Pak sub-continent very few rulers had had such a vast empires under their sway. He is the first Muslim ruler who crossed river Nerbuda and subdued the whole of Deccan and the far off South. Hundreds of Hindu princes acknowledged him as their overlord and paid tribute in all humility and respect. He possessed such a formidable army that no one could dare to defy his authority. Whether Hindus of the South or Mughals of the North. His authority was supreme and in this respect no ruler of India could be called his equal. The establishment of such a vast empire was the result of about 84 battles in which he and his forces engaged themselves and the fickle fortune always smiled on them. Peace was prevailing everywhere in the length and breadth of the Alai empire\textsuperscript{5}.

Everyone, whether he was a Muslim noble or a Hindu zamindar

\textsuperscript{1} Amir Khusrau: Deval Kani Khizr Khan, p, 47.
\textsuperscript{2} Ferishta, p, 119.
\textsuperscript{3} Ferishta, p, 123.
\textsuperscript{4} Amir Khusrau: Deval Kani Khizr Khan, pp, 19-20.
performed his duties with great loyalty and devotion. Roads were free from dacoits, brigands and thugs. Trade was flourishing. Grain and other such necessities of life were available in the markets in abundance and at very cheap rates. The purchasing power of the people had greatly improved, and proverbial prosperity was the general blessing. Masses, including the government officials, were very honest, God fearing and possessed high moral qualities.

Islam was on the ascendancy and art and architecture touched the highest water mark under his rule. And all these achievements were due to his personal ability, vigour and sincerity of purpose. He had to start each and every thing afresh. Muslims were only new comers and anything constructive done by Ilutmish and Balban was destroyed under the weak rule of Kaiqubad and Jalal-ud-Din Firuz Khalji. No doubt in his reign there was a galaxy of Ulema and scholars at Delhi but we could not find among them any Nizamul Hukk, Todar Mal, Balban or Bismark. Therefore credit is for him and only for him that he set each and every thing on the right keel. He was the one moving spirit and inspired all around him to such an extent that they performed miracles. He was a great leader of the men. His name was such an awe-inspiring one that his

1. Amir Khusrau: Ijaz-i-Khusravi Intradiction, pp, 18-22
5. Hardy: The historians of Medieval India (Preface).
armies always met with success, whether they had a eunuch as their commander or a maid-servant of the royal palace.

Sultan Ala-ud-Din ruled only for twenty years. And in this very short period his achievements were so great that to his subjects they were nothing but miraculous. In the following pages I will give a detailed account of the character and achievements of this Great Sultan for which he is unrivalled in the annals of history.

A brave man.

Sultan Ala-ud-Din was a very brave soldier. His expedition to Beohir is the greatest proof of his personal boldness and fearlessness. The importance of this expedition in history is not due to the Deccani gold which Sultan brought from there, but for the dangers and difficulties which he surmounted along with his army in that unknown and unseen land of the Hindus. There were very remote chances of success but he never lost his heart and with an iron determination, crossed this Alpse of hardships successfully.

Qutlugh Khwaja, the Mughal, besieged Delhi with a Lashkar of 2,00,000 strong and the capital was cut off from the rest of the empire, no succour was coming from anywhere and the situation was very serious. His head and crown both

2. Ferishta, p, 118.
3. Ferishta, p, 123.
4. Barani, p, 324.
were in danger. But inspite of this he decided, as usual, to meet the Mughal hordes in the open field. Alauil-Mulk, the Fat Kotwal of Delhi, advised him not to take this risk but he ignored this good and sincere advice by saying that acceptance would bring a stigma on his courage and bravery.

When Akat Khan and his followers made a murderous attack on him, he showed great presence of mind and tackled the situation with admirable courage. It is said that his nerves were made of steel.

The way in which he faced, the reverses of Ulugh Khan at Kanthambore, the murderous attack of Prince Akat Khan on his person at Tilpat, the revolt of Prince Umar Khan and Prince Hoom Khan in Badaun and Oudh, the rising of Haji Abula at capital, one after the other, in a very short span of time, speaks volumes for his personal courage and presence of mind.

A GREAT GENERAL.

He was not only a brave soldier but also a great general. He organised his army on the most modern lines. For the first time in the history of Hindustan the soldiery was directly recruited by the state on the basis of regular monthly cash payment. Jagirdari system was abolished and there was no intermediary between the Sultan and his army.

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1, 2, 3. Barani, pp. 254-58.
4. Isanai, pp. 246, 258.
5. Barani, pp. 273, 74, 75, 76.
7, 8. Barani, p. 303.
he himself was the commander-in-chief of his army as well as pay master general like Sher Shah Suri. To check the fraudulent measures in the army Dagh and Huliya System were introduced. These checks were responsible to a great extent creating efficiency in the armed services. A large number of forts and Chowkis were constructed and the old ones were repaired. Many ordinance factories were established. An ordinary soldier was given about twenty tankas a month. As the necessities of the life were very cheap due to the introduction of his famous price control system, the life of the alai soldier was very respectable. A very efficient system of Dak-Chowkis was established and there was always a regular flow of the news between him and his army, wherever it was, camping or busy in action against the enemies. He possessed a formidable army of 4,75,000 soldiers. Seventy thousands horses and several hundred elephants were stationed at Delhi and its suburbs. He had fifty thousand slaves. At battle field, these slaves served as royal body guard and in the time of peace worked as a part of the civil administration. This great army of the Sultan was always busy in action on more than one fronts.

3, 4. Barani, p, 303.
8. Ferishta, p, 114; Masaf, p, 526.
In the beginning of his reign he used to lead his armies against his enemies in person, but afterwards it was done by his trusted and able servants. And he, from his newly built capital, Siri, supervised all the business of government up to the very minute details. His title was Alexander the second. The loyalty of his soldiers was proverbial. Ishwari Parsad says that he enjoyed unostentuated measures the confidence of his soldiers.

As a Civil Administrator.

He possessed not only the qualities of a born military commander but also those of a great civil administrator—a rare combination in any age. To a student of history he is known for his administrative reforms rather than for his conquests. And it is a fact that the former were more lasting in character than the latter. Many of the reforms, introduced by him are in practice even upto this date in Indo-Pak sub-continent. Lodhi, Sher Shah Suri and Akbar, the Great who are known for their administrative skill, all have followed his footsteps. He was originator of all those things for which they are given so much credit. When he ascended the throne, he found that Sultanate of Delhi was neither respected nor feared by her subjects. The

5. Sikandar Lodhi.
The main cause of this was the corrupt administrative machinery of the government. This process of degeneration reached its lowest mark under the weak rule of his predecessors. Therefore, he turned his full attention towards this gigantic business. The departments of military, police and revenue were completely overhauled. To root out the evils of bribery, dishonesty and malingering among the government officials, their pay was increased reasonably. And those who still persisted in corrupt practices were given very severe punishment. Jagirdari and unlawful privileges of the zamindars were abolished. These measures reduced both the classes politically to mere nonentity. He established a very efficient espionage system. His spies and informers were present in each and every nook and corner of his vast empire. Timely information supplied by them enabled him to nip every evil in the bud. The conspiracies of Muslim nobles and Hindu zamindars had become a thing of the past.

The manufacture, sale and use of liquor and other narcotics was prohibited. Gambling and pleasure houses were closed down. Adultery was severely punished. The result of all such reforms was that the people became

2. Barani, p, 284.
morally very good. This thing exercised a very healthy influence over the conduct of the people in their social, economic and political dealings.

Sultan paid special attention towards the re-organisation of the Revenue Department. 'Lagan' was collected on the basis of actual measurement. He was the first Muslim rulers whose hands reached to the papers of the Patwari. Diwan-i-Mustakharaj was established, where the record of the defaulters in the payment of revenue taxes was kept. A new tax, named Chari was imposed, so that selfish and dishonest zamindars could not turn the fertile, 'Khalsa' lands into pastures for their own animals and rob the state of its due share.

AS A STATESMAN.

Sultan Ala-ud-Din Khalji was not a scholar but in practical politics and state craft he was unrivalled. His policy towards the Hindus of the sub-continent was a masterpiece of diplomacy. He was well aware of this fact that a nation could not be kept under control for ever by the sheer brute force of tyranny. So he tried to win their cooperation and loyalty by adopting a very generous policy towards the Hindus. They were given religious freedom and the doors of

2. Barani, p, 299.
6. Tripathi, p, 264.
government services were opened to them. They enjoyed peace and prosperity under his rule. Though the Ulema of his period disapproved of this measure and persuaded him to adopt policy of oppression against them, but he paid no heed to their advice because it was against the interests of the state. His generous and liberal policy toward the Hindus belie those opinions spread by Barani and his followers that the Sultan treated them very harshly.

His policy towards the Hindu rajas was very praiseworthy. These vanquished rajas retained their states and Sultan never interfered in their internal affairs. This policy of appeasement proved beneficial to both the parties. The road to extremity is always full of dangers and he always evaded that path. Generally he treated his enemies with great magnanimity. Rajas of Deogir, Chittor and Maabar were given such a generous treatment as was even beyond the expectation of their own good wishes. And according to Ferishta a large number of Hindu rajas were impressed by this unprecedented magnanimous policy of the Sultan and they accepted him as their overlord without any hesitation. The Hindu rajas were not the only exception in this respect. The conquered Mughal chiefs were also offered the hand of friendship. But the

2. Isami, p, 276 (Two Lac tankas, chattar and title of Rai-Rayan).
4. Isami, p, 290, (Khilat-i-Khas, chattar and ten lac tankas).
Hindu chiefs proved themselves more wise and practical. They accepted Sultan's friendship and remained loyal where the Mughal chiefs betrayed his confidence and suffered.

He abolished the illegal privileges of the Hindu zamindar. This policy of the Sultan crippled them politically and at the same time Hindu husbandman got rid of the tyranny of their co-religionists for the first time in the history. The latter were so much grateful to the Sultan for this that they always loyally cooperated with him. Not only this but many more reforms including the famous price control system were introduced by him to improve the economic condition of these lower classes of the Hindus. And like Napoleon, he found in cheap bread the supreme talisman of statementship.

It is said that he was persuaded by his nobles to adopt the title of the Caliph of Islam, but he never paid any heed to it and always took pride in calling himself the Right Hand and Helper of the Caliph of Baghdad, who had died forty years ago leaving no state and no successor behind him as a result of Mughal invasion on Baghdad. Still his court poets Amir Khusrau and Hassan Sijzi always mentioned him in their poetry as Caliph and his capital as Dar-us-Salam and Dar-ul-Khilafat.

2. Isami, p. 298.
The political importance of the obedience to and respect for the deceased Caliph could not be under estimated. It certainly enhanced his prestige among the religious minded Muslims — the most influential group of the community.

After the murder of Sultan Jalal-ud-Din Firuz Khalji at Kara, clash between him and the sons of the murdered Sultan had become a certainty. But Ala-ud-Din did not move from his headquarters and watched the situation carefully. As soon as he got the wind of dissension among the royal brothers, he at once decided to fish in the troubled waters and marched hastily towards Delhi ignoring even the hardships of the rainy season. He was always master of the situation and knew well when and where to strike.

He distributed his Deccani gold in large amount among the Jalalí nobles and through their treachery achieved his goal. But as soon as he was able to consolidate his position, he withdrew all of their concessions and forced them to pay back all the gold taken by them from him as a price of their loyalty.

Sultan Ala-ud-Din had great regard for those persons who were loyal and true to their salt. For the traitors he had no mercy and never trusted them. When he was wooing the Jalalí nobles and offering them large amount of gold and

1,2. Barani, p, 243.
3. Barani, pp, 240, 244.
silver, he met only three men namely Qutb-ud-Din Alvi, Naseer-ud-Din Shahna -i-Peel and Malik Amir Jamal Khalji, who resisted this temptation and remained loyal to the sons of their master. But when he ascended the throne, he punished the former but did not take any action against these three, who remained in the opposite camp upto the last. He pardoned them. The reason for this very strange treatment was that he punished the former for their treachery and rewarded the latter for their loyalty. Though the first group worked for his cause and actually it was their treachery which paved the way for his success, but he had his own nations and code of ethics.

The story of Ran Mal given below is very similar to the above one.

Ran Mal was minister of Raja of Ranthambore. He betrayed his master and sided with Ala-ud-Din. Another important character of this drama was Mughal New Muslim, Mir Muhammad Shah, one of the ring leaders, who made an attempt on the life of Ulugh Khan at Gujrat and later took refuge with Raja of Ranthambore. The Mughal general remained loyal to the raja upto his last breath. After the conquest of Ranthambore, Ran Mal was punished by the Sultan but Mir Muhammad Shah was given a very respectable burial. This policy
of Sultan Ala-ud-Din Khalji could not be appreciated by moderns. But in the middle ages such policy was very much appreciated. Those were the days of despotic rule and there was great respect for those persons who were loyal and true to their salt. Treachery and disloyalty were the greatest crimes of those days. This was the reason that he had no mercy for the traitors. He only used them for his own ends but never trusted them. This policy of the Sultan had a great effect on the moral of his nobles and officials. They knew for certain that their loyalty towards Sultan would be duly rewarded and their future in his hands was always safe.

Sultan Ala-ud-Din Khalji was not an extravagant ruler but at the same time he was not niggardly. He knew when and where to spent. In his conflict with his royal cousins, he distributed wealth so lavishly among the masses and classes that each and every one was singing the songs of welcome for him. They deserted the sons of their master, opened gates of Delhi for him and presented him the keys of forts and palaces. It was this generous distribution of gold and silver that Rajas of Chittor, Maabar and Deogir became loyal vassals to him and following their example a large number of other Hindu independent rajas acknowledged his suzerainty. Fame of his generosity spread far and wide and Delhi became the centre of the geniuses of that age. A large number of buildings

1,2,3. Barani, pp, 244,247,248.
were constructed which provided employment to the millions of his subjects. The result was that every one was happy and prosperous in his reign.

There are very few persons who knew the proper use of money and generally they become either extravagant or stingy. The best way is the middle way. Sultan Ibrahim Lodhi inherited a treasury which was full to the brim. But he did not spend it for winning the loyalty of his own nobles. The result was that he lost his crown along with his head. On the other hand there are many who spent their money extravagantly but not for the right cause. Sultan Ala-ud-Din Khalji stands very high in this respect. His money was not for his personal pleasures but for the peace and prosperity of his state and for the patronage of art and architecture.

**SULTAN A MAN OF REFINED TASTE.**

Sultan Ala-ud-Din Khalji was a man of refined taste, and possessed a very polished aesthetic sense. Geniuses of every art and craft were present in his court. Among them there were poets like Hassan Sijzi, Amir Khusrau, Sadar-ud-Din Ali, Hameed-ud-Din Raja, Fakhar Din, Maulan Arif, Ubaid Hakeem and Shahab Ansari and master musicians like Amir Khusrau, Nazir Khan Behroz, Changi and Gopal Naik. The painters

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3. Shah K.T: The Splendidous That was India, p, 115.
and caligraphists of Alai court were very adept in their work. Their skill has been appreciated by Amir Khusrau in his Deval Rani Khizr Khan.¹

A large number of flower and fruit gardens were laid down under his orders. He was a lover of flowers. Amir Khusrau has given a vivid description of a flower garden of those days in his Diwalrahi Khizr Khan.² Sultan Firuz Tughlaq who himself was a great lover of gardens, when ascended the throne, revived thirty 'panis' of groves planted by Sultan Ala-ud-Din Khalji.³

He was a great builder. There were about one lac⁴ persons working permanently in his Public Works Department. These people were capable of constructing a fort in two weeks and a palace in only three days.⁵ The result of their non stop work was that hundreds of forts, palaces and mosques were constructed during a very short span of time.⁶ In the opinion of Sir John Marshall, Ala-ud-Din was the author of buildings of unexampled grace and nobility. Except few, all of his buildings have become ruins due to their old age and the cruelties of the Indian weather. Among such buildings, Ali Darwaza is the most beautiful one. It is said to be the one of the most treasured gems of Islamic architecture.⁷

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3. Afif, pp, 293-98.
5. *Note: Pani seems to be a measure of some kind.
He had in his mind the idea of construction of another minaret like Qutab Minar, but he did not live long to fulfil his ambition.

Col. Tod states that Sultan Ala-ud-Din at the time of conquest of Chittor destroyed each and every thing except the beautiful palace of Raja of Chittor. The architectural and artistic beauty of the palace appealed to his aesthetic sense so much that he ordered his soldiers not to demolish it.

When the Sultan was marching towards Delhi from Kara to fight against his royal cousins he was distributing the Deccan gold lavishly among the masses to win them on his side. It was a life and death struggle and he had everything on the stake. But, even, in such a critical situation his artistic taste did not remain buried under the burden of any anxiety or fear. He adopted a very interesting and novel method to distribute his money. Star shaped golden coins were showered over the lashkars through a small 'MANJHIN', placed before his tent. The result of this new and unique device of displaying wealth and generosity spread his fame in every nook and corner of the country and thousands of mercenaries gathered together under his banner.

Amir Khusrau, in his book Diwalrani Khizr Khan has mentioned that Sultan Ala-ud-Din Khalji was the first among the princes who used 'AMARI' on his elephants. But

Ferishta, p, 123.

* Amari - A canopied seat upon an elephant.
But Sir Elliot\(^1\) does not accept the Sultan as the inventor of the 'Amari'. Because to him Nizami Ganjvi had mentioned 'Amari' in his Khamsa even before Khusrau. My contention is that Amari used by Ala-ud-Din must have been definitely different in shape and size than that mentioned by Nizami. Amir Khusrau, the court poet historian, had written his famous five MANSAVIS to match the Khamsa of Nizami. If the above mentioned fact was a mere fabrication, it would have not been written by man like Khusrau. Moreover, his contemporaries certainly would have contradicted him. Therefore, we should have no doubt in accepting the statement of Khusrau that he was the first among princes who used Amari on the elephants in this part of the world. Ferishta\(^2\) also accepts the account of Amir Khusrau.

The world famous diamond KOH-I-NUR, the mountain of light, now in the possession of Queen Elizabeth II of England, which was brought from the south by Malik Kafur was once the proud possession of the Sultan.\(^3\)

**AS AN ECONOMIST**

Sultan is one of the few master economists, who had a chance to put their economic theories in practice on such a large scale. The one and the only aim lying behind all his economic reforms was nothing but the welfare of his subject irrespective of their cast and creed\(^4\). His famous

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1. Elliot, p, 152, f,n. (Poems of Amir Khusrau).
2. Ferishta, p, 123.
3. Tuzk-i-Babri (Beveridge), p, 477.
price control system was considered a miracle in those days. Even the moderns are wonder struck. To them this rationing and price control system is a modern invention introduced by the Europeans. But the fact is that it was introduced seven hundred years before in the Indo-Pak sub-continent by a Sultan who was in the opinion of Barani—a quite illiterate man. And this system proved a grand success. The price of every commodity was fixed by the state. Rates were very cheap. Hoarding and black marketing were prohibited. A very efficient machinery was created to supervise the supply, storage and proper distribution of each and every thing. Famine, draught or any other natural calamity made no difference. Neither the prices were raised nor was there any dearth of any commodity. Alai price control system was for each and every thing and for all the seasons.

It is said that it was nothing but the whim of an irresponsible dictator. And its short lived success was due to Sultan's reckless severity and nothing else. In these days price control and rationing system has been introduced almost in every part of the world. At some places it is on large scale and at other on a smaller scale. But no government could claim a hundred percent success. With a few exceptions almost in every country there is a nationalist government and people cooperate with them willingly. Moreover, means of communication and transportation are more developed than

1. Barani, p, 326.
they were in the Alai days. But black-marketing is rampant everywhere in the world and no modern government could boast of its elimination. British government introduced this system in Indo-Pak sub-continent at the fag end of their rule but it proved a total failure and people suffered much hardships. And a new nobility came into being which owed their social status to nothing but hoarding and black-marketing. Sultan Ala-ud-Din Khalji introduced this system after a lot of thinking and consultation. Each and every aspect of the problem was discussed thoroughly. And the hundred percent success of this system proves its soundness. It was all due to his own zeal and sincerity of purpose. Generally people abhorred the price control and rationing system because the result of its introduction is always scarcity and dearness. But this system in the days of Ala-ud-Din proved beneficial to the masses. Every thing was available at cheap rates and in abundance and peace and prosperity were prevalent everywhere.

As Isami says:

His reforms in the revenue department are praise worthy. According to Tripathi, he was the first Muslim ruler whose hands reached to papers of the Fatwari. A new department known as Diwan-i-Mustakhbaraj was established. And the land

1. Isami, pp, 293, 294.
2,3. Tripathi, pp, 262, 263, 260.
revenue was assessed on the basis of measurement.\textsuperscript{1}

He checked all the customary mal practices of the bazar people such as black-marketing, hoarding adulteration, speculation etc.\textsuperscript{2} This was meant to promote the country's trade and help the masses. Traders were advanced money out of royal treasury to import certain commodities\textsuperscript{3}. These people were given a fixed commission.\textsuperscript{4} The taxes on the shopkeepers who were selling their wares dear were reduced so that the dumbs(purchasers) cause. could be protected.\textsuperscript{5} This system proved very successful. On the one hand it assured the regular supply of the different commodities and another a new avenue of employment was opened. All this shows that Sultan and his financial advisors (if he had any) were expert economists and their success is the best proof of its usefulness.

Certain traits in the character of Sultan Ala-ud-Din Khalji are very distinctive which made him as a man and as a Sultan very great. He was always conscious of his own short comings. If any one ever tried to convince him with reason and logic, such advice was always accepted by him without any reluctance. Barani has given with great detail his conversations with Qazi Mughis\textsuperscript{6} and Kotwal Ala-ul-Ha.\textsuperscript{7} in his

Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi, he was openly criticised for his ideas and policies before his courtiers, but he never lost his temper. He listened to them attentively, argued with them and when convinced fully, accepted their point of view and rewarded them for their good advice and boldness. He had great respect for Sheikh Nizam-ud-Din Aulia but he never visited him, nor invited him. Being a worldly man he considered himself unfit for that saintly company.

Sultan had been endowed by nature with a very balanced mind and strong character. He knew when to strike and when to show leniency. He was not like Sultan Jalal-ud-Din Firuz Khalji who showed leniency to thieves, dacoits and even to the rebels of the state. Nor he was Qutub-ud-Din Mubark Khalji who gave punishment for the good advice given to him by his nobles. (The nobles who exposed before him the evil designs of his favourite Khusrau Khan were insulted and punished).

Sultan Muhammad bin Tughalaq possessed great qualities of head and heart but lacked a balanced nature. He punished severely and rewarded lavishly but was neither respected nor loved and was failure as a ruler. But Sultan Ala-ud-Din Khalji was a very successful ruler. His severity created an awe in

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the hearts of his enemies and his leniency and generosity won for him love and respect from his subjects. All this was due to his balanced nature and strong character. He always acted properly on proper occasions.

Amir Khusrau says:

"The characteristics of his sublime nature were all in accord with the laws of moderation. His anger was like the fire that cooks, not that which burns, his mercy was like the wind that blow freely but raises no dust, his temper like the water that pleases but drowns not, and his generosity like the mine that treasures wealth but does not destroy it".1

He was not an illiterate man, Ferishta says that he could read even Persian Khat-i-Shikasta.2 Jamali also corroborates Ferishta's account.3 A galaxy of scholars always surrounded him and according to Barani, everyone among them was like Buzerjamehr and Asaf Berkha.4 A normal man living in the company of such scholars could not be called an ignorant man. Man like Akbar the Great and Sultan Ala-ud-Din Khalji could not be called illiterate because they learned through their ears though not through reading. They graduated from the college of hardships and difficulties. But in this respect Sultan Ala-ud-Din Khalji stands shoulders higher than the Mughal emperor. Because he learnt in his later days,

2. Ferishta, p, 110.
how to read and write while the latter did not. If he remained
an illiterate in his early age the fault lies with his guar-
dians and not with himself.

Sultan Ala-ud-Din Khalji was a wonderful combination
of intelligence and diligence. He used to lead a very busy
life. He was not a pleasure loving king and had nothing to
do with wine and women. Except the few hours which he spent
in the company of Amir Khusrau, Amir Hassan and Gopal Naik,
the rest of his time was consumed by the multifarious state
affairs. He took keen interest in his work and even the
minutes details could not escape his attention. And this
was the main cause of his success. When he introduced his
price control system, he appointed market inspector to
check the conduct of bazar people. Moreover, there were
spies to send to him the secret diaries about the market,
the market people and market officers. But he was not
satisfied with this arrangement. He used to give money to
his slaves and small children\(^1\) for the purchase of different
commodities from the bazar and then their weights and rates
were checked by the officers concerned in his presence. If
any discrepancy was found the guilty one was punished
severely.

He was an illiterate and could not read the secret
newspapers received by him daily from the different parts
of the country. So he decided to overcome this difficulty.

He worked hard and in very short period was able to read and write. And now there was no need of any middleman between him and the secret newspapers from his intelligence service. Such was his zest for work.

He was a born leader of the men. His personal zeal, his vigour and sincerity of purpose gave an impetus to those who worked under him to cross any hurdles on the path of duty. Similarly under his leadership. People loved to work under him. Sultan himself was like an institution, where his officials got practical training in state craft. He inherited only inefficient and corrupt officials who were themselves the product of the inefficient rule of Sultan Kaikubad and Sultan Jalal-ud-Din Firuz Khalji. But by the magic touch of the master mind, Sultan Ala-ud-Din Khalji, these replicas of inefficiency, corruption and disloyalty became the models of efficiency honesty and loyalty. And this was one of his greatest achievements. His administrative machinery worked wonders and had no rival in the annals of history.

He was a great patron of the 'merit' Isami says:

He did not believe in birth like Sultan Balban and historian Barani and chose his officials on the basis of worth irrespective of their creed caste and colour.

Malik Kafur was a slave eunuch, but when Sultan came to know about his manly qualities and his skill in warfare,

1. Ferishta, p, 110.
2. Isami, p, 240.
he was made Naib-ul-Mulk\(^1\) and commander-in-chief\(^2\) of the Sultani army. In those days Hindus were rarely admitted in the government service, but Ala-ud-Din abolished these old traditions and Hindus were freely appointed even to the very high and responsible position.\(^3\) A Hindu named Nanak was given the title of Malik with a command of thirty thousand swars.\(^4\) Sodharam\(^5\) was appointed treasury officer and Gopal Naik\(^6\) was invited from far off Deccan for his mastery in music. Sultan had the credit of introducing to the royal court the man like Hassan Sijzi,\(^7\) called Saad-i-Hind for his poetical skill. Malik Chazi Tughlaq was raised from a very humble position to the high rank of warden of Marches.\(^8\) Qazi Mohi-u-din Kashani,\(^9\) a very able man was leading a life of poverty. He was invited by the Sultan and was appointed Qazi of Oudh. Sultan did his best to persuade Khawja Nizam-ud-Din Aulia to relieve Khawja Mueed-ud-Din\(^10\) a trusted and experienced servant of the state from his service. So that his services could be utilised by the government but the Sheikh refused.\(^11\) He regretted the fact that he could not see Naulana thirteen Shams Turk, an eminent scholar from Egypt.

1,2. C.H.I. Vol. III, p. 100.
In a poem which he (Amir Khusrau) wrote in the fourth year of Ala-ud-Din's reign he says addressing to him, "The year when the shadow of God ascended the throne, the first honour that my fortune bestowed on me was my admission to the royal court, where I used to stand before the king in the proper place of my service.

One day as with a charming ode I sprinkled the royal carpet with sugar, the king of the world was pleased to command me to sit in the court."¹

These instances prove that he was a great patron of the meritorious persons. He gave them every possible opportunity to develop their qualities and prove their worth. He was just like a jeweller who picks up a jewel lying mixed up in the pebbles, gives it a definite shape, polishes it, and then presents it at the market and gets a suitable price for it.

Sultan knew the real worth of each and every one who came into contact with him. He treated people according to their position. His generosity² was not limited only to his own servants, friends and relatives, but this was shown even to his own enemies. When his vanquished enemies like Raja of Deogir, Raja Bir Balala and Raja Chittor were presented before him, he not only pardoned their lives but also bestowed upon them thousands of royal favours.³

3. Isami, pp, 276, 290.
They got back their own states, and high titles coupled with heavy cash purses. Mughal chiefs, Ali Beg and Tartak were also treated with great kindness and were granted slaves, and estates. At the conquest of Gujrat, her beautiful Rani Kamala Devi was made a prisoner and was sent to the Sultan along with other precious gifts of that country. When he was told her name and status, he at once ordered that she should be treated according to her own MANSAB (status). Rani was so much impressed by his kindness and good treatment that she willingly embraced Islam and became his beloved queen.

"He was by nature cruel and implacable and swept aside the dictates of religion and common law if they interfered with his policy. He had no regard for the ties of brotherhood or filial relationship and inflicted punishments without distinction."

The above mentioned statement of Barani is a biased one and not based on the historical facts. It is a fact that the Sultan used to give severe punishments but only to the traitors and dishonests and corrupt officials. To his loyal and peace loving subjects he was very kind, sympathetic and generous. When people

3. Amir Khusrau: Deval Rani-Khizr Khan, pp, 81-82.
become headstrong and reckless in their behaviour that neither they had any respect for the laws of the land nor for the word of God then there is left only one way to make them understand one's point of view and that is to talk to them with the tongue of iron blade. And Ala-ud-Din knew this formula and applied it to the law breakers. Moreover, we cannot ignore the spirit of the age. Sultan was the contemporary of the successor of Chingiz and Haluku. He used to say to his courtiers that if he inflicted severe punishments on the culprits it was not due to his personal enmity with them but only to save the people's life, property and honour from those wicked men. Moreover, such things are not allowed by religion. And he knew the mentality of such persons. Sweet words had no effect on them. Hence his severity to such persons was justified.

He did not have any sadistic tendencies. His aim was to remove the main cause of human suffering. And his exemplary punishment to one man saved the thousands of innocent people who fell prey to their foul play.

He was very just. In the eyes of the law every one had an equal status. While administering justice, he never cared for the colour, creed or social status of the culprit. In his days justice was cheap and qazis of his time were very honest and god fearing persons. Justice of Umar, says

1, 2. Barani, pp. 296, 297.
   Isami, p. 293.
   Wasaf, p. 526.
Khusrau, had to wait for seven hundred years before it found a new patron.

Sultan Ala-ud-Din Khalji had great love and respect for the religion of his forefathers. In the name of religion he could be openly reprimanded in his court by his own servants and could be persuaded to change his views and policies. He accepted the criticism of the Ulema and rewarded them handsomely for that. It was for his love of his own religion that he showed great respect for the Ulema and Aulia of his time. He accepted and bowed humbly before the words of God and the Holy Prophet. To say that he swept aside the dictates of religion and common law if they interfered with his policy is far from truth.

Sultan Ala-ud-Din Khalji, the so called blood thirsty tyrant possessed a very tender heart. When the head of Akat Khan, his nephew, who unsuccessfully tried to kill his royal uncle, was brought before him, the sultan wept bitterly on that sight.

Isami had narrated that scene in the following verses:

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\text{Isami, pp, 296, 272.}
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2. Barani, pp, 296, 97, 272, 289.
3. Siyar-ul-Arafin, p, 142 (Urdu).
Barani, p, 332.
Tabqat-i-Akbari, p, 167.
He mourned the death of his brother Ulugh Khan\(^1\) and general Zafar Khan\(^2\) as only a brother can do. Beautiful tomb was erected for his and lot of alms were given. He refused a request from Malik Kafur that Alp Khan be put out of harm's way, on the ground that Alp Khan who had been a loyal servant and companion and occupied the place of a son to him and that he did not want to be smirch his reputation on the eve of his departure for the next world.\(^3\)

He was a true Muslim. Even Barani had to acknowledge that:-

"Sultan was a very faithful believer in Islam like the rest of the Muslims and he never uttered a word against his faith unlike, those who were irreligious or ill-disposed towards religion.\(^4\)

He was aware of his own shortcomings,\(^5\) but at the same time he was always hopeful of Divine mercy,\(^6\) because his intentions were always good and sincere.\(^7\) He was proud of being a Muslim and to be born of a Muslim.\(^8\) And this is quite clear from his views expressed about his religious beliefs, severity, and aim in life before Qazi Mughisuddin.

\(^1\) Barani, p, 283.
\(^2\) Isami, p, 258.
\(^3\) Isami, pp, 330-31.
\(^4\) Barani, p, 339.
\(^5\) Barani, p, 297.
\(^6\) Siyar-ul-Arafin, p, 74.
\(^7\) Ferishta, p, 111.
\(^8\) Barani, p, 295.
Ala-ud-Din realised his duties as a king. To him, this kingly office was a Divine gift, which carried a lot of responsibilities with itself. For this he was very thankful to God Almighty. Moreover, as a Muslim he believed in the Day of Judgement and considered himself answerable for all his deeds at that day. Therefore, he always tried his best to do the things, which were acceptable to God. He introduced many reforms only to remove the sufferings of the masses irrespective of their colour and creed, so that he could win the pleasure of his Creator.

He had great regard for the ties of brotherhood and filial relationship. His treatment of his own kith and kin was very generous, but unfortunately, these

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1, 2. Khair-ul-Hajalis, p, 241.
sentiments were never reciprocated by them. And his private life was not a happy one. His first wife was the daughter of his uncle, Sultan Jalal-ud-Din Khalji. But she and her mother, Ialika-i-Jahan with their arrogant behaviour, made his domestic life a hell for him. He was made so much unhappy and distressed that he decided to take that very suicidal step, which is known in the history as the expedition to Deogir. His march towards Deogir was nothing but a mad desire on his part to end his life, which had been made very unhappy by his royal spouse with her haughty and unfriendly behaviour. It is said that only a man having no interest in his life could embark upon such a dangerous venture.

His second wife, Mah-i-Haqq, mother of Khizr Khan was the sister of Alp Khan. She was very careless about her duties as a wife towards her husband. At the fog end of his life, when the Sultan was seriously ill, she and her sons were so much busy with their own pleasures, that they totally neglected the welfare of their head of the family. Sultan Ala-ud-Din Khalji, one of the greatest Sultans of India, behaved like a very humble man, when he complained before Malik Kafur, about the carelessness and unfriendly treatment shown towards him by his wife and sons.

1, 2, 3. Isami, p, 221.
        Perishta, p, 94.
        Barani, p, 221.


5, 6. Perishta, p, 122.
To say that he had no regard for filial relations and brotherly ties is a gross injustice to that great ruler. He was all love and kindness for his relatives but he was never paid in the same coin. The following instances will show that how generous and kind he was towards his kith and kin. He conferred upon his second wife, the sister of Alp Khan, the title of Malika-i-Jahan and Sultan had great respect for her wishes. Khizr Khan, his eldest son was made heir-apparant and Chittor was given to him as a jagir. His nephew, Akat Khan was given the place of Zafar Khan. Prince Umar Khan and Prince Maghu Khan, the sons of his sister, were made the governors of different provinces. He made his brother Ulgh Khan the great khan of the empire and his brother-in-law, Alaf Khan was bestowed upon the province of Gujrat. He even forgave his first wife and her mother, the queen of Sultan Jalal-ud-Din Khalji. Both the ladies were the greatest enemies of his early days. When his third wife Kamala Devi, requested him for the restoration of her only child, Deval Devi, he at once ordered the despatch of the army to do the needful.

But in spite of such a generous treatment, his relatives proved very ungrateful and always tried their

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2. Isami, p, 259.
6, 7. Amir Khusrau: Deval Rani Khizr Khan, pp, 81-82.
best to put obstacles in his path and many times he was stabbed by them in his back. His nephew, Akat Khan attacked on him to kill him, while he was busy in hunting near Tilpat on his way to Kanthambore. Princes Umar Khan and Manghu Khan, revolted against his authority, but failed. His brother-in-law, Alaf Khan had wicked designs against the Sultan and the Sultanate. Even Khizr Khan disobeyed his father. And the bad treatment of his first two wives, towards him is already known to the readers.

Isami and Wasaf tell us about another wife of the Sultan. Her name was Jhita Pali, who was daughter of Raja Ram Deo. She was mother of Prince Umar Khan, who was made Sultan of Delhi with the title of Sultan Shahab-ud-Din after his father's death, under the regency of Malik Kafur. Every student of history knows that how magnanimously he treated his father-in-law, Raja Ram Deo. His state was restored to him and title of Raja Raiyan along with a royal umbrella was conferred upon him. But he and his son, revolted against the authority of the Sultan and refused to pay the kharaj, his son even tried to abduct Deval Devi. So on one side was his generosity and kindness towards his

7, 8. Isami, p. 276.
relatives and on the other side was their treachery and ungratefulness. The impartial critics of history are requested never to ignore or side track these facts while giving judgement on his character.

It is a fact that in his last days he treated his wife, son and brother-in-law with great cruelty and injustice. But we could not blame him for these misdeeds. Because he was seriously ill and lying on his death bed and was completely under the influence of Malik Kafur, who himself was a serious political rival of this triumvirate of Malika-i-Jahan, Prince Khizr Khan and governor Alap Khan, and did all this to safeguard his own political interests.

The great amongst the greatest rulers of Indo-Pak sub-continent, Sultan Ala-ud-Din Khalji, ruled for only twenty years. If the count of his achievements and length of his rule are compared with each other, the latter one seems very short for the former. This was the reason that to the people of his age, these achievements were nothing but miracles.

During his life time he was loved by the masses and adored by his army. He was respected and obeyed by his nobles and feared by his enemies. But after his death, this love, respect, and faithfulness of his subjects changed into devotion. He was known as a man, who possessed spiritual powers and could perform miracles. His grave was visited
by the people as that of a saint, and their belief was that their prayers offered through him would be accepted by God Almighty. Even upto this day, the vastness of his empire, his military might, his efficient administrative machinery, his intelligence system, peace and prosperity of his reign, exemplary moral condition of his subjects, supremacy of Islam and Islamic values, development of art and architecture under his benign patronage, have become proverbial. He and his achievements had no parallel in the annals of medieval age.
APPENDIX

1. SULTAN'S 'NAMAZ' AND 'ROZA'

The Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi of Zia-ud-Din Barani gives us the following passages, which tells us that how Sultan Ala-ud-Din Khalji, fared as far as his 'Namaz' and 'Roza' was concerned.

They are:

The second paragraph is quite clear in its meanings, but as far the first one is concerned, there is a difference of opinions among the scholars.

In the opinion of Dr. Khaliq Mizami, this paragraph goes against the Sultan and it means that he was not very particular about his prayers and fasting.

But to Dr. H.A. Latif this statement of Barani goes to the credit of Sultan Ala-ud-Din Khalji and he translates it as follows:-

"We do not know how he fared so far as fasting and daily prayers are concerned, but he had a firm faith

1, 2. Prayers and fasting.
6. Dr. H.A. Latif, Head of the Persian Department, Govt. College, Lyallpur, West Pakistan.
like the masses and followed it very vehemently. He never talked like the irreligious, nor spoke in the manner of faithless, and above all he neither listened to such talks nor ever knew of it".

I think, the translation given by Dr. Latif is more correct. If we follow Dr. Nizami, then the first sentence and the remaining part of the paragraph do not support each other and lead us to quite opposite directions. Because the first sentence, with the meanings given to it by Dr. Nizami, becomes a sweeping statement and very authoritative, too. While the tone of the remaining sentence is very much moderate in its significance.

In this connection, a careful study of the following statement of Ibn Batutah will be very helpful. He says¹:-

"The king (Sultan Ala-ud-Din Khalji) never goes out for Friday or 'Eid' prayers or any other public ceremonies . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . Once, an unsuccessful murderous attack was made on his person by his nephew, Sulaiman Shah, during an hunting excursion . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . And afterwards, Sultan never went out for riding nor attended any public ceremony".

But the other authentic contemporary historians like Amir Khusrau, Hassan Sijzi, Shah Nasir-ud-Din Chiragh Dehlvi, Amir Khurd and Wasaf praise him (Sultan Ala-ud-Din Khalji for his love of Islam, and we could not find anything

in their accounts which could prove Harani's contention.

In the face of these opinions, one could not
give the right of veto to Harani. If, at all, we are
in a mood to give some concession to him, then, after
keeping in view the statement of Ibn Batutah we could
draw the following conclusion:-

That for political considerations and personal
security, he did not take part in 'Juma' or 'Eid' prayers
or any other public or state functions. But it does not
mean that he was not very much particular about his
prayers and fasting. Because daily prayers could be
offered anywhere, whether it is a royal bed-chamber
or a cottage of a 'dervash'. Moreover, nobody, could
deny the existence of a private mosque in a Muslim
royal palace.

Therefore, the statement of Harani is not
acceptable in toto.
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